

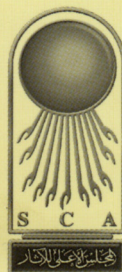
Perspectives on Ancient Egypt

Studies in Honor of Edward Brovarski



Edited by
Zahi Hawass
Peter Der Manuelian
Ramadan B. Hussein

CAHIER N° 40



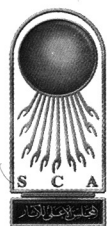
SUPPLÉMENT AUX ANNALES DU SERVICE DES
ANTIQUITÉS DE L'ÉGYPTE

Perspectives on
Ancient Egypt

STUDIES IN HONOR OF EDWARD BROVARSKI

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A DIG DIVIDED: THE GIZA MASTABA OF HETI, G 5480 (GIZA ARCHIVES GLEANINGS IV)

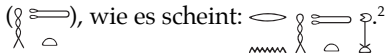
Peter Der MANUELIAN

The scholar being honored in this volume has passed by Heti's mastaba for several decades. At Giza, he has spent long hours just to the north of the tomb, in the preparation of his Giza Mastabas 7 volume (*The Senedjemib Complex*). In more recent years he has focused his unequalled Old Kingdom expertise much farther west, in the so-called Abu-Bakr Cemetery, directing, along with Tohfa Handoussa, the Brown University–Cairo University Expedition to the Pyramids. May the comments below rekindle his acquaintance with the Cemetery en Echelon, in celebration of his more than four decades of Egyptological scholarship.¹

The Cemetery en Echelon stands out for the staggered alignment of its three primary rows of mastabas, lending it a more disorganized appearance compared to the nucleus cemeteries further to the west (Figs 1–2). In the case of the late Fifth or early Sixth Dynasty tomb of Heti, mastaba G 5480, 'disorganization' might indeed be the best word to apply to both its ancient and its modern history. In ancient times objects from the tomb were discarded at some point after the burial and carelessly heaved far to the north and south of the mastaba, presumably in a quest for quarrying stone, which was deemed much more valuable. In modern times, the excavation of the tomb was divided between two separate expeditions, American and German/Austrian, since it straddled the imaginary east–west line extending from the northwest corner of the Khufu pyramid and separating the two respective concessions (Fig. 2). Through a quirk of fate, each expedition felt the other might publish the tomb more fully, with the unfortunate result that no single, complete documentation was ever produced. This paper takes a small step in that direction, as an example of the dispersed artifactual record from a single mastaba, and it adds a hitherto unpublished addition to the statuary corpus. After a brief excavation history of G 5480, there follows a summary of the statuary, notes on the chapel decoration, and a listing of objects found in the burial shaft.

I. Excavation History

The mastaba of Heti protruded sufficiently above the wind-blown sand and debris to catch Lepsius's attention during his Giza explorations of 1842–43. He designated the mastaba Lepsius 29, producing no plans or chapel drawings, but merely a short paragraph of descriptive text along with four personified estate names (from the chapel's north wall) in hieroglyphs:

Dies Grab liegt am N. W. Ende der größten Pyramide (s. den Situationsplan LD I 14). Es sind noch die Namen von 4 Dörfern zu sehen, die durch Personen, welche Ochsen hinter sich führen, repräsentiert sind. Der letzte Mann bringt eine Hyäne ()², wie es scheint:

Mariette too seems to have noticed the mastaba, labeling it no. 15 on his plan, and describing it only as 'Ruiné'.³ No further activity in this area is documented until 1912, when Reisner's Harvard University–Boston Museum of Fine Arts Expedition cleared the area in its progression from west to east through the Cemetery en Echelon. Reisner numbered the tombs in this area in the 2300s, but that numbering would change, further complicating matters, to the 5000s in the ensuing decades.

The earliest evidence of HU–MFA activity anywhere near Heti's mastaba is the photographic documentation of the intrusive shaft X on October 13 and 16, 1912 (fig. 4). This shaft appears on Reisner's Cemetery en Echelon plan (Fig. 3), abutting the north face of the mastaba superstructure, with an additional shaft Y immediately west of it, but only shaft X seems to have received much attention. It contained one contracted skeleton (Figs 5–6). I have so far been unable to locate any plans or sections for shaft X, or any type of documentation for shaft Y.

The HU–MFA Expedition Diary records the clearance of the nearby mastaba of Sekhemka, G 2360,⁴ on November 1, 1912. In the upper debris of shaft A, the team discovered the base of a standing male statuette inscribed for a 'judge and overseer of scribes, Heti' (Figs 3, 7, 24–26, numbered statue 5 in the list below, Part II). At this point in time (1912), no other information about this individual was known. The statue base (MFA Object Register number 12–11–1) was subsequently assigned to Boston, packed and shipped,⁵ and accessioned by the MFA on December 4, 1913, with the number 13.3447. No further mention of Heti is made in the HU–BMFA records until the Expedition returned to this area in 1930 and 1933. Reisner doubtless left the area immediately south to Junker's expedition, in accordance with the mutually agreed-upon dividing line between their respective concessions.

Clearance work by a different team began in this area more than a year later, in January 1914. Junker's German/Austrian Expedition was the first to clear the mastaba of Heti proper (Fig. 1). On January 26, 1914, Junker, like Reisner before him, discovered part of a statue of Heti located far from the latter's actual mastaba. Twenty meters

south of G 5480, the head from the now famous scribal statue of Heti (Hildesheim 2407; statue no. 1 in the list below, Part II) emerged from shaft 487 of the subsidiary mastaba of Khenit, abutting the east face of the mastaba of Djati (G 5370 = Lepsius 31; Figs 3, 8).⁶

On the very next day, January 27, 1914, Heti's mastaba (G 5480) was cleared by the Junker Expedition, revealing a serdab just south of the chapel area (Figs 9–10). An excerpt from Junker's Expedition Diary (housed in the Institut für Ägyptologie, University of Vienna) describes the finds:

24/1 [1914] Im Osten fand sich bei den Aufräumungsarbeiten vor der Mastaba des Datj eine zerstörte Kultkammer, deren Rückseite (Westseite) ganz von einer grossen Scheintuer eingenommen wurde, die der Frau Chentit gehoert. Dieselbe ist bis auf kleine Beschädigungen an dem oberen Teil vollkommen erhalten und zeigt auf einem roten Hintergrunde Darstellungen und Hieroglyphen in gelblichem Ton, eine Farbenwahl, die ausserordentlich wirkt, und die mir bis jetzt kaum anderweitig bekannt ist. Rechts und links sind die Salben und Schminkbüchsen abgebildet, deren sich die Tote bedienen soll.

25/1 Sonntag

26/1 Am Boden des zu der Chentitkammer gehoerigen Schachtes wurde ein ziemlich grosser Statuenkopf gefunden mit gut erhaltener Bemalung, nur die Nase etwas bestossen. Am Nachmittag Loehnung. Am Abend faehrt H.J. nach Luxor um mit Herrn Generaldirektor Maspero wegen Ankaufs der Mastaba des Ka-nj-neswt zu verhandeln.

27/1 Die Mastaba, die noerdlich an die des Datj anschliesst brachte uns heute einen ueberraschenden Fund. In der zerstörten Statuenkammer, dicht unter der Oberflaeche, erschien zunaechst die wundervoll gearbeitete Statue eines Schreibers ohne Kopf. Die Arme des Schreibers sind wie bei dem letztgefundenen, vom Koerper getrennt. Die linke Hand fasst den Papyrusstreifen, waehrend die rechte gekruemmt aufliegt; vielleicht hielt sie eine Feder. Die Fuesse sind ausnahmsweise gut ausgearbeitet Die Erhaltung ist bis auf einige verwitterte Stellen am Ruecken und an den Zehen eine gute. Zu unserer grossen Freude stellte sich heraus, dass der im Schacht der Chentit gefundene Kopf zu der Statue passt, sodass sie jetzt vollkommen ist. Ausserdem ergab der Serdab noch die kopflose und mehrfach beschädigte Statue des Hetj, die trotz des schlichten Erhaltungszustandes eine tadellose Arbeit erkennen lasst; ferner die Darstellung eines Geschwisterpaares, bei dem leider der Kopf der maennlichen Figur fehlt und der der weiblichen im Gesicht sehr bestossen ist.

the excavations. This year saw the investigation of the mastaba's final element, the burial shaft.

By this point one statue of Heti (no. 5 below) was in Boston, but lacked identification with this mastaba; the other statues had been dispersed to Cairo and various locations in Europe. The chapel texts had been briefly described by Junker. Reisner opted for a wholesale renumbering of this area. In an unpublished manuscript, housed in the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, he wrote:

East of the mastabas 2340 (excavated by Junker) and 2337 (excavated by us) the area to the boundary wall of the First Pyramid has been excavated partly by Junker and partly by us. The numbering of these mastabas fell into confusion because of the interval of time between the excavations of 1912 and those of 1933–5. I have therefore renumbered these structures in order to facilitate the orderly understanding of the description.¹⁵

Thus the tomb of Heti, Mariette's no. 15, Lepsius's 29, Reisner's original G 2340, became in the 1930s G 5480. The HU–BMFA Expedition diary continued, however, to use the designation G 2340. On February 17, 1933, Reisner's crew began to (re?) clear the top of the mastaba, at which time they located its primary shaft A (Fig. 13). This shaft is omitted from Junker's large-scale plan of the tomb in *Giza* 8, published in 1947.¹⁶ Reisner's Egyptian reis, Mohamed Said Ahmed Diraz, wrote that 'Shaft A was uncovered... Mubarak Mohamed and a crew of men are in this shaft. It is stones on top and cut into the Gebel on bottom. They dug down a total of 160 cm. The debris is sand and some limestone chips. They have not yet found the burial chamber'. This crew reached 5.85 m by February 19, 1933, and 8 m on February 20, revealing 'Burial chamber was uncovered on south. There are no blocking stones. They have not yet reached the rock bottom of the shaft. Nor have they started excavating the burial chamber'. Two days later (February 22, 1933), the reis reports a depth of 8.88 m, and excavations within the burial chamber proper, which contained a limestone sarcophagus 'found in the burial chamber on a north–south axis (Fig. 13). Its lid is broken. Nothing was found in it. They reached the rock bottom of the shaft. They started clearing the burial chamber'. Additional finds,¹⁷ summarized on February 23, included 'loose in the debris: 2 limestone jar lids, broken and missing some parts; 6 small alabaster plates; 1 small alabaster cup; 1 fragment of copper needle; 3 fragments of copper tools'. A 'limestone vessel, missing parts of its rim', turned up on February 24, and the final entry, on February 25, 1933, mentions perhaps the same 'limestone vessel, broken and missing some parts', as well as '1 lid of a limestone vessel, broken and missing some parts. They cleared it [= shaft A], and here is its drawing'. The reis also recorded 'two red lines painted north to south on roof'.¹⁸ Apparently, the Expedition took no photographs of the burial chamber or sarcophagus.

