

Slab Stelae of the Giza Necropolis



Peter Der Manuelian

SLAB STELAE OF THE GIZA NECROPOLIS



Painting of the slab stela of Wepemnefret (from g 1201) by Norman de Garis Davies, on behalf of the Hearst Egyptian Expedition, March, 1905. Photograph courtesy Museum of Fine Arts, Boston

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SLAB STELAE OF THE GIZA NECROPOLIS



by Peter Der Manuelian

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For Laurie

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Foreword

In 1963, some forty years ago, I initiated this series with the first publication of the Pennsylvania–Yale Expedition to Nubia at the sites of Toshka and Arminna. The next three volumes, by our former students Bruce G. Trigger and Kent R. Weeks, continued the publication of this material. With the termination of the expeditions to Nubia through the building of the High Dam at Aswan, my co-director, David B. O'Connor and I turned to our new concession at Abydos, for which site two volumes in the series have so far appeared. Volumes are in preparation for both the Nubian and Abydos projects.

When in 1970 I was appointed Curator of Egyptian and Ancient Near Eastern Art at the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, my predecessor, Dows Dunham, and I initiated a new series, the Giza Mastabas, published by the Museum of Fine Arts. The series has continued with several publications on the extraordinary work of George Andrew Reisner at Giza: three additional volumes by me and a volume each by Kent R. Weeks, Ann Macy Roth, and Edward Brovarski, comprising altogether seven volumes to date, with more in preparation.

The latter series is restricted to the publication of Reisner's work, and the present volume incorporates the work of other expeditions to a large degree. For that reason Professor O'Connor and I have chosen to publish it in the Pennsylvania–Yale Series, since work at Giza over the last thirty years has included students from the University of Pennsylvania and Yale. Funding for the series has been made possible through the William K. and Marilyn M. Simpson Endowment for Egyptology at Yale University.

It is not out of place to take this opportunity to congratulate the author of this volume, not only for his scholarship and the work of inspecting all of the slab stela first hand, with excellent drawings and photographs, but also for the design and production of a magnificent publication. I should also like to thank my two curatorial successors in Boston, Dr. Edward Brovarski and Dr. Rita Freed, as well as to acknowledge the support and friendship of my two immediate predecessors in Boston, William Stevenson Smith and Dows Dunham.

William Kelly Simpson
Katonah, May 14, 2003

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Preface

In the course of preparing the publication of Cemetery 2100 in the Museum of Fine Arts's Giza Mastabas Series, I came across the fragmentary slab stela from g 2120, the tomb of Seshat-sekhentiu, that was seemingly out of all proportion with its better-known counterparts from other areas of the Western Cemetery.¹ Cemetery 2100 also contained the mysterious empty emplacement in mastaba g 2100, belonging perhaps to Sedit, the mother of the famous Merib, whose mastaba chapel was removed to Berlin by Lepsius in 1845.² And finally, there was a nameless fragment from the ruins of g 2135, now located in Vienna. In order to understand these objects better, an attempt was made to collect the evidence concerning all the Giza slab stelae. The study quickly grew too large for a mere appendix to the Cemetery 2100 publication, and so the results are presented here as a separate monograph. Since the present work is not an excavation report in the traditional sense, it was deemed appropriate to publish it separately from the MFA's Giza Mastabas Series, which currently stands at seven volumes.³

I have attempted in the case of each of the fifteen stelae surveyed here to obtain or prepare new color photography, and to produce new facsimile line drawings, experimenting with computer (vector) artwork. The result of this "digital epigraphy" is that no ink was used in the production of the primary line drawings contained in the pages below. Photographs were scanned at high resolution and then "traced" on-screen using a modified version of the Chicago House method. Collation sheets in the form of laser proofs were then produced and taken to the objects themselves for collation and correction.⁴

In order to augment the new color photography, I have also included wherever appropriate original expedition images from the Giza excavations by Reisner and Junker from the early twentieth century. In addition to general views of the

various chapel areas, which today are reburied, deteriorated, or both, there are black-and-white "studio" views of the slab stelae, often showing them at earlier stages of preservation than are represented in the recent color images. Even though these older images are in black and white, remains of polychromy are sometimes visible in areas that are now devoid of color. By comparing the older photography, the new color images, and the facsimile line drawings, the reader should be able to gain better access to the stelae than has hitherto been available.

One avenue of research that I have not been able to pursue, due to the logistics involved, is an accurate analysis of color values on those stelae that preserve a suitable amount of pigment. Nor has an investigation of the chemical composition of the pigments used been undertaken. This is but one indication that the following pages, despite their attempt at thoroughness, will hardly constitute the last word on the subject of the Giza slab stelae. Moreover, at the rate that new discoveries on the Giza plateau have surfaced in recent years, one should refrain from claiming that the present corpus of slab stelae is complete. Additional finds at other sites such as Dahshur, Saqqara, or Abu Roash may also provide interesting parallels to the Giza stelae discussed here.

Although brief remarks are supplied on the archaeological context of each slab stela, I have in no way attempted a comprehensive publication of each of the tombs studied below. In fact, I would like to emphasize that a detailed study and publication of each and every major mastaba at Giza is still an outstanding desideratum. All the Giza tombs have much to tell us, regardless of the presence or absence of decorated chambers or inscribed materials.

Assembling all of the diverse monuments for this collection has necessitated considerable travel, which of course means that I have relied on the assistance, hospitality, professional expertise, and kindness of a host of colleagues throughout the world. In several cases, I was chasing a "moving target," as the stelae in question were in transit between special exhibitions. Thus my collations often took place far from some of the stelae's normal home bases. Since none of this work would have been possible without the support of many friends and colleagues, I am indebted to the following individuals:

Boston

I thank Rita E. Freed, Norma Jean Calderwood Curator of Art of the Ancient World, Egyptian Section, Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, for her constant support of my Giza researches over

many years, and her permission to publish portions of the extensive Giza excavation archives under her care. It is to her vision and foresight that we owe the continued existence of the Giza Mastabas Series.

John Woolf, Digital Imaging Specialist, Department of Intellectual Property, MFA, photographed the three stelae in Boston (Meretites, Seshat-sekhentiu, and Wenshet), and created the photographic composite of the separate Seshat-sekhentiu fragments (pl. 17). He and Damon Beale, of the same department, produced the high-resolution scans of most of the color images of the fifteen stelae, upon which some of my epigraphy was based. Debra Lakind, Head of Rights and Licensing, Department of Intellectual Property, MFA, facilitated the use of the numerous MFA images that appear throughout the volume. For their encouragement, good humor, and patience with an often-tedious Giza fanatic, I thank my Department colleagues at the Museum of Fine Arts: Larry Berman, Denise Doxey, Joyce Haynes, Yvonne Markowitz, Laura Gadbery, and Sophia Teller.

Since 2000, Giza researchers in Boston have enjoyed hitherto unparalleled digital access to the Harvard University–Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, Expedition Archives. The "Giza Archives Project" owes its existence to a generous grant from the Andrew W. Mellon Foundation. Although not yet available to the public at the time this volume went to press, the project is already streamlining Giza research. For making this grant possible, and assisting in every way with its administration, I would like to thank my colleagues at the Mellon Foundation: Angelica Zander Rudenstine, Program Officer, Museums and Conservation, Nancy Allen, Director of Museum Relations for ArtSTOR, and Julie Douglass, Program Associate, Museums and Conservation; and at the Museum of Fine Arts: Malcolm Rogers, Ann and Graham Gund Director; Katie Getchell, Deputy Director for Curatorial Administration; Maureen Melton, Susan Morse Hilles Director of Libraries and Archives; and Diane Flores, Mellon Research Associate. Special thanks go once again to Rita Freed for graciously opening up the Giza archives to the challenges of modernization.

¹ See below, Chapter 1, stela 9.

² Cf. Lepsius, *Denkmaeler* 1, pl. 22; 2, pls. 18–22; K.-H. Priese, *Die Opferkammer des Merib* (Berlin, 1984), pp. 6–7.

³ See most recently E. Brovarski, *The Senedjemib Complex, Part 1*, Giza Mastabas 7 (Boston, 2001).

⁴ For more on this epigraphic method, see "Digital Epigraphy. An Approach to Streamlining Egyptological Epigraphic Method," *JARCE* 35 (1998), pp. 97–113, and "Digital Epigraphy at Giza," *Egyptian Archaeology* no. 17 (Autumn, 2000), pp. 25–27.

Photographer Brian Snyder accompanied me to Egypt in 1999 and photographed the stelae of Setji-hekenet and Ini at the Port Said National Museum (April 15), and of Kaiemah at the Cairo Museum (April 17), as well as taking numerous images at the site of Giza itself.

Cairo

Special thanks are due to Zahi Hawass, Secretary General of the Supreme Council of Antiquities, who has encouraged and supported MFA work at Giza for several decades. For facilitating my photography and research at the Egyptian Museum, Cairo, I thank the former directors, Mohamed el-Shimy and Mohamed Saleh; and the present director, Mamdouh Eldamaty. I am also indebted to the Curator of the Old Kingdom collections, Mahmoud el-Hawagi, as well as Consultant Curator Mai Trad.

Port Said

I benefited from very kind hospitality that allowed me complete access to the two Giza slab stelae at the Port Said National Museum, for which I thank Director Madame Nashwa Hussein, and Curator of Egyptology Madame Nagah Deyab Ali.

Giza

Work on the slab stelae took place over several seasons. With each visit, I enjoyed the company and resourcefulness of Egyptologist inspectors and officials from the Supreme Council of Antiquities. I thank Zahi Hawass, Secretary General of the SCA, who was director of the Giza Plateau during most of my field seasons. Amal Samuel has been a constant support over many years, as have Mansur Boraik, Mahmoud Afifi, and Ayman Wahby Taher. In 1993, Giza inspector Mohamed Sadek was of great assistance during much of my work in the Western Cemetery.

Berkeley

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way to reconstruct the many fragments of the stela of Kanefer for new photography.

Hildesheim

From the Pelizaeus-Museum, I thank former Director Arne Eggebrecht and Curator Bettina Schmitz for many years of shared Giza collaboration, as well as the color photography of the stela of Iunu. I am also indebted to the current Director, Eleni Vasilika, for her permission to publish several images of objects under her care.

New York

For permission to illustrate so many of Photographer Bruce White's excellent color images of the Wepemnefret, Nefret-iabet, and Nefer stelae, originally prepared for the special exhibition, "Egyptian Art in the Age of the Pyramids" (1999–2000), I thank Dorothea Arnold, Lila Acheson Wallace Curator in Charge, Department of Egyptian Art, The Metropolitan Museum of Art. During numerous research trips to the Metropolitan Museum, she and her staff have provided invaluable assistance. I am particularly grateful for the opportunity to collate the Wepemnefret stela during its visit to New York. I also thank members of the Egyptian Department staff for their hospitality and assistance in answering my many research questions: Curators James P. Allen, Catharine Roehrig, and Marsha Hill; and Assistant Curator Adela Oppenheim.

The stela of Nefer was collated at the Brooklyn Museum of Art during the "Mistress of the House" exhibition in May 1997. For this opportunity I am indebted to Richard Fazzini, Chairman of the Department of Egyptian, Classical, and Ancient Middle Eastern Art.

Richmond

I was fortunate to be able to collate the Hildesheim stela of Iunu at the Virginia Museum of Fine Arts, Richmond, in June, 1999, during the special loan exhibition "Splendors of Ancient Egypt." For facilitating this visit (on a weekend no less), I am indebted to Margaret Ellen Mayo, Senior Curator of Ancient Art.

Vienna

The Giza stelae corpus would be incomplete without the Junker objects housed in the Kunsthistorisches Museum. Over the course of several visits, I have enjoyed the kindness and assistance of Helmut Satzinger, Director of the Ägyptisch-Orientalische Sammlung. In addition, Regina Hölzl has shared

her Giza expertise with me on several occasions, and has filled in many a hole in my Vienna records on Junker's excavations.

For permission to publish photographs of objects related to the Giza stelae, I am grateful to Mogens Jørgensen of the Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek, Dietrich Wildung and Karl-Heinz Priese of the Ägyptisches Museum, Berlin, and Mathilde Borla of the Museo Egizio di Torino. Object information was generously researched in Cairo on several occasions by both Hourig Sourouzian and Cynthia Sheikholeslami, and I thank these colleagues for interrupting their work on my behalf.

Most of the artwork presented here is my own, but several colleagues generously gave of their time and digital expertise to provide drawings of archaeological plans. I am particularly grateful to Ruth Bigio of Boston for redrawing several of Reisner's original maps by computer, and to Liza Majerus of Vienna for supplying several of the computerized plans drawn for Peter Jánosi's forthcoming work on Giza.

I have learned from many colleagues specializing in the Old Kingdom, and am fortunate to count their scholarly exchanges among the most pleasant memories associated with the preparation of this volume. In particular, I am grateful to Peter Jánosi, Institut für Ägyptologie der Universität Wien, for sharing so much information and so much of his knowledge. He was particularly generous in allowing me to read his *Giza in der 4. Dynastie*, in manuscript form. For fruitful Giza discussions, and many helpful suggestions, I am likewise indebted, in no particular order, to Miroslav Bárta, Rainer Stadelmann, Hourig Sourouzian, James P. Allen, John Baines, Henry G. Fischer, Edward Brovarski, and Del Nord. The last three scholars mentioned were kind enough to read through and comment on preliminary versions of the manuscript. For her sharp eye, editing skills, and patience with an impatient author I thank my wife, to whom this volume is dedicated. Any remaining typographic or other errors are solely my own responsibility.

Finally, I am deeply obliged to William Kelly Simpson, not only for his willingness to accept the present work in the Pennsylvania–Yale publication series, but for his constant encouragement and support in all my Egyptological endeavors. I was fortunate to spend my first season at Giza under his direction in 1977, and have enjoyed working at the site ever since. May the pages below be worthy of this "master of the Giza Necropolis."

PDM
Boston, May 20, 2003

Abbreviations

		B Ae	Bibliotheca Aegyptiaca, Brussels	<i>MMJ</i>	<i>The Metropolitan Museum Journal</i> , New York
		BdE	Bibliothèque d'Etude, Cairo	n.	note
		<i>BMMA</i>	<i>Bulletin of the Metropolitan Museum of Art</i> , New York	<i>NAWG</i>	<i>Nachrichten von der Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Göttingen</i> , Phil.-hist. Kl., Göttingen
		BSA	British School of Archaeology in Egypt, London	n.d.	no date
		c	circa	OIP	Oriental Institute Publications, Chicago
		CG	Catalogue général des antiquités égyptiennes du Musée du Caire, Cairo	<i>Or</i>	<i>Orientalia</i> , Rome
A 1–Aa 31	Alan H. Gardiner, <i>Egyptian Grammar. Being an Introduction to the Study of Hieroglyphs</i> , Sign-List, pp. 442–543. 3d rev. ed. London: Oxford University Press for Griffith Institute, Ashmolean Museum, Oxford, 1964	EEF	Egypt Exploration Fund, London	OBO	Orbis Biblicus et Orientalis, Freiburg, Switzerland, and Göttingen
		EES	Egypt Exploration Society, London	<i>OLP</i>	<i>Orientalia Lovaniensia Periodica</i> , Leuven
ÄA	Ägyptologische Abhandlungen, Wiesbaden	ERA	Egyptian Research Account, London	PDM	Peter Der Manuelian
ÄAT	Ägypten und Altes Testament, Wiesbaden	h.	height	RACE	Reports of the Australian Centre for Egyptology, Sydney
ACE	Australian Centre for Egyptology	HÄB	Hildesheimer Ägyptologische Beiträge, Hildesheim	<i>REA</i>	<i>Revue de l'Égypte Ancienne</i> , Paris
<i>AcOr</i>	<i>Acta Orientalia</i> , Leiden, from Vol. 21: Copenhagen	HU–BMFA	Harvard University–Boston Museum of Fine Arts Egyptian Expedition	<i>RdE</i>	<i>Revue d'Égyptologie</i> , Paris
ADAIK	Abhandlungen des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts Kairo, Glückstadt, Hamburg, New York	IFAO	Institut Français d'Archéologie Orientale du Caire	<i>RecTrav</i>	<i>Recueil de Travaux relatifs à la Philologie et à l'Archéologie Égyptiennes et Assyriennes</i> , Paris
<i>AJA</i>	<i>American Journal of Archaeology</i> , Baltimore, from 1897, Norwood	JNES	<i>Journal of Near Eastern Studies</i> , Chicago	<i>SAK</i>	<i>Studien zur Altägyptischen Kultur</i> , Hamburg
AnOr	Analecta Orientalia, Rome	<i>Kêmi</i>	<i>Kêmi. Revue de Philologie et d'Archéologie Égyptiennes et Coptes</i> , Paris	SAWW	Sitzungsberichte der Akademie der Wissenschaften in Wien, Vienna, and Leipzig
APAW	Abhandlungen der Preußischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, Berlin	MÄS	Münchener Ägyptologische Studien	SDAIK	Sonderschrift, Deutsches Archäologisches Institut, Abt. Kairo, Mainz
<i>ArOr</i>	<i>Archiv Orientalní</i> , Prague and Paris; vols. 14 and 15: Stuttgart and Prague	<i>MDAIK</i>	<i>Mitteilungen des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts, Abteilung Kairo</i> ; to 1944: <i>Mitteilungen des Deutschen Instituts für Ägyptische Altertumskunde in Kairo</i> , Berlin, Wiesbaden; from 1970: Mainz	Sign List	Alan Gardiner. <i>Egyptian Grammar. Being an Introduction to the Study of Hieroglyphs</i> , pp. 442–53. 3d rev. ed. London: Oxford University Press for Griffith Institute, Ashmolean Museum, Oxford, 1964
<i>ASAE</i>	<i>Annales du Service des Antiquités de l'Égypte</i> , Cairo	MFA	Museum of Fine Arts, Boston	TÄB	Tübinger Ägyptologische Beiträge, Bonn
ASE	Archaeological Survey of Egypt, London	MIFAO	Mémoires publiés par les membres de l'Institut Français d'Archéologie Orientale du Caire, Cairo	th.	thickness
AV	Archäologische Veröffentlichungen, Deutsches Archäologisches Institut, Abt. Kairo, vols. 1–3, Berlin; vols. 4ff., Mainz	<i>MIO</i>	<i>Mitteilungen des Instituts für Orientforschung</i> , Berlin	UGÄÄ	Untersuchungen zur Geschichte und Altertumskunde Ägyptens, Leipzig
<i>BACE</i>	<i>Bulletin of the Australian Centre for Egyptology</i> , Sydney	<i>BMMA</i>	<i>The Metropolitan Museum of Art Bulletin</i> , New York	<i>VA</i>	<i>Variæ Aegyptiaca</i> , San Antonio

SLAB STELAE OF THE GIZA NECROPOLIS

VIO	Deutsche Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Berlin, Institut für Orientforschung, Veröffentlichungen, Berlin	WVDOG	Wissenschaftliche Veröffentlichungen der Deutschen Orientgesellschaft, Berlin, Leipzig	ZÄS	<i>Zeitschrift für Ägyptische Sprache und Altertumskunde</i> , Leipzig/Berlin
w.	width	WZKM	<i>Wiener Zeitschrift für die Kunde des Morgenlandes</i> , Vienna	ZDMG	<i>Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft</i> , Leipzig/Wiesbaden

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Introduction

"I am sure that the '89 men will like to hear the great moments which have come to me and our expedition. When my mind goes back, I think of many moments such as the finding of the stela of Prince Wep-em-nofret, a son of Cheops, in painted relief, and one masterpiece of Egyptian art after another...."

George A. Reisner, in
*Harvard College, Class of
1889, Fiftieth Anniversary
Report, 1939*, p. 333

When the location of the Old Kingdom royal cemetery shifted northward to Giza, a number of features appeared that scholars have regarded as innovations. Chief among these are the pre-planned, regular layout of streets of mastaba tombs, and a dearth of decorated wall surfaces in private tombs. Khufu's officials saw their mortuary cult focal points expressed primarily with "slab stelae," which are in some respects a truly deceptive group of objects. Very few of them have survived; the present work has assembled a group of fifteen either complete or fragmentary examples. They appear at first glance thematically common, indeed almost identically repetitive.¹ And they seem chronologically isolated to a single era, perhaps even to a single reign. But a closer examination of the slab stelae places them at the very center of the questions surrounding social organization, necropolis development, and the definition of crucial burial equipment in the early Old Kingdom. Several are also artistic masterpieces in their own right, perfecting most of the canons and conventions of early Egyptian two-dimensional representation with a confidence and restrained elegance absent from many of the inscribed monuments of preceding reigns.

By way of definition, the slab stelae under discussion here include only those monuments that are (or were once) complete in themselves, not parts of false door tablets (panels), tomb chapels, or other composite assemblages. Some confusion in the scholarly literature has arisen over terminologies, such as the contradictory term, "false door stela."² With a few exceptions, the slab stelae represent the only decorated or inscribed surfaces from the mastaba tombs in which they were found. They are often the only inscribed objects of any kind to derive from these tombs.

While the beauty of the slab stelae, enhanced in three cases by the preservation of much of the original color schemes, has secured their place in numerous surveys of Egyptian art and

treatises on the Pyramid Age, more detailed research on the Giza stelae themselves has been somewhat limited. Nine stelae were discovered in situ, set within their emplacements, thus providing an unusually large corpus of monuments preserved intact in their original archaeological context. In the pages below I intend to present a re-examination of the Giza slab stelae, with facsimile drawings of all the examples currently known. Among the many specific questions that they raise, and which the present monograph can only attempt to answer, are the following:

- *Origins.* Is there a linear development from earlier forms at other sites that leads directly to the Giza slab stelae? Which came first, the independent slab stela or the niche-stela depicting the funerary repast scene?
- *Archaeological context and necropolis development.* What role do the stelae play in the king's assignment of mastabas to individual owners, and the subsequent enlargements and alterations made to those tombs? Are the slab stelae of use in analyzing the relative chronology of Cemeteries 1200, 2100, and 4000, Reisner's three earliest nucleus cemeteries in the Western Field?
- *Thematic arrangement, stylistic analysis and inscriptional evidence.* Does the decoration of the individual stelae reveal any developmental patterns, specific hands or workshops, or the selection of individuals with specific administrative functions? Does analysis of these criteria assist in constructing a relative chronology for the early Fourth Dynasty at Giza?
- *Genre.* Do the stelae exemplify continuity and tradition, or innovation and a sharp break with the past? Was their use due to 1) royal decree, i.e., an interdiction on private relief and sculpture, 2) compromises made out of economic necessity, or 3) do they represent an example of what we might term intentional, "non-linear" reductionism?

The Giza stelae provide one of the major sources for relief decoration from the reign of Khufu.³ Set into the south side of the east face of the major mastabas of nucleus Cemeteries 1200, 2100 and 4000, they served as the primary focal point of the funerary cult. In direct contrast to many tombs of the preceding reigns at Meidum and Dahshur, no interior chambers were originally constructed within the superstructures of these early Giza mastabas. Instead, an exterior chapel of mud brick surrounded the recess in which the slab stela was installed. At some point late in the reign of Khufu, this reductionist program was altered. The large mastabas reserved for the royal family on the east side of the Great Pyramid were joined to

form great double mastabas with interior L-shaped chapels. The Western Cemetery saw similar renovations, as stone casings were added to some tombs, and exterior mud-brick chapels were converted into stone chapels, sometimes broken into the core of the mastaba itself. In certain cases, the slab stela was covered over, and a monolithic false door was erected in front of it.⁴ Often, however, the casing and stone chapels were commenced but never completed. We will return to the possible motivations behind these events below in Chapter 5.

The Giza group, discovered in most cases in situ set into the mastaba wall, offers a unique opportunity for a comparative study of style, layout, and inscriptions. The manner in which the group sheds light on the relationship of one nucleus cemetery to another is also discussed. Likewise worth considering here are the interesting lacunae, consisting both of empty stela emplacements (see Chapter 2, fig. 175), and of tombs whose emplacement area was destroyed by alterations to the mastaba late in, or after, Khufu's reign. Such alterations might provide one explanation for the absence of slab stelae in the Eastern Cemetery (i.e., destruction of the stela area during the connection of double mastabas). Another explanation would posit that the slab stelae were a private phenomenon at Giza that was never used in the "royal" Eastern Cemetery.⁵

¹ Cf. the remarks by E. Schott, "Friedhofsbräuche in Giza," in F. Junge, ed., *Studien zu Sprache und Religion Ägyptens 2* (Fs. W. Westendorf) (Göttingen, 1984), pp. 1125 ("... daß sie fast langweilig wirken"), 1126.

² On the confusion over terminology, see G. Haeny, "Zu den Platten mit Opfertischszene in Helwan und Giseh," in *Aufsätze zum 70. Geburtstag von Herbert Ricke*, Beiträge Bf. 12 (Wiesbaden, 1971) (hereafter Fs. Ricke), p. 160; and S. Wiebach, *Die ägyptische Scheintür. Morphologische Studien zur Entwicklung und Bedeutung der Hauptkultstelle in den Privat-Gräbern des Alten Reiches* (Hamburg, 1981), p. 35 with n. 46.

³ N. Cherpion, in *Egyptian Art in the Age of the Pyramids* (New York, 1999), p. 107, argues that, contrary to common belief, there are hundreds of inscribed monuments from the Fourth Dynasty. Nevertheless, the amount of substantial relief decoration securely dated to specific reigns remains limited, especially if one declines to follow some of the redatings of Old Kingdom tombs back to earlier dynasties in her important study, *Mastabas et Hypogées d'Ancien Empire. Le Problème de la Datation* (Brussels, 1989).

⁴ See the stelae of Wepemnefret (g 1201), Nefret-iabet (g 1225), and Iunu (g 4150). Note that secondarily added false doors were not necessarily placed directly in front of the slab stelae. Although difficult to see from Reisner's publication, both the tombs of Wepemnefret (g 1201; Reisner, *Giza Necropolis* 1, map 4 and pl. 11) and Seshat-sekhentiu (g 2120; *ibid.*, map 5 and pl. 34g) contained false doors erected further south than the slab stelae along the east wall.

⁵ Cf. B. Schmitz, *Untersuchungen zum Titel ss-njswt "Königssohn"* (Bonn, 1976), esp. pp. 17–22, and Junker, *Giza* 2, listing all the royal family members. For a difficult example of a queen buried in the Western Cemetery, see P. János, "g 4712—ein Datierungsproblem," *GM* 133 (1993), pp. 53–64.



