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Abstract

Cultural Transition and Continuity in Egypt as a response to Political and Religious Change in the 21st to 25th Dynasty (1076-664 BCE)

By James Edward Bennett

The 21st to 25th Dynasties (1076-664 BCE) have previously been characterised by political and social changes based upon the introduction of Libyan social and cultural influences. Studies so far have focused primarily on the chronology, funerary practices, and ceramics of the period, at the expense of the settlements and their associated material culture, while the term used to define this period of Egyptian history 'Third Intermediate Period', suggests preconceived biases relating to negative aspects of culture after the unified period of central rule in the New Kingdom. To analyse transition and continuity within the cultural and societal environment of Egypt during the 21st to 25th Dynasty, this research develops a methodology through the assessment of settlement patterns and their development, the built environment of the settlements, and their associated material culture, in order to redefine the ways in which we view chronological phases of Egyptian history pertaining to the title 'Intermediate Period', specifically relating to the early first millennium BCE. Through this research several interconnected themes have been identified within the culture and society of the 21st to 25th Dynasties that relate to the political and economic powers of regions, the nucleation of settlements and people, self-sufficiency at a collective and individual level, defence, both physical and spiritual, regionality in terms of settlement development and material culture, and elite emulation through objects. Ultimately, this study provides a more nuanced view of the 21st to 25th Dynasty in which there were significant changes in the socio-economic conditions of the country in which new powers had to adapt, including the development of new political structures, economic conditions, aspects of culture, elite emulation, and a more multicultural society with both self-sufficiency and isolationism at both the state and local levels.

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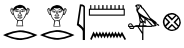
Fig. 219. Viewshed Plan of Possible Locations for  from the Temple of Amun at Karnak. 394

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Statement of Copyright

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To the memory of Sharron Lynn Bennett, 1954-2014

Abbreviations

Ä&L Ägypten une Levante, Internationale Zeitschrift für ägypische Archäologie und deren Nachargebiete

ÄA Ägyptologische Abhandlungen

ÄeDs Ägyptische Denkmäler in der Schweiz

ÄF Ägyptologische Forschungen

AfO Archiv für Orientforschung: Internationale Zeitschrift für die Wissenschaft vom Vorderen Orient

AJA American Journal of Archaeology

AmerAnt American Antiquity

Ann Assoc Am Geogr Annals of the Association of American Geographers

AnOr Analecta Orientalia

APol Archaeologia Polona

ARCE The American Research Center in Egypt

Artefact Artefact. the journal of the Archaeological and Anthropological Society of Victoria

ASAE Annales du Service des Antiquités de l'Égypte

AttiFir Atti e memorie dell'Accademia Toscana di Scienze e Lettere "La Colombaria" (Florence)

ÄUAT Ägypten und Altes Testaments: Studien zur Geschichte, Kultur und Religion Ägyptens und des Alen Testaments

AVDAIK Ärchäologische Veröffentlichungen, Deutsches Archäologisches Institut, Abteilung Kairo

BACE Bulletin of the Australian Centre for Egyptology

BAR IS British Archaeological Reports International Series

BCE Bulletin de liaison du Groupe international d'étude de la céramique égyptienne

BdE Bibliothèque d'Étude

BEHE SHP Bibliothèque de l'École des hautes études, sciences historiques et philologiques

BIFAO Bulletin de l'Institut Français d'Archéologie Orientale

BMMA Bulletin of the Metropolitan Museum of Art

BMSAES British Museum Studies in Ancient Egypt and Sudan

BMusHongr Bulletin du Musée Hongrois des Beaux-Arts

BN Biblische Notizen

BSAE British School of Archaeology in Egypt

BSFE Bulletin de la Sociéte Française d'Égyptologie

BSFFT Bulletin de la Société Française des Fouilles de Tanis

B. TAVO Tübinger Atlas des vorderen Orients, Beihefte Reihe B

CAJ Cambridge Archaeological Journal

CCÉ Cahiers de La Céramique Égyptienne

CCEM Contributions to the Chronology of the Eastern Mediterranean

CdE Chronique d'Égypte; Bulletin périodique de la Fondation Égyptologique Reine Élisabeth, Bruxelles

CENiM / ENiM Cahiers / Égypte Nilotique et méditerranéenne

CGC Catalogue Général des Antiquités Égyptiennes du Musée du Caire

CHANE Culture and History of the Ancient Near East

CRIPEL Cahiers de Recherches de l'Institut de Papyrologie et d'Égyptologie de Lille

DFIFAO Documents de fouilles de l'Institut français d'archéologie orientale du Caire

DGÖAW Denkschriften der Gesamtakademie. Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften

EA Egyptian Archaeology: The Bulletin of the Egypt Exploration Society

ECHO Egyptian Cultural Heritage Organisation

ÉdÉ Études d'égyptologie

EEF (Publications of the) Egypt Exploration Fund

EES ASE. EES Archaeological Survey of Egypt, Memoirs

EES EM Egypt Exploration Society Excavation Memoirs

EES OP Egypt Exploration Society Occasional Publications

EgUit Egytologische Uitgaven

EM Egyptological Memoirs

ERA Egyptian Research Account

EVO Egitto e Vicino Oriente: Rivista della sezione orientalistica dell'Istituto di Storia Antica, Università degli Studi di Pisa

FIFAO Fouilles de l'Institut français d'archéologie du Caire

Genava Genava: Bulletin du Musée de Genève

GLECS Comptes rendus du Groupe Linguistique d'Études Chamito-Sémitiques

GM Göttinger Miszellen: Beiträge zur ägyptologischen Diskussion

HÄB Hildesheimer Ägyptologische Beiträge

HdO Handbuch der Orientalistik. I. Abt. Bd. I: Ägyptologie

HWJ History Workshop Journal

IFAO l'Institut français d'archéologie orientale

JACF Journal of the Ancient Egyptian Chronology Forum

JAEI Journal of Ancient Egyptian Interconnections

J Anthropol Res Journal of Anthropological Research

JAOS *Journal of the American Oriental Society*

JAS Journal of Archaeological Science

JARCE Journal of the American Research Center in Egypt

J Archaeol Method Th Journal of Archaeological Method and Theory

JEA Journal of Egyptian Archaeology

JFA Journal of Field Archaeology

JHS Journal of Hellenic Studies

JNES Journal of Near Eastern Studies

JSSAE Journal of the Society of the Study of Egyptian Antiquities

Karnak Cahiers de Karnak

KAW Kulturgeschichte der Antiken Welt

Kêmi Kêmi : Revue de Philologie et d'Archéologie Égyptiennes et Coptes

Ktèma Ktèma Civilisations de l'Orient, de la Grèce et de Rome antiques

LibStud Libyan Studies

MÄS Münchner Ägyptologische Studien

MDAIK Mitteilungen des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts, Abteilung Kairo

MEEF Memoir of the Egypt Exploration Fund

MEES Memoir of the Egypt Exploration Society

MIFAO Mémoires publiés par les membres de l'Institut français d'Archéologie orientale

MIO Mitteilungen des Instituts für Orientforschung

MMAF Mémoires publiés par les membres de la mission archéologique française au Caire

MRE Monographies Reine Élisabeth

NEA Near Eastern Archaeology

NHE The Natural History of Egypt

OBO Orbis Biblicus et Orientalis

OIP Oriental Institute Publications

OIS Oriental Institute Seminars

OLA Orientalia Loveniensia Analecta

OMS Oxbow Monograph Series

PAM Polish Archaeology in the Mediterranean

PdÄ Probleme der Ägyptologie

PM Porter and Moss, Topographical bibliography of ancient Egyptian hieroglyphic texts, reliefs, and paintings volumes

PSBA Proceedings of the Society of Biblical Archaeology

RA Revue d'Assyriologie et d'Archéologie Orientale

RAPH Recherches d'archéologie, de philologie et d'histoire

RdE Revue D'égyptologie

RT Recueil de Travaux Relatifs à La Philologie et à l'archéologie Égyptiennes et Assyriennes

SAAB State Archives of Assyria Bulletin

SAGA Studien zur Archäologie und Geschichte Altägyptens

Sahara Sahara international yearly journal on the prehistory and history of the Sahara

SAK Studien zur Altägyptischen Kultur

SBAW Sitzungsberichte der Bayerischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, Phil.-hist. Abteilung

SBL Dissertation Series. Society of Biblical Literature Dissertation Series

SDAIK Sonderschrift des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts, Abteilung Kairo

SE Shire Egyptology

SEAP Studi di Egittologia e di Antichità Puniche

SMA Studies in Mediterranean Archaeology

Sphinx Sphinx: Revue critique embrassant le domaine entier de l'égyptologie

StudAeg Studia, Aegyptiaca

TOPOI Topoi: Berlin Studies of the Ancient World

TTSO Tut'ankhamūn's Tomb Series

UGAAe Untersuchungen zur Geschichte und Altertumskunde Ägyptens

UPMJ University Pennsylvania Museum Journal

Urk. Urkunden des ägyptischen Altertums, 8 vols. ed. K.Sethe, H.W. Helck, H. Schäfer, H. Grapow, O.Firchow, 1903-1957 (Leipzig/Berlin)

UZK Untersuchungen der Zweigstelle Kairo des Österreichischen Archäologischen Instituts

VA Varia Aegyptiaca

Wb *Wb. A. Erman and H. Grapow (eds), Wörterbuch der ägyptischen Sprache, 7 vols and 5 Belegstellen (leipzig and berlin, 1926-1963; reprinted berlin, 1992)*

WdO Die Welt des Orient: Wissenschaftliche Beiträge zur Kunde des Morgenlandes

WorldArch World Archaeology

WVDOG Wissenschaftliche Veröffentlichungen der Deutschen Orientgesellschaft

WZKM Wiener Zeitschrift für die Kunde des Morgenlandes

ZÄS Zeitschrift für ägyptische Sprache und Altertumskunde

Chapter 1

Introduction

In Egypt, the period 1076-664 BCE has commonly been designated as the 'Third Intermediate Period' (Table 1). It has been characterized, primarily, by significant changes both politically and socially within Egypt, based upon the introduction of Libyan social and cultural influences (Taylor, 2000: 330). The once unified government in the preceding Ramesside Period (1295-1076 BCE) was replaced by considerable political fragmentation. The pharaohs now ruled from the north and a line of Theban High Priests of Amun and army commanders controlled the south. Alongside this shift of power was the re-emergence of local centres under the control of quasi-pharaohs and local Libyan, or warrior class chiefs, starting in the 22nd Dynasty, and concurrently ruling from the mid-22nd Dynasty onwards. The warrior-chiefs were of the Meshwesh and Libu tribes that had gradually entered Egypt during the reigns of Ramesses II and Ramesses III as prisoners of war (Kitchen, 1996: §206), and had subsequently been settled in the Delta and Middle Egypt (Sagrillo, 2009: 343-6). The demographic structure of Egypt changed at this period as the incoming peoples integrated with the native Egyptian population. Egypt itself became a more politically inward looking state, while its power hold over the Levant and Nubia was reduced (Taylor, 2000: 330). These factors had consequences for the structure of Egyptian society (Broekman, 2010a: 85-99; Leahy, 1985: 59; O'Connor, 1983: 183-278; Ritner, 2009a: 327-40). The following section of this introduction discusses how we view relative chronological phases relating to the period after the New Kingdom, the origin of the term 'Third Intermediate Period', and the political and cultural climate in which it was devised.

Old Kingdom	2686-2160 BCE
First Intermediate Period	2160-2055 BCE
Middle Kingdom	2055-1650 BCE
Second Intermediate Period	1650-1550 BCE
New Kingdom	1550-1076 BCE
Third Intermediate Period	1076-664 BCE
Late Period	664-332 BCE
Ptolemaic Period	332-30 BCE
Roman Period	30 BCE-395 CE

Table 1. Chronology of Ancient Egypt

1.1 Terminology

Historical reasons for the 'Intermediate' label are discussed here to demonstrate the views within archaeological thought and theory, and show the ideas, which have shaped the discussions and approaches to Third Intermediate Period archaeology, history and culture. Labels applied to periods of history carry with them social connotations, such as 'Classical', which indicates positivity, while those of 'Dark Age' indicate negativity (Lantzas, 2012: 10; Nelson, 2007: 192). The term 'Intermediate' has inherent implications of poverty and decline, and implies that periods of strong centralised authority were superior.

When the central authority is not visible, for whatever reasons, and the historical sources created by the central authority fail, then scholars are left with less certainty concerning what was going on. Implications of poverty, and political and economic decline are observed as dominating the final decades of the Late New Kingdom. During the reign of Ramesses IX in Years 10-15, in the region of Thebes there were incidents of tribes from the western desert coming into the Thebaid and elsewhere (Kitchen, 1996: §207), while in Years 13-17 the royal tomb robbery scandal was uncovered. High food prices, theft and corruption, and a loss of respect for kings, whether dead or alive, were factors that transformed the sporadic violation of royal tombs into wide scale pillaging in the following decades (Kitchen, 1996: §207). Later, in the reign of Ramesses XI economic conditions such as famine persisted indicated by the so-called 'Year of the Hyenas' (Kitchen, 1996: §208).

During such 'Intermediate' times the socio-political and economic structures of the country may change, but people continued to survive by re-organizing their communities, and continuing the day-to-day process of living. Such a process can be viewed as a return to a simpler socio-political structure (Lantzas, 2012: 16). Tainter (1999: 988) argues that post collapse societies are to many scholars an annoying interlude, their study a chore necessary to understand the renaissance that followed. This attitude is no more vividly portrayed than by Petrie in his excavation diary, (in Aston, 2009a: 19) who, although the term 'Third Intermediate Period' was not in use during his time in Egypt, states in his excavation at Lahun that;

'*The cemetery at Illahun so far discovered is entirely re-occupied under the XXIIIrd dynasty and of no historic value*'.

Naville who was working at Bubastis shared similar negative attitudes and did not see the fine workmanship of the Hathor columns of Osorkon II as being a product of this period and its craftsmen, and proposed they were usurped 12th or 18th Dynasty works (Spencer, N., 2007: 7). This lack of interest, presumptions of a lack of artistic quality, and the placing of focus onto the

periods of the Old, Middle and New Kingdoms created what Lantzas (2012: 9) refers to in terms of Archaic Greek studies as an 'Academic No Man's Land'.

An evidence-based analysis must be applied when we begin to observe the past objectively, consider what is available for observations and, fundamentally, a critical assessment of how archaeologists approach the material (Lantzas, 2012: 10; Shanks and Tilley, 1992: 8). To engage with the past objectively and conscientiously, divisions of 'Kingdom' (as in Old, Middle, and New) and 'Intermediate Period' (as in First, Second, and Third), whether based on absolute or relative chronology, or changes in material culture, must be considered, as discrete periods of history, and the language used to define them should be absent of interpretational bias. There must be a critical awareness of the role of the researcher and the biases of cultural historians which have affected scholarly attempts to understand the past (Lantzas, 2012: 10; Redman, 1999: 48) as evidenced by the views of early researchers such as Petrie and Naville in their treatment of the material of periods after the New Kingdom.

The term 'Third Intermediate Period' according to Aldred (1956: 7) was first created by Steindorff (1946: 17). It was a convenient name used in the cataloguing of Egyptian statuary between the New Kingdom, ending with the 20th Dynasty (1076 BCE), and Late Period, beginning with the 26th Dynasty (664 BCE). 'Third Intermediate Period' has since become fixed academic nomenclature to describe this complex period of Egypt's history. The term 'Third Intermediate Period' has survived and permeated most studies of Egypt's history, culture, and material studies regarding the 21st to 25th Dynasties. Kitchen (1996) called for a name change to the 'Post Imperial Epoch', but Egyptologists did not adopt this, and the usage of the term 'Intermediate' has been retained. The implications of using labels such as 'Intermediate' can create bias against the periods in question and assign a superiority to the preceding and succeeding phases, which is demonstrated by the wealth of studies focusing on all aspects of society in the New Kingdom, and even the Late Period which is better defined culturally and chronologically.

There are many reasons for the focus on other periods at the expense of the 'Intermediate Periods', as so little has survived in the way of monumental architecture, and the preservation of literature and textual data is limited at best compared to the preceding periods of the Old, Middle and New Kingdoms. In the 'Third Intermediate Period' the arena of royal power was concentrated within the Delta nome capitals, of which hardly anything has survived due to the wetter environmental and ecological conditions existing in the Delta. This is in striking comparison compared to the well-preserved and drier area of the desert fringes in Upper Egypt, particularly at Thebes, where tombs and temples are well preserved. While admittedly the material record so far gathered, no more so than the settlement remains, is sparse, like other post collapse societies such as Archaic Greece, this should not deter scholarly interest. By their very nature these periods exercise a fascination and present a challenge, to answer questions

regarding what was happening in cultural, social, religious, political and economic terms (Desborough, 1972: 12; Lantzas, 2012: 16). The growing corpus of evidence regarding settlement remains in Egypt from this period can begin to answer some of the most pressing questions regarding the development of settlements in general, but from the perspective of this period of Egypt's history.

This thesis will conduct an inter-regional study of settlements and their developments as an appropriate starting point for such balanced examinations and, therefore places socio-economic, cultural, and political developments within their own discrete built and natural environments.

1.2 The Current State of Research

Before assessing the basis for current approaches to Third Intermediate Period archaeology this section demonstrates the directions of previous scholarship and archaeological thought within the field of 21st to 25th Dynasty studies. There are four key themes so far studied to varying degrees: chronology and history; religion and funerary practices; pottery (both domestic and funerary); and settlements. Each of these themes are discussed below to provide a concise thematic background to the period which allows for the conclusions of this study to be assessed against these different aspects. Simultaneously, this thematic approach demonstrates the gaps in our understanding for the period and the approaches which have been taken.

1.2.1 Chronological Studies

One of the main problems in understanding this period is providing a sound historical framework for the 21st to 25th Dynasties, which has been more difficult to establish than for any other period of Egyptian history (Taylor, 2000: 333). This study has included the 25th Dynasty as forming part of the Third Intermediate Period because the underlying political geography of Egypt from the time of Piankhy, and for almost another century later, was as Kitchen (1996: §328) states, was 'thinly veiled behind the purely superficial unity of rule presented by the Nubian or 25th Dynasty'. Studies have concentrated on understanding the chronology and the sequence of kings and local rulers, and many scholars, such as Kitchen (2009) and Aston (2009b), still do not agree on a wide range of chronological aspects. There is a lack of a continuous series of dates of any ruler, and there can be no confidence in the suggestion that the highest known year date for any reign reflects its true length. Ultimately the chronology of the Third Intermediate Period is imprecise and uncertain in many respects (Jansen-Winkeln, 2006a: 235). Most of the king lists which have survived from ancient Egypt were written before this

period. The only list to survive that includes the kings of the 21st to 25th Dynasty is the list of the Greek historian Manetho (3rd century BCE). Manetho acquired his sources from the High Priests of Ptah at Memphis and several other Delta sources, which provides an incomplete picture for the country, and contains a Lower Egyptian bias (Jurman, 2009: 115). As well as Manetho, royal and private inscriptions have been used to establish the order of the kings including the cross-referencing of Egyptian sources with Assyrian and other contemporary Near Eastern sources, including Biblical references. The loss of data makes it difficult for a balanced historical picture of the country to be achieved (Taylor, 2000: 331) which affects the Delta most seriously where many of the important historical developments took place.

1.2.2 Religion and Funerary Customs

A substantial number of studies of the period are dedicated to changing religious practices, tomb architecture and burial assemblages. These studies focus on material mainly recovered from the Theban region. This Theban regional bias has created an unbalanced picture for the country. During this period the elite Thebans developed a new set of funerary values. The focus was on a space efficient burial, which included the minimum essential requirements for the rebirth of the individual. Due to economic constraints and the high theft rates in tombs in the Late New Kingdom, there was a shift in ethical values with regards to funerary goods (Cooney, 2011: 4). The Theban elite population moved towards the rendering of the wooden coffin as a densely decorated, discrete miniature tomb for the deceased (Cooney, 2011: 5). These Theban wooden coffins have formed the basis for studies on religious practices of the period (Cooney, 2011: 28-30; Niwiński, 1988; Taylor, 1984: 27-57; 1989; 2001: 164-181; 2003: 95-121; 2006: 263-91; Van Walsem, 1997). The lack of wooden coffins discovered or preserved outside Thebes has meant that there is an incomplete picture for the understanding of burial customs in Egypt. Research carried out on funerary assemblages by Aston (2009a: 269-88) reiterates the findings of Taylor, Van Walsem and Niwiński regarding Theban coffin developments, but goes further and documents several regional style differences at Tanis, Tell el-Balamun and Buto (Aston, 2009a: 288-9), while Taylor (2009) has demonstrated that coffin designs can be defined within regional groupings in the 22nd to 25th Dynasty.

Burial assemblages were restricted to the absolute minimum of objects with only what fitted into a nesting coffin being interred with the body. Only religious necessities were placed within the 'tomb mummy' coffins along with papyri and ushabtis, while everything else that threatened the existence of the mummies by attracting robbers was removed. Cooney (2011: 18) suggests that burial assemblages were viewed as an extension of social adaptions made in the Late New Kingdom. Funerary strategies emphasised the coffin set as the discrete dwelling place

for the deceased within a larger community in a group burial, rather than emphasizing the decorated tomb complex previously individualised for the patriarch and his nuclear family.

In the Third Intermediate Period, the dead were relegated to one single space, the burial chamber itself, thus profoundly changing the way in which the Egyptian elite now conceived of the interment. The new funerary strategies represent the minimisation in the burial customs and the decline of the grand elite tombs as the focus of the mortuary cult. Coupled with the reduction in the range of grave goods, funerary practices reflected a change in the significance attached to the funerary provisions, rather than being a response to an economic pressure (Taylor, 2010: 236-7). The elite members of Theban society no longer abandoned their tomb chapels because they were unable to afford them or because material was scarce (Cooney, 2011: 20). The lack of evident tomb superstructures now forced people to move statuary and stelae into communal spaces where they had previously not been positioned. This created a decentralised connection between the funerary ritual and the connection with the dead and the interment itself (Cooney, 2011: 20). This may have indicated a lack of connection with the dead and a decreasing importance of the ancestor cult.

Group burials now became the standard for interments, for both royal and elite members (Aston, 2009a: 298-9; Cooney, 2011: 18). At the Third Intermediate Period Heracleopolitan necropolis, the bodies were laid inside the chambers like at the royal tombs of Tanis where the tomb owner's family would have been buried in the same tomb, which meant the reopening and rearrangement of the burial equipment. It is unknown if any of the individuals found within the interior of the Heracleopolitan funerary chambers were associated family members. Several individuals were buried outside of the chambers, piled up on the roofs, or nearby. The piling up and overlaying of bodies was the norm suggesting common graves or collected burials (Pérez-Die, 2009: 317).

1.2.3 Pottery: Domestic and Funerary

A preliminary classification, and provisional chronology of Late New Kingdom and Intermediate Period pottery was presented by Aston (1996a). Typologies and dating criteria were assigned to the different vessel forms of the period. At this point, the study of Third Intermediate Period pottery was still in its early stages, a view shared by Budka (2010) for current ceramic studies almost 15 years later. Most excavated pottery from Egypt, has, and still relies on Aston's original classification and dating.

Some preliminary observations have been made regarding the pottery forms despite the limited amount of published evidence. Vessels made mostly of Nile silt characterised the ceramics of this period. Only a few types are manufactured from marl clays (Wodzińska, 2010:

193). Ceramics were made well on a wheel, except for coarse-ware plates and hand moulded bread trays. The vessels were often smoothed without the addition of a slip, but pots were also covered with a red, or less commonly a white or pink slip. The decoration itself was simple consisting mainly of black bands (Wodzińska, 2010: 193). When compared to the New Kingdom, which was very rich in ceramic forms, the subsequent Third Intermediate Period phase was characterised by a rather modest set of forms. These include globular cooking jars with rounded or pointed bases, many of which have an interior ledge below the rim. There are large storage jars, jars with tall necks and two handles, chamber pots, fire-dogs, and pilgrim flasks. The pilgrim flasks were most likely containers for liquids, especially water. The fire-dogs which were already known in the New Kingdom, were probably put directly in the fire, and used as supports for cooking pots. Finally, among the most common open forms were the bowls with rounded or pointed bases (Wodzińska, 2010: 193). The ceramic forms show no sudden break from the Late New Kingdom, but a gradual change, with 21st Dynasty pottery almost indistinguishable from Late New Kingdom forms (Aston, 1996a: 15). The changing internal phases of 21st to 25th Dynasty ceramic development are difficult to map on sites where there is complex, and sometimes displaced, stratigraphic sequences.

1.2.4 Settlement Archaeology

There was a focus by Egyptologists at the end of the 19th and early 20th century on the discovery of objects of artistic beauty, or textual and historical documents which were valued by museums or private collectors (Leclère, 2008: 3). Work focused on the temples and cemeteries, particularly those on the desert edges in which the removal of windblown sand was much easier and more cost-effective compared to the excavation of stratigraphically complex settlements, which lacked the perceived monetary gain. The difficulty and expense of excavating complex sites was a major factor in the lack of interest in the exploration of the Delta region.

The environmental conditions in the Delta provided difficult working conditions for excavators such as Édouard Naville, and William Matthew Flinders Petrie. The level of standing water hampered Naville's excavations at Bubastis (Spencer, N., 2007: 22), while Petrie's work in February 1884 at Tanis was hampered by continual storms which created impassable mounds of mud. In contrast, dust storms in the middle of June the same year, coupled with searing heat and violent rain closed excavations (Spencer, P., 2007: 38). Local environmental conditions made it difficult to access Delta sites. Petrie and Griffith began working at Nebesheh in 1886 which was in a marshy, muddy district, which was only accessible by wading or swimming in the canals (Spencer, P., 2007: 56).

Sites on the desert edge produced objects and information immediately, following a simple clearing operation instead of the extensive settlement excavations (Bagnall, 1993: 6; Bietak, 1979a: 97-8; 1979b: 159; Franke, 1994: 29; Haeny, 1979: 86-8; Leclère, 2008: 4; Parlebas, 1977: 50; Smith, 1972: 705). Since the 1970's, and especially from the end of the 20th century to the beginning of the 21st century there has been a focus on improving our knowledge of Egyptian settlements, with emphasis on excavation of the Delta and Nile Valley settlements. In 2000 at the International Congress of Egyptologists the then Secretary General of the Supreme Council of Antiquities, Gaballa made a call for excavators to focus on the Delta tells. From that time applications for new concessions in Upper Egypt were rejected, unless projects were already underway, although this has since been reversed.

Settlement archaeology has expanded to include the reconstruction of the hydrology and associated hinterlands using auger boring and geophysical survey, which has been able to access the remains and extents of buried settlements underneath both the Nile alluvium and desert sands (Hoffman, Hamroush and Allen, 1986: 181; Jeffreys and Malek, 1988: 19-23; Von der Way, 1984: 297-328; 1986: 191-212).

Prior to the new emphasis on settlement archaeology, the only dedicated research of the settlements of the Third Intermediate Period was by Yoyotte (1961a). This philological study discussed only the Delta toponyms documented on the monuments of the Libyan Chiefs of the Delta and Middle Egypt, including their land donation stelae. Other sources analysed were toponyms listed on the 25th Dynasty Piankhy Stela, and the Assyrian War records of Essarhaddon and Ashurbanipal. Yoyotte made geo-political observations for the Delta, concerning the power bases of the various Delta chiefs and pharaohs. Later, Gomaà (1974) focussed on the Delta toponyms building on the work of Yoyotte. Ultimately, both 'topographical' works by Yoyotte and Gomaà, were a historical survey of local northern rulers using textual evidence, and the focus was restricted mainly to the Delta.

The discussions of the settlements by Yoyotte and Gomaà were located within the modern Egyptian landscape, as far as possible, but no further analysis was attempted regarding reconstructing the palaeotopography, the patterns of settlement or the layout and development of settlements throughout the period in the Delta. Subsequently, there is a large void in our knowledge of how the settlements and settlement patterns in the Delta developed during this period, while almost the entire region of Upper Egypt has been completely neglected. Recent work by Meffre (2015) focusing on the region between Heracleopolis and Hermopolis, again focuses on the monuments to provide a historical synthesis for the region and a detailed study of the local elites, chiefs, and religious clergy. She, however, provides a welcome study on some of the main military establishments in the region (Meffre, 2015: 365-77).

A decade after Gomaà's study on the settlements of the Delta, O'Connor (1983: 246-7) put forward hypotheses regarding the development of Egyptian settlement patterns and internal settlement development. These included the following ideas:

1) Settlement patterns probably reflected the way in which the map of real and symbolic power altered, as settlements began to reflect changing political circumstances and their cultural effects.

2) The general pattern of settlement may have changed in response to a new political system, the altered relations between the government and the governed, combined with a prevailing civic insecurity.

3) Settlement layouts may have changed as there were important developments in the sacred landscape, particularly in the royal and dynastic cemeteries, which now lay within the local administrative centre's temple precincts, instead of the traditional New Kingdom precedent of being buried in the Valley of the Kings.

4) The well distributed settlement patterns of the New Kingdom may have become more concentrated into tighter urban units.

Since O'Connor made these hypotheses in 1983 the state of knowledge regarding the settlements of the 21st to 25th Dynasty has been growing due to new archaeological investigations, and many of these hypotheses are now able to be assessed within the current evidence presented in this study. This section has demonstrated that approaches to Third Intermediate Period studies are still very much text based, and concentrated upon defining the chronology, religious changes, and ceramic developments.

1.3 Aims and Objectives of the Thesis

The aims of this thesis are to analyse the cultural and societal environment of Egypt between the 21st and 25th Dynasty and to redefine the way, or ways, in which we view relative chronological phases of Egyptian history pertaining to the title 'Intermediate Period', specifically relating to the end of the New Kingdom and early first millennium BCE.

Finally, thesis goes on to provide a framework for the understanding of periods of fragmented political structure in Egypt based on themes of continuity and change within settlement patterns, the built environment of settlements, and the material culture of settlements. This thesis' chapters will address the aims and objectives as follows:

- Chapters 2 and 3 analyse landscape and settlement to identify zones of living and resources, the political mapping of settlements versus topographical pressures, and whether general trends in settlement patterns can be established based on the current dataset. This provides the environmental setting for the analysis of culture and society in Third Intermediate Period Egypt. Through the analysis of the datasets Chapters 2 and 3 discuss problems within the available evidence base for the period, and explores characteristics such as regional settlement identities, settlement pattern development, population nucleation, and land management.

- Chapter 4 provides a detailed analysis of intra settlement archaeology to assess the way in which settlements were managed by the ruling elites and local domestic populations. This approach provides the cultural and physical setting from which Third Intermediate Period phases can be assessed in relation to the built environment. Through the analysis of the settlement data, Chapter 4 raises characteristics of regional settlement development, the maintenance and adaption of New Kingdom civic and religious structures, the self-sufficient nature of local populations to maintain the built environment, and to utilise the surrounding built environment to maintain their domestic lives.

- Chapters 5 and 6 reassess the chronological framework of Third Intermediate Period material culture from typical domestic household assemblages to create object typologies. Analysis of the material culture raises characteristics of ceramic production and distribution, foreign trade, dining and drinking culture, the use of heirlooms, social status, the reuse of objects, elite emulation, domestic religion, and finally regional considerations. Analysis of this information identifies the particular and specific social fabric, and the living conditions during the Third Intermediate Period.

- Finally, Chapter 7, the discussion and conclusion, evaluates the characteristics identified in Chapters 2 to 6 to understand themes of continuity and transition in Egypt

during the 21st to 25th Dynasty based on archaeological settlement material, the built environment, and the material culture. The conclusion redefines how we view chronological phases of Egyptian history pertaining to the title ‘Intermediate Period’, to comprehend the everyday life and social practices of the people living at that time, and highlight the Third Intermediate Period as a distinctly defined cultural element within Egyptian society and Egyptology as a whole.

Chapter 2

Context and Method for Settlement Archaeology in Third Intermediate Period Egypt

2.1 Introduction and Aims

Chapter 2 aims to establish the theoretical and archaeological context for the study of landscape and settlements in the Third Intermediate Period. The chapter will discuss the approaches to, and problems inherent in Egyptian settlement studies regarding landscape reconstruction, the preservation of sites, and how researchers define the concept of 'site'. Then a framework for the understanding of settlement archaeology in the Third Intermediate Period will be constructed through the analysis of the dataset or corpus comprising textual and archaeological material from landscapes and settlements.

2.2 Objectives

In order to work towards the framework for settlement pattern studies, Chapter 2 discusses archaeological theory regarding landscape archaeology and establishes a methodology to set out the most effective way of approaching Egyptian settlement patterns, and defines the concept of what is a 'site' for Third Intermediate Period settlement pattern studies. A comprehensive record of survey, excavation reports, artefacts and texts are used in constructing gazetteer data for the Third Intermediate Period site corpus and highlights the research agendas of previous projects and institutions. The site data is then evaluated to assess its effectiveness for conducting landscape archaeology to see if settlement patterns are visible, the extent to which they are different from the New Kingdom, and the factors which may have influenced these patterns with due regard to the limitations of the data.

2.3 Theoretical, Methodological and Archaeological Context

This section aims to establish the context for landscape and settlement studies in the Third Intermediate Period. It will discuss archaeological theory regarding landscape archaeology, particularly in the Near East and Egypt, suggest a methodology for the most effective way of approaching Egyptian settlement patterns, and define the concept of what is a 'site' for Third Intermediate Period settlement pattern studies.

Wilkinson (2003: 4-8) established a methodology for interrogating Near Eastern landscapes, especially in alluvial floodplains using the integrated methods of *Culture Historical*, *Processual*, and *Post-Processual* approaches (Table 2), and assessing to what degree parts of the landscape have been lost or obscured as the result of physical transformations and cultural

processes. Although developed for Mesopotamia and the Near East, the commonalities of the later cultural and physical taphonomic conditions within the riverine landscape of the Near East has similarities with the alluvial floodplain environments of the Nile Valley and Delta. Wilkinson's approach to Mesopotamian and Near Eastern landscape archaeology is, therefore, potentially applicable to Egypt.

Approach	Description
Culture Historical	Draws on historical documents, archaeology, and the geographical landscapes.
Processual	A scientific methodology, which emphasizes environmental reconstruction, as well as more detailed and sophisticated techniques of sampling, such as field walking and surface survey.
Post-Processual	Subjective elements of landscape archaeology such as phenomenology are considered of fundamental importance to landscape analysis. These themes built upon the social theory emphasizing the socio-symbolic dimension of landscape to narrate the way, or ways in which individuals perceive and experience the landscape.

Table 2. A description of the three differing archaeological theory approaches to landscape archaeology (Wilkinson, 2003: 4-8).

Building on this framework, an 9-stage methodology can be suggested and is used in this section for conducting landscape archaeology for the Third Intermediate Period:

1) To identify the natural environment, geology and landscape of the Nile Valley and Delta, focusing on potential areas of settlement location and the rationale for their choices;
2) To establish the problems in identifying the ancient landscape due to modern constraints and changes, such as the limits of the cultivable land and its palimpsest character; secondly to analyse the effects of the changing hydrological patterns of the river on potential settlement patterns and site preservation, and the modern effects of *sebakhin* and modern urbanisation;
3) To discuss the way in which archaeologists have debated the concept of 'site' and, therefore, to define the problems in producing a site corpus for Third Intermediate

Period Egypt which can be used to identify (or not) settlement patterns. These include off-site survey, regional preservation rates, site size, and toponyms which cannot be associated with modern locations.

4) To assemble the data sets and create a corpus of sites from survey data, excavation data, and textual evidence.
5) To assess the quality of the evidence in order to construct a representative sample of sites from all regions in Egypt during the Third Intermediate Period. This analysis demonstrates the variability in the data, based on text-based versus data-driven (archaeological) evidence, regional site densities, functional attributes for sites (domestic, funerary, military and quarry), and cemetery locations, and highlights, where possible, chronological developments of site types per region;
6) To assess the administrative documentation relating to systems of land control. This is to determine if there were changes in the geo-economic policies of the administration, or whether there was a continuation of New Kingdom land policies;
7) To plot the militarized institutions and foundations of Egypt in the Third Intermediate Period in comparison to the previous New Kingdom, to assess change or adaption within the internal military organization and the defence of different regions in relation to local populations, resources, river traffic and border security;
8) To provide regional case studies to test the potential for settlement pattern studies within Third Intermediate Period archaeology. Firstly, the Deltaic settlement systems for both the eastern and western regions, followed by thematic approaches to the Upper Egyptian settlement data in the regions of the 1st and 2nd Upper Egyptian Nomes, the Theban region and the Heracleopolitan / Faiyum region;
9) To establish the characteristics of Third Intermediate Period settlement patterns in Egypt, and suggest best practices for the future in Third Intermediate Period settlement pattern studies.

2.4 Implementing the Method for Settlements and Sites

The steps outlined above will be implemented with regard to the data in order to arrive at a final set of characteristics to be applied to settlement developments in the Third Intermediate Period and their value in understanding political, religious and economic processes at work.

2.4.1 Identifying the Natural Landscape

Landscapes in Egypt have changed quite considerably since antiquity and it is very difficult to reconstruct palaeotopography within a floodplain environment. This part of the method is important, however, to create an awareness of the stresses and risks in the landscape as well as the resulting impact on the dataset.

2.4.1.1 The Natural Environment and Settlement Locations

The Nile Valley was carved into the African plateau around 5-8 million years ago, by the river. Since then, the valley was gradually refilled with sediments (Hillier, Bunbury and Graham, 2007: 1011). At the end of the Late Glacial Maximum around 12,500 years ago, and the subsequent cooling until around 8000 years ago, the ice caps melted, producing a rise in the sea level of up to 120 m (Bunbury, 2011: 211). The rise in the sea level caused the coastline of the Nile Delta to be further inland than it is today (Stanley and Warne, 1993), and also created coastal marshes and brackish swamps in the Delta. As the rise of the sea level slowed down, the Delta apex moved seawards, creating the Delta landscape of the Pharaonic Period around 4000 BCE, or earlier, with its main channels, smaller distributaries and levees meandering around large sand hills ('turtle backs' or geziras) rising above the floodplain. These geziras created high areas for settlements above the annual inundation.

The 10km wide Nile Valley is bounded on each side by large cliffs and is flat bottomed (Hillier, Bunbury and Graham, 2007: 1011). The desertification of the grasslands adjacent to the Nile Valley began from ca. 7000 BCE (Bunbury, 2011: 211), in the Saharan Neolithic. Sand from the Sahara was blown into the Nile Valley (Hassan, 1996), modifying the geography of the sides of the Nile canyon and causing the previous Palaeolithic settlements to move away from the marginal terraces of the Nile Valley into the floodplain, particularly onto the river levees (Bunbury, 2011: 211; Jeffreys and Tavares, 1994). Active levees on the erosional side of the river were not a rational choice for a settlement. The lateral migration of the Nile endangered the survival of these settlement types (Graham, 2010: 138).

For example, the settlement of Thebes (ThIP_UE.25) was located on an active levee. The threat of the Nile, and the effect of high floods destroying settlements is described in the Year 3 inscription of Osorkon III in Luxor Temple (Bickel, 2009; Daressy, 1896a; Jansen-Winkeln, 2007a: 298-301). This flood was ca. 70 cm higher than an abundant flood which was considered ideal for agriculture and proved catastrophic for the mud brick houses of Thebes (Bickel, 2009: 51). The inscription states '*the inhabitants of his city are like swimmers in a wave*' (Bickel, 2009: 52). Later, in the reign of Taharqa there was another high flood episode (Bickel, 2009:

51). Repeated high flooding events are characteristic of the 9th to 7th century BCE compared to earlier periods (Butzer, 1976: 29) with implications for settlements in general during the Third Intermediate Period throughout Egypt.

The sinuosity and braiding of the Nile had a fundamental effect on the landscape within fixed periods of time and led to dynamic and complex settlement pattern developments. The Nile had an important impact on both the choice of land for settlement and the subsequent destruction of field systems (Graham, 2010: 125). This has created a cyclical pattern of construction and destruction which occurred within relatively short, but irregular periods of time, as the Nile began to move away from existing settlements which relied on proximity to the river to function. At the same time, the migration of the Nile caused other sites to become more prosperous as the river moved closer. In archaeological terms, the fluctuating sinuosity of the Nile and the braiding effects caused the destruction and concealment of settlements which make an accurate reconstruction of the different scales of habitation difficult for different periods.

There may have been more bars and islands in antiquity than in the modern Nile landscape (Graham, 2010: 125). The alluvial islands, created due to the river's dynamics, were an important resource for agriculture, small scale farming communities, animal grazing and settlement extensions could become attached to the floodplain when minor channels silted up, thus allowing for settlement expansion (Graham, 2010: 139; Jeffreys, 1996: 290, 292). Islands are as high, if not higher, than the surrounding floodplain because their proximity to the river meant a greater sediment deposition occurred on them than on the surrounding floodplain. The advantages of an island, including the height, proximity to the river, preservation, and cosmological significance, made them an ideal location for the siting of a new settlement (Graham, 2010: 139). This type of dynamic landscape with the foundations, development, and abandonment of settlements based on fluctuating hydrology is a key theme for understanding the development of settlement patterns at regional levels, the development of political houses, and regional power plays.

In the Nile Delta, the most important settlements lay on 'turtlebacks' (geziras) in the immediate vicinity of the main Nile branches. These sites developed as centres for their outlying hinterlands. Settlements distant from the main river branches were dependant on the larger settlements, and in exchange the smaller settlements would have probably supplied resources to the larger centres, which were located on the traffic routes (Bietak, 1979a: 102). The most important political settlements of Egypt would have depended on vast agricultural hinterland areas, and would have acted as '*magnets drawing in people and resources*' (Hoffman, Hamroush and Allen, 1986: 177). The most important Delta settlements lay not only on, or near a main river branch, along levees and on a spacious geziras, but on important points of junction. Many of the nome capitals were established where land routes met the main waterways (Bietak, 1979: 102). Other nome centres developed at the junction of land routes from the desert

especially to the east from Asia, at Tanis(ThIP_LE.50), and the Libyan Desert to the west such as at Edfu (ThIP_UE.8), Huw (ThIP_UE.36), Akhmim (ThIP_UE.46), Asyut (ThIP_UE.83), and Hermopolis (ThIP_UE.89), while some were on wadi fans such as Hierakonpolis (ThIP_UE.9).

There was a strong element of geographical determinism in the location of settlements, leading to the function and developmental history of settlements to differ. Some settlements were better suited as trade or staple market centres, or collection and distribution centres for the administration. The produce of smaller centres had to be moved from initial starting points to the main cities through an interactive riverine-lacustrine-marine system, which gave new powers to certain settlements along the way (Wilson, 2012: 99). The system of settlements, water networks and their focal destinations was flexible within a system of political change, but was often at the expense of settlements that diminished in size, or were abandoned when the waterways no longer served the larger centres (Wilson, 2012: 99). Other settlements had military and strategic importance, while some settlements controlled trade to and from other countries, or areas away from the Nile Valley and Delta (Bietak, 1979a: 102).

The hinterlands of both the Nile Delta and the Valley were important for the economy and character of settlements (Bietak, 1979a: 102). The sites located at crossroads, trade centres and staple market areas, nomes, or districts were a stimulus to the concentration of populations (Bietak, 1979a: 102). Placing the Third Intermediate Period settlements within the contemporary geological and hydrological settings, as far as is possible, is vital for understanding the roles settlements performed and the associated settlement patterns that developed.

2.4.1.2 Constructing Ancient Hydrology and Settlement Locations

The river Nile acted as a trade network and water supply (Bunbury, 2011: 211) as well as a land barrier and territorial zone marker, which provided defensive capabilities. The alluvial landscape of Egypt was in a continuous state of flux due to its dynamic hydrologic nature. Many ancient settlements are known due to their citations in ancient texts, but many of them are not archaeologically located on the ground because the waterways near the sites have changed since antiquity. The mobility of the settlements is inextricably linked to the fluctuating hydrological conditions of the Nile.

Although the Nile was one of the most important aspects for the functioning of a settlement, it was often the most uncontrollable aspect of the landscape, which in turn dictated the location, prosperity and ultimately the eventual decline of many important settlements. The Nile migrates within its channels, but the study of the Nile's migration, and its relationship to archaeological sites remains little studied (Hillier, Bunbury and Graham, 2007: 1011). Before the construction of the Aswan High Dam in the 1960's, the migration of the Nile increased in

rate during the high flood seasons until it burst its banks during the flood, but migration was negligible when the Nile was low (Bunbury, 2011: 212). Seasonal variations had important consequences for settlements. The medieval geographies of the Nile Valley confirm the route of the main Nile through Upper Egypt from the First Cataract to Cairo was much as it is today, not perhaps at the level of every meander, but at least in its overall form and route (Cooper, 2014: 101). Lateral migration of the main channel has been estimated at around 2 m per year over a period of one hundred years (Bunbury, 2011: 212). There has been a predominantly eastward migration of the Nile since the Ptolemaic Period. The course of the main Nile during the Ptolemaic Period was probably along the axis of the Pharaonic Nile between 2950-332 BCE (Butzer, 1976).

Research carried out so far does not provide a comprehensive picture of the position and fluctuations of the Nile in Upper Egypt, but detailed geological analysis of specific locations is useful in determining the factors which affected settlement location, and the parameters for understanding settlement patterns. In the case of the Third Intermediate Period, with its settlements underneath modern towns and/or field systems it is even more difficult to detect the towns and villages and their relationship to the Nile. Nevertheless, there are some key case studies in the regions of Akhmim (ThIP_UE.46), Sohag, Memphis (ThIP_LE.3), and Thebes (ThIP_UE.22 and ThIP_UE.25) where either a topographic feature or detailed geological analysis has been able to highlight the potential to understand the link between landscape and settlement dynamics.

The position of the Ptolemaic-Roman towns and villages in the region of Akhmim (ThIP_UE.46) suggest that the Nile ran west of a series of prominent levees in Hellenistic times, and the course of the Nile was ca. 3 km west of the position of the modern Nile (Hassan, 2010: 134). Cartographic studies and analysis of satellite imagery in the region of Sohag in Middle Egypt confirm from 1798 CE to the present day the Nile has migrated to the east (Butzer, 1976). Results from Memphis (ThIP_LE.3) also show an eastern Nile migration (Jeffreys, 1985: 48-51). GoogleEarth Satellite imagery and field surveys can detect movements in the Nile in the Memphite area which suggests the Nile flowed alongside the western margin of the floodplain, having shifted at a rate of up to 9 km per 1000 years/ 9 m per year (Lutley and Bunbury, 2008). Analysis of the channels around the Qamula-Danfiq bend south of Luxor indicate the switching of a river channel around an island (1 km wide) takes approximately 200 years. If island creation takes as long as channel switching, this provides a migration rate on the order of 1 km in 400 years, or 2.5 km per 1000 years. This rate is greater than the 1-2 km per 1000 years suggested in the Sohag region, and the 250 m per 1000 years estimated at Thebes (Karnak) (ThIP_UE.25), and the 1 km per 1000 years near Memphis (ThIP_LE.3) (Hillier, Bunbury and Graham, 2007: 1013). This shows the Nile exhibited a range of morphologies and rates of migration in different regions.

The results from the Theban region show a westward Nile drift (Graham and Bunbury, 2005), while results from the Qamula –Danfiq Bend suggest an eastward shift of the Nile based on a sequence of river levees (Hillier, Bunbury and Graham, 2007) (Figs 1-2). The levees have a width of 500 m giving them a larger cross sectional area than a canal precluding an origin directly related to canal excavations. Five Coptic monasteries located in the Theban area were presumably originally constructed between Constantine's accession and the Arabic conquest (324-640 CE). Backtracking river migration at current rates would place the river at the westernmost levee at that time. If so, the monasteries were originally on a small sliver of land sandwiched between desert and river, separated from the valley floor, giving isolation similar to those built on islands, or in the desert. It was concluded, due to this shift in the Nile that no pre-Christian archaeological sites survive within the Qamula-Danfiq bend due to the lateral movement of the Nile (Hillier, Bunbury and Graham, 2007). To date, there are also no Third Intermediate Period sites attested in the Qamula-Danfiq bend. Surviving archaeological and textual data also give no indication of the possible presence of Third Intermediate Period settlement in this zone either.

In association with the main Nile branch in Upper Egypt was the Bahr Yusef. The Bahr Yusef connected the Nile Valley with the Faiyum depression. The presence of a parallel waterway to the Nile in Middle Egypt is important for understanding the potential landscapes of the Third Intermediate Period in this area. The presence of a parallel waterway to the Nile suggests that in between, a more discrete landscape and settlement network may have developed. The start point of the Bahr Yusef varies according to different geographical writers suggesting a gradual movement upstream over time (Cooper, 2014: 101). The Bahr Yusef ran parallel with the main Nile on its western periphery until it reached Lahun (ThIP_UE.150) (Meffre, 2015: 374, fig.1). From Lahun (ThIP_UE.150), the modern Harawat Canal continues into the Faiyum, very much like it did in ancient times (Cooper, 2014: 101). The presence of settlements bordering the Bahr Yusef such as Oxyrhynchus (ThIP_UE.104) confirms the presence of this waterway in some form during the Third Intermediate Period.

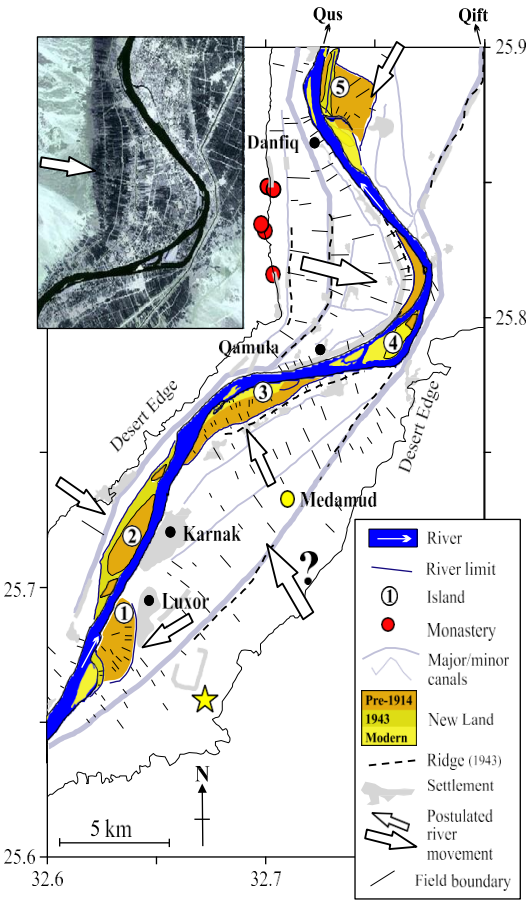


Fig 1. Location of River Levees and Position of Coptic Monasteries in Thebes (Hillier, Bunbury and Graham, 2007: fig. 1).

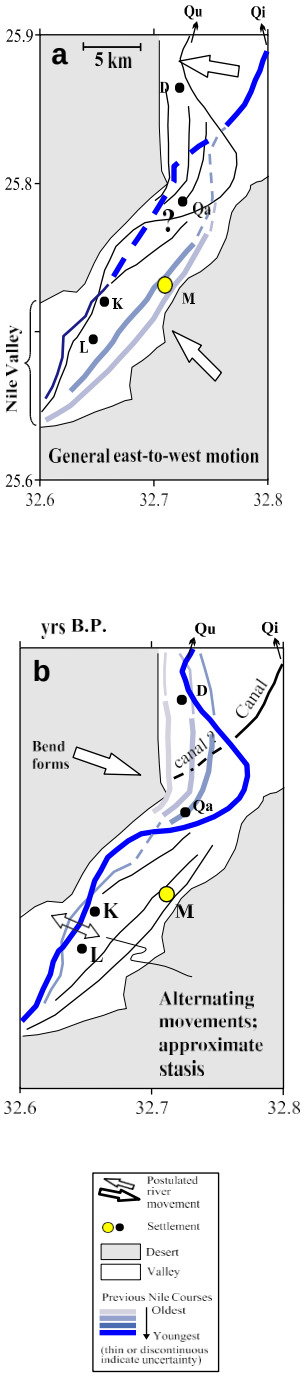


Fig 2. Movement of the Nile in the Theban Region and the Qamula-Danfiq Bend (Hillier, Bunbury and Graham, 2007: fig. 3).

In the Nile Delta, the situation is more complex because of several important river branches, smaller distributaries, and canals, and, as a result, the reconstruction of the floodplain is problematic for any one period, including the Third Intermediate Period. The sections later in Chapter 3 discuss the inter-regional settlement patterns of the Delta and provides a detailed discussion concerning the topography of the Third Intermediate Period Nile Delta to better understand the settlement patterns and connections, with subsequent implications for political socio-economic and land management.

2.4.2 Modern Constraints on, and Changes to the Egyptian Landscape

Cultural processes, which directly resulted in the selective loss of landscape features include, ancient and modern land reclamation projects, later taphonomic developments, sebakhin extraction, and the impact of modern demographics and increasing urbanisation. The following section outlines the problems caused by these processes and discusses their effects on the preservation of the ancient landscape.

2.4.2.1 Land Reclamation

Since the end of the Third Intermediate Period the limits of the cultivable land of the Delta and Nile Valley have been altered drastically by human intervention, although the area of the cultivable floodplain in Upper Egypt at times of reasonably good floods has remained similar to ancient times (Butzer, 1976: 82).

After the Third Intermediate Period, and during the Ptolemaic Period, intensive reclamation projects in the Faiyum as well as at the Delta margins were undertaken under Ptolemy II and Ptolemy III (Butzer, 1976: 92; Westermann, 1917). The introduction of the *Saqiya* (an animal powered water wheel) and the Archimedes screw in the Hellenistic Period caused an increase in the available arable land of the Nile Valley (Butzer, 1976: 82).

The modern process of land reclamation was initiated in the 19th century by Mohammed Ali (Zalla et al., 2000: 9). Initial land reclamation schemes were limited to expanding the cultivable land adjacent to the ancient cultivated borders. Mohammed Ali initiated the digging of new canals which doubled the capacity of the irrigation canals. The cleaning of alluvial mud from the canals regularly allowed perennial irrigation of huge tracts of land in Lower Egypt, where, eventually, the basin systems of irrigation all but disappeared. The area of cultivated land increased between 1813 and the 1830's by around 18% (Fahmy, 1998: 152). The first large scale modern land reclamation projects, focusing on land away from the main river channels, began in 1948 with the Abis Project to the south west of Alexandria (Zalla et al., 2000: 9). After

the Egyptian Revolution in 1952, the new government's policy was one of increased agricultural production through the horizontal expansion and reclamation of desert lands (Adriansen, 2009: 664).

Abdul Nasser launched land reclamation projects to directly address the slow rate of expansion in cultivated land areas in a response to rapid population growth. The department of the Permanent Organization for Land Reclamation established in 1954, and in 1966 along with several other agencies including the Egyptian Authority for the Utilization and Development of Reclaimed Land (EAUDRL) conducted these projects (el-Shakry, 2006: 76). These projects included the 'Tahrir Province Project' (west of the Delta and south of Alexandria) run by Magdi Hassanein in 1952 (el-Shakry, 2006: 76) which reclaimed ca. 78,000 feddan (32,760 ha), (Zalla et al., 2000: 10). Between 1960 to 1970 almost 500,000 feddan (210,000 ha) was brought under cultivation. Most projects from 1952 to 1982, and especially prior to 1973 were conducted on the heavier soils of the northern Delta where the reclamation requirements were drainage and the desalinization of water-logged and saline lands (Zalla et al., 2000: 10). Later, in 1987, the Mubarak Project was initiated in which 80,000 feddans (33,600 ha) of land were reclaimed from the western side of the Delta (Adriansen, 2009: 666; Zalla et al., 2000: 10).

In the 85 years from 1930 to 2015 the FAS Cairo estimates land reclamation efforts in Egypt yielded an additional 2.6 million feddan (1.09 million ha) of agricultural land. This is equivalent to an increase of 44% from 1930 to 2015. In 2009, the Ministry of Agriculture announced a land reclamation goal in which they laid out a plan to reclaim an additional 3 million feddan (1.26 million ha) by 2030. The political and economic situation in 2011 halted this project. In 2014 President Abdel Fattah el-Sisi announced the program would move forward starting with 1.5 million feddan (4,200 ha) near the Oasis of Farafa in the Western Desert (http://gain.fas.usda.gov/Recent%20GAIN%20Publications/Egyptian%20Land%20Reclamation%20Efforts_Cairo_Egypt_5-16-2016.pdf).

The modern reclamation projects have transformed the way in which the Delta and Nile Valley landscapes appear compared to ancient times. They have artificially enlarged the ancient cultivated land boundaries, reclaiming previous marshland and riverine environments, increased crop and fish farming, and reclaimed land for new urban projects. Kom Abu Billo (ThIP_LE.28), Kom el-Hisn (ThIP_LE.23) and Kom el-Abqa'in (ThIP_LE.28) in the western Delta that once bordered the fringes of the desert are now located in newly reclaimed zones of land for farming and urban expansion. Many sites, as well as the agricultural landscape have been lost or reduced in size. The new environmental settings of sites have distorted and removed them from within their original topographical settings, affecting our understanding of the sites' original environmental setting and function. The same criteria apply to eastern Delta sites such as Tell Belim (ThIP_LE.49) and Tell el-Balamun (ThIP_LE.46) that were once located in the marshlands and coastal areas of the Mediterranean Sea. The sites are now located inland in areas of saline march or desalinated

Delta lands which provide a false sense of their original topographic and environmental location.

Valley sites have also been affected by the shifting river channels, overbuilding, and land-grabbing, for example at Hermopolis (ThIP_UE.89), Qaw el-Kebir (Antaeopolis) (ThIP_UE.53), el-Hibeh (ThIP_UE.103), and Shutb (ThIP_UE.79). By reconstructing the approximate boundaries of the Nile Delta and Valley prior to the land reclamation projects begun by Mohamed Ali, the ancient settlements, and their functions, along with the settlement patterns, can be reconstructed more accurately within the contemporary ancient landscape. The cultivatable land boundaries at the time of the Third Intermediate Period were more complex as they are obscured by Ptolemaic-Roman, Late Antique, and modern Egyptian adaptions to both the built and natural environment. The reconstruction of land-use can be no more than an educated guess, but provides a baseline for further analysis of Third Intermediate Period settlements.

2.4.2.2 Sebakhin

The activities of *sebakhin* who extracted vast quantities of mud brick remains from ancient settlements have caused a devastating impact on our understanding of Egyptian sites. *Sebakh* 'manure' is derived from the remains of mud brick buildings, which make up most ancient Egyptian settlement mounds. The bricks are mined out because they are rich in nitrogen from the Nile silt and occupational material from the ancient settlements (Bailey, 1999: 211). The *sebakh* is spread over the fields to enhance the nitrogen levels in the soil, or it was used to create saltpetre in the manufacture of gunpowder. *Sebakh* farming was conducted on a large scale from between 1830 to 1930 after which the digging of mud brick by large industrial companies was officially banned, although mud brick extraction still occurs in the present day, especially in the Nile Delta where settlement mounds are in remote and unprotected areas (Bailey, 1999: 212; Coulson and Leonard, 1982a: 364; Nibbi, 1979). This threat to Egyptian sites was reiterated by Habachi in the mid-20th century:

'Many important ruins have not been excavated, but have been left to the sebakhin who are still very active. Sooner or later these ruins disappear, leaving a few traces or no traces at all of the importance of the old cities they used to represent' (Habachi, 1943: 369).

The Egyptian Antiquities Department, founded in 1858, could not prevent the removal of the *sebakh* and, in some cases, even licensed its extraction (Bailey, 1999: 212). It was not until 1901 that the Antiquities Service presented to the Ministry of Public Works, the Ministry of the Interior, and the Ministry of Finances '*Instructions sur le sébakh*' (Bailey, 1999: 212; Maspero, 1912: 51-3). In 1910, the Ministry of Public Works issued a decree concerning the

removal of *sebakh*, requiring that permission should be sought from the Antiquities Service, which would organise the observation and surveillance of the earth removal on ancient sites (Bailey, 1999: 213). There were 545 tells/koms to which the decree applied and they were arranged by inspectorates and districts from the Delta to Aswan. Most of the sites were in the Delta, Middle Egypt and the Faiyum and only a few were in Upper Egypt (Bailey, 1999: 213; Maspero, 1912: 310-11). By the time the new regulations were enacted the mounds at some sites had already been largely removed, for example at Sais (ThIP_LE.19), Sakha (ThIP_LE.22) and Naukratis. The work continued at others, although with supervision from regional inspectors such as Georges Daressy who documented his work at these sites in the *Annales du Service des Antiquités de l'Égypte* from 1893 to 1930.

2.4.2.3 Modern Urbanisation

The urban demography of Egypt in the modern era has had an impact on the preservation of ancient sites. The population of Egypt in 1897 was approximately 10 million, and grew at a slow rate of 1.3% per annum from 1897 to 1947, but accelerated to around 2.5% from 1950 to 1970 (Awad and Zohary, 2005). Following the Second World War, there was a new era of accelerated growth in urbanisation. The population of people living in cities in 1910 was 10% and by 1975, had increased to 30%. From 2010 to 2015 the annual urban population growth was 1.7%, while the rural population growth was 1.6%, with an overall urban population in 2014 of 43.1% (http://data.un.org/CountryProfile.aspx?crName=egypt). Egypt and the Arab world is now the most urbanized global region after Latin America (Ibrahim, 1975: 33). The growth in population was due to a natural increase within the cities themselves and the migration of people from rural to semi-rural areas. Improved medical technology from Western Europe lead to a steady decline in mortality, but left fertility rates at high levels (Ibrahim, 1975: 35). From 1975 to 1980 fertility rates increased to 2.5%, and then 2.6% in 1980 to 1985. Between 2010 to 2015 there was an annual population growth of 1.6% with approximate population density of 83.3 people per km^2 (http://data.un.org/CountryProfile.aspx?crName=egypt). Egypt is now the most populated Arab country with a population of around 83 million people in 2015 (http://data.un.org/CountryProfile.aspx?crName=egypt) growing by 1.76% each year. The population is set to rise to 150 million by the year 2050, with continued growth through the end of the century.

Egypt's total land area is 995,450 km^2, but only 3.6% is arable land. (http://gain.fas.usda.gov/Recent%20GAIN%20Publications/Egyptian%20Land%20Reclamation%20Efforts_Cairo_Egypt_5-16-2016.pdf). As the rural population grows this places pressures on the available amounts of cultivable land despite the numerous land reclamation policies.

Urban populations have grown, and from 1984 to 2007 the rate of urban encroachment on arable lands was 13,000 hectares per year and, since January 2011, this has increased to 21,000 hectares per year. The lack of habitable space in the floodplain has caused many modern settlements to encroach upon the ancient sites in search for available land, further affecting the original setting and the preservation of the sites within their associated landscapes.

2.4.3 Concept of Site

To progress to the discussion of settlements and how they have been recognised within the Egyptian archaeological record, it is first necessary to understand what constitutes a site, as this has implications for survey and artefact find-spot data. Site identification creates a baseline for the different types of empirical data analysed for the Third Intermediate Period.

Archaeologists have long considered the concept of site within archaeology. The designers of regional surveys have each defined the concept of what constitutes a site, as this is commonly a unit, if not the unit of analysis. Explicit definitions of what sites were was routinely lacking until the mid-20th century, because specialists largely assumed archaeologists knew what sites were, and the notion need only be explained to non-archaeologists. Sites can be defined as '*any place, large or small where there are to be found traces of activity, where artefacts were present*' (Hole and Heizer, 1973: 86-7). The site was recognised as an empirical unit, offering the site as a special cluster of cultural features or items, or both (Binford, 1964: 431). The formal characteristics of a site are defined by its form, context, and the spatial and associated structure of the population's cultural items and features present.

There are two contrasting extreme views of the concept of site; some archaeologists view sites as composing the entirety of the archaeological record, with the areas in between them constituting archaeological voids. On the other hand, sites are only one manifestation of archaeological remains, appearing as high-densities of artefacts to be distinguished from off-site areas of low density (Dunnell, 1992: 22). The site as an empirical notion was discarded by Dunnell (1922) in favour of a site-less concept of the archaeological record which views an artefact as the basic unit of observation in a world of varying concentrations of artefacts on or near the surface. Most definitions of site recognize a site as a valid empirical unit expressed as a spatial phenomenon. A site is a finitely bounded place though often its extent is difficult to determine (Trampier, 2010: 10). There are seven different demarcations of site category outlined by Tainter (1983) (Table 3).

Demarcation	Description
Behavioural	Any locus intentionally used by human populations.
Arbitrary	A place which meets the criteria of (artefact) density or presence.
Inclusive	Any archaeological manifestation, including isolated items or activity.
Research potential	A place whose information potential cannot be fully explored at the time of discovery.
Research Objectives	Varies with the research goals of different projects.
Content-based	Excludes or include sites based on a list of conditions.
Density-based	Varies with local abundance, i.e. if there are fewer archaeological materials, requirements are lower and a greater proportion of sites are recorded.

Table 3. The seven demarcations of site category outlined by Tainter (1983).

These definitions of site may not be inclusive or sensitive enough, however, particularly in areas of low artefact density. They are not operationalized or consistently defined for heritage managers and rely too much on the arbitrary definitions of the person classifying the areas (Tainter, 1983). The concept of site within Egyptology has gradually developed from a monument or hole from which curios and antiquities were extracted, to become valued in the social, scientific, and cultural aspects of the ancient Mediterranean world (Trampier, 2010: 15-49). Over time Egyptian sites have become legal entities whose boundaries are continually negotiated and at times reified by Egyptologists, and government officials. By the mid-20th century, academic methods of site recording and mapping accommodated questions concerning short- and long-term dynamic human and environmental processes, questions which necessitated tighter spatial control of artefacts, deposits, and measurements (Trampier, 2010: 41). Sites, or more properly archaeological lands have only recently emerged in the bureaucratic sphere as a spatial entity bounded on cadastral maps and established by decree (Trampier, 2010: 41). The potential parameters and problems for understanding sites in Egypt can be illustrated in the following ways, such as fragmented landscapes, off-site surveys, and site size.

2.4.3.1 Issues with Fragmented Landscapes

The impact of the *sebakhin* and the land reclamation projects discussed earlier (Sections 2.4.2.1 and 2.4.2.2) was to fragment ancient sites into smaller units which may have once formed part of the same politically administered area, or constituted elements of the same site. This has

occurred mainly in the Nile Delta, for example Tell Gadiya, which once belonged to the tell of Leontopolis (ThIP_LE.39) is now a small, disconnected mound (http://www.deltasurvey.ees.ac.uk/gadiya.html). Land fragmentation therefore poses a problem in constructing regional site densities, whereby large sites could have had satellite elements, on the same tell area, or associated hinterland. Equally, Tell Gadiya could have been part of the same urban area of Leontopolis which was spatially disengaged and fragmented due to modern *sebakhin* or land reclamation activity. This identifies the problem of quantifying such sites as they may distort the real number of settlements in an area. Tell Gadiya may indicate nome centres had districts and subsidiary elements around them, when and where the landscape permitted.

Sites may have comprised districts or multiple differently named areas designated in the literature as appearing to be separate settlement locations, which cannot be defined as they have not yet been located archaeologically. Sites may have had multiple different topographical designations associated with them and were not designated by a single toponym, for example Edfu (ThIP_UE.8) is referred to as both Djebau and Behedet on the 21st Dynasty Onomasticon of Amenemope.

Site names can change over time. The 'Five Great Fortresses of the Sherden' changed to the 'Five Great Fortress of the Ma' based on a new political order at the start of the 22nd Dynasty (Jansen-Winklen, 2006b: 308-10). Different scribes may have recorded the same place but spelled them differently using different phonetic signs. Sites may be abbreviated and given informal names or regional dialects in non-administrative texts. Religious texts may refer to sites differently using sacred toponyms, or using names for sacred areas as the name of the whole site. This means there can be a miss-match between site survey data, ancient site-complexes, and between textually attested, and archaeological 'sites'.

2.4.3.2 'Off-Site' Surveys

Off-site surveys have been used effectively in Mesopotamian landscape archaeology (Ur, 2002a). They have allowed for the assessment of landscape phenomena, the degree of population concentration, and the intensity of agricultural and pastoral land use in between nucleated tell sites particularly of the Early Bronze Age. The assumption that any artefact scatter represented a settlement or tomb, is a historical by-product, the details of which are only known through excavation (Wright, 2004: 118).

Off-site surveys entail walking systematic transects between sites or grid patterns of sample points. Through the collection of field scatters and pinpointing minor artefact scatters, off-site surveys have enabled survey data in North Mesopotamia to be compared with intensive

survey data from around the Mediterranean (Wilkinson, Ur and Casana, 2004: 192). Early Bronze Age sites in Mesopotamia are surrounded by low density scatters of abraded artefacts classified as field scatters. These scatters are interpreted as the result of agricultural intensification in which settlement derived debris was spread on fields around the settlement as manure in attempts to increase crop yields (Ur, 2002b; Wilkinson, 1982; Wilkinson, Ur and Casana, 2004: 193). Off-site surveys preserve traces of ancient road systems radiating out of tell sites that connected them with their satellite sites, as well as their associated agricultural and pasture land (Ur, 2003; Wilkinson, 1993; Wilkinson, Ur and Casana, 2004: 192-3).

Conducting off-site surveys in Egypt is problematic due to the nature of the post-depositional effects of the sedimentation of the Nile and the spreading of *sebakh*-waste on the surrounding agricultural land. The Egypt Exploration Society (EES) Delta Survey utilized this material culture sampling strategy and has produced good results for the chronology of some Delta sites. Caution must be applied to the assumption that there is a relationship between what is found on the surface and what is below the ground. This may be the case in European and American field survey, but the taphonomic nature of site development in Egypt means correlating what is found in surface survey and what is beneath the ground can be problematic.

Studies have shown fieldwalking on tell sites and surface collections of sherds are biased in favour of later periods (Miller-Rosen, 1986: 52; Tassie and Owens, 2010: 113), unless sites were abandoned at specific periods and never resettled. The under-representation of the earlier periods and over-representation of the later periods can be slightly mitigated by scraping the surface by 50 mm to collect potsherds (Miller-Rosen, 1986: 51; Tassie and Owens, 2010: 113), although the earlier dated sherds will only be expected if the level of occupations is less than 0.5 m from the surface. The interpretation of site signatures from disturbed contexts, such as ploughzones (where the top 0.3 m of archaeology is destroyed), provides other biases (Steinberg, 1996; Tassie and Owens, 2010: 113). Those artefacts and sherds found in plough soil will only represent between 0.3% and 15% (usually ca. 5-6%) of the artefacts present at a site. The conduction of fieldwalking must complement this by exploratory excavation techniques if the site is to be assessed for its archaeological potential, and site stratigraphy (Tassie and Owens, 2010: 113). The presence of surface pottery only indicates a site was active at a certain point in time during the Third Intermediate Period, or any period, but it is not possible to ascertain what level of occupation there was, or whether it was expansive, long-term human habitation, or a small area and short-time nomadic activity. The current state of the pottery studies further compounds the problem. Without explicit reference to royal objects associated with the assemblages, the close dating of Third Intermediate Period pottery to dynasties or reigns is difficult to establish. The reuse of monuments can create an effect of a false-positive of a site chronology. Monuments created at earlier points in time with earlier royal names, and those of private individuals were sometimes transported to other sites to

embellish new settlements and create the false impression of royal and monumental activity at sites which were founded at later dates. The classic cases are the transfer of the monuments of the Ramesside capital at Qantir (ThIP_LE.48) to Tanis (ThIP_LE.50), and the reuse of pharaonic monuments at Alexandria (Abdel-Fattah, 2002).

2.4.3.3 Tell Formation

The nature of tell formation and the subsequent taphonomic developments such as biological, chemical, and mechanical destruction prompted by both human and climatic factors have had an impact on the post-depositional processes that have effected how we interpret tell development and stratigraphic preservation (Tassie and Owens, 2010: 113). Tell sites can be equated with major 'settlements', and provided prominent and immobile features of the landscape even after they had been abandoned. The taphonomic development of tell sites can affect the way in which site chronologies are obtained. Tells are the long-term effect of repeated human occupation on a single site, with composite occupation strata, destruction levels and naturally deposited sediments (Redman and Watson, 1970: 280; Tassie and Owens, 2010: 112). They represent multiple, partly superimposed settlement phases. After the Third Intermediate Period, new occupations of the Late Period, Ptolemaic-Roman, and Late Antique period partially, or totally cover Third Intermediate Period levels, so that only a small percentage of surface deposits are visible and available for analysis, providing a reduced data area for interpretation such as at Buto (ThIP_LE.20), Sais (ThIP_LE.19) and Dendara (ThIP_UE.33). This scenario is especially prevalent on tell sites in Egypt, as surrounding floodplain limits occupation space, forcing later occupations to build on top of the earlier periods.

The partial or complete levelling of previous structures, entire tell surfaces, pit digging which interferes with the underlying stratigraphic matrix, and irregular rebuilding phases create a smaller horizontal area over time as the tell gets taller (Tassie and Owens, 2010: 112-3). The building material used on tells is predominately mud brick with some fired brick from the Ptolemaic-Roman period, and stone is used for temples and tombs. The mud brick structures are mixed in with redeposited silts, stratified settlement deposits and the debris of their own collapse and decay. Other depositional and erosional processes in operation since the end of the Third Intermediate Period include erosion of tell surface and, climatic effects. Tell sites in Egypt are exposed to wind, rainfall, ground water, and humidity which are the most destructive natural threats for mudbrick (Miller-Rosen, 1986; Tassie and Owens, 2010: 114). These factors have eroded tell sites so many are now reduced to the modern ground level (Spencer, A.J., 1994: 318; Tassie and Owens, 2010: 114). The gradual deposition of alluvial sediments around the bases of tells, particularly those in the Delta has raised the surrounding ground level. Since the construction of the Aswan High Dam in the 1960's these sedimentation levels have probably

reduced. The full horizontal and vertical limits of tells are visually obscured by the modern flood plain, but can be assessed through non-invasive methods such as magnetometry and coring.

2.4.3.4 Site Size

One of the most important types of information collected for the analysis of site distributions, which leads to a better understanding of settlement patterns, is an estimate of the overall size of each site. The larger the site area was, should indicate its position within the hierarchical system of political and economically important settlements. Rank size estimates are one of the critical initial steps of analysis necessary before more sophisticated levels of distributional analysis can be conducted (Hodder and Orton, 1976: 69-73). The problem of site area sizes distorts the documentation of regional settlement systems, which can be observed in Aegean settlement pattern studies (Wright, 2004: 118).

Drill augering in conjunction with local ceramic and material culture datasets can be used to define the horizontal limit and the vertical depth of the longevity of the occupation of a site. This approach is demonstrated at Buto (ThIP_LE.20) through a long-term drill coring program which provided good results regarding the accumulation of different activity phases (Hartung et al., 2009).

The ancient landscapes in Egypt are not as well preserved as those in Mesopotamia and the Aegean. The same detailed analysis as performed for Mesopotamian and Aegean landscape studies is not possible, so expectations of what can be achieved in Egypt are lower. The Third Intermediate Period evidence at this moment regarding settlement pattern studies, can only provide a broad indication of the chronological range of all sites. Better-defined and specific diagnostic ceramic forms, more complete stratigraphic records of individual sites, and individual and restricted time phases based on artefact analysis, are required to define dynastic attributions for most sites in this study. For the purposes of Chapters 3, the analysis will focus on the settlement distribution for the Third Intermediate Period within a geographical and regional context rather than detailed intra site comparisons. Intra-site comparisons are discussed in Chapter 4 using a well-defined chronological group of sites to assess the development of the built environments of different settlements in different geographical and political regions.

2.4.3.5 Defining a ‘site’ for this thesis

Each project defines a ‘site’ based on the research questions being asked and dataset available. This thesis defines ‘site’ by the presence of physical material culture and textual evidence of

human habitation and occupation activity, whether this was for short or sustained periods of time. Activity can be conducted at the domestic, administrative, military, cultic, or funerary level.

2.4.4 Creating the Third Intermediate Period Site Corpus

With the concept of site established and the problems inherent in acquiring the data examined, the thesis will describe and then evaluate survey data, archaeological excavation reports, and texts in order to assess the nature of the data source material to be used to compile a Third Intermediate Period site corpus, presented in its entirety in Appendix I. The evidence is analysed to determine the potential for conducting landscape archaeology. The spatial placements of sites are mapped and settlement nomenclature analysed to understand: the nature of settlement placing in the Third Intermediate Period landscape; the extent to which this was the same as, or different to the New Kingdom; the reasons behind potential changes; and what this tells us regarding the socio-economic and political culture of the period.

2.4.4.1 Survey Data

Archaeological surveys in Egypt since 1798 have contributed different sets of information and types of date. The most important surveys are discussed below along with their contributions to the corpus used in this study. In 1798 Napoleon conquered Egypt. The subsequent expedition of the savants led to the creation of the multi-volume *Description de l'Égypte*. It mapped the political condition *(État modern*), natural history (*Histoire Naturelle*), and antique wonders of Egypt (*Antiquités Memoires and Antiquités Descriptions*) for a European audience (Trampier, 2010: 15). The push to sketch the monuments of Egypt, and to combine all elements of the Egyptian cultural and natural worlds, was an effort to catalogue the possessions of the French Empire (Rodenbeck, 2002). The task of the savants to document the entire country were broad in their efforts and relied upon the compilation of cartographic maps and plans from limited, ground based measurements (Trampier, 2010: 15). The plates in the catalogue positioned toponyms on maps with special attention to their biblical and classical connotations, with the savants building on earlier traveller's accounts. Ancient sites were documented as '*Ruines de…*' with their approximate position recorded on a regional map at 1:100,000 scale, or larger. Most details were rendered in impressionistic fashion as if they were viewed from the ground. Temple walls, columns, pylons, modern houses, and debris mounds were plotted with the aid of Gunter's chains and a plane table. These surveying tools were in common use by the 19th century (Trampier, 2010: 15-16).

A result of Napoleon's campaign was the discovery of the Rosetta Stone, a bilingual inscription which played a role in Jean-François Champollion's (1790-1832 CE) decipherment of the Egyptian scripts. Most texts were not repositories of esoteric knowledge but dealt with historical, administrative, and secular matters, and routine aspects of religious cults (Trigger, 2006: 68). Champollion and Ippolito Rosellini (1800-1843 CE), in 1828 to 1829, and Karl Lepsius (1810-1884 CE), between 1849 to 1859, led further expeditions to Egypt to record the temples, tombs, and the monumental inscriptions associated with them (Trigger, 2006: 68).

John Gardner Wilkinson visited Egypt in 1821 a year before Champollion and remained in Egypt for the next 12 years. Wilkinson visited many sites and copied the inscriptions and scenes. Much of his archive still awaits evaluation by scholars. Consulting Wilkinson's copies have solved many problems as they show the monuments as they were between 1821 to 1856. Many of the Theban non-royal tombs since Wilkinson's recording have been damaged or destroyed, while others including entire tombs, still await publication, or are now inaccessible (Baines and Malek, 2000: 107). Later, between 1905 to 1907 James Breasted (1865-1935 CE) extended the recording of monuments and texts throughout Nubia (Trigger, 2006: 68).

The British Survey of Egypt from 1898 to 1948 was a systematic cadastral survey of the countryside. The main purpose was to gain topographic data for tax revenues from the agricultural economy base of the country (Murray, 1950). The ruins, tells and other ancient features were demarcated and labelled and placed on the maps, which varied in scale from 1:500 to 1:250,000 from 1903 to 1947. These maps remain the authoritative source for identifying, naming, and delineating archaeological sites in Egypt. In the 20th century the *Service d'Antiquities* implemented the policy of mapping out site boundaries with reference to the Survey of Egypt maps (Trampier, 2010: 34).

In the late 19th and early 20th century the Egypt Exploration Fund (EEF), later to become the Egypt Exploration Society (EES) conducted rescue excavations and survey work at sites which were disappearing because of the *sebakh* mining and the agricultural expansion in the Nile Delta (Wilson and Grigoropoulos, 2009: 3). Naville (Spencer, N., 2007: 1-31) and Petrie (Spencer, P., 2007: 33-65) worked at Nebesheh (ThIP_LE.47), Tanis (ThIP_LE.50), and Naukratis, mainly because of the Biblical or Classical connections of sites and possibilities of funding for the work. George Hogarth visited sites in the Kafr el-Sheikh province which were mentioned on papyri and in classical sources. Many sites were inaccessible due to the marshlands surrounding them (Hogarth, 1904; Wilson and Grigoropoulos, 2009: 3).

In the Delta, there was infrequent archaeological interest in survey work until relatively modern times. The local offices of the Egyptian Antiquities Organisation (EAO) (later the Supreme Council of Antiquities / (SCA), and now the Ministry of State for Antiquities / (MSA)) conducted a large amount of work in the Delta reported through the *Annales du Service des Antiquités de l'Égypte*. A survey of the Western Delta to identify ancient sites was conducted by

André Bernand (1970) using cartographic and Ptolemaic-Roman lexicographical sources. Toponyms mentioned in Christian and Islamic sources of the Arab period were studied by Stefan Timm (1984-1992).

The archaeological and geological survey of the Austrian-German team at Tell el-Daba (ThIP_LE.71) / Qantir (ThIP_LE.48) demonstrated that detailed regional survey alongside geological work could result in the identification of important buried archaeological strata (Bietak, 1975). Since Bietak's work at Tell el-Daba (ThIP_LE.71) /Qantir (ThIP_LE.48) in 1975, archaeological surveys have shown the archaeological potential of the Delta sites. Surveys were conducted in the Western Delta at Naukratis and its surrounding hinterland (Coulson, 1988, 1996; Coulson and Leonard, 1979; 1982a; 1982b; Coulson, Leonard and Wilkie, 1982). The University of Liverpool surveyed an area in Sharqiya province, around the modern city of Zagazig (Snape, 1986). Surface surveys in Sharqiya province were conducted by the University of Amsterdam directed by Van den Brink (1987; 1988) in a 30 km square area around Qantir (ThIP_LE.48). This survey produced good results for the Predynastic/Early Dynastic Periods and the New Kingdom. The Italian Archaeological Mission of the C.S.R.L.-Venice in 1987 to the Eastern Delta surveyed from Mendes (ThIP_LE.38) and Gezhira Sangaha to Tanis (ThIP_LE.50) (Chlodnicki, Fattovich and Salvatori, 1992). In the easternmost part of the Delta, especially the coastal area by the mouth of the Pelusiac Branch forty sites were surveyed from different periods by a French mission interested in the Eastern Frontier (Valbelle et al., 1992). In the central Delta, as part of the Buto (ThIP_LE.20) concession, Ballet and Von der Way visited and conducted a pottery survey from nearby sites (Ballet and Von der Way, 1993). At Mendes (ThIP_LE.38), SPOT (System pour l'observation de la Terre), a remote sensing multispectral imaging technology, was utilised to determine the settlement patterns in the surrounding area and to locate buried tell sites with positive results (Brewer et al., 1996). Remote sensing assisted survey techniques were used to understand the geology and hydrology in the south-western Delta (Trampier, 2009; 2010; 2014; Trampier et al., 2013). In the modern province of Beheira 63 sites were surveyed (Kenawi, 2014), with further survey work in the region of Lake Mareotis to the west of Alexandria and along the northern coast (Blue and Khalil, 2011).

In the eastern Delta, the Polish archaeological survey in the Sharqiya governate built upon the previous work by the University of Amsterdam, the C.S.R.L. Venice, and the University of Liverpool by surveying Tell el-Murra and the surrounding hinterland (Jucha and Buszek, 2011; Jucha et al., 2010). In 2006, the EAIS GIS project was established and the 'GIS Center' became an official department within the Ministry of State for Antiquities (MSA). This department collected and analysed spatial data of all registered archaeological sites in Egypt. The database contained the information on the location, legal status, archaeological contents, and current threats to the sites. So far two volumes have been published, those of the Sharqiya province and Rosetta (http://giscenter.gov.eg/home). The Egypt Exploration Society's

comprehensive Delta Survey Project begun in 1997-98 was developed by Jeffrey Spencer as a way of collating a photographic, bibliographic, and descriptive catalogue of Delta sites (Wilson, 1998). The project makes the information available to researchers and archaeologists by a dedicated website (www.ees.ac.uk/deltasurvey/ds-home.html) (Wilson and Grigoropoulos, 2009: 4). The aim of the project was to focus on the inspection of remote or less well-known sites, identified from various editions of the Survey of Egypt maps (Spencer, A.J., and Spencer, P., 2000: 25). As a first stage of information gathering, visits were made to ascertain if the sites still existed and then the survey teams assessed their current size, the nature (and if possible the date) of archaeological deposits, at least on the surface layer, and any other ancillary information from local sources (Spencer, A.J., and Spencer, P., 2000: 26). So far, hundreds of sites have been documented in the Beheira, Kafr el-Sheikh, Minufiyeh, Daqhaliya, Qalubiya and Sharqiya provinces and more are regularly added to the Delta Survey online database (Rowland, 2007; Rowland and Billing, 2006; Rowland and Spencer, 2011; Rowland and Wilson, 2006: 1-13; Rowland et al., 2009; Spencer, A.J., 2002a: 6-7; Wilson, 2003: 1-8).

In Middle Egypt, Parcak (2006: 57) conducted a remote sensing and coring survey in the area around Amarna (ThIP_UE.88) locating 37 previously unknown sites and potential ancient river courses.

Modern survey methods are utilized within Egyptology to complement traditional non-destructive techniques. The methods include geophysical survey and remote sensing using satellite imagery along with drill auger coring. Geophysical surveys have been used widely in Egypt at different sites types (Herbich, 2003) and the magnetic method has been successful at defining site plans at the upper levels (Herbich, 2012a: 11). This is due to the presence of magnetic iron oxides in the Nile silt, which was the primary building material in the Nile Valley and Delta (Herbich, 2012a: 11). Archaeologists have been able to access the remains and extents of buried settlements in the Delta (Deletie, Lemoine and Montluçon, 1989; Herbich, 2004; 2012b; 2013; Herbich and Hartung, 2004; Pavlish, 2004; Pavlish, Mumford and D'Andrea, 2003; Pusch, Becker and Fassbinder, 1999a; Spencer, A.J., 2011) the Faiyum (Herbich, 2001; Herbich and Richards, 2006; Hussain, 1983), and the Oases (Herbich and Smekalova, 2001; Smekalova, Mills and Herbich, 2003).

Remote sensing surveys using satellite imagery (CORONA, Landsat, SPOT (System pour l'observation de la Terre), Shuttle Imaging RADAR-C (SIR-C), X-Band Shuttle Aperture RADAR (X-SAR) and multispectral and high-resolution satellite images (Parcak, 2004) as well as open source software such as GoogleEarth (Parcak, 2009) can trace defunct waterways and define topographical features on the ground including ancient buildings and settlements concealed by the alluvium and sand. They can be used to track the rate of site destruction due to population growth, urban expansion, and looting (Parcak, 2007). Auger boring has been used in conjunction with these new methods to access the vertical stratigraphy of the settlements

underneath the Nile alluvium and the desert sands to provide taphonomic data as to how these sites developed as well as associated hydrological information (Hoffman, Hamroush and Allen, 1986: 181; Jeffreys and Malek, 1988: 19-23; Von der Way, 1984: 297-328; 1986: 191-212). Early results from Electrical Resistance Tomography and Ground Penetrating Radar at Thebes (Karnak Waterways Project) (Bunbury and Graham, 2005; Bunbury, Graham and Hunter, 2008; Graham, 2010) and Quesna (Rowland and Strutt, 2012) suggests that combinations of techniques can build up palaeo-topographies into which archaeological data can be fitted.

The resulting body of data provides a good framework of sites within their modern and sometimes ancient topographical contexts.

2.4.4.2 Excavation Reports and Artefacts

A comprehensive dataset from excavation reports and artefacts was collected for the settlement data in this thesis from sources produced between 1809-2015. The *Annales du Service des Antiquités de l'Égypte* (*ASAE*) journal documents archaeological work conducted in Egypt since 1900 and includes site reports and surveys. Third Intermediate Period monuments and object locations from prior to 1952 that had secure provenance were collected from the published volumes of the Topographical Bibliography of Ancient Egyptian Hieroglyphic Texts, Statues, Reliefs and Paintings (Volumes I-VII) (from now on PM) (Porter and Moss (1927; 1929; 1931; 1934; 1937; 1939; 1951). Volume VIII of PM includes un-provenanced objects, some of which have suggested original find-spots, while others document toponyms (Malek, 1999).

Many excavations and site reports by the Supreme Council of Antiquities (SCA, now Ministry of State for Antiquities MSA) are not published but are documented in the journal *Orientalia*. Finally, a comprehensive assessment of currently published excavation reports through the 'Online Egyptological Bibliography' (OEB) which includes the Annual Egyptological Bibliography (AEB) from 1947 to 2001 and Bibliographie Altägypten (BA) from 1822 to 1946 completed the archaeological data set from excavations.

2.4.4.3 Textual Evidence

The survey and archaeological data outlined above is supplemented by texts found both on papyrus documents from the period, as well as royal, private, and administrative texts from monuments. Several texts from the Third Intermediate Period which specifically document toponyms are utilised in this study.

1) The Onomasticon of Amenemope (*On.Am.*): is preserved on nine papyrus copies and dates to the 21st Dynasty (Gardiner: 1947; Herbin, 1986). The Golénischeff Onomasticon, found at el-Hibeh in Middle Egypt, is the most complete version and preserves a list of settlements, cultic locations, geographical regions, river branches, and quarries in the Nile Valley, but becomes less clear when describing the Delta. The text provides a detailed picture of the most important sites and locations at the outset of the 21st Dynasty. The text provides a view of the changing politico-economic structure of the country and creates a topographical skeleton to which additional archaeological and textual data can be added to assess future developments and interregional settlement systems. The text provides an image of how Egypt was visualised in geographical terms by a scribe from Thebes or el-Hibeh. The text addresses the issue of local and regional perspectives, albeit regionally biased.

2) Cairo Block JE 39410: found at Heracleopolis and dates to the reign of Shoshenq I (Jansen-Winkeln, 2007b: 4-7, no. 15; Meffre, 2010: 221-234; 2015: 48-63, no. 7; Ritner, 2009b: 180-6; Tresson, 1935-1938). This temple block was inscribed in hieroglyphs and documents in cadastral style, individuals, settlements, and institutions required to offer sacrificial bulls to the temple of Heryshef at Heracleopolis. Cairo Block JE 39410 is the most important source for the Heracleopolitan region which shows different regional site types.

3) Land Registers: related to the land holdings of the Theban temples in the 10th Upper Egyptian nome include the 21st/22nd Dynasty Papyrus Reinhardt (Vleeming, 1993) and Papyrus Louvre AF (*P.Louvre AF*) 6345 dated at the earliest to either the reign of Ramesses IX or Ramesses XI (Gasse, 1988: 23), although the palaeography is closer to administrative documents of the 21st Dynasty (Gasse, 1988: 50) hence its inclusion in this study. These documents demonstrate a link between the Theban temples and other nomes in an economic context. For this study, they include several settlements of the 10th Upper Egyptian nome, which is poorly represented in the wider archaeological evidence.

4) Land donation stelae: record gifts of land to temples and their personnel and provide historical and economic information over and above their significance for the study of Egyptian cults and religious concepts (Kitchen, 1969-70: 59). Many of these stelae not only have dates, which aid in the chronological debate for the period, but they provide a wealth of knowledge regarding the toponyms, including obscure examples active during the Third Intermediate Period, and evidence for land administration.

5) The 25th Dynasty Piankhy Stela (Cairo Museum JE 48862, 47086-47089): records the conquest of Egypt by the Nubian king Piankhy in his 21st regnal year (Goedicke, 1998; Grimal, 1981; Jansen-Winkeln, 2007b: 337-350; Meffre, 2015: 143-150, doc. 56). The stela documents 69 toponyms, locations, or geographical areas. The text, due to the historical situation, focused on settlement locations in Middle Egypt and the Delta. The most important political and strategical locations are recorded, and the text omits most smaller and more obscure locations that must have been encountered on his conquest of the Nile Valley and Delta.

6) The Records of Assyria: from the reigns of Esharhaddon and Ashurbanipal document several politically and strategically important settlements in Egypt at the end of the Third Intermediate Period. The texts record the most important Delta sites like the Piankhy Stela before. Verreth (1999) has provided detailed discussions regarding the identification of these Assyrian toponyms with important Egyptian political centres.

The data collected from archaeological and textual evidence represents a large corpus of different kinds and resolutions of data concerning Third Intermediate Period occupation at sites in both the Delta and Nile Valley. The combination of these data sets has created a comprehensive amount of material concerning the Third Intermediate Period found in Egypt from 1809 to 2015, which can be used to analyse both the settlement patterns and the way in which Third Intermediate Period settlements developed.

2.4.5 Evaluation and Quantification of the Site Data

This section demonstrates the considerable gaps in our knowledge regarding the nomes of Egypt during the Third Intermediate Period, as well as the considerable variability in the available data. The data comprises royal and elite monuments, archaeological excavations and administrative and literary documents which directly or indirectly record location toponyms relating to human activity. This section assesses the quality of the data sets which provide a representative sample of sites for Upper and Lower Egypt documented in Appendix I. This is conducted to make a balanced critique of the ways in which the data can and cannot be used in order assess settlement patterns, and different political and socio-economic themes in both the Nile Delta and Valley.

2.4.5.1 Text Based vs Archaeological Data

The partial nature of the Third Intermediate Period evidence highlights the problem of interpreting texts in which only one sector of society is literate. The texts were recorded by the hand of the state, the ruling authorities, or the literate elites. These texts have imparted a bias to the written record (Wilkinson, 2003: 8) and economic or political factors may have been the reason for their creation. A further problem in assessing regional site densities and changes over time in the development of settlement patterns and relational networks is that some place names survive over long periods, while others change based on political, religious, and economic influences, and can be hard to track, or even mistaken for new locations.

Toponyms recorded in texts are presumed to be active prior to their documentation. Locations recorded on monuments, or in texts, unless explicitly stated as being new foundations of a monarch such as Per Sekhemkheperre (ThIP_UE.157) (The House of Osorkon I), are older than the earliest recorded spellings. The sites recorded on Papyrus Louvre AF 6345 (21st Dynasty), Papyrus Reinhardt (late 21st to 22nd Dynasty) and Cairo JE 39410 (22nd Dynasty) will have been active prior to their first recorded spelling, but how earlier is as yet unknown. Sites known exclusively from texts and monuments have the possibility of being older than the first attested textual attestation or monument attribution, unless further archaeological evidence can be used to fill in the chronological gaps and provide evidence of the earliest occupation levels independent of the monuments and texts.

The distribution of settlements based on the different document types raises elements of document bias. Those settlements documented on the 25th Dynasty Piankhy Stela and the Assyrian campaign inscriptions are connected with important centres of military infrastructure and strategic importance. Those listed on the Onomasticon of Amenemope are related to the economic and administrative system, while those recorded on the Cairo JE 39410 are linked with obligations to the local cult centre of Heryshef at Heracleopolis (ThIP_UE.107). The recorded texts and sites have different biases, but as a collective they suggest different levels of settlement 'importance'. The preservation of site types recorded in the texts depends on the individuals or institutions own bias for their recording. In comparison, archaeological data, removes the categories of bias found in texts, but archaeological data reflects a bias to site preservation rates.

To provide a meaningful comparison of regional site densities for the Third Intermediate Period, a representative sample of New Kingdom sites was collected utilising the same methodology as the Third Intermediate Period site collection. The New Kingdom site corpus is presented in Appendix II. In total, 241 Third Intermediate Period sites in Upper and Lower Egypt are documented from both textual and archaeological data. 109 sites (45.23 % of the Upper and Lower Egyptian corpus) cannot yet be equated with modern Arabic toponyms

and are only mentioned in texts, while 54.67% can be equated with modern toponyms and are in geographically fixed locations.

2.4.5.2 Upper Egypt

Upper Egypt has 158 (65.56% of the total) known Third Intermediate Period sites (Table 4, Fig. 3). 53.16 % of Third Intermediate Period Upper Egyptian sites are not equated with modern Arabic toponyms. 17.72 % of textually attested toponyms come from the 10th Upper Egyptian nome. 25.95 % of textual attested toponyms come from the Heracleopolitan / Faiyum region.

These figures show an under-representation of the real situation regarding settlements in general. They may reflect the interest in what was worth recording. Military locations are almost exclusively known from texts with most not found archaeologically, especially in the border regions in the 10th Upper Egyptian Nome and those clustering in the Heracleopolitan / Faiyum region. The cadastral lists of Papyrus Louvre AF 6345 (Gasse, 1988), Papyrus Reinhardt (Vleeming, 1993) and Cairo JE 39410 create a textual over-representation in the 10th Upper Egyptian Nome and the Heracleopolitan hinterland. Specific texts like this can thus skew the data. The Onomasticon of Amenemope focuses on the most important economic and political centres, (such as the nome capitals) mainly in Upper Egypt, which may explain why almost all of them have been located and identified with modern Arabic toponyms due to their continued strategic, political, economic, and geographical desirability from the Third Intermediate Period onwards, and into the modern era.

Regional site density comparisons between the New Kingdom and Third Intermediate Period based on text and monument attributions must be taken with some caution, particularly for the Heracleopolitan and Faiyum regions. Other regions show a general correlation of stable regional site densities throughout the two periods, but again the incorporation of these sites with the documents is based on political, economic, and religious factors and is unlikely to represent the wider intra-regional site networks of smaller economically, politically and cultically less important sites.

Region	NK Settlements	ThIP Settlements	ThIP Regional Density	% Site Difference
1st UE	7	7	4.43%	0%
2nd UE	2	1	0.63%	-50%
3rd UE	11	10	6.33%	-9.09%
4th UE	11	9	5.70%	-18.18%
5th UE	4	5	3.16%	25%
6th UE	2	1	0.63%	-50%
7th UE	4	5	3.16%	+25%
8th UE	13	6	3.80%	-53.84%
9th UE	3	4	2.53%	+33.33%
10th UE	6	30	18.99%	+400%
11th UE	1	1	0.63%	0%
12th UE	9	3	1.90%	-66.66%
13th UE	7	3	1.90%	-57.14%
14th UE	1	2	1.27%	+100%
15th UE	11	4	2.53%	-63.63%
Akoris (ThIP_UE.96) _ Atfih (ThIP_UE.158) Zone	160	67	42.4%	-60.11%
Totals	252	158		-37.30%

Table 4. Percentage Differences of Settlements Between the New Kingdom and Third Intermediate Period. Third Intermediate Period regional site density is calculated by: the number of attested settlements within one region of Upper Egypt as a percentage of 158 (total number of Upper Egyptian sites).

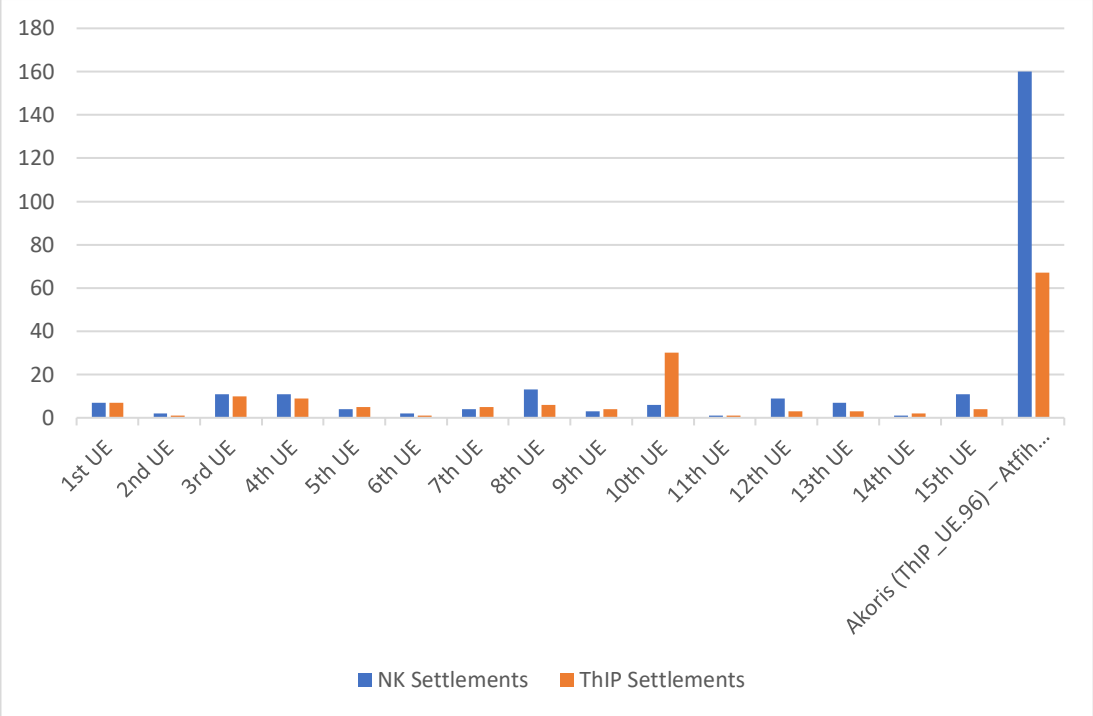


Fig. 3. Bar Chart of New Kingdom Regional Density Compared to Third Intermediate Period Regional Density for Upper Egypt.

2.4.5.3 Lower Egypt

The site evidence for Lower Egypt is different to Upper Egypt and is supplied mainly by archaeological excavations and surface survey (Fig. 4). The Delta evidence is lacking in detail and number compared to that of Upper Egypt as only 83 (34.44%) known Third Intermediate Period sites are recorded for Lower Egypt. In the Delta, 30.12 % of the 83 sites are attested through texts, but not identified with modern Arabic toponyms. There are 19 (22.89%) sites where the ancient name of the site is unknown, but there is archaeological data of the period and they are mainly found in the eastern Delta, in the ancient Tanitic and Pelusiac branch region. This contrasts with evidence from Upper Egypt for which 12 (7.59 %) of 158 sites are known exclusively from archaeological excavations and so far, do not have an identified ancient name. The Delta evidence, based on these figures is lacking in added textual detail and site quantity compared to Upper Egypt.

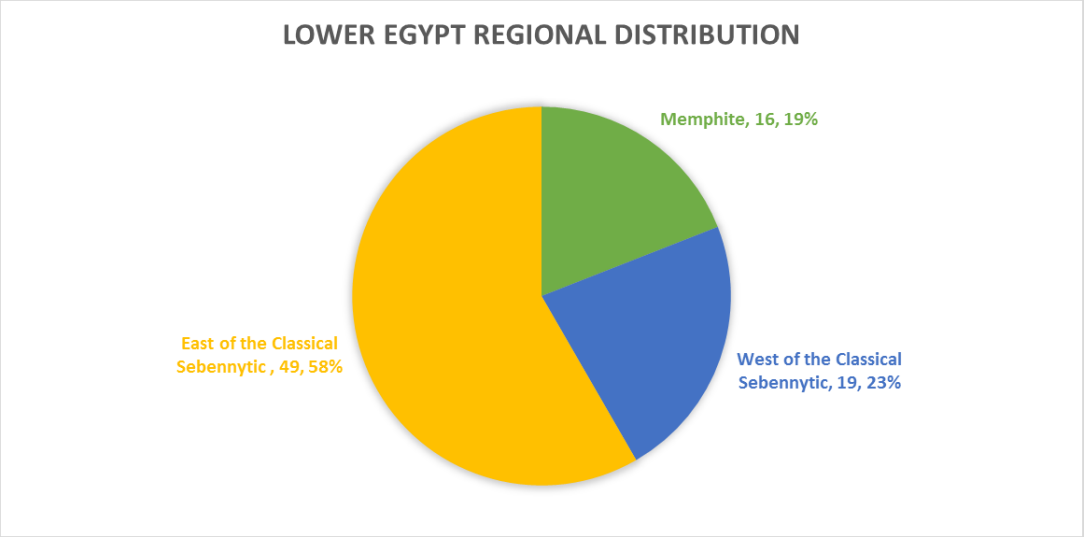


Fig. 4. Pie Chart Showing the Regional Density of Sites for Lower Egypt during the Third Intermediate Period Period.

The Eastern Delta, has the largest site density with 49 sites (58%). Only 19 sites (23%) are attested in the Western Delta sector and 16 sites (19%) from the Memphite region.

The disparity between the evidence from Upper and Lower Egypt demonstrates the evidence bias in settlement studies and historical geography. The regional site density statistics do not provide sufficient detail on their own to assess the political and economic roles each site possessed. To address this imbalance, a functional attribution system needs to be applied to the data. The next section outlines the unique alpha-numerical code related to each Third Intermediate Period site within the corpus.

2.4.5.4 Spatial Analysis Approaches and Site Types: Domestic, Funerary, Military and Quarry

The application of statistical analysis and quantitative techniques to analyse archaeological distributions based on the category of site in Egypt, which relate to their economic relationships has received little attention. Location-Allocation covering frameworks have been used to simulate the spatial pattern of the top levels of the settlement hierarchy (the nome system) for the Ramesside Period (Church and Bell, 1988). This model showed that the Ramesside administration maximised the control of the Nile Valley population. There was a close correspondence between the spatial efficiency and the choice of important sites such as nome capitals to control these regions. The Allocation-Location model focused on the nome centres, however, and cannot be used to assess other settlement distributions located within the nome

regions. Where a representative sample of sites from well-recorded regions is available, settlement prediction models can be used to fill geographic voids. These approaches have been beneficial to studies of settlement patterns on Crete (Bevan and Wilson, 2013). The Cretan landscape offers a different ecological and geographical scenario compared to Egypt, and focuses on overland routes, whereas in Egypt transport was conducted on the hydraulic networks. The nature of the Post-Ramesside Period site data and the regional inconsistencies in site preservation with almost 50% of the corpus not located, does not allow for such a spatial analysis study to be conducted at this current time.

In order to record Third Intermediate Period sites within the corpus each Third Intermediate Period (ThIP_) site has a unique alpha-numerical code related to its location within Upper (UE) or Lower Egypt (LE); (ThIP_LE.1 or ThIP_UE.1). Each individual code can be further subdivided to include categories of domestic/assumed domestic, funerary, military, or mining activity (Table 5, Figs 5-6) as it considers the current fragmentary state of evidence regarding, political, economic, social, and cultic factors. If a sub-category is not applicable to that site, then the sub-category function is recorded as NA (not applicable). These categories allow for future inclusions and modifications in the event of new archaeological research added to sites range of functions.

ThIP_UE/LE.1 Site Name
ThIP_UE/LE.1.1 Domestic / Assumed Domestic
ThIP_UE/LE.1.2 Funerary
ThIP_UE/LE.1.3 Military
ThIP_UE/LE.1.4 Quarry

Table 5. Alpha-numerical Code System for Third Intermediate Period Site Documentation.

The system does not create any bias of site hierarchy within the current evidence, but states the functions the site fulfilled. As a result, isolated cemetery sites can have an associated assumed domestic function. This does not reflect on the overall domestic totals, and so does not distort the wider evidence set. This assumed domestic label forms a separate quantified feature which can be modified and added to the wider domestic class, when, and if found. The approach allows flexibility within the data sets and reflects the inconsistencies and variability in the data of each site.

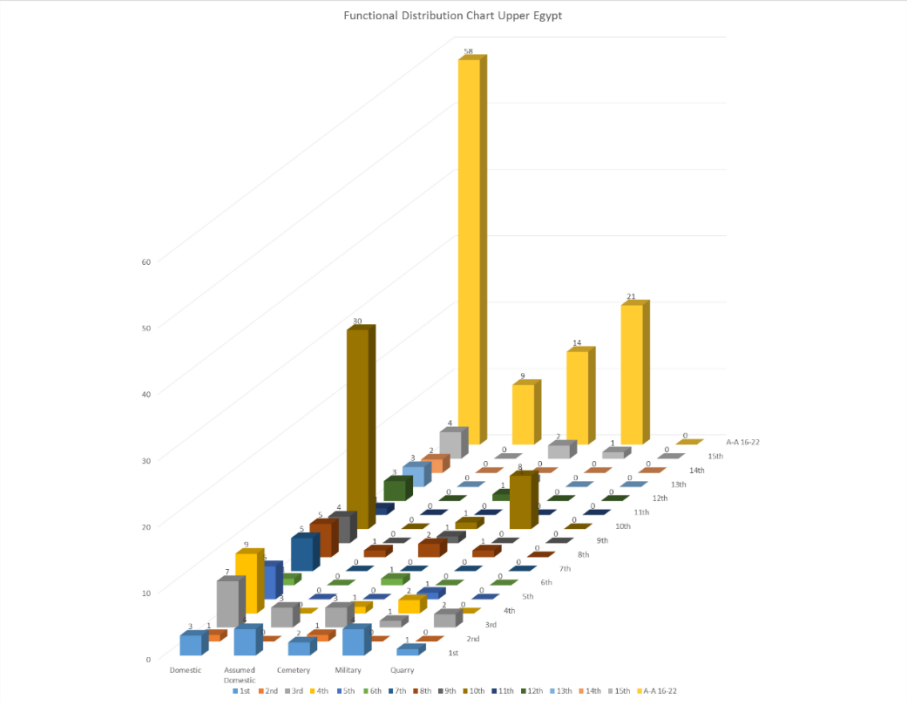


Fig. 5. The Functional Distribution of Third Intermediate Period Upper Egyptian Site Types.

The data above shows that the number of active quarries during this period was limited to the 1st and 3rd Upper Egyptian nomes. The sites with a military function were centred around the 1st Upper Egyptian Nome, the 10th Upper Egyptian Nome, and the Heracleopolitan area. The regional site density for domestic site function was similar across the nomes of Upper Egypt, but with high peaks in the data in the 3rd, 4th, and 10th Nome and the Heracleopolitan region based on textual over representations.

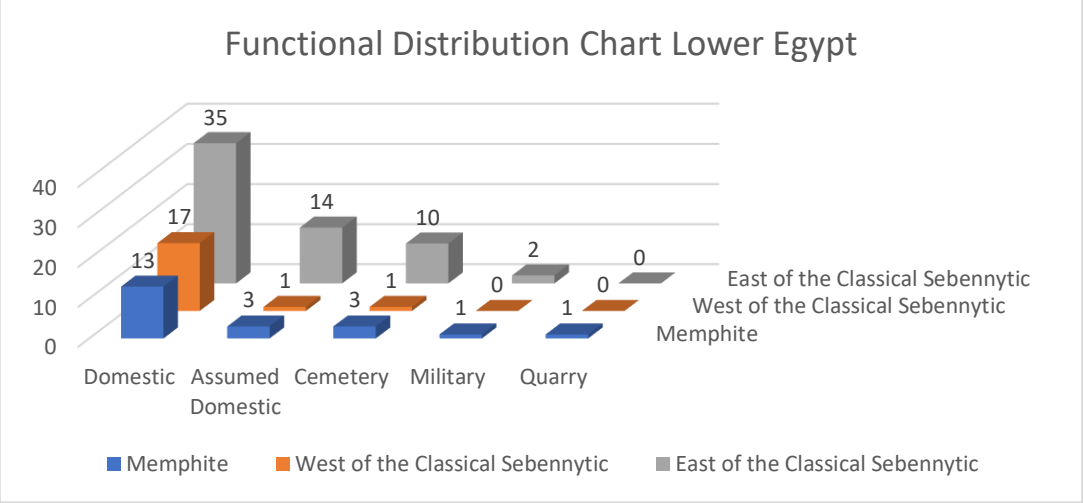


Fig. 6. Functional Distribution of Third Intermediate Period Lower Egyptian Site Types.

In Lower Egypt, only Turah was used during the Third Intermediate Period on the current evidence, and when stone was needed, the quarries in Upper Egypt were accessed, or if quarries were not accessible, old stone monuments were used. There is a lack of archaeologically and textually defined military establishments in the Delta. There is a general lack of cemetery sites for the western and central areas, with the majority being found in the eastern Delta. Again, the domestic evidence from Lower Egypt is clustered in the Eastern Delta, with relatively even levels of settlement sites attested for the western and Memphite areas.

2.5 Conclusions

The model developed in Chapter 2 is a multi-approach system for establishing settlement patterns in ancient Egypt. The initial approach is to identify the natural environment, geology and landscape of the Nile Valley and Delta in order to identify potential areas of settlement location, and from there, establish the problems in identifying the extent, and subsequent development of the landscape from ancient to modern times, through natural and cultural factors. The concept of ‘site’ within Egyptian settlement archaeology has been defined by the presence of physical material culture and textual evidence of human habitation, and occupation activity over short or sustained time periods, at domestic, administrative, military, cultic, or funerary levels. The researcher is then required to perform a comprehensive assessment of the academic literature, along with excavation and survey data to develop a corpus of sites that can be a representative of sites from each region which can be plotted on geographical maps. In order for meaningful conclusions to be made regarding chronological develops of settlement

patterns in particular regions, a secondary corpus of sites from the proceeding time phase must be conducted for comparison on both a geographical (spatial) level, and at the site density ratio level. These regional maps can then demonstrate the variability in the data such as text-based versus data-driven (archaeological) evidence, regional site densities, functional attributes for sites (domestic, funerary, military and quarry), and cemetery locations, and where possible, chronological developments of site types in particular geographic regions. Finally, the model requires regional case studies to be performed to test for the potential for settlement pattern studies within the distinct chronological framework being studied.

For the Third Intermediate Period, in order to use a consistent method in future studies, it is suggested that future settlement pattern studies for the period, should maintain the unique identification system devised for the 241 sites as the standard classificatory system for the Third Intermediate Period. This should be done as it forms a base set of sites that can be added to as excavations and surveys add to our knowledge of locations that have Third Intermediate Period activity. The results of the multi-approach model show that the regional density studies and the nature of site identification for Upper Egypt being derived for nearly 50% of the corpus from texts, highlights the need for increased archaeological survey and archaeological excavations in Upper Egypt. There needs to be a shift in attitude and research focus away from a tomb and temple excavations to look for textual and monumental data that can help refine chronologies of the period, and target areas of domestic settlement layers before they are lost to modern pressures. This is particularly the case in Upper Egypt where survey and excavation is still largely confined to the desert fringes, and focusing on cemetery, or temple areas such as at Thebes. The results of this chapter, particularly the regional density study has shown a lack of Third Intermediate Period site attestations particularly in the 2nd, 6th and 11th Upper Egyptian nomes, and the region of Middle Egypt in general. Regional nome studies are required to fill in the knowledge gap particularly in Middle Egypt, while excavations at nome capitals may add further evidence to regional and local polities such as the possibility of identifying additional regional rulers that may reflect the further political and administrative division of regional centres. Off-site survey and field walking, on, and between tell sites is not sufficient enough to define site chronology. Therefore, when conducting fieldwalking one must complement it by exploratory excavation techniques if the site is to be assessed for its archaeological potential, and site stratigraphy (Tassie and Owens, 2010: 113). This can be done through a focused study of coring, resistivity and magnetometry studies on exposed tell areas. In general, the Third Intermediate Period, as stated in the introduction to this thesis is still largely concerned with the establishing of a relative chronology for the period, with a focus on texts, artwork and funerary culture, while settlement studies for the period in general are not focused on, or dominated through text based analysis, without an integrated approach, or found isolated within larger

multiphase archaeological reports, with little or no focused regional analysis of Third Intermediate Period settlement development.

For large floodplain regions, the ratio of what is expected to be lower order to higher order settlements is likely to be much higher than the 2:1 and 3:1 ratios expected of Central Place Theory, which argues against such a model being used for the Egyptian floodplain. The Third Intermediate Period data is not representative enough at regional level for statistical and spatial analysis, unlike studies in the Near East and Aegean. Furthermore, the number of small centres recorded may not be accurate for the region, based on the regional site density analysis. This indicates that the general pattern of settlement found in the regions of the 10th Upper Egyptian Nome and the Heracleopolitan / Faiyum region, based on textual evidence from the earlier Wilbour Papyrus, the 21st Dynasty Papyrus Louvre AF 6345, and the 22nd Dynasty Cairo JE 39410, was likely to have been replicated to some extent in other large cultivated areas in the country, such as the 3rd Upper Egyptian nome. The evaluation of the data has highlighted several interesting areas, particularly the divisions of site data between Upper and Lower Egypt, with Upper Egypt represented by textual attestations and archaeology, and the Delta being mainly represented by archaeological evidence.

The multi-approach model developed in Chapter 2 is, at the moment, the most effective way of assessing the settlement patterns of the Third Intermediate Period based on the variability of the surviving data. Chapter 2 has demonstrated the potential and limitations of the data for conducting landscape and settlement pattern studies during the Third Intermediate Period using an integrated process, of Culture Historical, Processual, and Post-Processual approaches. The model developed in this chapter for assessing Egyptian settlement patterns allows flexibility within the data, and removes hierarchical bias of sites, and provides scope for future revisions of site attributes, and economic and political importance by using the unique site identification system. Utilizing this model, Chapter 3 goes on to evaluate settlement dynamics and processes within the Third Intermediate Period landscapes and settlements in a series of regional case studies.

Chapter 3

Settlement Patterns in Third Intermediate Period Egypt: The Case Studies

3.1 Introduction and Aims

Chapter 3 will evaluate the settlement dynamics and processes within the landscapes and settlements through a series of regional case studies in order to establish a baseline set of criteria for the analysis of cultural and societal studies in Chapters 4-6.

3.2 Objectives

Chapter 3 assesses if settlement patterns are visible from the data, the extent to which they are different from the New Kingdom, and the factors which may have influenced these patterns regarding limitations of the data. Third Intermediate Period land management policies are reviewed to characterise the different mechanisms of land administration and land holdings, which are then compared to New Kingdom policies. The evaluation of the potential and limitations for landscape archaeology in Egypt provides an overall assessment of whether, considering the current evidence and access to Egyptian sites, if landscape archaeology can be conducted, and what we can aim to learn from regional thematic approaches. Finally, Chapter 3 establishes and suggests the following themes, based on the settlement pattern data as characteristics of the Third Intermediate Period: land usage policy in line with changing geopolitical factors, regional settlement systems, the impact of the military on regional settlement networks, and what these characteristics say regarding Third Intermediate Period society.

3.3 Case Studies

3.3.1 Cemetery Locations in Upper Egypt

The Third Intermediate funerary landscape is largely absent from the archaeological record (see Appendix V). In all, 30 Third Intermediate Period cemeteries are identified in Upper Egypt (Fig. 7). If we take the 11 cemeteries in the Theban Necropolis as separate sites, the number rises to 40, which gives Thebes a 27.5% cemetery density in Upper Egypt. Cemetery phases are difficult to classify into dynasties from the mid-22nd Dynasty onwards. More precision can be presented for the non-funerary records (For monument and text attribution tables for Upper Egypt see Appendix IV). Aston (2009a) discussed the funerary assemblages of the period to

establish a chronological sequence of development. Most cemeteries found are of the elite population and royalty. Non-elite funerary sites are mainly unknown. There are no cemeteries recorded for the 5th, 7th, 11th and 14th Upper Egyptian nomes.

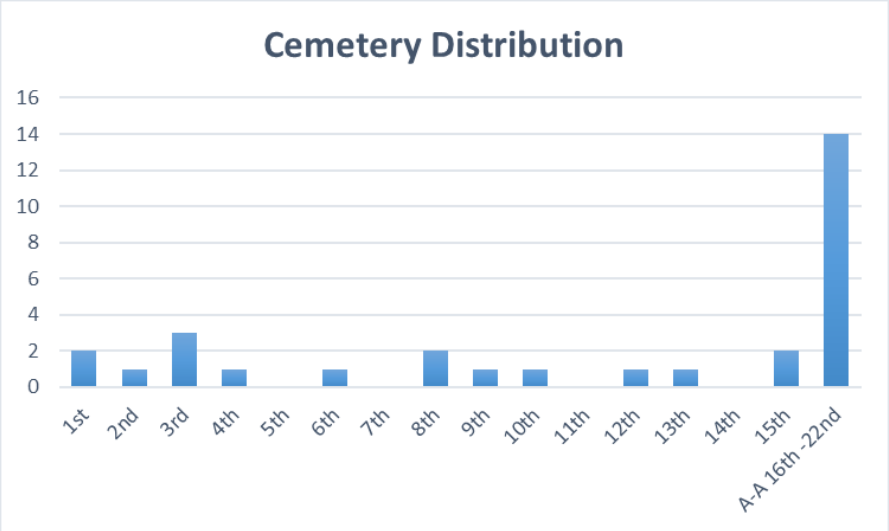


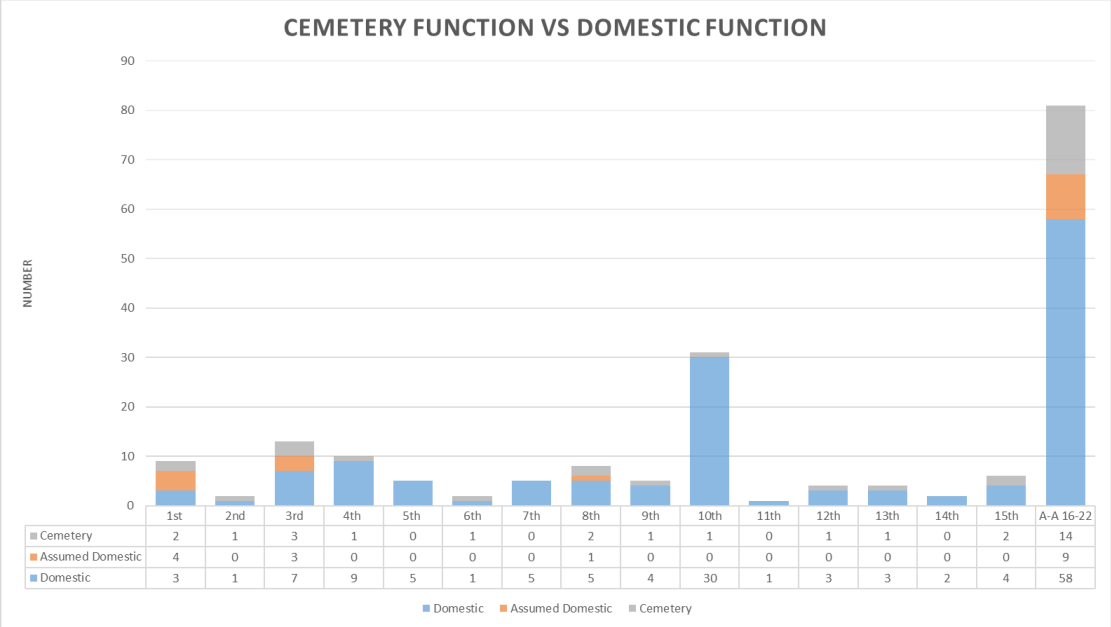
Fig. 7. Third Intermediate Period Cemetery Locations in Upper Egypt.

A comparison of cemeteries compared to domestic site function shows an under representation in the ratio of cemetery to domestic sites in Upper Egypt (Fig. 8). Several factors may explain this:

1. Due to the poorly documented early excavations of cemetery sites in Egypt, Third Intermediate Period cemeteries may have been misclassified and/or miss-dated in the academic literature. Many earlier necropoli were reused in this period and may have been misclassified as earlier burials. The paucity of burial items with the poorer population may have led to these burials being mixed with earlier burials with clearly datable tomb assemblages.
2. Many cemetery sites are still to be discovered, or large areas of previously known cemeteries which have Third Intermediate Period interment zones have not been excavated.
3. Large numbers of elite and royal burials were interred within the temenos walls of the main temples. Many temple temenoi have not been discovered or excavated.
4. Later sacred landscape changes initiated by the Late Period kings destroyed many of the monumental tombs of the period.

5. Many of the non-elite populations may have interred their dead on the settlement mounds, and successive taphonomic changes have obscured the burials under thick settlement phases or sediment.
6. The dynamic nature of the hydrological system, particularly in the Delta, may have destroyed many cemetery areas, along with looting and urban encroachment.

There is a general chronological progression of 21st to 25th Dynasty burials from the 1st to the 10th Upper Egyptian Nome (Fig. 9). From the 11th to the 14th Upper Egyptian nome there is no evidence, so far, of 22nd to 25th Dynasty burials grounds, but only examples of 21st Dynasty interments. From the Akoris (ThIP_UE.96) – Atfih (ThIP_UE.158) region (Heracleopolitan / Faiyum region) the data shows the absence of 21st Dynasty burials. This region is characterized by 22nd to 25th Dynasty burial grounds.



	1st	2nd	3rd	4th	5th	6th	7th	8th	9th	10th	11th	12th	13th	14th	15th	A-A 16-22
Cemetery	2	1	3	1	0	1	0	2	1	1	0	1	1	0	2	14
Assumed Domestic	4	0	3	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	9
Domestic	3	1	7	9	5	1	5	5	4	30	1	3	3	2	4	58

Fig. 8. Ratio of Third Intermediate Period Domestic Settlements and Associated Regional Cemeteries.

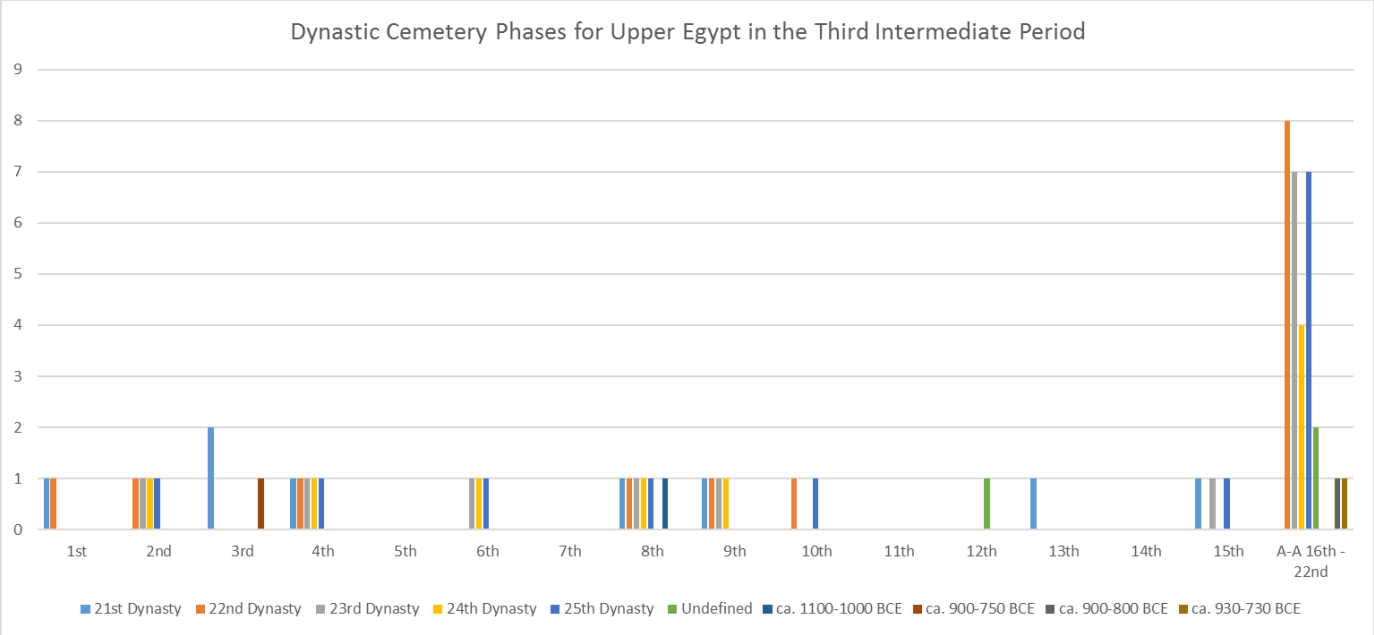


Fig. 9. Third Intermediate Period Dynastic Attribution Dates to Cemetery Locations in Upper Egypt.

3.3.2 Land Administration

A discussion of the economic relationships of sites for the period poses several problems, these include the incomplete nature of the site corpus, and the unknown levels of social complexity for the smaller settlements, many of which are only known from cadastral or onomastic surveys, or are yet to be discovered. The assessment of the administrative documents and archaeological material can however, bring to light several issues regarding the way Third Intermediate Period rulers administered the land. This section assesses the changes in landscape management from the New Kingdom policies of land registries, and land donations, and determines if the policies of the Third Intermediate Period rulers reflected a rejuvenation of 'old lands' through land donation, the recreation of economic prosperity, and royal patronage for regions which drove urbanisation.

3.3.2.1 Land Registers: The Evidence

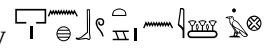
One part of the New Kingdom economic system operated an economic model of land registry as a pre-capitalist market economy with low levels of activity based on a rent or taxation system (Sullivan, 2013: 155-6).

Land registers of the Third Intermediate Period provide evidence as to the nature and extent of land holdings of temple institutions. The best evidence deals with the Theban temples'

landholdings in the 10th Upper Egyptian nome which are documented in Papyrus Reinhardt (Vleeming, 1993) and Papyrus Louvre AF 6345 (Gasse, 1988). These documents demonstrate that the Theban temples continued to hold and administer large amounts of land as far away as the 10th Upper Egyptian nome up until the 22nd Dynasty. The texts record the size of each field, its location, and the names of the individuals responsible for its farming or direct oversight, the number of grain sacks produced or taxed from each plot of land, and the institution associated with the plot owner. Land parcels in Papyrus Reinhardt can be as small as ½ aroura and up to 30 arourae in area (Vleeming, 1993: 13-44). This shows that not only were the Theban temples administering wealth, generated by the Theban area, or gifted by the king, but they were collecting revenues gained from what was an extensive hinterland (Sullivan, 2013: 154). 21st Dynasty benefices of female members of the families of the High Priests of Amun provide evidence of Theban land holdings in the agriculturally rich 3rd Upper Egyptian Nome, and at Girga, el-Atawla (ThIP_UE.80) and Akhmim (ThIP_UE.46). This indicates that the administrative systems of the Theban temples were large and well organized to manage such a complex and wide-ranging system of land ownership. This pattern of land administration follows the traditions documented in the earlier 20th Dynasty Wilbour Papyrus, with a recorded 2800 plots of land and tenures located in Middle Egypt associated with cult centres distributed over a 95-mile strip of land from the area of Akoris (ThIP_UE.96) to Atfih (ThIP_UE.158) (Gardiner, 1948a: 9).

The Onomasticon of Amenemope can be used to understand the bureaucratic and economic rationale for choosing certain sites to be recorded in the text over others. The onomasticon is written from a Theban administrative perspective, is didactic in nature, and was, no doubt, used as an important scribal exercise (Liszka, 2010). An analysis of the place names in association with known land holdings, royal benefices and the construction dates of monumental architecture attributed to the early 21st Dynasty Theban High Priestly families indicates that this document was compiled, most likely in the reign of Pinudjem I (Bennett, 2015). It seems to have developed out of a survey of the available land holdings and important administrative and religious foundations, as most of them are found in political areas controlled by the 21st Dynasty Theban High Priests of Amun, and benefices of their families. These included prominent cultic, or function specific sites such as economically important quarries and animal rearing institutions for cattle and fowl that were prominent in temple ritual and offerings. By cross referencing the textual documents and archaeological evidence it becomes clear that some sites lost economic importance while others rose to prominence during the transitional phase between the very end of the New Kingdom and the early years of the Third Intermediate Period.

The most prominent example of a settlements possible reduction in political power may be seen at Tod (ThIP_UE.21) (See Section 3.4.7). One other example that demonstrates the usefulness in employing the Onomasticon of Amenemope as part of an economic discussion

relates to the entry  *pr-nḫb-n-išȝ* 'The House of the Opened Land of Isha' or 'The Newly Opened Land of Isha' (ThIP_UE.61) (Gardiner, 1947: II, 49). The absence of this toponym which is clearly related to agricultural donations and land tenure from the earlier economic Papyrus Louvre AF 6345 indicates that 'The House of the Opened Land of Isha' (ThIP_UE.61) was likely to have been a new domain, and was one of the most important locations in the 10th Upper Egyptian nome for the Theban administration at the time of the compilation of the Onomasticon of Amenemope. The mention of this new toponym could indicate that the sites listed in Papyrus Louvre AF 6345 had lost some of their economic importance and, that, upon the advent of political change, the sites in the onomasticon had become the dominant political and economic centres in the area, and controlled the distribution of land and resources to the Theban state. Finally, the Dakhleh Stela of Shoshenq I documents a cadastral register for the 19th year of a King Psusennes, (possibly Psusennes II?) (Krauss, 2005). The mention of this cadastral survey indicates the continued tradition of land surveys into the 21st and 22nd Dynasty following the New Kingdom tradition of the Harris and Wilbour papyri.

The lack of evidence for Theban land holdings north of the 10th Upper Egyptian nome suggest that by the end of the 21st and start of the 22nd Dynasty, the limit of Theban control was at the 10th Upper Egyptian nome. After the 22nd Dynasty no similar land registers have survived for the period to provide us with a view of the land holdings of Upper Egyptian temple institutions. The temple cadastral block (Cairo JE 39410) from Heracleopolis (ThIP_UE.107) documenting the personnel, institutions, and individuals that had to provide sacrificial bulls for the temple of Heryshef, seems to have served a different function, coming from a cultic background.

3.3.2.2 Land Donation Stelae

Delta land occupation appears to be systematized in the Ramesside Period being confined mainly to the eastern Delta with the construction of the new capital at Qantir (ThIP_LE.48), but fortress construction on the western fringes would have opened this area for urbanism/state-run settlements. (Spencer, N. 2014:24-27). In New Kingdom Nubia, existing cult centres and small shrines had the opportunity to reassign land (Meeks, 1979: 622).

Evidence for land administration for the 22nd Dynasty onwards comes from the land donation stelae, which are one of the most important resources for understanding the economic relationships of settlements with one another in the Delta and as far south as the region near el-Minya. Land donation stelae are one of the most characteristic groups of monuments of the Third Intermediate Period. The inscriptions record gifts of land to temples or to their personnel (Kitchen, 1969-70: 59). The endowments concerned commonly come from the hand of an

important dignitary and are usually dated. The donation stelae suggest a devolution of power to local chiefs who administered the royal territory on behalf of the king, and controlled those regions that were important economic assets (Meeks, 1979: 638).

Overall, 68 land donation stelae have been found that date to the Third Intermediate Period (Meeks, 2009), with the earliest dating to the reign of Pinudjem I (the only example so far from the 21st Dynasty) from Akoris (ThIP_UE.96) in Middle Egypt (Uchida, 1995: 299-301). The provenance of some of the donation stelae suggests that they may have been set up in the settlements, perhaps in the temple they are related to, or set up in the fields as boundary markers (Meeks, 1979: 608).

Table 6 shows that 320 arourae (ca. 87.52 ha) (1 aroura of land has been calculated at 2735 m^2, see Gardiner, 1948: 60) were donated to the Eastern Delta settlements in the regions of Bubastis (ThIP_LE.51) and Mendes (ThIP_LE.38). 95 arourae (26.18675 ha) was donated to Bubastis (ThIP_LE.51), with 15 arourae (4.1025 ha) to Mendes (ThIP_LE.38), 5 arourae (1.3675 ha) to Pharbaitos (ThIP_LE.68), 5 arourae (1.3675 ha) to Hermopolis Parva (ThIP_LE.36) and 200 arourae (54.7 ha) to Tukh el-Qaramus (ThIP_LE.66). Table 7 shows that in the Western Delta region, 270 arourae (74.145 ha) of land were donated in the regions around the settlements of Kom Firin (ThIP_LE.27), Kom Abu Billo (ThIP_LE.28), Buto (ThIP_LE.20), Sais (ThIP_LE.19) and Busiris (ThIP_LE.45). In total 590 arourae were donated, the equivalent of 161.665 ha, but not all stelae found record the amount of land donated.

In the donation stelae, land at Tanis (ThIP_LE.50) is conspicuous by its absence. There are no 21st Dynasty Tanite donation stelae and Meeks (1979: 617) raises the question of the level of political power Tanis (ThIP_LE.50) had, if any. This may be reflected in the general lack of attested settlements in the Tanite hinterland for the period (See Section 3.4.5). In the 22nd and 23rd Dynasty there is an increase in donation stelae in the Delta, with Shoshenq III and Shoshenq V being the proponents of a policy of settlement and land development in the Western Delta settlements in the 22nd Dynasty. The donation stelae of the 22nd and 23rd Dynasty are essentially concerned with lands in association with settlements concentrated on the edges of the eastern and western Delta, while in the central Delta they are rare and, those that do survive, date to the 25th and 26th Dynasty. Meeks (1979: 618-19) suggests that the absence, or scarcity of royal or large economic chiefdoms in the central Delta indicates that these areas did not provide economic opportunities for land development, and that this absence allowed the 25th Dynasty kings to take advantage of these under-developed economic areas. The general preservation of monuments from the central Delta makes such an assumption difficult to confirm. There is evidence from Bindariya (ThIP_LE.25) and Tell Umm Harb (ThIP_LE.26) of monumental works of Shoshenq III, while Busiris (ThIP_LE.45), Athribis (ThIP_LE.42), Behbeit el-Hagar (ThIP_LE.44) and Sebennytos (ThIP_LE.43) situated near the banks of the modern Damietta branch do show increased evidence of economic and political power in the latter stages of the period. It is more likely that

the lack of royal monuments and settlement density is down to poor preservation rates, and research focus, rather than not favouring this area as an economic and politically important region.

Land Donation	Stela Number and Data	Reign	Aroura	Hectares
Bubastis (ThIP_LE.51)	Stela Berlin 8437 + Aberdeen Stela 1337	Takeloth II?	30	8.205
Bubastis (ThIP_LE.51)	Cairo Stela JE 31653	Takeloth II	10	2.735
Bubastis (ThIP_LE.51)	Stela Cairo Temp 2/2/21/13	Pimau	10	2.735
Bubastis (ThIP_LE.51)	Stela Cairo JE 45779	Shoshenq V	42	11.487
Bubastis (ThIP_LE.51)	Stela Florence 7207	Pedubast I	3	0.8205
Mendes (ThIP_LE.38)	Stela Brooklyn Mus. 67-118	Shoshenq III	10	2.735
Mendes (ThIP_LE.38)	Stela Art Sale, Cairo (Stela Geneva MAH 23473)	Iuput II	5	1.3675
Pharbaitos (ThIP_LE.68)	Stela Louvre E.10571	Shabako	5	1.3675
Hermopolis Parva (ThIP_LE.36)	Strasbourg Stela 1588	Unnamed King	5	1.3675
Tukh el-Qaramus (ThIP_LE.66)	Cairo Stela 11/1/25/13	Shoshenq III	200	54.7
Totals			320	87.52

Table 6. Land Donation Stelae Geographical Locations and Recorded Amounts of Land in Chronological Order for the Eastern Delta.

Land Donation	Stela Number and Data	Reign	Aroura	Hectares
Busiris (ThIP_LE.45)	Stela Louvre E.20905	Shoshenq III	40	10.94
Buto (ThIP_LE.20)	Stela Ancient Farouk Collection	Shoshenq V	10	2.735
Buto (ThIP_LE.20)	Michaïlidi Collection	Tefnakht	10	2.735
Buto (ThIP_LE.20)	Stela New York Met.Mus.55.144.6	Shabako	20	5.77
Buto (ThIP_LE.20)	Stela Tell el-Fara'in	Shoshenq V	10	2.735
Kom Firin (ThIP_LE.27)	Cairo JE 85647	Shoshenq V	5	1.3675
Kom Firin (ThIP_LE.27)	Stela IFAO Store Registration No. 14456	Shoshenq (V?)	5	1.3675
Kom Firin (ThIP_LE.27)	Stela Brooklyn Museum 67.119	Shoshenq V	10	2.735
Kom Firin (ThIP_LE.27)	Stela British Museum EA 73965	Shoshenq V	10	2.735
Kom Abu Billo (ThIP_LE.28)	Cairo JE 30972	Shoshenq V	10	2.735
Sais (ThIP_LE.19)	Athens Stela (Athens Nat.Mus.32)	Tefnakht	10	2.735
Western Delta	Cologne Stela, Private Collection	Shoshenq (?)	100	27.35
Western Delta	Stela Leningrad Ermitage 5630	Shoshenq IV	10	2.735
Western Delta	Stela Chicago Oriental Museum	Shoshenq III	10	2.735
Western Delta	Stela Moscow I 1a 5647	Shoshenq III	10	2.735
Totals			260	74.145

Table 7. Land Donation Stelae Geographical Locations and Recorded Amounts of Land in Chronological Order for the Western Delta.

Meeks (1979: 619, 621) states that the distribution of donation stelae reflect a slow progression linked to a systematic, intensive, east to west land reclamation project in the wetland areas of the Delta in line with the influx of new peoples occupying the remaining free land. Analysis of the land areas being donated at Bubastis, Tukh el-Qaramus, Buto and Mendes (Figs 10-13) show that the parcels of land were small compared to the overall land area of the Delta and the region/sites political boundaries in which they were being donated. Based on the land areas and the associated GIS maps the results do not support an 'intensive' land reclamation policy by these kings as a response to housing new populations in new land parcels. These stelae are likely to have been symbolic, rather than 'real' attempts by the local rulers to align themselves with the earlier New Kingdom system of land donation. It is likely that these stelae reflect a reorganisation of the 'old land' areas in a new partnership between the kings and temples. This reorganisation and elevation of old lands into new power bases is observed at Buto (ThIP_LE.20) and Sais (ThIP_LE.19) where new land donations at this period were received. In the eastern Delta, the centres of Mendes (ThIP_LE.38), Pharbaitos (ThIP_LE.68), Bubastis (ThIP_LE.51) and Tukh el-Qaramus (ThIP_LE.66) received land donations and became important political centres of the period.

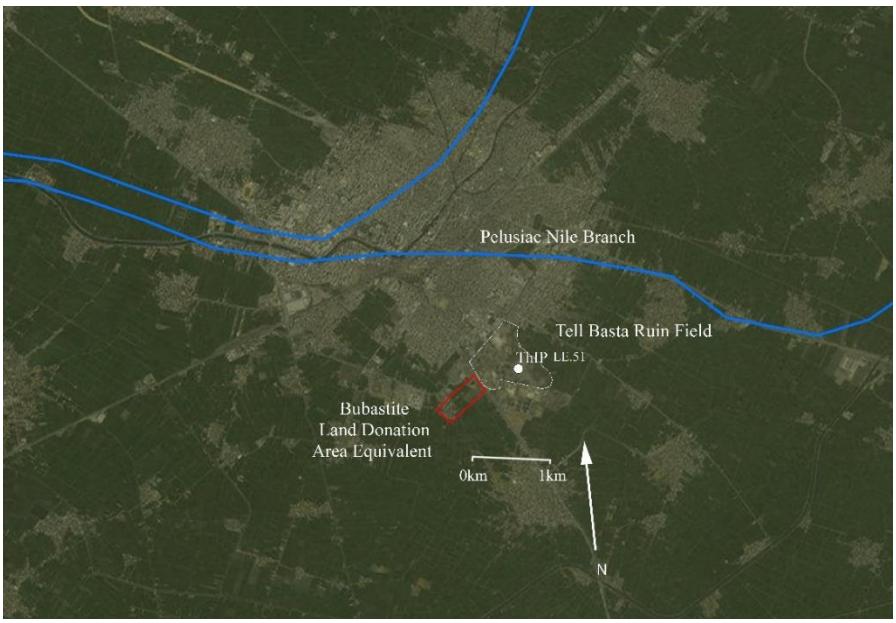


Fig. 10. Bubastite region showing in white the ruin mound with equivalent land donation area (95 arourae (26.18675 ha) in red. For overlay of Mendesian Branch in blue see Bietak (1975: plan 4).

Fig. 11. Tukh el-Qaramus Region showing in white the ruin mound with equivalent land donation area (200 arourae (54.7 ha)) in red.

Fig. 12. Buto region showing in white the ruin mound with equivalent (50 arourae 13.975 ha) land donation area in red.

Fig. 13. Land donation area (15 arourae (4.1025 ha) equivalent at Mendes (red), for overlay of the Mendesian Nile Branch in the New Kingdom (blue) see (Bietak, 1975, plan 4) and the Third Intermediate Period Mendesian Branch (white) see discussions in Blouin (2014).

