

THE JOURNAL OF
Egyptian
Archaeology

VOLUME 95
2009

PUBLISHED BY
THE EGYPT EXPLORATION SOCIETY
3 DOUGHTY MEWS, LONDON WC1N 2PG
ISSN 0307-5133

PRINTED IN GREAT BRITAIN BY
COMMERCIAL COLOUR PRESS PLC,
ANGARD HOUSE, 185 FOREST ROAD,
HAINAULT, ESSEX IG6 3HX

AND PUBLISHED BY
THE EGYPT EXPLORATION SOCIETY
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The Journal of Egyptian Archaeology

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ISSN 0307-5133

website: <http://www.ees.ac.uk/publications/journal-egyptian-archaeology.html>

Published annually by

The Egypt Exploration Society

3 Doughty Mews

London WC1N 2PG

Registered Charity No. 212384

A limited Company registered in England, No. 25816

Printed in Great Britain by

Commercial Colour Press Plc

Angard House, 185 Forest Road

Hainault

Essex IG6 3HX

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ON THE EARLY HISTORY OF GIZA: THE ‘LOST’ WADI CEMETERY (GIZA ARCHIVES GLEANINGS, III)*

By PETER DER MANUELIAN

The earliest excavations undertaken by George A. Reisner at Giza are summarised, including a little-known area dubbed the Wadi Cemetery, to the north of the Western Cemetery plateau. This area, excavated as early as 1904 and then covered and lost under subsequent Western Cemetery clearance dumps, may hold the key to understanding the earliest chronological development of the Giza Necropolis prior to and during the early reign of Khufu. Selected inscribed objects are considered, particularly the lintel of a baker named Nebu, and comparisons to other areas of modest mud brick cemeteries at Giza and elsewhere are suggested.

OVER four millennia have passed since anyone gazed upon the Giza plateau and saw only bedrock and sand, devoid of towering pyramids and their surrounding cemeteries. But one of the most interesting questions about Giza concerns the appearance of the site before Khufu set his artisans to work in the early Fourth Dynasty. A small step towards answering that question is attempted below, in the discussion of some of the very first systematic excavation ever undertaken at Giza.¹

It has been over a century since George Reisner (1867–1942) moved his earliest excavations in 1902 from Deir el-Ballas, el-Ahawi, Naga ed-Deir, Mesaeed, and Mesheikh, to Giza.² At that time his financial support came from Phoebe Apperson Hearst (1842–1919), and the ‘Hearst Egyptian Expedition’ was based at the University

* I would like to thank Henry G. Fischer, Miroslav Bárta, Edward Brovarski, and Diane Victoria Flores for their helpful suggestions on earlier versions of this paper.

¹ This article is one of a series of essays based on data recently made accessible by the Giza Archives Project at the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston <<http://www.gizapyramids.org>>. For the second article in this series of ‘gleanings’, see ‘Hemunu, Pehenptah, and German/American Collaboration at the Giza Necropolis (Giza Archives Project Gleanings, II)’, in A. Spiekermann (ed.), “Zur Zierde gereicht”: *Festschrift Bettina Schmitz zum 60. Geburtstag am 24. Juli 2008* (HÄB 50; Hildesheim, 2008), 29–57. For the first article in the series, see ‘A “New” Slab Stela for Nefer from G 2110? (Giza Archives Project Gleanings, I)’, in S. E. Thompson and P. Der Manuelian (eds), *Egypt and Beyond: Essays Presented to Leonard H. Lesko upon his Retirement from the Wilbour Chair of Egyptology at Brown University, June 2005* (Providence, 2008), 227–36. For permission to illustrate images from the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston collections, as well as to quote from unpublished sources, I am grateful to Rita E. Freed, John F. Cogan, Jr., and to Mary L. Cornille, Chair of Art of the Ancient World, MFA. I also thank my colleagues at the Phoebe A. Hearst Museum of Anthropology and the University of California, Berkeley: Cathleen A. Keller[†], Joan Knudsen, and Elizabeth Minor. All Harvard University–Boston Museum of Fine Arts (hereafter HU–MFA) Expedition-related images, except where otherwise noted, are reproduced courtesy Museum of Fine Arts, Boston.

² For accounts of the division of the Giza excavation concessions between German, Italian, American, and, later, Egyptian missions, see G. A. Reisner, *A History of the Giza Necropolis*, I (Cambridge MA, 1942), 22–6; P. János, *Österreich vor den Pyramiden: Die Grabungen Hermann Junkers im Auftrag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften in Wien bei der Großen Pyramide in Giza* (SÖAW 648 = VÄK 3; Vienna, 1997), 34–41; P. Der Manuelian, ‘Excavating the Memphite Cemeteries: The Giza Necropolis’, in *L’art égyptien au temps des pyramides* (Paris, 1999), 124–33 = *Egyptian Art in the Age of the Pyramids* (New York, 1999), 139–53.

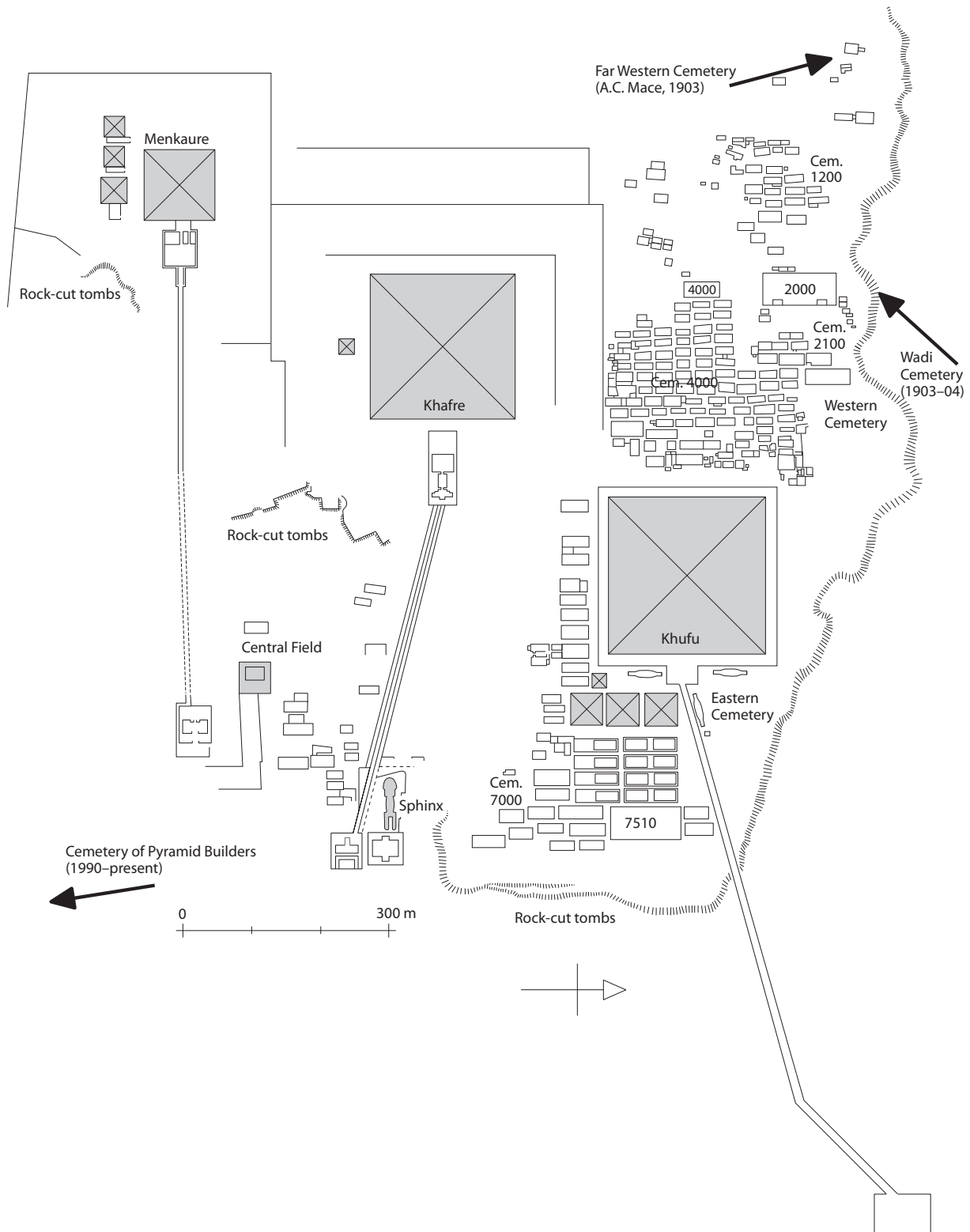


FIG. 1. Overview plan of the Giza Necropolis, with arrows showing the locations of the Hearst Expedition excavations by A. C. Mace (1903) and by G. A. Reisner in the Wadi Cemetery (1903-4) (Drawing by Liza Majerus, with additions).

of California, Berkeley. Although Reisner never taught at Berkeley, he set that institution on firm Egyptological footing. These early years at Giza, between 1902 and 1904, saw some of the first archaeologically controlled forays into the region west of the Khufu pyramid. These are the least known, and the most poorly published of all of Reisner's Giza seasons. While photographs exist, no maps or plans have so far surfaced in the various expedition archives. A short description appears in Reisner's *History of the Giza Necropolis I* (1942),³ and a summary article was published in 1905 in a now defunct journal called *Records of the Past*.⁴ But the most useful item is an unpublished report by Reisner on the 1903–4 Hearst work (excerpted in the *Records of the Past* article), which has survived in several versions, housed in the archives of the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, and the University of California, Berkeley (Phoebe A. Hearst Museum of Anthropology and Bancroft Library).⁵

Excavation History

Egyptian Antiquities Service Director G. Maspero informed Reisner on 20 November 1902 that his Giza excavation concession had been granted. In December 1902 the Giza Necropolis was divided between the American, German, and Italian missions (see above, note 1). Unable to leave Naga ed-Deir, Reisner sent Arthur Cruttenden Mace north to Giza to search for the most promising areas to excavate. He instructed Mace to begin preliminary excavations in the far Western Cemetery, primarily to establish the western edge of the site (fig. 1).⁶ Mace began to build 'Hearst Camp' (later to be renamed 'Harvard Camp') west of the Khafre pyramid on 11 March 1903 with the help of fourteen workmen from Quft. From 18 March through 19 April 1903, sixty-one workmen cleared about twenty Fifth and Sixth Dynasty mastabas under Mace's supervision, including a small number of intact burials, reliefs, and inscriptions. These tombs appear as the unnumbered structures at the far western edge of the Western Cemetery in Map 2 of Reisner's *History of the Giza Necropolis I*, but Expedition photography labels them as G 1, G 2, etc, since they predate Reisner's four-digit tomb-numbering system.⁷

On 6 December 1903, after spending the summer in Göttingen, Reisner arrived at Giza to direct the excavations personally. Mace's preliminary work had demonstrated the impracticality of dumping his excavation debris further to the west. Consequently, one of the first orders of business for Reisner was to establish an area to the north of the Giza plateau for disposing of his debris dumps. Reisner's test excavations in the *wadi* north of the Western Cemetery began on 9 December 1903 (fig. 2), and continued into September 1904.⁸ The number of workmen increased over this period from 90 to 151, with the average remaining around 137. It was here that Reisner

³ Reisner, *Giza Necropolis I*, 23–4.

⁴ G. A. Reisner, 'The Work of the Hearst Egyptian Expedition of the University of California in 1903–04', *Records of the Past* 4, Part 5 (May 1905), 130–41.

⁵ G. A. Reisner, 'The Excavations of the Hearst Egyptian Expedition of the University of California 1903–4' (unpublished MS).

⁶ Reisner, *Giza Necropolis I*, 23; see also C. C. Lee, ... *The Grand Piano Came by Camel: Arthur C. Mace, the Neglected Egyptologist* (Edinburgh, 1992), 53–4.

⁷ Mace took approximately 874 Expedition photographs at Giza, of which about 130 illustrate this far western edge of the Western Cemetery.

⁸ Reisner, *Records of the Past* 4, 133–4.

uncovered several clues to the early history of the Giza Necropolis. He cleared an area that measured about 40×30 metres and included about seventy-seven numbered tombs (and many more that remained unnumbered or unidentified), off the edge of the plateau, just north of the great anonymous mastaba G 2000 (= Lepsius 23). Reisner numbered these tombs GW 1, GW 2, etc. (GW most likely standing for 'Giza Wadi').⁹ He produced about 243 photographs, most of which he shot personally.¹⁰ After one month of intensive work, he deemed a portion of the area sufficiently examined and commenced in January 1904 with excavation of the Western Cemetery proper, up on the plateau, just to the west of G 2000. But additional photography from July and August 1904 indicates that work continued in the Wadi Cemetery as well. In fact, the wooden markers with tomb numbers on them that appear in many photographs seem to have been a later addition; most of the earlier Wadi Cemetery photographs do not include such markers.¹¹ Reisner's dump-heaps are still visible



FIG. 2. The Wadi Cemetery, north of G 2000 (= Lepsius 23), looking southwest, after three or four days of excavation; December 1903 (G. A. Reisner, C10036).

