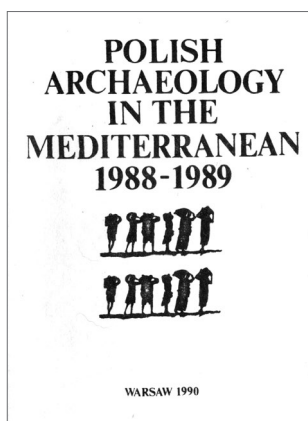


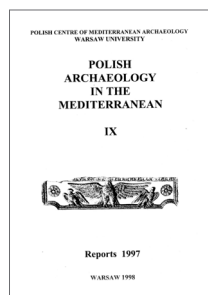
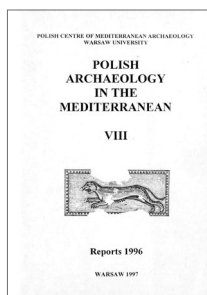
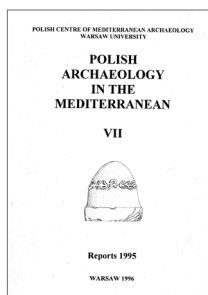
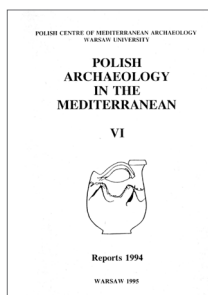
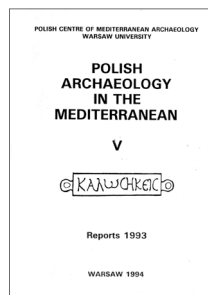
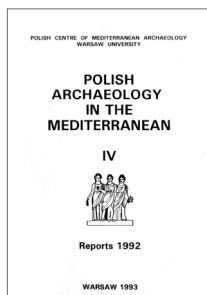
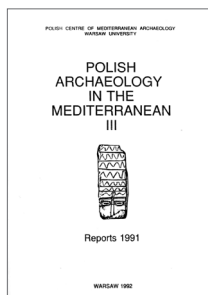
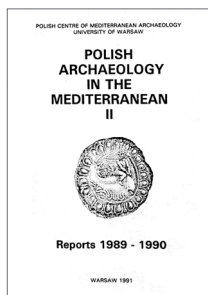
THE CHANGING FACE OF PAM

30 YEARS OF THE JOURNAL

The Journal has served in its primary role of a platform for presenting the annual input of new archaeological data from Polish excavations in the Eastern Mediterranean and the Near East for the better part of 30 years. Nothing can stay the same too long and the journal has also undergone an evolution and transformation in an effort to rise to new challenges while sustaining the best of a long-standing and successful tradition. This is about the changing face of the Journal, the newest of which readers now hold in their hands.