3.3.2.3 Land Policy in the Third Intermediate Period

At the end of the New Kingdom the socio-political developments that led to a decrease in the wealth of Egypt did not initially permanently impede the role of the temple economies (Sullivan, 2013: 156). The policy of land registers continued in the 21st Dynasty and administrators continued to levy taxes and assess the land holdings of the major institutions in line with the earlier New Kingdom traditions of land registry. Many of the most important temple institutions continued to hold land in extensive hinterlands, particularly that of Thebes up to the 10th Upper Egyptian Nome, and as far south as the 3rd Upper Egyptian Nome. The continued evidence for cadastral registers shows a continuity in the administrative functioning of land organisation and quantifying the levels of tax that each area was capable of giving. Evidence of the New Kingdom land donation policy already employed in the Delta in the Ramesside Period continued through the 21st Dynasty in Upper Egypt albeit on a reduced level. During the 22nd Dynasty the evidence from Upper Egypt for land administration declined and was replaced by the increased use of donation stelae in the Delta and Middle Egypt where local chiefs administered the royal territory on behalf of the king, and controlled those regions that were important economic assets. These areas were small parcels of land and reflect the rejuvenation of ‘old land’ areas in a new partnership between the kings and temples that through

political links with the monarch, the rejuvenation of the sacred landscape, drove new urbanism in these areas and creating politically powerful new settlements.

3.3.3 The Third Intermediate Period Military Landscape

After the end of the New Kingdom, military power rather than bureaucratic control was the fundamental basis for royal authority. The High Priests of Amun ruling in the south were generals, while in the 22nd Dynasty the rulers were army commanders with military backgrounds (Taylor, 2000: 349). This section documents the military installations used and built by the Third Intermediate Period kings throughout the Nile Valley and Delta and assesses their geographical location, regional density, and military functions within the wider settlement network.

3.3.3.1 Locations of Military Establishments

Only sites with primary military function as indicated in either the archaeology or philological records are included in this assessment. In all, 42 sites exhibited a military function or character in Upper and Lower Egypt. 39 (92.86%) are recorded in Upper Egypt (Table 8 and Fig. 14) almost exclusively through texts and situated in the 10th Upper Egyptian Nome and the Heracleopolitan/Faiyum region. Only three are recorded in Lower Egypt, and again derive from texts. Despite this lack of available archaeological data, the texts, and the proposed locations/regions in which many of these military sites are presumed to be located can be tracked from the end of the New Kingdom and provide answers as to the Third Intermediate Period military policy.

Nome	Military Locations	% Distribution
1st	4	10.26%
2nd	0	0%
3rd	1	2.56%
4th	2	5.13%
5th	1	2.56%
6th	0	0%
7th	0	0%
8th	1	2.56%
9th	0	0%
10th	8	20.51%
11th	0	0%
12th	0	0%
13th	0	0%
14th	0	0%
15th	1	2.56%
A-A 16th -22nd	21	53.85%

Table 8. Regional Site Density of Third Intermediate Period Military Locations in Upper Egypt.

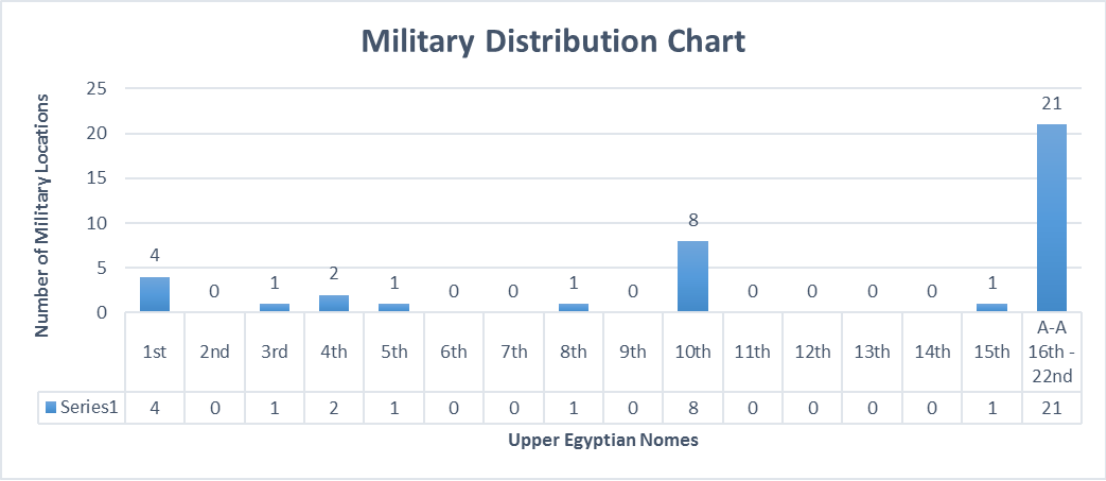


Fig. 14. Military Site Density Chart for Upper Egypt.

3.3.3.2 Military Establishments in the 1st – 5th Upper Egyptian Nomes (Figs 15-18)

The southern frontier of Egypt during the Third Intermediate Period was at Bigga (ThIP_UE.1) and has 21st Dynasty activity under the High Priest of Amun Menkheperre (Jansen-Winkeln, 2007a: 81; Römer, 1994: 579 (54)). To the north, the border at Sehel (ThIP_UE.2), has activity under the High Priest of Amun Pinudjem I (Jansen-Winkeln, 2007a: 25). At the time of the High Priest of Amun Menkheperre, the southern border of Egypt was still considered to be at Bigga(ThIP_UE.1), but after, there is no longer any evidence of elite or royal inscriptions south of Elephantine (ThIP_UE.3). From the reign of the High Priest of Amun Menkheperre, Elephantine (ThIP_UE.3) became the main southern frontier and authorised control point of Egypt.

In the 25th Dynasty, the zone of the Nile in the 1st Upper Egyptian nome was fortified most likely by Piankhy with several military installations aimed at a policy of controlled access between Upper Egypt and Nubia. These forts allowed Piankhy to launch his assault on Egypt. So far only one fort has been located at Buweib el-Bahari (ThIP_UE.4) (Aston, 1996b).

Fig. 15. 21st Dynasty Archaeologically Attested Military Sites in Upper Egypt 1st – 5th Upper Egyptian Nomes.

Fig. 16. 22st Dynasty Archaeologically Attested Military Sites in Upper Egypt 1st – 5th Upper Egyptian Nomes.

Fig. 17. 23rd Dynasty Archaeologically Attested Military Sites in Upper Egypt 1st – 5th Upper Egyptian Nomes.

Fig. 18. 25th Dynasty Archaeologically Attested Military Sites in Upper Egypt 1st – 5th Upper Egyptian Nomes.

A feature of the Theban region in the 21st Dynasty was the erection of so called 'forts' by the High Priest of Amun Menkheperre. The first was at Gebelein (ThIP_UE.18) on the southern Theban border. Kitchen (1996: §226) states Gebelein (ThIP_UE.18) was part of a fortified check point system to control river traffic in and out of the nome. The identification of fortresses in Egypt by archaeological evidence alone is difficult, as temple enclosures from the 20th Dynasty onwards began to have the appearance of fortified structures. There is no indication from the texts that the function of Gebelein (ThIP_UE.18) can be equated with military terminology. The presence of a few stamped bricks of Menkheperre (ThIP_UE.18) without a detailed study of the 'fort' structure makes it difficult to assess the functional nature of the structure, and whether the High Priest of Amun Menkheperre was fortifying Gebelein (ThIP_UE.18) to repel attacks and control river access to the nome, or whether he was rebuilding the temenos enclosure of Hathor at Gebelein

(ThIP_UE.18). The same can be said of the second 'fort' of Menkheperre at Higazeh (ThIP_UE.28) (Fig. 20), which lay on the northern Theban border.

A possible way to confirm that these locations were control points and fortified sites controlling access into and out of the nome, not just along the Nile, but from the deserts is to apply Geographical Information Systems (GIS) Viewshed analysis to Gebelein (ThIP_UE.18) (Fig. 19) and Higazeh (ThIP_UE.28) (Fig. 20). This shows the areas that were within the forts' projected eyesight.

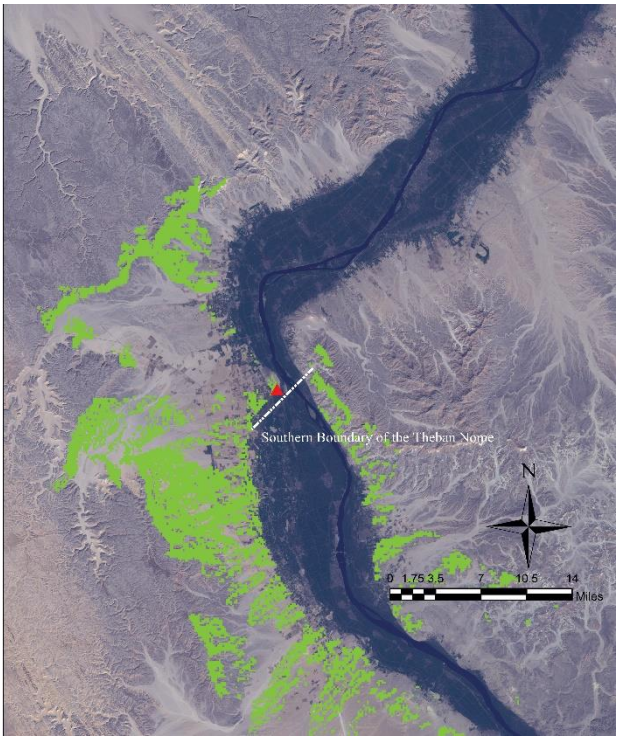


Fig. 19. Viewshed of Gebelein (ThIP_UE.18) (red triangle) showing the southern boundary of the Theban Nome (Projected view area in green).

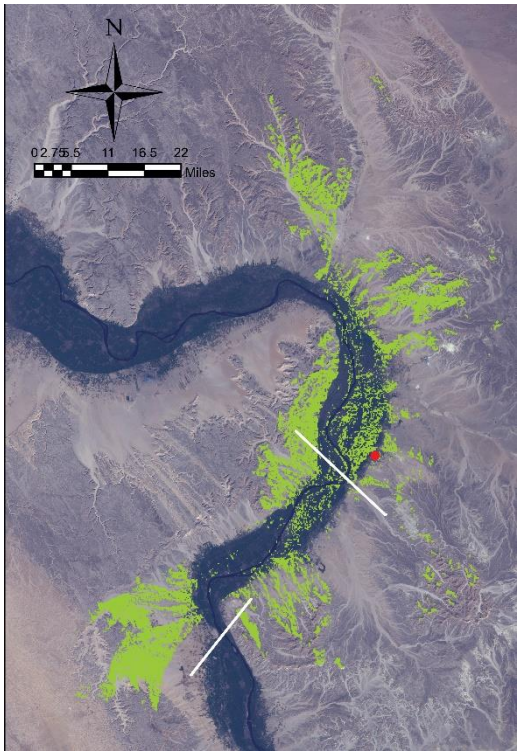


Fig. 20. Viewshed of Higazeh (ThIP_UE.28) (red circle) showing north and south boundaries of the Theban Nome (Projected view area in green).

By underlying a Digital Elevation Model (DEM) to the Raster Graphic of the landscape the viewshed model shows which elevations are visible to the target point. The results indicate that the Gebelein 'fort' (ThIP_UE.18) provided wide-angle views stretching from the south into the 3rd Upper Egyptian nome, but a limited view of much of the Theban nome. It appears that the intention of the Gebelein 'fort' (ThIP_UE.18) was to provide security into and out of the nome by controlling the river traffic at the nome boundary, while controlling any foot traffic into and out of the nome leading to the Kharga Oasis. Evidence for activity in the Kharga Oasis is attested

for the 21st Dynasty, under High Priest of Amun Pinudjem I (Jansen-Winkeln, 2007a: 417; Osing et al., 1982: pl. 9, no. 45). Gebelein (ThIP_UE.18) was supplemented by the fortified structure at Higazeh (ThIP_UE.28), which had a wider projected view range, and unlike Gebelein (ThIP_UE.18) could see the majority, if not all the Theban Nome territory, and provided extensive views of the entire 5th Upper Egyptian Nome. Higazeh would have provided the same primary function as Gebelein (ThIP_UE.18) by controlling river traffic, and foot traffic, this time at the entrance to the Wadi Hammamat. The viewshed projections highlight the need for the construction of a fortified centre at Higazeh (ThIP_UE.28) for the Theban pontiffs to have a full view of the Theban nome territory, which was not possible from the Gebelein (ThIP_UE.18) fortress alone. The construction of these forts demonstrates the need to control populations, trade, and economic resources from the deserts.

Inscriptions on elite statuary indicate that the fortifications of the Theban nome were supplemented by an additional military location in the centre of the nome. The fortress, 'The Seat Beloved of Thoth' (ThIP_UE.23) is first mentioned during the reign of Merenptah (Yoyotte, 1950). It is located near Medinat Habu (ThIP_UE.22) (possibly underneath the Ptolemaic Temple of Thoth at Qasr el-Aguz). The fort was maintained into the 22nd Dynasty, like the forts of *Mer Meshaf* (ThIP_UE.108), and *Usermaatre* (ThIP_UE.109) in the Heracleopolitan region (See Section 3.3.3.4 and Appendix I Entries). A second possible military location was that of 21st Dynasty 'Mound of the Falcon' (ThIP_UE.24) listed on the Onomasticon of Amenemope and may have had some connection with 'The Seat Beloved of Thoth' (ThIP_UE.23).

3.3.3.3 Military Forts in the 8th Upper Egyptian Nome to the Heracleopolitan / Faiyum Region (Figs 22-24)

In the 8th Upper Egyptian Nome, close to the northern border, was the fort of el-Ahawaih (ThIP_UE.44). El-Ahawaih was founded in the late New Kingdom and continued to be utilised in the Third Intermediate Period. Müller (2009: 260-1) suggests el-Ahawaih (ThIP_UE.44) is a well-suited candidate for the location of *tꜣ dḥnt* 'The Promontory' which was a toponym recorded on numerous fragments of the el-Hibeh (ThIP_UE.103) archive dated to the reign of High Priest of Amun Menkheperre. GIS Viewshed analysis (Fig. 21) indicates that the fortress could view the nome capital Girga (ThIP_UE.43) approximately 5.3 km to the west, and the wider Abydene West bank, the associated burial grounds, and the floodplain region. El-Ahawaih could view the entrance to the Wadi Umm Araka which led out to the western desert. This fortification would have been part of the military landscape maintained by the High Priest of Amun Menkheperre in the control of access to the Nile Valley.

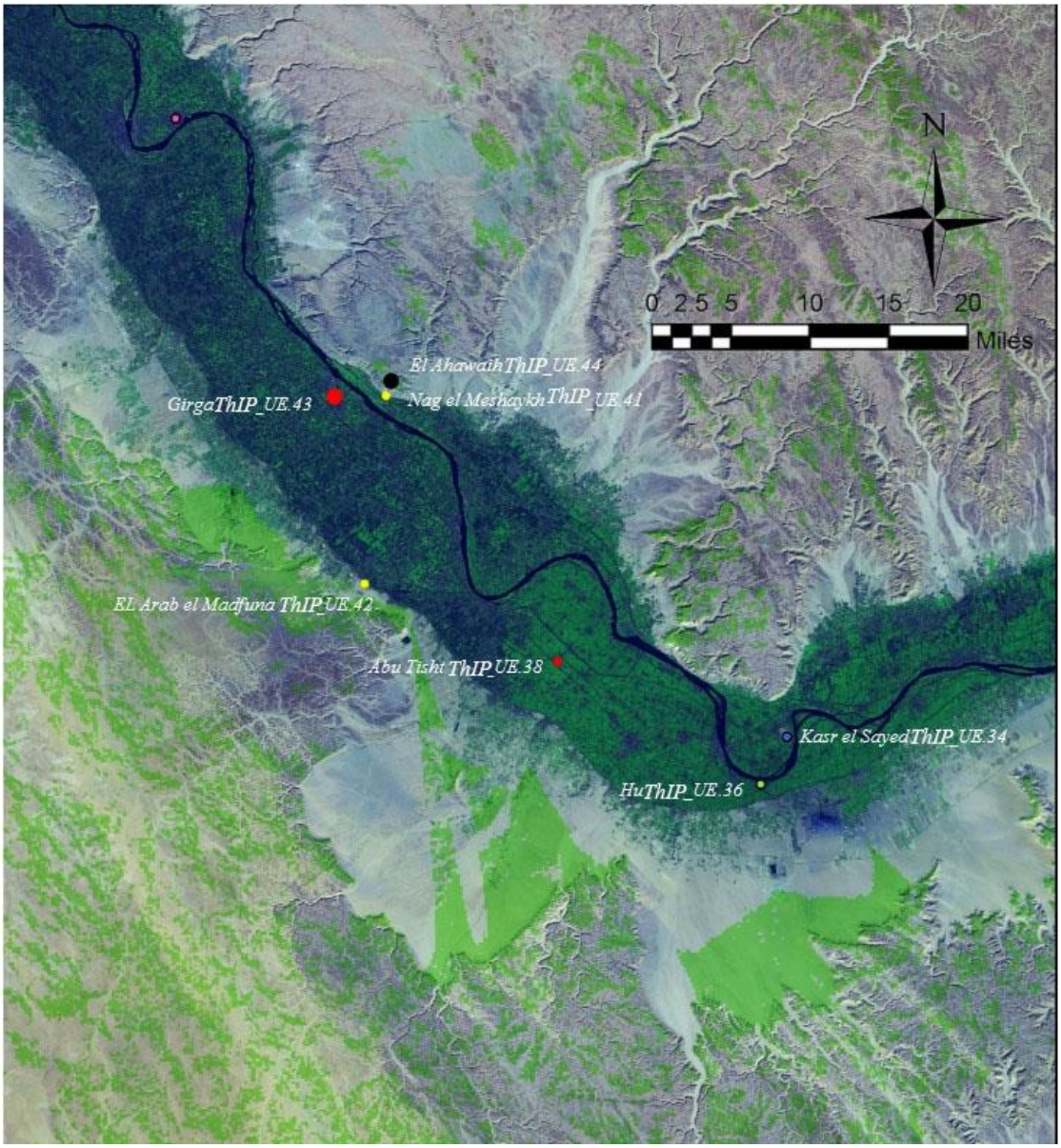


Fig. 21. Viewshed Projection of the el-Ahawaih (ThIP_UE.44) fortress.

North of el-Ahawaih (ThIP_UE.44) the High Priest of Amun Menkheperre constructed or maintained forts at Nazlet esh-Shurafa (ThIP_UE.95) and el-Hibeh (ThIP_UE.103). There may have already been some Ramesside Period activity at Nazlet esh-Shurafa prior to the constructions of Menkheperre as a statue of Khaemwese the son of Ramesses II was found at the site (Chaban, 1907: 223, no. IV). The Onomasticon of Amenemope records that the fort of Neferusy at Jarris (ThIP_UE.90) was still in use and continued to be in use into the 25th Dynasty as Piankhy records it

as one of the main centres which he assaulted. This string of military locations reflects the 21st Dynasty policy of river traffic control extending from the 4th Theban nome into Middle Egypt as far north as the Heracleopolitan/Faiyum region representing the limits of the territorial control (Figs 22-24).

In the 22nd Dynasty, el-Hibeh (ThIP_UE.44) became an important military centre, but the monumental and textual evidence goes silent on the other forts constructed by 21st High Priests of Amun. In the 22nd Dynasty the overall picture of the military landscape for the period apart from el-Hibeh (ThIP_UE.44), is reliant on texts, which can fill in the gaps within the archaeological record.

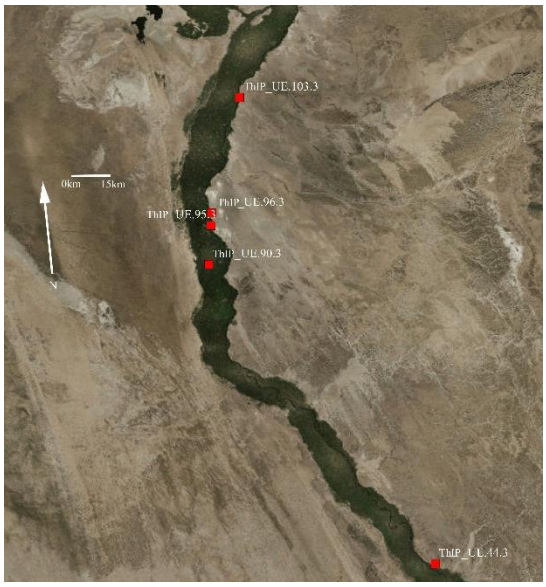


Fig. 22. 21st Dynasty Archaeologically Attested Military Sites 8th Upper Egyptian Nome to the Heracleopolitan/Faiyum Region.

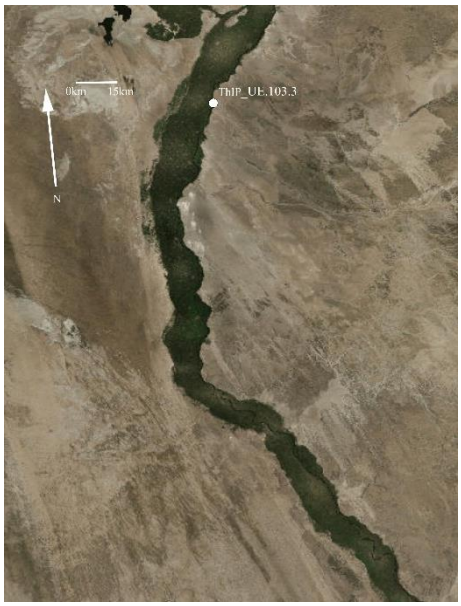


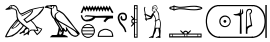
Fig. 23. 22nd Dynasty Archaeologically Attested Military Sites 8th Upper Egyptian Nome to the Heracleopolitan/Faiyum Region.

Fig. 24. 25th Dynasty Archaeologically Attested Military Sites 8th Upper Egyptian Nome to the Heracleopolitan/Faiyum Region.

3.3.3.4 The 10th Upper Egyptian Nome, the Heracleopolitan Region and Per Sekhemkheperre (ThIP_UE.157)

Military establishments dominate the settlement landscape of the 10th Upper Egyptian Nome and the Heracleopolitan region. Four main military site types are recorded: *nḫtw*, *sgr*, *bḫn* and *ihw*, with Per-Sekhemkheperre the main controlling military centre in the area.

1) *nḫtw*

nḫtw 'fortress' are all restricted to the Heracleopolitan/Faiyum region. These include, *pꜣ nḫtw n mr-mšʿ.f* 'The Fortress of Mer Meshaf' (ThIP_UE.108),  *pꜣ nḫtw ʿꜣ(n) wsr-mꜣʿt-rʿ* 'The Fortress of Usermaatre', *(m) ḥꜣt pꜣ 5 nḫtw ʿꜣ n n(ꜣ) mʿ* 'the Head of the Five Great Fortresses of the Ma' (ThIP_UE.110-114) which is the same fortress as the New Kingdom 'Five Great Fortresses of the Sherdan' (Jansen-Winklen, 2006:308-310), and *pꜣ nḫtw n mk-kmt* 'The Fortress of the Protector of Egypt'

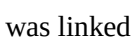
(ThIP_UE.115). *nḫtw* forts are only found in the Nile Valley. None of these military toponyms have been identified with modern Egyptian sites.

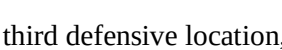
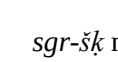
2) *Per Sekhemkheperre*

Per Sekhemkheperre (ThIP_UE.157) was a royal foundation of Osorkon I, but no contemporary documents of Osorkon I record the foundation (Meffre, 2015: 371). Per-Sekhemkheperre (ThIP_UE.157) is mentioned on nine documents dating from the reign of Osorkon II to Piankhy. The toponyms do not refer specifically to a fortified foundation. The assumption that this was a military site is based upon the military titles of people who were associated with it (Meffre, 2015: 372).

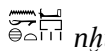
3) *sgr*

There are nine recorded *sgr* locations in the Nile Valley for the Third Intermediate Period. They are so far only documented for Upper Egypt, indicating *sgr* locations were exclusive to the Nile Valley like the *nḫtw* forts. In the New Kingdom, seven *sgr* locations are documented on the New Kingdom Wilbour Papyrus in the region corresponding to the area between Akoris (ThIP_UE.96) and Atfih (ThIP_UE.158) (Gardiner, 1948: 35). In the 95 mile stretch of the Nile Valley recorded on the Wilbour Papyrus, 9.94% are *sgr* foundations. In the Third Intermediate Period only two *sgr* locations are recorded in the Akoris (ThIP_UE.96) -Atfih (ThIP_UE.158) region. They are both recorded on the 22nd Dynasty Cairo JE 39410. The first is *dmi p3-sgr-n-ḥwt-ty* 'The Village of 'The-Fort-of-the-Estate-of-Tiy', (ThIP_UE.119) (Meffre, 2015: 58, doc. 7, X+20), and *dmi p3-sg-n-ᶜr(t)* 'The Village of 'The-Fort-of-the-Goat' (ThIP_UE.120) (Meffre, 2015: 58, doc. 7, X+21). Both toponyms are recorded on the Wilbour Papyrus and demonstrate either a continuation or re-founding of two *sgr* locations in the 22nd Dynasty.

Papyrus Louvre AF 6345 records seven *sgr* locations in the 10th Upper Egyptian nome at the start of the 21st Dynasty. A *sgr* fort called *sgr-šḳ* (ThIP_UE.49) was situated at, or near to the boundary between the 9th and 10th Upper Egyptian nomes. was linked with  *pr-ḥr-nb-mḏ3iw* 'The House of Horus, Lord of the Medjay' (ThIP_UE.50) (Medjay, Wb II, 186.9-13, *Wüstenpolizisten*) which was a garrison force of 'Desert Police Officers'. Both toponyms are associated with the defence and the control of individuals between the two regions, and the control of movement throughout, and into the Nile Valley.

A third defensive location, called  *p3-sgr-ti̯-nt-ỉnh* (ThIP_UE.51) was situated close to the border zone and north of *ḥwt k3=k* (ThIP_UE.52). *p3-sgr-ti̯-nt-ỉnh* (ThIP_UE.51) and  *sgr-šḳ* may have been located on opposite sides of the Nile Valley to increase control from both banks of the Nile, suggesting both desert sides were covered as well as the river.

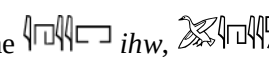
4) *bḫn*

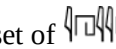
Three *bḫn* sites are recorded on Cairo JE 39410. They are *dmỉ p3-bḫn-n-p3-nḥsy* 'The Castle of Panehesy'(ThIP_UE.116) (Cairo JE 39410, face D, x+21), *dmỉ p3-bḫn-n-nfr-rnpt* 'The Castle of Neferenpet'(ThIP_UE.117) (Cairo JE 39410, face D, x+22), and an undefined name for another *bḫn* location possibly that of the 'Castle of the Vizier' (?) (Cairo, JE 39410, Face D, x+21). Both the Castle of Panehesy and the Castle of the Vizier are recorded on Papyrus Wilbour. 'The Castle of Neferenpet' (ThIP_UE.117) is not recorded on the Wilbour Papyrus indicating that this *bḫn* may have been a new foundation of the Third Intermediate Period. Unlike, *nḫtw* and *sgr*,  *bḫn* sites are documented in Lower Egypt.

The Lower Egyptian examples include *p3 bḫn n bẏw* (ThIP_LE.15) (Gauthier, 1925b: 30) an unknown location but likely to be associated with the Memphite nome (Yoyotte, 1962: 93) and a place simply called *bḫn* in association with Tukh el-Qaramus (ThIP_LE.66) in the north-eastern Delta.

5) *ihw*

In the New Kingdom, eight military camp/stable/storehouse settlements are documented on the Wilbour Papyrus. This figure is low compared to the frequency of the title of 'Stable Master' in the text if one translates as 'stable' (Gardiner, 1948: 35). The lack of *ihw* in the 20th Dynasty is continued into the Third Intermediate Period. Five *ihw* sites are recorded in the Third Intermediate Period toponyms, and represent 8.06% of all Heracleopolitan region settlements.

One *ihw*,  *p3 ỉhw n ḥ3t* (The Stable of the Front) (ThIP_UE.122) is recorded in the 22nd Dynasty and occurs again in the 23rd Dynasty in Year 10 of Peftjauouybast as *dmỉ p3 ỉhw n ḥ3t* (ThIP_UE.122). No

Third Intermediate Period *ihw* sites are found in New Kingdom documents and are all probably new foundations. This shows a reduction in this type of site and may also indicate a new set of  *ihw* sites for the region.

3.3.3.5 Military Landscape Conclusion

The concentration of a military presence is identified in the 1st Upper Egyptian nome, the Theban Region (4th Upper Egyptian nome), the 10th Upper Egyptian nome and in the Akoris (ThIP_UE.96) - Atfih (ThIP_UE.158) region. The evidence shows that in Upper Egypt, the military landscape of the Ramesside pharaohs was adopted by the rulers of the 21st and 22nd Dynasties and adapted to fit the needs of the new geo-political landscape, which they now controlled. The surviving evidence shows a preference for fortifications on the borders of nomes and at the entrance to important wadi routes, trading zones and agricultural regions. The military establishments in the Theban region have Ramesside precursors, while the changing of the name of the Ramesside 'Five Great Fortresses of the Sherden' to that of the Third Intermediate Period 'Five Great Fortresses of the Ma', corresponds to the reuse of Ramesside forts into the Third Intermediate Period.

The pre-existing built military environment was added to, and developed by Osorkon I in the Heracleopolitan region with the military foundations of Per Sekhemkheperre (ThIP_UE.157) and *Mek Kemet* (ThIP_UE.115) which controlled the access routes into Lower Egypt, the Oases, and the Memphite area. These fortresses added military security to the region, which was most likely the ancestral home of the 22nd Dynasty. The large amounts of fortifications in and around Heracleopolis (ThIP_UE.107) reflects the military lineage of the Libyan pharaohs, and their desire to secure themselves within both the Heracleopolitan region, and to secure their influence of control over the Delta capitals. It may also have been to control traffic to the west and east without having to go down the western and eastern Nile Delta branches. This would explain why the main percentage of military establishments is documented in northern Upper Egypt and the Delta apex.

In Lower Egypt, apart from the Memphite Region with some limited references to a *bḫn* establishment at or around Tukh el-Qaramus (ThIP_LE.66), the usage of military terminology such as *nḫtw*, *bḫn*, and *sgr,* is missing from the Third Intermediate Period evidence. An examination of the Piankhy Stela, which is a military campaign record, is silent on the different military foundation types for the Delta, but they are recorded for the Memphite region in the text. This indicates that settlements of this type were either not encountered during his campaign in the Delta, they are defined using different terminology, or that different types of military

settlements found in Upper Egypt do not exist in Lower Egypt during the Third Intermediate Period, or they just did not exist in the Delta.

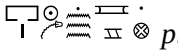
3.4 Regional Case Studies

This section discusses specific case studies to demonstrate the diverse ways in which settlement studies can be approached in particular areas, as no single approach will work for all areas of Egypt. In the Eastern and Western Delta, the approach will combine hydrological reconstruction, textual documents and archaeological survey and excavation of settlements/cemeteries to document settlement networks. In Upper Egypt and the Memphite area, the approach is more text based including Egyptian philological designations and archaeological material.

3.4.1 The Memphite Area

Apart from the east bank quarry activity at Turah (ThIP_LE.4), the cemeteries at Giza (ThIP_LE.6) and Saqqara (ThIP_LE.5), and the main centres of settlement at Memphis (ThIP_LE.3), and Heliopolis (ThIP_LE.13), the spatial settlement network of the Memphite region is poorly recorded, and sites are only recorded within the texts.

The modern city and suburbs of Cairo probably cover many of the settlements of the Third Intermediate Period.

ḥwt-šd-ꜣbd (ThIP_LE.7) (Gardiner, 1947: II, 130-1) was located south of  *pr-ḥ^{c}py* (ThIP_LE.8) the modern Atar en-Naby (Gardiner, 1947: II, 131). *pr-ḥ^{c}py* was later recorded on the Piankhy Stela written as . The toponym *ḫr-^{c}ḥ^{c}* (ThIP_LE.9) is in Old Cairo at Babylon and *pr-psḏt* ‘The House of the Ennead’, was another name for Babylon (Gardiner, 1947: II, 141-2).

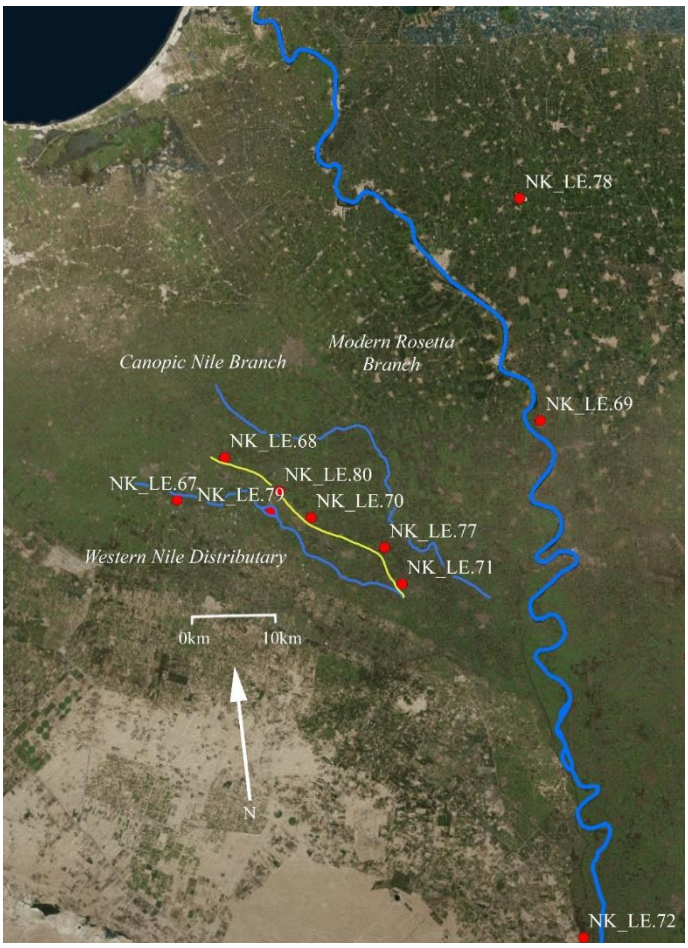
Near Memphis was the settlement of *iꜣt-ṯꜣmt* (ThIP_LE.12) (Zivie, 1991: 295). In the south of the Memphite Nome was a cult centre of Amun at *ḫnt-nfr* (ThIP_LE.10) (Gardiner, 1947: II, 120-2; Gomaà, 1974: 51), and on a block statue of Nespaqashuty dated to Shoshenq III from Thebes (Cairo CG 42232, now Luxor J 152) (Jansen-Winkeln, 2007b: 205-7; Legrain,1914a: 78-80, pl. 40-41; PM II, 1929: 149) a district to the north of Heracleopolis called *w pgꜣ* ‘The District of Pega’ is recorded. This district had a main settlement called *pr-pgꜣ* (ThIP_LE.11).

3.4.2 The Western Delta

The Delta is divided according to the river branches which are regarded as forming discrete separate channels and floodplains with basin hinterlands.

3.4.2.1 Hydrology and Settlement in the Canopic Region during the New Kingdom and Third Intermediate Period

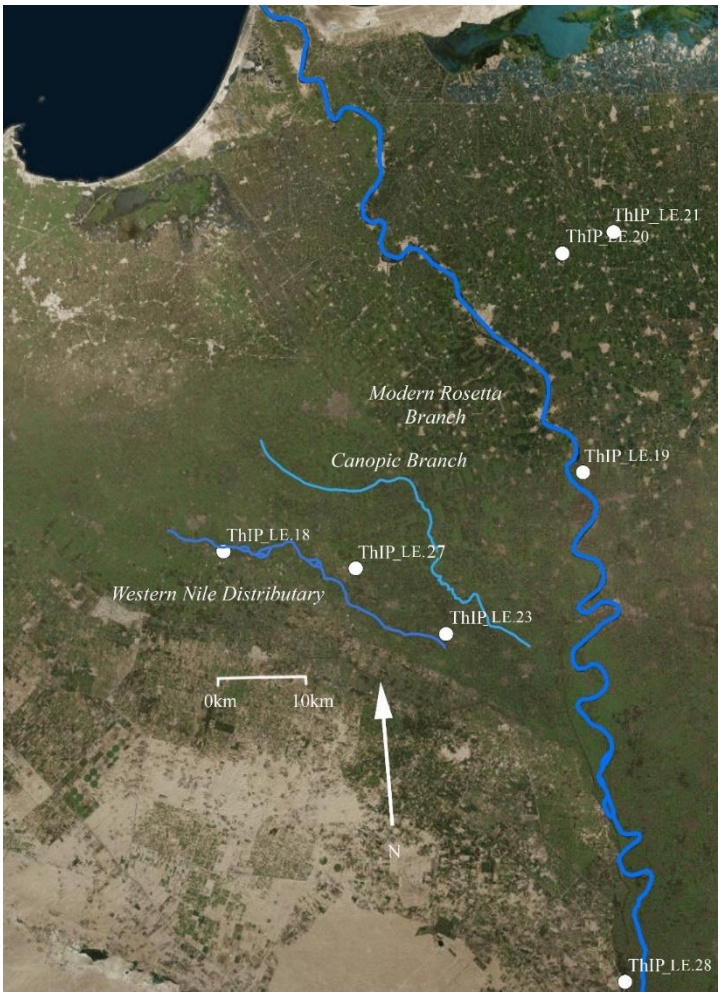
The Western Delta, based on New Kingdom and Third Intermediate Period evidence perhaps had a low settlement density possibly caused by the associated hydraulic situation (Figs 25-26). New Kingdom evidence for waterways in the Western Delta record 'The Western River' (Bietak, 1975: 118). Min, a governor of Abydos (ThIP_UE.42) under Thutmose III had the title 'Commander of Troops of the Western River' (Bietak, 1975: 118). An ostracon dated to the early Ramesside Period, and the Onomasticon of Amenemope record this river (Gardiner, 1924: 92; 1947: II, 153-171). The 'Western River' is understood to be the Canopic branch of the Nile.



NK_LE.67	30°52'57.02"N 30°19'43.40"E	Kom el-Abqa'in
NK_LE.68	30°55'35.64"N 30°23'10.04"E	Barnugi
NK_LE.69	30°57'53.96"N 30°46'4.29"E	Sais
NK_LE.70	30°51'52.11"N 30°29'25.09"E	Kom Firin
NK_LE.71	30°47'44.58"N 30°36'0.49"E	Kom el-Hisn
NK_LE.72	30°25'44.67"N 30°49'8.45"E	Kom Abu Billo
NK_LE.77	30°50'0.78"N 30°34'44.14"E	Kom Zimran
NK_LE.78	31°11'43.70"N 30°44'32.25"E	Buto
NK_LE.79	30°52'14.89"N 30°26'28.05"E	Kom Hamrit
NK_LE.80	30°53'30.46"N 30°27'8.42"E	Kom el-Ghuzz

Fig. 25. Hybrid Map of Archaeologically Attested New Kingdom Settlements in the Western Nile Delta. The Modern Rosetta Branch is outlined by the author. The route of the Canopic (Western Nile) and (proposed) Canopic Nile distributary is overlaid from Spencer (2014: fig. 1) (in blue). An alternative course for the New Kingdom Canopic distributary channel based on the position of New Kingdom sites in the landscape, or possibly even another parallel New Kingdom channel (in yellow) is proposed by the author.

In the Western Delta, Kom Firin (ThIP_LE.27) was situated upon another Nile distributary to the west of the Canopic branch (Bunbury, et al, 2014: 12). The presence of a waterway along the south of Kom Firin is corroborated by Corona satellite imagery (Bunbury, Hughes and Spencer, 2014: 12; Trampier, 2010: 12). The Canopic branch may have passed 10 km to the north east of Kom Firin (ThIP_LE.27), therefore Kom Firin may not have had convenient access and transport links with other major centres such as Memphis (ThIP_LE.3) to the south and the Mediterranean coast to the north. The distributary associated with Kom Firin, to the west of the Canopic Nile formed part of the landscape during the Third Intermediate Period. Identifying the course of the Canopic Nile (Western River) within the area for the Third Intermediate Period has proved problematic. There are so far, no New Kingdom or Third Intermediate Period sites situated along the course of the projected Canopic river, despite allusions to them in the texts (Trampier, 2010: 325).



ThIP_LE.18	30°52'57.02"N 30°19'43.40"E	Kom el-Abqa'in
ThIP_LE.19	30°57'53.96"N 30°46'4.29"E	Sais
ThIP_LE.20	31°11'43.70"N 30°44'32.25"E	Buto
ThIP_LE.21	31°13'3.81"N 30°48'18.28"E	Kom el-Asfar
ThIP_LE.23	30°47'44.58"N 30°36'0.49"E	Kom el-Hisn
ThIP_LE.27	30°51'52.11"N 30°29'25.09"E	Kom Firin
ThIP_LE.28	30°25'44.67"N 30°49'8.45"E	Kom Abu Billo

Fig. 26. Hybrid Map of Archaeologically attested Third Intermediate Period sites in the Western Delta. The Modern Rosetta Branch is outlined by the author. Route of the Canopic and proposed western (Canopic) Nile distributary overlaid from Spencer (2014: fig. 1).

The local aquatic environment at Kom Firin was exploited as a food source. These secondary Nile channels were good places for fishing, flora, and fauna. The pottery from the cores at Kom Firin in these areas, and topographical surveys, suggest activity in the Late Ramesside and Third Intermediate Period. There may have been temporary small-scale activity associated with light industry, or a harbour prone to seasonal flooding (Bunbury, Hughes and Spencer, 2014: 12). The successive temple enclosure layouts at Kom Firin (ThIP_LE.27) indicate the landscape changed from the late second millennium BCE to the 7th century BCE. In the Late Period, the temple enclosure was extended into the western area of the tell where flooding had once occurred suggesting the waterways had migrated to the north of the tell leaving the area permanently above the annual flood (Bunbury, Hughes and Spencer, 2014: 12).

Additional information regarding waterways comes from a block of Shoshenq III which mentions the *ḫns* canal (Daressy, 1916a: 243; Gomaà, 1974: 23; Montet, 1961: 66), which had a strong connection with Kom el-Hisn (ThIP_LE.23). The position of the *ḫns* canal lay downstream and possibly, upstream of Kom el-Hisn (ThIP_LE.23) (Trampier, 2010: 324). Several channels are visible on Corona satellite images to the northwest and west of Kom el-Hisn (ThIP_LE.23), as well as at Kom el-Abqa'in (ThIP_LE.28) and Kom Firin (ThIP_LE.27). These channels suggest a bifurcation of the waterway just west of Kom el-Hisn (ThIP_LE.23). The Western River may have been the name for all the river channels and canals in the Western Delta and the *ḫns* canal did not exist prior to the 22nd Dynasty (Trampier, 2010: 325). The Onomasticon of Amenemope may confirm this hypothesis as it only mentions the 'Western River' for the 21st Dynasty and not the *ḫns* canal, which is first attested under Shoshenq III. The hieroglyphic writing of the word *ḫns*, with the double headed lion glyph meaning 'to traverse' may have been a visual pun relating to the splitting and merging, meandering and anastomosing portions of the river in the south-western Delta (Trampier, 2010: 328).

The mention of the canal on the block of Shoshenq III at the time when there was increased royal patronage in the settlements of the Western Delta at Kom el-Hisn (ThIP_LE.23) and Kom Firin (ThIP_LE.27) with which the *ḫns* canal had a direct connection could indicate the new channel allowed the settlements to prosper economically, and provided the optimal conditions for the principality of the Western Kingdom to develop. The tendency for new channels created by avulsions, perhaps assisted by human actions, would result in the extension of the river channel network, and thereby would have allowed or encouraged the growth of new settlements and populations along the new branch channels, and extended the network of transport and trade arteries (Wilkinson, 2003: 97). The need for increased labour would have facilitated the creation of new irrigated farmland. The avulsion of the rivers could be managed so both the old and new channels could be used for transport and water access for settlements along their banks. This would have extended the potential irrigation of the plain and the new

channels would operate as a safety valve by receiving surplus water from the original channel (Wilkinson, 2003: 99). In the Late Period, an increase of settlements in the Western Delta at Naukratis, Kom Kortas and Kom Abu el-Tubul may reflect the importance of river avulsions for the creation of new urbanized landscapes. In the Late Period, there is now evidence of occupation along the Canopic Branch (Trampier, 2010: 328), which was absent in the previous Third Intermediate Period.

3.4.2.2 The Western Delta under Shoshenq III and Shoshenq V

Shoshenq III was the first king since Ramesses II to extend his building programme into the Western Delta, from his initial place of power in the Eastern Delta at Tanis (ThIP_LE.50).
At Kom el-Hisn (ThIP_LE.23) there was sustained settlement activity throughout the Third Intermediate Period, but there is no evidence the Ramesside religious structures of the settlement were added to, or modified, until approximately 400 years later when Shoshenq III built a new temple pylon in the middle of the 8th century BCE.

Shoshenq III's son Padibehenbast in year 28 (Berlin Museum 7344) (Gomaà, 1974: 23; Spiegelberg, 1913: 43-5; Yoyotte, 1959a: 98; 1961a: 150-1) donated land to the temple which could have been for the provision of the new temple foundation. A second donation stela set up by Ankhpakhered, who was a lesser chief in Shoshenq III's 32nd year, four years after Padibehenbast's stela (Gomaà, 1974: 24; Spiegelberg, 1903: 196-7, taf. II), indicates the growing prosperity of the temple estates at Kom el-Hisn (ThIP_LE.23). Shoshenq III began to reuse the works of Ramesses II and added to existing Delta temples, at Tell Umm Harb (Mosdai) (ThIP_LE.26) (Edgar, 1911: 167-9) and Bindariya (ThIP_LE.25) (Daressy, 1912: 206). Four stelae, (Cairo JE 85647; Brooklyn, NR. 67.119; IFAO Storehouse Reg No. 14456; and BM EA 73965) provide evidence of elite patronage and land donation by the chiefs of the Libu at the temple, or temples at Kom Firin (ThIP_LE.27) in the reign of Shoshenq V. Whether this referred to the pre-existing Ramesside temple, or a new foundation is not yet known. Finally, at Kom Abu Billo (ThIP_LE.28) Shoshenq V dedicated land to the temple documented on Cairo Museum, JdE 30872.

Shoshenq III initiated a new land management policy in the Western Delta through the construction of new temples and the renovations of existing structures combined with donations of land for these foundations. Shoshenq III still had some control over the western Libyan chiefs and was free to dedicate monuments to his own kingship in various parts of the Delta, while not having full territorial control over such areas. Shoshenq V began to consolidate settlements around the capital at Kom el-Hisn to bring them back under the nominal control of the Tanite kings in response to the mounting geo-political pressure of the period from the growing power of the Libyan chiefs in the West. The growing interest and influence of the region suggests it had some strategic, and perhaps symbolic importance for the rulers of the 22nd Dynasty. The

riverine access to these settlements and their connection with the Mediterranean were important to the Tanite kings as they could access trade goods coming from the Western Desert and the Mediterranean Sea, and allow them to have access to important cattle and grazing regions.

3.4.3 Central-western Delta

The area comprises the lands between the Western River or Canopic Branch and the Sebennytic Branch through the centre of the Delta. The main settlements in the area were: Sais (ThIP_LE.19), Buto (ThIP_LE.20) and Sakha. (ThIP_LE.22)

Central Delta hydrology during the Third Intermediate Period can be discussed in relation to the settlements of Sais (ThIP_LE.19) and Buto (ThIP_LE.20). Sais (ThIP_LE.19) and Buto (ThIP_LE.20) are situated to the east of the ancient 'Waters of Ptah', which ran partly on the course of the modern Rosetta Branch (Wilson, 2006: 9, fig. 2). Geological investigations and associated Landsat imagery analysis at Buto (ThIP_LE.20) identified several undated paleochannels. By extending the paleochannel course to the south, the relationship with the Saite hinterland can be suggested (Wilson, 2006: 11). Older river channel systems may have been subsumed into the modern canals such as the Qodaba and Nashrat Canals, but there is scope for further investigations into the sedimentology of the Basyun / Sais (ThIP_LE.19) area (Wilson, 2006: 11). A major buried channel exists approximately 7.5 km to the east of the modern Rosetta Branch but no date when it was active could be provided (el-Gamili and el-Khedr, 1989). This channel may have been the main channel for Sakha (ThIP_LE.22).

The prominence of Sais (ThIP_LE.19) was determined by the presence of associated river channels, which may have surrounded the site, providing strategic and economic potential to the positioning of Sais (Wilson, 2006: 12), no more so than the elevation of Sais (ThIP_LE.19) into the capital of the Western Kingdom of Tefnakht in the later Third Intermediate Period. The same can be said for Buto (ThIP_LE.20), which was resettled in the Third Intermediate Period, developing into an important political centre, no doubt on the basis of a shift in the associated local hydrology, and perhaps the emergence of the Saitic branch (Schiestl, 2012; 2014; Wunderlich and Ginau, 2016).

Recent excavations at Sais (ThIP_LE.19) have found the remains of a Third Intermediate Period settlement (Wilson, 2011), and coring surveys at Buto (ThIP_LE.20) show extensive resettlement of the site in the early phases of the Third Intermediate Period (Hartung et al., 2009: 172-90), while textual evidence from numerous monuments indicates Buto (ThIP_LE.20) was an important political centre.

Buto (ThIP_LE.20) and Sakha (ThIP_LE.22) are both attested in the 21st Dynasty and continue to be active into the 25th Dynasty, developing under the control of local leaders. Sais (ThIP_LE.19),

unlike Buto (ThIP_LE.20) and Sakha (ThIP_LE.22) is not recorded in the early Third Intermediate Period texts, and may indicate that it was not yet a political power in the Western Delta. Beyond the settlement, there is little evidence of royal activity or monumental building at Sais (ThIP_LE.19) for the early Third Intermediate Period, with the only evidence perhaps two armbands belonging to Prince Nimlot (BM 14594-5) of the 22nd Dynasty (Jansen-Winkeln, 2007b: 85. no. 3; Meffre, 2015: 65).

3.4.4 The Eastern Delta: The Mendesian Branch

Herodotus and Pseudo Skylax both say the Mendesian Branch connected to the Sebennytic Branch. Later authors do not provide a connection point, perhaps reflecting its disappearance during the Ptolemaic Period (Cooper, 2014: 33). The Pharaonic evidence prior to Herodotus for the Mendesian Branch is lacking. During the 9th to 7th centuries BCE the Mendesian Branch, like the Tanitic and Pelusiac branches began to migrate towards the north-west as the western Delta began to subside (Stanley, 1988).

Throughout antiquity the Mendesian Branch flowed near Mendes (ThIP_LE.38), while the Third Intermediate Period port of Tell Tebilla (ThIP_LE.35) was located close to its mouth (Mumford, 2013). The position of the Mendesian Branch changed course during the Pharaonic Period. Bietak (1975: 173-4, 217) suggested the creation, sometime before the first millennium BCE of a new nome located a few kilometres west of Mendes (ThIP_LE.38), with Hermopolis Parva (ThIP_LE.36) as its capital due to the presence of the Mendesian branch between the two sites. Nome territory was defined in ancient times by Nile branches and its major distributaries (Blouin, 2014: 95). Bietak's hypothesis has since been confirmed by the discovery of the Old Kingdom Mendesian Temple of the Ram God Banebdjed which was bordered by waterways running, north, west, and east of Mendes (ThIP_LE.38) (Blouin, 2014: 95; Redford, 2010: 24, 37, fig. 3.18).

During the Third Intermediate Period, Mendes (ThIP_LE.38) and Hermopolis Parva (ThIP_LE.36) were reunited as part of the Mendesian Nome. The administrative reunification suggests a progressive eastward migration of the Mendesian Branch, whereby the river no longer flowed between the two sites, but rather east of Mendes (ThIP_LE.38). The later 5th century BCE reference of Herodotus to both a Mendesian and Thmuite Nome would confirm this scenario (Fig. 27) (Blouin, 2014: 95; Redford, 2010: 105).

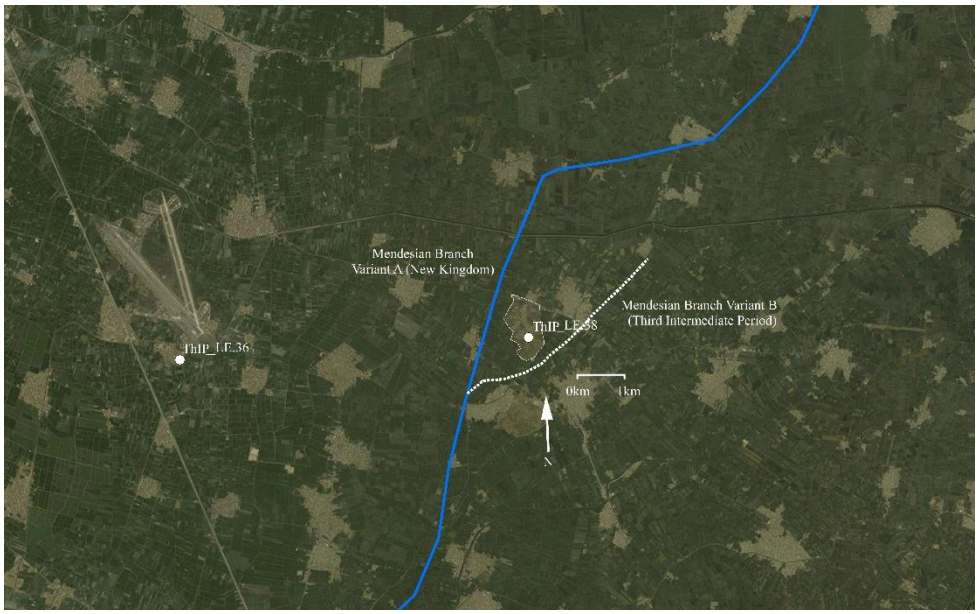
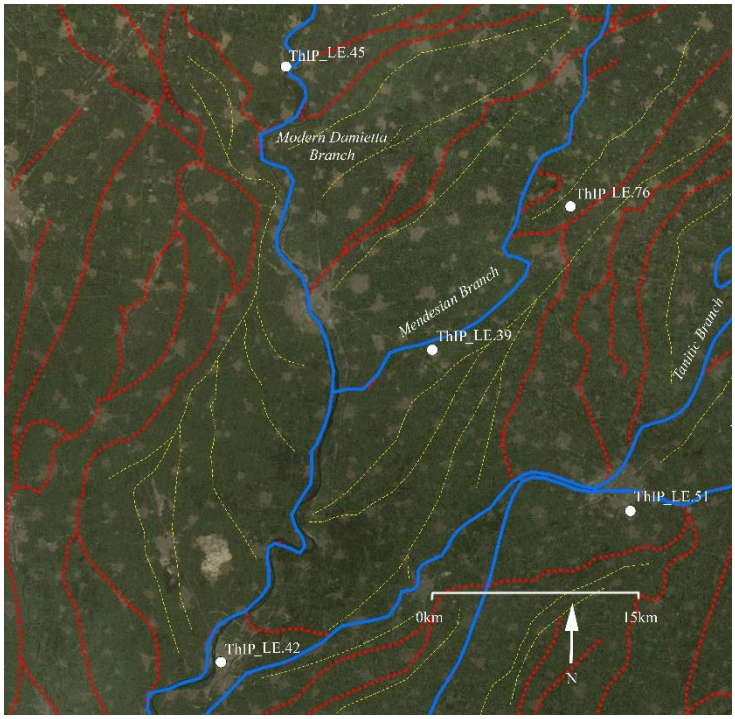


Fig. 27. Variant positions of the Mendesian Branch from the New Kingdom to Third Intermediate Period. For overlay of Mendesian Branch in Blue see Bietak (1975: plan 4). Outline of Variant A is based on interpretation of the evidence from Bietak (1975: plan 4) and Blouin (2014).

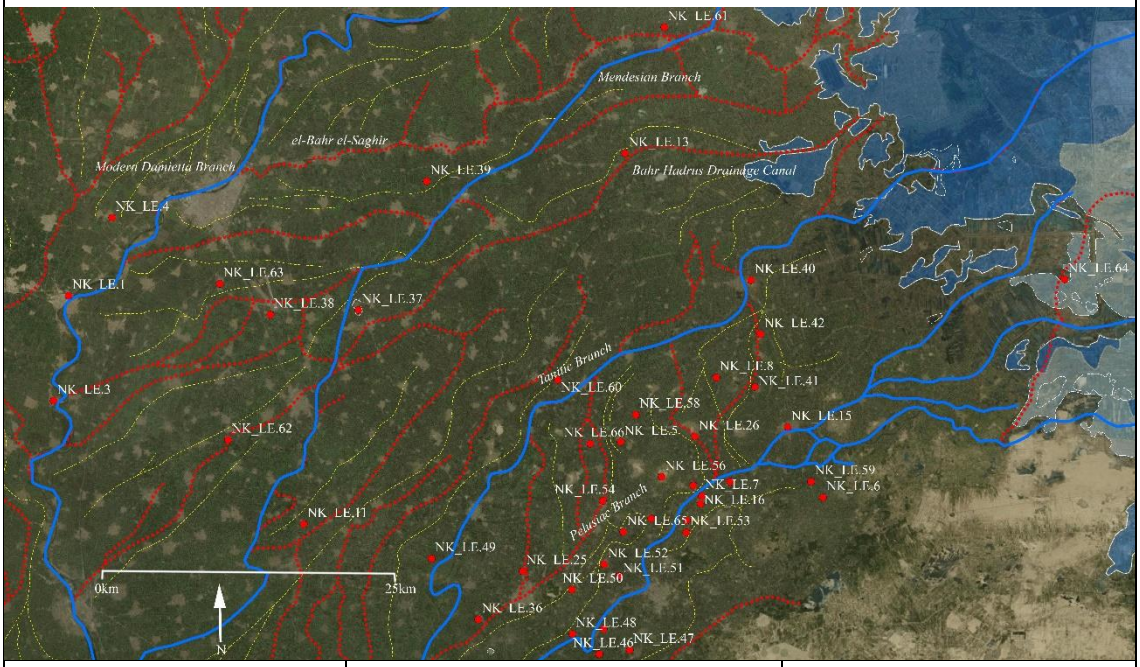
Third Intermediate Period settlement along the suggested course of the Mendesian Branch did not start until 8.85 km downstream of the bifurcation point in the region of Leontopolis (ThIP_LE.39) (Fig. 28). Evidence of New Kingdom activity in the southern Mendesian Branch region is only attested at Barakim on the east bank, some 3.5 km away from the Mendesian branch itself and 25.75 km downstream (Fig. 29) and continues in the Third Intermediate Period.



ThIP_LE.39	30°40'58.70"N 31°21'15.54"E	Leontopolis
ThIP_LE.76	30°47'1.10"N 31°28'2.76"E	Barakim
ThIP_LE.45	30°52'54.21"N 31°14'5.12"E	Busiris

Fig. 28. Lower Section of the Mendesian Branch Region during the Third Intermediate Period. For overlay of Nile Branches see Bietak (1975: plan 4).

t3 šnt rˁ 'The Granary of Re'(ThIP_LE.37) may be found near Barakim (ThIP_LE.76) at Shon Yusef, but closer to the Nile nearer the border of the Mendesian and Leontopolite nomes. Third Intermediate Period evidence has not been found at Shon Yusef which is now levelled to cultivation.

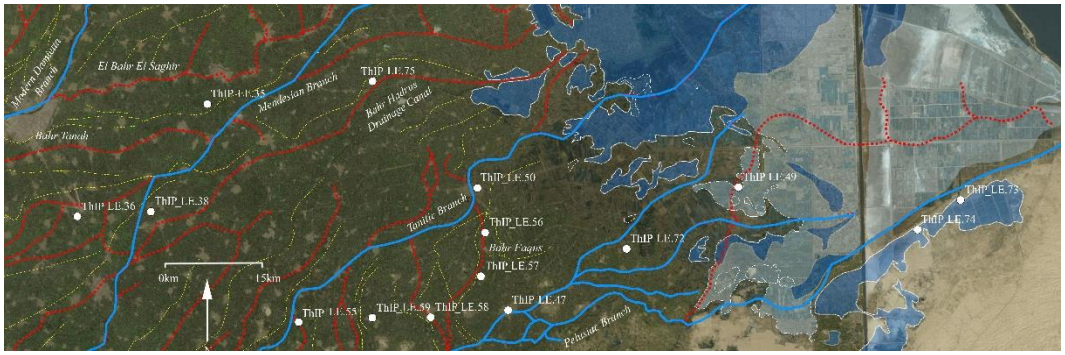


NK_LE.11	30 47 13N 31 27 52E	Barakim
NK_LE.13	31 04 44N 31 45 57E	Tell Buweib
NK_LE.37	30°57'15.87"N 31°31'5.17"E	Mendes
NK_LE.38	30°56'59.67"N 31°26'10.04"E	Hermopolis Parva
NK_LE.39	31° 3'25.99"N 31°34'53.09"E	Tell Tebilla
NK_LE.61	31°10'45.38"N 31°48'9.40"E	Tell Bahr Mahed
NK_LE.62	30°51'3.06"N 31°23'49.18"E	Tell Tambul
NK_LE.63	30°58'30.41"N 31°23'21.20"E	Bilgai

Fig. 29. Lower Section of the Mendesian Branch in the New Kingdom. For overlay of Nile Branches see Bietak (1975: plan 4).

Opposite Barakim, (ThIP_LE.76) on the west bank of the Mendesian branch, is Tell Tambul with occupation dates in the New Kingdom. Based on the Mendesian branch trajectory, Tell Tambul lies ca. 6.3 km away from the Mendesian branch. The el-Buhiya Canal flows past the eastern side of Tell Tambul, indicating either a connecting canal in the New Kingdom linked both the main central Nile Delta branch and the Mendesian branch, or the Mendesian branch in the New Kingdom was further to the north west. 11.3 km to the north, both Bilgai and Hermopolis Parva (ThIP_LE.36) are in connection with a proposed linking canal (Bietak, 1975: plan 4). This canal as stated by Bietak (1975: plan 4) connects to the modern Damietta branch to the south of Busiris (ThIP_LE.45). The canal may have been located between the modern villages of Shubrawish and Kafr el-Mandara on the east bank of the Damietta Branch. The canal would have run in the region of Ezbet el-Jummayzah, Kafr Abu Shawarib and Ezbet es-Sabkha, and to

the north of Hermopolis Parva (ThIP_LE.36), and connected again with the Mendesian Branch to the north of Mendes (ThIP_LE.38), (Bietak, 1975: plan 4) in the region of the villages of Mit Luzah, Ezbet ed-Dawarani and Ezbet es-Sheikh Youssef. The settlement evidence from this region of the Mendesian branch indicates Third Intermediate Period settlement only continued at Hermopolis Parva (ThIP_LE.36) and at Mendes (ThIP_LE.38), and not at Tell Tambul (Fig. 30).



ThIP_LE.35	31° 3'25.99"N 31°34'53.09"E	Tell Tebilla
ThIP_LE.36	30°56'59.67"N 31°26'10.04"E	Hermopolis Parva
ThIP_LE.38	30°57'15.87"N 31°31'5.17"E	Mendes
ThIP_LE.75	31° 4'44.24"N 31°45'57.85"E	Tell Buweib

Fig. 30. Map of the Upper Section of the Mendesian Branch Region in the Third Intermediate Period. For overlay of Nile Branches see Bietak (1975: plan 4).

North of Mendes (ThIP_LE.38) the settlements of Tell Tebilla (ThIP_LE.35), Tell Buweib and Tell Bahr Mahed date to the New Kingdom. Settlement continued at Tell Tebilla (ThIP_LE.35) and Tell Buweib (ThIP_LE.75) in the Third Intermediate Period. There is no evidence of Third Intermediate Period settlement north-east beyond Tell Buweib (ThIP_LE.75) along the east bank of the Mendesian branch.

A 16.5 km stretch of the Mendesian branch's west bank from Tell Tebilla (ThIP_LE.35) until Tell Bahr Mahed has no evidence of settlements of either New Kingdom or Third Intermediate Period date. On the East Bank, north of Mendes (ThIP_LE.38) there is another long 24.9 km gap between Mendes and the next settlement of Tell Buweib (ThIP_LE.71). The placement of Tell Buweib (ThIP_LE.71) on the Bahr Hadrus drainage canal which runs to the south of Thmuis (Tell Timai), may indicate Thmuis could have been active in the Third Intermediate Period, creating an island formation for Mendes (ThIP_LE.38) and Thmuis, with Thmuis (Tell Timai) on the south

acting as a potential military site defending the Bahr Hadrus waterway which led out into the Mediterranean Sea.

The projected waterway of the Bahr Hadrus as stated by Bietak (1975), would join with the canal that linked the Mendesian branch and the Central Nile branch (Damietta), on which the New Kingdom settlement of Tell Tambul was located. It is only in the Third Intermediate Period, when a shift in the local waterway to the east of Mendes (ThIP_LE.38), removed the hydraulic boundary between the two nomes the settlements were reunited into one geo-political area.

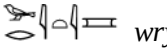
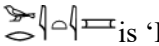
The area around Mendes (ThIP_LE.38) was under the control of a local line of Libyan chiefs in the Third Intermediate Period, who made Mendes (ThIP_LE.38) their regional capital, thus elevating it into a major political and economic centre. This is the case further to the south, as Leontopolis (ThIP_LE.39) was now a major political centre with its own local ruler. There is no further evidence within the hinterlands at either Mendes (ThIP_LE.38) or Leontopolis (ThIP_LE.39) for smaller settlements.

3.4.5 The Eastern Delta: Tanitic and Pelusiac Branches of the Nile

The ancient authors Herodotus, Pseudo Skylax, Diodorus Siculus, Strabo, Pliny and Pomponius Mela are consistent in naming the seven principal Nile branches of the Delta. There are some divergences, particularly regarding the presence of the Tanitic branch. Hassan (2010: 141) states, by the time Herodotus visited Egypt ca. 450 BCE there were only three principal Nile Branches; the Pelusiac, Sebennytic and the Canopic, while the other branches, including the Tanitic had diminished in importance and were artificially maintained. Both Herodotus, who was writing no more than 200 years after the end of the Third Intermediate Period, and the later Pomponius Mela in 43 CE, omit the presence of a Tanitic branch in their writings (Cooper, 2014: 30). Pseudo-Skylax in the mid-4th century BCE (ca. 338-337 BCE) states the Tanitic branch connected to the Pelusiac Branch, but not where, and no later author indicates where it connected. Strabo suggests the mention of a Saitic branch by Herodotus was an alternative name for the Tanitic Branch. This theory is now rejected by modern scholarship (Cooper, 2014: 32), and the Saitic branch should be associated with Sais (ThIP_LE.19), or the Saite nome. Due to the position of the Tanitic branch within the textual ordering of the Delta branches, modern scholarship has regarded the otherwise unknown Cataptystic Branch of Pomponius Mela as a direct substitution for the Tanitic Branch, but other than the position within the texts there is no other reason to make such an identification (Cooper, 2014: 33). The later writings of Ptolemy Claudius ca. 43 CE identify a mouth bearing the Tanitic name but no associated waterway, and indeed no author after Pseudo Skylax connects the mouth to the wider river network. The geological evidence indicates by the time of Ptolemy Claudius the Tanitic Branch had

disappeared (Cooper, 2014). The Busiris River of Ptolemy Claudius is sometimes suggested to be Ptolemy's nomenclature for the older Tanitic Branch. The settlements mentioned by Ptolemy indicate a trajectory which does not pass close to Tanis (ThIP_LE.50) or the Tanitic Nome. Ptolemy has the Tanitic branch debouch through the Phatnitic mouth and not the Tanitic, with which he does not associate a distributary. Both Pseudo Skylax and Ptolemy suggest the Tanitic branch was a distributary of the Pelusiac Branch, and it was connected to the Busiris river. Such an association with the Busiris River is therefore tenuous, and again we are left with a waterway which resembles no earlier channels, and indeed no later representation of the eastern Delta (Cooper, 2014).

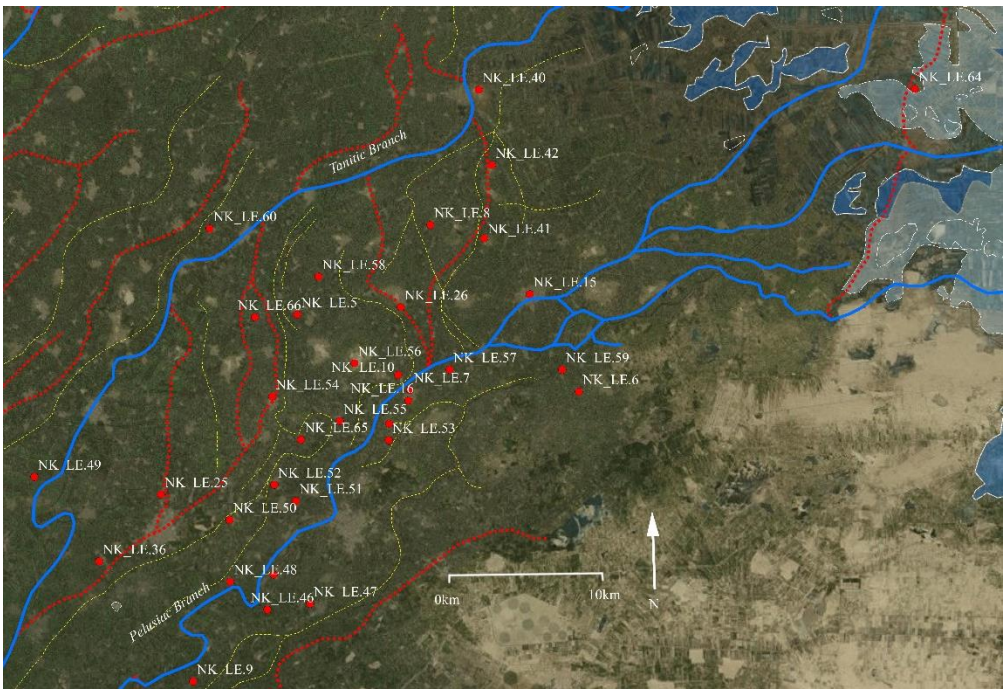
The evidence prior to the 5th century BCE adds to the problematic nature of locating the Tanitic branch in the pharaonic period. The texts and monuments of the Third Intermediate Period do not explicitly attest to a Tanitic Branch, or provide any definitive nomenclature which could be equated with such a feature. The Onomasticon of Amenemope still refers to 'The Waters of Pre' (The Pelusiac Branch) in the 21st Dynasty as the dominant waterway of the Eastern Delta, even though the capital had moved away from Qantir (ThIP_LE.48) to Tanis (ThIP_LE.50) due to the silting up of the Pelusiac Branch in the region of Qantir (ThIP_LE.48). The consistent omission in the Third Intermediate Period texts and monuments of any reference to a Tanitic Branch is striking, as this has been assumed as the major Nile branch in connection with the new capital at Tanis (ThIP_LE.50).

One term,  *wryt*, is mentioned in association with the region during the Ramesside Period (Gauthier, 1925a: 200; Gomaà, 1974: 107-8). The translation of this term  is 'High Water' (Hannig, 2000: 208) or 'Great Water'. The associated determinative suggests it is a channel, and may reflect a river run off channel in high flood episodes. This term may be evidence for the Tanitic channel in the region of Tanis (ThIP_LE.50) during the Ramesside Period, but it is no longer mentioned after the Ramesside Period, and is absent in the Third Intermediate Period sources, alongside any mention of associated Nile channels for the region.

The original site function of Tanis (ThIP_LE.50) was as a port in the Late New Kingdom, indicating the area was most likely a swampy/lacustrine region where it was difficult for large settlements to develop. Finally, the mention of the region of *r3-3ḥt* 'The Opening of the Fields' on the 22nd Dynasty statue of Gerew from Tanis (ThIP_LE.50) (Montet, 1957: 199) would indicate around Tanis (ThIP_LE.50) there were large areas of arable and cultivated land. A zone of agricultural land around Tanis (ThIP_LE.50) called 'The Opening of the Fields', was already documented in the previous New Kingdom on an obelisk of Neshey (Montet, 1957: 199).

The Pelusiac branch was the main waterway which supported the New Kingdom capital of Piramesse. New Kingdom settlement activity increased on the projected course of the Pelusiac Branch at the time of the construction and lifetime of the Ramesside capital at Qantir

(ThIP_LE.48) (Bietak, 1975: 102-103) Since Bietak's original 1975 study new surveys and excavations have found more New Kingdom sites in this area. So far, a total of 38 New Kingdom sites can be attested in the Tanitic and Pelusiac hinterland zones (Fig. 31).



NK_LE.5	30°50'56.87"N 31°45'43.56"E	Tell el-Abassiya
NK_LE.6	30°48'17.87"N 31°57'1.11"E	Tell el-Abiad
NK_LE.7	30°48'21.58"N 31°50'14.59"E	Tell Abu Shafei
NK_LE.8	30°54'2.08"N 31°51'3.56"E	Tell Abu Sulliman
NK_LE.9	30°38'17.91"N 31°41'31.95"E	Arab el-Sheikh Mubarak
NK_LE.10	30°48'52.07"N 31°49'46.31"E	Tell el-Awaya
NK_LE.15	30°51'35.84"N 31°55'3.80"E	Nebesheh
NK_LE.16	30°47'59.05"N 31°50'10.87"E	Qantir
NK_LE.25	30°44'43.07"N 31°40'17.49"E	Gezirat Sultan Hassan
NK_LE.26	30°51'11.97"N 31°49'51.62"E	Tell Ibrahim Awad
NK_LE.36	30°42'29.86"N 31°37'48.14"E	Pharbaitos
NK_LE.40	30°58'37.55"N 31°52'49.83"E	Tanis
NK_LE.41	30°53'33.59"N 31°53'14.14"E	Tell Gumaiyima
NK_LE.42	30°56'3.69"N 31°53'31.74"E	Tell Zuwelein
NK_LE.49	30°45'21.59"N 31°35'10.62"E	Tell Fauziya

NK_LE.50	30°43'52.48"N 31°43'0.39"E	Sinitris
NK_LE.51	30°44'31.91"N 31°45'39.69"E	el-Salatna
NK_LE.52	30°45'5.24"N 31°44'48.06"E	Tell el-Salumi
NK_LE.53	30°46'37.31"N 31°49'23.16"E	Ezbet Gayal
NK_LE.54	30°48'7.82"N 31°44'43.10"E	Tell Awlad Moussa
NK_LE.55	31°44'43.10"E 31°47'25.87"E	el-Kifriya
NK_LE.56	30°49'16.45"N 31°48'0.75"E	Gezirat Sineita
NK_LE.57	30°49'3.05"N 31°51'49.99"E	Tell Zaazi
NK_LE.58	30°52'15.31"N 31°46'34.58"E	Tell el-Iswid (N)
NK_LE.59	30°49'3.11"N 31°56'20.99"E	Kom el-Ahmar
NK_LE.60	30°53'54.83"N 31°42'12.52"E	Gezirat el-Faras
NK_LE.64	30°58'39.58"N 32°10'31.00"E	Tell Belim
NK_LE.65	30°46'38.50"N	Kom Sheikh Raziq
NK_LE.66	30°50'51.57"N 31°44'1.35"E	Tell el-Akhdar

Fig. 31. Map of the Tanitic and Pelusiac Branch Region in the New Kingdom showing archaeologically attested settlements. For overlay of Nile Branches see Bietak (1975: plan 4).

Four New Kingdom settlements on Bietak's (1975: plan 4) projected trajectory of the Tanitic branch, are no more than one mile away from the branch itself on the west bank. These are Tanis (ThIP_LE.50), Gezirat el-Faras, Tell Fauziya and Tellein. From Tanis (ThIP_LE.50), Gezirat el-Faras was ca. 19.5 km upstream. From Gezirat el-Faras, Tell Fauziya was another 20.9 km upstream, with the final most westerly settlement of Tellein was another 40.2 km along the channel. There is a possible progressive staggering of settlement locations from Tanis (ThIP_LE.50) to Tell Fauziya, based on the equidistant nature of each of the sites.

In the Third Intermediate Period, there is no evidence of settlement along the projected Tanitic branch's west bank (Fig. 32). Third Intermediate Period ceramic evidence has not been found at Gezirat el-Faras, Tell Fauziya or Tellein. There is also no evidence of Third Intermediate Period settlement on the east bank of the projected Tanitic branch. The only settlement of the period within 1 mile of the projected Tanitic trajectory is Tell Gherier (ThIP_LE.55), which itself is located on the intersection of the Tanitic Branch and one of the canals which form the canal network between the Pelusiac and suggested Tanitic course.

The canal network proposed by Bietak (1975: plan 4) linked the Tanitic and Pelusiac branches. This canal system supported fifteen New Kingdom sites. The number of sites is

reduced in the Third Intermediate Period, where a maximum of nine are attested, with Tell Gherier (ThIP_LE.55) the closest to the proposed Tanitic course.

At the time when Qantir (ThIP_LE.48) was in decline and the eventual movement of the capital to Tanis (ThIP_LE.50) was in process, an increase of Third Intermediate Period activity may be expected in association with Bietak's (1975: plan 4) proposed trajectory of the Tanitic Nile Branch and the hinterland of Tanis (ThIP_LE.50). The archaeological and textual evidence so far do not support such a scenario. The problematic nature of locating a Tanitic branch in the Third Intermediate Period landscape poses the hypothesis that there may have been a different hydrological development in play during the Third Intermediate Period.

Bietak (1975: plan 4) suggested that during the 21st to 22nd Dynasty a branch of the Pelusiac River flowed into the Tanitic Arm (Bietak, 1975: 109). The modern Bahr Faqus may follow the same trajectory and runs for 17.2 km. The canal runs to the west side of both Tell Zuwelein (ThIP_LE.56) and Tell Gumaiyima (ThIP_LE.57). An ancient waterway in this channel could have supported contact between the old capital area of Qantir (ThIP_LE.48) and the Third Intermediate Period capital at Tanis (ThIP_LE.50).

Tell Zuwelein (ThIP_LE.56) is located ca. 4.8 km south of Tanis (ThIP_LE.50) with New Kingdom remains (Leclant, 1973: 396) and a substantial burial ground of the Third Intermediate Period (Aston, 2009a: 62). Tell Gumaiyima (ThIP_LE.57) is located around 4.5 km to the south of Tell Zuwelein (ThIP_LE.56) and has a Late Ramesside cemetery (Ashmawy, 2006), while excavations by Griffith (1888: 41) indicated the presence of a Third Intermediate Period enclosure and temple. The presence of both Late Ramesside and Third Intermediate Period burials at both sites is paralleled with the taphonomic development of Tanis (ThIP_LE.50) which has Late Ramesside burials as the earliest activity at the site prior to the settlement's development into the Third Intermediate Period capital.

The equidistant nature of Tell Zuwelein (ThIP_LE.56) and Tell Gumaiyima (ThIP_LE.57) from Tanis (ThIP_LE.50) indicates they may have been founded along a route leading from Tanis (ThIP_LE.50) to another settlement such as Nebesheh (ThIP_LE.47) or the old capital of Qantir (ThIP_LE.48).

This possible scenario of population increase and site density growth may mirror that observed in the Western Delta river network at the end of the Third Intermediate Period and Late Period with the creation of new settlements along the Canopic branch. The avulsion of the Pelusiac branch around Qantir (ThIP_LE.48) and the resulting extension or adaption of the river network in the area could have led to the establishment of new settlements along what is now the Bahr Faqus canal. The creation of new channels by avulsion, perhaps assisted by human interactions, would have encouraged the growth in populations in the region. The labour forces required for the excavation of longitudinal canal systems would have taxed the available pool of labour who would have been already busy in the maintenance and clearance of the existing canal network as well as normal agricultural tasks. The movement of labour into these areas –

either from elsewhere in Egypt or settled captives would have raised local population numbers either on a temporary or permanent basis (Wilkinson, 2003: 99). The creation of new canals would set into motion a positive feedback requiring more irrigated farmland, which would contribute to the urbanisation and potentially further growth in the existing irrigation system in the region (Wilkinson, 2003: 99).

Elsewhere in the region, settlement activity continued at Tell Ibrahim Awad (ThIP_LE.58), Gezirat Sultan Hassan (ThIP_LE.69) and Pharbaitos (ThIP_LE.68). New settlement activity for the Third Intermediate Period is found at Tell Gherier (ThIP_LE.55), Tell Iswid (S) (ThIP_LE.59) (Aston, 1996a: 26; Foucart, 1902: 58-9, figs 7-8; Van den Brink, 1987) and Tell Fadadna / Tell Mindar (ThIP_LE.54), while at Tukh el-Qaramus (ThIP_LE.66) there is only limited evidence of New Kingdom activity (Snape, 2014: 212).

There is a significant decrease in the number of attested settlements for the Third Intermediate Period in this region. This may be due to the preservation of the archaeological and textual material. It could reflect a movement out of the previous Ramesside settlements and into a more nucleated form of urbanized settlement and into larger communities. In contrast, the pattern and form of habitation may have differed considerably between the Tanitic and Pelusiac regions. The large number of satellite sites clustering around the main centre of Qantir (ThIP_LE.48), appears to contrast with the large tell mound site type which focused all settlement in one nucleated area, instead of dispersing the settlement onto smaller tell sites which clustered around the main nucleus of Qantir (ThIP_LE.48).

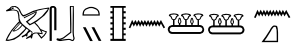
3.4.5.1 The East Bank of the Pelusiac Branch

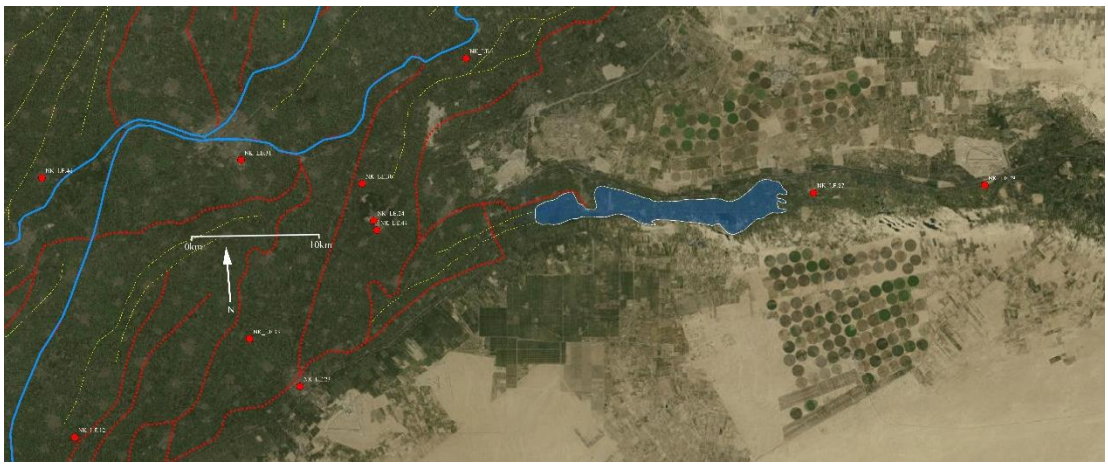
Along the Pelusiac Branch on the east bank 10 New Kingdom sites can be identified. In the Third Intermediate Period there was limited low-level settlement at Qantir (ThIP_LE.48), but the New Kingdom settlements of Tell Zaazi, Ezbet Gayal, Sidi Ahmed et-Tawil, Dimeyin, Tell Samuni and Arab Sheikh Mubarak all show an absence of Third Intermediate Period ceramics. Two new Third Intermediate Period settlements appear at el-Alaqma (ThIP_LE.52) and Gezira el-Tawila (ThIP_LE.53). el-Alaqma (ThIP_LE.52) is 4.8 km upstream of the New Kingdom settlement of Arab al-Sheikh Mubarak, while Gezira el-Tawila (ThIP_LE.53) is 4.8 km downstream. The evidence from the east bank suggests new settlements were developed upstream of the capital at Qantir (ThIP_LE.48), and may indicate the Pelusiac branch had only moved in the region of Qantir (ThIP_LE.48).

ThIP_LE.47	30°51'35.84"N 31°55'3.80"E	Nebesheh
ThIP_LE.48	30°47'59.05"N 31°50'10.87"E	Qantir
ThIP_LE.49	30°58'39.58"N 32°10'31.00"E	Tell Belim
ThIP_LE.50	30°58'37.55"N 31°52'49.83"E	Tanis
ThIP_LE.52	30°37'31.48"N 31°38'8.69"E	El-Alaqma
ThIP_LE.53	30°39'40.04"N 31°44'0.40"E	Gezirat el-Tawila
ThIP_LE.54	30°44'22.71"N 31°45'16.35"E	Tell Fadadna/Tell Mindar
ThIP_LE.55	30°50'55.53"N 31°41'1.15"E	Tell Gherier
ThIP_LE.56	30°56'3.69"N 31°53'31.74"E	Tell Zuwelein
ThIP_LE.57	30°53'33.59"N 31°53'14.14"E	Tell Gumaiyima
ThIP_LE.58	30°51'11.97"N 31°49'51.62"E	Tell Ibrahim Awad
ThIP_LE.59	30°51'10.75"N 31°45'57.28"E	Tell Iswid (S)
ThIP_LE.66	30°40'52.31"N 31°38'27.03"E	Tukh el-Qaramus
ThIP_LE.68	30°42'29.86"N 31°37'48.14"E	Pharbaitos
ThIP_LE.69	30°44'43.07"N 31°40'17.49"E	Gezirat Sultan Hassan
ThIP_LE.70	30°47'1.75"N 31°48'31.47"E	el-Khataana
ThIP_LE.71	30°47'12.26"N 31°49'26.34"E	Tell el-Daba
ThIP_LE.72	30°55'8.01"N 32° 3'0.98"E	Tell Ginn
ThIP_LE.73	30°57'56.01"N 32°25'25.16"E	Tell el-Ghaba
ThIP_LE.74	30°56'14.20"N 32°22'31.83"E	Tell Heboua

Fig. 32. Map of the Tanitic and Pelusiac Branch Region in the Third Intermediate Period. For overlay of Nile Branches see Bietak (1975: plan 4).

In the far south of the Pelusiac Branch New Kingdom settlement was found at el-Shobak, el-Birkawi, el-Shagamba, Bilbeis and Minayar, while the main settlements of Tell el-Yahudiyah (ThIP_LE.61), Bubastis (ThIP_LE.51) and Saft el-Henna (ThIP_LE.62), all show evidence of New Kingdom and Third Intermediate Period activity (Figs 33-34). Suwa (ThIP_LE.63), associated with Saft el-Henna (ThIP_LE.62), is the only other site to preserve Third Intermediate Period occupation.

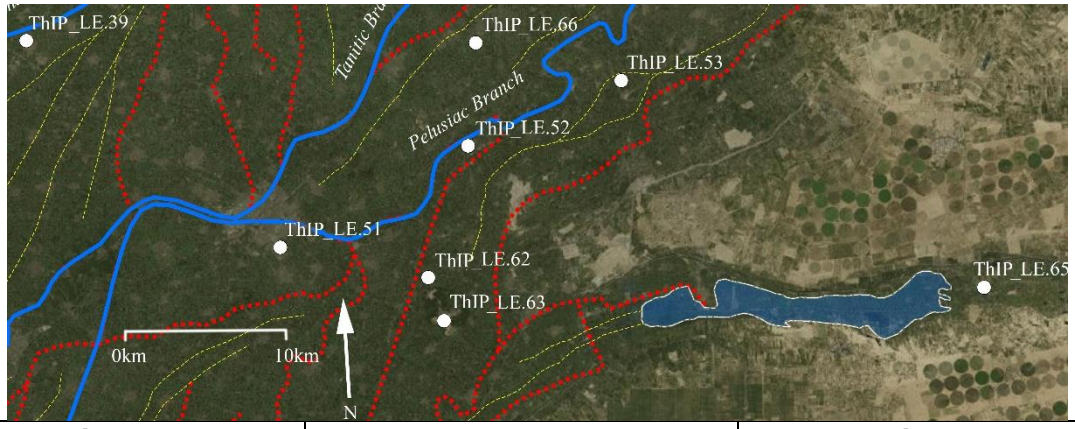
The proposed waterways of Bietak (1975: plan 4) indicates there was probably a minor channel in the New Kingdom which flowed in the area of the modern el-Bahr el-Shirini as it flows past Bilbeis, while Minayar and el-Shobak both border it closely on the east bank. Two more possible hydrological variants of canals probably connected with the el-Bahr el-Shrini based on Bietak's (1975: plan 4) hydraulic maps, with el-Shagamba on a western waterway and Saft el-Henna (ThIP_LE.62), Suwa (ThIP_LE.63) and Ali Mara on the eastern most channel. The presence of concentrated Third Intermediate Period activity on the eastern channel suggests this was active during the Third Intermediate Period only. The Wadi Tumilat during this period saw continued activity at Tell el-Retaba (ThIP_LE.65) and Tell el-Maskhuta (ThIP_LE.64), while the entrance of the Wadi Tumilat around Saft el-Henna may have been fortified by the new military foundation of  *p3-sbty-n-šsnḳ* 'The Walls of Shoshenq III' (ThIP_LE.83) to control traffic into and out of the Eastern Desert.



NK_LE.9	30°38'17.91"N 31°41'31.95"E	Arab el-Sheikh Mubarak
NK_LE.12	30°22'58.18"N 31°23'9.50"E	el-Birkawi
NK_LE.23	30°25'2.15"N 31°33'44.19"E	Bilbeis
NK_LE.24	30°31'46.48"N 31°37'13.42"E	Suwa
NK_LE.27	30°32'53.49"N 31°57'53.62"E	Tell el-Retaba
NK_LE.29	30°33'12.88"N 32° 5'56.41"E	Tell el-Maskhuta
NK_LE.30	30°33'14.15"N 31°36'37.01"E	Saft el-Henna
NK_LE.31	30°34'10.96"N 31°30'57.93"E	Tell Basta

NK_LE.33	30°26'57.61"N 31°31'22.29"E	el-Shagamba
NK_LE.43	30°18'18.36"N 31°19'56.05"E	el-Shobak
NK_LE.45	30°33'28.48"N 31°21'36.91"E	Tellein

Fig. 33. New Kingdom Sites in the Region of Bubastis and the Wadi Tumilat. For overlay of Nile Branches see Bietak (1975: plan 4).



ThIP_LE.51	30°34'10.96"N 31°30'57.93"E	Bubastis
ThIP_LE.52	30°37'31.48"N 31°38'8.69"E	el-Alaqma
ThIP_LE.53	30°39'40.04"N 31°44'0.40"E	Gezirat el-Tawila
ThIP_LE.62	30°33'14.15"N 31°36'37.01"E	Saft el-Henna
ThIP_LE.63	30°31'46.48"N 31°37'13.42"E	Suwa
ThIP_LE.66	30°40'52.31"N 31°38'27.03"E	Tukh el-Qaramus

Fig. 34. Third Intermediate Period Sites in the Region of Bubastis and the Wadi Tumilat. For overlay of Nile Branches see Bietak (1975: plan 4).

The settlement patterns in this region indicate that there was a reduction in settlement from the New Kingdom into the Third Intermediate Period. The archaeological data may reflect a real-world picture of settlement at this time in this area during the Third Intermediate Period, and settlement had contracted or nucleated to the main centre at Bubastis (ThIP_LE.51).

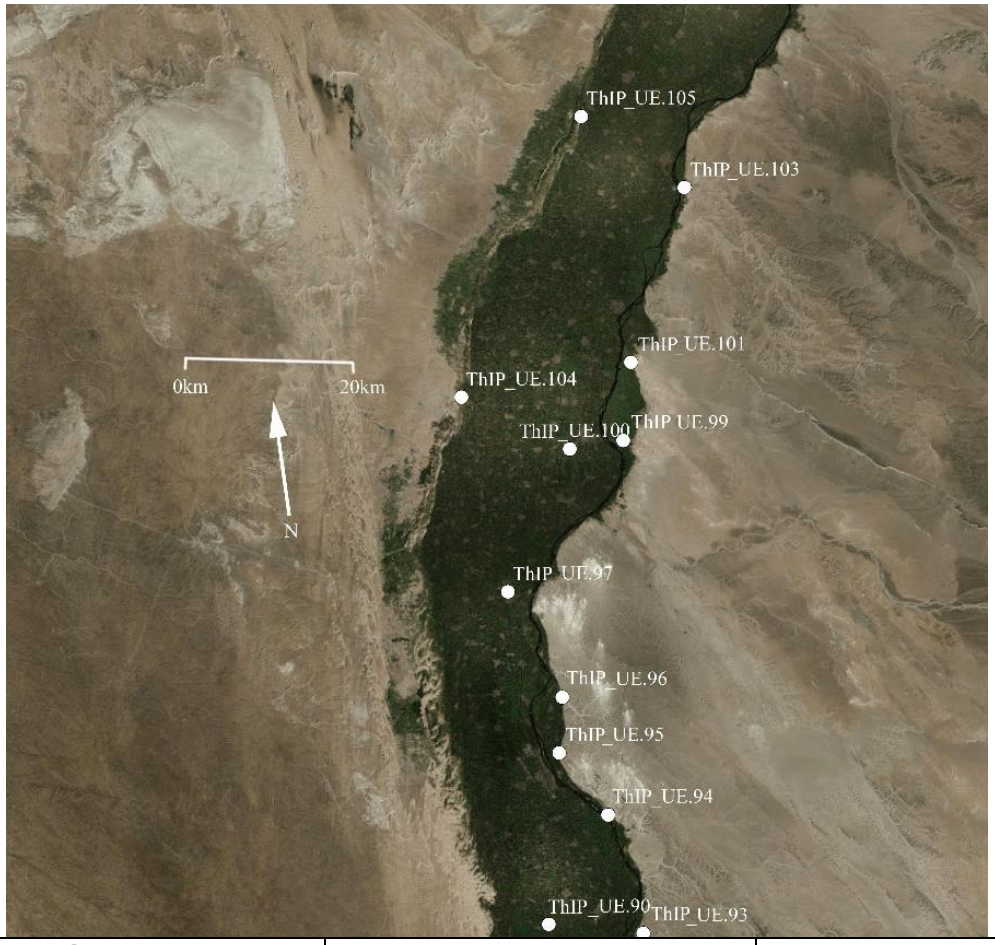
3.4.6 Upper Egypt: Akoris (ThIP_UE.96) to Atfih (ThIP_UE.158)

The region from Akoris (ThIP_UE.96) to Atfih (ThIP_UE.158) encompasses the 16th to 22nd Upper Egyptian nomes. These nomes have been grouped together to form a coherent geographic region to assess the potential for an analysis of settlement patterns regarding the earlier 20th Dynasty cadastral survey of the region recorded on the Wilbour Papyrus. This approach allows for a quantitative and comparative analysis to be achieved with the Third Intermediate Period data. The grouping of these regions into one unified district is in line with the geo-political boundaries of the Third Intermediate Period and allows for the large number of un-located settlements to be placed within a specific regional area. The error percentage in the placement of unknown locations in one nome or another is reduced. The maps below (Figs 35 and 36) show those sites which can be located within fixed geographical locations and will be further discussed below.

ThIP_UE.105	28°52'21.82"N 30°47'55.66"E	Kom el-Ahmar
ThIP_UE.107	29° 5'7.84"N 30°56'15.26"E	Heracleopolis
ThIP_UE.143	29°18'31.64"N 30°50'36.30"E	Medinat el-Fayum
ThIP_UE.144	29°31'7.72"N 30°54'15.75"E	Karanis
ThIP_UE.145	29°11'34.83"N 30°38'35.43"E	Medinat Maadi
ThIP_UE.147	29°12'4.28"N 30°57'7.75"E	Gurob
ThIP_UE.148	29°23'17.17"N 31° 9'31.52"E	Meidum
ThIP_UE.149	29° 8'32.13"N 30°54'1.55"E	Sedment
ThIP_UE.150	29°14'18.78"N 30°59'5.97"E	Lahun
ThIP_UE.151	29°13'55.17"N 31° 3'1.04"E	Haraga
ThIP_UE.152	29°16'17.03"N 30°53'57.38"E	Hawara

ThIP_UE.153	29°18'5.89"N 31°15'18.12"E	Riqqeh
ThIP_UE.154	29°26'40.52"N 31°11'50.04"E	Girza
ThIP_UE.155	29°19'52.68"N 31° 8'16.76"E	Kom Abu Radi
ThIP_UE.156	29°14'53.57"N 31° 4'57.08"E	Abusir el-Meleq
ThIP_UE.158	29°24'28.07"N 31°15'10.87"E	Atfih

Fig. 35. Archaeologically Located Third Intermediate Period Sites in the Akoris – Atfih Region (North Part).



ThIP_UE.90	27°54'52.60"N 30°45'37.09"E	Jarris
ThIP_UE.93	27°54'13.87"N 30°52'17.84"E	Istabl Antar
ThIP_UE.94	28° 2'40.09"N 30°49'50.05"E	Zawyat el-Amwat/ Zawyat el-Maiyitin
ThIP_UE.95	28° 7'5.38"N 30°46'21.35"E	Nazlet el-Shurafa
ThIP_UE.96	28°11'2.50"N 30°46'34.81"E	Akoris
ThIP_UE.97	28°18'32.74"N 30°42'42.09"E	Samalut
ThIP_UE.99	28°29'17.93"N 30°50'54.99"E	Esh Sheikh el-Fadl

ThIP_UE.100	28°29'17.93"N 30°50'54.99"E	El-Kes
ThIP_UE.101	28°34'51.61"N 30°51'27.53"E	Kom el-Ahmar (Sawaris)
ThIP_UE.103	28°47'12.27"N 30°55'16.98"E	el-Hibeh
ThIP_UE.104	28°32'22.74"N 30°39'25.84"E	el-Bahnasa
ThIP_UE.105	28°52'21.82"N 30°47'55.66"E	Kom el-Ahmar

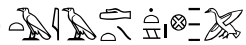
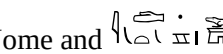
Fig. 36. Archaeologically Located Third Intermediate Period Sites in the Akoris – Atfih Region (South Part).

The evidence from the cadastral lists of the 20th Dynasty Wilbour Papyrus, and the 22nd Dynasty Cairo JE 39410 allow for a snapshot of the development of a settlement system in the Akoris (ThIP_UE.96) to Atfih (ThIP_UE.158) region based on textual evidence. These documents can provide a chronological progression of a specific site type development that indicate changes in the organization of the settlement networks during the transition between the end of the New Kingdom and the start of the 22nd Dynasty. The Wilbour Papyrus lists 142 locations in this region for the reign of Ramesses V (ca. 1149-1145 BCE) (Gardiner, 1948a: table II). This is no more than 75 years before the start of the Third Intermediate Period, and ca. 206 years before the reign of Shoshenq I in 943 BCE. The evidence shows 67 sites recorded on 21st and 22nd Dynasty monuments and texts are in this same region. There is a 52.82% decrease in recorded sites from the end of the New Kingdom and into the Third Intermediate Period. Whether this scenario represents a nucleation of settlement into the larger regional centres and a reduction in small sites from the end of the New Kingdom into the Third Intermediate Period is at this moment unclear.

The Wilbour Papyrus may represent the wider network of settlements for the region, and is a model for other large floodplain regions in Upper Egypt and the Delta. Most of the sites recorded on the Third Intermediate Period records are newly recorded toponyms and may suggest either new settlements being created in this region and the declining importance of others, a changing of settlement names in conjunction with a new political regime in the region, or the bias of textual documents towards specific site types that were chosen to be recorded, and omit a large majority of the smaller sites. The recording of toponyms of Cairo JE 39410 from the reign of Shoshenq I for religious reasons and not on an administrative papyrus may reflect only the most important sites for the region in a cultic setting of offering bulls, while those smaller settlements which may have been listed in large administrative cadastral surveys have been omitted.

One site type which allows for a glimpse at the development of the settlement system in this region, and can shed light on this site type in Third Intermediate Period Egypt are the *i3t* site.

In the 20th Dynasty, the Wilbour Papyrus records several locations formed with the writing , a late writing of . The hieroglyph depicts a mound and should be equated with the modern Arabic term *Kom* or *Tell* (Gardiner, 1948a: 33). The Wilbour Papyrus records 11 locations with the old writing of 'Mound'. In the Third Intermediate Period, none of the five attested *I3t* locations are to be identified with sites previously listed in the Wilbour Papyrus, while all five of the Third Intermediate Period settlements exhibit the later writing instead of . What is noticeable regarding the writing of the term "Mound'' is the 21st Dynasty documents all exhibit the later form , while the 22nd Dynasty document exhibits the earlier writing of . It is possible the document of Shoshenq I is a re-copying of an earlier text in which the early form of has been retained, or it could be an archaising form of language was adopted for the temple inscription of Heryshef.

The five 'Mound' locations make up 7.46 % of the Akoris (ThIP_UE.96) -Atfih (ThIP_UE.158) region settlements but cannot be equated with any modern Arabic toponyms. In the Third Intermediate Period the five settlements are all newly named settlements, and there is limited evidence for other settlements for Egypt in the Third Intermediate Period, with the only other example is *i3t-ṯ3mt*, (ThIP_LE.12) from the Memphite Region and the settlements of  *t3 i3t p3 bꜣk* 'The Mound of the Falcon' (ThIP_UE.24) in the Theban Nome and  *i3t-ity* (ThIP_UE.59) from the 10th Upper Egyptian Nome. settlements only occur in Upper Egypt and the Memphite region.

Other archaeological sites in the region are el-Hibeh (ThIP_UE.103), el-Bahnasa (Oxyrhynchus) (ThIP_UE.104) and Atfih (ThIP_UE.158). Beyond the main temple and the royal necropolis at Heracleopolis(ThIP_UE.107) (Aston, 2009a: 108-11; Pérez-Die, 2009; 2010), the evidence for domestic settlement in this region is lacking, with only limited early Third Intermediate Period settlement at Lisht North (ThIP_LE.2) (Aston, 1996a, 36-7; Mace, 1921) and Akoris (ThIP_UE.96) (Aston, 2009a: 111-112; Hanasaka, 2011: 9-11; Kawanishi and Tsujimura, 2012: 5-15; Tsujimura, 2011, 4-9).

The archaeology for the region beyond Heracleopolis(ThIP_UE.103), Lisht (North) (ThIP_LE.2), Akoris (ThIP_UE.96) and el-Hibeh (ThIP_UE.103) is almost entirely made up of cemeteries, which are predominantly situated on the west bank of the Nile, but are likely to have had some form of associated settlement with them. The cemeteries include Sedment (ThIP_UE.149) (Aston, 1996a: 39-40; 2009a: 107-8; Naville, 1894: 13, pls vii-viii, xi; Petrie and Brunton, 1924a; pl. xv.25-6;

1924b, pls lxvii, lix.35, lx.40-3), Gurob (ThIP_UE.147) (Aston, 1996a: 39; 2009a: 107; Brunton and Engelbach, 1927; Kemp, 1978; Loat, 1905: 8, pls xviii [2], xix; PM IV, 1934: 114), el-Lahun (ThIP_UE.150) (Aston, 2009a: 94-107) Haraga (ThIP_UE.151) (Aston, 2009a: 94; Engelbach, 1923: 2-3, pl. xxi.200, 204-5, 218-19, pl. lxiii; Petrie, 1914a: 186), Hawara (ThIP_UE.152) (Aston, 2009a: 92; Petrie, 1912: 36, pl. xxxi), Meidum (ThIP_UE.148) (Aston, 2009a: 90-2; Mackay, 1910: 22, 24, 35, pl. xxviii.135-9; Petrie, 1892: 14, 19, 20-1; PM IV, 1934: 95; Rowe, 1931: 26-8, pls xv.7, xv.22), Riqqeh (ThIP_UE.153) and Girza (ThIP_UE.154), with possible evidence of a funerary stela (Beni Suef Inspectorate 32-987) from Kom Abu Radi (ThIP_UE.155) (north east of Abusir el-Meleq (ThIP_UE.156) and 6 km south of Meidum (ThIP_UE.148)) (Meffre, 2015: doc. 137), and a textual attestation of activity at Abusir el-Meleq (ThIP_UE.156) on Cairo JE 39410. Yoyotte (1961b: 94; 1963: 90, no. 3) proposed that the cemetery of Lahun (ThIP_UE.150) had been abandoned at the end of the Middle Kingdom and was re-utilised between the 22nd and 25th Dynasty for the burials of the people of the fortress of Per Sekhemkheperre (ThIP_UE.157). One military burial was found in the necropolis, while no monument from Lahun (ThIP_UE.150) mentions Per Sekhemkheperre (ThIP_UE.157) (Meffre, 2015: 375). Aston's re-analysis of so-called 22nd Dynasty to 25th Dynasty burials has led him to re-date these burials to no earlier than the 7th century BCE and would place them at the end of the Third Intermediate Period, probably sometime in the 25th Dynasty, this would suggest that if Lahun (ThIP_UE.150) was re-utilised as suggested by Yoyotte then the associated burial ground of the 22nd Dynasty has not been discovered, or Per Sekhemkheperre (ThIP_UE.157) is not in the vicinity of Lahun (ThIP_UE.150).

Although the Faiyum is named in the Third Intermediate Period little else is known concerning the wider region and its settlements compared to the Nile Valley to the east. Evidence is limited to a small number of royal and private monuments at Medinat el-Faiyum (Crocodilopolis) (ThIP_UE.143) and Medinat Maadi (ThIP_UE.145), while it is possible that there was some settlement or funerary activity at Kom Aushim (Karanis) (ThIP_UE.144), as two cartonnage mummies in anthropoid wooden coffins were found during excavations in the 1980s (Taylor, 2009: 382). At Medinat Maadi (ThIP_UE.145), the Middle Kingdom temple (temple A) has a preserved decoration of a King Osorkon (I?), in the portico (2nd Hypostyle Hall) (Davoli, 1998: 228; Meffre, 2015: doc. 15), while a statue of proposed Third Intermediate Period date, probably of the 22nd Dynasty, comes from Medinat el-Faiyum (ThIP_UE.143) (Baltimore, Walkers Art Museum 22.202) (Steindorff, 1946: 26-7 no. 42, pl. X and CXI no. 42; Zecchi, 1999: 70-1, no. 292).

Due to the lack of survey and excavation in the region to the north of the settlement of Akoris (ThIP_UE.96), and the early excavations of the cemeteries bordering the West Bank, the settlement pattern situation in this region is difficult to interpret, while the settlement patterns for the smaller order settlements of the Third Intermediate Period are not possible to assess. The overall nature of the evidence from this region is reliant on textual sources, instead of

archaeology, but should not be dismissed out of hand. The documentation of this region within the papyri and the temple inscriptions indicates the importance of this region from both a political and economic viewpoint from the start of the Third Intermediate Period. What is notable within the region of Akoris (ThIP_UE.96) to Atfih (ThIP_UE.158) is that, in conjunction with the prosperous cultivatable region, there is a proliferation of fortified outposts, no doubt controlling access in and out of the most economically valuable regions, as well as access to and from the wadi routes of which several of them lead out to the Eastern Desert such as the Wadi Lishyab, Wadi Arhab and the Wadi Sannur, while desert routes leading out to the Western Desert in the region of Heracleopolis(ThIP_UE.103) were the Wadi Ruwayar and the Wadi Muweilih heading out towards the Bahariya Oasis. These routes would need securing as they were one of the main access routes into and out of the Western Desert for the Heracleopolitan region.

3.4.7 The Theban Nome

The Theban Nome is one of the most studied areas of Egypt due to the good preservation of religious and funerary monuments, along with a large corpus of textual material. Most evidence, particularly texts, for the Third Intermediate Period is derived from the temples and tombs in the area, but the archaeological settlement evidence is lacking in comparison. On the East Bank, there is evidence of Third Intermediate Period settlement activity to the south of the Mut Complex at Karnak (Sullivan, 2013), while a 21st Dynasty Stela of the High Priest of Amun Menkheperre (Cairo Stela 3/12/24/2), describes the encroachment of the Theban settlement into the walls of the Great Amun Temple (Ritner, 2009b: 136-7) suggesting some form of expansion of the New Kingdom settlement to the north west of the Amun temple of Karnak in the early 21st Dynasty. To the west of the Mut complex at Abu el-Gud, Third Intermediate Period settlement was found on top of a small temple of Ramesses II (el-Saghir, 1988). On the West Bank a settlement developed within the Great Enclosure wall of the Temple of Medinat Habu (ThIP_UE.22) (Hölscher, 1954) and the numerous necropoli have been located within the New Kingdom mortuary temples (Aston, 1996a: 53-6; 2009a: 260-8).

The settlement distribution for the Third Intermediate Period in the Theban Nome corresponds largely to the preceding New Kingdom (Fig. 37). Many of the settlements of the New Kingdom continued to function and retained their political importance, with Armant (ThIP_UE.20) and Naga el-Medamud (ThIP_UE.26) maintaining their importance throughout the period. The number of recorded settlements is approximately equivalent to that of the New Kingdom, while the New Kingdom texts provide a much more varied and detailed description of the surrounding sacred landscape and religious buildings, which is lacking from the Third Intermediate Period texts.

ThIP_UE.16	25°29'40.65"N 32°31'12.56"E	Dibabeya
ThIP_UE.18	25°29'24.90"N 32°29'0.61"E	Gebelein
ThIP_UE.19	25°35'44.26"N 32°27'55.65"E	el-Rizeiqat
ThIP_UE.20	25°37'18.83"N 32°32'40.48"E	Armant
ThIP_UE.21	25°34'58.97"N 32°32'0.34"E	Tod
ThIP_UE.22	See Appendix I Entry	Thebes (West Bank)
ThIP_UE.25	25°42'40.76"N 32°39'5.68"E	Thebes (East Bank)
ThIP_UE.26	25°44'2.49"N 32°42'36.49"E	Naga el-Medamud

Fig. 37. Third Intermediate Period Sites in the Theban Region.

The 20th Dynasty Papyrus BM 10068 which records the robberies of the Royal Tombs in the Valley of the Kings provides information regarding the settlement patterns on the West Bank of Thebes during the 20th Dynasty, which can be tracked into the Third Intermediate Period. Papyrus BM 10068 has the title 'Town Register of the West of Thebes from the temple of Menmaatre to the settlement of Maiunehes'. This text preserves a list of houses, the names and the occupations of their owners. It begins with the temple of Menmaatre (the Temple of Seti I at Gurna), followed by ten houses, the majority of which were occupied by priests, and as Snape (2014: 40) suggests, was a priestly community in connection with the Seti I temple at Gurna. The text then mentions the temple of Usermaatre Setepenre (the Ramesseum) followed by 14 more houses occupied by priests, no doubt connected to the Ramesseum (Snape, 2014: 40). Finally, the temple of Medinat Habu (ThIP_UE.22) is listed with 155 houses which form a real community with mixed occupations and not a reduced temple staff (Snape, 2014: 40).

The settlement of Maiunehes is likely to refer to the settlement inside the Medinat Habu (ThIP_UE.22) temple. The communities from the West Bank had nucleated to Medinat Habu (ThIP_UE.22) and the West Bank population density had now increased within the single confines of the temple, and settlement density decreased across the wider West Bank floodplain as the mortuary temples were utilized as large burial grounds. The increase in tribal raids and the decreased security on the West Bank facilitated the move behind the walls of Medinat Habu (ThIP_UE.22), over concerns for security and protection.

Beyond Thebes itself, Tod (ThIP_UE.21) has so far produced no monumental or textual evidence of the Third Intermediate Period, although some form of settlement activity continued as Third Intermediate Period ceramics have been found in fills in the temple area (Pierrat-Bonnefois, 2000). The omission of Tod (ThIP_UE.21) from the Onomasticon of Amenemope could indicate by the 21st Dynasty the settlement had lost some of its political and administrative status. The omission of Tod (ThIP_UE.21) corresponds with the cessation of activity at el-Salamiya to the west of Tod (ThIP_UE.21). El-Salamiya was probably an associated burial ground and possible settlement associated with Tod (ThIP_UE.21), with burials dating from the Middle Kingdom (Bouriant, 1886: 126-7, 128) until the 20th Dynasty (Kamal, 1909: 63). The cessation of the burial activity in the Late Ramesside Period would correspond with the reduced monumental activity at Tod (ThIP_UE.21) and its omission from the preserved texts of the period. These factors indicate Tod (ThIP_UE.21) had lost its prominence in the Third Intermediate Period, and it is possible el-Salamiya, was not used for, at least, elite burials.

3.4.8 Upper Egypt: 1st and 2nd Upper Egyptian Nomes

The southern nomes of Upper Egypt represent a different geographical situation compared to the rest of Upper Egypt. The area around Aswan is characterised by low desert hills coming down to the river, with cataracts of the river forming impassable barriers to fluvial transport. The lack of habitable space on either side of the Nile caused by the sandstone cliffs made organically developed settlement difficult. In the 1st Upper Egyptian Nome, a 5 km long area between the modern towns of Naga el-Hamdlab and Naga el-Hajar, where the Valley is reduced to the Nile itself, created limited space for the alluvium to rest during the annual inundation. The lack of available arable land made it difficult for settlements to develop, until cultivation started around the modern town of Naga el-Hajar ca. 14.5 km to the south of the nome capital Kom Ombo (ThIP_UE.5). To the north of Gebel el-Silsila (ThIP_UE.6) the Eastern Desert borders the Nile closely, sometimes leaving no room for agriculture to take place. On the West Bank, sandstone mountain ranges border the Nile closely from the villages of Naga el-Hamam to Naga el-Aqabiyya, an almost 12 km long area with little vegetation or modern settlement. The region of the 1st and 2nd Upper Egyptian Nomes is characterised by the lack of settlements during the

Third Intermediate Period. This lack of settlement activity is attested for both the Third Intermediate Period and New Kingdom, where, as in the Third Intermediate Period the main centres of activity lay in the frontier forts of Bigga (ThIP_UE.1), Sehel (ThIP_UE.2) and Elephantine (ThIP_UE.3). Further north beyond Elephantine (ThIP_UE.3), the lack of evidence for settlements within the region corresponds to the much-reduced cultivated area, as there is a long 40.5 km stretch of Nile Valley between Elephantine (ThIP_UE.3) and Kom Ombo (ThIP_UE.5) with no evidence of settlement activity for the period (Figs 38-39)

ThIP_UE.1	24° 0'55.46 N, 32° 53'40.10 E	Bigga
ThIP_UE.2	24° 3'39.76 N, 32° 52'15.50 E	Sehel
ThIP_UE.3	24° 5'4.66 N, 32° 53'8.33 E	Elephantine
ThIP_UE.4	24°49'16.97"N 32°52'44.73"E	Buweib el-Bahari
ThIP_UE.5	24°27'7.61"N 32°55'42.88"E	Kom Ombo
ThIP_UE.6	24°38'31.05"N 32°56'4.73"E	Gebel el-Silsila
ThIP_UE.7	24°52'11.03"N 32°51'25.62"E	Naga el-Hassaia

Fig. 38. Third Intermediate Period Sites in the 1st Upper Egyptian Nome.

ThIP_UE.8	24°58'37.73"N 32°52'20.91"E	Edfu
ThIP_UE.9	25° 5'24.08"N32°46'19.88"E	Kom el-Ahmar
ThIP_UE.10	25° 7'7.96"N 32°47'52.15"E	el-Kab
ThIP_UE.11	25°12'50.92"N 32°38'1.48"E	Komir
ThIP_UE.12	25°17'51.09"N 32°30'49.77"E	Esna
ThIP_UE.14	25°23'29.38"N 32°32'30.07"E	Asfun el-Matanah
ThIP_UE.15	25°27'29.53"N 32°32'13.01"E	Moalla

Fig. 39. Third Intermediate Period sites in the 2nd and 3rd Upper Egyptian Nomes.

The high proportion of fortresses (Bigga (ThIP_UE.1), Sehel (ThIP_UE.2), Elephantine (ThIP_UE.3), Buweib el-Bahari (ThIP_UE.4)) in the 1st Upper Egyptian Nome no doubt creates an illusion of a higher density of settlement compared to the other less populated region such as the 2nd Upper Egyptian Nome. The high preservation of settlement numbers in desert environments affects site density ratios compared to more arable areas of the country in which settlements are located above the floodplain and have had continued occupation.

This region should not be viewed as a highly dense region of organically developed settlement with large population density, compared to the regions in Middle Egypt, as the high frequency of fortress locations creates a false illusion of a region with a well-developed settlement pattern. As control of the 1st Cataract region began to decline during the Third Intermediate Period and the security of the 1st Upper Egyptian Nome was not guaranteed, people may have moved out of the smaller settlements and into the frontier settlement of Elephantine (ThIP_UE.3) and the cultivated region of Kom Ombo (ThIP_UE.5) to gain security and guaranteed food supplies in the region.

The area around the 2nd Upper Egyptian Nome capital Edfu (ThIP_UE.8) has a wide floodplain with a large hinterland area for the potential development of satellite settlements. The evidence so far suggests a sparsely settled area in the Third Intermediate Period, which is confirmed by, and corresponds with the New Kingdom data. The hydrology of the area in the New Kingdom indicates the Nile had a minor channel between Kom el-Farahy and Hagar Edfu (ThIP_UE.8), probably with a larger channel to the east of Kom el-Farahy (Bunbury et al, 2009). During the New Kingdom, the Nile still deposited silts around Kom el-Farahy. The occupation history of Kom el-Farahy is not clear, but there may have been continuous activity on the Kom or a hiatus after the New Kingdom, and since the New Kingdom the Nile migrated to the east (Bunbury, Graham and Strutt, 2009: 5). The evidence suggests due to a change in the local hydrology at around the end of the New Kingdom a new settlement pattern may have developed in the region around Edfu (ThIP_UE.8), as Kom el-Farahy may have been abandoned at the start of the 21st Dynasty.

3.5 Conclusions and Characteristics of the Third Intermediate Period Settlements

Despite the nature of the landscape and its taphonomic development since the end of the Third Intermediate Period a combination of historical texts, regional archaeological and environmental case studies, and the landscape itself, can be used in conjunction with each other to understand aspects of the political, social, and economic relationships of settlement systems in Egypt.

The thematic analyses of texts and archaeological data have demonstrated that beyond the few royal and elite cemeteries, knowledge of non-elite burial grounds is almost unknown for the entirety of the period, while there is a clear under representation of funerary sites compared to domestic settlements. The general policy of land administration was a continuation of New Kingdom policies with extensive hinterland connections with the major temple institutions, along with land donations. A characteristic of the Third Intermediate Period is that land administrators appear to have developed a policy of a reorganisation of old lands, which were brought under the powers of new political centres. These settlements subsequently developed throughout the period into important independent political and economic centres. Those regions with the most economic value based on agricultural surplus are consistently mentioned in the administrative documents of the both the New Kingdom and Third Intermediate Period, while other nomes and their capitals such as Shutb (ThIP_UE.79) and Dendara (ThIP_UE.33) are absent within the texts.

The regional studies on the Deltaic settlement systems have raised several issues such as the location and emergence of active Nile delta branches during the period. The evidence

shows that the Mendesian Branch during this period should be located between Mendes (ThIP_LE.38) and Thmuis (Tell Timai), while there is so far, no evidence to suggest the presence of the Canopic branch in the Western Delta at this time, while the overall density of settlements for the Western Delta for this period remains low. There appears to be a new hydraulic system developing in the Western Delta with the presence of the *Khenes* Canal under Shoshenq III and the subsequent development of the political centres in that region, which facilitated increased settlement numbers as attested in the Late Period. There is a general absence of Third Intermediate Period settlement evidence along the previously proposed Tanitic branch location. The settlement systems in the eastern Delta favour a continuation of settlement along the Pelusiac branch, while there is no meaningful change in the settlement pattern of the region despite the movement of the capital to Tanis (ThIP_LE.50), calling into question the level of political power of Tanis (ThIP_LE.50) during the 21st Dynasty, as it has no associated donation stelae, and the rulers were still residing in Memphis (ThIP_LE.3) during the early 21st Dynasty, while the royal residence is at Heracleopolis (ThIP_UE.107) in the 22nd Dynasty. The region around Bubastis (ThIP_LE.51) appears to have a low regional settlement density. The settlement evidence suggests that settlement density appears to contract or nucleated to the main centres at Bubastis (ThIP_LE.51), Tanis (ThIP_LE.50), Mendes (ThIP_LE.38) and Leontopolis (ThIP_LE.39). The increasing territorial pressures exercised by the increased fragmentation of the state, and inter-regional territory annexation could have caused this scenario.

The military institutions of the New Kingdom in Upper Egypt appear to have been maintained with subsequent additions and fortifications erected in areas of important strategic, and politico-economic junctures based on new political borders, particularly in the Theban Nome and the Heracleopolitan / Faiyum region. The lack of identifiable military settlements in the Delta may suggest a different military organisation, or military site terminology was in place. The study of the 1st and 2nd Upper Egyptian Nomes and the proliferation of archeologically attested military site types and the lack of potential for cultivation is reflective of the nature of high site preservation rates for desert regions, which is a feature observed in Near Eastern archaeology (Wilkinson, 2003:42). The Theban case study shows the importance of comparing texts with the archaeological record to track the prosperity of settlements during political changes as the texts would suggest that Tod (ThIP_UE.21) had lost some of its political or economic power, while the temple showed no sign of additions compared to the other sites such as Armant (ThIP_UE.20) and Naga el-Medamud (ThIP_UE.26) that may correlate with this hypothesis. Finally, by comparing and chronologically tracking place names through the administrative texts it shows the political and economic importance of certain site types over different phases,

something which has been demonstrated with the settlements in the Heracleopolitan / Faiyum region.

Based on the characteristics of the Third Intermediate Period identified through the settlement pattern evidence and regional cases studies suggest that Egypt in general at this period was a country that was fragmented in an administrative sense. This is viewed in the choice and geographical extent of settlements mentioned on early Third Intermediate Period administrative and cadastral documents, along with the distribution of 21st Dynasty burials in the south of Upper Egypt, while they are absent in the archaeological record in the north of Upper Egypt which is dominated by 22nd Dynasty cemeteries, and reflects the gradual fragmentation of the geopolitical landscape. The gradual retraction of 21st Dynasty influence on the southern border to Elephantine (ThIP_UE.3) and the focus on fortifying military locations in the south of Egypt along a checkpoint system indicates a more inward-looking attitude of the political elite. The decrease in overall site numbers compared to the New Kingdom, may be reflective of a bias in site preservation rates, but may be representative of a more inward looking regional policy of local populations, and the need to be clustered in more close-knit kin groups, following a Libyan social influence. This is most visible in the Delta where Libyan influence was most felt, while the growing power of regional centres may have influenced the urbanisation of the country and created a hinterland pull out of the small settlements and created more urbanized centres under strong powerful local leaders.

These characteristics will be further analysed in Chapter 4 through the examination of the organisation of settlements and their transformation. This method will further assess how the sites within these regional networks developed individually as dependant entities or whether there was a homogeneous development within settlements across different regions.

Chapter 4
The Development of Settlements in Third Intermediate Period Egypt: A Micro Analysis

4.1 Introduction and Aims

Chapter 3 examined the question of settlement patterns through regional case studies and several characteristics were explored. The characteristics included:

• increasing territorial pressures created by the fragmentation of the state and inter-regional territory annexation;

• the continuation of New Kingdom land management policies through the reorganisation of old lands brought under new administrative powers and which then developed into important political and economic centres;

• the maintenance and adaption of New Kingdom military institutions, and the creation of new fortresses in areas of important strategic and politico-economic junctures based on new political borders;

• the establishment of a more inward looking regional policy of local populations, and the need for populations to be clustered in more close-knit kin groups, following a Libyan social influence, particularly in the Delta where Libyan influence was most felt;

• the growing power of regional centres may have influenced the urbanisation of the country and created hinterlands with more urbanised centres under strong powerful local leaders.

The archaeological remains from the Third Intermediate Period settlements are made up of two main types of material culture; the built environment consisting mainly of mud brick and stone structures, and the ceramics and wider object world. Chapter 4 discusses the former, while the latter will be discussed in Chapters 5 and 6. Based on the characteristics identified in Chapter 3, Chapter 4 assesses whether the settlements in Third Intermediate Period Egypt developed as independent entities within specific regions or if there was a general pattern of settlement policy across different political boundaries and geographical regions. Chapter 4 will, therefore, analyse the organisation of settlements and their transformation from the New Kingdom cityscapes based on vertical stratigraphic data sets, how the layouts of settlements developed, and the subsequent preservation of Third Intermediate Period settlement remains into the Late Period landscape. Chapter 4 also assesses characteristics of new ideologies, both political and religious, and the economic limitations of different regions through the construction of monumental architecture (walls, temples and palaces), the nucleation of domestic architecture around monumental constructions, the development of architectural

design in both administrative, religious, and domestic architecture, the self-sufficient nature of local populations through the analysis of grain storage, food supply and production areas, and, finally, the locations of burial zones.

4.2 Objectives

The first part of Chapter 4 establishes the locations of preserved Third Intermediate Period domestic settlement remains in order to assess the different regional built environments of settlements and the way in which settlements developed spatially over time. The settlements are further analysed to define the way in which Late Period urban policies affected the development and preservation of Third Intermediate Period urban topography within the archaeological record. The maintenance or changes in urban topography of the Third Intermediate Period are discussed in the light of the top-down policies of a new political regime in a re-unified government and state.

The second part of Chapter 4 focusses on the monumental architecture including walling, temples, and palaces. Monumental walls documented in both the archaeological record and ancient texts are analysed using 'border theory' to understand the nature and extent of the monumental wall building policy for the period at political, economic, and social levels. The section assesses the condition and integration of the existing built environment of the New Kingdom urban wall projects into the settlements of the Third Intermediate Period. It discusses the way in which New Kingdom walls were adapted, whether through extensions, reinforcements, and re-orientation, or if they were demolished to make way for new Third Intermediate Period structures. The processes identified will highlight aspects of pragmatic settlement design, and raise issues of regional economies and ideology, as well as regional security as reasons to construct walls around the important resources of the settlement.

The third part of Chapter 4 examines the structures inside and outside the walled enclosures to establish whether there are clear divisions between the New Kingdom and the Third Intermediate Period, the extent to which they represent a continuity or change over time, and the implications for the social and economic lived experience of the Third Intermediate Period population. Temple building is assessed to see if there were changes in the design and construction of religious buildings, and the extent to which new temples and shrines were constructed in the settlements. Following on from the discussion of temples the other primary institution within the settlement, the royal palace, is documented. The location of Third Intermediate Period palaces are discussed to assess whether New Kingdom palaces continued to be used by the Third Intermediate Period rulers, or if new palaces were constructed. Furthermore, the taphonomic processes within the settlements are determined for both the lived experience of the population and the post-occupational phases of Third Intermediate Period

houses. This is done to understand the way in which taphonomic processes have affected the way we understand the living conditions and development of domestic lifecycles. The architectural plans of surviving houses, which were occupied within the Third Intermediate Period are compared to see whether there are parallel housing designs and architectural developments across the country as a response to specific political, historical, and environmental regions, or whether there was a continuation of the New Kingdom house format.

Finally, other intramural physical and social structures of the Third Intermediate Period settlements, grain storage, cemetery positions, waste disposal, livestock husbandry and rearing areas, and industrial areas are analysed to identify the social fabric, and living conditions during the Third Intermediate Period.

Chapter 4 concludes with a discussion of the characteristics identified within settlements for the Third Intermediate Period. The way in which the characteristics identified at settlement and landscape level interacted with the analysis of the settlements in Chapters 2 and 3 will be discussed more fully in the Chapter 7.

4.3 Spatial Development of Third Intermediate Period Settlements: The Third Intermediate Period Settlement Phases

The following case studies describe the changes that can be identified within Third Intermediate Period settlements. They are discussed from south to north.

4.3.1 Thebes

The New Kingdom and Third Intermediate Period settlement on the east bank of Thebes lies buried beneath the modern city of Luxor as shown in the excavations of the E.A.O. at Abu el-Gud (el-Saghir, 1988). The settlement most likely extended further to the west connecting to the Luxor Temple. The 21st Dynasty Stela of the High Priest of Amun Menkheperre (Cairo Stela 3/12/24/2) which, describes the encroachment of an Asiatic domestic sector into the walls of the Great Amun Temple at Karnak (Ritner, 2009b: 136-7) indicates early Third Intermediate Period settlement in the south-east area of Karnak which is now built over by the Late Dynastic temple enclosure (Fig. 40).

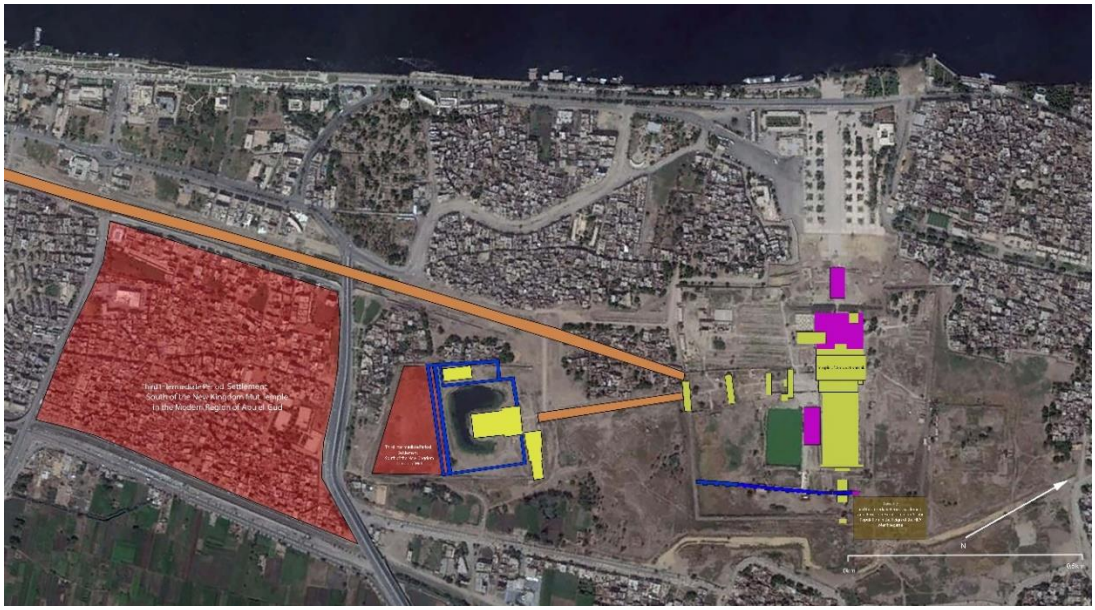


Fig. 40. Hybrid Map of the Area around Karnak showing the location and Extent of the New Kingdom and Third Intermediate Period Temple Landscape and the location of Third Intermediate Period Settlement to the east of the Karnak Temple complex in the Abu el-Gud district and to the south of the New Kingdom enclosure of the Mut Complex and the hypothesised Third Intermediate Period settlement zone to the south west of the Karnak Precinct outside the wall of the High Priest of Amun Menkheperre. This map is a hybrid of PM, 1929: plans I-XXVIII; Coulon, Leclère, and Marchand, 1995, pl. I; Sullivan, 2013: figs 6.3 and 6.4.

On the West Bank, the New Kingdom, *P.BM* 10068 indicates that small settlements grew up in the areas in between the New Kingdom mortuary temples, acting as local support/service communities, while many others flourished as Thebes grew in prosperity under the New Kingdom pharaohs, particularly at Deir el-Medina and Malqata. By the early Third Intermediate Period, the communities on the West Bank had moved to the Medinat Habu temple (Figs 41 and 42). As a result, the West Bank population density had increased within the confines of the Medinat Habu complex and the density of the settlements most probably decreased across the wider West Bank floodplain, although the exact development of wider floodplain settlement systems is difficult to assess with the current evidence. The increase in tribal raids and the decreased security on the West Bank would have facilitated a move behind the walls of Medinat Habu, over concerns for safety and protection.

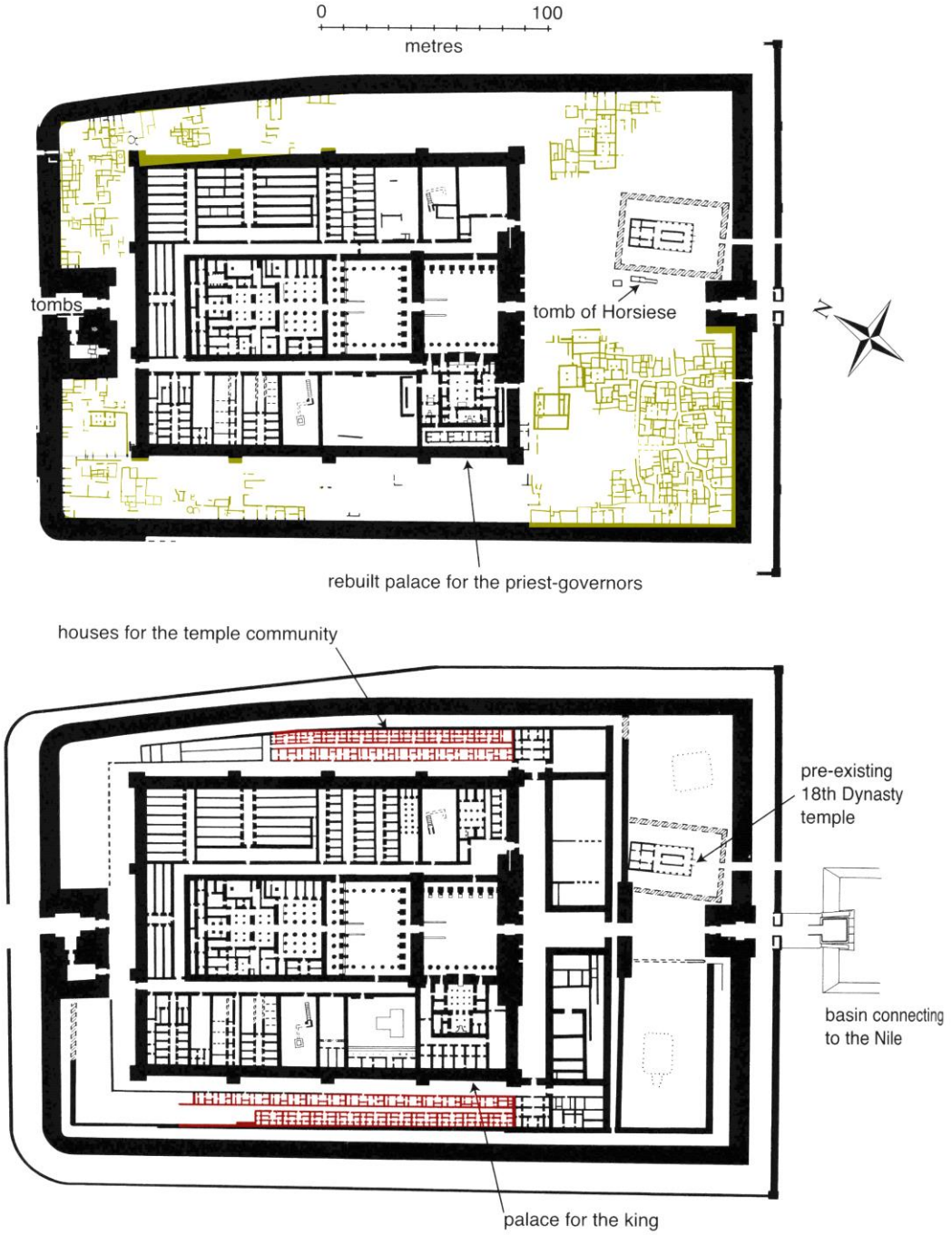


Fig. 41. Plans of the temple enclosure of Medinat Habu. Phase 1 (bottom in red) shows the temple layout in the Ramesside Period, while Phase 2 (above in yellow) shows the development of the settlement in the 21st to 24th Dynasty. (Kemp, 2006: fig. 122).

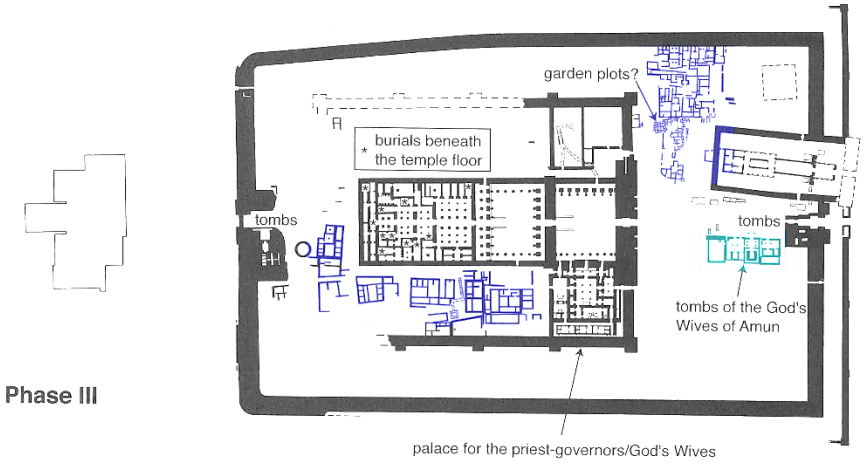


Fig. 42. Plan of the phase 3 (25th – 26th Dynasty in blue) settlement in the temple enclosure of Medinat Habu (Kemp, 2006: fig. 122.).

4.3.2 Matmar

At Matmar, the domestic structures found within the Seth Temple of Ramesses II, were aligned to the southern mud brick enclosure wall and the east-west axial alignment area of the limestone chippings represented the former position of the temple (Fig. 43) (Brunton, 1948). The presence of circular grain silos on the exterior of the temenos wall may suggest some form of settlement outside the enclosure.

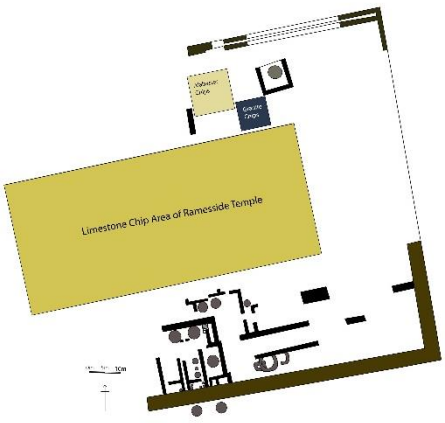


Fig. 43. Reconstruction of the Matmar Temenos Area in the Third Intermediate Period (redrawn and coloured based on the map of Brunton, 1948, pl. XLV).

4.3.3 Hermopolis

At Hermopolis the Third Intermediate Period population continued to live in a settlement on an already established New Kingdom occupation sector to the west of the Amun temple (Fig. 44) (Spencer, A.J., and Bailey, 1985, pls 3, 92; Spencer, A.J., 1993: 50). British Museum excavations traced the Third Intermediate Period settlement in the north west at 'Site W' (Spencer, A.J., 1993). Early German excavations, particularly in 'Graben IV', located to the east side of 'Site W' found Third Intermediate Period occupation layers over a 170 m north westerly direction from the face of the New Kingdom temple enclosure, but were labelled as 'Spätzeit' (Late Period). These 'Spätzeit' layers had Third Intermediate Period material mixed within them (Spencer, A.J., 1993: 50). Other deposits designated 'Spätzeit', were present in Graben II further south of the enclosure. In Graben II, the Third Intermediate Period buildings were themselves constructed over occupation levels of the New Kingdom. The deep stratigraphy of Graben II suggests the ancient settlement during the dynastic period was located in the south-eastern part of the tell (Spencer, A.J., 1986: 50). Evidence of the Third Intermediate Period settlement was found to the south-east of the high mound of Kom Qassum (Test Area 2). The presence of Third Intermediate Period ceramics in the surface dumps suggests the Third Intermediate Period settlement extended to the south-west of the New Kingdom temenos for a considerable distance (Spencer, A.J., 1993: 72).

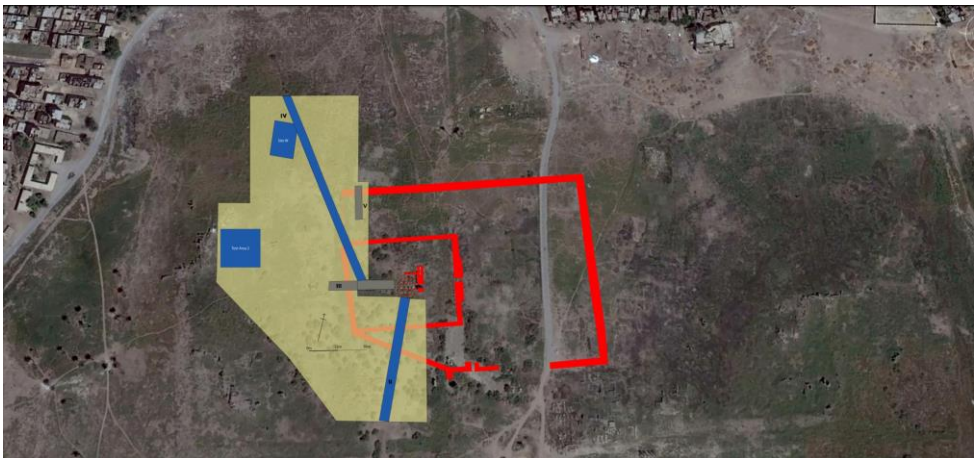


Fig. 44. Hybrid Map of Hermopolis Showing the New Kingdom Temenos Area and minimal extrapolated extent of Third Intermediate Period Settlement in the North West of the tell. (Overlay of the New Kingdom temenos (red) from Spencer, A.J., and Bailey, 1985, pls 3, 92; and zone of known Third Intermediate Period settlement (blue) from Spencer, A.J., 1993: pl. I).

4.3.4 Memphis

The Third Intermediate Period occupation levels excavated by the Egypt Exploration Society at Memphis were poorly preserved, but they do provide evidence for the spatial orientation of the Memphite settlement around the outside of the Ptah Temple (Fig. 45). The builders of the Third Intermediate Period settlement placed the walls in shallow foundation trenches cut into a relatively uniform deposit covering the remains of the earlier Ramesside structures. It is possible that the deposit which the Third Intermediate Period walls were cut into was levelled flat as a preparation for the new buildings. By the time the Third Intermediate Period houses were built the Ramesside ground plan had partially or entirely disappeared (Jeffreys, 2007: 7). The Third Intermediate Period structures, based on the small area excavated appear to follow the architectural orientation of the New Kingdom, or they lie slightly more southeast to northwest (Jeffreys, 2007: 7).

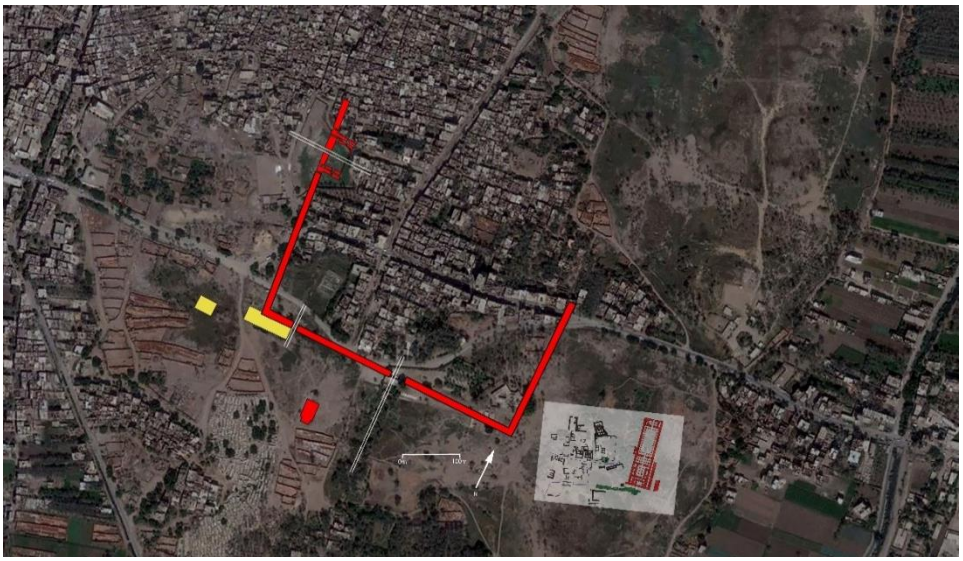


Fig. 45. Hybrid map of Memphis combing the maps of (Section 4.5.4.5.1, fig. 72) and then overlaying them onto the modern GoogleEarth imagery. The yellow areas are the Third Intermediate Period settlements of Kom Rabia and those overlying the small Ptah temple of Ramesses II. The transparent image is a hybrid overlay of the Third Intermediate Period occupation in the area of Kom el-Qala, see Section 4.5.4.5.1.

