

THE EGYPTIAN LABYRINTH

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I shall speak at some length of Egypt because beyond all lands it possesses many wonders and marvels which pass all power to describe.

(Herodotus, *Histories*, II, 35)

To Herodotus, as to many Greeks, Egypt was a land which never ceased to astonish and inspire admiration. It was a land of strange customs, strange plants and animals as well as eccentric geography but, above all perhaps, it was a land of prodigious architectural achievements.

One of the buildings which excited the greatest enthusiasm, rivalling even the Pyramids, was the Labyrinth. Unfortunately, since this monument no longer survives, we owe it entirely to classical sources and archaeological excavation that we have any knowledge of the building at all. Nevertheless, on the basis of this material several determined attempts¹ have already been made to build up an over-all picture and it may well be questioned whether yet another study of the subject is likely to be of much value. There are, however, a number of very good reasons for a re-examination of the data. In the first case, although various aspects of the subject have been discussed by different scholars, there is no comprehensive treatment in any language. Secondly, the standard reconstruction of the building, that of Petrie, needs correction in several important respects, partly because of his inadequate knowledge of classical languages and partly because he fails in some matters to give proper consideration to the facts of Egyptian architectural practice.

The third reason for reopening the question is the fact that the Labyrinth still causes considerable difficulty to some scholars. It has, indeed, been possible, within the last few years, for one scholar to make the quite untenable suggestion that the Labyrinth was a Pyramid City, thereby flying full in the face of established facts (see below p. 93, n. 5).

In such circumstances the subject clearly needs an airing and we can, therefore, turn with complete justification to a detailed discussion of this vexed but fascinating Egyptological problem.

There are three categories of evidence available to us in dealing with the various problems arising in connection with the Labyrinth:

¹ Letronne, *Oeuvres Choisies*, I (Paris, 1881), 294 ff.; Wiedemann, *Herodots zweites Buch* (Leipzig, 1890), 524 ff.; Myers, *LAAA* 3 (1910), 134 ff.; Petrie, *Hawara, Biahmu and Arsinoe* (London, 1889), 4 ff.; id., *The Labyrinth, Gerzeh and Mazguneh* (London, 1912), 28 ff.; Kees, *RE* 12, 323 ff.; De Meulenaere in *Herodotos over de 26ste Dynastie* (Louvain, 1951), 11 prematurely despairs.

This study has benefited much from discussions with Mr. W. G. G. Forrest of Wadham College, Oxford, and my colleague Dr. J. Gwyn Griffiths, University College, Swansea.

- a. Literary sources.
- b. Archaeological excavation.
- c. Our extensive knowledge of Egyptian architectural practice.

It is necessary to deal with the data derived from the first two categories in detail; for in the case of the literary sources we are sometimes faced with difficult problems of lexicography and interpretation, while the archaeological data were published in excavation reports which are not easily accessible to everyone. As for the third category of evidence, clearly a detailed exposition is out of the question. All one can do is deal with the relevant aspects of Egyptian architectural practice whenever it is possible to use such data.

(a) Literary sources

There are six classical writers who deal with the Labyrinth. We give literal translations of the relevant texts in chronological order.

1. Moreover, they decided to leave to posterity a common memorial and caused to be built a Labyrinth for their greater glory, a little above Lake Moeris more or less in the vicinity of the city called the City of Crocodiles; this Labyrinth I actually saw, a work greater than all power to describe. For if anyone were to add together¹ the buildings constructed by Greeks and their architectural achievements, they would appear inferior in labour and expense to this Labyrinth. Yet both the temple at Ephesus and that at Samos are by no means negligible. Indeed, the Pyramids also surpassed all power to describe and each one of them was comparable to many great works of the Greeks, but the Labyrinth—it surpasses even the Pyramids. For it consists of twelve roofed courts² which have their gates opposite one another,³ six facing northwards and six facing south. The courts are also contiguous, and are confined by the same wall on the outside. Inside are two groups of chambers, one group underground, the other group above on top of them, 3,000 in number, 1,500 of each type. The chambers above ground I myself saw as I passed through them and I speak of them on the basis of my own observation, but the subterranean group I heard of only by oral report. For the Egyptians in charge refused flatly to show them, saying that there lay the tombs not only of the kings who had caused the Labyrinth to be built in the beginning but also those of the sacred crocodiles. So my statements on the lower chambers are based on hearsay, though I speak of the upper chambers from my own observation.

¹ συλλογίζαιτο: Two meanings have been assigned to this verb:

(i) 'Reckon up', *LSJ* 1673, a; Legrand, *Hérodote*, II (Paris, 1948), 70.

(ii) 'Put together in one'; Rawlinson, *Herodotus*, II, 226.

Godley, *Herodotus* (Loeb), I, 455 and Powell, *Lexicon to Herodotus*, 341, both translate 'add together'. This is not absolutely clear but almost certainly approximates to (i).

All the examples of συλλογίζομαι quoted in *LSJ* appear to refer to *mental* rather than *physical* gathering and consequently serve to support the first translation. Nevertheless, the root may bear the second meaning, which certainly gives a better sense in this context.

² αὐλαὶ κατάστεγοι: αὐλή in Homeric Greek denotes an open court or courtyard before a house, later an open court around which a house was built; cf. Herodotus, III, 77. Herodotus' description of them as 'roofed over' (κατάστεγοι) is certainly odd, since a roofed αὐλή would seem to be a contradiction in terms. We ought, however, probably to assume that κατάστεγος is being used rather loosely and simply reflects the presence round the courts of a colonnade or cloister which left the central part of the court completely open. This interpretation of the description becomes all the more probable when one observes that it is the general practice for αὐλαί in Egyptian temples to be surrounded by porticoes in this way.

³ This is the only possible meaning of ἀντίπυλοι ἀλλήλησι.

These upper chambers are quite beyond human capacity to build; for both the exits through the vestibules¹ and the extremely twisting and winding course² which one must take through the courts inspired boundless wonder as one passed from court into chambers and from chambers into columned porches,³ then into further vestibules from the columned porches and into yet other courts from the chambers. All these structures have a roof made of stone—exactly like the walls, and the walls are covered with reliefs, and each court has a colonnade around it made of exactly fitting limestone⁴ blocks. Adjacent to the corner at the end of the Labyrinth stands a pyramid 40 *orguia* high on which mighty figures are carved; and a subterranean passage runs into it.

Herodotus, *Histories*, II, 148

¹ *στέγη* is a little difficult. Of the attested meanings (cf. *LSJ* 1636, a) the following seem applicable:

- (i) 'Roofed place, room.'
- (ii) 'Covered vestibule.'

The position of the *στέγαι* in the Labyrinth seems to suggest that they are near the gates. Further, if (i) were correct, *στέγη* would be identical in meaning with *οἰκημα*. We are, therefore, probably justified in assuming that (ii) is the sense here. Indeed, *IG* 2², 1046, 12–13 contains the expression *τὴν ὀπίσω τοῦ προπύλου στέγην* which gives exactly the meaning required.

² *ἐλιγμοί* denote 'windings, convolutions'. Since the word is applied to the journey *through the courts*, it seems unlikely that it means 'a winding passage way'. It might imply two things:

- (i) The visitors were led on a tortuous route around the halls.
- (ii) It was impossible to pass directly from one end to the other because of the disposition of altars, statues, etc., the number of which is known from Pliny and the excavations to have been considerable (see below).

³ *παστάς* is a difficult word. It occurs only once elsewhere in H. (II, 169, 5). Both passages use the word in the description of temples. Therefore, if we can establish the significance of the word in one case, it is probable that the meaning will be applicable to the other. Since II, 169, 5 contains the fullest information we must start from there.

In this passage we have the following data:

- (i) The *παστάς* is a *σῆμα*, i.e. the visible part of a tomb.
- (ii) It stands *ἐν τῇ ἀλλῇ τοῦ ἱεροῦ*.
- (iii) It is large.
- (iv) It is made of stone.
- (v) It is adorned with palm-tree columns as well as other expensive items.
- (vi) Inside are two doors giving access to the sepulchre (*θήκη*) of Amasis.

These points can only fit one thing—a mortuary temple designed to serve the cult of the dead king. However, H. calls the whole *σῆμα* a *παστάς*. Since there is no known case in Greek where the *παστάς* is a whole building, H. must be using the word here by a *σκήμα καθ' ὅλον καὶ μέρος*.

Now, the word, when applied to a Greek temple, refers to a colonnade (cf. *LSJ* 1346, b, *παστάς*, 2) such as ran round a temple. There are two Egyptian counterparts to this:

- (i) Very rarely one finds an Egyptian temple surrounded by an ambulatory which is supported by columns. This tends to become commoner in the Late Period.
- (ii) The normal counterpart is a columned porch.

Ch. 148 suggests that H. was led through a large number of *παστάδες*. It is unlikely that he would be put to the unnecessary trouble of being led through the ambulatories of many little temples. Therefore, the second alternative must be correct. H. might easily speak of the mortuary temple (*σῆμα*) as a *παστάς* if, as is the case with the little temple of Medinet Habu (Hölscher, *Excavation of Medinet Habu*, II (Chicago, 1939), 5 ff.; Vandier, *Manuel*, II (Paris, 1955), 747 ff.), much of the temple consisted of a hypostyle porch.

One may, therefore, conclude that *παστάς*, in both cases where H. used the word of Egyptian temples, refers to a hypostyle porch and we propose to translate 'columned porch'.

One might suggest, in passing, that the mortuary installations mentioned in Herodotus, II, 169, 5 might well be analogous to the little mortuary temples of the High Priestesses of Medinet Habu, see Hölscher, *Excavation of Medinet Habu*, v (Chicago, 1954), 16 ff.

⁴ H.'s *λίθος λευκός* is almost certainly a dragoman's literal translation of the Egyptian  *inr h'd*, 'limestone' (*Wb.* I, 97).

2. Fourth King.¹ Lamares,² eight years. He built the Labyrinth in the Arsinoite Nome as a tomb for himself.

Manetho (Jacoby, *FgrH* 3 (C), 609, p. 30, 23–5)

3. When this king died the government was recovered by Egyptians and they appointed a native king Mendes, whom some call Marrus. Though he was responsible for no military achievements whatsoever, he did build himself what is called the Labyrinth as a tomb, an edifice which is wonderful not so much for its size as for the inimitable skill with which it was built; for, once in, it is impossible to find one's way out again without difficulty, unless one lights upon a guide who is perfectly acquainted with it. It is even said by some that Daedalus crossed over to Egypt and, in wonder at the skill shown in the building, built for Minos, King of Crete, a labyrinth like that in Egypt, in which, so the tale goes, the creature called the Minotaur was kept. Be that as it may, the Cretan Labyrinth has completely disappeared, either through the destruction wrought by some ruler or through the ravages of time; but the Egyptian Labyrinth remains absolutely perfect in its entire construction down to my own time.

Diodorus Siculus, 1, 61

The Dodecarchs resolve to make a common tomb as in Herodotus:

And seized with enthusiasm for this enterprise they strove eagerly to surpass all their predecessors in the size of their building. For they chose a site beside the channel leading into Lake Moeris in Libya and there constructed their tomb of the finest stone, laying down an oblong as the shape and a stade as the size of each side, while in respect of carving and other works of craftsmanship they left no room for their successors to surpass them. For, when one had entered the sacred enclosure,³ one found a temple⁴ surrounded by columns, 40 to each side, and this building had a roof made of a single stone, carved with panels⁵ and richly adorned with excellent paintings. It contained memorials of the homeland of each of the Kings as well as of the temples and sacrifices carried out in it, all skilfully worked in paintings of the greatest beauty. Generally it is said that the kings conceived their tomb on such an expensive and prodigious scale that if they had not been deposed before its completion, they would not have left their successors any opportunity to surpass them in architectural feats.⁶

Id. 1, 66 3–6

4. . . . the total number of nomes was equal to the number of the courts in the Labyrinth; these are fewer than 30.⁷

Strabo, 17, 1, 3 (C787)

¹ Lamares stands in Manetho in the position of Sesostriis III. For an explanation of the confusion see Hall, *JHS* 25 (1905), 327, 330.

