

MITTEILUNGEN
DES
DEUTSCHEN
ARCHÄOLOGISCHEN INSTITUTS
ABTEILUNG KAIRO

BAND 54

1998

MITTEILUNGEN
DES
DEUTSCHEN
ARCHÄOLOGISCHEN INSTITUTS
ABTEILUNG KAIRO

BAND 54

1998



VERLAG PHILIPP VON ZABERN · GEGRÜNDET 1785 · MAINZ

Serdab and Statue Placement in the Private Tombs down to the Fourth Dynasty*)

By MIROSLAV BÁRTA

The following analysis and reassessment of the earliest statue/serdab attestations within private tombs evolved as one of the prerequisites for an appropriate evaluation of the architecture of the early Fourth Dynasty tomb of Ity which was excavated by the Czech Institute of Egyptology during the 1993 season at Abusir South¹). This study tackles the question of earliest statue placements within the private tomb compounds focusing on the period of the First-early Fourth Dynasties and is intended as a contribution to this trend.

It will be claimed that the generally assumed idea that the tombs of the First-Second Dynasties entirely lacked any serdabs²), must be, in the light of both older and also recently published evidence, modified. It will also be demonstrated that there are several attestations to the fact that some tombs were equipped with statues as early as during the First Dynasty. Due to the restricted and unilateral material basis and the utter lack of positive evidence for the occurrence of statues within the tomb compounds, the study must naturally concentrate on such features which in subsequent periods are indicative of statues being present in the tombs. This evidence is represented mainly by architectural features which – fortunately – do not provide sufficient space for any other interpretation.

In order to assess the importance of the serdab installations and their appropriate place in private tomb development, I think it is first necessary to give a brief overview of the earliest attested occurrences of either statues or/and their vestiges, and rooms which were clearly designed for housing statues within private tombs.

The most pertinent feature for this question seems to be not the serdab itself (as a sealed room equipped with statues³)) but the mere placing and function of the statues (which is to a great degree dependent on their location within the tomb complex) in a tomb/tomb complex proper. For reasons of avoiding unnecessary conflation of the evidence presented below, the statues placed in the freely accessible rooms and those placed in the closed rooms – serdabs – will be discussed separately.

*) I would like to express my gratitude to Prof. P. DER MANUELIAN and Prof. M. VERNER, who read and discussed earlier drafts of this article. I also tender my thanks to Prof. P. DER MANUELIAN who has corrected my English.

¹) For preliminary report see VERNER, in: *ZÄS* 122, 1995, 78–84; see also VERNER, *Forgotten Pharaohs, Lost Pyramids*, Praha 1994, 66–67. For the topography of the Abusir South area see VERNER, in: *ZÄS* 119, 1992, 123–124; GIDDY, in: *Hommage à J. Leclant*, 193ff.; JEFFREYS/TAVARES, in: *MDAIK* 50, 1994, 147–151. The tomb of Ity has been dealt with in detail in PhD. dissertation by BÁRTA, *Tombs of middle- and lower-rank officials at Abusir south*, Prague 1997.

²) BROVARSKI, in: *LÄ* V, 1984, 874–5; BOLSHAKOV, *Man and his Double*, *ÄAT* 37, 1997, 106–110.

³) One of the earliest descriptions and definitions of serdabs is to be found with MARIETTE, *Mastabas*, 41–42.

The free standing statues

The occurrence of the free statues in private funerary architecture is for the first time most likely attested in tomb S 3505 from the reign of Qaa⁴) (Fig. 1). Here W. B. EMERY uncovered two wooden statues in a striding attitude placed in a deep niche in the complex of rooms abutting the north wall of this tomb⁵). We can only infer from the position of the niche within the complex that the statues were placed on the way leading into the chapel. Given its architectural disposition, it seems feasible to favour the possibility that the statues were visible for visitors passing by.

Further evidence for free-standing statues dates more than two dynasties later. From the reign of Khufu there is increased evidence for statue-placing in the accessible rooms or external chapels in the twin mastabas on the Eastern Field. The evidence from the tombs of Kawab (G 7110-7120)⁶) and Minkhaf (G 7430-7440)⁷) indicates that the resumption of the older tradition of free standing statues