The walls no longer respected the open space of an earlier Ramesside courtyard, but the New Kingdom Ptah Temple enclosure, or the small Ptah temple of Ramesses II outside the main temenos wall dictated the uniformity of the Third Intermediate Period settlement. The New Kingdom Memphite temples therefore preserved the original alignment of the New Kingdom

ground plan into the Third Intermediate Period (Jeffreys, 2007: 8). The temple of Merenptah at Kom el-Qala dictated the axial alignment of later domestic structures, as they were aligned to the western side of the temples courtyard. The alignment of the Kom el-Qala houses on a southeast to northwest direction corresponds with the Third Intermediate Period Kom Rabia houses, suggesting a general south east- north west alignment of houses at Memphis in conjunction with the New Kingdom temples.

4.3.5 Kom Firin

Along the western exterior wall of the Ramesside temple, but within the temple enclosure, early Third Intermediate Period occupation was found (Spencer, N., 2008: 43-5, 47-8) along with early Third Intermediate Period settlement in the north-east of the temple enclosure (Fig. 46).

Fig. 46. Kom Firin showing the location of the Ramesside temple and enclosure in red and the location of Third Intermediate Period settlement in yellow. (Redrawn hybrid map combining Spencer, N., 2014, figs 2, 5, 8).

The magnetic survey along the route from the Ramesside Gateway to the temple forecourt suggests this area may have been relatively clear of civic buildings. If this was the case, then it would suggest that any post-New Kingdom structures, built here after the Ramesside enclosure and temple fell out of use, were destroyed, or the original Ramesside processional route remained clear throughout the Third Intermediate Period (Spencer, N., 2014: 35). A similar scenario is observed at Medinat Habu, where the route from the gateway of temple of Ramesses III was kept clear, while the Third Intermediate Period settlement developed on both sides.

4.3.6 Sais (Excavation 5)

In addition to a small area of early Third Intermediate Period settlement in Sais (Kom Rebwa East) overlaying a late New Kingdom settlement (Wilson, 2011) excavations at (Sais) Kom Rebwa West in 2004 found two phases of Third Intermediate Period settlement (Phase 2 10th-mid 8th century BCE; Phase 1 mid-8th-7th century BCE) overlaying a Second Intermediate Period/ Early 18th Dynasty burial ground.

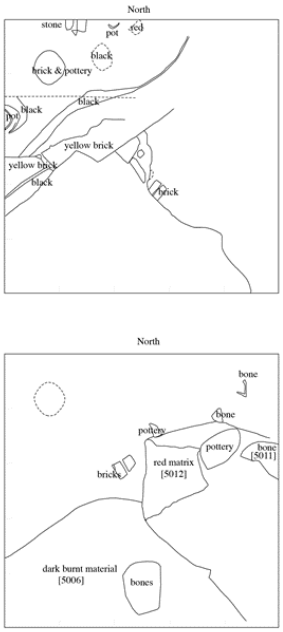


Fig. 46. Sais (Excavation 5) Phase 1 (Mid-8th to 7th century BCE) (unpublished excavation report) (5x5m grid units).

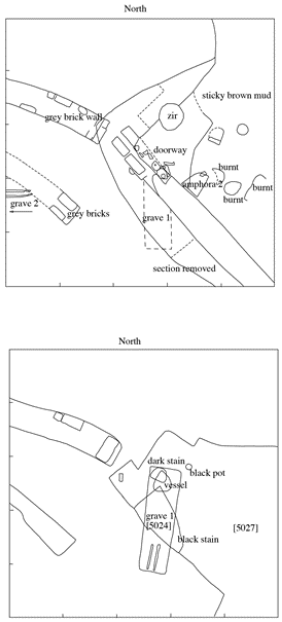


Fig. 47. Sais (Excavation 5) Phase 2 (10th to mid-8th century BCE) (unpublished excavation report) (5x5m grid units).

Excavation 5 was situated on low mounds of earth, but was just slightly higher than the pits dug out to the water table around it. The trench was 5 x 5 m and had a maximum depth of 1.5 m before reaching the ground water. The top disturbed surface layer was relatively shallow, but several strata of material were found underneath it (Figs 46 and 47). The upper layers comprised domestic buildings with some mud brick walls and areas of red/black burning with hearths or ovens. There were some vessels set into the ground in the northern side of the trench. The area was divided by a mud brick wall running from the south-west to the north-east side of the trench. This wall had been partly destroyed with a second wall joining it from the south-east

corner. There was a doorway in this corner with a pot reinforcing the threshold and with two limestone blocks used as successive pivot stones. They had been built up one on top of another. Inside the room, there were some vessel emplacement fixtures: one large jar which survived to a height of 50 cm and a smashed amphora lying on the floor of the room. The collapsed debris and rubbish fill of this room effectively made the floor a sealed context, but it seemed to have been quite disturbed. The fill of the whole area contained pottery, of which the majority were of the Third Intermediate Period, and two distinct ceramic phases were identified within the four stratigraphic phases, which are discussed in Chapter 5.

4.3.7 Mendes

At Mendes, the Third Intermediate Period settlement was located to the south of temple of Banebdjed, while to the north and west of the temple there is, so far, no evidence of Third Intermediate Period settlement. The wider settlement, therefore, retained its axial layout as it would have existed in the 12th century BCE (Redford, 2004: 35; 2010: 106). 19th and 20th century farming has reduced the 9th and 8th century BCE occupation levels in the south of the tell, but there is evidence of sub-floor basements in the houses. These basements overlay houses of the First Intermediate Period settlement (Redford, 2010: 106) indicating a reuse of old districts of the tell which may have fallen into ruin. The New Kingdom enclosure wall was already in a state of disrepair (See Section 4.5.1.5.4) and was being cut into for both domestic and funerary purposes. To the south of the Banedjed temple along its western side, a Third Intermediate Period/Saite Period casemate building pre-dating the 29th Dynasty Nepherites I tomb was found. This building may have been a monumental tomb. Further to the west of this casemate structure Redford (2004: 35) tentatively suggests the area was used for mud brick tomb chambers of the Mendesian Third Intermediate Period elite, but the area was destroyed by Late Period re-development.

4.3.8 Kom el-Hisn

A survey of Kom el-Hisn in 1996 by the Egypt Exploration Society demonstrated that part of the Third Intermediate Period settlement was located to the west of the Early Ramesside/Third Intermediate Period temple of Sekhmet-Hathor. Auger boring and test pitting in the area showed there to be substantial settlement deposits dating from the Late New Kingdom, the Third Intermediate Period and into the Early Saite Period. (Kirby, Orel and Smith, 1998: 33-34, 37-38, figs 7, 40, 41-42). Test Pit 4 on the western edge of the kom revealed Late New Kingdom and Third Intermediate Period deposits (Fig. 49).

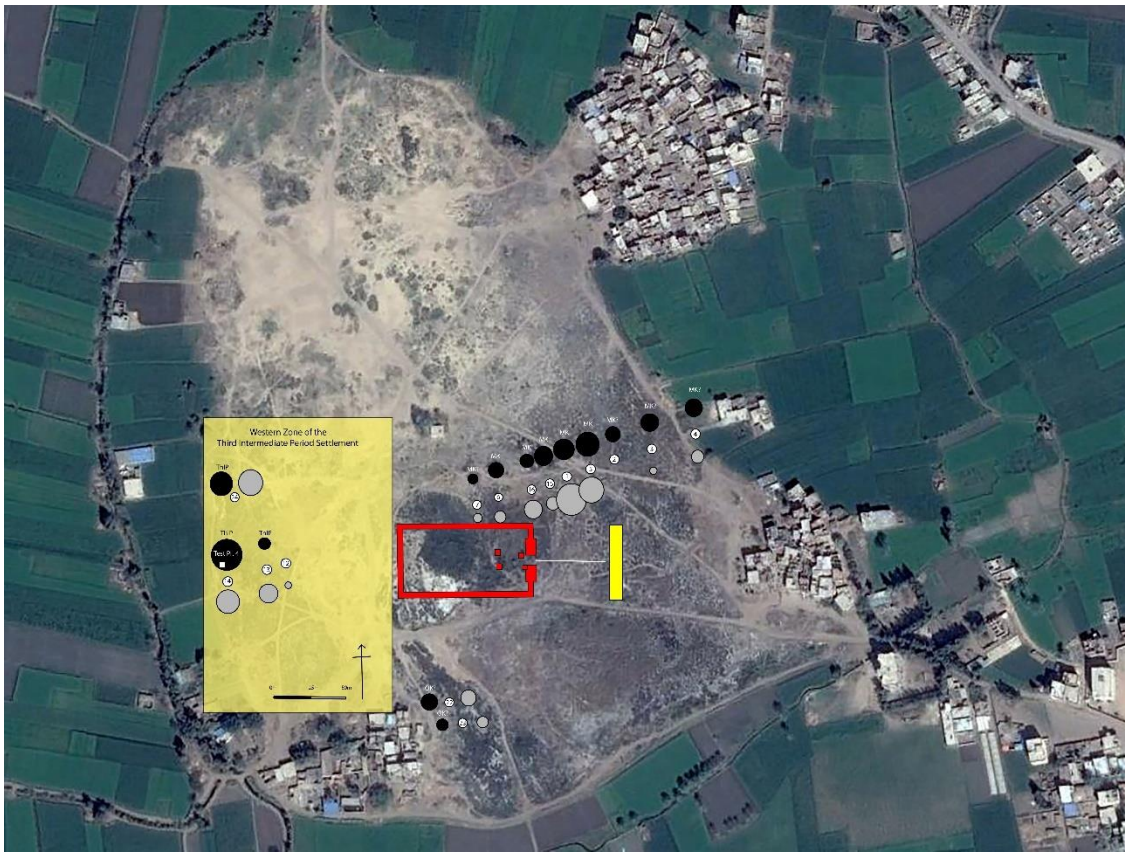


Fig. 49. Plan of the New Kingdom/Third Intermediate Period/Saite temple of Sekhmet-Hathor at Kom el-Hisn based on the plans of the site and the coring survey conducted by Kirby, Orel and Smith (1998: fig. 7) and a suggested minimum settlement area and location of the gateway of Sheshonq III. The black circles represent the relative frequency of pottery and the grey circles show the relative frequency of bone from the cores.

The auger coring taken across an east-west axis of the tell demonstrated the development of the settlement in the west from the Early Ramesside Period. Moving slightly to the west of the temple there was a relatively deep series of deposits which may represent the early Ramesside settlement that grew up alongside the western wall of the temple of Ramesses II. The survey and excavations could not define whether the entire settlement was within the walls of the temple enclosure, or if there had been additional settlement outside. The isolated nature and the distinct difference in deposit depths compared to those further west could indicate a concentrated area of settlement for an extended period. There is a distinct drop in the depth of the settlement deposits further to the west (Kirby, Orel and Smith, 1998). The alignment of the Third Intermediate Period walls in Test Pit 4 in association with the back wall

of the temple and the earlier Ramesside houses (Kirby, Orel and Smith, 1998: 34) attest to the on-going usage of the New Kingdom built environment as a basis for the layout of succeeding building phases.

4.3.9 Tell el-Balamun

A widespread domestic occupation consisting of mud brick houses and grain silos dating to the Late New Kingdom/early 21st Dynasty was found within the New Kingdom temple enclosure. This settlement was later removed to build a new temple of Sheshonq III (Fig. 50) (Spencer, A.J., 1999: 19, 59-60).

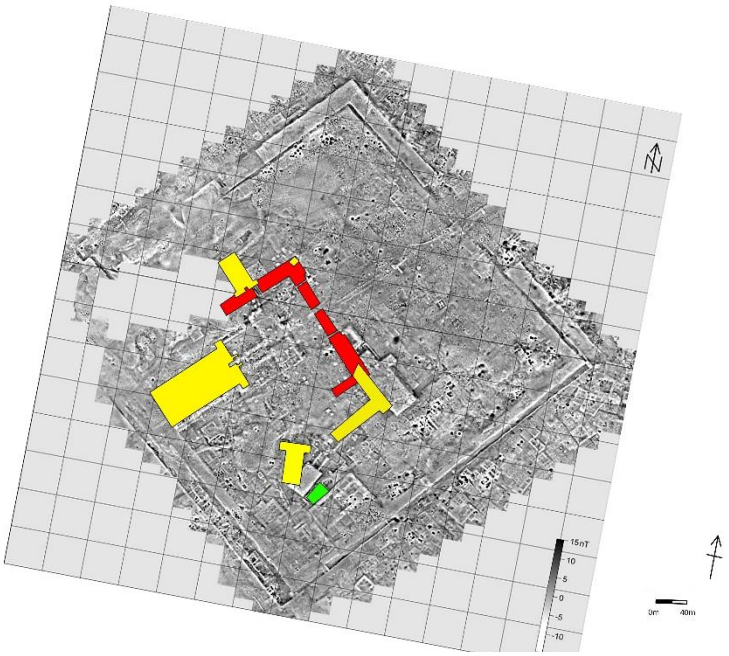


Fig. 50. Magnetic plan of Tell el-Balamun with the New Kingdom and Third Intermediate Period architecture and settlement zones. The red shows the New Kingdom Temenos Wall. The yellow show the location of the Third Intermediate Period Temenos, associated temples and the 22nd Dynasty tomb of Iken. The green colour shows the position of the late Third Intermediate Period settlement. Combined maps from Spencer, A.J., (1996: pls 32, 39; 1999: pls 2, 66; 2003: pl. 1; 2009: 45, fig. 4-1; 2010: fig. 4).

The New Kingdom temenos wall by the time of the early Third Intermediate Period was already in a state of disrepair, while there is evidence for a new Third Intermediate Period enclosure to the south east enclosing the Sheshonq III temple. To the south east of the Third Intermediate Period enclosure a small section of settlement dating to the end of the 8th, to the start of the 7th

century BCE was found, (Spencer, A.J., 1996: 63), but the stratigraphic connection between the Third Intermediate Period enclosure and the settlement cannot be ascertained as the later temple of Psammetik I cut through the deposits between the two areas. Therefore, it is not known if this settlement was located within the temple enclosure or outside of it. The south-western part of this settlement area had fewer traces of buildings than in the northern part suggesting this was an area relatively free of structures, containing deposits of rubbish and builder waste instead (Spencer, A.J., 1996: 64).

4.3.10 Third Intermediate Period Settlement Phases: A Summary

The spatial layout of Egyptian settlements in the Third Intermediate Period continued to be formed by the construction of domestic buildings which nucleated around the main temple enclosures. These buildings retained the axial alignment of the earlier New Kingdom settlements in relation to the main cult temple. In the Delta, due to the limitations of tell space, new domestic areas were built on earlier abandoned domestic and funerary zones. This shows a reorganisation of domestic settlement into new areas. In the Late New Kingdom and early 21st Dynasty ephemeral settlements saw the development of domestic communities within the New Kingdom temple enclosures as responses to local civic insecurity, while attempts of domestic encroachment on religious and civic areas in the main political centres such as Thebes had to be combatted through new wall constructions which are discussed later in Section 4.5.1.

4.4 The Remodelling of the Third Intermediate Period Settlements in the Late Period

The evidence for Third Intermediate Period settlement remains, complete housing plans, as well as religious and secular civic buildings is limited. Reasons for the lack of information include the natural progression of tells and the taphonomic nature of their development. The research focus for many archaeological missions remains focused around temple enclosures that since the Third Intermediate Period have undergone substantial adaptations in the built environment, through the enlargement and rebuilding of temenoi walls, the reuse of monuments, and the complete redesign of temple complexes. The evidence set out above shows that many Third Intermediate Period settlements tended to cluster around the New Kingdom temples. This section assesses the development of Third Intermediate Period cityscapes in the following Late Period to define the ways in which the built environment was maintained or adapted, which provides clarity on why so little has survived in the way of standing Third Intermediate Period settlement remains, and suggests why the remaining evidence should be analysed carefully.

4.4.1 Thebes

At Thebes, the Third Intermediate Period settlement to the west of the Mut Temple was enclosed by a Late Period wall (Sullivan, 2013: figs 6.3-6.4), which levelled a large settlement area including administrative buildings in association with the temple (Fig. 51).

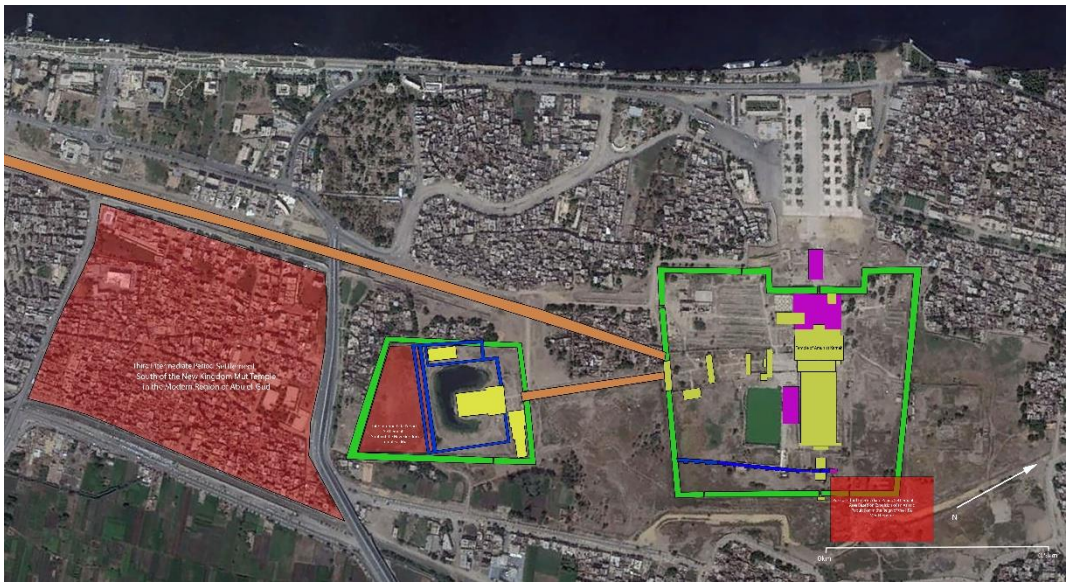


Fig. 51. Hybrid Map of Luxor showing the Late Period walls (green) and remodelling of the area which would have destroyed earlier areas of Third Intermediate Period settlement. This map is a hybrid of PM, 1929: plans I-XXVIII; Sullivan, 2013: figs 6.3 and 6.4. with authors shading in of proposed settlement areas in red.

4.4.2 Hermopolis

In the 30th Dynasty at Hermopolis the construction of the new temple enclosure removed a large amount of the Third Intermediate Period settlement which was located to the west of the New Kingdom temple (Spencer, A.J., 1993: 50) (Fig. 52).

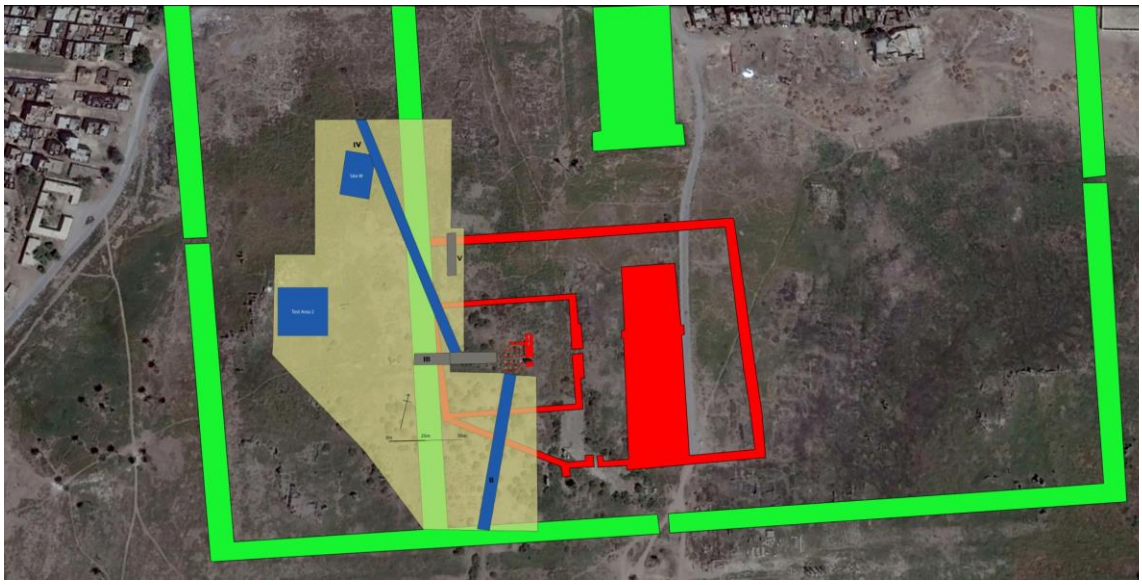


Fig. 54. Hybrid map of Hermopolis showing the position of the Late Period wall (green) enclosing the previous Third Intermediate Period settlement zone. (Hybrid comprised of Spencer, A.J., and Bailey, 1985, pls 3, 92; and zone of known Third Intermediate Period settlement (blue) from Spencer, A.J., 1993: pl. I, and authors proposed extent of Third Intermediate Period settlement in yellow).

4.4.3 Kom Firin

At Kom Firin, in the Saite Period there is evidence that, to build the new enclosure wall, a large area of ground inside the Ramesside enclosure wall was levelled (Fig. 53). The Late Period rulers levelled the Third Intermediate Period settlement as part of a large-scale levelling project. The Saite enclosure wall now ran north-south through the earlier settlement (Spencer, N., 2014: 35). This remodelling was due to the change in the sacred topography of Kom Firin (Spencer, N., 2014: 35). It would have included the levelling of the western enclosure wall, as this would have run across the main processional axis of the Late Period temple.

Fig. 53. Hybrid Map of Kom Firin showing the expansion of the temenos areas in the Saite Period (in blue) and Late Dynastic (green) (compiled with maps from Spencer, N., 2014: fig. 6).

4.4.4 Tell el-Balamun

At Tell el-Balamun the entire area of the Third Intermediate Period temple complex was redeveloped by Psammetik I (Spencer, A.J., 1996: 63). The new Saite temple complex extended over much of the south of the tell (Spencer, 1996:63) and it is likely that new development of the sacred topography of the settlement destroyed vast areas of Third Intermediate Period settlement (Fig. 54). The Saite rebuilding of the temple complex, which included the construction of the inner enclosure wall, probably led to the rapid accumulation of Late Period stratified house remains to the northeast of the temple enclosure. Whether there are pre-Saite remains below the Saite settlement mounds is not known (Spencer, A.J., 1996: 63). The evidence so far suggests Psammetik I demolished the houses of the later Third Intermediate Period to clear the area of his new temple enclosure.

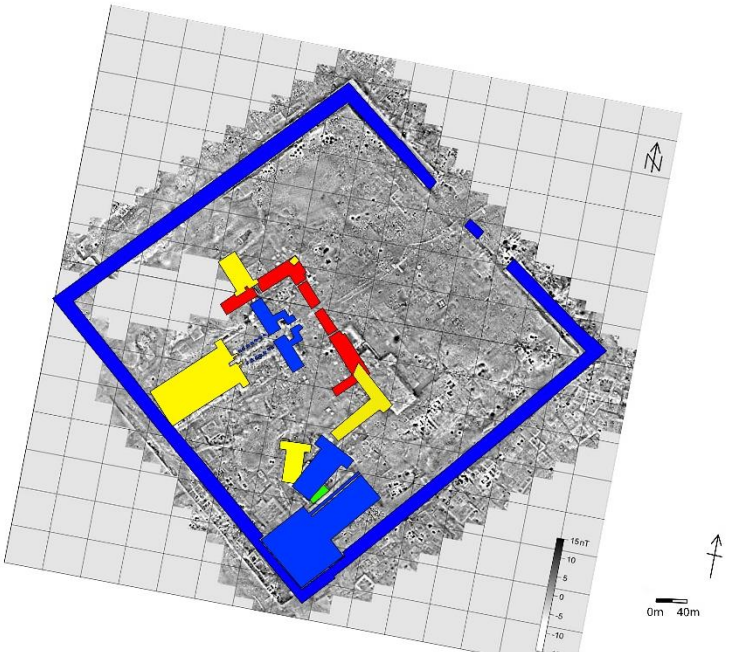


Fig. 54. Magnetic plan of Tell el-Balamun with the New Kingdom, Third Intermediate Period, and Late Period architecture and settlement zones. The red shows the New Kingdom temenos wall. The yellow show the location of the Third Intermediate Period Temenos, associated temples and the 22nd Dynasty tomb of Iken. The green colour shows the position of the late Third Intermediate Period settlement, overbuilt by the Late Period (in blue) temple complex and fort ramp. The Late Period enclosure (in blue) now circumvents the preceding Third Intermediate Period settlement areas. Combined maps from Spencer, A.J., 1996: pls 32, 39; 1999: pls 2, 66, 105; 2003: pl. 1; 2009: 45, fig. 4-1; 2010: fig. 4).

4.4.5 Tanis

The expansion of the Saite enclosure at Tanis, would have levelled a large portion of the settlement outside the enclosure of Psusennes I (Fig. 55).

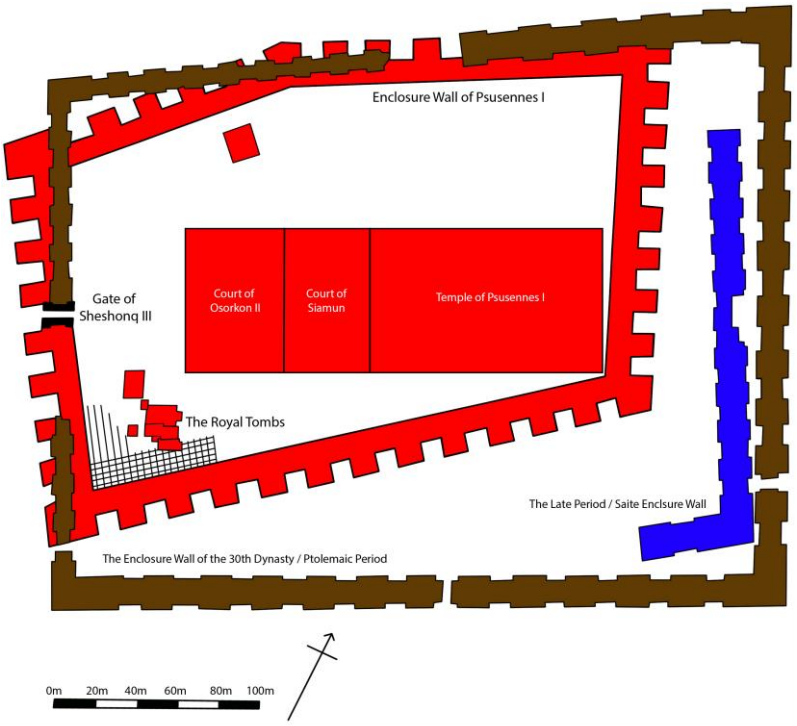


Fig. 55. Redrawn map of Tanis showing the Third Intermediate Period temenos (red) and the expansion of the temenos in the Saite Period (blue) (Redrawn from Leclère, 2008: pl. 9.7).

4.4.6 The Remodelling of the Third Intermediate Period Settlements in the Late Period: A Summary

Temple buildings which were ruined, or which had squatters, or domestic encroachment provided an important reason for the renewal of temple buildings. The issue of encroachment of domestic and industrial structures on New Kingdom temples in the Third Intermediate Period is clearly visible in the archaeological and textual evidence (Section, 4.5.1.4.3), but for other temples there may have been other motives, perhaps dictated by royal ideology.

Third Intermediate Period temples were taken down and levelled ready for new temples to be built on their foundations such as at Tell el-Balamun (Spencer, A.J., 1996: 36-42) and Tanis (Lezine, 1951; Brissaud, Chauvet and Hairy, 1998: 87), while others were extended, replaced, or their blocks used in other temples like those at Bubastis (Spencer, N., 2006: 41) and Tanis (Montet, 1966). This means that the reason Third Intermediate Period settlements known to us are so poorly preserved, both above ground and within the vertical deposits, is down to the subsequent Saite Dynasty's policy of sacred landscape change. Previous settlement layouts, including those of the New Kingdom and Third Intermediate Period were obliterated to accommodate new built environments. The Late Period cityscapes now facilitated the removal

of large proportions of the population from settlement zones, which had grown up inside and around the New Kingdom and Third Intermediate Period temple enclosures. These removals included both administrative and religious buildings, including elite burials. The Saite Period and Late Dynastic policies contrast with the Third Intermediate Period policy of the adaptation and continued re-use of the settlement plans and structures of the previous New Kingdom.

As a result the discussion of the spatial development of settlements seems limited, but when the Late Period restructuring is taken into account, the spatial changes may have been more extensive and involved a larger population than seems to be the case at first sight. The small scale Third Intermediate Period remains could thus be considered as a proxy for larger datasets, but the actual size of the Third Intermediate Period settlement data is unknown.

4.5 Units of Settlements

This section discusses the different units of settlements that made up the built environment of the Third Intermediate Period world. These include walls, temples, palaces, and domestic housing. The meaning and use of monumental walling in Egypt is assessed through the application of 'border theory' which uses the wall as an artefact to define how local communities experienced the walls around them, the socio-cultural meanings of walls, and the external agencies views of regional standing both in political and cultural policies, and through this explores themes of place and identity in Third Intermediate Period Egypt. In addition, the analysis of monumental walling will provide insights into issues of regional security, elitism and defensive policies of individual settlements or regions.

This section goes on to document and discuss the construction, adaption and maintenance of temple and palace buildings for the period, to define if there was a continuation in the architectural design of palaces and temples which may reflect changes in religious, social and cultural themes, or if geopolitical and economic factors conditioned the development of palatial and temple construction. Finally, domestic housing is documented across the country to assess continuity or change in house design which will again reflect changes in social, economic and geopolitical themes. This section will highlight the Third Intermediate Period relationships with the past and ultimately the framework for understanding elite and domestic lifestyles in the settlements.

4.5.1 Walls: Their Meaning and Use in Ancient Egypt

The construction of encircling walls in settlements has been a recurrent activity across cultures extending from prehistoric North America to China (Kemp, 2004: 359; Tracey, 2000). Ancient Egypt is frequently omitted from studies of ancient walling. Tracey (2000: 72) states that Ancient Egypt had no walled settlements as the pharaohs relied upon a regional defence system of fortresses erected at the only two major access routes into the country, the Eastern Delta, and the Upper Nile valley in Nubia. In fact, the urban wall traditions of ancient Egypt were first developed and favoured in the third millennium BCE at el-Kab, and Elephantine (Moeller, 2004; 2016) and represent a pragmatic urban walling tradition comparable to those found in other parts of the world (Kemp, 2004: 259).

Settlement walls often invite functionalist approaches, with defence the most common reason quoted, but often the underlying reasons and rationale for their construction can be multifaceted (Kemp, 2004: 259-260). Prior to the Third Intermediate Period in the second millennium BCE most large scale enclosure walls were built around temples rather than the wider settlement, with many of them incorporating buttresses and crenulations into the design which mimicked contemporary defensive architecture (Mumford, 2013: table 1; Spence, 2004a: 265). The temple enclosure walls represented a large investment of resources but are difficult to explain as defensive in nature, and unlike settlement walls, temple enclosures were not an optional extra within the settlements' built landscape, but were an essential part of the architecture of the shrine (Spence, 2004a: 265). The evidence suggests that except for planned settlements such as Deir el-Medina, there were no enclosure walls constructed around urbanised areas during the New Kingdom, unlike in the third millennium BCE at Elephantine and Edfu (Spence, 2004a: 270). Protection in response to a physical threat was therefore not a primary concern and this is reflected in the political situation for most of the New Kingdom (Spence, 2004a: 265). The temple walls provided protection against both potential physical (inundation waters, *khamsin* winds, 'natural' dangers) and metaphorical dangers, but more importantly in the New Kingdom, the wall acted to separate the sacred space within from the world around it (Spence, 2004a: 266). The separation of the shrine through these walls would have acted as a social exclusion barrier between the sacred and the profane.

4.5.1.2 'Border Theory'

The theoretical approach of 'Border Theory' can be applied to understand the ways in which the inhabitants of settlements in Third Intermediate Period Egypt living both inside and outside the

walled enclosures, along with visitors who experienced the walls and, therefore, the broad socio-cultural meanings of the large mud brick enclosures.

The concept of the 'border' as a metaphor and the subsequent development of 'Border Theory' has long been applied by geographers to the boundaries between nation states. 'Border Theory' was developed from an archaeological standpoint, and applying border theory to archaeological data can provide new insights and perspectives on the concept of the border (Michaelson and Johnson, 1997; Mullin, 2011: 1).

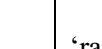
Pinder (2011) used 'Border Theory' in an analysis of Roman walling programs where walls were read and understood to highlight the many ways in which settlement populations and external agencies view the settlement's regional standing, both culturally and politically. By applying this framework to the Egyptian evidence, the wall (or border) can be used as a piece of material evidence to illustrate and interpret the archaeology of borders and frontiers in their broadest sense. The approach, therefore, enables an exploration of the themes of place and identity in the Third Intermediate Period. It allows an analysis of models of difference and interaction, and discontinuities and connections (Pinder, 2011: 67). Studies of the Egyptian evidence, like discussions of Roman city walls (Wacher, 1995: 70-81), have historically concentrated on the physical characteristics of walls as defensive or controlling mechanisms. Urban boundaries go beyond the provision of natural and physical defences and should be exploited for their metaphorical and symbolic meanings (Pinder, 2011: 67).

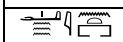
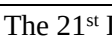
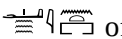
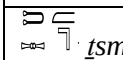
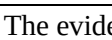
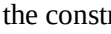
Egyptian walls have invited functionalist explanations, but did the people at the time perceive them as merely functional enclosures? As well as defensive applications, 'Border Theory' encourages an analysis of settlement walls which recognises that they were important ideologically as well as physically. The construction of these walls was a public and lasting affirmation of the perceived need to delineate a boundary. It was more than an expression of an urban community's requirement for protection, these walls embodied and projected a settlement's status and perception of the settlement's self and indirectly of those who were responsible for the construction of their own wall, projecting a sense of self and belonging to the settlement. The meaning and value of the walls provide insights into the community's values and sense of identity (Pinder, 2011: 67) and ultimately the power and status of its ruling elite. An examination of the terms used in Egyptian for 'walls' in the broadest sense, will provide a baseline for recreating an Egyptian understanding of 'wall's and borders'.

4.5.1.3 Third Intermediate Period Wall Terminology

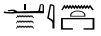
There are several terms used during the Third Intermediate Period to denote walls or walling elements (Table 9). Those identified within the texts are; *sbty*, *sȝ(t)*, *ʿint* and *ṯsmt*.

Term	Discussion
sbty	The term *sbty* is attested in the New Kingdom (Caminos, 1964: 95-6; Gardiner, 1947: II, 213; Grimal, 1981: 16, n. 26; Mumford, 2013: 52; Spencer, P., 1981: 270-78; Yoyotte, 1963: 108, n.5) and is translated as 'wall/ramparts' (Wb. IV, 95.10-96) or 'enclosure wall' (Spencer, P., 1981: 238). This term can be used to indicate the wall of a settlement or a temple (Spencer, P., 1981: 239-40). *sbty* is the most frequently used term for walls during the Third Intermediate Period. A 21st Dynasty stela found in the eastern Kushite colonnade at Karnak (Cairo, 3.12.24.2) records that in year 48 of the High Priest of Amun Menkheperre, *sbty ꜥȝ wr* '*a very great wall*' was built on the north side of the temple of Amun. The High Priest of Amun Menkheperre, made this new wall as *bḫn* 'a citadel' 'fortress'. The function of this 'wall/rampart', if the restoration of the text is precise, should be read as *sḥȝp*, which has the meaning 'conceal, cover or hide' (Wb. IV, 210.2-10) and can be translated as 'to protect/save' (Wb. IV, 210, 6-7; Thiers, 1995: 496). The wall constructed by the High Priest of Amun Menkheperre was not intended to conceal the Amun temple at Karnak from view, but the wall was intended to mark the boundary between the sacred and the profane (Thiers, 1995: 496) in the same way as the earlier New Kingdom walls around shrines. Furthermore, the wall was constructed to *twr r ḥȝw-mrw* '*purify (get rid of) the Haou-merou*', an Asiatic group of people (Thiers, 1995: 497) who had built their houses encroaching onto the Amun temple at Karnak, indicating a social exclusion. There seem to have been multiple reasons for the construction of the wall. Later, in the 22nd Dynasty the term is used in the title of the settlement *pȝ-sbty-n-ššnḳ* 'The Walls/Ramparts of Sheshonq III', documented on Cairo JE 45610 found near Heliopolis (Daressy, 1916b:

	61-2; Jansen-Winkeln, 2007b: 196-197; Meeks, 1979: 668: (22.8.14); Yoyotte, 1961a: 134, 163-4). The possible location of this settlement near the strategically important entrance of the Wadi Tumilat, the fact the Army Leader Bakennefi A dedicated the stela, and the construction of the name of the settlement is similar in style to the important military checkpoint of the Middle Kingdom 'Walls of the Ruler', would indicate this settlement and its walls had a primary defensive/security function. is frequently used in the Piankhy Stela (Lichtheim, 1980: 66-84; Grimal, 1981) when the text refers to many 'walls/ramparts' in the settlements across Middle Egypt. *sbty* walls are documented at Meidum, Per Sekhemkheperre, Medinat el-Faiyum, Bahnasa, Kom el-Ahmar, 'all the nomes of the South' and all of the 'towns' of the West. Later we learn, prior to the Kushite invasion, Nimlot the ruler of Hermopolis had destroyed the *sbty* of Jarris (Neferusy) (Urk. III. 6, 7). The section of the narrative which deals with the invasion of the Kushite forces uses the term for the walls at Hermopolis (Urk. III.17, 32), and Piankhy found the of *Itj-Tawy* sealed (Urk. III. 26,83). There is a deliberate distinction between the *sbty* which was the main fortified enclosure and the *inbw*-walls of the buildings, which were full of soldiers (Urk. III. 26, 14) (Spencer, P., 1981: 239). The battle of Memphis also refers to the of Memphis (Urk. III. 29,88; 31,90).
s3(t)	The term can be translated as 'wall' (Wb. IV, 14.4-14), while other scholars such as Grimal, (1981: l. 5, 77, 91, 92 and 95), define the term as 'ramparts' like  . The assault of Piankhy on Egypt states that el-Hibeh had its demolished or overthrown (Urk, III.16, 28), at Per Sekhemkheppere they were built up (Urk. III. 24, 77), and at Heracleopolis (Urk. III. 5. 5) were recorded in the context of each allied chief knowing which section of it (the wall) to man and protect. The settlement at Memphis in addition to had (Urk. III. 30, 89; 31,91; 32, 92) and Piankhy's troops are ordered to mount the and enter them (Urk. III. 34, 95). During the New Kingdom, and from the 18th Dynasty onwards the term *s3(t)* designated a stone wall which could be inscribed and this continued to be

	the case into the Late New Kingdom (Spencer, P., 1981: 210). During the Third Intermediate Period the term was used less accurately and by the time of the 25th Dynasty *sꜣ(t)* was used as a non-specific term for a 'wall' not differentiating between mud brick or stone (Spencer, P., 1981: 210).
 *ʿint*	The 21st Dynasty stela of Smendes I records the compound term  *ʿint*. Both Daressy (1888: 136-7) and Breasted (1906: 308) state the stela documents the reconstruction of a Theban 'Canal Wall' of Thutmose III which formed the limits of Thebes after a catastrophic flood. The text preserved is, uncertain and Daressy's copy is inaccurately published making the certainty of the reading doubtful. According to Daressy the term used is  of which the first word *ʿ* refers to a dyke or riverbed (Wb. I, 159-7) and the second word *int* is a doubtful reading. The word is probably a miss-transcription of *int* 'desert/valley' (Wb. 1, 93.2-14) with the omission of the phonetic sign. The structure Smendes refers to is a 'Valley/Desert Dyke' which had fallen into disrepair due to a catastrophic flood that surrounded and protected the settlement of Thebes on its East Bank.
 *ṯsmt*	The evidence for  *ṯsmt* 'bastions' comes from the Piankhy Stela when Memphis was besieged. The *sbty* walls of Memphis had been reinforced by the construction of  which were manned by strong men. Traunecker (1975: 151-2) suggests that were bastions, which would fit the context well. In the reign of Merenptah, on the Israel Stela, messengers are sheltered from the sun by , while on the Onomasticon of Amenemope, are listed between *sbty* and *inb* suggesting they were a prominent feature of walls. In the 25th Dynasty Montuemhat rebuilt the *sbty* of the Amun temple at Karnak and re-erected in brick which had fallen to the ground (Spencer, P., 1981: 288).
Table 9. Third Intermediate Period Wall Terminology.	

The textual evidence shows that during the Third Intermediate Period, *sbty* was the most commonly used term for 'wall' and it most likely relates to the enclosure wall of the temple or the wider settlement. *sbty* and *sꜣt* could be used synonymously and do not appear to denote specific types of wall construction, or material type, as was the case in the New Kingdom with

sꜣt referring to the inscribed stone temple walls. Without additional qualifiers to these terms any attempt at defining specific zones of walling through an analysis of the ancient settlements of the Third Intermediate Period cannot, at this moment, be achieved. Other terms include  which referred to a wall designed to prevent flood waters coming from the wadis and destroying settlements, while refers to the large corner towers on mud brick enclosures.

4.5.1.4 Third Intermediate Period Walling: Archaeological Evidence

This section assesses the archaeological evidence for newly built large walls of the Third Intermediate Period and discusses their construction, maintenance and adaption throughout the period.

4.5.1.4.1 Tanis: The Enclosure Wall of Psusennes I

In the 21st Dynasty, Psusennes I constructed the enclosure of the Great Temple of Amun at Tanis (Fig. 56).

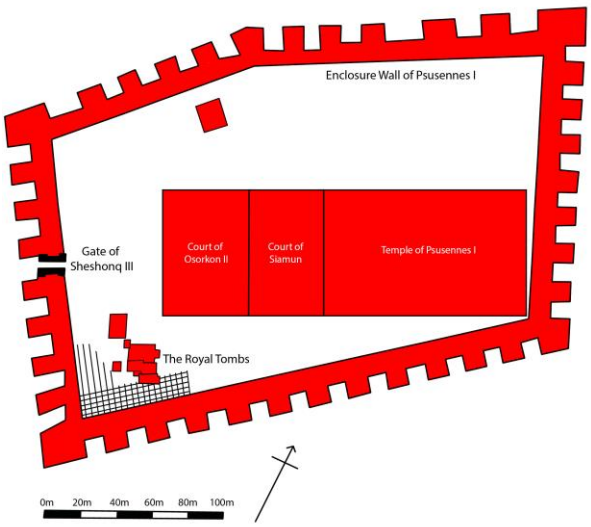


Fig. 56. The Tanite Temple enclosure in the Third Intermediate Period (redrawn and adapted from Leclère, 2008: pl. 9.7).

The wall forms an elongated pentagon, encloses around 6 hectares, and appears to have been constructed in one single phase with mud bricks stamped with the king's name arranged in horizontal layers. The width of the wall is between 26-27 m at the corner towers with buttresses

along the wall. The builders did not use wooden beams or reinforcing measures, but reed joints and voids were left in the structure to allow for the expansion of the bricks. The courses of bricks were interspersed with horizontal layers of gypsum, which were added between courses to check the horizontal nature of the wall during its construction (Leclère, 2008: §9.6). The southern section of wall may have been built to avoid a pre-existing building, hydrological feature or a break in the natural gezira. The foundation of Psusennes' enclosure follows the natural topography of the gezira, but the nature of the terrain and the high elevations could have caused the builders to abandon a straight sided enclosure, to conserve as much space in the temenos as possible (Leclère, 2008: §9.6).

4.5.1.4.2 El-Hibeh, Nazlet esh-Shurafa, Gebelein and Higazeh

A new enclosure wall was constructed at el-Hibeh in the 21st Dynasty by the High Priest of Amun Pinudjem I and was either later repaired, or added to by the High Priest of Amun Menkheperre (Fig. 57). The preserved section of wall of Pinudjem I had a convex design and ran for ca. 600 m on its eastern side and was 12.6 m thick with a surviving height of 10 m (Fig. 59). The wall was built on top of earlier New Kingdom occupational strata and enclosed the existing settlement (Lawrence, 1965: 91). The High Priest of Amun Menkheperre constructed walls at Nazlet esh-Shurafa, Gebelein and Higazeh as part of a chain of fortified positions securing access into and out of Middle Egypt.

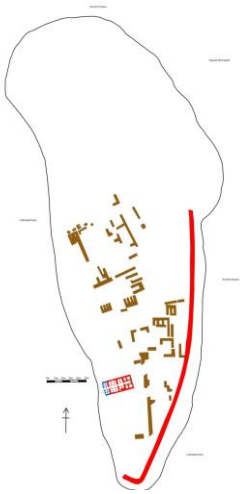


Fig. 57. The location of the surviving part of the settlement enclosure with the remains of ancient buildings of different dates. The small temple of Sheshonq I (redrawn and coloured from line drawing of Arnold, 1999: 33, fig. 5, from original of Ranke, 1926: pls 9-11) is located to the west of the settlement (hybrid map redrawn from Wenke, 1984a: 3, map 1.2).

4.5.1.4.3 Thebes (Karnak)

The remains of a 21st Dynasty enclosure wall of High Priest of Amun Menkheperre were destroyed and levelled during the Ptolemaic Period (Figs. 58 and 59) (Coulon, Leclère, and Marchand, 1995: 223-25, pl. XIIIb; Thiers, 1995: 497). The preserved section of the wall represents a thick wide corner of the enclosure with large mud bricks measuring 40 x 20 x 14 cm, and had a width of ca. 10 m. The wall itself was preserved up to the floor level, and the northern face extends for a few metres. The wall is most likely the same wall recorded on the Year 48 stela of Menkheperre (Cairo, 3.12.24.2) built to prevent the houses of the Asiatic population from encroaching the Amun temple (Coulon, Leclère, and Marchand, 1995: 224-5).

Fig. 58. The enclosure wall of the High Priest of Amun Menkheperre at Karnak (Coulon, Leclère, and Marchand, 1995: pl. XIIIb).

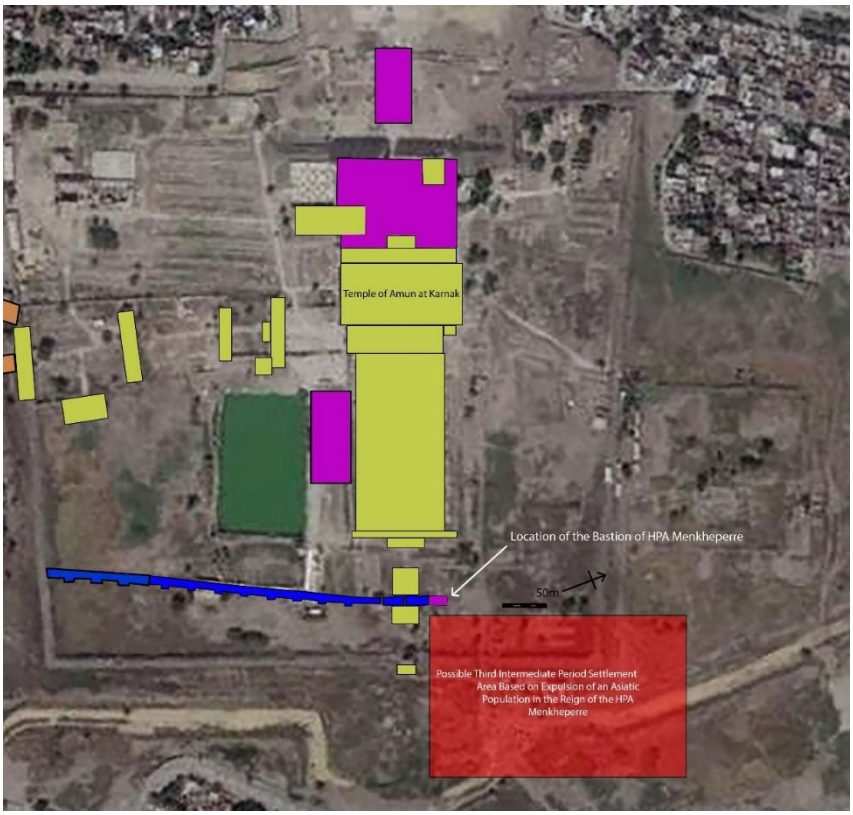


Fig. 59. Hybrid map of the Amun temple at Karnak showing the built environment at the start of the 21st Dynasty (yellow), the Third Intermediate Period additions (purple) and the author's hypothesised location of Third Intermediate Period settlement zone which encroached onto the temple (red). (Created from PM, 1929: plans I-XXVIII; Coulon, Leclère, and Marchand, 1995: pl. I).

4.5.1.4.4 Elephantine

The New Kingdom settlement does not appear to have had a wall, but in the 21st Dynasty, a new encircling wall was constructed. It was replaced by a second wall, dated by ceramics as having a terminus post quem of the 24th Dynasty, possibly as a reaction to an unsecured border and the threat of Kushite invasion, or the result of an undocumented assault during the Third Intermediate Period. In a third phase, the wall was subsequently buttressed in the 25th Dynasty (Von Pilgrim, 2010: 12-13). The refortification of Elephantine in the 25th Dynasty would correspond to the erection of the Kushite fort at Abu Id as part of a chain of southern forts in the 1st Upper Egyptian Nome.

4.5.1.5 Adaption and Maintenance of New Kingdom Walls

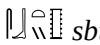
An assessment of the adaption and maintenance of New Kingdom walls, through either extensions, reinforcements, and re-orientation, or if they were demolished is required to highlight aspects of pragmatic settlement design. Furthermore, this section will raise issues of regional economies and ideology on the part of local rulers. Finally, regional security and local defensive polices can be assessed in conjunction with walls constructions around the resources of a settlement.

4.5.1.5.1 Thebes

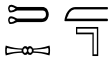
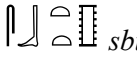
At Medinat Habu the fortified western gate was destroyed around the transition between the 20th and 21st Dynasty and the great girdle wall which enclosed a substantial West Bank population shows evidence of collapse during the Third Intermediate Period. There is evidence for this only on its western side (Hölscher, 1954: 2). The surviving height of the wall measured 3 to 4 metres tall. On the other sides, the wall may have been left standing to a greater height, with a small section of the eastern wall having a height of 15.20 m, which is almost its original height. The inner enclosure wall of the temple remained undamaged (Hölscher, 1954:2).

In the 22nd Dynasty, the great girdle wall was strengthened on the inside by an addition of ca. 1.8 m thick section of brickwork re-used from Amenhotep III's palace at Malqata. Later, the entire west course of the great girdle wall was faced on the outside with an additional reinforcement of ca. 1.8 - 2.5 m thick, and built mostly of bricks of Ramesses III, and, to some extent, of smaller bricks, which were reused (Hölscher, 1954: 6). This reinforcing wall stood on the debris of Ramesses III's wall. Some bone arrowheads (Cairo JE 59772-75 and Chicago 15880-15965) were found in the upper layers of the rubble outside the great girdle wall (Hölscher, 1954: 6). Arrow heads of this type are found at Akoris (See Section 6.19) and have been dated to the early Third Intermediate Period suggesting the arrowheads at Medinat Habu should be dated to the 21st Dynasty and therefore date the wall collapse to the 21st Dynasty.

Three more walling repairs are indicated in the Theban nome. The Valley or Desert Dyke, discussed above in Table 9, which formed the limits of Thebes was repaired under Smendes I (Breasted, 1906: 308). At Naga el-Medamud a brick bearing the name of the High Priest of Amun Menkheperre may indicate he fortified or repaired the existing enclosure wall of the temple of Montu (Jansen-Winkeln, 2007a: 81; PM V, 1937: 147, 149; Spencer, A.J., 1979: 145). Finally, in the latter period of Nubian rule in Egypt, Montuemhat, Mayor of Thebes, inscribed on the walls of a crypt in the temple of Mut at Karnak a lengthy autobiography in which he describes his benefactions to the gods and the repair of the temples due to the damage

caused by the Assyrian invasions of 667-666 BCE (Ritner, 2009b: 556-565). Montuemhat describes how, at the temple of Amun at Karnak, he erected a wall in white limestone to repel the waters of the river from when it rose, he restored the  *sbty* 'wall' of the Amun temple at Karnak and he erected the *ṯsmwt* 'bastions' which were lying on the ground, rebuilding them of brick as he had found them, but their exact location is yet to be determined.

4.5.1.5.2 Memphis

At Memphis, the Piankhy Stela records the addition of a great new  *ṯsmt* 'bastion' (see Table 9 above). The new bastion was built onto the  *sbty* wall, most likely belonging to the Ptah Temple. The wall is described as strong, high and of new construction. This statement would suggest that on Piankhy's return to besiege the temenos, new additions had been added to the already existing New Kingdom walls, to refortify it against attack.

4.5.1.5.3 Kom Firin

The 19th Dynasty temple enclosure and gatehouse both showed evidence of a long gradual decay despite additions to the local cult by Shoshenq III. The deterioration occurred during the Third Intermediate Period and extended into the Late Period. Along the inside of the gateway, there were lenses of windblown sand, interleaved between layers of mud brick collapse. The ceramics found in these layers all dated to the Third Intermediate Period (Spencer, N., 2014: 18). Fallen mud brick from the wall of the north-eastern Ramesside tower was built over, and against the corner where the exterior face of the north-eastern enclosure wall met the western face of the corner of the tower. The additional brickwork was of poor quality with much smaller dimensions compared to the Ramesside bricks. They might have been from a single batch of bricks, rather than a longer-term project where mud bricks could be sourced from various places. The later addition built upon the brick rubble of the Ramesside enclosure covered an area of 6.4 x 7.5 m. It is possible that the additional brickwork took advantage of the pre-existing Ramesside brickwork to create a tower, or perhaps a foundation for a Third Intermediate Period building. The additional brickwork built over the collapse of the north eastern Ramesside tower may also have dated to the early Late Period when the additional structure may have formed part of the Late Period pylon (Spencer, N., 2014: 20). The evidence from Kom Firin indicates a gradual decay of the pre-existing Ramesside enclosure wall, with no signs of renovation or repair throughout the period. It is unknown if repairs of the upper walls occurred, as at Memphis, as the full vertical extent of the Ramesside wall does not survive.

4.5.1.5.4 Mendes

There is evidence according to Redford's interpretation of the archaeology at Mendes of clear administrative neglect as the New Kingdom temenos wall for the temple of Banebdjed, which at some unknown date had suffered a fire and destruction, had been poorly rebuilt (Redford, 2004: 7; 2010: 110). The wall in the Third Intermediate Period was in a state of complete dilapidation, and had formed a mud brick slope of ca. 35 degrees in declination. Low class burials interred in simple pits were placed in the slump of the collapsing temenos (Redford, 2004: 5; 2010: 110). The wall was also used for domestic purposes with the insertion of an oven (Redford, 2004: 5).

4.5.1.5.5 Tell el-Balamun

The exterior of the north-west corner of the New Kingdom enclosure wall was in a state of decay by the early Third Intermediate Period, but the damage did not extend across the entire thickness of the wall (Spencer, A.J., 1999: 65). Later an oven was built upon this part of the wall, along with the later 22nd Dynasty burial of Iken which was cut into this section of the crumbling New Kingdom temenos, but had been robbed out and destroyed by the 7th century BCE. The visibility of the New Kingdom wall at the time of the construction of Iken's tomb is not known, but large parts were already covered by fill layers, but the interior face was much better preserved and had maintained a higher height. The line of the temenos wall was most likely defined by an elevated ridge, consisting of part brickwork and part overlying fill (Spencer, A.J., 1999: 72). The New Kingdom wall on the north west exterior face was cut into by a 22nd Dynasty Bark Station in association with the Amun temple.

4.5.1.6 Representational Evidence

The only pictorial relief that provides evidence for the design of Third Intermediate Period Egyptian walls dates from the very end of the period. The scene is from a relief slab from the Palace of Ashurbanipal at Nineveh dated to ca. 660 BCE (Hall, 1928: 44, pl. xl). The scene shows the siege and assault of an unknown Egyptian settlement (Fig. 60). There are a few different types of Assyrian attack strategies being depicted. The first are soldiers who belong to what, De Backer (2009-2010: 267) defines as tactical destruction combat troops, who are represented using their daggers and picks to open breaches in the facing of the walls. The walls depicted in this scene show evidence of bastions and corner towers with walkways along the tops of the walls. Emanating from the walls are what appear to be spears angled down towards the ground to either prevent siege towers getting close to the walls, or to prevent siege ladders

being flush to the wall. Finally, there appears to be a central tower or secondary gateway complex located behind the main wall. A ladder rests on the main walls of the settlement to reach the higher tower complex.

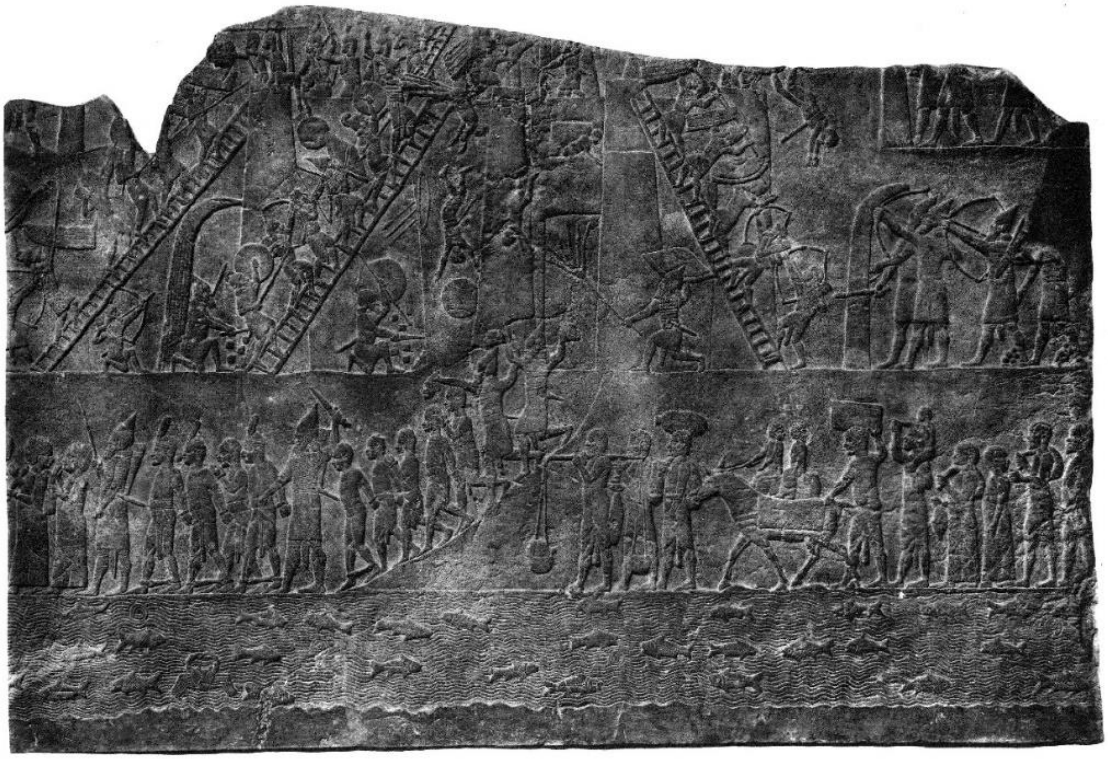


Fig. 60. The siege of an Egyptian settlement by the Assyrian army from the palace of Ashurbanipal at Nineveh (Hall, 1928: 44, pl. xl).

4.5.1.7 Walls as Defence

The Piankhy Stela and the relief of Ashurbanipal, indicate that Third Intermediate Period walls were required to take on a more focused role of defensive capabilities, alongside the cultic and symbolic aspects of the walls which were a prominent reason for construction in the New Kingdom.

When we talk of defensive and defensible walls, defensible walls provide a refuge against banditry or periodic raids but could withstand a siege (Pinder, 2011: 70). One aspect identified by the movement of populations into some of the New Kingdom Egyptian enclosure walls was the need for refuge from attack. Archaeologists are reluctant to acknowledge warfare

as criteria in the creation of walled settlements, or walled populations. Childe (1950) did not include warfare, or the need to live in groups behind defensive walls in his ten criteria for urban revolution (Flannery, 1994: 105). Many scholars now see walls as having a symbolic function and this is certainly one aspect of the Egyptian New Kingdom and Third Intermediate Period constructions (Kemp, 2004: 259). It is likely the aspect of symbolism and symbolic protection, which was prominent in the New Kingdom was retained but now turned into the need for a physical protection of the local communities and the civic structures during the Third Intermediate Period. The status of both a settlement and a ruler can be expressed through the creation of a large wall, while it shows the ability to invest in labour forces to work on these large projects.

The intra-regional perception of threat developed throughout the transitory phase at the end of the 20th Dynasty and into the 21st Dynasty, with evidence coming from the West Bank of Thebes during the reign of Ramesses IX. There were skirmishing and pillaging groups of 'Libyans' (the Meshwesh, Rebu and Desert People/Foreigner groups) who conducted razzias. The ability to conduct these raids was no doubt because of the breakdown security which had caused some members of the communities to become frightened of their presence on the fringes (Kitchen, 1996: §208). A systematic and gradual breakdown of law and order occurs in Years 13-17 of Ramesses IX through the robbing of royal tombs in the Valley of the Kings, alongside the degeneration of temple buildings through the reuse of the stone and mud bricks for new temples, administrative buildings and in domestic settings.

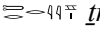
Walls constructed for defensive purposes are now evident around military settlements such as Per Sekhemkheperre, the Walls of Sheshonq III in the north-eastern Delta, el-Hibeh, Nazlet esh-Shurafa, Higazeh, Gebelein and Elephantine. These walls were intended for the defence of local populations, and the control of access into politically crucial junctures of the country, while they may have fulfilled important secondary roles of food storage, livestock, and other resource protection such as precious metals and luxury goods for trade.

The settlements at Kom Firin, Matmar and Medinat Habu were in strategically exposed locations leading out into desert routes and at important traffic junctures causing people to live inside the walls. The concentration of new wall constructions at the start of the Third Intermediate Period is contemporary with the high possibility of raids in the 21st Dynasty in the regions around the wadi entrances into the Eastern and Western Deserts. This is the case at Thebes, where there had been brigand raids from 'Libyan' tribes earlier, combined with a general break down in security such as tomb robbing. If the Meshwesh and Libu tribes were military in nature then, they may have influenced the construction policy in settlements such as the erection of high fortified walls and brought a new mentality to security having observed walled settlements elsewhere.

The threat of, and realisation of interstate warfare from the 22nd Dynasty onwards in functionally specific military settlements may be observed in the new military foundations of the Walls of Sheshonq III, most likely in the region of the entrance to the Wadi Tumilat, and Per Sekhemkheperre around the Fayum entrance. The underlying threat of warfare between the Libyan extended family networks is explicitly expressed by Osorkon II on a stela which was erected in the temple of Amun at Tanis. Osorkon II petitions Amun regarding his family requesting;

'*[You will fashion] my issue, the seed that comes forth from my limbs, [to be] great [rulers] of Egypt, princes, high priests of Amunresonther, great chiefs of the Ma, [great chiefs] of foreigners, and prophets of Arsaphes…You will turn their hearts towards the Son of Re, Osorkon II, you will cause them [to walk] on my path. You will establish my children in the [posts] [which] I have given them, so that brother is not jealous (?) of brothe[r]'.* (Kitchen, 1996: §276)

The statement of Osorkon II clearly shows his concern that his children may become jealous of each other with the potential for conflict. Prior to the reign of Piankhy, the nature of intra-state Egyptian warfare is characterised by a preference for avoiding hand-to-hand contact, and instead raiding and besieging is the most preferred method. The military technology used by the Egyptians regarding siege warfare was ladders to scale walls. In the early Middle Kingdom, mobile wooden siege towers were used, as shown in the tomb of the general Intef (TT 386) at Thebes (Shaw, 2012: 96, fig. 7.3). There is no evidence of siege warfare conducted between Egyptian settlements and different political houses during the Third Intermediate Period. Egyptian settlements were only subject to siege warfare by the Kushite and Assyrian invading forces. During the early Iron Age, new forms of weapon technologies and battle tactics developed in the Near East which could have created environments of aggression into which Egyptian fortifications had to be adapted. The Piankhy stela provides textual evidence of new siege technology being used against Egyptian settlements and shows a development of military technology during the early first millennium BCE (Table 10).

Term	Discussion
iwn n ms	Siege towers (Wb. I. 54.3) (lit. Tower of Movement) were used by Piankhy to go up against the walls (Urk. III. 15, 28). as the determinative indicates the siege tower was constructed of wood.
 *trry*	Siege mounds (Wb. V. 388.3). This term was a Semitic loan word (Hoch, 1994: no. 548) They were constructed against the walls of Hermopolis (Urk. III. 17,32).

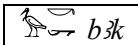
	Siege platforms were used in the battle of Hermopolis for archers, javelin, and slinger troops to attack over the walls and in effect reduce the effect of the high defensive walls (Urk. III. 31.91).

Table 10. Siege Technology during the Third Intermediate Period.

The large walls which were erected around the most valuable assets of the Egyptian settlement indicate that one feature of the wall was to protect the economic foundation of the settlement. These included the temples themselves which controlled large aspects of the economy as discussed in Chapter 3 because of its storage facilities. The temple also represented the cultic engine of the settlement, and the population could identify with this sacred ancestral area, and the locations which featured prominently in the mythic cycles of the settlement (Rowlands, 1972:448). The temple was closely connected with the local elite who had a personal stake in maintaining the integrity of the temples and the storage magazines. The walls enclosed and defended the royal and elite burials like those at Tanis, Heracleopolis and Medinat Habu. The enclosed locations emphasised places vital to the social wellbeing of the settlement and required defending through physical means (Rowlands, 1972: 448). The walls protected the royal palace and residences of the local leaders, including people who might be taken away as prisoners or killed, which in turn would create social unrest and perhaps conflict. The Piankhy stela explicitly mentions the female royal family members of Nimlot at Hermopolis who were housed behind the walls. Other important individuals in danger of abduction or death included government officials and religious personnel who were tasked with keeping both the economic, political, and religious life of the settlement intact. Military units were housed within the walls, for example stabling such as at Tell el-Retaba and the housing of soldiers in barracks if attacked. The enclosures housed the large grain silos in association with large houses that supplied and controlled the distribution of the grain supply to smaller family units, for example at Kom Firin and Matmar which are discussed in Section 4.5.5.3, while livestock would have been secured for primary and secondary consumption products. Temple workshops and production centres may have been protected along with the raw materials and finished products for external and internal trade. The enclosure walls provided the minimum requirements to maintain life in the settlement and those institutions which had to be defended to prevent the social disintegration of the settlement (Rowlands, 1972: 447).

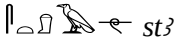
4.5.1.8 Summary: Walls as Reflections of Strategy and Ideology

The construction of a wall was one of the most expensive and time-consuming civic projects a community could undertake. Large urban walls were one of the most visible and enduring physical objects, and must have held a considerable significance for the local community (Pinder, 2011: 72). No government or regulatory body of any period or location would allow for the construction and expenditure of resources and manpower without explicit approval (Tracey, 2000: 5). An analysis of Third Intermediate Period walling allows one to understand the rationale for wall programs and policies, to detect political motives and policies and to understand how the processes of 'walling' reflects on the political framework, the allocation of power, and the accessibility of resources for settlement building.

The size of the walls could be used to project not only an urban community's status but the self-image and status to which it aspired (Pinder, 2011: 72). In the New Kingdom, it was the role of the Pharaoh to proclaim and authorize the construction of new wall programs. The New Kingdom attests to such proclamations at Thebes (Traunecker, 1975) and continued in the early 21st Dynasty under Smendes I and the High Priest of Amun Menkheperre. The policy of building walls, or inscribing proclamations concerning wall building appears to be abandoned after the early 21st Dynasty as there are no edicts from local pharaohs or chiefs proclaiming new urban wall projects until the 25th Dynasty under Taharqa and Shabako. In the 25th Dynasty Shabako donated a stela which documents the restoration of the 'wall/fortification/rampart' at Dendera (Cairo, JE 44665) and Taharqa proclaimed at Medinat Habu (Cairo JE 36410) that he restored the of the mound of Djeme (Traunecker, 1975: 146). The earlier stela of Shabako provides an indication of a general restoration of all of the country. This royal edict may have been because of the general lack of maintenance during the 22nd to 24th Dynasties and the later edicts because of the damage the wars of Tefnakht and Piankhy had caused in the urban centres of the Egyptian settlements, or as a reaction to the growing threat of Assyria. There is clear evidence of this in Thebes as Montuemhat rebuilt the *sbty* walls of the Amun temple and re-erected the bastions which had fallen, no doubt because of Assyrian aggression.

The lack of wall building proclamations for the 22nd to 24th Dynasty highlights the political nature of the local chiefs and rulers. They were restricted from building either politically, or by lack of resources, such as wood for beam slots and sand for casemate void fillings. Although access to and provision of mud bricks would have been possible, the corvée workers necessary for some reason may not have been available.

The large walling programs would have had needed large numbers of people to build these walls. The New Kingdom Papyrus Anastasi does shed some light on the details of a

 *st3* (Wb IV, 351.7-353.17) which was a mud brick casemate construction, the same type as those documented on the Piankhy stela for scaling the high enclosure walls. It documents that to cut down on mud brick production casemates were filled with wooden beams and reeds. While it does not provide details of the amount of mud bricks used in these construction types or the workforce it would have taken to construct them, it does state those who were employed or tasked with the creation of these large casemate structures were the soldiers. Unlike in the New Kingdom, there is no evidence of the military class being involved in civic construction work during the Third Intermediate Period. In most settlements, it would have been easier to use farmers, at off-periods and either coerce or engage them in mud brick manufacture on newly irrigated lands or beside the river.

The evidence suggests there were many crumbling walls in a constant state of decline in the Third Intermediate Period. These walls were in politically important settlements such as Mendes, Tell el-Balamun and even Thebes itself, and further suggests that even under the control of powerful local leaders, renovations were not conducted. On the other hand, many settlements may have had no justification for incurring the expense of constructing or maintaining walls to create a protective boundary, such as at Kom Firin, where the population began to dismantle the enclosures for the re-use of the mud bricks for domestic purposes, indicating there were no perceived threats at certain periods, or in certain regions.

4.5.2 Temple Building

The Third Intermediate Period has long been viewed as a period of stagnation in temple construction, but the process can be traced from Late New Kingdom. The last great temples of the New Kingdom were constructed under Ramesses III and after the reign of Ramesses IV the construction of new monumental royal mortuary temples begun to cease (Arnold, 1999: 28), and the demolition of existing temples and the robbing of stone had begun, while the mud brick temple enclosures were collapsing at many of the main political centres such as Medinat Habu, Mendes, Tell el-Balamun and Kom Firin. The temple landscape inherited by the 21st Dynasty administration was in a poor state, while economic as well as new geopolitical factors meant that access to resources for new temple buildings, such as quarries located in the south were difficult to access. As a result, many earlier monuments were reused, most evidently at the new northern capital of Tanis, which was constructed from dismantled monuments of Piramesse. It was not until the country once again became unified under the 22nd Dynasty that temple construction began to resume on a more substantial scale. The main temple builders of the period were those of the 22nd Dynasty, Shoshenq I, Osorkon I, Osorkon II and, Shoshenq III, while other rulers contributed small ephemeral structures and refurbishments to temples across

Egypt (Appendix VI). The emerging evidence shows that temple building was not stagnant in the Third Intermediate Period, and, in many cases temples were constructed in the Delta in the arenas of northern power.

The 25th Dynasty Kushite rule of Egypt implemented a grand policy of temple building activity in Thebes and Upper Egypt, but only modest temple constructions in the north (Arnold, 1999: 43). The temple remains that have survived for the 21st to 24th Dynasty in the south suggest that little changed between the Ramesside and the Third Intermediate Period. The temple structures made during this period show that the builders and architects continued New Kingdom traditions as closely as possible, and political, religious, and cultural changes in the wider society did not have an impact on the construction and design of new temple buildings (Arnold, 1999: 30). Only one architectural element indicates a future development in the temple architecture of the period, and this comes from the temple of Shoshenq I at el-Hibeh. This innovation was a freestanding sanctuary within the interior of the temple at the rear, (Fig. 61, coloured in green) which was to become a common feature in the later Ptolemaic and Roman Period (Arnold, 1999: 30).

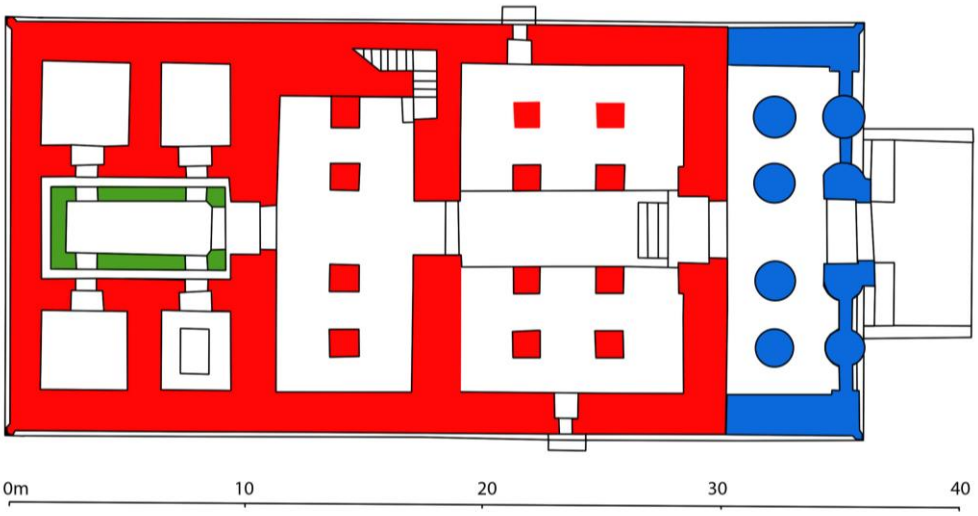


Fig. 61. Section and plan of the temple of el-Hibeh with later additions (redrawn and coloured from Arnold, 1999:33, fig. 5, after Ranke, 1926: pls 9-11). The freestanding temple sanctuary is coloured in green.

The Third Intermediate Period rulers constructed new temples at Tanis, Bubastis, el-Hibeh, and Tell el-Balamun. Alongside these new temples, they enlarged the existing New Kingdom temples in several different ways such as the addition of columned forecourts, pylon entrances, small gateways, screen walls, and small external shrines, all of which could be inserted into the pre-existing temple complexes and temenoi with less overall expense.

4.5.3 Palaces

In the New Kingdom, Pharaohs had multiple palaces operating concurrently, each with its own unique form and special duty (O'Connor, 1989: 74; Sullivan, 2013: 67). The main types of palaces included ceremonial, governmental, and residential types, while in many cases the boundaries between the different forms were indistinct (O'Connor, 1991: 171-2; Sullivan, 2013: 67). The two most important types can be identified as non-residential and residential.

The Non-Residential Palace represented a place of pre-eminent political and ideological importance which was the stage of the king's activities when he was not engaged in foreign wars or religious duties (Jurman, 2007: 172). The non-residential palaces acted as seats of governance, where the Pharaoh received foreign visitors and bureaucrats, addressed the court, issued decrees and orders, and took part in the administration of the country, but the structure did not function as a permanent residence for the royal family, and often had private apartments for short term usage (O'Connor, 1989: 78; 1995: 270-1, 281-82; Sullivan, 2013: 67). This type of palace was therefore mostly ceremonial or symbolic.

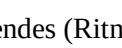
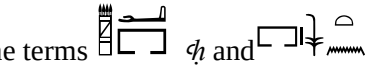
The Residential Palace differed from the ceremonial and governmental types, as they would serve as a more permanent house for members of the royal family (Sullivan, 2013: 68). Lacovara (1997: 24) states that the standard form for the New Kingdom royal residence included the same elements (with the addition of the throne room) identified in the large New Kingdom houses at Amarna.

4.5.3.1 New Kingdom and Saite Palace Terminology

In the New Kingdom, the terms *ḥ* (Wb. I. 214.10-21), *pr ꜥ* (Wb. I. 516.2-12), *stp sꜣ* (Wb. IV. 340.11-341.11) and *pr nswt* (Wb. I. 513.3-5) can all be translated as 'Royal House / Palace, while the term, *ḫnw* is commonly translated by Egyptologists as '*residence*' or even as '*capital city*' but it is difficult to define to what extent our modern notions of a national capital are applicable to the Egyptian state in the first millennium BCE (Jurman, 2007: 173). In the late 25th Dynasty and Saite Period the terminology to describe the royal residence emerges as a prototypical image of royal authority. The palace

was defined by the presence of the king and can be circumscribed by expressions such as *bw ḫrt ḥm=f* 'the place where his majesty dwells' (Jurman, 2007: 173).

4.5.3.2 Third Intermediate Period Palace Terminology

During the Third Intermediate Period, texts that describe the physical location of a royal 'palace' are limited. The terminology used during the 21st to 24th Dynasty to refer to a royal palace/residence is *ḫnw.* The first example is recorded on the 21st Dynasty Dibabeya inscription of Smendes (Ritner, 2009b: 101-104) where Smendes issued decrees from  *ḫnw=f* 'his residence' in Memphis, and not from Tanis the new capital. The text does not refer to a specific 'palace' structure from which the decree was issued, but merely the presence of Smendes at 'his residence', Memphis. The decree on the stela records that Smendes received news of the flooding of the Luxor temple in the columned hall, most likely the main Ptah Temple. This indicates that Memphis was still the political capital of the period where all state business was conducted and, therefore the king may have had some form of residence at Memphis, but there is no indication as to its location with the settlement. The second example is on the early 22nd Dynasty Gebelein inscription of Shoshenq I (Caminos, 1952: pl.13; Jansen-Winkeln, 2007b, 22 [12.27]) which mentions *pꜣ ḫnw ist pꜣ kꜣ ꜥꜣ ḥr ȝḫty* 'The Residence of the Temple Estate of Per Iset (The House of Isis), the Great Ka of Re Horakhty'. Again, this does not indicate a specific 'palace' structure, but a central political centre. Later in the 25th Dynasty, the Piankhy stela documents the terms *ḏḥ* and  *pr-nsw* for the 'palace'. (Urk. III. 18. 34; 21. 62; 54; 150-153). The two terms are used interchangeably for the term 'palace'.

4.5.3.3 Archaeological Evidence for Third Intermediate Period Palaces

The New Kingdom palace of Ramesses III at Medinat Habu was redesigned in the 21st Dynasty on the same spot (Stadelmann, 1996: 228, 230), and a palace of the Chiefs of the Ma was identified at Mendes. The 21st Dynasty 'palace' at Medinat Habu reflects a pragmatic and legitimising approach to palace construction through the utilization of the already existing New Kingdom space and association with an earlier Ramesside sacred and political building.

At Mendes, a palace identified to the east of the temple of the ram god Banebdjed, based on ceramic analysis was built in the 11th century B.C at the time of the rise to power of Smendes I who, based on the name (Egyptian: Nesu-ba-neb-djed) most likely came from Mendes. The palace continued to function into the Saite Period. The palace was a rectangular

structure measuring ca. 30 m from east to west and ca. 30 m or more from north to south. In some places the walls were 2 m thick, indicating that it had a second storey. The entrance was most likely on the northern side, while a modern road on the palaces western side has covered a passage, which connected with the main ram temple. A doorjamb rests on top of the mound bearing the outline of a Libyan Chief (Redford, 2010: 106-8). The south side of the compound, downwind of the rooms for habitation, was for food production, and contained ovens and hearths. The final function of the building, after its ultimate destruction by the Persians, was as a place of pottery preparation and storage for a kiln in the nearby vicinity (Redford, 2010:108). The Great Chiefs of the Ma may have refurbished the temple and their accommodation in the palace (Redford, 2010:110), but there was evidence of neglect to the main temenos walls within which the palace and temple stood.

At Hermopolis the Piankhy stela states that, as the temenos walls of Hermopolis were overrun, the local ruler Nimlot went from his palace and proceeded to the temple of Thoth to make offerings (Lichtheim, 1980: 72-3). This indicates the palace was inside the main temenos, as Nimlot would not have been able to exit the main temple enclosure while it was being besieged.

4.5.3.4 Discussion of Third Intermediate Period Palaces

During the New Kingdom, the monarchs had access to a network of palaces across the country, both residential and ceremonial. The geopolitical situation of the Third Intermediate Period would have prevented the rulers from using this network at times of political fragmentation. The different political houses would have utilized the local palaces for their own family networks. The palaces may have been redesigned to facilitate the combination of both a residential and ceremonial palace. They were likely to have been situated in the same location as the New Kingdom palaces inside the temenos walls and situated to the east of the main temple.

Sullivan (2013: 68) suggests that the so-called 26th Dynasty, 'Palace of Apries' at Memphis shows many of the elements indicative of the non-residential New Kingdom palaces. Sullivan (2013: 68) further argues that Late Period palaces show a continuity of design with earlier New Kingdom ceremonial palaces and the conception of palace architecture did not change substantially between the New Kingdom and Late Period, and assumes palaces of the Third Intermediate Period maintained the same general elements and layout. No comprehensive assessment of the 'Palace of Apries' regarding its layout, building history or the original layout can at the moment be provided (Jurman, 2007: 175). The Saite palace at Sais has not been located, nor have any other Saite palaces, therefore providing clear links to New Kingdom palatial structures on a sole example is somewhat premature.

4.5.4 Housing Units and Associated Elements

'Houses' that is domestic habitations, with ovens and storage facilities are discussed here in relation to earlier and later practices. Firstly, it is necessary to outline and define the chronological boundaries for understanding the dating of the evidence used here.

4.5.4.1 Defining Third Intermediate Period Housing Phases

It is a common feature of Egyptology to break down typological studies of artefacts and architectural features into rigidly structured dynastic divisions based on the Manethoic tradition. Such divisions may be appropriate for ruling families, or political phases, but they are perhaps less appropriate when applied to material culture in the same way, and especially architectural elements in organically created settlements, as has been already indicated by the continuation of New Kingdom traditions in the design of religious architecture from the New Kingdom into the Third Intermediate Period. Time and divisions are fundamental to the study of history as these divisions organise and form the framework for which events and material culture are organised. Discussing house architecture through dynastic attributions may be appropriate in the case of state-planned settlements in their initial stages, such as Deir el-Medina or Amarna but even the finished form of any house may only have lasted for a limited period (Ingold, 2000: 187-8; Spencer, N., 2015: 202). The inhabitants' rapid reworking of the spaces in which they lived caused them to re-shape continuously the urban landscape which they inhabited (Spencer, N., 2015: 201). The reworking of space constitutes an organic development and immediately disguises the original architectural plan. Both the existing urban and natural environments shaped the development of housing, but Spencer (2015: 200) suggests the desires of the current inhabitants brought the primary changes, and what they believed to be both essential and achievable within the built environment, and their own social and economic boundaries. The change of a house plan would correspond with the response to the changing household's circumstances, and would have often occurred rapidly, or repeatedly with seasonal variations (Spencer, N., 2015: 203). The replacement and development of houses (or substantial areas) were conditioned by the 'use life' as dictated both by the construction material and the household activities which occurred within them (Spencer, N., 2015: 203). Kamp's (2000: 91) study of mud brick housing in Syria has indicated an expected use-life of thirty to fifty years which is broadly consistent with modern mud brick houses at Amara West in Nubia (Spencer, N., 2015: 203), while Correas Amador (2013) demonstrated that modern mud Egyptian brick houses could be 50-60 years old, and mud brick houses in Gurna may have been even older.

It can also be difficult to define physical house boundaries in Egypt due to the surviving nature of the remains, because of environmental and *sebakhin* effects, as well as the nature of the taphonomic development of urban areas on tell with restricted space. Egyptian houses often shared walls, and the subsequent re-modelling make it difficult to distinguish the edges of a single house, or phase of a house. The use of courtyards, assuming each family had access to one open air space, has been one method of counting housing units (Rainville, 2015: 4, Steadman, 2004: 527, 531-7). By contrast, many small villages and 'houses' contain a single-family group but with several family units, and using 'family' may not be a useful indicator for defining house boundaries. The issue of socioeconomic status, household composition (presence of servants) and multiple floor levels make defining house division complicated (Rainville, 2015: 4).

A further problem is that most of the evidence for the housing of the Third Intermediate Period was collected in the early 20th century. The excavations at that time were before standard scientific recording techniques were widely used in household archaeology studies. The detailed recording of the phases, assemblages, strata, and micro-archaeological contexts of the structures was poor compared to modern standards. One of the most important aspects of interpreting household archaeology is defining floor levels, boundaries, contemporary living surfaces (and associated artefacts), and the general taphonomic process of the development of the house, particularly at the point of abandonment and collapse.

The boundaries of single house units in organically developed settlements can be difficult to define. Some ethnographical studies in the Middle East have begun to provide clues for locating house boundaries, but the issue is still unresolved (Rainville, 2015: 8). At Amarna, the larger New Kingdom residential establishments show evidence for the nesting or embedding of smaller households within the grounds of a larger unit enclosed by a boundary enclosure (Spence, 2015: 85). How much this practice may have continued into the Third Intermediate Period is so far unknown.

These issues mean that the primary problem is the location of contemporaneous housing layers and phases. The houses at Medinat Habu and Matmar demonstrate the problem in separating occupation phases from early excavations. Hölscher (1954: 3) states that for the Medinat Habu houses '*due to the extensive destruction of the settlement it was impossible to distinguish between buildings of the 21st to 24th Dynasty while only a relative dating was applied*'. Similarly, Brunton's (1948: 60) recording of the Matmar houses documented a few walls with no indication of the phasing of the structures. The perpetual re-layering and restoration of architectural features such as mud floors, walls, living spaces, subterranean floors, ceilings, and multiple storeys make defining floor levels complicated. Defining these layers and occupational phases is particularly difficult in the case of collapsed buildings (Rainville, 2015: 8). Kamp (2000: 86) demonstrated that ceilings in kitchens and animal rearing areas were lower

than those in sitting and storage rooms and so it was very difficult to differentiate the structures when they collapsed together (Rainville, 2015: 8-9). When mud brick houses collapse the elements of the house may be compacted and combined, including the rooftop living spaces with the ground floors, the interior wall elements such as windows, hanging food produce, niche emplacements or the gypsum covered walls. It is possible that after the initial occupation phases of the house the function of the house was changed, and it was used as space for the grazing of animals, or children may have played there collecting various objects such as rocks, seeds, and toys in the abandoned house. Abandonment of the house would accelerate the deterioration; the walls would be undermined by wind erosion and a lack of maintenance (Spencer, N., 2015: 203). The abandoned buildings would affect surrounding houses and become a danger thus accelerating the eventual restricting or abandonment of the area due to structural insecurities, as many houses shared architectural elements such as boundary and partition walls. The new post-occupation phases may become a new living (or activity) surface which could be separated by one or more generations from the original household phase (Rainville, 2015: 8-9), thus making observations on the way in which the household developed complicated.

Amarna from the 18th Dynasty has been the representative data set for an analysis of different house types within Egypt. The house types were probably a broad sample of Egyptian houses of the New Kingdom, although the houses may have been more regular and less dense than was often the case in longer-lived settlements because there were fewer spatial constraints (Spence, 2015: 83). Typologies of houses from Amarna have been developed along with other house types from workmen's villages both at Amarna and Deir el-Medina. When looking at a more long-lived organically developed settlement, matters are more complicated. Relying on architecture is problematic as the ground plan of an excavated house is commonly used for the classification of houses within an overall settlement. Such reliance on architectural plans is not a problem at Amarna, Deir el-Medina, Deir el-Ballas and Malqata if the settlements have relatively short life spans or a single occupation phase. Understanding house plan and thus type becomes difficult when dealing with settlements with long phases of continuous occupation for many generations. During this time the size of the household, the composition of the family, the function of the house and the changing activities over time can produce changes in the house's plan. The later phases could completely differ in function, which may be the case in the Karnak priestly houses as we cannot be sure as to the original ground plans, and whether Late Period alterations have distorted the Third Intermediate Period building plans, or choice of layout for specific architectural elements. The choice of location for a house may affect its design and scope for development. For example, the construction of a new design of house on a previously uninhabited part of the settlement not bounded or spatially limited by a pre-existing built environment allows for more flexibility and scope in a horizontal plan such as those at Amarna. Houses constructed within a temple enclosure or in an already organically developed settlement

bounded by pre-existing fixed structures, such as between the walls of Medinat Habu which is restricted within a horizontal plan, and adaptions are dictated by the availability of space in which to operate new extensions and designs. The production of architectural typologies must consider these factors. Otherwise, the assumption is that no change occurred of any kind from the original foundation until the final abandonment of the house (Lang, 2005: 12).

A secondary problem and one of the most important in developing typologies is that few, if any, Egyptian settlements have been excavated in their entirety, while the most important such as the capitals of Memphis and Thebes have a very limited amount of domestic architecture preserved for the entirety of the pharaonic period. A lack of a wider settlement plan is problematic as the ground plans of a few excavated houses are not necessarily representative of the whole variety of existing house types across the country. Therefore, interpretation of house typologies should not be based on a single house and should not be taken as characteristic of the whole settlement, or country as a whole (Lang, 2005: 13). Finally, the transposition of results from one region to another should not be undertaken without a detailed consideration of the potential for regional variation, particularly in the Delta and Nile Valley. Consequently, the construction and modification of house plans was a fluid and flexible development, which may have continued across different dynasties. Analysis based on dynastic divisions is, therefore, not appropriate for house plans of organically developed settlements but it may be better to classify the structures into occupation and architectural phases based on adaptation and change.

4.5.4.2 Household Archaeology: The Third Intermediate Period Architectural Data

Household archaeology differs from the study of the built environment in the way it infers behaviour from the archaeological record. It comprises the social, material and behavioural components, the demographic unit based on kinship, the dwelling, its installations, and artefacts found therein, and the activities conducted by the household inside the housing (Müller, 2015: xvi). Parker and Foster (2012) along with Yasur-Landau, Ebeling and Mazow (2011) have both contributed to the creation of a methodological groundwork for household studies in the Mediterranean. Parker and Foster (2011) discussed several important issues relating to the terminology being used, and innovative future approaches, mainly using computer-aided archaeological methods to analyse buildings.

The first attempt to assess a settlement in Egypt, including finds and ethnographic records and considering the themes of the household was conducted in the Middle Kingdom to Second Intermediate Period settlement on Elephantine (Von Pilgrim, 1996). The significance of the associated artefacts in the context of an abandoned settlement was rejected, and the analysis was built around the functional analysis of the layout of the rooms, the built-in features, and the details of the construction. Koltsida (2007) reviewed the evidence from the workman's village

at Deir el-Medina and Amarna by comparing the house models and the textual data to come to a functional separation of rooms in the different house types. Finally, Crocker (1985), Tietze (1985, 1986, 2008a, 2008b); Meskell (1998, 2002); Arnold, (1998); Samuel (1999); Kóthay, (2001); Spence, (2004b, 2010) and Endruweit (1994) have all provided contributions to household studies. Themes have focused on the potential status symbols in domestic architecture, the socio-economic background, and the subsistence strategies at the household level, the question of gender specific areas, the three-dimensional experience, including climate control and heating of areas, household life cycles and the access route(s) in houses. In the Late Period, family archives and the tracking of household lifecycles by linking them to the archaeological record has become a new field of research (Muhs, 2015).

Much of the analysis has focused on Amarna, Deir el-Medina and Kahun and was restricted to the earlier periods such as the Middle and New Kingdoms. The analysis presented here provides a countrywide coverage of Third Intermediate Period housing and aims to provide conclusions on aspects of Third Intermediate Period domestic architectural developments within the framework of household, and assess the potential of an integrated approach in examining the archaeological evidence of domestic architecture.

4.5.4.3 Review of the Early Settlement Evidence

As with any data set, there are limitations to the evidence and the nature and extent of observations and conclusions, and this is particularly true when assessing complete ground plans of Third Intermediate Period domestic structures to assess the development and continuation in architectural styles and the introduction of new elements. The countrywide preservation of complete house plans is poor and does not allow for overall house area sizes to be calculated to assess social ranges across different regions of Egypt.

Plans of domestic structures and contexts that have construction and occupation dates of the Third Intermediate Period have been found in both Upper Egypt and the Nile Delta and provide a good dataset with which to assess architectural developments across the period and to compare with the previous New Kingdom. Examples of Third Intermediate Period domestic architecture which preserve enough of the overall ground plan of domestic structures that can be assessed and compared have been found in the Delta at Kom Firin, Tell el-Retaba and Memphis, while in Upper Egypt house plans have been found at Lisht North, Amarna (el-Hagg Qandil), Hermopolis, and at Medinat Habu and in Luxor at Abu el-Gud. Other excavations which preserve domestic remains of the period but do not preserve enough of an overall ground plan or are too fragmentary in preservation, such as partial remains of domestic walls, or installations such as silos and workshop areas have been found at Tell el-Balamun, Sais, Buto and Memphis in Lower Egypt and at Matmar, Akoris and Elephantine in Upper Egypt. These examples do not

form part of the discussion on house plans, but are used in the comparisons of ancillary elements of domestic settlements, while their associated domestic material culture is discussed in Chapters 5 and 6. Modern excavations such as at Kom Firin, Tell el-Retaba, Memphis, and Hermopolis, have all provided more detailed evidence sets for household archaeology of the period, particularly in regards to the artefact contexts and micro-archaeological analysis. On the other hand, the early 20th century excavations at Medinat Habu and Lisht North used a more expansive digging strategy and so the modern approaches only provide fragmentary ground plans. In contrast, the evidence from the early excavations is almost comprised exclusively of the ground plans of the 'house', while the excavators did not systematically record the artefacts well, and contexts and micro-archaeological analysis were absent for the main part. Through a combination of both approaches an analysis of the development of Third Intermediate Period domestic architecture can be conducted. A re-analysis of the earlier excavated domestic evidence shows that some of the structures from Karnak, Medinat Habu and Memphis used to analyse house plans in the past must be viewed with caution.

4.5.4.3.1 The Karnak Priestly Houses

The re-analysis of early excavations, particularly the pottery assemblages found within some of these domestic structures, has enabled the re-dating of some of them, at least, the last occupational phases and post-depositional activity to later in the Saite Period, (Aston, 1996a). One particularly problematic corpus of housing architecture is the 'priest's houses' found southeast of the sacred lake at Karnak. These houses have been one of the main sources for architectural comparisons of the Third Intermediate Period, and have influenced interpretations of housing design for the period. The houses were built up against the enclosure wall of Thutmose III. Anus and Saad (1971) excavated six houses between 1969 to 1970 while Masson (2007) excavated the seventh house in 2001 as part of a follow-up reassessment of the area's stratigraphic and chronological development. The first six houses were originally dated to the 21st Dynasty by Anus and Saad based on the finds in House II. This was based on a stamped mud brick of the High Priest of Amun Menkheperre found at the ground level of the house (Anus and Saad, 1971:219), while Traunecker's (1993: 83) onomastic survey of an in-situ door post found in House II belonging to the Priest Ankhefenkhonsu gave the excavators reason to believe the house had a 21st Dynasty construction and occupation date. House II was entirely filled with rubble and the items in the fill phase of the building do not represent the original date of the construction of the houses, but a phase of later occupation and collapse from the surrounding structures or of later dumping of material into the houses.

Masson (2007: 607-12) analysed the objects from within the houses and argued that the doorpost of Ankhefenkhonsu was not guaranteed evidence for precise dating and the lintel could have belonged to a priest much later in date, as there was no associated royal name. Aston's (1996a:56) dating of the ceramics from the 1969 to 70 excavations does not support an occupation phase in the 21st Dynasty. Although Aston (1996a: 56) suggests a date in the later 26th to 27th Dynasty, it must be acknowledged that the house owners may have modified them over the intervening 500 years into the Saite Period. The case for modifications is hard to confirm with the available evidence. The 2001 excavation of House VII provided some clarification to the original occupation dates for the house compound. The ceramics from House VII provided a date range of the Saite to Persian Period (Masson, 2007). Masson (2007) goes further and questions the early dating for the construction of the priestly houses, and argues that based on the door lintel with no associated royal name and the ceramic data dating to the Saite/Persian Period there is no justification for the buildings to date to the 21st Dynasty. Masson (2007: 618-19), does not rule out the possibility of the presence of an earlier Third Intermediate Period priestly quarter somewhere around the Sacred Lake based on the associated finds, but it is not appropriate to use the Karnak priestly housing plans in this architectural study as a comparative resource for securely dated Third Intermediate Period structural remains and occupational phases.

4.5.4.3.2 The Memphite House Lintels in the South West of the Ptah Temple

At Memphis, the remains of architectural elements of buildings were found in a trial trench cut at the back of the small Ramesside Ptah temple. The only items published were the stone doorways (Anthes, et al., 1965: 92-6, pl. 31). One of the doorways was inscribed by the priest of Ptah and the House of Osiris, Lord of Rostau, Ptah-Kha and was erected for his father, Ashakhet, while the other more fragmentary example did not preserve the owner's name. Both stone doorways were erected during the 21st Dynasty in the reign of Psusennes I. There is debate as to the function of these buildings. Originally the doorposts were encased in brickwork and were interpreted by Kitchen (1996: §225) as possible chapels and by Jeffreys (1985: 71) as tombs. Aston (2007a: 68) suggests they represent the doorways to priests' houses like the Karnak examples discussed above. As the evidence now suggests the construction date of the Karnak doorposts and the priestly houses was not in the early Third Intermediate Period a comparison of the two sets of buildings therefore cannot be made, and the function of the building they belonged to cannot be determined at this moment. An assessment of these structures as houses is not achievable as no mud brick walls or rooms were associated with the doorposts.

4.5.4.3.3 The House of Butahamun at Medinat Habu

At Medinat Habu, the best-preserved structure near the Western Fortified Gate belonged to the Overseer of the Treasury, Butahamun. It is the only known house of the period so far found which is associated with a named individual. This building has the potential, in combination with the associated architecture, to provide an insight into the role of the person and the household agency. The presence of an associated name with the house, in general, is a rarity, because the lack of associated individuals to house architecture is a 'near universal problem', particularly within household archaeology (Nevett, 1999: 39-50; Spencer, N., 2015: 172). The building dates to the reign of Ramesses XI or Smendes I, as Butahamun is last attested in year 13 of Smendes I and by year 16 was succeeded by his son Ankhefenamun (Aston, 2007b: 69). The remaining structural elements of Butahamun's building were in a fragmentary state of preservation. The house plan shows a wide doorway into the first (transverse/court) room before the main room. Only the sill of the door was extant. Inside the room were two stone columns. The mud brick foundations were all that remained of the room. From this room, one would enter the main (or secondary court) room. Four columns were regularly spaced across the room supported by a roof. All four of these columns still stood upright. The rear (western) wall of the room had the remains of two stone pilasters. There were the remains of a rectangular stone dais against the west wall. To the right of the dais there was a narrow doorway. Unfortunately, the rear rooms were not preserved. Hölscher (1954: 4) proposed there was the possibility of a secondary doorway on the left-hand side of the dais. Other remains in the vicinity may well have belonged to additional rooms of the building (Hölscher, 1954: 5). The assessment of the architecture, particularly its position within the Medinat Habu enclosure next to the entrance of the West Fortified Gate and the central room arrangement, which has a four-columned central hall with raised stone dais calls into question the identification of this structure as the house of Butahamun and Lacovara (1997: 61) has compared the structure to the 'South' or 'Queen Tiy's' palace at Malqata, which was suggested to be an administrative office connected with the palace stores. If the structure of Butahamun was an office it would correspond with his position as the 'Overseer of the Royal Treasury'.

4.5.4.3.4 Summary

Based on the current analysis of the housing at Karnak, Memphis and Medinat Habu the problems in analysing architectural plans and elements assumed to represent houses from previous excavations become clear. Therefore these so called 'house plans' are unreliable for analysis and are not used within the analysis of Third Intermediate Period house architecture.

4.5.4.4 Architectural House Plans of the New Kingdom

This section documents the architectural design of houses in the preceding New Kingdom to provide a baseline for housing design prior to the Third Intermediate Period. Then the houses found in settlements with Third Intermediate Period occupation phases, are analysed to see whether there was a continuation of New Kingdom architectural styles or whether new designs and architectural elements were introduced into the Third Intermediate Period domestic architectural repertoire.

In the early New Kingdom, there was a continuation of the Middle Kingdom style housing which comprised a large rectangular, columned central hall, flanked by two smaller rectangular side rooms (Bietak, 1996a: 37, fig. 1; Lacovara, 1997: 56). In the Amarna Period, there was a transition to the central hall house (Lacovara, 1997: 22-3). The houses at Amarna show a large variety in scale from less than 10 m^2 to over 400 m^2 (Fig. 62) (Crocker, 1985; Shaw, 1992; Spence, 2015: 86). The larger of these houses were set within their own enclosures, which included several ancillary structures including other smaller houses. The Amarna houses exhibit a strict patterning of spatial layout from both the smallest and the largest structures, and show a tripartite division, with only the very smallest houses lacking front rooms (Spence, 2015: 86-7). The central hall house style was a square, central hall living space with a brick dais against one wall and smaller rooms radiating from it. A rectangular pillared antechamber or reception fronted the central square room (Borchardt and Ricke, 1980, plan I; Frankfort and Pendlebury, 1933: pls XII-XIV; Peet and Woolley, 1923: pl. III; Sullivan, 2013: 63).

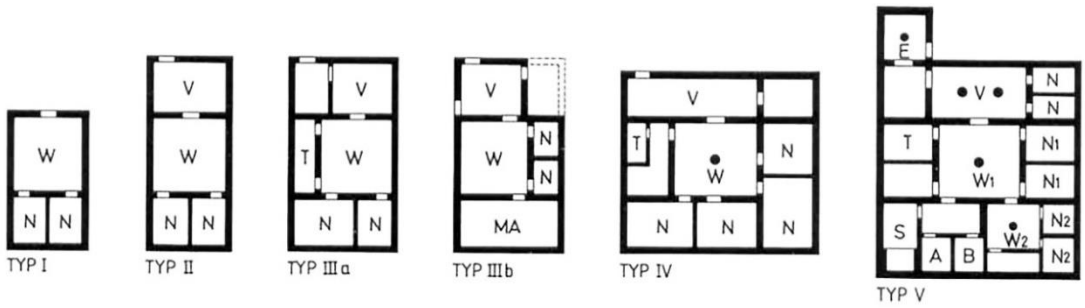


Fig. 62. Group B Amarna House Types (N: adjoining room; V: vestibule; W: living room; T: staircase; S: bedroom; A: dressing room; B: bathroom; MA: magazine (Bietak, 1996a: 24).

Examples of tripartite houses are found in Egypt as early as the Old Kingdom, while staircases were a prominent feature of the New Kingdom Amarna houses (Spence, 2004b; 2015: 87). After the Amarna Period, Lacovara (1997: 71) states the house style reverted to the traditional styles of the Middle Kingdom, in which he cited the Karnak Priestly houses as an example. As discussed above, the construction and occupation date for these houses is debatable and they were subject to considerable adaptation over time. The reversion to Middle Kingdom styles after the Amarna Period is not observed other the New Kingdom houses so far excavated.

At the Ramesside capital of Qantir, the 19th Dynasty houses had a tripartite layout in a continuation of the Amarna House style (Pusch, 1999: 15; Pusch, Becker and Fassbinder, 1999:160-1, figs. 1-2). This was also the case in Thebes where the 19th Dynasty houses behind the 'temple palace' of Medinat Habu were based on the Amarna architectural style with a rectangular vestibule, a square central room surrounded by two rooms and an antechamber (Hölscher, 1941: fig. 53). Other houses at Medinat Habu, except for the so called 'house' of Butahamun, reverted to the conventional Middle Kingdom style (Lacovara, 1997: 61). At Thebes, the Ramesside houses at Abu el-Gud, based on Sullivan's (2013) assessment, were in the Amarna style, but at the Late New Kingdom/Early Third Intermediate Period fort of el-Ahawaih the houses do not show a continuation of the Amarna middle court plan (Lacovara, 1997: 61). The Ramesside Period houses at Deir el-Medina had similar designs to Amarna housing, with their square, columned main room, while the larger houses at Deir el-Medina had rooms surrounding the main room, a plan reminiscent of the Amarna style (Kemp, 1977: 127). Finally, at Memphis, the Ramesside Phase housing followed a similar plan to the Amarna style, but at the same time the Ramesside phase was founded upon, and copied the earlier 18th Dynasty house design. The Ramesside phase, therefore, was influenced in its design by the earlier 18th dynasty structures, while the area showed a large amount of continuity over the New Kingdom (Giddy, 1999: 2-3). The design of housing after the Amarna Period shows a preference for a continuation of the Amarna styles in many regions of the country, but at the same time architects reverted to the Middle Kingdom style.

Although the evidence is limited, the review of 19th Dynasty/Late New Kingdom house designs shows different architectural styles were concurrent with each other, and no dominant architectural style was used across the country. The concurrent use of different housing styles may reflect the contemporaneity of space within more urbanised settlements, as new styles were built next to old styles, but had contemporary occupational phases. The Late New Kingdom settlements were made up of a multiplicity of different housing styles, which were subject to adaption and change over time based on the needs and socio-economic restrictions of the owners.

4.5.4.5 The Architectural Styles of the Third Intermediate Period in Upper Egypt: The Evidence

Several styles of house can be detected in the Third Intermediate Period from sites throughout Egypt and perhaps the main type of house was that with a central room, double column and dais. Other developments are also attested, however, and are described below.

4.5.4.5.1 The Central Room Double Column with Dais

There is considerable evidence to suggest the central room with double column and dais found in the Amarna Period houses continued to be a prominent feature in Third Intermediate Period house architecture. This style is observed in a Late New Kingdom/Early Third Intermediate Period house at Amarna itself (el-Hagg Qandil) (Fig. 63) (Kemp, 1995: 446-8), and throughout the period at Medinat Habu (Fig. 64-67) (Hölscher, 1954: 6-7,14, figs 4-6,19), but this combination of elements has not been documented at other settlements for the period beyond the 21st Dynasty.

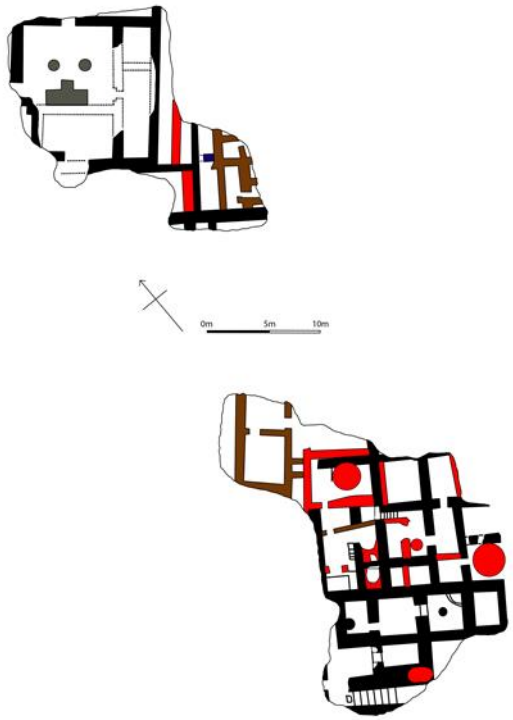


Fig. 63. House from Amarna (el-Hagg Qandil) dated to Late New Kingdom/21st Dynasty showing the central columned room and dais (redrawn from Peet and Woolley, 1923: pl. XLI).

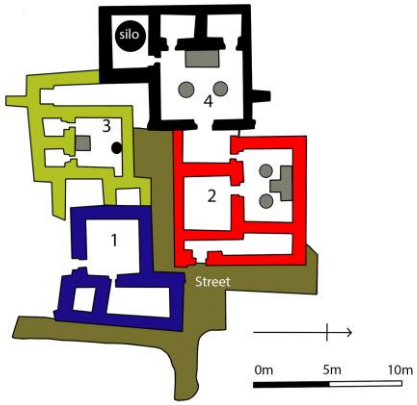


Fig. 64. Medinat Habu Second Phase Houses in Grid Square G6 showing the central columned hall and dais. (redrawn from Hölscher, 1954: fig. 6).

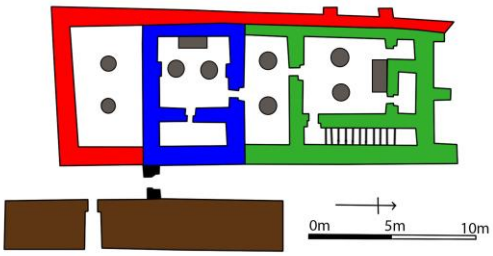


Fig. 65. Two houses side by side at Medinat Habu Second Phase House in Grid Square showing central columned hall and dais (redrawn from Hölscher, 1954: fig. 5).

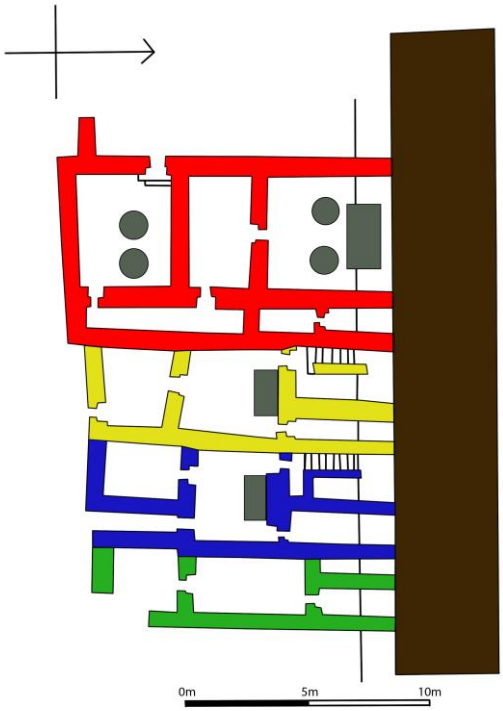


Fig. 66. Medinat Habu Third Phase (25th Dynasty) Houses against the Enclosure Wall showing the central columned hall and dais (redrawn from Hölscher, 1954: fig. 19).

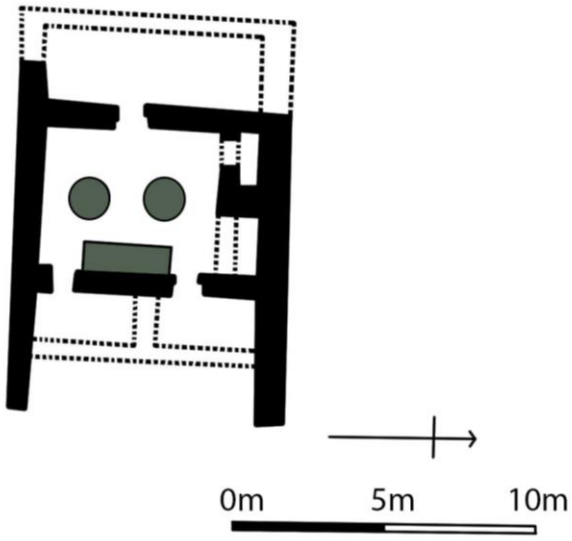


Fig. 67. Medinat Habu Second Phase House in Grid Square showing central columned hall and dais (redrawn from Hölscher, 1954: fig. 4).

At Lisht North, after the end of the 18th Dynasty, the casing of the pyramid of Amenemhat III was removed and used as a source of building material creating large rubbish heaps around the base of the pyramid. During the 20th Dynasty, a settlement grew up on the top of the rubble mounds and was inhabited by a low social class, probably the workmen who were tasked with removing the casing of the pyramid (Arnold, 1996: 20). The housing itself was built up against the west side of the pyramid (Mace, 1922: 14). The objects found in the houses suggest the inhabitants were farmers who had a cottage industry manufacturing glass and beads, although the primary occupation was tomb robbing (Arnold, 1996: 20). The extent of the occupation phases remains uncertain as there were no controlled excavations carried out on the settlement when it was excavated by Mace between 1906 and 1922 (Mace, 1914; 1921; 1922). The evidence does suggest the settlement continued to be in use until its abandonment during the 22nd Dynasty. The architectural plans, according to Mace (1922: 13-14), were '*haphazard in design with walls at any angle and of no conceivable plan, and with narrow streets that terminated in peoples' private courtyards*'. A reassessment of the houses plans by Arnold (1996: 20) showed the houses conformed to the lower end style layouts of the middle-class houses from Amarna and Deir el-Medina, and represent the typical house plans of Amarna Period (Arnold, 1996: 20).

At Abu el-Gud, 120 m to the south of the Mut Complex at Karnak a neatly planned series of mud brick houses of the 19th Dynasty were excavated, with wide entrances with stone door jambs and thresholds (el-Saghir, 1988: 80), and a rectangular 12 roomed storage magazine, or casemate for a stone structure. The structure seems to have been connected with a small temple of Ramesses II with an open court, followed by a colonnade, and behind that a sanctuary (el-Saghir, 1988: 80). No plans of the complex were published, but based on the combination of buildings it appears to represent a small temple complex of Ramesses II. Directly on top of the 19th Dynasty temple complex were large domestic structures dated by the excavators to the Third Intermediate Period / Late Period. It is not known if the Ramesside temple continued to function after the New Kingdom. The Mut Complex houses were centred around a main room, each house supplied with a pair of pillars to support the ceiling (el-Saghir, 1988: 79-81). Sullivan (2013: 64) states the description provided would certainly suggest an Amarna style house layout, but without a complete plan of the houses this is difficult to confirm.

At Medinat Habu, at some point in the 25th Dynasty, several new houses were constructed. Hölscher (1954: 14) suggested the domestic buildings at Medinat Habu inside the outer enclosure walls became more 'citified' during the 25th Dynasty. These newly built houses retained the New Kingdom dais element as discussed above but now resembled the long narrow houses of the New Kingdom at Deir el-Medina, with a front room and a main room followed by two rear rooms or a staircase, all along the same line (Hölscher, 1954: fig. 19). The long narrow

house style of the New Kingdom can be observed to some extent in the house in Grid Square O-P-4 which was built on the so-called 'pomerium' of Ramesses III and dates to the 22nd to 24th Dynasty phase (Fig. 68) (Hölscher, 1954: 8).

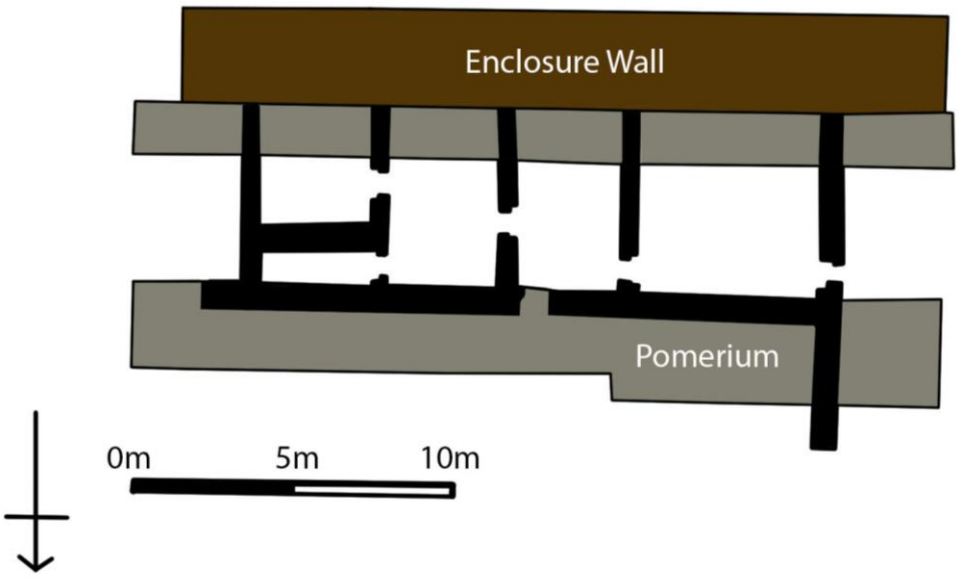


Fig. 68. Second Phase Third Intermediate Period house on the pomerium of Ramesses III resembling the long narrow houses of Deir el-Medina (redrawn from Hölscher, 1954: fig. 8). The walls (grey) are the retaining wall of the pomerium, which after the gravel was removed the partition walls were inserted to create the domestic rooms.

In the 25th/26th Dynasty, at Medinat Habu a group of larger houses in Phase III were constructed within the temple's inner enclosure wall and retained parts of the Amarna-type plan. Houses 1-2 and 5-6 had two square, central rooms in a variety of layouts (Fig. 69).

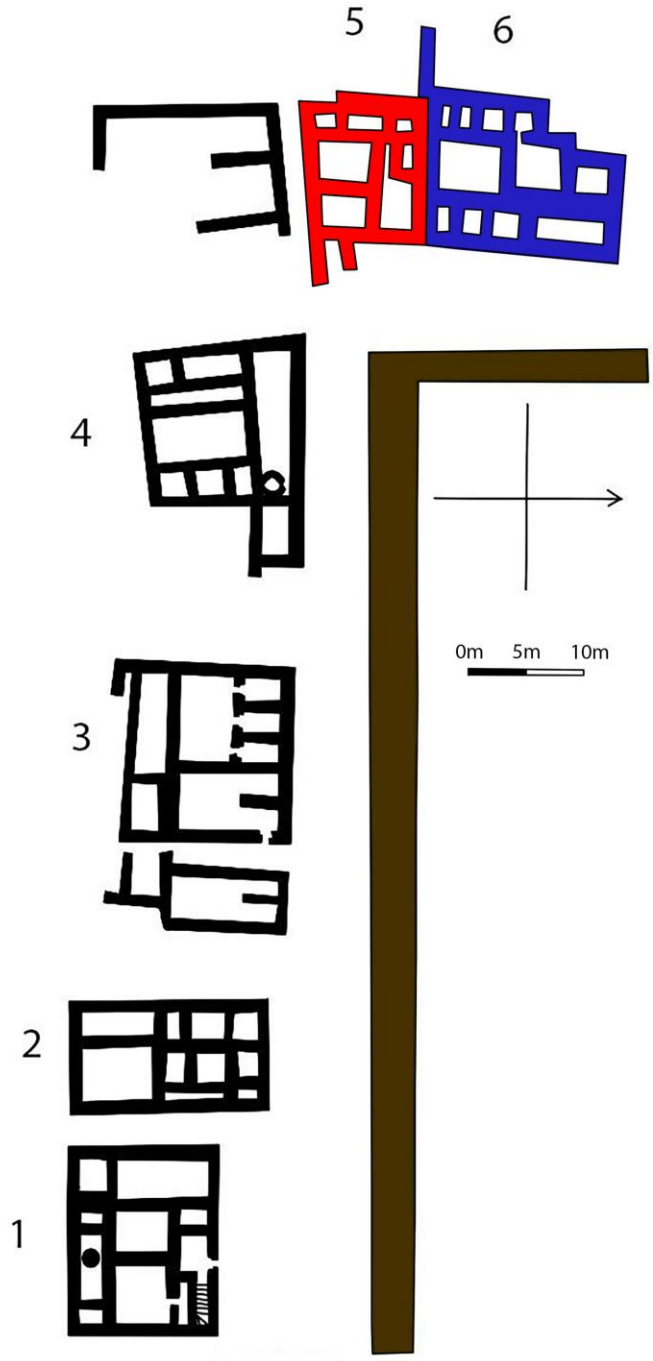


Fig. 69. 25th Dynasty Houses from Medinat Habu (redrawn from Hölscher, 1954: fig. 19).

Several houses, of suggested 21st Dynasty date were built upon the palace of Merenptah at Kom el-Qala but they remain unpublished (Aston, 2007b: 69; Jeffreys, 1996: 290). Petrie (1909: 11, pl. XXVII) found a group of houses upon the nearby temple of Merenptah at Kom el-Qala (Fig. 70). The houses were all a small size and built close by each other. The ground plans of these houses were similar to the second phase houses (10th to 8th century BCE) from Medinat Habu and the Late New Kingdom/Early Third Intermediate Period houses at el-Hagg Qandil (Amarna) (Aston, 2007b: 69; Hölscher, 1954: 6-8; Kemp, 1995: 446-8). Considering these comparisons, Aston (2007b: 69) argued that the nearby houses, which Fischer found at Kom el-Qala with similar designs and dating to the 21st Dynasty, may be of a later 22nd Dynasty construction date. Without a detailed stratigraphic analysis of the structures found by Petrie and Fischer, combined with artefact contexts and micro-archaeological analysis, any assumed dating of these houses to a 22nd Dynasty occupation phase must be taken with caution. The partial nature of the plans of many of the structures makes it difficult to assess if there different styles of housing were used concurrently at Kom el-Qala, while the evidence from other settlements across the country shows different housing types could be contemporary with each other.

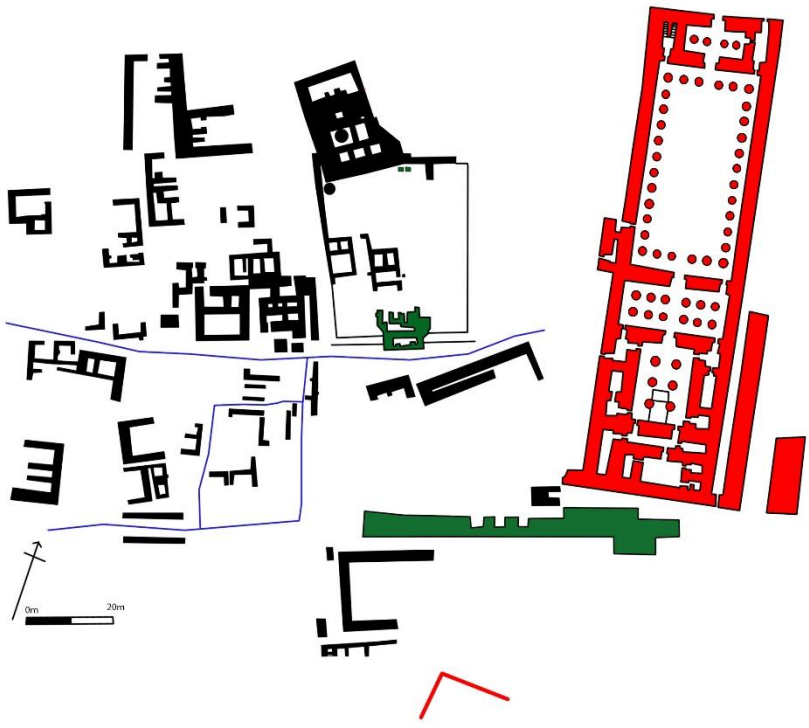


Fig. 70. Plan of the Third Intermediate Period houses overlying the temple of Merenptah at Memphis with the Palace of Merenptah to the east (Hybrid Redrawn from Petrie, 1909: pl. XXVII; PM, III/2 pl. LXXII).

Excavations carried out by Jeffreys (2007) at Kom Rabia found domestic remains dating to the Third Intermediate Period. The remains overlaid the settlement of the New Kingdom with approximately 20 m^2 of Third Intermediate Period stratigraphy preserved; they seem to have followed the same Amarna style layout of the previous New Kingdom phase.

Excavations at Kom Firin found Early Third Intermediate Period parts of houses along the eastern wall of the Ramesside temple and, in Phases 5 and 6 (EV-VI), in the north eastern sector of the temenos area. A full house plan was not preserved, which makes it difficult to understand the spatial arrangement of the whole house. The inhabitants of the house conducted developments and adaptations of the house between Phase 5 and 6. The houses in the north-eastern sector of the Ramesside enclosure wall were built after successive silo installations of the Early Third Intermediate Period. The rooms of the house were built against the interior faces of the temple enclosure indicating the redevelopment of space. The use of the enclosure wall to provide support for housing is like the second phase domestic occupations of Ramesside temple enclosures at Matmar and Medinat Habu. The partial plans of the structure were consistent with a house, such as the small three rooms against the enclosure wall, preceded by a central space with perhaps a staircase to one side. The arrangement of the rooms of the Kom Firin house would fit with the broadly tripartite arrangement of New Kingdom houses (Spencer, N., 2008; 2014: 46).

4.5.4.5.2 Other Housing Styles

Several Third Intermediate Period houses from across Egypt based on the preserved remains do not incorporate known architectural elements such as the columns or dais, or adhere to the styles of architecture and housing layout of the previous Middle and New Kingdom traditions, particularly those of Amarna.

The first set of houses were those found in grid square E5 at Medinat Habu, (10^{th} to 8^{th} century BCE) were situated on an angular, hilly street, with various steps at short intervals to connect different occupation levels. Four complete houses were identified (Fig. 71). The first house, ‘House 1’ had two rooms but no subsidiary chambers, while House 2 had two rooms and a small courtyard in the front. The corresponding part of House 3, as far as can be ascertained, was not closed off from the street and behind House 3 was a stairway that led up to the socle of the Great Girdle Wall. Based on this evidence it can be said that House 3 had a second storey. House 4 had its main room paved with baked bricks, while there was a second, now destroyed room to the east. House 4, based on the trapezoidal form at the front with its thin walls was most

likely an open court (Hölscher, 1954: 8). Secondly, at Medinat Habu, as well as some of the larger 25th Dynasty houses having Amarna style layouts a new style was found (Houses 3-4) that diverged from the square central hall pattern and instead had a large rectangular main room surrounded by a series of three small rooms, and two long rectangular rooms making an L-shape around the first grouping (Fig. 69).

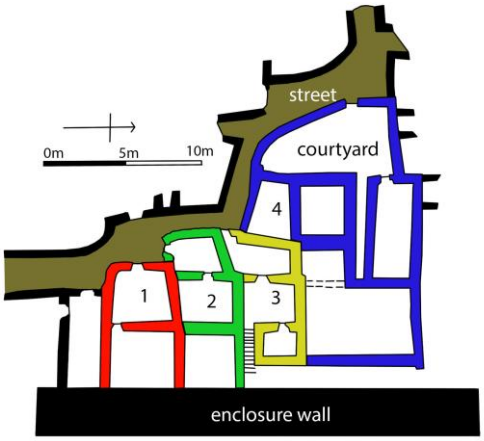


Fig. 71. Group of Houses in Grid Square E5 (redrawn from Hölscher, 1954: fig. 7).

In the Wadi Tumilat at Tell el-Retaba, in Area 3, two partly excavated houses were excavated, in which 'House 2' had very thick walls approximately 1 m wide (Fig. 72). The wall thickness suggests a second or even a third storey. This structure was interpreted as the basement of the house, which was accessed by the upper floor as no doors or windows were found (Rzepka, 2011: 135-6). A main road running from the large western gate of the fortress which led to the main temple divided Area 3 from a second area of housing, 'Area 5', but the houses on this side of the road were markedly different in design, with much thinner walls (0.3 m wide and smaller). The road appears to have separated two functionally different parts of the settlement, but it is possible the much larger and thicker walled house represents a later phase of house design at Tell el-Retaba corresponding to the larger thicker walled houses found at Hermopolis and in the later larger 25th Dynasty structures at Medinat Habu. In Area 9 at Tell el-Retaba a third area of Third Intermediate Period housing again represented a different form of housing, consisting of small houses, that have so far been attributed a general Third

Intermediate Period phase dating (Fig. 73). The initial stages of the Area 9 house had only two rooms very much like in the smaller houses at Medinat Habu (Jarmužek and Rzepka, 2014).

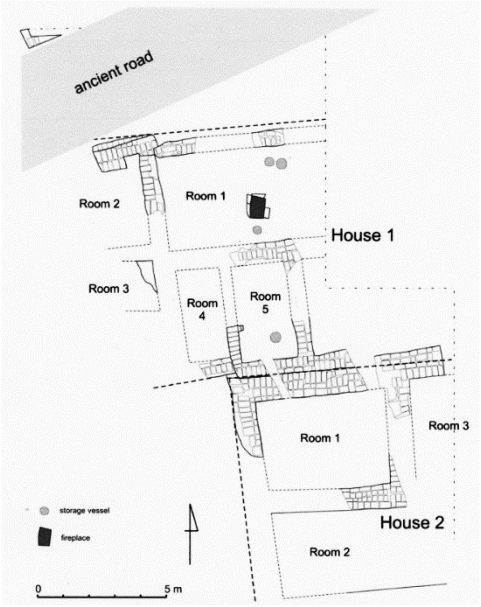


Fig. 72. Houses at Tell el-Retaba (from S. Rzepka, 2011:137, fig. 9, drawing by L. Jarmužek).

Fig. 73. Plan of the Third Intermediate Period Houses at Tell el-Retaba in Area 9 (Jarmužek and Rzepka, 2014: fig. 87).

Finally, at Hermopolis in Grabung I and Graben IV there were domestic occupation levels of the Third Intermediate Period (Roeder, 1959). The publication is of limited use for the understanding of the housing plans of the period because the ceramics collected all dated from the 18th Dynasty to the Ptolemaic Period, and the described pottery is only partially illustrated (Aston, 1996a: 41). Later excavations discovered the remains of Third Intermediate Period housing in 'Site-W' (Figs 74-76). Three construction phases were identified. Spencer (1993: vi) dated the Level 2 phase to 850-750 BCE. Re-analysis by Aston (1996a: 42) has suggested a date range in the late 8th century BCE. The earliest phase (Level 3) beneath Level 2, would, therefore, date to before the late 8th century BCE. The final phase of construction (Level 1) consisted of a large house foundation overlying the foundations of the earlier house in Level 2 and was dated by Spencer (1993: 42) to 750-650 BCE. Aston's (1996a: 42), re-analysis of the ceramic assemblage from Hermopolis dates Level 1b to 700-600 BCE and would place its construction date right at the very end of the Third Intermediate Period and a transition phase into the Saite Period. The Level 3 (pre-8th century BCE) house had eight rooms designed without a central hall, as in the standard Amarna plan, while the houses in Levels 2b-3 did not exhibit an Amarna style and appear to be random in their layout. The final phase (Level 1b) consisted of a large square house foundation of mud brick and was built as single project with only a few minor later additions (Spencer, A.J., 1993: 13). The brickwork formed a network of walls without interconnecting doorways, which appears to be similar to Late Period tower-house architecture (Marouad, 2014).

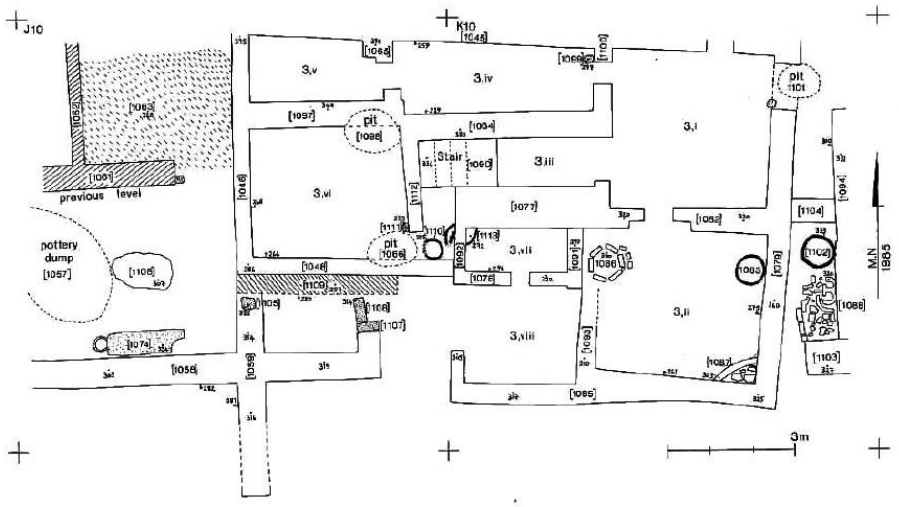


Fig. 74. Level 3 House at Hermopolis in Squares J.10-K.10 (Spencer, A.J., 1993: pl. 10).

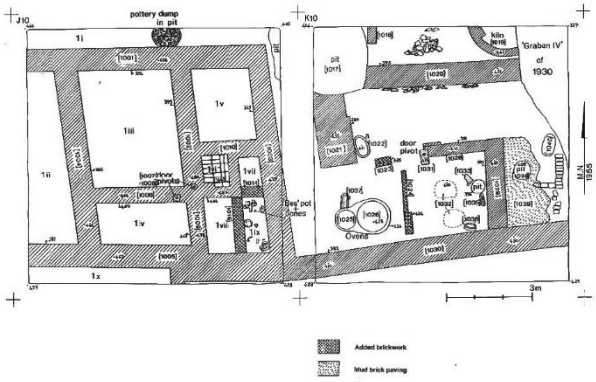


Fig. 75. Level 1 House at Hermopolis in Squares J.11-K.11 (Spencer, A.J., 1993, pl. 18).

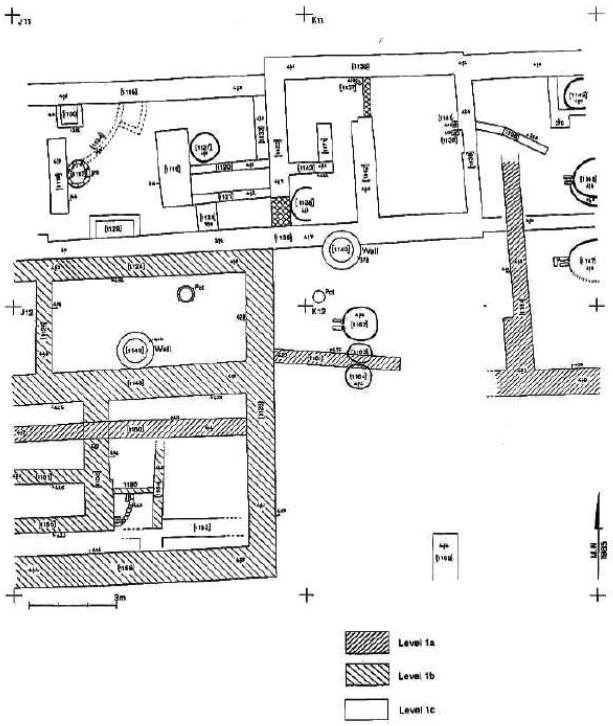


Fig. 76. Level 1b House at Hermopolis in squares J.10-K.10 (Spencer, A.J., 1993, pl. 3).

4.5.4.6 Summary of Third Intermediate Period Housing Plans

Most domestic house plans maintained the New Kingdom Amarna design, with the central columned room and dais, while in some settlements a less regular architectural design began to be developed. These non-Amarna plans developed in response to increasing spatial limitations

within the settlements and the requirements of the family group, and the economic and social hierarchy of the occupants of the household.

4.5.5 Additional Building Elements

In some excavations, smaller elements from houses can be useful in understanding the capacity of settlements in the Third Intermediate Period. Staircases within homes indicate the need for vertical expansion of the household, indicating a spatial horizontal restriction within the settlement. Furthermore, they provide economic indications of individual households and the financial ability to build multi-storey dwellings. The presence of ovens within designated houses indicates food production within the home, and not being reliant on external governmental run, food preparation areas, which again provides an economic indicator to the family unit and the self-sufficient nature of the domestic population in specific areas of the settlement. Finally, the application of wall decoration indicates the financial ability to afford coloured and decorated walls and expresses a desire by the family to express aesthetic and cultural trends, and elite emulation.

4.5.5.1 Staircases, ovens, and wall decoration

Staircases have been found in several Third Intermediate Period houses throughout the period at Hermopolis (Spencer, A.J., 1993: 18, level 3 house), Medinat Habu (Hölscher, 1954: 7-8,14, throughout the period) and Kom Firin (Spencer, N., 2014: 42). An assessment of whether they were for accessing a second storey or a roof area is difficult, but if the walls had widths of 1 m or more than a second storey could have been supported. The roof spaces would have been open areas in which craft work and storage areas would have been located, as is common in modern Egyptian houses (Snape, 2014: 80).

The Third Intermediate Period houses retain designated areas for cooking and the preparation of food, with small brick ovens identified in the domestic levels at Sais, Kom Firin and Hermopolis, and it can be assumed these housing areas were open to the air to allow for the smoke to escape, but they may have been in designated rooved spaces as in the case of some modern Egyptian village houses.

Evidence of wall decoration in the domestic settlements of the period rarely survives, but there is evidence the walls were coated in a mud plaster at Matmar (Brunton, 1948: 60) and the Phase 5 house at Tell el-Retaba (Jarmužek and Rzpeka, 2014: 87). Mud plaster allowed for the formation of a smooth flat surface which could be decorated but the extent of painted

decoration is debated because not enough has survived across the dynastic period. Based on representations of houses from tomb models and scenes indicates they were most likely coated in a whitewash, which would have helped reflect the heat, particularly in the summer months (Snape, 2014: 78).

4.5.5.2 Domestic Mud Brick Sizes of the Third Intermediate Period

Mud bricks can be analysed through a systematic recording of brick sizes (Kemp, 2000: 84; Spencer, A.J., 1979), while mud can be distinguished through its chemical components to some extent (Emery and Morgenstein, 2007). Measuring the sizes of bricks can allow the identification of brick factories or batches or manufacturing teams, for the purpose, initially of internal comparison for a site chronology. Brick size analysis has many factors, which must be considered when using them for statistical analysis. Each brick has its own unique complex topography and the reasons for the irregularity, even though made in moulds, are the amount of shrinkage during the drying process, disturbance during the drying process from the removal of the moulds (Kemp, 2000: 84). The measuring of a brick to the nearest millimetre cannot be done as the brick's axis does not represent the true planes, (Kemp, 2000: 84) and the measurements collected for the Third Intermediate Period, as for all other periods, are a compromise.

After the Old Kingdom, and up until the Byzantine Period, the broad spread of brick size values seems to have been around 30 x 15 cm (Spencer, A.J., 1979: 147-8, pls 41-4). The corpus of brick sizes collected in this analysis from across the country is derived from average brick sizes taken from walls at Medinat Habu, Tell el-Balamun, Hermopolis, Elephantine, Karnak, Akoris, Matmar and Tell el-Retaba (Fig. 77 and Table 11). Two examples of stamped bricks not in situ, one with the name of the High Priest of Amun Menkheperre come from the priestly house (House II) at Karnak and measured 27 x 15 x 7 cm, and represents a fairly small size, while a large mud brick with the name of Ini from Elephantine measured 40 x 18 x 10 cm and may even have been longer (Raue, 2010). The brick is most likely to have come from a monumental structure or even part of a floor, like the large 40 x 40 x 7 cm mud bricks found in the floor of House 1 and 2 (Grid G12-13) at Medinat Habu. The remainder of the mud brick examples from across the period all come from walls from domestic contexts and fit well within the norm for domestic brick sizes of the period and do not show any deviation away from normal brick size averages for the Old Kingdom until the Byzantine era. The average brick size for the period is 33 x 16 x 9 cm which fits well within the average domestic brick size of dynastic Egypt.

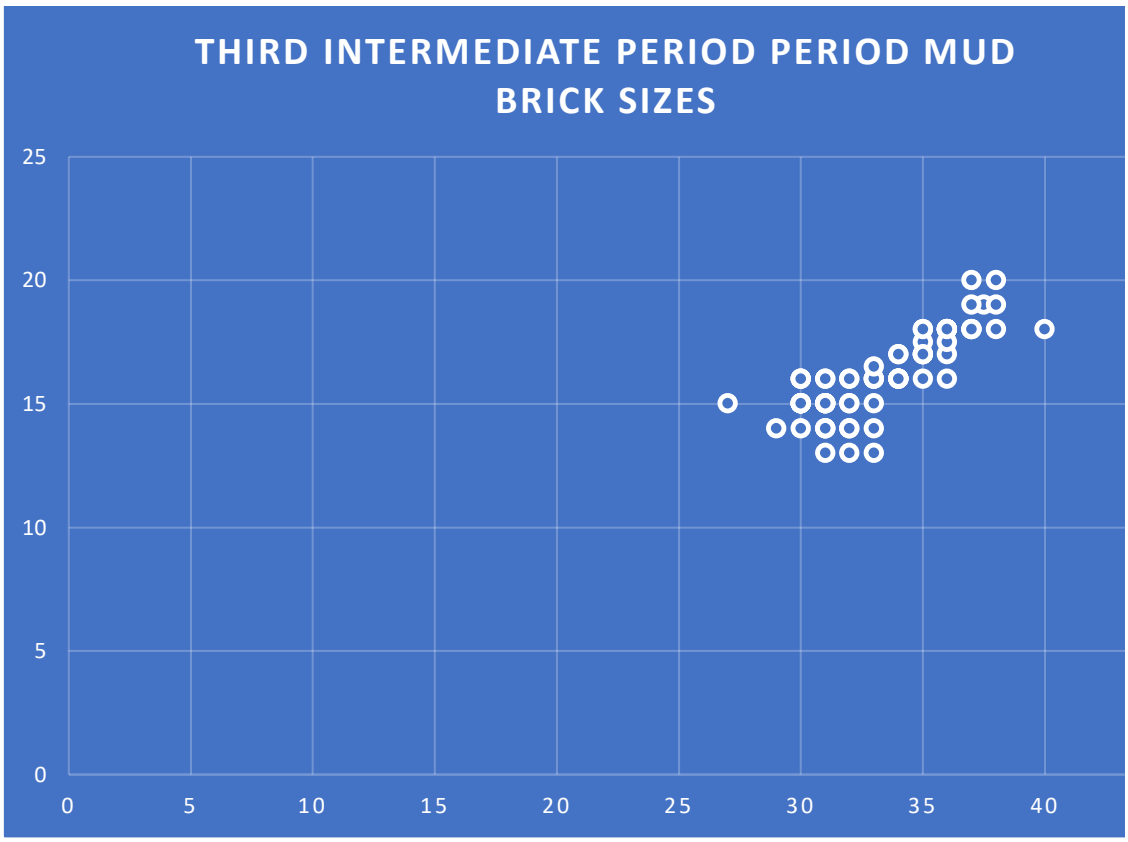


Fig. 77. Scatter Graph Showing Mud Brick Sizes Over the Period.

