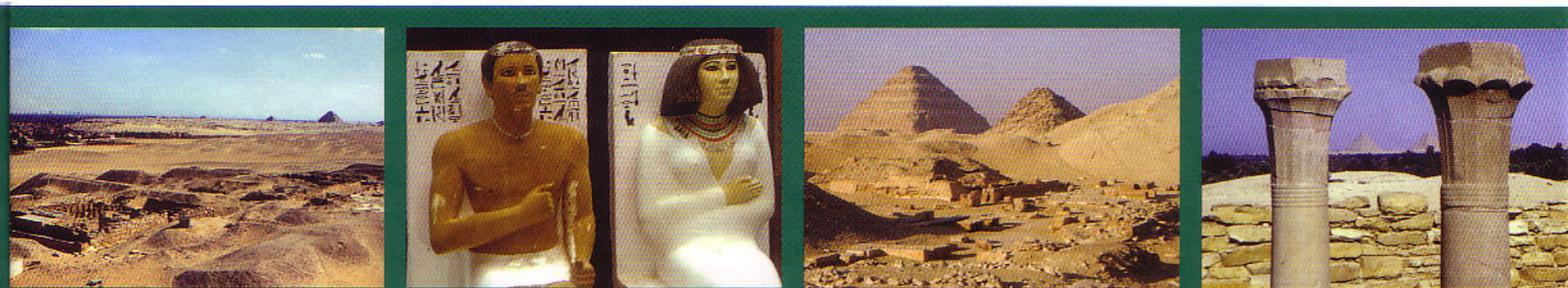


# THE OLD KINGDOM ART AND ARCHAEOLOGY

## Proceedings of the Conference



Prague, May 31 – June 4, 2004

Miroslav Bárta  
editor

# **THE OLD KINGDOM ART AND ARCHAEOLOGY**

PROCEEDINGS OF THE CONFERENCE HELD IN PRAGUE,  
MAY 31 – JUNE 4, 2004

**Miroslav Bárta**  
editor

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## Foreword

It is with pleasure that after more than two years the publication of the lectures held during the conference on the Old Kingdom Art and Archaeology in Prague in the year 2004 (May 3 – June 4) has been made possible.

The conference held in Prague continued the tradition of previous meetings by being dedicated to the same subject: art and its dating in the Old Kingdom of Egypt: the period that forms the first apogee of the developing Egyptian state. The tradition of these irregular meetings was established in 1991 by Hourig Sourouzian and Rainer Stadelmann, at that time the Director of the German Archaeological Institute in Cairo, who organised the first conference.<sup>1</sup> The second meeting also took place in Cairo, at this time the place of the venue was the French Institute of Oriental Archaeology and the conference, held on November 10–13, 1994, was organised by its director Nicolas Grimal.<sup>2</sup> The penultimate meeting took place in Paris, France, on April 3–4, 1998, and was organised by Christiane Ziegler, Chief Conservator of Egyptian Antiquities in the Louvre.<sup>3</sup>

The present volume continues a well-established and successful tradition of post-conference publications. As such, it makes available most of the contributions that were presented during the conference in Prague. It was mainly the scientific profile of the Czech Institute of Egyptology that led us to substantially widen the scope of the conference in 2004. The total of thirty-three contributions presented in this volume cover various aspects connected to Old Kingdom culture, not only its art, but also its archaeology and architecture, selected administrative problems, iconography, texts and the latest, often first time published results of ongoing excavations. From the list of contributions it becomes evident that natural sciences and their application in the widest sense receive general acceptance and support from among Egyptologists. It is one of the few aspects that can in the future significantly enhance our understanding of specific issues connected to the Old Kingdom art and archaeology.

Eng. Marta Štrachová carefully edited the manuscript and was essential in producing this volume. The advice and guidance of Eng. Jolana Malátková also proved indispensable. The Czech Academy of Sciences is to be thanked for the production of the book. Last but not least, it was Prof. Dr. Jean Leclant, Secrétaire perpétuel de l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres, Paris, and the chair of the European branch of the Fondation Michela Schiff Giorgini, and Prof. Dr. David Silverman, University of Pennsylvania, chair of the North American branch of the the Fondation Michela Schiff Giorgini and the respective committees that approved this publication and agreed to support it financially.

Miroslav Bárta

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<sup>1</sup> The conference was held in the German Archaeological Institute, Cairo, on October 29–30, and the proceedings published in 1995 in the volume *Kunst des Alten Reiches. Symposium des Deutschen Archäologischen Institut Kairo am 29. und 30. Oktober 1991*, Deutsches Archäologisches Institut, Abteilung Kairo, Sonderschrift 28, Mainz am Rhein.

<sup>2</sup> N. Grimal, ed., *Lex critères de datation stylistiques à l'Ancien Empire*, Bibliothèque d'Étude 120 (Cairo, 1998).

<sup>3</sup> Ch. Ziegler, N. Palayret, eds., *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).

# Bibliography

Abbreviations for journals, series and monographs used throughout the volume follow the system of *Lexikon der Ägyptologie* (cf. *Lexikon der Ägyptologie, Band VII. Nachträge, Korrekturen und Indices*, founded by W. Helck and E. Otto, edited by W. Helck and W. Westendorf, Wiesbaden 1992, XIV–XXXVIII).

The following additional abbreviations are also used:

ACER – *The Australian Centre for Egyptology: Reports*, Sydney;

AOS – *American Oriental Society*, Michigan;

BSAK – *Studien zur altägyptischen Kultur, Beihefte*, Hamburg;

CA – *Current Anthropology*, Chicago, Illinois;

Hannig, *Handwörterbuch* – R. Hannig, *Die Sprache der Pharaonen. Großes Handwörterbuch Ägyptisch-Deutsch (2800–950 v. Chr.)*, Mainz 1995;

Harpur, *DETOK* – Y. Harpur, *Decoration in Egyptian Tombs of the Old Kingdom. Studies in Orientation and Scene Content*, London and New York 1988;

Harvey, *WSOK* – J. Harvey, *Wooden Statues of the Old Kingdom. A Typological Study, Egyptological Memoirs 2*, Leiden 2001;

KAW – *Kulturgeschichte der Antiken Welt*, Mainz am Rhein;

*LingAeg* – *Lingea Aegyptia, Journal of Egyptian language Studies*, Göttingen;

*OrMonsp* – *Orientalia Monspeliensia*, Montpellier;

PAM – *Polish Archaeology in the Mediterranean*, Warsaw;

SAGA – *Studien zur Archäologie und Geschichte Altägyptens*, Heidelberg;

WES – *Warsaw Egyptological Studies*, Warsaw.

