

# Introduction

THE GREAT WESTERN CEMETERY (GWC) at Giza lies west of the Pyramid of Cheops and north of the Pyramid of Chephren on a low rock terrace partially covered by wind-blown sand (fig. 1, pl. 65).<sup>1</sup> Begun early in the reign of Cheops as a burial place for lesser nobility and members of his court, it grew in fairly regular fashion with mastabas lying in orderly arrangement along "streets" running from north to south and "avenues" from east to west. The cemetery continued to be used until the end of the Old Kingdom some four hundred years later and, as space became less readily available, this regular plan was ignored and later tombs and mastabas were constructed wherever openings could be found. The result of this development was a complex arrangement of mortuary structures consisting of an early group of eighty-nine regularly spaced mastabas forming four "nucleus cemeteries," and a later mixture of several hundred structures ranging from the smallest and most unimpressive shaft graves to stone buildings of considerable size. The number, size, and quality of these mastabas, their importance to a study of the Fourth and Fifth Dynasties, and the likelihood that they contained attractive objects and well-decorated wall surfaces, made them, in the eyes of Egyptologists at the beginning of this century, highly desirable subjects for excavation.

In November 1902, representatives of the Turin Museum, the Sieglin Expedition of the University of Leipzig, and the Hearst Egyptian Expedition of the University of California, each of which had been granted permits by the Egyptian government to excavate at Giza, met at Mena House to determine what areas of the necropolis should be assigned to each group. With most of the Giza Plateau there was little problem, and a division of the site amongst the missions was made easily. But, in Reisner's words, "the chief area in which all were interested was the Great Western Cemetery," and M. Maspero, Director-General of the Antiquities Department, had instructed the three groups to find some way to divide the GWC "amicably."<sup>2</sup>

Randomly drawing lots (Mrs. Reisner drew slips of paper from a hat), the Italian group, under Professor Schiaparelli, was given rights to the southern third of the cemetery; the German group under Professor Steindorff was given the middle third; and the Americans, under Professor Reisner, received the northern. Three years later, in 1905, the Italians were obliged for financial and administrative reasons to relinquish their concession, and, with the

agreement of the department, this area, too, was assigned to the Americans.<sup>3</sup>

Prior to his acquisition of the Italian concession, Reisner had begun excavations in the northern third of the cemetery in 1903–04, clearing west of mastaba G 2000, an area he used as a test to determine the course of future work at the site. (Shortly after this work had begun, the sponsorship of Reisner's project was transferred from the University of California and the Hearst family to the Boston Museum of Fine Arts and Harvard University.)<sup>4</sup>

After a delay of several years, owing to pressures of work in other areas, Reisner returned to the northern section in 1911 and continued there for two further seasons. In 1913, he shifted his attention to the southern third of the GWC (the former Italian concession), and spent there three seasons clearing first its western, then its eastern end. He returned there in 1925 (working from November 18 to December 28) and cleared an area even farther to the west, beyond the original Italian concession, in an unassigned section of the GWC, which he designated Cemetery G 6000, and which is the subject of this report (fig. 2). This was the last full season of work Reisner conducted in the GWC. The next fifteen years saw his staff transferred to other parts of the Necropolis, and only occasional sondages were made in the GWC after that, to clarify points for the architect or to facilitate the work of the expedition photographer. After eight seasons of work in the GWC and, in all, nearly twenty seasons at Giza, the outbreak of the Second World War brought the Harvard-Boston Expedition to an end in 1939. Three years later, in 1942, Reisner died.

## 2.

From the beginning of his work at Giza, but particularly after 1924, Reisner had begun assembling the enormous amount of material from his excavations for publication. He and members of his staff had regularly kept a daily field diary; in later years, the Egyptian workmen whom he had trained kept records (in Arabic) of their own work; a register of objects was maintained; and hundreds of photographs of objects, architectural features, and decorated walls were taken. These records were to be the basis of Reisner's final publication. Preliminary reports on the excavations appeared regularly in the *Bulletin of the Museum*

3. The publications of these various expeditions are outlined in Reisner, *Giza Necropolis I*, and most are noted in our bibliography. See especially: Junker, *Giza*; Hassan, *Giza*; S. Curto, *Gli Scavi Italiani a el-Ghiza, 1903* (Rome, 1963); F. Ballerini, *Notizia degli Scavi della Missione Archeologica Italiana in Egitto, Anno 1903* (Rome, 1903).

4. In 1911, the German concession was transferred to the Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften and the Pelizaeus Museum of Hildesheim, and was directed by Hermann Junker.

1. A brief description of the area may be found in Reisner, *Giza Necropolis I*, 10ff, where he calls the GWC the "Western Field." See also Porter-Moss III, 9ff.

2. Reisner, *Giza Necropolis I*, 23.

of *Fine Arts*.<sup>5</sup> The first volume of the Giza expedition's final report was Reisner's *Development of the Egyptian Tomb Down to the Accession of Cheops*, published in 1936.<sup>6</sup> That work had begun as an introductory chapter to his expedition report, but grew well beyond that. In it, Reisner sought to trace the history of Egyptian mortuary architecture prior to that found at Giza. The study was to serve as a background for the expedition reports to follow. At the time, Reisner anticipated that those reports would appear in two volumes, one on the history of the Giza Necropolis, one detailing the construction and decoration of its mastabas.<sup>7</sup>

In 1942, *A History of the Giza Necropolis* volume I, appeared, but it reflected a change in the organization of the publications. The volume dealt at length with the techniques and types of construction found in the eighty-nine mastabas comprising the nucleus cemeteries, gave a brief history of previous work at Giza, and described in outline fashion the types of decoration found in some of the mortuary structures.<sup>8</sup> A series of appendices described in greater detail the mastabas of cemeteries 1200, 2100, and 4000. Thus, this work of some five hundred pages concentrated on the construction details of many (but by no means all) of the Giza mastabas dug by Harvard-Boston, including some of those in the original concession (the northern third of the GWC), but it paid virtually no attention to such significant non-architectural features as tomb decoration and contents.<sup>9</sup>

