

# ABYDOS II.

## INTRODUCTION.

1. THE work described in this volume was begun at the end of November, 1902, and continued till the early part of April, 1903. In the previous season a part of the early town of Abydos had been excavated, and it was shown that its period began at the close of the prehistoric age and extended over the first few dynasties; the connection between the prehistoric scale and the historic reigns was thus settled, and the results appeared in *Abydos I*. The position of this town was close behind the site of the old temples of Abydos, and within the great girdle-wall enclosure of the XIIth Dynasty, which stands about half a mile north of the well-known later temples of Sety I and Ramessu II.

This early town being behind the temples, or more into the sandy edge of the desert, was higher up; the ground gently sloping from the cultivated land upwards as a sandy plain, until it reaches the foot of the hills, a couple of miles back. This slope of sand has been encroached upon by Nile deposits as the level of the river rose; and what was formerly dry ground when built on in the early monarchy is now about twenty feet below the high Nile level. This rise of the water, due to silting up of the Nile bed, is the obstacle to dealing with most of the early sites; and in the previous season we cleared as far as we could on the native-sand basis of the town. Nearer to the cultivation the sand sloped down below water level, so that

we could not reach it, and we were obliged thus to leave the early temple site for some different mode of work. Happily the very exceptionally low Nile of last summer gave us the best opportunity that we could ever hope to gain. When I went out in November, just after the inundation, the water in our pits was even lower than when I had left it in April, instead of being several feet higher as is usually the case. I was thus able to begin a season with better conditions than are generally obtained at the dry end of the season; and the water continued to recede as the year advanced. No better chance could be ever hoped for, and whatever was possible to be done without enormous pumping works was completely in our power. We made use of the chance by clearing as much of the site as we could deal with, down to below this exceptional water level, and no one will ever see more without such pumping as is never likely to be attempted. As most of the site we did clear had in the earliest time only been used for rubbish, and not for construction, there was the less reason to regret not being able to work deeper; and the sand basis was reached so near to the lowest and oldest temple that it is unlikely that any earlier building existed here. We have probably, therefore, exhausted the site of the temple itself, though no doubt there are acres of early buildings and enclosure by the side of it.

The broad result is that ten different temples can be traced on the same ground, through about twenty feet difference of level; each temple built on the ruins of that which preceded it, quite regardless of the work of the earlier kings.

2. On sites which having been briefly occupied have no great depth of remains, it is best to turn back the earth as it is removed, and so cover again the ground which has been searched. And also where there is no structural connection between different parts, such as the plan of a building, it is practicable to turn over the earth to a considerable depth without losing any important results. But in the present case the superposition of so many buildings, and the depth of the accumulations, made it needful to shift the earth entirely from the ground that we searched; and we could only throw back at the lower levels, on surfaces which had been cleared to the water.

In such a clearance it was impossible to preserve all the structures. Had we avoided moving the foundations of the XXVIth Dynasty, we could never have seen much of the earlier work; had we left the paving of the XIIth Dynasty in place, we must have sacrificed the objects of the Old Kingdom. And, moreover, in the present conditions of Egypt we could not hope that any limestone building left exposed would be preserved for long; so that we should have resigned the older works for merely the temporary sight of later building which would soon be destroyed. Even while we were continually on the spot, blocks of stone were several times removed at night; and so tempting a quarry, with a big lime-kiln at each end of it, will never be left unworked by builders and lime-burners. Also had we only worked the higher levels, and left the rest, the inflow of high Nile would have formed a pond which would have so rotted the ground that deeper work could not have been carried on in the future. The only course therefore was to plan everything fully, and remove

whatever stood in the way of more complete exploration. All striking pieces of construction, such as the stone gateways of Pepy, were left untouched, and work carried on to deep levels around them; in this way at the end of the season the site was bristling with pieces of walls and blocks of stonework rising ten or fifteen feet above the low level clearances.

3. A main consideration in the work was where to place the removed earth. At the back of the site, to the west, there was the ground which had been all turned over down to basal sand last season; and that could be heaped up without any risk of covering things. Accordingly we began along the west side of the temple site, and gradually raised high banks like railway embankments, along which the boys ran and threw the earth at the end and sides, thus filling most of this area. But the delay caused by throwing at much over a hundred feet distance, and the limits of this old ground, made it impossible to clear the whole temple site on to that. Pits were then sunk along the whole of the north side, and the stuff thrown far out there. Other pits were sunk on the inner sides of these, leaving only walls of earth between. And when two lines of pits, showing about thirty feet breadth of ground, had proved that such a space was clear of stonework or any important walls, we then threw out the earth close to the pits. Similarly on the east side, and part of the south, having proved that there were no temple constructions at some way out, we could then raise heaps of earth ten or twenty feet high all along. We had to remove about twenty feet depth of earth all over the excavated area, and sometimes twenty-five feet, only narrow lines of walls being left standing; consequently a large mass of tip heaps was a necessary feature of the work.