Mud Brick contexts in Chronological Order	Length (cm)	Width (cm)	Depth (cm) (Average)
Medinat Habu (House of Butahamun): The Transverse (Entrance Room) Foundations.	37	18	19
Medinat Habu: Houses of the north-eastern part of the outer temple.	36	18	10
Medinat Habu: Houses of the north-eastern part of the outer temple.	37	18	10
Medinat Habu: Houses of the north-eastern part of the outer temple.	38	18	10

Matmar: Domestic structures inside the Ramesside enclosure.	36	16	8
Stamped mudbrick of HPA Menkheperre found in the rubble of priestly houses 'House II' at Karnak.	27	15	7
Room 3, iv of Level 3 house at Hermopolis (wall [1045]).	31	13	7
Room 3, iv of Level 3 house at Hermopolis (wall [1045]).	31	14	7
Room 3, iv of Level 3 house at Hermopolis (wall [1045]).	32	13	7
Room 3, iv of Level 3 house at Hermopolis (wall [1045]).	32	14	7
Room 3, iv of Level 3 house at Hermopolis (wall [1045]).	33	13	7
Room 3, iv of Level 3 house at Hermopolis (wall [1045]).	33	14	7
Room 3, iv of Level 3 house at Hermopolis (wall [1084]).	33	16	7.5
Room 3, iv of Level 3 house at Hermopolis (wall [1084]).	34	16	7.5
Room 3, v of Level 3 house at Hermopolis (wall [1046]).	37	18	9
Room 3, v of Level 3 house at Hermopolis (wall [1097]).	33	16	7.5
Room 3, v of Level 3 house at Hermopolis (wall [1097]).	34	16	7.5
Room 3, vi of Level 3 house at Hermopolis (wall [1048]).	37.5	19	9
Room 3, viii of Level 3 house at Hermopolis (wall [1076] pale yellow sandy).	31	14	2.5
Room 3, viii of Level 3 house at Hermopolis (wall [1076] pale yellow sandy).	32	14	2.5
Level 3 house at Hermopolis (wall [1132] sandy).	35	17	9.5
Level 3 house at Hermopolis (wall [1132] sandy).	35	18	9.5
Level 3 house at Hermopolis (wall [1132] sandy).	36	17	9.5
Level 3 house at Hermopolis (wall [1132] sandy).	36	18	9.5
Level 3 house at Hermopolis (wall [1116] sandy).	35	17	9.5
Level 3 house at Hermopolis (wall [1116] sandy).	36	18	9
Level 3 house at Hermopolis (wall [1116] sandy).	35	17	9
Level 3 house at Hermopolis (wall [1116] sandy).	36	18	9
Level 3 house at Hermopolis (wall [1116] sandy grey).	30	15	9
Level 3 house at Hermopolis (wall [1116] sandy grey).	31	15	9
Level 3 house at Hermopolis (wall [1188]).	36	18	10
Level 3 house at Hermopolis (wall [1189] sandy).	34	16	9
Level 3 house at Hermopolis (wall 1128).	35	17.5	10
Level 3 house at Hermopolis (wall 1128).	35	18	10
Level 3 house at Hermopolis (wall 1128).	36	17.5	10

Level 3 house at Hermopolis (wall 1128).	36	18	10
Level 2b house at Hermopolis (wall 1172).	32	15	8.5
Level 2b house at Hermopolis (wall 1172).	32	16	8.5
Level 2b house at Hermopolis (wall 1172).	33	15	8.5
Level 2b house at Hermopolis (wall 1172).	33	16	8.5
Level 2b house at Hermopolis (wall 1153 sandy grey).	34	17	9
Level 1C house at Hermopolis (wall 1139).	30	15	8.5
Level 1C house at Hermopolis (wall 1139).	30	16	8.5
Level 1C house at Hermopolis (wall 1139).	31	15	8.5
Level 1C house at Hermopolis (wall 1139).	31	16	8.5
Level 1C house at Hermopolis (wall part of oven 1145).	33	16.5	8.5
Level 1b house at Hermopolis (brick floor of chamber 1, vi).	30	15	9
Level 1b house at Hermopolis (foundation walls (J.10 house).	30	14	9.5
Level 1b house at Hermopolis (foundation walls (J.10 house).	30	15	9.5
Level 1b house at Hermopolis (foundation walls (J.10 house).	31	14	9.5
Level 1b house at Hermopolis (foundation walls (J.10 house).	31	15	9.5
Level 1b house at Hermopolis (foundation walls (K.10 walls [1029]).	31	15	9.5
Level 1b house at Hermopolis (foundation walls (K.10 storage compartment [1021] some sandy).	30	15	9.5
Level 1b house at Hermopolis (foundation walls (K.10 storage compartment [1021] some sandy).	30	16	9.5
Level 1b house at Hermopolis (foundation walls (J.12 main wall foundations [1124, 1126, 1125, 1148, 1151, 1152, 1155 and 1156] compact grey mud).	30	15	8.75
Level 1b house at Hermopolis (foundation walls (J.12 main wall foundations [1124, 1126, 1125, 1148, 1151, 1152, 1155 and 1156] compact grey mud).	30	16	8.75
Level 1b house at Hermopolis (foundation walls (J.12 main wall foundations [1124, 1126, 1125, 1148, 1151, 1152, 1155 and 1156] compact grey mud).	31	15	8.75

Level 1b house at Hermopolis (foundation walls (J.12 main wall foundations [1124, 1126, 1125, 1148, 1151, 1152, 1155 and 1156] compact grey mud).	31	16	8.75
Level 1b house at Hermopolis (foundation walls (J.12 main wall foundations [1124, 1126, 1125, 1148, 1151, 1152, 1155 and 1156] compact grey mud).	32	15	8.75
Level 1b house at Hermopolis (foundation walls (J.12 main wall foundations [1124, 1126, 1125, 1148, 1151, 1152, 1155 and 1156] compact grey mud).	32	16	8.75
Level 1b house at Hermopolis (Bathroom installation? J.12. Fired red bricks).	34	16	7
Medinat Habu: Phase III (Small Hard Sandy).	29	14	8.5
Medinat Habu: Phase III (Small Hard Sandy).	30	15	8.5
Elephantine (Bricks of King Ini from south west of the tell).	40	18	10
House (Early Level) Tell el-Balamun.	34	16	9.5
House (Early Level) Tell el-Balamun.	34	17	9.5
House (Early Level) Tell el-Balamun.	35	16	9.5
House (Early Level) Tell el-Balamun.	35	17	9.5
House (Upper Level) Tell el-Balamun.	37	19	20
House (Upper Level) Tell el-Balamun.	37	20	20
House (Upper Level) Tell el-Balamun.	38	19	20
House (Upper Level) Tell el-Balamun.	38	20	20
Undefined Phases			
Medinat Habu (Brick Floor of chamber 1. VI).	30	15	9
Medinat Habu Floors of Houses 1 and 2 (Grid G12-13).	40	40	7
Akoris, beneath the pavements of the north-eastern part of the Middle Court East (Industrial structures?).	31	16	9
Akoris, beneath the pavements of the north-eastern part of the Middle Court East (Industrial structures?).	33	17	9
Akoris, beneath the pavements of the north-eastern part of the Middle Court East (Industrial structures?).	35	17	9
Akoris, beneath the pavements of the north-eastern part of the Middle Court East (Industrial structures?).	36	19	9

Akoris, beneath the pavements of the north-eastern part of the Middle Court East (Industrial structures?).	38	18	8
Tell el-Retaba: (Phase 6) Sandy.	40	18	10
Mean Figure	33.96	16.55	9.00

Table 11. Third Intermediate Period Mudbrick Sizes in Ascending Chronological Order.

4.5.5.3 Granaries/ Storage

The presence of storage facilities is a major feature in the urban makeup of pharaonic settlements particularly the storage of grain and other agricultural commodities and secure magazines for high value items, such as precious metals, stones and weaponry (Spencer, N., 2014: 31). The most common types of storage facility in Third Intermediate Period settlements are circular grain (wheat and barley) silos. An analysis of grain silo capacities indicates their function and whether they were used by a self-sufficient single family or extended family, or by the wider community as part of a governmental redistributive system. The circular granaries found in Third Intermediate Period settlements have no preserved heights recorded and in order to estimate the fill capacities of grain silos, this study adopts the approach of Kemp (2006: 178-9). He suggests an estimated 2.5 m maximum fill height for domestic and administrative grain silos. The grain rations of one soldier would have been 0.375 kg of wheat and 0.225 kg of barley per day, which was a total of 0.6 kg of grain per day (Table 12).

Total Grain Ration Per Day	Wheat Ration Per Day	Barley Ration Per Day	Total Grain Ration Per Year	Total Wheat Ration Per Year	Total Barley Ration Per Year
0.6kg	0.375kg	0.225kg	219kg	136.875kg	82.125kg

Table 12. Grain Ration Calculation Table based on Kemp, 2006:178-9.

The capacity estimates for Third Intermediate Period grain silos are likely to be on the maximum estimate. The estimates provided in this study has been calculated through http://kotzur.com/rural-silos/silo-calculator/ based on the silos filled exclusively with wheat or barley to the maximum capacity (Fig. 78) in order to feed a population of the settlement over

the course of a year. The silos may have operated a surplus and could be replenished in line with the harvest season, and they may have been used to store other commodities. These figures do not account for fluctuations in the harvest yield, in times of bumper harvests or times of drought, which may affect the amount of grain being stored in the silos at any one time, moisture content and the size of grain.

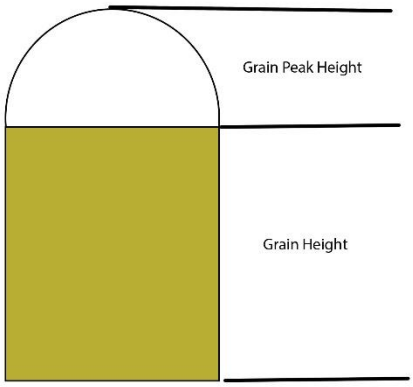


Fig. 78. Estimates of maximum grain capacity derived from http://kotzur.com/rural-silos/silo-calculator/.

The Third Intermediate Period shows a continuation in the construction of circular grain silos as they are found in association with almost every domestic structure so far excavated, and there is no evidence for a fundamental change in grain silo design. What does become apparent is the quality of the construction of the smaller family unit sized silos. Successive smaller silos which were on average around 1.5-2 m in diameter, were built one on top of the other over short spaces of time. This suggests that silos were maintained more frequently, or silo construction at the lower class domestic scale was rudimentary and of a poorer construction quality and the silos had short use-lives, requiring the constant construction and rebuilding of silo installations, therefore they are a prominent feature of Third Intermediate Period domestic architecture. The period sees large numbers of smaller silos built in previously open spaces, and at the same time they were constructed over and upon the remains of earlier housing phases, such as earlier walls and rooms, or even in disused or crumbling religious and administrative buildings of the New Kingdom, showing that grain storage for family units was a priority. These large areas of small, successively-built family unit silos are a characteristic of the Third Intermediate Period.

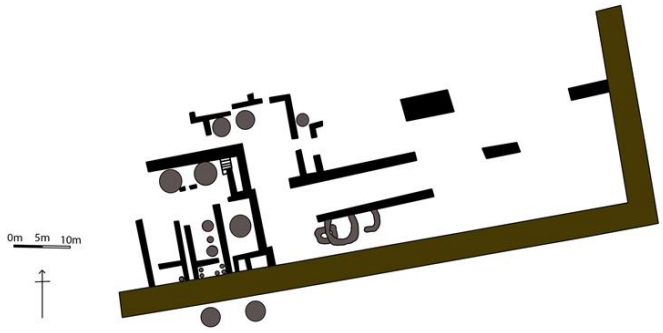


Fig. 79. Partial plan of the Third Intermediate Period silo court inside the house in the south-east corner of the temple enclosure of Matmar, the silos are shown in grey (redrawn from Brunton, 1948: pl. XLV).

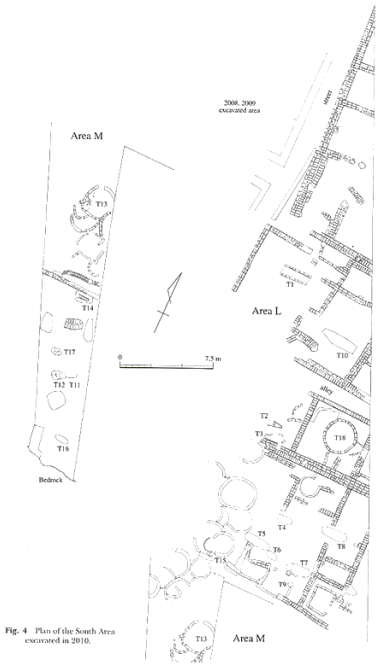


Fig. 80. Plan of the small family silos in the L and M Areas at Akoris (from Tsujimura, 2011: 6, fig. 4).

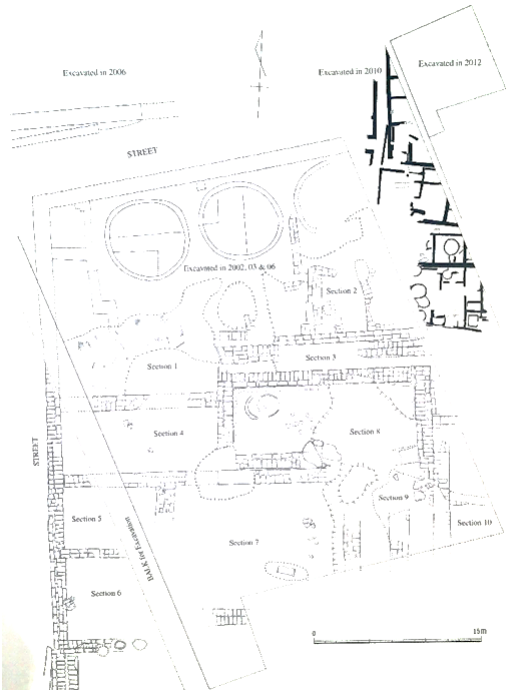


Fig. 81. Plan of the large silo court in the large house at Akoris (from Kawanishi and Tsujimura, 2013: 7, fig. 6).

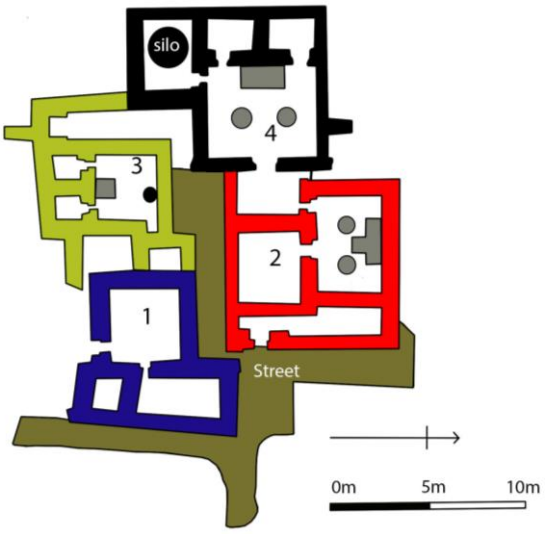


Fig. 82. The small extended family complex with the main grain silo in the northern house leading off from the central columned hall with the dais on which the scribe or patriarch would have sat documenting access to the grain rations (redrawn from Hölscher, 1954: fig. 6).

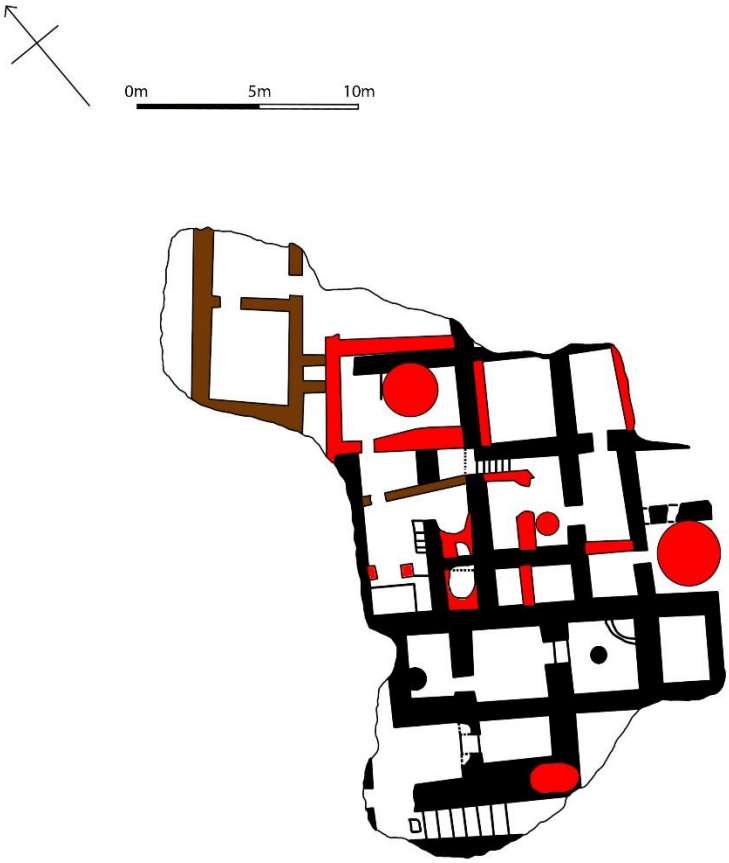


Fig. 83. Southern part of the el-Hagg Qandil settlement showing the large grain silos in red inside a designated silo room like at Medinat Habu. (redrawn from Peet and Wooley, 1923: pl. XLI).

Circular grain silo capacity estimates are derived from silos at Matmar (Brunton, 1948: pl. XLV) (Fig. 79), Kom Firin, Akoris (Figs 80 and 81), Kom Rabia (Memphis), el-Hagg Qandil (Amarna) (Fig. 82) and Medinat Habu (Fig. 83) and their estimated capacities are provided in Tables 13 and 14. The Kom Firin and Akoris Area L and M silos were made of fragmentary and whole mud bricks laid predominantly in stretcher-bond formation and only a single brick thick; the bonding and thickness of the other silos was not recorded in the excavation reports. The inhabitants of Matmar took stone from the Ramesside temple to construct supports for the silos. It is unclear from the reports if the stone was used as an external structural support to the silo due to its size, or if the stone was placed under the silo as a raised base. If it were the latter, then

by the stones under the silos would have acted to reduced moisture, and combatted rodents and insects from eating the grain.

Location of Silo	Diameter (m)	Height (m)	Total Volume (cubic metres)	Wheat (kg)	Barley (kg)	People per year (Wheat Ration)	People per year Barley Ration
Matmar near Temenos entrance in designated room.	4	2	30	24,000	19,000	175	231
Matmar (outside main silo court)? From Brunton.	2.3	2.1	10	8,000	6,000	58	73
Matmar (Outside Silo Court).	3.2	2.5	23	18,000	14,000	131	170
Matmar (Outside Silo Court).	2.94	2.5	19	15,000	12,000	109	146
Matmar (Outside Silo Court).	2.94	2.5	19	15,000	12,000	109	146
Matmar (Silo Court).	3.74	2.5	32	25,000	20,000	182	243
Matmar (Silo Court).	3.47	2.5	27	21,000	17,000	153	207
Matmar (Silo Court).	3.2	2.5	23	18,000	14,000	131	170
Matmar (Silo Court).	1.87	2.5	7	6,000	5,000	43	60
Matmar (Silo Court).	1.11	2.5	3	2,000	2,000	14	24

Matmar (Outside temenos enclosure).	3.47	2.5	27	21,000	17,000	153	207
Matmar (Outside temenos enclosure).	3.47	2.5	27	21,000	17,000	153	207
Matmar (Other eastern silos).	4.09	2.5	38	30,000	24,000	219	292
Matmar (Other eastern silos).	3.34	2.5	25	19,000	16,000	138	194
Kom Firin (Phase EII) Top left silo.	2.94	2.5	19	15,000	12,000	109	146
Kom Firin (Central Silo Phase EII).	4	2.5	36	28,000	23,000	204	280
Kom Firin (Bottom silo Phase EII).	3.24	2.5	23	18,000	15,000	131	182
Akoris Area L.	1.00	2.5	2	2,000	1,000	14	12
	1.25	2.5	3	3,000	2,000	21	24
	1.50	2.5	5	4,000	3,000	29	36
	2.00	2.5	8	7,000	5,000	51	60
	2.00	2.5	8	7,000	5,000	51	60
	2.00	2.5	8	7,000	5,000	51	60
	2.00	2.5	8	7,000	5,000	51	60
	2.00	2.5	8	7,000	5,000	51	60
	2.00	2.5	8	7,000	5,000	51	60
	2.00	2.5	8	7,000	5,000	51	60
	2.00	2.5	8	7,000	5,000	51	60
	2.00	2.5	8	7,000	5,000	51	60
	2.00	2.5	8	7,000	5,000	51	60
	2.00	2.5	8	7,000	5,000	51	60
	2.00	2.5	8	7,000	5,000	51	60
	2.00	2.5	8	7,000	5,000	51	60

	2.00	2.5	8	7,000	5,000	51	60
	2.10	2.5	9	7,000	6,000	51	73
	2.10	2.5	9	7,000	6,000	51	73
	2.50	2.5	13	11,000	9,000	80	109
	2.5	2.5	13	11,000	9,000	80	109
	3.00	2.5	20	15,000	12,000	109	146
Akoris Area M.	1.00	2.5	2	2,000	1,000	14	12
	1.50	2.5	5	4,000	3,000	29	36
	2.00	2.5	8	7,000	5,000	51	60
	2.00	2.5	8	7,000	5,000	51	60
	2.00	2.5	8	7,000	5,000	51	60
	2.50	2.5	13	11,000	9,000	80	109
Akoris Large House.	6.8m	2.5	115	90,000	73,000	657	888
	6.8m	2.5	115	90,000	73,000	657	888
	6.8m	2.5	115	90,000	73,000	657	888
Medinat Habu House in G7.	2	2.5	8	7,000	5,000	51	60
El-Hag Qandil (Room 8).	3	2.5	20	15,000	12,000	109	146
El-Hag Qandil (Room 25).	2	2.5	8	7,000	5,000	51	60
El-Hag Qandil.	1	2.5	2	2000	1000	14	12
El-Hag Qandil.	1	2.5	2	2000	1000	14	12

Table 13. Grain silo capacities for individual silos from Matmar, Akoris, Kom Firin, Medinat Habu and el-Hagg Qandil.

Total Grain Storage Capacity	Wheat (Kg)	Barley (Kg)	People Per Year Wheat Ration	People Per Year Barley Ration
Matmar.	243,000	195,000	1775	2374
Kom Firin Phase E-II.	61,000	50,000	445	608
Akoris Area L.	151,000	113,000	1098	1362
Akoris Area M.	38,000	28,000	276	337

Akoris Large House.	270,000	219,000	1972	2666
El-Hagg Qandil.	26,000	19,000	189	231

Table 14. Total grain silos capacities from Kom Firin, Akoris, Matmar and el-Hagg Qandil.

The silo capacity estimates show the maximum amount of grain required for the needs of the associated population of the settlement, because the grain was put to multiple uses including as surplus in the event of famine and surplus for the year ahead. The estimated capacity of the silos found in the silo courts of the large houses in the temple temenoi at Kom Firin and Matmar indicate their part in the taxation, and ration system of the earlier New Kingdom, in which the workers were given a ration of grain as a form of payment (Kemp, 2006: 171). Small group housing complexes of extended families and communities such as at Medinat Habu, had one large grain silo in a designated room leading off from the central pillared hall with dais. The position of the silo indicates that those who wanted access to the grain had to go through the main room and past the owner/scribe/administrator seated on the dais possibly indicating a level of control over grain resources for a small housing complex from the patriarchal head of the family or family group. Clusters of small family grain silos were constructed within walled areas which offered more protection of family stores and indicate that unlike in the larger house groups which provided specific rooms for the protection of grain bins, these smaller silos were owned by families with restricted space in their own homes, so they had to resort to communal protected grain storage. The grain silo analysis has demonstrated the continuing function of the New Kingdom bureaucratic system of taxation and grain rationing to the wider community, and shows that small family groups maintained control over grain supplies within their own homes, while families with limited domestic space could secure their grain supplies in group silo areas.

4.5.5.4 Production areas

Within settlements, there is evidence for the manufacture, on a small scale, of pottery, faience and stone tools within the Third Intermediate Period archaeological record. This section assesses some of the different industrial areas from across Egypt to assess: their locations within the settlement; their relationship to other houses and the main settlement itself; the presence or not of raw material storage spaces or fuel; the seasonality of the areas; the amount of use of the areas; what happened at the end of their use life. In the absence of tomb scenes or wooden model representations, which forms the core basis for our understanding of the way in which

these industries were performed in the Old Kingdom to New Kingdom, the Third Intermediate Period relies solely on archaeological evidence which can be compared with the previous periods to assess continuities or changes in the development of the industries from the New Kingdom.

The best representation of industrial areas for the Third Intermediate Period comes from a pottery kiln phase overlying the small Ramesside temple of Ptah and 'Tombs V-Z' at Memphis (Fig. 84) (Aston, 2007b: 70; Jacquet, 1965: 47, 48, fig. 3, pl. 9; Nicholson, 1993: 115, 116, fig. 117). The kiln area was situated along the exterior face of the enclosure of the Ptah temple.

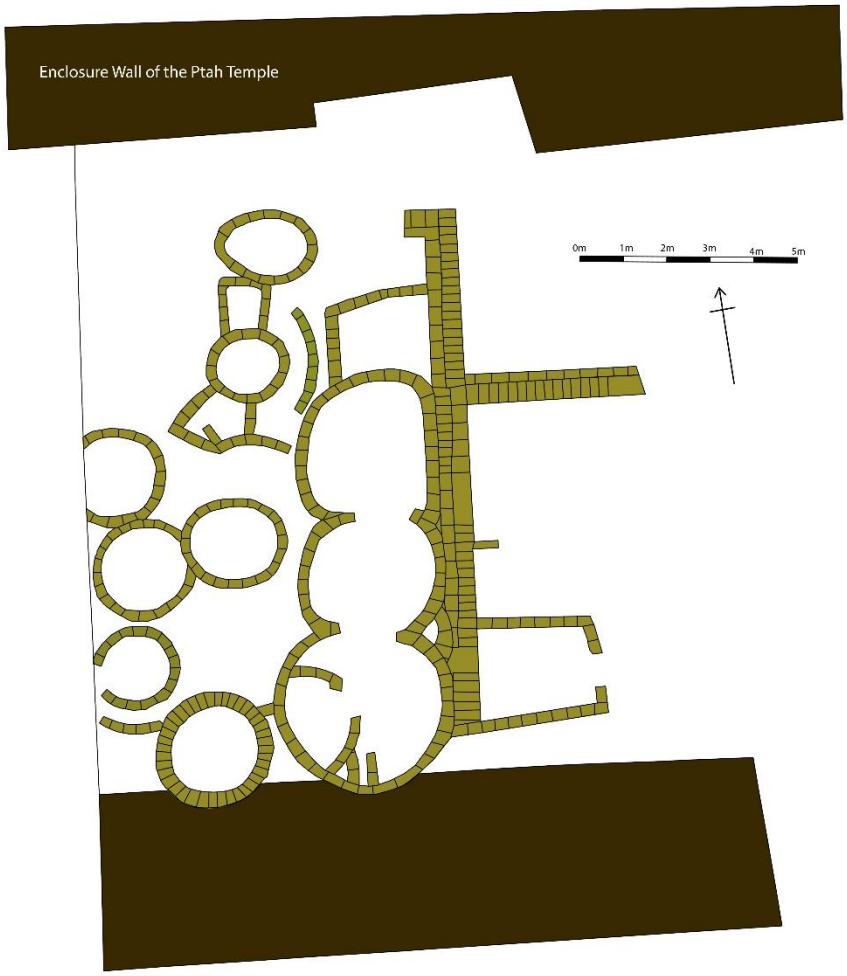


Fig. 84. The pottery production complex in Area D4 overlying the small Ramesside Ptah temple next to the Ptah Temple temenos wall (redrawn and coloured from Jacquet, 1965: pl. 9).

At least, six more-or-less circular kilns were found, on average between 2 to 3 m in diameter. The mud bricks in the kiln construction were crude and incidentally baked during use and walls consisted of one brick sometimes long-ways, sometimes head-on. The kilns, like the smaller grain silos, had a short life span since they overlap one another stratigraphically and reused baked kiln bricks were found being used among the unbaked bricks from which the kilns were made. Ethnographic observations of kilns from the village of el-Agula in the region of Kus in Upper Egypt in the 1950's by Jacquet (1965: 47) suggests the Memphite kilns had roofs with branches plastered together with mud and manure (Fig. 85).

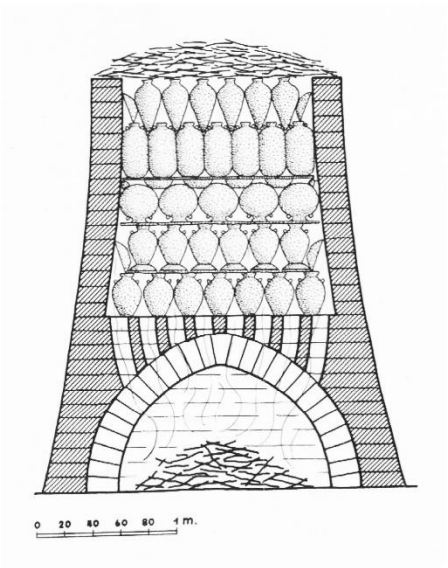


Fig. 85. Reconstruction of a kiln from Memphis (Area D4) from (Fischer, 1965: 48, fig. 3).

The kilns at Memphis outwardly resemble the only New Kingdom scene of pottery manufacture in the tomb of Kenamun (TT 93) at Thebes, but there are no traces of ladders or stairways at Memphis, which may have been constructed with wood (Jacquet, 1965: 47) and thus, did not survive. The kilns appear to have had subsidiary buildings comprising some thin-walled, round or rectangular structures made of mud brick with beaten earth floors (Aston, 2007b: 70). These structures were thought to be pottery magazines for the temporary storage of pottery before and after firing (Aston, 2007b: 70). In earlier periods, pottery kilns they appear to have been situated outside but close to other industries such as carpentry, metal working, and stone vessel manufacture, and are often associated with baking and brewing (Bourriau, Nicholson and Rose, 2000: 136). The small Ramesside Ptah temple provided an opportune space for the construction of the kiln complex, with the existing walls providing support for the kilns, and suggesting the previously uninhabited area adjacent to the southern face of the Ptah

Temple became a designated industrial area, very much like the kiln complexes behind the mortuary temple of Amunhotep son of Hapu in Thebes (Varille and Robichon, 1935: fig. 1). The construction of kilns had to be a carefully thought-out process, as kilns would have produced intense heat and smoke, and if they were placed near to or to the south of any residential areas then the smoke would have been blown in the direction of the wider settlement. The position of the kiln complex at Memphis would have meant that the smoke would have been blown up against the temenos wall, up into the air and dissipated. The direct relationship between the kiln complex and the temenos wall, and its proximity to the temple may indicate some form of local settlement production controlled, or regulated by the Ptah Temple.

In the eastern sector of Memphis, at Kom el-Qala over the area of the Merenptah Temple a faience production area may be indicated by the discovery of approximately 1000 clay moulds for faience objects and amulets. Some moulds are from Third Intermediate Period strata, but whether these are contemporary with the Kom el-Qala moulds cannot be determined (Anthes et al., 1965: 129-31, nos 258-94; Aston, 2007b: 76; Bakry, 1959: 48-9 nos 225-39; El-Sayed Mahmud, 1978: 13). Petrie found moulds which he states were later than the Merenptah temple but earlier than the houses (Aston, 2007b: 76; Petrie, 1909: 11), suggesting faience production was carried out during the 20th/21st Dynasties (Aston, 2007b: 76).

The two zones of industrial activity at Memphis in the Early Third Intermediate Period show industrial production centres were set up in previously uninhabited areas of religious complexes showing that, as the temples ceased to function, the inhabitants adapted the sacred space for industrial purposes. The small Ramesside temple courtyard was a prime open area for the construction of kilns, and it may be assumed the same process occurred in the Merenptah temple at Kom el-Qala. In the small Ramesside Ptah temple there was evidence of flint tool production alongside the pottery kilns (Fischer, 1959: 64), while the presence of pounders, rubbing stones and drill handles indicated a 'stone manufactory' area in the neighbourhood of the kiln complex (Anthes, et al., 1965: 109-110; Aston, 2007b: 76).

Elsewhere in Egypt at Tell el-Retaba, to the north of the ancient road of Ramesses II (Area 5), there was evidence of building activity with multiple phases. The walls of the buildings were thin (0.3 m), and were built only of one row of bricks. There were three ovens and a silo (2.5 m in diameter), and the excavators classed this as an industrial zone (Rzepka, 2011: 136). At Akoris, underneath the pavements of the 'north eastern part of the Middle Court,' a phase of Third Intermediate Period wall was located which included hearths and limestone storage basins, confirming it was an area for boiling and firing. The report did not define the products being made in these basins (Kawanishi, 1995: 88-9). The manufacture of goods and small-scale craft items could have been conducted within the home, and these are discussed in line with object world of the Third Intermediate Period in Chapter 6.

While the archaeological evidence from the Third Intermediate Period for industrial areas is limited, the evidence from Memphis does shed some light on the development of settlement space in which to accommodate and develop new industrial areas in the settlement, a pattern which may have been adopted in other settlements of the period.

4.5.5.5 Refuse disposal

The Egyptian diet was dependent on cereals, dried legumes, and preserved foods, alongside cheese, fruit, vegetables, fish, meat, grains, aromatic seeds and condiments, while garlic and onions were available all year around. Most of the ancient food waste was created during the preparation stage of the meals. Evidence from the 19th century shows the amount of domestic waste produced per person excluding sullage, was estimated at 567 kg a year (Miller, 1990: 130; Schadewaldt, 1983: 68-80), equivalent to 1.5 kg a day. Leftover edible food after a meal was likely to have been minimal, as in modern rural villages. The females of the house, again as in modern times, were most likely responsible for the food management and the clearing of the food waste (Szpakowska, 2008: 92). If left overs were present they were likely to have been incorporated into the next meal. The hot climate did not always make it safe for leftovers to be consumed later, as food-spoiling microorganisms, some of which caused gastroenteritis and food poisoning, would quickly reach unacceptable levels for human consumption (Miller, 1990: 125). The food waste created by the families during the cookery processing stages would have been thrown out deliberately and would have caused rubbish to accumulate within the household if not dealt with daily and removed from the property. The organised disposal of organic and in-organic waste is a vital part of the functioning of any settlement. The ability to remove waste and refuse from the home and the surrounding environment has an impact upon the health and quality of the life of the inhabitants. This section discusses the methods and practices by which the Third Intermediate Period population disposed of their household and human waste. Developments in house design from the courtyard style house into a roofed hall during the Second Intermediate Period at many settlements in Egypt (Arnold, 1989: 78-81) enhanced the cleanliness of the large central space of the house through measures such as the separation of the street. The separation of the street reduced the amount of dust settling in the former courtyard area, and enhanced the impetus to keep the space clean (Arnold, 2015: 159).

Auxiliary parts of the house were the waste-producing activity areas, with the large mansions of the Middle Kingdom at Kahun exhibiting this division (Arnold, 1989: 84-88, fig. 3) as well as small scale New Kingdom houses. At the workman's village of Amarna quern emplacements, mortars, ovens, and animal troughs were in the front and back of rooms of the very small houses, but they were never in the central living room where there was a bench and hearth for heating (Arnold, 2015: 160; Kemp, 1987: 40-46).

In the Third Intermediate Period the Level 1b (Late Third Intermediate Period) House at Hermopolis shows that domestic waste was swept to the edge of what appears to be an outer room, possibly a courtyard, of the main house to the west where it was left to accumulate, rather than removing it from the house itself. Spencer (1986: 14) states that accumulation of refuse along the edges of the walls is common in Egyptian settlements. In smaller Third Intermediate Period dwellings, damaged or uninhabitable rooms were used as makeshift rubbish areas. In other instances, entire houses which were uninhabitable were utilized as containers for local refuse. For example, at Tell el-Retaba after the inhabitants of the Area 9 house left, the house was turned into a refuse area and filled with large quantities of bone and pottery (Jarmužek and Rzepka, 2014: 86). Finally, at Sais (Kom Rebwa) in the 'Phase II' Early Third Intermediate Period levels, pottery vessels were used to collect waste from inside the building, which was then dumped outside the main building door (Wilson, 2011: 15).

The evidence suggests that auxiliary parts and external areas of the house were the place where refuse was dumped. Uninhabited and abandoned settlements zones and tell areas were prime locations for refuse disposal during the period while movable elements such as vessels were used as refuse collection points. Food waste created during the preparation and cooking process was deliberately fed to animals as an efficient use of the waste products, particularly those of pigs.

The pig has a similar range of nutrient requirements like humans, and can recycle nutrients from food consumption, and was of considerable benefit in the removable of gone off and non-edible food waste (Miller, 1990: 125). Evidence for animals such as pigs being used within settlements to aid in waste removal comes from Abu Salabikh in Iraq which suggests juvenile pigs ran free in the streets, disposing of waste and garbage thrown out of doors (Miller, 1990: 126). Further ethnographic observations in Greek villages suggest pigs could run free. If the pigs are let out during the day from a pen, where buckets of water and feed are available for them to return as needed, they can forage for up to a radius of ca. 1.6 km from where they are kept (Miller, 1990: 126).

The evidence from Egypt suggests that pigs were an essential part in the waste refuse process comes from the previous New Kingdom. Several tomb scenes (Darby, Ghalioungui, and Grivetti, 1977: 186-7, figs 4.8 and 4.9) show pigs being driven into the open by swineherds. They could have passed through the streets going to and from home on their way to the fields (Miller, 1990: 126). The degree to which pigs were free to roam and those who were restricted is impossible to define. Pigs certainly belonged to temples during the New Kingdom, but areas such as inner parts, where even people were not allowed, would probably have been off limits to pigs scavenging through the heaps of waste immediately adjacent to the enclosure walls. While not all waste would be of nutritional value to domestic scavengers, the ability of pigs to consume both garbage and faeces would mean human pathogens would be removed from public

areas, limiting the opportunity for the transmission of some faecal transmitted diseases (Miller, 1990: 130). Human and animal faeces could have been used to make dung cakes for fuel, and stored away for when the climate became colder, particularly in the winter months. The removal of waste would reduce the infestation of houses by rodents and insects which spread disease. On the other hand, pigs consume human waste, and in parts of Asia, there are incidents of excreta disposed of into pig-pens. A palaeo-biological study of waste found in animal enclosures suggest this practice occurred in the New Kingdom Workmans' Village at Amarna (Donald, 1984: 56-7; Miller, 1990: 130). The presence and continuation of pigs within the Third Intermediate Period domestic settlements is indicated by the faunal remains from the Western Delta at Kom Firin and Sais (Bertini, 2014: 306-8). Mobile scavengers such as dogs and poultry could look after themselves and range freely and feed from open areas (Allbaugh, 1953: 279; Bökönyi, 1989: 23; Miller, 1990: 126).

Despite waste removal, there is evidence that, later in the Third Intermediate Period, large amounts of rubbish accumulated within walled enclosures particularly at Matmar where as much as 80 cm deep refuse layers were used as foundations for new domestic housing inside the temple enclosure, a similar scenario that is the case at Medinat Habu and the second housing phase. In the New Kingdom, there is evidence for rubbish collections located immediately outside the residential enclosures of Deir el-Medina, the Amarna Workmens' Village and Malqata (Miller, 1990) and, in the Third Intermediate Period, the outer walls at Kom Firin show evidence of rubbish dumping up against the walls of the enclosure (Spencer, N., 2014), indicating that the population was dumping refuse over the side of the temple's mud brick enclosure wall.

The evidence for refuse disposal during the Third Intermediate Period, albeit limited, suggests refuse was deposited in abandoned areas of the house, disused or structural unsafe buildings and unused tell zones. Refuse built up inside the temple enclosures at Medinat Habu and Matmar that saw the previous Late New Kingdom domestic phases and temple areas now being encroached by refuse mounds. These areas of refuse provided foundations for new organically developed domestic settlements to build up on top of them, while at the same time walled communities were dumping refuse over the tops of the temenos walls creating rubbish mounds against the outer temenos walls. This was an easy option and would have meant the inhabitants of a walled settlement did have to go outside with their refuse.

4.5.5.6 Animal stabling and rearing areas

Chapter 3 has identified a reduction of stable establishments outside the main political centres controlled by kings and local leaders within the Akoris to Atfih region from the end of the New

Kingdom into the Third Intermediate Period. It is possible that the stables, by the end of the Third Intermediate Period had been removed from the hinterland settlements and were concentrated in large civic stables inside the main temenos walls, as at Tell el-Retaba, and at Hermopolis as documented on the Piankhy stela. The Piankhy Stela also indicates that civic stabling at Memphis was for horses as well as oxen (Lichtheim, 1980: 75).

The only archaeological evidence of stabling dated to the Third Intermediate Period is at Tell el-Retaba in Area 6 within the mud brick enclosure (Jarmužek, 2011). The discovery of a series of tethering stones identified this structure as a stable (Fig. 86). Excavations at Sais in the Third Intermediate Period levels have found considerable amount of horse bones, which may suggest for the presence of stable in the area. (P.Wilson, pers comm).

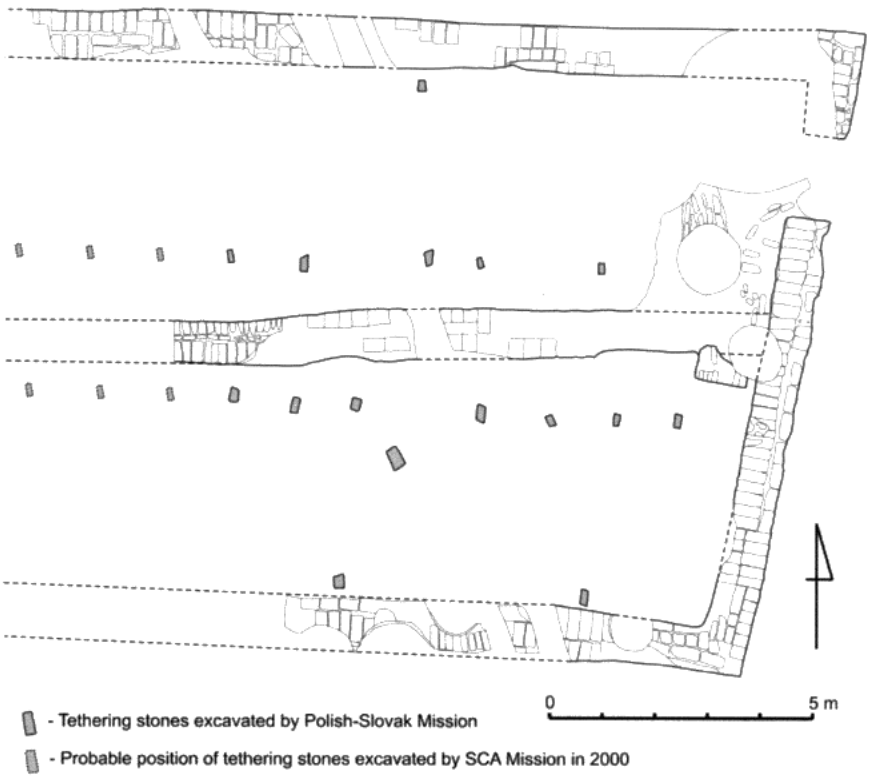


Fig. 86. Plan of the Third Intermediate Period stables from Tell el-Retaba, from Jarmužek, (2011: 132, plan 4).

The range of animals which were part of the domestic life of the Third Intermediate Period Egyptians can be gauged from the faunal evidence from the settlements of Kom Firin and Sais in the Delta. The animals included ducks, geese, cattle, dogs, cats, goats, donkeys, horses, and pigs (Bertini, 2014: table 1). Domesticated animals are likely to have been kept in

two main locations: within the house as is observed in the modern Egyptian village at Sa el-Hagar, where donkeys and goats are kept within the house, and near the house in a designated grazing areas. Evidence from before the Third Intermediate Period shows that at Tell el-Daba, Memphis and Amarna pigs were farmed, and depictions of swine herds show them outside the settlement, but it is possible that pigs were reared within the settlements, including at the larger houses of the Middle Kingdom settlement of Wah-Sut at Abydos (Szpakowska, 2008: 19).

In the Delta, the faunal assemblages of the Third Intermediate Period suggest that pigs were the main source of protein within the diet of the inhabitants of Sais (39.3%) (Bertini and Linseele, 2011: 278) and Kom Firin (43.43%) (Bertini, 2014: 306) and pigs also constituted an important part of the diet at Akoris in Middle Egypt (Tsujimura, 2013: 15 without percentages). Faunal reports from other Third Intermediate Period settlement phases are not yet published and this makes it difficult to see if this was a countrywide development.

The presence of designated areas for the grazing of animals during the period has been suggested at Akoris in the 'South Area', in association with the many small silos. Large amounts of hay and dung accumulation in Area M indicates that this was an animal pen area (Tsujimura, 2011: 8). Defined animal penning areas would have accommodated many of the domesticated animals of the household including goats and even donkeys. At Kom Firin, (1.136%) of the identified taxa was donkey bones, while horses (4.54%) were common (Bertini, 2014: 309) at Sais. As horses were exclusively related to the elite classes, donkeys would have remained the working animals of the domestic settlements and agricultural families. The best evidence of donkey usage comes from the New Kingdom and they were used for a wide variety of purposes and would have transported goods such as water, wood, grain, hay, and firewood and pulled carts. Dung would have been removed from the settlements by the donkeys and at night, the donkeys would have been stabled within the home for protection (Spzakowska, 2008: 20).

The evidence for the keeping of animals within the home, no doubt for protection at night from predators or even theft from surrounding families or external thieves is indicated at Sais and Hermopolis. The Third Intermediate Period house phase at Sais showed evidence of a storehouse or animal pen with a small 50 cm door threshold (Wilson, 2011: 15). Just outside the doorway was a pile of pottery including some jar bases which still contained substantial amounts of chaff perhaps from dried and partly decomposed manure (Wilson, 2011: 15). Samples from the deposits were dominated by wheat glume bases, and represents charred material cleaned out of a domestic oven/hearth, in which cereal processing was used as the primary fuel (Malleson, 2011: 269). This material had been dumped outside the house. The pottery had been thrown upon the ground surface at the base of a stone door pivot for the door to a small circular feature. The presence of the broken sherds may imply they were used in some way inside the animal pen, perhaps to cover the floor. If the building was an animal pen, then

the circular shape may have been typical as well as the dividing cross wall of the structure (Wilson, 2011: 15).

In the Level 2b house at Hermopolis, in the central part of the house there was a long open space which may have housed animals as there was an animal fodder bin (Spencer, A.J., 1993: 31).

It is likely that most Egyptian households had a dung heap within or immediately adjacent to the enclosed housing space occupied by a household or interrelated families, often in the courtyard, where the valuable sources of animal nutrition and agricultural manure would remain under the control of the family or families inhabiting the area and owning the yard (Miller, 1990: 137).

4.5.5.6.1 Summary

Stabling of animals, particularly horses and cattle continued to be an important element of the Third Intermediate Period settlements. The domestic populations had access to a diverse range domesticated animals for use in primary (food consumption) and secondary processes (leatherwork, milk, fat rendering, dung, etc.). They also had access to wild animals which could be hunted and caught in the local hinterlands. The domesticated animals were either kept within the household itself or were allowed to graze in the adjacent areas of the domestic settlements.

2.5.6 Cemetery locations

Chapter 3 has already demonstrated the regional distribution and phases of cemeteries for Upper Egypt, and demonstrated that many burial grounds have not survived. It is, therefore, difficult to be certain regarding burial practices anywhere except at Thebes and for the elite. This section assesses the location of cemeteries within the settlements and the rational for their location and development within both the Upper Egyptian and Delta settlements.

The locations of the New Kingdom temples influenced the position and place of burial grounds during the Third Intermediate Period (Aston, 2009a: 398), and the rulers of Third Intermediate Period Egypt had tombs within the temple precincts, for example at Tanis, while other family members had tombs located near the cult temples at Tell el-Balamun, Memphis, Heracleopolis and Hermopolis, or in the case of Harsiese A in the temple of Ramesses III at Medinat Habu (Aston, 2009a: 398). The tombs of the Divine Wives of Amun from the late 10th century BCE onwards are behind the Ramesseum, or were in tomb chapels erected at Medinat Habu. The royal cousins, Nesterwy and Djedptahefankh D, were buried within or behind the

temple of Ramesses III while other members of Takeloth III's family had tombs within the temple of Hatshepsut. The cult temple at Matmar was a focal point for some burials, while at Thebes, the old temples of Hatshepsut, Ramesses II, Tauseret, Amenhotep II, Seti I and Ramesses III all had Third Intermediate Period burials. Temple blocks were also found with the deceased in a few graves at Gurob and Matmar (Aston, 2009a: 398).

Aston (2009a: 393-4) has demonstrated the movement of burial locations at Thebes. The earliest burials (Aston's Phase I) were within or near the temples at Deir el-Bahari. The inhabitants of Thebes reused the older tombs for Third Intermediate Period burials. Burials continued to utilize the Deir el-Bahari burial ground from ca 1000-980 BCE, but the burials now tended to be interred within small groups. In ca. 950-930 BCE (Aston Phase III) there was a sudden change in burial customs. From the reign of Pinudjem I the High Priests of Amun had rewrapped and reburied the New Kingdom Pharaohs, this was done singularly at first but then the practice of moving two or three bodies to one place developed over time. Almost at the same time as the accession of the 22nd Dynasty, the Royal and Second Caches were created. The creation of these caches was the result of a deliberate policy, and it may be important that many the burials in the Second Cache date from a period coeval with the second half of the 21st Dynasty. The earlier burial ground of Deir el-Bahari was now abandoned, and all new burials were now located in tombs behind the Ramesseum while the tombs in the Valley of the Kings were taken over for private burials of persons of lower rank (Aston, 2009a: 393-4). Finally, the period between ca. 930-750 BCE is not well known due to the plundering of Third Intermediate Period Ramesseum burials (Aston, 2009a: 394).

The non-elite populations appear to have chosen a more nucleated form of burial closer to the temples, instead of detached funerary and cultic zones of the New Kingdom such as at Mendes where crumbling enclosure walls of the temple were used for poor burials (Redford, 2004: 5; 2010: 110).

4.6 Conclusions: Change and Continuity in Third Intermediate Period Settlements

Chapters 2 and 3 have provided a description and assessment regarding the development of Egyptian settlements during the Third Intermediate Period. In line with the aims of Chapter 4 several conclusions can be made regarding aspects of change and continuity within the settlements, and their main architectural elements.

After the end of the New Kingdom, Egyptian settlements, within different political and environmental regions developed differing patterns of settlement management. The political centres of Thebes, Memphis, Mendes and Kom el-Hisn continued the nucleation of domestic

buildings around the main temple enclosures, retaining the axial alignment of the earlier New Kingdom settlements in relation to the main cult temple.

In the Delta, at Sais and Mendes, due to the limitations of tell space, new domestic areas were built on earlier abandoned domestic and funerary zones showing a reorganisation of domestic settlement into new areas. This was also the case for tomb construction which utilized the earlier tombs and cemeteries, while at the same time making use of the earlier civic and religious buildings as secure zones of interment.

In the Late New Kingdom and early 21st Dynasty ephemeral settlements as Kom Firin, Matmar and Medinat Habu saw the development of domestic communities within the New Kingdom temple enclosures as a response to local civic insecurity, while attempts of domestic encroachment on religious and civic areas in the main political centres such as Thebes had to be combatted through new wall constructions.

The temenoi of almost every settlement show some form of degradation, so much so that domestic installations and poor and elite burials were placed in the collapsing exterior sides of the walls, while the interior areas remained secure. The walls were only modified and maintained during the Third Intermediate Period, to suit the needs of the existing population, and within the resources the region could provide both at a human level and of local resources. Local kings and chiefs focused their attention on the civic and religious buildings within the main temple enclosures, such as temples, palaces, tombs, storage areas, and military installations.

The degeneration of a national temple building policy was already set in motion long before the start of the Third Intermediate Period due to economic pressures and a general breakdown in efficient governmental controls. The local chiefs and rulers focused their temple building within their own settlements and associated hinterlands and zones of power. The access to stone and other precious metals for many rulers to construct temples was not available due to the geo-political boundaries of their realms. This, in turn, led them to further recycle the monuments of the previous religious built environment, which they saw around them, to placate the gods and their own subjects. The surviving temple buildings show a continuation of Ramesside styles and designs, apart from the invention of the freestanding temple sanctuary during the reign of Shoshenq I and reminiscent of the temple sanctuaries from the Macedonian Period onwards (Arnold, 1998: 33-35).

A pragmatic reuse of New Kingdom palace buildings can be observed in relation to the temple which would have retained the religious topography of the New Kingdom temenoi zones. Settlement management of many New Kingdom civic and secular buildings' outside the main temenoi suggest that they ceased to function, and were taken over by domestic and industrial architecture. The population became self-sufficient and adapted the built environment around them to suit their needs and utilised what was available to continue their domestic lives,

despite the changing political and, perhaps, economic circumstances. Many domestic houses continued to adhere to the New Kingdom Amarna style, while less regular architectural styles were developed as a response to space limitations, the personal adaption and needs of the family unit, the economic and social hierarchy of the occupants of the house, the settlement type and its location or due to a decentralised government not dictating architectural conformity as in earlier periods, and so unique regional plans developed at Medinat Habu, Hermopolis, and Tell el-Retaba.

Local populations were self-sufficient at the family level in the storage of grain and food commodities, while grain surplus was stored within larger houses and temple enclosures for redistribution to the wider community indicating the self-sufficient nature of the political centres. This suggests that the family units had access to fields and agricultural facilities and so long as they could grow produce they had a certain amount of self-sufficiency.

Areas of craft and production were maintained within the household, while specific industries such as pottery and faience manufacture especially for funerary use was conducted in open-air walled enclosures, and away from the main settlements. These industrial areas were constructed on the disused open spaces of earlier temples and other administrative structures as they sought to find disused and uninhabited spaces for new industrial ventures.

These themes provide a framework for the built environment from which to assess the object world of these settlements in Chapters 5 and 6. These themes of regionalism within settlement development based on political and geographical regions, the continuation of religious and domestic architectural styles and the self-sufficiency of domestic populations identified in this chapter are further analysed in Chapters 5 and 6 through the examination of the material culture of these settlements and its subsequent development from Ramesside object preferences, creating precursors of Late Period types of material culture. This method defines a baseline of Third Intermediate Period material culture and of the regionality of settlement development and the self-sufficiency of the population creating regional material culture styles, or effecting changes in artefact usages and material culture.

Chapter 5

The Object World of the Third Intermediate Period: The Domestic Pottery

5.1 Introduction and Aims

Chapter 3 assessed the Third Intermediate Period regional settlement networks, which showed continuations in New Kingdom land management policies, the creation of new centres of political power controlled by local rulers and chiefs, the nucleation of settlement within these new regional centres based on increasing territorial pressures, and the fragmented nature of the country in an administrative sense, with an inward-looking policy dictated by the ruling elite. Chapter 4 went on to assess the intra-settlement data and demonstrated differing patterns of settlement development in different regions, the maintenance of New Kingdom domestic and religious architecture, the utilization of earlier civic and religious buildings for new domestic and industrial purposes, and the self-sufficient nature of the population to maintain the built environment, and utilise what was around them to maintain their domestic lives, despite the fragmented political environment in which they now lived.

Chapters 5 and 6 will analyse the object assemblages from within the settlements to determine whether there were chronological changes, regional differences within Third Intermediate Period material culture, and the ways in which the assemblages can be used to reconstruct changing lifestyles. This study of the material culture is used to demonstrate a link to Ramesside object preferences, or to precursors of Late Period typologies. The material culture of everyday life and social practices of the people living at that time demonstrate the Third Intermediate Period as a distinctly defined cultural element within Egyptian society and Egyptology.

The specific aims of Chapters 5 and 6 are to investigate whether there were changes in artefact usages and material culture, and the implications for understanding characteristics of the object world of the period, and the lifecycles of the Third Intermediate Period population. The concluding discussions aim to outline a baseline material culture for the period in conjunction with aspects of regionality in relation to the political fragmentation of the country.

5.2 Objectives

Firstly, Chapter 5 will discuss changes in the styles, production, and distribution of ceramics, and whether there was an increase or decrease in foreign trade. The ceramic assessment will be used to identify continuity or changes in the storage, dining and drinking cultures. In order to assess changes in material culture, an analysis of typical household items will be conducted to

define the potential for the creation of object typologies. Chapter 5 documents a representative domestic ceramic assemblage from Excavation 5 at Sais to establish a baseline for the most common pottery vessel types used in the north of Egypt within a domestic context. Ceramic assemblages from across the country are then used to define the production methods, distribution, and different styles of pottery vessels available in order to observe the development of ceramic forms, whether different styles were created in different areas on account of the fragmented geo-political nature of the later Third Intermediate Period, or whether there was a constant set of ceramic types throughout the period. This approach could highlight regional policies of internal trade and communication. An assessment of the imported wares can define increases, or decreases in foreign trade, and who were the trading partners. The extent of foreign trade is compared to the inward-looking policies of regional settlement identified in Chapters 2 to 4, to determine whether Egypt was an inward-looking state regarding trade during this period, or whether it was part of a wider globalised (Mediterranean) trading block. The forms identified in the pottery analysis are used to define aspects of change or continuity within the drinking and dining culture which relate to social and political developments, including elite-emulation from either Libyan or non-Egyptian influences.

5.3 Sais (Excavation 5) Ceramics: Phasing and Forms

Excavations at Sais (Kom Rebwa West) in 2004 found evidence of a settlement overlaying a Second Intermediate Period/ Early 18th Dynasty cemetery. Three stratigraphic phases were identified:

Phase 1: *Mid-8th to 7th century BCE Domestic Phase*
Phase 2: *10th-to mid-8th century BCE Domestic Phase*
Phase 3: *Second Intermediate Period / Early 18th Dynasty Cemetery*

- The ceramics from Phase 1 (see Chapter 4, Fig. 49 and Table 15) consist of domestic forms characteristic of Aston's Phase III south and Phase III North dated from the mid-8th to 7th century BCE and defined by an absence of impressed string ware design on the open forms which was common in the New Kingdom, and Phase I and II of Aston's Third Intermediate Period ceramic typology. Phase 1, therefore, potentially corresponds to the period under the control of Tefnakht (ca. 732 BCE) and the later 24th and 25th Dynasty.

- The ceramics from Phase 2 (see Chapter 4, Fig. 50, and Table 16) consist of domestic forms characteristic of Aston's Phase II (22nd-24th Dynasty (10th to mid-8th century

BCE)). This includes the rare but continued use of impressed string ware designs on the large open form bowls and the use of red slip on both the interior and exterior. Phase 2 demonstrates the expansion of the settlement into the western part of the tell in the 10th to mid-8th century BCE while Phase 1 demonstrates a continuity of occupation into the mid-8th to 7th century BCE. Phase 2 corresponds historically to the 22nd to 23rd Dynasty where little is known regarding the development of Sais, but when it was developing into a major political centre under, the as yet unknown, predecessors of Tefnakht who came to power in ca. 732 BCE. The expansion of the urban settlement may reflect the increased political power and economic prosperity at the site. The best corpus for comparison with the Phase 2 ceramics was from the 22nd Dynasty elliptical structure at Tanis (Defernez and Isnard, 2000).

The ceramics from Phase 3 are not part of the current study.

Feature	Description
5001	Central area of trench: Deep area of dark burnt/red material just under the modern surface.
5002	Light coloured material, possibly with brickwork. Layers of mud interleaved with [5001].
5003	Oval shaped area of burning.
5004	Interleaved layers of mud (light colour) and red burnt rubbish lying under the surface and [5001].
5005	Black/grey burnt pit fill or lens up against light mud of 5002 to the north of the trench. Showed up as a line at first, underneath is [5002].
5006	Darker burnt material under [5004] with variegated colours (red, yellow, grey, black, dark brown), mainly in the south west corner.
5007	Pot emplacement in [5002].
5008	Thin grey-brick wall, may contain poor-quality bricks but these do not show up so clearly, and collapse from this wall.
5009	Dark brown ‘earthy’ material, pottery, extending from the north-west corner down onto the north east and eastern side.

Table 15. Sais Excavation 5: Phase 1 Features and Description.

Feature	Description
5010	Sandy material/bank (perhaps underlying everything?), first detected in north west corner under broken pottery.
5011	Dark, burnt material, with pottery and pieces of large bone.
5012	Red, burnt area, adjoining wall [5008] and next to [5011], probably under or against it.
5013	Red/orange-coloured fill, in a pit with domestic material, in the south west corner under [5006].
5014	Pot emplacement in [5013].
5015	Contains burnt 'hearth' emplacement context, with darker fill material.
5016	Yellow, sandy material containing burnt hearths.
5017	Zir with bones inside it.
5018	Dark coloured muddy material with lots of pottery, west side of trench.
5019	Yellow, sandy material in the north and north-east side of the trench. Possibly the same as [5010].
5021	Foundation trench of wall [5008].
5022	Sandy fill, north east of wall coming to floor level.
5023	Grey mud brick retaining structure/bricks, in the north-west area of the trench.
5025	Muddy, grey brick retaining structure.
5026	Amphora inside building.
5027	Material below floor level, dark brown in colour containing pottery.

Table 16. Sais Excavation 5: Phase 2 Features and Description.

A total collection of all pottery sherds was not conducted on site, but 479 diagnostic sherds were recorded from Excavation 5, so this corpus is a sample of vessels from Sais and represents the most common forms (Table 17). All the vessels illustrated in this section are shown at 1:4 scale, unless otherwise stated in the figure caption. A representative sample of each type from the 479 sherds is used to demonstrate changes in vessel morphology between the two ceramic phases. The ceramic drawings are organised first by category and then by subtype. Those vessel numbers, which refer to the images are highlighted in bold in the text. The most common category of vessel recorded was bowls or open forms, but this may reflect the relative

fragmentation of the vessels. The table is indicative of the categories only and is not statistically quantitative.

Most of the pottery was thrown on the wheel, apart from the coarse ware bread moulds and a bread platter, which were handmade. As this is a preliminary report the fabric types have been divided into their most basic fabrics, of Nile Silt, Marl, Silt and Marl Mix, and Import (Fig. 87). At the time of this research a Vienna Fabric classification was not possible to be applied to the corpus (a full discussion of the fabric types are dealt with in a future report which provides final classifications within the Sais fabric system established by Wilson (2011)). The shading and stippling on the drawn vessels represents, areas of burning, surface decoration and pre-and post-fire ware, cuts, incisions, and scratches.

Form	Percentage
5.3.1 Direct Straight Rims Bowls.	15.87%
5.3.2 Inverted rim Bowls.	7.72%
5.3.3 Everted Bowls and Dishes with Thick Modelled Rims.	4.59%
5.3.4 Everted Bowls with Simple Rims.	10.02%
5.3.5 Internal Ledge Bowls.	5.43%
5.3.6 Carinated Bowls.	0.63%
5.3.7 Footed-Bowls.	2.71%
5.3.8 Bottles and Flasks.	4.59%
5.3.9 Necked Jars (Includes): 5.3.9.1 Globular Jars. 5.3.9.2 Beer Jars. 5.3.9.3 Flaring rim shouldered, pear shaped necked-jars. 5.3.9.4 Thin-walled necked jars with rounded body and flaring rims. 5.3.9.5 Large, necked-jars with everted, modelled rim and thickened outside rim. 5.3.9.6 Necked storage jars with extremely flared or angled rims. 5.3.9.7 Necked four or three handled storage jars with cylindrical necks. 5.3.9.8 Handled neck jar. 5.3.9.9 Short-necked, everted rim jars. 5.3.9.10 Other Necked Storage Jar Forms.	14%
5.3.10 Neckless Jars (Includes): 5.3.10.1 Small Neckless Jars. 5.3.10.2 Small Neckless Jars with modelled rim. 5.3.10.3 Other Small Neckless Jar Types.	14.41%

5.3.11 Medium Size Neckless Jar. 5.3.11.1 Wide Mouth, Neckless Storage Jars with modelled rim and flaring rim. 5.3.11.2 Neckless Storage Jar with modelled rim with grooves on the top and ribbed rim. 5.3.11.3 Wide Mouthed Neckless Storage Jars with modelled rim and straight walls. 5.3.11.4 Other Medium Sized Neckless Storage Jars. 5.3.12 Large Neckless Jars.	
5.3.13 Amphora.	1.67%
5.3.14 Imported Amphora.	0.84%
5.3.15 Flat Bases.	6.58%
5.3.16 Ring and Proto-Ring Bases.	1.88%
5.3.17 Nipple Base Vessels.	0.42%
5.3.18 Pithoi/Basins.	0.42%
5.3.19 Rounded Bases.	2.51%
5.3.20 Lids.	2.01%
5.3.21 Bread Moulds.	2.09%
5.3.22 Bread Trays / Dokkas.	0.21%
5.3.24 Other Types: Torches / Burners, Firedogs, and Small Cups.	0.63%
Unidentified Forms Not Included in this Thesis.	0.59%

Table 17. Vessel Categories from Phase 1 and Phase 2.

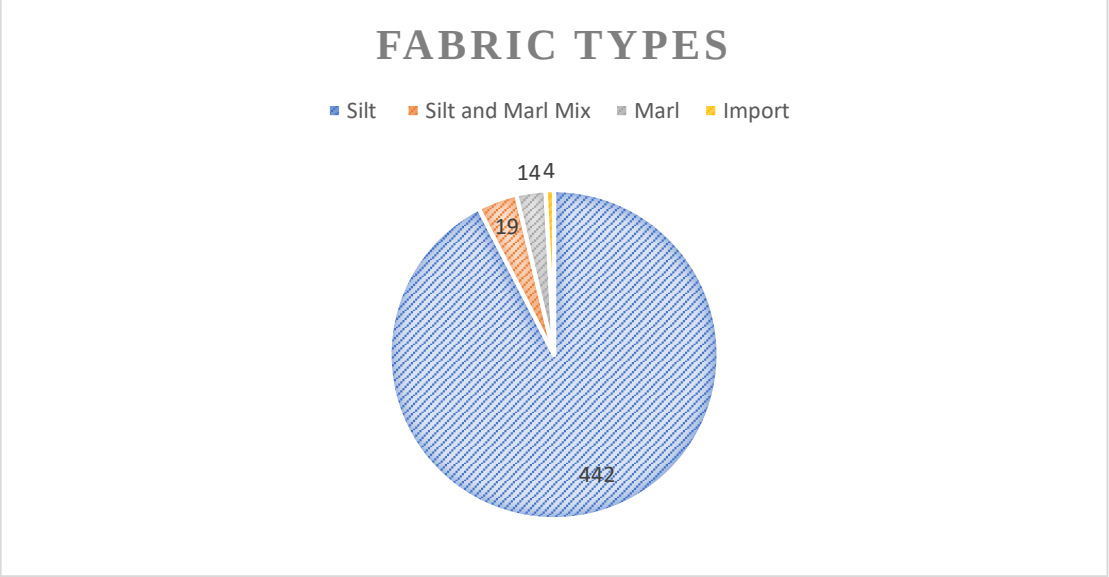
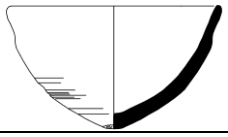


Fig. 87. Preliminary Report of Basic Fabric Types.

5.3.1 Direct, straight rim bowls

The most common bowl type recorded in Excavation 5 was the direct straight rim form (15.87%). Wilson (2011: 150) defined bowls with direct straight rims, as a type where the rim does not deviate significantly to one side or the other, and was not modelled. There is a considerable variety of bowls from Excavation 5 with direct straight rims, in the angle of the sides of the walls, relative to the central base axis. This interpretation is can be based on the illustrator, as small straight bowl sherd forms can be difficult to define when only small rim fragments are preserved. The type is not homogenous, and covers a range of actual forms:

Type 1 bowls (**5002, P.1; 5008, P.11**) (Fig. 88) only occurred in Phase 1 and exhibit a slight rim flaring, and slight carination, which is a feature of later forms in the mid-8th to 7th century BCE, with a good comparandum from Elephantine (Aston, 1999: pl. 49, n. 1549). The presence of this type in the south at Elephantine may suggest a homogeneous pottery culture throughout Egypt in the mid-8th to 7th century BCE.

Fig. 88. Direct Straight Rim Bowls: Type 1, Phase 1.	
	
5002, P.1	5008, P.11

Type 2 bowls show little change in morphology between Phase 1 (Fig. 89) and Phase 2 (Fig. 90). Bowls with rounded or pointed bases are typical of the 10th to mid-8th century BCE and continue in use from the mid-8th to 7th century BCE. Most Type 2 bowls from Sais come from Phase 2. In Phase 2, bowls (5010. P210; **5010, P.41**; 5010, P.19) exhibited red slip on the rim only. The use of red-slipped rims was almost universal in the Late New Kingdom and early Third Intermediate Period, but in the 10th to 7th century BCE it was very scarce (Aston, 1996a: 80). The lack of red slipped rims in Phase 2 indicates a chronological difference in surface treatment design from the early-Ramesside Period, while these may be intrusive from earlier levels.

The Phase 2 bowls show a preference for the use of red slip on the entirety of the interior and exterior, which was a trend which became common in Aston's Phase II (10th – mid 8th century BCE), while it becomes rare in Phase 1 indicating a gradual change in surface treatment at Sais into the mid-8th to 7th century BCE. The use of brown slip for both the interior and exterior becomes rarer into Phase 1, again showing a gradual change in surface treatment from Phase 2 to Phase 1 (Table 18).

The Type 3, larger versions of bowl, (Figs 91 and 92) with or without a slight incurve of the rim, again show little change in form and exhibit the same characteristics of surface treatment development as the Type 2 versions. Finally, Type 4, the thick coarse ware versions (Fig. 93) are only found in Phase 1 compared to the more common thin-walled finer versions in Phase 2. The coarse ware examples (**5004, P.38**; **5004, P.17; 5004, P.29; 5006, P.10)** have a preference for being smoothed and self-slipped. The predominance of coarse ware bowls in Phase 1 may indicate a change in the economic status or functional character in this part of settlement at Sais in the 8th century BCE.

Other surface treatments used across Phase 1 and 2 are documented in Table 19, and demonstrate the variety of different treatments used on the direct straight rim bowl types of the period.

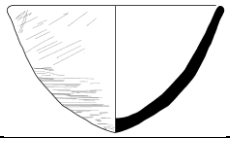
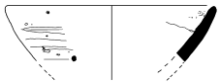
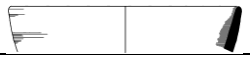
Fig. 89. Direct Straight Rim Bowls: Type 2, Phase 1.	
	
5001, P.16	5001, P.79
	
5002, P.10	

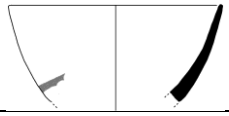
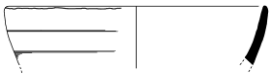
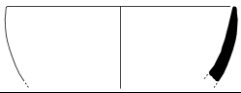
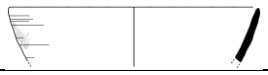
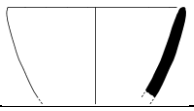
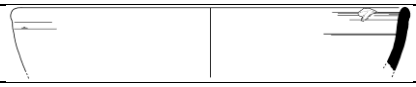
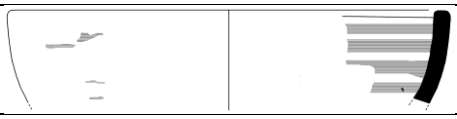
Fig. 90. Direct Straight Rim Bowls: Type 2, Phase 2.	
	
5010, P.39	5010, P.42
5010, P.50	5010, P.43
5010, P.41	5012, P.7
	
5016, P.6	5021, P.11
	
5027, P.6	5027, P.2
	
5027, P.13	5027, P.10
	
5027, P.3	5027, P.4

Fig. 91. Direct Straight Rim Bowls: Type 3, Phase 1.
5001, P.34

5001, P.36



5002, P.11



5006, P.33

Fig. 92. Direct Straight Rim Bowls: Type 3, Phase 2.

5010, P.211

5015, P.10

5015, P.6

5015, P.15

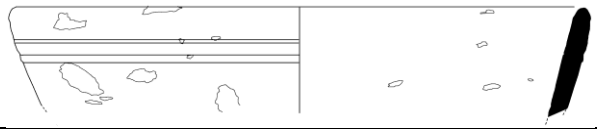
5021, P.13

	Surface Finish	Phase 1	Phase 2
Type 2 Direct Straight Rim Bowls.	Red Slip on the Interior and Exterior.	**5001, P.79**	5010, P.37 5010, P.220 5010, P.124 5010, P.16 5012, P.12 5013, P.4 **5016, P.6** **5021, P.11** **5027, P.10** 5027, P.11

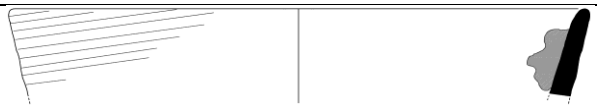
	Brown Slip on the Interior and Exterior.	**5001, P.16**	5010, P.42 5010, P.57 5027, P.13
	Brown Self-Slip.	**5002, P.10**	5010, P.38 5010, P.213 5015, P.24 5016, P.20 5016, P.2 5016, P.11
Type 3 Direct Straight Rim Bowls.	Red Slip on the Interior and Exterior.	**5001, P.36** **5001, P.74** **5008, P.12**	5010, P.214 5010, P.217 5016, P.1 5016, P.30 5021, P.20 5027, P.18 (1)
	Brown Self Slip.		5002, P.11 5015, P.6
	Smoothed.	**5006, P.33**	

Table 18. The most common surface treatments on the Type 1-3 Direct Straight Rim bowls.

Fig. 93. Direct Straight Rim Bowls: Type 4, Phase 1.

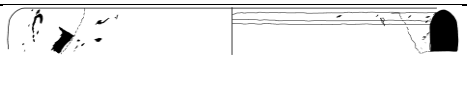


5001, P.74



5001, P.59

5004, P.38



5004, P.17

5004, P.29

5006, P.10

Surface Treatment.	Phase 1	Phase 2
Red slip on the outside and rim only.		**5012, P.7.** Type 2
Red slip and polish on the inside and on the top of the rim.		5010, P.3. Type 3
Brown self-slip on the inside and outside and a red rim.		**5010, P.39**; Type 2; **5010, P.211** Type 3).
Red slip on the interior and rim.	**5001, P.59.** Type 4	
A red self-slip.		5010, P.225 Type 2
Red slip on the inside and brown slip on the exterior.		5021, P.13 Type 3
Brown slip on the inside and rim only.	**5008, P.11** Type 1	
Black slipped rim, with brown slip on the inside and outside and burnished.	5009, P.3 Type 3	
Black slip on the interior and exterior.		5010, P.37 (1) Type 3
Brown slip on the lower inside and polished, with a red slip on the upper part of the inside.		5015, P.10 Type 3.
Green/grey slip on the inside and outside.		**5027, P.2** Type 3

Table 19. Other Surface Treatments of Types 1-4.

The small size of the finer thin-walled vessels would support the assumption that they were used for eating or drinking, and, more specifically, for the consumption of food or drink by an individual (Sullivan, 2013: 118). Iconographic representations from the 18th Dynasty tomb of Rekhmire show individuals holding simple round-based bowls immediately before consuming the contents, while servants are shown pouring liquids into bowls from jars and cups (Davies, 1943; pl. LXIV and pl. CXI bottom right; Sullivan, 2013: 118). Their usage in cooking and preparation appears unlikely, as the bowls are too small to be used as mixing bowls apart from the Type 4 thick courseware versions. These vessels could have also been used as lids.

5.3.2 Inverted Rim Bowls

Inverted rim bowls are commonly recorded at Sais (7.72%). This bowl is common throughout the Third Intermediate Period across Egypt (Lupo, 2015a: 155). There are two distinct forms of inverted rim bowls in Excavation 5:

Type 1 is reminiscent of the later echinus form (Figs 94 and 95), while Type 2 exhibits a 'V' shaped profile (Figs 96 and 97). The smaller Type 2 versions are reminiscent of the Late Period/Ptolemaic-Roman echinus forms and like their later classical forms were used for multiple range of functions as measures and the holding of condiments such as sauces and spices, while smaller versions could have been used as cups (Stone, 2014: 92-94). The larger Type 1 bowls had a variety of functions including liquid holding, the presentation of pre-prepared foods such as fruits and meats. The smaller Type 2 versions could have been used as drinking vessels. The incurved nature of both types would have prevented spillage of liquids. Inverted bowls from Phase 1 (**5004, P.13**; **5004, P.36**; **5004, P.33**; 5004, P.21; 5006, P.29) exhibited charring on the exterior, which may indicate that they were used for cooking/heating food. This appears to be the same function for Phase 2 as bowls (**5012 P.3**; **5013, P.3**) again had exterior charring. The Phase 1 bowls were mainly smoothed and self-slipped which is a change in surface treatment from Phase 2 where there was a preference for an applied red/brown slip (Table 20).

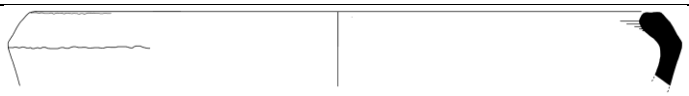
Type	Surface Treatment	Phase 1	Phase 2
Type 1 Inverted Rim Bowls.	Red slip on the interior and exterior.	**5001, P.26**	**5012 P.3** **5027, P.12**
	Smoothed and Self-Slipped.	**5004 P.22;** **5004, P.13;** **5004, P.33** 5004, P.18 5006, P.25 (1) 5006, P.29	
	Self-Slipped.	**5004, P.36** 5004, P.21	
	Brown slip on the inside.		5012, P.8
	Brown slip on the inside and outside.	**5001, P.39** **5005, P.1**	**5015, P.16**
	Brown slip on the inside and the rim.		5012, P.2 5015, P.14 5015, P.11

	Brown and red slip on the inside and outside.		
	Red slip on the outside only.		5021, P.15
	Red slip on the outside and rim only.		**5010, P.122**
	Red slipped on the inside and polished.	5004, P.42	
Type 2 Inverted Rim Bowls.	Smoothed and Self-Slipped.	5006, P.37 5006, P.24	
	Brown slipped rims.	**5001, P.46**	
	Brown slip on the inside and outside.	**5001, P.45**	**5013, P.3**
	Brown and red slip on the inside and outside.	**5001, P.43** **5001, P.25**	
	Black slip.		5010, P.271

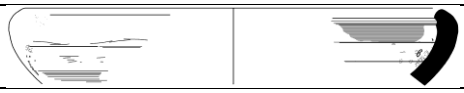
Table 20. Types of surface treatment on the inverted rim bowls from Sais.

Fig. 94. Inverted Rim Bowls: Type 1, Phase 1.

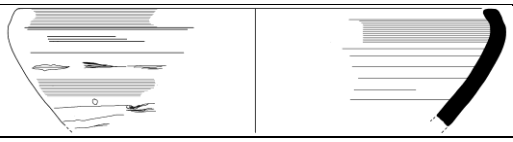
5001, P.39



5001, P.26

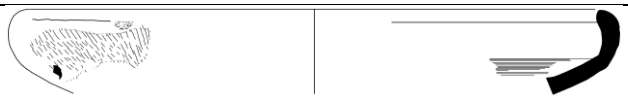


5004, P.22



5004, P.13

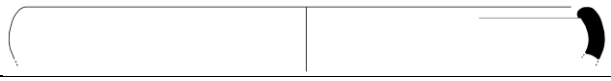
5004, P.36



5004, P.33

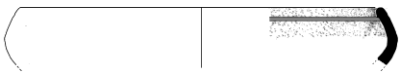
5005 P.1

Fig. 95. Inverted Rim Bowls: Type 1, Phase 2.



5012, P.3

5015, P.8



5010, P.122

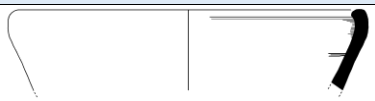
5015, P.25

5015, P.7

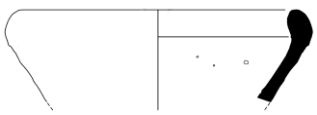
5027, P.12

5015, P.16

Fig. 96. Inverted Rim Bowls, ‘V’-shaped: Type 2, Phase 1.



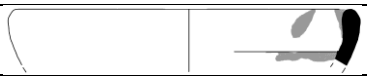
5001, P.46



5001, P.27

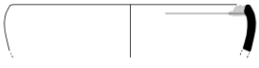
5001, P.45

5001, P.43



5001, P.25

5006, P.24



5008, P.8

Fig. 97. Inverted Rim Bowls, 'V'-shaped: Type 2, Phase 2.
5013, P.3

5.3.3 Everted Bowls and Dishes with Heavy Modelled Rims

Type 1 bowls (Figs 98 and 99) with heavily modelled rims are rare in Phase 1 and mainly found in Phase 2, while Type 3 (Fig. 102) bowls were only found in Phase 2. Type 2 (Figs 100 and 101) bowls or basins with simple modelled rims are commonly found in the Third Intermediate Period contexts. Type 2 bowls are usually impressed with rope designs in the early Third Intermediate Period. The Sais bowls do not exhibit rope or string impressions, indicating that they are later forms. Red slip on both the exterior and interior was the most common surface treatment in Phase 2, while the Types from Phase 1 did not exhibit slips, indicating a change in the surface treatment of these vessels between Phase 2 and Phase 1.

The large dishes and bowls with thick modelled rims were most likely used for food preparation since the large size and open form would allow for the manipulation of contents, including mixing, and beating, and heating as indicated by the burning on the larger Type 1 examples from Phase 2 (**5018, P.51; 5018, P.51 (1) 5027, P.20**). The thick rims may have also enabled them to be carried or moved more easily by hand, or using sticks and matting if they were hot. These vessels would have been useful for the quick evaporation of liquids so they could be used for the preparation of curds, the soaking of peas, lentils and grains prior to cooking, and the marinating of meats. These vessels could have been used for the serving of food due to the large size and capacity, exceeding an individual portion size, which may indicate why so few were found in comparison to the larger numbers of small direct straight rim bowls for individual servings. This suggests communal family dining was conducted, with everyone sitting around the vessels on the floor, on matting or even a low table, taking small amounts in their own bowls. Small stone tables are found in the houses of Memphis, which are discussed later in Chapter 6. Food acted as a family or group bonding activity within the homes, although the makeup of these groups may have varied from time to time. Similar large bowls found in New Kingdom contexts at Amarna (Rose, 1984: figs 10.1 and 136, n. 11) were set into the floor surrounded by ashy material, suggesting they may have been used as hearths (Rose, 1987: 133). The evidence of burnt and non-burnt examples suggest this type of bowl at Sais had multiple functions as serving bowls and hearths and they may have stood in the fireplace heating or slow-cooking food and then been removed to the serving point. In addition the

extreme modelling may have enabled cloth or leather covers to have been tied over the top of the vessels, the modelling ensuring that the cover would not fall off.

Fig. 98. Everted Bowls and Dishes with Heavy Modelled Rims: Type 1, Phase 1.
5000, P.28

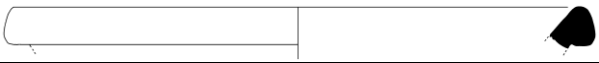
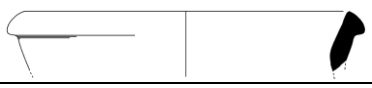
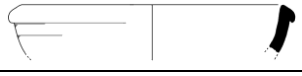
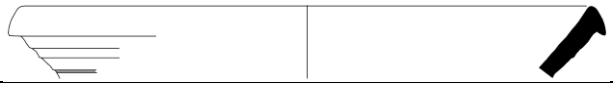
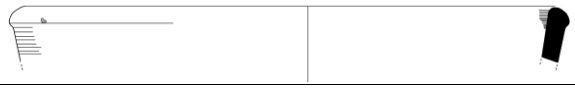
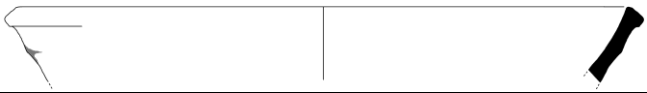
Fig. 99. Everted Bowls and Dishes with Heavy Modelled Rims: Type 1, Phase 2.
5018, P.51
5018, P.51 (1)
5018, P.14
5018, P.12
5027, P.20

5027, P.19

Fig. 100. Everted Bowls and Dishes with Heavy Modelled Rims: Type 2, Phase 1.	
5008, P.10	5008, P.

Fig. 101. Everted Bowls and Dishes with Heavy Modelled Rims: Type 2, Phase 2.	
	

5010, P.93	5010, P.20
5010, P.87	5021, P.19
5018, P.10	5027. P.18

Fig. 102. Everted Bowls and Dishes with Heavy Modelled Rims: Type 3, Phase 2.

5010, P.4 (q)
5018, P.1

5013, P.1
5015, P.22
5018, P.4
5018, P.48

5016, P.19

5.3.4 Everted Bowls with simple rims

Everted bowls with simple rims were common at Sais in Excavation 5 (10.02%), and found throughout the two phases with little or no change in the morphology, apart from Type 1 bowls

which are found exclusively in Phase 1 and exhibit a more everted rim and are characteristic of a mid-8th to 7th century BCE date (Fig. 103).

Fig. 103. Everted Bowls with simple rims: Type 1, Phase 1.

5001, P.86

5001, P.20

5006, P.6

Type 2 bowls are common in the New Kingdom and early Third Intermediate Period, and are in general, a hallmark of Third Intermediate Period domestic contexts (Aston, 1999: 1505-14; Smolárikóvá, 2014: 49; Redford, 2004: 176) and they continue in the late 8th to 5th century BCE deposits at Tell el-Balamun (Spencer, A.J., 1996: 90, pl. 63 [A5]). Type 2 bowls are defined as a bowl where the rim is turned out at the very top, and the extent of the eversion varies and can have slight to extreme forms (Wilson, 2011: 152). This type is related to the large bowls with modelled rims discussed above, but does not exhibit such an extreme folding over of the rim, which creates a distinct modelled rim overhang.

The Type 2 bowls in Phase 1 show a preference for being smoothed and self-slipped (Fig. 104), while in Phase 2 a red slip on the inside and outside was the most common form of surface treatment (Fig.105). In Phase 2, only one example (**5018, P.14**) exhibited the impressed string ware design. The use of impressed string decoration is found in ceramic assemblages of early New Kingdom and early Third Intermediate Period. This indicates the Phase 2 assemblage is after the early Third Intermediate Period and confirms a date for the assemblage between the 10th – mid 8th century BCE for Phase 2.

The size of the vessels, like the direct straight rim bowls, indicates that they were used for eating and drinking, as they would be suitable for the consumption of a single individual. Everted bowls have been considered by Lupo (2015a: 267-276) and Sullivan (2013: 117) as vessel lids based on the presence of charring on the insides. This function is observed at Sais as charring was present on the inside of the rim of (**5001, P.23**; 5015, P.5). The charring may also suggest that they could have been used as large lamps (**5015, P.12**), while there was a general charring found on vessels on both the inside and outside of (**5001, P.82**; **5010, P.51**; **5018, P.16**) in their role as vessels. The use of red slip on inside in Phase 2 suggests that the inside was meant to be seen, but could have been functional so liquids/oils/fats did not soak into the vessel.

Slightly larger versions may be for serving or group eating, while as discussed before, they could be used as cooking lids for the inverted rim bowls, as well as the larger direct rim and internal ledge rim bowls.

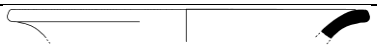
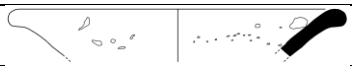
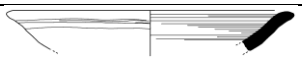
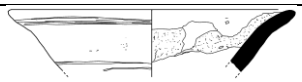
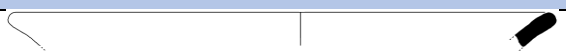
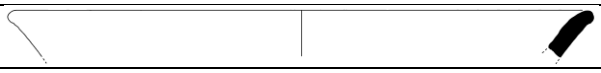
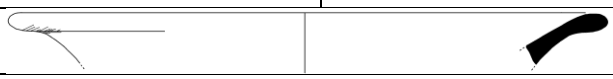
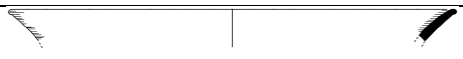
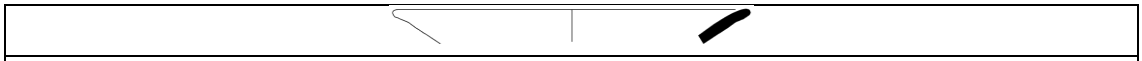
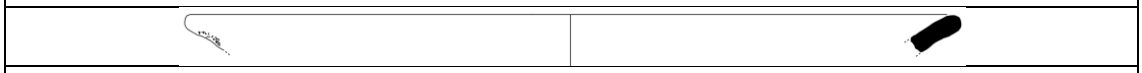
Fig. 104. Everted Bowls with simple rims: Type 2, Phase 1	
5001, P.33	
5001, P.48	5002, P.23
	
5001, P.82	5002, P.9
5002, P.8	
	
5006, P.32	5006, P.5
	
5006, P.4	5008, P.5

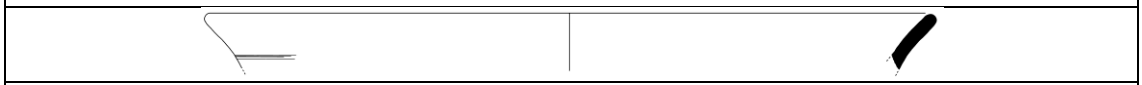
Fig. 105. Everted Bowls with simple rims: Type 2, Phase 2.	
	
5010, P.99 (1)	
	
5010, P.22	
5010, P.55	5010, P.45
	
5010, P.46	
	
5010, P.227	5010, P.121



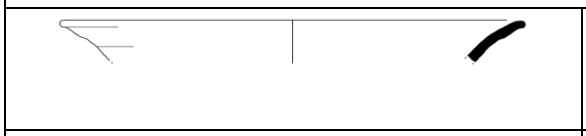
5010, P.53



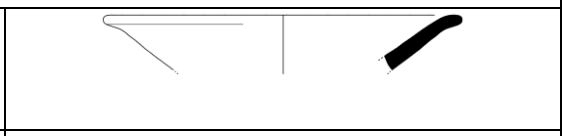
5010, P.51



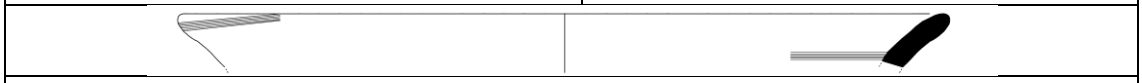
5010, P.25



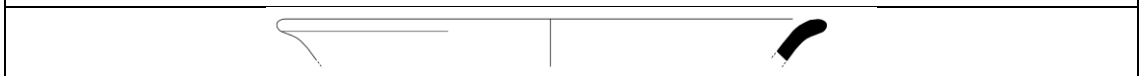
5012, P.6



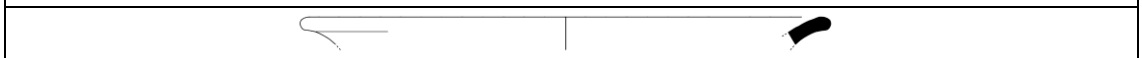
5012, P.5



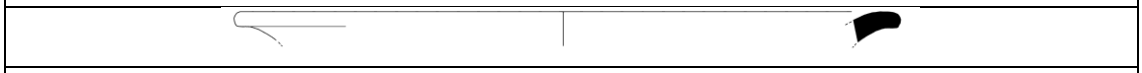
5013, P.5



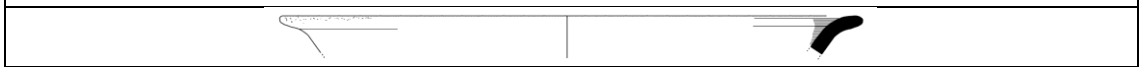
5015, P.31



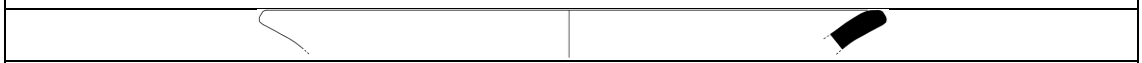
5015, P.5



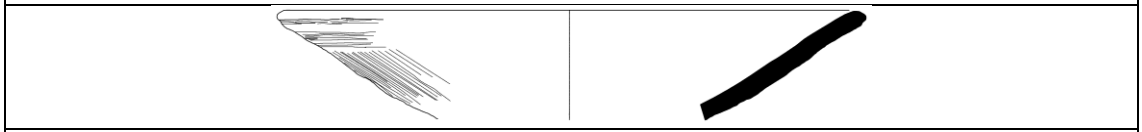
5016, P.13



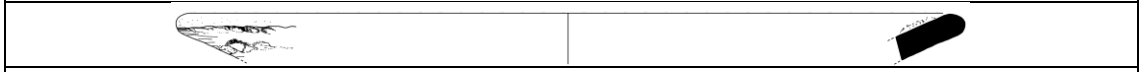
5015, P.12



5016, P.13

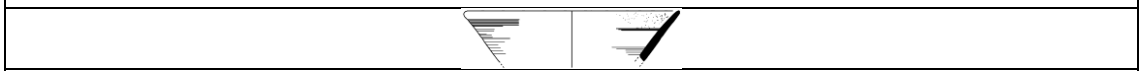


5018, P.22

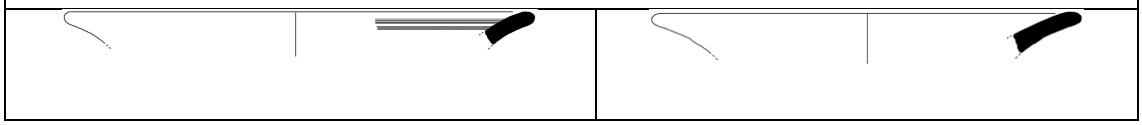


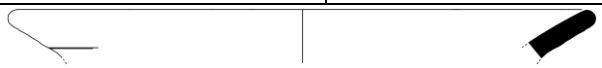
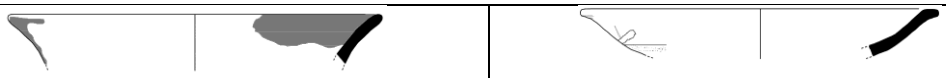
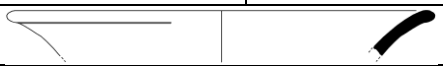
5018, P.14

5018, P.14 (1)



5018, P.16



5018, P.15	5018, P.23
	
5018, P.20	
	
5021, P.16	5027, P.1
	
5027, P.7	

5.3.5 Internal Ledge Rim Bowls

Bowls with internal ledge rims are distinctive due to the modelled ledge on the inside just under the rim, and the bowls are usually deep with a wide diameter (Wilson, 2011: 153). The form is distinctive and common in the Ramesside and Early Third Intermediate Period and was originally made in marl clays, but increasingly was made in mixed clays and treated Nile silts. Large bowls with thick internal rims/ledges, however, date mainly to the 22nd to 24th Dynasty, as confirmed by their abundance in Phase 1 and 2 at Sais (Figs 106 and 107).

At Kom Firin, such bowls were carelessly made and finished, and may have been used as grain scoops (Smoláriková, 2008, fig. 37; 2014: 48-9, fig. 53; 2014: 49) as examples have been found near grain silos at Tell el-Balamun (Spencer, A.J., 2011: 152). This form is common at Memphis (Anthes et al., 1965: 153, pl. 62 [550]) and Tanis (Tefnin et al., 1998: 320 [7]), where they have a general date of the late 20th to early 21st Dynasty.

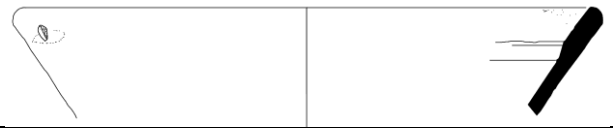
Bowls with internal ledges are known from the 25th Dynasty South Amarna tombs (Aston, 1996a: 223, fig. 121, SB8.1.1 (J), SB10.1.1 (J)) suggesting that this form continued into the very Late Third Intermediate Period. Unlike in the Late New Kingdom/Early Third Intermediate Period phase in Excavation 1 at Sais, the Excavation 5 vessels in both Phase 1 and 2, did not exhibit the distinctive 'Tiger Stripe' decoration, which indicates a difference in decorative style between the early Third Intermediate Period and the 10th century BCE onwards.

The date ranges of the internal ledge rim bowls span the Late New Kingdom and throughout Third Intermediate Period suggesting that they had a vital domestic function. Wilson (2011: 153) suggests they were cooking pots, with the average size of the vessels being quite large and heavy. The bowls appear to have had ring bases perhaps to enable the vessels to remain stable on relatively flat surfaces. The Sais examples have charring on the inside (**5001, P.44**; **5001, P.29**; **5002, P.26**; **5002, P.28**) and on both the inside and outside (5001, P.15), one example exhibited burning on both the inside and outside while inside the vessels were the remains of burnt manure (**5004, P.15**). The presence of burnt manure inside one of these vessels

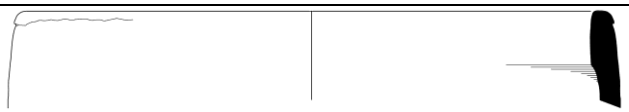
may indicate it was used as a hearth and they were burning manure in the form of dung patties as a source of fuel. The bowls with evidence of burning suggests they were placed directly onto the open fire. The fact that many appear to have had ring bases suggests they were intended to stand independently without stands perhaps in a hearth (Wilson, 2011: 154). The function of the ledge on the inside is not clear, but may have been to prevent liquid or semi-liquid contents from splashing over the rim (Wilson, 2011: 154). Similar bowls, in modern Egypt are used as cheese/butter bowls, and put in the oven to cook rice with milk.

Fig. 106. Internal Ledge Rim Bowls: Phase 1.

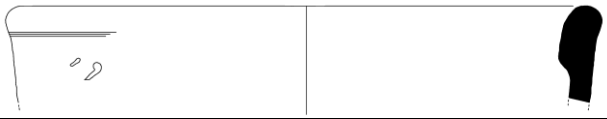
5001, P.44



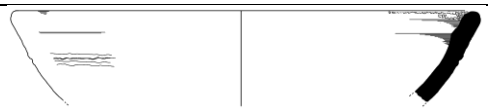
5001, P.29



5001, P.28

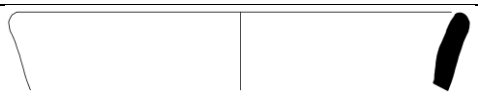


5001, P.22



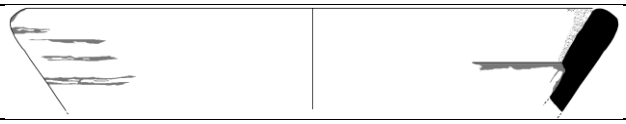
5001, P.21

5001, P.24

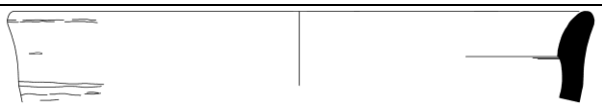


5001, P.37

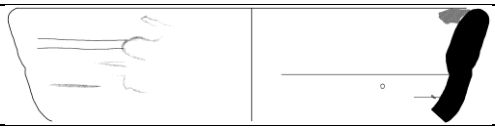
5002, P.26



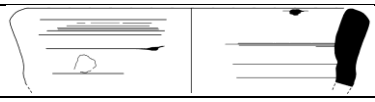
5002, P.28



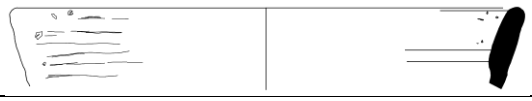
5002, P.27



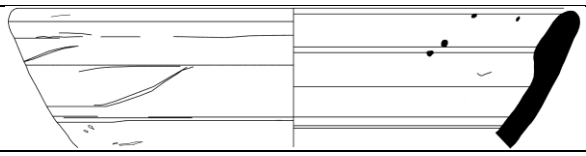
5004, P.15



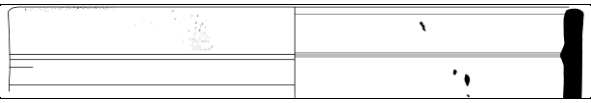
5004, P.14



5004, P.32

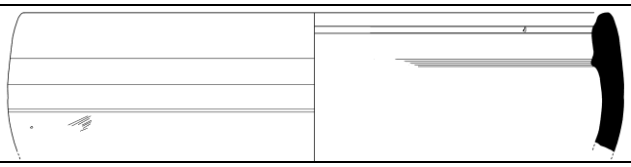


5006, P.25



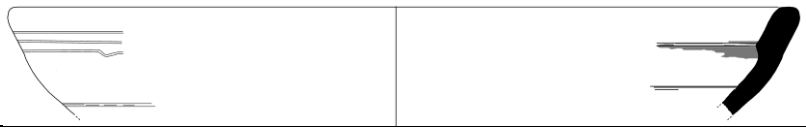
5006, P.7

5006, P.30



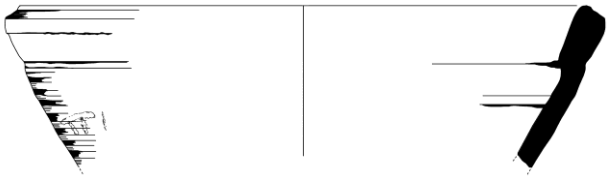
5006, P.28

Fig. 107. Internal Ledge Rim Bowls: Phase 2.



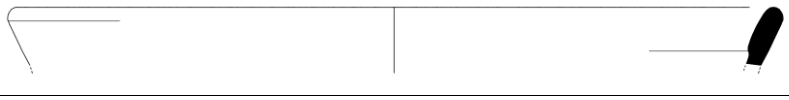
5010, P.44

5012, P.4

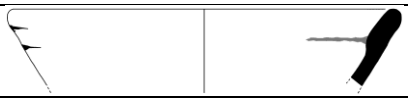


5014, P.3

5015, P.26



5015, P.35



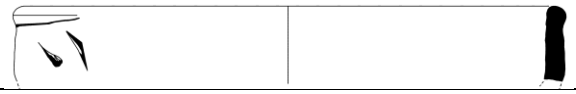
5016, P.14

5.3.6 Carinated Bowls

Carinated bowls were rare in the Sais corpus (0.63%) and only found in Phase 1 (Fig. 108), but they can be difficult to recognise from small sherd fragments. A carinated bowl (**5004, P.12**) with convex walls, modelled rim, and an incised line below the rim, which marks the start of the round base has good similarities with forms from Memphis, which exhibit a red slip and are dated to 8th to 7th century BCE (Aston, 2007a: fig. 35 n. 332).

Fig. 108. Carinated Bowls: Type 1, Phase 1.

5004, P.12



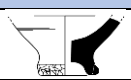
5008, P.5

At Kom Firin, carinated forms were more common in Third Intermediate Period contexts but persisted into the Late Period ceramic repertoire, typically with a narrow ledge below the rim, a well-articulated sinusoid contour and finely smoothed surface (Smoláriková, 2014: 49). Later carinated forms are shallower and less common than deeper versions found at Kom Firin. These forms are like the Old Kingdom Meidum vessel forms were used for a variety of food preparation, and milk fermentation, could have had similar milk preparation function as the large incurved versions discussed above.

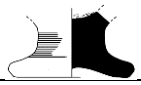
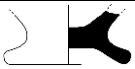
5.3.7 Footed-Bowls

Footed-bowl bases are commonly found in Phase 2 (Fig. 110), but the form appears to change into Phase 1 (Fig. 109) with a higher stem, possibly the 'egg-cup' type. As no complete examples of footed bowls were found it is difficult to define the complete form of the Sais examples. At Sais, in Excavation 1 (Phase 1: early Third Intermediate Period), footed bowls were found, but in earlier New Kingdom phases they were absent, indicating these forms were a later development of the Third Intermediate Period (Wilson, 2011: 155). These bases are unlikely to represent the typical long stemmed goblet type, which based on the proliferation of this vessel type in the assemblages became the preferred drinking vessel of the period. The examples from Sais (**5010, P.205;** 5010, P.10 (1); **5018, P.26;** 5021, P.6 (1); **5027, P.27**) exhibit charring on the inside, outside and under the base, which may indicate a role in cooking and their function as footed bowls when on the inside could have been used as torches instead of goblets. The Sais Excavation 5 examples may come from footed bowls and could have stood in hearths warming or heating food.

Fig. 109. Footed Bowls: Type 1, Phase 1.



5002, P.6

Fig. 110. Footed Bowl: Type 2. Phase 2.		
		
5010, P.205	5016, P.37	5018, P.26
		
5018, P.25	5021, P.29	5027, P.29

5.3.8 Bottles and Flasks.

There are six types of bottle or flask identified in Excavation 5. Type 1 (Fig. 111) only occurs in Phase 2, while Type 2 (Figs 112 and 113) occurs across both phases with no visible change in the morphology.

Type 3, is similar in form to Type 2, but Type 3 represent the so called 'pilgrim flask' (i.e. lentoid bodied, two handled jars with narrow necks and often flared rims), which occur at Sais only in Phase 2 (1.25% of corpus) (**5010, P.201; 5010, P.23; 5010, P.91; 5010, P.202; 5015, P.23, 5027, P.23**) (Fig. 114). 'Pilgrim Flasks' were introduced into Egypt in the New Kingdom, but became more common during mid-8th to 7th century BCE and were used in the 10th to 9th century BCE, as attested by the Excavation 5 assemblage. The best corpus for a comparison is from Hermopolis, but unlike the Sais examples, the Hermopolis pilgrim flasks are all made of Oasis Clay. The Sais examples can be compared with the Hermopolis corpus dated by Aston to 700-600 BCE (1996a: fig. 106 n. 102-11). Similar forms from Karnak (Mut Temple) are again in Oasis Clay as well as Marl A4, Marl B and Marl A3 and again have a date of the mid-8th to 7th century BCE (Sullivan, 2013: 181, 218, Type 2).

The flasks from context [5010] are all in a Nile Silt and red slipped. They are no doubt imitations of imported flasks and show that a wider variety of fabrics was used for flasks at Sais compared to those at Hermopolis in the south of the country. This is further indicated by the pilgrim flask assemblage at Kom Firin, as late Third Intermediate Period flasks of the same form as those from Sais were in fine Nile silt and red-slipped, copying imported versions (Smoláriková, 2014: 240, fig.121, nos C2423, 2513, 2539). No fragments of pilgrim flasks or sherds collected showed the characteristic concentric red or black circle design on the surface of flasks which was typical of the Late New Kingdom and early Third Intermediate Period forms (Aston's Phase I-II) at Sais Excavation 1 (Wilson, 2011: 169-70, pls 71.2, 4, 5, 17, 20-21, 72.4) again reinforcing the 10th to mid-8th century BCE date for the Phase 2 ceramics.

The restricted nature of the pilgrim flasks and the larger transport version would make transport a practical function as spillage would be avoided, and rope could be threaded through the small handles to secure the vessels during movement (Sullivan, 2013: 123). The liquid

transported would need to be valuable enough to be sold in small quantities, or the vessel sizes would be inefficient. The use of oasis and marl clays would make the vessel walls impermeable and could be closed with a stopper or mud seal (Sullivan, 2013: 123). The use of red slip on the Kom Firin and Sais imitation examples would have acted as an impermeable barrier for the liquid. The use of the rope through the handles may indicate these vessels could be hung from the wall or roof (Sullivan, 2013: 123) making them space efficient or out of the way of people and animals who may break them indicating their increased value over other liquid items. These may include oils, perfumes, or opiates (Wilson, 2011: 169) and spices and wine additives. Post New Kingdom flasks were found along the desert routes (Darnell and Darnell, 1996: 38; Darnell 2000: 211), and made of oasis clays, suggesting these flasks, along with kegs were used for water transport (Darnell, 2000: 228-9). Hope (2000: 190) found oasis-ware flasks in Dakhleh Oasis dating to the Late Period but found no evidence of earlier production. Oasis-ware flasks at Hermopolis demonstrate trade with the Oases from the mid-8th to 7th century BCE. Kom Firin and Sais imitated Oasis clay flasks suggest that there was reduced, or no trade with the oases during the latter part of the Third Intermediate Period, or the commodity they contained was being manufactured or imitated on a wider scale. There was no evidence from the domestic phase of Excavation 5 for imported flasks from Cyprus or the Levant, while there was an overall absence of imported vessels discussed later in Section 5.3.14. Types 4-6 (Figs 115-118) show a variation of different bottle forms were used in the Third Intermediate Period settlement from the 10th to 7th century BCE.

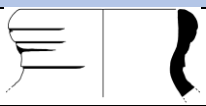
Fig. 111. Bottles and Flasks: Type 1, Phase 2.	
	
5010, P139	5016, P.22

Fig. 112. Bottles and Flasks: Type 2, Phase 1.
5001, P.95

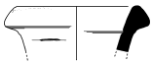
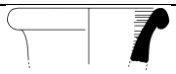
Fig. 113. Bottles and Flasks: Type 2, Phase 2		
5010, P.11 (1)		
5013, P.16	5013, P.2	5015, P.47
		
5016, P.15	5018, P.201	5010, P.204

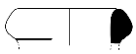
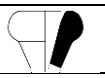
Fig. 114. Bottles and Flasks: Type 3, Phase 2. Pilgrim Flasks.		
5010, P.201	5010, P.23	5010, P.91
		
5010, P.202	5015, P.23	5027. P.23

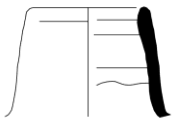
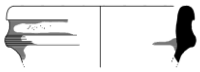
Fig. 115. Bottles and Flasks: Type 4, Phase 1.

5001, P.77

Fig. 116. Bottles and Flasks: Type 4, Phase 2.	
5015, P.38	5016, P.21

Fig. 117. Bottles and Flasks: Type 5, Phase 1.
5004, P.41

Fig. 118. Bottles and Flasks: Type 6, Phase 2.

5015, P.18

5.3.9 Necked Storage Jars

5.3.9.1 Globular Jars

Globular jars, with either plain cylindrical or flaring rims, were common in Excavation 5 across both phases, no doubt due to their multifunctional properties (Figs 119 and 120). Nine examples (5001, P.54; 5001, P.56; 5001, P.63; 5005, P.4; 5008, P.7; 5015, P.37; 5015, P.41) exhibited signs of charring primarily on the outside and around the rim, which would indicate their usage in the cooking of food stuffs.

The lack of a modelled rim on most of the examples of globular jars would facilitate the manipulation of contents for food preparation. The larger relative width/roundness of the opening would make them inappropriate for liquid or dry goods storage for a long time or long distance transportation. Longer, thinner vessels would be better suited for the storage and shipping of goods, but they would be ideal for short-term liquid and small-grained dry goods storage, where space maximization plays a lesser role (Sullivan, 2013: 126). Transportation over short distances would be possible while smaller versions of the globular jars could be used for serving liquids, but very few examples are appropriate for individual consumption of liquids (Sullivan, 2013: 126). The internal thickening of the rim would have made pouring easier as it would have held back solids in the liquid so liquids could be decanted more easily without solids being incorporated into the mixture.

At Sais, there was an extensive variation in the forms and surface treatments applied to the globular jars. The use of red slip on the exterior and interior was the most common surface treatment and was found across the domestic phases. The use of self-slip on globular jars was popular but confined to feature [5006]. [5006] was a dark burnt layer of material with several variegated red-orange-brown colours from the south west of the unit. The presence of only self-slipped globular jars from this feature and nowhere else defines this feature, and may represent a domestic cooking area in which self-slipped globular jars were utilised exclusively. Other forms of surface treatment included brown and white slips, whilst the fabrics included marl and silt mixes, and marl examples. The large number of variations in size and surface treatments of globular jars would suggest they served multiple functions, a feature documented at many settlements in the Third Intermediate Period at Sais (Wilson, 2011: 161-2) and Elephantine (Aston 1999: 188-197).

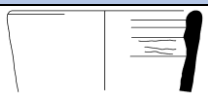
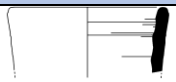
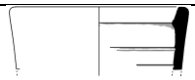
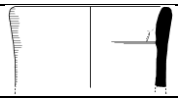
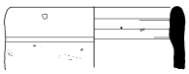
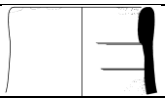
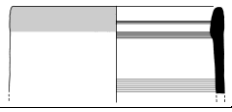
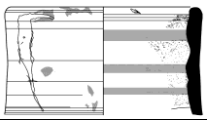
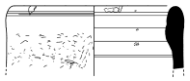
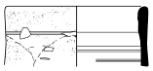
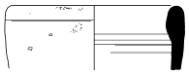
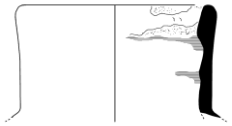
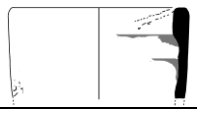
Fig. 119. Necked Storage Jars: Type1: Globular Jars, Phase 1		
		
5001, P.66	5001, P.54	5001, P.56
		
5001, P.57	5001, P.60	5001, P.64
		
5002, P.20	5004, P.47	5004, P.4
		
5006, P.12		5006, P.12 (1)
		
5006, P.20	5006, P.38	5006, P.40
		
5006, P.35	5006, P.36	5008, P.14
5008, P.6	5008, P.7	

Fig. 120. Necked Storage Jars: Type 1: Globular Jars, Phase 2		
		
5010, P.136	5015, P.20	
5015, P.21	5015, P.37	5015, P.29
5015, P.36	5015, P.40	5015, P.41
5015, P.39	5015, P.42	5016, P.23

5.3.9.2 Beer Jars

Flat-bottomed beer jar types were common in the Late New Kingdom and early Third Intermediate Period in general. The forms from Aston's Phase I are generally uncoated but can exhibit a red slip and are usually made of Nile B2 fabric. These forms can be differentiated from the Late 18th and 19th Dynasty forms by the fact that 12th to 10th century BCE forms are more ribbed (Aston, 1996a: 63). In the 10th to mid-8th century BCE the uncoated versions are like those of the previous 12th to 10th century BCE but the bases had become much smaller than those of the earlier jars which is a feature of the Phase 2 beer bottle (**5010, P.6**) The 10th to 8th century BCE jars tend to be finished better so the characteristic fingerprints and indentations on the bases do not appear.

At Sais, beer jars are rare in the 10th to 7th century BCE assemblages.

Type 1 (**5007, P. No Number**) (Fig. 121) from Phase 1 is an uncoated, heavily ribbed version and is like those of the 12th to 10th century BCE found at Sais in Excavation I (20th to 22nd Dynasty), Karnak South (Sullivan, 2013: Type L.85), Mendes (Hummel, 2009: 72-5, figs 9-16), Memphis (Aston, 2007a: fig. 44, no. 519) and Kom Firin (Smoláriková, 2014: 50, fig. 50, no. C877, fig. 58, no. C4080). The jars were coil-made and then finished on the wheel like the examples from Sais I (Wilson, 2011: 167).

Type 2 from Phase 1 appears to be a beer bottle rim (Fig. 122).

Type 3 (Fig. 123) appears to be beer jar rims showing a change in the morphology of the rim from Phase 2 to Phase 1. The Phase 2 example shows an incurved direct rim and was found at Heracleopolis (López-Grande and Queseda Sanz, 1995: §119) in association with funerary contexts. Defernez (2011: 118, n. 94) dates them to the end of the 8th century BCE to the mid-7th century BCE. This dating would correspond with the Phase 2 date of the 10th to mid-8th century BCE and suggests a date later into the 8th century BCE for Phase 2.

Type 4 (**5010, P.6**) (Fig. 124) represents the beer jar type from the 10th to 7th century BCE, exhibiting a much smaller base, is squatter in shape and better made, being thrown on the wheel. The jars can be uncoated but have a red slip on the outside of the body only (Aston, 1996a: 69) like the Sais example.

The so called 'beer jars' served as a container for liquids such as wine, beer, honey, water and milk, and could be used as a measurement and container for grains as part of the ration (el-Senussi, 2013). Beer Jars are common in New Kingdom phases across Egypt, including at Sais in Excavation 1, indicating that they did occur in the early Third Intermediate Period phase (Wilson, 2011: pls 65-66) in contrast with Excavation 5, in which only two partial examples were found. The lack of 'beer bottles' in a domestic context in the 10th to 7th century BCE suggests the preferred liquid container of the period had changed, while small footed bowls and goblets are now abundant, which may reflect a change in the drinking culture of the period.

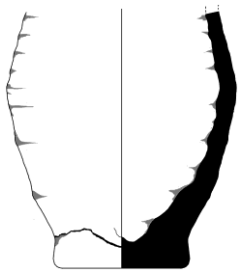
Fig. 121. Beer Jars: Type 1, Phase 1.

5007 P. (no number)

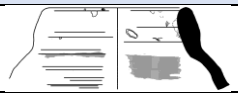
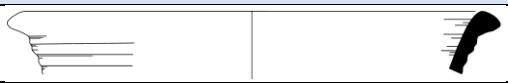
Fig. 122. Beer Jars: Type 2, Phase 1.

5004, P.49

Fig. 123. Beer Jars: Type 3, Phase 2.
5012, P.15

Fig. 124. Beer Jar: Type 4, Phase 2.
5010, P.6

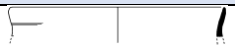
5.3.9.3 Flaring rim shouldered, pear shaped necked-jars

Flaring-rim, shouldered, pear-shaped necked-jars (**5001, P.52**) are common in 7th century BCE contexts at Tell el-Balamun (Spencer, A.J., 1996: pl. 69, 68-71; 2003: pl. 14 (3) and Kom Firin (Smoláriková, 2014: fig. 113, no. C2562). Similar forms are found in Late Third Intermediate Period layers from the Ramesseum (Aston, 1996a: fig. 162). Only one example (**5001, P.52**) was found in Excavation 5 belonging to Phase 1 (mid-8th to 7th century BCE) (Fig. 125)

Fig. 125. Flaring Rim Shouldered, Pear Shaped Forms: Type 1 Phase 1.

5001, P.52

5.3.9.4 Thin-walled necked jars with rounded body and flaring rim

Very thin-walled jars with rounded body and flaring rim are only found in Phase 2 at Sais in Nile silt (**5010, P.222; 5010, P.206**) (Fig. 126) and are made in marl in the south at Karnak (Sullivan, 2013: Type 17-17) and date from the 10th to mid-8th century BCE. They are like marl forms from Elephantine dated to the 22nd Dynasty (Aston 1999: pl. 46 n. 1441) and flared, rimmed examples from Elephantine dated to the 10th to mid-8th century BCE (Aston, 1996a, 284, fig. 182, n. 19633 c4). These forms continue into the 25th and 26th Dynasty at Tell el-Balamun (Spencer, A.J., 1996: pl. 64, c.1.6.7).

Fig. 126. Thin Walled Jars with Rounded Body and Flaring Rim: Type 1, Phase 2.	
	
5010, P.222	5010, P.206

5.3.9.5 Large, necked-jars with everted, modelled rim and thickened outside rim

Large necked jars with everted, modelled rims and thickened outside rims (**5001, P.7**) (Fig. 127) are common in Lower and Middle Egyptian contexts and can be found generally throughout the period (Lupo, 2015a: 215: Type J2 B. b and d).

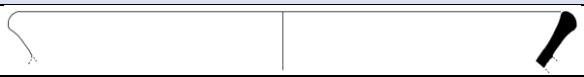
Fig. 127. Large Necked Jars with Everted Modelled Rims and Thickened Outside Rims: Type 1, Phase 1.

5001, P.7

5.3.9.6 Necked Storage jars with extremely flared or angled rims

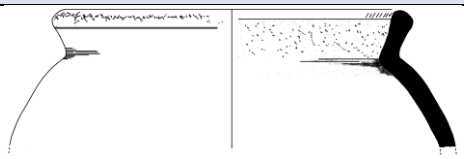
Storage jars with extremely flared or angled rims are found at Sais in Marl (**5010, P.128**; **5010, P.130**; **5010, P.132**; **5010, P.134**; **5010, P.129**) and are found in the south at Karnak in Marl A4 (Sullivan, 2013: 191, 230, Type 17-2), and have been dated to the mid-8th to 7th century BCE. They are rare in Phase 1 (Fig. 128) and occur mainly in Phase 2 (Fig. 129) at Sais but with thicker flaring rims indicating a change in morphology.

Fig. 128. Storage Jars with Extremely Flared or Angled Rims: Phase 1.

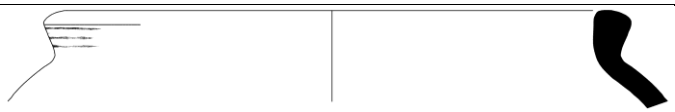


5001, P.51

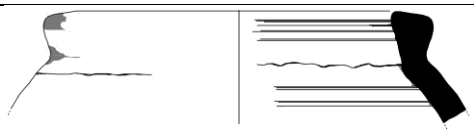
Fig. 129. Storage Jars with Extremely Flared or Angled Rims: Type 1, Phase 2.



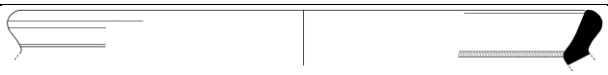
5010, P.128



5010, P.130



5010, P.132



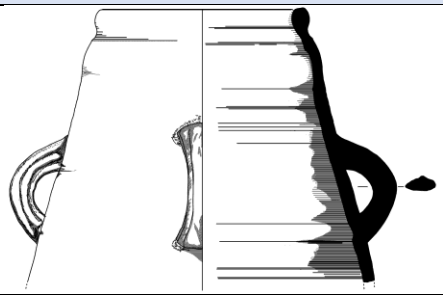
5010, P.134

5010, P.129

5.3.9.7 Necked four or three handled storage jars with cylindrical necks.

Necked four- or three-handled storage jars with cylindrical necks are rare in Aston's ceramic corpus. Only one example was found in Phase 2 (Fig. 130). The example (**5017, P. No Number**) was made from a marl and silt mix. Examples of this body form but without the third/fourth handle occur at Tanis in the elliptical structure dated to the reign of Sheshonq III or a little later (Defernez and Isnard, 2000: 206, pl. VIII, no. 8A e 1/3). A direct parallel for this vessel cannot be identified but this body form is known from ceramics from the 25th Dynasty south tombs at Amarna (French, 1986: 174-80, figs 9.8-9.14), and to forms from Hermopolis dated to the latter part of the Third Intermediate Period (Spencer, A.J., 1993: 45, Type D1, pl. 62 no. 65, and pl. 63 no. 82) and were for heavy domestic use. The presence of this form in Phase 2 may suggest that Phase 2 (10th to mid-8th century BCE) dates more towards the start of the mid-8th century BCE.

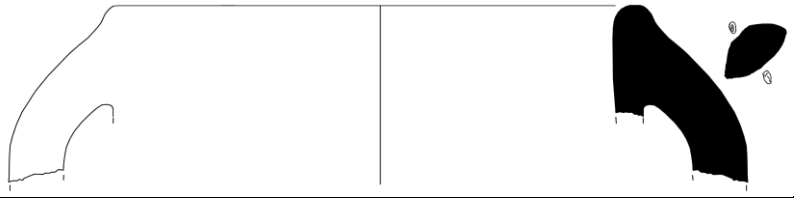
Fig. 130. Necked four or three handled storage jars with cylindrical necks: Phase 2.



5017, P. No. Number

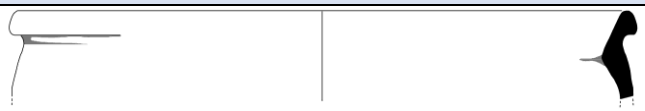
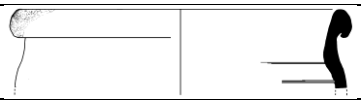
5.3.9.8 Handled Neck Jar

Handled neck jars were rare in Excavation 5 with only one example (**5000, P. No Number**) (Fig. 131) from Phase 1 and therefore has date of the mid-8th to 7th century BCE.

Fig. 131. Handled neck jars: Phase 1.

5000, P. No Number

5.3.9.9 Short-necked, everted rim jars

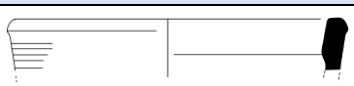
Short-necked jars with everted rims, a square shaped lip, and a marked transition between the lip and neck and the neck and shoulder with ovoid or bag shaped bodies belong to Aston's Phase IIIN (Aston, 1996a: fig. 227, nos 117-118). This form was common in Phase 2 at Sais (Fig. 132). Examples found at Buto date to the first half of the 8th century BCE (French, 1992: 10, no. 10). Hermopolis, Site W Type D.1.26. from level 1b dated 8th to 7th century BCE corresponds to Aston's Phase IIIS (Spencer, A.J., 1993, pl. 61). Additional examples from Saft el-Henna dated 22nd Dynasty (Petrie, 1906: pl. XXXIX G, no. 215), and from Tell el-Ghaba correspond to Aston's Phase IIIN (Lupo, 2015a: 206-7).

Fig. 132. Necked Jars with everted rim, square shaped lip, marked transition between the lip and neck, and the neck and shoulder, with ovoid or bag shaped body, Phase 2.

5016, P.27
5027. P.31

5027. P.22

5.3.9.10 Other Necked Storage Jar Forms

Several other necked forms were identified within the Excavation 5 corpus in Phase 1 (mid-8th to 7th century BCE) and Phase 2 (10th to mid-8th century BCE) indicating that this period had a variety of different jars and large storage jar shapes (Figs 133 and 134), while **5001, P.58** may be a wide mouthed beer jar.

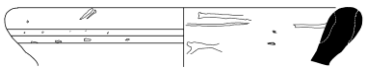
Fig. 133. Other Necked Forms: Phase 1.



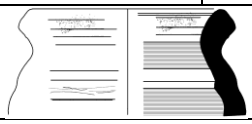
5001, P.32

5001, P.58

5001, P.38

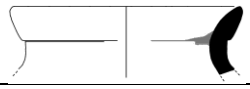


5004, P.16

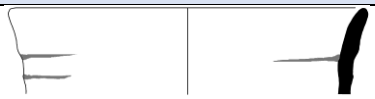


5006, P.44

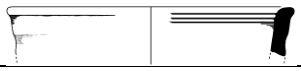
Fig. 134. Other Necked Forms: Phase 2.



5010, P.137



5010, P.135



5010, P.219

5021, P.10

5021. P.21

5.3.10 Neckless Jars

5.3.10.1 Small Neckless Jars

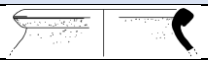
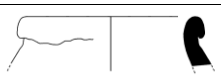
Small Neckless Jars with unmodeled rims are common throughout the Third Intermediate Period in both Upper Egypt and the Delta and are found in both Phase 1 (Fig. 135) and Phase 2 (Fig. 136) at Sais.

Fig. 135. Small Neckless Jars: Type 1: Phase 1.
5008, P.9

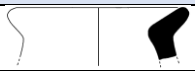
Fig. 136. Small Neckless Jars: Type 1, Phase 2.	
5010, P.34	5010, P.123
5010, P.224	

5.3.10.2 Small Neckless Jars with modelled rim

Small-mouthed neckless jars with ledge rims make their appearance in the 8th century BCE and continue into the 7th century BCE and belong to Aston's Phase III South Group 17 (Fig. 137). The surfaces were either uncoated or red washed, the latter being the most common for the period (Lupo, 2015a: 200).

Fig. 137. Small Neckless Jars: Type 2, Phase 2.	
	
5010, P.215	5018, P.53
5021, P.23	5021, P.6
	
5021, P.7	5021, P.25

5.3.10.3 Other Small Neckless Jar Types (Fig. 138)

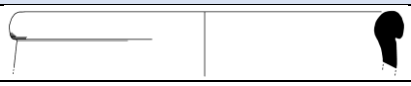
Fig. 138. Other Small Neckless Jar Types.	
	
5010, P.1	5010, P.126

5.3.11 Medium Size Neckless Jars

5.3.11.1 Wide Mouth, Neckless Storage Jars with modelled rim and flaring walls

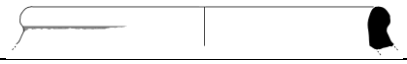
Wide mouthed neckless storage jars with modelled rolled rim and flaring walls are found in both Phase 1 and Phase 2 and do not appear to change in form (Figs 139 and 140). The forms in Phase 2 correspond well to Aston's Group 24, Phase II (10th to mid-8th century BCE) and are found at Tanis in the elliptical structure of the 22nd Dynasty (Defernez and Isnard, 2000: 159-160, pls I and II).

Fig. 139. Wide mouthed neckless storage jars with modelled rolled rim and flaring walls Type 1: Phase 1.



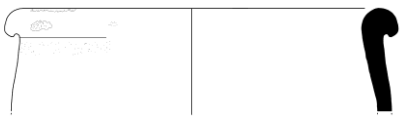
5001, P.8

5001, P.10



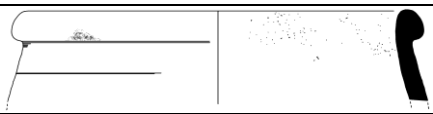
5002, P.25

Fig. 140. Wide mouthed neckless storage jars with modelled, rolled rim and flaring walls Type 1: Phase 2.



5012, P.18

5016, P.25

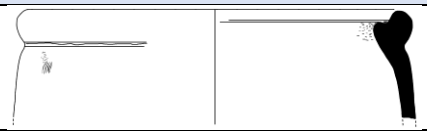


5018, P.49

5.3.11.2 Neckless Storage Jar with modelled rim with grooves on the top and ribbed rim

Neckless storage jars with modelled rims with grooves on the tops and with a ribbed rim in the junction with the shoulder (**5017, P.1**) usually have piriform bodies (Fig. 141). Parallels of this type have been found at Tanis in the 22nd Dynasty elliptical structure (Defernez and Isnard, 2000: Group 2, sub type c). They have similarities with Aston's Phase II Group 24, the large neckless jars with two large handles dated to the 10th to 8th century BCE in fabrics A4 and A5 while they are found in the 19th Dynasty at Tell el-Retaba (Petrie, 1906: pl. XXXVI. n. 6) and at Tell el-Ghaba (Lupo, 2015a: 244, table 72, SJ10, fig. 54.a).

Fig. 141. Neckless Storage Jars with modelled rims with groove on the top and ribbed rim: Phase 2.

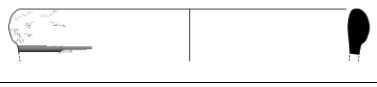


5017, P.1

5.3.11.3 Wide Mouthed Neckless Storage Jars with modelled rim and straight walls

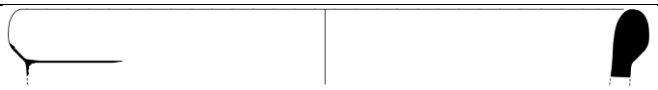
Wide mouthed neckless storage jars with modelled rolled rim and straight walls were common in Phase 2 at Sais (Fig. 142). They are similar in shape to the funnels and pigeon pots. They are found in the 22nd Dynasty Elliptical structure at Tanis (Defernez and Isnard, 2000: 183-4, pl. XIX), they are found at Tell el-Ghaba (Lupo, 2015a: 241, type SJ2). They are similar to Aston's Group 15 (Phase II) (Aston, 1996a: 61, fig. 191g) and Group 13 (Phase IIIS) (Aston, 1996a: fig. 218d). Example **5012, P.20** may actually represent a large wide mouthed flask.

Fig. 142. Wide Mouthed Neckless Storage Jars with modelled rim and straight walls: Phase 2.



5012, P.19

5012, P.20



5016, P.28

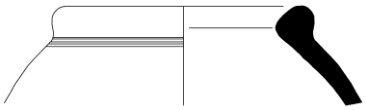
5018, P.52

5.3.11.4 Other Medium Sized Neckless Storage Jars

A variety of additional medium size neckless forms are identified within the corpus and presented below to show the diversity of storage jar types within the settlement (Figs 143 and 144).

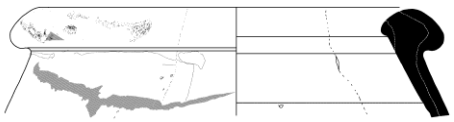
Fig. 143. Other Medium Size Neckless Forms: Phase 1.

5001, P.3

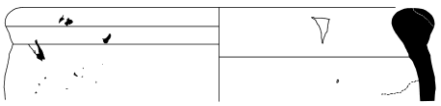


5001, P.6

5001, P.98

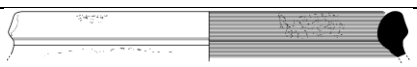


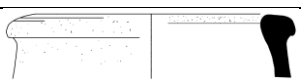
5004, P.3



5004, P.1

5005, P.5





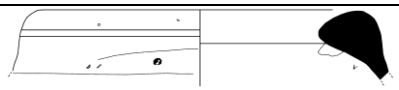
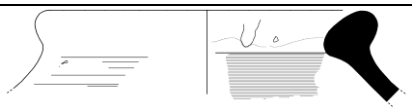
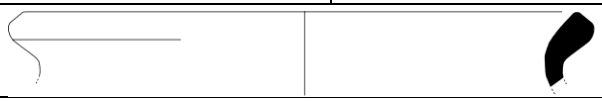
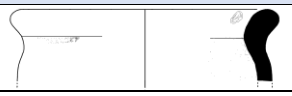
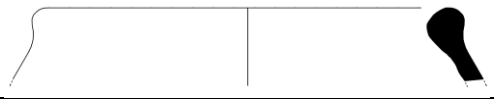
5005, P.17	5005, P.7
	
5006, P.15	5006, P.14
	
5008, P.2	

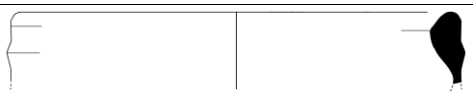
Fig. 144. Other Medium Size Neckless Forms: Phase 2.



5012, P.16



5015, P.46

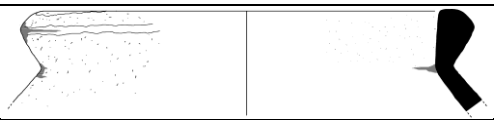


5015, P.17

5015, P.45

5016, P.26

5016, P.18



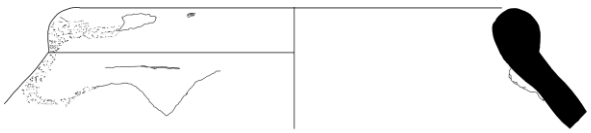
5016, P.24

5.3.12 Large Neckless Jars

The large neckless storage jars have been divided into the two phases to demonstrate the diversity of different forms found in the settlement (Figs 145 and 147). These vessels would

have been used for long term storage and due to their heights, they would have contained liquids or small grained dry goods, which could have been scooped out by either tilting or with a scoop (Sullivan, 2013: 131). The smaller neckless versions would have been useful for short-term storage and could be mobile around the house and easier to fill. The height and narrowness of the jars would make them space efficient within a small room (Sullivan, 2013: 131).

Fig. 145. Large Neckless Jars: Phase 1.



5001, P.92

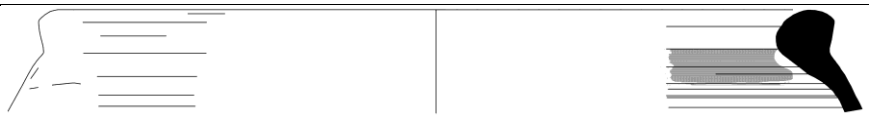
5001, P.2

5001, P.4

5001, P.5

5001, P.1

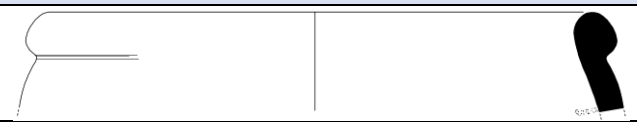
5002, P.15



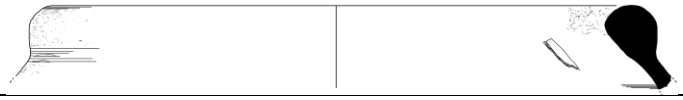
5006, P.45

5009, P.2

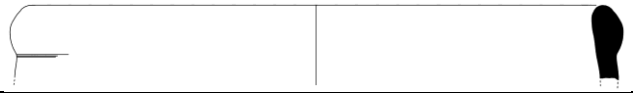
Fig. 146. Large Neckless Storage Jars: Phase 2.



5010, P.127



5010, P.12

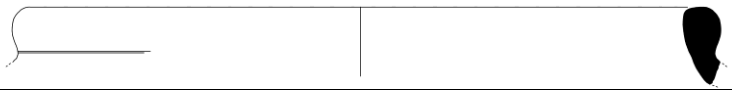


5010, P.93 (1)

5014, P.2

5015, P.44

5015, P. No. Number



5018, P.50

5021, P.24

5.3.13 Amphora

Amphorae (Figs 147 and 148) were rare in the domestic assemblage at Sais, in favour of large storage jars, suggesting internal trade into this part of the settlement was limited. What appears to be an amphora toe/spike (**5010, P.5**) was found but it appears to have been heavily damaged and reused as a pounder or grinder.

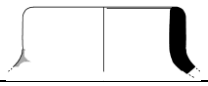
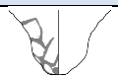
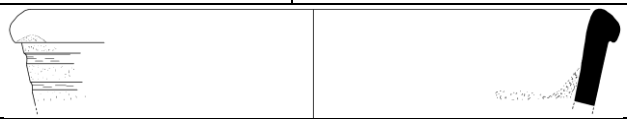
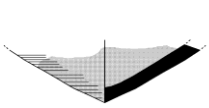
Fig. 147. Amphora: Phase 1.	
	
5001, P.63	5002, P.7

Fig. 148. Amphora: Phase 2.	
	
5010 P.5	5010, P.106
	
5027, P.17	

5.3.14 Imported Amphora

Imported amphora were rare in the Sais assemblage (Figs 149 and 150). In Phase 1, a fragment of an amphora (5001, P.65) may be of late Canaanite date, but is also similar to Phoenician Torpedo Jars from Tanis (Defernez and Isnard, 2000: pl. VII, type 7A), Hermopolis (Spencer, A.J., 1993: pls 17b and 67, group F1, particularly F.7) and Heracleopolis (López Grande and Queseda Sanz, 1995: figs LXI-LXII) (Sais Type see LXII) dated to around the 9th to 7th century BCE.

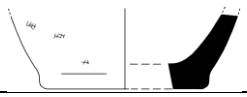
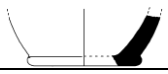
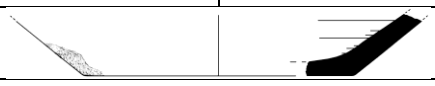
Fig. 149. Imported Amphora: Phase 1.	
5001, P.65	5002, P.2

Fig. 150. Imported Amphora: Phase 2.

5015, P.1

5.3.15 Flat Bases

Many of the flat base types found at Sais belonged to different sized jars and bowls (Figs 151 and 152).

Fig. 151. Flat Base: Phase 1.
5004, P.10
5004, P.8

Fig. 152. Flat Bases: Phase 2.	
5010, P.101	5010, P.8
5010, P.1 (1)	5015, P.2
	
5016, P.34	5016, P.35
	
5018, P.29	5018, P.200
5021, P.2	5027, P.26
	
5027, P.27	

5.3.16 Ring and Proto-Ring Bases

Proto-ring forms were rare in Phase 1 (Fig. 153) and were found primarily in Phase 2 (Fig. 154). Phase 1 showed a preference for ring bases (Fig. 155), and footed vessels (Section 5.3.7), but ring bases were rare in Phase 2 (Fig. 156). The ring bases probably belonged to deep, restricted bowls. This type of bowl with ring base is seen in the 10th to mid-8th century BCE but they become more common later and are a characteristic feature of the late 8th and 7th century BCE. This is confirmed by the change in morphology of the bases between Phase 1 and 2 at Sais. Ring bases of Phase 1 have been found in settlements at Buto, Nebesheh, Heracleopolis, Hermopolis, and Elephantine (Aston, 1996a: 74, 77). Ring base bowls are found in Marl A4 fabric at Karnak (Sullivan, 2013: Type G5) and have a date of the mid-8th to 7th century BCE to the 7th to mid-6th century BCE with good comparanda, again in marl, from Hermopolis dated to the Late Third Intermediate Period and Late Period (Spencer, A.J., 1993: pl. 5 no. 27.2, pl. 53, no. 27.5) and from Elephantine (Aston, 1999: pl. 54, nos 1678, 1681). Examples from the South Tombs at Amarna were in Marl 2, and in Marl A4 at Karnak (mid-8th to 7th century and 7th to 6th century BCE) (Sullivan, 2013: 197), suggesting the form in marl clay appears around the 25th Dynasty and becomes increasingly common during the late 7th and 6th century BCE (Aston, 1999: 77). Only two examples from Sais (5018, P.28; 5021, P.4) had evidence of burning on them, particularly underneath the bases, suggesting that they were used for cooking, as large vessel stands.

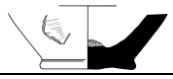
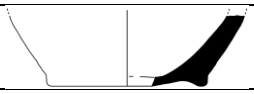
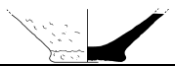
Fig. 153. Proto-Ring Forms: Phase 1.	
	
5002, P.3	5008, P.15

Fig. 154. Proto-Ring Forms: Phase 2.	
5010, P.4	5010, P.9
5010, P.1	5019, P.99
	
5011, P.2	5013, P.15
	

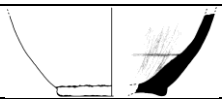
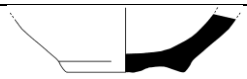
5018, P.30	5018, P.37
	
5018, P.27	5018, P.39
5018, P.31 (1)	5021, P.3
	
5027, P.25	5027, P.28

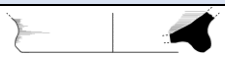
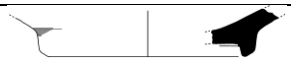
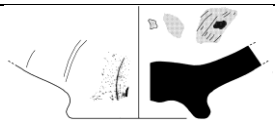
Fig. 155. Ring Bases: Phase 1.		
		
5001, P.104	5001, P.12	5001, P.18
		
5001, P.17	5001, P.53	5006, P.1

Fig. 156. Ring Bases: Phase 2.	
5015, P.49	
5018, P.28	5021, P.4

5.3.17 Nipple Base Vessels

Nipple bases perhaps originally belonged to two-handled, silt-ware storage jars, with piriform bodies and, probably, restricted modelled rims. They are generally in uncoated Nile B and B2 in other settlements and they correspond to Aston's Phase III North. The two examples from Excavation 5 at Sais in Phase 2 (**5012, P.13; 5015, P.3**) (Fig. 157) were both made from a soft

Nile silt fabric, fired dark brown with a red core, with (**5012, P.13**) having traces of a brown self-slip on the inside and outside, while it was possibly burnished. Examples of nipple based storage jars are rare, but examples have been found at Buto dated to the mid-7th century BCE (French, 1992: 87, no.11), Heliopolis (8th to 7th century BCE) (Aston, 1996a: fig. 58, n.14), Tell el-Ghaba (Lupo, 2015a: 254-5, fig. 53, Type SJ9), Karnak (Mut Complex) (Sullivan, 2013: 197, 238, Type UN 30) (mid-8th to 7th century BCE), while similar nipple based rounded jars in Marl A4 are found at Medinat Habu dated to the reign of the Gods Wife of Amun Amenirdis I (Aston, 1996a: 227, fig. 175) although the form continues into the Late Period (Sullivan, 2013: 197). The Excavation 5 examples now suggest that it can be dated slightly earlier to the 10th to mid-8th century BCE. One example (**5012 P.13**) from Sais exhibits charring on both the inside and outside and may suggest it was used in cooking or had been exposed to an open flame after the vessel was broken. The presence of charring at the base of such a deep vessel would suggest it was already broken when it was exposed to heat and may have been reused as a lid for a vessel such as one of the footed bowls (**5001, P.20**). The sherd may have been used as a prop-stand in a hearth for cooking.

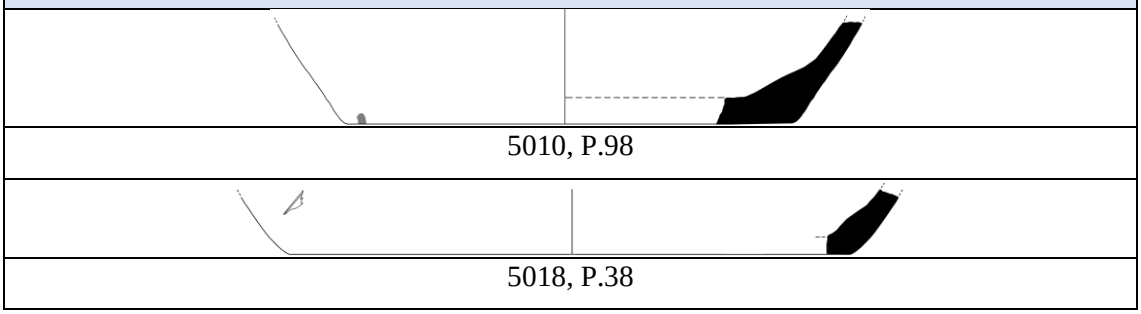
Fig. 157. Nipple Bases: Phase 2.	
5012 P.13	5015 P.3

5.3.18 Large Basins/Pithoi

Large flat based pithoi or basins made in Marl were found in in Phase 2 (**5010, P.98; 5018, P.38**) (Fig. 158) (but it is not known if they are handled) and are similar to a Nile C example from Karnak (Sullivan, 2013: Type K (2) 'tubs'), dated to the mid-8th to 7th century BCE. The large 'basins/pithoi/tubs' types are defined by Aston (1999: 14) as deep, generally handmade, straight-sided storage jars of very large dimensions. Such large basins occur at Tanis (Defernez and Isnard, 2000: Group 20 (a)) dated to the Late Third Intermediate Period. Examples of handled versions dated after the mid-8th to 7th century BCE have been found at Elephantine (Aston, 1999: pl. 52, 1630) and Kom Firin (Thomas, R.I., 2014: fig. 123, no. C2999). The Kom Firin example was locally produced and made of red Nile silt with a thickened rim and external ridge, and was found in association with grain silos, with late Third Intermediate Period and Late Period versions matching the example from the Citadel at Kom Firin (Thomas, R.I., 2014: 182). The Nile silt and marl versions would be able to provide frequent access to the contents due to the large diameter size (Sullivan, 2013: 120). The Nile silt versions could provide long-

term dry storage and it could be used to fill up large storage jars. The flat rims would serve to help attach a lid on top of the vessel and would make long-term storage easier (Sullivan, 2013: 120). The presence of large basins at Kom Firin in association with the grain silos would suggest they were large basins for the storage or removal of grain.

