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A Case of Prefabrication at Giza? The False Door of Inti

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So impressive is the layout of the various cemeteries at Giza that one cannot ignore the fascinating subject of how the necropolis came into being. Many have written on the development of funerary architecture at Giza, the extent of Khufu's personal influence, and the innovations versus the parallels with earlier necropoleis at Medum, Saqqara and Dahshur.¹ One of the more intriguing questions is: Who got to be buried where? How were these decisions made and when were they made in the course of construction of the cemeteries?²

Two broad scenarios present themselves for explaining the rise of the original, large-scale mastabas of the so-called nucleus cemeteries (Reisner's term): either the royal court (or its centrally managed "necropolis authority") approved the assignment of each and every mastaba to an individual prior to construction, or the cemeteries were planned and laid out first and only afterwards assigned to specific individuals. I would argue for the latter scenario for a

number of reasons, perhaps chief among them the centralized planning visible in aligned streets and avenues of major mastabas, and the evidence provided by the subsequent alterations to individual tombs. These take the form of enlargements, new interior or exterior chapels, often in stone, and elaborate mastaba casings. Such alterations support Khufu's assignment of previously existing mastaba core X to individual Y, who then altered the tomb according to his/her means, rank, and even personal taste.³ If the opposite were true, that is, if specific individuals had requested and obtained permission to build tombs before construction in the core cemeteries had even begun, then why were there so many changes all over the necropolis at a later date in Khufu's reign? Finally, some tombs may never have been used inasmuch as they contain burial shafts that never penetrated below ground level; this is perhaps an additional factor favoring the theory of construction first, assignment later.⁴ Prefabricated tombs, then, initially constructed for anonymous owners, may well be the only way to make sense of the original development of the Giza plateau.

Evidence of prefabrication, however, is of course difficult to find. Once a monument is assigned and utilized, how can one confirm traces of its original anonymous state from the preserved remains? One example of such traces, on a level much smaller than an entire mastaba, is provided by the previously unpublished false door discovered in the Eastern Cemetery by the

¹ See, for example, G. A. Reisner, *A History of the Giza Necropolis 1* (Cambridge, Mass., 1942; reprinted by John William Pye Rare Books, 1997); Junker, *Giza 1* (Vienna, 1929), 1ff.; idem, *Giza 12* (Vienna, 1955), 6–27; Helck, "Zur Entstehung des Westfriedhofs an der Cheops-Pyramide," *ZÄS* 81 (1956), 62–65; idem, "Die Datierung der Prinzessin Wnš.t," in C. Berger, G. Clerc and N. Grimal, eds., *Hommages à Jean Leclant 1*, *Bibl. d'étude 106/1* (Cairo, 1994), 221–30; E. Schott, "Friedhofsbräuche in Giza," in F. Junge, ed., *Studien zu Sprache und Religion Ägyptens 2* (Fs. W. Westendorf) (Göttingen, 1984), 1121–30; M. Lehner, "The Development of the Giza Necropolis: The Khufu Project," *MDAIK* 41 (1985), 109–43; R. Stadelmann, "Der strenge Stil der frühen Vierten Dynastie," *Kunst des Alten Reiches*, SDAIK 28 (Mainz, 1995), 155–66.

² For a recent discussion of some of these issues, see A. M. Roth, *A Cemetery of Palace Attendants*, Giza Mastabas 6 (Boston, 1994), 49ff.

³ Cf. Reisner, *Giza Necropolis 1*, 5–9. See also A. M. Roth, "Social Change in the Fourth Dynasty: The Spatial Organization of Pyramids, Tombs, and Cemeteries," *JARCE* 30 (1993), 33–55.

⁴ Cf. Junker, *Giza 1*, 38; Reisner, *Giza Necropolis 1*, 85.

Harvard University-Boston Museum of Fine Arts Expedition, and now in Boston (MFA 31.781; figs. 1, 3).⁵ I will argue below that this false door was prepared for an anonymous owner, that is, inscribed prior to its assignment to an individual; it may even have been brought to Giza before receiving the addition of an actual personal name. A close look at the “hieroglyphic typography” of the inscriptions will provide some insight into the false door’s decoration history.

Description and Archaeological History

At the eastern edge of the Eastern Cemetery, just in front (east) of the anonymous mastaba G 7750, Reisner excavated the false door of a woman named Inti (see plan of the Eastern Cemetery, figs. 2–4). As one would expect for the early Old Kingdom, the form of the door follows the simpler, older pattern, with no cavetto cornice or torus molding.⁶ The Object Register entry for the piece, dated December 8, 1929, assigned a field number of 29-12-106 and noted a provenance of “Street G 7700 in radim east of mastaba 7753.” The false door is of fine white limestone, measuring 120.6 cm in height and 60 to 61.5 cm in width, and its surface is covered with raised relief hieroglyphs carved in a competent style. The only earlier references to the monument in the literature I have so far been able to locate are a short note in a *Bulletin of the Museum of Fine Arts* (listing only the word “stelae”

⁵ I am grateful to Rita E. Freed, curator of the Department of Ancient Egyptian, Nubian, and Near Eastern Art, Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, for permission to publish this false door, to consult unpublished excavation records, and to reproduce images from the Museum Expedition photographic archives. I would also like to thank Henry G. Fischer and Edward Brovanski for inciteful comments on a preliminary version of this paper.

⁶ On false doors, see Nigel Strudwick, *The Administration of Egypt in the Old Kingdom* (London, 1985), chapter 2, 9–52; Silvia Wiebach, *Die ägyptische Scheintür. Morphologische Studien zur Entwicklung und Bedeutung der Hauptkultstelle in den Privat-Gräbern des Alten Reiches* (Hamburg, 1981). A discussion of the false doors versus slab stelae at Giza is provided by G. Haeny, “Zu den Platten mit Opfertischszene in Helwan und Giseh,” in *Aufsätze zum 70. Geburtstag von Herbert Rieke*, Beiträge Bf. 12 (Wiesbaden, 1971) (hereafter *Fs. Rieke*), esp. pp. 153–64. For a different interpretation regarding the oldest Giza mastabas, see Manuelian in H. Guksch and D. Polz, eds., *Tempel, Grab und Siedlung. Beiträge zur Kulturgeschichte Ägyptens, Rainer Stadelmann gewidmet* (Mainz, 1998), forthcoming.



