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Abusir and Saqqara in the Year 2001

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Centre of Egyptology*

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In the Old Kingdom Egyptian cemeteries, the majority of tombs belong to men, and one would expect that the wives of these men would be buried in the tomb. Frequently, however, this is not the case. Although a large number of these male tomb owners had representations of children in their tombs, they had made no provision for the burial (and often the funerary cult) of their wives. Conversely, female tomb owners make no mention of their husbands, and these women, too, are usually the sole occupant of the tomb. This state of affairs has been found in both the Saqqara and Giza cemeteries up to the mid Sixth Dynasty. This article will focus not on the decoration of the tombs, but on the shafts that indicate burial arrangements. Sometimes a second burial shaft is present in a tomb but, as the cemetery of the children of King Djedkara at Abusir has revealed, each of those tombs has a dummy shaft that leads nowhere and was never intended for burial. Therefore,

we should not automatically expect that a tomb with two shafts indicates the burial of a husband and his wife. In the later Sixth Dynasty, however, single tombs for women are less frequent, and burial in family tombs predominates.

Filip Coppens:

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The Egyptian term *wab.t* occurs from the Old Kingdom onwards as a designation for the "mortuary workshop" where both the mummy was embalmed and craftsmen were engaged in a variety of activities related to funerary practices. In Graeco-Roman times, the same term was used in a number of temples to designate the architectural ensemble of an open court followed by an elevated chapel. In this locality, the statues of the gods were purified, adorned and provided with the necessary protective equipment before being united with the sun disc. The present article examines the possible connections between the *wab.t* in the temple and its mortuary counterpart.

Peter Der Manuelian:

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With the aid of a grant from the Andrew W. Mellon Foundation, the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, is engaged in creating an integrated scholarly research Web site of all of the Giza excavation archives assembled by George Reisner between 1902 and 1942. The project is scheduled for completion in 2004, and will include thousands of glass plate photo negatives, maps, plans, excavation diaries, object register books, recent colour photography, published and unpublished books and manuscripts, and a number of immersive photography technologies.

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Peter Jánosi:

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The article surveys the position and number of shafts within a mastaba and the problem of identifying the owners of these shafts in the „core cemeteries“ at Giza (Fourth Dynasty). When man and woman shared one tomb it is generally assumed that the larger and better built substructure, mostly situated under the southern part of the mastaba, belonged to the tomb owner while the lesser part pertained to his wife. It can be shown that such generalisations are misleading and do not reveal the different stages and aspects of tomb-development (one-shaft mastaba, twin-mastaba, two-shaft-mastaba and the distribution and positions of shafts/burial chambers) during this period. Every funerary structure demands a careful observation and consideration of all the available architectural and archaeological evidence in order to establish the identification of burials within one structure.

Kamil Omar Kuraszkiwicz:

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This paper is a presentation of inscribed objects discovered in Saqqara by the Polish-Egyptian Mission during the years 1998–1999. The objects, originating from cult places of the tombs of middle-rank officials, date to the final phase of the Old Kingdom or slightly later. The significance of white colour in the funerary context is also discussed.

Teodozja Izabela Rzeuska:

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While carrying out archaeological research at West Saqqara, the Polish-Egyptian archaeological mission unearthed a necropolis dated to the late Old Kingdom. One of the common architectural features of the mastabas are false shafts situated to the South or Southeast of the burial shafts. These shafts are usually interpreted as unfinished. The deposits found inside the false shafts at the necropolis of West Saqqara may help to answer the question whether they were unfinished or planned.

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Miroslav Verner:

Forty Years of Czech Excavations in Abusir 415-425

In his paper, Miroslav Verner, presents an overview and appraisal of the forty years of excavation by the Czech archaeological research in the pyramid necropolis at Abusir. Among the major results of the Czech team in Abusir have been the discoveries of several hitherto unknown cemeteries and pyramids, including the pyramid complex of Neferefre, spectacular tombs of high officials dating from the Old Kingdom, Late Period shaft tombs – including the intact burial of Iufaa and the shaft tomb of Udjahorresnet. Other results have included discoveries of invaluable royal sculptures, papyrus archives, etc.

Aspects of Mastaba Development: The Position of Shafts and the Identification of Tomb Owners

Peter Jánosi, Wien

In this short survey I would like to elaborate on a detail I have briefly hinted at in a previous article.¹ The study concerns the position and number of shafts within a mastaba and the problem of identifying the owners of these shafts. As a start, my paper will concentrate only on the tombs of the elite of Egyptian society during the Fourth Dynasty.² The mastabas under discussion belong to the so-called “core cemeteries” at Giza: Cem. G 1200, G 2100, G 4000 and G 7000, which were erected under Khufu, but were used for interments throughout the entire Fourth Dynasty or even later. Because of the uniform size, the way of constructing the tombs and the material used, these structures must be regarded as “royal” buildings for the uppermost stratum of Egyptian society. Thus, they form an important part within the development of funerary architecture at Giza, but are only indicative for a certain period of time and a certain level of Egyptian society.

In reviewing the tombs of the Old Kingdom – especially in looking at the relief decoration of the chapels – the generally accepted impression emerges that man (husband) and woman (wife) shared one tomb. Based on this impression, the equally widely accepted interpretation is deduced that in general the larger and better built or more elaborately furnished part of the tomb belonged to the tomb owner – the man – while the lesser part pertained to the woman, i.e. his wife.

“The southern burial-place was larger and the southern pair of niches were also larger and more elaborate than the northern pair. Naturally the more important southern tomb is to be assigned to the husband, and the less important tomb to his wife.”³

¹ P. Jánosi, “‘Im Schatten’ der Pyramiden – Die Mastabas in Abusir. Einige Beobachtungen zum Grabbau der 5. Dynastie”, in: M. Bárta and J. Krejčí (eds.), *Abusir and Saqqara in the Year 2000* (Archiv orientální Supplementa IX), Praha 2000, pp. 445-466.

