When the Living met the Dead: The Social Functions of False Doors in Non-Royal Funerary Culture with references to examples from the First Intermediate Period and Middle Kingdom

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Abstract

The aim of this dissertation is to investigate the functions of Old Kingdom false doors, which are essential funerary equipment for the private tombs of the Egyptian elite. In previous research, two major religious roles of false doors, has been defined: firstly, as connecting doors etc; and secondly as the focus for the presentation of offerings for the deceased. By examining the types of inscriptions on the false doors and their location within the architectural structure of tombs this study will show that, in addition, Old Kingdom false doors also fulfilled roles centred on the living in their presentation of offerings and prayers to the deceased and the deceased's *ka*. The textual evidence clearly indicates that the living and the dead established a relationship on the basis of the principle of *do ut des*, a relationship in which the false doors played a significant role.

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Introduction

Overview of non-royal funerary culture in the Old Kingdom

In the Old Kingdom (c.2543-2120B.C.)[1], important elements of non-royal funerary culture were established; for example, the worship of the god Osiris, an organisation of funerary practices and a concept of the afterlife.[2] Within the culture, ancient Egyptians believed that death was not the end of life and that life continued in the tomb.[3] Accordingly, the Egyptian elite regarded a tomb as an important place. It has long been known that tombs have two important functions: protecting the body of the deceased and as a place of funerary cult.[4] The deceased expected to be given performances of funerary practices by priests, and to be provided with offerings and the recitation of prayers by the living in the tombs, in order to continue their afterlife. Thus, the construction of their own tombs was an important task for the Egyptian elite during their lifetime. Along with the importance of the tomb's construction, the tomb owners also paid attention to preparing funerary goods, for instance, a sarcophagus, offering table, water basin (which were for funerary practices) and vessels the deceased would use in the afterlife.

Throughout the Old Kingdom the non-royal funerary culture developed and changes to the concept of the afterlife,[5] brought about changes in the private tombs themselves,

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[1] Dates cited throughout follow Hornung, Krauss and Warburton (2006: 490-491). See Figure 1.
[2] Shirai (2006: 325) pointed out that the funerary cult for non-royal persons was systemised from the early Old Kingdom, possibly from the rule of Sneferu.
[3] Allen 2006: 10.
[4] Kanawati 2001: 6.
[5] The concept of the afterlife between royal and non-royal was distinguished in the Old Kingdom. For the Old Kingdom kings, the Pyramid Texts, which are the earliest funerary literature in the Egyptian religion, clearly illustrate the afterlife of the dead king. The dead king

including tomb decoration programmes.[6] Tomb owners covered the walls with reliefs

and inscriptions to express themselves and from the Old Kingdom onwards, the tomb

inscriptions started to include (auto-)biographical texts.[7] This type of text emerged in

the Memphite region, possibly established in the late Fourth or the early Fifth Dynasty,[8]

and thrived in the province in the Sixth Dynasty. The (auto-)biography was the self-

presentation of the tomb owner and one of the methods used to preserve the tomb

owners' identity and personality.[9] Old Kingdom (auto-)biographical texts have two

major topics to commemorate and emphasise the tomb owners: firstly passages relating

to their career during their lifetime, including their achievements in the royal

administration and secondly, passages relating to their moral personality which shows

the deceased's good deeds in their lifetime.[10] In other words, the (auto-)biographies

provided further information of the tomb owners, which the pictorial decorations did not

joined the gods, and he also joined the daily journey of the sun and stars (Spencer 1982: 140; Allen 2006: 9). For Old Kingdom non-royals, however, from the late Old Kingdom at least into the First Intermediate Period, the concept of the afterlife of royals was extended to a concept of afterlife for non-royals. This innovation is now called the "democratisation of the afterlife".

[6] Jánosi 1999: 36.

[7] Old Kingdom (auto-)biographies have two writing styles, either in the first person or the third person presentation. This thesis uses "(auto-)biographical/(auto-)biography" rather than "biographical/biography" or "autobiographical/autobiography" as the authorship of the textual evidence in this thesis does not make an issue. See Kloth (1998: 192-194) for discussion for usages of the term of autobiography and biography and Kloth (2002: 257-260) for a discussion of authorship.

[8] Lichtheim 1988: 6; Baines 1999: 23. Lictheim (1988: 8) suggests that (auto-)biography emerged in the Fourth Dynasty and developed in the Fifth and Sixth Dynasties. Also, Baines (1999: 29-34) points out that inscriptions of Metjen at Saqqara in the early Fourth Dynasty already have some senses of (auto-)biography. See Gnirs (1996: 219-241) for the study of the development of (auto-)biography throughout Egyptian history.

[9] Lichtheim 1973: 4; Hackländer-von der Way 2001: 3; Strudwick 2005: 42.

[10] Lichtheim 1988: 5, 7; Gnirs 1996: 203; Kloth 2002: 227-229; Baud 2005: 91. The text about the tomb owner's career is called a career (auto-)biography, and the text about the tomb owner's moral personality is called an ideal (auto-)biography. Kloth (2002: 285) states that the ideal (auto-)biography started from the Fourth Dynasty, but that the career (auto-)biography appeared from the end of the Fifth Dynasty. See Kloth (2002: 227-229) for the detail of typology for Old Kingdom (auto-)biography. See Chapter 4 for a further discussion of Old Kingdom (auto-) biography.

represent.[11] As a result, the tomb also became the tomb owners' memorial monument.[12] Thus, for the Old Kingdom's elite, the tomb was a focus on for the performance of funerary practices ensuring eternal provision of offerings for survival in the afterlife coupled with the preservation of the identity of the deceased in this life.

Research aim

The aim of this thesis is to investigate the functions of false doors in Old Kingdom non-royal funerary culture. The religious role of false doors has been defined by previous research; however, the role might be extended to other functions since a communication between the living and the dead had been started during the Old Kingdom. This thesis will examine the social functions of false doors in the non-royal funerary culture in the Old Kingdom.

Methodology

This dissertation focuses on false doors as important and essential funerary equipment. In the first chapter, Old Kingdom false doors will be discussed in terms of the textual and archaeological evidence to cover the various aspects which they contain. These aspects will be considered further in the second chapter examines using case studies of false doors from particular cemeteries between the late Old and the mid Middle Kingdoms. Also, false doors from twenty-five tombs of the periods in question are selected from the necropolises in the Memphite region and province. Every aspect which all false doors have, such as the location, number of false doors, and the types of inscriptions, are examined. Based on the analysis of the case studies, the third chapter

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[11] Strudwick 2005: 42.
[12] Jánosi 1999: 36.

considers what kind of functions false doors may have provided, besides their religious function. Moreover, the fourth chapter examines the relationship between the dead and the living in the non-royal funerary culture from the textual evidence, as the relationship may reflect the role of false doors. Lastly, the fifth chapter looks at the role of false doors in the relationship between the dead and the living and its importance in funerary culture.

Modern discussions

Modern discussions concerning Old Kingdom non-royal funerary culture are abundant. In order to understand the non-royal funerary culture, all information from Old Kingdom private tombs in the Memphite area and province has been examined by scholars with different approaches, using both archaeological and textual evidence; for instance, discussions have related to the iconography of the wall reliefs, tomb architecture, the types and contents of tomb inscriptions and funerary equipment, for example, Yvonne Harpur's useful publication regarding the study of Old Kingdom private tombs in both necropolises of the Memphite region and province.[13] She studied the architectural and decorative features of the Old Kingdom private tombs. However, Harpur did not examine the tomb inscriptions in the publication. Here Nicole Kloth provides an important works which studies the typology of Old Kingdom (auto-)biographies and the phrases.[14] However, in comparison with the studies of private tombs, the number of studies which focus on aspects of Old Kingdom false doors is relatively low. Within all research on false doors, Silvia Wiebach's *Die Ägyptische Scheintür: Morphologische Studien zur Entwicklung und Bedeutung der Hauptkultstelle*

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[13] Harpur 1987.
[14] Kloth 2002.

in den Privat-Gräbern des Alten Reiches is a crucial research.[15] She examined false

doors between the Fourth and Sixth Dynasties and identified the development and

definition of the Old Kingdom false doors. Another pertinent work is that of Nigel

Studwick's *The Administration of Egypt in the Old Kingdom: The Highest Titles and*

their Holders in which the author focuses on false doors in Giza and Saqqara and

proposes that the false door form had changed throughout the period thereby providing

useful dating criteria.[16] Moreover, studies on the history of false doors between the Old

and Middle Kingdoms have been published recently by Edward Brovarski.[17] Thus while

inscriptions and decorative motifs of individual false doors have been examined by

other scholars, the study of the social aspects of false doors is limited.

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[15] Wiebach 1981.
[16] Strudwick 1985.
[17] Brovarski 2006, 2009.

Chapter 1

Examination of the aspects of the false door

1.1 Overview of the false door in the Old Kingdom

An inscribed gravestone stela was placed in the tombs of non-royal persons from the Early Dynastic Period onward as an offering stela and marker of the ownership of the tomb.[18] The stone stela had been developed into a form of 'doorway',[19] which is now called false door, by the Old Kingdom.[20] As a part of the funerary equipment, the false doors were used as offering stelae.[21] The Egyptians believed that the *ka* of the deceased came back to the tomb chapel to obtain the offerings.[22] It has been recognised that the false door was a point between this world and the netherworld. Thus, offerings were deposited in front of the false doors, and a water basin and an offering table were put in front of the equipment to perform an offering ritual there. Given its religious role, the false door was generally placed on the west wall in the chapel of a private tomb as ancient Egyptians believed the netherworld existed to the west.[23] For the mastaba tombs in the Old Kingdom, two false doors placed on the west wall in each tomb, one at the

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[18] Reisner 1932: 324.

[19] The first type of the false door was very simple niche, and the form evolved a form of a doorway. (Anderson 2000: 129).

[20] Anderson 2000: 129. Since the early periods, there were two types of grave stela: round-topped form and false door form. The false door form became common for private tombs rather than the round-topped type during the Old Kingdom. Although the round-topped stelae were found between the early period and the early Old Kingdom, the form of stela was used more frequently in the later period (Reisner 1932: 328). A common form of false door in the Old Kingdom consists of eight parts: cornice, torus, panel, apertures, jambs, architrave, lintel and central niche (Strudwick 1985: 11). See Figure 2.

[21] The false door was mainly made of stone, especially limestone, and rarely made of woods (Kanawati 2001: 59). It is a possible that the Egyptians desired equipment that would be preserved for the long-term.

[22] Anderson 2000: 129. For example, in the mastaba tombs, the Egyptians believed that the *ka* of the deceased passed through the statues of the dead in serdab, and took the offerings in the tomb chapel (Anderson 2000: 129; Kanawati 2001: 58-59)

[23] Bolshakov 1997: 50.

northern part and another at the southern part of the west wall may have been regarded as an ideal form.[24] In an ideal case, two false doors were allocated on the same west wall in the chapel: the false door of the southern part of the wall belonged to the tomb owner, and another located on the northern part was for his wife, which was a common style.[25] However, it is unclear whether this situation was also thought of as the ideal style in Old Kingdom rock-cut tombs.

The false doors could be divided into two major types: palace-façade[26] and decorated. Although the palace-façade type appeared in the First Dynasty, the decorated false doors appeared more frequently than the palace-façade in the Old Kingdom.[27] As for decorated false doors, offering table scenes of the deceased were typically illustrated on the panels. These scenes on the false door panel represented the tomb owner who sits in front of an offering table, and occasionally his wife[28] or family was depicted with him, along with offering lists, sometimes the images of offerings such as foods or vessels.[29] Likewise, figures of the deceased, as well as other family members or offering bearers, were also carved on the jambs or lintel. In addition, *Wedjat*-eyes appeared on the decorated false doors.[30] Brovarski (2009: 361) stated that the use of *Wedjat*-eyes on the

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[24] Kanawati 2001: 59.

[25] Kanawati 2001: 59.

[26] See Figure 3. The origin of palace-façade came from royal palace, and the design was used for sarcophagus and coffins (Baines 1995: 140). It was also used for decorating the tomb chapel. In addition, the palace-façade was occasionally used as the decoration for wooden coffins in the Old and Middle Kingdoms.

[27] For instance, the tomb of Nefer and Ka-Hay at Saqqara (the Fifth Dynasty) has a palace-façade false door (Moussa & Altenmüer 1971: 32, Plate 28, 31).

[28] Even if the deceased's wife appeared in offering scenes on the false door, the number of false doors for female owners was quite small.

[29] Brovarski (2006) discussed the offering table scenes on Old Kingdom false doors in his article.

[30] See Figure 4. *Wedjat*, which means the eye of Horus, was frequently used as the motif for the funerary objects, such as for amulets or votive stelae in the New Kingdom, as it represented

niche of false doors became a typical feature in the Sixth Dynasty and the First Intermediate Period.[31] Moreover, the decorated false doors were always accompanied by inscriptions: mainly the *ḥtp-di-nsw* offering formula that can be translated as 'An offering which the king gives…', along with the name of the deceased.[32] The titles of the deceased were also added to the inscriptions in the Old Kingdom. Furthermore, other types of texts, such as (auto-)biographical texts, "Appeal to the Living",[33] the deceased's will or legal text, were carved on the false doors.[34]

1.2 False doors in Old Kingdom inscriptions

1.2.1 Survey of the origin of the expression "false door" in hieroglyphs

Some Old Kingdom (auto-)biographical texts mention a false door as well as other costly funerary equipment, such as a sarcophagus. Nevertheless, they did not state how or why the artefact was important for the funerary culture. It is possible that the hieroglyphic words for the false door may suggest an aspect of the equipment. Although it is apparent that the words *rꜣ-pr* and *rw.t* in the Old Kingdom inscriptions occasionally refer to 'a false door',[35] the reasons why the two words have come to signify 'false door' are still not clear as they also have other meanings. If these words could be

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'protection, strength and perfection'. *Wedjat*-eyes are associated with offering ritual, so the motif might have been used on behalf of the offering ritual scene. This thesis is unable to go into the details of the *Wedjat*-eyes on Old Kingdom false doors: see Wiebach (1981: 160-163) for a study.

[31] However, only a small number of false doors in the Old Kingdom and the First Intermediate Period which have the decoration on the niches are now confirmed; for instance, a panel of the false door in the tomb of Hesi-Min in the Sixth Dynasty at El-Hawawish and the false door of Qar at Edfu, which is now in Cairo Museum (JE43370-43371) (Kanawati 1986: 12, El-Khadragy 2002: 226).

[32] Kanawati 2001: 21.

[33] See Section 4.1.1 in Chapter 4 for a further discussion on Appeal to the Living.

[34] Wieback 1981: 232-233; Strudwick 1984: 42. See section 1.3.1 in this chapter for a further discussion on these types of texts on the false doors.

[35] Wiebach 1981: 72; Haeny 1984: 566.

translated into meaning a false door, one question emerges: where did the original meaning for 'false door' come from? For instance, although it supposes that one of the original meanings of *r?-pr* in the Old Kingdom was 'a false door',[36] *r?-pr* principally indicated a term for a temple or chapel in the hieroglyphic inscriptions.[37] The basic meaning of *r?* (⎯) was 'a mouth', and had the meaning of 'a door or a gate (of the building)'.[38] *pr* (⌑) had the meaning of 'a house' itself.[39] By these basic meanings of both signs, *r?-pr* could simply translate into 'a door/gate of a house'. In addition, *pr* had the meaning of 'a tomb'.[40] It also suggests that the meaning of *r?-pr* being a false door came from the idea of 'a door of/in a tomb'. However, there were other words which referred to 'a door of/in a tomb' in the hieroglyphic words,[41] for instance, *sb?*.[42] Thus, in the context of the tomb, it appears that *r?-pr* had specific meaning, one possibility being that the name came from an architectural element of a false door. Wiebach (1981: 78-79) pointed out that the meaning may connect with the location of the false door being generally set in a chapel as *r?-pr* had already been used as the word for an offering chapel in the Old Kingdom,[43] thus it acquired the meaning of 'a door in the offering chapel'. However, this solution does not seem completely satisfactory. If the origin of the word concentrated on the architectural aspect and *pr* could be taken as 'determinative' which indicates a place in a building or house, it is more logical that *pr*

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[36] *WB* II 397.8; Spencer 1984: 38. There are cases where an ideogram of 'façade of shrine' appears as the determinative when *r?-pr* was used in the sense of a false door (Wiebach 1981: 75).

[37] *WB* II 397.6-7; Spencer 1984: 37-39. *r?-pr* has also already been used as a term for 'a temple' from the Old Kingdom (Spencer 1984: 38).

[38] *WB* II 390.12.

[39] *WB* I 511.7.

[40] *WB* I 514.2.

[41] Spencer 1984: 179-216.

[42] *WB* IV 83.16.

[43] Spencer 1984: 38.

designates specific architectural space or a part which is connected with the sacred place or was regarded as a religious important place; for example, a burial chamber. In this case, *rꜣ-pr* could be translated as 'a mouth (an entrance) to a burial chamber' as an expanded interpretation. If so, the meaning exactly describes the architectural aspect of the false doors. However, one problem of this suggestion is that the word *pr* usually does not translate into a burial chamber. Hence, it is difficult to define the origin of the word just in respect of the architectural element.

Another option is that the religious function of the false door is related to the origin of the word. For instance, *rꜣ* has the meaning of 'a door/gate of the underworld'.[44] Thus, *rꜣ-pr* could be translated into 'a door/gate of the underworld in a tomb'. The translations explain the religious role of the false door as a connecting point between this world and the underworld. Likewise, it is possible that *pr* related to the verb *pri* meaning to 'go forth' so that *rꜣ-pr* could be the meaning of 'a door/gate for going forth or going out'.[45] This theory can describe what the false door was in funerary culture with respect to the religious element. Yet it is still unclear whether *rꜣ-pr* originated from either the architectural or religious element. Synthetically, the origin of *rꜣ-pr* as a term for the false door might have come from a combination of architectural and religious aspects. If this is correct, the word *rꜣ-pr* seems to mean that a false door was an object which was 'a door/gate of the underworld that the deceased could go forth in an offering chapel'. Hence, the word *rꜣ-pr* seemingly came from an intention to describe the religious role of

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[44] *WB* II 391.4.
[45] Wiebach 1981: 78. Wiebach (1981: 78) suggested that *rꜣ-pr* probably mean 'a door for going forth' rather than 'a door of a house'. Similarly, Bolshakov (1997: 53) also mentioned that *rꜣ-pr* implies 'mouth of the house (= of the tomb) – it is place where the tomb opens to let its owner go forth'. However, he also stated the idea that 'go forth' is still unclear, even though it explains the false door's function clearly.

this architectural element of funerary equipment.

In comparison with *rȝ-pr*, *rw.t* was more frequently used as a term for a false door.[46] *rw.t* could also be translated as a door, gate or gateway in the hieroglyphic texts.[47] Moreover, there were a few hieroglyphic words in the Old Kingdom texts, for example *ꜥȝ*,[48] which were used for a door, gate or gateway.[49] The (auto-)biographical inscriptions of Weni show that the Egyptians differentiated between these words when they mentioned the door or gate. For instance, there were three different words which meant 'the doors': *rw.t, ꜥȝ,* and *sbȝ*. His inscription says[50]:

hȝb ḥm=f r ȝbw	His majesty sent to Elephantine
r in.t mȝṯ rw.t[51] *ḥnꜥ sȝṯ=s*[52]	for bringing a granite **false door** together with its lintel
mȝṯ ꜥȝ.w[53] *r rwy.tw*[54]	and bringing the granite **doors** for the door jambs
r in.t mȝṯ sbȝ.w[55]	and bringing the granite **doors**

The first word *rw.t* indicates a false door. The second *ꜥȝ* and the third *sbȝ* refer to the stone doors, but it seems that they were not the false doors. The reason for such differentiations might be that different terms indicated the function of each door. Wiebach (1981: 78) mentioned that the meaning 'a door or gate' for *rw.t* may simply

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[46] Spencer 1984: 39; *WB* II 403.13.
[47] Spencer 1984: 179; *WB* II 404.1-3. Spencer (1984: 198) pointed out that *rw.t* also described 'a royal pyramid temple' in the Old Kingdom.
[48] *WB* I 164.12-14.
[49] Spencer 1984: 179.
[50] *Urk* I 107.1-4.
[51] *WB* II 404.13.
[52] Wiebach (1981: 72) points out that *sȝṯ* (*WB* III 423.6) might have a concept of "a false door" in the Old Kingdom. However, seemingly the word was used as an architectural piece of a false door rather than the false door itself in the Egyptian texts.
[53] *WB* I 164.12-14.
[54] *WB* II 407.10. *rwy.t* expressed one part of a false door, so the Egyptians evidently distinguished the words *rw.t* and *rwy.t* in their texts (Spencer 1984: 197).
[55] *WB* IV 83.13-17. *sbȝ* also had the meaning of "a door for/of the tomb"(*WB* IV 83.16).

have evolved to mean a false door during the Old Kingdom. However, the word may contain a particular element to imply the new sense because they did not select other words, such as *ꜥꜣ* or *sbꜣ*, for 'false door'. To interpret the new meaning, it is apparent that an important indication is the determinative. For *rw.t* as the false door, the determinatives of 'façade of shrine' or 'gateway' (⬚) were principally used. In addition, when the Egyptians used *rw.t* as a false door in the Old Kingdom inscriptions, many examples contained the recumbent lion sign ⬚ as the first or second sign of the word.[56] When the word *rw.t* was used without the recumbent lion sign, it became a meaning for 'a door or gate of heaven, temple or tomb'.[57] Although there is an example with the sign which can be translated as a door or gate in Late Egyptian,[58] it is possible that the recumbent lion sign had a specific meaning of the false door during the Old Kingdom. In Egyptian beliefs, a lion was one of the sacred animals and a symbol which related to the king's power.[59] Moreover, a lion figure represented a guardian of a temple.[60] For instance, the lion or sphinx figure, particularly the double lions or sphinx figures, appeared at the entrances of the temples, from the Old Kingdom onwards.[61] Furthermore, the lion or a pair of lions relate to the personifications or representations of many Egyptian deities: significantly for this study, the god Aker[62] who was usually

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[56] For instance, ⬚ or ⬚ are cited as major variations of the word (*WB* I 403.13).
[57] *WB* II 404.1-3. Similar with *sbꜣ* and *ꜥrrw.t, rw.t* without the recumbent lion sign also has the meaning of a gate of heaven, a gate of a temple or a door of tomb (*WB* II 404.1-3).
[58] Lesko 1984: 57.
[59] Pongracz 1957: 213; Rössler-Köhler 1980: 1081, 1086. The Egyptians believed a lion was connected with rebirth or renewal (Rössler-Köhler 1980: 1082).
[60] De Wit 1951: 72.
[61] De Wit 1951: 72; Vezzani 2005: 199-200.
[62] The god Ruty (*Rw.ty*), which means a pair of lions, is another god who includes the recumbent lion sign in his name. His worship had started in the Old Kingdom as a local god of Delta (Van Voss 1984: 322). Ancient Egyptians believed that he associated the western and eastern horizons; however, it seems that he was not strongly related to the non-royal funerary culture during the Old Kingdom. See also De Wit (1951: 123-137) as a study of the god Ruty. As for the name of Aker, there are several variations of the name of Aker in the hieroglyphs. A

represented as a double-sphinx figure or the two-seated lions.[63] Aker was a guardian of the eastern and western horizons, and also the gateway to the underworld.[64] The god Aker had already appeared in the Pyramid Texts,[65] and it is possible his role, which the Pyramid Texts show, was used for the idea of naming the false door. As a result of a combination of the notion of Aker in the Pyramid Texts and the original meaning of *rw.t*, the word may have meant 'a (opening stone) door/gate to the underworld that was guarded by the god Aker'. However, there is no satisfactory evidence that the worship of the god Aker had already been established in the non-royal funeral culture during the Old Kingdom. Consequently, it is still uncertain whether the Egyptians intended to show that the recumbent lion sign signifies the god Aker himself or not.

Apparently, using *rw.t* to signify false door was derived from the notion that lions that guarded the sacred place, which is a logical suggestion. If this interpretation is correct, the word *rw.t* evidently describes the religious function of a false door as being to connect this world and the underworld inside the tomb.[66] This interpretation also shows the naming of *rw.t* may have come only from a religious sense. Accordingly, the religious sense of *rw.t* seems stronger than *r3-pr*. The fact that *rw.t* more frequently appeared than *r3-pr* in the inscriptions may suggest the ancient Egyptians recognised that false doors were placed only for a religious purpose when they named the equipment. However, *r3-pr* also included the religious role of the false door in the origin

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few of them have a two-human-headed sign (appears in PT 796b) or divine sign with a beard (appears in PT2254d) (Ogdon 1986: 128).
[63] Rössler-Köhler 1980: 1086.
[64] De Wit 1951: 91; Hornung 1975: 114-115. The god Aker also related to the sun journey in the underworld.
[65] The god Aker had appeared in the Pyramid Texts, such as in PT 796 or 1713 (Hornung 1975: 114).
[66] Kanawati 2001: 58.

even though the idea from the combination of architectural and religious elements is suggested for *rȝ-pr*. The Egyptians might have distinguished the two words when they used them as terms for a false door in the inscriptions; however, it is unclear that any differences in the usage existed. Thus, the origins of the two words indicate that the Egyptians only expected the religious purpose to false doors when they named the equipment.

1.3 False doors in private tombs

1.3.1 Survey of the inscriptions on false doors

As mentioned in Section 1.1, most of the false doors contain the offering formula and the deceased's name. Also, the titles of the deceased, sometimes with epithet, were essential elements of inscriptions on false doors. For example, with that of Nedjetempet from Saqqara,[67] her titles are inscribed on all jambs and lintel. In addition, her titles are inscribed next to her figures on the panel and architrave. Likewise, all jambs and lintels for the false door of Mehu and Tjetju are engraved with the titles of the owners. In many cases, the titles and names of the deceased are carved at the side of each figure of the deceased. Moreover, the name of the king who was ruling at the time or the divinity's name that relate to the title is occasionally added to the inscriptions.[68] In addition, there are false doors on which are inscribed other types of texts; for instance, (auto-)biographical inscriptions, commemorative texts, legal texts, the deceased's will, Appeal to the Living or warnings to visitors.[69] For the (auto-)biographical texts on Old

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[67] Kanawati 2001: 22. See Figure 5. Nedjetempet was the mother of Mereruka who was one of the important Old Kingdom officials, and her false door is a rare case because it dedicates only one female (Strudwick 2005: 396). In the Old Kingdom, it is seldom that a female owned a false door, like Nedjetempet had.

[68] Kanawati 2001: 22.

[69] The texts of 'warnings to visitors' emphasise to prohibit 'evil things' to the tombs and threaten

Kingdom false doors, Wiebach (1981: 232) divided the contents into three categories: summary and description of the deceased's position during their lifetime, facts which relates to the tomb building, including commemorations of the construction, and legal testament of the deceased. The inscriptions on the false doors in the first category described a speech of the owners' lives, including their positions and a relationship with the king. For instance, the inscriptions on the false doors of Ptahshepses from Saqqara are classified in the first category.[70] The inscriptions of Ptahshepses stated that his lifetime since his childhood.[71] In addition, the owners addressed the fact that they built their tomb from their own financial sources in the texts of their false doors, as exemplified in the texts on the false door of Teti from Saqqara.[72] Moreover, further passages were occasionally added that stated, for instance, that the owners paid fees for the workers, provided them with food, and that all the workers thanked them. The inscriptions on the architrave of the false door of Geref at Saqqara stated that Geref gave a payment to stonemasons and they were pleased about the payment. [73] Furthermore, the passages of ideal (auto-)biography, are included in this category.[74] For instance, the false door of Seshemnefer IV from Giza has passages of ideal (auto-

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the visitors, stating that they would be judged and punished if they did "evil things" (Lichtheim 1988: 7). For instance, the false door in the tomb of Sekhentyuka and Nyankhsheret at Giza bears the inscriptions that warn of evil on its outer jamb. See Strudwick (2005: 233-234) for the translations.

[70] *Urk* I 51-53; Strudwick 2005: 303-305. This false door is now in the British Museum (BM EA 682) and Oriental Institute (OIM 11048) in Chicago.

[71] Strudwick 2005: 303-305. According to his (auto-)biography, Ptahshepses was born in the time of Menkaure and grew up in royal harm with other children. Also, he had been favoured by the king since his childhood. The texts also state that Ptahshepses's wife was the king's eldest daughter Khamaat (Strudwick 2005: 303-305).

[72] El-Khadragy 2000: 41-48. This false door is in Cairo Museum (CG 57188).

[73] Kanawati and Abder-Razig 2001: 61, Plate 53; Strudwick 2005: 272-273. In the inscriptions, Geref also mentioned he built his tombs while he was alive.

[74] See section 4.1.1 in Chapter 4 for a further discussion on an Old Kingdom ideal (auto-)biography.

)biographies which confirm the deceased's good behaviour.[75] In the second category, the texts stated the fact that the king was involved in the tomb constructions. For instance, the (auto-)biographical texts on the false door of Nyankhsekhmet from Saqqara in the early Fifth Dynasty state that he was granted two false doors by the king.[76] Moreover, the texts claim that the king was involved in installing the two false doors in the hall of his tomb. Similarly, the passages which commemorate the tomb building or equipment of false doors are carved on the false doors. For instance, the false doors of Kainefer from Dahshur in the Fourth Dynasty[77] and Ankhires from Giza in the Fifth Dynasty,[78] have the commemorative texts which honour the building of their tombs on behalf of the deceased. Likewise, the inscriptions on the false doors of Tepemankh's son Hemmin from Saqqara say that Tepemankh made the false doors for Hemmin.[79] In the second category, the false door of Yotefnen from Giza in the Sixth Dynasty has unique passages which commend his workers for the tomb.[80] His texts state that his paid workers thanked him as he was concerned about them. On the contrary, the legal testament of the deceased, which is the third category, was rarely inscribed on Old Kingdom false

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[75] *Urk* I 57; Junker 1953: 214-216, Abb 83; Wiebach 1981: 232; Kloth 2002: 33-34. The false door of his son Ptahhotep has also similar passages with Seshemnefer IV. For the false door of Ptahhotep, see Junker (1953: 265-268, Abb 108).

[76] *Urk* I 38.7-39.3; Wiebach 1981: 232; Strudwick 2005: 303. An interesting point of the texts is that Nyankhsekhmet himself requested a stone false door the king; however, the king actually gave him two false doors. Strudwick (2005: 324) suggested that the kings might have been expected to give more products than requested by their officials.

[77] *Urk* I 227; Strudwick 2005: 243.

[78] Reisner 1942: 492. Ankhires's false door, which is now in Cairo Museum (JE 57189), was placed in the tomb of Medunefer at Giza.

[79] *Urk* I 33; Wiebach 1981: 232; Strudwick 2005: 248. The false door is now in Cairo Museum (CG 1417). Tepemankh also prepared one false door for his wife Nubhotep, which is also now in Cairo Museum (CG 1414). On the false door are the titles of Nubhotep and the dedicative texts in which Tepenankh claimed he made her false door for her burial (*Urk* I 33; Strudwick 2005: 397-398). Both false doors are dated to the middle Fifth Dynasty.

[80] Goedicke 1970: 182-185; Wiebach 1981: 232; Strudwick 2005: 203-204. In addition, the inscriptions mentioned about the payment for his workers for his tomb building. The false door is now in Cairo Museum (JE 56994).

doors.[81] Apparently, an enlargement of the types of inscriptions for the false doors started in the Fifth Dynasty. At the same time, the Old Kingdom tomb owners also inscribed their (auto-)biographical or commemorative texts on other places in the tombs, such as at the entrance or on the interior walls. Thus, it is necessary to comprehend that carving these texts, in addition to the offering formulae and the deceased's name and titles, might have given the false door another function besides a religious one.