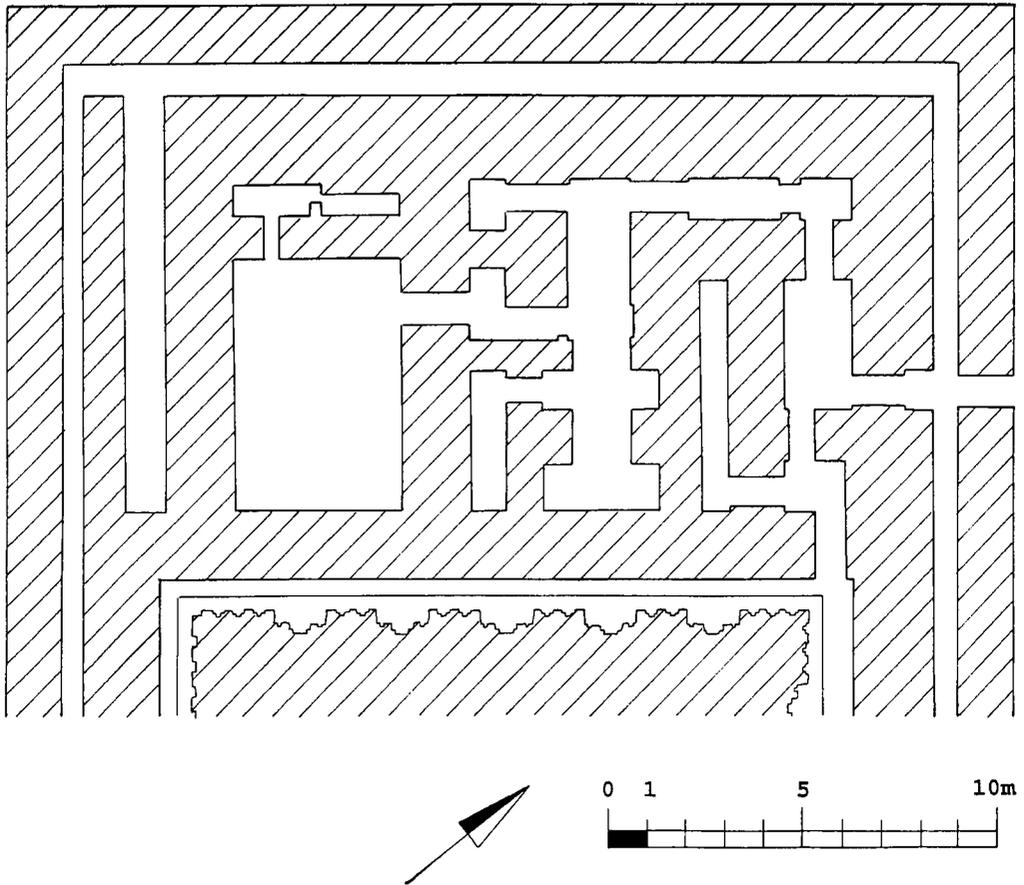


Fig. 1: Tomb S 3505 (after EMERY, *Great Tombs III*, pl. 27)

⁴) Despite several opinions that the oldest attested serdab is the one on the northern side of the Djoser complex at Saqqara – see for instance SCHMIDT, in: *SAK* 18, 1991, 333 and BOLSHAKOV, *op. cit.*, 106.

⁵) EMERY, *Great Tombs III*, 13, pl. 27. Location – pl. 2, room 7.

⁶) *PM III*², 1: 187; SMITH, *HESPOK*, 30; SIMPSON, *Giza Mastabas* 3, 7-8, pl. IV a, b, c.

⁷) *PM III*², 1: 195; SMITH, *op. cit.*, 30; REISNER, *Giza Necropolis I*, 206, fig. 115, Map III.

placed on the way into the cult chapel was revived once again. In the tomb of Kawab the statues were placed in rooms in the tomb's external chapel. Thus the statues were placed in the two niches in the west wall of chamber B and the rest on the floor of chambers B, C, D. In this way, the statues were visible to everyone who passed through the chambers of the exterior chapel on the way into the interior chapel. Moreover, in the cult chapel itself were found fragments of another two statues of Kawab seated as a scribe⁸). It is impossible to determine their original position but one cannot exclude the likelihood that they were originally part of the equipment in this chapel. In the tomb of Minkhaf the placement of the statues followed the same pattern as that of Kawab: they were placed in the niches let into the west wall of the exterior chapel. In these last two cases the placement of the statues seems to resemble that encountered in the First Dynasty tomb or, in the Fourth Dynasty tomb of Kaaper (see below) at Saqqara.

The statues placed in the serdabs

In 1991 A. RADWAN published a unique piece of evidence indicating that the origins of the serdab tradition might be sought for during the First Dynasty, as well⁹). This evidence is represented by a First Dynasty Tomb V from Abu Ghurab with a north-south aligned corridor chapel and a double-recessed offering niche in the west wall (Fig. 2). Interestingly, the much decayed superstructure preserved one particular feature which allows its interpretation as a serdab. The corridor chapel was on its southern end terminated by a small room which was divided from the chapel by means of a screening wall¹⁰). It was found empty; nevertheless its position calls for its interpretation as a serdab and it fully conforms to the later evidence.

Probably the earliest attestation of the serdab installations proper may be seen to the west of the cruciform chapel of tomb QS 2304 in the Archaic Cemetery at Saqqara¹¹) tentatively dated to the early Third Dynasty (Fig. 3). Further examples of the late Third to early Fourth Dynasty serdabs include those in the tomb of Khabausokar and his wife Hathorneferhetep¹²), FS 3073 (Fig. 4) and

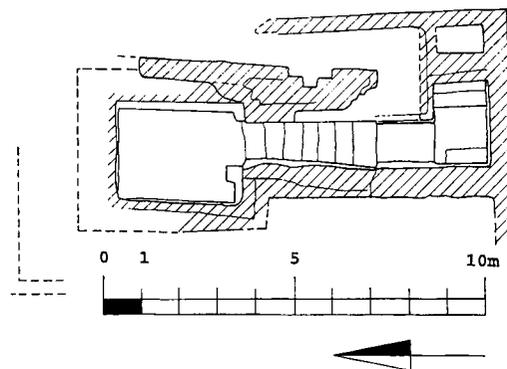


Fig. 2: Tomb V at Abu Ghurab (after RADWAN, in: *MDAIK* 47, 1991, 307, Abb. 2)

⁸) SIMPSON, *op. cit.*, 7-8, fig. 17.

