STUDIES IN THE ARCHAEOLOGY OF THE NEAR EAST

I: THE DERIVATIONS OF THE NOMENCLATURES OF THE CULTURES OF THE EGYPTIAN PALAEOLITHIC AND PREDynastic PERIODS

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ALTHOUGH the present article¹ is intended mainly to give the derivations of the various nomenclatures of the Palaeolithic, Neolithic and Cuprolithic cultures of Ancient Egypt, it also includes the classical names of certain sites as well as a brief description of the burial customs, etc., of early times in the Nile Valley. The author's indebtedness to the various works cited is

¹ Abbreviations used are: AP = W. F. Albright, The Archaeology of Palestine (1956); BC = G. Brunton and G. Caton-Thompson, The Badarian Civilization (1928); BEC = G. Brunton, "The Beginnings of Egyptian Civilization", in Antiquity, iii (1929); CA = Rizkallah Macramallah, Un Cimitière Archaique de la Classe Moyenne du Peuple à Saqqarah, Cairo Museum (1940); CE = Alan Rowe and John F. Healy, Cyrenaican Expeditions of the University of Manchester 1955-57 (1959); DET = G. A. Reisner, The Development of the Egyptian Tomb down to the Accession of Cheops (1936); DF = G. Caton-Thompson and E. W. Gardner, The Desert Fayum (1934); DP = W. M. F. Petrie, Diospolis Parva; Hu (1901); EA = G. Brunton, in R. Engelbach (editor), Introduction to Egyptian Archaeology, Cairo Museum (1946); ECG = J. Ball, Egypt in the Classical Geographers, Survey of Egypt (1942); EG = É. Drioton et J. Vandier, L'Égypte (1952); FI = W. Watson, Flint Implements, Brit. Mus. (1950); ME = W. M. F. Petrie, The Making of Egypt (1939); MED = W. M. F. Petrie, Medum (1892); MUM = E. A. W. Budge, The Mummy (1925); NC = J. L. Forde-Johnston, Neolithic Cults of North Africa, Liverpool University (1959); NL = V. Gordon Childe, New Light on the Most Ancient East (1952); PCT = Alan Rowe, "A Provisional Chronological Table of the Prehistoric and Historic Ages of Palestine", in Quarterly Statement, Palestine Exploration Fund: Part I, 1954, pp. 76 ff., Part II, 1955, pp. 176 ff.; PE = W. M. F. Petrie, Prehistoric Egypt (1920);
obvious.¹ The forms of the Arabic (Egyptian) geographical names generally follow those in certain recent English publications of the Cairo Museum and the Survey of Egypt. Pharaonic dates are from *EG*, pp. 627 ff.

PART A.

PALAEOLITHIC ("OLD STONE") PERIOD

*Between 500,000 to 250,000 years ago* ² until about 10,000 B.C.*

The cultures of this early period ³ are usually divided into three sections, mostly with sub-phases, the latter generally named after "Type Stations" in Egypt (= TS) or other regions where the individual cultures were first found.

In the majority of cases, as Drioton points out, the Palaeolithic flint implements—the sole witnesses to the activity of man in Egypt during this period—were recovered from the high surface of the desert including the ancient rivers of the dried-up oases and, fortuitously, the actual "caravan" routes, also from terraces at the sides of the Nile Valley. The Lower and Middle Palaeolithic examples came from the upper terraces,⁴ while, as to the Upper Palaeolithic ones, those of the Epilevalloisian type have been recovered in abundance from the lower or fluvial terraces at the north and south of the country. *EG*, pp. 22 ff.; *NL*, p. 32.


¹ Want of space precludes a much fuller bibliography.

² This uncertain commencement date is given in *PL*, p. 2. The closing date for the period is suggested in *EG*, p. 19.

³ For some details of the Palaeolithic period of Egypt as a whole see especially *EG*, pp. 19-25, 59; *FI*, pp. 22 ff.; *NC*, pp. 13 ff.; *NL*, pp. 16 ff.; *PH*, pp. 143 ff.; *PL*, pp. 1 ff. (references to the pluvial and interpluvial periods of the plateaux neighbouring the Nile Valley and the final desiccation—all due to the advancing and retreating of the ice-cap over Europe); *PM*; *SI*, pp. 5 ff.