1.3.2 Survey of the locations of the false doors in the private tomb

For the location of Old Kingdom false doors, it seems that their situation within mastaba and rock-cut tomb was slightly different. False doors in mastaba tombs principally followed the rule which was based on the religious role of the false doors.[82] For instance, false doors were located on the west wall in the mastaba tombs of Niankhkhnum and Khnumhotep (T13) at Saqqara and Nesutnefer (G4970) at Giza,[83] both in the Fifth Dynasty,[84] Mehu (T63)at Saqqara[85]in the Sixth Dynasty. In comparison with the mastaba tombs, the locations of the false doors in the tombs of provincial cemeteries are more diversified.[86] It is evident that the false doors in the rock-cut tombs in the Old Kingdom were still placed on the west wall. For instance, as the false doors in the inner chamber of the rock-cut tombs of Ananekht (Tomb 5) at El-Bersheh[87], a

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[81] For instance, legal statements are inscribed on the false door of Meten in the Sixth Dynasty (*Urk* I 1.14-2.14) (Wiebach 1981: 233).
[82] Bolshakov (1997: 51) asserted that exceptions, in which false doors at Giza mastaba tombs were located on the non-west wall, were related to the tomb architectural design.
[83] Junker 1938: 167, Abb27.
[84] Moussa and Altenmüller 1971: 172.
[85] Altenmüller 1998: 200-202, Tafel 75.
[86] Bolshakov 1997: 139.
[87] Griffith and Newberry 1894: 35. Most parts of the false door are now lost. Only the lower parts of the jambs remain today. In addition, Griffith and Newberry (1894: 39) stated that the

false door of Meru in the hall at Sheikh Said[88], and the false doors at Qubbet el-Hawa, for example, and the false doors in the tombs of Mekhu and Sabni (QH 25and 26).[89] On the other hand, there are rock-cut tombs which do not follow the religious rule of false doors, that is to say, where false doors are located on non-west walls. For instance, in Old Kingdom rock-cut tombs in the Sixth Dynasty at El-Hawawish, a false door in the tomb of Hesi-Min was fixed on the south wall in the chapel even though the false doors in the tomb of Sefekhu and the tomb of Kar at El-Hawawish were fixed on the west walls.[90]

The Egyptians attempted to follow the regulation of the false door according to its religious role in many cases, but the locations of the false doors in the tombs indicate that the rule was not firmly followed. In other words, this suggests that the importance of the direction of the "west" was not uniform, or not a priority element for the tombs in provinces. However, the Egyptians also required the religious function of the false doors which were located on the non-west wall. It could be suggested that this situation arose due to architectural factors. One possibility is that the false doors were placed on the non-west walls because they were associated with the burial shafts.[91] This assumes that the locations of the shafts and burial chambers of the mastaba tombs could have been decided before all the tomb walls were erected. If so, the tomb owners would arrange the location of the equipment while the construction was in progress. For the rock-cut tombs, the mouths of the burial shafts are located on the floors in the rock-cut tombs.

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rock-cut tomb of Ana-Nekht and Aha (Tomb 8) also had one false door on the west wall in the chamber, but there is no data for the detail because it is quite poorly preserved.
[88] Davies 1901: 5.
[89] Vischak 2006: 85-86, 421.
[90] Kanawati 1986: 8.
[91] Bolshakov 1997: 139.

Therefore, it is possible that the burial shaft and the false doors were intended to be located close to each other, either -behind or in front of the false doors.[92] Nevertheless, the tomb owner still could arrange their burial shafts near the west wall if the tomb site environment would allow it. Therefore, it is still doubtful whether the location of the burial shafts influenced the location of the false door in every case.

1.3.3 Survey of false doors in tomb decoration programme

In assessing the function of false doors in private tombs, some consideration of their position in relation to the overall tomb decoration programme maybe constructive. Tomb walls in private tombs were decorated with specific themes, such as offering rituals, funerary procession, representations of the tomb owner and activity reflecting daily life; these accompanied by inscriptions, including offering formulas and the deceased's name and titles.[93] Within the offering ritual scenes, in cases where a false door was included in the decorative programme, the door panel was often used to depict the tomb owners' offering table scene since the early Old Kingdom.[94] However, this motif was also depicted on other sections of the walls in chapels. The choice of the wall scenes for each chapel varied,[95] but they were generally decorated with scenes which

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[92] Kanawati 2001: 59.

[93] Kanawati 1987b: 142; Bolshakov 1997: 44-45; Kamrin 1999: 41-42. As for daily life scenes, these include agricultural scenes (for instance, marsh scene, cooking scene, field work scene and cattle tending) handicraft scene, fishing and fowling scene and entertainment scenes (such as music, dances or games). Allen (2006: 10) pointed out that the daily life scenes present not only eternal provision but also the life of this world which the deceased could never have.

[94] Anderson 2000: 129. For instance, false door of Wonshet in the Fourth Dynasty had the motif on the panel (Junker 1929: 252, Abb 63). Offering table scene of the tomb owner did not appear on the west tomb walls at Giza until the Fifth Dynasty, but they were depicted on the false door (Bolshakov 1997: 83).

[95] Harpur (1987: 213) stated that there were two elements that reflected the orientation of the wall decoration during the Old Kingdom; tomb design, especially tomb chapel form, and the increase types of scene motifs. Also location of the doorway, niches and false doors are related. See Harpur (1987: 59-60) for the detail of chapel form types during the Old Kingdom.

related to food provision for the tomb owner.[96] For instance, the west wall was occasionally decorated with the scenes of offering ritual and representation of the tomb owner, sometimes with his family members, in addition to the false door.[97] Scenes often depicted on the west wall with the false door included: offering table scene of the deceased, processions of offering bearers, offering lists, priest service, figures of offerings, slaughtering the cattle, estates or driving cattle.[98] Also, the inscriptions were added which explained what went on in the scenes. For instance, the walls in the chapel of Seschemnofer III were decorated with the representation of the tomb owner, including his wife and son, and offering ritual scenes, such as offering table scene, processions of offering bearers, offering lists, offerings, driving cattle and slaughtering the cattle.[99] An offering table scene was located on the west wall between two false doors in his chapel. If the motif could not be placed due to limitations of wall space in the chapel, it is possible that the motif on the false door was considered to be one scene in the tomb's overall decorative programme. However, many tombs had also the offering table scenes on the walls in the chapels, so it is difficult to decide whether the offering table scene on the false door was part of the overall tomb decoration programme or distinct from it. [100]

There is, however, evidence which suggests that in some tombs, at least, the false door as directly linked to the overall wall decoration in the chapel. For example, in the chapel

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[96] Fitzenreiter 2006: 65. Seemingly, there was no strict rule for an orientation of the wall scenes because Old Kingdom tombs had various combinations of such scenes. However, there was a model orientation of the mural decorations (Bolshakov 2006: 71; Fitzenreiter 2006: 65).
[97] Anderson 2000: 131; McCorquodale 2000: 3. Since the wall space increased because size of the chapel enlarged, the west wall was decorated with other scenes in addition to the false door.
[98] Harpur 1987: 213; Bolshakov 1997: 62.
[99] Fitzenreiter 2001: 105, Abb3. See Figure 6.
[100] Harpur 1987: 227; Bolshakov 1997: 83.

the mastaba tomb of Seschathotep at Giza, the scenes representing the tomb owner and his family members, estates, offering bearers and driving cattle were decorated on the west wall between two false doors, and offering bearers and priests next to the false doors.[101] Here it seems pertinent to notice that offering bearers who are depicted on the centre of the wall are facing toward the tomb owners, but offering bearers and priests who are illustrated adjacent to the false doors face the false doors. Also, there are the tombs which had figures of family members as well as offering bearers or priests in the scenes adjacent to the false doors. However, the southern part of the west wall, on which only one false door was located in the chapel of Khofukaef I at Giza, was decorated with images of the tomb owner, scribes and procession of offering bearers.[102] Here, figures of the offering bearers and scribes were facing toward to the tomb owner, not to the false door. In addition, it could not be said that the inscriptions on the west walls in the two tombs were directly related to the false doors, rather that they described the images in adjacent scenes. The examples show that the representations of the tomb owners were the centre of the main decorations on the west wall because the figures in the surrounding scenes were oriented towards them, although figures depicted adjacent to the false doors were focused on the false doors. This situation could be observed in other tombs, and therefore, it is possible that the tomb decoration on the west wall had two points on which surrounding scenes were focused; the representation of the tomb owner and the false door. It is also of note that there were tombs which had a different chapel form and where there were no additional scenes, but only false door occupied the west wall, such as the tomb of Persen in the Fifth Dynasty at Saqquara.[103] In the tombs,

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[101] Junker 1934: 182, Abb28; Harpur 1987: 396, Plan 46. Figure7.
[102] Harpur 1987: 412. See Figure 8. The tomb of Khofukaef I is dated from the Fourth Dynasty.
[103]Harpur 1987: 422, Plan 99. See Figure 9.

like that of Persen, figures in the scenes on other walls were oriented toward to the west wall. Examples such as this do suggest that the false door was a significant factor in deciding the orientation of the other scenes on the walls in the chapel.

From this survey, some suggestions could be made about the false door in the tomb decoration programme. Possibly offering table scene on the false door was distinct from other scenes on the wall. However, the frequency with which other scenes of the decoration in the chapel appear to be oriented with respect to the false door suggest that the false door may have been regarded as a focal point of the tomb decoration for the chapel. If this is correct, it seems that tomb decoration, especially the adjacent scenes to the false door, respected the religious role of the false door where *ka* came back to this world to obtain offerings.

1.4 Questions about aspects of false doors

Although the motifs on the false doors mainly did not change, the inscriptions on the false doors and its location were varied during the Old Kingdom. It is possible that the variation in location, especially in the rock-cut tombs, occurred only due to architectural considerations. Otherwise, the variations of the two features of the false doors may suggest that those in the private tombs have aspects other than a religious purpose. These considerations raise questions: if the Egyptians erected the false doors in the tombs only for offering stelae, why did they use them as a place where the tomb owner emphasized his (auto-)biography or legal texts even though they had other spaces on the tomb walls? Why did the Egyptians set the false doors on non-west walls? Were the locations decided on only due to architectural reasons? What did the variations of the

types of the inscriptions on the false doors suggest? From consideration of such questions purpose other than religious may be deduced. Also, Hassan (1944: 157) points out that Old Kingdom tomb owners used their false doors as commemorative and offering stelae for the deceased, rather than the connecting point between this world and the netherworld for the deceased *ka*. Therefore, by following the case studies, the next chapter focuses on the evidence that is provided by the false doors from particular cemeteries between the late Old and early Middle Kingdoms to examine the functions of the false doors. It also investigates how the concept of the false doors changed and how this change was reflected in the significance of false doors within Egyptian funerary culture.

Chapter 2

Case studies of false doors between the late Old and the mid Middle Kingdoms

2.1 Introduction

This chapter focuses on false doors within private tombs of the late Old and Middle Kingdoms, from the Sixth Dynasty (c.2305-2118 B.C.) to the reign of Sesostris II in the Twelfth Dynasty (c.1939-1837 B.C.).[104] From the Sixth Dynasty onwards the non-royal funerary culture gradually changed along with the development of Egyptian religious beliefs, such as the emergence of the democratisation of the afterlife and new funerary literature, the so-called the Coffin Texts. Also, features of private tombs were varied during the periods. Although features of the Old Kingdom, especially the Old Kingdom tomb decoration, still appeared in the early Middle Kingdom private tombs, new features started to appear in private tombs in provinces in the Twelfth Dynasty.[105] Thus, the targets for this case study have been selected from particular cemeteries of each period: Giza, Deir el-Gebrawi and Meir for the late Old Kingdom, Naga ed-Deir and Qubbet el-Hawa for the First Intermediate Period and then Beni Hassan, Meir and Qubbet el-Hawa for the early Middle Kingdom. All cemeteries are representative funerary sites of each era and are chosen from the West and East Banks of the Nile throughout the Nile Valley.[106] For instance, Giza was one of the major cemeteries in the Memphite area for either royal or non-royal individuals during the Old Kingdom. In addition, local elite rock-cut tombs that are dated between Old and Middle Kingdoms are conserved in Deir el-Gebrawi, located on the East Bank of the Nile, Meir and

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[104] Hornung, Krauss and Warburton 2006: 491-492. See Figure 1.
[105] Aldred 1980: 118; McCorquodale 2000: 5-6.
[106] See Figure 10.

Qubbet el-Hawa, and these have been chosen where the tombs of these cemeteries are still in an acceptable state of preservation.[107] Within all necropolises, small numbers of tombs date from the First Intermediate Period. Amongst them, the cemeteries, which have the tombs that contain well-preserved false doors, are chosen for the period from Naga ed-Deir, located on the East Bank of the Nile, and Qubbet el-Hawa. Furthermore, Beni Hassan, located on the East Bank of the Nile, is another provincial cemetery in which private tombs of the local elite during the Middle Kingdom are well-preserved. The examples for studying the late Old Kingdom false doors are chosen from both types of private tombs, mastaba and rock-cut, to consider whether there are distinctive features specific to each group. False doors in the rock-cut tombs are selected as the examples for the First Intermediate Period and the early and the mid Middle Kingdom from these particular cemeteries. This case study analyses all aspects that false doors have, for example, the location in the tombs, the titles of the owners[108] and the contents and types of the hieroglyphic inscriptions.[109] A comparison of the differences between false doors from these sites will be useful for investigating aspects of false doors in specific periods.

2.1.1 Historical overviews between the late Old and the mid Middle Kingdoms

The Old Kingdom was a long period of political stability during which the economic

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[107] In the Old Kingdom rock-cut tombs at Qubbet el-Hawa, many false doors, both decorated and undecorated, are preserved. However, the false doors in Old Kingdom tombs in this necropolis are omitted from the case study examples because of the limited space in this chapter.
[108] The titles that the owners inscribed on the false doors in the case study examples are cited in Table 2, 4, 6, 8, 10 and 12. However, *imȝḫw* (=The Honoured One) are omitted from the lists because *imȝḫw* also could be regarded as ancient Egyptian epithet.
[109] The case studies do not focus on iconographical features of the false doors. Thus, the brief information only of the motifs of each false door is put in Table 1, 3, 5, 7, 9 and 11. See Brovarski (2006, 2009) for studies of iconographical features of offering table scenes on false doors in the Old Kingdom, the First Intermediate Period and the Middle Kingdom.

thrived. Before the late Old Kingdom, important schemes for ruling whole the country by royal administration were established, such as powerful kingship, bureaucratic systems,[110] taxation, and a hierarchy of officials.[111] Also, large-scale building projects, such as pyramids, were carried out by the kings from the Fourth Dynasty. A remarkable point of the Sixth Dynasty was military expeditions which were sent to conquer foreign areas, such as Nubia.[112] The Old Kingdom kings ruled Egypt and foreign lands with powerful authority until the end of the period. However, it is also clear that royal power declined thereafter,[113] and the power of local officials rapidly increased from the late Old Kingdom, and they began to rule their own regions like kings.[114] After a period of disorder in the Seventh and the Eighth Dynasties, two strong powers emerged in provinces; Herakleonpolis in north (the Ninth and Tenth Dynasties) and Thebes in south (the Eleventh Dynasty). The period is the so-called the First Intermediate Period (c.2118-1980 B.C.).[115] However, the Heraklenpolitans were defeated by Mentuhotep II who ruled Thebes in the Eleventh Dynasty of the Middle Kingdom (c.1980-1760 B.C.).[116] Consequently, Egypt was reunified by Mentuhotep II and he commenced the re-establishment of a central administration and readjusted the economy. The Eleventh Dynasty was ended within a short time after Mentuhotep II's reign, but Amenemhat I

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[110] Old Kingdom kings sent their officials from Memphis to the provinces to govern these regions. (Assmann 2005: 61).

[111] Assmann 2005: 60.

[112] David 1982: 87.

[113] Assmann 2005: 100.

[114] Baines 1995: 60-61; Hornung, Krauss and Warburton 2006: 491-492. See Figure 1.

[115] Hornung, Krauss and Warburton 2006: 491-492. See Figure 1. The kings' names between the Seventh and Eleventh Dynasties were omitted from the king-list in the temple of Seti I at Abydos. However, kings' names after the Sixth Dynasty remained on some written evidence, such as, the royal decree at the temple of Min in Coptus, the Turin Canon or Manetho's history. That the kings of the Seventh Dynasty are mentioned on these proves, however, that every king's rule was quite short, like one year or so (Arnold 1980: 100).

[116] Arnold 1980: 113; Grajetzki 2003: 39. The first part of the Eleventh Dynasty is also called Theban period as the Theban kings only ruled the Upper Egypt (Peck 1959: XX)

who was a vizier at the end of Eleventh Dynasty, founded the Twelfth Dynasty.[117] He continued to reorganise the royal administration and local governors to assert his control over the whole of Egypt.[118] Similar to the Old Kingdom rulers, the kings in the Twelfth Dynasty started large-scale building projects.[119] In addition, military expeditions were sent to foreign lands, such as Nubia and Libya, and Egyptian territories were expanded during the Twelfth Dynasty.[120] In the Middle Kingdom, Egypt achieved political stability and economic prosperity again.

2.1.2 Historical overviews of features of tomb developments of private tombs between the late and the mid Middle Kingdoms

Tomb architecture and decoration for private tombs had been developed during the Old Kingdom.[121] For instance, types of tomb architectural design, such as the form of chapel, varied by the end of Old Kingdom.[122] These features also appeared in rock-cut tombs in province because the tombs in the Memphite area and province had basically similar architectural characteristic.[123] After the Old Kingdom tomb architecture became simpler until the Eleventh Dynasty, in that many tombs had smaller chapels and burial

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[117] Assmann 2005: 135. Amenemhat I established new capital city in Lisht (Smith 1998: 91).
[118] Kamrin 1999: 22.
[119] Kamrin 1999: 21. The kings in the Twelfth Dynasty erected pyramids as their tombs at Lisht and Dahshur (Kamrin 1999: 21).
[120] Kamrin 1999: 21.
[121] Kanawati 2001: 60.
[122] For instance, the number of room in tomb chapels was increased by the end of Old Kingdom, for example, tomb chapels contained an offering chamber, store rooms for food, corridors and columned halls (Anderson 2000: 131). Moreover, the depth of burial shafts became deeper in the wealthy officials' tombs (Kanawati 2001: 56).
[123] Kanawati 2001: 60-61. Although the rock-cut tombs became in common in province, the earliest rock-cut tombs were found at Giza (Kanawati 2001:60). Local official tried to copy the features of Mastaba tombs in Memphis. Thus, the rock-cut tombs in province also had one or more room in chapel, offering chamber with false door, store room for foods, shaft and burial chamber (Kanawati 2001: 60).

chambers had a shallower shaft.[124] From the Eleventh Dynasty, new features appeared in addition to the Old Kingdom tomb designs which generally appeared in the Middle Kingdom tombs; these included: a columned portico, a pillared hall and a shrine at the rear of the hall.[125] Also, features were emerged distinct to each provincial cemetery, so features of the tomb design were slightly different in each province.[126]

Similar to the tomb architecture, tomb decoration also had been developed during the Old Kingdom. In general, the tomb decoration in the Sixth Dynasty followed that of the Fifth Dynasty. However, between the end of Old Kingdom and the First Intermediate Period, possibly by the Eleventh Dynasty, tomb decoration became modest.[127] This occurred because after the fall of the Old Kingdom the strong artistic influence from Memphis was no longer a factor, thus leading to declining standard in the First Intermediate Period.[128] Consequently, each cemetery developed own distinctive decorative style during the period.[129] After the First Intermediate Period, the Old Kingdom traditional style resumed in the early Middle Kingdom tombs, including new variation and a reappearance of rare scenes from the Old Kingdom tombs.[130] Even though the Old Kingdom style had been used early in the period, each provincial

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[124] Badawy 1966: 127; Kanawati 2001: 63.
[125] Badawy 1966: 127; Spencer 1982: 228.
[126] For instance, the Middle Kingdom tombs in Beni Hassan and Thebes had different tomb design (Kanawati 2001: 64). Tomb design in Thebes was only followed by the tombs of Qubbet el-Hawa in Aswan (Kanawati 2001:65).
[127] Kanawati 2001: 63. The tombs of these periods were decorated with minimum decoration (Kanawati 2001: 63).
[128] McCorquodale 2000: 4; Kanawati 2001:64.
[129] Badawy 1966: 127. It is possible that each necropolis started to have own distinctive features from the late or end of Old Kingdom.
[130] For instance, wrestling scene and war scene were quite rare in the Old Kingdom, but the scenes preserved in the tombs at Beni Hassan: wrestling scene in the tomb of Baki (BH 29) and the war scene in the tomb of Khety (BH17), were both built in the Eleventh Dynasty (Newberry 1893b: 36, 51, Plate XV, XXXII).

necropolis developed its own distinctive features, characteristics of which certainly appeared from the Twelfth Dynasty.[131]

Moreover, a change occurred to the tomb inscriptions during these periods. Typical types of tomb inscriptions, such as offering formulas, the deceased's name and titles, and (auto-)biographies, had been inscribed during the Old Kingdom. Most of these types of texts continued to be inscribed on tomb walls after the Old Kingdom: although in some cases, (auto-)biographies were inscribed outside the tombs, such as on the stelae or on outer walls of the tombs, from the First Intermediate Period onward.[132]

These features indicate that devolution from the control of a central administration in Memphis from the First Intermediate Period had a huge impact on the developments of private tombs. As a result, from the First Intermediate Period each necropolis developed its own distinctive characteristic tomb style.

2.1.2 Dating private tombs for the case studies

For the tombs used for the case studies, there are those which have not been given an accurate date yet because some tombs had been damaged extensively or the evidence is not enough to define the date. Thus, the date of each private tomb is suggested from archaeological evidence such as tomb architecture; decoration, including artistic style; and textual evidence, like contents of tomb inscriptions, including the king's cartouche and specific titles of the deceased which appeared in particular period. For example,

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[131] For instance, the tombs of Ukhhotep III at Meir and Khmunhotep at Beni Hassan show their own distinctive features in their tomb decoration (McCorquodale 2000: 7).
[132] Baines 1999: 24.

many private tombs at Giza are still not given accurate dating. Since the early Twentieth Century, scholars have examined these tombs and the details have been published by George A. Reisner (1942, 1955), Hermann Junker (1943-1955) and Selim Hassan (1932-1960).[133] For dating of Old Kingdom tombs at Giza, several scholars suggest their dating criteria, like by Kanawati (1977), Harpur (1987) and Cherpion (1989). However, they suggest different dates for many tombs. For instance, a different date is suggested for the tomb of Setka and Ptahhotep (T101) by Kanawati (1977) than that given by Harpur (1987); the Fifth Dynasty by Kanawati and the Sixth Dynasty by Harpur, although these scholars do agree on a Sixth Dynasty date for the tomb of Niankh-Khnum (T105). Thus, this thesis refers to the Leiden Mastaba Project's (Van Walsem 2008) major dating criteria for the examples from Giza. The examples are selected from the tombs of which at least the two sources in the database agree with the Sixth Dynasty tombs.[134]

The dating of the rock-cut tombs in Deir el-Gebrawi and Beni Hassan are also still under discussion; although some rock-cut tombs in Deir el-Gebrawi are debatable. The tombs in Deir el-Gebrawi were examined by scholars, such as Davies (1902a, b) and Kanawati (2005, 2007). In the case study examples, the tombs of Djau (Tomb 12) and Ibi (Tomb 8) are well dated because their tomb inscriptions included the king's cartouches,[135] however, the inscriptions of Henqu (Tomb 39), Henqu (Tomb 67) and

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[133] Junker published his excavation data in his publications *Giza I-XII* between 1934 and 1955. Likewise, Hassan also reported the details of private tombs at Giza in his publications *Excavations at Giza I-X* between 1932 and 1960.

[134] This thesis focuses on the dating criteria of Kanawati (1977), PM III^2, Harpur (1987) and Cherpion (1989) in the Leiden Mastaba Project (Van Walsem 2008) which makes a database to see these major dating suggestions.

[135] Kanawati 2005: 12.

Rehem (Tomb 72) do not have any cartouche signs thus giving accurate dates to these tombs is still under discussion. For instance, Harpur (1987: 280, 289) studies all features of the tombs, including false door forms, and suggests that the three tombs were built between the late Old Kingdom and the First Intermediate Period, possibly in the First Intermediate Period. Otherwise, Kanawati (2005: 19-20) suggests that they were built during the Sixth Dynasty, at least by the end of the Pepy I's reign. He states that the tomb decorations of the three tombs do not contain any features of very late Old Kingdom or the First Intermediate Periods.[136] This case study follows Kanawati's (2005, 2007) dating criteria as suggested by his latest research.

For the rock-cut tombs in Beni Hassan where the names of the kings are absent in the tomb inscriptions, scholarly discussions regarding dating have been based on such as the tomb paintings or architectural structure of the rock-cut tombs of Beni Hassan which have been published, for instance, by Newberry (1893a,b). The examples used here from Beni Hassan have been selected from the tombs that have published details of the false doors, including their locations, and locations of their burial shafts.[137] Newberry (1893a: 2-3, 1893b: 16) suggested the dates of six of the twelve rock-cut tombs based upon the inscriptions or family relationships.[138] However, the dates for others are still obscure. Likewise, Junge (1975: 695-698) summarises the architectural and decorative features of the rock-cut tombs. In addition, Shedid (1994: 13-15)[139] also examines the dating by a prosopographical approach, for example, the tomb owners' titles and the

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[136] Kanawati 2005: 14.
[137] Thus, BH14, BH15 and BH27 are omitted from the examples because I was unable to consult the photo sources for these tombs.
[138] Baines 1995: 183.
[139] See Abb 25 for a table of Shedid's dating criteria summary (Shedid 1994: 22).

king's cartouche in the tomb inscriptions. For this section, five rock-tombs at Beni Hassan have been selected case studies and from the aforementioned scholarly research, the tomb of Amenemhet (BH2) and Khnumhotep III (BH3) appear to have been built in the Twelfth Dynasty.[140] On the contrary, the tomb of Baki I (BH29), Baki II (BH33) and Khenty (BH17) are not given exact dating although from the inscriptions and possibly family relationships an Eleventh Dynasty date seems to be most logical suggestion.[141] Hence, the case studies follow Newberry's dating suggestion (1893a,b) and all examples are chosen based on his dating criteria.

The date of the tombs in Meir and Qubbet el-Hawa were also generally suggested by previous research. This case study for private tombs from Meir follows the dating which was given by Blackman (1914-1953).[142] Nomarchs in Meir started to build their tombs in this cemetery from the Old Kingdom.[143] To confirm the date of the tombs in Meir, artistic style of tomb decoration and the king's cartouche were significant sources. The family history of nomarchs in this reign mainly found out from (auto-)biographical texts in the tombs were also useful as dating criteria. Similarly, the date of many tombs in Qubet el-Hawa has been given by scholars, such as Edel (2008a, b, c). The private tombs were also constructed in this cemetery from the Old Kingdom. For instance, the rock-cut tomb of Setka (QH110), which is one of examples of the case studies from this

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[140] The inscriptions of Amenemhet have the passages that mention "Year 43 in Sesostris I's rule" and 25 years of his rule in the area (Shedid 1994: 13). For BH 3, the dating is supposed from Year 19 in Amenemhet II's reign to Year 6 in Sesostris II (Shedid 1994: 13).

[141] Shedid (1994: 22) supposes that the three tombs were constructed in the reign of Mentuhotep IV in the Eleventh Dynasty. Newberry (1893a: 2-3) and Junge (1975: 697) do not determine the exact ruler for these tombs. See Figure 1 to confirm chronology of the early Middle Kingdom.

[142] Blackman (1914-1953) reports details of the rock tombs at Meir in his publication *The Rock Tombs at Meir I-VI*.

[143] Blackman 1914: 9-11.

cemetery, has been dated to either the very late Old Kingdom or the early First Intermediate Period.[144] The inscriptions on the false door included Pepy II's cartouche, which implies that Setka was one of the local officials during Pepy II's reign in the Sixth Dynasty. However, the decorations of the tombs show the features of the First Intermediate Period.[145] This suggests that his tomb may have been completed durig the early First Intermediate Period by his son, Setka, who was buried in the tomb.[146] Hence, the case study also determines that the date of QH 110 is the First Intermediate Period.

2.2 False doors in the late Old Kingdom

2.2.1 False doors in Giza[147]

▪ **Tomb of Setka and his son Ptahhotep (T101)**[148]

This father-and-son mastaba tomb has three false doors on the west walls of offering rooms. Two belong to the father Setka [149]and the other is for his son Ptahhotep.[150] The

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[144] Jenkins 2000: 69.

[145] For instance, costumes of Nubians in the wall decorations have the decorative features of the First Intermediate Period (Jenkins 2000: 69).

[146] Edel (2008c: 1978) also suggests that the tomb was built in the First Intermediate Period.

[147] In this case study, the tomb code number for mastaba tombs from Giza are given, when available, and all numbers follow the Leiden Mastaba Project (Van Walsem 2008) database. In addition, the room numbers follow Porter and Moss (1974). The information of the locations of the false doors and burial shafts are essential for this study. Thus, the tombs for which the data for the examples from Giza has been well published are mainly selected. In addition, the details of false doors, particularly the texts, are important evidence, so the tombs that show the false doors are in good condition are chosen.

[148] PM III^2 160-161; Junker 1944: 202-210. See Figures 11-14

[149] A few parts of both doors have been damaged. The decoration of the panel of the southern false door is completely lost. Similarly, the northern false door has been damaged on the panel and the upper part of the outer jambs. All jambs, both outer and inner, have the standing figures of Setka and his name at the bottom of each jamb. Although it is difficult to tell if they had completely same motifs or not, they seem to have similar decorative designs. it could be confirmed that the scene was of a symmetrical design from the inscriptions on the centre. Otherwise, the inscriptions of these doors have the same types of texts, which offer formula and commemorative texts for Setka but the contents are slightly different.

[150] Junker 1944: 202.

decoration of the false door of Ptahhotep is similar to the two false doors of Setka.[151]

There is one serdab in the area of Setka and two burial shafts (890 A and 890) in the

area of Ptahhotep. Shaft 890A is located behind the false door of Ptahhotep.

▪ Tomb of Niankh-Khnum (T105)[152]

Two false doors for the tomb owner Niankh-Khnum are set on the west wall in a

chapel.[153] This tomb contains total six burial shafts.[154]

▪ Tomb of Seshemnefer and Ify (T106)[155]

There are four false doors on the west wall of the chapel in this family tomb.[156] Except

for one unfinished false door,[157] the inscriptions of each of other false doors reveal the

owners to be Ify,[158] Iqry[159] and Nefert.[160] Only the deceased Seshemnefer's false door

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[151] The standing figure of Ptahhotep and his name were painted at the bottom of all the jambs.

[152] PM III^2 247-248; Hassan 1950: 133-142.

[153] See Figures 15-17. The upper part of the northern part of the false door is damaged (Hassan 1950: 137). In addition, a panel of the southern part of false door is also lost now (Hassan 1950: 138). However, in the case of the figures of Niankh-Khnum and his son, their names are still preserved on the southern false door. For the female figure, her name is not inscribed. Although it is supposed that she is the tomb owner's wife, it is difficult to define her identity (Hassan 1950: 139).

[154] Only two shafts (numbers 1312 and 1313) contain skeletons, but there was nothing found from the other four burial shafts (Hassan 1950: 140-142).

[155] PM III^2 250; Hassan 1950: 217-224. This tomb is a rock-cut tomb.

[156] See Figures 18-21. Hassan 1950: 221. This family tomb was for Ify, Seshemnefer, Iqry and Nefert. The inscriptions in this tomb, including those on the false doors, do not exactly mention their family relationship. Seshemnefer is suggested to be the head of this family, and his figures appear on the left thickness of entrance (Hassan 1950: 220). Hassan (1950: 217) points out that Ify and Iqry are sons of Seshemnefer, and Nefert is their sister. Within the four false doors, the size of the false door of Ify is the largest, so Ify might be the eldest son in this family. Nefert has the title of "ẖkr.t nsw.t = King's ornament or Court Lady". The title of ẖkr(.t) nsw.t could have been either man or woman, but Hassan (1950: 217) states that it may have translated into 'King's concubine' in a case that a woman has the title.