⁹ Two tombs appear to have been numbered GW 1: one 'in trial pit in path of upper dump heap' with burial excavated in January 1904 (the exact location of which is unknown), the other a small mud and rough stone mastaba, apparently with burial unexcavated, that appears with wooden tomb marker numbered '1' in photographs of the eastern edge of the Wadi Cemetery.

¹⁰ These photographs, along with all of Reisner's photography, diary pages, finds, and other excavation documents, are available online for scholarly research on the Giza Archives Project website at <<http://www.gizapyramids.org>>. For a summary of Reisner's photographic philosophy and strategy, see P. Der Manuelian, 'George Andrew Reisner on Archaeological Photography', *JARCE* 29 (1992), 1–34.

¹¹ See, for example, the *in situ* photograph of the niche lintel of Nebu (to be discussed below) that dates to January 1904 (HU–MFA Expedition photograph C10066) and omits wooden tomb markers, while the same area, this time with wooden tomb markers, is dated August 1904 (HU–MFA Expedition photograph A10942).

today, and the Wadi Cemetery has all but disappeared beneath them. As I hope to demonstrate below, efforts would be well spent in reclearing this area in an attempt to clarify the early history of Giza.¹²

Since the Wadi Cemetery remains buried to this day, and since no plans or section drawings have yet surfaced in the Hearst or Harvard–MFA Expedition archives, the remarks below must remain of the most superficial nature; they pose more questions than they answer, and rely perhaps too much on the speculation and reconstruction of the original excavators. Nevertheless, I hope at least to draw attention to a hitherto neglected chapter in Giza’s history, and invite more debate on the significance of Reisner’s early finds. As part of the ongoing research program of the Giza Archives Project, investigation by my colleague Diane Victoria Flores into this forgotten area has allowed the creation of a sketch plan of the tombs, albeit without scale or accurate relative proportions (fig. 3).¹³ Moreover, a representative series of general views of the cemetery has now been labelled for the first time with their tomb numbers. The new sketch plan in fig. 3, along with the newly labelled expedition photography in figs 4–9, therefore provide the most detailed introduction to the Wadi Cemetery tombs so far available.

Reisner began by excavating a series of test holes at 10-metre intervals, starting with the lowest part of the *wadi*, north of G 2000 (= Lepsius 23; fig. 2). Beneath 1½ to 2 metres of sand he unearthed the tops of mud brick and undressed stone mastabas, revealing what he called the ‘surface of decay’. A test excavation cleared one particular mastaba, which lay on top of a still older mud brick structure beneath it (fig. 10). This discovery necessitated the further clearance of the area to determine the relationships of the tombs to each other, as well as to the Western Cemetery proper up on the plateau.

The upper portions of the tombs had largely disintegrated due to exposure. By 14 January 1904, with some of the crew diverted to commencing with Cemetery G 1000 up on the plateau, immediately to the west of G 2000 (fig. 1), Reisner began clearing the hard-packed mud between the walls of the Wadi Cemetery tombs. He exposed two levels of mortuary architecture. The older, lower level consisted of isolated single-burial, mud brick or fieldstone mastabas plastered with mud and coated with pink lime plaster, and containing two offering niches on the east side (fig. 11).

¹² The excavation of the Wadi Cemetery seems to have been most active, to judge from the numbers of photographs taken, during December 1903, then January, July, August, and September of 1904. A small number of burials and finds were recovered (see below), but Reisner noted in his report that none of the burial chambers was opened. Nevertheless, a few Late Period burials were exposed in the upper layers of the strata (see <<http://www.gizapyramids.org>> for HU–MFA Expedition photograph C10004, December 1903). One Old Kingdom contracted skeleton, at least, was excavated in tomb GW 1, in the course of sinking a trial pit in the path of the upper dump heap (HU–MFA Expedition photographs C10015, January 1904, and C12022, 1905). And later, in March 1905, several images display the excavation and mud brick door blocking for shaft A of GW 16, although no burial is shown (HU–MFA Expedition photographs C10019, January 1904, and C11223, March 1905). Most of the offering niches consist of mud brick, although at least one (apparently undecorated) limestone false door was unearthed. This was *in situ* in tomb GW 3, at the eastern edge of the excavated area (see figs 3–4, and HU–MFA Expedition photograph C10968, September 1904).

¹³ I would like to thank Diane Victoria Flores, Giza Archives Project research associate since 2000, for her tireless efforts to reconstruct the photographic history of the Wadi Cemetery. Thanks to her, the many tombs in this area have now been accurately identified in the expedition photography. She has also corrected numerous mistakes in the original data, and improved the quality of the information on the collection housed in the Hearst Museum, Berkeley. The sketch plan in fig. 3 is based on her research.

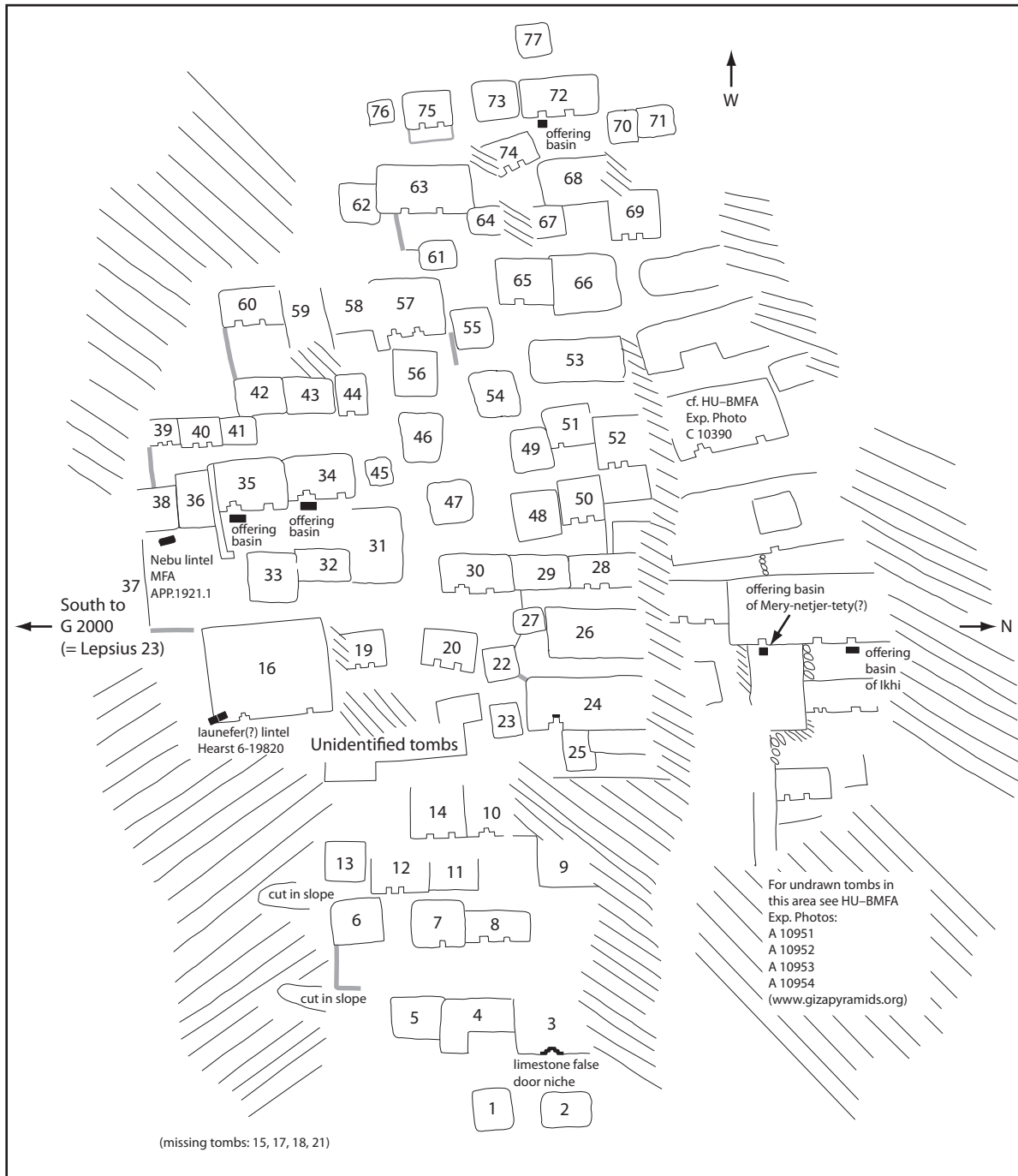


FIG. 3. Rough sketch plan of the Wadi Cemetery, researched and created by Diane Victoria Flores, redrawn by Ruth Bigio and Peter Der Manuelian, 2008 (relative tomb sizes estimated from 1904 Expedition photography; not to scale).



FIG. 4. General view of the Wadi Cemetery, with identified tomb numbers indicated, looking west; July 1904 (G. A. Reisner, B10788).



FIG. 5. General view of the Wadi Cemetery, with identified tomb numbers indicated, looking south; August 1904 (G. A. Reisner, A10956).



FIG. 6. General view of the Wadi Cemetery, with identified tomb numbers indicated, looking west by southwest; July 1904 (G. A. Reisner, C10389).

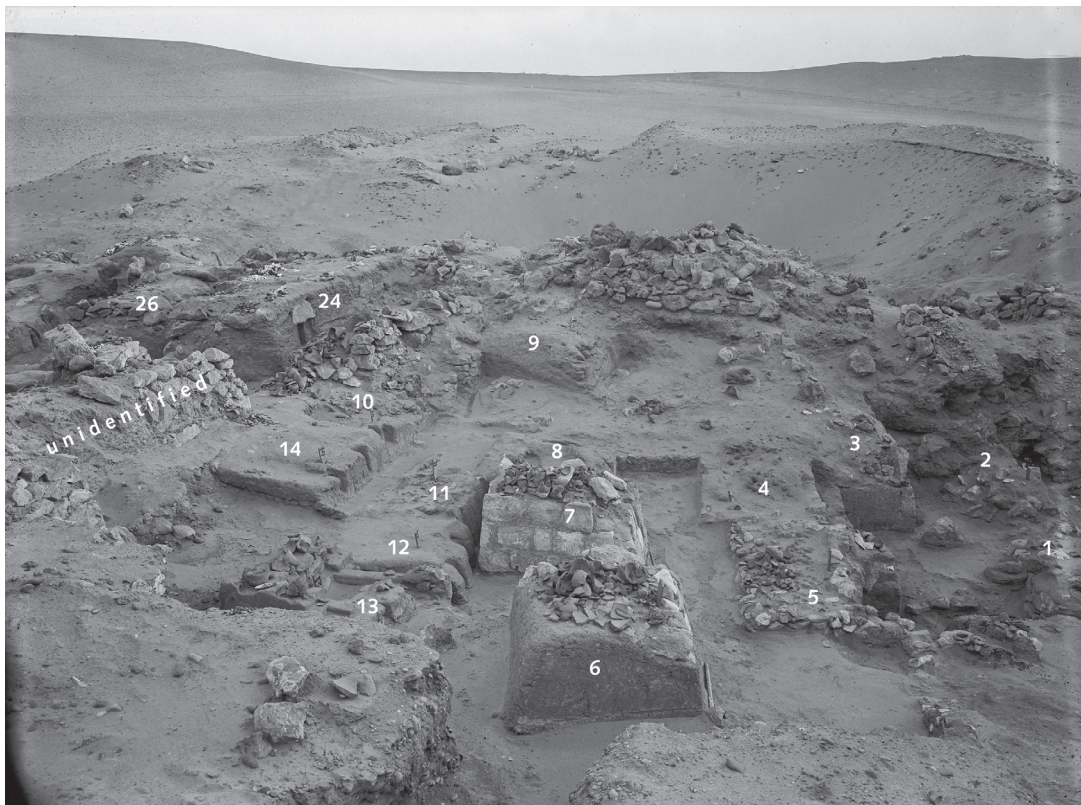


FIG. 7. General view of the Wadi Cemetery, with identified tomb numbers indicated, looking north; August 1904 (G. A. Reisner, A10941).