The 1933 excavations in G 5480 A marked the termination of work on Heti's tomb. In the ensuing years at Harvard Camp, west of the Khafre pyramid, Reisner focused on the manuscripts for his monumental *History of the Giza Necropolis* I, II, and III. The unpublished manuscripts for volumes II and III mention G 5480 several times. The tomb summary is included in his unpublished *Giza Necropolis* II:¹⁹

G 5480 (=2340):	LG 29 on independent site, north of 5470 but set back to the west;
Excavated:	by Junker–Steindorff (see <i>Giza</i> III, 11) ²⁰
Mastaba:	type VII a(.): retaining wall of small w-masonry; 15.4 x 8.8 m; area 135.52 sq. m; proportion 1/1.75; h. 2.80 m; ... m
Chapel:	type 4b, nummulitic limestone 4.0 x 1.6 m; area 6.4 sq. m; proportion 1/2.5
Shafts:	one large shaft NW of chapel
Shaft A:	excavated by Wheeler in Feb. 1933; 1.5 x 1.5 m; –6.05 m (rock); lined with masonry 2.85 m (5 courses); type 4b (1); on S: 3.45 x 2.5 m; h. 1.45 m; area 8.62 sq. m; capacity 12.51 cubic m; passage 1.05 x 1.25 m; h. 1.4 m; step down to floor of chamber 0.2 m; blocking gone; white limestone coffin 2.4 x 0.95 m; h. 0.7 m; (with lid 0.85 m); inside 1.95 x 0.45 m; –0.47 m; single slab broken

II. The Statuary

The statues originally placed in Heti's serdab have for the most part been well documented by Junker and by the various museums that now house them, so there is no need for extensive detail here.²¹ They were discovered, however, in three locations, as described above: Heti's serdab proper (G 5480 = G 2340 = Lepsius 29); shaft 487 of the mastaba of Khenit; and shaft A of Sekhemka (G 2360 = G 5390 = G 5490). The only exception is the previously unpublished fragment in the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston (MFA 13.3447), which has never previously been linked to mastaba G 5480. Even W.S. Smith, who long after Reisner's death in 1942 had considerable time to contemplate the finds from the tomb, and who had complete access to the MFA storage collections, neglected to link a fifth statue to Heti's serdab.

Since this statue is published here for the first time, it will be appended to Heti's statue list as no. 5, in order to maintain the statue numbering 1 through 5 established by Junker in his *Giza* 8. Fig. 3 above shows the relative findspots for all five statues, which are shown at their approximate relative scales.

Statue 1) Uninscribed limestone seated scribe statue (Figs 3, 9, 14–16)

Current location: Pelizaeus-Museum, Hildesheim 2407

Findspot(s): Head found on January 26, 1914 in shaft 487 of the mastaba of Khenit

Body found on January 27, 1914 in serdab of G 5480 (Heti), facing north towards chapel

Measurements: Height 52 cm; width 37.3 cm; depth 26 cm

Select bibliography: Junker, *Anzeiger der (kaiserlichen) Akademie der Wissenschaften*, Philosophisch-historische Klasse Wien 51 (1914), pl. IX, 176 (c) (= separately printed version, 38 (c)); Junker, *Gîza* 7 (Vienna, 1944), 241–46, Fig. 100; Junker, *Gîza* 8 (Vienna 1947), 12–16, pl. 3; E. Martin-Pardey, *Plastik des Alten Reiches*, CAA Hildesheim 1 (Mainz 1977), 138–45; A. Eggebrecht (ed.), *Das Alte Reich* (Mainz, 1986), cat. 19, 64–65, and cover; M. von Falck and B. Schmitz, *Das Alte Reich. Ägypten von den Anfängen zur Hochkultur* (Hildesheim and Mainz, 2009), 90–91, cat. 22 (M.v. F. 'late Dynasty 5'); PM III, 164.

This scribal figure of Heti is the best known and best carved of all of Heti's statuary, despite the fact that it is the only uninscribed statue.²² Heti wears a short, curled wig that covers the ears. Although the forehead area is weathered, it appears to reveal part of Heti's natural hair, a feature more often found on statues of women. His eyebrows are carved in plastic relief, and the nasolabial furrow and lips are clearly outlined. The upper portion of the torso is well modeled, revealing collarbones and a pinched waist above his knee-length kilt with wide belt and tie. Upon his lap Heti holds an unrolled papyrus with his left hand, while his right is poised as if writing.²³ Junker and other writers have suggested that a metal pen once fit into this hand. The statue therefore assumes a true scribal pose, for Heti is writing instead of reading or merely sitting in a cross-legged position. This corresponds of course with his administrative title of overseer of scribes. Among the carefully carved details are the fingernails and cuticles, the incised concentric circles indicating the two rolled ends of the papyrus, and the free-standing arms, liberated from the restrictions of a back pillar. Heti sits on an uninscribed base that takes a rather unusual rectangular form for a scribal statue. Whether an inscription was once painted, or intended, for the front of the base, or the unrolled papyrus, is unknown. His feet are tucked under his knees, soles facing upward. The shin bones are the most marked detail evident on the legs. Junker notes that the entire composition forms a pyramidal shape, from the knees to the upper arms at a slight angle, to the shoulders, a pose that sacrifices the reality of actually writing in favor of creating a harmonious example of three-dimensional sculpture.²⁴

Statue 2) Limestone seated headless statue (Figs 3, 9, 17–18)

Current location: Egyptian Museum, Cairo TR 20.1.41.4²⁵

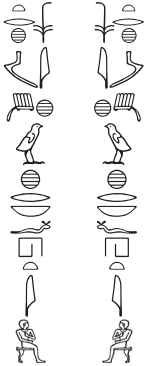
Findspot: Found on January 27, 1914 in serdab of G 5480 (Heti), facing west (see AEOS_I_5732)

Measurements: Height (up to neck) 52 cm

Select bibliography: Junker, *Vorbericht* 1914, 37–38 (a) ('Mus. Kairo')

Junker, *Anzeiger der (kaiserlichen) Akademie der Wissenschaften*, Philosophisch-historische Klasse Wien 51 (1914), 175–76 (a); Junker, *Gîza* 8, 16–18 (incorrectly listed as located in the Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna), fig. 4 (right), pl. 4a.

Heti wears a short, knee-length kilt, and clenches his right hand around a handkerchief, whose linen strips are visible over the pleating (Fig. 18 right). The identical and symmetrical inscriptions face inward and begin on the vertical surface of the block seat, on either side of Heti’s legs. They continue on the base, by his feet:



rh nswt imꜥhw hr nb=f Hti

'The royal acquaintance (originally 'keeper of the king's property'), revered one before his lord, Heti.

Statue 3) Limestone base from standing male statue (Figs 3, 19–21)

Current location: Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna ÄS 8543





Findspot: Found on January 27, 1914 in serdab of G 5480 (Heti), orientation not documented

Measurements: Preserved height 11.5 cm; preserved width 9.1 cm; preserved depth 17.1 cm; height of base 3 cm; length of feet 7.3 cm; width of back pillar 5.4 cm;

Select bibliography: Junker, *Vorbericht* 1914, 44; Junker, *Gîza* 8, 17, fig. 4 (upper left), 18 (no photograph); Jaroš-Deckert and Rogge, *Statuen des Alten Reiches*, CAA 15 (Mainz, 1993), 150–51; Junker, *Gîza* 8 (1947), 18, fig. 4, upper left on p. 17.

Junker estimated a restored height of 76 cm for the entire standing statue, of which only the feet and base inscription remain.²⁶ This statue provides the closest parallel to the newly identified MFA statue (no. 5 below). The text raises only one question, namely the word order of the title sequence:



zšb imy-r zš(w) Hti, 'the judge and overseer of scribe(s), Heti'. The scribal hieroglyph  seems to precede the word overseer  (imy-r), assuming the text is to be read in two horizontal lines. The simplest solution is, of course, to read downwards in two columns. And indeed the MFA statue base (13.3447) with identical text, seems to support this orientation. However, the third occurrence of this title, on statue no. 4 (Fitzwilliam E62.1926), must be read horizontally, and here again  zš precedes  imy-r. Thus we have evidence that all three statues (at least) were inscribed by the same artist, who repeated his 'mistake' three times.

A cylindrical hole has been bored 3.5 cm down through the top of the break (2.3 cm in diameter), possibly for an ancient repair.

Statue 4) Limestone standing pair statue of Heti and his sister Khenut (Figs 3, 22–23)

Current location: Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge E62.1926 (formerly Egyptian Museum, Cairo TR 11.5.14.10²⁷)

Findspot: Found presumably on January 27, 1914 in serdab of G 5480 (Heti), orientation not recorded

Measurements: Height 54 cm; width 28 cm; depth 14.5 cm (from Fitzwilliam website)

Select bibliography: Junker, *Vorbericht* 1914, 38 (b); Junker, *Gîza* 8, 18–20 (listed as Egyptian Museum, Cairo; see note 27), fig. 4 (lower left), pl. 4b; Junker, *Anzeiger der (kaiserlichen) Akademie der Wissenschaften*, Philosophisch-historische Klasse Wien 51 (1914), 176 (b)

While Heti's scribal statue is the finest of the group, this pair statue is perhaps the most complex in composition. Junker commented on the exemplary attention paid to the joined hands in the center of the statue, which appear almost entirely freed from the back pillar and negative space.²⁸ Despite the damage, Heti's kilt with starched, triangular front, leaving the knees exposed, is clearly visible, as is the V-necked, close-fitting garment worn by Khenut. Original expedition photography hints at several bands of a painted broad collar (Fig. 23). Her short wig falls in tresses on either side of her destroyed face, but fails to touch her shoulders. She stands with feet together, while Heti strides forward with left leg advanced.

Three texts in sunk relief adorn the base, one for Heti, one for Khenut, and a third naming Khenut's mother:

The fragment preserves only the front portion of the base, and Heti's advanced left leg. Traces of red pigment survive between the toes, on the foot, and at the juncture of foot and base, but nowhere else. The break occurs just below the ankle, and the two front corners of the base show additional damage. What little remains of the foot reveals considerable attention to detail. The spaces between the toes have been carefully removed, and toenails clearly indicated.

The inscription is finely cut in sunk relief. The text is identical to that preserved on statue no. 3 in Vienna, and in fact these Vienna and Boston statues were clearly created as a pair and show similar dimensions. The owl hieroglyph shows the same treatment of the tail feathers in both inscriptions, and the jackal and scribal palette signs are mirror images in terms of detail. The text reads:



zsb imy-r zš(w) Hti, 'the judge and overseer of scribe(s), Heti'.

The Vienna and Boston inscriptions show an almost identical arrangement; the single difference is the scribal hieroglyph that is raised slightly higher above the tail of the jackal on the Vienna piece. In order to avoid asserting a scribal error in the placement of the *zš* sign before the *imy-r* group, one could read vertically, in two columns instead of two horizontal lines. However, as noted above, the distinctly horizontal arrangement of the identical text on the Fitzwilliam pair statue (no. 4 above) would seem to confirm the scribal error after all.