⁹) RADWAN, in: *MDAIK* 47, 1991, 305-308, Taf. 39-42.

¹⁰) RADWAN, *op. cit.*, 306, Abb. 1; 307, Abb. 2; Taf. 39b, 40a.

¹¹) QUIBELL, *Archaic Mastabas*, 30.

¹²) REISNER, *Tomb Development*, 203, 269; 268, fig. 158; SHOUKRY, *Privatgrabstatue*, 196, 202, 204, Abb. 48; E. BROVARSKI, *op. cit.*, 875.

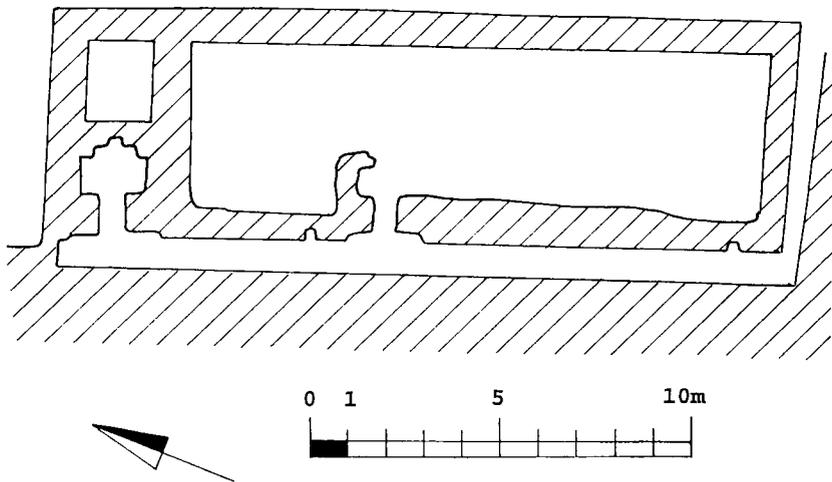


Fig. 3: Tomb QS 2304 in the Archaic Cemetery at Saqqara (after QUIBELL, *Archaic Mastabas*, pl. I)

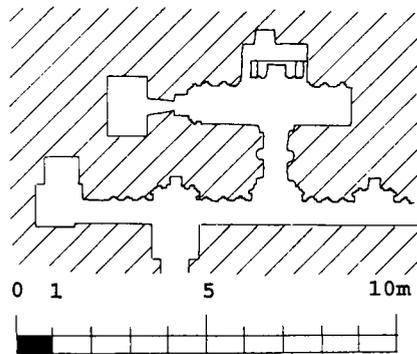


Fig. 4: Tomb of Khabausokar and his wife Hathorneferhetep (FS 3073, after REISNER, *Tomb Development*, 268, fig. 158)

tomb FS 3070¹³) (Fig. 5). In the tomb of Khabausokar the serdab was placed to the south of the cruciform chapel and connected with it by means of a squint. In the case of FS 3070 the serdab was situated at the southern end of the north-south oriented corridor, southeast of the chapel proper and divided from the rest of the corridor by a mudbrick partition wall.

The tomb of Hesyre provides another example of a sealed room with three, though indirectly attested statues. This room was situated at the entrance into the corridor chapel and thus on the way into his famous corridor chapel¹⁴) (Fig. 6). The room in question was situated to the south of the entrance into the decorated corridor chapel. It was entered from the north and divided into two parts by an east-west running partition wall. The walls of the northern part immediately behind the entrance were plastered white, whereas the southern half was left bare. In the floor of this southern half was a sunken block of stone with clearly delineated contours for bases of three statues, two adults and one – considerably smaller – on the west side, which is associated with a child. Appar-

¹³) REISNER, *Tomb Development*, 202, 267, fig. 157; SHOUKRY, *op. cit.*, 196, 204, Abb. 47; EMERY, in: *JEA* 54, 1968, pl. II.

¹⁴) QUIBELL, *Hesyre*, 4; 9–10, 36, pl. I – groundplan, pl. XXIV – detail; SHOUKRY, *op. cit.*, 196.