FIG. 8. General view of the Wadi Cemetery, with identified tomb numbers indicated, looking south by southwest; August 1904 (G. A. Reisner, A10946).



FIG. 9. General view of the Wadi Cemetery, with identified tomb numbers indicated and the Pyramids Road (Sharia el-Haram) in the background, looking east by northeast; August 1904 (G. A. Reisner, A10944).



FIG. 10. GW 24, courtyard and offering niche, showing corner of GW 25 (older mastaba) underneath, looking southwest; December 1903 (G. A. Reisner, C10051).



FIG. 11. Earlier type mastaba GW 75 (middle ground centre right), GW 76 (middle ground centre left, south of GW 75), looking southwest; July 1904 (G. A. Reisner, C10392).



FIG. 12. Larger, later Wadi Cemetery mastabas of later type built on a level with the tops of the earlier type (indicated by metre stick in middle ground right): GW 22 and GW 20 (foreground centre, GW 20 south of GW 22), GW 30 (foreground right), unidentified tomb(?) (foreground left, east of GW 20), GW 19 (middle ground centre left, south of GW 20), GW 31 and GW 32 (middle ground right, south of GW 30), GW 16 (background centre left, south of GW 19), GW 33 (background centre right, west of GW 16, south of GW 32), GW 34 and GW 35 (background right), metre stick marks later level (middle ground right, south of GW 30), looking south; July 1904 (G. A. Reisner, C10391).

In some cases, a low wall delineated a courtyard east of the offering niches. The upper, later level on top of these tombs showed larger mastabas of a similar type, but with a compound southern offering niche, as well as tombs with multiple burials or mastabas huddled together as part of family complexes (fig. 12).¹⁴

Covering the surface of both the older and later mastabas were several ancient dump heaps that originated up the cliff face towards mastaba G 2000 (fig. 6). For our purposes, this may be the most important feature of the Wadi Cemetery excavations. If these dump heaps are correctly interpreted, the conclusion to be drawn is that they represent earth removed from the Western Cemetery plateau prior to or during the early reign of Khufu in order to begin construction of the great mastaba G 2000. Mastaba G 2000, the largest private sepulchre in the entire necropolis, is usually ascribed to an anonymous son of Khufu.¹⁵

Concerning the ancient dump heaps, Reisner noted three strata: clean disturbed sand above, then decayed mud brick or plaster and limestone chips, and finally a

¹⁴ Some images seem to indicate narrow or blocked access to cult foci, suggesting alterations to the cemetery within the same building level; see for example GW 7 blocking GW 11, HU-MFA Expedition photograph C10973 (September 1904).

¹⁵ Reisner, *Giza Necropolis I*, 68, 81, 414–16, pls 25–6, places the tomb between the end of Khufu's reign and the early years of Khafre (ignoring the reign of Djedefre), but see more recently P. János, *Giza in der 4. Dynastie: Die Baugeschichte und Belegung einer Nekropole des Alten Reiches, I: Die Mastabas der Kernfriedhöfe und die Felsgräber* (DGÖAW 30=UZK 24; Vienna, 2005), 123, 146–9, who ascribes the mastaba firmly to Khufu.

lower level of sandy dirt (fig. 13).¹⁶ In reverse order then, the deposits derive from the clearance of the plateau above for the construction of the earliest tombs of the Western Cemetery: first the sandy dirt overburden, then the remains of mud brick structures formerly occupying the plateau prior to Khufu's constructions, and finally the clean geological stratum from just above the plateau's bedrock. If Reisner is correct, and the evidence is not simply indicative of a natural process of wadi erosion, we may note two important features here: first, the existence of the Wadi Cemetery prior to Khufu's better-known Western Cemetery constructions, and second, the presence of pre-Khufu tombs up on the plateau proper, that were removed for Khufu's ambitious construction project. The massive core of mastaba G 2000 (= Lepsius 23) occupies an area of roughly 100 × 45 metres. This footprint may already have been filled with minor mastabas when Khufu, his son, or whoever built G 2000, selected the area in the Fourth Dynasty.

Reisner believed the proof for his contentions lay in the presence of small mud brick and fieldstone mastabas that survived the Old Kingdom up on the plateau proper, which are visible in an early (1904) image in fig. 14. These tombs remained intact because they did not obstruct anyone's later construction plans; otherwise they too would have been removed and ended up as dismantled remains thrown northwards over the already existing Wadi Cemetery below. The late Third or early Fourth Dynasty (reign of Snefru) may thus have been a time when Giza was occupied and already in use as a Memphite necropolis of secondary status to Saqqara, Meidum, and/or Dahshur. Perhaps we should add portions of the Western Cemetery to the list of other known structures predating Khufu.¹⁷ At any rate, we have in Reisner's reconstruction of 1904 perhaps the earliest example of in-depth stratigraphic analysis, not just at Giza, but perhaps in all of Egyptian archaeology. As I hope to show below, his reconstruction, if correct, is of fundamental significance for the history and development of the Giza Necropolis.

¹⁶ Cf. Reisner's original unpublished 1903–4 report, 11–13.

¹⁷ See L. D. Covington, 'Mastaba Mount Excavations', *ASAE* 6 (1905), 193–218. For the recently discovered map of Covington's excavations, and a useful summary of work in the area south of Giza, see G. T. Martin, "'Covington's Tomb" and Related Early Monuments at Giza', in C. Berger and B. Mathieu (eds), *Études sur l'Ancien Empire et la nécropole de Saqqâra dédiées à Jean-Philippe Lauer* (OM 9; Montpellier, 1997), II, 279–88. Mastaba V (Nazlet Batran) contained sealings of Djed, and Petrie also found five jar sealings with the name of Ninetjer: W. M. F. Petrie, *Gizeh and Rifeh* (BSAE/ERA 13; London, 1907), 5, pl. 3.a, and 7, pl. 5.e. A flint bowl of Hetepsekhemwy, reinscribed for Nebre, was found by Reisner in the Menkaure Pyramid Complex: G. A. Reisner, *Mycerinus: The Temples of the Third Pyramid* (Cambridge MA, 1931), 102, pl. 70.c. Predynastic settlements were apparently removed in order to construct the Menkaure Pyramid Complex: see M. Bietak, 'Egyptology and the Urban Setting', in K. R. Weeks, *Egyptology and the Social Sciences: Five Studies* (Cairo, 1979), 114, 142 n. 35; K. Kromer, *Siedlungsfunde aus dem frühen Alten Reich in Gizeh: Österreichische Ausgrabungen 1971–1975* (DGÖAW 136; Vienna, 1978), esp. 20–1; id., *Nezlet Batran: Eine Mastaba aus dem Alten Reich bei Gizeh (Ägypten)* (DGÖAW 12 = UZK 11 Vienna, 1991), 42–3. An inscribed fragment with the phrase 'King of Upper and Lower Egypt Sened' was reused in Khafre's mortuary temple: G. Steindorff, in U. Hölscher, *Das Grabdenkmal des Königs Chephren* (Leipzig, 1912), 106. See also A. A. Saleh, 'Excavations Around Mycerinus Pyramid Complex', *MDAIK* 30 (1974), 131–54, pls 19–34; R. Stadelmann, *Die ägyptischen Pyramiden* (2nd edn, Mainz am Rhein, 1991), 107–8; and T. A. H. Wilkinson, *Early Dynastic Egypt* (London, 1999), 73–4, 84–5, 88, 130, 165, 339. A good summary of Giza prior to the reign of Khufu, with full bibliography, is provided by Jánosi, *Giza in der 4. Dynastie*, 75–7.



FIG. 13. Wadi Cemetery, strata of the ancient dump heaps at the west end of clearing, with GW 75 (middle ground centre), GW 62 and GW 63 (middle ground left, east of GW 75), looking south to black stratum in *radeem* (= debris); January 1904 (G. A. Reisner, C10072).



FIG. 14. General view of the early excavations of the Western Cemetery proper, showing mud brick mastabas that escaped removal; looking west by southwest from northwest corner of G 2000 (= Lepsius 23); 29 April 1904 (G. A. Reisner, A10875).

Selected Finds

Objects discovered in the Wadi Cemetery appear to have received comparatively little attention, either from the original excavators or later generations. Many of them languished in storage magazines for decades before being moved to their final museum destinations. Polished and coarse-ware ceramics were not individually photographed, but many sherds appear in the excavation views, gathered together and placed temporarily by the workmen on mud brick walls. These show primarily early Old Kingdom coarse beer jars (at least one of which is complete) and model vessels (see figs 15–16).¹⁸ It is unfortunate that the current location of these ceramics, if preserved at all, is unknown, rendering a detailed analysis and a more precise date attribution impossible. Nevertheless, the visible forms, as well as the accumulation of so many beer jars together, is indicative of an early, rather than late, Old Kingdom date. Moreover, the apparent absence of bread moulds speaks against a Sixth Dynasty date.¹⁹

Two displaced, inscribed, limestone lintels, originally set into mud brick niches, were found in association with tombs from the later, upper level, in addition to a few relief fragments, a copper needle, flint chips, and a fragmentary limestone statuette.²⁰ The more elaborately decorated lintel comes from the debris near tomb GW 38 (figs 17–21). Although the context is disturbed, it might very well have tumbled from the niche of GW 38. Reisner illustrated the lintel as fig. 23 of his 1903–4 Hearst field season report.²¹ Originally deemed lost, it was only recently located in storage in the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston. It had escaped detection because it was excavated at a time prior to Reisner's creation of his Object Register Book field numbering system, and it had never received a formal field or MFA accession number. A recent storage inventory, photography, and rehousing project at the MFA, funded by the National Endowment for the Humanities, resulted in the creation of a new colour digital image and a new accession number for the lintel: APP.1921.1.²² This documentation then allowed for tracking the piece back to the MFA 'packing lists', documents that record which objects were shipped to Boston and when. The relief in question appears on five separate copies of a Packing List 'C' from 1921, albeit with an incorrect tomb

¹⁸ For examples of complete jars from the Wadi Cemetery, see HU–MFA Expedition photograph C10980 (September, 1904) on <<http://www.gizapyramids.org>> accessed 1.10.2008 (upper left). On ceramics, see recently S. Allen, 'Miniature and model vessels in Ancient Egypt', in M. Bárta (ed.), *The Old Kingdom Art and Archaeology: Proceedings of the Conference held in Prague, May 31–June 4, 2004* (Prague, 2006), 19–24; M. Bárta, 'Several Remarks on Beer Jars found at Abusir', *CCE* 4 (1996), 127–31; id., 'Pottery Inventory and the Beginning of the IVth Dynasty', *GM* 149 (1995), 15–24; and D. Faltings, *Die Keramik der Lebensmittelproduktion im Alten Reich* (SAGA 14; Heidelberg, 1998).

¹⁹ I am grateful to Anna Wodzinska, Ancient Egypt Research Associates, for sharing her impressions on the ceramic assemblage visible in some of the Wadi Cemetery photographs; pers. comm., September 2008. See her *A Manual of Egyptian Pottery, II: Naqada III–Middle Kingdom* (AERA Field Manual Series 1; Boston, 2009).

²⁰ Identification of this statuette remains problematic, since some of the original excavation records assign it to mastaba G 1231 (= G 1234)(?). But the 1903–4 Hearst Expedition field season report illustrates the statuette as fig. 24.

²¹ Several different versions of this report, both handwritten and typewritten, exist, but the only copy to preserve the mounted photograph for fig. 23 is in Berkeley. I would like to thank Joan Knudsen and Elizabeth Minor for providing copies of these pages.

²² I would like to thank Janice Kamrin of the Supreme Council of Antiquities, and Mahmoud Helwagy of the Egyptian Museum for preliminary investigations at the Egyptian Museum, Cairo into possible locations of this and other objects from the Giza Wadi Cemetery.



FIG. 15. Wadi Cemetery tombs with gathered ceramics on mastaba walls, looking northwest: GW 6 (foreground right), GW 13 (foreground left), GW 12 and GW 11 (middle ground centre), GW 7 (middle ground right), GW 14 and GW 10 (background centre left), GW 9 (background right), looking north by northwest; September 1904 (G. A. Reisner, C10975).



FIG. 16. Wadi Cemetery tombs with gathered ceramics on mastaba walls: GW 33 and GW 32 (foreground right), GW 34 with unidentified offering basin *in situ* in front of niche in east face (background centre right), GW 35 with unidentified offering basin *in situ* in front of niche in east face (background centre left), looking west; September 1904 (G. A. Reisner, C10996).

provenance notation (GW 26, instead of the correct GW 38): ‘BGS 167. Contains: Small limestone stela from G Wady 26 [sic]; Giza 1904...’.²³

The lintel APP.1921.1 thus clearly sat in a magazine at Hearst Camp, later renamed Harvard Camp, on the Giza plateau, between 1904 and 1921. A comparison of the photographs taken at Giza in 1904 (fig. 19) and on 18 May 2006 at the MFA (fig. 20 and pl. III) reveals the losses over time at the left and right edges. A particularly large fragment is missing from the right edge of the panel, damaging portions of the words for incense (*snṯr*) and zizyphus (*nbs*). The fragment measures as follows: height 39 cm; width 19 cm; depth 7.5 cm.