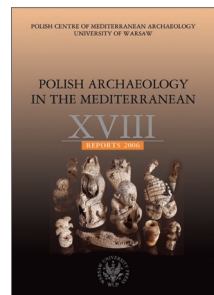
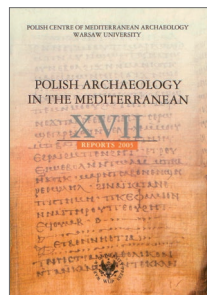
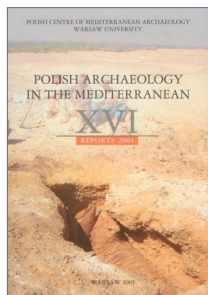
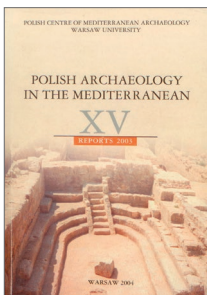
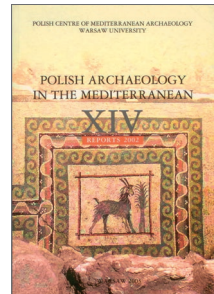
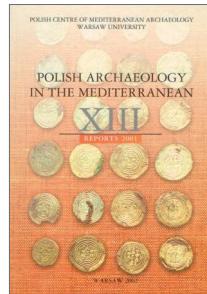
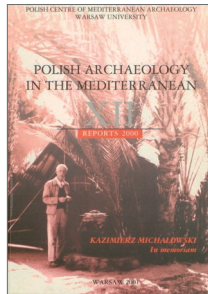
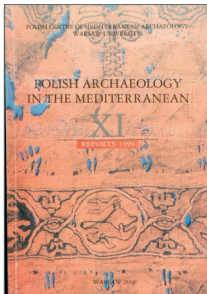
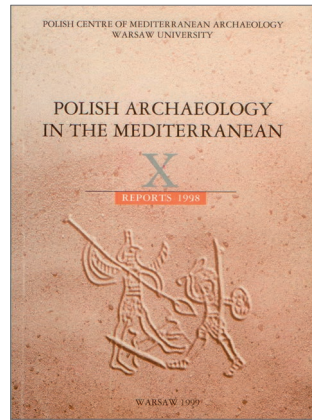


Readers are entitled to a brief historical explanation. Back in 1989 Wiktor Andrzej Daszewski and Michał Gawlikowski, then in charge of the Polish Centre of Mediterranean Archaeology, came up with the idea of a regular publication that would carry reports from the Centre's work (Gawlikowski and Daszewski 1990). That year a whirlwind of political events changed the geopolitical face of Europe and Polish archaeology abroad, in the Mediterranean, which then meant Egypt, Sudan, Iraq, Syria and Cyprus, changed as well. New perspectives opened up and the annual publication, aptly called *Polish Archaeology in the Mediterranean* was part of the changeover.



The idea was simple: all the work, whether archaeological, conservation or other studies, carried out in the preceding year (or rather archaeological season adapted to climate rather than the calendar) would find representation in short reports. The original requirement were 10 manuscript pages and 5–6 line drawings; the booklet, in a small notebook format, was prepared by the University's Graphic Design Department and reproduced on a copier, the first two issues in 200 copies, the third in 500 copies, *PAM* 9 already in 600 copies (today it is a run of 150 printed volumes and online open-access to all content). The cover of the first issue was designed by Andrzej Pilich, updated in the second volume by Tomasz Szmagier. The reporting year in the title, differing by one year from the publishing date (and sometimes more in the more difficult times at the end of the 2000s), turned out to be confusing for readers, until finally the tradition was dropped in *PAM* 23.

The journal was officially registered in 1994 under the number ISSN 1234-5407 (an online ISSN 2083-537X was added in volume 20). *PAM* 7 for the year 1995 was the last issue to be published parallel in Polish and English (the Polish title was *Raporty wykopaliskowe* [Excavation Reports]), the decision reflecting a growing conviction on the part of both management and researchers that English should be the primary language of the reports if Polish Mediterranean archaeology was to maintain and expand its role internationally (Poland would enter the European Union officially as a Member State in 2004).

