

SERVICE DES ANTIQUITÉS DE L'ÉGYPTE

EXCAVATIONS AT GÎZA

with Special Chapters on Methods of Excavation, the
False-door, and Other Archaeological and Religious Subjects

VOL. V.

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by

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with the collaboration of

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THE FACULTY OF ARTS, FOUAD I UNIVERSITY



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إلى روح صديقي الوفي
عبدالقادر حمزة باشا

TO THE MEMORY

OF MY FRIEND

ABDEL-KADER HAMZA PASHA

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PREFACE

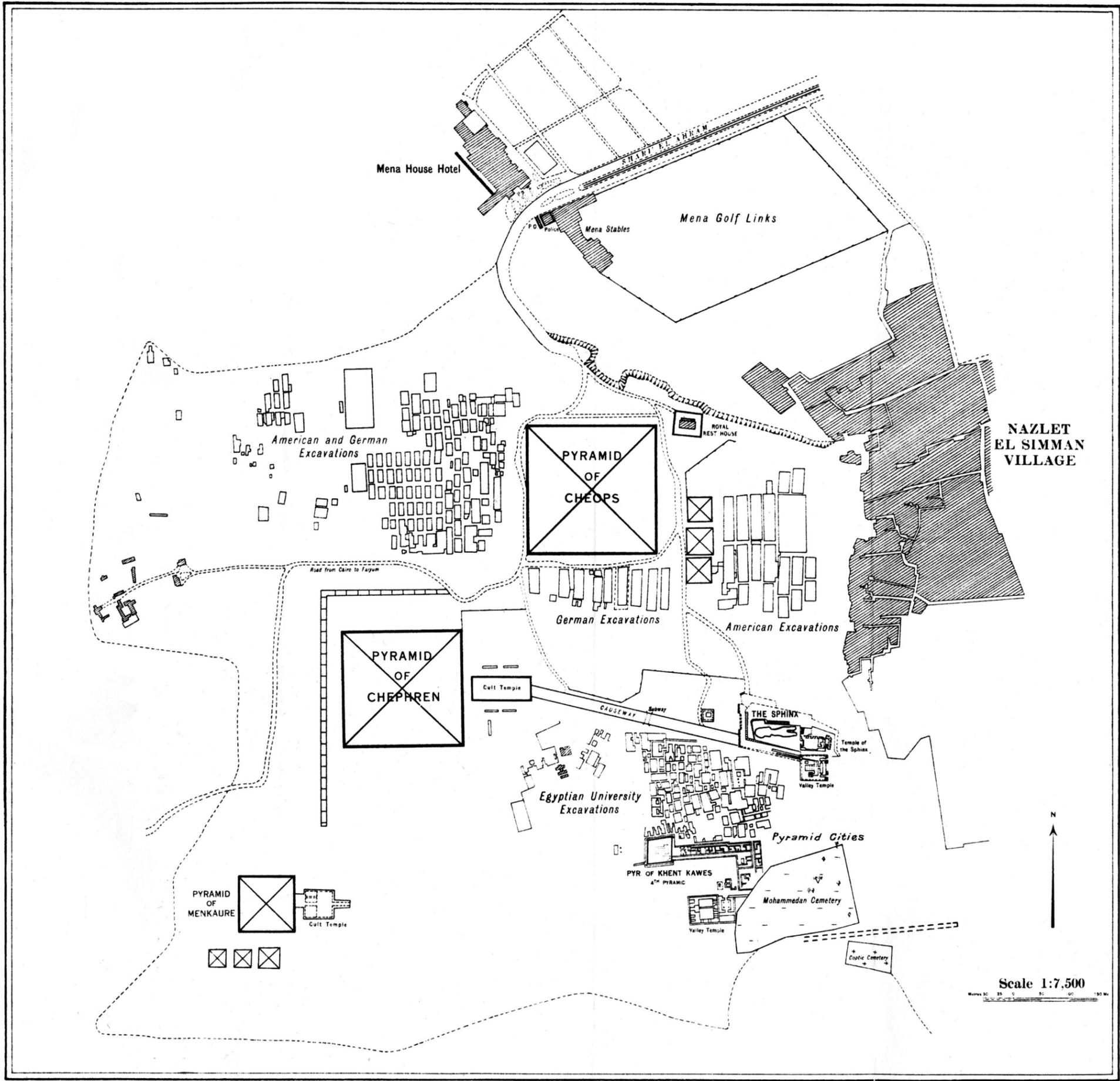
WE commenced our fifth season's work on September 23, 1933 in a crowded part of the Giza necropolis lying to the north and east of the Pyramid of Queen Khentkawes (*see* General Plan). The aim of our work was to clear that area lying behind the row of rock-cut tombs to the north of the Fourth Pyramid, in order to ascertain if any connection existed between this necropolis and the Fourth Pyramid complex. Our labour was rewarded by the discovery of several fine tombs, particularly that of Tesen, which forms a noteworthy contribution to our knowledge of Egyptian art during the Old Kingdom. Another notable "find" was the tomb of Fefi, the father of Tesen, which contained a fine intact serdab. During the course of our work we also thoroughly cleaned and re-examined the famous tomb of Werkhww, where we had the good fortune to discover a remarkably carved limestone head of one of the most striking portrait-statues of the Old Kingdom.

But it is not my intention to devote this volume entirely to the mere description of the mastabas, for in response to many requests from my students I have also decided to add some hints as to the methods of excavation, although I had originally intended to reserve those for the final volume of this series, and also some notes on various archæological and religious points that occur in connection with the Old Kingdom tombs. Thus, I have dealt, from an archæological point of view, with the methods of work, the component parts of the Old Kingdom tomb, especially the false-door, and the offering-list, as it appears on the tomb stelæ and panels from the Archaic Period to the middle of the Fourth Dynasty. From the religious point of view, I have discussed some aspects of the tangled problem of the Ka as it appears through modern Egyptian eyes, an outlook which may retain a glimmer of the old conception descended down through the ages.

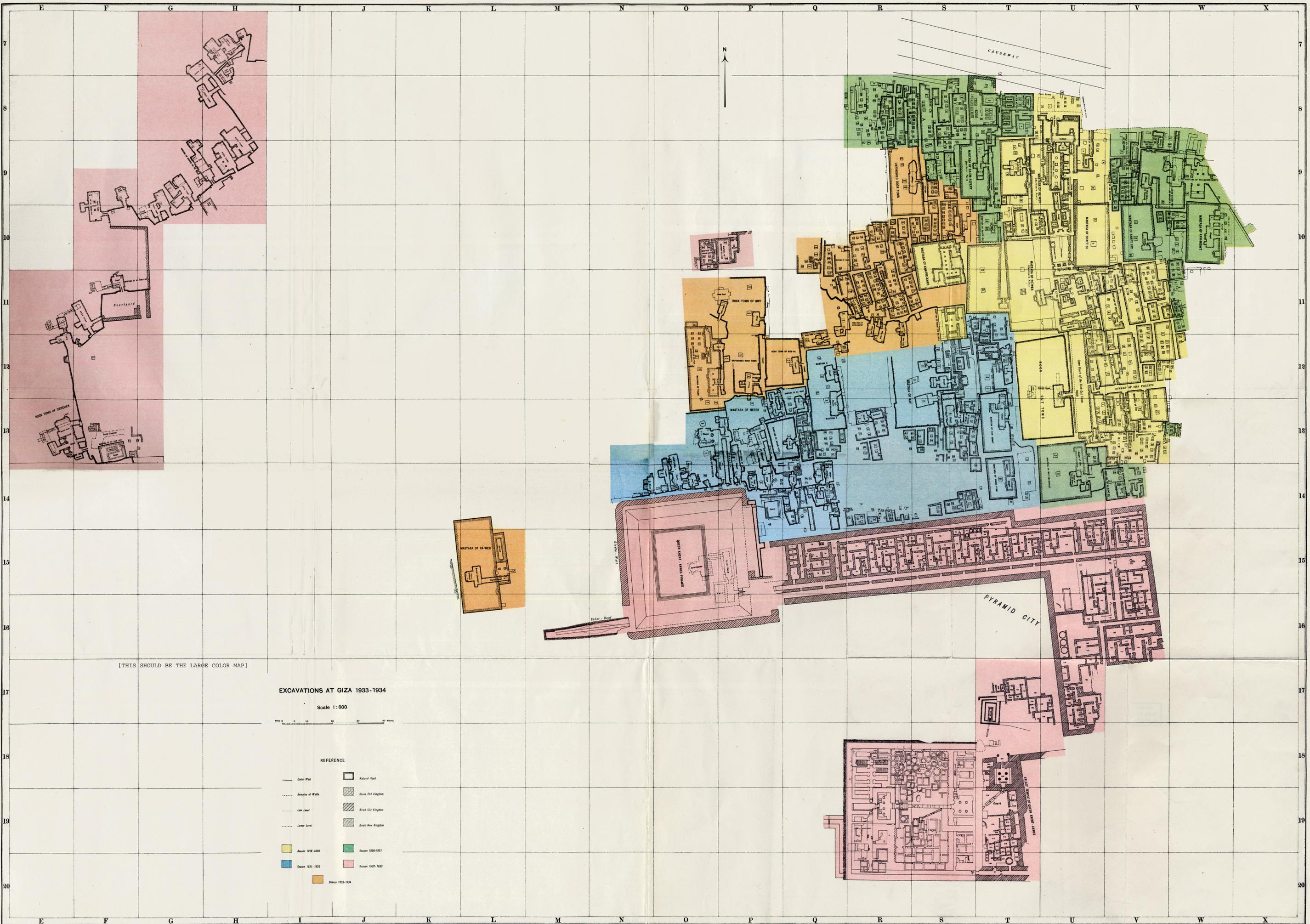
Concerning the execution of the season's work, the staff under my direction was, with one exception, the same as the preceding season, and consisted of Mahmoud Darwish Eff., assistant; Fawzi Ibrahim Eff., architect; Mahmoud Emam Eff. and Ahmed Sidky Eff., draughtsmen. The photographic work was undertaken by Doktor Ahmed Hassan, a trained Kufi, and Reis Sadik Said was in charge of the labouring staff. Concerning the actual work of publication of this and the preceding volume, I wish to record my thankfulness that despite various difficulties, I had the good fortune to encounter persons who understand that science is science, and that the results of scientific work must be recorded in print in the best and most complete manner possible, despite any other consideration.

For the execution of the printing of these pages, I wish to express my thanks and admiration to Mohammed Bakry Bey, the Director of the Government Press, whose ability and energetic efforts have triumphed over many obstacles, and whose zeal for accuracy in scientific work had even led him to establish a special class of instruction in hieroglyphs for his employees in order to familiarize them with the signs, and thus enable them to carry out the work of hieroglyphical type-setting with speed, accuracy and intelligence. My thanks are also due to the staff of the Government Press, and particularly to William Abdel-Sayed Eff. for the great care and pains he has taken in the work, Hassan Munib Eff. for carefully reading the first proof-sheets, and Ahmed Abdel-Moneim Eff. for supervising the hieroglyphic type. I also thank Mr. J. Leibovitch for supervising some of the illustrations and reading the last proofs.

SELIM HASSAN



S. & M. (36/516/1) (38/647).



EXCAVATIONS AT GÎZA, 1933-1934

METHODS OF EXCAVATION

MY first initiation into the mysteries of excavation took place in January, 1928, when I joined Dr. Junker's excavations, for the purpose of practical training. Dr. Junker was then engaged upon investigating a site ⁽¹⁾ to the immediate south of the Great Pyramid which contained some large and finely-built mastabas belonging to the family and courtiers of Khwfw.

From that time my whole thought and energy became fixed upon this branch of Egyptology, for I realized that in order to truly understand the ancient Egyptians and appreciate the significance of their religious and artistic culture as well as their social life, one must draw first-hand information from the actual monuments they reared and the sites they frequented. Book-learning is not enough. No matter how well the book is written, nor how learned its author may be, the printed page alone cannot bring back the living Past so clearly as actual experience, and to stand in an intact burial-chamber, (*see* Pl. I, A) which one has personally freed from the encumbering sand, will teach one more in a single hour than any amount of books would do in a year. But by this I do not mean to despise books, on the contrary; and in due course I shall refer to them again; but the scientific investigator must not rely on books alone, but must gain his own personal experience, if possible, in the field, of excavation. Therefore, I set my whole mind on becoming a practical excavator in preference to an academical theorist, and thanks to the zeal and help of H.E. the late Ali Omar Bey (then Secretary-General of the Egyptian University) I was granted a concession for conducting excavations in the Pyramid Zone, being allotted the site lying to the south of the Causeway of the Second Pyramid. Later, I also conducted excavations at Saqqara, chiefly in and around the Pyramid complex of Wnis.

The initiation which I had undergone under Dr. Junker was invaluable in preparing me for the work which lay ahead; and indeed, during my first season of excavating (1929-1930) both Dr. Junker himself and Professor Newberry were ever ready with helpful advice and assistance, for which kindness I must remain for ever grateful. Thus, under auspicious circumstances I began

⁽¹⁾ see "*Excavations at Giza*", Vol. I, p. III

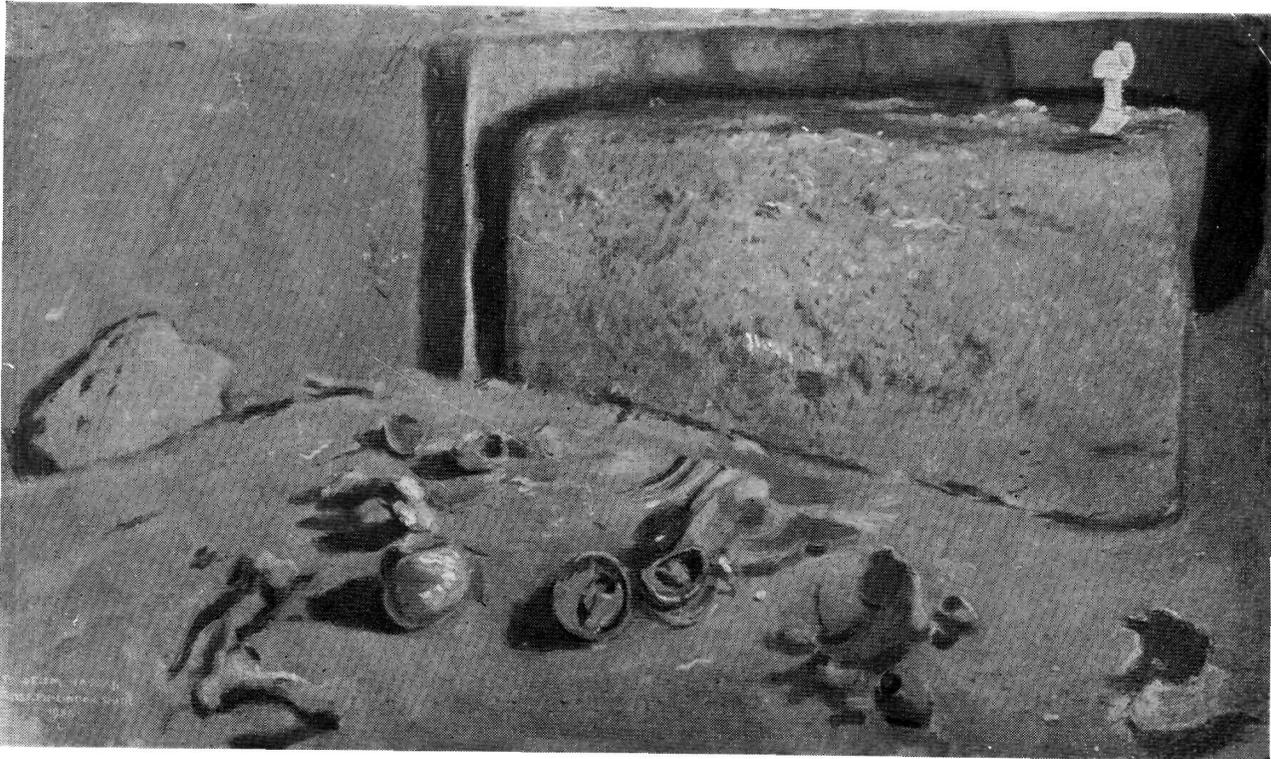
my career as a practical field-worker. During the ten years in which I was so engaged, I learned many useful and interesting lessons, which I now feel my duty to record for the benefit of my students who are actually working in archæology, or who will one day have the opportunity to conduct excavations themselves. And when I dedicate, as it were, these notes to Egyptian students, it is because I believe that only an Egyptian can successfully carry them out, not because he is necessarily more skilful and intelligent than a similarly educated European, but, because all excavators in Egypt must rely on Egyptian diggers for the actual work of clearance, and only an Egyptian can understand them and be understood by them properly, and so make them perform their work in a satisfactory manner. I would like to stress that the following ideas are gained from personal experience and observations made daily in the field of work, and not from books written by academical theorizers who have never heard the musical clang of the digger's shovel and seen an ancient monument gradually emerge from its long slumber under the encumbering sand. These are the observations of one who has laboured daily and all day with the workers in the field of excavation, scarcely leaving them, save for unavoidable absences. I do not pretend that these ideas are applicable to every site to be excavated, nor to every period of Egyptian history, but I am sure that they will prove useful to those who are working in the Old Kingdom necropoli, particularly the Memphite Zone and period. By the "Memphite Zone", I mean the vast Old Kingdom necropolis, or perhaps one had better say, chain of necropoli that stretches from Meidum on the south to Abu-Roash on the north, embracing Saqqara, Abusir, Zawiet el-Aryan and Giza. This area formed the hub of the Old Kingdom civilization, for within it lay the political capital, Memphis, and the religious capital, Heliopolis, Kings, princes, nobles, great officials, the middle-class folk and the very poor all eventually found their resting-place in the Memphite necropoli; and when this area has been thoroughly and scientifically excavated, we can safely say that we shall have a very good idea of the real life in ancient Egypt at least during the Old Kingdom.

THE SITE

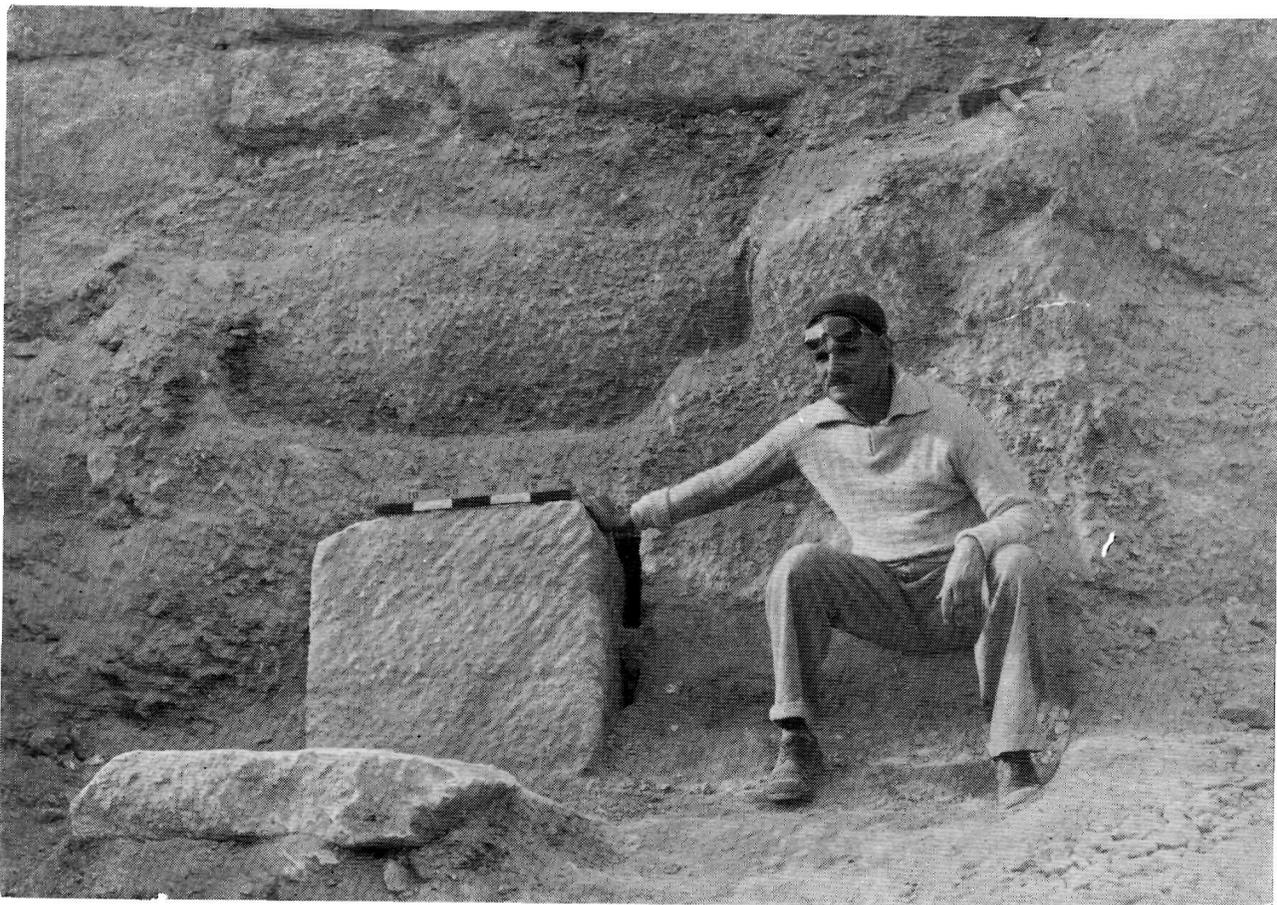
As the present volume and the following notes deal mainly with the Giza Necropolis, it would be as well to first take a glimpse of the nature and history of the site.

If the Pyramids of Giza are to be considered as the most imposing tombs ever erected, so also may the Giza Necropolis be considered as the most strikingly-situated cemetery in the world. The ridge on which the pyramids stand is a desolate plateau of nummulitic limestone on the edge of the Libyan Desert, at a height of about 40·00 m. above sea-level. The group of pyramids are constructed on a sloping area of ground which rises to the west, so that the Second Pyramid appears to be larger than the Great Pyramid, when in reality it is considerably smaller; while the comparatively small pyramid of Men-kaw-Ra^c is saved from being dwarfed by its immense neighbours by being placed somewhat far from them, and on a higher level of the plateau.

Although large brick-built mastabas dating from the First and Second Dynasties exist in the Giza area, yet apparently the first great royal tomb to be erected there was the Great Pyramid of Khwfw, called by the ancient Egyptians "Akhet-Khwfw" (*ꜥḫt-ḫwfw*)  ,

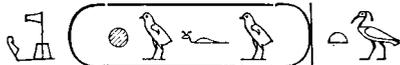


A.—The intact burial-chamber of the daughter of Khafra^c.



B.—The projecting limestone plugstone which led to the discovery of the intact burial of Prince Khenmw-ba-f.

or “The Horizon of Khwfw”, an appropriate name when we consider that after his death the King would be laid to rest in his pyramid in the west, even as the sun sinks to rest in the western horizon; and thus also, the king was identified with the Sun-god. This designation of the pyramid gave the name to the whole necropolis which was called “Kher-nether Akhet-Khwfw”

(*hr-ntr akht Khwfw*)  “The Necropolis of the Horizon of Khwfw.”

To the south and east of the pyramid group the plateau slopes down to the valley in a series of terraces, the rock walls of which are honeycombed with tombs, and all the intervening space is pitted with burial-shafts and covered with built mastabas. This point and its significance will be dealt with in detail later (*see p. 193*).

THE SUITABILITY OF THE GÎZA SITE FOR A NECROPOLIS

Let us now consider the reasons which prompted the Egyptians to choose this site for their burial-ground. The responsibility, of course, rested with the king; wherever he chose to erect his pyramid, the tombs of his family, as well as those of the nobles, would spring up around it, as in the cities of the living, the houses clustered around the temple of the god. Perhaps one reason why Khwfw chose the Gîza site was on account of its elevated position overlooking the Nile Valley. Thus he would, as it were, be eternally overlooking his domains. Moreover, his gigantic tomb would be visible to his subjects for miles around. He may be said to have written his name in stones as large as man's ingenuity could make it, and in so doing rendered himself unforgettable in the minds of men. So long as Khwfw's man-made mountain rears its mighty bulk on the edge of the Libyan plateau, so shall his fame endure on earth. Few, if any, kings can make such a claim to immortality. Furthermore, the Gîza site was already sanctified by the presence of the archaic tombs mentioned above, and it possessed the most important characteristics which the Egyptians desired in their necropoli, namely a dry climate and an abundance of fresh air and sunlight, for the Egyptian dreaded moisture and darkness for his corpse. Contrary to the popular modern belief, they were a gay, pleasure-loving people, and the idea of a dark, gloomy tomb was revolting to their natures. All through their long history we find them praying that after death they may still gaze upon the sun and smell the sweetness of the fresh north wind. This site, where even on the hottest day, a refreshing breeze is always blowing, admirably fulfilled these two conditions. The reason why the entrances of mastabas are, if space permits, oriented to the east, is to allow the sunlight to enter the chapel. But no matter where the real door of the chapel is situated, the false-door in the Memphite Necropoli is invariably erected to face east, so as to insure a plentiful supply of sunlight entering the burial-chamber. In many cases windows were constructed in the eastern façade of the tombs in order to admit sunlight, and these are usually placed opposite to the false-doors (¹). In the tomb of Ka-her-isit-f, discovered during our sixth season's work, an oblique opening in the roof directs the sunlight on to the eastern wall at a spot *opposite* to the false-door, perhaps in order that when looking forth from his false-door, the Ka may at once behold the sunlight.

Another reason for choosing the Gîza site is its mountainous character and westerly situation. The “Western mountain” was the ideal necropolis of tradition; also it must be remembered that

(¹) A typical example is the tomb of Debsheny (*see “Excavations at Giza”, 1932-1933, p. 182*).

the site was firstly the King's choice, and he, being identified with the Sun-god, would naturally sink to rest in the west. Moreover, the Egyptians believed that the Land of the Dead lay in the west, and "Amenti": or "Amentet" 𓂏𓂏 , which was one of the names of the Kingdom of Osiris may be literally translated "the West". The dead were commonly referred to as "the Westerners" or "those who have gone West", a phrase that was destined to be revived during the World War of 1914–1918 ⁽¹⁾; in Arabic "اصحاب الميمية".

Then there was the question of climate. Damp and humid tombs were dreaded, as they were inimical to the preservation of the body and its funerary equipment. Therefore, the high desert ridge, sun-scorched and wind-swept was ideal for the construction of perfectly moistureless tombs. This was certainly true in the case of those mastabas constructed on the higher levels of the site, but as the ground sloped down towards the cultivation, infiltrated Nile water was to be met with at a surprisingly little distance from the surface, and this limited the depth of the burial-shaft. In the tomb of Ra'-wer, the architect made a miscalculation in sinking the principal shaft. He went too deep and tapped water-level. To remedy this he was forced to pave the floor of the burial-chamber in order to seal the rising waters ⁽²⁾.

Nowadays many of the deepest shafts in even the higher levels of ground are flooded, this being due to the increased height of the Nile levels.

Further reasons for the choice of this site are mainly ones of practical economy. Then, as now, every inch of agricultural ground was valuable to the living, even had it not been too damp for the use of the dead; while the barren desert was of no use to the living, but by reason of its dryness was admirably suited to the use of the dead. Moreover, the site contained a vast amount of good-quality limestone for use as a building material; while at the same time it was within easy reach of the Turah quarries from whence was obtained the fine white limestone used for the casing-stones of the Pyramids of Khwfw and Khafra, as well as for sarcophagi, false-doors, statuary, etc. By taking advantage of the annual inundation, when the flood-water extended to the very foot of the plateau, it was an easy matter to bring the stone across on rafts or stone-barges right up to the scene of construction. Furthermore, as we have already noticed, the Giza site may be considered a central position, equally accessible to Memphis and Heliopolis, the two most important Old Kingdom cities in Lower Egypt.

In view of its manifest importance and the known fact that it contains so many royal and princely burials, it is not surprising that the Memphite necropoli have always been, and still continue to be a magnet drawing irresistibly two types of men, the treasure-hunter and the archæologist, both of whom travel widely different roads which eventually converge into a common goal—an unplundered burial-chamber!

"EXCAVATORS", ANCIENT AND MODERN

Although Archæological excavating is counted as one of the youngest of the sciences, it is in reality one of the very oldest. Indeed, the only new thing about excavating is its newly-acquired

⁽¹⁾ Contrary to modern usage the Egyptians placed the west on their right instead of the left. This is because they had the habit of facing south when orienting themselves, the place from which their Nile rises,

⁽²⁾ "Excavations at Giza, I", 1929–1930, p. 30.

respectability, for it is in a way nothing but thinly-veiled tomb-robbery, used for scientific purposes. Now, tomb-robbery has always been a popular pastime in Egypt, and has been carried on since the very earliest times. This practice is, of course, the outcome of the Egyptian custom of burying ornaments and funerary equipment with their dead, a custom dating from Pre-dynastic times and continuing throughout their whole history. The value of this material property of the dead was naturally in proportion to the rank and wealth of the deceased, and must at all times have been a source of temptation to the living, either on account of downright poverty, or more usually, perhaps, the unquenchable thirst for gold and the deathless thrill of treasure-hunting which has always possessed the mind of man. It must be remembered, however, that the Egyptians were the first legitimate treasure-hunters of whom we have authentic, concrete evidence. As early as the First Dynasty they were exploring Sinai for copper, malachite and turquoise; they later scoured the eastern desert in search of gold, and have left us the earliest map showing the way to some gold-mines and recording the position of wells and landmarks (1). Unfortunately however, there were too many gold-mines near at hand in the various necropoli, and the wholesale manner in which the ancients carried out the work of "treasure hunting" becomes apparent when we realize that practically every tomb brought to light by modern excavators, has been thoroughly plundered in the past.

In the earliest burials of which we have any evidence, the body, loosely rolled in a mat or a hide, was placed in a shallow, circular or oval grave scooped in the sand at the edge of the desert. The only superstructure to such a grave was a low mound formed by replacing the sand after interment. This would have quickly been denuded down by the wind and rain, and the body exposed to the mercy of jackals, hyenas and prowling village dogs, who, doubtless were the original tomb-robbers. While these creatures robbed the grave of the body, unscrupulous men made off with the funerary gear, which even in these remote times was buried with the dead. As civilization developed and the funerary cult became more complex, the kings and nobles demanded a larger funerary equipment, and this led to the enlargement of the shallow grave into the built or rock-cut tomb, partly in order to house the increased number of material possessions of the dead, and partly, no doubt, to protect them from robbers. In this latter capacity, the larger tombs were not an unqualified success. While they protected their contents from casual thieves, their size and magnificence effectively advertised the richness of the objects they might be expected to contain, and so were a direct challenge to the cupidity of the tomb-robber. This was quickly realized by the Egyptians, but while material pride and the intense desire for a "goodly burial" forbade them to seek a more modest form of tomb, they nevertheless resorted to various ways and means to outwit the thieves. Normally, the actual burial-place in a built mastaba was in an underground chamber lying immediately behind and beneath the false-door in the western wall of the chapel, or if there was no chapel, in the eastern façade. This burial-chamber was reached either by means of a vertical shaft or a sloping passage. After the body had been placed in the burial-chamber, the entrance was walled up with masonry, rough blocks of limestone, or rubble and mud plaster. The shaft was then filled in with clean limestone chips, the stone excavated

(1) MASPERO, "*Struggle of the Nations*", pp. 375-376.

when the shaft was originally cut, and retained for this very purpose. In the case of sloping passages, they were plugged with huge blocks of granite or limestone. Such were the seemingly formidable means taken to preserve the sanctity of the dead. But such methods held no terrors for the professional tomb-robber. Shafts were cleared of just sufficient of their filling to form a narrow tunnel down which an active fellow could worm his way into the burial-chamber. Plug-stones which were too heavy, or too firmly mortared into place to be dragged out, were either smashed into pieces, or a way was tunnelled between them and the softer rock wall of the passage. Once safely in the burial-chamber, the thief was usually confronted by a massive sarcophagus of limestone, or sometimes granite, its heavy lid being securely mortared on to the coffer. This he must prise open in order to reach the cream of the loot—the golden jewellery of the deceased—at once the most valuable, portable and easily-disposed of part of the funerary equipment. If the lid proved too heavy to lift or too firmly mortared to be forced aside by leverage, the thief either smashed the lid to pieces or cut a hole through the side of the sarcophagus. In the latter event, the hole was usually made in the northern end, where it was known that the head of the corpse lay. It often happened that the robbers made no attempt to force the normal entrance of the tomb, but bored a new tunnel from some place outside the mastaba directly into the burial-chamber. By so doing they left the legitimate entrance intact and so avoided arousing the suspicions and investigations of the necropolis guards. Another practice was to cut a way from an already plundered or unoccupied burial-chamber into that of its next door-neighbour. Not only did these last two methods deceive the necropolis guards, but they remain a bitter disappointment to the modern excavator. We spent days of strenuous toil removing the huge plug stones from the sloping passage leading to the burial-chamber of Neb-kaw-her, at Saqqara, our hopes running high in anticipation of an un plundered burial. When we finally reached our goal, we found that others had been there before us and the burial-chamber had been robbed, the thieves having cut a fresh passage in from a spot outside the mastaba.

These last two methods could only have been carried out by persons “in the know”, and the culprits were most probably the very masons who had originally constructed the tomb. The story of the treasure of Ramphsinitus which was related to Herodotus, tells how the architect of the King’s strong-room instructed his sons into the secret of a movable stone in the wall by means of which they could enter, and plunder, the royal treasure-house. This story shows that such a practice was quite familiar to the minds of the Egyptians. But it sometimes happens that we come upon a tomb which is undoubtedly intact, but which nevertheless has been robbed! This is clearly the work of the funerary priests, who must have committed the crime at the time of the actual interment. A striking example of this type of robbery is afforded by the tomb of Ankh-ḥa-f⁽¹⁾. The deceased was a person of some importance, and bore the title of Inspector of the Houses of Silver and Gold (the Treasury). When found by us, his burial-chamber and sarcophagus were absolutely intact, but on opening the latter it was found to be devoid of the outfit of jewellery which the usual custom of the period led us to expect would adorn a man of his distinction. A careful examination of the contents of the sarcophagus did finally reveal fragments of a thin golden bracelet. Clearly the priests or persons in charge of sealing the sarcophagus

⁽¹⁾ “*Excavations at Giza*”, 1931–1932, p. 130 ff.

must have stolen the remainder of the jewellery before completing their task, (Unless of course, Ankh-ḥa-f had seen so much gold during his career in the Treasury that he was heartily sick of it and preferred to be buried without the customary outfit!).

This shows that there was a certain type of mentality among the Egyptians, sceptical of religious beliefs, for these tomb-robbers, even the priestly ones, neither feared nor revered the gods nor the dead. Another curious case is that of the tomb of Khwta ⁽¹⁾, who was a priest of King Men-kaw-Ra'. We found the burial-chambers of both this man and his wife intact, but containing nothing at all except the corpses. Are we to infer that both of these persons were robbed of every article of adornment, and equipment at the time of their burial; or did Khwta, a priest himself, understand the habits of his colleagues, and knowing so well the fate of a well-equipped corpse, refrain from following a custom which would certainly be a needless expense, and very probably a menace to the safety of his dead body? If the latter supposition is correct, it also goes to prove that Khwta, though a priest, did not personally believe in the necessity of a material funerary outfit, and therefore did not "practise what he preached". This custom of putting jewellery and other precious things with the dead descended into modern Egypt and the same kind of robbing is practised even for the costly bandages and thus the family of the dead now have to tear the bandages after the interment in order to prevent their being stolen by the tomb-robbers.

USURPED TOMBS

It sometimes happened that the equipment of the dead was not the only plunder sought by these ancient robbers; instances occur where a complete tomb has been stolen! A notable example is the mastaba of Princess Idout, at Saqqara. Originally this fine tomb had been prepared for a man, but Idout, by some means or other, appropriated it for her own use. The figure of the unfortunate owner was erased from the scenes, his name removed from the inscriptions, and the figure and name of Idout substituted ⁽²⁾. But the work was not very skilfully done, and in many scenes we can see traces of the original male figure, while in many places in the inscriptions the masculine pronoun had been overlooked and allowed to remain. Another instance is that of the above-mentioned tomb of Neb-kaw-ḥer, also at Saqqara. This man, who was a King's Son, and held many high titles, appropriated the splendid mastaba of a certain Akhet-hotep; their titles, except for that of King's Son, were identical, and Neb-kaw-ḥer had only to erase the real owner's name, and substitute his own with the single extra title, a method which he followed in the interior of the tomb. But with regard to the façade, he cased it all over with a fresh coating of masonry perhaps with the double purpose of hiding the inscriptions, and at the same time, disguising the appearance of the mastaba. Part of this coating had fallen in the course of time, and seeing that the remainder was hiding inscriptions, we removed it, and thus revealed the perfidy of Neb-kaw-ḥer.

While but comparatively few persons went to the length of usurping a complete contemporary tomb, the practice of stealing stones from each other's monuments was so widespread that certain pious persons boasted that they had built their tombs entirely of new stones, and had not taken slabs from other mastabas. Remenwka, of the Giza Necropolis, was one of these original persons! In one of his inscriptions he says: "Never have I brought away things from any man to this tomb,

⁽¹⁾ "Excavations at Giza", 1931-1932, p. 41 ff.

⁽²⁾ MACRAMALLAH, "Mastaba d'Idout", Introduction,

on account of remembering the Judgment in the West. I made this tomb in exchange for bread and beer, which I gave to all the artisans who made this tomb. Behold! Certainly I have given them very great wages out of all linen, which they asked for, and they thanked God for it" (1).

Nevertheless, poor Remenwka did not reap the reward of his honesty, and his tomb served as a quarry for his less scrupulous neighbours. In fact, the very slab upon which his pious inscription was engraved, had been stolen and re-employed in the construction of a later intrusive burial-place very near-by.

METHODS USED TO PROTECT THE BURIALS

It must not be thought that the Egyptians took all these outrages on their dead calmly. Many and varied were the artifices they resorted to in order to protect the tombs, but what can man's ingenuity do against man's lust for gold and precious stones?

In many cases a tomb discovered intact owes its safety to some fortunate accident rather than to the skill and cunning of the builder. (A famous example is that of the tomb of Tut-ankh-amen, which was buried and effectively hidden by the mason's waste chippings dumped over it during the cutting of a Ramesside tomb a little above it) (Ramses VI).

The following are the principal methods employed by the Egyptians in their attempts to secure the safety of their dead:—

Massive Plug-Stones

As before mentioned, massive plug-stones of Turah limestone or granite, sometimes measuring nearly 3.00 m. long, by 1.00 × 1.00 m. in section, were employed to block the sloping passages. In the case of the Fourth Pyramid of Queen Khent-kawes, these plug-stones were of red granite, and the passage itself was lined with the same material. When we excavated this pyramid, we found these huge plug-stones smashed to pieces, while most of the casing stone of the passage had shared the same fate. The presence of a Middle Kingdom scarab in the Queen's rifled burial-chamber shows that this monument was violated at an early date, and re-employed for intrusive burials during the Middle Kingdom (2).

The mastaba of a certain unnamed Princess, a daughter of Khafra, which lies somewhat to the north-west of the Fourth Pyramid, was found by us to be intact (Pl. I, A). Here also the plug-stones had been employed. But the safety of this tomb seems to have been due to the fact that some poor person had used its doorway as a burial-place, a custom usually resorted to in connection with neglected and plundered tombs. The ancient robbers, observing this lowly intrusive burial, naturally thought the original tomb to have been already plundered and did not waste their efforts upon it. It is an irony of fate that the lady's royal father was destined to have his gigantic pyramid plundered and his very corpse destroyed, while his daughter's modest mastaba escaped robbery through the presence of a parasitic burial (3)!

(1) "Excavations at Giza", 1930-1931, p. 173; also Rdwn Pth, the chief dentist says upon his lintel: "I have bought this in the Necropolis without committing any irregularity" (*An. Ser.* Vol. XLII, p. 38, Grdseloff).

(2) "Excavations at Giza", 1932-1933, p. 26.

(3) The body of the Princess was adorned with a fine outfit of golden ornaments.

Trap-Doors and Masonry Walls

Akhet-ḥetep of Saḳkara resorted to a somewhat complicated device in a vain attempt to preserve the sanctity of his burial-chamber. At a distance of about 6·00 m. to the north of the northern wall of his mastaba, he commenced a sloping passage cut in the living rock. It passed under the north wall of the superstructure and terminated in the northern end of the eastern wall of the burial-chamber. It measures 11·40 m. long, and 2·58 m. wide. After the sarcophagus was introduced into the burial-chamber through this passage, a wall, 1·30 m. thick and consisting of coarse limestone, was built all along the eastern side of the passage; while its southern end was blocked by a great wall of the same material, 4·03 m. thick and 2·35 m. high. Near the end of this passage was cut a smaller one, in the thickness of the eastern wall. This second passage served for the introduction of the mummy into the burial-chamber at the time of burial. It is composed of two branches, one of which measures 2·90 m. long, by 1·00 m. wide, and the second, which is sloping, and terminates in the burial-chamber, is 1·95 m. long, and 1·60 m. wide. After burial had taken place the first branch was blocked at its commencement by trap-doors, and this branch, together with the entrance, built up with pieces of limestone so that the eastern wall of the great passage might appear to be continuous. However, this did not save the burial of Akhet-ḥetep from the ancient plunderers, who simply hacked a way into the burial-chamber from the neighbouring shaft (No. 1). This proves that the thieves were either the masons or priests of the necropolis, no stranger could have known the position of the burial-chamber in relation to the neighbouring shafts.

Misplaced Shafts and Passages

The general rule of Old Kingdom tomb construction was for the shaft leading to the burial-chamber to be situated immediately behind the false-door, and the burial-chamber itself to be behind and below the false-door. This, of course, was well-known to all Egyptians and served to indicate to the tomb-robbers the exact spot in which to commence their operations. Therefore, some persons preferred to depart from time-honoured custom and construct their shafts at a little distance to the right or left of the false-door. This would at least delay the robbers in their work which, in a properly guarded necropolis, would be fatal to their success. However, as it was a religious necessity for the burial-chamber to be situated under the false-door, the thieves often hacked a passage straight through, and did not trouble themselves to look for the shaft.

The mastaba of Nekht-ka was an intact tomb in which a misplaced shaft certainly proved effective. When excavating this tomb, we searched in vain for the entrance to the shaft in the traditional place behind the false-door. We cleared the whole construction, but still the entrance eluded us, and it was not until we had removed the debris from the roof to a depth of about 1·00 m. that the mouth of the shaft appeared, in a position divergent from its corresponding false-door. The shaft proved to be 9·00 m. deep and filled with debris, with decayed mud-brick at the bottom. It had an intact burial-chamber, in which the deceased lay interred in a coffer hewn in the rock-floor of the chamber, and covered by two slabs of local limestone mortared into place. The body, which bore traces of mummification, was apparently bound by narrow gold bands, while a gold-plated wand lay by its left side. The dead man's equipment also included model vessels of copper and alabaster, as well as pottery vessels.

Perhaps one of the most cunning examples of misplacement was that of the mastaba of Khnmw-ba-f, the above-mentioned son of Khafra, which lies a little to the north of the tomb of the Princess already described. An unfinished false-door was built into the eastern façade, and behind it was a shaft about 15·00 m. deep, ending in a large burial-chamber, which however, showed not the least trace of ever having been used for interment. We at first thought that the tomb had never been occupied, but in 1936 we decided to clear the area to the north of it, and in so doing we revealed a projecting plug of limestone closing an entrance in the northern façade (Pl. I, B). This is a most unusual orientation for a mastaba, but a general one for an Old Kingdom pyramid. We succeeded in dragging out this plug-stone and the three others which followed it. Each of them measured 1·77×0·84×0·73 m. Their removal revealed a sloping passage leading down to an intact burial-chamber. The first sight that met our gaze was an immense sarcophagus of limestone, upon the lid of which was arranged four magnificent necklaces of gold and semi-precious stones, also four gold-plated finger tips. The burial-chamber also contained the carcass of a sacrificed ox, a copper ewer and basin, a set of eighty copper model vessels, tools and implements, copper arrow-heads, and a set of four pottery canopic jars with limestone lids, and containing their original contents. It was very surprising to find the jewellery of the dead Prince displayed upon the outside of the sarcophagus. As far as I am aware, the jewels were always placed upon the mummy itself.

The presence of only four gold-plated finger tips is a puzzle, as these normally occur in two sets of ten. One set for the fingers and one for the toes. Where then, are the remainder? Perhaps we have here another example of robbery at the time of burial. Perhaps the thief mistook these plated objects for solid gold, and being small and easily concealed, took as many as he could and left the remainder. It must be remembered that the number four was also a favourite magical number. The shaft with a burial-chamber behind the false-door was probably the false-shaft constructed for the use of the shade of the deceased (¹). It may also have served to baffle robbers, but most probably the real reason why this tomb remained intact was because it was constructed on a low-lying part of an old quarry and so was soon buried under an accumulation of drift sand. Later workers in the quarry dumped their waste chippings upon it, and thus completed the work of concealment. The burial-chamber of Shaft No. 39, (near the great tomb of Ra'-wer at Giza) escaped despoilation owing to the fact that the mouth of the shaft was entirely concealed beneath a limestone pavement (see below, p. 17).

MAGICAL PROTECTION

As we have already seen, constructional devices did not always serve to protect the tombs from violation, moreover they were no safeguard to the tomb itself, therefore other means were resorted to, and these took the form of inscribed threats and entreaties:—

Threats

Attempts were made to frighten tomb-robbers away by inscribing lurid threats upon the walls of the mastabas, presaging disaster and 'damnation to the impious wretch who should enter the tomb for any unlawful purpose. This was a method used by a certain Ny'-ankh-Pepy in

(¹) This shaft also played a practical part, and down it the sarcophagus was lowered into the burial-chamber. The sloping passage was too narrow to admit the huge sarcophagus. See p. 47 of the present volume, and for details concerning the purpose of these false-shafts; see "Excavations at Giza", 1932-1933, pp. 95, 96.

his tomb at Saqqara, and others. The threat is inscribed upon the façade of his tomb, and reads : “As for anyone who will do anything evil to this tomb of the necropolis, whose stone father is placed upon its mother (the stone lid is placed upon the sarcophagus), I will be judged with him in the august and excellent council of the Great God, Lord of the West ; I will seize his backbone like a bird ; the fear of me shall be put in him in the sight of those who are upon earth and those who are living, and they shall be afraid of the excellent spirits ; I am an excellent spirit, (to whom) never was any magic a difficult thing. As for being clever, I am a clever Ritualist and a learned man.”

Nevertheless, some sceptical fellow had plastered the threatening inscription over, to nullify it, and thoroughly ransacked the tomb, leaving the disturbed corpse of the poor magician lying in its rifled coffin and surrounded by broken fragments of his once fine funerary outfit. These inscribed threats are fairly common at all period of Egyptian history, but in no case so far discovered have they preserved the dead from desecration.

Entreaties

We have already seen how Remenwka claims to have acted honestly in the matter of building his tomb, he also says : “He who loves the King and Anubis, Who is on Top of His Mountain, will not do harm to what exists in this tomb, among all the persons who will mount to the West. As to this tomb of eternity, I have made it because I have been well-honoured in the presence of men and God (1).”

This entreaty is a plain appeal to the moral principal of the reader, or rather an appeal to his religious feelings. In reality the deceased addresses his appeal to two distinct groups of persons : his own funerary priests and the casual passer-by. Most frequently it is the latter group who are appealed to.

The appeal (2) made by Ny-'ankh-Pepy is in quite a different spirit, it is the cry of a beggar, pure and simple. He says : “O ye who are living, you who are on earth, the Honoured Ones who are beloved by the God who shall pass by this tomb ; pour water and beer from that which is with you. If there chance to be nothing with you, you shall say with your mouths : ‘Put from what is in your hands, pure bread, beer, animals for sacrifice, fowl and pure incense for the Nobleman of the King, etc., Ny-'ankh-Pepy.’”

The same idea survives to-day, when, if accosted by a beggar, one refuses his plea with the words : “May God requite you.”

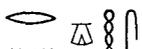
Thus, the beggar benefits by the prayer even if denied material gain (3). Werkhww (p. 242) makes a somewhat double-edged plea when he says : “It will go well with you, O Descendants, and you will be justified of voice, O Ancestors, as for what you have done to me, the like will be done to your property by your descendants.”

(1) “*Excavations at Giza*”, 1930-1931, p. 173.

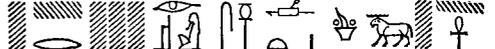
(2) The appeal to the living was first made during the Fourth Dynasty as far as we know and continued through all the Old and Middle Kingdoms (see JEAN SAINTE FARE GARNOT, “*L'appel aux vivants*”).

(3) God gives you what you want by making others' hearts kind to you “الله يمن عليك”.

But there were other what we may call “abstract methods” employed to safeguard the property of the dead, by means of which he hoped to continue his existence in the Other World. Not satisfied with the real offerings, or the sculptured or painted representations in the tomb-chapels, which were always liable to be damaged or stolen, some persons took the more subtle precaution of having the representations of food-offerings, offering-lists and offering-formulæ in the burial-chamber itself. Thus, in the Giza necropolis we find a certain priest named  *K3j-sw3.w* who had his offering-list and formula inscribed upon a rectangular limestone slab and placed inside the burial-chamber, as also did Nj-‘nh-Ppj at Sakḳara.

But other persons did not consider this to be a sufficient precaution, as a stone slab could be easily removed or damaged should a robber penetrate into the burial-place; therefore it seems to have been more desirable to have the vital representations and inscriptions placed upon the rock-cut walls of the chamber. One of the earliest examples of this custom occurs in the mastaba of Ra’-wer (*see* p. 297 of this volume). Seshem-nefer⁽¹⁾ adorned the left-hand side of the eastern wall of his burial-chamber with horizontal rows of representations of food-and-drink offerings, all drawn in black outline upon the smoothed surface of the rock-wall. In the topmost register is the remains of an inscription, reading: →  “The Honoured One before Osiris, Seshem-nefer.” Below are two registers displaying a profusion of food-and-drink offerings which include offering-tables laden with bread and meat, stands and baskets laden with fruit, lettuces, joints of meat, and tall jars of wine. The bottom register displays four trussed oxen and one trussed gazelle, above each animal is placed some of its choicest parts, the haunch and the heart. Above the oxen is written:  “A young ox”, and above the gazelle is:  ←, “A young gazelle.”

The tomb of Ny-‘ankh-ba at Sakḳara has the walls of the burial-chamber plastered, and upon this prepared surface was a series of representations of offerings and equipment, inscriptions and formulæ, painted in bright colours. Unfortunately much of this plaster has scaled off, and with it, of course, the paintings, but from what remains we can gather a good idea of what was considered to be essential for the welfare of the deceased at the time of the end of the Fifth or beginning of the Sixth Dynasty⁽²⁾. At the top of the northern end of the eastern wall is a horizontal band of coloured rectangles, part of the border framing the wall; below it is a horizontal row of hieroglyphs, reading: ←  “ . . . a burial in the necropolis . . . Ny-‘ankh-ba.” Below are five horizontal registers in which are represented food-offerings consisting of bread, vegetables, meat, beer and fruit. On the eastern part of the northern wall are depicted vessels containing offerings, arranged in five registers. This wall was also bordered by a band of coloured rectangles. At the upper end of the northern part of the western wall are two horizontal rows of hieroglyphs, reading:—

(1)  “ . . . Osiris, the Sole Confidant, Ny-‘ankh-ba.”

(2)  “ . . . Overseer of the King’s . . . ”

⁽¹⁾ Seventh season (unpublished).

⁽²⁾ *See* also the mastaba of Kayemankh discovered by Junker at Giza. This tomb possesses a fully decorated burial-chamber, and is dated by the finder to the end of the Fifth Dynasty (JUNKER, “*Vorläufiger Bericht über die Vierte Grabung bei den Pyramiden von Gizeh*”). “*Anzeiger*” of Vienna Academy (1926), pp. 63-120, but in his “*Giza*”, IV, he dates it Sixth Dynasty.

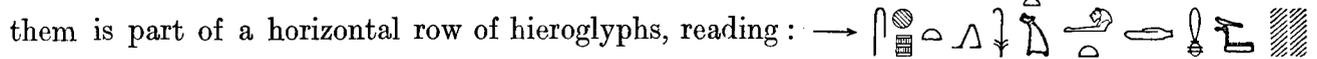
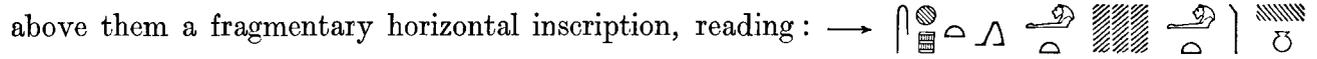
Below are five registers bearing representations of different offerings. In the upper one are shown vases containing oil; while in the second register can be seen part of a rectangular wooden chest, above which is inscribed; →  “ anointing-oil, ointment . . . ”

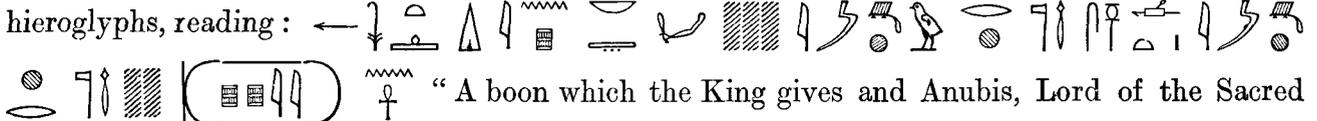
In the third register are shown more jars and vases of oils and ointment; while in the upper right-hand corner is part of the name  . . . [Ny]‘ankh-[ba]. In the fourth register are representations of wooden chests containing collars and “menat” pendants. These ornaments are shown as though they were resting upon the lids of their respective chests, but they were intended to be inside them. In the fifth register may be seen some more vases of oil, above which is inscribed →  “ . . . anointing-oil . . . *sefeth*-oil.” On the western part of the northern wall is a horizontal band of coloured rectangles (at the top) below which was a narrow register, now destroyed. Then comes a horizontal row of hieroglyphs, reading: ← ⁽¹⁾  “ *Sšr.w*-linen . . . all equipment for the Ritualist . . . ” Then follows a badly-damaged register in which parts of four rectangular wooden chests alone remain. The fourth register shows representations of five wooden chests, above which is inscribed: ←  “. . . for the Hereditary Prince . . . ” the Sole Confidant . . . ”

The fifth register displays chests containing jewellery. The first from the right contains a pair of “menat” pendants; the second contains a fillet decorated with two pairs of lotus-flowers flanking a rosette, from the centre of which depend two long streamers. The third and fourth chests are somewhat damaged, but enough is preserved to show that they contained wide necklaces. The fifth chest contains a pair of “menat” pendants, above which are three symbols of “gold”: , or more likely, “collars”. At the upper end of the middle of the western wall is part of a horizontal inscription, reading: ←  “. . . Sole Confidant, Chief Justice, Vizier . . . ” Below this a large area of the plastered surface has scaled off, and destroyed the upper part of a large scene. In the left-hand corner of the lower part of the wall can be seen a catafalque, the roof of which is supported by slender wooden columns with lotus-bud capitals ⁽²⁾. From the roof to about midway down the columns is a white curtain, and inside the catafalque is a leonine-footed bier, on which reposes a coffin covered by a white pall. To the right appears part of another catafalque, and in the middle, part of a leonine couch, a palm-leaf fan, and a large rectangular chest. Below was a horizontal inscription, of which remains but a mere trace; and finally, three large wooden chests. In the upper register of the southern wall are shown two wide necklaces, but the remainder of the register, together with a narrow one beneath it, are now destroyed. In the third register are represented nineteen vases of sacred oils; the fourth, tenth and seventeenth (from the left) appear to be incased in basket-work. Below them is a horizontal row of hieroglyphs, reading: →   “ Bringing the choicest collars (for) the Sole Confidant,

⁽¹⁾ *Sšr.w*-linen, *idmj*-linen (see p. 90).

⁽²⁾ See also the tomb of Prince Neb-em-akhet, “*Excavations at Giza*”, Vol. IV, p. 140, Fig. 81.

the Ritualist, Master of the Secrets, (Ny-'ankh)-ba." This inscription refers to a row of wooden chests, understood to contain collars, immediately below it. Underneath is the left-hand end of a row of vases painted to imitate variegated stone. Above them is inscribed:  "Bringing the choicest wine . . ." In the last remaining register were representations of rectangular wooden chests, only three of which are preserved. Above them is part of a horizontal row of hieroglyphs, reading:  "Bringing "royal linen" (and) the choicest "idmj-linen . . ." (1) At the top of the southern part of the western wall is a horizontal row of jewel-chests. The first chest to the right contains a wide necklace and two "menat" pendants. The second contains two "dog-collar" necklaces, the third has two necklaces and a "menat", while the fourth has one necklace and two (?) "menats." Underneath is a register displaying fourteen variegated stone vases, and above them a fragmentary horizontal inscription, reading:  "Bringing the choicest . . . and the choicest Libyan oil." The next register contains four jewel-chests, in the first of which is a large semi-circular object, perhaps a necklace. The second chest contains two necklaces, the third has two "menats" and one necklace, while the fourth contains two necklaces and a "menat" (?). Below is a row of stone and pottery vases containing sacred oils, each vase having the name of its contents inscribed above it. The fifth register is badly damaged, but enough remains to show that it contained chests of jewellery, while the bottom register contains jars of oil.

The tomb of Mereri, also at Saqqara, has the walls of the burial-chamber adorned with representations of offerings and inscriptions drawn in black upon a light red ground, (a procedure also adopted by Ptah-hotep Iy-n-'ankh, also of Saqqara); while the limestone sarcophagus of Mereri bears upon the outer north-eastern side an incised inscription giving the names of the seven sacred oils, and below each one a representation of the jar or flask in which it was contained. It may be remarked that this custom of decorating and inscribing the burial-chamber does not appear — so far as our discoveries up-to-date can tell us — before the Fifth dynasty, from the end of which we have the Pyramid of Wnis. Ra'-wer III may have built his tomb in the early part of this dynasty, if we accept the very slender evidence of its proximity to the Fourth Pyramid and identify Ra'-wer as one of the officials of Queen Khent-kawes. The other examples I have given are from the Fifth and Sixth Dynasties. But Hetpi at Giza took an even greater precaution, and instead of trusting to painted walls of the burial-chamber he had, after giving his name and titles on the outside of his sarcophagus, an offering-list written upon one of the inner sides of it, so as to be at his disposal when the formula was read. This is a usage which seems to appear, as far as recent discoveries can tell, during the Fifth Dynasty, and developed (2) still further during the Sixth Dynasty, as we can see by the wooden coffin of Ny-'ankh-Pepy of Saqqara. This coffin is of the rectangular type and is made of pine-wood. On the upper part of its outer eastern side is incised a horizontal row of hieroglyphs, reading:  "A boon which the King gives and Anubis, Lord of the Sacred

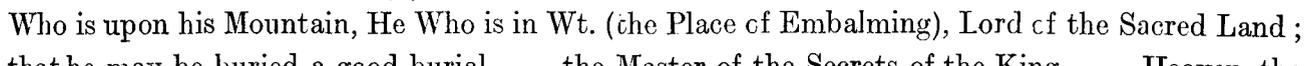
(1) This is, of course, the idmj-cloth of the archaic and early Fourth Dynasty offering-lists (see below, p. 90).

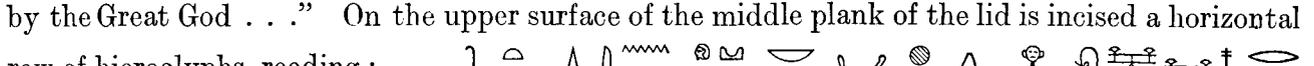
(2) One should not overlook the fact that five examples of the custom of inscribing magical and religious formulæ on the walls of the burial-chamber are provided by the Pyramids of Wnis, Teti, Pepy I, Merenra and Pepy II, in which the walls of the sarcophagus chamber are entirely covered with the famous Pyramid Texts (see SETHE, "Pyramid Texts").

Land . . . the Honoured One by the Great God . . . Ny-'ankh-Pepy." Below this inscription, at the right-hand end (1) are representations of two eyes, incised in the wood and filled in with black pigment. There are two views held by scholars concerning the function of these eyes. One is that, as the mummy was laid on its left side, facing east, with the head to the north, these eyes were situated immediately in front of its face, and this enabled the deceased to see out of his coffin and observe what was happening in the outer world. Another view is that these eyes were provided to enable the deceased to read the offering-formulæ inscribed upon the outside of the coffin in order that he might be able to make use of the offering-list as well as the objects represented upon the inside of the coffin. Below the two eyes was originally a horizontal inscription, but it is now totally effaced. At the upper part of the northern outer side is an inscription, reading :

 "The Sole Confidant, Overseer of the Tenants of the Great House . . ." Below are incised two eyes. On the outer western side a horizontal inscription reads :


 "A boon which the King gives and Anubis, Who is upon his Mountain, He Who is in Wt. (the Place of Embalming), Lord of the Sacred Land ; that he may be buried a good burial . . . the Master of the Secrets of the King, . . . Heaven, the Honoured One . . . the Friend of the House, Ny-'ankh-Pepy." Underneath this line at what was originally the northern end, are incised another pair of eyes below which is a short horizontal inscription, reading :

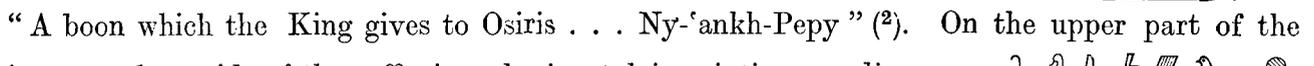
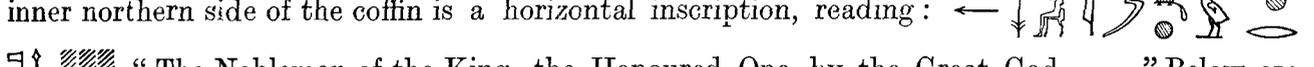
 "The Ritualist, the Honoured One by the Great God . . ." On the upper surface of the middle plank of the lid is incised a horizontal row of hieroglyphs, reading :

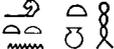



"A boon which the King gives and Anubis, Who Presides Over His Mountain, Lord of the Sacred Land ; that he may walk upon the beautiful ways of the West on which the Honoured Ones always walk, for the Honoured One by the Great God, the Sole Confidant, the Ritualist, the Overseer of the Tenants of the Great House, the Honoured One by the Great God, Ny-'ankh-Pepy."

On the inner eastern side of the coffin is incised an offering-list composed of ninety-eight entries arranged in two horizontal rows, each containing forty-nine items. The list begins at the upper left-hand corner and commences with the formula :

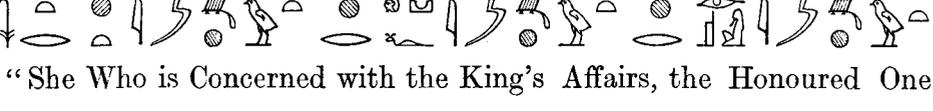
 "A boon which the King gives to Osiris . . . Ny-'ankh-Pepy" (2). On the upper part of the inner northern side of the coffin is a horizontal inscription, reading :  "The Nobleman of the King, the Honoured One by the Great God . . ." Below are

(1) When the coffin was in its original position this end was to the north.
 (2) It is presumed that without this formula being read over it, the offering-list would have been useless, as these were the words thought necessary to animate the offerings.

seven vertical rows of incised hieroglyphs, reading : 1.  2.  3. 
 4.  5.  6.  7. . (See below, p. 119.)

These are the names of the seven sacred oils. On the inner western side of the coffin are representations of various objects which it was thought that the deceased would require ; these include jewellery, a gaming-board, sandals and a scribe's writing outfit (1).

Inside this unusual coffin, the body of Ny-'ankh-Pepy lay upon a kind of bed formed of two thick wooden beams joined together by transverse slats, and much resembling a ladder. The side beams are inscribed with texts of an obscure character partly in incised hieroglyphs and partly in hieratic. BUDGE ("The Mummy", p. 219) mentions these objects under the heading of "Mummy-grids" and says that a number of them were found in the necropoli behind the modern town of Assiout in Middle Egypt. Presumably he is referring to the Middle Kingdom tombs of that locality. Up to the present, no other examples of these "beds" have come to light in our concessions, nor, so far as I am aware, have any specimens appeared in the Memphite necropoli prior to our discovery.

Princess Hēmet-Ra' of Saḳḳara (2) has a vertical inscription down the centre of the outer surface of the lid of her white limestone sarcophagus ; it reads :  "She Who is Concerned with the King's Affairs, the Honoured One by the King, the Honoured One by He Who Presides Over his Mountain (Anubis) ; her 'Great Name' is Hēmet-Ra'." The outer sides of the coffer are totally uninscribed, but the inner side bears a horizontal band of inscriptions near to its upper edge. On the northern side the inscription reads :  "The Honoured One by the Great God Hēmi" (3). Below this is sculptured the head of Hēmet-Ra' in profile, facing east. Perhaps this was intended to indicate which position the head of the mummy was to occupy in the sarcophagus. On the other hand, it may be a debased survival of the Fourth Dynasty custom of placing a "portrait-head" of the deceased in the burial-chamber (see p. 50). On the southern side of the sarcophagus is inscribed :  "She Who is Concerned With the King's Affairs, her 'Good Name' is Hēmi." On the western side the inscription reads :  "She Who is Concerned with the King's Affairs, the Honoured One by He Who is upon His Mountain, the Honoured One by Osiris, the Honoured One by the Great God ; her Great Name is Hēmet-Ra'." The inscription on the eastern side is identical with the preceding. It is noteworthy that these inscriptions contain only the names and titles of

(1) I have described this coffin at some length owing to the fact that up to the present it is a unique specimen of its kind and for its period. It undoubtedly dates from the end of the Sixth Dynasty, but possesses characteristics hitherto associated with the coffins of the Intermediate Period and Middle Kingdom. It is an object lesson to the young excavator, warning him not to be too dogmatic in his dating and classification !

(2) This tomb has been known for a good number of years now, but the burial chamber had never been investigated until I undertook its clearance in 1938.

(3) Hēmi was the lady's "Good Name"

the deceased, and do not include any offering formulæ. Evidently the lady was mostly concerned with the safe preservation of her identity after death, and this adds support to the theory that the small sculptured head on the northern side is actually a survival of the older "portrait head". This sarcophagus certainly dates from the Sixth Dynasty, as Hemet-Ra' held office as Priestess of the mortuary cults of Wnis and Teti.

Some persons seemed to prefer to supply themselves with model offerings instead of relying solely upon sculptured or painted representations and inscribed offering-lists. In one of the many shafts (1) surrounding the great tomb of Ra'-wer at Giza we discovered a set of eight model loaves of limestone of various shapes. These models had been very cunningly concealed. After interment had taken place, the shaft was filled with debris. On top of this filling were placed the model loaves, the whole being paved over with slabs of limestone, a device which not only preserved the model offerings, but also protected the burial itself, for we found the burial-chamber intact, and within it the skeleton of a man wearing a necklace of faience beads around the neck.

The white limestone sarcophagus of Ptah-hotep ij-n-'ankh (Saqqara) bears upon its outer surfaces the offering-formulæ and the names and titles of the deceased. The interior is also inscribed, but only with the names of the dead man, the titles and offering-formulæ being omitted.

Later, we find this idea developed still further, and see representations of all kinds of offerings, clothing, ornaments, weapons, equipment, toilet articles and magical amulets, in fact all the material needs of the dead, occupying all the available space on the interior sides of the sarcophagi of the Middle Kingdom arranged in a very methodical way according to the need of every member of the body. In fact, during the Intermediate Period and Middle Kingdom this adornment of the sarcophagi had been given another turn by some individuals, who preferred to write chapters of religious and magical import all over the interior and exterior of the coffin, for the deceased and his protection. Many of these chapters were taken from the Pyramid Texts, with new additions explaining the beliefs of the period. When this development reached its climax and new ideas were introduced it became necessary to write several chapters on a roll of papyrus and place it in the coffin with the mummy, as the space upon the coffin itself began to be insufficient to accommodate them all. These inscribed rolls of papyrus, which varied in their contents according to the needs and wealth of the owner, sometimes had all the chapters collected on one single roll, and these are the so-called "Book of the Dead." But even this was insufficient, for in the New Kingdom we find the well-equipped mummy, needing a small library in order to insure for his soul a safe arrival in the Other World. In addition to the "Book of the Dead", or as the Egyptians called it, the "Chapters of Coming Forth by Day", there was also the "Book of what is in the Underworld", the "Book of Gates" and the "Book of the Day and of the Night." These were followed by the "Book of Breathings" and the "Book of May My Name Flourish." It must not be forgotten, moreover that usually this written "magical protection" was backed up by an armoury of protective amulets adorning the mummy, and these varied in number, form and material according to the religious beliefs or the means at the disposal of the owner. Many interesting examples of these amulets come to light in late intrusive burials in the Old Kingdom necropoli (2).

(1) No 39. See "*Excavations at Giza*", 1929-1930, p. 46. Pl. LXXVII.

(2) See "*Excavations at Giza*", Vol. IV, pp. 29-31.

All these methods however were futile, and tomb-robbery continued to flourish. The downfall of the royal power at the end of the Old Kingdom with the resulting diversion of the stipends of the mortuary priests, caused these latter to turn upon the tombs they had previously guarded, and plunder them, urged thereto by the force of hunger and the desire for revenge. Right down through Egyptian history did the pillaging of the tombs continue. The legal documents of the Ramesside Period record judicial proceedings taken against certain persons (one of whom was a woman !) who had robbed the Theban necropoli and violated the royal burials. It is noteworthy that some of the culprits were priests and necropolis workers (1) !

With the Persian Conquest, the invaders naturally adopted the local pastime of tomb-robbery, and what they overlooked fell to the share of the Ptolemaic and Roman thieves. No wonder that the tombs of Egypt became a by-word for being storehouses packed with gold. The Arab rule brought widespread poverty to Egypt and side by side with it came a fresh revival of the national sport of tomb-robbery. The Khalif El-Maamoon “ الخليفة المأمون ” is said to have discovered a treasure of gold in the Great Pyramid. This is a manifest lie and an aspersion on the professional skill of the earlier robbers !

THE “ MUMMY-TRADE ”

As time wore on and “ civilization ” progressed, the Egyptian tombs yielded up a new source of profit. Hitherto the graves had been ransacked for the sake of the gold and precious stones that they might contain, but about three or four hundred years ago medical “ science ” suddenly discovered that pounded Egyptian mummy was a sovereign remedy for most of the ills that man is heir to. The tomb-robbers set to work with renewed energy, and were quickly converting the bodies of their ancestors into ready cash.

So great was the demand for this desirable commodity that the supply of the genuine article began to run short. The bulk of the trade in mummies was in the hands of the Jews, and these enterprising merchants decided to meet the demand for their goods. They procured the bodies of executed criminals, and of poor persons who had died in hospitals, prepared them with bitumen, wrapped them up tightly and exposed them to the scorching sun, thus making them into very good imitations of the real ancient mummies. In the year 1564 a certain physician named Guy de la Fontaine was examining the stock of mummies belonging to one of the chief merchants of Alexandria, and discovered that they were faked up from the bodies of slaves, and other persons who had died of the most loathsome diseases ! This ghoulish trade was finally suppressed in a curious way. A Jewish mummy-merchant of Damietta had a Christian slave whom he habitually ill-treated. One day the slave fled to the Pasha, and in revenge for his wrongs, betrayed the ghastly secrets of his former master. The Jew was imprisoned and only released after paying a fine of 300 pieces of gold. Every Jewish mummy-merchant was then arrested by the local governor of the place in which he resided and forced to pay enormous sums to regain his liberty. This “ tax ” so swallowed up the profits that the trade in mummies very soon died out (2).

(1) PEET, “*Fresh light on the Tomb-robberies of the Twentieth Dynasty*”, J.E.A., Vol. II, pp. 37-55 and pp. 162-164.

(2) PETTIGREW, “*Mummies*”, p. 4,

TREASURE-HUNTERS

For a short interval these seem to have been a slump in tomb-robbery, but with the advent of Napoleon's French Expedition, the "trade" received a new fillip. To give them due credit, the French savants did make an attempt to put their work on a scientific basis and they certainly paved the way for the decipherment of the hieroglyphs. In fact, at this period tomb-robbery may be said to have been elevated to the rank of treasure-hunting! For the prime object of these early investigators was to find spectacular objects with which to fill the museums and private collections of Europe; they cared but little for scientific data as we understand it now. A piece of fine golden jewellery, a presentable statue or vase was of more value in their eyes than a whole cart-load of then undecipherable inscriptions.

To Mariette belongs the honour and credit for the foundation of the Cairo Museum and the subsequent Antiquities Department, Mariette himself was a most able and energetic treasure-hunter, and had circumstances been different, might have made an excellent scientific excavator. But he was forced to gather together a large number of spectacular objects in the shortest space of time in order to retain the capricious interest of Khedive Ismail Pasha, upon whose whims the whole future of Egyptian Archæology in Egypt rested. To this end, he commenced digging in many places at once, leaving the work in charge of native Rayyeses, who even if they were honest men, were not trained scientific observers. For this reason no proper record of Mariette's undoubtedly important finds were kept, and now it is a matter of extreme difficulty, or sometimes an impossibility to gather any reliable information as to the precise details of his discoveries (1). Nevertheless, he set the ball rolling in the right direction.

In 1841 Lepsius, the German Egyptologist came here with his staff of draughtsmen and made copies of almost every scene and inscription on the monuments from the Memphite Necropoli to Lower Nubia. In the course of this work he also partially cleared some of the monuments. Considering the difficulties under which they were made, this magnificent series of drawings are wonderfully accurate, and were published in a set of twelve huge volumes (2).

By now the eyes of Europe were set upon Egypt, and the museums and private collectors vied with each other in obtaining Egyptian antiquities. Increasing numbers of tourists visited the country every winter, almost all of whom desired genuine antiquities to take back with them as mementos of their visit. Meanwhile, the Egyptian Government had at last realized that something should be done to check the wholesale export of its ancient monuments, and began to limit and organize excavation. Thus, there arose two illegitimate side lines for the descendants of the old tomb-robbers to follow. One was illicit digging, an exciting and profitable pastime; the other was the manufacture of false-antiquities. Expert work soon developed in both "professions", which continue to flourish till the present day!

But one of the strangest ways in which money has been made out of the ancient tombs, is the production of "The Book of Pearls" and similar literature. As I mentioned before, the fame of

(1) MARIETTE had made an attempt to clear part of the tomb of Ra'-wer at Giza, and when I fully excavated this monument in 1929-1930, we found one of the "makṭafs" left by the earlier diggers, lying under an overturned slab. I do not mean here to depreciate the work done by Mariette, on the contrary he left us some interesting documents which were published after his death by MASPERO, "*Mariette, Les Mastabas de l'Ancien Empire*".

(2) LEPSIUS, "*Denkmäler aus Aegypten und Aethiopien*".

Egypt's gold-filled tombs spread far abroad, and certain enterprising Maghrabis found a means of transforming these legends into ready-money. Coming to Egypt, they first gathered information concerning the whereabouts of ancient sites; then collecting pieces of genuinely old and dirty paper or parchment, they compiled books purporting to give the location of buried treasures. The author having arranged the book to his liking, next sought a customer. To this end, he usually posed as a holy sheikh and so wormed his way into the confidence of some wealthy, and, I regret to say, educated man. When the moment was ripe, he would produce a dirty, creased leaf of his book and ask his patron to read it. The moment the rich man saw directions for finding buried treasure, the thirst for gold came upon him. On his offering to buy the paper, the "Holy Man" "innocently" let fall that he possessed a whole volume of such matters. The precious book was produced, and soon changed hands for a price of sixty or seventy pounds, plus an extra pound for incense and rare substances with which the "Holy man" was to appease the wrath of the guardian spirits of the treasure and make them work in his favour for the opening of the treasure. Then, while the rich man was spending an uncomfortable night at a lonely *tell*, slaughtering lambs to the non-existent *jinn* guarding a non-existent treasure, the "Holy Man" swiftly made his way to new pastures and a repetition of his previous success.

Notwithstanding the negative results that always follow their directions, these books are still widely believed in and many supposedly well-educated persons have asked me if I use such volumes when making excavations. In spite of my denials, these wise-heads still firmly believe that my discoveries were due to such books, backed up by magic arts! Therefore, perhaps I had better explain the "magic" I have found so successful in excavating and reveal the type of volume, which may really lead others to the discovery of ancient treasures, treasures of knowledge, if not always of gold. I had really intended to publish the following notes after the appearance of the final volume on the excavations at Gîza, but as some of my pupils are already working in the field, and others are about to do so, I prefer to take this opportunity of placing these hints within their reach, in order that, if they have any merit, these younger excavators may be able to profit by it, but they should not consider them as exhaustive, they are merely an introduction to the art of excavating, plus the rudiments of Old Kingdom funerary archæology.

SCIENTIFIC EXCAVATION

Of course, the chief factor which determines the scientific and material success of any field of excavation is the assemblage of a satisfactory staff of workers under a competent Director. I shall now try to describe the characteristics which go to make up the ideal groups of workers fitted to cope with the type of material afforded by an Old Kingdom necropolis. Naturally it is not to be expected that a staff can be assembled in which every member is an ideal of perfection, but in mentioning the word ideal in connection with the following description, I am merely showing the would-be excavator the type of worker he should aim at getting.

THE DIRECTOR

First of all, as he is the head of the whole concern, we will take the Director. He should be a man of practical experience, and have served his apprenticeship in the field of excavation before he attempts to undertake the responsibility of directing his own concession. He must possess a sound knowledge of hieroglyphs of the period in which he is working, and a fair idea of the styles

of other periods. (It is very rare to find a scholar who is expert in hieroglyphs of all periods) ⁽¹⁾. Obviously, he should be thoroughly conversant with Egyptian history, religion, art, and architecture, and should be familiar with the same subjects relating to those nations of the ancient East with whom the Egyptians were in contact. Not only must the Director be capable of forming a correct opinion of the monuments discovered, but he must also possess the ability to set down his conclusions in a clear, concise form, in order to make a permanent, scientific record of his discoveries. In all the above matters he should be an expert, but he must also have a sound knowledge of several other subjects, that in an emergency he may be able to dispense with any member of his staff and do the job himself. He must also be in a position to intelligently criticize any branch of the work, should it be faulty. To this end he should be able to take and develop photographs; he should know the elements of chemistry that he may apply "first-aid" treatment to any object in a critical state of decay. He should also be able to make a recognizable sketch of any object, and a clear plan of a building or site. And naturally, he should have had a good general education, and be a man of the world. Furthermore, a successful Director should be something of a psychologist and a good judge of character and human nature. If his concession lies in a district with which he is unfamiliar, he should make it his business to learn the details of local conditions for these will have had an influence upon the people with whom he will have to deal, and perhaps employ as workers. Therefore, he should find out if they have the reputation for honesty and hard work, or the reverse. He should also get to know who are the principal families of the locality and their history and traditions. Sometimes a certain family has constituted to itself a sort of guardianship of the local antiquities and seems to consider all the surrounding monuments as their own property, liking to give one the impression that they are indispensable to the success of any excavations. The members of these families may be the greatest set of thieves and blackguards imaginable (as in one instance to my personal knowledge), but nevertheless they expect you to employ them in responsible positions in your excavations. If you do so they will probably steal some of the antiquities that come to light. If you do not employ them, they will try to make trouble with the men you have chosen, so that they may take their places. If you know beforehand of the existence of such a family, you can be on your guard against them. If previous excavations have been conducted in the neighbourhood, the Director should ascertain the record of these; how were they conducted, what results were obtained, and above all, what was the local reaction to them? Did they spoil the local men by too generous, easy treatment, or by too much unnecessary harshness? By attending to all these points a Director may save himself much serious trouble.

If, on the other hand, he intends to employ men from afar and bring them to a neighbourhood to which they are strangers, he must first investigate their character they bear. Are they honest, hard-working fellows? Or have they the reputation for unruliness and quarrelsome dispositions? If the Director troubles to find out these things in advance, he has command of the situation and can save himself much unpleasantness, which is not only a constant source of annoyance, but is also detrimental to the success of the season's work.

But a really successful Director must possess yet other qualities, first of which is a sincere love for the work, a willingness to live in it, at it and for it, daily and every day.

⁽¹⁾ The only example I know is the well-known Professor H. JUNKER,

This means permanent residence in the field, and may entail the sacrifice of luxurious living, or even of ordinary home comforts, and certainly the cutting adrift from social life. A Director of excavations has no time for the inane round of tea-parties and bridge-playing, and so is classed as “an unsociable beast” by the uninitiated layman!

Certainly a Director needs good health and a sound constitution. In dealing with a mixed staff of educated and illiterate workers, he needs firmness coupled with justice, tact, and patience. And God help him if he has not been blessed with a sense of humour!

THE ASSISTANT

Next to the Director comes the Assistant, who is his second-in-command. A wise Director will choose his assistant with care, support his authority over the humbler members of the staff and retain his services for the duration of the season. Nothing is so fatal to the success of a season's work as a change of assistants in the middle of the season.

The ideal Assistant is certainly a pupil of the Director, whom he himself has trained in his own methods. If not, he should at least have had practical training in a well-conducted field of excavations, working in the same period as that which he is about to undertake. The Assistant must also have a good knowledge of hieroglyphs, that in the absence of his chief he may be able to correctly record an inscription on a rapidly-perishing monument, for if this is not done, valuable evidence of the past may be lost for ever. He must also be well up in Egyptian history and archæology, and also be capable of setting his ideas down clearly on paper, for to him falls the task of keeping the diary and registers. Naturally, he must be healthy, and willing to “rough it” when required. He should be of one mind with his chief, and set his humbler colleagues an example of obedient discipline. In short, he should be a kind of miniature replica of his Chief!

THE ARCHITECT AND DRAUGHTSMEN

A highly-trained architect is needed to take measurements and make plans of the monuments. If possible, he should have had previous experience in archæological work, and have a good knowledge of Egyptian architecture. He requires assistants in the form of expert draughtsmen who are well-versed in the different forms of the hieroglyphs. Their work is to copy the scenes and inscriptions as they come to light. One of the draughtsmen should be an artist of sufficient ability to make accurate water-colour copies of any coloured scenes or inscriptions that may be found. To do this successfully he must make a special study of Egyptian art and colour-conventions, so that he may be able to make an accurate restoration of a faded scene, if required, and reproduce the original colours.

THE PHOTOGRAPHER

A trained photographer is a very important member of the staff, for every object found, from a large monument to a miniature amulet must be photographed *in situ* and again when it has been cleaned. The photographer must possess resource and invention, for sometimes he has to work under seemingly impossible conditions, either by reason of confined space or bad lighting.

OTHER MEMBERS OF THE STAFF

A specially-trained chemist is sometimes required to deal with the cleaning and preservation of fragile objects. Unless there is an abnormal mass of material, as in the case of the tomb of Tut-ankh-amen, he need not be resident in the field, but should call at stated intervals, and be ready to come immediately, if required.

An anatomist, preferably one who has made a special study of ancient human remains, may be needed to give an expert opinion on certain questions concerning the mummies and skeletons discovered.

If the camp is lucky enough to possess an electric-light plant (and this is a necessity more than a luxury) a good electrician-mechanic will be needed. A carpenter will find his services in constant demand, and a resident blacksmith is indispensable for the repair of waggons, rails and tools, and the manufacture of iron gates for inscribed tombs and temples, and the erection of iron girders to permanently restore roofs which have already collapsed, or are threatening to do so. Masons are also a necessity, and are needed to consolidate unsafe monuments, re-erect fallen columns, door-drums, etc., and replace lintels and sculptured slabs which have fallen from their original places.

THE DIGGERS

The diggers are nearly always Saidees, and should be drawn from one town or village and be under the control of one Rayyes, a man of their own locality, otherwise feuds and hatred will surely break out. The best and most honest of these Saidees are the men of Kuft. They have justly earned a reputation for hard work and honesty, and at the same time are experts in the art of excavation, having for two or three generations made a speciality of this kind of work. Some of them have an uncanny sense of forecasting the discovery of a hidden object, and I have sometimes observed a worker persistently sticking to a particular spot of ground that nothing would induce him to leave, although to the ordinary observer there is nothing interesting to be seen there. It often transpires that this spot contains a hitherto unknown monument. This gift is the outcome of sheer experience and trained observation.

But when recruiting the digging staff, the first thing an excavator should do is to engage a capable Rayyes. Such a man is usually to be obtained by recommendation from other fields of excavation, (for preference those dealing with the period the Director is specializing in), and he must have a good record for absolute honesty, and have had plenty of experience. The Rayyes must be a "strongman" in every sense of the word, and be able to maintain discipline among his men. He must certainly be respectful and obedient to his chief, but should be given authority over his own men, whom he should have been allowed to choose for himself. If men whom he does not want are forced upon him by the wishes of the Director or Assistant, friction will be inevitable and as a result, the standard of work will suffer. But it should be made clear to him that he will be held responsible for the conduct of the men he has chosen.

The diggers themselves are divided into different groups, each of which specializes in a particular branch of work. There are the experts who can lay bare the plastered surface of a mud-brick wall, handling their seemingly clumsy tools with such skill as to remove every particle of sand

and debris without injuring the plastered surface. Then there are the diggers who work with the pick-axe, hoe (fass) or shovel (craike) as the nature of the ground demands. The men who work with the *craike* are sometimes difficult to acquire, and demand a higher wage than the others on account of the hardness of their work. Actually, however, they are an economy, as they are able to work ten times as fast as the men with the fass and maḳṭaf. Each branch of the work has its specially skilled men. There are some who make a speciality of cleaning delicate inscriptions, others are qualified to deal with mummies; some specialize in cleaning, and tracing the direction of mud-brick walls; while others are versed in the mysteries of opening sarcophagi and burial-chambers. Yet others have made a special study of finding and opening serdabs, and some are expert at cleaning mastabas. A really competent Rayyes is able to undertake all or most of these jobs.

The diggers work in conjunction with the muscular fellows who propel the decauville waggons that carry away the sand and debris to the dumps. For removing sand from the interior of tombs and burial-shafts, confined spaces where the waggons would be impractical, boys armed with maḳṭafs are needed. These can usually be recruited from the nearest villages to the site, and taken on in such numbers and for such a time as they are required.

The Rayyes and the Assistant should keep a sharp look-out on these boys, especially if they are employed in large numbers, for they are usually as artful as monkeys. A favourite trick of theirs is to turn up punctually when the morning roll is called. They work hard for about half an hour, and then quietly disappear for the rest of the day. When it is time for the evening roll to be called they suddenly re-appear with a suitable air of weariness proper to one who has done a hard day's work. Others specialize in inventing imaginary injuries, or magnifying self-inflicted minor hurts in order to have a good excuse for not working. It often happens that some of the maḳṭafs are of a larger size than the more usual type, and it is surprising how quickly and mysteriously these large ones disappear. But they are not worn out! Look in the deep shafts and you will find them all safely reposing where the boys have thrown them so that they may use the smaller size with its consequently lighter load. They must also be carefully watched to see that they do not smuggle small antiquities into or out of the field!

Extra unskilled diggers may also be obtained locally. A man who can make and repair maḳṭafs, dozens of which may be in daily use for the removal of sand, will find constant employment and will more than save the little wage he demands.

GAFFIRS (GUARDIANS)

It is very important to choose reliable gaffirs to guard the site. The Director and the Rayyes should collaborate in choosing these men, who should have incontestably clean records for honesty. This is most important, but they must also possess intelligence, courage and resource. Having found the most promising men for the job, they should be paid a sufficiently high wage to render them less open to the demoralizing influence of "Baksheesh." They should be divided into two shifts for day and night duty; and though actually the Rayyes should be responsible for seeing that they carry out their duty, a wise Director will every now and then turn out about 1 or 2 a.m. to make a round of inspection for himself. Any guard not at his allotted post should be severely dealt with, and second offenders should be dismissed. The guards should be armed with double-barrelled sporting guns and cartridges, and taught how to use them effectively.

Two or three good watch-dogs should be included on the staff. They have sharper eyes and ears than any man, and they are sublimely indifferent to bribery. Bitches are to be preferred to dogs, as they are more faithful and intelligent than dogs, and less apt to go "off-duty" without permission. The Beladi breed is the most satisfactory as they are hardy and intelligent, and need no care beyond a little food and water, backed up by a kind word and a friendly pat.

HOW TO TREAT YOUR STAFF

Having assembled a satisfactory staff of workers, there remains the question of how to treat them, and this is where the experience and personality of a successful Director appears. For though discipline must be maintained at all costs, yet the Director must be on good terms with all his men, and treat them as friends, if he wishes to get the best out of them. From time to time it is politic to invite the men to a tea-party. This may be done on the occasion of some event, such as an important find, the birthday of the Director or some similar occasion. Before the national feast-days the workers should be paid any wages due to them, or advanced a sum from their wages. This will be much appreciated and give them a feeling that you take a personal care in their welfare, and will in turn cause them to work with a better will, and not leave your excavations to go to higher paid work elsewhere. Remember that your workmen are ignorant, uneducated folk and your superior knowledge places you under a moral obligation to look after their interests. Thus, it is up to you from both a moral and practical point of view to safeguard their health. This does not mean that you are to pamper and spoil them. First give them comfortable sleeping-quarters according to their standards. This may be in an uninscribed rock tomb, if sufficiently light and airy, or in huts of mud-brick or even wattle and daub. If you are employing groups of men from two different localities, give them separate quarters somewhat far from each other, or they will most certainly start fighting among themselves, perhaps with dire results! This is particularly the case with Saidees and men of the Delta.

Pay them as good a wage as you can, and then make it your business to see that they feed themselves properly, or the standard of work will suffer. The shovel-workers particularly need good food if they are to keep up their strength, and consequently their speed of work. They should eat meat at least twice a week, and the best way to see that they do so is to contract for the regular supply of live animals which should be slaughtered at the men's quarters and the flesh sold to them at cost price. They should commence their day's work at dawn and continue until 8 a.m. when half an hour's break should be given for breakfast, after which work should continue until noon. In winter one and a half hour's break is enough, after which they should continue to work until sunset. In the hot weather the mid-day break should be protracted and work resumed at 3 p.m. Consideration should be shown them during the month of Ramadan.

Investigate all cases of illness among the men, and if genuine, help them as much as possible. If the illness is serious, encourage them to go to hospital, and if it is contagious, insist upon the immediate removal of the sufferer to hospital, and the inoculation of the entire staff, yourself included! Those who are suffering through accidents sustained in the work, should be paid their wages so long as they are under treatment. They will usually welcome light jobs to

while away the time during convalescence. Attention to these details will not be wasted, they will all help to create a harmonious atmosphere in the field, and you will become known as a good master, and consequently be able to get hold of the pick of the workers when you require them in the future.

EQUIPMENT

Now for the equipment required. This is wide and varied, and ranges from such diverse objects as railway-lines to tin-foil!

First of all we will enumerate the tools and implements of the workers. These are pick-axes, hoes (fass), long-handled shovels (craike), baskets for carrying sand (maḳṭaf) and sieves of graded mesh for examining the contents of sarcophagi, etc., when it is suspected that small articles or fragments are scattered in the sand. Sounding-rods are needed to test the depth of flooded burial-shafts.

Iron decauville cars running on narrow railway-lines are needed to dispose of the sand and debris excavated, extra waggons and a good supply of spare parts must always be kept in stock, so that the work may not be hindered by waggons being out of repair, and so causing loss of time and of the men's wages. These decauville waggons were first used in Egyptian excavations by Maspero, almost at the end of his career in Egypt, and proved a blessing ever after by reason of the great amount of debris they enable the men to dispose of in a day, as contrasted to the old method of transport by maḳṭaf (Pl. II). The blacksmith, carpenter and mason all of course require their own special tools and materials. Stout iron crowbars, ropes and pulleys must be provided for shifting heavy blocks of stone. For access to very deep burial-shafts, long rope-ladders are a necessity; while strong wooden ladders of various sizes, planks and beams for scaffolding and heavy baulks of timber for shoring up dangerous walls and roofs in an emergency, should always be in stock. The latter article should always be kept in an easily accessible place, as it may be needed at a moment's notice. Strong wooden carrying-trays are needed for the transport of heavy stones and statuary, and also for fragile objects which will not bear much handling; thick wooden rollers are needed for moving heavy objects over a hard surface. The architect and draughtsmen need, in addition to their drawing instruments, a theodolite, steel measures and surveyor's winding tape-measures; ample supplies of transparent tracing-paper and heavy, linen-backed "Whatman" drawing-paper, and plenty of permanent black Indian ink.

The photographer should be supplied with a studio camera capable of taking a full-plate negative, and fitted with the best-quality lens obtainable. This is essential, as a clear and detailed photograph may remain a permanent record of a monument lost by accident or subsequent decay, or of one which is clearly doomed. It is also necessary to have a well-stocked and equipped dark room, so that negatives may be developed immediately. In this way, a faulty photograph may be re-taken after only a few minutes delay, an important matter when the object is still *in situ* and the work suspended until it can be removed. If available, an uninscribed rock-cut tomb provided with a well-fitting wooden door, and inner black curtain, makes a splendid dark room, and it is very important that it should contain a first-class enlarging apparatus.



A view of part of our field of work at the beginning of the fifth season. Notice the method of laying the rails, which allows eight decauville cars to be in use, with a resulting economy of time.

A small library containing as many as possible of the standard works dealing with the period being investigated, is essential. It should also contain the Berlin Hieroglyphic Dictionary, and as many other dictionaries as the Director thinks necessary. The literary side of the work, of course, demands a large supply of paper, ledgers in which to write the diary and object-register, good, permanent ink and a typewriter.

In dealing with the objects discovered, the excavator will need one or more powerful magnifying glasses, one of which may be a watch-maker's eye-glass, as it leaves the hands free. Tin-foil is needed for taking impressions of incised inscriptions, etc., that they may be studied in a more favourable light. Curiously enough, a battered inscription that is indecipherable in the original often shows up quite clearly in a tin-foil impression.

Electric torches (with spare batteries) and "Club" lamps are needed for working in dark tombs; while paraffin wax, celluloid solution, glue, and plenty of cotton, are needed for the preservation and packing of fragile objects. If there is much of this work and important objects are involved, it is much better to leave it to an expert, otherwise any intelligent member of the staff may easily be trained sufficiently to cope with everyday cases, and to administer "first-aid" to those objects so near destruction that even an hour's delay would be fatal. Moreover, it is a good plan for the workers to learn some knowledge of each other's jobs that in an emergency they can be called upon to take each other's places. Moreover, never allow any member of the staff to imagine that he is indispensable!

A supply of simple medicines, such as asperine, quinine, castor oil, and Epsom salts should be in store, also a first-aid outfit containing lint, cotton, bandages, wooden splints of various sizes, surgical scissors and forceps, iodine, lysol, white methylated spirit, boric acid powder and ointment, zinc ointment, sulphur ointment, eye lotion, carbolic acid and pure olive-oil. If the field of work is far away from any place where professional assistance can be quickly obtained, it is better if one of the staff learns the rudiments of first-aid treatment, and a clean tomb or room in an easily-accessible place should be used to house the medicaments and serve as a field dressing-station. Moreover, the men should be encouraged to dress any injuries they may receive and so prevent the risk of a minor cut developing into a poisoned limb. (Serious cases should be sent to hospital immediately.)

A point to be stressed before we leave the subject of equipment is this: always see that there is a good supply of everything needed in store, and never allow anything to be completely used up before replenishing. This will save many an annoying hold-up in the work, and is particularly important when the scene of excavation is far away from any large town where fresh supplies can be obtained.

METHODS OF WORK

On obtaining a concession to excavate, one must first formulate an idea of what to expect from the site, namely, what type of monument may be looked for, and of what period. Sometimes a site may contain three distinct architectural forms; temples, domestic architecture, as a pyramid city, and tombs. Each of these demands special methods of work in their clearance.

Period may often be deduced from potsherds scattered over the surface of the site. These are nearly always very numerous, and possess characteristic features which will at once afford a clue to the period of the site. As a general rule Old Kingdom tombs may be dated by their proximity to a royal pyramid (*see above*, p. 3). Style of construction and decoration, as well as the wording of the funerary formulæ, and above all, the form of the false-door all serve to date Old Kingdom tombs. Having decided upon the probable age of the site and the type of monument to expect, the next thing to consider is how to effect the complete clearance of the largest possible area with the smallest possible expenditure of labour, and this is where the practical training of the Director comes into play.

Here is a very important point. Having decided upon the area to be cleared, the excavator should stick to it and clear it thoroughly. He must not jump from point to point in search of spectacular finds, but clear the whole site systematically, unless of course technical or compulsory reasons oblige him to deviate from this rule. This method will facilitate the work of the surveyor who will come to make the general plan of the site, and also lighten the work of possible future excavators.

Moreover, a site thoroughly excavated down to the natural rock looks neat and gives an accurate impression of the amount of work performed. A section of the work neatly cleared often gives a good general idea of what the rest of the site should be like. Remember that the aim of the excavator is not to go treasure-hunting but to unearth scientific knowledge buried underground. Sometimes clearing a whole site will reveal to us the history of a royal or noble family, as for instance the group of tombs belonging to the children of Khafra, all of which are in a limited area. Remember above all, to go right down to the native rock or virgin soil; never leave even a metre of debris upon the surface, for one never knows what the last layer may reveal, and objects found at the lowest levels are always the oldest in date.

When commencing digging, two questions arise; where are you going to dump your excavated sand, and how are you going to lay your waggon-rails? The debris and sand must be removed as far as possible from the site you are digging, and it must not be dumped on a spot which may contain any ancient monuments. In order to arrange this satisfactorily, you must first seek for a suitable place for the dump. This should be on a slightly lower level than the scene of digging, in order that the heavily-laden waggons may be more easily pushed to their destination. The gradient should not be too steep, however, or the waggons may get out of control and cause serious or even fatal accidents. It also adds to the otherwise light task of pushing the empty waggons back to the diggers. Having found a likely-looking place for the dump, steps must be taken to see that it does not contain any antiquities. To this end, it is permissible to make a sondage⁽¹⁾. If the site is anything like the Gîza Necropolis, the poor excavator will repeat this process many times, and wander far afield before he finds virgin soil; so deeply encumbered with monuments is the Pyramid Zone.

(1) As a general rule sondages should not be employed, for they have proved to be dangerous and misleading. They were used by treasure-hunters as being a quick method of searching out a likely spot for loot, but even then they were often a cause of failure. Sometimes the actual sondage may give a negative result, while all the time interesting and valuable objects are lying as little as 1.00 m. to the right or left of it. On the contrary, a site cleared down to the rock yields up everything that it contains and so affords all the elements necessary for writing a connected account of the place. Also, if one is intending to clear the whole site, sondages are a mere waste of time.



The tomb of Werkhwy during clearance. The workman is uncovering the remains of late mummies buried in the drift-sand.



A view showing the men clearing the surroundings of a mastaba. Note the thin mud-brick walls of intrusive burials occupying the street between two mastabas.

Having finally found the best-possible site for the dump, the next question is to find the most practical route in which to lay the rails for the waggons⁽¹⁾. On this question, the expert on rail-laying should be consulted, and an experienced Rayyes will also be able to offer useful suggestions, which a Director should always listen to. In fact, the Director, his Assistant and the Rayyes should always collaborate together in the work, and should meet daily, if possible to discuss the progress of the work, and consider any problems that may have arisen.

Sometimes the only practical route for the rails lies over the roofs of already-cleared tombs. In this case the chasms caused by the intervening streets between the mastabas must be bridged, or the entire monument temporarily re-buried. The latter method is perhaps the best, as the packed sand lessens the vibration of the trucks.

Now, with staff and equipment ready and the rails laid, the excavator may commence work.

The best time for the excavating season to commence is from the last week of October, and it should continue until the end of the following May. Thus, the coolest months of the year are utilized for work. But local conditions vary, and it may happen that in some districts the opening of the season, or its close, may have to be changed until the local population are free from some important agricultural work ; that is if you are intending to employ any local labour, which is advisable, as it gives the people a personal interest in the welfare of your work and yourself. As I have said elsewhere, work should commence at sunrise and end at sunset with a varying amount of time off for rest and meals according to the season of the year.

Friday should be a day of rest for all (though if you are an enthusiast, you will not avail yourself of it, but find it a heaven-sent opportunity to catch up with all those little odd jobs that you have been wanting to do all the week. The staff also expect to have a day off on the recognized public holidays. When it comes to the actual task of digging there are many unexpected difficulties that are apt to arise. I have mentioned below the existence of the various layers of ground to be met with and these form one of the chief puzzles for the inexperienced investigator. A site which has been inhabited for a single period, and then for some reason totally abandoned, (as for instance the Pyramid City of Queen Khent-kawes) is a simple matter to excavate when compared with a site that has been inhabited continuously or intermittently throughout all the long period of the Pharaonic regime. Saqqara is notorious in this latter respect, parts of the necropolis being so overcrowded that tombs of different periods are actually built one above the other.

When clearing the Sphinx Depression, I was confronted with such a state of affairs. Here we found six layers of monuments to be dealt with. Firstly, on the surface were some strongly-built modern walls, erected but a few years earlier by the Antiquities Department in order to preserve the Sphinx from the encroaching sand. These we had to remove at once in order to extend the area of excavation. The next level reached was a series of mud-brick constructions of the Greco-Roman Period. These we were forced to destroy in order to proceed deeper. But not a single ancient wall must be demolished before it has been photographed, measured, planned and recorded. It may be of no interest to the earnest seeker after Old Kingdom monuments, but may supply a vital link of evidence to those studying the later periods of Egyptian culture.

⁽¹⁾ Whenever practical, the rails should be laid in such a manner as to allow as many cars as possible to be in use at one time (see Pl. II). This is essential when removing high mounds of sand and debris.

Therefore, as we are working for science, we must record it as carefully as though it were one of our beloved Old Kingdom mastabas. The next level was that of the Saitic Period, when the revival of all Old Kingdom traditions caused people to flock once more to the ancient necropoli for burial. We now found ourselves confronted with late mummies buried in the loose sand, (Pl. III) accompanied by armies of faience ushabti figures, Saitic burial-shafts cut deep in the rock of the plateau and parasitic burials clinging like swallow's nests to the sides of the Old Kingdom tombs (Pl. IV). Even when the Old Kingdom level is reached, it often happens that we find the Saitic Egyptian has got there before us and filled the chapels and burial-chambers of the mastabas with his dead. When we cleared tomb of  Ny-[maa't?]-Ra' (7th season) we found the burial-chamber occupied by over fifty of these uninvited guests, one of whom was laid in state upon the lid of his hosts' sarcophagus (Pl. V) !

Under the Saitic monuments we get those of the New Kingdom. In the Sphinx Depression these were represented by a temple, stelæ, burials, statuary and the usurpation of Old-Kingdom tombs. The rock-cut tombs in the northern wall of the depression were cut in two levels, one above the other. The earlier tombs having been covered over by the drifting sand, late-comers cut a second row higher up the cliff-face. An interesting find belonging to this period was made by M. Baraize. It was a rest-house of mud-brick, and was built by Tutankhamen. It had a doorway of white limestone on which his name and titulary were inscribed ; but later, this monument was usurped by Rameses II who, according to his usual custom, plastered the original inscriptions over and inscribed his own name upon it. This building contained a limestone bath tub. The mud-brick walls which Thothmes IV built to keep the encroaching sand away from the Sphinx, were found to traverse earlier burials, and at one point they had extended over a fine Middle Kingdom sandstone statue of a priest. Finally, the Old Kingdom level with its tombs and the huge temple of the Sphinx (1) came to light on the rock floor of the plateau which was revealed to have been a vast quarry, doubtless one which supplied stone for the core-masonry of the Great Pyramid. Even the Sphinx itself proved on investigation to have its paws and body cased in two layers of restorations, the outer one of ugly, brick-like limestone blocks dating from the Greco-Roman Period, while an inner layer probably dates from the early part of the reign of Ramses II (2).

Such a site, though complicated, is supremely interesting, as it shows the strong persistence of a religious tradition throughout a long period of history. But it also calls for a good, sound knowledge of archæology on the part of the Director and his Assistant. If neither of them knew enough to precisely date the monuments discovered, they would quickly become in a most hopeless muddle, and much valuable data would be lost to science.

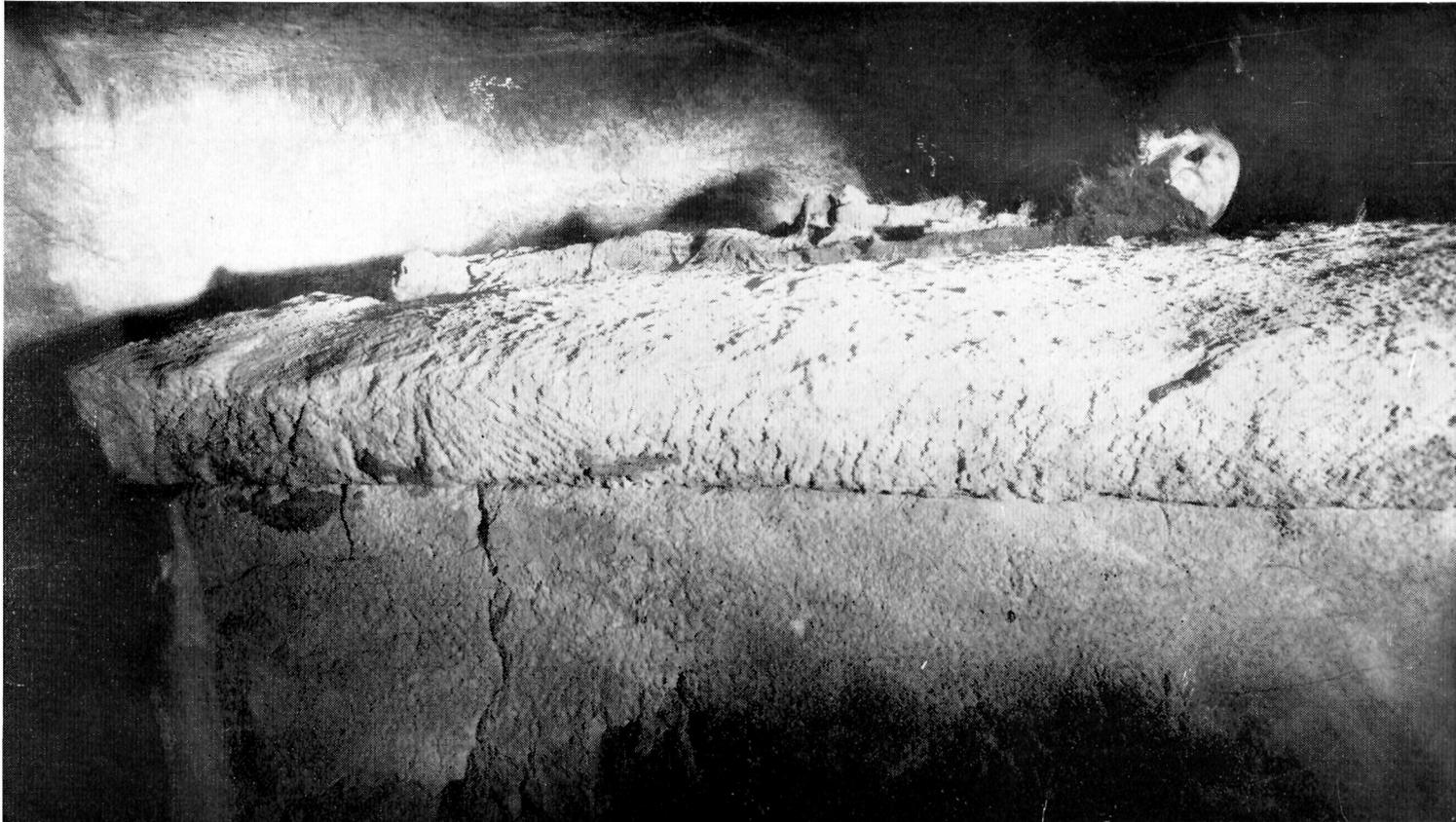
STORING ANTIQUITIES

It usually happens that each day's work brings forth a number of small monuments ranging from loose inscribed slabs, statuary, amulets, coffins and mummies and sometimes golden jewellery (3), and great quantities of whole and broken vessels of stone and pottery. All these

(1) Partly excavated by M. BARAIZE and partly by us.

(2) BREASTED "Ancient Records", Vol. III, p. 224, and SPIEGELBERG, "Rec. Trav.", Vol. 17, p. 158.

(3) "Excavations at Giza", Vol. IV, p. 48.



A late intrusive mummy laid upon the lid of an Old Kingdom sarcophagus (tomb of Ny-[ma'at?]-Ra').



A.—A rock-cut tomb used as a magazine for the storage of antiquities.



B.—The footprints of ancient tomb-robbers in the burial-chamber of Prince 'Ankh-ma-Ra'.

must have a safe storage-place where they can be cleaned, studied, and if need be, preserved pending their removal to the museum. There is no better magazine for this purpose than a light and roomy rock-cut tomb, preferably one that possesses windows (Pl. VI, A). If such a tomb is available it should have iron bars fitted to the windows and an iron gate to the entrance. If it can be lit by electric light, so much the better. The reason why a rock-tomb makes such an ideal magazine, is because it retains an even temperature at all seasons of the year. If antiquities, newly removed from a hot, humid tomb were placed in an ordinary building and subjected to the desert climate, scorching heat by day and cold by night, they would swiftly deteriorate, and in the case of stone objects, may even split. The Egyptians knew of this, and we found the beautiful alabaster panel of Ra^c-wer embedded in a wall of mud-brick, as that material maintains a more even temperature than stone masonry. If, therefore, a suitable rock-tomb is not available, a mud-brick hut would be the next best thing but would need to be carefully guarded as it would be easy to rob. The objects brought in should be placed on strong wooden shelves or trestle tables and should be kept together as far as possible, according to the date on which they were found. Each objects, no matter how trivial should be numbered, photographed and recorded. Fragments of a broken object must be kept altogether in one place in order to be repaired, usually an easy matter if all the pieces are present and are not mixed with other broken fragments. Even if some pieces are missing, it may happen that they will turn up later, perhaps in a place far distant from where the original fragments were found. Thus, in the tomb of Sed-hotep we found a headless limestone statuette representing a woman grinding corn. The following season, the lady's missing head came to light in the ruins of the Pyramid city of Queen Khent-kawes⁽¹⁾, and we were able to restore the figure to its original state. I repeat, and cannot too strongly stress the necessity of accurately recording each find; no matter how small and seemingly unimportant the object may be, yet it may have the deepest significance when studied in conjunction with the site from which it came and the period in which it was fashioned. The museums of Europe are all too full of stray objects, often valueless from an artistic point of view, and always meaningless scientifically, simply because no data exists to tell us from whence they were obtained. This is where scientific research is of such value. If the provenance of objects from any one site is known, their significance and relationship one to the other, can be grasped. From these facts we are able to deduce certain funerary customs, or the growth and decline of various artistic forms, which from merely contemplating scattered, unplaced objects would be impossible.

In ancient Egypt, as in every civilized state, there were various schools of art, all following the main canons fixed by religious necessity, but differing from each other in their mode of treating their subjects. To fully understand the aims, ideals and methods of these schools we must be able to study examples which are definitely known to have emanated from their various studios. This study is slowly progressing, but how much more complete would our knowledge have been, had we only been able to assign a provenance to that mass of anonymous material, good, bad and indifferent which now adorns the principal museums of Europe. As bad examples of this, we need look only to the Brussels Museum and the British Museum. The latter, especially, contains a fine collection of Egyptian antiquities, including some really splendid statuary; but in only a very few instances is the provenance of the objects known, and even when a locality is assigned to it, it is by no means certain that the object really came from that place. This is

(1) See "*Excavations at Giza*", Vol. IV, p. 36.

because most of the objects were purchased from dealers, or were presented by persons who had originally purchased them. These antiquity merchants may declare that the object they are selling came from such and such a place, but nine times out of ten it is a lie intended to mislead others as to the true source of their revenue, or because they know that the object was either the result of illicit digging or was stolen from a legitimate excavation.

Another practice to be condemned scientifically is the scattering of related objects. All the small antiquities found in, let us say, a certain tomb, particularly an intact tomb, should be kept together so that their relationship to each other may be understood. Scatter them, and they are as meaningless as the loose beads of a broken necklace. As an example, let us take the late faience ushabti figures. They sometimes occur in one or more groups of eleven figures each, of which ten are small and mummiform in appearance. The eleventh figure is larger, and is sometimes represented as clad in the every-day costume of the period. Separate them, and they are merely so many ordinary specimens of ushabti figures; see them in their entire group and we at once recognize ten workmen and their Rayyes.

In this respect, the Cairo Museum can justly claim to be the most scientific collection of Egyptian antiquities in the world. For with every few exceptions, the provenance of every exhibit is definitely established; while care has been taken as far as possible to exhibit related objects in one show-case, group of cases or room.

CLEARING A MASTABA

We will suppose that the excavator arrives on the field one morning and finds the men in a state of subdued excitement. The Rayyes may announce to him the impending appearance of an Old Kingdom mastaba. The men, good fellows that they are, need no urging to their work, and soon the fine sand is sliding away from the top courses of some massive limestone masonry.

Work is then concentrated on the eastern side, where the entrance may be expected and any existing false-doors will certainly be found. As the sand is removed, the façade of the mastaba is revealed; its entrance is almost in the centre, with a false-door to the north and south of it. The northern false-door is small, and uninscribed, but the southern one, formed of a large slab of Turah limestone, is inscribed with the name and titles of the tomb-owner. The inscribed lintel, which should have been above the entrance, is nowhere to be seen, but later it appears, having fallen face downwards in the debris in front of the doorway. It is identified by comparison with the name and titles on the false-door, and later will be re-placed in its original position (see Pl. XIII A, B, *Nj-sw-kid*).

Now the staff of diggers must be re-arranged, and a few expert men, assisted by some basket-boys, are set to work to clear the interior of the chapel. It is amazing to watch these experts at work on uncovering an inscription or a sculptured wall. They always use their bare hands for clearing away the last layers of sand, and the delicacy of touch which these seemingly rough, clumsy fellows are capable of, passes comprehension. Watch one of them clean a wall, the surface of which is flaking off under the effects of salt and moisture. He seems to charm the sand off by magic, with his almost imperceptible touch. Leave him alone, and he will lay bare a scene or inscription which is so fragile that the least jar would cause it to flake off. Do not go too near him when he is working, he knows the damage your unguarded movements may cause, and as likely as not he will tell you to clear out until he has finished. In his way he is an artist and an expert, so respect his wishes, and leave him alone until he has finished his work.

Experienced diggers will at once begin to search for the serdab of the tomb. It is a matter of joy to the whole staff when an intact serdab is discovered, and they feel that their work has not been in vain (1). This is especially true of the men of Kuft, who consider it a personal dishonour if the season's work has proved unfruitful. There is a constant rivalry going on among different groups of Saidees working different sites as to who has the honour of unearthing the greatest number of important finds, especially of statues. The fame of a Rayyes also depends upon the amount of monuments discovered by his men. If some days pass by with no new discoveries having been made, the Kufities and their Rayyes begin to look very gloomy and depressed, but as soon as something new comes to light, their faces literally beam with joy and excitement as the good news spreads among them.

Perhaps a serdab will be found that has been re-employed as a later burial-place. In this case the statues will most likely have been thrown away outside the mastaba. The experienced men will know where is the most likely place to look for them, and if time and man's vandalism have spared them, it often happens that they will soon be recovered.

The remainder of the men set about clearing the three other sides of the mastaba, a few going on the roof to search for the mouth of the burial-shaft. It may happen that the mouths of two or three shafts will appear, and it becomes a question of which should be attacked first. If the chapel is sufficiently cleared to enter, the position of the principal false-door or "palace-façade" should be noted, and the shaft that lies approximately behind it is usually that of the tomb-owner. Now comes an anxious moment. Is the tomb intact or not? The removal of the first metre of its filling suggests that the burial is intact, for this filling is found to consist of clean limestone chips, the original stone excavated when the shaft was cut, and which was reserved for its filling when the final rites of burial were completed (2). Metre after metre of these clean chips are removed, and hope runs high. But the experienced digger knows better than to set too much store on this, so often has he cleared a virgin shaft only to find the ancient robbers had tunnelled directly into the burial-chamber (see p. 6)!

In the meanwhile, the removal of the sand has revealed the walls of the chapel to be covered with finely-sculptured scenes, some parts of which retain their original colours. The roof is intact, but a large crack is observed running across the massive architrave that supports the roofing-slabs. The removal of the sand and consequent sudden change of temperature may cause the architrave to split and come crashing down, bringing the greater part of the roof with it. Therefore, it must at once be shored up by stout baulks of timber, wedged into place. Later, the damaged architrave can be examined and probably be repaired with iron ties and cement, so that the unsightly timber props can be removed. Once the roof is made safe, the photographer, who has already been busy photographing the exterior of the mastaba, now enters to photograph the chapel. If the scenes are in a very fragile state, this should be done section by section as they are uncovered. This is better than waiting until the whole chapel is cleared, and risking the loss of part, if not all of the

(1) They are also delighted to uncover an inscribed mastaba or an important stela or statue.

(2) Sometimes the filling of an intact shaft may contain literally hundreds of small model vessels and dishes of red-ware. These were purposely included, and were supposed to magically serve for all the varied courses which the deceased hoped to enjoy at his banquets in the After-life. Shaft No. 1311 in the tomb of Ny-kaw-Hathor (Giza, 7th season; unpublished) contained a great quantity of these little models.

sculptures. When photographing interiors, a time is chosen when the sun is in a favourable position ; and then, by reflecting its light into the chapel by means of large mirrors, successful photographs may be taken. But that is not a sufficient record. Sometimes, by reason of the surface-decay of the stone, or distortion caused by the unavoidable tilting of the camera in a confined space, the finished prints are not a success. But whether the photographs are satisfactory or not, it is essential that the draughtsmen should make facsimile drawings of every part of the scenes and inscriptions⁽¹⁾, working on ladders and scaffolding in order to reach the higher parts of the wall.

These tracings are then transferred to strong white paper, and pencilled in. They are now returned to the tomb, and any corrections needed are made. If by chance any of the original scenes, etc., have already flaked off, the photographs will have recorded the missing parts and the drawings can still be checked accurately. Finally the design is inked in, and the completed drawing, which is exactly the same size as the original in the tomb, is photographed. It is then rolled up, the number of the season and the name or number of the tomb clearly written on the outside of the roll, and placed in a rack to await publication. The same procedure is carried out with regard to the drawings of the burial-shafts and plans and elevations of the tombs. The reduced photographs are, of course, much easier to handle than the large drawing, and have the additional advantage of the fact that they can be duplicated as often as required. The scenes which still retain their colours must be immediately copied in water-colour⁽²⁾. The chemist should be called in, and every possible device resorted to in an attempt to fix the colours. If the tomb is on fairly high, dry ground, he may be successful. But if salt is present in the stone, one must face the melancholy fact that a few days, or at the most, a few weeks will see the end of those bright colours ; in extreme cases they may even flake off before one's very eyes. In our excavations we have tried every known method and even made some new experiments in an attempt to preserve ancient painting, but I do not claim to know any method, even those followed by experts, which can be guaranteed a certain success in every case.

Meanwhile, the men have reached the bottom of the burial-shaft, and shout up the exciting news that the entrance to the burial-chamber is blocked by intact limestone masonry⁽³⁾. When this barrier is removed, the Director descends the shaft and enters the scene of his triumph—an intact burial-chamber ! Let him not be in too great a hurry, however ; if he observes the floor carefully, he may notice human footprints in the soft dust (Pl. VI, B). The impressions of bare feet made 5,000 years ago⁽⁴⁾ ! Such a thing is surely worth preserving, and the photographer is called to record a sight that will soon be effaced by modern footprints. (I have also observed the prints of dirty fingers on white stone vases from intact burials.)

Against the western wall of the chamber is a massive limestone sarcophagus, on the lid of which stands an alabaster head-rest. On the floor beside it are some pottery jars, alabaster model vessels

(1) The Director and the Assistant should also make their own copies of the inscriptions.

(2) Notes on the colours should have been made as fast as they were uncovered.

(3) This barrier must be properly recorded and photographed.

(4) An example of such footprints was seen in the burial-chamber of Prince 'Ankh-ma-Ra' (6th season) (Pl. VI, B) Note that there were two distinct sets of footprints, one large and one small. These footprints were made by ancient tomb-robbers, and the smaller ones were probably made by a young boy whose share of the work was to enter a small aperture made in the sarcophagus in order to plunder it.

and a set of copper model tools and instruments about eighty pieces in all ; while on a rock-cut ledge in the wall are a copper ewer and a basin. In one corner of the chamber lie the bones of half a sacrificial ox, the missing half having formed part of the funerary feast. Sometimes, the head-rest and smaller units of the funerary equipment are placed *inside* the sarcophagus beside the corpse.

Once more a series of photographs are taken, this time by magnesium wire, and careful notes are made of the exact position of every object before a single thing is moved. After that, the small antiquities are gathered up and taken to the magazine where they are placed altogether to be numbered, registered and re-photographed. It is a good plan, however, to keep monuments in their original places as far as possible, at least for some time. This will give your colleagues an opportunity to form an idea of the proper disposition of the monuments of the period upon which you are working. Also it affords amateurs, both local and foreign, a sight that will arouse their interest in Egypt's past history. I have frequently observed that a group of small monuments *in situ* have aroused the profoundest admiration, not only of the archæologist and tourist, but also of Egyptians who are, alas, not as a rule very interested in their past history. The sight of these monuments had even made them forget their longing to see fabulous treasures of gold and silver. Examples of monuments which we have left *in situ* are the intact serdabs of Fefi and 'Ankh-tef, and the intact mastabas of the Daughter of Khafra and of Prince Khnmw-ba-f. It always stirs the human side of the spectator to see objects standing in the very places where they were originally arranged 5,000 years ago.

The next step is to open the sarcophagus, and experienced men are needed for this job in order not to damage the stone. A capable Rayyes will have special methods of dealing with sarcophagi which are usually his guarded secrets. Give him a free hand and he will soon call you to come and examine the contents of the sarcophagus. The dead man lies on his back, with his head to the north and face turned to the east. The body bears traces of mummification, but the flesh has long since crumbled into dust. Around the neck was a fine collar of beadwork interspaced with golden bars, and fastened by golden clasps. The threads of the beadwork had rotted and the loose beads lie scattered in the dust at the bottom of the sarcophagus, mingling with the bones, and shreds of gold-foil in which the body was once wrapped. By patiently sifting the contents of the sarcophagus all these beads may be recovered ; and by comparison with other complete specimens or contemporary representations, they may be re-threaded in their original order.

The other shafts of the tomb have proved to be somewhat disappointing. One was a false-shaft (*see* p. 10, Note 1) and its filling also consisted of clean limestone chips. Another was found to be filled with sand and debris mixed with potsherds, so was known to have been anciently robbed. It should, however, be cleared out in case it contains any statues or fragments of statues flung down from some violated tomb. The third shaft was very shallow and contained a late burial of a poor person, whose only equipment was a pottery vase and a few cheap amulets, which, however, must be given the same careful treatment accorded to the more intrinsically valuable finds.

The mastaba, being now cleared is left to the architect to measure and plan it, and the work proceeds methodically on.

GUARDING THE SITE

When monuments are once uncovered it is the grave responsibility of the Director to see that they are properly guarded. I have already mentioned the type of men to be employed (p. 24), but the matter does not rest with merely installing guards. The guardianship of a field of excavations has to combat more than one type of intruder. There is the thief who is out for gold, precious stones and saleable antiquities, or his humbler colleague who will steal tools, implements or stores. There are also ignorant villagers who break pieces off monuments or steal small antiquities for superstitious reasons, and the religious fanatic who feels it his sacred duty to smash statues and reliefs impiously representing the human form. Even more reprehensible, because they are supposedly educated, are visitors who surreptitiously steal small antiquities as mementoes of their visit. They may even pay men to hack out pieces from the sculptured scenes for them, and at the very least will scratch their unhonoured names all over the monuments. There is also the wretch, who, either for motives of revenge for a fancied wrong, or in order to make trouble for one of your guards (in the hope, perhaps, of getting his job) will willfully destroy a monument. (This happened to Petrie at El-Amarna and also to us at Giza). Each of these pests must be guarded against, and once more I stress the importance of watch-dogs, and add that their clamorous barking should always be attended to. Better a false-alarm than a successful robbery. In guarding against the more serious forms of robbery, there are several points to observe. Firstly, when a discovery is made which involves the finding of golden, or other precious object, the uttermost care should be taken. If it is for any reason impossible to move the objects to the magazine, then the tomb should be well-guarded, and the Rayyes himself should spend the night there. Moreover, the entire staff should be forbidden to talk about the discovery to any unauthorized person, as Egypt is a land of rumours, and it is enough to say that you have found a broken golden bracelet in a tomb, for the story to grow into a marvellous tale of vast halls packed with golden jewellery. Such rumours serve to entice thieves to your site. They will also attract crowds of idle sight-seers, perfect nuisances that will be dealt with more fully below. Tombs containing inscriptions or sculptured scenes should be protected by strong iron gates, kept constantly locked. A set of keys should be kept with the Director, and duplicate set given to the Assistant, who must be responsible for them.

Encourage honesty among your own workers by tipping each man who finds a statue or some other valuable object; but be careful! For this system, which is only just, and which produces such good results among honest workers, may lead the less scrupulous to smuggle false antiquities, or even cheaply purchased real ones into the work in order to "discover" them before your delighted eyes. To see an object which appears to your judgment suspicious, actually unearthed before your very eyes puts you in an awkward situation, unless you know of these tricks beforehand! If possible, a Director should have some workers on his staff who are either members of his own family or are from his native town. They should be in actual contact with the workers in order that they may inform him of what is going on under the surface, and at the same time they may inform him of any complaints or grievances among the men. Also the workers will be watched in the event of anything disappearing from the field. The site itself should be surrounded by barbed-wire fences, and plenty of notices erected to warn off intruders. The entrance gate should



The Author conducting His Royal Highness the Crown Prince of Sweden round the field of excavations at Giza.
H.R.H. (on his hands and knees) is displaying keen interest in the clearance of a burial-shaft.

be guarded day and night. The barbed-wire fence will not keep out determined trespassers, but it will protect you legally by defining your boundaries. The guards, and even the men, should have instructions to warn off all intruders, politely, if possible! And this brings us to the subject of visitors.

VISITORS, AND HOW TO TREAT THEM

An excavator should always welcome and even invite his colleagues to visit his concession. This is not only generous and courteous to his fellow workers, but may also be useful to himself. Two heads are often better than one, and a difficult problem connected with the work, may often be solved by discussing it *in situ* with another trained mind. Never be too proud to listen to the advice of a man who has had a longer experience in excavating than you have. But while visits from one's fellow-scientists are, or should be, always welcome, other types of visitors may prove a mixed blessing, and should be treated accordingly. Certainly the Director himself should not be called off his important work to act as a dragoman to any chance caller who merely wants to look around out of idle curiosity. The ideal arrangement is for intending visitors to apply for permission a day in advance, then if they are to be granted their request, it can be arranged who is to conduct them around the site. Assuming that he can speak their language, the best person to do this is the Assistant, and he should use his discretion as to what and how much to show them. In a mixed party of decently educated people, with no definite Egyptological knowledge, it is fairly safe to assume that the men will be interested in the constructional and architectural features, while the women are usually attracted to the more artistic side. Sculptured scenes, intact serdabs, and statuary appeal to all, even children. Do not show badly ruined monuments and broken statuary to the uninitiated, they will only be bored. A few spectacular monuments in easy reach of each other should form the main programme for this type of visitor. Remember not to tire elderly persons by taking them to distant monuments or those difficult of access, and most women will simply hate you if you take them down dusty sloping passages where they will get their dresses torn or dirty!

Sometimes an extra-intelligent guard may be trained sufficiently to act as a guide to casual visitors. I had such a man with me who even managed to pick up a smattering of hieroglyphs! Of course, important visitors should always be shown round by the Director himself (Pl. VII). This is not mere snobbery, it is common sense. An influential Minister, well received, can, if he is pleased with what he has seen, materially assist the work of excavation. The more such persons can be interested in the work, the better it will be for science. As a general rule, however, visitors are a great nuisance, wasting one's time and boring one with their senseless observations and silly questions. Some are mere snobs who only want to be able to say they have seen all the latest discoveries. Worst of all are the "occultists" who come in search of departed spirits and want to spend the night in your favourite tomb. Such a fellow came to me and confided that he was trying to get into contact with the spirit of Akhenaton, though why he expected to find him in an Old Kingdom site, I don't know. Then there are the "Pyramidists" who want to convince us that every important event that has happened or will happen in the world is predicted in the measurements of the great Pyramid! There is yet another pest who wants to show you places where there is a buried treasure; never listen to their nonsense which is usually gained from

anecdotes related to them in childhood by the elderly members of their family, and are mere imagination, if not extracts from the "Book of Pearls" or similar nonsense (*see* p. 13). Anyhow it is a mere waste of time and money to investigate these stories, and the excavator should only pay attention to his scientific work.

THE PRESS

There remains another type of visitor to consider, that is the Press. Newspaper representatives need very careful handling, for they are a double-edged sword! On the one hand, they can be very useful by making a good, widespread propaganda for the work, and may be the means of arousing public interest in the science of Egyptology. On the other hand, (and this often happens) they may entirely misrepresent what you tell them of your finds, and caring only to get a sensational story for their respective papers, will give an exaggerated account of your discoveries, perhaps making fantastic claims that will make you the laughing-stock of the scientific world. Moreover, their exaggeration of the richness of your finds will, as previously mentioned, attract thieves.

It is not a bad plan when you have made an important discovery to spend a few minutes on writing a brief, concise report on it, understating, rather than overstating its importance. Duplicates of this can be given to reporters, who thus have no excuse for going beyond it.

THE LITERARY WORK

The aim of the true scientific excavator is not merely the discovery of objects to bring him fame. His aim is to make history a real and vital thing, not a dead string of dates and names. In doing this he will, as it were, bring about the resurrection of the dead. The great men of ancient Egypt lived, had their triumphs and enjoyed their fame upon earth, and for many years after their deaths, their fame lived on, kept alive by their monuments, until finally these became engulfed in the sand, and with them, the memories of the men who had erected them. For an interval they remained forgotten. Then came the archæologist; with patient toil he brought the monuments once more to light and forced them to tell again to the world the fame and glory of the men who made them. During their lifetimes the Pharaohs prayed that their names should endure upon earth and that they themselves should live for ever. Through the archæologist, this prayer has been granted, for he has roused them to life and made them live again in the minds of men. During his lifetime the name of the great conqueror, Thothmes III, was feared and revered from the Somali coast to the Euphrates. To-day his deeds, and even his very features are known in every part of the world where there are educated persons, surely a wider fame than even he anticipated!

So even if the archæologist is sometimes called a scientific grave-robber, he may, with as much justice be called the Angel of the Resurrection, so that balances it!

But before he can begin to contribute his share to bring history to life, he must first publish the results of his labour that they may be accessible to all who require them.

A monument once unearthed leads a precarious existence; natural decay, accident, or wanton destruction are a constant menace to its survival. But if you have made a faithful scientific record of it, clearly and accurately described it, reproduced it by means of photographs and drawings, you have secured for it as near a state of immortality as anything can acquire in this mortal world.

You have, moreover duplicated it so many times that it may travel to the ends of the earth and reach persons who have not perhaps the time or the means to visit the original monument (even if it has survived!). Remember also, you are not serving only the Egyptologist, you are setting down useful, reliable data for those who are interested in Art, Theology, Philology, Anthropology Zoology and Botany. Therefore, you must make the greatest effort to have your record as full and accurate as possible. This is your duty to the scientific world of to-day, and your moral obligation to the Past. If you do not do this, you are no better than the ancient tomb-robbers you so soundly curse at each rifled burial-chamber which was the bitter reward of your strenuous efforts.

The only proper way to get the kind of volume which will be a credit to your work is to attend carefully to the preliminaries. I mean that you must see to it that the diary is kept fully and up to date. This is most essential, and everything must be entered into it, sketches, notes, rough plans and first copies of inscriptions; in fact, everything connected with the day's work. To do this, you must keep a note-book with you in the field in which you jot down every detail or incident at the time which it occurs. Do not trust to your memory for anything. At night you can go over your daily notes and copy them out fully and neatly into the diary. Take care that you write it in a clear handwriting, so that it may be easily read by anyone. Remember, *you cannot put too many relevant details in your diary!*

The object register claims as much of your attention as the diary. In it you must keep a full and accurate description of all the small monuments as they are discovered, and for this you will often need to refer to your diary. Do not forget to give the correct measurements in centimetres. A good way of arranging the object register is to get a reduced copy of the photograph of each object, or a drawing of it if it is not quite clear, (as may be the case with an inscription) and glue it firmly into place beside the written description. This will facilitate the identification of each object and at the same time serve as illustrations. Below is a sample entry in a good, practical object register:—

No.	Photo No.	Date	Material	Period	Description	Provenance	Photograph
1101	378	6/4/33	Red earthenware	N.K.	A fine globular vase with a wide, flaring mouth, and a rounded base. Height: 10·6 cm. diameter of mouth: 6·0 cm.	Between the Valley Temple of Khent-kawes and the Pyramid city.	

Once more I must repeat the necessity of taking great care over this part of the work, for if by any unforeseen catastrophe all your work should be lost to you, you will, if you have kept your registers properly, still be able to give a complete account of what you had discovered.

All the photographs taken must be numbered, and an album kept in which a copy of each print is fixed, with its own number, the object register number, date, title and provenance clearly written underneath it. The corresponding negative should be numbered on its margin. All negatives should be stored in boxes on the outside of which is written the number of the season, name or number of the tomb and the sequence numbers of the negatives. Of course, all negatives relating to a single monument should be kept together. If this is done methodically it is but a moment's work to produce any given negative. But remember, your collection of negatives is more precious than gold, and in many cases may be irreplaceable. Therefore, handle them with the uttermost care, and store them in a very safe place.

When each mastaba is thoroughly cleared, the work of recording it should commence at once. Never leave this for later or the excitement of new discoveries will perhaps cause you to forget or overlook some details of the earlier finds. Take each tomb one by one as discovered. Armed with note-book and pencil go to the tomb itself. Start from the outside and describe it minutely, overlooking nothing. Then proceed to enter, describing logically every part of the tomb as you proceed inwards. Finally, descend to the burial-chamber and describe that with the same care and minuteness that you bestowed upon the sculptured chapel. Now return to your diary and see if there are some details which should be added. The object register will furnish you with particulars of all the antiquities which were found in and around each tomb, and these should be added at the appropriate places. The architect will supply you with the exact measurements of every part of the structure; and the photographer will give you prints of the drawings and plans of the tomb and its shafts. Also photographs of the original monument. Having completed your rough copy, type it or write it out neatly. Stick in the reproduced drawings at the appropriate places in the text, numbering them consequently. Arrange the photographs as plates at the end, and see that their numbers tally with those you have accorded them in the text. Fix your completed work in a strong file and write the number of the season and the name or number of the tomb on the cover. When you have done this with each tomb discovered in the season, return again to the object register and collect up particulars of all the small antiquities found astray in the field, that is, things not assignable to any particular tomb. Record them, and append their photographs, for they too must be published. Later they may prove to be very important, and in the case of fragments, may be recognized as being part of some already-known but damaged monument.

Now your volume is ready for the Press; but do not hesitate to delay publication for a season or two. You may learn fresh facts about many points; and subsequent discoveries may throw a different light on what seemed a definite conclusion, and may also reveal that groups of tombs are belonging to the members of a particular family⁽¹⁾. Above all, if an error creeps into your published volume do not hesitate to admit it, and correct it in your subsequent publications. It is moral cowardice to continue to record an error you are too proud to own up to having made. And when formulating your opinions do not be prejudiced by your former knowledge of archæology or philology. Both studies are still in their infancy, and hitherto unknown facts, objects and words are appearing almost daily. What seems to be an impossibility to-day, may by the turn

⁽¹⁾ This was the case during our 6th and 7th seasons when we discovered a group of tombs belonging to the children of Khafra, and also in our 9th season, when a group of tombs came to light which belonged to a family of doctors.

of a spade tomorrow, be revealed as a concrete fact. An example of this was our discovery of contemporaneous scenes and inscriptions in the Great Pyramid complex, although it had hitherto been the opinion of scholars that the Great Pyramid was devoid of such features.

OLD KINGDOM FUNERARY ARCHITECTURE

As I have already explained, the remarks given above relate to the methods which I have personally found to be successful in excavating in the Giza Necropolis; and now I would like to give a somewhat detailed account of the principal type of monument these methods have succeeded in bringing to light, namely, the Old Kingdom mastabas. Before going into a detailed discussion of these tombs and their component parts, let us take a brief survey of the process of development which evolved the typical mastaba from the primitive pan-grave.

THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE TOMB

Broadly speaking, the Egyptian tomb of all periods possessed two fundamental features, the only two which, in its original form, it possessed; namely, the burial-chamber and the offering-place. These two features occur in tombs of every period, but as time went on and religious beliefs developed, various other units crept into the design, so that while an Old Kingdom tomb, either a built mastaba or a rock-hewn tomb may be said to conform to a standard type, yet no two tombs are ever exactly alike in every detail. This is because the Egyptians regarded the tomb as their eternal house, and so each dwelling, while conforming outwardly to the conventional styles, varies in its interior arrangement according to the taste of the owner. But no matter whether it be a simple rock-cut tomb or a huge rambling structure like that of Ra'-wer at Giza, the "eternal house" has its origin in the shallow pan-graves scooped out of the sand at the margin of the desert, in which the body, wrapped in a hide or mat, lay in the pre-natal position, surrounded by its simple funerary gear (Fig. 1) ⁽¹⁾. At such graves, the food offerings probably

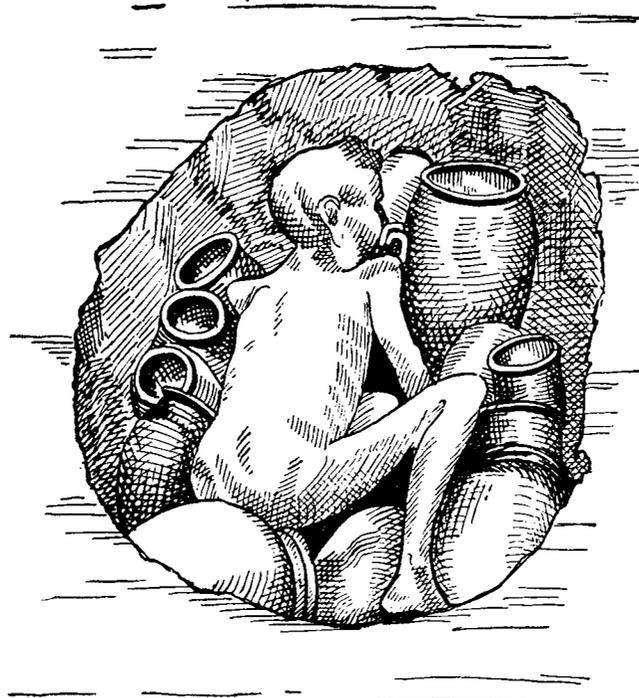


FIG. 1.

⁽¹⁾ From a pre-dynastic burial now in the British Museum.

consisted of a loaf of bread placed upon a reed mat, the representation of which was eventually crystallized as the hieroglyphic sign ⌘ “*htp*” offering. The only superstructure to such graves was a low mound formed by replacing the sand after the burial had taken place. As this mound would quickly disappear under the action of wind and rain, the next step was to surround the grave with a circle of stones (Fig. 2). Later, the grave was deepened into a

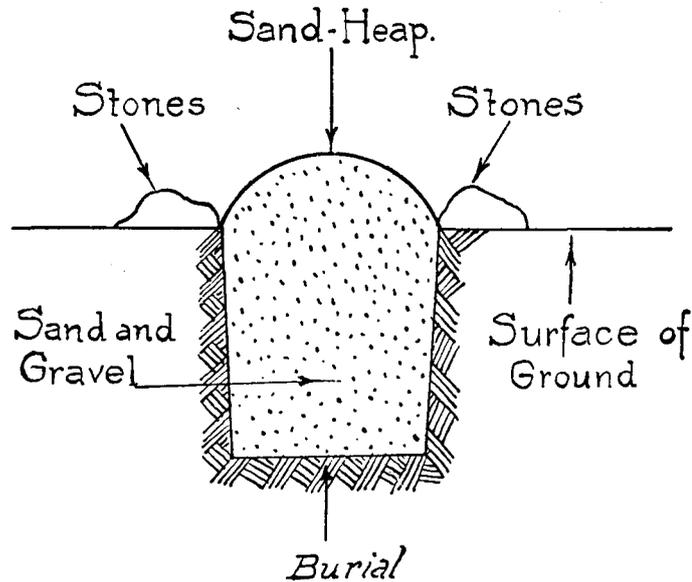


FIG. 2.

rectangular pit, lined with mud-brick and roofed with wooden beams and planks ; while a low retaining wall of mud-brick held the sand mound more firmly in place, and permitted it to attain a somewhat greater height (Fig. 3). Probably a niche in the brick-work of the eastern side of the retaining-wall fixed the position of the offering-place.

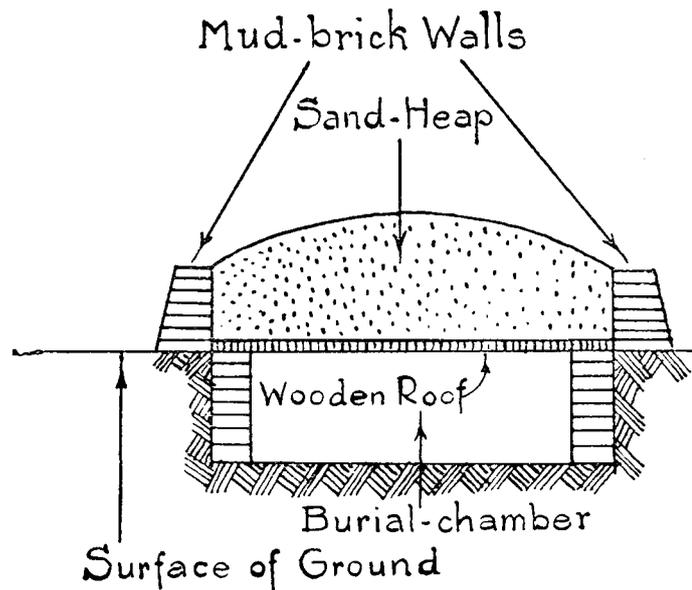


FIG. 3.

The next step came when stone masonry was employed to re-place brick-work. At first, very small blocks of stone were used, and the forms imitated brick-work as closely as possible, the

walls retaining the characteristic batter necessary for durability in a thick mud-brick wall (Fig. 4). From the latter type of burial emerges the original form of the Old-Kingdom mastaba. The brick

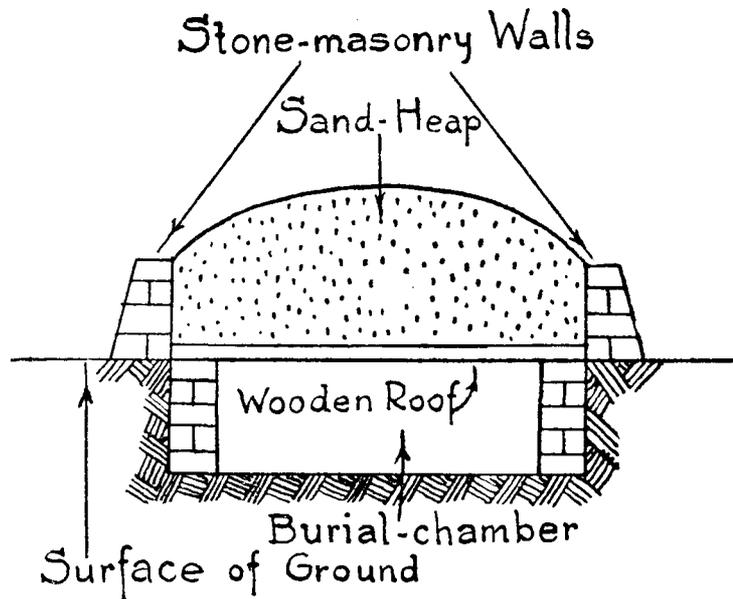


FIG. 4.

or stone-lined pit gives place to a burial-chamber cut deep in the rock and reached either by a vertical shaft or a sloping passage (Fig. 5). The superstructure is now a solid, rectangular

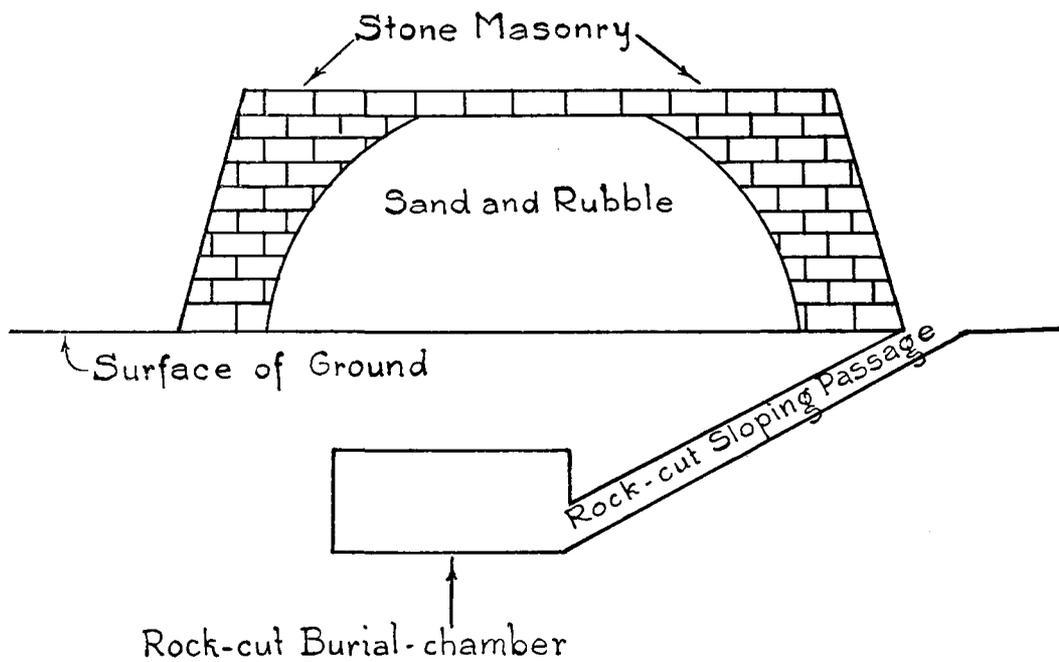


FIG. 5.