Fig. 1. General view of the Western Cemetery from the top of the pyramid of Khufu, looking west. December 27, 1993. PDM, 93.129.01

The study is divided into five chapters. The primary source material is presented in Chapter 1. The new color photography and facsimile line drawings (pls. 1–30) are collected at the very beginning of this chapter for ease of reference, since the rest of the monograph depends on these large-scale illustrations. Following these plates, the chapter proceeds in catalogue fashion to discuss each individual stela, with basic information, discovery and supplementary photography, as well as notes on decoration and archaeological context.

Chapter 2 reviews the archaeological history of the Giza stelae, most of which took place in the early decades of the twentieth century. Illustrations and charts are presented here, separating mastabas according to expedition and type of stela, and indicating those tombs with empty stela emplacements. Chapter 3 then follows with a cursory and selective chronological overview of scholarly literature relevant to the subject. Comparative remarks on the decorative layout of the slab stelae are reserved for Chapter 4, and Chapter 5 presents some conclusions on the relative chronology and funereal significance within the Old Kingdom repertoire.

Three appendixes follow upon the five chapters listed above. Appendixes 1 and 2 focus on palaeography, with the first appendix assembling the colored hieroglyphs from three polychrome stelae,⁶ and the second presenting signs in line drawing from the entire Giza stela group. Appendix 3 provides a collection of Archaic Period and Old Kingdom monuments bearing the so-called linen list, expanding and augmenting the collection assembled by William Stevenson Smith in 1935,⁷ but with the addition of illustrations. Indexes of personal names, titles, Egyptian words and phrases, and a concordance of objects by museum completes the volume.

⁶ The stelae of Wepemnefret (stela 1, g 1201), Nefret-iabet (stela 6, g 1225), and Iunu (stela 13, g 4150).

⁷ W.S. Smith, "The Old Kingdom Linen List," *ZÄS* 71 (1935), pp. 134–49.



Fig. 2. View of the Western Cemetery from the pyramid of Khafre, looking north. December, 1906. HU–MFA Expedition photograph, Said Ahmed, a 13018



Fig. 3. View of Cemetery 1200 looking southeast towards the pyramid of Khufu (showing mastabas g 1201-1209). December, 1906. HU-MFA Expedition photograph, George Reisner, a 13033

CHAPTER I

Catalogue of the Giza Slab Stelae

The following pages summarize in catalogue format the fifteen stelae and stela fragments that form the subject of the present work. They are discussed in order by mastaba tomb number, from lowest (g 1201) to highest (g 4860). In order to maximize the reader's ability to compare the stelae with their epigraphic facsimile drawings,¹ all fifteen examples are grouped together on the pages immediately following in large-format color plates (left-hand page), accompanied by digital epigraphy (right-hand page) without the distraction of text or commentary. In some cases, the line drawings use color to differentiate between carved and painted decoration (see plates 2, 12, and 26) or between preserved and restored areas (see esp. plate 18).

Following upon these plates are the catalogue “entries” on each of the stelae, divided into discrete sections set off in red type:

- tomb owner
- provenance
- excavation history
- current location
- material
- measurements
- selected bibliography
- translation
- description and commentary
- date

At the risk of redundancy but in the hope of avoiding confusion, an effort has been made to repeat tomb numbers and tomb-owner names together. Since some Giza tombs possess as many as three numbers (e.g., g 2135 = VIInn = g 4770), this repetition was deemed essential. Comparative discussion between different stelae is held to a minimum in the present chapter; more extensive remarks may be found below in Chapter 4.

After the collection of fifteen stelae in large-format color plates and digital drawings, additional photography accompanies the translations and descriptions in this chapter. Black-and-white discovery photographs, “studio” images from the early twentieth century taken at “Harvard Camp” west of the Giza Pyramids and elsewhere, detail views, tomb plans, and recent color photography at Giza are all intended to round out the context of the stelae from as many eras as possible. Since the condition of some of the stelae has changed between 1902 (the year the first slab stela was discovered) and the present day, these multiple illustrations should help the reader track such changes since their excavation. At this writing, several of the stela emplacement areas remain buried at Giza; while it was my original intention to re-excavate these areas, primarily for purposes of photography, this task will have to be undertaken at a future time.

A few words might be added by way of orientation. Two basic stela forms may be determined at Giza, a smaller, “short form” used for nine of the fifteen preserved examples, and a wider, “long form,” with an expanded number of offerings, used for six stelae (see fig. 213).² In order to enlarge the illustrations in plates 1–30 below to full page size, the short- and long-form stelae necessitated different reproduction scales.³ In fact, the horizontal, or “landscape” format of the slab stelae determined the horizontal format of the present monograph; a vertical format would have necessitated unwanted reductions in the illustrations or constantly forced the reader to rotate the publication ninety degrees.

In order to discuss the decoration scheme used, I have divided the decorative layout of each stela into four sections (see fig. 4), and color-coded them for ease of reference and comparison.⁴ The stela translations follow this order, from Sections a–d, and additional, smaller-format, colorized line drawings accompany each translation. The individual section translations are likewise keyed to align to this color coding system. The stela sections are distinguished and color-coded as follows:

Section a	the overhead identifying text, placed at the top of the stela
Section b	the funerary repast at the left side (seated figure before the table of offering loaves)
Section c	the list of offerings, located centrally
Section d	the linen list at the right edge of the stela

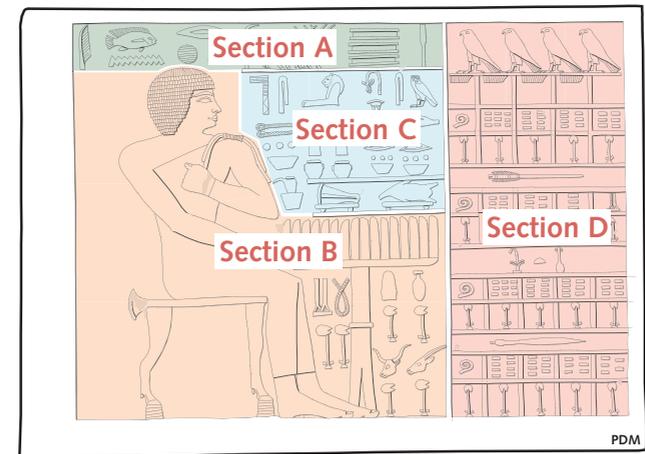


Fig. 4. Colorized schematic line drawing showing the four sections of the slab stela decorative layout

Some elements might not fit into one or another section as consistently as one might prefer. For example, the ewer and basin, often accompanied by the libating hand sign,⁵ could be associated with the seated tomb-owner (Section b), rather than with the offerings (Section c), but I have chosen the latter association in the present work. Moreover, these signs are transliterated and translated, while others in Section c, such as trussed ducks or cuts of meat on trays, are left untranslated, taken as ideographic items only.

Most of the lines of text on the stelae have not been numbered, but in the case of some of the longer inscriptions, text line and column numbers have been added to the color-coded line drawings.

¹ Note that in some instances the modern color photograph betrays damage that has occurred since the time of excavation. Hence if the epigraphic drawings show certain details that appear now to be missing from the stelae, they are based on original expedition photography (rather than the new color images) from the first decade of the twentieth century.

² Cf. Smith, *HESPOK*, p. 159.

³ Notes on short-form versus long-form stelae may be found in the individual discussions following the color plates, as well as in Chapter 4.

⁴ This scheme was first devised for “The Problem of the Giza Slab Stelae,” in H. Guksch and D. Polz, eds., *Stationen. Beiträge zur Kulturgeschichte Ägyptens Rainer Stadelmann Gewidmet* (Mainz, 1998), pp. 125–32, pl. 7a. For an older but similar division scheme, see Vandier, *Manuel* 1, p. 766. For comparative remarks on the decorative program of the four sections, see Chapter 4 below.

⁵ These items are read *iʿꜣwy*, “implements for washing hands,” following H.G. Fischer, *Varia Nova*, *Egyptian Studies* 3 (New York, 1996), pp. 180–83.



Plate 1. Stela 1: g 1201 Wepemnefret. Phoebe A. Hearst Museum of Anthropology, Berkeley, 6-19825. Photograph by Bruce White



Plate 3. Stela 2: g 1203 Kanefer. Phoebe A. Hearst Museum of Anthropology, Berkeley, 6-19807. Photograph by Lee Fatheree

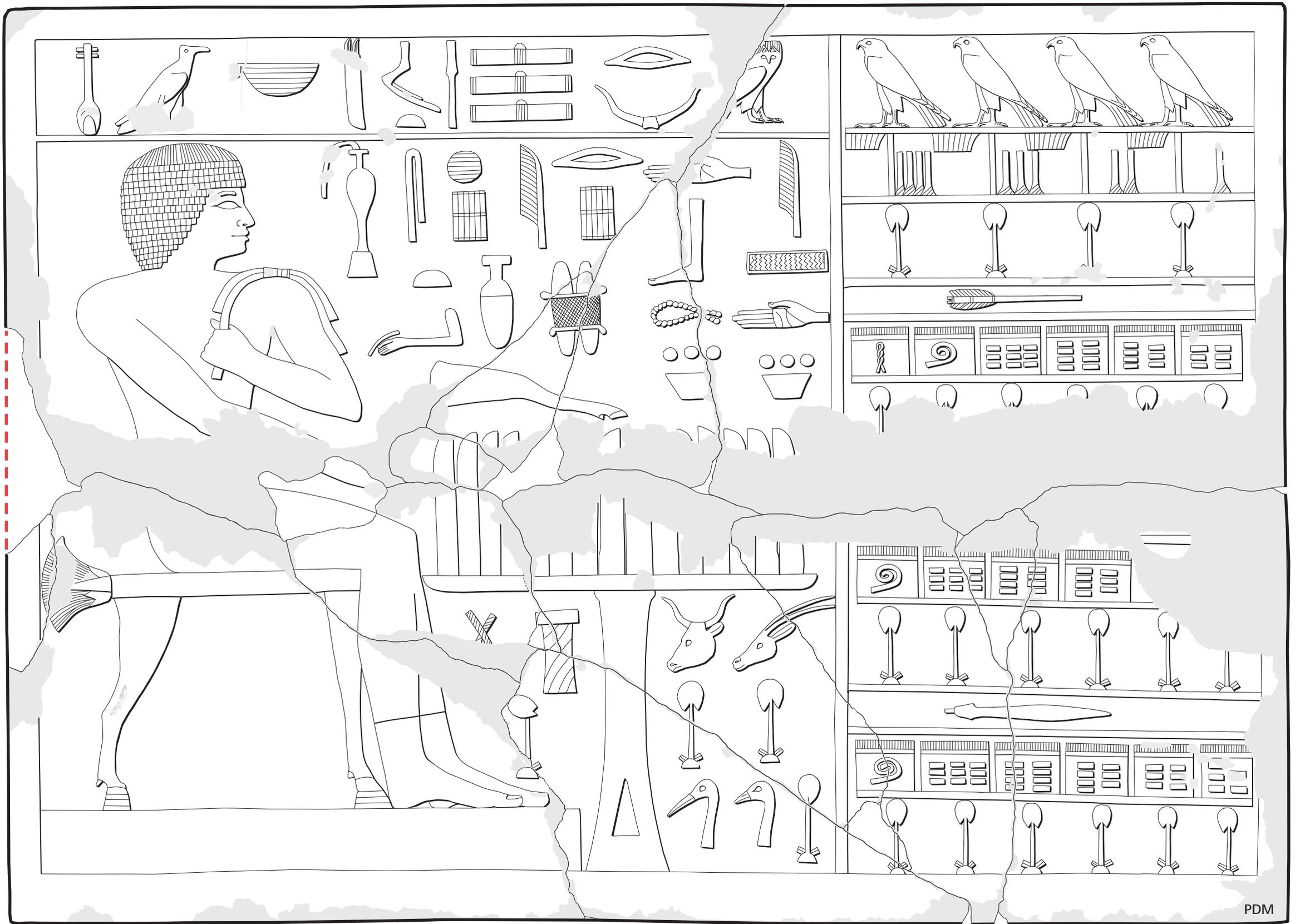


Plate 4. Stela 2: g 1203 Kanefer. Phoebe A. Hearst Museum of Anthropology, Berkeley, 6-19807

0 5 10 cm (55%)



G 1205

Plate 5. Stela 3: g 1205 Khufu-nakht. Phoebe A. Hearst Museum of Anthropology, Berkeley, 6-19786. Photograph courtesy Hearst Museum of Anthropology



PDM

Plate 6. Stela 3: g 1205 Khufu-nakht. Phoebe A. Hearst Museum of Anthropology, Berkeley, 6-19786

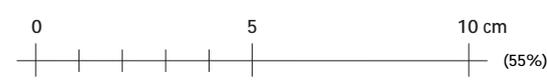




Plate 7. Stela 4: g 1207 Nefer. Phoebe A. Hearst Museum of Anthropology, Berkeley, 6-19801. Photograph by Bruce White



Plate 8. Stela 4: g 1207 Nefer. Phoebe A. Hearst Museum of Anthropology, Berkeley, 6-19801

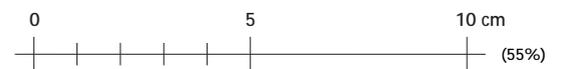




Plate 9. Stela 5: g 1223 Kaiemah. Egyptian Museum, Cairo, JE 37725 (57128). Photograph by Brian Snyder, 1999

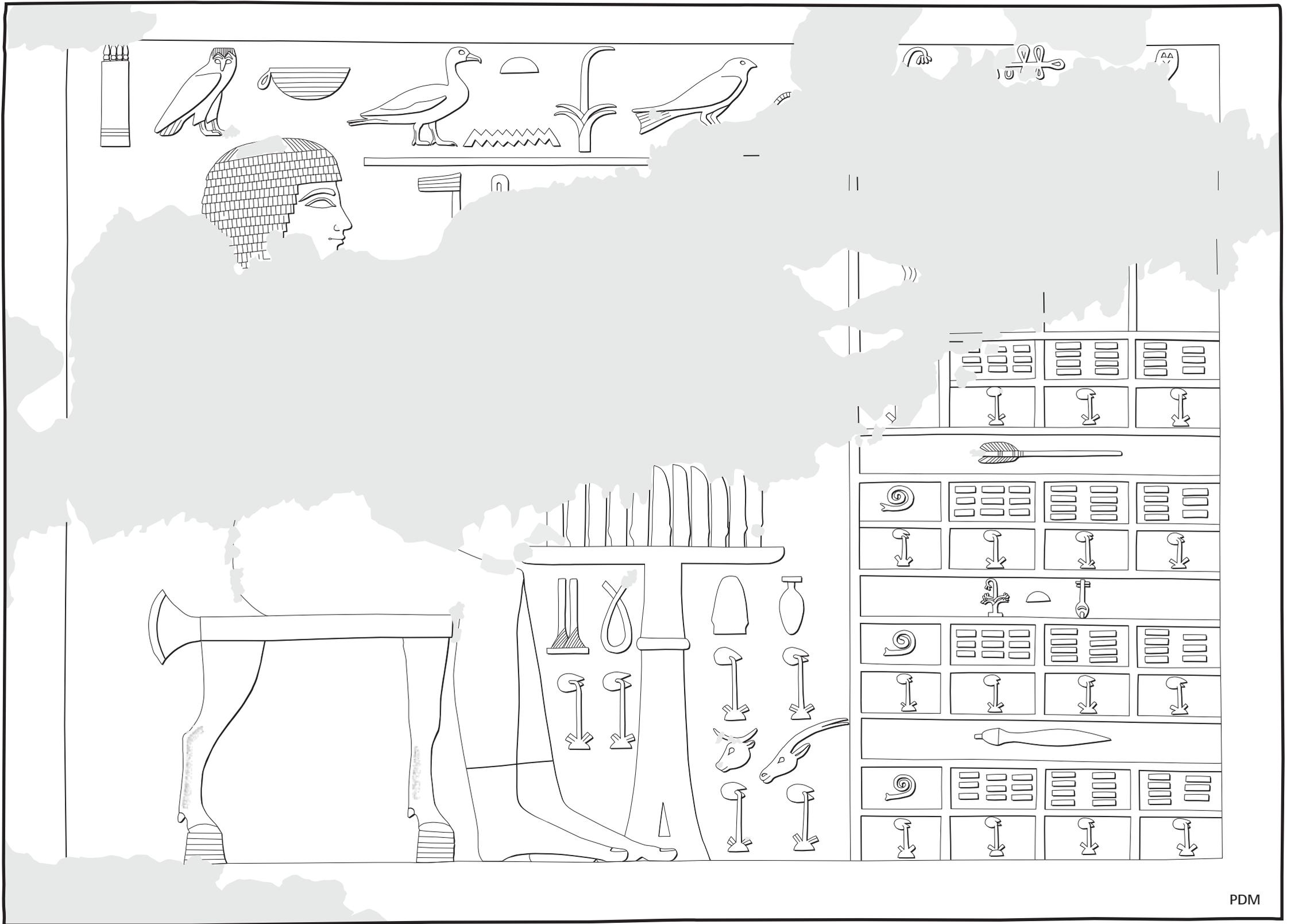


Plate 10. Stela 5: g 1223 Kaiemah. Egyptian Museum, Cairo, JE 37725 (57128)



PDM



Plate 11. Stela 6: g 1225 Nefret-iabet. Musée du Louvre, Paris, E 15591. Photograph by Bruce White

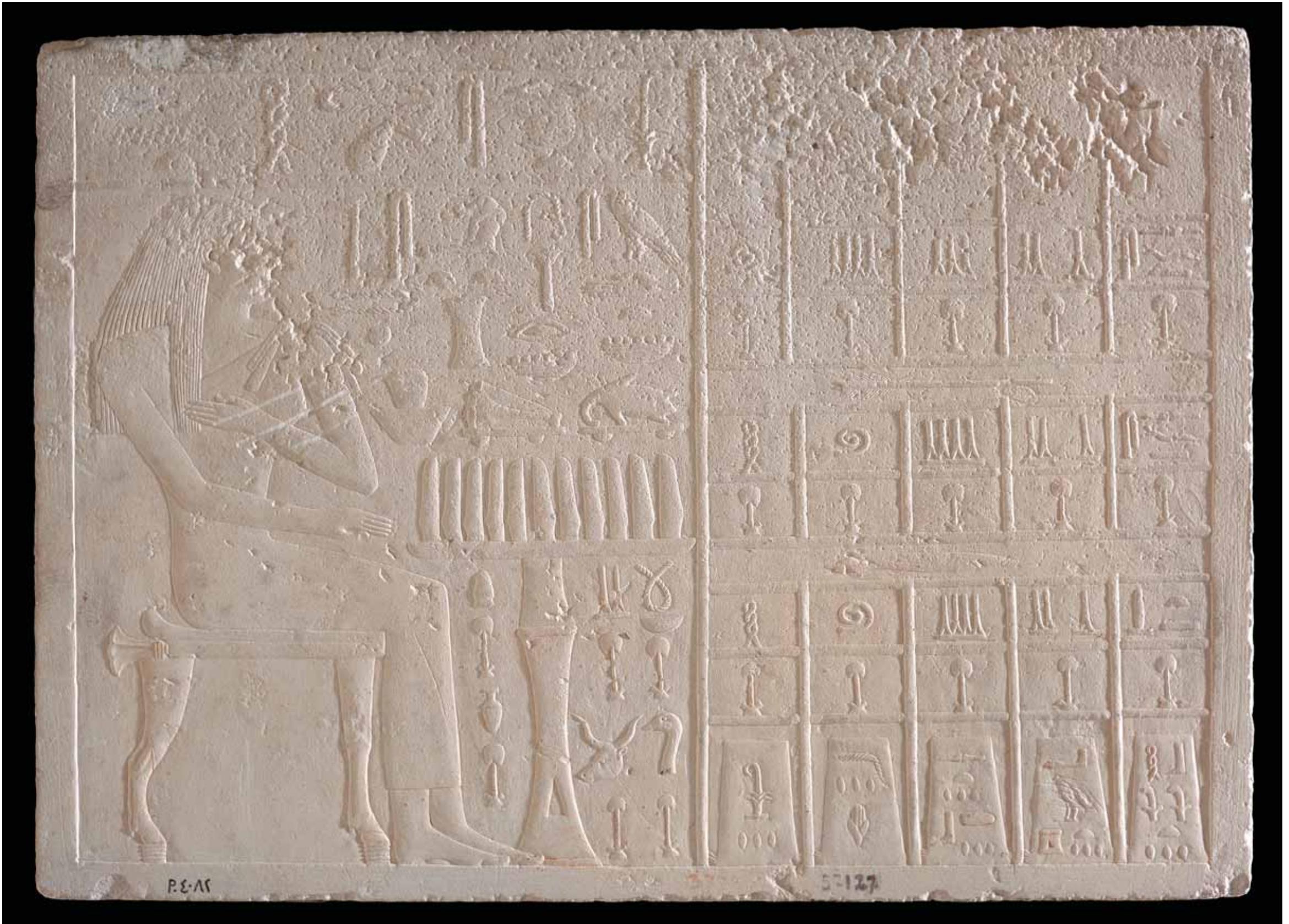
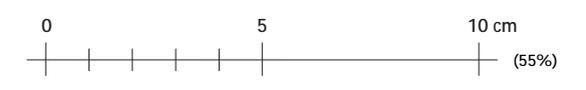


Plate 13. Stela 7: g 1227 Setji-hekenet. Egyptian Museum, Cairo, JE 37726 (57127); on loan to Port Said National Museum, P 4082. Photograph by Brian Snyder, 1999



PDM

Plate 14. Stela 7: g 1227 Setji-hekenet. Egyptian Museum, Cairo, JE 37726 (57127); Port Said National Museum, P 4082



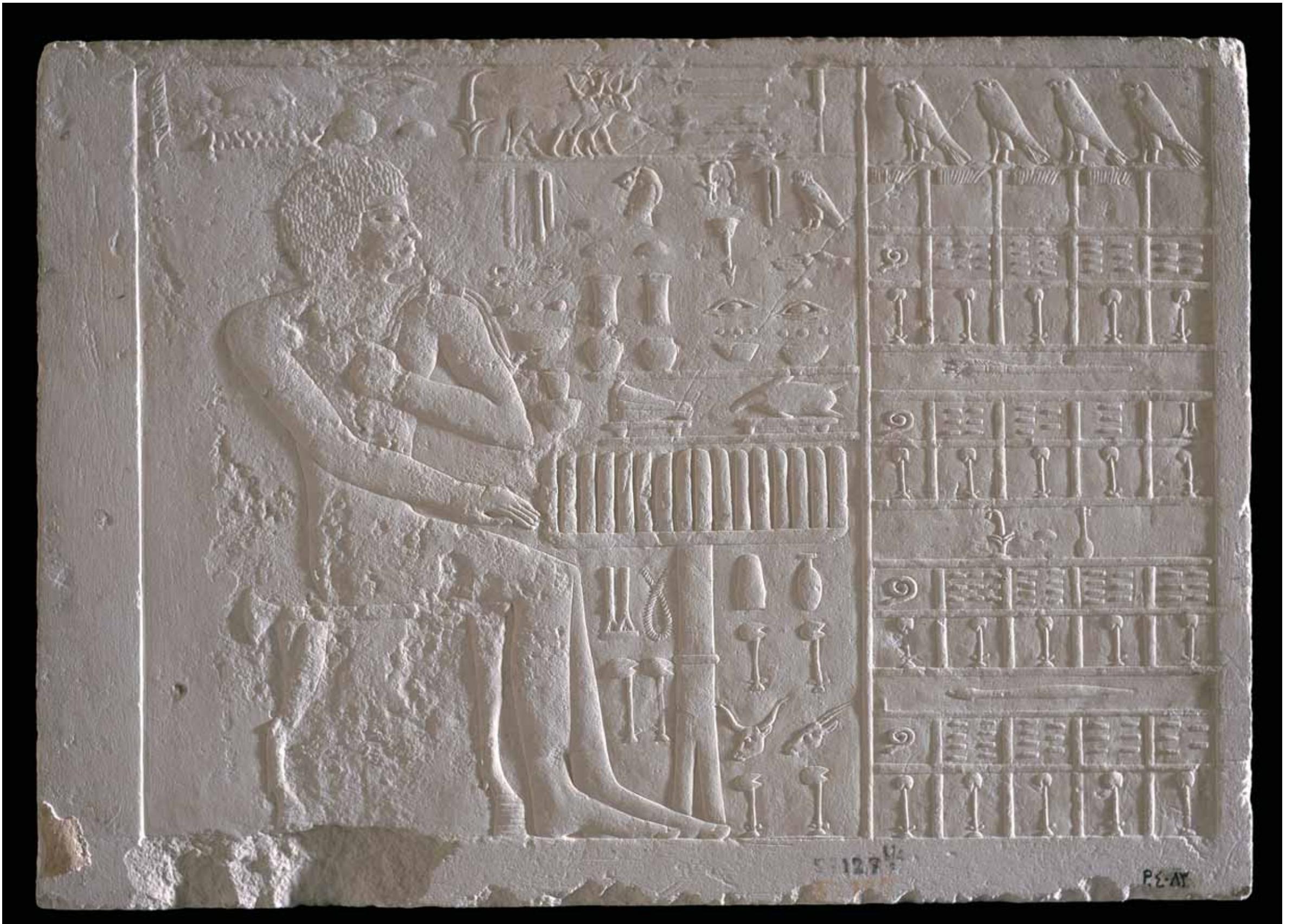


Plate 15. Stela 8: g 1235 Ini. Egyptian Museum, Cairo, JE 37727 (57127 bis); on loan to Port Said National Museum, P 4083. Photograph by Brian Snyder, 1999



PDM

Plate 16. Stela 8: g 1235 Ini. Egyptian Museum, Cairo, JE 37727 (57127 bis); Port Said National Museum, P 4083

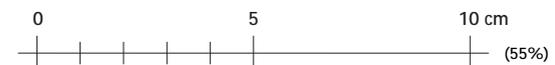




Plate 17. Stela 9: g 2120 Seshat-sekhentiu. Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, 06.1894. Photograph and digital reconstruction by John Woolf