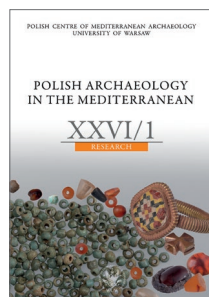
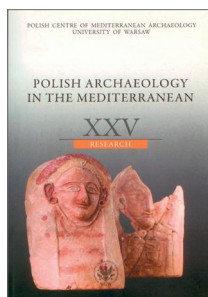
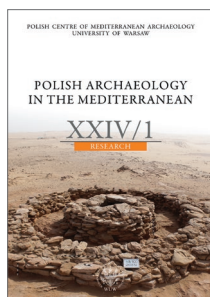
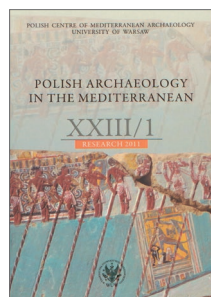
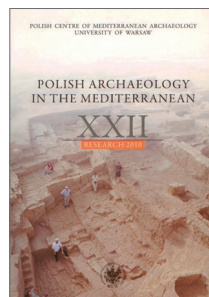
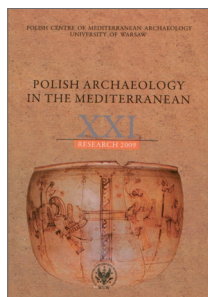
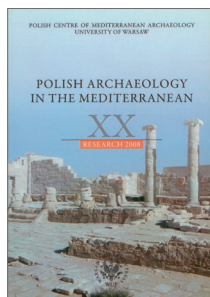
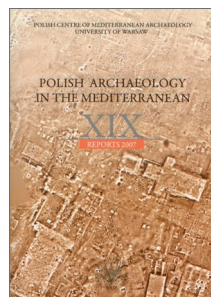


The desktop layout in the first issue was prepared by Rafał Koliński and he continued in this role for a few years before handing over to Anna Witecka, who managed the edition for the next four issues. Her last edition was the first volume to be illustrated quite extensively with black & white photographs thanks to partial financing from a KBN (Committee for Scientific Research of Poland) project grant No. 1 H101G 02809. Earlier volumes (notably volume 4) had also received support from the KBN.

With the departure of Witecka in 1997, Prof. Michał Gawlikowski, then Director of the Centre, had to find a new managing editor and his choice fell on the person, who had served in the position of English-language consultant for the journal ever since the third volume. A new managing editor in the person of the present author and Chief Editor and green light to introduce changes resulted in a major overhaul of the journal's format and graphic design. Jerzy Kowalski prepared an entirely new layout in B5 format, which has been retained until today, including a new cover design. DTP was taken over by an external company, MAK sp. z o.o. Warszawa, which resulted in nine years of a very successful and creative cooperation with Wojciech and Maria Nowakowski. *PAM* journal thus got its second face.

PAM, which had 235 pages in the last “small-format” issue and 218 pages in the first “new-format” issue swelled to an average of 700–800 pages by 2008. Volume 12, published in 2001, commemorated Kazimierz Michałowski, the founder of the Polish Centre in Cairo, the current PCMA UW. Michałowski died in 1981 before the journal was founded, and yet his presence continues to be felt (Kucharczyk 2019).

The *PAM* editorial team also grew and gained experience. In 2000, Ewa Czyżewska (today Czyżewska-Zalewska) joined the staff, taking on issues connected with proof-reading and digital processing of increasing complexity, plus the technical side of the



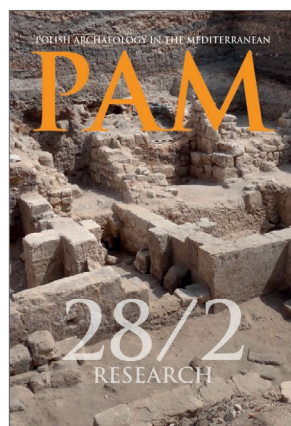
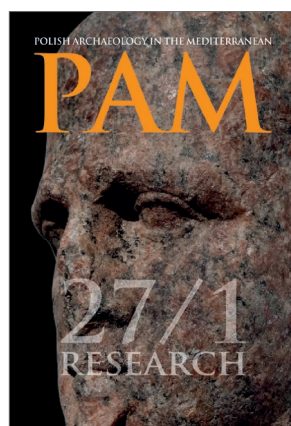
publication for which she was particularly well suited with her secondary education in book publishing and graphic design. The quality of PAM illustrations owe much to the artistic skills of PCMA documentalists Szymon Maślak, Marta Momot and Marek Puzzkarski, Puzzkarski being also the author of the collective map of all PCMA excavation sites past and present, which has appeared in every issue since PAM 19 (published in 2010). Other PCMA staff and associates have helped along the way: Robert Mahler, Artur Błaszczyk, and Łukasz Rutkowki.