⁴ For TS, cf. *EG*, p. 23.
The habitations, erected no doubt with light materials on account of the clemency of the climate, have disappeared without leaving any traces. Drioton, loc. cit.

No cemeteries have so far been recognized as belonging to the Palaeolithic period, but some pieces of mineralized blackened bone—the oldest human remains so far found in Egypt—came from “Sebilian strata of late Mousterian age” (doubtless the Epilevalloisian culture) at Qâw el-Kebîr (= Antaeopolis), Upper Egypt. ME, pp. 1 ff. Cf. our Section (3)—culture (e).

SECTION (1)—LOWER PALAEOLITHIC

(a) Pre-Chellian (var., Challossian"). PM, p. 28, n. 3; PH, pp. 104, 143 f. TS.—Quarries of Abbâstîja, near Cairo. EG, pp. 21, 23.


(c) Acheulean (St. Acheul, N. France). EA, p. 11; EG, p. 21.

Note: According to EG, p. 21, the last phase of the Lower Palaeolithic culture was the S'BAIKIAN (near S'Baikia fort, Southern Constantine, Tunisia), but it is shown in NC, p. 13, that the S'BAIKIAN was an integral part of a later culture, the ATERIAN—see (f) below. PH, pp. 156 f.

SECTION (2)—MIDDLE PALAEOLITHIC

(d) Levalloisian (Levallois-Perret, Paris). EG, pp. 21, 59.

Note: In PM the above mentioned culture is termed MOUSTERIAN (Le Moustier, S.W. France), the true European type of culture of which, however, according to EG, p. 21, traces have not yet been found in Egypt. EA, p. 11; FI, p. 79, Index references; NC, pp. 13, 69; NL, pp. 17, 19, 32; PH, pp. 105, 144, 155; TM, p. 96, Index references.

SECTION (3)—UPPER PALAEOLITHIC

(e) Epilevalloisian. EG, pp. 21, 23, 59.

TS.—Lower or fluviatile terraces at north and south of Egypt; Ezbet es-Sebîl Qibîl, near Kôm Ombo (= Ombos), Upper Egypt = SEBILIAN LEVELS I, II, —No. I usually termed “Lower” or “Oldest Sebilian” and No. II, “Middle Sebilian”. PH, p. 146; PM, p. 80.

1 The oldest human remains unearthed in Palestine—belonging to a member of the so-called “Mount Carmel” people—were in a cave with Final Acheulean deposits. PCT, Part I, p. 77.

2 Plateau of Chalosse (Landes), S.W. France.

3 Bovier-Lapierre recalls that the favourite Chellean and Acheulean weapon for hunting and war, the “coup de poing” (a heavy ovoid implement, both pointed and with cutting edges, shaped from a nodule of flint), was abandoned during the “Mousterian” period, its place being taken by triangular points for tipping lances and javelins. EG, p. 11.
Note: In PM, pp. 38, 57, the Epilevalloisian is regarded as "later Mousterian and early Sebilian". Vignard records his finds at Sebil as a kind of Aurignacian (Aurignac, S. France) and was the first to name them "Sebilian". PV, p. 265, n. 4. His European parallel is supported by Drioton. The apparent hiatus between the two sub-phases "Middle" and "Upper" = Sebilian III (see culture (g) below), suggests that some unknown event of considerable historical importance occurred towards the end of (e), PM, pp. 86 f.

(f) ATERIAN (Bir el-Ater = Tabessa, Tunisia). EG, pp. 21, 23, 24.

TS.—Region of Oasis of el-Kharga (=Oasis Magna), Western Desert; Region of Oasis of El-Laqetia¹ (=Hydreuma, Poeniconon, etc., ECG, p. 196), Eastern Desert; North-east of Luxor, Upper Egypt; Helwan, south of Cairo. EG, p. 23.