(*never square*) mass, consisting of a core of sand and rubble entirely cased in masonry, which nevertheless still continues to retain the characteristics of brick-work. From this stage the development of the tomb branched in two directions. In the case of royal burials diminishing

stages were erected on top of a huge mastaba, which produced the monument known as the "Step-Pyramid" at Saqqara (Fig. 6). Afterwards the base was squared and the steps filled in to form a smooth slope and the true pyramid-form evolved.

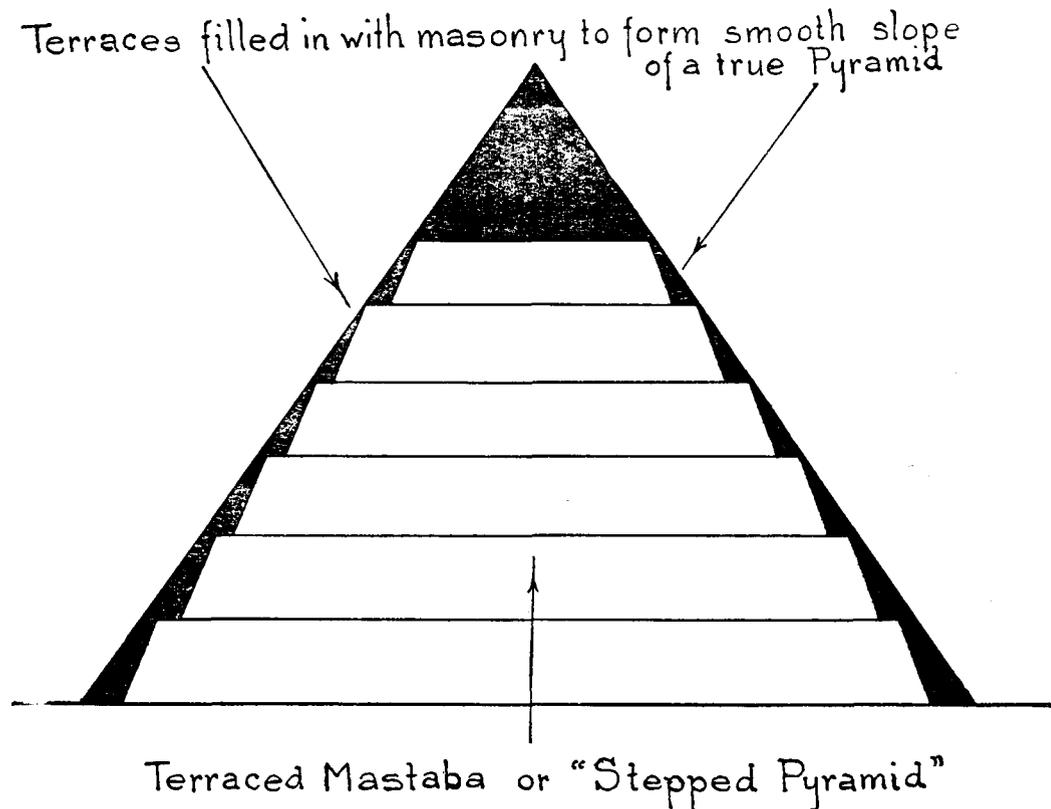


FIG. 6.

In the case of nobles and private citizens the mastaba retained its characteristic outward form, but developed certain internal variations which we shall now proceed to enumerate.

MASTABAS BUILT ABOVE GROUND

The simplest type of mastaba which came to light in our concession was of the same pattern as those attached to the Great Pyramid complex, and are therefore to be dated to the early part of the Fourth Dynasty. These are massive, rectangular structures formed of large blocks of local limestone. The offering-place is represented by an uninscribed false-door set in the eastern façade. They have no chapel, but possess a rock-cut burial-chamber.

The tomb of Khnmw-ba-f and the Daughter of Khafra (pp. 8, 10) are good examples of this type of burial⁽¹⁾.

The early type of Fourth Dynasty mastaba was of austere simplicity, and usually of vast dimensions, as though trying to vie with the pyramids themselves. They are mostly devoid of sculpture. But by the end of the Fourth Dynasty many innovations had been introduced.

⁽¹⁾ It was found that by setting the false-door in a deep recess, a more convenient and sheltered offering-place was obtained; and as the cult of the dead became more and more elaborate owing to the democratization of religious privileges, the deep niche or recess developed into an interior chapel; while inscribed false-doors, lintels and doorway, and later, sculptured wall-scenes began to appear.

Thus, the original tomb consisting of merely the burial-chamber and offering-place, now boasted of an outer court in which the rites of embalming were carried out, a superstructure, a chapel containing one or more false-doors and one or more serdabs. As we have already seen, the chapel was the logical development of the deep recess containing the false-door. It might be rectangular in shape, long and narrow or cruciform. In the second type it was usually a narrow corridor running along the whole eastern façade of the mastaba and served at once as a chapel and as a means of protecting the false-doors (1). This corridor was sometimes divided into two halves, the northern one serving as an entrance passage, while the southern half formed the cult chapel and contained the false-door and serdab.

The majority of the built mastabas in our concession are constructed of local limestone masonry, but Turah limestone was usually employed for such important details as false-doors, lintels, door-jambs and thicknesses, or for casing the interior walls of the chapel if sculptured scenes were required. Turah limestone was also much in demand for the manufacture of *Ka*-statues, which, as the cult of the dead developed, became an important item in a well-equipped tomb. The employment of these *Ka*-statues and the subsequent need of housing them safely, gave rise to the construction of the serdabs.

THE SERDAB, AND THE SITUATION OF THE STATUES IN THE TOMB-BUILDING

The word “serdab” is from the Arabic language, and means a “hidden passage”, but modern excavators gave this name to the roofed, rectangular chamber, walled up on all its four sides, in which were housed the statues of the tomb-owner, sometimes accompanied by those of his household. That these statues might be seen by relatives and others visiting the tomb, a small squint was constructed in the wall of the serdab. This squint is generally narrow and rectangular in shape on the outside, but widening in the thickness of the wall, so that the inner aperture is considerably larger than the outer one. This enables the spectator to see the whole of the interior of the chamber and gain an entire view of the contents. The real purpose of the serdab seems to have been to protect the statues from harm or theft (2) but at the same time permit them to be seen by well-disposed persons.

Expert modern workmen (*see* p. 33) gave this statue-chamber the name “rokna” which means a “corner”, and in reality this denomination is more appropriate than the name “serdab” for this statue-chamber does, in fact, look like a corner, in which something might be hidden (3).

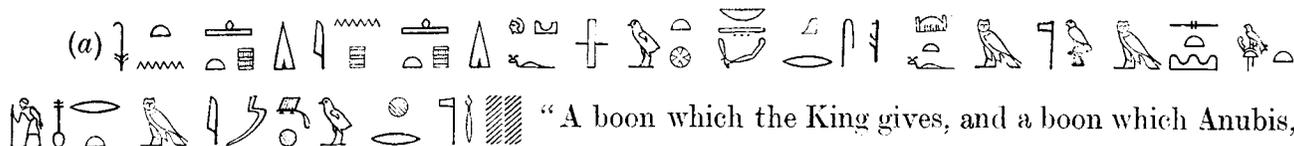
(1) A good example of this type is the tomb of Kaw-niswt (“*Excavations at Giza*”, 1930-1931, p. 78). It may be mentioned that the presence of a rock-cut basin in the northern end of the floor of the corridor, plus the rock-cut hall at its eastern side, denote the place of the Embalming-house of Kaw-niswt (*see* “*Excavations at Giza*”, Vol. IV, p. 83 *ff.* for details concerning the situation of the Embalming-house in private tombs).

(2) It was a common practice for evilly-disposed persons to smash the statues of their enemies and erase reliefs and inscription in the hope of jeopardizing the welfare of the dead in the other world.

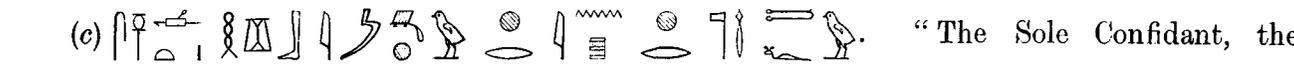
(3) Sometimes the Egyptians called the serdab  *pr-twt* “Statue-house”, or sometimes  *h.t.k3* “ka-house”. This latter name will be treated more fully below (*see* pp. 55, 56).

In the tomb of Ra'-hw-f at Saqqara the serdab was actually formed by a rubble wall built across a corner of the burial-shaft. In this unusual type of serdab we found the painted wooden statues of the tomb-owner and his wife still intact (Pl. VIII).

The idea of Ra'-khw-f of concealing his serdab in a corner of his shaft was not a freakish whim on his part, as a similar state of affairs came to light in another tomb at Saqqara. This is an uninscribed mastaba built of white limestone, and lies to the north-west of the tomb of Ptah-hotep II. At the bottom of its shaft (No. 2), in the south-western corner was cut a niche which served as a serdab, and when discovered contained a number of wooden statuettes of a man; all of which were, however, badly decayed. In the burial-chamber belonging to this shaft were the remains of a rectangular wooden coffin which bore a horizontal inscription giving the offering-formula and the name and titles of the deceased. This inscription reads as follows:

(a)  "A boon which the King gives, and a boon which Anubis, Presiding Over His Mountain, Who is in Wet (*i.e.* the place of Embalming), Lord of the Sacred Land gives; that he may be buried in the necropolis of the western desert (after) a very good old-age, as an Honoured One by the Great God . . ."

(b)  " . . . the Ritualist, Thefw. A boon which Osiris, Presiding Over Busiris, gives; that offerings may come forth at the voice to the Sole Confidant, the Ritualist, Thefw."

(c)  "The Sole Confidant, the Ritualist, the Honoured One by Anubis (and) by the Great God; Thefw" (1).

The owner of this coffin was almost certainly the owner of the wooden statues also, but unfortunately for him his astuteness went unrewarded, for though he cleverly preserved his *Ka*-statues from man's depredations, yet they were destined to fall victims to Nature's weapons of damp and decay.

From the serdab at the bottom of the shaft, it was but one step further that was taken by Ny'-ankh-Pepy, who abandoned the idea of a serdab altogether and placed his *Ka*-statues in the burial-chamber itself (2) (Pl. IX).

(1) Notice that in these inscriptions the name of Anubis is spelt out alphabetically, , instead of being written with the customary jackal sign: . This may have been a superstitious device to avoid the unnecessary use of an animal sign, which if magically animated, might either run away or injure the corpse or the offerings. Concerning this belief, see GUNN, "The Teti Pyramid Cemeteries", p. 171.

(2) In the case of S3bek-hotep of Beni Hasan, the wooden *Ka*-statue was placed inside the inner coffin, in front of the face of the deceased (Middle Kingdom). See GARSTANG, "Burial Customs of Ancient Egypt", p. 168 and Fig. 170.



Wooden statuettes of Ra^s-hw.f and his wife as they were found in the serdab.



Four white limestone statuettes of Ny-ankh-Pepy as found in the burial-chamber of his tomb.

Perhaps the strangest hiding-place for a statue was that adopted in a Middle Kingdom burial at Beni Hasan (Tomb No. 75, see GARSTANG, "*Burial Customs of Ancient Egypt*", pp. 103, 104, and Fig. 93). Here a niche was cut in the thickness of one of the sides of a rectangular wooden coffin, just above one of the two painted eyes, and in it was placed a small seated statuette of the deceased. This contrivance was hidden by a thin wooden panel, painted to match the decoration of the coffin, which covered the niche like a door.

THE POSITION OF THE SERDAB IN THE TOMB-CHAPEL

The position of the serdab in the tomb depends largely upon the disposition of the tomb itself. In many cases the serdab is placed behind the wall of the chapel opposite to the entrance, thus enabling the visitor to at once see the squint facing him ⁽¹⁾. But the serdab does not possess any special orientation. Thus, we have the entrance of the tomb of Ierew opening south and the squint of the serdab placed in the northern wall. On the other hand, the doorway of the chapel of Ny-kaw-Hathor opens north, and the squint is set in the southern wall.

As a general rule, the majority of the squints of the serdabs are placed in the western wall of the chapel, in the vicinity of the false-door, that is to say, as near as possible to the shaft leading to the burial-chamber. In some cases (see pp. 232, 282 of this volume) we have the squint of the serdab cut in the upper part of the false-door, thus opening into the shaft. In this case, then, the serdab occupied the upper part of the shaft leading to the burial-chamber. We also find serdabs where the squint opens to the west, as in the case of Werkhww (see p. 253), where the squints of both serdabs occur in the eastern wall of the chapel. The serdab of In-ka-f the Priest (6th season) has its squint opening in the eastern wall of the mastaba, opposite to the false-door.

THE POSITION OF THE SQUINT

The position of the squint in the wall of the serdab depends upon the size of the statues. If they were of small size, the squint would be placed low down, and vice versa. The opening itself is usually horizontal and somewhat resembles the slit in a modern letter-box, but in some cases it was vertical ⁽²⁾.

In rare cases the serdab had two squints, one at a low level and one somewhat higher. The reason for this is that the serdab contained statues of unequal size and the lower squint was needed to see the small figures, while the higher one commanded a view of the larger figures. This curious serdab is situated in the northern side of the mastaba and its squint opens south.

⁽¹⁾ Cf. Ierew, "*Excavations at Giza, III*", 1931-1932, p. 68.

⁽²⁾ Cf. Prince 'Ankh-ma-Ra' (6th season),

SERDABS WITH FALSE-DOORS

In several cases the serdab possessed a false-door as though it was supposed to contain the actual body of the deceased, and perhaps the fact of the existence of the false-door in front of the serdab is one of the decisive proofs that the statue was intended to replace the real body in the event of its destruction. In ordinary cases the squint was made simply in the wall of the serdab but in several examples it was cut in a false-door fixed in the wall or placed in a recess. Sometimes the shaft of the burial-chamber is *behind* the serdab (*see* Fifi, p. 282). These examples of serdabs with false-doors all date from the Fifth Dynasty and none of them seem to go back any earlier.

SERDABS WITH TWO STORIES

Sometimes, due to lack of space, the serdab was built in two stories, one above the other, and each having its own squint. The most striking example of this kind is in the tomb of Mersw-*'*ankh (1). The lower serdab was found intact, but the upper one had been used for an intrusive burial, and the statues it contained were thrown away. They were, however, recovered little the worse for the rough treatment they had received. The squint of this serdab was closed with a small plug of limestone.

THE MUD-BRICK SERDAB

West of the mastaba of Ny-*'*ankh-Khnmw and north of that of Ny-kaw-Hathor (6th season) is a large mastaba built of mud-brick and containing several shafts. To the north of this mastaba lies a long, narrow serdab, which is also built of mud-brick, and logically ought to be assigned to the mastaba. Although this serdab was in such a ruinous condition that only one course of bricks remained, yet the contents were almost intact. It contained limestone statuettes of different artisans, male and female, many of which bear inscriptions giving their name and titles. (Pl. X, A and B). This type of serdab is very curious, as generally speaking, these figures of servitors were placed in the same serdab as that in which the statue of the deceased was housed (*see* *'*Ankh-tef, p. 233).

THE SERDABS AND NICHEs OF RA'-WER (2)

The serdabs in the tomb of Ra'-wer are of special interest both from an archæological and a religious point of view. Indeed, they differ from the serdabs of any other tomb so far discovered, and at the same time they surpass in number those of the largest Old Kingdom tombs known. The salient points of these serdabs are as follows :—

- (1) The tomb contains at least fifty serdabs and niches, in which there were more than 120 statues and statuettes.

(1) "*Excavations at Giza, I*", 1929-1930, p. 111.

(2) "*Ibid.*" p. 7, ff.



A.—The mud-brick serdab of Ny-kaw-Hathor (6th season), showing the statuettes.



B.—The above statuettes cleaned.

- (2) The types are mostly out of the common, and this accords with the general scheme of Ra'-wer in building his tomb, for it is a unique piece of architecture and differs from any other known type of Old Kingdom tomb.
- (3) Generally the serdabs are hidden, but Ra'-wer ignored this custom, and built one of his serdabs in the façade of his tomb, so that the visitor can at once see the statue and vice-versa.
- (4) A serdab which contained four of his statues was built in the open air, and possessed four squints. An alabaster offering-table was placed in front of it ⁽¹⁾. In order that the statues might be easily seen, steps were constructed in front of each squint. Moreover, on the eastern wall of this serdab was an inscription giving the name and some of the titles of Ra'-wer. It is most unusual to find inscriptions in a serdab, other than those inscribed upon the statues.

THE POSITION OF STATUES IN TOMBS WHICH HAVE NO SERDAB

In many cases the mastabas do not contain a serdab, and the tomb-owner had to have recourse to other means of housing his statues. Sometimes he constructed a recess or niche in which he placed his statues ⁽²⁾.

In the rock-cut tombs there were constructed special chambers with doorways, in which the statues were placed. But because of their exposure, they were in every case removed from their original places, or smashed to pieces; and the chambers were re-employed as burial-places ⁽³⁾.

In many rock-cut tombs the statues of the deceased and his family were sculptured in the actual walls of the chapel, so that they may be more enduring, almost impossible to remove, and at the same time receive the visitor without being hidden ⁽⁴⁾.

Sometimes the statue of the deceased is sculptured over the entrance to the chapel, or over the false-door ⁽⁵⁾.

In the tomb of Iwn-Ra' (6th season), two recesses were cut in the rock at the side of the entrance, and in each a statue of the Prince was sculptured. But sometimes the tomb-owner took greater precautions and did not content himself with rock-cut statues alone, but also made for himself a statue of granite, or some such hard and durable stone, and placed it in the tomb

⁽¹⁾ "Ibid.", p. 21.

⁽²⁾ "Excavations at Giza", 1931-1932, p. 110.

⁽³⁾ Bw-nefer "ibid.", p. 197; also Hemet-Ra' (6th season).

⁽⁴⁾ Deda, "Excavations at Giza", 1929-1930, p. 86.

⁽⁵⁾ Mer'-ankh-f, "Excavations at Giza", 1931-1932. Pl. VII, 1.

near the rock-cut figures. The most striking example of this practice which we found, was in the tomb of Ka-her-iset-f (6th season). He made two life-sized rock-cut statues of himself, one for a woman, most probably his wife, and a fourth, unfinished, for a child. Near to one of his own statues, he placed a small statuette of granite, inscribed with his name and titles. In front of the mastaba of Nary (p. 301) which possesses only a false-door and no serdab, the owner built a rectangular pedestal upon which he fixed a statue of himself and his wife, Nefrt. In front of these statues was a small statuette of a certain foreman of workers, named Imhetep. Clearly the space in front of this false-door was covered.

In large mastabas like that of In-ka-f the court of the tomb was decorated with two standing statues of the deceased, one on each side of it. Only the smashed remains of one of these is still in position. Moreover, at the extreme end of the mastaba, a niche on an elevated platform was constructed to receive a group of statuary. Only the heads of these statues are lacking. Both these statues and those in the forecourt were supposed to receive visitors. But in spite of the existence of these four statues, In-ka-f did not dispense with a serdab, but constructed one in the eastern wall of the passage leading to the inner chapel. In the tomb of Ny-'ankh-Pepy at Saqqara (*see* pp. 10, 11 and Pl. IX) the dead man's statues were placed in the burial-chamber itself. As this tomb dates from the Sixth Dynasty, it is, so far as I know, the earliest example of the practice of placing statues actually in the burial-chamber other than the "portrait heads" of the early Fourth Dynasty.

THE CONTENTS OF A SERDAB

In most cases the serdab contained only the statue or statues of the deceased. But in a few cases the serdab contained :—

- (1) The deceased with a maid-servant (a breweress with Mersw-'ankh ⁽¹⁾ and a woman grinding corn, with 'Ankh-tef (p. 232).
- (2) Monolithic groups representing the deceased with the various members of his family, or double and treble duplications of his own figure ⁽²⁾.
- (3) Separate statues of the members of a family. A good example of this type is the serdab of Fifi (p. 282 *ff.*). It is interesting to note that this serdab contained the statue of Tesen, the son of Fifi, whose tomb is adjacent to that of his father, and is larger and more magnificent.

THE FUNCTION OF THE SERDAB AND ITS CONTENTS

The serdab was built in the above-mentioned forms in order to protect the statues of the tomb-owner and his entourage from material damage. It was supposed to be the dwelling-place of the Ka whose survival after the death of the person was the most essential thing for the

⁽¹⁾ " *Excavations at Giza* ", 1929-1930, p. 115.

⁽²⁾ *Ibid.* p. 114 *ff.*

revival of the body. What is the nature of that invisible element called the *Ka*, is, up to the present by no means clear. But one fact is quite sure, that it is the essential thing for the after-life of the body in the tomb. In shape and appearance it was thought to be identical with the person to whom it belonged, and thus the statues representing the *Ka*, ought to be the living image of the person for whom they were made. Even his congenital deformities must be reproduced, otherwise the *Ka* would not be able to recognize the statue which it ought to revivify, should circumstances oblige. The prevailing idea among Egyptologists is that the function of the *Ka*-statue is to replace the real body if it should be destroyed or wholly disfigured, and so could not be recognized by the *Ka*. This idea is a very plausible, but we have not sufficient material evidence to prove it.

It has been suggested that the reason why, during the Old Kingdom, *Ka*-statues were made, and protected in the serdab, or during the Middle Kingdom, placed in the burial-chamber with the dead was because during these early periods the art of mummification was not very far advanced. But during the New Kingdom when the embalmers had brought their art almost to perfection, the *Ka*-statues were placed in niches in the chapel, or in a special hall for the mortuary service. They were still regarded as statues of the *Ka*, but it was no longer considered necessary to hide them away out of sight. Most probably the great advance in mummification, together with the material care given to the preservation and maintenance of the tomb-chapel made the construction of serdabs unnecessary.

But was it really the original function of the statue to serve as a substitute for a damaged or decayed body? I think that was not exactly the real religious idea. It may be true that the *Ka* must join the body by any means; but it is also important that when it enters the tomb it must recognize its own body, and as the latter is interred underground, the *Ka* cannot easily reach it. Thus, the statue was placed in the chapel or serdab, or in the cases of rock-cut tombs, cut in the wall of the chapel, or otherwise represented, that the *Ka*, going out by day and entering by night, would have no difficulty in finding and joining its body even if the actual corpse is decayed and disfigured.

The *Ka* received the food-offerings from the *Ka*-servants and communicated its spirit to the body or to its shade. The statues also served to recall to the visitors the remembrance of the deceased, just as to-day photographs serve to remind us of our friends who have passed away. The whole idea of the *Ka*-statue seems to have been more spiritual than material, at least in its later development, in fact it may be called a material medium for a spiritual idea.

In some tombs of the Old Kingdom notably those dating from the Fourth Dynasty, heads made of limestone or granite were found in the burial-chambers. Prof. Junker has remarked that these heads were placed with their faces turned to the north, and therefore were intended to receive the Royal *Ba* (the soul) of the deceased, which was coming from the sky and the company of the "Imperishable Stars", to join its own body in the tomb. Thus, the material means to allow it to recognize its original body, was a portrait head of the deceased the most distinctive part of the human form.

I think that the same idea may be applied to the *Ka* and the statue; and that while the nature of the *Ba* may be called the spiritual soul that of the *Ka* may be termed the material soul.

As we have already seen, the Ka of a person is supposed to be an identical portrait of him. This phenomenon has been definitely observed in the case of kings and it may be taken for granted that the idea applied to all persons in general. Thus, the deceased made for his Ka a statue, or statues, rendering it material and durable, so that the invisible and spiritual part of the person might live on in the After-world side by side with the body.

If we examine the religious texts of the earliest periods, we shall find references to what appear to be various parts of the human individuality. According to what we can understand of them, these appear to have been: (1) the Ka, ; (2) the Ba, or soul, ; (3) the akh ; glorified spirit (4) the Ren, or name ; (5) the Shwet or Shadow,  and (6) the Khat or corpse  etc. During the New Kingdom the religious thinkers added yet other entities to the list, and in addition to the foregoing, we find: (1) the Shay or destiny; (2) the Renen, , or upbringing; and (3) Meskhent  or place of origin.

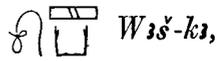
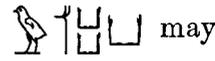
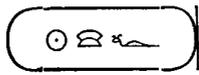
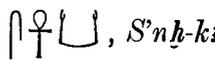
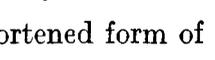
These distinctions seem to have originated in different schools of thought and represent, as it were, milestones in the progress of man's religious speculations. Conservative to the very core of his nature, the Egyptian clung to these various forms of his dead so that they formed what we may call petrified layers of religious thought.

In many cases it seems impossible to reconcile them one to another, and it is quite possible that the Egyptians themselves never attempted to do so. However, it seems that of all these various entities, the Ka and the Ba were the most important and in the following pages we will try to gain as far as we are able a little insight into the nature and functions of the Ka. This is not intended to be an exhaustive article on the subject and readers who desire further details are referred to the following bibliography (1).

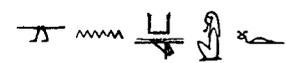
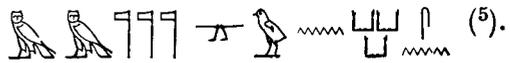
THE NATURE AND FUNCTIONS OF THE KA

When attempting to explain the nature and functions of the Ka as a whole, we are faced by two seeming difficulties. Firstly, the Old Kingdom texts are themselves a mass of real or seeming contradictions, and this shows that even the Egyptians did not hold consistently to one idea on the subject. Secondly, we are dealing with a belief foreign to modern ideas on the entity of man; and these difficulties occur in spite of the vast amount of contemporary texts dealing with the Ka and its activities, which have been preserved to us. But although we (and perhaps even the Egyptians themselves!) cannot set down a clear, and precisely detailed account of the Ka, yet we can approach to a satisfactory understanding of some of its aspects. To begin with, the

(1) JUNKER, "Giza", III, p. 115 ff. VON BISSING, "Versuch einer neuen Erklärung des Ka'i der alten Aegypter", in Sitzungsber. d. kön. bayr. Akad. d. Wissensch. (1911) 5 abh. STEINDORFF, "Der Ka und die Grabstatuen", in Ä.Z. Vol. 48, pp. 152-159. JUNKER, "Vorbericht über die zweit-Grabung bei den Pyramiden", in Anzeiger d. phil. hist. kl. d. kais. Akad. d. Wissensch. (1913) No. 14' pp. 12-13 of the off-print. SOTTAS, "Sphinx", Vol. 17, p. 33. BREASTED, "The Development of Religion and Thought in Ancient Egypt", pp. 52-55. MORET, "Mystères Egyptiens", pp. 199-219.

Ka, as we have already seen, seems to have been a material scul, and stood in the same relation to the statues of the deceased as the Ba, or spiritual soul stood to the dead body. Perhaps it was originally thought to be the only entity of man which survived death, in other words, man's first primitive, groping guess at the existence of an immortal soul. That it is an older conception than the Ba may be gathered by the proportion of references to it, in the Pyramid texts, which vastly outnumber references to the Ba. Moreover, the number of personal names compounded with the element Ka, also preponderate over those compounded with Ba during the Old Kingdom, furthermore such names were in use as early as the First Dynasty, as for example Hemaka, 'Ankhka, etc. By studying the meaning of these Ka-compounded names, one would think they would give us a clue to the nature of the Ka, but in reality, they do not afford us much help on this subject. As Junker points out in his book on excavations at Giza ⁽¹⁾ many names are formed of the element Ka accompanied by an adjective or adjectival verb, as  *Wsr-k3*,  *Wr-k3*,  *Wsr-k3* or  *Wsr-k3.w*, etc. He is of the opinion that these designations do not refer to the bearer of the name. For example,  *Wsr-k3.w* (strong kas) is not intended to apply precisely to the bearer of the name, but may be a shortened form of a name which should also include the name of a god or a king. Thus,  may be an abbreviation of  *Wsr-k3.w-H'f-R*. "Strong are the Kas of Khafra" ⁽²⁾. Ranke also supports this theory of abbreviated names by quoting  *S'nh-k3* "making the Ka to live" as being the shortened form of  *S'nh-k3-R* ⁽³⁾. This does not necessarily mean that every name compounded with the element Ka should also have a royal or divine name as a predicate, but in many cases it certainly is so, and for the others, the matter is doubtful, and as yet there is not enough evidence to prove the case one way or the other.

THE KA AS A PROTECTOR

This aspect of the Ka seems to be clearly defined by contemporary evidence. It seems to have been thought, at least at one period, that at the moment of death, the Ka at once took up its abode in the tomb and there awaited the arrival of the corpse, which was necessarily delayed by the embalming process and funeral ceremonies. We may understand this from both the Pyramid Texts and the tomb inscriptions. In one of the latter we read:  "He who hastens to his Ka" an expression used to denote the dead ⁽⁴⁾. That this conception applied to gods and kings, as well as mere mortals is clear from the Pyramid Texts. Thus: "You traverse the heavens, and live in the Field of Food among the gods who hasten to their Kas."  ⁽⁵⁾.

⁽¹⁾ "Giza", III.

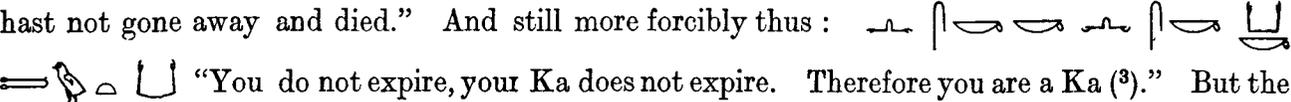
⁽²⁾ RANKE, p. 86. 14.

⁽³⁾ *Ibid.* p. 310. 14.

⁽⁴⁾ SETHE *Urkunden*, p. 150.

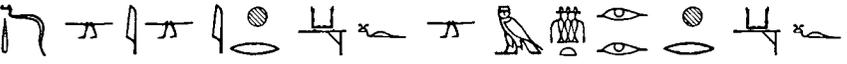
⁽⁵⁾ *Pyr. Text.* 1165 b.

On reaching his Ka the dead appears to have remained with it under its protection, for we read :  "One arm of your Ka is in front of you, one arm of your Ka is behind you. One foot of your Ka is in front of you, one foot of your Ka is behind you (1)."

That the Ka was the protection, not only of the dead, but of his tomb as well is clearly demonstrated : Pyr. 1652 " O Atum, O Atum . . . you have sneezed forth Shw and spat forth Tefnut. You place your arm over them as the arm of the Ka, and your Ka is in them ; O Atum, so place your arm around N and around this Pyramid, as the arm of the Ka, and let your Ka be in them that they may be enduring for all eternity." This also suggests that the Ka was regarded as a vital force animating and preserving from decay and dissolution everything that it entered. This is further born out by the following passage : (2)  "One hastens who hastens to his Ka! Neferkara hastens to his Ka. O this Neferkara thou hast gone away and thou livest, thou hast not gone away and died." And still more forcibly thus :  "You do not expire, your Ka does not expire. Therefore you are a Ka (3)." But the union of the dead with their Kas did not imply fusion, each continued to lead a separate existence as we can see here : (4)  .

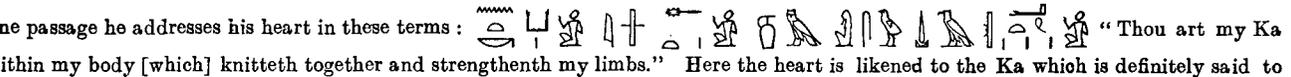
The dead must wash his hands before the meal, and his Ka must also wash its hands ; he must sit down and his Ka must do the same ; he must eat bread, and his Ka must eat bread. Thus, we see that although the dead person and his Ka are conceived of as performing the same actions, they do so independently of each other. One might almost liken them, in this aspect, to conjoined twins each of whom are separate individuals, though forced by the freak of Nature which bound them together, to walk, sit, stand and lie down simultaneously.

THE UNION OF THE KA AND THE DEAD IN HEAVEN

An apparent contradiction to the theory that the dead joined their Kas in the tomb is shown by certain passages which suggest that the union took place in heaven. Thus, we have : (5)  "He hastens, he hastens to his Ka, *Mhntj-irtj* hastens to his ka,  . This Pepy hastens

(1) *Ibid.* 18.-a-b

(2) *Ibid.* 832-833.

(3) SETHE, *Pyr. Text.* 149 d. *Übersetzung und Kommentar*, Heft I, p. 19. "Du vergehst nicht, dein Ka vergeht nicht, (denn) du bist der Ka." That is to say, the deceased is declared to be the Ka, here clearly representing the vital, living force, or "spark of life." This aspect of the Ka apparently survived into the New Kingdom religious ideas, for in the "Book of the Dead" (Papyrus of Ani Ch. XXX, B) we find the deceased pleading with his own heart not to bear witness against him in the Judgment Hall of Osiris, and in one passage he addresses his heart in these terms :  "Thou art my Ka within my body [which] knitteth together and strengthenth my limbs." Here the heart is likened to the Ka which is definitely said to be within the body, and is considered to be the vital force giving energy and strength to the limbs.

(4) *Pyr. Texts.* 789, 1357.

(5) *Ibid.* 1431.

to his Ka to Heaven. And again: (1) "If you wish to live" . . . do not shut the door of heaven . . . respect ye the Ka of this N, which is taken to heaven." Nevertheless, it is clearly stated that the Ka dwells with the corpse in the tomb (2): "This pyramid and this temple are for Pepy and for his Ka."

THE KA AND ITS RELATIONSHIP TO THE TOMB

In the Old Kingdom texts we frequently meet with the words.  *ht-ks* "House of the Ka" and various opinions have been formed by Egyptologist as to what exactly this Ka-house represents. Maspero was of the opinion that it referred only to the serdab as being the house of the *Ka*-statues, and therefore, logically of the Ka (3). In support of this theory was Dr. Junker's discovery of the tomb of a certain Ra'-wer in his concession, attached to which was an annex, certainly a serdab. A single horizontal line of inscription running along the top of this building gave the name and titles of the deceased, and ended with the words  "*Ka-house*" clearly designating the name and purpose of the building. Although the blocks which formed the inscription had fallen, they had lain undisturbed, each in the spot where it fell, and Junker says there is no doubt whatever about either the order in which they occurred or the meaning of the text (4). But this decision was contradicted by Moret (in *Ä.Z.*, Vol. 52, p. 88) in an article about the serdab and the *Ka*-house, in which he misunderstood the whole inscription. Soon afterwards, the subject was treated by Blackman (5) who also, in the opinion of Junker, did not understand the order of the stones of the inscription of the serdab of Ra'-wer. Junker took up the matter again himself, and with the help of an architect arranged the blocks of the inscribed serdab and proved that the signs  (which Blackman wanted to make  "Eyes of the *Ka*-house" and apply it to the squint of the serdab) come in one of the titles, far from, and entirely unconnected with . But it seems that the name "*Ka*-house" may just as fittingly be applied to the tomb as a whole. Moret quotes a passage which reads: (6) "this *Ka*-servant must do his work, and he must not lounge in the *Ka*-house." Now this cannot refer to the serdab, which was usually very small, and had no connection with the outside world except the narrow squint, therefore, the *Ka*-servant could not possibly lounge in it, even if he wanted to! But neither did the name "*Ka*-house" apply exclusively to the tomb; for the chapels in temples, in which the statues of kings and high personages were kept, were also called "*Ka*-houses (7)." The following text is interesting in this connection: "All your statues, all your offering stelae and all your "*Ka*-houses"  which you found in any temple or any sacred place."

(1) *Ibid.* 815.

(2) *Ibid.* 1277.

(3) *Etudes de Mythol. et Arch.*, p. 77.

(4) JUNKER, "*Vorbericht*", 1913, p. 15.

(5) *J.E.A.* Vol. III, p. 250 ff.

(6) *Comptes Rendus* (1914), p. 538.

(7) See GRIFFITH, "*Inscriptions of Suit*", Pl. 6; *Urknnden I.*, p. 302. 15.

this is true or not, is not our subject, but what concerns us is that the *Karina* can “possess” a person and play a part during this life. It is also a source of trouble when it inhabits the human body, especially with small children, who generally become very pale and sickly. The same results are seen when it inhabits the bodies of adults, but in addition, it can manifest itself and speak. Such is the generally accepted idea of the *Karina* or “Sister” in modern Egyptian beliefs. But these ideas have nothing to do with the Islamic faith and are probably a distorted conception of the *Ka*, inherited from the ancient Egyptian religion along with several funerary practices⁽¹⁾. To put the whole subject of the *Ka*, as we understand it, in a few words, we can safely say that it is an element in the Egyptian religion which has no exact parallel in any other faith in the world, so far as we know. No doubt some of its essential characteristics can be traced in the modern conception of the *Karina*, but there are many great differences between the two; and it seems as though during the lapse of time new ideas were added to the conception of the *Ka*, and out of them evolved the belief in the *Karina*.

SHAFTS

The burial-chambers of the mastabas are reached either by vertical shafts lying behind the false-door or by sloping passages which open in front of the false-door, pass under the wall beneath it and terminate in the burial-chamber below. In the case of vertical shafts, the upper part, that is, the part which pierces the superstructure of the mastaba, is lined with limestone masonry, or sometimes mud-brick, while the lower part is cut in the rock to a depth governed by the means of the tomb-owner or the nature of the rock itself. Those shafts which are cut from the inside of the chapel only, and have no connection with the outside of the building, are usually shallower, as it was perhaps felt that their enclosed situation was a protection in itself.

In some cases the sloping passage is cut wholly outside the tomb, as in the case of *Ny-kawher*⁽²⁾ but even so, it will always be found that the passage is so directed that the burial-chamber is situated in its traditional place below and behind the false-door.

FALSE-SHAFTS

During our first season's work we observed that in addition to the shaft leading to the burial-chamber, there was, in many cases, another smaller shaft *without a burial-chamber*. At first, it was thought that these were unfinished shafts, but as our work progressed, more and more pairs of shafts of the above-mentioned type appeared. It was also observed that while the shaft ending in a burial-chamber was placed behind a false-door, those with no burial-chambers had also no false-door. Other archaeologists working in the Old Kingdom necropoli had also observed the occurrence of these pairs of shafts, and they had all regarded them as being unfinished burials. But it seemed to me that they occur too frequently to be accidental, and that we

⁽¹⁾ Up to the present time, a woman preparing a corpse for burial will say: “I have placed the incense upon the incense, that you may never return to this house.” This reminds us of the letter which an ancient Egyptian wrote to his dead wife, begging her not to keep returning to the house to trouble him.

⁽²⁾ “*Excavations at Giza*”, Vol. IV, p. 190, Fig. 135.

should seek for another explanation. As every complete tomb must have a false-door by means of which the Ka can enter and leave the burial-chamber, it seems plausible that it should also have a false-shaft by which the spiritual body can have access to the corpse. It is clear that the Egyptians themselves knew that these shafts were never used for a real burial or likely to contain any part of the tomb equipment, for in nearly every case they have retained their original filling of clean limestone chips, clear proof that they were regarded as worthless by the ancient tomb-robbers. The same type of shaft also occurs in the mastabas of Saqqara. In the royal burials of the Fifth and Sixth Dynasties the false-shaft is logically replaced by small false-pyramids which also show no traces of actual burial. It had been thought that these miniature pyramids attached to the complex of a king's pyramid, were intended for the burial of the queen, as in the case of the Great Pyramid; but the occurrence of false-pyramids actually attached to the pyramid-complex of Queen Neit, a wife of Pepy II is a definite proof of the fallacy of this theory ⁽¹⁾.

SARCOPHAGI ⁽²⁾

To write a detailed essay on the Egyptian sarcophagi would require the space of a large volume, and the following notes are given merely to acquaint the student with the type of sarcophagi that he may expect to meet with in the Memphite necropolis. First of all I must explain that there are no hard and fast rules governing the form of the sarcophagi, and, within certain limits, they seem to have been made simply to suit the taste or means of the owner. One is tempted to say that the only strict rule observed in the Old Kingdom was that the sarcophagus should be rectangular in form, never oval or anthropoid, as we find occurring later. But the great oval sarcophagus (if indeed it is such) in the mysterious unfinished pyramid at Zawiet el-Aryan, and the faint possibility that the wooden anthropoid coffin of Men-kaw-Ra' may be contemporary with his pyramid, warn us not to be too dogmatic on this point. Nevertheless, we can say that as a whole, the Old Kingdom sarcophagi are rectangular in form.

In fact to some Egyptians they seemed to represent rectangular houses, and we often find them having their outer surfaces carved to represent the façade of a house or palace (*see below*, p. 62). As to the material from which sarcophagi were made, there is again no fixed rule, and we find in the Old Kingdom granite, basalt, alabaster, Turah limestone and local limestone, the latter being very common in the Giza necropolis owing to the generally fine quality of the local stone, while at Saqqara, where the stone is mostly of poor quality, white limestone was more frequently used by persons of note. Usually the Old Kingdom sarcophagus occupies the western half of the burial-chamber, and may be simply placed upon the floor, sunk in a shallow depression in the floor, or the floor may be built up to the level of the upper edge of the coffer, so that the sarcophagus appears to be sunk into the floor of the chamber. The sarcophagus may be constructed in any of the following styles: (1) Carved from a single block of stone, either very highly finished or almost rough-hewn; (2) Cut from the living rock of the burial-chamber; (3) Cut in the rock-floor of

⁽¹⁾ Cf. "Excavations at Giza", Vol. IV., p. 95.

⁽²⁾ The usual Egyptian name for the sarcophagus was "Lord of Life" $\text{𓆎} \text{𓆏} \text{𓆑}$, and they also quaintly referred to the coffer and the lid as the "stone mother" and "stone father" (*see the threat of Ny'-ankh-Pepy on pp. 10, 11*).

the burial-chamber; (4) Built of slabs of stone. The lids are either cut from a single slab of stone, often of great thickness, or formed of two or more smaller slabs, and may be either mortared on to the coffer or simply laid upon it without any fastening.

When the lids are monolithic they are usually provided with a pair of projecting knobs at each of the narrow ends in order to facilitate handling. In form the lids may be either quite plain and flat, or slightly convex with a raised and flattened band at the head and foot. This latter form may perhaps be considered typical, as this is the form we find crystalized in the hieroglyphic sign  used as a determinative for "sarcophagus", "burial" and related words. It is, moreover, the form of the sarcophagus which served Shepses-ka.f as a model for his entire tomb, the "Mastabet el-Faraoun". and served Queen Khent-kawes as the model for the superstructure of her pyramid at Giza (1). Those sarcophagi which are cut from a monolithic block of stone may be either quite plain, inscribed upon the lid, one or more of the exterior sides, the interior sides, or in all these places. Or, as we have just mentioned, the exterior may be carved to represent false-doors or a "Palace-façade"; while sometimes a leopard skin is carved upon the lid. One is sorely tempted to classify the plain sarcophagi as the most ancient, and characteristic of the Fourth Dynasty, and in support of this theory we have the alabaster sarcophagus of Queen Hetep-heres and the royal and princely sarcophagi which came to light in our Giza concession (see below, p. 60), also the granite coffer of Khwfw. though as the lid of this is missing we cannot say definitely if it bore inscriptions or not. But to contradict our theory we have the famous granite sarcophagus of Khwfw-'ankh (in the Cairo Museum) which bears upon its outer sides false-doors and floral ornaments, and of course, the lost basalt sarcophagus of Men-kaw-Ra' which according to the drawing made by Vyse, bore an elaborate "palace-façade" design upon its outer surfaces. As a general rule, the body was laid directly in the sarcophagus, often upon a layer of clean sand. This custom of placing the body upon sand was originally done to help to preserve it, but later it developed a ritualistic significance. Nevertheless, we have also come across some burials, in our concessions in which the sarcophagus contained an inner wooden coffin in which the body lay. One example is that of Prince Khnmw-ba.f, which I have mentioned below.

Below is a selection of good, typical specimens of the various kinds of Old Kingdom sarcophagi which I have just enumerated, nearly all of which are drawn from our concessions in Giza and Saqqara.

SARCOPHAGI EMBEDDED IN THE FLOOR OF THE BURIAL-CHAMBER

The sarcophagus of Seshem-nefer (Giza, 7th season) is somewhat roughly cut from a huge block of local limestone, its massive cover being of the same material. It measures: 1.10 × 2.70 × 1.40 m. deep. When the sarcophagus had been placed in position, the surrounding floor of the chamber was built up with stone and rubble until it reached the upper edge of the coffer, so that only the lid appeared above the floor-level. When discovered, this lid had been slightly displaced and the contents of the sarcophagus plundered. When Belzoni entered the Second Pyramid (2) he observed

(1) "Excavations at Giza", Vol. IV, p. 15.

(2) See BELZONI, "Narrative of the Operations and Recent Discoveries in Egypt and Nubia", (1820), p. 271.

that the sarcophagus was apparently sunken in the floor of the chamber, he says : “ The sarcophagus is eight feet long, three feet six inches wide, and two feet three inches deep in the inside. It is surrounded by large blocks of granite, apparently to prevent its removal, which could not be effected without great labour. The lid had been broken at the side, so that the sarcophagus was half open. It is of the finest granite ; but, like the other in the First Pyramid, there is not one hieroglyphic upon it. ”

UNINSCRIBED SARCOPHAGI

Despite his high rank, the sarcophagus of Prince Khnmw-ba-f is formed of local limestone and is devoid of inscriptions ; it measures 2·35×2·05×1·10 m. deep. This burial was found intact (*see* p. 10) and a very curious feature was the presence of the dead man’s jewellery displayed upon the lid, the only example of this custom so far discovered in our concessions. When opened, the sarcophagus was found to contain a decayed wooden coffin in which lay the body of the Prince. The neighbouring tomb of a princess, one of the daughters of Khafra’, possesses a sarcophagus similar to that just described, and also devoid of inscriptions or ornamentation. When opened, it revealed the body of the princess clad in a magnificent outfit of golden funerary jewellery. In addition to the two examples cited above, we have in our concession at Giza the following royal tombs of the Fourth Dynasty, Queen Bw-nefer ⁽¹⁾, Queen Rekhmet-Ra’, Prince ‘Ankh-ma-Ra’, Prince, Iwn-Ra’, Princess Hemet-Ra’ ⁽²⁾, Prince Iwn-Min, Prince Neb-em-akhet, Prince Sekhem-ka-Ra’, Prince Ny-‘ankh-Ra’ ⁽³⁾, Prince Kai ⁽⁴⁾.

But in not one of these tombs is there an inscribed sarcophagus, neither, so far as we can tell, were the sarcophagi at the three great Pyramid Builders, Khwfw, Khafra’ and Men-kaw-Ra’ inscribed, and only that of the last-mentioned king was decorated.

The fact that all these princely sarcophagi are uninscribed, makes us doubt that any of the inscribed sarcophagi of private persons can date from the Fourth Dynasty, though the contrary may be true, especially when we see that many of the princely false-doors of the Fourth Dynasty are uninscribed, while those of private persons of the same period are lavishly decorated. (*see* below, pp. 133, 134).

INSCRIBED SARCOPHAGI WITHOUT DECORATION

The sarcophagus of Ir-skhw (Giza, 7th season) bears a horizontal inscription upon its northern side, which reads : ←  “ The Boat-captain of the Two (Great) Boats ⁽⁵⁾, Overseer of the Tutors of the King’s Children, Ir-skhw. ” This sarcophagus is of local limestone, and except for this inscription, is quite plain. It has a monolithic lid provided with four handles. The sarcophagus of Hekni-Khnmw of Giza (also

⁽¹⁾ See “ *Excavations at Giza* ”, Vol. III, p. 194, Pl. LVII.

⁽²⁾ These four tombs all came to light in our 6th season’s excavations. The last-named lady’s tomb may date from the beginning of the Fifth Dynasty.

⁽³⁾ *Ibid.* Vol. IV, p. 156.

⁽⁴⁾ *Ibid.* Vol. III, p. 29.

⁽⁵⁾ For a discussion on the meaning of this title, *see* FAKHRY “ *Stele of the Boat-captain, Inikaf* ”, *Annales du Service*, Vol. XXXVIII, pp. 37-41.

discovered during the 7th season) is somewhat more elaborate. It is cut from a huge block of very fine local limestone. Upon its outer eastern face is a horizontal inscription, reading:



“Chief of the District of the Desert, (*i.e.* Master of the Hunt), Overseer of the Desert ⁽¹⁾, Overseer of the Game Preserves, ⁽²⁾ Director of *Mtr* ⁽³⁾, He Who is Concerned with the King’s Affairs, Overseer of the Road of Horus ⁽⁴⁾, Greatest of the Ten of Upper Egypt, Pilot of the Royal Boat ⁽⁵⁾, Overseer of the Army, Judge and Nome-Administrator, First Under the King, Staff of the People Iwn-ken-mwt Priest, Overseer of the Great Court of Justice, Director of All the Scribes, Hekni-Khnmw.” The lid, which is slightly convex and is provided with two handles at its narrow ends, bears two horizontal rows of inscription almost identical with that given above.

For sarcophagi bearing both exterior and interior inscriptions, see Hemet-Ra’ and Ny-’ankh-Pepy of Sakḳara, which I have described on pp. 14-17.

INSCRIBED AND DECORATED SARCOPHAGI

A fine example of this class of sarcophagus is that of Fefi called also Ptaḥ-sezefa, discovered in our 1st season’s excavations, ⁽⁶⁾ and which is now in the Cairo Museum.

This magnificent specimen is carved from a single block of fine white Turah limestone, with a massive lid of the same material. Each of its four sides is carved to represent the so-called “palace-façade”, that is to say, a wooden building with highly ornamental doorways and windows, and having a large amount of its wall-space formed of decorative matting laced on to hoops, or, as in the example we are discussing, beams. This sarcophagus is carved with a wealth of detail minutely rendered, even the strands of the cords holding the mats in position being represented. Each of the long sides bear the representations of two doorways, while the short sides have but one. At each end of the long sides is a vertical inscription giving the offering-formula and the names and titles of the deceased. One of these inscriptions has a special point of interest it reads:



“A boon which the King gives, and a boon which Anubis, Who Presides Over the God’s Dwelling gives, a goodly burial to Ptaḥ-sezefa in what he has made for himself.” In this line Fefi-Ptaḥ-sezefa claims to have made this beautiful sarcophagus for himself, but alas for our faith in human nature! Closer re-examination has revealed that the perfidious fellow had usurped the sarcophagus of some unfortunate person who had pre-deceased him; and feeling that his theft might be discovered, inscribed the lying claim that he had made it for himself!

⁽¹⁾ For these two titles, see *Wörterbuch*, Vol. III, p. 444.

⁽²⁾ *Ibid.* Vol. II, p. 217.

⁽³⁾ *Ibid.* Vol. II, p. 45 (the people of the Gebelain district?).

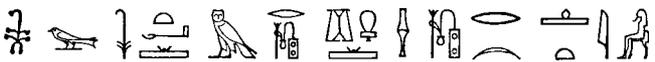
⁽⁴⁾ For different opinions concerning the “Roads of Horus”, see GAUTHIER, “*Dict. Geog.*”, Vol. I., p. 174.

⁽⁵⁾ BOREUX, “*Nautique Egyptienne*”, p. 139, ff.

⁽⁶⁾ See “*Excavations at Giza*”, Vol. I, pp. 100-101, Pls. LXI-LXV.

The lid of the sarcophagus, which when in position would complete the “ cornice ” motif at the top at the coffer was found resting on its side to the right of the sarcophagus. It is uninscribed and its underside is slightly concave.

An example of this type of sarcophagus from the Saqqara necropolis is that of Ḥotep, who must have died before it was completed, as the “ palace-façade on the eastern side was drawn in but never carved. It presents a step further in development than that of Fefi, in that it bears an inscription upon its lid reading : “ A boon which the King gives and a boon which Anubis, Presiding Over the God’s Dwelling gives ; a burial in the Necropolis after a very good old age (to) the Ritualist, the Master of the Secrets, Ḥotep.” The figure of the jackal signifying Anubis is made on a larger scale than the rest of the signs, and seems as though it were intended to a “ capital letter ”. This lid is provided with two handles. The third stage of development in this class of sarcophagus is reached by Ḥetpi of Giza (see p. 14 and Fig. 7) who, in addition to a highly-finished “ Palace-façade ” on the exterior, has also exterior inscriptions, reading : —

(1) ←  “Greatest of the Ten of Upper Egypt, Overseer of the Scribes of the Royal Documents, Seal-bearer, Director of Scribes of the Petitions, Ḥetpi.”

(2) ←  “Overseer of the Scribes of the Royal Documents, Seal bearer, the Honoured One by the Great God, Ḥetpi.”

(3) →  “Greatest of the Ten of Upper Egypt, Overseer of the Scribes of the Royal Documents, Seal-bearer, Director of the Scribes of the Petitions, Overseer of the Scribes of the House of the Distributer (of food), the Honoured One by the Great God, Ḥetpi, the Honoured One by the Great God, Ḥetpi.”

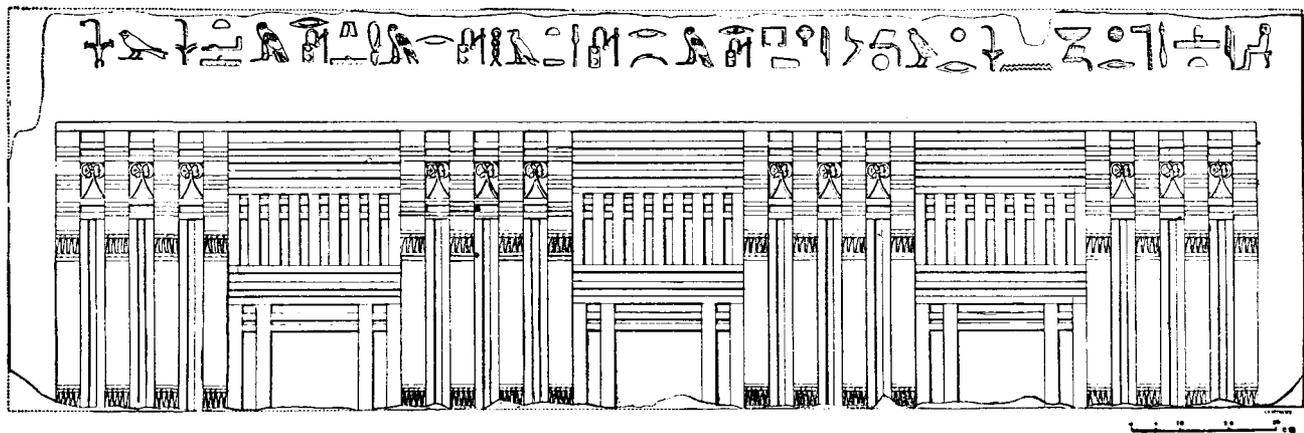
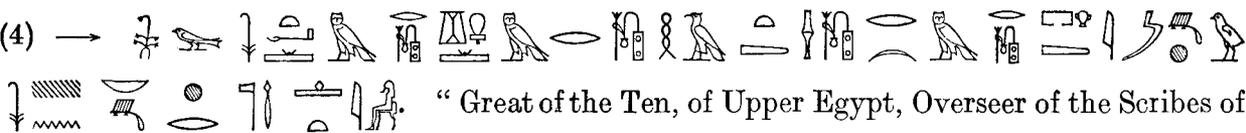


FIG. 7.—THE SARCOPHAGUS OF ḤETPI

(4) →  “Great of the Ten, of Upper Egypt, Overseer of the Scribes of the Royal Documents, Seal-bearer, Overseer of the Scribes of the Cultivated Land, Director of Scribes of the Petitions, Overseer of the Scribes of the House of the Distributer (of food), the

Honoured One by the King, the Possesser of Honour before the Great God, H̄etpi⁽¹⁾.” It was intended that the lid also should have been inscribed, as can be proved by faint traces of hieroglyphs drawn in red pigment upon its eastern edge. Perhaps H̄etpi died before the sarcophagus was complete. But in addition to these exterior inscriptions, the interior eastern side bears an offering-list composed of ninety-six entries, drawn in black ink (*see* p. 14).

BUILT SARCOPHAGI

In an uninscribed rock-cut tomb lying to the north of that of Prince Neb-em-akhet, and occupying the same ridge, is a somewhat unusual type of sarcophagus. Here, the western end of the burial-chamber has been walled off, and the resulting enclosure was used as a sarcophagus. The burial had been plundered, but in the filling of the chamber we found a series of forty-five model vessels of limestone and a limestone canopic jar. It is unlikely that this form of sarcophagus was due to the poverty of its owner, as this tomb, which is almost identical in plan with that of Debeh̄en⁽²⁾, is one of a series excavated in the rock-wall bounding the necropolis of the Second Pyramid on the west. These tombs were mostly allotted to members of the royal family, and highly-placed nobles. Therefore, if we accept the evidence of its situation and design, we can say that it must have belonged to some person of note. As the tomb itself is uninscribed and therefore unfinished, it may be that the owner died unexpectedly, and the “sarcophagus” was hastily constructed to meet the emergency. It perhaps dates from the Fourth Dynasty. In the case of Queen Khent-kawes, the builder of the Fourth Pyramid,⁽³⁾ the sarcophagus presents an interesting feature. It occupied a large shallow depression cut almost in the middle of the western half of the burial-chamber. In this depression was built a huge sarcophagus, constructed of finely-dressed blocks of red granite, and seemingly conforming to the sarcophagus-shaped mass that is the superstructure of the Fourth Pyramid. But this curious structure was merely an outer shell, as fragments of highly-polished alabaster scattered among the debris indicate the presence of a smaller sarcophagus within the granite construction.

Other built sarcophagi are very humble affairs consisting of a small, shallow rectangular pit formed of four slabs of limestone and covered by a fifth slab⁽⁴⁾. These makeshift sarcophagi are frequently found in connection with intrusive burials, and the bodies are laid in them in the contracted position. They appear to date from the Intermediate Period following the break-up of the Old-Kingdom. They are worth investigating as they may contain inscribed slabs missing from an important ancient mastaba, as happened in the case of Remenwka (*see* pp. 7, 8).

⁽¹⁾ It was the custom, as it seems, to begin by decorating and inscribing the coffer of the sarcophagus and then the lid, and most probably that is the reason why we find most of the lids discovered either plain or rough and very rarely worked out.

⁽²⁾ *See* “*Excavations at Giza*”, Vol. IV, p. 159.

⁽³⁾ *Ibid.* p. 26.

⁽⁴⁾ Some times these slabs were stolen from earlier mastabas and bear parts of scenes and inscriptions.

SARCOPHAGI CUT IN THE NATIVE ROCK

The sarcophagus of Prince Ny-(Ma'at)-Ra', (7th season) whose tomb was afterwards utilised as a communal burial-place (*see* p. 30), had his sarcophagus constructed in a large recess, measuring 2·60×5·30×2·0 m. high, in the western part of his burial-chamber. Both this recess and the sarcophagus itself are hewn out of the living rock. The lid is formed of a monolithic slab of local limestone. This sarcophagus was uninscribed.

Perhaps the reason why the princely sarcophagi are devoid of inscriptions is because the Royal Family followed the solar cult, which being somewhat more spiritual in character, and concerned chiefly with the soul, did not appear to attach so much importance to the physical needs of the Ka and the material body, but the Osirian cult, placing great importance on the welfare of the Ka and the mummy in the tomb, demanded a number of inscribed magical formulæ which when read by the Ritualist or perhaps by the deceased himself would insure a perpetual supply of food and equipment for the Ka and the preservation of the deceased's identity in the Other World.

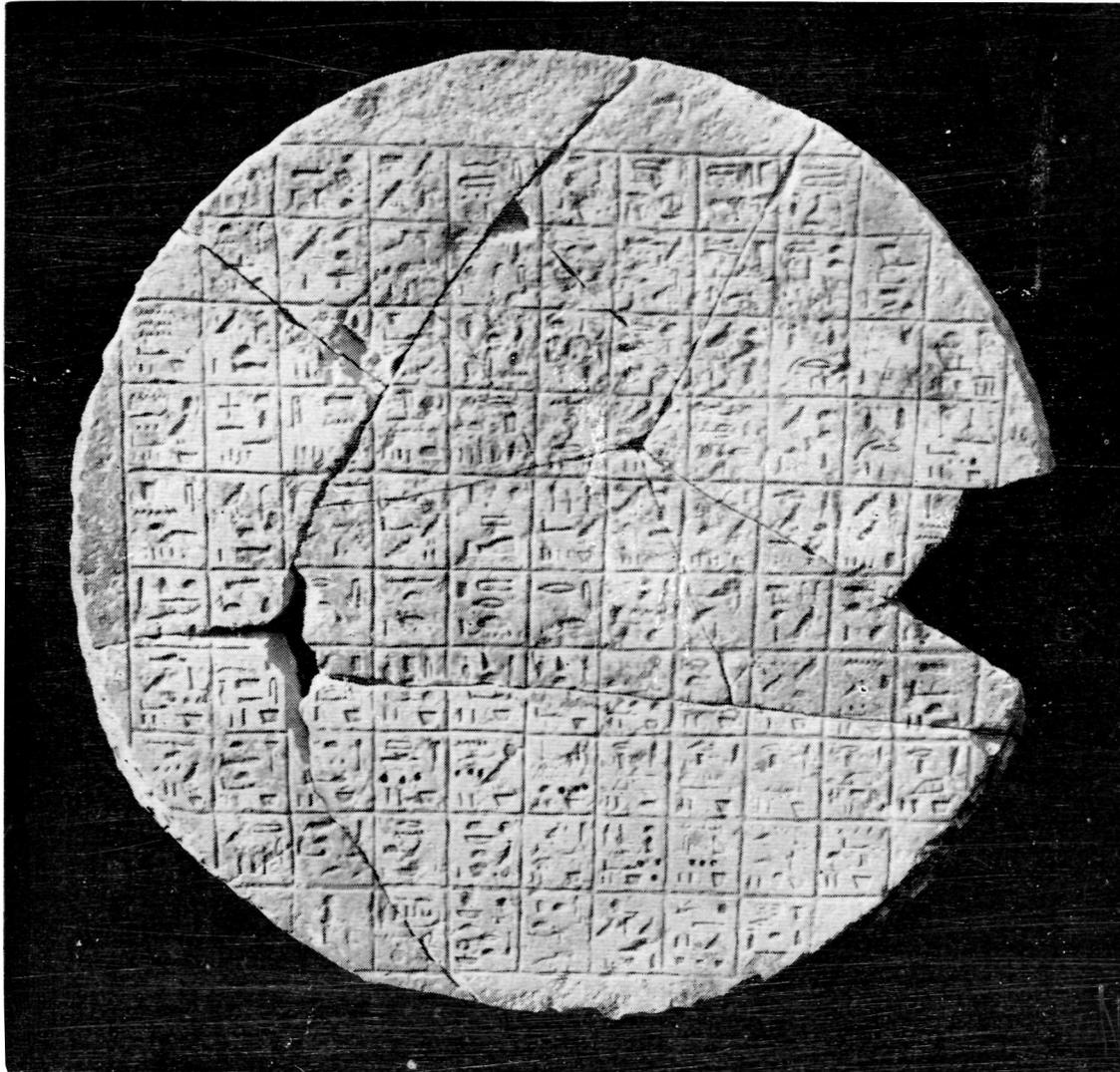
SARCOPHAGI CUT IN THE FLOOR OF THE BURIAL-CHAMBER

We frequently meet with tombs in which the sarcophagus has been replaced by a rectangular depression cut deep in the floor of the burial-chamber and covered by either a single slab of limestone or two, three, and, rarely, four smaller slabs. This is the case in the large, finely-cut, but uninscribed rock tomb to the north-east of that of Debehen, which, judging by its large size and situation in a series of tombs allotted to members of the Royal Family of the Fourth Dynasty, should have been intended for a person of some importance. The sarcophagus of Der-semat ⁽¹⁾ is also of this type, and was covered by three slabs of local limestone. It measures: 2·15×0·70×0·70 m. deep.

Space does not permit me to go further afield in this subject, but to those readers who wish to study types of sarcophagi of other localities and periods I recommend the following works which should satisfy their needs:—

Lacau, "Sarcophages Antérieurs au Nouvel Empire"; Gauthier, "Sarcophages du Moyen Empire provenant de la Nécropole d'Assiout"; Moret, "Sarcophages de l'Époque Bubastite à l'Époque Saïte"; Maspero, "Sarcophages de l'Époque Persane et Ptolemaïque". Garstang, "Burial Customs of Ancient Egypt", and Junker, "Giza", I, p. 54 *ff.*

⁽¹⁾ See "Excavations at Giza", Vol. III, p. 9. Der-semat  held the title of  "First under the King" (vernor of a Nome).



The usurped offering-table of Kakai'-ankh found in the mastaba of In-ka-f. the Sculptor.

THE FALSE-DOOR

In reality, the so-called “false-door” is a more or less conventional representation of a door with the part of the wall immediately surrounding it. It is usually in its final form made of stone, and may be either monolithic or built up of separate slabs⁽¹⁾. Occasionally we come across wooden false-doors, but they are very rare⁽²⁾. In the case of rock-cut tombs, the false-doors were usually also cut in the natural rock-walls, but were sometimes made of granite⁽³⁾ or Turah limestone and recessed into the wall. The false-door may be constructed of mud-brick when the mastaba to which it belongs is also of that material, and this was the general rule in the Archaic Period, as we shall see. During the Old Kingdom, the false-door gained such an importance that, next to the burial-chamber, it was the part of the tomb which claimed most of the care and attention of the tomb-owner during his life-time, and was, in fact, the principal object in the chapel. The Egyptians, therefore, employed the best materials they could afford for this important item; while a King who wished to honour and reward a faithful official could find no happier means of doing so than by presenting him with a false-door to adorn his tomb-chapel⁽⁴⁾. In view of the manifest importance of these monuments, it behoves us to study them somewhat closely in order to gain some idea of their origin, development and purpose. But it is not our intention here to give an exhaustive study of the false-door and its relationship to the tomb, but merely to give some preliminary notes that will assist us when using the material from our excavations, in order that, in their turn, they may be of help to those who wish to study the subject more fully⁽⁵⁾.

The Origin of the False-Door

There would seem to be two distinct and separate elements which went to form the false-door, as we are familiar with it from the numerous examples found in the Old Kingdom necropoli. These are as follows:—

(1) The palace-façades that adorn the exterior walls of the archaic mastabas, and which in turn seem to have had their origin in the *srh* sign representing the two doors of the king's palace⁽⁶⁾. From this palace-façade the false-door derives its architectural form.

(2) The round-topped stelæ of Abydos⁽⁷⁾. These are roughly hewn stelæ, bearing in many cases the name and representation, and sometimes the titles, of the occupants of the graves they adorned. Many are the grave-stones of women, while some are of dwarfs (*see* Fig. 8) and the king's favourite hounds. Many examples were found by Petrie in connection with the royal tombs of the First Dynasty and the subsidiary graves around them. In the case of the royal burials, these stelæ

⁽¹⁾ The earliest stone false-doors were constructed of slabs.

⁽²⁾ *See* the wooden false-door of *Ij-k3* from Saqqara, now in the Cairo Museum. SAAD, *Annales du Service*, Vol. XL, Pl. LXXIII.

⁽³⁾ As in the rock-cut chapel of the Fourth Pyramid (*see* “*Excavations at Giza*”, Vol. IV, p. 24).

⁽⁴⁾ *Ibid.* p. 169.

⁽⁵⁾ For a more detailed study, *see* JUNKER, “*Giza*”, Vol. II, p. 4, etc.; and REISNER, “*Tomb Development*” (only for the first part concerning the Archaic Period).

⁽⁶⁾ For an interesting article on the *srh*, *see* BALCZ, “*Die altägyptische Wandgliederung*” (Bericht über die vom deutschen Institut für ägyptische Altertumskunde nach dem Ostdelta-land, etc., p. 60, etc.).

⁽⁷⁾ PETRIE, “*Royal Tombs*”, Vol. I, Pls. XXX, XXXI, XXXII, XXXIV-XXXVI, Vol. II, Pls. XXVI-XXXI; and “*Tomb of the Courtiers*”, Pl. I.

seemingly stood in pairs at ground level, and on the eastern side of the mastaba (1), just as we see them later in the mortuary chapel of the Pyramid of Meidum. Junker (2) proves that some of these stelæ were embedded in the brickwork of the mastabas, basing his theory upon the thinness of some

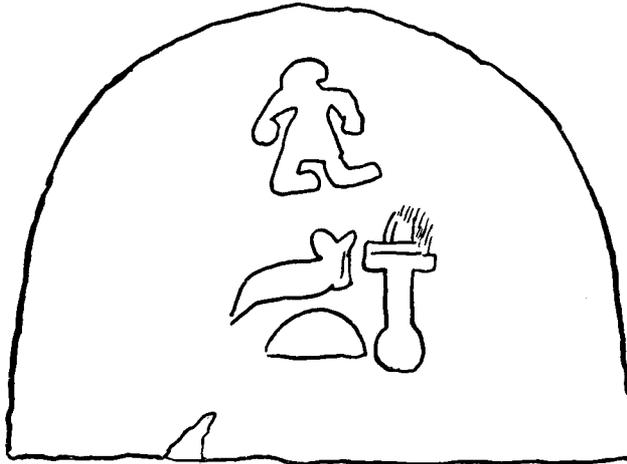


FIG. 8.

of the stones and the roughness of their unscribed faces, among other factors (3). But those stelæ which appertain to the subsidiary burials must have been free-standing monuments, as the graves to which they were attached have no superstructures (4). The roughness of some of these archaic stelæ give us a clue to their origin. They are undoubtedly the more sophisticated form of the boulder or roughly hewn slab of stone placed over a grave to mark the place of burial, a custom practically universal in all ages. As time went on, and the art of stone-cutting spread, the first crude inscriptions were added to these stones, so that they not only marked or testified to the place of a burial, but also announced to all who could read the identity of the person who lay buried beneath it, and thus became a kind of memorial stone. This custom survives in Egypt to the present day, and a grave-stone called a *shahid* “شاهد القبر”, meaning a “witness” or “testimony” is placed over a grave to mark or bear witness that in that particular spot lies a burial. In the case of persons of some means, these modern grave-stones are sculptured and inscribed just as their predecessors had been; but in the case of poor graves they are mere rough slabs of stone or boulders. When we see the elaborate false-doors such as those of Tesen (see p. 270, Fig. 126) or more particularly of Merirwka of Sakḥara (see p. 175), we must always remember that their sculptured beauty took its origin far back in remote times, in the humble desert boulder which the primitive Egyptians rolled above the graves as “witness” to the place of a burial; for, as we shall presently see, it is to the first roughly inscribed stelæ or grave-stones that the sculptured elements of the false-doors are to be traced, just as their architectural form is to be traced to the archaic palace-façade of Lower Egypt (5). Let us now see the purposes for which these two types of monuments, the palace-façade and the round-topped stelæ were designed.

(1) See the stelæ of Mer-neit (*Mr-nt*) and Qa (*k'*); PETRIE, “*Royal Tombs*”, Vol. I, p. 6.

(2) JUNKER, “*Giza*”, Vol. II, p. 12.

(3) During our clearance of the Great Sphinx during our 8th season's work, I found a number of limestone stelæ of the New Kingdom still embedded in their original places in the mud-brick protective walls, and similar in shape to those of Abydos.

(4) See JUNKER, “*Giza*”, Vol. II, p. 11 ff. for a full treatment of this subject.

(5) See JUNKER, “*Giza*”, Vol. II, p. 6 ff.

The Archaic Palace-Façade

Firstly, we will study the palace-façade door, which from its widespread use in Lower Egypt, seems to have originated in that part of the country, from whence it quickly spread to Upper Egypt in the earliest times. This may be true if we consider the civilization of Lower Egypt to be older than that of Upper Egypt, which in reality seems to be the case. The palace-façade is the oldest form of false-door and clearly the most important, for as early as the beginning of the First Dynasty its use in Egypt was widespread, whereas (so far as we can tell at present) the inscribed round-topped stelæ were confined to a limited locality, Upper Egypt, particularly Abydos. By its very form, and the form of the *srh* from which it is derived, we know that the palace-façade is nothing more or less than a great imitation door, based on the two ceremonial doorways of the King's palace (1), and as the King was the model which his subjects copied as closely as they were able, we first of all see the palace-façade upon the royal mastabas, then upon those of other members of the royal family, afterwards they were employed by very high officials (*see below*, p. 165). The function of the palace-façades as they occur on the exterior of the archaic mastabas was to provide the Ka of the tomb-owner with a means of exit and entrance to and from the outside world, and its own burial-chamber and store-rooms in the mastaba. This we can prove by the mastabas of Ḥor-aḥa (2) and Ḥemaka (3) at Saqqara. In the first-named tomb a store-room lies behind each of the great doors of the palace-façades on the exterior walls of the superstructure. In the second example, the number of the palace-façade doors (40) equals the number of the store-rooms. That these chambers are really store-rooms is proved in the case of Ḥemaka by the presence of offerings and funerary equipments which were found almost intact within them. We may perhaps almost regard them as being burial-chambers for the offerings, and as the Egyptians believed that not only men and animals, but also inanimate objects possessed Kas, it may be that the palace-façade before each chamber not only allowed the owner-Ka to enter and partake of the contents, but also permitted the Kas of this material equipment to pass in and out, endowed with a vitality of their own, as their owner summoned them. But apparently the Kas of inanimate objects only continued to inhabit them so long as they remained whole, once they were broken they became valueless from a magical point of view, and could no longer be employed by the deceased. Proof for this belief seems to lie in Utterance 372 of the Pyramid Texts, where line 653 says :—

- (a)  "Ḥorus had detached the thighs of your enemy."
- (b)  "Ḥorus had brought them to you, cut to pieces."
- (c)  "Ḥorus had alienated their Ka from them."

This shows us that the separated thigh which, when of an animal, forms a popular item on the offering-table, was considered as a distinct object, and thus possessed its own (4) Ka. By

(1) In his dual identity as King of Upper and King of Lower Egypt, the Pharaoh dualized many of the objects surrounding him, as well as some of the government departments. This duality led to the construction of two doors to the royal palace and two doors to the temples.

(2) EMERY, "Ḥor-aḥa", Pl. I.

(3) EMERY, "The Tomb of Ḥemaka", Pl. I.

(4) Perhaps this is the reason why they separated the leg of the bull from it when alive (*see* JUNCKER, "Giza," III, p. 224, etc.

mutilating the thighs of Set, H̄orus disperses their Kas (1), and for this reason Set had, in the first place, had hacked the body of Osiris to pieces. Moreover, it explains the urgent need for restoring the body of the God to its former state, in order that the Ka may return to it, and that is why we find the labours of Isis and her helpers in reconstructing the corpse of Osiris so much stressed upon in the legends. It also perhaps explains the otherwise senseless destruction of funerary gear as well as statues, of which we find such deplorably abundant evidence in the violated necropoli of the Old Kingdom(2). This belief is perhaps the underlying theme of a curious feature in the Third Dynasty tomb of H̄esy at Saḳḳara (3). This tomb has no magazines in the superstructure, and in place of a real funerary outfit is a remarkable series of paintings, each of which depicts objects which should have formed part of the dead man's mortuary equipment. These paintings are executed upon the plastered surface of a brick wall, and are exactly opposite a row of eleven false-doors of the palace-façade type in the eastern face of the mastaba, and at a distance of about 1.0 m. far from them. Thus, the Ka of H̄esy could come forth from any of these doors and find his belongings, magically animated, to hand; or the Kas of the objects themselves could pass immediately into the burial-chamber of their owner (4). In the great royal tomb of the First Dynasty at Naqada the real doorways into the store-rooms were bricked up and plastered (5), thus rendering them impassable to the living, but accessible to the Ka of their owner. Sometimes an imitation door was made in the plastered wall, and coloured red to imitate a wooden door-leaf, and behind it lay the store-rooms. This may be seen at Naga-ed-Der (6), Tomb No. 1506, and at Tarkhan (7) Mastaba No. 1060, also the tomb of King Zet at Abydos (8). Dr. Reisner also records seeing these imitation doors on the plastered mounds over the archaic oval graves (9). Unfortunately, up till now, we have not one example of a First Dynasty palace-façade that is preserved to its full height, thus any attempt to reconstruct the appearance of its upper part is a dangerous hazard. Perhaps the safest guess is that it resembled the form of the pure palace-façade as we know it from the Old Kingdom stelæ and sarcophagi; but if this was so—and we must remember that the Old Kingdom form was surely based upon an older model—then it was not to continue long in its original purity of form, and as early as the Tarkhan Mastaba No. 1060, which Petrie dates to the reign of King Zet (10), there is a modification of the original design, and the "door" which had been constructed to meet a "practical" need of the Ka—a means of exit and entrance to and from the tomb, that could not be employed by the ill-disposed living—now had another function to fulfil, and to this point we shall return again later.

(1) Although Sethe was of the opinion that the pronoun 𓆎 referred to the enemy and not to the thighs of Set. See SETHE, *Übersetzung und Kommentar zu den Altägyptischen Pyramidentexten*, Vol. III, p. 200.

(2) See also Pyramid Texts, line 116a, where incense is said to possess a divine personality.

(3) QUIBELL, *The Tomb of H̄esy*, pp. 2,3 ff., Pls. X-XIV, XVI-XXIII.

(4) It seems that from the Second Dynasty magical formulæ and real offerings were employed side by side, as we may see by the stelæ of Second Dynasty (see below, pp. 86, 88, 92), but H̄esy apparently relied chiefly upon magic, as his mastaba does not seem to have possessed store-rooms(?).

(5) REISNER, *Tomb Development*, p. 33.

(6) *Ibid.* p. 36.

(7) PETRIE, *Tarkhan and Memphis*, p. 14.

(8) PETRIE, *Royal Tombs*, Vol. I, p. 10.

(9) REISNER, *Tomb Development*, p. 238

(10) PETRIE, *Tarkhan and Memphis*, p. 16.

Apparently the earliest of these exterior palace-façades appearing in connection with burials occur on the great royal mastaba at Naqada (1). These are mud-plastered, but according to De Morgan, were never whitewashed, and are thirty-eight in number. Although closely following the Naqada tomb in point of time, that of Ḥor-aḥa at Saḳkara (2) presents some innovations which may be as much due to local custom and tradition as to changing fashion. Here the palace-façades are twenty-four in number, and their outer surfaces have received a coating of mud plaster finished off with white lime stucco. The pavements of the niches are also of brick and in each are four round holes about 25·0 cm. deep, some of which contained the stumps of wooden poles (3). According to the evidence afforded by the painted tomb of Ḥesy (4) these poles most probably supported a tent of strong ornamental matting under which the offerings and funerary equipment were displayed in front of the false-doors; or this tent may have been the lining of a simple wooden roof such as Quibell found covering the painted corridor of Ḥesy, a device later to be replaced by the built chapel in the interior of the superstructure. That the practice of erecting some kind of shelter against the façade of the mastaba was continued, in some instances, down to the end of the Old Kingdom is proved by the fact that we sometimes come across tombs having some parts of their façades painted in brilliant colours; for example, the tombs of Iry-n-akhet (5), Kai-wehem (6) and Mersw-'ankh (7). When these coloured parts are unprotected by any visible architectural device, such as a portico or overhanging roof, how are we to account for their preservation? The only reasonable assumption is that they were protected from sun, rain and sand-blast by some kind of shelter, such as the wooden roof spanning Ḥesy's corridor or the tent which he had depicted upon its eastern wall. Such a shelter would also be needed for the accommodation of priests and relatives when they assembled at the tomb to perform the cult ceremonies on certain feast days.

The next step in the development of the palace-façade appears when the normal inner recesses of the Tarkhan Mastaba No. 1060 (which is whitewashed) were painted red. On the mastaba of Ḥemaka in the reign of King Den (8), special small-sized bricks were used to obtain precision of detail in the angles of the crenellations, while the white plaster coating was painted with streaks of red to imitate woodwork (9), a device later carried to perfection in the tomb of Ḥesy (10).

(1) DE MORGAN, "Recherches sur les Origins de l'Égypte", p. 155.

(2) EMERY, "Ḥor-aḥa", p. 13.

(3) See also QUIBELL, "Archaic Mastabas", No. 2185, Pl. VII, No. 1.

(4) QUIBELL, "The Tomb of Ḥesy", p. 5.

(5) 6th season (unpublished).

(6) 8th season (unpublished).

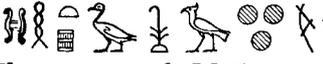
(7) "Excavations at Giza", Vol. I, p. 106, Fig. 180.

(8) PETRIE, "History of Egypt", Vol. I, p. 20.

(9) EMERY, "The Tomb of Ḥemaka", pp. 3, 4.

(10) See the painted "wooden" beams, QUIBELL, "The Tomb of Ḥesy", Pls. VIII, X, XIII,

The Form and Function of the Tomb-Stele

The stelæ of Abydos are a class of monument peculiar to Upper Egypt during the Archaic Period, as up till now none have been found which can be proved to be of Lower Egyptian origin. As a rule they are round-topped, a form perhaps originally suggested by the tumulus surmounting the primitive grave, a form which is also reflected in the vaulted lid of the Old Kingdom sarcophagus and the roofs of some of the late archaic and Old Kingdom tombs (1). However, some of the Abydos stelæ are rectangular in form, as are those of Lower Egypt (2). They are mostly crudely sculptured in relief, though a few are even more crudely incised. It is to be noted, however, that not one of them bear the well-known offering-scene, which was due to make its appearance in the Second Dynasty, and remain practically a fixed form till the end of the Old Kingdom. Apparently the first appearance of this offering-scene in Upper Egypt occurs on the Bankfield Stele at Halifax (3). This monument, which is said to have been purchased at Thebes, is round-topped and is similar in shape and style to the two stelæ of King Per-ib-sen (4), and most probably also dates from the Second Dynasty (5). On this stele the owner is seated upon a throne of the type  which is usually seen in connection with the figures of royal or divine persons, from the time of the Middle Kingdom onwards. He stretches out his hand to take one of the four half-loaves of bread (6) placed in a bowl or basket upon the table before him, and above which are different offerings represented pictorially and written out phonetically (*see below, p. 86 ff.*). Above the man's head are inscriptions giving his titles and name, which seem to read:  "Nt-htp's Son the Protector of the King's Subjects, Mrj" (7). The name of Mrj's parent ought to be read Nt-htp, because the same sign is found in the title  (*see L.D. II, Pl. 23*).

Those Abydos stelæ which appertain to royal burials are naturally of much finer work than those of the subsidiary graves, as for example the stele of Mr-nt (8), while that of King  D (9) is a work of real art, in its splendid simplicity and fine finish. Now the function of these stones is three-fold. Firstly, they serve to indicate the position of the grave in the case of those burials which have no superstructure, and at the same time, by carrying the name and representation, and sometimes titles, of the owner, they serve the very important function of preserving the "name" and identity of the deceased, a matter of vital importance for the welfare of the dead in the Hereafter. Thirdly, they serve to indicate to the living a place where the funerary offerings could be deposited, and to the Ka, a fixed place to come in order to receive these offerings. In the case of those stones

(1) See "Excavation at Giza", Vol. IV, p. 32, and QUIBELL, "Archaic Mastabas", Pl. XXXII, also JEQUIER, "Les Tombeaux de Particuliers Contemporains de Pepi II", p. 12 ff., Pls. II, VI bis.

(2) See PETRIE, "Royal Tombs", Vol. I, Pl. XXXIII, Nos. 4, 7, 8; Pl. XXXIV, Nos. 15, 16, 18 24; Pl. XXXV, Nos. 28, 29; Pl. XXXVI, Nos. 43, 44, 47, 48.

(3) GARDINER, *J.E.A.*, Vol. IV, p. 256 ff.

(4) PETRIE, "Royal Tombs", Vol. II, Pl. XXXI.

(5) For the probable age of this stele, *see* JUNKER, "Giza", Vol. II, p. 13. ff.

(6) See GRIFFITH, "Hieroglyphs", p. 54. For other explanations of these objects, *see* BOREUX, "Un Bas-relief d'une Princesse Royale", *Revue de l'Égypte Ancienne*, Vol. I, p. 1.

(7) See GARDINER, *J.E.A.*, Vol. IV, p. 260.

(8) PETRIE, "Royal Tombs", Vol. I, (frontispiece).

(9) SCHÄFER, "Von Aegyptischer Kunst", Pl. 5.

which bear the names and representations of dogs, they are perhaps memorial stones. It is unlikely that the dogs had their own funerary endowments, but nevertheless they were buried near to their master, in order that their Kas may be ready to come at his call and take their share from his offerings, just as in life he may have fed them with tit-bits from his table. Probably also, the same arrangement applied to the dwarfs. That these stelæ were the centralized offering-sites may be proved by the presence of many stone vessels near the stelæ of King K' (1), one of which was inscribed for "the Priest of the Temple of Qa" (1). Now these stone stelæ in themselves have no clear connection with the false-door (2), but they are the forerunners of an innovation which was due to make its appearance at a very early date. It is to be noticed, however, that the stelæ and the palace-façade doors existed side by side in the same region, during the early Archaic Period. Perhaps the latter had been imported from Lower Egypt and existed beside the stelæ which were the original product of the Upper Egyptian burial customs.

In the above-mentioned Tarkhan Mastaba, No. 1060, a certain palace-façade was singled out for special consideration, and provided with a wooden floor (3). This specialized "door" lies a little to the south of dead centre, in the eastern façade of the mastaba, and opposite to the burial-chamber, the exact spot usually occupied by the single false-door in an Old Kingdom mastaba. That this specialized palace-façade was singled out for an offering-place cannot be doubted, especially when we consider that in the Giza Mastaba V (4) one of the palace-façades in a similar situation to the specialized example of Tarkhan had a white plastered floor, on which was found a pottery vessel. This was certainly in its original place, as the palace-façades had been walled over, as at Naqada, and the pot was only discovered when the remaining part of this screen-wall was removed. Now, as we have already said, the door-niches of the Tarkhan Mastaba, No. 1060, were all, except one, plastered and painted red. That this specialized door had no such decoration, and shows only the crude brick, suggests that the door-niche must have been provided with a back of some other material, perhaps of wood, as in the case of the tomb of Hesy, and perhaps—like that of Hesy—inscribed. This, however, is a mere guess, but as early as the Second Dynasty, we get a class of tombs at Saqqara where for the first time so far discovered, we have actual proof of inscriptions and pictorial representations occurring in conjunction with the palace-façade. These mastabas are characterized by the reduction of the palace-façades to two examples only, situated in the eastern façade of the monument, a great door to the south and a simple door to the north. In tomb, No. 2331 (5), Quibell found *in situ* above the niche of the southern door a part of a large stone slab, the central portion of which bears a scene in relief, depicting the tomb-owner seated before an offering-table (6). A second, but more fragmentary stone was found in the sand near another mastaba (6); while a third perfect stone was found fallen from its place and lying in front of the tomb. This latter

(1) PETRIE, "Royal Tombs", Vol. I, p. 6.

(2) A possible link between the Abydos stelæ and the false-door is the stele of *Sib.f* (PETRIE, *ibid.* Pl. XXX). It is rectangular in shape and bears a representation of the owner, baton in hand, in a walking attitude as though stepping out of his tomb, an attitude which we shall frequently see in the portraits on the niche and jambs of the false-doors from the Third Dynasty onwards.

(3) PETRIE, "Tarkhan and Memphis", p. 13, Pl. XVII.

(4) PETRIE, "Gizeh and Rifeh", p. 3.

(5) QUIBELL "Archaic Mastabas", p. 35.

(6) QUIBELL, "Archaic Mastabas", Pl. XXVIII.

belonged to the Princess *Sh.fnr* (1). Another stone of the same class is now in the Berlin Museum and is published by SCHARFF (2) in “*Studies Presented to Griffith*” (3). All of these stones bear the same scene of the deceased seated before the offering-table laden with half loaves of bread which we have already seen upon their predecessor, the Bankfield Stele (4) (see above, p. 86), and vary only in details and the number and variety of the offerings mentioned and represented, and these latter we will examine more fully elsewhere. This motif of the deceased seated before the table of bread was destined to be the set model for such scenes—except for occasional minor variations — until the end of the Old Kingdom. Now these archaic stones which appear to have rested on wooden beams by way of lintels, may perhaps be the direct descendants of the round-topped stelæ of Abydos, the link being the Bankfield Stele, which, as we have seen, combines the form of the Abydos stelæ with the offering-scene of the Lower Egyptian niche-stones. They are, moreover, the immediate ancestors of the well-known, characteristic panel of the Old Kingdom false-doors. So these archaic niche-stones are literally important milestones in the development of Egyptian religious thought and funerary architecture. They are the concrete expression of man’s desire for immortality here on earth, and serve to distinguish the important “door” for the offering-service to the dead, and at the same time to keep alive the “name” and personality of the deceased upon earth.

During the Third Dynasty we find a partial return to the multiple palace-façades of the First Dynasty mastabas, but now they are reduced in number and confined to the eastern face of the monument (5). Such is the tomb of Hesy who had, as we have already mentioned, eleven splendid palace-façades gorgeously painted to represent wooden beams interspersed with gaily patterned matting (6). The inner door-niches were adorned with wonderfully carved wooden panels, five of which were recovered in good condition by Mariette, while fragments of the remaining six were recovered by Quibell. All of these, except one, represented the deceased as though stepping out of his tomb, but the single exception shows him seated before the offering-table, and this panel came from the door opposite to the burial-chamber and just south of dead centre of the eastern façade of the mastaba (7). Therefore, we may guess that it was the specialized “door” before which the offering-rites were performed. Unfortunately the superstructure of the mastaba of Hesy is destroyed from above the top of the door-niche, so we cannot say what the upper parts of these palace-façades were like. Long after the Third Dynasty type of mastaba, with the multiple palace-façades in the eastern façade, had fallen into general disuse in Lower Egypt, it continued to flourish in some parts of Upper Egypt. Thus, we find it in use in Denderah during the Sixth Dynasty, where a very good example is to be seen in the mastaba of *Mnj* (8). In addition to

(1) *Ibid.* Pls. XXVI, XXVII.

(2) “*Eine Archaische Grabplatte des Berliner Museums.*”

(3) For a description of these stones, see JUNKER, “*Giza*”, Vol. II, p. 4 ff. and Dr. SCHARFF’s essay just mentioned.

(4) Both Gardiner and Junker are agreed that this stele antedates the Saqqara niche-stones (see *J.E.A.*, Vol. IV, p. 256, and JUNKER, “*Giza*”, Vol. II, p. 13 ff.).

(5) See QUIBELL, “*Archaic Mastabas*”, Pls. I, II.

(6) QUIBELL, “*Tomb of Hesy*”, Pl. VIII.

(7) *Ibid.* Pl. XXXI.

(8) PETRIE, “*Denderah*”, p. 5 ff., Pls. I, II, XXVIII.

a typical Sixth Dynasty false-door in the western wall of the interior chapel, there are twelve palace-façades in the exterior eastern façade of the monument, six of which are south of the entrance and nine are to the north of it. Above each inner door-niche was set a rectangular limestone panel bearing a representation of the tomb-owner carved in relief, and inscriptions giving the offering-formula and his titles and name (1). Below each of these panels was a limestone drum bearing the titles and name of the tomb-owner (2). Here we see that although the offering-scene is retained in its classical form on the panel of the false-door in the chapel, it has disappeared from these niche-stones of the exterior palace-façade, but this may be a local custom of Upper Egypt, for as early as the First Dynasty, this motif of the deceased walking, holding the long staff and *hrp* baton, has appeared upon the stele of *Ssb.f*  of Abydos (see above, p. 71, Note [2]).

But to return back to the Third Dynasty, the “ door ” of *H'-bnw-Skr* (3) which is near to Hesy in point of date, presents a step further in development. This door is entirely made of limestone : the side jambs are carved to represent palace-façade panelling, and the central door-niche is deep and bears upon its side thicknesses representations of the deceased in a walking attitude, as though coming forth from his tomb. At the top of the door-niche is a round stone beam, known to modern scholars as the “ drum ”. In reality, this represents a rolled-up reed curtain, which was either an early substitute for a door, or more probably a sun-blind which would admit air but exclude the glare of the sunlight. Proof for this may be seen in the great southern-tomb of the Step Pyramid Complex at Saqqara (4). Here the details of the matting are realistically rendered by inlays of beautiful blue faience tiles. Later, the original significance of the rolled-up mat seems to have been forgotten, as we shall presently see. On the back of the door-niche *H'-bnw-Skr*. is seen seated before his offering-table, his titles and name inscribed above his head, and below him is a large offering-list (see below, p. 97 ff.). The door-niche of *Ibw-njswt* (5) from Denderah (6) shows the owner as though about to step forth from his tomb, while below him is an elaborate miniature palace-façade, surmounted by an inscribed lintel bearing the titles and name of the owner.

This brings us to the end of the Archaic Period, and with the beginning of the Fourth Dynasty we shall see the appearance of the characteristic Old Kingdom false-door, while at the same time we see the palace-façade—originally confined to the exterior of the mastaba—now transferred to the western wall of the interior chapel, except in rare examples, and mostly employed by Princes and very high officials. Up till now we see that two types of door have been in use, the palace-façade and the modified palace-façade, that is to say, the old palace-door with added inscriptions and representations, at first used sparingly and afterwards lavishly. This latter feature no doubt owes its inception to the archaic round-topped stelæ of Abydos and before them to the rough witness (شاهد القبر) stones of the primitive graves.

(1) *Ibid.* Pl. II.

(2) *Ibid.* p. 6.

(3) FIRTH, “ *The Step Pyramid* ”, Pl. 43.

(4) FIRTH, “ *The Step Pyramid* ”, Pl. 43.

(5) British Museum Stele No. 1266, “ *Egyptian Stelæ* ”, Vol. I, Pl. 3.

(6) PETRIE, “ *Denderah* ”, Pl. II.

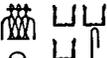
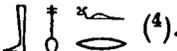
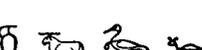
The False-Doors of the Fourth Dynasty (1)

We have seen that the earliest type of false-door was the purely architectural palace-façade type, which as early as the Second Dynasty began to be modified in order to conform to economical measures and religious beliefs, and which in the Third Dynasty led to the development of such false-doors as those of *Hesy* and *H'-b3w-Skr* (see p. 97 ff., Fig. 16). Although the palace-façade continued in use in the tombs side by side with them. Finally, in the Fourth Dynasty we get a third type of false-door (2), which though based architecturally upon the main elements of the palace-façade, is so modified to accommodate the demand for more pictorial representations and inscriptions, that the original elements are often almost completely obscured, and we may call this the conventional false-door, which with the lapse of time received many modifications, according to circumstances as we shall see later. In our excavations at Giza we have examples of all these types of false-doors.

Names of Owners (Our Excavations)

In our Giza excavations we have the following series of tombs which can be assigned to the Fourth Dynasty and all of which contain one or more false-doors in a sufficiently good state of preservation to afford us reliable evidence for our study.

These tombs belonged to the following persons:—

- (1) Queen *Hnt-kw.s*  (The Fourth Pyramid) (3).
 (2) Queen *Bw-nfr*  (4).
 (3) Queen *Rht-R'*  (5).
 (4) Prince *Iwn-Mnw*  (6).
 (5) Prince *'nh-m3-R'*  (7).
 (6) Prince *Iwn-R'*  (8).
 (7) Prince *R'-htp*  (9).
 (8) Prince *Nj-[m3't]-R'*  (10).
 (9) Prince *Hnmw-b3.f*  (11).
 (10) Prince *Shm-k3-R'*  (12).

(1) The reader will find in the following pages detailed descriptions of the different parts of the various false-doors, which are sometimes very tedious, but we are obliged to follow this system, in order to obtain solid conclusions.

(2) As a matter of fact, this type had already appeared as early as the Second Dynasty in the simple northern niche of the "two-door" mastabas.

(3) "Excavations at Giza", Vol. IV, p. 24.

(4) *Ibid.* Vol. III, p. 194.

(5) 9th season (*unpublished*).

(6) 7th season (*unpublished*).

(7) 6th season (*unpublished*).

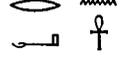
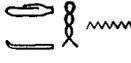
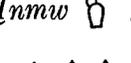
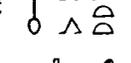
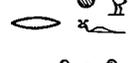
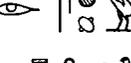
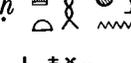
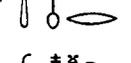
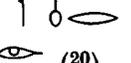
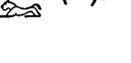
(8) 6th season (*unpublished*).

(9) 7th season (*unpublished*).

(10) 7th season (*unpublished*).

(11) 7th season (*unpublished*).

(12) "Excavations at Giza", Vol. IV, pp. 118, 119.

- (11) Prince *Nb-m-3ht*  (1).
- (12) Prince *K3j*  (2).
- (13) Prince *Nj-'nh-R'*  (3).
- (14) An unnamed Princess (daughter of Khafra') (4).
- (15) *K3-m-nfr.t*  (5).
- (16) *Dbhnj*  (6).
- (17) *3ht-htp*  (7).
- (18) *Nfr*  (8).
- (19) *Shm-k3*  (9).
- (20) *K3-wsrt*  (10).
- (21) *K3-'pr*  (11).
- (22) *Hnw*  (12).
- (23) *Nj-'nh-Hnmw*  (13).
- (24) *Nfr-nmtt*  (14).
- (25) *Hw.f-R'*  (15).
- (26) *Ir-shw*  (16).
- (27) *Hwnj-Pth*  (17).
- (28) *Mdw-nfr*  (18).
- (29) *Rnpt-nfr*  (19).
- (30) *Irjrw*  (20).

(1) *Ibid.* p. 129.

(2) *Ibid.* Vol. III, p. 35.

(3) *Ibid.* Vol. IV, p. 156.

(4) 7th season (*unpublished*).

(5) 6th season (*unpublished*).

(6) *Ibid.* Vol. IV, p. 182.

(7) *Ibid.* Vol. I, Pl. LI.

(8) *Ibid.* Vol. III, p. 208.

(9) 6th season (*unpublished*).

(10) 9th season (*unpublished*).

(11) 6th season (*unpublished*)

(12) *Ibid.* Vol. III, p. 53.

(13) 6th season (*unpublished*).

(14) See p. 199 of this volume.

(15) 7th season (*unpublished*).

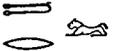
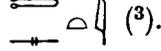
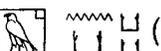
(16) 7th season (*unpublished*).

(17) 7th season (*unpublished*).

(18) *Ibid.* Vol. III, p. 117.

(19) *Ibid.* p. 162.

(20) *Ibid.* pp. 63, 67.

- (31) *Trrw*  (1).
 (32) *Prj-nb*  (2).
 (33) *Tstj*  (3).
 (34) *Mr-'nb.f*  (4).
 (35) *Wsr*  (5).
 (36) *Imbj*  (6).
 (37) *Nj-kzw-H.t-hr*  (7).
 (38) Mastaba of Shaft No. 35 (8).

The Palace-Façade

All these tombs contain among them a total of 82 false-doors, of which 53 are uninscribed (9). Out of this series of false-doors, only 4 conform to the pure palace-façade type, and none of them appear on the façade of the tomb to which they belong. These four palace-façades are to be found in the tombs of: Prince *Nb-m-šht*, Prince *Šhm-kz-R'*, Queen *Hnt-kzw.s*, and *šht-htp*; while two more are of the modified palace-façade type: *Dbhnj* and *Nfr*. In the tomb of Prince *Nb-m-šht*, the palace-façade is the dominating feature of the western wall of the inner chapel, and behind and below it lies the Prince's burial-chamber. The palace-façade is flanked on each side by a pair of uninscribed false-doors, each pair appertaining to a subsidiary burial of other members of the family. It may be that these subsidiary burials in family tombs did not each have its own funerary endowment, but had a right to share the offerings of the tomb-owner, who provided for them in the Hereafter, as the head of the family had provided for the lesser members here upon earth. The palace-façade of Prince *Šhm-kz-R'* occupies the northern wall of the inner chapel, showing that the old idea of the exterior palace-façade which could face in any direction of the compass was not forgotten, although the western interior wall and the eastern façade were now the orthodox situations for the false-door. Furthermore, the southern face of the pyramid of Queen *Hnt-kzw.s* having been denuded of its casing of Turah limestone (10), reveals a series of false-doors cut in the rock-core of the monument, suggesting that the original plan was for a monument following the type of the archaic mastabas. The plan was then changed; and the false-doors hidden by the limestone casing. On the other hand, we do not know what is existing on the natural rock core under the casing of the eastern, western and northern sides. It may be that the whole monument was thus embellished with palace-façade panelling and then cased over, either to protect it, as with the great royal tomb at Naqada (11), or in order to make it conform to the pyramid plan. Prince *Kšj* also had a tendency to revert to the archaic type, and the façade of his rock-cut mastaba is decorated with multiple palace-façade panelling, of which we can clearly trace three elements on the southern side and four

(1) *Ibid.* p. 23.

(2) *Ibid.* p. 159.

(3) *Ibid.* p. 151.

(4) *Ibid.* p. 16.

(5) *Ibid.* Vol. I, p. 96.

(6) *Ibid.* p. 93.

(7) *Ibid.* p. 85.

(8) *Ibid.* p. 71.

(9) Out of these 53 uninscribed "doors", 27 appertain to princely burials and were intentionally left without inscriptions. Some of the private false-doors may be unfinished.

(10) "Excavations at Giza", Vol. IV, p. 15.

(11) DE MORGAN, "Recherches sur les Origines, de l'Égypte", p. 157.

on the eastern side, all separated from each other by simple niched panelling (1). Up till now we have seen the palace-façade in our excavations employed only in connection with royal burials, but it was not exclusively royal, for it appears in the tomb of *šht-štp*, in conjunction with five ordinary false-doors (2). *Dbḥnj* preferred the modified type of false-door which combined the chief features of the palace-façade with the enlarged and emphasized door-niche of the conventional false-door. On the other hand, *Dbḥnj* may not have had any choice in the matter, for he tells us that his false-door was among the gifts presented to him by King *Men-kaw-Ra*' (3) and the palace-façade elements may be an especial mark of royal favour. *Nfr* employed an ordinary false-door, but replaced the panel over the door-niche by a miniature palace-façade.

Names of Owners (Outside Examples)

Let us now look to the material from outside our excavations. We have a series of Fourth Dynasty false-doors belonging to the following personages:—

(1) Queen *Mr.s-'nh III*  (4).

(2) Prince *H'.f-Hwfw I*  (5).

(3) Prince *H'.f-Hwfw II*  (6).

(4) Prince *Nfr-mš't*  (7).

(5) *H'.f-R'-'nh*  (8).

(6) *Sšm-nfr*  (9).

(7) *Tntj*  (10).

(8) *Mr-ib*  (11).

(9) *Nj-kš-Hr*  (12).

(10) Prince *Sšš.t-štp*  (also called *Htj* ) (13).

(11) *Mtn*  (14).

(12) *Kš-tp*  (15).

(13) *Hnw*  (16).

(14) Prince *Kš-nfr*  (17).

(1) *Ibid.* Vol. III, Pl. XII.

(2) *Ibid.* Vol. I, Pl. LL.

(3) *Ibid.* Vol. IV, p. 169.

(4) REISNER, "Boston Mus. Bull.", Oct. 1927.

(5) DARESSY, *Ann. Serv.* Vol. XVI, p. 257 ff.

(6) PORTER and MOSS, "Memphis", p. 42.

(7) L.D. Vol. II, Pl. 17.

(8) L.D., Vol. II, Pl. 11.

(9) *Ibid.* Pl. 27.

(10) *Ibid.* Pl. 30.

(11) *Ibid.* Pl. 19.

(12) *Ibid.* Pl. 10.

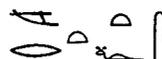
(13) *Ibid.* Pl. 23.

(14) *Ibid.* Pl. 3.

(15) BRIT. MUS. Stele No. 1288, "Egyptian Stelæ", Vol. I, Pl. 15.

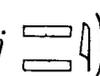
(16) BRIT. MUS. No. 1272, *Ibid.* Pl. 8.

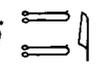
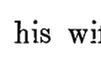
(17) BRIT. MUS. No. 1324, *Ibid.* Pl. 4.

(15) *Mr.t-tf.s*  (1).

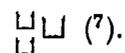
(16) *Iwfi*  (2).

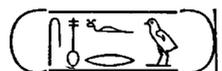
(17) *K3(j)wd-'nh*  (3).

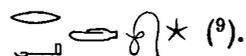
(18) *Sšm-nfr-Hwfw*  (also called *Ššj* ) (4).

(19) *Ttj*  and his wife  *Dbt* ("Cow-hippopotamus") (5).

(20) *Srj*  (6).

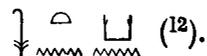
(21) *K3w*  (7).

(22) *In-Snfrw-iš-tf.*  (8).

(23) *Dw3-R'*  (9).

(24) *Stw*  (10).

(25) Princess *Nsdr-k3j*  (11).

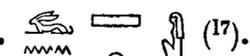
(26) Prince *K3-nj-njswt I*  (12).

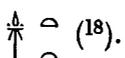
(27) *Hwfw-mr*  (13).

(28) *Ij-k3*  (14).

(29) Prince *Dd.f-Mnw*  (15).

(30) *Hw-nj-sw*  (16).

(31) Princess *Wnš.t.*  (17).

(32) Princess *I3btj.t.*  (18).

(33) *Htp-hr.s*  (19).

(1) BRIT. MUS. No. 1228, *Ibid.* Pl. 8.

(2) BRIT. MUS. No. 130, *Ibid.* Pl. 14.

(3) BRIT. MUS. No. 1223, Pl. 15.

(4) BRIT. MUS. No. 1282, Pl. 15.

(5) BRIT. MUS. No. 1576, *Ibid.* Pls. 6. and 7.

(6) MORET, "Monuments et Memoires", p. 273.

(7) LA ROQUE, "Abu Roach", Pl. XI.

(8) DE. MORGAN, "Fouilles à Dahchour", p. 6.

(9) CAIRO-MUS. No. 1389, BORCHARDT, "Denkmäler des alten Reiches", Pl. 12.

(10) CAIRO MUS. No. 1377, *Ibid.* Pl. 35.

(11) JUNKER, "Giza", Vol. II, p. 120.

(12) *Ibid.* p. 151.

(13) FAKHRI, "Sept Tombeaux à l'est de la Grande Pyramide", Pl. VIII.

(14) SAAD, *Ann. Serv.*, Vol. XL, Pl. LXXIII.

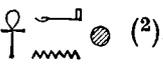
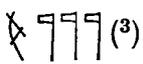
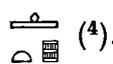
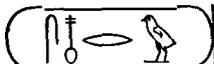
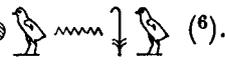
(15) L.D. II, Pl. 33.

(16) DE MORGAN, "Fouilles à Dahchour", p. 23.

(17) JUNKER, "Giza", Vol. I, p. 252.

(18) JUNKER, "Giza", Vol. I, p. 221.

(19) L.D. II. 90.

- (34) $\underline{H}3-hnmt$  (1).
 (35) 'nh  (2).
 (36) $\underline{H}wfw-mr-ntrw$  |  (3).
 (37) $\underline{S}nfrw-htp$  |  (4).
 (38) $\underline{H}'f-Snfrw$  |  (5).
 (39) $\underline{H}w-n-sw$  (6).
 (40) $\underline{K}3j-swd3$  (7).

Of these examples fourteen conform to the palace-façade type (for a typical example, see Fig. 9 of *Njswt-ibw*), all of which are more or less modified. These are *Stw*, Prince $\underline{H}'f-Snfrw$

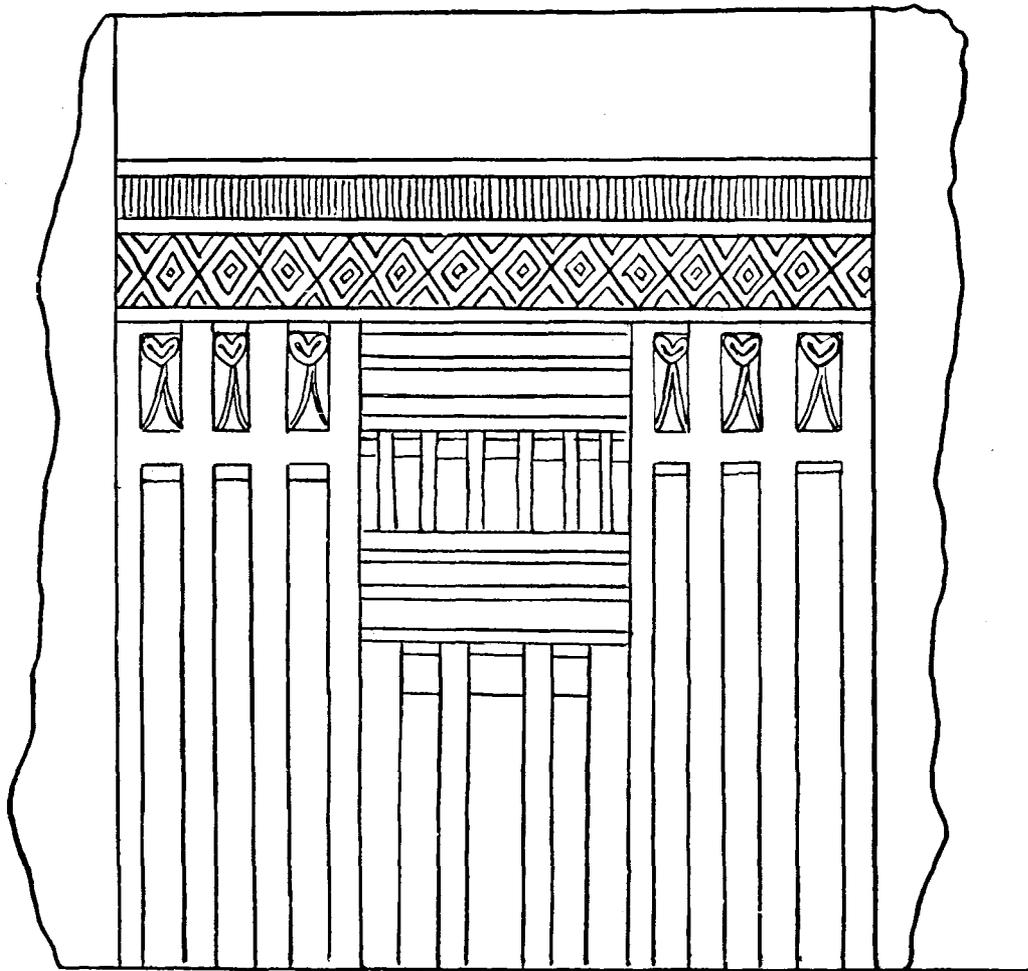


FIG. 9.

- (1) FISHER, "The Minor Cemetery at Giza", p. 137, Pls. 23, 24, 44.
 (2) FISHER, *Ibid.* p. 149, Pl. 51 : 3.
 (3) *Ibid.* p. 151, Pls. 21, 45.
 (4) *Ibid.* p. 163, Pl. 55.
 (5) MARIETTE, "Mastabas", p. 533. See also TOMB No. 57, Giza (Lepsius' numbering).
 (6) BISSON DE LA ROQUE, "Fouilles à bou Roasch", Pl. XXIX.
 (7) DE MORGAN, "Fouilles à Dahchour", II, p. 23.

Prince *Dd.f-Mnw* (who combined an ordinary panel and lintel with the lower part of a palace-façade, thus reverting to the doors of the Second Dynasty, plus a lintel), *Nj-k3-Hr*, ⁽¹⁾ (who decorated the intervening wall space between the four false-doors in his tomb with palace-façade panelling, thus in a way reverting to the multiple palace-façades of the archaic mastabas, but transferred from the exterior to the interior, see also Nos. 30, 19, 20, 17, 4, 3, 1, and 5). Thus, out of a total of forty-one burials we find only one with a false-door (that of *Stw*) conforming closely to the pure palace-façade type, all the others being modified by the addition of inscribed parts. On the mastaba of Prince *Sš3.t-htp-Hti* that part of the façade flanking the entrance is embellished by finely-carved palace-façades. Here is one of the rare instances of the appearance of the palace-façade on the exterior of the mastaba during the Fourth Dynasty, and is perhaps a partial reversion to the custom of the Archaic Period.

An interesting point to note in connection with the false-doors of *Šrj* ⁽¹⁾ and *Ttj* is that each has the panel flanked by two complete miniature palace-façades, and in each case the panel bears the representations of two persons—husband and wife. That is to say, each of the persons represented has his or her own palace-façade, an arrangement which may throw more light upon the meaning of the panel. The royal idea of having one door for Upper and one door for Lower Egypt is excluded here, but may perhaps be applied to the doors of *Nj-k3-Hr* and *H'.f-R'-'nh* ⁽¹⁾, because in these latter cases the palace-façades are on the walls, and incorporate two complete false-doors, not being merely a part of the panel.

Other examples of these modified palace-façades are *Hw-nj-sw* (which occurs on one of the sides of the door-niche, and thus may have had a companion piece) *K3j-wd-'nh*, who has a miniature palace-façade inscribed, curiously enough, for a person named *S3-hnt*, to the left of his own panel. Prince *Nfr-m3't* and *H'.f-R'-'nh*, each has a normal palace-façade surmounted by an inscribed lintel, while Queen *Mr.s-'nh* and *H'.f-Hwfw* II, each has a similar palace-façade to the left of an ordinary false-door.

The Conventional False-Door

Out of the series of false-doors of the Fourth Dynasty from our excavations (see p. 74), 30 undamaged specimens are found to adhere to a certain structural form, having as its component parts (see Fig. 10) ⁽⁴⁾: (a) Upper lintel; (b) Panel; (c) Lower lintel; (d) Drum; (e) Door-niche; (f) Outer jambs; (g) Inner jambs. This type occurs in the tombs of the following personages: *K3-m-nfrt* ⁽¹⁾, *3ht-htp* ⁽¹⁾, *Nfr*, ⁽³⁾ *K3-'pr*, *K3-wsrt* ⁽²⁾, *Hnw* ⁽¹⁾, *Hw.f-R'* ⁽¹⁾, *Ir-shw* ⁽¹⁾, *Irjrw* ⁽¹⁾, *Tstj Mr-'nh.f* ⁽¹⁾, Prince *Shm-k3-R'* ⁽³⁾, Prince *Nb-m-3ht* ⁽²⁾.

⁽¹⁾ Two examples.

⁽²⁾ Four examples.

⁽³⁾ Three examples.

⁽⁴⁾ I have only counted these false-doors which are in a sufficiently good state of preservation to make their original form quite clear.

The characteristic features of this class of false-door are :—

(1) The prominence of the panel, which, as we have seen above, was the first part of the false-door to be developed out of the primitive grave-stones, and which had made its appearance as early as the Second Dynasty. (So far as we know!)

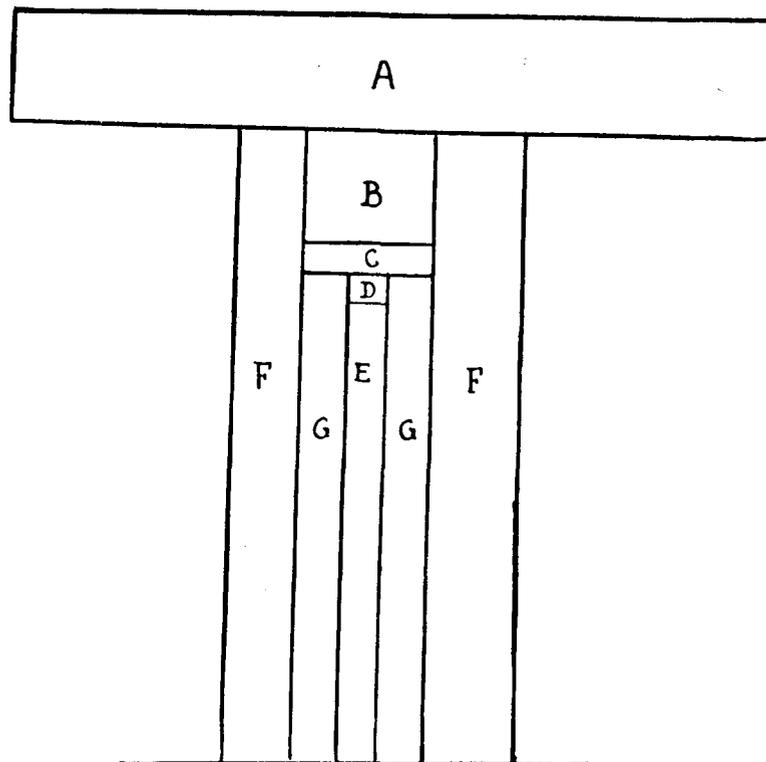


FIG. 10.

(2) *The comparative height and width of the door-niche.*—Indeed, it is noteworthy that the earlier doors are of a natural size, but tend to decrease as time went on, partly for economical reasons, partly because of the prominence given to the surrounding parts of the door-niche, and partly because of the increasing belief in magic and the employment of funerary models, which were miniature replicas of real offerings and equipment.

(3) The position of the drum close up against the soffit of the door, which shows that it was still regarded as a rolled-up curtain. In the early examples, the door-niche is often deeply cut, but tends to become shallower with the lapse of time, although here, as in all parts of the false-door, change and development are not steady, and it is not uncommon to find late reversions to an earlier type, according to the taste and custom of the owner. Side by side with this double-jamb type of false-door (*see* Fig. 10), we have ⁽¹⁾ examples where the jambs are reduced to a single pair, (*see* Fig. 11) which corresponds to the simple northern door in the façades of the Second Dynasty mastabas, and the intervening subsidiary doors in a multiple palace-façade mastaba. These are to be found in the following tombs:—

ih-t-htp (three doors), *Nj-'nh-Hnmw*, *Irjrw*, (two doors) *Imbj*, (two doors), Prince *Iwn-Mnw*, Prince *Ksj*, Queen *Rht-R'*, Princess (daughter of Khafra').

⁽¹⁾ The dating of some of these tombs is approximate, and is in some cases very difficult to determine.

From those false-doors outside our field of work ⁽¹⁾, we find the following types prevailing: nineteen doors have only a single pair of jambs. These are *Sšm-nfr*, (northern door), *Ššj*, *Ifwj*, *Hwfw-mr*, (three doors), Princess *Nsdr-kj* (two doors), *Mrt-tf.s*, *Mr-ib* (two doors), *K3w*, Prince *K3-nfr*, *Ttj*, *Šrj*, *H3-hnmt*, *nh* and *Hwfw-mr-ntrw* (two doors).

Only eighteen of these outside examples possess a double set of jambs. These are Prince *Htj*, (*Sš3.t-htp*) Prince *K3-nj-njswt* (two doors), *Mtn*, *K3-tp*, *Hnw*, *In-Snfrw-iš-tf*, *Ij-k3*, *Kj-wd-nh*, *Dw3-R* (two doors), *Snfrw-htp* (two doors), *Htp-hr.s* Princess *i3btj.t*, Princess *Wnš.t*, *H.f-R-nh*, *Ifwj*.

The northern false-door of *Tntj* is simply a door-niche (see Fig. 12), provided with a drum and surmounted by a lintel, and has no jambs at all. Prince *K3-nj-njswt* has a pair of

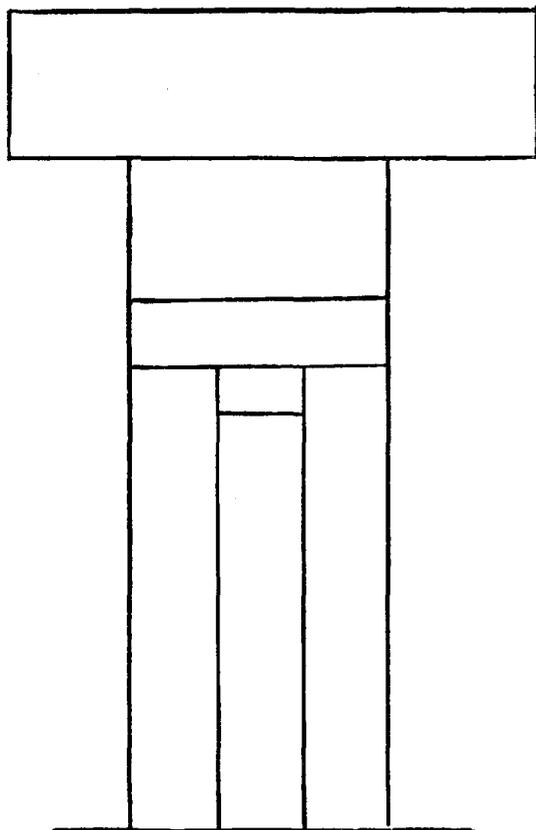


FIG. 11.

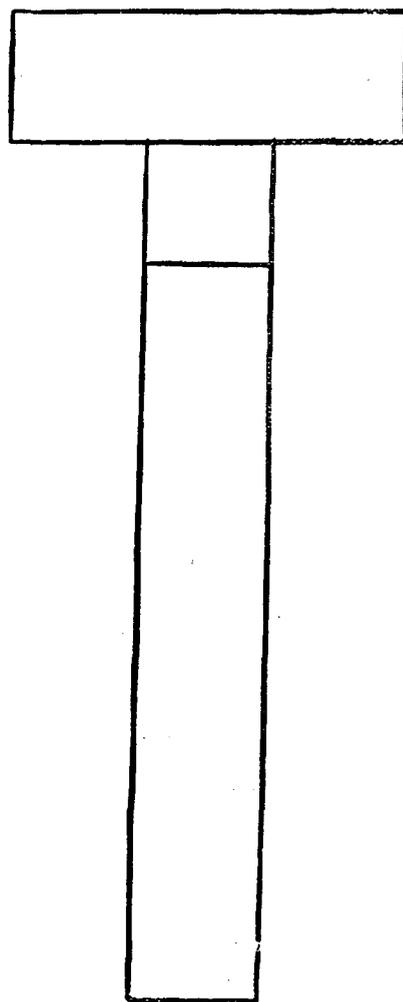


FIG. 12.

inner jambs but only one outer jamb to each of his two false-doors. Thus, judging by the evidence of the material from our Giza excavations, we may say that the key-note of the false-doors of the Fourth Dynasty tends towards a moderate simplicity of design, namely the

⁽¹⁾ It is to be noted that most of the false-doors now in the various European museums are either from the Giza or Saqqara necropoli, the most important sources for the monuments of the Old Kingdom.

double-jamb type, and the elaboration of the palace-façade or the extreme simplicity of the single-jamb type are in the minority. But from the examples from outside our field of work, the majority is slightly in favour of the single-jamb type of false-door. This may be due to local custom and fashion, but is more probably the outcome of pure chance, as many of the specimens quoted above are scattered in foreign museums, far from their original tombs, and we cannot tell if they were single examples, or one of a pair (or more) of the more elaborate type of false-door.

The Number and Disposition of the False-Doors in the Fourth Dynasty Tombs

Out of a series of thirty-eight Fourth Dynasty burials in our Gîza excavations, only seven have single false-doors. These are the mastaba of Shaft No. 35, *Nfr-nmtt*, *Prj-nb*, Prince *Hnmw-b3.f*, Prince *Nj-^cnh-R^c*, *K3-^cpr*, *Dbhnj*. When a single false-door occurs in the exterior façade it is usually placed a little to the south of dead centre (in the same situation as the specialized doors of the First Dynasty mastabas (see above, p. 71); and when in the chapel, the false-door occupies the same position, but in the western wall. The following seventeen tombs have each a pair of false-doors, of which the principal one may be for the tomb-owner and the secondary one for a member of the family, usually the wife, in which case we find a burial behind each door. On the other hand, both doors may appertain to a single burial, a vogue which began to come to the fore towards the end of the Fourth Dynasty, and in this case, the burial usually lies between them. Prince *-Nj[m3^ct]-R^c* has two doors in the chapel, with the burial behind the northern one. *Imbj*: two inscribed doors, of which the southern one is for the tomb-owner and the northern one for his wife. *Wsr*: two uninscribed false-doors, of which the northern one is larger. There is a burial behind each one. *Hnw*: both doors inscribed, the southern one being larger and finer, each appertains to a burial. *Irjrw*: both false-doors inscribed. The southern door belongs to the tomb-owner and the northern one to his son. *Rnpt-nfr*: both false-doors badly damaged, but having a burial attached to each; of these "doors", the northern is the larger and more important. *Mdw-nfr*: has a pair of uninscribed false-doors in the western wall of his chapel, but the shaft, which ends in two burial-chambers, lies behind the northern wall. *Mr-^cnh.f*: both false-doors are inscribed. The southern door belongs to the tomb-owner and the northern one to his wife. Prince *'nh-m^c-R^c* has a pair of uninscribed false-doors with a rectangular rock-cut offering-table lying before them. The Prince's burial-chamber lies below these false-doors, and though there is a second shaft in the tomb, we may say that this pair of false-doors belong to the tomb-owner himself. Prince *Iwn-R^c* also had a pair of uninscribed rock-cut false-doors. Queen *Rht-R^c* has her northern door only inscribed. *Nj-^cnh-Hnmw* has a burial to each false-door, but the southern one is the larger and more important. The Princess (daughter of Khafra') has two uninscribed false-doors in the eastern façade of her mastaba, the southern one of which is larger, though both appertain to a single burial. Prince *R^c-htp* has an uninscribed (perhaps unfinished) false-door in the north of his eastern façade, and a small unfinished false-door in the south of the western wall of his chapel. *Ir-shw* has two inscribed false-doors in his chapel, of which the southern one is appertaining to the principal burial and has a circular offering-table and rectangular libation basin set before it. *Hw.f-R^c* has two false-doors in his chapel, of which the northern one is inscribed and belongs to the tomb-owner. Each appertains to a separate burial. *Tstj* has two inscribed false-doors, the northern one of which is larger. There are also

three tombs in our excavations, each of which possesses three false-doors. These are *Nfr*, whose southern "door" is destroyed. The central one, which lies before his sarcophagus, is the most important and is inscribed, while the northern one is roughly cut and uninscribed. Nevertheless, this "door" lies above the entrance to a sloping passage terminating in a burial-chamber which contains a fine large sarcophagus, lying directly behind this false-door. Prince *Iwn-Mnw* has two uninscribed false-doors in his outer northern chapel, and one uninscribed "door", with an offering-table before it, in the western inner chapel. Of these, the latter seems to be the most important, because of the presence of the offering-table. *K3-m-nfrt*, who was the priest of Queen *Rht-R'* has three false-doors in his tomb, but one of them, that of *K3-k3j-nh*, is a later addition of the early Fifth Dynasty. All are inscribed and have a burial attached. The southern "door" belonged to the tomb-owner, and is remarkable for having all its parts, with the exception of the panel inscribed with the offering-list⁽¹⁾. Four of our tombs have four false-doors each. These are Prince *Shm-k3-R'*, who has an uninscribed false-door at the southern end of the western wall of his chapel, which relates to the principal burial, a pair of false-doors at the northern end of the same wall, which appertain to a secondary shaft, and a palace-façade on the northern wall of the inner chapel. *K3-wsrt*, a King's Concubine, probably of Khafra', has two false-doors in the eastern façade of her mastaba, of which the southern one is large, inscribed and made of Turah limestone, while the smaller northern "door" is rock-cut and seemingly unfinished. Behind each of these outer "doors" are two others, cut in the western wall of the chapel. Both are uninscribed, but have a burial-shaft cut in the floor in front of them. These outer "doors" in the façade which correspond to inner "doors" in the chapel wall may be intended to serve as an indication to the Ka of the direct way into the burial-chamber. This idea was seemingly in the mind of Prince *K3j*, who has two uninscribed false-doors flanking the entrance to his inner chapel, and which correspond to two more "doors" cut in the western wall of the inner chapel. Behind this latter pair, a little to the north lies the burial of the Prince, who thus has four false-doors appertaining to a single interment, to say nothing of the palace-façade panelling on the exterior of his mastaba (see above, pp. 76, 77) which shows that he had a tendency to revert to the multiple doors of the archaic tombs. Queen *Hnt-k3w.s* also had four false-doors in her pyramid. Of these, two, which are made of granite, are in the cult chapel, and two are cut in the rock-wall of the burial-chamber behind them. These latter are also facing a row of rock-cut magazines which remind us of the connection between the false-doors and the store-rooms in the archaic mastabas. Two of our tombs have five false-doors each. These are Queen *Bw-nfr* and Prince *Nb-m-3ht*. The Queen's tomb presents an interesting point. In the outer chapel there are three false-doors appertaining to subsidiary burials, and all are uninscribed. In the inner chapel are a pair of uninscribed false-doors with a rectangular offering-table supported upon legs, placed between them. The entrance to the sloping passage leading to the burial-chamber runs directly under the southern door, but the actual sarcophagus of the Queen rests immediately under the northern door. We have one tomb which contains no less than six false-doors, four of which each appertain to a separate burial, but one door and a palace-façade seemingly belong to the mother of the tomb-owner. This is the family tomb of *3ht-htp*. From this we see that only

⁽¹⁾ This phenomenon may be explained either as lack of space in the walls of the tomb or in order that the offering may be immediately in front of him, and we shall meet further with false-doors on which are inscribed offering-lists.

seven burials out of a total of thirty-eight possess single false-doors, but that multiple false-doors do not necessarily mean multiple burials, any more than they did in the Archaic Period. From twenty-seven burials containing two or more false-doors, four are all appertaining to a single burial (Prince *Kꜣj*, Queen *Hnt-kꜣw.s*, Prince *Rꜥ-ḥtp*, and Prince *Nj-[mꜣt]Rꜥ*). We can also say that of these examples, eight have the principal “door” to the south, while in six cases the northern “door” is the most important. In the remaining examples the evidence is inconclusive by reason of damage or incompleteness.

The Decoration of the Fourth Dynasty False-Doors

According to the material employed by Dr. Reisner in his researches ⁽¹⁾, the false-doors of the Fourth Dynasty should conform to the following table in regard to the nature and disposition of their inscriptions:—

(1) *Architrave* (*i.e.* upper lintel):—

(a) Full titles and name.

(b) Offering-formula, titles and name.

(2) *Tablet* (*i.e.* panel).—Owner seated facing right at table of bread with titles, name and offering-list.

(3) *Cross-bar* (*i.e.* lower lintel):—

(a) Titles and name.

(b) Offering-formula with titles and name introduced later.

(4) *Drum*.—Short titles and name, or name only.

(5) *Back of inner niche* (*i.e.* door-niche).—Figure of owner facing to right, usually standing but sometimes seated, or seated *at table of bread*; titles and name, rarely offering-formula.

(6) *Sides of inner recess* (*i.e.* thickness of door-niche).—Commonly figure of owner standing with staff and wand facing out; *variation*: offering-bearers facing in.

(7) *Back of inner recess* (*i.e.* inner jambs) (on each side of inner niche):—

(a) Figure of owner standing, usually facing in.

(b) Figures of members of the family, standing facing in.

(8) *Sides of outer recess* (*i.e.* outer jambs).—Variable; figure of owner; estates; offering-bearer, and even scenes from daily life.

Let us now take the Fourth Dynasty examples of false-doors from our excavations and from other outside sources, and examine them, section by section, to see what results our material will produce, and how far they agree with Dr. Reisner's list.

⁽¹⁾ REISNER, “*Tomb Development*”, p. 294.

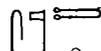
THE PANEL

As the panel is the oldest inscribed part of the false-door (*see* above, p. 72) and seemingly the most important, it is fitting that we should open our examination with that part. There is, moreover, a curious fact to be observed concerning the panel. In the Archaic Period we have seen it bearing the offering-scene with limited inscriptions, gradually new details and inscriptions were added until they became too many to be included on the restricted space of the panel, with the result that they began to “ overflow ” on the other parts of the false-door (1). Finally even this device was found to be unsatisfactory, and the offering-scenes, with all the details that led up to the presentation of the offerings invaded the walls of the chapel. Thus, we may say that the contents of the original panel eventually spread over the entire chapel, and to such an extent that in some cases the panel scene simply bears a figure of the deceased seated or standing and without an offering-table or lists (2). If we take the panel to represent a window, then these examples perhaps represent the deceased seated at his window viewing all his possessions around him on the chapel walls. Before attempting to describe the offering-scenes on the panels of the second half of the Fourth Dynasty false-doors, we must first of all make a study of the contents of those which had preceded them, from the time of the Second Dynasty to the end of the first half of the Fourth Dynasty, in order that we may be in a position to know what is to appear as a new item in the later examples. From a study of these early stones up till the middle of the Fourth Dynasty, we shall find that in addition to the figure of the owner seated upon a chair before a table laden with half-loaves of bread, there are numerous other objects which were to be presented as food and drink offering, funerary equipment, or were to be employed in the offering-ritual. Needless to say, all of these do not appear on any one single panel which may be full of detail, as in the case of Princess *Shfnr* (*see* p. 92 *ff.*) or more modestly provided as the Bankfield Stele.

THE BANKFIELD STELE (Fig. 13)

This is perhaps the oldest of the examples of offering-scenes that we have and on it we see the following commodities mentioned as offerings to be presented to the dead, some of which are represented pictorially, while others are written out phonetically, the items being arranged in irregular alternate rows. At the top (left) of the stela we see (*see* Fig. 13) :—

The First Row :—

(1)  *sntr*. Incense.

(2)  . A ewer and basin for ablutions, the ewer being of an unusual shape.

(1) For example see the false-door of *K3-m-nfrt*, where the offering-list is so large that it occupies the whole space of the false-door with the exception of the panel (*see* above, p. 132).

(2) JUNKER, “*Giza*”, II, p. 70 *ff.* traces the displacement of the panel scene and its accompanying offering-list from the panel to the other parts of the false-door; from thence to the western wall of the chapel, afterwards to the southern wall, and finally to the northern and eastern walls.

- (3)  *Kb* or *kbh*. A libation vase upon a stand.
- (4)   . A loaf ⁽¹⁾ (or half a round loaf [?]) of 1½ hekets of flour, of which the deceased has  200 at his disposal.
- (5) . A damaged object of which the deceased required 2000 .



FIG. 13.

The Second Row :—

- (6) . One hundred round loaves of bread.
- (7)  . One hundred conical loaves of bread.
- (8)  *ht* bread, of which  3000 loaves are required. In the later lists we always find a fixed group of bread *ttw*, *t.rth* and *ht* therefore perhaps the loaf  is the *ttw*, and  the *t.rth*.

⁽¹⁾ Are we to see in the two signs   above the loaf  1½ hekets, denoting that this loaf is made of 1½ hekets of flour, and thus give it the same explanation as that given below on the stele of Princess *Shfar* (see below, p. 95) ?

The Third Row :—

(9) . A vine on props, beneath which is a basket, the whole group expressing wine *irp*. (This vine is represented again in a modified manner, to the left of the offering-table. With it is a jar with a net-work cover,  and below it the number 100 ). Of this wine, the deceased required  3000 jars.

(10) . A large half-oval loaf, to be presented in quantities of 200 .

(11) . Two elongated loaves placed one over the other, perhaps a kind of pastry. To be presented in quantities of  3000 (*see below, p. 95*).

The Fourth Row :—

(12) . (*To the left*):  Two thousand jars of beer.

(13) A damaged object, which may be an oil jar , and the number  1000.

(14) . The tall vase with a conical lid, to be presented in quantities of  3000.

The Fifth Row :—

This row contains four kinds of birds, the first two of which appear to be cranes, judging by the long and characteristically downward pointing beaks   (15, 16). The second pair of birds (17, 18) are geese  . These are to be presented in quantities of  120,  110,  2100.

The Sixth Row :—

This row is very indistinct, but seems to contain the heads of four kinds of horned cattle, (19, 20, 21, 22), which were to be given in quantities of  2000,  200,  1000,  120.

The offering-table itself consists of a forked pedestal on which is placed a flat tray supporting a bowl or basket, in which are four half-loaves of bread. Above them are placed a haunch of meat, but the names of the different kinds of cloth, so prominent on the other early lists, are absent here.

THE BERLIN NICHE-STONE (Fig. 14)

Now let us study the Berlin niche-stone and see what are the offerings appearing upon it. Here we have a number of commodities, represented pictorially and written phonetically, as on the Bankfield stele, but unlike the older specimen, we have here an attempt at orderly arrangement. On the left-hand side of the panel is the offering-scene proper, where the deceased is seated upon a bovine-legged chair ⁽¹⁾, and is stretching out his right hand to take two of the three

⁽¹⁾ This type of chair becomes practically a fixed form for the succeeding dynasties of the Old Kingdom.

half-loaves placed in a bowl upon the offering-table before him. To the right of the table are two large jars, that to the left having a cover (1, 2).

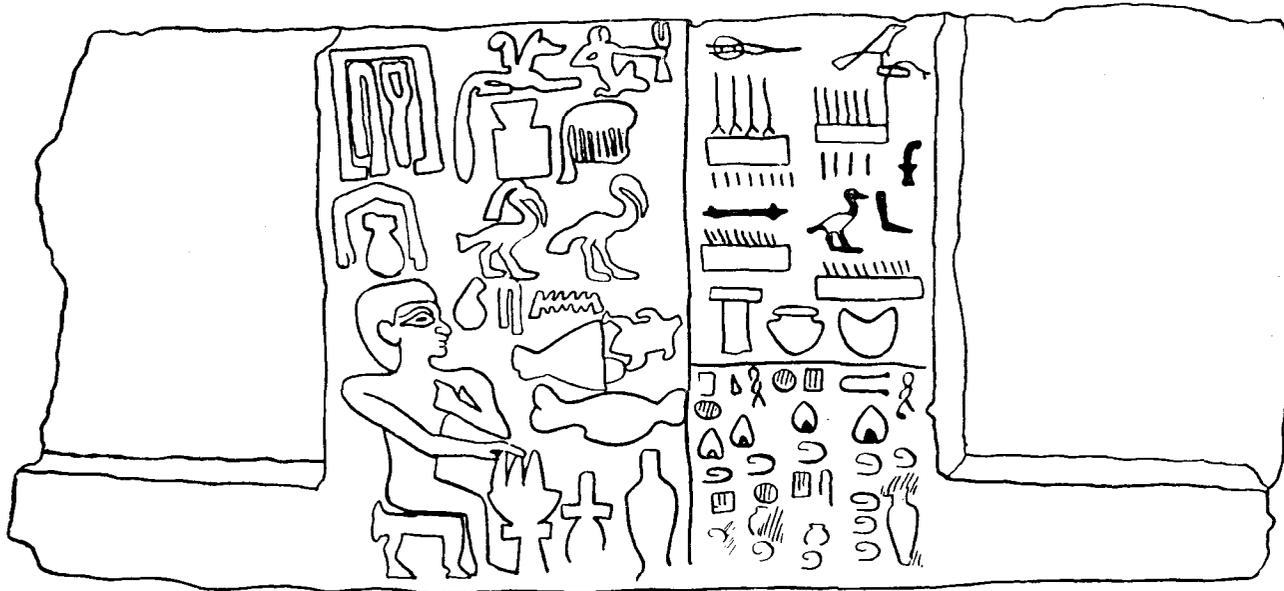


FIG. 14.

Above the table and these two jars are some meat offerings consisting of:—

- (3)  . The *sut* joint, shin of beef.
- (4)  . The *hps'* joint, haunch of beef.
- (5)  . A trussed (or cooked ?) goose.

The ewer and basin usually present in the later offering-scenes is here conspicuous by its absence.

At the top of the panel are the titles and name of the owner. The first sign in the upper right-hand corner is that of a seated man holding a stick in his left hand , and this ought to read *hrp* "leader". The sign below it  seems to be an archaic form of  (later  *kn.w*, a vineyard). Therefore, the title of the deceased ought to read: "The Director of the Vineyard." This is followed by his second title   which is an early writing for *hrj-sš'tj* "Master of the Secrets". The following group of signs is, of course,  *smr-pr* "Friend of the House" (*i.e.* the King's personal servant). The next title is   *shn.w sh* "The Seeker of the Spirits", an ancient priestly title which was known even in the First Dynasty⁽¹⁾. The name of the deceased is written    and may be read either *Gm-n-sš'r* or *Gm-n-stj*.

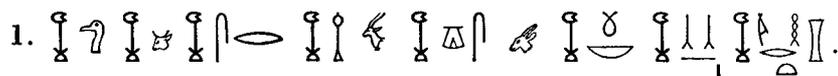
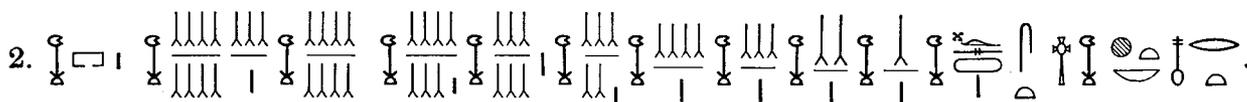
To the right of this offering-scene is an offering-list, arranged in five registers, the two top ones being the names of different kinds and qualities of cloth.

(6)  . This appears to be an early form of  *idmj*, or *ntr* cloth (*see* below, p. 90). Below the sign are four strokes  denoting that the cloth was woven of thread composed of four strands (*see* below). It was to be presented in quantities of  1000 pieces.

⁽¹⁾ *See* Dramatische Texte, p. 193.

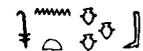
(7) \dashv *ssr cloth*. Woven from thread of eight strands, having a knotted fringe, according to Dr. Scharff (*see below*), while the other three examples have a simple fringe.

The sign \int (sometimes replaced by \dashv) varies in number in the different lists, from 1 to 9. It has been suggested (SMITH, “*A.Z.*”, Vol. 71, p. 148) that these signs denote the number of threads to a given length of cloth, just as the quality of linen to-day is judged by the number of threads to the inch. But here the numbers are far too low and do not accord with actual specimens of ancient linen found and examined. JEQUIER, “*Les Frises d’Objets des Sarcophages du Moyen Empire*”, p. 31 ff. suggests that the sign \int denotes the width of the cloth a plausible theory which Smith adopts in his article. Nevertheless, it is quite possible that \int and \dashv refer to the number of strands composing the thread, of which the cloth is woven. Thus, nine strands to the thread would denote a thick, heavy quality, and one strand, a fine gauze-like material, with *ssf* as the finest of all. I have examined a piece of linen from the bandage on a mummy’s foot, which is woven of thread composed of two strands. Proof that \int and its multiple refer to strands or threads may perhaps be afforded by the offering-list of *K3j-sw \bar{u} w* which we found inscribed on a limestone tablet in the burial-chamber of his tomb at Giza (6th season). Most of the surface of the stone is occupied by a typical canonical list, arranged in rectangles. But below this is a shorter list which seems to be an echo of the archaic lists, both in its arrangement and material. It reads as follows:—

1. 
2. 

In the first row, \int plainly stands for linen in general and is written with two signs which ought to denote the elements of which the cloth is composed, *i.e.* the threads, not the breadth or length of the cloth. If this idea is acceptable, and on the face of it, it ought to be, then the lower row explains itself as recording cloths woven of threads of from nine to one strands in thickness. We know from many other sources that \int is an abbreviated way of writing “cloth”, but the fact that it occurs here in this list, and below it the other list of cloth with decreasing numbers from nine to one is the vital point which assists in giving the above explanation.

(8) \int  *b3-cloth*. This is unknown on the other archaic lists, but may be associated with *b3* panther-skin. Perhaps it was a kind of cloth imitating panther-skin, and employed for the priestly garments we frequently see on the monuments from the Archaic Period onwards (1).

(1) See  *Njswt-ibw* of Denderah (PETRIE, “*Denderah*”, Pl. II) and more particularly the long garments worn by women (Princess *Shfnr* and Princess *Njrt-ibbit*). (BOREUX, “*Revue de l’Égypte Ancienne*”, Vol. I, Pl. II).