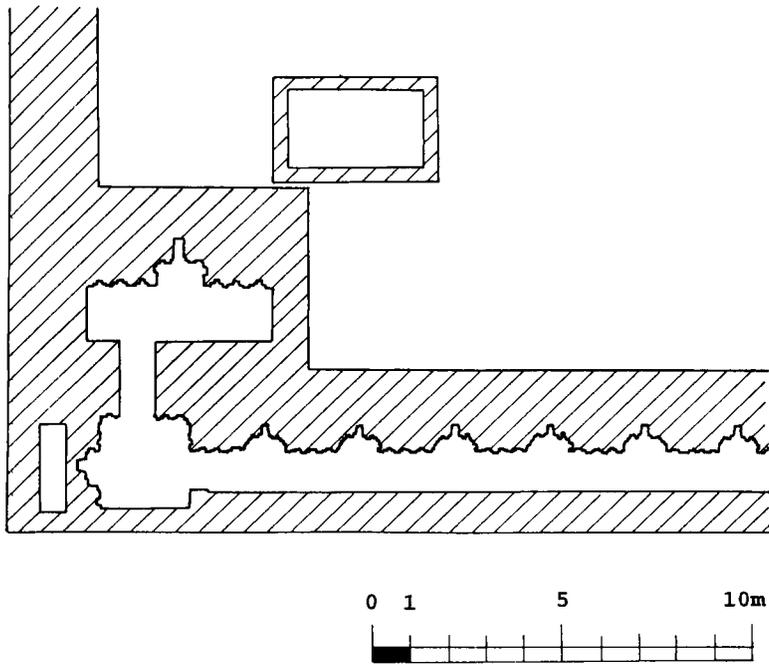


Fig. 5: Tomb FS 3070 (after EMERY, in: *JEA* 54, 1968, pl. II.1)

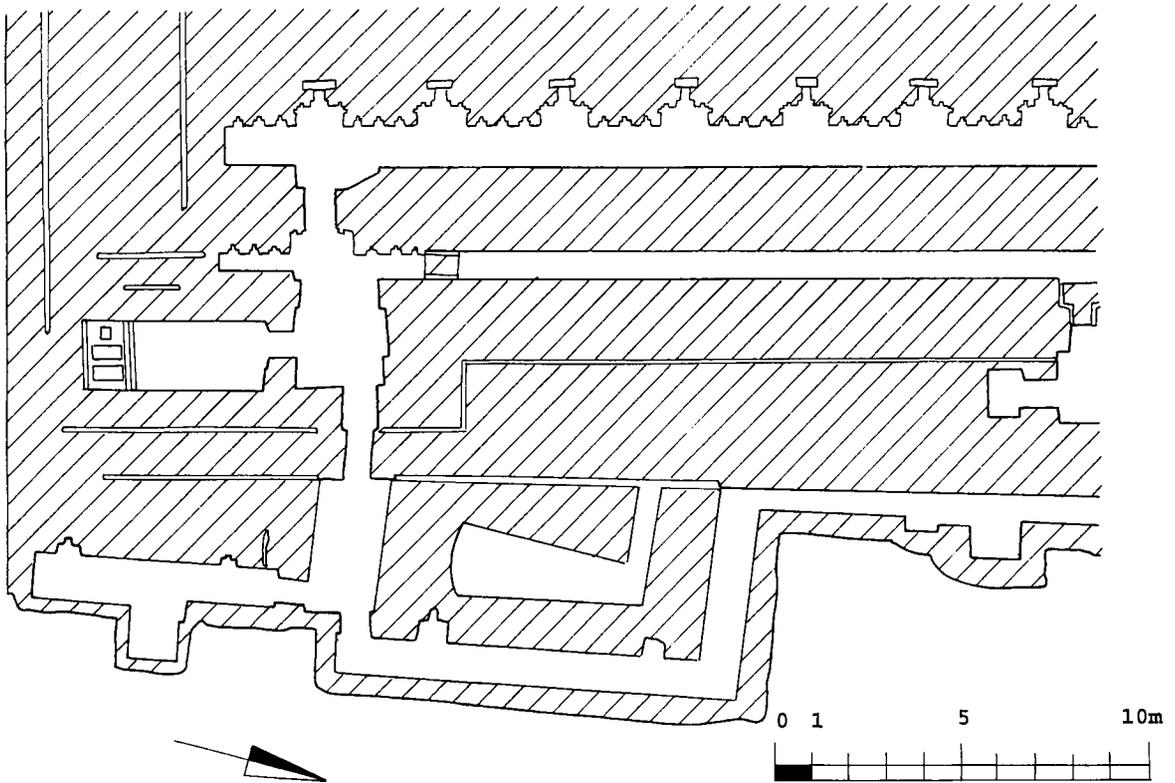


Fig. 6: Tomb of Hesyre (after QUIBELL, *Hesy*, pl. I)

ently, the stone floor was designed for three members of Hesyre's family: a man, placed in the middle, a woman, on his right, and a child – possibly the first-born son – on his left. This part of the room was walled up; traces of the partition wall were found and reported by QUIBELL. Beside the wall was also found a tall pottery stand – clearly for votive offerings once made in the north part of the room.

Further examples of serdabs date to the early Fourth Dynasty (reign of Snofru). In the tomb of Metjen the serdab was placed to the north of the chapel, and connected with the offering room by a squint¹⁵). It is only from this serdab that we also possess a statue of the tomb owner, now exhibited in the Berlin Museum (Charlottenburg)¹⁶). At Meidum, in the tomb of Rahotep and his wife Nofret, statues of Rahotep and Nofret were placed in the chapel, the entrance was sealed with a mudbrick wall and the whole room probably rearranged as a serdab¹⁷).

