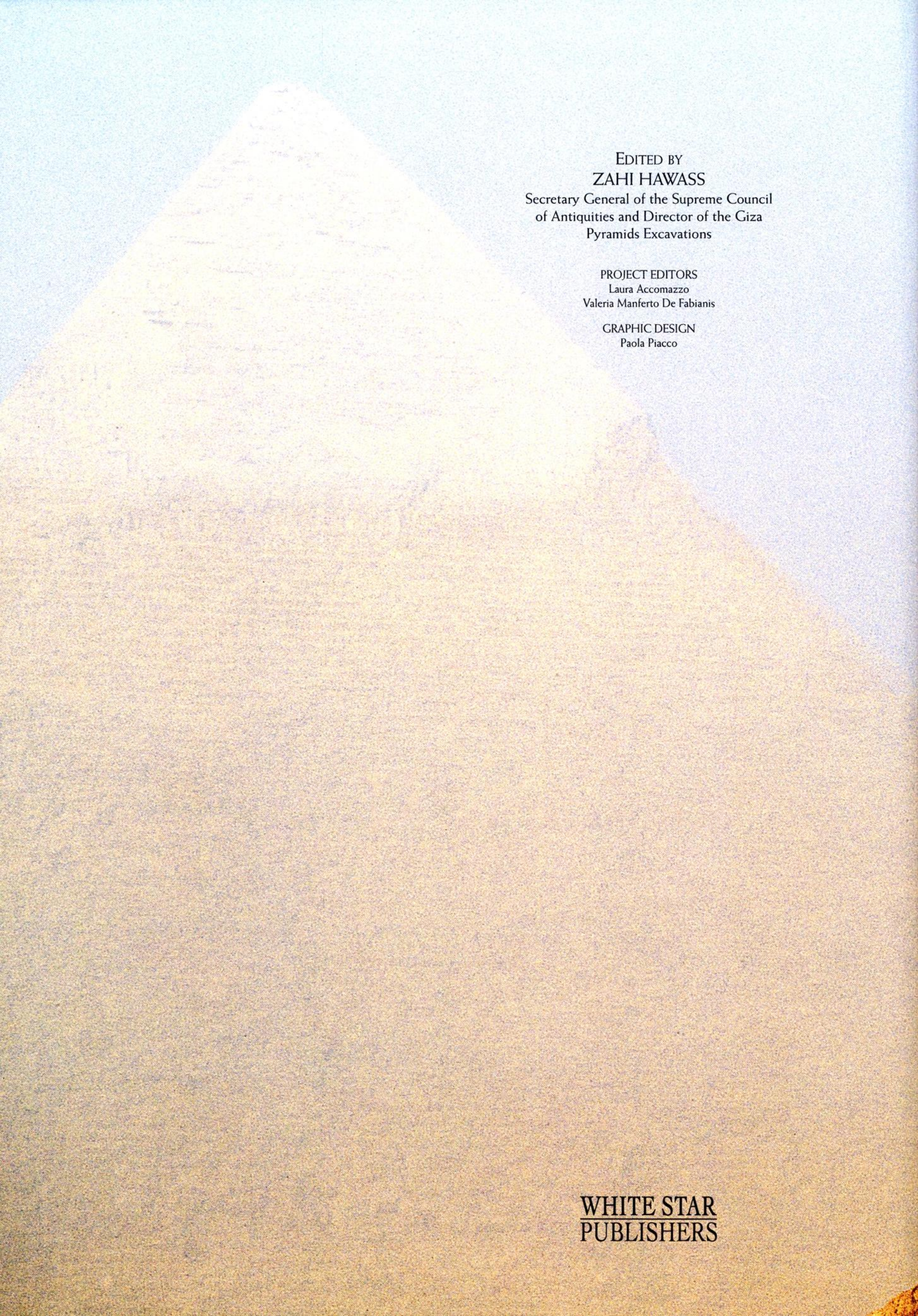


An aerial photograph of the Great Pyramids of Giza in Egypt. The pyramids are constructed from dark, weathered stone blocks, showing significant erosion and some missing sections. The Great Pyramid of Giza is the largest, followed by the Pyramid of Khafre and the Pyramid of Menkaure. In the background, a dense urban area with many buildings is visible under a clear blue sky. The foreground shows the desert landscape with some smaller structures and debris.

ZAHÍ HAWASS

THE TREASURES OF THE PYRAMIDS



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THE TREASURES OF THE PYRAMIDS





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10-11

Scene showing the 'Meidum geese',
Egyptian Museum Cairo, Old
Kingdom.

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The Tombs of the High Officials at Giza

by Peter Der Manuelian

Perhaps the greatness of an achievement may be defined by the degree of difficulty we have in imagining the world without it. Can we conceive of ancient Egypt without the Pyramids of Giza? Over four millennia have passed since anyone gazed upon the now famous plateau and saw only bedrock and sand, devoid of towering mortuary edifices and surrounding cemeteries. So imposing is the image of the Great Pyramid and Sphinx on the collective memory of humanity that to consider its absence, its pre-existence, strikes us as a highly unnatural and arduous task.

The pyramids themselves are the subject of other chapters in this volume. This chapter emphasizes that the three pyramids that catch the eye and dominate the horizon west of modern Cairo are merely the tip of a vast funerary 'iceberg.' The Giza plateau consists of hundreds of tombs of the governing classes carefully placed around three royal pyramid complexes. They were conceived as an integral part of the cemetery, and their proximity to the royal monuments was no accident. The owners of these sepulchers represent the uppermost echelons of Old Kingdom society, the literate few who administered the country on behalf of the royal court. They were architects, scribes, physicians, tax-gatherers, priests and temple officials, doctors, manicurists, musicians, princes and princesses. The tombs testify to every aspect of ancient Egyptian society, often containing frozen glimpses into the lives of thousands of individuals (not just the tomb-owners themselves) at the height of the Old Kingdom. This was Egypt's

first—and some would say greatest—era of prosperous stability, centralized under the authority of the semi-divine pharaoh. To compound the Giza story further, the modern archaeological history of Giza, most of it occurring in the twentieth century, is no less fascinating than the ancient monuments themselves.

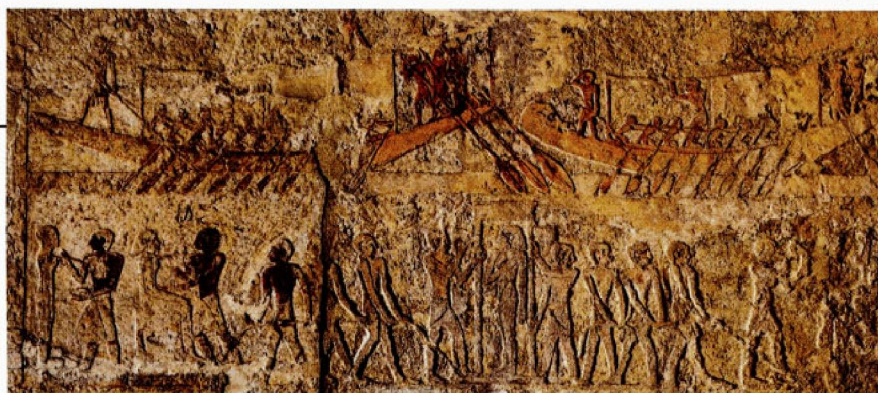
The development of the Giza necropolis followed the almost incomprehensible feat of four pyramids constructed by a single pharaoh. Sneferu, first king of the Old Kingdom's Fourth Dynasty, solidified the transition from earlier step pyramids to the true pyramid, culminating in the north or 'Red Pyramid' at Dahshur, which might actually have held the king's remains. The sprawling cemeteries of the Memphite capital stretched by this time from Meidum in the south to Dahshur and Saqqara in the north. Recent excavations are even painting a picture of one long, connected necropolis, suggesting that the differentiation into discrete sites is a modern and artificial one. Sneferu's son and successor, Khufu, sought out a new portion of the desert's edge for his own sepulcher. Just beyond the arable floodplain west of the Nile, a few kilometers west of what is now modern Cairo, Khufu located a natural promontory. Composed of a limestone geological surface known as the Muqattam formation, it slopes gently from the northwest to the southeast in three primary alternating layers of hard and soft stone (Members I, II, and III). When the Nile's annual inundation reached the Memphite region, the floodwaters stretched all the way to the edge of the

plateau. This was doubtless a consideration in Khufu's selection of the site, for the transport of limestone blocks could be greatly enhanced by means of barges across the flooded riverbanks.