(9)  's.t cloth. This list of cloth seems to fix the standard of enumeration of the later lists for the order in which these different varieties of cloth are mentioned, i.e. *idmj*, *sšr* and 's.t (though here we have *bš* cloth interposed between *sšr* and 's.t which does not, so far as I know, occur elsewhere). Thus, the relationship of this monument with the other stelæ is plain to see.

Dr. Scharff⁽¹⁾ is of the opinion that the multiple unit (*sdb*) (?) also occurs on other cloth lists, but in those cases the sign  stands alone and not in relation to the strip of cloth below it, the fringe of which may be denoted by knots. Therefore, the three other cloth signs on our list may not indicate a special kind of weaving, as is the case later, but both  and  may simply be determinatives. The strokes underneath the *idmj* and *sšr* cloths are, of course, numerals, and, as we have said, should denote the number of strands to the thread of which the cloth is woven. Below this list of fabrics are three signs which are not named. These are:—

(10) . An object which seems to correspond to the offering-table placed before the deceased.

(11) . A stone vase of the typical Second Dynasty style.

(12) . An unidentified object (most probably a dish).

Below these is an engraved line separating these signs from the lower list, which from lack of space, is engraved in smaller signs in order to accommodate it all. This list includes:—

(13)  @ @. Two hundred loaves of *ht*-bread.

(14)  @ @. One hundred loaves of *ph*-bread (this item occurs twice).

(15)  @. One hundred jars of *hk* beer (notice that the usual  at the end has been omitted). The sign  used to determine beer, as well as different kinds of bread, suggests that it is a general sign for food of any kind and had not yet become specialized.

The bottom register is very indistinct, but the following objects seem to be intended:—

(16)  @ @. Three hundred jars of wine (?).

(17)  @ @. Two hundred jars of *sp* drink.

(18)  @ @. Two hundred jars of *hp* drink.

⁽¹⁾ "Eine archaische Grabplatte des Berliner Museums."

These last two drinks are perhaps to be compared with the 𓆎 determined by two jars, which appear upon the niche-stone of Princess *Shfnr* (see below).

The Niche-Stone of Princess *Shfnr* (Fig. 15)

The offering-scene of the Princess *Shfnr* (1) is divided into three parts, the central one of which is occupied by the offering-scene proper. Here we see the deceased lady seated upon a chair which has a cushioned seat and a plain framework. She is clad in a long robe, fastened on the left shoulder with a knot of ribbons; she also wears an elaborately dressed wig. Her right hand is extended to the offering-table which is of the same type as we have seen on the Bankfield Stele, except that the fork in the pedestal does not extend so far up the support. The Princess

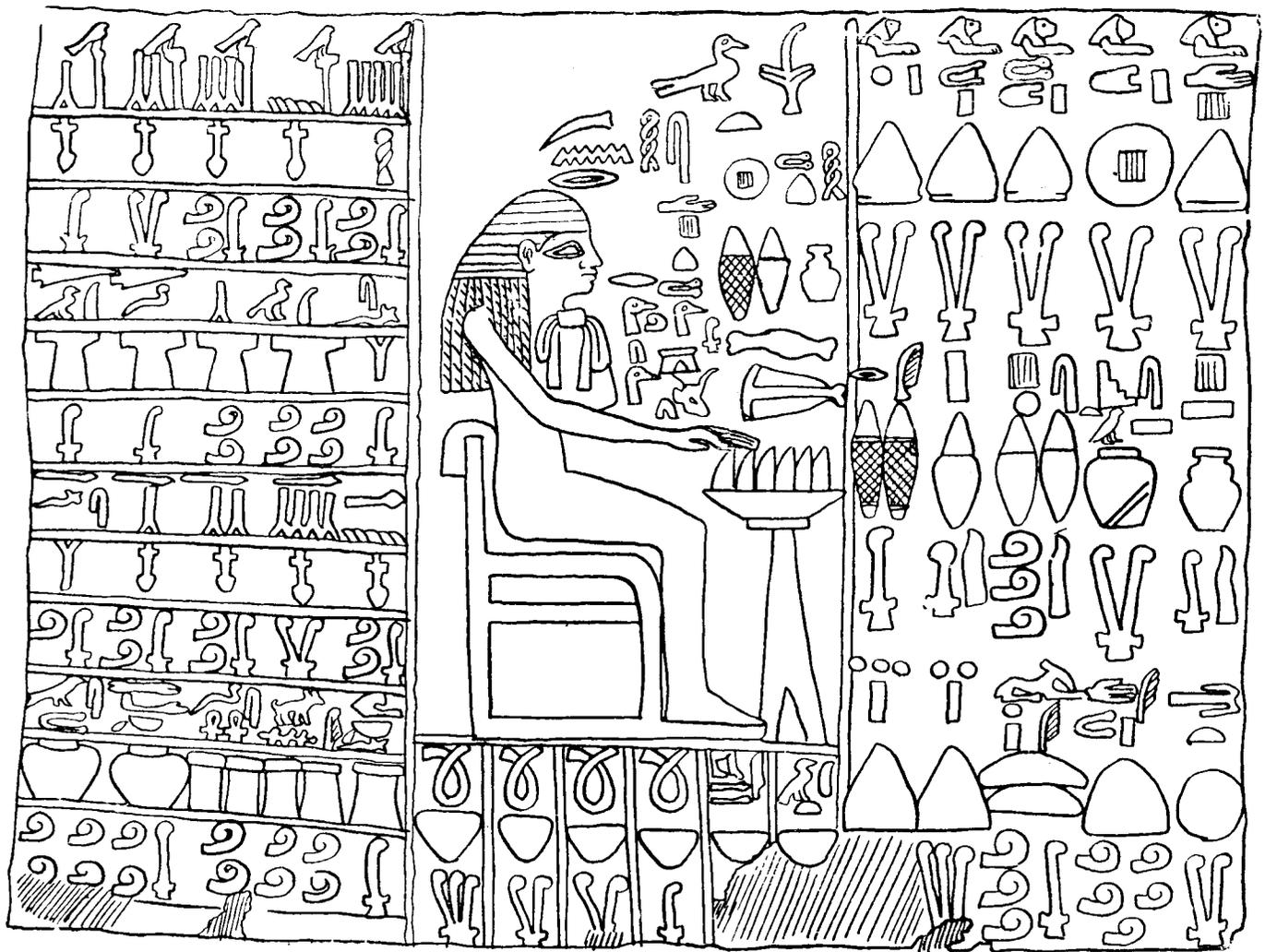
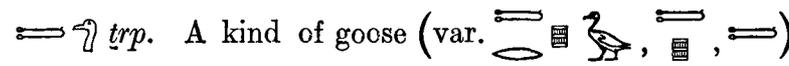


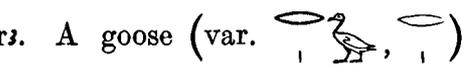
FIG. 15.

(1) QUIBELL, "Archaic Mastabas", Pls. XXVI, XXVII. The name of the Princess is read *Shnser* by Quibell, but JUNCKER, "Giza", V, pp. 43-44, reads it *Shfnr* which is the right reading.

is helping herself to two of the six half-loaves of bread which are in the bowl upon the table. Above this table, and in front of the Princess are the following items:—

(1) The *swt* joint (shin of beef[?]), and the *iw'* or haunch, the latter being placed immediately over the bread, as on the Bankfield Stele.

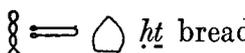
(2)  *trp.* A kind of goose (var. ) (1). This is to be presented in quantities of 1000 .

(3)  *rs.* A goose (var. ) (2). This is to be presented in quantities of 100 .

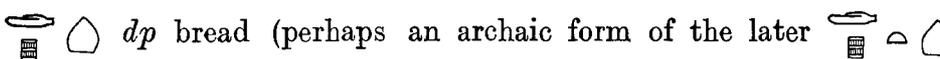
(4) . A stand (?) Ten  are asked for.

(5)  *sr* (?). A goose. Above the two joints of meat are three kinds of liquids in jars

(6) , (7) , (8) .

(9)  *ht* bread.

(10) . An unnamed round loaf.

(11)  *dp* bread (perhaps an archaic form of the later  *dp.t*).

At the top appears the title and name of the Princess:  "The King's Daughter, *Shfnr*."

Underneath the Princess's throne are six kinds of bowls which ought to contain some kind of food or liquid. These are:—

(12)  *tj-ss.t*. A stone vase.

(13) . A dish? (see BALCZ, *ibid.* Pl. 2 and p 75).

(14)  *ss ht*. Thousand alabaster dishes.

(1) *Wörterbuch*, Vol. V, p. 387.

(2) „ Vol. II., p. 293.

- (15)  ⁽¹⁾. 2000 alabaster dishes.
- (16)  . 2000 „ „
- (17)  . 3000 „ „

To the right of this scene is an offering-list arranged in three registers, each register being defined by the row of numerals denoting the quantity in which each item was to be presented. The top register contains five kinds of bread or cake of the first class quality ( *h3.t*) each to be presented in 2000  loaves.

The First Register :—

- (18)   *dp*-bread (see also No. 11 above).
- (19)   (?). A round loaf of $\frac{1}{2}$ a heket of flour.
- (20)  . A  loaf of $\frac{1}{2}$ a heket of flour.
- (21)  . „ $\frac{1}{2}$ „
- (22)  . A conical loaf of one heket of flour.

The Second Register :—

This row contains five different kinds of drink-offerings :—

- (23)   *ps*. Notice that the jar is similar in shape to that of No. 6 placed above the meat offerings (see Fig. 15).
- (24)    . . . (?). These are both to be presented in quantities of  2000.
- (25)    *shp*. A kind of beer (?). To be presented in quantities of 10300 jars ⁽²⁾.
- (26)   . 11000 jars are required.
- (27)   *ir*  . Probably a defective form of   (see No. 25) *ir* [*p*] (?) “wine.”
 1000 jars are required.

⁽¹⁾ This archaic form of writing 2 and 3 thousand appears later in the mastaba of *Snb*. (JUNKER, “Giza”, V, p. 76, Fig. 19).

⁽²⁾ It is possible that this *Shp* is a defective form of *Shp.t* , as we find  instead of  (see No. 27) and

 for  (L.D., II, 28).

The Third Register:—

This register contains five more different kinds of bread or pastry (?):—

(28)  \circ *rth*. Baker's bread or cake, $\{$ 2000 loaves.

(29)  Δ *id* (later, ) $\textcircled{\circ}$ 500 loaves, each of half a heket of flour.

(30)  \circ $\textcircled{\circ}$ (perhaps related to the word *'wr.t*, and later, *'wr.t*,—A kind of pastry ⁽¹⁾
 $\textcircled{\circ}$ 1300 cakes each of one heket of flour.

(31) \circ \circ Δ ? $\{$ 3000 loaves, each of two hekets of flour.

(32) \circ Δ $\textcircled{\circ}$ (?) Conical loaves, each of three hekets of flour. These two entries remind us of the two round loaves in the *htp di njsut* and the *htp wsht* of the later lists (Nos. 16 and 17). See MASPERO, “*Tables d'offrandes*”, *Études de Mythologie et d'Archéologie* (Vol. VI. p. 360 ff.) ⁽²⁾.

To the left of the offering-scene is another list arranged in orderly rows. It contains four registers, the first three of which are occupied by the names of different kinds of cloth, their qualities and the number of pieces to be presented. The fourth register contains five kinds of ointments. The first (top) row contains five kinds of a red cloth called *idmj* or *ntr* ⁽³⁾ :—

The First Register:—

(33)  $\{$ $\{$ $\{$ $\{$ $\{$ *idmj* cloth, having five strands to the thread, qualified by $\{$. The number of pieces required is $\textcircled{\circ}$ 1200.

(34)  $\textcircled{\circ}$ *idmj* cloth perhaps pleated, qualified by $\{$ “beautiful”. $\textcircled{\circ}$ 1200 pieces are also required.

(35)  $\{$ $\{$ $\{$ “beautiful” $\{$ *idmj* cloth of three strands to the thread. The quantity required is also $\textcircled{\circ}$ 1200 pieces.

(36)  $\{$ $\{$ “beautiful” $\{$ *idmj* cloth of two strands to the thread. Two thousand $\{$ pieces are to be presented.

(37)  $\{$ “beautiful” *idmj* cloth of one strand to the thread. 1000 $\textcircled{\circ}$ pieces are required.

⁽¹⁾ W.B., Vol. I, p. 56.

⁽²⁾ GARDINER, “*Egyptian Grammar*”, pp. 197–178, and MÖLLER, “*Hieratische Paläographie*”, B I, p. 66, give the sign $\textcircled{\circ}$ the value of $\frac{1}{2}$ a heket, and \circ , $\frac{1}{4}$ of a heket, according to the notation based on the legend of the Eye of Horus. This is true in some cases, when the sign is treated as a fraction. Thus, in MÖLLER (*ibid.* p. 67, No. 707) $\textcircled{\circ}$ equals $\frac{1}{2}$ of a heket. But when dealing with units \circ can stand for “one heket” (MÖLLER, p. 66, No. 695, etc.). In our example, \circ ought to be considered as one heket, because in No. 29 we have the sign $\textcircled{\circ}$ of $\frac{1}{2}$ heket, in No. 30 we have \circ which should be one heket, and in No. 31 we have $\textcircled{\circ}$ = two hekets, and in No. 32 we have $\textcircled{\circ}$ = three hekets. If \circ was here considered a $\frac{1}{4}$ heket, then $\textcircled{\circ}$ would be a senseless variant and repetition of $\textcircled{\circ}$, while $\textcircled{\circ}$ should have been written $\textcircled{\circ}$ as MÖLLER has given it.

Therefore, here the sign \circ should be taken as the unit = one heket (a gallon) and not as the fraction. The large size of such a loaf is astonishing, but can be explained when we frequently see representations of a single large loaf occupying the whole of the table, (see below, p. 171, Fig. 26). Thus, we see here that the sign \circ seems used as an abridgment for the sign of the heket as stated in MÖLLER above and may be applied for the sign $\textcircled{\circ}$ in the Bankfield Stele for one and a half hekets. It is interesting to note that the custom of baking abnormally big loaves is still in use in modern Egypt, especially in Upper Egypt—a distinctive mark of generosity and hospitality.

⁽³⁾ See JUNKER, “*Giza*”, Vol. I, p. 177 ff. and for a complete study of these different kinds of cloth, see BLACKMAN, “*Meir*”, Vol. IV, p. 48, and WEILL, “*II^e et III^e Dynasties*”, pp. 227 ff, 1238 ff, and W. S. SMITH, “*Ä. Z.* 71,” p. 134. ff.

The Second Register :—

This register contains five kinds of cloth or garments :—

(38)  *sf.* Thin cloth, qualified by . To be presented in  1000 pieces.

(39)  *irtjw.* Blue garment determined by . This seems to be a kind of garment with sleeves, like the modern Egyptian “kamice (1).” The number required is  400.

(40)  *sdb* (?). A garment to be presented in quantities of  200.

(41)  *ssr.w wsd.t.* Green linen of  1000 pieces are required.

(42)  *ssr.w irtjw.* Blue linen to be presented in quantities of  1000 pieces.

The Third Register :—

This contains varieties of ‘*st*’ cloth :—

(43)  ‘*st*’ cloth of (?) strands to the thread. Qualified “good” or “beautiful” , and to be presented in quantities of  1200 pieces.

Smith (*ibid.* p. 137) takes the sign  as another method of writing the number 5, and makes it equal . This may be so with regard to the straight strokes—which are often used to replace  in the larger numbers in order to economize space. But in this case  can hardly replace , as a variant here would be without reason, and the five  can easily be repeated in the given space.

There is a possibility that  can mean a pleated cloth, or a twilled cloth woven of twisted thread.

(44)  ‘*st*’ cloth with four strands to the thread and qualified . To be presented in quantities of  2000 pieces.

(45)  ‘*st*’ cloth of two strands to the thread,  quality, and  1200 pieces required.

(46)  ‘*st*’ cloth of a single thread,  quality, and 1200  pieces required.

(47)  ‘*st sf.*’ A thin or narrow (?) ‘*st*’ cloth, of  quality. To be presented in  1100 pieces.

(1) Actual garments of this form have been discovered by Petrie at Deshasheh (PETRIE, “*Deshasheh*”, p. 31, Pl. XXXV) and by Dr. Reisner at Naga-ed-Dur (SMITH, *ibid.* p. 139, Fig. 1). Smith offers the suggestion that  may be identified with *irtjw*, and mean a garment made of blue linen (*ibid.* p. 148).

(2) See JUNKER, “*Giza*”, V, pp. 42-44.

The Fourth Register :—

This register contains five kinds of ointments and oils (1) :—

(48) *h3.t-kf* (?). First-class brilliantine oil determined by a jar . To be presented in quantities of 1000.

(49) *ib-s3*. A kind of fine oil. 400 jars are required.

(50) *sd* . . . (?). A kind of oil. 200 jars are required.

(51) *d.k* Cedar oil. 1200 jars required.

(52) *swr.t*. A kind of oil or ointment. To be presented in quantities of .

We now come to one of the principal offering-scenes of the Third Dynasty.

The False-Door of *H'-b3w-Skr* (Fig. 16) (2)

This false-door has lost its upper part, so we are unable to say what had existed upon the panel. Nevertheless, even if the panel bore the conventional offering-scene, the owner also thought it fitting to reproduce this important element in the door-niche; thus, we are confronted with a complete conventional panel design transferred to the door-niche, which seems to mean that the door is standing open and we are able to see the owner inside, partaking of his offering-meal. This scene includes the largest offering-list so far known for the Archaic Period, and contains altogether 59 items, some of which have, however, already appeared upon the Second Dynasty lists. The dead man is seated upon a bovine-legged chair. He wears a short curled wig, and is clad in a long garment, fastened on the shoulders

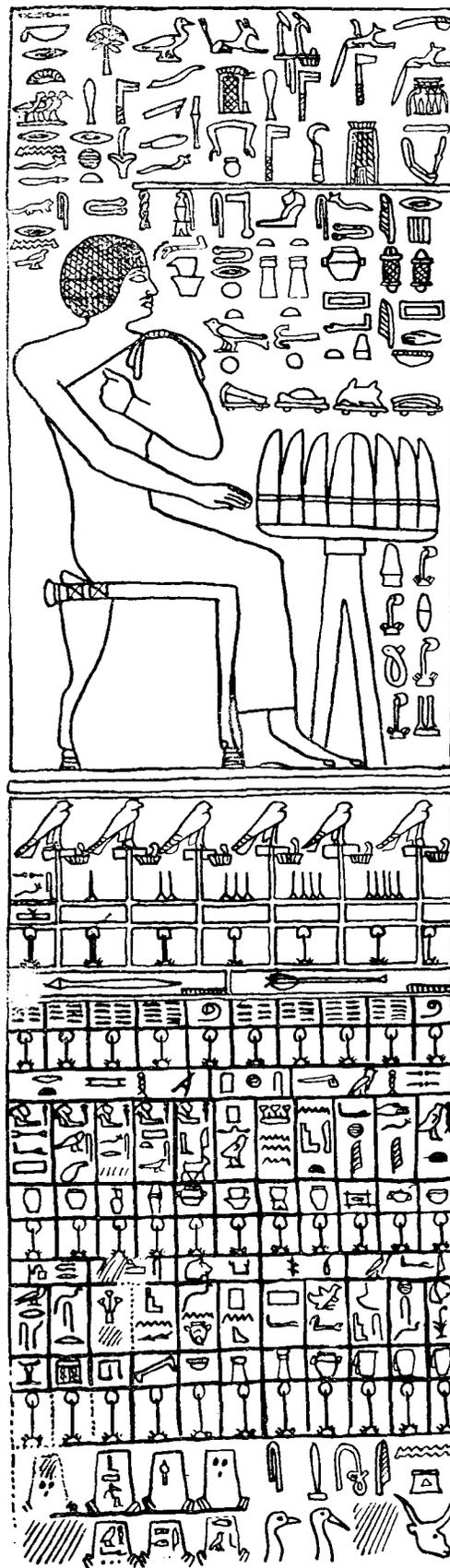
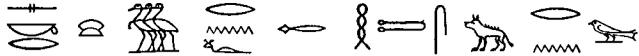


FIG. 16.

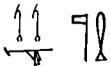
(1) For a study of these items, see Balez, *ibid.*

(2) MURRAY, "Sakkarā Mastabas". Vol. I, Pl. I.

with a knot of ribbons. This garment was worn equally by men and women (1), and judging by coloured examples which have survived (2) was made of panther-skin, or more probably, of cloth imitating panther-skin. A vertical inscription above and behind his head reads:  'H'-b3w-Skr [is] his great name, Hts [is his] little name. At the top of the scene are some of 'H'-b3w-Skr's titles:—

(a)  “ . . . of Anubis Who Presides in the Necropolis.”

(b)  (3) . . .

(c)  hm-ntr “ . . . priest of . . . ”

(d)  (4) hk3n ntr.

(e)  (5) shn pr-wr St “ . . . of the Temple of Seth.”

(f)  s3-'b. “Guard of the Cattle”.

(g)  Hm-ntr-Ss3.t. “Priest of the Goddess Ss3.t.”

(h)  irj-ht-njswt. “He Who is Concerned with the King's Affairs.”

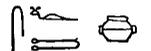
Below these titles is an offering list, the separation between the two being marked by a double line. This list contains the following items:—

(1) A libation vase on a stand.  (?) kb or kbh i': water for washing the hands ?

(2) *pg3w* or *i'*  A ewer and a basin.

(3)  o *sntr*. Incense.

(4)  h3.tt. Sacred oil or perfume.

(5)  sft. Sacred oil or perfume.

(1) See Princess *Shfnr*, p. 92, Fig. 15. Also *Ht-hr-nfr-htp* (MURRAY *Ibid.* Pl. II).

(2) For instance, Princess *Nfr.t-I3btj.t*, BOREAUX, “*Revue de l'Égypte Ancienne*”, Pl. II (Vol. I).

(3) Var. .

(4) Var. .

(5) Var. .

(6)  (determined by two jars with basket-work covers) *irp*. Wine.

(7)  *t-wr* bread.

(8)  *t-rth*. Baker's bread or cake.

(9)  *s't* bread (*cf.* with the half-loaves).

(10)  *isd*. A kind of fruit.

Below are four kinds of meat laid upon very low rectangular stands. These are :—

(11)  *iw^s*. The haunch.

(12)  *swt*. The shin (?).

(13)  . A trussed goose.

(14)  *Spr*. Ribs of beef.

The offering-table has the forked pedestal we have seen on the Bankfield Stele, but is seemingly supporting a low circular stand. Upon this the half-loaves are placed directly, without any bowl or basket, and they are arranged in two groups of four each, with the flat side turned inwards to the centre of the table. Underneath the right side of the table are inscribed various offerings which were to be presented in thousands $\overline{\text{h}}\text{3}$. These are:—

(15)  $\overline{\text{h}}\text{3}$. A thousand loaves of bread.

(16)  $\overline{\text{h}}\text{3}$. A thousand jars of beer.

(17)  $\overline{\text{h}}\text{3}$. A thousand of alabaster.

(18)  $\overline{\text{h}}\text{3}$. A thousand of linen.

These were destined to become almost a stereotyped formula, and there is scarcely an offering-scene in the Old Kingdom in which they do not appear either simply in this form or with additions.

Below this scene comes the great offering-list of six registers, four of which are subdivided into rectangular spaces, a form which later became characteristic of the classical offering-lists. The two upper registers are devoted to the names of various cloths, foremost of which is the *idmj* cloth :—

(19)  *idmj* cloth of five strands to a thread.

(20)  " " four " " "

(21)   *idmj* cloth of three strands to a thread.

(22)   „ „ two „ „ „

(23)   ⁽¹⁾ „ „ one „ „ „

(24)   \Rightarrow (determined by a bundle of linen) *ssf idmj* cloth of a thin quality.

All these are to be presented in 1000 pieces.

(25)  *ssr* cloth of five different qualities:—

(a)  *ssr* cloth having ten strands to a thread ⁽²⁾.

(b)  „ „ nine „ „

(c)  „ „ eight „ „

(d)  „ „ seven „ „

(e)  „ „ six „ „

(26)  *st* cloth; also in the same five qualities. Both of these two kinds of linen are to be presented in quantities of 1000 pieces from each quality:—

(a)  *st* cloth having ten strands to a thread.

(b)  „ „ nine „ „

(c)  „ „ eight „ „

(d)  „ „ seven „ „

(e)  „ „ six „ „

Close observation shows that when the rectangles in which the number of strands are put thus  , they are large, but when the rectangles are small and the number of the strands are big, the numerical sign—is used, and thus it seems that there is no difference at all in meaning. Compare different lists. After the names of the cloth come two registers of equipment. These registers are subdivided into four rows each, the top one of which records the nature of the group of entries written below it. The second row contains the actual names of the different object, the third row contains the determinative signs, which are in most cases miniature representations of the objects, while the fourth row contains the numerical signs denoting the quantity of each object to be presented. The first group of four entries is headed.    *sshs*=a heading for a group of vases of red colour (?).

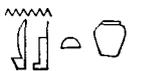
⁽¹⁾ If we consider the cloth according to its solidity and not to its fineness, the last one *ssf*. must be taken as the most inferior of all (see C. BOREUX, “ *Un Bas-relief au nom d'une Princesse Royale de la IV^e Dyn.*, *Revue de l'Égypte Ancienne*”, Tome I, p. II).

⁽²⁾ See Sethe's suggestion in BLACKMAN, “ *Meir*”, Vol. IV, p. 48.

(27)  *hwt* (determined by a bowl with one handle). A kind of big vase identical with *wh3.t*, a cooking-pot.

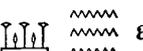
(28)  *dfi* (determined by a bowl with two handles). A kind of large vase.

(29)  *hi*. A chafing dish.

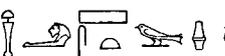
(30)  *nms.t*. A vase (1).

The next two articles are grouped under the heading:  *shp*. Vases of black colour (?). These are:—

(31)  *sm.w* (determined by a jar on a stand). A kind of large jug.

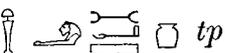
(32)  *pg3w*. The ewer and basin for ablutions here named for the first time in the examples we have been studying (2). On the list of *Ht-hr-nfr-htp* the wife of *H'-b3w-Skr* (3) all the articles , ,  and  are grouped under the one heading  *shp.t*. which according to the Berlin Dictionary is a kind of drink, and on the offering-lists indicates a variety of beer (4). The next group of five items are headed  *mrht*, oil or perfume and are all qualified as  *tp-h3.t* "first quality".

(33)  *tp h3.t i.br*. A kind of costly first-class ointment for the body.

(34)  *tp h3.t s.st* (?) (5). A kind of ointment or oil of first-class quality.

(35)  *tp h3.t sfr*. One of the ointment oils of first-class quality.

(36)  *tp h3.t swr* (*wrs*). A kind of oil or ointment of first-class quality.

(37)  *tp h3.t d.s*. Cedar oil of first-class quality.

(1) For the use of the *nmst* vase, see "Excavations at Giza", Vol. IV, p. 81. For a study of all these vases, see BALCZ, "Die Gefässdarstellungen des Alten Reiches, in Mitt. des deutsch. Instituts, Kairo", Band I, p. 61, etc.

(2) MURRAY, "Sakkara Mastabas", Vol. I, does not include this among the items which have appeared on the earlier lists. Nevertheless, we have seen it represented pictorially upon the Bankfield Stele (see pp. 86, 87, Fig. 13).

(3) MURRAY, "Sakkara Mastabas", Vol. I, Pl. II.

(4) Wörterbuch, Vol. IV, p. 240.

(5) In Meidum .

Three items are grouped under the heading: , girdles (1) or skirt:—

(38) *bs-sm'*. A skirt made of skin (a kind of festal garment).

(39) *hsd*. A kind of girdle or skirt.

(40) *ms.t*. A kind of skirt or girdle.

The next heading *tj-i* *ss.t* . . . includes two items (2):—

(41) *tj* A kind of vase.

(42) *s'* A kind of vase.

The next heading is *kz* and includes:—

(43) *pnk*. . A pail or bucket.

(44) *dni'b*. A vessel (in the household furniture).

The next heading is damaged on the *H'-b3w-Skr* list and the remaining signs are but from the list of *Ht-hr-nfr-htp* (3), we see that it is to be completed as *s3d*, which appears to be some kind of wood (Murray suggests cedar-wood) (4); it occurs here as a heading for articles of furniture.

(45) *s.t [n] ht*. The determinative resembles the beds depicted in the painted corridor of the tomb of *Hsj* at Saqqara (5). A kind of bed.

(46) determined by . On the list of *Ht-hr-nfr-htp* this entry reads: *hs (?) ht*. A wooden chest (?).

The following two articles have the heading *tr*:—

(47) *dsr*. On the *Ht-hr-nfr-htp* list it is written . An article of furniture.

(48) *wrs*. A headrest.

(1) According to GARDINER, "Egyptian Grammar", a skirt (?).

(2) See JUNKER, "Giza", I, Fig. 53, pp. 230 and 259, where he treats this as a special kind of vessel, with two others having the same determinative, namely *nmt.t* and .

(3) See p. 101, Note (3).

(4) *Ibid.* p. 34.

(5) QUIBELL, "The Tomb of Hesej", Pl. XXII, 49, 50.

Below this list are some other offerings which are not arranged in rectangles :—

(49)  *ng.* The long-horned ox.

(50)  *iw.* The short-horned ox.

(51)  *dt.* A kind of crane.

(52)  *sr.* A kind of goose. Next come eight granaries , each bearing the name of a different kind of grain or fruit. Those which are preserved read :—

(53)  *it.* Barley.

(54)  *hd.w.* Onions.

(55)  (var. ) *bs.* A kind of fruit.

(56)  *it* barley.

(57)  *db.* Figs.

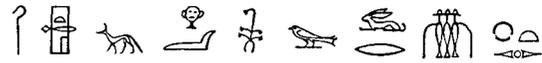
(58)  *isd*-fruit.

(59)  *wh.* Carob-beans.

This false-door of *H'-bzw-Skr* is the last monument among our material for the Archaic Period, and it serves to show us to what extent the offering-scene with its attendant offering-lists had developed since the time when the Bankfield Stele had been carved. Moreover, the offering-list of *H'-bzw-Skr* seems to have been the model upon which the arrangement of the early Fourth Dynasty lists was based, as we shall presently see. But change was soon due to creep in, and one of the first innovations we shall see is the reduction of the names of the various kinds of cloth, and finally their almost total omission, for, where cloth is retained in the later lists, it appears under the general term "linen"  among the offerings to be presented in thousands (see above, p. 99, No. 18). This neglect of the erstwhile much-esteemed item is perhaps because with the development of the art of embalming, less cloth became necessary for wrapping the dead, and thus it naturally tended to disappear from the offering-lists⁽¹⁾. (For other reasons, see JUNKER, "Giza", Vol. II, p. 72 ff.)

The Panel of *Mtn* (Fig. 17)

We now come to one of the earliest examples of the offering-lists of the Fourth Dynasty, that of *Mtn*, who lived during the reign of *Snfrw*.

This scene occurs on the panel of the false-door of *Mtn*, from his tomb at Abusir. Along the top of the panel is a horizontal inscription, reading:  "Ruler of the Great Castle, Chief of Police (?). Greatest of the Ten of Upper Egypt . . . Priest of *Mnw*, *Mtn*."

⁽¹⁾ On the panel of *Sntits* (JUNKER, "Giza", Vol. V, p. 99) we have a reversion to the old cloth-list as regards to the arrangement.

The deceased is seated upon a leonine-legged chair, an unusual form during the early period, and extending his right hand to take one of the ten half-loaves upon the offering-table.

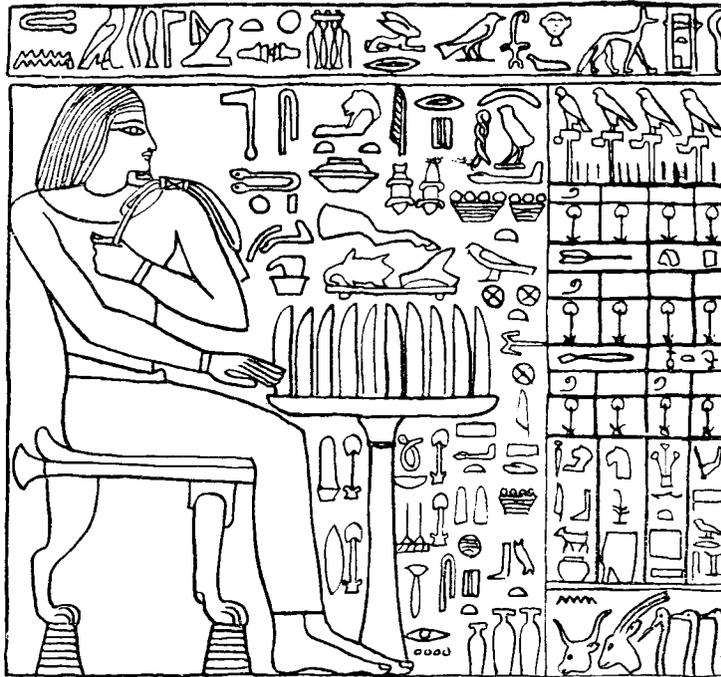


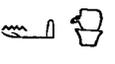
FIG. 17.

He is clad in the long garment which we have already remarked on the earlier examples, but has a girdle added to it. The offering-table itself has undergone change, and the pedestal is no longer forked. Above the table are the following offerings in two rows:—

The First (Upper) Row:—

- (1)  *sntr*. Incense.
- (2)  (determined by a covered bowl) *h3.tt* oil.
- (3)  *irp*. Wine.
- (4)  (var.  *w'h*). Carob-beans⁽¹⁾, two portions.

The Second Row:—

- (5)  *i*. The ewer and basin for hand-washing.
- (6)  *hps'*. A Foreleg of meat (according to Gardiner).
- (7)  . A trussed goose.

⁽¹⁾ GARDINER, "Egyptian Grammar", p. 475 and *Wörterbuch*, Vol. I, p. 289, translates this as stones of a fruit.

(8)  A joint of meat (?). These two last are on a low stand.

(9)   *t.wr.* A kind of bread.

(10)   *t-rth.* Baker's bread.

To the right of the table are the following :—

(11)   *s's h3.* A thousand alabaster dishes.

(12)   *s't-bread.*

(13)   *i'sd-fruit.*

(14)   *mnht h3.* A thousand pieces of linen.

(15)   *w3d.w.* Green eye-paint made of powdered malachite.

(16)   *shpt.* A kind of drink (see p. 94, Note [1]).

(17)   *bnrt* sweet milk.

To the left of the table is inscribed:—

(18)  . 1000 of bread.

(19)   *irp-h3.* 1000 of wine.

To the right of this scene is a large offering-list divided into rectangles. It is composed of five registers, the upper three of which are devoted to the names of different kinds of cloth. The first group consists of *idmj* cloth :—

The First Register :—

(20)  ||| *idmj* cloth of three strands to the thread, qualified by @, and presented in quantities of 1000 pieces.

(21)  ||| *idmj* cloth of three strands to the thread, but with no qualifying sign.

(22)  ||| *idmj* cloth, as the preceding item.

(23)  | *idmj* cloth of a single thread type, as all the preceding examples, 1000 pieces are required.

The Second Register :—

It contains two kinds of *sšr* cloth  and two kinds of  *tp* cloth, the latter being a variety which has not yet appeared in our material ⁽¹⁾ :—

(24, 25) The first kind is qualified by @ but the second has no qualification. Both are to be presented in quantities of 1000 . The *tp* cloth also has no special qualifying sign (26, 27) and is also to be presented in quantities of 1000 pieces.

The Third Register :—

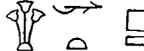
This contains  'st cloth of two kinds, the first being qualified by @ , the second has no sign of quality (28, 29) and both are required in quantities of 1000 pieces. This third register also contains two kinds of  *njsut-nfr* cloth, another new variety. The first kind is qualified by @, the second has no special qualification; both of these kinds are to be presented in quantities of 1000 pieces (30, 31).

The Fourth Register :—

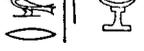
This register contains five miscellaneous entries :—

(32)  *tp hst ibr*. A costly ointment for the body of first-class quality.

(33)  *bs-šm'*. A festal girdle or skirt.

(34)  *hs (?) ht*. A wooden chest (?).

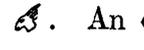
(35)  *dsr*. An article of furniture.

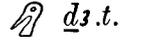
(36)  *wrs*. A headrest. These last two entries occupy a single rectangle. None of the above items have any statement as to their quantities.

The Fifth Register :—

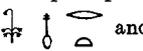
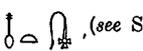
This, the last register, gives the kinds of animals and birds required to provide meat offerings for the deceased :—

(37)  *n[g]*. The long-horned ox.

(38) . An oryx.

(39)  *dj.t*. A crane.

(40, 41) . Two geese. The three latter entries are represented only by the heads of the creatures, the names are not given, and none of these items is enumerated.

⁽¹⁾ There was also a kind of cloth called *dmj*  (*Nfr-Mš't* of Meidum). This was also a kind of red cloth. It seems that by degrees, the Egyptians began to confuse the *dmj* and *idmj* cloths together, and perhaps the two names were used for the same material. See JUNKER, "Giza", Vol. I, pp. 177-178. Other kinds of linen are  and , (see SMITH, *A.Z.*, Vol. 71, p. 138).

The Panel of *Nfr*.  (1) (see Fig. 18)

This fine offering-scene occurs on a rectangular slab of limestone found in the chapel of the tomb of the lady *Nfr* at Giza, and dates from the early Fourth Dynasty. The lady, clad in the ordinary costume of the period (which is supported by braces over the shoulders and not the

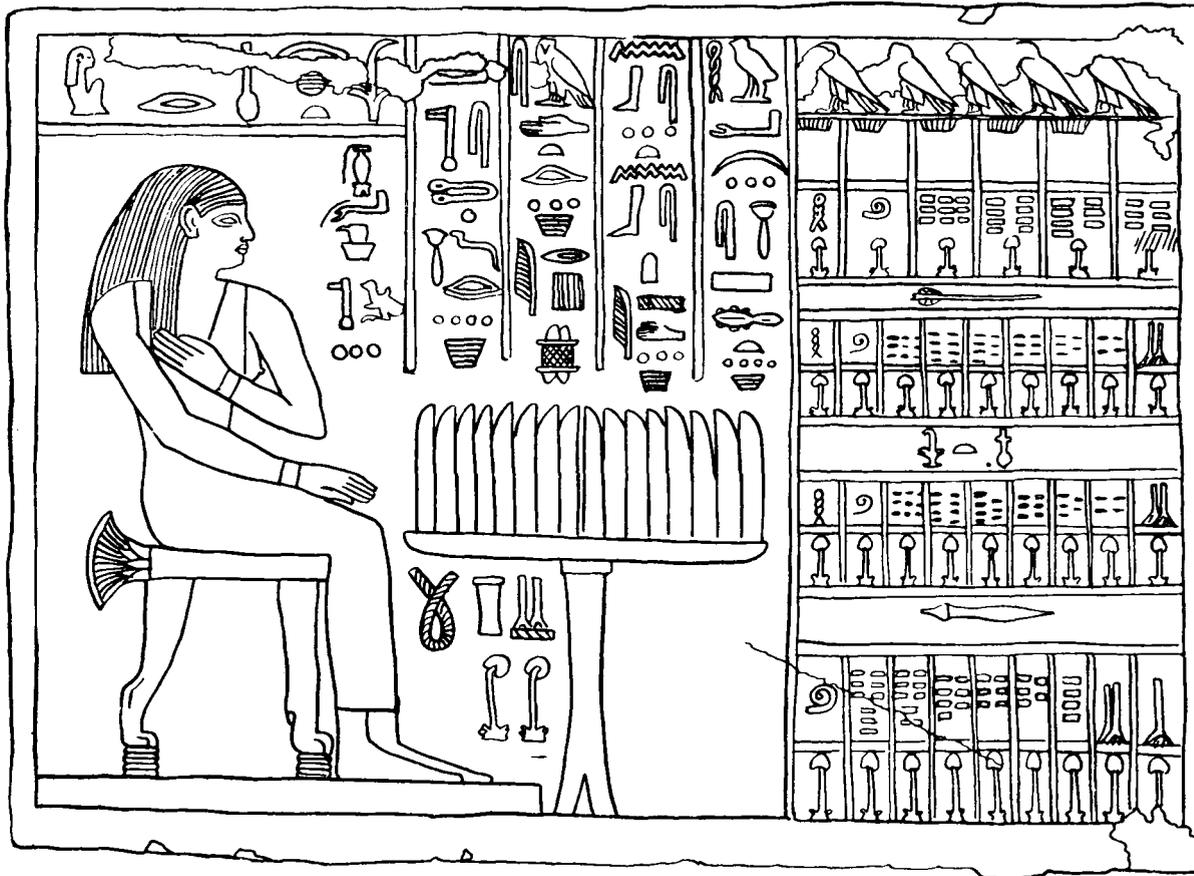
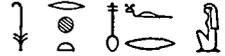


FIG. 18.

archaic garment we have seen up till now) is seated upon a leonine-legged chair before an offering-table. Her right hand is extended as though about to reach for one on the sixteen half-loaves upon the table, while the left hand rests upon her breast. It is almost, if not quite, a fixed rule in Egyptian Art of the Old Kingdom reliefs that the disengaged hand of a woman is represented open, while that of a man is clenched. This is even more rigidly observed in the case of statuary in the round. The chair upon which the lady sits, is placed upon a low dais, or perhaps a mat is intended. Above her head is a horizontal inscription giving her title and name  "She who is Concerned with the King's Affairs, *Nfr*." In front of her face is inscribed vertically:—

(1)  *kbh*

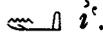
(2)  *i*

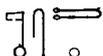
(3)  *bd-t33*

Libation of water and purification by means of three pellets of natron.

(1) Now in the Museum of Anthropology and Ethnology of the University of California (see LUTZ, "Egyptian Tomb Steles and Offering Stones", Pl. 2.

Above the offering-table are four vertical rows of inscription divided from each other by thick lines and containing the names of ten different offerings. This is a new form of arrangement to any we have observed in our material up to the present :—

(1)  *i'*. Purification water.

(2)  *sntr*. Incense.

(3)  *wɔdw* (?). Green eye paint.

(4)  *msdmt*. An eye-paint made of sulphide of lead, known to the Romans as *stibium*, and in use in Egypt to-day under the name of *Kohl* three pellets.

(5)  *irp*. Wine, determined by two jars in basket-work covers.

(6)  *nbs*-fruit. (Is it *nabk* ?)

(7)  *t-nbs*. Loaves made from the fruit *nbs*.

(8)  *i'sd*-fruit.

(9)  *w'h*. Carob-beans.

(10)  *sht-wɔd*. A kind of green cereal.

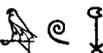
Underneath the left half of the offering-table are the following :—

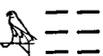
(11)  *s's hɔ*. A thousand alabaster jars.

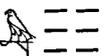
(12)  *mnht hɔ*. A thousand pieces of linen.

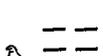
To the right side of the panel is an offering-list arranged in rectangles and consisting of four registers, all devoted to the names of various kinds of cloth. The first row is occupied by *idmj* cloth in the following qualities :—

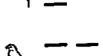
(13)  *idmj* cloth of  quality.

(14)  *idmj* cloth of  quality.

(15)  *idmj* cloth of nine strands to a thread, 1000.

(16)  *idmj* cloth of eight strands to a thread, 1000.

(17)  *idmj* cloth of seven strands to a thread, 1000.

(18)  *idmj* cloth of six strands to a thread, 1000.

The second register contains the names of nine kinds of *sšr* cloth Ⓢ , qualified thus:—

- (19) $\text{Ⓢ} \text{Ⓢ}$. 1000 pieces of *sšr* cloth qualified Ⓢ .
- (20) $\text{Ⓢ} \text{Ⓢ}$. One thousand of pieces of *sšr* cloth qualified Ⓢ .
- (21) $\text{Ⓢ} \text{Ⓢ} \text{Ⓢ}$. 1000 of pieces of *sšr* cloth nine strands to a thread.
- (22) $\text{Ⓢ} \text{Ⓢ} \text{Ⓢ}$. 1000 „ eight „
- (23) $\text{Ⓢ} \text{Ⓢ} \text{Ⓢ}$. 1000 „ seven „
- (24) $\text{Ⓢ} \text{Ⓢ} \text{Ⓢ}$. 1000 „ six „
- (25) $\text{Ⓢ} \text{Ⓢ} \text{Ⓢ}$. 1000 „ five „
- (26) $\text{Ⓢ} \text{Ⓢ} \text{Ⓢ}$. 1000 „ four „
- (27) $\text{Ⓢ} \text{Ⓢ} \text{Ⓢ}$ ⁽¹⁾. 1000 „ two „

The third register contains nine varieties of $\text{Ⓢ} \text{Ⓢ}$ *njswt-nfr* cloth in the following qualities:—

- (28) $\text{Ⓢ} \text{Ⓢ}$. 1000 pieces of *njswt-nfr* cloth qualified by Ⓢ .
- (29) $\text{Ⓢ} \text{Ⓢ}$. 1000 „ „ „ Ⓢ .
- (30) $\text{Ⓢ} \text{Ⓢ} \text{Ⓢ}$. 1000 pieces of *njswt-nfr* cloth, of nine strands to a thread.
- (31) $\text{Ⓢ} \text{Ⓢ} \text{Ⓢ}$. 1000 „ „ eight „
- (32) $\text{Ⓢ} \text{Ⓢ} \text{Ⓢ}$. 1000 „ „ seven „
- (33) $\text{Ⓢ} \text{Ⓢ} \text{Ⓢ}$. 1000 „ „ six „
- (34) $\text{Ⓢ} \text{Ⓢ} \text{Ⓢ}$. 1000 „ „ five „
- (35) $\text{Ⓢ} \text{Ⓢ} \text{Ⓢ}$. 1000 „ „ four „
- (36) $\text{Ⓢ} \text{Ⓢ} \text{Ⓢ}$. 1000 „ „ two „

(1) Notice the form of the sign (Ⓢ (usually Ⓢ) which seems to appear here for the first time, so far as the evidence afforded by our material can tell us.

The fourth register contains the names of nine varieties of 'j.t cloth \leftarrow :-

(37)	$\textcircled{\text{I}}$	1000 pieces of 'j.t cloth; qualified by $\textcircled{\text{I}}$.
(38)	$\overline{\overline{\overline{\text{I}}}} \textcircled{\text{I}}$	1000 pieces of 'j.t cloth of nine strands to the thread.
(39)	$\overline{\overline{\overline{\overline{\text{I}}}}} \textcircled{\text{I}}$	1000 „ eight ..
(40)	$\overline{\overline{\overline{\overline{\overline{\text{I}}}}} \textcircled{\text{I}}$	1000 „ seven ..
(41)	$\overline{\overline{\overline{\overline{\overline{\overline{\text{I}}}}} \textcircled{\text{I}}$	1000 „ six ..
(42)	$\overline{\overline{\overline{\overline{\overline{\overline{\overline{\text{I}}}}} \textcircled{\text{I}}$	1000 „ five ..
(43)	$\overline{\overline{\overline{\overline{\overline{\overline{\overline{\overline{\text{I}}}}} \textcircled{\text{I}}$	1000 „ four ..
(44)	$\text{II} \textcircled{\text{I}}$	1000 „ two ..
(45)	$\text{I} \textcircled{\text{I}}$	1000 „ one ..

The Panel of Princess $\textcircled{\text{I}} \textcircled{\text{I}}$ *Nfr.t-izbtj.t.* (see Fig. 19)

This fine panel which is in the possession of Mr. Atherton Curtis (1) is another example of early Fourth Dynasty work, but conforms very closely to some of the archaic examples in several details.

Here we see the deceased, clad in a leopard-skin garment, seated before an offering-table upon which are placed fifteen half-loaves of bread. The table consists of a circular alabaster stand placed upon a tall pedestal of red pottery. This type of table is now to become more or less standard for the succeeding dynasties of the Old Kingdom. That such tables were actually used and not an artistic convention, can be proved by the numerous specimens which come to light in the Old Kingdom necropoli. From among the alabaster stands which were found in our excavation at Giza, I may mention that of the mastaba of Shaft No. 648 (2), and a particularly fine specimen which came to light in our excavations at Saqqara (3). One of the pottery pedestals was found by us during our first season's work at Giza. It was discovered actually *in situ* before the false-door of the mastaba of Shaft No. 35. The chair upon which the Princess is

(1) BOBÉUX, "Revue de l'Égypte Ancienne", Vol. I, p. 5 ff.

(2) "Excavations at Giza", Vol. I, Pl. LXXX B, No. 2.

(3) From the tomb of Bbj.

seated is of the bovine-legged type, which has already appeared on the Berlin Stone, but which from now until the end of the Old Kingdom becomes almost a standard type (1). Above the table appears a very abridged offering-list arranged horizontally, and comprising the following items :—

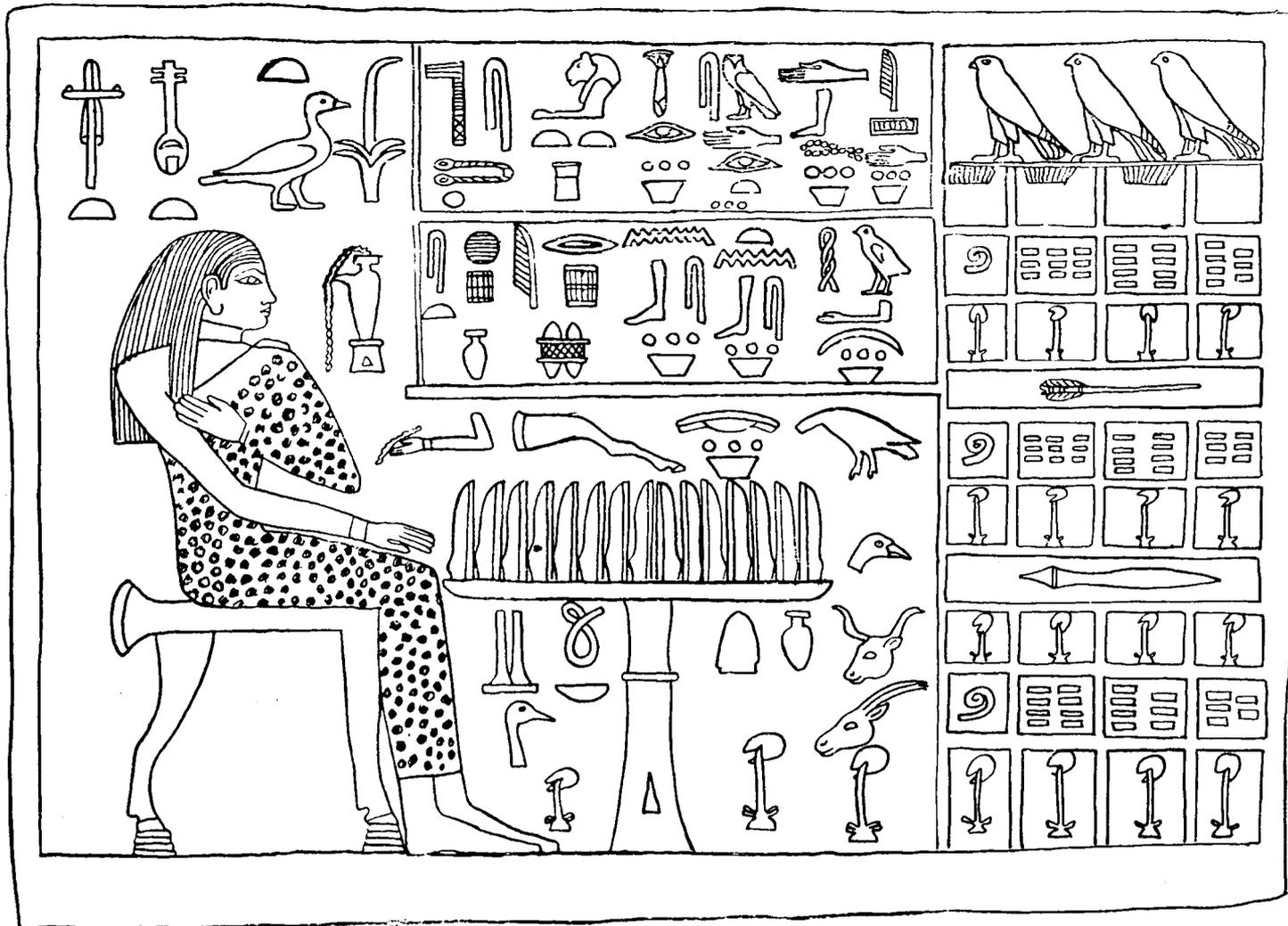
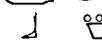
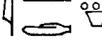


FIG. 19.

First Row:—

- (1)  *sntr*. Incense.
- (2)  *h3.t*-oil.
- (3)  *w3d.w* Green eye-paint.
- (4)  *msdm.t*. Black eye-paint.
- (5)  *d[3]b*. Figs.
- (6)  *i3d*-fruit.

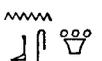
(1) Queen *Mr-s-nh* III (p. 23, No. 1) has a chair of the bentwood type like that of the famous limestone statue of *Zoser*.

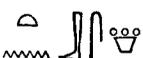
Second Row:—

(7)  *kbh*. A libation vase.

(8)  *sbp.t*-drink (beer).

(9)  *irp*. Wine.

(10)  *nbs*-fruit.

(11)  *t-nbs*. Bread made from the *nbs*-fruit.

(12)  *w'h*. Carob beans.

Immediately above the table are five represented offerings:—

(13)  *i'*. Purification water.

(14)  *hps'*. A haunch of beef.

(15)  *spr*. Ribs of beef.

(16) . An unplucked goose, of which the head has been cut off and placed below it. (in reality one of the offering-rites).

Underneath the table to the left are the following:—

(17) . *mnh.t*. Linen.

(18)  *s's*. Alabaster bowls.

(19) . A goose. (All to be presented in thousands).

To the right side of the table we see:—

(20) . Bread.

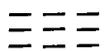
(21) . Beer.

(22) . Ox.

(23) . Oryx; also to be presented in thousands. To the right side of the panel is a list divided into rectangles and entirely devoted to the names of various kinds of cloth.

First Register :—

(24)  @ 'idmj cloth qualified @.

(25)   'idmj cloth of nine strands to the thread.

(26)   'idmj cloth of eight strands to the thread.

(27)   'idmj cloth of seven strands to the thread. (1000 pieces of each were required.)

Second Register :—

(28)  ss'r cloth of the quality @ and having , ,  strands to the thread, and to be presented in quantities of 1000 pieces.

(29)  's.t cloth of @ quality and having , ,  strands to the thread; also to be presented in quantities of 1000 pieces.

Now after having examined the contents of the offering-scenes chronologically; so far as possible, from the beginning of the Second Dynasty (or earlier) up till the end of the first half of the Fourth Dynasty, after which time the offering-scene on the false-doors will be overshadowed by an offering-scene and a canonical offering-list on other parts than the panel of the false-door. Let us trace the contents of these different offering-lists of the panel, and as far as possible identify their items, and see to what number they amounted (¹). This, we hope, will facilitate the study of the contents of the classical lists and let us see what had disappeared from those of the older entries and what were retained, as well as making clear what are new additions. In doing this we shall refer to other offering-scenes of the Fourth Dynasty which are published elsewhere and are not studied here, but which contain items not included in the material we have examined fully. By this we shall be able (so far as present discoveries and present conditions permit) to give an almost complete list of the items that appear upon the panel lists and tomb-tablets up till the end of the first half of the Fourth Dynasty, a time when the classical offering-list began to appear side by side with the panel list. We have not confined ourselves to the items of the offering-list of food and its rites (as JUNKER had done in *Gîza*, Vol. II, pp. 85-96, when studying the canonical lists), but have included all the objects found on the panel scenes of the periods we are discussing. The reader will find the objects arranged in categories and in chronological order as they appear. But this list does not claim to be exhaustive (²) or comprehensive, as we are confined by present conditions to a limited amount of material for our first-hand study.

(¹) The first scholars to attempt a detailed study of the offering-lists and the nature of their entries were DUMICHEN in his "*De Grabpalast des Patumnap*"; and MASPERO, "*Études Myth. et archéolog.*", Tome VI p. 321; and MISS MURRAY, "*Sakkara Mastabas*" Vol. I, Ch. XIII in 1904; and later Dr. JUNKER, in his admirable and instructive work "*Gîza*", Vols. I, II, III has given the meaning of some of the offerings. The first three studies are now out of date with modern discoveries, while the last is incomplete, and is moreover scattered over a large number of pages, as far as the meaning of the different elements is concerned (see below, p. 123).

(²) For other offering-scenes, especially those containing lists of cloth, see   Ttj-'nh-nj, WEILL, "*Ile et IIIe Dynasties*", p. 226 and    3b-nb, *ibid.* p. 220.

Food Offerings (1)

Bread and Cakes :—

- (1)  \Rightarrow  *ht*. A kind of bread, "A, B, C, J".
- (2)  \circ *. A loaf of $1\frac{1}{2}$ heket of flour (?).
- (3)  *. A kind of pastry, "A, C" (var.  \circ ) perhaps *iwrjt* (2).
- (4)  *. Four half-loaves in a bowl. (on the offering-table) "A" (3), (*ht w.t* ?).
- (5)   *ph*-bread, "B".
- (6)   *dp*-bread, "C, J" (var.   ).
- (7)  . A kind of loaf of half a heket of flour, "C".
- (8)  |  " " " " "C", named \Rightarrow \underline{t} (?).
- (9)   " " " " "C".
- (10)  \circ  " " one heket of flour, "C".
- (11)  \circ *rth*. Baker's bread, "C, D (var.  \circ *t.rth*) D, I (var.  \circ θ) J, (var.   \circ) L, (var.   \circ) M".

(1) The italic capitals are for identification, and are as follows :—

- "A" Bankfield Stele. GARDINER, *J.E.A.*, Vol. IV, p. 256 ff.
 "B" Berlin Niche-stone. SCHARFF, "Eine Archaische Grabplatte des Berliner Museums" (Studies presented to Griffith).
 "C" Princess *Shfnr*, QUIBELL, "Archaic Mastabas", Pls. XXVI, XXVII.
 "D" *H' b3w-Skr*, MURRAY, "Sakkara Mastabas", Vol. I, Pl. I.
 "E" *Ht-Hr-nfr-htp*, MURRAY, *ibid.* Pl. II.
 "F" *Mtn*. L.D. III, Pl. 3.
 "G" *Nfr*. LUTZ, "Egyptian Tomb Stelæ and Offering-stones", Pl. II, A.
 "H" *R'-htp*, PETRIE, "Meidum", Pl. XIII La.
 "I" *Hkn* *ibid.* also WEILL, "La II^e et III^e Dynasties", p. 296 ff.
 "J" Grab VIII, JUNKER, "Giza", Vol. I, Abb. 59.
 "K" *Mrjj*, WEILL, "La II^e et III^e Dynasties", p. 300.
 "L" *Nfr* (Baracco Coll.) WEILL, *ibid.* Pl. IV, p. 240.
 "M" *Nfr.t 'I3bj.t* (BOREUX, "Revue de l'Égypte Ancienne", Vol. 1, p. 5 ff.)
 "N" *Nfr.t*. (PETRIE, *ibid.* Pl. XV).

(2) And later *iwrjt* (*Wörterbuch* 56).

(3) cf. \Rightarrow   , JUNKER, "Giza", Vol. III, p. 102 (No. 91 a, b).

* These items are represented, not written phonetically. We shall discuss later the forms of these loaves when treating the offering-list in a later volume.

- (12)  *id*=bread, (later ) “C.”
- (13)   *t-wr* bread, “D, E, F (var. ) H”.
- (14)   *s'.t* bread, “D, F, J, L” (var.  ).
- (15)  *t-nbs* bread made of *nbs*-fruit, “G, J, K, L”.
- (16)   *psn*. A kind of bread for offering to the dead, “J”.
- (17)  *gsw*. Half-loaves (the half-loaves on the offering-table), “J”.
- (18)   *hbnn-t*. A kind of bread in the offering-lists, “J, K, L”
(var.      ) (2).
- (19)   *hnfw.t*. A kind of cake served in a dish, “K, L”.
- (20)   *t-twj* (?) or *twj* bread, “L”.
- (21)   *nhrw*. A kind of conical loaf, “L”.
- (22)   *st.t*. A kind of cake (very rare), “L”.
- (23)  | . A loaf of three hekats of flour, “C”.
- (24)  | . A loaf of two hekats of flour, “C”.
- (25)  . A thousand loaves, “D, E, F, M”.

Cereals :—

- (26)   *sht-hd*. A white cereal, “D, K” (var.  ).
- (27)   *sht-wsd*. A green cereal, “D, E, G” (var.   ) (1).
- (28)   *g.t*. A kind of prepared grain, “D, J, (var.   (3) ) K,
(var.   ) L” (3).
- (29)   *sw.t*. Corn, “E”.

(1) On “J” and “L” Nos. 26, 27 are given as a single entry, thus:   (“J”), and    (“L”).

(2) It must be noticed here that we are only dealing with the varieties of each item and not with the quantities.

(3) See JUNKER, “Giza”, I, 244 and 147.

(30)   'gn (?). Seed corn (?), "E".

(31)    *it-s'm'*. Southern barley, "E".

(32)   *it*. Barley, "D".

Fruit :—

(33)   *hd.w*. Onions, "D".

(34)    *is'd*-fruit, "D, E, F" (var.  ), G, K, L, M".

(35)    *bs'* ⁽¹⁾-fruit, "D, E" (var.  .

(36)    *dsb*. Figs, "D, E, H, I, J, K, L, M" (var.  .

(37)    *isrr.t*. A bunch of grapes, "D, E".

(38)    *w'h*. Carob-beans, "D, E, F" (var.  ), G, K (var.  ), L, M".

(39)   *nbs*-fruit, "D, E, G, I, J, K, L, M" (بسق).

(40)    *wns'*. An edible fruit, "K".

(41)    *rnpw.t-nbt*. All vegetables and fruits, "L" ⁽²⁾.

Meat :—

(42)  (?) * "A, F*, H" (var.  ). A young ibex, "I*, L, M"*.

(43)  (?) * "A, C, D" (var.  ), F (var.  *ng*), H, M"*. A long-horned ox.

(44)  (?) * "A, L" (?) ( ). An ox.

(45)  * ⁽³⁾ "A, D, ( ) E". An ox.

(46)   *hm-wr* or *bj3-wr*. A kind of ox, "E, H".

(1) This word is sometimes written with  instead of  which makes its pronunciation doubtful (See JUNKER, "Giza", I, p. 179).

(2) For a discussion of this entry, see JUNKER, "Giza", III, p. 111.

(3) These may equal the later named cattle.

* These items are represented, *not* written phonetically.

- (47)   *hrj-d̄b*. A young poll-ox (also  ), “H”.
- (48)  *iw*. The haunch of beef, “A*, B*, C*, D*, E*, F (?) *”.
- (49)  *swt*. Shin of beef, “B*, C*, D*, E*, J*, L” (var.   ).
- (50)  *hps*. A foreleg of beef (?), “F*, P, J*, N*”.
- (51)  *spr*. Ribs of beef, “D*, E*, H*, M*”.
- (52)  “A*, D” (var.  ) *dst*. A kind of crane, “E, H, I, L” (var.  .
- (53) . Unnamed goose, “A*, F,* M”.
- (54)  “A*, C (var. ) *trp*-goose, F*, L”.
- (55)  “A*, C (var.  ) *r3*-goose, H (var.  ) , L”.
- (56)  *s*-goose, “C, D, H, (var.  ) F, L”.
- (57)   *smn*. A kind of goose, “K”.
- (58)   *smn.t*. A kind of goose, “K”.
- (59) . A trussed goose, “B*, D*, E*, F, J”.
- (60) . An unplucked decapitated goose, “M”.

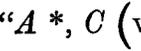
Miscellaneous Food :—

- (61)   *iw*. Breakfast, “I, J”.
- (62)     *šns-dwj n.šb*. Food, of bread and drink (var.  ) (1), “L”.
- | | |
|---|---|
|  |  |
|  |  |
|  |  |
- (63)     *iht nbt bnr.t*. All sweet things, “J”.

(1) Wörterbuch, Vol. IV, pp. 516, 517.

* These items are represented, *not* written phonetically.

Drinks ⁽¹⁾:—

(64)  *irp* (?). Wine “*A* *, *C* (var. ) , *D* (var.  33), *E*, *F*, *G*, *H*, *J*, *K*, *L*, *M*”.

(65) . Beer, “*A* *, *B*” (var.  *h[n]k. [t]*).

(66)  *hnk.t hz*. A thousand jars of beer, “*D*, *E*, *F*, *H*, *M*”.

(67)  *hnk.t bnr.t*. Sweet beer, “*D*”.

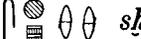
(68)  *hnk.t hnm.s*. A kind of beer appearing only in the offering-lists, “*L*”.

(69)  *sp* ⁽²⁾. A kind of drink, “*B*”.

(70)  *hp*. A kind of drink, “*B*”.

(71)  *ps*. A kind of drink, “*C*”.

(72)  . . . (?). A kind of drink, “*C*”.

(73)  *shp*. A kind of beer (?), “*C*, *D* (var.  ⁽³⁾), *F*, *G*, *L*, *M*”.

(74)  *kzj*. A kind of drink (wine), “*D*”.

(75)  *bnr.t*. Sweet milk, “*F*”.

(76)  (var. ) *ist.t*. A prepared milk, or something prepared from milk, “*J*, *L*”.

(77)  *dsr.t*. A kind of wine or beer, “*L*”.

(78)  *hnw-wj*. A kind of drink, “*D*”.

(79)  “*D*”. *bnr.t* date wine, “*عرق*”.

⁽¹⁾ See JUNKER, “*Giza*”, III, p. 102.

⁽²⁾ “*D*” gives  as a heading for a group of vessels.

⁽³⁾ “*E*” gives  as a heading for a group of vessels.

* These items are represented *not* written phonetically.

Oils and Ointments :—

- (80) . A jar of oil (?), "A"*.
- (81)   *tp-ss.t*. A kind of stone vessel for oil, "C"
- (82)   *h3.t-kf*. Brilliantine, of first-class quality (?), "C".
- (83)   *tp-h3.t ib-s3*. A kind of fine oil, of first-class quality, "C" (var.       , "H") (    "H").
- (84)   *sd* . . . (?), "C".
- (85)   *d-k* (?). Cedar oil, "C, D" (var.    *tp-h3.t d-s'*), first-quality cedar oil (var.      , "H").
- (86)   *swrt*. An oil or ointment, "C, D" (var.     , "E"), var.     , "H".
- (87)   *h3-ts*. A kind of oil, "H" (1).
- (88)    *tp-h3.t.sft*. Oil or ointment, of first-class quality, "D".
- (89)     *tp-h3.t ibr*. A kind of costly ointment for the body, of first-class quality, "D, E, F".
- (90)    *tp-h3.t.sst* (?). A kind of ointment or oil, of first-class quality, "D, E", (var.    , "H"), (var.  , "H").
- (91)     *tp-h3.tsfr*. One of the ointment oils, of first-class quality, "D, E".
- (92)    *mrht*. A general name for oils, "D, E".
- (93)     *tp-h3.t.is*. A kind of oil, of first-class quality, "H".
- (94)    *h3.tt-oil*, "D, F, J, K, L, M" (i.e. first class).
- (95)       *tp-h3.t-bkt d.nt*. A first-class olive fat . . . , "H" (2).

(1) In the *Wörterbuch*, I, 217 gives the word without  but BALCZ *Mitteilungen*, D. in B 7, p. 81, gives it as above.

(2) For other oils known to the Egyptians of the Archaic Period, but not actually placed on the offering-list, see QUIBELL "The Tomb of Hesy", Pls. XXI, XV.

* These items are represented, not written phonetically.

Ritual Requisites:—

(96)  *kb* or *kbh*. Libation vase, “A*, G*, D (var.  $\overline{\text{kbh i}}$), water for washing the hands (?), L* ( ), M*, $\overline{\text{i'G, M}}$ ”.

(97) . A ewer and a basin, “A*, (D gives   *pgsw*), (F gives $\overline{\text{pgsw}}$), G, H*, K, L”.

(98)   $\overline{\text{bd-t}}$. 2. A ewer and basin; two pellets of natron (for purification).

(99)  *sntr*. Incense, “A, D, F, G  $\overline{\text{sntr}}$, H, I, J, K, L, M”.

(100)  $\overline{\text{bd-t}}$. 3. Three pellets of natron, “G”.

(101)  *bd*. A kind of natron, “L”.

(102)  *wjd.w*. Green eye-paint, “F, G (var.  $\overline{\text{wjd.w}}$), H, J, K, L (var. ), M”.

(103)  *msdm.t*. Black eye-paint, “G, J, K, L, M”.

(104)  *htp dj njsut*. “A Boon which the King Gives”, “L” (here means offering).

Cloth and Garments:—

(105)  *idmj* (?). A kind of red cloth, “B”.

(106)  *idmj*. A kind of red cloth, “C, D, E, F, G, H⁽¹⁾, M”.

(107)  *sʃr*-cloth, “B, D, E, F, G, H⁽¹⁾, M”.

(108)  *ʃt*-cloth, “B, C, D, E, F, G⁽¹⁾, H, M”.

(109)  *bʃ*-cloth, “B”.

(110)  *mnh.t*-cloth, “D, E, F, G, H, M”.

(111)  *ssf*. A thin cloth, (var.  “C”) “C, D, E, H”.

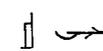
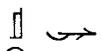
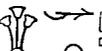
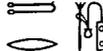
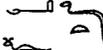
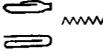
(112)  *tp*-cloth, “F”.

⁽¹⁾ With various determinatives and qualifications. See above.

* These items are represented, not written phonetically.

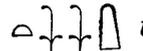
- (113)  *nfr.t-njswt*-cloth, "F, G".
- (114)  *irtjw*-blue garment, "C".
- (115)  *sdb*-garment, "C".
- (116)  *ssr.w-wsd.t*-green *ssr.w*-linen, "C".
- (117)  *ssr.w-ir tj.w*-blue *ssr.w* linen, "C".
- (118)  *bs-sm'*-skirt, "D, E, F, H".
- (119)  *hsd*. Skirt or girdle (?), "D, E".
- (120)  *mst*. Skirt or girdle, "D, E".
- (121)  *twd* (?). A chemise or girdle, "E".

Furniture and Equipment :—

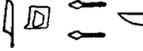
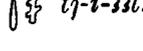
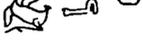
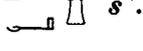
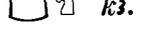
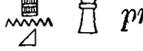
- (122) . An offering-table (?), "B" (2).
- (123) . A stand, "C".
- (124)  *ssd*. A general heading for different articles of furniture, "D, E".
- (125)  *s.t [n] ht*. A kind of bed, "D, E (var. ) H".
- (126)  *hs (?) [n] ht*. A wooden chest "D, E (determined by ), F" (var. ).
- (127)  *tr*. A heading for a kind of furniture (?).
- (128)  *dsr*. A kind of furniture (stool), "D, E (var. ), F, (var. ), H".
- (129)  *wrs*. Headrest, "D, F, H".
- (130)  *'fdt*. A chest of wood or metal.
- (131)  *dbn*. A chest with a vaulted lid, "E, H".

(1) See JUNKER, "Giza", V, p. 92.

(2) Naturally, the offering-table with bread appears before the deceased on all the panels in this group we are studying.

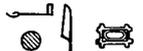
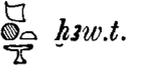
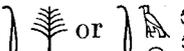
- (132)  *tst.* A wooden chest, “E, H”.
- (133)  *hnw.* A box, “E”.
- (134)  *hbnj.* Ebony wood (a heading for articles made of this material)
- (135)  *hndw.* A seat or carrying-chair, “E”.
- (136)  *gsj.* A sloping bed, “E”.
- (137)  *tnn.* An article of ebony furniture, “E”.
- (138)  *hr.t’.* A writing-desk, “E”.
- (139)  *wts.* A carrying-chair, “E”.

Jars and Vessels:—

- (140) . “A (perhaps wine) (?), C”*.
- (141) . A typical stone vase of the Second Dynasty, “B”*.
- (142)  (?). A dish (?), “B”*.
- (143) . A large jar, “B”*.
- (144) . A large jar with a cover, “B”*.
- (145)  . . . (?). A kind of vessel, “C”.
- (146)  ⁽¹⁾ *šs.* Alabaster vessels, “C, D (var. ), E, F, G, H, M”.
- (147)  *tj-i-ss.t.* A general heading for a class of vessel (?), “D”.
- (148)  . . . A kind of vase, “D”.
- (149)  *š’.* A kind of vase, “D”.
- (150)  *ks.* A heading for a class of vessels, “D”.
- (151)  *pnk.* A pail or bucket, “D”.

⁽¹⁾ These vessels are found in the Old Kingdom tombs in large numbers.

* These items are represented, *not* written phonetically.

- (152)  *dn-ib*. A vessel (?), “D”.
- (153)  *ssh3*. A general heading for a kind of vase, “D”.
- (154)  *hwt*. A large vase, “D, E”.
- (155)  *dtj*. A kind of large vase, “D”.
- (156)  *hj*. A chafing-dish, “D, E”.
- (157)  *nmst*. A large vase, “D, E”.
- (158)  *s3mw*. A large jar, “D, E”.
- (159)  *s3*. Alabaster jars, of different forms, “H”.
- (160)  *h3wt*. An alabaster offering-table, “H”.
- (161)  *m3t*. Vessels of Aswan granite (red) of different forms, “H”.
- (162)  *3-h3bd*. A flask of lapis-lazuli, “H”.
- (163)  *tj-i-3st*. Vessels of different materials of an unknown stone, “C, D, H”. (See also No. 147.)
- (164)  *3.t-n.w*. Limestone (?) vessels, “H”.
- (165)  *nmtj*. Quartzite vessels of different shapes “H”.

This is only a preliminary study of the contents of the panels and offering-tablets from the beginning of the Second to about the middle of the Fourth Dynasty, as a fundamental step to the study of the classical offering-lists of the late Fourth Dynasty, and the Fifth and Six Dynasties, as well as the other items of funerary equipment which will appear in a subsequent volume of these publications.

As we may see by the composite list given above, there were about one hundred and sixty-five ⁽¹⁾ articles which were employed by the Egyptians as offerings for the dead, but neither all, nor even half, of these articles appear on any one list of offerings during the time with which we have been dealing, but each tomb-owner made a representative selection of items according to his or her personal taste or the prevailing fashion of the period or locality, and some were content with a very modest number of entries. We shall see later, on the panels of the false-doors, that a large number of these items fell into disuse and were replaced by new elements. An outstanding example of this is the almost complete disappearance of the once prominent and well-arranged cloth list, as well as similar methodical lists of household gear and vessels, and their replacement by new groups of elements of food and drink, which appear in the classical offering-lists. Nevertheless

⁽¹⁾ Some of these items may have been repeated as variants.

we shall see later that these very cloths and many of the household utensils reappear in the form of representations upon the walls of the burial-chambers during the Sixth Dynasty, and later still, upon the sarcophagi, an early example of which custom we found upon the wooden coffin of *Ny-ankh-Pepy* at Saqqara (1). This reappearance after a considerable lapse of time suggests that the inclusion or exclusion of these items in the offerings was a matter of fashion, appearing and disappearing in cycles but no matter how rich the offering-list may be, the table actually before the deceased invariably carries nothing but bread. This is because the Egyptians have always rightly reckoned bread as the staff of life, and to this day accord it honour (2). Secondly, some of the offerings are not merely things to be presented to the dead for his own personal use, as Maspero thought (3), but some were employed in the actual ritual of presenting the offerings.

During the period which we have been studying, the offering-list had no fixed and rigid order, and while many items were omitted from individual lists, others were sometimes duplicated. Nevertheless, by studying the early panels we see that there is a steady progression in the quantity of items employed in the lists, especially in the better-class burials, as far as the panels are concerned, this increase reaches its zenith in the middle of the Fourth Dynasty, after which it gradually declines, and from now onwards we shall find that the offering-lists on the panels begin to decrease. The reason for this is something of a paradox; the offering-list decreases in size because it increases in size! That is to say, more and more offerings were added to it, until it became inconvenient or impossible to crowd them all on the panel. Therefore, they are transferred to other parts of the false-door (see p. 86, Note 1), but more usually are placed above the door or on the wall near by (4) or if there are two false-doors, on that part of the wall which lies between them (5).

The Panels of the Latter Half of the Fourth Dynasty

Let us now return after this long examination of the panels of the early Old Kingdom period till the end of the first half of the Fourth Dynasty to discuss the panels of the second half of this Dynasty.

In our excavations we have thirteen burials containing a total of seventeen false-doors with decorated panels (see Nos. 1, 3, 15 (two examples), 17 (two examples), 18, 25, 26, 30, 31, 33 (two examples), 34 (two examples), 36, 37. Of the false-doors in these tombs, we cannot find one which has a panel nearly approaching to the archaic form. As regards to the motif of the deceased seated at the table of bread, the panel of *Tstj* (6) is the one most

(1) Our Excavations of 1937 (*unpublished*).

(2) Thus, in the *Pyramid texts* 474 a-c it is said: "The spirit (belongs) to heaven, the body (belongs) to earth and what the men receive when they are buried are their 1000 of bread from the table of *Hntj-imentj* (Osiris)". Bread is mentioned here first.

(3) MASPERO, "*Les Tables d'Offrandes des Tombeaux Égyptiens*", *Études de Myth., et Arch.*, Vol. VI, pp. 321-405.

(4) Even in the early Fourth Dynasty, the offering-scene occurs on the southern wall of the chapel where it appears in a more detailed form than on the panel of the false-door. See the mastaba of Prince *H.f-Hufw* (p. 77, No. 3).

(5) See JUNKER, "*Giza*", Vol. II, pp. 69-96 for a further study of this subject.

(6) The northern door.

nearly approaching the Berlin stone, but here the resemblance ends, for *Tstj*'s panel lacks the large offering-list which occurs to the right of the older specimen. Here we see the deceased seated at a table of bread, to which he stretches forth his hand, although he is not touching the half-loaves. As on the ancient stone, both legs of the chair are represented⁽¹⁾. The name and titles of the owner are inscribed above his head, while above and to the right of the table are the names and representations of different kinds of offerings, none of which are new to us. This brief list is headed by one entry of $\text{𓄏} \text{ idmj}$ cloth, all that survives of the important list of cloths on the earlier panels⁽²⁾. A point to be noted is the half-loaves on the offering-table. *Tstj* has eight, while the Berlin stone has only three, but we must admit that *Tstj*'s slices are very slender when compared with the Berlin "doorsteps", and this slenderness of the half-loaves is one of the characteristics of the Fourth Dynasty offering-scenes, and very soon led to them becoming so stylized as to be almost, if not quite, unrecognizable, as we shall presently see. The southern false-door of *Tstj*, which also appertains to his own burial, has some variations on the panel, and this shows that little importance was set upon a standard model. Here the owner is seated before his table, but is holding the *hrp* 𓄏 baton. The table is very curious, for both it and its support have a double pedestal (see Fig. 24, No. 4). But an important new item in our material on this panel is the addition of the offering-formula claiming the boon from the King and Anubis, which appears in a horizontal row along the top of the panel, and which certainly refers to the offerings mentioned below⁽³⁾. We have six other examples of panels which adhere to this traditional type in their main features (see Nos. 37, 25, 34, ⁽⁴⁾ 33, ⁽⁵⁾ 17), but the following seven examples present some interesting variations:—

(1) On the panel of Queen *Rht-R*, the royal lady is seated upon a chair, but has no offering-table before her.

(2) The very fragmentary panel of the northern false-door of Queen *Hnt-kꜣw.s* shows only a large offering-table laden with half-loaves, to the right and underneath which are inscribed the names of offerings in thousands, but these are too badly eroded to be read. But unless it was designed very much smaller than the usual proportions, there does not seem to have been a figure of the Queen seated before the table, as the height of the panel is insufficient to accommodate a seated figure in proportion to the height of the table. The meagreness of the offering items on the panel must be due to their being mentioned in details on the walls of the cult chamber, which unfortunately was wantonly destroyed, with the exception of few fragments which we recovered from the debris inside and outside this chapel.

⁽¹⁾ On the two other archaic niche-stones from Saqqara (QUIBELL, "Archaic Mastabas", Pl. XXVIII, 1, 2), only the back leg of the chair is shown. On the panel of $\text{𓄏} \text{ Nfr-htp-s}$, the wife of *Tj* of Saqqara (STEINDORFF, "Das Grab des Ti", Pl. 457, all the four legs of the chair are shown in a very natural manner.

⁽²⁾ Although the offering-list on *Tstj*'s panel is very brief, it does not seem to have occurred elsewhere in the chapel.

⁽³⁾ See also the Barracco Stele, WEILL, "Les Origines de l'Égypte Pharonique, La II^e & la III^e Dynasties", Pl. IV, where the panel is headed by the offering-formula which means here the gift of all the items in the list.

⁽⁴⁾ The southern door.

⁽⁵⁾ Two examples.

(3) On the panel of *Hnw* an entirely new element is introduced. There is a second figure, that of a man, who stands before the tomb-owner. In this example, the secondary figure is not named but later inscriptions show us that this is always the eldest son of the deceased (1).

(4) On the panel of *Shm-'nh* the tomb-owner is seated before the offering-table and in the upper right-hand corner of the field appear the figures of three of his children, a boy and two girls. Above the table is another new and important item, the introduction of the *pr-hrw* $\square \overline{\square}$ formula, the recitation of which would enable the Ka of the deceased to partake of its ghostly meals.

(5) On the panel of *Imbj* the deceased is seated and is facing south, a very unusual orientation. He has no offering-table before him.

(6) *Nfr* (as we have already seen, p. 77, replaced his panel with a miniature palace-façade.

(7) On the panel of *Špss-Skr* (who owned the northern false-door in the chapel of *K3-m-nfrt*), the bread on the offering-table is replaced by representations of two conical loaves and a covered basket.

Panels with Two Figures at Table

We have also another important innovation in panel decoration, that is the introduction of the figure of the wife of the deceased, who is depicted seated at table with the tomb-owner, and sharing his offering-meal.

Usually the husband and wife are represented facing each other, with the offering-table placed between them. In this case, the normal form is for the man to be facing north and the woman to face south; their names and titles are usually inscribed above their heads, and the represented and inscribed offerings disposed of in the general manner of an ordinary single panel. Of this type, our Giza excavations provide us with four good examples, which are to be seen in the tombs of *Mr-'nh.f*, *K3-m-nfrt* and *3ht-htp*. and *Trrw*. On the panel of *Trrw* the husband and wife are seated together, side by side, and their eldest son burns incense before them.

Thus, we see that in the tombs in our Giza excavations there is a marked tendency to break away from set tradition in the matter of panel decoration, at least in regard to details. One of the most striking of these innovations is the introduction of the figures of other persons than the owner of the tomb (his family), a practice never, so far as we know at present, followed in the Archaic Period.

Let us now examine the false-doors from outside our excavations and see if they also display this tendency towards variation. From a series of forty burials from other sites than ours, we have thirty which contain a total of thirty-six false-doors bearing decorated panels, Nos. 1, 2, 6, 8 (two examples), 9 (two examples), 10, 11, 13, 15, 16, 17, 18, 19, 20, 21, 22, 23, 25 (two examples), 26, (two examples), 27 (two examples), 28, 31, 32, 33, 34,

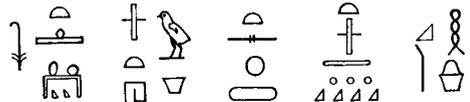
(1) It was to the appearance of the eldest son and other children and relatives of the deceased upon the various parts of the false-door, and the parts played by them that afforded us a valuable clue to the social conditions and family life in ancient Egypt, just as the titles of the deceased inscribed upon the false-doors gave us an insight into the political, legal, administrative and sacerdotal life of the Old Kingdom. See PIRENNE, "Institutions", Vols. I, II, III.

35, 36, 37, 39, 40 (two examples), and of these, twenty-two may be said to conform in general to the traditional type of the normal single panel. These are (Nos. 6, 8 ⁽¹⁾, 11, 25 ⁽¹⁾, 26 ⁽¹⁾, 23, 17, 15, 27 ⁽¹⁾, 1, 2, 31, 32, 33, 34, 36, 37, 40). Nevertheless, close examination of some of these latter reveals interesting points. For instance, the panel of the northern false-door of *Mr-ib* bears an offering-list of cloth and household gear, similar to those of *Mtn* and *H'-bzw-Skr*. A new item on this list is the representation of four vases standing in a bowl. The offering-table itself carries fourteen half-loaves. The panel of *Kj-wd-nh* ⁽²⁾ has the offerings in thousands supplemented by  "thousands of everything sweet", and the *hkn* rite of beheading the goose. To the right of the panel are five superposed registers in which are represented different kinds of offerings treated in a natural and artistic manner (a pictorial offering-list). In the upper row is a low circular stand carrying three loaves. In the second row is a basket of grapes, a new item; and in the third row, two globular vases on ring-stands, a covered bowl on a foot, and two conical loaves. The fourth row displays three complete haunches of beef (?) and a dead, but unplucked goose, while the fifth row is devoted to vegetables, among which are a lettuce and a bundle of onions both new items, although the latter is mentioned in the offering-list of *H'-bzw-Skr*, (see above, p. 103, No. 54). To the left of the panel is a miniature palace-façade inscribed for  *Sz-hnt*. The northern false-door of *Hwfw-mr* shows the deceased seated before a simple offering-table consisting of a shallow bowl placed upon a pedestal, a reversion to the archaic type. But the half-loaves in the bowl of the archaic panels is replaced here by a large conical loaf. Before the face of the tomb-owner is placed another table, this time a low circular stand laden with food offerings, which are not very clearly seen. This is another example where the offerings are only represented pictorially. To the right of the table are three vases on ring-stands. The southern door of this tomb belongs to the father (?) of *Hwfw-mr*, and its panel decoration is very simple, consisting merely of a figure of the deceased seated before an offering-table above which is inscribed:  "His father (?) *Dst*." On the panel of the false-door in the outer chapel of Queen *Mr.s-nh* III, the deceased lady is seated before the offering-table in the usual manner, but her chair is decorated with a figure of a lion, an early example of the leonine furniture common in the New Kingdom. The normal panel of Prince *H'f.-Hwfw* I (the son of King *Khwfw*) has a large offering-list which includes a number of items usually found in the offering-lists of the Fifth Dynasty; but we see that he has also an offering-list other than this one, situated on the southern wall of the chapel. Thus, this tomb ought to date from the second half of the Fourth Dynasty, when these second lists began to appear, and which then became a classical element in the tombs of the great officials, nobles, and princes of the Fifth and Sixth Dynasties. Moreover, we see its items mentioned with a series of Utterances in the Pyramid texts. On both the panel-list and the second offering-list of *H'.f.-Hwfw*, the offering-formula, claiming the boon from the King, makes its appearance, which is one of the earliest examples of its appearance upon the panel. On the panels of both false-doors of Princess *Nsdj-kj* the names of all the seven holy oils are given.

⁽¹⁾ Two doors.

⁽²⁾ Attributed by Budge to the Fourth Dynasty. See "*Egyptian Stelae*", Vol. I, Introduction No. XV.

From these outside examples of false-doors, twelve bear panels with the representation of two or more persons (Nos. 13, 9 ⁽¹⁾, 19, 20, 16, 18, 10, 28, 5, 22, 35) showing the deceased and his wife seated in each other's company. In seven examples the couple are seated face to face. These are Prince *Sšꜣ.t-ḥtp* (two examples), *Ij-kꜣ*, (who included the offering-formula among the more usual inscriptions), *Šrj*, *Ifwj*, *Ttj* and his wife *Dbt* whose panels on each of his two false-doors are flanked on each side by a miniature palace-façade, and 'nh. On the panel of *Sšm-nfr-Ḥwfw*, who was also called *Ššj*, the husband and wife both have their own separate offering-tables, which seem to denote that each had a separate funerary endowment. On the panel of *Ny-kꜣ-Hr* we have some new items included in the named offerings above the table; these are:

 (2). The offering-list on this panel has invaded the lower

lintel, where we find eight of the ten meat-offerings later recorded on the canonical list. On the panel of the southern door of *Kꜣf-Rꜣ-nh*, the man and woman are seated side by side before a low table on which are placed bread and meat. Above this table appears a brief offering-list, in which we see items destined to take a fixed place in the canonical list of the Fifth Dynasty. Among

these are: . The panel of *Hnw* bears a duplicate figure of the

owner himself, placed face to face with the offering-table set between them. It is somewhat damaged. This is a new departure, and one is tempted to see in it the deceased and his Ka seated together to eat bread as they are said to do in lines 1357 and 789 of the Pyramid Texts (see p. 54). The panel of the wooden false-door of *Ij-kꜣ* bears the names of four of the holy oils over the table placed between the man and wife, a new item.

If we take the archaic stones as our model, particularly that of Berlin, we shall see that, generally speaking, the panels of the Fourth Dynasty adhere to the ancient models in the main pictorial motif of the deceased seated before the offering-table. The large offering-list of cloth and household gear gradually disappears from the panel, although the offerings of food and ritual requisites are on the increase ⁽³⁾. This increase in the number of offerings is perhaps the natural result of the development of civilization and the consequential rise in the standard of living on the one hand, and on the other, it may be due to the increasing belief in the power of magic to provide the additional luxuries, just as seems to have been the case when, in the Archaic Period, they abandoned the enumeration of the items in the offering-lists in thousands, hundreds and tens for the uniform enumerations in quantities of 1000. A proof of the increased belief in the power of the magic words to provide the Ka with its necessities, is the introduction of the offering-formula and the *pr-ḥrw*  formula into the panel. Another important innovation is, as we remarked, the introduction of a second (or more) persons into the panel design, and particularly the panels of a husband and wife, and the duplicate panel of the deceased, which represents the tomb-owner and his Ka (?).

⁽¹⁾ Two examples.

⁽²⁾ A royal offering of 2 loaves in the large hall *st.* bread, *T-ḥmjtꜣ* bread 4; *Kmḥw* bread.

⁽³⁾ Pouring cool water; *wnḥw* cloth; carrying of the food (a ritual).

The Upper Lintel

Out of twelve inscribed false-doors from our Giza excavations on which the upper lintel has been preserved ⁽¹⁾, seven conform to a set type, of which that of *šht-htp* presents a typical example. It bears the offering-formula claiming the boon from the King and Anubis, followed by the titles and name of the owner, and terminated by a representation of him seated and facing north. The other six examples are: *šht-htp* (the northern door) belonging to his mother *Pšš't*, and the door of his wife *Nj-kšw-Ht-hr*, *Nj-nh Hnmw* (the southern door), *Mr-nh.f* (where the same large upper lintel is made to serve for a pair of false-doors), *Hw.f-R'*, and there is a possibility that the northern false-door of *Kš-m-nfrt* provided an eighth example, but it is too badly eroded to distinguish more than the offering-formula. Queen *Hnt-kšw.s* began the inscription on her upper lintel with her own royal titles, but the latter end is lost. Although the false-door of *Kš-usrt* and *Ir-šhw* are both inscribed, in each case the upper lintel was left blank. Thus, we see that the predominating inscription for the upper lintel according to the material from our excavations is the offering-formula, followed by the titles and name of the deceased, and this placing of the offering-formula upon the highest part of the false-door is a characteristic feature of which we shall see some interesting examples in the succeeding dynasties ⁽²⁾, and its appearance in this place brings it into relationship with the panel, for when this formula was recited by the Ritualist or any chance visitor to the tomb, the represented offerings on the panel would at once be transformed into food for the Ka of the owner. A deviation from Dr. Reisner's list which occurs in our material is a figure of the deceased seated at the left-hand end of the upper lintel, and facing north (see p. 85, Note 1).

On the other hand, out of twenty-five inscribed false-doors from outside our excavations, which still retain their upper lintels, only six conform to the above-mentioned form, which includes a representation of the tomb-owner. These are *Mr-šb* (two examples), *Ij-kš, Ššj (Sšm-nfr-Hwfw)*, Princess *Nšdr-kšj* and *Htp-hr.s*. Ten more examples give the offering-formula, titles and name, but omit the figure of the owner, Nos. 5, 6, 9 (three examples), 26 (two examples), 33, 37, 40. Of these, *Nj-kš-hr*, (three examples), also bears the offering-formula on the panel, and has the continuation of the offering-list occupying the lower lintel, also Prince *Kš-nj-njswt*, (two doors), *Snfrw-htp* and *Sšm-nfr*. Thus, we have a total of fourteen out of twenty-two upper lintels which bear the all-important offering-formula. The remaining seven doors display upon their upper lintels the titles and name of their owners. These are *Hwfw-mr* (where one large lintel serves for three false-doors), Prince *Htj* (two doors), *Mtn*, and *H.f-Snfrw*. In this latter example, the figure of the deceased appears at the left-hand end. Thus, we see that in these outside specimens the false-doors bearing the offering-formula upon their upper lintels have a smaller proportion instead of the large majority which we find in our excavations. This is but one example of the tendency of the users of certain necropoli to develop a peculiar style or custom of their own. *Nj-kš Hr* has only one lintel to his northern false-door and this bears the offering-formula and his titles and name.

⁽¹⁾ Being frequently formed from a separate slab of stone, it often happens that the lintel is either destroyed or stolen.

⁽²⁾ Taking the inscription on the upper lintel in conjunction with that on the lower lintel, we find that in nearly every example in our excavations the upper one bears offering-formula, while the lower one bears the titles and name of the owner.

It seems possible that those persons who preferred to give their titles and name the preference to the offering-formula wished to attract people's attention to their earthly situation and eternalize their name in the necropolis—human vanity, while, on the other hand, those who preferred to give the offering-formula the first place thought of their Ka and their spiritual life after death, and were content to mention their names and titles elsewhere as on the lower lintel, as we shall see.

The Lower Lintel

Out of twenty-three inscribed false-doors from our Giza excavations we find fourteen specimens bearing a fixed inscription upon their lower lintels, giving the titles and name of the deceased (1). Of these two examples—those of *Irjrw*—add a representation of the deceased, seated and facing north. *Nfr* (whose upper lintel is lacking) preferred to have the offering-formula upon his lower lintel (2) while *Hnw* has no lower lintel to his northern door, and *K3-wsrt* and *Ir-shw* left the lower lintel blank. Therefore, we may say that the typical inscription for the lower lintel of the false-door in our excavations, is the titles and name of the owner, and this is in accordance with Dr. Reisner's observations. This is, after all, quite natural, and is simply the name and rank of a person written up over his doorway in order that the living visitors to the tomb may immediately identify the particular door before which they wished to present their offerings. From forty examples of false-doors of the Fourth Dynasty from outside our excavations, twenty-six conform to the same type that we have just described (3), and four more, those of *In-Snfrw-iš-tf* of Dahshur, *Hnw*, *Snfrw-htp* and his wife add a representation of the deceased, the former in a standing attitude, the latter seated. *Nj-k3-Hr*, *H3-hnmt* and *Hwfw mr-ntrw* add representations of food-offerings to their titles and name, but have no representations. *Hwfw-mr* gives only his titles. On three examples the lower lintel bears the offering-formula—Nos. 6, 17, 28.

The Drum

Out of a total of eighty-two false-doors in our Giza excavations, only seven have inscribed drums. Of these Nos. 15, 17, 21, 23, 37 give only the name of the deceased; while *K3-wsrt* gives her name and title, and *Nj-šnh-Hnmw* (southern door) his title only, which is written in an unusual manner. Actually the title (4) is $\downarrow \frac{\text{☉}}{\text{☉}}$ "He Who is Concerned with the King's Affairs", but only $\frac{\text{☉}}{\text{☉}}$ appears upon the drum, the sign \downarrow occurring at the top of the inner jambs (in the same title) is made to serve also for the title occurring upon the drum, which may thus be read from right to left or from left to right. So we find for our excavations the drum inscribed with the name only in excess of those bearing the titles and name; but the uninscribed drum is the

(1) Nos. 3, 17 (two examples), 21, 22, 23 (two examples), 25, 30, 31, 34 (two examples), 36, 37.

(2) Apparently *Nfr* did not attach much importance to the offering-scene and formula on the false-door, as his panel is replaced by a palace-façade (see above, p. 77). But he had a large offering-scene on the western wall of his corridor, fragments of which still remain (see "Excavations at Giza", Vol. III, p. 213).

(3) Nos. 10 (two examples), 16, 18, 20, 19, 11, 26 (two examples), 14, 25 (two examples), 23, 15, 29, 7, 5 (two examples), 8 (two examples), 21, 27, 31, 32, 33, 37.

(4) It is usually the important title which is placed upon the drum.

predominating type, and if we remember the drums of King Zoser (*see above*, p. 73), we shall see that this is an ancient form and perfectly reasonable, when the drum is considered as a rolled-up curtain. It would seem that the drum only came to be inscribed when the need for more space for the increasing number of inscriptions caused every available part of the door to be brought into use. But from the examples from outside our field of work, we have the contrary. Out of twenty-nine specimens, only thirteen drums bear the name alone: Nos. 15 (two examples), 5 (two examples), 7, 12, 16, 26, 31, 33, 34, 36, 37, while the following give the titles and name: Nos. 8 (two examples), 10 (two examples), 11, 14, 19, 20, 21, 23, 25, 26, 28, 29, 35, 17.

The Door-Niche

In our Giza excavations we have only two examples of a Fourth-Dynasty false-door which possesses a decorated door-niche (1). These are in the tomb of *Tstj*, where in the niche of the southern door we see a large figure of the deceased in a walking-attitude, but much eroded in the upper part and the false-door of *Pššt* in the tomb of *šht-htp* which bears a vertical inscription, giving the title and name of the deceased. The reason why the door-niche is less frequently decorated than in the earlier specimens is perhaps because towards the end of the Fourth Dynasty it had in most cases greatly decreased in width in order to allow space for wider jambs, which often had to carry two rows of a vertical inscription and in some cases even the offering-list (*see K3-m-nfrt*). From the outside examples, we have only seven false-doors out of a total of 52 having the door-niche decorated, and these are so varied that it is difficult to fix a predominating type, except that in most cases the figure of the deceased is usually the most striking feature, and is often accompanied by one or more relatives (Nos. 5, 10, 11, 12, 20, 28, 34). Thus, on the door-niche of Prince *Sš.t-htp-Htj*, we see only a large figure of the deceased facing north. *Mtn* adds his titles and name to his figure, and the same with *H3-hnmt*. *Ij-k3* has in his door-niche a large figure of himself accompanied by a small figure of his son, and the name and titles of both: but *Šrj* has two superposed figures of himself, and that of his son accompanies the upper one

The Inner Jambs

Out of all the inscribed Fourth Dynasty false-doors in our excavation at Giza, twelve bear inscriptions upon their inner jambs (2). Dr. Reisner mentions only representations of the tomb-owner and relatives for the decoration of this part of the false-door. We find from our material eight examples which conform to this type (3), a typical example being the false-door of *Pššt* in the tomb of *šht-htp*, where the inner jambs bear a large figure of the deceased facing in towards the door-niche and surmounted by two horizontal rows of inscription giving the titles and name. The figure on the left-hand jamb is that of the owner of the false-door, but that on the right jamb

(1) It must be stressed that in the case of those false-doors now in foreign collections, the dating is only approximate, as the additional evidence of age afforded by the general style of the tomb itself.

(2) *See* Nos. 25, 34, 33 (two examples), 17 (two examples), 30 (two examples), 23 (two examples), 26, 21.

(3) *See* Nos. 33, northern-door, 17 (two examples), 30 (two examples), 23 (two examples), 21.

is the figure of a man  $K\mathfrak{z}$ -*nfr*, whose relationship to the deceased lady is not stated. One other example in *Tstj* adds the figure of *Ka*-servants. *Hw.f-R'* adds the *pr-hrw* formula to his portrait; while *Mr-'nh.f* occupies his inner jambs with an inscription in which he claims to have treated the artisans fairly, who constructed his tomb and seems to utter a threat against any person who would injure his tomb (1). *Kz-m-nfrt* has his inner jambs entirely covered by a large offering-list which occupies the whole false-door, with the exception of the panel. Of the specimens from outside our excavations, eleven out of fifty-two false-doors follow the conventional style of decoration on their jambs (2). To this *In-Snfrw-is-tf.* of Dahshur adds the offering-formula, and *Ss'm-nfr* and *Snfrw-htp* add both the offering-formula and their titles and name. *Kz-tp* gives his titles and name only and no representation, *Intj*, the wife of *Snfrw-htp* has her titles, name and portrait, while *Kz-wdw-nh* gives only his titles. *Ss'm-nfr* has the figures of two *Ka*-servants upon his inner jambs, while the following include the figures of *Ka*-servants and offering-bearers together with members of the family (Nos. 14, 16, 20, 25, 26 (two examples), 31, 32; and both doors of *H.f-R'-nh* have the palace-façade panelling on their inner jambs.

The Outer Jambs

As Dr. Reisner correctly states, the outer jambs of the false-doors of the Fourth Dynasty present a great variety of form in their decoration. From thirty false-doors in our excavations which possess outer jambs, thirteen are inscribed upon this part (3). Of these, five bear the offering-formula on one or both jambs claiming the boon from the King and Anubis. These are Nos. 25 on the left jamb, 26, 30 (two examples), 33. On the southern door of *Irjrw*, the offering-formula is varied upon each jamb. On the right-hand side the different festivals are mentioned, while on the left-hand side the boon asked is that the deceased may "walk upon the good ways". *Kz-m-nfrt* continues his offering-list upon the outer jambs. The right jamb of *Kz-wsrt* bears a large standing figure of the deceased lady, above which are her titles and name. The left-hand jamb is left blank. The outer jambs of *Kz-pr* bear representations of the owner, and inscriptions giving his titles and name. The right outer jamb of *Pss't*, the mother of *zht-htp* bears a figure of the deceased lady, while the left-hand jamb bears a representation of a man named *Kz-nfr*. The jambs of *zht-htp* himself bear in addition to his own portrait, a smaller figure of a male offering-bearer. On the northern false-door of *Hw.f-R'* the left outer jamb bears the offering-formula, while the right-hand one gives the name and title of the owner. The outer jambs of *Nj-'nh-Hnmw* both give his titles and name, but no figures, and the same with the door of *Hnw* which is much eroded. *Nfr* has his titles and name on the left-hand jamb, but the right-hand one was left blank.

The northern door of *Mr-'nh.f* bears his titles and name on the left outer jamb, which also serves as the jamb of the real doorway of the tomb, but on the right-hand one is the plea that he may "walk upon the good ways".

(1) For the reason for this class of inscription, see pp. 10, 11.

(2) See Nos. 34, 15, 33, 18, 28, 23, 8, (two examples), 10, 11, 13.

(3) Nos. 20, 26, 33 (two examples), 22, 30 (two examples), 21, 34, 25, 23, 17 (two examples).

From fourteen specimens of false-doors from outside our excavations, we find that eleven bear upon their outer jambs representations of the tomb-owner, his relatives and *Ka*-servants, combined with short inscriptions. These are Prince *Htj*, (also called *Sš3.t-htp*) who occupied his left outer jamb with three superposed registers, each containing a *Ka*-servant performing the offering rites, while the right outer jamb bears three registers containing men carrying offerings. The top one is a  “caterer” and is thus bringing the offering-table laden with half-loaves of bread. On the left outer jamb of *Mtn* is a large figure of the deceased who is standing face outwards from the door-niche, and is apparently watching a hedgehog, two ichneumons, a hare and a jerboa, arranged one above the other before him. This is a most unusual subject, and as far as I am aware, unique on a false-door. On the right outer jamb is another large figure of *Mtn*, facing outwards, and also his titles, name and an offering list, an early example of the transference of the “ overflow ” from the panel into another part of the false-door (see above, p. 124). At the bottom of the jamb is a very naturally-drawn figure of a man presenting a ewer and a basin to the tomb-owner. Prince *K3-nj-njsut* has only one outer jamb to each of his two false-doors, and these are each occupied normally with large figures of the deceased and small figures of *Ka*-servants. *Hnw*, *Snfrw-htp* and his wife *Intj* and *In-Snfrw-š-tj*, all have their portraits on the outer jamb of their false-doors, accompanied by the offering-formula; but *Ij-k3* had only the offering-formula. *K3j-wd-nh* occupied the whole of his outer—as well as his inner—jambs with his titles. Prince *H'.f-Hwfw II* had the palace-façade panelling on each of his outer jambs; while Prince *H'.f-Hwfw I* (the son of King *Khufw*) has a large representation of an offering-table or incense-burner occupying his outer jambs. Thus, it would seem that the earliest false-doors of the Fourth Dynasty tend towards pictorial representations in their decoration, and this is quite in accordance with the form of the false-door as it emerged from the modified palace-façade at the end of the Third Dynasty. Later, we see a tendency to increase the inscriptions, and so, what was once a large figure of the deceased accompanied by a brief inscription, may become a small figure terminating a somewhat lengthy vertical inscription. On the other hand, we find a seated figure of the deceased introduced at the left-hand end of the upper and lower lintels where formerly, only inscriptions were to be found.

The subjects of the inscriptions themselves are usually the titles and name of the tomb-owner, offering-formulæ claiming the boon from the King and Anubis (a feature still very rare in the Fourth Dynasty). This suggests that the false-door was still regarded chiefly as a convenient entrance and exit for the *Ka*, and secondly, as a focusing point for the offering-ceremonies in the cult of the dead. This latter feature is clearly seen in the case of the northern false-door of *Tntj*, which is, as we have already seen (p. 82, Fig. 12), a mere narrow niche, having only a drum and a lintel, but to which all the figures of offering-bearers and *Ka*-servants on the surrounding walls are converging. The fact that the scenes and inscriptions on the false-doors were a matter of secondary importance, at least in the earlier part of the dynasty and to a certain class of persons, may be proved by the fact that inscribed false-doors are the exception rather than the rule. In our excavations alone we have a series of fourteen royal tombs containing a total of thirty-nine false-doors (see Nos. 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12, 13, 14). Of the thirty-nine royal false-doors only two are decorated, (the northern door of Queen *Hnt-k3w.s*, and Queen *Rht-R'*) and that very sparingly. These plain doors can hardly be attributed to a need for economy in the case of these

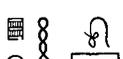
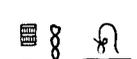
persons, therefore, we can only conclude that the royal family deliberately favoured the simplicity of the early archaic doors and only looked upon it as a means of entrance and exit for the Ka, while all other representations were distributed on the walls of the cult-chamber, and moreover they relied more on actual offering presented to them than mere magical formulæ. But after all, the most striking new features on the false-doors of the Fourth Dynasty is the introduction of the *Ka*-servants, offering-bearers, and other priests performing ceremonial rites, particularly upon the inner jambs.

The False-Doors of the Fifth Dynasty

THE ARCHITECTURAL FORM OF THE FALSE-DOORS

The opening of the Fifth Dynasty finds the "double-jamb" type of false-door still retaining its popularity, and a great many of the "doors" belonging to this period, in our excavations conform to this type, and in a proportion of sixty-eight out of one hundred and forty-six examples. These Fifth Dynasty burials are as follows:—

Names of Owners (Our Excavations)

- | | |
|---|--|
| (1)  <i>Irj-n-3ht</i> (1). | (9)  <i>Wh3</i> (9). |
| (2)  <i>I3m3m-Nt</i> (2). | (10)  <i>W3s'-Dw3w</i> (10). |
| (3)  <i>Ijj</i> (3). | (11)  <i>Wp-m-njrt</i> (11). |
| (4)  <i>'nh-m-s3.f</i> (4). | (12)  <i>W3s'-Pth II</i> (12). |
| (5)  <i>'nh-tf</i> (5). | (13)  <i>Wtt-htp</i> (13). |
| (6)  <i>'nh-h3.f</i> (6). | (14)  <i>Ffj I</i> (also called <i>Pth-sdf3</i>) (14). |
| (7)  <i>W3s'-Pth. I</i> (7). | (15)  <i>Ffj. II</i> (15). |
| (8)  <i>Wrhw</i> (8). | (16)  <i>Mr-sw-'nh</i> (16). |

(1) 6th season.

(2) "Excavations at Giza", Vol. IV, p. 204.

(3) *Ibid.* Vol. I, pp. 102, 103.

(4) 6th Season.

(5) See pp. 230, 232.

(6) *Ibid.* Vol. III, p. 133.

(7) *Ibid.* Vol. II, p. 13.

(8) See p. 250.

(9) See p. 255.

(10) 9th Season.

(11) *Ibid.* Vol. II, p. 188.

(12) *Ibid.* Vol. III, p. 3.

(13) *Ibid.* Vol. II, p. 1.

(14) *Ibid.* Vol. I, pp. 99, 100.

(15) See p. 282.

(16) *Ibid.* Vol. I, p. 109.

- (17)  *Mrw-k3* (1).
- (18)  *Ms-s3* (2).
- (19)  *Nj-k3w-Ht-hr* (3).
- (20)  *Nj-sw-kd I* (4).
- (21)  *Nj-sw-kd II* (5).
- (22)  *Nj-M3t-Rc* (6).
- (23)  *Nj-s'nh-3htj* (7).
- (24)  *Nfr-htp* (8).
- (25)  *Nfr-s3m* (9).
- (26)  *Nfr.s-rs* (10).
- (27)  *Nfrt-njswt* (11).
- (28)  *Nht-k3* (12).
- (29)  *Rmnw-k3* (13).
- (30)  *R'-htp* (14).
- (31)  *R'-wr, the Singer* (15).
- (32)  *R'-wr III* (16).
- (33)  *Rwd-k3* (17).
- (34)  *Rd-s3w.s* (18).
- (35)  *Htp-hr.s* (19).
- (36)  *Hmt-Rc* (20).
- (37)  *Htpj* (21).
- (38)  *Hsj* (22).
- (39)  *Hmw* (23).
- (40)  *Hr-tm3t* (24).
- (41)  *Hnt* (25).
- (42)  *Hnw* (26).
- (43)  *Hwnj-Pth* (27).
- (44)  *Hwt3* (28).
- (45)  *Swf* (29).
- (46)  *S'nhw* (30).

(1) *Ibid.* Vol. I, p. 63.

(2) See p. 292.

(3) 6th Season.

(4) *Ibid.* Vol. II, p. 93 *ff.*

(5) See p. 205.

(6) *Ibid.* II, p. 218.

(7) *Ibid.* Vol. III, p. 125.

(8) 9th Season.

(9) *Ibid.* Vol. III, p. 236.

(10) *Ibid.* Vol. II, p. 206.

(11) *Ibid.* Vol. II, p. 88.

(12) 7th season.

(13) *Ibid.*, Vol. II, p. 174 *ff.*

(14) See p. 205.

(15) *Ibid.*, Vol. I, p. 67.

(16) See p. 295.

(17) 6th Season.

(18) *Ibid.* Vol. I, p. 112.

(19) *Ibid.* Vol. II, p. 210.

(20) 6th Season.

(21) 7th Season.

(22) *Ibid.* Vol. III, p. 248 *ff.*

(23) 6th Season.

(24) 9th Season.

(25) 6th Season.

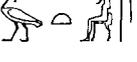
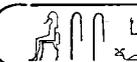
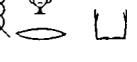
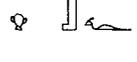
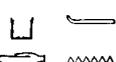
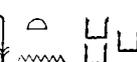
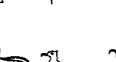
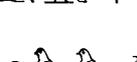
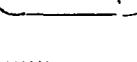
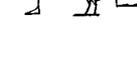
(26) *Ibid.* Vol. II, p. 163.

(27) 7th Season.

(28) *Ibid.* Vol. III, p. 45.

(29) See p. 260.

(30) *Ibid.*, Vol. III, p. 221.

- (47)  *Shm-'nh-Pth* (1).
- (48)  *K3j-swd3.w* (2).
- (49)  *Sm3-'nh* (3).
- (50)  *Sd-htp* (4).
- (51)  *Sšmw* (5).
- (52)  *Špss-3htj* (6).
- (53)  *Špss-k3.f-'nh* (7).
- (54)  *Špss-k3.f-'nh I* (8).
- (55)  *Špss-k3.f-'nh-ss-k3-R* (9).
- (56)  *K3-dw3* (10).
- (57)  *Nj-k3w-Hr* (11).
- (58)  *K3-hr-'ist.f I* (12).
- (59)  *K3-hr-'ist.f II* (13).
- (60)  *K3-hr-njswt* (14).
- (61)  *K3-m-nfrt* (15).
- (62)  *K3-dbhñj* (16).
- (63)  *K3w-njswt* (17).
- (64)  *K3r* (18).
- (65)  *Tsn* (19).
- (66)  *Tttwt* (20).
- (67)  *D3g* (21).
- (68)  *Dr-sm3't* (22).
- (69)  *Dw3-R* (23).
- (70)  *Ddj* (24).
- (71)  *Df3-njswt* (25).
- (72)  *Nfr-hww* (26).
- (73)  *K3k3j-'nh* (27).
- (74)  *Snbw-k3* (28).

(1) *Ibid.* Vol. II.
(2) 6th Season.
(3) 6th Season.
(4) *Ibid.* Vol. III, p. 110.
(5) *Ibid.* Vol. III, pp. 78, 80.
(6) *Ibid.* Vol. III, p. 95.
(7) 6th Season.
(8) *Ibid.* Vol. II, pp. 21, 27.
(9) *Ibid.* Vol. II, p. 22.
(10) 6th Season.
(11) *Ibid.* Vol. IV, pp. 192, 193.
(12) 6th Season.
(13) 9th Season.
(14) *Ibid.* Vol. II, p. 67.

(15) *Ibid.* Vol. II, pp. 112, 115.
(16) *See* pp. 217, 218.
(17) *Ibid.* Vol. II, pp. 78, 79.
(18) 6th Season.
(19) *See* pp. 270, 271.
(20) *Ibid.* Vol. III, p. 82.
(21) *Ibid.* Vol. II, p. 46.
(22) *Ibid.* Vol. III, p. 9.
(23) 9th Season.
(24) *Ibid.* Vol. I, p. 87.
(25) *Ibid.* Vol. I, p. 63.
(26) 6th Season.
(27) 6th Season.
(28) 6th Season.

These tombs contain a total of 146 false-doors and of these the following numbers adhere to the double-jamb type mentioned above : 3, 1, 4 (two examples), 5 (two examples), 6, 9, 14, 16, 19, 22 (two examples), 24, 49 (two examples), 12, 31 (three examples), 59 (two examples), 69 (two examples), 66 (two examples), 38 (two examples), 35, 42 (two examples), 10 (two examples), 39, 25, 26, 27, 29 (two examples), 30 (three examples), 37 (two examples), 41 (two examples), 53, 55 (two examples), 38, 52, 51 (two examples), 48, 47 (two examples), 67 (five examples), 65 (two examples), 64, 63 (two examples), 60, 58 (two examples), 56 (two examples), 62 (two examples). But nevertheless, new architectural features are to be observed. The first is the addition of a third pair of jambs. Now actually this is but a disguised return to the more elaborate palace-façade structure, the employment of one of the outer crenellations, which is brought into the design of the false-door, but simplified in order to accommodate the increasing number of inscriptions (see Fig. 20). We have five examples of this type from our excavations; these are *K3-k3j-'nh*

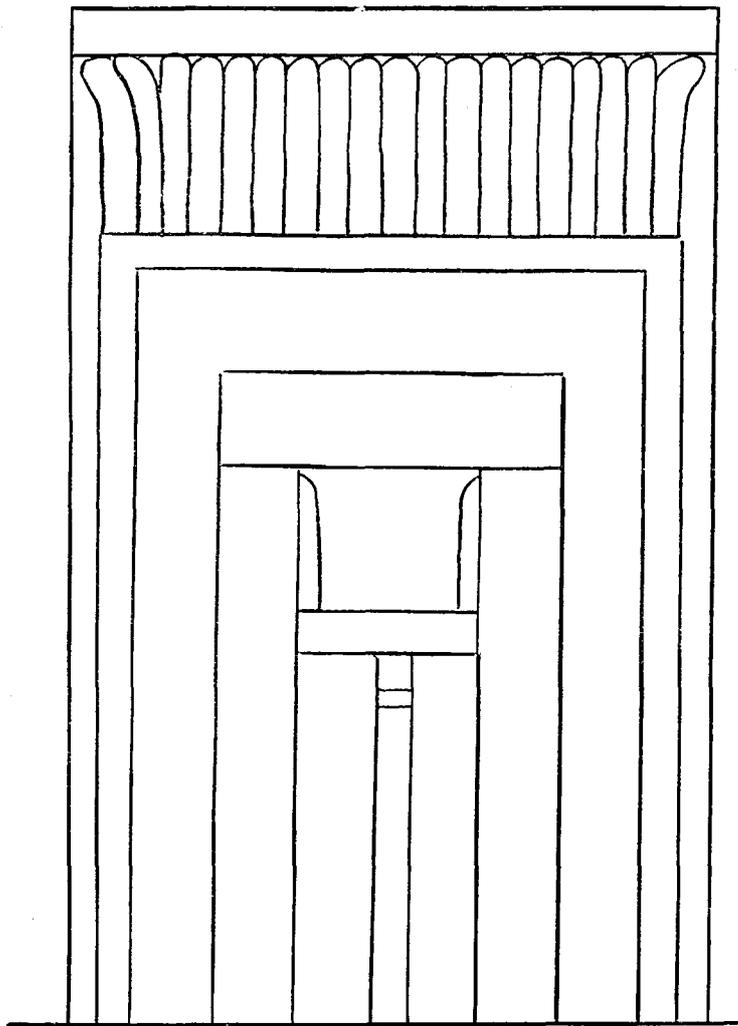


FIG. 20.

who constructed his chapel at the end of that of *K3-m-njrt* to whom perhaps he was a younger relation; *Wrhww*, *Nj-s'nh-3htj*, *Tsn* and *Nj-k3w-Hr*. We have also seventeen false-doors of the single-jamb type, Nos. 49 (two examples), 33 (two examples), 60 (northern door) 24, 21, 20 (two examples), 28 (two examples), 34 (two examples), 47, 50, 62, 67. Thus, we see that the predominating type of false-door remains the same as it was in the Fourth Dynasty, namely, the "double-jamb" type. But we have a second, and more drastic innovation, which consisted of enclosing a normal

false-door on the top and two sides with a torus moulding (either plain or displaying the cross-lashings), and surmounting it by a deep palmetto cornice (see Fig. 20). Of this new type we have six examples in our excavations. These are *Irj-n-šht*, *Nj-mš't-R'*, who conceived the imposing idea of enlarging the moulding and cornice to enclose a large palace-façade flanked by a false-door of the double-jamb type on each side, *Htpj*, *Nj-s'nh-šhtj*, *Whš* and *Tsn*. There are also false-doors which are made to serve as the front wall of a serdab which lies behind them. In this case, the squint of the serdab may be cut in the panel, as in the tomb of *Shm-'nh-Pth* ⁽¹⁾ or at the top of the door-niche under the drum. By cutting the squint in the panel, it shows that the panel was regarded as a window over the door, through which it was a natural thing to look into the interior of the house, and this also serves to explain the meaning of the panel design, we are allowed a glimpse of the tomb-owner seated and enjoying a meal at his offering-table. False-doors in our excavations which form the front walls of serdabs are as follows: *Shm-'nh-Pth* (see above), *Kš-hr-njswt*, *Ffj*, *Ijj*, *Nj-sw-ḳd I*. We now begin to see a change in the form and situation of the drum (which may even be omitted altogether as on the false-doors of *Kš-hr-šst.f II*) (two examples), *R'-wr* the Singer, *Shm-'nh-Pth*, *Whš*, *Tsn* "southern door" and *Nj-ḳšw-Ht-hr*. Or the drum may be displaced, as on the false-door of *Nfr-htp*'s wife, where it is placed so high as to encroach upon the panel (there being no lower lintel). Or *Shm-'nh-Pth*, where it overlaps onto the inner jambs. But the general tendency for the Fifth Dynasty jamb is to be well separated from the soffit of the door, showing that its original significance was fading from memory. Another peculiarity to be met with in the Fifth Dynasty is the occasional omission of the lower lintel, a reversion to the form of the archaic niche-stones. This type of false-door occurs in the tombs of *Nfr-htp*, *Kš-dwš*, *Mrs w-'nh*, *Kš-hr-šst.f II*.

The Palace-Façade

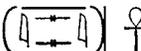
In the Fourth Dynasty tombs that occur in our excavations at Giza, we saw that the Palace-façade was mostly employed by members of the royal family (see p. 77), and we had only one example of a pure palace-façade door occurring in the tomb of a high official (*šht-htp*). But on the contrary, in the Fifth Dynasty we have only two examples of the palace-façade, and these are both in the tombs of high officials. These are *Tsn* (see p. 271) and *Nj-mš't-R'*, whose false-doors have already been alluded to.

Names of Owners (Outside Examples)

From outside our excavations we have seventy-eight burials containing a total of eighty-eight false-doors. These are as follows:—

(1)  *šht-htp* ⁽²⁾.

(3)  *Isj-'nh* ⁽⁴⁾.

(2)  *Issj-'nh* ⁽³⁾.

(4)  *'nh-ḳdw.s* ⁽⁵⁾.

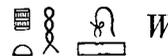
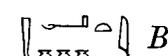
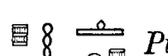
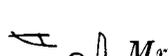
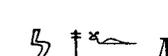
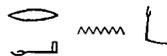
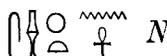
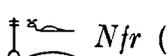
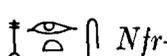
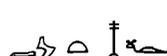
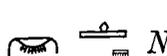
⁽¹⁾ There is a secondary squint cut under the drum.

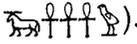
⁽⁴⁾ British Museum No. 1383, "Egyptian Stelæ", Vol. I, Pl. 24.

⁽²⁾ MARIETTE, "Mastabas", p. 423.

⁽⁵⁾ FAKHRI, "Sept Tombeaux à l'Est de la Grande Pyramide", p. 5.

⁽³⁾ *Ibid.* p. 191.

- (5)  'nh-m'-K3 (1).
- (6)  'nh-m'-Rc (2).
- (7)  W3s'-Pth (3).
- (8)  W3s'-K3 (4).
- (9)  Wr-ir-nj-Pth (5).
- (10)  Wr-dd-Pth (6).
- (11)  B'nw-Ttj (7).
- (12)  Pr-ndw (8).
- (13)  Pth-htp I (9).
- (14)  Pth-htp II (10).
- (15)  Pth-htp-Ij-n-'nh (11).
- (16)  Pth-s'pss (12).
- (17)  Mrtj (13).
- (18)  M3-nfr (14).
- (19)  Nty-wsr (15).
- (20)  Nht-s3.s (16).
- (21)  Nj-k3w-Rc (17).
- (22)  Njswt-nfr (18).
- (23)  Nj-k3w-Rc (19).
- (24)  Nj sw-kd (20).
- (25)  Nj-'nh-Skm.t (21).
- (26)  Nj-'nh-Dw3w (22).
- (27)  Nfr (23).
- (28)  Nfr-irj.t-n.s (24).
- (29)  Nfr-M3't (25).
- (30)  Nwb-htp (26).
- (31)  Nn-ht-k3 (27).
- (32)  R'-wr II (28).

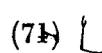
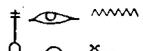
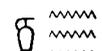
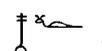
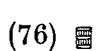
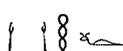
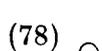
(1) MARIETTE, "Mastabas", p. 214 (C.M. 1485).
 (2) *Ibid.* p. 288.
 (3) *Ibid.* p. 268.
 (4) British Museum No. 1156, "Egyptian Stelæ", Pl. 22.
 (5) British Museum No. 718, *ibid.* Pl. 31.
 (6) GUNN, "Teti Pyr. Cemeteries", p. 62.
 (7) British Museum No. 1165, "Egyptian Stelæ", Pl. 29.
 (8) Cairo Museum No. 1506, BORCHARDT, "Denkmäler des Alten Reiches", Pl. 44.
 (9) Our *Sakḳara Excavations* (1938).
 (10) Our *Sakḳara Excavations* (false-door of B1-'nhw ).
 (11) See our *Sakḳara Excavations* (1937).
 (12) British Museum No. 682, "Egyptian Stelæ", Pls. 10-13.
 (13) Berlin Museum No. 7704, "Aegyptische Inschriften", p. 48.
 (14) MARIETTE, "Mastabas", p. 446.

(15) MURRAY, "Sakḳara Mastabas", Vol. I, Pl. XXIV.
 (16) MARIETTE, "Mastabas", p. 366.
 (17) Cairo Museum No. 1414, BORCHARDT, "Denkmäler", Pl. 19.
 (18) JUNKER, "Giza", Vol. III, p. 167.
 (19) Cairo Museum No. 1416, BORCHARDT, "Denkmäler", p. 87.
 (20) MARIETTE, "Mastabas", p. 393.
 (21) *Ibid.* p. 203.
 (22) Cairo Museum No. 1452, BORCHARDT, "Denkmäler", Pl. 34.
 (23) Cairo Museum No. 1462, *ibid.* Pl. 36.
 (24) DE. MORGAN, p. 11.
 (25) L.D. II, Pl. 65.
 (26) Cairo Museum No. 1415, BORCHARDT, "Denkmäler", Pl. 19.
 (27) MARIETTE, "Mastabas", p. 307.
 (28) JUNKER, "Giza", III, p. 228.

- (33)  *Hm-Mnw* (1).
- (34)  *Ih3* (2).
- (35)  *Hd.t-hknw* (3).
- (36)  *H'-b3w-Pth* (4).
- (37)  *H'-mrr.w-Pth* (5).
- (38)  *Hnt-k3w.s* (6).
- (39)  *Ihj* (7).
- (40)  *Shtp.w* (8).
- (41)  *Skr-htp* (9).
- (42)  *Snnw* (10).
- (43)  *Shm-'nh-Pth* (11).
- (44)  *Sšm-nfr* (12).
- (45)  *Sndm-ib-Mhj* (13).
- (46)  *Snnw-'nh.w* (14).
- (47)  *Špsj* (15).
- (48)  *K3j* (16).
- (49)  *K3-R'-pw* (17).
- (50)  *K3-m-nfrt* (18).
- (51)  *K3-mnj* (19).
- (52)  *K3-m-snnw* (20).
- (53)  *Tp-m-'nh* (21).
- (54)  *Tjj* (22).
- (55)  *K3j-wd3.w* (23).
- (56)  *Tjj* (24).
- (57)  *K3-m-kd* (25).
- (58)  *Sšmw* (26).
- (59)  *R'-wr* (27).
- (60)  *K3j-swd3* (28).
- (61)  *Nj-'nh-R'* (29).
- (62)  *Nfr htp.s* (30).

(1) MARIETTE, "Mastabas", p. 200.
(2) JUNKER, "Giza", Vol. VI, p. 75.
(3) A.S. Vol. III, Pl. III.
(4) MARIETTE, "Mastabas", p. 295.
(5) *Ibid.* p. 118.
(6) British Museum, "Egyptian Stelæ", Pl. 32.
(7) *Ibid.* Pl. 88.
(8) GUNN., "Teti Pyr. Cemeteries", Pl. 63.
(9) Berlin Museum No. 11667, "Aegyptische Inschriften", p. 49.
(10) British Museum No. 1136, "Egyptian Stelæ", Pl. 27.
(11) MARIETTE, "Mastabas", p. 219.
(12) L.D. II, Pl. 81.
(13) L.D. II, Pl. 75.
(14) MARIETTE, "Mastabas", p. 319.
(15) Cairo Museum No. 1319, BORCHARDT, "Denkmäler", Pl. 9.

(16) JUNKER, "Giza", III, p. 133.
(17) MARIETTE, "Mastabas", p. 278.
(18) *Ibid.* p. 247.
(19) L.D. II, Pl. 40.
(20) GUNN., "Teti Pyr. Cemeteries", Pl. 62.
(21) MARIETTE, "Mastabas", p. 195.
(22) Cairo Museum No. 1380, BORCHARDT, "Denkmäler", Pl. 9.
(23) Cairo Museum No. 1398, *ibid.* Pl. 15.
(24) STEINDORFF, "Das Grab des Ti", Pls. 135, 45, 18.
(25) L.D. II. 100.
(26) *Ibid.* 97.
(27) *Ibid.* 84.
(28) L.D., II, Pl. 97.
(29) *Ibid.* Pl. 91.
(30) FISHER, "The Minor Cemetery at Giza", p. 139, Pl. 47:1.

- | | |
|--|--|
| (63)  <i>Ihj</i> (1). | (71)  <i>K3j-hp</i> (9). |
| (64)  <i>Nfr-irj.t-n.f</i> (2). | (72)  <i>Nfr</i> (10). |
| (65)  <i>Dmd</i> (3). | (73)  <i>Mdw-nfr</i> (11). |
| (66)  <i>Nfr-htp.s</i> (4). | (74)  <i>Hnmw</i> (12). |
| (67)  <i>Irj-n-R</i> (5). | (75)  <i>Nfrn</i> (13). |
| (68)  <i>Njwjtj</i> (6). | (76)  <i>Phn-wj-k3(j)</i> (14). |
| (69)  <i>Nsmn3</i> (7). | (77)  <i>3h.t-htp</i> (15). |
| (70)  <i>K3(j)-h(w)j.f</i> (8). | (78)  <i>3ht-htp-hr</i> (16). |

Of these false-doors only the following are of the palace-façade type :—

Pth-htp of Saḳḳara (17), *Hdt-hknw* (southern door), *Ntr-wsr*, and *Pth-špss*, who employed a palace-façade in his tomb, but had all its vertical beams inscribed with a glowing biography of himself, set out in what seems to be a poetical form, each line ending with his own name. This is a very exceptional example, and we can only regret that it did not become a general custom. This palace-façade is surmounted by an ordinary upper lintel, giving the offering-formula and titles and name of the owner. An interesting point is the substitute method of writing the name of Osiris with  instead of . From this we see also that the name of Osiris was beginning to be included in the offering-formula and the epithets of the deceased, and this marks the rise of the Osirian cult to power, and the acceptance of Osiris as the principal god of the dead. *3h.t-htp* of Saḳḳara (now in the Louvre had a palace-façade bearing two door-niches, an echo of the old royal palace-doors (see above, p. 67). The false-door of *Pth-špss I* (18) has palace-façades on the inner and outer jambs, below which are representations of the deceased (19). The false-door of *Phn-wj-k3j* has two small palace-façades on the panel separated by a vertical row of inscription; and also palace-façade panelling on the inner jambs. From this we see that

(1) No. III, (Junker) Giza. West Cemetery.

(2) SPEELERS, "Recueil des Inscriptions Egyptiennes des Musées Royaux à Bruxelles", p. 9.

(3) STEINDORFF, "Grab des Ti", Pl. 18.

(4) *Ibid.* Pl. 45.

(5) JUNKER, "Giza", Vol. III, p. 159.

(6) L.D. Ergänzung, XXXI.

(7) *Ibid.* XXXIII.

(8) LA ROQUE, "Fouilles d'Abou-Roasch", (1924), p. 58, Pl. XXXIII.

(9) SCHÄFER, "Aegyptische Inschriften", p. 44.

(10) JUNKER, "Giza", Vol. VI, p. 39.

(11) *Ibid.* p. 210.

(12) *Ibid.* p. 193.

(13) *Ibid.* p. 203.

(14) L.D., II., Pl. 48.

(15) BOREUX, "Antiquités Egyptiennes", Vol. I, p. 225.

(16) BOESER, "Aegyptische Sammlung" (Denkmäler des Alten Reiches), Pl. XVII.

(17) DAVIES, "The Mastaba of Pathhetep and Akhetetep", Vol. I, Pls. XX, XXIX.

(18) MURRAY, "Saḳḳara Mastabas", Vol. I, Pl. XXVI.

(19) On the northern wall of the chapel of *Ssm-nfr* (JUNKER, "Giza", Vol. III, p. 189) is a complete row of palace-façade panelling, just as we saw it on the exterior of the early Archaic Mastabas.

the palace-façade occurring in the interior of the chapel is no longer confined almost exclusively to princely tombs, but is now employed by high officials, a development of the democratization which we saw beginning with *ꜣht-ḥtp*. in the preceding dynasty. Among the Fifth Dynasty specimens which we have examined, not one belongs to a King's Son, for even *Pth-šps* was only the son-in-law of King *Men-kaw-Ra'*. In the tomb of *Hr-ḥmꜣ't*, the false-door is replaced by a deep niche in which is a curious composite statue of the tomb-owner. The body of the statue, which is enveloped in a cloak, is cut in the rock, in one with the back of the niche, but the face, legs and feet are of Turah limestone, beautifully carved and painted, and fixed into place with cement. A rock-cut niche beside the northern door of *Sd-ḥtp* also contains a rock-cut statue of the owner. These seem to be forerunners of a fashion which was to be developed in an exceptionally fine manner a little later (*see below*, p. 175; also Mastaba 3 of the Great West Cemetery) (Giza, Junker). This is a custom which we see generally adopted in the Sixth Dynasty tombs of Aswan, where the false-door is replaced by a statue in a niche, and which will be dealt with more fully in a subsequent publication. The false-door of *Whꜣ* (*see p. 255*) is merely a plain slab of stone, devoid of all architectural carving.

The Position of the False-Door in the Fifth Dynasty Tomb

From seventy-four burials in our excavations, which date from the Fifth Dynasty, we find that eighteen contain a single false-door, appertaining to a single burial (*see Nos. 1, 3, 6, 7, 8, 12, 13, 15, 18, 19, 23, 25, 26, 40, 46, 48, 57, 73*).

Thirty-six tombs contain two false-doors each (Nos. 2, 4, 5, 10, 11, 14, 17, 21, 27, 28, 29, 32, 33, 34, 36, 37, 38, 41, 42, 43, 44, 45, 52, 56, 58, 59, 60, 63, 64, 65, 66, 68, 69, 70, 71, 72), of which nine are appertaining to a single burial⁽¹⁾ and twenty-one have a burial behind each door⁽²⁾. In these latter examples, we have eleven cases where the southern door belongs to the tomb-owner and the northern one to his wife (Nos. 2, 14, 33, 34, 38, 44, 52, 58, 60, 66, 70), and five examples where the northern door belongs to the principal burial⁽³⁾. Five tombs have three doors each, in four of which the southern one appertains to the principal burial (Nos. 31, 55, 59, 62, 65). Five more tombs contain four false-doors, of which Nos. 20, 51, have a burial to each door, that to the south being the principal one in both cases⁽⁴⁾. *Sd-ḥtp* has two exterior false-doors in the façade of his tomb, coinciding with two others in the western wall of the chapel, all of which appertain to a single burial. There are five false-doors appertaining to the combined tombs of *Nj-mꜣ't-R'* and *Nfr.s-rs*. Of these, two false-doors and a palace-façade are in the large chapel of *Nj-mꜣ't-R'*. *Nfr.s-rs* has a single false-door in her own chapel, a little south of dead centre in the western wall; while *Htp-ḥr.s*, the wife of *Nj-mꜣ't-R'*, has a small false-door in the eastern façade of the mastaba, somewhat to the north of dead centre (*see also No. 61*). The tomb of *Dꜣg* contains six false-doors, of which four appertain to single burials; while two in the southern chapel are for the burial of the tomb-owner, whose shaft lies behind them.

⁽¹⁾ Nos. 4, 11, 17, 29, 32, 36, 37, 42, 68.

⁽²⁾ Nos. 2, 14, 21, 27, 28, 33, 34, 38, 41, 43, 44, 52, 56, 58, 60, 66, 69, 70, 71, 72, 74.

⁽³⁾ Nos. 21, 27, 43, 56, 69.

⁽⁴⁾ *See Nos. 20, 24, 49, 50, 51.*

The Decoration of the Fifth Dynasty False-Doors

THE PANEL

Out of seventy-four burials of the Fifth Dynasty in our Giza excavations containing a total of 146 false-doors, fifty-five have false-doors bearing decorated panels, and of these, twenty-six adhere to the conventional form, *i.e.* depicting the deceased seated before an offering-table bearing the half-loaves of bread⁽¹⁾. A further twelve are panels bearing the figures of two persons seated at table⁽²⁾, and yet a further nine⁽³⁾ present some interesting variants, some of which are new innovations. Let us see if the first main group present any novel features. The northern false-door of *W3s'-Dw3w* possesses a very simple type of the traditional panel. The owner is seated at an offering-table which carries a conical loaf and two covered baskets, in place of the conventional half-loaves and the same is seen on the panel of *Hnw*. The panel of *Mrsu-'nh*, which is high and narrow in shape, presents a curious point. It still retains traces of colour, and shows that the flesh of the deceased was painted green, a colour we frequently see employed later for figures of Osiris⁽⁴⁾. The panel of *Nj-'nh-R'*, who owns the southern false-door in the tomb of *Shm-'nh-Pth*, has the upper part of his figure and the central loaves of the offering-table erased, but above the table is represented a very large roast goose, the favourite dish in the offering-meal. *Nj-m3't-R'*'s panel is of marked simplicity. It shows only the tomb-owner seated before a table carrying ten half-loaves of bread, from which he is taking one; a curious point is that he is facing south instead of the customary north. Above the table is his name and one of his titles, but no other inscriptions. But to make up for this simplicity on his panel, he had another offering-scene immediately to the south of his southern false-door, most of which is now eroded. On the southern wall of his chapel the offering-scene is again depicted, and with it a large, classical offering-list, the lower part of which is destroyed. An interesting point in this list is that each entry is determined by a miniature figure of a *Ka*-servant, each of whom faces the deceased, and carries in his outstretched hands the usual determinative sign for each entry or performs one of prescribed rites of offering. Hesy has the list of holy oils upon the panel of his southern door, while the panel of his northern door is flanked by the $\boxed{\text{V}}$ *pr-hrw* formula. The southern false-door of *Špss-k3.f-'nh I* has lost the upper part of the panel, but the remaining lower part shows us the deceased seated before the usual offering-table, to the right of which is a second offering-table laden with a profusion of represented food. In spite of this, *Špss-k3.f-'nh* has another and large offering-scene on the southern wall of the chapel above which is the large classical offering-list. On the panel of *Nj-s 'nh-3htj* the deceased is seated at his table, and is about to take a half-loaf with his right hand, while he holds a lotus-flower to his nose with his left hand, a new posture among our material. Moreover, the half-loaves on the offering-table have been

(¹) See Nos. 1, 4, 10, 16 (where the table bears a single large conical loaf), 22, 28 (two examples), 33 (southern door), 38 (two examples), 42, 51, 54, 55 (two examples), 56, 58, 62 (three examples), 65 (two examples), 66, 67 (three examples).

(²) Nos. 3, 8, 14, 27, 33, 41, 47, 48, 52, 63, 72, 73.

(³) Nos. 35, 49, (northern door), 53, 30, 25, 24, 23, 6, 5 (southern door).

(⁴) See Pap. Ani (Book of the Dead) Hw-nefer, etc., BUDGE, "Book of the Dead", frontispiece.

transformed in shape, and resemble the hieroglyph  which represents a flowering reed (1). Perhaps it was these stylized loaves which led modern scholars to mistake them for reeds, etc. (2). Below the table are two ewers and basins set upon a low rectangular stand, a new method of arranging these utensils. To the right is the eldest son of the deceased burning incense to his father. The inscriptions are all normal. The same scene occurs upon the panel of 'nh-h3.f but the deceased is merely extending his hand towards the offering-table, and the ewers and basins are omitted. The false-door of *Ttwt*—which is situated in the tomb of *Ssmw*—has some curious details on the panel. Firstly, the chair upon which the lady is seated is of a very strange shape . Secondly, the offering-table itself is unusually slender in the middle of the pedestal. Thirdly, the six half-loaves are arranged with their rounded sides facing to the centre of the table, whereas it is usually the flat side which is so turned.

Abnormal Panels

In addition to the panels mentioned above, we also have the following forms which we may call abnormal (Nos. 5, 24, 25, 30, 31, 35, 53, 47, 49) :—

That of *R'-htp* shows the deceased seated upon a chair, but no offering-table has been placed before him (3), and the only inscription gives simply his titles and name. A similar panel appears upon the false-door of 'nh-tf and is also inscribed with his titles and name. On the panel of *Nfr-ssm* the deceased is seated upon a chair, and before her stands the *Ka*-servant *Nfr-wr*, who places his right hand on his left shoulder in a gesture of respect. There is no offering-table. The remainder of this false-door is uninscribed, either because of the poverty of the owner, or because she died before the tomb was completed. In either case, the fact that the panel was completed shows how important this part of the false-door was considered. On the panel of the middle (southern) door of *Ra'-wr* the Singer, the deceased is standing, staff in hand, facing south, an unusual orientation for Lower Egypt, but not uncommon in Upper Egypt, as we shall see. In front of him are his titles and name, but no offering-table, but on the northern door, the panel is a normal one showing the deceased seated before the offering-table, with offerings represented above. Perhaps this shows two of the principal activities of the *Ka*—the power to enjoy the offering-meal and the power to come forth from the tomb. The southern false-door has lost its panel. On the panel of *Hmw* the owner is also in a standing attitude, and the same position is adopted by his son *Špss-k3.f-nh* on the southern false-door in the same tomb (see also *Nfr-htp*). On the panel of . . . 'nh  (found in Shaft No. 374, in the tomb of *Wp-m-nfrt*) (4) the deceased is standing, staff and baton in hand and has a vertical inscription giving his name and epithet  “Honoured by Ptaḥ” inscribed in front of him; while the traditional panel design is transferred to the lower lintel. In addition to the ordinary table of bread is a large rectangular stand laden with offerings.

(1) GARDINER, “*Egyptian Grammar*”, p. 471.

(2) See BOREUX, “*Revue de l'Égypte Ancienne*”, Vol. I, p. 7, where this question is discussed. See also below, p. 171, *f.*, and Fig. 25.

(3) This denotes that the panel had already lost its former importance as a place where offerings are presented, and only shows the deceased seated in the inside of his burial-chamber and the offering, which he is to receive, comes to him there by the reading of the *Pr-hrw* formula or the classical offering-list or other means.

(4) “*Excavations at Giza*”, Vol. II, p. 201.

Panels with the Two Figures Sitting at Table

On the panel of *Ffj I* a very large offering-table, carrying eighteen half-loaves, is placed between the man and woman. The half-loaves themselves are of a curious shape , and where the two inner ones meet back to back in the centre of the table we have the shape  (see below, p. 170). Above the table is a large rectangular framed space in which are inscribed the names of different kinds of offerings, of which the items are chiefly those of the canonical list.

Behind the lady, on the sunken space beside the panel, which is usually left blank, is a figure of her daughter who offers her a lotus-flower (a new point); while on the left-hand side, behind the man, is a figure of his son who burns incense. On the panel of *Ijj* the couple are seated side by side, with the offering-table before them, the whole of the space to the top and right of which seems to have been occupied by an offering-list, but it is much eroded. At the top of the panel is the offering-formula on behalf of the husband and wife, and a dedicatory inscription. On the sunken space to the right is a figure of the "Overseer of the *Ka*-servants" who is performing the rite of wringing the neck of a goose. On the left-hand side are the figures of two children, almost effaced. On the panel of *Nfrt-njsut* the offering-table placed between the man and woman is of a low circular type, but not placed upon a pedestal, and so appears to be resting in mid-air! This was done to give space for the names of some offerings in thousands, above the table are some items from the offering-list. On the panel of *Ksw-njsut* there is a brief offering-list placed above the table which gives the names of the seven holy oils, eye paint and cloth. A ewer and a basin are set before the face of the lady. On the right-hand side of the panel are two figures of *Ka*-servants, one of whom carries two bands of linen. In the tomb of *Njsw-ḳd* are three inscribed panels belonging to broken false-doors. On No. 1, the man and woman are seated side by side upon one seat, she embracing him with both arms⁽¹⁾. Upon the offering-table is a large conical loaf flanked by a circular loaf and four half-loaves. To the left are two tall vases on ring-stands. The other two panels do not display any particular point of interest for our study. The panel of the central false-door of *Shm-'nh-Pth* shows the husband and wife, each provided with their own separate offering-table, and also each having a personal ewer and a basin. The other offerings are normal. On the panel of *Hnt* husband and wife sit facing each other, and each has a small circular offering-stand placed in front of the face, instead of upon the ground; the food on each table is not identical. The panel of *Rwd-ḳ* has the sunken spaces at the sides of the panel occupied by figures of the children of the deceased couple. On the panels of *Nfr-ḥtp*, *Ksj-swḏw* and *Wr-ḥww* the deceased and his *Ka* (?) are seated facing each other with the table between them.

These specimens show a tendency going in two directions:—

(1) In some few cases a tendency to extreme simplicity (for example, the panel of *R-ḥtp*) and even a disassociation of the panel with the offering-scene.

⁽¹⁾ Such groups of figures are to be met with very often among the statues put in the serdab.

(2) A stronger tendency to include extra subjects into the conventional design (as for instance, figures of relatives, as in *Rwd-k3*). The number of panels upon which the figure of the deceased is represented seated at table with his Ka (?) is also on the increase since the preceding dynasty, as are the panels of married couples.