III. The Chapel

As mentioned above, the complete publication of the tomb and its chapel never materialized, a result of the confusion and Reisner's and Junker's overburdened agendas. Junker provided the most complete treatment of the chapel decoration to date,²⁹ but published none of his four chapel photographs. Reisner likewise never published the five images his photographer produced on September 6, 1930, and neither expedition seems to have drawn the wall inscriptions. The chapel will not be treated as thoroughly as it deserves here, but at least some of the original photographic documentation is illustrated.

Fig. 27 shows the chapel walls and floor paving stones in a Junker image taken from above the north wall. Raised relief decoration on large nummulitic limestone blocks, unfinished in many areas, survives on the north entrance thickness, and on the north and west walls, although the carving was clearly never finished. The south and east walls are undecorated. No architrave survived above the chapel's entrance, but Junker reported that a heavy drum over the doorway, presumably unscribed, was still in situ.³⁰ No name of Heti is preserved, so the serdab statue inscriptions alone provide the name of the tomb owner.

North entrance thickness (Figs 28–29)

Recesses to hold swiveling doorposts are, according to Junker, preserved on both sides of the entrance; the northern recess is visible in fig. 32. While the south entrance thickness was undecorated, on the north thickness Heti and most likely his wife Khenut march eastwards out of the tomb. Heti's upper torso and head are too damaged to reconstruct, but he clearly holds a staff in one hand, and a handkerchief in the other, and wears a triangular kilt. Khenut stands behind him, feet closer together in a tight-fitting garment and what appears to be a tripartite wig. Her rear arm hangs loose by her side; she most likely embraces her husband with her (missing) front arm. Behind the couple marches a male figure with a similar, but perhaps more detailed triangular kilt with sash and belt tie. His face too is damaged, but he wears his hair close-cropped, and carries a papyrus book-roll in one hand. The scene, contained on a single limestone block, is best preserved towards the bottom, where the leg musculature and ground line are clearly visible. Inscriptions were either never added, or are lost due to the damage towards the top of the scene.

West Wall (Figs 30–31)

Perhaps the clearest evidence of the unfinished nature of the decoration resides in the total absence of false doors on the west wall. The primary scene appears in the center of the wall, with the tomb owner seated at left on a theriomorphic stool with bull's legs and cone supports, backrest and cushion. Wearing a short, curled or valanced wig and beard, with knee-length kilt, leopard skin and shoulder tie, he extends his right hand towards the jar stand and table piled with twelve half-loaves of bread. His left hand is clenched in a fist, with the elbow bent back across the breast. The background in front of his upper torso reveals clearly where the relief carving was interrupted; a diagonal line marks the untouched portions of the block above the offering table.

Beneath the offering table, oriented rightwards, are the offerings (at left) for 'a thousand loaves of bread, cakes, and a thousand jugs of beer', and (at right) 'a thousand alabaster vessels and a thousand bolts of linen, oxen and fowl'.³¹ Three priests kneel next to the table, the first two holding *nw*-jars, while the third extends an arm as if to recite the ritual.³² Once again, the carving stops abruptly behind the third priest.

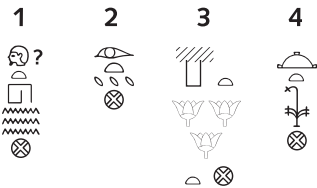
The menu list is the final element preserved on this wall (Fig. 31). Traces of three rows of compartmentalized offerings survive, but only the bottom two are readable. Junker has summarized these items, with typeset hieroglyphs and corresponding numbers aligning with the standard offering list.³³

North Wall (Fig. 32)

The most coherent scene in the chapel is found on the north wall. Heti stands at left, leaning on a staff. His tabbed kilt, stomach, staff, legs and one arm are all well

preserved, but the upper part of his figure is missing. In front of him are three registers. Moving from top to bottom, the first register shows two scribes, and behind them a third man leads a cow. Offering bearers with various items of produce balanced on their heads, leashes in their hands tied to livestock, and captions with estate names, occupy the second and third registers. In the second register, a man approaches Heti first, followed by a woman. In the third register the gender order is reversed, woman first, man second. This final (male) figure leads, not a bull, but a hyena.³⁴

The caption over each bull states $\overline{\text{m}} \text{ } \overline{\text{r}} \text{ } \overline{\text{i}} \text{ } \overline{\text{w}} \text{ } \overline{\text{h}} \text{ } \overline{\text{z}}$, 'a thousand young bulls', but note the reversal of the $\overline{\text{w}}$ and $\overline{\text{i}}$ signs. Over the hyena stands $\overline{\text{m}} \text{ } \overline{\text{h}} \text{ } \overline{\text{t}} \text{ } \overline{\text{h}} \text{ } \overline{\text{z}}$, 'a thousand young hyenas'. Lepsius, Junker, and Jacquet-Gordon have reproduced the estate names, which are not without difficulties.³⁵ Based on their readings, we find the following possible names:



- 1) *tp th* (?)
- 2) *irt* 'levy of grain'
- 3) [*s3*]/*pwt* (?) 'the lotus'
- 4) *i3t šm'* <*yt*> 'the mound of Upper Egypt'

IV. Objects from the Burial Shaft

Reisner cleared the mastaba's only shaft (A) in February 1933. The finds were recorded in the HU-MFA Expedition Object Register, photographed and mentioned in the Expedition Diaries, and included in Reisner's unpublished manuscripts for additional volumes of his *History of the Giza Necropolis*. However, the photographs were never published, and the current locations of many of the objects remain unclear today. This is unfortunate, especially since a set of alabaster model dishes included hieratic notations on the bottoms of their undersides. In Chapter XI, 'Funerary Equipment found in Burial Chambers: Canopic Receptacles; Reserve-heads; Stone Vessels; Pottery', of his unpublished *Giza Necropolis II*,³⁶ Reisner wrote:

It is to be noted that one set of models found in G 2340 A [= G 5480], had labels written in ink on the bottom. The set consisted of one cylindrical jar and six bowls of type X-a. (see Photo. C13413 1/1-6, 32). Unfortunately we could not make out the written signs. Each inscription appears to have consisted of a sign or group of signs and a number. It is probable that the signs indicate the supposed contents of the bowls and the jar. It is to be noted that the alabaster ointment tablets often

found in association with models have seven or eight round holes (representing bowls or jars) each of which is inscribed with the name of one or the seven traditional ointments and one eye-paint.³⁷

Objects from G 5480 = G 2340, shaft A:

HU–MFA Object Register number 33–2–190

4 fragments of copper implements (Feb. 23rd; debris of chamber of G 2340 A

No further information is available for these objects. The HU–MFA Object Register entry contains no measurements or sketches, merely the date of February 23, 1933, and 'debris of chamber of G 2340 A'. No Expedition photography has so far been identified.

HU–MFA Object Register number 33–2–191 (Figs 33–34)

Alabaster model cylinder jar, with mark in ink on bottom

Height 4 cm; diam. 2.2 cm

HU–MFA Object Register number 33–2–192 (Figs 33–34)

6 alabaster model offering dishes with marks of ink on bottom

Height 1.0–1.5 cm; diam. 3.5–5.2 cm

HU–MFA Object Register number 33–2–193 = MFA 33.1108 (Figs 35–36)

7 fragments of 2 limestone canopic jar lids, one incomplete

Height 2.8 cm, diam. 16.6–17.6 cm

HU–MFA Object Register number 33–2–208 = MFA 33.1114 (Figs 37–39)

Limestone canopic jar broken into two halves, with lid

Height 27.2 cm; diam. 21 cm; lid height 3 cm; diam. 17.6 cm

V. Dating

It has been clearly established that the Cemetery en Echelon is a later addition to the Western Cemetery.³⁸ Heti's mastaba, actually situated further east than the three primary north–south rows of twenty-five mastabas (Reisner's 'additions to Cemetery en Echelon,') shows none of the features characteristic of Khufu-era tombs, such as evidence of slab stelae, lined burial chambers, or Tura limestone blocks for casing of the core's exterior.

The offering list on the west wall of G 5480 conforms to later Old Kingdom standard lists as found in both Dynasties Five and Six.³⁹ And the serdab with multiple statues is clearly not expected in the early Old Kingdom. A connection to the mastaba of Seshathetep Heti (G 5150), often dated to the first half of Dynasty Five, is dubious.⁴⁰ As is shown by the list of scholarly dates below, Heti is often ascribed to the end of

Dynasty Five or the beginning of Dynasty Six. This era fits well with the geographical situation of the mastaba in the Western Cemetery, with the architecture and serdab, the multiple statues, and the style and scene content that remains inside the chapel.

Summary of Suggested Dates for G 5480 (= G 2340 = Lepsius 29)

Source	Suggested Date
G. Reisner, <i>Giza Necropolis III</i> (unpublished), table of contents, Chapter XV, 4 (image UM2358 on www.gizapyramids.org)	Dynasty Five
M. von Falck, in <i>Das Alte Reich</i> (Mainz, 2009), 90, cat. 22:	Late Dynasty Five
P. Piantini, <i>Les scribes dans la société égyptienne de l'Ancien Empire 1</i> (Paris, 2002), 294–95 (G.Gi.15):	Beginning of Dynasty Six
G. Scott, <i>The History and Development of the Ancient Egyptian Scribe Statue I–IV</i> , Ph.D. dissertation, University Microfilms International 90119123 (Ann Arbor, 1989), 125–28:	Beginning of Dynasty Six (not seen)
Y. Harpur, <i>Decoration in Egyptian Tombs of the Old Kingdom</i> (London, 1987), 268, 311, 316, 386 [21]:	Unis–Teti?
M. Seidel, in A. Eggebrecht (ed.), <i>Das Alte Reich</i> (Mainz, 1986), 64, cat. 19:	Late Dynasty Five
E. Martin-Pardey, <i>Plastik des Alten Reiches</i> , CAA Hildesheim 1 (Mainz, 1977), 138, 140 CAA 1:	Beginning of Dynasty Six
Porter–Moss III, 163:	Late Dynasty Five or Dynasty Six
H. Jacquet-Gordon, <i>Les domaines funéraires sous l'ancien empire égyptien</i> (Cairo, 1962), 302–303:	End of Dynasty Five–Beginning of Dynasty Six