² Λαχάρης in all manuscripts of Syncellus; *Lampares* in the Armenian version of Eusebius; Eusebius (Sync.) λάμαρις B, Λάβαρις G, Λαμάρις Gu.

³ περίβολος: 'Sacred enclosure' *LSJ* 1370, a, περίβολος, 2. This translation is preferable to Oldfather's 'enclosure wall' (Diodorus Siculus (Loeb), 1, 229) for two reasons:

(i) There are many Late Greek examples of the word in such contexts.

(ii) εἰσελθόντι 'having gone into' fits an enclosure better than a wall. Had περίβολος meant 'wall' D. S. would have used διελθόντι δέ as in 1, 47, 2.

⁴ οἶκος: 'temple'. Sophocles, *Greek Lexicon*, 797, a, οἶκος 1. Oldfather (op. cit.) translates 'court'. This translation it is difficult to accept since neither Sophocles nor *LSJ* (1204 b–1205 a) quotes any example of οἶκος in this sense. Indeed, semantically one would not expect the word to develop such a meaning anyway.

⁵ φάτναι: 'panels, coffers'; *LSJ* 1919 b, φάτνη 11; cf. Sophocles, op. cit. 1136, b.

⁶ It is important to note that in this passage Diodorus does not call the building 'the Labyrinth'. There is, therefore, no internal contradiction in his tradition on the subject. To him the tomb built by Mendes and the monument of the Dodecarchs are two different things. ⁷ Meineke, following Groskurd, emends to 36.

In addition to these things there is the edifice of the Labyrinth which is a building quite equal to the Pyramids and nearby the tomb of the king who built the Labyrinth. There is at the point where one first enters the channel, about 30 or 40 stades along the way, a flat trapezium-shaped site which contains both a village and a great palace made up of many palaces equal in number to that of the nomes in former times; for such is the number of peristyle courts which lie contiguous with one another, all in one row and backing on one wall, as though one had a long wall with the courts lying before it, and the passages into the courts lie opposite the wall. Before the entrances there lie what might be called hidden chambers¹ which are long and many in number and have paths running through one another which twist and turn, so that no one can enter or leave any court without a guide. And the wonder of it is that the roofs of each of the chambers are made of single stones and the width of the hidden chambers is spanned in the same way by monolithic beams of outstanding size; for nowhere is wood or any other material included. And if one mounts onto the roof, at no great height because the building has only one storey, it is possible to get a view of a plain of masonry made of such stones, and, if one drops back down from there into the courts, it is possible to see them lying there in a row each supported by 27 monolithic pillars; the walls too are made up of stones of no less a size.

At the end of this building, which occupies an area of more than a stade, stands the tomb, a pyramid on an oblong base, each side about 4 *plethra* in length and the height about the same; the name of the man buried there was Imandes. The reason for making the courts so many is said to be the fact that it was customary for all the nomes to gather there according to rank with their own priests and priestesses, for the purpose of sacrifice, divine-offering, and judgement on the most important matters.² And each of the nomes was lodged in the court appointed to it.

Id. 17, 1, 37 (C811)

And above this city stands Abydos, in which there is the Memnonium, a palace wonderfully constructed of massive stonework in the same way as we have said the Labyrinth was built,³ though the Memnonium differs in being simple in structure.

Id. 17, 1, 42 (C813)

5. Let us speak also of labyrinths, quite the most extraordinary works on which men have spent their money, but not, as may be thought, figments of the imagination. There still exists even now in Egypt in the Heracleopolite Nome the one which was built first, according to tradition 3,600 years ago by King Petesuchis or Tithois, though Herodotus ascribes the whole work to the Twelve Kings and Psammetichus, the latest of them. Various reasons are given for building it. Demoteles claims that it was the palace of Moteris, Lyceas the tomb of Moeris, but the majority of writers take the view that it was built as a temple to the Sun, and this is generally accepted. At any rate, that Daedalus used this as the model for the Labyrinth which he built in Crete is beyond doubt, but it is equally clear that he imitated only the rooth part of it which contains twisting paths and passages which advance and retreat—all impossible to negotiate. The reason for this is not that within a small compass it involves one in mile upon mile of walking, as we see in tessellated floors⁴ or the

¹ Cf. Sophocles, op. cit. 693, a, *κρυπτός*, 2(a).

² Discussion of the text Aly, *Strabonis Geographica* (Bonn, 1957), 4, pp. 82 ff.

³ Strabo means nothing more than that both the Memnonium and the Labyrinth were built of massive stonework, but the following expression is significant (see below).

⁴ Not clear, but it is worth bearing in mind that examples are known of mosaic floors covered with Labyrinth patterns; cf. the House of the Labyrinth, Pompeii, Marion E. Blake, *MAAR* 8 (1930), 82 ff. with pl. 19; Pernice, *Pavimente und figürliche Mosaiken (Die hellenistische Kunst in Pompeji)*, 6, Berlin, 1938), 37, 76, 81, 141 with pls. 9, 3; 19, 3. This suggestion I owe to my colleague Mr. R. J. Ling.

displays given by boys on the Campus,¹ but that frequently doors are buried in it to beguile the visitor into going forward and then force him to return into the same winding paths. This was the second to be built after the Egyptian Labyrinth, the third being in Lemnos and the fourth in Italy, all roofed with vaults of polished stone, though the Egyptian specimen, to my considerable astonishment, has its entrance and columns made of Parian marble,² while the rest is of Aswân granite,³ such masses being put together as time itself cannot dissolve even with the help of the Heracleopolitans; for they have regarded the building with extraordinary hatred.⁴

It would be impossible to describe in detail the layout of that building and its individual parts, since it is divided into regions and administrative districts which are called nomes, each of the 21⁵ nomes giving its name to one of the houses. A further reason is the fact that it also contains temples of all the gods of Egypt while, in addition, Nemesis placed in the building's 40 chapels many pyramids of 40 ells each covering an area of 6 arourae with their base. Men are already weary with travelling when they reach that bewildering maze of paths; indeed, there are also lofty upper rooms reached by ramps and porticoes from which one descends on stairways which have 90 steps each; inside are columns of imperial porphyry,⁶ images of the gods, statues of kings and representations of monsters. Certain of the halls are arranged in such a way that as one throws open the door there arises within a fearful noise of thunder; moreover one passes through most of them in darkness. There are again other massive buildings outside the wall of the Labyrinth; they call them 'the Wing'. Then there are other subterranean chambers made by excavating galleries in the soil. One person only has done any repairs there—and they were few in number. He was Chaeremon, the eunuch of king Necthebis, 500 years before Alexander the Great. A tradition is also current that he supported the roofs with beams of acacia wood boiled in oil, until squared stones could be raised up into the vaults.

Pliny, *NH* 36, 13 (19)

6. The building of Psammetichus, the Labyrinth, includes within the circuit of one unbroken wall 1,000 houses and 12 palaces, and is built of marble as well as being roofed with the same material.

¹ The *Ludus Troiae*; cf. Verg. *Aen.* v, 546–603; Schneider, *RE* 13, 2059 ff.; Norden, *Aus altrömischen Priesterbüchern* (1939), 188 ff.

² Limestone in fact; cf. Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, Text, 11 (1904), 14; Hall, *op. cit.* 331.

³ For *Syenites* cf. Lucas and Harris, *Ancient Egyptian Materials* (4th ed., London, 1962), 58.

⁴ Reading 'quod opus invisum mire spectavere'. Eichholz in Pliny, *Natural History* (Loeb), x, 68, reads 'quod opus invisum mire respectavere' and translates 'Their preservation has been aided by the people of Heracleopolis who have shown remarkable respect for an achievement which they detest'. This is certainly wrong:

(i) Classical traditions of the hatred borne by Egyptians to their ancient monuments are the result of the native habit of quarrying them for stone. The fact that such a tradition was current about the Labyrinth ('opus invisum') suggests that the Egyptians had been doing just that, and makes 'respectavere' an unlikely emendation.

(ii) In Strabo's time the building had clearly suffered a great deal (see below). It is not at all unlikely that Pliny should have been aware of this fact.

We conclude that 'spectavere' is the correct reading.

⁵ None of the manuscripts of Pliny preserves this reading. It is Janus's plausible emendation of XXL, the reading of B.

⁶ Lucas and Harris, *op. cit.* 417. This stone is very rare in Egyptian contexts, and it is quite out of the question that it was used in the Labyrinth. It does, however, occur in several parts of Egypt and was imported into Italy by the Romans who used it extensively as an ornamental building stone. Pliny, or his source, has simply thought in Roman terms. He knew the Labyrinth was a large and splendid building. Architects in Italy often employed imperial porphyry for such buildings. Therefore, he imagined the same to be true of Egypt. Such thinking may well account for a number of elements in classical accounts of the Labyrinth which strike one as being a little eccentric.

It has one descending way into it, and contains within almost innumerable paths, which have many convolutions twisting hither and thither. These paths, however, cause great perplexity both because of their continual winding and because of their porticoes which often reverse their direction, continually running through one circle after another and continually turning and retracing their steps as far as they have gone forwards with the result that the Labyrinth is fraught with confusion by reason of its perpetual meandering, though it is possible to extricate oneself.

Pomponius Mela, *Chorographia*, 1, 9, 56

Before we can employ these texts correctly it is necessary for us to establish the nature of the source material which lay at the disposal of the authors. Obviously, classical statements about the builder and purpose of the Labyrinth must be based on tradition, whether Greek, Egyptian, or an amalgam of both. A detailed discussion of these particular issues would be superfluous for the purposes of this inquiry, and we shall postpone the treatment of such aspects as require investigation until the relevant subsections of this article. The major problem which we must attempt to solve at this point is the question of the source material which was used for the various descriptions of the building—in particular what was based on autopsy and what was based on tradition. We must further try to determine, when tradition is in question, whether that, in turn, drew upon reliable material or not.

In the case of Herodotus there is no doubt that the description was based on autopsy since he states quite clearly that he had seen the Labyrinth himself. Diodorus, however, is a rather more complicated matter, since, without his knowledge, Book I of his *Bibliothēke Historike* contains two accounts of the Labyrinth. That the first of these does not result from autopsy is so obvious that formal demonstration is unnecessary. But what of the second? We can be confident that this too is not based on a personal visit, despite the fact that Diodorus had himself visited Egypt.¹ For if Diodorus had visited the Faiyûm—an area teeming with Greeks in his time²—and if he had seen the huge temple to the south of Ammenemes' Pyramid, is it conceivable that he could have gone away ignorant of the fact that what he had seen was the world famous Egyptian Labyrinth? An even more crucial argument is the fact that Diodorus actually mentions architectural features which are virtually impossible in an Egyptian temple. Where, then, did the information come from?

To answer this question one may consider the curious point that the features concerned, i.e. the peristyle³ and the coffered ceiling,⁴ are typical of Greek temples. This

¹ D.S. 1, 46, 7; 1, 83, 8–9; 17, 52, 6. The complete lack of any trace of autopsy outside Alexandria justifies us in suspecting that the Ptolemaic capital was the limit of Diodorus' exploration of Egypt; cf. *RE* 5, 663.

² Schubart, *Ägypten von Alexander dem Grossen bis auf Mohammed* (Berlin, 1922), 187 ff.; id., *Die Griechen in Ägypten* (Leipzig, 1927), 12; Viereck, *Philadelphia* (Leipzig, 1928), *passim*; Rostovtzeff, *A Large Estate in Egypt in the Third Century B.C.* (Madison, 1922), *passim*; Préaux, *Les Grecs en Égypte d'après les archives de Zénon* (Brussels, 1947), *passim*.