² The article is a slightly revised and augmented version of my lecture given during the conference *Abusir and Saqqara in the Year 2001* in Prague (25–27. 9. 2001). It should be understood that the topic treated in this paper is only preliminary since it touches upon a phenomenon of funerary practices during the Old Kingdom which was thus far only dealt with superficially. It is to be hoped that a broader and more extensive study can be published in the near future. I would like to thank Dr. Vivienne G. Callender for reading and correcting the English of my paper. The figures have been skilfully prepared by Ms. Liza Majerus.

³ G. A. Reisner, *The Development of the Egyptian Tomb Down to the Accession of Cheops*, Cambridge (Mass.) 1936, p. 285.

From this observation the general conclusion is drawn that the southern half of a mastaba belonged to the male occupant while the northern part was intended for his wife.

“... wenn z.B. Mann und Frau in derselben Anlage bestattet werden, ... ist der Südschacht, immer der wichtigere, dem Grabherrn reserviert, ...”⁴

But the matter is not as clear as it might appear. As a “rule” the opening of the shaft in the one-shaft mastaba (here called “MS”: main shaft) was located in the middle or northern half of the mastaba-core.⁵ This position was required in order to bring the burial chamber, located to the south of the shaft, as close as possible to the main offering place – usually situated in the southern part of the mastaba’s eastern façade. When the two-shaft mastaba started to appear, the only place for “adding” a new shaft plus substructure was underneath the southern half of the core. By introducing this second burial place, the main burial chamber was separated from the main offering place, which was now closer to the second burial chamber. In order to avoid the confusion of positions between secondary burial chamber and main offering place, the original, i.e. the main shaft (MS) and substructure were “relocated” from the northern to the southern part of the tomb; thus, the northern substructure became the subsidiary part in the two-shaft mastaba (fig. 1).

That this change of position did not happen at once and universally is shown by the different solutions and the variety of tomb forms found at Giza. In the Western Field 64 uniform cores were designed and constructed as one-shaft mastabas, i.e. one core and one substructure were destined for one person (fig. 1A). This implies that a man and a woman were buried under equal conditions separately in one funerary structure each.⁶

⁴ H. Junker, *Giza I* (DAWW 69.1), 1929, p. 141.

⁵ For a possible explanation of this position in regard to the afterlife of the deceased see H. Junker, *Giza X* (DAWW 74.1), 1951, p. 31.

⁶ Despite the fact that a considerable number of tomb owners remain anonymous in the Western Field (tomb never occupied or name lost), the inequality in sex between the owners is striking: out of 64 mastabas of the initial core cemeteries only 9 can be attributed to women while 26 belonged to men in the Fourth Dynasty.

The distribution of burials in the Western Field at Giza during the Fourth Dynasty:

Cem.	number of burials	m.	f.	anon.
G 1200	10	5	3	2
G 2100	11	5	1	5
G 4000	42	15	5	22
G 2000	1	1	–	–
TOTAL	64	26	9	29
%	100	40,6	14	45,3

Thus, the conclusion emerges that the persons buried within the core cemeteries are not necessarily all related to each other by marriage as often assumed. Therefore, one has to suppose that these female occupants of one-shaft mastabas might have had a status which was not dependant on or

The mastabas have a uniform size and are built according to a uniform plan. Each shaft opens in the northern half of the core and penetrates about 10–11 m deep into the rock. At the bottom of the shaft a short horizontal passage leads into the burial chamber situated in the south. From the outward appearance of the tomb's architecture and form there is no distinction in regard to the status or sex of the tomb owner. Based only on the preserved inscriptions (names, titles etc.) or the actual burial – i.e. the skeletal remains or parts of the burial equipment – can the tomb owner's sex be established.⁷

On the other hand a number of tombs display architectural changes that point to the fact that this type of tomb – the one-shaft mastaba – was felt inappropriate or unsatisfactory.⁸ Six mastaba-cores in the Western Field (G 1223, G 1225, G 1227, G 1233, G 4150, G 4140) received additional masonry on the north side, which included a shaft for a second burial. These tombs were intended to be cased (see G 1223, G 1225 and G 4150) and in the final form nothing would have indicated that two substructures were incorporated under one superstructure: the tomb was turned into a two-shaft mastaba (fig. 2).

Regarding the owners of these shafts, the additional structure – considered inferior (being merely an addition to the original core) – is generally attributed to a member of the tomb owner's family – usually his wife.⁹ Yet, a closer look

linked to the status or a certain relationship of the male occupants in the cemetery; thus, the privilege to be buried in this part of the cemetery depended on certain virtues or deeds of the women's professions within society.

⁷ Presently there are no definite indications that in this period both sexes were buried within *one* substructure, although some considerations might point to the fact that occasionally this could have been the case. In two mastabas (G 4140 and G 4440) *two* reserve heads have been found in each substructure. One being male the other female [G. A. Reisner, "Accessions to the Egyptian Department during 1914", *BMFA* 13 (1915), pp. 30-36, figures 5–7 and 10; *id.*, *A History of the Giza Necropolis I*, Cambridge (Mass.) 1955, pp. 462, plates 46c–d and 52a–b and 477, plates 49c and 54a–b and R. Tefnin, *Art et Magie au Temps des Pyramides. L'énigme des textes dites "de remplacement"* (MonAeg. V), 1991, pp. 100–103 and 113f]. This fact seems to offer an explanation for the little number of women found in the core cemeteries. Consequently the question must be raised if women were, not necessarily as a rule but occasionally, buried with their husbands in one mastaba, see G. A. Reisner and C. S. Fisher, "Preliminary Report on the work of the Harvard-Boston Expedition in 1911-1913", *ASAE* 13 (1914), p. 240 and H. Junker, *Giza I*, p. 38. If the position of the two reserve heads from G 4140 and G 4440 is not merely the accidental result of pillaging (which would raise serious doubts about the original location of the other heads as well), the only solution of man and woman buried together seems feasible in these cases. On the other hand, in no burial chamber the fragments of more than one stone sarcophagus were found, thus indicating that the second burial must have been carried out in a wooden coffin. There are a number of burial chambers where the fragments of both materials were found, but usually these fragments are explained as the wooden coffin being put inside the limestone sarcophagus, H. Junker, *Giza I*, pp. 45, 54, 190, 233f and 247.