# A re-examination of Reisner's Nucleus cemetery concept at Giza

## Preliminary remarks on Cemetery G 2100

Peter Der Manuelian

A full century has elapsed since George Reisner's excavations first unearthed many of the major mastabas of the Western Cemetery at Giza. The story of the division of the Giza excavation concessions between German, Italian, American and later, Egyptian, missions has been told elsewhere.<sup>1</sup> For Reisner's Hearst Egyptian Expedition (1899–1905), preliminary excavations at Giza began in the far Western Cemetery in January 1903 under A. C. Mace.<sup>2</sup> The second task at hand was to establish an area to the north of the Giza plateau for dumping debris from the Western Cemetery; test excavations in the wadi north of the Western Cemetery began on December 9, 1903.<sup>3</sup> Clearance of the Western Cemetery proper began on January 14, 1904, first on the west side of the great anonymous mastaba G 2000 (= Lepsius 23), the largest non-royal Giza sepulchre, and, later, to the east of that tomb. Steady progress brought the Expedition, 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, past the depression east of it, filled with later Old Kingdom tombs and subsidiary burials (*fig. 1*).<sup>4</sup> It must have been at this time that Reisner began to develop his concept of the 'nucleus' or 'core cemetery', designating a cluster of Khufu-era major mastabas clearly laid out as a group, oriented towards a common design for the evolution of the necropolis. By the end of 1906, Reisner had uncovered two of the three early nucleus cemeteries west of Khufu's pyramid: Cemetery G 1200 at the western edge of the cemetery (west of G 2000 and excavated during the 'Hearst years'), and Cemetery G 2100, much closer to the Khufu Pyramid. The term 'nucleus cemetery' does not appear in Reisner's writings until quite late; in fact, the first published reference I have so far been able to find occurs, not in his 1913 *ASAE* article co-authored with Clarence S. Fisher,<sup>5</sup> but in his *History of the Giza Necropolis*, which did not appear until after his death.

With a view toward gaining a better understanding of Khufu's original vision for the development of the Giza plateau, the writer has selected Cemetery G 2100 as the subject of a future volume of the *Giza Mastabas Series*. This nucleus cemetery provides examples of almost every typical problem set found in the Giza cemeteries, with the exception of rock-cut tombs. It is thus a microcosm for many of the archaeological issues concerning the entire Giza Necropolis. As a preliminary introduction to Cemetery G 2100, the following pages will highlight a few of these

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<sup>1</sup> Reisner, *Giza I*, 22–26; P. Jánosi, *Österreich vor den Pyramiden. Die Grabungen Hermann Junkers im Auftrag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften in Wien bei der Großen Pyramide in Giza* (Vienna, 1997), 34–41; P. Der Manuelian, 'Excavating the Memphite Cemeteries: The Giza Necropolis', in *L'Art égyptien au temps des pyramides* (Paris, 1999), 124–133; *idem*, *Egyptian Art in the Age of the Pyramids* (New York, 1999), 139–153.

<sup>2</sup> Reisner, *Giza I*, 23.

<sup>3</sup> There is very little published from the early Giza years; cf. Reisner, 'The Work of the Hearst Egyptian Expedition of the University of California in 1903–04', *Records of the Past* 4, Part V (May 1905), 130–141, and several versions of an unpublished Hearst Expedition Report from 1903–04, housed in the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston. I am grateful to Rita Freed, Norma-Jean Calderwood Curator of Ancient Egyptian, Nubian, and Near Eastern Art, Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, for permission to quote from these records and to reproduce the expedition images illustrated here.

<sup>4</sup> This area is currently under investigation by Ann Macy Roth for the forthcoming *Giza Mastabas* 9.

<sup>5</sup> G. A. Reisner, C. S. Fisher, 'Preliminary Report on the work of the Harvard-Boston Expedition in 1911–13', *ASAE* 13 (1914): 227–252.

issues, including ancient historical/chronological questions as well as modern archaeological ones. The remarks below begin with a short excavation history of the area, followed by notes on chronology and development, the relationship between major and minor mastabas and some examples of finished, unfinished, and reused monuments and objects.

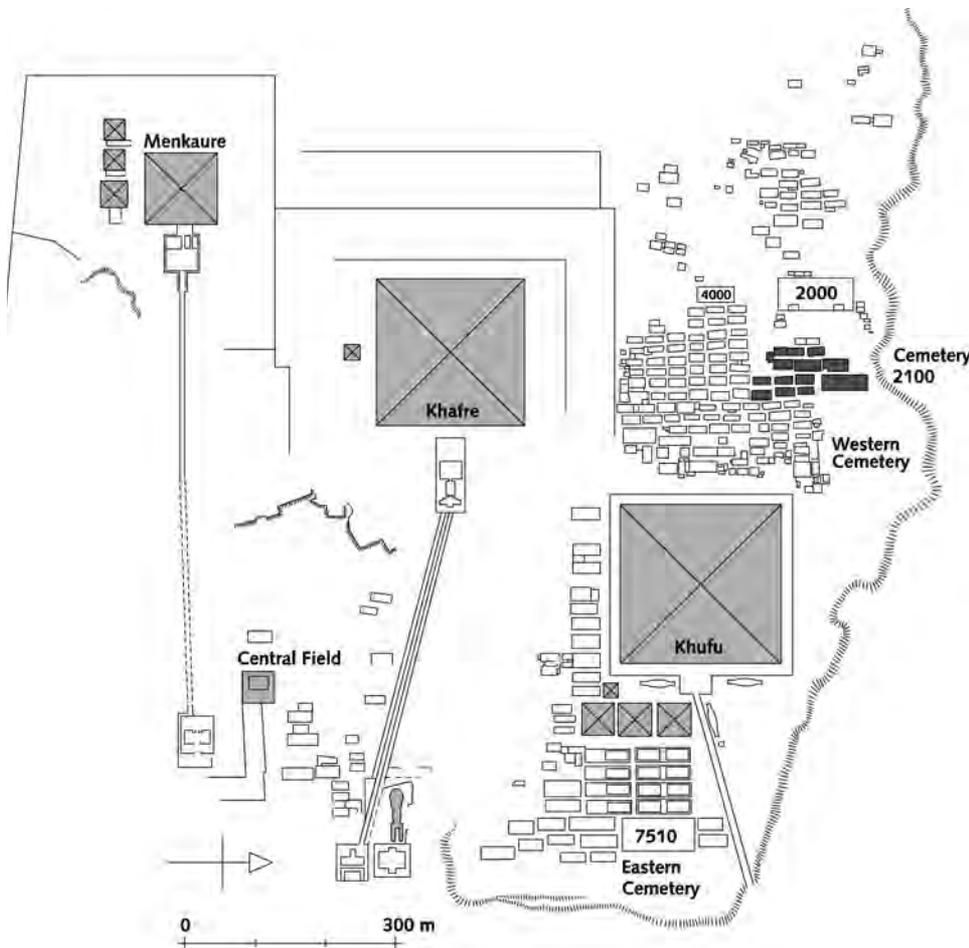


Fig. 1 Overview plan of Giza, indicating the location of Cemetery G 2100 (drawing by Liza Majerus)