The area was probably not completely virgin territory upon Khufu's accession, for some evidence of cemeteries prior to the Fourth Dynasty exists, but nothing would be allowed to stand in the king's, or his necropolis architects', way. Khufu's vision far exceeded anything the country, indeed the entire ancient world, had ever experienced before, for he set in motion the most ambitious construction project ever undertaken. He prepared the largest, most accurately conceived pyramid complex to date, including a porticoed mortuary temple abutting the pyramid's east face, a long causeway stretching eastwards off the plateau to a valley temple below, and four subsidiary or satellite pyramids on the eastern side. In addition, he engaged in 'urban planning' for the dead on an unprecedented scale. The pyramids were reserved for royalty; non-royal Egyptians, as well as certain royal family members, were to be buried in traditional *mastaba* tombs, low rectangular superstructures with sloping sides. While the majority of the Giza tomb owners were male, there is clear evidence of a number of major *mastaba* tombs housing exclusively the burials of women. Taken as a unit, the site came to encompass almost the entire corps of the elite members of Egyptian society in the Fourth Dynasty. Fully developed Old Kingdom provincial cemeteries were still a dynasty or two away.

190 bottom

This scene of boating (above) and statue manufacture (below) comes from the rock-cut mastaba chapel of Queen Meresankh III, G 7530sub, main room, east wall, upper registers, and dates from the Fourth Dynasty.



191

This polychrome relief shows the deceased, Iasen, seated before a table of offering loaves. From the rock-cut mastaba chapel of Iasen, G 2196, west wall, southern section. Sixth Dynasty.



Giza Tombs



192-193

This aerial photograph shows the Giza plateau, looking west, with the pyramids (from right to left) of Khufu, Khafre, and Menkaure. The Eastern Cemetery is in the foreground, while the Western Cemetery lies behind the Great Pyramid. The Central Field and Sphinx are visible toward the lower left.



192 bottom

In this view of the Great Pyramid, looking southeast, Khufu's queens' pyramids (top) and the Solar Boat Museum are visible, and southern mastaba field is to the right.



193 top

The so-called 'Cemetery en Echelon' looking south, with the large mastabas of Babaef (G 5230) and Duaenre (G 5110) visible toward the top.

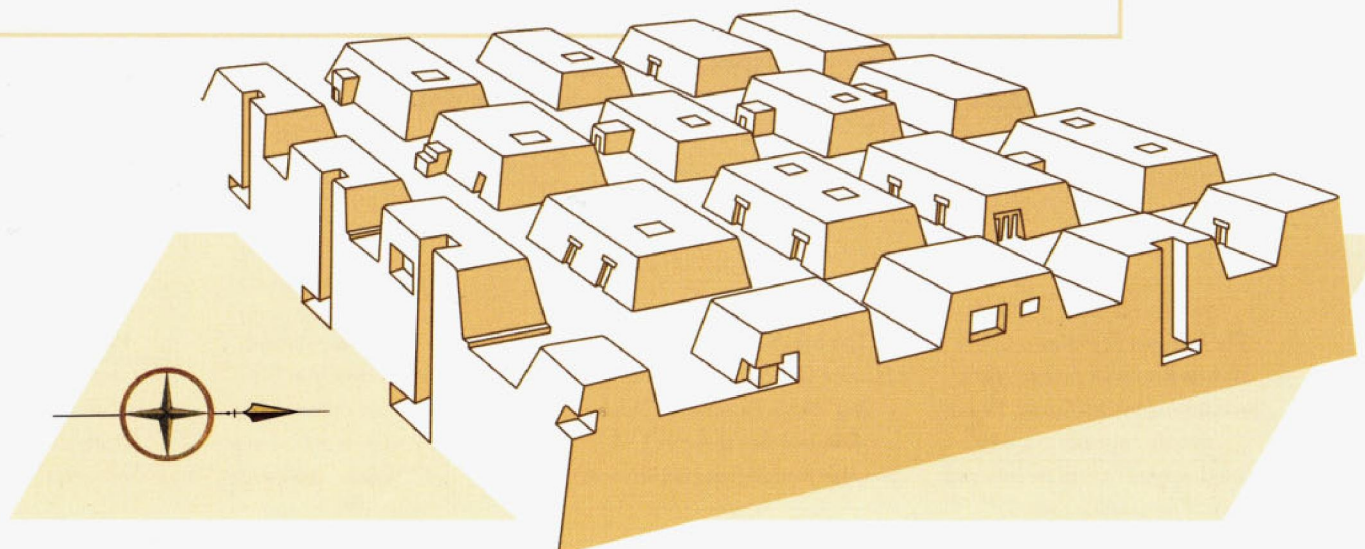
193 bottom

This reconstruction illustrates a typical portion of the Western Cemetery, showing mastaba superstructures, chapels, and burial shafts.

Attempts at organized necropolis development had been undertaken previously, but Khufu expanded the pattern to include vast arrays of *mastabas*, all laid out methodically in 'streets' and 'avenues,' and aligned to the axis of the king's pyramid complex. It is staggering to consider the sheer metric tonnage of limestone that required preparation, transport (from either local quarries or from Tura, on the east bank, across the river), dressing, and placement during the several decades of the king's reign. Thousands of laborers must have covered the site, working on both the royal and private construction projects, probably simultaneously. The scaffolding, dust, and cacophony must, at times, have been disorienting at best, and downright dangerous at worst. How these workers were managed, where they lived and how they were compensated is only just coming to light, thanks to recent excavations to the south of the plateau. Far from brutally enforced slave labor, the image made famous by the Hollywood film industry, the Giza constructions are now seen rather as massive public works projects, religiously motivated, and carried through to completion by and for the benefit of the entire nation. To the average Egyptian, the pyramid was most likely much more than just pharaoh's 'mansion of eternity.'