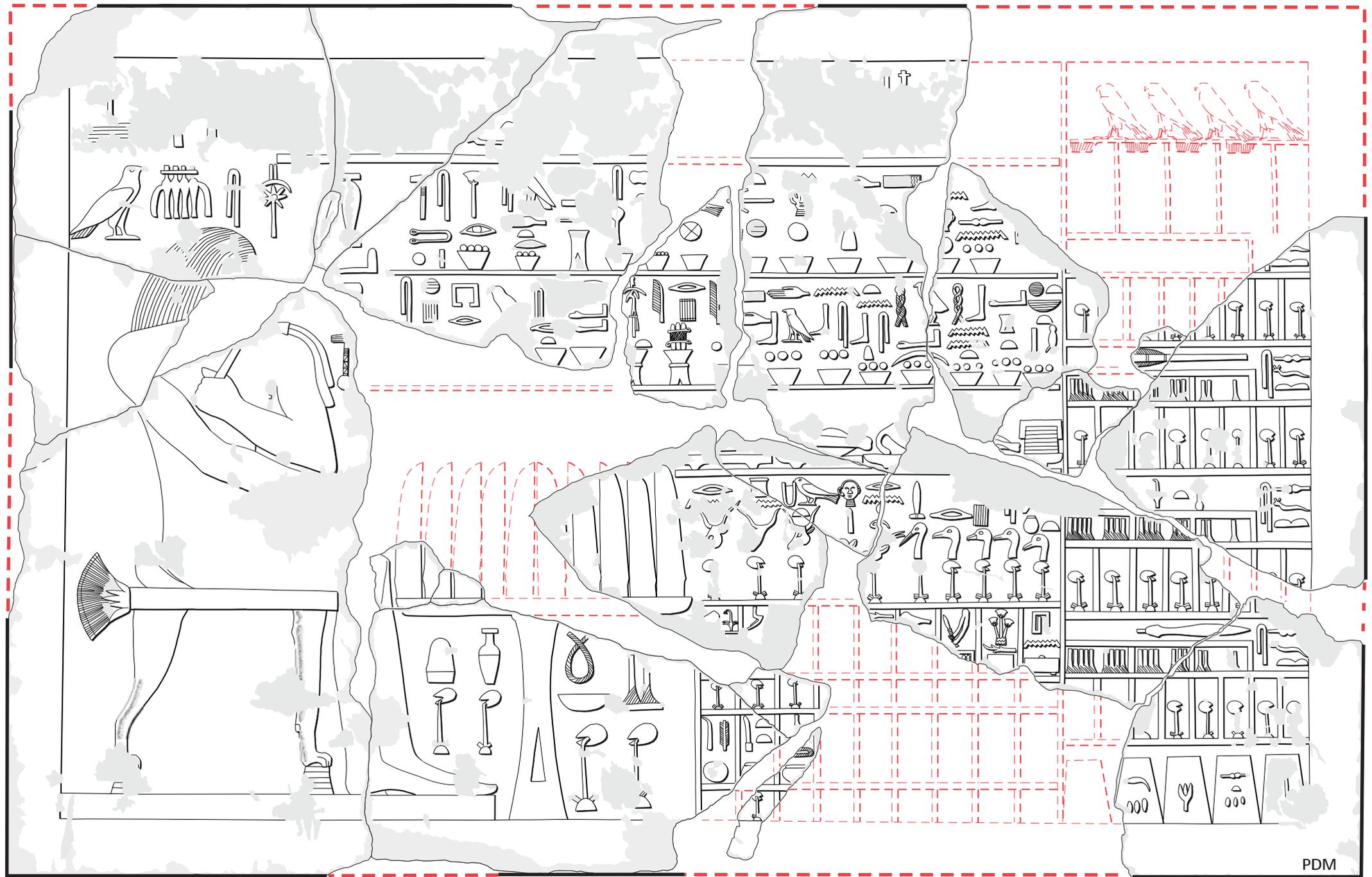


Plate 18. Stela 9: g 2120 Seshat-sekhentiu. Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, 06.1894

0 5 10 cm
 (35%)



Plate 19. Stela 10: g 2135 (= VIIInn, g 4770) anonymous. Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna, ÄS 7799. Photograph courtesy Kunsthistorisches Museum

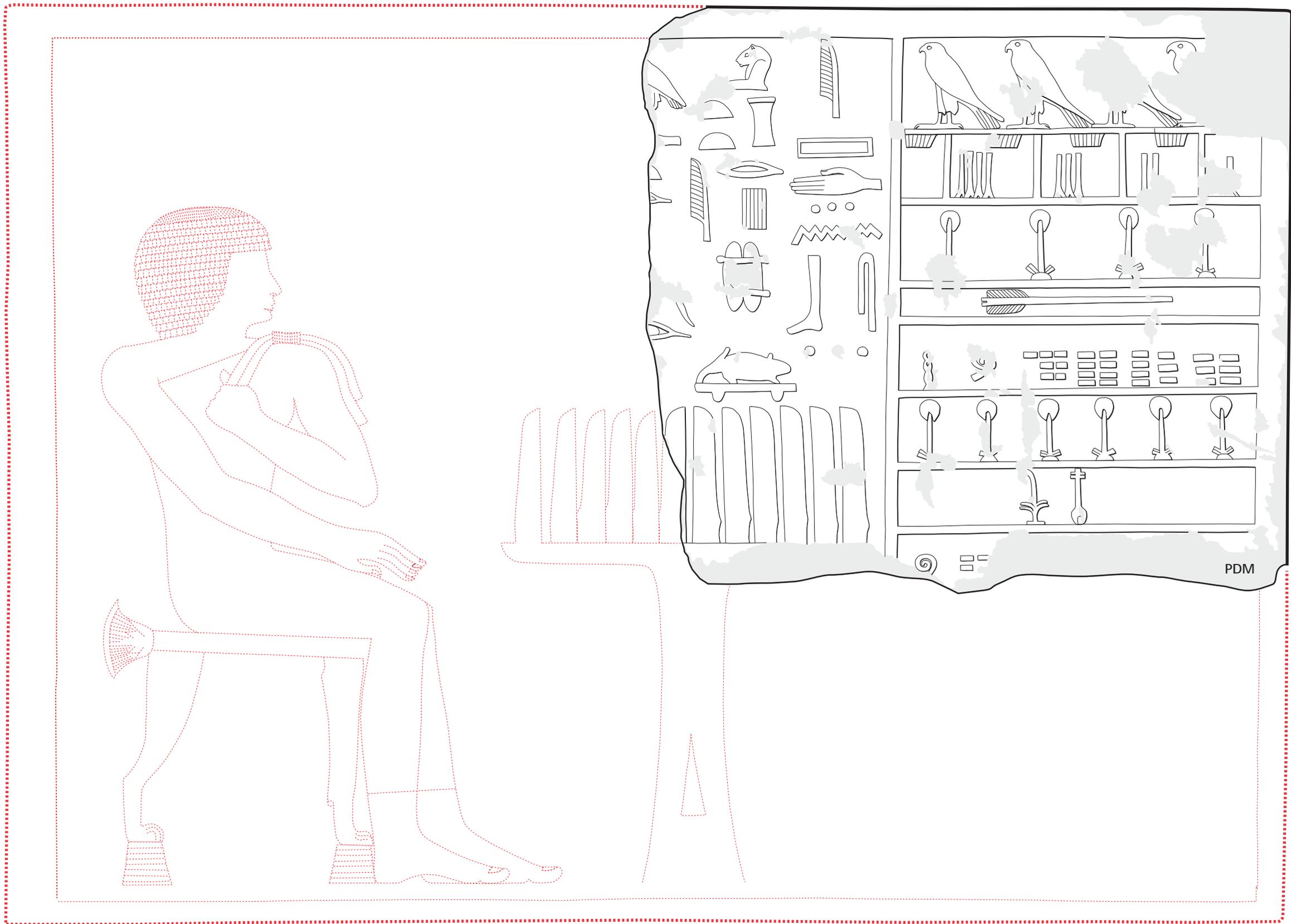


Plate 20. Stela 10: g 2135 (= VIIInn = g 4770). Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna, ÄS 7799

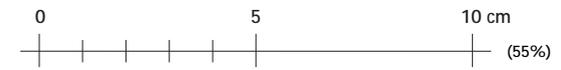




Plate 21. Stela 11: g 2155(?) (= VIIInn = g 4870) Kaninisut. Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna, ÄS 7447. Photograph courtesy Kunsthistorisches Museum

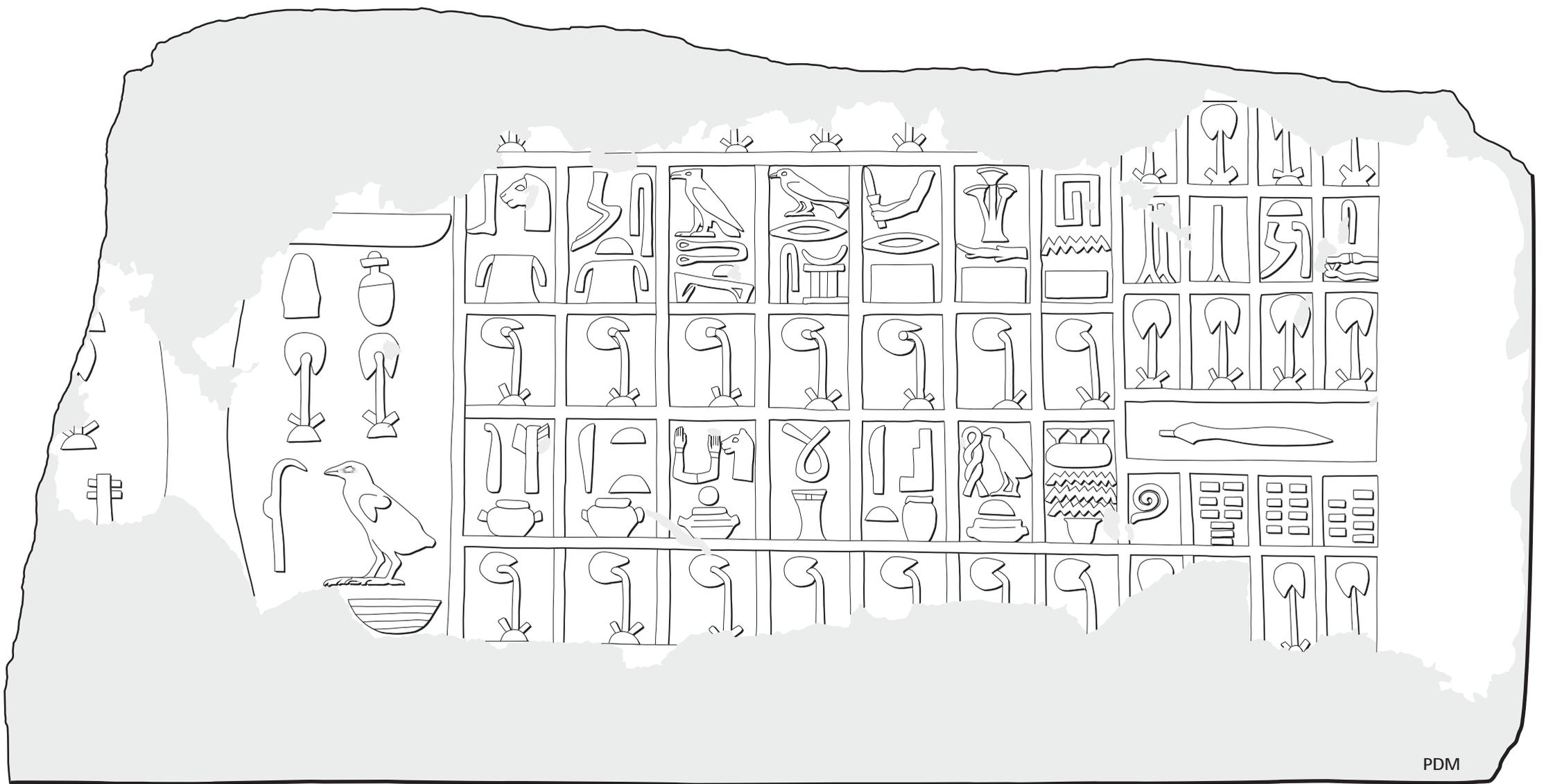
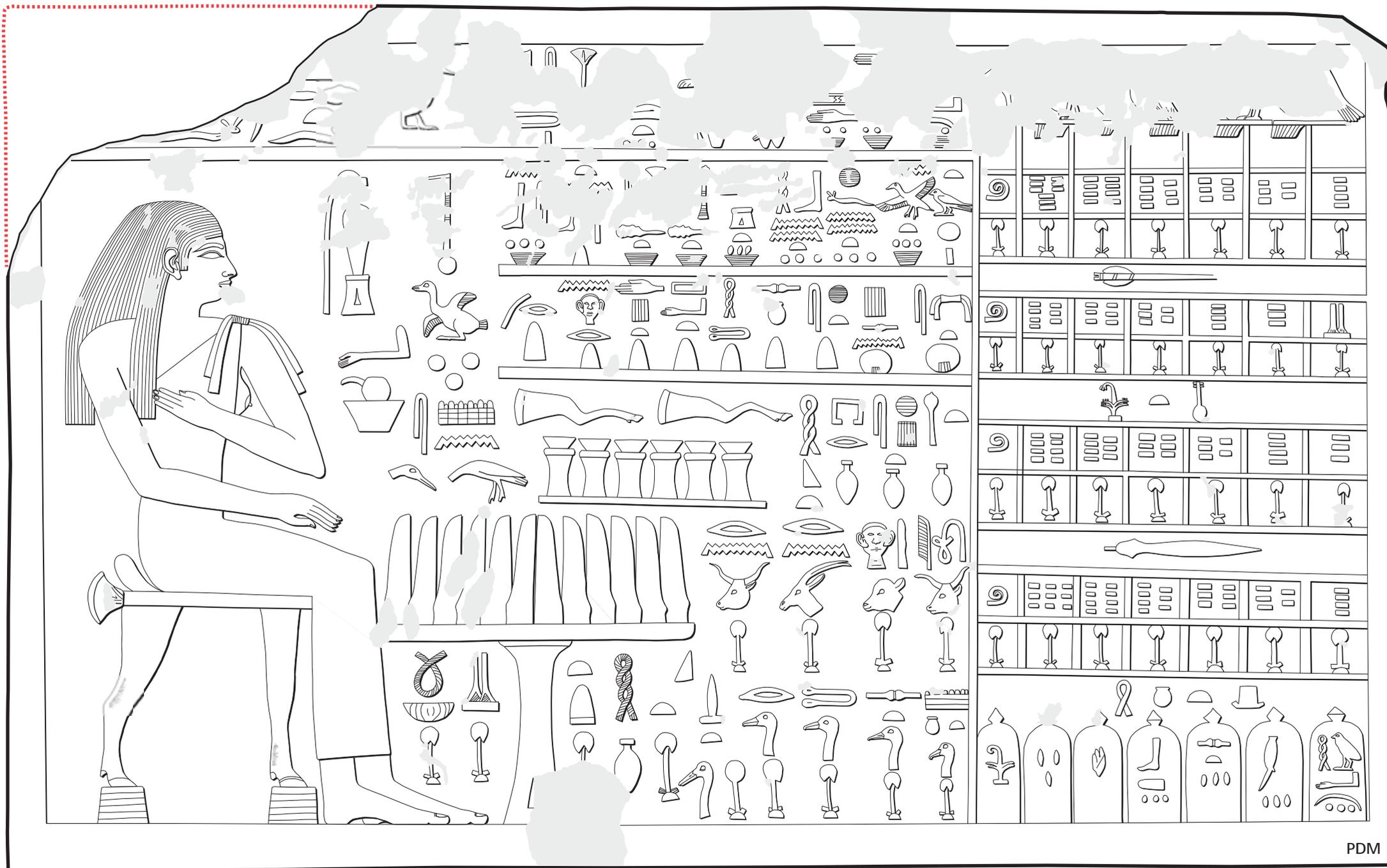


Plate 22. Stela 11: g 2155(?) (= VIIIInn = g 4870) Kaninisut. Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna, ÄS 7447





Plate 23. Stela 12: g 4140 Meretites. Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, 12.1510. Photograph by John Woolf



PDM

Plate 24. g 4140 Meretites. Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, 12.1510

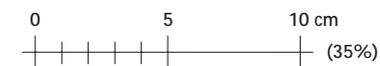




Plate 25. Stela 13: g 4150 (= Is) Iunu. Pelizaeus-Museum, Hildesheim, 2145. Photograph courtesy Pelizaeus-Museum

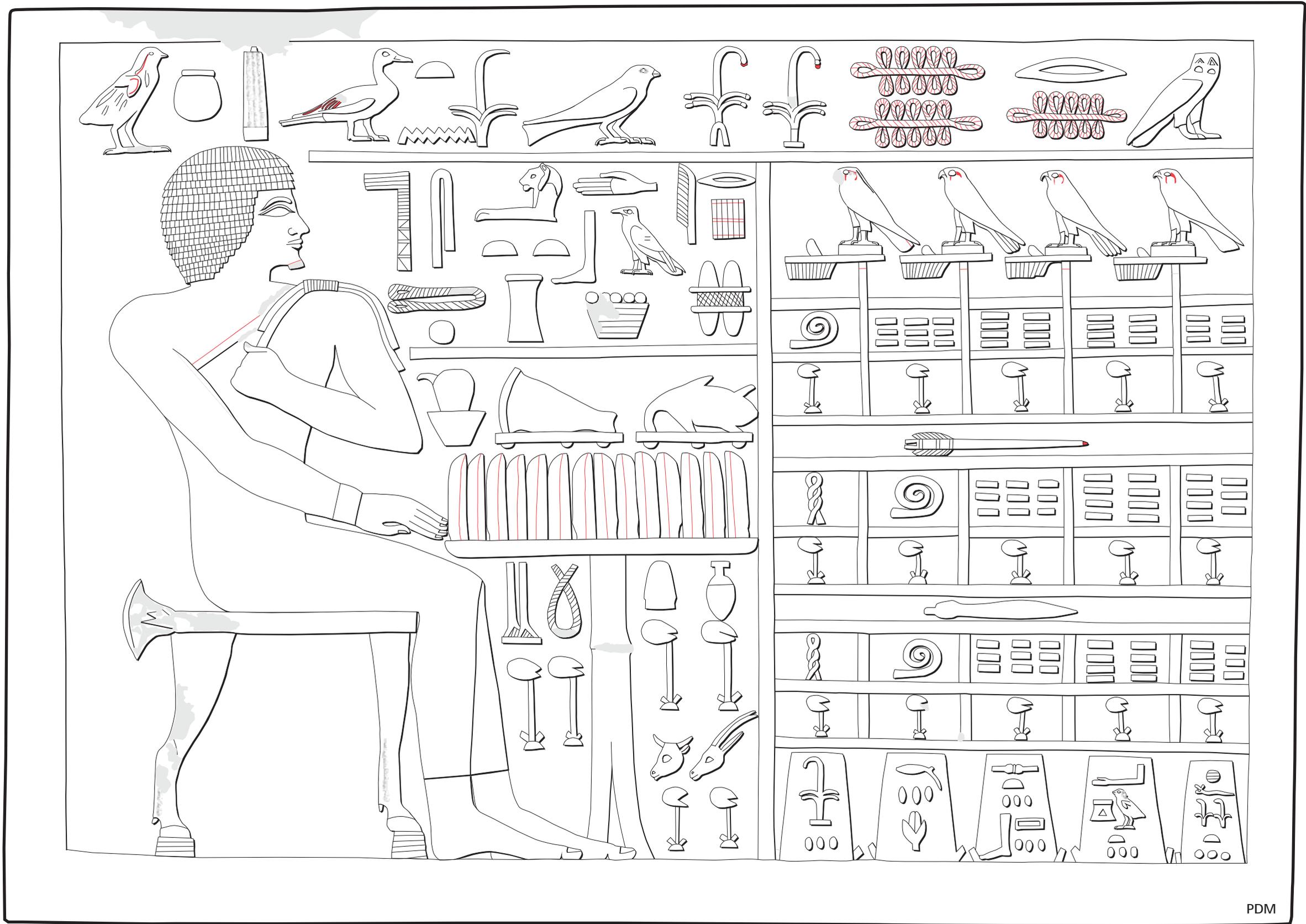
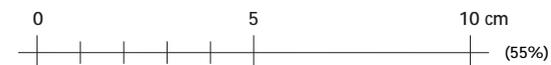


Plate 26. Stela 13: g 4150 (= Is) Iunu. Pelizaeus-Museum, Hildesheim, 2145. Red color represents elements painted but not carved



PDM

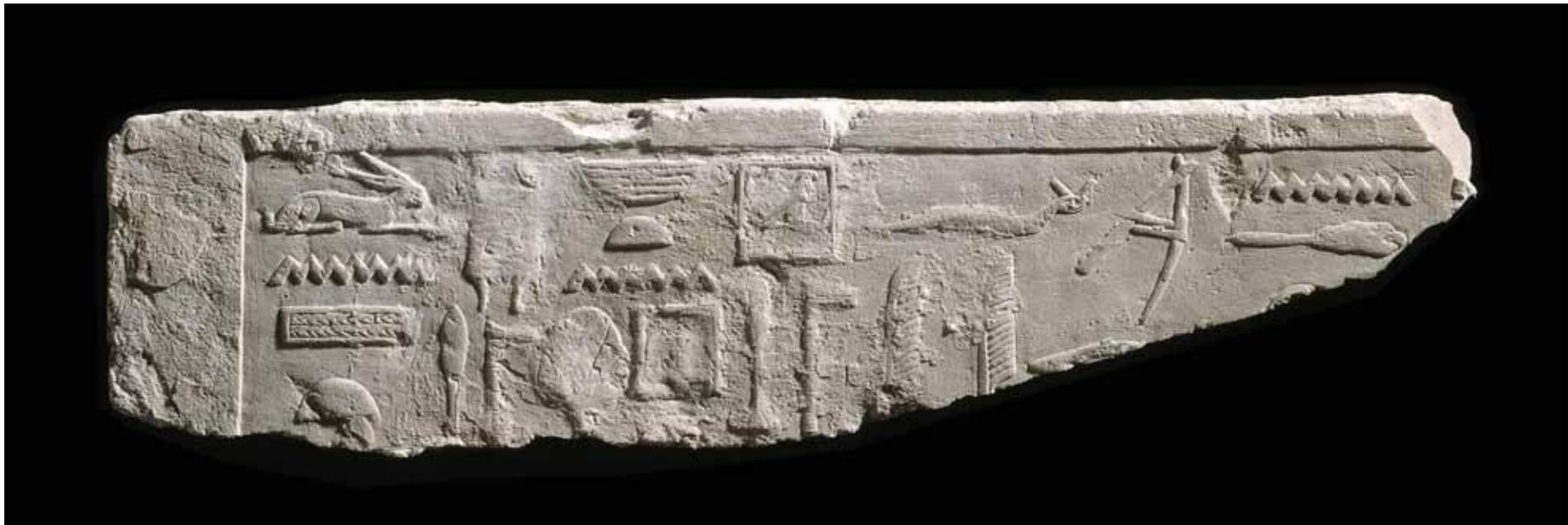


Plate 27. Stela 14: g 4840 (= VIIIss) Wenshet. Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, 14-2-1. Photograph by John Woolf

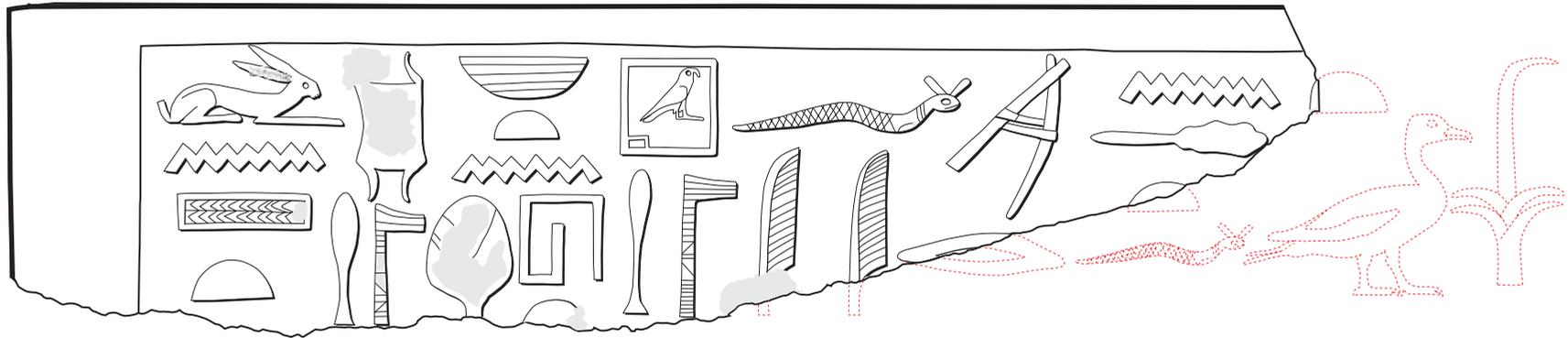


Plate 28. g 4840 (= VIIIss) Wenshet. Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, 14-2-1

0 5 10cm (45%)



Plate 29. Stela 15: g 4860 (= VIIIIn). Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna, ÄS 8459. Photograph courtesy Kunsthistorisches Museum