This lintel fragment may be the only previously published object from the Wadi Cemetery, for it found its way into a summary description (with a rather inaccurate hieroglyphic reproduction) by American Egyptologist James T. Dennis (1865–1918).²⁴ I have so far been unable to find any mention of Dennis’s affiliation with Reisner or the Hearst Expedition, but in a 1905 article Dennis states ‘In the excavations near the Gizeh pyramids, with which I was connected last winter, we found many inscriptions of officials of the IVth and VIth dynasties hitherto unknown...’.²⁵ What Dennis described as a ‘sandstone stela of Ist or IIInd dynasty work’ is more likely this limestone niche lintel carved in sunk relief with a *ḥtp ḏi nswt* formula from right to left across the top, and a table scene below. The formula reads *ḥtp ṛḏi nswt inpw ḥnty zḥ nṯr ḳrs(t) m ḥrt-nṯr rḥ.ty Nbw* ‘a gift which the king gives (and) Anubis, foremost of the divine booth, (namely) a burial in the necropolis, (for) the baker’²⁶ Nebu’.

The name of the baker Nebu (‘the swimmer’)²⁷ is written with the swimming man over a pool. This example may be added to parallels at Giza from the tombs of Tjenti in the Western Cemetery (G 4920 = Lepsius 47; fig. 22)²⁸ and the Eastern Cemetery rock-cut tomb of another man named Nebu (Lepsius 72).²⁹ Henry Fischer has commented on the sense of the name transitively as conveying support, in the sense of one who keeps his family ‘afloat’.³⁰

In the centre of the lintel, Nebu sits on a cube seat with high back.³¹ Both legs, instead of just one, are shown in profile, and the right arm reaches towards an

²³ Packing lists housed in the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston. I am indebted to Diane Victoria Flores for determining that GW 26 should be replaced with GW 38 as the lintel’s provenance, based on photographic comparison of the Wadi Cemetery images. Until its recent accessioning, APP.1921.1 was temporarily inventoried as Eg.Inv.13137.

²⁴ J. T. Dennis, ‘New Officials of the IVth to VIth Dynasties’, *PSBA* 27 (January to December, 1905), 34, no. 11; PM III, 178. For more on Dennis, see W. R. Dawson and E. P. Uphill, *Who was Who in Egyptology* (3rd edn, revised by M. L. Bierbrier; London, 1995), 122. He is listed as a volunteer assistant to E. Naville in 1905–6.

²⁵ Dennis, *PSBA* 27, 32, also discusses objects from other parts of the Western Cemetery, such as the lintel of Mesdjer from G 1011, corrected by H. G. Fischer, ‘Offerings for an Old Kingdom Granary Official’, *Bulletin of the Detroit Institute of Arts* 51/2–3 (1972), 79 (fig. 9) and n. 25 (based on HU–MFA Expedition photograph B7599).

²⁶ Cf. H. G. Fischer, *Varia Nova* (Egyptian Studies 3; New York, 1996), 131, 139, pl. 26; R. Hannig, *Ägyptisches Wörterbuch*, I: *Altes Reich und Erste Zwischenzeit* (KAW 98=HL 4; Mainz am Rhein, 2003), 736, reviewed by H. G. Fischer, *JARCE* 40 (2003), 199–202.

²⁷ PM III, 178; H. Ranke, *Die altägyptischen Personennamen*, I (Glückstadt, 1935), 192.

²⁸ Lepsius, *Denkmaeler*, II, pl. 30.

²⁹ *Ibid.*, pl. 93b.

³⁰ H. G. Fischer, ‘Marginalia III’, *GM* 185 (2001), 45–7, citing many parallels.

³¹ K. P. Kuhlmann, *Der Thron im alten Ägypten: Untersuchung zur Semantik, Ikonographie und Symbolik eines Herrschaftszeichens* (ADAIK 19; Mainz am Rhein, 1977), 51–56; *id.*, ‘Thron’, in *LÄ* VI, cols. 523–9. Examples of women seated on similar seats, albeit not in offering scene contexts, include H. G. Fischer, *Egyptian Women of the Old Kingdom and of the Herakleopolitan Period* (2nd edn, New York, 2000), 16 (fig. 13), 23 (fig. 20).

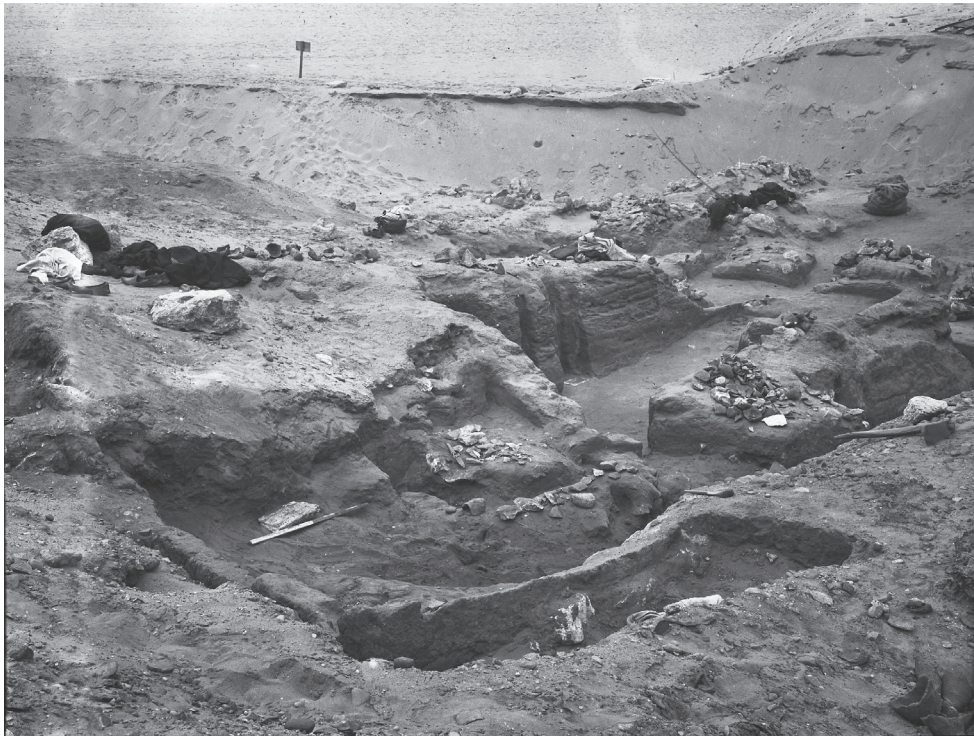


FIG. 17. Wadi Cemetery tomb GW 38, showing displaced false door lintel inscribed for Nebu (MFA APP.1921.1) *in situ* at east face (foreground left), GW 36 (north of GW 38), GW 33 and GW 32 (middle ground right), GW 35 and GW 34 (middle ground centre), and offering basin *in situ* east of niche in facade of GW 34, looking northwest; January 1904 (G. A. Reisner, C10066).



FIG. 18. GW 38, displaced limestone offering niche lintel inscribed for Nebu (MFA APP.1921.1), looking west; January 1904 (G. A. Reisner, C10067).



FIG. 19. Inscribed limestone lintel (MFA APP.1921.1) from offering niche found displaced at east face of GW 38; 1904 (G. A. Reisner, C11998).



FIG. 20. Inscribed limestone lintel (MFA APP.1921.1) from offering niche found displaced at east face of GW 38; 18 May 2006 (Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, SC171419).

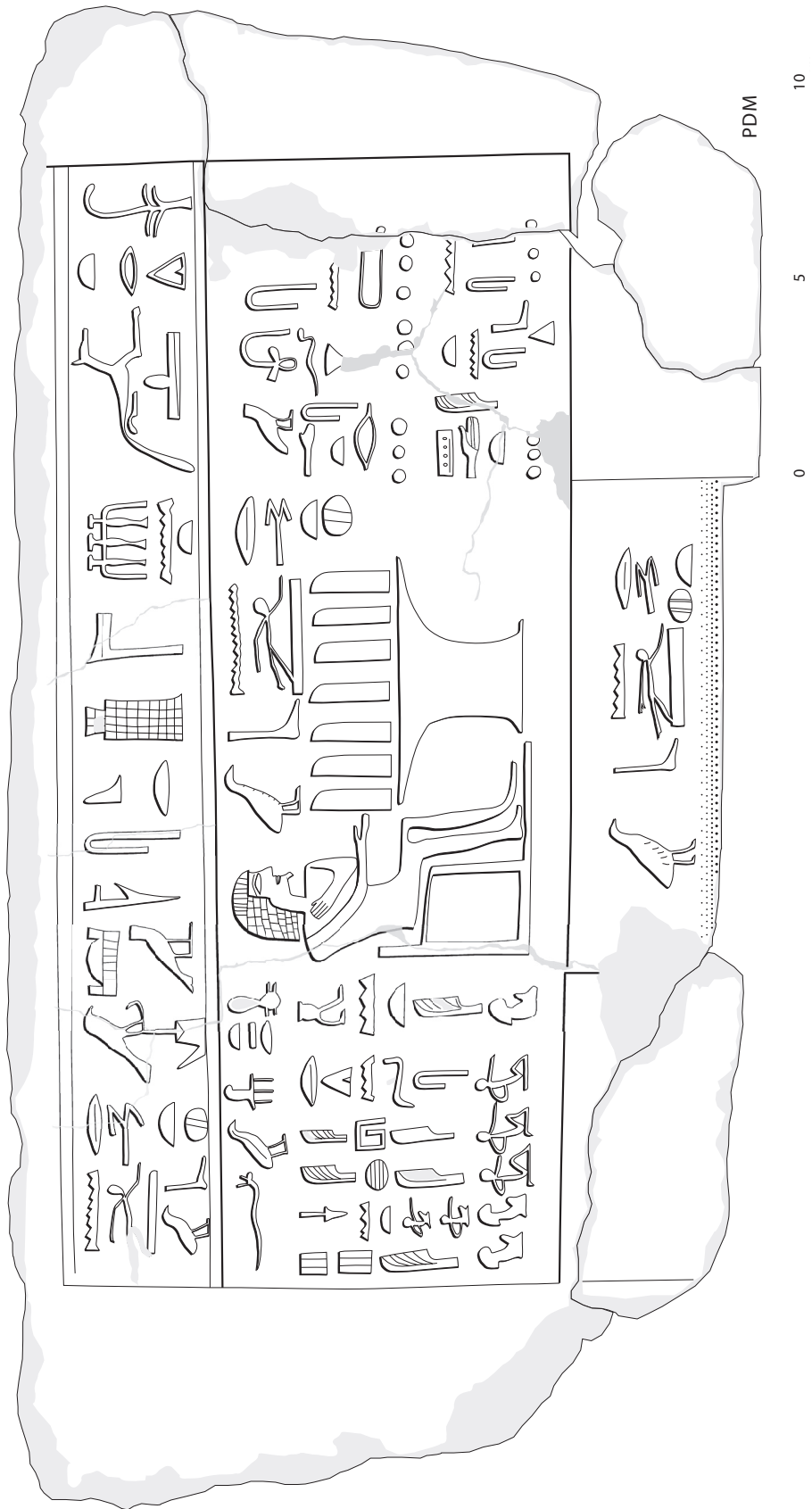


FIG. 21. Facsimile drawing of inscribed limestone lintel (MFA APP.1921.1) from offering niche displaced at east face of GW 38 (author).

extremely wide offering table bearing seven half-loaves of bread. The left arm bends at the elbow back across the breast, beneath a valanced wig that covers the ear. A damaged list of assorted offerings appears in front (right) of the table, including *sntr*,³² *wšd*, *msdmt*, *nbs*, *t-nbs*, and *išd*, ‘incense, green eye-paint, black eye-paint, zizyphus, loaf of zizyphus, and perseia fruit’. Above the table, Nebu’s name and title appear again. Behind him is a list of his family members: *mitrt Inti*, ‘the lady Inti’; *msw=f Rdi-ns*, *Ihi*, *Ihi*, *Snti*, *Ppi*, ‘his children Redines (male), Ihi (male), Ikhi (male), Senti (female), and Pepi (female)’. The drum below bears a third example of the name and title *rth.ty Nbw*.