Excavations from the first half of the twentieth century unearthed the vast cemeteries surrounding the Pyramids. In 1902, the Egyptian antiquities authorities, decrying the unscientific treasure hunters at Giza, invited several archaeological missions to excavate the site responsibly. Among the candidates were three foreign missions: an American team headed by George A. Reisner (1867–1942), a German expedition by Georg Steindorff (1861–1951), and an Italian team led by Ernesto Schiaparelli (1856–1928). The necropolis was divided into equal

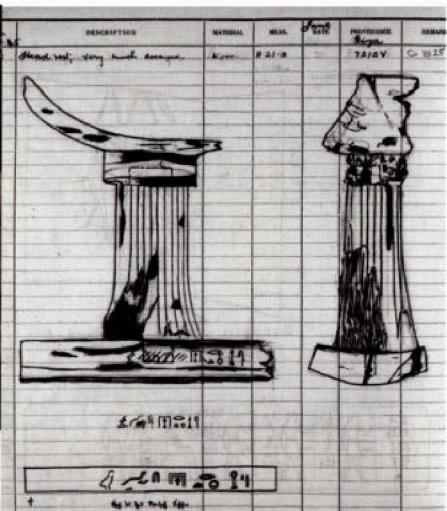
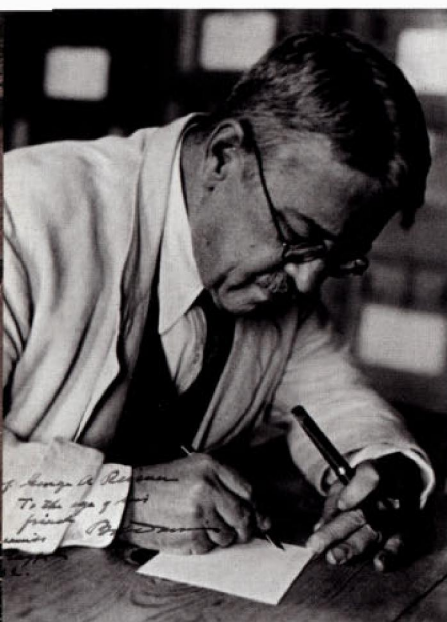
portions and the colleagues drew lots to determine their shares. This historic division was later revised as the Italian mission abandoned Giza for other sites, and Steindorff traded his concession to Hermann Junker (1877–1962) of the University of Vienna, in order to excavate in the Sudan. The only excavator to work almost continuously at Giza was Reisner. From his early years under the sponsorship of Phoebe Apperson Hearst (1842–1919) and the University of California (1902–1905), through the transfer of his expedition to Harvard University and the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston (1905–1947), Reisner settled into his beloved 'Harvard Camp' west of the pyramid of Khafre and based all his archaeological activity from this landmark location. Physically exhausted and nearly blind after forty-three years of excavations in Egypt and the Sudan, with a short interlude in Palestine, he died at Giza in June 1942. His concession came to include two-thirds of the vast cemetery west of the Great Pyramid, the entire cemetery east of it, and the pyramid and valley temples of Menkaure, builder of the third and smallest pyramid. The Steindorff/Junker expeditions excavated the central third of the Western Cemetery and the row of *mastabas* just south of the Great Pyramid. Important later excavations by Selim Hassan (1886–1961), on behalf of Cairo University, revealed the so-called Central Field, west of the Sphinx and south of the causeway to Khafre's pyramid. Abdel-Moneim Abu Bakr (1907–1976) worked in the far Western Cemetery in the 1940s and 1950s, also for Cairo University. All these scholars, and several others in recent years, have produced a total of about thirty monographs on their work at Giza, and these remain fundamental secondary sources for the study of Old Kingdom mortuary tradition and indeed most aspects of ancient Egyptian civilization.





194 top

Four giants of Egyptology (from left to right): Hermann Junker, George Reisner, James H. Breasted, and Ludwig Borchardt, in the garden of the Continental Hotel, Cairo, November 15, 1935.



194 center

The American Egyptologist George Andrew Reisner on June 26, 1933, photographed by Bob Davies. He was the only excavator to work continuously at Giza at the beginning of the twentieth century.

194 bottom

This page, now conserved in the Harvard University–Museum of Fine Arts, Boston Expedition's Object Register books, shows an Old Kingdom headrest found in Giza tomb G 7215.

195 left

In this detailed map showing the Western Cemetery at Giza, all the tombs are color-coded by expedition, with the indication of the expedition dates. Drawing by Peter Der Manuelian.

195 right

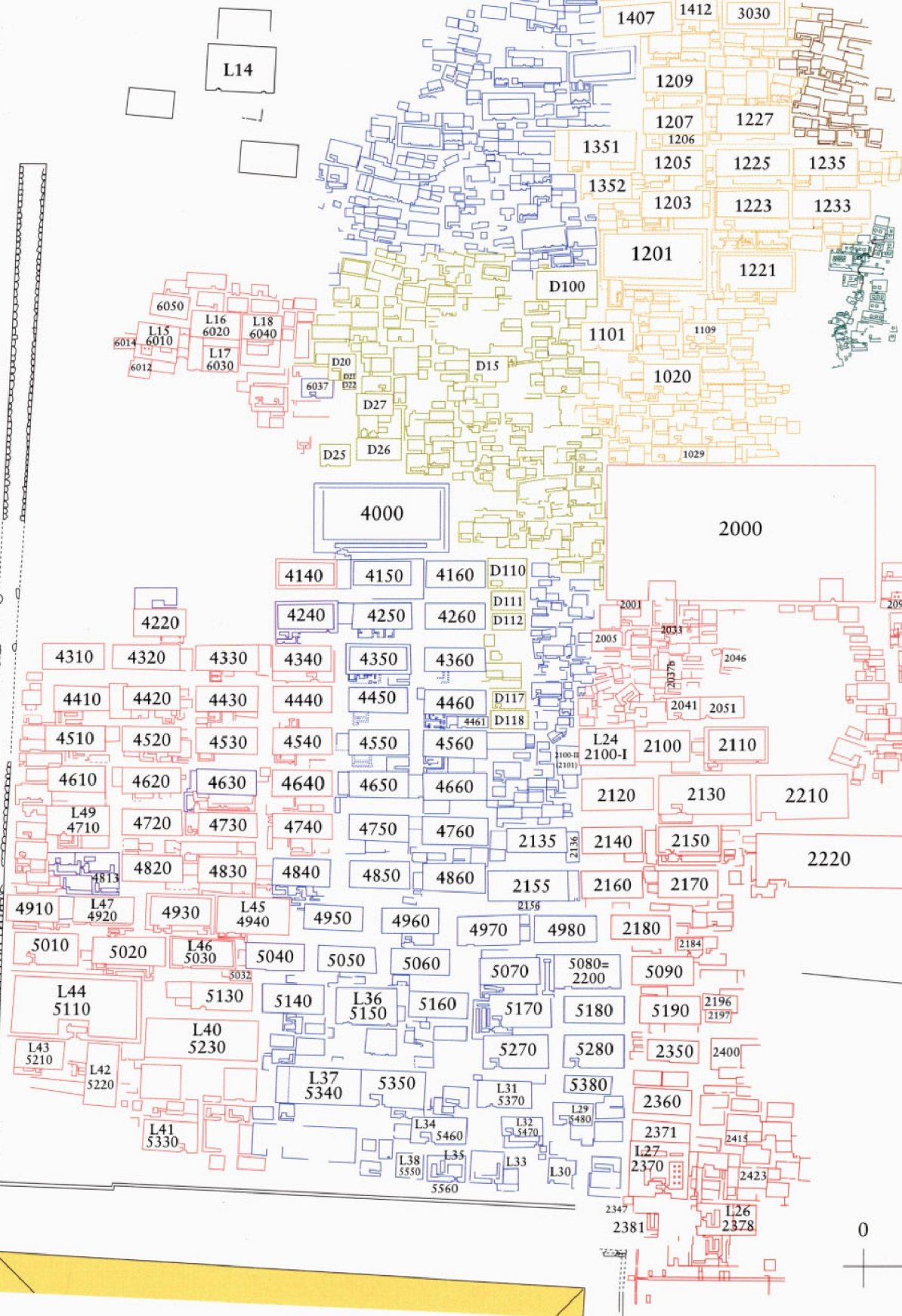
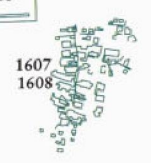
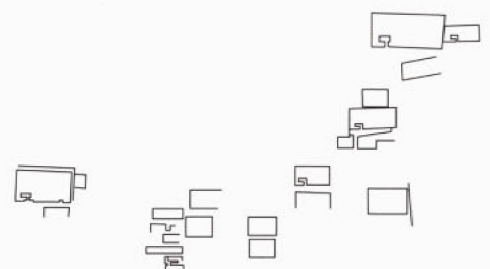
View of the courtyard of 'Harvard Camp,' headquarters of the Harvard University–Museum of Fine Arts, Boston Expedition from 1902–47. Fragments of a colossal seated calcite statue of Menkaure are visible.