⁸ With the alteration of the original tomb structure (the one-shaft mastaba) a development in tomb architecture was initiated, which can be neatly traced during the entire Old Kingdom.

⁹ The burial of a female discovered in G 1233-*annex* (G.A. Reisner, *A History of the Giza Necropolis I*, p. 411, figure 234a-b) seems to corroborate the theory indicated above that the man occupied the southern (larger) part of the tomb while his wife was buried in the northern (smaller) substructure.

at the archaeological results point to the need for a more cautious approach regarding the identification of the occupants. According to the inscriptions (slab stelae), two of these six mastabas which received an *annex* with a second shaft (G 1225 and G 4140) belonged to “princesses” (Nefert-yabet and Meritites);¹⁰ thus, the secondary burial place in the north must have been intended for the princesses’ husbands, a close relative or offspring.¹¹ Therefore it would be misleading to maintain that women’s burials were less important or subordinate to those of their male counterparts;¹² an assumption which is clearly refuted by these two tombs and a number of others.

A somewhat different picture of tomb building, but quite enlightening in this matter, is found in the cemetery to the east of Khufu’s pyramid. In Cem. G 7000 Khufu’s children were buried.¹³ In this part of the necropolis originally 12 mastaba-cores were arranged in three rows and each row contained four tombs (fig. 3A).

Nothing is known about the initial intention of finishing these structures and the form of their offering places. The cores were planned as one-shaft mastabas and had obviously not been assigned to a particular owner. In the later part of Khufu’s reign these 12 cores were converted into large twin-mastabas.¹⁴ The cores of the two northern rows were joined together while the southern cores received an additional extension. In the massif of the cores, recesses were cut out and chapels with a false door and relief decoration built. The structures were cased and received additional buildings of mud bricks. Each structure was now intended as a burial place for *two* persons. Consequently the number of tombs was diminished from originally 12 tombs (intended for 12 individuals) to 8 mastabas, but serving for 16 persons (eight couples) as burial places (fig. 3B).

Regarding the forms of these mastabas, the northern row of structures are twin-mastabas containing at least one shaft in each of the two cores. In the southern row of tombs both shafts are in the original core and none is in the extension. Thus, these mastabas are actually of the two-shaft mastaba type, but in their finished form (G 7130/40) represent a twin-mastaba.¹⁵

Looking closer at the position and distribution of the shafts of these cores, one feature is remarkable. Contrary to the tombs in the Western Field, the

¹⁰ G. A. Reisner, *A History of the Giza Necropolis I*, pp. 403ff and 460ff. The women’s titles in their simplest form do not give any clue as to whether they were genuine descendants of the king or not. Only by deduction that in the Western Field no direct offsprings of Khufu were buried, Nefert-yabet and Meritites are regarded as a titular princesses, see B. Schmitz, *Untersuchungen zum Titel S3-NJŠWT “Königsson”,* Bonn 1976, pp. 123, 127f and 133 and C. Ziegler, *Catalogue des stèles, peintures et reliefs égyptiens de l’Ancien Empire et de la Première Période Intermédiaire*, Paris 1990, p. 188.

¹¹ Shaft G 1225-*annex* A was completely plundered, G. A. Reisner, *A History of the Giza Necropolis I*, p. 405, figure 230.

¹² See G. A. Reisner, *A History of the Giza Necropolis I*, p. 285.

¹³ G. A. Reisner, *A History of the Giza Necropolis I*, pp. 72ff and 80f.

¹⁴ G. A. Reisner, *A History of the Giza Necropolis I*, pp. 72f, 80f and 296.

¹⁵ G. A. Reisner, *A History of the Giza Necropolis I*, pp. 54 and 298.

12 original cores had the openings of their shafts situated in the southern half of the core (not in the northern part as was usual with the core cemeteries in the Western Field). This position seems unusual but can be found with a number of tombs from the previous period (Sneferu)¹⁶ and some tombs at Giza. Besides the cores in G 7000, this position of the shaft openings is found in the tombs G 7510 (Ankh-haf), G 2000 (anon.) and G 4000 (Hemiunu). These structures are the largest private tombs ever erected at Giza and date to the reign of Khufu. From this fact it must be deduced that these tombs adhere to an older pattern of tomb building, which was altered during the early Fourth Dynasty (Sneferu–Khufu), as can be observed by the architectural changes undertaken in G 7000 (fig. 4).

Regarding the actual use of these shafts (A, B), their position is even more striking. In the northern row of cores (G 7110–7410) Shaft B remained as burial place for the (female) owner after the conversion into a twin-mastaba (G 7110B: Hetepheres [later Queen Hetepheres II], never used, and G 7410B: Queen Meresankh II). In the middle row (tombs G 7120–7420) the original Shaft B was abandoned and a new shaft (A) excavated in the northern half of the core. This shaft was used for the burial while the original shaft (B) remained unfinished. It is not clear why such a laborious procedure was necessary for the interment of the (male) owners of this row of mastabas, since the original shaft (B) existed already. Especially if one bears in mind that, from the outside the position or location of the shafts and burial chambers remained invisible to the spectator, the reason behind this additional work remains obscure.

A similar laborious procedure was followed in the southern row (tombs G 7130–7430). Although shaft (B) was maintained as burial shaft for the man, a new shaft (A) was dug out further to the north for the second occupant. In this case the task accomplished is again much more arduous than building a shaft in the additional core, as was the custom for the *annex*-buildings in the Western Field (see above p. 339). We can only speculate as to the reasons behind this concept. The puzzling thing is that, with this row of mastabas, the distance between the position of the original burial chambers and the location of the offering places in the superstructure was increased; thus rendering invalid the general accepted explanation (after Reisner) that the substructure and the offering place should be kept as close as possible to each other. We have to assume that some other, more important concept or individual arrangements led to this peculiar disposition.