From the reigns of Snofru to Khufu¹⁸) comes the tomb which shows the closest parallel to that of Ity (Fig. 7)¹⁹): FS 3075²⁰), a mudbrick mastaba with filled superstructure and two cruciform chapels (although of a palace-façade type). It has vertical shafts leading into each of the burial chambers. To the south of the southern chapel there was a magazine behind which (i. e. to the west) a serdab was built. Another similar tomb, FS 3077²¹), was a mudbrick tomb with shell masonry, with a modified cruciform chapel to the west of which was a serdab. The only contemporary exception to the rule as far as the west position of the serdab is concerned seems to be the tomb of Metjen²²) where it is situated to the north of the chapel.

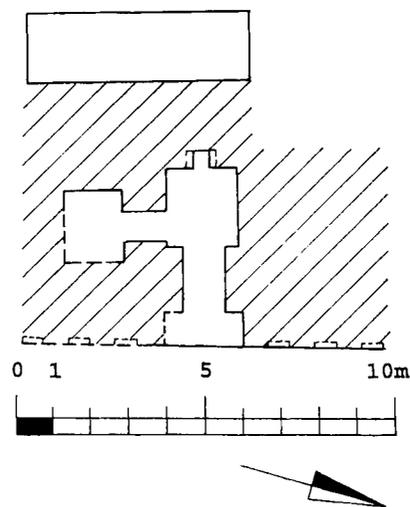


Fig. 7: Tomb of Ity (after VERNER, in: *ZÄS* 122, 1995, 80, fig. 2)

¹⁵) BROVARSKI, *op. cit.*, 875.

¹⁶) KAISER, *Ägyptisches Museum*, 23-24, Abb. 222.

¹⁷) SHOUKRY, *op. cit.*, 27; LAUER, in: LECLANT, *Ägypten* I, 322; BROVARSKI, *op. cit.*, 875.

¹⁸) REISNER, *Tomb Development*, 204.

¹⁹) VERNER, in: *ZÄS* 122, 1995, 80, Fig. 2.

²⁰) REISNER, *Tomb Development*, 204, 269-270; 269, fig. 164.

²¹) REISNER, *Tomb Development*, 204; SHOUKRY, *op. cit.*, 202.

²²) REISNER, *Tomb Development*, 205; SHOUKRY, *op. cit.*, 202.

From the reign of Khufu²³) a true serdab at Giza is attested but only once, in the tomb of Hemiunu (G 4000) in the West Field²⁴). Hemiunu's chapel was equipped with two serdabs – one placed behind the southern and the other behind the northern niche in the corridor chapel.

From Abu Roash (reign of Radjedef), there is a single example of a serdab from tomb F 5²⁵). In this case, the closed room was placed to the south of the offering room in front of the eastern face of the mastaba. From the reign of Khafre there is only sporadic evidence of serdabs at Giza. At present, in fact, we know of only two examples of serdabs attested for all of Giza during Khafre's reign. They come from the tombs of Akhi (G 4750)²⁶) and of Ankhaf (G 7510)²⁷). Serdab building on a larger scale gathers pace again at the end of the reign of Menkaure²⁸).

It thus seems logical to infer that the placement of the statues within the tomb compound during the first four dynasties was not strictly limited to the serdab west of the offering chapel. On the contrary, statues might have been exhibited in the open rooms of the tomb which were accessible and visible to visitors on their way into the offering chapel, as well as being placed in the walled up rooms lying to the south, north, west and even at the entrance (at the south end of the corridor leading into the chapel) to the chapel. In most cases, however, down to the early Fourth dynasty, these statue rooms were situated to the south of the corridor giving access into the offering chapel.

To judge from the preceding, the occurrence of the serdab proper in the tomb of Ity at Abusir is one of the earliest attestations anywhere, and the closest structural parallel with it appears to be in tomb FS 3075 from the early Fourth Dynasty²⁹). Until the end of Khafre's reign we have documented – directly or indirectly – the placing of statues in two formally different locations within the tombs. Either the statues were positioned in an open room (a niche visible to visitors), or else they were closed within walled up rooms, and thus hidden from the sight of visitors. Only during the reign of Khafre and Menkaure do the form and function of the serdab assume their definitive shape.

If the last observation is correct, it then seems relevant that the discovery of the statues of the famous Sheikh el-Beled (Kaaper) and his wife in tomb C8 at Saqqara³⁰) should be re-examined. The statue of Kaaper was found *in situ* in the niche embedded in the south wall of the exterior chapel, and the statue of his wife at the entrance situated in the north wall of the exterior chapel, originally probably also placed in the niche next to her husband (Fig. 8). Thus, from the structural point of view, it is possible to associate these statue placements with those of Kawab and Minkhaf. From what was stated above it seems therefore more feasible that this tomb should be dated to the second half of the Fourth Dynasty and not to late Fourth-early Fifth Dynasties³¹), as has commonly been supposed.