What were the basic funerary needs of the average high official of the Old Kingdom? Most tombs of this era consisted of two discrete elements, the first of which was a substructure that could house and protect the deceased's mummy, which had to survive intact in the next world as a point of reunification for the various aspects of the persona. While the art of mummification was still in its early stages in the Fourth Dynasty, high-ranking individuals were interred in stone sarcophagi or wooden coffins deep within a burial chamber sunk into the bedrock off of a vertical shaft. The second element was a superstructure that could house the cult focus, the offering place where the living provided food offerings and recited invocation spells on behalf of the tomb owner. The various forms of equipment needed for the cult focus developed and changed at Giza, sometimes with surprising results.

It seems clear that Khufu laid out the orderly cemeteries to the east and west of his pyramid in what may be the world's first example of 'prefabricated' construction, with the assignation of specific tombs to specific individuals following later. The construction process consisted of laying exterior courses of limestone blocks around the perimeter of the *mastaba* 'core,' which was then filled with rubble or debris. (Only a few *mastabas* contained a core of solid limestone blocks.) Additional courses were added, with the blocks set back from the preceding course, to form a battered or stepped exterior. The burial shaft (or shafts) was sunk through the core of the *mastaba*'s superstructure deep down into the bedrock below. A short corridor connected the shaft to the actual burial chamber, housing the sarcophagus and canopic equipment. Some *mastaba* superstructures later received an additional exterior casing consisting of blocks of smooth white limestone, quarried, for those whose resources allowed, from across the river at Tura. Disentangling the architectural history of the Giza *mastabas*, distinguishing the originally intended

structures from the various subsequent additions and alterations, and the degree of completion attained, is one of the more interesting challenges for scholars of Egyptian architecture.

Another challenge is unraveling the events of Khufu's early reign that led to the form and content of the Giza *mastabas*. It is perhaps a modern prejudice to expect a linear development of cultural expression: ever-higher pyramids, larger temples, and an expanded repertoire of decoration over time. One might look at tomb development prior to the Fourth Dynasty as indeed following such a course. But at Giza, and to a lesser extent at Dahshur under Khufu's father, Sneferu, such linear development is suddenly replaced with a simplicity and austerity whose explanation remains the subject of scholarly debate. In place of elaborate tombs with multiple chambers in the superstructure and so-called 'false doors' serving as the focal point for offerings and contact between the realms of living and of the dead, the earliest Giza *mastabas* under Khufu are solid buildings. Gone are the interior chambers, and the decorated wall surfaces known from earlier tombs at other sites. With very few exceptions, the early Fourth-Dynasty Giza tombs show only a simple niche at the south end of the east wall where an inscribed rectangular slab stela, a sort of ancient tombstone, was installed. Carved on the stela was just about everything needed for a successful afterlife: a scene of the deceased seated at a table of offerings, his/her name and administrative titles, various offerings both spelled out in hieroglyphs and represented ideographically, and a list of different types of linen needed for the burial. In some cases a mud-brick exterior chapel was added around the stela; in others, the stela was later walled up and the area refitted with a stone exterior chapel and a monolithic false door. Clearly, changes crept into the design process, and the pace accelerated towards the end of the reign of Khufu and beyond.







This painted limestone 'slab stela' from the mastaba of Wepemnefret (G 1201), dates to the Fourth Dynasty reign of Khufu, and is 45.7 cm high, 66 cm wide, and 7.6 cm thick; it is conserved in the Phoebe A. Hearst Museum of Anthropology, University of California, Berkeley. At bottom is a detail of three Horus falcons from the stela's list of linen intended for Wepemnefret's burial.

This short end of the painted limestone sarcophagus of a high official presents a 'palace façade' decoration. From mastaba G 7340. Ht. 110 cm, width 97.5 cm, length 210 cm. Fourth Dynasty. Egyptian Museum, Cairo.

was certainly not caused by a lack of talent. The famous slab stela of Wepemnefret, with its masterful polychromy and exquisite low-relief carving attests to a sophistication and stylistic refinement that can only be the product of the finest royal workshops. The stela was the only decorated element from its *mastaba*, no. G 1201, located in the cemetery far to the west of the Great Pyramid, and it survived in such pristine condition because the ancient craftsmen lovingly covered it over as they reworked the tomb's offering chapel in limestone and mud brick, shifting the cult focus from the slab stela to a monolithic false door. Some of the archaic elements on the stela, such as the raised ground line for the table of offering loaves, the stool carved in imitation of bull's legs and the small linen list, indicate that Wepemnefret may have been one of the first occupants of Khufu's new Western Cemetery.



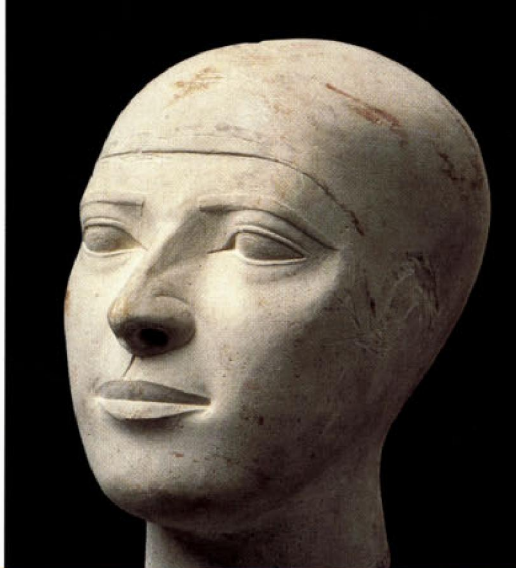


198

Limestone 'reserve head' of a high official, from mastaba G 4340. Height 26 cm, Fourth Dynasty, reign of Khufu. Now in the Egyptian Museum, Cairo.

199 top

Another limestone 'reserve head' of a high official, found in mastaba G 4640, shaft A. Height 25.5 cm, width 18 cm, Fourth Dynasty, reign of Khufu. Now in the Egyptian Museum, Cairo.



199 bottom

Limestone relief fragment from the mastaba chapel of Hemiunu, G 4000. Height 12.1 cm, width 39.5 cm, thickness 7 cm, Fourth Dynasty, reign of Khufu. Now in the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston.