³ There are a number of reasons for doubting Diodorus' peristyle:

(i) D. states that the building had 40 columns per side. Since the building was complete in his time (ἀκέραιον τὴν ὅλην κατασκευὴν τετήρηκε μέχρι τοῦ καθ' ἡμᾶς βίου) and since we know that it was oblong (see below p. 90), we are faced with the curious anomaly of 40 columns occupying 1,000 ft. on the long side and 800 ft. on the short! Furthermore, if the 40 columns ran a distance of 1,000 ft., the architraves

[footnotes 3 and 4 continued on next page]

creates a very strong presumption that the person responsible for the account had simply assumed, probably quite unconsciously, that the Labyrinth, which he knew to be a temple, had the features of Greek temple architecture (cf. a similar error in Pliny, p. 86, n. 6 above). Who actually made the mistake, we cannot say for certain. Hecataeus of Abdera, one of Diodorus' major sources¹ in Book I and a man who had a basically sound knowledge of Egypt,² was almost certainly not the culprit. For he knew, from personal experience, what Egyptian temples were like,³ and, therefore, would not have had the attitudes or ignorance necessary to make this mistake. Lyceas also, being a Naucratisite,⁴ can be dismissed for the same reason. Such a mistake would, in fact, require someone with an extremely limited experience of native Egyptian culture, and at the same time some reason to assume that Greek and Egyptian temples were architecturally similar, two conditions which Diodorus himself fulfils admirably. For if, as seems likely, he confined his activities in Egypt to Alexandria; if we bear in mind that here he would have encountered splendid Greek temples replete with coffer work and peristyles, *and* in an Egyptian context; if we further remember that by the time he came to Egypt in the period 60–56 B.C. a certain amount of cultural syncretism had taken place at Alexandria, it is obvious that conditions were perfect for so careless a writer as Diodorus to make a mistake of this order. All he would require is the vague

must have been over 25½ ft. long. This is impossible; for the Labyrinth was built largely of limestone (for architraves of that stone actually discovered on the site see Lepsius, *op. cit.* Text, II, 15), and both Tura and Ma'sara limestone will only span about 9 ft. at the most, though even this is too wide for safety when roofing slabs are to be laid upon the architraves, see Engelbach and Clark, *Ancient Egyptian Masonry* (Oxford, 1930), 12. Therefore, since inter-columniations during the Middle Kingdom were approximately twice the diameter of the column (Jéquier, *Manuel d'Archéologie*, (Paris, 1924), 175), the total length of a limestone architrave could, at the very most, only be 13½ ft. to 14 ft., considerably less than Diodorus' account would compel us to accept.

- (ii) If Herodotus had seen such a prodigious peristyle temple is it conceivable that he would have failed to mention the fact?
- (iii) Peristyle temples are known in Egypt (Borchardt, *Beiträge zur ägyptischen Bauforschung und Altertumskunde*, Heft 2, *Ägyptische Tempel mit Umgang* (Cairo, 1938), *passim*; Vandier, *op. cit.* II, 813 ff.), but they are unusual, provincial, and generally rather small. The mortuary temple of Nebhepetrê at Deir el-Bahri might suggest itself as a parallel but it is not really comparable. It was a natural development of the *Saff-Tomb* concept of the Eleventh Dynasty which is intimately bound up with the practice of cliff-burial. When the Twelfth Dynasty moved north it resumed the customs of the Old Kingdom. No king, as far as we know, built anything like the Eleventh Dynasty temple at Deir el-Bahri. It is unlikely that Ammenemes III did.

⁴ Coffered-work is a standard feature of Greek temples, and is found in other contexts; cf. Dinsmoor, revised Anderson and Spiers, *The Architecture of Ancient Greece* (3rd edition, London, 1950), Index s.v. *coffer*; Lawrence, *Greek Architecture* (Harmondsworth, 1957), fig. 93 and Berve and Gruben, *Greek Temples, Theatres and Shrines* (trans. Waterhouse, London, 1963), pl. 97; figs. 53; 142; Fyfe, *Hellenistic Architecture* (Cambridge, 1936), 111. The present writer has failed to find any Pharaonic examples of this phenomenon and since this type of embellishment is, in any case, foreign to the spirit of Egyptian architecture we can be sure that it was not found in the Labyrinth.

¹ The views of Schwartz on this question (*RE* 5, 1, 670 ff.), must be modified in the light of the researches of Spoerri, *Späthellenistische Berichte über Welt, Kultur und Götter* (Basle, 1959), but the importance of Hecataeus is beyond doubt even if not as all-pervading as Schwartz thought.

² Meyer, *Geschichte des Altertums*, II, 2 (Stuttgart and Berlin, 1931), 42 ff. The note of caution sounded by Jacoby (*FgrH* 3(a), *Kommentar*, 36) is salutary, but does not alter the obvious fact that Hecataeus had access to sound information, irrespective of the 'Tendenz' with which he expounded his material.

³ D.S. I, 46 ff.

⁴ Jacoby, *FgrH* 3 (c), p. 120.

tradition of a large and splendid temple built by the Dodecarchs in the Faiyûm area, together with a few items like the number of columns per court, for his imagination to generate this description quite spontaneously on the basis of his acquaintance with 'Egyptian' (i.e. Alexandrian) architecture. There is, therefore, an *a priori* case in favour of Diodorus' having made this rather curious mistake; however that may be, one thing is transparently clear. The description of the Labyrinth in Diodorus Siculus was largely based not on autopsy but on the false assumption that the Labyrinth conformed to the architectural practice of Greek temple builders. Since, however, Diodorus' account is demonstrably not based purely on this source, it is possible that some elements are sound.

Strabo does not actually tell us that his account is based on autopsy, but two factors, when used together, allow us to assume that such was the case. First of all, not only do we know that Strabo actually visited Egypt in the company of the Prefect A. Gallus,¹ but we have his express statement that this visit included a trip to the shrine of the sacred crocodile at Arsinoe, in the immediate vicinity of the Labyrinth.² In the second case, the passage beginning ἀναβάντα τε ἐπὶ τὸ στέγος . . . is so vivid that one gets an impression that it must reflect Strabo's own exploration of the building. These two facts together leave no doubt that Strabo is describing what he has actually seen himself.

As for Pliny, autopsy is out of the question for a number of reasons. First, he mentions several literary sources for the Labyrinth. Secondly, his account is very muddled. Thirdly, in at least one case a mistake has been made (see above, p. 86, n. 6) which indicates that the writer was unacquainted with the building. Fourthly, our knowledge of Pliny does not suggest that he ever visited Egypt. In fact, the insertion of such curious statements as 'superque Nemesis XL aediculis incluserit pyramides complures quadragenarum ulnarum senas radice ἀρούρας optinentes' and 'quin et cenacula clivis excelsa', suggests a desperate attempt to reconcile several accounts of the building. Since it is impossible for us to evaluate these sources the most we can say is that it is conceivable that some material based on reliable sources has been included, and we must, therefore, adopt the attitude that, *by itself*, a statement of Pliny on the Labyrinth is of little value, but that it is legitimate to use his account as *corroborative* evidence.

Pomponius' account is based on hearsay. His information on the site and builder is based on Herodotus whereas nearly all of the description is simply a rhetorical exercise based on nothing but the implications of the word 'Labyrinthus'. However, the mention of a 'descensus' shows that one of his sources had access to good information, though the use of this word to describe the causeway is not apt and suggests that the tradition had become garbled in transmission through one or several of the intermediaries.

We conclude that autopsy is only demonstrable in the case of Herodotus and Strabo. Diodorus' description is virtually useless while the accounts of Pliny and

¹ Strabo 2, 5, 11 (C117); 2, 5, 12 (C118); 17, 1, 29 (C806); 17, 1, 46 (C816). The question of autopsy in Strabo as well as the general nature of his sources is discussed by Aly, *op. cit.* 69 ff.

² Id. 17, 1, 38 (C812).

Pomponius are eclectic and based on hearsay. They may contain information which is of value but, in general, they must be treated with extreme caution.

(b) Archeological excavations

The site of the Labyrinth was identified by Lepsius,¹ and confirmed by Petrie in 1888, immediately south of the pyramid of Ammenemes III at Hawâra. This stands in the southern part of the Faiyûm not far from the Baḥr Yûsuf, an off-shoot of the Nile feeding the Birket Qârûn which forms the remnant of the classical Lake Moeris. The results and conclusions of Petrie's excavation were published in two volumes, *Hawara, Biahmu and Arsinoe* (1887-8) and *The Labyrinth, Gerzeh and Mazguneh* (1912),² the relevant details of which may be summarized as follows.

The Labyrinth was built on open desert ground with the result that not even the lines of a sand substratum were available to help in the reconstruction of the ground plan, as would have been the case had it stood on the silt deposits of the Nile. Furthermore, the site had been exhaustively quarried for stone and the last traces of superstructure apparently removed in the nineteenth century, to build a railway. The entire superficies of the building was covered by masses of limestone chips as well as larger fragments of sandstone and limestone which lay in turn upon a sand or beton bed of such proportions that it must have served as the base of a truly vast building. The study of the levels, however, did yield some important results; for it became clear that the main structure had been rectangular in shape and had measured about 1,000 by 800 ft. with additions to the north-east. This rectangle was divided approximately across the middle by a wall running its whole width, while there was also a great frontal wall of stone at the south end, the foundations of which were unearthed. The level of the beton bed along its northern edge was such as to suggest a much lower level of pavement. To the south-east of the pyramid itself evidence was found of a late brick wall, and indeed Lepsius discovered Roman brick remains on the site, which he mistook for the ancient Labyrinth. Along the western boundary of the ruins traces came to light of two stone walls separated by a space, the inner one of which rested on a wide foundation bed. In the southern area a great door jamb of quartzite sandstone was found close to the axis of the pyramid in such a position as to suggest that it was part of the great entrance gate of the building. Further south there stood a massive brick temenos wall. It was clear from the examination of column-fragments that some of the rooms were barrel-vaulted, and it also emerged that red granite monolithic columns were employed, but probably only in the section north of the central dividing wall; to the south built-up pillars were used. To the south of the pyramid two shrines of red granite were discovered whose weight was estimated to be in the region of eight to thirteen tons; the remains of another shrine was found further to the west. Each of these shrines contained two sculptured figures of the king. Many fragments of other statues were also discovered, pieces coming to light to the east and south-east of the shrines as far as the east line of the pyramid; for the most part they were composed of a

¹ *Denkmäler*, Text, II, 10 ff.

² Hereafter cited as *HBA* and *LGM*.

hard marbly limestone. Hathor and Sobk, a palm-branch goddess, fish-bearing goddesses of Lake Moeris, the local god Roheshotep and many of the local deities appearing in the Great Faiyûm Papyrus¹ were represented. Indeed, near the south-east corner of the pyramid fragments of a red granite colossus² came to light, as well as fragments of other royal statues³ and pieces of inscription bearing the title of Horus of Shedet.

To the south-east of the pyramid Petrie found a mass of yellow marl over material of Ptolemaic or Roman date which, he suggested, came from the excavation of sepulchres for the sacred crocodiles, though obviously the context would demand that these particular tombs should have been dug at a comparatively late period. To the east of the Labyrinth there emerged two brick walls filled with chippings which appeared to be part of a causeway leading to the front of the building. This must have been of Twelfth Dynasty date; for not only was a chamber of that date found against it, but also a thick bed of broken pottery which was datable to the same period.

Such is the evidence at our disposal. Clearly, the major problem which it poses is the structure of the building itself, but there are a number of other questions that need to be answered before we can proceed to deal with that.

The Builder

There is some divergence of opinion amongst the classical writers on the question of the builder of the Labyrinth. The construction of the monument is ascribed to the following:

- (i) The Dodecarchy, including Psammetichus (Herodotus, Pliny, Pomponius Mela).⁴
Pliny quotes Herodotus. Pomponius obviously got his information from the same source.⁵
- (ii) Mendes whom some call Marrus (D.S.).
Moteris (Demoteles ap. Plin.). That he was the builder is implied, though not stated by Pliny.
Moeris (Lyceas ap. Plin.). That he was the builder is implied, though not stated by Pliny.
Nemesis did some building in the Labyrinth according to Pliny.
Imandes (Strabo).
Lamares (Manetho).
These names all refer to one and the same person—Ammenemes III.⁶
The source will, therefore, be ultimately native Egyptian tradition.
- (iii) King Petesuchis or Tithois (Pliny).