Endnotes

- 1 I am grateful to Rita E. Freed, the John F. Cogan Jr. and Mary L. Cornille Chair of the Department of Art of the Ancient World at the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, for permission to publish the MFA statue and illustrate several HU–MFA Expedition photographs. For information pertaining to the objects in Cairo discussed below, I also thank Wafaa el-Saddiq, Director, Egyptian Museum, Cairo, as well as Yasmin El Shazly, Head of Documentation, and Hanane Gaber, Head Registrar. Information was also kindly supplied by Helen Strudwick of the Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge, by Antje Spiekermann and Bettina Schmitz of the Roemer- und Pelizaeus-Museum, Hildesheim, by Regina Hölzl, curator of the Ägyptisch-Orientalische Sammlung of the Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna, and Peter Jánosi of the Institut für Ägyptologie, University of Vienna. I am particularly grateful to Drs. Hölzl and Jánosi for permission to publish images from Junker’s excavation archive housed in Vienna. Ruth Bigio of the Giza Archives Project, MFA, kindly drew portions of the Giza plan illustrated in fig. 3.
- 2 Lepsius, *Denkmaeler I*, Text (Leipzig, 1897), 59.
- 3 A. Mariette, *Les Mastabas de l’ancien empire* (Paris, 1889), 516 (plan), and 518.
- 4 Because G 2360 did not line up exactly with the large mastaba in the row further west (G 2350 = G 5290), Reisner provisionally called G 2360 either G 5390 or G 5490, before most likely deciding to leave the name of this mastaba as G 2360.
- 5 Expedition Packing List IV, dated to 1913 and housed in the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, includes this statue in inner box 101, case no. 14 (PL589).
- 6 Junker, ‘Vorläufiger Bericht über die dritte Grabung bei den Pyramiden von Gizeh vom 3. Januar bis 23. April 1914’, 38 (c) (= *Anzeiger der philosophischen Klasse der kais. Akademie der Wissenschaften* (hereafter *Anzeiger*) 51 [1914], 176 (c), 182 (= *Anzeiger* 51, 182); Junker, *Giza* 7, 241, fig. 100; 246.
- 7 Junker, *Giza* 8, 12.
- 8 Junker, *Giza* 8, 20–22.
- 9 For a similar case of a mastaba with portions straddling both concessions, leading to considerable confusion, see the tomb of Pehenptah (G 5280): Manuelian, ‘Hemiuu, Pehenptah, and American/German Collaboration at the Giza Necropolis (Giza Archives Project Gleanings: II)’, in A. Spiekermann (ed.), ‘Zur Zierde gereicht’: *Festschrift Bettina Schmitz zum 60. Geburtstag am 24. Juli 2008*, HÄB 50 (Hildesheim, 2008), 29–57.
- 10 Junker, *Giza* 8, 11.
- 11 For a recent study of the serdab statuette that touches on this issue, see Manuelian, ‘Penmeru Revisited—Giza Mastaba G 2197 (Giza Archives Gleanings V)’, *JARCE* 45 (2009), forthcoming.
- 12 This photograph is referred to by Junker, *Giza* 8, 11, as ‘Phot. 580’.
- 13 Junker, *Giza* 8, 11–20.
- 14 Unfortunately, none of the HU–MFA Expedition Diaries seems to mention G 5480 or describe the chapel photography of September 6, 1930. Most of the Expedition was working in Nubia at this time; see N. F. Wheeler, ‘Harvard–Boston Expedition in the Sudan, 1930–1931’, *BMFA* 29, no. 174 (August 1931), 66–70. Mohammedani Ibrahim must have remained behind at Giza; no Nubian photographs from 1930 are attributed to him.
- 15 Reisner, ‘Description of Additions to Cem. en Echelon’, c), page 56 j.
- 16 Junker, *Giza* 8, 13, fig. 3, and foldout plan at the back of the volume.
- 17 See below, IV for a summary of objects from G 5480 shaft A.
- 18 HU–BMFA Arabic Expedition Diary, recently discovered and acquired for the archives of the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, Book 23, January 31, 1933 to September 29, 1934, 1727–42.
- 19 Reisner, *Giza Necropolis II*, Unpublished 1942 Manuscript, Appendix A: Cemetery en Echelon, 59. This summary also appears in another manuscript, with many handwritten annotations: ‘Description of Additions to Cem en Echelon’, 56a.
- 20 Some confusion over the owner of G 5480 has crept into the records. The summary quoted above omits the name of the tomb owner altogether; however the alternate summary, ‘Description of Additions to Cem en Echelon’, 56a, contains the written annotation in the hand of Reisner’s secretary Evelyn Perkins: ‘Name: Ⲥⲓⲛⲓ (Junker)’. Junker, *Giza* 3 (Vienna, 1938), 34, calls the tomb owner ‘Ⲥⲓⲛⲓ-ⲙⲓ’. In Reisner’s unpublished Giza Necropolis III, Chapter XV, 60, he writes ‘East of Peh-n-Ptah lies another E-W row of medium size: G 5380 and G 5480 (Sathuw) etc. These are north of Zaty and Rawer II and smaller in size. These mastabas are probably connected with the Peh-n-Ptah mastaba and might therefore belong to descendants of the Seshemnofer family. The scribe Sathuw, owner of G 5480, is probably a member of the *sndt* of Seshemnofer I (G 5080)’. On 109 of the same chapter, he lists ‘G 5480 (no name preserved)’. But Junker, *Giza* 8, 11, correctly dispels any possibility of a Satju being connected to mastaba G 5480.
- 21 Regarding G 5480, W. S. Smith, *A History of Egyptian Sculpture and Painting in the Old Kingdom*, 2nd edition (London, 1949) (hereafter *HESPOK*), 73, wrote: ‘Another group of statues belonged to a man named Heti. These were found in a mastaba (G 5480 = Lepsius 293) north of the large tomb of Zaty (LG 31 = G 5370). One of these was a fine seated scribe (Vorbericht, 1914, pl. IX) now in Hildesheim, and with it were found a seated figure of the same man, and a pair statuette showing him standing with his sister. The scribe is excellently worked, the hands being carefully drawn as though holding the writing implement and the roll of papyrus which lies in the lap’.
- 22 For color images of the statue, see especially the references to the two volumes entitled *Das Alte Reich* in the select bibliography, above, as well as A. Eggebrecht (ed.), *Pelizaeus-Museum Hildesheim. Die Ägyptische Sammlung* (Mainz, 1993), 25, fig. 17.

- 23 For a discussion of statuary with papyrus rolls, including a list of parallels, see E. Bernhauer, 'Die Statuen mit Papyrusrolle im Alten Reich', in M. Bárta (ed.), *The Old Kingdom Art and Archaeology, Proceedings of the Conference held in Prague, May 31–June 4, 2004* (Prague, 2006), esp. 69. See also A. Scharff, 'On the Statuary of the Old Kingdom', *JEA* 26 (1940), 48, n. 3.
- 24 Junker, *Giza* 8, 15.
- 25 This statue was registered twice in the Egyptian Museum's Temporary Register, once as TR 11.5.14.9 (which was crossed out) and then as TR 20.1.41.4. To my knowledge, this number has never been published before. As of December 2009, the statue had yet to be located within the Museum. I am grateful to Yasmin El Shazly, Head of Documentation, for her assistance in researching this object.
- 26 Junker, *Giza* 8, 18.
- 27 Cf. PM III, 164. The Temporary Register in the Egyptian Museum, Cairo states that this statue was 'to be sold', but contains no further information. It was purchased in 1926 by the Friends of the Fitzwilliam Museum. My thanks go once again to Yasmin El Shazly, Head of Documentation, and also to Helen Strudwick, Senior Assistant Keeper of Antiquities, Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge, for information about the piece. Two color images of the statue are available on the Museum's Web site (accessed December 1, 2009): http://www.fitzmuseum.cam.ac.uk/opac/search/cataloguedetail.html?&prirref=52423&_function_=xslt&_limit_=10.
- 28 Junker, *Giza* 8, 18, and 19 for a lengthy discussion of the pair's clasped hands.
- 29 Junker, *Giza* 3, 34; Junker *Giza* 8, 20–22.
- 30 Junker, *Giza* 8, 20.
- 31 Cf. Junker, *Giza* 8, 20.
- 32 See B. Dominicus, *Gesten und Gebärden in Darstellungen des Alten und Mittleren Reiches*, SAGA 10 (Heidelberg, 1993), 170, fig. 62.1 (a).
- 33 Junker, *Giza* 8, 20–21.
- 34 For other examples of hyenas at Giza, see the fragment found in shaft U of mastaba G 2197 (Penmeru): MFA 35–10–24; Simpson, *Mastabas of the Western Cemetery*, 27 and pl. 52d, Manuelian, *JARCE* 45 (2009), forthcoming; color image SC171427 is available on the Giza Archives Project Web site, www.gizapyramids.org; see also Expedition photograph B8584_NS. For a study of two possible "hyena cages" in the far Western Cemetery (south of Lepsius 19, the tomb of Ipi), originally excavated by A. M. Abu-Bakr, see S. R. Phillips, 'Two enigmatic circular mud brick structures in the Western Field at Giza', in M. Bárta (ed.), *The Old Kingdom Art and Archaeology, Proceedings of the Conference held in Prague, May 31–June 4, 2004* (Prague, 2006), 239–58. Additional examples of hyenas from Giza tombs, with images on the Giza Archives Project Web site (www.gizapyramids.org) supplied here in parentheses, include G 7530-7540, Meresankh III (A4728_NS, A5589_NS; D. Dunham and W.K. Simpson, *The Mastaba of Queen Mersyankh III* [Boston, 1974], pl. 2d, fig. 3a); G 7948, Khafreankh (A7388_NS); G 2184, Akhmeretnisut (A639_NS, AAW1934, AAW1936; A. M. Roth, in S. D'Auria, P. Lacovara, and C. Roehrig (eds), *Mummies and Magic. The Funerary Arts of Ancient Egypt* [Boston, 1988], 85, cat. 14); Lepsius 53, Seshemnefer IV (AEOS_II_5263_2, o_neg_nr_0115); G 2091, Kapi (A6013_NS; Roth, *A Cemetery of Palace Attendants, Giza Mastabas 6* [Boston, 1995], pls 59, 60a, 168); G 2097 (AAW1499; *ibid.*, pls 95–97, 189); G 4761, Nefer I (AEOS_I_5305, AEOS_I_5588, AEOS_I_5650; Junker, *Giza* 6 [Vienna, 1943], 59, fig. 14, fig. 16 opposite 64, pl. 2); Lepsius 20, Persen (Phillips, 'Two enigmatic circular mud brick structures', 258, fig. 11).
- 35 Junker, *Giza* 8, 21; Lepsius, *Denkmaeler I*, Text, 59; H. Jacquet-Gordon, *Les noms des domaines funéraires sous l'ancien empire égyptien* (Cairo, 1962), 302–303 (41G5-6), figs 88–89.
- 36 This unpublished manuscript 'Giza Necropolis II' is not to be confused with the posthumously published *Giza Necropolis II, The Tomb of Hetep-heres the Mother of Cheops* (Cambridge, 1955), which was substantially altered by W. S. Smith. For Reisner's vision of continuing volumes in his series, see *Giza Necropolis I*, p. ix.
- 37 Reisner, *Giza Necropolis II* unpublished, Chapter XI, 285 (file UM782 on www.gizapyramids.org).
- 38 Reisner, *Giza Necropolis I*, 13–14, 81–82; P. Jánosi, *Giza in der 4. Dynastie* (Vienna, 2005), 236–54.
- 39 Cf. W. Barta, *Die altägyptische Opferliste, MÄS 3* (Berlin, 1963), figs 4–5; S. Hassan, *Giza 6/ II, The Offering List in the Old Kingdom* (Cairo, 1948), pls 103–107.
- 40 Junker, *Giza* 8, 18.