Despite the many anonymous tombs in Cem. G 7000 it again becomes clear that we cannot generalise about the distribution of male and female occupants. While in the three western rows of tombs couples were intended to be buried, a queen (Meresankh II) was set to rest in tomb G 7410/20. This can hardly lead to the conclusion that the other half of the mastaba was occupied by her

¹⁶ R. Stadelmann and N. Alexanian, “Die Friedhöfe des Alten und Mittleren Reiches in Dahschur”, *MDAIK* 54 (1998), pp. 305f, Abb. 5 (Grab DAS 25-1) and N. Alexanian, *Dahschur II. Das Grab des Prinzen Netjer-aperf. Die Mastaba II/1 in Dahschur* (AVDAIK 56), 1999, p. 23, Abb. 4.

husband – a king. Finally, the burial of Prince Minkhaef in the northern half of the Mastaba G 7430/40 (Shaft A) clearly demonstrates that the distribution of male and female burials within one structure was less strict than Egyptologists would like to assume.

Concerning the position of shafts, the two openings found in Hemiunu's tomb (G 4000) in the Western Field are equally puzzling. As already mentioned, this mastaba is one of the largest and exhibits two substructures; one situated in the south the other in the north, thus creating the impression of a two-shaft mastaba. But a closer look at the tomb reveals that only one substructure – the northern – was finished. The southern shaft was abandoned at a certain stage of construction and obviously never used.¹⁷

The finished condition of the northern burial chamber, the equipment found therein, the size of the northern offering place and the serdab with the tomb owner's well known statue leaves no doubt that Hemiunu was buried in the northern part of the tomb.¹⁸ Therefore, the tomb's history has to be reconstructed as follows (and contrary to H. Junker's final opinion, see preceding footnote). Initially Hemiunu's tomb was planned as a one-shaft mastaba with the substructure in the southern part of the core (as was usual with funerary structures of the early part of Khufu's reign like G 2000, G 7510, and the 12 original cores in Cem. G 7000). This original shaft of the initial building stage was abandoned when the tomb was considerably enlarged. During this process a second shaft was dug out in the northern part and this was intended as the tomb owner's final resting place. In accordance with this "change" the main offering place – usually situated in the southern part of the eastern façade – was shifted to the north.

From the different tomb types discussed above, two forms emerge that place considerable significance on the tomb development of the following periods. Both types contain two substructures – intended for a man and a woman: (a) the twin-mastaba (two separate cores with one shaft only, forming one long structure: Cem. G 7000) and (b) the two-shaft mastaba (one core containing two shafts *ab origine*). From the development it also becomes clear that the two-shaft mastaba derived from the twin-mastaba,¹⁹ which was superseded

¹⁷ One could speculate of course that this shaft was intended for Hemiunu's wife, see H. Junker, *Giza I*, p. 141; G. A. Reisner, *A History of the Giza Necropolis I*, p. 105 or W. Helck "Die Datierung der Prinzessin Wnš.t", in: C. Berger, G. Clerc and N. Grimal (eds.), *Hommages à Jean Leclant I. Etudes pharaoniques*, (BdE 106.1), 1994, p. 222, who assumed (although without citing any evidence) that Meritites, the owner of G 4140, could have been his wife. It has to be stressed that thus far there is no clear evidence that Hemiunu was ever married. Furthermore, because of the unfinished state of the burial chamber one would have to assume that the burial never took place; and finally, one would have to explain why the wife's burial occupied the southern half of the tomb which was "traditionally" the part used by the male tomb owner.

¹⁸ H. Junker, *Giza I*, pp. 141–145.

¹⁹ G. A. Reisner, *A History of the Giza Necropolis I*, pp. 52 and 298. The twin-mastaba was not an invention of the Giza-period, but can be found already during the late Third Dynasty at Saqqara and the beginning of the Fourth Dynasty at Meidum, G. A. Reisner, *The Development of the Egyptian Tomb*, pp. 155 and 285ff and N. Alexanian, *Dahschur II*, p. 18, note 22 and p. 43, note 130.

during the first half of Fourth Dynasty (Djedefra-Khafra) by the two-shaft mastaba and its variants.

That the distribution and the number of shafts were subject to changes and alterations is also exemplified by another core cemetery, which was erected later than the core cemeteries in the Western Field and Cem. G 7000. Along the southern side of Khufu's pyramid a cemetery with nine huge mastabas was created (Cem. G I S, fig. 5).²⁰

Despite their regular outward appearance, the tombs display numerous variations in regard to their final form. Except for the easternmost tomb (M.XI contains obviously one shaft only and is unpublished)²¹ all the structures display two shafts, thus creating the impression that these tombs were erected as two-shaft mastabas. A closer look into the architecture and the final use of the tombs reveals a somewhat different picture. It can be shown that the western tombs M.I, M.III and M.IV (M.II and M.V were never built) were originally built as one-shaft mastabas and that the second shaft was added later. The other five mastabas (M.VI – M.X) were erected as two-shaft mastabas from the beginning. But a detailed investigation of the archaeological remains reveals that except for one tomb (M.IX), in each case only one substructure was used; the other shaft was abandoned at an early stage of construction or remained unfinished. Thus, eight of these two-shaft mastabas served as one-shaft tombs for one person only. In this case, only the southern substructures were used (see below) which, as a rule, became the usual burial place of the owner (mostly men).