Fig. 1. The false door of Inti, MFA 31.781. MFA Photographic Services image C 7130 (July, 1935); courtesy Museum of Fine Arts, Boston.

and the accession number),⁷ and a slightly misleading reference in Porter-Moss, stating that Inti’s false door was found along with another belonging to a certain Tebash (*Tbꜣš*), when in actuality the latter came from G 1123, in the Western Cemetery on the other side of the Great Pyramid.⁸

⁷ *BMFA* 29 (1931), 120.

⁸ Porter-Moss III², Part I, 203. The stela of Tebash (MFA 31.782) should be listed in Cemetery 1100, *ibid.*, 55–56.

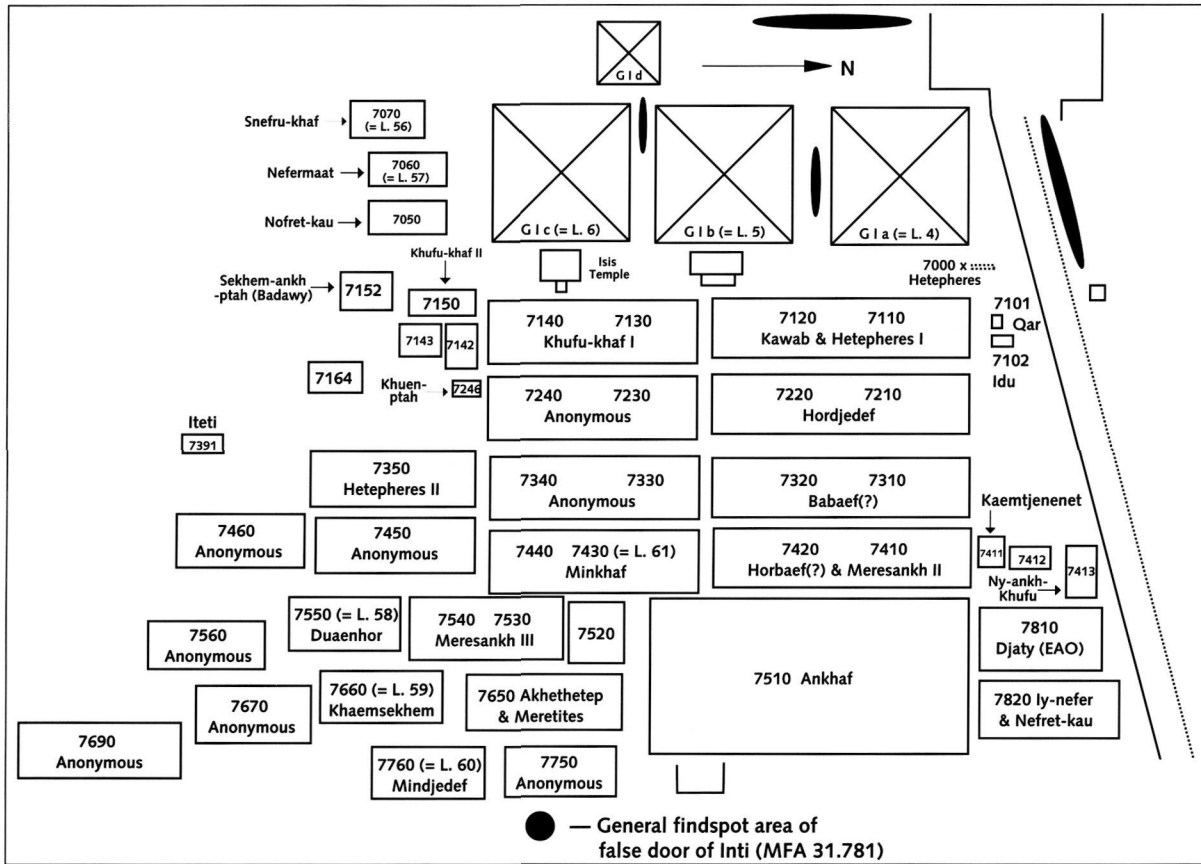


Fig. 2. Overview plan of the Eastern Cemetery at Giza, showing the general provenance of the false door of Inti (marked with a ●).

Inti's stela was found relatively late in Reisner's four decades of excavations at Giza, when the record-keeping system was well developed and extremely thorough for its time.⁹ However, the stela seems to have slipped through the cracks of Reisner's standard archaeological recording practices. Although an expedition photographic negative of the false door was made at Harvard Camp,¹⁰ and there is a sketch in the Object Register, so far no in situ images have been located, nor is there any extensive discussion of the stela in any of the excavation diaries for that period.

⁹ Reisner's manual on archaeological fieldwork is in preparation for publication by Peter Lacovara.

¹⁰ Unfortunately, the glass plate negative with this image was broken many years ago, as is indicated by the empty storage envelope. Copy prints do survive, however, and show little change in the stela's condition or appearance over the Museum's Photographic Services Department image taken in July, 1935 (negative C7130) and reproduced in fig. 1.

The entry for December 6, 1929 mentions "Clearing mastaba, east of G 7750. Debris, rubble & sand. Found in debris: inscribed stone, fai.[ence] beads, pots, uncovered pits A & Y." If the "inscribed stone" refers to Inti's false door, this is uncustomarily short shrift indeed for the piece. Perhaps the brevity and the lack of a discovery photograph is due to the stela's location in the *radim*, a disturbed context.

The false door is decorated in rather high raised relief with softly rounded edges (where the carving is finished) that reflects competent craftsmanship. While it is of far better workmanship than the crudely prepared, undetailed, sunk relief false doors of the later Old Kingdom, Inti's false door nevertheless does not compare favorably with the best work of royal workshops, as can be seen in such Fourth Dynasty Giza tombs as belong to Hemiuu (G 4000), Ankh-haf (G 7510), Akhet-hetep and Meretites