## I. Excavation history

The first (somewhat) systematic exploration of Cemetery 2100 took place in December of 1842 when Lepsius's expedition cleared the tomb of Merib (G 2100-I = Lepsius 24) and obtained permission to remove its polychrome chapel and decorated façade to Berlin.<sup>6</sup> By the time the chapel arrived in Germany, most of the paint had disappeared. Fortunately, watercolors of the decoration had been prepared at Giza by Lepsius's artist J. J. Frey, just after discovery and prior to the dismantling of the walls.<sup>7</sup> It was based upon these modern paintings that a colored full-scale, painted plaster reproduction of the four chapel walls was produced in Berlin between 1982 and 1984.<sup>8</sup> At this writing the original chapel and façade await reconstruction in the new Berlin Museum.

Some time prior to 1856, Wilkinson may have copied the loose(?) drum from the entrance to the chapel of Kanefer (G 2150).<sup>9</sup> Mariette may also have ventured into

<sup>6</sup> LD I, 46–49, and K.-H. Priese, *Die Opferkammer des Merib* (Berlin, 1984).

<sup>7</sup> Priese, *Merib*, 4; LD II, pls. 19–22; E. Freier, S. Grunert. *Eine Reise durch Ägypten nach den Zeichnungen der Lepsius-Expedition in den Jahren 1842–1845* (Berlin, 1984), 38–41.

<sup>8</sup> Priese, *Merib*, 30–33.

<sup>9</sup> PM III<sup>2</sup>, 893; M. Baud, *Famille royale et pouvoir sous l'Ancien Empire égyptien 1*, BdE 126/1–2 (1999), 596; C. Ziegler, *Catalogue de stèles, peintures et reliefs égyptiens de l'Ancien Empire et de la Première Période Intermediaire, vers 2636–2040 avant J.-C.* (Paris, 1990), 238–239 (Louvre C 155).

this part of the Western Cemetery during his investigations of 1857–1858.<sup>10</sup> At some point between 1875 and 1906 a relief fragment of the exterior chapel façade of the tomb of Kanefer (G 2150) was removed, eventually surfacing in the private collection of Lord Amherst of Hackney.<sup>11</sup> On April 19, 1881, Petrie copied several inscriptions in Kanefer's chapel.<sup>12</sup> It may also be assumed that these years saw the removal of several chapel reliefs from the tomb of Nefer (G 2110), which were subsequently acquired by museums in Paris, Copenhagen, Rome and Birmingham, England.<sup>13</sup>

As noted above, in 1905 the Harvard University–Boston Museum of Fine Arts Expedition shifted its focus to the area east of the great mastaba G 2000 (= Lepsius 23). Work in Cemetery G 2100 proper did not actually begin until after January 28, 1906.<sup>14</sup> The primary seasons of activity in this cemetery included 1906, 1912–1913, and 1931–1932. The later work, throughout the 1930s, was chiefly confined to specific re-excavation of shafts and other discreet areas in order to fill in gaps in the final excavation report, which Reisner was writing at Harvard Camp, and part of which would eventually be published as *A History of the Giza Necropolis I*.<sup>15</sup> The most detailed publication of Cemetery G 2100 may be found in Appendix C of *Giza Necropolis I*,<sup>16</sup> but this summary deals only with the major mastabas, and makes no attempt at full photographic or epigraphic documentation. Reisner described the topography of this part of the Western Cemetery area as follows (*figs. 1–2, pl. VIII, 12*):

‘The space between G 2000 and Cem. G 2100 slopes gently upwards to the east and is mainly covered by a weak geological deposit of red gravel mixed with boulders of various sizes. The western line of mastabas in Cem. G 2100 is built on a low ridge east of this space and also shows some patches of bad rock. From this ridge under G 2100 and G 2110 the rock surface slopes gently down to the east and is mainly of sound rock. This rock also slopes gently to the north’.<sup>17</sup>

Although the vast majority of Cemetery G 2100 lay in the American concession (the northern third of the Western Cemetery), the cemetery's southern edge turned out to fall within the central strip, the area granted to the German/Austrian Expedition led since 1902 by Georg Steindorff, and then from 1912 onwards by Hermann Junker. It was Junker who cleared the three southernmost major mastabas of Cemetery G 2100: G 2100-II = G 2101 (Nensedjerkai), G 2135 (anonymous), and G 2155 (Kaninisut I), along with the extensively decorated, intrusive Sixth Dynasty chapel G 2136 (Kahif).<sup>18</sup> Searching in 1912 for a suitable area to dump his cartloads of debris, Junker asked Reisner's permission to build his Decauville railway track

<sup>10</sup> Mariette, *Mastabas*.

<sup>11</sup> I am not aware of its present location; see J. Málek, ‘New Reliefs and Inscriptions from Five Old Tombs at Giza and Saqqara’, *BSEG* 6 (1982): 48–50.

<sup>12</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>13</sup> Cf. Ziegler, *Stèles, peintures et reliefs égyptiens de l’Ancien Empire*, 167–170.

<sup>14</sup> G. A. Reisner, A. M. Lythgoe, ‘Report of the Work of the Expedition of Harvard University and the Boston Museum of Fine Arts up to January 31, 1906’, handwritten, p. 17 (unpublished first or second report, housed in the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston).

<sup>15</sup> Despite the 1942 publication date, the Second World War prevented *Giza Necropolis I* from actually appearing in print until 1946. Unfortunately, so many seasons and diverse expedition staff passed during the nearly four decades of Giza excavations that confusion occasionally mars the records. For example, in the late 1930s the Expedition re-excavated and labeled as empty the same minor burial shafts in which they had already discovered and documented skeletal remains as early as 1905–6.