<i>Tomb</i>	<i>Orig. Concept</i>	<i>Orig. Shaft</i>		<i>Used as</i>	<i>Shaft Used (Sex: m./f.)</i>
M. I	one-shaft mastaba	N	-	one-shaft mastaba	S (?)
M. II	not built				
M. III	one-shaft mastaba	N	-	one-shaft mastaba	S (m.)
M. IV	one-shaft mastaba	N	-	one-shaft mastaba	N (m.)
M. V	not built				
M. VI	two -shaft mastaba	S+N	-	one-shaft mastaba	N (?)
M. VII	two -shaft mastaba	S+N	-	one-shaft mastaba	N (?)
M. VIII	two -shaft mastaba	S+N	-	one-shaft mastaba	S (?)
M. IX	two -shaft mastaba	S+N	-	two -shaft mastaba	S+N (m.+f.)
M. X	two -shaft mastaba	S+N	-	one-shaft mastaba	S (?)
M. XI (unpublished)	one-shaft mastaba		-	one-shaft mastaba (?)	S (?)

The original concept of the tombs and their actual use in G I S

²⁰ H. Junker, *Giza X* and id., *Giza XI*, (DAWW 74.2), 1953 respectively and PM III², pp. 216-228.

²¹ See Z. Hawass, "The Discovery of the Satellite Pyramid of Khufu (GI-d)", in: P. Der Manuelian (ed.), *Studies in Honor of William Kelly Simpson I*, Boston 1996, pp. 379f, figure 1.

As a typical example, one might mention the tomb of Kaemnofret (M. III = G II S, fig. 5).²² Kaemnofret originally intended to use the northern shaft as his main burial place, but for unknown reasons abandoned this idea while the shaft was excavated. Instead, he started to dig a new shaft in the southern part of the core, probably with the intention of bringing the burial chamber and the offering place closer together.

A similar procedure of keeping the two places close together was obviously followed by Ni[ankh]ra, who built his mastaba into the space between M.IV and M.VI (fig. 5 right and 6).²³ But instead of conforming to the pattern evolved in regard to the position of burial chamber and offering place, Ni[ankh]ra decided to shift the tomb's main offering place to the north where it was set in direct line to the west with the main burial chamber below the mastaba. The second shaft to the south was a later addition, probably excavated for an anonymous relative of Ni[ankh]ra (his wife?).

In conclusion, one has to summarise that every funerary structure – especially the anonymous ones – demands a careful observation and consideration of all the archaeological evidence in order to establish the order and number of burials within one structure.

²² H. Junker, *Giza X*, pp. 18–42 and PM III², p. 219.

²³ The tomb of Ni[ankh]ra (LG 52), H. Junker, *Giza X*, pp. 156ff, erroneously carries the number G IV S thus creating the impression it belongs to the core cemetery. Actually the tomb was built at the very end of the Fourth or more probably at the beginning of the Fifth Dynasty, thus it is definitely later than the nine huge mastabas at the southern side of Khufu's pyramid.

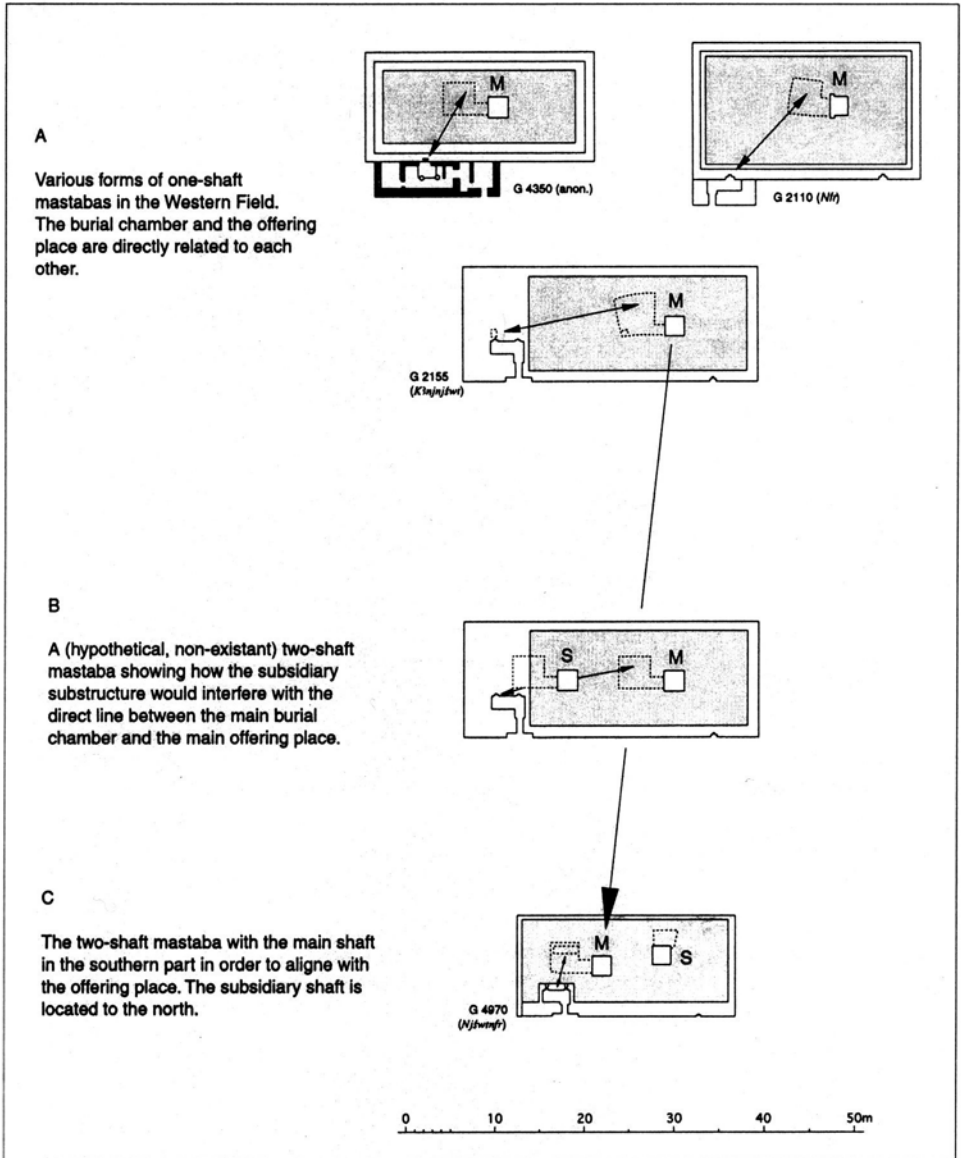


Fig. 1: The transition from the one-shaft to the two-shaft mastaba.