FIG. 22. G 4920 (= Lepsius 47), Tjenti, west wall between false doors, detail of man named Nebu leading livestock; 6 July 1933 (Mohammedani Ibrahim, A7173: detail).

If this niche lintel had been found *in situ*, it would be of especially critical value to the dating of the Wadi Cemetery. The context, as shown in figs 17–18, does not eliminate the possibility that the piece is an intrusive addition. However, the son named Ikhi is presumably the owner of an offering basin that Reisner discovered *in situ* further to the north (see below, figs 31–33), although he seems never to have numbered the tombs in that area. While GW 38 (Nebu lintel) and the unnumbered tomb (basin of Ikhi) are at opposite north–south ‘ends’ of the cemetery (that is, at least as far as Reisner cleared it), the distance is not great, and hardly precludes the possibility of a familial relation. Indeed, this could even indicate that the internal developmental history of mastaba construction in the Wadi Cemetery proceeded from south to north. Ikhi bears the title of *rḥ nswt* on his offering basin, but no title on his father(?) Nebu’s lintel. As a late Archaic or early Fourth Dynasty object, the Nebu lintel would confirm the interpretation of the Wadi Cemetery’s existence prior to the construction of G 2000 (= Lepsius 23) and the Western Cemetery proper (up on the plateau itself) under Khufu. As a late Old Kingdom piece it would cast doubt on that

³² The *ntr* sign is now gone, since it appeared on the now missing lower right hand fragment of the lintel; compare figs 19 and 20.

same interpretation, suggesting that the Wadi Cemetery, or at least part of it, is a very modest late Old Kingdom addition to an already densely packed necropolis.

There are numerous arguments both for and against dating Nebu's lintel to the early Old Kingdom. Against a date prior to the Fourth Dynasty is the presence of the offering formula.³³ Additional elements that might speak for a late Old Kingdom date include the sunk relief carving, and the three vessels instead of four on the *hnt* sign (Sign List W 17–18), which are prevalent during the later Old Kingdom.³⁴ The spelling of *rdi* with *r* in the *htp di nswt* formula is also potentially problematic for an early Old Kingdom date.³⁵ The *sw* plant is worthy of closer investigation for the overlapping leaves, and heavily recurved upper stalk, although the sunk relief carving obscures many of these details.³⁶ One might also argue that the name Pepi should automatically date this fragment to the Sixth Dynasty.

By contrast, several features might challenge a late Old Kingdom date. First of all, the name Pepi, mentioned above, occurs for a female, not a male, and the name is in any case well attested before the Sixth Dynasty.³⁷ Furthermore, I have not yet located a late Old Kingdom parallel to the unusually wide, archaic-looking, sunk relief offering table in front of Nebu. And the *zh* in the *zh-ntr* booth resembles the hieroglyphs carved on the central panel niche of Khabausokar from the Third Dynasty.³⁸ More importantly, the cube seat more closely resembles those used by Khasekhem,³⁹ Djoser,⁴⁰ and by private individuals at Archaic Saqqara and Helwan

³³ W. Barta, 'Opferformel', *LÄ* IV, 584. Early Old Kingdom examples of the formula tend to favour the mention of Anubis over the king; cf. H. G. Fischer, 'A Unique Composite Hieroglyph', *JARCE* 38 (2001), 1 n. 8; id., *Varia* (Egyptian Studies I; New York, 1976), 24 n. 1.

³⁴ For examples of *hnty* vessels, see J. Kahl, N. Kloth, and U. Zimmermann, *Die Inschriften der 3. Dynastie: Eine Bestandsaufnahme* (ÄA 56; Wiesbaden, 1995), 192 (D3/Sa/10, Saqqara S 3073, JdE 42002; three vessels), 214 (D3/Sa/26, granite fragment from Saqqara; three vessels); J. Kahl, *Das System der ägyptischen Hieroglyphenschrift in der 0.–3. Dynastie* (GOF IV/29; Wiesbaden, 1994), 798–800, citing examples with both three and four vessels, with Djer as the earliest attestation in both cases; id., *Frühägyptisches Wörterbuch*, III (Wiesbaden, 2004), 354–9; similarly, S. D. Schweitzer, *Schrift und Sprache der 4. Dynastie* (Menes 3; Wiesbaden, 2005), 467–8 (three vessels), 468–9 (four vessels).

³⁵ I am grateful to Andrey Bolshakov for his comments on this feature, which he suggests post-dates the Fourth Dynasty (personal communication, April 2008). For examples including *r* in *rdi*, see the lintel of Inkaef from the vicinity of G 1227: H. G. Fischer, 'Old Kingdom Inscriptions in the Yale Gallery', *MIO* 7 (1960), 301 (fig. 1); id., 'Redundant Determinatives in the Old Kingdom', *MMJ* 8 (1973), 21 = *Ancient Egypt in the Metropolitan Museum Journal* (New York, 1977), 86 (fig. 22); L. Borchardt, *Denkmäler des Alten Reiches (ausser den Statuen) im Museum von Kairo*, I (CCG 1295–1808; Berlin, 1937), 130–2 (CG 1447), pl. 33; and the chapel of Merib (G 2100-1): Lepsius, *Denkmaeler* II, pl. 19 = K.-H. Priese, *Die Operkammer des Merib* (Berlin 1984), cover.

³⁶ A. Bolshakov, 'Osiris in the Fourth Dynasty Again?', in H. Gyory (ed.), *Mélanges offerts à Edith Varga: Le lotus qui sort de terre* (Bulletin du Musée Hongrois des Beaux-Arts, Supplément-2001; Budapest, 2001), esp. 74–5 (the Nebu example hardly qualifies as a 'high quality inscription'). On the offering formula and all its variations, see G. Lapp, *Die Opferformel des Alten Reiches unter Berücksichtigung einiger späterer Formen* (SDAIK 21; Mainz am Rhein, 1986).

³⁷ For examples of women named Pepi, several of whom predate the Sixth Dynasty, see L. Epron, F. Daumas, and G. Goyon, *Le tombeau de Ti*, I (Cairo, 1939), pl. 16 (two examples); Borchardt, *Denkmäler des Alten Reiches* I, 155–6 (CG 1466, panel of Iauptah and Nefret), 166–7 (CG 1479–1480, relief of Weta); Petrie, *Gizeh and Rifeh*, pl. 7A (Neferherenptah); A. Eggebrecht (ed.), *Das Alte Reich* (Mainz, 1986), 60–1 (Inv. Nr. 17, family statue of Rashepses); H. Junker, *Gîza*, VI (DAWW 72/1; Vienna, 1943), 203 fig. 76 (north false door of Neferen); id., *Gîza*, IX (DÖAW 73/2; Vienna, 1950), 86 fig. 36 (false door panel of Sensen). On the various readings of the royal name, see H. G. Fischer, 'The Transcription of the Royal Name Pepy', *JEA* 75 (1989), 214–15.

³⁸ M. A. Murray, *Saqqara Mastabas*, I (BSAE/ERA 10/[1]; London, 1905), pl. 1.

³⁹ M. Saleh and H. Sourouzian, *The Egyptian Museum Cairo: Official Catalogue* (Mainz am Rhein, 1987), cat. no. 14; C. Aldred, *Egyptian Art* (London, 1980), 43 (fig. 12); W. S. Smith, *The Art and Architecture of Ancient Egypt* (3rd edn, revised by W. K. Simpson; New Haven, 1998), 23 (figs 33–4), and 26 (fig. 36).

⁴⁰ Saleh and Sourouzian, *The Egyptian Museum Cairo*, cat. no. 16.

(fig. 23), than any typical Sixth Dynasty stool.⁴¹ In fact, a cursory survey of Old Kingdom table scenes overwhelmingly reveals theriomorphic stools with lion or bull legs, but seldom the cube seat.⁴² The shape of the half-loaves does not fit well with Cherpion's developmental scheme for the later Old Kingdom, but would appear to predate it.⁴³ In the Archaic Period, such loaves generally retain the same directional orientation as the seated deceased, reversing direction (as found on the Nebu lintel) some time in the Third Dynasty.⁴⁴ The Nebu architrave is curious in orienting all loaves towards the deceased, not to mention showing an offering table carved in such wide

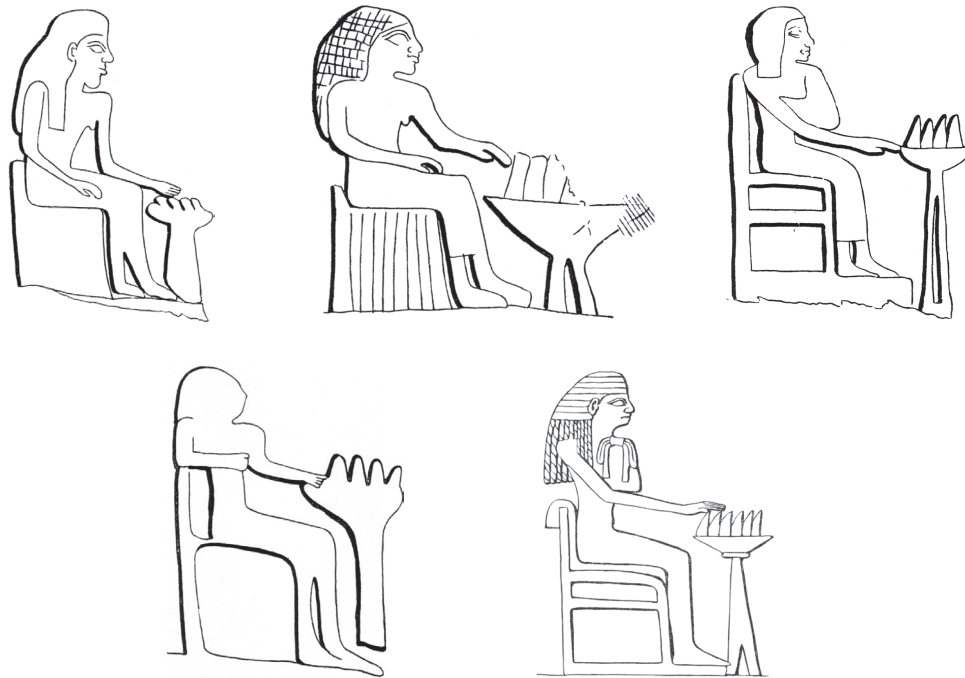


FIG. 23. Seated figures on cube seats with raised backs from Helwan stelae 1 (Hepet-khnumet), 2 (Menkheqet), 3 (Nisu-heqet), and 4 (Menkhet-ka), after Z. Saad, *Ceiling Stelae in Second Dynasty Tombs from the Excavations at Helwan* (CASAE 21; Cairo, 1957), figs 1, 3, 4, and 6; and Sehefner from Saqqara tomb 2146 E, after J. E. Quibell, *Excavations at Saqqara (1912–1914): Archaic Mastabas* (Cairo, 1923), 10, pls 26–27.

⁴¹ Compare also the seat from a papyrus swamp scene of Meresankh II at Giza (G 7410–7420); MFA 25-1-1337; W. S. Smith, *A History of Egyptian Sculpture and Painting in the Old Kingdom* (2nd edn, Oxford, 1949), 168 (fig. 63); HU–MFA Expedition photograph B5690 (Mohammedani Ibrahim, 6/15/1925). For analyses of inscriptions of the Third and Fourth Dynasties, see Kahl, Kloth, and Zimmermann, *Die Inschriften der 3. Dynastie*, and Schweitzer, *Schrift und Sprache der 4. Dynastie*.

⁴² Cf. N. Cherpion, *Mastabas et hypogées d’Ancien Empire* (Brussels, 1989), 34–6. For additional examples of private cube seats, see H. S. Baker, *Furniture in the Ancient World* (London, 1966), 32 (fig. 21), 34 (figs 24–5); G. Killen, *Ancient Egyptian Furniture, I: 4000–1300 BC* (Warminster, 1980), 51. Although rare, a few examples of private individuals on block thrones from the Sixth Dynasty include: S. Hassan, *Excavations at Giza*, III (Cairo, 1941), 82 fig. 70 (Tjetut); A. M. Blackman, *The Rock Tombs of Meir*, IV (ASE 25; London, 1924), pl. 5 (Pepiankh the Middle). For these last references I am grateful to Edward Brovarski.