<sup>16</sup> Reisner, *Giza I*, Appendix C, 417–453.

<sup>17</sup> *Ibid.*, 417. A more recent discussion of five of the major mastabas may be found in Baud, *Famille et pouvoir* 1, 35–43.

<sup>18</sup> For G 2135, see Junker, *Giza I*, 227–31; for Nensedjerkai, G 2100-II = G 2101, cf. *idem*, *Giza II*, 97–121, and for Kaninisut I (G 2155 = VIIIInn = G 4870) cf. *ibid.*, 135–172. Kaninisut's chapel decoration in Vienna has been recently republished by R. Hölzl, *Reliefs und Inschriftensteine des Alten Reiches II*, CAA Kunsthistorisches Museum, Wien, Lieferung 21 (Mainz, 2000), 33–87 (ÄS 8006). For the tomb of Kahif, see Junker, *Giza VI*, 94–143; N. Cherpion, *Mastabas et hypogées d’Ancien Empire. Le problème de la datation* (Brussels, 1989), 137–138.

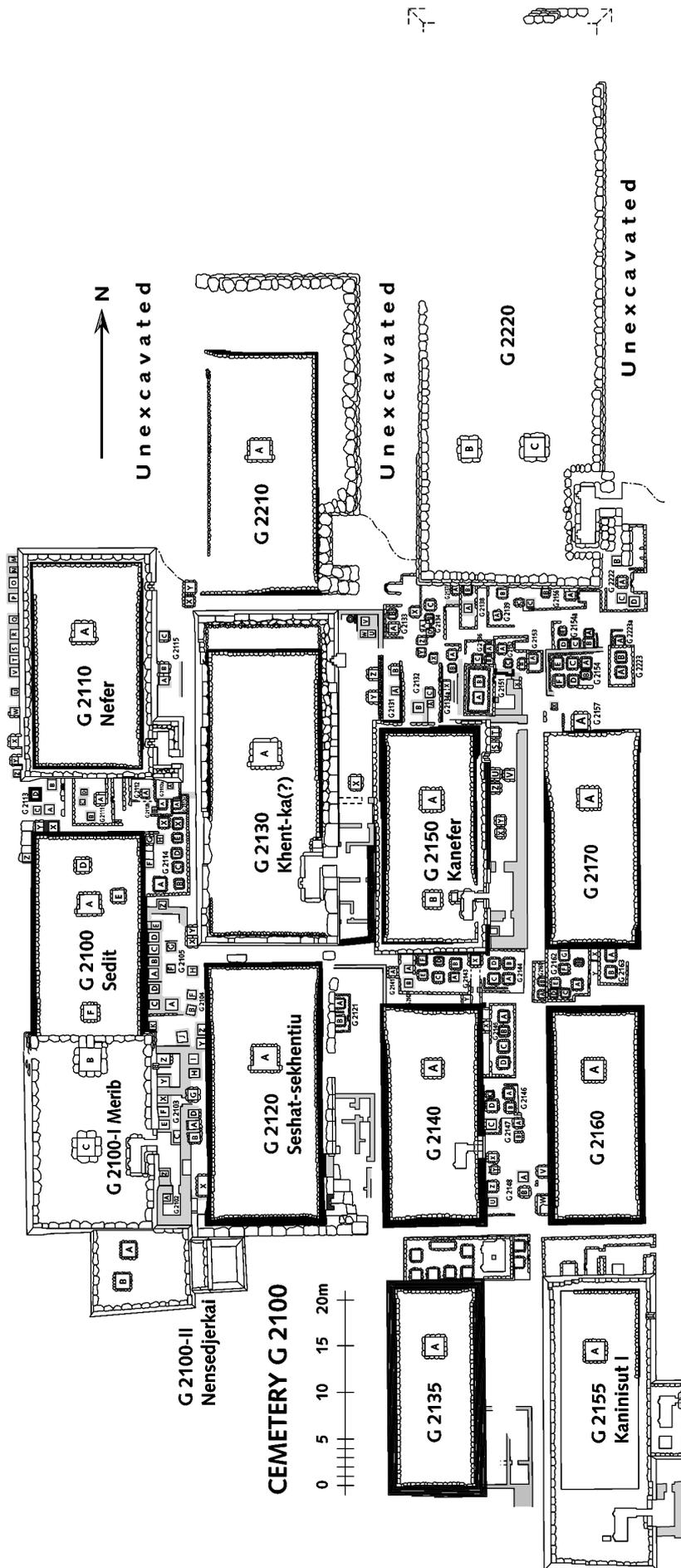


Fig. 2 Detail plan of Cemetery G 2100, adapted from Reisner, *Giza Necropolis I*, Map 5 (drawing by Ruth Bigio)

over the easternmost portion of Cemetery G 2100. Reisner agreed to this request, after clearing the area in question first. Junker's debris ramp is still visible today, running from south to north, just west of the current SCA inspectorate, and still covering tomb G 2175<sup>19</sup> and its immediate neighbors. We are therefore faced with a cemetery that forms a unit in its ancient composition, but was arbitrarily divided in modern times by two very different archaeological missions. Objects, photographs, and archival records relevant to Cemetery G 2100 are housed in museums and universities in Boston, Cairo, Hildesheim, Vienna, London, and Berlin.

Curiously, there is a dearth of statuary from the cemetery. Aside from the reserve head of Nefer from G 2110 (in Boston, MFA 06.1886),<sup>20</sup> and a headless seated pair statuette of the inspector of builders and constructors, Iti, and his spouse(?), the king's acquaintance, Khuitra, from G 2231 (MFA 12.1485),<sup>21</sup> the only noteworthy sculptures come from Junker's southern strip of Cemetery G 2100: a standing pair statue of Nimaatra and his (headless) spouse,<sup>22</sup> a seated headless male statue of the *jmj-r hm-k3*, overseer of funerary priests, Qedfy, and a fragmentary female torso from a pair statue. The last two pieces were found in Qedfy's serdab and are now in Vienna (ÄS 7443 and ÄS 8378 respectively).<sup>23</sup>

## II. Chronology and development

Cemetery G 2100 clearly forms a discreet unit, and while Khufu-era mastaba cores may be distinguished from later subsidiary structures added to the area, discernment of the precise evolution of the cemetery awaits further research. In its final (albeit never completely finished) form, the cemetery came to consist of thirteen major mastaba cores and a host of later 'minor' subsidiary sepulchres. Reisner correctly divided the major tombs into two sections, an earlier western half, and a later eastern half. Each half contains two north-south rows of mastabas, and the regularity of their layout increases as one moves from west to east. If we consider the four rows from west to east, and list the tombs from south to north, we find the following mastabas (see *fig. 2, pl. VIII, 12*):

Western half, western row: G 2100 Sedit (see below); G 2110 Nefer

Western half, eastern row: G 2120 Seshatsekhentiu; G 2130 Khentka(?); G 2210 (anonymous)

Eastern half, western row: G 2135 (anonymous); G 2140 (anonymous); G 2150 Kanefer

Eastern half, eastern row: G 2155 (Kaninisut); G 2160 (anonymous); G 2170 (anonymous).