Fig. 1. General view of the Western Cemetery and the Cemetery en Echelon, from halfway up the Khufu pyramid; end of 1913. German–Austrian Expedition photograph, courtesy Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna, AEOS_I_5441 (excavation photo 287).

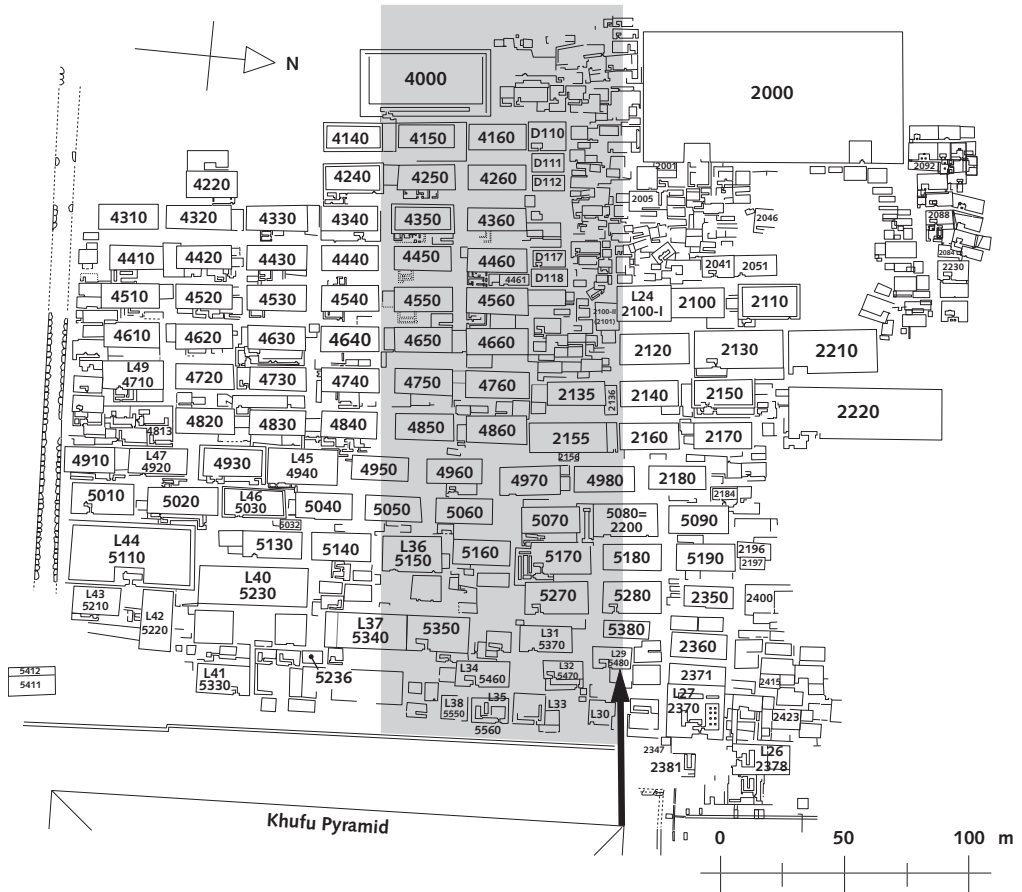


Fig. 2. Overview plan of the eastern half of Western Cemetery, indicating the German–Austrian Expedition concession in gray, and the imaginary dividing line (black arrow pointing to G 5480) leading west from the northwest corner of the Khufu pyramid.

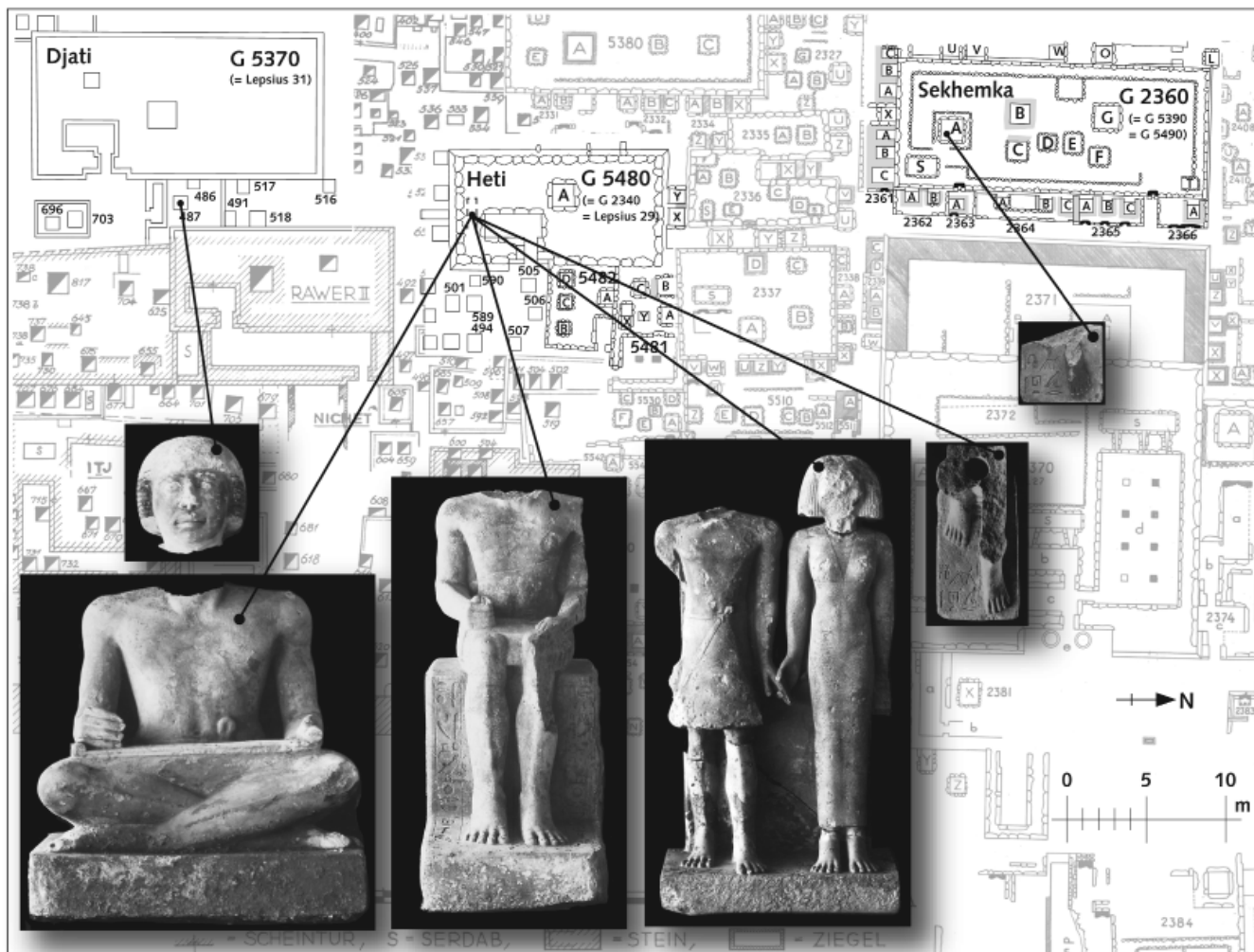


Fig. 3. Composite HU–MFA and German–Austrian plan of the eastern half of the Cemetery en Echelon, highlighting the three locations of Heti's five statues.



Fig. 4. General view of the excavated west face of G 5480 (= G 2340 = Lepsius 29), looking north; October 20, 1912. HU–MFA Expedition photograph, Bishari Mahfud, B1261.



Fig. 5. General view of G 5480 X (= G 2340 = Lepsius 29), looking east; October 13, 1912. HU–MFA Expedition photograph, Mohammedani Ibrahim, C2892.



Fig. 6. Burial chamber of G 5480 X (= G 2340 = Lepsius 29), looking east; October 16, 1912. HU–MFA Expedition photograph, Mohammedani Ibrahim, A7362.



Fig. 7. Excavated space east of G 2360 (= G 5390 = G 5490), looking south from photographic tower; November 11, 1912. HU–MFA Expedition photograph, Bishari Mahfud, A707.



Fig. 8. Mastaba of Djati (G 5370 = Lepsius 31), with shaft 487 of the tomb of Khenit in front of it, looking northwest; January 16, 2004. Photograph by the author, PDM_01074.

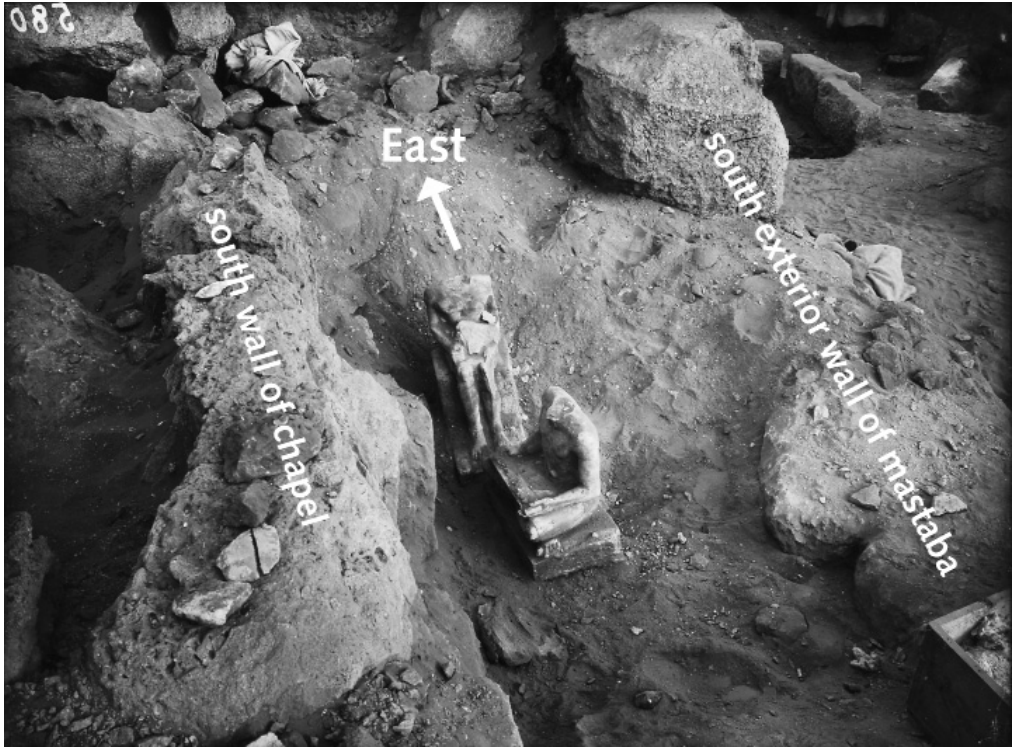


Fig. 9. G 5480 (= G 2340 = Lepsius 29), serdab, showing statue nos. 1 and 2 in situ, looking east; January 27, 1914. German–Austrian Expedition photograph, courtesy Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna, AEOS_I_5732 (excavation photo 580).