⁴³ Cherpion, *Mastabas et hypogées d’Ancien Empire*, 42–9. See also, M. Bárta, ‘Archaeology and Iconography: *bdj* and *prt* Bread Moulds and “Speisetischszene” Development in the Old Kingdom’, *SAK* 22 (1995), 21–35. On the statistical use of these dating criteria see S. Seidlmayer, ‘Stil unter Statistik: Die Datierung dekoriertes Gräber des Alten Reiches—ein Problem der Methode’, in J. Müller and A. Zimmermann (eds), *Archäologie und Korrespondenzanalyse: Beispiele, Fragen, Perspektiven* (Internationale Archäologie 23; Espelkamp, 1997), 17–51. Another ‘archaic’-looking repast scene may be found on the slab stela of Wepemnefret from G 1201 at Giza; P. Der Manuelian, *Slab Stelae of the Giza Necropolis* (PPYE 7; New Haven and Philadelphia, 2003), 38–9, pls 1–2.

⁴⁴ For a selection of Archaic and early Old Kingdom table scenes, see Manuelian, *Slab Stelae*, 227–36 (figs 263–314).

sunk relief. The vertical striations at the top of the wig similarly indicate an earlier, rather than later Old Kingdom date, although the shoulder length and overlapping locks beneath the crown row might represent later features.⁴⁵ Taken together, these unusual features, of which the cube seat is perhaps the most remarkable, plus the archaeological context, so far as we can reconstruct it, might indicate an early Old Kingdom date, thus confirming Reisner's original stratigraphic interpretation for the Wadi Cemetery as predating the Western Cemetery proper.

A more crudely decorated lintel, from tomb GW 16, and broken in two halves (figs 24–26),⁴⁶ was assigned to the Hearst Museum, Berkeley, in 1904 (accession number 6-19820).⁴⁷ A sunk relief *hṯp di nswt* formula is incised from right to left, with a sunk relief figure of a standing male with outstretched arm and starched kilt at the left edge of the block. His name and title(s) are difficult to read, but may contain a *nfr* sign

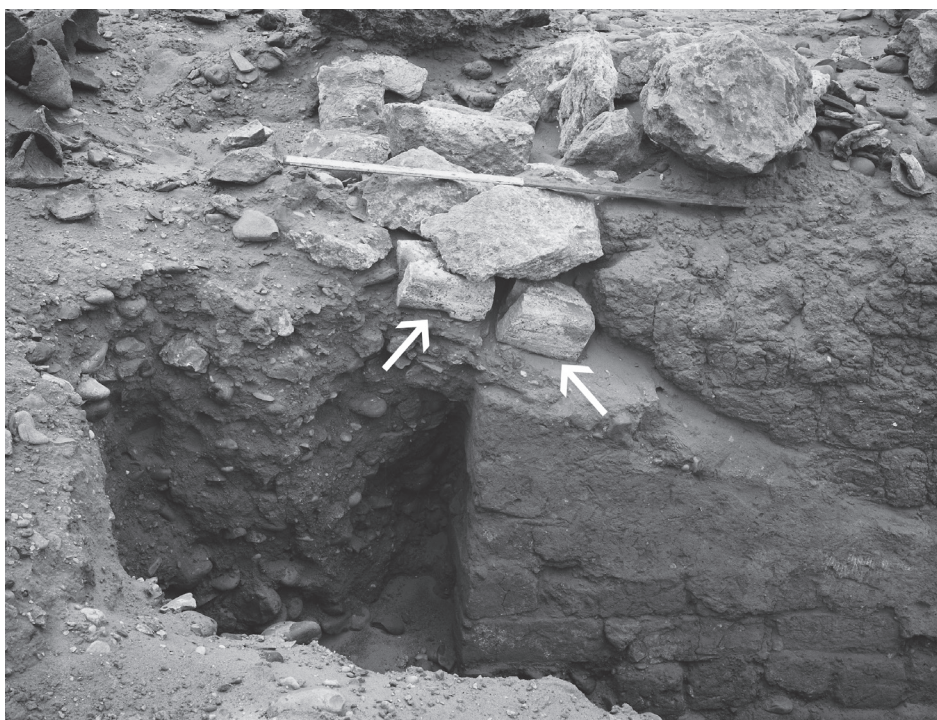


FIG. 24. Southeast corner of GW 16, with displaced offering niche lintel (Berkeley 6-19820) *in situ* (in two pieces), looking west; January 1904. (G. A. Reisner, C10069).

⁴⁵ Both Fischer and Cherpion have noted that the taller vertical row of locks at the top or crown of the wig indicate earlier, Fourth Dynasty examples: H. G. Fischer, 'A Scribe of the Army in a Saqqara Mastaba of the Early Fifth Dynasty', *JNES* 18 (1959), 238–9 (fig. 4); Cherpion, *Mastabas et Hypogées d'Ancien Empire*, 55 (criterion 28), citing occurrences attested under kings as late as Menkaure. Compare, however, H. G. Fischer, 'The Cult and Nome of the Goddess Bat', *JARCE* 1 (1962), 17 n. 80, and 20 (fig. 3); E. Brovarski, 'False Doors and History: The Sixth Dynasty', in M. Bárta (ed.), *The Old Kingdom Art and Archaeology*, 116.

⁴⁶ Not GW 24 as incorrectly listed in some expedition records, such as mounted prints in the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston. *In situ* photos clearly show the southeast corner of GW 16. This lintel is illustrated as fig. 22 of Reisner's 1903–4 Hearst field season report.

⁴⁷ For information regarding this object, as well as confirmation that other Wadi Cemetery objects are not in Berkeley, I thank Joan Knudsen, Registrar of the Phoebe A. Hearst Museum of Anthropology, and Elizabeth Minor, University of California, Berkeley. The Hearst records for the lintel read: '6-19820. Orig. No. TM No XXXII; Acc. No. 54, 56, 63, 107, or 195; Description: Top of false door in two pieces; w. 36 h. 14 cm; Location: Gizeh, Wady; Collector: G. A. Reisner; Date Coll.: 1903–1904; Donor: Mrs. P.A. Hearst'.

(Sign List F35) and an unusually tall striding man with staff (A20). One possibility might be *iszw-nfr*, though written in reverse (*nfr-iszw*). The name most likely appears over his head, as well as on the round drum in the lower centre of the lintel.

Two of several offering basins found *in situ* on the ground in front of offering niches were inscribed,⁴⁸ but Reisner may never have numbered their tombs (fig. 27).



FIG. 25. Inscribed limestone lintel from offering niche from Wadi Cemetery, GW 16, debris: Hearst Museum, Berkeley 6-19820; 1904 (G. A. Reisner, C11997).



FIG. 26. Inscribed limestone lintel from offering niche from Wadi Cemetery, GW 16, debris: Hearst Museum, Berkeley 6-19820; 9 January 2008 (Elizabeth Minor, 6-19820_d1).

⁴⁸ Wadi Cemetery mastabas GW 34, GW 35, and GW 72 all show offering basins *in situ* (see fig. 16 and, on the Giza website: <<http://www.gizapyramids.org>> accessed 1.10.2008, HU-MFA Expedition photographs C11030 and C11032), but their current locations have yet to be determined. Several unidentified offering basin drawings from early years of Reisner's Giza fieldwork are preserved in the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, and it

One coarse, square basin is roughly incised, apparently for a *mry-nṯr-Tty* ('God loves Tety'), in writings that seem to confuse horizontal and vertical arrangements (figs 28–30).⁴⁹ The other is more typically rectangular, with a beveled basin in the centre, and an inscription on three sides for the royal acquaintance Ikhi (figs 31–33). The present location of this basin remains to be determined, but it was housed at Harvard Camp for decades after its discovery. Evidence for this conclusion is the original expedition drawing by Nicholas Melnikoff reproduced in fig. 33, which cannot predate the 1930s,⁵⁰ and the photograph in fig. 32b, taken by expedition photographer Mohammedani Ibrahim on 6 June 1940. The basin may well be in the Egyptian Museum, Cairo.⁵¹ The owner, Ikhi, is very possibly the son of Nebu



FIG. 27. Unnumbered Wadi Cemetery tombs, showing two inscribed offering basins *in situ*, looking southwest; background (south) basin inscribed for Merynetjertety(?); foreground (north) basin inscribed for Ikhi; July 1904 (G. A. Reisner, C10384).

is quite possible that some of these represent the three offering basins listed here. Some of these drawings show inscriptions, but it is presumed that all three of the actual basins were uninscribed, or else Reisner would have included them in his 1903–4 Hearst Expedition field season report.

⁴⁹ This offering basin is illustrated as fig. 26 of Reisner's 1903–4 Hearst field season report. I am grateful to H. G. Fischer for his suggestions on reading this name (personal communication); he noted that the appearance of two separate names, Mer(y)-netjer and Tety, cannot be ruled out. On the spelling of Tety instead of Teti, see Fischer, *JEA* 75, 215, and the fragmentary statuette of the royal *wab*-priest and priest of Khufu Tety, from the debris in the street between Giza mastabas G 5130 and G 5140; HU-MFA Expedition Object Register number 15-10-6 (<<http://www.gizapyramids.org>>, accessed 1.10.2008).

⁵⁰ Melnikoff joined the Expedition in the 1930s. This basin is illustrated as fig. 27 of Reisner's 1903–4 Hearst field season report.

⁵¹ It is not included, however, in A. Moret, *Denkmäler des Alten Reiches*, III/1: *Autels, bassins et tables d'offrandes nos 57001–57023* (rev. and ed. D. Abou-Ghazi; CCG Nos 57001–57100; Cairo, 1978), D. Abou-Ghazi, *Denkmäler des Alten Reiches*, III/2: *Altars and Offering Tables Nos 57024–57049* (CCG Nos 57001–57100; Cairo, 1980).



FIG. 28. Unidentified Wadi Cemetery tomb, square offering basin of Merynetjertety(?) *in situ*, looking down westwards; July 1904 (G. A. Reisner, C10385).



FIG. 29. Offering basin of Merynetjertety(?) from unidentified Wadi Cemetery tomb; photographed at 'Hearst Camp', Giza; July 1904 (G. A. Reisner, C10387).

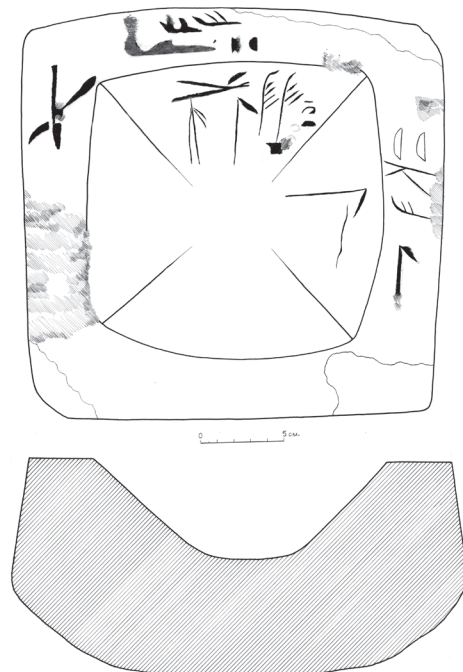


FIG. 30. Unsigned drawing by HU-MFA Expedition staff at Giza of offering basin of Merynetjertety(?) from unidentified Wadi Cemetery tomb (drawing housed in Museum of Fine Arts, Boston: EGo22318).

and Inti, represented on the lintel described above (figs 19–21), a fact that further ties both pieces to the Wadi Cemetery and probably vitiates the argument for an intrusive context. Until the basin is located, we are dependent on the old Melnikoff line drawing from the 1930s (fig. 33). Some of the readings below are uncertain:

hṭp ḏi nswt Inpw hnt zḥ nṯr prt-hrw rh nswt Iḥi

A gift which the king gives (and) Anubis, foremost of the divine booth (namely) invocation offerings. The royal acquaintance Ikhi.

in z3=f smsw ir n=f nw, z3t=f Skw [...]

It is his eldest son who made this for him, (and?) his daughter(?) Seku(?) [...]

If the end of the last line is read correctly, then the basin presumably was dedicated by both son and daughter. But if the bird hieroglyph is not a *z3*-bird but rather a quail chick (*w*) and belongs with *nw* ‘this’, then the conclusion of the line becomes even more problematic. Both of these basins might be ascribed to Type B in R. Hözl’s recent typology.⁵²



FIG. 31. Unidentified Wadi Cemetery tomb, rectangular offering basin of Ikhi *in situ*, looking down westwards (hole behind basin is in the east face of this mastaba); July 1904 (G. A. Reisner, C10386).

⁵² Cf. R. Hözl, *Ägyptische Opfertafeln und Kultbecken: Eine Form- und Funktionsanalyse für das Alte, Mittlere und Neue Reich* (HÄB 45; Hildesheim, 2002), 14–17, Type B. For more on offering basins, see M. M. F. Mostafa, *Untersuchungen zu Opfertafeln im Alten Reich* (HÄB 17; Hildesheim, 1982). Examples including the name of the dedicant include University of Pennsylvania Museum E13525; C. S. Fisher, *The Minor Cemetery at Giza* (Philadelphia, 1924), 144 (18), pl. 48.2; and Hearst Museum, Berkeley 6-19761; H. F. Lutz, *Egyptian Tomb Steles and Offering Stones* (Leipzig, 1927), pls 6–8.