Ten of the original first eleven mastaba cores consisted, in Reisner's terminology, of type IIa: 'a filled mastaba (as Ia) with a retaining wall of small drab limestone

<sup>19</sup> For G 2175, belonging to Khnumnefer and Nedju, see Reisner, *Giza I*, 268–69, 313. The north wall of the chapel is in the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston (MFA 12.1512).

<sup>20</sup> *Ibid.*, pl. 34b–f; see also R. Tefnin, *Art et Magie au temps des Pyramides*, *MonAeg* 5 (1991), 99–100, no. 3, pls. 3a–d, 4a–b; D. Spanel, *Through Ancient Eyes: Egyptian Portraiture*, Birmingham exhibition catalogue (Birmingham, AL, 1988), 35–36, with figs. 40–41; W.S. Smith, *Ancient Egypt as represented in the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston*, 6th edition (Boston, 1960), 36–37, figs. 14–15; *idem*, *Sculpture*, 23, 27–29, 303, pl. 48d–e; *idem*, 'Old Kingdom Sculpture', *AJA* 45 (1941): 527, fig. 6, 528; B. V. Bothmer, 'On Realism in Egyptian Funerary Sculpture of the Old Kingdom', *Expedition* 24 (1982): 34–35 fig. 20.

<sup>21</sup> Some confusion has arisen between the tomb numbers G 2231 and G 2178; G 2231 was mistakenly equated with G 2178 by H. G. Fischer, 'Redundant Determinatives in the Old Kingdom', *MMJ* 8 (1973): 7 and 10, and by Smith in *Sculpture*, 74; another G 2231 is located at the east end of the group of tombs NE of G 2000, and was published by A. M. Roth, *A Cemetery of Palace Attendants, Giza Mastabas* 6 (Boston, 1995), 155–161.

<sup>22</sup> Junker, *Giza VI*, 154–155, pl. 23b.

<sup>23</sup> See B. Jaros-Deckert, E. Rogge, *Statuen des Alten Reiches*, CAA, Lieferung 15 (Mainz, 1993), 21–25 and 125–26; Junker, *Giza VI*, 87, fig. 24.

blocks in low-stepped courses, filled with sand, gravel, rocks, and rubbish; no niches; slab-stela; single burial-shaft, the upper part of which, through the filling of the mastaba, is cased with stone blocks similar to those of the retaining wall; 2-m. burial-shaft...'.<sup>24</sup>

The only mastaba to diverge from the use of rubble fill was G 2130, thought (after a fragmentary inscription) to belong to a Khentka.<sup>25</sup> This is the only tomb in Cemetery G 2100 to show the much more labor-intensive (and expensive) feature of solid limestone filling blocks in the mastaba's interior. Reisner described this 'type Iib' as follows: 'in outward appearance like Iia, but filled solid with small stone blocks (cf. Iib); no niches; slab-stelae'.<sup>26</sup> Unfortunately, most of the principal burial shafts in the major mastabas were completely plundered, revealing only fragmentary ceramics, scattered bones, and on occasion a sarcophagus. The earliest burial chambers were lined with limestone blocks and contained a square canopic cavity in the southeast corner.

Fewer examples of annexes and alterations to the basic mastaba cores are in evidence in Cemetery G 2100 than are found in Cemetery G 1200. Nevertheless, changes of plan may be found in the tomb of Khentka (G 2130) with an annex to the north, although no additional burial shaft seems to have been added. G 2210 was subsequently adorned with massive blocks of casing stones forming a new interior chapel and a much greater core volume to the east and north. The mastaba of Nefer (G 2110) received a smooth limestone casing and an exterior stone chapel. Seshatsekhentiu (G 2120) walled up his slab stela in favor of a stone exterior chapel and monolithic false door. And finally the well-known exterior chapel of Kaninisut I (G 2155), now in Vienna, was constructed entirely in the tomb's southern annex (fig. 1).

Regularity of alignment appears in all but the westernmost row of the cemetery (G 2100 and G 2110). On the east-west axis, the southern ends of many of the mastabas clearly align, forming ordered streets and avenues. Originally these streets allowed unfettered access to all the mortuary chapels of the cemetery, and were gradually filled with subsidiary structures only after the reign of Khufu. The alignments are clearest at the southern ends of G 2100-I = Lepsius 24 (Merib), G 2120 (Seshatsekhentiu), G 2140, and G 2160. Another series of southern end alignments includes G 2130 (Khentka), G 2150 (Kanefer), and G 2170. G 2210 and G 2220 likewise align along their southern ends. Finally, the two tombs at the southernmost edge, G 2135 and G 2155 (Kaninisut I) align along their northern ends.

Several factors lend credence to Reisner's separation of Cemetery 2100 into an earlier western half, and a later eastern half. Perhaps chief among them is the appearance of the T-shaped groove intended to hold a portcullis stone in the five primary burial shafts of tombs G 2100, G 2110, G 2120, G 2130, and G 2210 (pl. VIII, 13). This portcullis groove, which served to seal off and protect the southern corridor and burial chamber from the shaft itself, is attested from previous reigns and earlier necropoli, especially at Meidum and Dahshur.<sup>27</sup> But at Giza the T-shaped portcullis groove shaft appears only in these five tombs in Cemetery G 2100, and nowhere else in the entire necropolis as it is currently known. This construction feature was subsequently completely abandoned. The portcullis groove might well link the western half of Cemetery 2100 to architects and craftsmen who served Khufu's

<sup>24</sup> Reisner, *Giza I*, 39–40.

<sup>25</sup> *Ibid.*, 430–433.

<sup>26</sup> *Ibid.*, 40.