Fig. 158. Large Basins: Phase 2.



5010, P.98

5018, P.38

5.3.19 Rounded Bases

The rounded bases found at Sais in Phases 1 (Fig. 159) and 2 (Fig. 160) probably belonged to jars which would have stood in jar stands, however no stands were found, depressions on the mud floors, or propped up against the wall using stones, sherds or bricks as leverage, while they may have had additional function such as bowls or basins. Seventeen (3.55%) rounded bases were found from different size vessel types. Some/all of the rounded bases exhibit burning, with two having soot just on the inside (5002, P.18; 5010, P.103), one on the outside (5002, P.2) while the rest show it covered the vessel (5002, P.19; 5002, P.7; 5010, P.104; 5013, P.13; 5015, P.1) suggesting these rounded jars were used in cooking. The preferred surface treatment for the rounded bases was the use of red slip with it being used only on the inside twice (5002, P.2; 5002, P.7) and only the outside for most examples (5002, P.17; 5010, P.218 (not tiger stripe decoration, but scratch marks); 5012, P.12 (1)). The use of brown slip was present upon all one example of the vessel (5001, P.15), while there was an example of a silt and marl mix (5010, P.3). One rounded base (5018, P.33) preserved evidence for what appeared to be blue paint residue at the base and may indicate it was reused as a paint palette. It cannot be ruled out many of these vessel bases may have been reused as scoops or crude bowls and little plates.

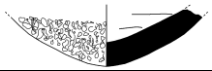
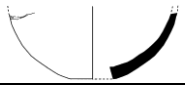
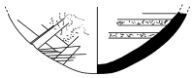
Fig. 159. Rounded Bases: Phase 1.		
5001 P.15	5002 P.18	5002 P.19
		
5002 P.17	5006 P.43	

Fig. 160. Rounded Bases: Phase 2.		
		
5010 P.3	5010 P.104	5010 P.103
		
5010 P.218	5013 P.13	5013 P.10
5018 P.33		

5.3.20 Lids

Three examples of large flat trays or lids (5010 P120; 5010 P.24; 5010 P.15) with straight or thickened rims/edges, but missing the central handle were found in Phase 2 (Fig. 161). These flat trays/lids were coated in a red slip. Spencer (1993: pl. 74, M.140) states the examples found at Hermopolis were large lids which covered the bread ovens like examples found at Mendes (Allen, 1982: 21), and this may have been the case for this type of lid found at Karnak in the 7th to mid-6th century BCE phase (Sullivan, 2013: 116,171, Type. A.2). Lids of this type have been found in mid-8th to 7th century BCE levels at Elephantine (Aston, 1999: pl. 53, no. 1633), Heracleopolis (López Grande and Quesada Sanz, 1995: 96 and 186, lám. LII. b) and in the elliptical structure of the 22nd Dynasty at Tanis (Defernez and Isnard, 2000: Groupe 41 e 1/8, pl. XX).

The Sais examples however, do not exhibit any burning indicating they were not used for oven lids and the red slip was a coating to prevent evaporation and may indicate they were associated with liquid storage, such as wine. It is possible they were flat lids for other large bowls, and may represent a communal liquid storage vessel, from which drinking cups could be filled. Two smaller lids (5013, P.11; 5018, P.24) of a different type (Fig. 162) were perhaps covers for smaller jar forms, or bottles.

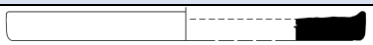
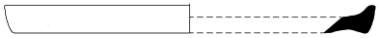
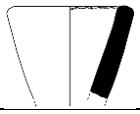
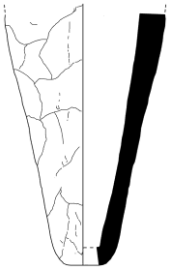
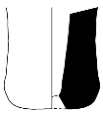
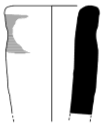
Fig. 161. Lids: Type 1, Phase 2.

5010 P.120

5010 P.24
5010 P.15

Fig. 162. Lids: Type 2, Phase 2.	
5013, P.11	5018, P.24

5.3.21 Bread Moulds

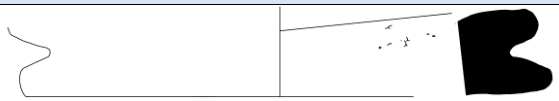
The bread moulds (Figs 163 and 164) were in a variety of shapes and sizes were all handmade in a coarse fabric, perhaps indicating different types of bread were made. The examples which preserved a surface treatment (**5002, P.4; 5010, P.10 (2); 5010, P.85; 5021, P.5**) exhibited a white wash/slip on the outside. The presence of bread moulds in the assemblage may relate to ritual bread baking for temples, or bread mould manufacture and usage were conducted at Sais on a domestic level. The absence of bread moulds at other Third Intermediate Period domestic contexts would suggest that baking with moulds was connected to baking at an industrial or ritual level, however, it may also be the case that these moulds were residual sherds from an earlier large bread production area, as bread moulds are found in considerable numbers at Sais in Excavation 1.

Fig. 163. Bread Moulds: Phase 1.
5002, P.4

Fig. 164. Bread Moulds: Phase 2.		
		
5010, P.203	5010, P.209	5010, P.10 (2)
		
5010, P.85	5010, P.105	5012, P.12 (1)
		
5016, P.32	5021, P.5	5021, P.22

5.3.22 Bread Trays/Dokkas

There was one example of a bread tray in a coarse fabric (**5004, P.53**) which was smoothed and self-slipped (Fig. 165). The low numbers of bread trays in a 'household' context at Sais may suggest bread was made communally outside each house unit, or that they were baked inside or outside, or on the outside of the ovens, which would be a change in practice.

Fig. 165. Bread Tray/Dokkas: Phase 1.

5004 P.53

5.3.23 Other Types: Torches/Burners, Firedogs, and Small Cups

In addition to the lids, a few single instances of a torch or burner (**5010, P.2**), a small cup (**5018, P.36**) and a firedog (**5018, P.35**) were found (Fig. 166). The firedog, which are a common form in other Third Intermediate Period contexts, but not at Sais, was a three-legged stand placed onto the hearth onto which a cooking was placed so it did not come into direct contact with the hearth below, which enabled the contents to be boiled. The absence of firedogs within the domestic assemblage may indicate that this area of the site was not the location for the cooking

of the food but merely a storage area within the domestic setting, indicated by the large numbers of storage vessels within the assemblage.

Fig. 166. Torches/Burners, Firedogs, and Small Cups.
5010, P.2
5018 P.36
5018, P.35

5.4 Domestic Pottery: Conclusions

In the New Kingdom, it is possible to draw on well dated ceramic or pottery assemblages from all parts of the Nile Valley, but despite this advantage there are still several problems in assigning precise dates to pottery after the start of the 19th Dynasty (Hope, 1989; Aston, 2003: Bourriau, 2010: 2). This is because the ceramic chronologies are mainly based on cemetery material. There are too few closed groups in the core material habitually used for reference, and this core material is not published in enough detail to facilitate comparisons with newly excavated assemblages (Bourriau, 2010: 2). These concerns and problems with the Late New Kingdom material are the same, if not worse for the Third Intermediate Period assemblages. Most of the Third Intermediate Period ceramic assemblages that have provided cross-comparisons with domestic assemblages come from royal and elite burials such as those at Tanis, Heracleopolis and Memphis, while other assemblages date from early excavations, many of which were poorly documented and recorded, such as those from Medinat Habu, Lisht North, and Memphis. There is only a small corpus of recently published assemblages to compare and these come mainly from the Delta in small excavation areas at Sais, Tell el-Ghaba and Tell el-Balamun, while others come from Hermopolis, Karnak and Elephantine. Despite these problems, Aston (1996a: 15) suggested a general decline in the quality of ceramics, with more Nile silt and coarse wares and a large reduction in the number of marl wares. Aston (1996a: 15) argued that there was an absence of fresh ideas and new forms which failed to stimulate new fashions in ceramic technologies. It must be noted no domestic settlement assemblage, even if it was very large can be assumed to represent all the vessels in use at any given moment in time because whole and/or valued vessels would have been removed prior to an area being abandoned, cleaned or its function changed (Bourriau, 2010: 2). The analysis of the sample

above has shown that, based upon the domestic assemblages so far excavated for the Third Intermediate Period, vessel types from domestic contexts do in general, compared to the New Kingdom, show a reduction in the range of vessel types being produced. There was a preference for the the production of globular jars, both neckless and necked storage jars, direct straight rim bowls, everted bowls with simple rims, everted bowls with thick rims and internal ledge bowls. There was also an increase in the use of pilgrim flasks, footed bowls and goblet/chalices. The domestic assemblages were dominated by large and medium storage jars with many different forms. The emphasis on individual storage within the household may suggest a lack of central storage and redistribution facilities, which can be seen also in the constant creation of small grain bins for small family units in settlements.

In the mid-8th to 7th century BCE, however, there was a visible increase in the number of different forms being introduced, particularly in the form of storage vessels. There is a visible increase in the use of marl fabrics, particularly for closed forms. The types found at Sais are characteristic domestic forms of the period, but in the domestic phase at Sais only a rather modest set of pottery types were used. The overall lack of marl and mixed clay fabrics used for pottery would indicate less access to those sources to the south or to the western desert where there are some desert marl sources. In addition, the lack of marl or mixed clay fabrics in domestic contexts at Sais may not reflect other contexts such as temple or administrative locations. Within the typologies there is a specific variation of forms, but it is not clear from assemblages whether this is functional or caused by different manufacturing processes or incoming cultural influences from the mid-8th century BCE onwards.

As far as ceramic production and distribution is concerned, it is possible that, as in the New Kingdom, pottery production between 1200 to 800 BCE was centred on a few production centres and then traded throughout the country (Aston, 1996a: 88). Aston (1996a: 88) argues that the geo-political considerations created through the regionalism of the period played little part in pottery production between 1200 and ca.750 BCE with the same forms turning up across the country over that time (Aston,1996a: 88). The ceramic evidence from Excavation 5 at Sais, suggests there may have been some internal ceramic trade between the north and south of the country into Phase 1 (mid-8th to 7th century BCE), as many of the forms from Sais have parallels with Aston's Phase III Southern ceramics. This is the case with many of the ceramics from Tell el-Ghaba where there were vessels with parallels with southern forms.

The presence of the same vessel forms found across the country, corresponding to Phase 2 at Sais, combined with a stagnation in new vessel types being developed would suggest that people were making their own vessels, but not in great quantities. They were also copying forms they were familiar with, rather than introducing new forms, which created the stagnation in new

forms until in the rise in new forms and the increase of marl wares in the mid-8th to 7th century BCE. The presence of many small ovens in domestic contexts during the period may suggest that pottery manufacture could have been a household industry alongside faience amulet manufacture. The large centralised kilns such as those at Memphis would have been impractical for large vessels, or vats, and it is likely that these vessels were made closer to the place where they would be used. The large numbers of simply made open forms such as the everted bowls and simple direct rim bowls indicate these were heavily manufactured in the settlements and probably had multifunctional uses.

The evidence for imported and non-imported luxury items such as wine and oils is rare in Excavation 5 at Sais indicating a lower level of luxury items entering the domestic contexts at Sais during the 22nd to 25th Dynasty, in that part of the settlement, which contrasts with the New Kingdom levels in Excavation 1 which had imported flasks from the Levant and Cyprus. In the Third Intermediate Period levels in Excavation 5 flasks were now all made of Nile silt and red slipped in imitation of the luxury products common in the New Kingdom. The lack of both Canaanite and Phoenician amphorae in Excavation 5 suggests that the pottery corpus represents a changeover period in production and economic trade networks at Sais.

Elsewhere in Egypt, in Third Intermediate Period settlements, Levantine amphorae are present in large numbers and were no doubt used to transport liquids, resins, oils, wine, honey, and other liquids (Bourriau, 2010: 113-146; Smoláriková: 2014: 51). At Hermopolis, Phoenician juglets were found in level 1 and dated to the first half of the 8th century BCE as well as a fragment of a Cypriote flask dated to 1050-850 BCE (Spencer, A.J., 1993: 47), but imports were rarely found at Memphis (Kom Rabia) with only four body sherds belonging to Phoenician and Canaanite jars (Aston, 2009a: 27). At Sais, in early Third Intermediate Period layers, imported fabrics were again rare, with only two possible imported types, most notably Canaanite amphora types (Wilson, 2011: 178-9). Finally, imported fabrics are not found in the Third Intermediate Period levels at the Anubieion at Saqqara but only found in the New Kingdom levels (French, 2013: 21).

The evidence suggests that during the 21st to 24th Dynasty foreign trade was maintained with the Levant and the Aegean but on a much-reduced level compared to the New Kingdom, which before had seen the importation into Egypt of large quantities of transport amphorae from the Levant (Bourriau, Smith and Serpico, 2001), and fine pottery from the Aegean (Hankey and Aston, 1995) and Cyprus (Eriksson, 2001; 2007; Merrillees, 1968). Foreign trade began to increase again from the late 8th to 7th century BCE with Aegean and Levantine vessels commonly found in Late Third Intermediate Period assemblages. It was the ports of Ashkelon and Ruqeish which would have played a key role in this re-connection of trading routes.

Ashkelon and Ruqeish provided a connection that combined both land and sea routes into Egypt (Kohen, 2015: 309). The economic expansion of Ashkelon was linked to its participation in Phoenician maritime trade, and Ruqeish was an intermediate stop for vessels departing from Ashkelon and was a starting point for the caravan route through the Sinai (Kohen, 2015: 309).

The pottery can provide insights into the dining and drinking culture or foodways (Tyson-Smith, 2003: 50-52) of the period and the way in which food and drink were produced and consumed. Food was displayed and presented in large bowls, and covered with lids either made from everted vessels or wicker baskets. The large numbers of straight rim bowls found were suitable for eating food taken from the communal family bowls. There is a lack of plates, while cutlery was absent in the assemblages indicating the food in the bowls was eaten with bread as the agent to scoop up the food, or meat was picked apart by the fingers. Some small microliths may have been used for cutting meat or fish, and people may have had individual knives or spoons which would not have survived within the domestic rubbish assemblages. The food was likely to have all been served together in separate bowls allowing one to choose what one wanted to eat. Condiments, dips and spices were made available at dining in the small echinus type forms. This thesis and the evidence from Sais and across Egyptian domestic contexts suggests the act of communal dining with the use of condiments was a regular part of the dining culture of the period, and would have reinforced communal and family social bonds.

The location of the dining is difficult to assess, but in the house in Excavation at Sais, food was consumed in the columned central hall (Wilson, 2011: 31-43), or in the largest open floor space. It is unclear, due to the organic preservation if reed mats were placed on the floor and the food bowls were set on them, or if they were placed directly onto the hard mud floor and stands were used for the vessels. The position of the diners is indicated by small, low, limestone tables at Memphis discussed in Chapter 6 which could have been used for the large serving trays, indicating that people would have been seated on the floor around the food.

The ceramic evidence suggests that there was a change in the choice of the preferred drinking vessel during the Third Intermediate Period from bowls and cylindrical beakers in the New Kingdom, to the goblet and footed drinking bowls. The goblet and footed bowl form was the main drinking vessel from both domestic, and burial assemblages. These forms are found in early domestic Third Intermediate Period layers at Kom Firin (Smoláriková, 2014: 48) while Aston (1999: 169) notes that faience types of vessels are well known in contexts of the Late 8th to 7th century BCE and were found at Tell el-Balamun, Amarna, Hermopolis, Matmar Cemetery 900 and Karnak North. Recent excavations at the Mut Temple at Karnak have recovered footed bases from the mid-8th to 7th century BCE contexts, and a red washed example dating to the 10th

to mid-8th century BCE (Sullivan, 2013: 178, Type L), while goblets or footed bowls of this type occurred frequently throughout the excavations at Hermopolis (Spencer, A.J., 1993).

The size and capacity of the open shape of these vessels are for single individual serving and consumption (Sullivan, 2013: 120). The height of stem on the goblets from the base indicates that they were to be held in one hand while reclining, and could be rested on flat surfaces when not in use. There is an increase in the usage and manufacture of the so called 'Pilgrim Flasks/Bottles' which likely held wine, and were used by servers to decant wine into the small bowls and goblets. The presence of communal bowls designed to hold liquids could have also acted as large wine containers from which people could have scooped wine using the goblets, while flat red slipped non-porous lids could have acted as wine covers.

The Egyptian goblets and footed bowls found in domestic contexts are made from pottery and appear alongside faience versions. The manufacture of previously faience lotiform goblets in pottery forms indicates the demand for these types of vessel during this period by the non-elite society. The faience examples were a higher status object and the ceramic forms were trying to imitate a luxury item class, indicating aspects of aspiration of local communities. Prototypes of these pottery goblets have their origins in New Kingdom royal and elite culture. The factors which had previously inhibited cultural communication between different social strata now ceased to operate in the new Libyan socio-political system.

Chapter 6 goes on to assess other material culture found in Excavation 5 (Appendix XI) and incorporates it into the wider object assemblages found in domestic contexts across Third Intermediate Period Egypt to explore the social status of the population, the extent of elite emulation and self-sufficiency regarding elite object replication, the extent of object reuse and recycling, and the creation and availability of materials for object manufacture.

Chapter 6

The Object World of the Third Intermediate Period: Material Culture

6.1 Introduction and Aims

Meskel's (2004) study of the *Object Worlds* of the New Kingdom assessed the way in which objects revealed the complex ways that the Egyptians experienced their material world, and how these objects instantiated, reflected and influenced the social life of the New Kingdom population, and it is this approach that has been adopted for the object world of the Third Intermediate Period. Chapter 6 continues to investigate changes in artefact usages and material culture, and the implications for understanding characteristics of the object world of the period, and the lifecycles of the population through terracotta figurines, objects of personal adornment, tools, weapons, and reused and salvaged stone. The artefacts and object-world of the settlements are analysed to explore the social status of the population, the extent of elite emulation and self-sufficiency regarding elite object replication, the extent of object reuse and recycling, and the creation and availability of materials for object manufacture. Finally, the chapter goes on to document aspects of the domestic religion through amulets and figurines and defines changes in the choice of iconography used, and the deities represented. The concluding discussion aims to outline a baseline material culture for the period in conjunction with aspects of regionality in relation to the political fragmentation of the country.

6.2 Objectives

In addition to the ceramics, other material culture found in Excavation 5 (Appendix VII) is incorporated into wider object assemblages found in domestic contexts across Egypt and analysed by typology, and their presence, or absence throughout the settlements discussed in Chapter 4 (Table 21). The typologies of objects include terracotta figurines, objects of personal adornment, tools, weapons, and reused and salvaged stone. The way in which these objects are manufactured can indicate the technologies available at the time and whether they were used throughout Egypt. The dating of the object types found in domestic contexts is achieved, where appropriate, by comparison with material found in funerary assemblages to see whether the dating of the burial assemblage material is consistent with the dating of the material culture from settlements. It must be noted at the outset that the completeness of the cultural assemblages are not uniform across the country, due to the ecological conditions of the Delta. Large amounts of organic material such as textiles, wood and matting are not preserved which would provide a more complete picture of the domestic assemblages. The site type,

social-status of the excavated area, taphonomic changes of different sites, and the poor levels of recording of objects in earlier excavations affect the completeness and variation of Third Intermediate Period domestic assemblages.

Furthermore, in line with elite culture and social status, the objects found within the homes of the people are analysed to discuss whether they reflect a use of heirlooms to show social status, elite emulation, and links back to the genre of ancestor cult. An analysis of the physical manifestation of domestic religion through the terracotta figurines of the period assesses changes in form and type, and regional variations including how geo-political considerations may be considered in looking for choices in the physical expression of domestic and state worship.

Finally, Chapter 6 establishes the baselines of Third Intermediate Period material culture found across the country, and discusses the issue of regional material culture(s), which developed out of specific regional political influences.

The sites used in this discussion have a wide geographical and chronological range and consist mainly of newly excavated assemblages, which provide new comparative assessments for the object world of the Third Intermediate Period.

Site	Region	Date of Material	Approximate Horizontal Area of Excavation
Sais (Excavation 5)	Lower Egypt	Late Third Intermediate Period	25 m^2 (Unpublished).
Sais (Excavation 1)	Lower Egypt	Early Third Intermediate Period	ca. 15 m^2 (Wilson, 2011).
Kom Firin	Lower Egypt	Early Third Intermediate Period	Trench EA 193 m^2 and three contiguous trenches EC, ED, and EE each 100 m^2. (Spencer, N., 2008; 2014).
Tell el-Ghaba	Lower Egypt	Early Third Intermediate Period	Structure M and underlying strata (Area II, Level I) and building A and underlying strata (Area I, Levels II-I), (See Lupo and Kohen, 2015, pl. 1 for area sizes).
Tanis	Lower Egypt	Early Third Intermediate Period and perhaps the later part.	The elliptical structure of Sheshonq III or later. The destroyed structures of the 21st dynasty underneath the

			elliptical structure. (Defernez and Isnard, 2000).
Memphis (Kom Rabia, Kom el-Qala)	Lower Egypt	Throughout the Period	Kom Rabia (20 m^2) Kom el-Qala (Jeffreys, 2007).
Akoris	Upper Egypt	Early Third Intermediate Period	South Area 150 x 150m (22, 500 m^2) (Kawanishi and Tsujimura, 2013; Tsujimura 2011).
El-Hibeh	Upper Egypt	Early Third Intermediate Period	Test Square 2 (TS2) 25 m^2 expanded to 100 m^2 (Wenke, 1984b: 27-33).
Hermopolis (Site W)	Upper Egypt	Mid-Late Third Intermediate Period	Site W (600m^2) overall excavation area was 486m^2). (Spencer, A.J., 1993: 13-50).
Lisht North	Upper Egypt	Late New Kingdom-Early Third Intermediate Period	Undetermined (Arnold, F., 1996; Mace, 1914, 1921, 1922).
Karnak (Mut Temple) (Building A)	Upper Egypt	Late Third Intermediate Period (specifically the 25th Dynasty for building A) Earlier stratum 3 (22nd-24th Dynasty) and stratum 4 (Late 19th Dynasty to 21st Dynasty)	23 excavation and test trenches (various sizes). Estimates based on Sullivan, (2013: fig. 3.4) is 227.54 m^2.
Medinat Habu	Upper Egypt	Throughout the Third Intermediate Period	The outer enclosure of the Medinat Habu Temple (Hölscher, 1954).

Table 21. The Sites with None Funerary Material Culture used in this comparative study (Location, Occupation Date, and Size of Excavated Area).

6.3 Stone Vessels

Fragments of stone vessels were found in the settlements of Sais, Memphis and Hermopolis. At Sais (Excavation 1) a single fragment of a stone vessel was found, with two fragments in the overburden (Fig. 169). The overburden fragments have similarities with Early Dynastic to Old Kingdom forms, and it has been suggested they were reused in the Third Intermediate Period (Wilson, 2011: 102-3). The stratigraphically secured fragment was part of a grey granite large shallow basin. It had an incised ridge along the outer rim indicating it was part of a large stone vessel with a wide diameter (Wilson, 2011: 103, pl. 5, no. 3) perhaps similar in form and material to a New Kingdom stone basin from Memphis (Giddy, 1999: 288, pl. 63, EES 408). From Excavation 5, a rim fragment of a diorite bowl (5027, 5.057) (Fig. 169) has stylistic similarities with stone bowls of the Old Kingdom.

A shoulder fragment from an open-mouthed vessel, probably a small bowl, made from dense opaque yellow calcite was found at Memphis (Fig. 168). The fragment preserved the beginning of a relatively thin rim, above a high, sharply carinated shoulder, below which, the under sides curved smoothly back inwards towards the base (Giddy, 1999: 259, pl. 55, EES 502). This form is similar to the Meidum Bowl shape of the Old Kingdom, and may have been a residual artefact. The fragment did not exhibit evidence of reworking or reuse (Giddy, 1999: 259). A dark-grey to pale-grey diorite-gneiss trapezoidal fragment from an open-mouthed bowl from Memphis was suggested to have come from an Early Dynastic and Old Kingdom occupation phase based on the workmanship and material used. Like the other Memphite fragments, there was no sign of re-carving or reuse indicating it may have been of New Kingdom manufacture (Giddy, 1999: 263).

In the Level 1 phase occupation at Hermopolis three stone vessels were manufactured in calcite, two in limestone and one was made of a grey metasedimentary stone (Figs 170-175) (Spencer, A.J., 1993: 32-3, pl. 27, nos 13-18). There was an example of a calcite vase of alabastron type with a vestigial lug handle. The alabastron was dated by Spencer to the late Third Intermediate Period and is a typical form of the period (Spencer, A.J., 1993: pl. 27, no. 13). One of the calcite vessel examples has clear New Kingdom precedents in form; it represented a dish carved in the form of a trussed duck, with a smooth surface polish. Trussed duck dishes began in the New Kingdom (Aston, B.G., 1994: 159, types 202-206). This may indicate that either New Kingdom trussed duck forms continued into the Third Intermediate Period, or it was a relic of New Kingdom origin, in the same way as other stone bowl types from Sais and Memphis. This may be the case for a bowl of grey metasedimentary stone, which may have been residual (Spencer, A.J., 1993: pl. 27). The remainder of the stone vessels at Hermopolis are all typical examples of the Third Intermediate Period, making it difficult to define chronological criteria for these types.

Fig. 167. Diorite bowl from Sais (Excavation 5) (14.5 x 7 x 2 cm) (5027 5.057) Old Kingdom, 5th to 6th Dynasty or earlier.

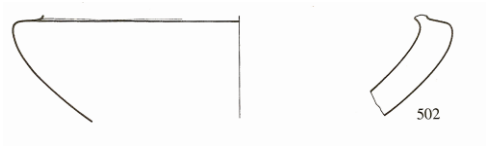


Fig. 168. Open mouthed, slightly carinated bowl in opaque yellow calcite (Memphis) (Giddy, 1999: pl. 55, EES 502).

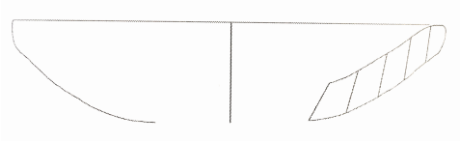


Fig. 169. Sais (Excavation 1) Grey Granite shallow basin (Wilson, 2011: pl. 5, no. 3).

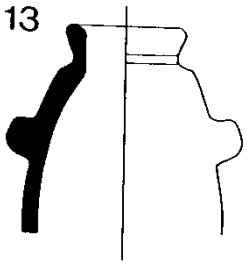


Fig. 170. Calcite Alabastron from Hermopolis (Spencer, A.J., 1993: 32, pl. 27, no. 13).

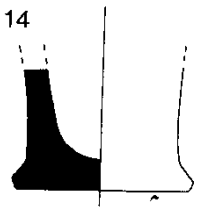


Fig. 171. Calcite cylindrical vase from Hermopolis (Spencer, A.J., 1993: 32, pl. 27, no. 14).

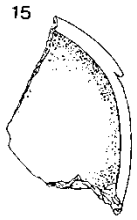


Fig. 172. Calcite trussed duck dish from Hermopolis (Spencer, A.J., 1993: 32, pl. 27, no. 15).

Fig. 173. Limestone vase from Hermopolis (Spencer, A.J., 1993: 33, pl. 27, no. 16).

Fig. 174. Limestone bowl with projecting lug handle from Hermopolis (Spencer, A.J., 1993: 33, pl. 27, no. 17).

Fig. 175. Bowl of metasedimentary stone from Hermopolis (Spencer, A.J., 1993: 33, pl. 27, no. 18).

The evidence from domestic contexts indicates that calcite and limestone were the preferred choice of material for manufacturing stone vessels during the Third Intermediate Period, with many small bowl and vase types being typical of Third Intermediate Period levels. There are stone bowls or fragments of Early Dynastic and Old Kingdom date reused in Third Intermediate Period domestic contexts. The mechanism for the acquisition of these vessels is unknown. One possible source could have been the reused Old and New Kingdom cemeteries, as the examples, particularly at Memphis, do not exhibit any signs of reworking or repair, which would suggest they were in good condition when acquired. The New Kingdom stone vessels types such as trussed duck dishes continued or were retained for considerable amounts of time within the Third Intermediate Period domestic assemblages. The re-use of old elite material culture and the nature of heirlooms is discussed at the end of this chapter.

6.4 Faience Vessels

The published examples of faience vessels found in Egypt, usually come from funerary contexts (Giddy, 1999: 265-76). Faience vessels, or fragments, are found in over 20 burials of the Third Intermediate Period at Tell Zuwelein, Tell el-Balamun, Tell el-Retaba, Abusir el-Meleq, Lahun, Matmar, Qau and at the Ramesseum (Aston, 2009a: 377). In addition to these examples, seventy faience goblets were found in the burial of Neskhons A at Thebes. Other faience vessel fragments

have been recorded at Riqqeh, Hawara, and, at Thebes, intrusively in TT 99 (Aston, 2009a: 377). Faience vessels were, however, used in domestic contexts, as for example in the New Kingdom domestic assemblages from Memphis (Giddy, 1999: 265-76).

In the Third Intermediate Period, faience vessels are rarely found in domestic contexts. Excavation 5 at Sais only produced evidence of a single fragment of what appeared to be part of a faience bowl (5006, 5.073). The lack of faience vessels in Excavation 5 is reflected in early Third Intermediate Period levels in Excavations 1 at Sais (Wilson, 2011: 115, pl. 15) and Akoris. At Kom Firin, there are no intact examples of faience vessels. The fragments found all came from small vessels, with a poorly preserved glaze (Spencer, N., 2008: 68). One example from Kom Firin preserved the remains of two black lines, on either a blue or green glazed background. The fragment probably belonged to a small bowl with black figure decoration, possibly of animals, plant life or geometric forms (Spencer, N., 2008: 68).

At Medinat Habu, a slender 22 cm high green faience vase with black painted decoration (Cairo, JE 59785) came from grid square F7 from a 22nd to 24th Dynasty house (Hölscher, 1954: 11). At Memphis, the corpus of faience comprised seven small cup and bowl fragments in Late New Kingdom/Third Intermediate Period domestic levels (Giddy, 1999: 265-76, pls 58-9). Finally, at Hermopolis, 16 fragments of faience bowls and dishes were found (Spencer, A.J., 1993: 36-7, pl. 33).

Although there is a lack of evidence for bowls and small vessel types in faience, there are more examples of faience lotiform goblets. Lotiform goblets in faience first appeared in the reign of Thutmose III and continued to be manufactured into the Third Intermediate Period (Schlick-Nolte, 1999: 37-42; Tait, 1963: 95-103). They were manufactured at Memphis at the domestic level during the Third Intermediate Period (Aston 2007b: 76), possibly for a funerary function as so many are found in the upper-class burials of the period, particularly those of the royal families. Evidence from Hermopolis indicates that faience chalices were used and manufactured within the settlement with eleven examples found throughout the occupation layers (Fig. 176) (Spencer, A.J., 1993: 36, pl.32, nos 95-106). The evidence from Hermopolis demonstrates the continued manufacture of faience lotus chalices from the ca. 950-750 BCE levels with the non-composition forms manufactured in the 950-600 BCE levels.

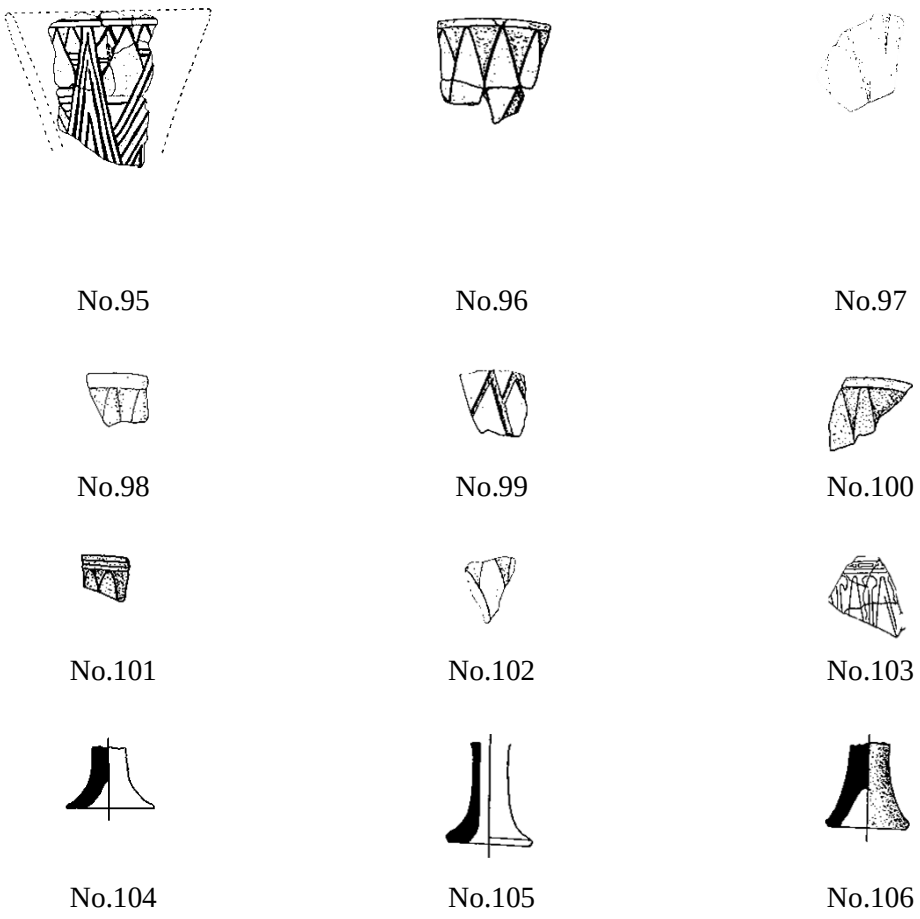


Fig. 176. Faience Lotiform Goblet Fragments from Hermopolis (Spencer, A.J., 1993: 36, pl. 32, nos 95-106).

As the ceramic forms of pilgrim flasks are found in Third Intermediate Period contexts throughout the period, it is probable they were imitated in faience too, however evidence of faience flasks in domestic settlements are very rare. Only one undecorated blue glazed example comes from inside the oven of the 700-600 BCE phase at Hermopolis, but it may have been an intrusive 26th Dynasty object. A second example from the overburden of Hermopolis is clearly of a 26th Dynasty date (Spencer, A.J., 1993: 36). So far, the settlement evidence does not suggest faience pilgrim flasks were a common feature of the Third Intermediate Period domestic object corpus, although they are known from Third Intermediate Period burial contexts and are dated to after the middle of the 8th century BCE based on their morphology (Aston, 2009a: 378).

The evidence so far demonstrates that small faience vessel usage in settlement contexts continued in the Third Intermediate Period, but the faience vessels are not preserved well, particularly

within domestic contexts of the Delta compared to the Upper Egyptian and desert burial contexts. In the Late Period, settlements begin to again show an increase in faience vessel usage, suggesting there may be a connection with state organised kind of production, even at a cottage industry scale.

6.5 Metal Vessels

Metal vessels, particularly copper alloy bowls, are so far absent in Third Intermediate Period domestic levels, but do appear in the New Kingdom contexts at Memphis (Giddy, 1999: 276, pl. 59). Metal vessels are so far only known from Third Intermediate Period burial contexts, but only from royal and elite burials at Tanis and Deir el-Bahri (Aston, 2009a: 384). A re-examination of burials at Abydos dating from the 18th and 19th Dynasty suggests metal bowls found in tombs, which were used in the New Kingdom and Third Intermediate Period show a small number of bronze jugs should be re-dated to the Third Intermediate Period (Aston, 2009a: 384). The evidence for metal vessels within the settlements has not survived well. Metal was constantly recycled within the settlements or the access to metal within the domestic settlements was limited.

6.6 Terracotta Figurines and Statuettes

Terracotta figurines in Egypt have long been ignored due to their simplicity or because they were viewed as crude products of less accomplished artisans. There is a growing awareness that terracottas have the potential to reveal more about the daily life, the thoughts, beliefs, and cult practices of the non-elite (Teeter, 2010: 5). Terracotta figurines are typical of, and best represented in the Ptolemaic-Roman Period, however, terracottas are documented for all periods of Egyptian dynastic history, indicating they were an enduring feature of dynastic Egyptian life and religion (Teeter, 2010: 5). Terracotta figurines are known from the Early Dynastic Period, Old Kingdom (Page-Gasser and Wiese, 1997; Schulte and Arnold, 1978, no. 97; Seipel, 1989: 42, no. 7), Middle Kingdom and Second Intermediate Period (Pinch, 1993; Schulte and Arnold, 1978, nos 182-3). They continued to be a common feature of New Kingdom settlements through to the Late Period (Spencer, N., 2008: 66). Most terracotta animals were used as votive offerings, indicated by the large amounts of figurines found at the shrines (Teeter, 2010: 6). The medium of terracotta was a quick and inexpensive means of manufacturing and indicates their apparent value in the cult (Teeter, 2010: 6). They may have been made and sold at cultic centres or buildings. Their presence in domestic contexts suggest they had a wider function, or that domestic contexts provided opportunities for cultic practices and personal beliefs. Terracotta figurines in the Third Intermediate Period represented different animals, the most common being birds/geese/ducks, and quadrupeds, while some previously popular types of figure such as cobras seem to go out of favour.

6.6.1 Cobra Figurine Manufacture

In the New Kingdom terracotta cobra figurines are one of the most distinctive aspects of the domestic material culture. Cobra figurines have been found in Egypt at Amarna (Kemp and Stevens, 2010; Peet and Woolley, 1923; Stevens, 2006), Deir el-Medina, Qantir, Kom el-Hisn, Tell el-Abqa'in, (Szpakowska, 2003: 113-14), Kom Rabia (Memphis) (Giddy, 1999), Kom Firin (Spencer, N., 2008; 2014), Kom Rebwa (Sais) (Wilson, 2011) Zawiyet Umm el-Rakham and Akoris (Hanasaka, 2012: 4-14). They have been found outside Egypt at Kamid el-Loz in Syria and Beth Shan (Szpakowska, 2003: 113-4). In the Third Intermediate Period at Memphis (Kom Rabia), there is a significant reduction in cobra figurines from the end of the Late New Kingdom. Only one example was found in the fill of a pit overlying the Ramesside East-Centre/South East Silo (Giddy, 1999: 22, pl. 2, EES 517), although the material which came from these levels cannot be dated securely to the Third Intermediate Period phase. Eight examples of cobras are from Level 0, a series of silt deposits covering the Kom Rabia excavation area derived from erosion and spill from the high mound RAA. The material from these layers is not in situ, and could be from much earlier levels as it included objects dating from the reigns of Amenhotep III (Giddy, 1999: pl. 15 (127)) to Ramesses II (Giddy, 1999: pl. 15, (171), and Giddy (1999: 17) questions as to whether cobra figurines were still in use in that part of Memphis after the New Kingdom. Many cobras were found at Sais in Excavation 1 (Wilson, 2011: 116-125) and belonged to the preceding 19th and 20th Dynasty levels, while those found in the upper strata are likely to be residual from earlier levels (P. Wilson, pers.com). Evidence from Excavation 5 dating from the 10th century BCE onwards shows a complete absence of cobra figurines, while cobra figurines from Akoris were primarily found but in the Late New Kingdom levels, with some possible residual cobras in the very early Third Intermediate Period phase. At Medinat Habu they are absent from the domestic object corpus, which may indicate the levels being excavated were possibly later than the early Third Intermediate Period. At Hermopolis, the domestic settlement layers dating from the 10th century BCE and those from Tell el-Ghaba and Karnak (Mut Temple) show an absence of cobra figurines, but at the same time, other terracotta animal types are still common. The evidence would suggest after the end of the Late New Kingdom cobra figurine manufacture ceased.

6.6.2 Quadrupeds and Other Animals

Quadruped and other animal figurines are not rare in Egyptian settlements, but are rarely considered by Egyptologists, being poorly represented in museum displays and catalogues (Spencer, N., 2008: 66). Animal figurines have the potential to elucidate more about the portion of the society which made and used them, namely the non-elite who left such a scant record and are critical for our

understanding of the full range of ancient life and belief systems. Quadrupeds are the most common examples of terracotta figurines so far found in the Third Intermediate Period levels while a few geese or ducks are also attested.

Assessing the function of animal figurines with little contextual or textual information is difficult. The presence of terracotta animal figurines in domestic contexts fits well with the evidence from the New Kingdom. These figurines were used in household rituals, perhaps to provoke prosperity, particularly regarding bovine figurines (Spencer, N., 2008: 67) and a non-elite perception of their protective deities and links to the local rulers and military. There were many cattle cults around the Delta, including the Apis Bull and they may have related to general aspects of fertility. If, on the other hand, the figurines represented cows then an association with Hathor cults could be possible, while at Kom el-Hisn, Hathor was worshipped and the settlement was suggested to be an important cattle rearing centre. But identifying terracotta animals, practically bovines with a particular deity are difficult, and, in fact, some figures may have had multiple roles (Spencer, N., 2008: 67). On the other hand, Giddy (1999: 310) does not rule out the bovine figures as toys, but there is no evidence for this in Third Intermediate Period contexts.

In the Third Intermediate Period quadrupeds have been found across the country at Memphis (Kom Rabia) (Fig. 177) (Giddy, 1999: 310, pl. 68, EES 343), Kom Firin (Fig. 178) (Spencer, N., 2014: 54, figs F197, F686, F741, F198, F596), Sais (Fig. 179) (Wilson, 2011: pl. 21, 5.1000, L2-4, S.019), Medinat Habu (Teeter, 2010: 111-123), Hermopolis (Fig. 181) (Spencer, A.J., 1993: 39-40), and Tell el-Ghaba (Fig. 180) (Bacquerisse, 2015: 358-60, figs 7-11). Terracotta animals were found at Karnak (Mut Temple) (Sullivan, 2013: 240-241) but they are described as ‘animal’ and cannot be said if they represented quadrupeds. No such examples of quadrupeds were found at Sais in Excavation 5, and, in fact, no terracotta or fired pottery figures of any type were identified in the assemblage.

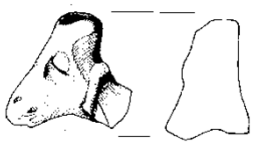
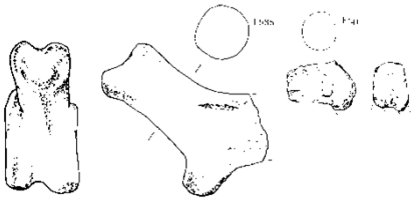


Fig. 177. Early Third Intermediate Period Bovine from Memphis (Giddy, 1999: 310, pl. 68, EES 343).



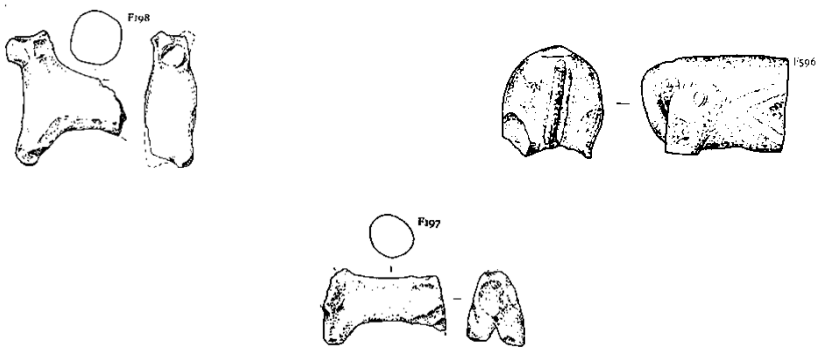


Fig. 178. Bovine Terracottas from Kom Firin (Spencer, N., 2014: 54, figs F197, F686, F741, F198, F596).

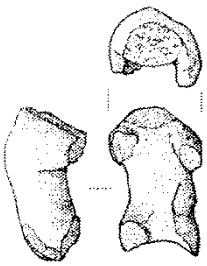


Fig. 179. Bovine from Sais (Excavation 1) (Wilson, 2011: pl. 21, 5.1000, L2-4, S.019).

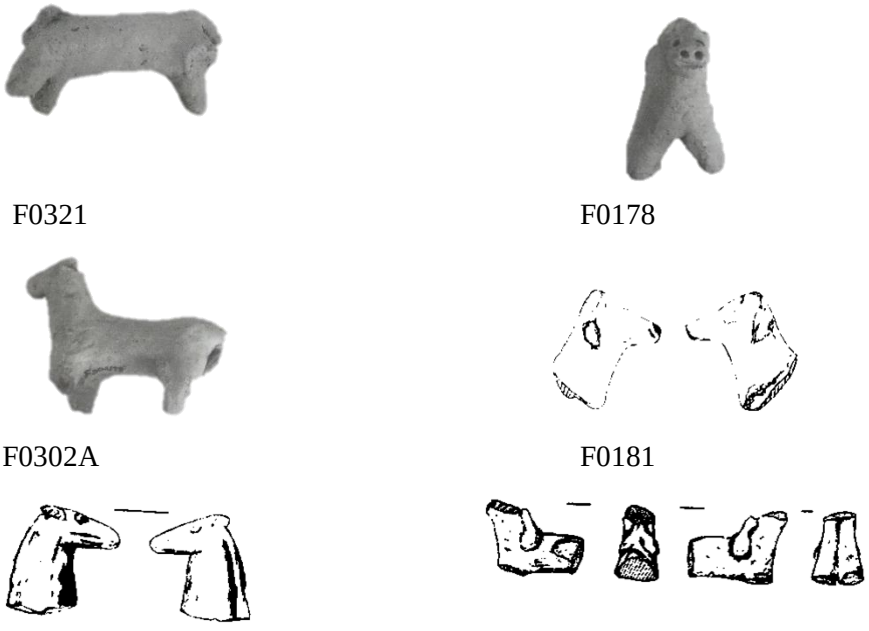


Fig. 180. Quadrupeds from Tell el-Ghaba (Bacquerisse, 2015: 358-60, figs 7-11, nos F0321, F0178, F0302A, F0181, F0800, F0001).

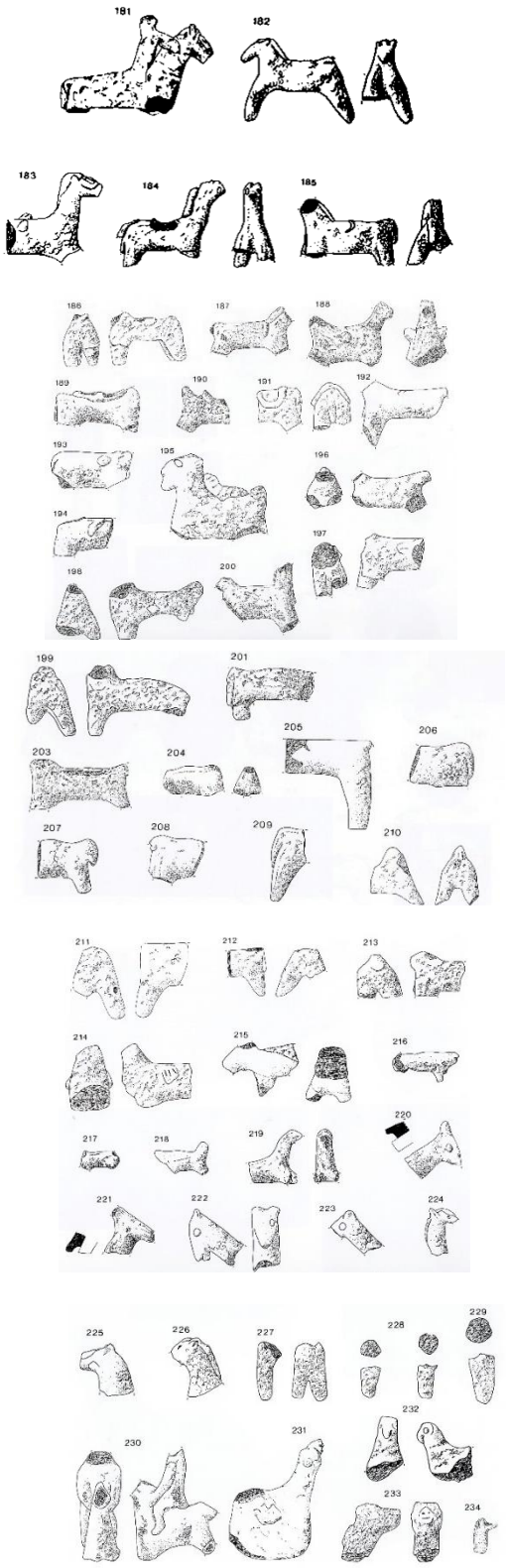


Fig. 181. Quadrupeds from Hermopolis (Spencer, A.J., 1993: pls 37-9, nos 181-230, including 231-2 (cockerels), 233 (Baboon), 234 (jackal).

Of the animal figures documented above in Third Intermediate Period contexts, only a few quadruped examples have been found at Sais (Excavation 1) and Kom Firin in early Third Intermediate Period levels, while those at Medinat Habu have broad date ranges from the 20th Dynasty to the Ptolemaic-Roman Period, but the majority have a broad range of 21st to 25th Dynasty dates. At Memphis, only one terracotta quadruped (bovine) was found in Third Intermediate Period levels, (Giddy, 1999: 310, pl. 68, EES 343). It was broken at the neck with the back of the head lost. The animal has a long muzzle, is roughly circular in section, with two short vertical incisions on the end to indicate nostrils. The eyes are shallow crescent shaped impressions. The forehead rises markedly towards the back of the head and was probably modelled with horns or ears. Only the top of the neck, with an encircling fold of clay is preserved, the fold of clay may represent a cord around the animal's neck (Giddy, 1999: 310). At Hermopolis, figurines of horses are the most common types found and a good number of horses were also identified at Tell el-Ghaba.

Prior to the Third Intermediate Period, images of horses appeared on New Kingdom ostraca (Vandier d'Abbadie 1937: pls 19-23; 1946, pls 104-107) but are not associated with a specific deity. Horses appeared as the mount for Astarte and Harpocrates (Teeter, 2010: 111) and became extremely popular in the Ptolemaic-Roman Period (Bailey, 2008). An association with deities is probably a better explanation for the horses, rather than all figures being used as toys. Although examples with a pull string or wheels indicate some figures were intended to be toys in the Middle Kingdom (Teeter, 2010: 111), there are no examples of quadruped horse 'toys' from Third Intermediate Period levels. Teeter (2010: 111) suggests the popularity of horses as toys may be related to the natural attraction they had as large, powerful, attractive, swift animals. The faunal evidence in the Third Intermediate Period levels at Sais would attest to an increased presence of horses around in the settlement (Wilson, 2011: 200), with art perhaps reflecting reality. The importance of horses to the local rulers of the major political centres during the Third Intermediate Period is clearly demonstrated in the Piankhy Stela, particularly at Hermopolis. Piankhy was outraged as Prince Nimlot had neglected the treatment of his horses at Hermopolis (Urk. III. 21, 64-65-22, 66). As already noted the theme of horse/bovine dominates the terracotta animal assemblage from Hermopolis, while other animal types are absent. The dating and contexts of the horse figurines may help provide a reason for their sudden abundance in favour of other animal types. Of the 54 horse figurines from Hermopolis, only six fragments were found in the 950-850 BCE occupation phase, corresponding approximately to the limited number of quadruped types found in other early-mid Third Intermediate Period occupation layers.

There was a clear increase in quadruped (horse) figurine manufacture and usage at Hermopolis starting ca. 850 BCE (see Table 22). This is also observed at Tell el-Ghaba, as all the terracotta animals are those of quadrupeds and date from around the 8th century BCE onwards (Bacquerisse, 2015: 358-60). The increase in horse figurine manufacture at Hermopolis would

correspond with the rise of local chiefdoms in middle Egypt under the Hermopolite Dynasty and that of Prince Nimlot, and may reflect the horse as an important military and strength status symbol for local elites, which was depicted in domestic figurative material culture. The growing impact of Kushite influence in Upper Egypt in the late 8th century BCE, the invasion of Piankhy and his entering of Nimlot's stables ca. 728 BCE, and the subsequent anger at the condition of Nimlot's horses further attests the importance of horses within the social fabric of elite culture at that time, and their importance to Kushite rulers. Evidence shows horse iconography became increasingly important for the Kushite pharaohs with horses depicted on Piankhy's victory stela at Napata, and the reliefs on the Gebel Barkal temple of Amun feature horses. Piankhy initiated the custom of burying horses in a cemetery near his tomb at El-Kurru (Heidorn, 1997: 106). The descriptions of the treatment and the importance of horses for military and elite culture on the Piankhy stela may be a rare example of a historical text reflecting a changing trend in figurative domestic material culture of Third Intermediate Period Egypt.

Horses were not just important to native Egyptian rulers but also to foreign powers and demonstrates the prestige and importance of horses within the Third Intermediate Period military and the settlements. The Assyrians prized Egyptian horses, and Osorkon IV (730-715 BCE) sent twelve large horses to Sargon II (721-705 BCE) (Weidner, 1941-44: 42, II. 8-11). Inscriptions of Sargon II mentions gifts of Egyptian horses were trained to drive chariots were presented at the inauguration of his new capital at Dūr-Šarrukīn (Fuchs, 1994: 80, II. 66-7, 186, I. 450 and 245, II. 183-4; Luckenbill, 1989: 39, §74 and 44, §87). Horses were listed as booty, which Esarhaddon (680-669 BCE) took from Egypt during his campaign. Horses counted as part of the annual tribute imposed on Egypt (Borger, 1956: 99, §65, I. 44, 114, §80, col. ii, 16: Luckenbill, 1989: II, 227, §580). Later, Ashurbanipal (668-627 BCE) included horses among the booty captured when he conquered Egypt (Streck, 1914: 14, col. ii, II. 28-16, col. ii, I. 48).

The high proportion of terracotta horse figurines is possibly an indicator of the increased rise in importance of horses for the Egyptian rulers, one which influenced the choice of terracotta figurines being manufactured. The density of quadrupeds found at Hermopolis may be an important regional distinction in terracotta figurine choice which was driven to some extent by the non-elite perception of their protective deities and links to the local rulers and military.

Site	Date Range	Number
Sais (Excavation 1)	Early Third Intermediate Period	1
Kom Firin	Early Third Intermediate Period	5

Memphis (Kom Rabia)	Early Third Intermediate Period	1
Tell el-Ghaba	8th century BCE	6
Hermopolis	950-850 BCE	6
Hermopolis	850-750 BCE	17
Hermopolis	700-600 BCE	19
Hermopolis	Late Third Intermediate Period/Early Saite	12

Table 22. The increase in quadruped figurines in Late Third Intermediate Period layers at Hermopolis.

The manufacture of terracotta figurines continued into the Saite Period, as a fragment of a coarse fired-clay quadruped was found at Naukratis (Coulson, 1996: 141-3 [12], pl. 17 [I], while duck/goose and quadruped figures were found at Mendes (Redford, 2004: 130-1, figs 83-4), and many fired-clay figurines of various animals have been found at Edfu (de Linage and Michalowski, 1938: 119-20, pl. 38) all from Late Period levels. At Kom Firin, clay quadrupeds continued to be popular, with nine examples coming from the Saite citadel from various deposits. Three figurines consisted of a cylindrical body with drawn out stub like legs; but none show evidence of being painted (Spencer, N., 2014: 175). Some had tails, which looped over one side of the hind legs, while one example had schematically modelled hair (mane?) and the legs were not distinguished.

In the Late Period from the 5th century BCE, in association with Achaemenid rule, the simple quadruped figurines which were popular in the Third Intermediate Period are largely replaced in popularity by the so called 'Persian Horsemen' types with riders on their backs. 'Persian Horsemen' are common in Lower Egypt with examples from Memphis, Tanis, Bubastis, Athribis, Tukh el-Qaramus, Tell Dafana and Herakleion (Thomas, R.I., 2016: 41).

6.6.3 Female Fired-Clay Figurines

There are very few published corpora of female figurines from settlements, but there is evidence to suggest female figurines were a common feature of the New Kingdom, continuing into the Third Intermediate Period. Figures of naked women with their arms down by their sides and the palms of their hands pressed against their thighs are found in Early Dynastic Egypt, and Middle Kingdom examples in faience have been suggested as the embodiment of the human sexual nature which were buried with the dead to ensure a continued sexual activity and fertility in the afterlife. The notion of them being regarded as erotica or 'concubines for the dead' is now generally a discredited theory

(Martin, 1987: 71; Teeter, 2010: 26). The women are not in sexual poses, and scenes of males and females together are not found in this genre of terracotta (Teeter, 2010: 26). Scholars such as Hornblower (1929: 29-47) have stressed the connection with the goddess Hathor while Desroches-Noblecourt (1953: 7-47) discusses their roles as fertility deities. The extensive usage of terracotta females in ancient Egypt has resulted in typologies by Petrie (1927), Bruyère (1939: 109-50) and Pinch (1993: 198-209). The long-legged, slender hipped female figurines mirror the contemporary New Kingdom to the Late New Kingdom two-dimensional representations, while the fleshy, rounded bodies of the female figurines dated to the Third Intermediate Period correspond to the contemporary stelae (Munro, 1973) as well as statues of the elite, suggesting considerable communication between the artisans of the elite and non-elite, and the non-elite exposure to formal art styles (Teeter, 2010: 6). At Memphis, in the settlement excavations of Anthes and of the Egypt Exploration Society, terracotta figurines of women lying on beds, often with a small child were found throughout the Third Intermediate Period strata (Anthes et al., 1965: 127-8). At Medinat Habu, the large amounts of females on beds may have also acted as part of the cults of the Gods Wives of Amun as votive offerings. What is striking is that in contemporary levels at both Sais (Wilson, 2011: 120) and Kom Firin, no examples of any female terracotta figurines have been found in either the New Kingdom or Third Intermediate Period levels. The variation in the different types discussed below is best documented at Medinat Habu, and like the diverse range of architectural styles found in the economically and socially diverse settlement, may reflect the economic status of the owner of the figurine, combined with the cultic/ritual and apotropaic needs of the individual who commissioned or bought the figurine.

Teeter has suggested a typology with which to understand the function and role of the female figures:

1) *Teeter's Type A= Pinch Type 5*: Classical Egyptian form with slender waists and hips, long legs, and small round breasts.

This terracotta figure type is shown in the classical Egyptian form with slender waists and hips, long legs, and small round breasts (Fig. 182) (Teeter, 2010: 27), and correspond to Pinch's Type 5 (Pinch, 1993: 205-7). They were made in open, one part moulds and had no decoration on the reverse while others were made in two parts like examples from Deir el-Medina (Bruyère, 1939: fig. 58, pl. 43.1). All the examples had traces of pigment (Teeter, 2010: 27). The women wear the heavy tripartite wig which descends and covers the top of each shoulder, and none of them are shown wearing earrings. Some figures may have worn a cone on top of the head, while others wear a tall

narrow modius similar to those attested by figurines from Deir el-Medina (Bruyère, 1939: fig. 58, pl. 43.1; Teeter, 2010: 27-8).

No.1 (OIM 14613) pl. 1.a, (front).

No.2 (OIM 14588) pl. 1.b, (front).

No. 6 (TL 134b) pl. 2.d.

No.10 (OIM 14595) pl. 4.a, front.

Fig. 182. Examples of Type A Figurines from Medinat Habu (Teeter, 2010).

2) *Teeter's Type B = Pinch Type 6B*: Slender Female, Arms at Sides, on Bed, without child.

Type B female figurines are characterized by a female form with slender waists and hips and small, but defined, breasts lying on a bed with arms to the sides (Fig. 183) (Teeter, 2010: 34; Pinch 1993: 207–08, type 6b). Most of the fourteen examples from Medinat Habu represent the bed as a simple slab, which surrounds the body. All examples of which the top is preserved show the head of the bed was rounded. The form of hairstyle varies considerably. Most examples are presented with the

traditional heavy tripartite wig. The Medinat Habu examples, all use the convention that both shoulders are covered by hair, although the ribbons which bind the tresses of some of Pinch's type 6b are not shown. Two examples (nos 23–24) show the woman wearing a short round wig. In other cases, the figures show women wearing large, round earrings. None of the Medinat Habu examples are presented with the woman's face in profile, and on none of them are items such as mirrors, snakes, or flowers (Pinch 1983: 406–7) shown on the bed next to the woman. Pinch (1993: 208), suggests figurines showing a woman on a bed are attested from the late 18th Dynasty into the Ramesside period. The Medinat Habu examples indicate this type of figurine continued to be produced in the Third Intermediate Period. Such figurines are known from Thebes (Deir el-Medina, the Ramesseum), while others have been recovered from tombs at Deir Rifa, Edfu, Gurob, Riqqeh, Sedment, from houses at Amarna, Edfu, and Deir el-Balah (in Palestine), and from temples at Memphis, Mirgissa, and Serabit Khadim (Pinch, 1993: 232–33).

No. 14 (TL 132b) pl. 6. b.

No. 17 (OIM 14603) pl. 7.a, (front).

No.19 (TL 130a) pl. 7. c.

No. 24 (OIM 14590) pl. 9. a, (front).

Fig. 183. Examples of Type B Terracotta Females from Medinat Habu (Teeter, 2010).

3) *Teeter's Type C = Pinch Type C*: Woman with Slender hips, small breasts, and long slender legs.

This figurine type depicts a woman with slender hips, small breasts and long slender legs (Fig. 184). The right hand is often on the left breast from which the child suckles. The child is often hard to make out or is shown as a worn lump on the figure's left side (Teeter, 2010: 41). The examples from Medinat Habu usually show the left tress of hair tucked behind the shoulder to expose the breast. Most examples of this type have large, round earrings, while some have a cone on their head. Some wear both a cone and earrings. None of the figurines include other items such as mirrors, or snakes shown on the bed, nor is the bed decorated with plants (Teeter, 2010: 41: Pinch, 1983: 406-7; 1993: 209). Pinch states 'none appears to be earlier than the late 18th Dynasty', and some 'may be as late as the Third Intermediate Period' (Pinch, 1993: 209). The examples from Medinat Habu are all of the Third Intermediate Period and demonstrate a persistent 18th Dynasty artistic style into the period (Teeter, 2010: 26).

No. 29 (OIM 14582) pl. 10.c, (front).

No. 32 (OIM 14587) pl. 11. c. (front).

No. 36 (OIM 14583) pl. 13, (front).

Fig. 184. Examples of Type C Female Terracottas from Medinat Habu (Teeter, 2010).

4) *Teeter's Type E = Pinch Type 5*: Non-Idealized Females not on Beds

The non-idealized females who are not on beds all preserve the unusual use of pigments but are very rare (Fig. 185). Headdresses and wigs are red and yellow, and the same pigments are used to outline and emphasize details of the woman's figure. Some have red and yellow spotted necklaces while the headdress of others are decorated with blocks of dark red and yellow paint. All the figures feature exuberant stripes of red, terracotta, and/or yellow on their reverse side. Two figurines have large rectangular blocks of colour in addition to the stripes. The stylistic qualities of these terracottas are seen in the so-called "Bubastite figure," which is attested from the late Ramesside period onwards. A relief originally from the Festival Temple of Osorkon III at Bubastis of the king with Queen Karomama (BM EA 1077) shows a pronounced heaviness of the queen's hips, buttocks, and breasts very like that shown on the Medinat Habu Type E figurines. This type of body is very common in the small round-top stelae from the Ramesseum (Quibell 1896: pls 20–21; Saleh 2007), which are likewise dated to the Twenty-Second Dynasty. The short, rounded wig shown on some of the figures is worn by women of the Twenty-Second Dynasty and afterward, in both statuary and relief (Teeter, 2010: 53) The hair style and the Bubastite appearance of Type E female figurines suggest this form is dated to the Twenty-Second Dynasty and is a later development or descendant of Pinch's type 5. Apart from the examples coming from Medinat Habu, other examples may have been excavated in the ruins of the palace of Merenptah at Memphis, as Petrie (1909: 17) reported a group of female figurines was found with black, red and yellow colours, leading him to suggest they were of 'Mediterranean work of pre-classical time', but it is not exactly clear as to what Petrie refers to in his publication (Teeter, 2010: 53). A torso-leg fragment shows a Type E belly, wide hips and large navel, while a head with round face and short hairstyle might belong to this typology. Heads of this type were illustrated, but there is no discussion of associated pigmentation (Teeter, 2010: 53). Two other examples from the Petrie Museum (45806 and 45807) have no provenance (Teeter, 2010: 53) and depicts women with wide hips, large breasts, and short, round coiffures with most of them having their arms to their sides. Figurines of this group are of a larger scale than other female figurine types.

No.44 (OIM 14609) pl. 16.b, (front).

No.46 (OIM 14591) pl. 17.a, (front).

No.47 (TL. 136b) pl. 17. b.

No.48 (OIM 14599) pl. 18. a, (front).

No.51 (TL. 135a) p.19. b.

No.52 (OIM 14597) pl. 20, (front).

Fig. 185. Type E Female Terracotta figurines from Medinat Habu (Teeter, 2010).

5) *Teeter's Type F:* Crude Handmade Female Figurines

In addition to the females on beds, Third Intermediate Period layers contained crude handmade versions of female figurines (Fig. 186), defined as Teeter's (2010) Type F 'Hand Modelled female figurine with applied decoration' at Hermopolis, Medinat Habu, Karnak (Sullivan, 2013: 245, no. 22, fig. 5 and 248, no. 30, fig. 13) and Memphis.

No.53 (OIM 14600) pl. 21.

No.54 (Cairo JdE 59693) pl. 22.a.

No.55 (Cairo JdE 59696) pl. 22. b.

No.56 (OIM 14606) pl. 22. c, (front).

No.57 (OIM 15549) pl. 23. a, (front).

No.58 (TL 141c) pl. 23. b.

No.59 (TL 129i) pl. 24. a.

No.60 (TL 136c) pl. 24. b.

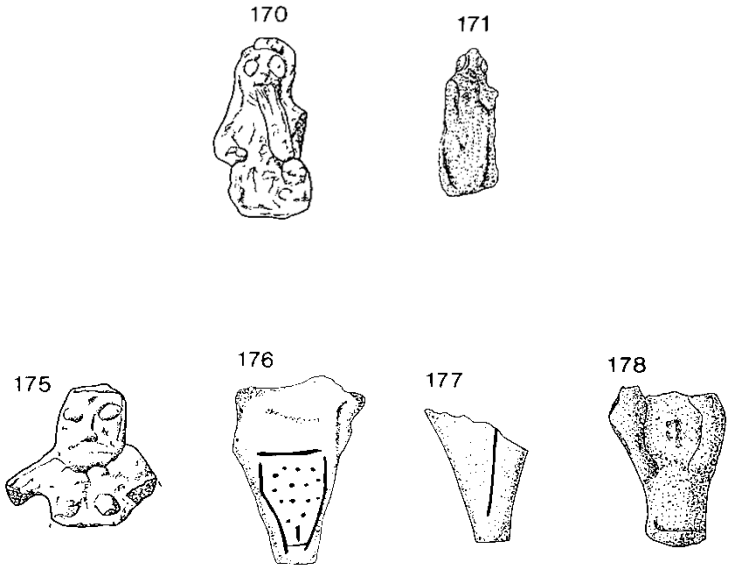
No.61 (TL 136f) pl. 24. c.

No.62 (OIM 14646) pl. 24. d. front.

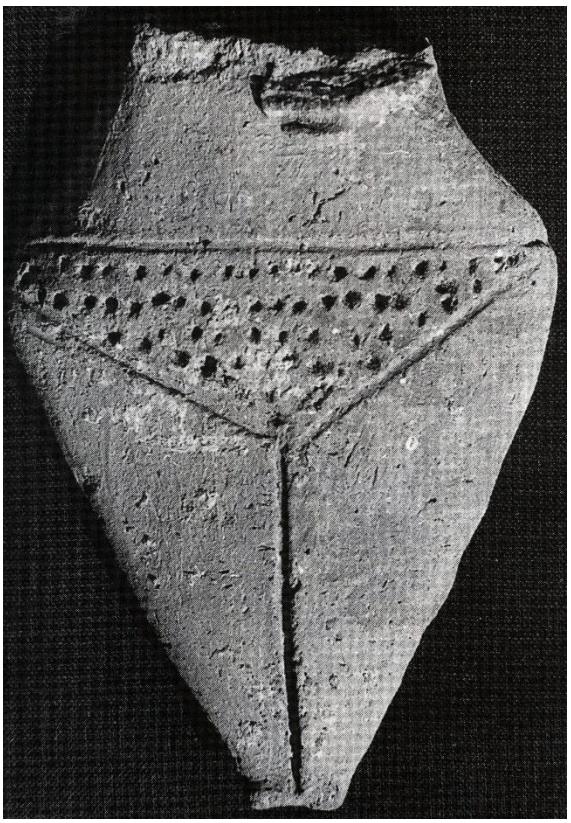
Fig. 186. Type F Female Figurines from Medinat Habu (Teeter, 2010).

The best-documented group of Type F female figurines from within stratigraphic contexts comes from Hermopolis (Fig. 187). The Type F figurines are modelled in flat relief but are very different in style from the usual conventions of Egyptian representations (Teeter, 2010: 58). The hips are exaggerated and abstract with an emphasis upon the pubic area, differentiating them from the more classical New Kingdom and Late New Kingdom styles (Teeter, 2010: 58). An example from Hermopolis was found in an oven belonging to the IC house phase (ca. 700-600 BCE) and may indicate these figurines were manufactured at a local household level. Eight examples of female figurines were found at Hermopolis (Spencer, A.J., 1993: 39, pl. 37 nos 170-178), while Spencer (1993: 39, pl. 37 no. 180) recorded a head of a human as a male. The head had no specific male or female attributes, however, and as the remainder of the anthropomorphic humans from this period are

all female and it was found with other female figurines of Teeter's Type F, it is likely this represents a female too. In the Level 3 house phase, ca. 950-850 BCE three examples of female figurines were found, while three were found in Level 2b (850-750 BCE), two more were found in the 1c phase ca. 700-600 BCE, and finally, one example was found in the surface dumps, not *in situ*. Examples from Third Intermediate Period levels at Medinat Habu, like the Hermopolis examples exhibit broad hips, with the lower extremities reduced to a blunt point, and high large round breasts. The division between the legs is indicated by an indentation of a line scored in the clay. The arms are summarily worked, and the hands are, positioned either on the breasts, or one hand cupping the left breast, the other at the figures side (Teeter, 2010: 58). This type is again characterised by decoration in the form of clay appliques and a stippled pattern on the wig/hair and pubic triangle. The hair forms the tripartite wig, which lies upon both the shoulders and is applied separately. The wig is sometimes detailed with an impressed design (Spencer, A.J., 1993: pls 37, 40; Teeter, 2010: 58). The breasts are small cones of clay applied to the chests while some examples are set so close together and so low on the chest sometimes make identifications of breasts tough to recognize. Several intact examples of Type F figurines come from Dra Abu el-Naga (Leclère and Marchand, 1995: pl. 13; Petrie, 1927: 60, pl. 52, no. 431; Redford, 1977: pl. 9.1), Tukh (Elasser and Fredrickson, 1966: 82) and Huw (Petrie, 1901: 26).



Nos 170-1, 175-178, pl. 37.



no.173 (pl. 40).

no. 172, pl. 40.

Fig. 187. Type F Terracotta Female Figurines from Hermopolis (Spencer, A.J., 1993).

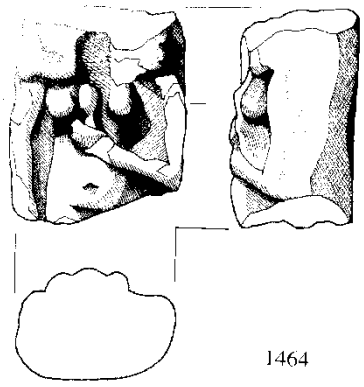
A date in the 22nd Dynasty has been associated with the Type F figurines, based on Petrie (1927: 60) who commented 'None have been found in Roman sites, or Dafana or Naukratis, amid the quantity of rough pottery of those sites: nor were there any among the pottery figurines offered at Deir el-Bahri in the XVIIIth dynasty,' and that 'the XXIInd dynasty seems most likely, both by the fabric, and by the style of the figurine from the Ramesseum'. The only example from Medinat Habu with a known stratigraphic context was found underneath a house constructed in the 25th Dynasty (Teeter, 2010: 58), while Leclère and Marchand (1995: 365) have proposed a date of the 25th to 26th Dynasties for the examples from Karnak based on associated ceramic assemblages. Redford (1977: 15) suggests other examples from Karnak may be as late as the 7th century BCE. As only Type F figurines were found in the successive phases of settlement at Hermopolis in roughly equal amounts, the Type F figurine may have been manufactured and used from ca. 950 BCE onwards. This date would correspond to dates for other Type F figurines from Medinat Habu, and support Petrie's conclusions on starting dates for manufacture in the 22nd Dynasty. The presence of Type F figurines in the 950-850 BCE occupation phase, may help to secure a more defined phase of occupation for the Level 3 phase at Hermopolis in the a 22nd Dynasty. The dates for Type F figurines in the Second Intermediate Period and New Kingdom (Warmenbol, 1999) are now considered to be too early (Teeter, 2010: 59). Teeter (2010: 59) states Type F figurines all come from around the area of Quft, suggesting Type F figurines reflect an Upper Egyptian stylistic/cultural tradition. Evidence of Type F figurines from Hermopolis and Memphis however show Type F figurines and Egyptian artistic influences extended throughout the entire Nile Valley in the 22nd Dynasty.

The female figurines of Teeter's Typology (Types A-F) are not found north of Memphis suggesting they were an Upper Egyptian regional material culture style. So far only one style of female figurine, the *Idealised female on bed without child and lotus flower between the breasts* has been identified for the Delta. As this type is found across the country it does not suggest a regional material culture, like Teeter's Types A-F discussed above.

6) Idealised female on bed without child and lotus flower between the breasts

This is a very rare form of female figurine and with so far only three examples found in Egypt (Fig. 188). Two examples, one from Memphis (Giddy, 1999: 40 pl. 12, no. 1464) and the other from Deir el-Medina (Bruyère, 1939: pl. XLIII, 1, bottom) are dated to the New Kingdom. Only one Third Intermediate Period example comes from Tell el-Ghaba (Bacquerisse, 2015: 357-8, fig. 2, no. F0292) indicating this type continued into the Third Intermediate Period. The Tell el-Ghaba and Memphis examples show a slim body with round protruding breasts, a narrow waist and a swollen stomach. The Memphite New Kingdom version has a large impressed dot representing the navel, while the Third Intermediate Period Tell el-Ghaba version exhibits a smaller impression. The Memphite example

shows a pubic region by an impressed triangle while the Tell el-Ghaba version does not define the pubic region. There is a difference in the arm used for holding the lotus flower between the breast: the Memphite and Deir el-Medina New Kingdom examples use the left arm while the Tell el-Ghaba version uses the right. The different pose may indicate a chronological marker with the change of the arm being used to hold the lotus, but more examples of this type are needed to confirm such a hypothesis.



New Kingdom Female with Lotus Bud Between Breasts from Memphis (Giddy, 1999: pl. 12, no. 1464).

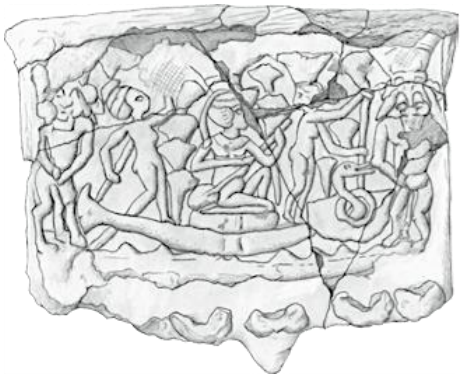
Third Intermediate Period Female with Lotus Bud Between Breasts from Tell el-Ghaba (Bacquerisse, 2015: 357-8, fig. 2, no. F0292).

Fig. 188. Terracotta Female Figurines with Lotus Buds Between Breasts.

6.6.4 Votive Beds: A Theban Tradition of the 22nd-23rd Dynasty

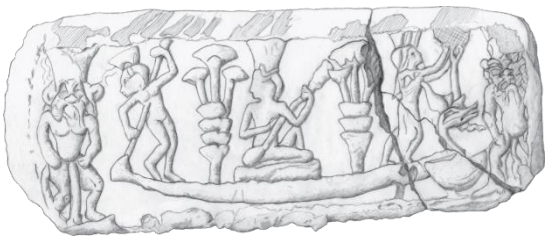
'Terracotta votive bed' is a term used to refer to a narrow bench-like structure of clay with a rectangular front panel. Most of the beds were impressed with a scene of a woman, or woman in a boat, flanked by figures of the god Bes. Two legs on the opposite side allowed the bed to stand upright (Teeter, 2010: 157). The top and decorated front panels were separate slabs of clay joined with slip. The bed may have legs which flank the decorated panel, but more often the legs were subsumed into the front panel whose lower edge supports the front of the bed. Two narrow legs could be attached to the back of the bed, and bars which connected the front and back legs may be represented (Teeter, 2010: 157). The width of the front panels of the beds was quite consistent,

averaging 24.5 cm with a maximum of 27.5 cm and a minimum of 22 cm. The front of each bed was impressed with a mould-made design, and some preserved significant amounts of pigment. The top surface was painted with dark red lines or grid patterns, while some had white washes (Teeter, 2010: 158). Most the votive beds from Medinat Habu came from the Third Intermediate Period settlement within the enclosure walls, and they ranged in date from the 22nd to 23rd Dynasty and from the 25th to 26th Dynasty (Teeter, 2010: 159). There were two types of decoration: the first was a woman playing a lute shown in profile with attendants, with different variations on the design (Fig. 189); the second showed a woman frontally, again with variations (Fig. 190) (Teeter, 2010: 160).



Teeter, 2010: pl. 90, no. 220 (OIM 14779) (22nd to 23rd Dynasty).

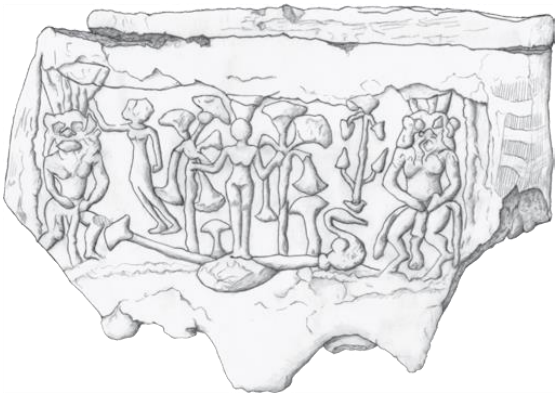
Teeter, 2010: pl. 91, no. 221 (Cairo JdE 59845) (22nd to 23rd Dynasty).



Teeter, 2010: pl. 92, no. 222 (Cairo JdE 59847).

Teeter, 2010: pl. 94, no. 224 (Cairo JdE 59846).

Fig. 189. Examples of Type 1 Votive Beds from Medinat Habu (Teeter, 2010).



Teeter, 2010: pl. 102, no. 236 (OIM 14776).

Teeter, 2010: pl. 105, no. 239 (OIM 14782a–e).

Fig. 190. Examples of Type 2 Votive Beds from Medinat Habu (Teeter, 2010).

So far, all examples of votive beds come from Thebes, suggesting they were a local tradition, and the large numbers of beds found indicates they were in high demand by the inhabitants of Thebes in the 22nd to 23rd Dynasties (Teeter, 2010: 167), but they went out of fashion very quickly. Their functions no doubt encompass the living, the dead and the domestic and funerary realms as they have been found in settlements, temples, and tombs (Teeter, 2010: 168). The function of the beds is difficult to define. Teeter (2010: 168) discusses the possibility they were used as altars, possibly in

association with the terracotta female figurines, but the figurines are small in comparison to the beds, while the Type E figurines may have been more appropriate but the style did not match the slender bodies shown on the votive beds (Teeter, 2010: 168). The decoration of the box was only on the front meaning it was to be looked at from the front and was not placed (Teeter, 2010: 168). Both beds of type 1 and 2 were used in conjunction with each other showing there is no stylistic chronology. Teeter (2010: 168) considers the beds to be a commemoration of a birth, and an object, which celebrated sexuality, fertility, and the protection of the child. The association with birth beds are emphasized by the figures of Bes flanking the central decoration in imitation of birth beds found on ostraca (Backhouse, 2012). They may be associated with rebirth and the veneration of deceased ancestors (Teeter, 2010: 168), in the same fashion as the earlier 18th to 20th Dynasty *akh iqer n Re* busts and stela, most of which are again from the Theban area.

6.6.5 The Akoris Human Figurine Type: Regional Domestic Religion

In the South Area at Akoris in the Late New Kingdom and very early Third Intermediate Period phase, seventy fragments of a terracotta figurine type, so far not identified in other settlements, were determined to be deliberately broken. The figurines were small handmade human figures with no particular physical features such as breasts or genitals. The figurines were naked, and there was no hair or additional appliques such as jewellery. A circular projection placed around the torso was the only decoration, and it has been interpreted as a navel and the figurines symbolize children, especially infants (Fig. 191) (Hanasaka, 2012: 12). All the figurines were damaged around the head, and it is suggested they were broken ritually as part of an execration ritual and belonged to a genre used in secular beliefs which was a phenomenon of the Akoris region (Hanasaka 2012: 12). The execration ritual usually comprises the writing in hieratic of a magical spell which identified the object with a hostile, or potentially hostile person, animal or group of people. They were then smashed to nullify the threat posed (Parkinson, 1991: 125). The distribution of the figurines at Akoris is not defined, but they derive from the domestic areas. The fact that they most likely represent children could reflect a threat towards children such as illness. The material culture relating to the protection of children through symbolic actions and objects is common during the Third Intermediate Period, as discussed below in Section 6.9 dealing with amulets.

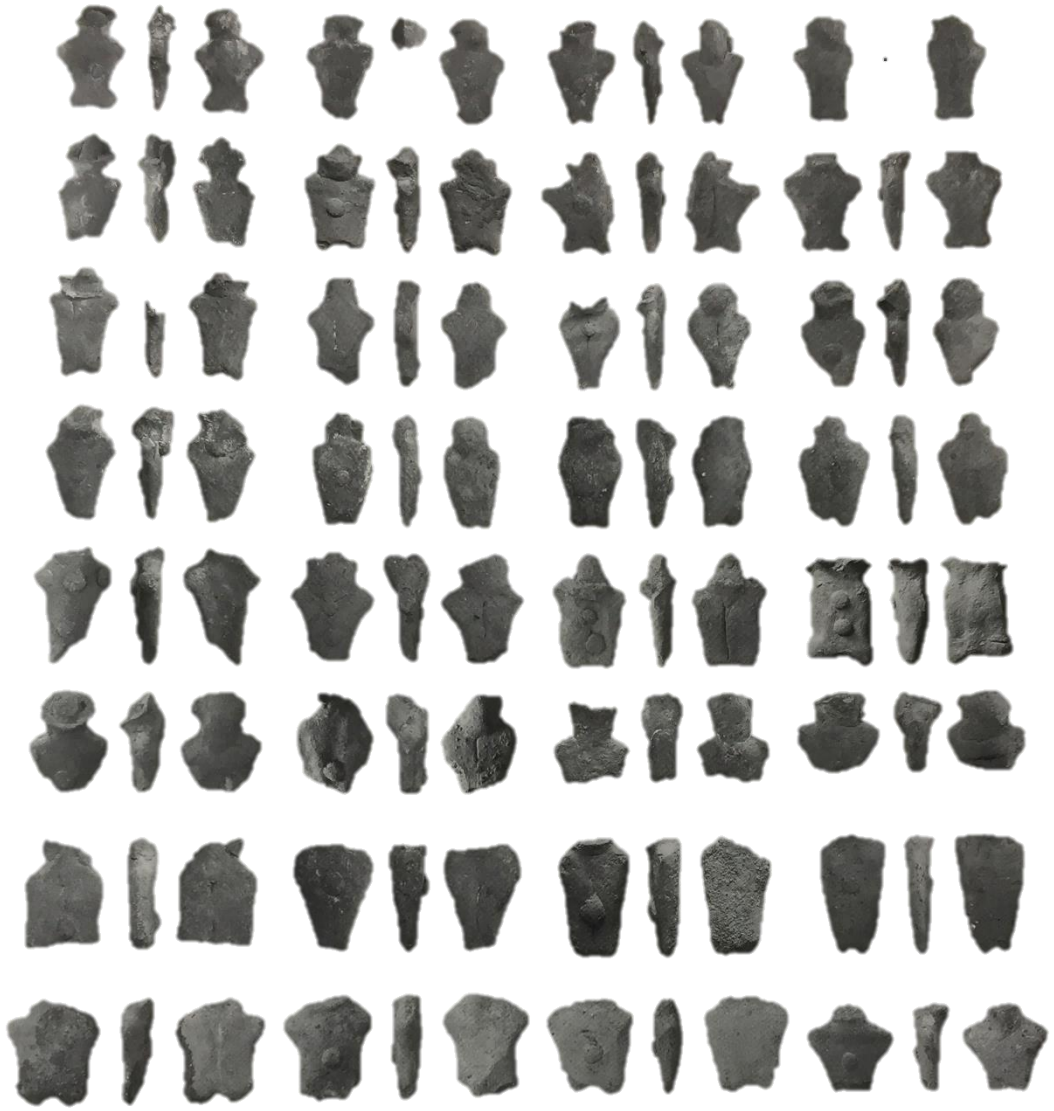


Fig. 191. Human Figurine Types from Akoris (Hanasaka, 2012).

6.6.6 Miniature Impressed Terracotta Footprints

Impressions of children's feet, or representations of them in clay are found during the Third Intermediate Period. Two were found at Kom Firin (Fig. 192), while a single example from Medinat Habu (Fig. 193) had been worked with a tool to emphasize the form of the toes and was dated to the 25th Dynasty. This 25th Dynasty date was attributed based on similar examples coming from the pyramid in Nuri, of a queen of Anlamani (623-592 BCE) (Teeter, 2010: 154). However, an exact date in the period cannot be defined for the Medinat Habu impressed foot due to the poor nature of the stratigraphy and associating artefacts within it. The two examples from Kom Firin probably date to

sometime in the early Third Intermediate Period, and suggest that this form of terracotta object was used throughout the period. The graffiti of feet and their role in the devotion of pious individuals to the gods suggests these items may have been to show the veneration for a god in return for the birth of a child. The footprint as indicated by the graffiti on the roof of the Khonsu temple at Karnak (Teeter, 2010: 154) was closely associated with an individual's being, and hence, it served to symbolically dedicate the child to the god. These dedications may be related to the theophoric names, which linked an individual and a patron deity which were so common in the Third Intermediate Period (Teeter, 2010: 154).

Fig. 192. Kom Firin Terracotta foot impression (Spencer, 2014: pl. 164, F438).

Fig. 193. Medinat Habu Terracotta foot impression (Teeter, 2010: no. 219 (OIM 14768), pl. 89, b, (top)).

6.7 Statue Fragments

Statue fragments found in domestic and funerary contexts are extremely rare in the Third Intermediate Period. A fragment of a quartzite, possibly royal statue of New Kingdom date was found in the Third Intermediate Period domestic phase at Memphis (Fig. 194) (Giddy, 1999: 306, pls 67, 92, no. EES 262) but did not exhibit reworking or reuse, such as a grinder or pounder. At Hermopolis a small rectangular piece of black granite measuring 7.1 x 3.6 x 1.6 cm with a horizontal inscription on one face running in both directions from a central ankh sign came from a small statuette (Fig. 195) (Spencer, A.J., 1993: 34, pls 28, 31, no. 40). It reads '*May my father (ancestor?) live'*, followed by a

cartouche, which may have contained the name of the person in question. It came from the 950-850 BCE house phase, but Spencer (1993: 34, no. 40), suggests it may have been a residual New Kingdom piece.

The presence of statue fragments found in burial contexts of the period is unique to the burial of Tehuwymes at the Ramesseum as several fragments of black granite/or diorite Sekhmet statues in the burial may be explained as having an apotropaic function for the deceased (Aston, 2009a: 387). The preference of Sekhmet statues in the burial of Tehuwymes is reinforced by the popularity during this period of Sekhmet amulets in the domestic lives of the people discussed later in this chapter.

A limestone statue of a seated monkey (Spencer, A.J., 1993: pl. 30, no. 33) was very roughly carved with little attention to detail was found underneath the plaster floor of the 700-600 BCE house but above the earlier 850-750 BCE house at Hermopolis and was probably dumped there by the builders of the new house phase (Fig. 196). Whether this statue once belonged to the 850-750 BCE house phase cannot be said with certainty. The presence and possible reuse of statue fragments in domestic contexts may reflect a desire to own and keep sacred objects for apotropaic uses in the household, however more utilitarian uses for these objects cannot be excluded although none of them exhibit usage in domestic activities such as evidence of rubbing or grinding on them.

Fig. 194. Statue fragment from Memphis (Giddy, 1999: pl. 92, EES 262).

Fig. 195. Statue fragment from Hermopolis (Spencer, A.J., 1993: pl. 31 no. 40).

Fig. 196. Statue of Baboon from Hermopolis (Spencer, A.J., 1993: pl.30, no. 33).

6.8 Scarabs from Domestic Contexts

Assigning dates to scarabs is problematic, even when dealing with excavated examples. Some of the major catalogues of scarabs avoid using dates at all (Teeter, 2003: 14). Hornung and Staehelin (1976: 26-9) warn of the dangers of misrepresentation by incorrect dates based on stylistic grounds. Some studies such as Schlick-Nolte and von Droste zu Hülschoff (1990), however, give very close date ranges supported by detailed criteria for the date (Schlick-Nolte and von Droste zu Hülshoff, 1990: 92-3, no. 5, 94-6, no. 57). Teeter (2003), Ben-Tor (1993) and Brunner-Traut and Brunner (1981) assign dates giving very broad ranges such as 'The New Kingdom', or '18th to 20th Dynasty'. These dates span many centuries and it appears there are no precise parameters for the dating of scarabs (Teeter, 2003: 14). Finally, Othmar Keel has studied the Egyptian scarabs which have been found in excavations in the at Tell Keisan (1980), Lachish (2004), Beer-Sheba (2016), including a seminal documentation of scarabs, scaraboids, and stamp seals from Israel-Palestine (1997; 2010a; 2010b; 2013).

One major problem is the lack of a clear typology of scarabs and the variability of decoration (Teeter, 2003: 14) and another problem is the issue of heirlooms, that is scarabs which are stylistically older than their archaeological contexts. For example at Malqata, scarabs of Thutmose III were made

in the reign of Amenhotep III or they may have been heirlooms passed from generation to generation (Hayes, 1951: 234; Teeter, 2003: 14). Even if a scarab has the name of a king on it, it may not indicate the date of the scarab's manufacture (Hornung and Staehelin, 1976: 41-87; Jaeger, 1982: 94, 184-253; Teeter, 2003: 14). This type of issue is evident in the Third Intermediate Period burial assemblages where scarabs bearing the name Hedjkheperre Setepenre, (Sheshonq I) were issued in the reign of Takeloth I or Takeloth II (Aston, 2009a: 384). The greatest problem is the category of scarabs bearing the name Menkheperre (the prenomen of Thutmose III). The name Menkheperre was a decorative motif common long after the death of Thutmose III. The popularity of the name was because Thutmose III assumed a role as protector of the necropolis, and because his name functioned as a cryptogram for the name of the god Amun (Drioton, 1957; Hornung and Staehelin, 1976: 60-4, 174-78; Jaeger, 1982: 94; Satzinger, 1974; Teeter, 2003: 14). Another problem with scarabs is their small size, which means that they can work their way up through strata as residual objects, and at the same time can also drop from upper levels into lower strata, which makes it difficult to assess their original context.

Scarabs have been found in numerous Third Intermediate Period tomb groups of the poorer members of society, most frequently at Matmar and Lahun (Aston, 2009a: 384), and like amulets, their use as dating criteria is somewhat limited due to the multiplicity of different types, and the inability to date accurately most of the tomb groups in which they occur (Aston, 2009a: 384). A few scarabs with named kings occur, but only those of Pedubast (I?) and Shoshenq III (both from Gerzeh), are unambiguous. All others bear the name of Hedjkheperre Setepenre or Menkheperre. The scarabs inscribed for Menkheperre are difficult to date, although many found in tomb groups at Matmar refer to Menkheperre Khmuny (Piankhy) (Aston, 2009a: 384), while others cannot be so readily attributed to any given reign (Malaise, 1978: 75). In the 21st Dynasty, there are very few scarabs either of the Tanite or Theban line (Petrie, 1917a: 29), while it was in the 22nd Dynasty and afterwards the use of the scarab was revived (Petrie, 1917a: 29). In the Third Intermediate Period at the settlements of Kom Firin, Sais, and Akoris scarabs are still a feature in the domestic assemblages. The Medinat Habu (Teeter, 2003: 1-121) Hermopolis and Sais (Excavation 5) assemblages show the usage of scarabs continued to be a popular method of personal adornment into the late Third Intermediate Period.

6.8.1 Scarab Types from Third Intermediate Period Settlements

In Excavation 5 at Sais only one example of a scarab was found. It was made of steatite and had the remains of red paint (5004, 5.014) (Fig. 197). The inscription has two possible readings both of which cannot be identified with known personal names of the Third Intermediate Period. The first reading could be *ḥk3 p3 dỉ n nbw* 'Hekapadinebu' (lit. 'Heka, the Gift of Lords), while the second could read *p3 dỉ nbw ḥk3* 'Padinebuheka' (lit. The Gift of the Lords of Heka (magic)). The use of *p3 dỉ* in

personal names of the late Third Intermediate Period is common and may favour the latter reading. The use of the winged sun disk above the name may indicate this is a so far unknown local ruler in the Western Delta as part of a local Saite line of Chiefs of the Libu. The late Third Intermediate Period context (5004) from which it was found would indicate a ruler later in the period. Prior to the development of the Western Kingdom under Tefnakht in ca. 728 BCE Sais must have had a local line of Libu chiefs. Kitchen states (1996: §306) states that these local rulers are not yet attested within the archaeological and textual data.

Fig. 197. Steatite Scarab from Sais, Excavation 5 (5004, 5.014).

At Kom Firin, a pale blue faience scarab, bore the motif of symmetrically opposed uraei flanking a kheper-sign and sun disc (Fig. 198) (Spencer, N., 2008: 104; 2014: 57, no. F676, pl. 72). A scarab with an identical design is known from Akoris (Fig. 199) (Hanasaka, 2011: 9-10, fig. 6 [2]). Five scarabs in blue and green faience and steatite were found at Akoris in the Third Intermediate Period layers, including versions with the Menkheperre motif discussed below. Another example had a monkey or a human with a stick on it (Fig. 200), and the final example had a simple lattice design (Fig. 201) (Kawanishi and Tsujimura, 2013: 12, fig. 9, nos 1-4).

Scarabs were common in the Hermopolis domestic assemblages (Fig. 202). The Hermopolis scarab corpus from the pre-8th century BCE shows a preference for steatite scarabs with three examples (Spencer, A.J., 1993: 38, pl. 36, nos 147-9). One was a perforated scarab with clear details on the back, undercut between the legs and the body. The design on the back was a hieroglyphic

inscription ‘The Judge, Amenhotep’, which is a reference to Amenhotep son of Hapu (Spencer, A.J., 1993: 38). From the 8th century BCE onwards at Hermopolis, the variety of materials used for scarabs becomes more diversified. Eleven examples from the Level 2b-1a phases of occupation consisted of scarabs made of serpentine, green faience, Egyptian blue, green jasper and blue glass with steatite being the main material used (Spencer, A.J., 1993: 37-8, nos 137-146, 150-1).

Fig. 198. Pale blue, faience scarab from Kom Firin (Spencer, N., 2014: 57, F676, pl. 72).

Fig. 199. Scarab from Akoris (early Third Intermediate Period) with identical design to an example from Kom Firin (Fig. 198 this study). (Hanasaka, 2011: fig. 6 no. 2).

Fig. 200. (Akoris) early Third Intermediate Period Scarab (Kawanishi and Tsujimura, 2013: fig. 9, no. 4).

Fig. 201. (Akoris) Early Third Intermediate Period Scarab. (Hanaska, 2011: fig. 6, no. 1).

Serpentine Scarab (Spencer, A.J., 1993: pl. 35, no. 137 (Phase 1b)).

Green faience scarab (Spencer, A.J., 1993: pl. 35 no. 138 (Phase 1b)).

Steatite Scarab (Spencer, A.J., 1993: pl. 35, no. 139 (Phase 2b-1b)).

Egyptian Blue Scarab (Spencer, A.J., 1993: pl. 36, no. 140 (Phase 1c))

Green Jasper Scarab (Spencer, A.J., 1993: pl. 36, no. 142 (Phase 1c)).

Steatite Scarab (Spencer, A.J., 1993: pl. 36, no. 144 (Phase 1a)).

Glazed composition scarab (Spencer, A.J., 1993: pl. 36, no. 145 (Phase 1c)).

Steatite Scarab (Spencer, A.J., 1993: pl. 36, no. 146 (Phase 1c)).

Steatite Scarab (Spencer, A.J., 1993: pl. 36, no. 147 (Phase 3)).

Steatite Scarab (Spencer, A.J., 1993: pl. 36, no. 148 (Phase 3)).

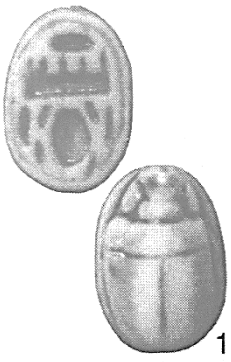
Blue glass scarab (Spencer, A.J., 1993: pl. 36, no. 150 (Phase 2b)).

Steatite Scarab (Spencer, A.J., 1993: pl. 36, no. 151 (Phase 2b)).

Fig. 202. Scarabs from the Hermopolis Domestic Contexts.

The name 'Menkheperre' was a common motif in the Third Intermediate Period (Fig. 203). Examples of such scarabs with the name have been found at Tell el-Ghaba (Lupo, 2015b: 389-90), and those from Kom Firin have the name flanked by 𓆄 *maat* feathers and a 𓎛 *neb* (Lord) sign (Spencer, N., 2014: 57, pl. 286, F720). At Hermopolis, the motif of Menkheperre, was used often (Spencer, A.J., 1993: 37, pl. 36, no.143) with one scarab having the sign 𓍿 *mn* repeated (Spencer, A.J., 1993: 38, pl. 36, no. 149). Decorative Menkheperre scarabs were found at Medinat Habu, which indicates scarabs of this type were not just used in the 18th Dynasty (Teeter, 2003: 45 [47]), similar to Kom Firin where there was no 18th Dynasty occupation (Spencer, N., 2014: 57).

(Kom Firin) Spencer, N., 2014: 57, pl. 286, F720.



(Akoris) early Third Intermediate Period Scarab. (Kawanishi and Tsujimura 2013: fig. 9, no. 1).

(Akoris) early Third Intermediate Period Scarab. (Kawanishi and Tsujimura, 2013: fig. 9, no. 3).

Tell el-Ghaba (Lupo, 2015b: 389, fig. 7, F0434). (This is similar to an example from Sais (Excavation 1 dated to the Late New Kingdom/Early Third Intermediate Period).

Tell el-Ghaba (Lupo, 2015b: 389, fig. 8 no. F0629).

Tell el-Ghaba (Lupo, 2015b: 390, fig. 10, no. F0622).

Tell el-Ghaba (Lupo, 2015b: 390, fig. 9, no. F0274).

Hermopolis (Spencer, A.J., 1993: pl. 36, no. 143).

Hermopolis (Spencer, A.J., 1993: pl. 36, no. 149).

Hermopolis (Spencer, A.J.,1993: pl. 36, no. 141).

Fig. 203. Examples of Scarabs from Third Intermediate Period Domestic Contexts.

6.9 Faience Amulets and Associated Moulds

Numerous studies regarding Egyptian amulets (from within Egypt and the Near East), which discusses their chronology, typology and function have been conducted by Petrie (1914b), Müller-Winkler (1987), Andrews (1994), and Herrmann (1985; 1990; 1994; 2002; 2003; 2006; 2007; 2015; 2016).

Most amulets found in domestic and funerary assemblages of the Third Intermediate Period were made in either blue or green faience. Detailed chronologies of amulets are still needed, but Aston (2009a), has collected examples of amulets in 700 burial assemblages of the period, while this thesis brings together those from domestic contexts. The burial assemblages document eighty-six different types of amulets, but only seven types, wedjat-eyes, Bes, Sekhmet, other cat goddesses, Ptah-Sokar, Isis and sows appear in more than twenty-five of the tomb groups (Aston, 2009a: 374). Except for royal burials, most amulets were buried with women and children, with a preference for them to be included in child burials (Aston, 2009a: 374).

In domestic contexts, amulets have been found at Memphis, most which were in blue or green faience (Anthes et al., 1965: 121-4, 135-8; Aston, 2007b: 77-78; Bakry, 1959: 50-7), and at Hermopolis and Akoris. The only amulet type which appears in great enough numbers to provide useful chronological and morphological discussions are the wedjat-eyes (Aston, 2009a: 376; Müller-Winkler, 1987: 86-177).

6.9.1 Wedjat-eye Amulets

Based on the burial assemblages from Tell el-Yahudiyah, Petrie (1906: 17) divided Wedjat-eyes into five different classes, which succeed one another: 1) ‘Smooth well-made Wedjat-eyes with black brows’; 2) ‘Badly made eyes along with the introduction of incised eyes’; 3) ‘predominance of incised eyes’; 4) ‘rise of quadruple eye beads; 5) ‘degenerated quadruple eye beads in square or circle. Aston (2009a: 376) has now demonstrated, using burial assemblages, the first three phases exhibit a chronological sequence, while Petrie’s types 4 and 5 should be amalgamated into one phase (Fig. 204). With these developmental phases identified in Third Intermediate Period burials contexts, wedjat-eye amulets from domestic contexts can now be discussed.

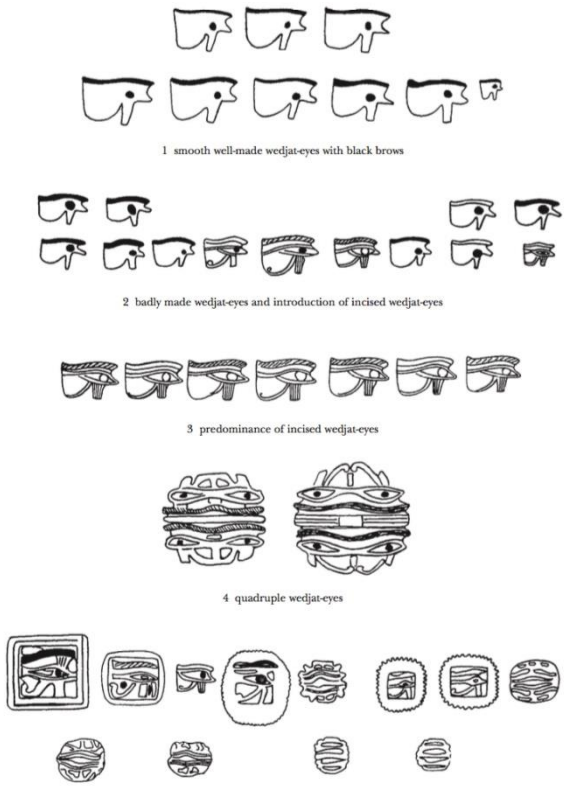


Fig. 204. Wedjat-Eye Typology from Burials (Aston, 2009a: 375, fig. 48, after Petrie, 1906).

Faience amulets of wedjat-eyes continue to be a common occurrence in the domestic assemblages of the Third Intermediate Period, and dominate many settlements amulet assemblages, such as at Tell el-Ghaba with 64 examples (Bacquerisse, 2015: 364-70). All types of wedjat-eyes were represented at Tell el-Ghaba, indicating prolonged settlement during the period, (Bacquerisse, 2015: 368-70), as well as one faience example with a cartouche of Menkheperre (Bacquerisse, 2015: 366) which should be classed as a Wedjat-shaped scaraboid. Jaeger (1982: §466, §508) classified this type as a stamp seal amulet (Jaeger, 1982: §1234-1235). This size of the Wedjat-eye assemblage at Tell el-Ghaba compared to the other find classes, and their persistence throughout the period was considered highly significant along with their wide variety. It is possible the inhabitants of Tell el-Ghaba were manufacturing Wedjat-eyes.

Wedjat-eyes were probably attached to necklaces, as the perforations indicate. A group of small faience amulets from Akoris, including five Ptah-Sokars, two Sobeks, a Bes, an ankh-sign, a Wedjat-eye, and two unidentifiable types were found together forming a necklace (Kawanishi and Tsujimura, 2013: 13, fig. 9, no. 14), demonstrating the way in which Wedjat-eyes and other amulets could be combined to form elaborate necklace designs, especially with shell beads (Bacquerisse, 2015: 364). The use of shells, as discussed below, is known to have been common on children's

necklaces from burial contexts and may indicate the high percentage of usage of Wedjat-eyes in association with shells could be related to children and infants.

Almost all Wedjat-eye examples from domestic contexts are either of blue or green faience, with green being the more common choice of glaze as well as grey, and there is an example of a carnelian version from Tell el-Ghaba (Bacquerisse, 2015: 368, no. F0251). Examples of Types 2 and 3 Wedjat-eyes are the most common in the Third Intermediate Period domestic phases and no doubt reflect the earliest phases of domestic settlement so far excavated for the period. No Wedjat-eyes were found at Sais in Excavation 5, perhaps because this area was not associated with children.

At Akoris and Kom Firin, early Third Intermediate Period phase occupations all exhibit Type 2 Wedjat-eyes. At Hermopolis, the 950-850 BCE and 850-750 BCE occupation levels include what appear to be both Type 2 and 3 examples. This indicates examples of both Types 2 and 3 may have been used concurrently, or in a transition phase, while Type 3 examples became more popular later. In both the 950-850 BCE and 850-750 BCE occupation levels ceramic moulds of what appear to be Type 3 Wedjat-eyes were found which exhibit precise incision marks (Fig. 205) (Spencer, A.J., 1993: 38, pl. 36, no. 152).

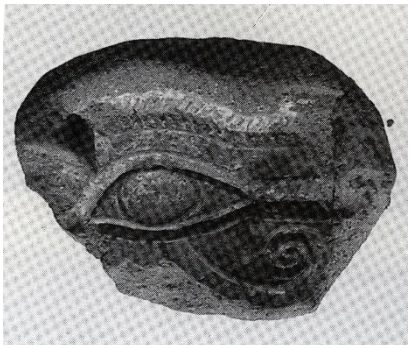


Fig. 205. Wedjat Eye Mould from Hermopolis (Spencer, A.J., 1993: pl. 36, no. 52).

The moulds suggest that Type 3 Wedjat-eyes were manufactured in domestic contexts, and would appear to confirm the transmission from Type 2 to Type 3 Wedjat eyes may have occurred in or around the 8th century BCE. Evidence from the domestic structures at Kom Qala overlying the Palace of Merenptah at Memphis and likely to have been occupation phases from the 22nd to 25th Dynasty have preserved Wedjat-eye moulds which stylistically should be attributed to the Type 3 form. The Memphite evidence would further indicate some time from the 22nd Dynasty onwards, Type 2 Wedjat-eye designs developed into Type 3 forms, in line with the burial assemblages. Finally, an example of Petrie's Type 5 is found at Hermopolis in the latest phase of occupation in the 7th to 6th

century BCE and would confirm the sequence of Wedjat-eye development for the Third Intermediate Period. Overall, the morphological sequence of Wedjat-eye designs from burial contexts appears to correspond to Wedjat-eye design development in domestic settings.

6.9.2 Sekhmet Amulets

Amulets of the goddess Sekhmet are first attested in the Third Intermediate Period (Andrews, 1990: 33). Burial contexts suggest that Sekhmet amulets became more detailed and gained more elaborate collars with time (Aston, 2009a: 376). After Wedjat-eyes in domestic contexts, Sekhmet amulets are the most common example of a deity so far found with 18 examples. At Memphis, in the 'later 22nd Dynasty domestic levels' overlying the small Ptah temple of Ramesses II, ten Sekhmet amulets were found (Anthes et al., 1965: 121). Where a glaze could be identified, the use of green was the most common. At Memphis, three terracotta Sekhmet amulet moulds were found from the 22nd to 25th Dynasty occupation phases overlying the Palace of Merenptah at Kom Qala, suggesting manufacture of amulets in the settlement, similar to the possible manufacture of Wedjat-eyes in the Tell el-Ghaba settlement. One example of a Sekhmet mould (Fig. 206) confirms as the period progressed the detail of Sekhmet amulets increased, as the mould shows a detailed collar, anklet, dress, high ears and a possible uraeus (Anthes et al., 1965: no. 265, pl. 51a, top right), but more examples from settlement contexts are needed to confirm this stylistic development in line with burial contexts.

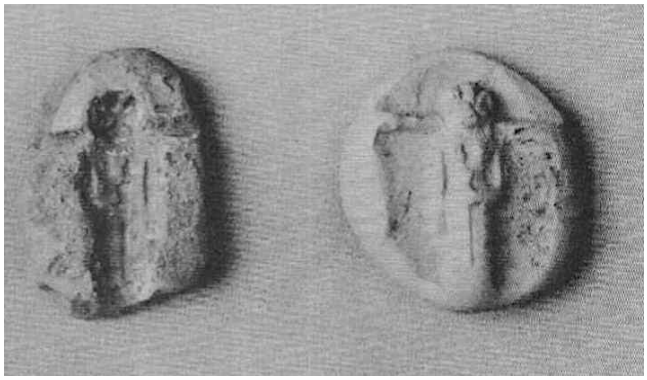


Fig. 206. Sekhmet mould from Memphis (Anthes et al., 1965: pl. 51. a, top right).

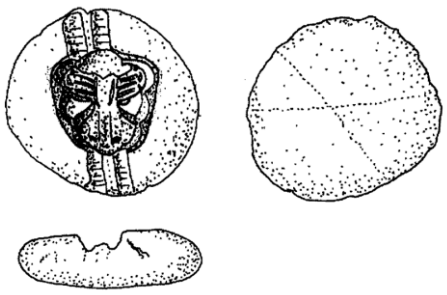


Fig. 207. Sekhmet Mould from Tanis (Elliptical Structure) (Zivie-Coche, 2000: 125, pl. II E).

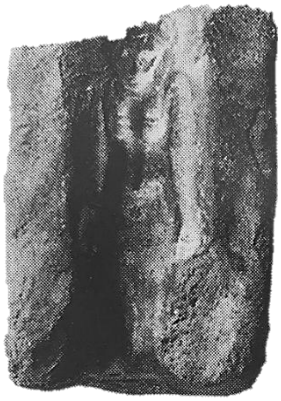


Fig. 208. Mould of Sekhmet from Akoris (Hanasaka, 2011: 9, fig. 6, no. 12).

In Lower Egypt, Sekhmet amulets were popular at Kom Firin. An amulet of only the face of a lioness (probably Sekhmet) (Fig. 209) (Spencer, N., 2014: F180, pl. 280) was found, while at Tanis, in the elliptical structure (22nd Dynasty), a circular terracotta mould of just the head of Sekhmet was found (Fig. 207) (Zivie-Coche, 2000: 125, pl. II E, pl. XXI.E (Sân 98-369, OAE 3808 (MFFT/FB)) indicating the face of the deity alone was a popular choice for the period. A headless example of a Sekhmet amulet was found at Kom Firin (Fig. 210), and Spencer (2014: 57, pl. 277, F210) considered the headless example to be a male figurine with the right arm holding an item to the chest. There are stylistic parallels from Askut, which suggest a leonine deity (Smith, 2003: 106-7, fig. 5.11, [A]). The object being held closely to the body is likely to be the papyrus sceptre, an iconographical feature common with Sekhmet amulets at Hermopolis and Memphis. As Spencer (2014: 57) notes, the presence of a cult of Sekhmet in the first millennium BCE at Kom Firin would indicate the identification of the small head is likely to be Sekhmet.

The goddess Sekhmet is a common amulet type in domestic contexts at Tell el-Ghaba (Bacquerisse, 2015: 363-4, figs 30-1) (Figs 211 and 212), in Upper Egypt at Akoris, as a rectangular

pottery mould was found in the South Area (Fig. 208) (Hanasaka, 2011: 9, fig. 6, no. 12), while at Hermopolis, Sekhmet amulets are present in both the 950-850 BCE and 700-600 BCE occupation phases. One example, dated ca. 700-600 BCE is seated on a throne (Fig. 213), and the second, dated ca. 950-850 BCE is a standing type holding the papyrus sceptre (Fig. 214), and may suggest the standing types with papyrus sceptre are an earlier Third Intermediate Period type. The final example preserves just the face (Spencer, A.J., 1993: pl. 34, 69-70, 84) dated to ca. 850-750 BCE.

Fig. 209. Head of Sekhmet from Kom Firin (Spencer, N., 2014: pl. 280, no. F180).

Fig. 210. Possible Sekhmet amulet from Kom Firin (Spencer, N., 2014, pl. 277, F210).

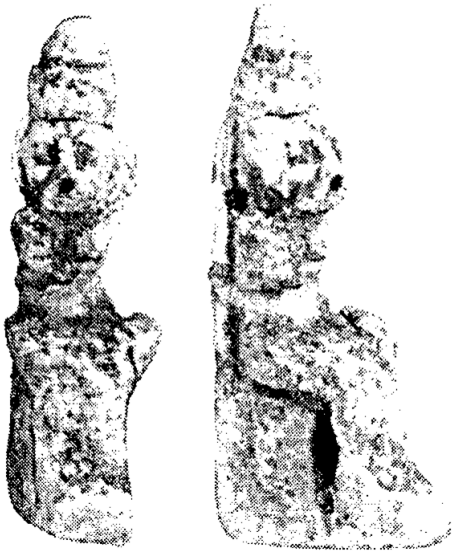


Fig. 211. Sekhmet from Tell el-Ghaba (Bacquerisse, 2015: 364, fig. 30).

Fig. 212. Sekhmet from Tell el-Ghaba (Bacquerisse, 2015: 364, fig. 31).

Fig. 213. Sekhmet seated on a throne from Hermopolis (Spencer, A.J., 1993: pl. 34, no. 69).

Fig. 214. Sekhmet amulet from Hermopolis (Spencer, A.J., 1993: pl. 34, no. 70).

6.9.3 Ptah-Sokar Amulets

Amulets of Ptah-Sokar in dwarf form are next most common in the Third Intermediate Period domestic sphere, as at Memphis, where nine examples of Ptah-Sokar amulets were found. Those which have an identified glaze are predominantly of green with some blue examples (Anthes et al., 1965: 121-2). Evidence from burial contexts indicates Ptah-Sokar amulets develop from the type with small bulbous heads to those with a scarab on top of the head (Aston, 2009a: 376). This development can be seen within the domestic contexts too. In early Third Intermediate Period levels at Akoris, the god Ptah-Sokar is not shown with the scarab on the head (Kawanishi and Tsujimura, 2013: 13, fig. 9, no. 3.10-12) with presence of the scarab on the head in domestic contexts is so far first seen at Hermopolis starting in around the early 10th century BCE. An example of a Ptah-Sokar terracotta mould with a scarab on the head was found in the 950-850 BCE domestic contexts while a small faience figurine dated ca. 850-750 BCE exhibits a scarab on the head (Spencer, A.J., 1993: 35 pl. 34, no. 72). At Tanis amulet moulds of the god are found (Zivie-Coche, 2000: 125, pl. II, C and XXI, D), while at Memphis four pottery moulds for Ptah-Sokar amulets were found in the 22nd to 25th Dynasty domestic layers at Kom el-Qala, which would correspond based on stylistic grounds to the dating of the Hermopolis amulets. Finally, one fine Memphite example, (Anthes et al., 1965: 122: pl. 51a, no. 259) shows the deity with a collar, bracelet and a scarab on the head.

6.9.4 Bes Amulets

Bes amulets are a common feature of Third Intermediate Period domestic assemblages, with examples in blue and green faience. Five examples of Bes amulets have been found at Memphis in the 'late 22nd Dynasty occupation' overlying the small Ptah temple of Ramesses II (Anthes et al., 1965: 123, no. 203), and evidence for Bes amulet manufacture was indicated by two pottery moulds found in the 22nd to 25th Dynasty occupation phase Memphis (Kom el-Qala) (Anthes et al., 1965: 130, nos 268-9, pls 50a, 51a).

Comparisons of Third Intermediate Period Egyptian burials with Palestinian burial assemblages of the 10th to 9th Centuries BCE show Bes figurines in a frontal view with bandy legs and arms bent inwards, so the hands rest on the hips developed into the more elaborately rendered Iron II types with high feathered headdresses, while examples of Bes dancing in profile are not found at all (Aston, 2009a: 376). A mould for a Bes amulet from the top soil (Spencer, N., 2008: 68, pl. 218) suggests Bes amulets were being manufactured at Kom Firin in the domestic area of the Ramesside enclosure. The latter example was a sub-rectangular hand-made ceramic mould with smooth back and top. The details of the mould were finely made with four tall feathers with internal striations, the figure had hands on hips, bandy legs and clear facial features (Spencer, N., 2008: 68). The features on this Bes mould would suggest it may date stylistically to the 10th to 9th century BCE. Bes was the most common example of amulet at Hermopolis with three examples all coming from the 950-850 BCE occupation phase. An example (no.75) shows him bandy-legged and in full frontal view, with his hands resting on his hips, showing a development into the more elaborately rendered Iron II types from Palestine, while another example (74), demonstrates the start of a more elaborately rendered headdress of the 10th to 9th century BCE onwards, corresponding to the 950-850 BCE date provided for the Level 3 occupation phases at Hermopolis.

6.9.5 Other Amulet Types

Along with Sekhmet, Ptah-Sokar, Bes and Wedjat-eyes, domestic contexts preserve, albeit in lower numbers, examples of amulets of the fish-goddess Hat-Mehyt (Spencer, A.J., 1993: 35, pl. 34, no. 71), baboons (Spencer, A.J., 1993: 35, pl. 34, no. 83), sows (Spencer, A.J., 1993: 35, pl. 34, no. 85), cobra heads (Spencer, A.J., 1993: 35, pl. 34, no. 86), falcons (Giddy, 1999: 81, pl. 19 no. EES 1117), aegi or protective collars (Spencer, A.J.. 1993: 35, pl. 32, no. 82; Zivie-Coche, 2000: 126, pl. II, F-G, and XXI, G), Taweret, Isis and Child, Shu, Anubis, ram heads, Nefertum (Anthes et al., 1965: 121), apes and baboons (Bacquerisse, 2015: 360), frogs (Bacquerisse, 2015: 360), and cats (Bacquerisse, 2015: 362-3), while a terracotta mould from Tanis dated to the 22nd Dynasty shows evidence for a seated Isis with a Hathoric crown holding Horus on her knees (Zivie-Coche, 2000: 125, pl. II, D).

As so few of these amulet types exist in domestic contexts, little can be said regarding discussions of dating criteria and typological changes. Third Intermediate Period burial assemblages based on the limited evidence, show that sow amulets date from the 8th century BCE at the earliest (Aston, 2009a: 376). Domestic contexts again show a similar trend in the appearance of sow amulets as the only example so far found comes from Hermopolis in blue faience and was found in Level 3, which dates to ca. 950-850 BCE.

There was a diverse range of faience amulet types used in the Third Intermediate Period, most of which were manufactured in blue or green faience, a characteristic of the period. The amulet types found in domestic assemblages correspond to the developmental phases of amulet types from burial contexts. The domestic assemblages suggest that amulets were used within domestic contexts for apotropaic functions, but so far only in small numbers. Most amulets were manufactured in temple workshops, or in domestic contexts for use in funerary assemblages, predominantly for royal/elite burials, and those of women and children.

6.10 Earrings, Ear-studs, and Bracelets

It is striking to note that compared to New Kingdom settlement contexts, the presence of earrings and ear studs in Third Intermediate Period phases is very rare. No examples of earrings or ear-studs were found at Memphis (Kom Rabia) (Giddy, 1999: 88-9) in the Third Intermediate Period phases, while early excavations at Memphis show items of personal adornment were restricted to faience pendants, beads, and finger rings (Anthes et al., 1965: 133; Aston, 2007b: 78; Bakry, 1959: 48, nos 214-21). Earrings have also not yet been found at Akoris and Kom Firin. At Sais (Excavation 1), no evidence of earrings or ear studs was found coming from secure Third Intermediate Period phases either. In Excavation 5, there was evidence of a copper alloy teardrop earring. Similarly, no bracelets were found in Third Intermediate Period settlement contexts either, at Sais, Memphis or Akoris. There is more evidence of finger ring usage in the settlements of the period.

6.11 Finger Rings

Finger rings as a class of personal adornment overlap with other object types, notably the scarab-shaped objects, which can be used as ring bezels. Distinguishing the shanks of finger rings from other types of rings, notably earrings and possibly wig-rings, is nearly impossible to achieve, especially

given the fragmentary nature of such objects from settlements (Giddy, 1999: 98). The presence of finger rings from secure Third Intermediate Period occupation levels is very rare. No examples were found from Sais (Excavation 5), but at Tanis, from the elliptical structure (22nd Dynasty) rings were grouped into two types (Zivie-Coche, 2000: 111-112, pl. IV). The first are narrow rings, plain, with or without decoration of parallel straight lines and openwork examples. Most of them were in green faience, with some in blue and blue/green.

At Sais (Excavation 1), a turquoise faience finger ring fragment was found, with the standing figure, possibly of a goddess holding what appears to be a papyrus sceptre (Wilson, 2011: 114, pl. 14.9). A second fragment from Memphis was part of a large oval bezel with the beginning of the shank, moulded in one piece with the bezel (Giddy, 1999: 103, pls 22, 85). The manufacture of bezel and the shank of the Memphite example was the same as at Sais, while both examples were of a turquoise faience. Both the Memphite and Sais designs are impressed vertically down the length of the upper face in sunken relief. The Memphite example shows a standing figure, possibly male (?), over an elongated ⌓ *nb* sign (?). The figure faces right, is wearing a kilt and holds out a vertical staff in front or a stick in the left hand. The shortened right arm hangs behind the torso and the feet merge into a wide horizontal strip. The figure's back appears to be slightly bent forward suggesting the determinative for an 'elder' or 'chief', although the representation of a king or animal headed deity would be more usual (Giddy, 1999: 103). The Sais and Memphite finger rings both date to the early Third Intermediate Period, and the similarity in design and manufacture may suggest some form of typological similarity between the early Third Intermediate Period ring designs in Memphis and Sais, although more evidence is needed to confirm this idea. At Hermopolis, in the 950-850 BCE phase, a green glazed ring with rounded outer edges was found, while in the 7th to 6th century BCE a slightly large version with straight sides but in green glazed faience was found (Spencer, A.J., 1993: 37, pl. 37).

The burial assemblages of the period do provide evidence of finger rings in higher numbers as they were attached to bodies and some dating criteria for finger ring development can be noted. The finger rings show a marked change at the end of the Third Intermediate Period. In the 7th century BCE, rings with bezels appear to have the bezel raised high above the shank, and often the bezel is undercut to leave room for the finger. In addition, bead rings, particularly those of glazed faience begin to exhibit open fretwork designs at the end of the Third Intermediate Period (Aston, 2009a: 380), but the lack of rings from Third Intermediate Period domestic contexts makes this development difficult to trace in the settlements.

6.12 Shells

At Sais, in Third Intermediate Period layers, two examples of perforated cockleshells were found (Wilson, 2011: 139-40). Wilson (2011: 140) suggests additional uses for these cockles as spoons, mixing palettes or as raw materials for inlays and smaller beads. A cowrie shell was found at Kom Firin (Spencer, N., 2014: pl. 275) and, like the Sais example, was likely to have been part of a necklace, while at Hermopolis in the surface dumps a blue glazed cowrie shell amulet of unknown date (Spencer, A.J., 1993: 35, pl. 32, no. 68). The evidence for perforated shells in Third Intermediate Period domestic contexts is limited, but the dates of the levels in which they have been found would suggest they were used in the early Third Intermediate Period. Shells are used in poor Third Intermediate Period burial contexts and provide some context for their usages and functionality in the settlements beyond being used as items of personal adornment. Shells occur in 118 poor burials at Tell el-Yahudiyah, Saft el-Henna, Tell el-Retaba, Saqqara, Meidum, Lahun, Matmar, Abydos, Esna and Thebes (Aston, 2009a: 385). Apart from four spatha shells which were found on top of a coffin at Matmar, all other shells have been found inside the coffin, often being tied together to form necklaces, bracelets and anklets (Aston, 2009a: 385), very much in the same way as the example of the cowrie necklace from the domestic context at Kom Firin, which includes beads of faience and cornelian (Spencer, N., 2014: pl. 275). Of burial contexts, 98 of them contained cowrie shells, (Aston, 2009a: 385). Cowrie shells were brought in from the Red Sea and most likely had fertility and 'female' properties and acted as protective amulets. Aston (2009a: 385) suggests cowrie shell usage reflects the age of the individual who was to wear them. Of the 65 published ages of the deceased, 52 were children, 11 were females and only 1 male. This would indicate that cowrie shells were important for protection of children.

6.13 Beads

Beads continue to play an important part in the personal adornment of the Third Intermediate Period population. The most diverse assemblage of beads comes from Tell el-Ghaba. Almost two hundred examples of different bead types were found in nearly every level of the excavations, but it was noted they could have constituted part of other objects or large necklaces or bracelets (Bacquerisse, 2015: 371). There were seven types; conical, disc, wafer, spacer, lozenge, spherical and teardrop. Most of the beads were in faience but they occurred in bone, shell, glass, chert, agate, alabaster, steatite, carnelian, quartz, quartzite, and gold (Bacquerisse, 2015: 371). At Memphis, eleven examples of beads were found, most of which were in faience (Giddy, 1999: 121-2), with other examples in glass and pottery (Giddy, 1999: 129-30). Many the faience beads were of white, turquoise, or pale blue, while the glass examples were either in blue or white. There is a considerable drop in the number of

beads compared to the Ramesside level which had one hundred. A reduction in bead numbers from the Ramesside Period is also shown in the Sais material, as beads are only found in Ramesside levels, while beads have not been found in secure early Third Intermediate Period phases at Sais. Similarly, at Hermopolis there are no beads in later Third Intermediate Period phases (950-700 BCE), where scarabs and amulets are preferred. At Kom Firin, early Third Intermediate Period phase occupation does include spacer beads, disc beads and a cylinder bead all having blue glaze. Carnelian beads of both disc and cornflower form were found (Spencer, N., 2014: 57).

6.14 Architectural Fittings and Reliefs

The rooms and courtyards of the early Third Intermediate Period settlement at Kom Firin were fitted with limestone architectural elements, which was typical in middle and high ranking formal buildings: doorjambs, lintels, thresholds, and column bases. Thirteen examples of limestone door sockets were found, including a fired clay example. The diameter of the pivot holes varied from 3.2-14 cm. The pivot holes are sometimes cut into slab-shaped pieces of stone, perhaps suggesting reuse, although others are no more than chunks of stone. The presence of multiple depressions may indicate reuse of the stone for a second doorway, and these door sockets could be made from recycled stone (Spencer, N., 2014: 55). At Memphis, limestone blocks were used as thresholds or sills (Giddy, 1999: 305, EES 275).

At Kom Firin, Spencer (2014: 55) suggests the limestone fragments found in the domestic houses may have once been part of tables, seats and stools. At Memphis, four examples of a limestone table were found. They all exhibit the same features, with upper and outer surfaces which are flat and smooth (Giddy, 1999: 156, nos EES 366, 400, 543 and 865). Low tables of this type were used in the New Kingdom at Amarna, with one example still *in situ* on a mudbrick bench (mastaba) (Peet and Woolley, 1923: 62-3, fig.10, pl. XVII.3), while a shallow limestone table or stools with three legs 25 cm in diameter and 5-7 cm thick were found at Medinat Habu (Hölscher, 1954: 11).

6.15 Re-Use of New Kingdom Inscribed Stones in Third Intermediate Period Domestic Structures

The reuse of stone temple fragments, when found in burial contexts has been ascribed to an apotropaic function, for example in three burials at Gurob, and two examples of local Ramesside temple fragments in burials at Matmar, and showing the influence that New Kingdom temples exercised on the burials of the Third Intermediate Period (Aston, 2009a: 387). Similar to the statue fragments, temple blocks are used in domestic contexts and reused as architectural features of the houses, showing that temple structures were accessible as quarries.

Large amounts of limestone fragments were found in the early Third Intermediate Period occupation phases at Kom Firin, but inscribed fragments were rare. One fragment bears the bottom of a Ramesside cartouche and was likely to have been part of a doorjamb or lintel. It may have come from the temple, an official building, storeroom or even a private house, but it was reused in the Third Intermediate Period occupation phase as a door socket along with other limestone fragments probably coming from earlier monumental Ramesside buildings, most likely the monumental gateway to the Ramesside enclosure (Spencer, N., 2014: 55). Column bases were well carved but of quite poorly preserved stone. One example had the base drilled with a shallow depression in its upper surface possibly to secure a wooden column, or as part of some secondary reuse (Spencer, N., 2014: 55). There was no evidence the that well-dressed slabs from the Ramesside temple were used in the Third Intermediate Period occupation phases at Kom Firin (Spencer, N., 2014: 55). At Matmar, there is evidence the local Ramesside temple was robbed of its stone and used as architectural supports for the grain silos (Brunton, 1948). At Hermopolis a pivot block from the 700-600 BCE house phase had re-used an Amarna block from the New Kingdom temple (Spencer, A.J., 1993: 15). The reuse of stone reflects the economic pressures of the period regarding access to stone supply and the provision of stone by royal and governmental agencies. This is the case in the Delta as the geo-political restrictions created by regional political and administrative fragmentation would have restricted access to quarries in Upper Egypt forcing the population to recycle the stone elements around them. This applied to local rulers in their efforts to construct new temples.

6.16 Fishing Tools and Implements

Evidence of fishing is found in domestic New Kingdom and Third Intermediate Period contexts as indicated by the presence of small copper alloy hooks at Memphis (Giddy, 1999: 177, pl. 39), Gurob (Thomas, A.P., 1981: I, 32-3, nos 8-18, II, pls 1.8-10, 14), Tell el-Ghaba (Bacquerisse, 2015: 382-3) and Akoris (Tsujimura, 2012). An analysis of different types of hooks used from the Early Dynastic to the New Kingdom showed barbed fishhooks became common from the 12th Dynasty onwards (Brewer and Friedman, 1989: 26-31, figs 2.8.9, 2.11-12) and continued to be used in the New Kingdom, as evidenced by an example from Memphis (Giddy, 1999: 177, pl. 39, EES 1895). In the New Kingdom, small barbed fishhooks often lacked eyes, and fishhooks where the end of the shank expanded slightly instead of the eye were not uncommon (Tsujimura, 2012: 15). In Third Intermediate Period levels at Akoris, in what the excavators have identified as a building used for the storage and preparation of fish, mainly catfish, were found a harpoon, fishhooks, weights, a fragment of net and a mending tool for nets. The bronze harpoon measured 10.2 cm long and had a small barb (Tsujimura, 2012: 15), while similar bronze harpoons were found in Level 3 at Hermopolis (Spencer, A.J., 1993: pl. 31 nos

59-60). The size of the harpoons found at both Akoris and Hermopolis would suggest they were suitable for fishing for Nile perch (Tsujimura, 2012: 15). Two types of bronze fishhooks were identified at Akoris, the first was a large type for large fish, with two examples measuring 13.7 and 12.7 cm without barb or eye, similar to the small harpoons (Tsujimura, 2012: 15, fig. 1). The second type was a small sized fishhook measuring 2.57-4.6 cm long which had a barb and an eye made by turning over the end of the shank (Tusijimura, 2012: 15, fig. 2). The new types of fishhook from Akoris now fastened securely to the line, and this type is seen in the 20th / 21st dynasty at Lisht North (Mace, 1914: fig. 4)

A bronze harpoon with a small barb at 10.2 cm long was found at Akoris with similar examples of harpoons known from Hermopolis located on the opposite bank to Akoris. While a large-sized harpoon suggests it was used in the pursuit of hippopotami or crocodile, the small sized versions from Akoris are more suited for the large fishes such as Nile Perch or *Bagradae bagrus*.

Weights attached to nets, or 'net sinkers' were made of three materials at Akoris; stone, pottery and lead, however almost all weights with a net in fishing scenes and models appear to be stone weights (Tsujimura, 2012: 15, fig.3). Weights with a groove to wind the string are recognized as 'net sinkers' but Tsujimura, (2012: 15) states any stone could have been utilized as a net sinker. Two oval shaped limestone and sandstone weights were found at Akoris and were probably hung from the edge of the net as shown in the Middle Kingdom tomb model of Meket-Re. The majority of the net sinkers at Akoris were made of pottery.

Ceramic, pipe-shaped weights allowed a lower seine-rope (a seine was a fishing net which hangs vertically in the water with floats at the top and weights at the bottom edge, the ends are drawn together to encircle the fish) to pass through, as seen in various fishing cultures. According to ancient Japanese fishing methods, pipe-shaped weights with a large eye for seine rope and those with a small eye for a set net are used respectively (Tsujimura, 2012: 16). Pipe weights were divided into two types based on the diameter of the eye. Type A had a diameter of above 5mm, while Type B was below 4mm. In addition to pipe-shaped weights, square-shaped weights were termed Type C. Type C weights had an eye in the upper part, and a diameter above 5mm like the Type A examples, which made Type C weights good for both seine rope and cast net fishing (Tsujimura, 2012: 16, fig. 4, nos 1-19). Ceramic net-sinkers (pipe weights) were found at Kom Firin inside the Ramesside enclosure of Phases E-VI or a little later (Early Third Intermediate Period) (Spencer, N., 2008: 68; 2014: 54, pl. 82).

Metal was used for net sinkers. Lead weights are attested in the Third Intermediate Period at Akoris (Tsujimura, 2012: 16) and Tell el-Ghaba (Bacquerisse, 2015: 383-5), although they are generally considered not to have been used until the Roman Period. The lead weights from Akoris are divided into two types, one of which is elongated, with the lead plate folded lengthways to hold a rope of the net (Tsujimura, 2012: 17, fig.4, nos 20-22); this is the type used at Tell el-Ghaba (Bacquerisse, 2015: 383-5). The second type is another elongated form, but the lead plate is bent into a cylinder to

cover a rope (Tsujimura, 2012: 17: fig. 4, no. 23). Another example of a lead net sinker was found at Kom Firin, but was identified as a bracket (Spencer, N., 2014: 58). In addition to lead, a bronze/copper example as found at Hermopolis, but identified as a 'staple' (Spencer, A.J., 1993: 34, no. 61). Copper harpoons for use in fishing were found at Lisht North (Mace, 1914: fig. 4) along with copper fishing hooks, while at Hermopolis bronze harpoon blades of similar type were found in the 950-850 BCE occupation phase (Spencer, A.J., 1993: nos 59-60).

6.17 Metal and Flint Spearheads

The problem of identifying metal spearheads is due the corrosion of metal, meaning it is sometimes difficult to determine their original function. Metal spearheads are defined by sockets into which the haft is inserted; this is formed by wrapping around a sheet of metal to create the socket. Most metal weapons are from burial contexts (see below), however it is known in the New Kingdom settlement of Qantir an arms factory produced daggers and javelin/spear heads around the reign of Ramesses II for the purposes of warfare (Spalinger, 2005: 227).

The presence of clearly defined spearheads in Third Intermediate Period domestic and funerary contexts is rare in both flint and metal. The main problem is the differentiation between the function of these objects as either knife blades or spearheads. Earlier flint examples from the Middle Kingdom at Abu Ghâlib (Larsen, 1935: 79, fig. 18, nos 1-7) and Kahun (Liverpool inv. 56.20.58 and 56.20.54; Petschel, Falk and Bayer, 2004: 118.111) may be knife blades, while numerous other publications provide little, or no detail on these items, and define them as knives or blades, but without clearer definition (Graves-Brown, 2015: 43). Positively identified flint spearheads come primarily from Middle Kingdom and New Kingdom phases at the military forts of Mirgissa (Middle Kingdom), Buhen (Middle Kingdom- Early New Kingdom), Semna, Uronati, and Askut (Early New Kingdom) (Graves-Brown, 2015: 44). In the New Kingdom, flint examples from Qantir (Piramesse) described as 'Lanzenspitzen' (Tillmann, 1992: 93, pl. 23.1) may actually be spearheads as they were found in association with arrowheads, but identification is still questionable (Graves-Brown, 2015: 44).

In settlements, stone and metal spearheads are very rarely found, with two possible un-illustrated flint examples coming from Kom Rabia (Memphis) (Giddy, 1999: 227, 233-4, nos 951/69, 1066). They are described as crude and bifacial, which may indicate they were unfinished or heavily sharpened (Graves-Brown, 2015: 45). Finally, a New Kingdom bifacial tool described as a spear was found at Hermopolis (Roeder, 1931-32: 108, fig. 3), however, Graves-Brown (2015: 43) considers it to be a knife blade.

The only positively identified metal spearheads from a stratigraphically controlled excavation of a Third Intermediate Period settlement comes from the level 2b house phase at Hermopolis, the type of metal is not documented. Otherwise, metal spearheads come from Third Intermediate Period

burial assemblages. A bronze example comes from Abydos (Fig. 217), in the tomb of Turu and Pagettereru *rn nfr* Iri-pa-ankhkenkenef son of Paabetameri (Mace Cemetery D. Tomb 9) (died ca. 670-650 BCE) (Aston, 2009a: 142-3), while at Nebesheh, bronze spearheads are found in tomb groups TG 13-16 dated to the 12th to 11th century B.C (Fig. 215) (Aston, 2009a: 382). The Nebesheh tomb group spearheads all belong to Petrie's Fin Blade Types H128-130 (Petrie, 1917b: pl. xxxix), while this is the case for the 7th century BCE Abydos example. The metal example from Hermopolis has similarities in form with the Fin Blade typology, but is much thinner and longer in design (Fig. 216). It is not clear whether this reflects a change in morphology or regional difference, and, in any case, different metal spearhead designs may have been used concurrently, as in the case of arrowheads. There are attestations of five bronze spearheads from Abydos tomb Mace Cemetery D tomb 98 dated from ca. 950-750 BCE (Aston, 2009a: 149) and examples came from the unpublished Cemetery 500 burials at El-Ahawaih, but in all cases no information on form was available. Based on the scarce findings of both flint and metal spearheads in both the domestic and funerary assemblages, defining a morphological assessment of spearhead design is not possible. The fin blade type is used throughout the Third Intermediate Period, as it is found from 12th to 11th century BCE into the 7th century BCE in tomb groups, but other designs are seen at Hermopolis in the 8th century BCE. The usage of the fin blade types do appear to continue into the early Saite Period, as similar examples have been found in the Saite Enclosure ('Camp') at Tell Dafana (Fig. 218) (Leclère, 2014: 73, pl. 26, EA 23943).

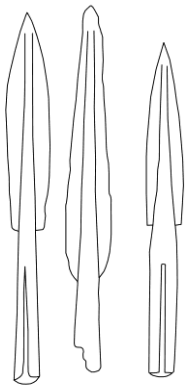


Fig. 215. Bronze Spear Heads. Petrie Fin Blade Types H128-130 (Petrie, 1917b: pl. xxxix). Nebesheh Tomb Groups TG 13-16, 12th to 10th century BCE (Aston, 2009a: 382).

Fig. 216. Long heavy spear point of narrow form from Hermopolis. The blade of approximately oval section and a deep socket for the haft. Length 31 cm width 2.6 cm. From K.10 Level 2b (Spencer, A.J., 1993: 34).

Fig. 217. Original 3:7 reduced by 25%. Spearhead from Tomb Mace Cemetery Tomb 9 at Abydos, dated ca. 670-650 BCE).

Fig. 218. Spearhead with long narrow blade at the base there is a hollow socket for the shaft, formed by wrapping around a sheet of metal. Length 17.2 cm x 3.8 cm wide. From the Saite enclosure ('Camp'). (Leclère, 2014: 73, pl. 26, EA23943).

6.18 Metal Blades

Copper alloy blades are well known from New Kingdom contexts at Kom Rabia, Amarna and Gurob, while dagger and sword typologies from the Middle Kingdom to the New Kingdom have been documented by Müller (1987). Examples of New Kingdom blades at Kom Rabia include two well preserved copper alloy examples both of which exhibited a symmetrical double edge common in the New Kingdom (Petrie, 1917b: 26-7, pls xxx, xxxi) with good parallels from Amarna (Pendlebury, pl. lxxvi, 8-10). The blades from Gurob are wider with rounder ends (Petrie, 1890: 34, pl. xvii, 29-31, 50, 52; Thomas, A.P., 1981, I, 67-8 nos 485-507, II, pls 22.490-498, 23.499-500, 52.487-488). At Kom Rabia a 'leaf shaped' blade, but of smaller size was found, most likely coming from a single long, double-edged blade of straighter type (Giddy, 1999: 177). The examples of metal blades so far found in the Third Intermediate Period domestic levels are made of both copper and iron. Examples of copper blades of a 20/21st Dynasty date come from the settlement at Lisht North (Mace, 1914: fig. 4). An iron blade in a Third Intermediate Period domestic context was found in the Level 3 house at Hermopolis dated to the phase just prior to the 8th century BCE. A further three examples of blades were found, one in the Level 2b and two more examples in the last phases of the house construction (1c and 1a). Spencer (1993: 34) identified the metal blades in the Hermopolis object corpus as spearheads (discussed above). It is more likely they actually represent knives or dagger blades. The Hermopolis blades are all symmetrical double-edged types like those of the New Kingdom and

exhibit a leaf shape appearance. The haft is longer than the New Kingdom examples, but this may be due to the level of preservation, or the type of material used for the grip. In burial contexts at Lahun, in burial 602 (multiple interment) 2 iron daggers were found dating to the 7th century BCE (Aston, 2009a: 97-8, says they are spearheads), have similar morphological traits to the New Kingdom blade types.

The evidence suggests that the usage of copper alloy for domestic blades appears to decline in the early Third Intermediate Period, as so few examples have been found, while there is evidence at Tell el-Balamun in the Third Intermediate Period settlement next to the Saite fort ramp, that bronze blades were being manufactured, as one example was found along with over 200 fragments of bronze slag (Spencer, A.J., 1996: 65-6). The evidence suggests flint was the primary material for blade manufacture, as discussed above, with many spearheads being mistakenly identified, while the object assemblages of the period suggest iron become more commonly attested for metal blade technology in the later Third Intermediate Period, particularly daggers. Due to the limited extent of excavation on settlements of the period this is difficult to confirm. A few prestige iron daggers were imported into Egypt during the New Kingdom, including one found in the tomb of Tutankhamun (Ogden, 2000: 167-8). The process of carburisation, which adds carbon to iron to make steel which can be quench-hardened and tempered to considerable hardness, is known from the middle of the second millennium BCE in parts of the Near East (Craddock, 1995: 258-9). By the middle of the first millennium BCE the production of iron in the Near East increased dramatically but the evidence does not support this wide-scale production for Egypt (Ogden, 2000: 168), particularly in the Third Intermediate Period, as only examples from domestic layers at Hermopolis have been found. Iron was used for the manufacture of metal blades in the 26th Dynasty at Dafana (Leclère, 2014: 74), while a similar blade to the Hermopolis type was found in the Saite 'Qasr', east annexe (c), chamber 19A at Tell Dafana, where bronze blades were still manufactured (Leclère, 2014: 74, no. EA 23942).