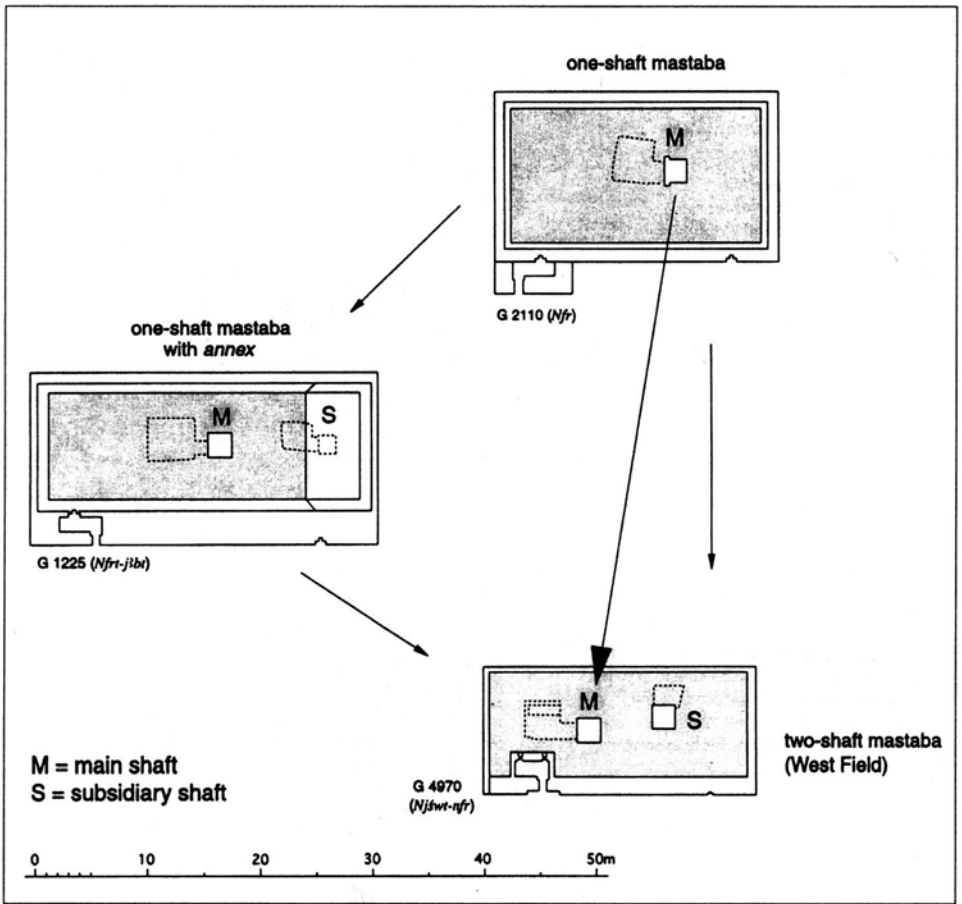
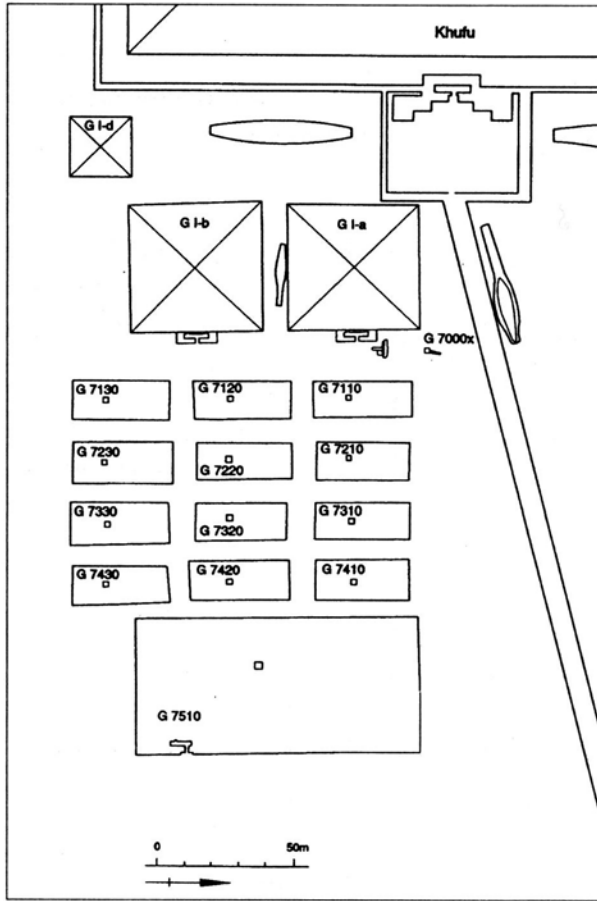
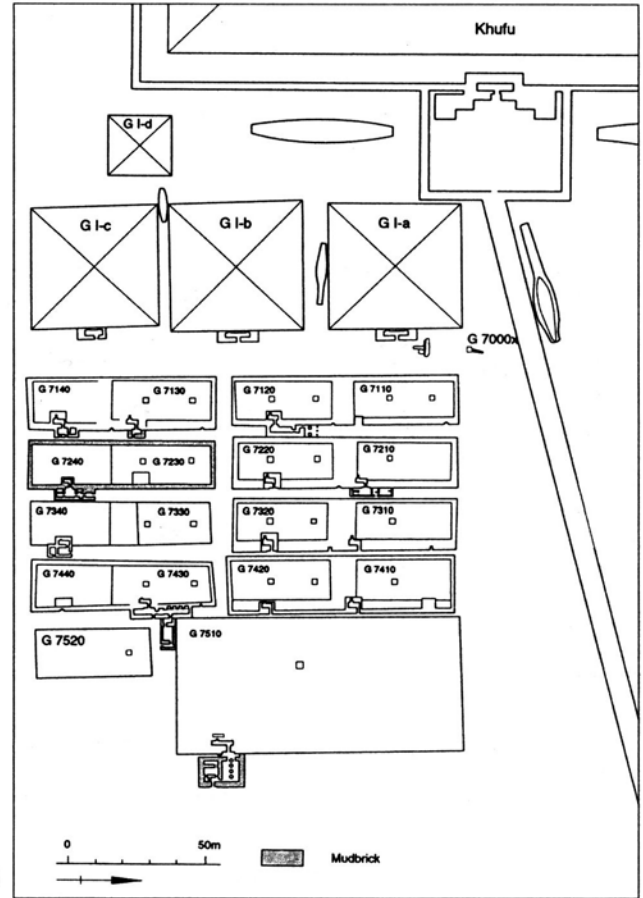