<sup>27</sup> Cf. Mastabas I/1 and II/1 at Dahshur, N. Alexanian, *Das Grab des Prinzen Netjer-aperet. Die Mastaba II/1 in Dahschur*, AV 56 (1999), 23–24, fig. 4, pl. 2a–c; R. Stadelmann, N. Alexanian, H. Ernst, G. Heindl, D. Raue, 'Pyramiden und Nekropole des Snofru in Dahschur. Dritter Vorbericht über die Grabungen des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts in Dahschur', *MDAIK* 49 (1993): 273, fig. 10, 277, es 278, n. 40, and 279, fig. 12; also N. Alexanian, 'Die Mastaba II/1 in Dahschur-Mitte', in *Kunst des Alten Reiches, DAI Sonderschrift* 28 (Mainz, 1995), esp. 1–3. For Meidum cf., Petrie, *Medum*, pl. 7; *idem*, *Meidum and Memphis* 3, pls. 17–18; *Dahchour I*, fig. 3. On Meidum in general, see now Y. Harpur, *The Tombs of Nefermaat and Rahotep at Meidum. Discovery, Destruction and Reconstruction* (Oxford, 2001).

father Sneferu. These men were either gradually replaced in the later reign of Khufu and beyond, or their construction techniques became obsolete. The transition from the old to the new style may be seen in the comparison of the western and eastern halves of Cemetery G 2100.

Two other elements that clearly point to the reign of Khufu are also in evidence in Cemetery G 2100: slab stelae and reserve heads. We have already mentioned the reserve head of Nefer from shaft A of G 2100. Along-form slab stela was discovered in fragments in front of its niche on the east exterior wall of G 2120 (Seshatsekhentiu).<sup>28</sup> An empty emplacement niche is visible on the east exterior wall of mastaba G 2100.<sup>29</sup> The upper right hand fragment of a slab stela was found by Junker near mastaba G 2135.<sup>30</sup> An unplaced fragment, likewise discovered by Junker, has now been cautiously assigned to the tomb of Kaninisut (G 2155), thanks to recent archival discoveries in Boston.<sup>31</sup> It has recently been suggested that even G 2110 (Nefer) may once have possessed a slab stela, before the tomb's east wall was altered to take of an exterior stone chapel.<sup>32</sup>

Two additional major mastabas were perhaps built later at the southwestern and northeastern edges of this cemetery. The southwestern edge became a family complex, with the mastaba of Merib (G 2100-I = Lepsius 24) enveloping – and thus clearly postdating – the southern end of G 2100, recently discovered to belong to Merib's mother Sedit.<sup>33</sup> After the construction of Merib's tomb, the unique, porticoed mastaba of Merib's daughter, Nensedjerkai (G 2100-II = G 2101), adjoined the southern end of Merib's sepulchre. Here the modern Reisner/Junker division line cut east to west right through the family complex, with Reisner excavating on the north side (G 2100-I = Lepsius 24, Merib), and Junker on the south (G 2100-II = G 2101, Nensedjerkai). Nensedjerkai's tomb was unearthed in 1912, six years after Reisner and Lythgoe had excavated the tomb of Merib. (It should be remembered, however, that the decorated chapel of Merib had already been removed to Berlin by Lepsius in 1842, sixty-four years prior to Reisner's excavation).

If the Merib complex provides a clear chronological development stretching from the Fourth into the Fifth Dynasty, much more problematic is the northeast edge of Cemetery G 2100, where the largest mastaba in the area was built: the anonymous tomb G 2220 almost occupies the width of two rows of mastabas (compare the northern edges of G 2150 and G 2170). In fact, mastaba G 2220 is the largest private tomb at Giza after the anonymous mastaba G 2000 and the tombs of Ankhhaf (G 7510) and Hemiunu (G 4000). A number of factors render this tomb confusing at best: it was never finished, and bears only a partially decorated interior chapel with two false doors; the layout of its shafts is irregular and suggests later, intrusive burials (shaft B containing one of the best-preserved and earliest female mummies from the Old Kingdom<sup>34</sup>); and finally even the modern excavation, particularly on the east and north sides, was never completed.<sup>35</sup> The two false doors in the interior

<sup>28</sup> Cf. P. Der Manuelian, *Slab Stelae of the Giza Necropolis*, *PPYE* 7 (2003), pls. 17–18, 76–82. Note that the lower left fragment of this stela, containing the seated torso and legs of the tomb-owner, was discovered displaced, on the western side of G 2120.

<sup>29</sup> *Ibid.*, 119.

<sup>30</sup> *Ibid.*, pls. 19–20, 84–87.

<sup>31</sup> *Ibid.*, pls. 21–22, 88–91.

<sup>32</sup> *Ibid.*, 161–62, figs. 243–46.

<sup>33</sup> Mastaba G 2100 had long been considered to belong to one of Merib's parents. In 1993 the skeletal remains from shaft A of this tomb were identified in a magazine at Harvard Camp as belonging to a female in the range of 45–49 years of age. Thus it is likely that Sedit, mother of Merib, was the owner of G 2100 and occupant of its principal shaft A. I thank Dr. Azza Mohamed Sarry el Din for here analysis of the skeletal remains from this and other Giza mastabas.

<sup>34</sup> Reisner, *Giza I*, 452–453; S. D'Auria, P. Lacovara, C. Roehrig, eds., *Mummies and Magic. The Funerary Arts of Ancient Egypt* (Boston, 1988), 76–77; G. Vogelsang-Eastwood, 'Textiles', in P. T. Nicholson, I. Shaw, eds., *Ancient Egyptian Materials and Technology* (Cambridge, 2000), 288–89, fig. 11.16.

<sup>35</sup> As of January 2004, the SCA had expressed interest in excavating portions of this area.

chapel might indicate a date in the reign of Menkaura or later, but there are other mastabas of earlier Fourth Dynasty date containing two false doors or niches, among them G 7510 (Ankhhaf), G 2000 Hemiunu, and G 2041 (Senenuka), to name just a few. At the least, this tomb warrants further investigation into whether it could belong with the earliest tombs of Cemetery G 2100. Could G 2220 have functioned as the most important mastaba of its nucleus cemetery, towards which the other tombs were oriented, much the way that G 1201 (Wepemnefret) and G 4000 (Hemiunu) seem to have functioned in a similar capacity for their respective nucleus cemeteries? Perhaps the major factor against an earlier construction date for G 2220 is the absence of the T-shaped portcullis groove in any burial shaft; however, the tomb lacks a primary shaft in the standard position – at its northern end – altogether.