6.19 Arrowheads: Stone and Metal

Flint (chert) was used for arrowheads throughout Egyptian history from Neolithic times and other materials such as wood, ivory and fish bones were commonly used. Numerous flint arrowheads have been found in Egypt from throughout the Neolithic (eighth to fifth millennium BCE), while arrowheads, mainly of flint, but wood, ivory and fish bones are known from the Pre-Dynastic Period onwards (Genz, 2013: 95). The use of metal arrowheads began gradually from the 11th Dynasty onwards (Genz, 2013: 95; Huret, 1990: 58; Petrie, 1917b: 34). In the New Kingdom, in addition to local types of arrowheads made from flint, bone, ivory or wood, copper alloy arrowheads of a leaf shaped variety became common (Genz, 2013: 97). The leaf-shaped type had clear origins in the Levant, and are first attested in Egypt in the tomb of Tutankhamun (McLeod, 1982: 19-21). Only two copper alloy arrowheads have been found in early Third Intermediate Period levels at Kom Firin,

which had an elliptical shape (Spencer, N., 2008: 70), with parallels in New Kingdom levels at Beth Shan (James and McGovern, 1993: I, 209; II, figs 156 [1,2,8], 157, [7-12]), Kom Rabia (Giddy, 1999: 177, pl. 37, no. 2866). After the Third Intermediate Period, the Saite settlement of Tell Dafana shows an increased usage of iron objects, particularly for arrowhead manufacture, which, as the evidence so far indicates for the early-Third Intermediate Period were made only out of copper alloy.

New Kingdom examples of bifacial flint arrowheads are known from Ezbet Helmi, (Tell el-Daba) from 18th (Bietak, 1996b: 11; Tillmann, 1994: 108, 257) and 19th Dynasty contexts at Qantir (Tillmann, 1986; 1992: 91-2, figs 24-5). Bifacial flint arrowheads, when found in New Kingdom contexts, considered to be of Nubian manufacture or plunder from earlier graves. This ignores the fact that Egyptians manufactured bifacial arrowheads throughout the 19th Dynasty (Graves-Brown, 2015: 40). The idea of Nubian manufacture for the Qantir arrowheads is supported by Hikade (2001: 123), while Zibelius-Chen (1988: 14) disagrees and, most recently, Graves-Brown (2015) notes that as flint was ubiquitous in Egypt and, as the technology of fine bifacial technology was known in the New Kingdom, the Egyptians would not have needed to import flint from Nubia. She further questions the assumption that bifacial arrowheads found in New Kingdom contexts are of foreign or Early Dynastic manufacture.

After the New Kingdom, the settlements of the Third Intermediate Period rarely have arrowheads within the assemblages. Twenty-one examples of sharpened bone arrowheads come from Medinat Habu (Hölscher, 1954: 6, pl. 3.A), two from Akoris, and a further eleven examples from el-Hibeh, while two copper alloy examples (mentioned above) and a single flint miniature example come from Kom Firin. A possible example of a copper arrowhead comes from the settlement at Lisht North occupied from the Late 20th Dynasty and early Third Intermediate Period (Mace, 1914: fig. 4).

The sharpened bone arrowheads from Medinat Habu (Cairo J 59772-75 and Chicago 15880-15965) were all found in the upper layers of debris outside the Great Girdle Wall. Many incorporated barbed points of flint, which were tied on with a cord (Hölscher, 1954: 6, pl. 3.A). The 21st to 24th Dynasty bifacial flint examples are similar in design to New Kingdom examples from Kom Rabia (Giddy, 1999: 227, 234, no. 1155), and the crude forms could be the result of rejuvenation (the act of knapping to re-sharpen the blade), while the flint points appear to imitate those of bone examples (Graves-Brown, 2015: 42).

The sharpened bone examples are all long, thin, and exhibit a brown paste on the tips, which Hölscher (1954: 6) considered may have been poison. The use of poison is possibly attested on a parallel example from Akoris from an early Third Intermediate Period phase (Kawanishi and Tsujimura, 2013: 14, fig. 9, no. 20). The eleven sharpened bone arrowheads from el-Hibeh are all of the same type of the Medinat Habu and Akoris examples, and exhibit a faint red discolouration of a residue on some of the tips, which Wenke (1984c: Appendix IV, pl. XII) suggested to be a poison residue. The dating of the el-Hibeh arrowheads was not provided, but the ceramics from the excavations of structures abutting the enclosure wall at el-Hibeh in which these arrowheads were

found was all similar in appearance throughout the fill in occupation phases. Many of the ceramics were of a type common in the Early Third Intermediate Period, which were found in domestic contexts and possible small scale industrial or storage facilities next to the enclosure wall (Wenke, 1984b: 32-3). The dating of the fills would support the dating of other sharpened bone arrowheads from early Third Intermediate Period levels at Akoris, and 21st to 24th Dynasty occupation phases at Medinat Habu.

In addition, the single early Third Intermediate Period flint miniature arrowhead example from Kom Firin, has a short tang and is different in design to the earlier Ramesside examples found at Qantir as it does not exhibit a leaf-shaped design, but is more elongated and has un-serrated edges. The possibility that any miniature artefact found in an archaeological context, even when associated with children, had adult or non-toy functions, must be considered (Crawford, 2009: 61). There are two possibilities for this object, the first is that the arrow head may represent a miniature form or secondly, it may have been a child's toy.

The different styles of arrowheads found in the same contexts at Medinat Habu may not indicate typological or chronological factors as ethnographic studies have shown a wide range of arrowhead sizes and designs can arise among archers within the same region (Wiessner, 1983). The similarities between bone examples in form and the usage of adhesives to fix the arrows to the shafts may indicate a similar date of the early Third Intermediate Period and perhaps the same group of people used them. As there is only a single example of a flint arrowhead from Kom Firin for the Third Intermediate Period, a typology for bifacial arrowheads cannot be defined at this stage. Bifacial arrowheads continue to be manufactured from the New Kingdom into the early Third Intermediate Period.

6.20 Grinders, Pounders, and Querns

Grinder and pounders are stones with smooth and often flat surfaces, and could have multifunctional uses as hammers or pounders for grinding or abrading. They are a common feature of both New Kingdom and Third Intermediate Period occupation phases. They were probably either reworked from other stone objects or picked up from spare pieces of stone lying on the ground (Wilson, 2011: 95; Spencer, N., 2014: 56). Grinders and pounders are made primarily out of hard stone types including ferrous sandstone, limestone, granite, sandstone, quartzite, calcite and basalt. Grinders/pounders have been found in Late Ramesside-Early Third Intermediate Period phases at Sais (Wilson, 2011: 95-98, pls 1-2), Kom Firin, (Spencer, N., 2014: 56) and at Memphis where seventeen examples of grinders were found, in different shape categories, including loaf, disk, dome, brick, and cube (Giddy, 1999: 208-9). Grinders and pounders could be made from numerous other object types such as amphora handles and statue fragments.

Querns were typically used for cereal processing and are commonly found in Third Intermediate Period settlements at Memphis and Kom Firin. Giddy (1999: 201-2), divided the Memphite quern corpus into four different categories; slab, saddle, boat, and flat types. At Kom Firin, fragments of red granite and granodiorite may have been part of a grindstone (Spencer, N., 2014: 56, pls 225, 247). Quartzite was generally favoured for the grinding of cereal, and several examples were found in the Third Intermediate Period area (Spencer, N., 2014: 56, pls 189, 227, 235, 240, 244). The fragmentary nature of the Kom Firin examples does not allow them to be placed into quern types. Six of the Third Intermediate Period Memphite querns are made out of quartzite and confirms the preference for using quartzite for quern manufacturing during this period. The remainder were all made from granite, which again corresponds to the Kom Firin quern assemblage. Limestone is not ideal for cereal grinding but one example was found at Kom Firin (Spencer, N., 2014: 56, pl. 233) which may have been used to grind other products.

6.21 Flint Tools

Flint tool assemblages from settlements are rarely published. At Memphis, the majority of examples of flint tools excavated by both Petrie and Anthes were scrapers and cutting tools, particularly sickles and knives (Aston, 2007b: 76). New Kingdom settlements show flint tools were a common part of the domestic artefact assemblages. Flint assemblages of the New Kingdom have been found at Qantir (Tillmann, 1992), Gurob (mostly sickle blades and scrapers) (Thomas, 1981: 31, nos 4-6: II, pl. I.4-6), Amarna (Peet and Woolley, 1923: I, pls xiii, 6, xiv, I, LIV, 518), Deir el-Medina (Bruyère, 1939: xliii, 3) and Matmar (Brunton, 1948: 71, pl. LII, 20, 78, 79). In the New Kingdom assemblages, the most common tools are the sickles, knife blades and scrapers.

Graves-Brown (2015: 39) argues that bifacial flint knives were gradually replaced by metal forms in the New Kingdom, but notes that flint examples continue to be manufactured throughout the New Kingdom (Graves-Brown, 2015: 39). Flint tools became the dominant type of tool into the Third Intermediate Period. Flint nodules are found in limestone (Aston, B.G., Harrell and Shaw, 2000: 28), which meant disused limestone temples and tombs could be broken down to access the nodules and produce tools. Flint was more accessible than metal and tools could be created at a domestic level indicating self-sufficiency in material procurement and tool manufacture. Flint tools also have better preservation rates compared to those of metal and wood, which in Deltaic conditions degrade. Metal was can be reconstituted and melted down to make new items, while broken wooden tools could have been used as fuel after their use-life.

The artefact assemblage from Third Intermediate Period settlement layers at Sais (Wilson, 2011: 104-8, pls 7-10), Kom Firin (Spencer, N., 2014: 56, pls 220, 268-74), Memphis (Aston, 2007b: 76-7; Giddy, 1999: 226-43), Hermopolis (Spencer, A.J., 1993: 33, pls 27-29, nos 20-30 (a-o)) and Akoris (Hanasaka, 2011:10, fig. 6, no. 21; Kawanashi and Tsujimura, 2013: 14, fig. 9, no. 21) all provide evidence for the continuation of the usage of flint tools in domestic assemblages, and the manufacture and repair of flint tools within the communities. The Third Intermediate Period flint corpora from across Egypt show sickle and knife blades were the most common type of tool, with other awls and scrapers an important feature of the domestic tool set. There was extensive flint debitage across all domestic levels indicating a constant re-knapping and sharpening of flint tools. Wilson (2011: 105) suggests due to the large amounts of flint debitage found in the domestic levels at Sais, that the working of flints may have been one of the daily activities of the community. The re-use of many of the flint tools suggests that, although the raw material was available, it was carefully husbanded and small tools were preferred, as they may have been more economical (Wilson, 2011: 105). The fragility of flint tools, compared to metal ones, would have meant they would have broken, or chipped much more easily so they were in constant need of retouching (Graves-Brown, 2015: 50).

6.22 Small Metal Tools

Due to the corrosion of the copper alloy tools in the Third Intermediate Period phases at Kom Firin it is difficult to associate a function with them, while many of them may represent borers or bodkins, or objects associated with piercing functions. The predominance of unidentified copper alloy fragments at Sais in Excavations 1, (Wilson, 2011: 109-110) Excavation 5, and at Kom Firin (Spencer, N., 2008: 70; 2014: 58) would suggest that copper was the preferred metal in the Third Intermediate Period occupation phases for small metal implements. In the overburden of the early Third Intermediate Period level at Sais (Excavation 1), there was found a copper alloy fragment which may have been a chisel or awl (Wilson, 2011: 110: pl. 12.5), like the example from Kom Firin. Copper tweezers are found in the Late New Kingdom/ early Third Intermediate Period settlement at Lisht North (Mace, 1914: fig. 4), along with what appears to be a possibly corroded hair curlers, like an example from a mid to late 18th dynasty level at Memphis (Giddy, 1999: 175, pl. 36). Copper bodkins and needles were used at Lisht North (Mace, 1914: fig. 4). At Hermopolis, bodkins and metal tools used for piercing were found of the same types in all the occupation phases. The use of iron for bodkins was found in both the pre, and post 8th century BCE phases. Spencer (2014: 160, pl. 297) has identified one fragment of metal as possibly a copper alloy chisel blade.

6.23 Bobbins or Ear Gauges?

At Sais (Excavation 1), there was found twenty-nine examples of what Wilson (2011: 128) has suggested to be counters for gaming. Spencer (2014: 55) suggests this object class may be associated with the textile industry as 'bobbins', spools, and winders of reels (Kemp and Vogelsang-Eastwood, 2001: 306; Redford, 2004: 120, fig. 73 [742]; Sullivan, 2013: 241, fig. 9, no. 50, fig. 10, no. 53). These so-called 'bobbins' may in fact have been ear gauges which were inserted into the pierced skin of the ear lobe. The weight and shape of the bobbins would have stretched the lobe which may have been to indicate a higher social status of the wearer. Of the twenty-nine examples from Sais, fourteen were found in the overburden, and are likely to be out of context but were probably brought up from the earlier New Kingdom or Third Intermediate Period phases of occupation. A further ten examples were from New Kingdom levels. The main types of this object comprise: reel or bobbin, and possibly disk-shaped. The materials used to manufacture them were mainly baked clay and limestone, with the colour ranging from black to white and brown-red and in some cases, the colours are particular to the shape of the object (Wilson, 2011: 128). Wilson (2011: 128-30) differentiated two different styles; 'bobbin' or 'reel' type, and cylinder 'bobbin' types. The bobbin or reel type is shaped like a squat reel (or bobbin), with a concave waist around the centre of a cylindrical piece of clay. They are often flattened and the pieces are squat and circular. They are usually made from fired clay, normally un-tempered Nile silt, without the addition of other tempers (Wilson, 2011: 128). At Sais, the outer surface is treated with black paint or charcoal, which is then heavily polished, giving a glossy surface.

At Akoris a single example of this type of bobbin was found in the South Area made from clay, and tentatively identified as a gaming piece, it was unfired, but was black-polished like the Sais examples (Hanasaka, 2011: 9). At Karnak, bobbins of this type have been found and identified as whorls, of which one had a black burnished surface (Sullivan, 2013: 241: fig. 10, no. 53) At Tanis, green and blue green faience examples of the bobbin type were found (Zivie-Coche, 2000: 113: pls V, A-D and XXII, E). At Kom Firin similar pottery bobbin types found in early Third Intermediate Period levels. One example (Spencer, N., 2014: 55, pl. 167, no. 828) was made of Nile silt and fired to a pale brown with black core with fine sand and chaff temper. Like the other examples of this type from Sais it had a smoothed surface and was blackened in some areas, which may indicate it once belonged to a black bobbin set as suggested for the examples at Sais. The other example (Spencer, N., 2014: 55, pl. 168, no. F827) of the same type exhibited a smoothed surface (Spencer, N., 2014: 460). It is difficult to define if this class of object had a function related to gaming, textile manufacture or body piercing and modification. If the identification of body piercing/modification is accepted the different decorative styles and materials used to create both in pottery, stone and faience could reflect elite emulation of body art, and personal adornment styles. This form of body modification is not unique to the Third Intermediate Period, as ear studs were common in New Kingdom layers, particularly at Memphis (Giddy, 1999: 88-95) while numerous statues and tomb scenes depict both males and females with stretched ear lobes. The Third Intermediate Period examples would have

provided the same effect on the ear lobe, and therefore provides a continuation in the stretching of the ear lobe from the New Kingdom into the Third Intermediate Period.

6.24 Gaming Pieces

Other types of object which are classed as gaming pieces and have a conical, or draughtsman style are found at Hermopolis in the 850-700 BCE occupation layers, while pyramidal types are found at Sais. Tall draughtsman versions on circular bases from Hermopolis all exhibit blue glazes (Spencer, A.J., 1993: 37, nos 125-9). The game pieces from the Third Intermediate Period layers have a similar shape to those which appear in the New Kingdom, have similarities with pieces used on *senet* boards (Szpakowska, 2008: 114, fig. 6.4), and may be compared to a faience example from the Ramesside phase at Memphis (Giddy, 1999: pl. 71, no. 1254). At Sais, in Early Third Intermediate Period layers the gaming pieces are made out of both Nile silt and limestone, while a conical gaming piece of the same type was found in the 700-600 BCE phase at Hermopolis made out of calcite, with slightly convex surfaces and flat base on which there is a slight shallow depression from a drill (Spencer, A.J., 1993: 34: no. 48, pl. 31). In the 26th Dynasty at Tell Dafana, a similar green glazed conical shaped gaming was found (Leclère, 2014: 87, pl. 30, no. 18463). Faience versions of the conical type were found at Tell el-Ghaba and were considered like the draughtman versions to belong to the game of *senet* (Bacquerisse, 2015: 380-1).

6.25 Tessons

Pottery tessons have been found in large numbers in both New Kingdom and Third Intermediate Period settlement. They consist of flat circular disks made from pottery sherds, either from the bases or bodies of vessels (Wilson, 2011: 131). They can be found with their sides roughly broken, with their edges smoothed down or entirely smoothed, so there is some difference in the appearance of the tessons (Wilson, 2011: 131). Recut potsherds are found in settlements of New Kingdom and continue to be used throughout the Third Intermediate Period at Sais (Wilson, 2011: 131-5) and from Excavation 5, Kom Firin (Spencer, N., 2008: 67; 2014: 54), Hermopolis (Spencer, A.J., 1993: 38, pl. 37, no. 166), Tanis (Zivie-Coche, 2000: 113, pls V, E and XXII, F) and Memphis (Giddy, 1999: 324-330). Pottery tessons have been interpreted in a number of different ways and may have fulfilled multiple different functions. The range of suggested functions includes, counters (Giddy, 1999: 325-6), amphora stoppers and plugs (Peña, 2007: 154-7; Wilson, 2011: 132), scrapers, scoops/spoons (Giddy, 1999: 325), weights (Giddy, 1999: 325) and discs for wrapping spun flask thread around (Kemp and Vogelsang-Eastwood, 2001: 83), filters (Wilson, 2011: 132) and burnishers (Spencer, N., 2014: 54). They may also have been gaming pieces (Wilson, 2011: 131-2; Bacquerisse, 2015: 378-

80). In the 26th Dynasty at Tell Dafana in the Qasr, east annexe C, chamber 9 was found a *senet* board (Leclère, 2014: pl. 30, no. 23802), while in the same deposit were a number of pottery tessons (Leclère, 2014: pl. 30, nos 23835-8) which were interpreted as being part of the game of *senet*.

6.26 Gaming Boards

The game of *senet*, was popular from the Old Kingdom onwards. Prior to the 17th Dynasty, the game boards which are preserved appear inscribed or painted on slabs of stone, or as graffiti, and it is not until the start of the 17th Dynasty that *senet* boxes (playing boards) are found in the archaeological record, and subsequently become increasingly popular in the New Kingdom. There are 41 *senet* boards securely dated to the New Kingdom, many of which preserve the popular '*game of twenty*' (Crist, Dunn-Vaturi and de Voogt, 2016: 53). None of the surviving *senet* boards from Third Intermediate Period funerary contexts were on game boxes of the type known from the New Kingdom, and none of them contain the '*game-of-twenty*' on the opposite face as this game appears to have disappeared after the end of the New Kingdom. Instead a new game is preserved on the opposite side of *senet*, '*the game of thirty-three*' which is attested on the verso of five *senet* boards. The game is poorly understood, and the origins may lie in the Near East (Crist, Dunn-Vaturi and de Voogt, 2016: 60).

So far, no examples of the *senet* gaming boards have been found in the excavated Third Intermediate Period domestic layers. Within the domestic assemblages so far excavated for the Third Intermediate Period the large numbers of gaming pieces do suggest that the playing of games was a favourite pastime in these communities and as many of the *senet* boards were made from wood, faience, and ivory with glass inlays, it is likely that they do not survive well within domestic contexts, particularly in the Delta. This lack of *senet* boards manufacture may also indicate access an economic restriction of the population to wood and ivory products to construct such boards. Other, more simple mediums could be used for the creation of *senet* grids within domestic communities, such as being drawn on the ground, drawn on ostraca, or scratched onto stone, such as the example of a reused stone for the door lintel in the Ramesside house at Sais (Excavation 1) which had what appears to be a crudely scratched *senet* grid consisting of three or four by twenty rows of squares (Wilson, 2011: 46, fig. 70).

In the Third Intermediate Period, graffiti from the north colonnade of the first court of the temple of Medinat Habu (Pusch, 1979: 320-1) depicts two *senet* boards side-by-side. Side-by-side boards are also scratched into the small boat ramp of Taharqa at the temple of Amun at Karnak (Piccione, 1990: 436-7). As these are the only examples where players use two senet games at the same time, Crist, Dunn-Vaturi and de Voogt (2016: 59), suggest that both the Medinat Habu and Karnak examples can be dated to around the 25th Dynasty.

In the Late Period, senet board examples from Tell Dafana (Leclère, 2014: 48, pl. 30, nos 22323, 22803 and 23802) were simply pottery plates adapted by the scratching in of a rough grid after firing may have been the common way of making a quick *senet* board in the Third Intermediate Period domestic contexts.

A ceramic object found at Kom Firin bearing four rows of holes, - nine, ten, eight and six (perhaps originally seven or eight) – and was a simple gaming board in which pin-like pieces were moved along the holes (Spencer, N., 2014: 55, pl. 169). This object was used for the game of 'Hounds and Jackals'. It used pegs in the shape of hounds and jackals that would have been placed in the indentations, but the rules of the game are not recorded. They may have been played with sticks or reeds as pegs, but they could also have been used to teach a child counting skills (Szpaskowska, 2008: 115).

6.27 Object World of the Third Intermediate Period: Conclusions

A number of themes have emerged following the discussion of the object groups above and the themes will be used to assess the nature of the lifecycles of the Third Intermediate Period populations in regard to cultural, social, and political changes, and the impact on the material culture of the period.

6.27.1 Heirlooms, Social Status, the Reuse of Sacred Objects

The Third Intermediate Period political structures had effectively developed into mini-chiefdoms due to the impact and adoption of Libyan tribal characteristics as defined by Ritner (2009a) in which collateral lines of relatives could seize power. In these chiefdoms, it is the link to the ancestral past which defined, the resources, power, and responsibilities the chief could have in his lifetime. The emphasis on ascribed, in contrast to achieved, characteristics and status governed the social order of chiefdoms (Lillios, 1999: 235). Despite the apparently secure nature of these mini chiefdoms, they were vulnerable, and failure by the chief to maintain his power and prestige, or a failure to maintain the appearance or illusion of their right to power could lead to demotion. The origins of these chiefdoms are to be found in the control of resources. These resources included land, productive technology and labour, the ideology of rank, and of an inherited difference from other social groups around them (Lillios, 1999: 236). One way in which elite members of chiefdom societies could transmit the construction of social inequality, and hereditary rank was through the ownership of heirlooms (Lillios, 1999: 236), while at the same time these object groups embody or preserve a sense of the past and serve as a vehicle for memory, which has links and continuities with New Kingdom ancestor cults, and the passing down of objects earlier in the Third Intermediate Period such as the Ramesside royal burial objects in the 21st Dynasty tombs at Tanis.

The filtration of these chiefdom characteristics through the Third Intermediate Period social spectrum may be suggested in the object assemblages with the keeping of scarabs, Old Kingdom stone vessels, and the reused New Kingdom temple stone work and statuary both within domestic and funerary contexts. The scarabs with the inscribed royal names of Menkheperre (Thutmose III), Amunhotep son of Hapu, and of Sheshonq I found within both domestic and funerary assemblages would have embodied elements of prestige as the royal name, or the memory of an elite member of the New Kingdom society would have pervaded the object and created a bond with its owner, the royal and elite ancestral link infuses it with ancestral characteristics (Steel, 2013). The heirlooms serve as memories and histories, acting as mnemonics to remind the living of their link to the distant ancestral past not everyone had access to, as these heirlooms were not available or equally accessible to all members of the community, and the possession of these heirlooms showed the inherited differences between different social classes (Lillios, 1999: 236).

The amulets which appear as heirlooms within the Third Intermediate Period, most notably those of Sheshonq I (who attempted to regain the Levantine Empire), are highly valued as they refer to a ruler who had considerable prominence and distinction within the Egyptian politico-military memory of the people.

As most of the scarabs from the domestic contexts were made of steatite, they were not made in the royal workshops, but Steel (2013) suggests it was the addition of the royal connection which added prominence and standing to the object. People would have retained these scarabs within the immediate family unit to distinguish their social standing, and link back to the ancestral past of the New Kingdom and early 22nd Dynasty. The inclusion of these royal named scarabs in both domestic and funerary contexts allowed the pharaoh to have a significant symbolic impact on the other social worlds, even though he was not there in person (Steel, 2013).

6.27.2 Elite Emulation

The objects from Third Intermediate Period contexts demonstrates that lower-class society began to emulate the elite material culture through the production of similar items in ceramic form. These include the pilgrim flasks, goblets, ear gauges, and the crudely modelled versions of females on beds.

6.27.3 Representational Figures

There was a continuation of animal figurine usage across the New Kingdom and Third Intermediate Period settlement deposits which reflects the possibility that indigenous Egyptian traditions remained unchanged over generations; it shows a reflection on the continuity of themes in domestic and state religion and the methods of material expression. The continuity of themes makes it difficult to provide

date ranges and even associated typological developments within the animal figurine corpora (Teeter, 2010: 6). Figurines share stylistic attributes from more than one period and phase (Teeter, 2010: 6). There are several important changes over time and in respect to place, however, which may indicate social, religious, or economic developments in the Third Intermediate Period showing an underlying baseline in cultural processes, but there are distinct changes in the practice, and form of belief.

The first significant observation is a cessation in the manufacture of terracotta cobra figurines at some point in the early Third Intermediate Period. The reason for this sudden break in the manufacture of terracotta cobra figurines, which were such a common feature in Ramesside domestic settlements, is at the moment unknown. One possibility is that the lack of cobra manufacture may reflect a change in domestic religion at the time, or a change in the apotropaic interior decoration schemes of houses in relation to the visual nature of the home, where cobra figurines would have been so prominent, or a change in the votive offerings on festival days where cobras are suggested to have been deposited on processional routes. This change may have become finalised with the advent of the 'Libyan' 22nd Dynasty as so far, no domestic contexts from that date onwards exhibit terracotta cobra figurines. This change in material culture may have wider implications regarding the processes in social life in the Third Intermediate Period.

A second significant trait is that with the cessation of the cobra figurines there is a rise in quadruped (horse/bovine) manufacture. Quadruped manufacture alongside other animal types was common in the New Kingdom, but at some time after the 22nd Dynasty the presence of quadrupeds in the domestic assemblages increased, a feature which continued into the Late Period with the popularity of the horse and rider type (Persian Riders). The increase in bovine/quadruped figurines may reflect a Libyan or Kushite influence on the choice of animals and could be a chronological marker for domestic settlements in which large concentrations of quadruped types are found. Animal terracottas show signs of ritual breaking both for the New Kingdom and Third Intermediate Period and demonstrate that aspects of domestic rituals continued. The large number of horses found at Hermopolis could indicate that certain subjects had regional popularity in line with political and Libyan warrior ideologies in which the horse was an important feature, while the importance of horses to the military makeup of Hermopolis in the Third Intermediate Period is vividly mentioned on the Piankhy stela.

A third significant trend is in female figurine types which continue to be used into the Third Intermediate Period and are best represented at Memphis and Thebes, while so far there is an absence in female figurines in the Third Intermediate Period Delta settlements apart from two examples at Tell el-Ghaba in the north -eastern Delta. These figurines may reflect a southern culture or the fact that these figurines were related to female cults in the important political and religious centres of the period. The use of terracotta votive beds is a Theban/southern object culture. Incidents of isolated domestic religious object types are only encountered at Akoris, while the manufacture of terracotta votive footprints may relate to childbirth is seen both in Upper and Lower Egypt.

The religious terracotta objects from across Egypt suggest there was specificity in form and type across the country. There is a favouring of bovine and horse types in Middle Egypt in the Libyan ancestral zones, and the military forts areas, indicating that horse types were linked to aspects of local military elite culture and aspects of political power, while the different forms of females on beds, popular in Thebes, are probably related to the Gods Wives of Amun and to previous New Kingdom types. Other female forms do occur elsewhere but are crudely made, local forms and reflect local versions of females and male/female fertility. The idea of regionalism in the choice of terracotta figurine is seen at Akoris in the so far unique execration figurines. The evidence of terracotta religious forms indicate the political, social and previous regional styles of religious material culture of a region could influence the nature of the domestic religious material expression.

6.27.4 Amulets

During the Third Intermediate Period, the wearing of amulets continued as in the New Kingdom, but there was an increase in the quantity and type of forms of amulets, particularly divine beings, with large amounts of amulets being placed on the dead. The temple and funerary workshops produced large numbers of amulets for the funerary industry, and this was also done at the domestic level in 'cottage-industry' style faience production particularly at Memphis and Tell el-Ghaba.

Most amulets are made of blue and green faience, which is a good hallmark of the Third Intermediate Period. Wedjat-eye typologies from burial contexts correspond to the domestic assemblages and are the most common amulet type in Third Intermediate Period settlements. Sekhmet amulets which make their appearance in the Third Intermediate Period (Andrews, 1990: 8) are common in domestic contexts across the country and no doubt reflect the protective and healing aspect of the deity, and her role in the warding off pestilence. The presence of Sekhmet statue fragments found in the burial of Tehuwymes at the Ramesseum reinforces the popularity of Sekhmet and her apotropaic function for the deceased and for the living. Ptah-Sokar amulets are common and the presence of the scarab on the head occurs in domestic contexts from around the 10th century BCE onwards, while Bes amulets become much more elaborate from the 10th to 9th century BCE. They were used in an apotropaic function to primarily protect children.

The increase in the range and number of amulet forms suggests there was an increased perception of the people for a need for protection from the physical and spiritual world. Amulets were also used to pass on the powers of that divinity to the wearer (Andrews, 1990: 174-9), and therefore the amulets reflect on the choices of deity to be represented and those who were considered the most important apotropaic support to different communities at different time periods. Furthermore, the mass production of amulets at Memphis, and even in ephemeral settlements such as Tell el-Ghaba indicates that there was a high demand for amulets which suggests that the local populations were emulating the elite funerary culture for individual prestige and reflects on the individuals social status

within the community, as faience was easily made compared to the higher status raw materials of semi-precious stones and metal for amulet manufacture of the New Kingdom, and the royal and elite burials.

6.27.5 Reuse of stone: pragmatic economies versus symbolic attachment

The homes of the Third Intermediate Period were furnished with stone door lintels and sills, while lower status dwellings may have used baked clay versions, or ceramic vessels acting as jambs. Inside the houses, re-used stone was made into tables and stools. Many of the stone elements of the houses were reused probably from surrounding buildings most likely temples, tombs and administrative structures which may have gone out of use, or were systematically dismantled due to poor preservation, abandonment, disuse, or general lack of upkeep by governmental bodies.

The re-use of stone from temples and tombs for use in everyday domestic elements and tools provides insights into the views and restrictions of the Third Intermediate Period people in acquiring new objects. This suggests that the population was of a poorer status than in the New Kingdom as they did not have access to high quality and 'new' raw materials. The people still required an expression of prestige but their expectations were not matched by the economic reality in which they now found themselves.

The people were pragmatic in nature and used the damaged and crumbling tombs and temples as ready-made stone quarries. In reusing stone from old tombs, they came into contact with the burial items themselves, as at Lisht North and Medinat Habu where ancient burial goods were found in the settlements. The ancient burial goods would have been reconstituted in the Third Intermediate Period object world as many of them would have been luxury items such as the stone vessels. In addition, the acquirement of these objects would have provided a direct connection with the past and the ancestors.

In reusing the stone and goods of old tombs, people would not have had to make, or acquire new items, or gone out and quarry stone fittings themselves. They had everything they needed to create, rebuild, and add to their domestic environments in the immediate vicinity. This sheds light on the economic restrictions faced by the local populations and local regional governments regarding access to newly made goods and accessible stone quarrying areas. The local populations saw the local rulers were reusing burial items for their own purposes and reusing old temples for their own constructions, and the population followed suit. The local populations seem to have been self-reliant in acquiring new tools and object for themselves and their homes and were less reliant on the regional governmental systems to supply these for them.

Stone was reused for grinders and pounders and was a common object in the residential houses in both the New Kingdom and Third Intermediate Period. Many were made from hard stone and came in loaf, disc, dome, brick, and cube types. Querns of slab, saddle, boat, and flat types attest to the processing of cereals with most of them made from quartzite and granite. Flint tools were an

important part of the domestic tool assemblages and were used for scrapers, sickles, blades and cutting tools. The large amounts of flint debris indicate the inhabitants would engage in repair and manufacture of these flint tools, on a regular basis.

Chapter 7

Conclusion

This thesis set out to:

- Analyse the cultural and societal environment of Egypt between the 21st and 25th Dynasty and to redefine the ways in which we view relative chronological phases of Egyptian history pertaining to the title 'intermediate period', specifically relating to the end of the New Kingdom and early first millennium BCE.
- To provide a framework for the understanding of periods of political structure in Egypt based on themes of continuity and change within settlement patterns, the built environment of settlements, and the material culture of settlements.

This research has been successful in identifying a series of interconnected themes that demonstrate the factors that influenced and developed Egyptian culture and society throughout the Third Intermediate Period. Chapter 7 evaluates the characteristics which have been identified in Chapters 2-6 based on archaeological settlement data, the built environment, and the material culture. This set of interconnected characteristics identified within Third Intermediate Period culture and society which relate to the political and economic power of regions, the nucleation of both settlements and people, self-sufficiency at a collective and individual level, defence, both physical and spiritual, regionality in terms of settlement development and material culture, and finally elite emulation through objects. These characteristics are discussed in association with the themes of continuity and change/transition in comparison to the earlier New Kingdom.

The key to providing a more balanced examination and understanding of this important period in Egypt's history is through an integrated framework developed for this study using elements of culture-historical, processual, and post-processual approaches to settlement pattern studies, and archaeological data which has been demonstrated as the most effective way, based on the limitation of the data, for assessing the continuity and transition of settlements, and culture in Egypt for the Third Intermediate Period.

7.1 The Third Intermediate Period in the Context of the Eastern Mediterranean in the Iron Age

Prior to the start of the Third Intermediate Period, Egypt like the rest of the Near East was part of a wider collapse in the palatial system of the Late Bronze Age. The palatial elite had

exploited the agricultural communities under its control, thereby creating a discrepancy in the wealth and lifestyle of the population. This in turn led to the rural population to seek refuge outside the structures of the state, creating social groups of *hiburu* documented in Mitanni, Hatti, Egypt, Babylon and the Syrio-Palestinian areas. These *hiburu* were social groups who sought refuge. The reduction in agricultural workers reduced the production of the state and placed more burden on the remaining workers, who were ultimately to rebel or strike. The archaeological record of the Near East documents that public and administrative buildings were damaged or destroyed as part of this anger (Van de Mieroop, 2007: 198-200). These strikes, and public anger are well documented during the reigns of Ramesses III, while the destruction of public and administrative buildings by local communities may well be attested within the early Third Intermediate Period archaeological record documented in this thesis. The breakdown of the palatial and state system in the Near East and Egypt and the interruption of the communication between the different states which was vital for the internal organisation had fundamental impacts on all the states involved (Van de Mieroop, 2007: 200).

Egypt was cut off from Asia as the Hittite and Syria-Palestine area descended into turmoil, with the subsequent rise of the Neo-Hittite, Phoenician, and Aramean city-states, which meant that communication between Assyria and Babylonia was severed, while trade and diplomacy between Egypt and the northern states also ceased. The internal system that had once supported the elites had now ceased, and with no unified power filling the power vacuum that had been left behind by the decline of the Near Eastern and Egyptian states new social groups, such as the 'Libyans' in Egypt, acquired control, along with lower social strata of the population, while at the same time becoming more multicultural in the demographic makeup of the country. The rearrangements of these new powers in large parts of the Near East may have been benefitting from new freedoms (Van de Mieroop, 2007:200) of which Egypt may too have benefitted.

These freedoms in Third Intermediate Period Egypt, identified in this thesis include a move towards locally based theocracies with a focus on regional religion, and regional material culture, the ability to build new organic architectural designs, to continue organic settlement development without the need for new state built settlements so evident in the New Kingdom, the freedom to move in to previously uninhabited zones, and the ability to begin to emulate elite items as part of the trickle-down effect of elite culture to the wider society.

The lack of sources for the study of Third Intermediate Period Egypt is mirrored in other post-collapse societies in the Near East, particularly from 1100-900 BCE, while the reduction in bureaucracy, or at least recorded bureaucracy, and the lack of building projects compared to earlier periods is also a common feature of the Near Eastern 'Dark Age'.

In the Near East from 1100-900 BCE important technological and social changes occurred largely due to the disappearance of the earlier power and administrative structures (Van de Mieroop, 2007:201). The social and economic lives of the people were reformed to adapt to the new circumstances, while the technological practices had been maintained by the palaces and when the latter ceased to exist the infrastructure collapsed leading for a need to change. The material culture of the domestic assemblages of Egypt, compared to the New Kingdom appears much poorer with fewer luxury or imported items within the assemblages.

Egypt, like Assyria and Babylonia stagnated technologically as they carried on earlier methods, such as the use of bronze, while in Anatolia and the Levant iron was used (Van de Mieroop, 2007: 202). Egypt in the Third Intermediate Period, unlike Mesopotamia which in the 9th Century BCE used iron, does not appear to have used iron until at least the Late Period, and remained using bronze. These developments indicate Egypt was isolated from new technological advances which ultimately made it vulnerable to new weapon technologies and warfare from the Near East, evident in the subsequent and repeated invasion and defeats in the later part of the period by the Assyrians.

The disruption in the economic practices led to a reduced need for bureaucracies, which is evident within the Third Intermediate Period assemblages as no foreign letter archives such as the Amarna letters have been uncovered, and also indicates that scribes were no longer involved in foreign diplomacy, and may not have been trained in the new diplomatic languages. In the Near East the reduction in bureaucracies in turn led to the interruption of trade, and the field and labour were no longer centrally administered and private economic activity declined (Van de Mieroop, 2007:201-2). In Egypt, the fragmentation of the state into what were effectively 'city-states', under the rule of Libyan tribal characteristics, would have made a centralised trade policy more complicated, as they were now dealing with warring city-states in the Levant.

In the Near East, there was also a complete restructuring of society allowing migrants and internal population movements, and a flux between semi-nomadic and settled people. The urban residents became pastoralists and the semi nomadic groups came to power in the cities (Van de Mieroop, 2007: 204). Egypt itself appears to develop a complete restructuring of society in line with the Near East which is mirrored with the rise to power of the previously semi-nomadic Libyan tribal groups in the Delta and Middle Egypt.

Based on this wider historical backdrop of the eastern Mediterranean, the following sections go on to provide a synthesis of the Third Intermediate Period data compiled in this thesis, through a thematically structured discussion of the material in order to provide an understanding of the cultural and societal environment of Egypt between the 21st and 25th Dynasty, and to redefine the ways in which we view the Third Intermediate Period.

7.2 The Mechanism for Political Fragmentation in the Third Intermediate Period

The mechanisms for the political fragmentation of the Third Intermediate Period can be found in, and compared to the situation at the end of the Old Kingdom and the emergence of the First 'Intermediate Period' (ca. 2160 – 2055 BCE). The centralised system of the pharaonic state of the Old Kingdom was firmly installed within a centralised capital as had been the case in the New Kingdom. The Old Kingdom social elite, and the administrative expertise of the country controlled the traditions of Egyptian high culture, including the installations of the state religion, the cult of the king, and the divine ancestors who were located in the immediate vicinity of the capital. The country was controlled by royal emissaries, who retained their attachment to the royal court and regarded themselves as members of the elite society of the capital, while there was a large social and cultural inequality between the country and its rulers (Seidlmayer, 2000: 120). From the 6th Dynasty onwards the provincial administrators were appointed to single nome areas. The provincial administrators now took up residence in their districts, with offices frequently passed down to members of the same family, which created a change in the socio-economic patterns of the centralised system. This meant that economic resources that were originally held at the capital and redistributed to the local areas were now under the control of the local elites who resided in their provinces and had direct access to the resources.

This fragmentation of the centralised power into regional centres is mirrored with the rise of the Libyan chiefs and kings in their local seats of power, particularly in the Delta and Middle Egypt. The growing opposition between the local elites of the Old Kingdom and the centre became a differentiating factor, and the provincial aristocracy aimed to emulate their new way of life with that of the royal court (Seidlmayer, 2000: 121) which is again mirrored in the development of the Third Intermediate Period. The local elites now acted as separate centres within the political organisation and kept a large amount of local production within the provinces rather than having it exploited by the royal court, which led to a change in the social and economic patterns of the provinces, with rural Egypt becoming culturally more complex (Seidlmayer, 2000: 121). The retention of resources within the main centres is again mirrored within the political and resource management structure of the Third Intermediate Period and a primary factor in the development of the regional power centres and the breakdown of centralised control.

7.3 Settlement Patterns Created out of Political Fragmentation

The general pattern and density of settlement in Upper Egypt during the Third Intermediate Period, based on the surviving data, was retained from the New Kingdom and unaffected by the developing political fragmentation in the country. Some regional centres, particularly that of Tod appear to diminish in political and economic power, while the sites in the politically important centres of the Heracleopolitan / Faiyum region developed into important political centres, while these centres also became the focus of an increased military network in order to secure the region.

In the Delta, the developing political centres and regions show evidence for the resettlement of earlier sites, for example at Buto, along with the expansion and growth in the size of settlements upon abandoned areas and funerary zones as at Sais and Mendes. Such resettlements and urban expansions could indicate the growth of population in the Delta in line with an increased number of refugees entering from the western desert throughout the period as evidenced by groups of the Meshwesh and Libu settled on the Delta geziras, which was initiated in the Ramesside Period.

At the same time, the changing hydrological situation in the Delta seems to have created opportunities for previously under-developed regions to become more intensively settled and exploited agriculturally. The nome capitals of those regions and their hinterlands became optimal locations for new political and economic centres to consolidate land holdings and build up strong foci for local rulers, for example at Bubastis and Tanis. Centres like these began to thrive during the Third Intermediate Period, driving the settlement of the hinterland, and facilitating new areas of settlement growth and bringing the agricultural areas into a centrally organised system which continued into the Late Period, for example at Sais.

The eastern Delta remained the most settled area in Lower Egypt with continued occupation on the Pelusiac Branch despite the rise to power of Tanis, suggesting that the Pelusiac Branch was still active, even if new distributaries had formed.

The Western Delta transitioned into a more urbanised and economically prosperous region through the development of the new hydraulic system in the reign of Shoshenq III. New towns/city centres at Kom el-Hisn and Kom Firin attest to this development and the interest of rulers in erecting stone monumental structures there.

The political fragmentation of the Delta in the Third Intermediate Period was also due to increasing territorial pressures exercised by the increased fragmentation of the centralised state. The inter-regional territory annexation may have facilitated the movement of smaller settlements into the main centres, such as the repopulation of Buto, and the transferal of

populations from Piramesse to Tanis. These factors could have increased population numbers in the main centres and created more urbanised settlements such as at Medinat Habu. The central towns provided a level of control and security for the population perhaps based on the military and police nature of the local chiefs of the Ma and Meshwesh, for example in the heavily militarized zone of Libyan influence in Middle Egypt around Heracleopolis and the Faiyum.

These regional territorial pressures saw the transition of Egypt in the Third Intermediate Period into an inward-looking state created out of the need for the locally-based political elites to control inter-regional land boundaries and resources. The reduction in attested sites from the New Kingdom to the Third Intermediate Period may reflect the new inward nucleated settlement patterning, especially at places such as the Eastern Nile Delta and Thebes, and the need for regional security systems to control populations by clustering them into small tight knit groups such as at Medinat Habu and Matmar, perhaps based on Libyan tribal/military influences. An inward-looking policy of control is reflected in the continued use of old fortresses for example in Middle Egypt and Thebes, and the construction of new ones on land borders and points of juncture as at Per Sekhemkheperre and the Walls of Sheshonq in the Eastern Delta, in effect controlling populations, trade routes, and resources into and out of the Nile Valley and Delta.

The new framework developed in this thesis using the functional attribute system for settlement patterns studies is the most effective way of documenting sites and their function impartially, and allows for future research to add and expand the data sets relating to Third Intermediate Period site functions and ultimately settlement patterns.

The research has highlighted geographical regions that require more detailed survey and excavation that can fill in the gaps regarding both the nature and density of Third Intermediate Period settlement and material culture and the development and regionality of burial customs and funerary assemblages. Future studies should focus on accessing Third Intermediate Period settlement archaeology within Upper Egypt as there is a textual and funerary bias within the data, and those sites in the Delta in ephemeral/border/threatened areas with surface ceramics from the period must be a focus for archaeological excavation before they are levelled or built over.

The representative sample of ‘sites’ identified in this research is the most comprehensive set of data so far assessed regarding settlement studies in the Third Intermediate Period. The site data for Upper Egypt is based primarily from textual evidence and archaeology, with Lower Egypt mainly represented by archaeological evidence. There are still gaps in our understanding of the networks of the smaller towns and villages of the wider hinterlands, as records of these locations do not survive within the limited bureaucratic records of the period.

Despite the restrictions of the available data in certain regions a good view of the main developments in settlement pattern policy throughout the country can be achieved.

Future research should examine Third Intermediate Period settlement pattern development in association with the development of settlement patterns in the Near East and the Mediterranean, to assess if there was a general trend in settlement development in the early first millennium BCE regarding aspects of nucleation and city-state formation. Such a study might further highlight the cultural impact of the Egyptian Empire in the Near East and Nubia and the effect of its removal at the end of the New Kingdom, and further assess Third Intermediate Period Egypt within the developments of the Near East in the early first millennium BCE.

Finally, future research in the development of settlement pattern studies should, by using the same methodology employed in this thesis, define a country wide Late Period settlement pattern study to complement the Third Intermediate Period, to define the transition of settlement patterns from the end of the Third Intermediate Period to the Late Period, and how settlement management changed.

7.4 Land Administration and Economy

Land developments and the growth of political power favoured the Delta region during the Third Intermediate Period as political power had shifted to the north more completely than in the Ramesside Period. The available lands of the Delta and the complex hydrological situation allowed for the creation of new individually ruled regions and states that could be developed to support these new political centres, which in comparison to Upper Egypt which had relatively fixed geographical demarcations based on the hydrological and geological systems.

Land was administered in much the same way as in the New Kingdom with a network of extensive hinterland connections with major temple institutions, while in the Delta a characteristic of the Third Intermediate Period was the reorganisation of old lands brought under the power of new rulers and settlements which based on the new economic power derived from these lands allowed them to develop into important political and economic centres.

The economic benefits of foreign trade networks which were developed in the New Kingdom were drastically reduced during the Third Intermediate Period. The inward-looking policies of the Third Intermediate Period rulers, and the economic restrictions put on different regions through geo-political pressures effected the economic outlook of Egypt. The opportunity for the development of trading contacts originally established under the palatial system with the Aegean and the Levantine states through elite-elite contacts were now disrupted by the restrictions on access to trade routes for large numbers of the elite. This probably effected

those in Upper Egypt and the Western Delta the most as they were potentially unable to access the eastern borders and the caravan routes across the Sinai into the Levant. Without a centralised elite within Egypt or the Near East working out of centralised capitals as had been the case in the New Kingdom at Piramesse and Memphis, a sustained and controlled trade network would not be possible.

The strength of the regional economies can also be assessed through the policies of the rulers and the pragmatic reuse of buildings and items by not just the local populations but the elites as well. In many political centres it becomes clear that economic restrictions stifled the erection of new large temple complexes alongside the restriction of access to quarries. The main temenoi of many settlements were not regularly repaired indicating a potential lack of funds to repair even the most important administrative structures in the settlements. An apparent abandonment of maintenance of previously important religious and administrative buildings outside the temenoi walls, possibly as a result of dilapidation was most likely due to insufficient funds to keep them functioning.

The re-use of the stone and mud brick from the temples, tombs and administrative buildings that may have gone out of use due to the poor upkeep, disuse or abandonment by local government, and used for everyday domestic items indicates an economic restriction on the local populations who could no longer afford to acquire new objects, and suggests that the Third Intermediate Period elites and non-elites were significantly poorer than those of the New Kingdom.

It is only when the international trading networks begin to gradually increase again at the end of the Third Intermediate Period, under the control of the Assyrians as part of their wider empire, and then fully established again under the Saite kings of the unified 26th Dynasty with the establishment of Greek trading colonies at Naukratis, that the material culture of the settlements becomes richer, with increases of ceramic imports and luxury items. The new economic stability of the state in the 26th Dynasty also allowed for considerable renovations and new temple building across the country, as well as in some cases, the total remodelling of the urban landscapes and their buildings in many of the important political centres.

7.5 Defence

There appears to be a heightened desire by the population to be protected by both physical structures and religious or spiritual objects. The physical manifestation of defence within the settlements was through the walled enclosures that were prominent features within the Third Intermediate Period built environment, and were also consistently recorded in the inscriptions of

conquering forces. Those settlements in areas which were exposed to potential infiltration by physical attacks, particularly those at the access to wadi routes, for example at Matmar, and on the edges of the cultivation leading into the Libyan desert, saw the population concentrated within the walled enclosures of the New Kingdom. These ephemeral populations moved into the enclosure walls where they could feel safe, and probably form close knit communities such as at Medinat Habu. The allowance of these populations to now move within what was previously a segregated religious zone indicates a break down in political control of many of the more ephemeral communities and settlements. This situation can be compared to Thebes, and the enclosure of the Karnak temple where populations were actively encroaching upon the sacred zones of the temple in order to construct domestic dwellings, and were subsequently removed. This shows that in areas where a political elite dwelled a jurisdiction of social and sacred segregation was still actively enforced. Whereas in other regions where this political control was weakened the local population had the ability to dictate their own domestic settlement needs free from administrative control.

The most important civic and religious buildings were now concentrated within the main temple temenoi, as at Hermopolis, as there was now a focus on defending important structures such as temples, palaces, the royal and elite burials as at Tanis and Tell el-Balamun, the central granaries, storerooms and military buildings, which allowed the rulers to centralise power within one area where they could be monitored. The earlier New Kingdom civic and religious buildings outside the main temenos were abandoned and left to fall into ruin.

The reliance and reference to physical defence as a characteristic of the period may indicate a form of underlying regional tension between different political centres and family lines, with the insecurity filtering its way down through the elite political classes into the wider population, as can be seen in the movement into high walled secure zones of the settlements.

This filtering down of tension and insecurity, and the potential for conflict can be seen as people seem to show a heightened desire for protection both from the walled enclosures, and the closer-knit family and housing groups. There is also an increase in the quantity, and range of amulet forms, especially divine beings, which shows people thought there was a heightened danger to themselves, their families and communities in both the physical and spiritual worlds. The local theocracies, from which the local rulers gained political power and legitimation, also gave people a local sense of self and protection from their local deity,

7.6 Regionalism

The development of Egypt into a theocratic state in the Third Intermediate Period was one of the most important driving factors in the creation of regionalism. The model of the theocratic state in Thebes, was exported throughout the country into different regions, whereby each settlement and the associated hinterland, or the extent of the main centres territory, developed into what could effectively be described as a 'city-state' culture, along the same line as 'city-state' development in the wider Near East. Each 'city-state' in Egypt was now effectively under the control of the local deity, whether that be Amun in Thebes, or Heryshef in Heracleopolis, and from these theocracies the local ruler would derive his autonomous political power and legitimisation within a wider Libyan political structure. These theocracies allowed the local ruler to develop their own regional style of government and control, this included resource management and the autonomy to dictate settlement development within the main political centre. The populations within these settlements and their connection to the local gods developed intense religious identities, while their their links to ancestral burial grounds drew them into a sense of continuity within the funerary landscape, in which they would need a connection with the dead to continue the afterlife rites.

At the macro level, individual geographic and political regions exhibited different forms of settlement development and regionality influenced by the political, economic, and geographical conditions in which they were situated. Settlements in the main political centres, such as Memphis, continued to develop organically on top of the previous New Kingdom phases, retaining the axial alignments of the New Kingdom settlements in relation to the main temple enclosures around which they were concentrated.

The fragmented political nature of the country and the subsequent regionality created by this is expressed through the diverse choice of deities represented within domestic religion, such as the increased usage of quadruped terracotta figurines in Middle Egypt, particularly at el-Ashmunein, while female figurine types are commonly found in the political centres of Memphis and Thebes, reinforcing the suggestion of a southern object culture, which is so far absent in the Delta settlements.

7.7 Self Sufficiency

The governing bodies of each settlement do not appear to have interfered with the development of domestic settlements outside the temenos walls, as there is no evidence for new state planned settlements or the creation of new axial alignments within the previous New Kingdom urban landscape, while even in some cases the exterior of the temenoi were developed for burials and

domestic purposes with the inside remaining secure, as at Mendes. Each settlement had the potential to have been self-sufficient in its functioning, and this can be linked back to the political autonomy of the regions, and the advent of the theocratic 'city-states'.

The focus was now on the self-preservation of the settlement and the region. The main focus was now on the maintaining of the institutions within the political and economic boundaries that the rulers possessed in order to maintain their power and keep the settlement functioning both religiously and bureaucratically. This can be seen as a local reaction to the removal of the centralised authority of the New Kingdom, and a need to re-establish at local and regional levels some form of managing control, which is reminiscent of the development of regional self-sufficiency at the end of the Old Kingdom and the development of the First Intermediate Period.

In the retraction of the local elites to within the large temenoi walls the population outside the walls in the main political centres now took over the abandoned religious and administrative buildings outside. They utilised the buildings for domestic purposes whether this was the dismantling of them for building material, primarily the mud bricks for the construction of new housing, or they built new homes within the courtyards, or enclosures of the buildings, using the monumental architecture as an added defensive perimeter to the domestic complex and allowed them to form discrete communities. They could also use these buildings as areas of industry, and again form discrete walled complexes for the production of goods, again using the existing complexes as secured zones of manufacture. This process of reuse is an aspect that is parallel in the re-use of earlier burial grounds for new interments, for example with burial shafts at Thebes and Saqqara.

The process of the reuse of earlier settlement areas was not stopped by the ruling elites, who firmly focussed their activities within the temonos itself, and the protection of the structures within. Those people outside the walls were left to be self-sufficient as indicated by multiple family and communal grain silos, for example those excavated at Akoris. The extra-urban structures used New Kingdom house designs at Thebes, and developed more organic-type house designs at Hermopolis to suit the needs of their families within their own economic and spatial limits.

The local population may have been self-sufficient in producing their own pottery as a result of the economic restrictions to purchase new wares from a centralised source, while the lack of a trading connection with the wider Mediterranean created a stagnation in the development of new forms until the end of the period, when contacts with the wider Mediterranean began to increase again. They also appear to have been self-sufficient in acquiring new stone tools and now became less reliant on local government to provide items of

daily life for themselves, instead utilising the urban environment to manufacture and reuse items.

7.8 Social Status through Material Culture and Elite Emulation

The material culture from the Third Intermediate Period domestic settlements is reflective of the political fragmentation of the country through the regionality of the choice of objects and themes represented, the economic limits of the settlements, the self-sufficient nature of the people living in the settlements and the aspirations of people to elite culture.

The pottery forms show little differentiation in form that would indicate the social status of the owner. The pottery production and types of vessels during this period were homogenous despite the fragmented political nature of the country which created regionalism and diversity in a number of areas of social life. The baseline in the material culture shows a limitation of pottery forms compared to the New Kingdom, which also reflects the utilitarian needs of the population. The vessel types indicate a focus on group dining, and communal drinking across the different social spectra, while storage was a primary function of most of the vessels. This again reinforces the self-sufficiency of local populations and family groups and centralised storage both within the settlement and the home.

The Third Intermediate Period people appear, based on the pottery assemblages to be eating, processing, and storing foods the same way as the New Kingdom population. It is likely that the everyday lifecycles of the inhabitants within the settlements did not fundamentally change from the New Kingdom, despite being poorer.

The population continued to express social status using heirlooms linking themselves to important military rulers such as Shoshenq I, perhaps again showing a link with warrior class ideologies of a Libyan influence.

Even though the Third Intermediate Period population were poorer than those of the New Kingdom there was an aspiration of local populations to emulate elite culture through certain aspects of the material culture**.** The people still required a way of expressing social status and prestige, but they no longer had the economic means to do so, and therefore had to find new ways of expressing it. There was an adoption of the elite faience goblets to pottery versions and footed bowl types from around the 22nd Dynasty onwards and is reflective of the trickle-down effect of elite material culture filtering down to the non-elite population.

In conclusion, this study on the Third Intermediate Period has provided a more nuanced view of the period after the collapse of the Mediterranean and Near Eastern states in the Late Bronze Age. The early first millennium BCE was one of significant social, cultural, and political change not just within Egypt but the wider Near East. This study allows us to begin to understand the period through a series of themes defined through the archaeological material discussed in this thesis as outlined above. The Third Intermediate Period was born out of a restructuring of the wider socio-political elite world of the Late Bronze Age. The Third Intermediate Period was not one of continued disorder and chaos as so many have previously described it. There were substantial changes in the socio-economic conditions of the country in which the new powers had to adapt, but the people continued their daily lives bounded by the new situations in which they found themselves. The new world order allowed the freedom and opportunity to develop new aspects of political structure, economic conditions, aspects of culture, elite emulation, a more multicultural Egypt, self-sufficiency, and isolationism at both the state and local levels.

Appendix I
Gazetteer of Third Intermediate Period Sites

1.1 Introduction

This appendix is a comprehensive gazetteer of Third Intermediate Period 'sites' which are utilized within the analysis and discussions of this study. This appendix incorporates Third Intermediate Period locations which have not been utilized in the thesis discussions but have contributed to the overall quantified site data statistics. It provides, where appropriate, detailed documentation and discussion of the sites, including discussions on the potential locations of toponyms not associated with modern Arabic toponyms.

In addition to 'sites', this appendix will list wider geographic locations and regional toponyms, including thematic excursi in relation to groups of related toponyms, such as royal residences, administrative districts, and specific topographic features such as roads and waterways.

The site of Tell Tennis which preserves a statue base of Psusennes I (Gauthier, 1914: 290 [277]) has not been included in this gazetteer, as it is likely that this monument was brought to the site in the Late Antique Period, while the sites of Mut el-Kharab and other oasis sites have not been included as this study focuses on sites within the Nile Valley and Delta. For discussions on the Third Intermediate Period activity from the Dakhleh Oasis at the site of Balat see, (Minault-Gout, 1983: 117; Mills, 1983: 128), and for excavations at the temple and settlement of Mut el-Kharab see, (Hope et al., 2009: 47-86; Hope et al., 2008: 49-73, Hope, 2001: 29-46; Kaper, 2009).

1.1.1 Data Box Layouts for Upper Egyptian Sites

- ID:ThIP_UE.1 = Identification Number ThIP (Third Intermediate Period).
- Nome + Cardinal Number (and Capital designated).
- Bank: West/East/Island
- GEOREF: Geographic Co-ordinates
- ArabicNAME: Modern Arabic Name of the Site.
- AEN_Hiero: Ancient Egyptian Name in Hieroglyphs
- AEN_Trans: Ancient Egyptian Name Transliterated
- SFuncID: Site Attribute Function (See Main Text Section 2.4.5.5)
- Discussion: Site Discussion and Available Data

1.1.2 Data Box Layout for Lower Egyptian Sites

- ID:ThIP_LE.1: Identification Number ThIP (Third Intermediate Period).
- GEOREF: Geographic Co-ordinates
- ArabicNAME: Modern Arabic Name of the Site.
- AEN_Hiero: Ancient Egyptian Name in Hieroglyphs
- AEN_Trans: Ancient Egyptian Name Transliterated
- SFuncID: Site Attribute Function
- Discussion: Site Discussion and Available Data

For sites documented on the Piankhy Stela, see, (Grimal, 1981; Lichtheim, 1980: 66-84).

1.2 Upper Egypt

1.2.1 1st Upper Egyptian Nome

ID: ThIP_UE.1	**NOME:** 1st	**BANK:** Island	**GEOREF:** 24° 0'55.46 N, 32° 53'40.10 E
ArabicNAME: Gezirat Bigga		**AEN_Hiero:**	**AEN_Trans:** *sn-mt*
SFuncID: ThIP_UE.1.1 Domestic NA ThIP_UE.1.2 NA ThIP_UE.1.3 Military ThIP_UE.1.4 NA		**Discussion:** Gezirat Bigga is the first site mentioned on the 21st Dynasty Onomasticon of Amenemope (Gardiner, 1947: II. 1, *On.Am.*314) indicating the administrative importance of this border for the early 21st Dynasty High Priests of Amun. An inscription was left here by the High Priest of Amun, Menkheperre (Jansen-Winkeln, 2007a: 81; Römer, 1994: 579, (54)). Whether a small garrison force was retained here after the pontificate of Menkheperre is unknown, but after his pontificate the border most likely retracted back to Elephantine (ThIP_UE.3) which was now the southern border for the remainder of the Third Intermediate Period.	

ID: ThIP_UE.2	**NOME:** 1st	**BANK:** Island	**GEOREF:** 24° 3'39.76 N, 32° 52'15.50 E

ArabicNAME: Gezirat Sehel	**AEN_Hiero:**	**AEN_Trans:** *Sṯt*
SFunc: ThIP_UE.2.1 Domestic NA ThIP_UE.2.2 NA ThIP_UE.2.3 Military ThIP_UE.2.4 NA	**Discussion:** An inscription was left here by the High Priest of Amun, Pinudjem I (Gauthier, 1914: 245, VII; Jansen-Winkeln, 2007a: 25).	

ID: ThIP_UE.3	**NOME:** 1st	**BANK:** Island	**GEOREF:** 24° 5'4.66 N, 32° 53'8.33 E
ArabicNAME: Gezirat Aswan		**AEN_Hiero:**	**AEN_Trans:** *ȝbw*
SFunc: ThIP_UE.3.1 Domestic ThIP_UE.3.2 NA ThIP_UE.3.3 Military ThIP_UE.3.4 NA	**Discussion:** From the reign of the High Priest of Amun, Menkheperre, Gezirat Aswan (Elephantine) became the main southern frontier and authorised control point of Egypt, with continous occupation under the 22nd Dynasty with royal monuments of Osorkon II (Jansen-Winkeln, 2007b: 120; Seidlmayer, 1982: 329-34, taf. 72). A number of private land donations to the Khnum temple were made in the 22nd Dynasty (Jansen-Winkeln, 2007b: 172; Junge, 1987: 62-3 (5,2) taf. 38) and a number of private and royal monuments of the 22nd to 23rd Dynasty have been found (Jansen-Winkeln, 2007b: 254, 413, 472; Junge, 1987: 61-3, taf. 35 e-f; Payraudeau, 2003: 203) along with a monument of the proto-25th Dynasty ruler Kashta (Cairo, JE 41013) (Jansen-Winkeln, 2007b: 336; Leclant, 1963: 74-8, fig. 1). A settlement of the Third Intermediate Period continued to function in the area of the New Kingdom Khnum sanctuary see, (Krekeler, 1988: 170-4; 1993: 172, 174, Abb. 13).		

ID: ThIP_UE.4	**NOME:** 1st	**BANK:** West	**GEOREF:** 24°49'16.97"N 32°52'44.73"E
ArabicNAME: Buweib el-Bahari		**AEN_Hiero:** NA	**AEN_Trans:** NA
SFunc: ThIP_UE.4.1 Domestic	**Discussion:** In the 25th Dynasty, most likely in the reign of Piankhy the zone of Nile in the 1st Upper Egyptian Nome		

ThIP_UE.4.2.NA ThIP_UE.4.3 Military ThIP_UE.4.4 NA	was fortified by a number of military installations aimed at a policy of controlled access. Only one fort so far has been located at Buweib el-Bahari near the small modern village of Abu Id (Aston, 1996b). If the positioning of the fort on the border of the 1st Upper Egyptian Nome just to the north of It-Sirag is correct, then the later placing of the fortress of Buweib el-Bahari would be situated on the border between the 1st and 2nd Upper Egyptian Nome. This would provide a good defensive and administrative location as you move into the cultivated sector of the Nile Valley.

ID: ThIP_UE.5	**NOME:** 1st Capital	**BANK:** East	**GEOREF:** 24°27'7.61"N 32°55'42.88"E
ArabicNAME: Kom Ombo		**AEN_Hiero:**	**AEN_Trans:** *nbyt*
SFunc: ThIP_UE.5.1 Domestic ThIP_UE.5.2 Cemetery ThIP_UE.5.3 NA ThIP_UE.5.4 NA		**Discussion:** There is evidence of 21st Dynasty burial activity within a reused Middle Kingdom tomb during the reign of the High Priest of Amun Menkheperre (Aston, 2009a: 154-5; Jansen-Winkeln, 2004; 2007a: 94; Wenig, 1968). The New Kingdom temple may have been functioning to some degree as there was a hieratic inscription of the 21st Dynasty carved into the temple (PM VI, 1939: 199), which may indicate some form of settlement was still active in relation to the temple activity. There is so far, no evidence to suggest the character, or form of development of Kom Ombo after the early 21st Dynasty.	

ID: ThIP_UE.6	**NOME:** 1st	**BANK:** East	**GEOREF:** 24°38'31.05"N 32°56'4.73"E
ArabicNAME: Gebel el-Silsila		**AEN_Hiero:**	**AEN_Trans:** *ḫny*
SFunc: ThIP_UE.6.1 Domestic (Assumed) ThIP_UE.6.2 NA ThIP_UE.6.3 NA		**Discussion:** Quarrying was resumed at Gebel el-Silsila under Shoshenq I in his 21st regnal year (Caminos, 1952) to extract stone for his ambitious building projects at Thebes and Memphis.	

ThIP_UE.6.4 Quarry	

ID: ThIP_UE.7	**NOME:** 1st	**BANK:** West	**GEOREF:** 24°52'11.03"N 32°51'25.62"E
ArabicNAME: Naga el-Hassaia		**AEN_Hiero:** NA	**AEN_Trans:** NA
SFunc: ThIP_UE.7.1 Domestic (Assumed) ThIP_UE.7.2 Cemetery ThIP_UE.7.3 NA ThIP_UE.7.4 NA		**Discussion:** Naga el-Hassaia is a cemetery site where numerous funerary stelae were found that dated stylistically and philologically to the 22nd Dynasty (Winlock, 1920). It is unsure as to which settlement this cemetery was associated.	

1.2.2. 2nd Upper Egyptian Nome

ID: ThIP_UE.8	**NOME:** **2nd Capital**	**BANK:** West	**GEOREF:** 24°58'37.73"N 32°52'20.91"E
ArabicNAME: Edfu		**AEN_Hiero:**	**AEN_Trans:** *ḏb3*
SFunc: ThIP_UE.8.1 Domestic ThIP_UE.8.2 Cemetery ThIP_UE.8.3 NA ThIP_UE.8.4 NA		**Discussion:** The Onomasticon of Amenemope mentions Edfu twice, once as *ḏb3* and the second time as *bḥd.t*. These two toponyms are unlikely to refer to the same physical location as indicated by Gardiner (1947: II, 6). This is the only time a duplication of a settlement name occurs in the entire document, while the most important settlements of Tanis, Thebes and Memphis are only written once. These two toponyms relating to Edfu probably relate to different settlement districts, or divisions of space. It is clear from the location listings for Egypt in the onomasticon, that each nome has either one or two 2nd order cities, or locations associated with them, therefore it is likely that *ḏb3* is the primary settlement of Edfu itself and *bḥd.t* is the overall name for the settlement and its districts. This would suggest that settlements may have had overall names for the wider settlement and then individual names for districts located within the wider	

	named settlement. Therefore, the toponym *bḥd.t* has been listed as a geographical zone and not part of the settlement site list, as *ḏb3* fulfils this role, and represents the wider 'site' of Edfu. Regarding the settlement longevity throughout the period, several non-royal statues have been found dating from the 22nd to 25th Dynasty. These include a (funerary) Horus stela of Nesamun (Alliot, 1934: 201-10; Jansen-Winkeln, 2007b: 472, n. 154; Sternberg, 1999: I, 50, 82, 84, 86; II, 25), a stela of Horimai (PM V, 1937: 204), and a kneeling statue of Espekashuti (BM 1225), (PM V, 1937: 204). During the 25th Dynasty, Edfu began to be re-developed by Taharqa. The New Kingdom temple was added to with a new gate, most likely standing on the access road to the temple (Leclant, 1987: 349; Leclant and Clerc, 1986: 287). Finally, from the 25th Dynasty from the reign of Shabako, was a statue of a man called Amenemhat who was Prophet of Amun at Karnak (Cairo Mus Ent. 46916). The statue mentions his wife before Mut of Ashur and Apet as a Hippopotamus (Engelbach, 1921: 190-2, fig. 2; PM V, 1937: 204). The late Third Intermediate Period settlement was identified in excavations to the west of the Ptolemaic Horus temple that revealed traces of walls of the 25th to 26th Dynasty (Henne, 1925: 15). They rest upon a large 2.6 m ash deposit of the New Kingdom that covered the silo court of the Second Intermediate Period after the New Kingdom administrative activity moved to another area of the settlement. Extremely thin walls measuring 58 cm thick, large open courtyards and square magazines built into the ground and used as cellars characterize the new domestic buildings of the 25th to 26th Dynasty (Moeller, 2010: 87). This all suggests some reworking and re-development of the settlement in the 26th Dynasty, a feature that is common at other sites.

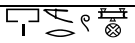
	The cemetery of Edfu, located at Hagar Edfu (ThIP_UE.8.2) (24°58'25.43"N 32°50'27.29"E) has revealed Third Intermediate Period burial activity in the area around the 'Pyramid' tomb. To the south of the 'Pyramid' tomb was termite eaten wood and white plaster that may have belonged to a coffin, and four 'sausage jars' containing embalming materials (Davies and O'Connell, 2011a: 105, figs 22-6). The ceramics associated with the coffin, and other ceramics found on surface surveys in Area 5 would indicate a Third Intermediate Period date for this part of the cemetery (Davies and O'Connell, 2011b: 6). Third Intermediate Period pottery is common all along the desert escarpment from north to south in areas 0-9. The cemetery at Hagar Edfu has a general Third Intermediate Period date as the ceramic sequence has yet to be defined. Funerary stela found at Edfu suggest that the cemetery was at least active in the 22nd to 25th Dynasty.

1.2.3 3rd Upper Egyptian Nome

ID: ThIP_UE.9	**NOME:** 3rd Capital	**BANK:** West	**GEOREF:** 25° 5'23.89"N 32°46'20.38"E
ArabicNAME: Kom el-Ahmar		**AEN_Hiero:**	**AEN_Trans:** *Nḫn (Mḫn)*
SFunc: ThIP_UE.9.1 Domestic ThIP_UE.9.2 NA ThIP_UE.9.3 NA ThIP_UE.9.4 NA		**Discussion:** The site of Kom el-Ahmar, the ancient Hierakonpolis is mentioned only on the Onomasticon of Amenemope during the Third Intermediate Period (Gardiner, 1947: II, 7, *On.Am.*320). No more is known regarding this site for the Third Intermediate Period after the early 21st Dynasty.	

ID: ThIP_UE.10	**NOME:** 3rd	**BANK:** East	**GEOREF:** 25° 7'7.80"N 32°47'52.21"E
ArabicNAME: El-Kab		**AEN_Hiero:**	**AEN_Trans:** *nḫb*
SFunc: ThIP_UE.10.1 Domestic		**Discussion:** Little archaeological evidence survives from the site beyond a 21st Dynasty obelisk (Cairo JE 89125)	

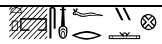
ThIP_UE.10.2 Cemetery ThIP_UE.10.3 NA ThIP_UE.10.4 NA	(Jansen-Winkeln, 2007a: 195; Quaegebeur, 1989: 121-133). The recovery of this small obelisk indicates that the temple of Nekhbet was adorned at this time. There is further evidence of temple adornment as a foundation deposit from either the Late Ramesside or 21st Dynasty was found indicating some substantial addition to the New Kingdom temple. The presence of the 21st Dynasty obelisk may indicate the foundation deposit is most likely of 21st Dynasty date too, as part of one temple addition. El-Kab is documented on the 21st Dynasty Onomasticon of Amenemope (Gardiner, 1947: II, 8) and Istemkheb D the sister wife of Pinudjem II was given the title of Prophetess of Nekhbet, which was then inherited by her daughter Nesitanebtashru (Kitchen 1996: §232). These benefices indicate the 21st Dynasty had a direct interest not just in the religious aspect of the settlement but the associated benefices and income that the settlement and hinterland could provide. The Old Kingdom cemetery at el-Kab was reused during this period (Leclant and Clerc, 1997: 311). A mastaba of the 3rd Dynasty was excavated by a Belgium expedition in which a yellow varnished coffin of the classic Theban type was found among later burials (Limme, 2008: 23-4, fig. 35).

ID: ThIP_UE.11	**NOME:** 3rd	**BANK:** West	**GEOREF:** 25°12'50.92"N 32°38'1.48"E
ArabicNAME: Komir		**AEN_Hiero:** 	**AEN_Trans:** *pr-mrw*
SFunc: ThIP_UE.11.1 Domestic ThIP_UE.11.2 NA ThIP_UE.11.3 NA ThIP_UE.11.4 NA		**Discussion:** The site of Komir, the ancient *pr-mrw* is mentioned only on the Onomasticon of Amenemope, (Gardiner, 1947: II, 9, *On.Am.*322). No more is known regarding this site for the Third Intermediate Period, after the early 21st Dynasty.	

ID: ThIP_UE.12	**NOME:** 3rd	**BANK:** West	**GEOREF:** Esna and Hagar Esna (NW of Esna) (25°17'51.09"N 32°30'49.77"E)
ArabicNAME: Esna and Hagar Esna		**AEN_Hiero:**	**AEN_Trans:** *ỉwnyt*
SFunc: ThIP_UE.12.1 Domestic ThIP_UE.12.2 Cemetery ThIP_UE.12.3 NA ThIP_UE.12.4 NA		**Discussion:** Esna is documented on the 21st Dynasty Onomasticon of Amenemope (Gardiner, 1947: II, 10, *On.Am.*323). No more is known about the settlement until the 25th Dynasty when the temple is added to by Shabako and a new naos installed (Cairo, CG 70007) (Daressy, 1889: 81 [xxiii]; Roeder, 1914: pls 7, 25-8). Evidence for cemetery activity during the Third Intermediate Period is from material that is said to have derived from excavations conducted by John Garstang during 1905-1906, but were only published in a brief report (Garstang, 1907: 132-148). Garstang did not attribute any of the tomb groups to the Third Intermediate Period stating that the Esna necropolis (Hagar Esna) dated to the 12th to 20th Dynasty, apart from one limestone sarcophagus of the Chantress of Amun Inshu originally dated by Garstang to the 22nd Dynasty. Aston (2009a: 153) has suggested that a limestone sarcophagus of Inshu found in the cemetery is more likely dated to the 19th Dynasty and not the 22nd Dynasty. Downe's (1974) collation of the Esna data has suggested that the burial groups found by Garstang have a date range of the late 18th to 22nd Dynasty, and that several of the burials should be dated to the late Third Intermediate Period or Late Period. Aston's (2009a: 153) review of the material has shown that the burials groups have material that dates from the 2nd half of the 8th century BCE or later. In addition a Tomb Group 643 (Esna 250) (Aston, 2009a: 154); a large 19th Dynasty superstructure with two stories and six vaulted burial chambers had been burnt on more than one occasion. There was evidence of Third Intermediate Period reuse with cartonnage fragments	

	possibly dating as early as ca. 930-700 BCE (Aston, 2009a: 154). The cemetery is likely to have been used ca. 750 BCE and later, possibly spanning back at the earliest to ca. 900 BCE. The dating of most the burials for this period would appear to coincide with the religious building additions made under Shabako.

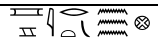
ID: ThIP_UE.13	**NOME:** 3rd	**BANK:** NA	**GEOREF:** NA
ArabicNAME: NA		**AEN_Hiero:**	**AEN_Trans:** *ꜥgn*
SFunc: ThIP_UE.13.1 Domestic ThIP_UE.13.2 NA ThIP_UE.13.3 NA ThIP_UE.13.4 NA		**Discussion:** The ancient site of *ꜥgn* is documented on the Onomasticon of Amenemope (Gardiner, 1947: II, 13, *On.Am.*324). The site was a benefice of Nesikhons A and is mentioned on the 22nd Dynasty stela of Neseramun (Cairo CG 42221) from the Karnak Cachette (Jansen-Winkeln, 2007b: 243-245, no. 51; Legrain, 1914a: 47-50, pl. 29; PM II, 1929:149). *ꜥgn* is most likely to be found in the vicinity of the sites of Esna (ThIP_UE.12) and Asfun el-Matanah (ThIP_UE.14).	

ID: ThIP_UE.14	**NOME:** 3rd	**BANK:** West	**GEOREF:** 25°23'29.44"N 32°32'30.07"E
ArabicNAME: Asfun el-Matanah		**AEN_Hiero:** 	**AEN_Trans:** *ḥwt-snfrw*
SFunc: ThIP_UE.14.1 Domestic ThIP_UE.14.2 NA ThIP_UE.14.3 NA ThIP_UE.14.4 NA		**Discussion:** *ḥwt-snfrw* is listed on the Onomasticon of Amenemope (Gardiner, 1947: II, 14-15, *On.Am.*325). It is only in the 25th Dynasty that evidence of royal activity is so far documented at this site with the erection of a red granite stela of Taharqa offering to the god Hemen (Cairo Mus Ent. 38269) (PM V, 1937: 165; Vikentiev, 1930).	

ID: ThIP_UE.15	**NOME:** 3rd	**BANK:** East	**GEOREF:** 25°27'29.53"N 32°32'13.01"E

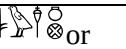
ArabicNAME: El-Moalla	**AEN_Hiero:**	**AEN_Trans:** *pr-ḥfȝt*
SFunc: ThIP_UE.15.1 Domestic (Assumed) ThIP_UE.15.2 Cemetery ThIP_UE.15.3 NA ThIP_UE.15.4 NA	**Discussion:** *pr-ḥfȝt* is considered to be the modern el-Moalla (Baines and Malek, 2000: 82; Snape, 2014: 36). The site is listed on the Onomasticon of Amenemope (Gardiner, 1947: II, 15-17, *On.Am.*326) and is listed directly after *ḥwt-snfrw* (ThIP_UE.14) and *ꜥgn* (ThIP_UE.13). El-Moalla has a direct connection to both '*ḥwt-snfrw* (ThIP_UE.14) and *ꜥgn* (ThIP_UE.13). El-Moalla is mentioned on a fragment of a 21st Dynasty papyrus which was in Alan Gardiner's possession, and is mentioned on the block statue of Neseramun (Cairo CG 42221), as Neseramun is both prophet of *ḥwt-snfrw* (ThIP_UE.14) and *ꜥgn* (ThIP_UE.13) (Gardiner, 1947: II, 16). El-Moalla is a well-known cemetery of the First Intermediate Period, but three 21st Dynasty coffins are reputed to have been found here. One of them Berlin 9679 belongs to a woman and is reminiscent of 21st Dynasty coffin styles from Thebes, while coffins Berlin 8516 and 8517 both are unpublished, but have been reported as originating from here (Aston, 2009a: 153). It is likely that there was a connected settlement of which Neseramun was the prophet of the local temple.	

ID: ThIP_UE.16	**NOME:** 3rd	**BANK:** East	**GEOREF:** 25°29'40.65"N 32°31'12.56"E
ArabicNAME: Dibabeya		**AEN_Hiero:** NA	**AEN_Trans:** NA
SFunc: ThIP_UE.16.1 Domestic (Assumed) ThIP_UE.16.2 NA ThIP_UE.16.3 NA ThIP_UE.16.4 Quarry		**Discussion:** A stela from the reign of Smendes I was inscribed in the quarry at Dibabeya near to Gebelein giving orders to repair damage caused to the temple of Luxor after a high flood (Breasted, 1906: §627-30, listed as the Gebelein Stela; Daressy, 1888; Kitchen, 1996: §213).	

ID: ThIP_UE.17	**NOME:** 3rd	**BANK:** Island	**GEOREF:** NA
ArabicNAME: NA		**AEN_Hiero:** 	**AEN_Trans:** *iw-m-itrw*
SFunc: ThIP_UE.17.1 Domestic ThIP_UE.17.2 NA ThIP_UE.17.3 NA ThIP_UE.17.4 NA		**Discussion:** *iw-m-itrw* (lit. Island in the River) is an island near Gebelein (ThIP_UE.18) with a cult of the god Suchus and listed on the Onomasticon of Amenemope before Gebelein (ThIP_UE.18) (Gardiner, 1947: II, 21, *On.Am.*330).	

ID: ThIP_UE.18	**NOME:** 3rd	**BANK:** West	**GEOREF:** 25°29'24.02"N 32°29'1.32"E
ArabicNAME: Gebelein		**AEN_Hiero:**	**AEN_Trans:** *pr-ḥw.t-ḥr*
SFunc: ThIP_UE.18.1 Domestic (Assumed) ThIP_UE.18.2 NA ThIP_UE.18.3 Military ThIP_UE.18.4 Quarry		**Discussion:** For bricks of both the 21st Dynasty High Priest of Amun Menkheperre and his wife Queen Istemkheb (21st Dynasty) possibly from a fort enclosing the temple of Hathor, see (Fraser, 1892-1893: pl. 5 [xxi] opposite pp. 494, 498; Schiaparelli, 1921: 126-7).	

1.2.4 4th Upper Egyptian Nome

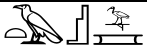
ID: ThIP_UE.19	**NOME:** 4th	**BANK:** West	**GEOREF:** 25°35'44.26"N 32°27'55.65"E
ArabicNAME: El-Rizeiqat		**AEN_Hiero:**  or	**AEN_Trans:** *sw-mnw*
SFunc: ThIP_UE.19.1 Domestic ThIP_UE.19.2 NA ThIP_UE.19.3 NA ThIP_UE.19.4 NA		**Discussion:** El-Rizeiqat is listed on the Onomasticon of Amenemope (Gardiner, 1947: II, 20, *On.Am.*330). Early 20th century excavations at el-Rizeiqat found funerary items from the New Kingdom, but there is so far, no evidence of continued burial activity at el-Rizeiqat dating to the Third Intermediate Period. Its inclusion on the Onomasticon of Amenemope indicates its importance for the early 21st Dynasty administration.	

ID: ThIP_UE.20	**NOME:** 4th	**BANK:** West	**GEOREF:** 25°37'18.83"N 32°32'40.48"E
ArabicNAME: Armant		**AEN_Hiero:**	**AEN_Trans:** *Ỉwny*
SFunc: ThIP_UE.20.1 Domestic ThIP_UE.20.2 NA ThIP_UE.20.3 NA ThIP_UE.20.4 NA		**Discussion:** Armant is listed on the Onomasticon of Amenemope (Gardiner, 1947, II, 21, *On.Am.*332-3). At Armant there was activity in the temple area in the 22nd Dynasty. A 22nd Dynasty statue of Djedkhonsefankh (Florence Museum 7632) was added (Pellegrini, 1898: [29]; PM V, 1937: 161), along with a granite statue of Osiris dedicated by Shepenwepet II in the 25th Dynasty (Gauthier, 1914: 387 [2, A], 388 [XVIII, 2]; Legrain, 1906: 44). So far there have been no associated cemeteries for Armant that date to the Third Intermediate Period.	

ID: ThIP_UE.21	**NOME:** 4th	**BANK:** East	**GEOREF:** 25°34'58.97"N 32°32'0.34"E
ArabicNAME: Tod		**AEN_Hiero:**	**AEN_Trans:** *ḏrtỉ*
SFunc: ThIP_UE.21.1 Domestic ThIP_UE.21.2 NA ThIP_UE.21.3 NA ThIP_UE.21.4 NA		**Discussion:** Tod is not listed on the Onomasticon of Amenemope but Third Intermediate Period pottery has been found in the temple area (Pierrat-Bonnefois, 2000).	

ID: ThIP_UE.22	**NOME:** 4th	**BANK:** West	**GEOREF:** For Medinat Habu: 25°43'11.09"N 32°36'2.86"E
ArabicNAME: Luxor (West Bank)			
Intra-Site List and Associated SFunc: ThIP_UE.22.1.1 Medinat Habu (Domestic) ThIP_UE.22.2.1 Cemetery ThIP_UE.22.2.2 Wadi el-Malikaat (Cemetery)		**Discussion:** The Theban West Bank has been taken as one 'site' but with multiple functions across the area. Each functional area has been given an additional suffix to the ThIP_UE.22 designator for the Theban West Bank area. The Third Intermediate Period funerary landscape of the Theban West Bank Thebes is dealt with in detail by Aston (2009a: 157-268) who has compiled the data regarding the	

ThIP_UE.22.2.3 Wadi el-Maluuk (East Valley) (Cemetery) ThIP_UE.22.2.4 Wadi el-Maluuk (West Valley) (Cemetery) ThIP_UE.22.2.5 Deir el-Bahari (Cemetery) ThIP_UE.22.2.6 The Ramesseum (Cemetery) ThIP_UE.22.2.7 Sheikh Abd el-Gurna (Cemetery) ThIP_UE.22.2.8 Valley South of Deir el-Bahari (Cemetery) ThIP_UE.22.2.9 Deir el-Bahari (Cemetery) ThIP_UE.22.2.10 Assasif (Cemetery) ThIP_UE.22.2.11Dra Abu el-Naga (Cemetery)	Third Intermediate Period burials on the Theban West Bank. For documentation of the Third Intermediate Period settlement inside the walls of Medinat Habu see Hölscher (1954).

ID: ThIP_UE.23	**NOME:** 4th	**BANK:** West	**GEOREF:** NA
ArabicNAME: NA		**AEN_Hiero:** *t3 ḏḥwty st mry*	**AEN_Trans:** 
SFunc: ThIP_UE.23.1 Domestic ThIP_UE.23.2 NA ThIP_UE.23.3 Military ThIP_UE.23.4 NA		**Discussion:** *t3 ḏḥwty st mry* 'The Seat Beloved of Thoth' was a military base on the Theban west bank (Yoyotte, 1950: 63-6). This military base is mentioned on the statue of the Vizier Nesipaqashuty: Text A19 A block statue Cairo CG 42232: JE 36665: Karnak Cachette, NR. 99; now in Luxor Museum Nr J 152). Dated by the cartouche of Shoshenq III and the name of the High Priest of Amun Harsiese B (Kitchen, 1996: §171).	

ID: ThIP_UE.24	**NOME:** 4th	**BANK:** West	**GEOREF:** NA
ArabicNAME: NA		**AEN_Hiero:**	**AEN_Trans:** *tꜣ ỉꜣt pꜣ bỉk*
SFunc: ThIP_UE.24.1 Domestic ThIP_UE.24.2 NA ThIP_UE.24.3 Military ThIP_UE.24.4 NA		**Discussion:** The site of *tꜣ ỉꜣt pꜣ bỉk* 'The Mound of the Falcon' is attested for the Theban Nome in the 21st Dynasty and is listed among the settlements of Amenemope (Gardiner, 1947: II, 24, *On.Am.*334). This location is not mentioned again in the Third Intermediate Period, but on a later Ptolemaic papyrus (*P.Berlin* 3141, 3111) there is record of the priests of the 'Resting Place of the Ibis and Falcon' in the Theban Nome (Otto, 1952: 79). The tombs of the Ibises are recorded on another Ptolemaic papyrus (*P.London BM* 10230, IV, I) as being on the 'Mountain of Djeme' and it is possible that the later Ptolemaic name could be equated with the 21st Dynasty name (Otto, 1952: 80). This location may have an association with the fortress 'The Seat Beloved of Thoth'(ThIP_UE.23) in the area of Medinat Habu, which was first mentioned under Merenptah and maintained into the 22nd Dynasty (Yoyotte, 1950) and could have an associated military function.	

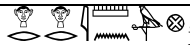
ID: ThIP_UE.25	**NOME:** 4th Capital	**BANK:** East	**GEOREF:** 25°42'40.29"N 32°39'5.39"E
ArabicNAME: Thebes (East Bank) between the Karnak and Luxor Temples		**AEN_Hiero:**	**AEN_Trans:** *nw.t*
SFunc: ThIP_UE.25.1 Domestic ThIP_UE. 25.2 NA ThIP_UE.25.3 NA ThIP_UE.25.4 NA		**Monument and Textual Activity Date:** The full writing of the settlement of Thebes on the Onomasticon of Amenemope is *nwt wꜣst nt ỉmn ḥnwt n dmỉ nb* (Gardiner, 1947: II, 24, *On.Am.*335-6). There is a considerable amount of archaeological data attested for Third Intermediate Period works within the temples at Karnak and Luxor and is beyond the scope of this study to document, for Karnak and its associated	

	temples see (PM II, 1929: 1-301 and for Luxor see, PM II, 1929: 301-339). The main settlement was situated around the Karnak temple enclosures, see (el-Saghir, 1988; Sullivan, 2013).

ID: ThIP_UE.26	**NOME:** 4th	**BANK:** West	**GEOREF:** 25°44'1.91"N 32°42'37.12"E
ArabicNAME: Naga el-Medamud		**AEN_Hiero:**	**AEN_Trans:** *mɜdw*
SFunc: ThIP_UE.26.1 Domestic ThIP_UE.26.2 NA ThIP_UE.26.3 NA ThIP_UE.26.4 NA		**Discussion:** The ancient site *mɜdw* is listed on the Onomasticon of Amenemope (Gardiner, 1947: II, 26, *On.Am.*337). The High Priest of Amun Menkheperre added to the main temple of Naga el-Medamud, in effect fortifying the temenos walls, while bricks stamped in his name were found in the temple itself (Jansen-Winkeln, 2007a, 81 n. 21; Spencer, A.J., 1979: 145; pl. 34 (82)). 21st Dynasty building activity was followed up with new building works in the northern kiosk by Shepenwepet, Amenirdis I and Shepenwepet III (PM V, 1937: 144).	

ID: ThIP_UE.27	**NOME:** 4th	**BANK:** West	**GEOREF:**NA
ArabicNAME: NA		**AEN_Hiero:** 	**AEN_Trans:** *ḥr (=ỉ) ḥr ỉmn*
SFunc: ThIP_UE.27.1 Domestic ThIP_UE.27.2 NA ThIP_UE.27.3 NA ThIP_UE.27.4 NA		**Discussion:** Within the Theban Nome there is mention of a site called *ḥr (=ỉ) ḥr ỉmn* 'My Face is Upon Amun' which is listed on the Onomasticon of Amenemope (Gardiner, 1947: II, 27, *On.Am.*338). The name of the site can be used in personal names of the 18th Dynasty (BM EA 13368 (PM VIII/2, 1999: 546; Turin Museo Egizio Cat 3087 (PM VIII/2, 1999: 550)). The site must have been significant to be mentioned alongside Armant, Naga el-Medamud and Thebes, but has not been positively located. The name of the settlement indicates that the site was in	

	view of the Great Temple of Amun at Thebes (Karnak), and the inhabitants of this town could view the front pylons of the Amun temple. This indicates that it was most likely situated on the West Bank, but still within the borders of the Theban nome. The settlement is mentioned on the temple list of Anena behind the Montuhotep temple at Deir el-Bahari, and is mentioned in the Ramesside tomb of Amenemhab (TT 44) who was a priest in 'My Face is Upon Amun'. In the list of Puyumre there is an 'Amun of Herihoramun', which is listed before Amun of Deir el-Bahari (Davies, 1923: 79). Attestations to the site are that of the Ramesside official Nebwenenef who was the Overseer of Prophets of *ḥr (=i) ḥr ỉmn* (Wolf, 1929: 31). Davies (1923: 83) proposed that *ḥr (=i) ḥr ỉmn* was in the area of the Temple of Amenhotep I and Queen Ahmose-Nefertary. Evidence from around the temple does suggest that there was some votive activity within the temple during the 21st Dynasty, as a headless granite scribe statue of Amenmose (Cairo Museum JE 1221) was found in its ruins (Borchardt, 1934: pl. 170, 116-7; Hamada, 1947: 20; Northampton, Spiegelberg and Newberry, 1908: 7; PM II, 1929: 422-3) along with a votive block depicting Ahmose-Nefertary dated to the 22nd Dynasty (PM II, 1929: 422-3). The use of Geographic Information Systems (GIS) and the viewshed analysis of the surrounding topography in a digital elevation model (DEM) allows for all potential topographic locations that can view Karnak to be plotted on a map of the Theban Nome (Fig. 222). Areas that can potentially view the Temple of Amun at Karnak are isolated primarily within the Theban Nome itself as the West Bank cliffs towards the northern Nome border obscure a view of the Amun temple from the West Bank in the 5th Upper Egyptian Nome, reaffirming the theory that the settlement is to be within the borders of the Theban Nome. On the Onomasticon of Amenemope

	 is listed after Naga el-Medamud (ThIP_UE.26) and would indicate that the settlement was to be located opposite if not slightly to the north of Naga el-Medamud itself, placing it very close to the northern border of the nome. There are a small number of modern villages that are located within the viewshed area, but the small village of Ezbet Abu Habashy provides the best view of the Amun Temple at Karnak. The two possible locations for the toponym of 'My Face is Upon Amun' are therefore likely to be either near the Temple of Amenhotep I and Ahmose-Nefertary, or near the modern village of Ezbet Abu Habashy.

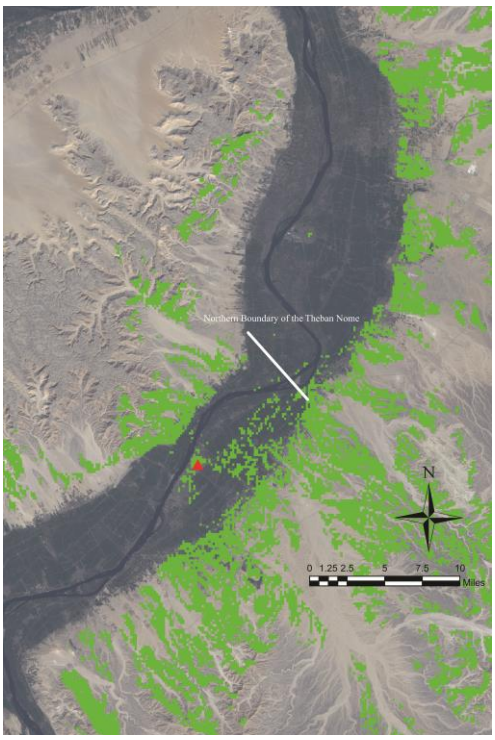


Fig. 219. Viewshed Plan of Possible Locations for from the Temple of Amun at Karnak.

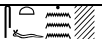
1.2.5 5th Upper Egyptian Nome

ID: ThIP_UE.28	**NOME:** 5th	**BANK:** East	**GEOREF:** 25°50'15.61"N 32°49'47.18"E
ArabicNAME: Higazeh		**AEN_Hiero:** NA	**AEN_Trans:** NA
SFunc: ThIP_UE.28.1 Domestic ThIP_UE.28.2 NA ThIP_UE.28.3 Military ThIP_UE.28.4 NA		**Discussion:** The High Priest of Amun Menkheperre erected a new fortification on the northern boundary of the Theban nome at Higazeh. Bricks with the cartouches of Queen Istemkheb, wife of Menkheperre attest to this new building work. (Cairo Museum JE 44670) (Gauthier, 1914: 269 [xxiii.A]; Jansen-Winkeln, 2007a: 80 n. 20; Spencer, A.J., 1979 :145, pl. 35 (92)).	

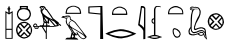
ID: ThIP_UE.29	**NOME:** 5th	**BANK:** East	**GEOREF:** 25°54'58.00"N 32°45'50.05"E
ArabicNAME: Qus		**AEN_Hiero:**	**AEN_Trans:** *gsy*
SFunc: ThIP_UE.29.1 Domestic ThIP_UE.29.2 NA ThIP_UE.29.3 NA ThIP_UE.29.4 NA		**Discussion:** The ancient site of *gsy*, the modern day Qus is listed on the Onomasticon of Amenemope (Gardiner, 1947: II, 27, *On.Am.*339). Little survives from the Third Intermediate Period from this site, apart from a plaque (Moscow I.1.a. 1934 (2083)) bearing the name of a King Usermaatre that preserves the writing of the name of Qus. The plaque probably comes from a foundation deposit of an unknown temple in the settlement (Hodjash and Berlev, 1982: 156, 157 (103); Jansen-Winkeln, 2007b: 413).	

ID: ThIP_UE.30	**NOME:** 5th	**BANK:** West	**GEOREF:** 25°58'24.31"N 32°43'56.94"E
ArabicNAME: Tukh		**AEN_Hiero:**	**AEN_Trans:** *nbt*
SFunc: ThIP_UE.30.1 Domestic ThIP_UE.30.2 NA ThIP_UE.30.3 NA ThIP_UE.30.4 NA		**Discussion:** The ancient site of *nbt*, the modern Tukh, is only listed on the Onomasticon of Amenemope (Gardiner, 1947: II, 28, *On.Am.*341). Nothing else is known about this site for the remainder of the Third Intermediate Period.	

ID: ThIP_UE.31	**NOME:** 5th Capital	**BANK:** East	**GEOREF:** 25°59'44.08"N 32°49'1.12"E
ArabicNAME: Quft		**AEN_Hiero:**	**AEN_Trans:** *gbtyw*
SFunc: ThIP_UE.31.1 Domestic ThIP_UE.31.2 NA ThIP_UE.31.3 NA ThIP_UE.31.4 NA		**Discussion:** The 5th Upper Egyptian Nome capital is located at modern Quft (ancient: Coptos). The site has preserved most of the datable material from 5th Upper Egyptian Nome for the Third Intermediate Period. The 21st Dynasty is limited to a reused limestone fragment with the remains of an oracle text datable to the High Priest of Amun, Pinudjem I (London UC 16824) (Römer, 1994: 467-8) and a stela of Pinudjem I representing Henttawy A (Cairo JE 71902) (Abdallah, 1984: pls 16-17; Jansen-Winkeln, 2007a: 25). In the 22nd Dynasty Osorkon I placed his name on a gate of Thutmose III in the north chapel (Jansen-Winkeln, 2007b: 52; Kitchen, 1996: §263; Petrie, 1896: 17, pl. 13 (5-7); PM V, 1937: 26; Traunecker, 1992: §9, 62). A granite basin (Cairo JE 37516) bearing the name and titles of King Harsiese was found at Quft (Carter and Legrain, 1905; 123-4; Daressy, 1913: 143; Gauthier, 1914: 349 [viii, x], 380 [x]; Jansen-Winkeln, 1995: 137; 2007b: 155-156; PM V, 1937: 133; Yoyotte, 1977-1978: 163-9; 1979-1980: 194-97, 90; 1981-1982, 189-92). Finally, the 25th Dynasty at Quft is represented by a stela of Taharqa (Cairo, JE 48400) (Jansen-Winkeln, 2009: 61-3; PM V, 1937: 130; Vikentiev, 1930: 1-8, 15-49, pls 1, 3-4) that corresponds to another of his stelae (Kawa V, Copenhagen AEIN 1712) from his Temple T at Kawa in Nubia (Jansen-Winkeln, 2009: 135-138; Leclant and Yoyotte 1952: 15-29).	

ID: ThIP_UE.32	**NOME:** 5th	**BANK:** East?	**GEOREF:** NA
ArabicNAME: NA		**AEN_Hiero:**	**AEN_Trans:** *stf*
SFunc: ThIP_UE.32.1 Domestic ThIP_UE.32.2 NA ThIP_UE.32.3 NA ThIP_UE.32.4 NA		**Discussion:**  *stf* is listed on the Onomasticon of Amenemope (Gardiner, 1947: II, 29, *On.Am.*342). So far there is no proposed site for this settlement. It must have lain between the sites of Quft (Coptos) and Dendera.	

1.2.6 6th Upper Egyptian Nome

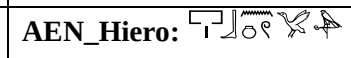
ID: ThIP_UE.33	**NOME:** 6th Capital	**BANK:** West	**GEOREF:** 26°8'29.66"N 32°40'14.14"E
ArabicNAME: Dendera		**AEN_Hiero:** 	**AEN_Trans:** *iwn.t*
SFunc: ThIP_UE.33.1 Domestic ThIP_UE.33.2 Cemetery (Animal) ThIP_UE.33.3 NA ThIP_UE.33.4 NA		**Discussion:** Archaeological material from throughout the Third Intermediate Period has been found at *iwn tꜣ nṯrt*, the modern Dendera. Dendera was the capital of the 6th Upper Egyptian Nome. Dendera is mentioned on the 21st Dynasty Onomasticon of Amenemope (Gardiner, 1947: II, 30, *On.Am.*343). Excavations by the IFAO working on the foundations of the Ptolemaic-Roman temple of Hathor have recovered archaeological evidence for occupation strata of the 21st Dynasty (Marchand, 2000: 268-9; Zignani, Marchand and Morisot, 1998: 483-4, fig. 19, 23, nos 1-2, 6-8). The surface survey at the site conducted in 1995-1996 found no evidence of ceramic evidence of the 21st to 22nd Dynasty within the Ptolemaic-Roman temenos area, or the area outside the temenos wall known as the ancient settlement located to the east (Marchand, 2000; Zignani, Marchand and Moriost, 1998: 483). Excavations against the temples outer western wall were conducted to determine the construction of the temples foundations (Sondage 98.1). In	

	doing so, ceramics dated to the 21st Dynasty and the 22nd Dynasty were found in two layers. The first was in Layer C and in the fill of a silo. The ceramics were used as backfill for an occupational layer, underneath this layer was a new layer of occupation of compacted earth with ceramics exclusively of the Old Kingdom. Therefore, the discovery of ceramics as a fill layer does not provide any evidence for the location of the town during the Third Intermediate Period at Dendera. The original temple of the Ramesside Period was in this area as large amounts of Ramesside blocks, primarily of Ramesses III were found in the foundations of the Ptolemaic-Roman temple of Hathor. It is possible that the temple of the Ramesside period continued to function into the Third Intermediate Period. No reused blocks of a Third Intermediate Period have been found in the Ptolemaic-Roman structure which may indicate that it was not added to in the Third Intermediate Period. A number of objects come from Dendera that are dated to the period after the 22nd Dynasty, indicating that the backfill of the earlier structures with 21st and possible 22nd Dynasty material may have coincided with a spatial reorganisation of the settlement and a new area being developed, but do not have an exact provenance were likely added to adorn the temple including a 25th Dynasty stela of Shabako before Hathor and Harsomtus likely stood in the temple along with a statue of Hor who was overseer of works of Amun at Thebes who gives hymns to the divinities which has a broad date range of the 22nd to 25th Dynasty. One such object was a block statue of Basa (Chicago OIM 10729) dated by Jansen-Winkeln (2007b: 407) to the mid-22nd to 23rd Dynasty. Additional evidence of religious structures comes from an animal cemetery, which can be dated to the 22nd and 23rd Dynasty, this is further added to by a cache of copper

	vessels found in Mastaba 340 now in the Ashmolean Museum (Ashmolean Mus. 2403) dated from the 23rd to 25th Dynasty. No Third Intermediate Period tombs groups are known from Dendera, and Petrie's (1900: 11, 31) dating of the burial of the singer in the temple of Hathor, Mutirdis, to the 25th Dynasty has been corrected by Aston (2009a: 153) to ca. 650-620 BCE.

1.2.7 7th Upper Egyptian Nome

ID: ThIP_UE.34	**NOME:** 7th	**BANK:** East	**GEOREF:** 26°3'31.08"N 32°18'25.28"E
ArabicNAME: Kasr el-Sayed		**AEN_Hiero:**	**AEN_Trans:** *nꜣ-šny-n-stḫ*
SFunc: ThIP_UE.34.1 Domestic ThIP_UE.34.2 NA ThIP_UE.34.3 NA ThIP_UE.34.4 NA		**Discussion:** The ancient site of *nꜣ-šny-n-stḫ* 'The Trees of Seth' (Classical: Khenoboskian; modern: Kasr el-Sayed) is listed on the Onomasticon of Amenemope (Gardiner, 1947: II, 31, *On.Am.*344; Gauthier, 1926: 69). The region around Kasr el-Sayad may have been a location where fugitives escaped to, as a 21st Dynasty letter which was addressed to the chief taxing master Menmarenkakhte from the Mayor of Elephantine, Meron, discussing unjust tax demands, mentions 'The Trees of Seth', Tukh and the neighbourhood of Edfu (Gardiner, 1951: 123). A second letter of the same date documents a criminal or a fugitive who had escaped and those involved in his capture consulted an oracle (possibly Hathor of Dendera and the God of Sheniset/ Khenoboskian) to see if they would be successful.	

ID: ThIP_UE.35	**NOME:** 7th	**BANK:** NA	**GEOREF:**NA
ArabicNAME: NA		**AEN_Hiero:** 	**AEN_Trans:** *pr-binw*
SFunc: ThIP_UE.35.1 Domestic ThIP_UE.35.2 NA		**Discussion:** During the Third Intermediate Period, the site of *pr-binw* is only listed on the Onomasticon of	

ThIP_UE.35.3 NA ThIP_UE.35.4 NA	Amenemope (Gardiner, 1947: II, 32, *On.Am.*345). No more is known about this site for the period.

ID: ThIP_UE.36	**NOME:** 7th Capital	**BANK:** West	**GEOREF:** 26° 1'3.44"N 32°16'56.89"E
ArabicNAME: Huw		**AEN_Hiero:**	**AEN_Trans:** *ḥw.t-sḫm*
SFunc: ThIP_UE.36.1 Domestic ThIP_UE.36.2 NA ThIP_UE.36.3 NA ThIP_UE.36.4 NA		**Discussion:** The site of Huw is the ancient *ḥw.t-sḫm* and is listed on the Onomasticon of Amenemope (Gardiner, 1947: II, 33; *On.Am.*346; Gauthier, 1927: 45, 129, 226). The site retained its political importance throughout the Third Intermediate Period as attested by several stelae found at the site (Collombert, 1997: 16-24; Jansen-Winkeln, 2007b: 471). Activity increased in the 25th Dynasty when the number of stelae being dedicated increased, including those of Nesmin (Stela, Harvard 1902.16.9 (=2321) (Collombert, 1998: 239-42; Jansen-Winkeln, 2009: 393), Tasherimut (London, BM 386) (Collombert, 1997: 30-4; Jansen-Winkeln, 2009: 393-4), and that of Tadiamenipet (Stela San Jose RC 1817) (Collombert, 1997: 40-4; Jansen-Winkeln, 2009: 394).	

ID: ThIP_UE.37	**NOME:** 7th	**BANK:** NA	**GEOREF:**NA
ArabicNAME: NA		**AEN_Hiero:**	**AEN_Trans:** *pr-ỉmy-r-ḏ*
SFunc: ThIP_UE.37.1 Domestic ThIP_UE.37.2 NA ThIP_UE.37.3 NA ThIP_UE.37.4 NA		**Discussion:** The site of *pr-ỉmy-r-ḏ* is listed on the Onomasticon of Amenemope (Gardiner, 1947: II, 35; *On.Am.*347), and is translated as 'The House of the Overseer of Horns'. This toponym is likely to have been associated with the title that was common in the Middle Kingdom, the 18th Dynasty, and from the Ramesside Period when the title became rare (Loret, 1916-17: 61). There is a reference made to herds being created for Osiris by Seti I on a stela from Abydos which mentions a man named Hor as 'Overseer of the Horns of the Mansion	

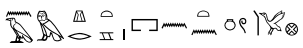
	of Menmaare, whose Heart is Pleased in Abydos' (Mariette, 1880: pl. 51 as pl. 57; PM V, 1937: 59). An inscription of Shoshenq I (Cairo, JE 39410, l.27) mentions *pꜣ mr ḫn ꜥnḫwt n pr ḥr-š.f* 'The Overseer of Horned Cattle and Goats of the House of Heryshef'. This place should be located in the region of Heracleopolis and not in the 7th Upper Egyptian nome (Meffre, 2015: doc. 7). The toponym could have been a distinctive foundation or centre that was set up as a breeding location for cattle with an associated satellite settlement. The geographic location would place it south of the ancient *pr-ḏ ḏ ꜣ* (modern Abu Tisht) (ThIP_UE.38), on the border between the 7th and 8th Upper Egyptian nomes, in an area that was highly fertile and a prime location for the grazing and rearing of cattle. This location could be related to the routes between the oases, in which cattle were brought up the oasis route from Nubia into the Nile Valley at this point to be fattened up for distribution to royal centres.

ID: ThIP_UE.38	**NOME:** 7th	**BANK:** West	**GEOREF:** 26° 7'7.21"N 32° 5'47.31"E
ArabicNAME: Abu Tisht		**AEN_Hiero:**	**AEN_Trans:** *pr-ḏ ḏ ꜣ*
SFunc: ThIP_UE.38.1 Domestic ThIP_UE.38.2 NA ThIP_UE.38.3 NA ThIP_UE.38.4 NA		**Discussion:** The settlement of *pr-ḏ ḏ ꜣ* is listed on the Onomasticon of Amenemope (Gardiner, 1947: II, 35, *On.Am.*348) and is referenced on a 30th Dynasty statue of Harwodj (Vatican, Museuo Gregoriano Egizio 22692) who was a Prophet of Amenemopet of *pr-ḏ ḏ ꜣ* (Malek (PM VIII), 1999: 770; Piehl, 1886: 27). The explicit nature of the connection between the nome capital Huw (*ḥw.t-sḫm*) and the settlement of Abu Tisht are affirmed on the 22nd Dynasty Dakhleh Stela (Gardiner, 1933; Jansen-Winkeln, 2007b: 23-6, (12.28)) dated to Year 5 of the reign	

	of Shoshenq I (Krauss, 2005). This stela documents how the governor of Huw, Weheyset, was sent to the Dakhleh Oasis to resolve an uprising in the settlement of Sa-Wehet, which is not located (Kaper, 2009: 148). This stela confirms that the centres in this area of the Nile Valley at the start of the 22nd Dynasty were linked with activity in the Western Oases, which is seen in the proliferation of fortified centres and checkpoints set up from the Late Ramesside Period onwards to control access in and out of the oases in the Heracleopolitan and Theban regions. The stela makes mention of a land or cadastral register for the 19th year of a King Psusennes, possibly Psusennes II (Krauss, 2005). The mention of this cadastral survey indicates the continued tradition of land surveys into the 21st and 22nd Dynasty following on the tradition of *P.Harris*, *P.Wilbour*, *P.Louvre 6345* and to some extent the Onomasticon of Amenemope, and the 22nd Dynasty Cairo JE 39410 from Heracleopolis.

1.2.8 8th Upper Egyptian Nome

ID: ThIP_UE.39	**NOME:** 8th	**BANK:** NA	**GEOREF:** NA
ArabicNAME: NA		**AEN_Hiero:**	**AEN_Trans:** *nỉꜣt*
SFunc: ThIP_UE.39.1 Domestic ThIP_UE.39.2 NA ThIP_UE.39.3 NA ThIP_UE.39.4 NA		**Discussion:** The ancient site of *nỉꜣt* listed on the Onomasticon of Amenemope (Gardiner, 1947: II, 36, *On.Am.*349) was originally suggested by Gauthier (1926: 66) to be joined to the following toponym of Abydos, which Gardiner (1947: II, 36) believed to be incorrect. Gardiner (1947: II, 36) suggested that it was likely that the location is the same as that found in the epithet of a god whose name and figure are now lost, who was *ḫnty-nỉꜣwt* 'Foremost in the Town of Female Ibexes' (Gardiner, 1947: II, 36).	

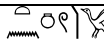
ID:	NOME:	BANK: West	GEOREF: 26°11'23.27"N 31°54'26.42"E
ThIP_UE.40	8th		
ArabicNAME: ?		**AEN_Hiero:** 	**AEN_Trans:** *nꜣ mḫr n ṯn*
SFunc: ThIP_UE.40.1 Domestic ThIP_UE.40.2 NA ThIP_UE.40.3 NA ThIP_UE.40.4 NA		**Discussion:** The ancient toponym of *nꜣ mḫr n ṯn* 'The Storehouses of This' (Gardiner, 1947: II, 36, *On.Am.*351) is listed after that of the main cemetery and pilgrimage site of el-Arab el-Madfuna (Class: Abydos)(ThIP_UE.42) so it must be located to the north of it, but before the modern village of Nag el-Meshayikh (ancient: *Pr mḥt wbn*)(ThIP_UE.41) and the capital of the Nome, Girga (ancient *tniˀ*)(ThIP_UE.43). The toponym, *nꜣ mḫr n ṯn* is found on a stela relating to the 21st Dynasty High Priest of Amun family coming from a stela (BM 642) found at Abydos where Psusennes the son of Menkheperre A, dating from the 21st Dynasty (Aston, 2009a: 141-2) has, besides the title of High Priest of Amun, the attributes of Min-Hor and Isis of Quft (Coptos), Prophet of Amun-Her of Makher (or <of> n-makher) and Prophet of Amun of Tiy. Černy was tempted to take the writing of Tiy as an erroneous writing of *ṯni* (ancient: This; modern: Girga) and in view of the provenance of the stela it is difficult not to connect the previous name with the *n mḫr-n-ṯn* of the Onomasticon of Amenemope (Gardiner, 1947: II, 276). Another attestation of the location comes from two papyrus fragments in Turin (Cat No.2074) which join and bear on the recto a text of a year 8 of a king of the 20th Dynasty, giving a list of people in connection with the royal tomb as they are in the charge of the foreman of the royal tomb Nekhemmut (Černy, 1955: 29-30). One of the men on this list comes from the 'Storehouses of This and in the same fragment (col. II. 6) a proper name 'He of This' occur.	

ID:	NOME: 8th	BANK: East	GEOREF: 26°20'17.30"N 31°56'18.39"E
ThIP_UE.41			

ArabicNAME: Nag el-Meshayikh	**AEN_Hiero:**	**AEN_Trans:** *Pr mḥt wbn*
SFunc: ThIP_UE.41.1 Domestic ThIP_UE.41.2 NA ThIP_UE.41.3 NA ThIP_UE.41.4 NA	**Discussion:** This location known as the 'Eastern Behdet', and is listed on the Onomasticon of Amenemope (Gardiner, 1947: II, 37, *On.Am.*352). Eastern Behdet can be identified with the modern village of Nag el-Meshayikh which borders the deserts edge on the East Bank of the Nile (Kees, 1937: 78).	

ID: ThIP_UE.42	**NOME:** 8th	**BANK:** West	**GEOREF:** 26°11'0.30"N 31°54'57.93"E
ArabicNAME: El-Arab el-Madfuna		**AEN_Hiero:**	**AEN_Trans:** *ꜣbḏw*
SFunc: ThIP_UE.42.1 Domestic (Assumed) ThIP_UE.42.2 Cemetery ThIP_UE.42.3 NA ThIP_UE.42.4 NA		**Discussion:** The ancient site of *ꜣbḏw* is listed on the Onomasticon of Amenemope (Gardiner, 1947: II, 36, *On.Am.*350) and is identified with the modern el-Arab el-Madfuna (Class: Abydos). *ꜣbḏw* was an important necropolis for much of Egyptian history being linked with the worship of Osiris (O'Connor, 2009). The burials of the Third Intermediate Period are divided into three types. The first were brick built structures situated in the Western Cemetery, part of the northern sector of the Abydos Necropolis (e.g. Mace's Cemetery D; Garstang's Cemetery E; Peet's Cemeteries B, F, X; the Pennsylvania-Yale excavations; and in part of the areas worked by Amélineau). The second type were intrusive burials (Aston, 2009a: 148-50), while several royal family members of the 21st, 22nd and 25th Dynasty were buried in brick and stone built tombs, as well as several elite burials (Aston, 2009a: 141-8). The burials of the Third Intermediate Period are to be found along the processional valley leading to the Umm el-Qaab where the tomb of Osiris was supposed to be located (Aston, 1996a: 46-7, figs 137-137a; Budka, 2010: 49).	

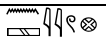
	A revival of the cultic activity took place at the tomb of Djer in the 25th Dynasty after the initial peak in the Ramesside Period (Budka, 2010: 51). The ceramics of the 21st to 24th Dynasties produced a minimum of 10% of the ceramic material, which is comparable to the amount for the 18th Dynasty. Budka (2010: 52) admits that the 21st to 22nd Dynasty percentage may increase substantially when other assemblages are assessed.

ID: ThIP_UE.43	**NOME:** 8th Capital	**BANK:** East	**GEOREF:** 26°20'15.98"N 31°53'27.08"E
ArabicNAME: Girga		**AEN_Hiero:** 	**AEN_Trans:** *tni*
SFunc: ThIP_UE.43.1 Domestic ThIP_UE.43.2 NA ThIP_UE.43.3 NA ThIP_UE.43.4 NA		**Discussion:** The ancient site of *tni* (class: This, modern Girga) was the capital of the 8th Upper Egyptian nome. Girga is almost unknown for the period apart from a mention on the Onomasticon of Amenemope (Gardiner, 1947: II, 38, *On.Am.*353).	

ID: ThIP_UE.44	**NOME:** 8th	**BANK:** East	**GEOREF:** 26°21'2.10"N 31°56'35.50"E
ArabicNAME: El-Ahawaih		**AEN_Hiero:**	**AEN_Trans:** *t3 dhnt*
SFunc: ThIP_UE.44.1 Domestic ThIP_UE.44.2 Cemetery ThIP_UE.44.3 Military ThIP_UE.44.4 NA		**Discussion:** The toponym *t3 dhnt* is translated as 'The Promontory' (*P.Louvre* E.25363 rto 4) (Müller, 2009: 257). Other forms of the toponym appear on pStrasbourg 31+44III, *P.Aberdeen* 169c+172i+o, *P.Strasbourg* 33 and *P.Berlin* 8524, while *P.Berlin* 8524 rto x+8 has the apposition 'the Island of the Valley' (Müller, 2009: 257). Other recordings of the name are found on P.*Strasbourg* 31+40XXII, 10-12, *P.Strasbourg* 26+27I+29VII+44IV, 4-7, *P.Strasbourg* 39 rto 5-6 and *P.Berlin* 23233 rto X+4 (Müller, 2009: 256-7). There was more than one town during the Third Intermediate Period with the name *t3 dhnt* (Müller, 2009:	

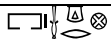
	257). It is possible that this toponym *dhnt* could be associated with the High Priest of Amun Piankh as *P.Berlin* 23231 rto x+3 says 'within that *dhnt* of Piankh'. It is likely that the *dhnt* recorded in the el-Hibeh archive is to be equated with the fortress of el-Ahawaih (Müller, 2009: 261).

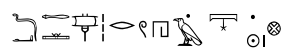
1.2.9 9th Upper Egyptian Nome

ID: ThIP_UE.45	**NOME:** 9th	**BANK:** West	**GEOREF:** 26°28'30.17"N 31°48'5.40"E
ArabicNAME: El-Menshah		**AEN_Hiero:** 	**AEN_Trans:** *nšyt*
SFunc: ThIP_UE.45.1 Domestic ThIP_UE.45.2 NA ThIP_UE.45.3 NA ThIP_UE.45.4 NA		**Discussion:** The toponym *nšyt* is listed on the Onomasticon of Amenemope (Gardiner, 1947: II, 41, *On.Am.*355) and is possibly identified with the ancient Ptolemaic Hermiou. The Abydos list of Ramesses II and the Ramesside Papyrus Harris both place *nšyt* before *ḫnt-mn* (modern: Akhmim) but on the Onomasticon of Amenemope it is listed after Akhmim (Gardiner, 1947: II, 41).	

ID: ThIP_UE.46	**NOME:** 9th Capital	**BANK:** East	**GEOREF:** 26°33'53.44"N 31°44'47.58"E
ArabicNAME: Akhmim		**AEN_Hiero:**	**AEN_Trans:** *ḫnt-mn*
SFunc: ThIP_UE.46.1 Domestic ThIP_UE.46.2 Cemetery ThIP_UE.46.3 NA ThIP_UE.46.4 NA		**Discussion:** The capital of the 9th Upper Egyptian Nome, *ḫnt-mn* Akhmim is listed on the Onomasticon of Amenemope (Gardiner, 1947: II, 40, *On.Am.*354) and has additional activity for the 21st Dynasty. A cartouche of Smendes was found on a reused block from a small temple which he erected there suggesting that the 21st Dynasty at Tanis continued to erect temples in Upper Egypt. This is only the second monument of Smendes that has been found this far south as his only other monument comes from his stela at the Gebelein quarry. This indicates that Smendes' authority may have stretched as far as Akhmim in the early	

	21st Dynasty (el-Masry, 2008: 235). Pinudjem I, Psusennes II, or Pamiu may have continued building activity at Akhmim indicating a continued policy of conserving and restoring buildings in the area (el-Masry, 2008: 236). There are several 21st Dynasty burials (Sarcophagus Berlin 8505-6) (Jansen-Winkeln, 2007a: 213) and a limestone stela of Hor (Cairo JE 26097 (TN 20/6/24/10)) dated from the 22nd to 24th Dynasty (Bouriant, 1889: 367-70; Jansen-Winkeln, 2007b: 481-2; PM V, 1937: 20: Von Bissing, 1914: taf. 98). The settlement of Akhmim had a strong connection to the settlement of Thebes and the 21st Dynasty family of the High Priests of Amun, as Nesikhons A became the Prophetess of Min-Hor and Isis in *ỉpw* 'Ipu' which was an alternative name for Akhmim (Gardiner, 1947: II, 41; Maspero, 1889a: 578). This allowed Nesikhons A to collect a substantial benefit for herself, and the High Priest of Amun at Karnak.

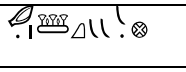
ID: ThIP_UE.47	**NOME:** 9th	**BANK:** NA	**GEOREF:** NA
ArabicNAME: NA		**AEN_Hiero:** 	**AEN_Trans:** *pr sngr*
SFunc: ThIP_UE.47.1 Domestic ThIP_UE.47.2 NA ThIP_UE.47.3 NA ThIP_UE.47.4 NA		**Discussion:** The ancient site of *pr sngr* or *šngr* is listed on the Onomasticon of Amenemope (Gardiner, 1947: II, 46; *On.Am.*356; Gauthier, 1925b: 129).	

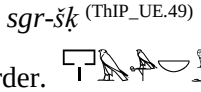
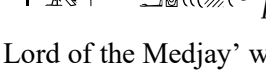
ID: ThIP_UE.48	**NOME:** 9th	**BANK:** West?	**GEOREF:** NA
ArabicNAME: NA		**AEN_Hiero:** 	**AEN_Trans:** *ḏʿrwhɜ*

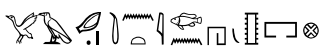
SFunc: ThIP_UE.48.1 Domestic ThIP_UE.48.2 NA ThIP_UE.48.3 NA ThIP_UE.48.4 NA	**Discussion:** The ancient toponym of *ḏꜥrwhꜣ* is translated as 'Evening Storm' (Gardiner, 1947: II, 46-7; Gauthier, 1929: 111). In a relative north to south sequence the toponym is to be located closer to the vicinity of Akhmim (ThIP_UE.46) than Qau el-Kebir (ThIP-UE.53) (Gardiner, 1941: II, 45) The settlement of *ḏꜥrwhꜣ* was the location for a large irrigation, or pleasure pool of Queen Tiy in the 18th Dynasty, and was a benefice in which she could draw revenue (Yoyotte, 1959b: 23-33) The settlement is later recorded on the Amiens Papyrus from the Late Ramesside Period in relation to grain taxation, so we know it was an important centre economically before the 21st Dynasty (Gardiner, 1941: 39, 3, 9; 3, 10).The title of Governor of *ḏꜥrwhꜣ* is mentioned on a statue of Mermaat (Bologne K.S. 1813) (Gabolde, 1994: 261-75). The location for the settlement is still unable to be assessed at this point. The mention of 'storm' in the name may indicate that it was subject to storms coming in from the desert like the similarly named settlement of *ḏꜣnt* 'Tanis' (modern: San el-Hagar) on the eastern Delta fringes. The Amiens Papyrus provides a small clue as to the geographical location as to which bank the settlement should be located. The text mentions that the corn was collected from the riverbank of 'Evening Storm' while the second location that grain was taken from was 'in the island to east of Evening Storm' (Gardiner, 1941: II, 39) This indicates that the settlement of evening storm was located close to if not on the banks of the Nile and that an island was located east of the settlement likely to be either in the Nile. This would indicate that the settlement was to be located on the west bank of the Nile between both Akhmim and Qau el-Kebir.

1.2.10 10th Upper Egyptian Nome

ID: ThIP_UE.49	**NOME:** 10th	**BANK:** NA	**GEOREF:** NA

ArabicNAME: NA	**AEN_Hiero:** 	**AEN_Trans:** *sgr-šḳ*
SFunc: ThIP_UE.49.1 Domestic ThIP_UE.49.2 NA ThIP_UE.49.3 Military ThIP_UE.49.4 NA	**Discussion:** Located very near to the boundary of the 10th Upper Egyptian Nome. Probably acted as a border fort establishment (Gasse, 1988).	

ID: ThIP_UE.50	**NOME:** 10th	**BANK:** NA	**GEOREF:**NA
ArabicNAME: NA		**AEN_Hiero:** 	**AEN_Trans:** *pr-ḥr-nb-mḏȝw*
SFunc: ThIP_UE.50.1 Domestic ThIP_UE.50.2 NA ThIP_UE.50.3 Military ThIP_UE.50.4 NA	**Discussion:** This site was most likely linked with  *sgr-šḳ* (ThIP_UE.49) in the region of the nomes southern border.  *pr-ḥr-nb-mḏȝw* 'The House of Horus, Lord of the Medjay' was a garrison force of police officers. Both *sgr-šḳ* (ThIP_UE.49) and *pr-ḥr-nb-mḏȝw* 'The House of Horus, Lord of the Medjay' can be associated with defence and the control of individuals between the two regions, and the control of movement throughout the Nile Valley in the region of the 10th Upper Egyptian Nome (Gasse, 1988).	

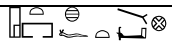
ID: ThIP_UE.51	**NOME:** 10th	**BANK:** NA	**GEOREF:** NA
ArabicNAME: NA		**AEN_Hiero:** 	**AEN_Trans:** *pȝ-sgr-tỉ-nt-ỉnh*
SFunc: ThIP_UE.51.1 Domestic ThIP_UE.51.2 NA ThIP_UE.51.3 Military ThIP_UE.51.4 NA	**Discussion:** *pȝ-sgr-tỉ-nt-ỉnh* is documented on *P.Louvre AF*. 6345 (Gasse, 1988) and situated close to the southern border of the 10th Upper Egyptian Nome and north of the site of *ḥwt kȝ=k* (ThIP_UE.52). Both this *sgr* fort and *pr-ḥr-nb-mḏȝw* 'The House of Horus, Lord of the Medjay' (ThIP_UE.50) may have been located on opposite banks of the Nile Valley to increase control of river traffic.	

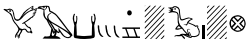
ID: ThIP_UE.52	**NOME:** 10th	**BANK:** NA	**GEOREF:** NA
ArabicNAME: NA		**AEN_Hiero:**	**AEN_Trans:** *ḥwt kȝ=k*
SFunc: ThIP_UE.52.1 Domestic ThIP_UE.52.2 NA ThIP_UE.52.3 NA ThIP_UE.52.4 NA		**Discussion:** *P.Louvre AF* 6345 confirms that the site of *ḥwt kȝ=k* (Gardiner, 1947: II, 358, *On.Am.*358; Gauthier, 1927: 139) was located within the 10th Upper Egyptian Nome. The site of *ḥwt kȝ=k* is economically linked to the Temple of Menkheperre-Chepsy, Prince in Hut-Kak, which suggests a foundation of Thutmose IV in Karnak, or Thebes. It is important economically to note that one of the gods of the 10th Upper Egyptian Nome benefitted from a religious foundation at Thebes, as Chepsy was known as Lord of *ḥwt kȝ=k* (Gardiner, 1947: II, 7; Gasse, 1988: 32).	

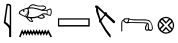
ID: ThIP_UE.53	**NOME:** 10th Capital	**BANK:** East	**GEOREF:** 26°52'59.09"N 31°29'53.84"E Approximate location of the ancient settlement of Antaeopolis in 1820. Cemetery locations of the 22nd and 25th Dynasty are located ca. 26°54'0.89"N 31°31'22.40"E.
ArabicNAME: Qaw el-Kebir		**AEN_Hiero:**	**AEN_Trans:** *ṯbw*
SFunc: ThIP_UE.53.1 Domestic ThIP_UE.53.2 Cemetery ThIP_UE.53.3 NA ThIP_UE.53.4 NA		**Discussion:** The ancient site of *ṯbw* is listed on the Onomasticon of Amenemope (Gardiner, 1947: II, 49-55, *On.Am.*361) and is identified with the modern Qau el-Kebir. The ancient settlement was washed away by the Nile in the first half of the 19th century, and the Ptolemaic temple blocks reused in a palace at Asyut (Gardiner, 1947: II, 49-55). The main settlement and the earlier Third Intermediate Period remains are not likely to have survived	

	the flood, but the site is mentioned in addition to the Onomasticon of Amenemope on *P.Louvre AF* 6345. Excavations at Qau el-Kebir by the British School of Archaeology in Egypt discovered several cemeteries in which a few tombs were dated to the Third Intermediate Period (Brunton, 1930: pl. xxxviii). The tombs were divided into two groups termed 'Group A' dated to the 22nd Dynasty which, based on the presence of a blue glazed Ptah Sokar amulets without a scarab on top of the head in TG 556 (Qau 1531 Male; Brunton, 1930: pl. xliv.8) is an early example and a date in the 10th century may be supported (Aston, 2009a: 140). TG 560 Qau 3173 Child (Burial 3173) had a marl clay amphora of the Late New Kingdom dated to the 12th to 11th century BCE (Aston, 2009a: 14). The burials of Group B dated to the 25th Dynasty would appear to be confirmed by TG 565 Qau 4963, a child in which two pots are 8th to 7th century BCE types (Aston, 2009a: 140). While TG 568 Qau 5256 Child was placed inside a two-handled storage jar (Brunton, 1930: pl.xli.1) which has a similar type from Elephantine that can be dated to the 25th Dynasty (Aston, 1999: 57, no. 1718; 2009a: 141).

ID: ThIP_UE.54	**NOME:** 10th	**BANK:** NA	**GEOREF:** NA
ArabicNAME: NA		**AEN_Hiero:** 	**AEN_Trans:** *pr-[ḫn]m [...]bs*
SFunc: ThIP_UE.54.1 Domestic ThIP_UE.54.2 NA ThIP_UE.54.3 NA ThIP_UE.54.4 NA		**Discussion:** Documented on *P.Louvre AF* 6345 col.VI l.16 (Gasse, 1988: pl. 6). An unknown location in the 10th Upper Egyptian Nome.	

ID: ThIP_UE.55	**NOME:** 10th	**BANK:** NA	**GEOREF:** NA
ArabicNAME: NA		**AEN_Hiero:** 	**AEN_Trans:** *ḥwt-ḫft*
SFunc: ThIP_UE.55.1 Domestic ThIP_UE.55.2 NA ThIP_UE.55.3 NA ThIP_UE.55.4 NA		**Discussion:** Documented on *P.Louvre AF* 6345 col.VI. l.18 (Gasse, 1988: pl. 6). This settlement has no connection with the *ḥwt-ḫft* mentioned on *P.Wilbour* (Gardiner, 1948, Table II, n. 80; Gasse, 1988: 32, n. 47).	

ID: ThIP_UE.56	**NOME:** 10th	**BANK:** NA	**GEOREF:** NA
ArabicNAME: NA		**AEN_Hiero:** 	**AEN_Trans:** *pꜣ-kꜣ-ṯꜣ*
SFunc: ThIP_UE.56.1 Domestic ThIP_UE.56.2 NA ThIP_UE.56.3 NA ThIP_UE.56.4 NA		**Discussion:** Documented on *P.Louvre AF* 6345 col VI. L.19 (Gasse, 1988). An unknown location in the 10th Upper Egyptian Nome.	

ID: ThIP_UE.57	**NOME:** 10th	**BANK:** NA	**GEOREF:** NA
ArabicNAME: NA		**AEN_Hiero:** 	**AEN_Trans:** *ỉnr-mry*
SFunc: ThIP_UE.57.1 Domestic ThIP_UE.57.2 NA ThIP_UE.57.3 NA ThIP_UE.57.4 NA		**Discussion:** Documented on *P.Louvre AF* 6345 col.VI. l.22, 24 (Gasse, 1988). An unknown location in the 10th Upper Egyptian Nome.	

ID: ThIP_UE.58	**NOME:** 10th	**BANK:** NA	**GEOREF:** NA
ArabicNAME: NA		**AEN_Hiero:**	**AEN_Trans:** *[i]ꜣt bꜣ*

SFunc: ThIP_UE.58.1 Domestic ThIP_UE.58.2 NA ThIP_UE.58.3 NA ThIP_UE.58.4 NA	**Discussion:** Documented on *P.Louvre AF* 6345 col.VI. l.26 (Gasse, 1988). An unknown location in the 10th Upper Egyptian Nome.

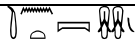
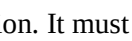
ID: ThIP_UE.59	**NOME:** 10th	**BANK:** NA	**GEOREF:** NA
ArabicNAME: NA		**AEN_Hiero:**	**AEN_Trans:** *iꜣt-ity*
SFunc: ThIP_UE.59.1 Domestic ThIP_UE.59.2 NA ThIP_UE.59.3 NA ThIP_UE.59.4 NA		**Discussion:** Documented on *P.Louvre AF* 6345 col. XII, l.12,14 (Gasse, 1988). An unknown location in the 10th Upper Egyptian Nome.	

ID: ThIP_UE.60	**NOME:** 10th	**BANK:** NA	**GEOREF:** NA
ArabicNAME: NA		**AEN_Hiero:**	**AEN_Trans:** *Pꜣ-nḥsy*
SFunc: ThIP_UE.60.1 Domestic ThIP_UE.60.2 NA ThIP_UE.60.3 NA ThIP_UE.60.4 NA		**Discussion:** Documented on *P.Louvre AF* 6345 col. II. 9, 10, 11. (Gasse, 1988). An unknown location in the 10th Upper Egyptian Nome.	

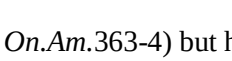
ID: ThIP_UE.61	**NOME:** 10th	**BANK:** NA	**GEOREF:** NA
ArabicNAME: NA		**AEN_Hiero:**	**AEN_Trans:** *pr-nḫb-n-išꜣ*
SFunc: ThIP_UE.61.1 Domestic ThIP_UE.61.2 NA ThIP_UE.61.3 NA ThIP_UE.61.4 NA		**Discussion:** *pr-nḫb-n-išꜣ* 'The House of the Opened Land of Isha' or just 'The Newly Opened Land of Isha' is listed on the Onomasticon of Amenemope (Gardiner, 1947: II, 49, *On.Am*.360). The absence of this toponym which is related to agricultural donations and land tenure on the earlier *P.Louvre AF* 6345 cadastral list indicates that *pr-*	

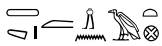
	nḫb-n-išɜ was likely to have been a new domain, and an important location for the Theban administration at the time of the compilation of the onomasticon. The mention of this new toponym that is not attested on *P.Louvre AF* 6345 could indicate that by the time of the compilation of the onomasticon at some time in the reign of Pinudjem I (Bennett: 2015) that may of the sites listed on *P.Louvre AF* 6345 had lost political importance and that upon the advent of political change that that the sites in the onomasticon had become the dominant political and economic forces in the area and controlled the distribution of land and resources to the Theban state.

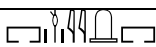
ID: ThIP_UE.62	**NOME:** 10th	**BANK:** West	**GEOREF:** 26°50'36.04"N 31°25'19.62"E
ArabicNAME: Kom Ishkaw		**AEN_Hiero:**	**AEN_Trans:** *wɜḏt*
SFunc: ThIP_UE.62.1 Domestic ThIP_UE.62.2 NA ThIP_UE.62.3 NA ThIP_UE.62.4 NA		**Discussion:** *wɜḏt* is only mentioned on the Onomasticon of Amenemope (Gardiner, 1947: II, 55-62, *On.Am.*362). There is so far, no more evidence for the settlement of *wɜḏt* for the remainder of the Third Intermediate Period.	

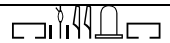
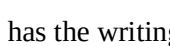
ID: ThIP_UE.63	**NOME:** 10th	**BANK:** NA	**GEOREF:** NA
ArabicNAME: NA		**AEN_Hiero:** 	**AEN_Trans:** *tɜ-nt-ḥry-ṯbw*
SFunc: ThIP_UE.63.1 Domestic ThIP_UE.63.2 NA ThIP_UE.63.3 NA ThIP_UE.63.4 NA		**Discussion:** *tɜ-nt-ḥry-ṯbw* is listed on *P.Louvre AF* 6234 (Gasse, 1988). This toponym is so far unidentified with a modern location. It must have been near  *ṯbw* (ThIP_UE.53).	

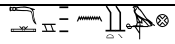
ID: ThIP_UE.64	**NOME:** **10th**	**BANK:** NA	**GEOREF:** NA

ArabicNAME: NA	**AEN_Hiero:**	**AEN_Trans:** *mw.t nb.t mgb*
SFunc: ThIP_UE.64.1 Domestic ThIP_UE.64.2 NA ThIP_UE.64.3 NA ThIP_UE.64.4 NA	**Discussion:** The goddess Mut was worshipped in the 10th Upper Egyptian nome as a Middle Kingdom/Second Intermediate Period statue mentions Mut as *mw.t nb.t mgb* 'Mut Mistress of Megeb, (Gomaà, 1986: 241-3; Malek, 1978) which is mentioned on the Onomasticon of Amenemope (Gardiner, 1947: II, 62-4, *On.Am.*363-4) but has the writing  *pr-mwt-nbt-mgn* 'The House of Mut Mistress of Megen'. It is likely that this is a faulty writing of Megeb and that we have here reference to one of the cult centres of Mut that was active in the early 21st Dynasty.	

ID: ThIP_UE.65	**NOME:** 10th	**BANK:** Island	**GEOREF:** NA
ArabicNAME: NA		**AEN_Hiero:**	**AEN_Trans:** *ỉn-mwt*
SFunc: ThIP_UE.65.1 Domestic ThIP_UE.65.2 NA ThIP_UE.65.3 NA ThIP_UE.65.4 NA		**Discussion:** The second most economically important settlement on the *P.Louvre AF* 6345 taxation list at the start of the Third Intermediate Period is that of *ỉn-mwt* (Gasse, 1988) The Chronicle of Prince Osorkon mentions this toponym in connection with a benefaction of one *heqat* of grain to be given daily to a temple of Amenemope in Year 24 month 4 of Takeloth II (Caminos, 1958). The text provides additional geographic evidence saying that it was  *ỉw n ỉn-mwt* 'The Island of Inmut'.	

ID: ThIP_UE.66	**NOME:** 10th	**BANK:** NA	**GEOREF:** NA
ArabicNAME: NA		**AEN_Hiero:** 	**AEN_Trans:** *pr-wḏy*
SFunc: ThIP_UE.66.1 Domestic ThIP_UE.66.2 NA		**Discussion:** A town that appears to have retained a large amount of both its economic and political importance during the start of the 21st Dynasty was that of	

ThIP_UE.66.3 NA ThIP_UE.66.4 NA	 *pr-wḏy* ‘The Village of the Stela’ which is listed on *P.Louvre AF* 6345 (Gasse, 1988). The site of *pr-wḏy* is recorded again later on the Onomasticon of Amenemope (Gardiner, 1947: II, 64-66, *On.Am.*365), but has the writing  . This location is mentioned on the tomb robbery papyrus *P. London BM* 10052 verso 12, 4 where there is a mention of *pr-wḏy* (Gasse, 1988: 35).

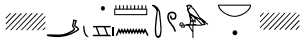
ID: ThIP_UE.67	**NOME:** 10th	**BANK:** NA	**GEOREF:** NA
ArabicNAME: NA		**AEN_Hiero:** 	**AEN_Trans:** *mḥw-n-ʿntywy*
SFunc: ThIP_UE.67.1 Domestic ThIP_UE.67.2 NA ThIP_UE.67.3 NA ThIP_UE.67.4 NA		**Discussion:** This toponym is listed only on the Onomasticon of Amenemope (Gardiner, 1947, II: 66, *On.Am.*366). It is not identified with any modern toponym.	

ID: ThIP_UE.68	**NOME:** 10th	**BANK:** NA	**GEOREF:** NA
ArabicNAME: NA		**AEN_Hiero:**	**AEN_Trans:** NA
SFunc: ThIP_UE.68.1 Domestic ThIP_UE.68.2 NA ThIP_UE.68.3 NA ThIP_UE.68.4 NA		**Discussion:** This toponym has an uncertain reading. It is listed on *P.Louvre AF* 6345 II, l.13 (Gasse, 1988: 60).	

ID: ThIP_UE.69	**NOME:** 10th	**BANK:** NA	**GEOREF:** NA
ArabicNAME: NA		**AEN_Hiero:** 	**AEN_Trans:** *ỉdb pꜣ dšr / pꜣ dšr*
SFunc: ThIP_UE.69.1 Domestic ThIP_UE.69.2 NA ThIP_UE.69.3 NA		**Discussion:** *ỉdb pꜣ dšr / pꜣ dšr* is listed on *P.Louvre AF* 6345, XII, 13. (Gasse, 1988: 60). The writing is unclear, possibly *ỉdb pꜣ dšr* or serves as the determinative for the	

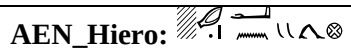
ThIP_UE.69.4 NA	previous word and we are to read the toponym as *pꜣ dšr* 'The Red' (Gasse, 1988: 38, n. 87).

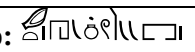
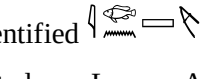
ID: ThIP_UE.70	**NOME:** 10th	**BANK:** NA	**GEOREF:** NA
ArabicNAME: NA		**AEN_Hiero:**	**AEN_Trans:** *pr kmkm*
SFunc: ThIP_UE.70.1 Domestic ThIP_UE.70.2 NA ThIP_UE.70.3 NA ThIP_UE.70.4 NA		**Discussion:** *pr kmkm* is listed on *P.Louvre AF* 6345, XIV D,1 (Gasse, 1988: 60). This *pr kmkm* is not to be associated with the toponym of *pr kmkm* in relation to the site of Armant (Gasse, 1988: 41, n. 112).	

ID: ThIP_UE.71	**NOME:** 10th	**BANK:** NA	**GEOREF:** NA
ArabicNAME: NA		**AEN_Hiero:** 	**AEN_Trans:** *[…] mꜣ mntw nb […]*
SFunc: ThIP_UE.71.1 Domestic ThIP_UE.71.2 NA ThIP_UE.71.3 NA ThIP_UE.71.4 NA		**Discussion:** *[…] mꜣ mntw nb […]* is listed on *P.Louvre AF* 6345, VII, 2 (Gasse, 1988: 60). *[…] mꜣ mntw nb […]* may be read 'The New [Foundation] of Montu Lord of […]'. This toponym has not been identified with a modern toponym.	

ID: ThIP_UE.72	**NOME:** **10th**	**BANK:** NA	**GEOREF:** NA
ArabicNAME: NA		**AEN_Hiero:**	**AEN_Trans:** NA
SFunc: ThIP_UE.72.1 Domestic ThIP_UE.72.2 NA ThIP_UE.72.3 NA ThIP_UE.72.4 NA		**Discussion:** This toponym with an uncertain reading is listed on *P.Louvre AF* 6345, XI, 9 (Gasse, 1988: 60).	

ID: ThIP_UE.73	**NOME:** 10th	**BANK:** NA	**GEOREF:** NA
ArabicNAME: NA		**AEN_Hiero:**	**AEN_Trans:** *[…]š-m-r-ky*
SFunc: ThIP_UE.73.1 Domestic ThIP_UE.73.2 NA ThIP_UE.73.3 NA ThIP_UE.73.4 NA		**Discussion:** *[…]š-m-r-ky* is listed on *P.Louvre AF* 6345, XIII, 13 (Gasse, 1988: 60). The final part of the name is translated as *'….shemerki'*, but this toponym is not identified with a modern Arabic toponym.	