That there might once have existed one more possibility for the placement of statues within the tomb in this period is indicated by the existence of two granite statues of Nedjemankh in the Louvre

²³) For the restraints imposed on the private funerary cults during his reign and the ensuing archaeological development see recently SCHMIDT, *op. cit.*, passim.

²⁴) JUNKER, *Giza I*, 133, Abb. 18; 136, Abb. 20, Taf. XVI.

²⁵) BISSON DE LA ROQUE, *Abu Roash 1922-1923*, 39, pl. I-III.

²⁶) JUNKER, *op. cit.*, 234-242; 235, Abb. 55.

²⁷) REISNER, *op. cit.*, 41, 46, fig. 8.

²⁸) BROVARSKI, *op. cit.*, 876.

²⁹) REISNER, *Tomb Development*, 269-270; 269, fig. 164. Here one shall draw attention to REISNER's description of this tomb: "... twin mastaba; on the south, palace-facade cruciform chapel with great door (damaged) flanked by three compound niches on each side; in south wall, doorway leading into small E-W room with serdab behind west wall ..." This description, however, contradicts the groundplan of the chapel where no trace of an entrance in the south wall of the chapel is discernible.

³⁰) MARIETTE, *Mastabas*, 127 – plan of the tomb and 129 – description of the statues find. See also MURRAY, *Saqqara Mastabas*, 4 and pl. XXXII.

³¹) For this later dating *PM III*², 2: 459.

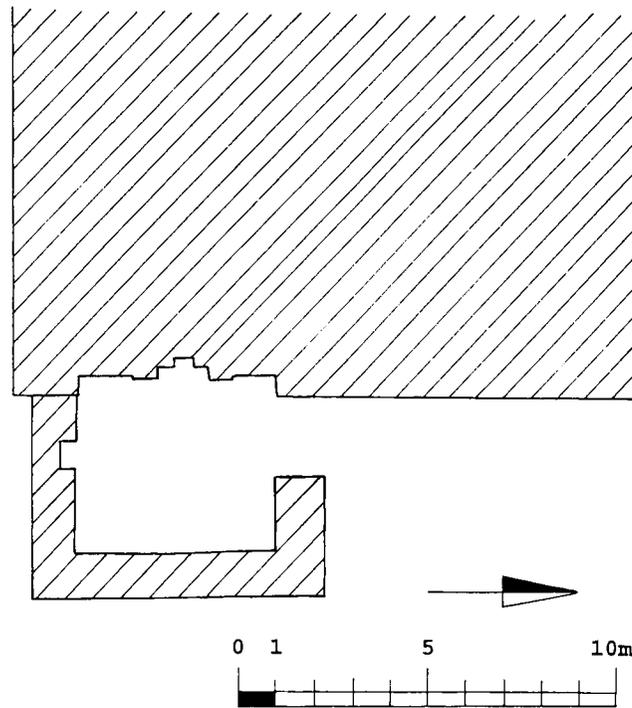


Fig. 8: Tomb C8 at Saqqara (after MARIETTE, *Mastabas*, 127)

(A 39)³²) and in Leiden (AST 18)³³) dated to the Third Dynasty³⁴). Their owner is attested from tomb K5 at Bêt Khallâf³⁵) (and it is also probable that Nedjemankh was the owner of this tomb). The two statues undoubtedly come from this tomb³⁶). It is a serious problem to place these statues within the tomb, since there is no superstructure whatsoever preserved, and the only possibility is that the statues were originally intended for the underground funerary compartments – together with the funerary equipment. This example supports the hypothesis that the rules for placing statues within the tombs were by no means so rigid during the First to Fourth Dynasty as is the case in the following periods.

There are still other statues of the period scattered around European museums for which the provenance is virtually unknown and there is little hope of ever associating them with tombs presently known. The statues in question are Sepa and Neset in the Louvre³⁷), a standing woman in Brussels, Bezmes in the British Museum (EA 171)³⁸), another statue of Nedjemankh in Leiden³⁹), a seated figure from Naples, a seated princess in Turin and the statue of Hapidjefaj in Cairo⁴⁰).

³²) ZIEGLER, *Le Louvre*, 21 and 23.

³³) SCHNEIDER/RAVEN, *De Egyptische Oudheid*, 46, No. 22.

³⁴) WEILL, *Ile et IIIe Dynastie*, 181–182, 185, pl. II.

³⁵) GARSTANG, *Mahâsna and Bêt Khallâf*, 16, pl. XXVI, 7.

³⁶) For this point see also SCHNEIDER/RAVEN, *op. cit.*, 46.

³⁷) For these two statues see now EATON-KRAUSS/LOEBEN, in: *Chief of Seers. Egyptian Studies in Memory of Cyril Aldred*, London 1997, 83–87.

³⁸) There is one more statue of this type in the British Museum – EA 67154.

³⁹) SCHNEIDER/RAVEN, *op. cit.*, 46, No. 21.

⁴⁰) SMITH, *op. cit.*, 15–19, pls. 2 a, b; § 3 a–d, 4 a–c. For an alternative reading of the name of Hapidjefaj as Redejet (CCG 1, BORCHARDT, *Statuen I*, 1–2) see HELCK, *Thinitenzeit*, 240.