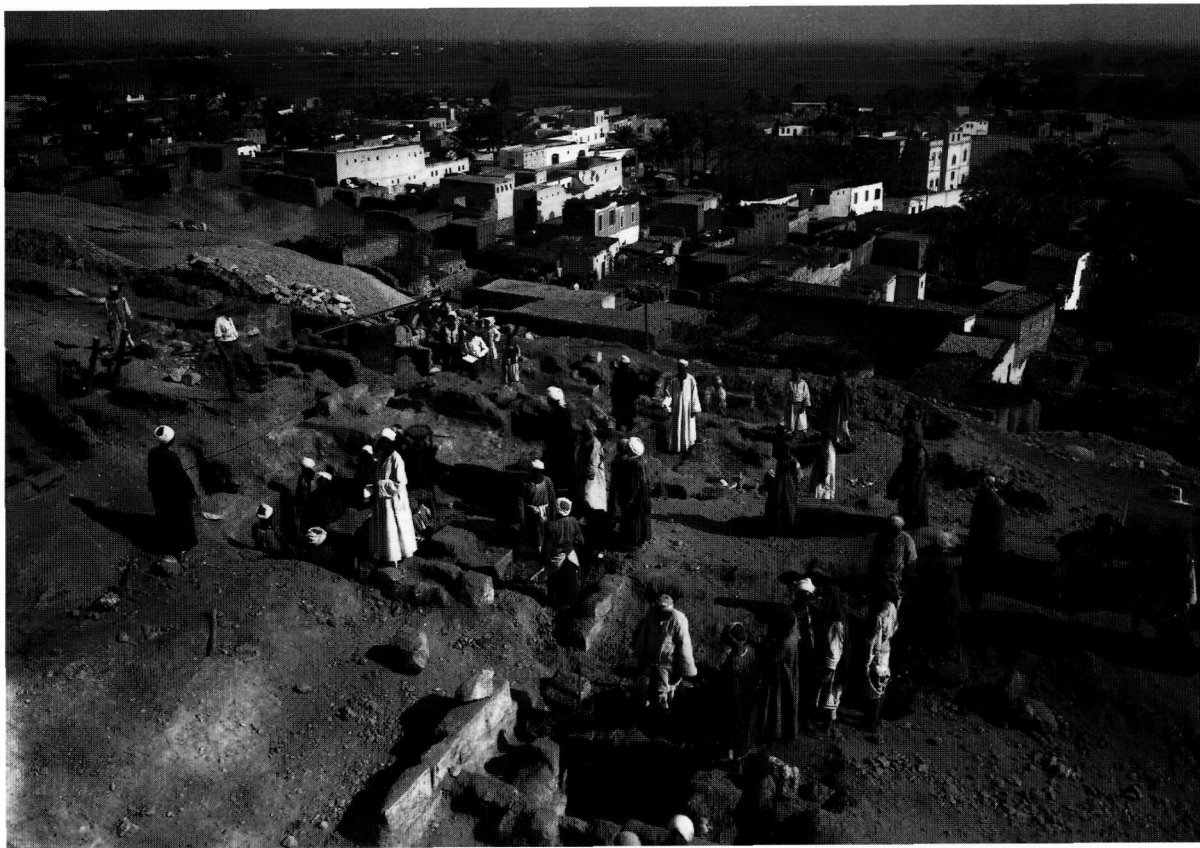


Fig. 3. View of Museum Expedition excavations in Street G 7700, looking northeast, taken on December 19, 1929, ten days before the discovery of the false door of Inti (A 5326); courtesy Museum of Fine Arts, Boston.



Fig. 4. View of Street G 7700, looking north, taken on December 24, 1929, five days before the discovery of the false door of Inti (B 7003); courtesy Museum of Fine Arts, Boston.

(G 7650), and the owners of the so-called slab stelae in the Western Cemetery.¹¹ The mention of the god Osiris, first appearing perhaps as early in the transition period between Dynasties 4 and 5,¹² plus stylistic elements of the carving, particularly the high relief, may place the false door towards the end of Dynasty 4.¹³ Unfortunately, the disturbed context of the provenance and the all too summary excavation data prevent us from associating it definitively with any particular mastaba at the eastern edge of the Eastern Cemetery. It is clearly far too small to derive from any of the major mastabas in the area, such as G 7750 (the largest mastaba in proximity to the recorded findspot), and therefore a subsidiary mastaba at the eastern edge of the Giza plateau becomes the likeliest candidate for its provenance.

Two pairs of jambs, inner and outer, a lintel, and a panel scene make up the decorated surface. The drum remains bare, as does the central niche. The only figural representation is in the panel, where the tomb owner appears sniffing a flower. Inti is seated on a lion-legged stool with short, curved back cushion. The stool's front legs are obscured from view by Inti's own legs.¹⁴ Due to the size of the four hieroglyphs spelling out Inti's name (we will return to this element below), there is no room for a table of bread loaves before her. At the bottom of the jamb

inscriptions, about 18 cm of undecorated space extends to the bottom of the stone, no doubt to leave room for setting the false door in place in the ground or a wall foundation without obscuring any hieroglyphs.

At first glance, the false door seems to present nothing extraordinary. Many clues, however, as to its interesting history are provided by the arrangement of the signs, particular areas left unfinished, and the relative scale of some of the various decorated elements (see fig. 5). Enough of these clues exist as to allow us to speculate on the prefabricated nature of the text (see below).

Translation

(1) Panel

Inti

Inti¹⁵

(2) Lintel

iry(t)-ht nswt, hm-ntr Hwt-hr nbt nht

Keeper of the king's property, priestess of Hathor, mistress of the sycamore . . .

(3) Left outer jamb

h̄tp d̄i nswt h̄tp d̄i Inpw hnty zh-ntr qrs.t(i)=s m im̄3hwt hr ntr [Ⓢ]

A gift that the king gives, and a gift that Anubis, foremost of the divine booth gives, that she might be buried as a revered one before the great god.

(4) Right outer jamb

h̄tp d̄i nswt h̄tp d̄i Inpw hnty zh-ntr qrs.t(i)=s¹⁶ m im̄3hwt h ntr [Ⓢ]

A gift that the king gives, and a gift that Anubis, foremost of the divine booth gives, that she might be buried as a revered one before the great god.

(5) Left inner jamb

h̄tp d̄i nswt h̄tp^{sic} d̄i Wsir pri n=s hrw m hb nb r^c nb

A gift that the king gives, and a gift that Osiris

¹¹ On the low relief style, see W. S. Smith, *A History of Egyptian Sculpture and Painting in the Old Kingdom* (London, 1946, 1949), 159–60, 256–58 (hereafter *HESPOK*), and Manuelian in *Fs. Stadelmann*, forthcoming.