In order to move such a great quantity of earth to a considerable distance it was needful to employ a large number of boys as carriers. The digging was always done by old hands from

Quft, about thirty to forty pairs being employed on this site; and the carrying required about a hundred boys, who were drawn from the neighbouring villages. Each pair of Quftis had attached to them a sufficient number of boys, according to the distance and height to which the earth had to be carried. In the latter part of the work the raising of the earth about thirty feet to discharge added a good deal to the labour; the boys had to climb up long rows of steps cut in the sides of the excavation, and run along zig-zag tracks on the tops of narrow walls, to reach the outside of the ground. The arrangement of the thrown earth needed continual supervision; as the boys if left to their own ways always throw as near as may be, and so raise a high bank, up which everything has to be carried only to roll to the bottom on the other side. The distant ground should be filled first, and long radiating lines of bank should be formed, on the sides of which more should be thrown until the whole space is filled up continuously.

4. As the excavation progressed there was an incessant need of planning and recording all the constructions. Where these consisted of stonework, as in the later temples, the joints had to be searched for, and the surfaces examined to see whether they were foundations or upper constructions. But in the lower levels where only brickwork work was used the survey needed a long preliminary study of the fragments of walls. Often, what looked like a high wall when cleared, proved to consist of several walls, built nearly on the same line in different ages, but having a band of ruins between one another. Again, it was difficult to settle for certain the level at which a wall was based, and whether two pieces of wall were really originally continuous. I therefore always went about with a large dinner-knife and a trowel in my pocket, and spent much of my time in cutting innumerable sections and tracing out the lines of the bricks. The top and base level of each piece of wall then had to

be marked on it; and the levels could then be measured off to fixed points. Altogether, I made 586 measurements of bricks; took 1,073 levels; and made 2,132 plan measurements, besides 2,010 such which were made by Mr. Stannus. The nine plates of plans here published are therefore the result of nearly six thousand measurements.

5. Besides this work on the temples much else was done on other regions of Abydos. The old fort, the Shunet-ez-Zebib, was cleared out, and the dwelling chambers found in it, containing sealings of Khasekhemui; between that and the Deir, another fort was found, with chambers containing sealings of Perabsen. Thus it seems likely that these two forts, and perhaps the Deir also, are the temporary residences of the kings of the IIInd Dynasty. The cemetery was further explored, finding some important tombs. The great tomb at the southern cliffs, found last year, was completely cleared; and another great tomb, a shrine, a terrace temple—the prototype of Deir el Bahri—and a town, were discovered, which are the work of Aahmes I. All these other subjects will be treated in a supplementary volume, *Abydos III*.

6. Our party of workers were nine in all, most of whom were engaged entirely on the work of the Fund, and all of whom helped in it. Mr. E. R. Ayrton was in charge of the work on the forts, and part of the cemetery; and after that on the great temple excavation. Mr. C. T. Currelly was for a month on the cemetery, in order to learn to know the men; and then went to live at the southern cliffs, to work the great tomb of the XIIth Dynasty, beyond which he found the works of Aahmes. Miss L. Eckenstein volunteered to come and help us, and gave her time almost entirely to receiving the antiquities that were brought in, and storing them, which is a large branch of work when so much productive excavation is on hand. Miss F. Hansard also volunteered her help in drawing, and has produced most of the plates of

inscriptions. Miss M. A. Murray, although mainly occupied for the Research Account, has copied some inscriptions and checked over most of the others. Mr. N. Rawnsley was occupied in superintending the workmen in the temple excavation. And Mr. H. Stannus gave his architectural knowledge to planning the stone buildings, and some of the brickwork. My wife's time was mainly spent on the work of the Research Account; but the drawings of flints she has done as last year. My own time was taken up in general attention to arranging all

the work, observing the results, and valuing all the objects for rewarding the men. Of detailed work, I had to do all the examination and interpretation of brick walls in the temple site, the levelling, and half of the planning; also drawing the pottery and arranging all the plates. Though the party was larger than usual, there was certainly no time to spare for any one, if we would deal properly with such a large space of ground, containing so many details of importance which required a full record.