[157] See Figure 18 (Location III) (no information about its size).

[158] See Figure 19 (false door size: 0.85m×1.10m).

[159] See Figure 20 (false door size: 0.47m×1.05m).

[160] See Figure 21 (false door size: 0.45m×1.05m). The lower part of this false door has been damaged. The offering table scene of the deceased on the panel and a few inscriptions are

does not remain in the chapel.[161] This rock-cut tomb has three burial shafts: numbers 1392, 1393 and 1934.[162]

▪ Tomb of Seshemnefer with Good Name Ify (T104)[163]

There is one decorated false door on the west wall in Room 1.[164] The information for the decoration types of these false doors is cited in Table 1. Sloping passage leads to Seshemnefer's burial chamber (Room 2).[165]

▪ Tomb of Ankh-Tef (T111)[166]

Firstly, there is a decorated false door on the west wall in the vestibule.[167] Another three false doors are set on the west wall in the chapel.[168] The false door in the vestibule and one of the three false doors in the chapel belong to Ankh-Tef as the texts on them mention,[169] but the other doors are of unknown ownership.[170] The serdab and the six

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preserved.

[161] It is possible that the unfinished false door was prepared for Seshemnefer; however, there is no evidence to determine this hypothesis.

[162] Hassan 1950: 224. Within one of the three shafts, only shaft No. 1392 contain a few bones (Hassan 1950: 224). Possibly, the locations of shafts 1393 and 1394 are behind of the false door of the tomb owner and Iqry. However, there is no information that they are directly connected with the two false doors.

[163] PM III[2] 238-239. Hassan 1953: 57-63.

[164] Hassan 1953: 59. See Figures 22-23.

[165] Hassan 1953: 62. A burial chamber of this tomb was decorated with representations of foods (Hassan 1953: 63).

[166] PM III[2] 275. Hassan 1944: 226-235.

[167] See Figures 24-25. Another false door is set on the right side of the false door, but it is impossible to discuss its details as the door is cut roughly (Hassan 1944: 229). The decoration of this false door is slightly different from the common type because there are figures of offering bearers below the figures of Ankh-Tef on both jambs. The offering bearer on the right jamb is called Rawer, and the one on the left jamb is Renpetef.

[168] See Figure 26. According to Hassan (1944: 229), the central false door could be a primary false door and the largest within the three false doors (False door size 0.80m×1.60m). Hassan (1944) does not mention the other two undecorated false doors' sizes in his publication.

[169] Hassan 1944: 229. The central false door in the chapel has been damaged; however, the figures of a table, offering lists and the deceased's leg remain.

[170] Hassan 1944: 233-234. Hassan does not mention the names of the person in each burial

shafts in this tomb could suggest the name of the owners of the two undecorated false doors. The northern false door in the chapel also may belong to Ankh-Tef or a female family member because a serdab located behind the door contains two statues; one is of Ankh-Tef and the other is a female, possibly his wife.[171] In the same way, the southern false door may belong to a family member who was interred in a burial chamber which connects with No. 979.[172]

2.2.1.1 Interpretation of false doors in Giza

The most important point of this section relates to the manner in which the tomb owners set their false doors on the west walls in their tombs. The types of decorations and inscriptions were of the Old Kingdom common style. Thus, it is clear to see the tomb owners' intention when they tried to locate their false doors at places where they could connect with the locations of burial shafts. One good example is the false door in the tomb of Ankh-Tef. Although one false door at the vestibule in his tomb is located outside the chapel, it was still fixed on the west wall and the burial shafts were located behind the false door. Moreover, the case study examples from Giza can be divided into two elements. One group is the tomb owner who had primary and secondary false doors for himself. The second is the tomb owner and other family members who owned one false door each. Another point in this section relates to undecorated false doors. Three undecorated false doors could be confirmed –yet it is uncertain why these false doors remain blank.

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chamber. Thus, it is impossible to define which burial chamber was for the tomb owner Ankh-Tef.
[171] Hassan 1944: 228, 231.
[172] The condition of the burial, including the body, was very poor (Hassan 1944: 235). Thus, it is uncertain how many people were buried in No. 979.

Table 1: False doors in the late Old Kingdom at Giza

Tomb owner	Location of false door & Owner	Decoration type*[1]	Text type *[2]	Location of shaft
Setka&Ptahhotep (T101)	Room I (2 false doors) **the west wall** (both for Setka)			Near Entrance No information for a shaft, but 1 serdab located behind of the west wall near entrance.
	the northern part	SS	OF/TN	
	the southern part	ST/SS	OF/TN	
	Room II (1 false door) (for Ptahhotep) **the west wall**	ST/SS[173]	OF/TN?	Room II 2shafts (No. 890A – 890)
Niankh-Khnum (T105)	Chapel (2 false doors) (both for Niankh-Khnum) **the west wall**			Behind the west wall in the chapel 6 shafts (No.1312-1317) -skeletons from 2 shafts, 4 shafts are empty)
	the northern part	ST -the tomb owner &his family members	TN & names of his family members	
	the southern part	ST -the tomb owner &his family members	TN& names of his family members	
Seshemnefer and Ify (T106)	Chapel (4 false doors) **the west wall**			Chapel 3 shafts (No.1392 -1394) -behind the chapel, but no connection with each false door. 2 of them are empty
	the northern corner (for Ify)	OT/ST	OF/TN	
	centre by the north (for Iqry)	OT/ST	OF/TN	
	Unfinished	No decoration	Uninscribed	
	the south corner (for Nefert)	OT/ ST	OF/TN	

*[1] **OT**=Offering table scene of the deceased; **ST**= Standing figure; **SS**=Sitting figure

*[2] **OF**=Offering formula; **TN**= Titles and name of the deceased

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[173] The panel is now completely lost.

(Continuing Table 1)

Tomb owner	Location of false door & Owner	Decorations type*[1]	Text type *[2]	Location of shaft
Seshemnefer (T104)	Room 1(1 false door) **the west wall** (for Seshemnefer)	OT Male offering bearers	OF TN? (Damaged)	1 burial chamber
Ankh-Tef (T111)	Vestibule(1 false door) **the west wall** (for 'Ankh-Tef)	OT(damaged) SS (damaged) ST (with 2 offering bears)	OF/TN (his family members' names and titles)	Vestibule 2 shafts (No.974 - 975) -behind the false door
	Chapel (3 false doors) **the west wall**			Chapel 4 shafts (No. 976 - 979) - 1behind the southern false door - 1 serdab located behind the northern false door
	the northern part	No decoration	Uninscribed	
	central (for 'Ankh-Tef)	SS (with his wife)	OF	
	the southern part	No decoration	Uninscribed	

*[1] **OT**=Offering table scene of the deceased; **ST**= Standing figure; **SS**=Sitting figure

*[2] **OF**=Offering formula; **TN**= Titles and name of the deceased

Table 2：Titles of owners (Giza)

Tomb	Owners of False doors	Titles on false doors
T101	Setka	*sꜣb imy-rꜣ sš(.w)* (Senior Overseer of Scribes)[174]
		imy-rꜣ gt ḫnt.t (Overseer of the Southerner)
		ḫrp sš (Inspector of Scribe)
	Ptahhotep	*sꜣb imy-rꜣ sš(.w)* (Senior Overseer of Scribes)
		ḥm-nṯr Mꜣʿt (Prophet of Maat)
		sꜣb ʿdw n imy-r gt ḫnt.t (Senior administrator of overseer of the Southerner)
T105	Niankh-Khnum	*imy-rꜣ wp.wt pr-ʿꜣ* (Overseer of the Commissions of the Court)
		sḫd nḥsi (Inspector of the Nubians Mercenary Troops)
		rḫ-nsw.t pr-ʿꜣ (King's acquaintance of the Great House)
		(ḥry)sštꜣ (Master of the Secret of ....)
		rḫ-nswt (King's acquaintance)
		wʿb nsw.t (King's Purificator)
		imy-rꜣ wp.wt pr-ʿꜣ nsw.t (Overseer of the Commissions of the Kings' Great House)
T106	Ify	Inscriptions lost
	Iqry	*sꜣb iri mdꜣ.t* (The Judge and Book Keeper)
	Nefer	*ḫkr.t-nsw.t* (King's Concubine or the Court Lady)
T104	Seshemnefer	*sꜣb imy-rꜣ sš(.w)* (Senior Overseer of Scribes)
		sꜣb ʿd mr (Judge and Nome Administrator)
T111	Ankh-Tef	*rḫ-nsw.t* (King's acquaintance)
		sḫd ḥm-kꜣ (Inspector of Ka-servants)
		imy-rꜣ sšr (Overseer of Linen)

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[174] *sꜣb imy-rꜣ sš(.w)* also can translate into " Judge and Overseer of Scribes".

2.2.2 False doors in Deir el-Gebrawi[175]

▪ Tomb of Djau (Tomb 12)[176]

In this tomb, three false doors are set on the walls of the shrine.[177] The false door on the east wall is different from the other two false doors as it does not occupy the wall from the top to the bottom and the form and decoration are simpler than other two.[178] There are two shafts on the floor.

▪ Tomb of Isi, called Rehem (Tomb 46)[179]

In this rock-cut tomb, a false door is located on the north wall in the hall, but many parts of the false door have been damaged.[180] The tomb has one burial shaft on the floor in the hall.[181]

▪ Tomb of Henqu called Khenteti (Tomb 39)[182]

There are three false doors, which are in poor condition, and three burial shafts in the

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[175] The tomb numbers of Deir el-Gebrawi follow Davies's (1902a,b) numbering. In the examples for this section, only Tombs 8 and 33 are located on the northern cliff at Deir el-Gebrawi.

[176] PM IV 244; Davies 1902b: 1-13. See Figure 27.

[177] See Figures 28-30. The false doors on the west and north walls occupy the top to the bottom on the wall. See also Figures 24-25.

[178] See Figure 30. See Davies (1902b: 13) for the translations of the hieroglyphic texts on the east wall. Despite the false door, the long (auto-) biographical inscriptions fill in the space.

[179] PM IV 242; Davies 1902a: 33; Kanawati 2005: 79-82.

[180] Kanawati 2005: 81. See Figure 31. The inscriptions on the jambs, architrave and lintel are still preserved even though the texts are not perfectly visible. To interpret from the inscriptions, the texts on the architrave should be the offering formula, as the signs of *ḥtp-di-nsw* remain. The inscriptions on the jambs and lintel should be his titles. The panel is now completely lost but a figure of a table, which must be an offering table, remains on the right side. Thus, it could be supposed that there was a figure of the deceased on the left side, and some offerings, or the formula, above the table figure.

[181] Kanawati 2005: 80. It is not possible to obtain the tomb plan which could confirm the location of false door and burial shafts.

[182] PM IV 242; Davies 1902b: 31-33; Kanawati 2005: 21-23. Although Kanawati (2005: 23) suggests that tomb 39 could be dated as coming from the Sixth Dynasty, possibly in the reign of Teti or later, Harpur (1987: 280) classifies tomb 39 as a tomb from the First Intermediate Period.

hall of this tomb.[183] The main shaft is located on the floor of the hall between the west

and east walls and to the south of the false door.[184] Of the other two shafts, one is placed

on the south wall of the hall and the other is on the floor of the hall, close to the

entrance doorway.[185] Another notable feature of this tomb is that there are several

recesses in the walls.

▪ **Tomb of Henqu, called Iy..f (Tomb 67)**[186]

This tomb contains four false doors, none of which are in good preservation, in the

chapel.[187] It is uncertain whether all the false doors belong to Henqu himself or to

Henqu and his family members. There are five burial shafts in the chapel, so the false

doors on the non-west walls may have belonged to other family members.

▪ **Tomb of Rehem called Isi (Tomb 72)**[188]

There are two decorated false doors on the west wall of the outer hall.[189] The mouths of

the two burial shafts are placed on the floor of the outer hall. A notable point of the west

wall of this tomb is that there are many recesses and galleries not only on the west wall

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[183] Davies 1902b: 32.See Figures 32-35.
[184] Kanawati 2007: 25.
[185] Kanawati 2007: 25.
[186] PM IV 242; Davies 1902b: 27; Kanawati 2005: 60-75. Harpur (1987: 34, 289) states that this tomb was constructed between the Seventh and Eighth Dynasty in the First Intermediate Period. On the contrary, Kanawati (2005: 63) supposes this tomb was built in the early or middle of Pepy I's reign.
[187] See Figures 36-39.
[188] PM IV 24; Davies 1902b: 19-27; Kanawati 2005: 37-55. Although Harpur (1987: 280) implies that the date could be from the Seventh or Eighth Dynasty in the First Intermediate Period, Kanawati (2005: 40) suggests that tomb 72 was built between the end of the reign of Teti and early in the reign of Pepy I.
[189] Davies 1902b: 21; Kanawati 2005: 44-45. See Figures 40-42. The two false doors occupy most of the space of the wall.

but also the north and east walls.[190] The west wall, in particular, does not have any tomb decorations, except in the recesses.

▪ Tomb of Ibi (Aba) (Tomb 8)[191]

There are two false doors on the west and north walls in the shrine.[192] The deceased's burial chamber is located on the west side of the sloping passage; which leads to his burial chamber and is cut under the false door on the west wall.[193] The tomb contains three burial shafts in the shrine and the hall. It is supposed that the burial shafts in the shrine lead to the burial chamber of Ibi and the others are for other family members' chambers.

▪ Tomb of Merut (Tomb 33)[194]

This tomb has one false door on the south wall of the antechamber[195] and two burial shafts.[196] One of the two shafts, which is located in front of the false door, is empty. Hence, it is impossible to confirm the shaft belongs to Merut, who is the owner of the false door.

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[190] Kanawati 2007: 24.
[191] PM IV 243; Davies 1902a: 8-24; Kanawati 2007: 11-73.
[192] Kanawati 2007: 57. See Figures 43-45.The false door on the west wall is damaged to the extent that only the upper part remains. This part is also damaged; however, a few inscriptions are readable. However, the false door on the north wall is in good condition even though the left lower part is now lost.
[193] Kanawati 2007: 56.
[194] PM IV 246; Davies 1902a: 25; Kanawati 2007: 86-89. The original tomb owner's name is still not clear. The tomb is now called "the tomb of Merut" because the false door in the antechamber, which has the name of Merut in the texts, is only the place where the inscriptions now remain. It is possible to specify that this tomb was a family tomb in the Sixth Dynasty and Merut might have been a relative of the tomb owner (Kanawati 2007: 86).
[195] Kanawati 2007: 86. See Figures 46-47. Although many parts of the false door have been damaged, the offering formula on the lintel and jambs, the figures of offering and part of the human figure can now be confirmed.
[196] Davies 1902a: 25. In Kanawati's tomb plan (2007: Plate 63a), it is numbered as 1.

2.2.2.1 Interpretation of false doors in Deir el-Gebrawi

The types of decorations and inscriptions are of a style common to the Old Kingdom. However, the false doors in Deir el-Gebrawi are placed on the non-west walls. In addition, the false doors number not only two but, on occasion, more than two. Within the tombs that contain three or four false doors, the owners of the false doors in Tombs 39, 67 and 72 are unknown because of extensive damage. Thus, it is unable to confirm whether either of these false doors were set for the tomb owners or other family members.

Table 3: False doors in the late Old Kingdom at Deir el-Gebrawi

Tomb Owner	Location of false door & Owner	Decoration type[*1]	Text type[*2]	Location of shaft
Djau (Tomb 12)	<u>Shrine</u> (3 false doors)[197] (all for Djau)			<u>Hall</u> 2 shafts -1 shaft is located near a false door on the east wall
	the west wall	OT	OF/TN	
	the east wall	OT	OF/TN[198]	
	the north wall	OT	OF/TN	
Isi (Tomb 46)	<u>Hall</u> (1false door) (for Isi) **the north wall**	OT?[199]	OF/TN?	<u>Hall</u> 1 shaft
Henqu (Kheteti) (Tomb 39)	<u>Hall</u> (3 false doors) (Owners are uncertain.)			<u>Hall</u> 3 shafts 4 burial recess 4 galleries
	the west wall (the north end)	OT[200] (other parts are damaged)	OF/TN[201]	
	the east wall (the northern part)	No decoration	Uninscribed	
	the east wall[202] (the southern part)	No information	No information	
Henqu (Tomb 67)	<u>Chapel</u> (4 false doors) (Owners are uncertain.)			<u>Chapel</u> 5 shafts - 3 shafts close to each false door
	the south wall	No decoration	Uninscribed	
	the west wall	Damaged [203]	Lost	
	the north wall	Damaged	Damaged?	
	the east wall	Damaged	Damaged?	

*[1] **OT**=Offering table scene of the deceased; **OL**= Offering list; **ST**= Standing figure; **SS**=Sitting figure

*[2] **OF**=Offering formula; **TN**= Titles and name of the deceased

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[197] Of the three false doors, those in the west and north walls have very similar structures, in terms of, for example, their decorations and texts.

[198] The left inner jamb has been damaged; it seems that both inner jambs have the *ḥtp-di-nsw* formulae, to Osiris Khentamentiu on the left inner jamb and Anubis, Lord of Sepa, on the right inner jamb (Davies 1902b: 12).

[199] Only a table figure remains now.

[200] This false door has been damaged; however, the inscriptions and the offering table scenes are visible. The figure of Henqu, who sits in front of the table with offerings, is depicted on the architrave.

[201] Davies (1902b: 32) states that a prayer to the king and Anubis is inscribed on the upper lintel. In addition, there are the titles of Henqu on the jambs.

[202] Now it is wholly lost.

[203] Only the lower jambs remain now.

(Continuing Table 3)

Tomb Owner	Location of false door & Owner	Decoration type*[1]	Text type*[2]	Location of shaft
Rehem (Tomb 72)	Outer Hall (2 false doors) **the west wall**			Outer Hall 2 shafts -1 shafts is located very close to the false doors
	the northern part (For Rehem)[204]	Damaged[205]	No text (Lost?)	
	the southern part (No information)	Damaged?	No texts [206] (Lost?)	
Ibi (Tomb 8)	Shrine (2 false doors) (both for Ibi)			(Total 3 shafts) Shrine -1 shaft Hall -2 shafts
	the west wall	Lost	OF?	
	the north wall	OT/SS	OF/TN	
Merut (Tomb 33)	Antechamber (1 false door) **the south wall** (for Meru)	OL Offering scene?	OF/TN?	Antechamber 2 shafts (1 shaft in front of the false door, but empty)

*[1] **OT**=Offering table scene of the deceased; **OL**= Offering list; **ST**= Standing figure; **SS**=Sitting figure

*[2] **OF**=Offering formula; **TN**= Titles and name of the deceased

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[204] According to the inscriptions, the northern false door belongs to the tomb's owner, Rehem.

[205] Kanawati 2005: 45. See Figure 37. For the northern false door, it is impossible to confirm there were figures, such as the deceased's figure, on the false door because of its poor state of preservation. Only the texts on the lintel and both jambs are readable.

[206] With regards to the false door on the south side, Davies (1902b: 21) states that the door is very rough but he suggests that the inscriptions might be carved.

Table 4: Titles of owners (Deir el-Gebwari)

Tomb	Owners of False doors	Titles on false doors
Tomb 12	Djau	*ḥ3ty-ʿ* (Governor)
		ẖry-ḥbt (Lector priest)
		imy-r3 nsw.t (Overseer of Upper Egypt)
		sḏ3wty-bity (Seal-bearer of the King of Lower Egypt)
		smr wʿty (Sole Companion)
		ḥr-tp ʿ3 i3t (Great Chief of the Office)
		ḥr-tp ʿ3 Dwf (Great Chief of Deuf nome)
		šmsw snwt (Chief of the Pillared Hall)
		imy-r3 šnsw.y (Overseer of two Granaries)
		imy-r3 sšw.y (Overseer of two Fowling Pools)
		imy-r3 pr-ḥḏ.wy (Overseer of two Treasuries)
		ẖrp imiw nṯr.w (He who has the power of the Gods?)[207]
		ḥwt ʿ3 (He of the Great Residence)
		ẖpt ḥwt.w nt (Inspector of the deposits of *net*-Crown)
		ḥq3 ḥwt (Governor of the Residence)
Tomb 46	Isi	*smr wʿty* (Sole Companion)
		ẖry-ḥbt (Lector priest)
		sḏ3wty-nṯr (Seal-bearer of the God)
Tomb 39	Henqu	*smr wʿty* (Sole Companion)
		ẖry-ḥbt (Lector priest)

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[207] Davies 1902b: 2.

(Continuing Table 4)

Tomb	Owners of False doors	Titles on false doors
Tomb 67	Henqu	No title (Inscriptions are lost)
Tomb 72	Rehem	No title (Inscriptions are lost)
Tomb 8	Ibi	*ḫ3ty-ʿ* (Governor) *smr wʿty* (Sole Companion) *imy-r3 šmʿw* (Overseer of Upper Egypt) *sḏ3wty-bity* (Treasurer of the King of Lower Egypt) *ḫry-ḫbt ḫr-tp* (Chief of Lector priest) *ḫr-tp ʿ3 Dwf* (Great Chief of Deuf nome) *šmsw snwt* (Chief of the Pillared Hall) *ḫrp imiw nṯr.w* (He who has the power of the Gods?)[208] *ḥwt ʿ3* (He of the Great Residence) *ḫpt ḥwt.w nt* (Inspector of the estates of Red Crown) *Nfr-k3-Rʿ mn ʿnḫ mr mḫt ḥm-nṯr* (Second Priest of the Men-ankh Pyramid of Neferkare)[209] *ḥq3 ḥwt* (Governor of the Residence)
Tomb 33	Merut	No title (only *im3ḫw* "The Honoured one" remain)

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[208] Davies 1902a: 9

[209] Davies 1902a: 9.

2.2.3 False doors in Meir[210]

▪ Tomb of Niankh-pepi (Tomb A1)[211]

There are two false doors, for Niankh-pepi and a man who is called Soni but is otherwise unknown, on the west wall in Room A.[212] This tomb contains four shafts in Room A, of these, two shafts are located in front of the false doors.

▪ Tomb of Pepiankh (Ḥenikem) (Tomb A2)[213]

Firstly, there is one false door of Pepiankh on the west wall in Room C.[214] It is different from Tomb A1 as there is no burial shaft near the false door in Room C, but in different rooms: Rooms B, E or F.[215] The walls of Room C are decorated with funerary scenes,[216] this implies that Room C was used for performing funerary practice even though there is no connection to the burial chamber of the deceased. Otherwise, the plan of this tomb shows another two false doors are placed on the east wall in Room F. The room walls are decorated with a funerary scene and there is a serdab of the deceased.[217] However, it is not possible to obtain all details of the two false doors in Room F.[218]

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[210] The tomb numbers and room numbers follow Blackman (1924, 1953a).

[211] PM IV 247; Blackman 1953a: 5-11.

[212] Blackman 1953a: 8. See Figures 48-50. One of them, which is located on the southern part of the west wall, is badly damaged. However, the false door of the northern part of the west wall is fully preserved. The offering slab was put in front of this false door.

[213] PM IV 247; Blackman 1953a: 42-47. Tomb A1 consists of a number of other tomb chapels (Blackman 1953:5). The tomb of Pepiankh (Tomb A2) was built next to Tomb A1, and Room B of Tomb A2 and Room A of Tomb A 1 are connected. See Figure 43 and 44.

[214] Blackman 1953a: 42. See Figures 48, 51. This false door does not contain any human figures: not the tomb owner, his family, or servants, but only the inscriptions. The texts show that the owner of this false door is Pepiankh.

[215] See Figure 48.

[216] Blackman 1953a: 42.

[217] See Figure 48 IV and V.

[218] See Figure 48 IV. In one of the pictures of Room F of Blackman's publication (1953a: Plate LXV), one false door that is located on the northern part of the east wall could confirm this. The photographic source does not give information relating to, for example, the decoration or inscription type.

▪ Tomb of Pepiankh-Ḥerib (Tomb D2)[219]

One false door of the tomb's owner Pepiankh-Ḥerib is located on the west wall of the outer hall.[220] In this tomb, there are two shafts. A shaft for Pepiankh-Ḥerib which is the opening of the north shaft lies in front of the false door. The shaft is for Hetyah, who is his wife, is located in the south part of the room, but there is no false door for her in this room.

2.2.3.1 Interpretation of false doors in Meir

The false doors in the tombs at Meir mainly follow the Old Kingdom common types of decoration and texts and follow the traditional regulations relating to their location on the west wall apart from beside two false doors in Room F in Tomb A2. A remarkable point is the false door in Room C in Tomb A2. Room C does not have the burial shaft or statue of the deceased. In addition, Room C is an undecorated room, so it is unclear what the purpose of the false door was.

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[219] PM IV 254; Blackman 1924: 20.
[220] See Figure 52-53. Blackman (1924: 20) calls this room the main room.

Table 5: False doors in the late Old Kingdom at Meir

Tomb Owner	Location of false door	Decoration type*[1]	Text type*[2]	Location of shaft
Niankhpepi (Tomb A1)	<u>Room A</u> (2 false doors) **the west wall**			<u>Room A</u> 4 shafts -2 of them placed on near the false doors
	the northern part （For Niankhpepi）	OT ST	OF TN	
	the southern part （For Soni)	Damaged	OF Titles ?	
Pepiankh (Ḥenikem) (Tomb A2)	<u>Room C</u> (1 false door) **the west wall** (for Pepiankh)	No human figure	OF TN	<u>Room B</u> 3 shafts <u>Room E</u> 1 shaft
	<u>Room F</u>(2 false doors) **the east wall** (Owners are uncertain)			<u>Room F</u> 1 shaft
	the northern part	No information	No information	
	the southern part	No information	No information	-1 serdab located in Room F.
Pepiankh-Ḥerib (Tomb D2)	<u>Outer Hall</u> (1 false door) **the west wall** (for Pepiankh-herib)	OT/OL SS/ST	OF/TN	<u>Outer Hall</u> 2 shafts

*[1] **OT**=Offering table scene of the deceased; **OL**= Offering list; **ST**= Standing figure; **SS**=Sitting figure

*[2] **OF**=Offering formula; **TN**= Titles and name of the deceased

Table 6 : Titles of owners (Meir)

Tomb	Owners of False doors	Titles on false doors
Tomb A1	Niankhpepi	*ḥȝty-ʿ* (Governor) *sḏȝwty-bity* (Treasurer of the King of Lower Egypt) *ẖry-ḥbt* (Lector priest) *smr wʿty* (Sole Companion)
	Soni	*smr wʿty* (Sole Companion) *sḏȝwty-nṯr m* (Seal-bearer of ?)
Tomb A2	Pepiankh	*ḥȝty-ʿ* (Governor) *imy-rȝ šmʿw* (Overseer of Upper Egypt) *sḏȝwty-bity* (Treasurer of the King of Lower Egypt) *ẖry-ḥbt* (Lector priest) *smr wʿty* (Sole Companion)
Tomb D2	Pepiankh-Ḥerib	*iry-pʿt* (Hereditary Prince) *ḥȝty-ʿ* (Governor) *smr wʿty* (Sole Companion) *imy-rȝ ḥm-nṯr Ḥt-ḥr* (Overseer of prophets of Hathor)

2.3 False doors in the First Intermediate Period

2.3.1 False door in Naga ed-Deir

▪ **Tomb of Meru (Tomb N3737)**[221]

One decorated false door for Meru is preserved on the north wall in a court.[222] This tomb has only a rectangular room, which is called a court in Peck's (1959) publication. It has not been possible to obtain the information regarding the location of the burial shaft for this study; however, Peck (1959: 92) states that the false door is located above the shaft of the burial chamber.[223]

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[221] The tomb number and room name follows Peck (1959). In Naga ed-Der, private tombs had been constructed since prehistory. This tomb is examined by Peck (1959: 92-132). Except for N3737, Peck (1959) studies three other tombs of the First Intermediate Period. Since then, there has been no study that deals with the details.

[222] Peck 1959: 117; Harpur 1987: 122. See Figure 54. This false door is damaged, but parts of the inscriptions and figures are still visible.

[223] Peck 1959: 105.

2.3.2 False door in Qubbet el-Hawa

▪ **Tomb of Setka (QH 110)**[224]

In this tomb, two decorated false doors are located on the back walls in one of the two rows in the tomb hall; one for the tomb owner's sons (false door I) in cult niche 1[225] and another for the tomb owner Setka (false door II) in cult niche 2.[226] Both false doors' forms are different from the common Old Kingdom type in relation to both form and decoration.[227] For example, false door I and II had a decoration which is similar with a rounded stela. Another uncommon point is the inclusion of animal figures on the lower parts on false door II.[228] In the hall there are six shafts, which are numbered shafts I-VI.[229]

2.3.3 Interpretation of false doors in Naga ed-Der and Qubbet el-Hawa

The false door in N3737 mainly follows the basic false door style, except for the equipment sets on the north wall. The two false doors in QH110 have the unique form and decoration described. Another different point of these two false doors from typical Old Kingdom false doors is that most of the spaces on the false doors were used for

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[224] Jenkins 2000: 67-81; Edel 2008c: 1743-1761. First, QH110 was investigated by L. Habachi and E. Edel in 1947 (Jenkins 2000: 69). M. R. Jenkins examined the details, such as the architectural feature and decoration, in 1993. Jenkins (2000) only reports one false door which belongs to the tomb owner Setka in his article. The tomb number, room name and false door number follow Edel (2008c). This thesis follows Edel (2008c) for room name and number of false door

[225] See Figures 55-56. False door I has been damaged, such that the lower part of the decoration is now lost. Only the lintel and left panel are now preserved.

[226] Jenkins 2000: 69. See Figure 57. The offering table slab was attached to this false door.

[227] To compare the two forms, see Figure 2. It has a cornice, torus, architrave and sections which can be understood as being a central niche and jambs. However, it does not have a panel and apertures. The two false doors divide this section into four panels instead.

[228] Jenkins 2000: 74. Animals appeared on the tomb reliefs, such as in offering scenes or hunting scenes. However, animal figures are rarely used for the motif of false doors throughout Ancient Egyptian history.

[229] Jenkins 2000: 70; Edel 2008c: 1727.

decoration rather than for texts.

Table 7: False doors in the First Intermediate Period at Naga ed-Der & Qubbet el-Hawa

Cemetery	Tomb owner	Location of false door	Decoration type*[1]	Text type*[2]	Location of shaft
Naga ed-Der	Meru (N.3737)	<u>Hall</u> (1 false door) **the north wall** (for Meru)	OT SS	OF TN	<u>Hall</u> 1 shaft -Below false door
Qubbet el-Hawa	Setka (QH110)	<u>Hall</u> (2 false doors)			<u>Hall</u> 6 shafts (Shaft I-VI) -Shaft III and IV are located in front of each cult niche. -Shaft VI is located on opposite side of other 5 shafts
		<u>Cult niche 1</u> **the west wall** False door I (for Setka' sons)	SS [230] 2*Wedjat*-eyes[231]	OF[232] AB[233]	
		<u>Cult niche 2</u> **the west wall** False door II (for Setka)	SS[234] / ST[235] 2*Wedjat*-eyes A male servant 2 bulls 6 gazelles	OF TN AL[236] AB?[237]	

*[1] **OT**=Offering table scene of the deceased; **OL**= Offering list; **ST**= Standing figure; **SS**=Sitting figure

*[2] **OF**=Offering formula; **TN**= Titles and name of the deceased; **AB**= (Auto)biographical texts

 AL= Appeal to the Living

[230] The inscriptions and a seated human figure are painted on the left side of the lintel.

[231] Two *Wedjat*-eyes are painted in the centre of the panel.

[232] Edel 2008c: 1743. The texts are in poor preservation but are still readable. The first line is the offering formula for Osiris and the rest of the inscriptions are historical and autobiographical texts of the sons of Setka.