¹² A variety of views on the controversial first appearance of Osiris are discussed by Andrey Bolshakov, "Princess *Hmt-R^cw*: The First Mention of Osiris?" *CdE* 57 (1992), 203–10; Barbara L. Begelsbacher-Fischer, *Untersuchungen zur Götterwelt des Alten Reiches*, OBO 37 (Freiburg and Göttingen, 1981), 121; Klaus Baer, *Rank and Title in the Old Kingdom* (Chicago, 1960), 297. For additional references, see B. van de Walle, *La chapelle funéraire de Neferirtenef* (Brussels, 1978), 24, n. 70.

¹³ For parallels displaying the higher relief style at Giza, see the tombs of Duarenre (G 5110), Khufu-khaf I (G 7130–7140), Khafre-ankh (G 7948 = L75), the stela of Setju (G 2352 B, MFA 13.4341, published by W. K. Simpson, *Mastabas of the Western Cemetery*, Part 1, Giza Mastabas 4 (Boston, 1980), 61, fig. 47), and others; cf. Smith, *HESPOK*, 161–62.

¹⁴ This is unfortunately not a detail that serves as a dating criterion, as noted by N. Cherpion, *Mastabas et hypogées d'Ancien Empire* (Brussels, 1989), 41, §10, and Junker, *Giza 2* (Vienna, 1934), 110, 115, fig. 7 (tomb of Nen-sedjer-kai, G 2100-II). On the subject of stools in general, see H. G. Fischer, "Stuhl," in *LÄ* 6, cols. 92–100, and Manuelian, in E. Brovanski et al., *Egypt's Golden Age* (Boston, 1982), 63–64, 68–69, cat. 39.

¹⁵ For the name, see H. Ranke, *Die ägyptischen Personennamen* 1 (Glückstadt, 1935), 38.23–24 (occurring for both males and females). Other *Intis* at Giza include the famous Senedjemib Inti (owner of G 2370), and Khenut called Inti, wife of Snefru-hetep (owner of G 3008).

¹⁶ Both the *s* of *qrs* and the third person suffix pronoun = *s* are reversed; cf. Günther Lapp, *Die Opferformel des Alten Reiches* (Mainz am Rhein, 1986), 2, §3.

gives, that invocation offerings might be made for her during every festival every day.

(6) Right inner jamb

hṭp dī nswt hṭp dī Wsir prī n=s hrw m ḥb nb r^c nb

A gift that the king gives, and a gift that Osiris gives, that invocation offerings might be made for her during every festival every day.

Interpretation

While the two pairs of jambs bear identical inscriptions, some differences in carving and detail occur, and these are gathered below in fig. 6. Chief among them are the reversals *hpt* for *hṭp* in the left inner jamb,¹⁷ reversals of two | signs (in *qrs.t(i)=s*) on the right outer jamb,¹⁸ the varying treatment of the bearded divine determinative for Osiris on the two inner jambs, and other cases of presence or absence of interior detail. Either two separate hands or some sloppy or inconsistent style is discernible in these variations.

Clearly the most striking feature is the utter anonymity of the false door, with the sole exception of the panel scene.¹⁹ It is highly unusual for both pairs of jambs, inner and outer, to omit the name (and titles) of the owner, yet the texts do just that, ending at the bottom of each column with either *r^c nb* or *im³ḥwt hr ntr^c*. That no additional signs, specifically the owner's name, were intended at the bottom of the jambs is clearly indicated by the horizontal line carved beneath the columns on the two left hand jambs (absent from the right hand jambs). And very little room is left at the bottom of the stone in any case for additional hieroglyphs. Any such additions would have run a serious risk of being buried below ground upon erection of the false door, hardly an acceptable treatment for the name of the owner.

We turn next to the drum, a space commonly reserved for the name, appearing either alone or accompanied by one or more titles. But this

drum is uninscribed, and the lintel just above it is even more perplexing. Names and titles are given, as if a specific (female) individual were to be named here. But at the end of the title string, after “priestess of Hathor, mistress of the sycamore,” once again the surface of the stone survives completely untouched. The only area on the entire door that identifies the owner is the panel scene above the lintel. But here the hieroglyphs are so disproportionately large that they too come under suspicion. The seated female figure itself is not so jarring in comparison with the inscribed surfaces, but the four signs used for Inti's name fill fully half the panel area and leave no room for anything else. Smaller hieroglyphs would have left space for a typical offering table filled with bread loaves.²⁰

Unnamed jamb inscriptions, blank drum, nameless panel, oversized panel hieroglyphs and some unorthodox gender arrangements (see below)—all of these features suggest that this false door was not acquired by and inscribed for an individual all at once in the usual manner. The fact that many of these elements occur not once but twice on the mirror-image jamb texts only reinforces this suggestion. The door seems to be “prefabricated”; I would propose that it was inscribed and almost completely carved before Inti became its actual owner. Just what extent the prefabrication reached before Inti's arrival on the scene is of particular interest. Two alternatives are possible: 1) the door was decorated for an anonymous male or female, with names/titles to be supplied later, or 2) it was decorated “unisex,” that is, uncommitted to either male or female owner. Let us now take a closer look at the layout of the inscriptions, and then examine what options were open to the sculptor or workshop in producing a prefabricated funerary object.

The outer jamb texts (texts 3–4) contain two areas where a decision on the gender of the

¹⁷ On this phenomenon, see Henry G. Fischer, *Varia Nova*, Egyptian Studies III (New York, 1996), 63.

¹⁸ On retention of the prevalent rightward orientation of inscriptions, with particular reference to the *s* sign, see Henry G. Fischer, *The Orientation of Hieroglyphs*, Part I, *Reversals*, Egyptian Studies II (New York, 1977), 112.

¹⁹ Strudwick discusses the evolution of the panel scene in *Administration*, 18–21.

²⁰ For examples of a seated female in false door panels sniffing a flower before such a table, see Junker, *Giza 7* (Vienna, 1944), 251, fig. 106 (*Hnkī*), summarized in the chart in idem, *Giza 12* (Vienna, 1955), 71, fig. 3, no. 13; N. Kanawati and A. Hassan, *The Teti Cemetery at Saqqara I, The Tombs of Nedjet-em-pet, Ka-aper and Others* (Sydney, 1996), pls. 5 and 40; and J. E. Quibell and A. G. K. Hayter, *Teti Pyramid, North Side* (Cairo, 1927), frontispiece = Y. Harpur, *Decoration in Egyptian Tombs of the Old Kingdom* (London, 1987), pl. 9.