## CHAPTER I.

## THE HISTORY OF THE TEMPLES.

7. BEFORE describing the remains of the temples it is needful to note that the mode of recording the levels taken this season differs from that followed last season. In the work in the town we had to deal with separate and unconnected houses, which there had not been any reason to place on a level plane at one time; on the contrary they were founded on a slope of sand, and the indications of types of pottery and flints found at uniform heights above the sand, show that the accumulation of buildings was fairly uniform along the slope over the region then worked. Hence the height over the basal sand was the truest indication of relative age, and was always stated thus in inches in *Abydos I*.

This year the conditions, and therefore the methods, were different. The temple site was levelled in the XIIth Dynasty and onward, regardless of previous slope or irregularities of the site. And the earlier temples grew irregularly, and do not follow a uniform slope of basal sand; and heaps of broken pottery filled part of the site which was covered by the second and third temples. Moreover, it was impossible to reach the basal sand under most of the temple site, and therefore heights could not be read from it. The only method then was to take true levels over the whole ground, and leave the irregularities of each period to be seen by the differences of level. *Hence the levels of this year have no constant relation to the heights over sand of last year.* The zero of this year's levels was taken at 400 inches below the top of the large block of granite which formed the side of the pylon of Tahutmes III in the western wall; as that was visible from all parts of the site, and was not

moved by us, being outside of the early temple area. The connection between the sloping sand zero of last year and the level zero of this year may be stated thus:—Near the W. wall of the outer temenos the basal sand slopes down to the E. at 1 in 40 for 500 inches; then 1 in 70 for 1,000 inches, and is then horizontal for 500 inches or more; at this region, about the Tahutmes pylon, the zero basal sand of last year is about at 125 inches in the levels of this year. So, roughly speaking, the sand zero of last year outside the temple on the west slopes from 150 to 125 inches above the zero level of this year. But the sand would probably slope down to an average of 100 above zero beneath the temple site; and the average of seven forms of pottery found in both systems of levels, would give the sand surface as 92 in absolute level. Such amount of difference is desirable to avoid confusion, which might have arisen if the numbers had been nearly alike. There are no heights of objects over sand last year as large as 120 inches, and there are no levels of objects this year as small as 120, so there can be no question in future as to the meaning of numbers on pottery or other objects from here.

8. In the plans here given it should be understood that not only the new buildings of a certain period are shown, but also all buildings which are proved by their levels to have been in use at that period. A plan shows then all that we know to have been in simultaneous use in one period. But in order to distinguish the older from the newer work, the buildings which are in previous plans are shaded from high left to low right, those which appear first



in the present plan are shaded oppositely ; and, again, of the fresh buildings, those which are earlier in the given period are shaded closely, and those which were added to them later in the period are shaded openly. The relation of the different shading is given in a table at the foot of each plan ; and also the levels of the shadings at opposite sides of the plan, depending upon the slope of the site.

Stonework is marked in solid black where upright construction yet remains ; in open outline for pavements and substructures. Brickwork is shown by shading, varying according to its age as stated above.

Upon the plans the levels are shown in inches above the arbitrary datum. Usually two levels are stated with a hyphen between ; the lower is the level of the base of the wall, showing when it was founded, the upper is that of the highest part of the wall, which shows the ground level at the period when it was swept away, and therefore dates the close of its use. Where only one level is stated to a wall the hyphen before it shows that it is a base level, or the hyphen after it shows that it is a top level.

There are also reference numbers in large type, mainly to the foundation deposits, referring to the numbers attached to objects found.

Also there are numbers with decimal points, as 6.1, which show the breadths of bricks used in the walls. For the details of such see under the "nominal number" in the table of dimensions of bricks at the end of the volume. This "nominal number" is not necessarily the exact mean dimension, but it serves to refer to the group of actual measurements in the table as well as a letter or reference mark, and it gives an idea of the general dimension at the same time. It is intentionally made slightly different for different groups of bricks, in order to serve to identify them in the table.

All suggestions of restored outlines of build-

ings are marked with broken lines without any shading, so that there can be no doubt about the observed remains.