From eighty-eight false-doors from outside our excavations twenty-three have panels conforming to the conventional type (Nos. 2, 4, 5, 9, 15, 21, 24, 26, 32, 34, 39, 40, 43, 44, 45, 48⁽¹⁾, 53, 54, 59, 63, 66, 69). A further thirteen panels are of the type which bears two figures seated at table (Nos. 38, 42, 51⁽²⁾, 12, 23, 55, 10, 8, 7, 31, 25, 57); while eighteen more panels are all more or less abnormal (Nos. 37, 49, 18, 19, 6, 33, 28, 29, 27, 35, 20, 30, 50, 52, 72⁽¹⁾, 76, 78). In the first group of conventional panels we find the following details worthy of note. Above the normal offering-table of the panel of *Shtp.w* is placed a rectangular stand laden with food, and to the left of it, a covered bowl upon a foot. On the panel of the central false-door of *K3-m-snnw* the rectangular stand is placed at the foot of the offering-table, but behind it, and supports a ewer and a basin standing separately, and not with the ewer inside the basin, as is usually the arrangement⁽³⁾. To the right of the table are three tall vases with spouts and conical covers. Around the upper part of each is a frill of some ornamental material. This may have been saturated with water in order to cool the contents of the vases⁽⁴⁾. The sunken side-pieces on the otherwise normal panel of *3ht-htp* are very narrow, and bear a decoration of coloured (?) rectangles⁽⁵⁾. The panel of *H^c-mr-Pth* has the figure of the owner facing south, and in front of him are two superposed figures of men, each of whom is styled "his eldest son"⁽⁶⁾. On the panel of *Njr* (both doors) a man is represented as burning incense before the deceased. On the panel of *K3-m-njrt* the pedestal of the offering-table is forked above and below (see Fig. 25, No. 16) and the twenty-two half-loaves are placed in pairs with their flat sides together. On the panel of *Shm-'nh-Pth* we see above the offering-table, an unplucked goose and $\frac{\text{a—d}}{\text{oo}}$ (the *hkn* rite). To the right of the table is a basket of figs, a new item in the representations, some vegetables and a tray of figs⁽⁷⁾. On the panel of *'nh-m'-R^c* the deceased is facing south. On the eroded panel of *Njwjtj* (southern door) are three kneeling priests apparently performing the offering-rites. The panel of *Nht-s3.s* presents some curious details. Firstly, the name is that of a woman, and this accords with the figure of the deceased upon the panel; but the titles are those which were only held by men. Under the table is an object which in Mariette's drawing appears to be a small rectangular sarcophagus with a vaulted lid⁽⁷⁾.

(1) Two examples.

(2) Two examples.

(3) In the burial-chamber of *Hnmw-b3.f* were found the ewer and the basin separated.

(4) See C. WILLIAMS, "The Decoration of the Tomb of Per-neb", p. 52, for a discussion on this subject.

(5) An offering of a thousand of alabaster vases and a thousand of cloth.

(6) Certainly from two wives.

(7) Does this mean that the deceased is represented inside the burial-chamber with her sarcophagus in position, or does this mean that the Ka of the dead is sitting at table in the interior of the burial-chamber? This is possible because we have several times found in the burial-chamber the offering-table made of alabaster or copper with sets of dishes for serving. Otherwise there is no explanation for the existence of this sarcophagus. Herodotus mentions that in feasts, people used to put before them a mummy to remind them of the Other World.

Above and to the right of the table is a large offering-list which continues on to the right of the panel. It is much eroded, but has contained no less than eighty-six entries, a great advance upon the modest offering-lists of the Archaic Period and early Fourth Dynasty (and a similar large list is seen on the panel of *ih̄t-htp-hr.*). To the left is a small false-door over which is superposed a large *s3* amulet , perhaps a play upon the name of the deceased *Nht-s3.s*, or simply “protection”. Above the table on the panel of *Tjj* are the first sixteen entries of the canonical offering-list, the remainder of which is inscribed upon the inner jambs. The panel of *Phn-wj-k3j* bears two small palace-façades separated by a vertical inscription giving the titles and name of the deceased. Above each of these is inscribed the titles and name of the owner. The outstanding feature of *Sšm-nfr*'s panel is a very large ewer and a basin, represented as being almost as high as the offering-table. The right-hand side of the panel of *Snđm-ib* is occupied by three registers of represented food and drink offerings, the only new item in which is a vase of flowers for table decoration. A very curious feature of the panel of *Nwb-htp* is the fact that the two sunken side pieces are each occupied by two miniature superposed offering-scenes, each representing a woman seated before an offering-table. Those on the left side are facing north, while those on the right side face south. This arrangement was also followed on the panel of *Hm-Mnw*, the husband of *Nwb-htp*, but whereas on the first panel the offering-tables of the subsidiary figures are all laden with the conventional half-loaves, those on the panel of *Hm-Mnw* bear conical loaves and covered baskets. In this case also, the top figures to the right and left are both of men, but the lower figures are of women, each of whom is styled the wife of the tomb-owner. The one of the right is named *Nwb-htp*, and is apparently the same lady who owns the large false-door. She is called “his beloved”, and is evidently the chief wife as the other woman has not that epithet. The sunken spaces to the right and left of the panel of *'nh-m'-k3*, each bears a canonical offering-list. The panel of *'nh-m'-k3* is a very elaborate affair. Above the offering-table are two registers of represented offerings, in the upper one of which are two tall spouted vases with conical covers, a lotus-flower is stuck in the spout of each, a new item, which has not yet appeared in the material we are studying. A bunch of two lotus-flowers and one bud are laid over the top of the pile of offerings. Then comes a trussed goose on a low circular stand, followed by a boat-shaped basket of fruit on a low stand, also garnished with lotus-flowers, another goose on a stand, and a large vase. The second register contains familiar forms of baskets vases and meat, except for an unidentified diamond-shaped object to the left. To the right of the table is another new item consisting of a sealed pot of honey⁽¹⁾, a basket of fruit and a lettuce, also a calf's head upon a tray. Below is a rectangular stand upon which are three ewers and basins, and below them a bundle of onions and a lettuce. On the panel of *Hđt-hknw* the deceased lady faces south and is holding a lotus-flower in her hand⁽¹⁾. The panel of *Ntr-wsr* bears only the titles and name of the deceased, in fact this is the only form of inscription appearing upon this “door” which has no pictorial representations at all. From the panels bearing two figures we get the following points: The panel of *Pr-ndw* is very crudely cut, and shows the man and woman facing each other across the table, but to each side of the panel are representations of food and drink offerings.

⁽¹⁾ This false-door is from Tehneh.

On the panel of *Nj-kw-R'* the offering-table is placed on top of a low rectangular stand, in place of the usual pedestal. The panel of *W3š-Pth* bears the figures of two men, the tomb-owner and his son (?) *Isj* $\bar{\bar{Q}}$ — $\bar{\bar{Q}}$, who are seated facing each other. Above the table are two registers of represented offerings, of which the only new item is a bowl containing the "drumsticks" of geese. On each side, on the sunken spaces flanking the panel, are two superposed registers each containing the figures of three men, all of whom face towards the door. Two of the men are "Eldest Sons": *Isj* and *Špss-Pth*. In both of the lower registers the men are carrying offerings. This false-door seems to bear representations of the members of three generations of the same family. On the panel of *Nfr* the deceased and his son stand facing each other, and there is no offering-table. The panel of *Nn-hjt-k3* shows the husband and wife seated facing each other across the table, but the curious point is that the figure of the woman faces *north* while that of the man faces *south*, and that is the very reverse of normal on this type of panel (see above, p. 126). The panel of the lady *Htp-hr.s* is very curious. The actual space of the panel is occupied by two large offering-tables and three small circular stands laden with food-offerings and garnished with lotus-flowers, a new item being pomegranates. On each of the sunken spaces at the sides of the panel is a seated figure of the owner of the door, facing towards the offering-tables. The panel of *Nfr-irj.t-n.s* is entirely occupied by five short vertical rows of inscription giving the name and titles, and epithet "Honoured by Osiris" of the deceased and the normal design of the panel has been transferred to the upper lintel. On the panel of *Wr-dd Pth* the deceased lady has an ordinary table, before her, while her husband has two superposed rectangular stands, all of which are well laden with provisions. A mark of distinction in the social life of the Egyptian-man first! The panel of *Nfr* is shaped exactly like the Berlin niche-stone, and has two horizontal projections at the bottom. In place of the conventional offering-scene, it bears the representations of three male offering-bearers, and below them, the titles and name of the deceased.

Thus, we find that although the main motif of the panel design remains unchanged since the Archaic Period (with the exception of those few panels which entirely exclude the offering-theme) ⁽¹⁾, there are many examples which include either a new item or a variant of a pre-existing one. On the other hand, many of the older items have dropped out, and we no longer see the detailed lists of cloth which were such a feature of the archaic and early Fourth Dynasty panels, is it because the need for so much linen was no longer felt? On the other hand, many represented and inscribed offerings are omitted from the panels, because the panel offering-list had so much increased in size that it had to be transferred elsewhere in the chapel. In those tombs where evidence is available, we frequently see a meagerly provided offering-table on the panel supplemented on the southern or northern wall of the chapel by a large offering-list and scene (as for instance in the chapel of *Nj-m3't-R'*). Sometimes this large list may be increased to the number of over one hundred and this increase coincides with the presence of the large numbers of model vessels and dishes which are frequently found inside the burial-chambers at this period ⁽²⁾. The general tendency is, however, to increase the number of

⁽¹⁾ These have, of course, the authority of the early archaic round topped-stelæ, none of which so far known bear the offering-theme, until we have the Bankfield Stele which is the first example known to us.

⁽²⁾ For example, see mastaba of Shaft. No. 648, "Excavations at Giza", Vol. III, Pl. LXIV.

represented offerings but not on the panel. A sign of a greater refinement of taste displays itself in the floral table decoration, and the ornamental wet frills for cooling the contents of the tall vases, also the artistic shape of the fruit-baskets. No longer was a mere mass of food the ideal of a good banquet, though the increased "menu" shows that good fare was by no means despised. But the food and drink now had to be daintily served, and the fastidious Ka enjoyed his offering-meal all the more if it was garnished with lotus-blossoms. The same tendency is displayed in the scenes where the deceased is represented inhaling the perfume of the lotus.

The Upper Lintel

Out of all the specimens of inscribed false-doors of the Fifth Dynasty in our Giza excavations only thirty-four have retained their upper lintels (Nos. 1, 3, 8, 9, 16, 22, (1), 26, 27, 28 (1), 33 (1), 35, 38 (1), 39, 47, (2), 48, 53, 58, 62 (2), 63, 65 (1), 67 (3), 72). Out of these specimens nineteen are inscribed with the offering-formula, and titles and name of the owner (Nos. 1, 3, 8, 9, 16, 26, 28, 33 (1), 35, 38, 48, 58, 62, 63, 65, 67 (1), 72). Of these nine add a representation of the deceased. These are *Ijj*: who has the figures of himself and his wife seated before an offering-table (4), *Djg*: (the doors of *Djg* are spanned by one upper lintel), a standing figure of the deceased. *Mrsw-nh*: a seated figure serving as a determinative to the name. *Nfrt-njsut*: a normal panel design including the titles and name of the deceased, at the left-hand end of the upper lintel, and the offering-formula. *Htp-hr.s*: has a seated figure of herself smelling a lotus. *Nfr.s-rs*, the deceased seated before an offering-table. *Hsj* (two examples): standing figure on the northern door. *Kj-sw-dj.w*: seated figure. Of these examples of the offering-formula, we find the following mentioning the name of Osiris: *Kj-sw-dj.w*, *Nj-mt-R*, *Tsn* (northern door). Nos. 33, 38, 39, 62, 65 (of which Nos. 38, 39 add a representation of the deceased) have only the name and titles upon the upper lintel; while that of *Shm-nh-Pth* bore a procession of named men and women, five of which are preserved. These are probably relatives of the tomb-owner.

As far as the material of our excavations is concerned, we may say that during the Fifth Dynasty the upper lintel shows a wider variation of detail in its decoration than in the preceding dynasty.

Outside our excavations we have seventy-eight burials of the Fifth Dynasty, from which forty-nine false-doors have retained their upper lintels. Of these thirty-six (5) bear the offering-formula, and titles and name of the owner, and in thirteen examples of these the figure of the deceased is added. These are *Nj-nh-Shm.t*, *ht-htp*, *Pth-htp-ij-n-nh*, *Kj-m-nfrt*, *Mj-nfr*, *Dw-kj*, *ht-htp-hr* and *Nfr-mt*, each of whom has a figure of the deceased seated upon a chair and facing north.

(1) Two examples.

(2) Three examples.

(3) Four examples.

(4) This does not include the false-door of *Nj-s-nh-htj* which was designed without an upper lintel.

(5) Nos. 1, 3, 5, 6, 7, 10, 12, 14, 15, 16, 17, 18, 22, 23, 24, 25, 29, 30, 35, 37, 41, 42, 43, 45, 48, (two examples) 49, 50, 51, 55, 56, 57, 58, 69, 74.

'*nh-m-R*' has a seated figure, but facing south; while *Kj-R-pw* has a standing figure. *Isj-nh* is seated before an offering-table under which are inscribed offerings in thousands, and *Nj-kzw-R*' has the representation of himself and his wife seated side by side upon one seat. *Wjs-Pth* has a double upper lintel. The top one bears six horizontal rows of inscription of which the first is effaced. The remainder record the titles and name of the deceased and part of the offering-formula. At the right-hand end is a complete panel offering-scene, but the deceased is facing south. Below this is an offering-list of 88 entries (which compensates for the meagre lists on the true panel and the offering-scene just mentioned). Under the offering-list is the second lintel, which bears the offering-formula, titles, name and seated figure of the deceased, facing south. Nos. 23, 43 and 66 also bear offering-lists upon the upper lintel. Nos. 8, 19, 22, 33, 46, 56, have only the names and titles inscribed upon the upper lintel, *Phn-wj-kj* has his titles and name repeated twice on his upper lintel, each group reading from the centre outwards, while Nos. 2, 21, 31, 51 (two examples) add a figure of the owner seated upon a chair (in the case of the latter, facing south). Of *Kj-mnj* and *Nj-kj-R*' the upper lintel bears the titles, name and seated figures of the tomb-owner and his wife, while *Nfr-irj.t-n.s* bears simply a representation of the deceased seated before an offering-table and smelling a lotus-flower. Of the offering-formulae inscribed upon the upper lintels, only five of them mention the name of Osiris. The upper lintels of Nos. 6, 7, 25, 37, 49, 50, 51, 58 bear the $\square \overline{\text{v}}$ *pr-hrw* formula for the feasts.

The Lower Lintel

From our excavations, forty-nine examples of false-doors out of a total of 146 have only the name and titles of the deceased inscribed upon the lower lintel (Nos. 1, 4, 5, 8, 10, 16, 19, 22, 23, 24, 26, 28 (1), 30, 31 (1), 33, 34 (2), 35, 38 (1), 39, 41, 42, 47 (3), 48, 49 (3), 51, 52, 53, 54 (1), 55, 57, 62 (3), 65 (1), 66, 67 (3), 69 (with an unusual dedication) 73). Of these five and the figure of the owner (*Nj-s'nh-3htj*, *Htp-hr.s*, *Nfr.s-rs*, *Kj-swdj.w* and *Nj-mj-t-R*'). *Kj-dbhj* (southern door) has only his title and epithet "Honoured by the Great God", and *Irj-n-3ht* has only his epithet "Honoured by Osiris", on the lower lintel; while *Špss-kj.f-nh-ss-kj-R*' has only his name (4). Six examples bear the offering-formula upon their lower lintel. These are Nos. 3, 6, 14, 27, 33, 63. From seventy-six examples of false-doors with inscribed lower lintels from outside our excavations, thirty-five have the name and titles of the deceased upon their lower lintels (5). Other examples were designed without a lower lintel (6). In seven examples, the figure

(1) Two examples.

(2) In this example the lintel has two rows of inscription, the upper one being for *Mrsw-nh* and the lower one for *Rwd-sjw-s* his mother, and the real owner of the door.

(3) Three examples.

(4) The lower lintel of the false-door of $\text{||||} \text{†} \text{⊙}$ found in Shaft No. 374 in the tomb of *Wp-m-nfrt* bears the complete offering-scene which should be upon the panel (see above, p. 86).

(5) Nos. 1, 2, 3, 4, 6, 10, 13, 19, 21, 22 (two examples), 23 (of the tomb-owner and his wife) 24, 31, 32, 34, 36, 38, 40, 41, 43, 44, 46, 48 (two examples), 49, 50, 51, 52, 57, 58, 59, 67, 68, 69.

(6) Nos. 16, 24, 39, 56. This is an echo of the archaic niche-stones (see p. 72).

of the deceased is added to the titles and name. These are *Shm-'nh-Pth*, *Isj-'nh*, *Pth-htp I*, *Issj-'nh*, all of whom have a seated figure facing north, and *Nn-ht-k3*, *K3-R'-pw*, *'nh-m'-R'* who also have a seated figure, but facing south. Three of the false-doors from outside our excavations at Giza have a third lintel added; these are Nos. 7 (offering-formula, titles, name and figure of deceased), 56, (titles and name), and 69 (titles only). From the outside examples we also have twenty-four examples of lower lintels which bear the offering-formula and the titles and name of the deceased. These are Nos. 39, 18, 29, 7, 25, 15, 55, 5, 30, 45, 33, 54, 9, 53, 35, 62, 66, 64, 20, 28, 75, 56, 76, 78. Of these, five add the figure of the deceased. *N3r-M3't*, *M3-nfr*, *Nj-'nh-Shm.t*, *Tp-m-'nh*, all of whom have a seated figure. *Snmw* preferred the *pr-hrw* formula, with his titles and name, upon the lower lintel. Nos. 15, 20, 28, 30, 33, 39, 45 and 75, all bear the $\square \overline{\text{V}}$ formula for the feasts upon their lower lintel. Only on the lintels of *Tjj Pth-htp*, *Ij-n-'nh*, and *Nht-s3.s*, the name of Osiris is mentioned in the offering-formula. *P3n-wj-k3j* has the offering-formula including $\square \overline{\text{V}}$ for the feasts, and his titles and name repeated twice, each group reading from the centre outwards. *W3s'-k3* has the representation of two offering-tables and a quantity of food-offerings replacing the inscriptions on his lower lintel. *Pth-htp II* (door of *B3-'nhw*) has his name and the offerings in thousands. *H'-mr-Pth* has a large offering-list, but neither *Mrj* nor *Pr-ndw* has any lower lintel at all.

From this we see that with the exception of the appearance of the $\square \overline{\text{V}}$ *pr-hrw* formula for the feasts, little change had been made from the time of the Fourth Dynasty in regard to the inscriptions on the lower lintel, and the name and titles of the deceased are still the predominating theme, especially in our tombs at Giza. There seems, however, to be a slight tendency to increase pictorial representations.

The Drum

From our Giza excavations, only twenty-three examples of false-doors out of a total of 146 have inscribed drums. Of these four bear the titles and name of the owner. These are Nos. 27, 33, (two examples), and 47, where the figure is added, and nineteen have only the name Nos. 1, (the "little name" *Isj*) 5, 6, 12, 14, 24, 26 (two examples), 31, 35, 42, 47, 51, 52, 54 (two examples), 62 (two examples), 65. The following false-doors have no drum at all:—

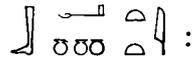
R'-wr II, *Nj-k3w-Ht-hr*, *K3-hr-ist.f.* (two examples), *Tsn* (southern door) *Shm-'nh-Pth*.

From the eighty-eight false-doors from outside our excavations, twenty-five bear the name and title of the deceased upon the drum (Nos. 2, 5, 7, 9, 13, 16, 18, 20, 22, 23, 25, 29, 31, 35, 36, 37, 43, 44, 45, 48, 51, 52, 53, 63, 66, 78); while twenty-three drums bear only the name of the deceased (Nos. 6, 8, 11, 15, 19, 21, 24, 27, 30, 32, 33, 38, 41, 42, 46, 48, 49, 50, 53, 59, 61, 64, 76). Those doors which have no drum at all are Nos. 22, 62, 67, 68, 69, 71, 73, 74. No. 39 has only the title, while on No. 72, the inscription giving the titles and name has encroached on both inner jambs, which have no inscriptions of their own.

From this we see that the inscribed doors from our Giza excavations have a larger proportion of uninscribed drums, just as in the preceding dynasty. Also the proportion of those bearing the name only to those bearing the title and name, is in reverse to what we find in the examples from outside our field of work.

The Door-Niche

Out of the one hundred and forty-six false-doors from our excavations at Giza only three have decorated door-niches. These are *Nfrr-njswt* who has a figure of a female offering-bearer on the inner door-niche, carrying a basket of provisions upon her head. As far as I am aware, this is a *unique specimen*, though, as we have already seen, offering-bearers may appear upon the door-niche in conjunction with the figure of the tomb-owner. This is very interesting, because it shows that not only could the Ka of the deceased come forth from the false-door to partake of his offerings, but the Ka of his offering-bearer could, if desired, enter the false-door and deposit the offerings actually in the burial-chamber. On the door-niche of *Ffj*, the owner is seated facing north, and above him are inscribed his titles and name. *K3-hr-njswt* had an inscription running vertically down his inner door-niche, but it is too badly eroded to be capable of translation (1). This scarcity of inscribed door-niches (as well as inscribed drums) seems to have been a peculiarity of that part of the necropolis in which our concession lies, as the same phenomenon was to be observed among our specimens for the Fourth Dynasty as well (see p. 131). We must not, of course, forget the two deep niches of *Hr-tm3't* and *Sd-htp*, which contain statues of their owners. From the eighty-eight burials from outside our excavations, we find twenty-one having decorated door-niches to their false-doors. These are Nos. 9, 11, 13, 15, 16, 18, 19, 20, 23, 29, 31, 36, 44, 48 (two examples), 50, 54, 56, 65, 66.

Of these, *K3j* (2), *K3-m-nfrr*, *M3-nfr*, *Nfr-M3't*, *Pth-s'pss*, *Pth-htp I*, *3ht-htp-hr* and *Ntr-wsr*, all have vertical inscriptions giving their titles and name. The false-door of *Tjj* which was usurped by *Hm-R'*, bore the name and titles of the original owner in the door-niche. These were partially erased, and replaced by the titles, name and figure of *Hm-R'*. *S3'm-nfr* has an inscription praising his own good qualities. *Nn-hft-k3* has a large offering-list in the door-niche, supplementing a smaller one on the panel, and the same is seen on the door-niche of *Wr-irj-n-Pth*; while *P3n-wj-k3j* has the offering-formula and his titles and name. *H'-b3w-Pth* had a representation of himself in a standing attitude in the door-niche, together with his titles and name, and the same was originally intended by *Nht-s3.s*, but the figure of the deceased has been erased. *Nj-k3w-R'* had a figure of his wife, together with her name and titles, upon his inner door-niche, and *Njswt-nfr* has a large representation of the tomb-owner, but most of the accompanying inscription is destroyed. *Pth-htp Ij-n-nh* has a double-leaved door painted in his door-niche, a fashion which we shall see popularized in the next dynasty and which was followed in the famous tomb of *Tjj* at Sakḳara, where each of the door-leaves bears a rectangular panel in which is a representation of the deceased together with the titles and name. This device occurs on the false-door of *Tjj* himself, his wife *Nfr-htp.s* and their son *Dmd* although in this latter case the panels had been erased  : *B'nw Ttj* has a statue of himself carved in the cavity of the door-niche, a device also followed

(1) Thus, we can gather from this that the owner of the tomb, not content with his offering-table on the panel and on other parts of the tomb, not to mention the classical offering-list designed for his use, and the offering-formulae on the false-door, he wished to assure himself sometimes of the offering necessary for him to be as near as possible to his burial-chamber and for this reason he either represented or inscribed them on the niche of the door. Moreover, sometimes he writes his name and title on the niche to guide the Ka which carries him the food to the burial-chamber.

(2) Two examples.

by $\overline{\overline{\Delta}} \overline{\overline{\Delta}} I\overline{t}tj$ ⁽¹⁾ of Saḫkara. Thus, we see that the dominating feature of the decoration of the door-niche is either the *name* and titles of the owner or his *portrait* represented as though coming out of the burial-chamber.

The Inner Jambs

From eighty-eight inscribed false-doors in our excavations at Giza, thirteen bear upon their inner jambs inscriptions recording the titles and name of the deceased. These are Nos. 10, 22, 24 (two examples), 31, 42 (two examples), 47, 49, 53, 57, 62 (two examples). On the right inner-jambs of the northern door of Hnw are the title and name of his wife and on the left inner-jamb, those of the tomb-owner himself. Thirty-two other false-doors add the representation of the deceased to the inscription giving the titles and name, Nos. 54 (middle and southern doors), 64 (southern door), 1, 4, 5, 6, 28 (two examples), 38, 55, 34, 35, 31 (three examples), 60 (figures of relatives) 16, 20, 27, 39 (two examples), 41, 47 (two examples), 49 (figures of *Ka*-servants), 52, 62 (two examples), 67 (three examples). The false-door of $\overline{\overline{\Delta}} \overline{\overline{\Delta}} Df\overline{s}. Hnm.w$ in the mastaba of Dg has the titles, name and representation of the deceased upon the left-hand jamb and those of his wife upon the right-hand one; while in the same tomb, the false-door of the lady $\overline{\overline{\Delta}} \overline{\overline{\Delta}} \overline{\overline{\Delta}} \overline{\overline{\Delta}} I\overline{t}tj$ has her title $\overline{\overline{\Delta}} \overline{\overline{\Delta}}$, name and representation of herself upon the left jamb, and those of Dg upon the right one. 'nh-tj has a large figure of himself upon the inner jambs of his southern false-door, below which is a small figure of a male, offering-bearer. The southern and middle doors in the tomb of Shm-'nh-Pth have the name, title and representation of the wife on the left-hand jamb, and that of the husband upon the right-hand one, Špss-ṣhtj, Hsj, Njsw-ḳd 1, Hnt, Kṣ-hr-njswt, and Mrsw-'nh decorated their inner jambs with representations of relatives, while 'nh-m-sṣ.f had only the titles, name and representation of his wife. Nfrt-njswt adds also the figure of two female *Ka*-servants to the representations of himself and his family. A further nine examples have the offering-formula inscribed upon their inner jambs. On the jambs of Nfr.s-rs the right-hand formula claims the boon from the King and Osiris, while on the left side the King and Anubis are mentioned. The northern door of Špss-ḳṣ.f-'nh has identical formulæ on each inner jamb claiming the boon from the King only. The formulæ on the jambs of Nj-s-'nh-ṣhtj are also identical, and claim the boon from the King and Osiris. On the left-hand jamb of Sšmw the boon is claimed from Anubis, and on the right-hand jamb, from Osiris, and the "boon which the King gives" is not mentioned here ⁽²⁾. On the door of his wife Tttwt, the formula commences on the right inner-jamb, claiming the boon from Anubis and continues onto the left-hand jamb ⁽³⁾. The formulæ of Wṣṣ'-Pth are identical, and claim the boon from the King and Anubis. Rwd-ḳṣ (northern door of In-ḳṣ.f) has the inner jambs occupied by a large offering-list, Smṣ-'nh has the offering-formula on behalf of his mother Nj-'nh-ntr $\overline{\overline{\Delta}} \overline{\overline{\Delta}} \overline{\overline{\Delta}} \overline{\overline{\Delta}}$ on the left inner jamb, but the right-hand jamb is effaced. Dwṣ-R' has the offering-formula (mentioning Osiris) and

⁽¹⁾ MURRAY, "Saḫkara Mastabas", Vol. I, Pl. XIX.

⁽²⁾ Apparently the boon is claimed from the King, and certainly from Anubis on the left outer-jamb.

⁽³⁾ The boon of the King is claimed on the right outer-jamb.

terminating in a seated figure of himself, upon the right inner-jamb, and his titles, name and seated figure upon the left-hand one. *K3j-swḏ3w* has the *pr-hrw* formula for the feasts $\square \nabla$ upon the right-hand jamb, and terminating in a figure of the deceased; while upon the left-hand jamb appears the titles, name and standing figure of the deceased. *Rwd-sw.s* has her titles, name and representation of herself upon the right-hand inner jamb, and a dedicatory inscription made by her son *Mrsw-nḥ* upon the left-hand one.

From this we see that the predominating type of inner jamb is that bearing the titles, name and (usually) representation of the deceased. The pictorial type of inner jamb is not so prevalent as formerly and the appearance of the offering-formula on the inner jambs is by no means common and rarely makes a real pair, the formula being as a rule slightly varied on each jamb, as the examples given above.

From the seventy-eight false-doors from outside our excavations which bear inscribed inner jambs we find the following proportions: Forty-three pairs of inner jambs bear the titles and name of the deceased (Nos. 1, 2, 4, 5, 7, 8, 10, 13, 14, 17, 19, 20, 21, 22⁽¹⁾, 23, 28, 29, 30, 31, 32, 33, 35, 37, 39, 40, 42, 43, 45, 48⁽¹⁾, 50, 52, 55, 56, 58, 59, 62, 64, 65, 67, 70, 78), and of these, only six omit to add a representation of the deceased (Nos. 17, 13, 14, 19, 40, 52). A further nine false-doors have the inner jambs occupied by representations of relatives of the deceased, *Ka*-servants, etc. (*K3j*, *Nfr* (two examples), *Nfrn* (two examples) *Nj-k3w-R'*, *'nh-hḏw.s*, *Hḏt-hknw*, *W3s'-k3*)⁽²⁾. Eleven examples bear the offering-formula upon their inner jambs, together with the titles and name, and in four cases—(Nos. 36, 66, 68)⁽¹⁾—representation of the deceased. These are Nos. 3, 9, 36, 38, 44, 46, 49, 66, 67, 68⁽¹⁾. *Isj-nḥ* has an identical formula claiming the boon from the King and Anubis; *Wr-irj-n-Pth*: right-hand jamb claiming the boon from the King and Anubis, left-hand jamb from the King and Osiris. *Hnt-k3w.s*: left-hand jamb claiming the boon from the King and Anubis, but right-hand jamb mentioning only the King. *H'-b3w-Pth*: both jambs claiming the boon from the King and Anubis but varied as to the actual formula; *K3-R'-pw*: the left-hand jamb claims the boon from the King only, while the right-hand jamb mentions the King and Anubis; *Snw-nḥ* claims the boon of the King and Anubis in an identical formula on both inner jambs; *Hnmw* has the $\square \nabla$ formula for the feasts on the left jamb, and the right one is eroded.

The following three examples have odd inscriptions on the inner jambs: *Njsw-kḏ*: *right jamb*: offering-formula claiming the boon from Osiris only; *left jamb*: titles and name. Both inscriptions terminate in a standing figure of the deceased. *'nh-m'-R'*: *left-jamb*: offering-formula claiming the boon from the King only; *right jamb*: titles and name of the deceased. *Mdw-nfr* had the $\square \nabla$ formula for the feasts upon left jamb and the offering-formula (King and Anubis) title and name on the right one. Both jambs terminate in a standing figure of the deceased. *Skr-htp*: *left jamb*: offering-formula mentioning Osiris; *right jamb*: superposed figures of three women and three children. *Nj-nḥ-R'*: *right jamb*: titles, name and representation of owner. *Left-jamb*: Titles *pr-hrw* formula, name and figure. The inner jambs of *Tjj* carry a large offering-list; while those

⁽¹⁾ Two examples.

⁽²⁾ See also *Sḥm-k3* (MURRAY, "Sakkara Mastabas", Vol. I, Pl. VII, where the owner is represented accompanied by his wife and children, and *Ka*-servants.

of *Tp-m-nh* bear a religious inscription, and *Nj-nh-Shm.t* occupies his inner jambs with an address to the living and  *R-mrj-Pth* has also an offering-list on his inner jambs. The following doors have the  formula for the feasts included among the inscriptions upon their inner jambs Nos. 46, 49, 43, 41. Thus, the conclusion for outside examples is similar to that of our Giza excavations, with an increase in the appearance of the  formula.

The Outer Jambs

From fifty-two false-doors with inscribed outer jambs, belonging to the tombs in our excavations, we find that fifteen (Nos. 1, 4, 8, 10, 12, 16, 22, 35, 39, 49, 55, 62, 67 (two examples), 69 bear the offering-formula. Of these, the following are identical on both jambs:—

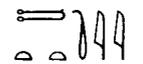
(1) *Špss-k3.f-nh* (two examples): one claiming the boon from the King only (1), and on the southern door, claiming the boon from the King and Anubis.

(2) *D3g* (two examples) (southern false-door of *Isj-nh*): identical formulæ claiming the boon from the King (?) and Anubis. False-door of  : *Df3-Hnm.w*: identical formulæ claiming the boon from the King (?) and Anubis.

(3) *Nj-s-nh-3htj*: left and right jambs both claim the boon from the King and have identical formulæ.

(4) *Špss-3htj*: identical formulæ claiming the boon from the King and Anubis.

(5) *Nj-k3w-hr*: identical formulæ, but beginning destroyed.

In the following examples the offering-formulæ vary on each jamb: *Hnw* and *Shm-nh-Pth* claim the boon from the King and Anubis (northern door) *K3-dbhj* (2) and *nh-tf* and *Hsj*, all have the boon of the King on the right jamb, and the boon of the King and Anubis on the left one, an order which is reversed on the jambs of *Nfr-htp*, where the King and Anubis are invoked on the right jamb, but Osiris is invoked on the left one. The beginning of the offering-formula of *Dw3-R* is lost and we have only the boon of Anubis remaining. *Htp-hr.s* and *Nfr.s-rs* each claims the boon of Osiris on the right jamb, and the boon of Anubis upon the left-hand one (3). Twelve false-doors from our excavations bear upon their outer jambs the titles, name and representation of the tomb-owner or members of his family, and there are Nos. 1, 6, 14, 27, 30, 31 (two examples), 38, 47, 59, 63, 65. Of these, *Mrsw-nh* also proclaims his innocence from wrong-doing. Seven more examples have outer jambs bearing only the titles and name of the tomb-owner or his family. These are Nos. 8, 10, 12, 16, 22, 39, 49. On the following doors, only the figure of the owner appears upon the outer jambs (Nos. 1, 4, 6, 29, 35, 48, 51, 52, 56, 59, 65, 69), while the following numbers include also the members of the family and *Ka*-servants, Nos. 3, 5, 14, 27, 30 (two examples), 31, 38, 47. In ten of our Giza tombs, the outer jambs of false-doors do not coincide with each other in the subject of their decoration. These are *D3g* (northern door) where the left jamb is blank, but the right one bears the offering-formula claiming the boon from the King and Anubis for a person named *K3-Htp* (the name of the owner of the door is  *Tttj*), *Rmnwka3*:

(1) The beginning of the left-hand jamb (central door) is damaged.

(2) Two examples.

(3) But both of them mention the boon of the King upon the upper lintel.

left jamb : offering-formula, titles, name and figure of the deceased. *Right jamb* : a proclamation to the living, with the titles, name and figure of the deceased. *Kḥ-dwḥ* (two examples) : *left jamb* : name, titles and standing figure of the deceased. *Right jamb* : offering-formula (beginning destroyed) standing figure of the deceased. *Sšmw* : *left jamb* : offering-formula claiming the boon from the King and Anubis. *Right jamb* : a declaration of innocence. *Tttwt* : *left jamb* : titles and name of owner. *Right jamb* : offering-formula claiming the boon of the King only. *Kḥ-hr-njswt* : *left jamb* : offering-formula (beginning destroyed). *Right jamb* : blank. *Kḥj-swdḥ.w* : *left jamb* : name, titles and standing figure of the deceased. *Right jamb* : *pr-hrw* formula $\square \nabla$, standing figure of the deceased. *Smḥ-nḥ* : *left jamb* : offering-formula. *Right jamb* : titles and name of the tomb-owner. *Wḥš-Dwḥw* : *left jamb* : offering-list. *Right jamb* : titles and name of the deceased.

The following doors have the $\square \nabla$ formula for the feasts included in the inscriptions on their outer jambs, Nos. 1, 24, 38, 42, 54, 55, 57, 62, 64.

From the false-doors outside our excavations, we find that twenty-eight have the offering-formula, inscribed upon their outer jambs, Nos. 1, 3, 8, 9, 15, 17, 18, 20, 21, 23, 25, 29, 31, 32, 37, 38, 39, 43, 44, 49, 50, 52, 55, 56, 59, 66, 68, 78. Of these the following are identical : *Isj-nḥ* and *R-wr IV*, claiming the boon from the King and Anubis. *Shm-nḥ-Pth*, also claiming the boon from the King and Anubis. *Mḥ-nfr* has two rows of offering-formula on each outer jamb (identical on each side). The inner rows claim the boon from the King and Anubis, and the outer rows mention Anubis only. There is a standing figure of the deceased at the bottom. *H-mr-Pth* claims the boon from the King and Osiris. *Nn-ḥft-kḥ* (King and Anubis) *Kḥ-m-nfrt* (King and Anubis). *ḥt-ḥtp* (Osiris only). *Sšm-nfr*, *Dw-kḥ* and *Nj-kḥw-R'* (1), all claim the boon from the King and Osiris. *H-bḥw-Pth* and *Kḥ-R'-pw*, both claim the boon from the King and Anubis, but their formulæ do not coincide on the two jambs. *Kḥ-m-snnw* claims the boon of the King only, and on the jambs of *Iḥj* the beginning of the formula is destroyed.

The following twenty-four mention the $\square \nabla$ formula for the feasts among the inscriptions on their outer jambs, Nos. 1, 6, 12, 13, 15, 17, 18, 20, 21, 23, 27, 29, 31, 39, 41, 43, 44, 46, 49, 50, 52, 53, 59, 61.

Ten examples have the formulæ differing on each of their outer jambs. Of these, *'nh-m'-R'* and *Pth-ḥtp-Ij-n-nḥ* claim the boon from the King and Anubis, and from Osiris; *Hnt-kḥw.s* claims from Anubis and Osiris; and *Nḥt-sḥ.s* from the King and from Osiris. *Mrtj* and *Nj-kḥw-R'* claim the boon from the King and Anubis, and the King and Osiris; while *Nfr-Mḥ't* claims from the King, Anubis and Osiris on the right jamb (2) and the King, Anubis, and again Anubis on the left jamb. *Nfr* has the offering-formula on the left jamb and the $\square \nabla$ *pr-hrw* formula on the right-hand one. *Njsw-kd* and *Dmd* have the offering-formula (from the King and Anubis) on the left-hand jamb terminating in a standing figure of the deceased, and his name, titles and standing figure on the right-hand jamb and the same apparently with *Nj-nḥ-R'*, *Nj-nḥ-Shm.t* has the offering-formula on the left jamb, and the representation of the tomb-owner and two men on the right one. *Pr-ndw* has the offering-formula (from the King and Osiris) on the right jamb and portraits of six daughters of the deceased

(1) Also *R-wr II* (see JUNKER, "Giza", Vol. III, p. 228).

(2) Notice that when the King, Anubis and Osiris are mentioned in one formula, Osiris is placed last, his logical place as a new-comer into the offering-formula.

on the left one. *Hm-Mnw* has his name and titles on both outer jambs, but terminating in a dedicatory inscription. *Skr-htp* and *Nwb-htp*, both have a dedicatory inscription on their right outer jambs and superposed figures on the left jambs. *Tjj* has palace-façade panelling occupying the outer jambs (1); as also does *Pth-Šps*, but in this latter case they are inscribed with his biography. *Tp-m-nh* has three rows of a religious text occupying his outer jambs. There are also seventeen examples which bear upon their outer jambs inscriptions recording the titles and name of the deceased, Nos. 2, 4, 5, 7, 22, 28, 30, 35, 36, 42, 45, 48 (2), 64, 70, 76 (2). Of these, all but the following bears also a representation of the deceased, Nos. 10, 13, 14, 19, 33, 40. *Hdt-hknw* has both outer jambs occupied by figures of offering-bearers, while *Snnw* has the outer jambs occupied by superposed figures of relatives, and at the bottom of the right jamb a man pitching wine jars. The outer jambs of *Shm-kz* (3) are entirely occupied by pictorial representations. At the top the deceased is seated in his *arm-chair* (a new item) under which lies his dog  *Pss*, and before him is a pile of offerings!! Below this is a register containing portraits of his children and grandchildren, then two registers of *Ka*-servants, and finally two registers of butchery scenes. We have four doors from our excavations at Giza which have three pairs of jambs. They are Nos. 8 (middle jamb uninscribed) 23, (titles of deceased), 57 (titles and name), and 65 (eroded, but apparently titles).

From the examples from outside our Giza excavations, the following have three sets of jambs, Nos. 13 (offering-formula and  formula for the feasts), 14 (*right*: titles and name of owner), *left*:  formula and titles), 69 ( formula), 46 (titles, name and figure of deceased). At the bottom of the left outer jamb of *Nj-kzw-R'* are the figures of the wife and mother of the deceased affectionately embracing each other!! Below this are two musicians, one of whom is singing to the accompaniment of the harp.

Thus, for the Fifth Dynasty we see that the general tendency is to increase the number and variety of the inscriptions; while the offering-formula becomes more and more prominent and the formula for the feasts is also much increased. The introduction of the name of Osiris into the offering-formula and epithets of the deceased now begins to make its appearance, and is an indication of the rise of the Osirian cult to power and influence (4). There is also a marked tendency to crowd more and more material on to the false-door, which shows that its primary function as a mere means of convenient exit and entrance to the burial-chamber, for the use of the *Ka* had now assumed a secondary importance, and its chief function seems to have been an offering-place, and commemorative stele to impress future generations with the greatness of the deceased. In other words, the false-door was fast reverting to its original state, a grave stone, as we have seen it on the First Dynasty graves at Abydos; enlarged and beautified almost out of recognition, but exercising the same functions as its humble antetype, or it may be, as it really is, the most convenient place on which one can favourably represent the most beloved things to the heart of the dead, thus he may enjoy them at his exit and at his entrance, by means of the magical formulæ especially composed for that purpose.

(1) See also *Pth-Šps I*, MURRAY, "*Sakḳara Mastabas*", Vol. I, Pl. XXVI.

(2) Two examples.

(3) MURRAY, "*Sakḳara Mastabas*", Vol. I, Pl. VII.

(4) Generally speaking we find only the King and Anubis invoked in the offering-formula until the rise of the cult of Osiris, after which other funerary gods began to be included.

The False-Doors of the Sixth Dynasty

THE ARCHITECTURAL FORM

As the false-doors of the Sixth Dynasty are very few in our excavations, we shall have to rely mainly upon those examples from outside our field of work for our evidence concerning them. Architecturally, the same types as have already appeared in the preceding dynasties, continue

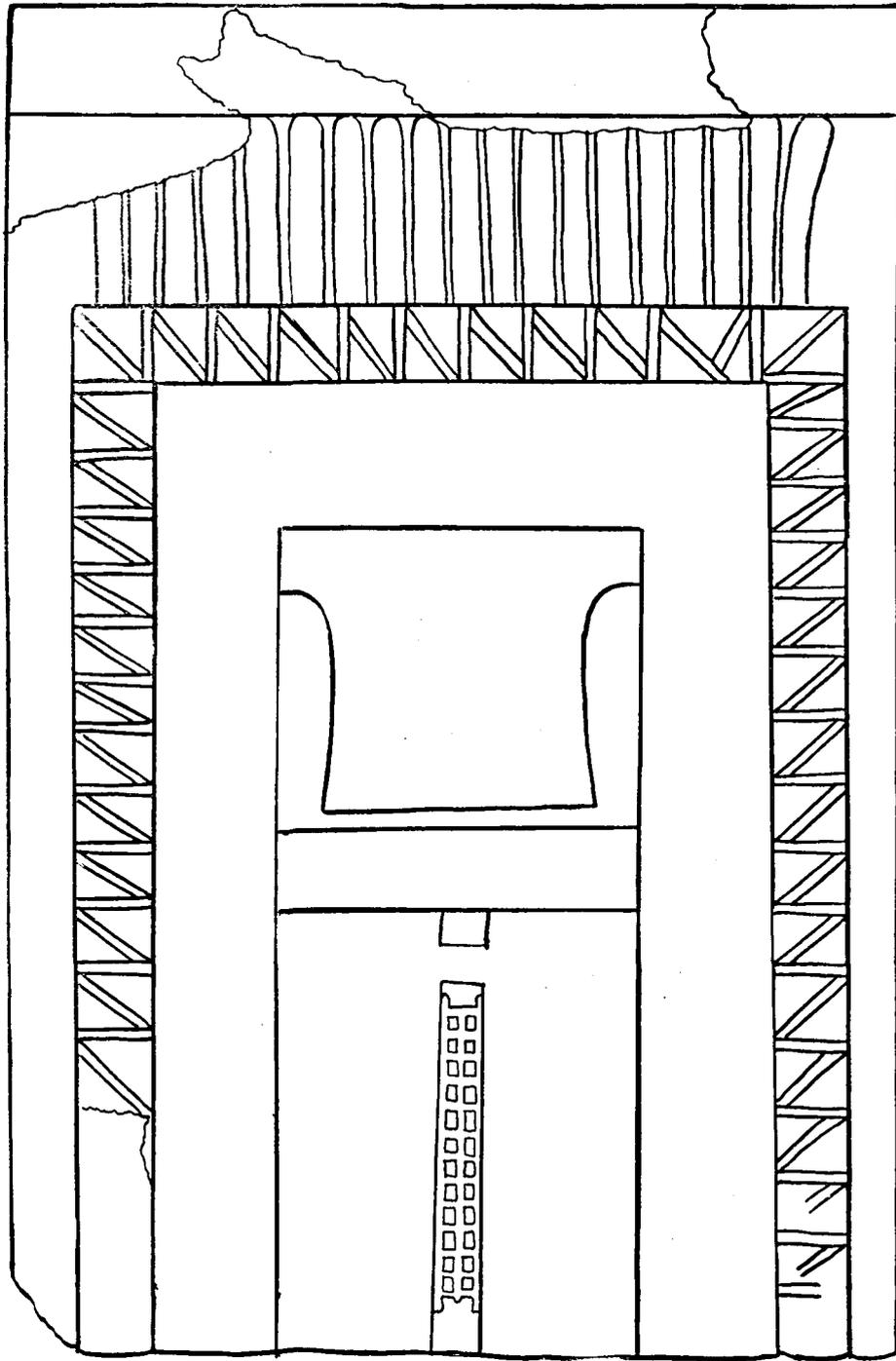


FIG. 21.—FROM THE TOMB OF *Ipy-nhw*.

in use. But the predominating type is that with the torus moulding and palmetto cornice, which had already begun to be popular during the Fifth Dynasty (Fig. 21). But as time went on, the

moulding tended to become thicker and wider, and the cornice deeper and heavier, until at last all false-doors, except those of first-class workmanship, look clumsy and top-heavy. The door-niche, which in its inception was of natural size, decreased in height and width until it became a mere slit in the middle of the monument, as we shall see. In some examples an attempt was made to remedy this defect by adding to it the representation of double door-leaves (Fig. 21), as we have already seen on the door of *Pth-htp-Ij-n-nh* of Sakḳara. These door-leaves were usually provided with two bolts, and sometimes pivots, in order to indicate the real nature of the door-niche and

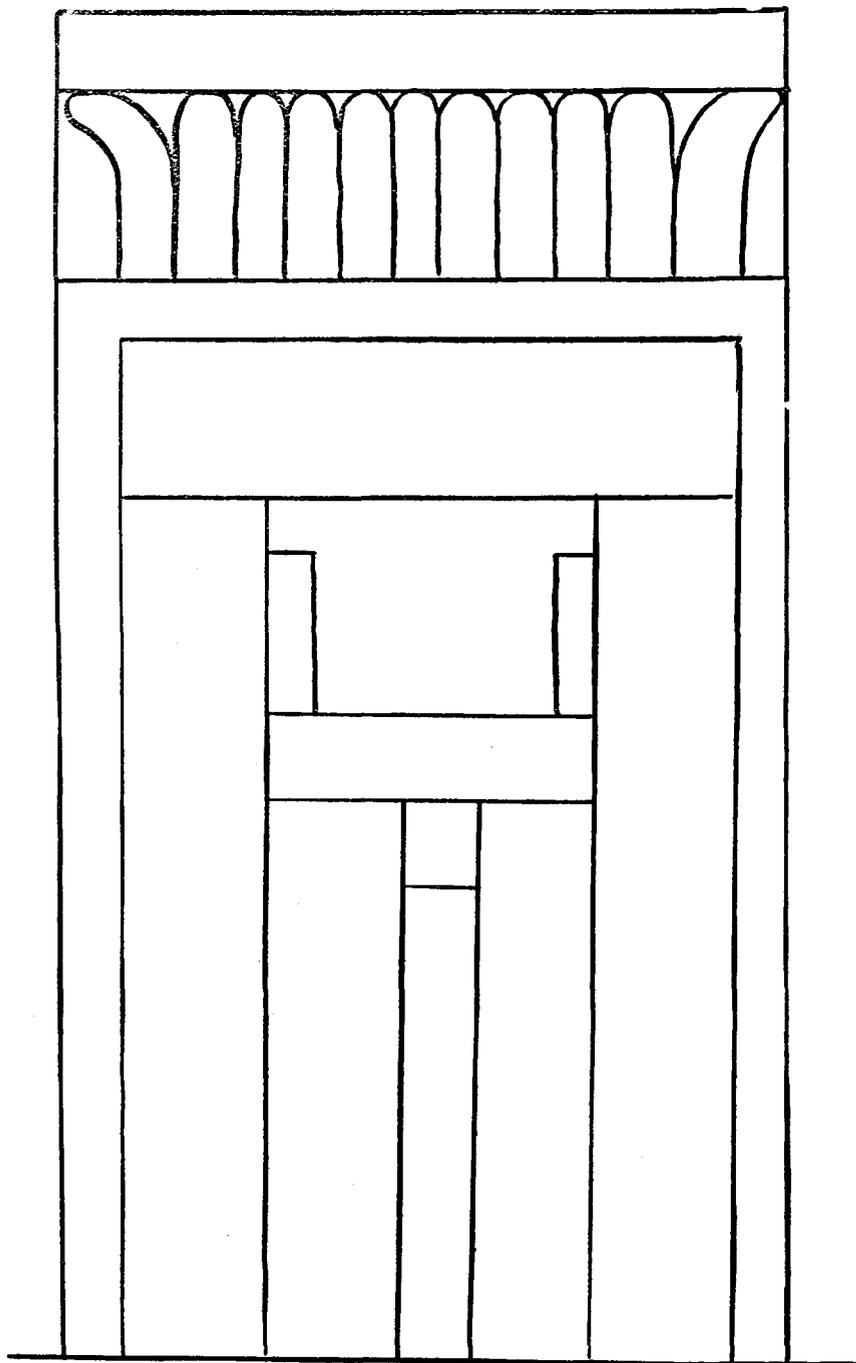


FIG. 22.

give it some prominence. The drum has lost all sign of its original character as a rolled-up curtain and is very often represented as a flat beam, and placed so far down the door-niche that, with the inner jambs, it resembles the cross-bar of the letter "H" and even in several cases is omitted.

We shall also notice a change in the form of the panel in some examples. In our excavations we have four examples (those of *Hm-Iwn*, *Nfr-wnt*, *Ifw.j* and *Ikrj*)⁽¹⁾ where the upper part of the panel is elongated into a kind of rectangular bar, which meets the top of the inner jambs (Fig. 22) exactly the reverse of the bar, which appears at the bottom of the panel on the Berlin niche-stone (see above, Fig. 13), and the false-door of *Nfr* of the Fifth Dynasty (see also Fig. 23). In some cases, the inner angle of this bar was rounded off (see *Gm-nj-nh*). Finally, the curve is taken up to the inner angle formed by the top of the inner jambs and the underside of the lower lintel, and the panel assumes the form of a hanging shutter, hinged on pivots at the top (see *Diagram* Fig. 21, p. 158)⁽²⁾. But we shall also find rare exceptions where the projection is placed at the bottom of the panel, as on the Berlin stone (Fig. 23). These are *Bbj*⁽³⁾ and tomb No. 20 of Deir el-Gebrawi⁽⁴⁾ and it is interesting to find similar exceptional forms from such widely separated localities.

Names of Owners (Our Excavations)

We have only ten inscribed false-doors dating from the Sixth Dynasty in our excavations, which are in a sufficiently good state of preservation to afford us reliable evidence for our study. These are as follows:—

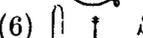
(1)  *Ifw.j* (5).

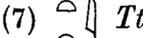
(2)  *Nfr-wnt* (6).

(3)  *Hm-Iwn* (7).

(4)  *Ssm-nfr*, "Priest of the Pyramid of Khafra'" (8).

(5)  *Ssm-nfr* (9).

(6)  *Ssm-nfr* (also called  *Ifw.j*) (10).

(7)  *Ttj*. (11).

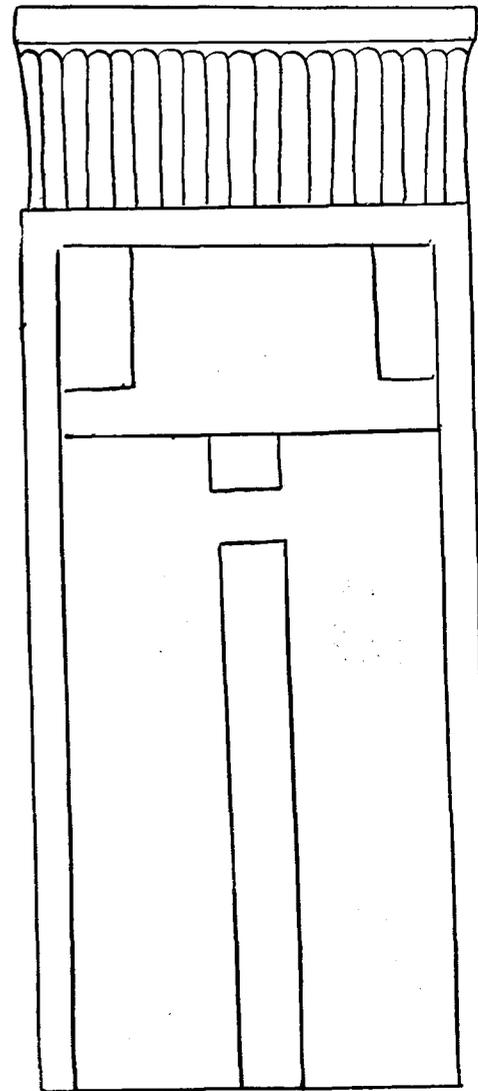


FIG. 23.

This scarcity of false-doors for the Sixth Dynasty in our excavations⁽¹²⁾ may be easily explained when we remember that, by the time of the end of the Fifth Dynasty, most of the

(1) See Nos. 3, 2, 1,

(2) See also GUNN, "Teti Pyramid Cemetery", p. 179.

(3) SAAD, "Annales du Service", Vol. XL, p. 681 (from Saqqara).

(4) DAVIES, "Deir el-Gebrawi", Vol. I, Pl.

(5) 6th season (three examples).

(6) "Excavations at Giza", Vol. I, p. 69.

(7) 7th season.

(8) 6th season (two examples).

(9) 6th season.

(10) 7th season.

(11) 6th season.

(12) These tombs contain a total of ten false-doors.

wealthier nobles seem to have deserted the Gîza necropolis in order to build their tombs near the Pyramids of their royal masters at Abusir and Saqqara. Only the minor ranks of officials still clung to the old Gîza necropolis, and this was not the class who could afford to indulge in costly inscribed false-doors.

Names of Owners (Outside Examples)

From the tombs outside our excavations we have a large and varied assortment of false-doors of which the following will form the material for our study :—

- | | |
|----------------------------|--|
| (1) <i>sh.w</i> (1). | (14) <i>Ipj-nhw</i> (14). |
| (2) <i>bbj</i> (2). | (15) <i>Irj II</i> (15). |
| (3) <i>Istj</i> (3). | (16) <i>Idw</i> (16). |
| (4) <i>Im3-Ppj</i> (4). | (17) <i>Ibj</i> (17). |
| (5) <i>Im3-Mrj-R</i> (5). | (18) <i>Wiw</i> (18). |
| (6) <i>Ism.t</i> (6). | (19) <i>Wh-hw</i> (19). |
| (7) <i>Idj</i> (deaf) (7). | (20) <i>Bbj</i> (20). |
| (8) <i>Irj-ns</i> (8). | (21) <i>Bi3</i> (21). |
| (9) <i>Idj</i> (9). | (22) <i>Pth-htp</i> (22). |
| (10) <i>Irj</i> (10). | (23) <i>Hb-sd Ppj</i> (23). |
| (11) <i>Idw.t</i> (11). | (24) <i>Queen Ppj-nh-n.s</i> (24). |
| (12) <i>Ij-m-htp</i> (12). | (25) <i>Queen Ppj-nh-n.s</i> (from Abydos) (25). |
| (13) <i>Ipw.t</i> (13). | |

(1) From *Qoçêir el-Amarna, Annales du Service*, Vol. XII, p. 131.

(2) Cairo Museum No. 1459, BORCHARDT, "Denkmäler", Pl. 36.

(3) JEQUIER, "Tombeaux de Particuliers Contemporains de Pepi II," p. 87.

(4) JEQUIER, "Monuments Funéraires de Pepi I", Vol. III, p. 37.

(5) *Ibid.* p. 53.

(6) Cairo Museum No. 1395, BORCHARDT, "Denkmäler", Pl. 14.

(7) Cairo Museum No. 1457, *ibid.* Pl. 35.

(8) Cairo Museum No. 1400, *ibid.* Pl. 16.

(9) Cairo Museum No. 1500, *ibid.* Pl. 43 (from Abydos) (?).

(10) *Ä.Z.*, Vol. 63, p. 53.

(11) MACRAMALLAH, "Le Mastaba d'Idout", Pl. XIV.

(12) GUNN, "Teti Pyr. Cemeteries", Pl. 67.

(13) *Ibid.* Pl. 55.

(14) *Ibid.* Pl. 67.

(15) JEQUIER, "Tombeaux de Particuliers", p. 86.

(16) British Museum No. 1191, "Egyptian Stelæ", Pl. 33.

(17) DAVIES, "Deir el-Gebrawi", Vol. I, Pls. XVII, XVIII.

(18) DAVIES, "Sheikh Said", Pl. XXIII.

(19) From *Qoçêir el-Amarna, Annales du Service*, XII, p. 137.

(20) SAAD, "Annales du Service", Vol. XL, p. 681.

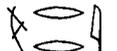
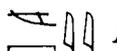
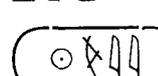
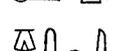
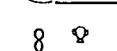
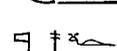
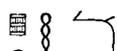
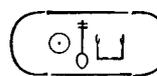
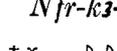
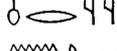
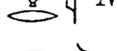
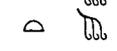
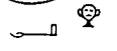
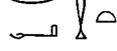
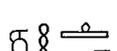
(21) *Ibid.* p. 690.

(22) British Museum No. 1287, "Egyptian Stelæ", Pl. 33.

(23) British Museum No. 112, *ibid.* Pl. 41.

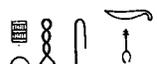
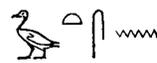
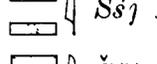
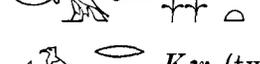
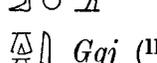
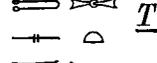
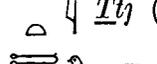
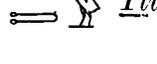
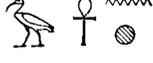
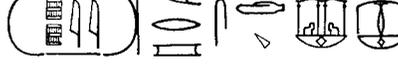
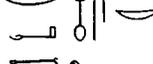
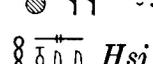
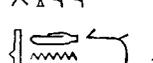
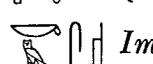
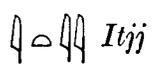
(24) JEQUIER, "Pyramides des Reines Neit et Apouit", p. 53.

(25) Cairo Museum No. 1433, BORCHARDT, "Denkmäler", Pl. 31.

- (26)  *Ppj-^cnh I* (1).
- (27)  *Ppj-^cnh II* (from Meir) (2).
- (28)  *Mrw.t* (3).
- (29)  *Mr-rw-k3* (4).
- (30)  *Mrrj* (5).
- (31)  *Mr-prj* (6).
- (32)  *Mnj* (from Denderah) (7).
- (33)  *Mhw* (8).
- (34)  *Mrj-R^c-^cnh* (9).
- (35)  *Mr-R^c- Pth* (10).
- (36)  *Nsti* (11).
- (37)  *Nj-^cnh-Ppj I* (12).
- (38)  *Nj-hr-ij* (13).
- (39)  *Nj-^cnh-Ppj* (14).
- (40)  *Ntr-nfr* (15).
- (41)  *Nj-sw-Pth* (16).
- (42)  *K3-hjf* (17).
- (43)  *Hb-Sd Nfr-k3-R^c* (18).
- (44)  *Nfrj* (19).
- (45)  *Nhrj* (20).
- (46)  *Rt* or *I3rtj.wj* (?) (21).
- (47)  *Hr-k3-R^c* (22).
- (48)  *Princess Hm.t-R^c* (23).
- (49)  *Htp-nbj* (24).
- (50)  *Hnn.t.* (25).
- (51)  *Hssj* (26).
- (52)  *Hpj* (27).
- (53)  *Hnnw* (28).
- (54)  *Hnmw.t* (29).
- (55)  *Hnmw-htp (w)* (30).
- (56)  *Sdh* (31).

(1) Cairo Museum No. 1505, *ibid.* Pl. 44.
(2) BLACKMAN, "The Rock Tombs of Meir", Vol. IV, Pls. XI, XXVI.
(3) DAVIES, "Deir el-Gebrawi", Vol. I, Pls. XXII, XXIII.
(4) CAPART, "Memphis", p. 334.
(5) Our *Sakkarā Excavations*, 1937.
(6) British Museum No. 212, "Egyptian Stelæ", Pl. 45.
(7) PETRIE, "Denderah", Pl. I.
(8) SAAD, *A.S.*, Vol. XL, Pl. LXXXI.
(9) MARIETTE, "Mastabas", p. 416.
(10) *Ibid.* p. 154.
(11) JEQUIER, "Tombeaux de Particuliers", p. 91.
(12) Our *Sakkarā Excavations*, 1937.
(13) Our *Sakkarā Excavations*, 1937.
(14) (From Zawiet el-Mayetin). VARILLE, "Le Tombeau de Ni-*ankh-Pepi*", Pl. XII.
(15) Cairo Museum No. 1447, BORCHARDT, "Denkmäler", Pl. 33.
(16) Hildesheim Museum Guide, p. 63.

(17) JUNKER, "Giza", VI, p. 108.
(18) JEQUIER, "Le Monument Funéraire de Pepi II", Vol. III, 59.
(19) *Ibid.* p. 61.
(20) *Ibid.* p. 61.
(21) *Annales du Service*, Vol. XL, p. 682 (see also *Annales du Service*), Vol. XLII, p. 26. ff).
(22) JEQUIER, "Tombeaux de Particuliers", p. 121.
(23) Our *Sakkarā Excavations*, 1937.
(24) DAVIES, "Deir el-Gebrawi", Vol. I, p. 24, Pl. XXI.
(25) Berlin Museum No. 7716, *Aegyptische Inschriften*, p. 47.
(26) Cairo Museum No. 1413, BORCHARDT, "Denkmäler", Pl. 19.
(27) Cairo Museum No. 1409, *ibid.* Pl. 18.
(28) Cairo Museum No. 1401, *ibid.* Pl. 16.
(29) Cairo Museum No. 1399, *ibid.* Pl. 16.
(30) JEQUIER, "Monuments Funéraires de Pepi II", Vol. III, p. 61.
(31) *Ibid.* p. 37.

- (57)  *S3bw* (1).
 (58)  *Pth-sš'm-nfr* (2).
 (59)  *S3.t-sn* (3).
 (60)  *Sntj* (4).
 (61)  *Šd-ibd* (5).
 (62)  *Ššj I* (6).
 (63)  *Ššj II* (7).
 (64)  *K3(j?)-m-tn-t* (8).
 (65)  *K3r* (two examples) (9).
 (66)  *Bhnw* (wife of *K3r*) (10).
 (67)  *Ggj* (11).
 (68)  *Gm-ns-ḥ* (12).
 (69)  *Prince Ttj* (13).
 (70)  *Tfw* (14).
 (71)  *Tst*. (15).
 (72)  *Ttj* (16).
 (73)  *Ttw* (17).
 (74)  *Dgm* (18).
 (75)  *D'w* (three examples) (19).
 (76)  *Gem-ḥ* (20).
 (77)  *mr-ḥb-sd* (21).
 (78) *Deir el-Gebrawi*: Tombs Nos. 1, 5, 20 (22).
 (79)  *Ijj* (23).
 (80)  *ḥ-ḥ3.f*. (24).
 (81)  *Nfr-sš'm-R* (25).
 (82)  *Ttw* (26).
 (83)  *St-wrt* (27).
 (84)  *Rhj* (28).
 (85)  *Hsj* (29).
 (86)  *Njsw-kdw* (30).
 (87)  *Imjst-k3j* (31).
 (88)  *Itjj* (32).
 (89)  *Nj-ḥ-ntj* (33).

(1) MARIETTE, "Mastabas", p. 413.
 (2) CAPART, "Memphis", p. 323.
 (3) Cairo Museum, BORCHARDT, "Denkmäler", Pl. 32.
 (4) JEQUIER, "Le Mastabet Faraoun", p. 29.
 (5) MARIETTE, "Mastabas", p. 368.
 (6) Berlin Museum No. 11667, *Aegyptische Inschriften*, p. 49.
 (7) MORET, "Musée Guimet", C. 3.
 (8) Cairo Museum No. 1456, BORCHARDT, "Denkmäler", Pl. 35.
 (9) British Museum No. 1341, "Egyptian Stelæ", Pl. 34.
 (10) British Museum No. 1330, *ibid.* Pl. 37.
 (11) Cairo Museum No. 1455, BORCHARDT, "Denkmäler", Pl. 35.
 (12) Cairo Museum No. 1458, *ibid.* Pl. 36.
 (13) JEQUIER, "Monuments Funéraires de Pépi II", Vol. III, p. 69.
 (14) Our *Sakkara Excavations*, 1937.
 (15) SAAD, "Annales du Service", Vol. XL, p. 611.
 (16) JEQUIER, "La Pyramide de Oudjebten", p. 26.
 (17) GUNN, "Teti Pyr. Cemeteries", Pl. 61.

(18) JEQUIER, "Tombeaux de Particuliers", p. 118.
 (19) DAVIES, "Deir el-Gebrawi", Vol. II, Pls. XI XII, XIII.
 (20) Berlin Museum No. 1151, *Aegyptische Inschriften* I, p. 47.
 (21) *Ibid.* p. 45.
 (22) DAVIES, "Deir el-Gebrawi". Vol. I, Pl. I.
 (23) LUTZ, "Egyptian Tomb-Stelæ and Offering Stones", Pl. 9.
 (24) *Ibid.* p. 13.
 (25) CAPART, "Une Rue de Tombeaux", "Pl. XI.
 (26) KAMAL, "Annales du Service", Vol. XXV, p. 166.
 (27) SPEELERS, "Recueil des Inscriptions Egyptiennes des Musées Royaux à Bruxelles", p. 13.
 (28) *Ibid.* p. 13.
 (29) JUNKER, "Giza", Vol. VI, p. 164.
 (30) *Ibid.* p. 244.
 (31) *Ibid.* p. 214.
 (32) *Ibid.* p. 229.
 (33) *Ibid.* p. 239.

- (90)  Špsj (1).
 (91)  Dd-nfrr (2).
 (92)  Ph-nfr (3).
 (93)  Nj-nh-Pth (4).
 (94)  Iptiw (5).
 (95)  Ihj (6).
 (96)  Impj (7).
 (97)  Hwfw-nfr (8).
 (98)  Hr-mrw (9).
 (99)  Ksj-m-nh (10).
 (100)  Snb (11).
 (101)  Itw (12).
 (102)  nh (13).
 (103)  Irtj (14).
 (104)  Sz nkn (15).
 (105)  Dmg (16).

The Palace-Façade

Though never common after the Archaic Period, the palace-façade had been gradually ousted from its place except in rare and specialized cases, or modified examples. During the Archaic Period we have seen the palace-façade adorning the exterior of the mastabas, to be more or less confined to the eastern façade during the Third Dynasty (17), and to make its appearance in the chapels *inside* the princely mastabas of the Fourth Dynasty. The rare examples we found during the Fifth Dynasty were all to be seen *inside* the cult-chapel. Now, during the Sixth Dynasty we see the palace-façade making its appearance upon the walls of the burial-chamber, where it seems to be a projection of the sarcophagi with palace-façade decoration, known and accepted since the Fourth Dynasty, or if we count the panelled wooden coffins found by Quibell at Saqqara (18) from the Archaic Period. Thus, it would seem that the palace-façade descended by normal stages from the exterior superstructure of the mastaba, down to the underground burial-chamber, and here as was formerly the case on the façade and in the chapel, the palace-façade could occupy any or all of the four walls. But although, in the Fourth Dynasty, the palace-façade was almost exclusive to the princely tombs, now the palace-façade in the burial-chamber is employed by high officials as well as by royalty. These are as follows:—

In the burial-chamber of the Pyramid of Queen  Neit (19), we see three palace-façades painted on the western wall, one on the northern wall, and one on the southern wall. Prince

(1) *Ibid.* p. 177.

(2) *Ibid.* p. 153.

(3) Our *Saqqara Excavations*, 1937-38.

(4) " " 1937-38.

(5) " " 1937-38.

(6) " " 1937-38.

(7) " " 1937-38.

(8) " " 1937-38.

(9) " " 1937-38.

(10) JUNKER, "Giza", Vol. IV, p. 20,

(11) *Ibid.* Vol. V, p. 36 ff.

(12) *Ibid.* Vol. V, p. 139 ff.

(13) *Ibid.* Vol. V, p. 152.

(14) *Ibid.* Vol. V, p. 160.

(15) *Ibid.* Vol. V, p. 185.

(16) *Ibid.* Vol. V, p. 187.

(17) We meet with a local revival of this custom at Denderah during the Sixth Dynasty (see above, p. 72).

(18) QUIBELL, "Archaic Mastabas", Pl. XXIX, 1, 2.

(19) JEQUIER, "La Pyramide des Reines Neit et Apouit", Figs. 5-8.

Ttj ⁽¹⁾ also has the walls of his burial-chamber decorated with palace-façades, and the same with Princess *Idwt*. In the burial-chamber of *Im3-Mrj-R'* ⁽²⁾ the palace-façade is placed on the eastern and the western walls (where it is repeated four times) ⁽³⁾.

In the burial-chamber of *Snit* (JEQUIER, “*Tombeaux de Particuliers Contemporains de Pepi II*”, p. 49. The palace-façade appears upon the western wall and immediately to the north of it is the great canonical offering-list. This is the place where we often find the offering-list in relation to the false-door in the chapel, for example, in the tomb of *Tesen* (see p. 271) where there are two examples. Other tombs which have the palace-façade occurring in the burial-chamber are:—

Snj: Eastern wall and western walls with offering-list to the north (*ibid.* Pl. III).

Šjj: “ “ “ “ “ “ “ “ “ “ (*ibid.* Pl. V, VI).

Pth-nhw: On the western wall (no offering-list) (*ibid.* Pl. VII).

Mhj: Eastern wall with offering-list on the southern and western walls (*ibid.* Pl. IX).

Šm'at: “ “ “ “ “ “ “ “ “ “ (*ibid.* Pl. X).

B'w: “ “ “ “ “ “ “ “ “ “ (*ibid.* Pl. X).

Ppjj: “ “ “ “ “ “ “ “ “ “ (*ibid.* Pl. XIV).

Dgm: Eastern wall with offering-list on the southern and western walls (*ibid.* Pl. XVI).

To what are we to attribute this repeated appearance of the palace-façade on any of the walls of the burial-chamber? Is it a partial revival of the multiple palace-façades seen on the exterior of the Archaic Mastabas (see above, p. 67 ff.), as we have already seen the articles of household gear, and linen reappearing on the walls of the burial-chambers of the Sixth Dynasty, after they had mostly been excluded from the offering-lists of the late Fourth and Fifth Dynasties? Weight is given to this explanation by the fact that these offerings as well as the offering-list appear side by side with the palace-façades in most of the above-mentioned tombs. Perhaps the transference of these palace-façades from the exterior of the mastaba to the chapel, and finally from thence to the burial-chamber was a precautionary measure taken to give them a better chance of an undamaged survival.

⁽¹⁾ A.S. XXXIV, p. 78, Pl. II.

⁽²⁾ JEQUIER, “*Le Monument Funéraire de Pepi II*”, Vol. III, p. 53, Pl. 53.

⁽³⁾ The fact that the burial-chamber of *Wnis* in his pyramid at Saqqara has a palace-façade on the wall to the left of the sarcophagus shows that this custom was known at the end of the Fifth Dynasty. CAPART, “*Une Rue de Tombeaux, Saqqara*”, Pl. V.

The Orientation of the False-Door

Since the close of the Archaic Period, the regular position of the interior false-door had always been in the western wall of the chapel, but at Deir el-Gebrawi we have a series of Sixth Dynasty tombs, where we find a departure from this fixed rule of orientation, which, however, appears to be strictly local. Thus, *Htp-nbj* has an uninscribed false-door in the eastern wall of her chapel; while the famous noble *D'w*, whose two sisters were both married to King Pepy I, has three false-doors in his chapel, one in the northern, eastern and western walls of a large recess in the northern wall of his chapel. *Ibj* has a false-door in the western wall of his chapel, but he also has another one in the northern wall, and it is behind this latter that his burial lies. *Mrw.t* has his false-door in the southern wall of the chapel, and his burial-chamber lies below it.

The Inscriptions and the Decorations on the False-Doors of the Sixth Dynasty

THE PANEL

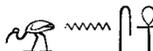
Of the ten inscribed false-doors in our Giza excavations, five are of the conventional type, showing the deceased seated at the offering-table. That of *Hm-Iwn* ⁽¹⁾ was apparently the same but some ill-disposed person had spitefully erased the chair and offering-table. On the panel of *Nfr-wnt* is a rectangular stand to the right of the table, which is either built up of blocks or formed of a light framework of palm-ribs, like a modern *Kafas* “قص”. The only new feature in the pile of represented offerings is a bowl with a wavy rim. From the 105 burials from outside our Giza excavations, we find seventy false-doors, possessing panels which conform to the normal single type, Nos. 1, 16, 2, 3, 4, 6, 7, 8, 10, 11, 12, 13, 14, 15, 17, 19, 23, 26, 27, 31, 32, 33, 34, 38, 41, 43, 44, 80, 46, 47, 48, 51, 52, 53, 54, 55, 59, 60, 63, 64, 65 ⁽²⁾ 66, 67, 68, 69, 71, 72, 73, 79, 74, 75, 30, 84, 83, 82, 20, 21, 22, 42, 87, 88, 94, 95, 96, 97, 98, (two examples) 99, 105. Eleven specimens have a panel bearing two figures seated at table. These are Queen *Ppj-nh-n.s* (Abydos Stele), where the Queen sits facing a man named  *Iww* with the table between them, (like the false-door of *Whz* (see p. 255) this monument is a flat slab of stone upon which the architectural elements, scenes and inscriptions are superficially engraved), *Ntr-nfr*, *Ppj-nht* where a mirror and its case are placed upon a rectangular stand under the lady's chair; and *S3bw*  which bears a duplicate figure of the deceased, each having its own offering-table. Other examples are *Hsj*, *Kshjf*, where the couple represented are mother and son, *Njsw-kdw* where no offering-table is represented, and *Špsj*, where the bottom of the panel is occupied by the figures of a man and woman and three naked children, all of whom are bringing objects for the performance of the offering-rites — a family scene ⁽³⁾. On the panel of *Itw* the table between the husband and the wife bears two groups of four half-loaves, in the centre of which is a small round loaf surmounted by a conical loaf.

On the southern door of *Irtj*, the table between the man and the woman carries meat and a roast goose as well as the half-loaves, while on the panel of *S3-nhn* the table carries a large conical loaf and a small round cake. Of these the man is taking the large loaf, while the woman reaches for the cake! A further seventeen display some

⁽¹⁾ This false-door was discovered loose in the sand, and so far the tomb to which it belonged has not come to light. It is dated to the Sixth Dynasty by reason of its characteristic style.

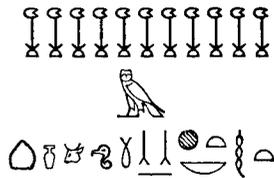
⁽²⁾ Two examples.

⁽³⁾ See also *S3bw*, *Idw*, *Ppj-hb-sd*, *Mhw*.

unusual points, Nos. 9, 61, 58, 36, 56, 45, 35, 28, 24, 22, 21, 20, 18, 100 ⁽¹⁾ 101, 103, 104. Let us now take these examples and see what are the new points of interest to be found in them, and see what innovations have crept into the design. On the panel of Idj the deceased is represented smelling a vase of perfume, a new posture ⁽¹⁾, but in the cases of Queen *Ipw*t and *Gm-ns-nh*  they are smelling a lotus. The panel of Idj is of extreme simplicity. The deceased is seated upon a cubical throne (a new element, though similar to the throne on the Bankfield Stele) and stretches up his hand to touch the top of the first loaf upon the offering-table, above which are his titles and name. On the high, narrow panel of *Ggj* the half-loaves have been degraded into a rectangular mass, narrowed at the lower edge which, we can see, has originated from the stylized loaves ⁽²⁾; and on the panel of *Irj-ns* it is simply a plain rectangle ⁽³⁾. This method of stylizing the bread on the offering-table is a feature of the panels of the Sixth Dynasty, and occurs on many of the false-doors (see Nos. 4, 8, 10, 13, 14, 15, 23, 31, etc.). On the panel of Šd-ibd  a large complete haunch of beef is garnished with a lotus-flower and bud, and the owner of the door is seated and facing south.

On the panel of *Kj-m-tnnt* the deceased has taken one of the loaves from the offering-table, and is about to eat it, an unusual point. The only scene showing the deceased actually eating during the Old Kingdom, seems to be the one published by JUNKER in *Giza*, Vol. VI, p. 125.

On the panel of the false-door of *Pth-htp* of the British Museum, the half-loaves are rendered as two rectangular masses with toothed edges at the top, and the ewer and the basin are placed under the chair. The offerings in thousands are arranged in an unusual manner ⁽⁴⁾.



The panel of *Istj* is very crudely and curiously carved. The seat of the deceased is an irregular rectangle, while the table is devoid of offerings and merely represented by three crude lines (see Fig. 21, No. 12). The panel of *Snb*, the dwarf, was made of granite, a vain precaution as it was found smashed into fragments, while the comparatively fragile limestone jambs are almost perfect. The panel of his wife *Snits* returns to the form of the archaic and early IVth Dynasty type and includes a complete linen-list. On the panel of the wife of *Itw* the lady is seated, but has no table, though meat and drink offerings are represented. Her three children are also shown, a big boy holding the arm of his smaller sister, while a baby girl stands beside her mother's knees.

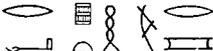
The panel of *Nj-nh-Ppj* the Middle has a large offering-list and two ewers and basins. To the right of the table of *Ppj-nht* is the figure of a man engaged in arranging the stylized leaves on the offering-table. On the panels of *Nstj* and *Sdh* the deceased is seated, but there is no offering-table, although in both cases the offerings in thousands are inscribed, in the former the deceased is raising the hand towards them. *Sšm-nfr-Pth* had replaced his panel by a square recess in

⁽¹⁾ See also *Sjbw*, *Idw*, *Ppj-hb-šd*, *Mhw*.

⁽²⁾ See Fig. 22, No. 23.

⁽³⁾ See Fig. 22, No. 24.

⁽⁴⁾ Thus, we do not know which of these items are offered in one thousand and which are offered in more than one thousand for the number of "thousands" are eleven and the number of the things to be offered are only seven.

which his head and shoulders are carved almost in the round : which shows that the panel was regarded as a window through which we are supposed to be able to see into the burial-chamber : while on the fully inscribed door of  *Mr-R'-Pth* the panel is left blank. On the panel of Queen *Ppj-nh-ns* appear only the epithet and name of the deceased. Indeed, this false-door is remarkable for the fact that it is entirely occupied by inscriptions, and not a single representation of the owner appears upon any part of it. The figure of the deceased on the panel of *Mrw.t* appears to be standing in adoration before his laden offering-table. The lower part of the figure is destroyed, but its height, together with the absence of any chair legs, makes the standing posture almost certain. On the panel of *Bbj* the figure determining the name of the deceased is made so large and prominent as to be almost a secondary representation of the owner⁽¹⁾. We also find that eight panels now have the offering-formula inscribed upon them. These are Nos. 73, 65, 51, 46, 32, 13, 22, 21. *Wiw*, *Mr-prj* and *Irj-nš* have the *pr-hrw* formula upon their panels. The remaining false-doors which complete the total of 105 are either uninscribed or are lacking their panels. A feature of the panels of the Sixth Dynasty is the curtailment of the offering-list. We have traced its gradual decline from the middle of Fourth Dynasty, but now it has almost disappeared from the panel. This is due to the greater prominence given to the offering-scenes and the large offering-lists on the walls of the chapel, especially on the southern and western walls where we see offering-tables and an abundance of offerings disposed on these walls and also to the increasing belief in the power of the *pr-hrw* formula to call forth the offerings as the dead required them. For this reason we shall see the *pr-hrw* and offering-formulae given more prominence than ever before, as we have just seen in the case of the offering-formula upon the panel.

The Development of the Offering-Table on the Panel (see Figs. 24, 25, 26)

It has been observed that in studying the panel in its progressive stages from the Archaic Period to the end of the Sixth Dynasty, that one of its component parts, namely the offering-table, had itself also passed through various stages, concerning both its form and its contents. These changes have been marked by special types and special forms of offerings which may sometimes help us to approximately fix the date of the monument upon which they are represented ; sometimes the type may be a sure index to the date. Let us now examine these offering-tables and see what are the conclusions we can draw from them. First, we see the table in the primitive archaic offering-scenes of the Second Dynasty as a clumsy pedestal supporting a bowl or basket, in which are placed half-loaves of bread (later called *gsw*  in the offering-lists) (see Figs. 13, 14). On the Bankfield Stele (Fig. 13) there are four of these half-loaves upon the table ; the Berlin stone (Fig. 14) has only three, while that of Princess *Shfnr* has six (Fig. 15). Coming to the Third Dynasty, we find *H'-bzw-Skr* with eight loaves, and the offering-table has assumed the form of a pedestal with two legs, supporting a circular (?) stand on a low, small base (Fig. 16). Exactly the same type of table, carrying the same number of loaves is seen on that wooden panel of *Hesy*, where the deceased is shown seated at his offering-meal⁽²⁾ (No. 14a). On the panel of *Mtn* the loaves have been increased to ten, and the pedestal of the offering-table has assumed a more graceful form of the type we saw in the earlier examples (Fig. 17). In the early Fourth Dynasty the coloured representations in the

⁽¹⁾ This false-door is also remarkable for the fact that it has neither an upper nor a lower lintel, and is, in fact, a reversion to the archaic type, plus the cornice and torus moulding.

⁽²⁾ QUIBELL, "The Tomb of Hesy", Pl. XXXI.

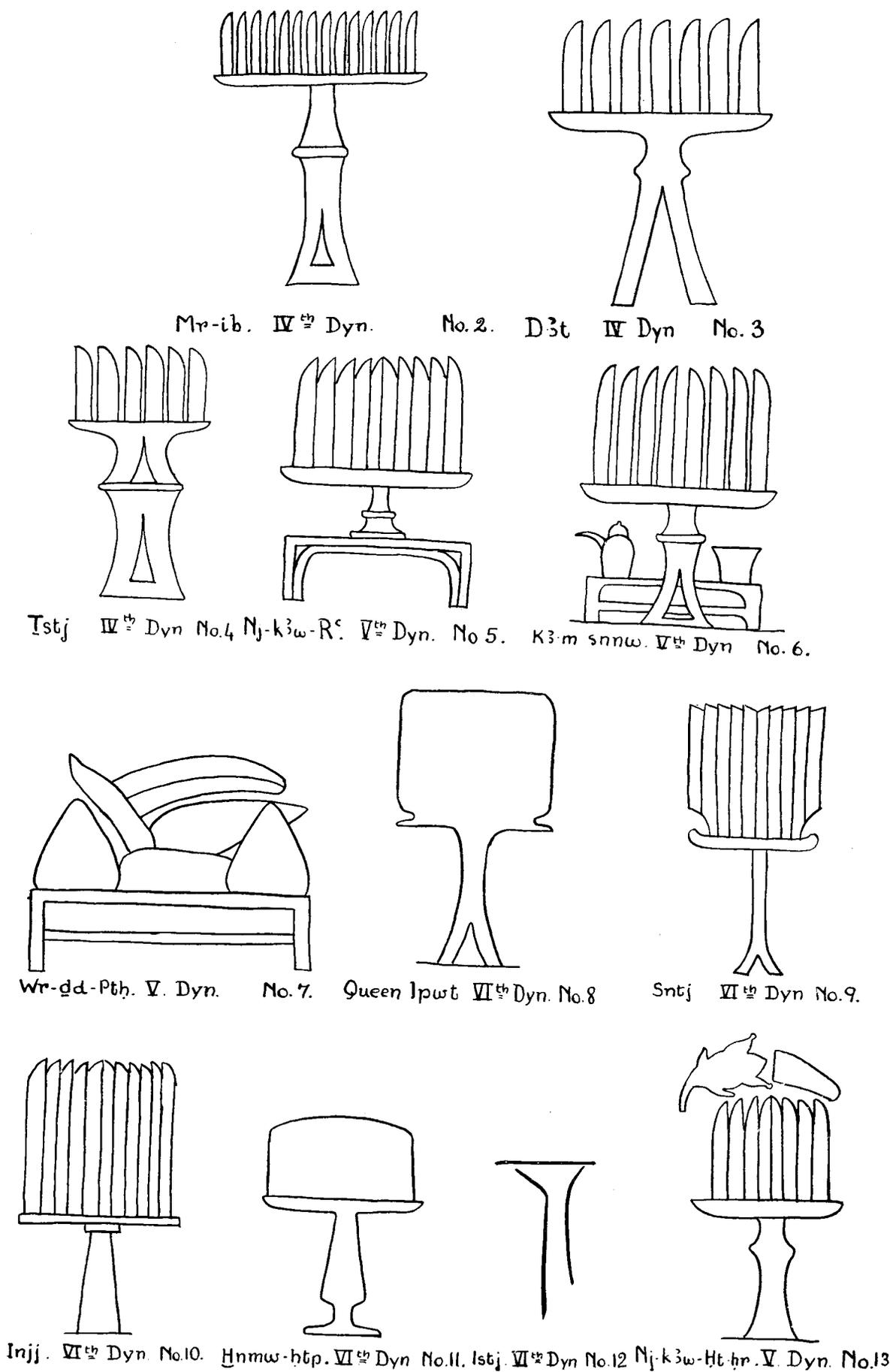


FIG. 24.—FORMS OF THE OFFERING-TABLE

tomb of *Mr-ib* show us clearly that the offering-table consisted of a tall cylindrical pedestal of red pottery⁽¹⁾ supporting a circular, alabaster offering-stand (No. 2), both of which objects we frequently find in actual examples in the tombs of the Old Kingdom (*see above*, p. 110). On the other hand, the offering-table may be supported on a pedestal with splayed legs, as on the panel of *Dst* (No. 3), or the offering-stand itself may have a forked base as well as the pedestal, as in the tomb of *Tstj* (No. 4). Sometimes the pedestal was dispensed with altogether, and the offering-stand was placed directly upon the ground, as in *H'.f-R'-nh* (No. 28). This is the type commonly used to determine the entry  *hsw.t* 'an offering-table' in the offering-lists (*see R'-htp* of Meidum above, p. 123, No. 160). By the time of the Fifth Dynasty we see a variation in the form of the offering-table, which may have the pedestal forked at the top and bottom, as on the panel of *K3'-m-nfrt* (No. 27). During the Fifth Dynasty we also see the offering-stand placed upon a low rectangular table instead of the usual tall pedestal (No. 5) as in *Nj-k3w-R'*, and sometimes a second table was placed beneath this stand as in *Nfr* (No. 18); or the offering-table may be placed on the ground beside the rectangular stand; the latter serving to support a ewer and a basin as in *K3-m-snnw* (No. 6), on the other hand, the circular table may be dispensed with altogether, and the offerings are placed directly upon the rectangular stand as in *Wr-dd-Pth* (No. 7); but this is rarely seen in the case of a principal table, though common for secondary ones. In the Sixth Dynasty we find examples where the original motif of an offering-table consisting of two units—a pedestal and a bowl or circular stand—has been ignored, and it appears as a table with a single support forked at the base, as in Queen *Ipw.t* (No. 8) and *Sntj* (No. 9), or as a tray with a rim or turned-up edge, supported on a pedestal with a forked base and a flat top (*Irj*, No. 21, *Sntj*, No. 9), or as a plain tray supported by a simple flat-topped pedestal, as in *Injj* (No. 10).

Sometimes the pedestal was elaborated in an ungraceful manner, making the base a smaller, inverted replica of the upper part, as in *Hnmw-htp* (No. 11), or the whole table may be degraded into three crudely scratched lines, and carry no offerings, as in *Istj* (No. 12).

The owner of the false-door upon which this latter example appears held the titles of  "Noblewoman of the King",  "Sole Concubine of the King",  "Priestess of Hathor" and  "Honoured by Ptah". The false-door is fully inscribed, and furthermore, is provided with an inscribed limestone offering-table and libation basin, therefore the crudeness of the work can hardly be due to the poverty of the owner. Occasionally we find a return to the simple offering-stand with the additional pedestal, as in *Ipj-nhw* (No. 37).

Concerning the loaves upon the table, we find some interesting and characteristic variations. In the earliest examples we have the Bankfield Stele (Fig. 13), and the Berlin Stone (Fig. 14 and No. 14), we have seen that the loaves number four and three respectively, to be increased to six on the table of Princess *Shfnr*, eight by *H'-b3w-Skr* and *Hesy* and to ten by *Mtn*. In the early Fourth Dynasty, the table of *Mr-ib* (No. 2) carries fourteen half-loaves, but *Dst* (No. 3) has seven, while *Tstj* has only six (No. 4) and thus we see that there is no standard number, and the half-loaves may be few and thick or many and thin. Usually these half-loaves are arranged simply one after the other, with their flat sides all facing in one direction (*see Mr-ib*, No. 2, and also the archaic examples). But sometimes they were divided into two groups of an equal

⁽¹⁾ In the list of Meidum XIII, the material is shown as alabaster.

number, each group having the flat sides turned to the centre of the table as in *Iwnw* (No. 15). In the Fifth Dynasty we still see the number of the half loaves fluctuating, thus *Nj-kzw-Ht-hr* (No. 13) has only eight, *Nj-kzw-R'* (No. 5) has ten, *Nfr* (No. 18) has twelve, *Ffj* I (No. 17) has eighteen, while *Kz-m-nfrr* (No. 16) has twenty-two. The most usual arrangement for the Fifth Dynasty is that which we have already seen, where the half-loaves are divided into two equal groups with the flat sides turned to the centre of the table (No. 13), or they may occasionally be placed together in pairs, each pair forming a complete loaf (No. 16) as in *Kz-m-nfrr*, or the centre pair only may be placed thus, as in Fig. 25; No. 17.

The Stages of the Degeneration of the Half-Loaves through Mistaken Reed-Forms to Plain Rectangles (see Fig. 25)

It seems as from this time onwards the half-loaves on the offering-table became stylized, so that their original significance was eventually lost, and we have a series of examples which illustrate this process. As a starting point let us go right back to the early Fourth Dynasty where on the table of *Iwnw* (No. 15) we see the half-loaves arranged in two groups of seven, with the flat sides facing inwards as on the Third-Dynasty table of *Hsj* (No. 14a). Their form is the same as those on the primitive tables (see No. 14) and ought to represent half a  divided vertically down the middle. This is correctly drawn on the early example (No. 14), where the deep sides of the bowl hide the bottom of the loaves, but in the later example, which was blindly copied from the old model, the drawing is faulty. The loaves are here standing on a flat-topped table (No. 15), not in a bowl, therefore, the bases of the loaves ought to have been drawn ⁽¹⁾. In No. 16 from the table of *Kz-m-nfrr*, this same type of loaf appears, but arranged in pairs, each of which forms a complete loaf. In *Ffj* (No. 17) the half-loaves have been given their correct form, and the centre pair forms a complete  loaf. Next we have an example from the panel of *Nfr* (No. 18) where the same arrangement has been followed, but the narrowing of the base has been too sharply defined. This seems to have led to such forms as that of *Mrj-R'-nh* (No. 19) of the Sixth Dynasty, where the narrowing of the base has led the artist to draw a form like the sign  of the flowering reed, and the half-loaf is no longer recognizable as such. This confusion of forms was also carried to the writing of the word *gsw* 'half-loaves' in the offering-lists where it is usually determined by  or , but may also be determined by  ⁽²⁾. Gunn ⁽³⁾ is of the opinion that both the *gsw* and the objects on the offering-tables were leaves, although he admits that there are examples known where *gsw* is treated as a meal or a kind of food ⁽⁴⁾. But a glance at the earlier examples of the offering-tables makes clear that half-loaves and not leaves are the objects represented upon them, and the reed-like forms only crept in through the repeated mechanical copying of an object which had perhaps long been obsolete in actual fact ⁽⁵⁾.

⁽¹⁾ On the Third-Dynasty table of *Hsj* (No. 14a) these have been correctly rendered.

⁽²⁾ *Sibw* in FIRTH and GUNN, "The Teti Pyramid Cemetery", p. 207 (late Sixth Dynasty).

⁽³⁾ *Ibid.*

⁽⁴⁾ MARIETTE, "Mastabas", p. 257, DAVIES, "Rock Tombs of Sheikh Said", Pl. 26.

⁽⁵⁾ For GUNN's theory on this subject see "The Teti Pyramid Cemetery", p. 207.

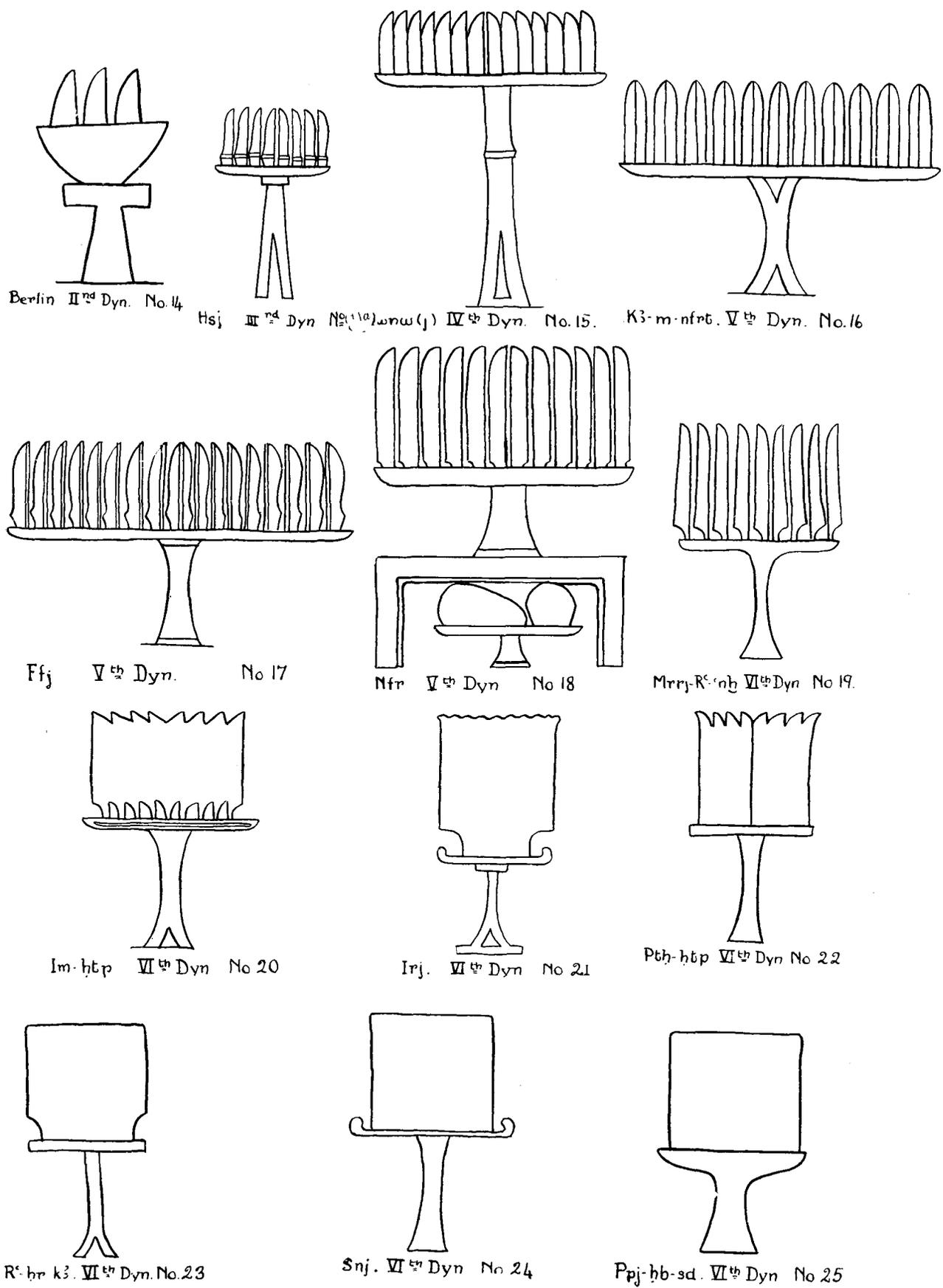
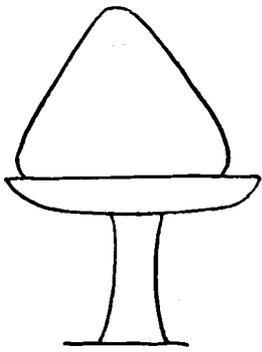
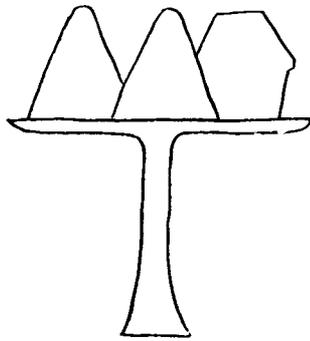


FIG. 25.—THE STAGES SHOWING THE DEGENERATION OF THE HALF-LOAVES INTO A MERE RECTANGLE (see p. 170 ff.)



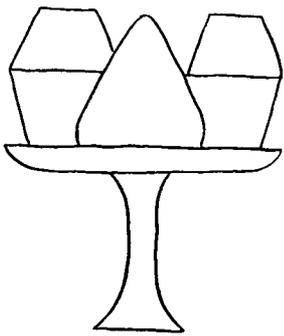
Hwfw-mr. IVth Dyn No 26



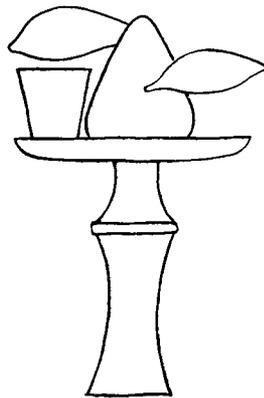
K3-m-nfrt IVth Dyn. No.27.



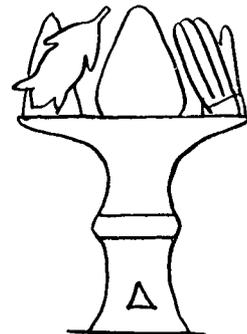
H^c.f-R^c-^cnh. IVth Dyn No.28



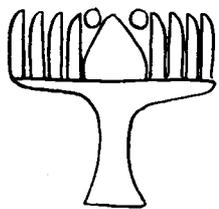
Wš-Dw3w. Vth Dyn No.29.



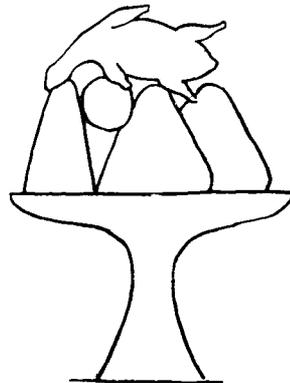
Wr-d-d-Pbh. Vth Dyn No 30.



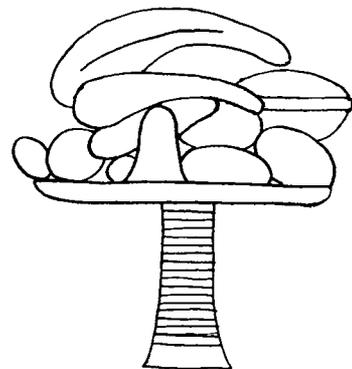
Njsw-kd. Vth Dyn. No. 31.



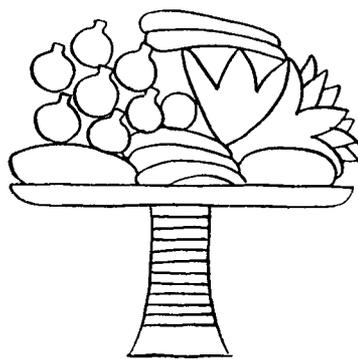
Njsw-kd Vth Dyn No 32.



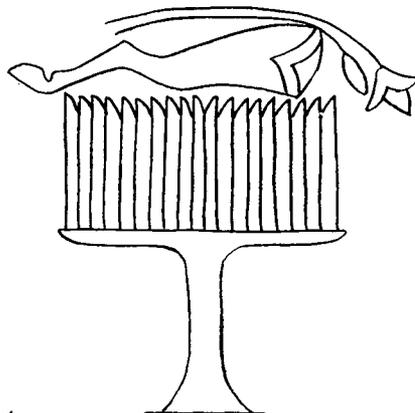
špsj VIth Dyn. No. 33



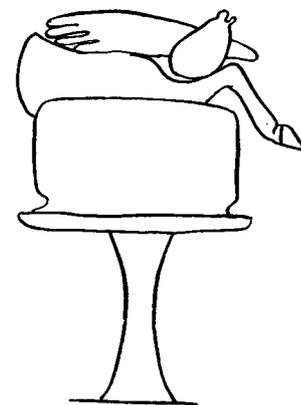
Htp-hrs IVth Dyn No. 34.



Htp-hrs. IVth Dyn. No. 35



šd-3bdw. VIth Dyn No. 36



Ipy-^cnhw. VIth Dyn No 37

FIG. 26.—TABLES CONTAINING KINDS OF FOOD OTHER THAN THE HALF-LOAVES

But it would seem that the reed-like form in this situation was meaningless to the Egyptian mind, for we find that a rapid confusion of this form took place, and the “reeds” became fused together, only the tops and bottoms remaining recognisable, as in *Ij-m-htp* (No. 20) ⁽¹⁾. This form was still further simplified by the omission of the inner detail at the bottom, and we see a rectangular mass hollowed out at the lower corners and having a serrated upper edge, as in *Irj* (No. 21). The next step was the omission of all detail at the bottom, and we have a rectangular mass divided into two halves by a line down the middle, but retaining the serrated upper edge, as on the table of *Pth-htp* (No. 22). On the table of *R'-hr-k3* (No. 23) the “reed” form has been retained at the lower corners, but the serrations are gone from the upper edge ⁽²⁾, while in No. 24, which is from the panel of *Snj* and No. 25 from that of *Ppj-hb-sd*, the half-loaves have degenerated into a simple rectangle ⁽³⁾, and unless we were acquainted with the earlier forms, it would be impossible to identify the object upon the offering-table. But we also have rare examples dating from the Fourth Dynasty onwards, where the traditional half-loaves on the offering-table were replaced by a large conical loaf ⁽⁴⁾, as in *Hwfw-Mr* (Fig. 26, No. 26) which might also be increased to two conical and one flat-topped loaves, as in *K3-m-nfrt* (No. 27) ⁽⁵⁾, or the table may bear a conical loaf, a piece of meat and a trussed goose, as in *H.'f-R'-'nh* (No. 28). In the Fifth Dynasty we see one conical and two flat-topped loaves, as in *W3s'-Dw3w* (No. 29), a conical loaf, a bowl, and two bunches of grapes (?) (*Wr-dd-Pth*, No. 30), or three conical loaves, plus a trussed goose and a bundle of vegetables, as on the table of *Njsw-kd* (No. 31). There is also a form which seems to be a compromise between the form we have just been discussing and the traditional half-loaves. This is also to be seen on a panel of *Njsw-kd* (No. 32). Here we see a conical loaf placed in the centre of the table, and at its apex two small circles, which reminds us of a similar group in the offering-scene of Princess *Shfnr* (Fig. 15) and may be explained in the same manner. (We also find a combination of conical and round loaves in determinatives for the entries *htp-di-njswt* and *htp-wsht* in the canonical offering-list.) This group is flanked on each side by four traditional half-loaves, each group placed with their flat sides towards the centre of the table. In the Sixth Dynasty we find the three conical loaves, and above them one circular loaf and a trussed goose, *Špsj* (No. 33). We also have rare examples where the offering-tables carry multiple offerings, as the two tables on the panel of *Htp-hr.s* of the Fourth Dynasty, (?) Nos. 34

⁽¹⁾ The owner of this false-door held the titles  “Sole Confidant” and  “Ritualist”.

⁽²⁾ See also No. 8, which is from the false-door of Queen *Ipw.t*, which shows that these degraded examples are not due to the poverty of the tomb-owner. Other examples of these types, which were very common during the Sixth Dynasty may be seen on the false-doors of *Ipj-'nhw*, a steward  whose door is fully inscribed and decorated, and of very good workmanship (FIRTH, “*Teti Pyramid Cemetery*”, Pl. 67) *Nstj*, a “Sole Concubine of the King”  and “Priestess of Hathor”  (JEQUIER, “*Tombeaux de Particuliers*”, p. 34), *Irj* (untitled) *Dgm*, a “Treasurer of the King of Lower Egypt” , Sole Confidant, etc. (*Ibid.* p. 118) *R'-hr-k3*, also a “Treasurer of the King of Lower Egypt, Sole Confidant”  “Ritualist”, , etc.

⁽³⁾ See JUNKER, “*Giza*”, V, p. 100.

⁽⁴⁾ For an explanation of the large size of this loaf, see p. 95.

⁽⁵⁾ Junker cites examples of offering-tables (in offering-scenes on the chapel walls) where the table bears a *bd3* form loaf , a *kmh-km3* loaf  and the *psn* loaf  (see “*Giza*”, Vol. VI (1943), pp. 118, 121 and Figs. 11, 12). In the example we have just given the bread represented would be two *bd3* form loaves and one *kmh-km3* loaf.

and 35, the latter being embellished with lotus-flowers, as in that of *Šd-ibd* of the Sixth Dynasty (No. 36), where a haunch of beef garnished with lotus-flowers, lies above the half-loaves, or on the table of *Ipj-nḥw* (No. 37), where the haunch, the *swt-joint* (?) and a bundle of onions are placed over a degraded representation of the half-loaves. On the majority of panels, the table placed before the tomb-owner carries only the half-loaves, while the secondary tables, or those which are set before secondary figures in the offering-scenes, usually carry multiple offerings. This is perhaps because the half-loaves were the traditional offering dating from remote times, and because bread was justly considered to be the main article of diet, the real "Staff of Life", therefore it was fitting that this should be the prominent offering placed before the tomb-owner; while the secondary tables with the multiple offerings are the natural outcome of the development of the offering-list, and the desire to represent the important items of the additional offerings. It is also perhaps a compromise between Tradition, as shown by the table of half-loaves, and reality, as depicted by the table of mixed food which the dead man would certainly have eaten at his earthly meals. The point to be observed here is that only the offering-table of the tomb-owner has the "offerings in thousands" inscribed near it. The same thing is seen in the banqueting scenes, where the tables of the secondary figures are usually devoid of the inscribed "offerings in thousands", which only appear with that of the tomb-owner⁽¹⁾. This is quite logical when we remember that the tomb-owner is to be regarded as the head of the family who owns all the income of his estates, out of which he provides for the lesser members of his family.

Sometimes, there is a difference made between the offering-table set before the tomb-owner on the panel and that which is set before him in the offering-scene on the chapel wall. Thus, in the tomb of *Nj-k3-ḥr*⁽²⁾ we see on the panel of the false-door the tomb-owner and his wife seated before a traditional table of half-loaves, while on the southern wall of the chapel the table carries a large conical loaf, a trussed goose and two bunches of grapes and a tray of figs. In the entertainment scene of *K3-dw3*, the table carries nothing but floral decorations, while all the different kinds of food are arranged in registers above and before him.

The Upper Lintel

In our Giza excavations, the false-doors of *Nfr-wnt*, *Hm-Iwn*, *Ifwj*, *Ikrj* and *Sšm-nfr-Ifwj*, all bear the offering-formula inscribed upon their upper lintels. From outside our field of excavation we find that out of a total of 105 burials, 53 false-doors bear the offering-formula, titles and name of the deceased on their upper lintels, Nos. 62, 76, 50, 77, 65 (two examples), 66, 73, 67, 74, 75, (three examples), 61, 35, 58, 56, 36, 9, 25, 40, 16, 2, 4, 7, 10, 12, 14, 17, 19, 23, 79, 33, 38, 43, 44, 47, 3, 55, 60, 68, 69, 83, 84, 94, 95, 96, 97, 98, 99, 101, 103, 105. Of these the following add the figure of the deceased, Nos. 48, 38, 34, 27, 26, 11, 57, 54, 46, 51, 22, 30, 18, 42, 37, 60, 64, 81, 86, 87, 103. Moreover, we now find the name of Osiris occurring twenty-one times in the offering-formula, Nos. 76, 50, 23, 33, 44, 47, 30, 46, 48, 77, 74, 58, 56, 7, 10, 14, 17, 84, 81, 79, 86. The following

⁽¹⁾ See the mastaba of *K1ḥif*. JUNKER, "Giza", Vol. VI (1943), pp. 122, 123.

⁽²⁾ L. D., II., Pl. 10.

false-doors bear the name and title of the owner upon the upper lintel, Nos. 16, 24, 31, 34, 42, 45, 52, 53, 55, 63, 69, 71, 82, 99 (southern door), 103 (southern door). On Nos. 23, 27, 48, 51, 57, 60, 67, 86, we have also the $\square \overline{\text{V}} \square$ *pr-hrw* formula for the feasts.

Mrw.t has the offerings in thousands, represented offerings and the titles and name of the owner, upon the upper lintel. *Istj* has a standing figure of herself repeated four times, and before each figure a short, vertical inscription giving alternately her titles and name. The false-doors of *B'z*, Queen *Ipw.t* and *Bbj* were designed without either an upper or a lower lintel, while those of *Irj-ns*, *Ttj*, *Mnj*, and *shw* were designed without an upper lintel.

The Lower Lintel

Our false-doors from Giza show five examples in which the lower lintel bears the titles and name of the owner. These are *Ikrj*, *Ifwj*, *Sšm-nfr*, *Sšm-nfr* the Priest, *Hm-Iwn*. One, that of *Nfrt*, is blank, and on the door of *Sšm-nfr-Ifwj*, there is no lower lintel, thus reverting again to the archaic style. From those false-doors from outside our excavations, we find that only twelve bear the offering-formula upon the lower lintel. These are Nos. 32, 37, 38, 42 (two examples), 51, 57, 65, 80, 81, 93, 95. Seven examples have the *pr-hrw* formula upon the lower lintel. These are *Mr-prj*, *Hnmw.t*, *Ššj I*, *Kz-tz*, *Bhww*, *Kshj* and *Ismt*; while on *Hb-sd-Ppj* the inscription on the lower lintel reads: "That he may walk upon the good ways of the west, etc." Fifty-six false-doors bear the titles and name of the owner upon the lower lintel, Nos. 33, 76, 12, 4, 16, 40, 58, 17, 14, 7, 56, 74, 48, 11, 46, 47, 44, 61, 67, 35, 68, 2, 23, 73, 64, 27, 26, 22, 18, 19, 43, 3, 41, 1, 53, 63, 71, 69, 65, 75 (three examples), 34, 10, 82, 84, 86, 87, 88, 92, 96, 98, 99, 100, 101, 104. Of these the following bear also a representation of the deceased:—

Idw, *Sdh*, Princess *Hmt-R'*, Princess *Idw.t*, *Ppj-nh I*, *Pth-htp*, *Tst* and *Hr-mrw* (southern door).

In these representations we begin to see a variation in the posture, and the deceased is no longer compelled to stand staff in hand, or to be seated stiffly upon his chair. *Hpj* and *Sit-sn* each has two eyes upon the lower lintel, early examples of a custom which was to become popular in the Intermediate Period and Middle Kingdom⁽¹⁾. *Irj-ns* has the lower lintel decorated with a crude zigzag design like that on the torus moulding⁽²⁾, while the middle "door" of *Itw* has the names of seven offerings. Curiously enough, we find that eleven fully decorated false-doors have the lower lintels left blank, Nos. 55, 72, 28, 60, 45, 35, 9, 24, 50, 30, 83. The lower lintel of *Snb* was of granite, like his panel, and had shared the same fate of destruction.

The following numbers have three lintels: 2, 53, 75 (two examples), all of which give the titles and name of the deceased, to which No. 16 adds a figure of the deceased. Nos. 34, 56, 61 and 81 have the offering-formula. No. 1 is simply decorated with rectangles, while Nos. 4 and 98 are blank.

(1) For an early example of the appearance of these eyes upon coffins, see *Nj-nh-Ppj* (p. 98, No. 37).

(2) On No. 97 the lower lintel bears a complete normal panel scene relating to the son of the owner of the "door", while the real panel has been totally erased.

The Drum

None of the false-doors of the Sixth Dynasty in our excavations bear inscribed drums, and, indeed this scarcity has been a feature of our "doors" since the Fourth Dynasty, where, as we have seen, inscribed drums have always been an exception. From those 132 examples of false-doors outside our field of work at Giza, we find a series of twenty-five having inscribed drums. These are *Mrj*, *Mr-R'-Pth*, *Tst*, Princess *Idw.t*, Princess *Hmt-R'*, *Ijj*, *Nfr-sšm-R'*, *Idw*, *Sšm-nfr-Pth*, *Mhw* and *Kšj-m-nh*, *Itw* (three examples), *Itjj*, who have their names only inscribed upon the drum, and *Ntr-nfr*, *Kš [j?] m-tnn t*, and *Mnj*, *Njsw-kdw*, *Nj-nh-ntj.Irtj*, *'nh*, and *Snit.s* (wife of *Snb*), who have their titles and name inscribed upon the drum; while *Bbj* and *Ppj-nh II* have their names and a seated representation of themselves upon this part. The drum of *Snb* was made of red granite and was in one piece with the panel and lower lintel. As far as I am aware, this is the only false-door of a private person where granite is employed. In twenty-one examples, the drum has disappeared altogether ⁽¹⁾.

The Door-Niche

All the false-doors in our Giza excavations show perfectly plain door-niches; but from those examples from outside our field of work, we find a series of seventeen false-doors on which the central door-niche is carved to represent double-leaved doors. These are Nos. 14, 15, 67, 53, 14, 55, 32, 71, 2, 25, 72, 47, 75 (two examples), 22, 79, 82. In ten examples the doors are provided with

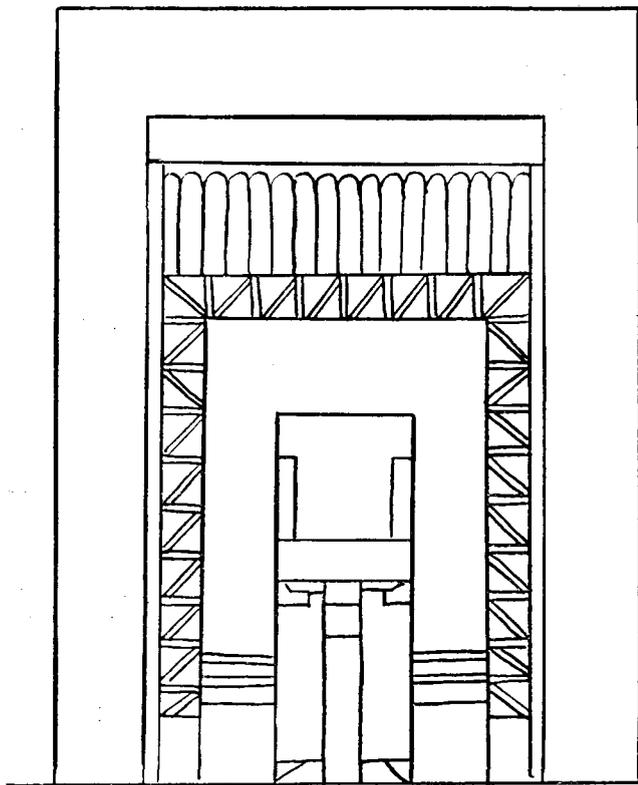


FIG. 27.

two bolts (*Irj*, *Ggj*, *Hnnw*, Queen *Ipw.t*, *Mnj*, *šbbj*, *Ttj*, *Hr-kš-R'*, *D'w*, and *Pth-htp*). Queen *Ppj-nh-n* and *Ijj* (Abydos Stele) have only one bolt, but *Ttw* has three bolts! The door-leaves of *Hnnw-htp* are represented as half-open, revealing the door-niche (Fig. 27). The doors of

⁽¹⁾ Nos. 12, 17, 19, 22, 24, 25, 47, 50, 55, 72, 73, 75 (two examples), 77, 78 (three examples), 80, 82, 83, 84.

Ippj-nhw show the panelling; while on each door-leaf of *Mnj* of Denderah, is a large eye, such as we have seen upon the lower lintel, placed between the two bolts. Seven examples show the two pivots at the top and bottom of the door-leaves, upon which they turned. There are also two very elaborate false-doors, in which the door-niche is occupied by a large statue of the deceased. These are *Mrrw-k3* of Saqqara and *Ntr-nfr*. *Idw* of Giza⁽¹⁾ has a statue of himself seated and holding his hands palm upwards to receive his offerings. *Mr-R'-Pth* has a large offering-list occupying his door-niche, and this is unusual for the Sixth Dynasty, and *Idw* and *Snb* have simply the two magical eyes. These seem to be a contrivance, by means of which the deceased could look from his burial-chamber into the chapel. In the Pyramid Texts they are called *ptr.w* meaning "to see", or "to look" (SETHE, "Komm", Vol. II, p. 273, Pyr. texts, lines: 1203 *c*, 852 *d*, and 1078 *b*, 1680 *b*). Also see JUNKER "Giza", Vol V, p. 34). *Snb* also has his titles and name written in ink on the door-niche, but it had been erased. *Njsw-kdw* has a large figure of himself in relief, and *Nj-nh-ntj* gives only his titles and name. The door-niche of *Ibj* is painted red, just as we have seen it in the early archaic mastabas⁽²⁾.

Thus, we see that the general tendency is to emphasize the true nature and function of the door-niche by providing it with door-leaves, bolts and pivots, or by regarding it as standing open to allow the tomb-owner (represented by his statue) to step forth and receive his offerings. On the other hand, we find that many door-niches are left without decoration, as we have also observed in the preceding dynasties, and these by far outnumber the decorated specimens.

The Cornice-Band and Outer Frame

A feature of the Sixth Dynasty false-doors is a wide band running along the top of the palmetto cornice, and in some cases an outer frame enclosing the whole false-door. In the examples from our excavations, neither of these features is inscribed, but from those specimens coming from outside our field of work, ten have the cornice-band inscribed, and of these five bear the offering-formula (*Hnmwt*, *3shw*, *Hnnw*, *Rhjj*, *Mnj*). *Irj* has the titles and name inscribed upon this part. *Ippj-nhw*, *Hppj* and *Ttw* have a list of holy oils, and *Mr-prj* has an address to the living. The placing of the offering-formula upon this cornice-band, the highest point of the false-doors in question, is interesting when we remember that hitherto the offering-formula usually occupied the upper lintel; moreover, in three of the examples just mentioned, two—*Mnj* and *3shw*—have no upper lintel, and the third—*Hnnw*—has the upper lintel occupied by his name and titles; but on the door of *Hnmwt* both the cornice-band and the upper lintel bear the offering-formula. Twelve examples out of 132 have an inscribed outer frame, and of these, ten bear the offering-formula upon the horizontal top bar (*Ismt*, *Dgm*, *Hppj*, *Sntj*, *Hr-k3-R'*, *Ggj*, *Hnmw-htp*, *Hb-sd-Nfr-k3-R'*, *Šd-ibd* and *Impjj*). *Irj-ns* has the $\left[\begin{array}{c} \text{V} \\ \text{O} \end{array} \right]$ *pr-hrw* formula and his titles and name. *Nhrj* has a representation of himself seated before an empty offering-table, but with an offering-list placed before it. This is a proof for the belief in the power of the magical spells of the *pr-hrw* formulæ to provide the necessary food which should appear upon the dead man's table. On the vertical side-bars of the frame, six examples bear the titles and name of the owner (Queen *Pppj-nh-ns*, *Irj-ns*, *Ismt*, *Dgm*, *Hppj*, *Hb-sd-Nfr-k3-R'*), all of which, except the first, have also a figure of the owner terminating the inscription (*Hppj* is represented standing with his hands raised in adoration). *Nhrj*, *Hnmw-htp*, and *Hr-k3-R'*, all have the $\left[\begin{array}{c} \text{V} \\ \text{O} \end{array} \right]$ *pr-hrw* formula inscribed

(1) REISNER, "Recent Discoveries in Egypt and Ethiopia, 1922-1925", Boston Museum Bulletin, June 1935.

(2) See above, pp. 68, 69.

upon the vertical side bars of the outer frame; *Šd-ibd* has the offering-formula; Queen *Ppj-nh-ns* has her titles and name; while *Ggj* has the offering-formula on the left-hand vertical bar, and his titles and name on the right-hand one.

The Inner Jambs

In our Gîza excavations, nine examples of false-doors have their inner jambs inscribed. These are *Ifwj* (two examples), *Ikrj*, *Sšm-nfr*, *Sšm-nfr* Priest of the Pyramid of Khafra^c (two examples), *Hm-Iwn*, *Sšm-nfr* surnamed *Ifwj*, and *Nfr-wnt*. Of these, six bear the titles and name of the deceased, *Ifwj*, *Hm-Iwn*, *Sšm-nfr*, Priest of the Pyramid of Khafra^c (two examples), *Sšm-nfr*, *Sšm-nfr-Ifwj* and two (*Sšm-nfr* and *Sšm-nfr*, surnamed *Ifwj*) add a representation of the owner. *Nfr-wnt* has the offering-formula inscribed upon his inner jambs, claiming the boon from the King and Osiris, but the formula is varied on each jamb.

Of the false-doors from outside our excavations we find thirty-four out of 132 bearing the titles and name of the owner upon the inner jambs. These are 3, 4 (two examples), 6, 7, 9, 15, 24, 26, 28, 34, 36, 38, 42, 43, 45, 47, 48, 53, 52, 55, 56, 61, 62, 67, 68, 73, 77, 82, 83, 84, 87, 88, 97. A further twenty-eight add a representation of the deceased to the titles and name: 1, 10, 11, 12, 13, 16, 17, 18, 22, 23, 31, 32, 33, 41, 46, 52, 57, 66 (two examples), 69, 72, 74, 79, 80, 91, 93, 96, 98. On No. 16 the deceased is represented as a fat man on the inner jambs, but of normal proportions on the outer ones. Perhaps the inner ones are supposed to depict him in his old age. On No. 19 the inner jamb bears the name, title and figure of the tomb-owner, but the right jamb has that of a woman relative; the same thing is seen on No. 64, where the right jamb bears the name, title and figure of the wife (1). On No. 65, the left jamb is occupied by the name, title and figure of a male relative. On No. 75, the name and title of the tomb-owner is inscribed upon the right-inner jamb and those of his father upon the left one. On Nos. 20, 25 and 89, both inner jambs are occupied by other members of the tomb-owner's family. On Nos. 2, 21, 30, and 70 the inner jambs are inscribed with the offering-list and title, name and figure of the deceased, while on Nos. 44, 57, 59, 92, 95 the representation is omitted. No. 81 bears a religious inscription on the inner jambs, and No. 35 has a large offering-list. No. 76 has the name of the deceased on the left inner-jamb and the titles on the right one. No. 60 has the titles and name of the deceased on the right inner-jamb and the $\square \nabla$ formula on the left one; while on the left inner-jamb of No. 63 a man is performing the *hkn* rite of beheading a goose, and on the right jamb, a similar figure of a man is burning incense, these should be the *Ka*-servants of the tomb-endowment. On No. 51, the tomb-owner is shown with his sons burning incense before him. In the mastaba of the dwarf *Snb*, the chapel walls were left blank and most of the scenes which should have occurred there were crowded onto the jambs of the false-door. On the right inner jamb are four registers, in which are scenes of scribes writing and reading their accounts, family scenes, and offering-bearers, while on its inner thickness is half of a large offering-list. On the left inner jamb is a scene of *Snb* in his carrying-chair, offering-bearers and *Ka*-servants, and the remainder of the large offering-list occupies its inner thickness.

The Outer Jambs

Of the false-doors of the Sixth Dynasty in our Gîza excavations, those of *Nfr-wnt*, *Ifj* (two examples), *Hm-Iwn*, *Sšm-nfr* the Priest (northern door), *Ikrj*, *Sšm-nfr-Ifwj* (2) bear upon their outer

(1) Placing the woman on the right jamb coincides with her normal place on the panels where a man and a woman are represented seated face to face. In such cases the woman sits to the right (north) of the offering-table, and we have only one specimen in our material No. 31 of the Fifth Dynasty, which deviates from this rule.

(2) This door has double outer-jambs, but each pair is occupied with the titles and name and representation of the owner.

jamb the titles, name and representation of the deceased. The false-doors of *Sšm-nfr* the Priest and *Sšm-nfr* bear the offering-formula upon their outer jambs. From the 132 false-doors from outside our excavations, we find that thirty bear the offering-formula upon their outer jambs, Nos. 2, 3, 7, 14, 18, 28, 31, 33, 36, 38, 40, 41, 42, 44, 45, 46, 50, 51, 59, 61, 68, 71, 77, 81, 84, 88, 93, 95, 98 (two examples).

Of these, the following add a representation of the deceased, Nos. 18, 36, 40, 50, 59, 61, 68, 77, 84. Of these offering-formulæ, only five are identical on both jambs. These are *Rt(?)* and Princess *Hm.t-R'*, both of whom claim the boon from the King and Anubis; *Wiw*, who claims from the King and Osiris; *Hssj*, who invokes the King, Anubis and Osiris, and *Tst* whose plea invoking Osiris is a continuation of that on the inner jambs, where the boon was claimed from the King and Anubis. The remaining examples have the formula varied on each outer jamb, and in eight cases, the name of Osiris is invoked. *Sst-sn*, (Osiris only); *Mr-prj*, Berlin No. 1109, *Nj-sw-Pth*, *Šd-ibd*. Fifteen false-doors have different inscriptions upon their outer jambs. Thus,  *Imz-Ppj* and *Nhrj* have the  formula upon the left jamb and the titles and name, or name only (*Nhrj*) upon the right one; while  *Gm-nh*, *Kz-tz*, *Sdh*, *Sntj*, *D'w*, and *Bhnw* have the  formula upon the right-hand jamb, and their titles, name and representation upon the left-hand one. Queen *Ppj-nh-ns* (Abydos Stele), *zshw*, *Mrj-R'-nh* and *Bbj*, all have the offering-formula upon the right jamb, and their titles and name on the left-hand jamb. *Hb-sd-Ppj*, *Pth-htp* and *Ggj* have the offering-formula upon the left jamb, and their titles, name and representation upon the right one.

We also have three false-doors where the outer jambs bear an interesting inscription, in which the deceased is said to be traversing heaven, like the kings, a new step in the democratization of the kingly paradise. These are Nos. 30, 34 and 57. This type of inscription is a characteristic of the Sixth Dynasty.

Twenty examples have the outer jambs inscribed with the titles and name of the deceased, These are Nos. 17, 24, 25, 29, 30, 34, 37, 42, 57, 62, 63, 75, (two examples), 76, 83, 87, 91, 92, 96, 97. To these, the following add a representation of the deceased, Nos. 1, 4, 6, 10, 11, 12, 13, 15, 16, 19, 20, 21, 22, 23, 26, 27, 32, 43, 47, 48, 52, 53, 54, 56, 58, 60, 65, 66 (two examples), 67, 69, 72, 73, 74, 75, 79, 80, 82, 86, 89, 94. Only two false-doors—those of *Mr-R'-Pth* and *Sšm-nfr-Pth*—have the old pictorial outer jambs, and of these, the latter has made a new innovation by replacing the relief portraits of himself by two statues in the round. We now find that those doors possessing three sets of jambs are increasing. We have one example from our excavations—that of *Sšm-nfr-Ifwj*—where the middle jamb bears the titles, name and representation of the deceased; but from outside our excavations we have thirty-one examples out of 132. These are Nos. 1, 11, 16, 17, 18, 21, 22, 27, 28, 30, 33, 34, 38, 42, 43, 45, 46, 47, 53, 56, 65, 71, 73, 75 (two examples), 81, 87, 88, 93, 94, 98. Of these most interesting is No. 61 which bears the inscription stating that the deceased is traversing the sky.

Out of the 132 false-doors which we have been studying, six are uninscribed, Nos. 5, 8, 38, 39, 49, 78, three have no outer jambs, Nos. 42, 55, 64, and three are damaged, Nos. 70, 85, 90. Thus, we see that the uninscribed doors and those of the single-jamb type, which were both common in the Fourth Dynasty, have now almost disappeared (1). This is almost certainly due to the increased belief in religious inscriptions on the one hand, and the desire of the dead to put most,

(1) This conclusion is not very sound because only the inscribed "doors" were taken for the various collections.

if not all, of his titles on the jambs of his door. Moreover, as these false-doors were often shared by other members of the family, it was necessary to inscribe their names and portraits, as well as that of the tomb-owner, and also in some cases, the names and figures of *Ka*-servants, and even scenes of ritual and daily life, as we have seen above.

On No. 64, the left jamb is occupied by the title, name and figure of a male relative of the deceased, while the right-hand one has the title, name and figure of the wife. The outer jambs of No. 35 (*Mr-R'-Pth*) present some interesting points. On both sides the upper part of the jambs is occupied by a large figure of the deceased, with his titles and name inscribed above his head. Below this on the left side are three men whose actions form a progressive illustration of the *hkn* rite. The first from the left brings the goose, the second is wrenching the head off, while the third is presenting the headless body. Below this are a group of *Ka*-servants performing the rite of severing the foreleg from a living ox. Note how the tail of the animal is twisted upwards, which would not be the case if the creature were dead (1). On the right-hand jamb we have three superposed registers of offering-bearers placed under the figure of the deceased, those in the middle register are bringing a ewer and a basin, *wnhw* linen and incense, all essential commodities in the offering-ritual. Thus, on this false-door we have a complete chapel wall-decoration in miniature. On No. 65 the left jamb bears the title, name and representation of the tomb-owner, while the right one has a similar inscription and figure of a male relative and the same appears on No. 34. On No. 25 this procedure is reversed, because the owner is a woman (Queen *Ppj'-nh-n.s*) who thus has to be represented on the right-hand side. The outer jambs of *Snb* are, like the inner jambs, wholly pictorial in character, and bear interesting scenes of daily life and ritual. This is very unusual for this period, for as we have already said, the tendency was for the scenes and inscriptions of the false-door to invade the chapel walls. Here, the procedure is reversed and the scenes from the walls are once again collected onto the false-door and this shows the importance of this unit of the mastaba.

Thus, we see that for the Sixth Dynasty, the predominating type of inscription, for the outer jambs, is that mainly concerned with the identity of the deceased—the titles and name, and out of 132 false-doors fifty-seven have this class of inscription on one or both of their outer jambs (2). The offering-formula appears twenty-eight times as the chief inscription on the pairs of outer jambs, but it may, as we have seen, occupy one outer jamb, of which the other bears the titles and name of the tomb-owner. The offering-formula may also include a religious inscription as on Nos. 30, 34 and 57 and this is a characteristic of the Sixth Dynasty doors and does not so far, as our evidence goes, appear earlier.

Thus, we see that during the Sixth Dynasty, several changes have taken place in the false-doors, as we have already alluded to above, and these changes are displayed both in their architectural form and in the nature of their inscriptions. Apparently some of these changes are really innovations, while others are manifestly developments of features which had begun to appear towards the end of the Fifth Dynasty, as for instance the cornice and torus moulding, the represented door-leaves, and the outer frame and cornice-band. The employment of the triple jambs has increased to cope with the increased demand for more inscriptions often of a religious or magical nature. But in spite of this, the predominating architectural type is still the double-jamb class of false-door which we saw in the preceding dynasties; though in many cases the jambs are made wider in order to allow for the increased inscriptions, especially in the better class doors (*see Nfr-sšm-R'*) and the erstwhile single vertical inscription are now often increased to two or more

(1) On this subject *see* JUNKER, "Giza", III, p. 229.

(2) For the importance of the name in the tomb, *see* JUNKER, "Giza", Vol, IV, p. 6,

to a single jamb. In order that the proportions of the monument may not deviate from its traditional form of a rectangle of greater height than width, these wider jambs were obtained at the cost of the width of the door-niche. But this defect is often made good by a greater attention to detail in this part, and thus we get the realistically represented door-leaves, with their bolts and pivots. The change in the form of the panel was no doubt firstly due to an elongation of the top part of the panel in order to accommodate a longer inscription, as in the case of *Sntj*, and from this vague suggestion of a pivot evolved the form of the hanging shutter. On the other hand, this may illustrate a form of shutter in actual use at that time, as it sometimes is in Egypt to-day.

We have already remarked upon the poverty of the offering-lists on the panel, now reduced to a few common-place conventional articles, or entirely absent; while the large classical lists are displayed upon the chapel walls. A similar phenomenon is to be observed in the case of the jambs. A feature of the early Fourth Dynasty false-doors was the various pictorial representations upon the jambs, particularly the outer jambs. By the time of the Fifth Dynasty, we see that these pictorial jambs are decreasing and are being replaced by vertical inscriptions terminating in a highly conventional figure of the deceased, usually in a standing-attitude and holding the long staff and *hrp*-baton. During the Sixth Dynasty, these pictorial jambs almost entirely disappear and the representation of the deceased at the bottom of the inscriptions on the jambs decreases in size. This does not seem to be due to any aversion to pictorial representations, but simply because there was no room on the restricted surface of the false-doors for both the representation and the inscriptions. The result seems to have been that the inscriptions were retained, while the representations share the same fate as the offering-lists, and were transferred to the chapel wall. In the case of the figures of the deceased remaining upon the false-doors, though smaller than those of the preceding dynasty, yet they show a greater variety of attitude than we have hitherto seen. A curious feature is the appearance of a pair of large eyes upon the lower lintel and in one instance—that of *Idw*—upon the door-leaves. These are doubtless analogous to the eyes on the sarcophagi, commonly seen during the Middle Kingdom, but which began to appear in the Sixth Dynasty, as we may prove by the coffin of *Nj-^cnh-Ppj* at Saqqara (see p. 15). The offering-formula has become more frequent, and the $\overline{\text{v}}$ formula, hitherto usually forming part of the old *hrp-dj-njsut* formula, now frequently stands alone. This seems to denote a greater belief than ever in the power of magic to supply the needs of the tomb-owner. The offering-formula (now frequently claiming the boon of Osiris as well as of the King and Anubis, continues to occupy (in most cases) the highest point of the false-door. Thus, we see it transferred from the upper lintel to cornice-band, and finally to the top, horizontal bar of the outer frame. This was perhaps due to a desire to give prominence to the all-important formula which not only showed the real or fictitious bounty of the King, but which was to provide the necessary power for animating the offering-scenes and supplying the dead with his food.

Concerning the palace-façade doors, we see that they are now appearing in the burial-chambers. We have also in the Sixth Dynasty the interesting breakage with tradition displayed in the tombs of Deir el-Gebrawi, where the false-door is no longer confined to the western wall of the chapel, but too much importance must not be given to this fact which is apparently only a strictly local custom, as it does not, to my knowledge, appear elsewhere. But the real key-note to the false-doors of the Sixth Dynasty is the prolixity of their inscriptions compared to the doors of the

Fourth Dynasty. For a striking example, take the false-door of *Mtn* of the Fourth Dynasty, or even *Njswt-nfr*, of the Fifth Dynasty with all their wealth of pictorial representations, and contrast them with the false-door of Queen *Ppj-nh-n.s*, which has not a single representation upon it, even of the owner herself upon the panel. This is certainly an extreme example, but coming as it does from a royal tomb, where, we should imagine, expense was not a matter of consideration, it serves to show all the more clearly the development which had taken place in religious thought concerning the false-doors and the prevailing belief in the power of the written and spoken magical formulæ. In the case of Queen *Ppj-nh-n.s* the whole of the door is occupied with inscriptions recording only the titles and name of the owner who thus apparently wished to assure herself that her name would continue to flourish, and her identity to be firmly established in the Other World, as well as in this world.

The above study of the false-door and its decoration is based on the material from over three hundred and forty-four burials dating from the Archaic Period to the end of the Old Kingdom, and which contain about 504 false-doors. This study is by no means conclusive or exhaustive, but the conclusions which we have reached may, we hope, form the basis for a more detailed study of these important and interesting monuments, after the gathering of all the available material, for there may still be specimens of false-doors existing which have escaped our notice, and which may simply reverse some of these conclusions! At any rate, here are the elements for the study of the question of the false-door, which we have treated mainly from an architectural, religious and archæological point of view, touching but very slightly upon its other aspects from the angle of art, philology and sociology—all very interesting subjects to develop. Surely the name “false-door” is paradoxical—as many other things in Egypt!! It is a real door through which we may pass by our mind’s eye to an understanding of the whole sphere of Egyptian religion and thought when once we have mastered the real meaning of the “Open Sesame!” inscribed upon its outer parts. But alas no one of those who passed through it by their Kas ever came to tell us of the true nature of their destination. The question of all questions to the Egyptians and to us as well!!

OFFERING-TABLES

Every well-equipped Old Kingdom tomb should contain one or more offering-tables, and these may be either large objects for practical use, generally set in front of the false-door in the western wall of the chapel, or small funerary models destined to magically fulfil the purpose of the large offering-table. Or both types may occur in the same tomb; and again, both types may present many variations of form. As I have already said, their usual situation is in the cult-chapel of the tomb, or in general in front of the false-door, but it is by no means uncommon to find small examples in the actual burial-chamber, this being probably a precautionary measure similar to the custom of inscribing the walls of the burial-chamber and the sides of the sarcophagi with the offering-formulæ and name and titles of the deceased (*see* p. 12 *ff.*).

There does not seem to be any set rule governing the form of the offering-table, particularly the small ones, but the practical specimens usually conform to the classical type known to the Egyptians as “*htp*”  (1); while the offerings placed upon it were called “*htp*”  (2).

(1) GARDINER, “*Egyptian Grammar*”, p. 489.

(2) *ibid.* p. 552.

This is perhaps the original form of the offering-table, which in the very earliest Egyptian burials, as in many African communities of the present day, seemed to have consisted of a reed mat upon which was placed a loaf of bread (1). The representation of this offering is crystalized in the hieroglyph  "htp", the long horizontal body of the sign representing the mat, while the central projection represents a conical loaf. This is the form reproduced by the "htp" offering-tables. These may occur simply in the form of the hieroglyph, plain and uninscribed, or they may bear inscribed offering-formulæ, the name and titles, and even on rare occasions, the representation of the deceased as well as complete or abridged offering-lists.

Below are some examples of the "htp" offering-tables drawn from specimens found in our concessions at Giza and Saqqara.

In front of the false-door of the mortuary-chapel of *Pth-htp-Ij-n-nh* at Saqqara is a large rectangular slab of white limestone, measuring 1.65 m. long, 0.91 m. wide, and 0.39 m. high.

Upon it the "htp" is carved in high relief. It is entirely uninscribed, and was certainly intended for practical use.

The "htp" of *Htp* at Saqqara is of black basalt (Fig. 28) and measures 1.13 × 0.79 m., and is uninscribed. It was embedded in the floor of the chapel in front of a false-door which has, however, completely disappeared. To the right of the central, conical loaf is a large circular loaf of bread exactly like those still made in Egypt at the present day. To the left of the conical loaf is a ewer and a basin carved in high relief and represented in profile. It is a rule that when this type of offering-table is in position, the base of the mat is set against the false-door, but when they are inscribed the inscription is so arranged that the hieroglyphs are upside-down

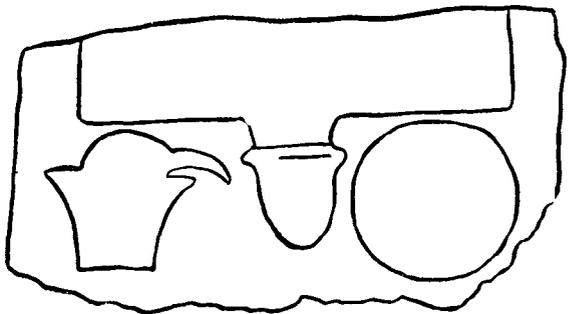


FIG. 28.

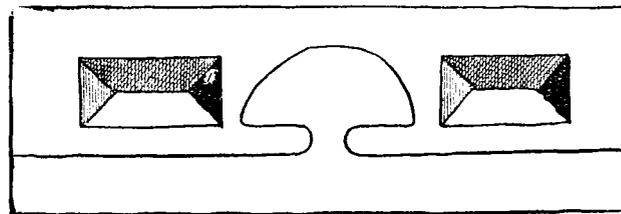


FIG. 29.

in relation to the "htp" itself. An explanation for this may be that as the "htp" was intended solely for the benefit of the Ka, it was placed so as to appear in its correct position when he emerged from the false-door, while the inscriptions were intended to be read aloud by the living, either by the Ritualist, or by pious visitors (see the inscription of *Nj-nh-Ppj*, p. 29); therefore the signs were arranged so as to be easily seen by a person standing in front of the false-door.

(1) For an interesting account of the "htp" and its nature, original form, and function, see MASPERO, "La Table d'Offrandes de Tombeaux Égyptiens", in *Études de Mythologie et d'Arch. Égyptiennes*, Vol. VI, p. 352 ff.

A similar “*hṭp*” was found in the chapel of *Nj-hr-ijj* also at Saqqara (Fig. 26). It is of white limestone and embedded in the floor, so that its western half forms a base to support the false-door; upon its eastern half is the “*hṭp*” carved in high relief and uninscribed. On each side of the conical loaf is a rectangular libation basin with bevelled sides.

The Saqqara Mastaba of *Pth-hṭp II* ⁽¹⁾ contains a very fine development at the “*hṭp*” offering-table (Fig. 30).

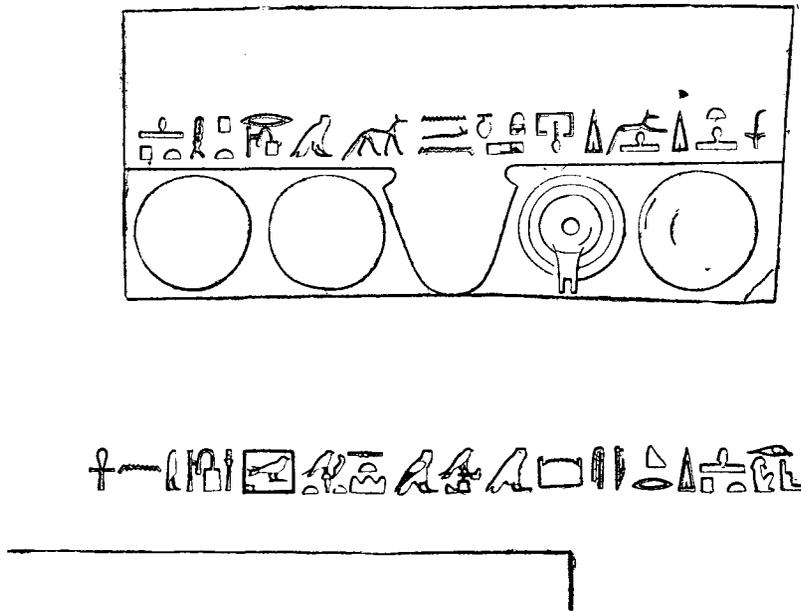


FIG. 30.

It is set in front of the false-door, and consists of a rectangular block of black basalt, measuring 1·05 × 0·45 m, upon which the “*hṭp*” is carved in high relief. Upon the mat is a horizontal inscription, reading: “A boon which the King gives and a boon which Anubis gives; that offerings may come forth to him at the voice, to the Judge, Overseer of the Scribes, *Pth-hṭp*.” On the right of the loaf is an ewer and a basin carved in high relief and represented as though seen from above, and beside it a circular basin; while to the left of the loaf is a circular loaf of bread, and another round basin. These are all carved in the same manner as the ewer and the basin. It is tempting to assign the two circular basins to the purpose of a wine and water libation. This basalt slab is embedded in a rectangular block of white limestone measuring: 1·32 × 0·92 × 0·22 m., upon which is incised a horizontal row of hieroglyphs, reading: “A boon which Osiris gives; a burial in the necropolis of the western desert (for) the Director of the Scribes of the Great Court of Justice, *Ij-n-nh*.”