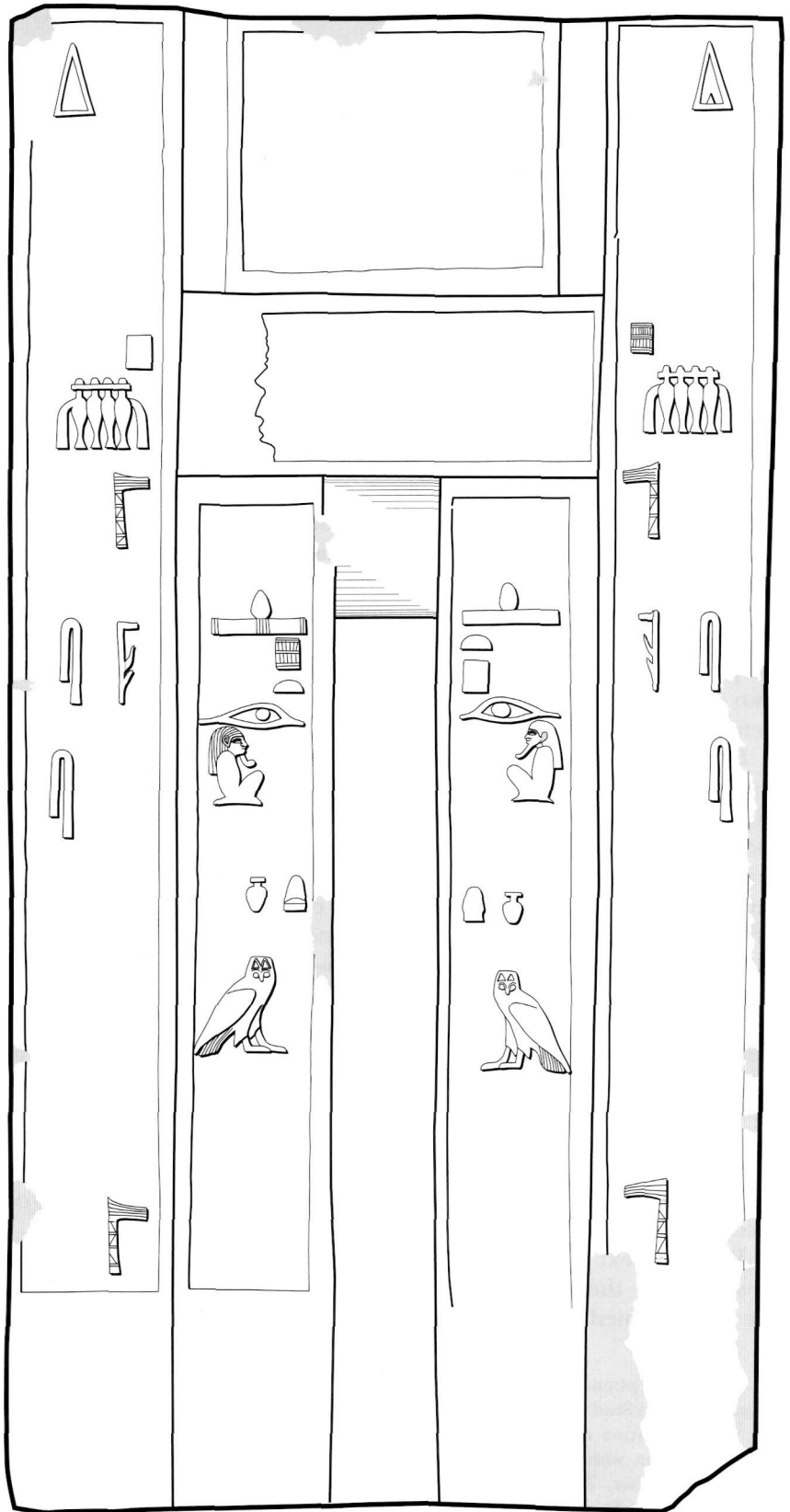


Fig. 6. Digital drawing showing only the discrepancies between the mirror-image texts on the inner and outer pairs of jambs of the false door.

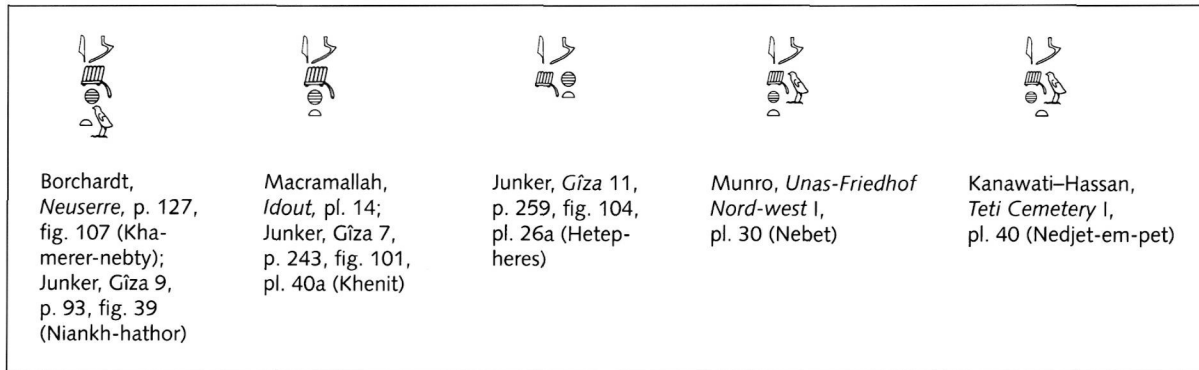


Fig. 7. Typical arrangements of the signs used for *im3hwt* in false doors inscribed for women.

owner was necessary: the subject of the prospective passive *sdm=f* form of *qrs*, and the feminine form *im3hwt*. On the left outer jamb (text 3), the spacing of the three signs following the sarcophagus hieroglyph 𓆎 is rather awkward. The 𓆎 pokes its head up into the area that is usually reserved for the 𓀃 alone.²¹ On the right outer jamb (text 4), the arrangement is even more egregious, with the 𓀃 out of vertical alignment, much too far to the left (i.e., the inside edge), the 𓆎 being reversed, and the 𓆎 again poking upward into the preceding group's space.²² Rather

²¹ The more typical arrangement, with less intrusion by the *m* into the area reserved for *t(i)=s*, may be seen in *ibid.* While examples of tight, almost intrusive signs may of course be found elsewhere (see, for example, D. Dunham and W. K. Simpson, *The Mastaba of Queen Mersyankh III* [Boston, 1970], fig. 7, *mwts m3st Hr Stl.* . .), and W. K. Simpson, *The Mastabas of Kawab, Khafkhufu I and II* [Boston, 1978], fig. 28, *z3t nswt.* . .), I have had difficulty in locating parallel vertical inscriptions for women listing the *qrs.t(i)=s* phrase. One exact parallel to our textual passage above is published, but in line drawing sketch only: the false door of *Mrwt*, A. M. Moussa and H. Altenmüller, "Bericht über die Grabungen des ägyptischen Antikendienstes im Osten der Ptahhotepgruppe in Saqqara im Jahre 1975," *MDAIK* 36 (1980), 341, fig. 12. For monuments dedicated to women, see Henry G. Fischer, *Egyptian Women of the Old Kingdom and of the Heracleopolitan Period* (New York, 1989).