¹ Pleyte, *Over drie Handschriften op Papyrus bekend onder de titels van Papyrus du Lac Moeris du Fayoum et du Labyrinthe* (Amsterdam, 1884), 29 ff. ² LGM pl. xxvii. ³ Ibid., pl. xxv.

⁴ Diodorus (I, 66, 3–6) preserves this tradition also without actually realizing it. Here, too, Herodotus was the ultimate source; for Pliny, who had access to more accounts than we do, associated this opinion exclusively with him.

⁵ For the question of the indebtedness of Pomponius Mela to Herodotus, see Gisinger, *RE* 21, 2, 2404.

⁶ For a discussion of the philological questions involved in the different Greek names for Ammenemes III cf. Hall, op. cit. 328 ff.; Kees, *RE* 12, 324; Vergote, *ZAS* 87 (1962), 66 ff.

they believed, would have had a pronunciation something like *Λαβαρής*. This, in turn, they supposed, might well have reminded travellers of the name *Λαβύρινθος*.

In the opinion of the present writer the second explanation is unnecessary. It is quite clear from the accounts which we have that the Egyptian Labyrinth was an extremely intricate structure and this seems a perfectly adequate reason for the word *Λαβύρινθος* to be applied to it. Complex buildings in other parts of the world acquired this name quite naturally for the same reason and no-one has ever sought in their case to find a philological justification for it.¹ These cases, in fact, establish the probability of the first hypothesis. Nevertheless, the possibility that the second may have played some role cannot be positively excluded. In fact, both Hall² and Gardiner³ felt obliged to claim that both factors were jointly responsible; Hall clearly considered the structural analogy much the more important consideration, while Gardiner, as one might expect, emphasized the philological point.

Purpose

The sources are equally divided on the question of the purpose of the Labyrinth. They offer the following suggestions:

1. Memorial (Herodotus, though see below).
2. Tomb (Diodorus Siculus; Lyceas ap. Plin.; Manetho).
3. Temple (Strabo; Pliny).
4. Administrative centre (Strabo).
5. Palace (Demoteles ap. Plin.).

Fortunately, the sources offer a vital clue to the solution of this problem; for though they are at variance on practically everything else, there is one thing about which they are emphatically unanimous—that the Labyrinth was made of stone. Now it is a commonplace of Egyptian archaeology that only two types of building were made entirely of stone in Pharaonic times:

1. Mortuary installations.
2. Temples.

Other buildings, where the accent was less on permanence, were constructed of wood and mud-brick, stone being employed only for such things as pillar bases, lintels, etc.⁴ This means that the Labyrinth *cannot* have been a palace,⁵ and *ipso facto* is unlikely to

¹ The Italian Labyrinth (Pliny, *NH* 36, 91–3), the Tomb of Porsenna supposed to lie under the city of Clusium; the Lemnian Labyrinth (Pliny, *op. cit.*, 86, 90); Labyrinths near Nauplia (Strabo, 8, 6, 2 (C369)).

² *Op. cit.* 327; cf. the more emphatic statement, p. 331.

³ *Egypt of the Pharaohs* (Oxford, 1961), 2; *id.* *JEA* 47 (1961), 96.

⁴ Stevenson Smith, *The Art and Architecture of Ancient Egypt* (Harmondsworth, 1958), 2; Lucas and Harris, *op. cit.* 50.

⁵ Even ceremonial palaces like that immediately adjacent to the Mortuary Temple of Ramesses II (the Ramesseum) and that of Ramesses III at Medinet Habu were constructed largely of mud-brick (Hölscher, *The Excavation of Medinet Habu*, 111 (Chicago, 1941), 37 ff.). The Ramesseum is published in Hölscher, *op. cit.* 71 ff.

By the same token the recent suggestion of Hayes, *CAH*² 1, xx, fasc. 6, 50 ff., that the Labyrinth was a

have been employed for legal administration.¹ As for Herodotus' statement that it was a 'memorial', *μνημόσυνα* is a vague term and his subsequent statement that the Labyrinth was used as a tomb suggests that the word was meant to cover that function. We are thus left with a choice between two alternatives. The Labyrinth was either a tomb or a temple.

Whatever the purposes to which it was applied in later times, the Labyrinth was certainly not intended by its builder as a tomb; for the monarchs of the Twelfth Dynasty as well as some of the rulers of the Thirteenth Dynasty built pyramid tombs.² Ammenemes III was no exception, as Strabo knew full well. We cannot, however, ignore the fact that Herodotus was told, during his visit, that the Dodecarchs were interred in the subterranean chambers of the monument, and this suggests that tombs may well have been excavated in the building centuries after its construction—in particular the tombs of some of the kinglets who held sway in Middle Egypt before the rise of the Twenty-sixth Dynasty. This becomes all the more likely when one remembers that from the Late New Kingdom it was quite common for royal tombs to be built within the precinct of major shrines.³ Furthermore, the burial of the sacred crocodiles in the Labyrinth is equally likely, though again only in the Late Period, especially when we bear in mind the popularity of the cult of Sobk in the Faiyûm area, a popularity strikingly reflected in the large number of stone sculptures of the animal which came to light in Petrie's excavations. Nevertheless, it must be emphasized yet again, the Labyrinth was not intended by Ammenemes III as a tomb and this means that we are left with only one other possibility: the Labyrinth was a temple.

Pyramid City like Kahun must be wrong. Certain items in a Pyramid City, e.g. doorways, sills, etc., might be built of stone but the vast majority of the buildings would be constructed of mud-brick. One may further object that the position of the Labyrinth makes it unlikely that it was a Pyramid Town. Kahun lay beside the Valley Temple of Sesostri II and could easily be supplied by convenient waterways, whereas a settlement the size of the Labyrinth at such a distance from canals would have been difficult to provision. For bibliography of Kahun, cf. Porter and Moss, *Top. Bibl.*, iv, 108 ff. One may also wonder whether the secular nature of a settlement such as a Pyramid City could have been lost on classical observers.

¹ In any case, the whole section of Strabo mentioning legal functions in connection with the Labyrinth is highly suspect. The writer first tells us that there was an exact correspondence between the number of *αὐλαί* and the number of nomes and further adds that they were fewer than 30 in number before proceeding to enumerate the uses to which they were put by the nomes. However, in no period of Egyptian History, as far as the present writer can discover, was the number of nomes as low as this; cf. Kees, *RE* 17, 1, 833 ff. Is it not possible that some Greek, vaguely acquainted with the existence of 22 nomes in Upper Egypt or 20 in Lower Egypt, was responsible for the correlation? Is it not further possible that, once such a correlation had been made, the mistake would be compounded, unconsciously perhaps, by the inference that the nomes had come there in earlier days for religious and administrative purposes?

A further objection to the idea that Ammenemes III built the courts to accommodate the nomes is the fact that, since the reign of his father Sesostri III, the importance of the nomes, for political reasons, had been minimized in favour of a new administrative unit called the *w'rt*. Is it likely that Ammenemes would go to such trouble to gratify a political entity which his father had done his best to destroy?

A final objection which might be made is that the evidence of the remains of statues (see above) suggests that the cults carried on in the Labyrinth were those of the Faiyûm area. This does not support the idea that *all* the cults of *all* the nomes of Egypt were carried out there as the statement of Strabo would imply.

² Vandier, *op. cit.* 11, 167 ff.

³ The kings of the Twenty-first and Twenty-second Dynasties were buried in the precinct of the Great Temple at Tanis; Montet, *La Nécropole Royale de Tanis*, 1–111 (Paris, 1947–60). The kings of the Twenty-sixth Dynasty were interred in sepulchres built in the court of the great temple of Neit at Sais (H. 11, 169, 3–5).

Egyptian temples can be divided into two classes according to the purpose for which they were intended:

1. Mortuary temples which are designed as a context within which the funerary cult may be carried out.
2. Divine temples built in honour of the gods to serve as their mansions, and within which their servant, the king, may attend to their needs.

This being the case, we are now faced with the problem of deciding whether the Labyrinth was designed to serve one or both of these functions.

The short answer to this question is, simply, that the Labyrinth was designed to serve both. The evidence that it embodied a mortuary shrine is as follows:

- (i) Mortuary temples at this period are always built adjacent to the tomb which they are intended to serve. The only unusual feature is that the building lies to the south of the Pyramid, whereas mortuary temples normally lie to the east facing in the direction of the valley. Circumstances, however, give rise to exceptions, e.g. the funerary temple of Userkaf,¹ and in the case of the Labyrinth Ammenemes' architects probably considered the area to the south of the Pyramid more suitable for such a large building than the ground immediately to the east.
- (ii) Petrie found clear evidence of a causeway running from the south face of the Labyrinth to the east in the direction of the valley. The main elements in a Pyramid complex, running from west to east, are normally Pyramid+Mortuary Temple+Causeway+Valley-Temple, the Causeway joining the Mortuary Temple at one end to the Valley Temple at the other.² Therefore, the presence of such a causeway in the position where Petrie found it must mean that the Labyrinth was at least in part a Mortuary Temple.³

While, however, it seems beyond dispute that the Labyrinth served this function, it is equally clear that it had other duties to perform. It is in fact certain that it also embodied several divine temples. The evidence is as follows:

- (i) The layout of the building (see below) and, in particular, the reconstruction of its southern part, which is based on a quite unambiguous statement of Herodotus, makes it necessary to postulate six parallel temples. Egyptian temples, of all kinds, are normally constructed linearly along a single axis according to a simple basic scheme which includes the following elements: court+vestibule+shrine. These elements may be multiplied considerably but the basic scheme remains

¹ Ricke, *Bemerkungen zur ägyptischen Baukunst des Alten Reichs*, 11, 68 (in Ricke and Schott, *Beiträge zur ägyptischen Bauforschung und Altertumskunde*, Heft 5, Cairo, 1950), who suggests that Userkaf altered the orientation in order to build an altar to the sun in the court of the Mortuary Temple. By placing the Temple to the south it would always enjoy the rays of the sun. Vandier, on the other hand (*Manuel*, 11, 96), points out that 'des replis rocheux' which lay to the east of the Pyramid made the ground unsuitable for building a temple there.

² For the structure of Pyramid complexes cf. Edwards, *The Pyramids of Egypt* (2nd ed., Harmondsworth, 1961), 93 ff.; Lauer, *Le problème des pyramides d'Égypte* (Paris, 1948), 93. Ricke, op. cit., *passim*, discusses the functions of the various parts in great detail.

³ Unfortunately, no trace of the Valley Temple has ever been found.

the same. Therefore, two courts running in a north–south axis must imply one temple running along that axis, and since in the Labyrinth this situation repeats itself six times, we must have to deal with six temples. Six temples need not, however, mean six shrines. Each of the six temples might possess several shrines dedicated to different gods in much the same way as in the Temple of Sethos I at Abydos. If, in fact, we accept this interpretation of the Labyrinth as comprising several temples enclosed by one wall, each containing several shrines, Strabo's statement '... τὸ Μεμνόνιον βασιλείον θαυμαστῶς κατεσκευασμένον ὁλόλιθον τῇ αὐτῇ κατασκευῇ ἥπερ τὸν λαβύρινθον ἔφαμεν οὐ πολλαπλοῦν δέ' becomes immediately intelligible.

- (ii) Not only is there a tradition in Pliny that there were many different statues of divinities in the Labyrinth but the excavations themselves brought to light a considerable body of fragments. Taken in conjunction with (i), this becomes highly significant.
- (iii) The tradition of the Ancients that worship of the gods was carried out in the building also points in the same direction.

From this discussion it emerges that the Labyrinth was a composite structure designed to serve the cults of the gods as well as that of the dead king. The divine cults in question—almost certainly those of Faiyûm deities—will not, however, have been practised independently, but carried on in association with the cult of the dead king after the fashion of the New Kingdom.¹ The Labyrinth was, of course, considerably larger than any of these New Kingdom temples, but if we assume that the installations for the divine cult were structurally more like independent temples than was the case in the New Kingdom, i.e. if we assume that, whereas the New Kingdom mortuary temples consisted of one temple containing several shrines, the Labyrinth consisted of several temples closely integrated to form one coherent complex, then the great size of the building becomes immediately intelligible.