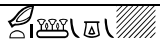
ID: ThIP_UE.74	**NOME:** 10th	**BANK:** NA	**GEOREF:** NA
ArabicNAME: NA		**AEN_Hiero:** 	**AEN_Trans:** *sgr-ꜥn*
SFunc: ThIP_UE.74.1 Domestic ThIP_UE.74.2 NA ThIP_UE.74.3 Military ThIP_UE.74.4 NA		**Discussion:** *sgr-ꜥn* is listed on *P.Louvre AF* 6345, II.3, 25 (Gasse, 1988: 8, 9, 57, 60). This *sgr* fort has not been identified with a modern toponym.	

ID: ThIP_UE.75	**NOME:** 10th	**BANK:** NA	**GEOREF:** NA
ArabicNAME: NA		**AEN_Hiero:** 	**AEN_Trans:** *sgr-hꜣnw*
SFunc: ThIP_UE.75.1 Domestic ThIP_UE.75.2 NA ThIP_UE.75.3 Military ThIP_UE.75.4 NA		**Discussion:** *sgr-hꜣnw* is listed on *P.Louvre AF* 6346 Frag. G, 3) (Gasse, 1988: 80, 84). *sgr-hꜣnw* is located to the north of the unidentified  *ỉnr-mry* 'Inermery' which is listed on pLouvre AF 6345 col.VI. l.22, 24 (Gasse, 1988: 8, 9, 57).	

ID: ThIP_UE.76	**NOME:** 10th	**BANK:** NA	**GEOREF:** NA
ArabicNAME: NA		**AEN_Hiero:**	**AEN_Trans:** *sgr-sḳ*

SFunc: ThIP_UE.76.1 Domestic ThIP_UE.76.2 NA ThIP_UE.76.3 Military ThIP_UE.76.4 NA	**Discussion:** *sgr-sḳ* is listed on *P.Louvre AF* 6346 Frag.G,2 (Gasse, 1988: 80, 84), but is not identified with a modern toponym.

ID: ThIP_UE.77	**NOME:** 10th	**BANK:** NA	**GEOREF:** NA
ArabicNAME: NA		**AEN_Hiero:**	**AEN_Trans:** *Sgr...*
SFunc: ThIP_UE.77.1 Domestic ThIP_UE.77.2 NA ThIP_UE.77.3 Military ThIP_UE.77.4 NA		**Discussion:** *Sgr...* is listed on *P.Louvre AF* 6345, II,7 (Gasse, 1988: 5, 60). The remaining part of the name is missing. This site has not been identified.	

ID: ThIP_UE.78	**NOME:** 10th	**BANK:** NA	**GEOREF:** NA
ArabicNAME: NA		**AEN_Hiero:** 	**AEN_Trans:** *sgr-šȝg…*
SFunc: ThIP_UE.78.1 Domestic ThIP_UE.78.2 NA ThIP_UE.78.3 Military ThIP_UE.78.4 NA		**Discussion:** *sgr-šȝg…*is listed on *P.Louvre AF* 6345, VI,2 (Gasse, 1988: 8, 60) but is not identified with a modern toponym.	

1.2.11 11th Upper Egyptian Nome

ID: ThIP_UE.79	**NOME:** 11th Capital	**BANK:** West	**GEOREF:** 27° 8'41.67"N 31°14'21.15"E
ArabicNAME: Shutb		**AEN_Hiero:**	**AEN_Trans:** *šȝ-ḥtp*
SFunc: ThIP_UE.79.1 Domestic ThIP_UE.79.2 NA ThIP_UE.79.3 NA ThIP_UE.79.4 NA		**Discussion:** The ancient capital of the 11th Upper Egyptian nome, *šȝ-ḥtp* (modern: Shutb) is listed on the Onomasticon of Amenemope (Gardiner, 1947: II, 67, *On.Am.*367: Gauthier, 1928: 107), but apart from this no more is known about the settlement for the Third Intermediate Period.	

1.2.12 12th Upper Egyptian Nome

ID: ThIP_UE.80	**NOME:** 12th Capital	**BANK:** East	**GEOREF:** 27°14'18.66"N 31°12'55.52"E
ArabicNAME: El-Atawla		**AEN_Hiero:**	**AEN_Trans:** *pr-nmty*
SFunc: ThIP_UE.80.1 Domestic ThIP_UE.80.2 NA ThIP_UE.80.3 NA ThIP_UE.80.4 NA		**Discussion:** The ancient settlement of *pr-nmty* (modern: el-Atawla) is synonymous with *ḏw-fyt* as there are several attestations to the god Nemty and this ancient toponym in the New Kingdom (London, Petrie Museum 14352) (Weigall, 1907: 219, ix) and later in the reign of Psammetik I (BM EA 14466) (Hall, 1930: 1-2, pls I-II). During the 21st Dynasty the Greenfields Papyrus (*P. London BM EA* 10554,87) records that the daughter of Pinudjem II, Nesitanebtashru is given the benefice and title of Prophetess of *ḏw-fyt*, like her mother Nesikhons before her (Maspero, 1889b: 578).	

ID: ThIP_UE.81	**NOME:** 12th	**BANK:** East	**GEOREF:** 27° 6'14.56"N 31°19'58.08"E
ArabicNAME: Matmar		**AEN_Hiero:** NA	**AEN_Trans:** NA
SFunc: ThIP_UE.81.1 Domestic ThIP_UE.81.2 Cemetery ThIP_UE.81.3 NA ThIP_UE.81.4 NA		**Discussion:** A considerable amount of evidence for Third Intermediate Period burials and burial customs of a non-elite population were found at Matmar, along with domestic evidence found within the New Kingdom temple temenos walls (Aston, 1996a: 44-5; 2009a: 140; Aston and Bader, 1998: 23-6; Brunton, 1948: 73-8, pls LIV-LVI; 1937).	

ID: ThIP_UE.82	**NOME:** 12th	**BANK:** NA	**GEOREF:** NA
ArabicNAME: NA		**AEN_Hiero:**	**AEN_Trans:** *pr-mwt*
SFunc: ThIP_UE.82.1 Domestic ThIP_UE.82.2 NA ThIP_UE.82.3 NA		**Discussion:** The ancient settlement of *pr-mwt* is listed on the Onomasticon of Amenemope (Gardiner, 1947: II, 73, *On.Am.*370) but no more is known about this settlement for the rest of the Third Intermediate Period.	

ThIP_UE.82.4 NA	

1.2.13 13th Upper Egyptian Nome

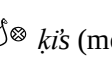
ID: ThIP_UE.83	**NOME:** 13th Capital	**BANK:** West	**GEOREF:** 27°10'43.96"N 31°11'13.02"E
ArabicNAME: Asyut		**AEN_Hiero:**	**AEN_Trans:** *sꜣwty*
SFunc: ThIP_UE.83.1 Domestic ThIP_UE.83.2 Cemetery ThIP_UE.83.3 NA ThIP_UE.83.4 NA		**Discussion:** The ancient capital of the 13th Upper Egyptian nome, *sꜣwty* is listed on the Onomasticon of Amenemope (Gardiner, 1947, II: 74-5, *On.Am.*371), but little is known about the settlement for the Third Intermediate Period. At least two coffins (London BM 47609 and 47610) are dated stylistically to the Third Intermediate Period, and find the closest parallels from the tomb of Iurudef at Saqqara which can be dated to the 20th to 21st Dynasty (Aston, 2009a: 114). These dates for a 21st Dynasty cemetery would correspond for the mention of the settlement on the Onomasticon of Amenemope. Asyut may have developed into an important regional political centre in the late Third Intermediate Period. There is evidence of a possible local ruler called Padinemty known from a copy of his Book of the Dead but this is not confirmed (Jansen-Winkeln, 2009: 257; Leahy, 1999).	

ID: ThIP_UE.84	**NOME:** 13th	**BANK:** NA	**GEOREF:** NA
ArabicNAME: NA		**AEN_Hiero:**	**AEN_Trans:** *pr-sḫmy*
SFunc: ThIP_UE.84.1 Domestic ThIP_UE.84.2 NA ThIP_UE.84.3 NA ThIP_UE.84.4 NA		**Discussion:** *pr-sḫmy* is listed on the Onomasticon of Amenemope (Gardiner, 1947: II, 75, *On.Am.*372), but no more is known about this settlement for the remainder of the Third Intermediate Period.	

ID: ThIP_UE.85	**NOME:** 13th	**BANK:** NA	**GEOREF:** NA

ArabicNAME: NA	**AEN_Hiero:**	**AEN_Trans:** *pgs*
SFunc: ThIP_UE.85.1 Domestic ThIP_UE.85.2 NA ThIP_UE.85.3 NA ThIP_UE.85.4 NA	**Discussion:** The ancient settlement of *pgs* is listed on the Onomasticon of Amenemope (Gardiner, 1947: II, 76-7, *On.Am.*373) but no more is known about this settlement for the remainder of the Third Intermediate Period.	

1.2.14 14th Upper Egyptian Nome

ID: ThIP_UE.86	**NOME:** 14th Capital	**BANK:** West	**GEOREF:** 27°26'19.78"N 30°49'10.70"E
ArabicNAME: El-Quseyah		**AEN_Hiero:**	**AEN_Trans:** *ḳiṥ*
SFunc: ThIP_UE.86.1 Domestic ThIP_UE.86.2 NA ThIP_UE.86.3 NA ThIP_UE.86.4 NA		**Discussion:** The ancient capital of the 14th Upper Egyptian Nome,  *ḳiṥ* (modern: el-Quseyah) is listed on the Onomasticon of Amenemope (Gardiner, 1947: II, 77, *On.Am.*374) but no more is known about the capital for the remainder of the Third Intermediate Period.	

ID: ThIP_UE.87	**NOME:** 14th	**BANK:** NA	**GEOREF:** NA
ArabicNAME: NA		**AEN_Hiero:**	**AEN_Trans:** *snnỉꜣ*
SFunc: ThIP_UE.87.1 Domestic ThIP_UE.87.2 NA ThIP_UE.87.3 NA ThIP_UE.87.4 NA		**Discussion:** The settlement of *snnỉꜣ* is listed on the Onomasticon of Amenemope (Gardiner, 1947: II, 77, *On.Am.*375) but no more is known about this settlement for the remainder of the Third Intermediate Period.	

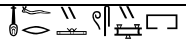
1.2.15 15th Upper Egyptian Nome

ID: ThIP_UE.88	**NOME:** 15th	**BANK:** East	**GEOREF:** El-Hagg Qandil (27°37'37.74"N 30°53'2.68"E) (Amarna Cemetery) 27°38'37.54"N 30°53'54.16"E

ArabicNAME: El-Hagg Qandil (+ Amarna)	**AEN_Hiero:**	**AEN_Trans:** *pr-šs*
SFunc: ThIP_UE.88.1 Domestic ThIP_UE.88.2 Cemetery ThIP_UE.88.3 NA ThIP_UE.88.4 NA	**Discussion:** A domestic area was identified at el-Hagg Qandil 'The House of Alabaster' (?). The site of *pr-šs* 'The House of Alabaster' has been suggested by Kemp (1995) as lying to the south of Amarna at el-Hagg Qandil where the remains of a 21st Dynasty domestic activity have been located. Kessler (1981) positioned the site at el-Sheikh Sa'id. It has been argued that *pr-šs* was the ancestral place name of the modern el-Bersheh, and it may have originally designated an industrial site at the entrance of the Wadi Zabayda close to where the Sheikh Sa'id tombs are, a place in which alabaster was worked. Recent excavations have produced evidence of a calcite quarry closer to the site of el-Bersheh that suggests that the name *pr-šs* may have been a designation for this quarry (Willems and Muhammad, 2010). The absence of 21st Dynasty material at the site of el-Bersheh, would suggest that for the Third Intermediate Period the location of this *pr-šs* should be located closer to the site of Amarna and the tombs at Sheikh Sa'id. Cemetery Area (*El Amarna):* An intact burial from the workmens' village has been dated on stylistic grounds of the coffin to the late 12th or early 11th century BCE, whilst the pottery comprises well known 20th and 21st Dynasty types (Aston, 2009a: 114). Pottery thrown out of the south tombs at Amarna has shown that the South Tombs of Amarna were re-used at some point in the 25th Dynasty (Aston, 1996a).	

ID: ThIP_UE.89	**NOME:** 15th Capital	**BANK:** West	**GEOREF:** 27°46'53.29"N 30°48'9.89"E
ArabicNAME: El-Ashmunein		**AEN_Hiero:**	**AEN_Trans:** *wnw*
SFunc:		**Discussion:** The ancient capital of the 15th Upper Egyptian Nome was at *wnw* (Class: Hermopolis) the modern	

ThIP_UE.89.1 Domestic ThIP_UE.89.2 Cemetery ThIP_UE.89.3 NA ThIP_UE.89.4 NA	el-Ashmunein. *wnw* became the seat of a series of local kings in the latter part of the Third Intermediate Period and was an important strategic location in the invasion stela of Piankhy. Excavations at the site by both the German Expedition to Hermopolis in 1929-1939 and the British Museum excavations between 1980 and 1990 have produced evidence of the Third Intermediate Period settlement to the west of the New Kingdom temple of Thoth (Spencer, A.J., 1993: 13-50). Numerous Third Intermediate Period monuments come from the site that attest to the settlements political importance throughout the period. The monuments from El-Ashmunein include stelae fragments of a year 15 of Osorkon III (Jansen-Winkeln, 2007b: 294-5, no. 8; Meffre, 2015: 118; Sheikholeslami, 2009: 515-529; Spencer, P., 1989: 57-62, pls 100-110), and blocks of Osorkon III, all found in the temple of Thoth (Meffre, 2015: 120). Other monuments probably of the reign of Osorkon III, include a statue base of the king from the Thoth temple (Meffre, 2015: 121). From the reign of Rudamun, a fragment of a faience royal statue was found (Perdu, 2002a: 157-8), along with a fragment of a faience sistrum (BM EA 43070) (Spencer, A.J., 1988: 232 and pl. XXX). About 1 km to the north of the main ruin field of Ashmunein, at the site of Ezbet el-Idara a fragment of a Middle Kingdom royal statue was reused for Djehoutyemhat (Wild, 1972: 209-215). The small village now borders the ancient ruin mound and has been taken as being part of the wider ruin field. Finally, excavations inside the Thoth temple found the remains of what are likely to be the burial chapels in the forecourt of the temple that either belonged to local elites, high priests of Ptah or even the local rulers, for a discussion of these structures see (Aston, 2009a: 113-4; Spencer, A.J., 2007).

ID: ThIP_UE.90	**NOME:** 15th	**BANK:** West	**GEOREF:** 27°54'52.60"N 30°45'37.09"E
ArabicNAME: Jarris?		**AEN_Hiero:** 	**AEN_Trans:** *nfrw-sy*
SFunc: ThIP_UE.90.1 Domestic ThIP_UE.90.2 NA ThIP_UE.90.3 Military ThIP_UE.90.4 NA		**Discussion:** The fortress of *nfrw-sy* is listed on the Onomasticon of Amenemope (Gardiner, 1947: II, 83, *On.Am.*378) and according to Maspero, (1890-1891: 516) was about 7 km away from Hur (ThIP_UE.91) to the north of Ashmunein. Smith and Smith (1976: 71, fig. 2) position Neferusy in the area of Sheikh Abada, and Montet (1961: 152), said it was opposite el-Ashmunein on the east bank of the Nile. The nature of the site is likely to be militarized, and has been defined as a fortress by Lichtheim (1980: 68, 81 n. 27). Gardiner (1947: II, 83) placed the site at Itledim. Kessler (1981) proposed equating Neferusy with the site of Jarris, approximately 16 km north of el-Ashmunein. Neferusy continued to be used throughout the Third Intermediate Period, as it is one of the fortresses that Piankhy must defeat in the battle for Middle Egypt and is again located close to the Nome border between the 15th and 16th Nome. Graves (2013) has recently reassessed the material relating to the location of Neferusy but came to no clear conclusion to the location of this site within Middle Egypt. Graves research did add weight to Kessler's (1981) original hypothesis that the site of Jarris was indeed that of Neferusy but stated that many other mounds around Jarris could be possible locations, while Grave's research discounted the identification with Itlidem.	

ID: ThIP_UE.91	**NOME:** 15th	**BANK:** West	**GEOREF:** 27°51'34.76"N 30°43'52.59"E
ArabicNAME: Hur		**AEN_Hiero:**	**AEN_Trans:** *ḥwt wrt*
SFunc: ThIP_UE.91.1 Domestic		**Discussion:** *ḥwt wrt* is listed on the Onomasticon of Amenemope (Gardiner, 1947: II, 84-7, *On.Am.*379) and the Piankhy Stela, and is located near the desert to the north of el-Ashmunein and to the south of Itlidem. For further	

	discussions on the location of *ḥwt wrt* see Gardiner (1947, II: 84-7) for full discussion of this location.

1.2.16 Region of Akoris to Atfih 16th-22nd UE Nomes: Approximate Boundaries of *P.Wilbour*.

ID: ThIP_UE.92	**NOME:** A-A (16th)	**BANK:** NA	**GEOREF:** NA
ArabicNAME: NA		**AEN_Hiero:**	**AEN_Trans:** *pr wḏy*
SFunc: ThIP_UE.92.1 Domestic ThIP_UE.92.2 NA ThIP_UE.92.3 NA ThIP_UE.92.4 NA		**Discussion:** A place *pr wḏy* is mentioned, but unlike the previous settlement located in the 10th Upper nome this one has no external geographic evidence to suggest a location. It is likely to be situated to the south of the Speos Artemidos (Gardiner, 1947: II, 88, *On.Am.*380; Gauthier, 1925a: 212, 1925b: 73), or near Tahnasa (Kessler, 1981).	

ID: ThIP_UE.93	**NOME:** A-A (16th)	**BANK:** East	**GEOREF:** 27°54'13.87"N 30°52'17.84"E
ArabicNAME: Istabl Antar		**AEN_Hiero:**	**AEN_Trans:** *pr-nbt-in(t)*
SFunc: ThIP_UE.93.1 Domestic (Assumed) ThIP_UE.93.2 Cemetery ThIP_UE.93.3 NA ThIP_UE.93.4 NA		**Discussion:** In 1902-4 John Garstang (1907: 200-210) excavated the rock cut tombs in the cliffs to the north of the Speos Artemidos in which he dated them to between the 20th to 30th Dynasties. Taylor, (2009: 384-5) has placed them into a date range of between the 22nd to 25th Dynasty. The Speos appears as an entry on the 21st Dynasty and may have formed some small cultic community or funerary settlement in association with the Speos.	

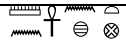
ID: ThIP_UE.94	**NOME:** A-A (16th Capital)	**BANK:** East	**GEOREF:** 28° 2'40.09"N 30°49'50.05"E
ArabicNAME: Zawyat el-Amwat/ Zawyat el-Maiyitin.		**AEN_Hiero:**	**AEN_Trans:** *ḥbnw*

SFunc: ThIP_UE.94.1 Domestic ThIP_UE.94.2 NA ThIP_UE.94.3 NA ThIP_UE.94.4 NA	**Discussion:** *ḥbnw* was the ancient capital of the 16th Upper Egyptian Nome. It is mentioned on the Onomasticon of Amenemope (Gardiner, 1947, II, 90-92; *On.Am.*382) and again later on the Piankhy Stela, but no more is known about the development of this nome capital throughout the period.

ID: ThIP_UE.95	**NOME:** A-A (16th)	**BANK:** East	**GEOREF:** 28° 7'5.38"N 30°46'21.35"E
ArabicNAME: Nazlet esh-Shurafa		**AEN_Hiero:** NA	**AEN_Trans:** NA
SFunc: ThIP_UE.95.1 Domestic ThIP_UE.95.2 NA ThIP_UE.95.3 Military ThIP_UE.95.4 NA		**Discussion:** Stamped bricks of the High Priest of Amun Menkheperre (Wainwright, 1927), suggest the presence of a fortress at this site. A statue of Khaemwese son of Ramesses II was also found here (Chaban, 1907) which may indicate Menkheperre was continuing the construction and use of a Ramesside fortress in this area.	

ID: ThIP_UE.96	**NOME:** A-A (17th)	**BANK:** East	**GEOREF:** 28°11'2.50"N 30°46'34.81"E
ArabicNAME: Tihna		**AEN_Hiero:**	**AEN_Trans:** *pr-mɜ𓇋w*
SFunc: ThIP_UE.96.1 Domestic ThIP_UE.96.2 Cemetery ThIP_UE.96.3 Military ThIP_UE.96.4 NA		**Discussion:** In the early 21st Dynasty the Onomasticon of Amenemope lists Tihna (Class: Akoris) as *pr-mɜ𓇋w*. (Gardiner, 1947: II, 90-2, *On.Am.*383). The fortified site of Tihna (Akoris) has substantial evidence of Third Intermediate Period domestic activity Period. The site is located on the border of the 16th Nome placing it in a good strategic location into the Heracleopolitan region. For a discussion on the tomb groups from Akoris see Aston (2009a: 111-112). Temple building activity at the site is indicated by foundation inscription of Osorkon III (Jansen-Winkeln, 2007b: 296).	

ID: ThIP_UE.97	**NOME:** A-A (17th)	**BANK:** West	**GEOREF:** 28°18'32.74"N 30°42'42.09"E

ArabicNAME: Samalut	**AEN_Hiero:** 	**AEN_Trans:** *mn-ꜥnḫ*
SFunc: ThIP_UE.97.1 Domestic ThIP_UE.97.2 NA ThIP_UE.97.3 NA ThIP_UE.97.4 NA	**Discussion:** *mn-ꜥnḫ* is listed on the Onomasticon of Amenemope (Gardiner, 1947: II, 96, *On.Am.*384) and is equated with the modern Samalut.	

ID: ThIP_UE.98	**NOME:** A-A (17th)	**BANK:** NA	**GEOREF:** NA
ArabicNAME: Unknown		**AEN_Hiero:**	**AEN_Trans:** *tꜣ wḥy.t-n-ỉry-st*
SFunc: ThIP_UE.98.1 Domestic ThIP_UE.98.2 NA ThIP_UE.98.3 NA ThIP_UE.98.4 NA		**Discussion:** *tꜣ wḥy.t-n-ỉry-st* is an unknown location listed on the Onomasticon of Amenemope (Gardiner, 1947: II, *On.Am.*387) but geographically should be located between el-Kes and Kom el-Ahmar, near Sharuna.	

ID: ThIP_UE.99	**NOME:** A-A (17th) Capital	**BANK:** East	**GEOREF:** 28°29'17.93"N 30°50'54.99"E
ARABICNAME: Esh-Sheikh el-Fadl (Hardai)		**AEN_Hiero:**	**AEN_Trans:** *ḥr-di*
SFunc: ThIP_UE.99.1 Domestic ThIP_UE.99.2 NA ThIP_UE.99.3 NA ThIP_UE.99.4 NA		**Discussion:** *ḥr-di* documented on the Onomasticon of Amenemope (Gardiner, 1947: II, 98-103, *On.Am.*385) is equated with the modern Esh Sheikh el-Fadl.	

ID: ThIP_UE.100	**NOME:** A-A (17th Capital)	**BANK:** West	**GEOREF:** 28°28'49.14"N 30°47'4.66"E
ArabicNAME: El-Kes		**AEN_Hiero:**	**AEN_Trans:** *sꜣ-kꜣ*
SFunc: ThIP_UE.100.1 Domestic ThIP_UE.100.2 NA		**Discussion:** *sꜣ-kꜣ*, the modern el-Kes, is only known from the Onomasticon of Amenemope (Gardiner, 1947: II, 103, *On.Am.*386).	

ThIP_UE.100.3 NA ThIP_UE.100.4 NA	

ID: ThIP_UE.101	**NOME:** A-A (18th Capital)	**BANK:** East	**GEOREF:** 28°34'51.61"N 30°51'27.53"E
ArabicNAME: Kom el-Ahmar (Sawaris)		**AEN_Hiero:**	**AEN_Trans:** *ḥwt – nsw*
SFunc: ThIP_UE.101.1 Domestic ThIP_UE.101.2 NA ThIP_UE.101.3 NA ThIP_UE.101.4 NA		**Discussion:** *ḥwt – nsw* is located at Kom el-Ahmar near Sharuna in the 18th Upper Egyptian Nome, and was the capital of the nome. It is documented on the Piankhy stela (Grimal, 1981: §3, 12, 17 n. 34). Kom el-Ahmar (Sawaris) is an extensive kom in the region of the village of Ezbet el-Kom el-Ahmar, about halfway between el- Gharabi in the south and Sharuna in the north. Parts of the original koms have been removed for the recovery of farmland. The whole area is scattered with many ceramics, which can be dated primarily to the Late Antique Period. Fragments of relief blocks found to have mostly come from a temple of the early Ptolemaic period (Gomaà, Müller-Wollermann, and Schenkel, 1991: 177). Remains of a temple which may not be identical to the Ptolemaic temple, have been seen in the last century by Nestor l'Hote (Vandier d'Abbadie, 1963:20, taf. 7.1; Gomaà, Müller-Wollermann, and Schenkel, 1991: 177). The rising masonry was demolished in the late 19th century in the production of building materials (Gomaà, Müller-Wollermann, and Schenkel, 1991: 177; PM IV, 1934: 126; Wessetzky, 1981: 107; 1977:133; Wilbour, 1936: 566). On flat land east of the kom lies an extensive Necropolis, that takes the name el-Kom el-Ahmar Sawaris (Gomaà, Müller-Wollermann, and Schenkel, 1991: 178; PM IV, 1934: 125; Schenkel, 1987: 154). The necropolis is covered in burials and shafts. It has tombs of the Ptolemaic-Roman period (Gomaà, 1983: 135; Gomaà Müller-Wollermann, Schenkel, 1991: 178), while there are many important	

	tombs of the Old Kingdom located there (Gomaà, Müller-Wollermann, Schenkel, 1991: 178). Only evidence from textual sources confirms that site of *ḥwt – nsw* was active as an important settlement during the Third Intermediate Period as so far, no archaeological evidence has been located for a presence on the preserved parts of the mound and burial ground.

ID: ThIP_UE.102	**NOME:** A-A (18th)	**BANK:** NA	**GEOREF:** NA
ArabicNAME: NA		**AEN_Hiero:**	**AEN_Trans:** *ḥwt-rdw*
SFunc: ThIP_UE.102.1 Domestic ThIP_UE.102.2 NA ThIP_UE.102.3 NA ThIP_UE.102.4 NA		**Discussion:** *ḥwt-rdw* 'The House of the Redu Bird'. (Collombert, 2014: 1-27) is documented on the Piankhy Stela in association with el-Hibeh. *ḥwt-rdw* is located in the 18th Upper Egyptian Nome, but has so far not been identified. The settlement of *ḥwt-rdw* was an important settlement on the east bank of the Nile and the name has been known from the Old Kingdom. The settlement name is recorded on a Stela of Bebi from the Necropolis of Kom el-Ahmar near Sharuna citing Anubis as Lord of *ḥwt-rdw* (Gomaà, Müller-Wollermann, and Schenkel, 1991: 75; Grenfell and Hunt, 1902: 4). In three other tombs belonging to Iuhi, Sabi and Mentinefer of the same necropolis this is a title given to Anubis (Gomaà, 1983: 137; Gomaà, Müller-Wollermann, and Schenkel, 1991: 75). There is a hiatus of the name in the Middle Kingdom but it appears again in the 25th Dynasty with the invasion of Piankhy (Gomaà, Müller-Wollermann, and Schenkel, 1991: 75). Kees (1958: 173) and Gardiner (1947: II, 107) place the location of the settlement in the modern Sharuna, while Vandier places in in between el-Kom el-Ahmar in the north and esh-Sheikh el-Fadl in the south (Gomaà, 1983: 143; Zibelius, 1978: 154). The presence of the titles in association with *ḥwt-rdw* in the necropolis of el-Kom el-	

	Ahmar indicates the site is very close to the necropolis, probably directly opposite *ḥwt – nsw* in the area of Ezbet Kom el-Ahmar, in any case closer to here than Sharuna or south of Kom el-Ahmar. Both cities of *ḥwt – nsw* and *ḥwt-rdw* were originally two adjacent places that grew together over the course of history (Gomaà, Müller-Wollermann, and Schenkel, 1991:76).

ID: ThIP_UE.103	**NOME:** A-A (18th)	**BANK:** East	**GEOREF:** 28°47'12.27"N 30°55'16.98"E
ArabicNAME: El-Hibeh		**AEN_Hiero:**	**AEN_Trans:** *Tȝyw-ḏȝyt* and *wr dhnt wr nxtw*
SFunc: ThIP_UE.103.1 Domestic ThIP_UE.103.2 Cemetery ThIP_UE.103.3 Military ThIP_UE.103.4 NA		**Discussion:** El-Hibeh was the territorial land boundary for the Theban High Priest of Amun in the 21st Dynasty. El-Hibeh is documented under two names during the Third Intermediate Period. 1) *Tȝyw-ḏȝyt* 'Their Walls' documented on the Piankhy Stela, and *tȝ(y.w)-ḏȝy(t)* from a wooden fragment (Saint Petersburg Museum Hermitage 5528) found either at el-Hibeh or Thebes dated to the Libyan Period. (Grimal, 1981: §3, 12, 16, n. 33; Jansen-Winkeln, 2007b: 393-4, n. 26; Meffre, 2015: doc. 116), and Lichtheim (1980: 81, n. 17) designates it as the site of el-Hibeh. The identification of el-Hibeh with the Coptic TEYXO or TOYXOI has been known for a long time and can be considered secure (Gomaà, Müller-Wollermann, and Schenkel, 1991: 79; Timm, 1984: 1207). For the temple of Shoshenq I from el-Hibeh see Section 4.5.2., and Appendix X, Section 10.1.9.	

	2) Later in the period Piankhy engages the *t3-thn-wr-nḫtw* "The Crag Great of Victories'. The later Prince of the West Tefnakht on the invasion of Piankhy had entrusted two fortresses to his sons in Middle Egypt one of which was el-Hibeh. (Gardiner, 1947: II, 93; Gauthier, 1927: 38-9; Gomaà, 1974: 47; Yoyotte, 1961a: 151). This signifies the continuing importance of this region as a heavily fortified and strategic location for the duration of the Third Intermediate Period. This site highlights the nature of site names changing as the period goes on, and the problems of assuming only one toponym relates to one site. The Cemetery: An Italian expedition working the cemeteries of el-Hibeh found many late coffins (Botti, 1958). Cemetery of late Third Intermediate Period coffins were found (Taylor, 2009: 384). Coffin (Florence 10568, a, b (Botti, 1958: 58-68, tav. XV. 2-4) has decoration from the Book of the Dead 125 and 146 arranged in the manner characteristic of the late 22nd Dynasty on Theban coffins (Taylor, 2009: 384, n. 59) while other coffins from el-Hibeh have archaising features which are suggestive of the 25th Dynasty (Florence 10501-2) with false door designs and offering scenes of Old Kingdom type (Botti, 1958: tav. II. 1-3).

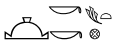
ID: ThIP_UE.104	**NOME:** A-A (19th)	**BANK:** West Bank (west of the Bahr Yusef).	**GEOREF:** 28°32'22.74"N 30°39'25.84"E
ArabicNAME: el-Bahnasa		**AEN_Hiero:**	**AEN_Trans:** *pr-mḏd*
SFunc: ThIP_UE.104.1 Domestic ThIP_UE.104.2 NA ThIP_UE.104.3 NA ThIP_UE.104.4 NA		**Discussion:** *pr-mḏd* (Classical: Oxyrhynchus, Modern: El-Bahnasa). is first attested in the Piankhy Stela but there is evidence from *P.Wilbour* of a Per Medjay which may have been an earlier spelling of the settlement in the 20th Dynasty.	

ID: ThIP_UE.105	**NOME:** A-A (19th**)**	**BANK:** West Bank (west of Bahr Yusef)	**GEOREF:** 28°52'21.82"N 30°47'55.66"E
ArabicNAME: Kom el-Ahmar		**AEN_Hiero:**	**AEN_Trans:** *ṯkȝ-nš*
SFunc: ThIP_UE.105.1 Domestic ThIP_UE.105.2 NA ThIP_UE.105.3 NA ThIP_UE.105.4 NA		**Discussion:** Another toponym associated with Kom el-Ahmar (Sawaris) is *ṯkȝ-nš* just to the north of Oxyrhynchus(ThIP_UE.104) (Grimal, 1981: §3, 12, 16, n. 31). Breasted (1906: 420, n. c) took Brugsch's (1879: 669) suggestion it to be the Coptic Takinash of the Oxyrhynchite Nome. This affiliation of Kom el-Ahmar near Mazura with the Coptic TAKINAW, the Greek Takova and the ancient Egyptian *ṯkȝ-nš* can be regarded as secure (Gomaà, Müller-Wollermann and Schenkel, 1991: 100; Timm, 1984: 558-560).	

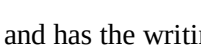
ID: ThIP_UE.106	**NOME:** A-A (Capital 19th)	**BANK:** West **(**near the Bahr Yusef)	**GEOREF:** NA
ArabicNAME: NA		**AEN_Hiero:**	**AEN_Trans:** *sp-mrw*
SFunc: ThIP_UE.106.1 Domestic ThIP_UE.106.2 NA ThIP_UE.106.3 NA ThIP_UE.106.4 NA		**Discussion:** Spermeru the capital of the 19th Upper Egyptian Nome is only documented on the Onomasticon of Amenemope (Gardiner, 1947, II, 110-111, *On.Am.*388). No more is known about this location for the Third Intermediate Period.	

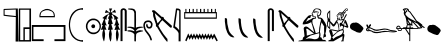
ID: ThIP_UE.107	**NOME:** A-A (20th Capital)	**BANK:** West	**GEOREF:** 29° 5'7.84"N 30°56'15.26"E
ArabicNAME: Ehnasya el-Medina		**AEN_Hiero:**	**AEN_Trans:** *nn-nsw*

SFunc: ThIP_UE.107.1 Domestic ThIP_UE.107.2 Cemetery ThIP_UE.107.3 NA ThIP_UE.107.4 NA	**Discussion:** The capital of the 10th Upper Egyptian Nome was *nn-nsw* (Class: Heracleopolis Magna), now the modern Ehnasya el-Medina. This was one of the main political centres of the period. In addition to the main settlement and necropolis the cultic toponym *Nꜣrf* Naref documented on (Cairo JE 94748) from Heracleopolis (2nd half of the 21st Dynasty or start of the 22nd Dynasty) is associated with the settlement (Aston, 2009a: 405; Jansen-Winkeln, 2006b: 307; Meffre, 2015: doc. 65; Pérez-Die, 2010: I, 331-333; figs 313-320; Pérez-Die and Vernus, doc. 17). Naref is mentioned on other Third Intermediate Period monuments all in association with the Heracleopolitan region. They include: (Cairo Museum CG 42228) from the reign of Osorkon II found at Karnak (Brandl, 2008, I, 50-1, doc. O-2.4, II, pl. 12; Meffre, 2015: doc. 23) Beni Suef Museum MAE 85-174, Register Book 641; from a door from tomb 4 at the Third Intermediate Period Necropolis (Meffre, 2015: doc. 81; Pérez-Die, 2010: I, 274, figs 104, 245-7, 280-1; Pérez-Die and Vernus, 1992: doc. 22) A Tablet from the Ivanovitsch Collection, Cairo 1882; (Meffre, 2015: doc. 93; Wiedemann, 1890-1891: 36). The toponym Naref is associated with the god Osiris in religious contexts, and is confined to the Heracleopolitan Region. The toponym was conceived under the dual nature of an aspect of the god Osiris in the Heracleopolitan region and a mythical local place name (Díaz-Iglesias Llanos, 2012). For another cultic toponym associated with Heracleopolis is, found on *Cairo Museum JE 94748*.

	The final toponym is  *Ỉꜣt kyky* The Mound of the Kyky Plant (Cairo CG 9430) (Daressy, 1903b: 37-9, pl. XI; Moje, 2014: 255; Yoyotte 1988: 155-6, 171-174) dated to the end of the Libyan Period probably from Sais (Daressy, 1903b: 37). This location is either a religious neighbourhood or location of another settlement temple of Heracleopolis (Meffre, 2015: 189, n. 354).

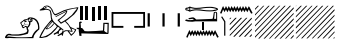
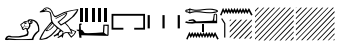
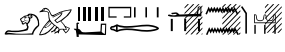
Sites in Association with the Heracleopolitan Hinterland. (No additional evidence to Place in Geographical Order)

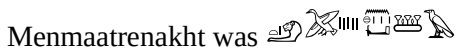
ID: ThIP_UE.108	**NOME:** A-A **(**Heracleopolitan Hinterland)	**BANK:** NA	**GEOREF:** NA
ArabicNAME: NA		**AEN_Hiero:**	**AEN_Trans:** *pꜣ nḫtw n mr-mšꜥ.f*
SFunc: ThIP_UE.108.1 Domestic ThIP_UE.108.2 NA ThIP_UE.108.3 Military ThIP_UE.108.4 NA		**Discussion:** The Fortress of Mer-Meshaf is mentioned on five documents dating from between the reigns of Ramesses III and Shoshenq I (Meffre, 2015: 365-367). Two of the five monuments date to the Third Intermediate Period. The first is from a block of Shoshenq I (Cairo, JE 39410) found at Heracleopolis and has the writing  *pꜣ nḫtw n mr-mšꜥ.f* 'The Fortress of Mer-Meshaf' (Meffre, 2015: 52, 57, doc. 7. face D. x+18). The second is from a stela (Unknown Number) found in the temple of Heracleopolis belonging to a Seth-em-heb dating to either the end of the New Kingdom or the 21st Dynasty (Jansen-Winkeln, 2006b: 308-310; Kessler, 1975: 130-131, doc. D; Meffre, 2015: 152, doc. 59, l.4; Petrie, 1905: 22, n. 1 and pl. XXVII, I; PM IV, 1934: 119).	

	Seth-em-heb is described as being 'head of *pꜣ nḫtw n mr-mšꜥf* The Fortress of Mer-Meshaf'. The Fortress of Mer-Meshaf originally comprised a temple along with a fortress, and was originally founded by Ramesses II (Meffre, 2015: 366). A donation stela of Ramesses III records the name *r ḥwt-nṯr rꜥms.sw mry-ỉmn mr-mšꜥf* 'The Temple of Rameses beloved of Amun of Mer-Meshaf' (Meffre, 2015: 366, doc. A), and the name is met again on *P.Wilbour* under the authority of the prophet Pentaweret (B 22, 27-22,30) as  *ḥwt-nṯr rꜥms.sw mry-ỉmn 'nḫ wḏꜣ snb mr-mšꜥf* 'The Temple of Rameses beloved of Amun, Life, Prosperity, Health, Mer-Meshaf' (Meffre, 2015: 366, doc. B). By the reign of Year 17 of Ramesses IX the name of Ramesses II is lost from the title and it is simply called Mer-Meshaf (*P.London BM EA* 10068, IV, 16) (Meffre, 2015: 366, doc. C; Peet, 1930: 90), a name which is retained into the Third Intermediate Period and the monuments of Shoshenq I and Seth-em-heb. There is no evidence in the Ptolemaic-Roman toponyms that indicate a precise location for the fortress (Meffre, 2015: 367), but the mention on the Heracleopolitan monuments indicates that it was in the vicinity of Heracleopolis. Kessler (1975: 134, n. 170) placed the toponym with Barmacha, situated to the south of Heracleopolis, in the province of Minya to the west of Maghagha, however there is no evidence to support this (Meffre, 2015: 367, n. 12). Grandet (1994) situates the fortress not far from the Faiyum entrance, with Meffre (2015: 367-8) proposing that its location was to the north of Heracleopolis not far from Gurob, as a way of

	controlling Western Desert peoples entering the Nile Valley.

ID: ThIP_UE.109	**NOME:** A-A (Heracleopolitan Hinterland)	**BANK:** NA	**GEOREF:** NA
ArabicNAME: NA		**AEN_Hiero:**	**AEN_Trans:** *pꜣ nḫtw ꜥꜣ (n) wsr-mꜣʿt-rʿ*
SFunc: ThIP_UE.109.1 Domestic ThIP_UE.109.2 NA ThIP_UE.109.3 Military ThIP_UE.109.4 NA		**Discussion:** Two monuments document the existence of the 'Fortress of Usermaatre'. The first is a stela (unknown number) dated to either the end of the New Kingdom or the start of the 21st Dynasty, which mentions a Sherden soldier called Pa-Djesef of *pꜣ nḫtw ꜥꜣ (n) wsr-mꜣʿt-rʿ* 'The Great Fortress of Usermaatre', which was found in the temple at Heracleopolis (Meffre, 2015: 151, doc. 58; Petrie, 1905: 22, n. 2, pl. XXVII, 2; PM IV, 1934: 119). The fort is also mentioned on the block of Shoshenq I (Cairo, JE 39410) in relation to *pꜣ ꜥꜣ n twhr n wsr-mꜣʿt-rʿ* 'The Great of the Touher of Usermaatre' (Meffre, 2015: 55, doc. 7, l.x+13). The fortress was likely founded in the reign of Ramesses II (Meffre, 2015: 368), and based on the monuments recovered would indicate that the soldiers stationed there, as there is mention of Pa-Djesef the Sherden, linking him to the Sea Peoples, and the block of Shoshenq I mentions the Great of Touher of Usermaatre, indicating that by the 22nd Dynasty the fortress was home to the elite chariot drivers of possible foreign origin (Meffre, 2015: 369). The fortress has not been found, but like 'The Fortress of Mer-Meshaf' it should be located in the Heracleopolitan region based on its association with Heracleopolitan monuments and individuals.	

ID: ThIP_UE.110-114	**NOME:** A-A- (Heracleopolitan Hinterland)	**BANK(S):** NA	**GEOREF(S):** NA
ArabicNAME: NA		**AEN_Hiero:** 	**AEN_Trans:** *(m) ḥꜣt pꜣ 5 nḫtw ꜥꜣ n(ꜣ) mꜥ*
SFunc: ThIP_UE.110.1 Domestic ThIP_UE.110.2 NA ThIP_UE.110.3 Military ThIP_UE.110.4 NA ThIP_UE.110.1 Domestic ThIP_UE.110.2 NA ThIP_UE.110.3 Military ThIP_UE.110.4 NA ThIP_UE.110.1 Domestic ThIP_UE.110.2 NA ThIP_UE.110.3 Military ThIP_UE.110.4 NA ThIP_UE.110.1 Domestic ThIP_UE.110.2 NA ThIP_UE.110.3 Military ThIP_UE.110.4 NA ThIP_UE.110.1 Domestic ThIP_UE.110.2 NA ThIP_UE.110.3 Military ThIP_UE.110.4 NA		**Discussion:** The Five Great Fortresses of the Ma is a toponym that is unknown before the Third Intermediate Period. The location is mentioned on two monuments. The first is from a door (MAE 86-368, 86-369 and 89-321 and b) found in the cemetery at Heracleopolis (Jansen-Winkeln, 1994: 84; 2006b: 307; 2007b: 166; Meffre, 2015: 154-5, doc. 63; Pérez-Die, 2010: 131,139, fig. 25, 140, fig. 29, 146, fig. 63; Pérez-Die and Vernus, 1992: doc. 15) belonging to the general and first prophet of Heryshef, Amen-ha-em-opet, who is  *(m) ḥꜣt pꜣ 5 nḫtw ꜥꜣ n(ꜣ) mꜥ* 'at the Head of the Five Great Fortresses of the Ma'. The second is a lintel (Cairo, JE 94748) from the cemetery at Heracleopolis, which is made for the son of the Chief of the Ma Osorkon (Aston, 2009a: 405; Jansen-Winkeln, 2006b: 307; Meffre, 2015: 155-8, doc. 65; Pérez-Die, 2010: 331-3, figs 313-320; Pérez-Die and Vernus, 1992: doc. 17) that states that Osorkon was, like Amen-ha-em-opet, was  *(m) ḥꜣt pꜣ 5 nḫtw ꜥꜣ n(ꜣ) mꜥ* 'at the Head of the Five Great Fortresses of the Ma'. The Five Great Fortresses of the Ma was proposed by Jansen-Winklen (2006b: 308-310) to be equivalent to 'The Five Great Fortresses of the Sherdan', a toponym, which is documented on two monuments dating to the end of the New Kingdom or 21st Dynasty. The first was a block from the tomb of Menmaatrenakht who was a general and chief of troops who lived at the time of	

	Ramesses XI. The associated titles indicate that Menmaatrenakht was  *ḥꜣt pꜣ 5 nḫtw šꜣr(d)ꜥnꜣ* 'at the Head of the Five Great Fortresses of the Sherden'. The provenance of the tomb block is unknown but it is known that Sherden troops were grouped into institutions at the end of the New Kingdom into various different fortified networks, especially around the Hermopolis and Spermeru (Meffre, 2015: 370; Winnicki, 2009: 81-3). Meffre (2015: 370) explicitly states that there is no geographical evidence to link the block of Menmaatrenakht to the region of Heracleopolis. The second monument was that of a Stela of Seth-em-hab found in the temple of Heryshef at Heracleopolis (Jansen-Winkeln, 2006b: 308-310; Kessler, 1975: 130-131, doc. D ; Meffre, 2015: 152-3, doc. 59; Petrie, 1905: 22, n. 1, pl. XXVII:1; PM IV,1934: 119). The titles associated with Seth-em-hab state that he is *ḥꜣt pꜣ ꜥ nḫtw ꜥšꜣrdꜥnꜣ* 'at the head of the Three Great Fortresses of the Sherden'. Jansen-Winkeln (1994: 91; 2001; 170, n. 99) restores the 3 singular lines after the definitive article *pꜣ* to as they are unevenly spaced, a stance that is followed by Lull (2006: 238). Jansen-Winkeln (2006b: 308-10) deduced from the absence of the mention of the Five Great Fortresses of the Sherden on the monument of Shoshenq I (JE 39410) that the fortress chain no longer existed by the time of the 22nd Dynasty. The changing of the Sherden to the Ma resulted from a political change at the start of the 22nd Dynasty when the Egyptian fortresses passed under the control of the Libyan troops (Jansen-Winkeln, 2006b: 309; Meffre, 2015: 370).

ID: ThIP_UE.115	**NOME:** A-A (Heracleopolitan Hinterland)	**BANK:** NA	**GEOREF:** NA
ArabicNAME: NA		**AEN_Hiero:**	**AEN_Trans:** *pꜣ nḫtw n mk-kmt*
SFunc: ThIP_UE.115.1 Domestic ThIP_UE.115.2 NA ThIP_UE.115.3 Military ThIP_UE.115.4 NA		**Discussion:** A limestone statuette found at Atfih (site number 46 and 131) dated to the reign of Osorkon I preserves the toponym *pꜣ nḫtw n mk-kmt* 'The Fortress of the Protector of Egypt' (el-Enany, 2012: 131; el-Nagger, 1991; Meffre, 2015: 81, doc. 16; Perdu, 2009: 462). The preserved toponym is an abbreviation of the name of a royal foundation, however the royal name is missing. The term *mk-kmt* 'Protector of Egypt' is a frequently used phrase in preceding Ramesside Period (Meffre, 2015: 293; Von Beckerath, 1999: 152-3, 158-161, 166-7, 170-1). Meffre (2015: 293) considers based on the proliferation of the terminology in the Ramesside period and the founding of other forts by Ramesside kings in the region of Heracleopolis that the foundation of this fort should date to the same period, however there is no evidence to support such a claim. The mention of the fort under Osorkon I and the founding of the fort of Per Sekhemkheperre on the opposite bank of the Nile near the Faiyum could indicate that it was another foundation of Osorkon I and the fortification of the northern area of Middle Egypt.	

ID: ThIP_UE.116	**NOME:** A-A **(**Heracleopolitan Hinterland)	**BANK:** NA	**GEOREF:** NA
ArabicNAME: NA		**AEN_Hiero:**	**AEN_Trans:** *dmi pꜣ-bḫn-n-pꜣ-nḥsy*

SFunc: ThIP_UE.116.1 Domestic ThIP_UE.116.2 NA ThIP_UE.116.3 Military ThIP_UE.116.4 NA	**Discussion:** The Castle of Panehesy is documented on Cairo JE 39410, face D, x+21and is found on the 20th Dynasty Wilbour Papyrus written *p-n-nꜣ-nḥsy* (Meffre, 2015: 58, n. 85). The location of this toponym has been suggested as being at Bilhasa (Gomaà, Müller-Wollermann, and Schenkel, 1991: 88).

ID: ThIP_UE.117	**NOME:** A-A (Heracleopolitan Hinterland)	**BANK:** NA	**GEOREF:** NA
ArabicNAME: NA		**AEN_Hiero:**	**AEN_Trans:** *dmi pꜣ-bḫn-n-nfr-rnpt*
SFunc: ThIP_UE.117.1 Domestic ThIP_UE.117.2 NA ThIP_UE.117.3 Military ThIP_UE.117.4 NA		**Discussion:** The ancient site of *dmi pꜣ-bḫn-n-nfr-rnpt* 'The Castle of Neferenpet' is documented on Cairo JE 39410, face D, x+22 (Meffre, 2015) but cannot be equated with an arabic locality and it is not mentioned on the Wilbour Papyrus, indicating that this may have been a new foundation after the end of the Ramesside Period.	

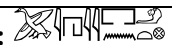
ID: ThIP_UE.118	**NOME:** A-A (Heracleopolitan Hinterland)	**BANK:** NA	**GEOREF:** NA
ArabicNAME: NA		**AEN_Hiero:** NA	**AEN_Trans:** *bḫn*
SFunc: ThIP_UE.118.1 Domestic ThIP_UE.118.2 NA ThIP_UE.118.3 Military ThIP_UE.118.4 NA		**Discussion:** The recording of the term possibly equated with the 'The Castle of the Vizier' is again mentioned on the Wilbour Papyrus (Gomaà, Müller-Wollermann, Schenkel, 1991: 118) but no more is known about its location within the Heracleopolitan hinterland (Cairo, JE 39410, Face D, x+21).	

ID: ThIP_UE.119	**NOME:** A-A (Heracleopolitan Hinterland)	**BANK:** NA	**GEOREF:** NA
ArabicNAME: NA		**AEN_Hiero:**	**AEN_Trans:** *dmi pꜣ-sg-n-ḥwt-ty*
SFunc: ThIP_UE.119.1 Domestic ThIP_UE.119.2 NA ThIP_UE.119.3 Military ThIP_UE.119.4 NA		**Discussion:** 'The Village of the Fort of the Estate of Tiy' mentioned on Cairo JE 39410 (Meffre, 2015: 58, doc. 7, Face D, l.X+20) is also mentioned in *P.Wilbour* B23, 15 (Gardiner, 1948: II, 35) with a similar writing but it is not possible to locate it exactly. It is probably located to the north of Heracleopolis as the fields associated with the village in *P.Wilbour* were then under the authority of a man called Hori who was a priest of the temple of Rameses beloved of Amun at *Pa-tjesy-hor*, a locality that is associated with Memphis (Gardiner, 1948: III, 177-8; Meffre, 2015: 58, n. 80).	

ID: ThIP_UE.120	**NOME:** A-A (Heracleopolitan Hinterland)	**BANK:** NA	**GEOREF:** NA
ArabicNAME: NA		**AEN_Hiero:**	**AEN_Trans:** *dmi pꜣ-sg-n-ꜥr(t)*
SFunc: ThIP_UE.120.1 Domestic ThIP_UE.120.2 NA ThIP_UE.120.3 Military ThIP_UE.120.4 NA		**Discussion:** 'The Village of The Fort of the Goat' documented on Cairo JE 39410 (Meffre, 2015: 58, doc. 7, Face D, l.X+21) is also attested in the Wilbour Papyrus but under several various different writings (*P.Wilbour* B14, 24;16, 16; 18, 7; 20, 13) (Gardiner, 1948: II:31, n.8 and 35; Meffre, 2015: 58, n. 84). The fort must have been situated very close to Heracleopolis as *P.Wilbour* shows that some of its fields belonged to the temple of Heryshef (Meffre, 2015: 58, n. 84). The	

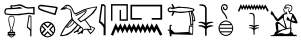
	village could have been named as 'The Southern Goat' (Vernus, 1967: 166-69).

ID: ThIP_UE.121	**NOME:** A-A (Heracleopolitan Hinterland)	**BANK:** NA	**GEOREF:** NA
ArabicNAME: NA		**AEN_Hiero:**	**AEN_Trans:** *rbn*
SFunc: ThIP_UE.121.1 Domestic ThIP_UE.121.2 NA ThIP_UE.121.3 NA ThIP_UE.121.4 NA		**Discussion:** *rbn* is listed on the Onomasticon of Amenemope (Gardiner, 1947: II, 115, *On.Am.*391) and is equated with the *brn* of the Wilbour Papyrus (Gomaà, Müller-Wollermann, and Schenkel, 1991: 130, 138, 156. 165).	

ID: ThIP_UE.122	**NOME:** A-A (Heracleopolitan Hinterland)	**BANK:** NA	**GEOREF:** NA
ArabicNAME: NA		**AEN_Hiero:**  (22nd Dynasty) (23rd Dynasty)	**AEN_Trans:** *pꜣ ỉhw n ḥꜣt dmỉ pꜣ ỉhw n ḥꜣt*
SFunc: ThIP_UE.122.1 Domestic ThIP_UE.122.2 NA ThIP_UE.122.3 Military ThIP_UE.122.4 NA		**Discussion:** *pꜣ ỉhw n ḥꜣt* 'The Military Camp/Stockyard/Storehouse/Stable of the Front' is listed on the 22nd Dynasty Cairo JE 39410 from Heracleopolis. The toponym is later documented on a stela from Year 10 of King Peftjauawybast (A) from Heracleopolis (Cairo Museum JE 45948) as *dmỉ pꜣ ỉhw n ḥꜣt*, (Daressy, 1917: 43-5; Fazzini, 2002: 357-8, 362; Jansen-Winkeln, 2007b: 333-334; Meeks, 1979: n. 23IX.10a; Meffre, 2015: 125-6, doc. 43;Moje, 2014: 382).	

ID: ThIP_UE.123	**NOME:** A-A (Heracleopolitan Hinterland)	**BANK:** NA	**GEOREF:** NA
ArabicNAME: NA		**AEN_Hiero:**	**AEN_Trans:** *dmi pꜣ iḥw n pn-rᶜ*
SFunc: ThIP_UE.123.1 Domestic ThIP_UE.123.2 NA ThIP_UE.123.3 Military ThIP_UE.123.4 NA		**Discussion:** The Village of The Military Camp/Stockyard/Storehouse/Stable of Pen-Re' is documented on Cairo, JE 39410 (Meffre, 2015: doc. 7, x+25). Unknown location in the region.	

ID: ThIP_UE.124	**NOME:** A-A (Heracleopolitan Hinterland)	**BANK:** NA	**GEOREF:** NA
ArabicNAME: NA		**AEN_Hiero:**	**AEN_Trans:** *dmi pꜣ iḥw n nb-smn*
SFunc: ThIP_UE.124.1 Domestic ThIP_UE.124.2 NA ThIP_UE.124.3 Military ThIP_UE.124.4 NA		**Discussion:** 'The Village of The Military Camp/Stockyard/Storehouse/Stable of Neb-Semen' is documented on Cairo, JE 39410 (Meffre, 2015: doc. 7, Face D x+25). Unknown location in the region.	

ID: ThIP_UE.125	**NOME:** A-A (Heracleopolitan Hinterland)	**BANK:** NA	**GEOREF:** NA
ArabicNAME: NA		**AEN_Hiero:** 	**AEN_Trans:** *dmi pꜣ iḥw šd-sw-ḫnsw*
SFunc: ThIP_UE.125.1 Domestic ThIP_UE.125.2 NA		**Discussion:** 'The Village of The Military Camp/Stockyard/Storehouse/Stable of Shedsu-Khonsu' is documented on Cairo, JE 39410	

ThIP_UE.125.3 Military ThIP_UE.125.4 NA	(Meffre, 2015: doc. 7, Face D x+25). Unknown location in the region.

ID: ThIP_UE.126	**NOME:** A-A (Heracleopolitan Hinterland)	**BANK:** NA	**GEOREF:** NA
ArabicNAME: NA		**AEN_Hiero:**	**AEN_Trans:** *Ỉꜣt n wꜥbw*
SFunc: ThIP_UE.126.1 Domestic ThIP_UE.126.2 NA ThIP_UE.126.3 NA ThIP_UE.126.4 NA		**Discussion:** 'The Mound of the Pure' is documented on Cairo, JE 39410 (Meffre, 2015: 60, n.88, doc. 7, x+22). Unknown location in the region.	

ID: ThIP_UE.127	**NOME:** A-A (Heracleopolitan Hinterland)	**BANK:** NA	**GEOREF:** NA
ArabicNAME: NA		**AEN_Hiero:**	**AEN_Trans:** *dmi tꜣ ỉꜣt pꜣ bꜣ ꜥst*
SFunc: ThIP_UE.127.1 Domestic ThIP_UE.127.2 NA ThIP_UE.127.3 NA ThIP_UE.127.4 NA		**Discussion:** 'The Village of the Mound of the Ba of Isis' is documented on Cairo, JE 39410 (Meffre, 2015: doc. 7, x+22). The transcription of the toponym 'The Village of the Mound of the Ba of Isis' is uncertain while Meffre (2015: 59, n. 88) states that it is a play on words between 'The Ba of Isis' (*bꜣ st*) and the Goddess Bastet (*bꜣstt*).	

ID: ThIP_UE.128	**NOME:** A-A (Heracleopolitan Hinterland)	**BANK:** NA	**GEOREF:** NA
ArabicNAME: NA		**AEN_Hiero:**	**AEN_Trans:** *iꜣt šꜣꜥs r pt*

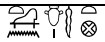
SFunc: ThIP_UE.128.1 Domestic ThIP_UE.128.2 NA ThIP_UE.128.3 NA ThIP_UE.128.4 NA	**Discussion:** 'The Mound of Sharope' is documented on Cairo, JE 39410 (Meffre, 2015: doc. 7, Face D x+23). An unknown location in the region.

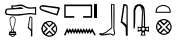
ID: ThIP_UE.129	**NOME:** A-A (Heracleopolitan Hinterland)	**BANK:** NA	**GEOREF:** NA
ArabicNAME: NA		**AEN_Hiero:** 	**AEN_Trans:** *tꜣ tꜣt ṯꜣty*
SFunc: ThIP_UE.129.1 Domestic ThIP_UE.129.2 NA ThIP_UE.129.3 NA ThIP_UE.129.4 NA		**Discussion:** 'The Mound of the Vizier' is documented on Cairo, JE 39410 (Meffre, 2015: doc. 7, Face D. x+24). Unknown location in the region.	

ID: ThIP_UE.130	**NOME:** A-A (Heracleopolitan Hinterland)	**BANK:** NA	**GEOREF:** NA
ArabicNAME: NA		**AEN_Hiero:** 	**AEN_Trans:** *Tꜣ-ḳ-pꜣ-ḳn-pꜣ-mšʿ*
SFunc: ThIP_UE.130.1 Domestic ThIP_UE.130.2 NA ThIP_UE.130.3 NA ThIP_UE.130.4 NA		**Discussion:** 'The House of the Brave of the Army' is documented on Cairo, 39410 (Meffre, 2015: doc. 7, Face D x+20). Unknown location in the region.	

ID: ThIP_UE.131	**NOME: A-A (Heracleopolitan Hinterland)**	**BANK:** NA	**GEOREF:** NA
ArabicNAME: NA		**AEN_Hiero:** 	**AEN_Trans:** *dmiʾtꜣšꜣʿr sꜣ*

SFunc: ThIP_UE.131.1 Domestic ThIP_UE.131.2 NA ThIP_UE.131.3 NA ThIP_UE.131.4 NA	**Discussion:** 'The Granary of the Rear' is documented on Cairo, JE 39410 (Meffre, 2015: doc. 7, Face D x+22). Unknown location in the region.	

ID: ThIP_UE.132	**NOME:** A-A (Heracleopolitan Hinterland)	**BANK:** NA	**GEOREF:** NA
ArabicNAME: NA		**AEN_Hiero:** 	**AEN_Trans:** *tꜣ st n ỉb-nḏm*
SFunc: ThIP_UE.132.1 Domestic ThIP_UE.132.2 NA ThIP_UE.132.3 NA ThIP_UE.132.4 NA		**Discussion:** 'The Place of Ib-nedjem' is documented on Cairo, JE 39410 (Meffre, 2015: doc. 7, Face D x+28). Unknown location in the region.	

ID: ThIP_UE.133	**NOME:** A-A (Heracleopolitan Hinterland)	**BANK:** NA	**GEOREF:** NA
ArabicNAME: NA		**AEN_Hiero:** 	**AEN_Trans :** *dmi' pr-nbỉt*
SFunc: ThIP_UE.133.1 Domestic ThIP_UE.133.2 NA ThIP_UE.133.3 NA ThIP_UE.133.4 NA		**Discussion:** Nebyouy, (The Village of the House of the Flame) is documented on Cairo JE 39410. This toponym may be identified with the toponym Nebyouy on *P.Wilbour* B24, 21. but Meffre (2015: 60, n. 93) states there is nothing to equate the two with each other. On the western wall of the west Osirian chapel at Dendera there is mention of a Goddess of Nebyouy who presides in the Domain of Nebyouy (Cauville, 1997: 415). It may be that this Nebyouy should be equated	

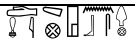
	with the Heracleopolitan Nebyouy. Meffre (2015: 60, n. 93) notes the mention of an *iꜣt nbit* in the Book of the Faiyum from a Heracleopolitan context could be possible.

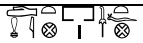
ID: ThIP_UE.134	**NOME:** A-A (Heracleopolitan Hinterland)	**BANK:** NA	**GEOREF:** NA
ArabicNAME: NA		**AEN_Hiero:**	**AEN_Trans:** *dmi Nkrw*
SFunc: ThIP_UE.134.1 Domestic ThIP_UE.134.2 NA ThIP_UE.134.3 NA ThIP_UE.134.4 NA		**Discussion:** 'The Village of Nekeru' is documented on Cairo, JE 39410 (Meffre, 2015: 61, n. 102). Unknown location in the region.	

ID: ThIP_UE.135	**NOME:** A-A (Heracleopolitan Hinterland)	**BANK:** NA	**GEOREF:** NA
ArabicNAME: NA		**AEN_Hiero:**	**AEN_Trans:** *ḥwt-mntw*
SFunc: ThIP_UE.135.1 Domestic ThIP_UE.135.2 NA ThIP_UE.135.3 NA ThIP_UE.135.4 NA		**Discussion:** 'The Village of the House of Montu' is documented on Cairo, JE 39410 (Meffre, 2015: 60, n. 95). Unknown location in the region.	

ID: ThIP_UE.136	**NOME:** A-A (Heracleopolitan Hinterland)	**BANK:** NA	**GEOREF:** NA
ArabicNAME: NA		**AEN_Hiero:**	**AEN_Trans:** *dmi ḥwt nḏst*

SFunc: ThIP_UE.136.1 Domestic ThIP_UE.136.2 NA ThIP_UE.136.3 NA ThIP_UE.136.4 NA	**Discussion:** 'The Village of the Little House' is documented on Cairo JE 39410 (Meffre, 2015: 61, n. 100). Unknown location in the region.

ID: ThIP_UE.137	**NOME:** A-A (Heracleopolitan Hinterland)	**BANK:** NA	**GEOREF:** NA
ArabicNAME: NA		**AEN_Hiero:** 	**AEN_Trans:** *dmi ḫwt nbs*
SFunc: ThIP_UE.137.1 Domestic ThIP_UE.137.2 NA ThIP_UE.137.3 NA ThIP_UE.137.4 NA		**Discussion:** 'The Village of the House of the Jujube Tree' is documented on (Cairo JE 39410) (Meffre, 2015: 60-1, n. 99). There is mention of a House of the Jujube Tree on *P.London UC* 32201 from Lahun (Collier and Quirke, 2002: 104-5), and in tomb 5 belonging to Ahanakht at el-Bersheh (Brovarski, 1981: 18; Griffith and Newberry, 1894: pl. XIII).	

ID: ThIP_UE.138	**NOME:** A-A (Heracleopolitan Hinterland)	**BANK:** NA	**GEOREF:** NA
ArabicNAME: NA		**AEN_Hiero:** 	**AEN_Trans:** *dmi'pr ḫw-it.f*
SFunc: ThIP_UE.138.1 Domestic ThIP_UE.138.2 NA ThIP_UE.138.3 NA ThIP_UE.138.4 NA		**Discussion:** 'The Village of the House of the One Who Protects his Father' is documented on Cairo, JE 39410 (Meffre, 2015: 59). An unknown location in the region.	

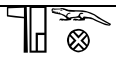
ID: ThIP_UE.139	**NOME:** A-A (Heracleopolitan Hinterland)	**BANK:** NA	**GEOREF:** NA

ArabicNAME: NA	**AEN_Hiero:**	**AEN_Trans:** *pr-ḥnw*
SFunc: ThIP_UE.139 Domestic ThIP_UE.139.2 NA ThIP_UE.139.3 NA ThIP_UE.139.4 NA	**Discussion:** 'The House of the Henu Barque' is documented on the Year 6 Stela of Pedubast I, from Kom el-Qala (Memphis) (Cairo JE 45530) (Jansen-Winkeln, 2007b: 209-210, n. 10; Meeks, 1979: doc. 23.1.6; Meffre, 2015: doc. 34; Schulman, 1966: 33-9; pl. 13, fig. 2; Yoyotte, 1961b: 93-4). A second attestation to this toponym was found on a coffin from Lahun, London, University College, Petrie Museum UC 16026 (Jansen-Winkeln, 2007b: 433-4, n. 82; Meffre, 2015: doc. 115; Petrie, 1890: pl. XXV, 21-3; Taylor, 2009: 382, 392, 394-5, 401, fig. 1, 405 pl. IV, 1-1a; Yoyotte, 1961b, 94, n. c). This religious location was most likely situated to the north of Heracleopolis in the region of the 21st Upper Egyptian Nome. It is again mentioned in *P.Louvre I* 3079 (Goyon, 1967: 106, 152).	

ID: ThIP_UE.140	**NOME:** A-A (Heracleopolitan Hinterland)	**BANK:** NA	**GEOREF:** NA
ArabicNAME: NA		**AEN_Hiero:**	**AEN_Trans:** *sw*
SFunc: ThIP_UE.140.1 Domestic ThIP_UE.140.2 NA ThIP_UE.140.3 NA ThIP_UE.140.4 NA		**Discussion:** 'Sou' is mentioned on Cairo JE 39410 (Meffre, 2015: doc 7). This was the principal cult site of Seth. The site should be in the region to the north of Heracleopolis between Medinat el-Faiyum and Atfih, as *P.Harris* lists Sou after Heracleopolis and Medinat el-Faiyum, but before Atfih (Grandet, 1994: I, 311, II, 204 n. 835. This is confirmed by *P.Wilbour* (Gardiner, 1948: 124-128, §4-30).	

ID: ThIP_UE.141	**NOME:** A-A (Heracleopolitan Hinterland)	**BANK:** NA	**GEOREF:** NA
ArabicNAME: NA		**AEN_Hiero:**	**AEN_Trans:** *dmi tꜣ wḥyt ḫd*
SFunc: ThIP_UE.141.1 Domestic ThIP_UE.141.2 NA ThIP_UE.141.3 NA ThIP_UE.141.4 NA		**Discussion:** *dmiʾtꜣ wḥyt ḫd* is documented on Cairo JE 39410 (Meffre, 2015: doc. 7, Face D x+24). An unknown location in the region.	

ID: ThIP_UE.142	**NOME:** A-A (Heracleopolitan Hinterland)	**BANK:** NA	**GEOREF:** NA
ArabicNAME: NA		**AEN_Hiero:**	**AEN_Trans:** *dmi tꜣ wḥyt kn*
SFunc: ThIP_UE.142.1 Domestic ThIP_UE.142.2 NA ThIP_UE.142.3 NA ThIP_UE.142.4 NA		**Discussion:** *dmiʾtꜣ wḥyt kn* is documented on Cairo JE 39410 (Meffre, 2015: doc. 7, Face D x+23). An unknown location in the region.	

ID: ThIP_UE.143	**NOME:** A-A 21st (Capital)	**BANK:** Fayum	**GEOREF:** 29°18'31.64"N 30°50'36.30"E
ArabicNAME: Medinat el-Faiyum		**AEN_Hiero:** 	**AEN_Trans:** *pr-sbk*
SFunc: ThIP_UE.143.1 Domestic ThIP_UE.143.2 NA ThIP_UE.143.3 NA ThIP_UE.143.4 NA		**Discussion:** *pr-sbk* (Class: Crokodopolis-Arsinoe) is the ancient name for the capital of the Faiyum (Medinat el-Faiyum). Third Intermediate Period evidence is limited but a statue of proposed Third Intermediate Period date of the 22nd Dynasty come from Medinat el-Faiyum, Baltimore, Walkers Art Museum 22.202 (Steindorff, 1946: 26-7, n. 42, pls X, CXI, n. 42;	

	Zecchi, 1999: 70-1, n. 292) and the settlement is mentioned on the Piankhy stela.

ID: ThIP_UE.144	**NOME:** A-A (21st)	**BANK:** Faiyum	**GEOREF:** 29°31'7.72"N 30°54'15.75"E
ArabicNAME: Kom Aushim		**AEN_Hiero:** NA	**AEN_Trans:** NA
SFunc: ThIP_UE.144.1 Domestic (Assumed) ThIP_UE.144.2 Cemetery ThIP_UE.144.3 NA ThIP_UE.144.4 NA		**Discussion:** Two cartonnage mummy cases each in an anthropoid wooden coffin without lid were said to have been found during excavations at Kom Aushim, (Class: Karanis) in the 1980's (Taylor, 2009: 382).	

ID: ThIP_UE.145	**NOME:** A-A (21st)	**BANK:** Fayum	**GEOREF:** 29°11'34.83"N 30°38'35.43"E
ArabicNAME: Medinat Maadi		**AEN_Hiero:** NA	**AEN_Trans:** NA
SFunc: ThIP_UE.145.1 Domestic ThIP_UE.145.2 NA ThIP_UE.145.3 NA ThIP_UE.145.4 NA		**Discussion:** At Medinat Maadi (Class: Narmouthis), the Middle Kingdom temple (temple A) has a preserved decoration of a King Osorkon in the portico (2nd Hypostyle Hall) (Davoli, 1998: 228; Meffre, 2015: doc. 15; Schott, 1937, 19, 35).	

ID: ThIP_UE.146	**NOME:** A-A (21st)	**BANK:** NA	**GEOREF:** NA
ArabicNAME: NA		**AEN_Hiero:**	**AEN_Trans:** *dmi tȝ wḥyt sw*
SFunc: ThIP_UE.146.1 Domestic ThIP_UE.146.2 NA		**Discussion:** *dmi tȝ wḥyt sw* is documented on (Meffre, 2015: doc. 7, Face D x+20) and may have been a	

ThIP_UE.146.3 NA ThIP_UE.146.4 NA	secondary settlement to the main cult centre of *sw* (ThIP_UE.140) located between Medinat Maadi and Atfih.

ID: ThIP_UE.147	**NOME:** A-A (21st)	**BANK:** West	**GEOREF:** 29°12'4.28"N 30°57'7.75"E
ArabicNAME: Gurob		**AEN_Hiero:**	**AEN_Trans:** *mr-wr*
SFunc: ThIP_UE.147.1 Domestic ThIP_UE.147.2 Cemetery ThIP_UE.147.3 NA ThIP_UE.147.4 NA		**Discussion:** *mr-wr* 'The Great Channel' is listed on the Onomasticon of Amenemope (Gardiner, 1947: II, 115-6, *On.Am.*393) and is the modern day Gurob located to the west of the Bahr Yusef. There is evidence of Third Intermediate Period tomb reuse and all come from Brunton and Engelbach's Cemetery W which formed part of the large New Kingdom cemetery which has been thoroughly plundered by the time Engelbach and Brunton got to work. The cemetery was likely extensively reused during the Third Intermediate Period (Aston, 2009a: 107). The reused tombs have been dated by Aston (2009a: 107) to between the 9th and 8th century BCE, therefore this cemetery has been defined as broad cemetery date. In addition to the cemetery usage there was a land donation stela of Osorkon III found at Gurob (Jansen-Winkeln, 2007b: 312).	

ID: ThIP_UE.148	**NOME:** A-A (21st)	**BANK:** West	**GEOREF:** 29°23'17.17"N 31° 9'31.52"E
ArabicNAME: Meidum		**AEN_Hiero:**	**AEN_Trans:** *mr-tm*
SFunc: ThIP_UE.148.1 Domestic ThIP_UE.148.2 Cemetery ThIP_UE.148.3 NA ThIP_UE.148.4 NA		**Discussion:** Meidum was mentioned on the Piankhy Stela, and the Old Kingdom necropolis was seemingly reused in the Third Intermediate Period, though the publication of these intrusive burials is poor (Aston, 2009a: 90-92). They were from a poor section of society and were rarely provided with grave goods. Many tomb groups were dated	

	to the 22nd Dynasty but none of these were probably published so they cannot be confirmed (Aston, 2009a: 91-2).

ID: ThIP_UE.149	**NOME:** A-A (21st)	**BANK:** West (west of Bahr Yusef)	**GEOREF:** 29° 8'32.13"N 30°54'1.55"E
ArabicNAME: Sedment		**AEN_Hiero:** NA	**AEN_Trans:** NA
SFunc: ThIP_UE.149.1 Domestic (Assumed) ThIP_UE.149.2 Cemetery ThIP_UE.149.3 NA ThIP_UE.149.4 NA		**Discussion:** Several Third Intermediate Period burials were found by Naville (1894: pls vii-viii, xi) in 1892-3 and incorrectly dated to the Ptolemaic-Roman period (Aston, 2009a: 107).	

ID: ThIP_UE.150	**NOME:** A-A (21st)	**BANK:** West	**GEOREF:** 29°14'18.78"N 30°59'5.97"E
ArabicNAME: Lahun		**AEN_Hiero:**	**AEN_Trans:** *r ḥnt*
SFunc: ThIP_UE.150.1 Domestic (Assumed) ThIP_UE.150.2 Cemetery ThIP_UE.150.3 NA ThIP_UE.150.4 NA		**Discussion:** *r ḥnt* is the ancient name of Lahun. The site is mentioned on the Piankhy Stela. The term *r ḥnt* literally means 'The Mouth of the *ḥnt*, ('Pool/Lake') (Wb III, 105.1-5) and this may not just relate to Lahun but the entirety of the Faiyum mouth to the Valley (Meffre, 2015: 373-4). Yoyotte (1961b; 1963: 90, n. 3) proposed that the cemetery site of Lahun had been abandoned at the end of the Middle Kingdom and was reutilised between the 22nd and 25th Dynasty, and was used for the burials for the people of the fortress of Per Sekhemkheperre. Only one such military burial was found in the necropolis, while no monument from Lahun mentions Per Sekhemkheperre (Meffre, 2015: 375). Aston's (2009a) discussion of the burials of so called	

	22nd Dynasty to 25th Dynasty has re-dated these burials to no earlier than the 7th century BCE and would place them right at the end of the Third Intermediate Period, probably sometime in the 25th Dynasty. Also found at Lahun was a wooden door of Osorkon I Cairo Museum TR 20/5/24/4 (Meffre, 2015: 74, doc. 14; Petrie, 1891: 24-5).

ID: ThIP_UE.151	**NOME:** A-A (21st)	**BANK:** West	**GEOREF:** 29°13'55.17"N 31° 3'1.04"E
ArabicNAME: Haraga		**AEN_Hiero:** NA	**AEN_Trans:** NA
SFunc: ThIP_UE.151.1 Domestic (Assumed) ThIP_UE.151.2 Cemetery ThIP_UE.151.3 NA ThIP_UE.151.4 NA		**Discussion:** Aston (2009a: 94) has provisionally dated three intrusive burials to the 22nd to 23rd Dynasty, but were heavily plundered.	

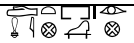
ID: ThIP_UE.152	**NOME:** A-A (21st)	**BANK:** West	**GEOREF:** 29°16'17.03"N 30°53'57.38"E
ArabicNAME: Hawara		**AEN_Hiero:** NA	**AEN_Trans:** NA
SFunc: ThIP_UE.152.1 Domestic (Assumed) ThIP_UE.152.2 Cemetery ThIP_UE.152.3 NA ThIP_UE.152.4 NA		**Discussion:** The reputed Third Intermediate Period burials all appear to have been intrusive within the Middle Kingdom tombs in the area of Petrie's crocodile tomb chapels to the north of the pyramid of Amenemhat III (Aston, 2009a: 92; Petrie, 1890: 8; 1912: 36, pl. xxxi). One of the burials has been dated by Aston based on Theban stylistic developments to ca. 930-730 BCE (Aston, 2009a: 92).	

ID: ThIP_UE.153	**NOME:** A-A (21st)	**BANK:** West	**GEOREF:** 29°18'5.89"N 31°15'18.12"E
ArabicNAME: Riqqeh		**AEN_Hiero:** NA	**AEN_Trans:** NA
SFunc: ThIP_UE.153.1 Domestic (Assumed) ThIP_UE.153.2 Cemetery ThIP_UE.153.3 NA ThIP_UE.153.4 NA		**Discussion:** Nine cemeteries were discovered at Riqqeh by Engelbach (1915). Three of them (B, E, and F), were said by Engelbach to have been reused in the Third Intermediate Period. Based on burial objects Cemetery B had burials dating to the 23rd to 25th Dynasty (Aston, 2009a: 90), while Cemetery F had a general Third Intermediate Period date attributed to it (Aston, 2009a: 90).	

ID: ThIP_UE.154	**NOME:** A-A (21st)	**BANK:** West	**GEOREF:** 29°26'40.52"N 31°11'50.04"E
ArabicNAME: Girza		**AEN_Hiero:** NA	**AEN_Trans:** NA
SFunc: ThIP_UE.154.1 Domestic (Assumed) ThIP_UE.154.2 Cemetery ThIP_UE.154.3 NA ThIP_UE.154.4 NA		**Discussion:** Third Intermediate Period amulets along with a scarab of Shoshenq III and Pedubast I suggest that an 18th Dynasty cemetery near Girza was reused during this period (Aston, 2009a: 89). In the early excavation reports of Wainwright (1912) it is unclear whether these scarabs were found in association with burials or found in the top sand (Aston, 2009a: 89-90).	

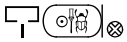
ID: ThIP_UE.155	**NOME:** A-A (21st)	**BANK:** West	**GEOREF:** 29°19'52.68"N 31° 8'16.76"E
ArabicNAME: Kom Abu Radi		**AEN_Hiero:** NA	**AEN_Trans:** NA
SFunc: ThIP_UE.155.1 Domestic (Assumed) ThIP_UE.155.2 Cemetery ThIP_UE.155.3 NA		**Discussion:** There is possible evidence of a funerary stela (Beni Suef Inspectorate 32-987) from Kom Abu Radi which is located to the north east of Abusir el-Meleq and 6 km south of Meidum (el-Alfi, 1995: 48; Meffre, 2015: doc. 137).	

ThIP_UE.155.4 NA	

ID: ThIP_UE.156	**NOME:** A-A (21st)	**BANK:** West	**GEOREF:** 29°14'53.57"N 31° 4'57.08"E
ArabicNAME: Abusir el-Meleq		**AEN_Hiero:** 	**AEN_Trans:** *dmi' pr wsir*
SFunc: ThIP_UE.156.1 Domestic ThIP_UE.156.2 NA ThIP_UE.156.3 NA ThIP_UE.156.4 NA		**Discussion:** *dmi pr wsir* (modern: Abusir el-Meleq) is mentioned on Cairo JE 39410 x+20 of Shoshenq I. The excavations of the cemetery (Rubensohn and Knatz 1904: 1-21) brought to light several burials dating from the Saite to Byzantine times. The intact tomb group of Tadja originally dated to around the 25th Dynasty around 700 BCE are probably a little too early and Aston (2009a: 93) has re-dated it to the Saite Period.	

ID: ThIP_UE.157	**NOME:** A-A (21st)	**BANK:** NA	**GEOREF:** NA
ArabicNAME: NA		**AEN_Hiero:** See discussion below.	**AEN_Trans:** See discussion below.
SFunc: ThIP_UE.157.1 Domestic ThIP_UE.157.2 NA ThIP_UE.157.3 Military ThIP_UE.157.4 NA		**Discussion:** This was a fortified location founded by Osorkon I just to the north of Heracleopolis located in the 21st Upper Egyptian Nome. **Chronological Order of Attestations** (from Meffre 2015). The toponyms do not refer specifically to a fortified foundation, and this is only based upon the associated titles of people who were associated with it (Meffre, 2015: 372), but Piankhy (l.77) does mention *sꜣwt.f* 'its walls' and *ḫtm.f* 'its citadel' . Grimal (1981: §3, 12, 16, n. 28) Yoyotte (1961a: 135, n. 1;1963: 90, n. 3) Schulman (1966: 35, n. e) Kitchen (1996: §263, 304, n. 339) and Caminos (1958: 147, §230, n. ff)	

	locate just to the north of Heracleopolis, while Breasted (1906: 419, n. g.) places it closer to Lahun. This is followed by Meffre (2015: 373-4) who places it in the direct vicinity of Lahun at the junction between Heracleopolis and Meidum, and the road that penetrates the Faiyum until Medinat el-Faiyum. Bronze Statue Plinth (Santa Barbara, California World Institute for World Archaeology, Senusret Collection MET.XL.00174) Osorkon II, from Memphis (NA) (Meffre, 2015: doc. 19). Limestone Stela (Cairo Museum JE 45327) Osorkon II Year 16, from Tell el-Minieh and el-Shurafa (Daressy, 1915: 140-143; Iversen, 1941: 4-18, pl. 1; Jansen-Winkeln, 2007b: 131-3, n. 69; Meeks, 1979: doc. 22.05.16; Meffre, 2015: doc. 18 l.5; Moje, 2014: 373; PM IV, 1934: 75). Stela (Cairo Museum JE 65841) Osorkon II (NA) Heracleopolis (Gauthier, 1937; 16-24; Jansen-Winkeln, 2007b: 297, n. 11; Meffre, 2015: 371, doc. 68; Moje, 2014: 376-377; Mokhtar, 1983: 130 and pl. XXIV). Vase (Berlin, Staatliche Museen VA Ass 2258) Osorkon II (NA) (Meffre, 2015 : 371, doc. 70) from Assur but was taken by the Assyrians from the palace of King Abdimilkutti of Sidon (Meffre, 2015: 165, n. 319). See also (Gamer-Wallert, 1978: 23, 27, 42-3, 226, and pls 8-10; Jansen-Winkeln, 1989: 151-153, n. 5; 2007b: 297, n.12; Moje, 2014: 376; Vittmann, 2003: 55-6 and pl. 3a). Bubastite Portal, Karnak, Theban 23rd Dynasty Reign of Takeloth II, completed under Shoshenq III. See, Caminos, 1958; Jansen-Winkeln, 2007b: 161-8, n. 20.7, 189-96, n. 22.21; Meffre, 2015: doc. 33; Perdu, 2003: 129-42). Stela (Cairo Museum JE 45530) Theban 23rd Dynasty, Pedubast I, Year 6, from Memphis (Kom el-Qala)

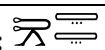
	(Jansen-Winkeln, 2007b: 209-210, n. 10; Meeks 1979: doc. 23.1.6; Meffre, 2015: doc. 34; Schulman, 1966: 33-9, pl. 13, fig. 2; Yoyotte, 1961b, 93-4). Stela (Hannover, Museum August Kestner 1935.200.208) Libyan Period, reign of Pedubast I (Meffre, 2015: 162, n. 309) found at Gurob reused in the area of the animal cemetery. (Jansen-Winkeln, 2007b: 312, n. 32; Loat, 1905: 8, n. 16, pls XVIII, 2, XIX; Malek (PM VIII), 1999: 803-065-400; Meeks, 1979: doc. 23.1.0; Meffre, 2015: doc. 69; Moje, 2014: 377-8). Blocks (Beni Suef, Museum MAE 85-174 (Register Book 641) unknown date from Heracleopolis from the royal necropolis (tomb 4) (Jansen-Winkeln, 2007b: 223, n. 5; Meffre, 2015: doc. 81; Pérez-Die, 2010: 276, fig. 108; Pérez-Die and Vernus, 1992: doc. 21).  Piankhy Stela (Cairo Museum JE 48862, 47086-47089, l.4, 77). Year 21 of Piankhy, from Gebel Barkal. (Goedicke, 1998; Grimal, 1981; Jansen-Winkeln, 2007b: 337-50, n. 1; Meffre, 2015: doc. 56).

ID: ThIP_UE.158	**NOME:** A-A (22nd Capital)	**BANK:** East	**GEOREF:** 29°24'28.07"N 31°15'10.87"E
ArabicNAME: Atfih		**AEN_Hiero:**	**AEN_Trans:** *pr – nb – tpi' - iḏw*
SFunc: ThIP_UE.158.1 Domestic ThIP_UE.158.2 NA ThIP_UE.158.3 NA ThIP_UE.158.4 NA		**Discussion:** *pr-nbt-tp-iḏw*, is equated with the modern Atfih and is documented on the Piankhy Stela. Several monuments prior to the 25th Dynasty have been found from the Third Intermediate Period including: Blocks dating from the 21st Dynasty and the reign of Osorkon the Elder were found reused in the cow necropolis (Mission égypto-française d'Atfih, 2010; Meffre, 2015: doc. 5).	

	A statuette found at Atfih (still on site nos 46 and 131) dated to the reign of Osorkon I (el-Enany, 2012: 131. d; el-Nagger 1991; Meffre, 2015: doc. 16; Perdu, 2009: 462). A statue of a Year 22 of Shoshenq V (London, Petrie Museum, UC 14534) (Jansen-Winkeln, 2007b: 291-2, n.47; Malek (PM VIII), 1999: 803-063-200; Meffre, 2015: doc.31; Stewart, 1983; 4-5, n. 6, pl. 5). Atfih is mentioned on the Bubastite portal at Karnak, l.18; and the Piankhy Stela, l. 3. Finally, two 25th Dynasty statues were found at the site (Aftih Site n.41) (el-Enany, 2012, 130-7; Meffre, 2015:doc.147), a statue from the Michaelidis collection, Cairo, 1944 (Droiton, 1944: 91-8; Malek (PM VIII), 1999: 801-643-770; Meffre, 2015: doc. 148) and a stela either dated to the 25th or 26th Dynasty possibly from Atfih (London, Petrie Museum UC 14510) (Meffre, 2015: doc. 149; Petrie, 1909: 13, pl. XXXIII; Stewart, 1983: 5, pl. 6, no. 7).

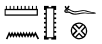
1.3 Lower Egypt

1.3.1 Memphite Area

ID: ThIP_LE.1	**GEOREF:** NA	
ArabicNAME: NA	**AEN_Hiero:** 	**AEN_Trans:** *iṯ tꜣwy*
SFunc: ThIP_LE.1.1 Domestic ThIP_LE.1.2 NA ThIP_LE.1.3 NA ThIP_LE.1.4 NA	**Discussion:** The Middle Kingdom capital of *iṯ tꜣwy* is mentioned on the Piankhy Stela as being one of the besieged settlements. It is likely to be in the region of the modern day Lisht, but this is not certain. For a discussion of the location of *iṯ tꜣwy* see Malleson (2007).	

ID: ThIP_LE.2	**GEOREF:** 29°34'27.57"N 31°13'34.61"E

ArabicNAME: Lisht (North)	**AEN_Hiero:** NA	**AEN_Trans:** NA
SFunc: ThIP_LE.2.1 Domestic ThIP_LE.2.2 NA ThIP_LE.2.3 NA ThIP_LE.2.4 NA	**Discussion:** At Lisht north a small group of houses were built against the face of the Pyramid of Amememhat I. These houses were active from the end of the 20th Dynasty and continued to be used throughout the 21st Dynasty. The houses were finally abandoned at some time during the 22nd Dynasty (Mace, 1914; 1921; 1922). The abandonment of this area of Lisht may reflect a possible movement of the settlement nearer to Itj-Tawy (ThIP_LE.1) as it appears to have been an active and important site during the Third Intermediate Period as it is documented as one of the main locations which Piankhy besieged on his invasion of Egypt. This part of Lisht may even have been part of the wider suburb of *it tȝwy*, however this cannot be confirmed and therefore this site has been given a unique identifier.	

ID: ThIP_LE.3	**GEOREF:** 29°50'51.88"N 31°15'27.17"E	
ArabicNAME: Mit Rahinah	**AEN_Hiero:**	**AEN_Trans:** *mnf*
SFunc: ThIP_LE.3.1 Domestic ThIP_LE.3.2 Cemetery ThIP_LE.3.3 NA ThIP_LE.3.4 NA	**Discussion:** In the 21st Dynasty the ancient capital of  *mnf* Memphis, like the rest of the north of Egypt lay under the control of the Tanite pharaohs. Later in the Third Intermediate Period there is no evidence of a local dynasty of autocratic rulers which is seen elsewhere in the Delta and northern Egypt. The kings of the 25th Dynasty made Memphis the focal point for their religious and political aspirations; while there is no doubt that the 25th Dynasty rulers adopted Memphis as their principal residence in Egypt, despite the religious importance of Thebes in the south (Jurman, 2009: 113). An assessment of the Manethoic king list which has a Memphite bias indicates that several 22nd Dynasty Libyan 'kings' that are expected to be recognised at Memphis are absent from the	

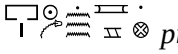
	list. Apart from Shoshenq I, there are no other Shoshenqs listed, but there are unquestionable attestations to Shoshenq III and Shoshenq V in the Serapeum Stela from Saqqara (Jurman, 2009: 115). Neither Piankhy nor Tefnakht are listed, despite both men fighting for control of the settlement. Jurman states that if one looked to find a truth in the king list of Manetho that after the 'Battle for Memphis' control of the settlement must have resided with one of the local eastern Delta rulers, before Bakenranef (Bocchoris) managed to regain control of the settlement, only to be later displaced by Shabako (Jurman, 2009: 115). The well-known kings of the 22nd Dynasty are only attested at Memphis through indirect evidence from royal monuments, and the Memphite priesthood therefore accepted the mentioned kings as legitimate overlords of Memphis (Jurman, 2009: 115). For a list of royal monuments from the 22nd to 25th Dynasty at Memphis see (Jurman, 2009). The Cemetery: Several elite burials have been found at Memphis. The burials V-Z found in the south-west corner of the small temple of Ptah built by Ramesses II were originally dated by Anthes (Anthes, 1959: 68-9; 1965: 18) to the beginning of the 21st Dynasty and then subsequently by Smith, Jeffreys and Malek to the 22nd Dynasty (Smith, Jeffreys and Malek, 1983: 34, fig. 3 '22nd Dynasty', 41, 21st/22nd Dynasty). Aston (2009a: 77-8) has reassessed these tomb groups and has stated that they should be dated to the New Kingdom, probably the 20th Dynasty. The later burials at Memphis are more securely dated to the members of the 22nd Dynasty royal family. These five burials Shoshenq D, his son, the Great Chief of the Ma, Takeloth B, his grandsons, Pediese A and Harsiese, together with Tabakhtenaskhet were all interred in a grave complex of individual chambers closely aligned to one another and the neighbouring cult temple of Ptah (Aston, 2009a: 78-82).

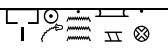
ID: ThIP_LE.4	**GEOREF:** 29°56'14.65"N 31°18'59.18"E	
ArabicNAME: Turah	**AEN_Hiero:**	**AEN_Trans:** *trɜw*
SFunc: ThIP_LE.4.1 Domestic (Assumed) ThIP_LE.4.2 NA ThIP_LE.4.3 NA ThIP_LE.4.4 Quarry	**Discussion:** The quarry site of *trɜw* is listed on the Onomasticon of Amenemope (Gardiner, 1947: II, 126-130, *On.Am.*395). These were the quarries on the east bank of the Nile and could indicate an economic factor for its incorporation on the settlement list of Amenemope as it was an access to resources. There is no more evidence after the 21st Dynasty for quarry activity at Turah during the Third Intermediate Period.	

ID: ThIP_LE.5	**GEOREF:** 29°50'59.38"N 31°13'7.59"E	
ArabicNAME: Saqqara	**AEN_Hiero:** Multiple different hieroglyphic designations for the cemeteries of Saqqara.	**AEN_Trans:** 29°50'59.38"N 31°13'7.59"E
SFunc: ThIP_LE.5.1 Domestic (Assumed) ThIP_LE.5.2 Cemetery ThIP_LE.5.3 NA ThIP_LE.5.4 NA	**Discussion:** There has so far been little evidence of burials that have been dated to the Third Intermediate Period, though references to supposed examples are frequent within Egyptological literature (Aston, 2009a: 82; Firth and Gunn, 1926: 5-6, 67; Leclant, 1952: 239; Quibell, 1907: 8-11; 1923; Quibell and Hayter, 1927: 305; Raven, 1991; Smith and Jeffreys, 1980: 18). There must have been a sustained activity though in the burial grounds at Saqqara, particularly at the Serapeum as many Apis Bull stelae were left by rulers, while many donated statues in the local shrines, while the pottery provides evidence that there was continued activity at the Anubieion (French, 2013: 217-356).	

ID: ThIP_LE.6	**GEOREF:** 29°58'36.37"N 31° 8'0.17"E

ArabicNAME: Giza	**AEN_Hiero:** NA	**AEN_Trans:** NA
SFunc: ThIP_LE.6.1 Domestic (Assumed) ThIP_LE.6.2 Cemetery	**Discussion:** A small temple to 'Isis Mistress of the Pyramids' may have incorporated an additional small scale settlement to work in it. There must have been several Third Intermediate Period internments at Giza due to the presence of chance finds though, as yet, there is no evidence of tomb structures. The chance finds include fragments of coffins and ushabtis, but they all remain unpublished (Aston, 2009a: 76; Zivie-Coche, 1991: 270-281).	

ID: ThIP_LE.7	**GEOREF:** NA	
ArabicNAME: NA	**AEN_Hiero:**	**AEN_Trans:** *ḥwt-šd-ꜣbd*
SFunc: ThIP_LE.7.1 Domestic ThIP_LE.7.2 NA ThIP_LE.7.3 NA ThIP_LE.7.4 NA	**Discussion:** *ḥwt-šd-ꜣbd* is documented on the Onomasticon of Amenemope (Gardiner, 1947: II, 130-1, *On.Am.*396) and located in the capital zone geographically south of the settlement of  *pr-ḥꜥpy* (ThIP_LE.8) (modern, Atar en-Naby).	

ID: ThIP_LE.8	**GEOREF:** 29°59'13.48"N 31°14'56.59"E	
ArabicNAME: Atar en-Naby	**AEN_Hiero:** 	**AEN_Trans:** *pr-ḥꜥpy*
SFunc: ThIP_LE.8.1 Domestic ThIP_LE.8.2 NA ThIP_LE.8.3 NA	**Discussion:** *pr-ḥꜥpy* (modern: Atar en-Naby) is listed on the Onomasticon of Amenemope (Gardiner, 1947: II, 131, *On.Am.*397). *pr-ḥꜥpy* continues to be active and is	

ThIP_LE.8.4 NA	documented on the Piankhy in a more abbreviated form (Gauthier, 1925b: 110; Gomaà, 1974: 155; Montet, 1957: 164). The Piankhy Stela documents *pr-ḥ ꜥpy* as one of the sites used as a residence, or ruled over by Count Pebes.

ID: ThIP_LE.9	**GEOREF:** 30° 0'21.31"N 31°13'47.38"E	
ArabicNAME: Babylon	**AEN_Hiero:**	**AEN_Trans:** *ẖr-ḥ ꜥ*
SFunc: ThIP_LE.9.1 Domestic ThIP_LE.9.2 NA ThIP_LE.9.3 NA ThIP_LE.9.4 NA	**Discussion:** *ẖr-ḥ ꜥ* (Class: Babylon) is located in Old Cairo. Babylon was the access point into the eastern Delta (Gardiner, 1947: II, 131; Gomaà, 1974: 155; Grimal, 1981: 136, n. 398; Hamza, 1937; 233). Gardiner (1947: II, 141-2) suggests *pr-psḏt* 'The House of the Ennead' was another name for the site of Babylon. The Piankhy Stela documents *ẖr-ḥ ꜥ* as being ruled over by Count Pebes in addition to *pr-ḥ ꜥpy* (ThIP_LE.8).	

ID: ThIP_LE.10	**GEOREF:** NA	
ArabicNAME: NA	**AEN_Hiero:**	**AEN_Trans:** *ḫnt-nfr*
SFunc: ThIP_LE.10.1 Domestic ThIP_LE.10.2 NA ThIP_LE.10.3 NA ThIP_LE.10.4 NA	**Discussion:** In the south of the Memphite Nome was the settlement of *ḫnt-nfr*. This was a cult settlement for the god Amun (Gardiner, 1947: II, 120-2; Gomaà, 1974: 51). *ḫnt-nfr* was ruled by Count Djedkhu as documented on the Piankhy Stela.	

ID: ThIP_LE.11	**GEOREF:** NA	
ArabicNAME: NA	**AEN_Hiero:**	**AEN_Trans:** *pr-pgꜣ*

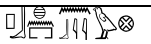
SFunc: ThIP_LE.11.1 Domestic ThIP_LE.11.2 NA ThIP_LE.11.3 NA ThIP_LE.11.4 NA	**Discussion:** The location of this settlement and the subsequent district is in the south of Memphis, to the north of Heracleopolis (Grimal, 1991: 38, no. 90). It is related to the wider geographical district of *w pgꜣ* 'The District of Pega' documented on a block statue of Espekashuti dated to Shoshenq III from Thebes (Cairo CG 42232, now Luxor J 152) (Jansen-Winkeln, 2007b: 205-7; Legrain, 1914a: 78-80, pls 40-41; PM II, 1929: 149) in which Espekashti is called the High Priest of Osiris of 'The District of Pega (Breasted, 1906: 424-5, n. g; Gauthier, 1925b: 78; 1926: 149; Maspero, 1898: 123-5). Yoyotte, (1962: 78, n. 2) proposed to equate *pr-pgꜣ* with the ϕωχη of the Archives of Zenon (*PSI*, V, 544; *P.London*, I, 99, 55) (Grimal, 1981: 38, n. 90). This papyrus listed the localities in the south of the Memphite nome. *pr-pgꜣ* must have been in the south of the Memphite nome to the north of Heracleopolis (Grimal, 1981: 38, no. 90).	

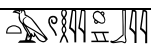
ID: ThIP_LE.12	**GEOREF:** NA	
ArabicNAME: NA	**AEN_Hiero:**	**AEN_Trans:** iꜣt-ṯꜣmt
SFunc: ThIP_LE.12.1 Domestic ThIP_LE.12.2 NA ThIP_LE.12.3 NA ThIP_LE.12.4 NA	**Discussion:** On the statue of Shedsunerfertum A the High Priest of Ptah in Memphis under Shoshenq I (Cairo, CG 741 / JE 29858) (Kitchen, 1996: §152; Schulman, 1980; 311) there is mention of a location called *iꜣt-ṯꜣmt*. The location is so far unidentified but it should be located in the vicinity of Memphis (Zivie, 1991: 295).	

ID: ThIP_LE.13	**GEOREF:** 30° 7'45.87"N 31°18'22.98"E	
ArabicNAME: Ain Shams (Cairo Suburb) multiple	**AEN_Hiero:**	**AEN_Trans:** *iwnw*

suburbs of NE Cairo (Ancient Heliopolis).		
SFunc: ThIP_LE.13.1 Domestic ThIP_LE.13.2 NA ThIP_LE.13.3 NA ThIP_LE.13.4 NA	**Discussion:** The ancient site of *iwnw* (class: Heliopolis) which is now located in the modern Cairo suburb of Ain Shams, and is no doubt under several expanding suburb areas of north eastern Cairo. Little is known about this important political and religious centre during the Third Intermediate Period but architectural fragments (Alexandria Nr.360) from the reign of Shoshenq I attest for activity in the settlement (Daressy, 1904a: 115-16; Jansen-Winkeln, 2007b: 4, doc.13; Yoyotte, 2003: 240-51, pls 16-18). A number of monuments that come from the region around the ancient settlement include a number of 22nd to 23rd Dynasty objects including a donation stela (New York MMA 10.176.42), an early 22nd Dynasty royal family block statue (Vienna 5791), a block of King Pamiu found in the fortress of Bab el-Nasr, a stela of the Great Chief Nesptah (Cairo JE 67846) dated to the 22nd to 24th Dynasty, a group figure of Hapiemhab and Ankheseniset (Cairo JE 92591) in the Boreax Collection, with the final monument, a reused stela of Kuki (Cairo TN 16/3/64/1). Almost nothing is known about the wider settlement of the Third Intermediate Period but additional toponyms that made up the urban fabric, including religious and cultic settlement toponyms included *šꜥ-ḫꜣ-m-ỉwnw* The High Sand of Heliopolis documented on the Piankhy Stela (Grimal, 1981: §19, l.102); For the location of this toponym at Heliopolis see, Gardiner, (1947: II, 145). Finally, the *pr rꜥ* ‘The House of Re’ (The Main temple to the god Re of Heliopolis) is again mentioned on the Piankhy stela. The Piankhy stela tells us that the territory of the ruler Bakennefi A, includes that of Heliopolis in conjunction with Athribis.

ID: ThIP_LE.14	**GEOREF:** NA	
ArabicNAME: NA	**AEN_Hiero:**	**AEN_Trans:** *ḥry-pꜣ-dmi*
SFunc: ThIP_LE.14.1 Domestic ThIP_LE.14.2 NA ThIP_LE.14.3 NA ThIP_LE.14.4 NA	**Discussion:** *ḥry-pꜣ-dmi* (lit.'The Village of Height') (Breasted, 1906: 435; Montet, 1961: 37, 47) is documented on the Piankhy Stela.	

ID: ThIP_LE.15	**GEOREF:** NA	
ArabicNAME: NA	**AEN_Hiero:** 	**AEN_Trans:** *pꜣ-bḫn-n-byw*
SFunc: ThIP_LE.15.1 Domestic ThIP_LE.15.2 NA ThIP_LE.15.3 Military ThIP_LE.15.4 NA	**Discussion:** The military site of *pꜣ-bḫn-n-byw* is first mentioned on the Piankhy stela and later mentioned on a stela of Taharqa dated to his year 6 (ca. 685 BCE). (Altenmüller and Moussa, 1981: 63-5, fig. 2; Pierce and Török, 1994). The stela was erected 5 km to the west of the Pyramid of Pepy II on a desert road used for manoeuvres of the Egyptian army under Taharqa and Psammetik I. The road led from Memphis via Dashur and into the Faiyum. In lines, 8-12. 4, Taharqa inspects the troops of the Camp of Bia, which is identical to Byw.	

ID: ThIP_LE.16	**GEOREF:** NA	
ArabicNAME: NA	**AEN_Hiero:** 	**AEN_Trans:** *tꜣ-wḥyt-byt*
SFunc: ThIP_LE.16.1 Domestic ThIP_LE.16.2 NA ThIP_LE.16.3 NA ThIP_LE.16.4 NA	**Discussion:** *tꜣ-wḥyt-byt* was a location in the Memphite nome documented on the Piankhy stela but so far not located.	

1.3.2 West of Classical Sebennytic

ID: ThIP_LE.17	**GEOREF:** NA	
ArabicNAME: NA	**AEN_Hiero:**	**AEN_Trans:** *ḥ ꜥpy*
SFunc: ThIP_LE.17.1 Domestic ThIP_LE.17.2 NA ThIP_LE.17.3 NA ThIP_LE.17.4 NA	**Discussion:** *ḥ ꜥpy* is documented on the Piankhy Stela. Breasted (1906: 419) following on from Brugsch's suggestion states that *ḥ ꜥpy* was located in the Western Delta. *ḥ ꜥpy* is in the territory of the later provinces of Sais and Prosopis (Kitchen, 1996: §324: n. 691;), the double province of Neith (Breasted, 1906: 419; Grimal, 1981: 12, 16, n. 15; Yoyotte, 1961a: §52; 155-6).	

ID: ThIP_LE.18	**GEOREF:** 30°52'57.02"N 30°19'43.40"E	
ArabicNAME: Kom el-Abqa'in	**AEN_Hiero:** NA	**AEN_Trans:** NA
SFunc: ThIP_LE.18.1 Domestic ThIP_LE.18.2 NA ThIP_LE.18.3 NA ThIP_LE.18.4 NA	**Discussion:** Kom el-Abqa'in was one of the Western Delta fortresses of Ramesses II (Bernand, 1970: 1043-4; Daressy, 1904b; Habachi, 1954: 482-4; PM IV, 1934: 50). After the fortress had gone out of use it was continued to be used in the 21st Dynasty for domestic purposes like that of Kom Firin (ThIP_LE.27) (Thomas, S., 2000: 371-6; Trampier, 2014: 89-108).	

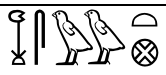
ID: ThIP_LE.19	**GEOREF:** 30°57'53.96"N 30°46'4.29"E	
ArabicNAME: Sa el-Hagar (Kom Rebwa)	**AEN_Hiero:**	**AEN_Trans:** *sꜣ.t*
SFunc: ThIP_LE.19.1 Domestic ThIP_LE.19.2 NA ThIP_LE.19.3 NA ThIP_LE.19.4 NA	**Discussion:** *sꜣ.t* (Class: Sais) is now the modern Sa el-Hagar. Early Third Intermediate Period domestic occupation has been identified on the east of the Kom Rebwa mound (Wilson, 2011), while 10th to 7th century BCE domestic occupation has been identified on the west of the Kom Rebwa mound (this study see Sections 4.3.6, Chapter 5 and relevant sections in Chapter 6, along with object groups in Appendix XI). Other monuments of the	

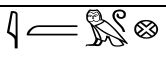
	Third Intermediate Period include early 22nd Dynasty armbands of Prince Nimlot (London BM 14594-5) probably from Sais (Jansen-Winkeln, 2007b: 84), and a donation stela in Athens of King Tefnakht (Jansen-Winkeln, 2007b: 372). Daressy (1894: 48) also indicates that a statue (CG 9430) of the Chief of the Ma, Pamiu, son of the Lord of the Two Lands, Shoshenq, beloved of Amun, comes from Sa el-Hagar (Sais) (ThIP_LE.19). The inscription would suggest that it actually derives from Heracleopolis (ThIP_UE.107). Meffre (2015: 185-190) dates the statue to the end of the Post Ramesside Period, as there is no indication as to which Shoshenq this refers too. PM IV entry (1934: 46) dates it to the 23rd Dynasty. PM IV (1934: 46) also records a base of a statuette of Isis the Scorpion, in the name of a Priest (?) called Pamiu possibly dated to the 23rd Dynasty.

ID: ThIP_LE.20	**GEOREF:** 31°11'43.70"N 30°44'32.25"E	
ArabicNAME: Tell el-Fara'in	**AEN_Hiero:**	**AEN_Trans:** *pr wꜣḏt*
SFunc: ThIP_LE.20.1 Domestic ThIP_LE.20.2 Cemetery ThIP_LE.20.3 NA ThIP_LE.20.4 NA	**Discussion:** Buto is documented on the Onomasticon of Amenemope (Gardiner, 1947: II, 187-199, *On.Am.*415). At Buto, there is extensive evidence of Third Intermediate Period settlement layers after the reoccupation of the site at the start of the Third Intermediate Period attested by coring, up to 2 m deep in some areas. The excavations at the western edge of the site show that most of the surviving physical remains of walls and settlement contexts have been destroyed by later Saite buildings built through these remains (Aston, 1996a: 23, figs 26-7, (phase 1); Faltings et al., 2000: 14-5; French, 1996: 8-12; 2003; French and Bourriau, 1996; Hartung et al., 2003: 203, 209-11, 220, fig. 4; Ziermann, 2002: 463, 494-6, figs 2, 14, pls 52-3).	

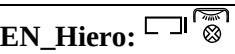
	Two elite tombs (Gräber J2/67 and J2/89) were found at Buto, overbuilt by Saite Period constructions dated to around the time of Iuput II. For documentation and discussions of these burials see, (Aston, 2009a: 73; Ballet, 2009; Effland, 2009; Kitagawa, 2009).

ID: ThIP_LE.21	**GEOREF:** 31°13'3.81"N 30°48'18.28"E	
ArabicNAME: Kom el-Asfar	**AEN_Hiero:** NA	**AEN_Trans:** NA
SFunc: ThIP_LE.21.1 Domestic (Assumed) ThIP_LE.21.2 NA ThIP_LE.21.3 NA ThIP_LE.21.4 NA	**Discussion:** Drill cores conducted on this site by Schiestl (2010: 7-11) and survey work by Van der Way (1984: 323; Leclant and Clerc, 1985: 343) show that this site has activity that goes back as far as the Third Intermediate Period.	

ID: ThIP_LE.22	**GEOREF:** 31° 5'8.87"N 30°56'56.27"E	
ArabicNAME: Sakha	**AEN_Hiero:** 	**AEN_Trans:** *ḫꜣsww*
SFunc: ThIP_LE.22.1 Domestic ThIP_LE.22.2 NA ThIP_LE.22.3 NA ThIP_LE.22.4 NA	**Discussion:** *ḫꜣsww* (modern: Sakha) is listed on the Onomasticon of Amenemope (Gardiner, 1947: II, 181-2, *On.Am.*414) and on the Piankhy Stela in relation to the overall Nome of Xois. *ḫꜣsww* was ruled over by The Count and Chief of the Ma, Nesnaisu.	

ID: ThIP_LE.23	**GEOREF:** 30°47'44.58"N 30°36'0.49"E	
ArabicNAME: Kom el-Hisn	**AEN_Hiero:** 	**AEN_Trans:** *ỉmꜣ w*
SFunc: ThIP_LE.23.1 Domestic ThIP_LE.23.2 NA ThIP_LE.23.3 NA ThIP_LE.23.4 NA	**Discussion:** The ancient site of *ỉmꜣ w* is equated with the modern Kom el-Hisn. Several blocks from a gateway of Shoshenq III were found in the Ramesside temple (Jansen-Winkeln, 2007b). Four blocks with his cartouche have been found at the site approximately 50 m to the east of the earlier Ramesside statues found within the temple enclosure (Daressy, 1903a: 283-4; 1914a: 86; Gauthier, 1914: 366, §xxii; Kitchen, 1996, §304; PM IV, 1934: 51).	

	The find spot of the blocks would place them along the east – west axis in front of the Ramesside statues, if they were still in their original positions in the temple. This positioning indicates that Shoshenq III may have added a monumental gateway to the pre-existing temple of Ramesses II.

ID: ThIP_LE.24	**GEOREF:** NA	
ArabicNAME: NA	**AEN_Hiero:** 	**AEN_Trans:** *pr-nwb*
SFunc: ThIP_LE.24.1 Domestic ThIP_LE.24.2 NA ThIP_LE.24.3 NA ThIP_LE.24.4 NA	**Discussion:** *pr-nwb* 'The House of Gold' has not been identified with certainty but it is most likely in the Western Delta (Kitchen, 1996: §324, n. 694), There was a *pr-nwb* in the vicinity of Sais (Breasted, 1906: 419; Brugsch, 1879: 325; Grimal, 1981: §3, 12, 16, n. 18). The same place is mentioned in the titulary of the General Petisis (Sarcophagus Berlin 29) (30th Dynasty to Early Ptolemaic Period) who was prophet of the goddess Hathor at the same time as being a priest at Sais and Buto (Yoyotte, 1958; 414-5; 1961a: 156, n. 4;). Yoyotte (1952: 213) proposed that the linking of this toponym with the toponym of *Punubu* documented in the Annals of Assurbanipal was possible.	

ID: ThIP_LE.25	**GEOREF:** 30°43'17.28"N 30°56'48.50"E	
ArabicNAME: Bindariya	**AEN_Hiero:** NA	**AEN_Trans:** NA
SFunc: ThIP_LE.25.1 Domestic ThIP_LE.25.2 NA ThIP_LE.25.3 NA ThIP_LE.25.4 NA	**Discussion:** A block from a temple of Shoshenq III comes from Bindariya (Daressy, 1912: 206).	

ID: ThIP_LE.26	**GEOREF:** 30°35'51.66"N 31° 8'33.92"E	
ArabicNAME: Tell Umm Harb (Mosdai)	**AEN_Hiero:**	**AEN_Trans:** *msdt*

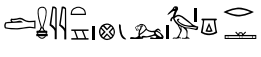
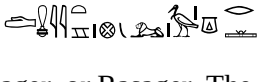
SFunc: ThIP_LE.26.1 Domestic ThIP_LE.26.2 NA ThIP_LE.26.3 NA ThIP_LE.26.4 NA	**Discussion:** *msdt* is equated with the modern site of Mosdai / Tell Umm el-Harb about 15 km to the north west of Athribis. A block of Shoshenq III was found at this site indicating some form of religious structure was built here during his reign (Gauthier, 1926: 62; Grimal, 1981: §22, l.122; Montet, 1957: 100-1).

ID: ThIP_LE.27	**GEOREF:** 30°51'52.26"N 30°29'24.73"E	
ArabicNAME: Kom Firin	**AEN_Hiero:** NA	**AEN_Trans:** NA
SFunc: ThIP_LE.27.1 Domestic ThIP_LE.27.2 NA ThIP_LE.27.3 NA ThIP_LE.27.4 NA	**Discussion:** For discussions of Kom Firin and the domestic settlement reports from Kom Firin during the Third Intermediate Period see Spencer, N., 2008; 2014. Donation Stelae from Kom Firin: Cairo JE 85647 (Bakir, 1943; Jansen-Winkeln, 2007b: 275; Meeks, 1979: 669, doc. 22.10.00a). Stela IFAO Store Registration No.14456 (Berlandini, 1978: 147-63, pls 49-50; Jansen-Winkeln, 2007b: 275-76; Meeks, 1979: 666, doc. 22.0.30). Stela Brooklyn Museum 67.119 (Kitchen, 1969-70: 64-7, fig. 4; Meeks, 1979: 670, doc. 22.10.15; Yoyotte: 1961a: 144, pl. 1,2). Stela British Museum EA 73965 (Jansen-Winkeln, 2007b: 274). In addition to the four stelae documented above a fifth stela from Kom Firin from year 8 of another Shoshenq (Spiegelberg, 1920: 57-8), possibly Shoshenq V (Yoyotte, 1961a: 143), was commissioned. This stela represented three people at least two of whom wear the Libyan feather before Sekhmet and Heka. The first person is labelled as	

	'The Great Chief of the Libu [N]*im*(a)-*teped*', the name of the second is partly preserved as *Wa-tir-..-y*.

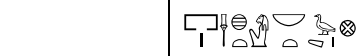
ID: ThIP_LE.28	**GEOREF:** 30°25'44.67"N 30°49'8.45"E	
ArabicNAME: Kom Abu Billo	**AEN_Hiero:**	**AEN_Trans:** *pr ḥwt ḥr nbt mfkt*
SFunc: ThIP_LE.28.1 Domestic ThIP_LE.28.2 NA ThIP_LE.28.3 NA ThIP_LE.28.4 NA	**Discussion:** A hieratic donation stela from Year 19 of Shoshenq V (Cairo JE 30972) records the donation of ten arourae of fields to the House of Hathor Lady of Mefket (Gomaà, 1974: 27-8; Kitchen 1996: §311; Maspero, 1893: 84-6; Müller, 1906: 54-5, pl. 88; Yoyotte, 1961a: 125, n.14, doc. E).	

ID: ThIP_LE.29	**GEOREF:** NA	
ArabicNAME: NA	**AEN_Hiero:**	**AEN_Trans:** *dmi pꜣ sbk*
SFunc: ThIP_LE.29.1 Domestic ThIP_LE.29.2 NA ThIP_LE.29.3 NA ThIP_LE.29.4 NA	**Discussion:** The village of the Crocodile (Gauthier, 1925b: 41; Gomaà, 1974: 28) is recorded on (Cairo JE 30972) and is located in the region of Kom Abu Billo. It cannot be said if it was a new foundation of the Third Intermediate Period, or an already existing settlement.	

ID: ThIP_LE.30	**GEOREF:** NA	
ArabicNAME: NA	**AEN_Hiero:** 	**AEN_Trans:** *dmi r-bꜣ-gr*
SFunc: ThIP_LE.30.1 Domestic ThIP_LE.30.2 NA ThIP_LE.30.3 NA ThIP_LE.30.4 NA	**Discussion:** in connection with the site of Kom Firin a toponym is documented on the donation stela of *tỉ-tꜣ-rw*, (Brooklyn Nr. 67.119) (Jansen-Winkeln, 2007b: 274, n. 18) called  *dmi r-bꜣ-gr*, which can be read Rabager, or Rasager. The toponym is probably of a Libyan proper name relating to the Chief of Dancers who donated the stela, or the actual name of the settlement itself (Kitchen, 1969-70: 65, n. 32). This toponym has not yet been identified, but must	

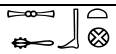
	have been near the site of Kom Firin (Spencer, N., 2009: 509).

ID: ThIP_LE.31	**GEOREF:** 30° 7'24.62"N 31° 8'9.80"E	
ArabicNAME: Ausim	**AEN_Hiero:**	**AEN_Trans:** *sḫm / ḫm*
SFunc: ThIP_LE.31.1 Domestic ThIP_LE.31.2 NA ThIP_LE.31.3 NA ThIP_LE.31.4 NA	**Discussion:** The ancient name of Letopolis (modern Ausim) *sḫm / ḫm* is located to the west of Imbaba, approximately 13 km north west of Cairo in the western fringes of the Western Delta on the left bank of the modern Rosetta Branch (Gardiner, 1947: II, 161; Gauthier, 1928: 45-6; Gomaà, 1974: 51). Letopolis is named on the Piankhy Stela but little else is known about this settlement for the Third Intermediate Period apart from it was ruled by the Prophet of Horus Pedihorsomtus in the Late Third Intermediate Period.	

ID: ThIP_LE.32	**GEOREF:** NA	
ArabicNAME: NA	**AEN_Hiero:** 	**AEN_Trans:** *pr-sḫmt-nbt-sꜣt/iꜣst*
SFunc: ThIP_LE.32.1 Domestic ThIP_LE.32.2 NA ThIP_LE.32.3 NA ThIP_LE.32.4 NA	**Discussion:** *pr-sḫmt-nbt-sꜣt/iꜣst* is documented on the Piankhy stela, but there no further attestations to this toponym prior to or after the Third Intermediate Period. The Piankhy stela records that *pr-sḫmt-nbt-sꜣt/iꜣst* was ruled by Count Harbes. This settlement may be located at either the modern village of el-Zeidieh, or Kafr Sa'id Moussa but not certain.	

ID: ThIP_LE.33	**GEOREF:**NA	
ArabicNAME: NA	**AEN_Hiero:**	**AEN_Trans:** *pr-sḫmt-nbt-rḥsꜣw*
SFunc: ThIP_LE.33.1 Domestic ThIP_LE.33.2 NA	**Discussion:** *pr-sḫmt-nbt-rḥsꜣw* is documented on the Piankhy stela and was ruled by Count Harbes like *pr-sḫmt-nbt-sꜣt/iꜣst* (ThIP_LE.32). The settlement is not yet	

ThIP_LE.33.3 NA ThIP_LE.33.4 NA	located but must be located in the area of Letopolis or at either el-Zeidieh or Kafr Sa'id Moussa. Ramzi (1953: 268) proposed that this location was the modern village of el-Rahawi to the north west of Letopolis. There are no further attestations to this toponym after the Third Intermediate Period.

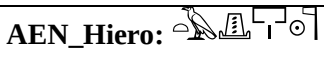
ID: ThIP_LE.34	**GEOREF:** NA	
ArabicNAME: NA	**AEN_Hiero:** 	**AEN_Trans:** *sḫbt*
SFunc: ThIP_LE.34. Domestic ThIP_LE.34.2 NA ThIP_LE.34.3 NA ThIP_LE.34.4 NA	**Discussion:** The settlement of *sḫbt* 'Sachebu' is recorded on a block of a King Shoshenq (dated between the 22nd to 24th Dynasty) (Jansen-Winkeln, 2007b: 410-11; Sauneron, 1955: 61-2, pl. 1). The settlement is not yet located. This location is recorded on monuments and texts of the Hyksos Period, the New Kingdom, the 26th Dynasty and the Ptolemaic – Roman Period up until the reign of the Emperor Trajan (Sauneron, 1955: 64). Further attestation to this site are found on a sphinx of Pinudjem I at Karnak (Monnet, 1954: 32 D). Two stelae both from the Ptolemaic Period, Stela Vienna (Sauneron, 1950: 65, e), and Stela Cherchal (Monnet, 1954: 30, b) both relate to priests and their titles in the region of Memphis and Letopolis. This may indicate that the location of Sachebu may be found in the region. The evidence from just to the north of this region at Kom el-Hisn and Kom Firin during the 22nd to 24th Dynasty saw the development of the Western Delta by both Shoshenq III and Shoshenq V and Sachebu may have received renovations during this period by one of these Shoshenqs.	

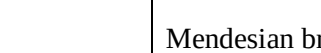
1.3.3 East of Classical Sebennytic

ID: ThIP_LE.35	**GEOREF:** 31° 3'25.99"N 31°34'53.09"E	
ArabicNAME: Tell Tebilla	**AEN_Hiero:**	**AEN_Trans:** *rꜥ'nfr*
SFunc: ThIP_LE.35.1 Domestic ThIP_LE.35.2 NA ThIP_LE.35.3 NA ThIP_LE.35.4 NA	**Discussion:** Shoshenq I constructed a temple at Tell Tebilla. In the late Third Intermediate Period Tell Tebilla was ruled by a King Osorkon along with the settlement at Bubastis.	

ID: ThIP_LE.36	**GEOREF:** 30°56'59.67"N 31°26'10.04"E	
ArabicNAME: El-Baqliya	**AEN_Hiero:**	**AEN_Trans:** *pr-ḏḥwtyꜣ-wp-rḥwy*
SFunc: ThIP_LE.36.1 Domestic ThIP_LE.36.2 NA ThIP_LE.36.3 NA ThIP_LE.36.4 NA	**Discussion:** *pr-ḏḥwtyꜣ-wp-rḥwy* is equated with the classical Hermopolis Parva. To the south of the modern village of el-Baqliya a cluster of three low mounds make up the area of the ancient settlement. 1) Tell el-Naqus (north east mound) only 2-3m higher than the surrounding cultivation comprises part of a rectangular 15 m thick, 10 m high enclosure wall, probably of 30th Dynasty date, and a sacred lake. The mound is now used by the Egyptian military since the 1970's. 2) Tell el-Zereiqi / Kom Baqliya (west mound) 200 m in diameter separated from Tell el-Naqus by cultivated land and a modern roadway. This mound was a cemetery and an Ibis necropolis. 3) Tell el-Ahmar / Rub'a (south west of Baqliya village) or 1.5 km west of Tell Zereiqi and comprises Romano-Coptic material. There was also a headless statue of Nectanebo I and a possible naos of Apries from this site (EES Delta Survey, Baqliya, EES 79: 2016). The monumental remains that come from these mounds indicate its importance in the New Kingdom, and the Late	

	Period onwards. Third Intermediate Period evidence is lacking with the only known evidence from the Piankhy stela that states *pr-ḏḥwty-wp-rḥwy* was ruled over by the eldest son of Count Djedameniuefankh, Ankhhor (Kitchen, 1996: §328, n. 714).

ID: ThIP_LE.37	**GEOREF:** NA	
ArabicNAME: NA	**AEN_Hiero:** 	**AEN_Trans:** *t3-šwnt-rˁ*
SFunc: ThIP_LE.37.1 Domestic ThIP_LE.37.2 NA ThIP_LE.37.3 NA ThIP_LE.37.4 NA	**Discussion:** The Piankhy Stela documents that *t3-šwnt-rˁ* was ruled over by Count Djedameniuefankh. The settlement is not identified with a modern Arabic settlement. Thmuis, the sister settlement of Mendes (ThIP_LE.38), may have been the 'The Granary of Re'(ThIP_LE.37). There is a connection between Tell el-Timai (Thmuis) and the God Re, as the later demotic story cycle of Pedubast '*The Breastplate of Inaros*' alludes to a southern fortress naming Mendes (ThIP_LE.38) and another location (the southern fortress) collectively as '*The Two Chicks of Re*' (Yoyotte, 1960-63: 5-9). This fortress was most likely to have been established on the east bank of the Mendesian Branch as a southern fortress of the Mendesian chiefs during the later Post Ramesside Period. The location would allow the Mendesian chiefs to control access to the grain, and suggest that the Late Third Intermediate Period fortress indicated on later documents, could have been erected to secure the large granary. The inclusion of a town's name in conjunction with a granary facility indicates a consolidation and control of commodities at a local Mendesian level, an arrangement that is seen in the Late Old Kingdom and First Intermediate Period when the local nomarchs consolidated these local structures (Papazian, 2013: 63-4). The position of the Mendesian Branch at the time of the Third Intermediate Period may support this theory, as Herodotus mentions a Thmuite nome with Tell el-Timai (Thmuis) as its capital, separate from the Mendesian nome. This would indicate	

	that a natural boundary (i.e. the Nile) separated the two cities, thus creating the ideal conditions for the Mendesian chiefs to fortify both the east and west banks of the Mendesian branch. The site of  'The Granary of Re' (ThIP_LE.37) remains elusive, and so far, there is no archaeological evidence from Thmuis for a Post Ramesside occupation period.

ID: ThIP_LE.38	**GEOREF:** 30°57'15.87"N 31°31'5.17"E	
ArabicNAME: Tell el-Rub'a	**AEN_Hiero:**	**AEN_Trans:** *pr-bꜣ-nb-ḏd*
SFunc: ThIP_LE.38.1 Domestic ThIP_LE.38.2 NA ThIP_LE.38.3 NA ThIP_LE.38.4 NA	**Discussion:** The site of Mendes, modern day Tell el-Rub'a is recorded on the Onomasticon of Amenemope (Gardiner, 1947: II, 151-53, *On.Am.*404). For a discussion of the urban development of Mendes in the Third Intermediate Period see relevant sections in main text Chapters 3 and 4. Donation Stelae from Mendes; Stela Brooklyn Mus. 67-118 (De Meulenaere and MacKay, 1976: 205, pl.30 nr. 106; Jansen-Winkeln, 2007b:198-99; Kitchen, 1969-70: Fig. A, 1-3, Meeks, 1979: 688, 22.8.22). Stela Art Sale, Cairo (Stela Geneva MAH 23473) (Chappaz, 1982; Jansen-Winkeln, 2007b:370-371; Kitchen, 1996: § 449; Meeks, 1979: 671, 23.2.21). Stela Strasburg 1379 (De Meulenaere and MacKay, 1976: 205, pl.30a (105); Jansen-Winkeln, 2007b:199-200; Meeks, 1979:669, 22.8.30; Spiegelberg, 1903: 197). In addition to royal temple building two blocks said to come from Tell Timai (Thmuis) (probably mistaken for Mendes) date to the late 22nd to 23rd Dynasty. The first was Cairo JE 43359 which records the name of Nesubanebdjed IV (Jansen-Winkeln, 2007b: 387) and the second was Cairo	

	JE 43359 which records Hornakht B (Jansen-Winkeln, 2007b: 387-88). The Piankhy stela recorded that Mendes was ruled over by Count Djedameniuefankh in the late Third Intermediate Period.

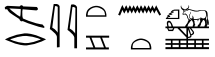
ID: ThIP_LE.39	**GEOREF:** 30°40'58.70"N 31°21'15.54"E	
ArabicNAME: Tell Muqdam	**AEN_Hiero:**	**AEN_Trans:** *tꜣ-rmw / ṯnt-rmw*
SFunc: ThIP_LE.39.1 Domestic ThIP_LE.39.2 Cemetery ThIP_LE.39.3 NA ThIP_LE.39.4 NA	**Discussion:** *tꜣ-rmw / ṯnt-rmw* is the classical Leontopolis, and the modern day Tell Muqdam (Gomaà, 1974: 113-114, 117, 124; Grimal, 1981: §21, l.114; Lichtheim, 1980: 78, 83 n. 64, n. 84; Urk III, 3 (8), 11 (18), 36 (99), 45 (114); Yoyotte, 1953: 179-92). Tell Gadiya is part of the ancient site of Tell Muqdam and has been taken as a collective of the overall site (EES Delta Survey, Gadiya, EES 510, 2016) For a statue from the reign of Shoshenq I from Tell Muqdam see, (Brandle, 2008: I, 256-7, II, pl. 21. doc. M-3.1; Jansen-Winkeln, 2006b: 300-1, 313-16, pl. XXXI-XXXVI; Meffre, 2015: 64, doc. 9). For a recent discussion on the burial of Karomama B ca. 830 BCE, see Aston (2009a: 64-5). For other 22nd Dynasty burial objects from Tell Muqdam from the reign of Osorkon II see Jansen-Winkeln, 2007b: 127-128). Finally, a seated statue of Senwosret III (London BM 1146) was usurped by Osorkon II (Jansen-Winkeln, 2007b: 116; Naville, 1894: 29-31, pl. 4, 12). Not far from Tell Muqdam is Mit Yaish. A donation stela (Cairo JE 46789) found here is likely to have derived from Tell Muqdam (Daressy, 1922: 77; Jansen-Winkeln, 2007b: 128-9; Meeks, 1979: 666, doc. 22.5.00). Finally, a bronze door hinge of Iuput II was found at Tell Muqdam (Cairo JE 38261) (Daressy, 1908; Jansen-Winkeln, 2007b: 370; Spencer, A.J., and	

	Spencer, P., 1986: 200, fig. 3) (23rd Dynasty). The Piankhy stela documents that Tell Muqdam was ruled over by a King Iuput in the Late Post Ramesside Period.

ID: ThIP_LE.40	**RG:**	**GEOREF:** NA	
ArabicNAME: Unknown		**AEN_Hiero:**	**AEN_Trans:** *t3-ꜥn*
SFunc: ThIP_LE.40.1 Domestic ThIP_LE.40.2 NA ThIP_LE.40.3 NA ThIP_LE.40.4 NA		**Discussion:** In association with Leontopolis is the site of *t3-ꜥn*. It is not located with certainty but may be a variation of the later toponym *t3-irỉ-t3* documented on a stela of year 8 of Psammetik I from Horbeit (Gomaà, 1974: 118; Revillout, 1891: 238). This is not localised with any certainty. It may be that Ta'an may be equated with the toponym *t3-irỉ-t3* found on a year 8 stela of Psammetik I from Horbeit (Gomaà, 1974: 118; Revillout, 1891: 238;). The site of *t3-iri-t3* was mentioned in connection with other place names and is located to the south of the site of Bet-Hor (Gomaà, 1974: 118). It is not certain that *t3-irỉ-t3* is the name of a settlement. It maybe that it was just a field or the name of a field that was in the area of Bet Hor. Yoyotte (1961: 129, n. 2) and Kitchen (1996: §328, n. 711) both have not placed locations for this toponym. The settlement must have been in the vicinity of Tell Muqdam as it was within the territory of Iuput II.	

ID: ThIP_LE.41	**GEOREF:** NA	
ArabicNAME: Ezbet Razaiqa	**AEN_Hiero:** NA	**AEN_Trans:** NA
SFunc: ThIP_LE.41.1 Domestic (Assumed) ThIP_LE.41.2 NA ThIP_LE.41.3 NA ThIP_ LE.41.4. NA	**Discussion:** Documented as EES Delta Survey 466. Ezbet Razaiqa is now completely levelled and the location is now unknown (EES Delta Survey, Ezbet Razaiqa, EES 466: 2016) Pottery collected by the Amsterdam University survey of the eastern Delta (Van den Brink, 1987: 7, 21, 23) provided	

	evidence of Third Intermediate Period ceramics (Aston. 1996a: 26).

ID: ThIP_LE.42	**GEOREF:** 30°27'48.11"N 31°10'53.62"E	
ArabicNAME: Tell Atrib	**AEN_Hiero:**	**AEN_Trans:** *ḥwt ḥry ib*
SFunc: ThIP_LE.42.1 Domestic ThIP_LE.42.2 NA ThIP_ LE.42.3 NA ThIP_LE.42.4 NA	**Discussion:** For monuments and attestations to the site of Tell Atrib during the 22nd to 25th Dynasty see a detailed list and documentation by Vernus (1978). Additional toponyms in association with the site of Athribis documented on the Piankhy stela include:  *mryt nt km-wr* 'The Harbour of Athribis'.	

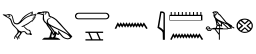
ID: ThIP_LE.43	**GEOREF:** 30°57'59.25"N 31°14'54.21"E	
ArabicNAME: Sammanud	**AEN_Hiero:**	**AEN_Trans:** *ṯb-nṯr (t)*
SFunc: ThIP_LE.43.1 Domestic ThIP_LE.43.2 NA ThIP_LE.43.3 NA ThIP_LE.43.4 NA	**Discussion:** *ṯb-nṯr (t)* is the modern settlement of Sammanud the capital of the 12th Lower Egyptian Nome. It lies on the West Bank side of the modern Damietta Nile Branch (Gauthier, 1929: 74; Gomaà, 1974: 68; Montet, 1957: 104), and the Piankhy Stela documents that it was ruled over by the Count Akanosh.	

ID: ThIP_LE.44	**GEOREF:** 31° 1'40.06"N 31°17'19.88"E	
ArabicNAME: Behbeit el-Hagar	**AEN_Hiero:** ,	**AEN_Trans:** *nṯr, pr-ḥbit*
SFunc: ThIP_LE.44.1 Domestic ThIP_LE.44.2 NA ThIP_LE.44.3 NA ThIP_LE.44.4 NA	**Discussion:** *nṯr* or *pr-ḥbit* is not located with certainty but was regarded by Yoyotte (1961a: 154-5) as being related to the region of Buto. This was followed by Lichtheim (1980: 80) and Kitchen, (1996: §324). This title was given to Pediese on two statues of a Late Period date and deemed like Tefnakht to be taken in relation to Buto or Sais, but not at Samannud (Sebennytos) (Kitchen, 1996: §365, n. 941). Grimal (1981) in his study of the Piankhy Stela placed	

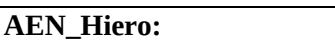
	Netjer at Behbeit el-Hagar, while Favard-Meeks (2002) has studied the connection of the toponym with Behbeit el-Hagar. Breasted (1906: 419) states that this location was in the central Delta near the modern Behbeit el-Hagar, the Iseum or Isidis of the classical geographers. The use of is the toponym for the modern Behbeit el-Hagar (Iseopolis) Gauthier, 1925b: 110-11; Gomaà, 1974: 49, 69; Montet, 1949: 43; 1957: 107; Yoyotte, 1961a: 154-5, §51). Behbeit el-Hagar, according to the Piankhy Stela was ruled over by Count Akanosh.

ID: ThIP_LE.45	**GEOREF:** 30°52'54.21"N 31°14'5.12"E	
ArabicNAME: Abu Sir Bana	**AEN_Hiero:**	**AEN_Trans:** *pr-wsi͗r-nb-ḏdw*
SFunc: ThIP_LE.45.1 Domestic ThIP_LE.45.2 NA ThIP_LE.45.3 NA ThIP_LE.45.4 NA	*pr-wsi͗r-nb-ḏdw* The House of Osiris Lord of Djedu' (Greek: Βούσρις Coptic Πογσιρε) which is the modern town of Abu Sir Bana is located on the West Bank side of the modern Damietia Branch of the Nile about 5.5 km south of Samannud (Gomaà, 1974: 60). It was the capital of the 9th Lower Egyptian Nome *'nḏty* Andjety. (Gardiner, 1947: II, 176-180; Gauthier, 1925b: 70-1;, *On.Am.*412; Gomaà, 1974: 52, 60-8, 70, 75, 87, 101, 103, 112, 156-7, 159; Montet, 1957: 98). The settlement of Busiris during the Third Intermediate Period is poorly understood, beyond the setting up of a donation stela (London UC 14533) under the reign of Shoshenq III (Meeks, 1979: 668, doc. 22.8.15; Stewart, 1983: 4, pl. 4 (5)), and the mention on the Piankhy Stela of Busiris being ruled over by the count and chief of the Ma, Pamiu.	

ID: ThIP_LE.46	**GEOREF:** 31°15'37.15"N 31°34'22.64"E	
ArabicNAME: Tell el-Balamun	**AEN_Hiero:**	**AEN_Trans:** *sm͗-bḥdt*

SFunc: ThIP_LE.46.1 Domestic ThIP_LE.46.2 Cemetery ThIP_LE.46.3 NA ThIP_LE.46.4 NA	**Discussion:** Tell is Balamun is documented on the Onomasticon of Amenemope under the writing of  *pꜣiw n ỉmn* 'The Island of Amun' (Gardiner, 1947: II, 180-1, *On.Am.*413). For a discussion of Tell el-Balamun in the Third Intermediate Period see Chapter 4. The Piankhy stela documents that *smꜣ-bḥdt* was ruled over by Count Akanosh.

ID: ThIP_LE.47	**GEOREF:** 30°51'35.84"N 31°55'3.80"E	
ArabicNAME: Nebesheh (Tell Fara'un)	**AEN_Hiero:** 	**AEN_Trans:** *ỉmt*
SFunc: ThIP_LE.47.1 Domestic ThIP_LE.47.2 Cemetery ThIP_LE.47.3 NA ThIP_LE.47.4 NA	**Discussion:** The cemetery at Nebesheh has been dated by Aston (2009a: 62-4) to the 2nd half of the 11th century BCE and would place it in the 21st Dynasty, and corresponds to the dating of the mention on the Onomasticon of Amenemope (Gardiner, 1947: II, 170-1, *On.Am.*409). Further evidence of Third Intermediate Period settlement activity was identified at the site by the Supreme Council of Antiquities excavations (Mostafa, 1986: 8-12, no. 8).	

ID: ThIP_LE.48	**GEOREF:** 30°47'59.05"N 31°50'10.87"E	
ArabicNAME: Qantir	**AEN_Hiero:** 	**AEN_Trans:** *pr rˁ mssw mryˁ mnˁ . w. s*
SFunc: ThIP_LE.48.1 Domestic ThIP_LE.48.2 Cemetery ThIP_LE.48.3 NA ThIP_LE.48.4 NA	**Discussion:** The House of Ramesses II is equated with the modern area of Qantir is listed on the Onomasticon of Amenemope (Gardiner, 1947: II, 171, *On.Am.*410). At Qantir (Site Q IV) a child pot burial of the 10th century BCE contained a child of ten months (Aston, 1998: 694-5; 2009a: 64; Pusch, 1989: 74-5). There continued to be some form of continued settlement activity at Qantir in Area IV in the area of the Royal Horse Stud in the early Third Intermediate Period based on the discovery of ceramics (Aston and Pusch, 1999; Laemmel, 2008; Pusch, 1999a).	

ID: ThIP_LE.49	**GEOREF:** 30°58'39.58"N 32°10'31.00"E

ArabicNAME: Tell Belim	**AEN_Hiero:**	**AEN_Trans:** *šdḥrw*
SFunc: ThIP_LE.49.1 Domestic ThIP_LE.49.2 NA ThIP_LE.49.3 NA ThIP_LE.49.4 NA	**Discussion:** Golenischeff (1902-1903: 105) suggested that *šdḥrw* was the ancient Sethroe, with Sethroe being equated with the classical Heracleopolis Parva in the eastern Delta (Spencer, A.J., 2002b: 39). The site of Tell Belim can be identified with the class Heracleopolis Parva. The position of *šdḥrw* on the Onomasticon of Amenemope (Gardiner, 1947: II. 175, *On.Am.*411) before Tanis and after Tell Nebesheh would appear to confirm the location of Tell Belim which is between these two sites as the correct identification of the site. Third Intermediate Period settlement remains have been identified at Tell Belim around the main temple (Spencer, A.J., 2002b: 40).	

ID: ThIP_LE.50	**GEOREF:** 30°58'37.55"N 31°52'49.83"E	
ArabicNAME: San el-Hagar	**AEN_Hiero:**	**AEN_Trans:** *ḏʿnt*
SFunc: ThIP_LE.50.1 Domestic ThIP_LE.50.2 Cemetery ThIP_LE.50.3 NA ThIP_LE.50.4 NA	**Discussion:** The ancient settlement of *ḏʿnt* (class: Tanis, modern San el-Hagar) was one of the main religious and political centres of the Third Intermediate Period. For detailed and comprehensive discussions on the settlement of Tanis throughout the Third Intermediate Period see recently Leclère (2008: §9).	

ID: ThIP_LE.51	**GEOREF:** 30°34'10.96"N 31°30'57.93"E	
ArabicNAME: Tell Basta	**AEN_Hiero:**	**AEN_Trans:** *pr – bꜣstt*
SFunc: ThIP_LE.51.1 Domestic ThIP_LE.51.2 NA ThIP_LE.51.3 NA ThIP_LE.51.4 NA	**Discussion:** Tell Basta is the ancient Bubastis. So far only the cemetery of the Middle and New Kingdom has been found, the Third Intermediate Period cemetery has not been discovered. A single pyramidion of Harhotep, which has been attributed through internal inscriptional references to Bubastis (Aston, 2009a: 64). It has been dated on stylistic and epigraphic grounds to the 22nd Dynasty (Quaegebeur, 1982: 181-206) is so far, all that is found of what in Aston's	

	(2009a: 64) view must have been a large cemetery in the area. From the middle of the 22nd Dynasty onwards Bubastis began having land donated to it. For temple bulding at Bubastis during the Third Intermediate Period see Appendix X. In the Late Third Intermediate Period the Piankhy Stela documents that Bubastis was ruled by a King Osorkon.

ID: ThIP_LE.52	**GEOREF:** 30°37'31.48"N 31°38'8.69"E	
ArabicNAME: El-Alaqma	**AEN_Hiero:** NA	**AEN_Trans:** NA
SFunc: ThIP_LE.52.1 Domestic (Assumed) ThIP_LE.52.2. NA ThIP_LE.52.3 NA ThIP_LE.52.4 NA	**Discussion:** The now levelled site of el-Alaqma had Third Intermediate Period ceramics (Aston, 1996a: 26; Van den Brink, 1987: 7ff).	

ID: ThIP_LE.53	**GEOREF:** 30°39'40.04"N 31°44'0.40"E	
ArabicNAME: Gezirat el-Tawila	**AEN_Hiero:** NA	**AEN_Trans:** NA
SFunc: ThIP_LE.53.1 Domestic (Assumed) ThIP_LE.53.2 NA ThIP_LE.53.3 NA ThIP_LE.53.4 NA	**Discussion:** At Gezirat el-Tawila Third Intermediate Period ceramics were identified (Van den Brink, 1987). A temple of Ramesses II was added to by Siamun as blocks of his were identified by the Supreme Council of Antiquities in the local fields (EES Delta Survey, Gezirat el-Tawila, EES 537, 2016).	

ID: ThIP_LE.54	**GEOREF:** 30°44'22.71"N 31°45'16.35"E	
ArabicNAME: Tell Fadadna/Tell Mindar	**AEN_Hiero:** NA	**AEN_Trans:** NA
SFunc: ThIP_LE.54.1 Domestic (Assumed) ThIP_LE.54.2 NA ThIP_LE.54.3 NA	**Discussion:** Evidence of Third Intermediate Period ceramics were found in the surface survey of the Amsterdam University (Aston, 1996a: 26; Van den Brink, 1987).	

ThIP_LE.54.4 NA	

ID: ThIP_LE.55	**GEOREF:** 30°50'55.53"N 31°41'1.15"E	
ArabicNAME: Tell Gherier	**AEN_Hiero:** NA	**AEN_Trans:** NA
SFunc: ThIP_LE.55.1 Domestic (Assumed) ThIP_LE.55.2 NA ThIP_LE.55.3 NA ThIP_LE.55.4 NA	**Discussion:** Evidence of Third Intermediate Period ceramics were found in the surface survey of the Amsterdam University (Aston, 1996a: 26; Van den Brink, 1987).	