²² As an aside, the artist/workshop could of course have saved much trouble if he or it had chosen *qrst* "burial" for the outer jamb texts, thus eliminating the need to leave options open for a male (*t(i)=f*) or female (*t(i)=s*). But the nominal *qrst* is perhaps unattested at this early period; cf. Lapp, *Opferformel*, 44–45, §§66–68. It would be interesting to know the significance—if any—of the two different types of phrases (nominal burial versus verbal construction wishing for personal burial).

than Inti's unbalanced arrangement of 𓆎 , one

would expect something like 𓆎 , as is found on the false door of Khenut called Inti from G 3008 at Giza.²³

Further below, the group *im3hwt* has been cramped together, with the three signs 𓆎 , 𓀃 , and 𓀃 placed in a very tight vertical arrangement in front of a large 𓆎 .²⁴ Other, less compact, arrangements for *im3hwt* on false doors inscribed for women include those shown in fig. 7.

The two inner jamb texts (texts 5–6) also contain phrases that required a decision on gender, in this case the gender of the recipient of the *prt-hrw* offerings. Like the outer jambs (texts 3–4), they too present anomalies in arrangement, primarily with the datival construction *n=s*. Here the 𓆎 of the prepositional phrase *m hb nb* appears to play the dominant role, with the preceding suffix pronoun 𓆎 placed in a position that almost suggests it was an afterthought, slipped in at the side. The 𓆎 sign on each jamb is flung out of the vertical alignment of the rest of the text, at the inner edges of its respective column.

²³ See C. S. Fisher, *The Minor Cemetery at Giza* (Philadelphia, 1924), 165–66, pl. 55 (color). For a similarly balanced arrangement for a male, see Junker, *Giza* 6, 75, fig. 18, pl. 19a.

²⁴ For recent discussions on the word *im3h*, see K. Jansen-Winkel, "Zur Bedeutung von *im3h*," *BSEG* 20 (1996), 29–36; and H. G. Fischer, "Marginalia," *GM* 122 (1991), 22.

We now turn to the possible prefabrication schemes that could explain the present appearance of Inti's false door. In each case, specific areas would have been left blank, to be filled in by the sculptor or workshop once the false door had an actual owner. The first scheme assumes the false door was originally intended for an unspecified male owner. An interesting Old Kingdom palimpsest example (Louvre E 17233) attests to gender switching on Egyptian monuments,²⁵ while perhaps the most famous example is the Eighteenth Dynasty sarcophagus of Hatshepsut/Thutmose I.²⁶ Fig. 8 shows such a hypothetical prefabricated state of the door. It indicates that the panel (text 1) would have been left blank, and the lintel (text 2) could only have been inscribed as far as *iry-ht nswt*. The theoretically once blank areas discussed above requiring pronouns of a specific gender seem generally better suited to taking the horizontal signs ----- and ☉ for a male, rather than ----- and || for female. But a few problems render this explanation unlikely. Chief among them is the placement of the 𓂏 in the two inner jamb texts (5–6). The owl is not centered, as one would expect, were it to be preceded by ----- and ☉ , but it is placed too far outward in the column. No ☉ could fit that space, and it appears as if a vertical sign were meant to appear in front of the 𓂏 all along. Moreover, this explanation would require that *im3hwt* in the outer jamb texts (3–4) was originally written *im3hw* for a man, and that the ☉ was later added when actual ownership went to the female Inti. Here again the tight spacing of the ☉ right up underneath 𓂏 would have left too much free space below. The ☉ should appear

lower, along the same baseline as the feet of the 𓂏 beside it. We may conclude that the text being inscribed originally for a male is a problematic interpretation.

A second explanation scheme, that the prefabricated false door was first inscribed for an unspecified woman, with blank areas reserved for the name/titles of an actual individual, solves some of the problems mentioned above, but creates other new ones. Following this explanation, the panel could have contained the seated female figure, but no name yet (text 1), and the lintel (text 2) could have taken the appearance it shows today. Many of the high-ranking females who could afford to be buried in the Giza necropolis bore the common titles of *iry-ht nswt*, *hm-ntr Hwt-hr nbt nht*, thus their appearance alone on the door does not necessarily indicate that the owner had already been specified. The rest of the inscriptions could have been carved in the prefabrication stage just as they appear in the false door's "final form" today, with feminine pronouns and the feminine form *im3hwt*. However, if no alterations or completions were made, we might then ask why there is so much bad "hieroglyphic typography" on an otherwise competently carved false door. The tall || and the 𓂏 in the inner jamb texts (5–6) should have been placed side by side, as is done on similar inscriptions on other false doors. Furthermore, why is *qrs.t(i)=s* so poorly spaced in the two outer jambs (texts 3–4)? The following 𓂏 of *m im3hwt* should not poke upward into the area reserved for the *t(i)=s*. The outer right hand jamb's ☉ of *t(i)=s* is too far off to the left, out of vertical alignment. Overly tight spacing in general occurs throughout portions of the jamb inscriptions, an unexpected occurrence if the texts were carved start to finish according to one complete layout, with no additional alterations of signs needed.