Exterior structure

It is impossible to say much about the exterior of the Labyrinth but some details are clear. In the first case, we can be confident that the complex stood inside a clearly demarcated sacred enclosure. There is, in fact, archaeological evidence to prove the point since Petrie discovered the remains of a massive brick temenos wall to the south of the building itself. In addition to this evidence we also find a *περίβολος* (sacred enclosure) mentioned in Diodorus Siculus. It is normal practice for the area immediately adjacent to a pyramid to be enclosed by a brick wall, sometimes two.

The excavations of Petrie demonstrated that the Labyrinth itself covered a vast area measuring 1,000 ft. × 800 ft., with an extension to the north-east, corresponding to Pliny's 'pteron'. The southern façade assumed massive proportions and its south-eastern half was crossed by a causeway running up from the Valley, a causeway also

¹ Cf. the mortuary temple of Ḥatshepsut at Deir el-Bahri, the mortuary temple of Sethos I at Qurna, the mortuary temple of Mineptah, the Cenotaph of Sethos I at Abydos, the Memnonium, *et al.*

mentioned by Pomponius Mela. Petrie's excavations brought to light a large door-jamb in the axis of the building which was undoubtedly the main entrance to which the causeway itself led.

In outward appearance the building was probably quite plain apart from such standard features as the torus roll and cavetto cornice. Petrie's belief that the building was surrounded by a colonnade is based on a statement of Diodorus Siculus which we have shown to be highly suspect.

Interior structure

The reconstruction of the interior presents grave difficulties not only because the excavations did not provide much material for the purpose but also because the statements of the classical writers are apparently contradictory. Nevertheless, some information can be extracted from these sources. Let us begin with the literary descriptions.

Since in only two accounts of the Labyrinth can we be confident that autopsy forms the basis of the description—those of Herodotus and Strabo—it is the information provided by these writers which we must use as the basis of our argument. Unfortunately, these two accounts appear to contradict each other flatly. Since, then, there is no possible way of making the two descriptions agree, Petrie assumed¹ that Herodotus and Strabo must have seen and described different things, part of the building having disappeared by Strabo's time to give way to a village whose ruins survived into Lepsius's time. This still seems the only plausible explanation.

Let us deal first with Herodotus. It is clear that the part of the building which he saw was the southern part; for it is beyond doubt that he found the temple still in use² and, therefore, could not have been admitted to the most sacred quarter nearest the Pyramid—indeed he was himself conscious of being debarred from some parts of the building. This state of affairs compels us to place Herodotus' twelve³ colonnaded courts in the southern part of the site near the entrance. Such courts are a commonplace of Egyptian temple architecture and in the case of mortuary temples contain altars as well as royal statues. The extent of this section of the building is probably indicated by the evidence discovered by Petrie of a great wall running across the centre, parallel to the façade and dividing the Labyrinth into two halves which correspond to the standard dichotomy of Egyptian temples, both mortuary and divine—a dichotomy which

¹ HBA, p. 7.

² We cannot be absolutely certain that οἱ ἐπιστεῶτες τῶν Αἰγυπτίων were priests. It is in fact probable that they were doorkeepers (*hryw sbht* or *tryw ʿi*). A *hryw sbht* occurs as a member of the *knbt* of the temple in the Siût inscriptions of Ḥapydjefa (Sethe, *Ägyptische Lesestücke* (Leipzig, 1924), 93, ll. 17 ff.), and *tryw ʿi* as part of the permanent establishment of the Temple of Anubis at Kahun (Borchardt, *ZÄS* 37 (1899), 94; cf. further Gardiner, *Onomastica* (Oxford, 1947), 1, 90*). At all events, the Greek expression has an official ring to it which suggests very strongly that the temple was functioning properly in H.'s time. This inference becomes a certainty when we recall that at least one Ptolemaic king was responsible for some building at the site and also that priestly officials were attached to the temple in Hellenistic times (Kees, *RE* 12, 325; Edgar, *Zenon Papyri*, v, 12), facts which prove that the building was employed for religious purposes at least as late as Ptolemaic times, over 100 years after Herodotus' visit.

³ For possible religious implications of the number 12, cf. Sethe, *Von Zahlen und Zahlwörter* (Straßburg, 1916), 27.

arises from the distinction between the public part of the temple and the sacred area which only select persons such as the priests might tread. Indeed, a division of some sort is implicit in several statements of Pliny.¹

As far as the arrangement of the courts is concerned Herodotus leaves no room for doubt. They were disposed in two rows of six which faced in a north-south direction and were surrounded by colonnades made of built-up columns. Their gateways lay opposite one another and the gateways themselves had columned façades. Behind these, in turn, there stood a vestibule (στέγη) through which one eventually gained access to another columned porch. Herodotus also mentions that a large number of chambers (οικήματα) gave onto the courts. These will probably have served as store chambers some of which at least may have been barrel-vaulted.²

We are now faced with the problem of deciding how one passed from the great gate in the centre of the southern façade into the courts mentioned by Herodotus. If we make the reasonable assumption that the Egyptian architects followed their usual tendency towards symmetry this central gate could not have given immediate access to any of the courts. In all probability it simply admitted visitors to a long lateral passage which itself gave access to the six southern-most courts.

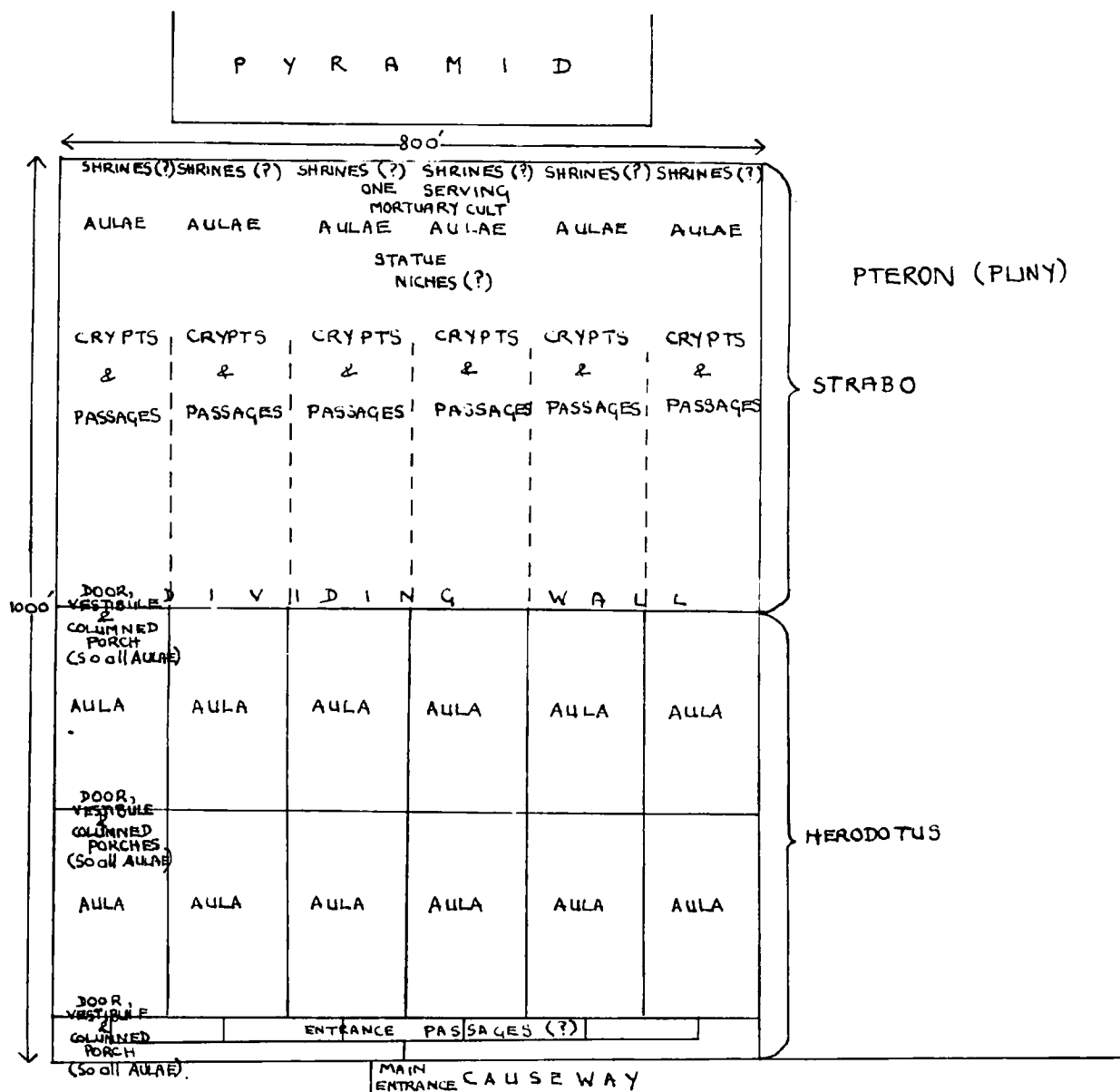
One further question arises in connection with Herodotus' description: his statement οικήματα δ' ἔνεστι διπλά, τὰ μὲν ὑπόγαια, τὰ δὲ μετέωρα ἐπ' ἐκεινοῖσι. It is difficult to accept this as it stands. For if one remembers that the excavations of Petrie brought to light a bed of chips which reached, in parts, to a depth of six feet, and if one further bears in mind that much of this material must be the result of surface destruction on the site, it becomes difficult to imagine how there could be room to accommodate 'subterranean' chambers. In fact, had 1,500 such chambers ever existed one would have thought that some at least would have survived under the gradual accumulation of débris resulting from the ravages due to the locals' desire for stone. Perhaps the explanation is that Herodotus was told of certain sepulchral vaults which had been excavated in the temple and, with his characteristic tendency to over-schematization, he had assumed that these chambers formed a series of subterranean οικήματα analogous to those which he saw above ground as he explored the monument. At any rate it can hardly be coincidence that Pliny speaks of 'subterraneae domus' *outside* but immediately adjacent to the building, in what he calls the *pteron*.³

Let us now turn to Strabo. His account of the Labyrinth obviously applies to the northern part of the building, since, after the description of what he saw, we are informed that the structure was adjacent to the Pyramid itself. There he found a row of courts numbering less than 30. Pliny's mention of 'domus' which probably numbered

¹ 'sed centensimam tantum portionem eius imitatum, quae itinerum ambages occursusque ac recursus inexplicabiles continet', and again 'fessi iam eundo perveniunt ad viarum illum inexplicabilem errorem'. These passages must surely be related to Strabo's πρόκειται δὲ τῶν εἰσόδων κρυφαί τινες μακραί καὶ πολλαί, δι' ἀλλήλων ἔχουσιν σκολιὰς τὰς ὁδοὺς, etc., and clearly indicate that there was a lot of Labyrinth to traverse before one reached the tricky bit.

² LGM, p. 33.

³ In the mortuary temple of Sahurê (Borchardt, *Das Grabdenkmal des Königs Sahu-re*, I (Leipzig, 1910), 23, fig. 17) one finds chambers at two levels, one series at ground level and another above; but such a scheme hardly suits the statement of Herodotus.



SKETCH PLAN

A plan designed simply to assist the reader. No attempt has been made to create a specious impression of certainty

THE LABYRINTH

21¹ may be related. Each of these courts was surrounded by a colonnade of 27 pillars,² some of which were monolithic and made of granite. Strabo further tells us that it was possible to ascend on to the roof from ground level and if this statement is brought into relation both with Pliny's expression 'cenacula *clivis* excelsa' and the fact that some mortuary temples have ramps running from ground level to the roof,³ we may assume that he did so by means of a ramp.