Along with the slab stelae, many of the early Fourth Dynasty Giza tombs contained another unique item: the so-called 'reserve heads.' Most unusual in Egyptian art, which prefers complete statuary, these limestone heads were never part of composite or complete sculptures. They were found, not in the *mastaba* superstructure in a *serdab* (statue chamber), but in disturbed contexts at the bottom of the burial shafts. No two heads are alike, and their highly individual features also set them apart from the rest of Egyptian sculpture. The last word remains to be written about the reserve heads; they are commonly taken as stand-ins should a substitute home for the deceased's spirit be needed in the event of damage to the mummy, but alternative theories abound (sculptor's models? templates for funerary masks? ritually mutilated effigies?). The absence of accompanying inscriptions, the curious incisions running down the center of the skull on some heads, the apparently removed or mutilated ears, and the range in quality, from crude visages to polished and finished masterpieces, have only fueled speculation as to the original function of these mysterious heads. They clearly belong, like the owners of the slab stelae, to the high officials of Khufu's reign, the original *mastaba* owners as per Khufu's commands; they are not found in later dynasties.

A powerful official named Hemiunu, one of the Western Cemetery tomb owners during the era of slab stelae and reserve heads, is justly famous today

as the architect who probably oversaw the Great Pyramid's construction. As vizier (second in command to pharaoh), royal seal bearer, and overseer of all royal construction projects, Hemiunu was the eldest son of the vizier Nefermaat, who in turn was Sneferu's eldest son, and whose beautifully painted tomb is located at Meidum. Under Khufu's reign, Hemiunu obtained one of the three largest *mastabas* at Giza. The owner of the largest tomb, mastaba G 2000, remains unidentified but must have been a favored prince; the tomb is so monumental that one might even construe some of the surrounding *mastaba* fields as oriented to it rather than to the Great Pyramid. To the south of mastaba G 2000, Hemiunu extended the simple *mastaba* layout described above to include two chapels in his tomb, connected by a long corridor added to the east face of the superstructure. The cut of these limestone blocks is so precise that the corners retain their joins and sharpness even today, some 4,600 years after their construction. In the northern chapel, an over-life-sized seated statue of the corpulent (to the ancient Egyptians corpulence was equated with the prosperity and success) Hemiunu gazed eastwards towards the pyramid of his sovereign. We can only guess at the logistical challenges Hemiunu faced as the pyramid slowly rose to dominate the surrounding landscape, raising the national psyche with it in an unprecedented public works project to secure the immortality of pharaoh and thereby the

cosmic order and prosperity of the country.

By the end of Khufu's reign, the original layout of the great *mastaba* fields had undergone significant changes. Simple core *mastabas* with nothing but a slab stela as the cult focus were expanded with exterior chapels, sometimes in limestone, sometimes in mud brick. Additional burial shafts were sometimes added, probably for additional family members. In the Eastern Cemetery, reserved primarily for the royal family, what began as four rows of twelve *mastabas* was completely remodeled. Some of these tombs were joined together while others received extensions; the result was four rows of eight great double-*mastabas*. Most of these were badly plundered before the arrival of the twentieth-century archaeologists, but they once contained the burials of the ruling elite of the land, and perhaps some of Khufu's successors on the throne. His own mother, the wife of Sneferu, Queen Hetepheres, may also have been buried in the Eastern Cemetery, either in one of the three queens' pyramids, or in the hundred-foot deep burial chamber just further to the north, which was accidentally discovered in 1925. Some of the oldest examples of furniture from the ancient world were found here, along with a mysteriously empty sarcophagus and the queen's viscera in canopic jars, containing a solution still in liquid form after more than four millennia. This royal mystery—a burial without a body—continues to contradict what we think we know about Egyptian burial traditions.





Khufukhaf I

200 left

The entrance façade to the limestone chapel of Khufukhaf I—prince and son of Khufu—mastaba G 7140, looking southwest. Fourth Dynasty.

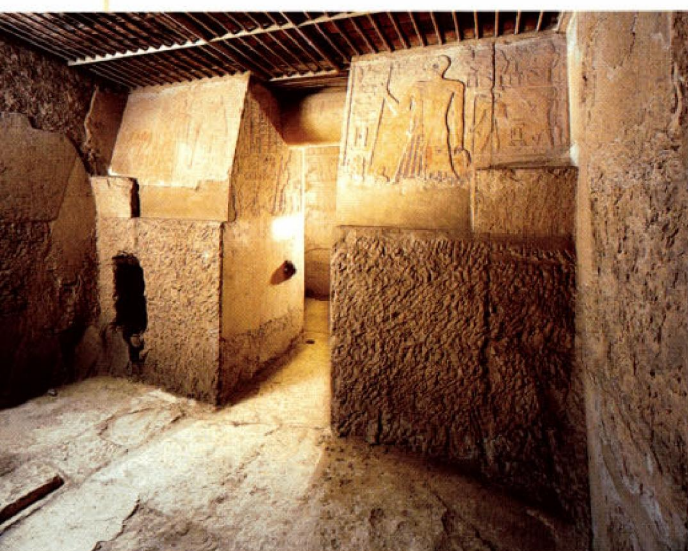
200-201

On the south side of the entrance to the limestone chapel of Khufukhaf I, looking west, one can clearly admire the tomb owner's mother and son.

201 right

Large-scale figures of the prince and his wife Nefret-kau on the northern and eastern walls, looking northeast, in the chapel of Khufukhaf I (top). On the west wall, north end, looking west, there is a large-scale figure of Khufukhaf I embraced by his wife Nefret-kau.

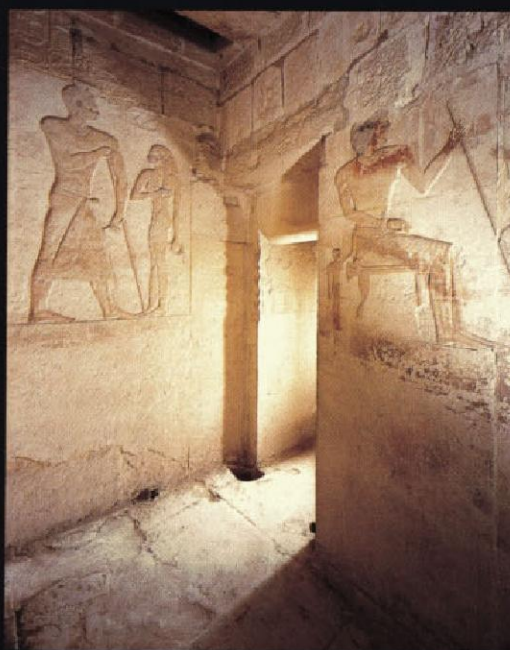
Tomb decoration began to expand again later in Khufu's reign, into the succeeding reigns of the Fourth Dynasty and beyond. Chapels bearing carved and painted scenes and inscriptions on interior walls of limestone were now added inside the core of the *mastaba* superstructure. One such tomb in the Eastern Cemetery, belonging to a priest of Khufu named Khufukhaf I, shows remarkably well-crafted, large-scale figures of the deceased and his wife Nefretkau in a variety of poses and costumes, as well as countless offerings, magically available for all eternity by virtue of being carved in stone. Size did not matter in terms of providing equipment for the afterlife: a model beer vessel, just a few centimeters in height, bore the same ritual potency as a carved or painted two-dimensional representation, or indeed an actual beer vessel interred in the tomb itself. Mortuary ceramics



abound in the Giza *mastabas*, and form a corpus that still awaits detailed study, not to mention comparison with ceramics from secular (that is, non-mortuary) contexts of the Old Kingdom. On the back of one of Khufukhaf's casing stones displaced from the east face of the *mastaba*, quarry marks seem to contain a date indicating Khufu's twenty-third regnal year.