The first color photos appeared in volume 15 (published in 2004); today the online edition of the journal is in full color and the printed editions is liberally sprinkled with color plates. The DTP process was moved in house, into the extremely capable hands of Ewa Czyżewska-Zalewska (assisted by Tomasz Szmagier in volume 21, Urszula Wicenciak in volume 23, and Agnieszka Dzwonek in volume 24).

With volume 17, published in 2007, the University of Warsaw Press became the official Publisher of the journal, bringing it out for PCMA; UWP editor Maria Szewczyk deserves credit for several years of patient supervision of the printing process on behalf of the Publisher. The journal is an institutional journal, funded by the PCMA, benefitting repeatedly from financial support of various government agencies: National Humanities Development Program for the years 2011–2012 (volumes 20 and 21) and the Ministry of Science and Higher Education grant for popularizing science No. 680/P-DUN/2018 (volumes 27 and 28).

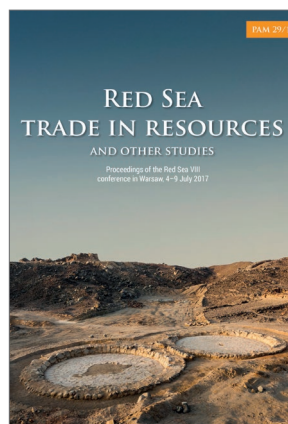
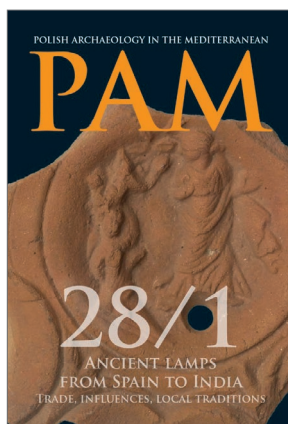
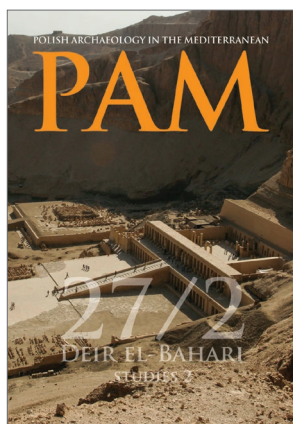
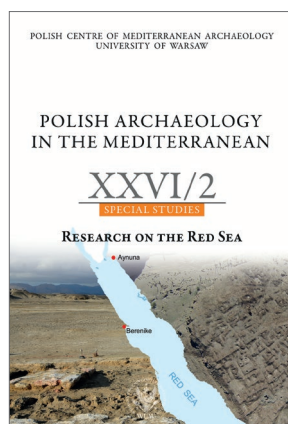
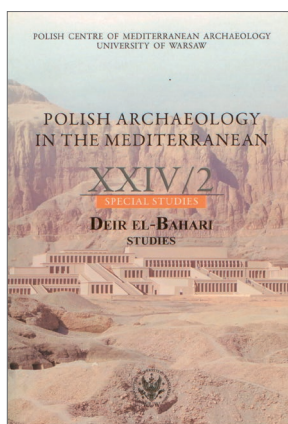
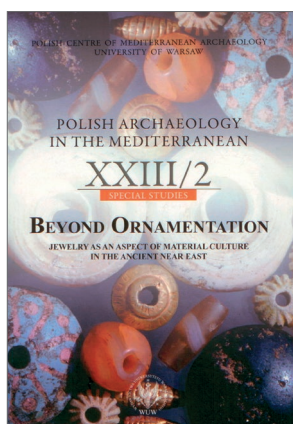
By 2018, however, the general feeling was that the layout design, updated along the way by Ewa Czyżewska-Zalewska, was in need of substantial change. Collaboration with a promising young graphic designer, Jan Kurzawa (<http://jankurzawa.pl>), resulted in a completely new look, both inside and outside—the third face of the journal. Kurzawa put his design into practice himself, doing the desktop layout for volume 27. Since then the desktop process, including digital processing of the illustrative material, is managed single-handedly and handsomely by Konrad Krajewski.