Against Strabo, Petrie argued that not more than twelve courts of any size could be placed along any single wall in the Labyrinth. The great size of the courts is nevertheless only mentioned by Pliny, and both Roman accounts show a tendency to rhetoric. Indeed, the position of the granite shrines which Petrie unearthed in the northern part of the complex led him to estimate their number at nine. Here he makes three assumptions:

- (i) That they each belonged to the courts.
- (ii) That they had not been moved.
- (iii) That there was none in between those he discovered.

None of these assumptions is certainly true. If, on the other hand, we suppose that there were, say, in the region of twenty courts along the north wall—which would suit our sources quite well—we should have a series of courts about 35 to 40 ft. broad. This solution is by no means impossible and is in agreement with the statements of an author who in such matters is generally reliable. There is no reason why their length should not have been rather greater.

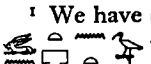
In the northern part of the building, adjacent to or near the northern wall, one would expect to find the shrines (𓂏𓂐𓂑𓂒𓂓𓂔𓂕𓂖𓂗𓂘𓂙𓂚𓂛𓂜𓂝𓂞𓂟𓂠𓂡𓂢𓂣𓂤𓂥𓂦𓂧𓂨𓂩𓂪𓂫𓂬𓂭𓂮𓂯𓂰𓂱𓂲𓂳𓂴𓂵𓂶𓂷𓂸𓂹𓂺𓂻𓂼𓂽𓂾𓂿𓃀𓃁𓃂𓃃𓃄𓃅𓃆𓃇𓃈𓃉𓃊𓃋𓃌𓃍𓃎𓃏𓃐𓃑𓃒𓃓𓃔𓃕𓃖𓃗𓃘𓃙𓃚𓃛𓃜𓃝𓃞𓃟𓃠𓃡𓃢𓃣𓃤𓃥𓃦𓃧𓃨𓃩𓃪𓃫𓃬𓃭𓃮𓃯𓃰𓃱𓃲𓃳𓃴𓃵𓃶𓃷𓃸𓃹𓃺𓃻𓃼𓃽𓃾𓃿𓄀𓄁𓄂𓄃𓄄𓄅𓄆𓄇𓄈𓄉𓄊𓄋𓄌𓄍𓄎𓄏𓄐𓄑𓄒𓄓𓄔𓄕𓄖𓄗𓄘𓄙𓄚𓄛𓄜𓄝𓄞𓄟𓄠𓄡𓄢𓄣𓄤𓄥𓄦𓄧𓄨𓄩𓄪𓄫𓄬𓄭𓄮𓄯𓄰𓄱𓄲𓄳𓄴𓄵𓄶𓄷𓄸𓄹𓄺𓄻𓄼𓄽𓄾𓄿𓅀𓅁𓅂𓅃𓅄𓅅𓅆𓅇𓅈𓅉𓅊𓅋𓅌𓅍𓅎𓅏𓅐𓅑𓅒𓅓𓅔𓅕𓅖𓅗𓅘𓅙𓅚𓅛𓅜𓅝𓅞𓅟𓅠𓅡𓅢𓅣𓅤𓅥𓅦𓅧𓅨𓅩𓅪𓅫𓅬𓅭𓅮𓅯𓅰𓅱𓅲𓅳𓅴𓅵𓅶𓅷𓅸𓅹𓅺𓅻𓅼𓅽𓅾𓅿𓆀𓆁𓆂𓆃𓆄𓆅𓆆𓆇𓆈𓆉𓆊𓆋𓆌𓆍𓆎𓆏𓆐𓆑𓆒𓆓𓆔𓆕𓆖𓆗𓆘𓆙𓆚𓆛𓆜𓆝𓆞𓆟𓆠𓆡𓆢𓆣𓆤𓆥𓆦𓆧𓆨𓆩𓆪𓆫𓆬𓆭𓆮𓆯𓆰𓆱𓆲𓆳𓆴𓆵𓆶𓆷𓆸𓆹𓆺𓆻𓆼𓆽𓆾𓆿𓇀𓇁𓇂𓇃𓇄𓇅𓇆𓇇𓇈𓇉𓇊𓇋𓇌𓇍𓇎𓇏𓇐𓇑𓇒𓇓𓇔𓇕𓇖𓇗𓇘𓇙𓇚𓇛𓇜𓇝𓇞𓇟𓇠𓇡𓇢𓇣𓇤𓇥𓇦𓇧𓇨𓇩𓇪𓇫𓇬𓇭𓇮𓇯𓇰𓇱𓇲𓇳𓇴𓇵𓇶𓇷𓇸𓇹𓇺𓇻𓇼𓇽𓇾𓇿𓈀𓈁𓈂𓈃𓈄𓈅𓈆𓈇𓈈𓈉𓈊𓈋𓈌𓈍𓈎𓈏𓈐𓈑𓈒𓈓𓈔𓈕𓈖𓈗𓈘𓈙𓈚𓈛𓈜𓈝𓈞𓈟𓈠𓈡𓈢𓈣𓈤𓈥𓈦𓈧𓈨𓈩𓈪𓈫𓈬𓈭𓈮𓈯𓈰𓈱𓈲𓈳𓈴𓈵𓈶𓈷𓈸𓈹𓈺𓈻𓈼𓈽𓈾𓈿𓉀𓉁𓉂𓉃𓉄𓉅𓉆𓉇𓉈𓉉𓉊𓉋𓉌𓉍𓉎𓉏𓉐𓉑𓉒𓉓𓉔𓉕𓉖𓉗𓉘𓉙𓉚𓉛𓉜𓉝𓉞𓉟𓉠𓉡𓉢𓉣𓉤𓉥𓉦𓉧𓉨𓉩𓉪𓉫𓉬𓉭𓉮𓉯𓉰𓉱𓉲𓉳𓉴𓉵𓉶𓉷𓉸𓉹𓉺𓉻𓉼𓉽𓉾𓉿𓊀𓊁𓊂𓊃𓊄𓊅𓊆𓊇𓊈𓊉𓊊𓊋𓊌𓊍𓊎𓊏𓊐𓊑𓊒𓊓𓊔𓊕𓊖𓊗𓊘𓊙𓊚𓊛𓊜𓊝𓊞𓊟𓊠𓊡𓊢𓊣𓊤𓊥𓊦𓊧𓊨𓊩𓊪𓊫𓊬𓊭𓊮𓊯𓊰𓊱𓊲𓊳𓊴𓊵𓊶𓊷𓊸𓊹𓊺𓊻𓊼𓊽𓊾𓊿𓋀𓋁𓋂𓋃𓋄𓋅𓋆𓋇𓋈𓋉𓋊𓋋𓋌𓋍𓋎𓋏𓋐𓋑𓋒𓋓𓋔𓋕𓋖𓋗𓋘𓋙𓋚𓋛𓋜𓋝𓋞𓋟𓋠𓋡𓋢𓋣𓋤𓋥𓋦𓋧𓋨𓋩𓋪𓋫𓋬𓋭𓋮𓋯𓋰𓋱𓋲𓋳𓋴𓋵𓋶𓋷𓋸𓋹𓋺𓋻𓋼𓋽𓋾𓋿𓌀𓌁𓌂𓌃𓌄𓌅𓌆𓌇𓌈𓌉𓌊𓌋𓌌𓌍𓌎𓌏𓌐𓌑𓌒𓌓𓌔𓌕𓌖𓌗𓌘𓌙𓌚𓌛𓌜𓌝𓌞𓌟𓌠𓌡𓌢𓌣𓌤𓌥𓌦𓌧𓌨𓌩𓌪𓌫𓌬𓌭𓌮𓌯𓌰𓌱𓌲𓌳𓌴𓌵𓌶𓌷𓌸𓌹𓌺𓌻𓌼𓌽𓌾𓌿𓍀𓍁𓍂𓍃𓍄𓍅𓍆𓍇𓍈𓍉𓍊𓍋𓍌𓍍𓍎𓍏𓍐𓍑𓍒𓍓𓍔𓍕𓍖𓍗𓍘𓍙𓍚𓍛𓍜𓍝𓍞𓍟𓍠𓍡𓍢𓍣𓍤𓍥𓍦𓍧𓍨𓍩𓍪𓍫𓍬𓍭𓍮𓍯𓍰𓍱𓍲𓍳𓍴𓍵𓍶𓍷𓍸𓍹𓍺𓍻𓍼𓍽𓍾𓍿𓎀𓎁𓎂𓎃𓎄𓎅𓎆𓎇𓎈𓎉𓎊𓎋𓎌𓎍𓎎𓎏𓎐𓎑𓎒𓎓𓎔𓎕𓎖𓎗𓎘𓎙𓎚𓎛𓎜𓎝𓎞𓎟𓎠𓎡𓎢𓎣𓎤𓎥𓎦𓎧𓎨𓎩𓎪𓎫𓎬𓎭𓎮𓎯𓎰𓎱𓎲𓎳𓎴𓎵𓎶𓎷𓎸𓎹𓎺𓎻𓎼𓎽𓎾𓎿𓏀𓏁𓏂𓏃𓏄𓏅𓏆𓏇𓏈𓏉𓏊𓏋𓏌𓏍𓏎𓏏𓏐𓏑𓏒𓏓𓏔𓏕𓏖𓏗𓏘𓏙𓏚𓏛𓏜𓏝𓏞𓏟𓏠𓏡𓏢𓏣𓏤𓏥𓏦𓏧𓏨𓏩𓏪𓏫𓏬𓏭𓏮𓏯𓏰𓏱𓏲𓏳𓏴𓏵