FIG. 32a–b. Offering basin of Ikhi from unidentified Wadi Cemetery tomb; photographed at ‘Hearst Camp’, Giza. Image a: 1905 (G. A. Reisner, C 11988); image b: 6 June 1940 (Mohammedani Ibrahim, B9290).

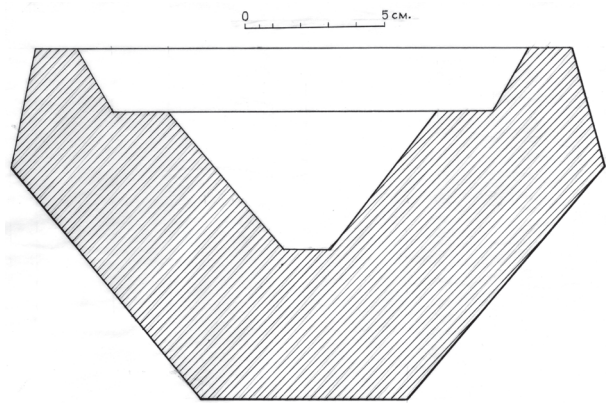
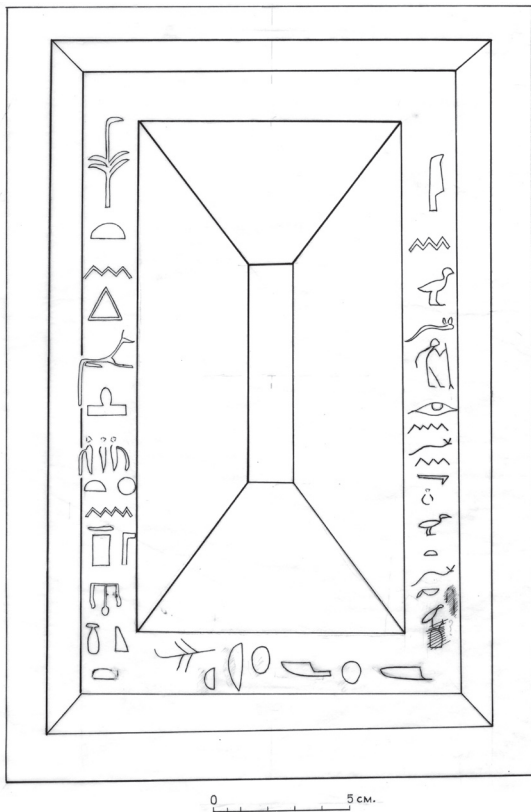


FIG. 33. 1930s drawing of offering basin of Ikhi from unidentified Wadi Cemetery tomb (drawing by Nicholas Melnikoff, housed in the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston: EGo22342).

TABLE I *Major objects discovered by Reisner in the Wadi Cemetery in 1904*






Title	Provenance	Museum Acc. No.	Photo. Nos
	GW 38	MFA APP.1921.1	C11998 SC171419
	GW 16	Hearst Museum 6-19820	C10069 C10070 C11997 6-19820_d1 6-19820_d2 6-19820_d3
	Unnumbered	(?)	C10384 C10385 C10387
	Unnumbered	(?)	C10384 C10386 C11988 B9290
	Wadi Cem.? or G 1231 (= G 1234)	Hearst Museum 6-19762	C11888 C11889 C11890 C11984 6-19762_d1 6-19762_d2 6-19762_d3 6-19762_d4 6-19762_d5 6-19762_d6

Table 1 gathers the various objects briefly described above. With the exception of three (uninscribed?) offering basins from tombs GW 34, GW 35, and GW 72 (see fig. 16),⁵³ and a male statue head of uncertain provenance,⁵⁴ these represent the major finds made by Reisner in 1904.

Interpretation

Much of the evidence provided above is admittedly fragmentary and speculative. But perhaps we might benefit from comparing the Wadi Cemetery to another region of the Giza Necropolis, one that was unknown to Reisner, and that first surfaced after a tourist's horseback-riding accident in 1990.⁵⁵ In the region south of the Wall of the Crow and Southern Mount, Zahi Hawass has in the past decades unearthed two previously unknown clusters of tombs now called the Cemetery of the Pyramid Builders (figs 1, 34–35). What he has termed the artisans' or upper cemetery consists of elaborate, elite stone mastabas constructed high up the cliff face, with causeways and multiple shafts, while a more modest workmen's cemetery appears at the foot of the ridge, just west of the settlement area currently being explored by Mark Lehner's AERA expedition.⁵⁶ This lower cemetery contained, as of 2003, 60 larger and 600 smaller structures.⁵⁷ It is the lower cemetery that we might compare to our Wadi Cemetery, far to the northwest on the other side of the Khufu pyramid (figs 36–37, 39, 41). Both clusters of tombs occur as a smaller, simpler cemetery below a larger, elite cemetery above. Mud brick and fieldstone are the material of choice below, while a preponderance of more elaborate limestone construction appears above. Hawass's

⁵³ Note that while HU–MFA Expedition photograph C10996 in fig. 16 is dated to September 1904, a very similar image C10071 (available on <<http://www.gizapyramids.org>>, accessed 1.10.2008), which even includes the same pile of potsherds in the foreground, is dated earlier to January 1904. The only substantial difference between the two images is the presence of Reisner's wooden marker pegs containing tomb numbers in the (later) September photograph, C10996 (fig. 23). If the January and September dates are accurate, then we must assume these two offering basins were left *in situ* over nine months. Perhaps that is the best indication we have that they were uninscribed, and deemed unworthy of removal. They may still be *in situ* in the reburied Wadi Cemetery today. A few line drawings of uninscribed offering basins are preserved in the archives of the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston; perhaps two of them illustrate these two basins (candidates for GW 34 include: EG022323 and EG022338, while candidates for GW 35 include EG022319 and EG022295). In addition, an uninscribed basin found *in situ* in GW 72 might be illustrated in EG022300 or EG022351.

⁵⁴ Hearst Museum, Berkeley 6-19808, a limestone head from a male statuette (h. 9 cm; w. 12 cm), has been attributed to Wadi Cemetery mastaba GW 24, based on a mounted print card caption in the MFA photographic archives, but no *in situ* photographs or object registration records are available to confirm this attribution. Other Expedition photography attributes the provenance to G 1171, up on the Western Cemetery plateau proper. Since Reisner makes no mention of this head in his 1903–4 Hearst Report, I believe it more likely that the head comes from G 1171 than from the Wadi Cemetery. See H. F. Lutz, *Egyptian Statues and Statuettes in the Museum of Anthropology of the University of California* (Leipzig, 1930), 17, pl. 26a. Online images on <<http://www.gizapyramids.org>>, accessed 1.10.2008, have the following ID numbers: C11888, C11889, C11890, C11952, C11953, C11954, 6-19808_d1, 6-19808_d2, 6-19808_d3, 6-19808_d4, and 6-19808_d5.

⁵⁵ Z. Hawass, *Secrets from the Sand: My Search for Egypt's Past* (New York, 2003), 101. I am grateful to Dr. Hawass, Secretary General of the Supreme Council of Antiquities, for kind permission to reproduce this plan, as well as the photographs of the Cemetery of the Pyramid Builders.

⁵⁶ See M. Lehner and W. Wetterstrom (eds), *Giza Reports: The Giza Plateau Mapping Project, I: Project History, Survey, Ceramics, and Main Street and Gallery III.4 Operations* (Boston MA, 2007); M. Lehner, 'The Pyramid Age Settlement of the Southern Mount at Giza', *JARCE* 39 (2002), 27–74, and the privately published AERA newsletter *AERAGRAM* vols 1 (1996) to present: <<http://www.gizapyramids.org/code/emuseum.asp?newpage=aeragram>> or <<http://www.aeraweb.org/aeragram.asp>>, accessed 1.10.2008.

⁵⁷ Z. Hawass and A. Senussi, *Old Kingdom Pottery from Giza* (Cairo, 2008), 16–17, pls 4–14, plans 1–4; Z. Hawass, 'The Tombs of the Pyramids Builders—The Tomb of the Artisan Petety and his Curse', in G. N.

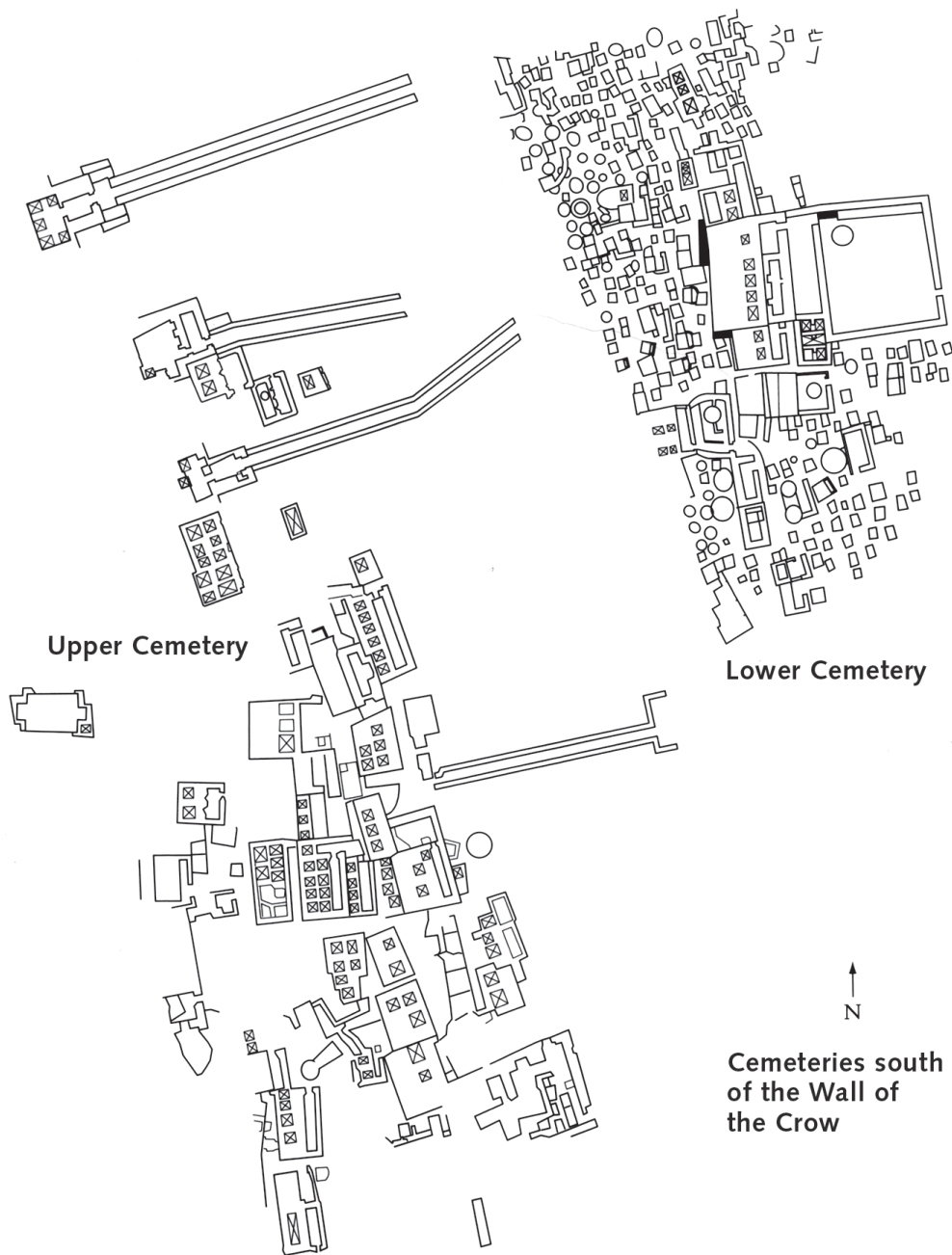


FIG. 34: Plan of the Cemetery of the Pyramid Builders near the Southern Mount (excavations of Zahi Hawass). After Z. Hawass, *Secrets from the Sand* (New York, 2003), 97.