The largest tomb in the Eastern Cemetery belonged to Ankhhaf, possibly a vizier under Khafre if not under Khufu himself. While fragments from Ankhhaf's destroyed chapel remain to be published, the tomb owner is justly famous for a striking bust found on a plinth in one of the exterior mud-brick chapel rooms east of the *mastaba*. That the bust lay on top of a heap of shattered ceramics indicates that it was the 'recipient' of offerings from the living. Carved in limestone with modeling added in plaster, the bust portrays the careworn expression of a burdened official, and departs radically from the more idealized sculpture that was the norm during the Old Kingdom.



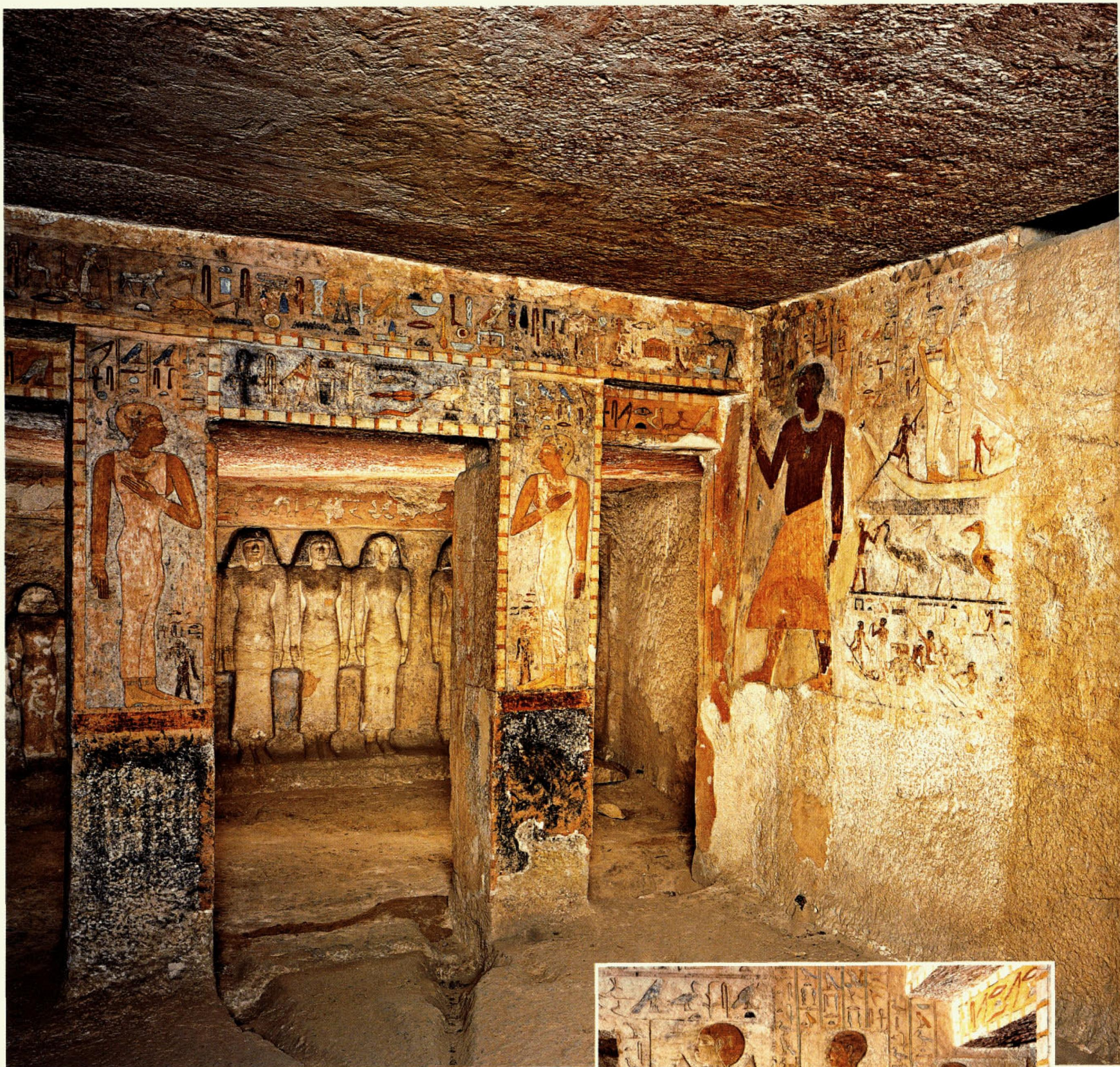




Meresankh

203 top

Engaged statues of Meresankh III and her family on the north wall of the main room of the rock-cut mastaba of Queen Meresankh III, looking northeast.



202-203

The north and east walls, looking northeast, in the rock-cut mastaba chapel of Queen Meresankh III: the reliefs depict the daughter of Kawab and Hetepheres II and royal wife of Khafre. G 7530sub, main room. Fourth Dynasty.

202 bottom

Reliefs with the figures of Hetepheres, Meresankh III, and her son Nebemakhet on the west wall of the main room of the chapel of Queen Meresankh III.



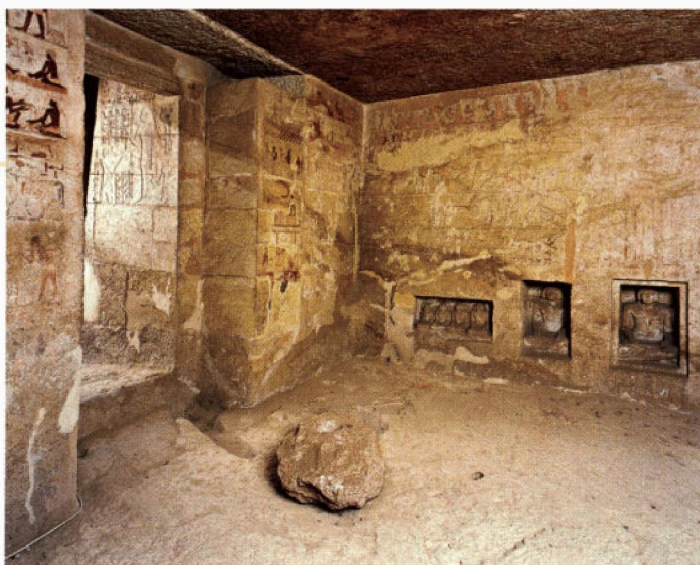
203 bottom

Engaged statues in scribal pose in the main room of the rock-cut mastaba chapel of Queen Meresankh III, on the east and south walls, looking southeast.



Along with increasingly elaborate chapels in the *mastaba* superstructures, a new type of burial place developed at Giza, most likely late in Khafre's reign: the rock-cut tomb. Carved out of the bedrock and lacking a superstructure, these tombs foreshadowed the type of burial place that was later to dominate Egyptian cemeteries through the Middle and New Kingdoms at sites such as Beni Hasan, Aswan, and Thebes. An unusual early example of a rock-cut tomb belongs to Queen Meresankh III, daughter of crown prince Kawab, the eldest son of Khufu, and wife of Khafre. Located in the Eastern Cemetery, Meresankh's decorated chapel rooms were actually hewn beneath a *mastaba* superstructure in a most unusual combination of the two tomb forms. Her decorated chambers contain some of the most vibrant wall paintings ever found at Giza, and expand the scene repertoire to include boating scenes, offering

bearers, scribes, craftsmen and agricultural production. The tomb even boasts a number of engaged statues of Meresankh and other family members and officials, set into niches in the chapel walls. The production of statues of the deceased, his or her family, and even servant figures, immortalized for all time in the act of producing the staples of daily existence, began to turn up in *serdabs*, or statue chambers, in the *mastaba* superstructures. Hundreds, if not a few thousand statues and statuettes from Giza, now in collections the world over, would form a veritable 'who's who' of the necropolis if they could be united, for the inscriptions carved on their bases and back pillars tell us their names and administrative titles. While it is probably impractical to bring them all together physically, the potential exists today for a 'virtual' gathering via digital images, databases and the Internet.