𓏶𓏷𓏸𓏹𓏺𓏻𓏼𓏽𓏾𓏿𓐀𓐁𓐂𓐃𓐄𓐅𓐆𓐇𓐈𓐉𓐊𓐋𓐌𓐍𓐎𓐏𓐐𓐑𓐒𓐓𓐔𓐕𓐖𓐗𓐘𓐙𓐚𓐛𓐜𓐝𓐞𓐟𓐠𓐡𓐢𓐣𓐤𓐥𓐦𓐧𓐨𓐩𓐪𓐫𓐬𓐭𓐮𓐯𓐰𓐱𓐲𓐳𓐴𓐵𓐶𓐷𓐸𓐹𓐺𓐻𓐼𓐽𓐾𓐿𓑀𓑁𓑂𓑃𓑄𓑅𓑆𓑇𓑈𓑉𓑊𓑋𓑌𓑍𓑎𓑏𓑐𓑑𓑒𓑓𓑔𓑕𓑖𓑗𓑘𓑙𓑚𓑛𓑜𓑝𓑞𓑟𓑠𓑡𓑢𓑣𓑤𓑥𓑦𓑧𓑨𓑩𓑪𓑫𓑬𓑭𓑮𓑯𓑰𓑱𓑲𓑳𓑴𓑵𓑶𓑷𓑸𓑹𓑺𓑻𓑼𓑽𓑾𓑿𓒀𓒁𓒂𓒃𓒄𓒅𓒆𓒇𓒈𓒉𓒊𓒋𓒌𓒍𓒎𓒏𓒐𓒑𓒒𓒓𓒔𓒕𓒖𓒗𓒘𓒙𓒚𓒛𓒜𓒝𓒞𓒟𓒠𓒡𓒢𓒣𓒤𓒥𓒦𓒧𓒨𓒩𓒪𓒫𓒬𓒭𓒮𓒯𓒰𓒱𓒲𓒳𓒴𓒵𓒶𓒷𓒸𓒹𓒺𓒻𓒼𓒽𓒾𓒿𓓀𓓁𓓂𓓃𓓄𓓅𓓆𓓇𓓈𓓉𓓊𓓋𓓌𓓍𓓎𓓏𓓐𓓑𓓒𓓓𓓔𓓕𓓖𓓗𓓘𓓙𓓚𓓛𓓜𓓝𓓞𓓟𓓠𓓡𓓢𓓣𓓤𓓥𓓦𓓧𓓨𓓩𓓪𓓫𓓬𓓭𓓮𓓯𓓰𓓱𓓲𓓳𓓴𓓵𓓶𓓷𓓸𓓹𓓺𓓻𓓼𓓽𓓾𓓿𓔀𓔁𓔂𓔃𓔄𓔅𓔆𓔇𓔈𓔉𓔊𓔋𓔌𓔍𓔎𓔏𓔐𓔑𓔒𓔓𓔔𓔕𓔖𓔗𓔘𓔙𓔚𓔛𓔜𓔝𓔞𓔟𓔠𓔡𓔢𓔣𓔤𓔥𓔦𓔧𓔨𓔩𓔪𓔫𓔬𓔭𓔮𓔯𓔰𓔱𓔲𓔳𓔴𓔵𓔶𓔷𓔸𓔹𓔺𓔻𓔼𓔽𓔾𓔿𓕀𓕁𓕂𓕃𓕄𓕅𓕆𓕇𓕈𓕉𓕊𓕋𓕌𓕍𓕎𓕏𓕐𓕑𓕒𓕓𓕔𓕕𓕖𓕗𓕘𓕙𓕚𓕛𓕜𓕝𓕞𓕟𓕠𓕡𓕢𓕣𓕤𓕥𓕦𓕧𓕨𓕩𓕪𓕫𓕬𓕭𓕮𓕯𓕰𓕱𓕲𓕳𓕴𓕵𓕶𓕷𓕸𓕹𓕺𓕻𓕼𓕽𓕾𓕿𓖀𓖁𓖂𓖃𓖄𓖅𓖆𓖇𓖈𓖉𓖊𓖋𓖌𓖍𓖎𓖏𓖐𓖑𓖒𓖓𓖔𓖕𓖖𓖗𓖘𓖙𓖚𓖛𓖜𓖝𓖞𓖟𓖠𓖡𓖢𓖣𓖤𓖥𓖦𓖧𓖨𓖩𓖪𓖫𓖬𓖭𓖮𓖯𓖰𓖱𓖲𓖳𓖴𓖵𓖶𓖷𓖸𓖹𓖺𓖻𓖼𓖽𓖾𓖿𓗀𓗁𓗂𓗃𓗄𓗅𓗆𓗇𓗈𓗉𓗊𓗋𓗌𓗍𓗎𓗏𓗐𓗑𓗒𓗓𓗔𓗕𓗖𓗗𓗘𓗙𓗚𓗛𓗜𓗝𓗞𓗟𓗠𓗡𓗢𓗣𓗤𓗥𓗦𓗧𓗨𓗩𓗪𓗫𓗬𓗭𓗮𓗯𓗰𓗱𓗲𓗳𓗴𓗵𓗶𓗷𓗸𓗹𓗺𓗻𓗼𓗽𓗾𓗿𓘀𓘁𓘂𓘃𓘄𓘅𓘆𓘇𓘈𓘉𓘊𓘋𓘌𓘍𓘎𓘏𓘐𓘑𓘒𓘓𓘔𓘕𓘖𓘗𓘘𓘙𓘚𓘛𓘜𓘝𓘞𓘟𓘠𓘡𓘢𓘣𓘤𓘥𓘦𓘧𓘨𓘩𓘪𓘫𓘬𓘭𓘮𓘯𓘰𓘱𓘲𓘳𓘴𓘵𓘶𓘷𓘸𓘹𓘺𓘻𓘼𓘽𓘾𓘿𓙀𓙁𓙂𓙃𓙄𓙅𓙆𓙇𓙈𓙉𓙊𓙋𓙌𓙍𓙎𓙏𓙐𓙑𓙒𓙓𓙔𓙕𓙖𓙗𓙘𓙙𓙚𓙛𓙜𓙝𓙞𓙟𓙠𓙡𓙢𓙣𓙤𓙥𓙦𓙧𓙨𓙩𓙪𓙫𓙬𓙭𓙮𓙯𓙰𓙱𓙲𓙳𓙴𓙵𓙶𓙷𓙸𓙹𓙺𓙻𓙼𓙽𓙾𓙿𓚀𓚁𓚂𓚃𓚄𓚅𓚆𓚇𓚈𓚉𓚊𓚋𓚌𓚍𓚎𓚏𓚐𓚑𓚒𓚓𓚔𓚕𓚖𓚗𓚘𓚙𓚚𓚛𓚜𓚝𓚞𓚟𓚠𓚡𓚢𓚣𓚤𓚥𓚦𓚧𓚨𓚩𓚪𓚫𓚬𓚭𓚮𓚯𓚰𓚱𓚲𓚳𓚴𓚵𓚶𓚷𓚸𓚹𓚺𓚻𓚼𓚽𓚾𓚿𓛀𓛁𓛂𓛃𓛄𓛅𓛆𓛇𓛈𓛉𓛊𓛋𓛌𓛍𓛎𓛏𓛐𓛑𓛒𓛓𓛔𓛕𓛖𓛗𓛘𓛙𓛚𓛛𓛜𓛝𓛞𓛟𓛠𓛡𓛢𓛣𓛤𓛥𓛦𓛧𓛨𓛩𓛪𓛫𓛬𓛭𓛮𓛯𓛰𓛱𓛲𓛳𓛴𓛵𓛶𓛷𓛸𓛹𓛺𓛻𓛼𓛽𓛾𓛿𓜀𓜁𓜂𓜃𓜄𓜅𓜆𓜇𓜈𓜉𓜊𓜋𓜌𓜍𓜎𓜏𓜐𓜑𓜒𓜓𓜔𓜕𓜖𓜗𓜘𓜙𓜚𓜛𓜜𓜝𓜞𓜟𓜠𓜡𓜢𓜣𓜤𓜥𓜦𓜧𓜨𓜩𓜪𓜫𓜬𓜭𓜮𓜯𓜰𓜱𓜲𓜳𓜴𓜵𓜶𓜷𓜸𓜹𓜺𓜻𓜼𓜽𓜾𓜿𓝀𓝁𓝂𓝃𓝄𓝅𓝆𓝇𓝈𓝉𓝊𓝋𓝌𓝍𓝎𓝏𓝐𓝑𓝒𓝓𓝔𓝕𓝖𓝗𓝘𓝙𓝚𓝛𓝜𓝝𓝞𓝟𓝠𓝡𓝢𓝣𓝤𓝥𓝦𓝧𓝨𓝩𓝪𓝫𓝬𓝭𓝮𓝯𓝰𓝱𓝲𓝳𓝴𓝵𓝶𓝷𓝸𓝹𓝺𓝻𓝼𓝽𓝾𓝿𓞀𓞁𓞂𓞃𓞄𓞅𓞆𓞇𓞈𓞉𓞊𓞋𓞌𓞍𓞎𓞏𓞐𓞑𓞒𓞓𓞔𓞕𓞖𓞗𓞘𓞙𓞚𓞛𓞜𓞝𓞞𓞟𓞠𓞡𓞢𓞣𓞤𓞥𓞦𓞧𓞨𓞩𓞪𓞫𓞬𓞭𓞮𓞯𓞰𓞱𓞲𓞳𓞴𓞵𓞶𓞷𓞸𓞹𓞺𓞻𓞼𓞽𓞾𓞿𓟀𓟁𓟂𓟃𓟄𓟅𓟆𓟇𓟈𓟉𓟊𓟋𓟌𓟍𓟎𓟏𓟐𓟑𓟒𓟓𓟔𓟕𓟖𓟗𓟘𓟙𓟚𓟛𓟜𓟝𓟞𓟟𓟠𓟡𓟢𓟣𓟤𓟥𓟦𓟧𓟨𓟩𓟪𓟫𓟬𓟭𓟮𓟯𓟰𓟱𓟲𓟳𓟴𓟵𓟶𓟷𓟸𓟹𓟺𓟻𓟼𓟽𓟾𓟿𓠀𓠁𓠂𓠃𓠄𓠅𓠆𓠇𓠈𓠉𓠊𓠋𓠌𓠍𓠎𓠏𓠐𓠑𓠒𓠓𓠔𓠕𓠖𓠗𓠘𓠙𓠚𓠛𓠜𓠝𓠞𓠟𓠠𓠡𓠢𓠣𓠤𓠥𓠦𓠧𓠨𓠩𓠪𓠫𓠬𓠭𓠮𓠯𓠰𓠱𓠲𓠳𓠴𓠵𓠶𓠷𓠸𓠹𓠺𓠻𓠼𓠽𓠾𓠿𓡀𓡁𓡂𓡃𓡄𓡅𓡆𓡇𓡈𓡉𓡊𓡋𓡌𓡍𓡎𓡏𓡐𓡑𓡒𓡓𓡔𓡕𓡖𓡗𓡘𓡙𓡚𓡛𓡜𓡝𓡞𓡟𓡠𓡡𓡢𓡣𓡤𓡥𓡦𓡧𓡨𓡩𓡪𓡫𓡬𓡭𓡮𓡯𓡰𓡱𓡲𓡳𓡴𓡵𓡶𓡷𓡸𓡹𓡺𓡻𓡼𓡽𓡾𓡿𓢀𓢁𓢂𓢃𓢄𓢅𓢆𓢇𓢈𓢉𓢊𓢋𓢌𓢍𓢎𓢏𓢐𓢑𓢒𓢓𓢔𓢕𓢖𓢗𓢘𓢙𓢚𓢛𓢜𓢝𓢞𓢟𓢠𓢡𓢢𓢣𓢤𓢥𓢦𓢧𓢨𓢩𓢪𓢫𓢬𓢭𓢮𓢯𓢰𓢱𓢲𓢳𓢴𓢵𓢶𓢷𓢸𓢹𓢺𓢻𓢼𓢽𓢾𓢿𓣀𓣁𓣂𓣃𓣄𓣅𓣆𓣇𓣈𓣉𓣊𓣋𓣌𓣍𓣎𓣏𓣐𓣑𓣒𓣓𓣔𓣕𓣖𓣗𓣘𓣙𓣚𓣛𓣜𓣝𓣞𓣟𓣠𓣡𓣢𓣣𓣤𓣥𓣦𓣧𓣨𓣩𓣪𓣫𓣬𓣭𓣮𓣯𓣰𓣱𓣲𓣳𓣴𓣵𓣶𓣷𓣸𓣹𓣺𓣻𓣼𓣽𓣾𓣿𓤀𓤁𓤂𓤃𓤄𓤅𓤆𓤇𓤈𓤉𓤊𓤋𓤌𓤍𓤎𓤏𓤐𓤑𓤒𓤓𓤔𓤕𓤖𓤗𓤘𓤙𓤚𓤛𓤜𓤝𓤞𓤟𓤠𓤡𓤢𓤣𓤤𓤥𓤦𓤧𓤨𓤩𓤪𓤫𓤬𓤭𓤮𓤯𓤰𓤱𓤲𓤳𓤴𓤵𓤶𓤷𓤸𓤹𓤺𓤻𓤼𓤽𓤾𓤿𓥀𓥁𓥂𓥃𓥄𓥅𓥆𓥇𓥈𓥉𓥊𓥋𓥌𓥍𓥎𓥏𓥐𓥑𓥒𓥓𓥔𓥕𓥖𓥗𓥘𓥙𓥚𓥛𓥜𓥝𓥞𓥟𓥠𓥡𓥢𓥣𓥤𓥥𓥦𓥧𓥨𓥩𓥪𓥫𓥬𓥭𓥮𓥯𓥰𓥱𓥲𓥳𓥴𓥵𓥶𓥷𓥸𓥹𓥺𓥻𓥼𓥽𓥾𓥿𓦀𓦁𓦂𓦃𓦄𓦅𓦆𓦇𓦈𓦉𓦊𓦋𓦌𓦍𓦎𓦏𓦐𓦑𓦒𓦓𓦔𓦕𓦖𓦗𓦘𓦙𓦚𓦛𓦜𓦝𓦞𓦟𓦠𓦡𓦢𓦣𓦤𓦥𓦦𓦧𓦨𓦩𓦪𓦫𓦬𓦭𓦮𓦯𓦰𓦱𓦲𓦳𓦴𓦵𓦶𓦷𓦸𓦹𓦺𓦻𓦼𓦽𓦾𓦿𓧀𓧁𓧂𓧃𓧄𓧅𓧆𓧇𓧈𓧉𓧊𓧋𓧌𓧍𓧎𓧏𓧐𓧑𓧒𓧓𓧔𓧕𓧖𓧗𓧘𓧙𓧚𓧛𓧜𓧝𓧞𓧟𓧠𓧡𓧢𓧣𓧤𓧥𓧦𓧧𓧨𓧩𓧪𓧫𓧬𓧭𓧮𓧯𓧰𓧱𓧲𓧳𓧴𓧵𓧶𓧷𓧸𓧹𓧺𓧻𓧼𓧽𓧾𓧿𓨀𓨁𓨂𓨃𓨄𓨅𓨆𓨇𓨈𓨉𓨊𓨋𓨌𓨍𓨎𓨏𓨐𓨑𓨒𓨓𓨔𓨕𓨖𓨗𓨘𓨙𓨚𓨛𓨜𓨝𓨞𓨟𓨠𓨡𓨢𓨣𓨤𓨥𓨦𓨧𓨨𓨩𓨪𓨫𓨬𓨭𓨮𓨯𓨰𓨱𓨲𓨳𓨴𓨵𓨶𓨷𓨸𓨹𓨺𓨻𓨼𓨽𓨾𓨿𓩀𓩁𓩂𓩃𓩄𓩅𓩆𓩇𓩈𓩉𓩊𓩋𓩌𓩍𓩎𓩏𓩐𓩑𓩒𓩓𓩔𓩕𓩖𓩗𓩘𓩙𓩚𓩛𓩜𓩝𓩞𓩟𓩠𓩡𓩢𓩣𓩤𓩥𓩦𓩧𓩨𓩩𓩪𓩫𓩬𓩭𓩮𓩯𓩰𓩱𓩲𓩳𓩴𓩵𓩶𓩷𓩸𓩹𓩺𓩻𓩼𓩽𓩾𓩿𓪀𓪁𓪂𓪃𓪄𓪅𓪆𓪇𓪈𓪉𓪊𓪋𓪌𓪍𓪎𓪏𓪐𓪑𓪒𓪓𓪔𓪕𓪖𓪗𓪘𓪙𓪚𓪛𓪜𓪝𓪞𓪟𓪠𓪡𓪢𓪣𓪤𓪥𓪦𓪧𓪨𓪩𓪪𓪫𓪬𓪭𓪮𓪯𓪰𓪱𓪲𓪳𓪴𓪵𓪶𓪷𓪸𓪹𓪺𓪻𓪼𓪽𓪾𓪿𓫀𓫁𓫂𓫃𓫄𓫅𓫆𓫇𓫈𓫉𓫊𓫋𓫌𓫍𓫎𓫏𓫐𓫑𓫒𓫓𓫔𓫕𓫖𓫗𓫘𓫙𓫚𓫛𓫜𓫝𓫞𓫟𓫠𓫡𓫢𓫣𓫤𓫥𓫦𓫧𓫨𓫩𓫪𓫫𓫬𓫭𓫮𓫯𓫰𓫱𓫲𓫳𓫴𓫵𓫶𓫷𓫸𓫹𓫺𓫻𓫼𓫽𓫾𓫿𓬀𓬁𓬂𓬃𓬄𓬅𓬆𓬇𓬈𓬉𓬊𓬋𓬌𓬍𓬎𓬏𓬐𓬑𓬒𓬓𓬔𓬕𓬖𓬗𓬘𓬙𓬚𓬛𓬜𓬝𓬞𓬟𓬠𓬡𓬢𓬣𓬤𓬥𓬦𓬧𓬨𓬩𓬪𓬫𓬬𓬭𓬮𓬯𓬰𓬱𓬲𓬳𓬴𓬵𓬶𓬷𓬸𓬹𓬺𓬻𓬼𓬽𓬾𓬿𓭀𓭁𓭂𓭃𓭄𓭅𓭆𓭇𓭈𓭉𓭊𓭋𓭌𓭍𓭎𓭏𓭐𓭑𓭒𓭓𓭔𓭕𓭖𓭗𓭘𓭙𓭚𓭛𓭜𓭝𓭞𓭟𓭠𓭡𓭢𓭣𓭤𓭥𓭦𓭧𓭨𓭩𓭪𓭫𓭬𓭭𓭮𓭯𓭰𓭱𓭲𓭳𓭴𓭵𓭶𓭷𓭸𓭹𓭺𓭻𓭼𓭽𓭾𓭿𓮀𓮁𓮂𓮃𓮄𓮅𓮆𓮇𓮈𓮉𓮊𓮋𓮌𓮍𓮎𓮏𓮐𓮑𓮒𓮓𓮔𓮕𓮖𓮗𓮘𓮙𓮚𓮛𓮜𓮝𓮞𓮟𓮠𓮡𓮢𓮣𓮤𓮥𓮦𓮧𓮨𓮩𓮪𓮫𓮬𓮭𓮮𓮯𓮰𓮱𓮲𓮳𓮴𓮵𓮶𓮷𓮸𓮹𓮺𓮻𓮼𓮽𓮾𓮿𓯀𓯁𓯂𓯃𓯄𓯅𓯆𓯇𓯈𓯉𓯊𓯋𓯌𓯍𓯎𓯏𓯐𓯑𓯒𓯓𓯔𓯕𓯖𓯗𓯘𓯙𓯚𓯛𓯜𓯝𓯞𓯟𓯠𓯡𓯢𓯣𓯤𓯥𓯦𓯧𓯨𓯩𓯪𓯫𓯬𓯭𓯮𓯯𓯰𓯱𓯲𓯳𓯴𓯵𓯶𓯷𓯸𓯹𓯺𓯻𓯼𓯽𓯾𓯿𓰀𓰁𓰂𓰃𓰄𓰅