Knoppers and A. Hirsch (eds), *Egypt, Israel, and the Ancient Mediterranean World: Studies in Honor of Donald B. Redford* (Leiden, 2004), 21–39; id., ‘The Workmen’s Community at Giza’, in M. Bietak (ed.), *Haus und Palast im alten Ägypten: Internationales Symposium 8. bis 11. April 1992 in Kairo* (DGÖAW 14 = UZK 14; Vienna, 1996), 54–67; id., ‘A Group of Unique Statues Discovered at Giza, I: Statues of the Overseers of the Pyramid Builders’, in H. Sourouzian and R. Stadelmann (eds.), *Kunst des Alten Reiches: Symposium im Deutschen Archäologischen Institut Kairo am 29. und 30. Oktober 1991* (SDAIK 28; Mainz, 1995), 91–5; id., ‘A Group of Unique Statues Discovered at Giza, II: An Unfinished Reserve Head and a Statuette of an Overseer’, *ibid.*, 97–101; id., ‘A Group of Unique Statues Discovered at Giza, III: The Statues of *ḥnty-šdw* from Tomb GSE 1915’, in N. Grimal (ed.), *Les critères de datation stylistiques à l’Ancien Empire* (BdE 120; Cairo, 1998), 227–33; id., ‘“The Pyramid Builders”: A Group of Unique Statues Discovered at Giza, IV: The Statue of an Overseer of the Craftsmen and his Wife’, in C. Ziegler (ed.), *L’art de l’Ancien Empire égyptien: Actes du colloque organisé au musée du Louvre par le Service culturel les 3 et 4 avril 1998* (Paris, 1999), 79–98; id., *Mountains of the Pharaohs: The Untold Story of the Pyramid Builders* (New York, 2006), 157–76; id., *Secrets from the Sand*, 96–131.



FIG. 35. General view of the lower cemetery of the Pyramid Builders near the Southern Mount, looking southwest (excavations of Zahi Hawass), compare fig. 36; 15 January 2004 (Author, PDM_DSCN00096).



FIG. 36. Wadi Cemetery tombs (compare fig. 35): GW 28 (foreground right), GW 30 (foreground left), GW 47 (middle ground centre left), GW 46 (middle ground centre left, west of GW 47), GW 48 (middle ground center), GW 49 (middle ground centre, west of GW 48), GW 50 (middle ground centre right), GW 51 (middle ground center right, west of GW 50), GW 52 (middle ground right), looking west by southwest; August 1904 (G. A. Reisner, A10947).

cemetery revealed more in the way of statuary and other artifacts, but this is perhaps just an accident of preservation. The settlement area currently under investigation by Mark Lehner now appears to extend westwards underneath Hawass's lower cemetery, thus predating it. Despite the architectural similarities, then, Hawass's lower cemetery (Khafre–Menkaure and later) would postdate Reisner's Wadi Cemetery (pre-Khufu), assuming Reisner's stratigraphic interpretations are correct. These are all suggested interpretations that further excavation in both areas might clarify. It remains to be seen whether these two remaining minor cemeteries at Giza are anomalous, or just the tip of a greater mortuary 'iceberg' that includes many ridges, cliffs, and plateaux in and around the site, and not normally taken into account. In addition, similar mud brick mastabas have been unearthed at Saqqara⁵⁸ and more recently at Dahshur,⁵⁹ inviting further pre-Khufu comparisons as a future line of research.

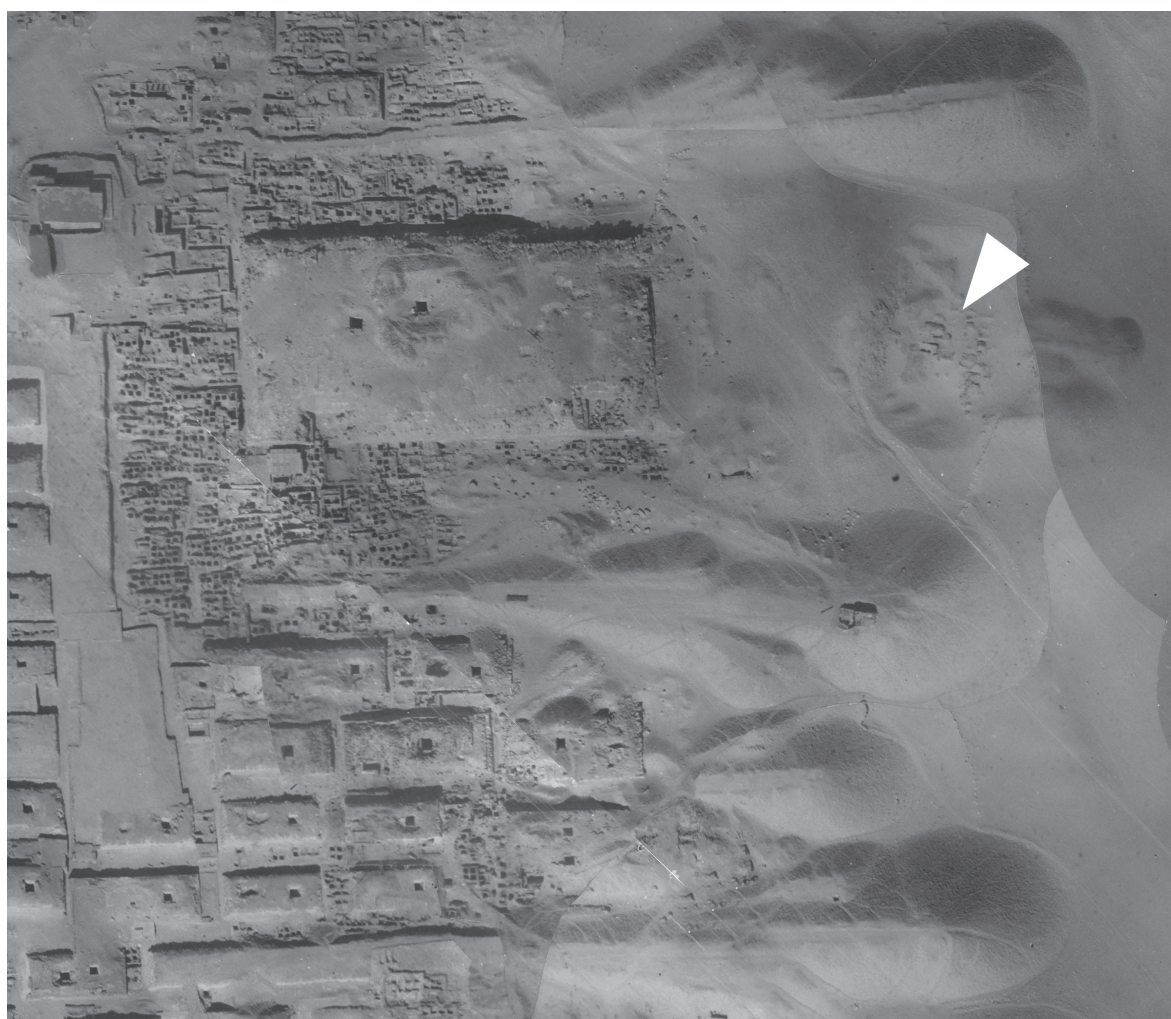


FIG. 37. Aerial view of part of the Western Cemetery, with mastaba G 2000 (= Lepsius 23) and the Wadi Cemetery area (white arrow); 29 February 1936 (taken from 900 feet by the Egyptian Army Air Force Photographic Section).

⁵⁸ H. Ghali, 'Ein Friedhof von Ziegelmastabas des Alten Reiches am Unasaufweg in Saqqara', *MDAIK* 50 (1994), 57–69.

⁵⁹ See N. Alexanian, H. Becker, M. Müller, and S. J. Seidlmayer, 'Die Residenz nekropole von Dahschur: Zweiter Grabungsbericht', *MDAIK* 62 (2006), esp. 13–14 with parallels noted in notes 13–14, pl. 7b (to which Giza Wadi Cemetery GW 72, our fig. 12, might be compared).

We may conclude one of two scenarios for the history of the Wadi Cemetery. I have suggested above that both the lower and upper layers of mastaba constructions, and all associated objects lying under Reisner's three stratigraphic levels, might predate the construction of the Western Cemetery proper under Khufu in the Fourth Dynasty. Conversely, if some objects should be dated instead to the late Old Kingdom, then we can posit a much longer interval between the lower and upper layers of Wadi Cemetery mastabas, with the Nebu lintel, among other objects, post-dating Khufu to as late as the Sixth Dynasty. The interpretation of the overlaying strata would, however, have to be reinterpreted, for they would then have to post-date the late Old Kingdom mastabas beneath them.

As noted above, Reisner was primarily interested in a quick interpretation of the Wadi Cemetery so that he could begin clearing the Western Cemetery proper, up on the plateau, and use this northern area for dumping his excavation debris. Although work continued in the Wadi Cemetery into the fall of 1904, clearance of the Western Cemetery began as early as 14 January 1904, first on the west side of G 2000 (= Lepsius 23) and, later, to the east of that tomb. By August 1904, the Wadi Cemetery tombs were at their most exposed state. Rather than unearth additional tombs, Reisner felt it was time to move on:⁶⁰

Enough of the wady having been cleared for all practical purposes, and the extent of its cemetery having been ascertained by digging, the dumpheap of the main excavation was run as an embankment straight across the wady. Thus a number of graves which could only have added to the quantity of material obtained were covered up, probably for the benefit of a future generation of archaeologists.

It should be remembered that Reisner excavated almost none of the burial shafts exposed in the Wadi Cemetery. These still await exploration and might provide useful parallels to the skeletal material Hawass has unearthed in his pyramid builders' cemetery.

The aerial view taken in 1936 (fig. 37) shows the extent to which the Wadi Cemetery had become reburied three decades later. Some 'then and now' comparisons indicate the changes wrought in the area even more dramatically, as debris from both Reisner's and later Junker's excavations filled the wadi (figs 38–40). Steady progress brought Reisner's crew, redeployed in 1905 as the Harvard University–Boston Museum of Fine Arts Expedition, to the first group of major mastabas east of mastaba G 2000, and past the depression immediately east of G 2000, that was filled with later Old Kingdom tombs and subsidiary burials.⁶¹ It may have been around this time that Reisner began to develop his concept of the 'nucleus' or 'core cemetery', designating specific clusters of Khufu-era major mastabas that were clearly laid out as a group, oriented towards a common design for the evolution of the necropolis. He had already cleared one nucleus cemetery (1200) and by 1906 was heading towards another (2100). But back in 1903–1904 these theories were still undeveloped,⁶² and it was

⁶⁰ Reisner, *Records of the Past* 4, 134.

⁶¹ This area is currently under investigation by Ann Macy Roth for a forthcoming volume of the *Giza Mastabas* series. See W. B. Hafford, 'Mixed Messages', *Archaeology* (May/June 2003), 40–5.

⁶² No mention is made of nucleus cemeteries in Reisner's important early summary of the work at Giza: G. A. Reisner and C. S. Fisher, 'Preliminary Report on the Work of the Harvard–Boston Expedition in 1911–13', *ASAE* 13 (1913), 227–52.

the Wadi Cemetery that provided the first clues to interpreting the mortuary history of the area. Perhaps Reisner's stratigraphic and architectural reconstruction can be confirmed or discarded upon further investigation of its unexcavated burial shafts and, no doubt, additional tombs. Could the Wadi Cemetery prove to be the best-preserved Giza cemetery to predate the reign of Khufu (fig. 41)?



FIG. 38. Excavation dump heap looking south toward mastaba G 2000 (= Lepsius 23) and Khafre pyramid beyond, area of Wadi Cemetery to east (middle ground left); 4 May 1904 (G. A. Reisner, C10587).



FIG. 39. General view of the Wadi Cemetery, looking south towards mastaba G 2000 (= Lepsius 23) and the Khafre pyramid: unnumbered tombs at north end of clearing, area of GW 16, GW 31, GW 32, GW 33, GW 34, GW 35, GW 36, GW 37, GW 38 (middle ground centre), area of GW 39, GW 40, GW 41, GW 42, GW 43, GW 44 (middle ground centre right), area of GW 57, GW 58, GW 59, GW 60 (middle ground right), (unnumbered tombs where offering basins inscribed for Merynetjertety(?) and Ikhi were found is in the foreground centre left); August 1904 (G. A. Reisner, A10957).



FIG. 40. General view of the Wadi Cemetery area, now buried, looking south towards mastaba G 2000 (= Lepsius 23) and the Khafre pyramid; 16 January 2004 (Author, PDM_01349).



FIG. 41. General view of the Wadi Cemetery area, after the close of excavations, looking southeast toward the Khufu pyramid; 1905–6 (A. M. Lythgoe, C1117 = C11854).



Inscribed limestone lintel (MFA APP.1921.1) from offering niche found displaced at east face of GW 38; 18 May 2006 (Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, SC171419).

ON THE EARLY HISTORY OF GIZA