Note: The ATERIAN is a derivative of the North African Middle Palaeolithic (Mousterian) and is partially Upper Palaeolithic in date. It is thought by one authority to have originated in Morocco. FI, pp. 40 f.; NC, p. 69. According to Drioton the ATERIAN appeared in Egypt towards the end of culture (e), and corresponds to the Solutrean (Solutré, S.E. France) and Magdalenian (La Madeleine rock-shelter, S.W. France), last phases but one of the Upper Palaeolithic of Europe. EG, p. 21. The ATERIAN people are credited with the invention of the bow-and-arrow. NC, p. 157, Index references; NL, p. 20; PH, pp. 156 f. 165; TM, pp. 61, 67, 89. The ATERIAN is mixed with the Mesolithic (a microlithic or tiny-implement culture—see (g) below) in many of the Egyptian sites mentioned in TS of the present culture (f). EG, p. 23.

(g) MESOLITHIC ("Middle Stone").² EA, p. 11; EG, pp. 22 f., 59; FI, pp. 49 f.; TM, p. 68; PH, pp. 145 f.

TS.—Many of the sites mentioned in TS of culture (f); Ezbet es-Sebil Qiblt = Sebilian Level III.

Note: Simultaneous use of microlithic flints and bone. Neanthropic in character of workmanship; suggests the introduction in this part of the Nile Valley of Capsian ³ or Capsi-like influences from North Africa. The culture ⁴ is barely distinguishable from the Tardenoisian (La Fère-en-Tardenois, N.E. France). NC, p. 161, Index references to microliths; PM. pp. 38, 80, 86; PV, p. 266.

² Watson, for reasons which he outlines, is of the opinion that the term "Mesolithic" is inappropriate to the microlithic cultures of North Africa. FI, p. 24.
³ From the type-locality El-Mekta, near Gafsa (= Latin Capsa), Southern Constantine. PH, p. 157. Bovier-Lapierre thinks that the Capsian period corresponds to the Aurignacian, Solutrean and Magdalenian periods in Europe. EG, p. 11. Cf. Notes on our cultures (e) and (f).
⁴ It is equivalent to the Kebaran (El-Kebara cave) and the Natufian (Wady en-Natâf) of Palestine. AP, pp. 59 f.; PCT, Part I, p. 77.
PART B.

PREDYNASTIC PERIOD

About 10,000 B.C. to 3,000 B.C. (i.e. beginning of First Dynasty)

The term "PREDYNASTIC" is used for all cultures of which there were pastoral and agricultural settlements (or cemeteries) prior to the First Dynasty. It was due to the increasing desiccation of the plateaux at the close of the MESOLITHIC period that the men responsible for these POST-PALAEOLITHIC cultures were restricted to the banks of the Nile, and to the rare regions of land still watered. The cultures themselves are divided into two sections, the first the NEOLITHIC ("NEW STONE") and the second the CUPROLITHIC ("COPPER-STONE"); each section had its sub-phases. EA, pp. 11 f., 15.

It was the advance of the cultivation with the gradual rise of the mud level in the Nile Valley that helped to obliterate there all traces (except flints and a few fragments of a single skeleton already mentioned before) of the remains of the cultures and actual bodies of the "nomadic" precursors of the PREDYNASTIC period. Cf. BEC, p. 456.

In the PREDYNASTIC cemeteries the bodies as a whole were placed in a contracted position,¹ suggesting comfortable sleep,

¹ The contracted position of the body in private graves obtained practically without exception from the earliest PREDYNASTIC period to the end of the Second Dynasty (2,778 B.C.). After that the half-extended and extended position gradually came into use for the burials of royalty and nobles. On the other hand the contracted position lasted in minor tombs during the Third to Sixth Dynasties (2,778-2,263 B.C.), and for the very poor into the Middle Kingdom (2,160-1,785 B.C.). DET, p. 12; EA, pp. 205, 209; MED, p. 21. The last reference is to the discovery of the tomb-chamber of the noble Ra-nefer, Fourth Dynasty (2,723-2,563 B.C.), which had twelve contracted and two extended burials; the contracted examples lay on the left side with head north and face east. This was at Meydûm, the pharaonic Mery-Atûm, "[The Place] Beloved of Atûm!", known as Isiu in the Antonine Itinerary dating from the time of Diocletian (A.D. 285-305). Cf. ECG, p. 195. It is now generally accepted that the pyramid on the site, originally a stepped one, was made for Huni, last king of the Third Dynasty. The smooth outer casing may have been added later by his son Sneferu (first ruler of the next dynasty), which might thus have accounted for the belief in subsequent pharaonic times that the pyramid belonged to the latter monarch. Sneferu, however, was actually buried in the northern stone pyramid at Dashhûr; the southern stone pyramid there, first intended as his tomb, was never used because it developed some serious fissures in the interior masonry. The southern pyramid is rhomboidal—it is sometimes called the "Bent Pyramid"; the intention of the builders was to reduce the weight over the sarcophagus chambers and passages.
with head\(^1\) south (or perhaps upstream) and face towards the west; \(^2\) rarely the head was to the north, but even then the face is to the "West-Land". This region of the setting sun was actually the domain of the two Dynastic gods of the dead, Osiris and Anubis, each of whom was called \textit{Khent-Amentyu}, "Chief of the Westerners (the dead)". Atum of Heliopolis was the god of the setting sun itself.