As for the decoration on the walls of serdabs, there is virtually no evidence for this phenomenon since the walls were in the overwhelming number of cases left undecorated. Several Old Kingdom examples of serdab decoration are summarised and discussed by EATON-KRAUSS and BOLSHAKOV⁴¹). Their basic motifs are representations of statues of the deceased. This decoration relates therefore directly to the function of the serdabs. An exception to this rule is represented by paintings attested in the statue room situated on the south end of the corridor in tomb M 22 at Meidum⁴²). There we encounter scenes depicting fishing and fowling, transport of the grain on the cattle and the oversized figure of the tomb owner accompanied by the smaller figures of his sons (?) supervising agricultural works.

The difficulty of detecting the original position of statues within the tombs is complicated by the conflation of two different but contemporary traditions, the first tradition being that of placing statues in such a way that they were (at least in several cases) visible to visitors during the cult ceremonies in the tomb chapel. This tradition goes back as far as to the First Dynasty. A considerably different tradition is that of placing statues in a closed, inaccessible room in the neighbourhood of the chapel, usually southeast of the entrance. This tradition probably evolved during the First Dynasty as well. The question of whether the freely visible statue tradition was replaced during the Fifth Dynasty by the naoi tradition is to be dealt with elsewhere⁴³). Nonetheless, there is every evidence for claiming that the “statue dichotomy” remained unchanged until the end of the Old Kingdom.

We possess a unique and crucial piece of evidence pertinent to the problem in tomb M 22 at Meidum⁴⁴) from the early Fourth Dynasty (Fig. 9). This tomb was decorated with compound niches in the west wall of the corridor leading into the chapel, which was entered from the southwest part of this corridor. The south end of the corridor, immediately to the southeast of the chapel entrance, was walled up, but it had been originally decorated with paintings on plaster. According to PETRIE,

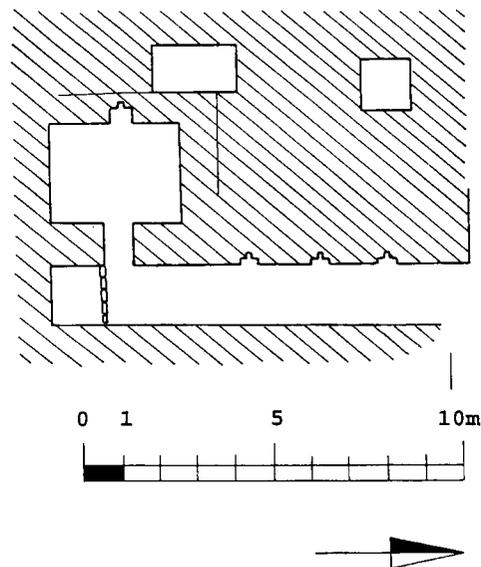


Fig. 9: Tomb M 22 at Meidum (after PETRIE, *Medum*, pl. VII)

⁴¹) EATON-KRAUSS, *The Representations of Statuary in Private Tombs of the Old Kingdom*, ÄA 39, 181-183; BOLSHAKOV, *op. cit.*, 110.

⁴²) PETRIE, *Medum*, pl. XXVIII, 5-7.

⁴³) M. BARTA, *The Tomb of Ptahshepses Junior at Abusir*, in preparation for *Ägypten und Levante* 1998.

⁴⁴) PETRIE, *op. cit.*, 5-7, 19, pls. VII, XXVIII.

the room had once retained a statue of the deceased⁴⁵). In addition to this feature, there was a true serdab placed to the northwest of the chapel. This example corroborates the hypothesis that the two traditions represented two distinctive concepts related to the statues and their placement within the tombs. The tradition of placing serdabs on the southern end of the corridor chapels persisted down to the early Fourth Dynasty and it seems that tomb M 22 at Meidum represents one of its latest attestations. That the tradition of placing statues of tomb owners at the southern end of the corridors (separated by means of a partition wall), and situated to the southeast of the offering chapel, continued during the Fourth Dynasty in the provinces is attested by the tombs of Kamena and Nefer-shemem at El-Kab⁴⁶).

These apparent features of tomb M 22 indicate that there is a functional difference between the statues exhibited in rooms preceding the chapel proper (both with or without a partition wall), usually at the entrance into the chapel, and statues placed in sealed rooms to the south, north or west of the chapel. To judge at least from the tomb of Hesyre, there is evidence that separate rites were performed at the statues to the east of the corridor chapel, and that they probably had different goals from those performed in the chapel itself.

There seems to be a tentative solution explaining the occurrence of these statue rooms. I propose that the tradition of placing the statues in front of the chapels was at the beginning of the development⁴⁷). These statues usually stood on the southern end of the corridor leading along the eastern face of the tomb into the chapel. These corridors were usually entered from the north. Later on, still during the First Dynasty, the practice of separating rooms accommodating the statues developed. The very fact that tombs with statue rooms on the southern end of the corridors occur predominantly at Saqqara seems also to explain efficiently the feature that serdabs prevail there to the south and not to the west of the chapels.