9. Pl. xlix. To begin with, an outline of some of the principal buildings is given, to show the general nature of the site. I have not attempted to show all periods, nor the whole work of any one age ; but only a selection which will avoid confusion. The great outer wall marked xii was probably first built by Usertesen I ; the bricks of the oldest parts of it are the same sizes as bricks of his foundation deposits, and it rests upon town ruins of the Old Kingdom. But this wall has been so often broken and repaired that a complete study of it would be a heavy task ; some parts rest on XIXth Dynasty building, and even Roman patchwork is seen. The general character of it is shown in pl. xlvi, with alternating portions, the first set consisting of towers of brickwork built in concave foundations, and then connecting walls between, formed in straight courses. The purpose of this construction has long been a puzzle, but a suggestion may be made here. The weakness of great walls of unbaked brick consists in the scaling of the face, when a whole sheet of two or three bricks in thickness will crack through and drop away from the main mass. An obvious remedy for this is to have construction lines of well-laid bricks running through the wall, square with the face. And the best way of ensuring that real strengthening lines are laid, is to have alternate blocks built and well finished, and then connected by intermediate masses. Another advantage of this form is that if scaling begins in one block the joints across the wall will prevent it spreading through to another block. The alternate concave and straight courses are the natural result of building isolated masses, on a concave bed like all Egyptian houses, and then connecting them by intermediate walls. The hard face across the wall, and the joint to prevent the spread of

scaling, are the essential advantages of this construction.

The corner marked Kom-es-Sultan is the enclosure which was emptied out by Mariette's diggers because of the abundance of burials with steles of the XIIth to XVIIIth Dynasties. They have removed all the earth to far below the base of the walls, thus digging in most parts right through the town of the Old Kingdom, which stood here before the great walls were built.

The inner two sides of this enclosed corner are later than the outer wall; the bricks are larger than those of Usertesen, and the base of the wall is higher than his. It appears then, that burials having begun in that corner of the great fortification, it was feared that they would spread inconveniently, and so two cross walls were built to box off the corner and reserve that part only for burials.

On the east side the wall is strangely askew to the gateway; but the whole history of the S.E. corner is so complex and unexamined that the rebuilding of the walls and their connection with the late pylon is not at all understood.

The causeway line dotted through the site from the east to the west gate is a main feature; but it is later than the VIth Dynasty, as the wall of that age cuts it, and it was cut in two by later buildings of the XXth Dynasty. It seems then to begin with Usertesen, whose gateways it runs through; and to have been kept up by Tahutmes III, who built a wall with granite pylon for it (marked xviii here), and also by Ramessu II, who built a great portal colonnade of limestone for the causeway to pass through on entering the cemetery, outside the west wall of this plan.

To the north of the causeway are seen the tombs of the Ist Dynasty, which were discovered last year and published in *Abydos I*, xxxvi—xlix. One more, No. 27, was found this year beneath the wall of Tahutmes: it was of just the same character as the larger of the

previous tombs. All of these are, of course, far below any of the buildings shown on this outline plan.

The excavations of last year began along the north of the site of the temple of Nekht-nebf; a row of trenches, with only a foot or two of earth between them, was run from this site northwards, passing between the Kom-es-Sultan and the pylon of the XVIIIth Dynasty, and ending beyond the tombs of the Ist Dynasty. This ground was all completely turned over to the basal sand, and served as a waste space for receiving the temple earth from this year's work.

Of the two long walls marked vi the inner one is older, but was reused by Pepy. It is probably the temenos of the IIIrd Dynasty. The outer wall is the temenos of the VIth Dynasty, the west side of which is yet unknown, and has probably been all destroyed.

The temple of Pepy is shown in the middle, with the N., W. and S. sides of the thin boundary wall which enclosed it. The thick wall which lies outside of that is the great wall of the XVIIIth Dynasty, with the granite pylon of Tahutmes III. It seems to have followed the line of the VIth Dynasty wall on the north. The walls of the XIIth Dynasty are omitted here, as they would cause so much confusion; and for all the details the following plans should be studied.

The outline marked xix shows a high level platform of stone, which was probably the basement of buildings of Ramessu II.

10. Pl. I. This plate includes two periods of building, and an intermediate stage. The earliest building that I could trace on the temple site was at A. The north end of the thin, long wall is based at 114 level, and was cut down at 158 level, probably when the adjacent chambers at 165 were built. The wide layer of sanded ground at 146 shows a rearrangement and furnishing of the site at a second period. Of the same date seems to be the continuation of this

wall to the southward, based at 154. No such walls were to be found under E or F, the lowest levels of all that ground being filled with rubbish heaps of broken pottery and refuse. The building A seems then to be that of the original temple, and to have been entered by a passage from the south. The northern and western walls of it could not be traced, all the north having been cut away by the sand bed of XXth Dynasty; but a fragment with its top at 148 might be part of a north wall of the same age. Of the same earliest building are the chambers by B based at 115, the stone paving at 114 west of these, and the chambers at C on the south, based at 120 to 134.