Brunton briefly sums up as follows the evolution of the Pre-Dynastic graves. The earlier examples, he says, are small hollows cut in gravel; their shape is either oval or circular, the latter at least following that of the beehive-like habitations of the age, each of which, built of hand-shaped lumps of mud, had a low narrow door. Recesses were introduced along one side at a rather lower level in graves of the type, which were still made at the end of the later period. Graves with straight sides gradually increased in number; this in imitation of the dwellings, which changed from...

\(^1\) Below the head was sometimes placed a pillow of chaff or other soft material (\textit{EA}, p. 201); this recalls the small cylindrical pillows of grass we found in poor burials of Early Christians at Meydûm—which is in Middle Egypt. (At Cyrene we came across early Christian rock-cut slot graves with a small ledge for the head left at one short end of the floor. \textit{CE}, p. 2). In Dynastic times in Egypt a head-rest, frequently of wood, was occasionally put below the neck of the deceased; but in some instances only small models of it were buried with the body. The use of the head-rest and of words of power in certain Chapters of the Theban \textit{Book of the Dead} ensured that the head of the deceased should be "lifted up in the horizon of heaven" (CLXVI) and that air and water always be available there (LV, LXI, LXI—inscribed on a head-rest of the lady Aāwa in the British Museum). In the Twenty-sixth Dynasty (663-525 B.C.) another kind of \textit{hypocephalus} came into fashion. This was a circular sheet of papyrus mounted on linen stiffened with plaster and moulded to the back of the head of the mummy. It bore extracts from Chapter CLXII of the Saitic \textit{Book of the Dead}, enabling the head and other parts of the body to retain their natural heat in the tomb. \textit{MUM}, pp. 246 ff., 476 ff.

\(^2\) From the First Dynasty onwards the bodies were laid on the left side, head generally to the north, with the face directed towards the offering-place on the east side of the superstructure of the tomb, and, consequently, towards the rising sun. No such offering places have been found attached to Pre-Dynastic graves, but if any did exist they were probably on the west side. The change in orientation of head and face in the First Dynasty was evidently due to new religious ideas which doubtless prevailed as a result of the transition from the semi-barbarism of the Pre-Dynastic period to the higher civilization resulting from the conquest of Lower Egypt by Upper Egypt and the unification of the "Two Lands" under Menes. \textit{DET}, p. 12; \textit{EA}, p. 205; \textit{CA} (full details of an interesting First Dynasty cemetery at Saqqâra).
the round hut-types to rectangular houses of mud brick. At the very end the rectangular graves were lined, and sometimes floored, with brickwork; the poor were occasionally placed in or under large household pottery bins. *EA.* pp. 15, 201. For fuller details about the graves and burials, cf. *DET*, pp. 1 ff., 238, 341 ff; *EG*, pp. 30 ff. (NEOLITHIC cemeteries)¹ and pp. 37 ff. (CUPROLITHIC cemeteries).