The interesting feature of this offering-table, apart from its fine workmanship, is the fact that when one views it in reverse — or as the Ka would see it when coming out of the false-door — it presents the exact form of a hieroglyphic sign meaning “an offering-table” 𓏏𓏏 . The fact that the central loaf is continuous in outline with the mat, and not separated from it like the other objects, makes it form part of the “*hṭp*” proper, but at the same time, it serves the double purpose of reading 𓏏 *t*, “a loaf of bread” among the other offerings.

⁽¹⁾ Surnamed *Ij-n-ankh*.

But evidently *Pth-htp II* did not think it wise to rely solely upon this type offering-table: for we found several other specimens in the debris in and around his mastaba, one of which is a very elaborate affair of white limestone, bearing upon its upper surface a multiple “*htp*”, that is to say a mat upon which are six loaves, instead of one only (Fig. 31). These are

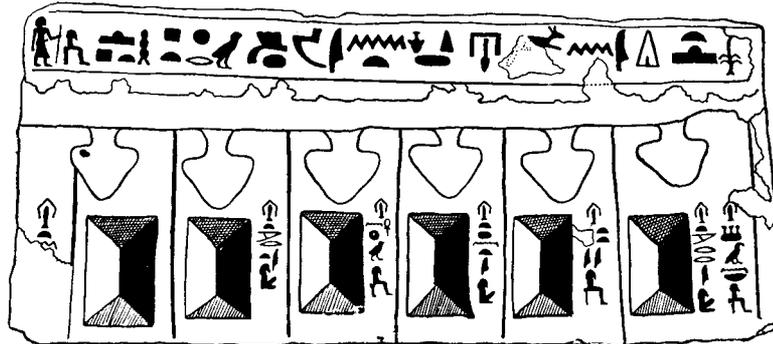
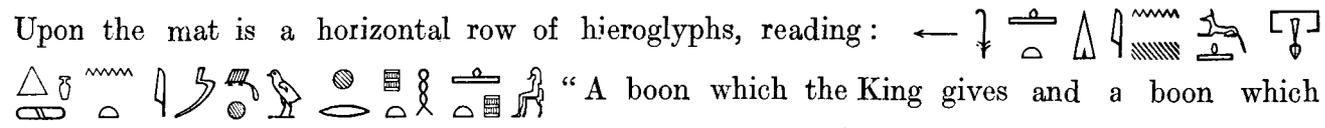
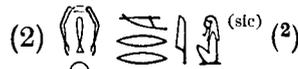


FIG. 31.

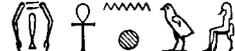
carved in high relief; and before each “loaf” is sunk a rectangular basin with bevelled sides. Upon the mat is a horizontal row of hieroglyphs, reading:  “A boon which the King gives and a boon which Anubis (gives); that offerings of bread and beer may come forth at the voice to the Honoured One before Ptah, *Pth-htp*.” This inscription presents a point of interest in that it is an early example of the custom of employing a single writing of a divine name to serve for two occasions following each other; in this case the name  is used to represent both the name of the god and the first element in the name of *Pth-htp* ⁽¹⁾.” At the end of the inscription, behind the determinative of the seated man, is a small figure of the owner of the offering-table represented in a standing-attitude and holding a long staff in his left hand. Beside the rectangular basins are incised vertical inscriptions giving the names of seven *Ka*-servants. Beside the right-hand basin are two vertical inscriptions, reading:—

(1)  “the *Ka*-servant, *Šz-nb*.”

(2)  ⁽²⁾ “the *Ka*-servant (f) *Mrri*.”

To the right of the second basin is inscribed:  “the *Ka*-servant, *Tt . . . j*”.

To the right of the third basin is:  “the *Ka*-servant (f) *Hntj*.” To the right of

the fourth basin is incised:  “the *Ka*-servant, *nbw*.” To the right of the fifth

⁽¹⁾ For other examples of this practice, see my article: “*Inscription sur un Socle d’une Statuette*”, in the *Annales du Service*, Vol. XXVIII, p. 3.

⁽²⁾ Note that the determinative sign is a bearded male despite the fact that it follows the name of a woman! But in each case, the figure determining the female name, though bearded, squats upon the ground, while the determinative for the male name is a bearded figure seated upon a chair, perhaps with the intention of showing the superiority of the “lordly male”.

basin we read:  "the *Ka*-servant (f) *Mrit*"; while to the left of the sixth basin the lower part of the inscription has been destroyed, and the remaining signs read:  "the *Ka*-servant (f), . . . "

These names represent the *Ka*-servants who were ordained to minister to the mortuary cult of *Pth-htp*, and their names were recorded upon the very object which, it is supposed, they were to use in the course of their duties. We can observe also that the table is divided into six equal parts, each of which represents by itself a "*htp*" offering-table and a libation basin, and the names of the *Ka*-servants being inscribed upon each section clearly shows that each person had his or her special duty and special part to fulfil in the service of the owner of the tomb. During the Old Kingdom we find several priests officiating at a single tomb, each with a special function to perform for the service of the dead. But on the other hand, during the Middle Kingdom, all these functions of the *Ka*-servants were put in the hand of one man only, a fact which is not very easy to explain. Perhaps this was due to the office having become hereditary in certain families, and so was handed down from father to son.

Yet another style of "*htp*" came to light in front at the false-door of *Ttj* (Gîza, 7th season) (Fig. 32). It is of limestone and carved in the round, that is to say it is cut from a block of stone and not, as those previously mentioned sculptured in relief upon a slab of stone. Nearly all the surface of the mat is occupied by two rectangular basins which descend in three stages, the bottom

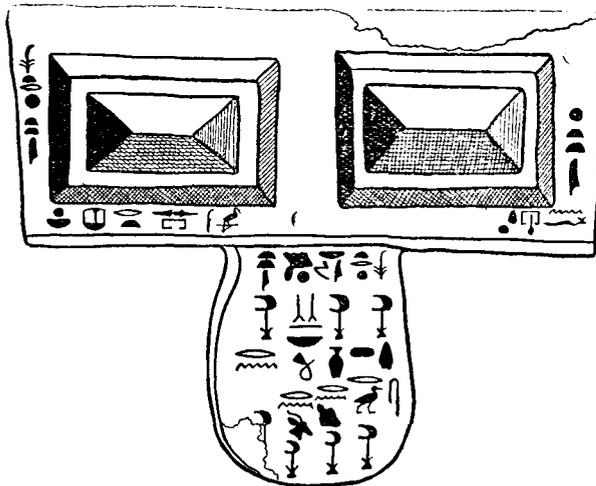


FIG. 32.

one being bevelled. This is the form of the large basin beside the Valley Temple of Queen Khentkawes (1). Maspero is of the opinion that these small basins made in three stages are models of real basins, and that the stages represent the height of the water level at different seasons of the year, and indeed, such basins have been found in which the three stages are inscribed with the height of the water-level given in cubits (2). Down each of the outer sides of the mat is an identical inscription, incised vertically and reading: "He Who is Concerned with the King's Affairs,

(1) See "*Excavations at Giza*", Vol. IV, p. 54.

(2) MASPERO, "*Guide to the Cairo Museum*", p. 40

Ttj.” Along the front edge of the mat is a much-effaced horizontal inscription, reading: “That offerings may come forth at the voice to him . . . at the Feast of the Coming Forth of Min, [every] Feast, every day . . .” Across the base of the loaf is a horizontal inscription, reading: “He who is Concerned with the King’s Affairs, the Possessor of Honour, *Ttj.*” Below this and occupying the remainder of the surface of the loaf is incised the names of different kinds of offerings and their quantities in thousands.

The “*htp*” of *Irtj* of Saḳḳara bears a horizontal inscription on the mat (Fig. 33), reading: “A boon which the King gives; that offerings may come forth at the voice to the Honoured One [by] the King (?) *Irtj.*” This is followed by a small representation of the owner of the monument seated upon a chair. Upon the loaf is incised a representation of the dead

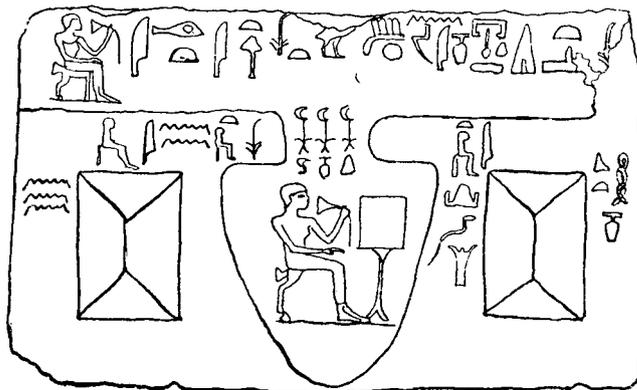


FIG. 33.

woman seated upon a chair before an offering-table laden with stylised half-loaves. In her right hand she raises a long stemmed lotus-flower to her nose. Above her head is inscribed: “A thousand loaves of bread, a thousand jars of beer, a thousand geese.” Under the right-hand side of the mat is a vertical inscription, giving the name of the owner (?).

Under the left-hand side of the mat is incised a horizontal inscription, giving the name of the owner (?). On each side of the loaf is a rectangular basin with bevelled sides, and at the outer sides of each is an incised inscription which explains to us, without any doubt, the purpose for which these basins were constructed, for the one to the right is labelled “beer” and that to the left is labelled “water”.

Another type of offering-table frequently met with in the Old Kingdom necropoli has a circular form and may be either quite plain and flat, inscribed, raised upon a circular central stand, or as in the exceptional case of Ra'-wer carved in relief upon a massive square block which forms its base. This form of offering-table was called by the Egyptians “*h3wt*”  (1). Its form has been preserved in Egypt until the present day, where it survives as the *tabliya* or *saniya* around which the fellahin sit to their meals (2).

(1) GARDINER, “*Egyptian Grammar*”, p. 488.

(2) For this table see above, p. 168 f.

An exceedingly beautiful example of a round offering-table set upon a circular stand is from the mastaba of *Bbj* at Saqqara. It is of fine alabaster, unscribed, but beautifully finished and highly polished⁽¹⁾. A similar table in miniature was found at Giza in the Mastaba of Shaft No. 647⁽²⁾. It is of fine white limestone and measures 8·0 centimetres high, and 18·0 centimetres in diameter; with it were found a series of forty-seven model vessels of limestone, and with the table of *Bbj* was a similar set of model vessels of alabaster, therefore we may say that these sets of model vases and dishes, which frequently come to light in the Old Kingdom necropoli, should belong to circular offering-tables.

The mastabas at *Nfr-htp* and *Itj* at Giza were built side by side and each possesses an alabaster offering-table circular in form and bedded in the rock in front of the false-door. In each case the circular table has a large “*htp*” sculptured in relief and extending across its entire width. In the case of *Nfr-htp* (Fig. 34) the mat bears a horizontal inscription, reading: “The Honoured One before the Great God, President of the Audience-hall of the Pyramid [called] ‘Men-Kaw-Ra’ is Divine’, *Nfr-htp*.” For some reason the right-hand end of the mat was left blank and the inscription commenced nearly in the middle instead of at the beginning where we should expect it to begin.

The table of *Itj* is somewhat more detailed, the mat of the “*htp*” has a border, and bears a horizontal inscription, reading: “Master of the Great House, Seal-bearer of the House, *Itj*.” (Fig. 35). Upon the loaf is a vertical inscription, reading: “The Honoured One by the Great

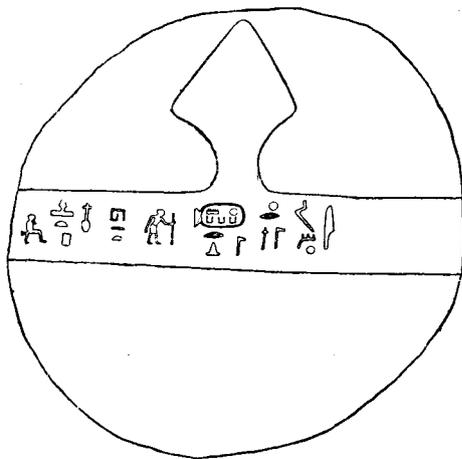


FIG. 34.

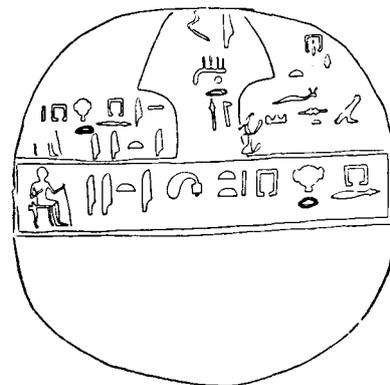


FIG. 35.

God.” To the right of the loaf an inscription reads: “That offerings may come forth to him at the voice in the western desert.” To the left of the loaf an inscription reads: “. . . of the Great House, Master of the Great House, *Itj*.” At first one is tempted to see in this style of table a compromise between the circular table and the “*htp*”. However, this is not the case, these are round tables pure and simple and the “*htp*” is merely a kind of large label denoting their purpose. If the “*htp*” was to have been considered a part of the offering-table, then the mat would have been set towards the false-door, while in both examples the reverse was the case.

⁽¹⁾ This table measures over 0·70 m. in diameter and is the largest alabaster offering-table which we have discovered in Saqqara.

⁽²⁾ “*Excavations at Giza*”, Vol. III, pp. 231, 232.

An interesting example of the inscribed round offering-table is that of *In-k3.f* the Sculptor, of Giza. It was originally embedded in the floor of the chapel in front of the false-door and part of it was discovered *in situ*, but it had been smashed up in antiquity, and the fragments used in the construction of a late intrusive burial lying a little to the south of it. Happily we were able to recover most of the missing fragments. Its upper surface bears an incised offering-list consisting of ninety-five entries, each item being enclosed within an incised square (*see* Pl. XI). These squares are ninety-seven in number, the remaining two being occupied by the name of the owner of the offering-table, and, sad to relate, the name is not *In-k3.f*, but *K3k3j-nh*, whose mastaba neighbours that of *In-k3.f*! This is clearly another case of robbery, and *In-k3.f* was so audacious that he did not even take the trouble to have the name of the original owner removed. We cannot even give him the benefit of the doubt by saying that perhaps the table was thrown in his tomb during the despoilation of the necropoli at the end of the Old Kingdom, the presence of one of its fragments actually fixed before his false-door is clear evidence of his guilt. Neither can we assume that it was a present from *K3k3j-nh* as it has no dedicatory inscription. But on the other hand, we do not know the relation between the two men. If they are related, perhaps *K3k3j-nh* had deliberately placed his offering-table before the false-door of *In-k3.f*. But if there was no relation between the two men, it was truly the "Nemesis of History" that ordained that the robber should be robbed, and the nefarious *In-k3.f* be despoiled of his ill-gotten gains to provide a burial for another ghoulish tomb-robber! Behind this offering-table and set at the base of the central niche of the false-door is a fine rectangular libation basin of white limestone. It bears on its front edge an incised inscription, reading: "The Adorner of the King, the Sculptor, *In-k3.f*". It has never been removed from the place in which we found it, and after the evidence of the offering-table, one wonders what an examination of the hidden side of the basin would reveal!

The most elaborate of all the offering-tables that have so far appeared in our concessions at Giza is undoubtedly that which is situated in the lower offering-hall of the great tomb of Ra'-wer⁽¹⁾. This offering-table does not appertain to a false-door, but to a large serdab which is situated in front of it. It consists of a large, almost square block of alabaster, on top of which is the offering-table proper, measuring about 0.95 m. in diameter and very highly polished. The back and sides of the cubical base were left roughly dressed and were embedded in a setting of mud-brick⁽²⁾ framed by limestone blocks. The front of the base bears a panel on which is a representation of Ra'-wer in all his dignity as a Sem-priest, carved in high relief and framed by a flat border which bears inscriptions giving the great man's name and some of his many titles. In the open court of the same tomb is a similar alabaster offering-table, but it is not decorated and inscribed. It is situated in front of the first squint of Serdab No. 14⁽³⁾. In the so-called offering-hall of Ra'-wer which is situated in the higher level of his tomb, are four more circular offering-tables⁽⁴⁾, three of which are embedded directly in the floor of the hall, while the fourth is carved in relief on the top of a square base like the two just described. These are situated in front of niches which originally contained some of Ra'-wer's many statues. Probably this hall was the place where the ceremony of "Opening the Mouth" took place.

⁽¹⁾ "Excavations at Giza", Vol. I, p. 31, Fig. 25 and Pl. XXXII.

⁽²⁾ The alabaster panel of Ra'-wer was also set in mud-brick work. This was done to prevent the delicate alabaster from being split by sudden changes of temperature of the desert climate. The Egyptians well understand the excellent way in which mud-brick structures maintain an equable temperature.

⁽³⁾ *Ibid.* p. 21, Pl. XXV, 2.

⁽⁴⁾ *Ibid.* p. 10, Pl. V.

Another form of offering-table that is frequently seen in the representations of offering-scenes on the walls of tombs, is the type called by the Egyptians: “*wḏhw*”  (1). Perhaps owing to its somewhat fragile form, we very seldom meet with actual examples of this type of table; but in the famous scene sculptured upon the southern wall of the second chapel of *Dbḥnj* at Giza (2) the “*wḏhw*” is represented no less than five times. In the burial-chamber of *Dr-smṣ't* (3) we were fortunate enough to find an actual specimen of this type of table. It measures 18·5 cms. long, 7·5 cms. wide and 7·0 cms. high, and is made of copper, covered with gold-leaf. The top of the table is made in the form of a “*ḥtp*”, the loaf projecting out beyond the rest of the table. With it were found some small model utensils of the same material; these include a ewer and a basin, a circular offering-table on a stand and a spouted basin, also on a stand. On one of the “*wḏhw*” represented in the scene from the tomb of *Dbḥnj* we see just such a ewer and a basin, and circular table, placed in position. A somewhat similar specimen to that of *Dr-smṣ't*, and also made of copper, is in the British Museum (No. 5315) and with it was a complete set of model utensils. It was made for a Ritualist of Abydos (4).

Sometimes the libation tank which we have already seen in connection with the “*ḥtp*” offering-table occurs alone, and may be either single or in pairs. In the tomb of *Mrsu-'nh* we find specimens of both varieties (5). One is of white limestone and displays exceptionally fine workmanship. It consists of two rectangular basins with bevelled sides, cut side by side. The flat surfaces surrounding and dividing these basins bear incised inscriptions giving the offering-formula and the name and titles of *Mrsu-'nh*. The second example from the same tomb has only one basin, also with bevelled sides. Its upper surface bears four rows of hieroglyphics giving the offering-formula and the name and titles of the deceased.

A third offering-table belonging to *Mrsu-'nh* has at one end the rectangular libation basin with bevelled sides and at the other a circular table in relief and two small circular basins sunk in the slab. It is also of good quality white limestone and is very finely cut. I have already mentioned the libation basin at the foot of the false-door of *In-kṣ.f*, the sculptor (*see* p. 187) which is inscribed upon its front edge.

In the north-eastern corner of the chapel of Prince *'nh-m'-R'* (Giza, 6th season) is a somewhat large rectangular basin which is uninscribed. A curious feature of this basin is the presence of a rock-cut shelf projecting from the wall, about 0·40 m. higher than the basin. The purpose is not very clear, perhaps it was intended as a kind of stand for the libation vessels.

Before leaving the subject of the offering-table, there is one more item which should be mentioned and that is the large rectangular slab of stone resembling a bench, which occurs in the cult-chapels of some of the more important tombs. Usually these benches are monolithic and are uninscribed but inscribed specimens have been found (*see* below, p. 189) They may be

(1) GARDINER, “*Egyptian Grammar*”, p. 540.

(2) “*Excavations at Giza*”, Vol. IV, p. 170, Fig. 119.

(3) *Ibid.* Vol. III, p. 12, Pl. III, 2.

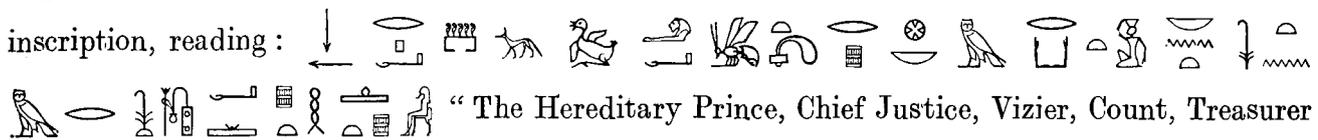
(4) BUDGE, “*The Mummy*”, p. 435, Pl. VI.

(5) *See* “*Excavations at Giza*”, Vol. I, pp. 110, 111, Pls. LXVIII, LXIX, 3, LXIX, 4.

either placed flat upon the floor or be raised a little either on a bed of rubble or on blocks of stone forming legs. Sometimes they are replaced or supplemented by a long, low bench situated in front of the false-door and which may be either stone slabs or be cut from the natural rock. The situation of these benches so close to the false-door and the “*htp*” at once suggests that they were intended to serve some purpose in the offering-ritual. Perhaps they were used as a kind of side-board upon which offerings were placed in readiness for the officiating priest to lift them one by one and place them upon the “*htp*”.

This custom of placing mortuary offerings upon a bench in front of the burial-place is still existing in modern Egypt, where on every Thursday we see the family of the dead person carrying the offering and placing it in front of the tomb. They then ask a sheikh to come and read verses of the Koran for the benefit of the soul (Ka) of the deceased in exchange for these offerings. In most cases these offerings consist of delicacies of which the deceased was fond during his lifetime, and the popular favourites are cakes, loaves of milk-bread, dates and other kinds of fruit. I once asked one of these offerers why the favourite food of the deceased was given, although it will not be eaten by him, but by the sheikh. The answer was that when the sheikh eats the offering and reads for the soul of the dead, then the soul (or Ka) will eat from the essence of the food and so he will be pleased in his tomb.

Below are some of the ancient offering-benches that have come to light in our excavations : (see the mastaba of *Tsn*, p. 271). In the tomb of Queen *Bw-nfr* ⁽¹⁾ the bench is placed against the western wall in the space lying between the two false-doors. It measures 2.00 × 0.50 × 0.25 m. high. It is formed of a monolithic slab of white limestone and is supported on four small blocks of the same material, two of which are placed at each end. These supporting blocks measure 0.55 × 0.35 × 0.15 m.

In the mortuary chapel of *Pth-htp I* at Saqqara is a large bench of white limestone set against the northern wall and just to the north-east of the “*htp*” in front of the false-door. It measures 1.75 × 0.55 × 0.54 m. high. A cavetto cornice and torus moulding run along its upper southern and eastern edges, and along the top of its southern side is a horizontal inscription, reading :  “The Hereditary Prince, Chief Justice, Vizier, Count, Treasurer of the King of Lower Egypt, Mouth of Every Butite, Overseer of All the Works of the King, Overseer of the Scribes of the Royal Documents, *Pth-htp*.”

It is very rare to find these rectangular tables bearing inscriptions ⁽²⁾. In the tomb of Prince ‘*nh-m-R*’ at Giza (6th season) this offering-bench takes the form of a rock-cut shelf extending the whole width of the western wall in front of the false-doors.

⁽¹⁾ “*Excavations at Giza*”, Vol. III. p. 194.

⁽²⁾ The fact that these benches are always of a large size and that this inscribed specimen does not record an offering-formula, raises another question. Were they perhaps a temporary resting-place for the mummy during the performance of one of the funerary rites and afterwards used for offerings (?).

BURIALS OF THE INTERMEDIATE PERIOD, AND THE RE-EMPLOYMENT OF OLD KINGDOM TOMBS

When excavating the Old Kingdom necropoli, the archæologist will very soon find himself confronted by a mass of later parasitic burials built on, in and around the earlier tombs. Sometimes they are so numerous as to completely obscure the plan of the original monument, and the excavator may consider them a source of annoyance. As a matter of fact, when studied, they present some points of interest; and when examined may often be found to contain inscribed stones from earlier tombs built into the fabric of their walls, or roofing their burials. The same phenomena had been observed in Sakkara.

And, as we have already seen (p. 8) a parasitic burial was the means of preserving a rich princely tomb intact. Therefore, to complete our study, let us examine the history and structure of these intrusive burials as they occur in the Giza Necropolis.

The care for the preservation of the royal tombs and of those of the nobles, must have been very great, for this was regarded as one of the most essential duties of the living up to the end of the Old Kingdom. Before their deaths the kings and high personages took precautions for the preservation of their tombs by dedicating part of their property to some priests and *Ka*-servants who looked after their tombs, performed the cult ceremonies and maintained the offerings. These priests usually had their own tombs built round the pyramid of their patron (1). But not only did the kings provide tombs for their priests near to their own, but they also built for them whole cities of mud-brick dwellings that they might remain day and night on the scene of their duties. The endowment dedicated to these great tombs was piously guarded for many centuries and each king was meticulous to hand over these endowments intact, as a sign of respect to his ancestors.

In the tombs of high officials we also meet with testaments for the preservations of the tomb and the continuity of the offerings (2). Even in the tombs of persons of minor importance we see by the inscriptions that the deceased had his *Ka*-servants and *Wa'bet*-priests.

This state of affairs continued as long as the royal power remained supreme. But during the Sixth Dynasty the power of the kings began to wane and that of the nobles to increase, until in the end the latter were able to gather all the power into their own hands, and the land became re-divided into several small independent principalities. It was then that the hitherto carefully maintained necropoli began to be neglected. The cult of the ancient kings was neglected and their endowments usurped by the nomarchs. This reduced the great population of mortuary priests to actual starvation and urged them to plunder, and finally desert the old royal necropoli in which they had once served. This period of unrest and vandalism lasted during the whole of the Intermediate Period, until the coming of the kings of the Eleventh Dynasty, when the whole land was placed once more under the strong hand of a sole monarchy.

(1) See Renpet-nefer, "Excavations at Giza", Vol. III, p. 160.

(2) See Wep-em-nefert, "Excavations at Giza", Vol. II, p. 190.

But during this period of anarchy, the common people siezed upon the hitherto carefully-guarded necropoli and converted the plundered burials to their own use ⁽¹⁾. This custom, once started, continued up to the late Roman Period, and the methods used by these usurpers may be classified as follows :—

Employment of the Burial-Chamber

In some instances they emptied the burial-chamber of everything that it contained ; opened the sarcophagus, and removing the original skeleton, put the new body in its place. We have an excellent example of this in the tomb of *Nfr* ⁽²⁾. In the tomb of *Rmnw-kz*, the burial-chamber was emptied, and a fresh body adorned with amulets of a late period was laid there. Sometimes these intruders emptied a shaft to a certain depth and then cut a new burial-chamber in one of its sides, or they even emptied the shaft completely and cut their burial-chamber opposite to the original one.

Chapels used as Burial-Places

When employing chapels as their burial-places, the usurpers had first of all to cover the original inscribed walls with a layer of mud, or to build a wall over the inscriptions in order to hide them from sight ⁽³⁾. This was done in order to render them magically ineffective, or in other words to prevent the Ka of the original tomb-owner from causing trouble to the new occupant or simply to hide the name of the original owner. For the same reason any existing rock-cut statues were carefully disfigured. After taking these precautions, the new body was laid in the chapel and the entrance was closed by a mud wall from the inside and a stone wall from outside. In late times we often find chapels in which hundreds of mummies were heaped up, one above the other. Many of these mummies were equipped with amulets ⁽⁴⁾. In the chapel of an unknown person lying between the tomb of *Nq-kzw-R* and *Nb-m-šht*, were over 300 mummies stacked in layers, one above the other. Each was wrapped in inscribed linen bandages, and many of them were enclosed in wooden coffins. They still lie in their position. A similar state of affairs existed in the tomb of *Nb-m-šht* ⁽⁵⁾. These would seem to have been communal burials.

Serdabs employed as Burial-Places

Another practice of the usurpers was to empty the serdabs of their contents and bury their dead therein. For this reason we find so few serdabs intact. The procedure was to first break into the serdab, usually through the roof, and remove the statues. These were often respected in so far as they were left uninjured and even put in a safe place near their original home, where in many cases they remained hidden until revealed by the hand of the modern excavator, as in

⁽¹⁾ This state of affairs existed since the beginning of Egyptian history and even during the pre-historic times, if we may believe in the plundered and usurped tombs of those times.

⁽²⁾ " *Excavations at Giza* ", Vol. III, p. 214.

⁽³⁾ Akhet-ḥetep and Shepses-ka-f-'ankh, " *Excavations at Giza* ", Vol. I, p. 75 and Vol. II, p. 21.

⁽⁴⁾ See Kai, Bw-nefer and Per-neb, " *Excavations at Giza* ", Vol. III, pp. 37, 159, 194.

⁽⁵⁾ " *Excavations at Giza* ", Vol. IV, p. 148.

the case of the statuettes of *Mrsw-nh* (1). This gentle treatment was not, alas, always accorded to them. Sometimes the usurpers deliberately mutilated the statues, or even smashed them into fragments in order to destroy their magical power (?). Sometimes even the fragments were re-employed in the manufacture of small funerary vases. Dr. Junker found vases of alabaster and diorite which bore clear traces of parts of the human figure upon their sides. The serdab being now empty and clean, the corpse was placed within it, and then it was roofed over again often with an inscribed slab stolen from the old mastaba! (see Remenwka, pp. 7, 8). The squint was of course blocked up sometimes with a limestone plug, so as to prevent people from peering in. I have met cases where the serdab had been employed for burial without the removal of the original statues. In these cases the body was simply laid over the statues, and the whole covered with debris. These examples are, however, very rare, and fear of the magical power of the statues drove the usurpers to either remove or destroy them (?).

The Employment of Courtyards and Streets between Mastabas

Around nearly every large tomb there were several small mastabas, or perhaps only shafts with burial-chambers, which belonged to members of the great man's family, or to his priest and *Ka*-servants (see the tomb of Ra'-wer). But these subsidiary burials were arranged in such a way as not to disfigure the appearance of the original tomb, nor to obstruct access to it. The intruders, however, seized upon the courtyards of such tombs and honeycombed them with pits and burial-chambers, sometimes dug deeply into the rock. The top of these pits were often built up with stones or mud-brick into the form of small mastabas. Sometimes, for economy's sake there were several burial-chambers cut at the bottom of one shaft. Usually the funerary equipment of such burials is very poor. The shafts of the late period, when cut in the courtyards of large tombs, are usually comparatively deep and often contain some fine funerary amulets (2).

Sometimes these parasitic burials so disfigure the courtyard that it is difficult to trace the original plan of it. When there were many such burials in a courtyard, every available centimetre of space was utilized and the very narrowest passages were honeycombed with pits. The usurpers would divide a passage into several divisions by means of brick or rubble walls and in the floor of each of these divisions they would sink their shaft. In this manner they were able to use the two existing walls of the passage, and had only to erect the thin partition walls between each division, an economy of time, labour and expense (Pl. IV). But the most astonishing fact is that over these parasitic shafts we sometimes find yet another layer of intrusive burials, all occurring in the same passage. In these cases the original tomb is so hopelessly overcrowded with superstructures that it is only with the greatest difficulty that we can determine the plan of the original building. In these intrusive burials it often happens that the burial-chamber is remarkably small, and the body laid in them in a sharply contracted position. This was doubtless done for reasons of economy. Sometimes we find late mummies simply laid in accumulations of drift-sand (Pl. III).

(1) "Excavations at Giza", Vol. I, p. 114.

(2) *Ka-em-nefert*, "Excavations at Giza", 1930-1931, p. 104 ff.

SAITIC BURIALS

Now we pass on to the Saitic Period, the time when the Giza Necropolis (as well as other Old Kingdom necropoli) suddenly came once more into favour as a fashionable burial-ground. The plateau was honeycombed with shafts of the period and in many instances ancient mastabas were re-employed. The reason for the revival of the popularity of these necropoli is easy to see. The Saitic Period was the time of the revival of the Old Kingdom culture, in the point of religion, art, science and morals, and the people began to imitate Old Kingdom models in everything. The revival of the cult of the Pyramid Kings was in itself enough to guarantee the popularity of the Giza Necropolis; and there the Saitic Egyptians, rich and poor, flocked for burial. Those who could afford to do so, cut new burial-shafts for themselves and their families, while poorer persons followed the custom which had been in vogue since the beginning of the First Intermediate Period, and before it, and usurped the ancient tombs!

SHAFTS OF THE SAITIC PERIOD

During this period it was the custom for well-to-do persons to cut for themselves very wide and deep shafts ending in a spacious hall out of which opened a series of small chambers, each containing a sarcophagus. These sarcophagi, which are anthropoid, vary in their material according to the means of their owner, usually they are of Turah limestone, but basalt is by no means uncommon. Sometimes the shaft is cut abnormally deep and in this case it is divided into stages as it descends. The most striking example of this type of shaft is that which was cut in the causeway of the Second Pyramid, and discovered by me in our 6th season's work. Upon the surface of the causeway they first built a platform in the shape of a mastaba, using stones taken from the ruins of the covered corridor of the causeway. In the centre of this superstructure they sank a shaft, which passed through the roof and floor of the subway running under the causeway to a depth of about 9·00 m. At the bottom of this shaft is a rectangular chamber, in the floor of the eastern side of which is another shaft. This descends about 14·00 m. and terminates in a spacious hall surrounded by seven burial-chambers, in each of which is a sarcophagus. Two of these sarcophagi, which are of basalt and are monolithic, are so enormous that at first we wondered if they contained the bodies of sacred bulls.

In the eastern side of this hall is yet another shaft, about 10·00 m. deep, but unfortunately it is flooded. Through the clear water we can see that it ends in a colonnaded hall, also having side-chambers containing sarcophagi. We tried in vain to pump out the water, but it seems that a spring must have broken through the rock, for continual daily pumping over a period of four years was unable to reduce the water-level. I may add that I had this water analysed and finding it pure utilized it for drinking purposes. This was a great boon to the entire staff. The water came up ice-cold even in the hottest weather, and there was no occasion to stint the amount used by each person, a luxury that is perhaps unique in a desert site.

As a matter of fact, very few of the Saitic shafts have been thoroughly examined, for the reason that most of them are flooded, and unfortunately there seems little chance that we shall ever be able to get rid of this water. It would be interesting to see what result intensive pumping in the summer, following an abnormally low Nile, would give.

SELIM HASSAN

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THE ROCK-CUT TOMB OF $\begin{matrix} \dagger & \wedge & \wedge \\ 0 & \wedge & \triangle \end{matrix}$, NEFER-NEMTET

TITLES

1. $\downarrow \begin{matrix} \circ \\ \circ \end{matrix}$ ⁽¹⁾ *irj [t]-ht njswt* "She Who is Concerned with the King's Affairs."
2. $\begin{matrix} \cup \\ \cup \end{matrix} \downarrow \begin{matrix} \curvearrowright \\ \curvearrowright \end{matrix} \begin{matrix} \curvearrowleft \\ \curvearrowleft \end{matrix} \begin{matrix} \circ \\ \circ \end{matrix} \begin{matrix} \uparrow \\ \uparrow \end{matrix} \begin{matrix} \wedge \\ \wedge \\ \triangle \end{matrix}$ *nb.t imsh. hr ntr-nfr (?)* "Possessor of Honour before the Good God."

SITUATION

This tomb is wholly cut in the lower level of the projection of rock which is occupied in its upper part by the mastaba of Werkhww (see General Plan 11-Q, and Fig. 36).

It lies to the south-west of the mastaba of Nisw-kid, and south-east of the mastaba of Werkhww.

DESCRIPTION

The entrance of this tomb measures 0.90 m. wide and 2.20 m. high ; it gives access to the tomb-chapel from the east. In front of it is a flight of three steps, also cut in the rock. This doorway is recessed back, leaving a broad jamb on either side, and a dressed space above it for the lintel, which has, however, been left uninscribed.

Neither the exterior nor the interior of the tomb bears sculptures or inscriptions, save only the drum of the entrance on which is incised a horizontal row of hieroglyphs, giving the name and titles of the deceased : "She Who is Concerned with the King's Affairs, the Possessor of Honour before the Good God, Nefer (?) Nemtet" (Fig. 37).

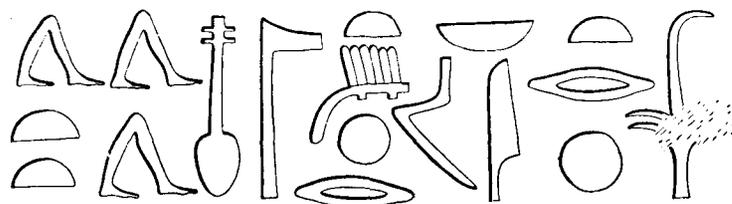


FIG. 37.

It is a tantalizing chance which has preserved for us only one version of the name and titles of the owner of this mastaba, for in this single line of inscription there is an ambiguous form of writing. At first glance the signs may be read as $\downarrow \begin{matrix} \circ \\ \circ \end{matrix} \downarrow \begin{matrix} \curvearrowright \\ \curvearrowright \end{matrix} \begin{matrix} \curvearrowleft \\ \curvearrowleft \end{matrix} \begin{matrix} \circ \\ \circ \end{matrix} \begin{matrix} \uparrow \\ \uparrow \end{matrix} \begin{matrix} \wedge \\ \wedge \\ \triangle \end{matrix}$ "She Who is Concerned with the King's Affairs, Possessor of Honour before the Good God (i.e. the King), Nemtet." On the other hand, the sign $\begin{matrix} \dagger \\ 0 \end{matrix}$ *nfr* may well belong to the name, making it $\begin{matrix} \dagger & \wedge & \wedge \\ 0 & \wedge & \triangle \end{matrix}$, Nefer-nemtet, meaning something like "Good (or Beautiful) of Steps". Both forms

⁽¹⁾ Sethe in *Sakkara Mastabas*, Part II, p. 11, translates the title : "Courtier" which in reality sounds reasonable ; on the other hand, Junker translates it by a descendant of the king. JUNKER, "Giza", VI, pp. 24 and 257 (1943).

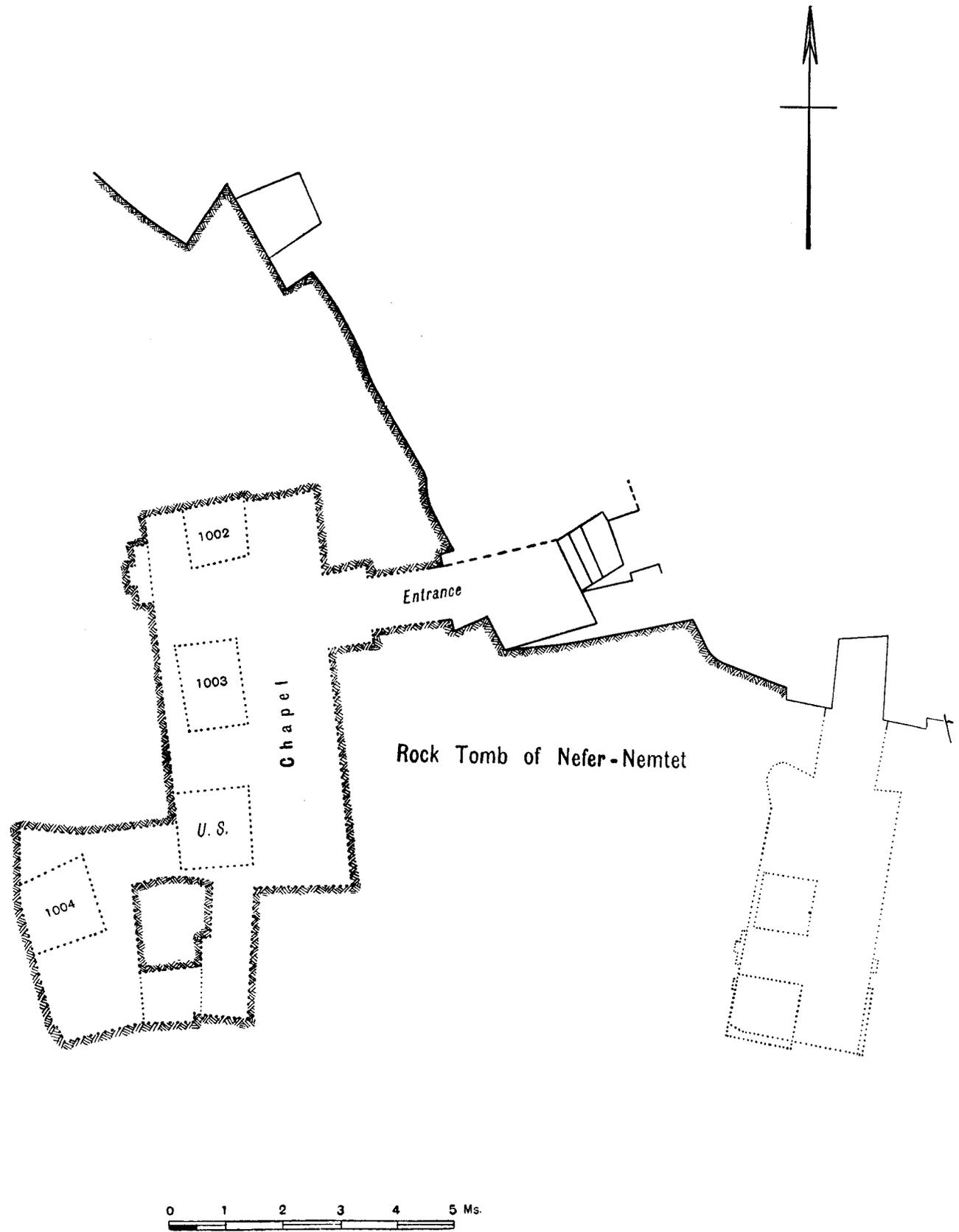


FIG. 36.

of the name were used by the ancient Egyptians, and Ranke gives several variations: (1) $\begin{matrix} \wedge \\ | \\ | \\ | \end{matrix}$, Nemtet (which up till now has only appeared in the Middle Kingdom; $\begin{matrix} \wedge \wedge \\ \circ \text{---} \wedge \end{matrix}$ Nefer-nemtet (var. $\begin{matrix} \wedge \\ | \\ | \\ | \end{matrix}$); and $\left(\begin{matrix} \text{---} \\ | \\ \text{---} \end{matrix} \right) \begin{matrix} \wedge \\ | \\ | \\ | \end{matrix}$ Issi-nefer-nemtet, all of which occur in the Old Kingdom; while $\begin{matrix} \wedge \\ | \\ | \\ | \end{matrix}$, and $\begin{matrix} \wedge \\ | \\ | \\ | \end{matrix}$ are late versions of the name of Nefer-nemtet. The form $\begin{matrix} \wedge \wedge \\ \circ \text{---} \wedge \end{matrix}$ also occurs upon a limestone drum of an entrance, discovered in the courtyard of the tomb of Ka-wesert in our 9th season's work.

In the inscription we are now discussing, the balance of favour seems to lie with $\begin{matrix} \wedge \wedge \\ \circ \text{---} \wedge \end{matrix}$, Nefer-nemtet, as that is the form most commonly used during the Old Kingdom; but if we accept this reading, then the sign $\begin{matrix} \wedge \\ | \\ | \\ | \end{matrix}$ should rightly belong to the name, and the title should read $\begin{matrix} \text{---} \\ | \\ | \\ | \end{matrix} \begin{matrix} \text{---} \\ | \\ | \\ | \end{matrix} \begin{matrix} \text{---} \\ | \\ | \\ | \end{matrix} \begin{matrix} \text{---} \\ | \\ | \\ | \end{matrix} \begin{matrix} \text{---} \\ | \\ | \\ | \end{matrix}$ "Possessor of Honour before the God", which is not at all common, though a few examples are known from our excavations. In this title the word $\begin{matrix} \text{---} \\ | \\ | \\ | \end{matrix}$ "God" is usually qualified by an adjective, as $\begin{matrix} \text{---} \\ | \\ | \\ | \end{matrix} \begin{matrix} \wedge \\ | \\ | \\ | \end{matrix}$ "the Great God". But there is also an alternative reading which retains both $\begin{matrix} \text{---} \\ | \\ | \\ | \end{matrix}$ and $\begin{matrix} \wedge \wedge \\ \circ \text{---} \wedge \end{matrix}$, for inscriptions sometimes occur in which one sign or group of signs is made to serve for two consecutive words or even sentences. It seems that the scribe who composed our inscription was fond of this method of writing, for in the phrase $\begin{matrix} \text{---} \\ | \\ | \\ | \end{matrix} \begin{matrix} \text{---} \\ | \\ | \\ | \end{matrix} \begin{matrix} \text{---} \\ | \\ | \\ | \end{matrix} \begin{matrix} \text{---} \\ | \\ | \\ | \end{matrix} \begin{matrix} \text{---} \\ | \\ | \\ | \end{matrix}$ "Possessor of Honour before the God (*imsh hr ntr*)", he makes the sign $\begin{matrix} \text{---} \\ | \\ | \\ | \end{matrix}$ - $\begin{matrix} \text{---} \\ | \\ | \\ | \end{matrix}$ serve for $\begin{matrix} \text{---} \\ | \\ | \\ | \end{matrix} \begin{matrix} \text{---} \\ | \\ | \\ | \end{matrix}$ as well as for $\begin{matrix} \text{---} \\ | \\ | \\ | \end{matrix}$, the usual way of writing it being $\begin{matrix} \text{---} \\ | \\ | \\ | \end{matrix} \begin{matrix} \text{---} \\ | \\ | \\ | \end{matrix} \begin{matrix} \text{---} \\ | \\ | \\ | \end{matrix} \begin{matrix} \text{---} \\ | \\ | \\ | \end{matrix} \begin{matrix} \text{---} \\ | \\ | \\ | \end{matrix}$. But this device was frequently used during the Old Kingdom (2), and continued until later times when we find such examples as $\begin{matrix} \text{---} \\ | \\ | \\ | \end{matrix} \begin{matrix} \text{---} \\ | \\ | \\ | \end{matrix} \begin{matrix} \text{---} \\ | \\ | \\ | \end{matrix} \begin{matrix} \text{---} \\ | \\ | \\ | \end{matrix} \begin{matrix} \text{---} \\ | \\ | \\ | \end{matrix} \begin{matrix} \text{---} \\ | \\ | \\ | \end{matrix} \begin{matrix} \text{---} \\ | \\ | \\ | \end{matrix} \begin{matrix} \text{---} \\ | \\ | \\ | \end{matrix}$ "The Hereditary Prince, Count, Director of the Cows of Amon (Amon)-gen."—And also $\begin{matrix} \text{---} \\ | \\ | \\ | \end{matrix} \begin{matrix} \text{---} \\ | \\ | \\ | \end{matrix} \begin{matrix} \text{---} \\ | \\ | \\ | \end{matrix} \begin{matrix} \text{---} \\ | \\ | \\ | \end{matrix} \begin{matrix} \text{---} \\ | \\ | \\ | \end{matrix}$ "Priest of Thoth (Thoth)-iri-dis, Justified" (3).

THE POSSIBLE CONNECTION OF NEFER-NEMTET WITH THE KING'S CONCUBINE, KA-WESERT

While engaged upon our 9th season's work of excavation, we came upon the tomb of a certain "King's Concubine" named Ka-wesert, which is situated a little to the south-west of the Valley Temple of Khafra. A curious feature of this tomb is a certain limestone drum which may belong to the entrance leading to the courtyard, and which is inscribed with the name of the deceased lady's mother. It bears two horizontal rows of hieroglyphs, reading: (1) $\begin{matrix} \wedge \wedge \\ \circ \text{---} \wedge \end{matrix}$ $\begin{matrix} \text{---} \\ | \\ | \\ | \end{matrix}$. (2) $\begin{matrix} \text{---} \\ | \\ | \\ | \end{matrix}$ $\begin{matrix} \text{---} \\ | \\ | \\ | \end{matrix}$ "She Who is Concerned with the King's Affairs, Nefer-nemtet, whose Daughter is the King's Concubine, Ka-wesert." The remainder of the inscriptions in this tomb, namely those on the false-door of the façade, the lintel and drum of the entrance to the

(1) RANKE, "Die Aegyptischen Personennamen", pp. 204, 16; 107, 11; 107, 12; 202, 13.

(2) See above, p. 183, where $\begin{matrix} \text{---} \\ | \\ | \\ | \end{matrix} \begin{matrix} \text{---} \\ | \\ | \\ | \end{matrix}$ Pth is made to serve for the name of the god and an element in the personal name.

(3) See my article "Inscription sur un Socle de Statuette", *Ann. Serv.*, Vol. XXVIII, p. 3.

chapel refer only to Ka-wesert and no further mention is made of Nefer-nemtet. Unfortunately the two shafts of the tomb were flooded with infiltrated Nile water, and up to now it has been impossible to examine the contents of the burial-chambers. From the evidence at present available, it appears as though the tomb belonged to Ka-wesert herself; (though we must not overlook the possibility that Nefer-nemtet occupied the second burial-shaft). Perhaps, then, we may suggest that the elder lady is the same person as our Nefer-nemtet. The similarity of the name (which is not a common one), the spelling of it and the drawing of the signs, as well as the title $\downarrow \text{⊕}$ (1), all favour this theory. A further point of interest is the title of Ka-wesert herself. She is called $\text{⊕} \downarrow \text{⊕} \text{⊕} \text{⊕} \text{⊕}$, "Possessor of Honour before the God", which favours the theory of \downarrow without \downarrow (see above, p. 195). Notice here also the use of the one sign ⊕ for the two words $\downarrow \text{⊕}$ and ⊕ (p. 195). If this theory is correct, and our Nefer-nemtet is really the mother of the "King's Concubine", Ka-wesert, then it raises the question: "Does the statuette of the naked woman found in this tomb (see p. 200 and Pl. XII, C) represent the mother or the daughter?" It was no uncommon thing for persons to have their Ka-statues placed in the tombs of their relations, several examples having occurred in our excavations, as for instance the statue of Tesen in the serdab of his father, Fefi (see p. 284) and those of Meres-ankh in the tomb of her husband Wep-em-nefert (2).

THE ENTRANCE

The entrance to the tomb of Nefer-nemtet is, as mentioned above, devoid of inscriptions other than that upon the drum. Moreover, when found, it was blocked with stones, the chapel having been used for a late intrusive burial.

THE TOMB-CHAPEL

This chapel consists of three rooms, a large outer room, and two much smaller inner rooms.

The outer room is about 6.80 m. long by 2.90 m. broad. Its average height from the uneven floor to the ceiling is about 2.70 m. The western and eastern walls are comparatively smoothly dressed, while the surfaces of the northern and southern walls have been left in a very rough condition. Attempts seem to have been made to remedy the unevenness of these walls by covering them with a layer of plaster, most of which has dropped off. Small scraps of plaster still remain in the uneven places in the ceiling, the northern wall, the right-hand side of the false-door, and some parts of the southern wall.

The floor of the chapel was covered with sand and debris to a height of about one metre. Upon this bed of debris were four skeletons belonging to a later period, and with them two vases of red-ware. These vases have round bottoms and recurved rims:—

(a) Measures 24.0 cm. high.

(b) Measures 18.5 cm. high (see Pl. XII, A).

(1) It is interesting to notice that some Egyptologists translate the title "*rh njsw.t*" by "gentleman" for a man and "lady" for a woman (see B. GRDSELOFF, *Ann. Serv.*, Vol. XLIII, p. 43; see also above, p. 195, Note 1).

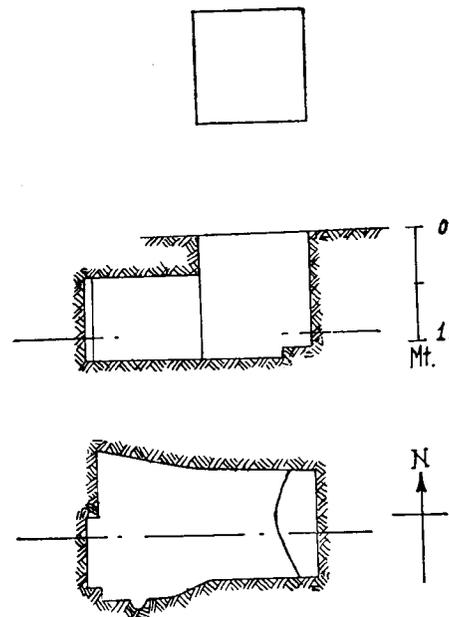
(2) "*Excavations at Giza*", 1930-1931, p. 181.

Against the northern wall of the chapel is a small pit, No. 1002, Fig. 38, measuring 1.00×1.00 m. and sunk in the rock to a depth of only 1.10 m. No traces of burial were found in its side chamber which is directed west. This pit lies a little to the east of the false-door which is hewn in the northern side of the western wall.

THE WESTERN WALL

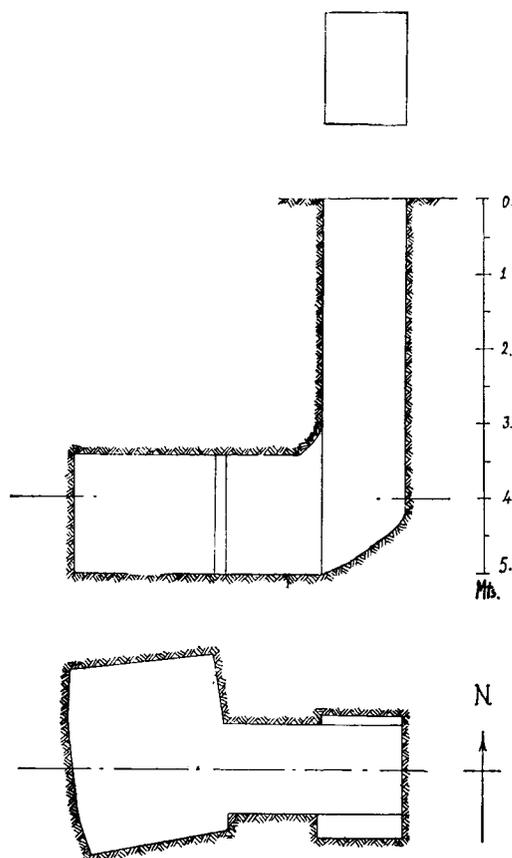
The most noteworthy architectural feature of this wall is a recess measuring 1.25×1.35 m., which gives admittance to an interior room lying to the south.

To the north of this recess is a rock-hewn false-door which has been left in a rough, unfinished condition and is uninscribed. Traces of the workman's chisel-marks are still to be seen upon it.



No. 1002. FIG. 38.

Against the middle of this wall and nearly opposite to the entrance is the opening of Shaft No. 1003 :—



No. 1003. FIG. 39.

Shaft No. 1003 (Fig. 39).

Grave-pit: $1.50 \times 1.10 \times 5.00$ m. deep, with a side-chamber measuring 2.70×2.40 m. directed west.

Contents: It was filled with chips and debris, among which were found: (1) Scattered human bones. (2) Many fragments of alabaster apparently belonging to an offering-table. (3) A canopic jar of limestone, almost conical in shape; it has a flat base and a round rim. Height: 22.5 cm. Diam.: 13.0 cm.

In the aperture leading to the side-chamber were found two statuettes of a woman, one of which is almost intact, while the other lacks the head and feet (Pl. II) :—

The Intact Statuette (Pl. XII, B).

Material.—Fine white Turah limestone.

Dimensions.—Height: 63.5 cm. Breadth across shoulders: 19.5 cm.

Preservation.—Good. Slight damage to face and base.

Workmanship.—Fairly good.

Description.—It is in a standing attitude, with the feet together ; the arms hang by the sides with the hands open. The face is round and framed by a heavy wig, beneath which can be seen the fringe of the natural hair. The eyes are rather small, and the nose somewhat rounded. The mouth is small with a slightly drooping under lip. The chin is also small and well-formed. The details of the body are very well rendered, but the feet are somewhat large and clumsy. The figure is clothed in a tightly-fitting robe which reaches to the ankles.

The Damaged Statuette (Pl. XII, C).

Material.—Fine white Turah limestone.

Preservation.—Not good. The head, neck and feet are lacking, and the left upper arm is damaged.

Dimensions.—Height : 34·0 cm. Breadth across shoulder : 13·5 cm.

Description.—The woman is represented in a standing attitude, the legs close together and the arms hanging at the sides with the palms open. She is shown entirely in the nude, and great emphasis has been placed on the pubic region, both by means of the posture of the figure and the details of the carving, the outer frontal edge of the *labia major* being exaggeratedly defined. This latter feature renders the statuette unique in the history of Old Kingdom art, as far as I am aware. In fact, it is most unusual to find statues, reliefs or paintings of naked women during the Old Kingdom, neither are they common in later periods, and those examples which do occur are usually either figures of maid-servants, dancers, or the small cult-figures, often—but erroneously—classed as dolls. This statuette clearly does not belong to any of these categories ; its passive attitude does not suggest either of the first two, and its large size precludes it from the cult-figure class. Therefore, whom does it represent ? If we attribute the first statuette to Nefer-nemtet and the position in which it was found would suggest this attribution, then we might say that the nude figure represented the same lady. But a comparison between the two figures reveals a difference in their anatomy, the nude lady having decidedly longer legs than the draped figure ; moreover, it is considerably smaller in size than the latter, even when allowance is made for the loss of the head, feet and base. However, neither of these points can be regarded as proof that the two statuettes represent two different women, and without a definite inscription on each figure, or at least the preservation of both heads for a comparison of features, we are reduced to mere profitless speculation. Nevertheless, if we can accept Nefer-nemtet as being the same lady of that name mentioned in the tomb of Ka-wesert, then it is tempting to ask if the nude statuette represents her daughter, the King's Concubine Ka-wesert. With regard to nude figures of women it may be mentioned that in all our ten seasons' work in the Giza necropolis, only five such representations were found. They are:—

(1) The statuette we have just described and (2) a crude limestone figure of a seated woman found outside the mastaba of Hesy (¹). (3) A damaged figure of unbaked mud found in the tomb of Sekhem-ka-Ra'. (²) and even this example is open to doubt owing

⁽¹⁾ "Excavations at Giza", Vol. III, p. 256, Pl. LXXI, 2.

⁽²⁾ "Excavations at Giza", Vol. IV, Pl. XXXV, 2.

to its battered condition and the summary treatment of its modelling. (4) A fine relief of an acrobatic dancer, which appears in one of the wall-scenes in the mastaba of Ka-dwa (6th season). (5) A similar figure from the tomb of Kakai-'ankh also found during the 6th season.

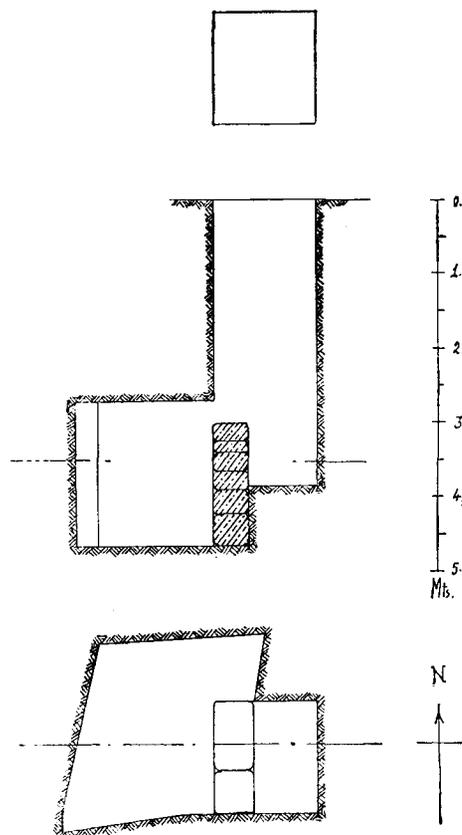
THE SOUTH-WESTERN INNER ROOM

To the south of the western wall is a recess, which, as mentioned before, gives access to an inner room, measuring about $3.40 \times 3.10 \times 1.80$ m. high. It is very roughly hewn in the rock. In the middle of its floor is the opening of Shaft No. 1004 :—

Shaft No. 1004 (Fig. 40).

Grave-pit : $1.15 \times 1.00 \times 3.85$ m. deep, with a side-chamber measuring about $2.30 \times 2.35 \times 1.95$ m. high to the west. Aperture open.

Contents : (1) Skeleton of an adult person lying on a bed of debris on the floor ; head to the north, hands by the sides. Some bones of another skeleton scattered in the debris. (2) Many fragments of an alabaster offering-table.



No. 1004.

FIG. 40.

THE SOUTHERN INNER ROOM

Another recess is hewn in the western corner of the southern wall, and perhaps served as a shrine for the above-mentioned statuettes. It is roughly-hewn and narrow, measuring only $2.52 \times 0.90 \times 1.80$ m. high. In its south-western corner is a doorway 1.00 m. wide, leading to the south-western inner room.

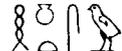
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THE MASTABA OF NY-SW-ḲID

TITLES

1.  *irj ht njswt* "He Who is Concerned with the King's Affairs."
2.  (1) *imj-r3 md.t* "The Overseer of the Stalls."
3.  (2) *im3h (w) hr ntr-3* "The Honoured by the Great God."

FAMILY

Wife:  "Henwtsu."

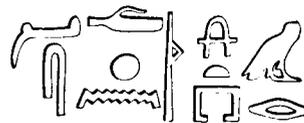
SITUATION

The tomb of Ny-sw-ḳid lies to the west of the mastaba of Ka-debehen, north-east of the rock tomb of Nefer-Nemtet, and south of that of 'Ankh-tef (see General Plan and Fig. 41).

DESCRIPTION

It is partly constructed of local limestone, and partly cut in the rock. The space lying in front of the entrance of its chapel was occupied by a late burial covered with three slabs of limestone, one of which proved to be the lintel of Ny-sw-ḳid himself (Fig. 42; Pl. XIII, A, B).

The chapel was occupied by three late burials. The roof of the southern burial was formed of two slabs of limestone, one of which was part of the false-door of a certain Ra'-hetep.



THE ENTRANCE

The entrance of the chapel opens northwards. It is 1.95 m. high and 0.46 m. wide. The lintel is formed of a slab of white Turah limestone excellently inscribed with two horizontal rows of incised hieroglyphs, reading: "A boon which the (King) gives, and a boon of Anubis, Presiding Over the God's Dwelling that he may be buried in the Western Necropolis, the Honoured before the Great God, He Who is Concerned with the King's Affairs, Ny-sw-ḳid."

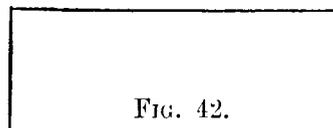


FIG. 42.

(1) Sethe in MURRAY'S, "Sakkara Mastabas" translates *imj-r3* "Intendant".

(2) Sethe *ibid.* p. 22, translates *im3hw* "devoted to". B. GRDSELOFF translates this title by "pensioner" which as far as I think fits well morally when applied to the God and materially when applied to the king (*ibid.* p. 40).

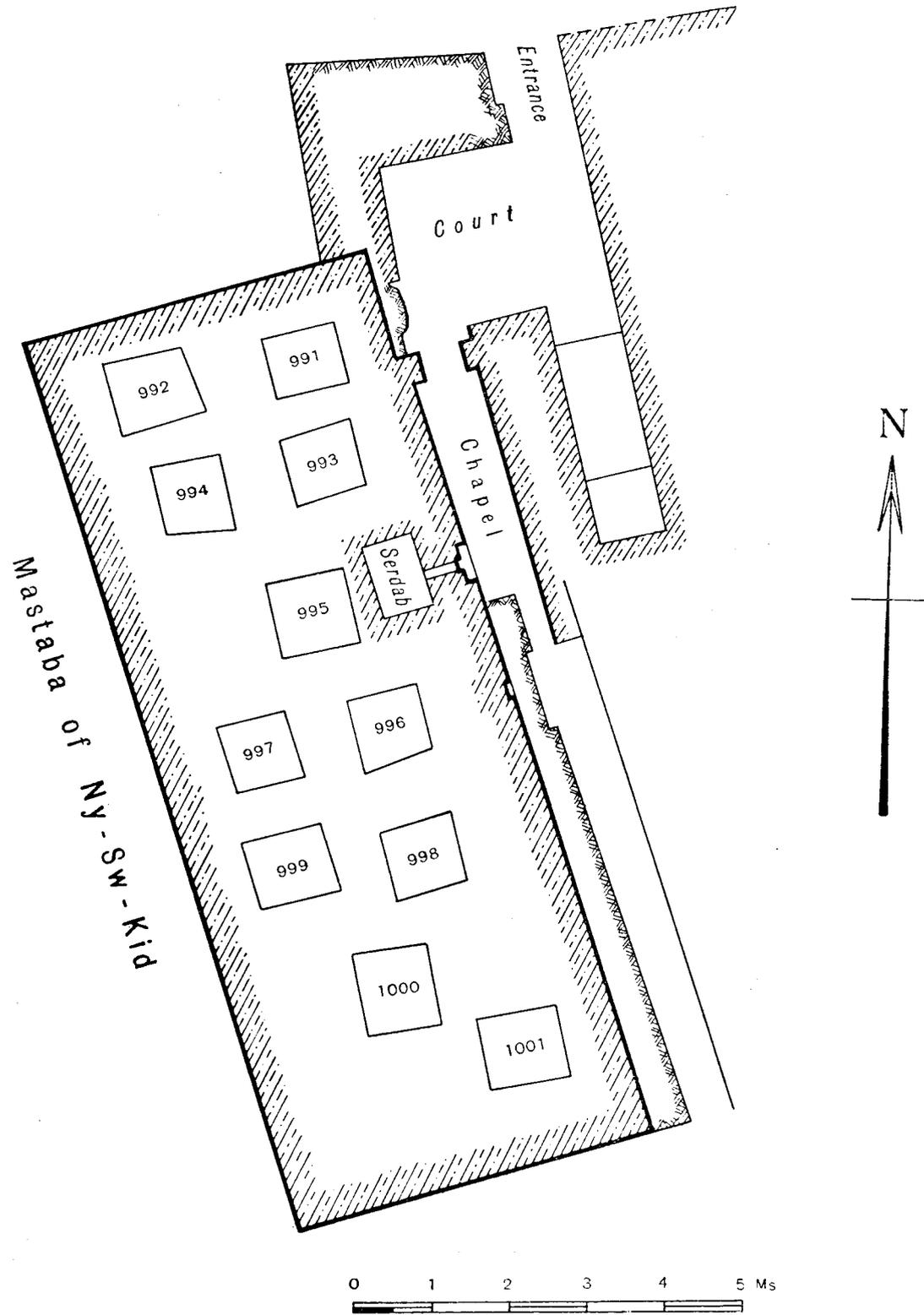


FIG. 41.

At the end of this inscription is a representation of Ny-sw-Ḳid and his wife seated together upon one stool. He is facing west, holding a long staff in his left hand, while the right hand lies closed upon his thigh. His wife embraces him with her left arm, and places her right hand upon his right upper arm. Behind her is a vertical inscription, reading: "His Wife, Henwtsw."

The Drum (Fig. 42; Pl. XIII, C).

Lying below the lintel is a drum formed of a very rough slab of local limestone and inscribed with a row of incised hieroglyphs, reading: "The Overseer of the Stalls, Ny-sw-Ḳid."

THE CHAPEL

This doorway gives access to a narrow chapel measuring 10·30 m. in length by 0·90 m. in width, and which is apparently unfinished. In its western wall are fixed two small, unfinished, false-doors of white limestone, in the northern one of which is a small squint of a plundered serdab, and behind it lies the principal shaft of the tomb.

A few metres to the north of this serdab we found a quartzite sandstone statuette most probably representing the owner of the tomb:—

The Statuette (Pls. XIV, XV, A).

Material.—Quartzite sandstone.

Colour.—Red.

Dimensions.—Height: 35·00 cm. Breadth across shoulders: 12·00 cm.

Preservation.—This statuette was found in a good state of preservation, except the nose, which was slightly damaged.

Description.—It is in a seated attitude with the feet together. The man is wearing a heavy wig and a short kilt barely reaching the knees. The arms are bent at the elbows with the left hand placed palm downwards upon the left thigh, and the right hand closed and holding a handkerchief. The legs and feet are thick and less carefully modelled than the rest of the figure.

THE FALSE-DOOR OF RA'-ḲETEP

This false-door covered the late burial found at the southern part of this chapel. Its top and bottom are lacking (Fig. 43; Pl. XV, B).

On the panel is a representation of the deceased seated upon a stool. His arms are bent at the elbows, and the right hand rests closed upon the thigh, while the left one is placed upon his chest. He wears a curled wig, a broad necklace and a short kilt barely reaching the knees.

In front of this figure is inscribed a vertical row of hieroglyphs, reading : “ He Who is Concerned with the King’s Affairs, the Priest, the Honoured One by the Great God, Ra’-hetep.”

On the lower lintel is inscribed a horizontal row of incised hieroglyphs, reading : “He Who is Concerned with the King’s Affairs, the Priest, Ra’-hetep.”

On the right-hand jamb are two superposed representations of men in a walking attitude, their right legs advanced, their left arms hanging down, and their right ones bent at the elbow, with the closed hand resting upon the chest.

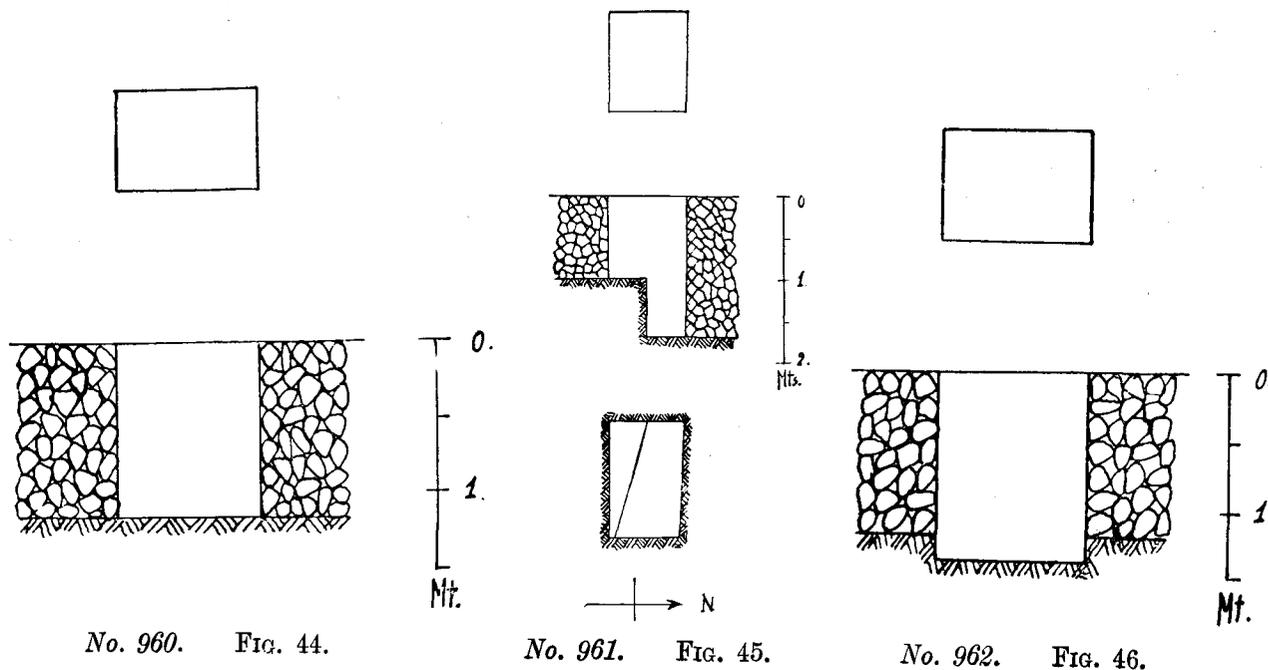
On the left-hand jamb are two other superposed figures in the same attitude. The upper figure is that of a woman, while the lower one represents a man.



FIG. 43.

SHAFTS

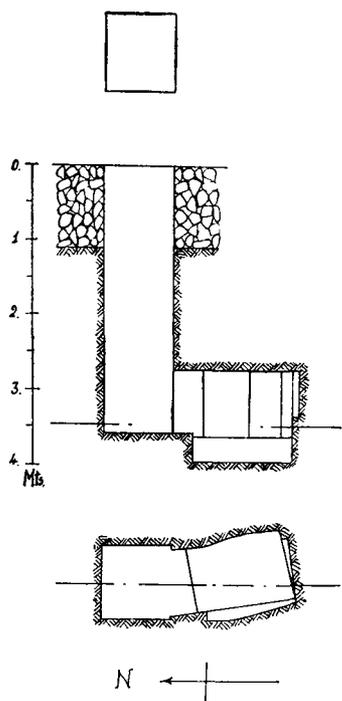
Shafts Nos. 960-970 are situated to the west of the mastaba of Ny-sw-kid (see Plan). They are mostly poor burials, some apparently unfinished (see Figs. 44-54) :—



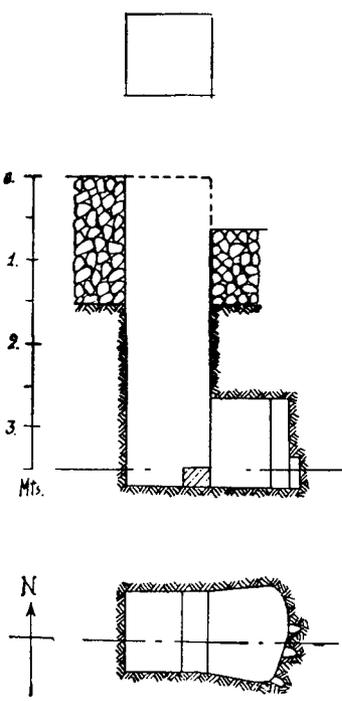
No. 960. FIG. 44.

No. 961. FIG. 45.

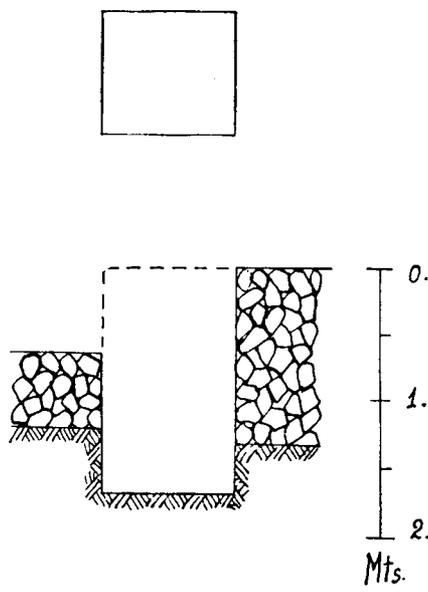
No. 962. FIG. 46.



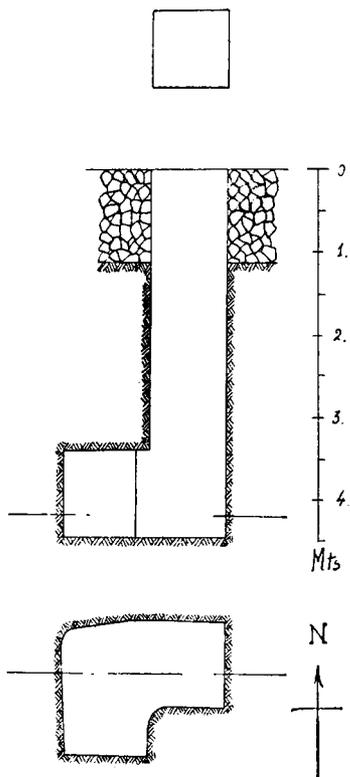
No. 963. FIG. 47.



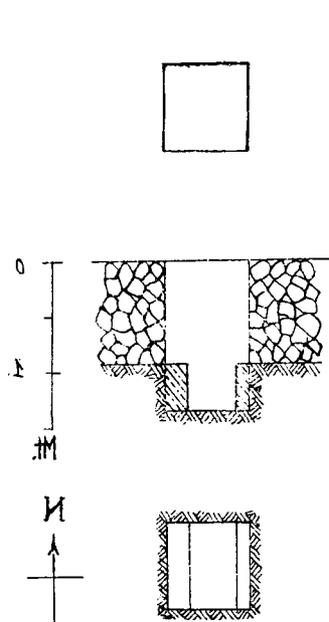
No. 964. FIG. 48.



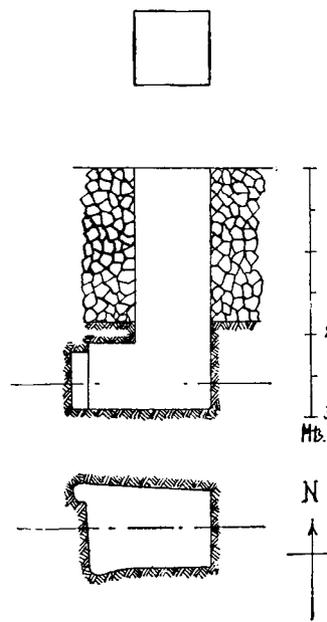
No. 965. FIG. 49.



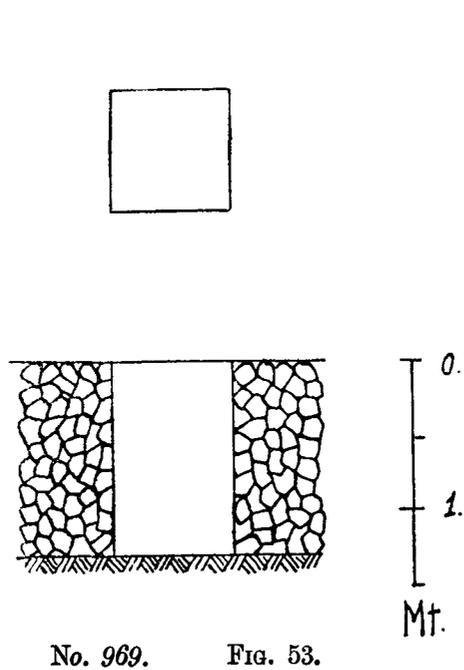
No. 966. FIG. 50.



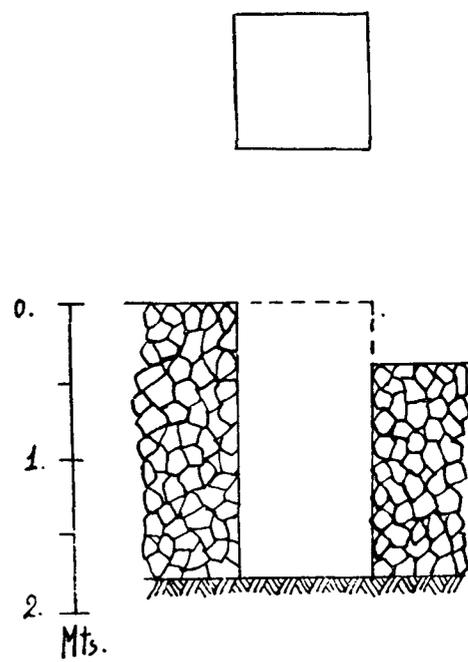
No. 967. FIG. 51.



No. 968. FIG. 52.



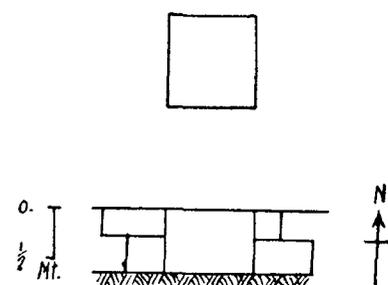
No. 969. FIG. 53.



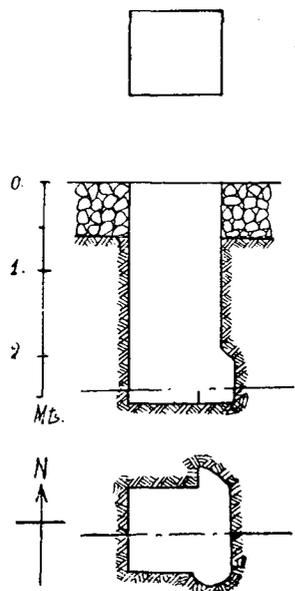
No. 970. FIG. 54.

Shaft No. 991 (Fig. 55).

Grave-pit: 0.90 × 0.90 × 0.60 m. deep, lined with debris and without a side-chamber (false shaft).



No. 991. FIG. 55.



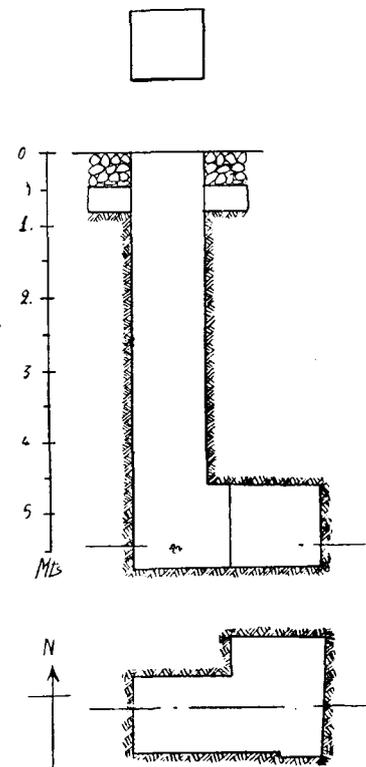
No. 992. FIG. 56.

Shaft No. 992 (Fig. 56).

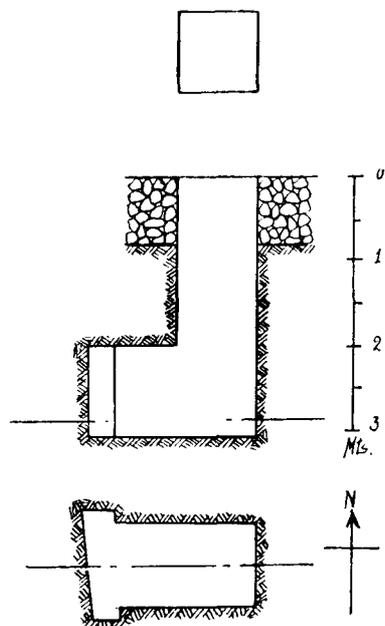
Grave-pit: 1.00 × 1.00 × 2.55 m. deep, lined with rubble to a depth of 0.90 m., below which it is cut in the rock. Side-chamber on the east with the aperture opening west.

Shaft No. 993 (Fig. 57).

Grave-pit : 1.00×1.00×5.72 m. deep, lined with rubble to a depth of 1.00 m. it, below which is cut in the rock. Side-chamber on the east with the aperture opening west.



No. 993. FIG. 57.



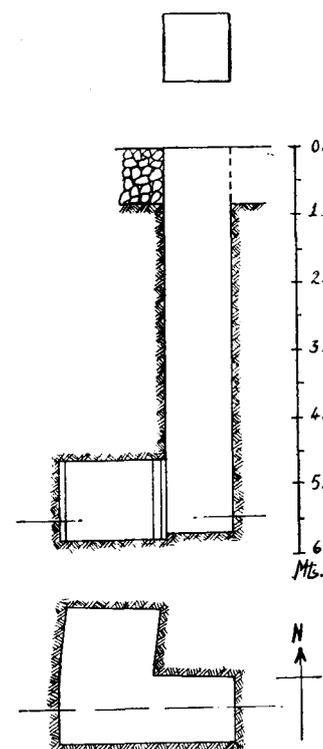
Shaft No. 994 (Fig. 58).

Grave-pit : 0.95×0.95×3.08 m. deep, lined with rubble to a depth of 1.00 m.; the remainder is cut in the rock. Side-chamber on the west with the aperture opening east.

No. 994. FIG. 58.

Shaft No. 995 (Fig. 59).

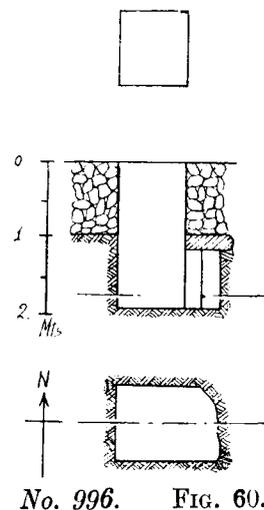
Grave-pit : 1.00×1.00×5.80 m. deep, lined with rubble to a depth of 1.00 m., below which it is cut in the rock. Side-chamber on the west and opening east.



No. 995. FIG. 59.

Shaft No. 996 (Fig. 60).

Grave-pit : 0.90 × 1.00 × 1.87 m. deep, lined with rubble to a depth of 1.00 m. It ends in a roughly cut side-chamber on the east.

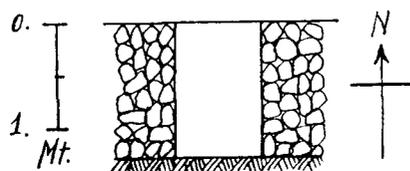


No. 996. FIG. 60.



Shaft No. 997 (Fig. 61).

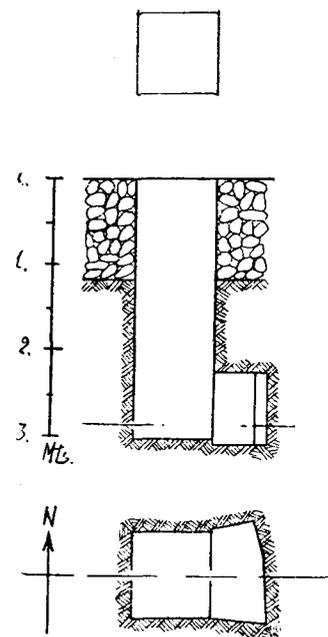
Grave-pit : 0.85 × 0.90 × 1.30 m. deep, lined with debris and without a side-chamber.



No. 997. FIG. 61.

Shaft No. 998 (Fig. 62).

Grave-pit : 0.95 × 0.95 × 3.00 m. deep, lined with rubble to a depth of 1.20 m., below which it is cut in the rock, with a side-chamber on the east.

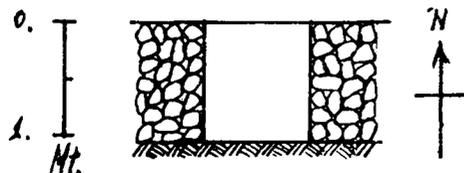


No. 998 FIG. 62.



Shaft No. 999 (Fig. 63).

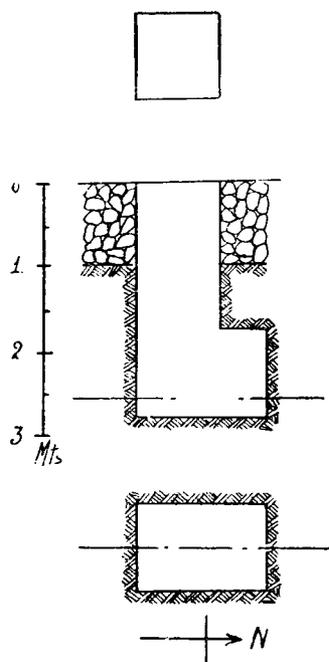
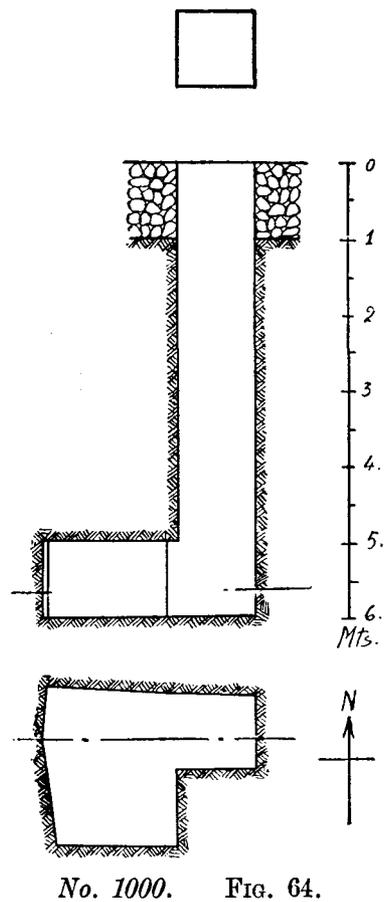
Grave-pit : 0.90 × 0.95 × 1.05 m. deep, lined with debris and without a side-chamber (false shaft).



No. 999. FIG. 63.

Shaft No. 1000 (Fig. 64).

Grave-pit: 1.00×1.00×5.95 m. deep, lined with debris to a depth of 1.00 m., with a side-chamber on the west.



Shaft No. 1001 (Fig. 65).

Grave-pit: 1.00×1.00×2.75 m. deep, lined with rubble at a depth of 1.00 m., below which it is cut in the rock, with a side-chamber on the east.

No. 1001. FIG. 65.

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THE MASTABA OF , KA-DEBEHEN

TITLES

1.  ⁽¹⁾ *shd ss' pr-hd* "Inspector of the Scribes of the Treasury (White House)."
2.  ⁽²⁾ *hkr njswt* "King's Adorner."
3.  *ss' hbs njswt* "Scribe of the King's Clothes."
4.  *irj ht njswt* "He Who is Concerned with the King's Affairs."
5.  *imj-ht n-pr-hd* "Assistant of the Treasury."
6.  *htmj h3.t dfw bj.t* "Sealer-in-Chief of the Sweet Provisions (?)."
7.  ⁽³⁾ *imj-r3 pr-hd n 'prwj* "Overseer of the Treasury of the Two Crews of the Divine Boat."
8.  *imshw hr ntr-'3* "Honoured by the Great God."
9.  *imshw hr ntr-'3 hr nb.f* "Honoured by the Great God and by His Lord."

SITUATION

The mastaba of Ka-debehen lies just to the west of that of Khafra'-Ankh, south-east of that of 'Ankh-tef and east of the mastaba of Ny-sw-*kid* (see General Plan 10-R and Fig. 66).

DESCRIPTION

Its walls are all constructed of local nummulitic limestone. Fine regular courses of the main structure are still preserved, but the western wall is damaged in many places.

(1) Sethe in MURRAY, "Sakkara Mastabas", Vol. I, p. 17. *ibid.* translates *shd* "expert".

(2) Cf. FISHER, M.C.G. Inscript. Nos. 34, p. 153; No 8, p. 139, Pl. 22, footnote 4; and inscript. Nos. 11, A, 11. Var. given by MURRAY, "Index of Names and Titles", Pls. XXIII, XXVII, XLV; BLACKMAN, "The House of the Morning", *J.E.A.*, Vol. V, (1918), p. 148; JUNKER, "Vorläufiger Bericht über die Grabungen bei dem Pyramiden von Gizeh", (1912), p. 10.

(3) Compare BOREUX, "Étude de Nautique Égyptienne", p. 139 ff.

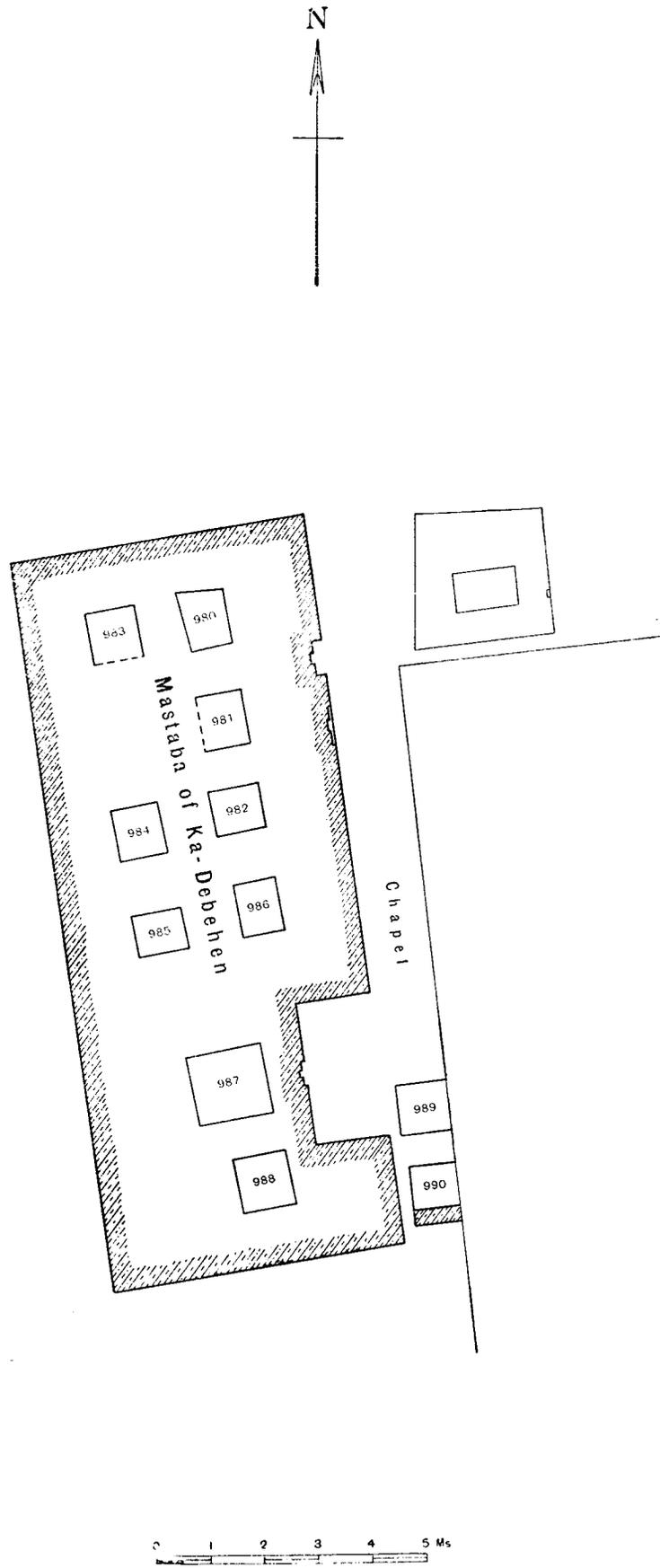


FIG. 66.

THE ENTRANCE

Access to the tomb-chapel is obtained from the north. In the western wall are three false-doors; the northern one, which is situated at a distance of about 6.15 m. from the southern chapel bears upon its lintel titles differing from those inscribed upon the southern false-door, and seems to relate to another person, perhaps the son of Ka-debehen.

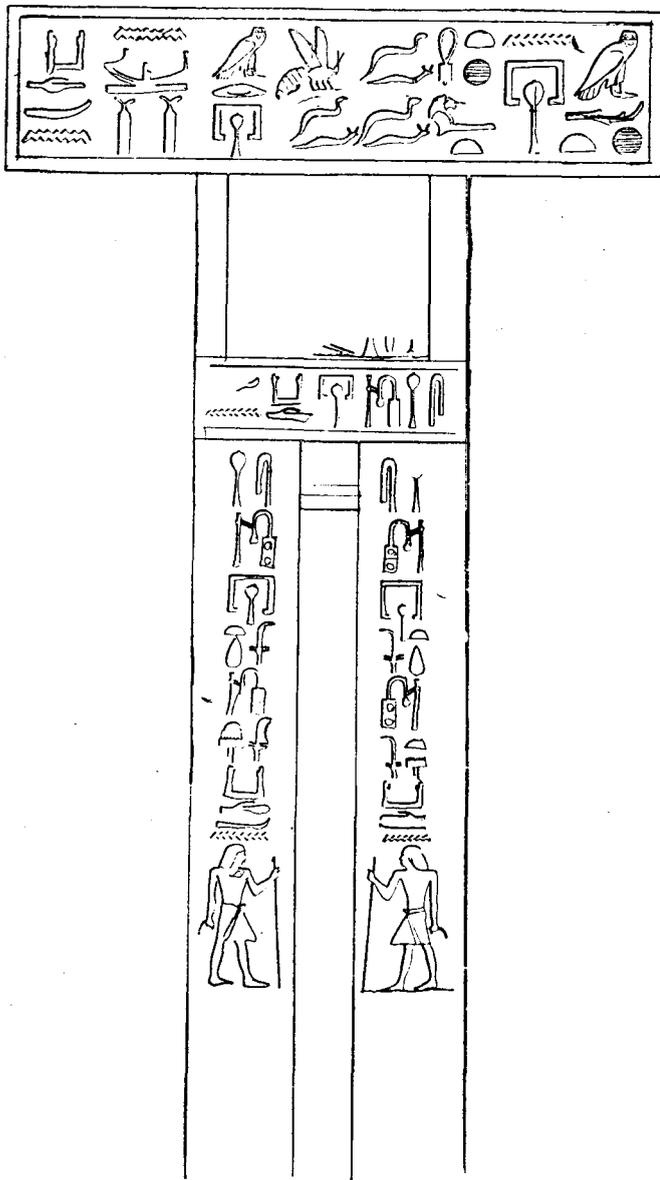


FIG. 67.

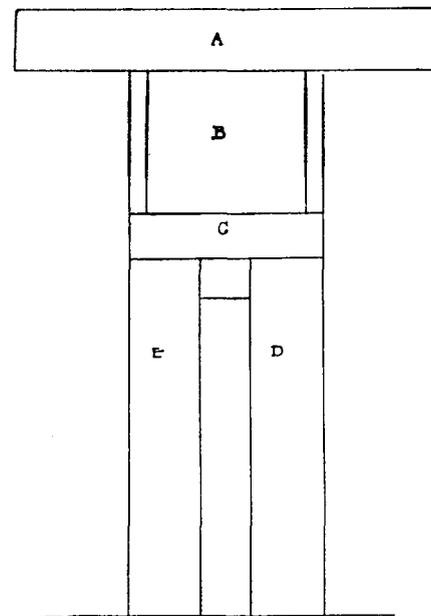


FIG. 68.

The Northern False-door (Figs. 67, 68; Pls. XVI, A, B and Pl. XVII).

It measures 2.50 m. high by 0.60 m. wide and is constructed of three slabs of local limestone. The slab which forms the lintel was found lying in the debris in front of the tomb, and has now been restored to its proper place.

On this lintel "A" is inscribed: "Assistant of the Treasury, Sealer-in-Chief of Sweet Provisions (?) Overseer of the Treasury of the Two Crews of the Divine Boat, Ka-debehen."

On "B" the surface of the stone has weathered away, and only the lower part of one corner remains of a scene which represented a man seated before an offering-table.

On "C" the inscription is slightly damaged across the left side. It reads: "The Inspector of the Scribes of the Treasury, Ka-debehen."

On "D" is a vertical inscription, reading: "The Inspector of the Scribes of Treasury, the Adorner of the King, the Scribe of the King's Clothes, Ka-debehen."

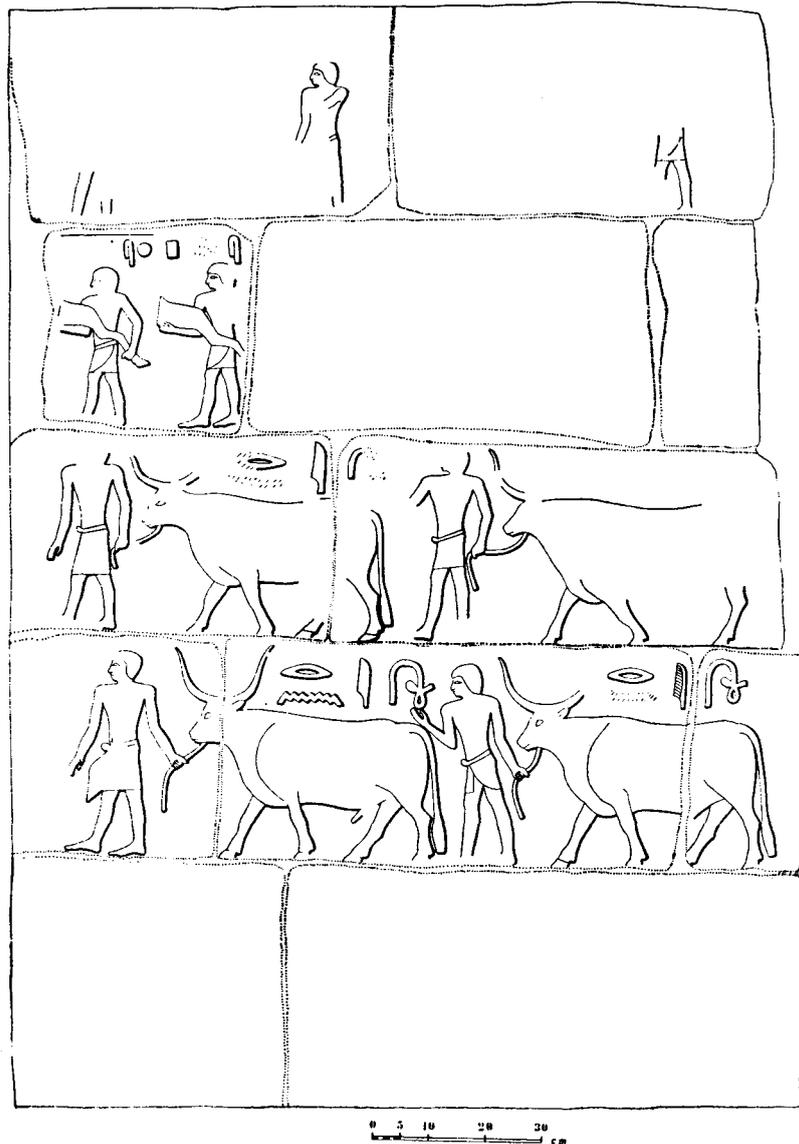


FIG. 69.

Below this inscription is the representation of a man in a walking attitude facing south. He holds a long staff in his right hand and a handkerchief in his left one.

On "E" is an identical inscription, also ending in a figure of the deceased in the same attitude but reversed in direction.

THE UNINSCRIBED FALSE-DOOR

To the left of the above-mentioned false-door is a small one, measuring 0.92 m. high by 0.65 m. wide. It is roughly cut in the wall and is uninscribed.

THE SOUTHERN CHAPEL

This chapel measures about 2.60 m. long by 1.37 m. wide and 1.90 m. high.

The Northern Wall (Fig. 69; Pl. XVIII, A).

The northern wall is occupied by four superposed registers representing the arrival and possibly the slaughter of the sacrificial oxen. In the second upper register there remain two men carrying choice pieces for offering. Unfortunately this scene is in a bad state of preservation owing to the poor quality of the stone on which it was carved.

The Western Wall (Fig. 70; Pl. XIX).

At the top of this wall is a fragment of a lintel "A" which originally spanned the whole width of the wall. It bears an incised inscription, reading: "(That) an offering of bread, beer, and cakes may come forth to him at the Feast of the Opening of the Year, the Feast of Thoth, the Feast of the Beginning of the Year, and the Wag (1) Feast . . ."

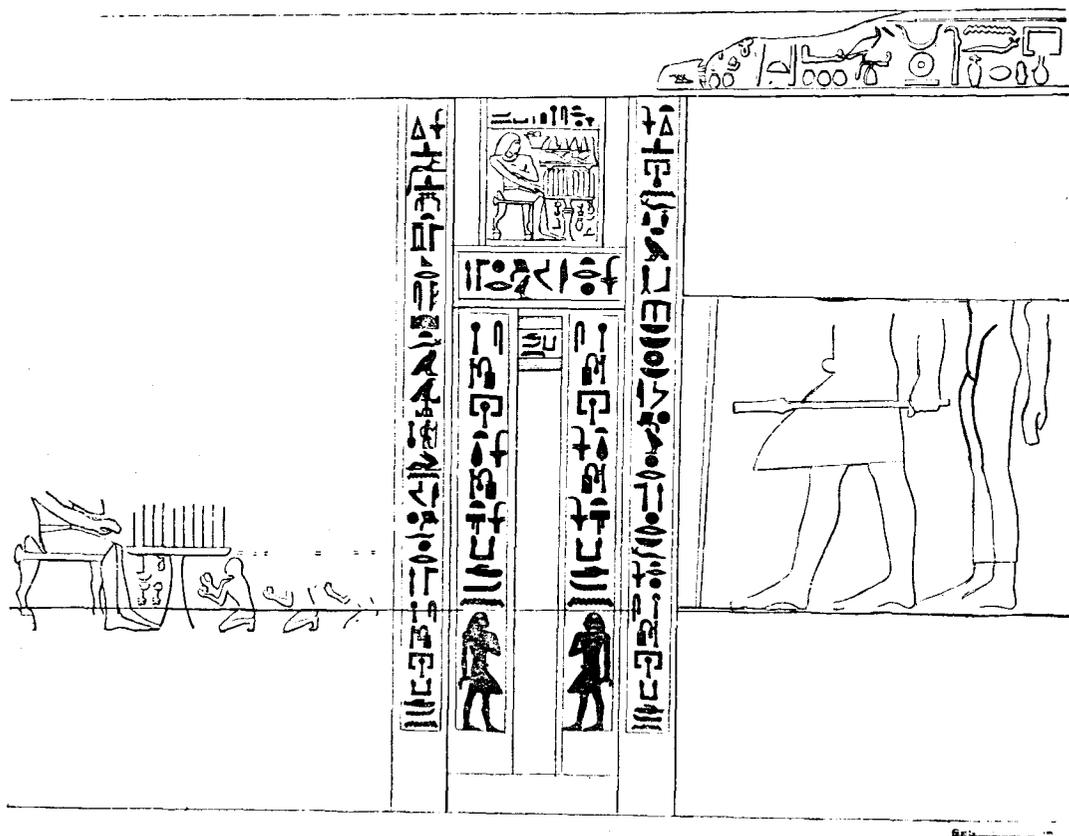
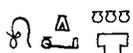


FIG. 70.

The middle of the wall is occupied by a finely inscribed false-door, to the right of which is a representation of a man, most probably the deceased, in a walking attitude and accompanied by his wife. He holds a long staff in his right hand, a Khrep-baton in the left one, and is facing south (Pl. XVIII, B).

(1) The Wag feast seems, according to its writing  in the *Pyr. Text* 820 a, to be an orgy.

The Southern False-door (Fig. 71; Pl. XIX).

On "B" the deceased is represented seated upon a stool before a laden offering-table, on which are heaped different kinds of food. Under the table are additional offerings, including bread, cakes, beer and meat, numbered in thousands. Above the scene is a horizontal row of inscription, reading: "He Who is Concerned with the King's Affairs, Inspector of the Scribes, Ka-debehen."

On "C" is a horizontal row of incised hieroglyphs, reading: "He Who is Concerned with the King's Affairs, the Honoured One by the Great God."

On "D" is inscribed a vertical row of inscription, reading: "A boon which the King gives, that offerings of bread, beer, and cakes, may come forth to him at every feast and every day, the Honoured One by the Great God and by His Lord, He Who is Concerned with the King's Affairs, the Inspector of the Scribes of the Treasury, Ka-debehen."

On "E" is a vertical inscription, reading: "A boon which the King gives, and a boon of Anubis, Presiding Over the God's Dwelling, that he may be buried in the Western Necropolis (after) a good old age, the Honoured by the Great God, the Inspector of Scribes of the Treasury, Ka-Debehen."

On "F" and "G" is an identical inscription, reading: "The Inspector of the Scribes of the Treasury, the Adorner of the King, the Scribe of the King's Clothes, Ka-debehen."

On "H" is inscribed the name of the deceased: "Ka-debehen."

To the left of the false-door is a sculptured scene, unfortunately in a very bad state of preservation, owing to the flaking of the surface of the stone. There remains only the lower part of a representation of Ka-debehen seated before an offering-table. Below the table are represented three kneeling men presenting round pots to the deceased; they are performing part of one of the offering-ritual. Under the left side of the table is inscribed: "Thousands of beer and bread" (Fig. 70; Pl. XIX).

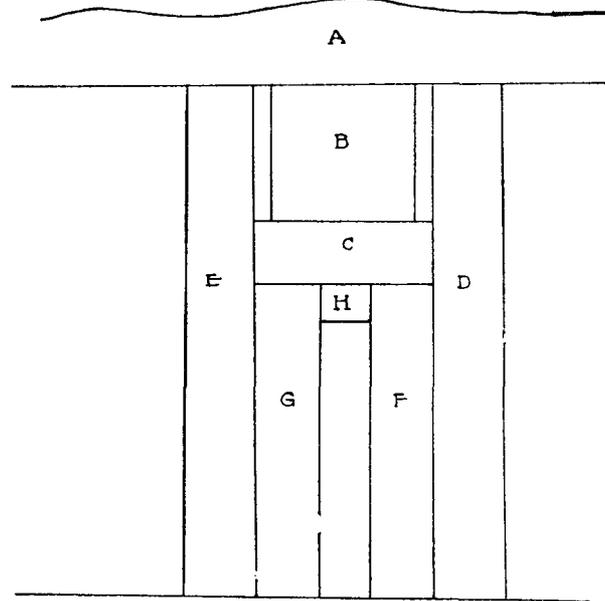


FIG. 71

The Southern Wall (Fig. 72; Pl. XX).

The subject of the scenes represented upon this wall is the manufacture of bread and beer. The lower part of the wall is fairly well-preserved, and on it may be seen the figure of a man grinding barley, while another baker is kneading dough. The dough, encased in pottery moulds, is placed upon the fire to bake, and the woman in charge of it raises her hand to shield her face from the heat

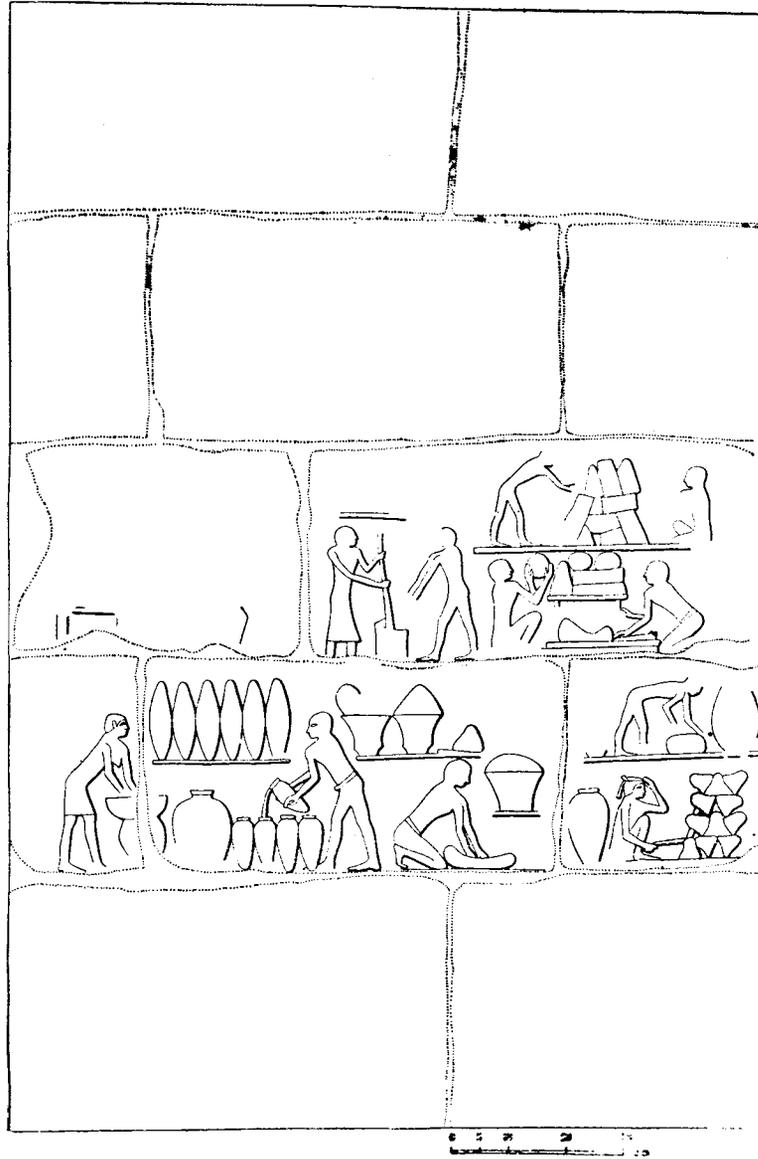


FIG. 72.

of the flames. At the left-hand side two men are engaged in making beer from soaked bread. On a low stand lying between them are six filled and sealed jars. In the second register can be seen other men piling up loaves of bread of different shapes ⁽¹⁾, while two more workers are pounding some substance with a mortar and a pestle. The remainder of the scene is destroyed owing to the bad state of the surface of the wall.

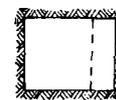
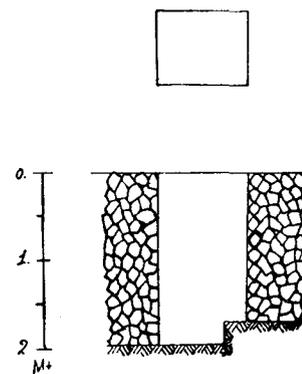
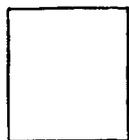
⁽¹⁾ For the association of bread and beer, cf. DAVIES, "Deir el-Gebrawi", II, p. 26, Pl. XX; *Ä.Z.* 1897, p. 129; and KLEBS, "Die Reliefs des alten Reiches", pp. 93, 94.

SHAFTS

The space lying behind the western wall of the corridor which leads to the inner chapel is honeycombed with small pits sunk in the debris only; their walls are coated with mud, and they have no side-chambers. As no trace of burial was discovered in any of these shafts, it can be concluded that they are either unfinished and unused, or were false-shafts. From north to south, they are numbered: Nos. 980, 982, 983, 984, 985, 986, respectively.

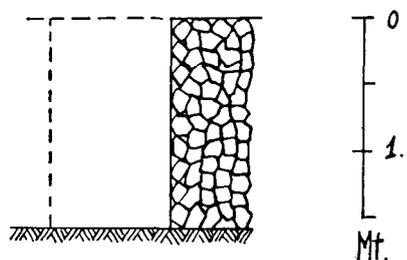
Shaft No. 980 (Fig. 73).

Grave-pit: $1.05 \times 0.85 \times 2.00$ m. deep; filling of debris.



No. 980.

FIG. 73.

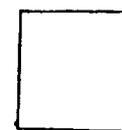


No. 981.

FIG. 74.

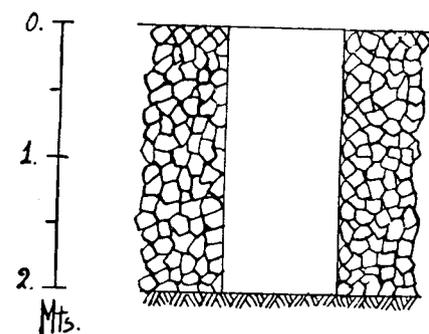
Shaft No. 981 (Fig. 74).

Grave-pit: $0.90 \times 1.00 \times 1.60$ deep; filling of debris.



Shaft No. 982 (Fig. 75).

Grave-pit: $0.90 \times 0.90 \times 2.00$ m. deep; filling of debris.

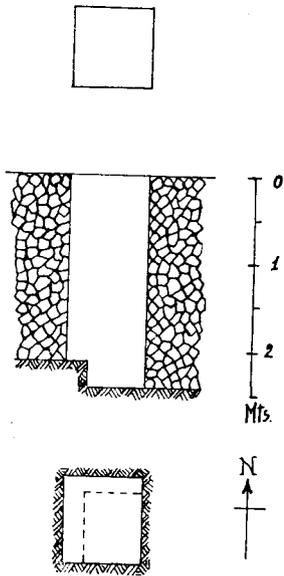


No. 982.

FIG. 75.

Shaft No. 983 (Fig. 76).

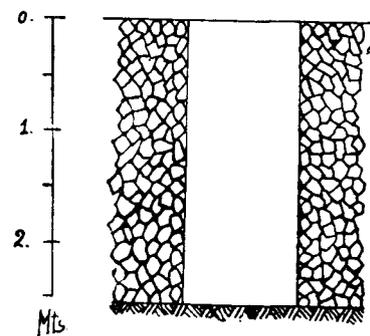
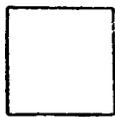
Grave-pit : 0.90 × 1.00 × 2.10 m. deep ; filling of debris.



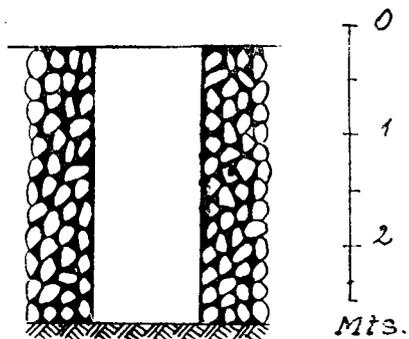
No. 984. FIG. 77.

Shaft No. 985 (Fig. 78).

Grave-pit : 1.00 × 0.85 × 2.55 m. deep ; filling of debris.



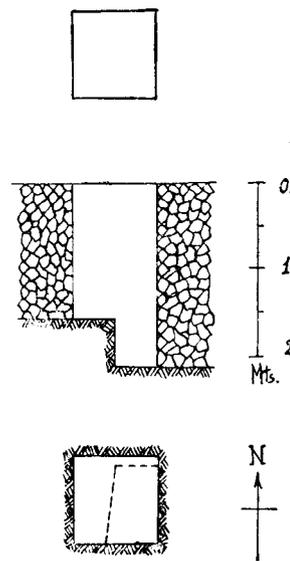
No. 985. FIG. 78.



No. 986. FIG. 79.

Shaft No. 986 (Fig. 79).

Grave-pit : 0.75 × 0.90 × 2.50 m. deep ; filling of debris.



No. 983. FIG. 73.

Shaft No. 984 (Fig. 77).

Grave-pit : 0.95 × 0.95 × 2.45 m. deep ; filling of debris.

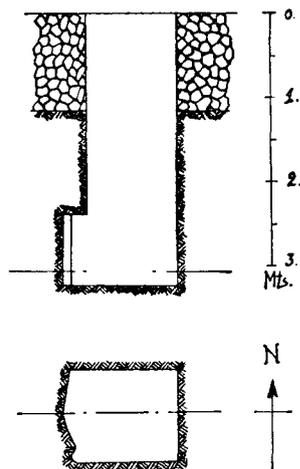
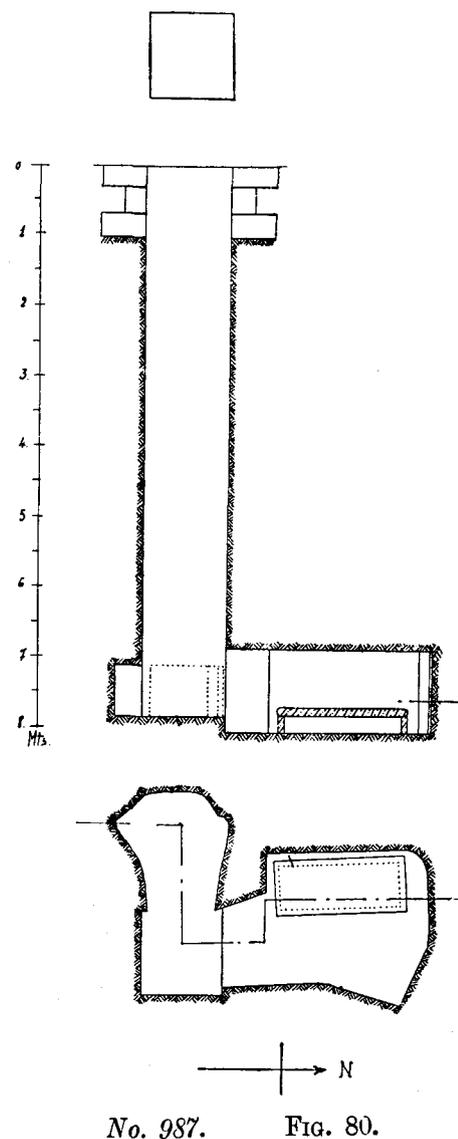


Shaft No. 987 (Fig. 80).

It lies behind the southern false-door of the chapel.

Grave-pit: $1.15 \times 1.30 \times 7.80$ m. deep, with a small recess on the west, and a large side-chamber on the north. This chamber measures 3.00 m. long, 2.00 m. wide and 1.20 m. high and contained a sarcophagus measuring 1.80 m. long, 0.80 m. wide and 0.25 m. high.

Burial: A few bones scattered in the sarcophagus and three skeletons extended on the debris covering the floor, the latter remains proving that the chamber had been re-employed in later times.

*Shaft No. 988 (Fig. 81).*

It lies to the south of the preceding one.

Grave-pit: $1.10 \times 1.10 \times 3.25$ m. deep, with a small recess on the west.

Burial: A few bones scattered in the debris.

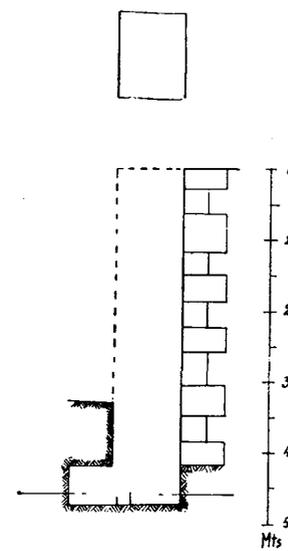
No. 988. FIG. 81.

Shaft No. 989 (Fig. 82).

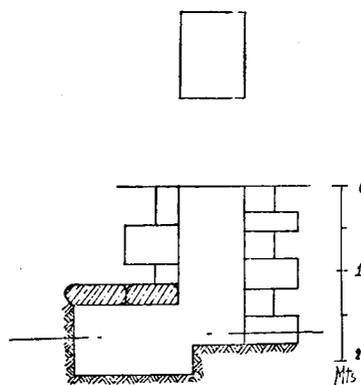
This shaft, as well as Shaft No. 990, seems to have been constructed in a later time and occupy the space lying between the western wall of the tomb of Khafra'-ankh and the inner chapel of Ka-debehen.

Grave-pit : 0·90×1·20×4·75 m. deep, with a small recess on the west.

Burial : A few bones scattered in the debris.



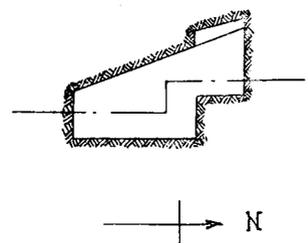
No. 989. FIG. 82.



Shaft No. 990 (Fig. 83).

Grave-pit : 1·20×0·85×2·20 m. deep, with a side-chamber on the south.

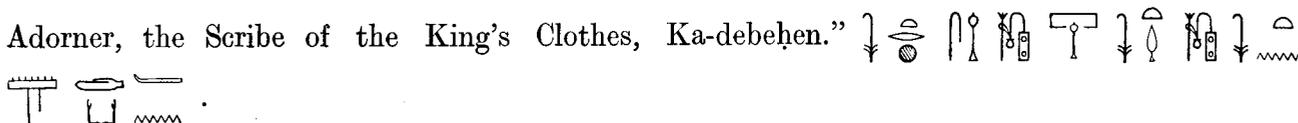
Burial : The remains of a body lying in a contracted posture in the debris.



No. 990. FIG. 83.

Large Lintel of Ka-debehen.

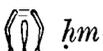
A large lintel of local limestone measuring 3·40×0·55 m. was found in the debris behind the tomb. It is incised with a single row of very large hieroglyphs, reading : “He Who is Concerned with the King’s Affairs, the Inspector of the Scribes of the Treasury, the King’s Adorner, the Scribe of the King’s Clothes, Ka-debehen.”



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THE MASTABA OF 'ANKH-TEF

TITLES

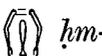
1.  *'irj ht njswt* "He Who is Concerned with the King's Affairs."
2.  *shd hm-k3* "Inspector of the *Ka*-servants."
3.  *imj-r3 ss'r* "Overseer of Linen."
4.  *hm-k3* "*Ka*-servant (1)."

FAMILY

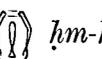
Wife:  "Ny-*ank-es* . . ."

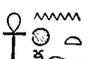
Title:  *'irj [t] ht njswt* "She Who is Concerned with the King's Affairs."

Son:  "*Rdi-ny-Ptah*."

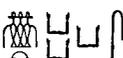
Title:  *hm-k3* "*Ka*-servant."

Son:  "*Se-ankhw-Ptah*."

Title:  *hm-k3* "*Ka*-servant."

Son:  "*Ankh-tef*."

Title:  *hm-k3* "*Ka*-servant."

Daughter:  "*Khent-kawes*."

Title:  *hm [t] k3* "*Ka*-servant."

Daughter:  "*Hesy-Hathor*."

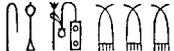
Title:  *hm [t]-k3* "*Ka*-servant."

 "*Ankh-ha-ef* (2)."

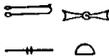
(1) Spiegel wishes to translate this title as "Protecto rof the Corpse" *shn-hm*, giving the sign  its value of "embrace" in the sense of protection. Junker, however, ignores this reading in the latest volume of his work on the *Giza* Necropolis ("*Giza*", VI, 1943) and retains the translation *hm-k3* "*Ka*-servant".

(2) The relation of *'Ankh-ha-ef* to *'Ankh-tef* is not stated. Probably he is the eldest son of the latter.

TITLES

1.  *irj ht njswt* "He Who is Concerned with the King's Affairs."
2.  *shd ss' prw* "Inspector of the Scribes of the Gangs of Workmen."
3.  *imshw hr ntr-'3* "The Honoured by the Great God."

FAMILY

Wife:  "Theset."

Title:  *irj [t] ht njswt* "She Who is Concerned with the King's Affairs."

Son:  "Seshem-nefer."

The following persons are also mentioned in the tomb, but their relationship (if any) to the deceased is unrecorded:—

1.  "Renpet-ef."

2.  "Ra'-wer."

SITUATION

The mastaba of 'Ankh-tef is situated to the north of that of Ny-sw-ḳid, and north-west of that of Ka-debeḥen (see General Plan 10-R and Fig. 84).

DESCRIPTION

It is entirely built of local limestone.

THE ENTRANCE

The main entrance of this tomb is low and narrow, measuring 1.60 m. high and 0.55 m. wide and faces east. It leads into a small, square vestibule, measuring 1.45 × 1.30 m., the western wall being occupied by a false-door, the lintel of which is lacking (Figs. 85, 86, A, B; Pl. XXI).

On the panel "A" is represented 'Ankh-tef seated upon a stool, and holding a long staff in his left hand. Parallel with his staff is a vertical row of incised hieroglyphs, reading: "Inspector of the *Ka*-servants, 'Ankh-tef."

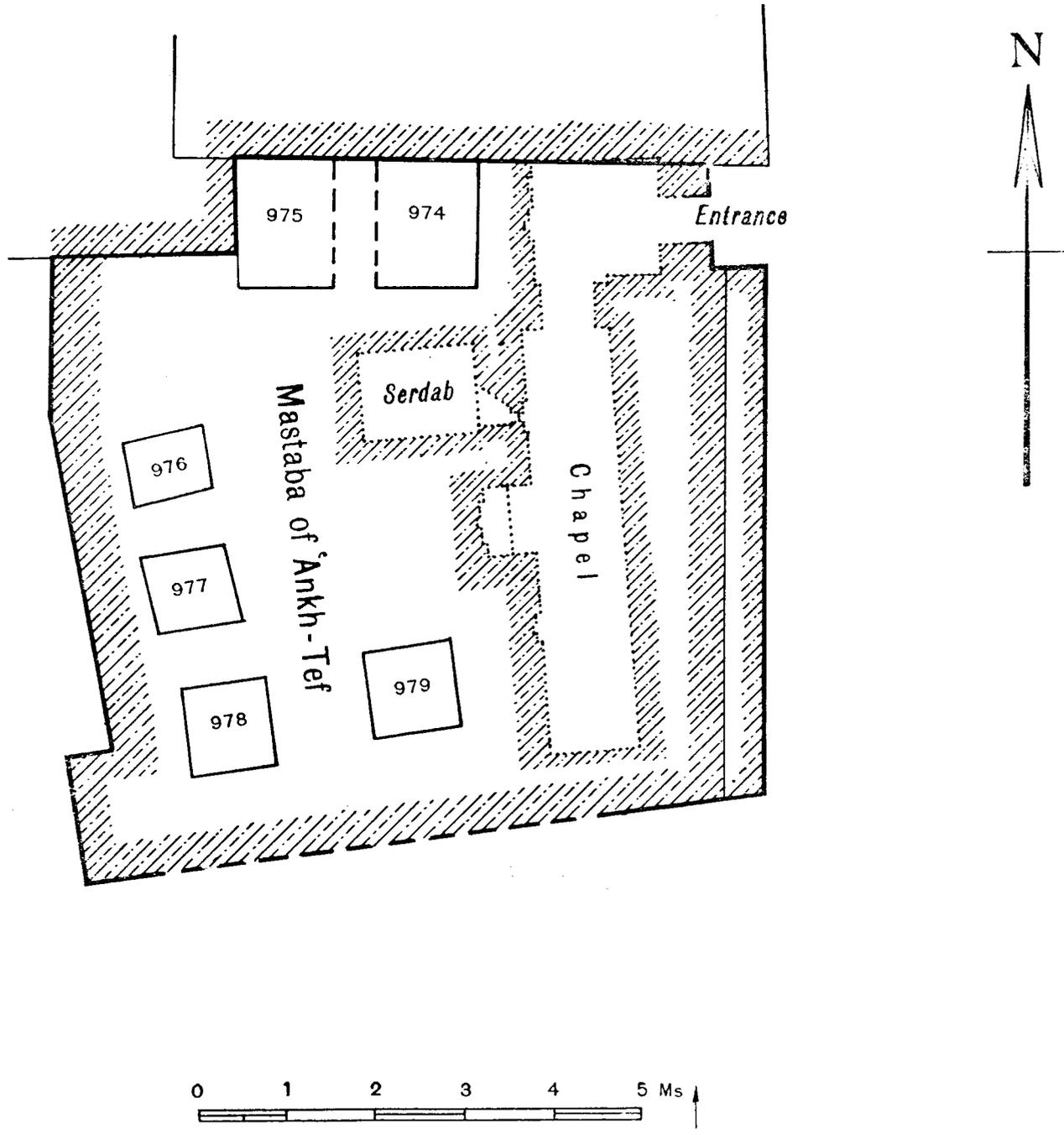


FIG. 84.

On "B" is incised a vertical inscription, reading: "A boon which the King gives, that offerings may come forth to him, of bread, beer and cakes, in every feast and every day, (for) the Honoured One by the Great God, the Inspector of the Scribes of the Gangs of Workmen, 'Ankh-ḥa-ef."



FIG. 85.

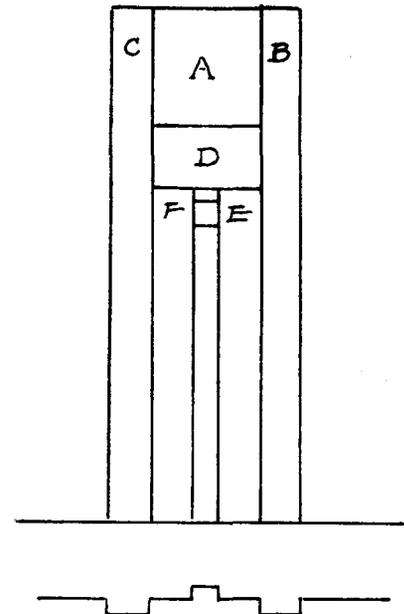


FIG. 86.

On "C" is inscribed: "A boon which the King gives, and a boon of Anubis, Presiding Over the God's Dwelling, that he may be buried in the Necropolis of the Desert (after) a good old age, 'Ankh-ḥa-ef."

On "D" is a horizontal row of hieroglyphs, reading: "He Who is Concerned with the King's Affairs, the Overseer of Linen, 'Ankh-tef."

On "E" is an inscription, reading: "He Who is Concerned with the King's Affairs, the Inspector of the Ka-servants, 'Ankh-tef."

At the end of this inscription are two superposed figures of men, the upper one of which represents 'Ankh-tef, while the lower figure represents an offering-bearer named Renpet-ef.

On "F" is a vertical row of hieroglyphs, reading: "He Who is Concerned with the King's Affairs, the *Ka*-servant, the Overseer of Linen, 'Ankh-tef."

Below this inscription are two superposed figures similar to those on "E". The lower figure is named Ra'wer.

To the left side of this false-door is a representation of 'Ankh-ḥa-ef in a walking attitude. He holds a long staff in his left hand, and a handkerchief in his right. Above him are three horizontal rows of incised hieroglyphs, reading: "He Who is Concerned with the King's Affairs, the Inspector of the Scribes of the Gangs of Workmen, 'Ankh-ḥa-ef."

Below this figure of 'Ankh-ḥa-ef are the representations of his wife and son, each in a standing attitude, with the left hand resting upon the breast. Above the woman's head is inscribed: "She Who is Concerned with the King's Affairs, His Wife, Theset." Above the man's head is inscribed: "His Son, Seshem-nefer."

On the right side of the false-door referred to above, are faint traces of another small, roughly-cut false door.

In the south-western corner of the vestibule is a doorway, 0.56 m. wide, leading into the chapel. The lintel of this doorway (Fig. 87; Pl. XXII, A) bears two horizontal rows of incised inscription which is mostly effaced. The remaining signs read:—

Upper Row.—"He who is Concerned with the King's Affairs, . . . the Honoured One by His Lord, the Beloved One . . ."

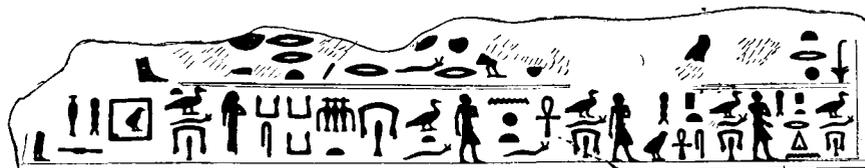


FIG. 87.

Lower Row.—"His Son, the *Ka*-servant, Redi-en-Ptah, his son, the *Ka*-servant, Se-'ankhw-Ptah, his son, the *Ka*-servant, 'Ankh-tef, his daughter, the *Ka*-servant, Khent-kawes, his daughter, the *Ka*-servant, Hesy-Ḥathor." Notice that each name is followed by a small figure of the person mentioned.

It is to be noted that the beginning of this lintel is hidden behind the western wall of the vestibule, proving that the latter is an additional construction built after the completion of the chapel.

THE CHAPEL

The chapel is long and narrow, measuring 4.80 m. long by 1.10 m. wide and 2.18 m. high. In its western wall are three false-doors, the principal and largest of which is in the middle, and measures 0.80 m. wide and 1.60 m. high. The false-door to the right (the north) is uninscribed, but below its drum is situated the squint of an intact serdab, containing two limestone statuettes in perfect condition. The southern false-door is also uninscribed.

The Central False-door (Figs. 88, 89, 90, 92; Pl. XXII, B).

The lintel is somewhat damaged, but the remains of two horizontal rows of incised hieroglyphs read: "... Presiding Over the God's Dwelling, ... old age ... Feast of the Opening of the Year, Feast of Thoth, the Feast of the Beginning of the Year, the Wag-Feast (1), the Honoured One ... Overseer of Linen, 'Ankh-tef."

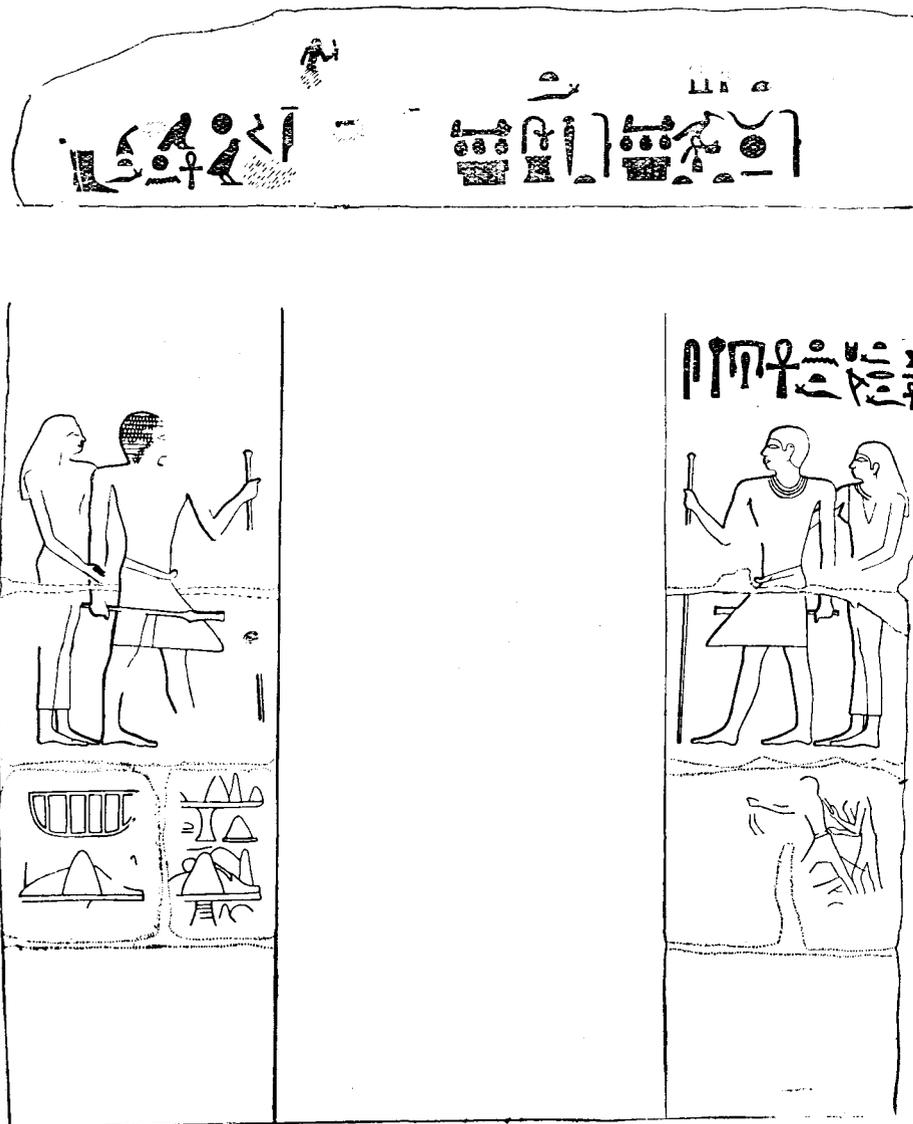


FIG. 88.

At the end of this inscription is a damaged representation of the owner of the tomb, seated upon a stool, only the lower part of which remains.

On "A" are two registers, the upper one of which represents 'Ankh-tef in a walking attitude, accompanied by his wife. He holds a long staff in his right hand, and a Khery-baton in his left. Above these two figures is inscribed: "The Inspector of the *Ka*-servants, 'Ankh-tef, his wife, who is beloved by him, Ny-'ankh-es . . ."

Traces of brilliant colouring remain on parts of the figures and inscriptions of this scene.

(1) See below, p. 217, Note 1, for the feast "Wag".

On the lower register are the remains of a representation of the slaughter of a sacrificial bull.

On "B" are also two superposed registers, the upper one representing a man and a woman in a similar attitude to the preceding. The accompanying inscription has weathered away. The lower register contains representations of different kinds of offerings placed upon low tables.

On the right inner thickness "C" (Fig. 89) are five registers, the upper four of which represent a procession of male offering-bearers; while the lowest register represents four women standing, their right hands placed upon their chests and their left arms hanging down (a sign of respect). All the figures represented here are facing west.

The left inner thickness "D" is occupied by a list of offerings, but it is in a bad state of preservation and most of the entries are effaced (Fig. 90).

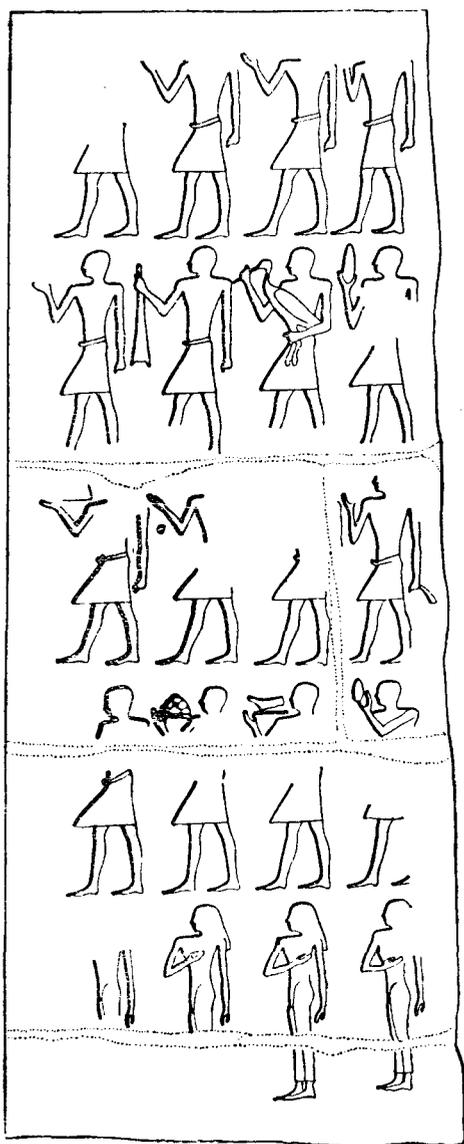


FIG. 89.

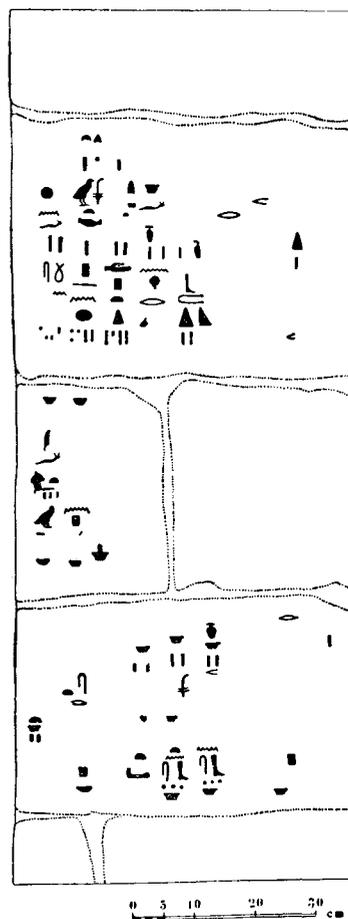


FIG. 90.

On the panel (Fig. 91; Pl. XXII, B) is the lower part of a scene representing the deceased seated before an offering-table. Below the table is inscribed: "Bread, Beer, Cakes and Clothes."

On "G" is a vertical row of incised hieroglyphs, reading: "A boon which the King gives and a boon of Anubis that he may walk upon the ways, upon which walk always . . ."

On "H" is another vertical inscription which reads: ". . . That offerings of bread, beer, and cakes may come forth to him in the Feast of the Opening of the Year, the Feast of Thoth, the Beginning of the Year, and the Wag Feast . . ."

On "I" is inscribed: "A boon which the King gives, and a boon of Anubis that he may be buried in . . ."

On "J" is inscribed: "'Ankh-tef."

On "K" and "L" are two apparently identical rows of hieroglyphs incised vertically and reading: "He Who is Concerned with the King's Affairs, the Overseer of the Linen, the Inspector of the *Ka*-servants, 'Ankh-tef."

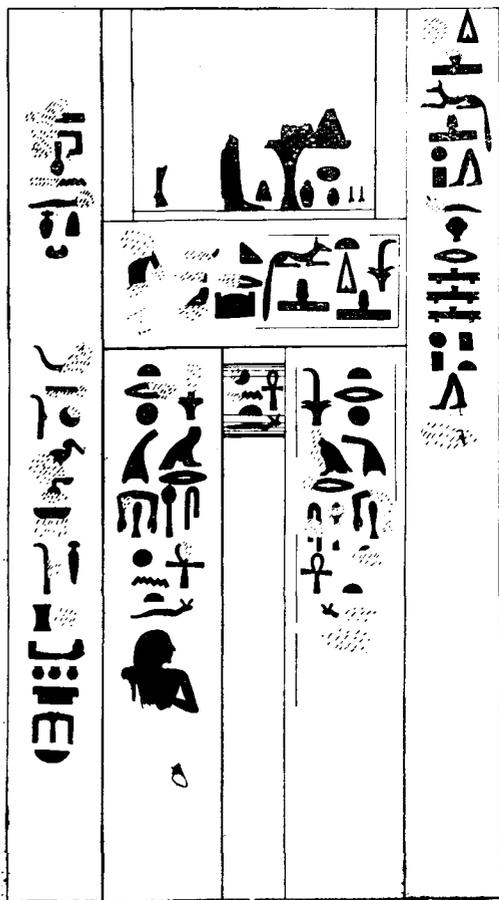


FIG. 91.

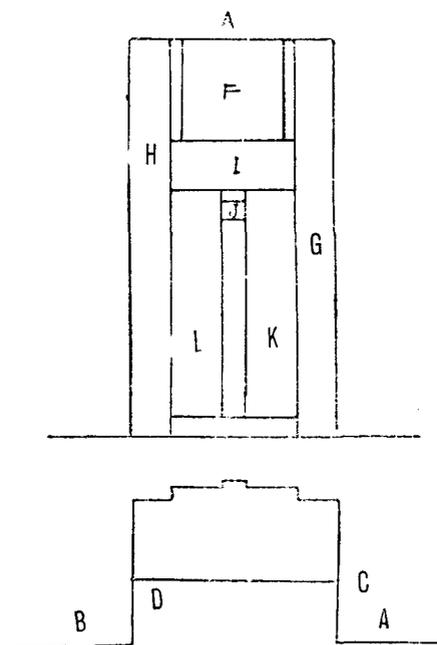


FIG. 92.