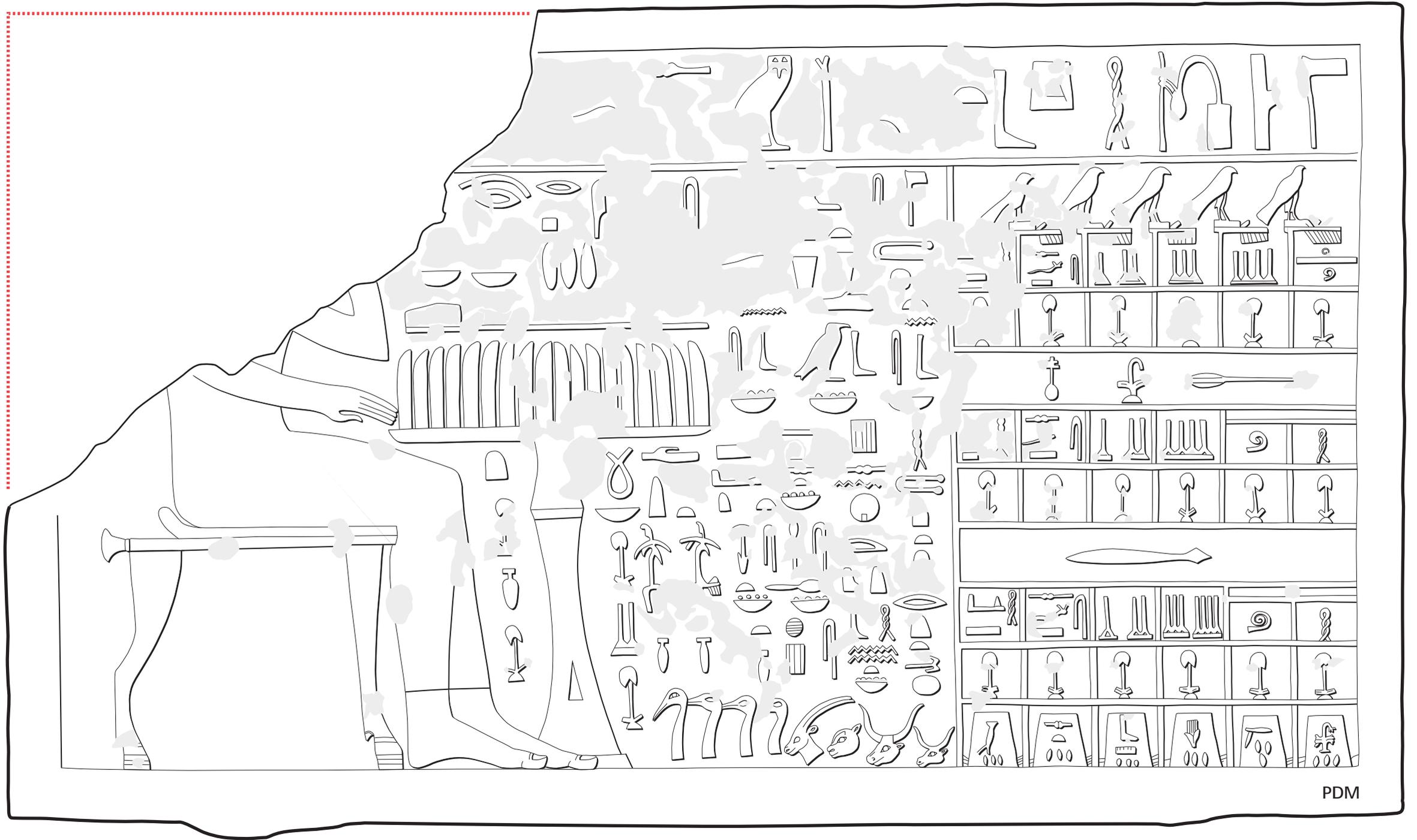


Plate 30. Stela 15: g 4860 (= VIIIIn). Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna, ÄS 8549



Slab Stela 1 (pls. 1–2)

Owner: *Wp-m-nfrt*, Wepemnefret¹ (𓏏)

Provenance: Cemetery 1200: g 1201

Excavation history: Hearst Expedition, University of California, under G.A. Reisner, March, 1905; found in situ set into emplacement in chapel niche and covered with protective limestone slab bound with plaster

Current location: Phoebe A. Hearst Museum of Anthropology, University of California, Berkeley, 6–19825

Material: Painted limestone; raised relief carving

Measurements: h. 45.7 cm; w. 66 cm; th. 7.6 cm²

Selected bibliography: PM III, p. 57; Reisner, *Giza Necropolis* 1, p. 386, pl. 17a; H.F. Lutz, *Steles*, no. 1, pl. 1; W.S. Smith, *Archaeology* 16 (1963), pp. 2–13 and cover (color); idem, *HESPOK*, pp. 160, 255–58, 268, 302, pls. 32b and A (and cf. figs. 257–59 below); idem, *The Art and Architecture of Ancient Egypt*, 2nd edition rev. by W.K. Simpson (Harmondsworth, 1981), p. 84, figs. 76–77; third edition (New Haven and London, 1998), p. 45, figs. 78–79, p. 57; E. Schott, in F. Junge, ed., *Studien zu Sprache und Religion Ägyptens* (Fs. W. Westendorf), vol. 2: *Religion* (Göttingen, 1984), p. 1130, fig. 2b; H.S. Baker, *Furniture in the Ancient World* (New York, 1966), color pl. 2 (detail); L. Klebs, *Die Reliefs des Alten Reiches* (Heidelberg, 1915; reprint Hildesheim, 1982), pp. 8, fig. 5, 131, fig. 104; N. Cherpion, *Mastabas et Hypogées d’Ancien Empire. Le Problème de la Datation* (Brussels, 1989), pl. 18 (detail); J. Vandier, *Manuel d’Archéologie Égyptienne* 1 (Paris, 1952), p. 763, fig. 506 (drawing); *Egyptian Art in the Age of the Pyramids* (New York, 1999), cat. 52, pp. 245–46; D. Arnold, *When the Pyramids Were Built. Egyptian Art of the Old Kingdom* (New York, 1999), pp. 48–49, figs. 36–37

Translation

Section a:

(1) *mdh zḥsw nswt, mdh-?* (archaic title with lioness), *ḥm-nṯr Sḥt ḥntt pr mdḥ(w)t iry-ḥt nswt*, (2) *ḥm bsw P, ḥm-nṯr Ḥr mḥty, ḥm-nṯr Ḳnpw, ḥr-mr wh(w)* (3) *wr mdw Šmꜣw, ḥkꜣ Mḥyt, ḥm-nṯr Ḥkt, ḥt Ḥs, zꜣ nswt*, (4) *Wp-m-nfrt*

(1) “Commander of the king’s scribes,³ [translation uncertain],⁴ priest of Seshat, foremost of the archive(s) of the keeper of the king’s property,⁵ (2) priest of the souls of Pe, priest of the northern Horus,⁶ priest of Anubis,⁷ overseer of fishers,⁸ (3) great one of the Tens of Upper Egypt, heka-priest of Mehyt,⁹ priest of Heqet,¹⁰ ḥt-priest of Ha(?),¹¹ king’s son (4) Wepemnefret”

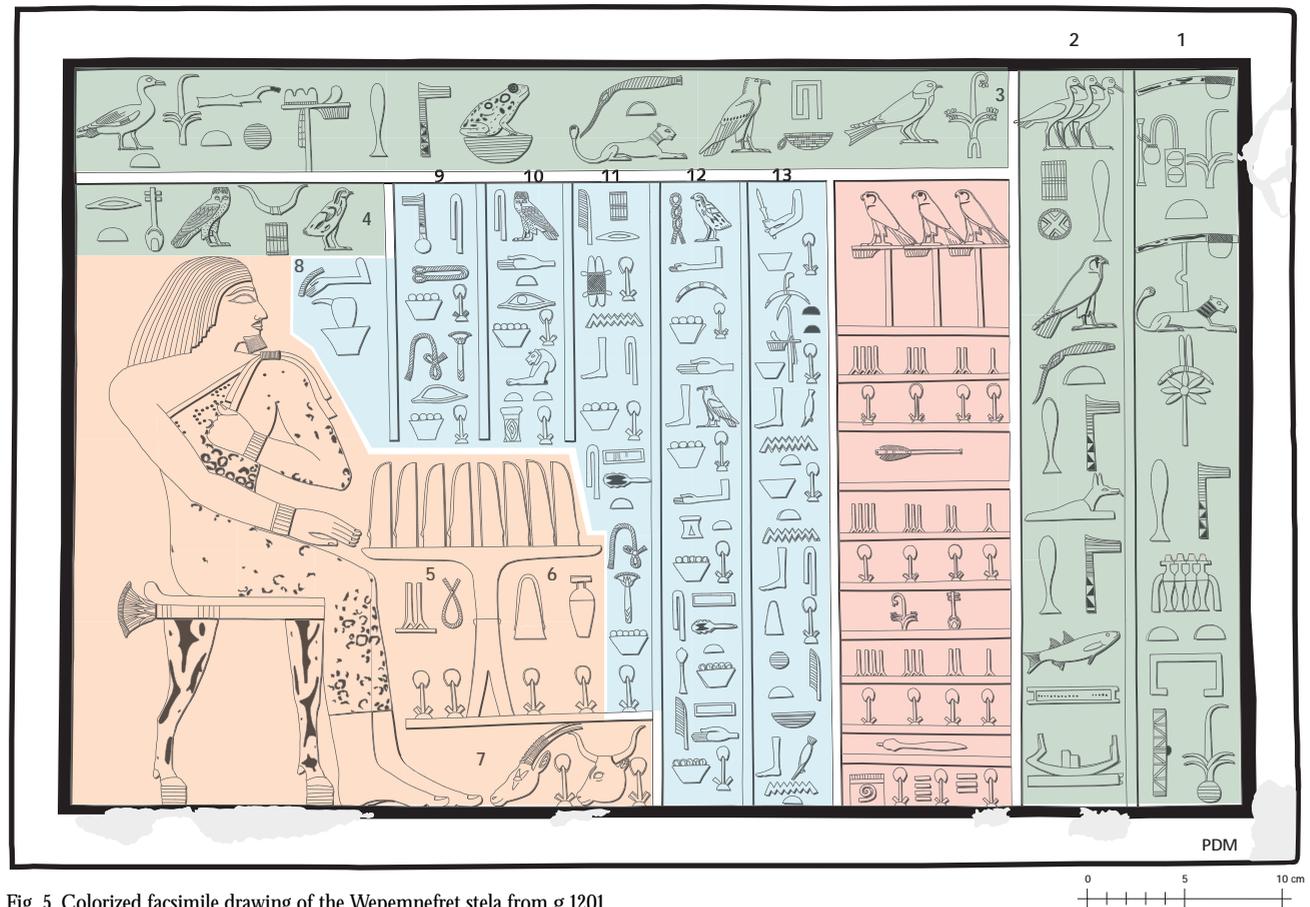


Fig. 5. Colorized facsimile drawing of the Wepemnefret stela from g 1201

¹ Ranke, *PN* 1, p. 78.3. Is the name to be understood as *wꜣ-(i)-m-nfrt*, “(My) judgment is in perfection”? *Wꜣ* might be taken for *wꜣ(t)* “judgment,” cf. R. Anthes, *Die Felsinschriften von Hatnub*, UGAÄ 9 (Leipzig, 1928), pp. 43–44, graffito 20.18 (Nehri, year 6) or, alternatively, *wꜣ* might stand for *wꜣy* “decision,” Faulkner, *CDME*, p. 59, *Urk.* 4, 1088.13; R.O. Faulkner, “The Installation of the Vizier,” *JEA* 41 (1955), p. 25 (24). Other options include *wꜣ* “festival,” *wꜣwt*, “assignment,” etc.; cf. R. Hannig, *Großes Handwörterbuch Ägyptisch-Deutsch* (Mainz, 1995), p. 192. The tomb owner was recently discussed by P. Piacentini, *Les Scribes dans la société égyptienne de l’Ancien Empire* 1 (Paris, 2002), pp. 91–92.

² Junker, *Giza* 1, p. 28 lists the measurements as h. 45.72 cm; w. 65.04 cm; th. 7.62 cm.

³ Cf. D. Jones, *An Index of Ancient Egyptian Titles, Epithets and Phrases of the Old Kingdom* 1 (Oxford, 2000), pp. 467–68, no. 1739 (reviewed by H.G. Fischer, in *BiOr* 59 [2002], cols. 18–36); Fischer, *Varia Nova*, *Egyptian Studies* 3 (New York, 1996), p. 33, note f, with important bibliography.

⁴ Or possibly “overseer of the (cult image) of Mehyt”? On this archaic title, cf. the ample references compiled by Jones, *Index* 1, pp. 459–60, no. 1718; Fischer, *Varia Nova*, p. 32 note c; Kaplony, *JÄF* 1, p. 582 (2), 583 (6); N. Strudwick, *The Administration of Egypt in the Old Kingdom* (London, 1985), p. 215; G. Godron, “Deux notes d’épigraphie thinite,” *RdE* 8 (1951), pp. 91–98; S. Curto, “Annotazioni su geroglifici arcaici,” 94 (1967), pp. 15–20; W. Helck, *Untersuchungen zu den Beamtentiteln des ägyptischen Alten Reiches* (Glückstadt, 1954), p. 76; and J. Kahl, *Das System der ägyptischen Hieroglyphenschrift in der 0.–3. Dynastie* (Wiesbaden, 1994), pp. 482–83.

⁵ Helck, *Beamtentitel*, pp. 70–71, n. 30; idem, “Seschat,” in *LÄ* 5, col. 885 with n. 19.

⁶ See B. Begelsbacher-Fischer, *Untersuchungen zur Götterwelt des Alten Reiches* (Freiburg and Göttingen, 1981), pp. 82–83; H. Kees, “Kulttopographische und mythologische Beiträge,” *ZAS* 64 (1929), pp. 102–104.

⁷ Kaplony, *JÄF* 1, p. 584, and E. Brovanski, “Two Old Kingdom Writing Boards from Giza,” *ASAE* 71 (1987), p. 46 (comparing Wepemnefret and a writing board from Giza).

⁸ Cf. H.G. Fischer, “Boats in Non-nautical Titles of the Old Kingdom,” *GM* 126 (1992), pp. 63–64; Jones, *Index* 1, p. 356 no. 1323; idem, *A Glossary of Ancient Egyptian Nautical Titles and Terms* (London, 1988), pp. 71–72 (no. 92; *ḥr mr wš*).

⁹ Kaplony, *JÄF* 1, p. 582 (2) notes that this title is born only by Wepemnefret and Neferseshemre, for which see P. Montet, “Notes et documents pour servir à l’histoire des relations entre l’ancienne Égypte et la Syrie,” *Kémi* 1 (1928), p. 84; Helck, *Beamtentitel*, p. 76; and L. Kákósy, in *LÄ* 4, col. 5–6.

¹⁰ Strudwick, *Administration*, pp. 184–85, 207; Begelsbacher-Fischer, *Untersuchungen zur Götterwelt*, pp. 212, 130, and 250; and M. Bárta, “The Title ‘Priest of Heket’ during the Egyptian Old Kingdom,” *JNES* 58 (1999), pp. 107–16. A similarly carved frog hieroglyph appears on the north wall of the chapel of Seshem-nefer I (g 4940); cf. N. Kanawati, *Tombs at Giza* 1, ACE Reports 16 (Warminster, 2001), pls. 24, 51.

¹¹ A discussion of this title is provided by A. McFarlane, “Titles of *smꜣ* + God and *Ḥt* + God Dynasties 2 to 10,” *GM* 121 (1991), pp. 90–91. See also Helck, *Beamtentitel*, pp. 47–48; Strudwick, *Administration*, pp. 184–86, with table 9; and Begelsbacher-Fischer, *Untersuchungen zur Götterwelt*, pp. 211, 228–29, and 251.



Fig. 6. The Wepemnefret stela from g 1201, photographed at Harvard Camp, Giza, 1904–1905. HU–MFA Expedition photograph, George Reisner, a 11570

Section b:

(5) *mnht* *h3*, *šs* *h3*, (6) *t* *h3*, *hnkt* *h3*, (7) *nwdw* *h3*, *ks* *h3*
 (5) “a thousand pieces of cloth, a thousand alabaster vessels,
 (6) a thousand loaves of bread, a thousand jars of beer, (7) a
 thousand antelopes, a thousand oxen”

Section c:

(8) *ic* *wy*, (9) *sntr* *h3*, *wšd* *h3*, (10) *msdmt* *h3*, *hstt* *mrht* *h3*, (11) *irp*
h3, *nbs* *h3*, *sh* *wšd*(*t*) *h3*, (12) *wch* *h3*, *db3* *h3*, *g(w)t* *h3*, *sh* *hdt*, *išd*
h3, (13) *dsrt* *h3*, *istt* *h3*, *bnrt* *h3*, *t-nbs* *h3*, *hit*^{sic} *nb* *bnrt*
 (8) “implements for washing hands, (9) a thousand of incense,
 a thousand bowls of green eye-paint, (10) a thousand bowls of
 black eye-paint, a thousand containers of best ointment, (11) a
 thousand jars of wine, a thousand bowls of zizyphus, green
sekhet-cakes, (12) a thousand bowls of carob beans,¹² a thou-
 sand bowls of figs, a thousand containers of prepared grain,
 white *sekhet*-cakes, a thousand bowls of persea fruit, (13) a

thousand jars of ale, a thousand jars of milk, a thousand jars of
 date wine, a thousand loaves of zizyphus, and every sweet thing”

Section d:

idmy ifdw *h3*, *hmtw* *h3*, *snwi* *h3*, *wc* *h3*
 “*idemy*-linen:¹³ a thousand of 4 (cubits wide),¹⁴ a thousand of
 3 (cubits wide), a thousand of 2 (cubits wide), a thousand of 1
 (cubit wide)”

sšr ifdw *h3*, *hmtw* *h3*, *snwi* *h3*, *wc* *h3*
 “*sšher*-linen: a thousand of 4 (cubits wide), a thousand of 3
 (cubits wide), a thousand of 2 (cubits wide), a thousand of 1
 (cubit wide)”

šm^ct-nfrt ifdw *h3*, *hmtw* *h3*, *snw* *h3*, *wc* *h3*
 “fine linen: a thousand of 4 (cubits wide), a thousand of 3
 (cubits wide), a thousand of 2 (cubits wide), a thousand of 1
 (cubit wide)”

3 št *h3*, *hmw* *h3*, *mcb3* *h3*

“*aa*-linen: a thousand of 100 (cubits wide), a thousand of 40
 (cubits wide),¹⁵ a thousand of 30 (cubits wide)”

Description and commentary: The Harvard–MFA Expedi-
 tion Photographic Registers for the earliest years rarely list
 more than a year; month and day dates are often lacking. But
 a letter from Reisner to Phoebe Apperson Hearst, dated to
 March 15, 1905, just after the latter’s visit to Harvard Camp,
 mentions the Wepemnefret stela as only just discovered; see
 below, Chapter 2. We can thus pinpoint the discovery of
 Wepemnefret’s slab stela to early March, 1905. Corroboration
 for this fact comes from an unpublished report by Reisner
 housed in the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston. Dated to
 December 10, 1906, and entitled “First Report of the Expedition
 of Harvard University and the Boston Museum of Fine Arts,
 1906–7,” it notes in the caption to a photograph of the stela,
 “The stela of Prince Wep-em-nofret. Found in March 1905. Now
 in San Francisco.” The chapel of Wepemnefret, however, seems
 to have been excavated already in 1904, to judge from photo-
 graphs illustrating another (earlier) unpublished report by Rei-
 sner on the Hearst Expedition, presumably from 1904. Page 3
 shows a general view of the Western Cemetery already cleared by
 1904, with the monolithic false door of Wepemnefret’s chapel
 clearly visible in the left background (fig. 8). The unpublished re-
 port dates the image to May 1, 1904, but the most likely more ac-
 curate Photographic Register lists April 24, 1904.

The deceased sits on a bull-legged stool with an elaborately
 painted papyrus umbel terminal and long cushion, which
 protrudes towards the back. He wears a long, shoulder-length
 wig (occurring only once more in our group, in the stela of

¹² Also translated “earth almonds,” *Cyperus esculentus* L.; cf. E. Edel, *Die Felsen-
 gräber der Qubbet el Hawa bei Assuan II/1/2* (Wiesbaden, 1970), p. 22 (7).

¹³ On the choice of transliteration *idmy* instead of *itiwy*, see below, Chapter 4,
 discussion of Section d (linen lists).

¹⁴ On the distinction between the *mnht* signs with horizontal base versus
 those without, see below, Chapter 4.

¹⁵ Or possibly 40 cubits square? On the difference between vertical and horizontal
 linen units of measure, see below, Chapters 3 and 4, based on P. Posener-Krieger,
 “Les mesures des étoffes à l’ancien empire,” *RdE* 29 (1977), pp. 86–96; J. Kahl,
 N. Kloth, and U. Zimmerman, *Die Inschriften der 3. Dynastie* (Wiesbaden,
 1995), p. 175ff.; E. Edel, “Eine althieratische Liste von Grabbeigaben aus einem
 Grab des späten Alten Reiches der Qubbet el-Hawa bei Assuan,” *NAWG* 6
 (1987), pp. 98, 104. On the large numbers, G. Vogelsang-Eastwood, “Textiles,”
 in P.T. Nicholson and I. Shaw, eds., *Ancient Egyptian Materials and Technology*
 (Cambridge, 2000), p. 295, mentions 845 square meters of cloth found in the
 Middle Kingdom tomb of Meket-re at Thebes (H.E. Winlock, “The Mummy
 of Wah Unwrapped,” *BMAA* 35 [1940], p. 257), and 400 clothing items from
 Tutankhamen’s tomb. See now C.H. Roehrig, “Life Along the Nile. Three Egyp-
 tians of Ancient Thebes,” *BMAA* [Summer 2002], esp. pp. 9, 22, 31–32.

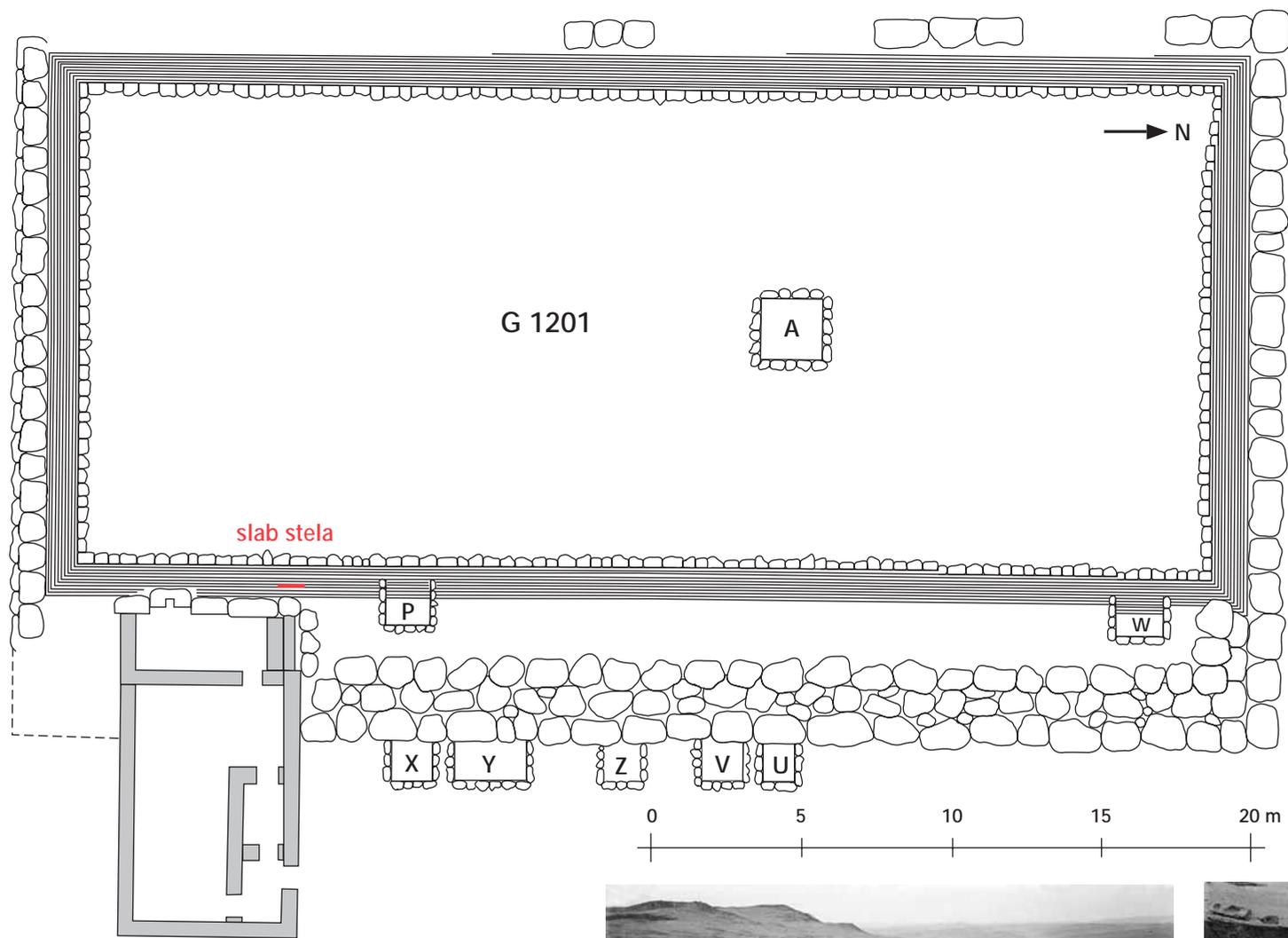


Fig. 7. Plan of the mastaba of Wepemnefret, g 1201, after Reisner, *Giza Necropolis* 1, Map 4. Redrawn by Ruth Bigio



Fig. 8. General view of the Western Cemetery, with the excavated chapel of Wepemnefret, g 1201, indicated at left. April 24, 1904. HU-MFA Expedition photograph, George Reisner, a 10865



Fig. 9. Excavated chapel of Wepemnefret, g 1201, looking west from top of g 1151, Nefer-qed. March, 1904. HU-MFA Expedition photograph, George Reisner, a 10896



Fig. 10. Chapel of Wepemnefret, g 1201, with plaster covering over slab stela, looking southwest. March, 1905. HU-MFA Expedition photograph, George Reisner, b 11072



Fig. 11. Chapel of Wepemnefret, g 1201, general view of exposed slab stela and subsequent monolithic false door, looking southwest. 1904-1905. HU-MFA Expedition photograph, George Reisner, a 11591



Fig. 12. Chapel of Wepemnefret, g 1201, with slab stela exposed, looking southwest. 1905. HU-MFA Expedition photograph, George Reisner, b 11810



Fig. 13. Chapel of Wepemnefret, g 1201, experimental photographic composite of recent stela photograph repositioned within original excavation photograph. Based on color stela photograph by Bruce White from 1998, and HU-MFA Expedition photograph b 11810 from 1905 (above, fig. 12). Digital composite by the author