In the following brief details of the NEOLITHIC and CUPROLITHIC cultures "S.D." refers to Petrie's system of "Sequence Dating" expressing in numerical order the relative dates of the various PREDynastic sites and of the First Dynasty itself. The last phase of the NEOLITHIC culture, the TÂSIAN (*Deir Tâsa*, in Upper Egypt) is S.D. 20; the CUPROLITHIC culture ranges from S.D. 21-64, and the First Dynasty from S.D. 65-82.² The numbers S.D. 1-19 are reserved for any possible discoveries of cultures before S.D. 20. *DP; EA*, p. 19; *ME*, p. 9; *PE*.

FIRST SECTION. NEOLITHIC

*About 10,000 B.C. to between 6,000 and 5,000 B.C.*³

As excellent general accounts of this culture of the very first farmers in Egypt are given by Gordon Childe,⁴ Forde-Johnston,⁵ Drioton⁶ and others, we shall mostly confine ourselves to the names of the Type Stations themselves (= TS) and to mentioning in passing that man had now commenced to make pottery—see *DET*, pp. 346 f.—and to perfect his tools and weapons, polishing his axes and fashioning his arrow-heads with much skill. The question of the contemporaneity or otherwise of many of these stations is at present rather an open one.

MIDDLE EGYPT (*FAYYÛM,*⁷ from the old Egyptian *Pa-im*, Coptic *Phiom*, "The-Lake").

TS.—Kom Aushîm (=Caranis); Madînet Dimâi (=Socnopaiu Nesos); Qâsr el-Sâgha ("Castle of the Goldsmiths?"), etc. *DF; EG*, pp. 27 f., 59; *ME,*

¹ For the TÂSIAN (late NEOLITHIC) burials, cf. *BEC*, pp. 465 ff.
² Recent discoveries have shown that the First Dynasty began at S.D. 65 and not at S.D. 78 as was once thought. *PCT*, Part II, p. 179; cf. pp. 176 ff. for the dynasty dating.
³ *EG*, p. 19. 
⁴ *NL*, pp. 31 ff. 
⁵ *NC*, pp. 17 ff.
⁶ *EG*, pp. 25 ff.
⁷ Two cultural stages, "A" and "B", the former the earlier one.
SECOND SECTION. CUPROLITHIC

Between 6,000 and 5,000 B.C. to 3,000 B.C.

In Egypt copper was unknown before the BADARIAN and AMRATIAN phases of the above mentioned culture, but even then, as pointed out by Forde-Johnston, the basic economy would still be NEOLITHIC. Drioton has given an up-to-date account of the CUPROLITHIC culture and listed the sites in which it appears, two only of which, namely at Maādi and Heliopolis (= On of Gen. xli. 45; El-Matarta), are in Lower Egypt, and not far from Cairo. The rest are in various other parts of Egypt, including the region of the Oasis of El-Laqeita. We are only concerned here with the four main typical phases of the culture, which are now named in chronological order:

1. BADARIAN (El-Badārī, near Deir Tāsa, Upper Egypt). S.D. 21-29. BC;

2. AMRATIAN (El-Amra, part of Abydos, Upper Egypt); var. “NAQĀDA I” or “FIRST CIVILIZATION”. S.D. 30-34 (for early period), 34-37 (for late period).

3. GERZEAN (Girza, near El-Riqqa, Middle Egypt); var. “NAQĀDA II” or “SECOND CIVILIZATION”. S.D. 38-44 (early period), 45-60 (late period).

1 The TĀSIAN appears to be a sub-phase of the BADARIAN, the oldest CUPROLITHIC culture. NC, p. 18; NL, p. 42.
2 For NEOLITHIC flints in the Cairo Museum, see SI, pp. 47 ff.
3 Cf. PCT, Part I, p. 81, for the suggestion that copper was introduced into Egypt from the north. Bronze did not come into general use there before the Middle Kingdom, c. 2,160 B.C. onwards.
4 NC, p. 17.
5 EG, pp. 33 ff., 60. For Maādi, cf. NC, p. 21 = NAQĀDA II or Early Dynastic in date.
6 The origin of the terms NAQĀDA I and II is explained in NL, p. 50, n. 1.
4. SAMAINEAN (El-Samdyna, near Hiw = Diospolis Parva, Upper Egypt). S.D. 61-64. EA, p. 19; ME, pp. 55 ff., pls. XXIX-XXXIII.¹


APPENDIX

(a) For references to pharaonic, classical, Arabic, etc., names of old Egyptian geographical sites as a whole see especially A. H. Gardiner, *Ancient Egyptian Onomastica* (1947); H. Gauthier, *Dictionnaire des Noms Géographiques*, etc. (1925-31); B. Porter and R. L. B. Moss, *Topographical Bibliography of Ancient Egyptian Hieroglyphic Texts*, etc. (1927-51); EA, pp. 72 ff.; ECG.