204-205

Scenes with offering-bearers, a scene of fowling with a the clapnet, and presentation of livestock from the east wall of the main room of the rock-cut mastaba chapel of Queen Meresankh III.





The Fifth Dynasty at Giza saw the beginnings of the eventual breakdown of Khufu's ordered system of *mastaba* streets and avenues. Intrusive burials, additional shafts and new areas all added to the complexity of this urban city of the dead. Officials under Khafre had begun to exploit the quarry area west of the Sphinx, now available for both *mastabas* and rock-cut tombs after the removal of all that stone to build the first two Giza pyramids. With additional chambers came an increased repertoire of wall scenes, and longer hieroglyphic texts. During the Fifth and Sixth Dynasties, we can read for the first time extensive narratives containing records of the exploits of the tomb owners, their biographies, interactions with the pharaoh, and even legal decrees concerning the means of providing for their mortuary cults.

In the Central Field, between the Sphinx and the second pyramid of Khafre, is a labyrinthine *mastaba* belonging to the vizier Rawer. Dating to the second half of the Fifth Dynasty, the tomb contained, in addition to columned porticoes borrowed stylistically perhaps from royal mortuary architecture, a unique account of an accident that took place in the reign of Neferirkare. The hieroglyphic inscription tells us that Rawer bumped up against the king's staff during a particular ceremony, and feared not just corporal, but divine punishment for disturbing the proceedings. The king, however, sided with Rawer, forgiving his indiscretion and avoiding an unpleasant 'incident.' Rawer was so proud of this event that he had the account carved in a raised relief inscription in his tomb.

Other tombs in the Western Cemetery testify to the elegance of polychromy that originally adorned the increasingly elaborate chapel areas. Processions of offering bearers, scenes of daily life, boating scenes, a wide variety of produce from the tomb-owner's estate, all appear over and over, but each time with subtle personal touches and unique features. The all-important 'false doors' set into the chapel's west wall (the west being traditionally the land of the setting sun, and hence of death and resurrection) now graced the elite burials at Giza, and reveal their own line of development. Some of the decorated chapels are still preserved at Giza, while others are housed in several Egyptian collections in European museums (Kaninisut in Vienna, Seshem-nefer III in Tübingen, Wehemka in Hildesheim).



206-207

This limestone raised-relief inscription from the tomb of Rawer, Central Field, details the 'accident' with the king and a staff during an important ceremony. Height 57 cm, width 1.25 m, thickness 25 cm. First half of the Fifth Dynasty. Now in the Egyptian Museum, Cairo.







Nisut-nefer



208

General view looking north, showing the chapel of Nisut-nefer, mastaba G 4970. Early Fifth Dynasty.

209 top left

The ka-priest and scribe Tjenti presents accounts to the tomb owner on the west wall of the chapel of Nisut-nefer.

209 top right

On the east wall of the mastaba of Nisut-nefer, offering-bearers personify the estates that provide produce for the mortuary cult of the tomb owner.

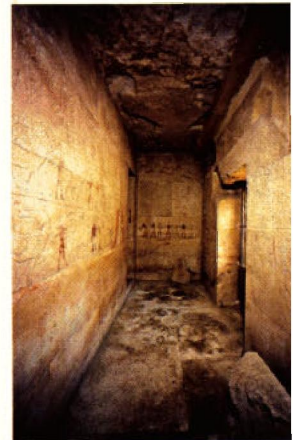
209 bottom

A scene of ushering a young oryx before the tomb owner from the west wall of the chapel of Nisut-nefer.





Sesbat-betep



210-211

The tomb owner seated at a table of offering loaves, on the northern entrance to the chapel of Sesbat-betep, mastaba G 5150, looking north. End of the Fourth Dynasty—early Fifth Dynasty.

211 top left

The entrance to the chapel of Sesbat-betep, looking southwest.

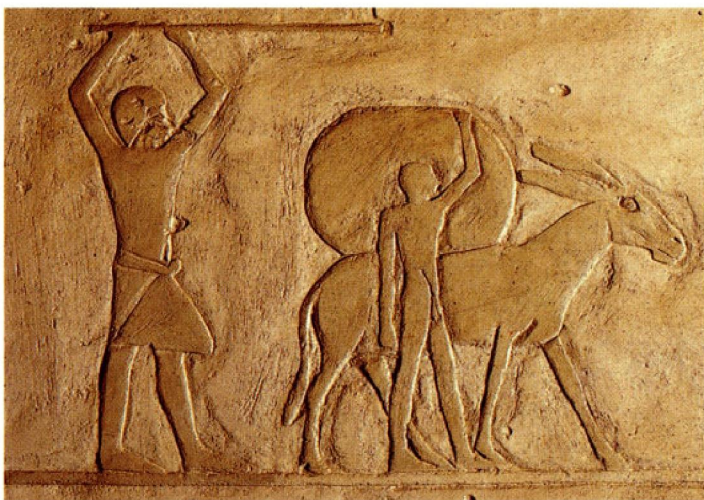
211 bottom left

Detail of the 'palace façade' decoration on the exterior of the mastaba of Sesbat-betep, looking west.

211 right

General view inside the chapel of Sesbat-betep, looking north.





212-213

Detail of relief with livestock from the north wall, bottom register of the rock-cut chapel of Iasen, mastaba G 2196. Sixth Dynasty.

213 bottom

Relief detail from the rock-cut chapel of Iasen showing a donkey driver. From the north wall, middle register.

214-215

This relief from the south wall of the rock-cut chapel of Iasen shows the tomb owner seated on a high-backed chair within a booth.

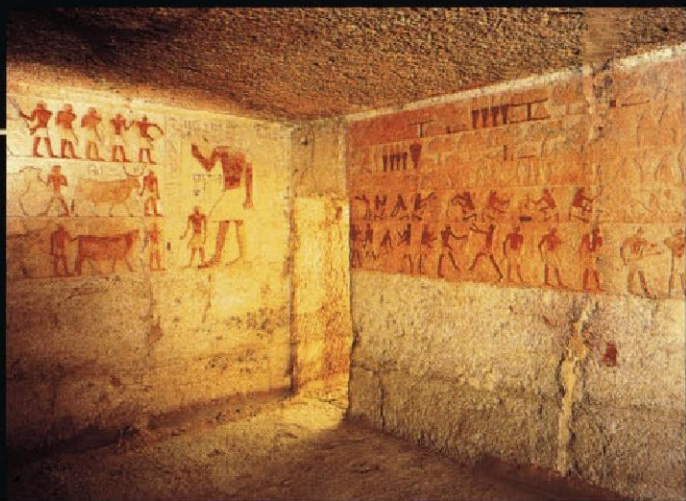
212 bottom

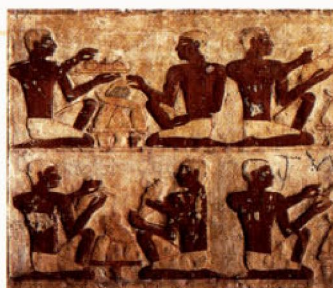
The tomb owner and his wife and son at right, overseeing processions of livestock and accounts on the east wall of the rock-cut chapel of Iasen. The vertical text reads: "Viewing the document of the gifts brought from an invocation offering (consisting of) bread, beer, and cakes every day."