On the editing side, the present author has acted first as Managing Editor and with volume 23 as Chief Editor of the journal, expanding on the original tasks of English-language consultation and copyediting. Starting from volume 23, English language revision and pre-review evaluation of content is performed by Editorial Secretary Agata Czamara. Articles in French and German, occasionally produced in the journal, are language-proofed by Katarzyna Bartkiewicz and Martin Lemke



respectively. Peer-review was introduced in volume 23 (managed for the first few years by Urszula Wicenciak (now Wicenciak-Núñez). Copyediting assistance over the years has come in particular from Agnieszka Szymczak (from 2008 to 2014). Starting from 2009 Aleksandra Zych is the bibliographic editor of the journal.

A new development in the journal was the regular publication of Special editions edited by invited researchers. This reflected a process of turning away from a strictly reporting formula in favor of in-depth research studies. In volume 20, the Editorial Board of the journal approved a new formula, introducing research articles following the core section of field reports (Bieliński 2011). Such separate sections of studies on subjects related to the Mediterranean archaeology practiced in Poland were included in volumes 19 through 27. This trend blossomed into separate collections of studies issued as separate fascicles. The first was volume 23/2: *Beyond ornamentation. Jewelry as an aspect of material culture in the Ancient Near East*, edited by Amir Golani and Zuzanna Wýgnańska. Volumes 24/2 and 27/2, edited by Zbigniew E. Szafrąski, were dedicated to studies revolving around Deir el-Bahari and the Temple of Hatshepsut in Western Thebes. Volume 26/2, edited by Iwona Zych, presented *Research on the Red Sea*, a volume of papers from an international



conference held in Cairo. Volume 28/1 was dedicated to *Ancient lamps from Spain to India*, guest-edited by Laurent Chrzanowski. Notably, it was the first instance of the special studies volume being presented as the first, leading fascicle. The present special volume, 29/1, returns to the theme of Red Sea studies, and it is produced in cooperation between the University of Warsaw Press and the London Publisher Archaeopress.

For a few years, starting with volume 23/1, the journal ran a rubric reporting PCMA field excavation and projects in a given year in an effort to keep track of archaeological and conservation work, as well as research carried out in a given year regardless of whether reports were published in *PAM* or elsewhere ([Zych] 2014; 2015; 2016; 2017; 2018). This practice has now been dropped in view of several other research centers in Poland undertaking independent work in the Near East.

The newest change of face reflected in the present volume is a new arrangement of the second fascicle, dedicated to fieldwork and research. Gone is the traditional organization of the content—collected under country headings like Egypt, Sudan, Syria etc—applied in the journal since volume 3. The arrangement is chronological instead, logically, from the earliest prehistory, passing down the ages to the most recent times. Articles are presented by sites, if they refer to sites, hence a general report from the Kom el-Dikka site in Alexandria is followed by specialist studies on new finds of glass artifacts or a hoard of coins revisited years after its discovery. Research not directly related to fieldwork appears in its respective time slot regardless of whether it concerns material studies or bioarchaeological remains, or conservation in the field. An exception is made for articles on new methodologies and heritage issues, these being classed under separate headings. Moreover, the journal now runs a budding section of book reviews.

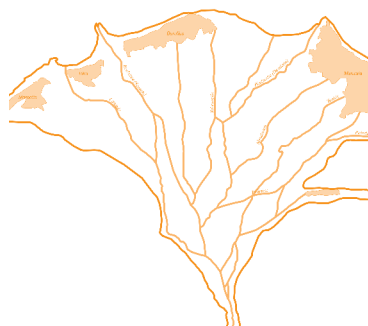
What further changes of face does the future hold? It is either flight or fall.