THE INTACT SERDAB OF 'ANKH-TEF

The serdab lies behind the northern false-door. It measures about 1.30 m. long by 0.75 m. high and 0.90 m. wide.

Its roof is formed of two uninscribed false-doors (Pl. XXIII, A, B).

The serdab contained the two following statuettes:—

Statuette of 'Ankh-tef (Pl. XXIV).

Material.—Fine white Turah limestone.

Dimensions.—Height: 0·53 m. Breadth across shoulders: 0·24 m.

Preservation.—Very good. Slight damage to the left side of the plinth.

Workmanship.—Excellent and very realistic.

Description.—The deceased is represented in a seated attitude, head upraised and arms bent at the elbows with the hands resting upon the knees; feet together. He wears a short wig parted in the centre and a short kilt. The face, which is beautifully modelled, is somewhat rounded and is lined with age. The eyes are prominent and widely opened and the brows are arched. The nose is prominent and well-formed, the mouth tightly closed and having a long upper lip. The chin is small and shapely. The modelling of the torso is very cleverly done and is true to nature, special attention having been given to the bony structure. The rendering of the details of the knees and the muscles of the legs is also noteworthy; the feet, however, are not so well proportioned.

Colours.—Traces of black remain upon the wig and a few slight traces of red appear upon the body and feet.

Inscriptions.—On the right side of the pedestal is a vertical row of hieroglyphs, reading: "The Inspector of the *Ka*-servants, 'Ankh-tef."

The Statuette of a Woman (Pl. XXV).

Material.—Fine white Turah limestone.

Dimensions.—Height: 0·28 m. Breadth across shoulders: 0·10 m.

Preservation.—Perfect.

Workmanship.—Excellent.

Description.—This figure was found at the right side of that of 'Ankh-tef. She is represented in the act of grinding corn. She rests upon her knees, her bare toes gripping the ground. Both hands are grasping the upper grindstone. The lower grindstone is hollowed in front to receive the flour. This pleasing little statuette is remarkable for the fine details of the hair which is bound with a ribbon fillet, and the charming expression of the rounded face.

The modelling of the body is very realistic and conveys a surprising sense of arrested movement.

Dress.—She wears a short kilt reaching from the hips to a little above the knees, and a fillet encircling her short, plaited hair.

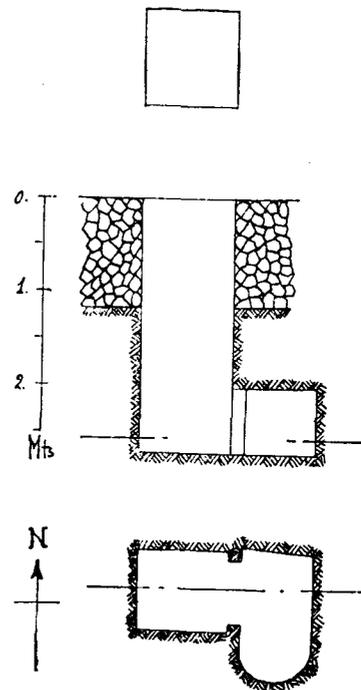
SHAFTS

Behind the false-door of the vestibule are two small shafts situated one behind the other and numbered 974 and 975:—

Shaft No. 974 (Fig. 93).

Grave-pit: 4·00 × 1·00 × 2·70 m. deep. Side-chamber on the east, aperture closed with two slabs of limestone.

Burial: Skeleton in a contracted position, with the head to the north and face to the east.



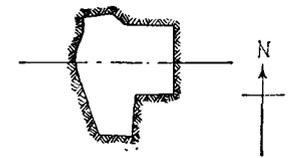
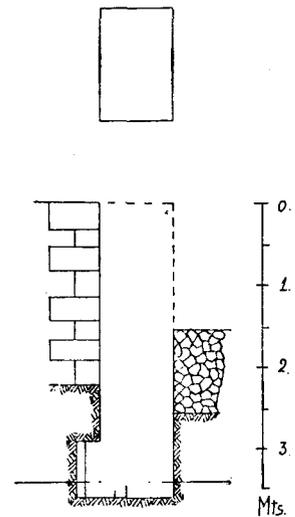
No. 974. FIG. 93.

Shaft No. 975 (Fig. 94).

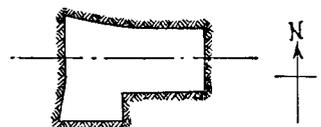
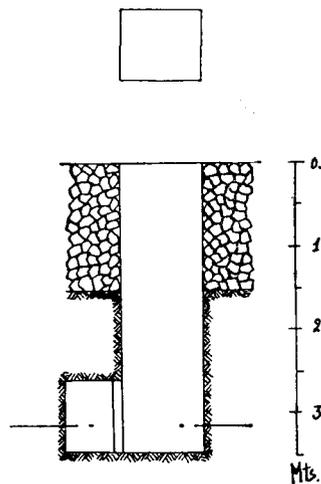
Grave-pit: $0.95 \times 1.35 \times 3.60$ m. deep, ending in a small recess on the west. Aperture opened.

Burial: A few bones scattered in the debris.

To the south of these two shafts lies the above-mentioned serdab, behind which is sunk Shaft No. 976.



No. 975. FIG. 94.



No. 976. FIG. 95.

Shaft No. 976 (Fig. 95).

Grave-pit: $0.85 \times 1.00 \times 3.45$ m. deep, with a small side-chamber on the west. Aperture opened.

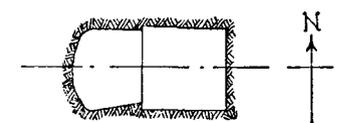
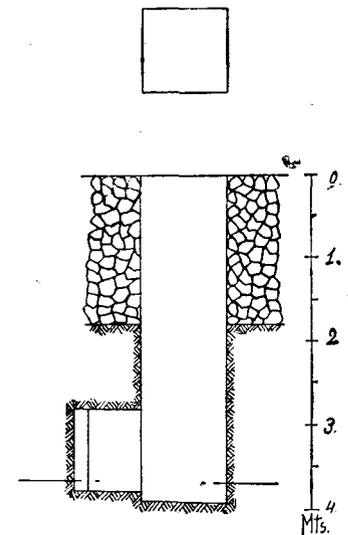
Burial: A few bones scattered in the debris.

Shaft No. 977 (Fig. 96).

It lies to the south of the latter and is partly lined with rubble and partly cut in the rock.

Grave-pit: $1.05 \times 1.00 \times 3.90$ m. deep, with a side-chamber on the west. Aperture opened.

Burial: A few bones scattered in the debris.



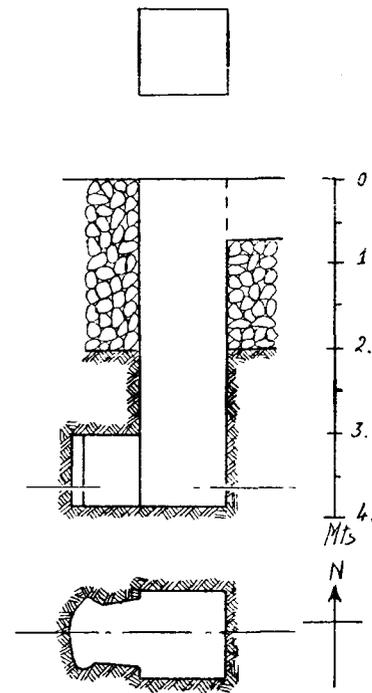
No. 977. FIG. 96.

Shaft No. 978 (Fig. 97).

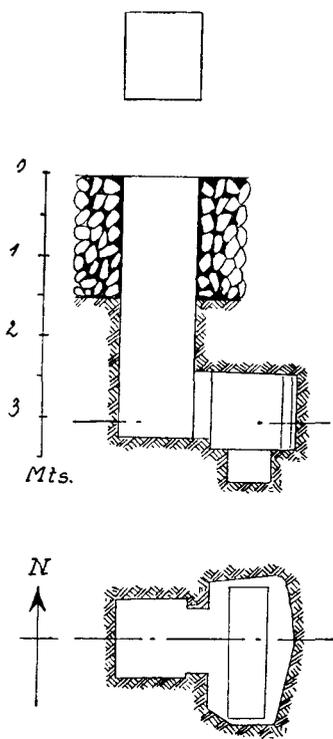
It lies to the south of No. 977 which it resembles in its construction.

Grave-pit : $1.05 \times 1.00 \times 3.85$ m. deep, with a side-chamber on the west. Aperture closed.

Burial : Skeleton in a contracted position with head to the north and face to the east.



No. 978. FIG. 97.



Shaft No. 979 (Fig. 98).

It lies behind the southern false-door of the chapel and is partly lined with rubble and partly cut in the rock.

Grave-pit : $1.00 \times 0.95 \times 3.20$ m. deep, with a side-chamber on the east. Aperture closed.

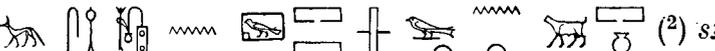
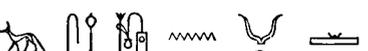
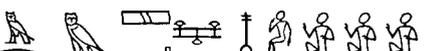
Burial : Some bones in a bad state of preservation, lying in a recess cut in the floor of the chamber. Rainfall had penetrated the burial and damaged the body.

No. 979. FIG. 98.

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THE ROCK-CUT TOMB OF WERKHWW⁽¹⁾

TITLES

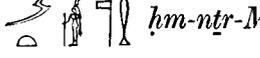
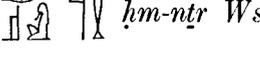
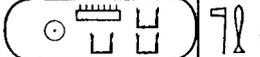
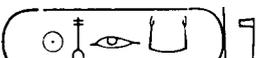
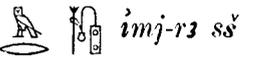
1.  *irj-ht njswt* "He Who is Concerned with the King's Affairs."
2.  *ss'- njswt [n] pr '3* "Scribe of the Royal Documents of the Great House."
3.  *s3b imj-r3 ss'* "Judge and Overseer of the Scribes."
4.  ⁽²⁾ *s3b shd ss' n htwj-wrwj imj wr. t hnw*
"Judge and Inspector of the Scribes of the Two Courts of Justice Which are in the Western Part of the Residence(?)."
5.  *s3b shd ss' n wpt* "Judge and Inspector of the Scribes of the Commissions."
6.  *shd ss' pr md3.t* "Inspector of the Scribes of the Archives."
7.  *hrj wdb* "Chief of the Distribution of Offerings⁽³⁾."
8.  *imj-r3 is dfr* "Overseer of the Service of Food."
9.  *hrp ss' sprw m d3d3.t wrt* "Director of the Scribes Attached to the Petitioners in the Great Judicial Council."
10.  *imj-r3 gs imj wr.t '3 hr* "Overseer of the Great Corps of Priesthood of the Pyramid 'Her' (?)⁽⁴⁾."
11.  *imj r3 ms' idw-nfrw* "Overseer of the Army of Young Recruits."
12.  *sdm mdw m sst3 nb* "He Who Hears the Words in Every Secret."
13.  *shd* "Inspector (expert). . ."

⁽¹⁾ See RANKE, p. 81, 16; p. 266, 4, who gives the pronunciation as *hwj-wj-wr* "My Protector is the Great [God]".

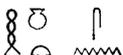
⁽²⁾ Var. .

⁽³⁾ PIRENNE, *ibid.* p. 449, translates the word *wdb* "taxes". JUNKER, "Giza", III, p. 109 ff., "the priest who calls out the different kinds of offering".

⁽⁴⁾ PIRENNE, "Histoire des Institutions", etc., vol. II, p. 449, translates this title: "Director of the guard of the plateau of the Pyramid situated on the west of the Nile."

14.  *wd'-mdw m hsj.t* "He Who Judges in the Audience Chamber."
15.  *hrp ss' sprw* "Director of the Scribes Attached to the Petitioners."
16.  *phr mh m šw.t* "He who fully encompasses the [King's] protection by (Justice)."
17.  *shd ss' n ht-wrt* "Inspector of the Scribes of the Great Hall."
18.  *hm-ntr-Ma't* "Priest of the Goddess Ma'at (Judge)."
19.  *hm-ntr Ws'ir* "Priest of Osiris."
20.  *hm-ntr Mn-kaw-R'* "Priest of King Men-kaw-Ra'."
21.  *hm-ntr Nfr ir-ka-R'* "Priest of King Nefer-ir-ka-Ra'."
22.  *hm ntr ist-ib-R'* "Priest of the Sun-Temple of [Nefer-ir-ka-Ra']."
23.  *imshw hr ntr-š* "The Honoured by the Great God"
24.  *imj-r3 ss'* "Overseer of Scribes."

FAMILY

Wife:  *hnwt-sn* "Henwt-sen."

TITLES

1.  *irj [t] ht njswt* "She Who is Concerned with the King's Affairs."
2.  *hm [t] ntr Ht-Hr* "Priestess of the Goddess Hathor."

SITUATION

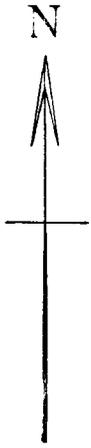
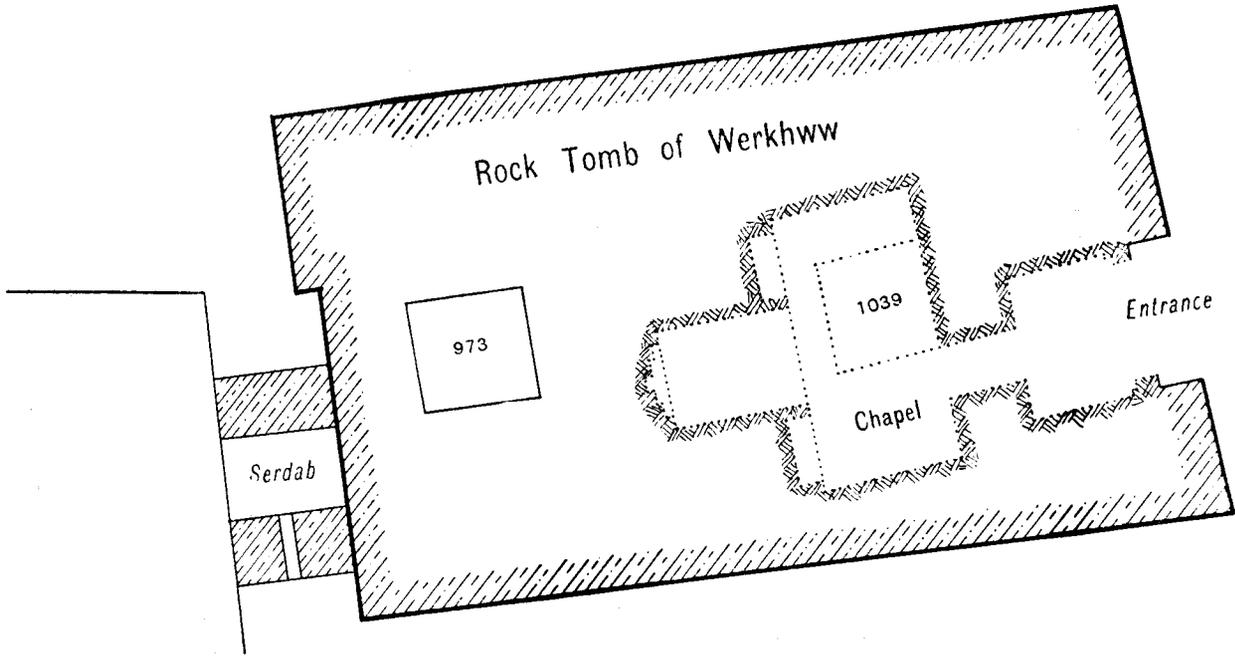
The tomb of Werkhww⁽¹⁾ is cut in the upper strata of the ridge of rock which lies to the north-east of the Pyramid of Queen Khent-kawes, above the tomb of Nemetet, north-west of mastabas "F" and "G" and north-east of the tomb of Mes-sa, perhaps his father (see General Plan 12-Q and Fig. 99).

DESCRIPTION

As mentioned above, this tomb is cut in the native rock, but its façade is cased with local limestone masonry.

⁽¹⁾ This tomb had been copied by Lepsius (*L. D.*), II, Pls. 43-44.

Fig. 99.



THE ENTRANCE

The entrance opens eastwards and measures 1.40 × 0.30 m. In front of it are the remains of two parallel walls running east-west to a distance of 2.80 m. They are constructed of irregular courses of local limestone on a foundation of debris.

In the debris lying in this place, we found a drum made of fine Turah limestone, which may have belonged to this entrance (Fig. 100; Pl. XXVI, A).

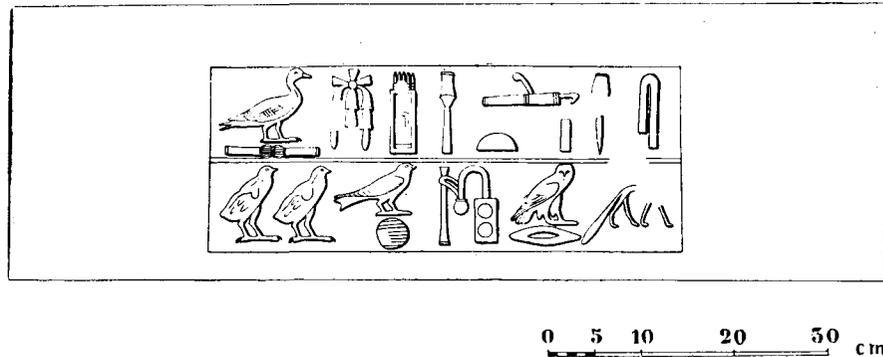


FIG. 100.

It bears two horizontal rows of hieroglyphs, sculptured in relief, and reading: "The Sole Companion, the Director of the Palace, Mes-sa. The Judge and Overseer of the Scribes, Werkhww." This may indicate a relationship between Werkhww and Mes-sa.

THE ANTE-CHAMBER

Inscription ⁽¹⁾ on the Northern and Southern Walls of the Ante-chamber (Fig. 101, a, b) :—

(1) "I came from my town and went down to my nome, where I spoke the truth and where I acted the truth. It will go well with you, O Descendants, and you will be justified of voice, O Ancestors."

(2) "As for what you have done to this, the like will be done to your property by your descendants. Never have I done evil to anybody, never did I make anyone sleep unhappy."

⁽¹⁾ Compare this sentence with a similar one in Chapter 17 of the Book of the Dead (*Religiöse Urk*, p. 21, Abschnitt 10), where it refers to the other world, i.e. "the Horizon of Atum".

(3)  "I came in peace and was honoured. I was one beloved by his father and beloved by his mother."

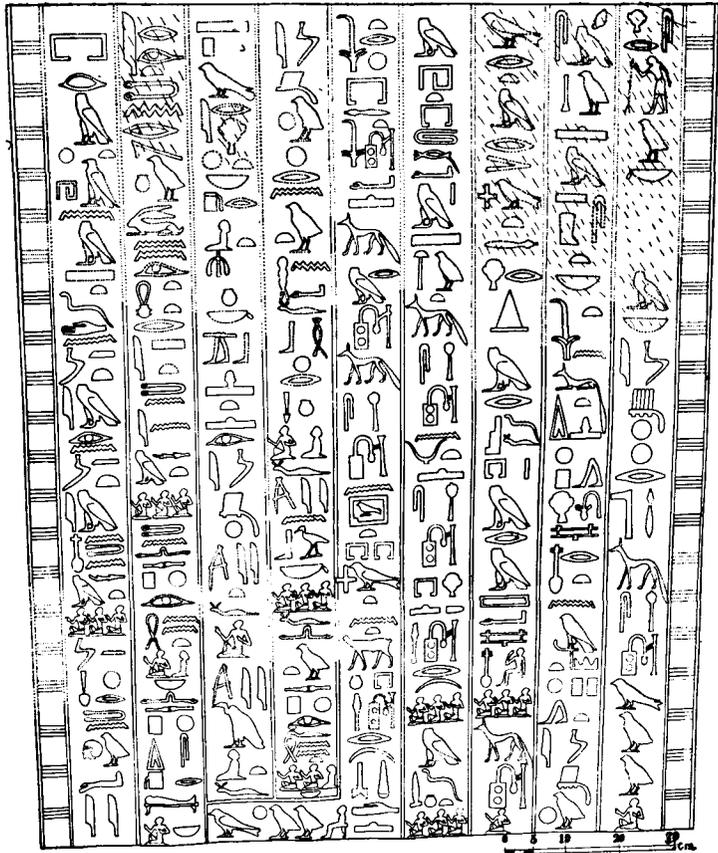
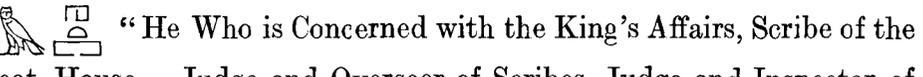


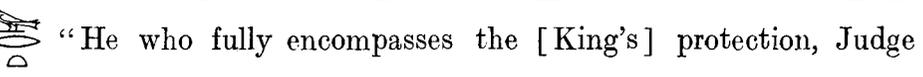
FIG. 101 a.



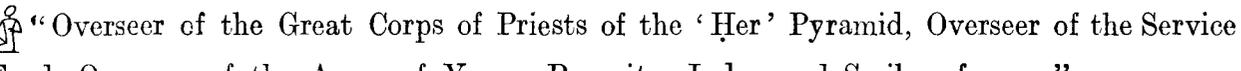
FIG. 101 b.

(4)  "I was one honoured by his companions, sweet with his brethren, and beloved by his servants, who has never done evil to anybody."

(5)  (6)  "He Who is Concerned with the King's Affairs, Scribe of the Royal Documents of the Great House. Judge and Overseer of Scribes, Judge and Inspector of Scribes of the Two Courts of Justice which are in the Western Part of the Residence, Director of the Scribes Attached to the Petitioners, He Who Judges [6] in the Audience Chamber."

(6)  (7)  "He who fully encompasses the [King's] protection, Judge and Inspector of Scribes of the Commissions, Inspector of Scribes of the Archives, Chief of the Distribution of Offerings, Director of Scribes Attached to the Petitioners in the Great Council."

(1) Var. . See also Sethe, *Urk I*, p. 46 ff. for the whole inscription.

(7)  (1)  "Overseer of the Great Corps of Priests of the 'Her' Pyramid, Overseer of the Service of Food, Overseer of the Army of Young Recruits, Judge and Scribe of . . ."

(8)  "He Who Hears the Words in Every Secret. A boon which the King gives, and Anubis (gives), that he may walk upon the good ways of the West, upon which the Honoured Ones walk."

(9)  "After having reached a very good old age, and after having been purified upon the good way as One Honoured by the Great God, the Judge and Inspector of the Scribes, Werkhww."

At the bottom of the third and fourth lines the name of Werkhww is inscribed horizontally : , and followed by a small seated figure of the deceased which also serves as a determinative to his name.

In the western wall of the ante-chamber is a doorway leading into the inner chapel. This doorway measures 0.70 m. wide and 1.90 m. high. Its lintel (Fig. 85; Pl. XXVI, B) is inscribed with two horizontal rows of hieroglyphs, reading : "A boon which the King and Anubis, Presiding Over the God's Dwelling, give, that he may be buried in the Necropolis of the Western Desert after a very good old age, by the Great God, the Judge and Overseer of the Scribes, the Judge and Inspector of the Scribes of the Two Great Courts of Justice which are in the Great Western Part of the Residence, the Director of the Scribes Attached to the Petitioners, Werkhww."

At the end of this inscription is a damaged representation of the deceased, seated upon a chair.

The Drum (Fig. 102; Pl. XXVI, B).

The drum is incised with a horizontal row of hieroglyphs, reading : "The Judge and Overseer of the Scribes, the Inspector, Werkhww."

The Jambs (Fig. 102).

On both jambs of the doorway is a representation of Werkhww in a walking attitude, accompanied by his wife. Above their heads are inscribed five vertical rows of hieroglyphs, reading : "The Judge and Overseer of the Scribes, the Inspector of the Scribes of the Great Hall, the Honoured by the Great God, Werkhww. His wife Who is beloved by him, She Who is Concerned with the King's Affairs, the Priestess of the Goddess Hathor Henwt-sen."

(1) For the meaning of the word  as corps or gang, see GRDSELOFF, "Ann. Serv", XLIII, p. 26, and for the meaning of the expression  as a class of priesthood, see JUNKER, "Giza", VI, p. 21, where he gives the other classes of priesthood as , , , etc. (see for the Hr. Pyramid, "Excavations at Giza", Vol. IV, p. 2).

The Door-Thicknesses (Fig. 103 a, b) (1).

On both thicknesses of the doorway is a representation of the deceased in a walking attitude, holding a long staff in one hand and the Kherep-baton in the other. He is facing east. Parallel

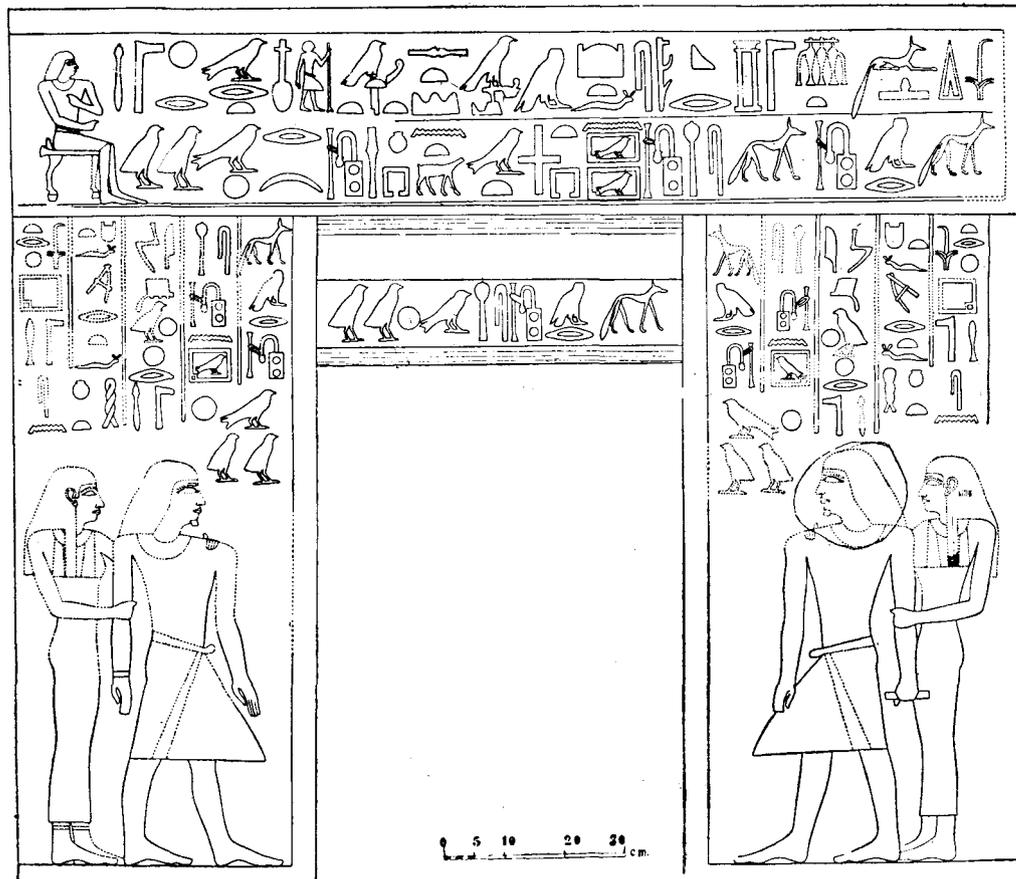


FIG. 102.

with the staff is inscribed, vertically: "The Judge, and Overseer of the Scribes, the Inspector . . . , the Honoured by the Great God, Werkhww."

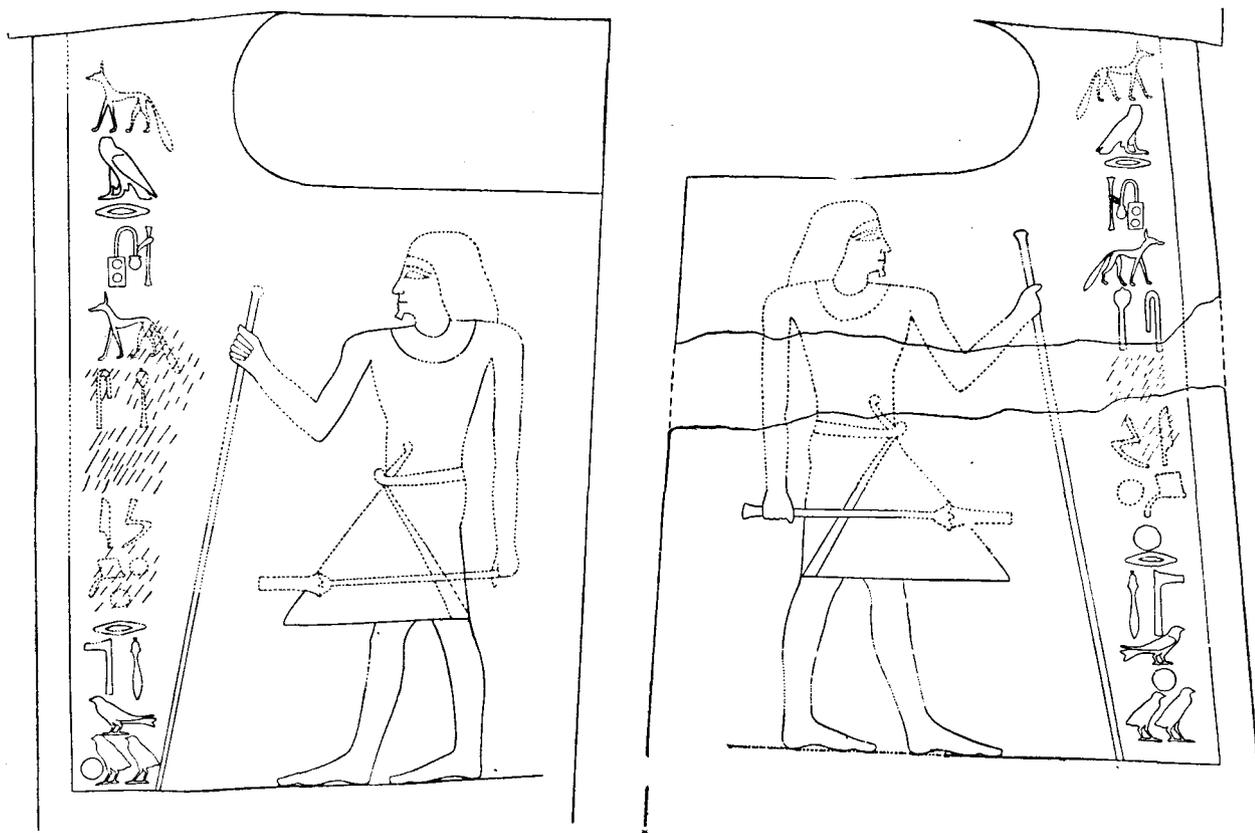


FIG. 103 a.

FIG. 103 b.

(1) For a concise description of the scenes in this tomb, see JUNKER, "Giza, III", pp. 50-51.

THE CHAPEL

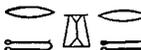
The inner chapel of this tomb measures 1·65 m. long, 3·20 m. wide and 3·40 m. high. Its walls are all sculptured in relief, but unfortunately the surface of the rock is rapidly flaking away, despite all efforts to preserve it. A few traces of colour are still visible.

The Eastern Wall ⁽¹⁾ (Fig. 104).

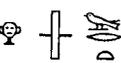
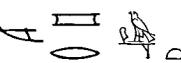
The eastern wall is divided into five registers. Most of its scenes have now flaked away, but by comparing the fragmentary remains with the copy made by Lepsius in 1843, we can gather a good idea of what they originally represented.

At both the right and left sides of the topmost register was a representation of the owner of the tomb, accompanied by his wife and shown in a walking attitude. He holds a long staff in one hand and the Kherep-baton in the other, while his wife embraces him with one arm, and holds his wrist with her free hand. In the left-hand group, two miniature figures of the children of the deceased are included, one holding the father's staff and the other standing behind the mother. In front of the figure of Werkhww was a vertical row of hieroglyphs, of which only the name Werkhww remains. Between these two groups are the lower parts of six small seated figures. At the right side of the second register are the figures of three peasants armed with sickles, engaged in reaping corn; while a fourth man binds the sheaves and stacks them up. Above their heads is inscribed:  "Reaping from his estates of the House of Eternity (wakf)."

Behind the rick, three asses laden with the sheaves, are driven off to the threshing-floor by three peasants wielding sticks. A fourth man receives the asses and unloads them. The last group in this register represents the threshing-floor, where the grain is separated from the husk by being trampled upon by four asses, one of which is snatching a mouthful of corn. The animals are kept in motion by two men armed with sticks; while a third man winnows the grain and piles it into a high heap behind him.

At the right side of the doorway, the third register contains the representation of two men ploughing with a yoke of oxen; one man guides the plough; while the other goads the oxen, in front of which walks a third man. Above the ploughers is inscribed:  *rm.t.hrt* "men at work."

At the left side of this register is the representation of two sailing boats and two rowing boats. In the water below them are shown two crocodiles and a hippopotamus ⁽²⁾.

Above the first boat with sails:  "keep to the right"; on the second: 
 "the canal of the beautiful West."

⁽¹⁾ L.D. II, Bl. 43.

⁽²⁾ Cf. KLEBS, *op. cit.* p. 27.

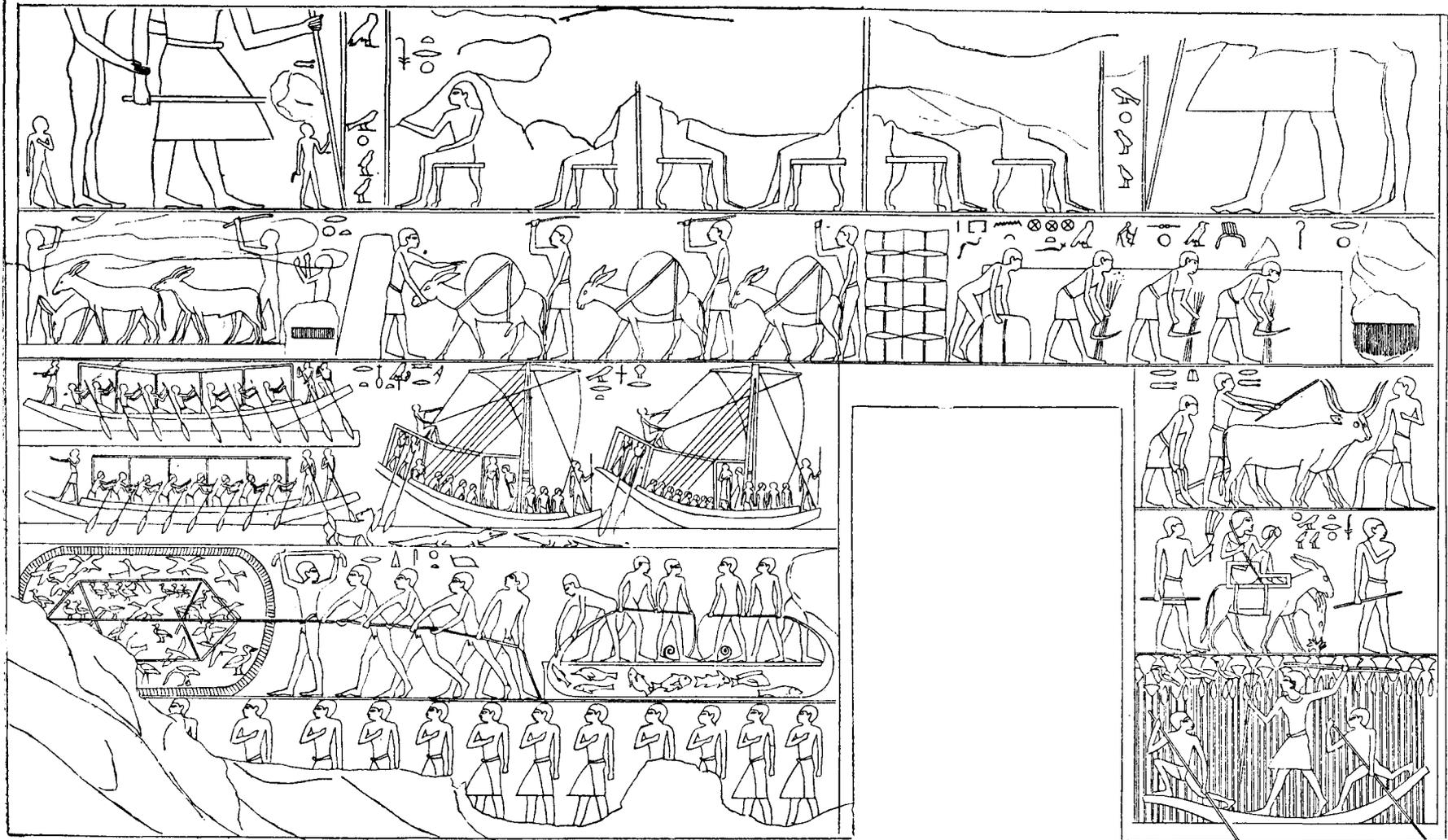


FIG. 104.

The fourth register on the right of the doorway depicts the owner of the tomb riding in a carrying-chair which is mounted upon the backs of two asses. The animals are harnessed side by side, and the carrying-chair rests upon their backs, spanning the space between them. It is held in position by two girths.

The rider is seated in the chair with his knees drawn up in front of him. He holds a short stick in his left hand, and fans himself with a handkerchief held in his right hand. In front of him is inscribed: "He Who is Concerned with the King's Affairs, Werkhww." One of the two asses snatches at a plant in passing. In front of the asses walks an attendant carrying a short stick in his right hand, and placing his left hand upon his shoulder in a gesture of respect. Another attendant follows behind, carrying a stick and a fan (1).

The left side of this register represents a fishing scene. Six men are shown hauling upon the ropes of a drag-net full of fish. Behind them are four fowlers holding themselves in readiness to pull the rope which closes the clap net shown in the extreme end of the register. Between the men and the net is the chief fowler, holding aloft a cloth in both hands, with which he will signal the men when to close the net.

Above the fowlers is inscribed:  "Making the Catch" (by the Trap).

The bottom register, at the right-hand side of the doorway, represents the owner of the tomb standing in a papyrus skiff, which is propelled by two attendants. In his left hand is a throw-stick poised for striking (2), and behind him is a papyrus thicket, the reeds of which he clutches to steady himself. Some birds are perching upon the papyrus umbels.

On the left side of this register is a procession of men, the figures of twelve of whom remain. They are identical in appearance and attitude, being represented in a walking posture with the right hand closed and placed upon the breast, and the left hand banging at the side.

At the upper part of this wall are the squints of the two serdabs which are situated on either side of the doorway.

The Southern Wall (3) (Fig. 105).

The southern wall was apparently occupied by five registers, most of which have now flaked away. There remains on the upper register only the representation of an offering-table.

The second register represented a group of musicians, of which two harpers remain at the left side. These are both daughters of the deceased and each bears the title  "She Who is Concerned with the King's Affairs". In the tomb of *K3-hjf* (4) the musicians, both harpists and singers are the grandchildren of the tomb-ower.

(1) KLEBS, "Die Reliefs des Alten Reiches", p. 29.

(2) Cf. KLEBS, *op. cit.* p. 35.

(3) L.D. Ergänzungsband, XXXVIII [left].

(4) See JUNKER, "Giza", Vol. VI (1943), pp. 122, 123

On the third register are shown three pairs of men carrying heavily-laden offering-tables between them, and a single offering-bearer following behind them. Only the lower part of this scene remains. Certainly these are preparing for the feast.

The fourth register depicts a dancing scene. At the right side, two performers are clapping their hands to keep time and before them is a row of seven dancers; their arms raised above their heads, with the hands' palm upwards and the finger-tips meeting. In this position, the head is jerked rhythmically from side to side⁽¹⁾. Only the upper parts of these figures remain. Behind them is inscribed: "the dancers".

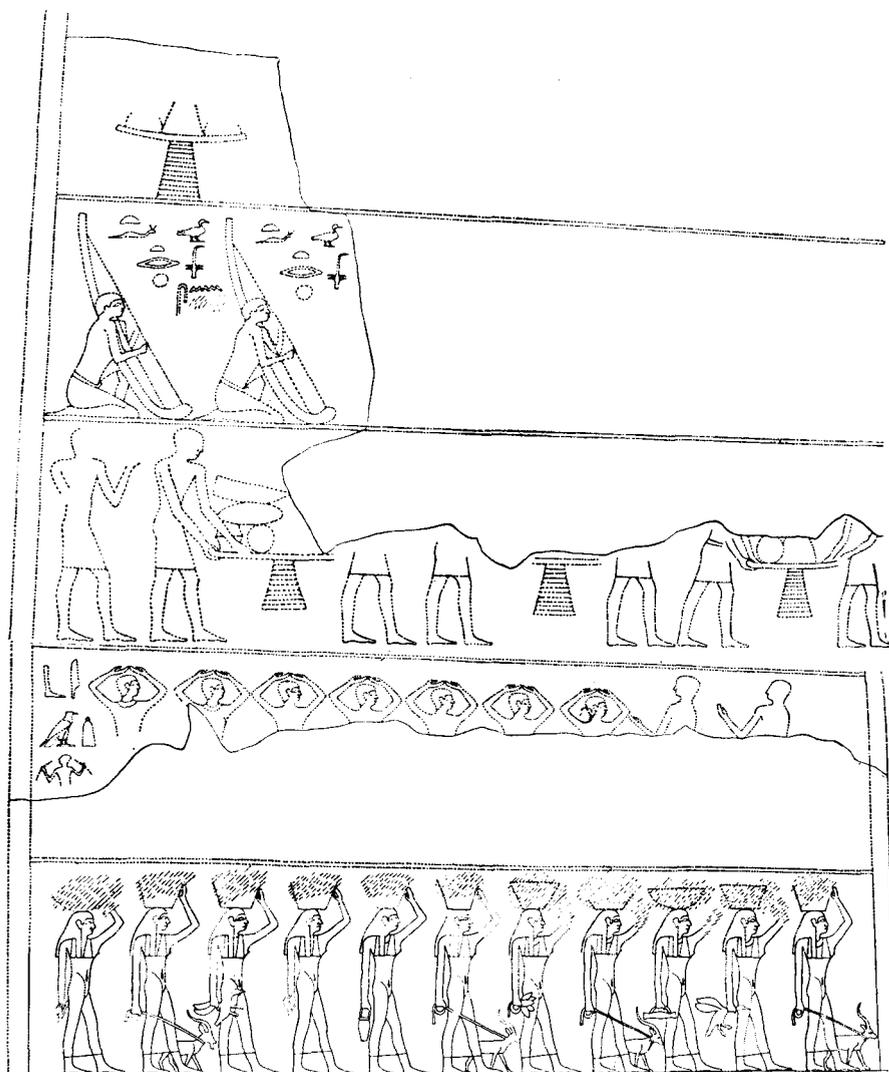


FIG. 105.

The lowest register is still in a fairly good state of preservation. It contains a procession of eleven female offering-bearers carrying baskets upon their heads. Some of them lead small cattle, while others carry ducks, flowers, and various kinds of offerings in their free hands.

The Northern Wall (Fig. 106).

The northern wall is occupied by a scene depicting the owner of the tomb inspecting his cattle. He is shown at the upper part of the left side of the wall, seated in an arm-chair beneath an awning

⁽¹⁾ This same movement is performed by the modern Egyptian dancers. For similar scenes see . . . STEINDORFF, " *Das Grab des Tj*" Pls. 59, 60.

and facing east. Above his head were five vertical rows of hieroglyphs which gave his titles. In front of him, the wall is divided into six registers, the upper one of which contained a procession of six men, of whom only the legs remain. The second and third registers represent herdsmen leading long-horned and poll cattle. They are headed by the chief herdsman, who reads the entries in the herd-book to the master (1). Above the head of this latter man is a vertical row

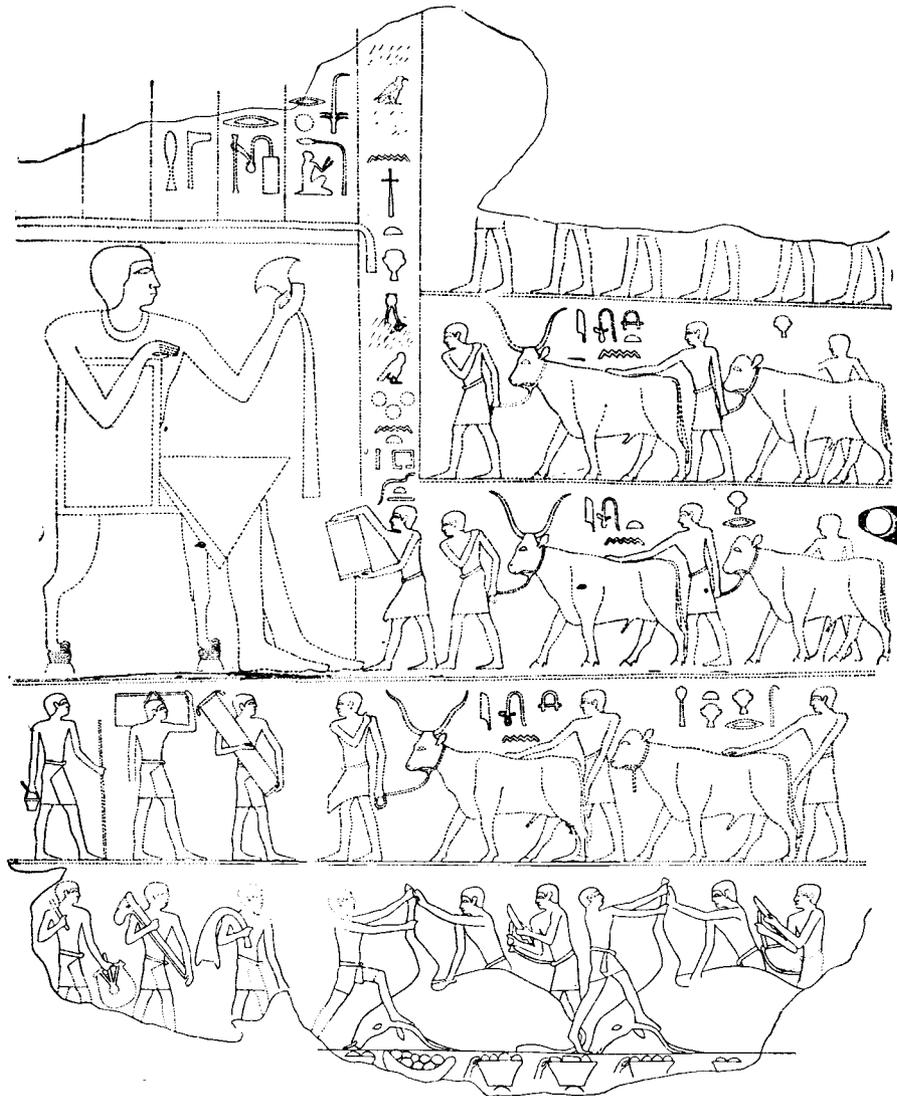
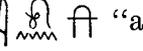


Fig. 106.

1 5 10 20 30

of hieroglyphs, reading: "Inspecting the bringing of the gifts from the estates of the House of Eternity." The fourth register depicts three more herdsmen driving two bulls, and facing them are three men carrying items of the personal property of the deceased; over the first bull is written  "a gift of a poll bull", on the second is inscribed  "a bull of the stall", while below them in the fifth register are three other men similarly engaged. The remainder of this register contains two groups of butchers dismembering oxen. On the sixth register remain traces of the baskets carried by a procession of offering-bearers.

(1) Cf. KLEBS, "Reliefs des Alten Reiches", p. 23.

The Western Wall (Fig. 107; Pl. XVXII).

The western wall is wholly occupied by three large niches, surmounted by a palmetto cornice, and enclosed within a torus moulding. The northern and southern niches measure $0.75 \times 0.27 \times 0.90$ m. and $0.75 \times 0.27 \times 0.90$ m. respectively. They each contain a large rock-cut statue of the owner of the tomb, measuring about 0.75×1.95 m. high, and 0.60 m. across the shoulders. These statues, which are identical, represent the deceased in a walking attitude and facing east, as though coming forth from the tomb. He wears a long, plaited wig and a short kilt with a triangular apron. Their features appear to have suffered wanton damage. The central niche measures 2.20 m. high, 1.15 m. wide and 1.60 m. deep. Its floor is raised 0.42 m. from that of the chapel.

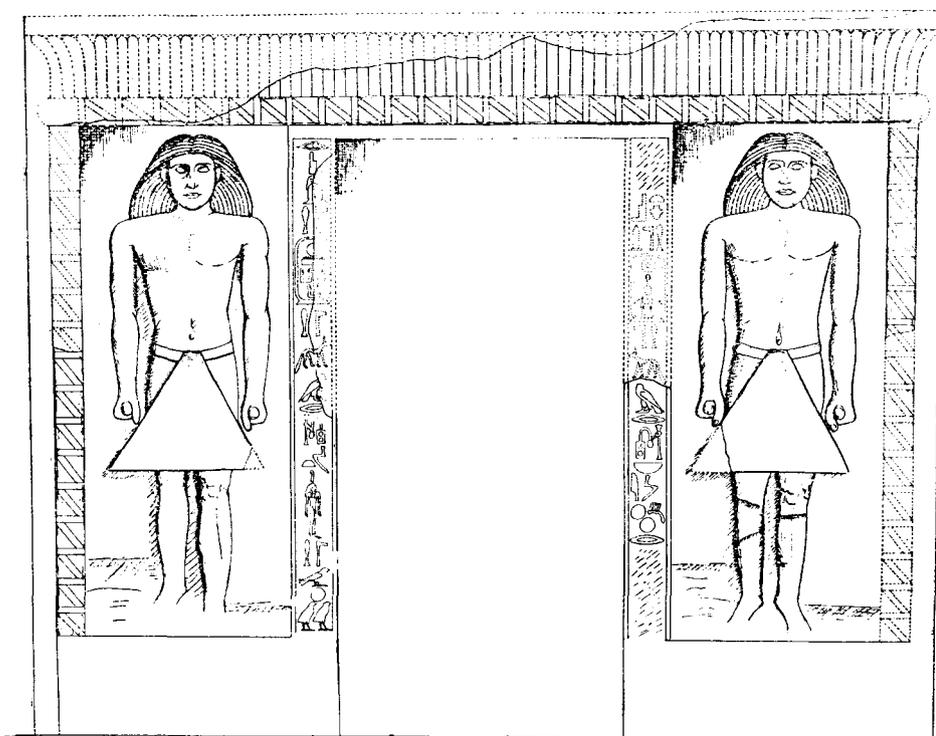


FIG. 107.

Both the outer jambs of this latter niche bear a vertical row of hieroglyphs, the right-hand one of which reads: "Priest of the Sun-Temple of King Nefer-ir-ka-Ra', [the Priest of King Nefer-ir-ka-Ra'] the Judge and Overseer of the Scribes, the Possessor of Honour [Werkhww]."

The left-hand inscription reads: "Priest of Osiris, Priest of King Men-kaw-Ra', the Judge and Overseer of the Scribes, Priest of the Goddess Ma'at, Werkhww."

The western wall of the central niche is wholly occupied by a false-door, the surface of which is almost totally destroyed.

The False-Door (Fig. 108).

The upper lintel of this false-door bears a horizontal row of hieroglyphs, reading: "A boon which the King gives, and a boon of Anubis, a burial in the West after a very good old age, by the Great God, the Judge and Overseer of the Scribes, Werkhww."

THE OUTER JAMBS

The inscriptions on the two outer jambs were apparently identical. The few remaining signs read: ". . . the Judge and Overseer of the Scribes, the Judge and Inspector of the Scribes . . ."

On the panel is a double representation of the deceased seated on either side of an offering-table, in two different poses (?) above which is inscribed: "The Overseer of the Scribes, Judge and Inspector of the Scribes, the Werkhww."

The lower lintel bears a horizontal row of hieroglyphs, reading: "(The Judge) and Overseer of the Scribes, the Director of the Scribes Attached to the Petitions, the Honoured, Werkhww."

The inner jambs are now entirely defaced.

The southern side of the niche is occupied by an offering-list composed of sixty-four entries which do not follow the canonical list and surmounted by four horizontal rows of hieroglyphs, reading: "The Judge and Overseer of the Scribes, the Judge and Inspector of the Scribes of the Petitions, the Inspector of the Scribes of the House of Documents, the Scribe of the King's Book, Werkhww; That he may walk upon the good ways of the West, after a very good old age, the Honoured by the Great God . . . a boon which the King gives, and a boon which Anubis, Presiding Over the God's Dwelling, gives, and a boon which Osiris, Presiding in Dedw (gives) . . . in the Western Desert, that there may be given to him every day, in every feast continually for ever, to Werkhww."

This inscription is completed by a vertical one of hieroglyphs running down the right side of the offering-list, and reading: "That offerings of bread and beer may come forth to (him) . . . every day, in every good thing . . ." (Fig. 109; Pl. XXVIII, B).

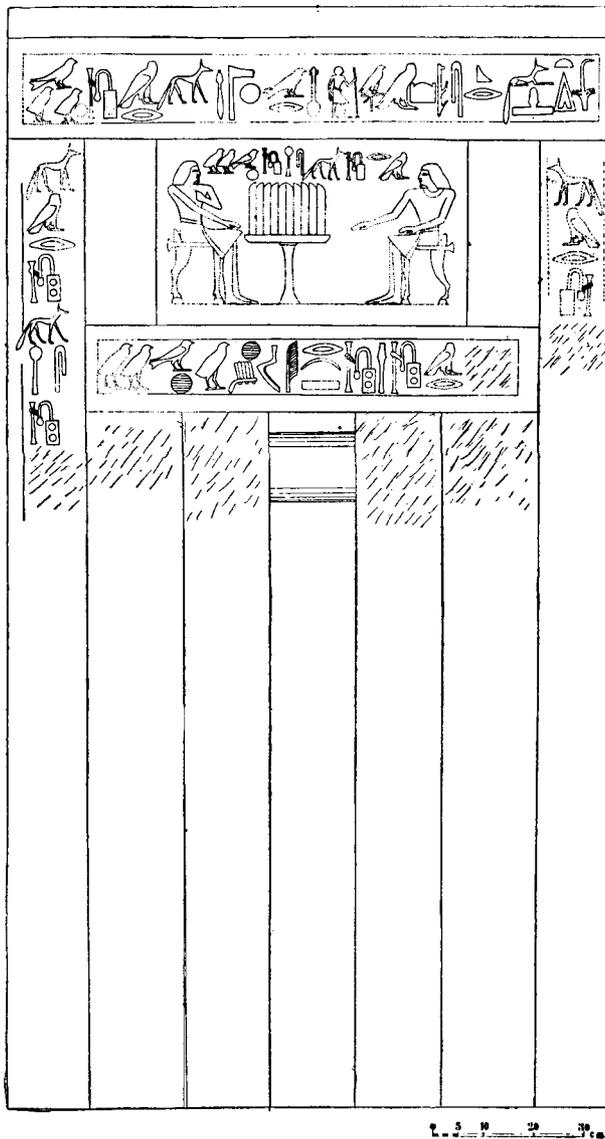


FIG. 108.

Below the offering-list is a procession of six male offering-bearers, facing west (Fig. 109).

The first man carries a small box (?) in both his hands ; the second carries a smoking censer; the third holds a linen *wnhw*-band in each hand ; the fourth carries an offering-table laden with bread ; the fifth carries a conical jar in each hand, while the sixth carries a live goose. These are all necessities for the performance of the offering-rites, which were supposed to take place in front of the false-door. Behind them is a group of three butchers dismembering a sacrificial ox (Fig. 110 ; Pl. XXVIII, B). It must be remarked here that although this offering-list is from the Fifth Dynasty, it contains some of the old-fashioned elements which prevailed before the second half of the Fourth Dynasty ; on the other hand, the second list of Werkhww is in harmony with the other canonical lists of this Dynasty.

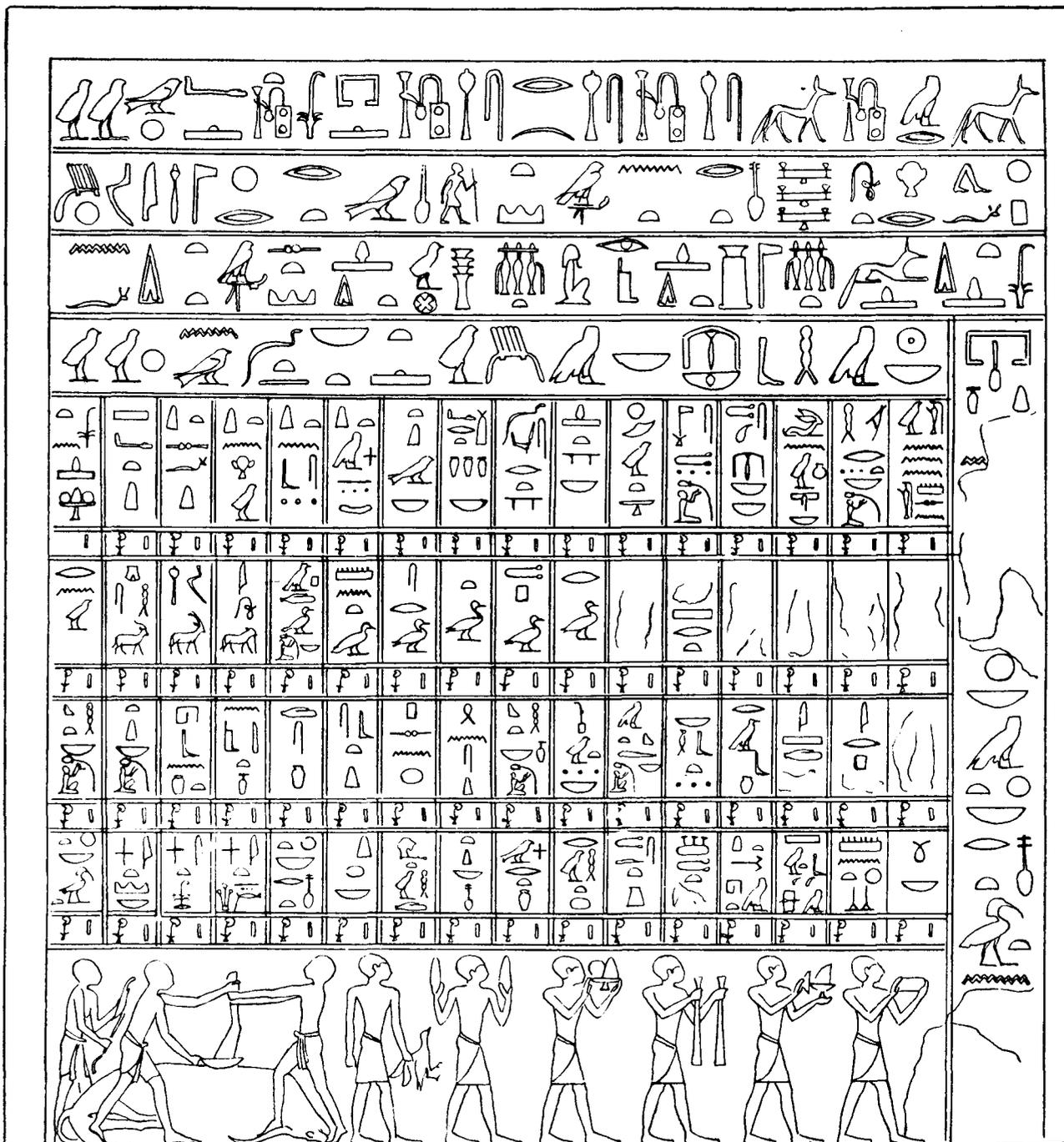


FIG. 109.

The northern side of the niche is occupied by a large offering-list composed of over ninety entries, and bordered on the left side by a vertical row of hieroglyphs, reading : " A boon which

the King gives and a boon which Anubis (gives), that offerings may come forth to . . ." but many of these entries are effaced.

Below the offering-list are the remains of a scene depicting butchers dismembering an ox. (Fig. 111; Pl. XXVIII, A)

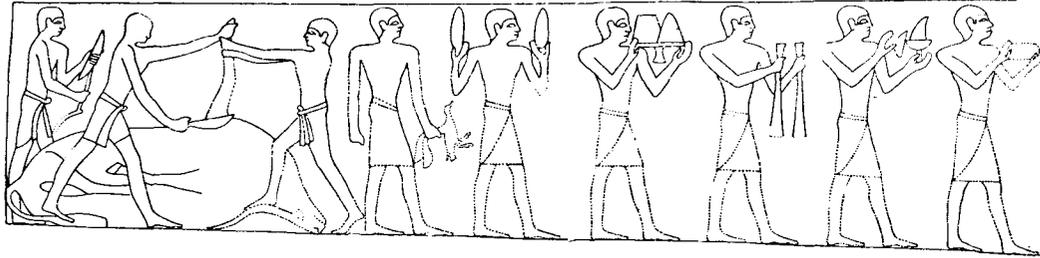


FIG. 110.

0 5 10 20 30 c.m.

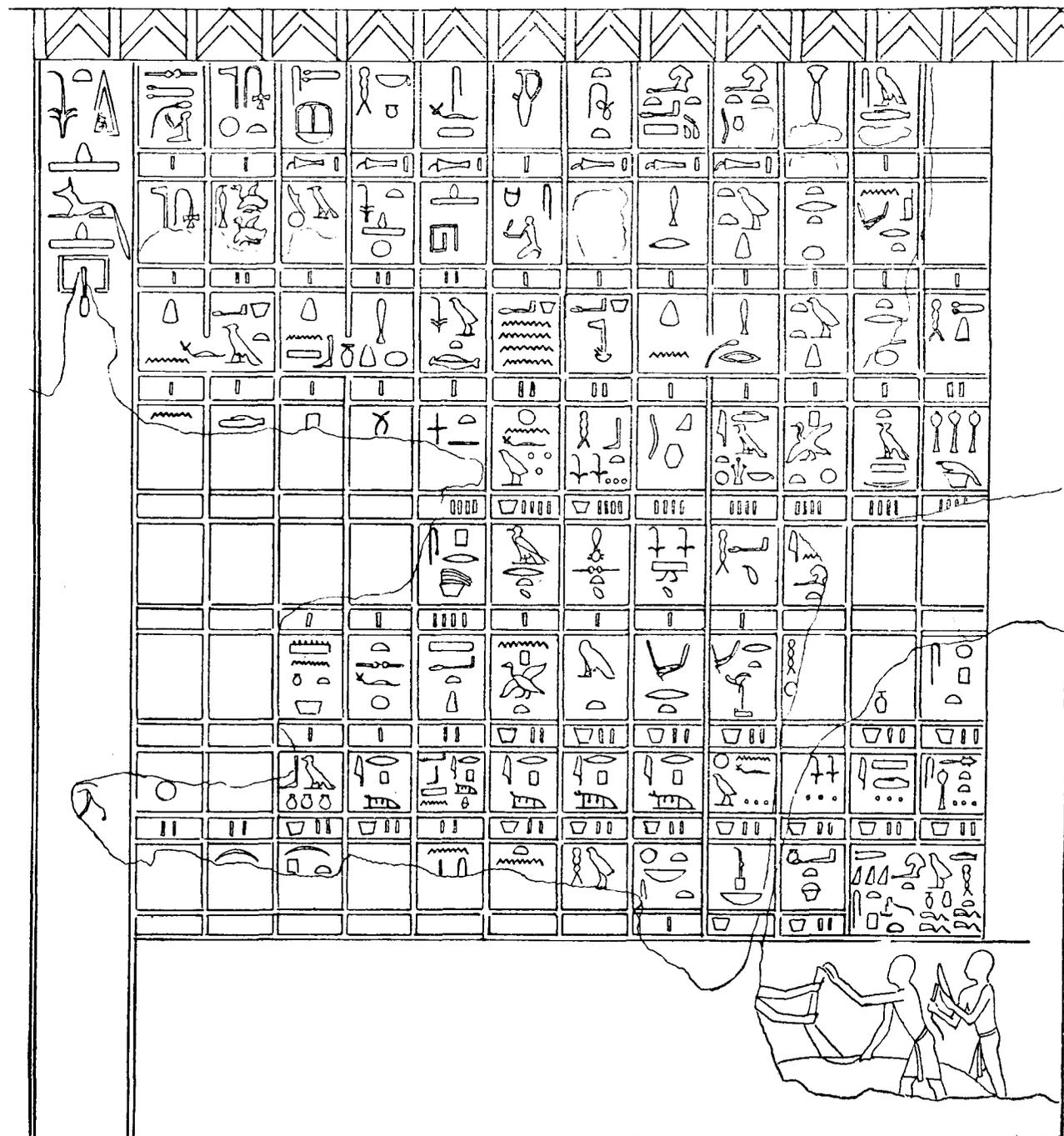


FIG. 111.

THE SERDABS

On each side of the main entrance of the tomb is situated a serdab, measuring 1.12×0.76 m. north and 0.70×0.76 m. south.

The squints of these serdabs are pierced through the eastern wall of the inner chapel, where they emerge at a height of 2.10 m. from the floor. Although these squints are situated so high in the wall, they are cut at a slightly oblique angle, and thus afford a clear view of the contents of the serdab to any person standing within the central niche of the western wall of the chapel. Moreover, these squints are exactly opposite to the rock-cut statues of the western wall.

At the top of each of the eastern walls of these serdabs is cut an aperture facing the squint and admitting light to both the serdab and the inner chapel.

The situation and construction of these serdabs are very unusual, and, unfortunately rendered them easily accessible to plunderers. Therefore, it is not surprising to find that the tomb-robbers had opened them, smashed up the statues, the upper parts of which they carried off, leaving the bases to witness to the excellence of the art they so wantonly destroyed.

THE STATUES

The Lower Part of a Schist Statuette of Werkhww (Pl. XXIX).

Dimensions.—Existing height: 30.0 cm. Breadth across base: 15.0 cm.

Workmanship.—Excellent, especially in the modelling of the knees and legs.

Preservation.—The upper part of statuette is completely broken off at the top of the thighs.

Description.—It originally represented Werkhww seated upon stool, and clad in a short kilt with a pleated side-wrap.

Inscription.—Upon the front of the base is inscribed: "The Judge and Overseer of the Scribes, Werkhww."

Situation.—This fragment was found in the debris filling the chapel.

The Lower Part of a Black Granite Statuette (Pl. XXX, A, B).

Dimensions.—Existing height: 41.0 cm. Breadth of base: 24.0 cm.

Workmanship.—Excellent, particularly the modelling of the details in the hands and legs.

Preservation.—The upper part is broken clean off above the elbows.

Description.—It represented Werkhww seated upon a stool and clad in a short kilt.

Inscription.—On the right-hand upper surface of the base is inscribed: "The Judge and Inspector of the Scribes, Werkhww." On the left-hand side is inscribed: "The Judge, and Overseer of the Scribes, Werkhww."

Situation.—It was found in the filling of the southern serdab.

The Limestone Head (Pl. XXXI).

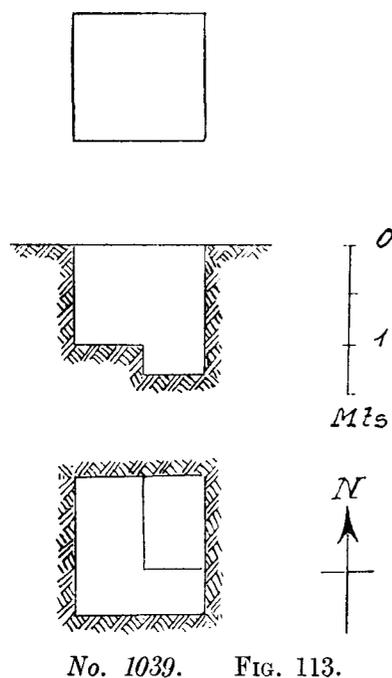
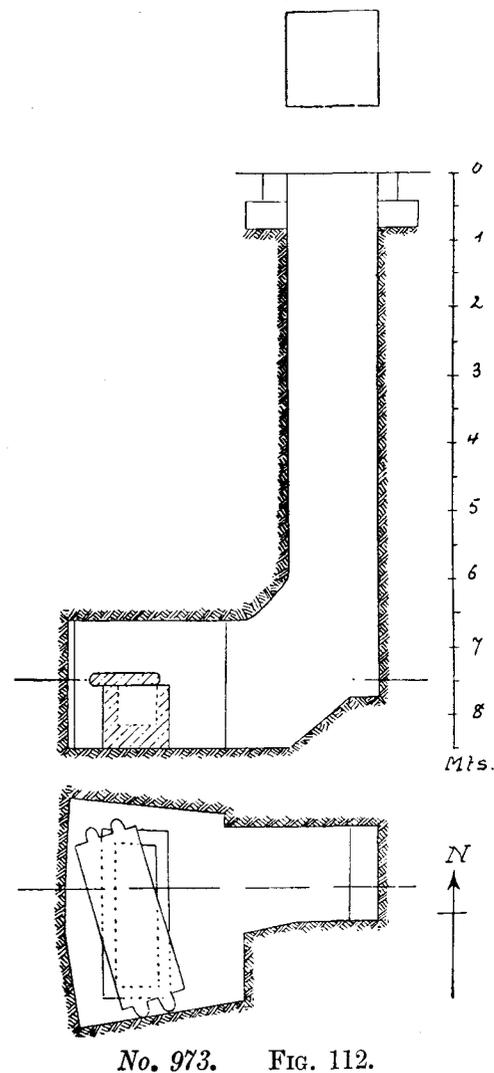
This head, which is one of the masterpieces of Egyptian art, was found in the mastaba of Werkhww, being recovered from the filling of Shaft No. 973 (Fig. 112). It is made of white Turah limestone, and the features are marvellously true to nature and are obviously a portrait. It represents a man of middle age, with a thin face and high cheek-bones. The eyes are almond-shaped, and slant somewhat towards the temples. The mouth is prominent, with full but sharply defined lips and bears a twisted, sarcastic smile. The chin is massive and well-formed. The lines around the eyes, the furrows running from the nose to the corners of the mouth, and the twisted smile, give a sneering, sardonic expression that is almost repellent. Height: 34.0 cm.

SHAFTS

Shaft No. 973 (Fig. 112).

Grave-pit: 1.35 × 1.35 × 8.50 m. deep, with burial-chamber on the west, measuring about 2.70 × 3.10 m.; a local limestone sarcophagus, measuring 2.50 × 1.05 m., lies at its western side.

Burial: A few bones from an adult skeleton scattered in the debris.

*Shaft No. 1039* (Fig. 113).

Grave-pit: 1.25 × 1.40 × 1.25 m. deep. Unfinished shaft.

Burial: Nil.

The False-door of Weha (Fig. 114).

In the filling of Shaft No. 973 were found many fragments of an inscribed false-door of white Turah limestone, which we were able to fit together. This false-door is simply a plain slab of stone, upon which the inscriptions and architectural forms are merely incised. The central door-niche is represented by a vertical band of red paint, and thus recalls the red-painted door-niches of the archaic mastabas (see p. 69).

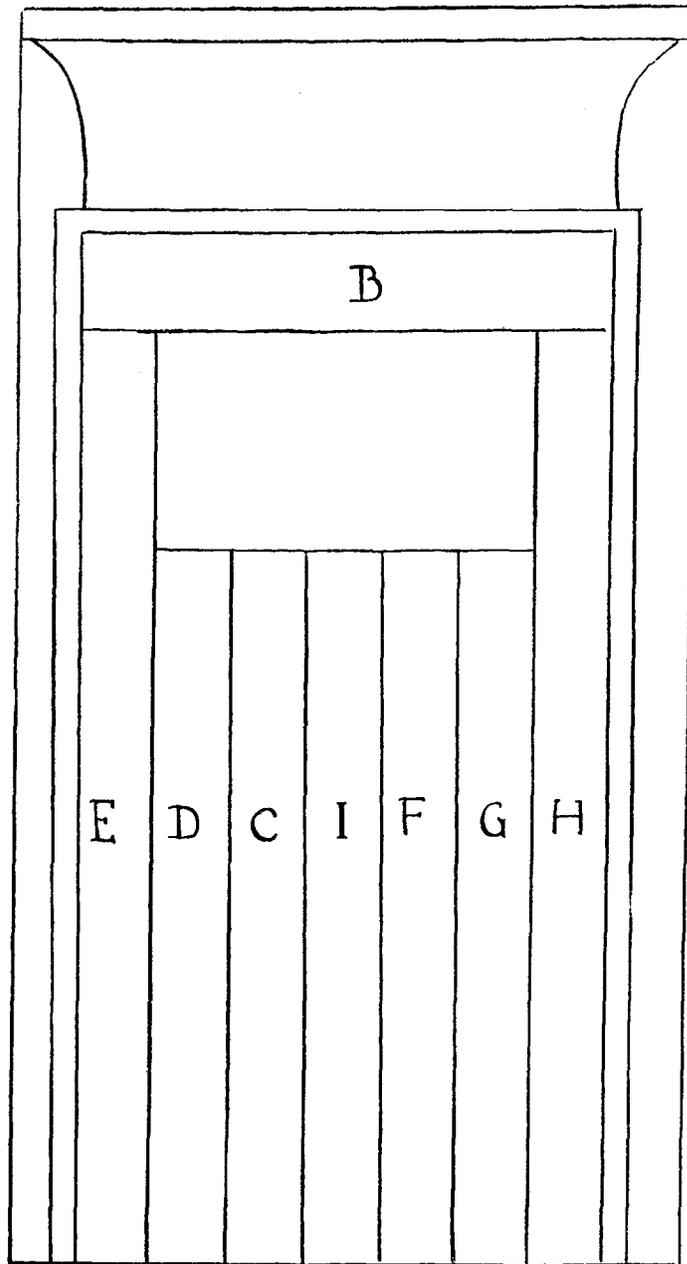


FIG. 114.

On the cornice-band "A" is a horizontal row of hieroglyphs, reading:—


 "A boon which the King gives, and Osiris . . ."

On the upper lintel "B" is a horizontal row of hieroglyphs, reading:—

 "A boon [which the King] gives, and which Anubis, He Who is [upon] His Hill [gives], that offerings may come forth to Weha."

On "C" are two vertical inscriptions, reading:—

(1)  "The Nobleman of the King, the Honoured One before Osiris, Lord of Dedw, Weha."

(2)  "The Sole Companion, the Ritualist, the Honoured One before His Lord, Weha."

"D"  "He Who is Concerned with the King's Affairs, the Overseer of the Butlers, the Honoured One before Ptaḥ-Seker, the Beloved, Weha . . ."

"E"  "The Honoured One before Ptaḥ-Seker, to whom Praise is made continually, the Overseer of the Butlers, the Ritualist."

At the bottom of the first row is a figure of the deceased represented in a walking attitude, he holds a long staff, and faces inwards towards the door.

On "F" are two vertical inscriptions, reading:—

(1)  "The Honoured One before the Great God, the Lord of Heaven, the Beloved, Weha."

(2)  "The First under the King, the Overseer of the Butlers, the Honoured One, Weha."

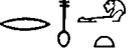
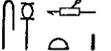
On "G" are also two vertical rows of hieroglyphs which read:—

(1)  "The [Nobleman] of the King, the Honoured One before the Great God, and before Ptaḥ-Seker, to whom Praise is made, the Overseer of the Butlers, Weha."

"H"  "The Honoured One before Ptaḥ-Seker, to whom Praise is made, the Overseer of the Butlers."

THE ROCK-CUT TOMB OF , SWF

TITLES

1.  *irj šnj pr '3* "The Hairdresser of the Great House."
2.  *irj nfr h3t* "Attached to Fair-is-the-Face" (the crown)."
3.  *smr wtj* "Sole Companion."
4.  *hrj sšts n pr dw3t* "Master of the Secrets (secretary) of the Toilet House."
5.  *imj ib n nb.j* "He Who is in the Heart of His Lord."

FAMILY

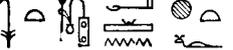
Wife:  "Nedt em-pet."

Titles: (1)  *irj [t] ht njswt* "She Who is Concerned with the King's Affairs."

(2)  *im3h [t] [n].f.* "She Who is Honoured by Him."

Grandson:  "Nefer-irw."

TITLES

1.  *sš ' njswt nj ht.f* "Scribe of the Royal Documents of His Property."
2.  *hrj s3b shd sš* "Chief Judge and Inspector of Scribes."
3.  *s3b imj-r3 sš* "Judge and Overseer of the Scribes."

SITUATION

This tomb lies to the south-east of the mastabas of Iamam-Neith and Ny-'ankh-sherit, and to the north-west of those of Mes-sa and Werkhww (see General Plan 2-P; Fig. 115).

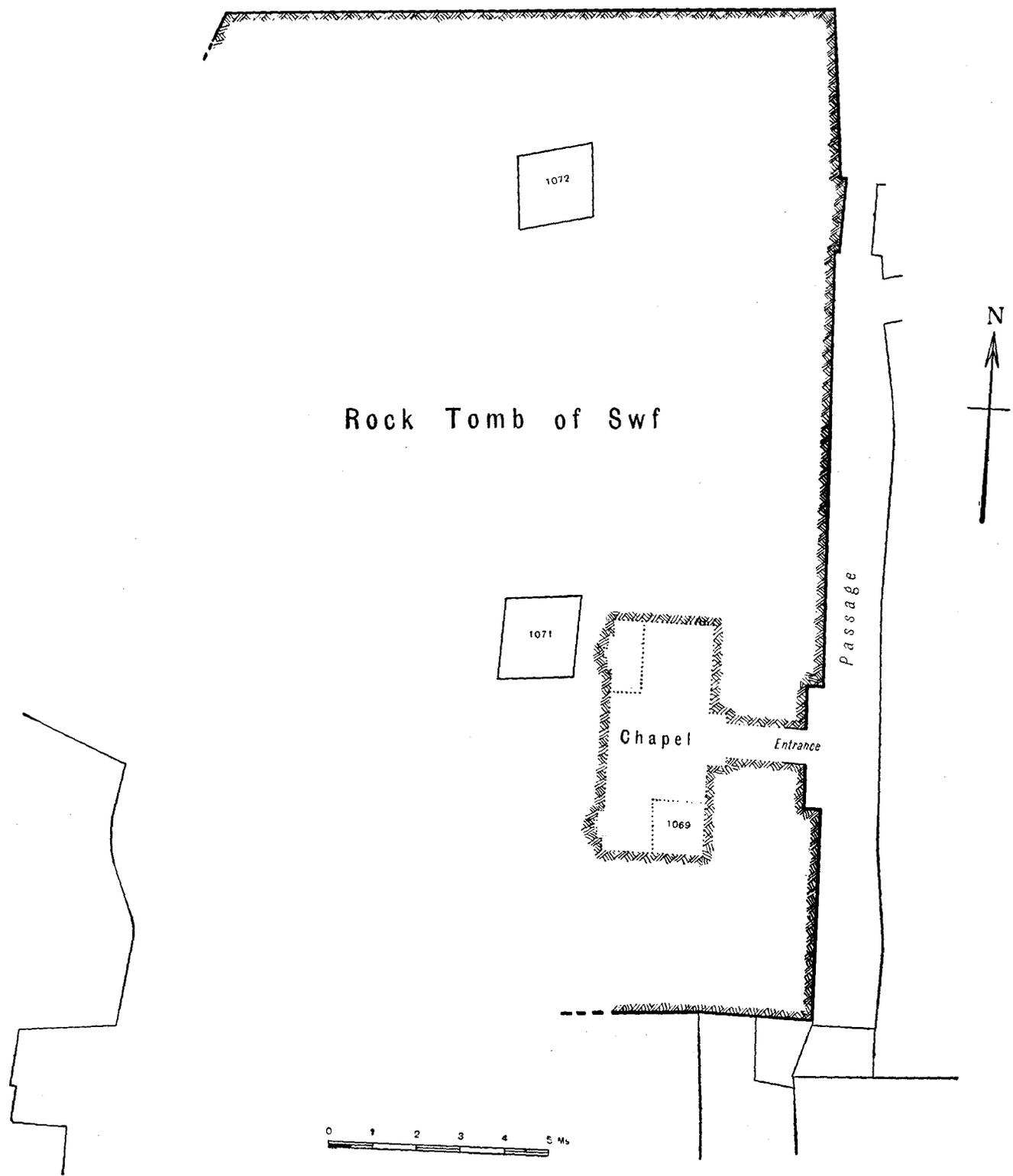


FIG. 115.

DESCRIPTION

It is wholly cut in the ridge of rock lying to the east of the mastaba of Tesen. Access to the chapel of this tomb is obtained from a corridor running north and south. This corridor is about 24.0 m. long by 1.50 m. wide, and has a rock-cut doorway (0.75 m. wide and 1.50 m. high) at a distance of about 5 m. from its northern end. This corridor was occupied by five later burial-pits constructed of local limestone mortared with mud, and running crosswise across the width of the passage. These burial-pits contained scattered bones of contracted bodies and were removed in order to clear the entrance to the tomb-chapel.

THE CHAPEL

The main doorway of the chapel faces east, and is at a distance of about 6.25 m. from the southern end of the corridor. It measures 2.75 m. broad, 2.40 m. high and 0.82 m. wide. It is surmounted by a beautifully cut lintel 0.50 m. wide. This lintel is incised with three horizontal rows of hieroglyphs, but for some reason a large part of the upper row and parts of the middle row were left uninscribed (Fig. 116; Pl. XXXII).

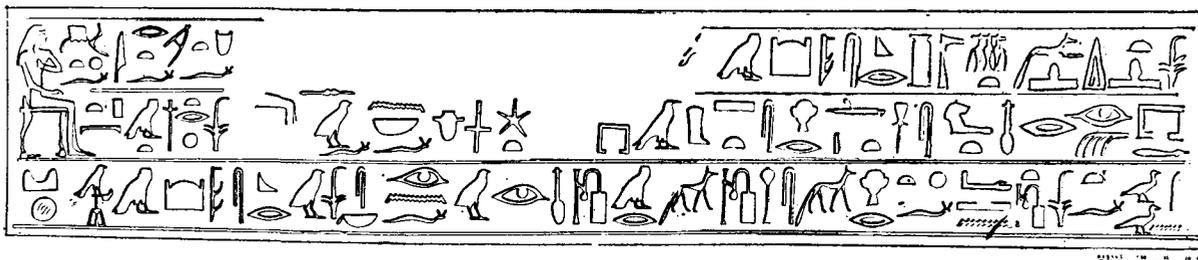


FIG. 116.

The inscription reads : "A boon which the King gives, and a boon which Anubis, Presiding Over the God's Dwelling (gives) a burial in the Western Desert . . . (1). His wife, His Beloved Who is Honoured by him (2), Nezet-em-pet (3). The Hairdresser of the Great House, Attached to Fair-is-the-Face," the Sole Companion, the Master of the Secrets of the Toilet-house, He Who is in the Heart of His Lord, Swf (4). It is the son of his daughter, the Scribe of the Royal Documents of His Property . . . , the Judge and Inspector of the Scribes, the Judge and Overseer of the Scribes, Neferirw, who made it that he may be buried in the necropolis."

The drum of the entrance and the two thicknesses are finely cut and dressed, but were left uninscribed.

(1) Lacuna.

(2) End of the first row.

(3) End of the second row. Here occurs the representation of a seated woman, which occupies the space at the end of the first and second rows.

(4) Here occurs traces of the thighs of a seated man.

The chapel measures $5.20 \times 2.25 \times 2.75$ m. high. Its walls are beautifully cut and are dressed quite smooth; some minor faults in the rock have been levelled with plaster.

In the northern and southern ends of its western wall are cut two false-doors, each of which measures about 0.70 m. wide by 2.00 m. high. They are uninscribed. In front of the northern false-door is a rectangular platform which may have served as an offering-table. It measures about 1.60 m. long, 0.70 m. wide and 0.25 m. high. In the south-eastern corner of the floor is an unfinished pit, No. 1069, measuring $1.10 \times 1.05 \times 0.40$ m. deep.

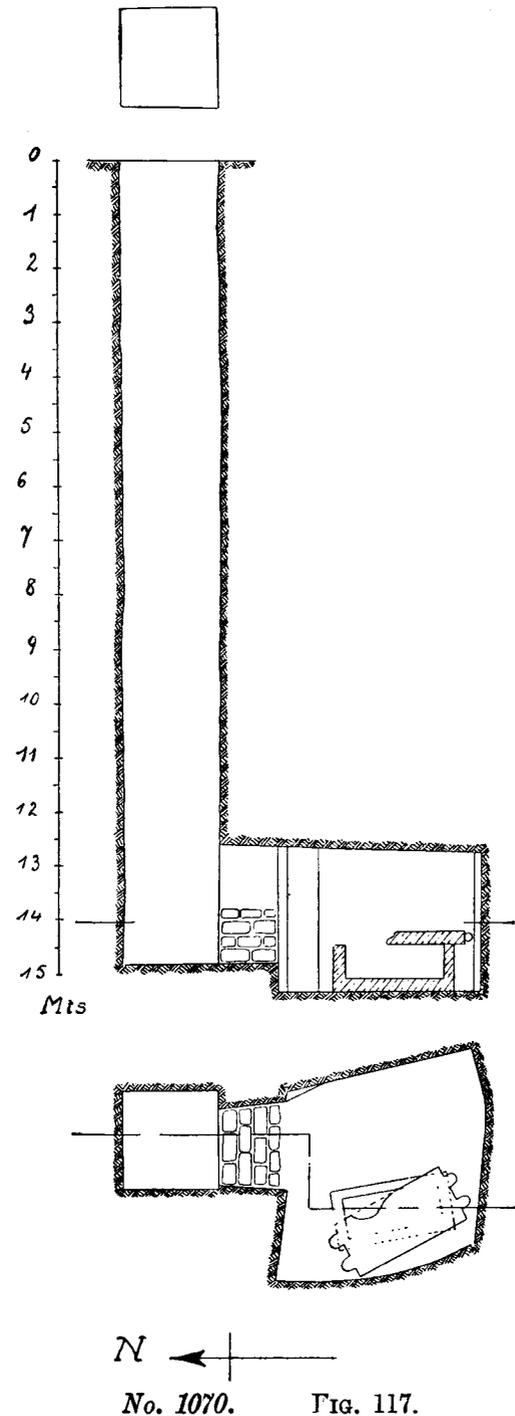
SHAFT

Behind the northern false-door lies Shaft No. 1070:—

Shaft No. 1070 (Fig. 117).

Grave-pit: $1.80 \times 1.80 \times 14.65$ m. deep, ending in a large side-chamber on the south, measuring $3.75 \times 3.60 \times 2.70$ m. high. In the western side of the chamber is a sarcophagus measuring, $3.00 \times 1.10 \times 0.85$ m. The lid was found broken.

Burial: A disturbed skeleton lying in the sarcophagus.



N ←

No. 1070.

FIG. 117.

THE MASTABA OF TESEN ⁽¹⁾

TITLES

1.  *wr mḏw šm'* "Greatest of the Ten of Upper Egypt."
2.  *hntt ns.t* "He Who is in Front of the Throne."
3.  *s3b imj-r3 ss'* "Judge and Overseer of the Scribes."
4.  *hrp ss' m wsh.t '3* "Director of the Scribes in the Great Hall (the Court)."
5.  *hrp ss'* "Director of the Scribes."
6.  *hm-ntr M3't* "Priest of the Goddess Ma't (Judge)."
7.  *hrj ss't3 nj h.t-wrt* "Master of the Secrets of the Great Court."
8.  *imshw hr ntr '3* "Honoured by the Great God."

FAMILY

Wife:  *Nj-M3't-Hp* "Ny-Ma'at-Hap."

Title:  *irj-ht njsut* "She Who is Concerned with the King's Affairs."

SITUATION

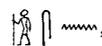
The mastaba of Tesen lies to the north of the rock-cut tomb of Queen Bw-nefer, west of the tomb of Swf and south-east of the mastaba of Fefi (see General Plan 12-0 and Fig. 118).

DESCRIPTION

It is partly cut in the native rock, and partly constructed of large blocks of local limestone.

THE ENTRANCE

The main entrance of this tomb opens north and measures 0·85×2·00×2·50 m. high. At the top of its left thickness is a square cutting made to receive the socket-stone of the door which was held in place by mortar. The door, which was of the single-leaf type, was fastened by a bolt sliding into a circular depression in the right thickness. This entrance leads into a rectangular ante-chamber, measuring 4·00 m. wide by 2·20 m. long. Its walls were originally levelled by means of a thick coating of plaster, most of which has now fallen away. In the eastern corner of the southern wall is a doorway, measuring 0·65×1·80 m. and leading into a narrow passage which measures 14·75×1·10×5·05 m. This passage is cut in the rock, with the exception of the upper

(1) For a possible variant, see RANKE, "Peronennamen", p. 49. , , *Itj-sn* "Their prince" like the Arabic "أميرهم وسيدهم".

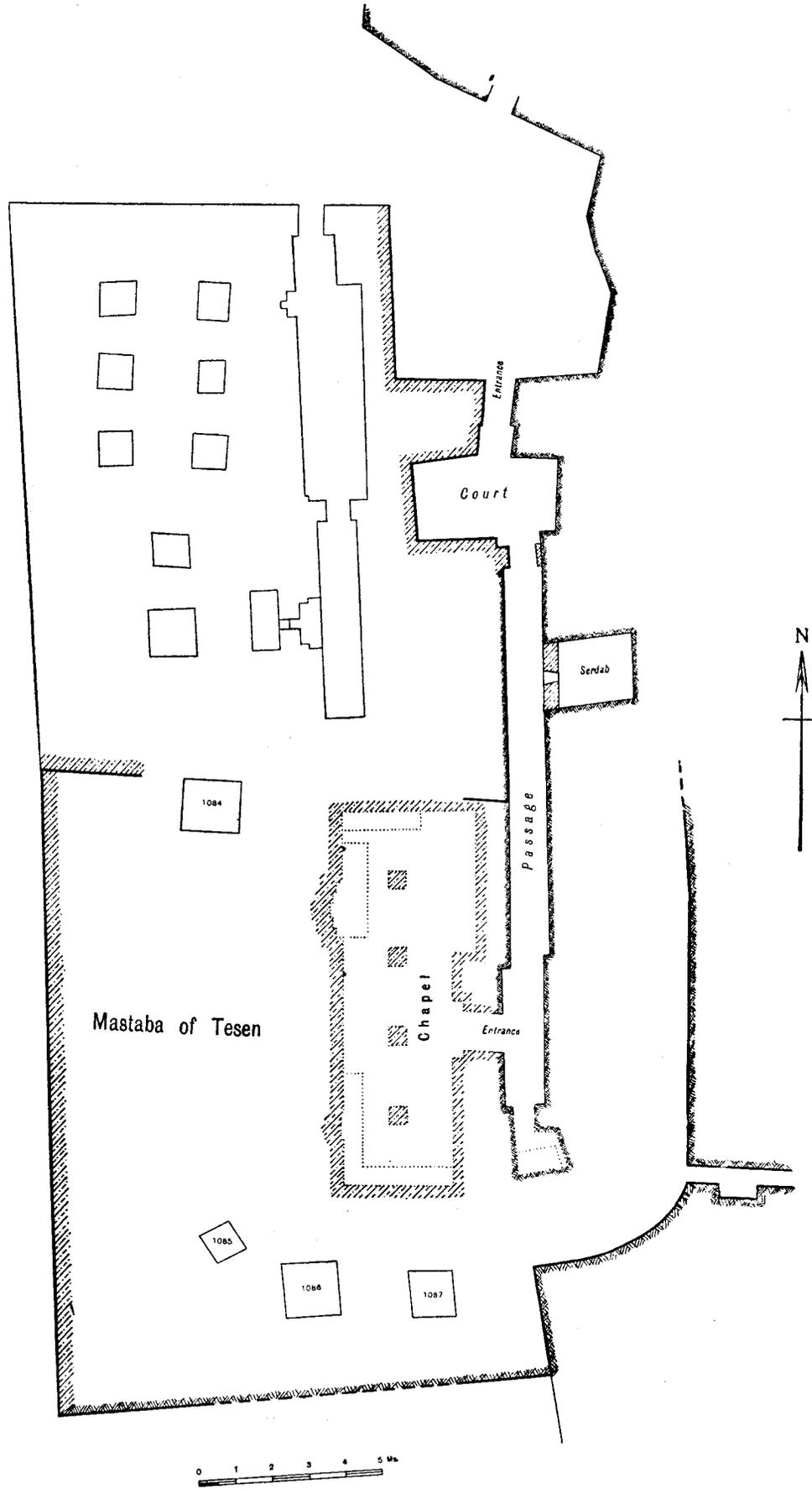


FIG. 118.

(2) "Greatest of the Ten of Upper Egypt, He Who is in Front of the Throne, Judge and Overseer of the Scribes, Director of the Scribes in the Great Hall, Priest of the Goddess Ma'at, the Honoured by the Great God, Tesen."

At the end of this inscription is a representation of the deceased, seated upon chair. He wears a sacerdotal leopard skin and a curled wig. His left hand, in which he holds the pendant ribbons of his shoulder-knot, rests upon his chest; while his right hand, holding a handkerchief, rests upon his lap.

The Drum (Fig. 120; Pl. XXXIII, B).

The drum of the doorway bears a horizontal row of hieroglyphs, reading: "The Judge and Overseer of the Scribes, Tesen." Traces of blue colour are still visible in the incised hieroglyphs.

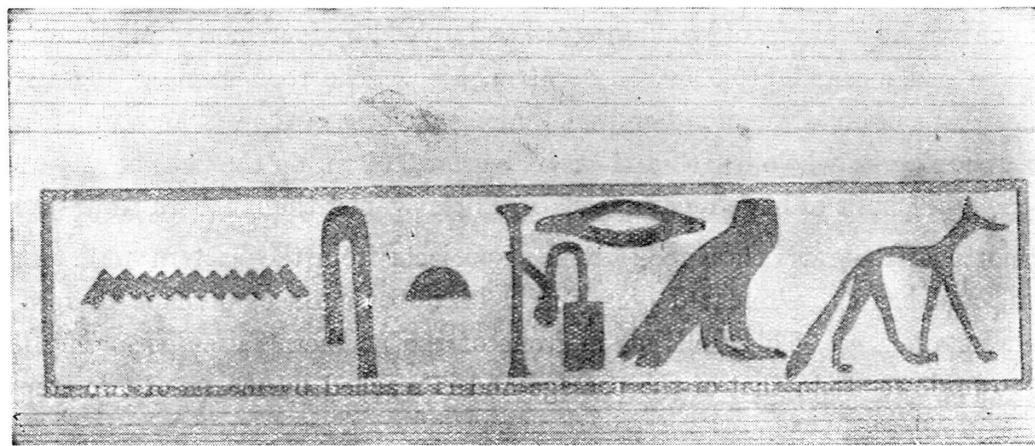


FIG. 120.

The Right Thickness (Fig. 121 a; Pl. XXXIV, A).

On the right thickness of the doorway is a representation of the deceased in a walking attitude facing east, and holding a long staff in his left hand and a Kherp-sceptre in his right. He wears a leopard skin, adorned with a border on its upper edge and the usual ribbon shoulder-knot. Under this skin he wears a short kilt with a pleated side-wrap. A wide collar encircles his neck; and his natural wavy hair is realistically rendered.

He is accompanied by his wife, who embraces him with her left arm. She wears a long, tight robe, a long wig, a "dog-collar" necklace, bracelets and anklets. In front of Tesen is the figure of a boy, holding the lower part of the staff, while behind the wife is a small figure of a girl holding her mother's legs. She wears her hair in a pig-tail hanging down her back.

Above the figure of the deceased is inscribed: "The Judge and Overseer of the Scribes Tesen."

Above the woman's head is a horizontal row of hieroglyphs, reading: "She Who is Concerned with the King's Affairs, Ny-Ma'at-Hap."

The Left Thickness (Fig. 121 b; Pl. XXXIV, B).

The representations and inscriptions on the left thickness are identical with those on the right thickness, with the exception of the figure of the young girl, which is omitted here.

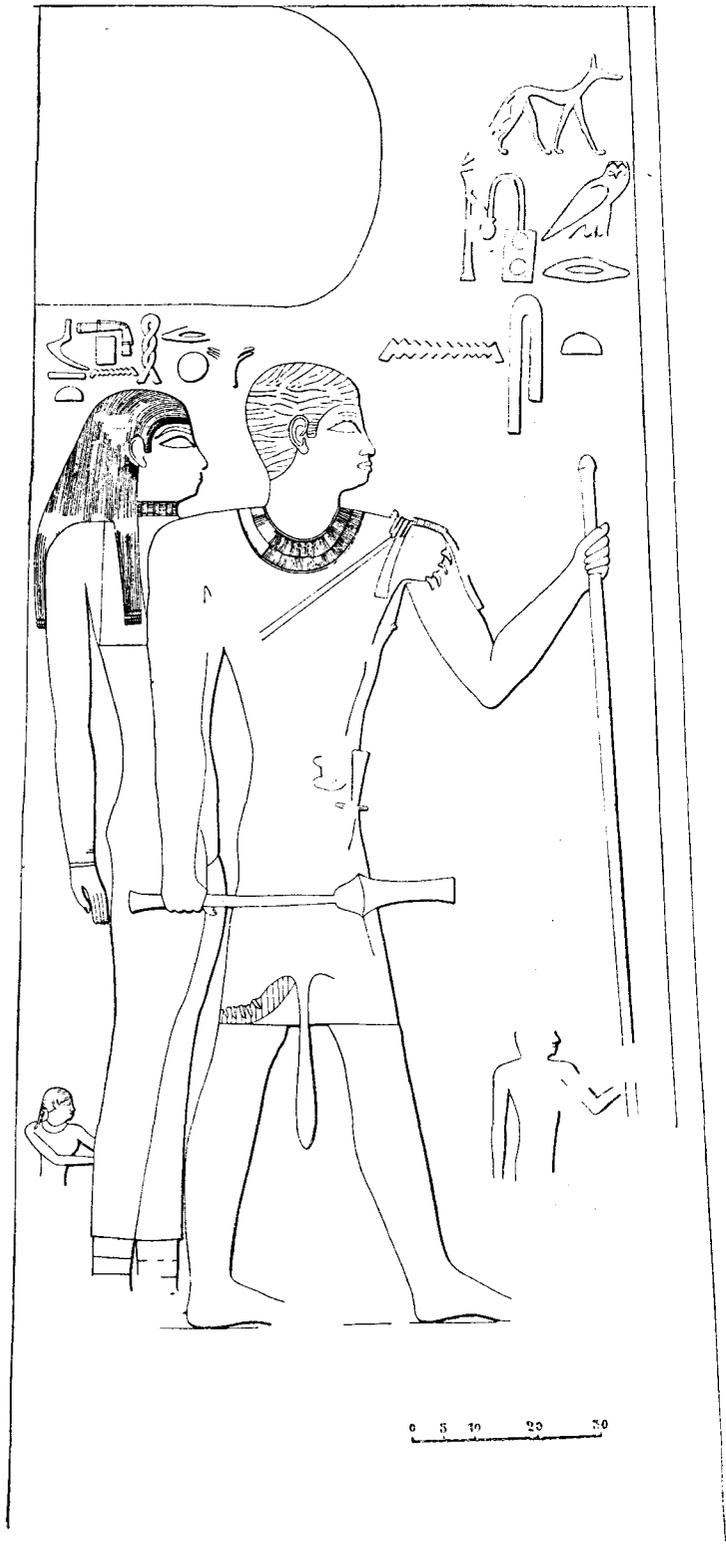


FIG. 121 a.

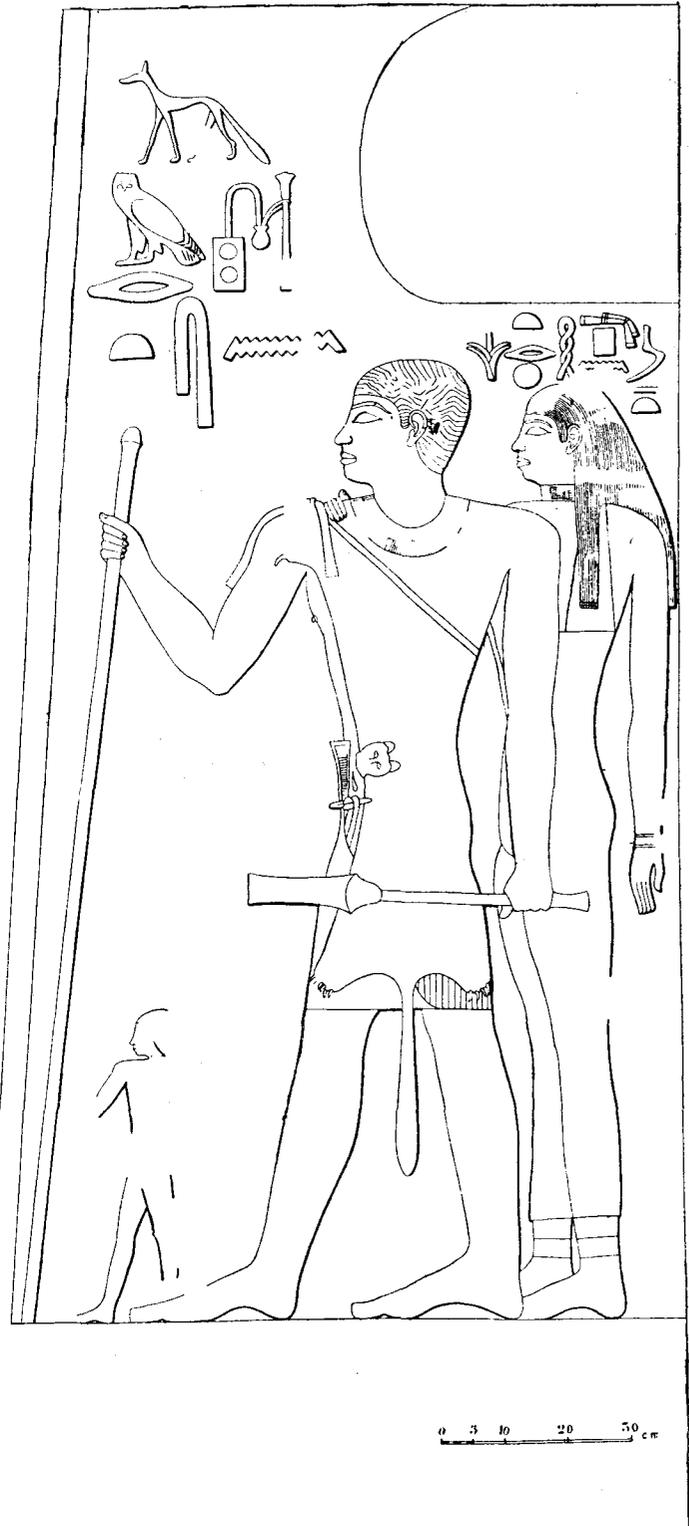


FIG. 121 b.

The Eastern Wall (Figs. 122, 123; Pls. XXXV, XXXVI).

To the right of the doorway is a pier, measuring 1.35 m. wide, and occupied by four registers sculptured in relief; above these registers is a geometrical frieze.

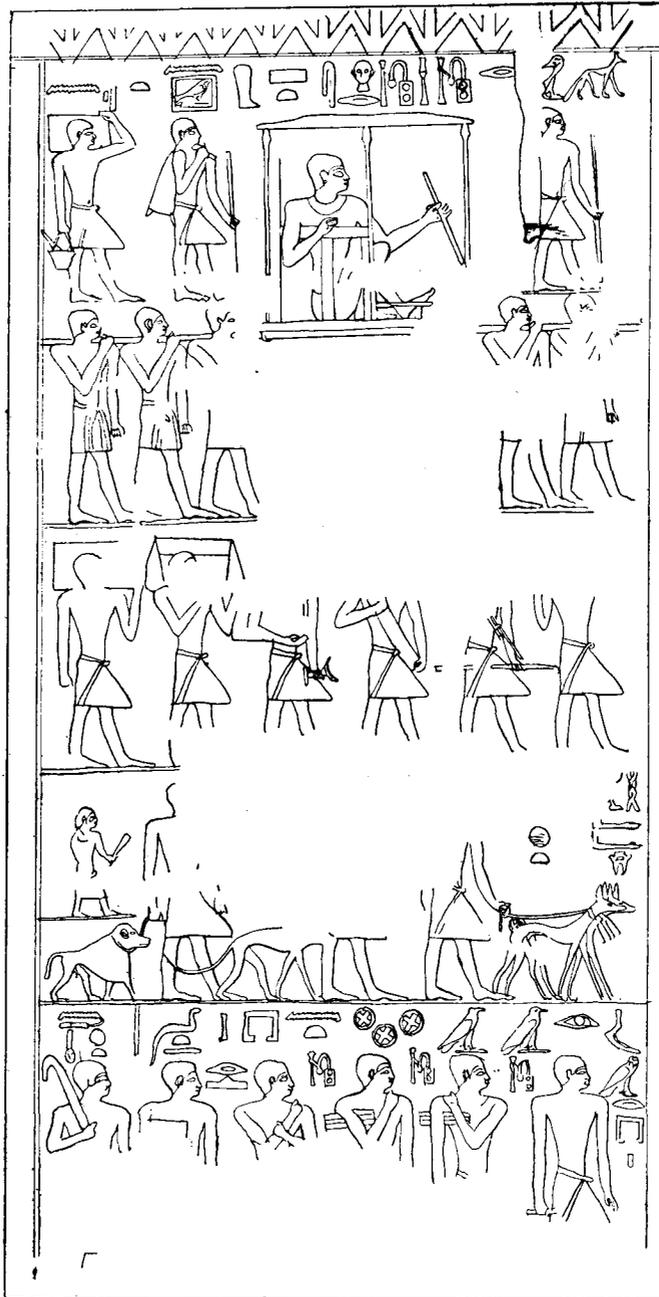


FIG. 122.

The topmost register depicts the deceased riding in his palanquin which is carried on the shoulders of five attendants. Tesen is seated with his knees drawn up in front of his body. He holds a short stick in his left hand, while his right arm rests over the side rails of the palanquin. In front of the palanquin is a man carrying a long staff in his left hand. Two more attendants follow the palanquin, one of whom holds a long staff in his left hand and carries a bag upon his shoulder. His comrade carries a box upon his shoulders and steadies it with his left hand; in his right hand he carries a basket.

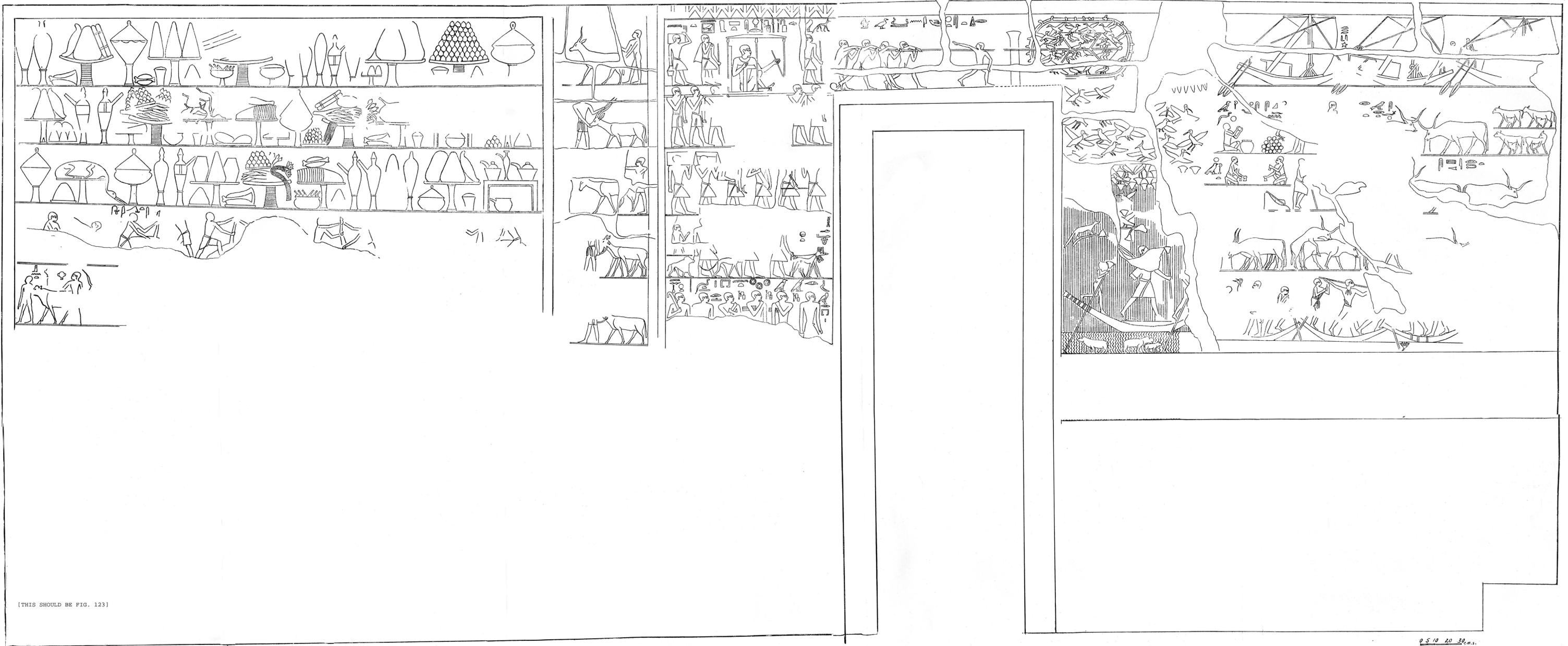


FIG. 123.

Above these figures is a horizontal row of hieroglyphs sculptured in relief and reading:
 "The Judge and Overseer of the Scribes, the Director of the Scribes, the Master of the Secrets of the Great Court, Tesen."

The second register is in a bad state of preservation. It bears a representation of a procession of six men carrying various items of the property of the deceased, including boxes, bags, a head-rest, and a stick.

The third register is also in a bad state of preservation, and represents the pets of the deceased and their attendants. Foremost is a pair of hounds coupled on one leash, and above them is inscribed: .

They are followed by a man leading a large ape, while behind is another man leading a male baboon, above which is the figure of a mis-shapen dwarf carrying a club.

The fourth register bears a representation of a procession of six men, apparently officials above whom is inscribed:  "Inspecting the estates of the House of Eternity (*wakf*)."

The first man bears the title "Overseer of the House", the following three are scribes, the fifth is a book-keeper, while the sixth is labelled (1) , *nht-hrw* "He of the strong voice."

Above the doorway is the representation of a fowling scene. Four men are shown holding the rope of a clap net (Figs. 123, 124; Pl. XXXVI, XXXVII). They lean forward, their arms well advanced, in order to pull back the rope and close the net at the signal given by their leader, who, hidden from the birds by a screen of reeds, looks back, and gesticulates to his comrades. This is a variant of the more usual representation, where the watcher makes his signals by means of a cloth held between his outstretched hands (2). All the fowlers are represented naked. Above their heads is a horizontal row of hieroglyphs, reading: "Directing the capture, by the fowlers (3)."

The clap net itself is spread in a pool and the birds swim and flutter above it, unconscious of their doom (Fig. 124; Pl. XXXVII).

(See Coloured Plate.)

Below the net, at the left side of the doorway, is a representation of a papyrus thicket with birds flying above it and perching on the reeds. An ichneumon climbs a stem, which bends under its weight to rob a nest of its contents; while the mother-bird flaps her wings in a frenzied attempt to drive away the invader. On the pool below, the deceased is shown standing in a papyrus skiff, and engaged in spearing some aquatic creature. He stands with his legs planted wide apart;

(1) This is a title given to the man who measures the corn in the barn, counting the number with a loud voice.

(2) DAVIES, "Sheikh Said", Pl. XII, p. 23. Tomb of Sekhem-ka-Ra'.

(3) BLACKMAN, "Meir", II, Pls. III and IV, pp. 13, 14, Note 5. MONTET, "Scènes de la vie privée", p. 52. KLEBS, "Die Reliefs des Alten Reiches", p. 70.

his right arm raised, the hand grasping a spear poised for a downward thrust. With his left hand he clutches at a papyrus stem to steady himself. The thicket is coloured green and the water is blue. In the water below the boat are three hippopotami.

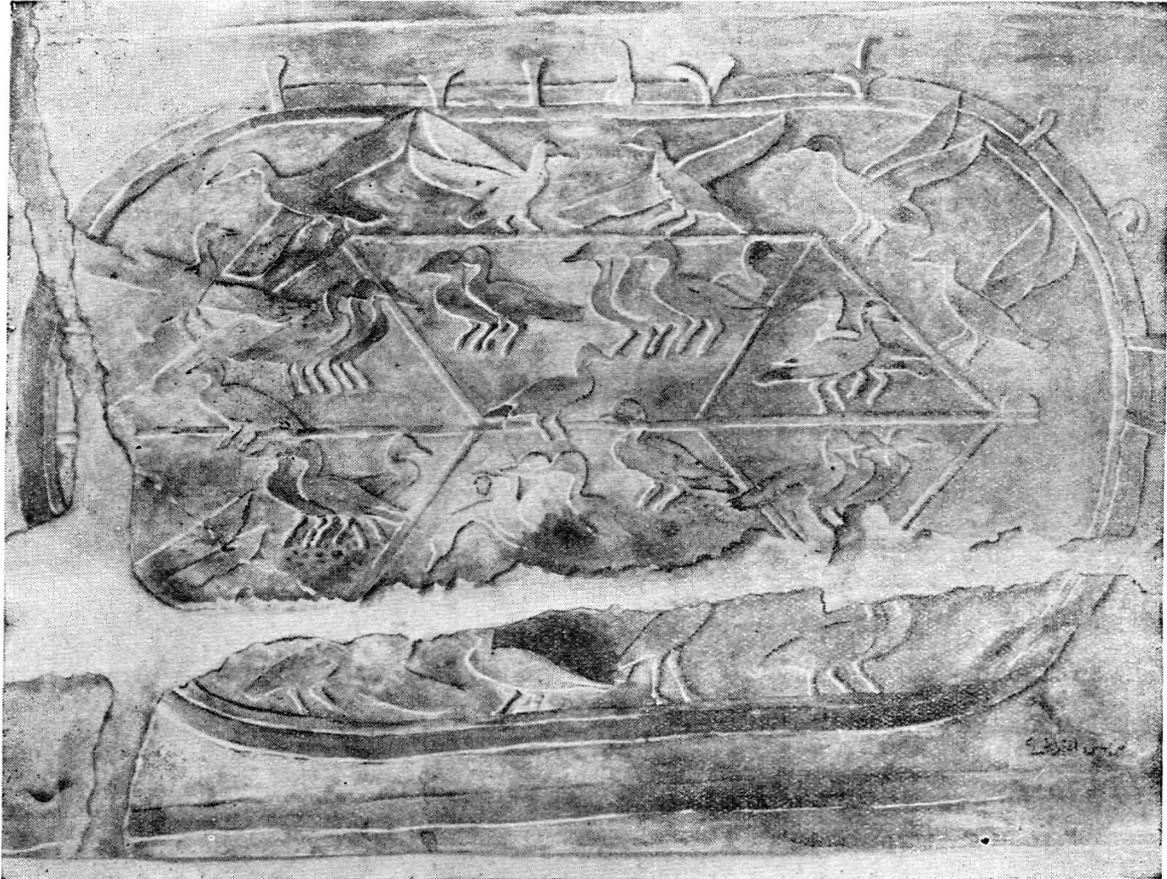
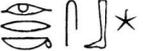


FIG. 124.

To the right side of this scene, the wall is divided into five registers (Fig. 123, Pl. XXXVIII). The upper register depicts three sailing boats and traces of a rowing boat⁽¹⁾. Between the second and third boats is inscribed:  "Sail on"⁽²⁾.

The second register shows three men engaged in fattening geese. The first man is making the forcing balls from the paste contained in a large jar placed in front of him. The other two men are taking the completed balls, which are heaped up on the ground and forcing them down the bird's throats. Above them is inscribed:  "Stuff it with balls of baked paste(?)."

In front of this group are two tethered cows, and four young calves hobbled by their forelegs. Above one cow is inscribed:⁽³⁾  "Untie the cow from the rope."

The third register represents herdsmen and cattle, but is in a bad state of preservation. Above the cows is inscribed:  "To milk milk." The chief herdsman is shown leaning upon

⁽¹⁾ See mastaba of Wrkhww for similar scene.

⁽²⁾ A nautical term. See *Wörterbuch*, IV, p. 86.

⁽³⁾ It is to be remarked here that in many cases the tracings were somewhat faulty and it was beyond my power to correct them, but one may rely on the photos when they are clear.

his staff watching his charges, and behind him two farm-boys are seated upon the ground playing a game. Behind the players is inscribed: . Below this group can be seen two tethered cows and a bull serving a cow. These animals form part of the above-mentioned scene, although they are represented in the fourth register.

The fifth register represents a duel between boatmen. The men are fighting with light poles and one of them wears a necklace formed of a lotus-flower, the long stem being twisted round his neck and the blossom hanging pendant upon his breast. A third boat contains men carrying birds. Most of these scenes are in a rather poor state of preservation.

On the northern thickness of the pilaster are five superposed registers in which are depicted herdsmen leading and driving antelopes, ibex, and gazelles. All these figures are facing east (Fig. 123).

The northern side of the eastern wall is occupied with scenes arranged in five superposed registers (Fig. 123; Pl. XXXIX). The three upper registers, which are fairly well preserved, represent an array of various kinds of food and drink offerings; while the two lower registers which are mostly effaced, represent the arrival and slaughter of the sacrificial oxen. Above the slaughtering scene is inscribed: "The choice piece of the ox". Above the group in the bottom registers is inscribed: "Bringing the [gift] of a poll-ox."

The Northern Wall (Fig. 125; Pls. XL, XLI).

The upper part of the northern wall is entirely occupied by a large offering scene, which is in an excellent state of preservation and retains most of its colouring, with the exception of a few places where the surface of the wall was levelled with plaster. Here the scenes are somewhat damaged owing to the crumbling of this fragile coating.

On the western side of this wall is a large figure of the deceased seated before an offering-table, under which is inscribed: "Thousands of Bread and Beer, Thousands of Oxen and Geese, and Thousands of Alabaster and Clothing" (Pl. XL).

Above the man's head are two horizontal rows of hieroglyphs, reading:—

- (1) "The Greatest of the Ten of Upper Egypt He Who is in Front of the Throne."
- (2) "Judge and Overseer of the Scribes, the Honoured, Tesen."

The remaining part of the scene is divided into five registers, the upper three of which are occupied by a profusion of food and drink offerings placed upon stands and tables (Pls. XL, XLI).

The fourth register contains the representation of a procession of ten men bringing offerings to the deceased. The first man carries a stand laden with conical loaves in his right hand and an oval object in his left one. The second bears a trussed goose placed upon a tray. The third carries a stand laden with loaves in his right hand and an indistinct object in his left. The fourth carries a stand piled high with figs in his right hand and a joint of meat in his left. The fifth man carries a tray laden with what appears to be a large conical loaf. The sixth man carries two live ducks held by their wings. The seventh man balances a vase on his right hand and a stand bearing three conical loaves on his left. The eighth man carries two elongated objects which resemble the pastry  on the Bankfield Stela and the niche-stone of Princess *Sh.fnr* (see above, p. 114, No. 3). The ninth man supports a stand laden with figs in his right hand and an indistinct object in his left. The tenth man carries a stand bearing three conical loaves in his right hand and a vase in his left.

The fifth register depicts the slaughter and dismemberment of four sacrificial oxen. Above the groups of butchers and ox is inscribed: "Dismembering an ox, and sharpening the knife, by the butcher (1)." These groups are followed by two men, each carrying a haunch of beef. Above them is inscribed: "The chosen haunch is brought."

The Southern Wall.

This wall was almost entirely coated with a thick layer of plaster on which many representations of food offerings were applied. Unfortunately, this plaster layer had crumbled away, but many fragments of it were found in the debris.

The upper part of this wall is occupied by two horizontal rows of hieroglyphs, reading:

 "The Greatest of the Ten of Upper Egypt, He Who is in Front of the Throne, the Judge and Overseer of the Scribes, the Director of the Scribes, Tesen."

The remainder of the wall was occupied by representations of food and drink and offering-bearers, as can be proved from the fragments found in the debris.

The Western Wall.

The False-Door (Fig. 126; Pls. XLII, XLIII).—The main feature of this wall is a magnificent false-door measuring 4.30 m. high by 3.50 m. wide and situated to the north of the entrance. It is surmounted by a palmetto-cornice and a lintel, carved from one massive block of limestone, extending the whole width of the door. Below the cornice and extending down each side of the outer jambs, is a boldly carved *torus* moulding. On the upper lintel is a horizontal row of large hieroglyphs, reading: "A boon which the King gives and a boon which Osiris gives (to) the Glorified and August before the Great God, the Greatest of the Ten of Upper Egypt, the Director of the Scribes, Tesen."

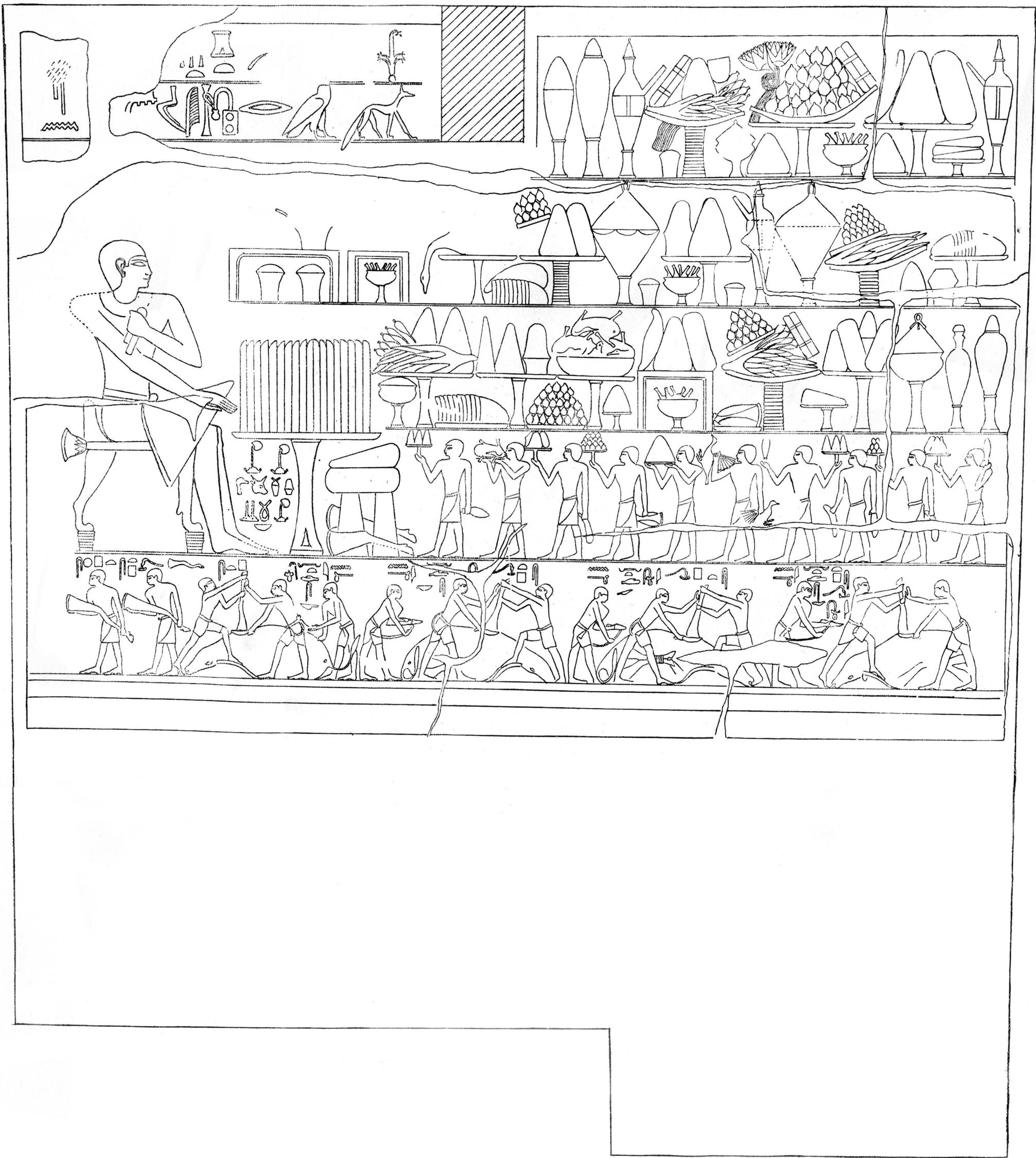
The two outer jambs are identical and each bears a life-sized representation of the deceased, carved in high relief upon a massive slab of fine limestone. He is shown in a walking attitude, facing inwards towards the door and is dressed in a stiff, triangular kilt. Around his neck is a broad necklace, and he wears his natural wavy hair in place of the conventional wig. The muscles of the neck, arms, and legs, as well as the details of the features, are carefully rendered. Above his head are sculptured four vertical rows of hieroglyphs, reading: "The Greatest of the Ten of Upper Egypt, He Who is in Front of the Throne, the Judge and Overseer of the Scribes the Director of the Scribes in the Great Hall, (the Court), Tesen."

The inner part of the false-door is carved from one huge slab of local limestone, measuring 3.05 × 1.45 m., unfortunately its surface has almost entirely flaked away, and there remains only a few traces of an offering-table upon the panel and some signs from a vertical inscription on each of its middle jambs. On the lower lintel is inscribed: "The Greatest of the Ten of Upper Egypt, Tesen."

On the drum is simply the name of the deceased: "Tesen."

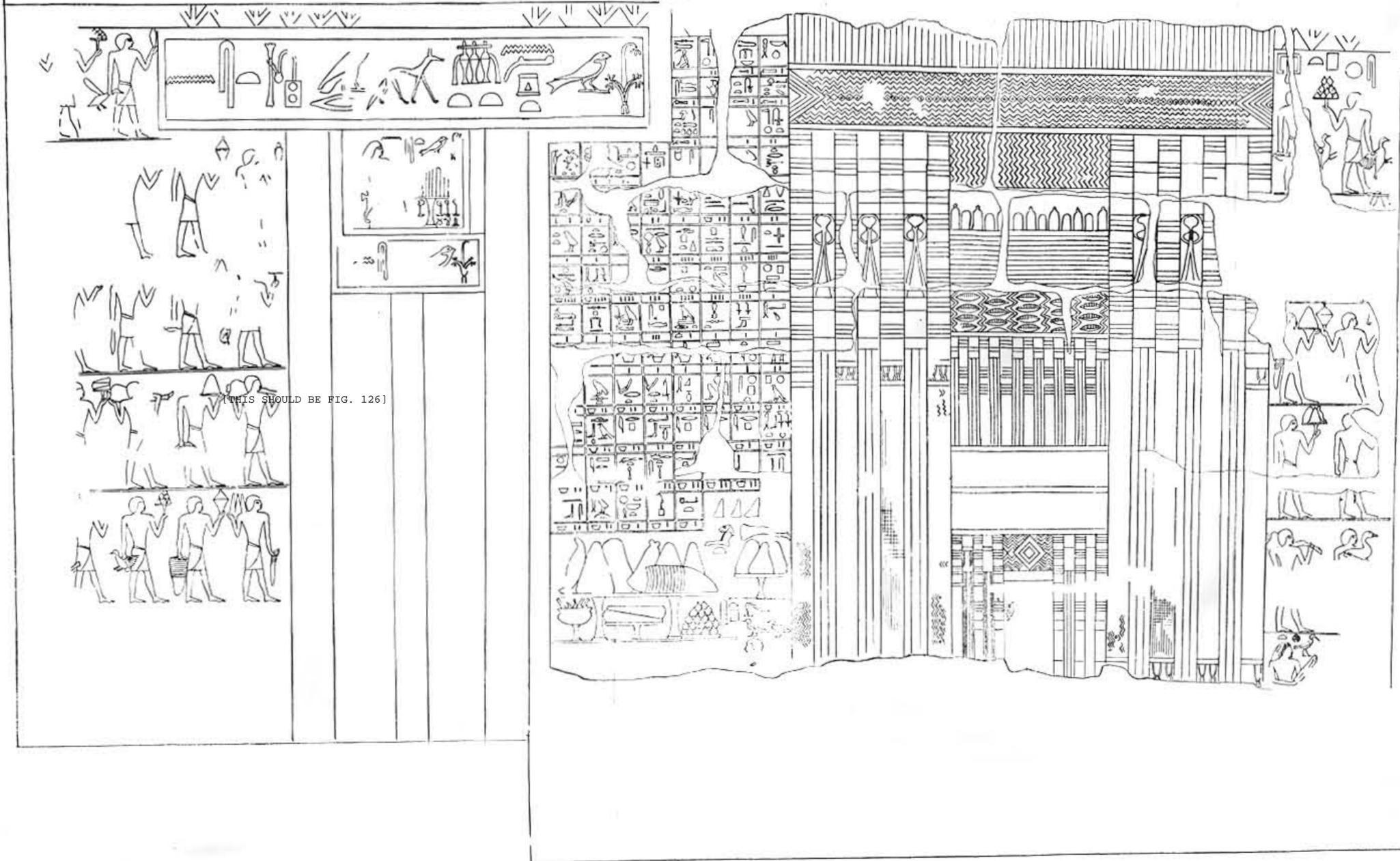
The inner jambs and the cavity of the door were painted to imitate red granite.

(1) See MURRAY, "Sakkara Mastabas", Vol. II, p. 14 ff.



0 5 10 20 30 cm.

FIG. 125.



[THIS SHOULD BE FIG. 126]

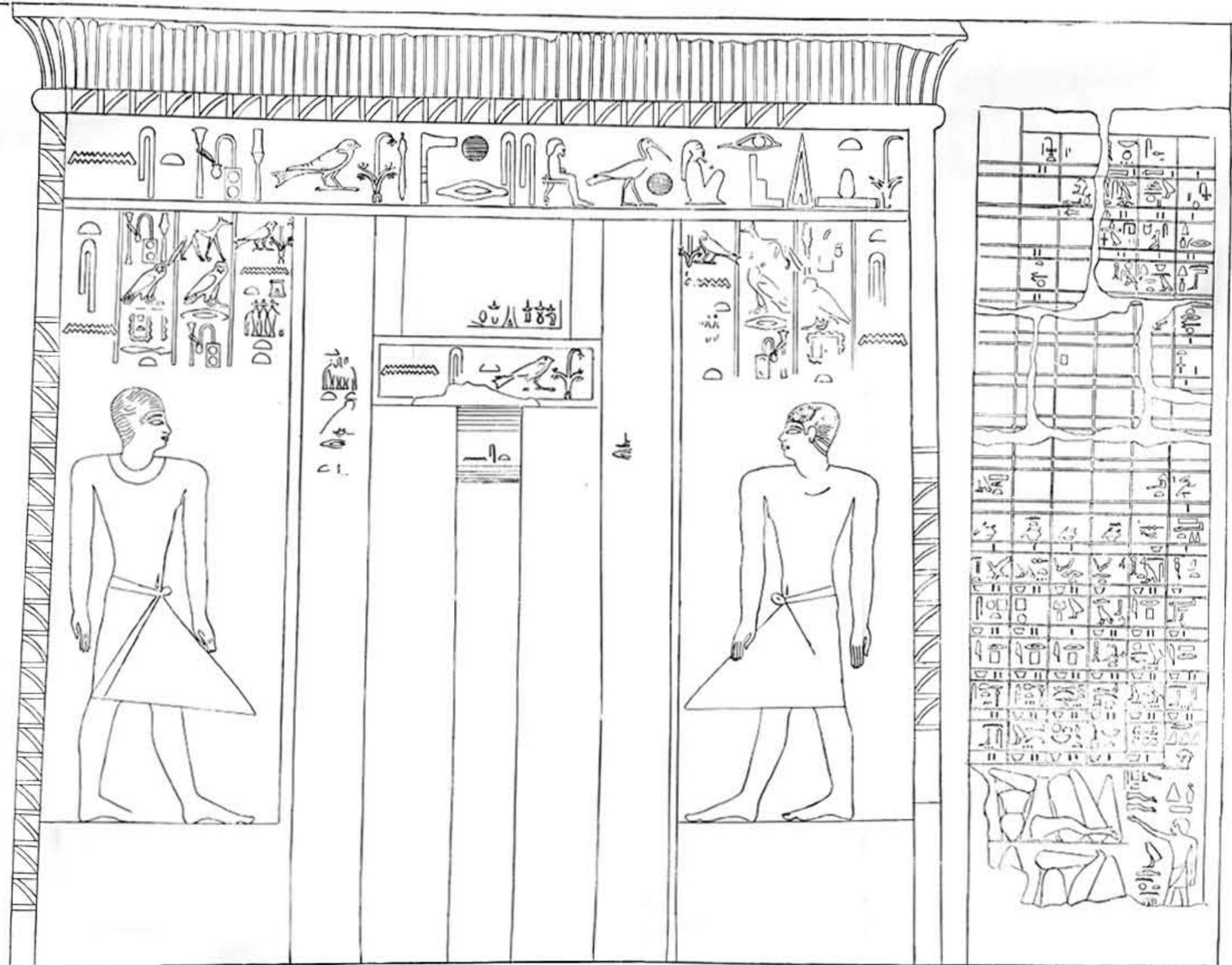


FIG. 129

In front of the false-door is a block of limestone, measuring 1.44×0.86 m., in the surface of which is set a circular alabaster offering-table, measuring 0.55 m. in diameter ⁽¹⁾.

To the north of the false-door, the surface of the wall is occupied by a long list of offerings, of which fifty-eight entries remain out of the original ninety-two. Below this list is a scene representing a servant standing with upraised arm before a heap of offerings. In front of him is inscribed: "The placing of offerings by the *Ka*-servant ⁽²⁾."

To the left side of the false-door are six superposed registers containing a procession of offering-bearers facing towards the false-door (Fig. 125). At the top of the scene is inscribed: $\left[\begin{array}{c} \text{☉} \\ \text{☐} \end{array} \right] \left[\begin{array}{c} \text{☐} \\ \text{☐} \end{array} \right]$ "Bringing the offering", and in the bottom register is a standing priest reciting the ritual from a papyrus roll which he holds in his hands. Above him is inscribed: "Glorifying . . ."

This scene is followed by a beautiful palace-façade worked out in minute detail, and bearing traces of brilliant and harmonious colouring. Then follows another offering-list similar to the northern one, but in a better state of preservation. Below the list is a similar scene of food-offerings in a good state of preservation and retaining its brilliant colouring (Fig. 125; Pls. XLIV, XLV)

The Southern False-Door (Fig. 125; Pl. XLV).—At about 1.00 m. from the south-western corner of the chapel is a false-door carved on the surface of the wall. It measures 1.03×3.35 m. high. The upper lintel bears a horizontal row of large hieroglyphs, reading: "The Greatest of the Ten of Upper Egypt, He Who is in Front of the Throne, the Judge and Overseer of the Scribes, Tesen."

The panel is greatly defaced but bears traces of a figure of the deceased seated before an offering-table. The lower lintel is also badly preserved, all that remains of its inscription being: $\left[\begin{array}{c} \text{☐} \\ \text{☐} \end{array} \right] \left[\begin{array}{c} \text{☐} \\ \text{☐} \end{array} \right]$ "The Greatest of the Ten of Upper Egypt, Tesen."

The remaining part of the wall is occupied by a procession of offering-bearers arranged in six superposed registers, each of which contains four figures, with the exception of the topmost register, which, being partly occupied by the long upper lintel of the false-door, contains only the figures of two men (Pl. XLVII).

The Architrave (Fig. 127).

On the east and west faces of the massive architrave is an identical horizontal row of large hieroglyphs, reading: "A boon, which the King gives, a boon, which Anubis, Presiding Over the God's Dwelling gives, and a boon which Osiris in all his places gives, a burial in the Necropolis of the Western Desert (to) the One Honoured by the Great God, the Greatest of the Ten of Upper Egypt, He Who is in Front of the Throne, Tesen."

At the end is a representation of the deceased seated upon a stool and facing north.



FIG. 127.

⁽¹⁾ See above, p. 189.

⁽²⁾ MURRAY, "Sakkara Mastabas", Vol. II, p. 19.

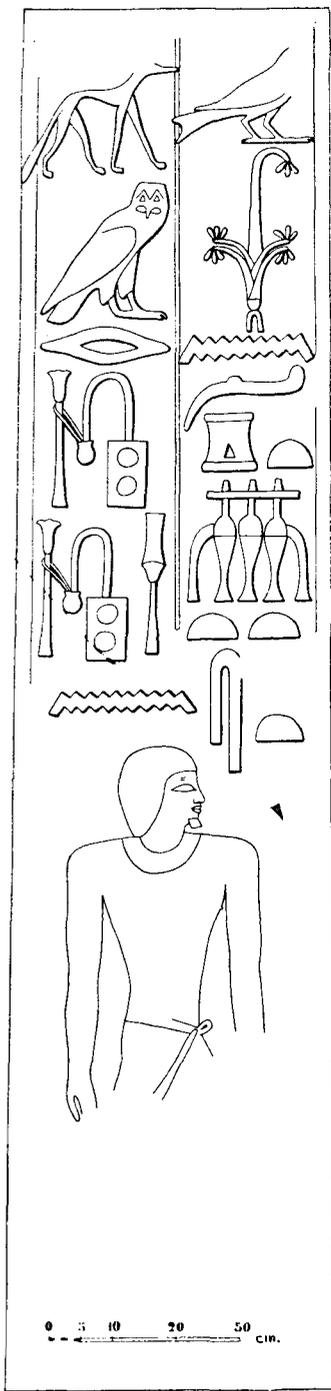


FIG. 128.

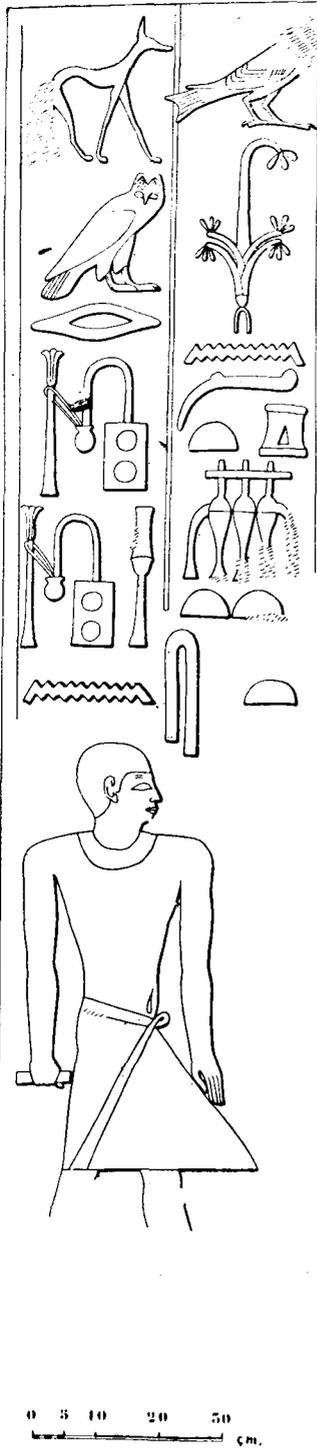


FIG. 129.

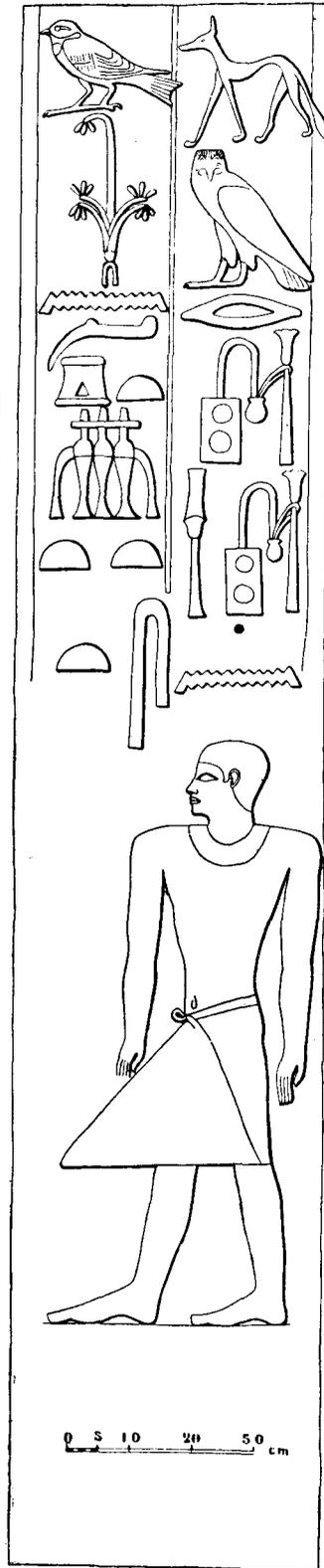


FIG. 130.



FIG. 131.



FIG. 132.

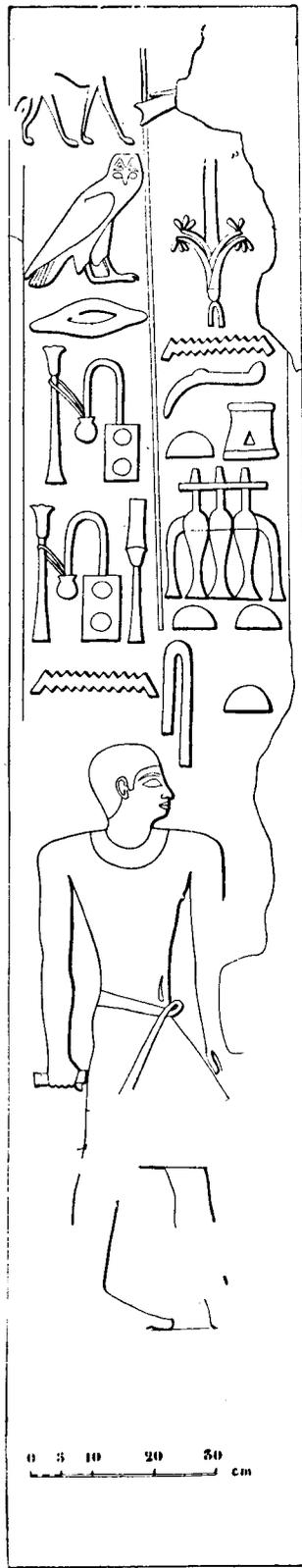


FIG. 133.

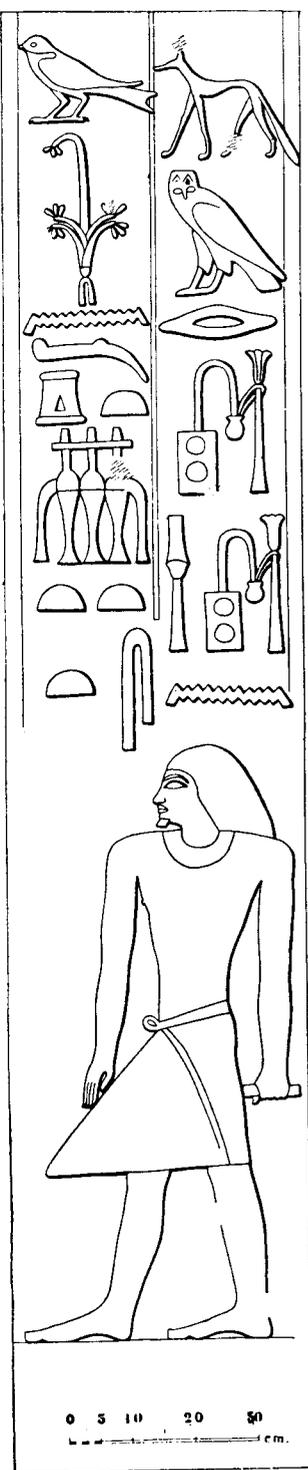


FIG. 134.

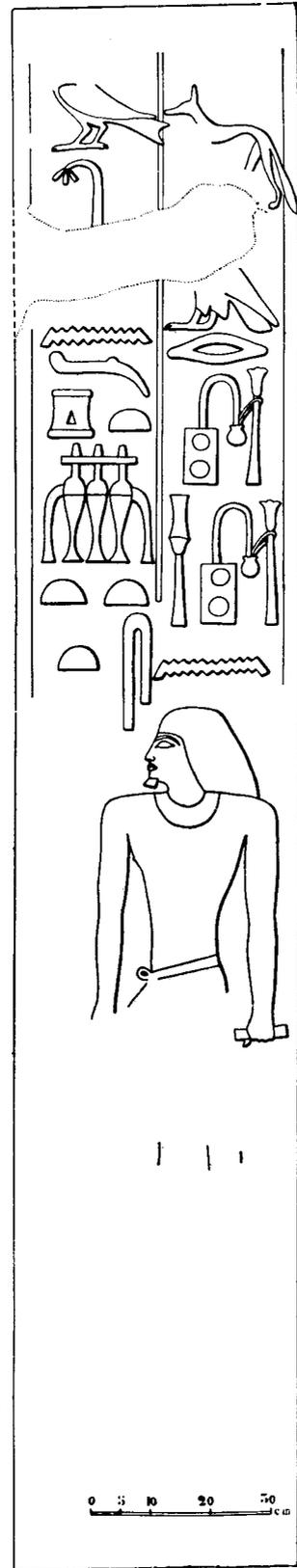
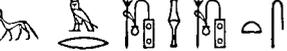


FIG. 135.