Reisner stated in *Giza Necropolis I* that at least three further volumes in the series were planned, and that they would treat these other subjects. Volume II would deal with the funerary equipment found in the tombs; volume III with the chronology of the GWC and with the histories of the families buried there; volume IV with tombs and mastabas not described in volume I. In each volume, a series of appendices would describe in detail the individual structures. None of these later volumes appeared, of course, although much of the statuary and several of the relief scenes from the Necropolis were described by

5. Regular reports of Reisner's work appeared in the *BMFA* 5 (1907), 20–21; 9 (1911), 13–20; 11 (1913), 53–65; 13 (1915), 29–36; 23 (1925), 12–14, 25–29; 25 (1927), supplement, 1–36; 25 (1927), 54, 64–79; 26 (1928), 76–88; 27 (1929), 83–90; 30 (1932), 56–60; 32 (1934), 2–12; 33 (1935), 69–77; 34 (1936), 96–99; 37 (1939), 29–35, 42–46. There are also interesting, and less formal, comments on the project in John A. Wilson's *Signs and Wonders Upon Pharaoh* (Chicago, 1964), Chapter 8.

6. In addition to Reisner's brief history of the Giza Necropolis in *Giza Necropolis I*, see the comments in Dows Dunham, *The Egyptian Department and its Excavations* (Boston, 1958) and his *Recollections of an Egyptologist* (Boston, 1972).

7. One also should note several other articles dealing with the Giza expedition that appeared in journals other than the *BMFA*: William Stevenson Smith, "The Coffin of Prince Min-khaf," *JEA* 19 (1933), 150–59; idem, "The Old Kingdom Linen List," *ZÄS* 71 (1935), 134–49; George A. Reisner, "The History of the Egyptian Mastaba," *Mélanges Maspero* in *MIFAO* 66, 2 (1935–38), 579–84; Dows Dunham, "Biographical Inscriptions of Nekhebu in Boston and Cairo," *JEA* 24 (1938), 1–8; William Kelly Simpson, "An Additional Dog's Name from a Giza Mastaba," *JEA* 63 (1977), 175; idem, "The Pennsylvania-Yale Giza Project," *Expedition* 21 (1979), 60–63; idem, "Topographical Notes on Giza Mastabas," in *Festschrift Elmar Edel* (Bamberg, 1979), 115–21; Edward J. Brovarski, "The Senedjemib Complex at Giza: An Interim Report," *L'Égyptologie en 1979* 2 (1982), 115–21.

8. In chapter V, Reisner discussed a classification of mastaba cores; in chapter VI the types of burial shafts; in chapter VII the design of tomb-chapels; and in chapter VIII the decoration of the chapels.

9. The relief scenes in the mastaba of Iymery were very briefly outlined in Reisner, *Giza Necropolis I*, 363–65.

Reisner's assistant, William Stevenson Smith, in his *History of Egyptian Sculpture and Painting in the Old Kingdom*.

Following Reisner's death, Smith had planned to undertake the publication of the Giza material. But numerous and heavy commitments made this impossible, and his untimely death in 1969 saw little additional material in print. Recently, however, the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston (MFA), under the direction of Professor William Kelly Simpson, has undertaken an ambitious and long-range plan to publish Reisner's Giza materials, together with complete drawings and photographs of the decorated mastabas. So far, four volumes have appeared, and several others are in preparation. They are the companion volumes to the present study, and collectively form the Giza Mastabas series.<sup>10</sup>

Shortly before his death, Smith and I met in Boston. I had expressed interest in publishing some of Reisner's materials, and Smith was aware of my interest in making available scenes from the Giza Necropolis of daily life and materials relevant to the study of Old Kingdom Egyptian society. He was aware of the special relevance the complex of mastabas in Reisner's Cemetery G 6000 had for these subjects, and felt strongly that their great interest and fragile condition made them primary candidates for such a publication project, a conclusion with which I fully concurred.

Smith and I spent more than a week in the Museum of Fine Arts, going over Reisner's collections of notes and photos, and he turned over to me a complete set of that Cemetery G 6000 material. A visit to the GWC the following year, and a study of Reisner's notebooks (none of them at that point in any organized form), made it obvious that a reclearing of the cemetery would be needed in order to complete the architectural drawings of the mastabas in the G 6000 complex. Further, the drawings of the relief decoration in *LD* (the only drawings of the decoration in G 6000 that were at all reliable), were neither complete nor, in many instances, correct. The mastaba of Shepsekafankh (G 6040) had not been copied at all; and *LD* sometimes ignored entire walls in each of the other principal structures. The notes on the tomb paintings made by Reisner and Smith also were cursory. For example, they had made almost no drawings at all of the wall decoration, and only a few observations—scattered handwritten comments on representational peculiarities in a few of the major scenes—had been made by Smith. (The absence of more detailed drawings and commentary may be explained by Smith's belief that, of all the parts of the GWC, Cemetery G 6000 was deserving of a major epigraphic commitment more ambitious than his museum duties would allow.)<sup>11</sup> Clearly, an extensive project of epigraphic recording was needed if the G 6000 mastabas were to be properly published. Each one of the decorated walls in the four major

10. Dows Dunham and William Kelly Simpson, *Giza Mastabas 1: The Mastaba of Queen Mersyankh III, G 7530–7540* (Boston, 1974); William Kelly Simpson, *Giza Mastabas 2: The Mastabas of Qar and Idu, G 7101–7102* (Boston, 1976); idem, *Giza Mastabas 3: The Mastabas of Kawab, Khafkhufu I and II, G 7110–20, 7130–40 and 7150 and Subsidiary Mastabas of Street 7100* (Boston, 1978); idem, *Giza Mastabas 4: The Mastabas of the Western Cemetery Part I: G 1029, 2001, 2196, 2197, 2351–53, 2337X, 2343 and 2366* (Boston, 1980). The volumes in preparation include tombs from cemeteries G 6000, G 2100, G 2000, G 2300, and G 4000 and G 5000.