It is only during the Fourth Dynasty that the serdabs find their place to the west of the chapel. Nevertheless, the native Saqqara tradition of placing free-standing statues within the superstructure of the tomb still persists both at Giza and at Saqqara.

It remains to explain why nearly all of the First to Fourth Dynasty tomb rooms accommodating the statues were situated in such a position that the occasional tomb visitor had to pass along them before entering the chapel proper. In several tombs we even know that they stopped for a while in order to make some offerings in front of them (Hesyre).

Despite the fact that decisive evidence is still missing, it is fairly likely that the statues of the First to early Fourth Dynasty were associated with the “tomb decoration” which was designed, above all, to secure the identity and welfare of the tomb owner. At the time of developing the entire sophisticated system of tomb decoration, the statues are separated from the rest of the tomb and their *raison d'être* was exclusively as the living image of the deceased⁴⁸). The decoration of the tomb secures the identity of the tomb owner by means of inscriptions and his representations in different manner and attitudes and no more statues were therefore needed. The notion of the statue(s) is associated from the Fourth Dynasty onwards exclusively with the idea of man's double and, accordingly, the sealed rooms accommodating statues of the deceased are usually placed in the westernmost parts of the superstructure which provided the symbolical “bridge” and frontier between the world of the living and the dead. Moreover, this location granted a relatively safe and inconspicuous position within the tomb.

⁴⁵) PETRIE, *op. cit.*, 19.

⁴⁶) QUIBELL, *El-Kab*, 3; pl. XXIII (groundplan of the tombs) and III, 1 (standing statue of Nefer-shemem).

⁴⁷) For the interpretation of statues in general see remarks by EATON-KRAUSS, *op. cit.*, 77–88.

⁴⁸) See for instance SCHARFF, *Das Grab als Wohnhaus*, 43–46; GREVEN, *Der Ka in Theologie und Königs-kult der Ägypter*, 32–34; SCHWEITZER, *Das Wesen des Ka im Diesseits und Jenseits der Alten Ägypter*, passim; KAPLONY, *LÄ III*, 1980, 275–282.

Therefore, it seems conceivable that prior to the Fourth Dynasty, statues were an integral part of the tomb decoration program. The statues accommodated in the rooms on the way into the tomb chapel could, therefore, fulfil the function of the later figures of the tomb owner on the walls in the entrance thickness into the chapel. At a certain point of developed and systematized tomb decoration this notion of the statues had become lost and the serdab statue placement prevailed. Worth mentioning is the fact that the tomb decoration appears all of sudden at the beginning of the Fourth Dynasty⁴⁹). There are two significant features, at least, which enable us to associate the statues placed in front of the chapels with representations of the tomb owner in the entrance thickness into the chapels which appear first during the first half of the Fourth Dynasty⁵⁰):

- in both cases the statues and the wall representations of the tomb owner stand at the entrance into the chapel approaching and welcoming the visitors;
- the statues as well as the wall representations of the tomb owner face from the tomb or chapel. This attitude can be also interpreted as if they were looking out of the house of the dead and into the world of the living.

It seems feasible then, that there were two underlying concepts that were originally associated with the tomb statues. The first one conceived the statue as a part of tomb decoration, supplying – at least to a certain degree – the still developing scheme of tomb decoration. The second concept treated the statue as owner's double. This second idea was, quite logically, present in the first concept, too. Only during the Fourth Dynasty do these two concepts separate: the statues intended purely as the double are accommodated in the serdabs placed deep within the body of the tomb, whereas the first concept is fully taken over by either painted or sculptured tomb decoration. Eventually, it should also be noted that as far as can be discerned from the archaeological evidence, the major portion of the First to Fourth Dynasty tombs equipped with statue rooms at the entrance into the chapels belonged to officials of a rather higher social rank. Therefore, the furnishing of tombs with statue rooms was a matter of luxury, just as was the tomb decoration.

The results suggested in this study can be summarised briefly as follows:

- the statues were exhibited down to the early Fourth Dynasty either free-standing and visible to tomb visitors or concealed in sealed rooms;
- the statues were usually positioned on the southern end of corridors leading into the chapels, most frequently to the east of the chapel entrance;
- tombs equipped with such statue installations usually belonged to higher level members of the society;
- the position of such statue installations indicates that the statues (regardless of whether they were visible or protected by a wall) probably fulfilled the role of part of the tomb decoration, namely of the tomb owner approaching and welcoming the visitors of his chapel: this motif is replaced by a figure of the tomb owner on the walls of the entrance thickness into the chapel during the Fourth Dynasty;
- it seems probable that the function of these statue installations was taken over by the tomb decoration proper in due course of the Fourth Dynasty and that the statues find their definitive place deep in the mass of the tomb, exclusively in the function of man's double.

⁴⁹) For the summary see ALTENMÜLLER, in: *ANKH. Revue d'Égyptologie et des Civilisations Africaines* 4/5, 1995-1996, 186-189.

⁵⁰) For a discussion of attitudes of the tomb owners depicted in the entrance thickness into the chapel or tomb see HARPUR, *Tomb Decoration*, 53 ff.