is largely a matter of conjecture.¹ However, chambers embedded in masonry are a common feature of mortuary temples where they clearly served as store chambers for ritual equipment. In addition the mortuary cult would have required five statue niches which were standard features of mortuary temples at this time and took the form of hidden chambers, each containing a statue of the dead king and serving some unknown ritual function.² It is possible that the granite *naoi* containing statues of the king which were discovered by Petrie in this area once stood in the statue niches, though other functions are not excluded; but they could not have served as cult statues placed in the Holy of Holies for ritual purposes, since such 'Kultbilder' would have to be easy to move if the rites were to be performed.³ Consequently they provide no evidence for the position of the various shrines whose existence we have postulated.

Such then, is the sum of what we know or can reasonably deduce concerning the form of the Labyrinth from the material remains and literary tradition at our disposal, and it must be admitted that it is woefully inadequate for the reconstruction of this great monument. Nevertheless, if we bear in mind the general practice of Egyptian architects in the construction of their temples (for the Labyrinth undoubtedly was a temple building), and then endeavour to fit our evidence into such a framework, some results can be attained and perhaps a picture of the building derived which may not be altogether at variance with the truth.

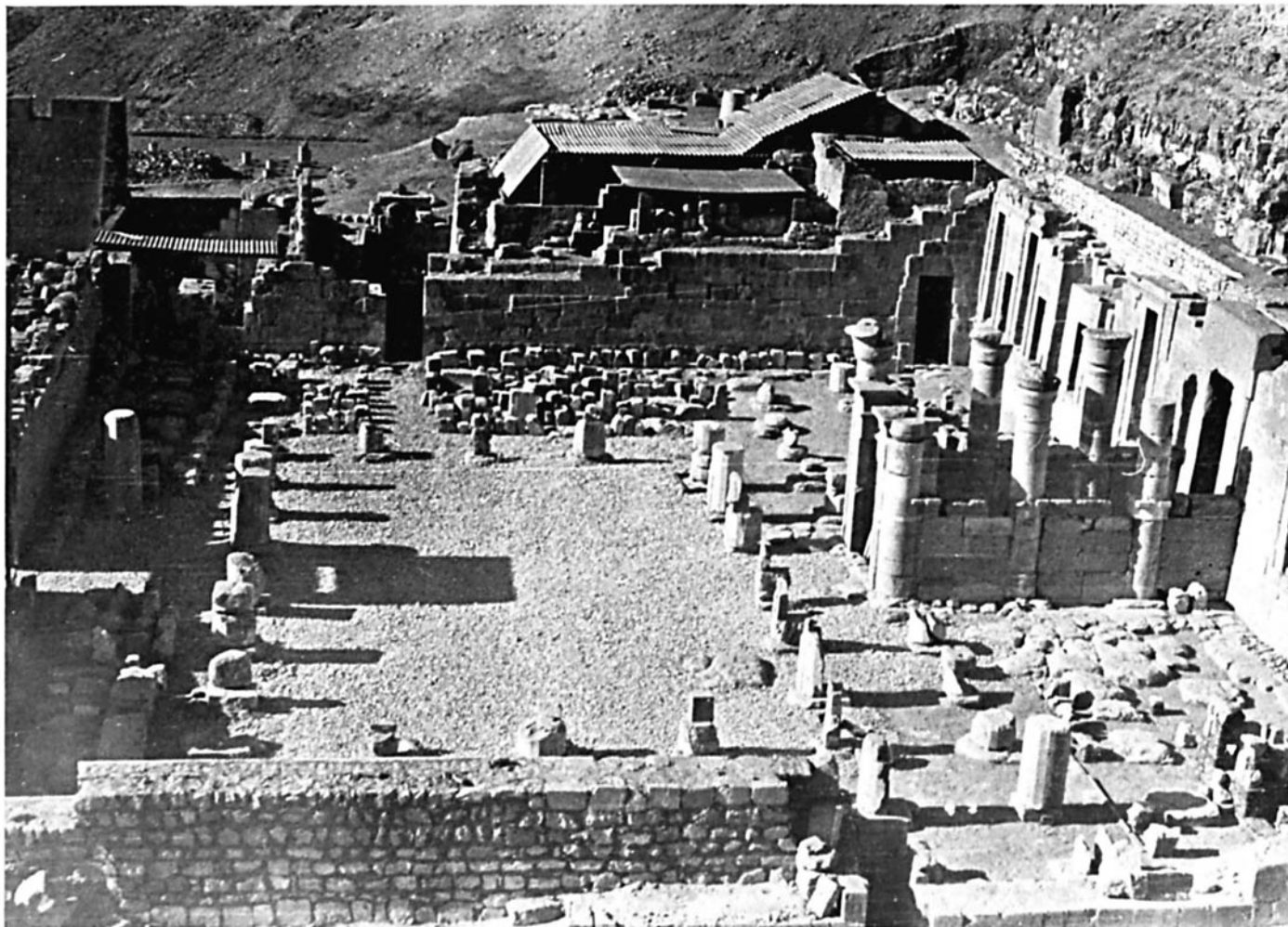
Postscript

When this study had already been completed, there came to my notice a recent article on the same subject by K. Michałowski (*JEA* 54 (1968), 219 ff). On some points we are in agreement and my reasons for disagreement on others will be quite clear from the text.

¹ We have evidence of *κρυπταί* or 'hidden chambers' as early as the Middle Kingdom, e.g. the  *ipt nt wnt nt Dhwtj*, 'the secret chamber of the Temple of Thoth', *Westcar*, 7, 5; 7, 7; 9, 2; cf. *JEA* 11 (1925), 2 ff.; 16 (1930), 33; and actual examples survive from the Tuthmosid Period onwards. They were hidden away in walls or below the floor and accessible only to those who had knowledge of the secret entrances; cf. Bonnet, *Reallexikon der ägyptischen Religionsgeschichte* (Berlin, 1952), 401; Jéquier, op. cit. 137 ff. Strabo does not appear to be describing this type of thing because he says there were lots of them and, above all, that they were easily accessible.

² Edwards, op. cit. 149.

³ Bonnet, op. cit. 410 ff.



View of the Court of the Third Terrace of the Temple of Hatshepsut. State as in March 1967

THE MAIN HYPOSTYLE HALL AT DEIR EL-BAHRI