More traditional evidence for dating the tombs takes the form of a graffito on the exterior east wall of the mastaba of Seshatsekhentiu (G 2120). Here the Harvard–MFA Expedition discovered a red-painted graffito with the date *rnpt-ḥsbt 12, 2 šmw...*, ‘year of the twelfth occurrence, second month of *shemu*’, on the face of the large casing block just north of the chapel’s monolithic false door.<sup>36</sup> Assuming the biennial cattle count was still in effect in the early Fourth Dynasty, this would indicate year 23 of Khufu. A second graffito comes from the tomb of Khentka (G 2130), on a casing block from west side of the mastaba: *rnpt-ḥsbt 4(?)*, coupled with a fragmentary seal of Khufu found in the burial chamber.<sup>37</sup>

Stylistically, the tasks ahead consist of comparing architectural forms, scene content, and relief sculpture. For example, much has been made of the flat, ‘planed’ nose and individualistic features on Nefer’s reserve head and the similarly eccentric nose on his chapel’s northern entrance jamb figure (MFA 07.1002).<sup>38</sup> In other words, a peculiarity in three-dimensional sculpture seems to be mirrored in two-dimensional relief. However, perusal of the other preserved faces of Nefer reveals few if any unusual facial features whatsoever.<sup>39</sup> Whether this represents an example of multiple artistic hands, an isolated attempt at portraiture, or sheer coincidence, remains to be decided.<sup>40</sup>

As far as relief style is concerned, the earlier mastabas, exemplified by the slab stela of Seshatsekhentiu (G 2120) and the fragmentary remains of the chapel of Khentka (G 2130), clearly reflect the extremely low, subtly modeled, raised relief typical of Khufu’s most accomplished craftsmen. The higher, bolder relief style of the chapels of Nefer (G 2110), the anonymous G 2220, Merib (G 2100-I), and Kanefer (G 2150), clearly follow a new and different idiom. Sunk relief is rare in Cemetery G 2100, and Nensedjerkai (G 2100-II) is the only tomb owner to incorporate sunk relief into major portions or her decorative scheme. The rest of the sunk relief examples consist of fragments, miscellaneous architraves and false doors, offering tables and basins.

### III. The relationship between major and minor mastabas

One of the most interesting questions raised by the diachronic development at Giza is the relationship between the major mastabas and the smaller tombs that later choked the streets and avenues long after Khufu’s death (*pl. IX, 15*). What factors played a role in how these subsidiary burials were organized? Was there a logic to

<sup>36</sup> Manuelian, *Slab Stelae of the Giza Necropolis*, 82, figs. 115–116; Reisner, *Giza 1*, 427; W.S. Smith, ‘Inscriptional Evidence for the History of the Fourth Dynasty’, *JNES* 11 (1952): 118, fig. 6, and 127 [3]. For more recent remarks, cf. A. Spalinger, ‘Dated Texts of the Old Kingdom’, *SAK* 21 (1994): 285, no. 9.

<sup>37</sup> Reisner, *Giza I*, 432, fig. 249 (32–12–6); Smith, *JNES* 11 (1952): 118, fig. 6, and 127 [4]; Spalinger, *SAK* 21 (1994): 283–84, no. 1; Baud, *Famille et pouvoir* 2, 557 [192].

<sup>38</sup> Smith, *Sculpture*, 163, pl. 48d–e; *idem*, *Ancient Egypt, Boston*, 36–37, figs. 14–15.

<sup>39</sup> Compare Reisner, *Giza I*, pls. 30a, 31c, 32a, 33a, Ziegler, *Stèles, peintures et reliefs égyptiennes*, 168–68; H. G. Fischer, *Egyptian Studies I. Varia* (New York, 1976), 32, fig. 8.

<sup>40</sup> For recent remarks by C. H. Roehrig, N. B. Millet on the reserve heads in general see in *Egyptian Art in the Age of the Pyramids*, 73–81, and 233–234.

the geography, a relationship between major and minor mastaba (Family members? Cult servants?), or do the later Old Kingdom tombs merely represent a scramble for available space, managed, or even mismanaged, by the necropolis administration? Were the funerary cults of the major Khufu-era officials still functioning, or was the placement of subsidiary tombs organized so as to intrude only on cults that were no longer in service?

Unfortunately, many of the subsidiary tombs in both the Eastern and Western Cemeteries have left little behind to help us answer these questions. While the skeletal remains are generally more complete than they are in the case of the plundered major mastabas, there are rarely inscriptions to aid in determining genealogies or other relationships. Cemetery 2100 does, however, provide a few enlightening exceptions to this rule. The tomb of Nefer (G 2110) was one of the earliest mastaba cores in the cemetery, although the secondarily added exterior stone chapel most likely dates to the reign of Khafra.<sup>41</sup> On the northern entrance jamb of the chapel, the last of the four scribes presenting his accounts before the standing figure of the tomb-owner is named Senenuka. Presumably this same individual was buried in a minor mastaba just to the southwest of Nefer's tomb, that is, immediately west of G 2100. Senenuka's unfinished interior chapel bears decoration solely on the west wall, which is now in the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston (MFA 01.1000, 01.1003, 01.1004).<sup>42</sup> There he is identified as the *jmy-r 3ht Hwfw*, 'overseer of the pyramid town of Khufu', along with several other titles.<sup>43</sup>

Another relationship between major and minor mastaba owners is found in the tomb of Kanefer (G 2150). Immediately to the north of his mastaba is a minor tomb with two inscribed false doors set into the eastern exterior wall. Both doors name the *jmy-r hm-k3 Ptahwer* (*pl. IX, 14*), an overseer of *k3* priests who also appears several times in Kanefer's tomb: twice on the exterior façade, south of the tomb's entrance,<sup>44</sup> and twice more inside the interior chapel, where he presents various produce to the tomb owner and his son on the west wall (*pl. IX, 15*).<sup>45</sup> In fact, this same son of Kanefer, whose name is Kasewedja, is the owner of the large mastaba G 5340 (= Lepsius 37) in the Cemetery en Echelon, further to the east.<sup>46</sup> It is interesting to note that apparently no room was left in Cemetery 2100 for another major family cluster, such as we have in the tombs of Merib (G 2100-I), his mother Sedit (G 2100), and his daughter Nensedjerkai (G 2100-II = G 2101). This is perhaps all the more striking when one considers that at least mastaba G 2160, in the row of tombs immediately east of Kanefer's tomb G 2150, was apparently never finished or used. Still, Kasewedja's timing or resources were such that he chose – or was compelled – to take the large superstructure quite some distance away from the tomb of his father. By contrast, a much more modest structure built by Kaninisut II (G 2156) allowed him to connect his tomb directly to that of his father, Kaninisut I, the owner of G 2155. A portion of the elder Kaninisut's eastern exterior wall was enclosed by a small mastaba to become the western interior chapel wall, with a polychrome menu list flanked by two false doors.<sup>47</sup>

#### IV. Use, reuse, and abuse of mastabas

As carefully laid out as Cemetery G 2100 may initially have been by Khufu and his architects, it never reached the point of completion. Mastaba cores were

<sup>41</sup> Manuelian, *Slab Stelae of the Giza Necropolis*, 91, 138, 161–162.