11. William Stevenson Smith, unpublished notes, Museum of Fine Arts, Boston.

mastabas was in need of a new and detailed examination, and this would require a full-scale expedition.

### 3.

It was not until 1971, when I was on the faculty of the American University in Cairo, that such a major undertaking became possible. In summer that year, and again in 1972, grants from the Smithsonian Institution, awarded to the American University in Cairo through the American Research Center in Egypt, allowed us to spend three-month-long seasons clearing the G 6000 mastabas and recording their contents. Over the next several years, however, pressures of other work, and the difficulty of safely carting huge rolls of drawings around the world as I divided my time between Luxor, Cairo, and the United States, made it impossible to publish the results of this fieldwork as rapidly as I (and many others) would have liked. Now, over two decades later, the embarrassingly long delay is ended, and Cemetery G 6000 is in press.

Like Reisner, I, too, had intended that this publication would be both a detailed record of the architecture, decoration, and archaeology of an Old Kingdom site, and an extensive discussion of the cultural and social milieu in which it had been constructed. Like Reisner, I, too, had of necessity to alter those ambitious first plans. This volume, therefore, constitutes a descriptive, rather than an interpretive, record of a project that ultimately was begun over eighty years ago. It aims to record—as completely as original field notes, reexcavation, and epigraphic study permit—the largest and most extensively decorated group of mastaba tombs in the Giza Necropolis. During these eight decades, G 6000 was dug or redug on two (in a few places three) separate occasions, by Reisner's crew and by ours, and consequently the records of those excavations have been made by a score of different individuals. The time that has been required to collate this material and to insure its completeness and internal consistency, has made impossible the addition of the lengthy interpretive essay I had hoped for.

The description offered here of the mastabas and their contents is complete, I believe, except in one important regard. It was decided that here, as in the Giza Mastabas series generally, we would avoid discussion of colors and color conventions in the mastaba decoration. That subject requires a much more intensive technical analysis than we could have given it without extensive field collection and laboratory testing. We hope that, at some future time, it will be the subject of a separate volume dealing in comparative fashion with the color conventions of the Necropolis as a whole.

### 4.

Cemetery G 6000 lies in the southwesternmost section of the GWC, an area slightly more elevated than the areas to its east. In consequence of this position, blowing sand was not as severe a problem as it was in lower levels of the plateau, and at least parts of the mastabas here were visible to travellers even before the cemetery was cleared by Reisner. Graffiti on many of the upper sections of the mastaba walls indicate that the structures were visited frequently during the nineteenth century, and there are frequent references in the writings of early travellers to the

relief decoration the tombs contained. This was especially true of G 6020, the mastaba of Iymery, which was one of the best-decorated of any of the Old Kingdom mastabas accessible to early travellers, and which never ceased to impress them. Its numerous scenes of craftsmen at work prompted Vyse and others after him to refer to the mastaba as the "Tomb of the Trades," a phrase by which it was known in several early publications. Many of the notebooks and publications of these early visitors are referred to in Porter-Moss;<sup>12</sup> they include Burton (who visited the site several times during the years 1820–39), Wilkinson (1821–55), Nestor l'Hôte (1828–29, 1838–39), Sharpe (1837–55), Rosellini (1834), Vyse (1836–38), Champollion (1844), Mariette (1850–80), Devéria (1858–66), and de Rougé (1877). It is the work of Lepsius, *LD* (1842–43), however, which most thoroughly and conscientiously recorded the decoration in the G 6000 mastabas; and, although his drawings are not complete and not always correct, they still remain a major source of information for walls that have suffered from deterioration and vandalism during the last century.

The reclearing of the G 6000 cemetery that we conducted in 1972 and 1973 was intended to permit a reexamination of the plans of the mastabas. The original drawings of the structures, made by Reisner's architect Alex Floroff, failed to show the individual stones of the superstructures, something we felt important to confirm the architectural history of the complex outlined by Reisner. In addition, the clearing allowed us to strengthen several badly damaged lintel blocks in the superstructures, to add protective steel grills to ceiling openings and steel doors to the mastaba entrances, and to install electric lamps in all of the roofed interior chambers. One of our ultimate goals was to leave the mastabas in a condition that would permit them to be visited by tourists without jeopardizing the safety of the reliefs. In 1987, G 6010 and G 6020 became the first tombs on the Giza Plateau to be so opened.

Our principal activity, however, was to prepare drawings of the decorated wall surfaces in each of the four major mastabas, G 6010, G 6020, G 6030, and G 6040. The technique we used was a simple and familiar one: tracings were made, full-size, on sheets of a stable-based plastic drafting film by one of our artists, checked for accuracy by an Egyptologist, corrected by the artist, and checked again. Later, in the studio, these tracings were inked on normal drafting paper following standard conventions of line weight to indicate raised and sunk relief or paint, joined where necessary to provide a single plate of a scene or wall, and photographically reduced to a common scale for publication. Where necessary, the surfaces were brushed by our conservator before the drawing was done.