[233] Edel 2008c:1743-1744. The inscriptions are (auto-)biographical inscriptions of Setka's unnamed sons. The texts do not include any titles of any sons.

[234] On the central parts, there are two figures of the tomb's owners, who are standing and looking at each other: one wears a short wig and the other has cropped hair.

[235] On the architrave, there is a figure of a seated Setka on the left-hand side. The iconographical feature of a seated man on false door I is different from the figure of Setka on false door II. For instance, their hair styles or the objects they are holding are slightly different. It supposes that the seated man represents a figure of the Setka's unnamed son.

[236] Edel 2008c: 1758-1759.

[237] Edel 2008c: 1758-1759. The cartouche of Pepy II and the tomb owner's duties were written between the architrave and lower part of false door II (Jenkins 2000: 74).

Table 8 : Titles of owners (Naga ed-Der and Qubbet el-Hawa)

Tomb	Owners of False doors	Titles on false doors
N3737	Meru	*ḥ3ty-ʿ* (Governor)
		imy-r3 ḥm-nṯr (Overseer of prophets)
QH110	Setka' sons (False door I)	No title
	Setka (False door II)	*sḫḏ ḥm.w-nṯr Mn-ʿnḫ-Nfr-k3-rʿw* (Inspector of prophets of Menankh-Neferkare)
		iry-pʿ.t (Hereditary Prince)
		ʿḫʿ [238] *m Sti* (King's agent in Nubia)
		iwn ʿnḫ(i.w) m sk3 (?) [239]
		imy-r3 ḫ3s.t (Overseer of the foreign land)

2.4 False doors from the early to the mid Middle Kingdom

2.4.1 False doors in Beni Hassan[240]

▪ **Tomb of Baki I (BH 29)**[241]

One false door is placed on the east wall, on which the offering list and offering ritual scene are portrayed.[242] In this tomb, there are six burial shafts in the hall.

▪ **Tomb of Baki II (BH 33)**[243]

This tomb has one false door which is fixed on the west wall, close to the entrance doorway, and three burial shafts.[244] The decoration is similar to that of the false door of BH29.

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[238] *ʿḫʿ* literally translates " the hand of Him who Appears" (Jones 2000a: 349).

[239] Jones (2000a: 7) implies that this title's translation is uncertain. Otherwise, Edel (2008c: 1759) translates this title as "der Pfeiler derer, die vom Ackerbau leben".

[240] The tomb numbers follow Newberry (1893,a,b). The order for the tombs of Beni Hassan in this case study does not follow the tomb number, but the chronological order.

[241] PM IV 160; Newberry 1893b: 33-36; Rabehl 2006: 106-123.

[242] See Figures 58-59. It is very similar to the Old Kingdom's major model. The decoration of the false door is the typical version. Although part of the panel is damaged, the figures of the deceased and the offering table can be confirmed.

[243] PM IV 33; Newberry 1893b: 37-40; Rabehl 2006: 124-132

[244] See Figures 60-61. This false door's decoration is similar to that of the false door of Baki I. Although the north side of the west wall has the offering ritual scene, the false door in the only decoration on the south side of the wall.

▪ **Tomb of Khety (BH 17)**[245]

A painted false door is preserved on the west wall in the hall.[246] A noticeable point is that the false door was placed on the wall which was decorated with the daily life scenes and offering ritual scenes.[247] It seems that the tomb designers tried to use the limited space in this tomb as well as they could to set the offering table scene of the false door into the west wall decoration. In this tomb, there are two shafts.

▪**Tomb of Amenemhet (BH 2)**[248]

The false door is painted on the west wall in the hall.[249] An interesting point is that the false door is on the wall, where daily life scenes, such as wine making, fishing and playing music, are illustrated.[250] In this tomb, there are two shafts in the hall.

▪ **Tomb of Khnemhotep III (BH 3)**[251]

An interesting point regarding the false doors in this tomb is that the decorations on the doors are of the palace-façade type.[252] There are two vertical burial shafts in this tomb.

2.4.1.1 Interpretation of false doors in Beni Hassan

False doors in Beni Hassan are chiefly set on the west walls with the exception of one

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[245] PM IV 154-159; Newberry 1893b: 53-62; Rabehl, 2006: 182-218.

[246] See Figures 62-63. The panel and lintel have been damaged. Thus, only an offering table can be seen on the panel, although the name and titles of the tomb owner, and the *ḥtp-di-nsw* formula, which named Osiris and Anubis, still remain.

[247] See Figure 63.

[248] PM IV 141; Newberry 1893a: 29-31; Rabehl 2006: 40-105.

[249] See Figures 64-65. The room is also called the main chamber.

[250] Newberry 1893a: 29-34.

[251] PM IV 144; Newberry 1893a: 41-72; Rabehl 2006: 229-276.

[252] See Figures 66-68. The false doors of this tomb occupy the north-west and north walls in the shrine below the offering a scene of the deceased's wife and daughters. Furthermore, the south wall of the shrine is painted with the offering ritual scene of the deceased's five sons and palace-façade false doors.

false door in BH29. Although minor motifs, such as *Wedjat*-eyes or the seven sacred oil figures, are used, the types of decorations and inscriptions are still similar to those of the Old Kingdom false doors. As for the decorative motifs, the false doors in BH3 employed the palace-façade, which was rarely used for false doors after the late Old Kingdom. Another point relates to the number of false doors. Cases have been observed in which the late Old Kingdom tomb owners played multiple false doors in their tombs whereas the tomb owners of four of the five tombs in Beni Hassan placed only one false door for themselve.

Table 9: False doors from the early to the mid Middle Kingdom at Beni Hassan

Tomb owner	Location of false door	Decoration type*[1]	Text type*[2]	Location of shafts
Baki I (BH29)	<u>Hall</u>(1 false door) (for Baki I) **the east wall** (lower register) the southern part	OT? (damaged) The seven sacred oils	OF TN	<u>Hall</u> 6 shafts -one of them is in front of the false door
Baki II (BH33)	<u>Hall </u>(1 false door) (for Baki II) **the west wall** the southern part	OT The seven sacred oils	OF TN	<u>Hall</u> 3 shafts-in the east side of the hall
Khenty (BH17)	<u>Hall</u>(1 false door) (For Khenty) **the west wall** the southern part	OT? (Most parts are now lost.)	OF TN CT?	<u>Hall</u> 2 shafts - The mouth of one shaft is placed near the false door.

*[1]**OT**=Offering table scene of the deceased; **OL**= Offering list; **ST**= Standing figure; **SS**=Sitting figure

*[2] **OF**=Offering formula; **CT**=Commemorative texts; **TN**= Titles and name of the deceased

(Continuing Table 9)

Tomb owner	Location of false door	Decoration type*[1]	Text type*[2]	Location of shafts
Amenemhet (BH2)	<u>Hall</u>(1 false door) (For Amenemhet) **the west wall** the southern part (lower register)	OT with his wife *Wedjat*-eyes Flower stand	OF TN?	<u>Hall</u> 2 shafts -The mouths of 2 shafts are located on the floor of the south side of the hall. - 1 shaft is located near the false doors. – The other is almost in the centre of the south side of the hall.
Khnemhotep III (BH3)	<u>Shrine</u> **the north wall** **the north-west wall** **the south wall**	Palace-façade	No text	<u>Hall</u> 2 shafts - The burial shafts are located far from the false doors.

*[1]**OT**=Offering table scene of the deceased; **OL**= Offering list; **ST**= Standing figure; **SS**=Sitting figure

*[2] **OF**=Offering formula; **CT**=Commemorative texts; **TN**= Titles and name of the deceased

Table 10：Titles of owners (Beni Hassan)

Tomb	Owners of False doors	Titles on false doors
BH 29	Baki I	*ḥ3ty-ʿ* (Governor) *imy-r3 šmʿw* (Overseer of Upper Egypt) *sd3wty-bity* (Seal-bearer of the King of Lower Egypt) *smr wʿty* (Sole Companion) *ḥr tpʿ3 n M3ḫd* (Great Chief of the Oryx nome)
BH33	Baki II	*ḥ3ty-ʿ* (Governor) *sd3wty-bity* (Seal-bearer of the King of Lower Egypt) *smr wʿty* (Sole Companion) *ḥr tp ʿ3 n M3ḫd* (Great Chief of the Oryx nome)
BH17	Khenty	*ḥ3ty-ʿ* (Governor) *sd3wty-bity* (Treasurer of the King of Lower Egypt) *smr wʿty* (Sole Companion)
BH2	Amenemhet	*ḥ3ty-ʿ* (Governor)
BH3	Khnenhotep III	No title

2.4.2 False doors in Meir

▪ **Tomb of Sebni (Tomb B3)**[253]

In this unfinished tomb, there are two false doors on the south wall in the outer hall.[254] In the outer hall, there are two shafts. However, Shaft 2 is located near the north wall opposite the false doors. Instead of the false doors, there are three statue-recesses near Shaft 2.

▪ **Tomb of Ukh-hotep (Tomb B4)**[255]

There is one false door on the west wall of the inner room in this tomb.[256] It is difficult to recognise its decorations and inscriptions, because they are extensively damaged, especially parts of the panel. In addition, the owner of the false door cannot be confirmed because parts of the name in the inscriptions are now lost. For Tomb B4, it is not possible to consult the location and number of the tomb shafts as Blackman (1912) does not mention this information.

2.4.2.1 Interpretation of false doors in Meir

The false doors in Meir in this period also have common types of inscriptions and decoration. A noticeable point of this section is the two false doors in Tomb B3. They are located on the south wall opposite from the locations of two burial shafts. In addition, the owner of one of the false doors is the mother of the tomb owner, not his

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[253] PM IV 251; Blackman 1953b: 3-7.
[254] See Figures 69-72. Blackman (1953b) calls the hall Room A. One false door, which is located in the south-west corner, could have been painted, as the colours still remain in a few parts of the cornice, architrave and left jamb. Although a few inscriptions on the architrave and the upper left jamb are still readable, the decorations on other parts are now completely lost.
[255] PM IV 251; Blackman 1915: 9-35.
[256] Blackman 1915: 27. See Figures 73-74.

wife.

<u>2.4.3 False door in Qubbet el-Hawa</u>[257]

▪ Tomb of Sarenput I (QH 36)[258]

According to the descriptions of the tomb by Porter and Moss (1937: 239), there is one

false door in the cult niche of the inner hall. However, it was not possible to obtain any

photographic sources of this false door for the case study, so the details are uncertain,

including whether it has any decoration or not.[259]

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[257] QH 28, 30, 31, 32 and 33 were also built in the Middle Kingdom. It suggests that QH 28 was erected in the early Middle Kingdom, possibly during the reign of Sesostris I in the Twelfth Dynasty, and one false door was fixed in the niche (Edel 2008a: 278). However, it is not possible to obtain the photographic source to discuss the details for this case study. Therefore, QH28 is omitted from the sample.

[258] PM VII 238; Edel 2008b: 977.

[259] The inscriptions of the cult niche have been published by Müller (1940: 51). See Müller (1940: 51) for the translations of the texts.

Table 11: False doors from the early to the mid Middle Kingdom at Meri and Qubbet el-Hawa

Cemetery	Tomb owner	Location of false door	Decoration type*[1]	Text type*[2]	Location of shafts
Meir	Senbi (Tomb B3)	<u>Outer Hall</u> (2 false doors) **the south wall** [260]			<u>Outer Hall</u> 2 shafts (Shaft 1-2)
		south-west corner (for Senbi)	Lost	OF TN	
		Centre (For Mersi)[261]	OT Male figure *Wedjat*-eyes	OF Name of Mersi	
	Ukh-hotep (Tomb B4)	<u>Inner Room</u> (1 false door) (For Ukh-hotep?) **the west wall**	Damaged (The deceased figure?)	OT? TN?	No information
Qubbet el-Hawa	Sarenput I (QH36)	<u>Inner Hall</u> **the east wall**	No information	OF ?	No information

*[1]**OT**=Offering table scene of the deceased; **OL**= Offering list; **ST**= Standing figure; **SS**=Sitting figure

*[2] **OF**=Offering formula; **TN**= Titles and name of the deceased

Table 12 : Titles of owners (Meir and Qubbet el-Hawa)

Tomb	Owners of False doors	Titles on false doors
Tomb B3	Senbi	*ḥ3ty-ʿ* (Governor)
	Mersi	*ḥm-nṯr [ ] y.t Ḥt-ḥr* (Prophetess of Hathor)
Tomb B4	Ukh-hotep (?)	Cannot confirm (Inscriptions are damaged)
QH 36	Sarenput I	No information

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[260] The false doors are placed on the undecorated parts of the south wall.

[261] Blackman 1953b: 3, 6. See Figure 71. Mersi was the sister of the tomb owner of Senbi and the mother of the tomb owner Ukh-hotep of Tomb B4, and the wife of Sebni who was the tomb owner of Tomb A1 (Blackman 1953b: 6).

2.5 Analysis of the case studies

To summarise all case study examples, the types of decorative motif and inscriptions on false doors dated to the period from the late Old to Middle Kingdoms primarily follow the common Old Kingdom style. Most false doors used an offering table scene of the deceased for panel decoration. In addition, offering formulae, the deceased's titles and names are inscribed on the false doors. Moreover, epithets are added to their titles on several false doors. Within all examples, only false doors I and II in the tomb of Setka (QH110) at Qubbet el-Hawa have unique forms and decorations. In addition, the minor motifs that related to offering rituals, for example, the *Wedja*t-eyes or the seven sacred oils figure, were used as the decoration on false doors after the late Old Kingdom. There are also examples of undecorated false doors in the late Old Kingdom tombs. For the Egyptians' beliefs, inscribing the name and titles of the deceased is essential because they implied the deceased's identity,[262] therefore it is not clear why these false doors remained blank. Possible reasons could be that the owners of the equipment died before the work had been completed or the tomb owner did not have enough financial resources to decorate it. In addition, it is possible that the false doors which remained blank belonged to the family members of the tomb owners, especially female family members, rather than to the tomb owner himself. Another possible reason is that while the undecorated false doors were prepared for the tomb owner's family members, the false doors were unused because the family members were not in fact buried in the tomb. There is a possibility that the burial chamber located near an undecorated false door was used, in which case a lack of financial means or unexpected death of the deceased seem the most likely reasons.

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[262] Kanawati 2001: 23.

As a whole, the decoration and inscriptions of the false door did not go through any huge changes during the period in question. Otherwise, in comparison with an ideal false door conforming to religious regulation, the case studies show that changes were made. Firstly, it is confirmed false doors do not always follow the religious regulation relating to its location on the west wall. Although the false doors in mastaba tombs at Giza do follow the religious regulations, those in the rock-cut tombs in provincial cemeteries, for example, in Deir el-Gebrawi and Naga ed-Der, were occasionally placed on non-west walls. The flexible rules for the rock-cut tombs might simply have occurred due to the tomb's architectural design and the cemetery environment.[263] Another suggestion is that the location of the necropolis, either the West or East Bank of the Nile, could affect the location of the false doors. Deir el-Gebrawi and Naga ed-Der are located on the East Bank of the Nile. On the other hand, within the provincial cemeteries in the case studies, the false doors in Meir or Qubbet el-Hawa in the late Old Kingdom and the First Intermediate Period were mainly located on the west wall. There is a possibility that once the local elite chose their tomb sites in the East Bank for their cemeteries, they decided to be flexible and reacted to the notion of the "West" for building and equipping their tombs. For example, Bolshakov (1997: 139) states that Old Kingdom non-royal style did not associate the notion of "the West" with the geographical location. However, there are the cases that false doors in other late Old Kingdom rock-cut tombs in the East Bank, such as Sheikh Said or El-Hawawish, are located on the west wall. Similarly, most false doors in Beni Hassan are located on the west walls. Thus, it can only conclude that the clearest reason for the location of the false doors was that it was based on the architectural design of each individual tomb.

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[263] Bolshakov 1997: 50.

Secondly, it has been verified that tomb owners generally intended to make a connection between the location of the false door and burial shaft in the tomb throughout the periods when they equipped the tombs. Especially for the mastaba tombs, the tomb owners were concerned with the relationship between the locations of the false doors and burial shafts. For instance, Ankh-Tef (T111) at Giza in the case studies set his false door at the vestibule, which had two shafts located behind the false door even though he also placed his other false door in the chapel, non-sacred place.[264] Therefore, the tomb owners possibly tried to make a connection between the location of the false doors and burial shafts or the mouths of the shafts for primary buried persons, such as the tomb owners. This also suggests a possibility that the location of the burial shaft was a more important matter than the "West" where the netherworld existed when the tomb owners considered the location of the false doors. However, the case studies show that the false doors were sometimes fixed in the places where no burial shaft or a mouth of burial shaft was either located or close by, for instance, the false doors in the tomb of Ankh – Tef (T111) at Giza, Pepiankh (Tomb A2) at Meir or Baki II (BH 33) at Beni Hassan even though they were placed on the west walls. Thus, it is uncertain that the location of burial chambers was thought to be a major issue for siting the false doors.

Thirdly, the case studies show that placing two false doors for one tomb owner was common, as with both mastaba and rock-cut tombs in the late Old Kingdom. In addition, there are the cases in which the false doors of family members, such as wives, sons or other important male family members, were placed in the tombs, such as Setka and Ptahhotep at Giza. Otherwise, the early Middle Kingdom tombs mainly contain one

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[264] See section 2.2.1 Giza.

false door for the tomb owner himself. In other words, the number of false doors in one tomb tended to decrease from the early Middle Kingdom. Although most tombs in the late Old Kingdom and the First Intermediate Period contain multiple false doors, either only for the tomb owner or to include other family members, the examples in the early Middle Kingdom section set one false door in one tomb, apart from a false door of Senbi (Tomb B3) at Meir.

The above analysis from the case studies indicates that the development of a few elements of the false doors in private tombs appeared in the late Old Kingdom provincial necropolises and then continued through the First Intermediate Period. The changes stopped in the early Middle Kingdom. This suggests that the position of the false doors in non-royal funerary culture changed during these periods. According to religious rules, false doors should be located on the west walls of sacred places. However, the case studies show that the Egyptians had a more flexible rule for placing false doors in their tombs, particularly in the rock-cut tombs. Strictly speaking, the false doors that were set on the non-west wall or in non-sacred places did not play any religious role: a connecting point between this world and the netherworld for the deceased *ka*.[265] Moreover, it is possible that the tomb owners might have expected that false doors could play other roles in the tombs. If so, one should question what aspect could be suggested for the false doors from the case study data beside a role of offering stele. Therefore, the next chapter discusses the possible roles of false doors between the late Old and the early Middle Kingdoms.

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[265] Bolshakov 1997: 134.

Chapter 3

Discussions

3.1 False doors as a symbol of social status

According to the studies, the provision of two false doors for one deceased person is not a rare occurrence, as shown by the tombs of Setka (T101) and Niʿankh-Khnum (T105) at Giza or Ibi (Tomb 8) at Deir el-Gebrawi. Firstly, it is necessary to comprehend a worth of the false door itself as an element of the funerary equipment during the Old Kingdom. False doors were provided as essential funerary artefacts in tombs for both higher and lower ranking officials.[266] Old Kingdom officials considered false doors to be one item of funerary equipment among other costly stone products, such as a sarcophagus, in a small number of their (auto-)biographical texts, for instance, the inscriptions of Weni at Abydos.[267] In particular, these written sources stressed that kings had given false doors to their officials.[268] Furthermore, the texts say that these false doors were brought from the quarries on the king's orders or permissions because everything in Egypt, such as the land or raw materials, belonged to the king.[269] This shows that false doors were costly and valuable funerary equipment controlled by the royal administration. It is uncertain how frequently the kings gave the false doors to

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[266] In the Old Kingdom private tombs, offering places with false doors, offering tables and basins were always prepared for performing funerary practice, even if they were small in size (Shirai 2006: 326).

[267] See section 1.2.1 in chapter 1 for the transliterations and translations. The inscriptions of Debehen in the Fourth Dynasty at Giza (*Urk* I 18-21), which were the earliest example of (auto-)biographical texts, mentions two false doors, which were given by the king as a part of his funerary equipment.

[268] See also Text 5 in Appendix.

[269] Although evidence of the Old Kingdom economic situation is scant, Egyptian officials could not purchase materials for equipping their tomb. In addition, many Old Kingdom (auto-)biographies, for example, the texts of Debehen or Merykhufu from Giza, prove that the kings and royal administration were involved the tomb construction of the Old Kingdom officials since the early Old Kingdom (Chauvet 2004: 475).

their officials as rewards or gifts because only a few (auto-)biographies that mention such facts have survived. It is supposed that most of the owners of the mastaba and rock-cut tombs most likely managed craftsmen who could work to decorate or equip the false doors by themselves. Most tomb owners in the case studies who have secondary or tertiary decorated false doors hold hierarchy rank titles, such as *ḥȝty-ˁ* (Governor), *smr-wˁty* (Sole Companion) or *sḏȝwty-bity* (The seal-bearer of the King of Lower Egypt).[270] Niankhpepi and Pepiankh at Meir and Djau and Ibi at Deir el-Gebwari hold the three hierarchy titles: *ḥȝty-ˁ*, *sḏȝwty-bity* and *smr-wˁty*. In addition, other tomb owners who have secondary false doors, such as Setka (T101) and Niankh-Khnum (T105) at Giza, hold the titles which start *sȝb* (Senior), *imy-r* (Overseer) or *sḥḏ* (Inspector). Moreover, the titles and names of the tomb owners between the late Old Kingdom and the First Intermediate Period who hold these hierarchy rank titles have them engraved repeatedly on all parts of the false doors. At the same time, the existence of undecorated false doors is also confirmed in the case studies. As has been suggested in section 2.5 in chapter 2, a lack of financial resources might have been one of the reasons why these false doors remain blank. In the case study example, the tomb owners who kept their false doors undecorated do not have these hierarchy titles. As a result, having decorated false doors, especially secondary or tertiary decorated false doors, could be construed as a social status symbol to emphasise the tomb owner's wealth. However, this situation might have changed from the early Middle Kingdom in the provinces because the tombs which contain multiple false doors are in a minority after the First Intermediate Period. This suggests that the worth of false doors as social status symbols had changed

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[270] Jones 2000a: 315, 496. Jones 2000b: 763, 892. See Table 2, 4, 6, 8, 10 and 12. Baer (1960: 11) points out almost two thousand titles were used in the Old Kingdom. However, this thesis concentrates on only the titles that are identified Old Kingdom administrative hierarchy.

between the First Intermediate Period and the early Middle Kingdom. A difference in equipping false doors between mastaba and rock-cut tombs also might have affected the change. For the rock-cut tombs, the workers carved the false doors directly on the walls. Consequently, the false doors were no longer funerary artefacts, which were given by the king as rewards and which required the king's the permission and the effort to carry the stone from the quarries. Moreover, the tomb owners may have targeted another funerary artefact to express their social status, possibly the deceased's statue. Thus, the function of social status symbols reached a peak in the late Old Kingdom then disappeared during the early Middle Kingdom in non-royal funerary culture.

3.2 False door as a grave marker

The case studies also show that multiple burial shafts were created in one tomb. Although the number of false doors in one tomb is smaller in proportion to the number of burial shafts, there are the examples in which the tomb owner's family members, such as their wives, sons and other male family members, also had false doors.[271] For instance, the number of the shafts in the tomb of Setka (QH110) at Qubbet el-Hawa, shows that at least six people in this family were buried in the tomb. False door I in QH 110 suggests that the unnamed son of Setka who was the owner of False door I was buried in one of the six shafts. In addition, the mastaba tombs of Seshemnefer and Ify (T106) at Giza also contained other family members' false doors. It is assumed that only family members who were important people in the family were allowed to place their

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[271] As the case studies revealed, Tombs 39 and 67 at Deir el-Gebrawi also contained multipul false doors. However, it is uncertain whether the false doors were prepared for one deceased person or for the tomb owners and other family members because of poor preservation. Thus, these tombs are omitted from the examples in which one deceased person owns the multipul false doors.

false doors in their family's tombs. In other words, when they died they wished to keep their identity. Preserving the name was a significant matter in surviving the afterlife so they made sure to obtain funerary services and a supply of offerings eternally. However, spaces where the other family members would have been allowed to represent themselves on the wall reliefs or inscriptions might be smaller than the tomb's owners. In that case, the false doors became a place where they could emphasise details of themselves. Principally, the other family members may have expected the false doors would become the marker to show visitors that they were buried in the tomb. Moreover, for their visitors, the number of the deceased in one tomb might be expected to increase over the years. It is uncertain how long private funerary service was provided to the deceased after their death in reality but demonstrating the name and the titles of the deceased may have reminded the living about their ancestors who needed the provision of offerings for their afterlife.

There is a possibility that the grave marker served an additional purpose varied as an epitaph, especially for the wealthy deceased. Most false doors in the case studies have the offering formulae and the deceased's titles and name. Predominantly, their names and the titles are inscribed repeatedly on the false doors of the wealthy and high rank tomb owners, for instance, the false doors of Djau at Deir el-Gebrawi and Niankhpepi at Meir. Likewise, titles relating to positions within the royal administration were also carved on the false doors of other tomb owners. This suggests that preserving the titles together the names was important for all tomb owners. For ancient Egyptians, it was important to keep a memory of the dead in necropolis and it should have been visible in

the most ideal style.[272] Hence, it is possible that the tomb owners used the false doors to show all of their titles, so as to indicate their exact social positions in royal administration. In addition, the role of grave marker with epitaphs may explain the tomb owners' desire to place their false doors in the places where there is no connection with the burial chambers. The false doors therefore became the artefact, which identified its owner, and emphasised to the visitor the precise social position of the deceased during his lifetime. The function as grave markers possibly affected the false doors after the Old Kingdom: for example, the Cenotaph of the Sekwaskhet Family, the suggested date of which is during the Eleventh Dynasty.[273]

3.3 Conclusion

The case studies imply that the false doors were used for non-religious purposes, as symbols of social status and grave markers, between the late Old Kingdom and the First Intermediate Period. This means that the deceased in these periods used the false doors to provide specific information about themselves and the facts of burials in the tombs, as well as for religious purposes. However, the false doors in provincial cemeteries from the early Middle Kingdom apparently do not contain these two aspects. For instance, the fact that the number of false doors in an individual tomb decreased in the period suggests that the false doors were no longer funerary equipment which the tomb owners used to portray their social status. In addition, the false doors were mainly set only for the tomb owners in the early Middle Kingdom even though they still had multiple burial shafts. This suggests that the role of grave markers was not pertinent to these tombs. On

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[272] Baines and Lacovara 2002: 6.
[273] See Figure 50. This cenotaph was discovered at Saqqara, near the Teti cemetery, and it is now in the Cairo Museum (JE 55619, the current serial registration number is 9625) (Abdalla 1992: 93, 95).

the contrary, the appearance of motifs that related to an offering ritual, such as the figures of *Wedjat*-eyes or sacred oils, indicated that the owners wished the false doors to contain more religious aspects rather than the two non-religious aspects. This assumes that the role of the false door from the early Middle Kingdom was mainly that of an offering stela. In other words, the role of the false door returned to its original usage of the false doors from the early Middle Kingdom. The case studies suggest that change occurred to the worth and the roles of false doors between the late Old and the early Middle Kingdoms. To sum up, the false doors became significant artefacts for reminding people of the deceased's identity in the late Old Kingdom. However, from the early Middle Kingdom, they simply expected to work for the deceased's *ka*.

In comparison with the religious usages, which were as an offering stela and a connecting point between this world and the netherworld for the deceased's *ka*, the target of the two non-religious functions were focused toward the living. If these suggested roles of the false doors in the late Old Kingdom are correct, it is now necessary to consider a reason why the false doors had these roles that focus on the living. Therefore the relationship between the deceased and the living in the non-royal funerary culture should be discussed; and such discussion forms the focus of the next chapter.

Chapter 4

The relationship between the dead and the living in non-royal funerary culture

In Egyptian religious beliefs, the dead were still alive in the netherworld, and the living and the dead established a relationship because the dead were believed to be involved in the lives of the living. The living adopted a number of practices which they believed would able them to contact the dead, these primarily consisted of funerary practices in tombs, for instance, a festival service by a priest, sacrifice or recitation.[274] In addition, the dead and the living communicated with each other through texts. During the Old Kingdom, the dead communicated to the living via the (auto-)biography, Appeal to the Living, inscribed on false doors and tomb walls, and the living communicated by means of Letters to the Dead. Therefore, this chapter studies these inscriptional sources to determine what kind of relationship existed between the deceased and the living. For the (auto-)biography and Appeal to the Living, both of the texts on the false doors and tomb walls in the Old Kingdom are studied to investigate the communication from the dead to the living. For the Letters to the Dead, twenty letters have survived until today.[275] Two letters are dated to the Old Kingdom, so several letters that were written between the First Intermediate Period and the mid Middle Kingdom are also used as material for this study.

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[274] Bommas 2010: 161. Oral communication might have been a common way of communication between the dead and living (Baines 1991: 155).
[275] Baines 1991: 155; Bommas 2010: 168.

4.1 Communication between the dead and the living

4.1.1 Contact from the dead to the living

Communication from the dead to the living consisted of two main types of texts: (auto-)biography and the Appeal to the Living. Firstly, the identity of the deceased was established by the (auto-)biography, the main purpose of which was to give details of the deceased's social status and wealth. For instance, the tomb owners frequently stressed that they built their own tombs with own financial resources and paid all fees for the craftsmen who worked to build these tombs, such as passages of Hetepherakhet at Saqqara demonstrate.[276] The texts of Hetepherakhet write: [277]

> "I made this tomb from my true possessions,
>
> I have never the property from anyone.
>
> Regarding everyone who worked for me there,
>
> they did and praised the god for me very greatly for it.
>
> They did this, for bread, for beer, for cloth, for merbet
>
> for wheat, in great quantity."

In addition, the texts of Ankhmare from Giza confirm that his craftsmen were well paid,[278] saying:

> "While I gave them very great payment,
>
> they praised all gods for me".

These texts basically emphasise the tomb owner's wealth, which directly implies the social status of the tomb owner during his lifetime. In addition, it implies that completing their own tombs with their own finances was recognised as one of the great

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[276] *Urk* I 49.10-50.10; Strudwick 2005: 273. The inscriptions were written in the late Fifth Dynasty.
[277] *Urk* I 50.3-7.
[278] Roth 1994: 233.

achievements in their lives.[279] The contents of these passages were also inscribed on the false doors,[280] so indicating that this information was one of the important facts which the deceased wished to convey to the living. Moreover, the tomb owners stressed to their visitors their social status through their relationships with the kings and their positions in the royal administration. For instance, Old Kingdom (auto-)biographies mentioned that the tomb owners were rewarded with the tomb or funerary equipment by the kings. Also, the (auto-)biographies reveal that the royal administration and the kings were deeply involved in the high officials' funerary cult; for instance, the inscriptions of Djau from Deir el-Gebrawi or Sanbi and Mekhu from Qubbet el-Hawa.[281] Another example, the passages of Djau, states:[282]

> "I requested as a wish from the majesty of (my) lord,
>
> the king of Upper and Lower Egypt, Neferkare may he live
>
> eternally, provide a coffin, garments and festival oil for
>
> this Djau. His majesty caused to bring ẖnty-š, a wooden
>
> coffin, festival oil and sft oil, 200 garments, linen of good
>
> thin cloth from the double-treasury of the residence,
>
> for this Djau".

Likewise, the texts of Sanbi and Mekhu from Qubbet el-Hawa say: [283]

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[279] There is a hypothesis that the tomb owners proclaimed that they built their tombs through their own prosperity because this showed visitors that they had a legal right to the tomb (Bolshakov 1997: 139). However, it is still unclear whether stressing their legal right to their tombs through the inscriptions was recognised as a useful topic to get the attention of visitors. Bolshakov (1997: 139) also states that a reason why the author proclaimed about the tomb building is that they were afraid their tombs would be deposed in the future. If this is correct, the passages might have contained a meaning of warning to visitors even if this could become a different way of obtaining their attention.

[280] See section 1.3.1 in Chapter 1.