Fig. 2: The position of one-shaft mastabas with annex within the development of mastaba types during the Fourth Dynasty.



A



B

Fig. 3: The development of Cemetery G 7000 under reign of Khufu.

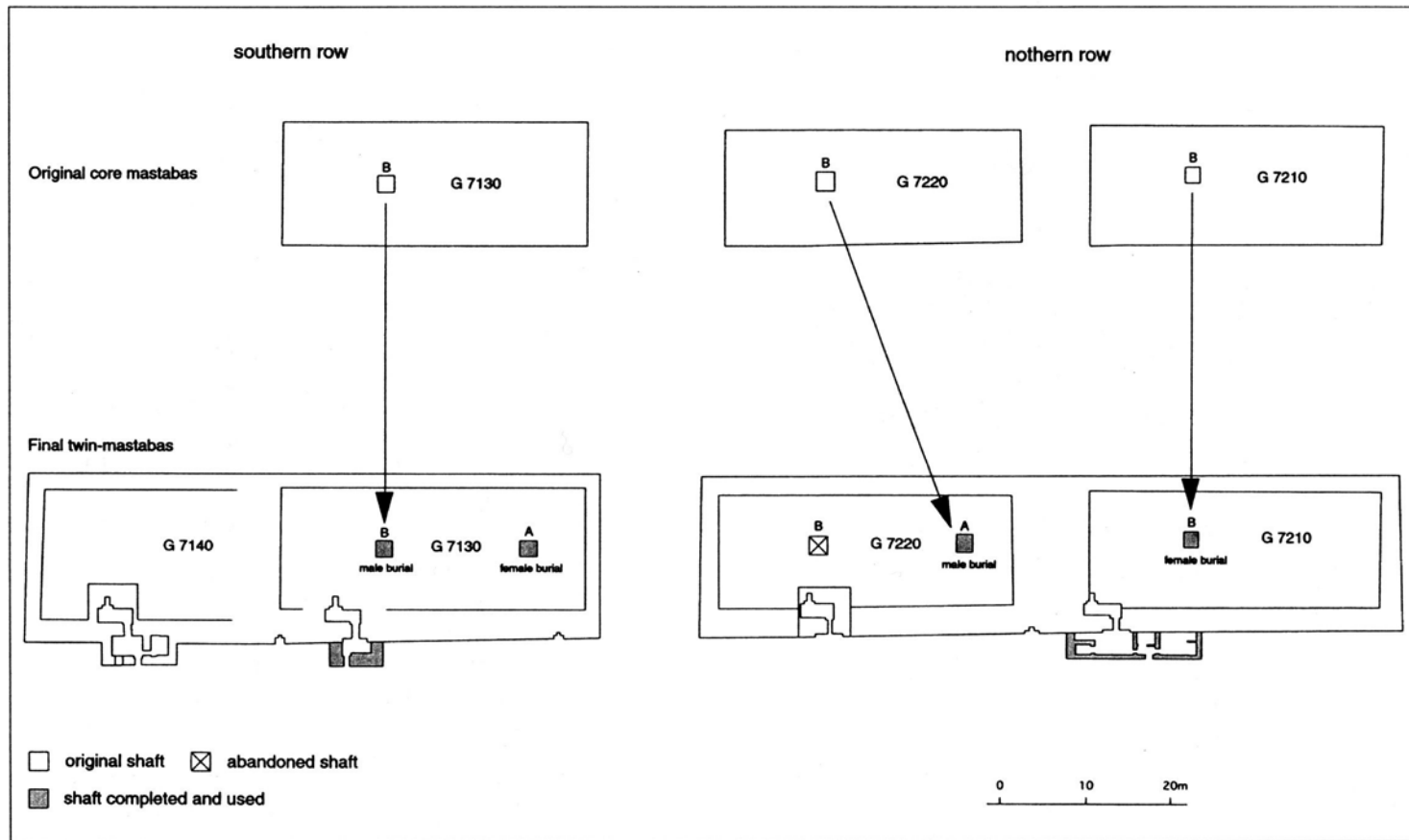


Fig. 4: The position and usage of the shafts in Cemetery G 7000.