**Drawing scales:** The scale at which the drawings are published here is consistent for each tomb: the drawings of reliefs in Shepseskafankh and Ity are 25 percent of original size (i.e., at a scale of 1:4); those of Iymery are 18 percent of original size (1:5.55); and those of Neferbauptah are 15 percent (1:6.66).

12. Porter-Moss III, 9ff.

## 5.

The stone from which the mastabas in Cemetery G 6000 were constructed was quarried locally; it is the nummulitic limestone for which the Giza plateau is well known. Large numbers of marine fossils may be seen in the stones of the mastabas, including (in the north exterior wall of G 6020) a well-preserved tail section of the rare fossil whale "*Zeuglodon*" *brachyspondylus*, about eighty centimeters long.<sup>13</sup>

The presence of these fossils often posed a problem for the artisans who decorated the walls of the mastabas, and frequently it was necessary for them to apply buff-colored plaster to a wall surface before carving.

The process of decorating each of the principal G 6000 mastabas in general followed the same order. First, the cut blocks were slid into place using a buff (occasionally light pink) plaster rich in calcium carbonate. This plaster was used as a lubricant to facilitate positioning the stone; in no case was it thickly enough applied to be called mortar or to have served as a binding agent. The blocks were then dressed using copper tools and some type of abrasive. The marks left by this process of smoothing may still be seen on the interior walls of G 6040. In many instances, fossils and imperfections still remained on the stone's surface, and these were covered by applying a layer of the same buff-colored plaster that had been used in the initial stages of construction. Usually, this plaster was less than a millimetre thick; but in those small areas where imperfections were pronounced, it could be fifteen millimetres or more. (The walls of chamber 3 of Neferbauptah, constructed of exceptionally fine stone, lack this plaster altogether. The walls in Iymery's tomb, on the other hand, often show a heavy application.)

After the plaster had dried, red-ink drawings of the subjects to be carved were laid out on the wall and then frequently corrected or modified in black ink. (The grid lines that may occasionally still be seen on tomb walls, particularly those in the first chambers of Iymery, G 6020, are of later date, and were probably drawn by nineteenth century copyists seeking to make drawings of selected figures for their travel diaries.) The wall was now ready to be carved. First, the ink lines were incised with a sharp V-shaped tool that cut a groove about two millimetres wide at its top. (The east wall of Shepseskafankh, chamber 1, did not have any ink lines, and the carver seems to have drawn the figures directly with such an awl.) Next, the background was reduced with a scoop-like tool that cut away strips about four millimetres wide. The background was then polished with abrasives to produce a uniform surface. The relief figures, which now stood 1 to 1.5 millimetres above the background, were then detailed internally and their edges slightly rounded with abrasives. A thin gypsum plaster wash was then applied to the surface and the painting of the figures executed. This plaster varied from tomb to tomb: the CaSo<sub>4</sub>2H<sub>2</sub>O content, for example, measured an average of 63 percent in Neferbauptah, 72 percent in Iymery, and 42 percent in Ity. The quality of the cutting and painting varied from tomb to tomb, that in Iymery often being the most hastily and carelessly done, that in Neferbauptah, although variable, often being the best.

13. I am indebted to Professor Phillip Gingrich of the University of Michigan for this identification.

As a part of our work clearing and recording the G 6000 complex, we undertook to clean the decorated wall surfaces before photographing or drawing them. Many of the wall surfaces, particularly those in G 6020 (Iymery), had been seriously damaged by exposure to the elements and by tourists during the last century or so, and large numbers of graffiti had been written or carved on walls (again particularly in G 6020) since the tomb had been cleared by Reisner some eighty years ago. Bat guano and urine had caused considerable damage to the upper parts of several walls, particularly the western wall of chamber 2 in G 6020. Our cleaning was not intended to remove these traces of recent damage (indeed, much of it could not have been removed), but the walls were cleaned with a very dilute solution of HCl after brushing, and then impregnated with a thin coating of polyvinyl acetate. In 1969, the Egyptian Antiquities Department had filled many of the cracks and breaks in the walls of G 6020 with cement. Our conservators thought it inadvisable to remove and replace this material, and instead we coated it with a solution of soluble nylon in hopes of temporarily reducing its friability. In addition, we installed electric wiring in G 6020, running a wire along the floor and placing electrical outlets at appropriate intervals. The wire was covered with a thin layer of cement. Steel doors were added to the entrances of G 6010, G 6020, and G 6040; wire mesh screens were installed over all exterior openings to prevent bats from further infesting the tombs; and a steel bar was attached to the lintel block over the entrance to the courtyard of G 6010 (Neferbauptah) in which several cracks had appeared.

## 6.

George Reisner included several brief references to the G 6000 complex in *Giza Necropolis I*, and it also was briefly mentioned by William Stevenson Smith in *HESPOK*. The fullest discussion of the complex, however, appeared in the *BMFA* nearly fifteen years after it had been excavated. The article is a fine example of Reisner's easy writing style and of his ability to reconstruct ancient lives from minimal evidence. It remains a very useful study, and is reproduced here in full.

*A Family of Royal Estate Stewards of Dynasty V*  
Reisner's Discussion of  
the History of Cemetery G 6000 in the  
*Bulletin of the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston*  
Volume xxxvii (1939), 29–35

The ancient Egyptians believed that life after death went on like life on earth, but in a spirit form unseen by human eyes. When a *ka* entered the Westland, the domain of the dead, it was joined by other *kas* related to it, and in company they wandered in the happy land as glorified souls provided with all things necessary to their life after death. As the members of a family had lived together on earth, their tombs were built close to one another in order that their *kas* might be brought together in the life after death. One of the clearly marked family cemeteries in the Giza necropolis is that numbered G 6000. This cemetery is based on a complex of four large mastabas in which were buried Shepseskafankh and his descendants, who served the royal family of Dynasty V for a hundred years.