(b) In connection with the suggested date of O. H. Myers of between half a million and a quarter of a million years ago for the commencement of the Palaeolithic period of Egypt, the Libyan desert, etc. (see Part A), it is interesting to note that according to I. W. Cornwall and M. Maitland Howard, *The Making of Man* (1960), there is fossil skeletal evidence from Java and Peking showing the existence in those parts of Asia, about half a million years ago, of the first known true men; they were huge and brutish, used flaked-stone tools and knew how to make fire. They were “followed” about 120,000 years ago in Southern Europe and Western Asia by the rather less primitive Neanderthal men with large brain, men who in turn, between 100,000 and 50,000 years ago, were supplanted in Europe by the appearance of the Cromagnon men, who were physically like ourselves. The “Carbon 14” method may of course eventually cause the dating mentioned above to be altered in some respects.

(c) The original shape of the pyramid of Huni (lit. “I-have-fought”) at Meydûm² (of which mention is made in Part B), followed more or less the traditional

¹ For the political history of Egypt during the so-called “Pre-Thinite” period of the legendary “Followers of Horus” (c. 3,300 to 3,000 B.C.), when the country was divided into two kingdoms, the reader may consult EG, pp. 129 ff. The northern capital was then Pe, the classical Buto (Kōm el-Farain), and the southern one Nekhen, the classical Hierakonpolis (El-Kōm el-Ahmar). The interesting history of the “Pre-Horian” period is given in op. cit. p. 160. For the advent of the Dynastic period cf. EG, pp. 133 ff.; R. Engelbach, in *Annales du Service*, Cairo Museum, xli (1943), pp. 197 ff.

² If the suggestion is correct that Sneferu (lit. “He [the god] -makes-me-beautiful”) transformed Huni’s stepped pyramid into a real pyramid, that event must have happened after the death of Huni; and in this respect we are reminded that king Shepses-ka-ef (lit. “Splendid-is-his-spirit”), following the death of his own father Men-kau-ra (lit. “Abiding-are-the-kas-of-ra” = Mycerinus), actually completed the “Third Pyramid” complex of the latter at El-Giza. Anyhow, it is significant that the foundation blocks of the smooth outer casing covering the original pyramid of Huni do not (like those of those of the stepped pyramid itself) rest on the rock but on a layer of pebbles about a metre in thickness above the rock. See my Meydûm excavation article in *The Museum Journal*, Museum of the University of Pennsylvania, xxii (March 1931), especially Pl. X for section of the pyramid and p. 20 for supporting evidence showing that the Huni structure was
stepped pyramid forms prevalent in the Third Dynasty (2,778-2,423 B.C.), namely: at Saqqāra (kings Zoser I and Sekhem-khet, the latter perhaps Zoser II); at Zāwyet el-Ārjān, south of El-Giza (kings Kha-bau(?) and Neb-ka-ra); and at El-Kōlah, near El-Kāb, the pharaonic Nekheb = Eleithyaspolis, Upper Egypt (unknown ruler). The reason why these early pharaohs constructed stepped pyramids is clearly indicated in Spells 267 and 619 of the "Pyramid Texts" which state that a staircase to heaven is made for the deceased monarch so that he could ascend it to heaven. Cf. I. E. S. Edwards, The Pyramids of Egypt, Pelican (1955), pp. 235 ff.