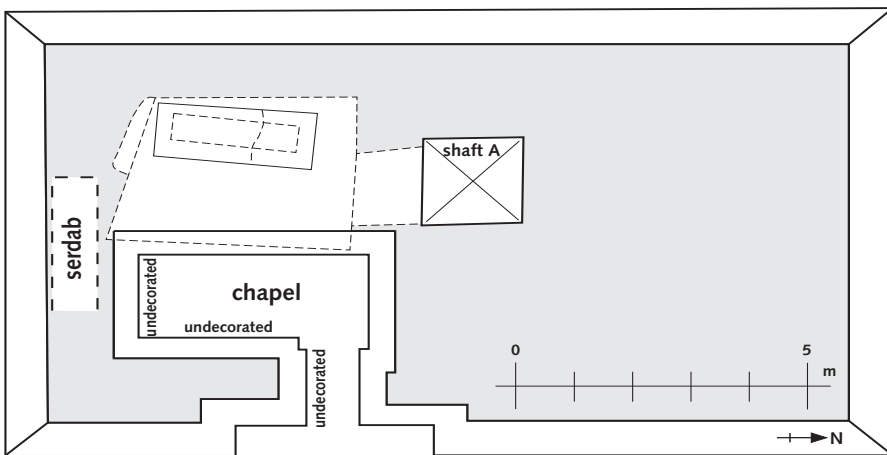


Fig. 10. Composite plan of G 5480 (= G 2340 = Lepsius 29), combining Junker, *Giza* 8, 13, fig. 3 and HU–MFA Expedition plans EG000498 and EG015177.



Fig. 11. G 5480 (= G 2340 = Lepsius 29), with serdab indicated (white arrow), looking west; date uncertain. German–Austrian Expedition photograph, courtesy Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna, AEOS_I_5889 (excavation photo 598).



Fig. 12. General view of G 5480 (= G 2340 = Lepsius 29), with serdab indicated (white arrow), looking west; January 16, 2004. Photograph by the author, PDM_01082.

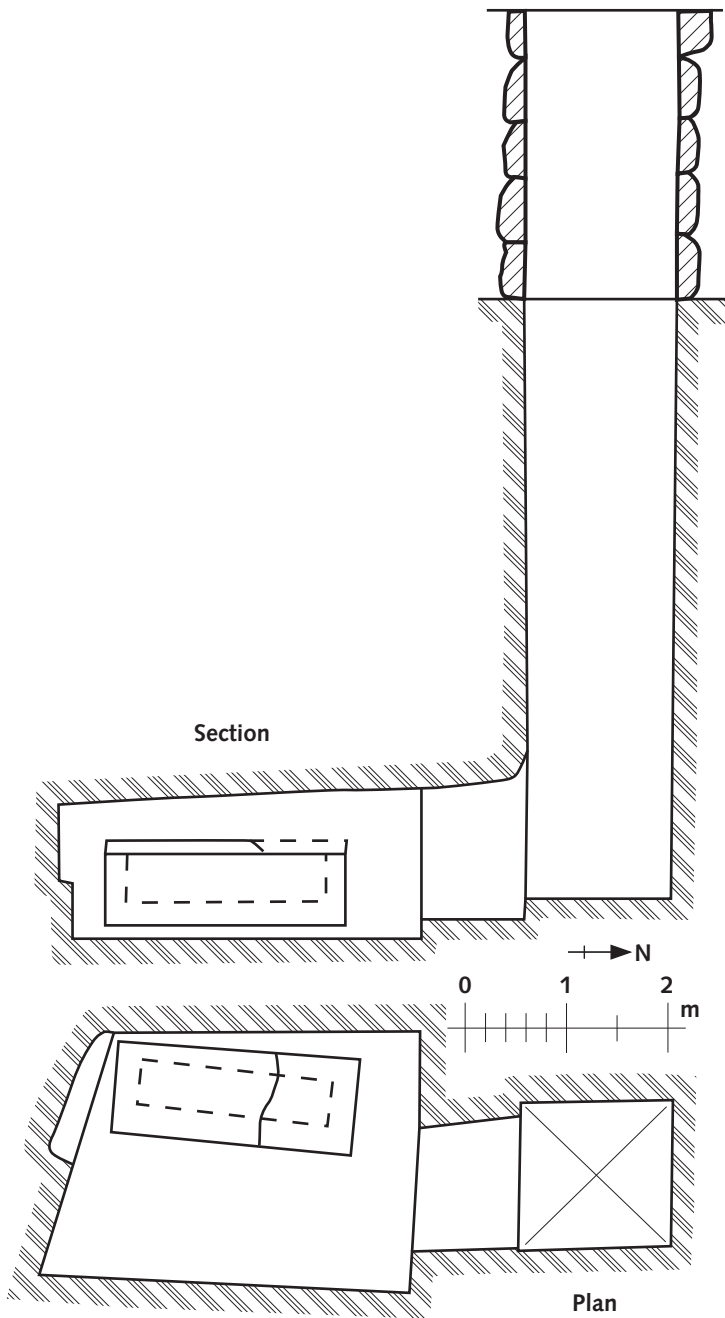


Fig. 13. G 5480 A (= G 2340 = Lepsius 29), plan and section, based on HU-MFA Expedition plan EG015177.

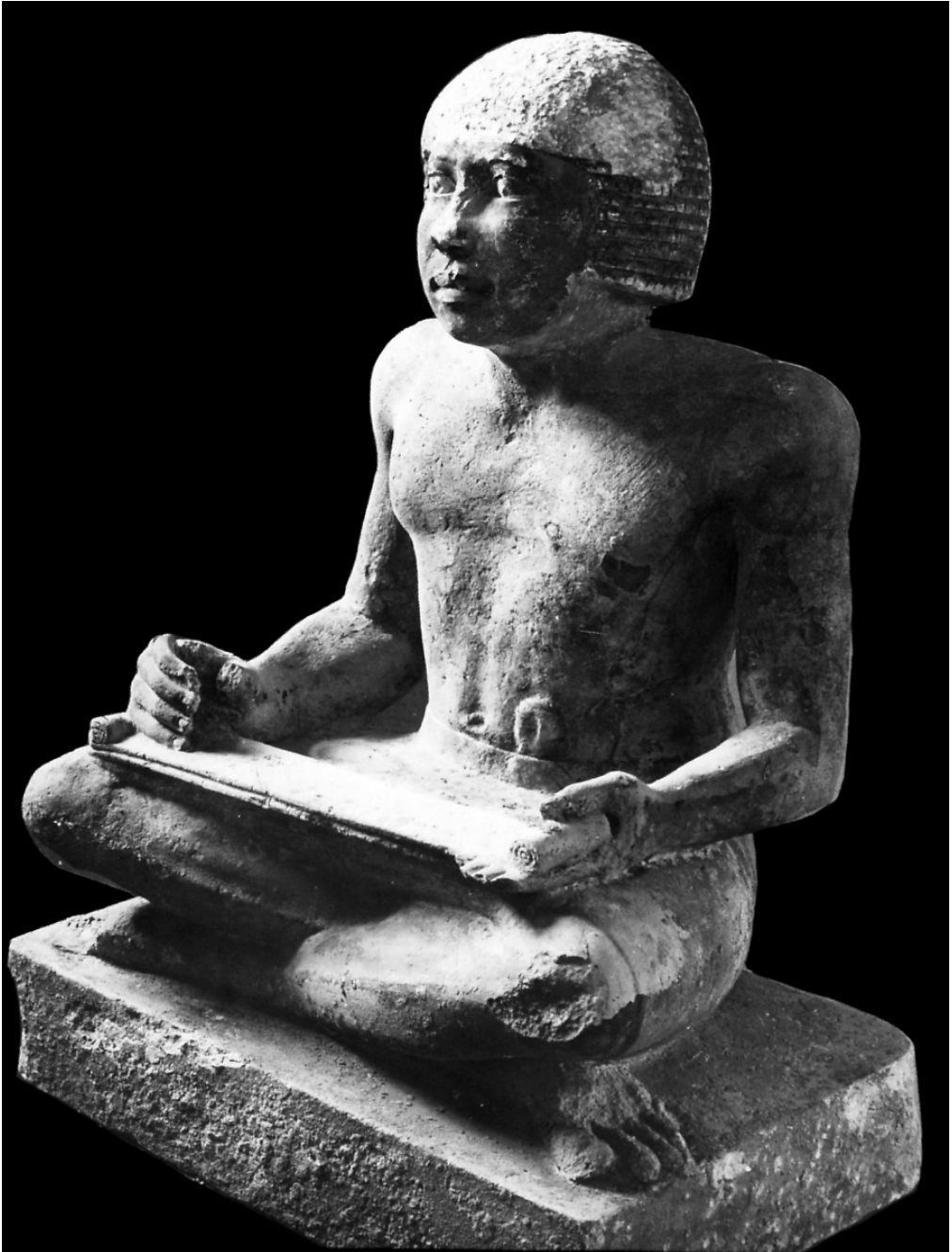


Fig. 14. Statue no. 1, Hildesheim 2407, three-quarter view. German–Austrian Expedition photograph, courtesy Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna, o_neg_nr_0291.

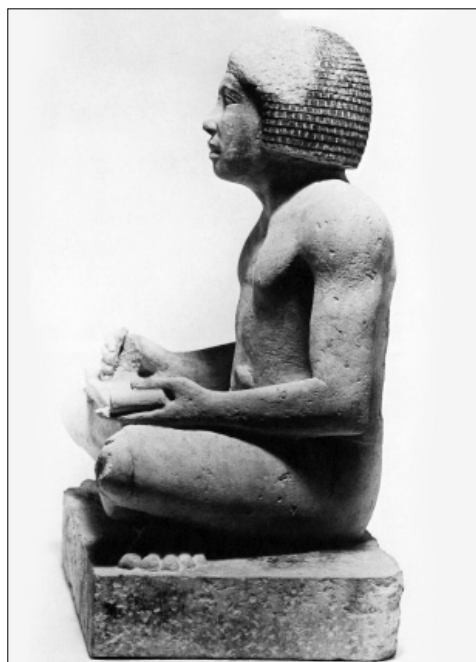
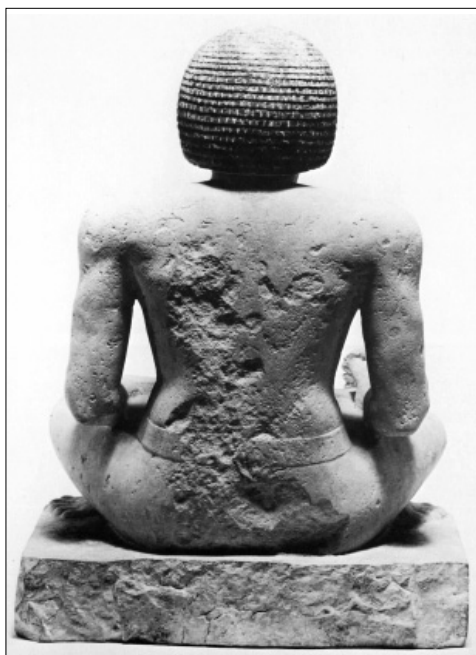
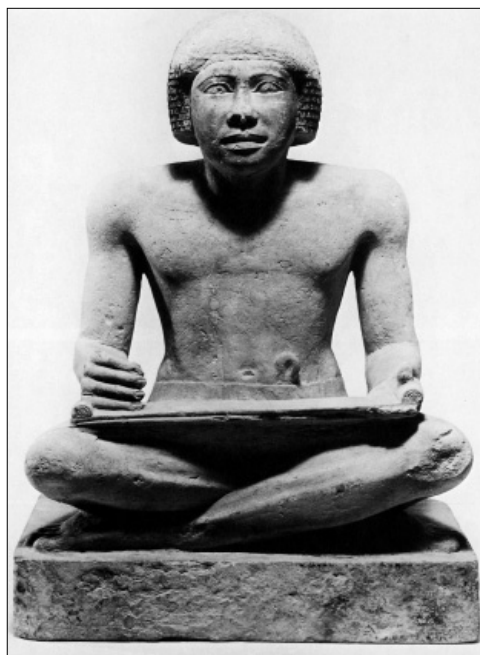


Fig. 15. Statue no. 1, Hildesheim 2407, four views. German–Austrian Expedition photograph, courtesy Pelizaeus-Museum, Hildesheim.