The four large mastabas were begun as simple rectangular blocks of masonry, but each was increased in size by additions containing exterior chapels. The nucleus block of G 6040 (Shepseskafankh) was built first. Then south of G 6040 was built the nucleus of G 6020 (his son Iymery) and east of G 6020 was built the nucleus mastaba of G 6030 (his son-in-law Iti). The first addition was built east of G 6040, then followed the addition which included G 6020 and G 6030 in one complex. Later the nucleus

block of G 6010 (Ptah-nefer-bauw) was built and its exterior chapel immediately constructed. The importance of the persons buried in these tombs is proved by the size of the mastabas. At Giza a mastaba of over 100 sq. m. in area is counted as a large one. The finished mastabas of the Shepseskaf-ankh complex range from 148 to 346 sq. m. in area.

The first member of the family who is known to us is Shepseskaf-ankh, the founder. Judging by his name he was probably born in the reign of Shepseskaf, last king of Dynasty IV. His boyhood passed during the reign of Weserkaf, the first king of Dynasty V. There are no extant details of his boyhood, but it was certainly in the reign of Sahura that he developed the qualities and the knowledge which prepared him for his success as an administrator of landed estates.

When Neferirkara, third king of Dynasty V, came to the throne, Shepseskaf-ankh was between twenty and twenty-five years of age. In this reign Shepseskaf-ankh appears to have attained the position of an estate steward of a son of the king. I would identify this prince with the younger son of Neferirkara, who later came to the throne as Neweserra, sixth king of Dynasty V. It was in his service that the chief members of the family lived their lives on earth. The favor of Neweserra as prince and as king brought the fortunes of the family of Shepseskaf-ankh to its climax. This favor was based on the efficiency of Shepseskaf-ankh and the training he had given his eldest son, Iymery.

Shepseskaf-ankh built his tomb at the Giza pyramids. His master Neferirkara had married a princess descended from the royal family of Dynasty IV and she probably had inherited estates in the fields east of the pyramids. The fact that Shepseskaf-ankh elected to be buried at Giza indicates that the estates he administered were near that necropolis. As early as the reign of Neferirkara the areas of the Western Field had been occupied, leaving little space for large mastabas or complexes of large mastabas. Shepseskaf-ankh selected a bare rock area along the western side of the old quarry called by me Schiaparelli's quarry. He selected the best site on this rock surface and built his nucleus mastaba in or soon after the reign of Neferirkara. The plan of his mastaba was changed at least twice. He converted his partly decorated interior offering room into a serdab and constructed an exterior offering room to which he added a vestibule and a spacious colonnaded court. He also prepared a ceremonial ramp leading up to the top of his mastaba designed for his burial procession. At the lower part of this ramp, at each end of the double parapet, he erected a round-topped stela inscribed "the over-steward Shepseskaf-ankh."<sup>14</sup> North of the mastaba he levelled a surface of large size and prepared an approach from the east, a mud-plastered pathway leading out from the old nucleus cemetery G 4000. All this was done while Shepseskaf-ankh still bore the title of "over-steward," that is to say probably before the accession of his prince as King Neweserra.

Neweserra came to the throne and Shepseskaf-ankh was promoted from an over-steward of a King's son to a palace steward of the King of Upper and Lower Egypt, as proved by his titles in

his son's chapel. Early in the reign of Neweserra the office passed to the eldest son of Shepseskaf-ankh, Iymery. By that time, the nucleus mastabas of Iymery and Iti had been built, and it was probably Iymery who built the additions to these two mastabas early in the reign of Neweserra. Shepseskaf-ankh lived on to nearly the end of the reign of Neweserra, when he was probably over seventy-five years old. He was certainly still alive when Iymery finished the decoration of his exterior chapel of three rooms in G 6020.

Iymery followed the career of his father as was customary in ancient Egypt when a man had made a success of his profession. The greater part of Iymery's life was spent in the service of a king of Upper and Lower Egypt. As a favorite of the king and a man having opportunities of speaking to the king, Iymery acquired other offices than his stewardship. He calls himself in his chapel, "scribe of the house of records" and the "priest of Cheops." He is also named a "kinsman of the king," a title probably inherited from his unknown mother. In the chapel of his son, Ptah-nefer-bauw, Iymery bears additional titles "priest of Sahura, priest of Neferirkara, priest of Neweserra." Perhaps these offices, practically sinecures, were conferred by Neweserra after Iymery had finished the decoration of his own chapel.

In the list of the estates of his endowment in his own chapel are names compounded with the names of Cheops, Shepseskaf, Sahura, and Neferirkara, together with Shepseskaf-ankh and Iymery himself. It is obvious that both Shepseskaf-ankh and Iymery had acquired land as private possessions. The royal estates probably came into Iymery's hands as gifts from the king, and I exclude the suggestion that they had come to him through any funerary priesthood, because he would have had only a life interest in such estates and could not include them in his own funerary endowment.

Iymery is proved to be the most prosperous man of the family by the size of his mastaba and the good reliefs decorating the three large rooms of his exterior chapel. He probably built the exterior chapel of his brother-in-law, Iti, in addition to his own decorated chapel, and his landed estates may have borne the cost of the construction of the mastaba and exterior chapel of his son, Ptah-nefer-bauw. Probably born in the reign of Sahura, Iymery was about twenty-eight years old at the accession of Neweserra and about forty-four years old when he finished the decoration of his chapel in the middle of the reign of Neweserra. He would have been sixty at the death of Neweserra, the master he had served all his life, and he may have survived that king. He probably died and was buried in G 6020 in the reign of Menkauwhor.