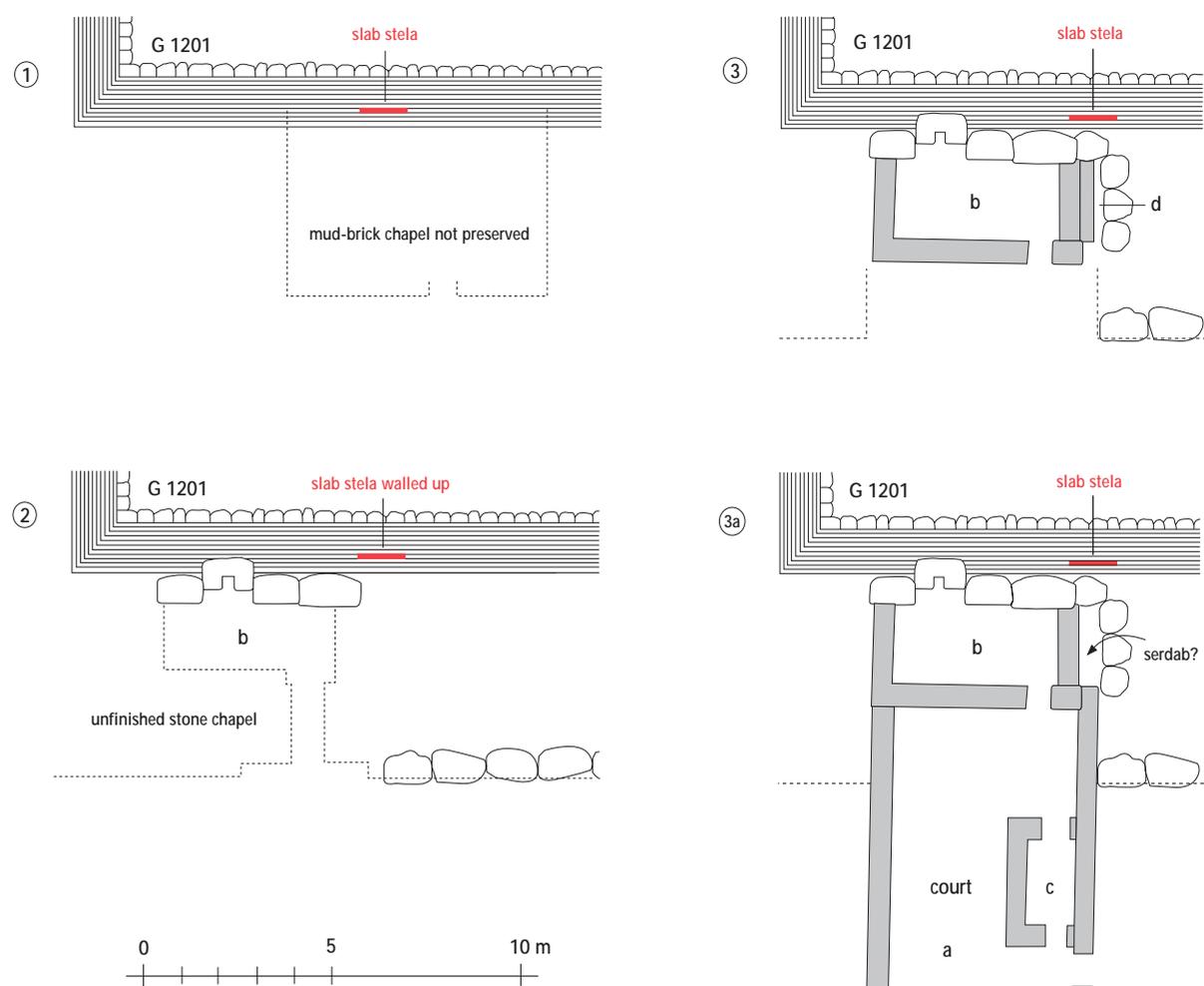


Fig. 14. Four phases of chapel development of Wepemnefret, g 1201, after P. János. Drawing by Liza Majerus

Seshat-sekhentiu from g 2120), an animal skin garment, the spotted decoration of which has faded considerably since the time of discovery (see frontispiece, pls. 1–2, figs. 19–20). Two bracelets, a shoulder knot, and a short beard complete his costume. With his right arm, Wepemnefret reaches toward the table of bread loaves, while he grasps his shoulder knot in a fist with his left.¹⁶ The table of offering loaves rests on its own separate ground line (the only example of this positioning in the entire group; see below, Chapter 4), upon which also rest four *bs* signs  pertaining to the bread, beer, alabaster, and clothing ideographic offerings. The red ceramic jar stand is clearly differentiated from the rounded offering table (of calcite?) on which the bread loaves (*gsu*) stand.¹⁷ In fact, a rim has been added to the top of the ceramic table stand in

paint, while the carving merely continues the stand up to join the table (see pl. 2). Four half-loaves of bread face towards the center of the table from each side, totaling eight half-loaves. Wepemnefret's name and administrative titles take up four lines of large-scale hieroglyphs in two vertical columns and two horizontal lines. The stela is unique in forcing the rather small (only three *idmy* falcons) linen list leftward, while the two vertical columns of titles occupy the far right edge of the stela. Section c consists of five vertical columns of offerings that wrap around the table. A yellow frame surrounds the outermost edge of the stela, and a thick black border separates this frame from the decoration. The object belongs to the group of “long-form” slab stelae. No other inscribed objects were found in g 1201.



Fig. 15. Chapel of Wepemnefret, g 1201, reburied with top of false door just visible, looking west. April 22, 1999. PDM, 99.3.13

The mastaba of Wepemnefret dwarfs the neighboring tombs of Cemetery 1200 and ranks, along with g 2000, g 4000, and g 2220, among the largest mastabas in the entire Western Cemetery. This one-shaft mastaba (Reisner's type IIa¹⁸) was originally equipped with a simple mud-brick chapel at the southern end of the east wall, for which the slab stela formed the cult focus (fig. 7). Presumably late in the reign of Khufu,¹⁹ subsequent alterations resulted in the walling up of the stela and the addition of a stone chapel with monolithic false door and four principal chambers completed in mud brick (fig. 14). The mastaba core was also extended on the east side. Rather than remove or destroy the slab stela in the course of expanding the chapel area, the ancient artisans carefully covered the piece with a blank slab of limestone affixed with plaster. Monolithic stones were set in front of it, and the stela's magical efficacy could thus continue despite the new cult focus in the form of the false door a few meters further south along the east wall (figs. 10–13).²⁰ Thanks to this protective covering over four-and-a-half millennia, the stela is by far the best preserved of the entire group considered in the present study. In walling up the slab stela, Wepemnefret

¹⁶ See W.S. Smith, “The Coffin of Prince Min-khaf,” *JEA* 19 (1933), pp. 154–56.

¹⁷ For a jar stand of similar shape from Giza (tomb of Seni-wehem, g 2132, see below, Chapter 4, fig. 222). Additional stands were discovered in situ before the chapel offering niches of Khufu-nakht (g 1205; figs. 39–40) and Mery-hetep (g 4360; fig. 197 = Junker, *Giza* 1, pl. 8b).

¹⁸ Reisner, *Giza Necropolis* 1, pp. 385–89, and on core typology, pp. 39–56.

¹⁹ *Ibid.*, and Reisner and C.S. Fisher, “Preliminary Report on the Harvard–Boston Expedition in 1911–13,” *ASAE* 13 (1914), p. 235ff.

²⁰ I have not been able to determine the location of this covering slab, assuming that it survived its removal intact. Undecorated though it was, it is hard to believe that Reisner would simply have discarded it.

set the pattern followed by several mastaba owners in the Western Cemetery, such as Kaiemah (g 1223), presumably Nefret-iabet (g 1225),²¹ Seshat-sekhentiu (g 2120), and Iunu (g 4150).

If Wepemnefret's situation sets a common pattern in motion in some ways, his stela, on the other hand, is absolutely unique in a host of others. The stela shows a number of elements absent from all fourteen others. It is the largest stela of Cemetery 1200, just as the entire mastaba (g 1201) is the largest as well (see below, Chapter 4). The twelve titles listed vastly outnumber those carved on any of the other stelae. The layout of the decoration appears in other respects to have more in common with its archaic predecessors at other sites than with its Giza counterparts in Cemetery 1200.²² For example, the offering table raised off the floor,²³ the small size of the *idmy* falcons, and the absence of vertical separators in the individual compartments of the linen list²⁴ all show affinities with early dynastic stelae. Vertical separators are also absent from the stela fragment from g 2135 and from two other stelae, albeit only in the case of the *h₃* (𓆎, "thousand") signs (the stelae of Kanefer [g 1203] and Khufu-nakht [g 1205]),²⁵ but never again thereafter. As these three mastabas, along with g 1223 (Kaiemah) and g 1225 (Nefret-iabet), are considered by many to be the earliest of Cemetery 1200, the undivided regions of the linen list may indicate an archaic dating criterion, and also provide evidence for considering g 2135 over in Cemetery 2100 within the same chronological timeframe. Note also that a correction occurred during the decoration of the stela of Nefret-iabet (g 1225), where uncarved vertical separators between the *h₃* (1,000) signs were later uniformly added in paint. This correction almost seems to indicate that an earlier motif was now out of style and had to be corrected.

Continuing our discussion of archaic features of the Wepemnefret stela, it is noteworthy that in all the other Giza slab stelae the linen list occupies the position furthest to the right; in Wepemnefret's case two vertical lines of inscription appear at the far right. The stela of Niankhtet (or Tetenankh) in Liverpool forms an interesting archaic parallel to this feature (figs. 215, 289).²⁶ And Wepemnefret's bull-legged stool, instead of the more common lion legs, is generally taken as the earlier of the two theriomorphic furniture motifs.²⁷

Perhaps the most striking "anomalies" of the Wepemnefret stela are the drastic discrepancies between the carved and the painted decoration. This is all the more noteworthy since modern printed reproductions, either in color or black-and-white, always obscure the reader's ability to distinguish

what is carved from what is merely painted. In pl. 2 I have tried to indicate in a schematic fashion the major deviations in paint by using red lines; once guided by these indications, the reader should consult further the color photograph in pl. 1, N. de G. Davies's somewhat restored painting in the frontispiece to the present volume, fig. 16 for a representation of the stela minus its paint alterations, and fig. 17 showing *just* the paint alterations in isolation. We are somewhat at a loss for comparanda in this case, since so few of the stelae preserve their colors as admirably. However, the other two polychrome stelae, from g 1225 (Nefret-iabet) and g 4150 (Iunu), show only minor deviations by comparison (see below, Appendix 1, for a color palaeography). Wepemnefret's artists have not only added a vast amount of interior detail in paint to very simply carved signs, but they have also altered the form of many hieroglyphs. Far beyond a simple correction or change-of-thickness adjustment here or there, these painted alterations are so fundamental to the appearance of the stela that to omit them, as I have in fig. 16, reveals a very different overall appearance. Were one to remove the painted decoration, some of the major details that the stela would lose include Wepemnefret's moustache, significant interior detail on the frog , Horus falcons , owls , quail chicks , the scribal palette , *hnty* vessel , the fish , the cross-hatching on the determinative for *irp*, "wine" , the graining pattern on the stone vessel determinative for *h₃st*, "ointment" , the pupil of the eye determinative in *ms-dmt* , the interiors of the *h* signs , the "hide" pattern on the bull-legged stool, alternating green and black triangles on the lower halves of the *ntr*-flagstaffs , the grain pattern on the two *mdh* signs in line 1 , and of course the tomb-owner's leopard-skin garment. The *t*-sign bread loaf just under the offering table is tall and narrow in the carved version, rather wider and more flared as corrected in paint. Many of the small protrusions at the bottom of the *h₃* plant stems  are painted at a different angle from that of their underlying carved counterparts. The rounded buds at the top of the *sm^c* plant in line 3 are merely painted, not carved at all. The buds on the sprouting leaves to either side alternate in a black-red-black pattern, with the number and positioning of the buds differing dramatically between the carved and painted versions. The *t* in the word *Mhyt* further to the left has been enlarged considerably in the painted over the carved version. The interior detailing of the quail chicks, both in Wepemnefret's name (line 4) and in the word *w^ch* in Section c, bears one pattern in carving, another in paint. The forepart of the lion in

Section c in the word *h₃st* has received a joint or bone spur in black at the back of its forepaw, and facial whiskers absent from the carving. Horizontal cross-lines on the *p* stools (line 4 and Section c) are sometimes carved, sometimes painted, or both, but in differing numbers. The circular fruits or grains  in the basket determinatives  (M 39) in Section c are painted much smaller than their carved versions (see esp. *g(w)t*, *sh_t h_dt*, and *isd*). The antelope head (*nwdw*) at the very bottom of Section c has been given rounded "ridges" at the base of the horns in paint, while the carved versions are smooth and straight.²⁸

Perhaps surprising in some instances are the changes in color scheme. The fruits or grains in the basket sign (M 39) are green in most words, but yellow in *g(w)t* and *sh_t h_dt*. Is this meant to represent the different contents of each basket more accurately? Further, the reed leaf  (M 17) appears in its traditional green except in the word *isd* in Section c, where it is painted yellow with red detail. In fact, some hieroglyphs, such as the two *t* signs  to the right of the *istt* sign, are *only* painted, not carved at all. It is clear that the order of decoration took the following form: outline draft lines (now completely

²¹ This is somewhat difficult to confirm owing to Ballard's dismantling of the chapel area in removing the slab stela prior to the assignment of this part of the Giza Necropolis to Reisner's (Hearst Expedition) concession.

²² Wepemnefret does not use the archaic motif of displaying only the rear leg(s) of the stool he sits upon, where the deceased's legs obscure the stool's front legs; see, for example, the archaic double stela (most likely from Saqqara) of *Nt-w^c* and *Nt-nb* in the Louvre, C. Ziegler, *Stèles, peintures et reliefs égyptiens de l'Ancien Empire*, pp. 37, 157–60, cat. 23, and the stelae of Ibneb, Niankhtet, and Djefa-nisut, illustrated in Vandier, *Manuel*, pp. 753–55, figs. 497–99, and below, Appendix 3, on linen lists.

²³ For raised offering tables, see, for example, Z. Saad, *Ceiling Stelae in Second Dynasty Tombs from the Excavations at Helwan*, ASAE Supplément, Cahier 21 (Cairo, 1957), pl. 27; Kaplony, *IÄF Supplement*, pl. 3 (1054); idem, *Kleine Beiträge*, pl. 3 (1093); Vandier, *Manuel*, p. 755, fig. 499 (Djefa-nisut).

²⁴ Small *idmy* falcons and an absence of vertical separators are present on a host of pre-Giza stelae: Niankhtet (our figs. 215, 289, and Vandier, *Manuel*, p. 754, fig. 498); Nisu-heqet (Saad, *Ceiling Stelae*, pl. 4) and Heken (ibid., pl. 10); Nytwa and Nytneb (Louvre E27157; C. Ziegler, *Stèles, peintures et reliefs égyptiens de l'Ancien Empire*, pp. 157–60, cat. 23); Sehefner (J.E. Quibell, *Excavations at Saqqara 6* [1912–1914], *Archaic Mastabas* [Cairo, 1923], pl. 27; Smith, *HESPOK*, pl. 32a).

²⁵ The Khufu-nakht stela omits *all* separators from its bottom row (*g*-linen).

²⁶ Cf. Vandier, *Manuel* 1, p. 754, fig. 498; Weill, *Des Monuments et de l'histoire des IIe et IIIe Dynasties* (Paris, 1908), p. 226. Conversely, in its horizontal and vertical inscriptions, the layout of the Wepemnefret stela could call to mind instead the royal decrees of the later Old Kingdom, such as in H. Goedicke, *Königliche Dokumente aus dem Alten Reich* (Wiesbaden, 1967), esp. fig. 17, after p. 168 (Coptos L). On document layout in general, see W. Helck, *Altägyptische Aktenkunde des 3. und 2. Jahrtausends v. Chr.*, MÄS 31 (Berlin, 1974).

²⁷ Cf. Cherpion, *Mastabas et Hypogées*, pp. 33–34 (critère 10); Fischer, *Varia Nova*, esp. pp. 142–47; idem, "Stuhl," LÄ 6, cols. 94–96.

²⁸ For more on color palaeography on the slab stelae, see below, Appendix 1.

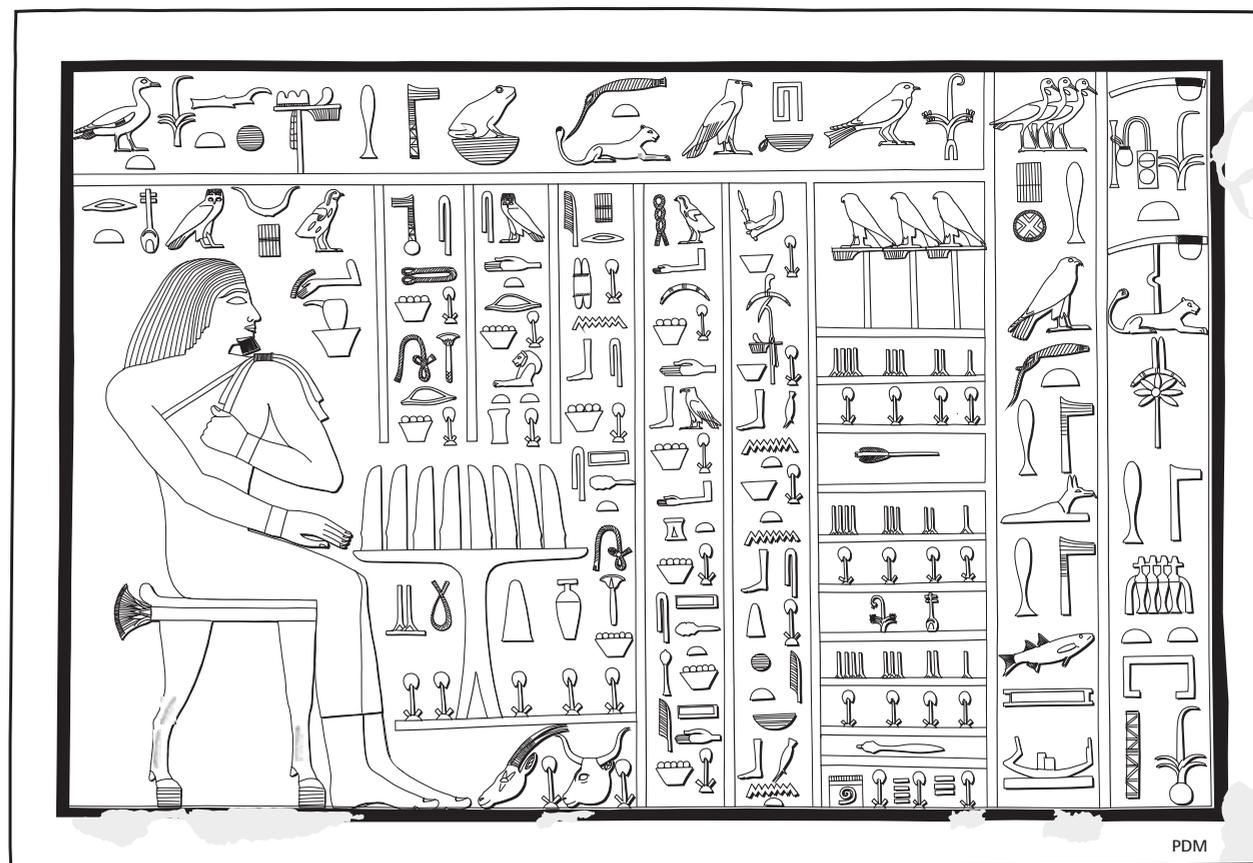


Fig. 16. Facsimile drawing of the Wepemnefret stela from g 1201, showing carved areas with painted detail removed

obscured) indicated the layout of the decoration, then carving was executed in delicate low relief, and finally countless signs and shapes were altered in paint by an additional artisan. Many signs were outlined in one color, and in-painted in another; forms were shifted and details added that are absent from the carving. One fact to be emphasized, however, is that the carving and painting stages hardly represent the work of student and master, for both artisans or schools have created a monument worthy of the finest productions of the royal workshops. The goal of this final round of stela decoration, the application of paint, was clearly aimed at fundamentally altering the stela's appearance.

The survival of so much color also tells us much about the border pattern most likely intended for most, if not all, of the slab stelae. The outermost frame is painted yellow, while a thick black border surrounds the actual decoration. Traces of

yellow are visible on the raised border areas of the stelae of Nefret-iabet (g 1225) and of Iunu (g 4150), and traces of black survive clearly in outlining the line of contact between the raised outer (yellow) surface, and the sunk inner surface that bears the relief carving.

"Typographic" errors are not unknown in the slab stelae, and our first example occurs in line 11, in the word for "wine," written *ipr* instead of *irp*. *Htt* for *ibt* appears in col. 13.

Towards the very bottom of the linen list (Section d) one item shows the *st*, or 100-sign (𓄿, V 1) set within a square bolt of fringed cloth. This item also appears on the stelae of Kanefer (g 1203), Iunu (g 4150; no longer visible today; see fig. 153), and g 4860 (anonymous).²⁹ Note also the reversal of this sign (and both *w*s signs 𓄿, V 4). The 𓄿 is thus reversed in every linen list in which it appears in the Giza stelae group, with the exception of stela 15, whose linen list *in toto* is reversed.³⁰

Records are scarce on the early treatment of the stela of Wepemnefret. In 1940, William Stevenson Smith was in contact with the museum authorities in Berkeley about the possible formation of salt crystals on the surface of the relief. Nineteen years later, Bernard V. Bothmer examined the stela in "total darkness with a pocket flashlight" and discerned the presence of minute saline cystals.³¹ Correspondence between the Museum of Fine Arts and the Hearst (then Lowie) Museum in April/May, 1959, resulted in shipping the stela to Boston for conservation treatment by William Young of the MFA Conservation Laboratory. Although detailed records of his procedures have yet to surface, this period did afford Smith the opportunity for a closer examination of the stela, resulting in the article he published in *Archaeology*.³² Smith noticed a short, worn inscription on the upper edge of the stela, and wondered if a phyle name was mentioned, but K. Baer noted that it is Wepemnefret's name.³³ No mention of this inscription has surfaced in Reisner's original excavation records. At the end of the 1990s the stela again received conservation attention in preparation for loan to the Old Kingdom special exhibition, "Egyptian Art in the Age of the Pyramids," held in Paris, New York, and Toronto.³⁴

Date: Cemetery 1200 may well be the earliest of the nucleus cemeteries to the west of the Great Pyramid. Contrary to the rest of the cemetery, here the tombs developed, not from west to east, but from east to west, possibly to escape the construction chaos

²⁹ G 4860's linen list contains four such fringed cloths, at the right end of both the *sr* and *o* categories. It was most likely supplied in paint between the two horizontals over the 𓄿 and 𓄿 signs. Note that one of these double horizontals is omitted from the line drawing in R. Hölzl, *Reliefs und Inschriftensteine des Alten Reiches II*, CAA 21 (Vienna, 2000), p. 148. Such cloths also occur on the stelae of Kanefer (g 1203, see below, stela 2), Iunu (g 4150, faded; stela 13 below), and the east wall linen list in the chapel of Seshem-nefer I (g 4940, figs. 234, 310–312), to name but a few examples.

³⁰ The same reversed orientation for the sign appears within a *snwt* granary in A. Moussa and H. Altenmüller, *Das Grab des Nianchnum und Chnum-hotep*, AV 21 (Mainz, 1977), pl. 23, fig. 24 = B. Dominicus, *Gesten und Gebärden in Darstellungen des Alten und Mittleren Reiches* (Heidelberg, 1993), p. 165, fig. 60d (detail).

³¹ Correspondence (housed in the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston) between W.S. Smith of the MFA and three representatives of the University of California: William Bascom, former Director of the Museum of Anthropology, A.A. Blackman, Museum Preparator, and Professor Winfield S. Wellington, Director of the Art Gallery.

³² W.S. Smith, "The Stela of Prince Wepemnofret," *Archaeology* 16 (1963), pp. 2–13.

³³ *Ibid.*, p. 13.

³⁴ *Egyptian Art in the Age of the Pyramids* (New York, 1999), pp. 245–46, cat. 52, and D. Arnold, *When the Pyramids were Built. Egyptian Art of the Old Kingdom* (New York, 1999), pp. 48–49, figs. 36–37.

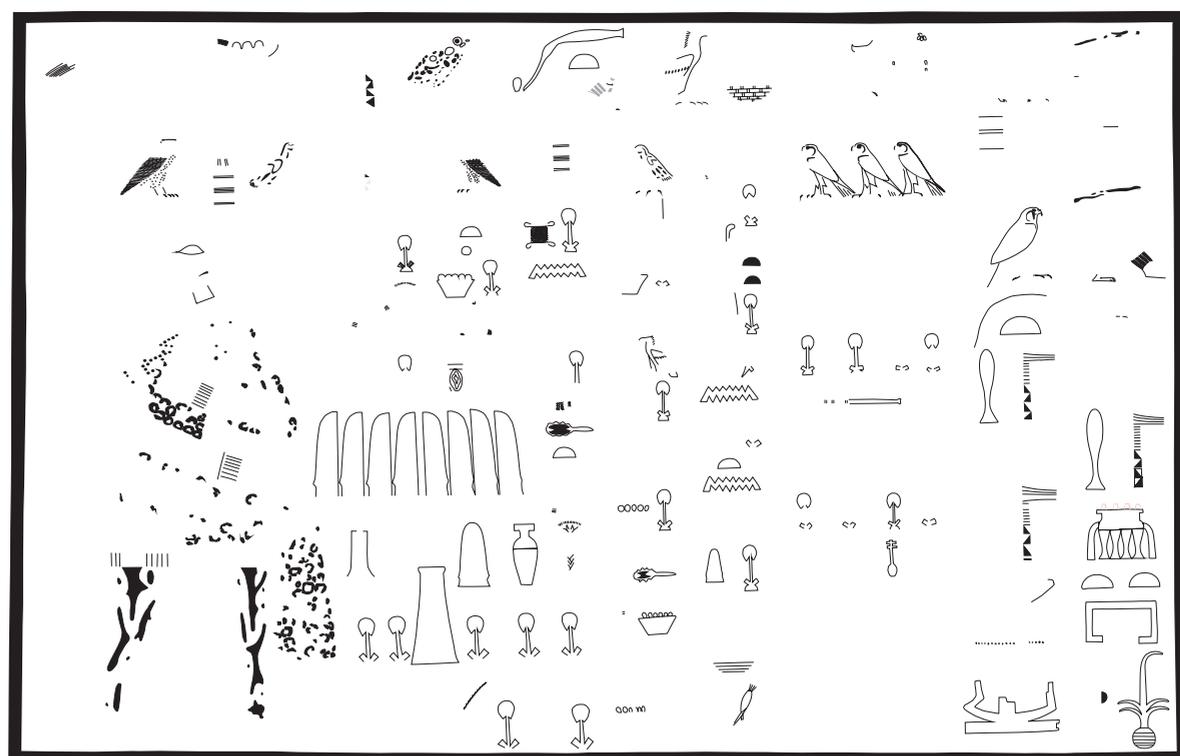


Fig. 17. Facsimile drawing of the Wepemnefret stela from g 1201, showing major painted areas with carved areas removed

that must have surrounded the Great Pyramid well into Khufu's reign.³⁵ The easternmost group, consisting of g 1201, g 1203, g 1205, g 1223, and g 1225 are posited by Reisner to date to within the first five years of Khufu's reign, although Jánosi has shown that Reisner's divisions of years 5, 10, and 15 for more precise dating under Khufu are difficult to confirm at best.³⁶ Graffiti from the tombs of Kanefer (g 1203) naming *rnpt-ḥsbt š šmw zw s(?)*, and Khufu-nakht (g 1205) naming *Hr-mḏdw prw* further support the early date for this group.³⁷ Wepemnefret's stela differs so markedly from those of his contemporaries that I would suggest it marks the transitional phase between cemetery decoration prior to Giza, and the new Giza paradigm as determined by Khufu. Too many features occur on Wepemnefret's stela that align him retroactively with his predecessors from Meidum, Dahshur, and Saqqara, and contrast him with his successors in the Western Cemetery. Despite Barta's arguments placing g 1201 towards the end of Dynasty 4,³⁸ the tomb more likely dates to the very earliest years following the original layout of the necropolis. A date to within Khufu's first

few years for Wepemnefret's stela emplacement fits well with the archaeological and inscriptional context.