The second period, of the rearrangement of A, is marked by the sanded ground at 146 east of A, the extension of A southward at 154, the great temenos wall D at 143, the walls east of that at 145, and the house away to the west at 142.

As the rubbish accumulated the level rose about these buildings, and the approach sloped upward, as seen at the yellow brick floor on the north-east, which rises from 142 to 165.

11. The next period shows the establishment of much larger buildings at E and F. The ground level had risen by accumulations at A and around it, so that the base of the south wall of E rises from 157 on the east to 185 towards the west, completely burying the remains of the older temple at A. The great building at E was 42 ft. wide inside, with walls 8 ft. thick; the difference of shading upon it is to mark this change of level, but it was doubtless all built at the same time. The north wall was not traced, but it must have been under the line of the later wall at 170-190 level, as on the next plate will be seen a wall at 180-210, which clearly bounded the road on the north; and, allowing for the road width, the north face of the temple can hardly have been beyond the wall 170-190. We must then imagine a space of about 21 × 42 ft., with an entrance on the north.

This must have had some supports for the roof, and probably the 42 ft. was divided into 3, 5, or 7 spaces. Both 3 and 7 spaces imply unlikely spans, and 5 spaces with spans of 8 ft. each across the width, and 3 spaces with 7 ft. spans in the depth, seem most suitable.

In front of this, on the other side of the roadway, was built a block of rooms at 155 to 165 base level, and others at 146 and 163 level. Just within the temenos wall D a set of four strong store rooms were built at F, with base at 161-169 level. This was later increased by three more chambers in front of it, at 172 to 181 level, which cut off the region south of the temple from the entrance at D, and must have made the road in front of the temple the only way into the temenos.

To the east of the temenos wall D the ground was sanded over at 154 to 159, and some houses were built at 162, with two circular granaries.

The date of this second temple is indicated by ribbed slate like that of Den at 170, and ribbed alabaster like that of Den at 180, while a sealing of Qa was further to the west at 178. These positions may be taken as about the level of the close of the Ist Dynasty, as the objects of Den were probably old when thrown away. If then the close of the Ist Dynasty is at 170 to 180 level, we must put the later chambers of F, and later front of E, to that age; and the building of the temple E and temenos D must be of the earlier part of the Ist Dynasty, perhaps of Zer. This will throw back the refurbishing of the site and sanding at 146 level to the time of Mena; and the earliest temple at A would be that of the pre-Menite kings of Dynasty 0. Such seems the probable history of the site, from the fixed position of the latter part of the Ist Dynasty.

12. Pl. li. The temple of the II<sup>nd</sup> and III<sup>rd</sup> Dynasties was much the same structure as that built in the Ist Dynasty. An entrance door-sill remains at B; and a skew front to the store rooms was built, with a sill at 185, which is shown in the last plan, but which should be



transferred to the present. A long wall was built at 180 level, bounding the temple road on the north. To the west an outer enclosure appears at 200-235 level, which seems to have joined the southern boundary wall D. The north boundary is probably the wall 202-254. Within this area is a sanded space at 190, and a much larger sanded space outside it at 192, showing a great refurbishing in the IIInd Dynasty.

To the south of the temple the way which had been left at 174 level past the building at 161-194 was cut off by the extension of the great store chambers C. The older boundary wall, E, at 171 to 195 was in the IIInd Dynasty rebuilt much thicker at 195 to 210, and the temenos wall was thickened by adding about 6 ft. more brickwork to its outer face at 177 level. In front of the temenos some more skew buildings were added.

At the south of the temple building was found a pit about 4 ft. deep and 3 ft. in diameter; it was roughly cut through the strata of pottery and rubbish, and whitewashed over the sides. In it was found the limestone cylinder, shown on pl. xii 276; and the level to which the cylinder must be credited is that of the top of the pit 187. This is practically the ground level of the temple, which we have seen is of about the date of Zer. The fine black cylinder, xii, 275, was found at the same level in the western region. Agreeing nearly with this dating is the flint flake of the style of Zer found at 197 level, S.W. of the temple. The southern ground was higher than the rest of the site in later times, a difference which very likely began earlier.

Pl. lii. An entire reconstruction next took place, in which the older buildings of the temple were cut down to below 210, and new buildings started. The date of this change is uncertain; but as it is the last building before that of Pepy, it must have been in use in the Vth Dynasty, though, as there are two periods

traceable, it probably started in the IVth Dynasty. The ground sloped much as before, and hence we may consider the eastern door-sill at 185 level to have been still in use along with the black ash bed of offerings beginning about 210.