Closely associated with the tomb of Iymery is that of his brother-in-law, Iti, who had married Iymery's sister Wesert-ka. Iti is described in his own chapel as "director of music of the Pharaoh, delighting his lord with good singing in the palace." It may be concluded that Iymery and Iti were associated in the palace in the service of Neweserra. Iymery made a marriage between his friend Iti and his own sister. When Iti prepared for his life after death he elected to be buried beside his friend Iymery and the family of his wife. It is probable that Iymery bore part of the cost of G 6030, the tomb of Iti and Wesert-ka.

The chief person of the third generation of the family was Ptah-nefer-bauw, buried in G 6010. Ptah-nefer-bauw was the eldest of the six sons of Iymery and was trained in the service in which his father and grandfather had attained distinction. His chief service title was "palace steward." In the chapel of his father he appears as a young adult in four scenes and bears the titles "kinsman of the king" and "steward." In his own chapel his titles vary from scene to scene and from inscription to inscription, but together they include all the chief titles ascribed to his father, "steward of the palace," "priest of Cheops, Sahura, Neferirkara, and Neweserra." Probably the offices designated by funerary priesthoods of kings were inherited from his father Iymery. Ptah-nefer-bauw was a typical heir of a rich and influential family. He planned his own tomb with a chapel much larger than that of his father, and depended on his father's support in carrying out the plan. The interior offering room was fully decorated. The pillared hall in front was partly decorated. The decoration of the corridor to the north was designed but only partly carried out. Ptah-nefer-bauw was probably born before the accession of Neweserra and built his mastaba with its addition in the latter

14. [Reisner also discussed these stelae in "The Position of Early Grave Stelae" in *Studies Presented to Francis Llewellyn Griffith* (London, 1932), 328-29: "The earlier grave stelae with rounded tops are thin, flat stelae obviously of a different form from the thick stelae. The stelae of Shepseskaf-ankh are of this thin type. They were found in position adapted in form to the structure of which they were a part. The mastaba (G6040) was nearly perfectly preserved. The mouths of the burial shaft opened in the top of the very high stone mastaba. A sloping ramp led up from the north and turning east towards the south end of the west side gave a convenient access to the top of the mastaba. This ramp was used for the burial procession on the day of burial. The sides of the ramp were guarded by two low parapets (one on each side), and at the end of each parapet (at the entrance to the ramp) a small round-topped stela was set, conforming in shape to the section of the ramp and inscribed 'the steward, Shepseskaf-ankh.' Both inscriptions face to the right....The two stelae of Shepseskaf-ankh at the entrance to the ramp prepared for the funeral procession were also clearly marks of ownership and probably intended to give the name to be used in the recitations of the formulas used at the burial." In a footnote, Reisner further notes: "There was another slope leading up to the top of the mastaba G 7150 (Khufu-khaf II), but the inscription in this case was on the back of the mastaba above the beginning of the slope."

part of the reign of that king. The finishing of the decoration of his chapel was probably interrupted by the death of Iymery, not distant in time from the death of the king. He would have been thirty-nine at the end of the reign of Neweserra, forty-seven at the end of that of Menkauwhor, and undoubtedly lived in the reign of Isesty.

The last member of the family whom we have been able to trace is the palace steward Ptah-nefer-seshem, the eldest son of Ptah-nefer-bauw. In the chapel of his father he appears in three scenes and bears the titles "King's kinsman, Steward of the Palace." Obviously he followed the profession of a steward, but we have no trace of this man in any other tomb. I would identify the nucleus mastaba (G 6050) west of that of Ptah-nefer-bauw as the tomb of Ptah-nefer-seshem, but the exterior chapel of this mastaba was never constructed and no inscription was found. If G 6050 was the tomb of Ptah-nefer-seshem, it may be concluded that his condition was not prosperous and that the wealth accumulated by Iymery had decreased materially.

The burial shafts of the men of the family are easily identified. Shepseskaf-ankh, Iymery, Iti, and Ptah-nefer-bauw were each buried in the chief shaft in his own mastaba. Only in the mastabas of Shepseskaf-ankh and Iti were there any additional burial shafts. The subsidiary shaft in the tomb of Iti was undoubtedly the burial place of his wife, Wesert-ka. In the mastaba of Shepseskaf-ankh there were three original shafts in which were buried the founder of the family and probably his wife and a minor relation. In addition there were two large burial chambers intruded in the mastabas, and I identify these as belonging to Neka-Hathor, the wife of Iymery, and to Khenuwt, the wife of Ptah-nefer-bauw. Ptah-nefer-seshem was probably buried in the chief chamber of his mastaba (G 6050). The burial places of the other children of the leading men cannot be identified, but they may have been in some of the small mastabas around the nucleus complex.

The family founded by Shepseskaf-ankh consisted of four generations recorded in four or perhaps five mastabas. All the men of the family were estate stewards of Neweserra as a king's son or as a king. Their close association in life was emphasized by the way in which the persons of the family were associated in the funerary services of the chapels. I presume that in the great colonnaded court of Shepseskaf-ankh (G 6040) all the family and the servants of the *ka* assembled on each of the periodic feasts. These were the feast of Zehuwtyt, held on the opening of the year (the rising of Sothis), the feast called Wa'g, celebrated on the first day of the calendar year, the feast of the torches, the coming forth of the god Min, and other feasts including "every great feast," the beginnings of the seasons, the months, and the half-months. The two great feasts were those called Zehuwtyt and Wa'g. The chapel of Shepseskaf-ankh was sparsely inscribed, but in the great decorated chapel of Iymery the whole family was represented, down to Ptah-nefer-bauw.