The Pillars (Figs. 128-135; Pls. XLVIII, XLIX, L, and LI).

The four pillars which support the roof of the chapel bear an identical inscription on all their faces. It is composed of two vertical rows of hieroglyphs, and reads:—

(1)  "The Greatest of the Ten of Upper Egypt, He who is in front of the Throne."

(2)  "The Judge and Overseer of the Scribes, the Director of the Scribes, Tesen."

Underneath this inscription is a large standing figure of the deceased holding a roll of papyrus. These figures, which occur on every face of each pillar, vary only in the details of the wig, and the addition of a false beard in some cases.

SHAFTS

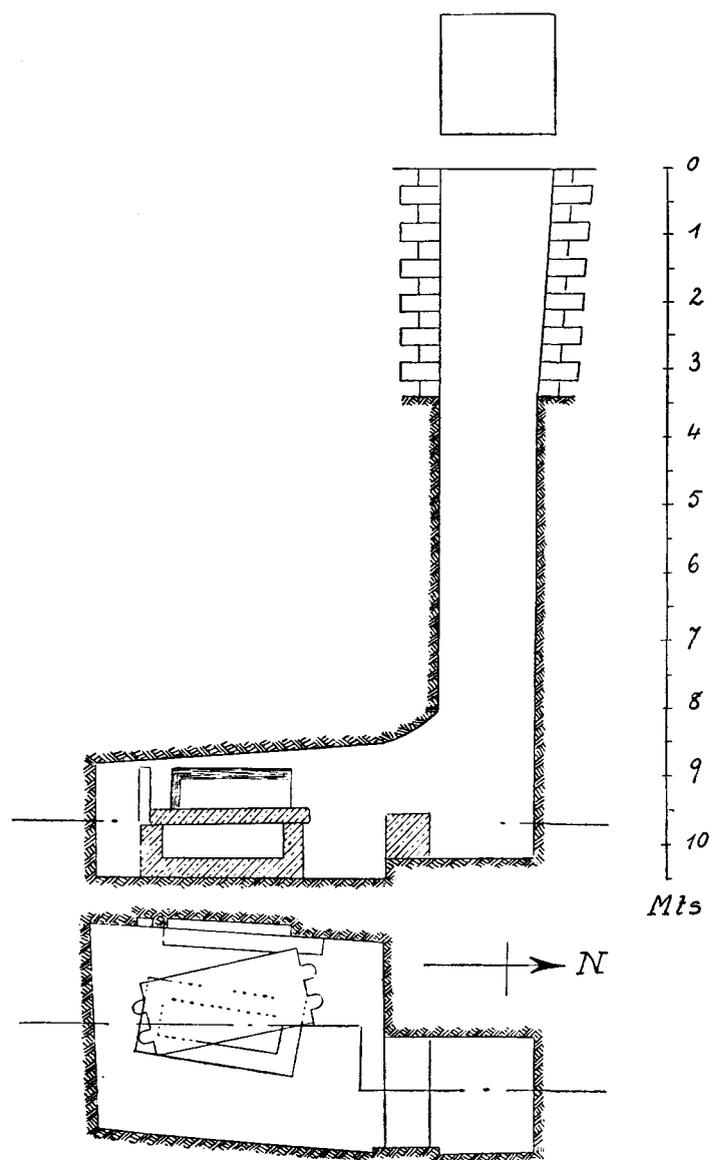
Shaft No. 1084 (Fig. 136).

This shaft lies behind the northern false-door and is built against the outer southern wall of the mastaba of Fefi.

Grave-pit: 1·70 × 1·75 × 10·17 m. deep, burial-chamber on the south, measuring 4·20 × 3·05 × 2·00 m. high. Two niches cut in the western wall; aperture open. A sarcophagus of white Turah limestone, and measuring 2·40 × 1·12 × 0·75 m. lies at the north side of the chamber.

Burial: The burial-chamber was found to have been plundered of all its contents excepting:—

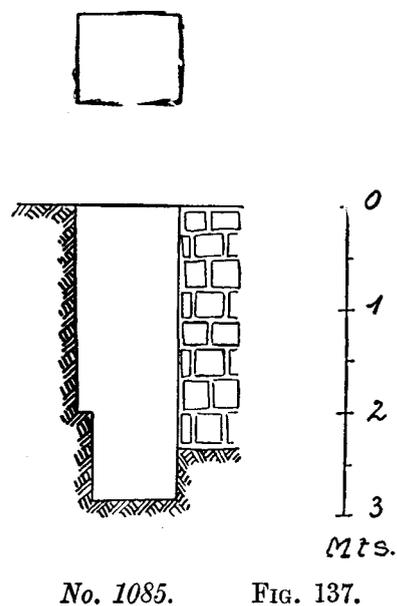
- (1) Four canopic jars of limestone, two of which are damaged.
- (2) Four model vessels of alabaster.
- (3) A broken head-rest of alabaster.



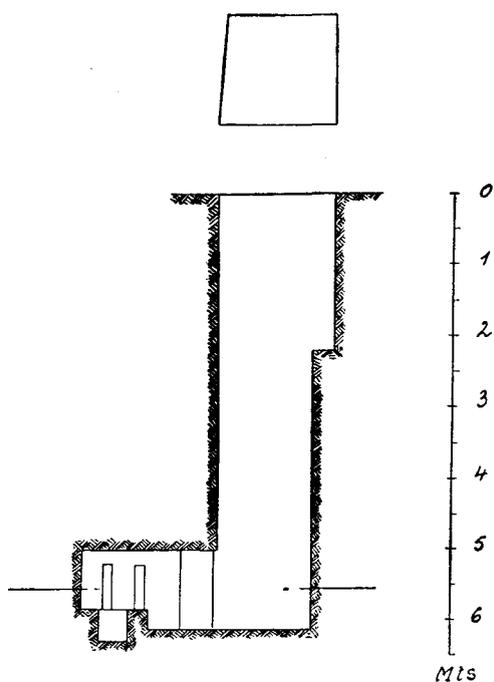
No. 1084. FIG. 136.

Shaft No. 1085 (Fig. 137).

Grave-pit : $0.80 \times 0.95 \times 2.86$ m. No burial.

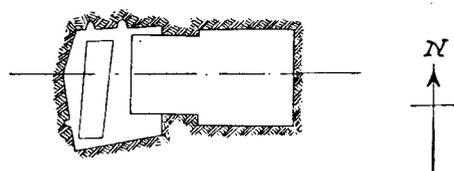


No. 1085. FIG. 137.



Shaft No. 1086 (Fig. 138).

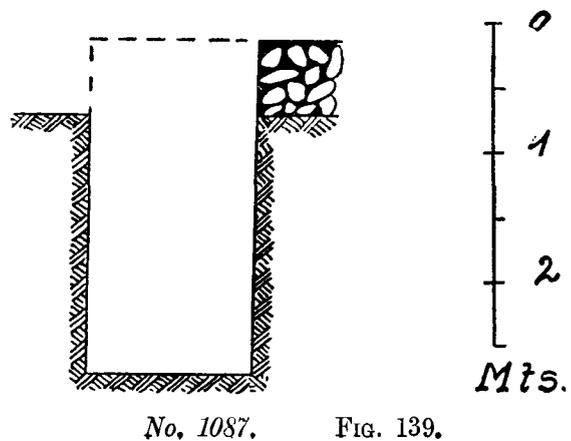
Grave-pit : $1.65 \times 1.50 \times 5.10$ m. An irregular burial directed west and having a recess sunk in the floor parallel with the western wall, and measuring $1.40 \times 0.40 \times 0.45$ m. deep.



No. 1086. FIG. 138.

Shaft No. 1087 (Fig. 139).

Grave-pit : $1.30 \times 1.30 \times 2.60$ m. No burial.



No. 1087. FIG. 139.

The Lintel of  . . . Nes.

During the task of restoring the roof of the entrance passage, there appeared a fragment of an inscribed limestone slab. Further clearance in this spot revealed three other fragments, all of which proved to form part of two lintels referring to two different persons. The lintel of  bears two horizontal rows of incised hieroglyphs, reading:—

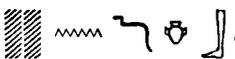
(1) “. . . that Offerings may come forth at the Opening Day of the Year Feast, the Feast of Thoth, the Monthly Feast, the Half-monthly Feast, [and] in every feast [and] every day, [to] the Priest of Horus Behdety”.

(1) 

(2) 

(2) “The Ruler of the Bat, Priest of the Goddess Iatet ⁽¹⁾, Priest of Anubis, Priest of Wep-was Priest of . . . , Nes Priest of the Souls of Nekhen.”

At the end of the inscription is a representation of a man seated upon a lion-footed chair.

The Lintel of .

This lintel is beautifully inscribed with the remains of two horizontal rows of incised hieroglyphs, reading:—

(1) “A boon which the King gives, and a boon which Anubis, Presiding Over the God’s Dwelling [gives] a burial in the West after a good old-age [to] the Honoured by the Great God.”

(1) 

(2) 

(2) “He Who is Concerned With the King’s Affairs, Judge and Mouth of Nekhen, Judge and Eldest of the Audience Chamber of the Great Hall ⁽²⁾, of the Great Ten, and of the House of Life of the Great Ten ⁽³⁾. Inspector of the Fields . . . Nez (m ?) ib.”

At the end of the inscription is the representation of a man seated upon a chair.

⁽¹⁾ The Goddess of Milk.

⁽²⁾ The highest Court of Justice.

⁽³⁾ Up till now this title is absolutely unknown in the Old Kingdom and thus the translation is only tentative.

SOME NOTES ON THE DECORATION OF THE MASTABA OF TESEN

Although the scenes represented upon the walls of the chapel of this tomb conform to the normal conventions of Old Kingdom art in the subject matter displayed, yet there is a subtle difference in the way the figures are arranged, an originality of detail and a surprising naturalism of drawing that is quite unusual in Egyptian Art, with the exception of the El-Amarna Age, and the period immediately following it. It is difficult to say what is the reason for the somewhat unorthodox treatment of these scenes, but most probably Tesen was a man of an original turn of mind, and having sought and found an artist of considerable skill to decorate his tomb, and perhaps pointed out to him some artistic details which would make his tomb appear more or less individual in its representations, he gave him a free hand in the matter. If so, the results, even after the lapse of so many centuries, show that this confidence was not misplaced.

The first thing that would attract the attention of the general visitor is the accuracy with which the details of the scenes are rendered, as for instance, the perfection of the finger-nails, and the anatomical details of the legs and bodies of the large figures of Tesen.

It will be noticed, moreover, that the large, standing figures of Tesen on the thickness of the chapel doorway (Figs. 120, 121; Pl. XXXIV), as well as those on the outer jambs of the northern false-door, are represented as wearing their natural hair, which is skilfully modelled to represent sleek waves⁽¹⁾. Apart from the almost startling fact that we have here a portrait of a nobleman who dared to appear in such conspicuous places in his tomb without the covering of the conventional ceremonial wig, the treatment of the hair is entirely modern and naturalistic and could scarcely be improved upon.

Apparently, however, this detail was the only innovation that the artist ventured to indulge in with respect to the owner of the tomb, for the remainder of the figure, though well modelled, is strictly conventional in its attitude and treatment⁽²⁾.

The next noteworthy detail occurs in the fowling scene above the chapel doorway (Fig. 123, Pl. XXXVI). As already noted, the head fowler is signalling with his hand, in place of the more usual cloth. This figure is a triumph of drawing, for although the perspective of the body conforms strictly to the traditions, yet the artist has managed to convey a strong sense of arrested movement that suggests a motion-picture photograph rather than an Old Kingdom relief⁽³⁾.

Another hackneyed theme into which the artist has succeeded in infusing life is the scene which shows Tesen hunting in the marshes (Fig. 123; Pl. XXXVII). Although the surface of the wall is somewhat damaged, the vigour of the pose is unmarred. Notice the tension of the

⁽¹⁾ Compare these portraits with the coloured limestone statuette of Tesen, found in the intact serdab of the mastaba of Fefi. The similarity of the features suggests that both the statuette and the reliefs were undoubtedly good portraits of the deceased.

⁽²⁾ We have two other examples from our excavations of the representation of the natural hair, both of which are in the round. One is a small limestone head of a man found in the debris (now in the Magazine of the Pyr. Excavation) during the 1st season's work.

Here the hair is represented as being wavy. The other example is also a damaged limestone head of a man.

Here the hair is shown to be in tight ringlets, which combined with the appearance of the features, suggests that the owner of the statuette was of negroid origin.

⁽³⁾ Cf. tomb of Neb-em-akhet, 4th season, southern wall, 2nd register, and tomb of Sekhem-ka-Ra, 4th season, eastern wall, 2nd register, where the figures of the fowlers are well drawn, but lack the amazing vitality of the Tesen example.

upraised arm holding the spear, the body leaning slightly backwards to give power to the thrust, the outflung left arm, with the hand clutching at the reeds for support, and the widely planted feet for the maintenance of balance (1).

Perhaps the greatest testimony to the skill of the artist is the slaughtering scene on the northern wall (Fig. 125; Pls. XL, XLI). Here, the figures of the butchers are worthy to rank with the finest specimens of Egyptian Art. With the exception of the eye, the extreme right-hand figure and the man who is cutting off the foreleg of a second ox, are drawn in true profile. The freedom and energy of the drawing, and the grace and strength of the body and limbs are beyond praise. Compare these splendid figures with the anatomical monstrosities represented in the tomb of Ti, at Saqqara (2), and the superior skill of Tesen's artist is immediately evident.

Notice should also be made of the expression of the man in the left-hand group, who is engaged in cutting off the foreleg of the ox. The intent gaze and the grim set of the mouth are absolutely in keeping with the nature of the task he is performing.

In short, it may be said that the art displayed in this mastaba possesses all the grace and naturalism of the Amarna Age, combined with the virile strength so typical of the Old Kingdom school.

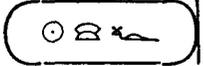
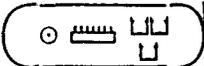
One of the most attractive details of the decoration of this tomb are the last three items of the southern offering-list, together with the represented food-offerings. These three items are *gsw* (the half-loaves), *ḥ3.t wdḥw* (the best of food and drink) and *stp* (the choice pieces of an ox or goose). They are inscribed in larger characters and outside the rectangles. On the northern list, the *ḥ3.t wdḥw* is determined normally by , but on the southern list a representation of an offering-table laden with food seems to serve as a determinative for this entry. The reason why these three entries are given such prominence is because they are the most important and desirable items in the funerary meal (see Coloured Plate).

(1) Cf. Neb-em-akhet, 4th season, western wall; "Excavations at Giza", Vol. IV, p. 135; also KLEBS, "Die Reliefs des Alten Reiches", pp. 36, 37, illus. 22, 23.

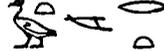
(2) See KLEBS, "Die Reliefs des Alten Reiches", pp. 124, 125, illus. 97, 98.

THE MASTABA OF  NY-PTAH-NEFER-HER  FEFI

TITLES

1.  *irj-ht-njswt* "He Who is Concerned with the King's Affairs."
2.  *w'b njswt* "King's Purificator."
3.  *hm-ntr H'f-R'* "Priest of Khafra'."
4.  *hm-ntr Mn-kaw-R'* "Priest of Men-kaw-Ra'."
5.  *nb imsh hr ntr-'s* "Possessor of Honour before the Great God."

FAMILY

Wife:  "Sat-ment."

Title:  *irj [t] ht njswt* "She Who is Concerned with the King's Affairs."

Son:  "Tesen."

Titles: (1)  *kbh ht mds (?) pr-'s* "He Who Distributes Libation in the Place of Cult (?) of the Great House."

(2)  *imsh [w] hr nb.f* "The Honoured by His Lord."

Daughter:  "Mert-tef.s."

Title:  *irj[t]-ht-njswt* "She Who is Concerned with the King's Affairs."

SITUATION

The mastaba of Ny-Ptah-nefer-her is situated to the north-west of that of Tesen (see General Plan 11-0; Fig. 140). It is entirely constructed of local limestone masonry.

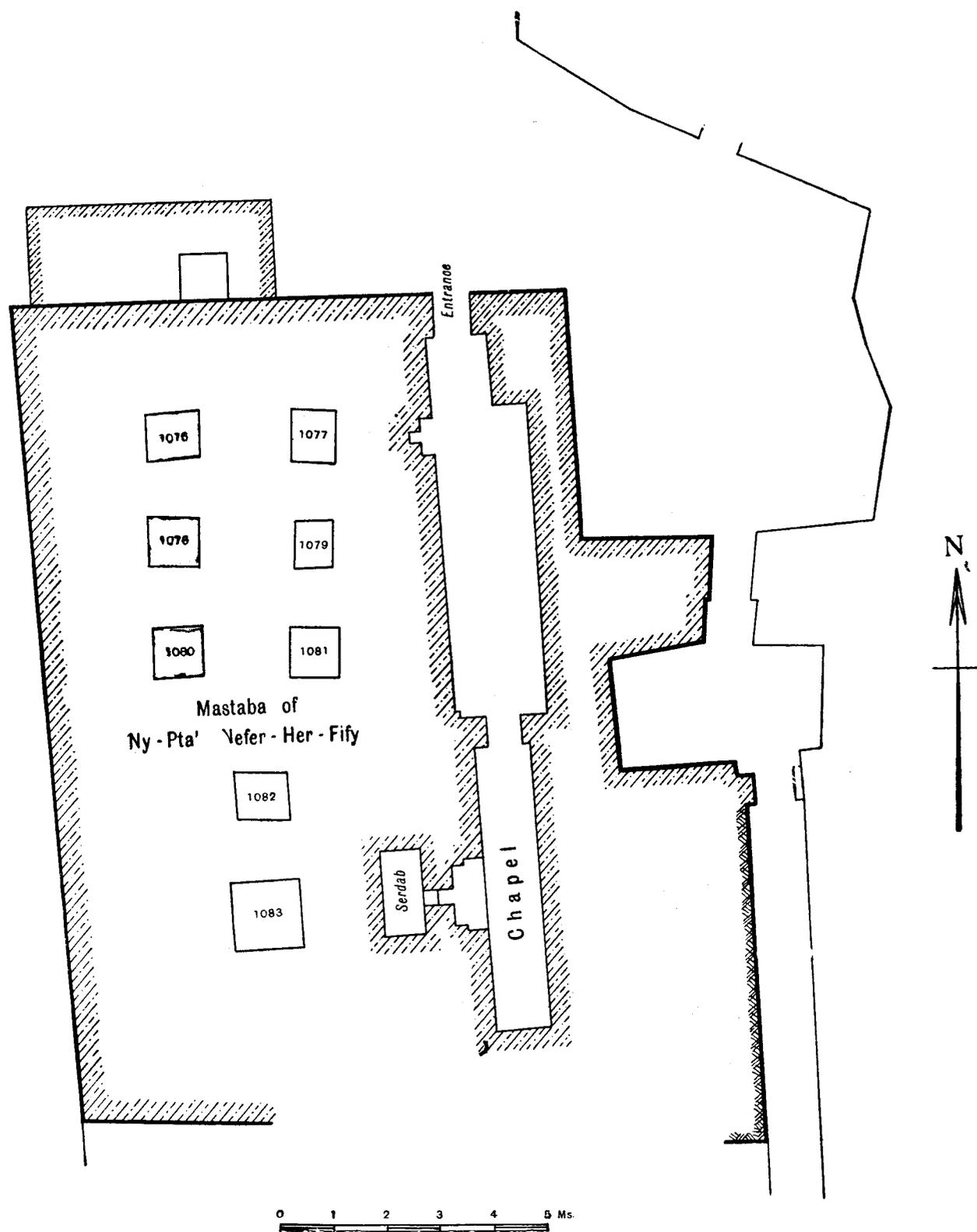


FIG. 140.

THE ENTRANCE

Access to this tomb is obtained through a doorway (0.70 m. wide by 1.75 m. high) which opens to the north. Its lintel was found lying in the debris in front of the tomb, and has now been restored to its proper place. It measures 1.90 m. \times 0.27 m. and bears two horizontal rows of hieroglyphs, (see Fig. 141; LII, A) reading:—

First Row.—“A boon which the King gives and Anubis, Presiding ⁽¹⁾ Over the God's Dwelling [gives], a burial in the Western Desert after a very good old age, [for] the Honoured by the Great God, He Who is Concerned with the King's Affairs.”

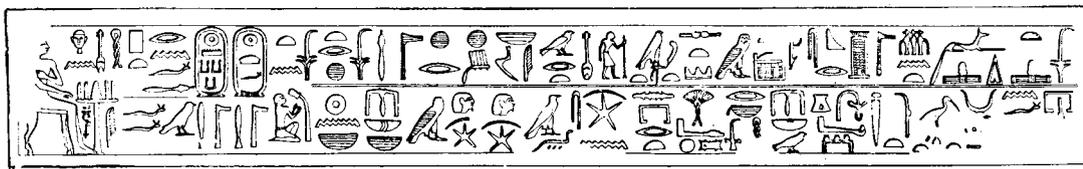


FIG. 141.

Second Row.—“That offerings may come forth to him in the Feast of the Opening of the Year, the Feast of Thoth, the Feast of the Beginning of the Year, the Wag Feast, the Great Feast, the Feast of Fire, the Wah Feast, the Feast of the Coming Forth of Min, the Monthly Feast of Sad, the Feast of the Beginning of the Month, and the Feast of the Beginning of the Half-month, in every feast and every day.”

The remaining part of the inscription reads: “The Priest of King Khafra', the Priest of King Men-kaw-Ra', His 'Great Name': Ny- h-nefer-her, Fefi.”

At the end is a damaged representation of the deceased seated before an offering-table.

The doorway leads into a rectangular hall, measuring 7.35 \times 1.85 m. Its western wall is constructed of eight stepped courses, and slopes back at an angle of 0.96 degrees; near its northern end is an unscribed false-door constructed of slabs of white limestone.

THE CHAPEL

The chapel is connected with the hall by means of a doorway which is nearly on the same axis as the main entrance. This doorway measures 1.65 \times 1.75 m. high and 0.62 m. wide. It has a

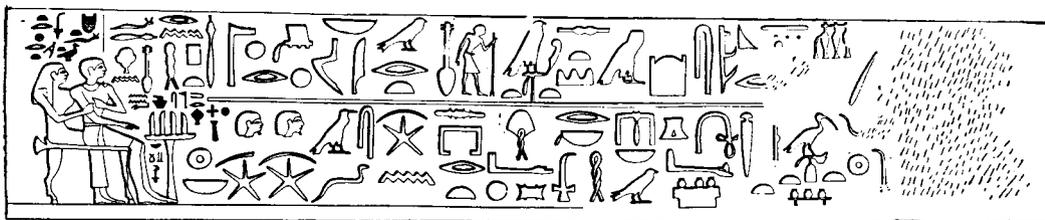


FIG. 142.

lintel formed of a monolithic slab of local limestone (see Fig. 142; Pl. LII, C), which is incised with two horizontal rows of hieroglyphs, reading: “A boon which the King [gives] and a boon

(¹)  var. of  .

which Anubis, Presiding Over the Sacred Land [gives] a burial in the Western Desert after a very good old age, [for] the Honoured One by the Great God. [That offerings may come forth to him] at the Feast of the Opening of the Year, the Feast of Thoth, the Feast of the Beginning of the Year, the Wag Feast, the Great Feast, the Feast of Fire, the Wah Feast, the Feast of the Coming Forth of Min, the Monthly Feast of Sad, the Beginning of the Month, the Beginning of the Half-month, and every day."

At the end of this inscription is a representation of the deceased and his wife seated together upon a stool before an offering-table. Above the head of the man is incised: "His 'Great Name': Ny-Ptah-nefer-her." Above the woman is inscribed: "His wife, She Who is Concerned with the King's Affairs, Sat-mert."

Above the offering-table is inscribed a horizontal row of hieroglyphs, reading: "Washing, Incense, Clothes", while below the table is inscribed: "Thousands of linen and alabaster." The scene of the deceased and his wife seated before the offering-table is one that is normally found on the panel of a false-door which is shared by a married couple (*see* above, p. 126). In this case the false-door is uninscribed, so the important offering-table scene was transferred to the lintel of the real door.

This doorway leads into a very narrow chapel, measuring 5.40 m. long by 0.94 m. wide and 3.0 m. high. Its roof of limestone slabs is still in a good state of preservation, but its southernmost end seems to have been left unroofed.

Almost in the middle of the western wall is a niched false-door built of white limestone slabs. Behind this false-door we found an intact serdab, the squint of which lies underneath the drum.

A step, 0.40 m. in height, is constructed in front of the false-door to enable visitors to easily obtain a view of the contents of the serdab.

THE INTACT SERDAB

The serdab contained four statuettes of painted limestone, all of which are in a very good state of preservation (*see* Pl. LII, B).

The Statuette of Fefi (Pl. LIII, A).

Material.—Fine Turah limestone.

Dimensions.—Height: 0.65 m. Breadth across shoulders: 0.19 m.

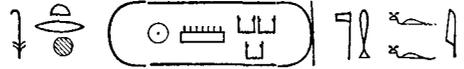
Workmanship.—Excellent and very expressive.

Preservation.—Perfect.

Description.—It is modelled in a walking attitude, with the left foot advanced, head upraised and arms hanging at the sides with the hands closed. The face is somewhat rounded and remarkably youthful, the eyes wide open and the eyebrows highly arched. The nose is well-formed and prominent and the chin small but firm.

Dress.—A heavy, curled wig, which hides the ears, and a short kilt; a broad necklace encircles the neck.

Colours.—Wig, eye, moustache, and plinth black; flesh, dark red; necklace, blue and white; kilt white.

Inscriptions.—Along the side of the left leg the plinth is incised with a vertical row of hieroglyphs, reading:  “He Who is Concerned with the King’s Affairs, the Priest of King Men-kaw-Ra’, Fefi.”

The Statuette of Sat-Mert (Pl. LIV).

Material.—Fine Turah limestone.

Dimensions.—Height: 0.53 m Breadth across shoulders 0.14 m.

Preservation.—Very good.

Workmanship.—Very good.

Description.—This statuette was found to the left side of that of Fefi. It is in a standing attitude with upraised head, the arms at the sides with the hands open and the feet placed together.

Dress.—A plaited wig which allows the natural hair to be seen upon the brow. A long, tight robe covering the body from neck to ankles. She wears two necklaces, one of the “dog-collar” type and the other a wide, circular collar, from which a rectangular pendant hangs between the breasts.

Colours.—Wig, hair, eyes, eyebrows, bracelets, anklets, plinth and pedestal, black; flesh, yellow; necklaces red, blue, white, yellow, and black.

Inscriptions.—The back of the plinth is incised with a vertical row of hieroglyphs, reading:

 “She Who is Concerned with the King’s Affairs, Sat-mert.”

The Statuette of Mert-tef-es (Pl. LV).

This statuette was found to the right side of that of Fefi.

Material.—White Turah limestone.

Dimensions.—Height: 0.40 m. Breadth across shoulders: 0.12 m.

Preservation.—It is in a good state of preservation, although most of its colouring has disappeared.

Workmanship.—Very good and typical of the Old Kingdom school.

Description.—This statuette is in a seated attitude with upraised head. The arms are bent at the elbows and rest upon the thighs, with the hands open and the palms downward. The feet are placed together.

Dress.—A short, plaited wig, showing the natural hair on the brow, a long, tight robe and traces of a broad necklace.

Colours.—Nothing of the original colouring remains, except traces of black on the wig, hair, and stool, and a few very faint traces of it on the necklace.

Inscriptions.—The left side of the stool is inscribed with a vertical row of hieroglyphs, reading:  “She Who is Concerned with the King’s Affairs, Mert-tef-es.” (the beloved of her father).

The Statuette of Tesen (Pl. LIII, B.).

Found at the right side of that of Mert-tef-es.

Material.—White Turah limestone.

Dimensions.—Height: 0·37·5 m. Breadth across the shou’lders: 0·13 m.

Preservation.—Excellent.

Workmanship.—Good and well finished.

Description.—It is in a seated attitude with upraised head. The arms are bent at the elbows, the hands resting upon the thighs. The left hand rests flat with the palm downwards, while the right hand is closed upon a handkerchief. The details of the knees and the muscles of the legs are very well rendered. The feet are placed together.

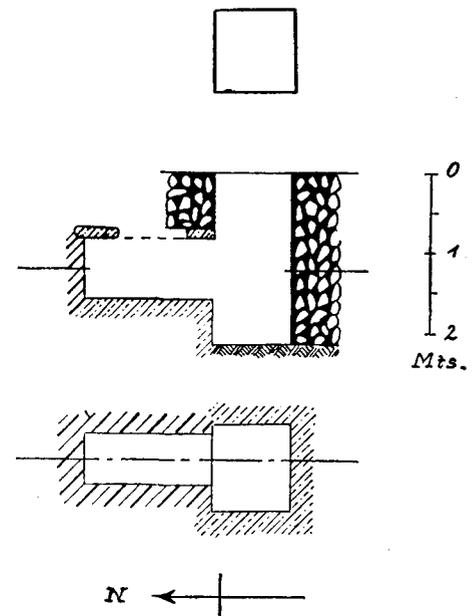
Dress.—He wears a curled wig, a short kilt with a pleated side-wrap and a broad necklace.

Colours.—The colours are well preserved. The wig, eyes and stool are black; flesh, dark red; kilt, white.

Inscriptions.—The right side of the stool is incised with three horizontal rows of hieroglyphs, reading:  “He Who Distributes Libations in the Place of Cult of the Great House, the Honoured by His Lord, Tesen” (?).

Shaft No. 1076 (Fig. 143).

Grave-pit: 1·05 × 1·05 × 1·15 m. deep, with side-chamber on the south, but directed north and measuring 1·60 × 1·10 m.

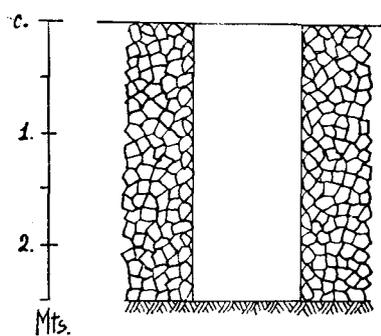
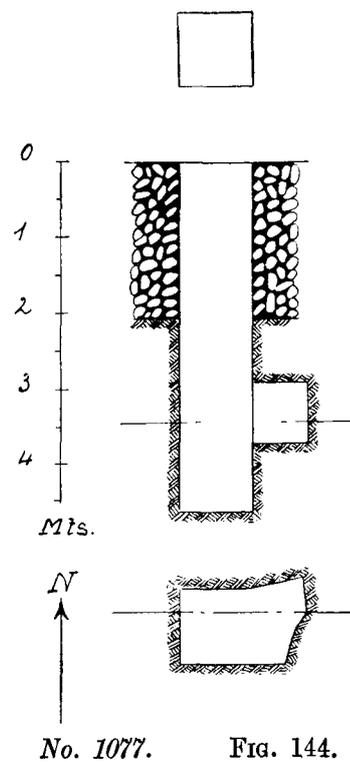


No. 1076. FIG. 143.

(¹) As far as I know, the sign  is rare but the meaning is clear: *H.t mds* (?).

Shaft No. 1077 (Fig. 144).

Grave-pit : $1.05 \times 1.05 \times 4.60$ m. deep, with an irregular side-chamber, measuring about 0.75×1.00 m. cut at a depth of 2.80 m. and directed east.



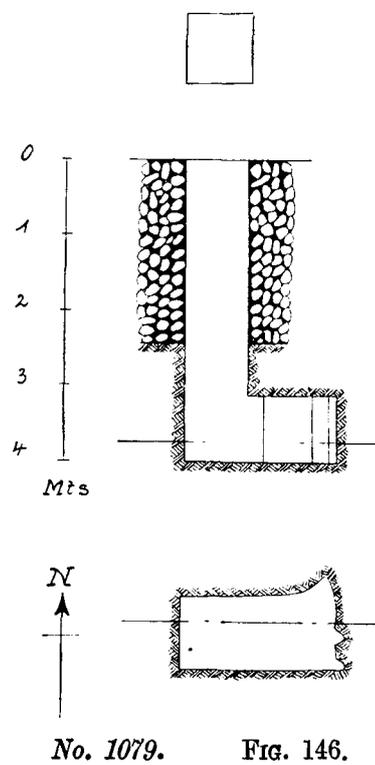
No. 1078. FIG. 145.

Shaft No. 1078 (Fig. 145).

Grave-pit : $0.95 \times 0.95 \times 2.40$ m. deep.
Burial : Nil.

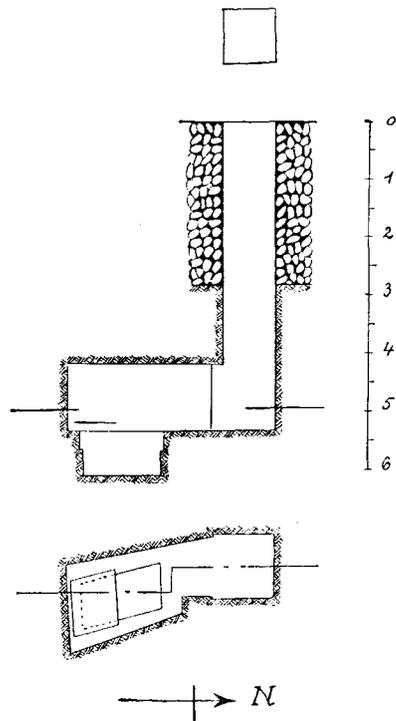
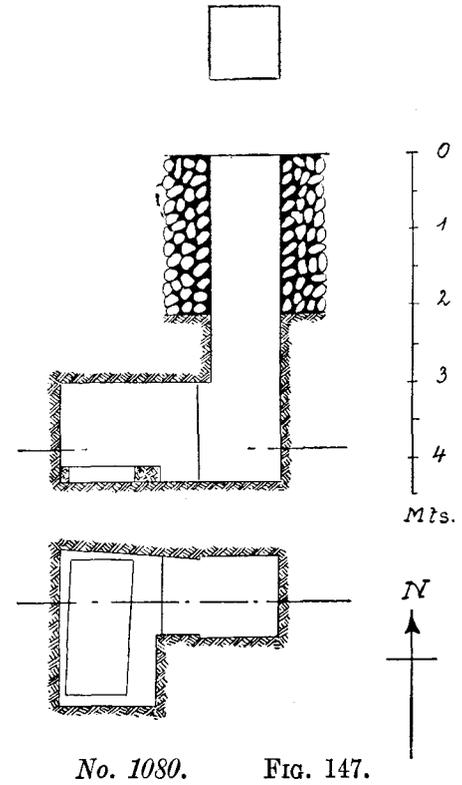
Shaft No. 1079 (Fig. 146).

Grave-pit : $0.95 \times 0.95 \times 4.00$ m. deep, with an irregular side-chamber, measuring about 1.25×1.05 m. directed east.



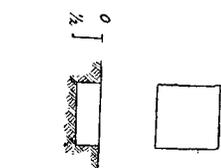
Shaft No. 1080 (Fig. 147).

Grave-pit: $0.95 \times 0.95 \times 4.25$ m. deep, with a side-chamber on the east and directed west. It measures about 2.00×1.30 m. and has a recess cut in its floor, measuring $1.75 \times 0.75 \times 0.25$ m. deep.



Shaft No. 1081 (Fig. 148).

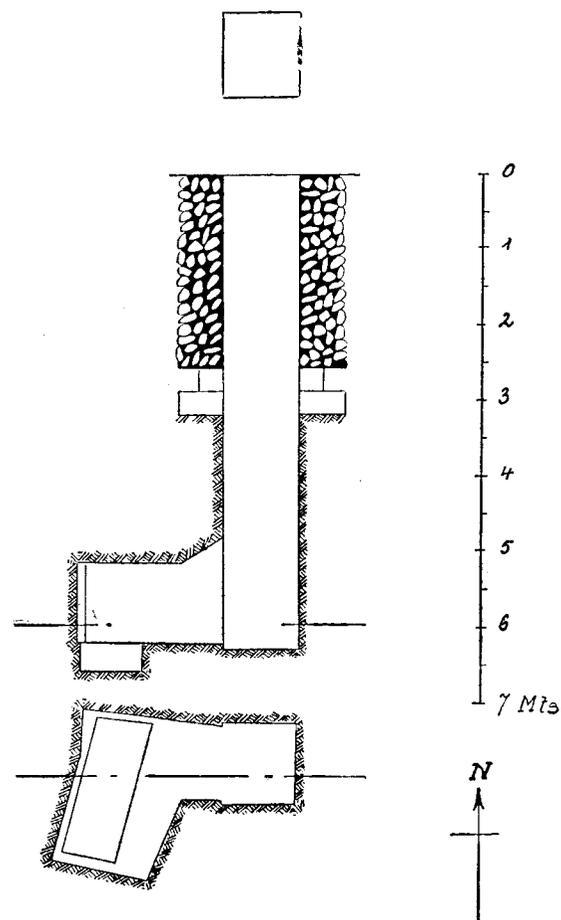
Grave-pit: $0.95 \times 0.95 \times 5.25$ m. deep, with a side-chamber opening north and directed south. It measures about 2.50×1.30 m. and has a recess cut in its floor, measuring $1.40 \times 0.75 \times 0.75$ m. deep.



No. 1081. FIG. 148.

Shaft No. 1082 (Fig. 149).

Grave-pit : $1.00 \times 1.10 \times 6.25$ m. deep, with a side-chamber on the west, measuring about $2.00 \times 2.10 \times 1.50$ m. high; in the western side is a recess in the floor, measuring $1.80 \times 0.75 \times 0.35$ m. deep.

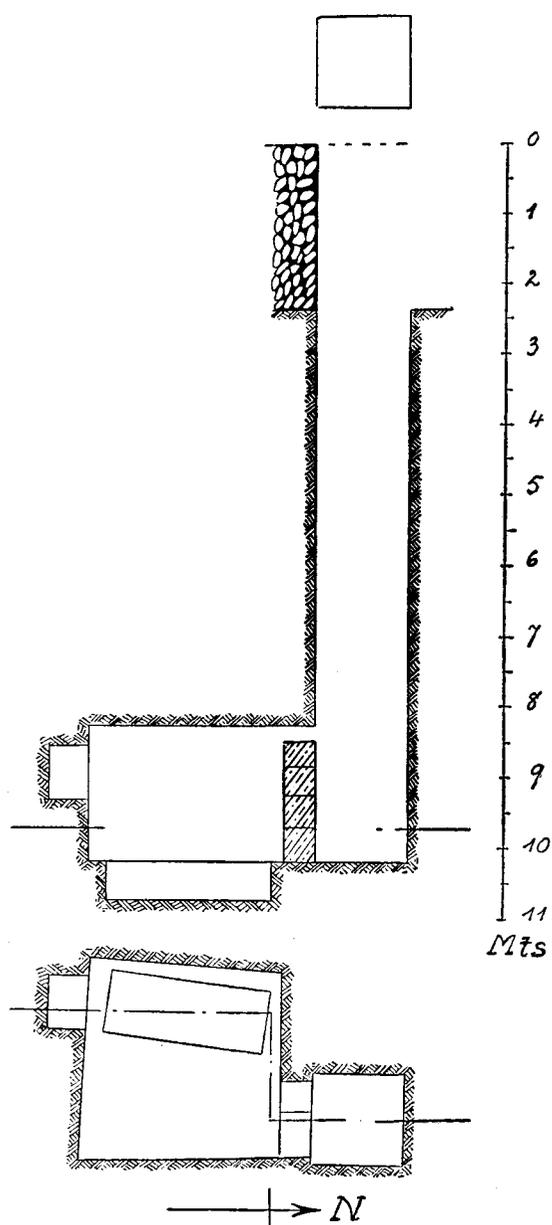


No. 1082. FIG. 149.

Shaft No. 1083 (Fig. 150).

Grave-pit : $1.25 \times 1.30 \times 10.17$ m. deep, lined with rubble to a depth of 2.35 m. ; side-chamber on the south, measuring $2.83 \times 2.68 \times 1.90$ m. high. In the southern wall is cut a niche, measuring $0.74 \times 0.55 \times 0.70$ m. ; it contained some scattered bones. In the floor is a recess, measuring $2.48 \times 0.90 \times 0.55$ m. deep.

Burial : The chamber was plundered in ancient times, through a break in the upper part of the sealing of the aperture. Remains of a disturbed skeleton lying in the recess. From the debris lying upon the ground, we recovered fifty-two model vessels of alabaster and a broken head-rest (Pl. LVI, A, B.).

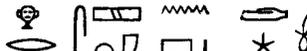


No. 1083. FIG. 150.

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THE ROCK-CUT TOMB OF MES-SA

TITLES

1.  *smr w'tj* "Sole Companion."
2.  *smr* "Companion."
3.  *hrj sst3 n pr-dwst* "Master of the Secrets of the Toilet-House."
4.  *hrj wdb ht-nh* "Master of the Distribution ⁽¹⁾ of Offerings in the House of Life."
5.  *hrp 'h* "The Director of the Palace."
6.  *imsh [w] hr ntr-'3* "Honoured by the Great God."
7.  *imsh [w] hr nb-f* "Honoured by His Lord."

FAMILY

Son: ⁽²⁾  "Werkhw."

Title: ⁽³⁾  *irj ht njswt* "He who is Concerned with the King's Affairs."

Wife:  *hr ks* "Her-ka (?)."

Title:  *irj [t] ht njswt* "She who is Concerned with the King's Affairs."

SITUATION

The tomb of Mes-sa lies to the south-west of that of Werkhww, north of Ka-meni and south-east of that of Swf (see General Plan 12-Q; Fig. 151).

DESCRIPTION

It is entirely cut in the rock, but cased at the upper part with slabs of white local limestone.

⁽¹⁾ For a full discussion of this title, see JUNKER, "Giza", II, p. 65.

⁽²⁾ This son is represented on the lintel, holding the staff of his father.

⁽³⁾ The same title is borne by Werkhww in his tomb, which lies to the north-east of that of Mes-sa, perhaps his father.

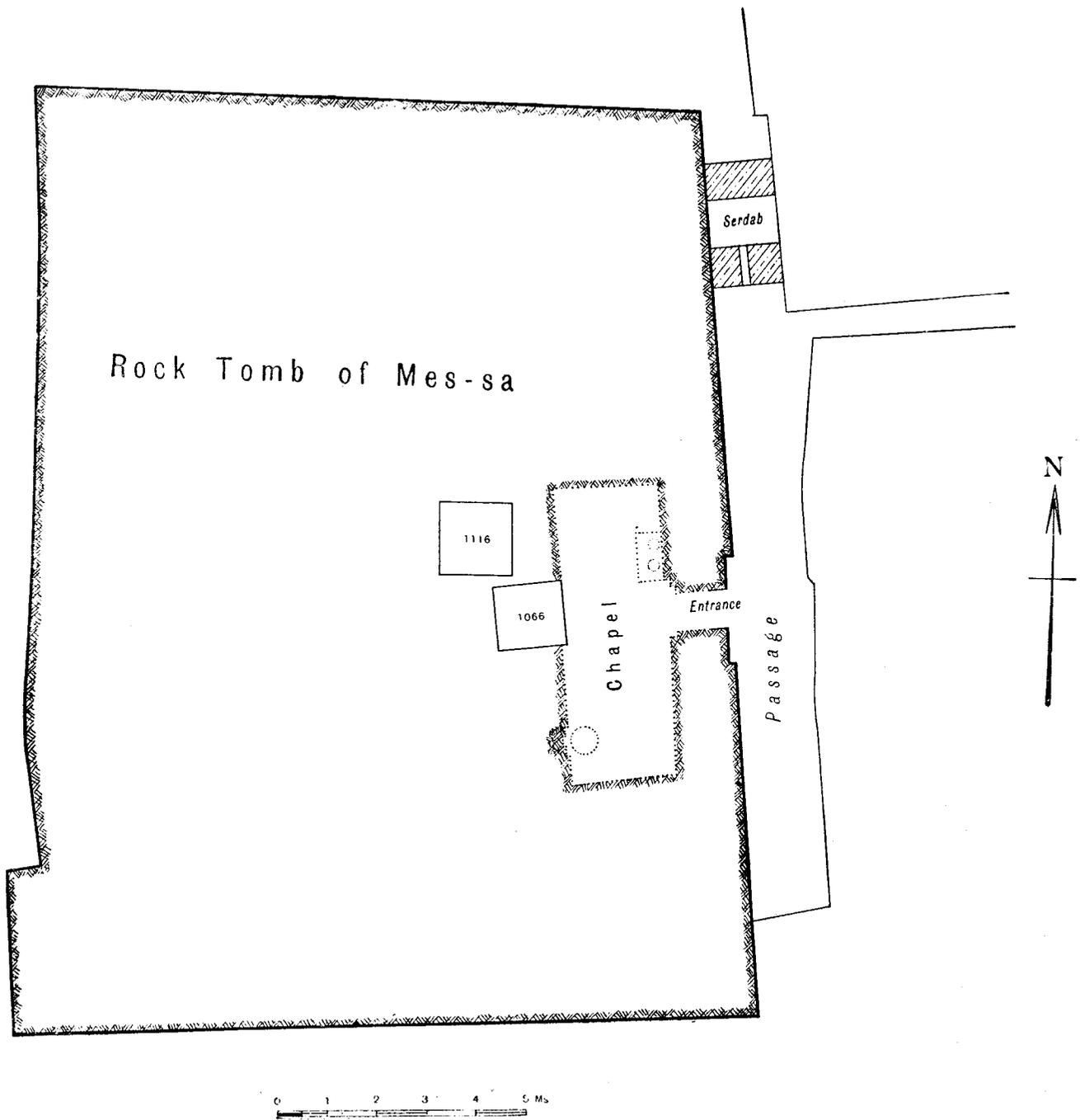


Fig. 151.

THE ENTRANCE

Access to this tomb is obtained through a very narrow passage running east and west. It leads to a wider passage in front of the tomb, which measures about 1.60×11.30 m.

The northern and southern ends of this passage are blocked by limestone masonry. In the northern wall were found two squints of a serdab placed almost one above the other. Each squint measures about 0.75 m. long, 0.14 m. wide and 0.11 m. high.

Beyond this wall lies a serdab just behind the shaft of Werkhww. It measures about 1.00 m. long, 0.95 m. wide and 1.80 m. high. It was found to be empty and the roof had fallen in.

Almost in the middle of the passage is the doorway leading to the tomb-chapel. This doorway measures 2.10 m. thick, 2.70 m. high and 0.75 m. wide. It is smoothly cut and the drum and lintel are inscribed.

The Lintel (Fig. 152; Pl. LVII, A).

It measures 2.10 m. long by 0.37 m. high and bears two horizontal rows of incised hieroglyphs, reading:—

(1) "A boon which the King gives ⁽¹⁾, and a boon which Anubis, Presiding ⁽²⁾ Over the God's Dwelling [gives], a burial in the Necropolis after a very good old age [for] the Honoured by the Great God."

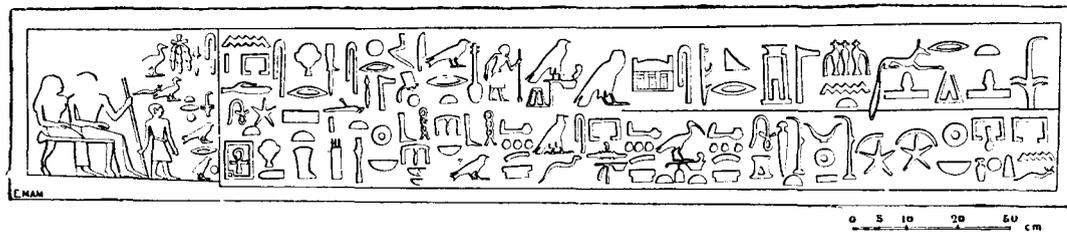


FIG. 152.

(2) "That offerings may come forth to him every day, month, and half-month, at the Opening of the Year, the Beginning of the Year, the Wag Feast, the Feast of Thoth, the Feast of the Coming Forth of Min, the Sad Feast, the Great Feast, every feast, and every day."

Following this, the titles of the deceased are incised in three vertical rows of hieroglyphs. They read: "Sole Companion, Director of the Palace, Master of the Secrets of the Toilet House, Master of the Distribution of Offerings in the House of Life."

(¹)  , var. .

(²)  , var. .

At the end of the lintel is a representation of Mes-sa and his wife seated together upon one stool, while in front of them stands their son Werkhw grasping the long staff held in the left hand of his father. Above the man is a horizontal row of hieroglyphs, inscribed in relief, and reading: "The Companion, Mes-sa", and above his wife is her damaged name  . . . *Hr k3* (?).

Above the figure of the son is a vertical inscription, also in relief, which reads: "His Son, He Who is Concerned with the King's Affairs, Werkhw."

THE DRUM

The drum bears an incised inscription, reading: "The Sole Companion, the Director of the Palace, the Master of the Secrets of the Toilet-house, the Honoured by His Lord, Mes-sa (Fig. 153; Pl. LVII, B)."

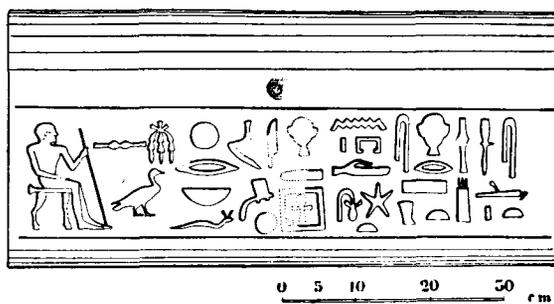


FIG. 153

THE CHAPEL

The chapel is rectangular in shape and measures about 5.75 m. long, 2.15 m. wide and 2.10 m. high.

The walls are somewhat roughly-cut and devoid of sculptures or inscriptions. To the right of the doorway is a projection in the rock which may have served as an offering-table. It measures 0.95 m. long, 0.40 m. wide and 0.90 m. high.

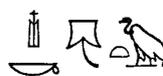
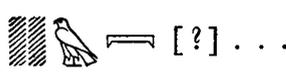
Opposite to the doorway is sunk a shaft which opens through the western wall of the chapel and penetrates the upper part of the rock also. The side-chamber of this shaft lies to the south, and is behind an uninscribed, false-door cut in the southern half of the western wall. In front of this false-door is a circular depression cut in the floor and measuring 0.55 m. in diameter (used for offering).

The northern half of the western wall is badly damaged by the flaking of the fragile stone.

The chapel had been re-used for burial in later times and contained some disturbed skeletons scattered in the filling of sand that had drifted in through the opening of the shaft.

THE MASTABA OF RA'-WER (III)

TITLES

1.  *sb̄ d-mr* "Judge and Nome-Administrator (Conservator of the Canal)."
2.  *iwn-knmwt* "Iwn-kenmwt."
3.  *imj-r3 ks.t nt njswt* "Overseer of the Work of the King."
4.  *hrj hb* "Ritualist."
5.  [?] . . .
6.  *imj r3 ms'* "Overseer of the Army (?)."

SITUATION

The mastaba of Ra'-wer III lies due west of the Pyramid of Queen Khent-kawes from which it is only separated by the small mastaba of Ptaḥ-nefer (*see* General Plan 15-L; Fig. 154).

DESCRIPTION

It is one of the largest mastabas in our excavations, measuring about 36.20 × 15.00 × 5.50 m. high. It is wholly built of large blocks of local limestone masonry (thirteen courses of which remain) with a filling of debris, the whole forming a solid rectangular mass.

The main architectural feature of this mastaba is a terrace, measuring 8.60 × 4.50 × 1.50 m. high, situated against the eastern façade. This terrace is reached by means of a steep ramp, 2.50 m long and about 1.30 m. wide. It is bordered by a low coping 0.50 m. high. Upon this terrace was constructed a portico supported by four rectangular pillars, which formed a small chapel incorporating the main false-door of the mastaba. Each of these pillars is formed of a monolithic block of local limestone, measuring about 0.90 × 0.70 × 3.80 m. high.

In its original state, this terrace and portico must have presented a very attractive appearance

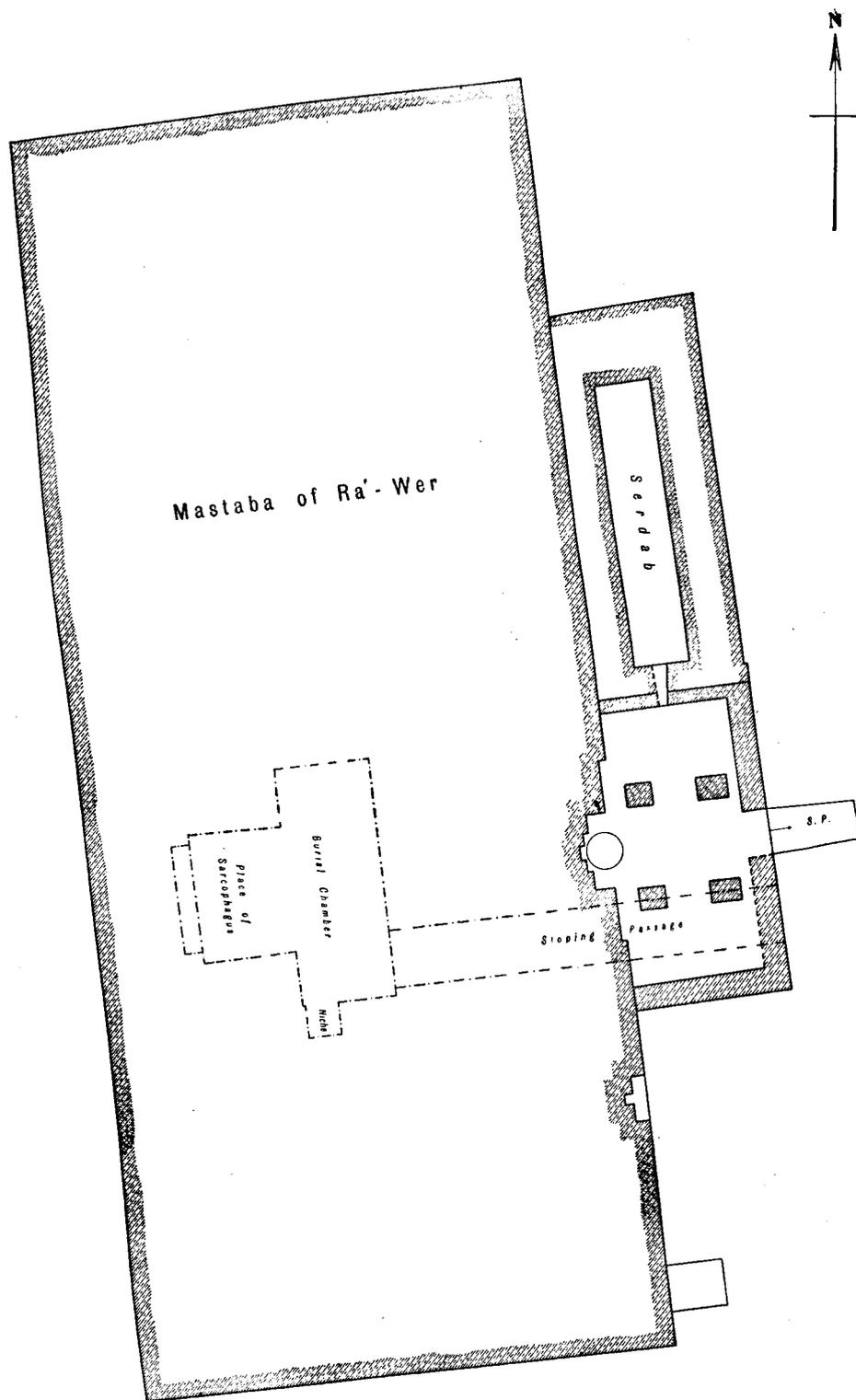


FIG. 154.

The False-Door (Fig. 155; Pl. LVIII, A).

This false-door, which is situated in about the middle of the eastern façade, is composed of a huge monolithic slab of local limestone, measuring $2\cdot10 \times 0\cdot50 \times 4\cdot10$ m. high. Its upper part is unfortunately lacking, but a portion of its lintel was found lying in the debris in front of the tomb. It measures $0\cdot95 \times 0\cdot65$ m. wide, and bears two horizontal rows of large incised hieroglyphs, reading:—

- (1) "A boon which the King gives and a boon which Anubis, Presiding . . ."
- (2) "That offerings may come forth to him in . . . (Fig. 156, Pl. LIX, A)."

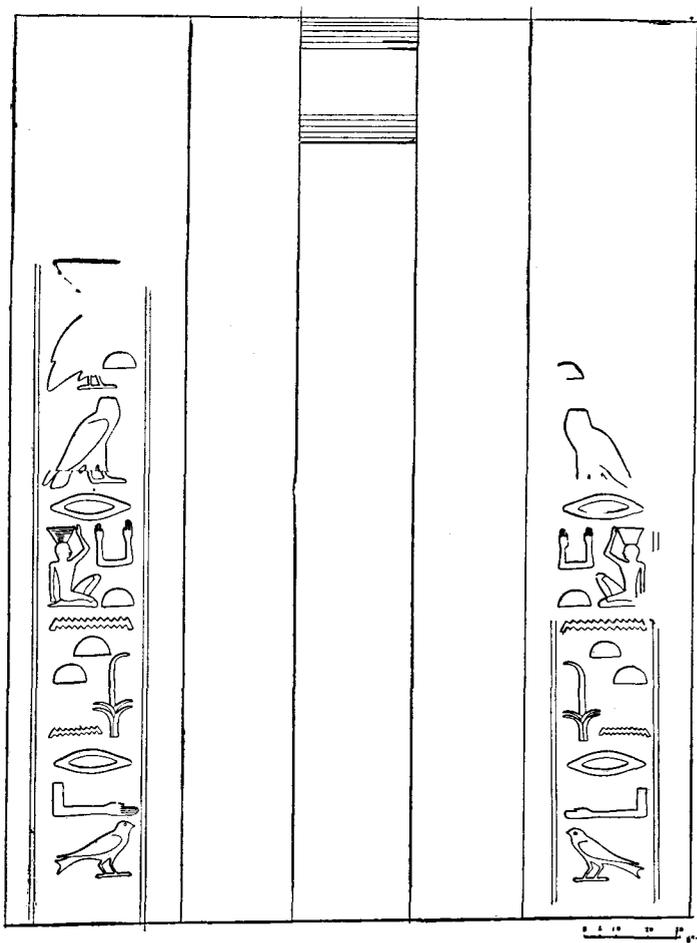


FIG. 155.

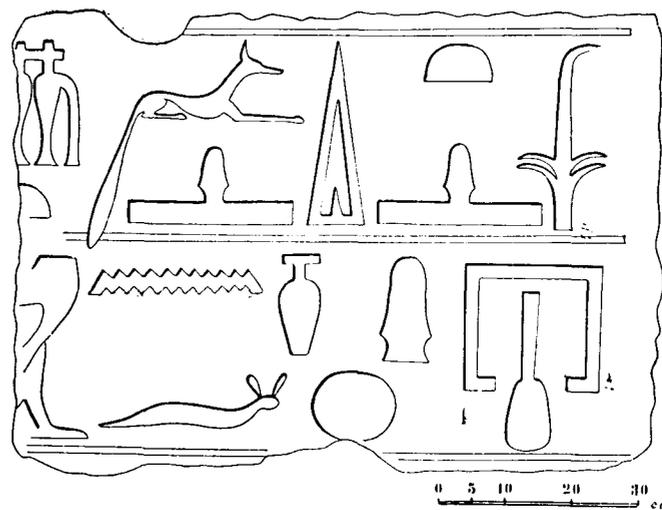


FIG. 156.

Both the outer jambs of the false-door seem to bear an identical row of large, incised hieroglyphs, reading: ". . . Iwn-kenmwt, Overseer of the Work of the King, Ra'-wer."

In front of the false-door is a circular depression cut in the floor to receive a circular offering-table. It measures $1\cdot10$ m. in diameter.

THE SERDAB

To the north of the terrace lies a large serdab, the walls of which are very thick. Its squint is made at the top of its southern wall, and lies almost midway between the northern pillars of the portico. It was found plundered and contained only a fragment of an alabaster statue. This serdab measures $8\cdot00 \times 1\cdot50$ m.

THE SOUTHERN FALSE-DOOR

At a distance of 6.50 m. from the southern end of the tomb is a small, unfinished false-door built in the eastern façade of the mastaba. It measures 1.25 × 0.20 × 1.62 m. high.

THE INSCRIBED SLABS

In the debris lying in front of the tomb were found the following inscribed slabs:—

(1) Local limestone slab, measuring 2.30 × 0.65 m. wide, and probably formed a part of the architrave of the portico. It bears a horizontal row of incised hieroglyphs, reading: “. . . The Ritualist, the Judge and Nome-Administrator, Ra'-wer (Fig. 157; Pl. LIX, B).”

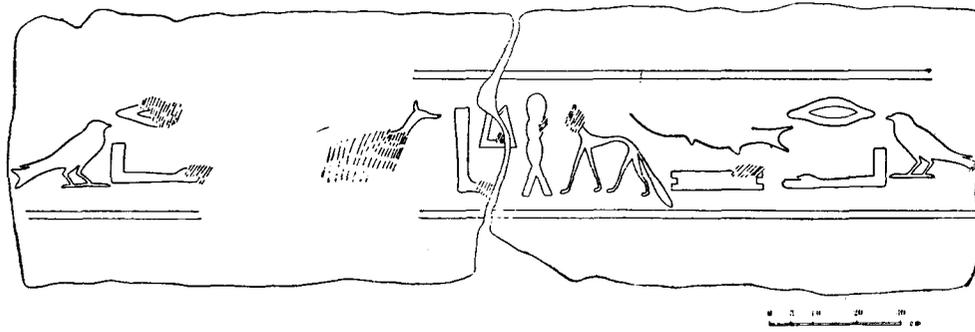


FIG. 157.

(2) A limestone slab similar to the above and bearing the same inscription reversed in direction (Fig. 157).

(3) Four fragments which fit together and form a slab 0.65 m. wide and 1.70 m. long. It bears a vertical row of large hieroglyphs (Fig. 158; LVIII, B).

The Sloping Passage.

In the northern side of the eastern wall of the terrace is cut the opening of a sloping passage, measuring 11.15 × 1.60 m. and leading to a large, magnificently cut burial-chamber hewn in the rock.

THE OUTER ROOM

The burial-chamber is composed of two rooms, the outer one of which measures 6.75 × 2.70 m. Its walls are dressed to an almost incredible smoothness in order to receive the painted scenes with which they are decorated.

In the western corner of its southern wall is cut a niche, measuring 0.90 × 0.92 × 0.96 m., probably made to contain the canopic jars.

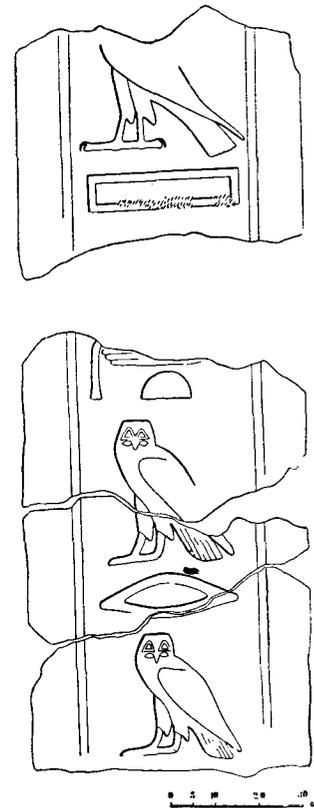


FIG. 158.

THE INNER ROOM

In the western wall of this room is a large opening occupying most of its surface, and surmounted by a cavetto cornice and enclosed within a torus moulding. This opening gives immediate access to the inner room which contained the sarcophagus. In its floor is a rectangular recess wherein the sarcophagus was bedded (¹).

The western wall of this room is mostly occupied by a large shallow recess, measuring 0.50 × 3.05 × 0.50 m.

These two rooms were separated from each other by a double-leaved door, the socket-holes of which are still existing.

It is noteworthy to mention that this burial-chamber bears a resemblance in its main architectural features to that of Queen Khent-kawes, whose Pyramid lies in the vicinity.

THE WALL-PAINTINGS

The Eastern Wall.

The upper portion of this wall is occupied by a frieze in which is depicted vases of various shapes and sizes, coloured red and black. Most of the southern portion of this frieze is destroyed, but the northern end is fairly well preserved. Below this frieze is a large offering-list inscribed in red paint and containing over one hundred entries, most of which unfortunately are illegible. This list occupies the whole length of the wall and below it are three superposed registers, the upper one of which bears traces of the figures of offering-bearers at its northern end, while the southern end is occupied by an array of vases and offering-tables neatly drawn in outline with red paint. The second register also depicts various kinds of food and drink offerings, among which can be seen some tall red vases sealed with black unbaked mud caps. The drawings in this register are carried a stage further in completion than the upper one, but still lacks the final colouring in some of its parts. The bottom register contains a row of trussed oxen painted in natural colours of red, white and black, beyond which, to the north, can be seen the figures of some butchers and offering-bearers.

The Southern Wall.

This wall was also covered by a large offering scene, but it has mostly flaked off and only a few faint and disconnected traces now remain.

It is greatly to be regretted that these painted scenes have suffered so much damage, as the few fragments still remaining display an accuracy of drawing combined with a grace of outline and grouping that must, in their original condition, have rendered the walls of this chamber objects of extreme beauty and interest.

(¹) This sarcophagus was removed to the Cairo Museum by the Antiquities Department, but is as yet unpublished.

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THE MASTABA OF , NARY

TITLE

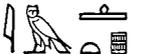
 *irj-ht njswt* "He who is Concerned with the King's Affairs."

FAMILY

Wife:  "Nefert."

TITLE

 *irj [t] ht njswt* "She Who is Concerned with the King's Affairs."

A man whose statuette was found at the feet of the statues of the owner of the tomb and his wife, may be their son. He is called: , var.  "Im-ḥetep."

TITLES

1.  *ss' pr mdjt* "Scribe of the House of Documents (Archives)."

2.  *ss' 'prw* "Scribe of the Gangs of Workmen."

SITUATION

This mastaba is situated to the north-west of that of Ny-sw-ḳid, and north-east of the tomb of Nefer-Nemtet (see General Plan 10-Q and Fig. 159).

DESCRIPTION

It is entirely constructed of local limestone masonry, only three courses of which still remain. The entrance is 0.80 m. wide, opens north and leads immediately into a chapel of the corridor type, measuring 6.62 × 0.80 m.

At the south end of the western wall is a small false-door, measuring 0.48 m. wide and about 0.85 high. It is uninscribed and its upper part is utterly destroyed.

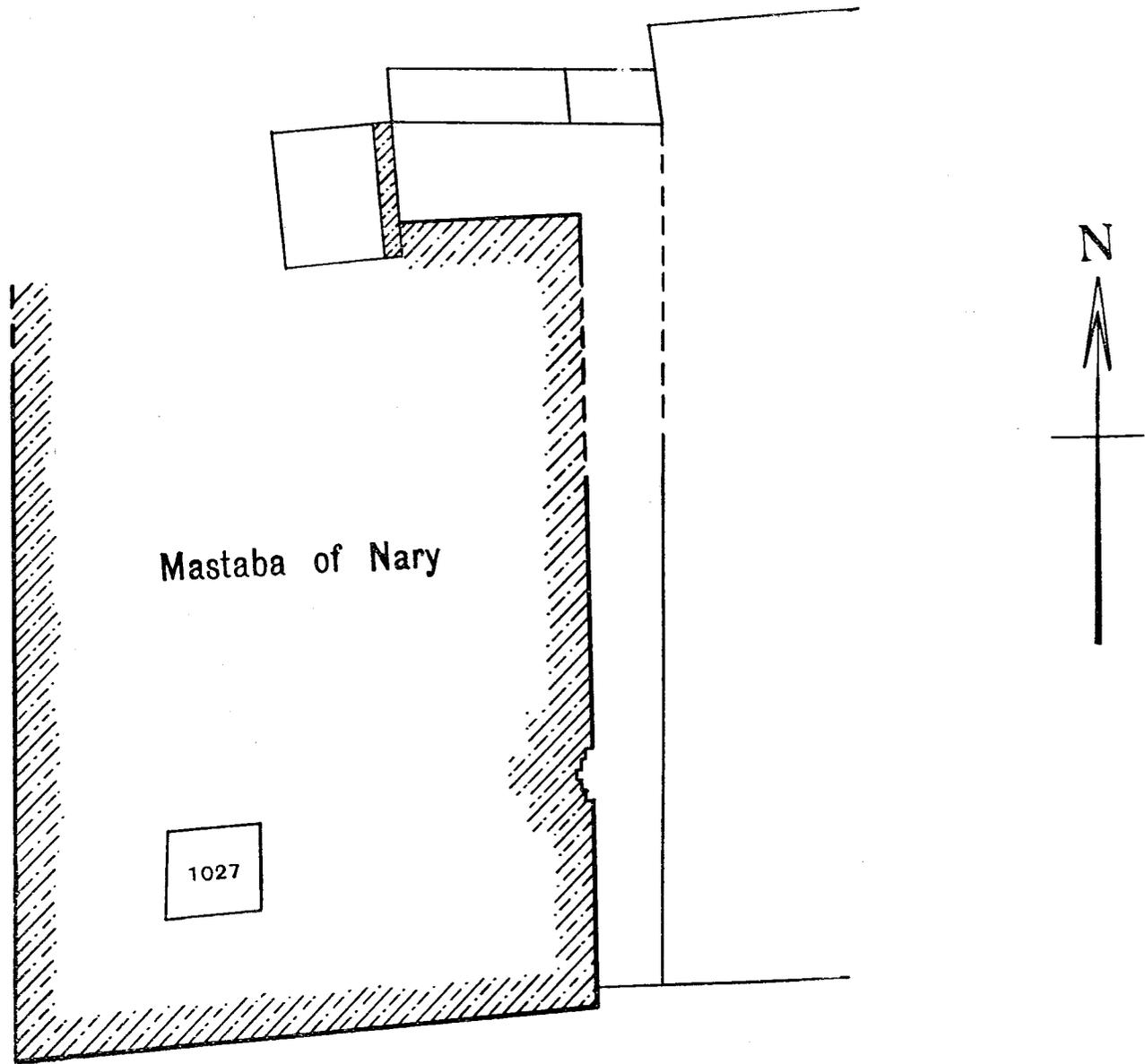


FIG. 159.

At the end of the chapel is a platform occupying its entire width, and measuring 0·45 m. high. Upon this platform we found the lower part of a fine group of limestone statuettes representing a man and his wife. In front of this group and placed between their feet was a small statuette of coloured limestone (Pl. LX, A). From the debris behind the statues, we recovered the head and body of the woman and the torso of the man, thus enabling us to almost completely restore the group.

STATUETTES OF NARY AND NEFERT

Material.—White Turah limestone.

Dimensions.—Height: 0·74 m. Width of base: 0·49·5 m.

Workmanship.—Very good, especially the face of the woman, which is well modelled and has a pleasing expression.

Preservation.—Both figures were found broken off at the waist, but have been repaired. The head and right forearm of the man are still lacking.

Description.—The group is monolithic, and the man and his wife are shown seated together on a backless stool. The woman embraces her husband with her right arm, while her left arm is bent and the hand rests palm downwards upon her lap. She wears a plaited wig and a long, tight robe. Traces of yellow colour are still visible upon the flesh and some black colour remains on the wig.

The man is also seated with his feet together. The left arm is bent and the hand placed palm downwards upon the lap. The right arm, which was apparently freed from the body, is broken off at the elbow. He is clad in a short kilt. His body is beautifully modelled and bears many traces of its original red colour.

Inscriptions.—A vertical row of incised hieroglyphs runs down the centre front of the stool and extends on to the pedestal. It reads:  "He Who is Concerned with the King's Affairs, Nary. His Wife, She Who is Concerned with the King's Affairs, Nefert (Pl. LXI)".

STATUETTE OF IM-HETEP

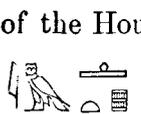
Material.—White limestone, painted red and black.

Dimensions.—Height: 10·7 cm. Breadth across shoulders: 6·0 cm.

Workmanship.—Fair.

Preservation.—Good, except for slight damage to the right hand and wrist.

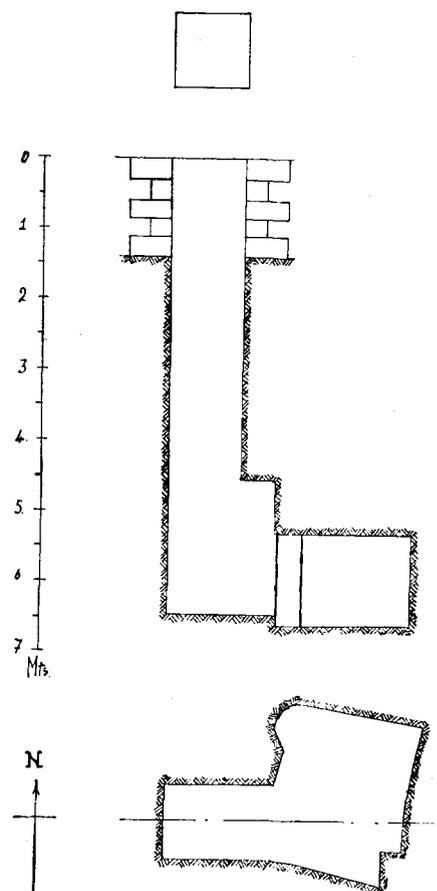
Description.—It represents a man seated upon a stool. There is a plinth up the back of the figure extending from the stool to just below the shoulder-blades. He wears a long wig parted in the middle and brushed back. Around his hips is a short kilt. His face, with its high cheek bones and long upper lip, is lined with age; while the stoop of the shoulders also suggests that the statuette represents an elderly man. His arms are bent, and the hands rest upon the lap. The flesh is coloured dark red, and the wig, eyes, eyebrows, nipples and stool are black.

Inscriptions.—On the right side of the stool is inscribed:  “The Scribe of the House of Documents, Im-ḥetep.” On the left side of the stool is inscribed:  “Scribe of the Gangs of Workmen, Im-ḥetep (Pl. LX, B).”

SHAFT

Shaft No. 1027 (Fig. 160).

Grave-pit: $1.05 \times 1.05 \times 5.71$ m. deep, with an irregular burial-chamber opening on the west and directed east and north, and measuring about 2.00×3.01 m.



No. 1027. FIG. 160

THE UNFINISHED ROCK-CUT TOMB

SITUATION

This tomb lies to the north of the mastaba of Ka-debehen and north-east of that of 'Ankh-tef (see General Plan 9-S and Fig. 161).

DESCRIPTION

It is cut in the native rock and supplemented in its upper part by local limestone masonry.

Access to it is given from the south by means of a long sloping passage, the floor of which has been left in a very uneven state. This passage measures about 14.60×1.40 m. and is almost entirely rock-cut. In the debris lying at the north end of the passage, we found a limestone statuette of a man. At a height of about 1.20 m. from the floor of the passage is an unfinished niche measuring 1.15×0.60 m., beside which the above-mentioned statuette was found.

THE CHAPEL

At the northern end of the western wall of the passage is an entrance, measuring 0.95 m. wide, 2.00 m. high and 2.70 m. deep. It leads into a large, unfinished chapel which is cut in the rock, and measures $12.20 \times 2.80 \times 2.10$ m. high. The floor of the northern and southern ends of this chapel have never been cut down to their proper level, and forms two large platforms raised to a height of 1.25 m. in the north and 0.92 m. in the south.

STATUETTE OF A MAN

Material.—White Turah limestone.

Dimensions.—Height : 56.5 cm. Breadth across shoulders : 17.0 cm.

Workmanship.—Very good.

Preservation.—It was somewhat cracked owing to the action of moisture but has been repaired.

Description.—It represents a man in a walking attitude, with the left leg advanced, the arms hanging by the sides, and the hands clenched. A plinth runs up the back of the figure to the bottom of the wig. The man is represented as wearing a plaited wig brushed back to reveal the ears. Around his hips is a short kilt with a pleated side-wrap (Pl. LXII).

SHAFTS

The fact that the shafts of this tomb are well cut and obviously completely finished shows that they were considered as the most important part of the tomb, and were completed first in case the owner of the tomb should die before the tomb was finished, as apparently happened in this case.

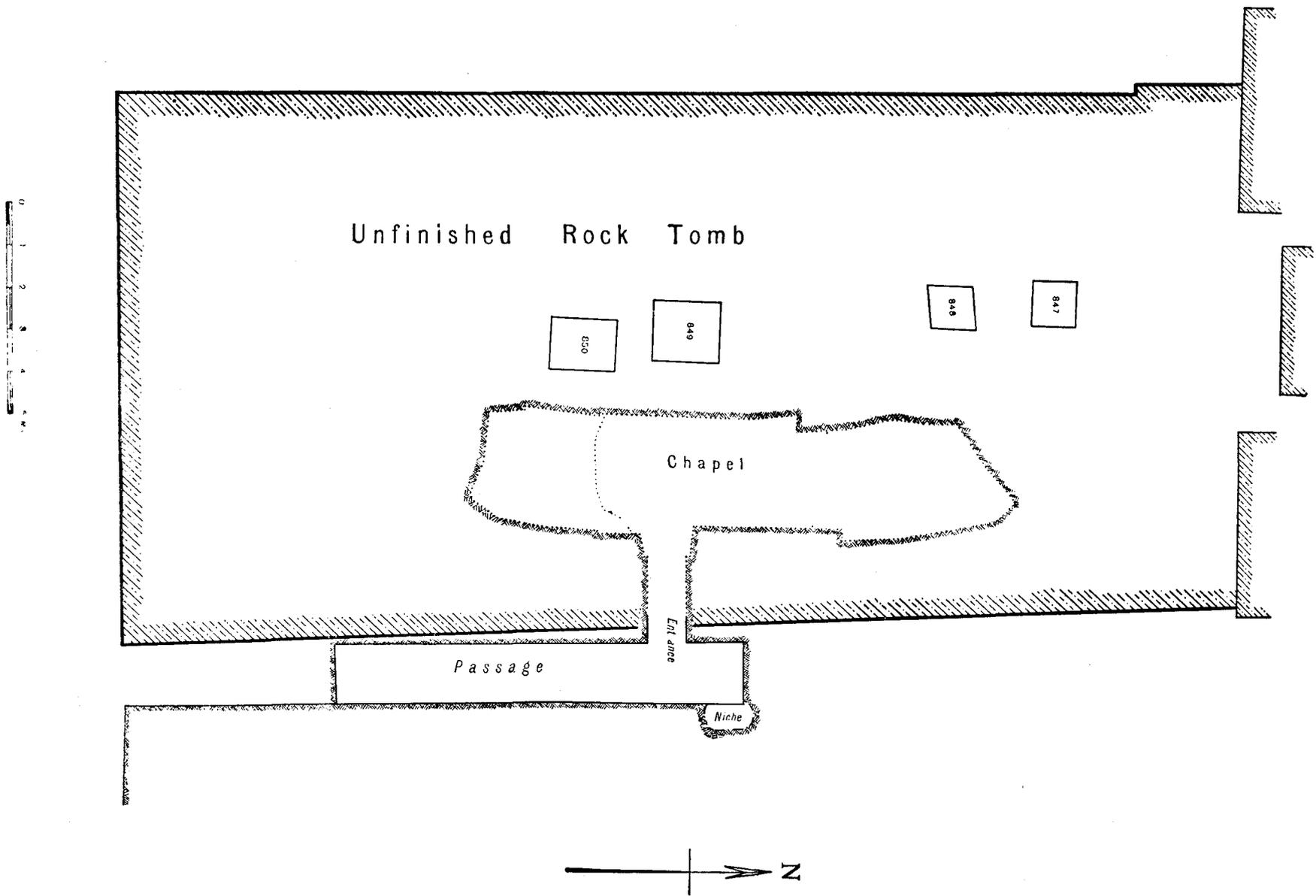
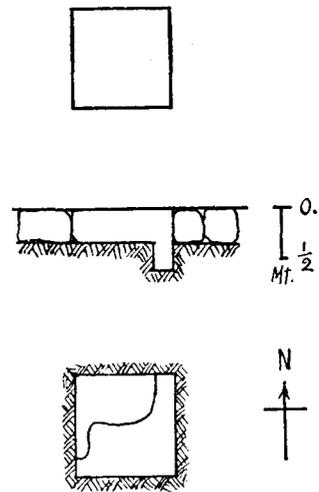


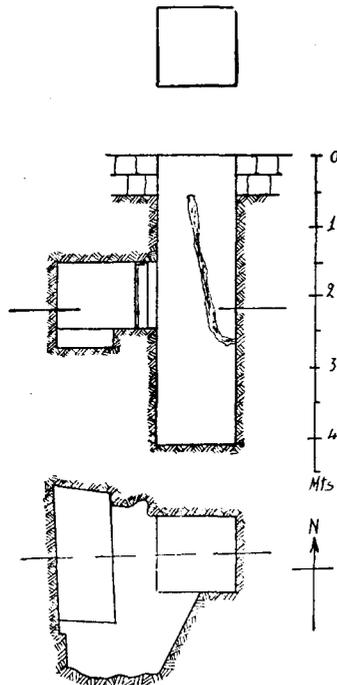
Fig. 161.

Shaft No. 847 (Fig 162).

Grave-pit: 1.10 × 1.10 × 0.60 m. deep, unfinished and contained no trace of burial.



No. 847. FIG. 162.



Shaft No. 848 (Fig. 163).

Grave-pit: 1.10 × 1.10 × 4.10 m. deep, with a side-chamber on the west at a depth of about 2.45 m.

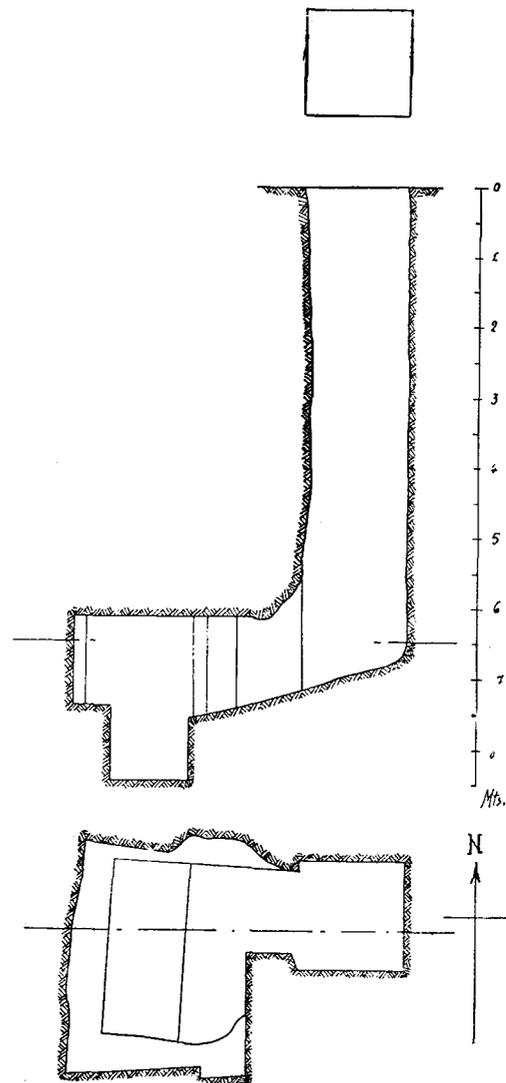
Burial: A recess cut in the western side of the floor, measuring 0.5 m. deep.

No. 848. FIG. 163.

Shaft No. 849 (Fig. 164).

Grave-pit: 1.50 × 1.50 × 2.15 m. deep; a side-chamber on the west with recess cut in its floor.

Burial: A few bones scattered in the recess in the floor.

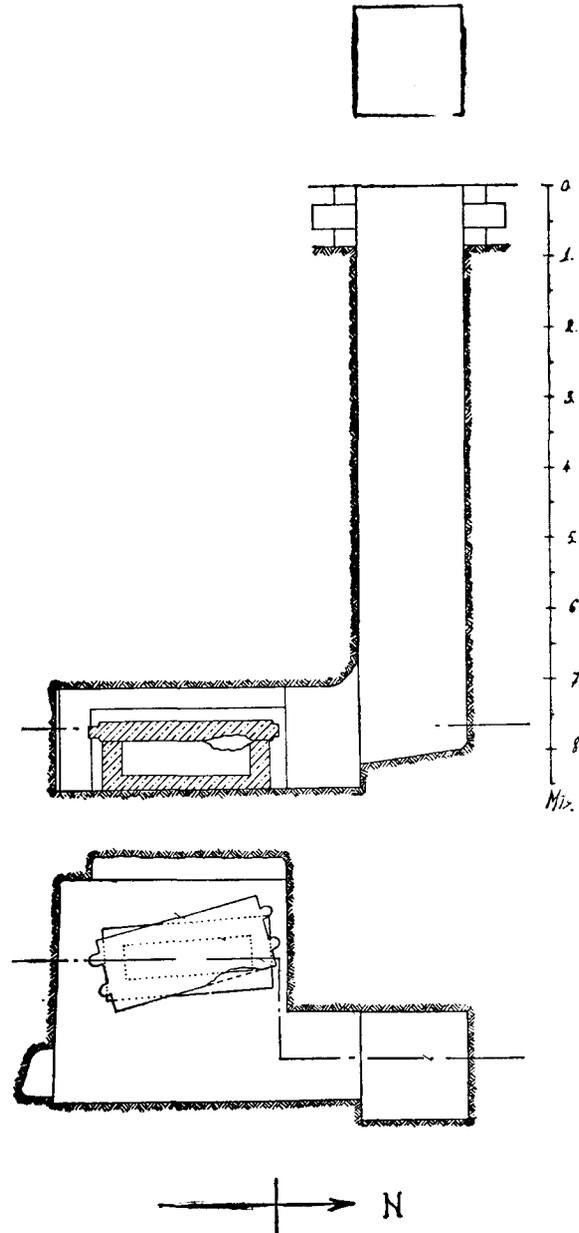


No. 849. FIG. 164.

Shaft No. 850 (Fig. 165).

Grave-pit: $1.55 \times 1.55 \times 8.20$ m. deep, with a burial-chamber on the south containing white Turah limestone sarcophagus, measuring $2.40 \times 1.05 \times 0.70$ m.

Burial: A few bones scattered in the debris.



No. 850 FIG. 165

THE UNINSCRIBED ROCK-CUT TOMB, No. 14

SITUATION

This tomb is cut in the ridge of rock lying to the east of the mastaba of Tesen, and is situated to the south of the tomb of Swf, which is also cut in this same ridge (see General Plan 12-P and Fig. 166).

DESCRIPTION

Access to the tomb is given from the north, through a long passage roughly cut in the rock. This passage measures about 22·00 m. long and 2·10 m. wide. The face of the cliff, which forms the eastern façade of the tomb, has been cut to the usual angle of a mastaba wall and was originally finely dressed, but has suffered much from the natural erosion of the stone.

THE ENTRANCE

The main entrance to the tomb opens east and is situated in the southern end of the western wall of the passage. It measures 1·00 × 2·80 m. and was originally surmounted by a rock-cut lintel, the surface of which is completely weathered away.

Both the thicknesses were covered with scenes finely sculptured in relief and framed by a border of rectangles and cross-bars:—

The Right Thickness.

On the right-hand thickness are the remains of two superposed registers, the upper one of which bears the representation of a man driving a flock of ducks and geese. In front of them are two oryx led by a herdsman.

In the lower register is depicted a procession of alternate male and female offering-bearers.

All these figures are facing west as though entering the tomb.

The Left Thickness.

This thickness is in a very bad state of preservation, but traces of a procession of offering-bearers can be seen upon the bottom register.

THE DRUM

The drum was also apparently sculptured in relief with the titles and name of the deceased but all that now remains are faint traces of the sign  "scribe."

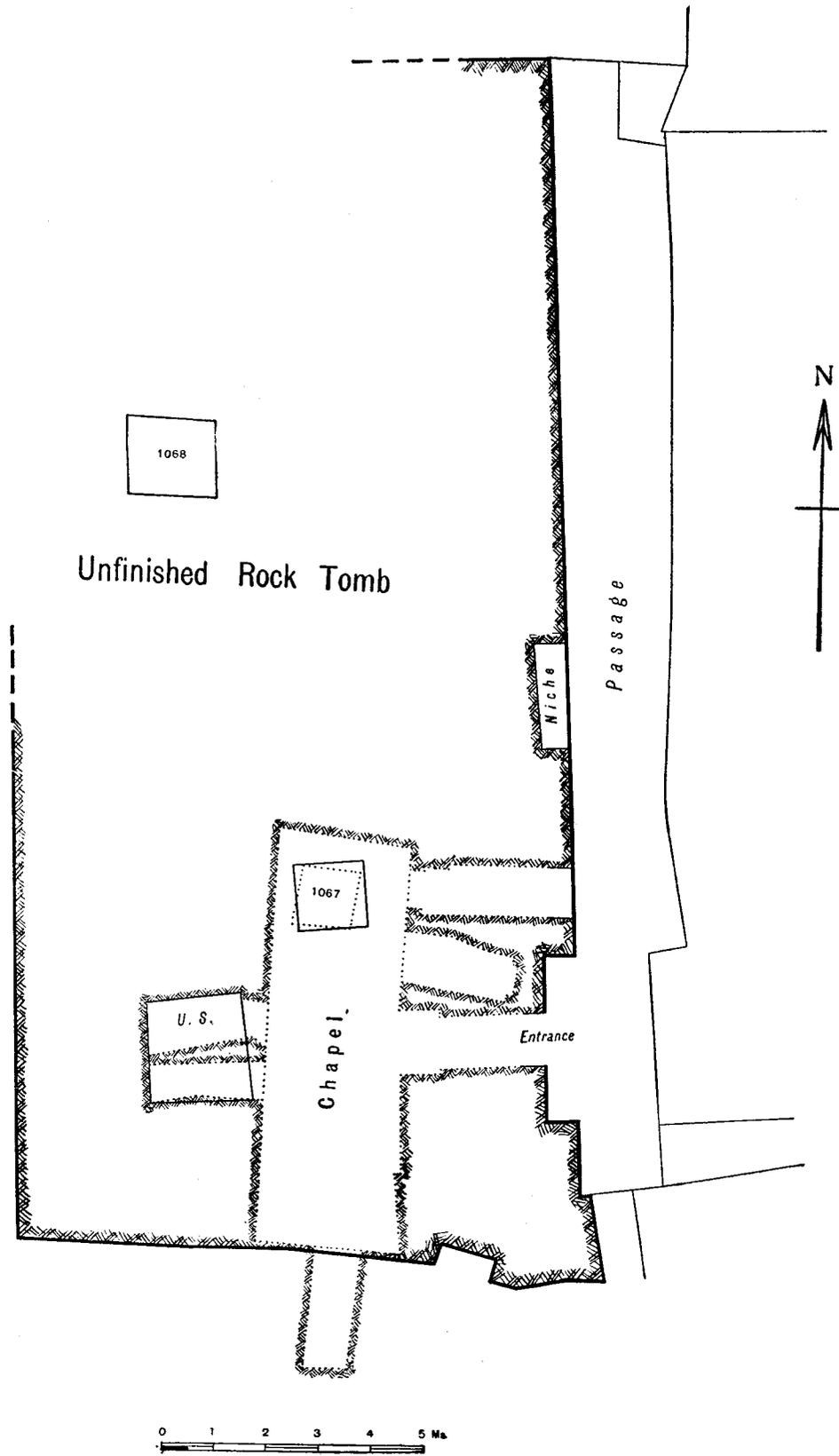


FIG. 166.

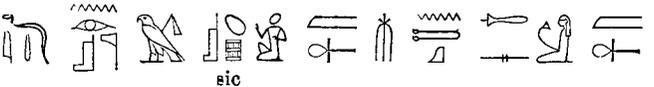
Lying in front of this entrance were two slabs of white Turah limestone which fitted together. They bear the representation of an ox sculptured in relief. Many broken *ushatti* figures of varying sizes were also found in the sand near to this entrance.

THE CHAPEL

This doorway leads into a rectangular chapel, measuring 7.80 × 2.60 m. It is somewhat roughly cut and the walls bear neither sculpture nor inscription.

In the northern corner of its eastern wall is cut a sloping aperture, measuring 0.80 × 0.80 m. running upwards and piercing the thickness of the rock. It served to admit light into the chapel.

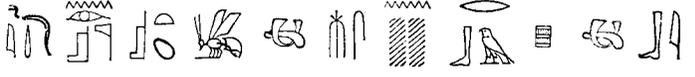
South of it is a burial-niche or loculus (as they were called in later times), measuring 1.00 × 2.05 × 1.00 m. high and made to contain a late coffin.

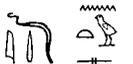
A similar loculus is cut in the southern wall and measures 0.05 × 2.30 × 0.95 m. high. It contained an anthropoid coffin of white limestone, measuring 0.45 × 1.95 m. long and 0.65 m. wide across the shoulders. The lid of this coffin is carved to represent the mummy of a man. The features are carved in the broad, flat form, characteristic of the Late Period and have a long Osirian beard dependant from the chin. A vertical row of incised hieroglyphs running down the centre reads.  "Speech of the Osiris.

Pa-Ḥor-Iset, the Justified, Born of Tkekaas, the Justified (Pl. LXIII, A B)."

A similar coffin, but belonging to a lady, was found lying upon the floor of the chapel. It seems to have come from the loculus cut in the eastern wall and lacks the final stage of completion.

It measures 0.36 × 1.80 × 0.65 m. wide across the shoulders.

The face on the lid is similar in style to that of the preceding coffin, but is treated even more conventionally and is framed by the lappets of a heavy wig. On the breast is represented a scarab with outspread wings, grasping a disk between its hind-legs. Below the scarab is a vertical row of incised hieroglyphs, reading:  "Speech of the Osiris, Kat-Isit, Born of . . . Pa-bek-bi."

On either side of this inscription are representations of the four sons of Ḥorus, two on each side, and placed one above the other. The upper right-hand figure is human-headed and in front of it is inscribed:  "Speech of [Mesta?]."

Below it is a jackal-headed figure, in front of which is inscribed:  "Speech of Dwa-(Mut)-f."

On the left-hand side of the inscription, the top figure is baboon-headed and in front of it is inscribed:  "Speech of [Ḥapi?]."

The lower figure is hawk-headed, and in front of it is inscribed:  "Speech of Kebhsennuf."

On the feet are engraved two couchant jackals facing each other (Pl. LXIV).

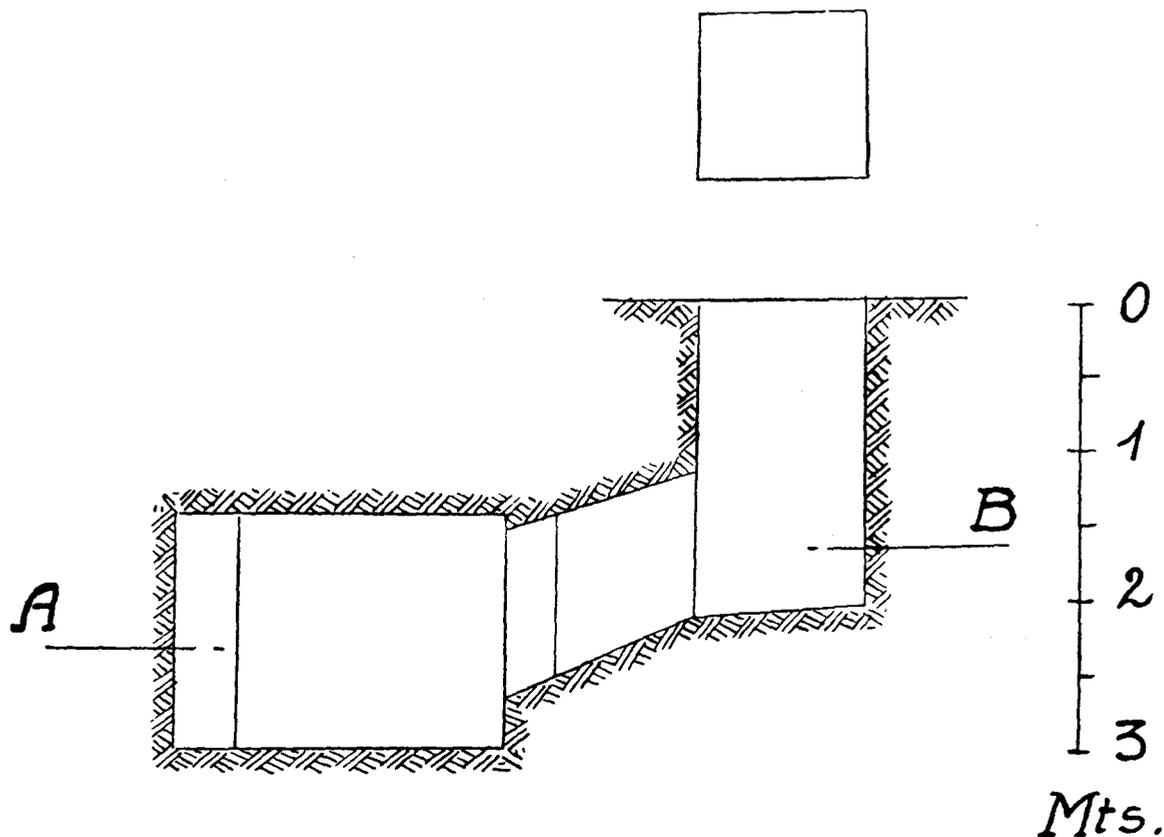
In about the middle of the western wall are two more loculi. They are constructed in the bottom part of a large shaft, measuring $2.40 \times 1.90 \times 0.80$ m. high and are separated from each other, and also roofed by partition walls cut in the tightly-packed debris filling this shaft; the surface of these partitions being also thickly plastered over (Pl. LXV, A).

SHAFTS

In the centre of the northern part of the ceiling of this chapel is a shaft, measuring 1.30×1.30 m. and below it is another shaft (No. 1067) cut in the floor of the chapel:—

Shaft No. 1067 (Fig. 167).

This shaft measures 1.10×1.15 m. and is about 2.10 m. deep. It ends in a sloping passage about 1.35 m. long, leading to a side-chamber directed west and measuring about $2.60 \times 1.90 \times 1.65$ m. high. In the southern wall of this chamber is a passage 3.65 m. long by 1.35 m. high, leading to another burial-chamber and measuring $3.20 \times 3.80 \times 2.05$ m. high.



No. 1067. FIG. 167.

In the northern wall of this chamber is a loculus No. 4, measuring 1.15 m. wide by 2.00 m. long. It contains a stone coffin, measuring 1.80×0.60 m. (Pl. LXV, B). By the side of this coffin we found a quantity of faience beads and six amulets of the late period.

The western wall is occupied by two more loculi Nos. 5 and 6 in which were the remains of wooden coffins. In the southern wall a loculus, measuring 2.00×0.70 m. and containing the plundered bones of a mummy (Fig. 168; Pl. LXVI, B).

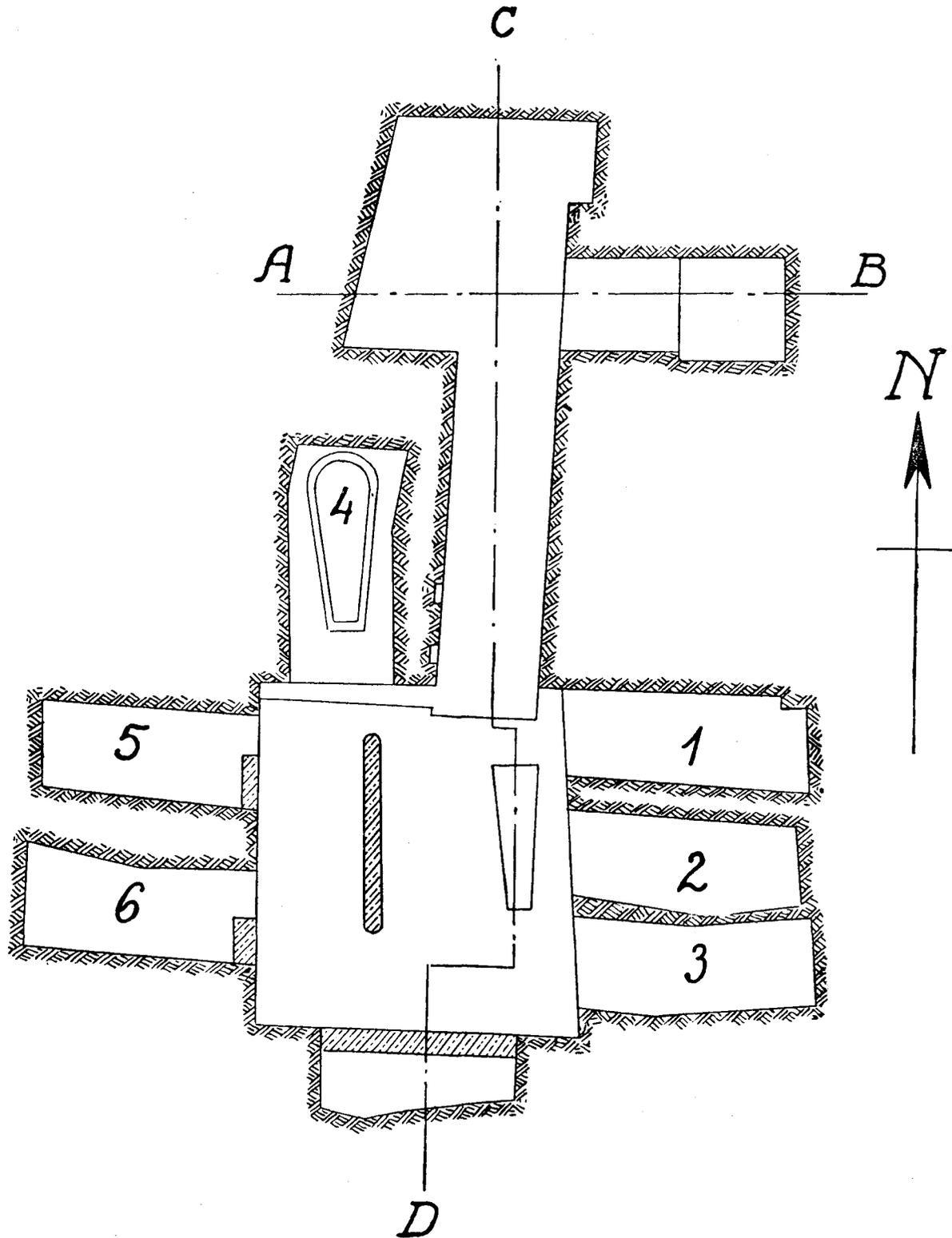


FIG. 168.

In the eastern wall are three more loculi, Nos. 1, 2 and 3, with an average length of about 2.50 m. They contain the remains of some wooden coffins and the bones of plundered mummies (Pl. LXVI, A).

Opposite the passage and in front of these three loculi is a small recess cut in the floor of the chamber and containing the mummy of a young child (Pl. LXIII, C).

Thus, we have in this burial-place a good example of an Old Kingdom tomb utilized for interments of a later period⁽¹⁾ (Fig. 169).

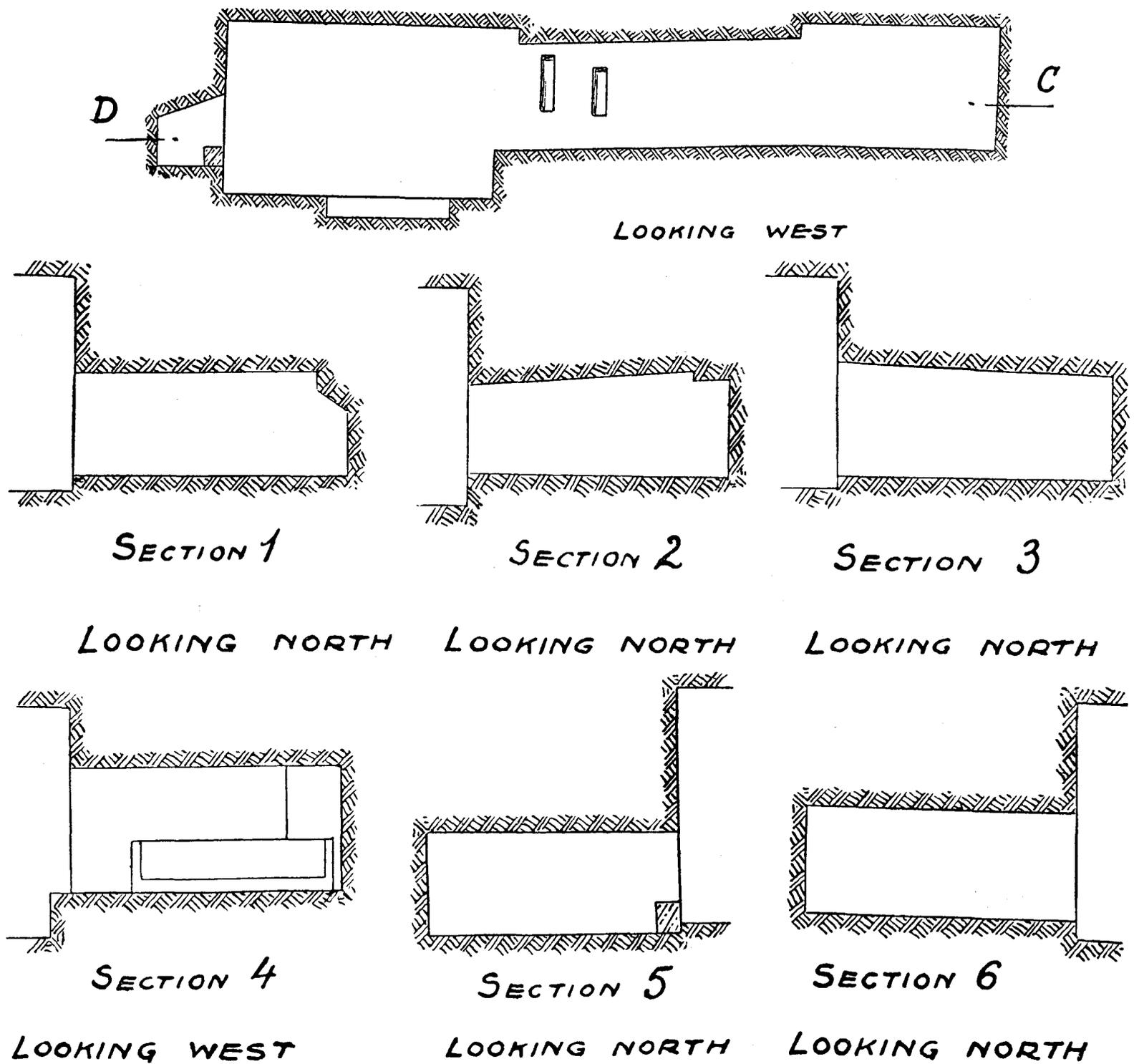


FIG. 169.

⁽¹⁾ See above, p. 190 ff.

MISCELLANEOUS OBJECTS FOUND DURING THE COURSE OF EXCAVATION

(1) A large jar of red-ware with a wide mouth, a rolled rim and a long neck. The body bears a primitive decoration of incised lines, and the base is rounded. Height: 48.0 cm. Diam.: 26.0 cm. It was found in the sand lying to the south of the mastaba of Neb-em-akhet (Pl. LXVII, D).

(2) A shouldered jar of red-ware, with a wide mouth, short neck and two small lugs. The base is flattened. Height: 30.0 cm. It was found with the previous example (Pl. LXVII, C).

(3) A jug of red-ware, having a wide mouth, a flat base and a small thick handle. Height: 22.0 cm. Diam.: 14.0 cm. Found with the preceding object (Pl. LXVII, B).

(4) A small vase of red-ware, with a long, collared neck and ovoid body tapering to a pointed base. Height: 18.0 cm. Diam.: 8.5 cm. Found with the preceding object (Pl. LXVII, A).

(5) Three model libation basins of white limestone. They are rectangular in form, but are not hollowed out, and a shallow groove communicating with a spout is the only provision made for the libation. One specimen is very well preserved, but the remaining two are damaged. Average dimensions: 28.0×21.0 cm. They were found in the debris lying to the south-west of the mastaba of Neb-em-akhet (Pl. LXVII, E).

(6) A fragmentary slab of white limestone bearing part of a large figure of a man, represented in a standing attitude. He wears a curled wig and carries a handkerchief in his left hand. Behind him are two superposed registers, in each of which is the figure of a man, represented on a smaller scale. They are both in a walking attitude and are executed in relief. Found in the debris to the south-west of the tomb of Neb-em-akhet (Pl. LXVIII, A).

(7) A fragmentary slab of white limestone bearing a damaged representation of a hyena executed in low relief. Only the hind-quarters of the animal and the faint outline of a man leading it, are preserved. Found with the preceding (Pl. LXVIII, B).

(8) A fragment of the head of a royal statuette. It is made of diorite, and may perhaps represent King Khafra, as many statuettes of this type representing that monarch have been found. It was found near the entrance of an unscribed rock-cut tomb lying to the north of that of Ny-kaw-Ra' (Pl. LXIX, C).

(9) A slab of limestone broken into four pieces. It formed the lid of a rock-cut sarcophagus belonging to a late burial in the side-chamber of Shaft No. 790 of the unscribed rock-cut tomb referred to in the preceding numbers. It bears an incised scene representing two men clad in the long kilt and stole of a ritualist and holding linen *wnḥw* bandages in their upraised hands.

Between them is an inscription consisting of six vertical rows of incised hieroglyphs. Each three rows, reading from the centre outwards, are identical. They read ⁽¹⁾ :—

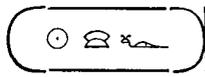


“Osiris the fatigued,
he who is in his chamber.
Priest of Ptolemy III and
Berenice, and of Ptolemy
IV and Arsinoe III.
Priest of *Hr-twt*, Priest of
Anubis, Divine Scribe of
Anhor, Priest of *Nhn* (?)
who lives in . . . Priest
of Osiris, King of Lower
Egypt, his confident and
keeper of the secret in the
nome . . . *Hr [m] shbjt*
(²) the justified, the son of
the priest who is in the
lotus (?) *Hr [m] shbjt*
the justified born from
the lady of the house
H.m.-Pth the justified.”

Above the whole scene is a conventional representation of the sky studded with stars.

(10) A series of late amulets or beads in the form of frogs, hippopotami, scorpions, hearts and shells. With them were also a quantity of faience beads and a pair of faience clasps; also a star-shaped pendant of copper. These were all found in Shaft No. 802 which is situated to the south of the mastaba of Neb-em-akhet (Pl. LXIX, A).

(11) A small flask of red-ware, the neck and mouth of which are damaged. It has one handle, a swelling body and a flat base (Pl. LXIX, B).

(12) A fragmentary slab of white limestone bearing part of a scene representing a procession of female offering-bearers carved in relief. In front of the best-preserved figure is the name of the estate she represents: → ↑  . Above can be seen a fragment of an upper register, in which were indications of cattle. It was found in a pit lying to the east of the tomb of Neb-em-akhet (Pl. LXIX, E).

(1) The original is rather faulty and we tried to give as far as possible a tentative reading

(2) *Hr-msh-bjt*. See RANKE, “Die Agyptischen Personennamen”, p. 247.

(13) A fragment of white limestone bearing part of an offering-formula made on the behalf of a certain  Priest of the Pyramid (called) "Beauty of King Issi." It was found in the debris near Mastaba "F" (see General Plan Q. 13; Pl. LXIX, D).

(14) Two large jars of red-ware dating from the late period. "A" is roughly oval in shape with a wide mouth, a very short neck and a flat base. "B" has a wide mouth, a short straight neck, two small handles and a globular body. They were found in the burial-chamber of a shaft lying near Mastaba "F" (Pl. LXIX, B).

(15) A group of late amulets consisting of the following:—

- (a) A small scarab of white limestone.
- (b) A green faience heart amulet (Pl. LXX, A).
- (c) A figure of the god Ra'. He is represented as a hawk-headed man crowned with the sun-disk and uraeus (Pl. LXX, A).
- (d) A green faience triad representing the Goddesses Isis and Nephthys with Horus the Child between them. The goddesses are crowned with their name-symbols and a uraeus, while Horus wears his customary side-lock of youth (Pl. LXX, A). They were found in the filling of a shaft lying to the north of Mastaba "E" (see General Plan R. 13).

(16) A white limestone mould used for the manufacture of *ushabti* figures. It was found with the previous number.

(17) Eleven fragments of a vase inscribed with demotic characters. They were recovered from the debris filling a shaft of a late burial, near to the tomb of Werkhww.

(18) A "divine-eye" amulet of obsidian. It was found in the filling of Shaft 29 which lies near the tomb of Werkhww.

(19) Four *ushabti* figures of blue faience. "C" is damaged, the lower part being lost. "D" and "E" each bears identical inscriptions incised vertically down the front of their bodies: . "F" bears a vertical inscription, reading: . Maximum height: 12.0 cm. Maximum breadth: 4.0 cm. They were found with the preceding number (Pl. LXX, C).

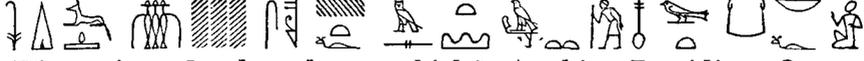
(20) Granite blocks which appear to have been used as hammers. Found near Shaft No. 29 (see General Plan T—6).

(21) A blue faience *ushabti* figure.

(22) An iron bracelet of the "open-end" type. It was found in the chapel of a rock-cut mastaba lying to the south of Werkhww.

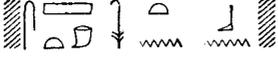
(23) A circular slab of limestone which appears to have been the top of a model offering-table. It was found with the preceding number.

(24) A local limestone lintel belonging to the tomb of a certain Ka-neb-f. This lintel was broken into three pieces which, together with some other limestone blocks, were used in roofing some late burials situated to the western side of the tomb of Khenw. The lintel bears two rows of large, incised hieroglyphs, reading: \rightarrow

- (1)  "A boon which the King gives [and a boon which] Anubis, Presiding Over . . . [gives] a burial to him in the Western Desert [after] a very good old age Ka-neb-f."
- (2)  "[That] offerings may come forth to him in the [Opening] Day of the Year Feast, the First of the Year Feast . . . the Wag Feast [and] every Feast and every day [to] the Inspector of Ka-servants."

At the end of the inscription is the representation of Ka-neb-f and a lady, most probably his wife seated together upon one stool (Pl. LXX, E).

(25) A fragment of limestone from a damaged lintel. It bears part of two horizontal rows of well-cut hieroglyphs, reading: \rightarrow

- (1)  "... Offering every day . . ."
- (2)  "... Master of the King's Secrets, Ben . . ."

It was found in the debris near the mastaba of Niswt-pew-neter (*see* General Plan; Pl. LXX, D).

(26): (a) Two heart-scarabs of green schist, both of which are uninscribed. They were found with a late mummy buried in the drift-sand lying to the east of the mastaba of Werkhww (Pl. LXX, B).

(b) Two blue faience *ushabti* figures found with the preceding objects.

(27) A rectangular libation basin of white limestone. The central portion is divided into two separate compartments and both are surrounded by a shallow groove running round the edge of the basin and communicating with a spout. It is uninscribed. Dimensions: 27.0 × 26.0 × 9.0 cm. Found in the drift sand lying to the south-west of the mastaba of Niswt-pew-neter.

(28) A fine large vase of red-ware decorated with a painted design in blue and white. It has a rolled rim, a long, concave neck, a slightly rhomboid body tapering to a pointed base, and may be assigned to the XVIII Dynasty when this type of pottery was common. Unfortunately it was found smashed to fragments, but most of the pieces have been recovered and fitted together (Pl. LXXI, A).

(29) A rectangular libation basin of limestone. It is divided into two separate compartments, each of which descends in three stages, but is uninscribed. Dimensions: 35.0 × 36.0 × 8.0 cm. Found in the debris near the mastaba of Ka-debehen.

(30) A fragment of a granite statuette consisting of the toes and part of the instep of the left foot and part of the pedestal. It is incised with the name of Ra'-wer, and is very likely a part of

one of the many statues of the famous Ra^c-wer, whose tomb we found during our first season's work ⁽¹⁾. Found near the tomb of Nisw-*kid*. Height : 8.5 cm. (Pl. LXXI, C).

(31) A fragment of a limestone statuette consisting of the damaged feet and part of the pedestal.

The forepart of the right foot is well preserved and displays delicate workmanship. Height : 4.0 cm. Traces of a hieroglyphic inscription are visible in front of the right foot. It was found near to the preceding object (Pl. LXXII, A).

(32) A group of twenty-five jars of red-ware, nearly all alike in form and size. They have wide mouths, rolled rims and pointed bases. Average height : 16.5 cm. They were found in an uninscribed rock-cut mastaba lying to the north of that of Prince Kai (*see* General Plan ; Pl. LXXII, B).

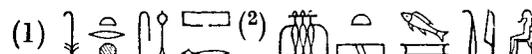
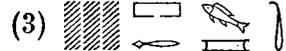
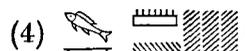
(33) A fragment of a knee of a large basalt statue found in a shaft near the mastaba of Nisw-*kid*.

(34) A large dish of diorite. Height : 5.0 cm. Diam : 18.0 cm. Found near the preceding number (Pl. LXXIII, A).

(35) A group of objects found with a late burial near to the tomb of Ka-debe^hen. It consists of :—

- (a) A small, round carnelian bead.
- (b) A small, round lapis lazuli bead.
- (c) Two small figures of apes, also of lapis lazuli.
- (d) A figure of an ape in blue faience.
- (e) Three cowries and three large shells (Pl. LXXIII, B).

(36) A rectangular limestone libation basin, descending on its interior in three unequal stages. Around the outer rim is a damaged, incised inscription, reading : —

- (1)  ⁽²⁾  " He Who is Concerned with the King's Affairs, the Inspector of the Domains of the Great House, the Nome-Administrator, Ti."
- (2)  " The King's . . . Thet."
- (3)  ". . . of the Great House, the Nome-Administrator, Ti."
- (4)  " The Nome-Administrator . . . "

Dimensions : 20.5 × 14.0 cm. It was found in the debris lying near the mastaba of Se^c-ankhw-ka (*see* General Plan).

⁽¹⁾ See "Excavations at Giza", 1929-1930. pp. 36-38.

⁽²⁾ For a discussion of the title "hntj-š", *see* JUNKER, "Giza", VI, p. 17, etc. (1943).

(37) A fragment of a white limestone statue of a woman. Only the headless bust is preserved, and it displays fine modelling in its anatomical forms. From the absence of a plinth up the back, we may assume that the statue was in a seated position. It was found in the filling of a shaft near to the mastaba of Ka-aper (*see* General Plan; Pl. LXXIV).

(38) The torso of a limestone statue of a man. He is represented in a walking attitude, the left leg advanced and the arms hanging at the sides, with the hands clenched upon the unknown cylindrical object. He is clad in a short kilt with a triangular apron. The flesh still bears traces of the red colour with which it was originally painted. It was found in the filling of Shaft No. 856 (*see* General Plan; Pl. LXXV) (1).

(39) A small fragment of a diorite statue bearing the cartouche of King Khafra'. It was found in the debris lying in front of the tomb of 'Ankh-tef (Pl. LXXI, B).

(40) The damaged torso of a red granite statuette of a woman. It was found near to the preceding numbers.

(41) A small fragment of white limestone. It bears a representation of the face and part of the head of a man, who wears a curled wig and holds a "Kherep"  baton. In front of his face is a large, incised sign  *r*, perhaps the initial letter of his name, if written vertically. It was found with the two preceding numbers (Pl. LXXVI, B).

(42) A fine large bowl of brown-ware. It has a recurved or "anti-splash" rim provided with pinched-out spouts or lips and has straight sides and a flat base. It was found beside the head of a skeleton in a burial situated near the tomb of 'Ankh-tef (Pl. LXXVI, A).

(43) A small flask of buff-ware. It has a long, narrow neck, damaged at the top, a small handle, a globular body and a small flat base. Found in the drift sand near to the mastaba of Tesen (Pl. LXXVI, C).

(44) A group of objects from the filling of an uninscribed rock-cut tomb lying to the north of the mastaba of Sed-hetep. They consist of:—

(a) A quantity of damaged *ushabti* figures of green faience.

(b) Four large jars of brown-ware. "A" is ovoid in shape, with a wide mouth, short neck and round base. "B" is similar in form but has two small lugs and a flat base "C" is similar to "B" but is damaged at the neck and has a larger base. "D" has a wide mouth, a short neck, straight sides and a flat base (Pl. LXXVII).

(c) Four flasks of brown-ware with narrow rolled-rimmed mouths, long, narrow necks a single handle, globular bodies and small, flat bases (Pl. LXXVIII).

(d) A small straight-sided cup of blue faience (Pl. LXXVI, D).

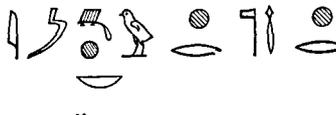
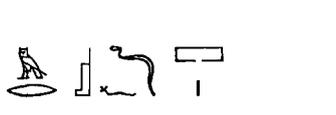
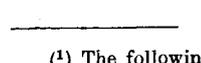
These objects or fragments of object are given here for two reasons: first to show the state of destruction which took place after the passing away of the Old Kingdom and the re-employment of the necropolis during the Græco-Roman times and secondly perhaps these fragments may be of help in completing the other fitting parts of these objects in other museums.

(1) Eventually the head and feet of this statue were found by us during the 6th season's work. They were lying in the debris to the west of the mastaba of Remenwka.

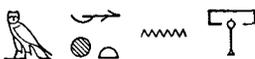
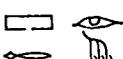
Index to the Old Kingdom Titles⁽¹⁾

Season V

(2)

	<i>iwn-kenmwt</i>	Iwn-kenmwt Priest; p. 293.
	<i>imshw hr Wsir nb Ddw</i>	Honoured by Osiris, Lord of <u>Dedw</u> (Busiris); p. 256.
	<i>imshw</i>	The Honoured; p. 256.
	<i>imsh[w] hr nb-f</i>	The Honoured by His Lord; p. 256.
	<i>imshw hr ntr '3 hr nb.f</i>	Honoured by the Great God and by His Lord; p. 213.
	<i>imsh[w] hr ntr-'3</i>	The Honoured by the Great God; p. 203.
	<i>imsh[w]. tf</i>	She Who is Honoured by Him; p. 257.
	<i>imshw hr Pth-Skr</i>	Honoured by Pth-Seker; p. 256.
	<i>imj-ib n nb.f</i>	He Who is in the Heart of His Lord; p. 257.
	<i>imj-r3 gs imj-wr.t '3 Hr</i>	Overseer of the Great Corps of Priesthood of the Pyramid "Hr" (?); p. 237.
	<i>imj-r3 is.t d'3</i>	Overseer of the Service of Food; p. 237.
	<i>imj-r3 pr-hd nj 'prwy</i>	Overseer of the Treasury of the Two Crews of the Divine Boat; p. 213.
	<i>imj-r3 ms' nfr-idw</i>	Overseer of the Army of the Young Recruits; p. 237.
	<i>imj-r3 ms'?</i>	Overseer of the Army (?); p. 293.
	<i>imj-r3 md.t</i>	Overseer of the Stalls; p. 203.

⁽¹⁾ The following indexes only concern those monuments discovered during our 5th season's work.

	<i>imj-r3 sš</i>	Overseer of Scribes ; p. 238.
	<i>imj-r3 sšr.w.</i>	Overseer of Linen ; p. 225.
	<i>imj-r3 k3.t n njswt</i>	Overseer of the Work of the King ; p. 293.
	<i>imj-r3 nwdpw</i>	Overseer of the Butlers ; p. 256.
	<i>imj-ht n pr-hd</i>	Assistant of the Treasury ; p. 213.
	<i>irj nfr-h3.t</i>	Attached to Fair-is-the-Face (Crown) ; p. 257.
	<i>irj šntj pr-'3</i>	Hairdresser of the Great House ; p. 257.
	<i>irj-ht njswt</i>	He Who is Concerned with the Kings' Affairs ; p. 203.

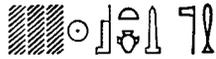
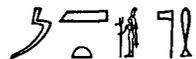
(w)

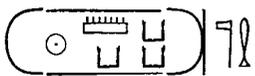
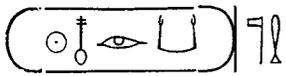
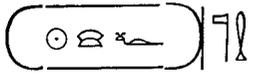
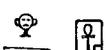
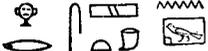
	<i>w'b njswt</i>	King's Purificator ; p. 279.
	<i>wr mdw šm'</i>	Greatest of the Ten of Upper Egypt ; p. 261.
	<i>wd' mdw m h3j.t</i>	He Who Judges in the Audience Chamber ; p. 237.
	<i>Phr mh-m-Šwt</i>	He Who fully encompasses the [King's] Protection ; p. 238.

(n)

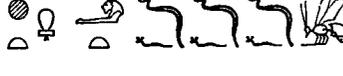
	<i>nb im3h hr ntr-'3</i>	Master of Honour before the Great God ; p. 279.
	<i>nb.t im3h[.t]hr ntr</i>	Mistress of Honour before the God ; p. 195.

(h)

	<i>hm ntr</i>	The Priest ; p. 206.
	<i>hm-ntr ist-ib-R'</i>	Priest of the Sun-temple of (Nefer-ir-ka- Ra') ; p. 238.
	<i>hm-ntr Wsir</i>	Priest of the God Osiris ; p. 238.
	<i>hm-ntr M3't</i>	Priest of the Goddess Ma'at ; p. 238.

	<i>hm-ntr Mn-k3w-R'</i>	Priest of the King Men-kaw-Ra ^c ; p. 238.
	<i>hm-ntr Nfr-ir-k3-R'</i>	Priest of the King Nefer-ir-ka-Ra ^c ; p. 238.
	<i>hm-ntr H'.f-R'</i>	Priest of King Khafra ^c ; p. 279.
	<i>hm(t)-ntr Ht-Hr</i>	Priestess of the Goddess Hathor; p. 238.
	<i>hm-k3</i>	Ka-servant; p. 225.
	<i>hrj wdb</i>	Chief of the Distribution (caller); p. 237.
	<i>hrj wdb h.t-'nh</i>	Chief of the Distribution of the House of Life; p. 289.
	<i>hrj s3b shd sš</i>	Chief Judge, Inspector of Scribes; p. 257.
	<i>hrj sš't3 nj pr-dw3t</i>	Master of the Secrets of the Toilet House; p. 257.
	<i>hrj sš't3 nj h.t-wr.t</i>	Master of the Secrets of the Great Court; p. 261.

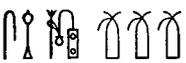
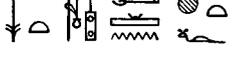
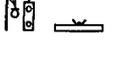
(h)

	<i>hn.tt nst</i>	He Who is in Front of the Throne; p. 261.
	<i>hrp 'h</i>	Director of the Palace; p. 289.
	<i>hrp sš' irj sprw</i>	Director of the Scribes Attached to the Petitioners; p. 238.
	<i>hrp sš' irj sprw m d3d3.t wr.t</i>	Director of the Scribes Attached to the Petitioners in the Great Council; p. 237.
	<i>hrp sš'</i>	Director of Scribes; p. 261.
	<i>hrp sš' m wsh.t-'3</i>	Director of the Scribes in the Great Hall of Judgment; p. 261.
	<i>htmj h3.t dj3w bj.t</i>	Sealer-in-chief of the Sweet Provisions; p. 213.

(h)

	<i>hrj-hb</i>	Ritualist; p. 256.
	<i>hkr njswt</i>	Adorner of the King; p. 213.

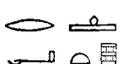
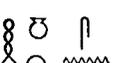
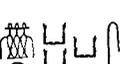
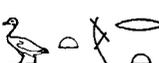
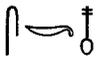
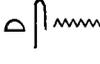
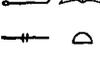
(s)

	<i>s3b imj-r3 ss'</i>	Judge, Overseer of the Scribes ; p. 237.
	<i>s3b 'd-mr</i>	Judge, Nome-Administrator ; p. 293.
	<i>s3b shd ss' nj wpw.t</i>	Judge, Inspector of the Scribes of the Commissions ; p. 237.
	<i>s3b shd ss' n h.tj wr.tj imj-wr.t nt hnw</i>	Judge, Inspector of the Scribes of the Courts of Justice of the Western Part of the Residence ; p. 237.
	<i>smr</i>	Companion ; p. 289.
	<i>smr-w'tj</i>	Sole Companion ; p. 256.
	<i>shd hm [w]-k3</i>	Inspector of the <i>Ka</i> -servants ; p. 225.
	<i>shd ss' 'prw</i>	Inspector of the Scribes of the Gangs of Workmen ; p. 226.
	<i>shd ss' pr-md3.t</i>	Inspector of the Scribes of the Archives ; p. 237.
	<i>shd ss' pr-hd</i>	Inspector of the Scribes of the Treasury ; p. 213.
	<i>shd ss' n ht-wr.t</i>	Inspector of the Scribes of the Great Hall ; p. 238.
	<i>ss' '-njswt pr-'3</i>	Scribe of the Royal Documents of the Great House ; p. 237.
	<i>ss' '-njswt nj ht.f</i>	Scribe of the King's Documents of His Property ; p. 257.
	<i>špss-njsw.t</i>	Nobleman of the King ; p. 256.
	<i>ss' 'prw</i>	Scribe of the Gangs of Workmen ; p. 229.
	<i>ss' pr-md3.t</i>	Scribe of the Archives ; p. 229.
	<i>ss' hbs njswt</i>	Scribe of the King's Clothes ; p. 213.
	<i>sdm mdw m sšt3 nb</i>	He Who Hears the Words in Every Secret ; p. 237.
(k)		
	<i>kbh h.t mds (?) pr-'3</i>	He Who Distributes Libation in the Place of Cult (?) of the Great House ; p. 279.

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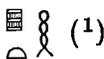
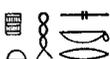
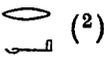
Season V

	<i>Ij-m-htp</i>	Ii-m-ḥetep ; p. 299.
	<i>'nh-h3.f</i>	'Ankh-ḥa-f ; p. 225.
	<i>'nh-tf</i>	'Ankh-tef ; p. 225.
	<i>Wr-hw</i>	Werkhw ; p. 289.
	<i>Wr-hww</i>	Werkhww ; p. 237.
	<i>Wh3</i>	Weḥa ; p. 256.
	<i>Ffj</i>	Fefi ; p. 279.
	<i>Mn-k3w-R</i>	Men-kaw-Ra ^c ; p. 238.
	<i>Mrt-tf.s</i>	Mert-tef-s ; p. 279.
	<i>Ms-s3</i>	Mes-sa ; p. 289.
	<i>N3rj</i>	Nary ; p. 299.
	<i>Nj-Pth-nfr-hr</i>	Ny-Ptaḥ-nefer-ḥer ; p. 279.
	<i>Nj-m3't-Hp</i>	Ny-Ma'at-Ḥap ; p. 261.
	<i>Nj-sw-kd</i>	Ny-sw-ḳid ; p. 203.
	<i>Nfr-ir-k3-R</i>	Nefer-ir-ka-Ra ^c ; p. 238.
	<i>Nfr-irw</i>	Nefer-irw ; p. 257.
	<i>Nfr-nm.tt</i>	Nefer-nemtet ; p. 195.
	<i>Nfrt</i>	Nefert ; 299.

	<i>Ndt-m-pt</i>	Nezet-em-pet ; p. 257
	<i>Rnpt.f</i>	Renpet-f ; p. 226.
	<i>R'-wr</i>	Ra'-wer ; pp. 226, 293.
	<i>R'-htp</i>	Ra'-hetep ; p. 205.
	<i>Rdj-nj-Pth</i>	Redi-ny-Ptah ; p. 225.
	<i>Hnw-sw</i>	Hnwtsw ; p. 203.
	<i>Hnw-sn</i>	Hnwtsn ; p. 238.
	<i>Hr-ka</i>	Her-ka ; p. 289.
	<i>Hsj-Ht-Hr</i>	Hesy-Hathor ; p. 225.
	<i>H'-f-R'</i>	Khafra' ; p. 279.
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	<i>S3t-mrt</i>	Sat-mert ; p. 279.
	<i>S'nhw-Pth</i>	Se-ankhw-Ptah ; p. 225.
	<i>Swf</i>	Swf ; p. 257.
	<i>Ssm-nfr</i>	Seshem-nefer ; p. 226.
	<i>K3-dbh3n</i>	Ka-debehen ; p. 213.
	<i>Tsn</i>	Tesen ; p. 261.
	<i>Ts.t.</i>	Theset ; p. 226

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Season V

	<i>Inpw</i>	Anubis ; p. 203.
	<i>Wsir</i>	Osiris ; p. 238.
 (1)	<i>Pth</i>	Ptah ; p. 279.
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	<i>M3't</i>	Ma'at ; p. 238.
	<i>Mn[w]</i>	Min ; p. 281.
 (2)	<i>R'</i>	Ra' ; p. 206.
 (3)	<i>Hp</i>	Hap ; p. 261.
 (3)	<i>Ht-Hr</i>	Hathor ; p. 225.
	<i>Dhwtj</i>	Thoth ; p. 217.

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	<i>Ddw.</i>	Dedw (Busiris) ; p. 256.
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(1) Ptah in the above examples appears only as an element of a personal name

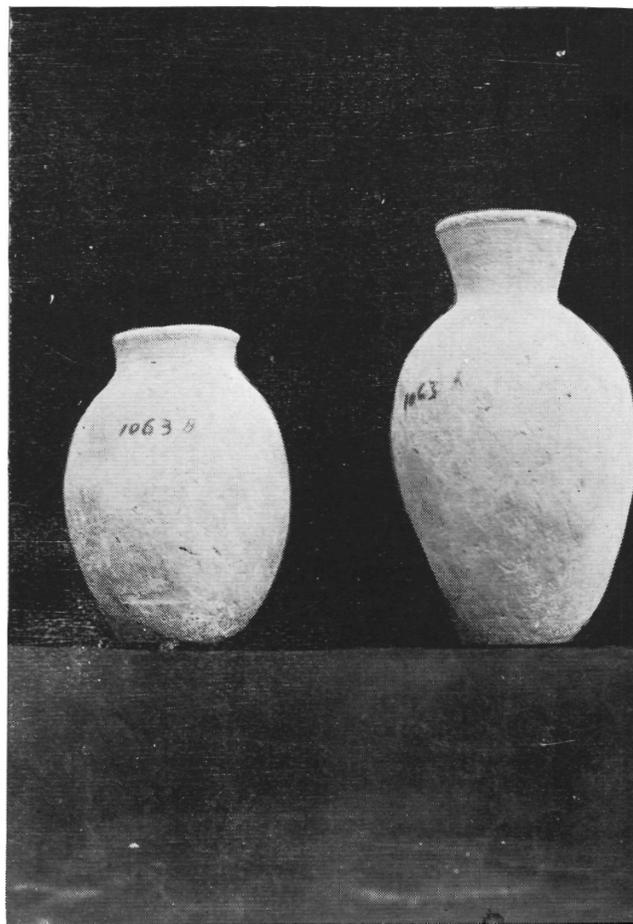
(2) As element of a personal name.

(3) As element of a personal name.

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Director,
MOHAMMAD BAKRI

PLATES



A.—Two vases of red-ware.



B.—The intact statuette.



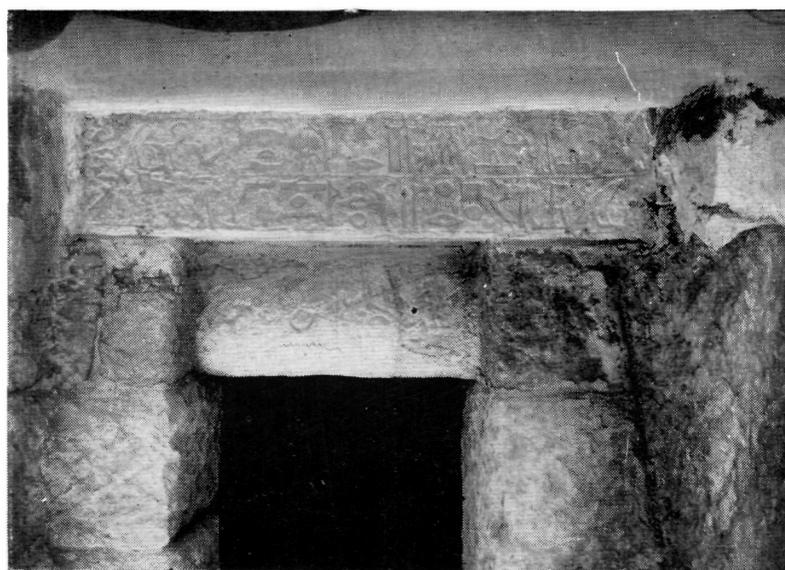
C.—The damaged statuette.



A.—The lintel.



B.—The lintel as discovered.

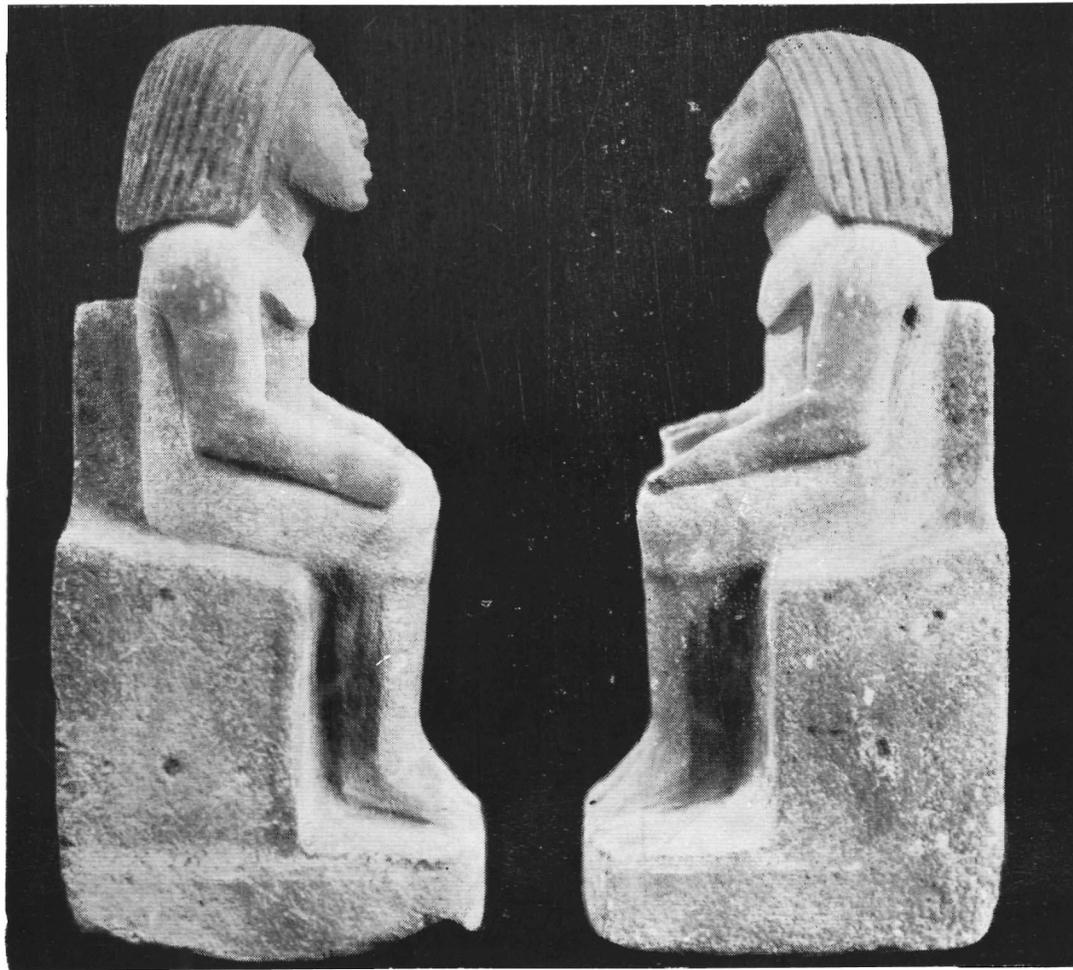


C.—The lintel restored to its place.



The quartzite statuette *in situ*.

J*



A.—The quartzite statuette.



B.—The false-door of Ra^h-hetep.



A.—The lintel as found.



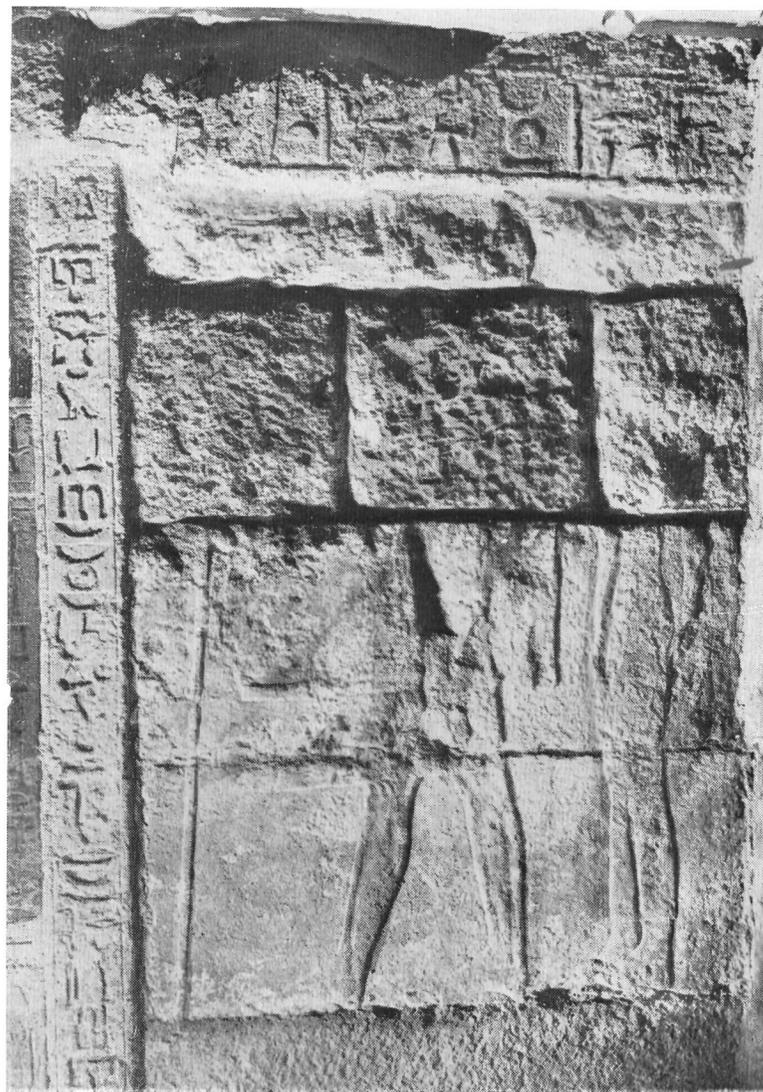
B.—The lintel restored.