[281] *Urk* I 146.6-14 (Djau); *Urk* I 137.12-138.9 (Sabni).

[282] *Urk* I 145.6-14.

[283] *Urk* I 137.14-138.9.

I came back to this (my) father in necropolis.

When this Iri came from the Residence, he [brought] a

decree for confer, mayor, seal-bearer of the king of

Lower Egypt, sole companion, lector priest, this Mekhu.

He brought [   ] 2 embalmers, a senior lector priest,

inspector of *wabet*, mourners, and the whole equipment

of the house of the perfection.[284] He brought festive oil

from the house of the perfection, the secrets of 2 *wabet* [from]

the house of weapon , cloth form the treasury,

all burial equipment from the Residence to go forth for

the hereditary prince Mekhu".

This could indicate to visitors the fact that they were powerful officials and were favoured by the kings. The contents of the career (auto-)biography sometimes contained details of the tomb owners' relationship with the kings, position or achievements in the royal administration; for example, the inscriptions of Weni at Abydos, Qar from Edfu[285] and Harkhuf at Qubbet el-Hawa. [286] Having a close relationship with the king was one of the important elements to gain the respect of the living.

Likewise, the tomb owners often proclaimed their moral personality in their (auto-

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[284] Chauvet (2004: 546) translates *prw-nfr* to "funerary workshop".

[285] The (auto-)biographical inscriptions are carved on the architrave of the offering niche of Qar in the Sixth Dynasty at Edfu, now is in Cairo Museum (JE4337-043371) (El-Khadragy 2002: 224-225).

[286] In addition to these career (auto-)biographies of the Sixth Dynasty, there are career (auto-)biographical texts that emphasise their positions in Old Kingdom royal administrations in the tombs of the Fifth Dynasty, such as the inscriptions of Kaigemi, and Kaiemtiennet, both at Saqqara, and Senedjemib Inti at Giza. See also Strudwick (2005: 282-287, 311-315) for the translations for both career (auto-)biographical texts.

)biographies.[287] The deceased's good behaviour was based on the concept of Maat. Maat was the code that specified morality, justice and truth for the living and the dead in ancient Egypt.[288] Texts expressing element of Maat include the main inscriptions of the (auto-)biography of Pepinakht called Heqaib from Qubbet e-Hawa who say: [289]

> "I am one who speaks the good and repeats the favour
>
> I never said any evil thing to a powerful (man?), nor did
>
> against any man as I desired to (my?) name is good in
>
> the sight of the great god. I gave bread to hungry and
>
> cloths to the naked. I never judged the fellows and never
>
> did my son lose the possession of his father. "

Also, the inscriptions on false door of Neferseshemre from Saqqara have typical passages expressing the moral personality of the tomb owner, which declare what the deceased had done on the concept of Maat. The passages say: [290]

> I went forth from my town, I went from my nome,
>
> I did Maat for its lord, I satisfied him with what he
>
> loves. I spoke Maat, I did Maat, I spoke the good,
>
> I repeated the good, I took a right moment, for
>
> I love the good to be there for people. I judged two

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[287] Lichtheim 1988: 6; Strudwick 2005: 45. The statements of moral personality are used repetitvely in Old Kingdom (auto-)biographies (Lichtheim 1988: 6). In other words, the passages to illustrate the moral personality are mainly formulated (Lichtheim 1988: 6). See Kloth (2002: 77-128) for studying all statements which the tomb owners used to express their moral personality.

[288] Helck 1980: 1110; Strudwick 2005: 45; Bommas 2010: 165, 169. Lichtheim (1992: 18) states that the (auto-)biographical texts show "Maat is the good, and doing Maat consists of performing acts of honesty, fairness and kindness". When Maat was personified, it was expressed as the seated goddess who has a feather on her head (Helck 1980: 1111; Bommas 2010: 165).

[289] *Urk* I 132.12-133.8; Lichtheim 1988: 15-16; Strudwick 2005: 334.

[290] *Urk* I 198.4-199.8; Lichtheim 1988: 6; Strudwick 2005: 301-302.

litigants to their satisfaction. I saved the wretched

man together with strength when I had power.

I gave the bread to the hungry and cloths (to the naked). [291]

Furthermore, it appears that the related passages, in which the tomb owners claimed to have built their own tombs by their own financial resources and had treated their craftsmen well, are also examples of the moral values incorporated in the principle of Maat. In the passages that are associated with tomb building, they frequently add another passage, in which they claim they "had never taken property from anyone", as shown in the inscriptions of Inti at Deshasha[292] which say:[293]

"King's acquaintance Inti, he says,

I have made this tomb from my true possessions.

I have not taken a thing from anyone[…]".

These passages imply that the tomb owners were concerned with truthful and generous behaviour to their workers when they erected their own tombs. [294] Although it is doubtful that all tomb owners actually carried out this kind of goodwill during their lifetime, these passages show what deeds were significant from the Egyptian elite according to the principle of Maat.

Principally, Old Kingdom (auto-)biographical inscriptions were mainly engraved to depict the tomb owner's memory of this world. At the same time, all of their careers and moral personality would have become one of the important aspects of the veneration of

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[291] *Urk* I 198.4-199.8.

[292] *Urk* I 69.6-71.10; Lichtheim 1992: 11; Kloth 2002: 6; Strudwick 2005: 372-373. The tomb is dated to the late Fifth or the early Sixth Dynasty.

[293] *Urk* I 69.12-70.10.

[294] Lichtheim 1992: 11.

the deceased, from the living's point of view. The prominence of such themes demonstrates their importance in establishing to the living that the deceased was worthy of their prayers and offerings because the deceased had adhered to the principles of Maat during their lifetime.

The second form of communication from the dead to the living, the 'Appeal to the Living',[295] was a significant element of the tomb decoration programme in addition to (auto-)biographical inscriptions.[296] The 'Appeal to the Living' was inscribed in places that could gain the attention of passers-by: for example, the tomb wall at the entrance or on the false door.[297] In addition, these texts were occasionally included in (auto-)biographical inscriptions[298] or were written with the commemorative texts of the deceased. The 'Appeal to the Living', which usually starts *i 'nḫ.w tpi.w tꜣ* (= O you who live on earth), the incipit that requests offerings that the living make to the deceased, such as bread, beer, ox and fowl, and also encouraged passers-by to recite the offering formula.[299] For example, the appeal of Reherytep Iti from Saqqara[300] stated their request to make offerings for them and to recite the formula if the living had nothing else to give.[301] The texts states:[302]

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[295] Müller 1975: 294. The "Appeal to the Living" appeared in the Fifth Dynasty (Lichtheim 1992: 156; Bommas 2010: 166), and the texts existed until the Late Period (Müller 1975: 293). This assumes that the "Appeal to the Living" emerged because of a growing use of offering formula during the Old Kingdom (Lichtheim 1988: 5-6).

[296] Müller 1975: 293.

[297] Müller 1975: 294; Bommas 2010: 164. In the later period, the Appeal to the Living was also inscribed on tomb stelae and statues (Bommas 2010: 164).

[298] For instance, the appeal of Mehu at Saqqara in the Sixth Dynasty was included in his (auto-)biography on the architrave (Kloth 2002: 18-19). For its translations, see Strudwick (2005: 223-224). Likewise, the (auto-)biographical inscriptions of Djau (Tomb 12 at Deir el-Gebrawi) contained his appeal to the living (*Urk* I 147.19-20).

[299] Müller 1975: 293-294; Lichtheim 1988: 6.

[300] *Urk* I 197.11-18; Strudwick 2005: 232-233.

[301] *Urk* I 223.18-224.6.

"[O] you who live on earth, one who shall pass by this tomb,

[…] favours you [Beloved Orisis], all lector priests or any man,

who shall give me bread and beer from that in your possession.

If you do not have your possession, you shall say, "a thousand of

bread, a thousand of beer, a thousand of oxen, a thousand of fowl,

a thousand of alabaster, a thousand of clothing for the royal noble

and the regulator of the king, Iti"".

Moreover, the dead occasionally added further phrases in which the deceased promised

the living that they would be in the king's favour if they made an offering or recited the

formula.[303] For example, the appeal of Khentyka from Balat[304] said: [305]

"O you who live on earth, one who shall pass by this tomb.

If you desire that the king favours you, especially any scribe,

read this writing on this thing, who shall give me bread

and beer from that which you posses. If there is nothing you

posses, you shall say in this pronouncement "a thousand

of bread and a thousand of beer for a boat keeper, who equips

and works, the ruler of oasis, Khentyka".

Similar to the appeal of Khentyka, the appeals often asked passers-by to recite a prayer

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[302] *Urk* I 197.11-18.

[303] Müller 1975: 294. The texts of the Appeals to the Living had varied during the Old Kingdom although the contents of the appeal were basically similar. However, a few different types of content were added in the Sixth Dynasty. For the details of the Old Kingdom variations of content in the Appeal to the Living, see Lichtheim (1992: 155-159). See also Lichtheim (1992: 155-190) for the details of the types of appeals throughout ancient Egyptian history.

[304] Osing, Moursi, Arnold, Neugebauer, Parker, Pingree & Mur-el-Din 1982: 26-28. The appeal of Khentyka is carved on the stela of his chapel. The stela from the late Sixth Dynasty is now in the museum in Kharga Oasis. The passages relating to the moral personality continued after the Appeal to the Living.

[305] Osing, Moursi, Arnold, Neugebauer, Parker, Pingree & Mur-el-Din 1982: Taf 4, 58

if thet desired the king's favour, such as the appeal of Ankhmeryremeryptah, called Nekhebu from Giza.[306] Also, the appeal of Meryrenefer Qar on the false door from Edfu encourages the living to recite the formula if they desire to gain the god's favour.[307] It says: [308]

> "O you who live on earth, one who shall enter to this tomb
>
> in the necropolis, who wish their god to be loved them, who
>
> shall say, bread, beer, oxen and fowl for *imakhu* in the
>
> sight of Ptah south of his wall the sole companion,
>
> lector priest, Meryrenefer".

Likewise, Pepiankh-Ḥeryib from Meir requests in his appeal that visitors to the tomb recite the formula and make an offering for him to obtain the king's and the god's favours. [309]   The beginning of this appeal started with a different phrase from the common phrase ("O you who live on earth") which suggests Pepiankh-Ḥeryib intended to emphasise this appeal to all passers-by: [310]

> "O every people who travels north or come from south,
>
> as the king lives for you, and the god, who you are under him,

---

[306] *Urk* I 218.10-219.7; Strudwick 2005: 268. This (auto-)biographical text is now in the Museum of Fine Arts in Boston (MFA 13.4331) and the Cairo Museum (JE44608). The contents of the Boston Text (MFA 13.4331) are an (auto-)biography of Ankhmeryremeryptah, which states his achievements in the royal administration and close relationship with the king. The Cairo Text (JE44608) is complemented by another (auto-)biographical text, the passages of moral personality and the appeal to the living. For the translations for both texts, see Strudwick (2005: 265-269). These inscriptions are known as important evidence of the Old Kingdom organisation of labour (Strudwick 2005: 265).

[307] The appeal is carved on the left jamb of the false door of Qar at Edfu (*Urk* I 252.2; Lichtheim 1992: 156; El-Khagdragy 2002: 224). The appeal of Djau from Deir el-Gebrawi (*Urk* I 147) emphasises that a person who recites a formula for the deceased Djau would be loved by the king and local god

[308] *Urk* I 252.2-4; El-Khadrgy 2002: 224

[309] *Urk* I 223.18-224.6.

[310] *Urk* I 223.18-224.6.

lives for you, you shall give to me, bread, beer, that is in

your hand, you shall present with your two hands, you shall

offer with your mouth. If they shall do in accordance

with [what I said...], it shall be done in accordance

with what they love".

In addition, the message of the 'Appeal to the Living' was intended for all people, not only those know to the deceased. For instance, the appeal in the (auto-)biography of Harkhuf at Qubbet el-Hawa declares that Harkhuf would watch over people who recite the formula for Harkhuf in the necropolis;

"O you who live on earth, one who shall pass by this tomb

when travel downstream or upstream, if you shall say,

'a thousand of bread and a thousand of beer for

the owner of this tomb', then I shall watch over

them in necropolis".

In addition, a part of the appeal to the living in the (auto-)biography of Bia at Saqqara in the late Sixth Dynasty says that:

"Anyone who shall make an invocation offering for me,

any son, any people, any scribe, who shall pass by this tomb,

and one who shall read this door, this hand (support)

is in the court of the great god".

The passages indicate that Bia would support any people who made an offering and read the texts on the doorway for him, even if they were not relatives of Bia.[311] The remarkable point regarding these texts is that the dead had a concept of interconnection

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[311] Edel 1958: 3-9; Kloth 2002: 12-13; Strudwick 2005: 269.

with the living through a mutually beneficial arrangement in which the living provided offerings and recited prayers in return for which the deceased helped the living with the king and the gods.[312] Furthermore, these passages indicate that the deceased desired passers-by to make offerings or recite formulas, whether they were family members or strangers, as the tombs were generally accessible places to anyone.

4.1.2 Contact from the living to the dead

Textual sources also indicate that the living could contact the deceased: these are called "Letters to the Dead".[313] The Letters to the Dead were written by the living to address deceased relatives and ask for their help in saving them from problems on the earth that they could not solve by themselves.[314] Whereas the (auto-)biographies and Appeals to the Living were directed at the living in general, the Letters to the Dead are recognised as evidence of the living directly addressing specific deceased relatives. Senders of the Letters to the Dead generally mentioned the names of dead ancestors who they requested aid from.[315] In addition, the living stated their problems for which they needed help in these letters. For example, the letters from Shepsi to his dead parents request his dead parents' help because he had trouble with a person and believed the problem emerged because of his brother's malice.[316] For instance, the letter to his father

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[312] See section 4.2 in this chapter for further discussion.

[313] The letters were written between the Old and New Kingdoms (Wente 1990: 210) in Egyptian hisotry.

[314] Uchida 1986: 16. It seems that the concept of the living requesting the deceased's help to sovel their problems on earth started in the late Fifth Dynasty, and possibly, the inscription of Ptahhotep at the end of the Fifth Dynasty is the earliest written evidence containing an idea that the living should contact the deceased to ask for their help in non-royal funerary culture (Uchida 1986: 23). The letters that were addressed to gods, not deceased relatives, appeared in the Ramesside Period (Wente 1990: 210).

[315] Uchida 1986: 16; Bommas 2010: 168.

[316] This letter is written on a bowl, and the bowl is now called the Qaw bowl (UC16163) and was studied by Gardiner and Sethe (1928: 3-5). It suggests that the letters were written either in

states: [317]

> "you said to your son, 'all properties shall be vested
>
> in (my) son, Shepsi' Behold, (my) lands have been
>
> taken by Sher's son Henu. Behold, he is with you in the
>
> same city, you made to commanded him since you are
>
> there with in the same city….".

Likewise, Shepsi claims his mother because he believed his bother caused his problem.

It says: [318]

> "You may judge me with Sobekhotep whom I brought
>
> him from another town to place in his town among
>
> the owner of his desert tomb and gave him burial clothing.
>
> Why does he against your son? (I?) never said
>
> or did wrong. Wrongdoing is sorely to the gods".

Moreover, the letters to the dead were also written to cure illnesses [319] or infertility [320], and to protect from a nightmare [321] which, the senders of these letters believed, were problems which were caused because of some intentional harm brought upon them by someone, either living or dead. These Letters to the Dead imply that ancient Egyptians thought that the dead brought about some of the problems of this world. Ancient

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the late Old Kingdom or the First Intermediate Period. The letter to his dead father Inekhnmut is written on the interior of the bowl, and is written on the exterior of the bowl for his dead mother Iy. In the letter to his father, Shepsi had trouble with a person who was called Henu, regarding his property. Also, the letter to his dead mother Iy shows Shepsi thought his problem had occurred because of his dead brother Sobekhotep's malice. One interesting point in this letter is that Shepsi wishes his father to help him by instituting litigation in the netherworld for him. This letter indicates that Egyptians believed a problem on the earth was also judged by the gods in the netherworld and, in the trial, the deceased supported the trial for the living.

[317] Gardiner and Sethe 1928: Plate II$_A$.

[318] Gardiner and Sethe 1928: Plate III$_A$.

[319] Wente 1990: 215-216.

[320] Wente 1990: 213; Bommas 2010: 169.

[321] Simpson 1966: 41.

Egyptians thought the dead should have protected their family members from these vicious dead people.[322] In addition, the living possibly believed that their good family relationships in this world should continue into the afterlife in that the living should "be given the help by the dead relative". For instance, Shepsi implied in his letters that his parents and he had a good relationship before their deaths because he exerted his brother Sobekhotep's burial,[323] but his parents did not help him thereafter.[324] The letters to the dead suggest that ancient Egyptians believed people were still involved in society on earth after their death. Moreover, the texts indicate that the living expected help from their deceased relatives whom they had good family relationships with or to whom they had given good treatment during their lifetime.

All of the communications show that an "offering" was a significant issue for the relationship between the living and the deceased. The letters to the dead were written on a few types of items, for example, papyrus, linen or vessels, which were deposited as offerings to the deceased.[325] The letters were put on the offering tables which were located in front of the false doors because the living believed the dead read the letters when they came back to this world to obtain the offerings.[326] For instance, Shepsi emphasized his mother in his letter that his mother did not help him even he made an offerings for her and she took them.[327] As Shepsi says to his mother in his letter,

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[322] Uchida 1986: 23; Bommas 2010: 169.
[323] See Page 83 for the translations of Shepsi's letter to his mother.
[324] Gardiner and Sethe 1928: 2-4; Uchida 1986: 20-21.
[325] As the medium for the letters to the deal Egyptians preferred to use a funerary vessel f rather than papyrus or linen. This suggests that the papyrus and linen were more costly than the vessel.
[326] For instance, in a case in which the living wrote their letters on a funerary vessel, like a bowl for liquid, the living understood that the dead had read the letters if the liquid in the bowl had gone (Bommas 2010: 168).
[327] Gardiner and Sethe 1928: 2-4; Uchida 1986: 20-21.

"you said your son, 'you shall bring quails,

I shall eat them". Your son brought 7 quails to you and

you ate them. By acting against me on your side,

the children are disappointed and your son is ill.

Who shall pour water for you?"

The importance of offerings is implied in the letter of the First Intermediate Period from Merirtyfy to his deceased wife Nebetiotef in which Merirtyfy declared to Nebetiotef that he would make offerings and set an offering table for her if she healed him of his illness and appeared in his dreams.[328] The letter says:[329]

"Behold, I am beloved on earth, fight on my behalf

and conduct on behalf on my name............

I will lay down offering for you, [....] the sun

has risen, and(I) will equip an alter for you."

Furthermore, one of the letters to the dead from the First Intermediate Period, that is now called the Hu Bowl, directly expressed the importance of offerings for their relationship because the living provided offerings and they expected to gain help from their deceased relatives in solving their problems.[330] It says:[331]

"A sister who speaks to her brother, the sole companion,

Nefersefkhi. A great beneficial (?) woe. Woe to you who account

this, which is doing (against) my daughter very wrongly.

I do not take his possession (property), he does not give

anything to my daughter, who make invocation-offerings

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[328] Wente 1976: 595-600; Wente 1990: 215.
[329] Wente 1976: 596.
[330] Gardiner and Sethe 1928: 5, 20.
[331] Gardiner and Sethe 1928: Plate IV$_A$.

to the spirit, and watch over the survivor. You shall judge

the one who is doing wrongly since I shall vindicate every

dead man and dead woman who does against my daughter."

These letters again show the concept that the living provided offerings to the deceased to obtain aid from the dead.

4.2 Relationship between the dead and the living

From the examples of the texts discussed it is evident that the deceased and the living tried to maintain good relationships and that the concept of reciprocity through benefits was an important element in those relationships.[332] Although this reciprocal relationship was established, it appears that the situation between the deceased and the living through offerings and recitations was not assured in reality. There were concerns on both sides in that the living feared that the dead might have forgotten to help their living relatives and the deceased were concerned that their provisions should be available eternally to ensure their survival in the afterlife. These mutual concerns are reflected in the tomb decoration programmes in which the deceased emphasize their identity and status, and encourage visitor, while the attention of the deceased was persistently drawn the living; and this is reflected in every decorative element in the spaces accessible by the living in the tombs. Therefore, if all elements in reachable places in the tombs were affected by this concept, it applies to the false doors. Thus, the next chapter focuses on the role of false doors in this reciprocal relationship between the living and the dead.

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[332] Bommas 2010: 177.

Chapter 5

The role of false doors in connection to the approach of the living to the dead in the Old Kingdom

In considering the function of false doors in their reciprocal relationship, some insight may be derived from the activities of the living who used the doors as a point of contact between the living and the dead. This is demonstrated by the fact that letters were written on funerary vessels and other items, like linen or papyrus, which were deposited, together with other goods, on offering tables located in the front of false doors.[333] The false door was therefore the focal point between this world and the netherworld for the deceased's *ka* to obtain offering, and the only place where the living was certain that they could communicate with the deceased's *ka*. To this end, the false door was positioned where the living could gain access, such as in the offering chapel or hall, in both mastaba and rock-cut tombs. Also, a false door was a mutual funerary object in both types of non-royal tombs, those for very wealthy and for less wealthy tomb owners during the Old Kingdom. Other important funerary artefacts were also placed or created in the private tombs, such as a serdab and the deceased's statue. For instance, in Old Kingdom mastaba tombs, a serdab functioned as another funerary space for the deceased's *ka*.[334] However, this was not a place that the living could access[335] and the serdab was not created inside the rock-cut tombs. Similarly, while the deceased's statue was another important funerary objects, it was not a common feature

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[333] Bommas 2010: 169.
[334] Bolshakov 1997: 25.
[335] The role of the Serdab was to protect the deceased's *ka* statues. Thus, it was the only place where visitors could not access the superstructure of the mastaba tombs (Bolshakov 1997: 25).

of all non-royal tombs, and even in tombs in which a statue recess or statue shrine have been found these were not always located in an accessible space.[336] Therefore, the false door was the only piece of funerary equipment which both provided a focal point for the deceased and was placed where the living could gain access.

Apart from the position of the false doors inside the tombs, their function as the grave markers, which is suggested by the aforementioned case studies, also helped the interconnection between the living and the dead. Here it is apparent that the main aim of the social aspect of the false door was the establishment of a reciprocal arrangement by which the deceased showed themselves to the living by directly expressing the tomb owner's social status- in those cases where the equipment contained aspects of social status symbols.[337] As a result, these aspects had the same effect as other elements of tomb decoration programmes, such as the relief, (auto-)biography or appeal to the living: elements emphasizing the status and identity of the tomb owner themselves. The establishment of identity in the afterlife was an important aspect of the social function of the grave marker in that it assists the living in preparing their Letter to the Dead. Visitors to the tombs seeking support from the dead could identify the specific deceased person to whom they wished to write from the inscriptions on the false doors, and were also given the opportunity to put offering or letters in the correct place. Accordingly, the false doors were used as the connecting point and became an important point of reference for the living and the dead for their communication.

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[336] Barta 1998: 75. It is evident that the Egyptians understood the deceased's statue was an important cult place because visitors made offerings in front of the statues (Bolshakov 1997:134). However, the statues were occasionally put in tomb shafts or in a hidden place, such as behind the wall of the offering chamber (Arnold 1999: 47).
[337] See section 3.1 in Chapter 3.

Furthermore, the way in which the living approached the dead possibly reflects on the development of false doors themselves. From early Old Kingdom onwards, the false doors evolved from simple offering stelae to funerary artefacts which included other functions as well. Recognised as the connecting point between the dead and the living, it is possible that the owners of the false doors were used by tomb owners to give further information to the living by their inscriptions. Consequently, other types of texts started to be inscribed on the false doors as well as offering formulae.

The suggested roles of the false doors as social status symbols, grave markers and connecting points between the deceased and the living propose that the deceased were concerned for the living as well as their *ka*. Hence, the tomb owners still paid attention to the false doors even though the religious rule for false doors, such as being placed on the west wall or being connected with the tomb shaft, were no longer applied. Practically, essential funerary equipment, such as a sarcophagus, was prepared for the deceased's afterlife, but, since the living had started to contact the dead, false doors were constructed to serve both those in this life and the next.

Conclusion

In the Old Kingdom non-royal funerary culture, a tomb was a place where the elite lived after their death, that afterlife centred on a funerary cult. Thus, the Egyptian elite was concerned with an important task: to build their own tombs and prepare funerary equipment for their afterlife. Within this funerary equipment, a false door was an essential item. False doors were placed in the tombs as offering stelae since the early Old Kingdom. However, aspects of the false doors, the inscriptions and the situation inside the tombs, signify that there is a possibility that, in addition to this religious aspect, they could have had social functions. Hence, the present work attempts to establish the complete nature of false doors as a funerary artefact during the Old Kingdom.

The hieroglyphic words *r3-pr* and *rw.t* which refer to "false door", are examined. The origins of the two expressions intimate that Egyptians primarily named the equipment after their religious concepts. For instance, *r3-pr* possibly combined the architectural and religious elements of false doors, as the expression could translate into "a door in a tomb or an offering chapel" or "a door of the underworld in a tomb". Also, it may have been named from an idea that the deceased *ka* went forth through the false door between this world and the netherworld; as such it translates into "a door where the deceased could go forth in an offering chapel". Likewise, the expression *rw.t* came from a concept of sacred lion in Egyptian religion and the false doors were located at a sanctified place which the sacred lion guarded.

In addition, two main elements of Old Kingdom false doors, the inscriptions and their

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location in the tomb, are other relevant points that should be considered. For inscription types on Old Kingdom false doors offering formula and the deceased's name were essential with, sometimes, the addition of the titles of the deceased, sometimes with epithets. Moreover, other types of inscriptions, such as (auto-)biographical or legal texts were occasionally added even though it was apparent that these texts do not strongly relate to the role of offering stelae.

The contents of the (auto-)biographical texts included proclamations that the owners had built their tombs with their own financing, which was the ideal situation, and that they had paid fees to the craftsmen who worked upon them. In addition, the tomb owners sometimes mentioned real matters that occurred during the constructions; for example, the fact that the king was involved in providing the false door. Moreover, they occasionally commemorate a fact they made the tombs or false doors for the relatives of the deceased in the inscriptions on the false doors. Also, actual situations with false doors in tombs indicate that the rules relating to the manner in which these artefacts were presented variable. The false door should be placed on the west wall in a sacred place, such as the offering chapel, and in the mastaba tombs they were mostly located on the west walls. Yet in rock-cut tombs in provincial cemeteries the false doors were placed on the non-west walls. If the religious role of the false doors strictly follows the tomb constructions, the false doors that were located on the non-west wall could not be the connecting point between the this world and the netherworld for the deceased *ka*.

The types of inscriptions on the false door and the apparent flexibility with regard to their placement within the tomb imply that false doors may have had more than

religious purpose. Consequently, this thesis has studied the false door in particular in twenty-five private tombs at representative cemeteries, Giza, Deir el-Gabrawi, Meir, Naga ed-Der, Qubbet el-Hawa and Beni Hassan, which were constructed between the late Old and mid Middle Kingdoms. The examples identified provide the case studies from which the possible functions of the false doors may be considered further. From the case studies, it is apparent that the types of decoration and inscriptions remain essentially unchanged during the periods in question, even though uncommon motifs also are used for a few false doors. On the other hand, the tomb owner had a flexible rule for equipping the false doors within their tombs, for instance, mainly in provincial cemeteries, the locating of the false door on the non-west wall. In considering why the false doors were allowed to be located in the non-west walls in certain tombs, a few possible reasons could be suggested: the distinction between the mastaba tombs and the rock-cut tombs; locations of burial shafts, an effect of lack of a notion of the "West" in the East Bank necropolises or to comply with requirements of the overall tomb decoration programme. While it seems that the tomb owners were concerned as to the locations of burial shafts, a few false doors were located in places where there are no burial shafts either at or close by even though the false doors were placed on the west wall. It does seems that consideration of the tomb decoration programme could be the most influential element for the sitting of the false doors, although the tomb owners may have had different motivations in that the false doors were thought to be effective inside the tombs even though they did not follow the religious regulations for such equipment.

The variation in sitting of false doors in the tombs, as suggested by the case study data, is indicative of their non-religious functions and these appear twofold: social status

symbol and grave marker. The former suggestion is reinforced by the fact that, although the false doors were essential funerary equipment, the kings occasionally gave them to the officials as rewards or gifts, and stone funerary artefacts were generally costly goods for non-royals. The case studies also revealed that there are a few cases that demonstrate that one tomb owner had secondary or tertiary decorated false doors. In many cases of the examples studied it is clear that owning two false doors was not rare for the Egyptian elite. Also, the tomb owners who possessed the supplementary false doors, especially those in the provinces, had hierarchy titles, such as mayor, the sealer of the king and sole companion. This indicates that they were high-ranking people in the Old Kingdom administration and wealthy local officials and, while not always gifts of the kings, the equipping of rock-cut tombs in the provinces with more than one decorated false door demonstrated the tomb owners' riches, social status, and his position in the social administration.

Likewise, the false door also might have played a role of grave maker in private tombs. The case studies show that the tomb owners and their family members were buried in the same tombs. In one situation, a mastaba tomb at Giza, false doors were placed for other family members, who shared the tomb, along with that of the tomb owner. Although it appears that important members in the family were allowed to own their false doors, some false doors in the family tombs became markers that indicated who was buried within. It may be supposed that the role of the grave marker may have developed in order that the deceased may keep their identity inside the tomb and thereby assuage a fear that provision of offering or funerary practices may be forgotten by the living. Therefore, demonstrating the name to the living was important for the deceased.

It may be also useful for visitors who made an offering for the dead as the number of buried persons increased year after year and a generation changed. Furthermore, the types of inscriptions on the false door suggest that the function of grave marker possibly varied to the role of epitaph. Although the offering formulae and the name of the deceased are essential, the titles of the deceased were also carved on all decorated false doors in the case studies. This clearly indicates that the owners of the decorated false doors wished to show the visitors their social position in royal administration in this world. Otherwise, the case studies proposed that the two functions of false doors might have disappeared after the First Intermediate Period. In the Beni Hassan rock-cut tombs in the early Middle Kingdom the tomb owners set one false door for tomb owner himself. Also, the motifs that relate to offering rituals, such as *Wedjat*-eyes or sacred oil, are used to decorate the false doors. This suggests that the role of false doors returned to the original usage, which was as offering stela, from the early Middle Kingdom. Thus, the position of the false doors in the non-royal funerary culture changed during this period.

The two functions of the false doors that centred on the living show that there was a strong relationship between the dead and the living. Ancient Egyptians believed the dead were still alive in the netherworld. In addition, they had a concept that the living and the dead lived in same community. Because of this concept, the dead and the living communicated to each other through funerary practices and texts. This dissertation concentrates on the written evidence relating to their methods of communication. For communication from the dead to the living, the dead emphasised their moral personality on the principle of Maat and their career, for instance, their achievements and the

relationship with the kings in their (auto-)biographical texts that were inscribed on the tomb walls to show the living how they deserved to receive offerings. In addition, the deceased encouraged passers-by to make offerings or recite offering formula by the additional passages of text now known as the "Appeal to the Living". Moreover, the dead declare to the living in the passages they would give the benefits to the living if they made offerings and recited prayer for the deceased. These inscriptional sources show that the dead wished to communicate with the living for a provision of offerings and recitation of prayers eternally after their death.