Note: The El-Kōlah pyramid is unique because its corners are orientated to the cardinal points like the corners both of the Mesopotamian staged ziggurats and of the temples, a fact which does not of course necessarily prove there was some Sumerian influence in the orientation of the pyramid (?). Incidentally the originally intended to be a stepped one. Included in this evidence is the fact that blocks of stone of the pyramid bear the painted names of several sub-gangs of builders actually called "Step-Pyramid", the hieroglyph for the pyramid indicating variously a structure of two, three or four steps (op. cit. Pl. VI). In this connection it will be seen in my forthcoming article in the BULLETIN on some features of the El-Giza pyramids (to which certain architectural and other features in the present article form a kind of background) that the nomenclatures of boatcrews were early transferred to the various classes of workmen employed on pyramids, quarries, etc. The MAIN GANG which, in the case of a pyramid and of a royal boat, had the name of the reigning king included in its title, was divided into WATCHES, such as Port, Starboard, Bow, Stern and Hold (?). Each watch in turn was itself divided into SUB-GANGS of which, as we have seen in the case of Huni's pyramid, the "Step-Pyramid" one is an example.

Professor H. W. Fairman whom I have consulted on the translations of some of the royal names informs me that the kau (kas) in the name of Mycerinus here probably means the divine force or attributes. My Meydūm excavation article is rather out of date in parts, and due to circumstances which occurred after the manuscript had left my hands and also due to the fact that I never saw the proofs, is incorrect as regards certain bibliographical reference-numbers in the text.

1 The Sekhem-khet pyramid was unfinished (M. Zakaria Goneim, The Buried Pyramid (1956)).

2 According to Reisner the pyramid of Kha-bau(?)—the so-called "Layer Pyramid"—dates from the Second Dynasty (DET, pp. 134 ff.); the neighbouring one of Neb-ka-ra was not completed, but was evidently intended to be a stepped one.

3 The El-Kōlah pyramid is a small one of three steps; it is 9.40 m. high and 18.5 m. long at each side of the base. No burial chamber has yet been found (J. Stiènon, in Chronique d'Égypte, xlix (January 1950), pp. 43 ff.). As to the orientation of the pyramid in question it must be remembered that in the early royal tombs at Abydos, etc., the normal orientation is not astronomical but is north-south parallel to the valley. Cf. DET, p. 424, also map of Abydos tombs (facing p. 428), many of which have ziggurat-like orientations due to following the local "valley-north". So it would seem that the El-Kōlah pyramid was perhaps orientated according to the archaic "valley" tradition, less possibly to Sumerian influence(?).
earliest known example of the *ziggurat*—which dates not later than c. 3,250 B.C. as Mr. C. Burney informs me from recent information in his possession—is apparently the archaic one, often called "The White Temple", consecrated to the sky-god Anu at Uruk, the Erech of Gen. x. 10, and the modern *Warka*. This structure consists of an artificial "mountain", irregular in shape, its corners orientated as usual to the points of the compass. On its summit is a small temple erected on a "terrace". A stairway leads up from the ground level to the summit. The sloping sides of the "mountain" bear traces of buttresses of brick, with short round timbers between the buttresses (cf. H. Frankfort, *The Art and Architecture of the Ancient Orient* (1958), pp. 5 ff.; André Parrot, *Sumer* (1960), pp. 64 ff.). Another *ziggurat*, perhaps Early Dynastic in date, may exist inside the one of Ur-Nammu at Ur, a king who reigned from 2,124-2,107 B.C., that is to say during the Third Dynasty of that town (see L. Woolley, *Ur Excavations V, "The Ziggurat and its Surroundings"* (1939), pp. 98 ff.). Following the latest authorities on the subject it may be said in general terms that the *ziggurat* was a tower for facilitating the last part of the descent of the god from heaven to earth in order to dwell among men. The small temple on the summit was called *Shakhuru*, i.e. "Waiting-Room"; the priests remained there, as the faithful believed, in order to receive the god on his visitations. After the reception the god was supposed to descend the stairway leading down to the divine residence at earth level (in which he would be accommodated during his sojourn in this world), later on ascending the *ziggurat* on his way back to heaven, just as the divine and dead pharaoh of Egypt mount his stepped pyramid at the beginning of his own journey to the celestial regions above. The *ziggurat* reminds us of the ladder (*sullam*) seen by Jacob in his dream, upon which the "angels (mal'ak, 'divine-messengers') of God" were ascending and descending (Gen. xxviii. 12). The tower of Babel, i.e. "Gate-of-God" (Gen. xi. 4-9) is a *ziggurat* (cf. A. Parrot, *Ziggurats et Tour de Babel* (1949); *La Tour de Babel* (1953)). Herodotus (i. 181) mentions the *ziggurat* of Babylon which existed in his time.