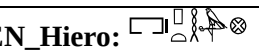
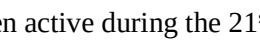
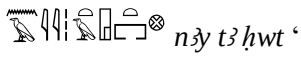
ID: ThIP_LE.56	**GEOREF:** 30°56'3.69"N 31°53'31.74"E	
ArabicNAME: Tell Zuwelein	**AEN_Hiero:** NA	**AEN_Trans:** NA
SFunc: ThIP_LE.56.1 Domestic (Assumed) ThIP_LE.56.2 Cemetery ThIP_LE.56.3 NA ThIP_LE.56.4 NA	**Discussion:** A cemetery was discovered at Tell Zuwelein in the 1880's, but the necropolis had been plundered by the local inhabitants. The finds included a ushabti of Ankesesnese (Griffith, 1888: 46, pl. i). Aston's (2009a: 61-2) analysis of the burial assemblages from this necropolis have led him to date the burials to between the 9th to 7th century BCE.	

ID: ThIP_LE.57	**GEOREF:** 30°53'33.59"N 31°53'14.14"E	
ArabicNAME: Tell Gumaiyima	**AEN_Hiero:** NA	**AEN_Trans:** NA
SFunc: ThIP_LE.57.1 Domestic (Assumed) ThIP_LE.57.2 NA ThIP_LE.57.3 NA ThIP_LE.57.4 NA	**Discussion:** Tell Gumaiyima had a Third Intermediate Period temple and mud brick enclosure (Griffith, 1888: 41). Satellite images suggest that the enclosure that Griffith identified has now been built over by the modern village.	

ID: ThIP_LE.58	**GEOREF:** 30°51'11.97"N 31°49'51.62"E	
ArabicNAME: Tell Ibrahim Awad	**AEN_Hiero:** NA	**AEN_Trans:** NA

SFunc: ThIP_LE.58.1 Domestic ThIP_LE.58.2 NA ThIP_LE.58.3 NA ThIP_LE.58.4 NA	**Discussion:** The western part of the Tell Ibrahim Awad mound had Third Intermediate Period ceramics (Van den Brink, 1992).

ID: ThIP_LE.59	**GEOREF:** 30°51'10.75"N 31°45'57.28"E	
ArabicNAME: Tell Iswid (S)	**AEN_Hiero:** NA	**AEN_Trans:** NA
SFunc: ThIP_LE.59.1 Domestic (Assumed) ThIP_LE.59.2 NA ThIP_LE.59.3 NA ThIP_LE.59.4 NA	**Discussion:** Tell Iswid (S) also known as Tell Haddadin preserved Third Intermediate Period ceramics (Aston, 1996a: 26; Van den Brink, 1987).	

ID: ThIP_LE.60	**GEOREF:** NA	
ArabicNAME: NA	**AEN_Hiero:** 	**AEN_Trans:** pr-pṯḥ
SFunc: ThIP_LE.60.1 Domestic ThIP_LE.60.2 NA ThIP_LE.60.3 NA ThIP_LE.60.4 NA	**Discussion:** There is a settlement that is known to have been active during the 21st Dynasty called  *pr-pṯḥ* 'The House of Ptah' (Gardiner, 1947: II, 149, *On.Am.*402). It was proposed by Gauthier (1927: 216) to link it with  *nʒy tʒ ḥwt* 'Tell el-Yahudiyah as an overall reference to Memphis, but Gardiner (1947: II, 149) rejected this proposal. There are numerous cults of the god Ptah in the Delta. One of the western Delta waterways is associated with the god Ptah (The Water of Ptah). There is a temple called the Temple of Ptah-Tanan located on that river bank, while in the Roman Period there was a town named Hephaestus (the Roman designation of Ptah) (Gardiner, 1947: II, 155, 158; Habachi, 1967: 37). Gardiner suggests that place names that relate to the god Ptah are called Sanhur in Arabic (Gardiner, 1947: II, 149). A later Saite statue of a priest (Cairo, Temp No. 20-10-48-15) from Kafr ed-Deir (the ancient Per Weret Hekau in the 26th Dynasty)	

	in the north-eastern Delta mentions the owner being a Prophet of Ptah. Using Gardiner's suggested association of ancient place names with the god Ptah in the name with modern Arabic places with Sanhur in the name does not allow for the site of Per Ptah to be located in the neighbourhood of Kafr ed-Deir as no such locations with Sanhur are to be found (Habachi, 1967: 37). To the south of Kafr ed-Deir there is a village called Sanhut el-Birak or 'Sanhut of the Swamps' which was a considerable small town at the end of the 19th century, by which time some of the ancient mound became swamps, and the site has since been mind for *sebakh* (Habachi, 1967: 37, n. 2). Based on settlement maps and associated waterways, the site of Sanhut el-Birak, would be located near both the Pelusiac and Tanitic branches, that is approximately 16.09 km upstream of the Pelusiac branch from the settlement of Zagazig and approximately 16.09 km upstream on the Tanitic branch from the settlement of Zagazig. The town was thus about 3.2 km from the banks of both projected Tanitic and Pelusiac courses. Beyond this there is no other evidence that would confirm that Sanhut el-Birak was the ancient Per Ptah.

ID: ThIP_LE.61	**GEOREF:** 30°17'32.01"N 31°19'54.04"E	
ArabicNAME: Tell el-Yahudiyah	**AEN_Hiero:**	**AEN_Trans:** *nꜣy tꜣḥwt*
SFunc: ThIP_LE.61.1 Domestic ThIP_LE.61.2 Cemetery ThIP_LE.61.3 NA ThIP_LE.61.4 NA	**Discussion:** *nꜣy tꜣḥwt* is the modern Tell el-Yahudiyah'. The settlement is listed on the Onomasticon of Amenemope (Gardiner, 1947: II, 146, *On.Am.*401). Tomb groups dating from the 12th to 11th century BCE, the 11th to 10th century BCE, the 10th to 9th century BCE, and 8th century BCE have been found at the site (Aston, 2009a: 65-71) Other monuments from Tell el-Yahudiyah:	

	Reign of Osorkon I, a bronze statue (Brooklyn 57.92 from Schibin el-Qanatir (Hill 2004: 154-5; pl. 11 (10); Jansen-Winkeln, 2007b: 49). 22nd Dynasty block statues of the Head Doctor *Pa'an-meni* (Brandl and Jansen-Winkeln, 2008; Jansen-Winkeln, 2007b: 131). From the reign of Shoshenq V (22nd Dynasty) were two granite fragments now in the British Museum (Daressy, 1915: 145; Jansen-Winkeln, 2007b: 269). Finally, a granite socle from Tell el-Yahudiyah from the reign of Iuput II (23rd Dynasty) (Jansen-Winkeln, 2007b: 370).

ID: ThIP_LE.62	**GEOREF:** 30°33'14.15"N 31°36'37.01"E	
ArabicNAME: Saft el-Henna	**AEN_Hiero:**	**AEN_Trans:** *pr-spdw*
SFunc: ThIP_LE.62.1 Domestic ThIP_LE.62.2 Cemetery ThIP_LE.62.3 NA ThIP_LE.62.4 NA	**Discussion:** *pr-spdw* is the modern site of Saft el-Henna and was the capital of the 22nd Lower Egyptian Nome (Gauthier, 1925b: 127-8; Gomaà, 1974: 76, 87, 94, 101-4, 108, 112, 128, 135-6, 144, 157; Montet, 1957: 206-7). The cemetery at Saft el-Henna was used during this period, but the burials that were excavated by Garrow Duncan were poorly published. They were divided into different types, no such photos or drawings were provided and any conclusions have to be drawn from Garrow's own descriptions (Aston, 2009a: 71). The groups that provided sufficient evidence for dating included sand pit graves which based on the presence of bronze bells and double faced pendants may link these burials with Petrie's class 4 Wadjet eye burials from Tell el-Yahudiyah dated by Aston to the 9th century BCE and brick lined graves which one	

	example is dated to the 9th to 8th century BCE (Aston, 2009a: 71). Monuments of the 22nd to 24th dynasty (Group statue (Cairo JE 46600 (+ Munich 6296) of Senwaset (Jansen-Winkeln, 2007b: 418) and a scribe statue of the general Hor and Senwaset (Cairo JE 41664) (Jansen-Winkeln, 2007b: 420, and a block statue of Mehnefertum (Paris Louvre N.3670) (Jansen-Winkeln, 2007b: 421). The Piankhy stela documents that Saft el-Henna was ruled over by Patjenfi, Count and Chief of the Ma in the late Third Intermediate Period.

ID: ThIP_LE.63	**GEOREF:** 30°31'46.48"N 31°37'13.42"E	
ArabicNAME: Suwa	**AEN_Hiero:** NA	**AEN_Trans:** NA
SFunc: ThIP_LE.63.1 Domestic (Assumed) ThIP_LE.63.2 Cemetery ThIP_LE.63.3 NA ThIP_LE.63.4 NA	**Discussion:** Suwa may have been a separate site or was possibly an extension of the Saft el-Henna mound and an additional cemetery location for Saft-el-Henna during the period. Ceramics of the Third Intermediate Period have been identified at Suwa (Aston, 1996a: 29; Petrie, 1906: 47-52).	

ID: ThIP_LE.64	**GEOREF:** 30°33'12.88"N 32° 5'56.41"E	
ArabicNAME: Tell el-Maskhuta	**AEN_Hiero:** NA	**AEN_Trans:** NA
SFunc: ThIP_LE.64.1 Domestic ThIP_LE.64.2 NA ThIP_LE.64.3 NA ThIP_LE.64.4 NA	**Discussion:** For temple building at Tell el-Maskhuta see Appendix X. Other monuments include: A 22nd Dynasty (reign of Osorkon II) block statue with naos of Ankh-khered-nefer (London BM 1007) (Jansen-Winkeln, 2007b: 126; Naville, 1885: 15-16, pl. 4), and a 22nd to 24th Dynasty head of a block statue (Ismalia 2408) of Wekermen (Jansen-Winkeln, 2007b: 430).	

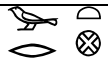
ID: ThIP_LE.65	**GEOREF:** 30°32'53.49"N 31°57'53.62"E

ArabicNAME: Tell el-Retaba	**AEN_Hiero:** NA	**AEN_Trans:** NA
SFunc: ThIP_LE.65.1 Domestic ThIP_LE.65.2 Cemetery ThIP_LE.65.3 NA ThIP_LE.65.4 NA	**Discussion:** For temple building at Tell el-Retaba see Appendix X. The site has extensive Third Intermediate Period remains, see Chapter 4. Other monuments include: A seated statue of a man (London BM 1007) holding a shrine in front of him dated to the reign of Osorkon II (Naville, 1885: 15-16, front piece pl. 4). Granite fragment of Shoshenq I (Naville, 1885: pl. 4.). Just to the north of the settlement site Petrie located the cemetery which contained several burials that can be dated to the Third Intermediate Period. All the tombs had been plundered in ancient times and the grave good scattered over a wide area, the cemetery was not completely cleared and the results were only partially published (Aston, 2009a: 74; Petrie, 1906: 32-4). The tombs were in groups of brick chambers like those from Nebesheh (Petrie, 1906: 32). The burials which Aston (2009a: 74-76) reviewed the tomb group material have been dated from the 11th to 7th century BCE, therefore encompass the entire period.	

ID: ThIP_LE.66	**GEOREF:** 30°40'52.31"N 31°38'27.03"E	
ArabicNAME: Tukh el-Qaramus	**AEN_Hiero:** ,	**AEN_Trans:** *dḳyt, bḫnw*
SFunc: ThIP_LE.66.1 Domestic ThIP_LE.66.2 NA ThIP_LE.66.3 NA ThIP_LE.66.4 NA	**Discussion:** A donation stela dated to year 10, day 20 of the reign of Shoshenq III (Cairo Mus. 11/1/25/13) was found at Tukh el-Qaramus. In the text there is mention of two toponyms called *dḳyt* and *bḫnw*. The gods mentioned on this stela are Amun-Re nb pr bꜣw ‘Lord of The Ba’s’ (a sanctuary in the Delta in an unknown	

	locality), the great Mut, Mistress of *Šnᶜ* (Gauthier, 1928: 136; Gomaà, 1974: 91) that was probably an epithet of Mut, and their son Khonsu. These deities are found together on a Ptolemaic stela from Saqqara (Cairo, JdE 8392) (Kamal, 1905: 146-7, no. 22161, pl. XLIX). The writing of *bḫnw* from the stela of Shoshenq III should be equated with the writing of *bḫnt* from the later Ptolemaic Stela (Gomaà, 1974: 91). The site bḫnt of is not yet located with certainty. It has been proposed that the settlement should be located in the vicinity of Mit Ghamr (Gomaà, 1974: 91) or Sakha (Brugsch, 1879: 201-2), but a proposal with Sakha was met with criticism by Habachi (1956: 462). The associated 2nd and 3rd order sites mentioned on donation stela are to be found in the local hinterland of the main settlement mentioned in the text, therefore the placing of almost 37.62 km to the north west, across the proposed Tanitic and Mendesian trajectories in the region of the now modern Damietta branch, is untenable. Identification of the settlement and the connection with the location of the stela at Tukh el-Qaramus would indicate that it is to be located in the region Tukh el-Qaramus. The inscription of Piankhy documents a *wr ꜥ n m pꜣ-n-tꜣ-bḫnt* (The Man of *tꜣ bḫnt*) (Gomaà, 1974: 92; Ranke, 1935: 111, no. 19). This man is known as a Chief of the Meshwesh in the Eastern Delta. Gomaà proposed that this name was the name of a separate settlement. In the list of chiefs and governors of the delta this man along with another *pn-tꜣ-wrt* are the only ones that are not associated with an area of power (Gomaà, 1974: 157). Yoyotte suggested that these chiefs had been expelled from their cities just before Piankhy invaded. The Piankhy stela therefore records the names of the cities where they had previously ruled, one being *wrt* and *bḫnt* (Gomaà, 1981: 107).

	The toponym *bḫnt* or *bḫnw* is to be located in the eastern Nile delta and not in the region of Mit Ghamr or Sacha. The name *bḫnw* is not a village name but refers to the noun *bḫn* meaning castle of fortress (Gardiner, 1947: II, 204-5; Godron, 1959: 83; Gomaà, 1974: 92, n. 10; Wb, I, 471 (6-8). Another toponym in association with the region of Tukh el-Qaramus is *dḳyt* (Gauthier, 1929:101; Gomaà, 1974: 91). Snape (2014: 211-12) sees both *bḫnw* and *dḳyt* referring to the same site, while Tukh el-Qaramus acted as one of the eastern military bases of the Libyan Chiefs. Another object from the reign of Shoshenq III from Tukh el-Qaramus was a faience vessel (Cairo CG 3842) from the temple area (Jansen-Winkeln, 2007b: 20).

ID: ThIP_LE.67	**GEOREF:** NA	
ArabicNAME: NA	**AEN_Hiero:** 	**AEN_Trans:** *wrt*
SFunc: ThIP_LE.67.1 Domestic ThIP_LE.67.2 NA ThIP_LE.67.3 NA ThIP_LE.67.4 NA	**Discussion:** See entry for Tukh el-Qaramus that discusses the possibility of this being a settlement somewhere in the eastern Delta related to the man described on the Piankhy stela as *pn-tꜣ-wrt*. Another settlement in the eastern delta with the name of *tꜣ-wrt* is not known, there is only a region called *wryt* in the region of Tanis but this is only noted in the Ramesside Period and no links between the two toponyms can be provided (Gomaà, 1974: 107-8). If both and are the names of cities the question has to be proposed to what extent this has on the effect of political geography for the time of the invasion of Piankhy (Grimal, 1981: 157, no. 472). It would assume that the Eastern Delta was much more fragmented than was previously thought.	

ID: ThIP_LE.68	**GEOREF:** 30°42'29.86"N 31°37'48.14"E	
ArabicNAME: Horbeit	**AEN_Hiero:**	**AEN_Trans:** *šdnw*
SFunc: ThIP_LE.68.1 Domestic ThIP_LE.68.2 NA ThIP_LE.68.3 NA ThIP_LE.68.4 NA	**Discussion:** The ancient settlement of *šdnw* the classical Pharbaitos is poorly known for the Third Intermediate Period, but it had its own line of Libyan chiefs who ruled over it (Daressy, 1922; Kitchen, 1996: §328, n. 717).	

ID: ThIP_LE.69	**GEOREF:** 30°44'43.07"N 31°40'17.49"E	
ArabicNAME: Gezirat Sultan Hassan	**AEN_Hiero:** NA	**AEN_Trans:** NA
SFunc: ThIP_LE.69.1 Domestic (Assumed) ThIP_LE.69.2 NA ThIP_LE.69.3 NA ThIP_LE.69.4 NA	**Discussion:** Ceramics of the Third Intermediate Period have been identified at Gezirat Sultan Hassan (Aston, 1996a: 26; Van den Brink, 1987).	

ID: ThIP_LE.70	**GEOREF:** 30°47'1.75"N 31°48'31.47"E	
ArabicNAME: El-Khataana	**AEN_Hiero:** NA	**AEN_Trans:** NA
SFunc: ThIP_LE.70.1 Domestic (Assumed) ThIP_LE.70.2 NA ThIP_LE.70.3 NA ThIP_LE.70.4 NA	**Discussion:** Some form of settlement activity continued at el-Khataana in the 21st Dynasty as a block of Siamun has been found there (Naville, 1887: 21, pl. 9E).	

ID: ThIP_LE.71	**GEOREF:** 30°47'12.26"N 31°49'26.34"E	
ArabicNAME: Tell el-Daba	**AEN_Hiero:** NA	**AEN_Trans:** NA
SFunc: ThIP_LE.71.1 Domestic (Assumed) ThIP_LE.71.2 NA ThIP_LE.71.3 NA ThIP_LE.71.4 NA	**Discussion:** Some form of settlement activity continued at Tell el-Daba (Aston, 1996a: 26; Bietak, 1986: 271; Naville, 1887, pl. 9E).	

ID: ThIP_LE.72	**GEOREF:** 30°55'8.01"N 32° 3'0.98"E	
ArabicNAME: Tell Ginn	**AEN_Hiero:** NA	**AEN_Trans:** NA
SFunc: ThIP_LE.72.1 Domestic (Assumed) ThIP_LE.72.2 NA ThIP_LE.72.3 NA ThIP_LE.72.4 NA	**Discussion:** Tell Ginn is located 3 km to the east of Minshat Abu Omar, and surface survey found Third Intermediate Period ceramics of an undefined dynastic phase (EES Delta Survey, Tell Ginn, EES 203, 2016).	

ID: ThIP_LE.73	**GEOREF:** 30°57'56.01"N 32°25'25.16"E	
ArabicNAME: Tell el-Ghaba	**AEN_Hiero:** NA	**AEN_Trans:** NA
SFunc: ThIP_LE.73.1 Domestic ThIP_LE.73.2 NA ThIP_LE.73.3 NA ThIP_LE.73.4 NA	**Discussion:** A Third Intermediate Period settlement has been identified at Tell el-Ghaba (Lupo, 2015). For a discussion on the material culture from Tell el-Ghaba see relevant sections in Chapter 6.	

ID: ThIP_LE.74	**GEOREF:** 30°56'14.20"N 32°22'31.83"E

ArabicNAME: Tell Heboua	**AEN_Hiero:**	**AEN_Trans:** *pr ḫtm n iꜣrw*
SFunc: ThIP_LE.74.1 Domestic ThIP_LE.74.2 NA ThIP_LE.74.3 Military ThIP_LE.74.4 NA	**Discussion:** *pr ḫtm n iꜣrw* is listed on the Onomasticon of Amenemope (Gardiner, 1947: II, 202-3, *On.Am.*419). This toponym can now be identified with the modern Tell Heboua (El-Maksoud, 1987; 1998).	

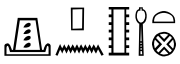
ID: ThIP_LE.75	**GEOREF:** 31° 4'44.24"N 31°45'57.85"E	
ArabicNAME: Tell Buweib	**AEN_Hiero:** NA	**AEN_Trans:** NA
SFunc: ThIP_LE.75.1 Domestic ThIP_LE.75.2 NA ThIP_LE.75.3 NA ThIP_LE.75.4 NA	**Discussion:** At Tell Buweib a late New Kingdom mud brick temple was identified. The temple was founded at a low level and the presence of the temple may have been the primary factor in the creation of the settlement on the mound in which it is now buried. There was an accumulation of collapse and erosion of the temples brickwork and above this accumulation were fills of Late Third Intermediate Period ceramics which date the abandonment of the temple (EES Delta Survey, Tell Buweib, EES 160, 2016).	

ID: ThIP_LE.76	**GEOREF:** 30°47'1.10"N 31°28'2.76"E	
ArabicNAME: Barakim	**AEN_Hiero:** NA	**AEN_Trans:** NA
SFunc: ThIP_LE.76.1 Domestic (Assumed) ThIP_LE.76.2 NA ThIP_LE.76.3 NA ThIP_LE.76.4 NA	**Discussion:** Surface surveys of the site have identified Third Intermediate Period ceramics (EES Delta Survey, Barakim, EES 497, 2016).	

ID: ThIP_LE.77	**GEOREF:** NA

ArabicNAME: NA	**AEN_Hiero:**	**AEN_Trans:** *pr-grr*
SFunc: ThIP_LE.77.1 Domestic ThIP_LE.77.2 NA ThIP_LE.77.3 NA ThIP_LE.77.4 NA	**Discussion:** This place name is mentioned on a demotic papyrus in the museum of Cairo (Cairo Mus. 31169) (Daressy, 1910-1911: 166-7; Gomaà, 1974: 105; Spiegelberg, 1906-1908: 270). The location of the settlement is controversial. Breasted (1906: 440, §878 no. h) identified the settlement with that of Phagroriopolis, known in Strabo, XVII 508 (Ball, 1942: 65, 123, 173, 178; Gomaà, 1974: 105). Daressy, placed it at Kom el-Schuqafa to the south of Tell el-Kebir. It cannot be said if *pr-grr* can be identified with Daressy's identification of Kom el-Schuqafa. *pr-grr* must be situated in the eastern Delta. *pr-grr* was ruled over by The Count and Chief of the Ma, Nakhthor-na-shenu, documented on the Piankhy Stela.	

ID: ThIP_LE.78	**GEOREF:** NA	
ArabicNAME: NA	**AEN_Hiero:** 	**AEN_Trans:** *nb pr bꜣw*
SFunc: ThIP_LE.78.1 Domestic ThIP_LE.78.2 NA ThIP_LE.78.3 NA ThIP_LE.78.4 NA	**Discussion:** On a donation stela from Tukh el-Qaramus dated to year 10, day 20 of the reign of Shoshenq III (Cairo Mus. 11/1/25/13). The gods mentioned on this stela are Amun-Re *nb pr bꜣw* 'Lord of The Ba's'. This was a sanctuary in the Delta in an unknown locality.	

ID: ThIP_LE.79	**GEOREF:** NA	
ArabicNAME: NA	**AEN_Hiero:** 	**AEN_Trans:** *šnwt tꜣ - ỉnb - ḥḏ*
SFunc: ThIP_LE.79.1 Domestic ThIP_LE.79.2 NA	**Discussion:** *šnwt tꜣ - ỉnb - ḥḏ* 'The Granary of Memphis', was ruled over by Patjenfi as documented on the Piankhy Stela. The writing of *pn* in the name is most likely a scribal	

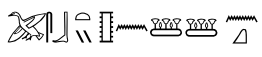
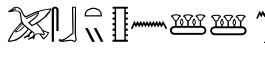
ThIP_LE.79.3 NA ThIP_LE.79.4 NA	error for *tꜣ*. The settlement is probably located as Gauthier (1928: 141) suggests in the region of Saft el-Henna, or simply in the Eastern Delta (Gomaà, 1974: 102; Kitchen, 1996: §328, 716; Yoyotte, 1961a: 133).

ID: ThIP_LE.80	**GEOREF:** NA	
ArabicNAME: NA	**AEN_Hiero:**	**AEN_Trans:** *wsi n pt*
SFunc: ThIP_LE.80.1 Domestic ThIP_LE.80.2 NA ThIP_LE.80.3 Military ThIP_LE.80.4 NA	**Discussion:** On a 22nd to 24th Dynasty statue (Cairo CG 39217) of Djedbastefankh (Barta, 1968: 180; Daressy, 1905: 302-3: II, pl. LVII; Jansen-Winkeln, 2007b: 421-22; Lange, H., 1925: 20) the toponym *wsi n pt* (lit. Window of Heaven) is recorded (Meeks, 2006: 109). The statue owner is recorded as the Infantry Commander of *wsi-n-pt* indicating its role as a military settlement in the Eastern Delta.	

ID: ThIP_LE.81	**GEOREF:** NA	
ArabicNAME: NA	**AEN_Hiero:**	**AEN_Trans:** *kꜣḥnỉ*
SFunc: ThIP_LE.81.1 Domestic ThIP_LE.81.2 NA ThIP_LE.81.3 NA ThIP_LE.81.4 NA	**Discussion:** To the south of the settlement of Athribis in the Delta was the toponym of *kꜣḥnỉ*. The location of this toponym is likely to be equated with the modern settlement of Qaha about halfway between Cairo and Benha, or at the village of Kafr Muies 5 km to the south of Athribis, however these suggestions are not supported (Gauthier, 1928: 192; Gomaà, 1974).	

ID: ThIP_LE.82	**GEOREF:** NA	
ArabicNAME: NA	**AEN_Hiero:**	**AEN_Trans:** *ḫpw*
SFunc: ThIP_LE.82.1 Domestic ThIP_LE.82.2 NA ThIP_LE.82.3 NA	**Discussion:** *ḫpw* 'Khapu' was a settlement that rose to prominence in the 21st Dynasty and was most likely located in the region of Tanis. For a discussion of Khapu and the District of Khapu see (ThIP_GeoZon.11).	

ThIP_LE.82.4 NA	

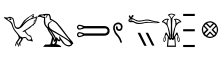
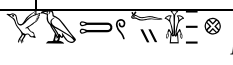
ID: ThIP_LE.83	**GEOREF:** NA	
ArabicNAME: NA	**AEN_Hiero:** 	**AEN_Trans:** *pꜣ-sbtẏ-n-ššnḳ*
SFunc: ThIP_LE.83.1 Domestic ThIP_LE.83.2 NA ThIP_LE.83.3 Military ThIP_LE.83.4 NA	**Discussion:** In the reign of Shoshenq III, one of his sons Bakennefi A, who is known from a stela found near Heliopolis mentions the foundation of  *pꜣ-sbtẏ-n-ššnḳ* 'The Wall of Shoshenq' (Daressy, 1916b: 61-2; Kitchen, 1996: §305). The use of the noun *sbty* (Wb IV, 95.10-96.4) has the meaning of 'wall' or 'fortification'. The writing of the word *sbty* does not indicate that it was a simple temple enclosure. It is therefore likely that 'The Wall/Fortification of Shoshenq (III)' was a military foundation set up in the Eastern Delta not far from Heliopolis where the stela was erected. The Egyptian term *pꜣ sbty* is rendered into Greek as ψωβθιζ (Meffre, 2015: 375). Arabic place names preserved the memory of these small, fortified, establishments into the form *Saft* (Yoyotte, 1963: 106-114). There are several instances of the Arabic toponym Saft in Middle Egypt that relates to ancient military centres (Meffre, 2015: 375-6) and two such locations are known with the toponym *Saft* in the Nile Delta. They are Saft el-Laban on the west bank of the Nile to the south of Imbaba in the Giza Governate, and the site of Saft el-Henna located to the south east of Bubastis and near the entrance of the Wadi Tumilat. The location of Saft el-Henna in the entrance to the Wadi Tumilat would have provided a strong strategic location for the control of this access point into the Eastern Delta. Three statues of non-royal individuals come from Saft el-Henna that are dated to the 22nd to 24th Dynasty. The first was a statue of the General Senwaset (Cairo, JE 46600) (+Munich ÄS 6296) (Daressy, 1920: 123-8; Davoli, 1993; 2001: 35-6 (4) tav. 8; Jansen-Winkeln, 2007b: 418-20)	

	dated to the 22nd Dynasty (Davoli, 1993) the second was a scribe statue of the General Hor, the son of Senwaset (Cairo, JE 41664), (Daressy, 1911: 142-4; Davoli, 2001: 36 (5) tav. 9; Jansen-Winkeln, 2007b: 420), while the third statue was a block statue of Mehnefertum (Louvre N.3670) (Jansen-Winkeln, 2007b: 421; Schulz, 1992: 594). Further material comes from 25th Dynasty activity at Saft el-Henna with a seated figure of Kheru (Sammlung Weill) (Davoli, 2001: 42-3 (13); Jansen-Winkeln, 2009: 388; Schumacher, 1988, 199; 202-203; 222; Weill, 1914: 95-7), and an unnamed block statue (Jerusalem 67.30.426) (earlier, Cairo CG 535) (Borchardt, 1925: 85-6; Daressy, 1898: 76-77 (1); Davoli, 2001: 36-7 (6) tav. X; Giveon, 1975: 19-21; pls 9-12; Jansen-Winkeln, 2009: 388-9). Saft el-Henna preserves the remains of a burial ground dated to the Third Intermediate Period but it was too poorly published to define phases of burial activity further (Aston, 2009a: 71-72). The statue of Senwaset lists several military titles, while his son Hor is named as general indicating that the site of Saft el-Henna at this period was the home to several military personal. None of the associated texts mention the toponym of 'The Wall of Shoshenq (III)' in association with the Saft el-Henna. In conclusion, the presence of military personal being present at Saft el-Henna in the period of Shoshenq III, the strategic location in relation to the Wadi Tumilat, and the single association of the term Saft in the Eastern Delta with preserved Third Intermediate Period remains would strongly argue for 'The Wall of Shoshenq III' being located at, or near Saft el-Henna, but as this cannot be confirmed the location has been given a unique identifier.

1.4 Geographical Zones and Geological and Hydrological Feature Locations

ID: ThIP_GeoZone.1	**REG:** 3rd UE Nome

ArabicNAME: Edfu	**AEN_Hiero:**	**AEN_Trans:** *bḥd.t*
SFunc: Collection of Districts (Wider District of Edfu)	**Discussion:** *bḥd.t* is the overall name for the settlement and its districts at Edfu.	

ID: ThIP_GeoZone.2	**REG:** North East Nile Delta	
ArabicNAME: The Ballah Lake Region	**AEN_Hiero:** 	**AEN_Trans:** *p3-ṯwf*
SFunc: Geographical Region	**Discussion:** The toponym  *p3-ṯwf* 'The Papyrus Marshes' (Gardiner, 1947: II, 201, *On.Am.*418; Gauthier, 1929: 72) is recorded on the 21st Dynasty Onomasticon of Amenemope. The toponym is recorded earlier in the 19th Dynasty on pChester Beatty II (*P.BM EA* 10682). The Nile Valley is compared to a large Ox who is 'Standing in Tell el-Balamun and the top of its tail rests upon the Papyrus Marshes'. The toponym is therefore likely to indicate a region standing in between the site of Tell el-Balamun and the Mediterranean Coast, probably that of Lake Menzaleh as indicated by a eulogy to the settlement of Piramessse (*P.Anastasi* III, 2, 11-2) while other texts indicate a more restricted area in the Menzaleh region (*P.Sallier* I.4, 9; *P.Anastasi* VIII, 3,3f) (Gardiner, 1947:201). The Papyrus Marshes have been associated with the Hebrew *yām sûp* or the Re(d) Sea of the biblical Exodus tradition (Exodus 14 and 15). The etymological relationship between these two locations has been confirmed (Gardiner, 1947: II, 201; Hoffmeier and Moshier, 2006: 169; Muchiki, 1999: 251-2; Müller, M., 1888: 467-77; Ward, 1974: 339-49). The Papyrus Marshes is written in association with the site of Tjaru/Sile which is located at Tell Heboua in the northern Sinai (El-Maksoud, 1987: 13-16; 1998: 61-5; Hoffmeier and Moshier, 2006: 170-1), and therefore must be in close proximity to each other. The writing of The Papyrus Marshes with the settlement determinative	

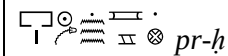
	indicates a circumscribed topographical area (Gardiner, 1947: II, 201), a theory that is rejected by Vervenne (1995: 403-29) who states that it can refer to more than one place where there was papyrus growth. New linguistic evidence now supports the identification of The Papyrus Marshes with the Ballah Lakes (Hoffmeier and Moshier, 2006: 170-1). The ancient name is preserved in the modern site of Tell Abu Sefeh, the site that was likely the Ptolemaic-Roman Sile (El-Maksoud, 1998: 61-5; Hoffmeier and Moshier, 2006: 170). Arabic place names often preserve some variation of the original ancient toponym, but this is not the case with Tell Abu Sefah and Sile. Linguistic evidence shows that Abu Sefeh preserved the name of the ancient lake (Ballah) adjacent to Sile, i.e. The Papyrus Marshes.

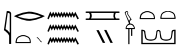
ID: ThIP_GeoZon.3	**RG:** In the Mendesian hinterland, near the site of Tell Tebilla	
ArabicNAME: NA	**AEN_Hiero:**	**AEN_Trans:** *ww r⊂nfr*
SFunc: Settlement hinterland	**Discussion:** The *ww* 'district' documented in Piankhy in relation to the settlement of *r⊂nfr* is likely to indicate the area around the site of Tell Tebilla(ThIP_LE.35). The district is also documented on a 22nd to 24th Dynasty block (Cairo TN 25/11/18/6) of a King Hedjkhepere (Jansen-Winkeln, 2007b: 411; Urk III, 11 (19), 45, 114).	

ID: ThIP_GeoZon.4	**RG:** In the region of Tell Atrib	
ArabicNAME: NA	**AEN_Hiero:**	**AEN_Trans:** *mṯn nt spꜣ*
SFunc: Overland route?	**Discussion:** *mṯn nt spꜣ* is translated as 'The Road of Sepa'. Sepa was a god in the region of Heliopolis who was associated with Osiris (Vandier, 1961: 240-1, n. 974).	

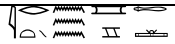
ID: ThIP_GeoZon.5	**RG:** In the region of Heliopolis	
ArabicNAME: NA	**AEN_Hiero:**	**AEN_Trans:** *ỉtỉ*
SFunc: Body of Water	**Discussion:** *ỉtỉ* which designates a canal located in the modern area of Heliopolis (Gauthier, 1925a: 113, 217; Grimal, 1981: §19, l.101). Breasted (1906: 436 n. a) calls it the Heliopolitan Canal. The *ỉtỉ* branch of the Nile is distinguished from the 'Waters of Re' (Bietak, 1975: 126).	

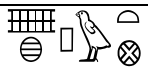
ID: ThIP_GeoZon.6	**RG:** Tanitic hinterland	
ArabicNAME: NA	**AEN_Hiero:**	**AEN_Trans:** *r-ꜣ-ḫt*
SFunc: Agricultural Land	**Discussion:** *r-ꜣ ḥt* 'The Opening of the Fields' is documented on the 22nd Dynasty statue of Gerew from the time of Shoshenq I, found at Tanis (Montet, 1957: 199).	

ID: ThIP_GeoZon.7	**RG:** Memphite Area	
ArabicNAME: NA	**AEN_Hiero:**	**AEN_Trans:** *r-n-itr*
SFunc: River junction	**Discussion:** 'Mouth of the River' is recorded on the Onomasticon of Amenemope (Gardiner, 1947: II, 144, *On.Am.*398-399) and may link to the toponym of  *pr-ḥꜥpy* the modern, Atar en-Naby which was believed to be the entrance to the Nile Delta.	

ID: ThIP_GeoZon.8	**RG:** Western Delta	
ArabicNAME: NA	**AEN_Hiero:** 	**AEN_Trans:** *ỉtrw ỉmntt*
SFunc: River Course	**Discussion:** For a discussion of this river course in the Western Delta see Chapter 3 Section 3.4.2.1.	

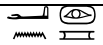
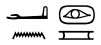
ID: ThIP_GeoZon.9	**RG:** Western Delta	
ArabicNAME: NA	**AEN_Hiero:**	**AEN_Trans:** *ḫns*
SFunc: River Course	**Discussion:** For a discussion of this river course in the Western Delta see, Chapter 3 Section 3.4.2.1.	

ID: ThIP_GeoZon.10	**RG:** Central Delta	
ArabicNAME: NA	**AEN_Hiero:** 	**AEN_Trans:** *itrw* ꜥ
SFunc: Central Delta Branch.	**Discussion:** For a discussion of the hydrology of the central delta during the Third Intermediate Period see Chapter 3 Section 3.4.3.	

ID: ThIP_GeoZon.11	**RG:** The Tanite Hinterland	
ArabicNAME: NA	**AEN_Hiero:** 	**AEN_Trans:** *spꜣt ḫpwt*
SFunc: Tanite Hinterland	**Discussion:** A Late Period statue of a man called Mermay (Cairo Temp No. 20-10-48-15), documents the District of Khapuwt and the associated town of Khapu. The statue is dedicated to the Goddess Merit-Re and Weret Hekau, Mistress of the Palace, residing in the 'District of Khapuwt' (Habachi, 1967). The statue mentions *Per Weret Hekau*, which is the ancient name for the modern settlement of Kafr ed-Deir (Habachi, 1967: 64). The 'District of Khapuwt' that is mentioned by this 26th Dynasty statue has no more textual references and no indications as to where the district may have been located. The 'District of Khapuwt' is the civil name for the region (Habachi, 1967: 35), and the Saite settlement of Per Weret Hekau is to be associated with this district. In the 21st Dynasty there is a mention of a settlement called 'Khapu' on a statue dedicated to Osiris by	

	Ankhefenamun (Habachi, 1947) who was the Great Chamberlain and the royal scribe to Psusennes I. Ankhefenamun was buried at Tanis in a lavish tomb (Kitchen, 1996: §222). The statue was found at a site halfway between Tanis and Kafr Sakr. Khapu must have been the main administrative settlement for the 'District of Khapu' mentioned later in the Saite Period. The location of the 'District of Khapuwt' and the settlement of 'Khapu' are somewhat challenging. The find-spot of the statue of Ankhefenamun mentioning Khapu was a site somewhere between that of Tanis and Kafr Sakr. This would place the site in the area of the proposed Tanitic Nile Branch region. The site of Kafr ed-Deir that mentions the district of Khapuwt lies on the upstream section of the Tanitic branch of the Nile proposed by Bietak, that runs approximately on the course of the modern Bahr Muweis waterway. Each of the sites of Kafr ed Deir and Kafr Sakr are to be found in the region of the proposed Tanitic Branch. The first mention of Khapu in the 21st Dynasty and its association with elite members at Tanis would indicate that this settlement came to prominence in the 21st Dynasty or was itself a new foundation of the period, as it is not mentioned prior to the Third Intermediate Period. The connection of the town location of Khapu and its associated district of Khapuwt within the area of the Tanitic Nile branch and the elite members at Tanis would seem to indicate that the district of Khapuwt formed part of large area between the cities of Tanis and Kafr Sakr and onwards to the site of Kafr ed-Deir. The location of Khapu may therefore be in the area of the Tanitic hinterland and most likely in the area of the proposed Tanitic Nile course. Between both Kafr Sakr and Tanis there are only two sites that provide evidence of Third Intermediate Period ceramics, namely Tell Gherier and Tell Iswid South. No inscriptions have come to light that can determine if these Third Intermediate Period sites

	can be equated with Khapu, or of a settlement in association with the wider district. The existence of this region suggests that smaller parcels of land bounded by waterways were an important method of dividing the landscape. These few mentions may represent a greater practice for the way in which land and settlement relationships were organised.

ID: ThIP_GeoZon.12	**RG:** Western Delta near Kom el-Hisn	
ArabicNAME: NA	**AEN_Hiero:** 	**AEN_Trans:** *ꜥn / ꜥyn*
SFunc: Marshland Environment	**Discussion:** This was an area of wetlands or marshes in the area of Imau the capital of the province of the west (Grimal, 1981: §3, 12, 16, n. 17; Kitchen, 1996: §324, n. 693; Lichtheim, 1980: 68, 81, n. 7; Yoyotte, 1961a: 156). Evidence of the environment in the Kom el-Hisn (ThIP_LE.23) hinterland is documented on the Piankhy Stela with the toponym  *ayn* (Wb I, 189.17, 'Canal') indicating either another 'canal' from the Western Delta riverine landscape (Grimal, 1981: §3, 12, 16, n.7; Kitchen, 1996: §324, n. 693; Lichtheim, 1980: 68, 81, n. 7; Yoyotte, 1961a: 156). The mention of this location on the stela must indicate that Piankhy felt it an important enough feature of the Western Delta landscape to merit a mention.	

ID: ThIP_GeoZon.13	**RG:** In the area of the 12th/13th Upper Egyptian Nome	
ArabicNAME: NA	**AEN_Hiero:**	**AEN_Trans:** *ww-n-wḥꜥ*
SFunc: Zone of Animal/Fish Farming	**Discussion:** *ww-n-wḥꜥ* 'The Area/District of Fishing and Catching Birds' is recorded on the Onomasticon of Amenemope (Gardiner, 1947: II, 73, *On.Am.*369). It is unknown whether the site is to be located within either the 12th or 13th Upper Egyptian Nome, but this settlement that was active in the 21st Dynasty could be bounded	

	geographically by the sites of Asyut and el-Atawla as indicated by its relative position on the Onomasticon of Amenemope.

ID: ThIP_GeoZon.14	**RG:** The Memphite Region	
ArabicNAME: NA	**AEN_Hiero:**	**AEN_Trans:** *pny-nꜣ-ywʿ*
SFunc: Water Feature	**Discussion:** The reading of is preferably *dmỉ-pn-ỉnꜣỉw* (Grimal, 1981: 128; Gauthier, 1925a: 169, 1925b: 49). Montet (1957: 37) proposed to read as *pꜣ=nnỉ-ỉw* 'The Place where the innundation stops' where these is a Memphite location dedicated to Sekhmet (Gauthier, 1925a: 31, 215). Grimal (1981: 128) raises the problem that the reading of 'The Place where the Innundation Stops' is only attested later on in the Ptolemaic Period. Grimal (1981: 128) sees the location as designating a geographical feature linked to the Nile, most likely that of whirlpools.	

ID: ThIP_GeoZon.15	**RG:** The Memphite Region	
ArabicNAME: NA	**AEN_Hiero:**	**AEN_Trans:** *ww pgꜣ*
SFunc: Hinterland Zone	**Discussion:** On a block statue of Espekashuti dated to Shoshenq III from Thebes (Cairo CG 42232, now Luxor J 152) (Jansen-Winkeln, 2007b: 205-207; Legrain, 1914a: 78-80, pls 40-41; PM II, 149) the toponym of *ww pgꜣ* 'The District of Pega' in documented in which Espekashti is called the High Priest of Osiris of 'The District of Pega'. This toponym is again met on the on the Piankhy Stela in which there is specific reference to a *pr-pgꜣ*. The location of this town and the subsequent district is in the south of the Memphite Nome, just to the north of Heracleopolis (Grimal, 1981: 38, no. 90).	

ID: ThIP_GeoZon.16	**RG:** The Memphite Region	
ArabicNAME: NA	**AEN_Hiero:**	**AEN_Trans:** *tꜣ ḳ n ṯꜣr*
SFunc: Religious District?	**Discussion:** A fragmentary 22nd Dynasty Stela from the reign of Pedubast I (Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek AEIN 917 (line 3) mentions a Priest of Heryshef Lord of Heracleopolis. There is an association with the god Osiris of the House of Millions of Years of King Shoshenq' in the neighbourhood of *tꜣ ḳ n ṯꜣr*. This toponym has been equated with several sites including *tꜣ-ḳ-nt-ṯꜣrt* on the 26th Dynasty Nitocris Stela, between *pr-mꜥnw* (region of Kom el-Hisn) and Tanis (Caminos, 1964: 76, pl. X; Perdu, 2002b: 25), Tjaru (Sile) (Von Beckerath, 1995a: 10, n.3), and an allusion to a toponym in the region of Sebennytos (Yoyotte, 1988: 174-5). The stela is dated to the reign of Pedubast (before the reign of Shoshenq III), the temple establishment documented on the stela probably belongs to Shoshenq I (Meffre, 2015: 118). Meffre (2015: 118) states that it is likely that this toponym should be equated with the House of Millions of Years of Shoshenq I at Memphis, in the close vicinity of the main settlement temple of Ptah at Memphis.	

ID: ThIP_GeoZon.17	**RG:** 21st Upper Egyptian Nome: The Fayum	
ArabicNAME: The Faiyum	**AEN_Hiero:** See discussion box below	**AEN_Trans:** See discussion box below
SFunc: Geographical Region	**Discussion:** There are several different designations for the Faiyum during the Third Intermediate Period and they have been recorded here. They do not constitute an individual site but a wider geographical area.	

	š ‘The Lake’ 21st Dynasty (Gardiner, 1947: II; 114-5, *On.Am.*390). *T3š* ‘The Lake’ from a re-inscribed Middle Kingdom statue possibly found at Crocodopolis. (Baltimore, Walters Art Museum 22.202) (Meffre, 2015: doc. 138, line.1, Steindorff, 1946: 26-7, no. 42 (22nd Dynasty), pls X, CXI no.42; Zecchi, 1999: 70-1, n. 292). *T3š* ‘The Lake’ (Cairo Museum JE 36493) (Fragment 7 of the Karnak Priestly Annals). Reign of Shoshenq III, Year 39, 1st Month of Shemu, Day 26. Karnak. (Jansen-Winkeln, 2007b: 203-4, n. 38; Kruchten, 1989: 59-61, pls 4, 19-20; Meffre, 2015: doc. 28, line 4; Moje, 2014: 374-5). *T3š* ‘The Lake’: Possible designation for the Faiyum. (Oxford Ashmolean Museum 1889.1038) possible dated to the Third Intermediate Period, inscription found on the cartonnage of a mummy at Lahun (Meffre, 2015: doc. 135, text 3). Also see (Aston, 2009a: 95; Petrie, 1890: pl. XXV, 9-12, 16; 1891: 26-7; Taylor, 2009: 383). Wpt š ‘The Opening of the Lake’ (i.e. the entrance to the Faiyum). Piankhy Stela line 76.

Appendix II

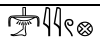
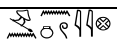
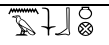
Representative Sample of New Kingdom Sites from Upper and Lower Egypt

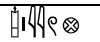
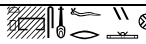
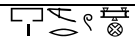
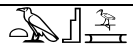
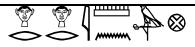
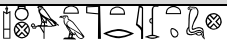
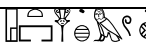
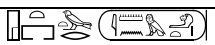
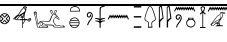
3.1 Introduction

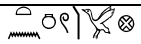
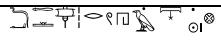
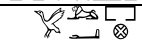
Appendix II documents the representative sample of New Kingdom sites from Upper and Lower Egypt which have been used to compare settlement density numbers with the Third Intermediate Period sites. The methodology for the collection of New Kingdom toponyms follows the same approach as those of the Third Intermediate Period corpus as outlined in Chapter 2.

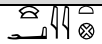
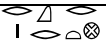
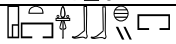
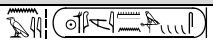
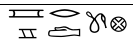
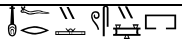
For comprehensive discussions of New Kingdom toponyms in relation to toponym lists and cadastral surveys see Gardiner, (1947; 1948) Otto (1952), Montet (1957; 1961) Gauthier (1925a; 1925b; 1926; 1927; 1928; 1929) and Brugsch (1879). The EES Delta survey website http://deltasurvey.ees.ac.uk/dsintro.html provides detailed discussions of individual site entries for the Delta, and each site recorded is provided with the relevant website link to that sites data. Well-known New Kingdom sites with extensive academic work such as Thebes, Memphis, Qantir etc. will not have an associated bibliography, while the less well known and ephemeral sites, mainly the small Delta tells are provided with a bibliography and those sites in Upper Egypt with New Kingdom remains that were found after the publication of the PM volumes will be provided with a bibliography.

2.2 Upper Egypt

ID: NK_UE	Nome	Bank	GEOREF:	ArabicNAME	AEN	TRLit	Bibliography if Applicable
NK_UE.1	1st	Island	24° 0'55.46 N, 32° 53'40.10 E	Gezirat Bigga		*sn-mt*	
NK_UE.2	1st	Island	24° 3'39.76 N, 32° 52'15.50 E	Gezirat Sehel		*sṯt*	
NK_UE.3	1st	Island	24° 5'4.66 N, 32° 53'8.33 E	Gezirat Aswan		*ȝbw*	
NK_UE.4	1st	East	24°27'7.61"N 32°55'42.88"E	Kom Ombo		*nbyt*	
NK_UE.5	1st	West	24°26'16.97"N 32°52'52.30"E	Bimban			Weigall, 1908: 111-12 [16]
NK_UE.6	1st	East	24°38'27.46"N 32°56'4.98"E	Gebel el-Silsila East		*ḫny*	
NK_UE.7	1st	West	24°38'27.46"N 32°56'4.98"E	Gebel el-Silsila West		*ḫny*	
NK_UE.8	2nd	West	24°58'37.73"N 32°52'20.91"E	Edfu and Hagar Edfu		*ḏbȝ*	
NK_UE.9	2nd	West	24°58'11.97"N 32°50'53.25"E	Kom el-Farahy			Bunbury, Graham and Strutt, 2009.
NK_UE.10	3rd	West	25° 5'23.89"N 32°46'20.38"E	Kom el-Ahmar		*nḫn*	
NK_UE.11	3rd	East	25° 7'7.80"N 32°47'52.21"E	El-Kab		*nḫb*	

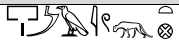
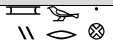
NK_UE.12	3rd	West	25°17'51.09"N 32°30'49.77"E	Esna, Hagar Esna (NW of Esna)		*iwnyt*	
NK_UE.13	3rd					*ꜥgn*	
NK_UE.14	3rd	West	25°23'29.44"N 32°32'30.07"E	Asfun el-Matanah		*ḥwt-snfrw*	
NK_UE.15	3rd	East	25°27'29.53"N 32°32'13.01"E	Moalla		*pr-ḥfꜣt*	
NK_UE.16	3rd	West	25°12'50.92"N 32°38'1.48"E	Komir		*pr-mrw*	
NK_UE.17	3rd					*r-ỉnt*	Gardiner 1947: II, 8-9 [321A]; Gauthier, 1926: 113.
NK_UE.18	3rd	East	25°29'40.65"N 32°31'12.56"E	Dibabeya			
NK_UE.19	3rd				Uncertain reading	*ꜥ3 mꜣ ỉtrw* ?	The Tomb of Rekhmire: Tax lists, Davies, 1943: II, pl. XXXII.
NK_UE.20	3rd	West	25°29'24.90"N 32°29'0.61"E	Gebelein		*pr-ḥw.t-ḥr*	
NK_UE.21	4th	West	25°35'44.26"N 32°27'55.65"E	El-Rizeiqat		*sw-mnw*	
NK_UE.22	4th	East	25°34'22.74"N 32°31'24.28"E	El-Salmiya			
NK_UE.23	4th	East	25°34'59.18"N 32°32'0.29"E	Tod		*ḏrtt*	
NK_UE.24	4th	West	25°43'9.27"N 32°36'1.02"E	Thebes West Bank (Medinat Habu)			
NK_UE.25	4th	East	25°42'40.76"N 32°39'5.68"E	Thebes East		*nw.t*	
NK_UE.26	4th	West		Seat Beloved of Thoth		*tꜣ-ḏḥwty-st-mry*	Yoyotte, 1950.
NK_UE.27	4th	West	25°44'2.49"N 32°42'36.49"E	Nag el-Medamud		*mꜣdw*	
NK_UE.28	4th	West?				*ḥr (=ỉ) ḥr ỉmn*	See ThIP_UE.27.
NK_UE.29	4th	West	25°37'18.83"N 32°32'40.48"E	Armant		*Ỉwny*	
NK_UE.30	4th				Uncertain reading	*rs-nft*	Davies, 1943: II, pl. XXXIII, 2.
NK_UE.31	4th				Uncertain reading	*…t ḥr ỉb n nwt* (?): Within the town (Thebes?)	Davies, 1943: II, pl. XXXIII, 1.
NK_UE.32	5th	East	25°54'58.00"N 32°45'50.05"E	Qus		*gsy*	
NK_UE.33	5th	West	25°58'24.31"N 32°43'56.94"E	Tukh		*nbt*	
NK_UE.34	5th	West	26° 1'12.59"N 32°45'57.22"E	El-Ballas			
NK_UE.35	5th	East	25°59'44.08"N 32°49'1.12"E	Quft		*gbtyw*	
NK_UE.36	6th	East	26° 7'17.03"N 32°28'13.73"E	Dishna			
NK_UE.37	6th	West	26° 8'29.66"N 32°40'14.14"E	Dendera		*iwn.t*	
NK_UE.38	7th	West	26° 1'3.44"N 32°16'56.89"E	Huw		*ḥw.t-sḫm*	
NK_UE.39	7th	West	26° 7'7.21"N 32° 5'47.31"E	Abu Tisht		*pr-ḏḏꜣ*	
NK_UE.40	7th					*ḥwt wrt imn -m-ḥꜣt*	Gardiner 1947: II, 34; Gauthier, 1927: 59.
NK_UE.41	7th	East	26° 3'31.08"N 32°18'25.28"E	Kasr el-Sayed		*nꜣ-šny-n-stḫ*	
NK_UE.42	8th	West	26°11'0.30"N	El-Arab el-		*ꜧbḏw*	

			31°54'57.93"E	Madfuna			
NK_UE.43	8th	West	26°11'23.27"N 31°54'26.42"E	Shunat el-Zebib		*nꜣ mḫr n ṯn*	
NK_UE.44	8th	East	26°20'15.98"N 31°53'27.08"E	Girga		*tnỉ*	
NK_UE.45	8th					*i3mw*	
NK_UE.46	8th	West	26°19'54.57"N 31°46'37.28"E	Sararwa			PM V, 1937: 36-7.
NK_UE.47	8th	East	26°20'17.30"N 31°56'18.39"E	Nag el-Meshayikh		*pr mḥt wbn*	
NK_UE.48	8th	East	26°21'2.10"N 31°56'35.50"E	El-Ahawaih		*tꜣ dhnt*	Müller, 2009.
NK_UE.49	8th	West				*nfw wr m ꜣbḏw*	Daressy, 1910: 64.
NK_UE.50	8th	West	26°10'40.19"N 31°55'37.95"E	Southern Area of Abydos		*wꜣḥ st*	Gardiner, 1947: II, 34, 346B.
UK_UE.51	8th	East	26°11'26.61"N 32° 8'35.63"E	Nag el-Sheikh Mubadir			Lefebvre, 1912: 82-3.
NK_UE.52	8th	East	26°21'51.52"N 31°54'8.20"E	Nag el-Deir			
NK_UE.53	8th			Gereg Ramesse Miamum (Abydus List, upstream of Abydos).		*grg rꜥmssw mry ỉmn*	Gardiner, 1947: II, 35, 348A.
NK_UE.54	8th	West	26°10'15.14"N 31°56'34.60"E	El-Ga'adra (South Abydos)			PM V, 1937: 106.
NK_UE.55	9th	East	26°33'53.44"N 31°44'47.58"E	Akhmim		*ḫnt-mn*	
NK_UE.56	9th					*ḏꜥrwhꜣ*	Yoyotte, 1959b.
NK_UE.57	9th						Gardiner, 1947: II, 44-45, 355C.
NK_UE.58	10th	East	26°52'59.09"N 31°29'53.84"E Approximate location of the ancient settlement of Antaeopolis in 1820.	Qau el-Kebir		*ṯbw*	
NK_UE.59	10th	West	26°50'36.04"N 31°25'19.62"E	Kom Ishkaw		*wꜣḏt*	
NK_UE.60	10th					*pr-wḏy*	
NK_UE.61	10th	West	27° 2'39.72"N 31°19'6.80"E	Abu Tig		*pꜣ šnꜥ*	PM V, 1937: 4.
NK_UE.62	10th	East	27° 5'17.04"N 31°23'14.00"E	El-Khawalid			Lefebvre, 1908.
NK_UE.63	10th	East	26°46'44.94"N 31°33'8.63"E	Gebel el-Sheikh Haridi			PM V, 1937: 16.
NK_UE.64	11th	West	27° 8'41.67"N 31°14'21.15"E	Shutb		*šꜣ-ḥtp*	
NK_UE.65	12th	East	27° 6'14.56"N 31°19'58.08"E	Matmar			
NK_UE.66	12th	East	27°10'19.26"N 31°15'28.97"E	Bisra			
NK_UE.67	12th	East	27°14'18.66"N 31°12'55.52"E	El-Atawla		*pr-nmty*	
NK_UE.68	12th	East	27°21'38.69"N 31°11'46.60"E	Wadi East of Deir el Gabrawi			
NK_UE.69	12th	East	27°19'31.28"N 31° 3'19.55"E	Arab el-Atiyyat el-Bahariyya			
NK_UE.70	12th	East	27°21'16.36"N 31° 0'54.01"E	El-Ma'abda			
NK_UE.71	12th	East	Tombs located in the vicinity of 27°19'42.02"N 31° 2'48.45"E	Sheikh Abu Mishal			
NK_UE.72	12th	East	27°22'51.76"N 30°57'32.19"E	Dier el-Amir Tadros			
NK_UE.73	12th	East	Tombs located in the vicinity of	Darb el-Hara'ib			

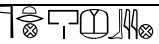
			27°19'42.02"N 31° 2'48.45"E				
NK_UE.74	13th	West	27°12'1.72"N 31° 6'28.58"E	Mankabad		*ḫꜣyt*	Gardiner, 1947: II, 75-6.
NK_UE.75	13th	East	27° 6'0.36"N 31°10'26.13"E	Deir Rifah		*šs ḥtp*	PM V, 1937: 1-4.
NK_UE.76	13th					*fkꜣw*	Montet, 1961: 113.
NK_UE.77	13th	West	27° 9'41.14"N 31°10'16.34"E			*rꜣ-ḳrrt*	Gardiner, 1947: II, 73, 370A.
NK_UE.78	13th	West	27° 6'35.07"N 31°10'5.95"E	Deir Durunka		*mḏd ny*	Karnak goddess list, possibly in Medinat Habu too. Perhaps the southern part of the Asyut Mountain behind.
NK_UE.79	13th					*t3 ꜥnḫ*	Gardiner, 1947: II, 73.
NK_UE.80	13th	West	27°10'43.96"N 31°11'13.02"E	Asyut		*sꜣwty*	
NK_UE.81	14th	West	27°26'19.78"N 30°49'10.70"E	El-Quseyah		*ḳis*	
NK_UE.82	15th	West	27°46'53.29"N 30°48'9.89"E	El-Ashmunein		*wnw*	
NK_UE.83	15th					*ḥwt ib.*	Montet, 1961: 150.
NK_UE.84	15th					*ḥsrt*	Urk IV, 555.
NK_UE.85	15th					*ḥwt iꜣbb-ḫy*	*P.Harris* Grandet, 1994: I, 58, 2.
NK_UE.86	15th	East	El-Hagg Qandil (27°37'37.74"N 30°53'2.68"E) (Amarna Cemetery) 27°38'37.54"N 30°53'54.16"E	El-Hagg Qandil and Amarna		*pr šs*	See ThIP_UE.88.
NK_UE.86	15th		27°51'34.76"N 30°43'52.59"E			*ḥwt wrt*	
NK_UE.88	15th	East	27°42'1.19"N 30°53'58.00"E	El-Sheikh Zibeida			
NK_UE.89	15th	East	27°45'2.20"N 30°54'30.63"E	Deir el-Bersheh			
NK_UE.90	15th	East	27°48'26.73"N 30°52'22.21"E	Esh-Sheikh Ibadah		*n3y-wsr-m3ꜥ-rᶜmry-imn*	Gardiner, 1947: II, 82-3.
NK_UE.91	15th					*iw-rwd*	Gardiner, 1947: II, 87-88 [379A]; Gauthier, 1921: 47.
NK_UE.92	15th	West	27°54'52.60"N 30°45'37.09"E	Jarris (?)		*nfrw-sy*	

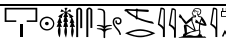
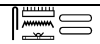
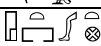
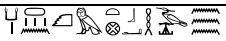
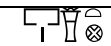
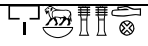
142 sites *P.Wilbour*.

NK_UE.235	A-A	West	29°23'17.17"N 31° 9'31.52"E	Meidum		
NK_UE.236	A-A	West	29° 8'32.13"N 30°54'1.55"E	Sedment		
NK_UE.237	A-A	Fayum	29°11'34.83"N 30°38'35.43"E	Medinat Maadi		
NK_UE.238	A-A	West	29°16'17.03"N 30°53'57.38"E	Hawara		

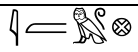
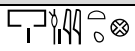
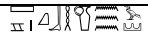
NK_UE.239	A-A	West	29°13'55.17"N 31° 3'1.04"E	Haraga		
NK_UE.240	A-A	West	29°26'40.52"N 31°11'50.04"E	Girza		
NK_UE.241	A-A	West	29°29'28.87"N 31°13'18.51"E	Tarkan		
NK_UE.242	A-A	West	29°29'52.20"N 31°14'7.87"E	Kafr Ammar		
NK_UE.243	A-A	West	29°34'27.77"N 31°13'34.59"E	Lisht North		
NK_UE.244	A-A	West	29°43'44.29"N 31°14'6.73"E	Dinnawiya		
NK_UE.245	A-A	West	29°44'47.71"N 31°13'12.07"E	Mazgunah		
NK_UE.246	A-A	East	28°19'23.70"N 30°45'51.28"E	El-Sirириya		
NK_UE.247	A-A	East	28°11'2.50"N 30°46'34.81"E	Akoris		*pr-mɜʿw*
NK_UE.248	A-A	East	28° 2'40.09"N 30°49'50.05"E	Zawiet el-Amwat		*ḥbnw*
NK_UE.249	A-A	East	28° 7'5.38"N 30°46'21.35"E	Nazlet esh-Shurafa		
NK_UE.250	A-A	West	28°44'9.65"N 30°48'3.24"E	Safaniya		
NK_UE.251	A-A	West	29°12'4.28"N 30°57'7.75"E	Gurob		*mr-wr*
NK_UE.252	A-A	East	28°47'12.27"N 30°55'16.98"E	el-Hibeh		

2.3 Lower Egypt

ID: NK_LE	GEOREF:	ArabicNAME	AEN	TRLit	Bibliography if applicable
NK_LE.1	30°57'59.25"N 31°14'54.21"E	Sammanud		*ỉb-nṯr (t)*	
NK_LE.2	30°27'48.11"N 31°10'53.62"E	Tell Atrib		*ḥwt ḥry ib*	
NK_LE.3	30°52'54.21"N 31°14'5.12"E	Abu Sir Bana		*pr-wsiṙ-nb-ḏdw*	
NK_LE.4	31° 1'40.06"N 31°17'19.88"E	Behbeit el-Hagar		*ntrt, pr-ḥbiṫ*	
NK_LE.5	30°50'56.87"N 31°45'43.56"E	Tell el-Abassiya			EES Delta Survey, Tell el-Abassiya, EES 593 (2016).
NK_LE.6	30°48'17.87"N 31°57'1.11"E	Tell el-Abiad			EES Delta Survey, Tell el-Abiad, EES 540 (2016).
NK_LE.7	30°48'21.58"N 31°50'14.59"E	Tell Abu Shafei			Adam, 1958; EES Delta Survey, Tell Abu Shafei, EES 533 (2016).
NK_LE.8	30°54'2.08"N 31°51'3.56"E	Tell Abu Sulliman			EES Delta Survey, Tell Abu Sulliman, EES 352 (2016).
NK_LE. 9	30°38'17.91"N 31°41'31.95"E	Arab el-Sheikh Mubarak			EES Delta Survey, Arab el-Sheikh Mubarak, EES 586 (2016).
NK_LE.10	30°48'52.07"N 31°49'46.31"E	Tell el-Awaya			EES Delta Survey, Tell el-Awaya, EES 596, (2016).
NK_LE.11	30°47'0.55"N 31°28'1.90"E	Barakim			EES Delta Survey, Barakim, EES 497 (2016).
NK_LE.12	30°22'58.18''N 31°23'9.50"E	El-Birkawi			EES Delta Survey, el-Birkawi, EES 673 (2016).
NK_LE.13	31° 4'44.34"N 31°45'57.90"E	Tell Buweib			EES Delta Survey, Tell Buweib, EES 160, (2016);

					Spencer, A.J., 2002.
NK_LE.14	30°17'32.01"N 31°19'54.04"E	Tell el-Yahudiyah		*nꜣy tꜣ ḥwt*	
NK_LE.15	30°51'35.84"N 31°55'3.80"E	Nebesheh		*imt*	
NK_LE.16	30°47'59.05"N 31°50'10.87"E	Qantir/ Piramesse		*pr-ʿnḫ-swsw mry imn ꜥ. w. s*	
NK_LE.17				*smn t3w*	Habachi, 1954: 515.
NK_LE.18				*ḫryt*	Habachi, 1954: 515.
NK_LE.19				*ṯbn*	*P.Anastasi* VI, 2, 2, and 3.
NK_LE.20				*ṯwnꜣ*	*P.Anastasi* VI, 4,8.
NK_LE.21	30°47'12.26"N 31°49'26.34"E	Tell el-Daba		*ḥwt wꜥ rt*	Urk. IV. 3-4 ; Montet, 1957 :197.
NK_LE.22				*K3w n kmt ḥr bꜥḥ m tꜣwy*	*P.Harris*, 8,5, (Grandet, 1999).
NK_LE.23	30°25'2.15"N 31°33'44.19"E	Bilbeis			Edgar, 1907: 279 [bottom].
NK_LE.24	30°31'46.48"N 31°37'13.42"E	Suwa			EES Delta Survey, Suwa, EES 327 (2016).
NK_LE.25	30°44'43.07"N 31°40'17.49"E	Gezirat Sultan Hassan			EES Delta Survey, Gezirat Sultan Hassan, EES 562 (2016).
NK_LE.26	30°51'11.97"N 31°49'51.62"E	Tell Ibrahim Awad			EES Delta Survey, Tell Ibrahim Awad, EES 535 (2016).
NK_LE.27	30°32'53.49"N 31°57'53.62"E	Tell el-Retaba			
NK_LE.28	31°15'37.15"N 31°34'22.64"E	Tell el-Balamun		*smꜣ-bḥdt*	
NK_LE.29	30°33'12.88"N 32° 5'56.41"E	Tell el-Maskhuta			
NK_LE.30	30°33'14.15"N 31°36'37.01"E	Saft el-Henna		*pr-spdw*	
NK_LE.31	30°34'10.96"N 31°30'57.93"E	Tell Basta		*pr – bꜣstt*	
NK_LE.32	30°18'57.59"N 31°23'47.79"E	Menayer/ Minayer			
NK_LE.33	30°26'57.61"N 31°31'22.29"E	El-Shagamba			EES Delta Survey, el-Shagamba, EES 330 (2016).
NK_LE.34	30°41'59.18"N 31°44'46.57"E	Dimeiyin			EES Delta Survey, Dimeiyin, EES 565 (2016).
NK_LE.35	30°56'14.20"N 32°22'31.83"E	Tell Heboua		*pr-ꜥnḫ-rꜣ-ḥrw*	
NK_LE.36	30°42'29.86"N 31°37'48.14"E	Horbeit		*šdnw*	
NK_LE.37	30°57'15.87"N 31°31'5.17"E	Tell el-Rub'a		*pr-bꜣ-nb-ḏd*	
NK_LE.38	30°56'59.67"N 31°26'10.04"E	El-Baqliya		*pr-ḏḥwtỉ-wp-rḥwy*	Made up of three mounds, see ThIP_LE.36 for a discussion on the mounds.
NK_LE.39	31° 3'25.99"N 31°34'53.09"E	Tell Tebilla		*rꜥ'nfr*	
NK_LE.40	30°58'37.55"N 31°52'49.83"E	Tanis		*ḏꜥnt*	
NK_LE.41	30°53'33.59"N 31°53'14.14"E	Tell Gumaiyima			Griffith, 1888.
NK_LE.42	30°56'3.69"N 31°53'31.74"E	Tell Zuwelein			Griffith, 1888.
NK_LE.43	30°31'21.56"N 31°37'21.23"E	Ali Mara			
NK_LE.44	30°18'18.36"N 31°19'56.05"E	El-Shobak			Daressy, 1920b: 162.

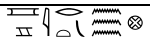
NK_LE.45	30°33'28.48"N 31°21'36.91"E	Tellein			EES Delta Survey, Tellein, EES 521 (2016).
NK_LE.46	30°40'47.32"N 31°44'31.44"E	Tell el-Samuni			EES Delta Survey, Tell el-Samuni, EES 541 (2016).
NK_LE.47	30°40'59.32"N 31°46'14.31"E	Sidi Ahmed Tawil			EES Delta Survey, Sidi Ahmed Tawil, EES 587 (2016).
NK_LE.48	30°41'45.24"N 31°43'1.84"E	Tell el-Shuhada			EES Delta Survey, Tell el-Shuhada, EES 585 (2016).
NK_LE.49	30°45'21.59"N 31°35'10.62"E	Tell Fauziya			EES Delta Survey, Tell Fauziya, EES 557 (2016).
NK_LE.50	30°43'52.48"N 31°43'0.39"E	Sinitris			EES Delta Survey, Sinitris, EES 560 (2016).
NK_LE.51	30°44'31.91"N 31°45'39.69"E	El-Salatna			EES Delta Survey, el-Salatna, EES 590 (2016).
NK_LE.52	30°45'5.24"N 31°44'48.06"E	Tell el-Salumi			
NK_LE.53	30°46'37.31"N 31°49'23.16"E	Ezbet Gayal			
NK_LE.54	30°48'7.82"N 31°44'43.10"E	Tell Awlad Moussa			EES Delta Survey, Tell Awlad Moussa, EES 316 (2016).
NK_LE.55	31°44'43.10"E 31°47'25.87"E	El-Kifriya			EES Delta Survey, el-Kifriya, EES 578 (2016).
NK_LE.56	30°49'16.45"N 31°48'0.75"E	Gezirat Sineita			EES Delta Survey, Gezirat Sineita, EES 566 (2016).
NK_LE.57	30°49'3.05"N 31°51'49.99"E	Tell Zaazi			EES Delta Survey, Tell Zaazi, EES 543 (2016).
NK_LE.58	30°52'15.31"N 31°46'34.58"E	Tell el-Iswid (N)			EES Delta Survey, Tell el-Iswid (N), EES 184 (2016).
NK_LE.59	30°49'3.11"N 31°56'20.99"E	Kom el-Ahmar			EES Delta Survey, Kom el-Ahmar, EES 190 (2016).
NK_LE.60	30°53'54.83"N 31°42'12.52"E	Gezirat el-Faras			EES Delta Survey, Gezirat el-Faras, EES 351 (2016).
NK_LE.61	31°10'45.38"N 31°48'9.40"E	Tell Bahr Mahed			EES Delta Survey, Tell Bahr Mahed, EES 323 (2016).
NK_LE.62	30°51'3.06"N 31°23'49.18"E	Tell Tambul			Daressy, 1914b: 186.
NK_LE.63	30°58'30.41"N 31°23'21.20"E	Bilgai			Gardiner, 1912: pl. IV, 49-57.
NK_LE.64	30°58'39.58"N 32°10'31.00"E	Tell Belim		*šḏḥrw*	See, ThIP_LE.49.
NK_LE.65	30°46'38.50"N	Kom Sheikh Raziq			Edgar, 1914: 279.
NK_LE.66	30°50'51.57"N 31°44'1.35"E	Tell el-Akhdar			Brink, 1986: 7ff, 21; 1988: 65-114.
NK_LE.67	30°52'57.02"N 30°19'43.40"E	Kom el-Abqa'in			Thomas, S., 2000.
NK_LE.68	30°55'35.64"N 30°23'10.04"E	Barnugi			Edgar, 1911: 278; Bernand, 1970, IV, 933-961.
NK_LE.69	30°57'53.96"N 30°46'4.29"E	Sa el-Hagar		*sꜣ.t*	
NK_LE.70	30°51'52.11"N 30°29'25.09"E	Kom Firin			For a discussion on the possible identification of Kom Firin in the New Kingdom see Spencer, N., 2008: 7-8.

NK_LE.71	30°47'44.58"N 30°36'0.49"E	Kom el-Hisn		*ỉmȝw*	
NK_LE.72	30°25'44.67"N 30°49'8.45"E	Kom Abu Billo		*pr ḥwt ḥr nbt mfkt*	
NK_LE.73	30° 7'24.62"N 31° 8'9.80"E	Ausim		*sḫm / ḫm*	
NK_LE.74				*ḏḳꜥpyr*	Posener, 1940; Wilson, 2006: 13-14.
NK_LE.75				*ḫȝs*	(Mentioned on a Stela of Thutmose IV from Giza)
NK_LE.76	30°31'46.53"N 31°10'11.69"E	Quiesna			EES Delta Survey, Quiesna, EES 639 (2016).
NK_LE.77	30°50'0.78"N 30°34'44.14"E	Kom Zimran/Zumran			EES Delta Survey, Kom Zimran/Zumran, EES 741 (2016).
NK_LE.78	31°11'43.70"N 30°44'32.25"E	Tell el-Fara'in		*pr wȝḏt*	
NK_LE.79	30°52'14.89"N 30°52'14.89"N	Kom Hamrit			EES Delta Survey, Kom Hamrit, EES 638 (2016).
NK_LE.80	30°53'30.46"N 30°27'8.42"E	Kom el-Ghuzz			EES Delta Survey, Kom el-Ghuzz, EES 609 (2016).
NK_LE.81	30°43'17.28"N 30°56'48.50"E	Bindariya			Daressy, 1912: 206.
NK_LE.82	30°35'51.66"N 31° 8'33.92"E	Tell Umm Harb		*msdt*	
NK_LE.83	31° 5'34.81"N 31° 2'26.55"E	Kafr Matbul			Gauthier, 1932: 167-168.
NK_LE.84				*ḳrbn*	Qerben (a village in the north-west of the Delta) *P.Harris*, 77,1: (Grandet, 1999).
NK_LE.85	31° 5'8.87"N 30°56'56.27"E	Sakha		*ḫȝsww*	
NK_LE.86				*sḫbt*	Sauneron, 1950; 1955.
NK_LE.87	30° 7'45.87"N 31°18'22.98"E	Heliopolis (Ain Shams) (Cairo Suburb) multiple districts of NE Cairo		*iwnw*	
NK_LE.88	29°59'13.48"N 31°14'56.59"E	Atar en-Naby (Old Cairo)		*pr hꜥpy*	(*P.Harris*, I, 37 b) (Grandet, 1999), (Montet, 1957: 164).
NK_LE.89	30° 0'21.31"N 31°13'47.38"E	Babylon		*ḫr-ꜥḥꜥ*	
NK_LE.90				*š-ḳbḥw*	*P.Harris*, I, 37 (Grandet, 1999).
NK_LE.91	29°56'14.65"N 31°18'59.18"E	Turah		*trȝw*	
NK_LE.92	29°58'36.37"N 31° 8'0.17"E	Giza			
NK_LE.93	30° 2'23.92"N 31°18'7.69"E	Gebel el-Ahmar			
NK_LE.94	30° 8'27.75"N 31°17'9.80"E	Mustarud			PM IV, 1934: 58.
NK_LE.95	29°50'51.88"N 31°15'27.17"E	Memphis		*mnf*	
NK_LE.96	29°34'27.57"N 31°13'34.61"E	Lisht North			
NK_LE.97	29°50'59.38"N 31°13'7.59"E	Saqqara			

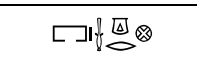
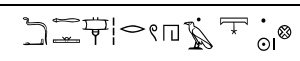
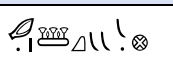
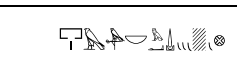
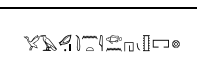
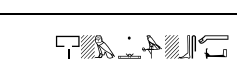
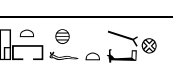
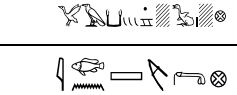
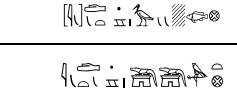
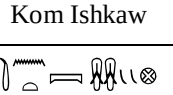
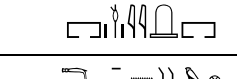
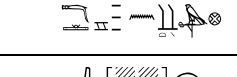
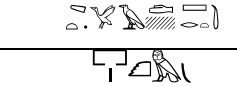
Appendix III

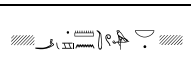
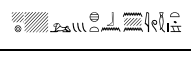
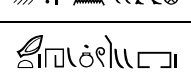
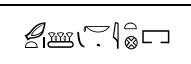
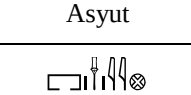
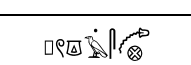
Third Intermediate Period Site Attribute Table

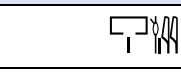
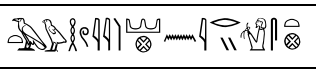
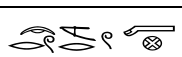
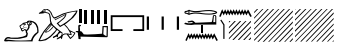
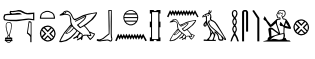
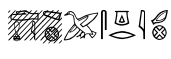
3.1 Upper Egypt

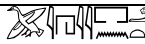
Site ID	Site Name	Domestic	Assumed Domestic	Cemetery	Military	Quarry
1st Upper Egyptian Nome						
ThIP_UE.1	Gezirat Bigga		x		x	
ThIP_UE.2	Gizirat Sehel		x		x	
ThIP_UE.3	Gezirat Aswan	x			x	
ThIP_UE.4	Buweib el-Bahari	x			x	
ThIP_UE.5	Kom Ombo	x		x		
ThIP_UE.6	Gebel el-Silsila		x			x
ThIP_UE.7	Naga el-Hassaia		x	x		
2nd Upper Egyptian Nome						
ThIP_UE.8	Edfu	x		x		
3rd Upper Egyptian Nome						
ThIP_UE.9	Kom el-Ahmar	x				
ThIP_UE.10	El-Kab	x		x		
PPR_UE.11	Komir	x				
ThIP_UE.12	Esna	x		x		
ThIP_UE.13		x				
ThIP_UE.14	Asfun el-Matanah	x				
ThIP_UE.15	El-Moalla		x	x		
ThIP_UE.16	Dibabeya		x			x
ThIP_UE.17		x				
ThIP_UE.18	Gebelein		x		x	x
4th Upper Egyptian Nome						
ThIP_UE.19	El-Rizeiqat	x				
ThIP_UE.20	Armant	x				

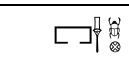
PPR_UE.21	Tod	x				
ThIP_UE.22	Luxor (West Bank)	x		Large necropolis (11 Areas)		
ThIP_UE.23		x			x	
ThIP_UE.24		x			x	
ThIP_UE.25	Luxor (East Bank)	x				
ThIP_UE.26	Naga el-Medamud	x				
ThIP_UE.27		x				
5th Upper Egyptian Nome						
ThIP_UE.28	Higazeh	x			x	
ThIP_UE.29	Qus	x				
PPR_UE.30	Tukh	x				
ThIP_UE.31	Quft	x				
ThIP_UE.32		x				
6th Upper Egyptian Nome						
ThIP_UE.33	Dendera	x		x (Animal)		
7th Upper Egyptian Nome						
ThIP_UE.34	Kasr el-Sayed	x				
ThIP_UE.35		x				
ThIP_UE.36	Huw	x				
ThIP_UE.37		x				
ThIP_UE.38	Abu Tisht	x				
8th Upper Egyptian Nome						
ThIP_UE.39		x				
ThIP_UE.40	Shunat el-Zebib	x				
ThIP_UE.41	Nag el-Meshayikh	x				
ThIP_UE.42	El-Arab el-Madfuna		x	x		
ThIP_UE.43	Girga	x				

ThIP_UE.44	el-Ahawaih	x		x	x	
9th Upper Egyptian Nome						
ThIP_UE.45	El Menshah	x				
ThIP_UE.46	Akhmim	x		x		
ThIP_UE.47		x				
ThIP_UE.48		x				
10th Upper Egyptian Nome						
ThIP_UE.49		x			x	
ThIP_UE.50		x			x	
ThIP_UE.51		x			x	
ThIP_UE.52		x				
ThIP_UE.53	Qaw el-Kebir	x		x		
ThIP_UE.54		x				
ThIP_UE.55		x				
ThIP_UE.56		x				
ThIP_UE.57		x				
ThIP_UE.58		x				
ThIP_UE.59		x				
ThIP_UE.60		x				
ThIP_UE.61		x				
ThIP_UE.62	Kom Ishkaw	x				
ThIP_UE.63		x				
ThIP_UE.64		x				
ThIP_UE.65		x				
ThIP_UE.66		x				
ThIP_UE.67		x				
ThIP_UE.68		x				
ThIP_UE.69		x				
ThIP_UE.70		x				

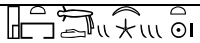
ThIP_UE.71		x				
ThIP_UE.72		x				
ThIP_UE.73		x				
ThIP_UE.74		x			x	
ThIP_UE.75		x			x	
ThIP_UE.76		x			x	
ThIP_UE.77		x			x	
ThIP_UE.78		x			x	
11th Upper Egyptian Nome						
ThIP_UE.79	Shutb	x				
12th Upper Egyptian Nome						
ThIP_UE.80	El-Atawla	x				
ThIP_UE.81	Matmar	x		x		
ThIP_UE.82		x				
13th Upper Egyptian Nome						
ThIP_UE.83	Asyut	x		x		
ThIP_UE.84		x				
ThIP_UE.85		x				
14th Upper Egyptian Nome						
ThIP_UE.86	El-Quseyah	x				
ThIP_UE.87		x				
15th Upper Egyptian Nome						
ThIP_UE.88	(el-Hagg Qandil?) + Amarna	x		x		
ThIP_UE.89	El-Ashmunein	x		x		
ThIP_UE.90	Jarris	x			x	
ThIP_UE.91	Hur	x				

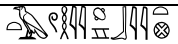
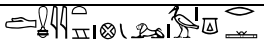
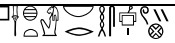
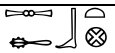
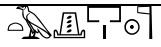
Region of Akoris to Atfih 16th to 22nd UE Nomes: Approximate Boundaries of P.Wilbour.						
ThIP_UE.92		x				
ThIP_UE.93	Istabl Antar		x	x		
ThIP_UE.94	Zawyat al Amwat/ Zawyat al Maiyitin	x				
ThIP_UE.95	Nazlet el-Shurafa	x			x	
ThIP_UE.96	Tihna	x		x	x	
ThIP_UE.97	Samalut	x				
ThIP_UE.98		x				
ThIP_UE.99	Esh-Sheikh el-Fadl (Hardai)	x				
ThIP_UE.100	El-Kes	x				
ThIP_UE.101	Kom el-Ahmar (Sawaris)	x				
ThIP_UE.102		x				
ThIP_UE.103	El-Hibeh	x		x	x	
ThIP_UE.104	Bahnasa	x				
ThIP_UE.105	Kom el-Ahmar	x				
ThIP_UE.106		x				
ThIP_UE.107	Ehnasya el-Medina	x		x		
ThIP_UE.108		x			x	
ThIP_UE.109		x			x	
ThIP_UE.110		x			x	
ThIP_UE.111	‘’	x			x	
ThIP_UE.112	‘’	x			x	
ThIP_UE.113	‘’	x			x	
ThIP_UE.114	‘’	x			x	
ThIP_UE.115		x			x	
ThIP_UE.116		x			x	
ThIP_UE.117		x			x	
ThIP_UE.118		x			x	
ThIP_UE.119		x			x	
ThIP_UE.120		x			x	

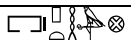
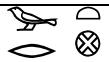
ThIP_UE.121		x				
ThIP_UE.122	 (22nd Dyn) (23rd Dyn)	x			x	
ThIP_UE.123		x			x	
ThIP_UE.124		x			x	
ThIP_UE.125		x			x	
ThIP_UE.126		x				
ThIP_UE.127		x				
ThIP_UE.128		x				
ThIP_UE.129		x				
ThIP_UE.130		x				
ThIP_UE.131		x				
ThIP_UE.132		x				
ThIP_UE.133		x				
ThIP_UE.134		x				
ThIP_UE.135		x				
ThIP_UE.136		x				
ThIP_UE.137		x				
ThIP_UE.138		x				
ThIP_UE.139		x				
ThIP_UE.140		x				
ThIP_UE.141		x				
ThIP_UE.142		x				
ThIP_UE.143	Medinat el-Faiyum	x				
ThIP_UE.144	Kom Aushim		x	x		
ThIP_UE.145	Medinat Maadi	x				
ThIP_UE.146		x				
ThIP_UE.147	Gurob	x		x		
ThIP_UE.148	Meidum	x		x		

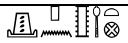
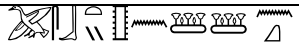
ThIP_UE.149	Sedment		x	x		
ThIP_UE.150	Lahun		x	x		
ThIP_UE.151	Haraga		x	x		
ThIP_UE.152	Hawara		x	x		
ThIP_UE.153	Riqqeh		x	x		
ThIP_UE.154	Girza		x	x		
ThIP_UE.155	Kom Abu Radi		x	x		
ThIP_UE.156	Abusir el-Meleq	x				
ThIP_UE.157		x			x	
ThIP_UE.158	Atfih	x				

3.2 Lower Egypt

Site ID	Site Name	Domestic	Assumed Domestic	Cemetery	Military	Quarry
Memphite Region						
ThIP_LE.1		x				
ThIP_LE.2	Lisht	x				
ThIP_LE.3	Mit Rahinah	x		x		
ThIP_LE.4	Turah		x			x
ThIP_LE.5	Saqqara		x	x		
ThIP_LE.6	Giza		x	x		
ThIP_LE.7		x				
ThIP_LE.8	Atar en-Naby	x				
ThIP_LE.9	Babylon	x				
ThIP_LE.10		x				
ThIP_LE.11		x				
ThIP_LE.12		x				
ThIP_LE.13	Heliopolis	x				
ThIP_LE.14		x				

ThIP_LE.15		x			x	
ThIP_LE.16		x				
Lower Egypt: West of the Classical Sebennytic Branch						
ThIP_LE.17		x				
ThIP_LE.18	Kom el-Abqa'in	x				
ThIP_LE.19	Sa el-Hagar (Kom Rebwa)	x				
ThIP_LE.20	Tell Fara'in	x		x		
ThIP_LE.21	Kom el-Asfar		x			
ThIP_LE.22	Sakha	x				
ThIP_LE.23	Kom el-Hisn	x				
ThIP_LE.24		x				
ThIP_LE.25	Bindariya	x				
ThIP_LE.26	Tell Umm Harb (Mosdai)	x				
ThIP_LE.27	Kom Firin	x				
ThIP_LE.28	Kom Abu Billo	x				
ThIP_LE.29		x				
ThIP_LE.30		x				
ThIP_LE.31	Ausim	x				
ThIP_LE.32		x				
ThIP_LE.33		x				
ThIP_LE.34		x				
Lower Egypt: East of the Classical Sebennytic Nile Branch						
ThIP_LE.35	Tell Tebilla	x				
ThIP_LE.36	El-Baqliya	x				
ThIP_LE.37		x				
ThIP_LE.38	Tell el-Rub'a	x				
ThIP_LE.39	Tell Muqdam	x		x		
ThIP_LE.40		x				
ThIP_LE.41	Ezbet Razaiqa		x			

ThIP_LE.42	Tell Atrib	x				
ThIP_LE.43	Sammanud	x				
ThIP_LE.44	Behbeit el-Hagar	x				
ThIP_LE.45	Abu Sir Bana	x				
ThIP_LE.46	Tell el-Balamun	x		x		
ThIP_LE.47	Nebesheh (Tell Fara'un)	x		x		
ThIP_LE.48	Qantir	x		x		
ThIP_LE.49	Tell Belim	x				
ThIP_LE.50	San el-Hagar	x		x		
ThIP_LE.51	Tell Basta	x				
ThIP_LE.52	El-Alaqma		x			
ThIP_LE.53	Gezirat el-Tawila		x			
ThIP_LE.54	Tell Fadadna/Tell Mindar		x			
ThIP_LE.55	Tell Gherier		x			
ThIP_LE.56	Tell Zuwelein		x	x		
ThIP_LE.57	Tell Gemaiyima		x			
ThIP_LE.58	Tell Ibrahim Awad	x				
ThIP_LE.59	Tell Iswid (S)		x			
ThIP_LE.60		x				
ThIP_LE.61	Tell el Yahudiyah	x		x		
ThIP_LE.62	Saft el-Henna	x		x		
ThIP_LE.63	Suwa		x	x		
ThIP_LE.64	Tell el-Maskhuta	x				
ThIP_LE.65	Tell el-Retaba	x		x		
ThIP_LE.66	Tukh el-Qaramus	x				
ThIP_LE.67		x				
ThIP_LE.68	Horbeit	x				
ThIP_LE.69	Gezirat Sultan Hassan		x			
ThIP_LE.70	El Khataana		x			

ThIP_LE.71	Tell el-Daba		x			
ThIP_LE.72	Tell Ginn		x			
ThIP_LE.73	Tell el-Ghaba	x				
ThIP_LE.74	Tell Heboua	x			x	
ThIP_LE.75	Tell Buweib	x				
ThIP_LE.76	Barakim		x			
ThIP_LE.77		x				
ThIP_LE.78		x				
ThIP_LE.79		x				
ThIP_LE.80		x			x	
ThIP_LE.81		x				
ThIP_LE.82		x				
ThIP_LE.83		x			x	

Appendix IV

Monument and Textual Attribution for Upper Egypt

Nome	21st Dynasty Monuments and Texts	22nd Dynasty Monuments and Texts	Mid-22nd – 23rd Dynasty Monuments and Texts (Undefined Period and Undefined Tanite/Heracleopolitan/Theban Dynasty)	22nd – 24th Dynasty Monuments and Texts (Undefined Period)	23rd Dynasty Monuments and Texts (Tanite Period)	23rd Dynasty Monuments and Texts (Heracleopolitan/Theban Period)	23rd Dynasty Monuments and Texts (Theban Rebel Kings Period)	24th Dynasty Monuments and Texts (No Monuments of Bakenenef in Upper Egypt). Elite statues of that date range have been included.	25th Dynasty Monuments and Texts
1st	ThIP_UE.1								
	ThIP_UE.2								
	ThIP_UE.3	ThIP_UE.3	ThIP_UE.3						ThIP_UE.3
									ThIP_UE.4
	ThIP_UE.5								
		ThIP_UE.6							
2nd	ThIP_UE.8	ThIP_UE.8		ThIP_UE.8				ThIP_UE.8	ThIP_UE.8
3rd	ThIP_UE.9								
	ThIP_UE.10								
	ThIP_UE.11								
	ThIP_UE.12								ThIP_UE.12
	ThIP_UE.13	ThIP_UE.13							
	ThIP_UE.14								ThIP_UE.14
	ThIP_UE.15		ThIP_UE.15						
	ThIP_UE.16								
	ThIP_UE.17								
	ThIP_UE.18								
4th	ThIP_UE.19								
	ThIP_UE.20	ThIP_UE.20							ThIP_UE.20
	ThIP_UE.22	ThIP_UE.22	ThIP_UE.22	ThIP_UE.22		ThIP_UE.22		ThIP_UE.22	ThIP_UE.22
		ThIP_UE.23							
	ThIP_UE.24								
	ThIP_UE.25	ThIP_UE.25	ThIP_UE.25	ThIP_UE.25		ThIP_UE.25		ThIP_UE.25	ThIP_UE.25
	ThIP_UE.26					ThIP_UE.26			ThIP_UE.26
	ThIP_UE.27								
5th	ThIP_UE.28								
	ThIP_UE.29		ThIP_UE.29						
	ThIP_UE.30								
	ThIP_UE.31	ThIP_UE.31	ThIP_UE.31			ThIP_UE.31			ThIP_UE.31
	ThIP_UE.32								
6th	ThIP_UE.33	ThIP_UE.33	ThIP_UE.33	ThIP_UE.33				ThIP_UE.33	ThIP_UE.33
7th	ThIP_UE.34								
	ThIP_UE.35								
	ThIP_UE.36								ThIP_UE.36
	ThIP_UE.37								
	ThIP_UE.38	ThIP_UE.38							
8th	ThIP_UE.39								
	ThIP_UE.40								
	ThIP_UE.41								
	ThIP_UE.43								
	ThIP_UE.44								
9th	ThIP_UE.45								
	ThIP_UE.46	ThIP_UE.46							
	ThIP_UE.47								
	ThIP_UE.48								
10th	ThIP_UE.49								
	ThIP_UE.50								
	ThIP_UE.51								
	ThIP_UE.52								
	ThIP_UE.53								
	ThIP_UE.54								
	ThIP_UE.55								
	ThIP_UE.56								
	ThIP_UE.57								
	ThIP_UE.58								
	ThIP_UE.59								
	ThIP_UE.60								
	ThIP_UE.61								
	ThIP_UE.62								
	ThIP_UE.63								
	ThIP_UE.64								
	ThIP_UE.65					ThIP_UE.65			
	ThIP_UE.66								
	ThIP_UE.67								
	ThIP_UE.68								
	ThIP_UE.69								
	ThIP_UE.70								
	ThIP_UE.71								
	ThIP_UE.72								
	ThIP_UE.73								
	ThIP_UE.74								
	ThIP_UE.75								
	ThIP_UE.76								
	ThIP_UE.77								
	ThIP_UE.78								
11th	ThIP_UE.79								
12th	ThIP_UE.80								
	ThIP_UE.82								
13th	ThIP_UE.83								
	ThIP_UE.84								
	ThIP_UE.85								

14th	ThIP_UE.86								
	ThIP_UE.87								
15th	ThIP_UE.88								
	ThIP_UE.89					ThIP_UE.89			ThIP_UE.89
	ThIP_UE.90								ThIP_UE.90
	ThIP_UE.91								ThIP_UE.91
A-A 16th - 22nd	ThIP_UE.92								
	ThIP_UE.93								
	ThIP_UE.94								ThIP_UE.94
	ThIP_UE.95								
	ThIP_UE.96					ThIP_UE.96			ThIP_UE.96
	ThIP_UE.97								
	ThIP_UE.98								
	ThIP_UE.99								
	ThIP_UE.100								
									ThIP_UE.101
	ThIP_UE.102								ThIP_UE.102
	ThIP_UE.103	ThIP_UE.103							ThIP_UE.103
									ThIP_UE.104
									ThIP_UE.105
	ThIP_UE.106								
	ThIP_UE.107	ThIP_UE.107	ThIP_UE.107			ThIP_UE.107	ThIP_UE.107		ThIP_UE.107
	ThIP_UE.108	ThIP_UE.108							
	ThIP_UE.109	ThIP_UE.109							
	ThIP_UE.110	ThIP_UE.110							
	ThIP_UE.111	ThIP_UE.111							
	ThIP_UE.112	ThIP_UE.112							
	ThIP_UE.113	ThIP_UE.113							
	ThIP_UE.114	ThIP_UE.114							
		ThIP_UE.115							
		ThIP_UE.116							
		ThIP_UE.117							
		ThIP_UE.118							
		ThIP_UE.119							
		ThIP_UE.120							
		ThIP_UE.121							
		ThIP_UE.122				ThIP_UE.122			
		ThIP_UE.123							
		ThIP_UE.124							
		ThIP_UE.125							
		ThIP_UE.126							
		ThIP_UE.127							
		ThIP_UE.128							
		ThIP_UE.129							
		ThIP_UE.130							
		ThIP_UE.131							
		ThIP_UE.132							
		ThIP_UE.133							
		ThIP_UE.134							
		ThIP_UE.135							
		ThIP_UE.136							
		ThIP_UE.137							
		ThIP_UE.138							
		ThIP_UE.139							
		ThIP_UE.140							
		ThIP_UE.141							
		ThIP_UE.142							
		ThIP_UE.143							ThIP_UE.143
		ThIP_UE.145							
		ThIP_UE.146							
	ThIP_UE.147					ThIP_UE.147			
									ThIP_UE.148
		ThIP_UE.150							ThIP_UE.150
		ThIP_UE.156							
		ThIP_UE.157				ThIP_UE.157			ThIP_UE.157
	ThIP_UE.158	ThIP_UE.158							ThIP_UE.158
Total	106	56	8	4	0	11	1	4	28

Table 23. Monument and Textual Attribution for Upper Egypt.

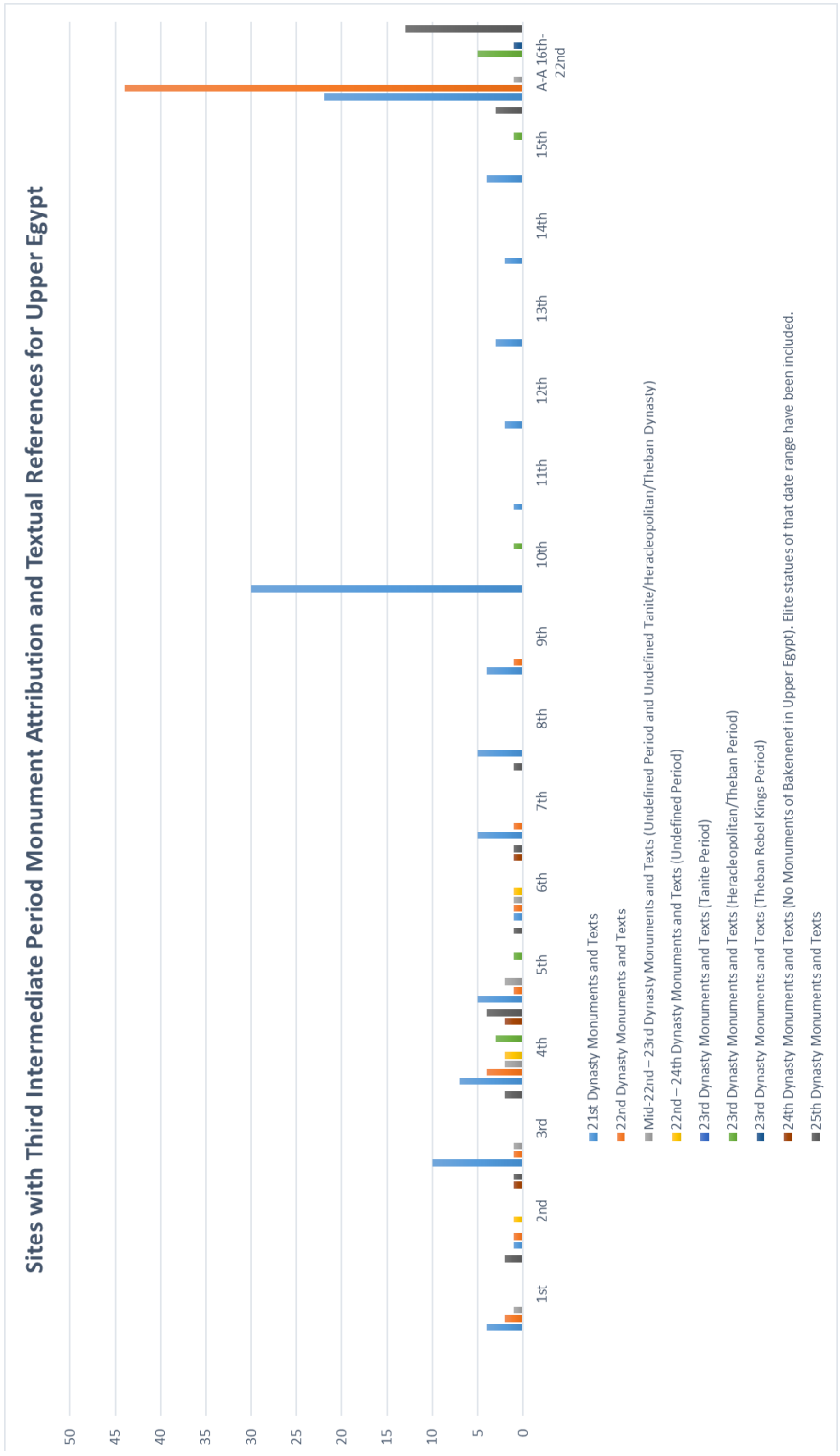
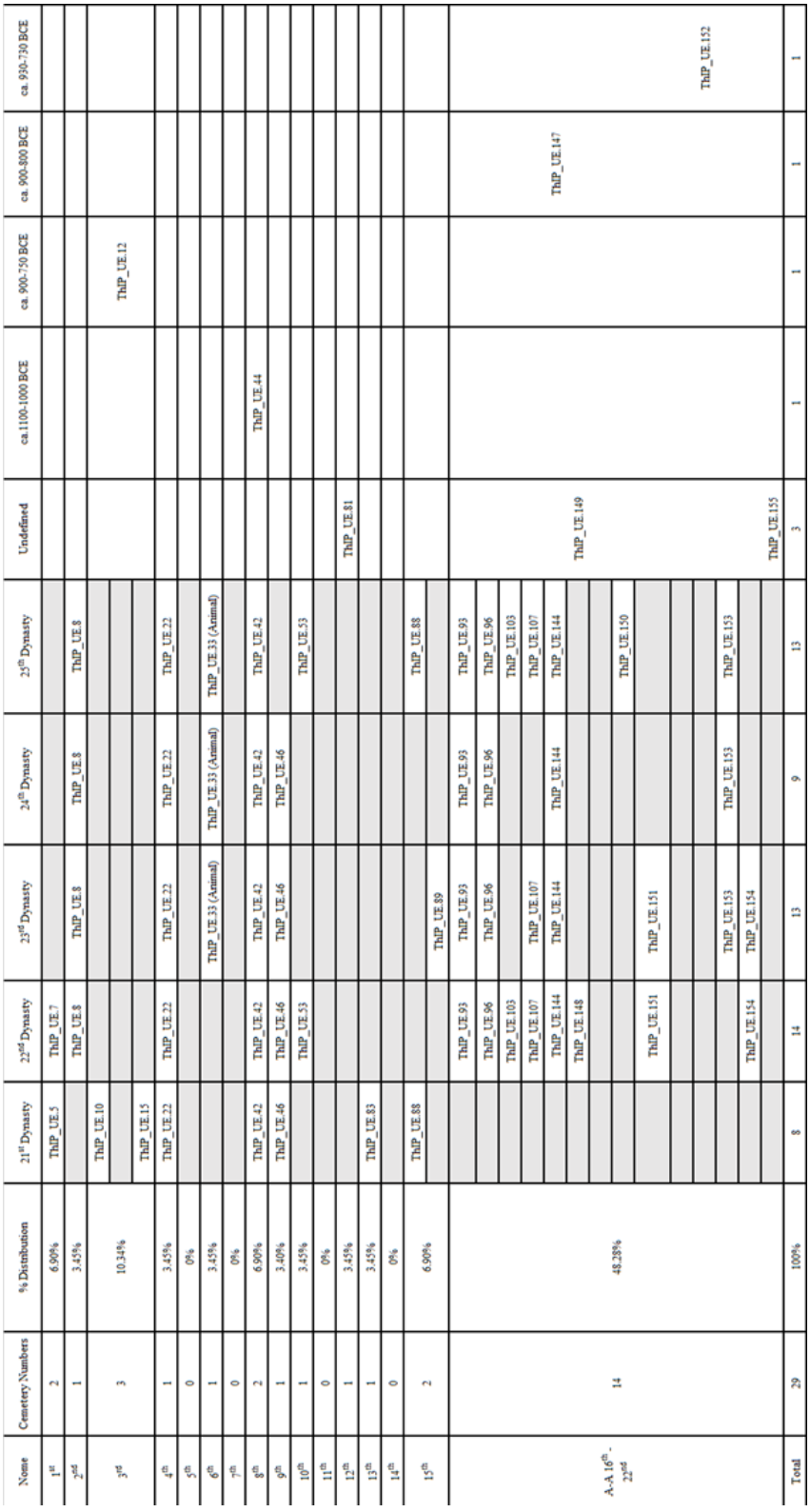


Fig 220. Sites with Third Intermediate Period Monument Attribution and Textual References for Upper Egypt.

Appendix V

Cemetery Data Table for Upper Egypt



Nome	Cemetery Numbers		% Distribution	21st Dynasty	22nd Dynasty	23rd Dynasty	24th Dynasty	25th Dynasty	Undefined	ca.1100-1000 BCE	ca. 900-750 BCE	ca. 900-800 BCE	ca. 930-730 BCE
1st	2		6.90%	ThIP_UE.5	ThIP_UE.7								
2nd	1		3.45%		ThIP_UE.8	ThIP_UE.8	ThIP_UE.8	ThIP_UE.8					
3rd	3		10.34%	ThIP_UE.10							ThIP_UE.12		
				ThIP_UE.15									
4th	1		3.45%	ThIP_UE.22	ThIP_UE.22	ThIP_UE.22	ThIP_UE.22	ThIP_UE.22					
5th	0		0%										
6th	1		3.45%			ThIP_UE.33 (Animal)	ThIP_UE.33 (Animal)	ThIP_UE.33 (Animal)					
7th	0		0%										
8th	2		6.90%	ThIP_UE.42	ThIP_UE.42	ThIP_UE.42	ThIP_UE.42	ThIP_UE.42		ThIP_UE.44			
9th	1		3.40%	ThIP_UE.46	ThIP_UE.46	ThIP_UE.46	ThIP_UE.46						
10th	1		3.45%		ThIP_UE.53			ThIP_UE.53					
11th	0		0%										
12th	1		3.45%						ThIP_UE.81				
13th	1		3.45%	ThIP_UE.83									
14th	0		0%										
15th	2		6.90%	ThIP_UE.88				ThIP_UE.88					
						ThIP_UE.89							
A-A 16th - 22nd	14		48.28%		ThIP_UE.93	ThIP_UE.93	ThIP_UE.93	ThIP_UE.93	ThIP_UE.149		ThIP_UE.147		ThIP_UE.152
					ThIP_UE.96	ThIP_UE.96	ThIP_UE.96	ThIP_UE.96					
					ThIP_UE.103			ThIP_UE.103					
					ThIP_UE.107	ThIP_UE.107		ThIP_UE.107					
					ThIP_UE.144	ThIP_UE.144	ThIP_UE.144	ThIP_UE.144					
					ThIP_UE.148								
								ThIP_UE.150					
					ThIP_UE.151	ThIP_UE.151							
						ThIP_UE.153	ThIP_UE.153	ThIP_UE.153					
					ThIP_UE.154	ThIP_UE.154							
									ThIP_UE.155				
Total	29		100%	8	14	13	9	13	3	1	1	1	1

Table 24. Cemetery Data Table for Upper Egypt.

Appendix VI

Temple Building Activity during the 22nd to 24th Dynasty

Unlike the main Third Intermediate Period site gazetteer (Appendix I), Appendix VI includes temple building in the Oases. This appendix focuses on the built remains of and decoration of new and existing temples and temple elements in the 22nd to 24th Dynasty, and when temple building is indicated within texts. For other royal monuments see Appendix I for documentation.

6.1 Shoshenq I

6.1.1 Tanis

Two monumental blocks were reused in the new gateway of Shoshenq III which cut through the earlier mud brick temenos wall of Psusennes I (Jansen-Winkeln, 2007b: 1 (12.1)). A pillar from the Mut temple complex bears his name (Jansen-Winkeln, 2007b: 1 (12.2)) along with a cavetto cornice block from the Great Temple of Amun (Yoyotte, 1987: 68). Furthermore, two sphinxes of Amenemhat II (Louvre A23: JE 37478 + CG 639) (Fay, 1995: 75-9; 1996; Jansen-Winkeln, 2007b: 1-2 (12.3-4)) which were originally re-inscribed by Merenptah (Sagrillo, 2009: 351) were usurped by Shoshenq I, and most probably came from the Ramesside capital of Piramesse. Of the blocks documented above, only one of the blocks from the Shoshenq III gateway, and the other from the Mut temple complex can confidently be said to have come from Tanis as they both name the local Tanite triad of Amun, Mut and Khonsu (Sagrillo, 2009: 351).

6.1.2 Tell el-Maskhuta

A granite fragment from the temple has the remains of two offering scenes (Jansen-Winkeln, 2007b: 2 n. 6; Naville, 1885: 4, 15)

6.1.3 Bubastis

The only evidence from the reign from Shoshenq I from Bubastis or in its vicinity is a quartzite relief (Edinburgh Royal Museum 1967.2) (Jansen-Winkeln, 2007b: 26-7) and maybe a limestone block with two partial cartouches (Gomàa, 1974: 127; Naville, 1891: 46). A limestone lintel discovered at Bubastis was once suggested to be the joint work of Psusennes II and Shoshenq I but is now assigned to Tut-kheper-Re Shoshenq IIb and is documented below.

6.1.4 Athribis

A single limestone fragment bearing the name of Shoshenq I was found at Athribis (El-Alfi, 1987; 190-1; Jansen-Winkeln, 2007b: 2 n. 7; Kamel, I., 1968: 71, pl. Xb; Vernus, 1978: 58 (63)).

6.1.5 Tell Tebilla

Several temple blocks bearing the praenomen *ḥḏ-[ḫpr]-rˁstp-[n-r']* were found at Tell Tebilla (Edgar, 1914: 275). This is the prenomen used for Smendes I, Shoshenq I, Harsiese and Takeloth II (Mumford, 2013: 62, n. 33). Mumford (2013: 62, n. 33) suggests the best candidate for the builder of the temple is Shoshenq I due to the relative proximity to both Tanis and Bubastis, and the widespread building programme of Shoshenq I in the Delta. The blocks were un-provenanced on the site, but in the 1990's the SCA found an intact stretch of limestone paving, column bases and drainage channel from a destroyed temple which was probably the same temple from where the blocks came from (Mumford, 2013: 40).

6.1.6 Memphis

Shoshenq I built widely at Memphis, for a full list see (Jansen-Winkeln, 2007b: 2-3; Jurman, 2009: 117; Sagrillo, 2009: 357, n. 128). A cavetto cornice block of his was found in the Ptah temple (Jansen-Winkeln, 2007b: 2 (12.8). Arnold (1999: 33), states it was probably from a new monumental gateway or pylon. This new gateway was added onto the existing Ptah temple in front of the pylon and hypostyle hall of Seti I and Ramesses II, and probably represents Shoshenq's 'House of Millions of Years' (Sagrillo, 2009: 357-8). Other monuments include two column fragments (Daressy, 1900: 143; Jansen-Winkeln, 2007b: 2-3; Maystre, 1992: 364-5 (172)) and a carved limestone block depicting a scene of offerings by Nile gods (Jansen-Winkeln, 2007b: 3; Yoyotte, 1989: 33-5) which Sagrillo (2009: 357, n. 128) sees as originally coming from the Ptah complex and not from Saqqara where it was found, as the use of 'Chosen of Ptah' and not 'Chosen of Re' was used in the praenomen of Shoshenq I. Finally, what is probably a lintel from the embalming house of the Apis Bull at Kom el-Fakri is known (Jansen-Winkeln, 2007b: 3 (12.10); Jones, 1990: pl. 6; Sagrillo, 2009: 357, n. 128).

6.1.7 Heliopolis

There is a possible attribution of a block (Architectural Fragment Alexandria N.360) of Shoshenq I coming from Heliopolis, however both the pharaoh and the provenance cannot be said with certainty (Jansen-Winkeln, 2007b: 4).

6.1.8 Heracleopolis

Some cultic activity was resumed at Heracleopolis under Shoshenq's son Nimlot for the cult of Heryshef and recorded on Cairo JE 39410 (Jansen-Winkeln, 2007b: 4-6; Meffre, 2015: doc.7; Tresson, 1935-1938: 817-40), however it is not known if additions to the temple were made at the same time.

6.1.9 El-Hibeh

Shoshenq constructed a new temple to Amun which is now destroyed. For blocks of the temple see Jansen-Winkeln (2007b: 7-10) and Meffre (2015: 35-48, doc. 6). The temple dimensions were 17.65 x 30m and consisted of a hypostyle hall of two by four pillars, an offering chamber, and a bark sanctuary with four side rooms for the cult images, and was finely carved (Arnold, 1999: 33; Feucht, 1978).

6.1.10 Thebes

After the campaign of Shoshenq I in the Levant, he planned to construct a grand new pylon and make a festival hall for Amun-Re, and surround it with statues and a colonnade. The project was called 'The Mansion of Hedjkhepere Setepenre in Thebes' (Kitchen, 1996, §260). Before the 2nd Pylon of the Great Amun Temple a vast court was added with lateral colonnades, which was probably enclosed by a pylon gateway where the pylon of Nectanebo now stands (Pylon I). Fragments of blocks with the cartouche of Shoshenq I have been found in the foundations of the rostrum of the 1st Pylon (Jansen-Winkeln, 2007b:10). By the southern exit from the court, along the south face of Pylon II, was engraved the huge triumphal scenes of the king's campaign to Palestine. Next to these scenes was constructed the great Bubastite Gateway and its side pilasters were decorated on the north side with three scenes of Shoshenq I, Iuput and the gods, while the architrave was adorned in with the titles of Shoshenq I, engraved in large scale. (Jansen-Winkeln, 2007b: 11-19; Kitchen, 1996: §260). Shoshenq I died suddenly, and his works were left unfinished (Kitchen, 1996: §260).

6.2 Osorkon I

During the first four years of the reign of Osorkon I, he bestowed large gifts of gold and silver vessels and furnishings upon the temple of the major deities of Egypt, including Re -Horakhty, Hathor Nebet-hetepet, Mut, Heryshef, All (?) of Heliopolis, Thoth of Hermopolis, Bast of Bubastis and to Amen-Re King of the Gods (Kitchen, 1996: §262).

6.2.1 Bubastis

At Bubastis, an inscription recording the donations to the temples of Egypt by Osorkon I was recorded on broken fragments of a granite pillar in the Atum temple, which was probably an enlargement, or a renewal of the existing Ramesside structure by Osorkon I 600 m away from the main precinct and therefore likely to be outside of the main precinct of Bubastis (Arnold, 1999: 36; Jansen-Winkeln, 2007b: 38-42; Kitchen, 1996: §262; Naville, 1891: 60-2, pls 51-2; PM IV, 1934: 32). In the main precinct of the Bastet enclosure Osorkon I built extensively inside the enclosure no doubt because the temple had fallen into disrepair (Arnold, 1999: 36). Osorkon I renewed the main sanctuary, however his works are so heavily destroyed that the original layout is unknown (Arnold, 1999: 36). The debris mounds indicate Osorkon I began a new construction of a temple house and a court. The gates and columns consisted of granite, while the walls were probably of limestone. The front part of the temple consisted of a hypostyle hall with a central row of 8.55 m high papyrus bundle columns of granite and were probably flanked by smaller 6.71 m high palm columns. The hypostyle hall probably had a higher central nave, but nothing is known regarding the temple house behind (Arnold, 1999: 36).

6.2.2 Memphis

At Memphis half (1.65 m) of a lintel (Munich Gl.78) (at least 3 m) was found from a large shrine of Bast (Jansen-Winkeln, 2007b: 49-50; Kitchen, 1996: §262; PM III/2, 1931: 227).

6.2.3 Atfih

Osorkon I constructed a small chapel (?) at the temple of Isis at Atfih (Kitchen, 1996: §263; Petrie and Mackay, 1915: pl. 40; PM IV, 1934: 76).

6.2.4 El-Hibeh

The temple of Shoshenq I was continued under Osorkon I by the addition of five offering scenes in the north half of the rear wall of the temple (Jansen-Winkeln, 2007b: 50-52).

6.2.5 Quft

Osorkon I added his name to a doorway of Thutmose III in the north chapel at Quft (Jansen-Winkeln, 2007b: 52; Kitchen, 1996: §263; Petrie, 1896: 17, pl. 13 (7); Traunecker, 1992: §9, 62).

6.2.6 Thebes

At Karnak, offering scenes were added to the Bubastite Gate (Jansen-Winkeln, 2007b: 52-54; PM II, 1929: 36 [129]).

6.3 Shoshenq IIb

6.3.1 Bubastis

A block of Shoshenq IIb was found in the great temple at Bubastis indicating he conducted some building work there (Jansen-Winkeln, 2006a: 237; 2007b, 75 (15.1); Lange, E., 2004: 65-72; Sagrillo, 2009: 342).

6.4 Osorkon II

6.4.1 Tanis

Osorkon II enlarged the temple of Amun by adding two pylons and associated courts onto the front of Siamun's works (Arnold, 1999: 38). The temple was now doubled in length at 234 m long. The emplacement of all pylons at Tanis is based on the position of fallen obelisks usurped from Piramesse. In front of the first pylon of Osorkon II stood obelisks 1 and 2. In the court behind was 3 and 4. This court enclosed the two colossal sphinxes of Shoshenq I usurped from Amenemhat II (Arnold, 1999: 38). This court was attributed to Osorkon II by the finding of foundation deposits in the north-west and south-west corners of the Amun Temple (Jansen-Winkeln, 2007b: 108; Montet, 1947: 257-8; 1952: 136-8).

6.4.2 Bubastis

Osorkon II continued the work of Osorkon I at Bubastis. He added a new hypostyle hall of granite pillars with Hathor heads. The higher central row was probably flanked by smaller ones like the previous court of Osorkon I. This hypostyle hall was built in connection with the new Sed Festival Gate, and probably stood at the front of the court which led to the hypostyle hall. The gate was decorated on the front, interior and inside the doorway with several registers depicting the rites. The door width was ca. 5m and the total height was ca. 15 m (Arnold, 1999: 38). For the blocks and inscriptions see, Lange, E., (2009) and Naville, (1892). Osorkon II built a small Mahes temple ca. 60 m north and behind the Bastet temple (Habachi, 1957: 46-55, pls 12-13; Jansen-Winkeln, 2007b: 114-5; Naville, 1891: pl. 41, E-H), and may have been a version of an early birth house as Mahes was the child of Bastet and Atum (Arnold, 1999: 39). A large granite naos was dedicated to Bastet by Osorkon II (Cairo, CG 70006) (Daressy, 1901: 132; Jansen-Winkeln, 2007b: 115; PM IV, 1934; Roeder, 1914: 24-5).

6.4.3 Leontopolis

A large building project may be indicated at Leontopolis as a block naming this king and his officer Harmose was found here (Gauthier, 1921: 23, 26-7; Kitchen, 1996: §276). Furthermore, the re-inscribing of one (BM 1146) of two statues of Senwosret III may have been in connection with this new chapel or temple, which Arnold (1999: 39) attributes to Mahes, who was the son of Bastet, or Sekhmet.

6.4.4 Thebes

A block from the south wall of the northern courtyard at Karnak at the 6th Pylon in Karnak with fragments of 8 columns of decree for the temple of Amun (Jansen-Winkeln, 2007b: 118-9; PM II, 1929: 92 (264); Vernus, 1975: 2:20-6, pl. 2). Osorkon II provided inscriptions in the Bubastite Room of Shoshenq I, north of the barque sanctuary of Amun built by Thutmose III (Jansen-Winkeln, 2007b: 118; Kitchen, 1996: §278; PM II/2, 92 (264); Vernus, 1975: 2:20-6, pl. 2). Remains of a small chapel at the sacred Lake of Karnak renewed by Osorkon II from the time of Horemheb (Goyon and Traunecker, 1978-1981: 355-66; Jansen-Winkeln, 2007b: 119). Reused blocks of a door of Osorkon II found in the Montu temple (Jansen-Winkeln, 2007b: 119). A chapel (Chapel E) was constructed at Karnak North with scenes of Osorkon II and Queen Karomama in Room I (Jansen-Winkeln, 2007b: 119; Kitchen, 1996: §278, n. 422; PM II, 1929: 15 (56)), there was wall decoration added to Chapel J (The Isis Chapel) in Karnak East (Chevrier, 1951: 554, pl. 2; Jansen-Winkeln, 2007b: 119-120; Leclant, 1951: 462-4, pl. 54; PM II, 1929: 203-4; Redford, 1986: 1-15).

6.5 Harsiese

6.5.1 Thebes

Little survives on the religious building activity from the reign of Harsiese, but all his works have been recovered from the Theban region. He had himself represented on the gateway of the south wing of the 4th Pylon at Karnak (Barguet, 1962: 92; Jansen-Winkeln, 2007b: 154; PM II, 1929: 78), while his cartouche appears in the forecourt of the Khonsu temple at Karnak above columns 18 and 19 (Jansen-Winkeln, 2007b: 154; PM II, 1929: 232). Finally, a block of his was reused in a gate of the Ptolemaic enclosure wall at the small temple of Deir el-Medina (Hölscher, 1939: 37; 1954: 8, n. 34; Jansen-Winkeln, 2007b: 154; PM II, 1929: 772).

6.6 Takeloth II

6.6.1 Thebes

Takeloth II commissioned a restoration text in the sixth gateway of the Ptah temple in Karnak North (Jansen-Winkeln, 2007b: 160; Kitchen, 1996: §289; Legrain, 1902: 66; PM II, 1929: 199 (g)). In addition, wall reliefs of Takeloth II and the Gods Wife Karomama Meyrtmut were added to Chapel E in Karnak North (Jansen-Winkeln, 2007b: 160; Kitchen, 1996: §289).

6.7 Shoshenq III

6.7.1 Tanis

At Tanis, Shoshenq III built a new western gateway for the great temple of Amun. This was a large pylon gateway of granite built through the enclosure wall of Psusennes. It now became the main processional route into the Great Amun temple at Tanis. Sheshonq III re-used works from Piramesse (Jansen-Winkeln, 2007b: 175; Kitchen, 1996: §304). The dating of this new western gateway was further confirmed by the location of two foundation plaques of Shoshenq III found in the south-east corner of the gateway (Jansen-Winkeln, 2007b: 175).

6.7.2 Memphis

Three blocks of Shoshenq III belonged to either a Ptah or Sekhmet Chapel were found (Daressy, 1920a; PM III/2,1931: 873), but Kitchen (1996: §304) only mentions them belonging to Sekhmet.

6.7.3 Tell Mostai (Tell Umm Harb)

Reused blocks of Ramesses II were used for the construction of a new sanctuary by Shoshenq III (Daressy, 1912: 209-13; Edgar, 1911: 164-9; Jansen-Winkeln, 2007b: 179-81; Kitchen, 1996: §304; PM IV, 1934: 44).

6.7.4 Bindariya

A block of Shoshenq III was found at Bindariya (Daressy, 1912: 206), indicating a small sanctuary, possibly like the one at Tell Mostai (Tell Umm Harb).

6.7.5 Mendes

Blocks (Cairo JE 38272) were found from a building, most likely another chapel of Shoshenq III (De Meulenaere and MacKay, 1976: 193 (20); Jansen-Winkeln, 2007b: 181; Kitchen, 1996: §304).

6.7.6 Tell el-Balamun

Foundation deposits from the north-west wing of the 2nd Pylon. (Jansen-Winkeln, 2007b: 181-2; Spencer, A.J., 1999: 13-15, 83-6, 90-1).

6.7.7 Kom el-Hisn

Blocks from a gateway of Shoshenq III at the front of the temple of Ramesses II (Daressy, 1903a: 283-5; Jansen-Winkeln, 2007b: 182; Kitchen, 1996: §304, n. 564; PM IV, 1934: 51).

6.8 Pedubast

6.8.1 Dakhleh Oasis

Sunken relief block showing the king facing right and wearing the crown of Tatenen (Jansen-Winkeln, 2007b: 209; Kaper, 2009: 151, fig. 3).

6.8.2 Bubastis

A limestone fragment with part of a fragmentary cartouche of Pedubast may be part of a wall panelling, was found at Bubastis (Excavation Record KF 533, 7.4.1994) (Jansen-Winkeln, 2007b: 209, 479).

6.8.3 Thebes

Other attestations to royal monuments of Petubastis are few and limited to Thebes, they consist of Nile level inscriptions (Jansen-Winkeln, 2007b: 208; Von Beckerath, 1966) and a vestibule door to Pylon X at Karnak (Barguet, 1962: 246; Jansen-Winkeln, 2007b: 208; Kitchen, 1996: §299; Legrain, 1914b: 14, 39-40; PM II, 1929: 189).

6.9 Shoshenq IV

6.9.1 Thebes

At Karnak, a lintel according to Jansen-Winkeln (2007b: 219) with the throne name of Shoshenq IV was added to the Chapel of Osiris Ruler of Eternity at Karnak (Bonhême, 1987: 126 (5); Legrain, 1900).

6.10 Pimau

6.10.1 Tanis

Temple building work was conducted at Tanis with finely carved scenes, however the buildings have not survived and the blocks were reused in the Sacred Lake (Jansen-Winkeln, 2007b: 259; Kitchen, 1996: §308; Montet, 1966: 44, pls 5-6; Yoyotte, 1988: 162-4, pl. 3).

6.10.2 Heliopolis

A temple block from Heliopolis bearing Pimau's name was re-used in the Medieval fortifications at Bab el-Nasr (Bickel, Gabolde and Tallet, 1998: 31-56; Jansen-Winkeln, 2007b: 259-61).

6.11 Shoshenq V

6.11.1 Tanis

A new temple dedicated to Khonsu was built in the great temenos of Tanis, perhaps in the north-eastern quarter (Jansen-Winkeln, 2007b: 268-69; Kitchen, 1996: §315; Montet, 1966: 44-56, nos 27-211) This area was later turned into the sacred lake. From the walls and colonnades of this temple some 200 blocks were reused in the sacred lake. Shoshenq V added a jubilee gateway or chapel to this temple. Only 20 fragments have been found (Jansen-Winkeln, 2007b: 269; Kitchen, 1996: §315; Montet, 1966: 57-61, nos 212-29, pls 28-9).

6.12 Osorkon III

6.12.1 Thebes

At Karnak, relief fragments installed in the Khonsu temple (Fazzini, 1988: 19, 32; pl. 16; Goyon, 1983: 2-9; Jansen-Winkeln, 2007b: 294). A doorjamb (Berlin 2101/2102) from Chapel U in Karnak, southeast of the Sacred Lake (Jansen-Winkeln, 2007b: 294; PM II, 1929: 223).

6.12.2 Hermopolis

425 fragments of a quartzite stela from Year 15 recording the foundation and features of a Chapel (Jansen-Winkeln, 2007b: 294-6; Spencer, P.A., 1989: 57-62, pls 100-110).

6.13 Takeloth III

6.13.1 Thebes

At Karnak, Decoration in the Chapel of Osiris Ruler of Eternity in Karnak East (Chapel K) and a door in the courtyard. Takeloth III is shown ten times in the decoration, and appears in corresponding, or symmetrically opposed scenes. (Ayad, 2009; Jansen-Winkeln, 2007b: 313-319; Legrain, 1900: 128-34, 146-9; Redford, 1973: 16-30).

6.14 Rudamun

6.14.1 Thebes

At Karnak**,** painted cartouches of Rudamun appear on the southern and northern walls of the inner room, but no representations of the king survive in this chapel (Ayad, 2009: 31; Jansen-Winkeln, 2007b: 330-31).

Appendix VII

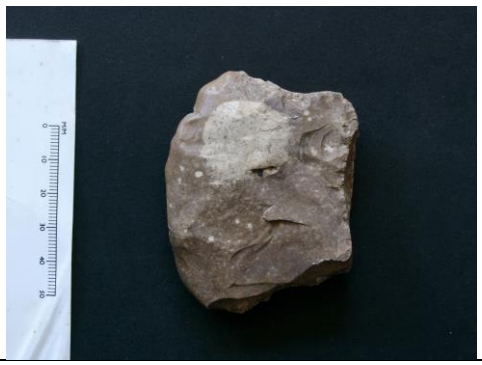
Sais Excavation 5 Small Finds

Features 5001-5009 Phase 1 mid-8th to 7th century BCE.
Features 5010-5022 Phase 2 10th to mid-8th century BCE.

7.1 Flint

5.002	Chips of flint, possibly 1 microlith.	a) 2.8 x 1.8 x 0.6 cm; b)2.4 x 1.6 x 0.4 cm; c)1.4 x 1.3 x 0.2 cm; d) micro. 2.2 x 0.5 x 0.3 cm	[5001]	No Image
5.008	Flint with flat side, double ridge on back and notch at one end for attachment, tip broken off.	3.2 x 1.3 x 0.5 cm	[5002]	
5.009	Flint fragment with flat side, ridge on back, tip and end broken off.	1.9 x 1.8 x 0.5 cm	[5002]	
5.010	Flint or arrowhead, with two edges and point, part of core attached	3.4 x 1.5 x 0.6 cm	[5002]	5.008, 5.009, 5.010.
5.016	Core flint, partly worked with chips from edges.	5.9 x 4.8 x 1.7 cm	[5004]	5.016
5.015	Flint blade, with flat side and double ridges side; one edge is sharp the other is denticulated	2.8 x 1.4 x 0.5 cm	[5004]	

	and shows polish; both ends lost.			
5.017	Flint blade fragment, flat on one side, double ridge on other side, both edges sharp.	1.2 x 1.4 x 0.4 cm	[5004]	
5.018	Flint chip, burnt.	1.5 x 1.4 x 0.6 cm	[5004]	
				5.015, 5.017, 5.018.
5.022	Flint fragment? Sandy coloured with core, sharp cutting edges.	4.9 x 2.0 x 0.9 cm	[5007]	
				5.022
5.023	Flint cutting blade, with one denticulated and worn edge, sharp setting edge; one flat side with other side rough.	7 x 2.3 x 1.2 cm	[5007]	
				5.023
5.024	Flint blade, with flat side and double ridged side; denticulated and polished edge and sharp setting edge.	3.2 x 1.2 x 0.4 cm	[5008]	
				5.024

5.025	Flint core, with signs of several blades taken from it.	3.7 x 1.5 x 1.4 cm	[5008]	 5.025
5.037	Flint core with flakes missing from it.	4.1 x 3.3 x 0.6 cm	[5008]	 5.037
5.068	Flint chip, core visible on one side.	2.2 x 2.4 x 0.5 cm	[5008]	 5.068 
5.027	Flint core stone (?), with black material	6.1 x 5.7 x 3 cm	[5009]	 5.027

	attached to it.			
5.029	Axe fragment, top blade part of axe, body broken away, very smoothed and worn on older edges.	6.9 x 5.6 x 0.5 cm	[5009]	5.29
5.033	Flint chips (x6) of various colours of flint, some with finished edges: one has a polished cutting edge.	Various: blade with polish 0.7 x 1.1 x 0.5 cm	[5010]	5.033
5.035	Flint fragment, with part of the core, but two sharp cutting edges, curved.	3.8 x 2x 0.5 cm	[5010]	5.035
5.070	Flint, with core.	4.5 x 4.3 x 1.6 cm	[5010] north section, 50 cm to west, 70cm down	5.070

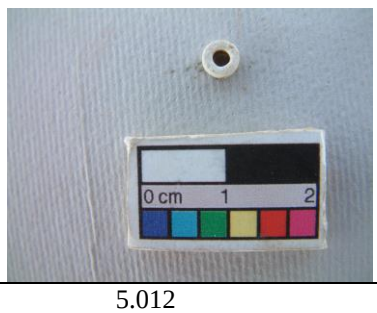
5.036	Flint blade, tip missing, flat on one side, with double ridge on other side, one finely denticulated edge, notched at one end for attachment?	6.5 x 2.1 x 0.5 cm	[5011]	 5.036
5.039	Flint fragment of blade, part of double ridge clear.	3.0 x 0.6 x 0.4 cm	[5013]	No Image
5.040	Flint fragment of blade, part of double ridge clear.	3.0 x 0.6 x 0.4 cm	[5013]	No Image
5.041	Flint blade, flat on one side, converging double ridge on other side; one sharp edge, one roughly denticulated edge; complete?	5.7 x 1.7 x 0.6 cm	[5013]	
5.042	Flint fragment, rounded and smoothed edge, others chipped from larger object?	3 x 2.1 x 1.1 cm	[5013]	5.041, 5.042.
5.047	Flint chips and partly worked fragments (x10), one burnt.	Max: 4 x 3.4 x 0.8 cm	[5016]	 5.047
5.055	Chips, fragments, and core stones of flint (7 - 2 joining), some	Max: 6 x 5 x 1.1 cm	[5021]	No Image

	with worked or partially worked edges.			
5.056	Chip of flint, with core attached.	3.6 x 2.6 x 0.5 cm	[5022]	
				5.056
5.074	Blade fragment, burnt, grey colour.	1.3 x 1.4 x 0.3 cm	[5022]	No Image
5.071	Flint blade, with core; one side sharp for attachment, the other denticulated and polished from wear; both ends also finished – complete.	8.1 x 4.1 x 1.2 cm	[5022] east section, 110 cm to south, 49cm down	
5.072	Flint blade, with sharp edges for fine cutting.	2.8 x 3.1 x 0.5 cm	[5022] east section, 110 cm to south, 49cm down	
				5.071 and 5.072
5.005	Flint chips and fragments, some core stones, some partly worked blades (x7); one orange pebble.	Max. 4.2 x 3.7 x 1.3 cm	[5018]	

7.2 Bone

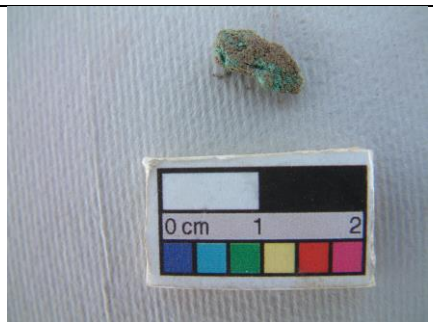
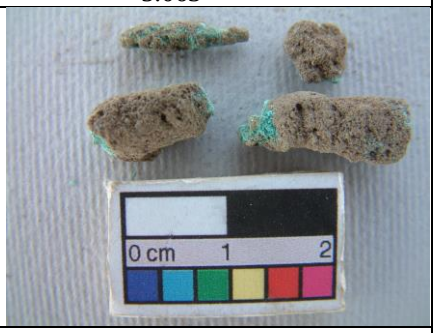
5.007	Awl? Made from roughly smoothed down bone, point lost.	Bone	7 x 1.9 x 1.2 cm	(far right)	 [50025.007]

7.3 Beads and Personal Adornment

5.058	Spherical bead, roughly worked, pierced.	Carnelian	0.7 x 0.6 cm	[5021]	 5.058
5.061	Fragment of earring: perhaps originally crescent shaped, now missing one horn, but maybe the core of a gilded object.	Copper alloy	1.2 x 1.1 x 0.5 cm	[5009]	 5.061
5.012	Ring bead.	Faience	0.4 x 0.3 cm	[5004]	 5.012

5.013	Bead with suspension pierced hole.	Faience	1.5 x 0.5 x 0.5 cm	[5004]	 5.013
5.038	Ring bead, flat, with turquoise glaze.	Faience	0.9 x 0.2 cm	[5013]	 5.038 and 5.053
5.053	Spherical bead, pierced.	Rock crystal	0.6 x 0.5 cm	[5013]	
5.026	Half of a bead, doughnut shape, pierced through centre, Nile silt with limestone and sand temper.	Pottery	2.9 x 1.7 x 2 cm	[5008]	No Image
5.014	Base of scarab inscribed on the underside inside an incised oval. The beetle is completely lost but the piercing hole is visible. For discussion of this scarab and the name on the scarab see Chapter 6 Section 6.8.1.	Steatite with red paint.	1.7 x1.2 x 0.3cm	[5004]	 5.014

7.4 Metal Objects

5.059	Metal object, with tang or protuberance.	Copper alloy	4 x 2.6 x 1.4 cm	[5001]	5.059
5.064	Fragment of metal, piece of wire or part of a tool.	Copper Alloy	1.3 x 0.4 x 0.3 cm	[5001]	5.064
5.065	Fragment of metal, broader piece of sheeting (?)	Copper Alloy	1.9 x 0.9 x 0.4 cm	[5009]	No Image
5.063	Fragment of metal, maybe the tip of a tool.	Copper Alloy	1.5 x 0.5 x 0.3 cm	[5009]	 5.063
5.062	Metal fragments, maybe from small nail or stick of bronze.	Copper Alloy	Max 5 cm long	[5013]	 5.062

5.066	Fragments of metal, handle of tool or wire.	Copper Alloy	2.3 x 1.0 x 0.3 cm	[5018]	5.066
5.067	Fragment of metal tool or spatula.	Copper Alloy	4.5 x 0.5 cm	[5021]	5.067

7.5 Stone Tools and Objects (Not Flint)

5.028	Pounder Fragment, two parts split off originally spherical stone (?)	Basalt	6.2 x 6.1 x 3.3 cm	[5009]	No image
5.004	Grinder or pounder: irregular shaped stone with four rubbed flat edges.	Orthoquartzite (brown)	6.2 x 5.3 x 4.0 cm	[5002]	5.003 and 5.004.
5.003	Pounder, irregular shape but with one flat side.	Orthoquartzite (red)	5.6 x 5.6 x 4.5 cm	[5002]	
5.001	Pebble, irregular shape.	Quartzite	4.9 x 2.9 x 2.5 cm	[5001]	5.001

5.094	Hammer or cutting blade, made from reused piece of yellow quartzite. One edge is straight and flat, one end has been shaped to fit in the hand, blade edge shows signs of polish through use.	Quartzite	9.5 x 6.4 x 2.1 cm	[5015]	No Image
5.052	Red stone object, smoothed disk shape originally? Four fragments – stone gives red colour when ground with water.	Red sandstone or ferruginous sandstone	a) 5.7 x 2.1 x 2.1 cm b) and c) 6.7 x 3.1 x 1.7 cm d) 4 x 3.4 x 1.4 cm	[5018]	
5.005	Pebble, with natural shape of crescent moon and disk.	Stone	3.7 x 2.3 x 3.4 cm	[5002]	

Excursi 1-3: Unidentified Tomb, Mortuary Temple, and Palace Locations

Excursus 1: The Residence of Shoshenq I

The location of the residence of Shoshenq I and the following 22nd Dynasty has long been regarded as Bubastis based on the dynastic segmentation system of Manetho, or at the site of Tanis as this was the location of the capital of the preceding 21st Dynasty and the latter part of the 22nd Dynasty. No known text from the reign of Shoshenq I explicitly names either Tanis or Bubastis as the residence of Shoshenq I (Sagrillo, 2009: 350). A stela from the quarry at Gebel el-Silsila (Stela 100) in the Nile Valley records that in year 21 of Shoshenq I he ordered the reopening of the quarry when he was in 'The Residence of the Temple Estate of Per Iset (The House of Isis), the Great Ka of Re Horakhty' (Caminos, 1952: pl. 13; Jansen-Winkeln, 2007b: 22 [12.27]).

Fig 221. The Hieroglyphic writing of 'The Residence of the Temple Estate of Per Iset (The House of Isis), the Great Ka of Re Horakhty'.

This location cannot be equated with Bubastis, as the town was the home to the cult centre of the cat goddess Bastet and not Isis (Caminos, 1952: 55; Sagrillo, 2009: 350). The entire region of the upper Pelusiac Nile branch has long been associated with the Isis (Redford, 1986: 307-8; Sagrillo, 2009: 352). The residence is unlikely to be located at Tanis as evidence for the reign of Shoshenq I is absent (Redford, 1986: 309, n. 82; Sagrillo, 2009: 350).

On the other hand there are similarities between the name of Piramesse and the residence of Shoshenq I. The location of the residence should be located, therefore, in the north-eastern Nile Delta, but not at Piramesse itself (Caminos, 1952: 55, n. 40; Sagrillo, 2009: 351). Kitchen suggested that the new residence should be looked for to the south of Tanis and on the northern side of Piramesse (Kitchen, 1996: §259, n. 314). A number of tell sites are located between the sites of Tanis and Piramesse. These are Tell Gumaiyima, Tell Zuwelein and Gezirat el-Rimal. As noted in the main body of the text and in Appendix II, both the sites of Tell Zuwelein and Tell Gumaiyima have Late New Kingdom and Third Intermediate Period burial activity on them at the same time as Tanis developed into the Third Intermediate Period capital. Both the sites of Tell Zuwelein and Tell Gumaiyima do not appear to have come into prominence until after the start of the 21st Dynasty. It appears as though Tell Zuwelein was primarily a burial site for Tanis, while Tell Gumaiyima had a sustained occupation from the Late Ramesside Period into the Ptolemaic-Roman Period. Excavations at Tell Gumaiyima documented a large enclosure of Ptolemaic-Roman date but there was evidence that this was constructed over an earlier Third Intermediate Period foundation. No evidence of Third Intermediate Period activity has been found at Gezirat el-Rimal, and, therefore based on the available evidence the site of Tell Gumaiyima provides the strongest case to be the lost residence of Shoshenq I. This residence may have been subsequently dismantled and built over in the Saite and Ptolemaic-Roman Period.

Excursus 2: The House of Millions of Years of Shoshenq I

Shoshenq I constructed his 'House of Millions of Years of The King of Upper and Lower Egypt, Hedj-kheper-Re, Chosen of Re, Son of Re, Shoshenq, Beloved of Amun, that is in Hut-Ka-Ptah' at Memphis. This foundation is mentioned on an oracular decree from Karnak (Ullman, 2002: 564-567; Vernus, 1975: 13-20). Shoshenq I built several monuments at Memphis, while among these was almost certainly a pylon and forecourt of the Ptah Temple fronting the pylon and hypostyle hall of Seti I and Ramesses II. Sagrillo (2009: 357) considers the pylon and forecourt the House of Millions of Years of Shoshenq I.

The Memphite House of Millions of years was made in parallel to the 'House of Hedj-Kheper-Re-in-Waset, which is known to be the forecourt and first pylon (which was later replaced by the 30th Dynasty first pylon) of the Great Temple of Amun at Karnak. A Serapeum stela (Stela 18417, Saqqara Register Book no. 11 in Magazine 4 at Saqqara) (Aly, 1996: 5-18; Ullman, 2002: 567-569) dating to the late 22nd Dynasty mentions personnel associated with the Memphite funerary cult of the 'House of Millions of Years of Shoshenq I, Beloved of Amun', revealing that the cult was still functioning several generations after its establishment at the Ptah temple (Sagrillo, 2009: 354-58).

Another 22nd Dynasty stela from the reign of Pedubast I (Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek AEIN 917 (line 3) mentions a Priest of Heryshef Lord of Heracleopolis. The stele is fragmented, however there is an association with the god Osiris of the House of Millions of Years of King Shoshenq' in the neighbourhood of *t3 q n ṯ3r*. This toponym has been equated with several sites including *t3-q-nt-ṯ3rt* on the 26th Dynasty Nitocris Stela, between Per Manaw (in the region of Kom el-Hisn) and Tanis (Caminos, 1964: 76 pl. X; Perdu, 2002: 25), Tjaru (Sile) (Von Beckerath, 1995: 10, n. 3), and an allusion to a toponym in the region of Sebennytos (Yoyotte, 1988: 174-5), however none of these suggestions can be regarded as certain.
The stele is dated to the reign of Pedubast (before the reign of Shoshenq III), the temple establishment documented on the stela probably belongs to Shoshenq I (Meffre, 2015: 118). Meffre (2015: 118) states that it is likely that this toponym should be equated with the House of Millions of Years of Shoshenq I at Memphis, in the close vicinity of the main settlement temple of Ptah at Memphis.

Excursus 3: The Tomb of Osorkon III at Thebes

In the Late Period, Papyrus Paris Louvre E.7128, E.7856 and Turin 231.2 from the reigns of Necho II, Amasis and Darius II refer to a tomb of a king Osorkon located on the Theban west bank (Griffith, 1909: III. 19 (14), 28 (48); Malinine, 1953: 85-88). Aston (2014: 21-23) states this tomb belonged to Osorkon III, as his monuments are only known from Upper Egypt while those of Osorkon I, II, and IV are found exclusively in the Delta at Tanis and Bubastis. The tomb is not yet located but based on the chapels of Osiris Heka-Djet from Karnak and those tomb chapels found at Heracleopolis and Leontopolis it probably comprised an entrance pylon and two chapels with painted decoration (Aston, 2014: 23).

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