We have seen that the false door of Inti bears several features suggesting it was a prefabricated product made first, like the earliest Giza core mastabas, for an unspecified individual, and only later assigned to the female Inti. Yet our first two attempts to posit a "male" or "female" prefabrication scenario have proved unsatisfactory. This leaves us, in my opinion, with the only remaining explanation, namely that the door was prefabricated for an unspecified individual whose

²⁵ See Henry G. Fischer, "Three Old Kingdom Palimpsests in the Louvre," *ZÄS* 86 (1961), 23, fig. 2, and pp. 28–29; Christiane Ziegler, *Catalogue des stèles, peintures et reliefs égyptiens de l'Ancien Empire et de la Première Période Intermédiaire* (Paris, 1990), 176–86 (cat. 28). This architrave shows precisely the sorts of alterations of the passive *sdm=f* of *qrs* and the *im3hw/im3hwt* phrase under discussion here. For a discussion of reuse in general, cf. Henry G. Fischer, "The Mark of a Second Hand on Ancient Egyptian Antiquities," *MMJ* 9 (1974), 5–35 = *Ancient Egypt in the Metropolitan Museum Journal 1–11 (1968–1976)* (New York, 1977–1996), 113–42.

²⁶ For the sarcophagus, MFA 04.278, see Manuelian and Christian E. Loeben, "New Light on the Recarved Sarcophagus of Queen Hatshepsut and King Thutmose I in the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston," *JEA* 79 (1993), 121–55, with esp. pp. 133, fig. 7 and 150, fig. 15.

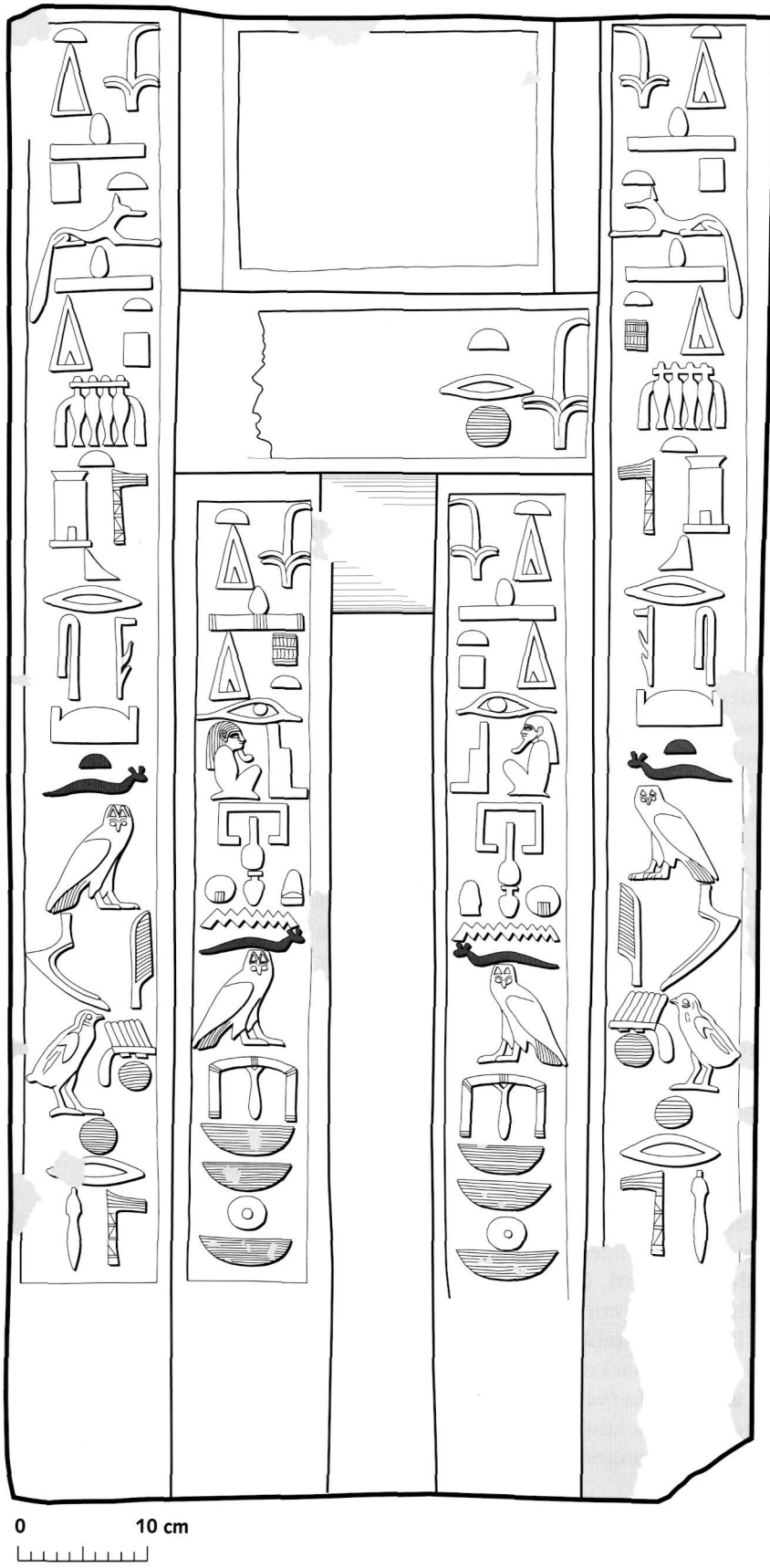


Fig. 8. Possible prefabrication stage appearance of the false door if it were intended for a male, with the affected hieroglyphs and figure either omitted or indicated in gray.

gender also remained to be determined at a later date. I would suggest that all gender-specific areas were left blank, and this is what led to some of the spacing anomalies that are now evident in the inscriptions as they survive today. Fig. 9 shows the theoretical layout and omissions of the false door in its “genderless” prefabricated state. The fact that no owner was known forced the sculptor to cramp many groupings of signs into the available jamb inscriptions (texts 3–4 and 5–6), and to forego the usual addition of personal names at the ends of these columns in order to save as much space as possible for later additions. This might explain the squeezed appearance of such groups as *Wsr* and *prt-hrw* in the inner jambs (texts 5–6), and *hṯp*, *hnty zh-nṯr*, *qrs*, and *hr nṯr* ³ in the outer jambs (texts 3–4).

Following this third and final explanation, the false door panel would again have remained blank at the prefabrication stage. Later, the seated female figure and the four oversized hieroglyphs naming Inti were added in a disproportionate arrangement with no room left for an offering table. Apparently a suitable composition of offering table (and/or ideographic list) and inscribed personal name was unattainable, and so the four hieroglyphs were enlarged beyond the scale of the rest of the door’s signs to fill the remaining space.