(d) A few stepped mastabas are known: at Saqqâra (Nebet-ka, time of king Udimu, First Dynasty); at Beit Khallâf, Upper Egypt (kings Zoser I and

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For details of the steps, which survive on the north, south and east sides of the mastaba, cf. W. B. Emery, in *Annales du Service*, Cairo Museum, xxxviii (1938), pp. 456 ff., Pl. LXXVIII. As during the LATE GERZEAN period—see Part B, Second Section—and the early part of the First Dynasty of Egypt, the latter country was in contact with the Jemdet Nasr culture of Mesopotamia it is perhaps just possible that this culture brought with it into Egypt (Saqqâra) the idea of a stepped structure of some kind, employing it only in a sepulchral connection. However that may be, the mastaba of Nebet-ka is the earliest known stepped funerary building in Egypt. The culture referred to found its way into the Nile Valley by way of Syria and Palestine (see my remarks in *PCT*, Part ii, pp. 176 ff.; A. Parrot, *Archéologie Méopotamienne*, ii, (1953), pp. 410 ff.). Arranged in order of dynasties the early stepped tombs of Egypt are thus: FIRST DYNASTY—Mastaba of Nebet-ka. SECOND DYNASTY (?)—Pyramid of king Kha-bau (?), which some would place in the Third Dynasty. THIRD DYNASTY—Pyramids of kings Zoser I; Sekhem-khet; Neb-ka-ra; Anonymous (at El-Kolâh); Huni. Mastabas of kings Zoser I; Sa-nekht. LATE THIRD OR EARLY FOURTH DYNASTY—Mastaba No. 17 at Meydûm.
Sanekht, Third Dynasty); and at *Meydûm*, mastaba No. 17 near the Huni pyramid (unknown royal or private person, late Third or early Fourth Dynasty). The steps in this particular mastaba were discovered by myself in 1929.¹

In conclusion, I must add that my best thanks are due to Professor R. E. Cordingley, who kindly read through parts of the manuscript of this article and made some helpful suggestions; to Mr. T. Donald, who went to much trouble in order to supply me with references to special publications on Mesopotamian archaeology; to Mr. J. L. Forde-Johnston, for lending me a copy of his important *Neolithic Cults of North Africa*; to Mr. W. C. Brice, for bringing to my notice Pradenne’s useful *Prehistory*; to Dr. J. D. Latham, for controlling the European renderings of some Arabic geographical names; and, finally, to my late wife Mrs. Olga Serafina Rowe, a linguist of some ability in Latin and modern languages, who was for twenty years my loyal and skilful collaborator both in my excavations in Egypt and Libya and in my task of assembling notes for archaeological articles in the *Bulletin*.²

Anonymous. We have already seen how Sneferu introduced the idea of pyramids with smooth outer casings (the Meydûm one and the two at Dahshûr). For the pyramids as a whole see especially I. E. S. Edwards, op. cit.; *EG*, pp. 195 ff.; J.-P. Lauer, *Le Problème des Pyramides d’Égypte* (1952).

¹ A provisional general map showing plans and/or sections of royal tombs and pyramids dating from the First Dynasty to the time of Khufu or Khnum-khu (lit. “ Kham : He-protects-me ” = Cheops) is published in my article on our Meydûm excavations, Pl. IX. For more recent maps of the royal tombs at Abydos, Saqqara, etc., cf. DET; Porter and Moss, op. cit. The latest discoveries of most important royal and private tombs of the First Dynasty are in W. B. Emery, *Excavations at Saqqara* (1938; 1939 = tomb of king Hor-Aha; 1954; 1958). One of the most interesting of these tombs from an architectural point of view is that of queen Her-Neit (reign of Udimu), a mastaba of brick which, as Emery says, had “ the combination of two distinct forms of funerary architecture in the one edifice : the *tumulus superstructure of Upper Egypt* embodied within the *panelled . . . mastaba of Lower Egypt* ” (see especially *The Illustrated London News* (2 June 1956).