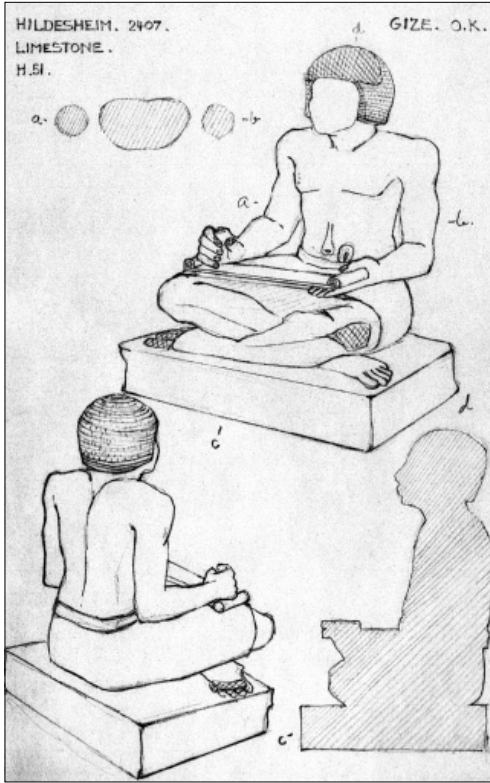


Fig. 16. Statue no. 1, Hildesheim 2407, drawing by Bodil Hornemann, *Types of Ancient Egyptian Statuary II* (Munksgaard, 1951), pl. 414.

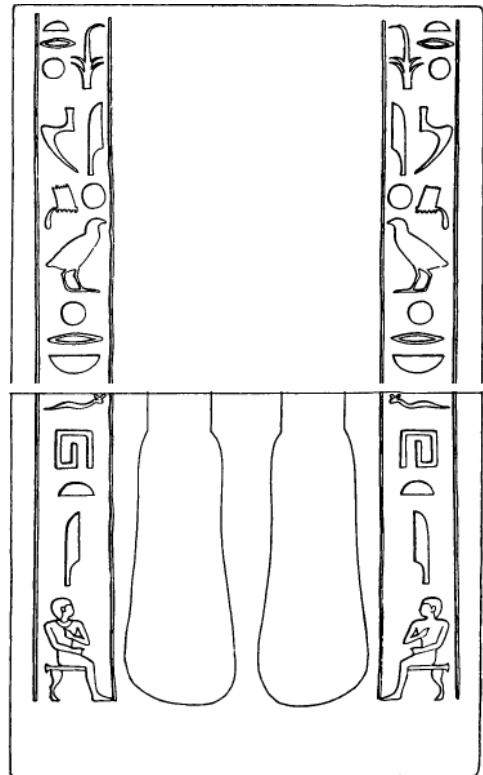


Fig. 17. Statue no. 2, Egyptian Museum, Cairo TR 20.1.41.4, inscriptions, after Junker, *Giza 8*, 17, fig. 4.

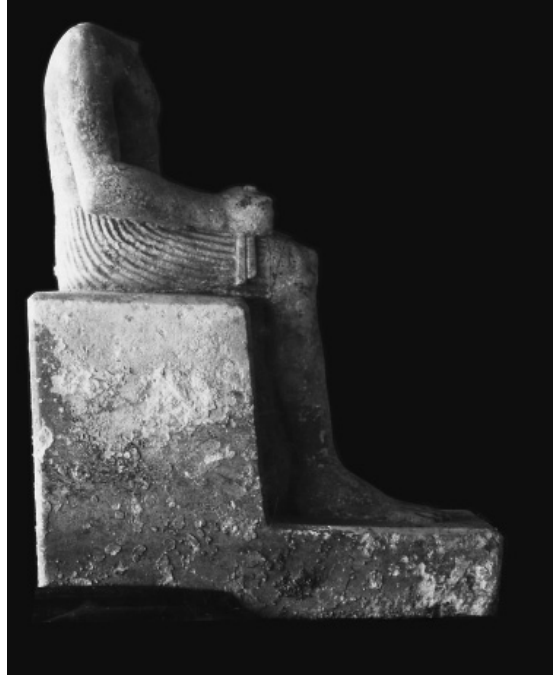
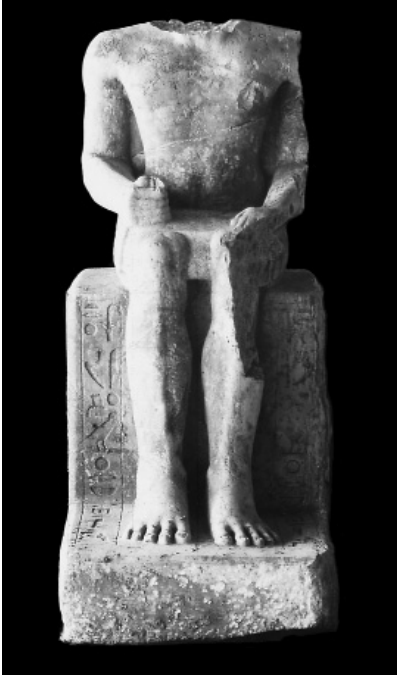


Fig. 18. Statue no. 2, Egyptian Museum, Cairo TR 20.1.41.4, German–Austrian Expedition photograph, courtesy Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna, AEOS_I_5851 (left; excavation photo 699) and AEOS_I_5854 (right; excavation photo 702).



Fig. 19. Statue no. 3, Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna ÄS 8543, courtesy Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna, o_neg_nr_0286.

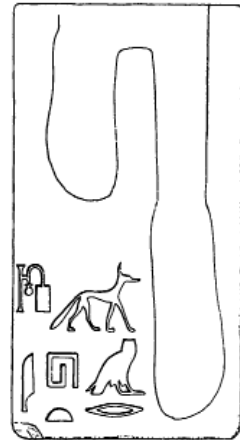


Fig. 20. Statue no. 3, Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna ÄS 8543, inscription, after Junker, *Giza* 8, 17, fig. 4.

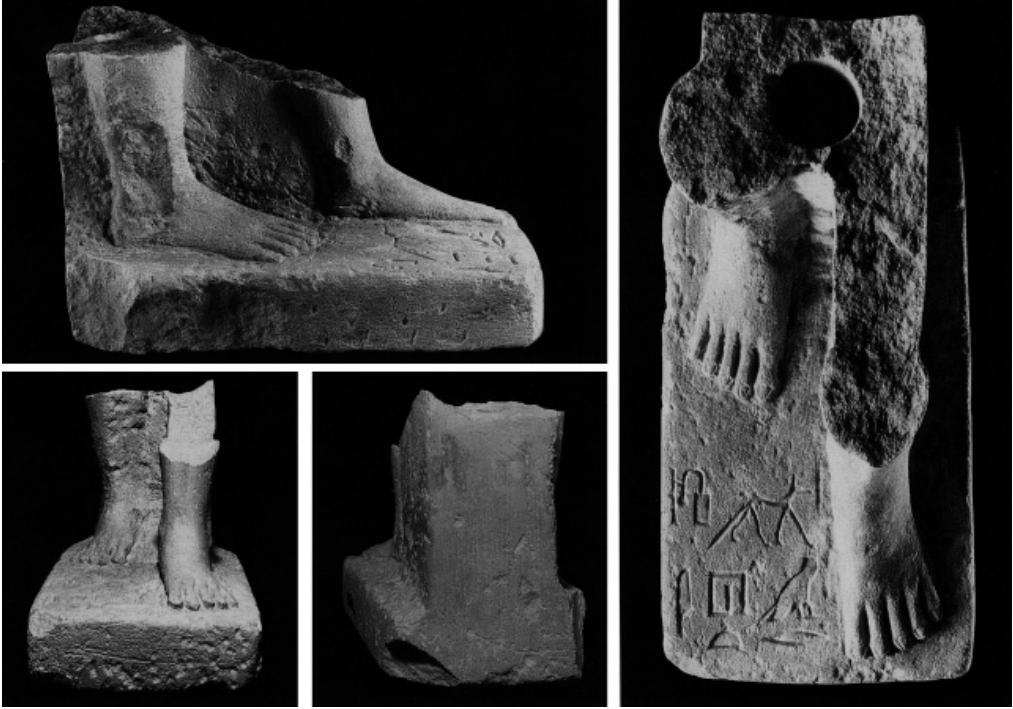


Fig. 21. Statue no. 3, Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna ÄS 8543, after Jaroš-Deckert and Rogge, *Statuen des Alten Reiches*, CAA 15 (Mainz, 1993), 150. Courtesy Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna.

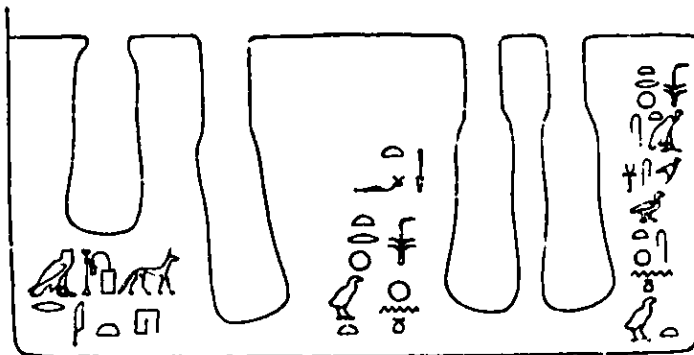


Fig. 22. Statue no. 4, Fitzwilliam Museum, 62.1926, inscriptions, after Junker, *Giza* 8, 17, fig. 4.