³⁵ P. Jánosi, *Giza in der 4. Dynastie* (Vienna, forthcoming), § 2.3.4(b) ("Die Entstehung der Gräberfelder").

³⁶ Reisner, *Giza Necropolis* 1, pp. 12 ("The Western Mastaba Field, begun early in the reign of Cheops..."), 77 ("Taking as the point of departure that the fifteen initial mastaba-cores were constructed by Cheops in the early part of his reign, probably in the first five years..."), 78 ("Finally, the fifteen initial cores of the three cemeteries were all built within a few years which I estimate to have terminated about year 5 of Cheops."). See Jánosi, *Giza in der 4. Dynastie*, § 2.3.4 ("Die Entstehung der Gräberfelder").

³⁷ Cf. Reisner, *Giza Necropolis* 1, pp. 76, n. 2, 386, and Reisner and Fisher, *ASAE* 13 (1914), p. 236; W.S. Smith, "Inscriptional Evidence for the History of the Fourth Dynasty," *JNES* 11 (1952), p. 127 [2], fig. 6, and A. Spalinger, "Dated Texts of the Old Kingdom," *SAK* 21 (1994), p. 284 (2).

³⁸ W. Barta, *Die altägyptische Opferliste von der Frühzeit bis zur griechisch-römischen Epoche* (Berlin, 1963), pp. 43–44.



Fig. 18. Detail of Section a of the Wepemnefret stela from g 1201. Hearst Museum of Anthropology and the Metropolitan Museum of Art. 1998. Bruce White



Fig. 19. Detail from the Wepemnefret stela, g 1201, showing preservation of garment polychromy. 1905. HU-MFA Expedition photograph, George Reisner, b 11762

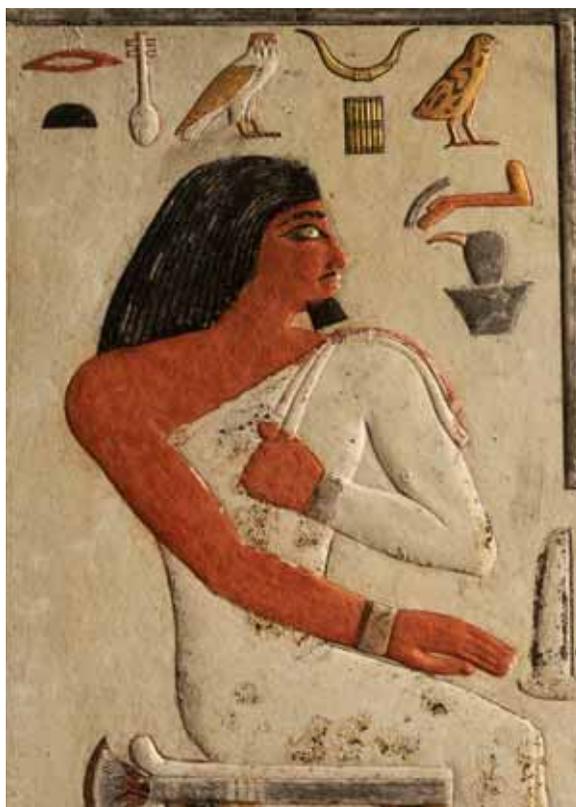


Fig. 20. The same detail as in fig. 19. Hearst Museum of Anthropology and Metropolitan Museum of Art. 1998. Bruce White



Fig. 21. Detail of Section c of the Wepemnefret stela from g 1201. Hearst Museum of Anthropology and Metropolitan Museum of Art. 1998. Bruce White



Fig. 22. Detail of Sections a and c of the Wepemnefret stela from g 1201. Hearst Museum of Anthropology and Metropolitan Museum of Art. 1998. Bruce White

Slab Stela 2 (pls. 3–4)

Owner: *Ks-nfr*, Kanefer¹ (𓋴)

Provenance: Cemetery 1200: g 1203

Excavation history: Hearst Expedition, University of California, under G.A. Reisner, February–May, 1904; found “partly in chapel and partly in the walls of an intermediate pit in the chapel of 1235”²

Current location: Phoebe A. Hearst Museum of Anthropology, University of California, Berkeley, 6–19807

Material: Limestone; raised relief carving

Measurements: h. 38 cm; w. 52.9 cm; th. 7.3 cm

Selected bibliography: PM III, p. 57; G.A. Reisner and C.S. Fisher, *ASAE*13 (1914), pl. 4a; Reisner, *Giza Necropolis*1, p. 390, pl. 17b; W.S. Smith, *Archaeology*16 (1963), p. 6, fig. 6

Translation

Section a:

(1) *imy-r wpwt hrp tmst(yw) Ks=(i)-nfr*

(1) “Overseer of commissions, controller of bowcase bearers,³ Kanefer”

Section b:

(2) *šs h3*, (3) *ks h3*, *nwdw h3*, *r trp h3*

(2) “a thousand alabaster vessels,⁴ (3) a thousand oxen, a thousand antelopes, a thousand *ro*-geese and *tjerep*-geese”

Section c:

(4) *kbbh*, *ic cwy*, *shpt*, *irp*, *db3*, *išd*

(4) “container of cool water, implements for washing hands, *sekh-pet*-drink, wine, figs, persea fruit”

Section d:

idmy ifdw h3, *hmtw h3*, *snwi h3*, *wc h3*

“*idemy*-linen:⁵ a thousand of 4 (cubits wide), a thousand of 3 (cubits wide), a thousand of 2 (cubits wide), a thousand of 1 (cubit wide)”

šsr h3, *št h3*, *psdiw h3*, *hmnw h3*, *sfhiw h3*, *sisiw h3*

“*šesher*-linen: a thousand of *h* (cubits wide),⁶ a thousand of 100 (cubits wide), a thousand of 90 (cubits wide),⁷ a thousand of 80 (cubits wide), a thousand of 70 (cubits wide), a thousand of 60 (cubits wide)”

[*šm-t-nfr*] *št h3*, *psdiw h3*, *hmnw h3*, *sfhiw h3*, [*sisiw?*] *h3*, [*diiw?*] *h3*

“[fine linen]: a thousand of 100 (cubits wide), a thousand of 90 (cubits wide), a thousand of 80 (cubits wide), a thousand of 70

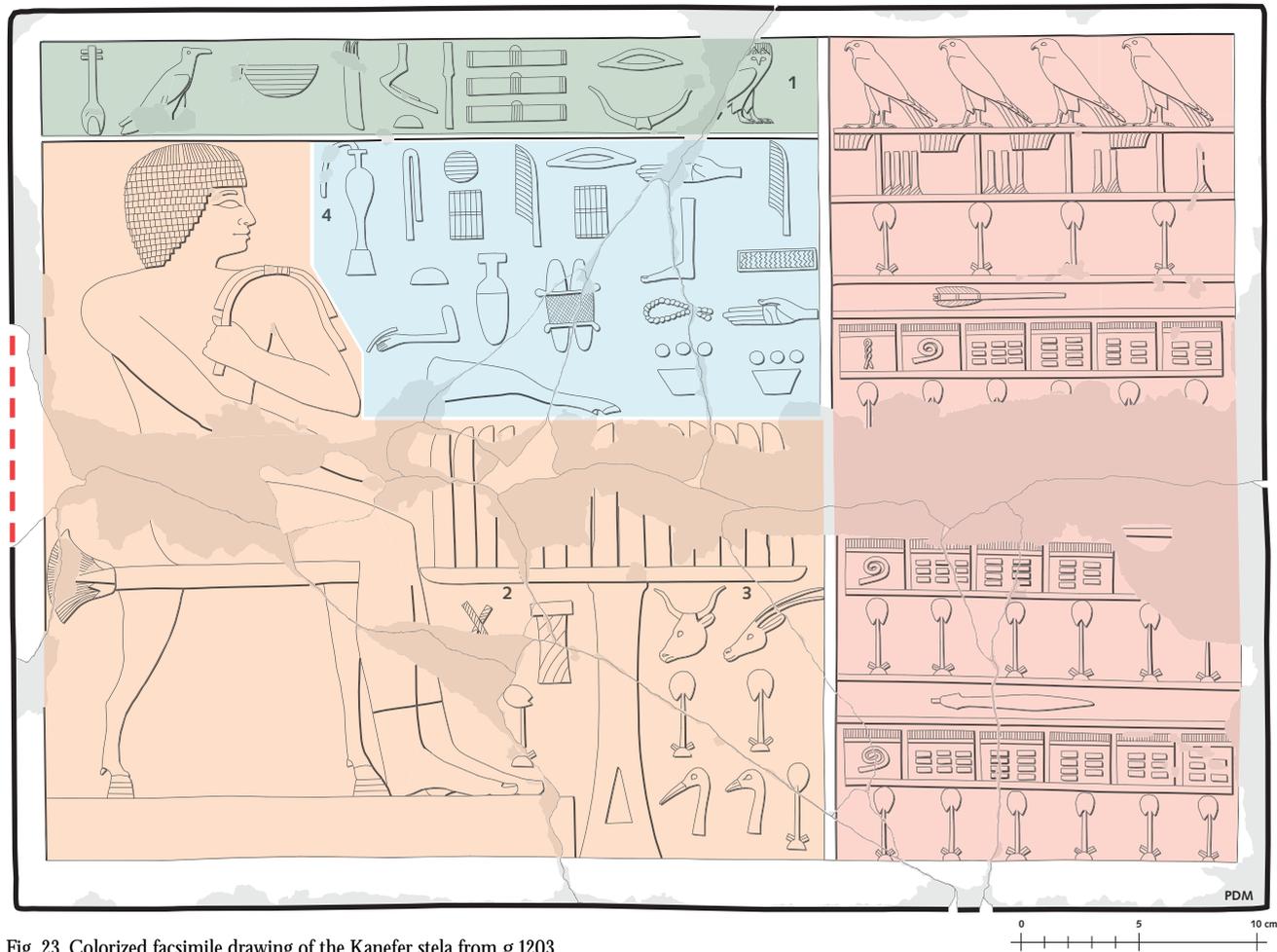


Fig. 23. Colorized facsimile drawing of the Kanefer stela from g 1203

(cubits wide), a thousand [of 60 cubits wide?], a thousand [of 50 cubits wide?]”

š št h3, *psdiw h3*, *hmnw h3*, *sfhiw h3*, *sisiw h3*, *diiw h3*

“*aa*-linen: a thousand of width 100 (cubits wide), a thousand of 90 (cubits wide), a thousand of 80 (cubits wide), a thousand of 70 (cubits wide), a thousand of 60 (cubits wide), a thousand of 50 (cubits wide)”

¹ Ranke, *PVI*, p. 340.10, “(My) ka is perfect;” old perfective usage of *nfr*.

² Reisner, unpublished report on the work of the Hearst Expedition, most likely dating to 1904, p. 65, caption to fig. 89 (housed in the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston).

³ On this military title, cf. D. Jones, *An Index of Ancient Egyptian Titles, Epithets and Phrases of the Old Kingdom 2* (Oxford, 2000), p. 753, no. 2746; H.G. Fischer, “A Scribe of the Army in a Saqqara Mastaba of the Early Fifth Dynasty,” *JNES* 18 (1959), pp. 267–68 (22) and Junker, *Giza* 4,

pp. 71–72 (9). W. Helck, “Die Datierung der Prinzessin *Wnš.t*,” in *Homages à Jean Leclant 1* (Cairo, 1994), p. 221, translates it “Leiter der Bogen-truppen.” The title also appears at Giza in Cemetery 2100, mastaba of Kanefer (g 2150); Reisner, *Giza Necropolis*1, figs. 257–58.

⁴ This stela replaces *mnht* “cloth” with a stone vessel determinative for *šs*; cf. also the stelae from g 1205 (Khufu-nakht), and g 1207 (Nefer; includes both stone vessel and *mnht*); *Wb.* 4, pp. 540–41.

⁵ On the choice of transliteration *idmy* instead of *itiwy*, see below, Chapter 4, discussion of Section d (linen lists).

⁶ This word is written *h3* on the Helwan stela from tomb 247; cf. Z. Saad, *Ceiling Stelae in Second Dynasty Tombs from the Excavations at Helwan*, *ASAE* Supplément, Cahier 21 (Cairo, 1957), pl. 30; J. Kahl, N. Kloth, and U. Zimmermann, *Die Inschriften der 3. Dynastie* (Wiesbaden, 1995), p. 175 (d); however, it never appears with a *.t* on any of the Giza slab stelae. The value is most likely more than 100 or 200, but less than 1,000; cf. P. Posener-Krieger, “Les mesures des étoffes à l’ancien empire,” *RdE* 29 (1977), pp. 93–94.

⁷ Or possibly 90 cubits square? On the difference between vertical and horizontal linen units of measure, see below, Chapters 3 and 4, based on Posener-Krieger, “Les mesures des étoffes à l’ancien empire,” pp. 86–96; Kahl, Kloth, Zimmermann, *Die Inschriften der 3. Dynastie*, p. 175ff.; E. Edel, “Eine alt-hieratische Liste von Grabbeigaben aus einem Grab des späten Alten Reiches der Qubbet el-Hawa bei Assuan,” *NAWG* 6 (1987), pp. 98, 104.



Fig. 24. The Kanefer stela from g 1203, photographed at Harvard Camp, Giza. 1905. HU–MFA Expedition photograph, George Reisner, b 11763

Description and commentary: The mud-brick chapel enclosing the slab stela was a barrel-vaulted series of four or five rooms (figs. 25–29). The fragmentary stela portrays the tomb owner seated on a bull-legged stool placed upon a mat most likely viewed from above. Only two other stelae elevate the deceased in a similar fashion (g 1207, Nefer, and g 2120, Seshatsekhentiu). The papyrus umbel terminal is damaged but clearly detailed; no cushion is visible on the stool’s seat. Kanefer wears a short, valanced wig and a long, tight-fitting garment that was presumably painted to match the leopard-skin pattern still preserved on the stelae of Wepemnefret (g 1201) and Nefret-iabet (g 1225). With his right hand he reaches out toward the table of bread loaves, while with his left he grasps his shoulder knot in his clenched fist. The table contains eight half-loaves on the left, but

only seven half-loaves on the right. This asymmetry also occurs (with seven and six half-loaves) on the stela of Khufu-nakht (g 1205) and elsewhere (see below, Chapter 4, fig. 223). The linen list occupies the entire right third of the stela, with room for four *idmy* falcons. In place of vertical separators for the individual compartments and quantities of linen, the list uses fringed cloths with numbers inside as natural “compartments;” there is no separation between the many *h* signs beneath each row of cloths. Kanefer’s name and titles appear in a single horizontal line over his head. Some hieroglyphs are particularly finely carved and detailed, among them the *s* and *d* of *isd*, with interior zigzagging lines for the former and crease lines in the palm of the latter. The jar determinative for *s* beneath the offering table also shows an interesting swirl pattern, presumably in imitation of alabaster

veining. The stela was found in 10–20 fragments, and had to be temporarily reassembled at the Hearst Museum in Berkeley for the photograph on pl. 3.⁸ It is a short-form slab stela.

An interesting feature on this stela is the linen list division, where each amount is indicated within its own fringed cloth. One fringed cloth appears at the bottom of Wepemnefret’s linen list (g 1201). Several more were once visible on the stela of Iunu (g 4150),⁹ and on the anonymous stela from g 4860, but Kanefer’s stela provides the most clearly carved example.¹⁰

Kanefer’s tomb is one of only three in our group to preserve a slab stela and a reserve head (see Chapter 2, fig. 175); the others are Meretites (g 4140) and Wenshet (g 4840). Kanefer’s reserve head, now in the Hearst Museum, Berkeley (acc. no. 6–19767),¹¹ is included here, along with a profile drawing by Astrid Runggaldier (figs. 30–31).

A Fourth Dynasty pair statue of a Kanefer and Iy-nefret with uncertain provenance is preserved in the Louvre (E 6854; A 120), and has been assigned to g 1203.¹² The statue and the slab stela do bear two titles in common, but the pair statue contains several more not attested in the stela. Moreover, there is no provision in mastaba g 1203 for a second burial. If Iy-nefret was indeed the spouse of this Kanefer, one might expect an annex and additional burial shaft to the north of the mastaba core, as is found in the cases of g 1223, g 1225, g 1227, and g 1233. With very few exceptions, the slab stela tombs preserve no other inscribed objects besides the stelae themselves; the pair statue of Kanefer and Iy-nefret would constitute a major exception to this trend. Without additional evidence, then, it seems prudent to withhold identification of the Kanefer of the Louvre pair statue with the owner of g 1203.¹³

Date: One graffito from the tomb of Kanefer (g 1203) naming *rnpt-hsbt 5 šmw zw 5(?)*, “year of the 5th occurrence, [...] month of *šmw*, day 5(?),” and another from that of Khufu-

⁸ Compare the 1905 photograph with fragments reassembled by Reisner, fig. 24. I am especially indebted to Hearst Museum conservator Madeleine Fang for preparing the stela fragments for photography in 1999 (pl. 3), and to photographer Lee Fatheree.

⁹ Cf. Junker, *Giza* 1, p. 175, fig. 31, pl. 27 = our fig. 153.

¹⁰ See also the east wall linen list in the chapel of Seshem-nefer I (g 4940, see below, figs. 234, 310–312).

¹¹ Reisner, *Giza Necropolis* 1, pl. 22a–3; R. Tefnin, *Art et Magie au temps des Pyramides. L’énigme des têtes dites “de remplacement”* (Brussels, 1991), pp. 97–98, pl. 1a–d; *Egyptian Art in the Age of the Pyramids* (New York, 1999), pp. 234–35, cat. 46.

¹² C. Ziegler, *Les statues égyptiennes de l’Ancien Empire*, Musée du Louvre (Paris, 1997), pp. 100–104.

¹³ Cf. P. János, *Giza in der 4. Dynastie* (Vienna, forthcoming), § 2.3.3(a) (“Liste der namentlich bekannten Grabbesitzer”).

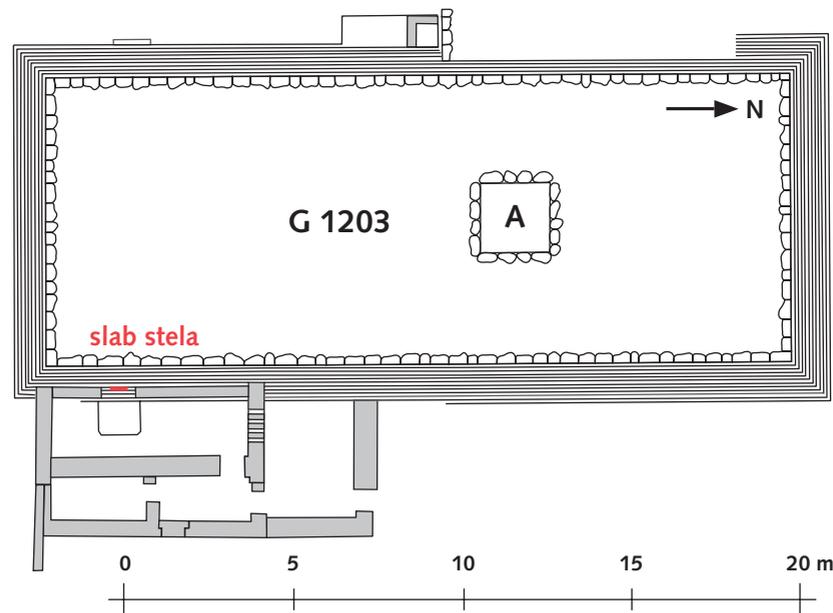


Fig. 25. Plan of the mastaba of Kanefer, g 1203, after Reisner, *Giza Necropolis* 1, Map 4. Drawing by Ruth Bigio

nakht (g 1205) naming *Hr-mddw prw* seem to support the early date for the group of five earliest tombs constructed in Cemetery 1200.¹⁴ This interpretation is supported by the location of the tomb at the eastern edge of Cemetery 1200, which developed from east to west. However, our uncertainty over the regularity of the biennial census renders some of these graffiti less helpful than is often supposed.¹⁵

The Kanefer block was actually discovered, not in 1904–1905 during the original excavation of the mastaba, but in 1938 by W.S. Smith “in trench dug in filling of g 1203, in search for another shaft.” It is described in the Expedition’s Object Register as “38–2–5... fragment of white limestone; three worked surfaces, one smooth with inscription (date) in red ink” (see figs. 32–33).¹⁶ Reisner noted that it might belong to the lining of the burial chamber.¹⁷ Assigning this text to Khufu is beyond doubt, but the disturbed context is unfortunate. We might conclude that g 1203, along with its slab stela, dates to the first decade of Khufu’s reign.

¹⁴ Cf. Reisner, *Giza Necropolis* 1, pp. 76, n. 2, 391 (19), and Reisner and Fisher, *ASAE* 13 (1914), p. 236; W.S. Smith, “Inscriptional Evidence for the History of the Fourth Dynasty,” *JNES* 11 (1952), pp. 118, fig. 6, 127 [2], and A. Spalinger, “Dated Texts of the Old Kingdom,” *SAK* 21 (1994), p. 284 (2).

¹⁵ Cf. Reisner, *Giza Necropolis* 1, p. 385; and János, *Giza in der 4. Dynastie*, forthcoming, Chapter 2.3.4b (Cemetery 1200) on the chronological difficulties and Reisner’s working hypothesis of five-year divisions for Khufu’s reign.

¹⁶ HU–MFA Expedition Object Register book for the period covering 37–1–242 through 38–11–5, p. 1483 (38–2–5); housed in the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston.

¹⁷ Cf. Reisner, *Giza Necropolis* 1, pp. 76, n. 2.