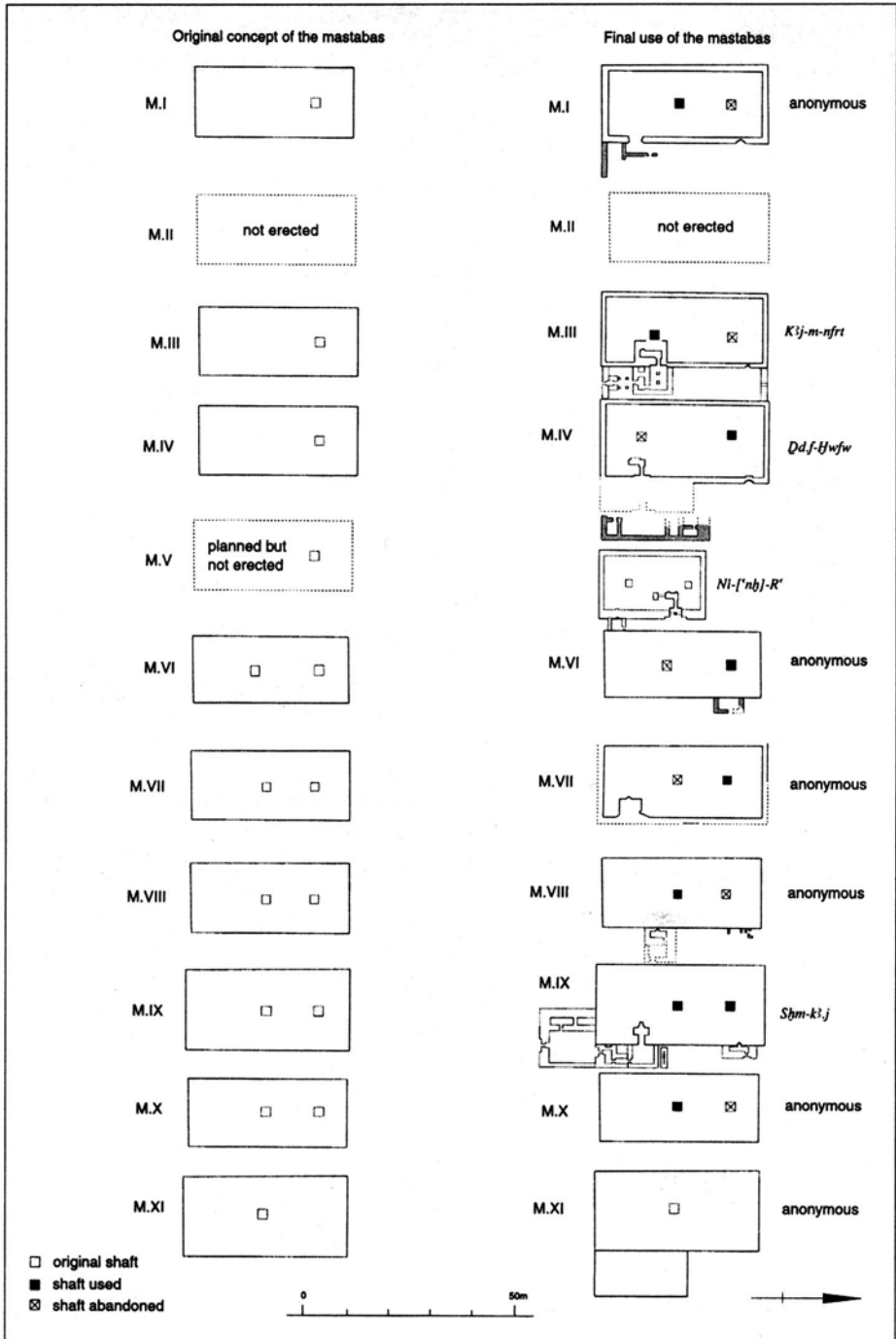


Fig. 5: The tombs in Cemetery G I S. Left: original plan and right: final use of the mastabas.

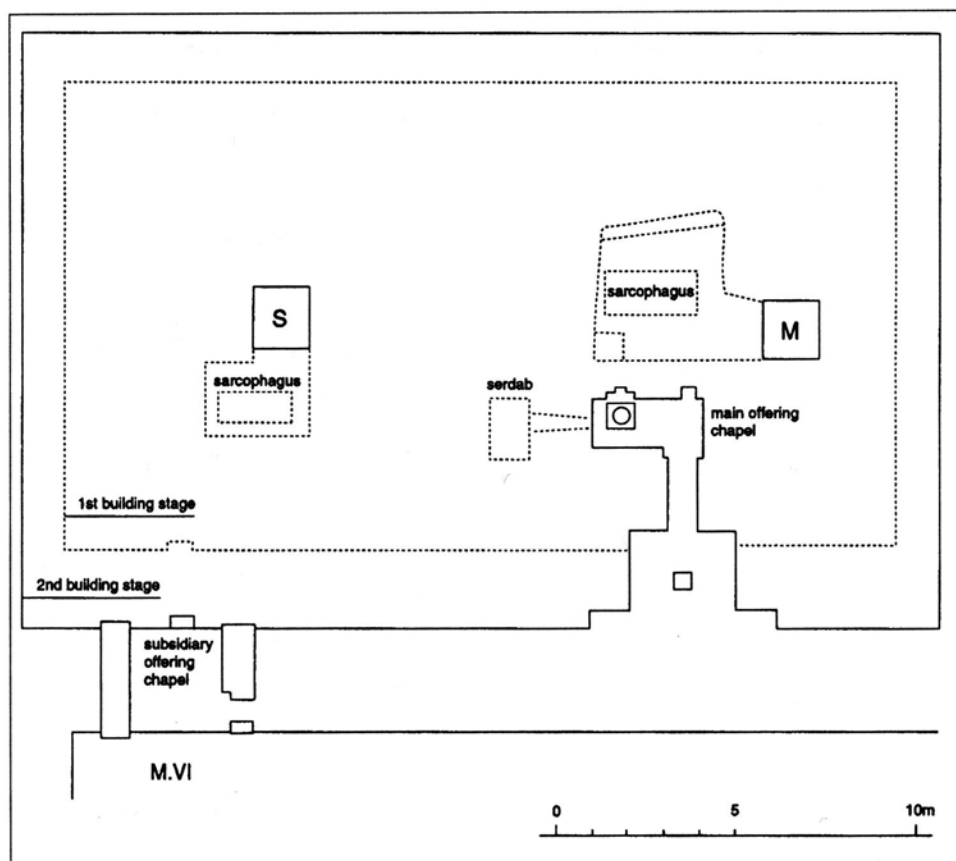


Fig. 6: The tomb of Ni[ankh]ra, LG 52 (after H. Junker, Gîza X, fig. 59).

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