The lintel text (2) must have stopped after *iry-ḥt nswt*, pending the name and title of the eventual owner. The additional, female-specific titles were eventually added but, as noted already above, the artist never completed the rest of his work here, and a blank area remains where Inti’s name should have eventually been carved. As for the jamb inscriptions, fig. 9 shows which signs must have been omitted in the prefabrication stage and added at a later date. On the outer jambs (texts 3–4), the blank areas occur after *qrs* and after the ³ sign. This resulted later, during the finalization of the door for Inti, in the awkward arrangement of the passive construction *qrs.t(i)=s*, due to the lack of suitably provided blank space, and to the tightly packed vertical alignment of ³ and ³ to form *im3ḥwt*. Poor spacing estimates during the prefabrication stage also led later to the unusual arrangement

of the phrase following *prt hrw n* on the inner jamb texts (5–6). Here the area, including the ³, since the artist knew that its exact placement would be affected depending on the gender of the owner, proved too large for what should have been the horizontal placement of ³ and ³. This resulted in an ancient Egyptian example of vertical “pair kerning,” to borrow a typographic term. In other words, the baseline of the ³ was shifted upwards to fill some of the empty space beneath the²⁷ The result was for the Egyptians the lesser of two graphical evils—the disadvantage being two tall hieroglyphs horizontally misaligned, but the advantage being no unsightly gaps in the inscription overall. I believe this is the only way to explain the curious positioning of both the ³ signs, and the uncentered arrangement of the ³.

If the above remarks are accepted, the prefabricated nature of the false door of Inti raises interesting questions about “mass production” of Egyptian funerary equipment. Prefabricated monuments were no doubt related to the economic supply and demand of a given era. At Giza were they also related to the tremendous drain on architectural and artistic manpower and other resources that must have occurred during Khufu’s reign? How widespread was this phenomenon, and what was the ratio of prefabricated monuments to those “customized” from the outset for a specific individual or family? Perhaps discussion of additional examples of prefabrication, both on the macro (e.g., mastaba construction) and micro (e.g., false door inscriptions) levels, will help answer some of these questions.

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²⁷ This is clearly not an Egyptian attempt to visually separate the *s* from the *m* and emphasize that the two signs belong to two different words; see, for example, the tomb of Khenut called Inti mentioned above (G 3008); Fisher, *The Minor Cemetery at Giza*, 165–66, pl. 55, and the false door of *Snt.n=i*, Quibell and Hayter, *Teti Pyramid, North Side*, frontispiece = Harpur, *Decoration in Egyptian Tombs*, pl. 9, where the two signs are side by side (left outer jamb).

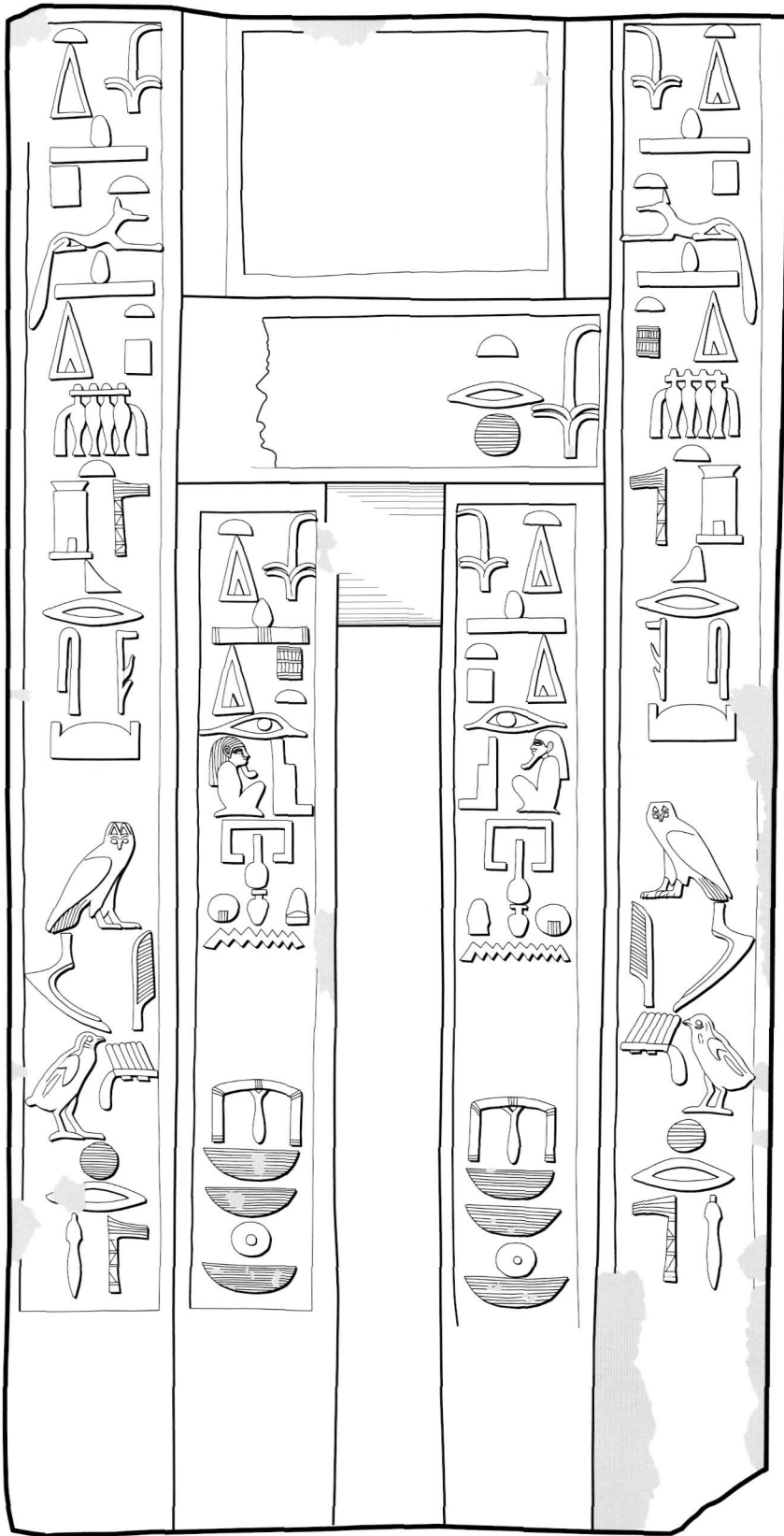


Fig. 9. Possible prefabrication stage appearance of the false door if it were originally inscribed "genderless," with the affected hieroglyphs and figure omitted.