Fig. 26. Street and chapel area of g 1203, looking northwest. February, 1906. HU–MFA Expedition photograph, George Reisner, a 11633



Fig. 27. Chapel area of g 1203, looking southwest. February, 1906. HU–MFA Expedition photograph, George Reisner, a 11632



Fig. 28. Chapel of Kanefer, g 1203, looking southwest from the mastaba of g 1201. April 22, 1999. PDM, 99.4.28



Fig. 30. Reserve head of Kanefer from g 1203; Hearst Museum of Anthropology, Berkeley, 6-19767. 1988. Bruce White



Fig. 32. Block with date graffiti from the mastaba of Kanefer, g 1203. MFA 38-2-5. January 24, 2003. PDM



Fig. 29. Slab stela emplacement in g 1203. April 22, 1999. PDM, 99.4.18

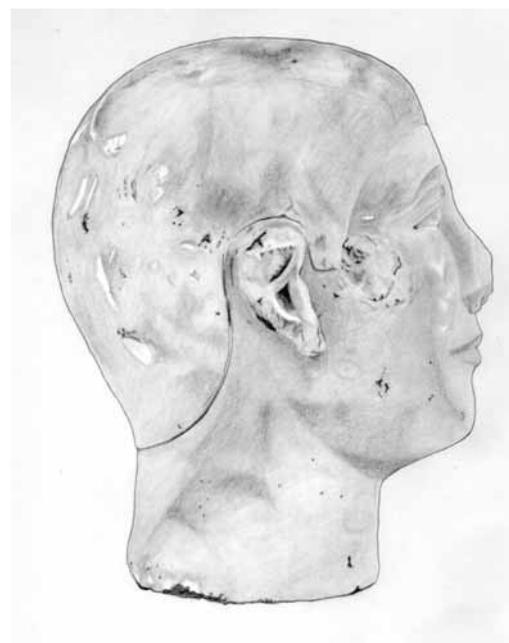


Fig. 31. Profile view of reserve head of Kanefer from g 1203. Drawing by Astrid Runggaldier, 1997

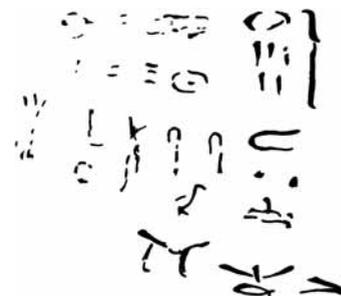


Fig. 33. Graffiti from the mastaba of Kanefer, g 1203, after Smith, *JNES* 11 (1952), p. 118, fig. 6 (MFA 38-2-5)

Slab Stela 3 (pls. 5–6)

Owner: *Hwfw-nbt*, Khufu-nakht¹ (𐎃𐎃)

Provenance: Cemetery 1200: g 1205

Excavation history: Hearst Expedition, University of California, under G.A. Reisner, April, 1904; discovered in situ set into emplacement in chapel niche²

Current location: Phoebe A. Hearst Museum of Anthropology, University of California, Berkeley, 6–19786

Material: Painted limestone; raised relief carving

Measurements: h. 38 cm; w. 52.6 cm; th. 8.2 cm

Junker, *Giza* 1, p. 28, lists the following measurements: h. 38.1 cm; w. 52.7 cm; th. 8.25 cm

Selected bibliography: PM III, p. 57; Reisner, *Giza Necropolis* 1, pp. 393–94, pl. 18a; N. Cherpion, *Mastabas et Hypogées d’Ancien Empire. Le Problème de la Datation* (Brussels, 1989), pl. 17 (detail); J. Vandier, *Manuel d’Archéologie Egyptienne* 1 (Paris, 1952), p. 562, fig. 505, bottom

Translation

Section a:

(1) *iry-ht nswt Hwfw-nbt*

(1) “Keeper of the king’s property,³ Khufu-nakht”

Section b:

(2) *šs h3*, (3) *ks h3*, *nwḏw h3 r trp h3*

(2) “a thousand alabaster vessels,⁴ (3) a thousand oxen, a thousand antelopes, a thousand *ro*-geese and *tjerep*-geese”

Section c:

(4) *ḳbbh*, *ir ʿwy*, *bd ʿ ifḏw*, (5) *sntr*, *ḥstt mrḥt*, *wṣḏ*, *msdmt*, *db3*,

(6) *nbs*, *irp*, *išd*, *wḥp*,

(4) “container of cool water, implements for washing hands, purification of 4 pellets of natron, (5) incense, best ointment, green eye-paint,⁵ black eye-paint, figs, (6) zizyphus, wine, persea fruit, carob bean”

Section d:

idmy št h3, *psḏiw h3*, *ḥmniw h3*, *sfḥiw h3*, *sisiw h3*, *diiw h3*

“*idemy*-linen:⁶ a thousand of 100 (cubits wide), a thousand of 90 (cubits wide),⁷ a thousand of 80 (cubits wide), a thousand of 70 (cubits wide), a thousand of 60 (cubits wide), a thousand of 50 (cubits wide)”

ššr št h3, *ḥmniw h3*, *sfḥw h3*, *sisiw h3*, *diiw h3*, *snwi h3*

“*šesher*-linen: a thousand of 100 (cubits wide), a thousand of 80 (cubits wide), a thousand of 70 (cubits wide), a thousand of

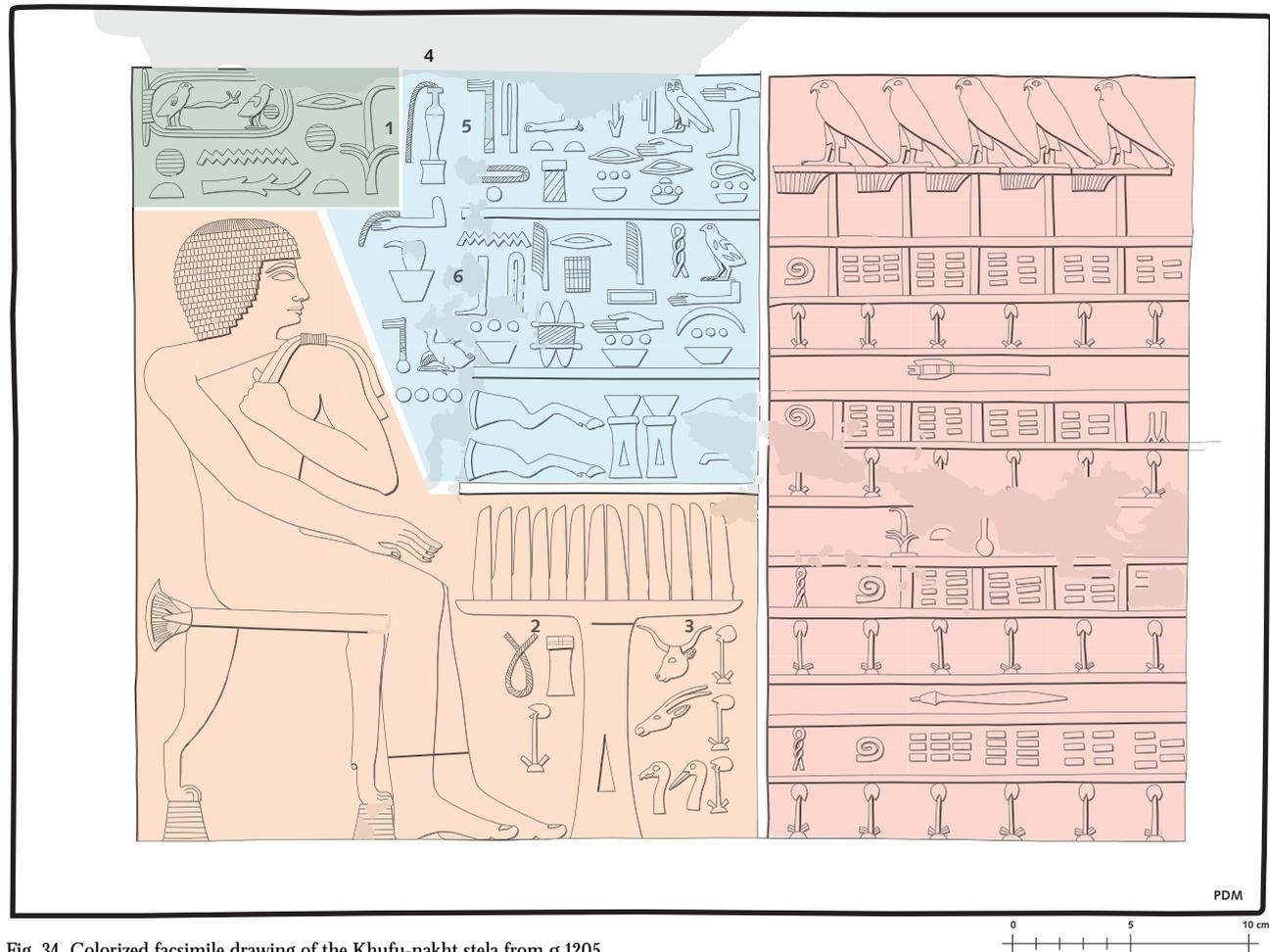


Fig. 34. Colorized facsimile drawing of the Khufu-nakht stela from g 1205

60 (cubits wide), a thousand of 50 (cubits wide), a thousand of 2 (cubits wide)⁸

šmʿt-nfrt h h3, *št h3*, *ḥmniw h3*, *sfḥiw h3*, *sisiw*, [...] *h3*

“fine linen: a thousand of *h* (cubits wide),⁹ a thousand of 100 (cubits wide), a thousand of 80 (cubits wide), a thousand of 70

¹ Ranke, *PN* 1, p. 268.8; “Khufu is powerful/victorious.”

² Reisner illustrated this stela in an unpublished report on the work of the Hearst Expedition, most likely dating to 1904, p. 67, fig. 95 (housed in the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston).

³ Cf. W. Helck, *Untersuchungen zu den Beamtentiteln des ägyptischen Alten Reiches* (Glückstadt, 1954), pp. 26–28; H. Brunner, “Der Bekannte des Königs,” *SAK* 1 (1974), pp. 55–60; O. Berlev, “A Contemporary of King Sewah-en-re,” *JE* 60 (1974), p. 109, and E. Brovaski, “Akhmim in the Old Kingdom and First Intermediate Period,” in *Mélanges Mokhtar* 1, (Cairo, 1985), p. 148, n. 129.

⁴ This stela replaces *mnbt* “cloth” with a stone vessel determinative for *šs*; cf. also the stelae from g 1203 (Kanefer), and g 1207 (Nefer; includes both stone vessel and *mnbt*); *Wb.* 4, pp. 540–41.

⁵ The *wṣḏ* sign shows projecting leaves at the stalk’s base, an archaic and Old Kingdom feature according to H.G. Fischer, *Ancient Egyptian Calligraphy. A Beginner’s Guide to Writing Hieroglyphs*, 4th edition (New York, 1999), p. 33 (M 13); additional parallels are listed on p. 64.

⁶ On the choice of transliteration *idmy* instead of *itiwy*, see below, Chapter 4, discussion of Section d (linen lists).

⁷ Or possibly 90 cubits square? On vertical versus horizontal linen units of measure, see below, Chapters 3 and 4, based on Posener-Krieger, “Les mesures des étoffes à l’ancien empire,” *RdE* 29 (1977), pp. 86–96; J. Kahl, N. Kloth, U. Zimmermann, *Die Inschriften der 3. Dynastie* (Wiesbaden, 1995), p. 175ff.; E. Edel, “Eine althieratische Liste von Grabbeigaben aus einem Grab des späten Alten Reiches der Qubbet el-Hawa bei Assuan,” *NAWG* 6 (1987), pp. 98, 104.

⁸ This number is read “two” instead of “twenty” due to the vertical linen signs with no horizontal base; cf. Posener-Krieger, *RdE* 29 (1977), pp. 86–96.

⁹ This word is written *ht* on the Helwan stela from tomb 247; cf. Z. Saad, *Ceiling Stelae in Second Dynasty Tombs from the Excavations at Helwan*, *ASAE* Supplément, Cahier 21 (Cairo, 1957), pl. 30; Kahl, Kloth, and Zimmermann, *Die Inschriften der 3. Dynastie*, p. 175 (d); however, it never appears with a *t* on any of the Giza slab stelae. The value is most likely more than 100 or 200, but less than 1,000; cf. P. Posener-Krieger, *RdE* 29 (1977), pp. 93–94.

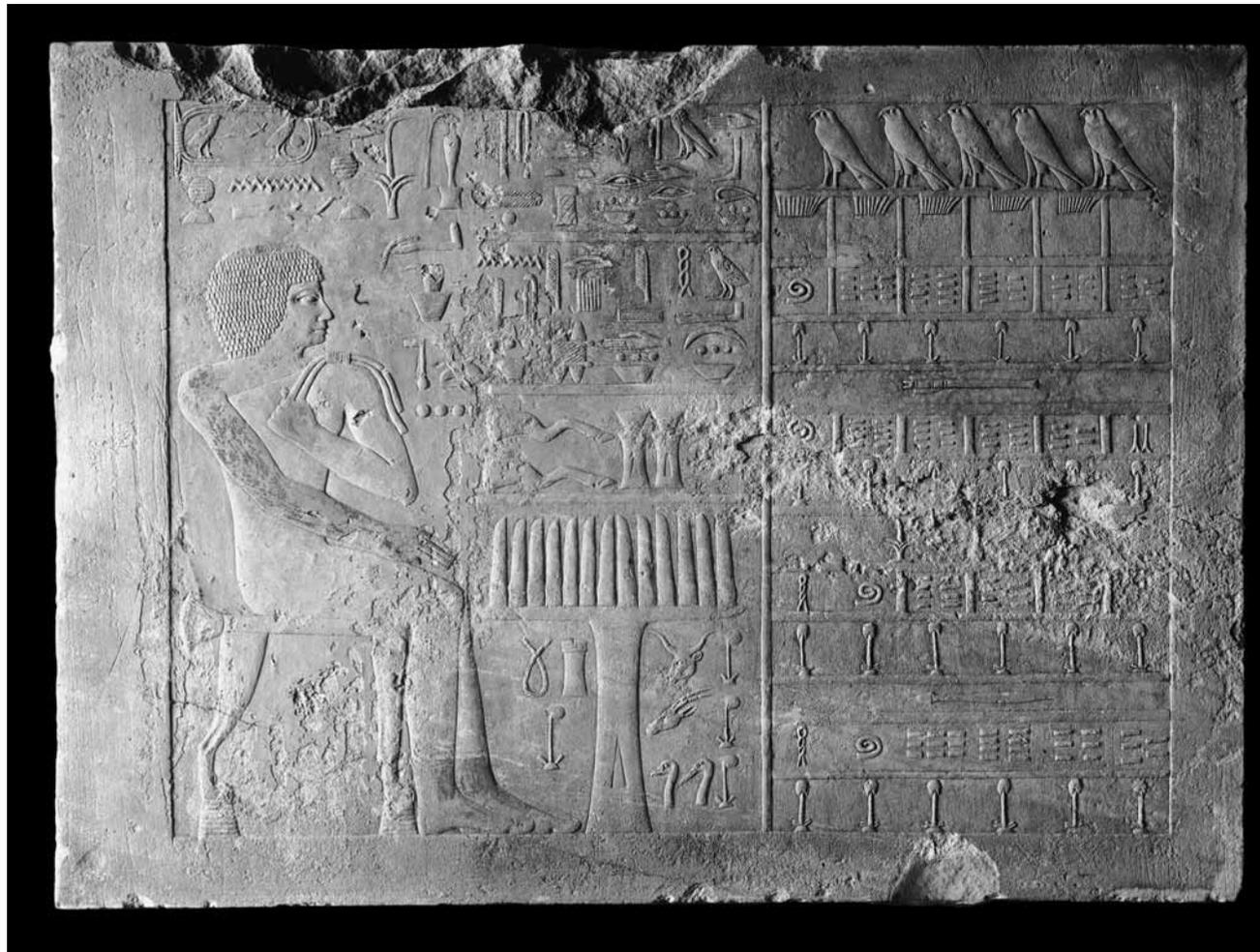


Fig. 35. The Khufu-nakht stela from g 1205, photographed at Harvard Camp, Giza. 1904–1905. HU–MFA Expedition photograph, George Reisner, a 11573

(cubits wide), a thousand of 60 (cubits wide), a thousand of [...] (cubits wide)”

𓆎 *h* *h*₃, 𓆎 *h*₃, 𓆎 *st* *h*₃, 𓆎 *psdiw* *h*₃, 𓆎 *hmnw* *h*₃, 𓆎 *sisiw* *h*₃, 𓆎 *diiw* *h*₃

“aa-linen: a thousand of *h* (cubits wide), a thousand of 100 (cubits wide), a thousand of 90 (cubits wide), a thousand of 80 (cubits wide), a thousand of 60 (cubits wide), a thousand of 50 (cubits wide)”

Description and commentary: A mud-brick chapel consisting of five chambers surrounded the slab stela niche in the mastaba’s east wall. Two separate offering basins were found just in front of the slab stela (see figs. 36–40). The stela is complete except for some erosion on the center right (obscuring portions of the linen list), and a deeper depression running

across the top left half, although all hieroglyphs are accounted for. The deceased sits on a lion-legged stool, one of only three such examples in the slab stela group.¹⁰ The papyrus umbel terminal is well delineated, but no cushion appears on the seat. Khufu-nakht wears a short, valanced wig and a long, tight-fitting garment that was presumably painted to match the leopard-skin pattern still preserved on the stelae of Wepemnefret (g 1201) and Nefret-iabet (g 1225). With his right hand he reaches out toward the table of bread loaves, while with his left he grasps his shoulder knot in his clenched fist. Like the offering table of Kanefer (g 1203), the sliced half-loaves of bread appear asymmetrically: seven half-loaves are at the left, with only six at the right. The linen list occupies the entire right side of the stela, with room for five *idmy* falcons. Khufu-nakht’s name and lone title appear in

a single horizontal line over his head; the rest of the central upper area is taken with the list of offerings.

Modeling is only apparent on the legs of the lion-legged stool. Traces of red coloring for Khufu-nakht’s flesh tones survive on his ankles and right arm, as well as a number of hieroglyphs. A bluish green survives on several *h*₃ plant signs, the eye determinatives for green and black eye-paint, and selected horizontal register lines in the linen list. The stela is a “short-form” slab stela.

Vertical separators divide the width indications of the linen, but not the *h*₃ signs in the bottom of each of the four linen types. Furthermore, the lowest row (3-linen) has no completed separators at all. This is either an oversight or evidence of the incomplete nature of the carving. The cartouche of Khufu-nakht’s name is the only preserved cartouche in the present stela group, and provides a *terminus ante quem non* for the tomb.

On the quail chick  in *w^h*, “carob bean,” the rear talon (pointing towards the linen list) has been added as an incised afterthought, once the talons had already been carved similar to those of an owl  (*m*) hieroglyph, i.e., with no rear talon.

All *s*-signs  are shown reversed, as indeed they are for most of the stelae in the Giza group under discussion (see fig. 262).

Date: Both the cartouche of Khufu in the personal name and a lining block found in the shaft that names *Hr-mddw sprw* confirm the date for the group of earlier tombs in Cemetery 1200,¹¹ a fact further supported by this Cemetery’s development from east to west. Jánosi has demonstrated that localizing the date to within Khufu’s first five years is, contrary to Reisner, next to impossible.¹² The lack of vertical separators in the linen list might seem to be an archaic holdover that would link the stela chronologically with those of Wepemnefret (g 1201) and Kanefer (g 1203). On the other hand, the lion-legged stool contrasts with the bull-legged stools appearing in all other Cemetery 1200 slab stelae with the exception of Nefret-iabet (g 1225). A date towards the end of the first decade, or beginning of the second, of the reign of Khufu would best fit the evidence.

¹⁰ The other two lion-legged stools belong to Nefer (g 1207) and Seshat-sekhentiu (g 2120).

¹¹ Cf. Reisner, *Giza Necropolis* 1, p. 394, and Reisner and Fisher, *ASAE* 13 (1914), p. 236; Smith, *JNES* 11 (1952), pp. 125, 127. Smith notes that this graffito is mistakenly assigned to g 1203 by Reisner in *Giza Necropolis* 1, p. 76.

¹² P. Jánosi, *Giza in der 4. Dynastie* (Vienna, forthcoming), § 2.3.4 (“Die Entstehung der Gräberfelder”).

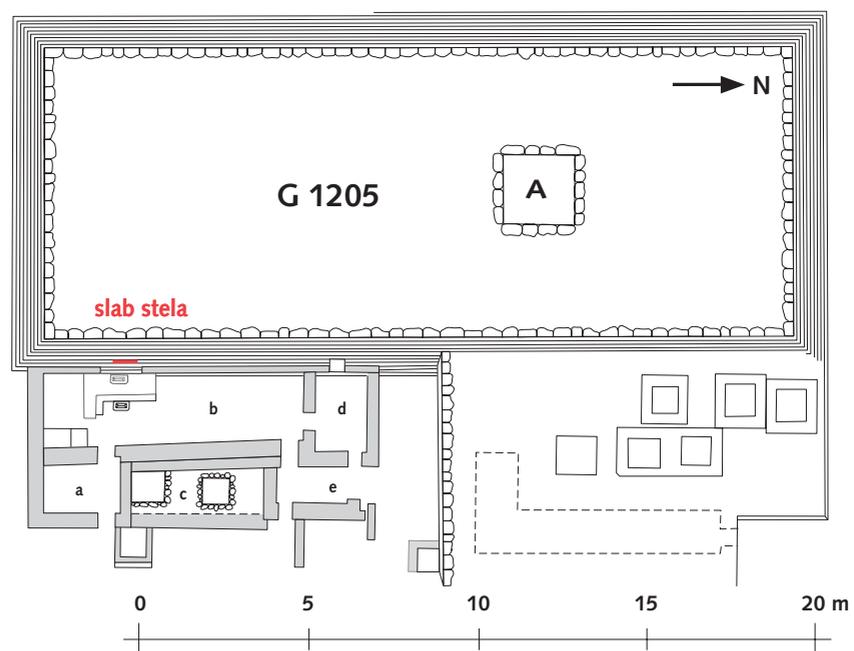


Fig. 36. Plan of the mastaba of Khufu-nakht, g 1205, after Reisner, *Giza Necropolis*1, Map 4. Drawing by Ruth Bigio



Fig. 37. Chapel area of g 1205, looking north. February, 1906. HU-MFA Expedition photograph, George Reisner, a 11636



Fig. 38. Chapel area of g 1205, looking northwest. April 22, 1999. PDM, 99.5.12



Fig. 39. Chapel area of g 1205, with slab stela in situ, looking west. 1904–1905. HU–MFA Expedition photograph, George Reisner, c 11397



Fig. 40. Chapel area of g 1205, looking down (east) from top of mastaba. June, 1904. HU–MFA Expedition photograph, George Reisner, b 10770



Fig. 41. Slab stela in situ, looking west. April, 1904. HU–MFA Expedition photograph, George Reisner, b 10767



Fig. 42. Empty emplacement, looking west. April 25, 1999. PDM, 99.11.8

Slab Stela 4 (*pls. 7–8*)

Owner: *Nfr*, Nefer¹ (𓏏)

Provenance: Cemetery 1200: g 1207

Excavation history: Hearst Expedition, University of California, under G.A. Reisner, April–May, 1904; found in situ set into emplacement in chapel niche²

Current location: Phoebe A. Hearst Museum of Anthropology, University of California, Berkeley, 6–19801

Material: Painted limestone; raised relief carving

Measurements: h. 38 cm; w. 50.8 cm; th. 8.2 cm

Selected bibliography: PM III, p. 58; Reisner and Fisher, *ASAE* 13 (1914), pl. 4b; Reisner, *Giza Necropolis* 1, p. 395, pl. 18b; Hassan, *Giza* 5, pp. 107–110, fig. 18; C. Keller, in N. Thomas, ed., *The American Discovery of Ancient Egypt*, (Los Angeles, 1995), pp. 124–25, cat. 38; A.K. Capel and G.E. Markoe, eds., *Mistress of the House, Mistress of Heaven. Women in Ancient Egypt* (New York, 1996), pp. 163–64, cat. 86; H.F. Lutz, *Steles*, p. 15, no. 2, pl. 2; W.S. Smith, *Archaeology* 16 (1963), p. 6, fig. 7; H.G. Fischer, *MMJ* 8 (1973), pp. 15–16, fig. 14 = *Ancient Egypt in the Metropolitan Museum Journal* (New York, 1977), pp. 81–82, fig. 14; N. Cherpion, *Mastabas et Hypogées d’Ancien Empire* (Brussels, 1989), pl. 19 (detail); J. Vandier, *Manuel d’Archéologie Egyptienne* 1 (Paris, 1952), p. 762, fig. 505, top; D. Spänel, *Through Ancient Eyes: Egyptian Portraiture* (Birmingham, AL, 1988), pp. 48–49, cat. 5; *Egyptian Art in the Age of the Pyramids* (New York, 1999), cat. 53, pp. 246–48; D. Arnold, *When the Pyramids Were Built. Egyptian Art of the Old Kingdom* (New York, 1999), p. 51, fig. 39 (detail)

Translation

Section a:

(1) *rh.t nswt Nfr*

(1) “Acquaintance of the king,³ Nefer”

Section b:

(2) *šs hš, mmht hš*

(2) “a thousand alabaster vessels, a thousand pieces of cloth”

Section c:

(3) *ḳbh, iꜣꜣwy, bd t hmtw* (4) *iꜣ sntr, wsd* (5) *msdmt, irp*, (6) *nbs, t-nbs, išd*, (7) *wꜥh, šht wsd(t)*

(3) “container of cool water, implements for washing hands, purification of 3 pellets of natron, (4) purification of 1 incense pellet, green eye-paint, (5) black eye-paint, wine (6) zizyphus, loaf of zizyphus, persea fruit, (7) carob bean, green *sekhet*-cakes”

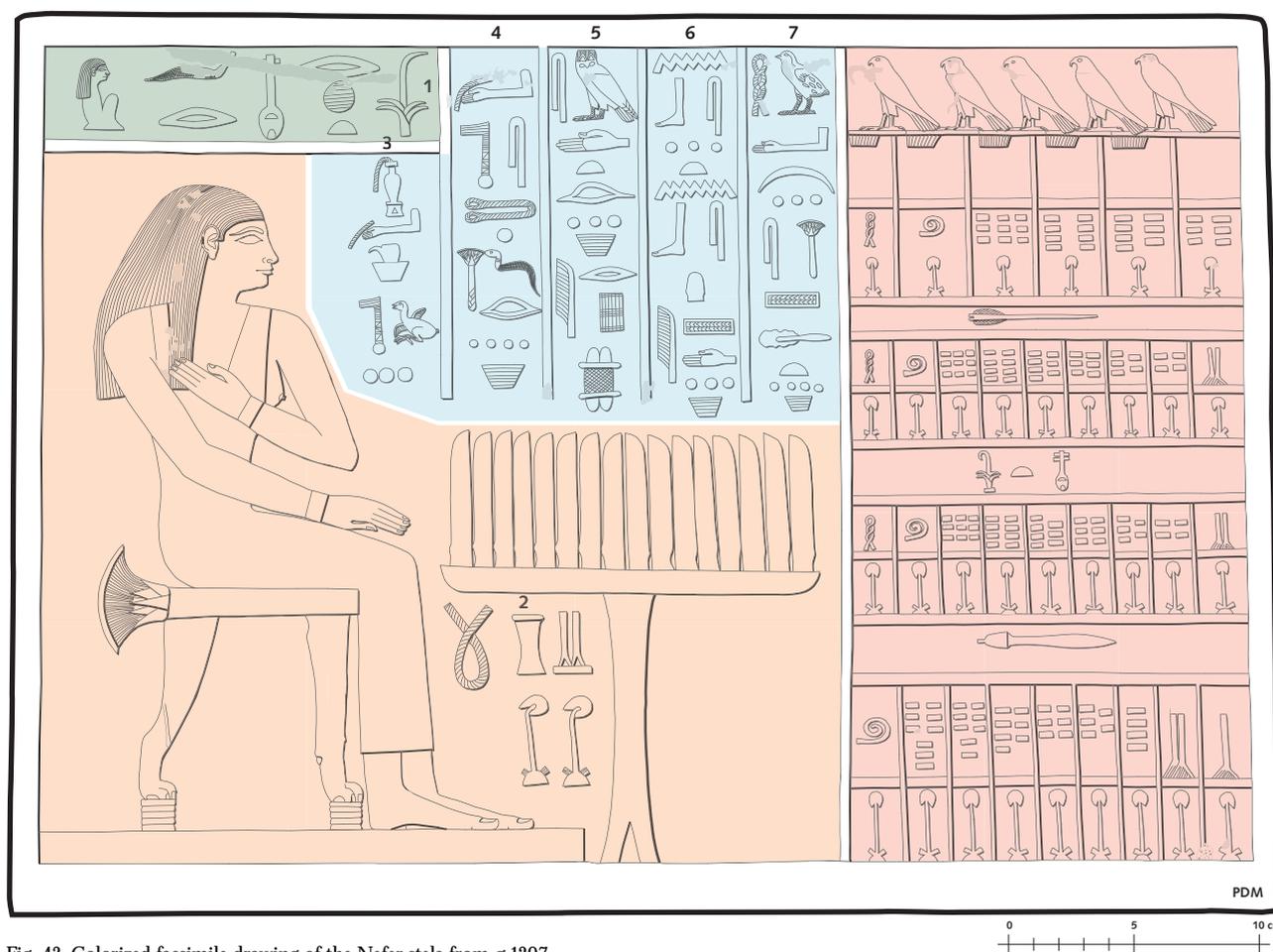


Fig. 43. Colorized facsimile drawing of the Nefer stela from g 1207

Section d:

idmy h hš, št hš, psdīw hš, hmniw hš, sfhiw hš, sistiw hš

“*idem*-linen:⁴ a thousand of *h* (cubits wide),⁵ a thousand of 100 (cubits wide), a thousand of 90 (cubits wide),⁶ a thousand of 80 (cubits wide), a thousand of 70 (cubits wide), a thousand of 60 (cubits wide)”

sšr h hš, št hš, psdīw hš, hmniw hš, sfhiw hš, sistiw hš, diiw hš, hmw hš, snwi hš

“*sesher*-linen: a thousand of *h* (cubits wide), a thousand of 100 (cubits wide), a thousand of 90 (cubits wide), a thousand of 80 (cubits wide), a thousand of 70 (cubits wide), a thousand of

¹ Ranke, *PN* 1, p. 194.1; “The beautiful one.”