The thick outer wall on the east remained as before, and the general mass of store chambers, which were, however, extended to the north, on the disappearance of the older temple. The site west of the stores seems to have been cut in two by a long wall D; a new block of dwellings being built in between that and the old stores. Probably D shut off the actual temple from stores and dwellings.

14. Whatever there was of the shrine itself had mainly disappeared in the reconstruction by Pepy. But a great ash bed remained which is so far unique. At about 210 level black burnt earth had been accumulated on the ground, and spread out over a space more than 10 by 15 feet in area. After several inches thickness was piled up the ground was delimited by a thin wall of two courses of bricks end to end, the bricks being laid upon the ashes. This boundary was observed, and the further accumulations inside it were mainly charcoal ash and fine carbon, while outside it was earth stained black by the dust. No bones were found in this pile, nor any definite objects of sacrifice or offering, except hundreds of little twists of burnt clay, of the forms shown in pl. xiv, 285—287. These seem to be the very degraded and conventionalized imitation of some object of offering, perhaps the fore-quarters of a sheep. This heap cannot be regarded as a mere rubbish heap, because (1) no ordinary rubbish such as broken pottery was found in it, (2) it was carefully delimited with a thin line of bricks, (3) only one class of votive offerings was found there, and these were not found anywhere else. It must therefore be a hearth of burnt offering; and no such offering place is known in any of the

temples before or after this here, nor in any other Egyptian building.

The building around this was smaller than those before or after; it was in fact a mere cell about 12 feet wide, which enclosed the ground of burnt offering; and there does not seem to be any space for a temple beside this. Have we not here in this change in the character of the worship the basis of the tradition about Khufu, preserved by Herodotos, that "having shut up all the temples, he first of all forbade them to offer sacrifice, and afterwards he ordered all the Egyptians to work for himself" (Hdtos. ii, 124)?

At the west and south of this cell of burnt offering is a bed of sand, A, which supported a later building based at about 230 level, which seems to have enclosed the cell of offering. This may well have been a temple of the priestly age of the Vth Dynasty. The deposit at 92 differs from any other, having only a few small beads and a little model adze of copper in the sand.

South of this sanctuary was a block of buildings, E, which had a clear passage left between it and the dividing wall D.

15. The entrance to the offering cell appears to have been from the north, the road passing from the east gateway along the north face of the building. Thus the two decrees of Teta and Neferarkara, C, which lay face down, stood probably one on each side of the road to the cell, so as to be well seen and known. At B is the stone sill of the doorway which led into the precinct, at level 185. The stones at 203 and 209 may be part of the foundations of a stone doorway to which this sill belonged.

Behind the sanctuary to the west the ground was strewn with various offerings. Two groups of pottery stands (see pl. xii, 270-272) and two other such stands, a great mass of broken pottery of large vessels, and various other vases, were in this area. The most important part here was the chamber 69, which con-

tained the glazed figures and ivories of the Ist Dynasty. This and some of the other offerings ought rather to have been entered in the previous plan; but as there was no building in this region, it seemed best to keep all the offerings together on one plan, so as to see their relation.

There is a difficulty in understanding how the chambers 64 and 65 at the north end came to have objects of the Ist Dynasty in them. By the levels we should attribute these chambers to the XIth Dynasty. Either we must suppose that building must have gone on very rapidly here, raising the site 6 or 7 ft. above the rest of the ground; or else that these early objects were found in digging by Sankhkara when he rearranged the place, and were then put aside as sacred in some disused rooms. As the large ape-like stones (pl. ix, 195, 196) were set upright against the chamber sides, it appears that they were respected when put in position.

The general nature of the sanctuary of the IVth and Vth Dynasty then is different from the earlier or later arrangement. Instead of a large building there is a cell for burnt offerings, and an open space beyond it in which stands and vases were placed, apparently bounded by the walls G, and another wall 30 ft. to the south; outside of this wall on the south the broken offering jars were thrown in a heap. Both the cell and the offering ground were covered over by the later temple of Pepy.

16. Pl. liii. The VIth Dynasty was a great time of reconstruction; the two stone gateways of the enclosures, and the two stone doorways of the temple of this age being the earliest important stonework that remains. The evidences of the date of the work are given by the stele of the VIth Dynasty (pl. xix) standing unmoved in its original base-block, just in front of the temple doorway, on ground which is at the level of that under the stone