

THE PYRAMID OF MOERIS.

IN my paper on 'the Two Labyrinths' (*J.H.S.* xxv. p. 320) I have throughout spoken of the Pyramid of Hawara, in front of which the Egyptian Labyrinth was erected, as the pyramid of Amenemhat III (Lamaris or Moeris) and have described it as his tomb. Now the southern brick pyramid of Dashur, excavated by MM. de Morgan and Legrain some years ago, also belonged to Amenemhat III, and is claimed by its excavators as the tomb of the king, the old identification, adopted by Lepsius and Petrie, of the Hawara pyramid as his tomb, being considered to be erroneous. As this fact was not mentioned in my former paper I add a short postscript on the subject.

M. de Morgan forgot that many Egyptian kings were provided with two tombs, one of which was a secondary sepulchre built in another part of the country from his real tomb either in order to delude would-be tomb-robbers or as a memorial in some specially sacred place, such as Abydos. Aha, perhaps the earliest King of Egypt, had two tombs, one at Abydos, the other at Nakâda. Tjeser Khetneter, of the IIIrd Dynasty, also had two tombs, one (the Step Pyramid) at Sakḳara, the necropolis of Memphis, the other a great *mastaba* at Bêt Khallâf, not far north at Abydos.¹ Seneferu the last king of the same dynasty, had two great stone pyramids, one at Mêdûm, the other at Dashur, both of which are still among the most important ancient monuments of Egypt. Usertsen (Senusret) III (Lachares), the predecessor of Amenemhat III, had, like the latter, a pyramid in the Memphite necropolis (the Northern brick pyramid of Dashur), and also a rock-cut *bab* or gallery-tomb in the southern cliffs of Abydos, excavated by Mesrs Weigall and Currelly. Aahmes I had a curious and roughly-excavated secondary tomb at Abydos, and without doubt a gallery-tomb in the Dra' Abu 'l-Negga at Thebes. Queen Teta-shera, the grandmother of Aahmes, had her real tomb in the Dra' Abu 'l-Negga, and a mock-tomb (a pyramid) built as a memorial to her by Aahmes at Abydos. All the Abydene tombs were probably mere memorials 'in the sacred land' of Osiris and the reason why no trace of the burials of Aahmes or Usertsen III have been found in the tombs at Abydos is, perhaps, because they were never buried there, their real tombs being in the Dra' Abu 'l-Negga (whence the body of Aahmes was removed to the Deir el-Bahari pit and

¹ *Fouilles à Dahshour*, 1894-5 (Vienna, 1903), p. 106.

thence to Bulak Museum in 1881) and at Dashur.² In the same way Amenemhat III had two tombs, the pyramid of Hawara and the southern brick pyramid of Dashur. If his predecessor's real tomb was the northern brick pyramid, it might be supposed that the Dashur tomb is the real burial-place of King Moeris, the Hawara pyramid being a monument put up in the sacred Lake-land of the Fayyum which owed so much to the king and to whose crocodile-god he was so devoted, just as other kings had secondary tombs in the holy land of Osiris at Abydos. This may be, though there seems to be no particular reason why the reverse should not be the correct explanation. We simply do not know. In any case M. de Morgan was right in saying that the southern brick pyramid of Dashur belonged to Amenemhat III but was wrong in saying that the Hawara pyramid did not. Both it and the Labyrinth adjoining were built by him. Whether king Moeris was actually buried at Hawara or at Dashur, later generations regarded the pyramid adjoining the Labyrinth as his actual tomb, and as such I treated it in my paper on 'the Two Labyrinths.'

H. R. HALL.

² It might be objected that the great sarcophagus in the Usertsen tomb would hardly have been dragged down to such a depth had it not been originally intended that the royal body should rest in it, and that a mere memorial tomb at Abydos would hardly have been carried out with full realistic detail, everything being there except the body itself. I do not know, however, that this is impossible, given the idea of making a secondary tomb at all. The two pyramids of Amenemhat III at Dashur and Hawara are equally elaborately built, though one of them was not the actual resting-place of the king. It has occurred to me that perhaps the royal tombs of the First and Second

Dynasties at Umm el-Ga'ab in the necropolis of Abydos may not be in reality the actual tombs of the early kings at all, but simply secondary tombs built as memorials in the holy land of Osiris, the actual sepulchres being elsewhere; Aha certainly had two tombs, one at Umm el-Ga'ab, the other at Naḳâda, and it may be that the latter was his real tomb. Now these early secondary (?) tombs were furnished as completely as if the kings had actually been buried in them. The mock or imitation tombs, as the pyramid of Teta-shera, were more or less carelessly made of rubble, like the mock pyramid of Mentuhetep at Deir el-Bahari. They are not secondary tombs, properly speaking.