Fig. 23. Statue no. 4, Fitzwilliam Museum, 62.1926. German–Austrian Expedition photograph, courtesy Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna, o_neg_nr_0253.



Fig. 24. Statue no. 5, MFA 13.3447 (= Object Register number 12–11–1); Jan 31, 1913. HU–MFA Expedition photograph, Mohammed Shadduf, B1706 (detail).

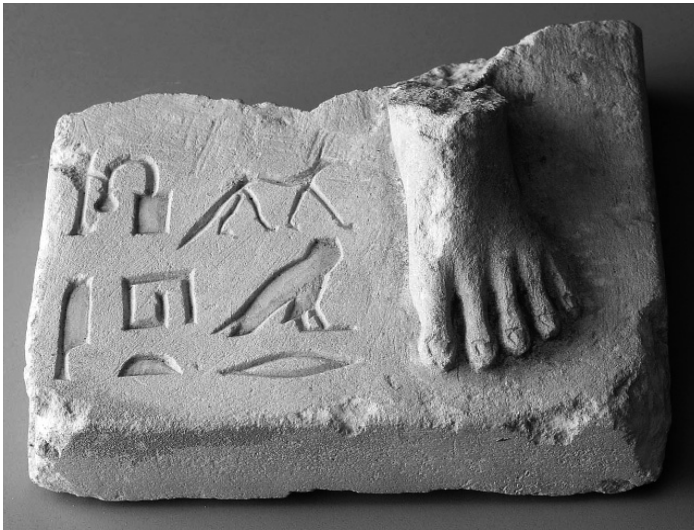


Fig. 25. Statue no. 5, MFA 13.3447 (= Object Register number 12–11–1); December 9, 2004. Courtesy Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, SC124013.

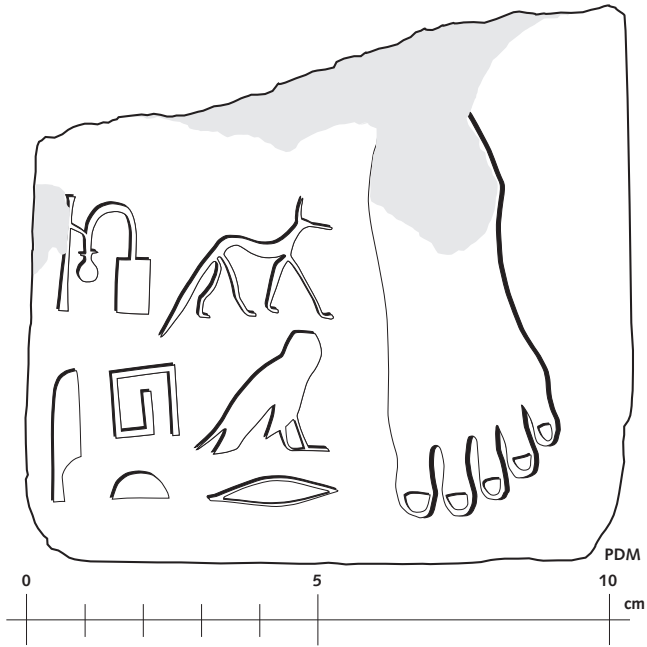


Fig. 26. Statue no. 5, MFA 13.3447 (= Object Register number 12-11-1); drawing by the author.



Fig. 27. G 5480 (= G 2340 = Lepsius 29), chapel, looking south; German–Austrian Expedition photograph, courtesy Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna, AEOS_I_5773 (excavation photo 621).

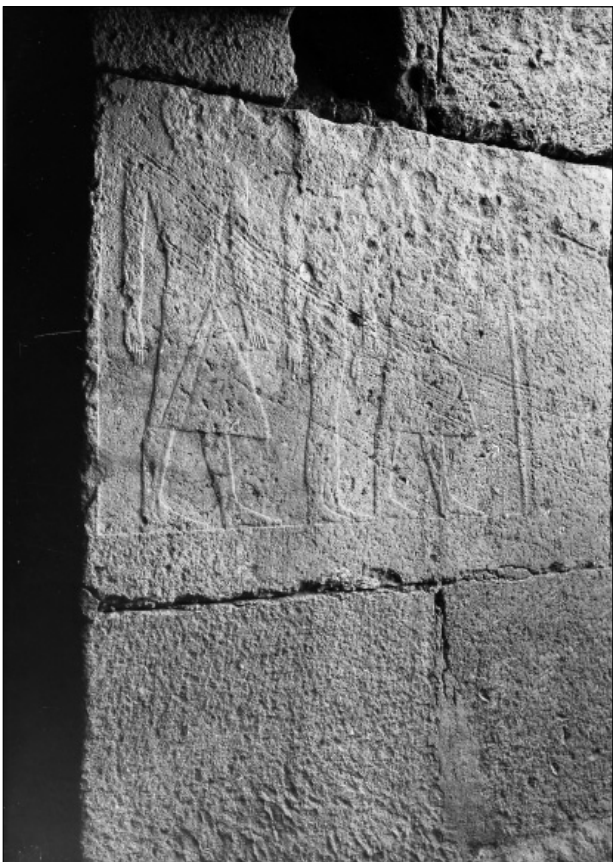


Fig. 28. G 5480 (= G 2340 = Lepsius 29), chapel, north entrance jamb, west half, looking northeast; German–Austrian Expedition photograph, courtesy Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna, AEOS_II_2939.



Fig. 29. G 5480 (= G 2340 = Lepsius 29), chapel, north entrance jamb, east half, looking northwest; September 6, 1930. HU–MFA Expedition photograph, Mohammedani Ibrahim, B7492.



Fig. 30. G 5480 (= G 2340 = Lepsius 29), chapel, west wall, south half, looking west; September 6, 1930. HU–MFA Expedition photograph, Mohammedani Ibrahim, A6041.



Fig. 31. G 5480 (= G 2340 = Lepsius 29), chapel, west wall, north half, looking west; September 6, 1930. HU–MFA Expedition photograph, Mohammedani Ibrahim, A6042.



Fig. 32. G 5480 (= G 2340 = Lepsius 29), chapel, north wall, looking north; September 6, 1930. HU–MFA Expedition photograph, Mohammedani Ibrahim, A6043.

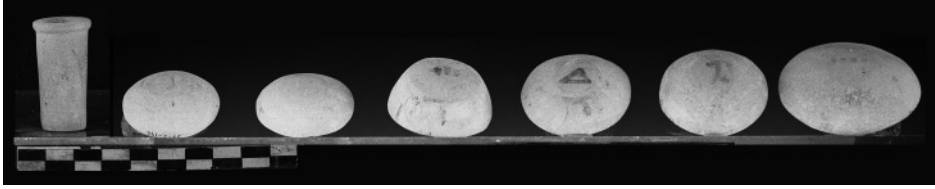


Fig. 33. 33-2-191, alabaster model cylinder jar, and 33-2-192, and six model offering dishes from shaft A of G 5480 (= G 2340 = Lepsius 29); March 22, 1933. HU-MFA Expedition photograph, Dahi Ahmed, C13413 (detail).

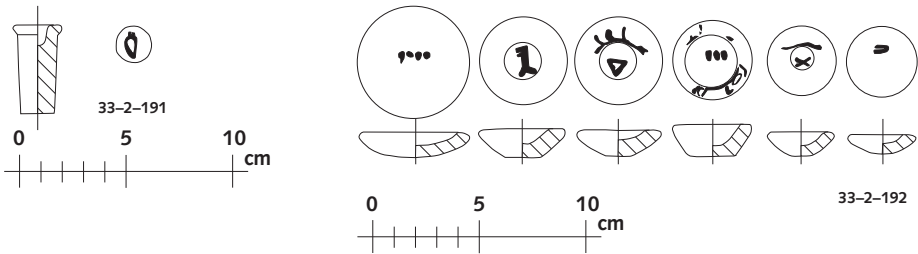


Fig. 34. Drawing of 33-2-191, alabaster model cylinder jar, and 33-2-192, six model offering dishes from shaft A of G 5480 (= G 2340 = Lepsius 29).



Fig. 35. MFA 33.1108 = 33-2-193, three canopic jar lids: one complete, one nearly complete, and one incomplete, from shaft A of G 5480 (= G 2340 = Lepsius 29); March 22, 1933. HU-MFA Expedition photograph, Dahi Ahmed, C13412 (detail).

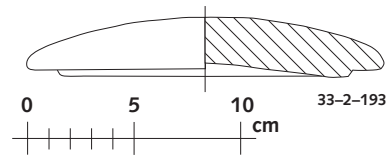


Fig. 36. Drawing of MFA 33.1108 = 33-2-193, canopic jar lid.

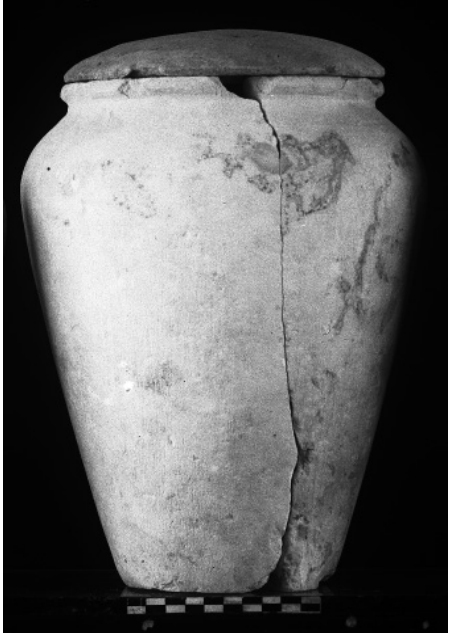


Fig. 37. MFA 33.1114 = 33-2-208, canopic jar and lid from shaft A of G 5480 (= G 2340 = Lepsius 29); March 22, 1933. HU-MFA Expedition photograph, Dahi Ahmed, C13409 (detail).



Fig. 38. MFA 33.1114 = 33-2-208, canopic jar and lid from shaft A of G 5480 (= G 2340 = Lepsius 29); April 12, 2002. Courtesy Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, SC30891.

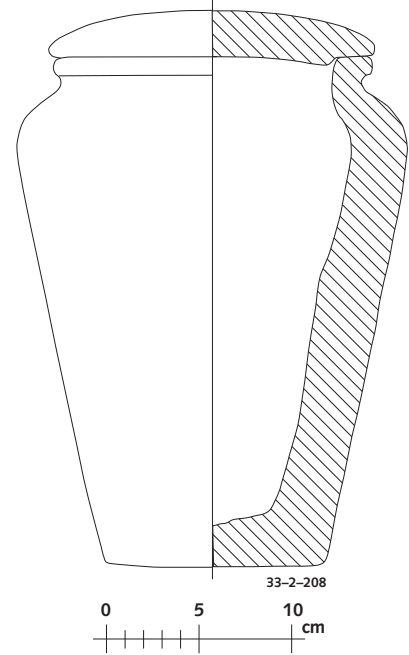


Fig. 39. Drawing of MFA 33.1114 = 33-2-208, canopic jar and lid.