On feast days, the chapels of the complex were frequented by all those concerned in the funerary service, the kinsmen, the servants of the *ka*, and those attached by blood or service to the head of the family at the time of the feast. One of the unusual features of the great chapels of the complex was that in the reliefs of Iymery the chief figure in four scenes was the father, Shepseskaf-ankh. The offering niche was inscribed in the name of the owner, Iymery, but in the main offering scene on the south wall of the offering room, the principal figure was Shepseskaf-ankh and Iymery was shown as first of the subordinate figures, while in six other scenes in the chapel Iymery appeared as the chief figure. Similarly Ptah-nefer-bauw, son of Iymery, gave his father the place of honor in the offering scene on the south wall of his own offering room. More significant, on the log lintel at the entrance to that room, the titles and name of Ptah-nefer-bauw were inscribed above those of Iymery. Iymery is the chief figure on the northern jamb of the same doorway, and on the east face of the northern pillar in the room surrounding that entrance. Ptah-nefer-bauw went a little further and had the figure of his grandfather, Shepseskaf-ankh, carved on the east face of the pillar south of the pillar bearing the figure of Iymery. The facts prove

the close association of the members of the family not only in life on earth but in the life after death. The old man Shepseskaf-ankh was certainly alive when Iymery finished his beautifully decorated chapel, and he may even have seen the construction of the exterior chapel of his grandson Ptah-nefer-bauw.

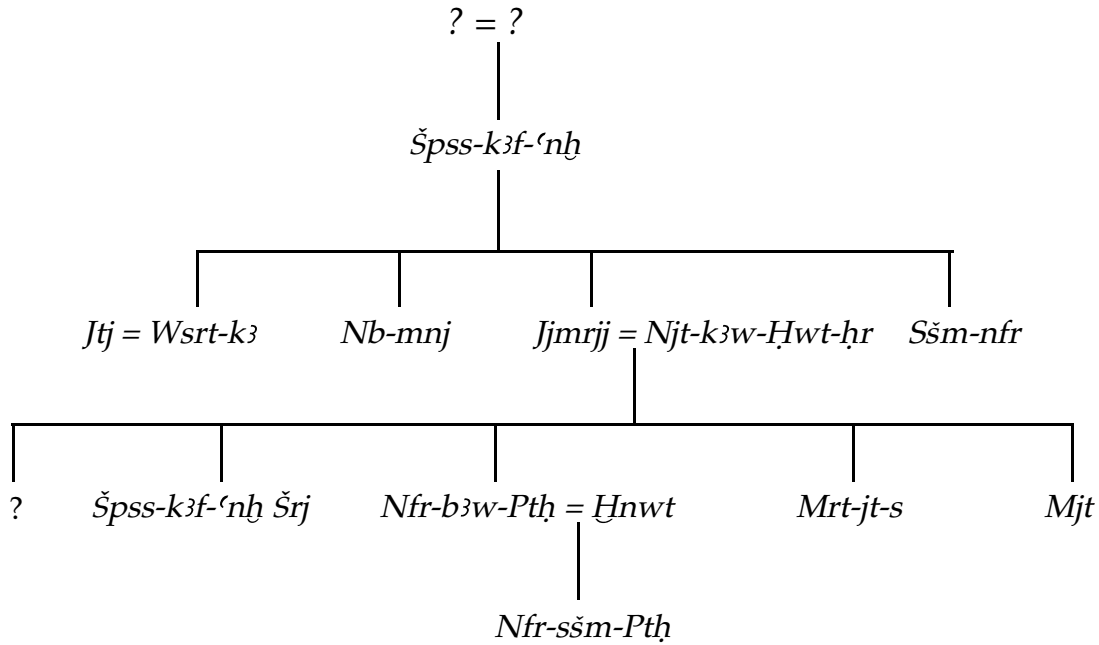
Shepseskaf-ankh was in his later years obviously revered and loved by the whole family. I imagine Iymery leading his father, Shepseskaf-ankh, into the beautifully decorated chapel of G 6020 and showing the old man the brightly colored scenes in which Shepseskaf-ankh appeared as the chief figure. As they entered the chapel Shepseskaf-ankh would have seen himself as a chief figure on the north door jamb in a large boat proceeding to the west. Inside the first room, he would have seen first on the west wall a scene in which the servants of the *ka* are presenting cattle, wild animals, and birds to himself, with his son Iymery standing behind him. Then he would have become aware of a scene on the north wall in which he sat in a carrying chair borne by six men and attended by Iymery, his sons and grandsons, and servants bearing his personal equipment. Then he would have passed through a long room decorated with scenes dedicated to Iymery, with three slot windows in the south wall leading to the long serdab in which he was probably represented by statues amidst statues of his family. Finally in the offering chamber, the most important room, he saw himself as the chief figure in an offering scene in which he sat in an armchair in a kiosk, attended again by Iymery and other members of the family. The satisfaction of the old father can be imagined at seeing the whole family assembled around him in the chapel of his son.

Iymery had much the same experience as his father in visiting the chapel of his son Ptah-nefer-bauw. There again on the south wall of the offering room Iymery was the chief figure in an offering scene, seated in an armchair in a kiosk attended by men who are not named, but who were obviously designed as his son, his grandson, and the servants of his *ka*. He is smelling a lotus flower held out to him by the first figure in the register before him. In the pillared hall around the entrance to the offering room he saw himself carved on one of the pillars, on the north jamb of the doorway, and his name and titles on the log lintel over the entrance. But the decoration of that chapel was never finished. Although the figure of Shepseskaf-ankh was carved on the face of a pillar, it is doubtful if the old grandfather ever saw that figure when he was alive, but he may have seen it as a glorified soul after death. All the glorified souls of the family had access to all parts of the complex, and they were called to come up from their burial chambers by the servants of the *ka* on every repetition of the food offerings at the *ka*-doors of the chapels.