215 bottom

An engaged niche statue stands in the west wall of the chapel (right) of Iasen's mastaba.







216 top

A banquet scene from chamber 2, south wall, middle section of the chapel of Iymery, G 6020. Fifth Dynasty, reign of Niuserre.

216-217 top

A scene depicting jousting in the papyrus marshes from the north wall of chamber 2, eastern section of the chapel of Iymery.

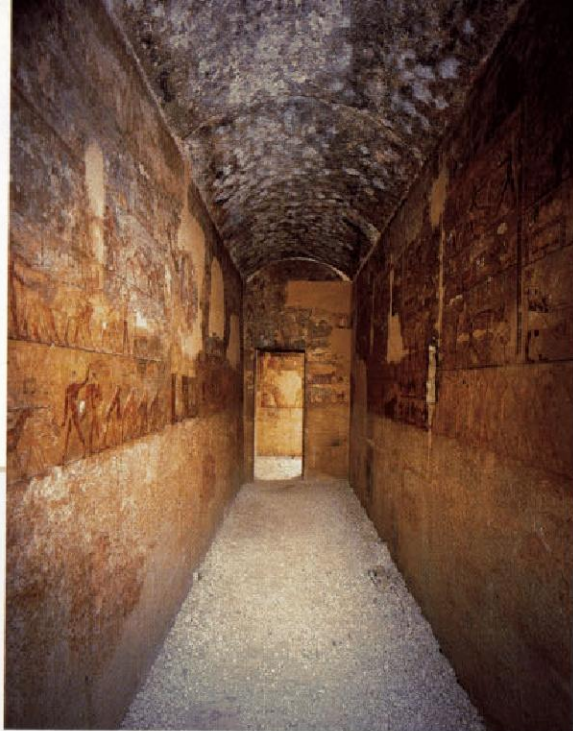
216-217 bottom

This calving scene is conserved in chamber 2, south wall, eastern section of the chapel of Iymery.

217 top

General view of the vaulted chamber 2 of the chapel of Iymery.







218 top

Detail of two processions of men towing the funerary boat containing Qar's sarcophagus toward his tomb, in court C, north wall, lower half of the subterranean chapel of Qar, G 7101. Sixth Dynasty, reign of Pepy I or later.



218 center

Sunk relief depicting the seated figure of Qar. From his subterranean chapel, room D, west wall, with entrance to room E, looking southwest.

One complex of *mastabas*, located at the northwest corner of the Great Pyramid, belonged to a family of chief architects in the Fifth and Sixth Dynasties. Senedjemib Inti inscribed praiseworthy letters from his sovereign, King Isepi (also called Djedkare), on the façade of his tomb, while his son, Senedjemib Mehi, wrote that he completed the construction of his father's *mastaba*, "which I made for him in one year and three months, while he was in the embalming place in his mansion which is in (the necropolis of) the pyramid 'Isepi is perfect.'" This is one of very few Egyptian references to the amount of time needed for a particular construction project. A Sixth Dynasty-related burial, belonging to a man named Ptahshepses Impi, produced countless miniature copper vessels, placed in a box on top of the tomb-owner's cedar coffin. Broad collars and other items of jewelry accompanied the burial, testifying to the prosperity of the Senedjemib family.

The legal aspects of tomb building and the care of the mortuary cult, sometimes for generations after the tomb-owner's death, were major contributing factors to the longevity of a necropolis. A number of tombs at Giza bear inscriptions designating individuals for mortuary service and exempting them from various taxes or forced labor. One Penmeru, an 'overseer of *ka*-priests, royal acquaintance, and priest of Menkaure,' carved a legal decree on the wall of his small Western Cemetery tomb chapel, stating: "... as for my brother of my funerary estate, Neferhotep, and those born to him by either father (or) mother, they are the *ka*-priests of (my) funerary estate for the invocation offering in (my) tomb ... which is in the cemetery of Akhet-Khufu ... I have not empowered any persons to have authority over it" Another small tomb, sandwiched during the Sixth Dynasty in between the major *mastabas* of the near Western Cemetery, contained a small niche belonging to

Redines, who took pains to assure his peers that "Never did I do anything evil against people ... I have constructed this (tomb) of mine by means of my own resources. It is the god who will judge (my) case along with him who does anything against it."

As the Sixth Dynasty progressed, Giza cemeteries were overrun by intrusive tombs and burial shafts choking the streets and avenues between the major *mastabas* of the Fourth and Fifth Dynasties. Khufu would probably not have recognized the site, for the ordered layout of his Eastern and Western Cemeteries became overpopulated with many hundreds of additional burials. Rock-cut tombs lined the edge of the plateau at the Eastern Cemetery, forming a complex warren of interlocking subterranean chambers that still await final analysis and publication. Tombs filled the rest of the quarry area between the Sphinx and the pyramid of Khafre, and even a smaller quarry east of Menkaure's pyramid had by this time already received its share of rock-cut tombs. A second style of representing the human figure, including wide eyes, pinched torsos, and minimal musculature separated many Sixth Dynasty monuments from those of the earlier Old Kingdom, as evidenced by the Sixth Dynasty tombs of Qar and Idu in the Eastern Cemetery, or the uniquely painted burial chamber of Kayemankh in the Western Cemetery. The royal necropolis had moved on to other sites, such as Saqqara, after the close of the Fourth Dynasty, but high officials, many of them employed by the mortuary cults of the Fourth Dynasty pharaohs Khufu, Khafre, or Menkaure, or desiring to join their ancestors in family tomb complexes, continued to be buried at Giza. One of Qar's titles was 'Overseer of the Pyramid Towns of Khufu and Menkaure.' Although little survives of his superstructure, his numerous rock-cut chambers were enhanced by a number of engaged statues.





218 bottom

Raised-relief seated figure of Qar before a table of offerings, from his subterranean chapel, court C, west wall. Reading the hieroglyphs, in the upper register before him, the

'true scribe of the god's document, Idu' extends his fingers in a gesture of anointing. In the lower register, the 'overseer of ka-priests, Nakhti' is shown pouring a libation.

218-219

Sunk-relief inscriptions and engaged statues characterize the subterranean chapel of Qar, looking south from court C into chamber D.



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THE ROYAL BOATS AT GIZA

Text by Zahi Hawass

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THE SPHINX

Text by Mark Lehner

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THE TOMBS OF THE HIGH

OFFICIALS AT GIZA

Text by Peter Der Manuelian

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THE 'UNFINISHED' PYRAMIDS OF THE FOURTH DYNASTY
Text by Michel Valloggia

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THE PYRAMIDS OF THE FIFTH DYNASTY
Text by Miroslav Verner

Born in 1941; he graduated in Egyptology and prehistory at Charles University in Prague. He directed the Czech Institute of Egyptology for twenty five years and since 1976 has been leading the excavations by Czech archaeologists in Abusir, Egypt. He is professor at Charles University in Prague and also serves as guest professor at the universities of Vienna and Hamburg and at the American University in Cairo.

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THE SURPRISING ABUSIR BLOCKS
Text by Zahi Hawass and Miroslav Verner

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THE PYRAMIDS OF THE SIXTH DYNASTY
Text by Audran Labrousse

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THE DECORATIVE PROGRAM OF THE OLD KINGDOM PYRAMID COMPLEXES
Text by Zahi Hawass

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THE TOMBS OF THE FIFTH AND SIXTH DYNASTIES AT SAQQARA
Text by Karl Myśliwiec

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THE PYRAMIDS OF THE MIDDLE KINGDOM
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