Similarly, the living communicated with the dead through the texts which are now called "Letters to the Dead". The letters show that the living requested deceased relatives to help them overcome earthly problems, for example, illness, legal issues and nightmares. Also, the living stated that they would make offerings if the dead gave aid to them for solving their problems in the letters. These textual sources from both sides clearly indicate that the dead and the living had a reciprocal relationship through "offerings". The fact that the "offerings" were an important matter in their relationship and their methods of communication show that false doors, as connecting points between the dead and the living inside the tombs, had a role in that communication. From the living's point of view, the false doors were the places where the dead returned to this world occasionally to obtain the offerings. Also, one suggested role of false doors would be that grave markers could work effectively in their communication as the living could confirm the information relating to specific deceased person by the inscriptions, such as their names, when they made communication with the dead. Moreover, the false door was funerary equipment in the tombs which could be used by both the living and

the dead whether the deceased were wealthy or non-wealthy tomb owners. Furthermore, in the social functions of Old Kingdom, their reciprocal relationship suggests that the false door was the only funerary equipment which was prepared for the living as well as the deceased's *ka*. In other words, the false doors were intended to be effective for both the living and the deceased's *ka* in enabling the dead and the living to establish a reciprocal relationship.

This thesis suggests the social functions associated with false doors in Old Kingdom non-royal funerary culture, functions which possibly disappeared after the First intermediate Period. This dissertation allows the examination of a small number of false doors of the periods as case studies. Hence, the comparative study of all false doors in all necropolises between the Old Kingdom and the mid Middle Kingdom is preferable as further research to confirm the suggested changes regarding the function of false doors in the non-royal funerary culture. In addition, it is apparent that the aspects of the false doors were strongly effected by the changes in Egyptian funerary belief. Therefore, it is expected that further research of false doors may bring answers for unsolved questions of Old Kingdom non-royal funerary culture.

Figures

Old Kingdom	ca.	**2543–2120**[+25]
Dyn. 4	ca.	**2543–2436**[+25]
Snofru		2543–2510[+25]
Khufu (Cheops)		2509–2483[+25]
Raʿdjedef/Djedefreʿ		2482–2475[+25]
Bikheris		2474–2473[+25]
Khephren (Raʿkhaʿef)		2472–2448[+25]
Menkaureʿ (Mycerinus)		2447–2442[+25]
Shepseskaf		2441–2436[+25]
Dyn. 5	ca.	**2435–2306**[+25]
Userkaf		2435–2429[+25]
Sahureʿ		2428–2416[+25]
Neferirkareʿ Kakai		2415–2405[+25]
*Raʿneferef/Neferefre*ʿ		2404[+25]
Shepseskareʿ Izi		2403[+25]
Neuserreʿ Ini		2402–2374[+25]
Menkauhor		2373–2366[+25]
Djedkareʿ Izezi		2365–2322[+25]
Wenis		2321–2306[+25]
Dyn. 6	ca.	**2305–2118**[+25]
Teti		2305–2279[+25]
Userkareʿ		?–?[+25]
Pepy I *Meryreʿ*		2276–2228[+25]
Nemtyemzaef *Merenreʿ*	ca.	2227–2217[+25]
Pepy II *Neferkareʿ*		2216–2153[+25]
Nemtyemzaef II		2152[+25]
Dyn. 8	ca.	**2150–2118**[+25]
Neferkaureʿ		2126–2113[+25]
Neferkauhor		2122–2120[+25]
Neferirkareʿ		2119–2218[+25]
First Intermediate Period	ca.	**2118–1980**[+25]
(Herakleopolitan) Dyns. 9 and 10	ca.	**2118–1980**[+25]
Middle Kingdom	ca.	**1980**[+16]**–1760**
(Theban) Dyn. 11	ca.	**2080–1940**[+16]
Mentuhotep I (Tepiʿa)	ca.	1980–?[+16]
Inyotef I (Sehertawy)	ca.	?–2067[+16]
Inyotef II (Wahʿankh)		2066–2017[+16]
Inyotef III (Nakhtnebtepnufer)		2016–2009[+16]
Mentuhotep II *Nebhepetreʿ*		2009–1959[+16]
Mentuhotep III *Sʿankhkareʿ*		1958–1947[+16]
Mentuhotep IV *Nebtawyreʿ*		1947–1940[+16]
Dyn. 12		**1939**[+16]**–1760**
Amenemhet I *Sehetepibreʿ*		1939–1910[+16]
Senwosret I *Kheperkareʿ*		1920–1875[+6]
Amenemhet II *Nebukaureʿ*		1878–1843[+3]
Senwosret II *Khaʿkheperreʿ*		1845–1837
Senwosret III *Khaʿkaureʿ*		1837–1819
Amenemhet III *Nimaʿatreʿ*		1818–1773
Amenemhet IV *Maʿkherureʿ*		1772–1764
Nefrusobk *Sebekkareʿ*		1763–1760

Figure 1: Chronological table between the Old and the mid Middle Kingdom

(Hornung, Krauss and Warburton 2006: 490-492).
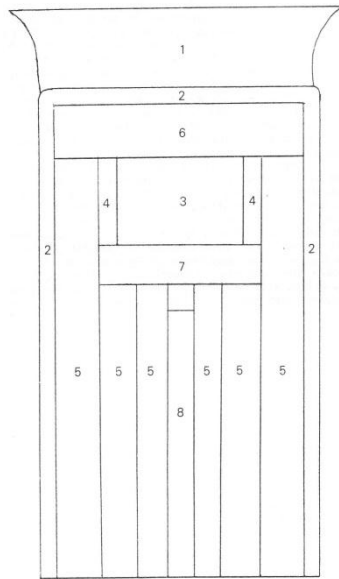
Key to Parts:

1	Cornice	2	Torus
3	Panel	4	Apertures
5	Jambs	6	Architrave
7	Lintel	8	Central Niche

Figure 2 : A Common form of Old Kingdom false door

(Strudwick 1985: 11, Figure 1)
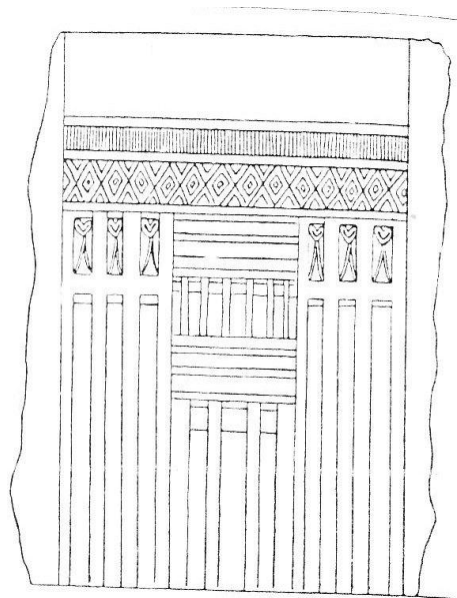
Figure 3: Palace-façade false door

(Haeny 1984: 568, Abb3)
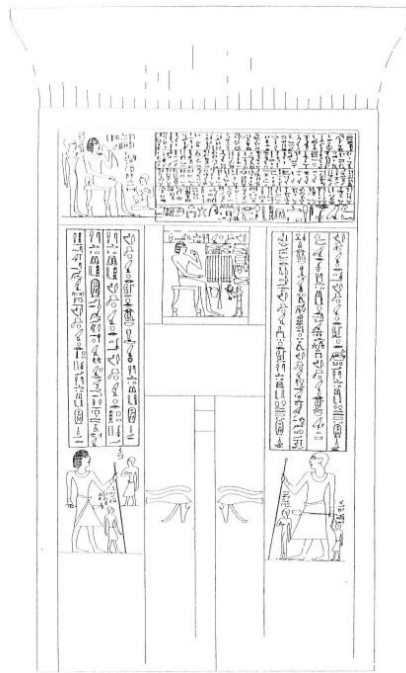
Figure 4: *Wedjat*-eyes on Old Kingdom false door
(El-Khadragy 2002: 219, Fig 7)
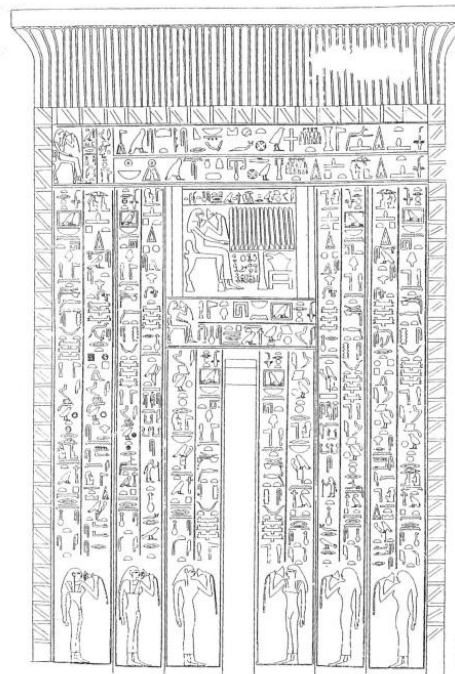
Figure 5: False door of Nedjetempet
(Kanawati 2001: 22, Fig 1)
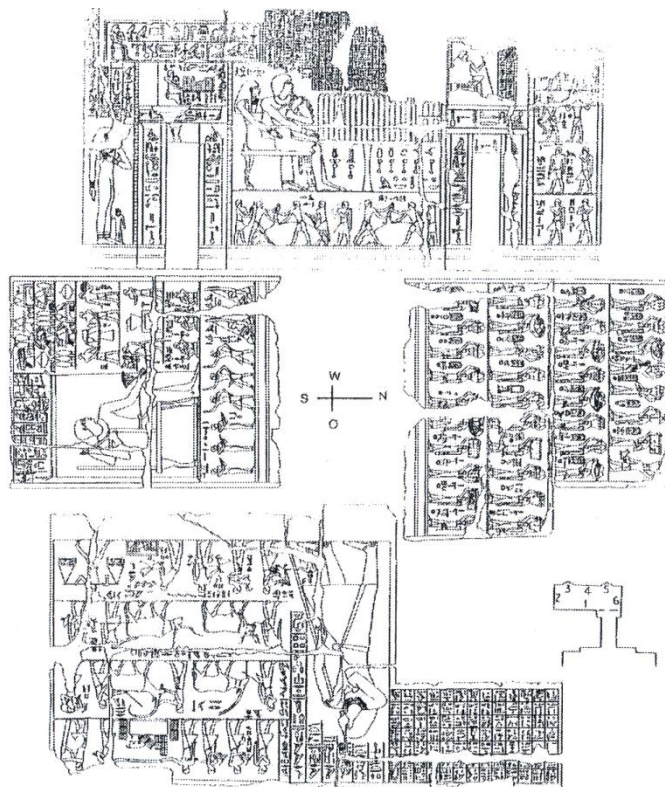
Figure 6: Decoration programme in chapel of Seschemnofer III
(Fitzenreiter 2001: 105, Abb3)
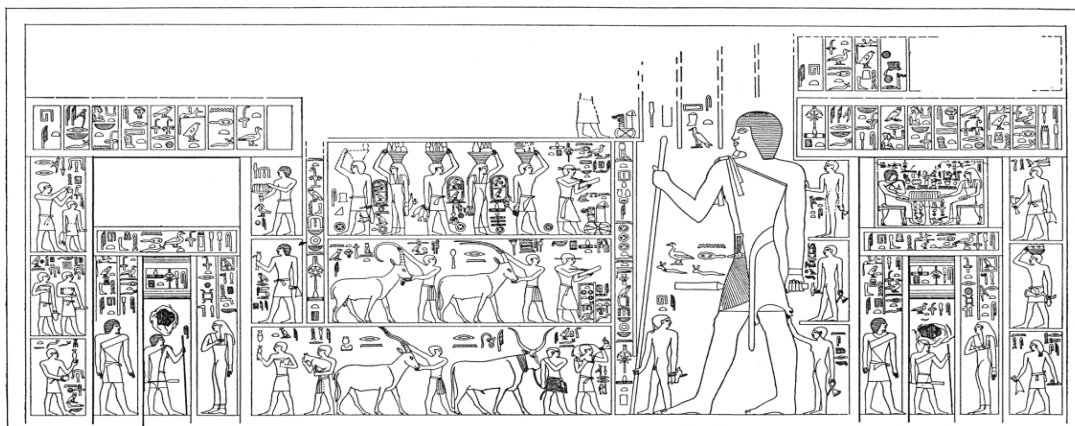
Figure 7: The west wall in the tomb chapel of Seschathotep at Giza
(Junker 1934: 182, Abb7)
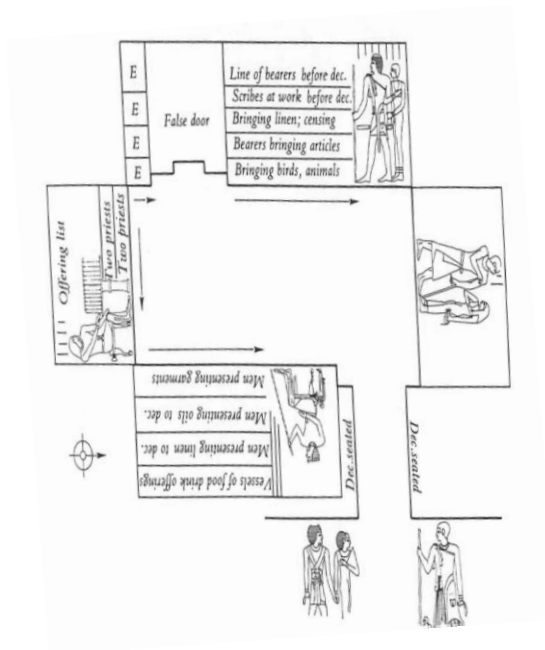
Figure 8: Tomb plan of Khofukaef I at Giza
(Harpur 1987: 413, Plan 84)
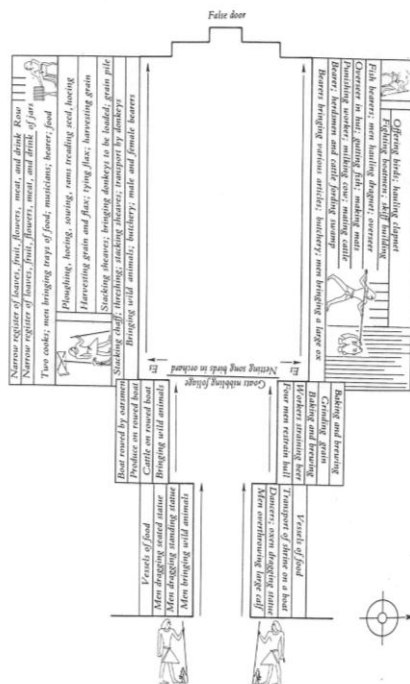
Figure 9: Tomb plan of Persen at Saqqara
(Harpur 1987: 422, Plan 90)
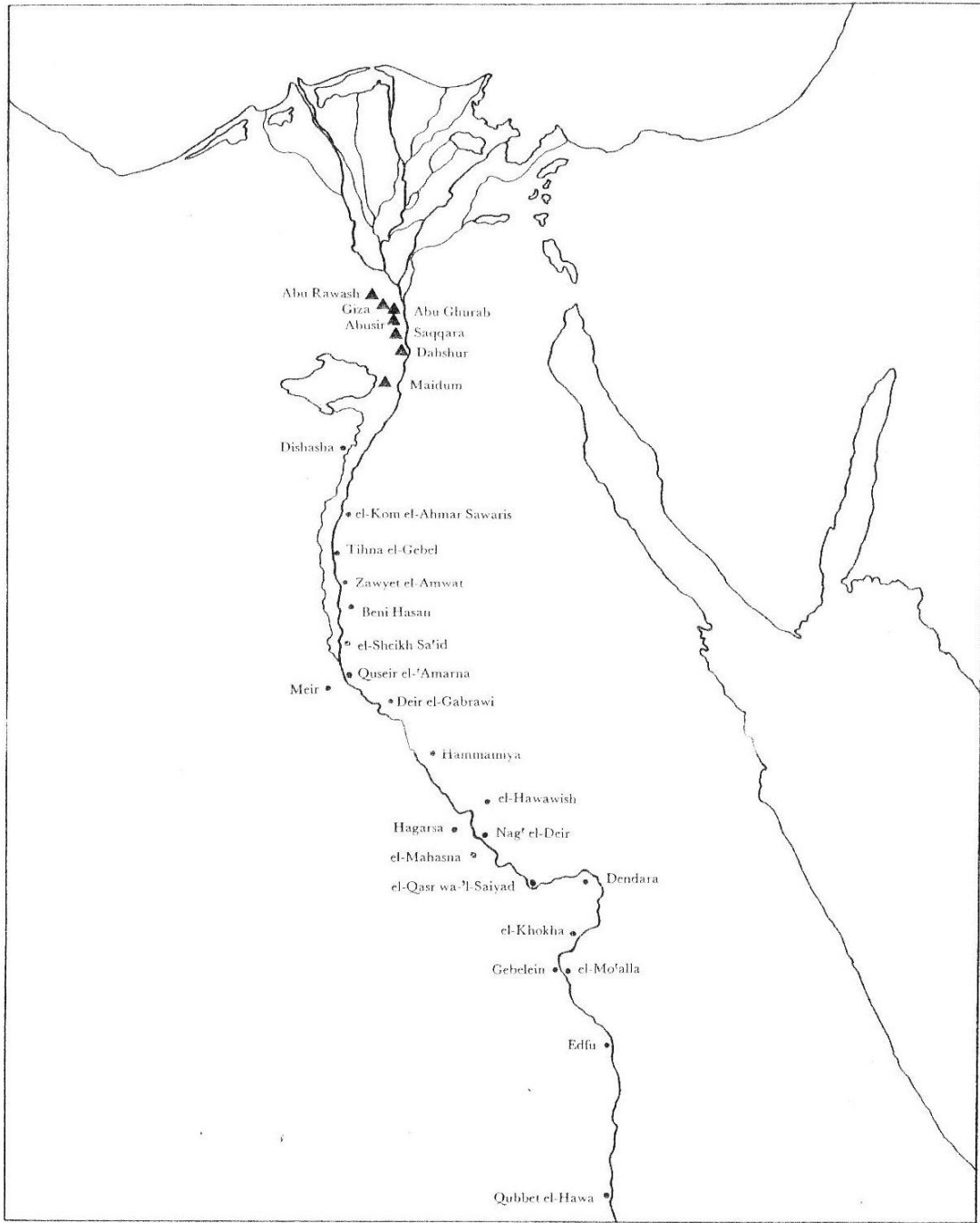
Figure 10: Map of necropolises

(Harpur 1987: 451, Figure 1)

Giza
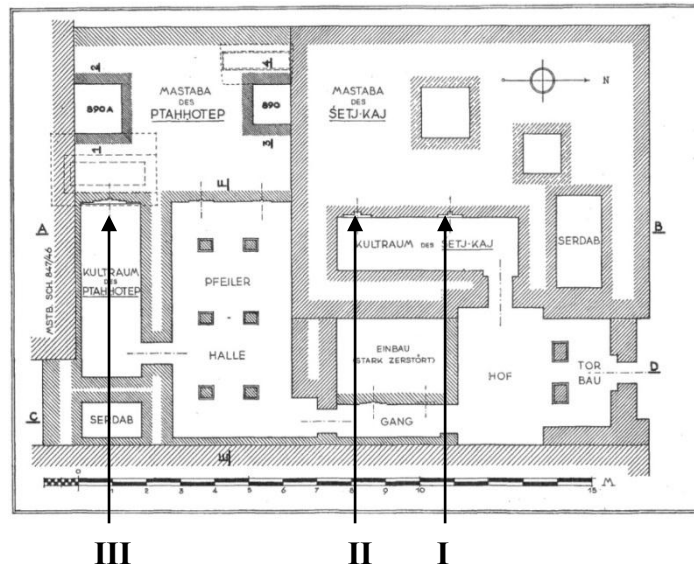
I. The northern false door of Setka   II. The southern false door of Setka

III. False door of Ptahhotep

Figure 11: Tomb plan of the tomb of Setka and Ptahhotep(T101)

(Junker 1944: 195, Abb 83)
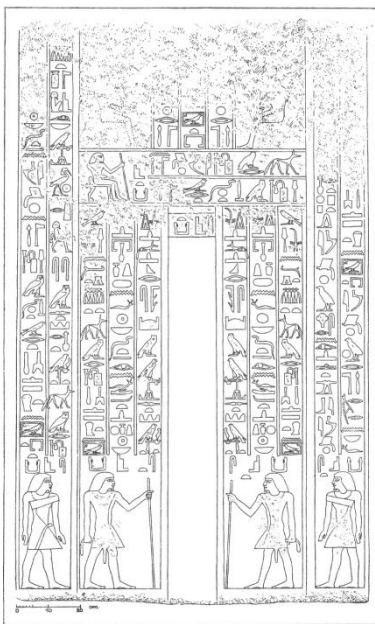
Figure 12 (left): The northern false door on the west wall of Room I in T101

(Junker 1944: 209, Abb 86)

Figure 13(right): The southern false door on the west wall of Room I in T101

(Junker 1944: 203, Abb 85)
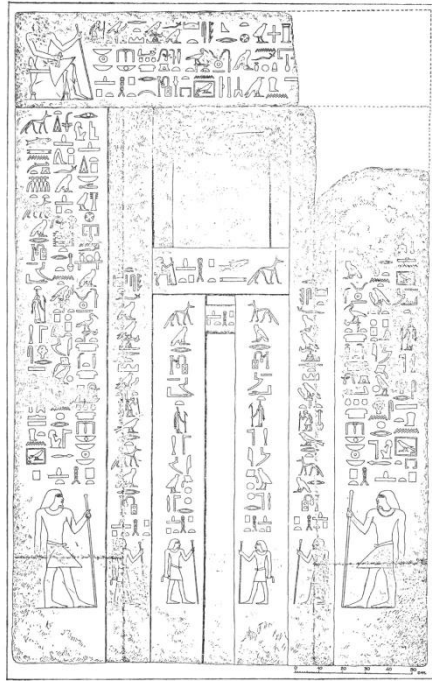
Figure 14: False door of Ptahhotep on the west wall of Room II in T101

(Junker 1944: 223, Abb 89)
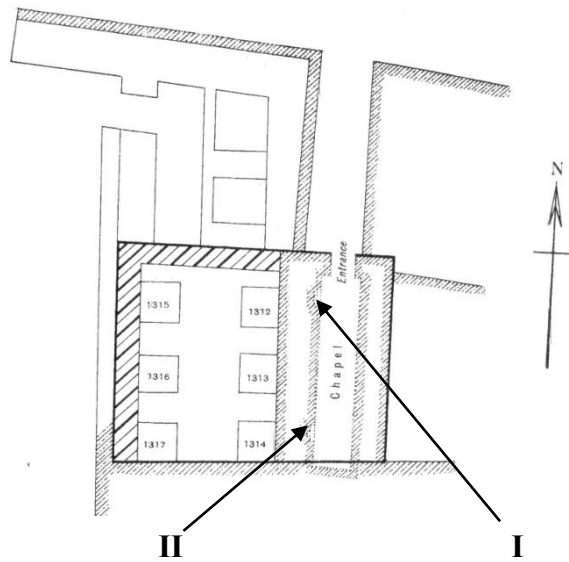
I. the northern false door on the west wall   **II**. the southern false door on the west wall

Figure 15: Tomb plan of the tomb of Niankh-Khnum(T105)

(Hassan 1950: 134, Figure 125)
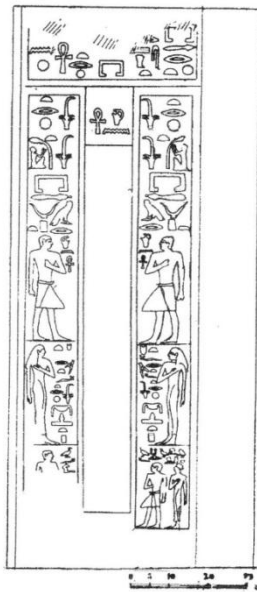
Figure 16 (left): The northern false door on the west wall in the chapel in T105

(Hassan 1950: 137, Figure 129)
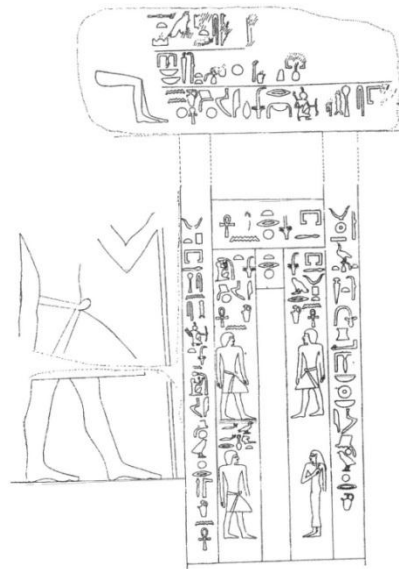
Figure 17 (right): The southern false door on the west wall in the chapel inT105

(Hassan 1950: 138, Figure 130)
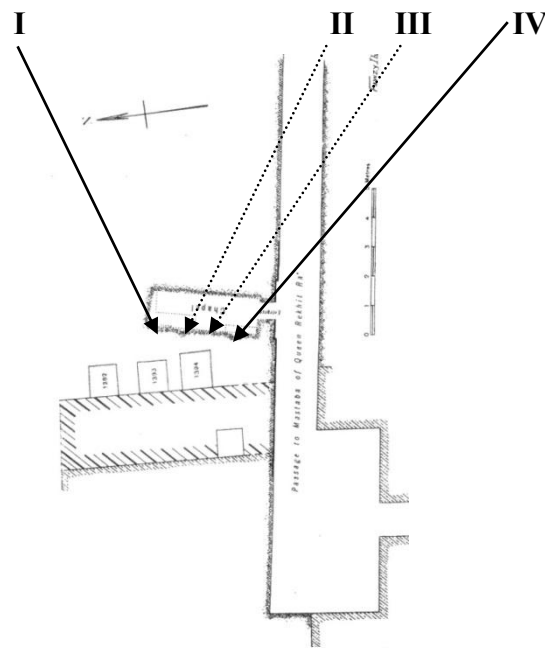
I. False door of Ify   **II**. False door of Iqry

III. Unfinished false door   **IV**. False door of Nefert

Figure 18: Tomb plan of the tomb of Seshemnufer and Ify (T106)

(Hassan 1950: 218, Figure 214)
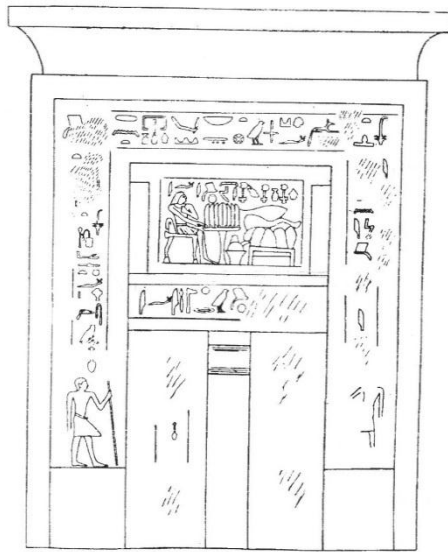
Figure 19: False door of Ify on the west wall in the chapel in T106

(Hassan 1950: 223, Figure 220)
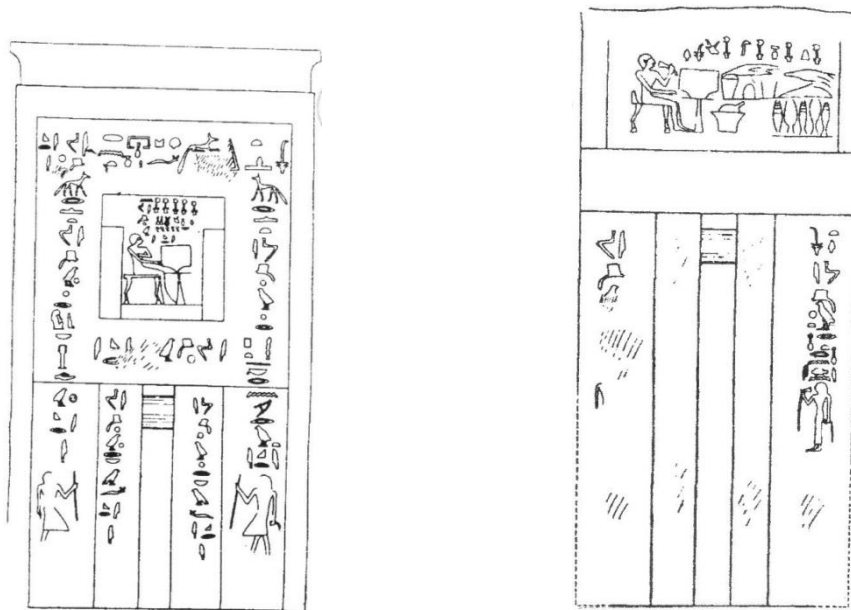
Figure 20 (left): False door of Iqry on the west wall in the chapel in T106

(Hassan 1950: 222, Figure 219)

Figure 21(right): False door of Nefert on the west wall in the chapel in T106

(Hassan 1950: 221, Figure 218)
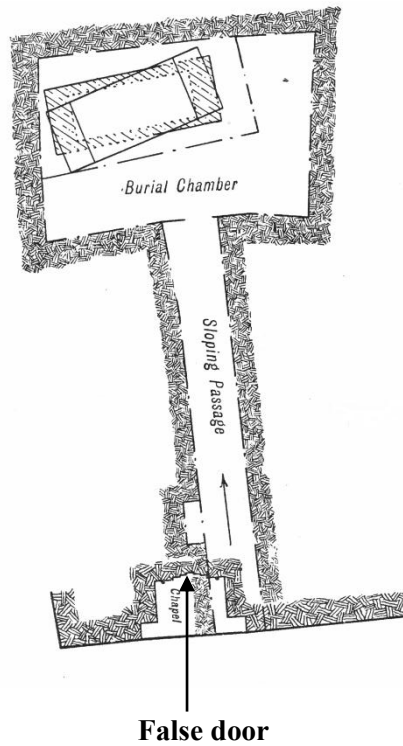
False door

Figure 22: Tomb plan of the tomb of Seshemnefer with Good Name Ify (T104)

(Hassan 1953: 58, Figure 48)
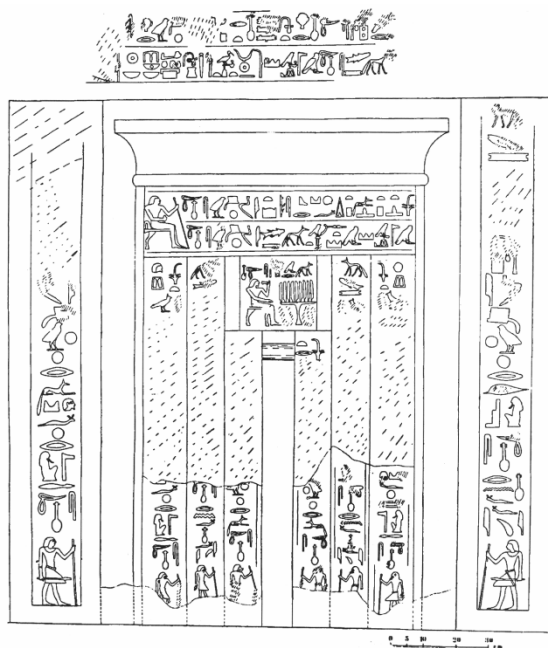
**Figure 23: False door of Seshemnefer with Good Name Ify on the west wall in
Room 1 in T104**

(Hassan 1953: 59, Figure 49)
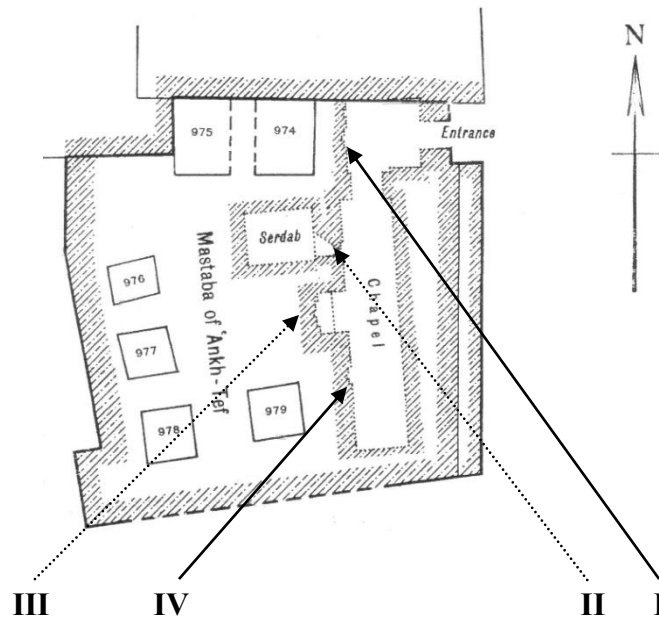
I. False door on the west wall of vestibule **II-IV**. False door on the west wall of chapel