The association of the *kas* of several generations in Cemetery G 6000 was characteristic of all the family cemeteries of ancient Egypt. The purpose of the layout of the tombs in a family cemetery was to assure to its members the continuation in the life after death of the associations of their life on earth. On the great feasts they were called together by the offering formulas recited by the servants of the *ka*. Thus, while the chapels and spaces around the family cemetery were thronged on such days by living persons related to the family, unseen behind the walls of the chapels were assembled all the members of the family who had entered the domain of the god of the dead as "glorified souls."

## 7.

As Reisner observed in his article, the family of Shepseskaf-ankh may be partially reconstructed from the texts in the four principal G 6000 mastabas. There are still some gaps in this family tree, but the names and relationships that are known seem to be fairly certain. The chart below shows those individuals and their relationships. Those for whom tombs are known in G 6000 are underlined. The texts upon which the chart is based are cited in the notes following.



### Notes to the Chart

The unknown father of Shepseskafankh may be the individual who is shown accompanying text {4.6} in Shepseskafankh's mastaba. His name, unfortunately, has been lost.

For *Wsrt-k3* as *Jjmrjj*'s sister, see {2.117}; as *Jtj*'s wife, see {3.2}.

For *Nb-mnj* as *Jjmrjj*'s brother, see {2.63}.

*Jjmrjj* is listed as the eldest son of *Špss-k3f-ḥḥ* in {2.46}, {2.59}, and {2.136}.

For *Njt-k3w-Ḥwt-ḥr* as *Jjmrjj*'s wife, see {2.112}.

The relationship between *Jjmrjj* and *Sšm-nfr* is conjectural. *Sšm-nfr* is not mentioned in any G 6000 tomb. But Junker<sup>15</sup> believed that a scene in *Sšm-nfr*'s tomb (G 5080) was copied from *Jjmrjj*, and Strudwick,<sup>16</sup> citing Baer,<sup>17</sup> notes that the estate *grgt-Jj-mrjj* is referred to in *Sšm-nfr*'s mastaba. It seems clear that the son of *Sšm-nfr* (called the Second) was *Sšm-nfr* III, and from this we may affirm that he is to be placed early in the reign of Neuserre.<sup>18</sup>

The unnamed son of *Jjmrjj* is to be seen in {2.62}.

*Špss-k3f-ḥḥ Šrj* as *Jjmrjj*'s son is listed in {2.61} and {2.113}.

*Nfr-b3w-Pth* is given as eldest son of *Jjmrjj* in {2.60} and {2.118}.

*Ḥnwt* is listed as *Nfr-b3w-Pth*'s wife in {1.29}, {1.32}, and {1.34}.

*Nfr-sšm-Pth* is listed as the eldest son of *Nfr-b3w-Pth* in {1.35} and {1.47}.

For *Mrt-jt-s* as *Jjmrjj*'s daughter, see {2.114} and {2.116}.

For *Mjt* as a daughter of *Jjmrjj*, see {2.115}.

15. Junker, *Giza* III, 71.

16. Strudwick, *Administration*, 139.

17. Baer, *Rank and Title*, 131–32.

18. Strudwick, *Administration*, 139.

## 8.

In the two chapters that follow we shall index and cross-reference the names and titles of individuals buried in Cemetery G 6000. This material is meant to facilitate the study of their occurrences and, we hope, will make it easier to locate them in the numerous wall scenes these mastabas contain. The tables may reward anyone willing to spend time tracking possible patterns in their location, order, and combination. The system of transliteration of these names and titles was chosen to facilitate cross-checking with other recently published sources. It is used here consistently, except in direct quotes from earlier records.

Part Two of this report deals with the decoration of the G 6000 mastabas. This information is based upon our reexamination of the cemetery in the early nineteen-seventies, but has been checked against the field notes of Reisner, the occasional marginal comments made to them by William Stevenson Smith, and the scattered comments of earlier visitors. Of these, *LD* is the most complete, and the remarks of Lepsius on the principal G 6000 mastabas are quoted in full. Only when it was necessary to justify a reconstruction or to explain some obscure feature of a relief has comparative materials from other tombs of the Old Kingdom been cited extensively. It should be noted that the mastaba of Iymery was frequently referred to by Vandier, *Manuel*, and reference is made to that work for its frequent discussions and additional references.

For the sake of convenience, each text occurring in G 6000 is assigned a number, which appears within {}-brackets. That number is used in Part One to identify the location of names and titles. It also occurs as part of the caption for each plate and figure.

Part Three deals with the archaeology and the architecture of G 6000. The data given there is based almost entirely on the rough drafts of a report made by Reisner on his work in G 6000, those drafts in turn having been based upon his field notes and diaries. Whenever possible, we have rechecked his statements against the original notebooks and against the re-excavated structures themselves. The measurements and calculations Reisner gave in his draft report have posed a special problem: his typed manuscript contains hundreds of typographical errors, and no number given therein could safely be assumed to be correct without verification. In some cases such verification has not been possible; such unchecked figures are queried in our text.

Of the objects described in Part Three, only those with MFA catalog numbers can be located today; the remainder are presumably in storage in small, unidentified magazines at Giza, or are lost.

All the line drawings of painted and carved scenes appearing here were made by us in the early nineteen-seventies. We have tried wherever possible, however, to include photographs of the scenes made by Reisner's staff, rather than the photographs made more recently by our crew. The condition of the walls of these mastaba has unfortunately deteriorated in the sixty years since Reisner worked here, and in consequence his photos tend to show more clearly the subtleties of carving and painting in these important tombs than do ours. Changes in the condition of the walls may even be seen when comparing photos taken early in Reisner's work at Giza with those taken a decade later. Architectural drawings are a combination of those made by our architects and Reisner's. Artifact and pottery drawings are based entirely on Reisner's studies.