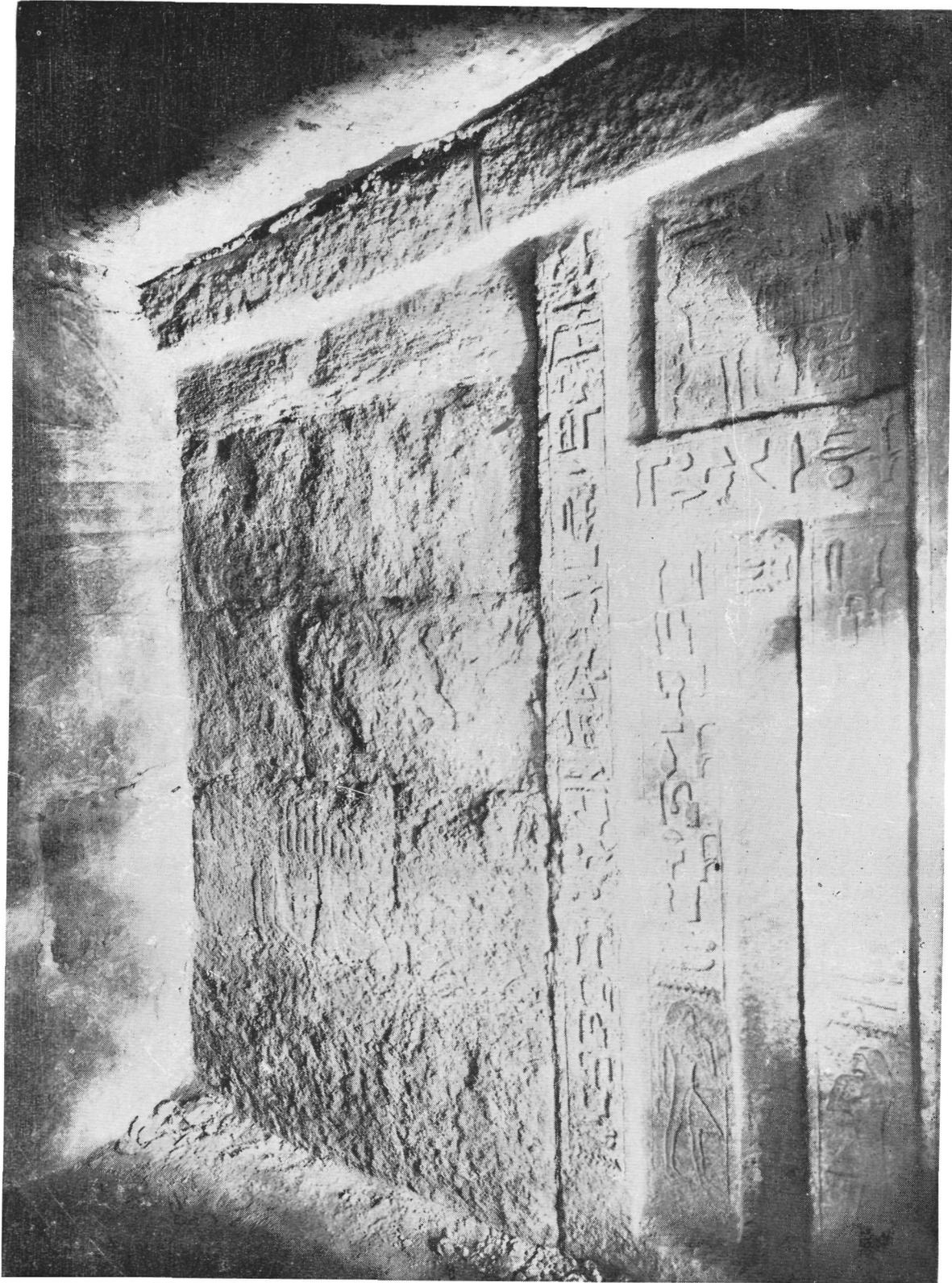
The northern false-door.



A.—The northern wall of the southern chapel.



B.—The western wall of the southern chapel.



The southern false-door.



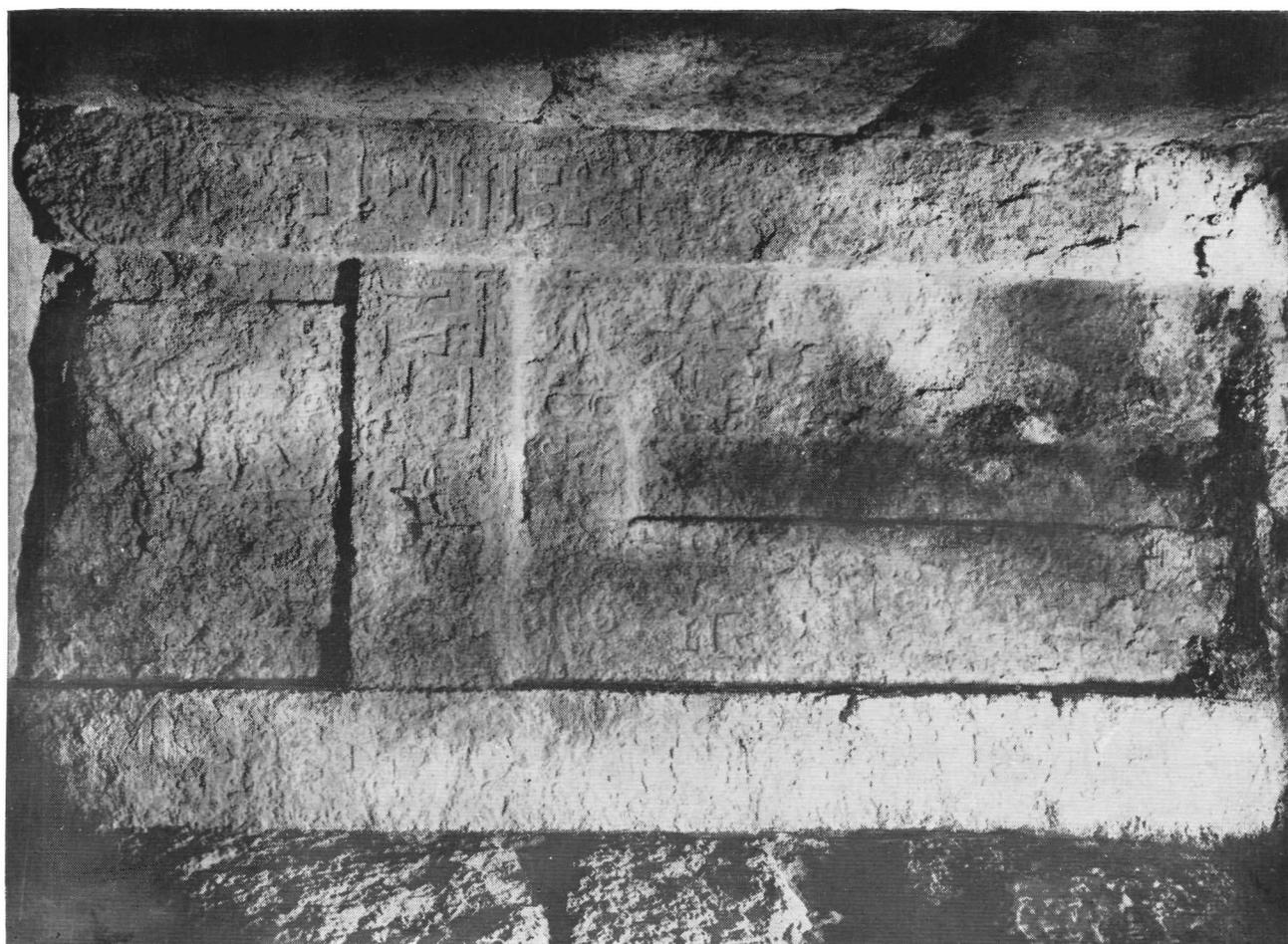
The southern wall of the chapel.



False-door of the vestibule.



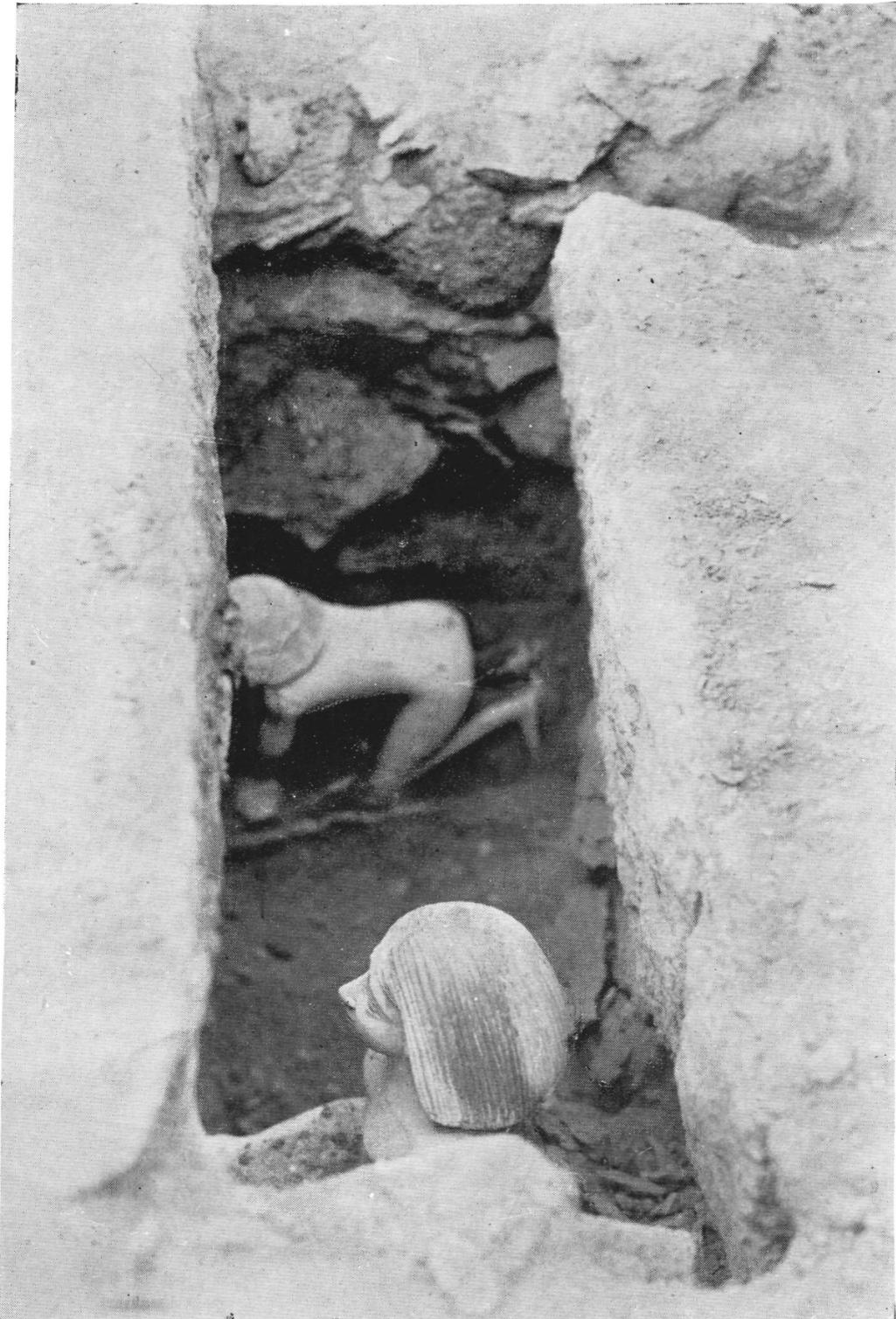
A.—The lintel of the entrance to the chapel.



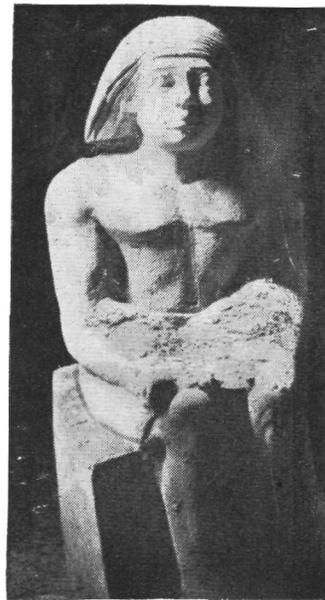
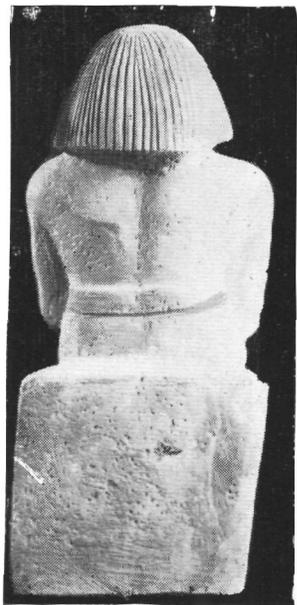
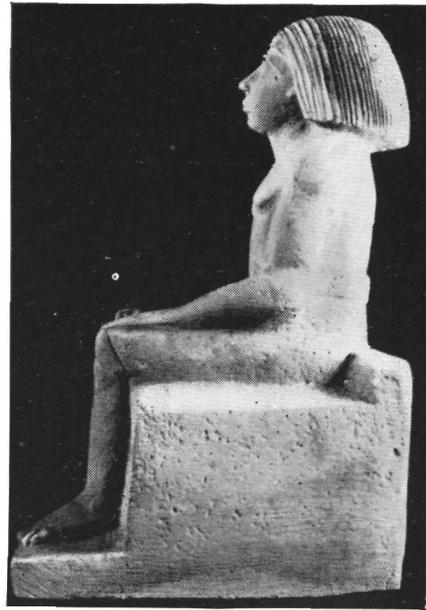
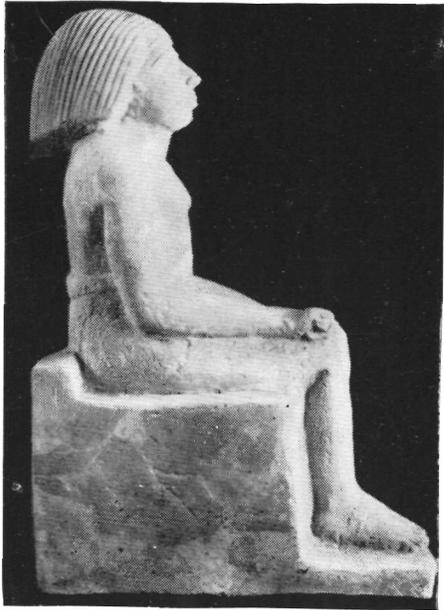
B.—The central false-door.



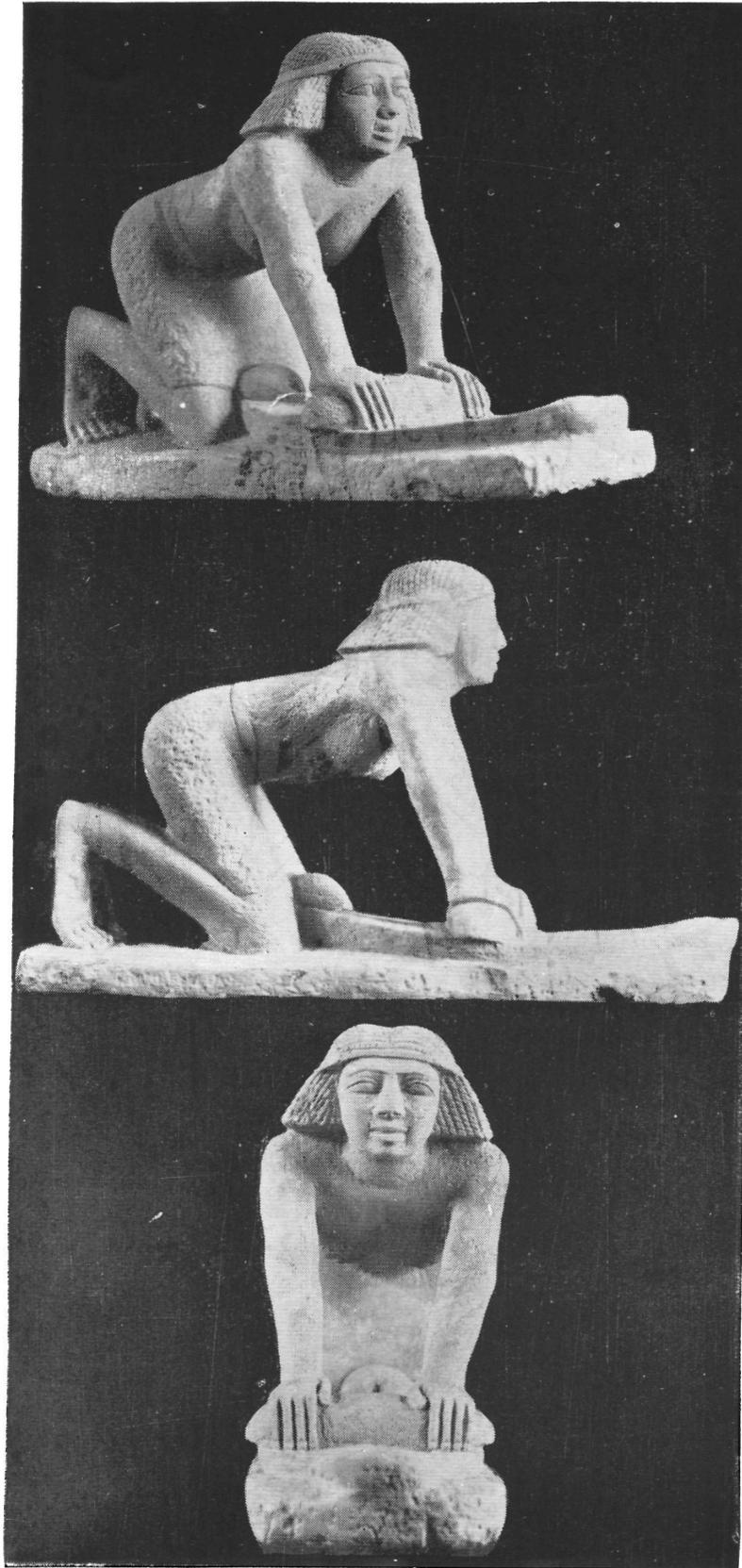
A.—False-doors roofing the serdab.



B.—The serdab showing the statuettes *in situ*.



The statuette of 'Ankh-tef.



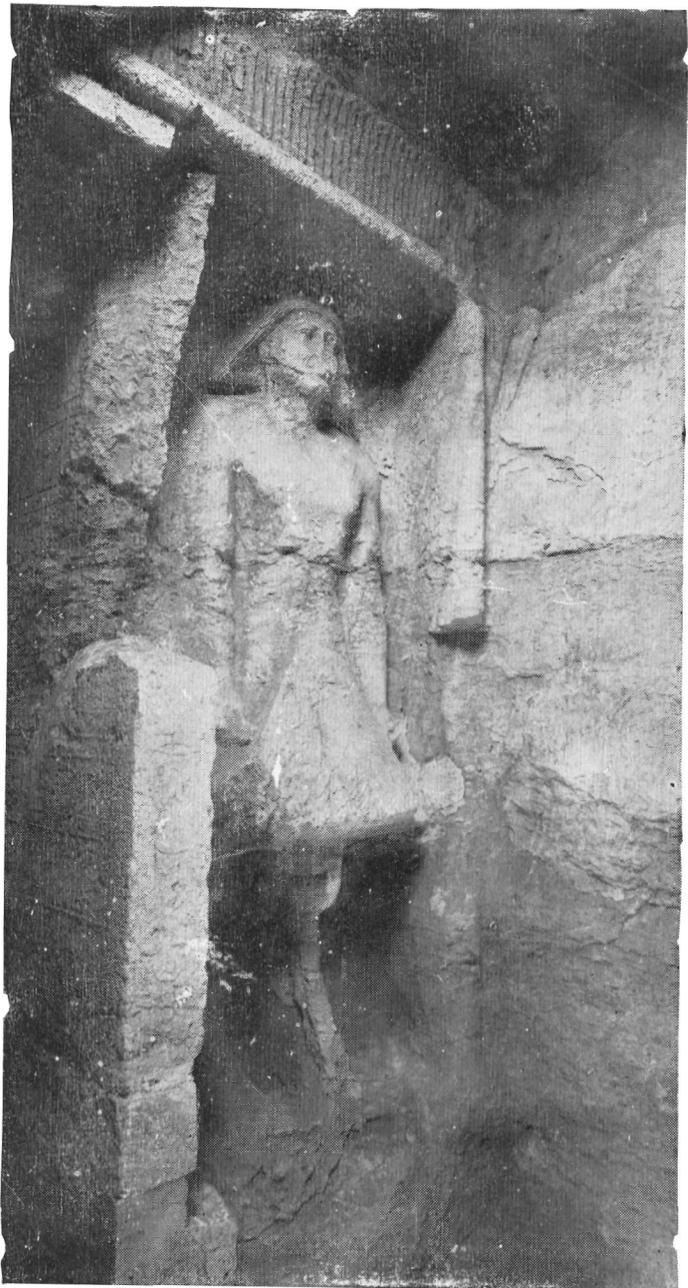
Statuette of a woman grinding corn.



A.—The white limestone drum.



B.—The entrance to the inner chapel.



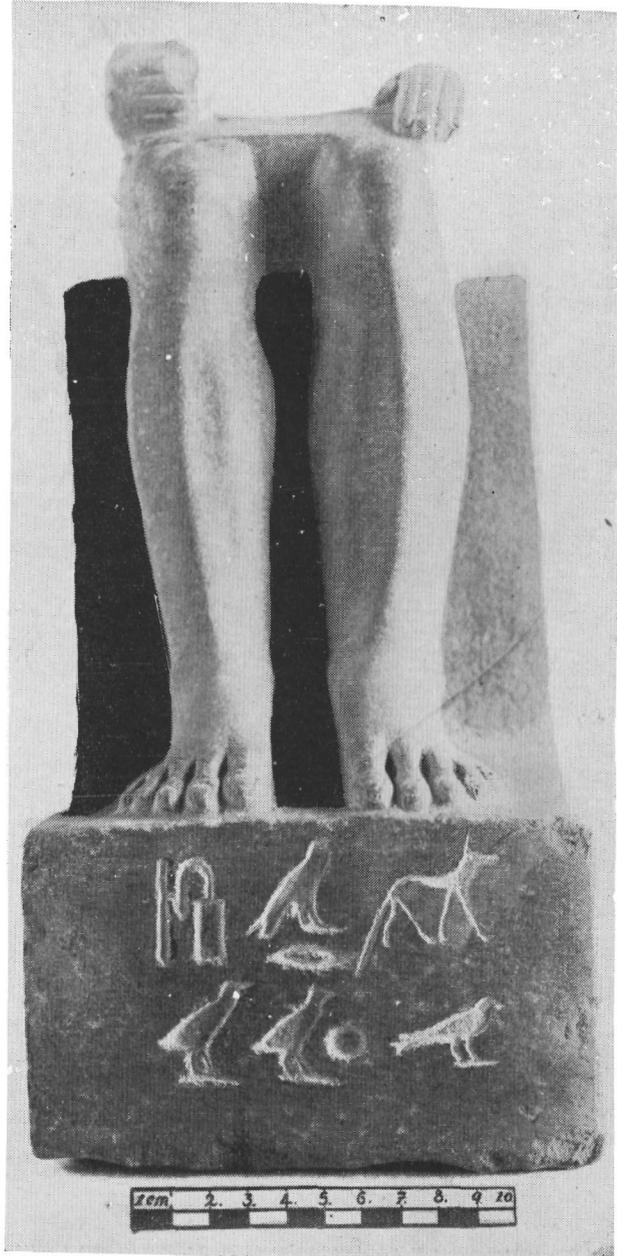
The rock-cut statues of Werkhww.



B.—The southern side of the niche.



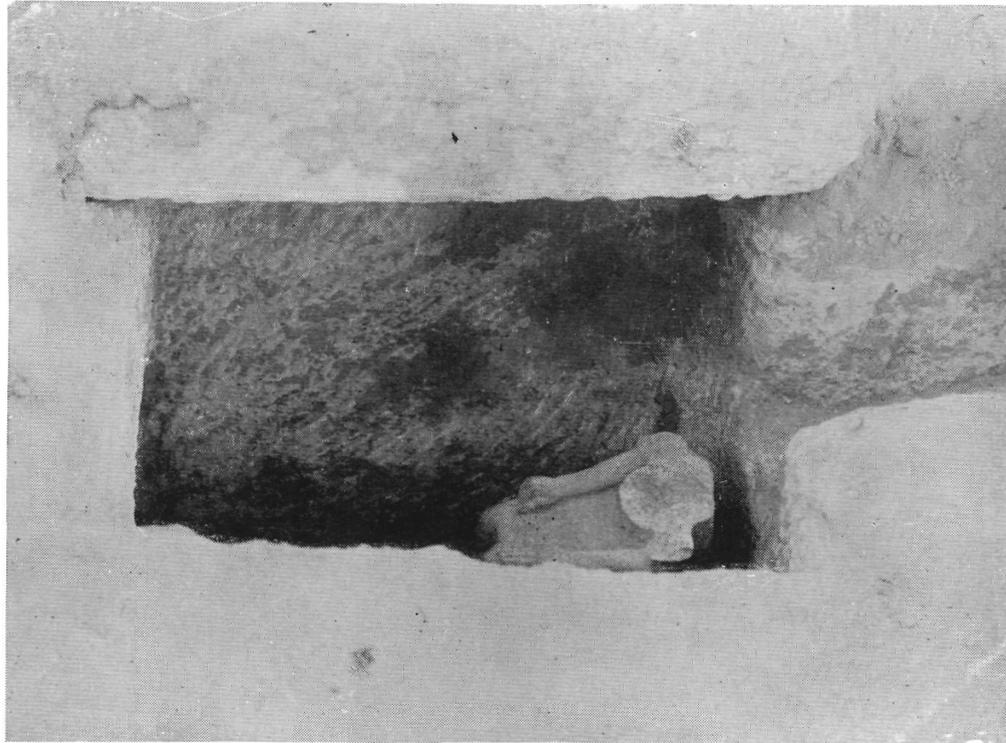
A.—The northern side of the niche.



The lower part of a schist statuette of Werkhww.



The lower part of a granite statuette.



A.—The granite statuette *in situ*



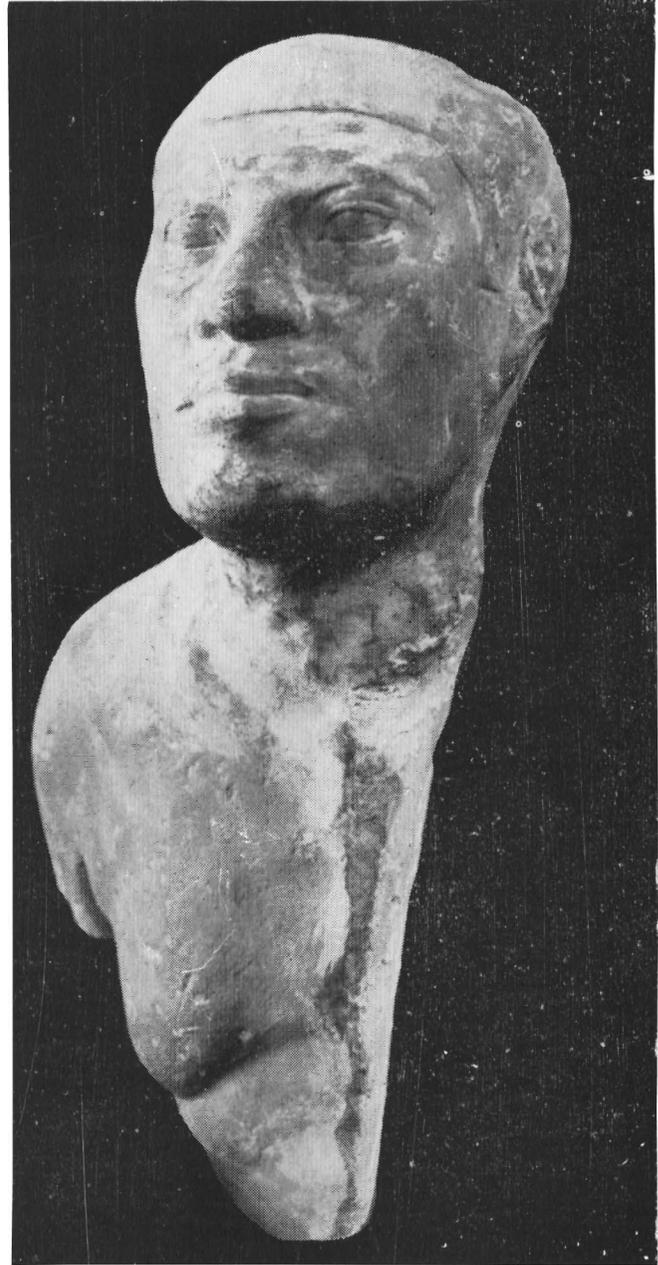
B.—The lower part of a granite statuette.



C.—The false-door of Weha.

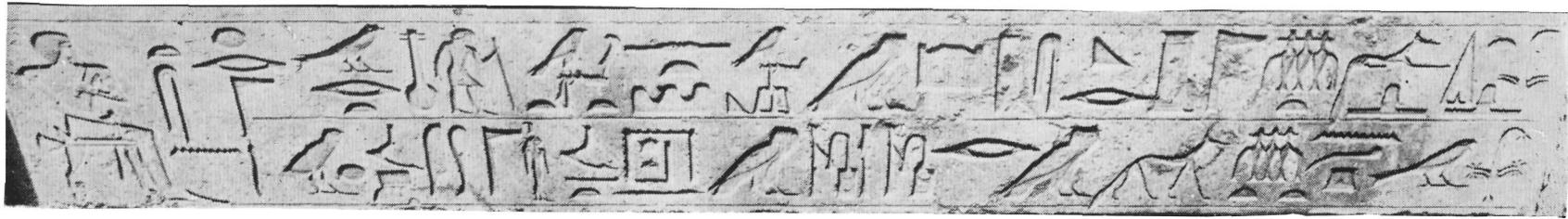


The limestone head.

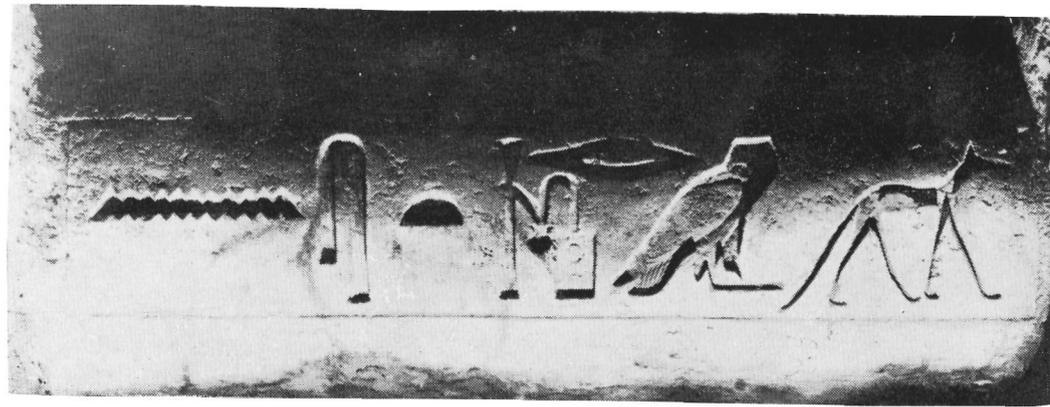




The lintel of the entrance to the chapel.



A.—The lintel of the entrance to the chapel.



B.—The drum of the entrance to the chapel.



A.—The right-door thickness.

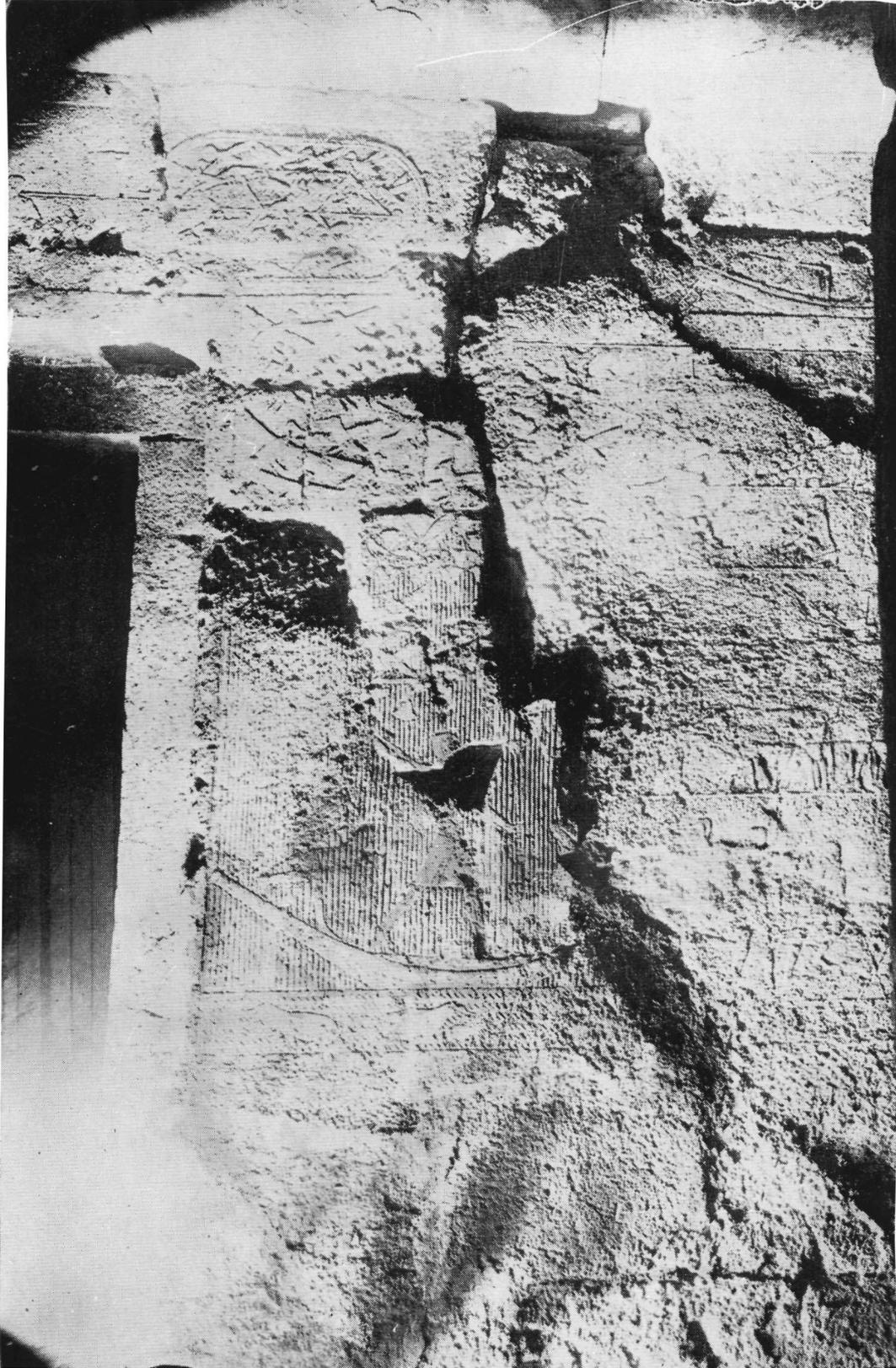
B.—The left-door thickness.



The eastern wall of the chapel.



The eastern wall of the chapel.



The eastern wall.



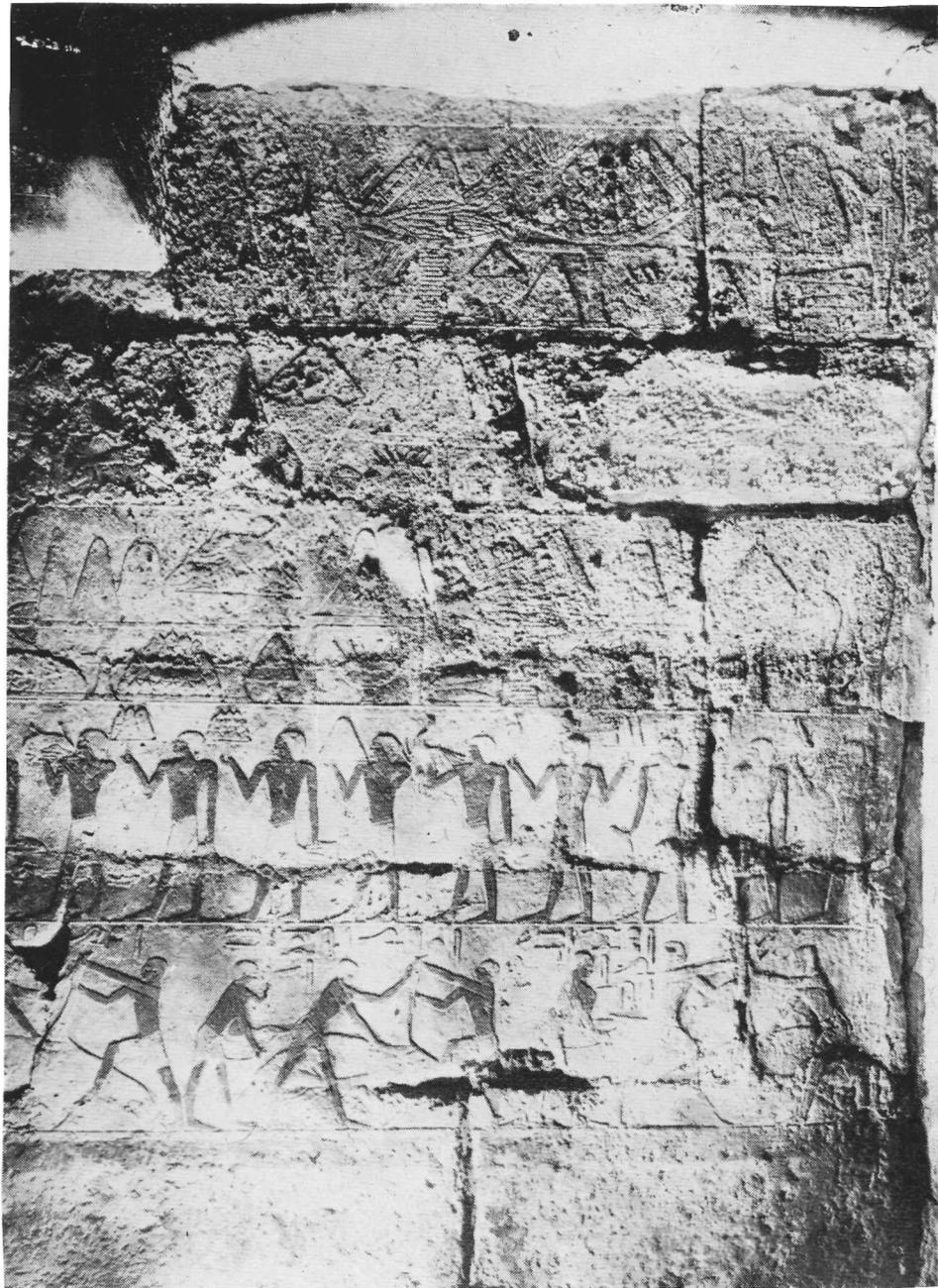
The eastern wall.



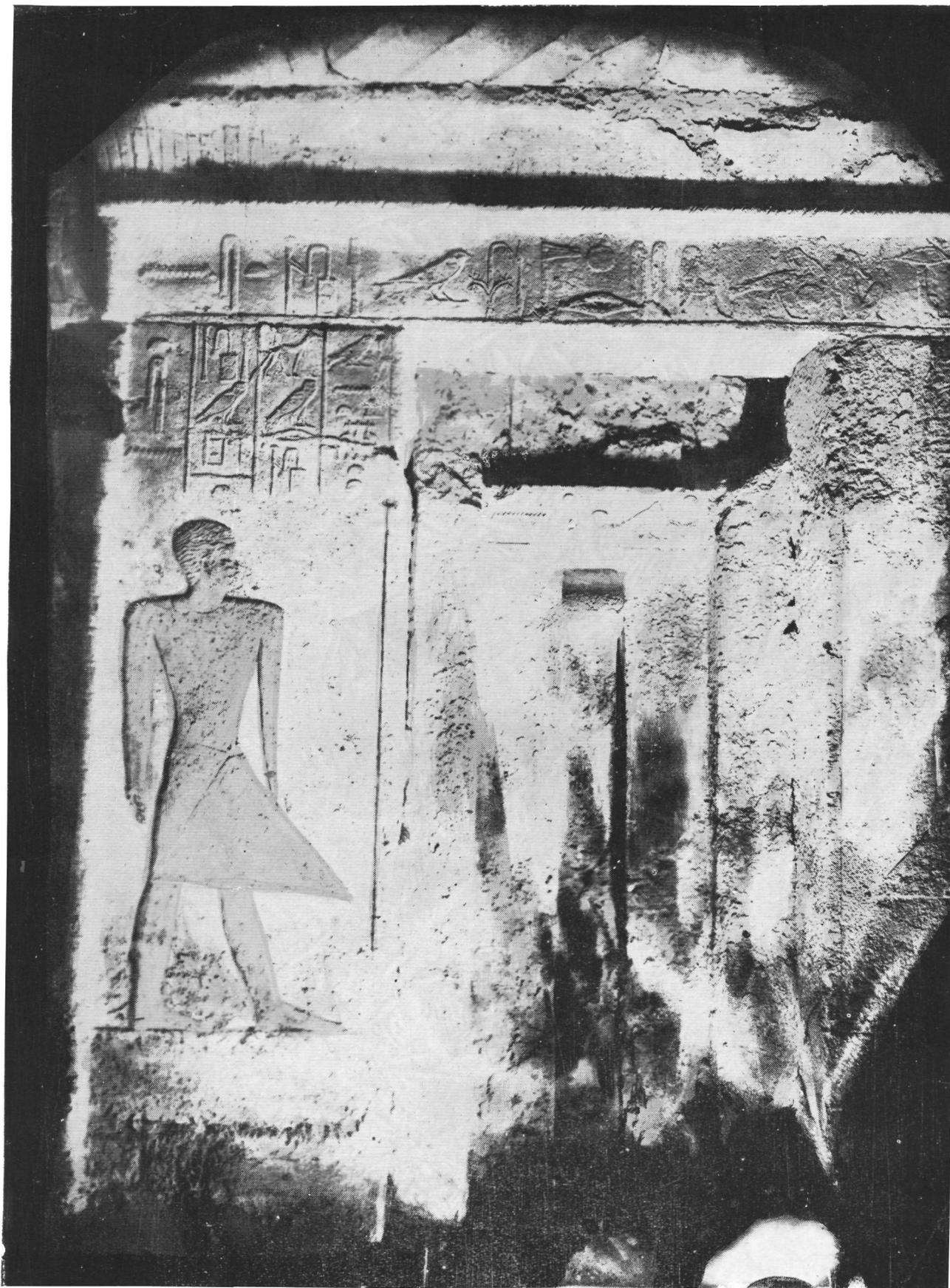
The northern side of the eastern wall of the chapel.



The northern wall of the chapel.



The northern wall of the chapel.



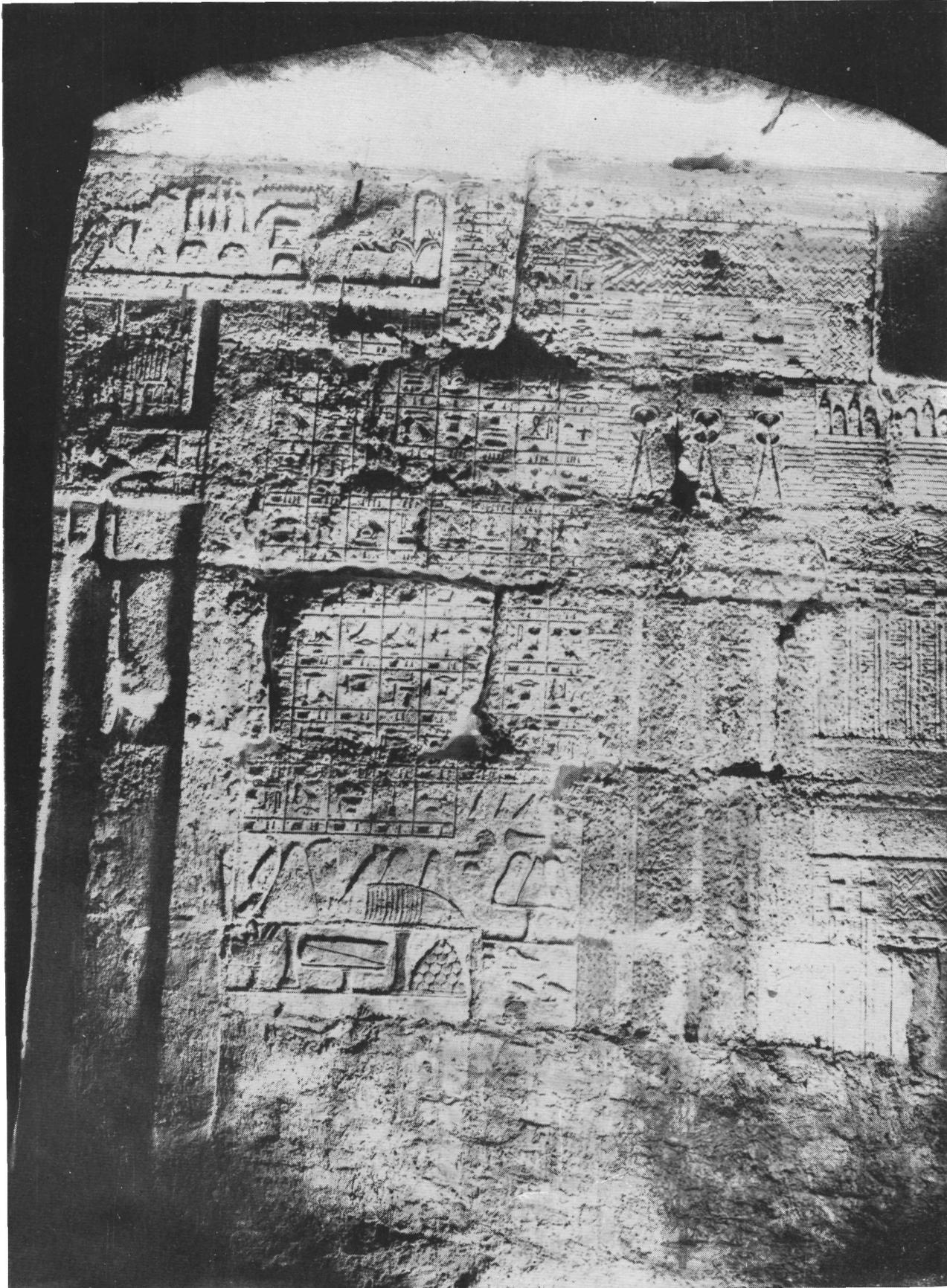
The false-door.



The western wall.



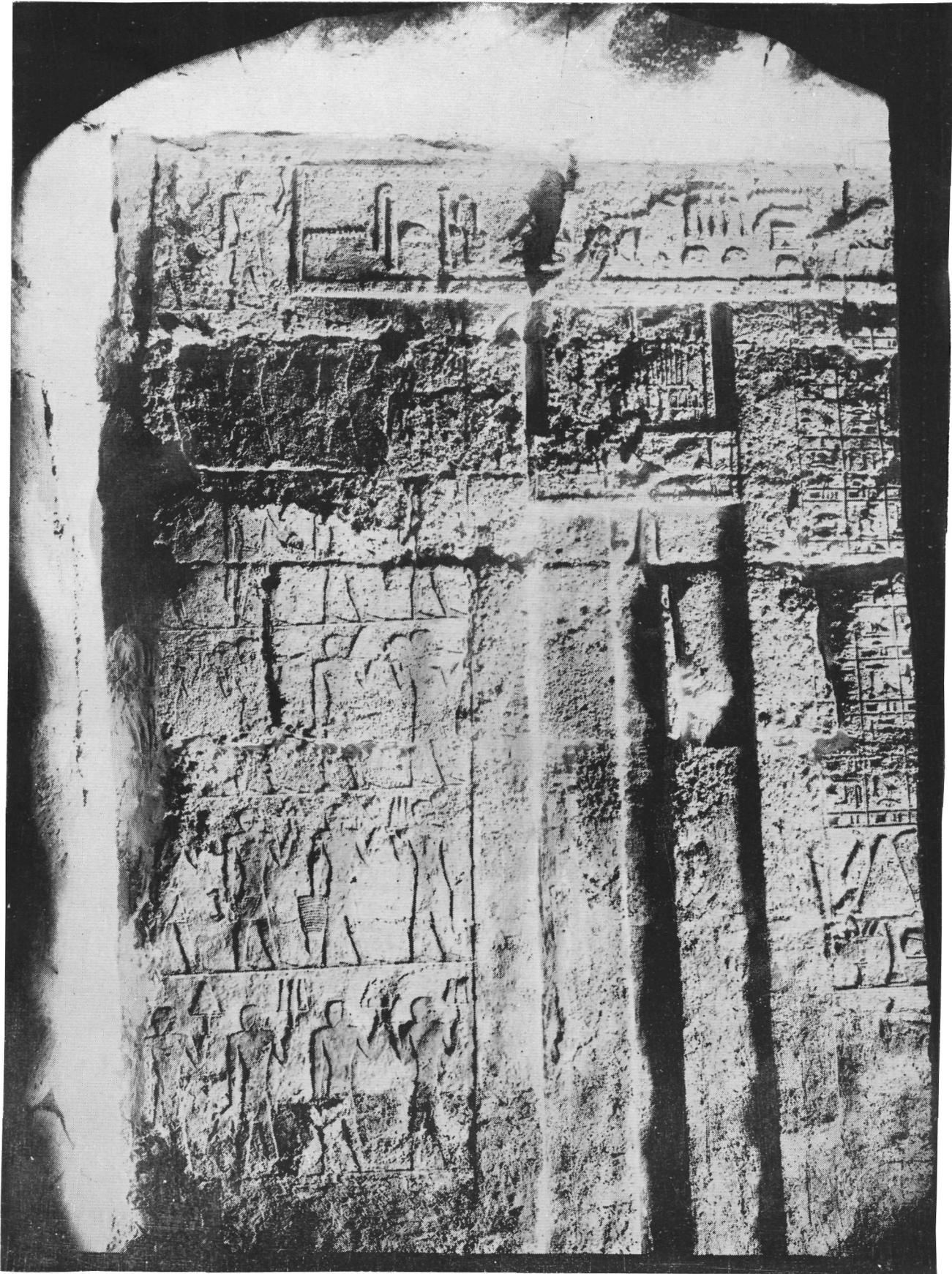
The palace-façade.



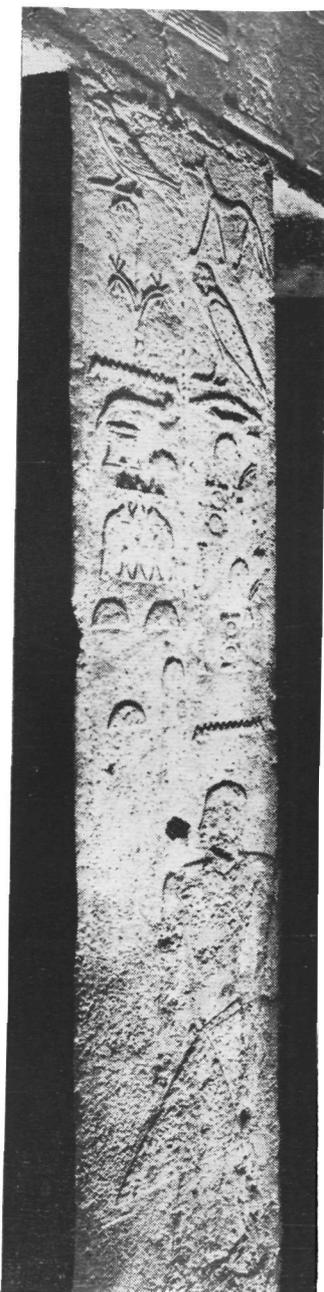
The southern offering-list.



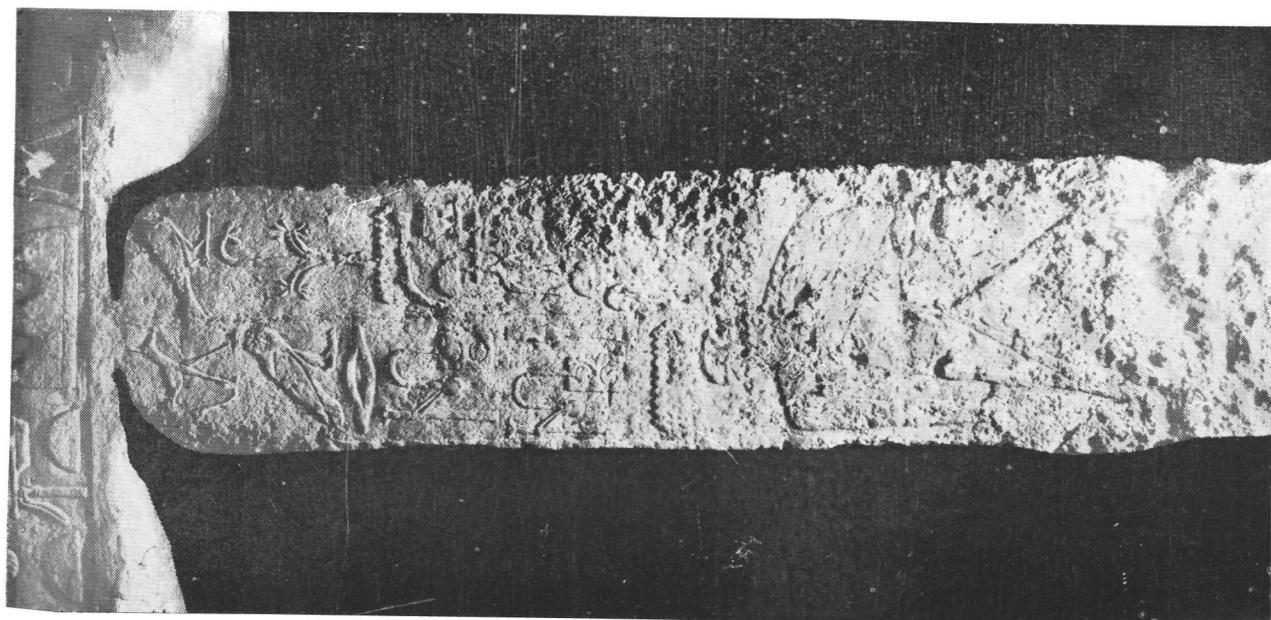
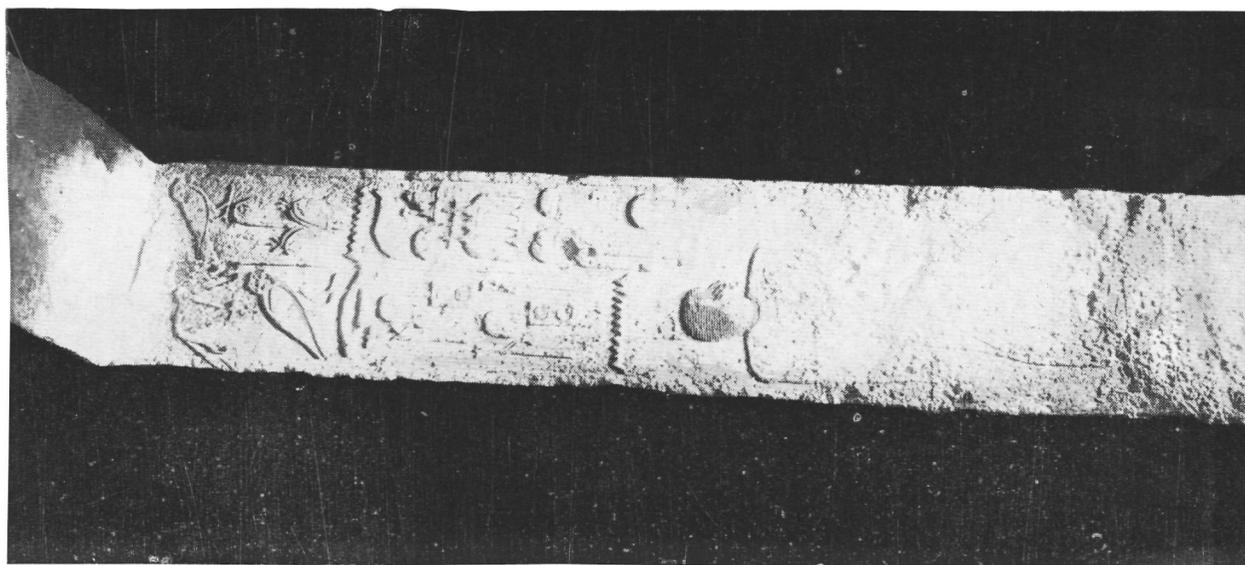
Food offerings.



The southern false-door.



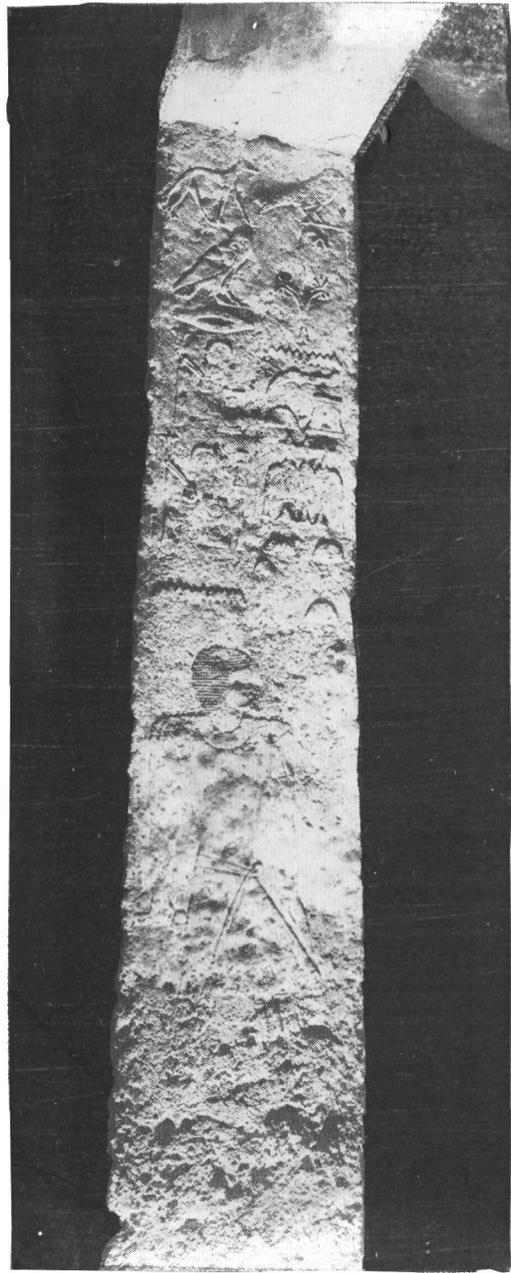
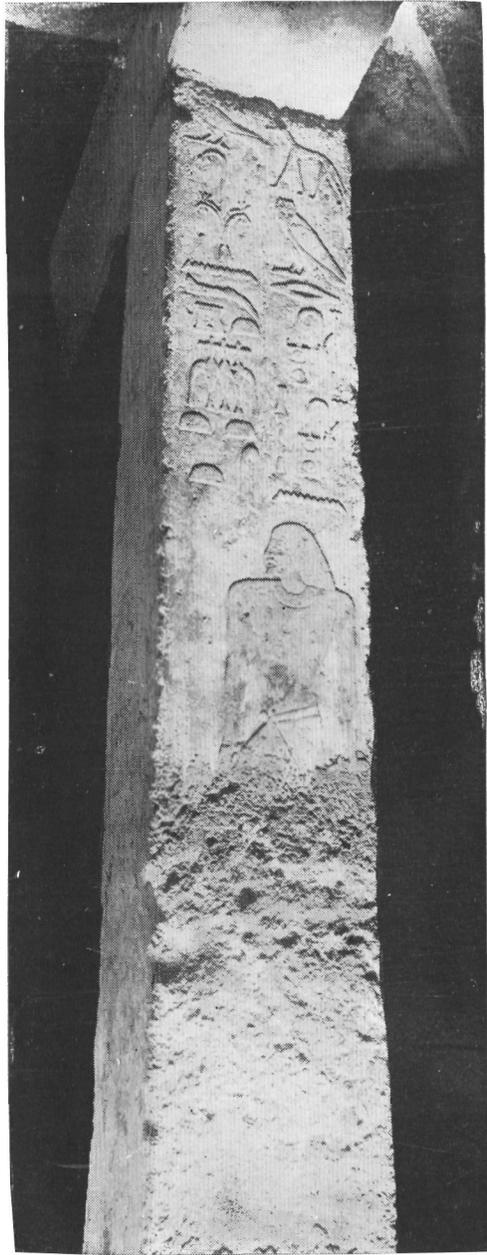
The pillars.



The Pillars.



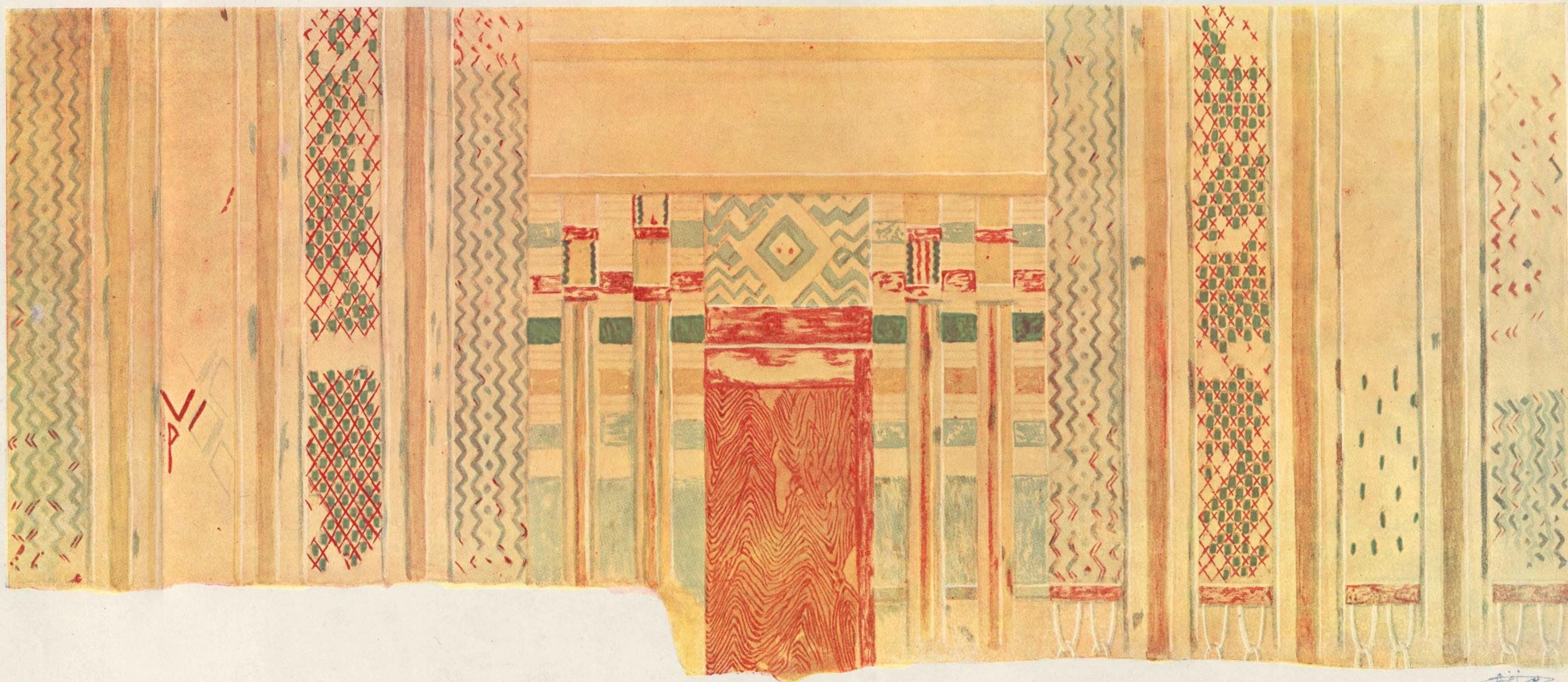
The pillars.



The pillars.



CLAP NET OF TESEN.



THE PALACE FAÇADE OF TESEN.



BUTCHERY SCENE (see Fig. 125).



A PART OF THE OFFERING-SCENE OF THE PALACE-FAÇADE (see Fig. 126).



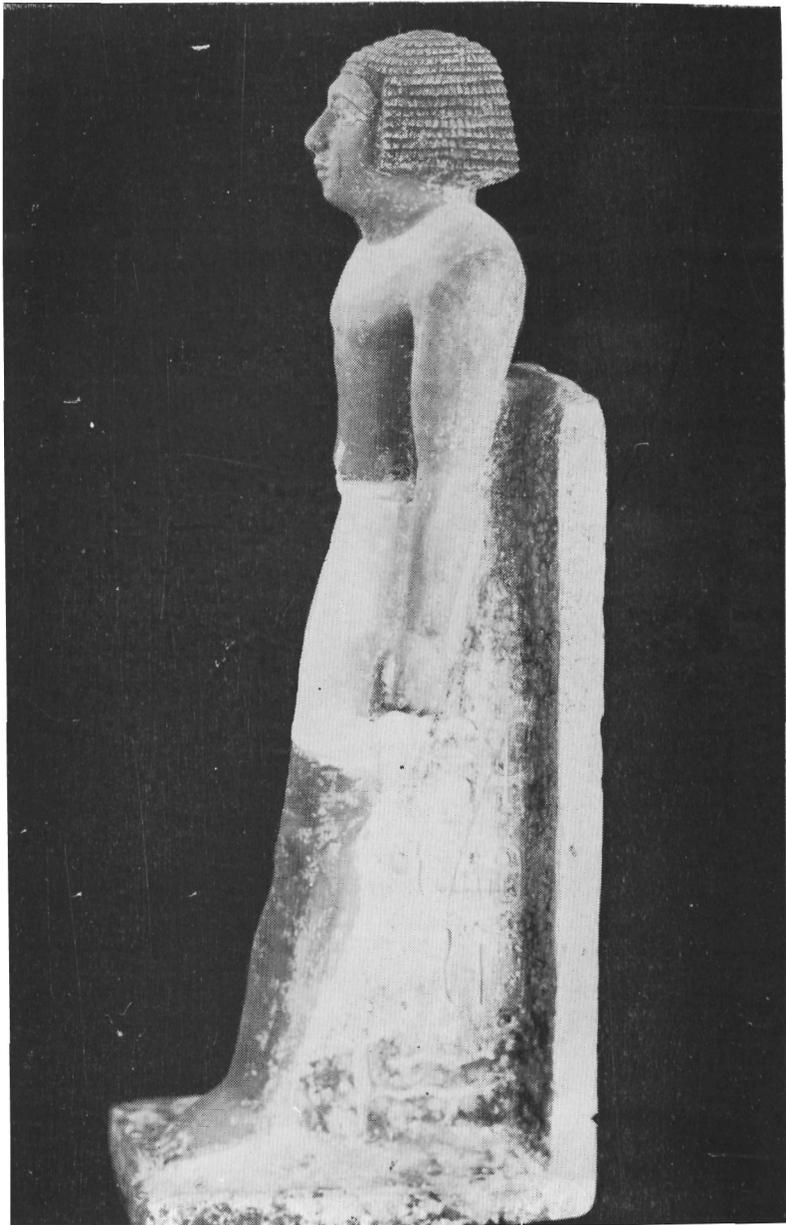
A.—The entrance.



B.—The statuettes *in situ* in the serdab.



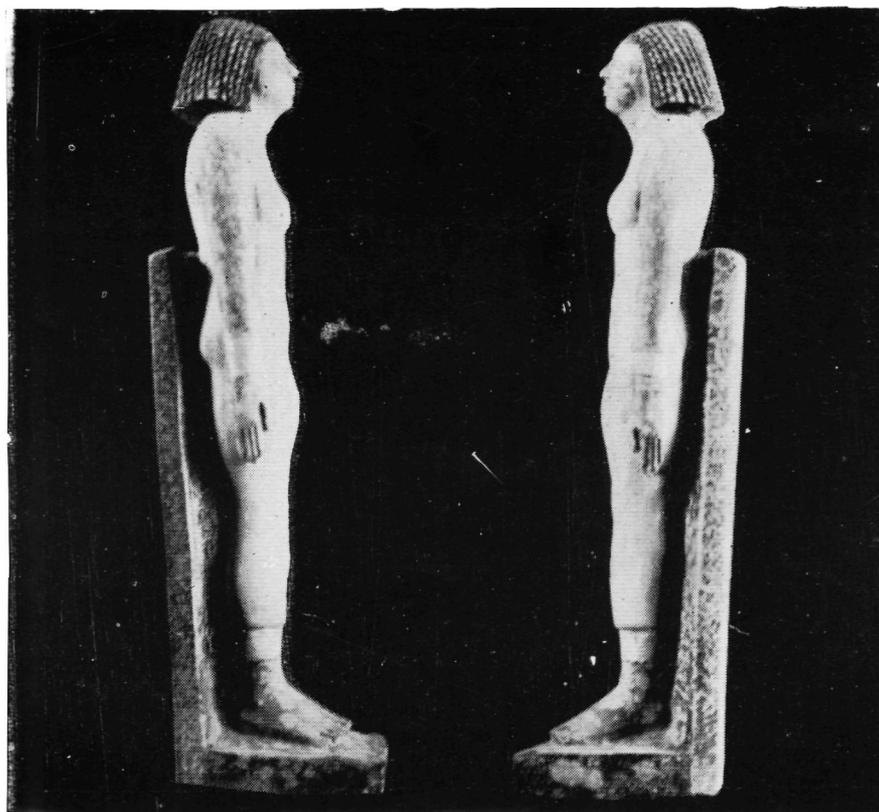
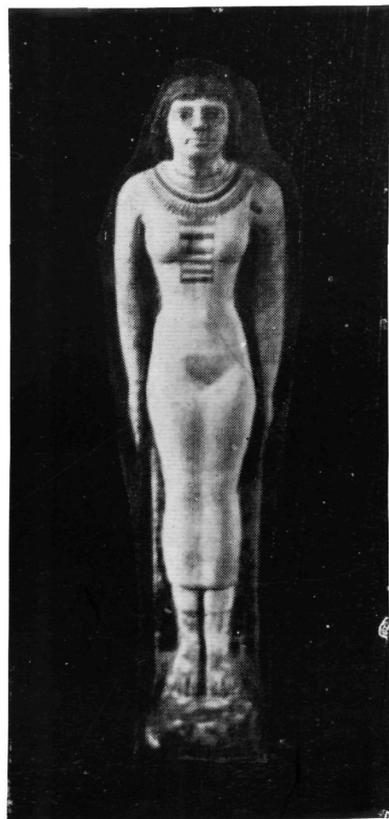
C.—The lintel of the chapel doorway



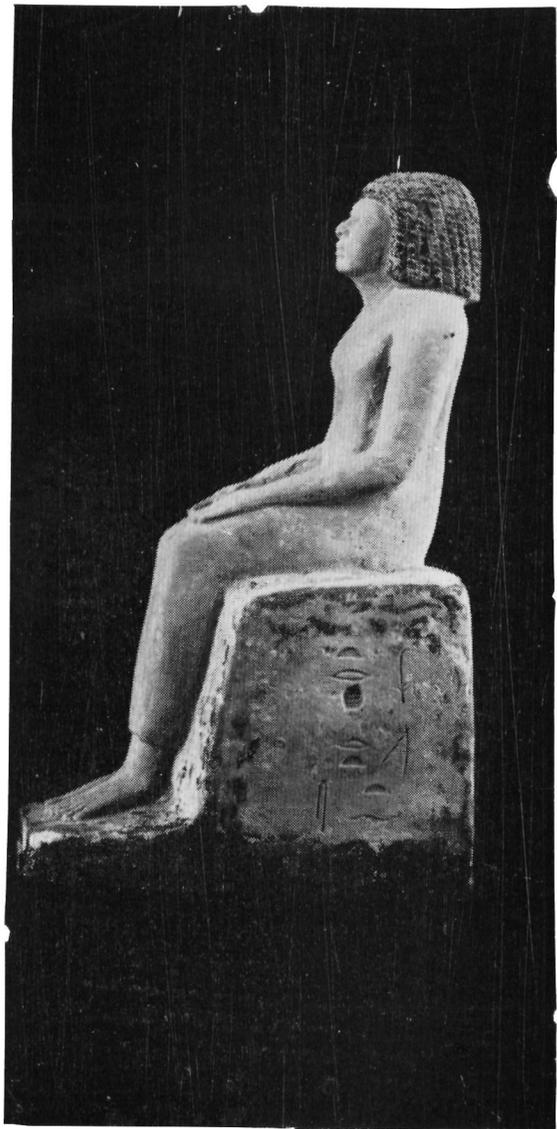
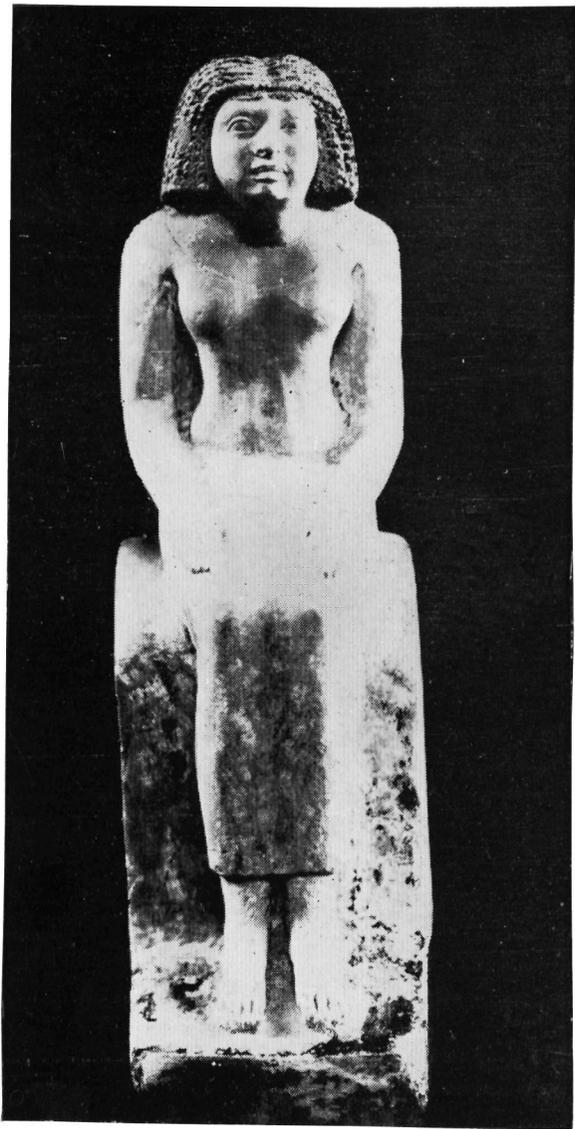
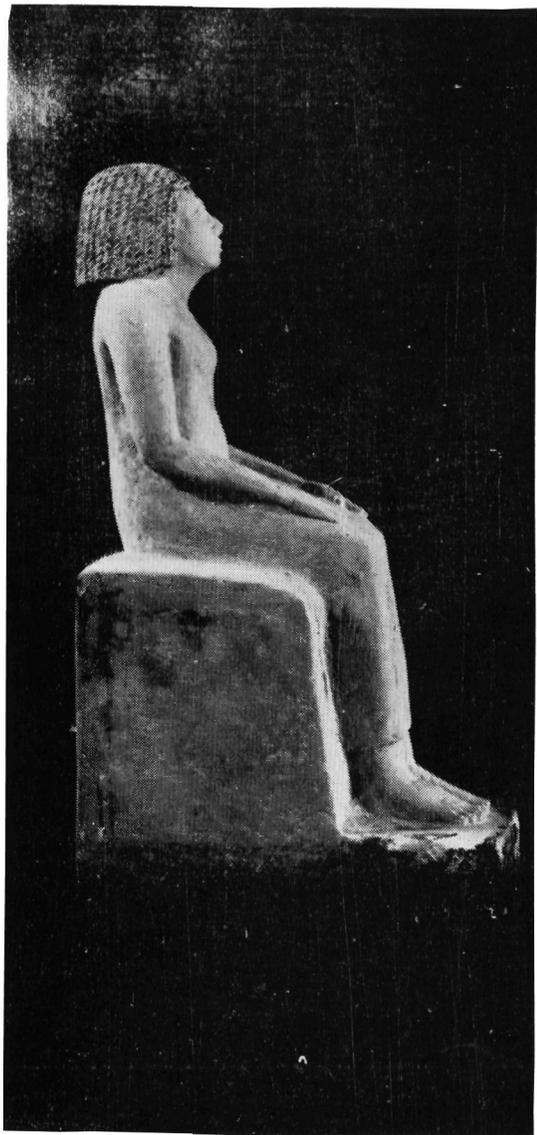
A,—The statuette of Fefy,



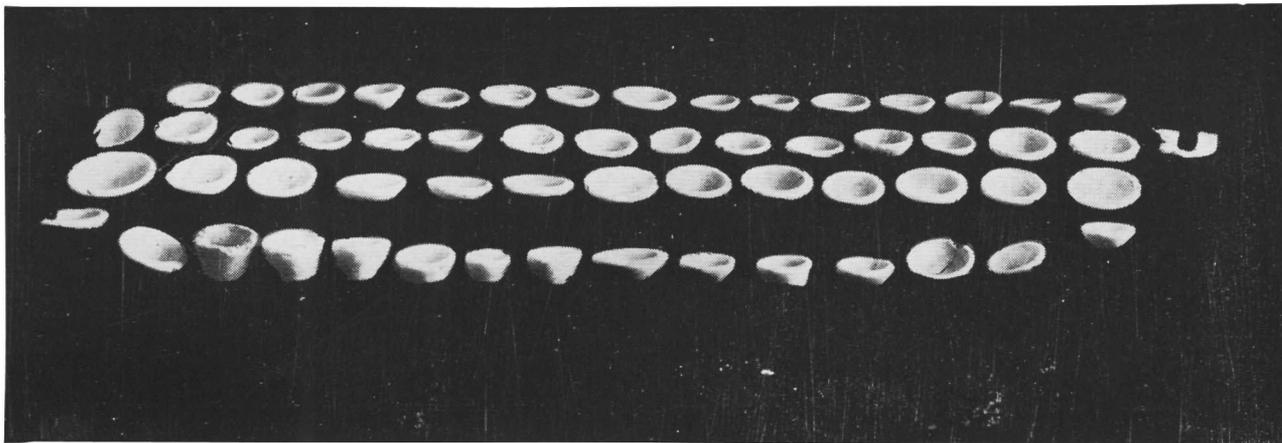
B,—The statuette of Tesen,



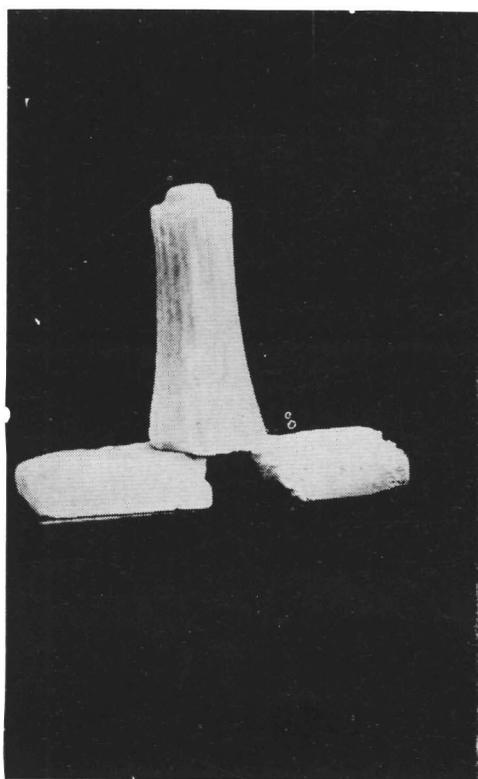
The statuette of Sat-mert.



The statuette of Mert-tefs.



A.—Alabaster model vessels.



B.—Alabaster head-rest.



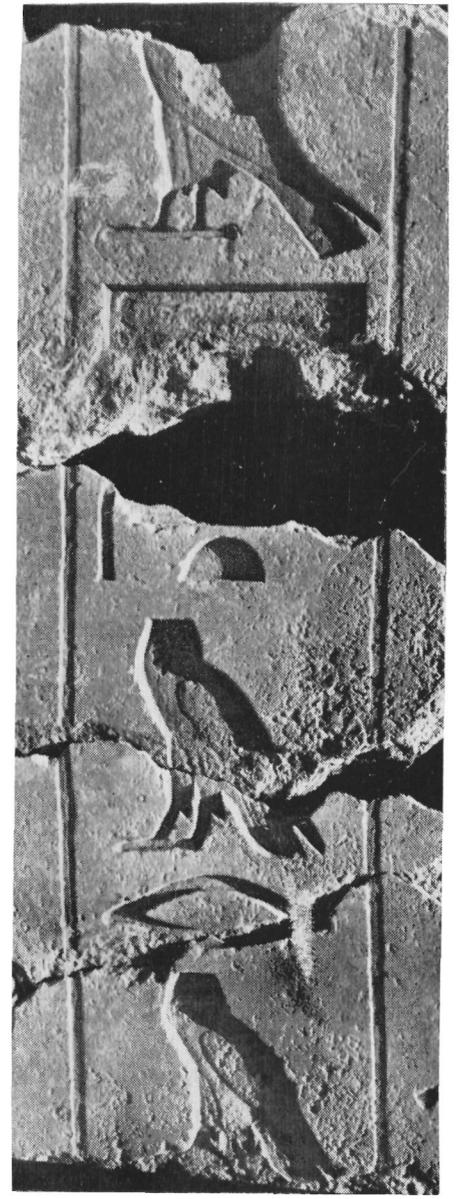
A.—The lintel of the entrance to the chapel.



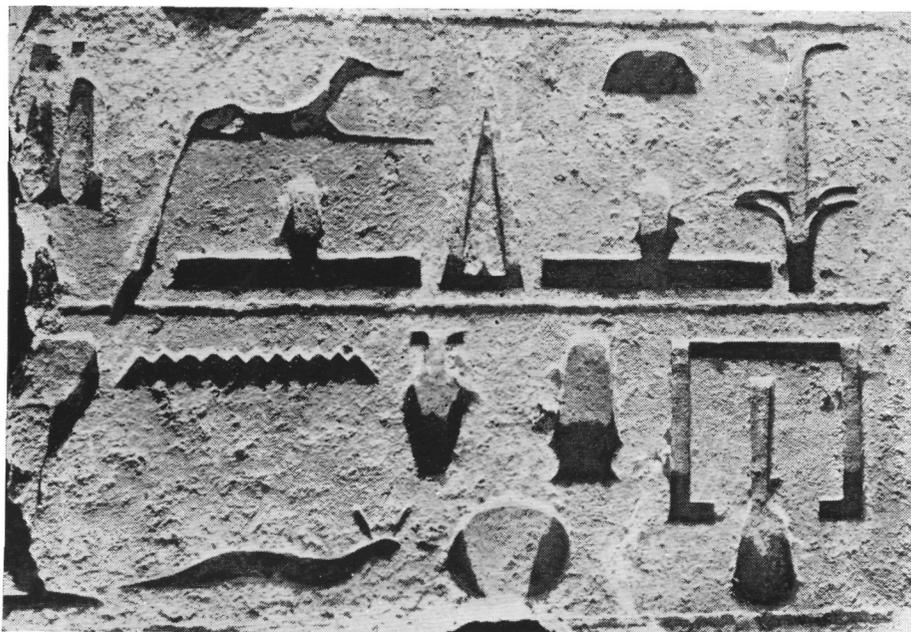
B.—The drum.



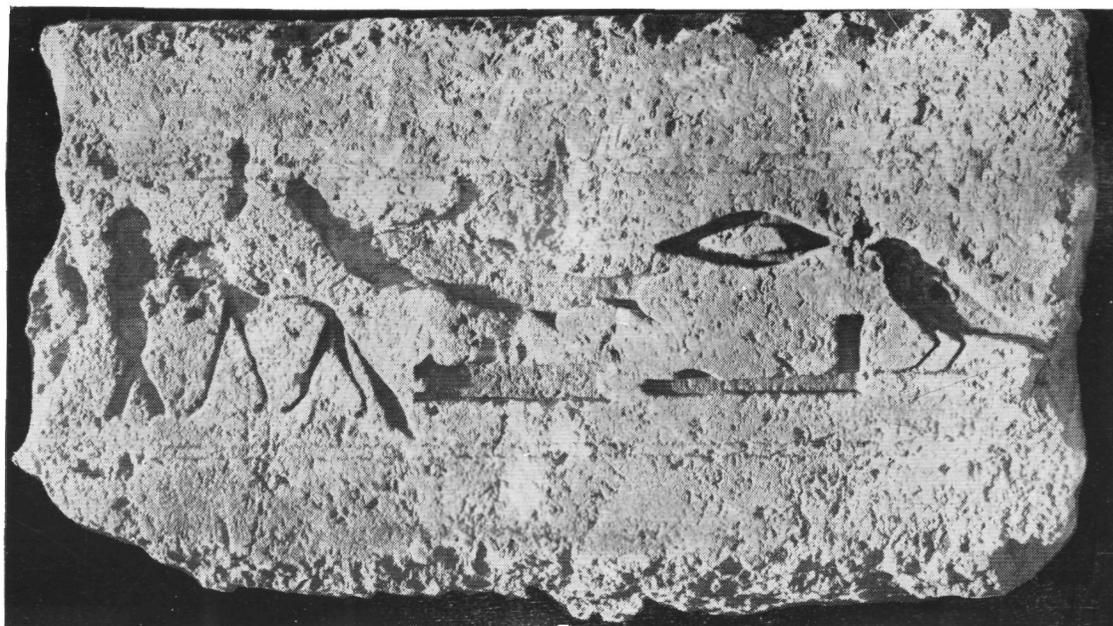
A.—The false-door.



B.—Inscribed fragments of limestone.



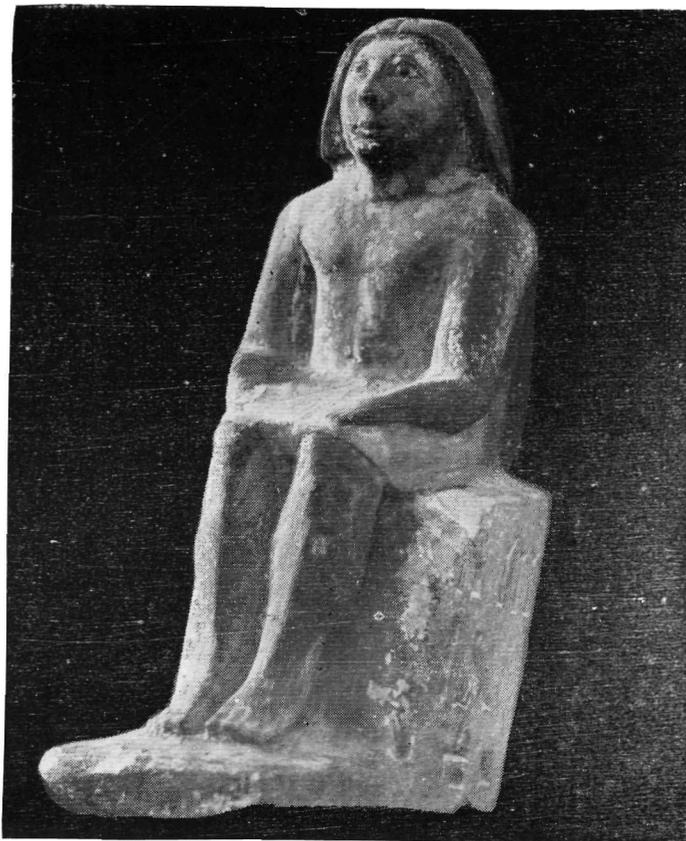
A.—A fragment of a lintel.



B.—An inscribed slab of limestone.



A.—The statuette as found.



B.—The statuette of Im-ḥetep.



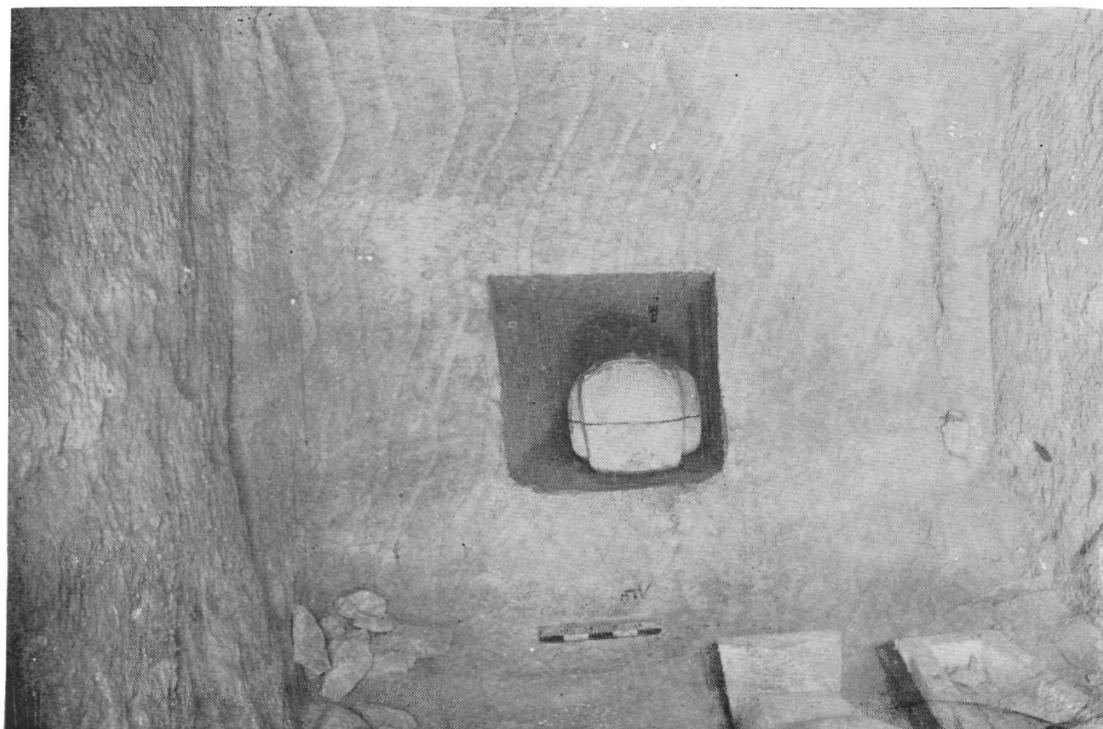
The limestone group of Nary and Nefert.



A.—The limestone statuette *in situ*.



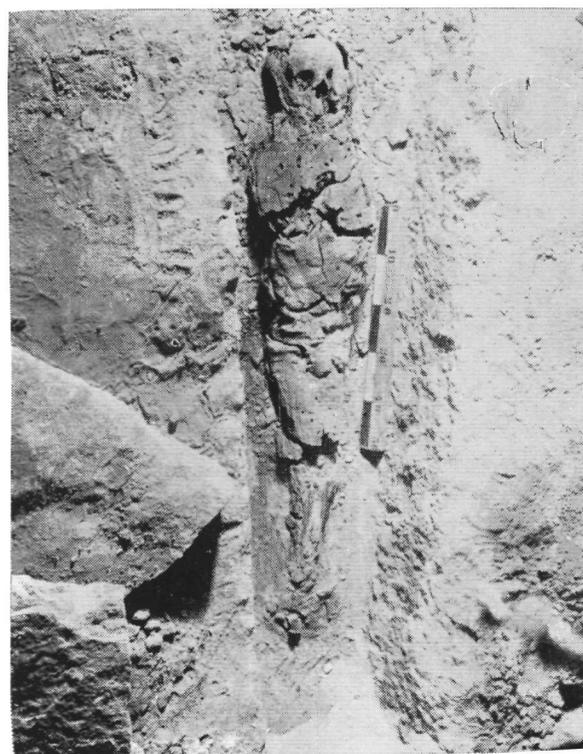
B.—The limestone statuette.



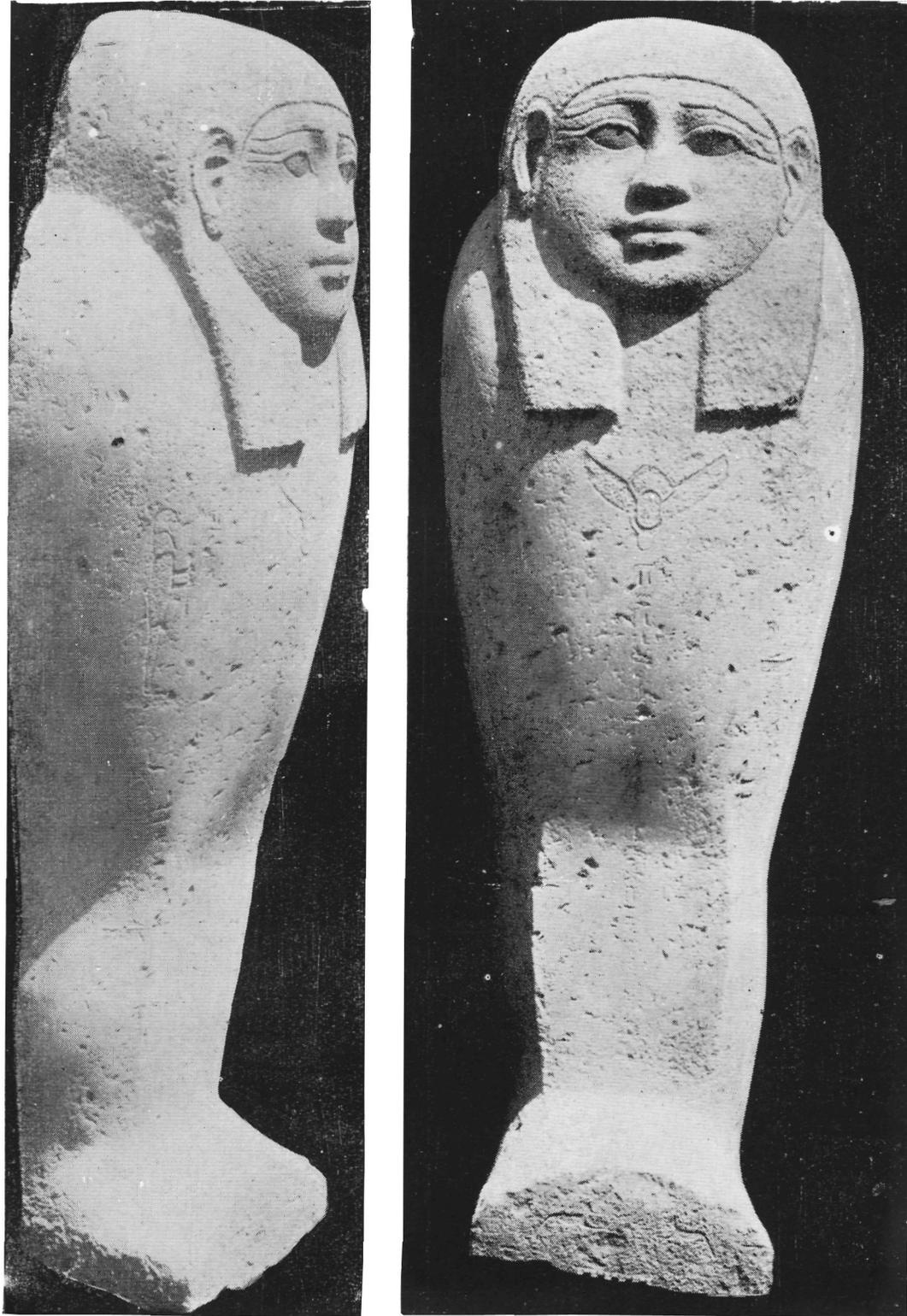
A.—The limestone coffin of Pa-Hor-Iset.



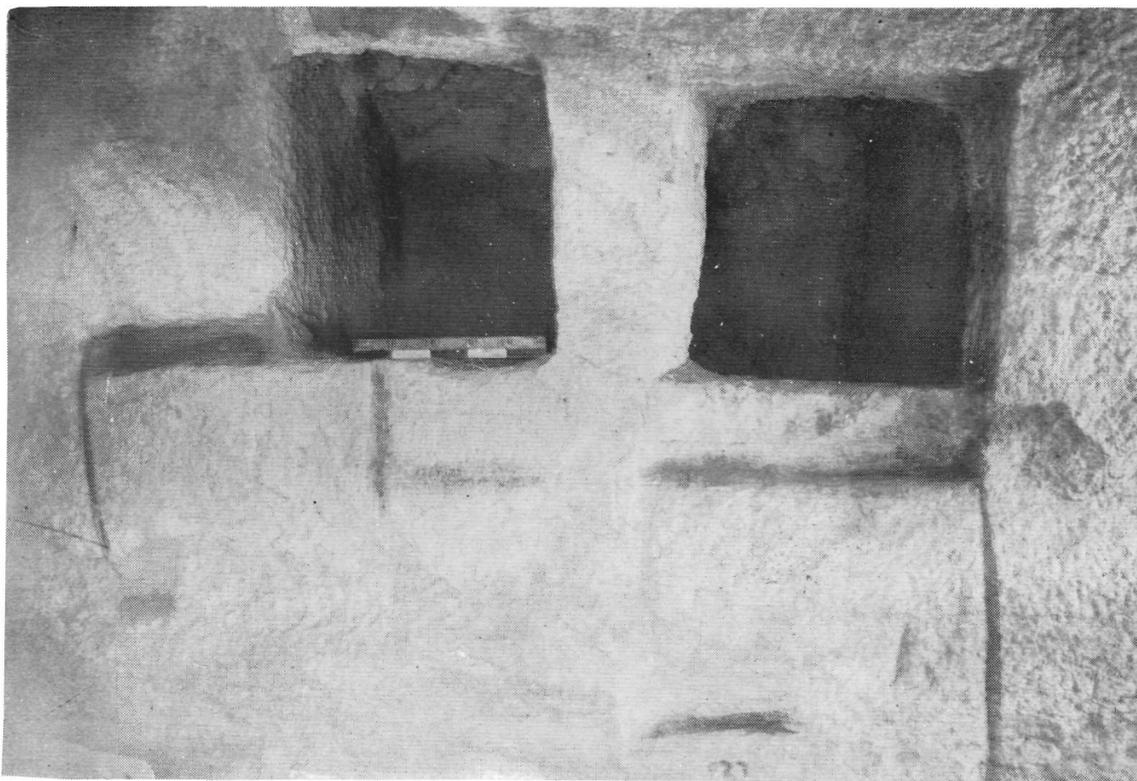
B.—The limestone coffin of Pa-Hor-Iset.



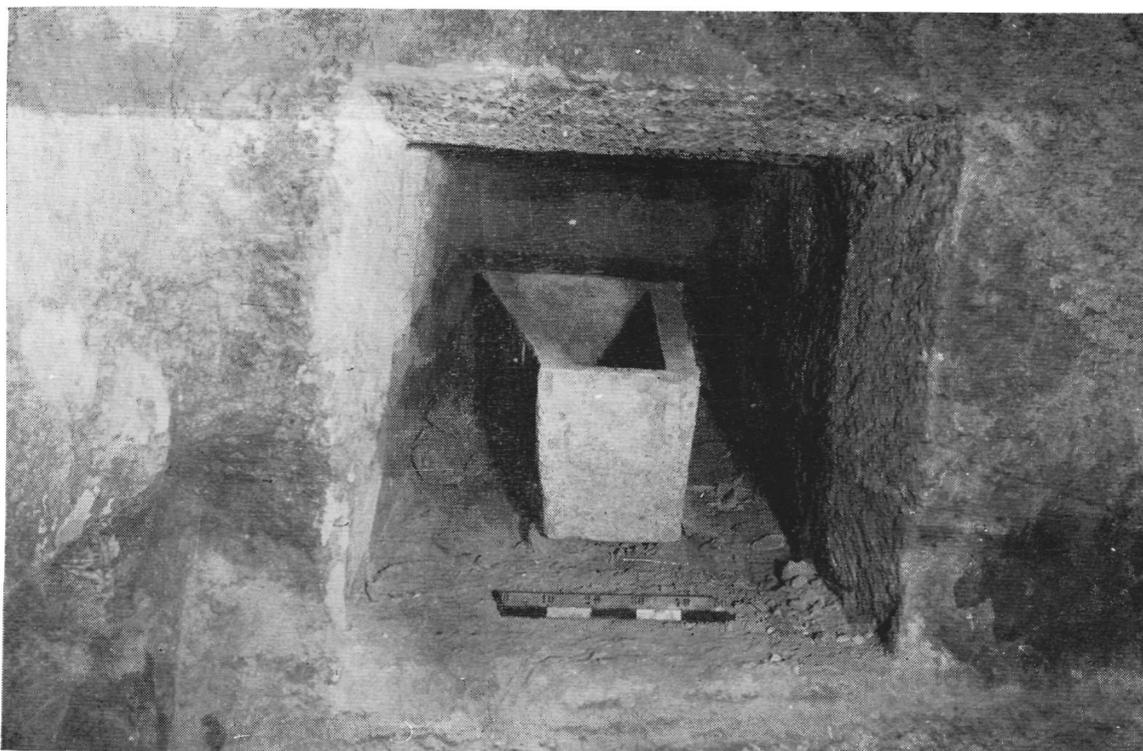
C.—The decayed mummy of a child.



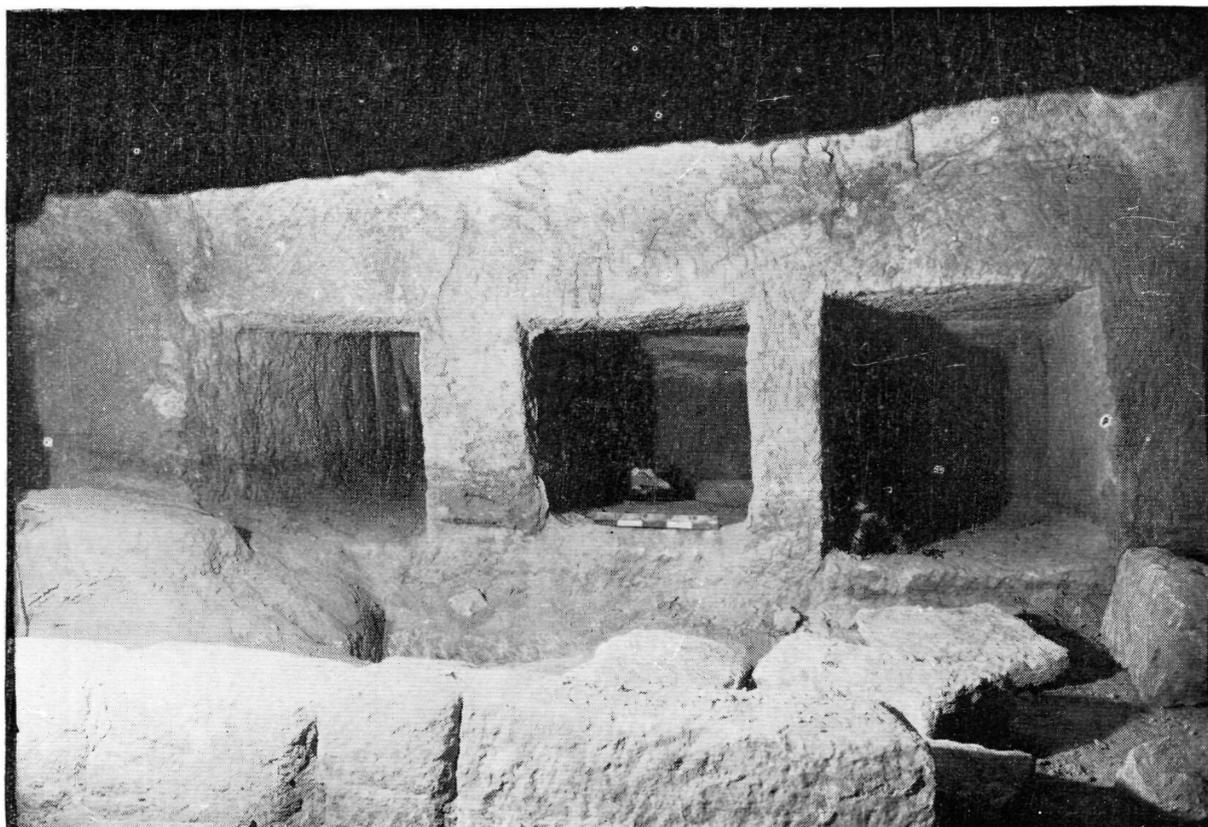
A and B.—The lid of the limestone coffin of Kat-Iset.



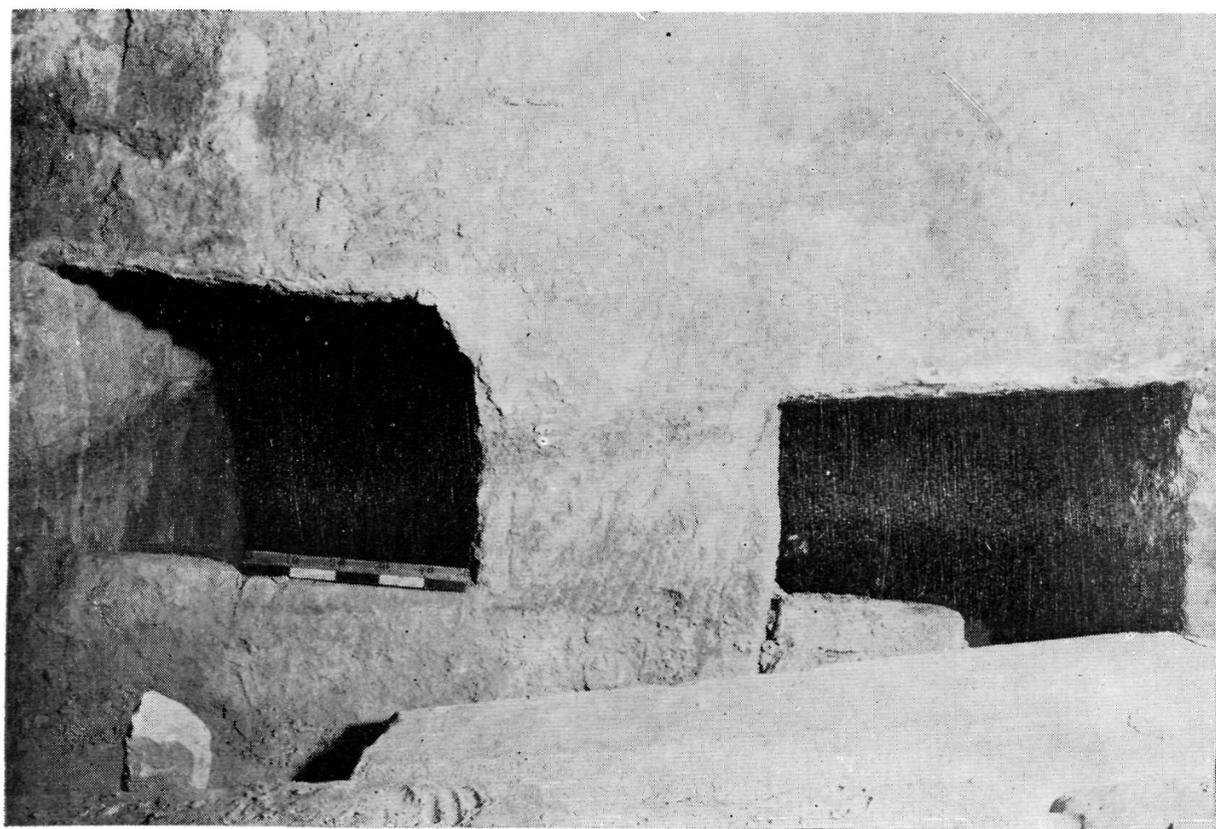
A.—Loculi cut in the western wall of the chapel.



B.—Loculus No. 4.



A.—Loculi Nos. 1, 2 and 3.



B.—Loculi Nos. 5 and 6.

A

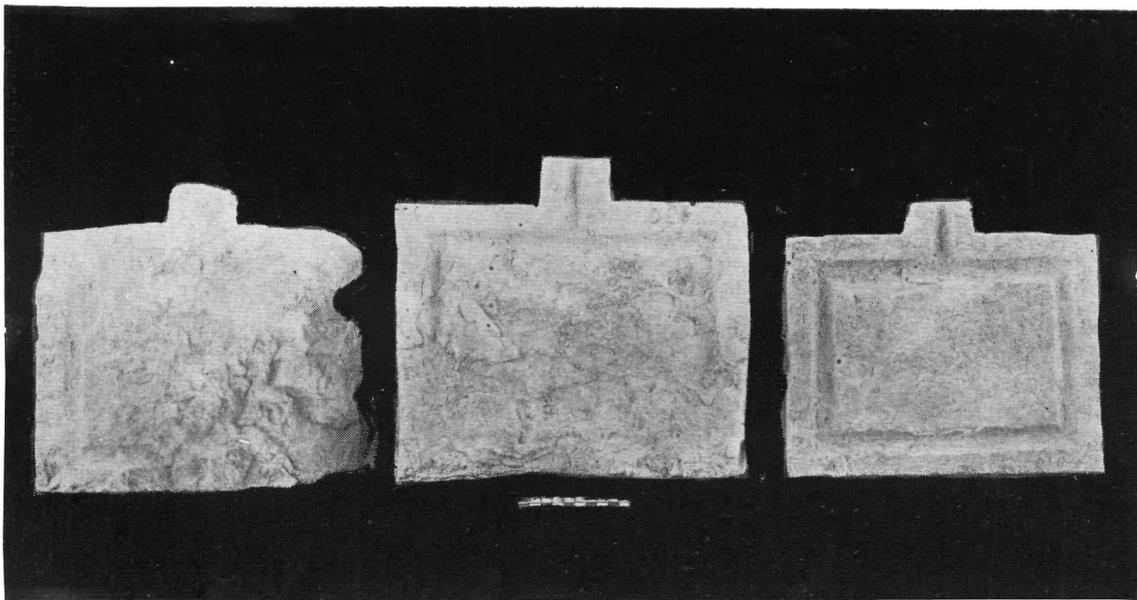


B

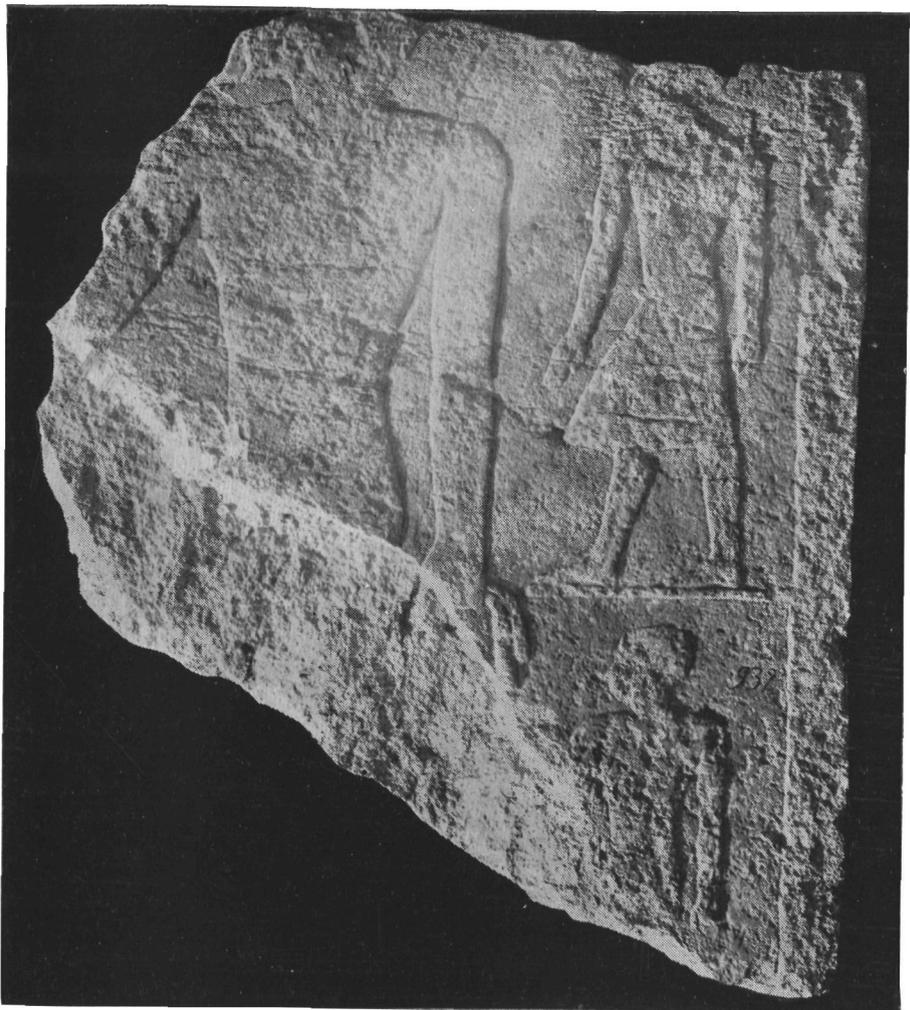
C

D

Pots of red-ware. Found in the sand to the south of the tomb of Neb-em-Akhet.



E.—Three limestone model libation basins.

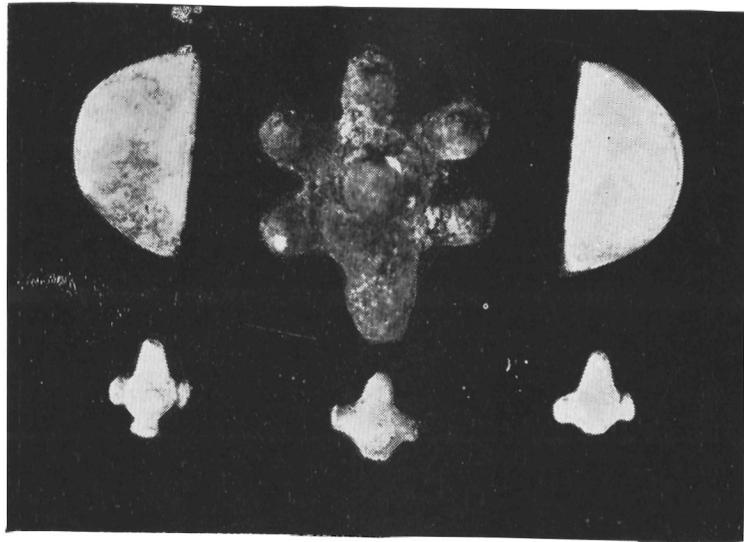


B



A

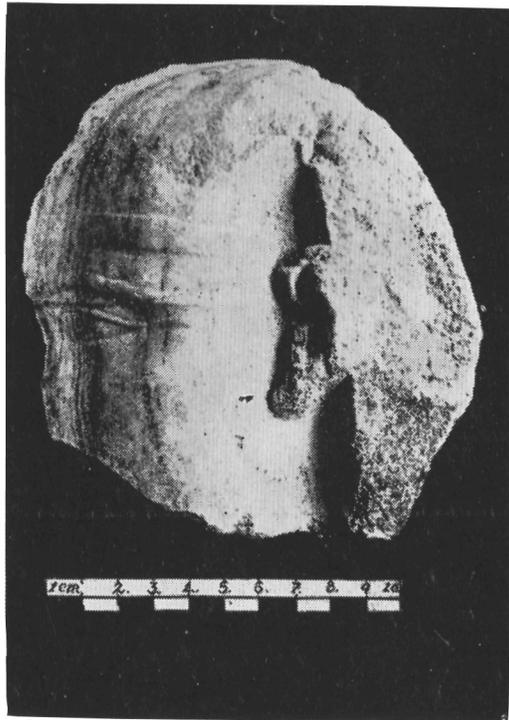
Sculptured limestone slabs.



A.—Faience clasps, copper pendant and beads.



B.—Pots of red-ware.



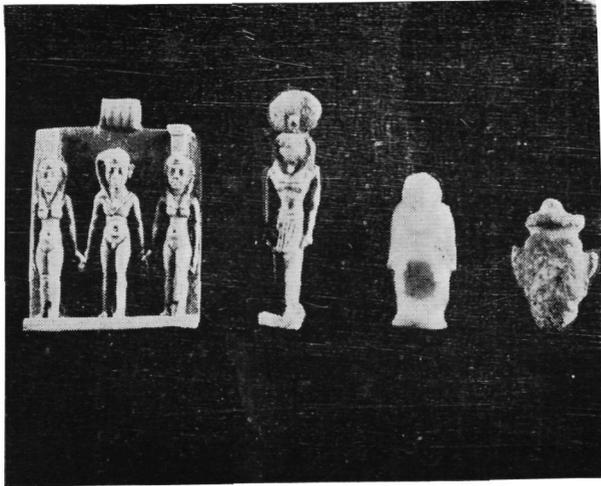
C.—A Fragment of a diorite statuette of a king.



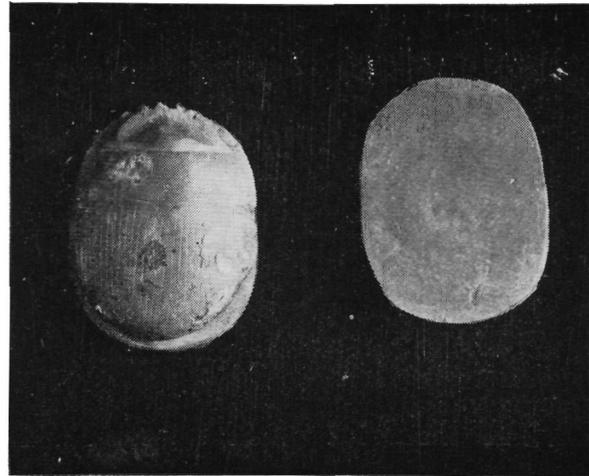
D.—An inscribed slab of limestone.



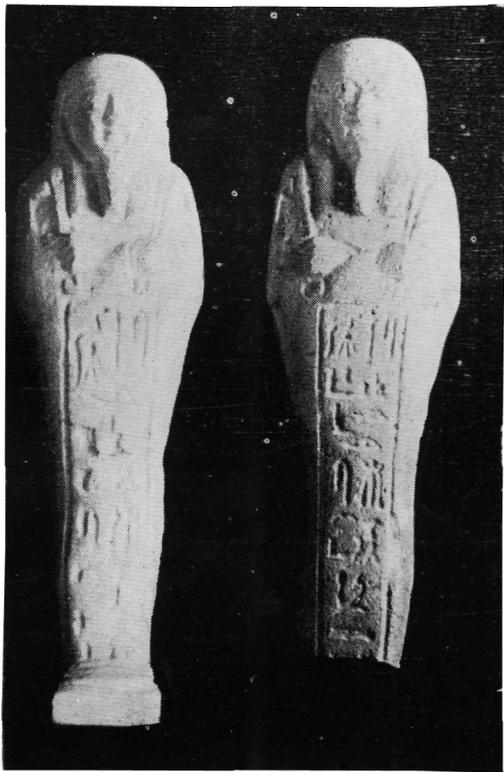
E.—Inscribed and sculptured slab of limestone.



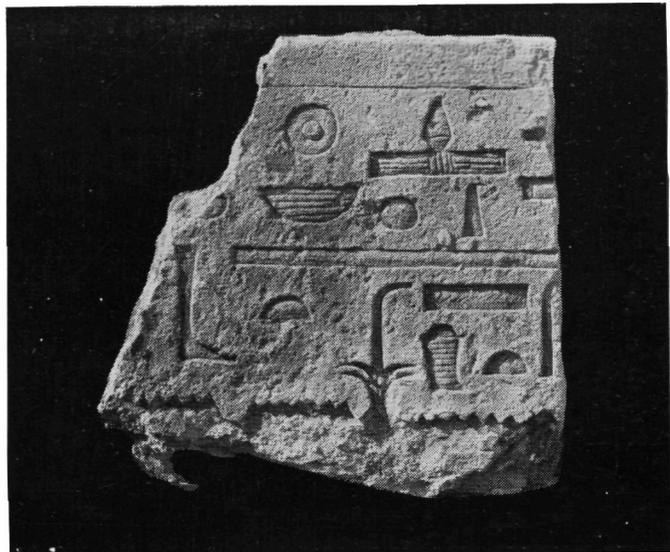
A.—A group of late amulets.



B.—Two heart-scarabs.



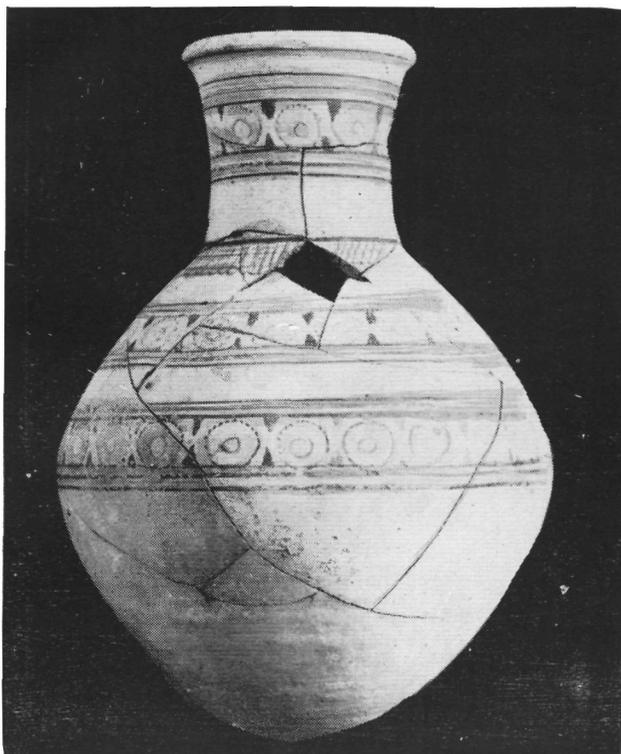
C.—Two blue faience ushabti-figures.



D.—A fragment of a lintel.



E.—The lintel of Ka-neb-f.



A.—A painted vase.



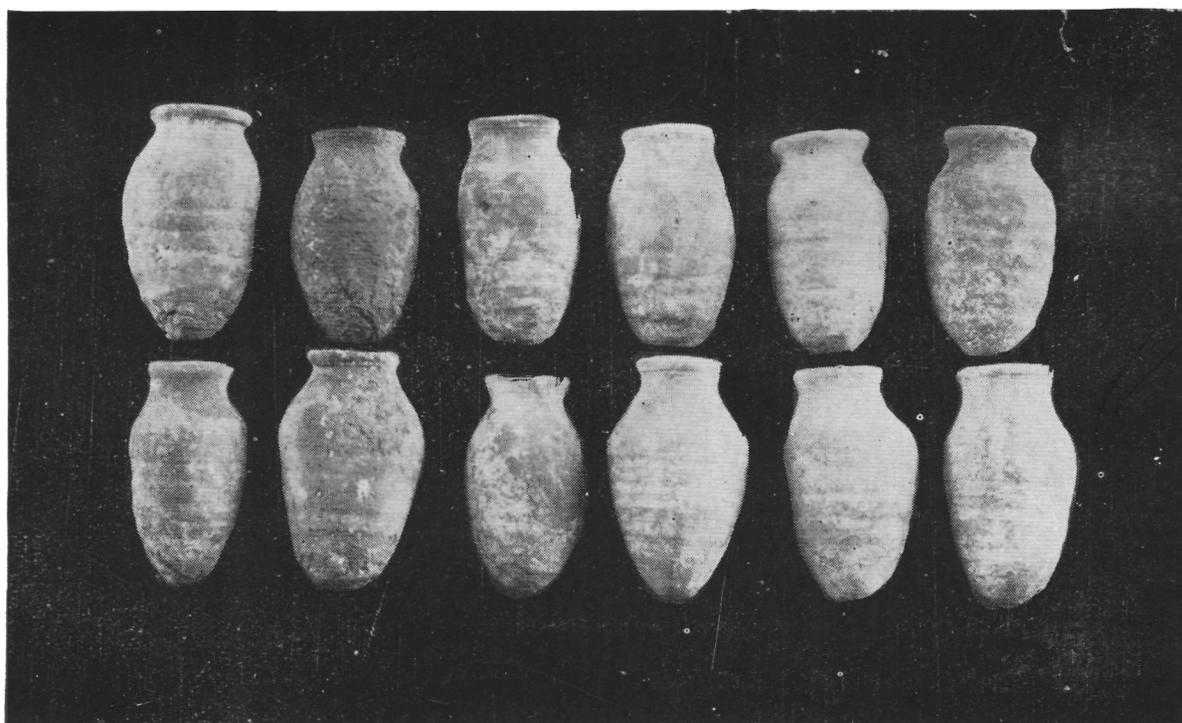
B.—A fragment of diorite inscribed with the cartouche of Khafra.^c



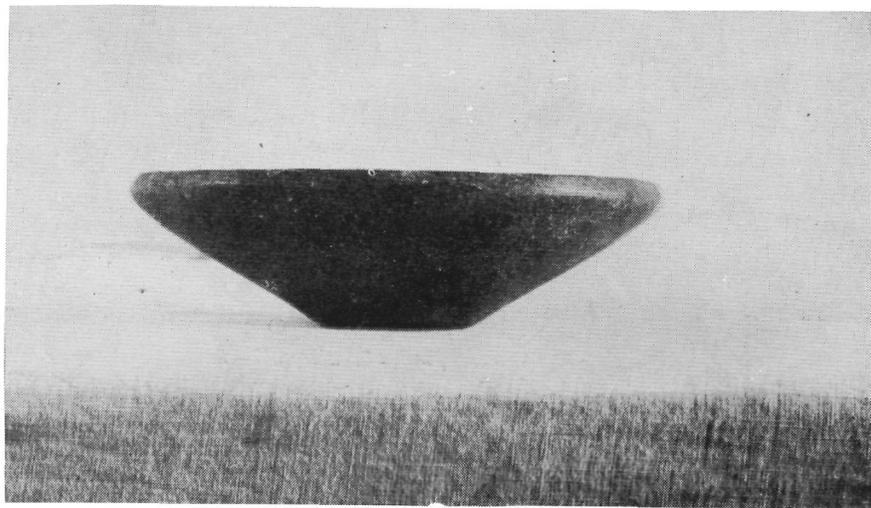
C.—The foot of a granite statuette of Ra'wer.



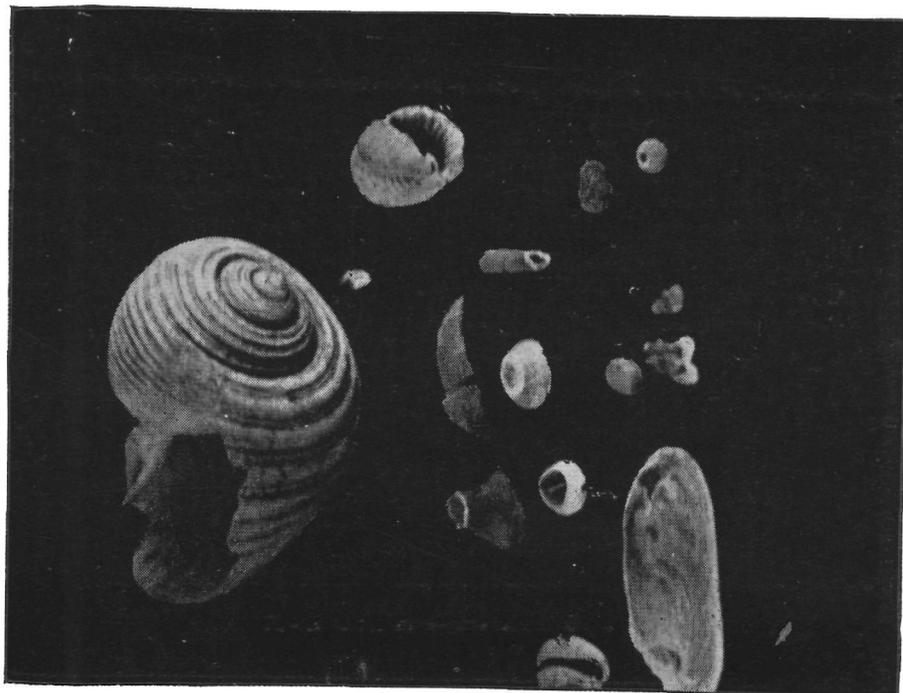
A.—The foot of a limestone statuette.



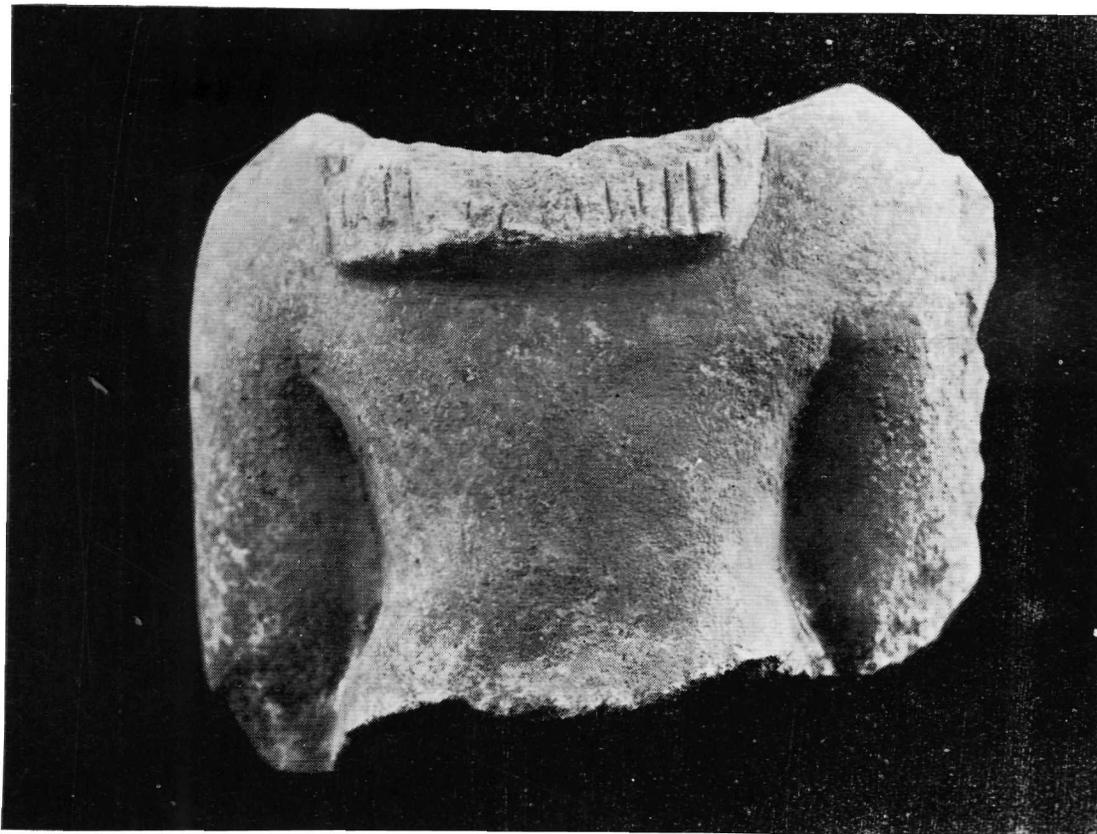
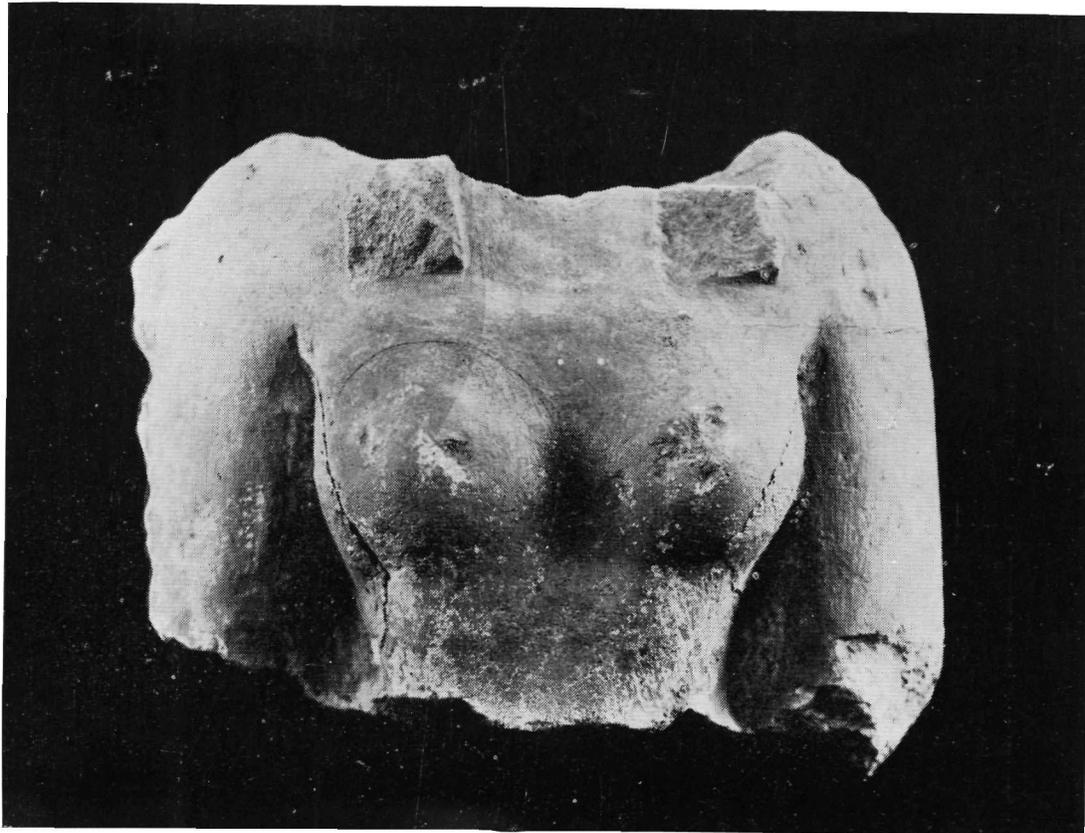
B.—A selection of jars of red-ware.



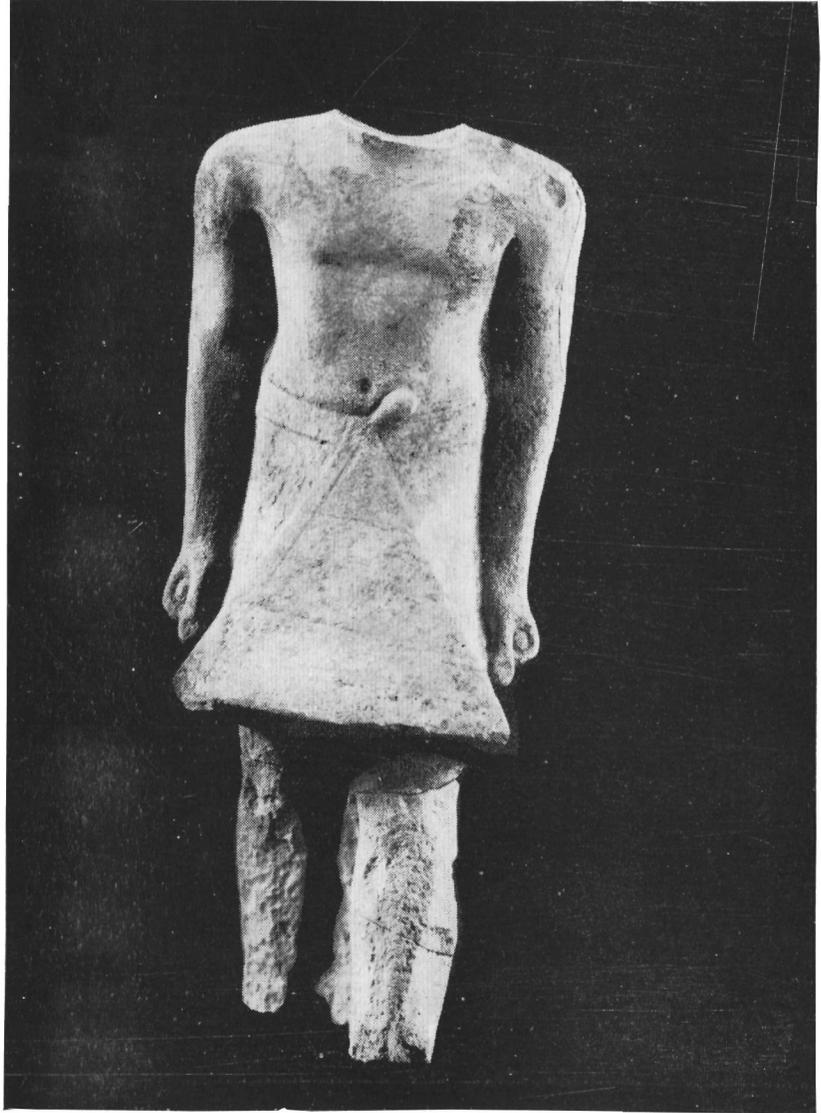
A.—A dicrite dish.



B.—A group of beads, shells and amulets.



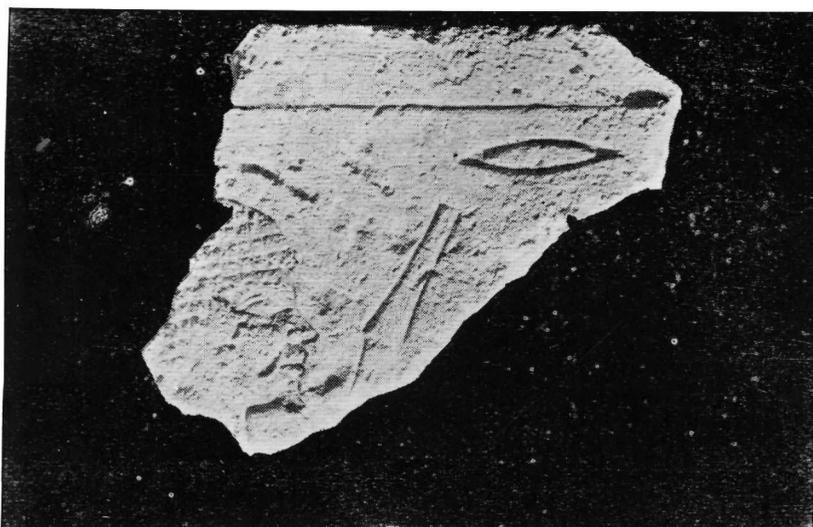
The bust of a limestone statue of a woman.



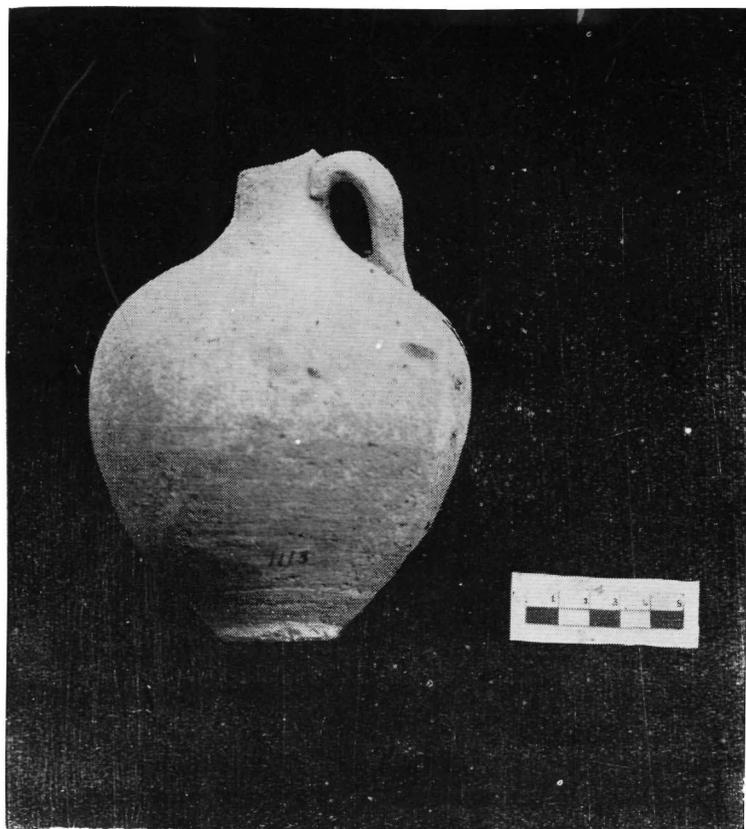
A damaged limestone statuette.



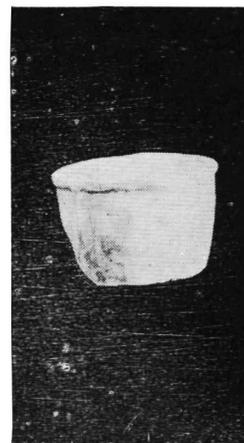
A.—A bowl of red-ware.



B.—A limestone fragment.



C.—A flask of buff-ware.

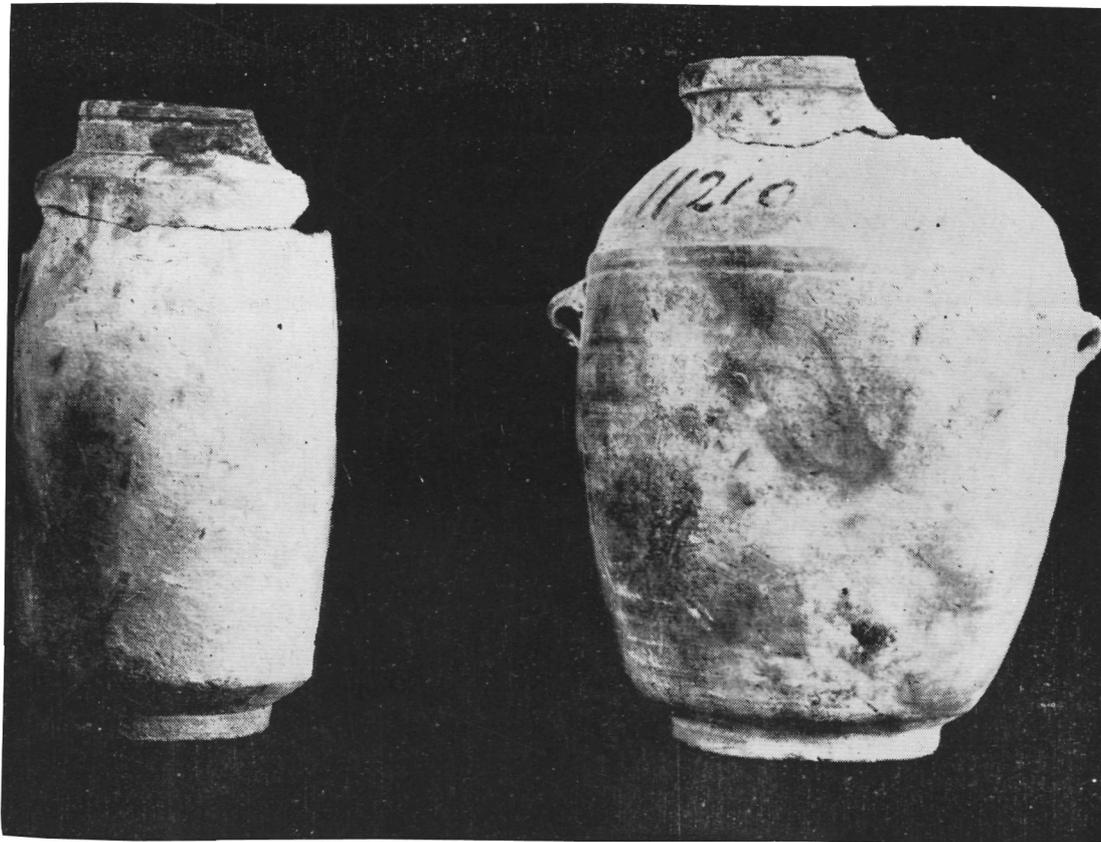


D.—A blue faience cup.



B

A



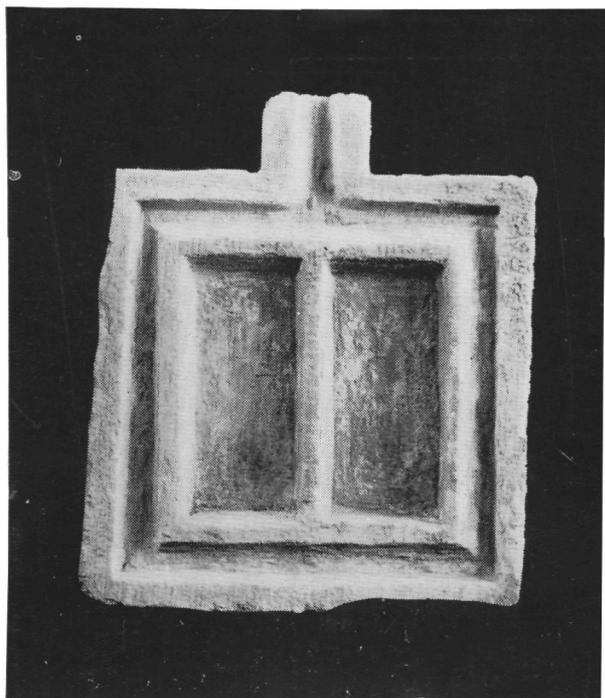
D

C

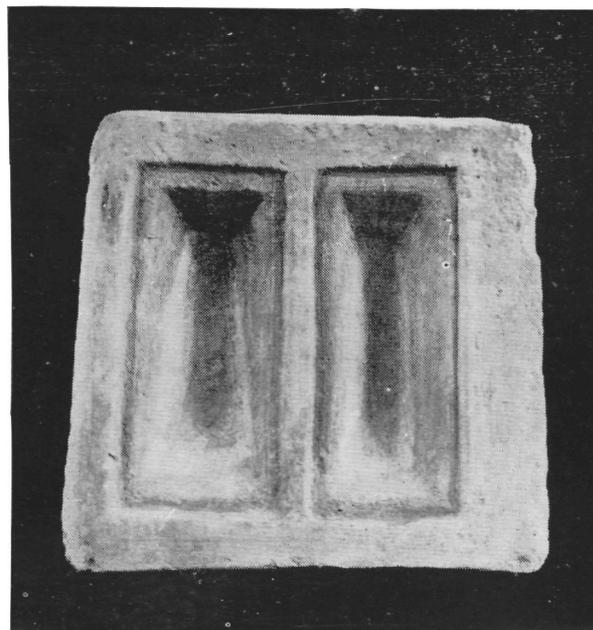
Large jars of brown-ware.



Four flasks of brown-ware.



A



B



C

Limestone libation basins.