Figure 24: Tomb plan of the tomb of Ankh-Tef(T111)

(Hassan 1944: 227, Figure 84)

Figure 25 (left): False door on the west wall of vestibule in T111

(Hassan 1944: 228, Figure 85)

Figure 26 (right): False door on the west wall of the chapel in T111

(Hassan 1944: 232, Figure 91)
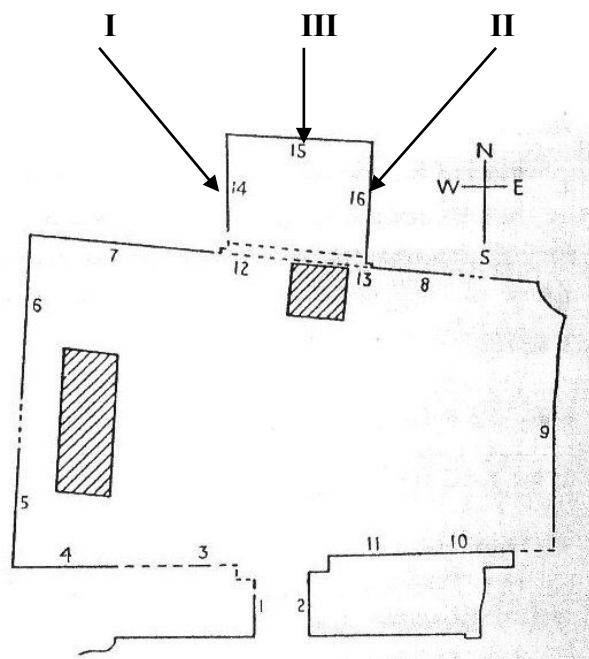
I. False door on the west wall in shrine   II. False door on the east wall in shrine

III. False door on the north wall in shrine   ▨= Tomb shaft

**Figure 27: Tomb plan of the tomb of Djau (Tomb 12)**

(Porter and Moss 1934: 240)
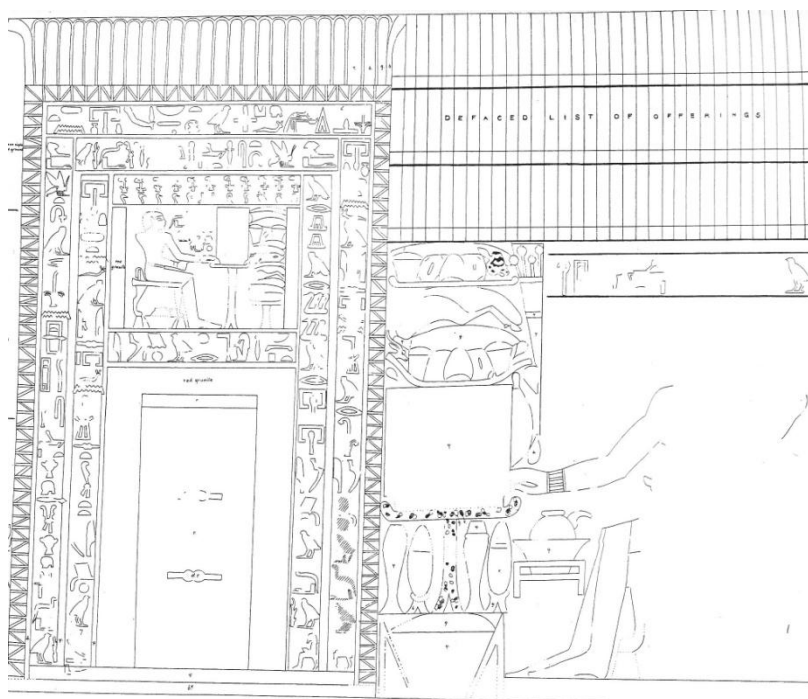
Figure 28: False door on the west wall of the shrine in Tomb 12

(Davies 1902b: Plate XI)
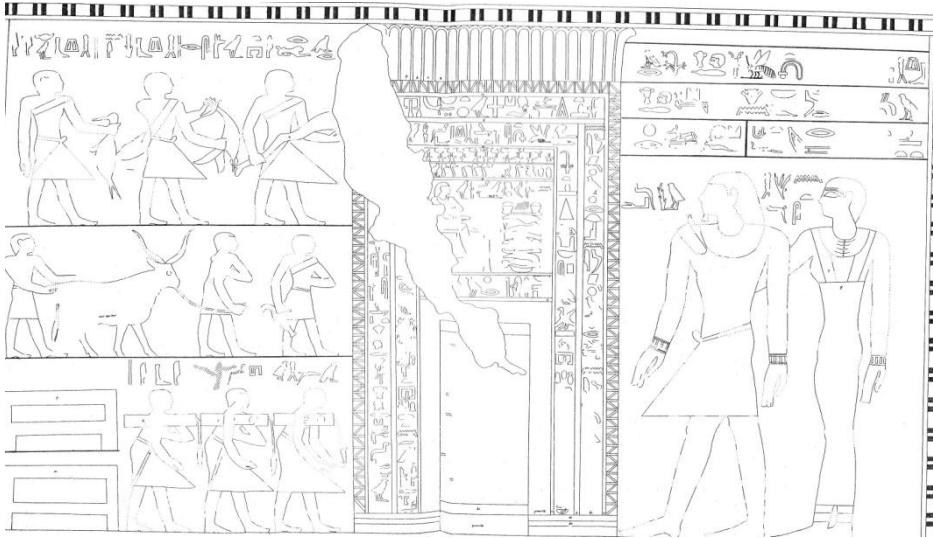
Figure 29: False door on the north wall of the shrine in Tomb 12
(Davies 1902b: Plate XII)
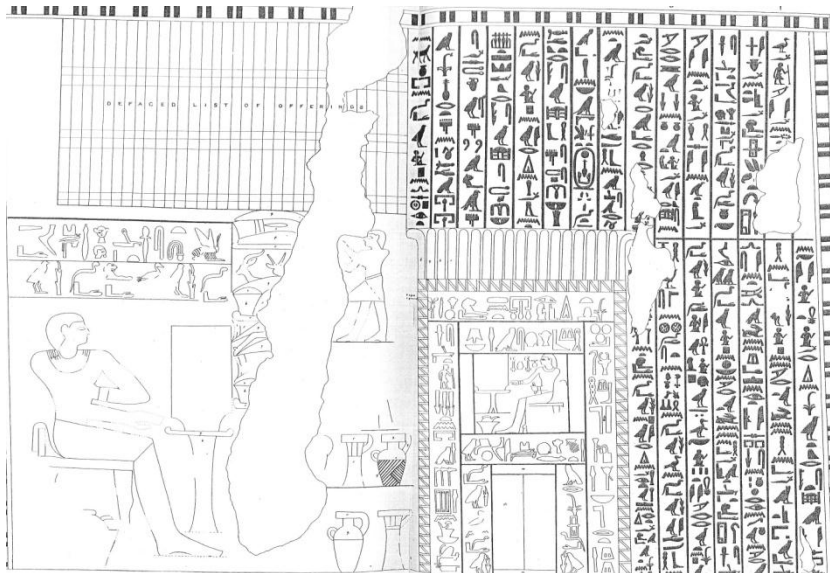
Figure 30: False door on the east wall of the shrine Tomb 12
(Davies 1902b: Plate XIII)
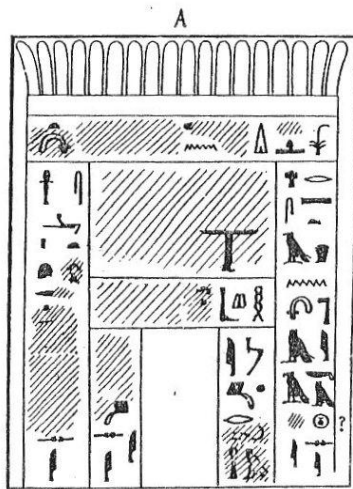
Figure 31: False door on the north wall of the hall in the tomb of Isi (Tomb 46)
(Davies 1902b: Plate XXI)
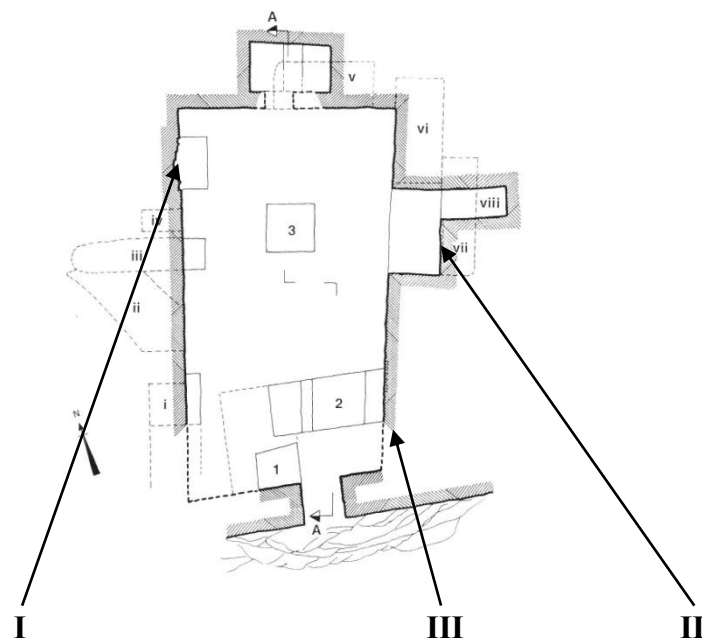
I: False door on the west wall   **II**. False door on the northern part on the east wall
III. Location where the southern false door on the east wall was placed.
1-3: Tomb shafts

Figure 32: Tomb plan of the tomb of Henqu/Kheteta (Tomb 39)
(Kanawati 2005: Plate 35)
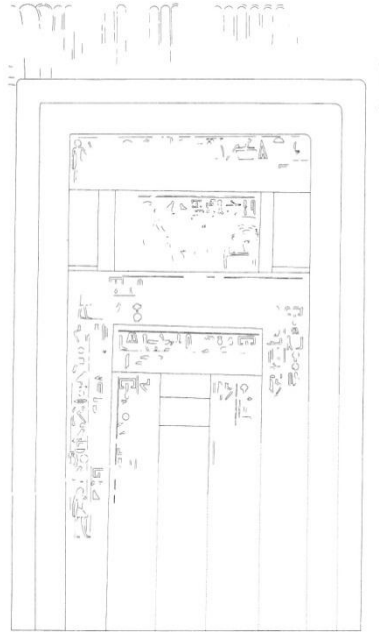
Figure 33: False door on the west wall in the hall in Tomb 39
(Kanawati 2005: Plate 38)
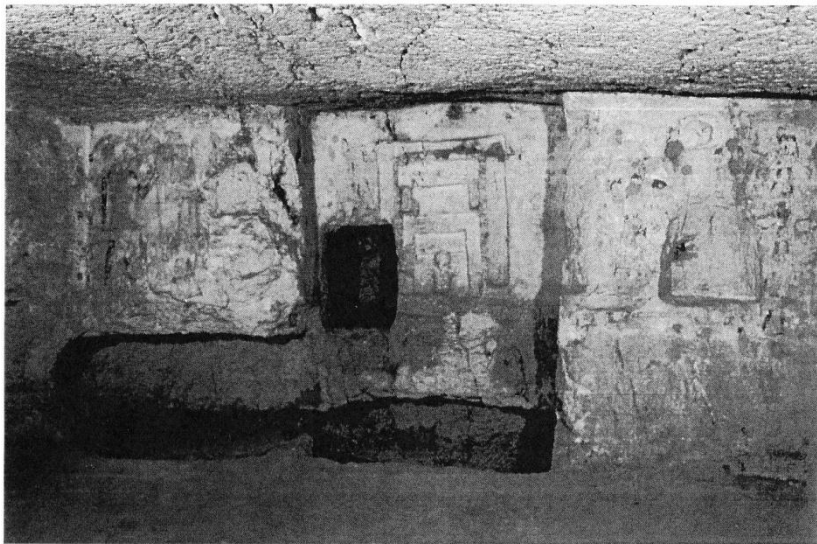
Figure 34: False door on the northern part of the east wall in the hall in Tomb39
(Kanawati 2005: Plate 10a)
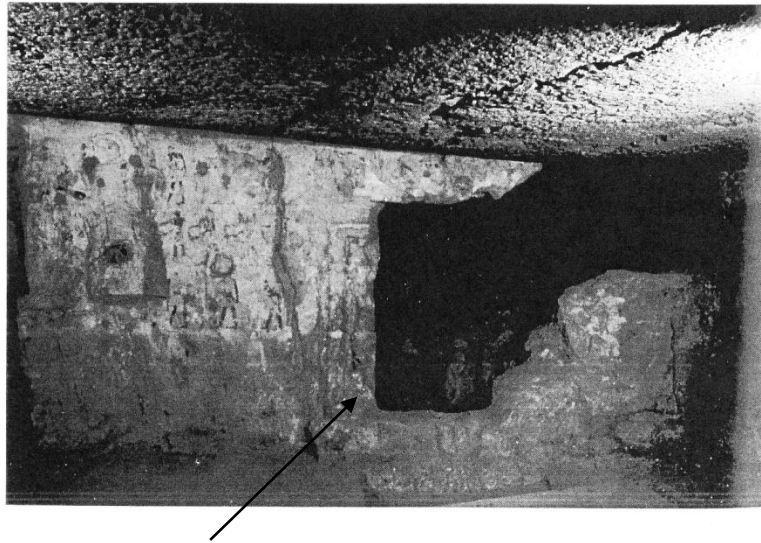
False door

Figure 35: The southern part of the east wall in the hall in Tomb 39

(Kanawati 2005: Plate 10b)

I   II   VI   III
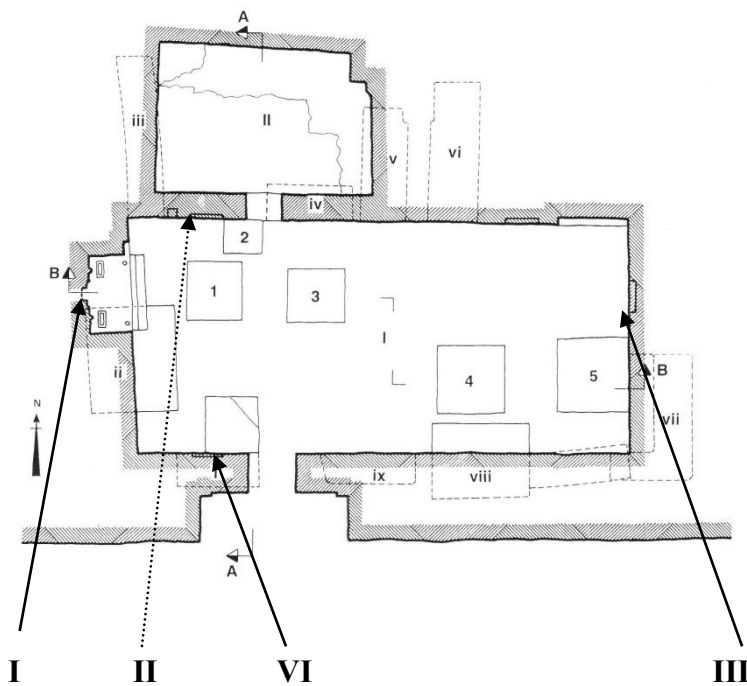
I. False door on the west wall   **II**. False door on the north wall

III. False door on the east wall   **IV**. False door on the south wall

1-5: Tomb shafts

Figure 36: Tomb plan of the tomb of Henqu (Tomb 67)

(Kanawati 2005: Plate 51)

113
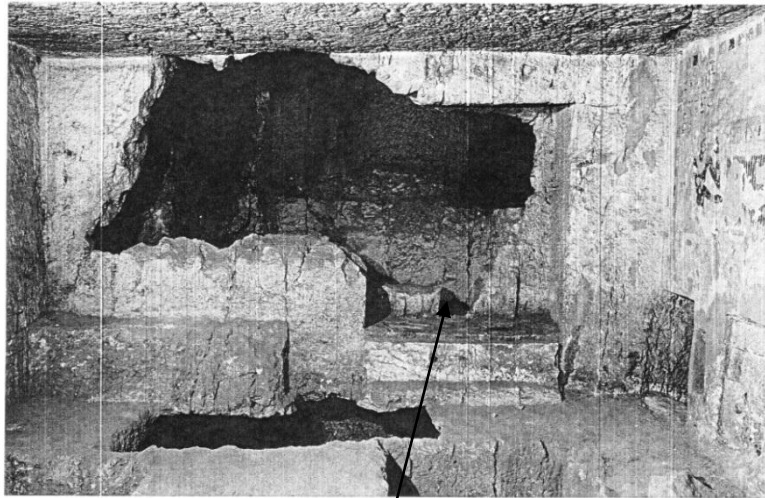
I

I: Location of false door on the west wall, now destroyed

Figure 37: Location of false door on the west wall in the chapel in Tomb 67

(Kanawati 2005: Plate 22)
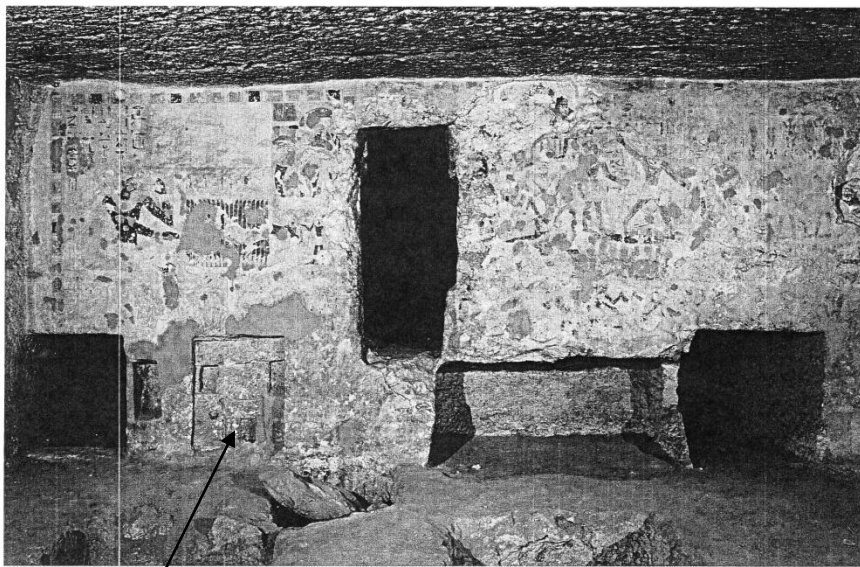
False door

Figure 38: False door on the north wall in the chapel in Tomb 67

(Kanawati 2005: Plate 23)
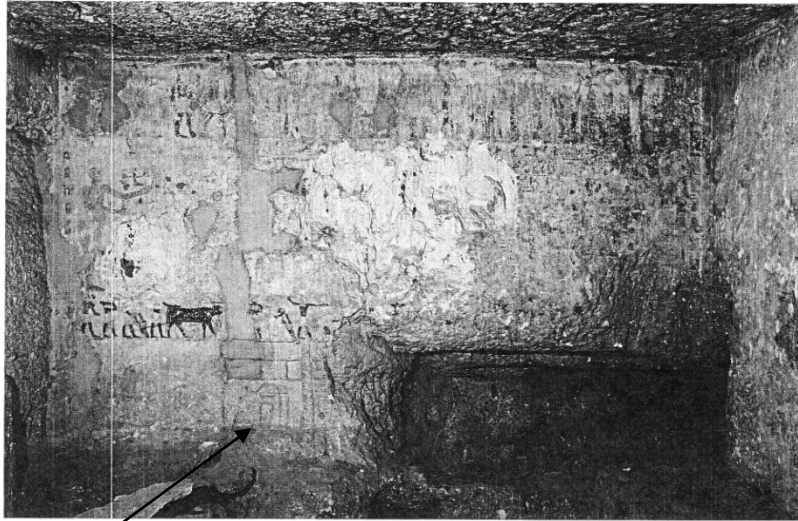
False door

Figure 39: False door on the east wall in the chapel in Tomb 67

(Kanawati 2005: Plate 29)

I   II
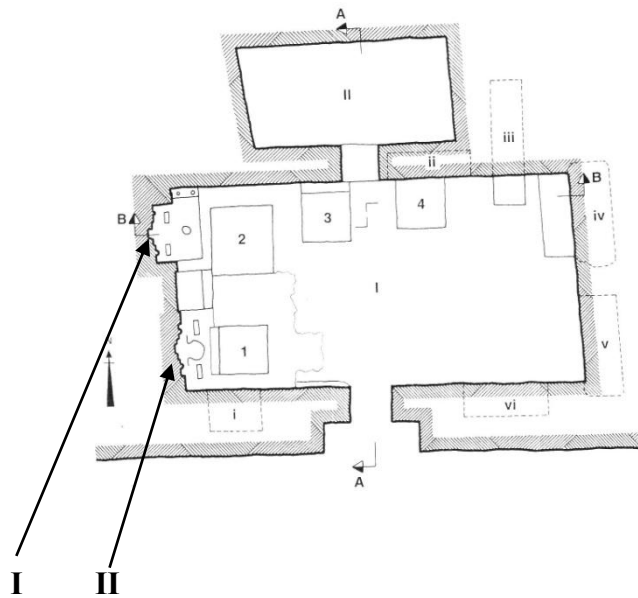
I. The northern false door on the west wall   **II**. The southern false door on the west wall

1-4: Tomb shafts

Figure 40: Tomb plan of the tomb of Rehem (Tomb 72)

(Kanawati 2005: Plate 41)
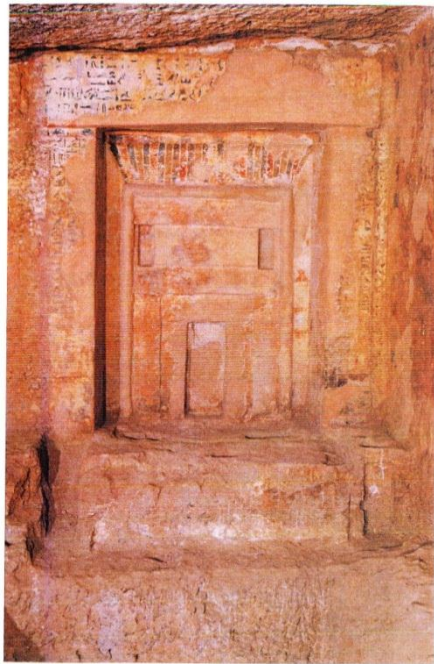
Figure 41: The northern false door on the west wall in the chapel in Tomb 72
(Kanawati 2005: Plate 14)
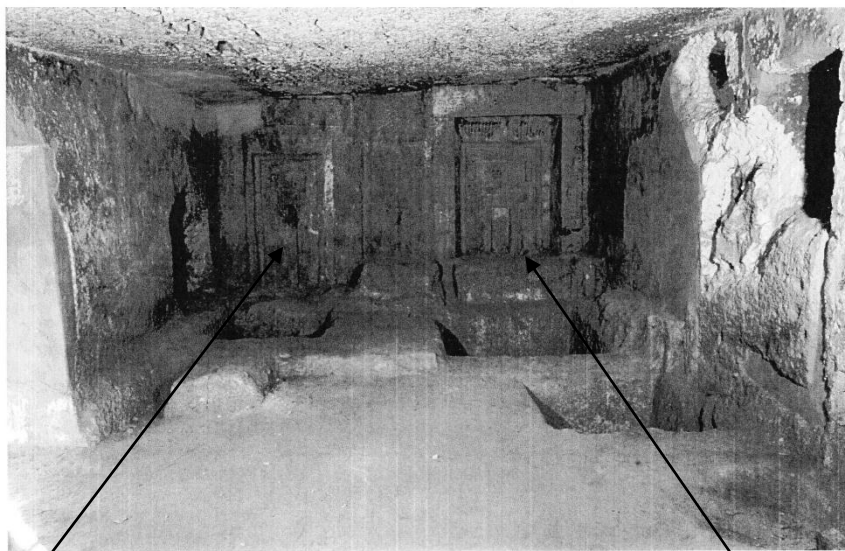
I. The southern false door   **II**. The northern false door
Figure 42: The west wall in the chapel in Tomb 72
(Kanawati 2005: Plate 13)
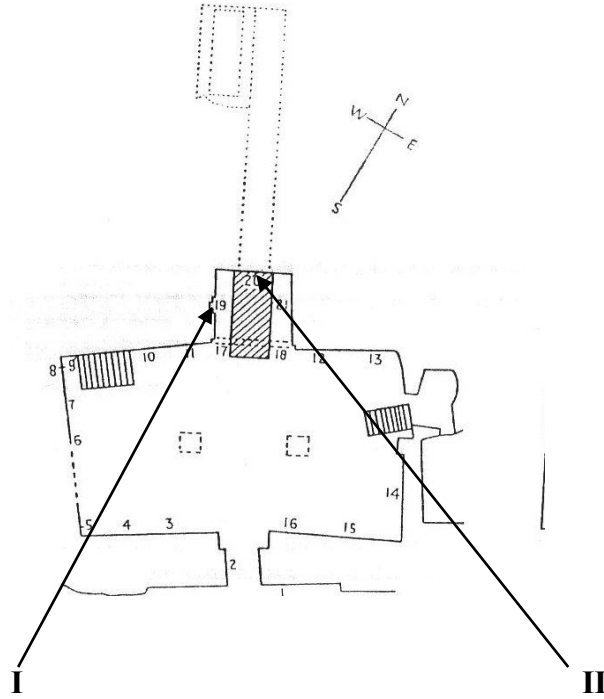
I. False door on the west wall in the shrine **II**. False door on the north wall in the shrine

=Tomb shaft

Figure 43: Tomb plan of the tomb of Ibi (Tomb 8)

(Porter and Moss 1934: 240)
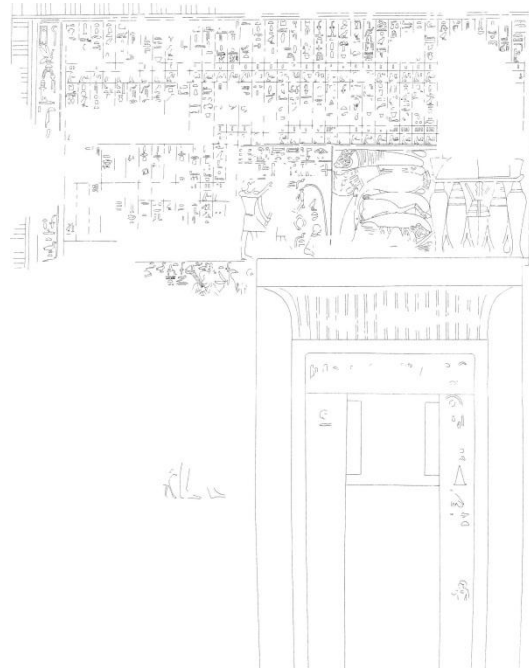
Figure 44: False door on the west wall of the shrine in Tomb 8

(Kanawati 2007: Plate 55)
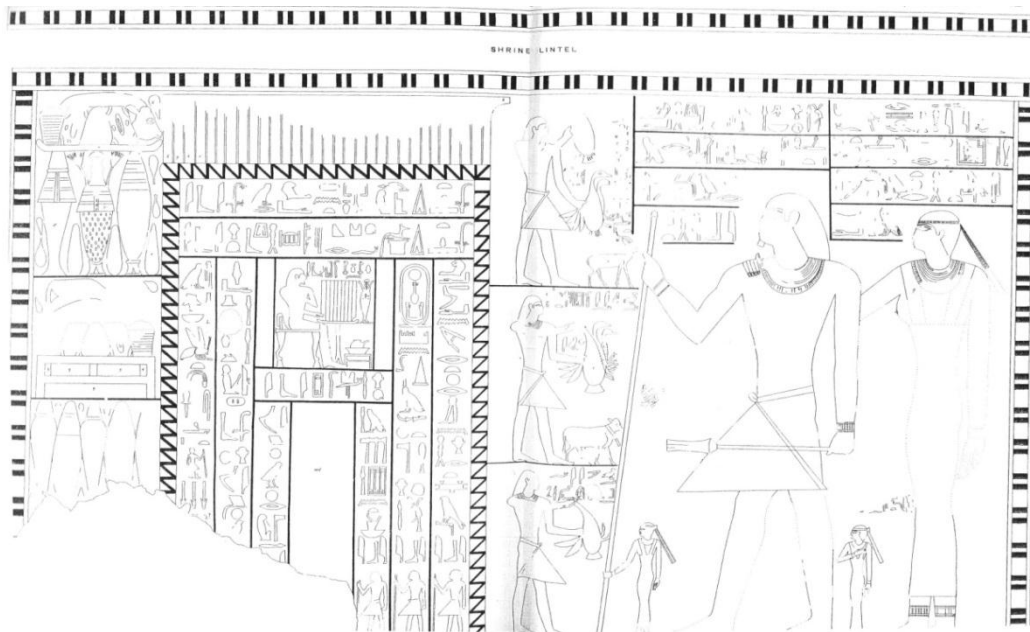
Figure 45: False door on the north wall of the shrine in Tomb 8
(Davies 1902a: Plate XVIII)

Tomb shafts   False door
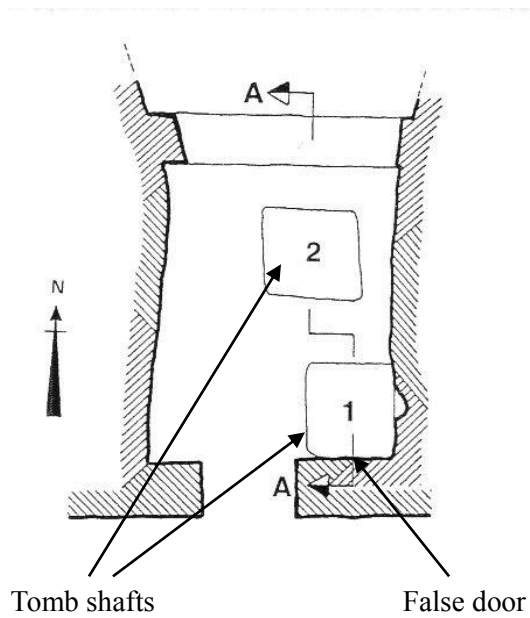
Figure 46: Tomb plan of the tomb of Merut (Tomb 33)
(Kanawati 2007: Plate 63a)
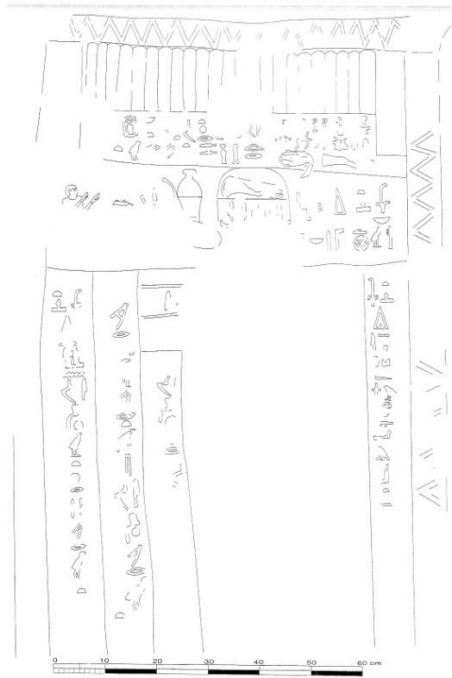
Figure 47: False door on the south wall of antechamber in Tomb 33
(Kanawati 2007: Plate 63b)
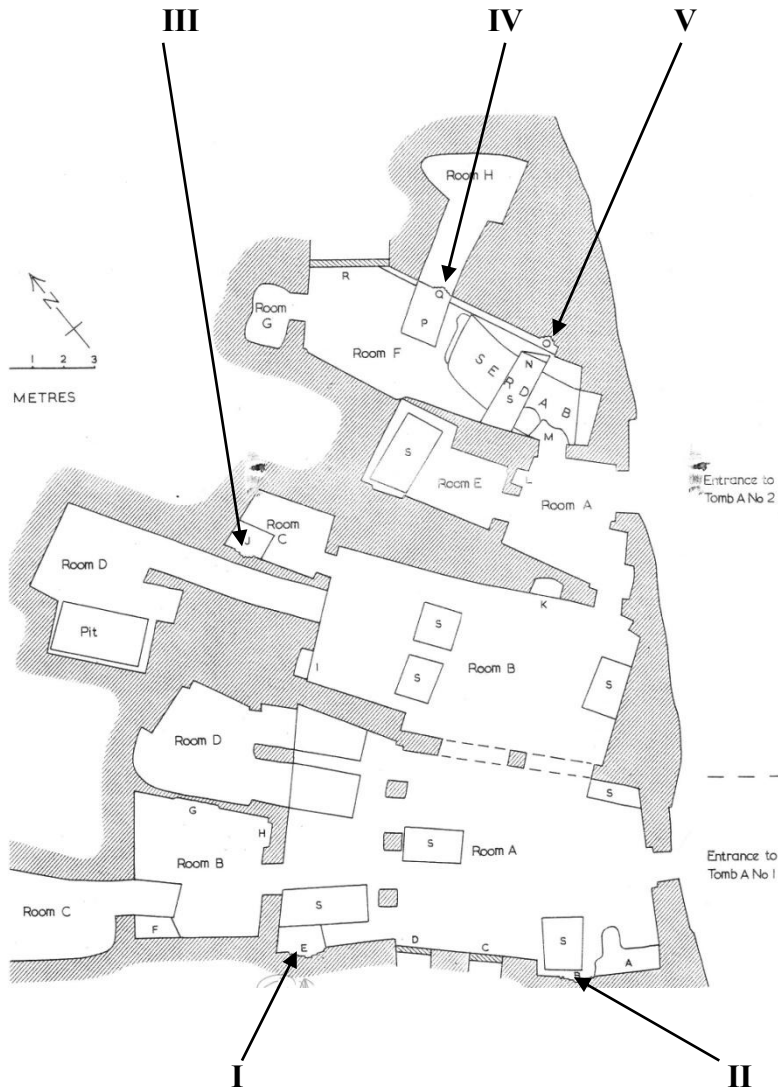
I. The northern false door of Niankhpepi

II. The southern false door of Niankhpepi

III. False door of Pepiankh in Room C

IV-V. False doors in Room F

S=:Locations of tomb shafts[338]

Figure 48: Tomb plan of Niankhpepi (Tomb A1) and Pepiankh (Tomb A2)

(Blackman 1953a: Plate I)

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[338] Blackman 1953: Plate 1.