Iwona Zych
Chief Editor

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The Nile Delta during the Early Dynastic and the Old Kingdom periods. Preliminary remarks on the evolution of settlement landscape



Abstract: The 3rd millennium BC appears to be a key period of development of the historical settlement landscape in ancient Egypt. The unification of the country speeded up significantly processes of transformation of the predynastic socio-political structures and the associated settlement patterns. Old chiefdoms declined and vanished along with their centers and elites. New settlement emerging in various parts of the country was often strictly related to central authorities and the formation of a new territorial administration. Neither was the climatic change, which resulted in a shifting ecumene, negligible. Although these changes were evolutionary in their nature, some important stages may be recognized. Data from surveys and excavations have demonstrated a number of considerably impoverished and/or abandoned sites from before the Old Kingdom and its very beginning, while some important Egyptian settlements emerged in the sources and began to build their prosperity during the Third and Fourth Dynasties. The written sources as well as recorded architectural remains indicate a growing interest on the part of the state in the hierarchy of landscape elements and the territorial structure of the country.

Keywords: Nile Delta, Early Dynastic, Old Kingdom, settlements, settlement landscape

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Acknowledgments

This paper should be considered as an introduction to further studies within the frame of an ongoing project "The structural variability of the Nile Delta settlements as a part of the Egyptian royal urban policy during the 3rd millenium BC", supported by the National Science Center (UMO-2015/19/N/HS3/00879).

The article was intended as an introduction to project research undertaken by the author and was foreseen for publication elsewhere. Written at the turn of 2016, it forms a consistent whole and as such has not been updated. All additional data, analyses and results of the research for which it served as a starting point are planned for separate publication.

INTRODUCTION

The Nile Delta, an alluvial land created by the branches of the river and the distributaries, is one of the largest deltas in the world, covering an area of 17,000 km². About 58% of cultivated land in Egypt is in the delta today, corresponding roughly to the figures for ancient times (Butzer 1975: 1043; 2002: 84). Its agricultural potential as well as convenient location at the intersection of trade routes from the Levant to Upper Egypt and Libya made the Nile Delta one of the most attractive areas for human occupation.

Based on several decades of geological and geoarchaeological research (Attia 1954; Butzer 1976; van Wesemael, de Wit, and van Stralen 1988; Wunderlich 1993), it has been determined that the most suitable sites for settlement were the so-called “turtlebacks” or *geziras*, hillocks of coarse Pleistocene sands and gravels, rising above the Holocene-age alluvia, especially in the southern and eastern Nile Delta. The proximity to the agricultural floodplain influenced the founding of settlements on the edges of the turtlebacks, while their tops were sometimes occupied by cemeteries. Besides *geziras*, an important role in settlement geography was played by levees, high sand banks left by moving river beds (Butzer 1975: 1044–1045; 1976: 22–23).

Examination of Nile Delta settlement from the 3rd millennium BC is a problematic task especially in view of many cases of remains of Early Dynastic and Old Kingdom date being buried deep below thick alluvial deposits. Sites are located at the bottom of mounds that were formed over centuries of human activity in given places. Some of these sites can be dated to the Early Dynastic and Old Kingdom periods only on the basis of written sources. The capital city of Memphis is a case in point. Despite copious evidence in the form of administrative documents, royal and elite tombs and related special-purpose settlements, there are no archaeological remains of the Early Dynastic and Old Kingdom city itself (Jeffreys and Tavares 1994; Love 2003). In some cases, it is not certain whether a particular name is related to a specific locality or rather an area (see Xoïs; *Table 1*: No. 48).