<sup>42</sup> MFA 01.1000, 01.1003, 01.1004; cf. Smith, *Sculpture*, pl. 45b.

<sup>43</sup> It might be noted there the slight difference in the respective spellings of Senenuka's name, once with a basket with handle *k* (V31) and once with the raised arms *k3* (D28).

<sup>44</sup> Reisner, *Giza I*, fig. 264.

<sup>45</sup> *Ibid.*, fig. 257.

<sup>46</sup> For the tomb of Kasewedja, see Junker, *Giza VII*, 158–84. The tomb is generally dated to the middle of Dynasty 5; Cf. PM III<sup>2</sup>, 159; K. Baer, *Rank and Title in the Old Kingdom. The Structure of the Egyptian Administration in the Fifth and Sixth Dynasties* (Chicago, 1960), 149.

<sup>47</sup> Junker, *Giza III*, 145–156.

erected and most were later assigned to specific individuals, but several were left unfinished or perhaps never used.<sup>48</sup> In the interior chapel of uncased mastaba G 2140, for example, the only decorated and inscribed surface is the false door architrave, bearing a *htp dj nswt* formula that ends abruptly before the tomb owner's name could be carved.<sup>49</sup> Likewise, the chapel of G 2220, mentioned above, contains merely roughed out standing figures of the deceased and his wife(?) and son(?) on the east wall, devoid of interior detail, facial features, or even a single hieroglyph.<sup>50</sup> This is all the more striking, as the architectural craftsmanship evident in the sharp lines and corners of the chapel's two pristine, uninscribed false doors is of the highest quality. Two of the easternmost tombs, G 2160 and G 2170, seem to contain either no chapel whatsoever, or chapels that were obscured and destroyed by later construction. As noted above, Senenuka (G 2041), who appears in the tomb of Nefer (G 2110), constructed his small mastaba southwest of that of his master. But here too, the chapel decoration remains unfinished; only the west wall bears decoration; one of the two false doors remains blank, and several figures and hieroglyphs are simply outlined in paint or crudely roughed out in raised relief.<sup>51</sup> Finally, even unfinished, individual objects have found their way into Cemetery G 2100, such as the incomplete false door tablet and architrave of one Tjenti, found reused as a shaft's roofing block over the subsidiary tomb G 2113, abutting the south end of G 2110.<sup>52</sup>

The debate will likely continue as to which of the three early nucleus cemeteries (G 1200, G 2100, or G 4000) might be the earliest in the Western Cemetery, if indeed Khufu did not commence construction of all the mastaba cores simultaneously. Of great value in this regard would be the creation of matrix approach to analyze contiguities between the mastabas and establish archaeological patterns of development. One small example is the minor tomb of Seniwehem (G 2132), which by virtue of its proximity to Kanefer's mastaba G 2150, a tomb that in turn contains a cartouche of Menkaura,<sup>53</sup> cannot date to as early as the reigns of Khufu or Djedefra.<sup>54</sup> Such a vast area as that inhabited by Cemetery G 2100 may well never be cleared as thoroughly as it was in Reisner's day, but perhaps remote sensing will enhance future efforts. If the relative chronology of one nucleus cemetery can be ascertained, reconstructing the development of the Western Cemetery as a whole will become that much more possible.

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<sup>48</sup> Additional remarks on the various stages of usage of Fourth Dynasty mastaba construction and usage may be found in P. Jánosi, *Giza in der vierten Dynastie. Die Baugeschichte und Belegung einer Nekropole des Alten Reiches Band I: Die Mastabas der Kernfriedhöfe und die Felsgräber*, DÖAW 30 (2005).

<sup>49</sup> Reisner, *Giza I*, pl. 38b. Could this represent another example of prefabrication? Cf. Manuelian, 'A Case of Prefabrication at Giza? The False Door of Inti', *JARCE* 35 (1998): 115–27.

<sup>50</sup> Reisner, *Giza I*, pl. 41a–b.

<sup>51</sup> Smith, *Sculpture*, pl. 45b.

<sup>52</sup> Cf. P. Der Manuelian, 'Unfinished Business: The Giza Tablet of Tjenti (JE 72135)', in M. Eldamaty, M. Trad, eds., *Egyptian Museum Collections around the World. Studies for the Centennial of the Egyptian Museum, Cairo* (Cairo, 2002), 777–790.

<sup>53</sup> Reisner, *Giza I*, fig. 260.

<sup>54</sup> Cherpion, *Mastabas et Hypogées d'Ancien Empire*, 122–23. For a statistical approach to dating criteria, see S. Seidlmayer, 'Stil und Statistik. Die Datierung dekoriertes Gräber des Alten Reiches – ein Problem der Methode', in *Internationale Archäologie* 23 (1997), *Archäologie und Korrespondenzanalyse. Beispiele, Fragen, Perspektiven*, 17–51.

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12 Morning view of the Western Cemetery during excavation, looking northwest, with tombs of Cemetery G 2100 indicated, from the Khufu Pyramid; June, 1912 (photograph by Badawi Ahmed. Courtesy Museum of Fine Arts, Boston [A765])



13 G 2100 A (Sedit): primary burial shaft with T-shaped portcullis groove, looking north; 1906 (photograph by Albert M. Lythgoe. Courtesy Museum of Fine Arts, Boston [B671=B7427])



14 Cemetery G 2100, looking southwest to Khafra Pyramid; relationships between major and minor mastabas, such as G 2150 (Kanefer, background) and Ptahwer (G 2151; two small false doors in center of photograph) (May 12, 1938; photograph by Mohammedani Ibrahim. Courtesy Museum of Fine Arts, Boston [A8026])



15 G 2150 (Kanefer): chapel, detail of west wall, between the two false doors, looking southwest; May 27, 1938 (photograph by Dahi Ahmed. Courtesy Museum of Fine Arts, Boston [A8029])

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