Figure 49: The northern false door on the west wall in Room A in Tomb A 1
(Blackman 1953a: Plate X)
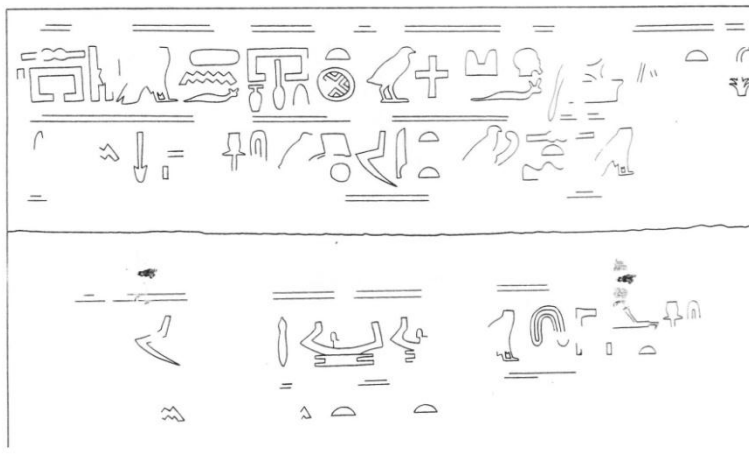
Figure 50: The southern false door on the west wall in Room A in Tomb A1
(Blackman 1953a: Plate VII)
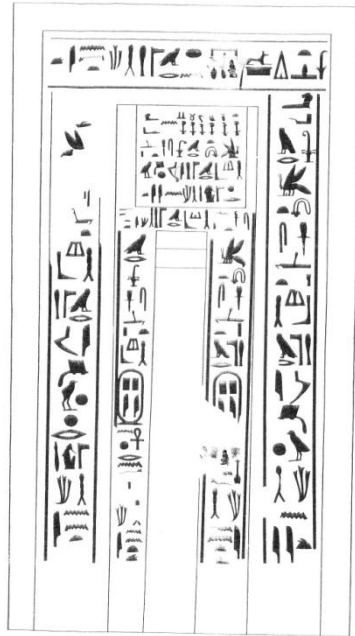
Figure 51: False door on the west wall of Room C in Tomb A2

(Blackman 1953a: Plate XXXIII)
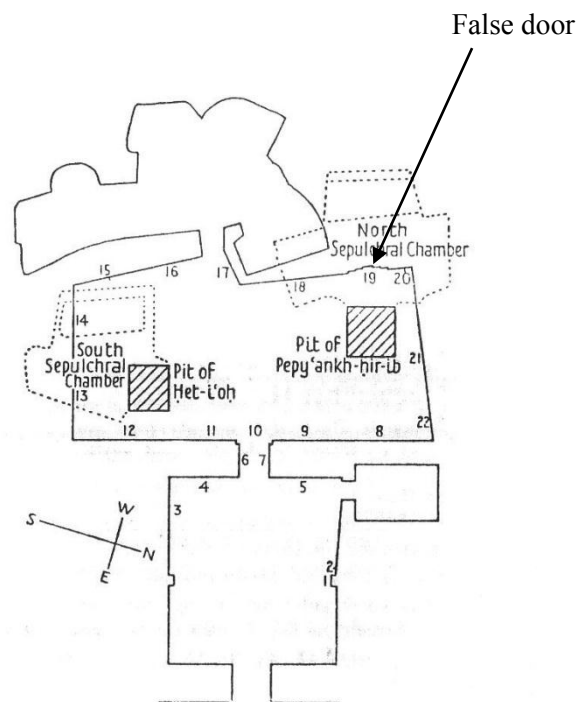
=Tomb Shaft

Figure 52: Tomb plan of the tomb of Pepiankh-Herib (Tomb D2)

(Porter and Moss 1934: 252)
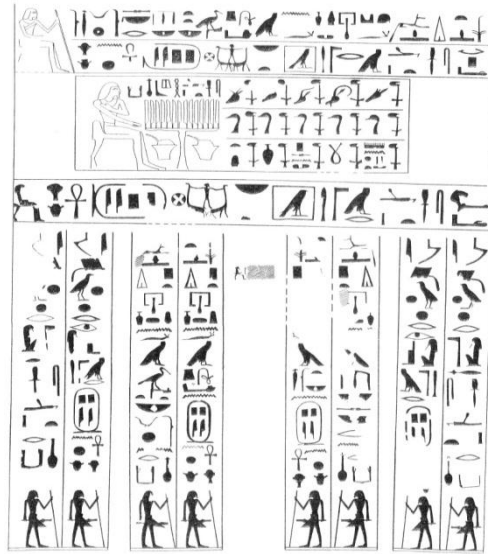
Figure 53: False door on the west wall of outer hall in Tomb D2
(Blackman 1924: Plate XI)

Naga-ed-Der
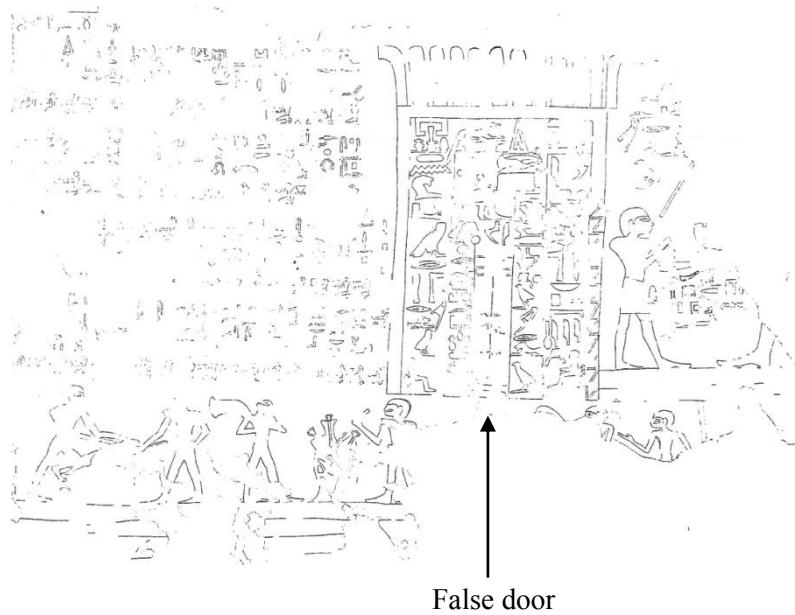
False door

Figure 54: False door on the north wall in a court in the tomb of Meru (N.3737)
(Peck 1959: Plate XII)

Qubbet el-Hawa
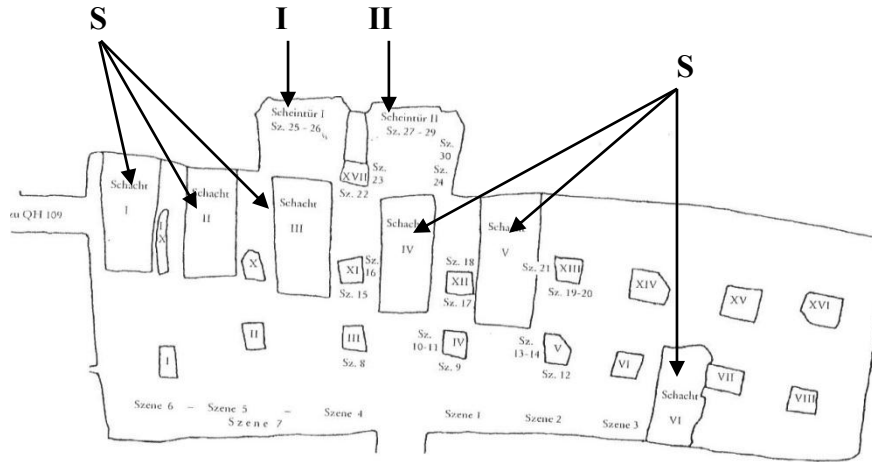
I: False door I (For Setka's sons)

II: False door II (For Setka)

S: Tomb shaft

Figure 55: Tomb Plan of the tomb of Setka (QH110)

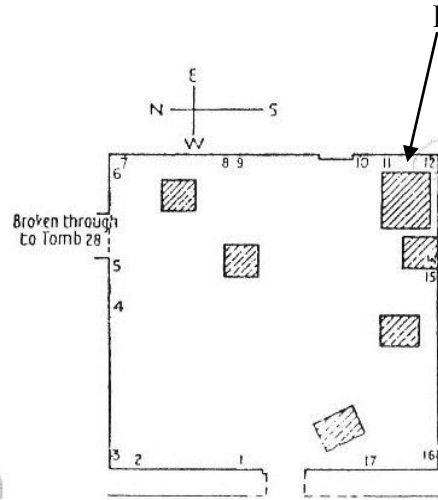(Edel 2008c: 1727, Figure 1e)

Figure 56(left): False door I in QH110　**Figure 57(right): False door II in QH110**

(Edel 2008c: Abb 21)　　　　　　　　(Edel 2008c: Abb 24)

Beni Hassan

I. False door on the east wall   ▨ = Tomb shafts

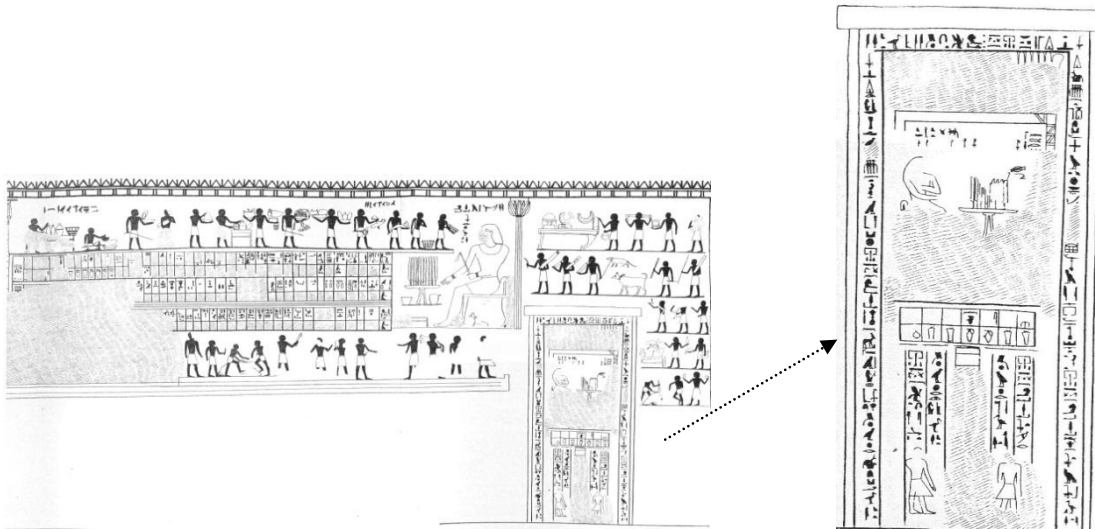**Figure 58: Tomb plan of the tomb of Baki I (BH29)**
(Porter and Moss 1934: 150)

Figure 59: False door on the east wall of the hall in BH 29
(Newberry 1893b: Plate XXX)
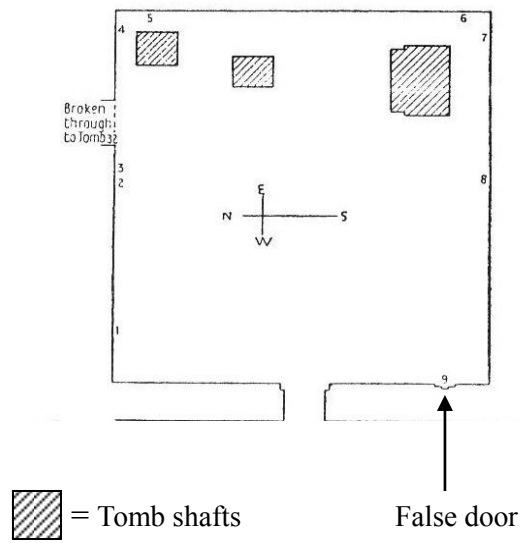
= Tomb shafts   False door

Figure 60: Tomb plan of the tomb of Baki II (BH 33)

(Porter and Moss 1934: 150)

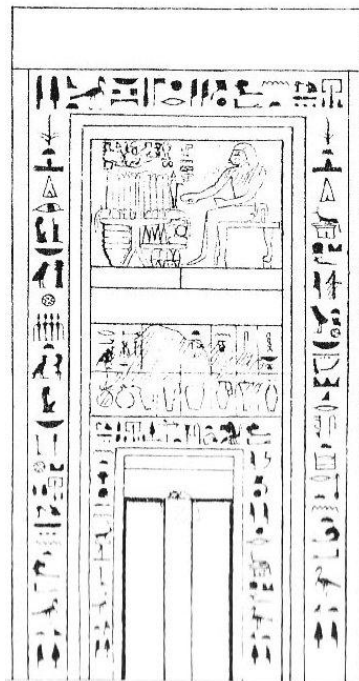**Figure 61: False door on the west wall at the south side of entrance doorway in BH
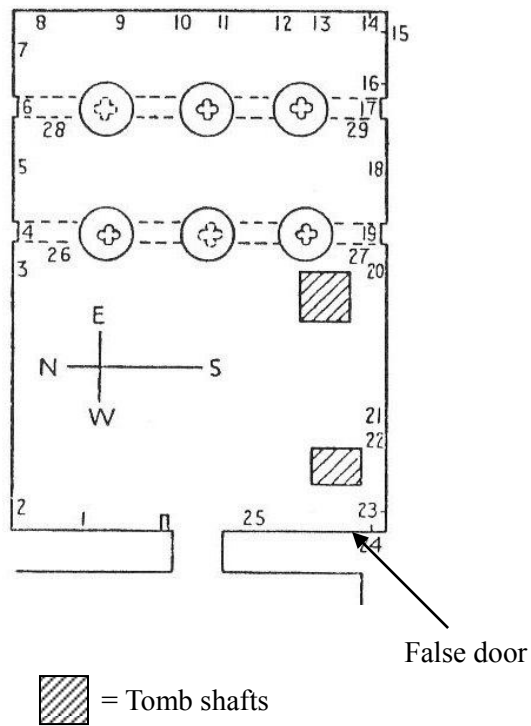   33**

(Newberry 1893b: Plate XXXVI)

False door

= Tomb shafts

Figure 62: Tomb plan of the tomb of Khenty (BH 17)
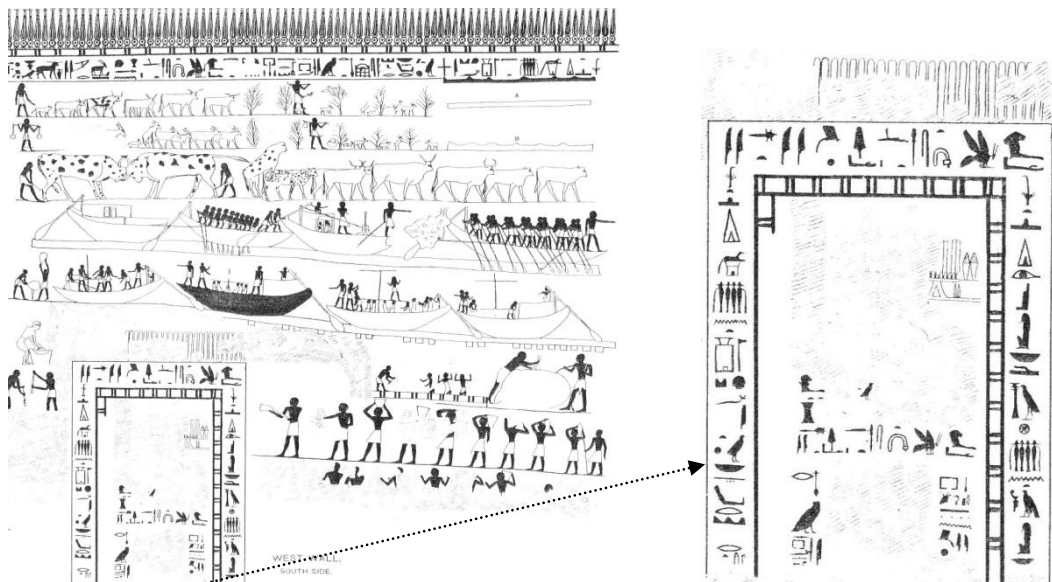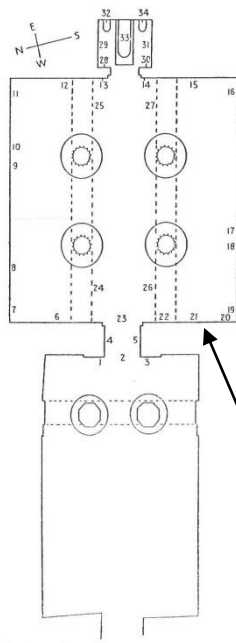
(Porter and Moss 1934: 150)

Figure 63: False door on the west wall of the hall in BH 17

(Newberry 1893b: Plate XII)

False door

Figure 64: Tomb plan of the tomb of Amenemhet (BH2)
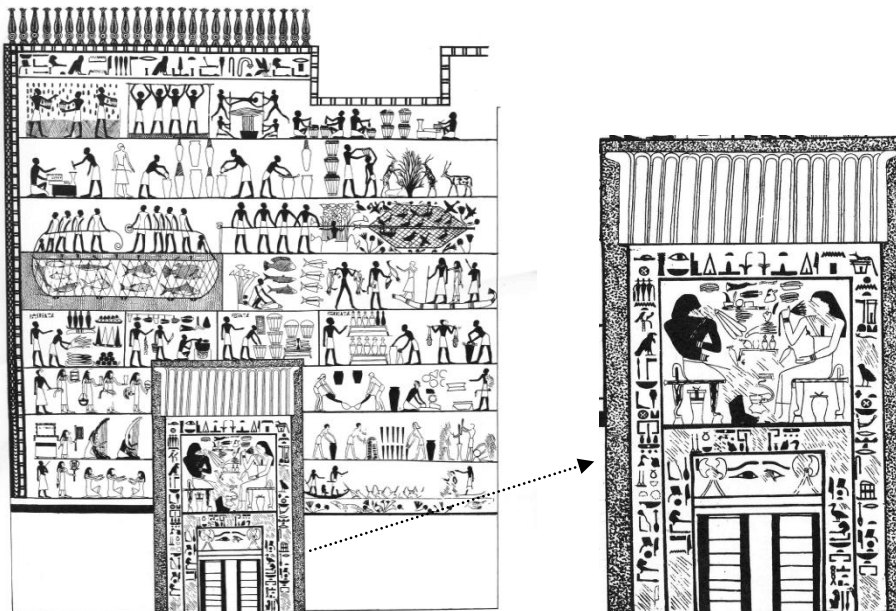(Porter and Moss 1934: 140)

Figure 65: False door on the west wall of the hall in BH 2
(Newberry 1893a: Plate XII)

Figure 66: Tomb plan of the tomb of Khumhotep III (BH 3)
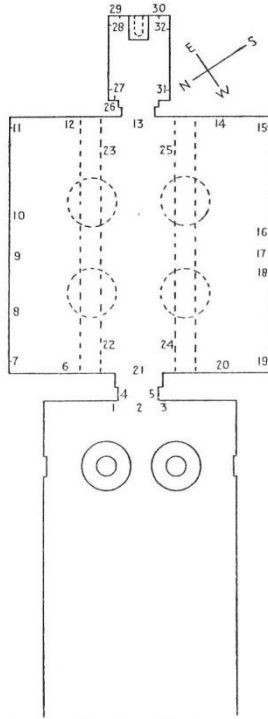(Porter and Moss 1934: 140)
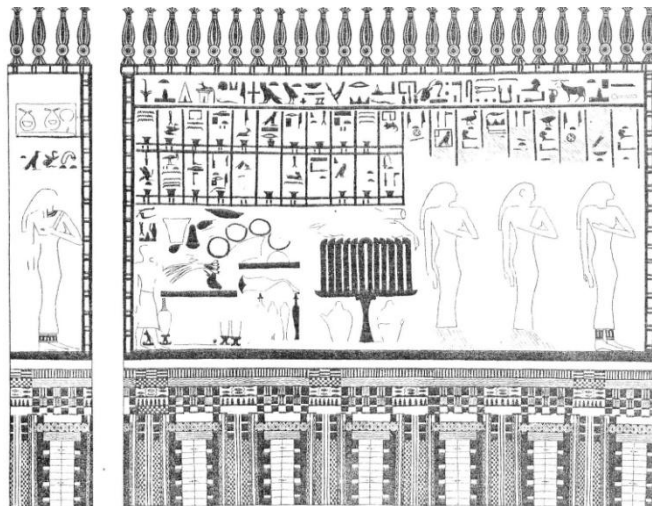
Figure 67: Palace-façade on the north-west and north walls in BH 3
(Newberry 1893a: Plate XXXVI)
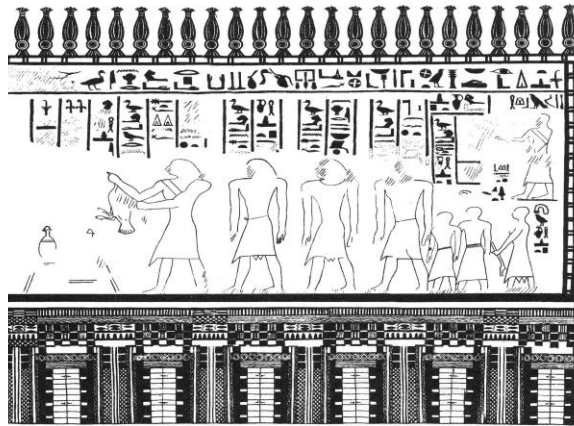
Figure 68: Palace-façade on the north wall in shrine in BH3

(Newberry 1893a: Plate XXXVII)

Meir
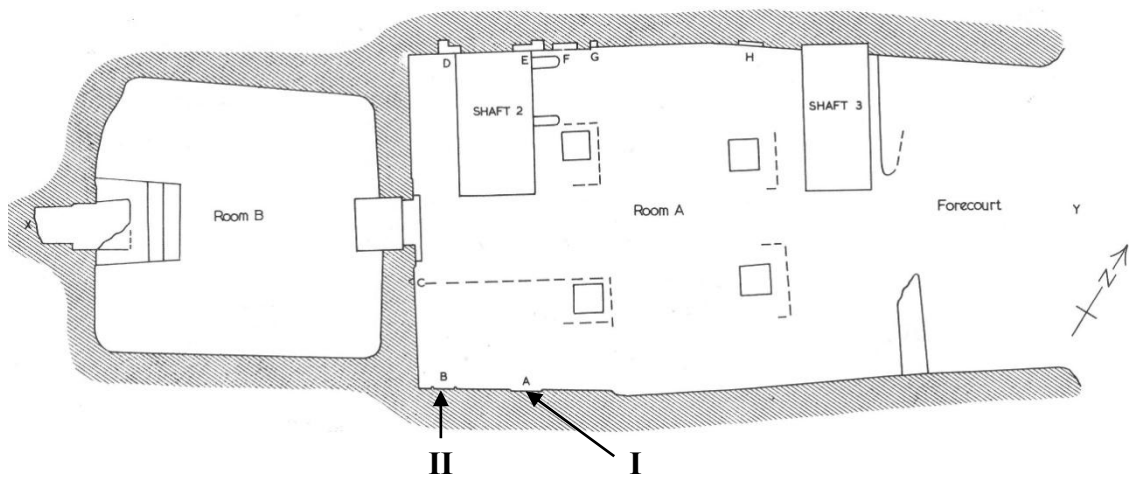
I. False door 1   **II**. False door 2

Figure 69: Tomb plan of the tomb of Senbi (Tomb B3)

(Blackman1953b: Plate III)

Figure 70: Two false doors on the south wall of the outer hall in Tomb B3
(Blackman1953b: Plate XXXIII-2)

Figure 71 (left): False door 1 on the south wall in the outer hall in Tomb B3
(Blackman1953b: Plate VI)
Figure 72 (right): False door 2 on the south wall in the outer hall in Tomb B3
(Blackman1953b: Plate VII)

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False door

Figure 73: Tomb plan of the tomb of Ukh-hotep (Tomb B4)
(Porter and Moss 1934: 252)
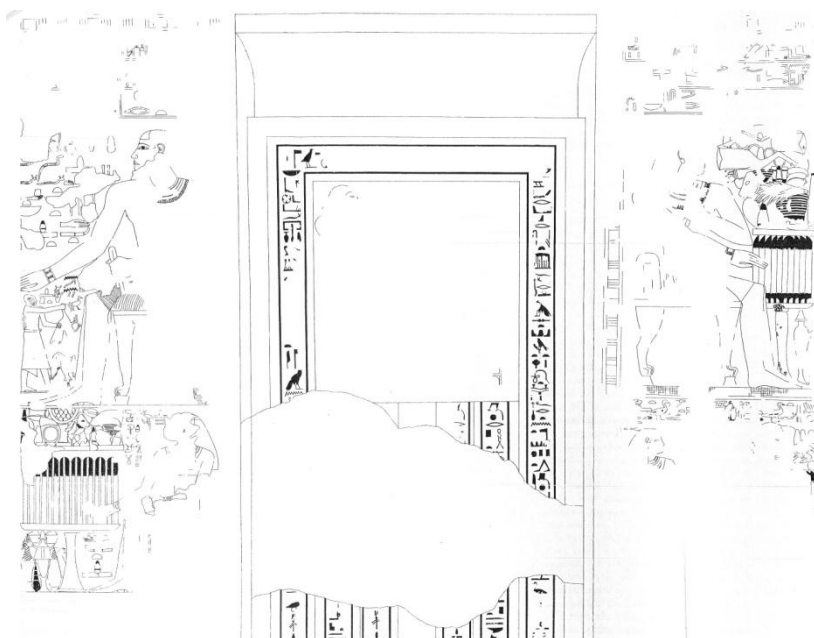
Figure 74: False door on the west wall in inner room of the tomb in Tomb B4
(Blackman 1915: Plate XXVII)

List of Abbreviations

Aegyptus ----- Rivista Italiana di Egittologia e di Papirologia

ASAE ---------Annales du Service des Antiquités de l'Égypte

BACE---------The Bulletin of the Australian Centre for Egyptology

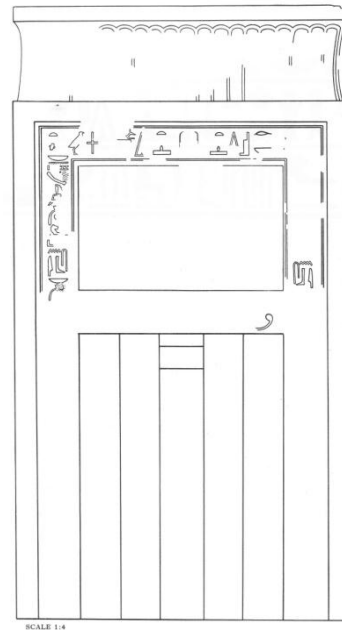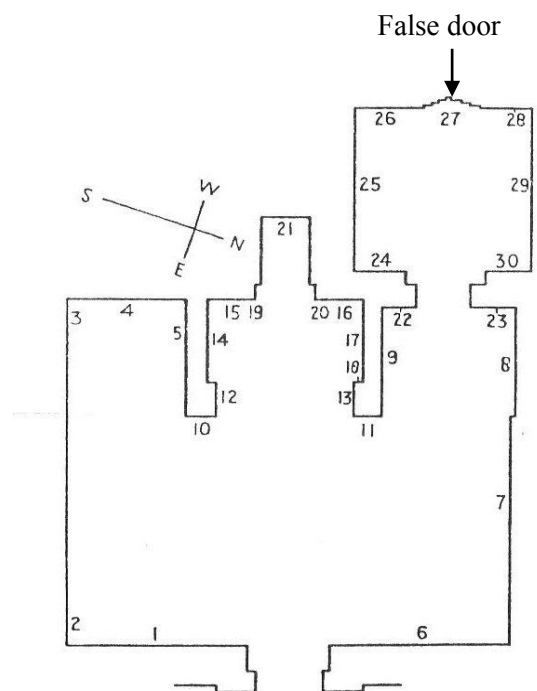*GM -----------Göttinger Miszellen*

JARCE ------Journal of American Research Centre in Egypt

JAOS --------Journal of the American Oriental Society

JEA-----------Journal of Egyptian Archaeology

JNES ---------Journal of Near Eastern Studies

LÄ ------------Lexikon der Ägyptologie, vols5, Wiesbaden.

MDAIK-------Mitteilungen des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts Abteilung Kairo

PM -----------Porter and Moss (eds), Topographical Bibliography of Ancient Egyptian Hieroglyphic Texts, Reliefs and Painting, 8vols, Oxford

RdE ----------Revue d'Égyptologie

SAK -----------Studien zur altägyptischen Kultur

VA ------------Varia Aegyptiaca

Urk I ---------Urkunden des Alten Reiches (Urkunden des aegyptischen Altertums I)

WB -----------Wörterbuch der Aegyptischen Sprache, 7 vols, Leipzig.

ZÄS ----------Zeitschrift für ägzptische Sprache und Alterumskunde

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