Another factor is the state of investigation of individual sites, which is still unsatisfactory despite a significant increase in research over the past 30 years.¹ In-depth studies of the problem are further compromised by many tells from the 3rd millennium BC having been levelled or destroyed. Even had a site stood the test of time, the uppermost levels could have been lost, making a review of older surveys very difficult. The selective interests of researchers have also played a part. Most of the studies

1 Among others: Amsterdam University Survey Expedition to the North-Eastern Nile Delta; Munich East-Delta Expedition; Italian Archaeological Mission of the “Centro Studi e Ricerche Ligabue” Venice to the Eastern Nile Delta; Canadian Expedition – University of Toronto (Tell Gabbara, Tell Masha’la); the French Centre d’Antropologie, CNRS, Toulouse (Kom el-Khilgan, Tell el-Iswid); Institut Français d’archéologie orientale in Cairo (Tell el-Samarra); Polish Archaeological Expedition to the Eastern Nile Delta (Tell el-Farkha) and Polish Archaeological Expedition to the Northeastern Nile Delta (Tell el-Murra, Tell el-Halyat, Tell Akhdar, Tell Gezira el-Faras, Minshat Radwan).

have focused on the Predynastic and Early Dynastic periods, while the Old Kingdom continues to receive less attention. So far, only Edwin C.M. van den Brink (1987; 1988; 1993) and Karla Kroeper (1989) have taken up the issue of the Delta settlements

through the end of the Old Kingdom in any greater extent.

A review and reexamination of the available, published data 30 years later gives a solid base for more in-depth research to follow.

METHODOLOGY

A review of the material has led to the identification of 96 sites² from different times in the 3rd millennium BC, located in the Nile Delta and the Memphite area³ [Table 1]. Four of these sites were documented only on the basis of written records, while for another 18 written sources were a significant complement. Five sites are known thanks to chance discoveries or illicit digging, but only in two cases the dating is based on archaeological finds alone. Surveys including surface collection and/or core drillings identified 69 sites (the only source of data for 28 of them).⁴ 57 sites were excavated, although in many cases only to a limited extent (i.e., test trenches) and/or results have not been fully published. In some cases, the results have never been published. About 30 sites might be considered as excavated and published properly; however only in 13 cases (Giza, Kom el-Hisn, Tell

Basta, Tell el-Fara'in, Tell el-Farkha, Tell el-Gabbara, Tell el-Iswid (N), Tell el-Iswid (S), Tell el-Masha'la, Tell el-Murra, Tell el-Rub'a, Tell el-Samarra, Tell Ibrahim Awad) were settlement structures uncovered on a wider scale.

About 34 sites were recognized as consisting of only settlement remains versus 21 sites with just sepulchral finds. In 30 cases, the site included both settlement remains and burials. Data from nine sites are not conclusive. Moreover, some of the sites were recognized based on characteristic pottery types, such as bread moulds or bowls and, less frequently, flint tools (see Junker 1928; Junker et al. 1930; van den Brink 1988; Kroeper 1989). In fact, the assumption based on available data and already recognized sites (i.e., Tell el-Farkha, Tell el-Murra, Tell el-Iswid (S), Tell el-Samarra, Tell Ibrahim Awad etc.) is that Delta settlements and cemeteries were

2 The following statistics do not include settlements known from written sources but not located on the ground. The exception is Memphis, which has been included in the analysis even though the exact location of the 3rd millennium BC remains is not known. A field of ruins in the area of Mit Rahina was considered as a reference point.

3 The analysis also does not take into account the distinctness of settlements located within the area of individual sites in the Memphite Necropolis. For this reason, Giza and Saqqara were counted as single sites despite the potential existence of separate "pyramid towns" or "workers' villages" within the perimeters of the modern archaeological sites. The southern extent of the study was set at Dahshur, which is the southernmost site included in the royal necropolis of Memphis.

4 Many of these sites, especially those in the Western Delta, were mentioned only once. This is particularly characteristic of sites recognized by Hermann Junker in the 1920s (Junker 1928; Junker et al. 1930).