² Reisner illustrated this stela in an unpublished report on the work of the Hearst Expedition, most likely dating to 1904, p. 67, fig. 94 (housed in the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston).

³ H.G. Fischer, *Egyptian Women of the Old Kingdom*² (New York, 2000), pp. 71–72, n. 176, has shown that women do not hold the title *iry(t)-ht nswt*. Cf. W. Helck, *Untersuchungen zu den Beamtentiteln des ägyptischen Alten Reiches* (Glückstadt, 1954), pp. 26–28; H. Brunner, “Der Bekannte des Königs,” *SAK* 1 (1974), pp. 55–60; O. Berlev, “A Contemporary of King Sewah-en-reꜣ,” *JEA* 60 (1974), p. 109, and E. Brovaski, “Akhmim in the Old Kingdom and First Intermediate Period,” in *Mélanges Mokhtar* 1 (Cairo, 1985), p. 148, n. 129.

⁴ On the choice of transliteration *idmy* instead of *itiwy*, see below, Chapter 4, discussion of Section d (linen lists).

⁵ This word is written *ht* on the Helwan stela from tomb 247; cf. Z. Saad, *Ceiling Stelae in Second Dynasty Tombs from the Excavations at Helwan*, *ASAE* Supplément, Cahier 21 (Cairo, 1957), pl. 30; J. Kahl, N. Kloth, and U. Zimmermann, *Die Inschriften der 3. Dynastie* (Wiesbaden, 1995), p. 175 (d); however, it never appears with a *.t* on any of the Giza slab stelae. The value is most likely more than 100 or 200, but less than 1,000; cf. P. Posener-Krieger, “Les mesures des étoffes à l’ancien empire,” *RdE* 29 (1977), pp. 93–94.

⁶ Or possibly 90 cubits square? On the difference between vertical and horizontal linen units of measure, see below, Chapters 3 and 4, based on Posener-Krieger, “Les mesures des étoffes à l’ancien empire,” pp. 86–96; Kahl, Kloth, and Zimmermann, *Die Inschriften der 3. Dynastie*, p. 175ff.; E. Edel, “Eine althieratische Liste von Grabbeigaben aus einem Grab des späten Alten Reiches der Qubbet el-Hawa bei Assuan,” *NAWG* 6 (1987), pp. 98, 104.



Fig. 44. The Nefer stela from g 1207, photographed at Harvard Camp, Giza, 1904–1905. HU–MFA Expedition photograph, George Reisner, a 11589

60 (cubits wide), a thousand of 50 (cubits wide), a thousand of 40 (cubits wide), a thousand of 2 (cubits wide)”⁷

Šmꜛt-nfrt ḥ ḥꜣ, šꜛ ḥꜣ, psꜥꜣiw ḥꜣ, ḥmniw ḥꜣ, sḥꜣiw ḥꜣ, sisiw ḥꜣ, diiw ḥꜣ, ḥmw ḥꜣ, snwi ḥꜣ

“fine linen: a thousand of ḥ (cubits wide), a thousand of 100 (cubits wide), a thousand of 90 (cubits wide), a thousand of 80 (cubits wide), a thousand of 70 (cubits wide), a thousand of 60 (cubits wide), a thousand of 50 (cubits wide), a thousand of 40 (cubits wide), a thousand of 2 (cubits wide)”

ꜣ šꜛ ḥꜣ, psꜥꜣiw ḥꜣ, ḥmniw ḥꜣ, sḥꜣiw ḥꜣ, sisiw ḥꜣ, diiw ḥꜣ, ḥmw ḥꜣ, snwi ḥꜣ, wꜣ ḥꜣ

“aa-linen: a thousand of 100 (cubits wide), a thousand of 90 (cubits wide), a thousand of 80 (cubits wide), a thousand of 70

(cubits wide), a thousand of 60 (cubits wide), a thousand of 50 (cubits wide), a thousand of 40 (cubits wide), a thousand of 2 (cubits wide), a thousand of 1 (cubit wide)”

Description and commentary: The stela was set in a niche between two thick mud-brick walls, possibly the only original wall from the chapel, since the subsequent construction of g 1206 forced a number of alterations (figs. 45–46).⁸ The complete stela is the first of the group to depict a woman. Nefer (often translated Nefr[et]) sits on a lion-legged stool with exquisitely detailed modeling and a large papyrus umbel terminal but no seat cushion (fig. 50). She, like Kanefer (g 1203; stela 2) and Seshat-sekhentiu (g 2120; see below), is placed upon a raised mat/platform, although the table before her re-

mains on the ground line. Nefer’s right hand extends towards the offering loaves, as do the right hands of all stela owners, but her left is open against her chest. This is the customary pose for all the females in the group; even when they are given a shoulder knot, they do not grasp it with their fists as do the males. In fact, Nefer is the only female not represented with a shoulder knot. Her garment shows the customary shoulder straps that, according to Egyptian profile conventions, leave the breast exposed. She is adorned with bracelets and a long, striated, tripartite wig, which reveals a well-detailed ear. (No male tomb owners display an ear due to coverage by their wigs.) Nefer’s name and single title are restricted to the area immediately above her head. The central area is taken up with the offering list (Section c, fig. 51), and the linen list (Section d) occupies the full height of the decorated frame of the stela. Nefer and Wepemnefret (g 1201) are the only stela owners to show vertical separators between the offerings listed in Section c. Nefer’s offering table shows a symmetrical number of half-loaves, eight per side, totaling sixteen. Unlike most of the table stands represented on the other stelae, hers displays the triangular opening at the very bottom of the stand, rather than some distance up from the bottom. This is paralleled by the stelae of Wepemnefret (g 2101), probably Ini (g 1235), and Iunu (g 4150), although in the last two cases the owner’s foot obscures the very bottom of the stand.

The linen list (Section d) is perhaps one of the most complex of the stelae group, with six *idmy* falcons, and no less than nine compartments in each of four linen sections. Overall, the quality of the carving is exemplary, and a large number of hieroglyphs have received intricate interior detail, often on a minute scale. Attention might be called here to the *ḥ* bird , *f* viper , *ḫ* sign , the *ḏ* serpent , the *wꜣḏ* plants , *m* owl , and *š* signs . It is all the more striking, then, that the ancient craftsmen have omitted half of the ideographic offerings beneath the right-hand side of the offering table. A startling, most un-Egyptian gap results, where one would normally expect bread and beer to be listed; the surface is smooth and no traces of sculptor’s guidelines are visible in the area.

All occurrences of the tall *s*  are reversed (cf. fig. 262). Traces of red adorn Nefer’s shoulder straps, the *nfr* sign, and other hieroglyphs. Additional color traces include black and

⁷ This number is read “two” instead of “twenty” due to the vertical linen signs with no horizontal base; cf. Posener-Krieger, *RdE* 29 (1977), pp. 86–96.

⁸ Reisner, *Giza Necropolis* 1, pp. 394–95.

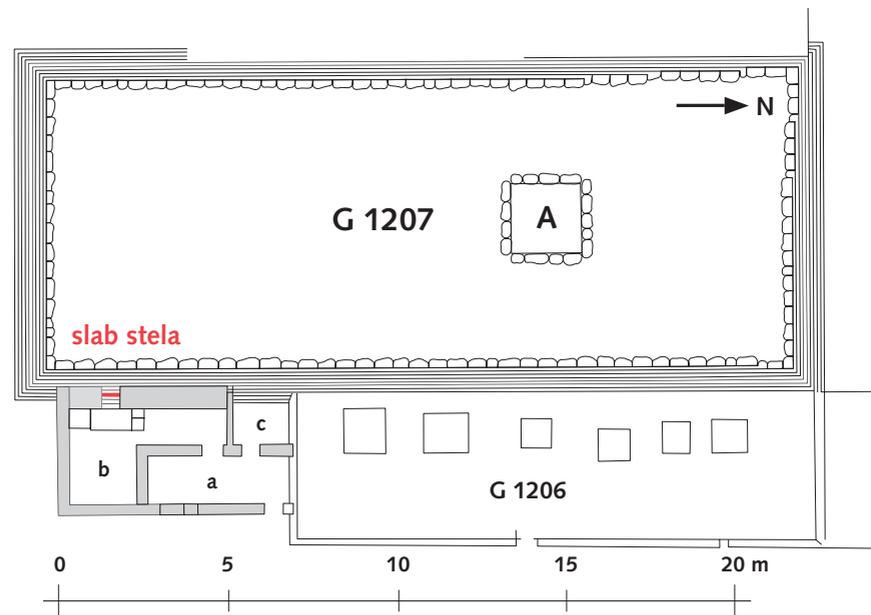


Fig. 45. Plan of the mastaba of Nefer, g 1207, after Reisner, *Giza Necropolis 1*, Map 4. Drawing by Ruth Bigio

green (see below, Appendix 1, Color Palaeography). Finally, some plaster repairs are visible at the lower right corner of the stela, in the vertical separator line between the rightmost two *h* signs.⁹ The stela is a short-form stela.

Fischer notes that, of all the Fourth Dynasty slab stelae, this is the only one to show a determinative at the end of the deceased's name.¹⁰ The "redundant determinative" is in fact the only complete human-figure hieroglyph in the entire slab stela group (see below, Appendix 2, Palaeography).

Date: g 1207 is presumed to belong to the second phase of mastabas constructed in Cemetery 1200, as this portion of the Necropolis expanded from east to west. Nefer's slab stela should thus follow after the tombs of Wepemnefret (g 1201), Kanefer (g 1203), Khufu-nakht (g 1205), Kaiemah (g 1223), and Nefret-iabet (g 1225), but still date to the reign of Khufu. The second decade of that king's reign provides the most likely date for the stela.

⁹ This plaster repair has been removed, and as of 1997 the stone is now flat in this area.

¹⁰ H.G. Fischer, "Redundant Determinatives in the Old Kingdom," *MMJ* 8 (1973), p. 15, fig. 14 = *Ancient Egypt in the Metropolitan Museum Journal* (New York, 1977), pp. 81–82, fig. 14. Cf., however, stela 4 (Meretites, g 4140).



Fig. 46. Chapel of g 1207, looking west from top of mastaba g 1205. May, 1904. HU–MFA Expedition photograph, George Reisner, a 10913



Fig. 47. Chapel area of g 1207, reburied, looking west. April 22, 1999. PDM, 99.3.1



Fig. 48. Chapel niche of g 1207, with slab stela in situ, looking west. May, 1904. HU-MFA Expedition photograph, George Reisner, a 10915

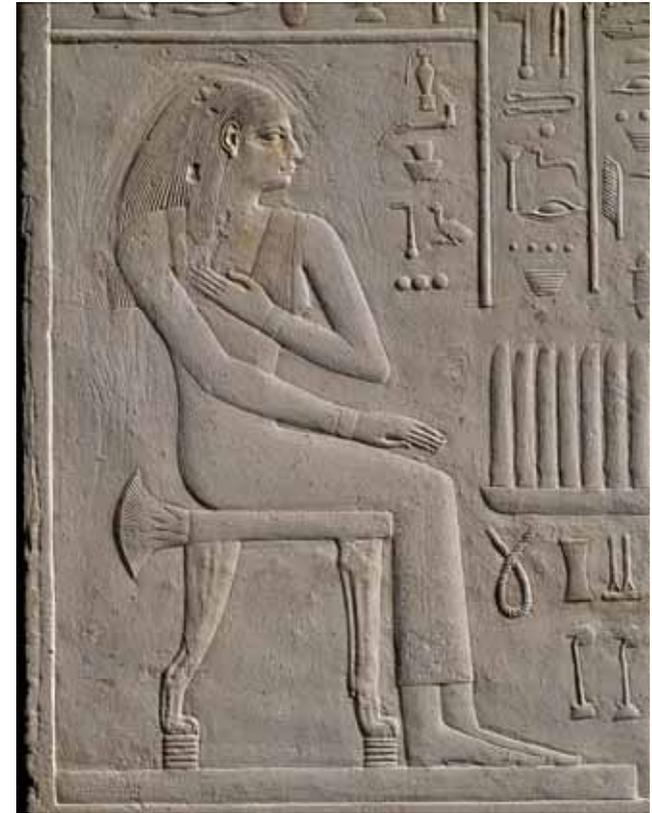


Fig. 50. Seated figure of Nefer. 1998. Bruce White



Fig. 49. Slab stela in situ in emplacement, looking west. April, 1904. HU-MFA Expedition photograph, George Reisner, b 10784 (rephotographed as b 8878, October 7, 1937)



Fig. 51. Detail of Section c offerings. 1998. Bruce White

Slab Stela 5 (pls. 9–10)

Owner: *K3=(i)-m-ḥ*, Kaiemah¹ (𓂏)

Provenance: Cemetery 1200: g 1223

Excavation history: Hearst Expedition, University of California, under G.A. Reisner, April, 1904; found in situ set into emplacement in chapel niche and walled up by later additions²

Current location: Egyptian Museum, Cairo, JE 37725 (57128), Room R42 N6

Material: Painted limestone; raised relief carving

Measurements: h. 37.8 cm; w. 52.5 cm; th. 8 cm

Selected bibliography: PM III, p. 59; Reisner, *Giza Necropolis* 1, pp. 399–400, pl. 19a

Translation

Section a:

(1) *imy-[r] z3[w] Šmḥw, wr mdw Šmḥw, z3 nswt, K3=(i)-m-ḥ*

(1) “Overseer of the phyles of Upper Egypt,³ great one of the Tens of Upper Egypt, king’s son, Kaiemah”

Section b:

(2) *mnḥt ḥ3, šs ḥ3, (3) t ḥ3, ḥnkt ḥ3, k3 ḥ3, nwdw ḥ3*

(2) “a thousand pieces of cloth, a thousand alabaster vessels, (3) a thousand loaves of bread, a thousand jars of beer, a thousand oxen, a thousand antelopes”

Section c:

(4) *sntr [...]*

(4) “incense, [...]

Section d:

[idmy št] ḥ3, psd̄iw ḥ3, ḥmniw ḥ3, sf̄hiw ḥ3

“[*idemy*-linen]:⁴ a thousand of [100 (cubits wide)], a thousand of 90 (cubits wide),⁵ a thousand of 80 (cubits wide), a thousand of 70 (cubits wide)”

šsr št ḥ3, psd̄iw ḥ3, ḥmniw ḥ3, sf̄hiw ḥ3

“*šesher*-linen: a thousand of 100 (cubits wide), a thousand of 90 (cubits wide), a thousand of 80 (cubits wide), a thousand of 70 (cubits wide)”

Šmḥt-nfrt št ḥ3, psd̄iw ḥ3, ḥmniw ḥ3, sf̄hiw ḥ3

“fine linen: a thousand of width 100 (cubits wide), a thousand of 90 (cubits wide), a thousand of 80 (cubits wide), a thousand of 70 (cubits wide)”

ḳ št ḥ3, psd̄iw ḥ3, ḥmniw ḥ3, sf̄hiw ḥ3

“*aa*-linen: a thousand of 100 (cubits wide), a thousand of 90

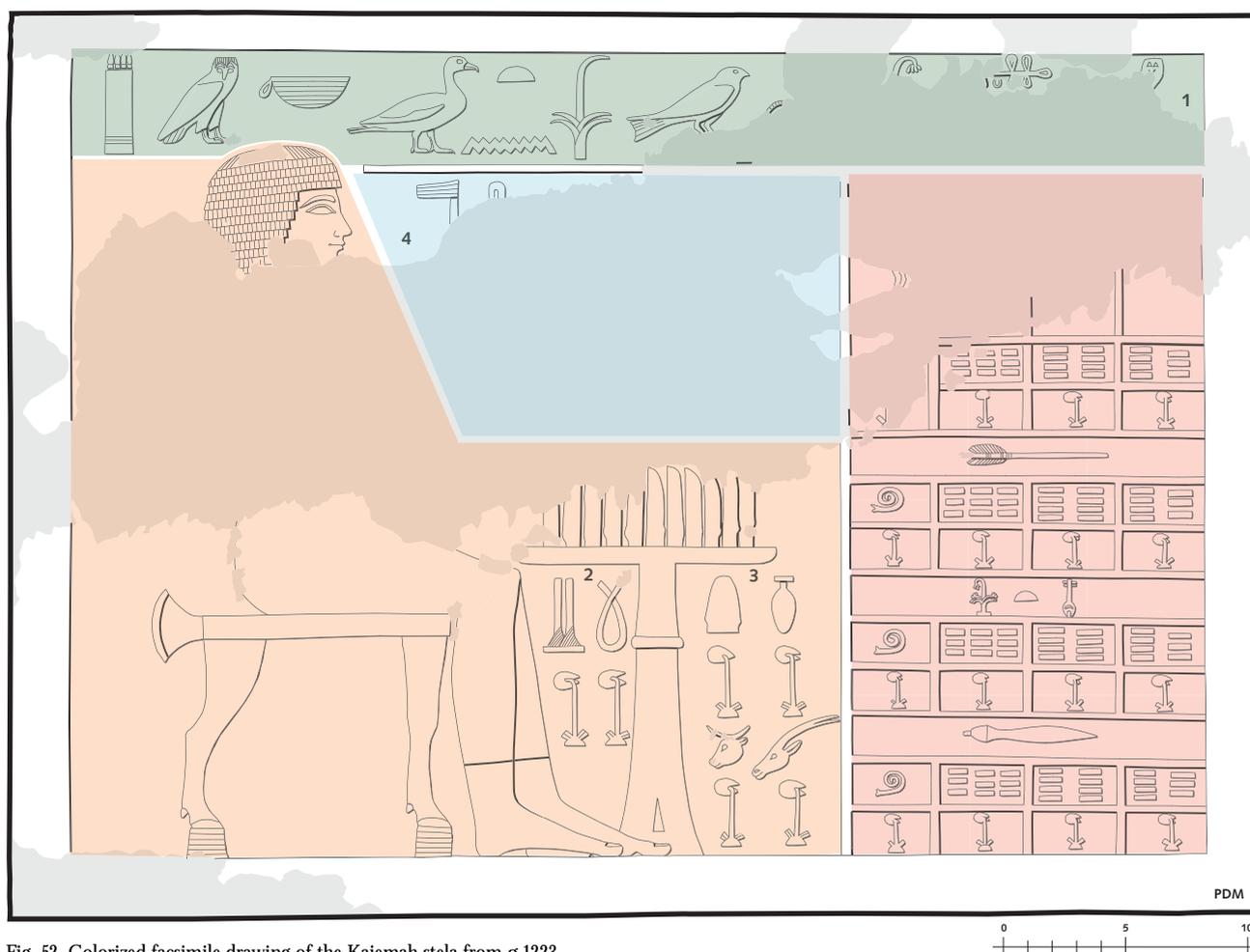


Fig. 52. Colorized facsimile drawing of the Kaiemah stela from g 1223

(cubits wide), a thousand of 80 (cubits wide), a thousand of 70 (cubits wide)”

Description and commentary: The original mud-brick chapel surrounding the slab stela disappeared under the expansion of the mastaba. The second phase of this tomb’s evolution involved additional core masonry, the walling up of the slab stela, and the construction of a four-chambered mud-brick chapel, with a long, north–south chamber enclosing the entrance to a limestone offering niche (figs. 55–58).⁶

Severe weathering across the central region has rendered much of the stela unreadable. The quality of the limestone must be inferior to that of several other stelae, for the piece was discovered in situ (hence no damage from a fall) and probably did not come in contact with anything but sand and debris prior to excavation. Nevertheless, the top line (Section a) can

be completely restored with reasonable certainty (fig. 54). Red coloring survives in a number of places, mostly notably the ḳ-sign in the linen list, the tomb-owner’s face and feet, bread

¹ Ranke, *PN* 1, p. 339.18; “(My) ka is in the palace.”

² Reisner illustrated this stela in an unpublished report on the work of the Hearst Expedition, most likely dating to 1904, p. 69, fig. 100 (housed in the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston).

³ On this title see the remarks by A.M. Roth, *Egyptian Phyles in the Old Kingdom* (Chicago, 1991), pp. 119–22, esp. p. 121, n. 8.

⁴ On the choice of transliteration *idmy* instead of *itwy*, see below, Chapter 4, discussion of Section d (linen lists).

⁵ Or possibly 90 cubits square? On the difference between vertical and horizontal linen units of measure, see below, Chapters 3 and 4, based on P. Posener-Kriéger, “Les mesures des étoffes à l’ancien empire,” *RdE* 29 (1977), pp. 86–96; J. Kahl, N. Kloth, U. Zimmermann, *Die Inschriften der 3. Dynastie* (Wiesbaden, 1995), p. 175ff.; E. Edel, “Eine althieratische Liste von Grabbeigaben aus einem Grab des späten Alten Reiches der Qubbet el-Hawa bei Assuan,” *NAWG* 6 (1987), pp. 98, 104.

⁶ Reisner, *Giza Necropolis* 1, p. 399.

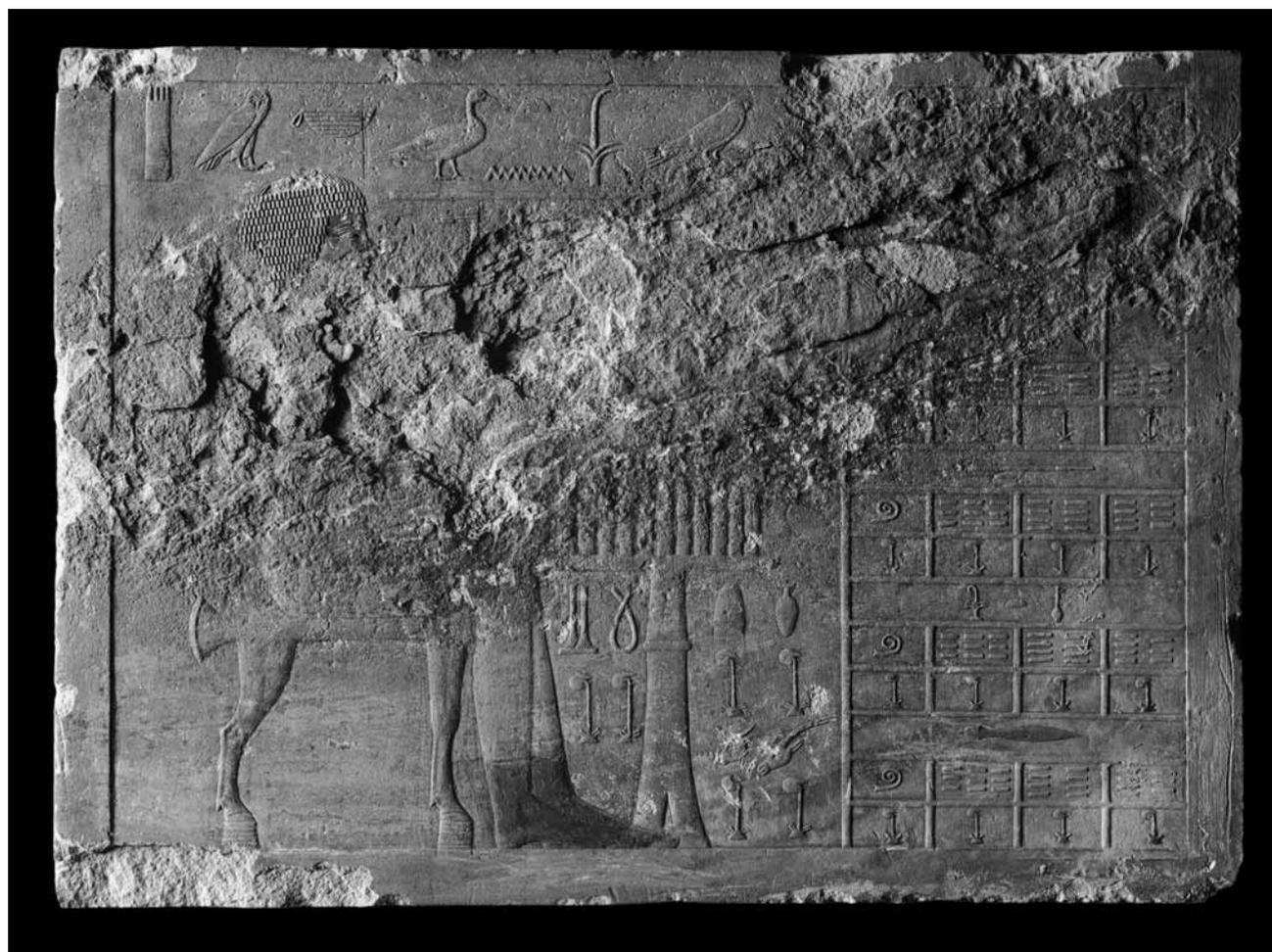


Fig. 53. The Kaiemah stela from g 1223, photographed at Harvard Camp, Giza, 1904–1905. HU–MFA Expedition photograph, George Reisner, a 11575 (rephotographed as a 7023)

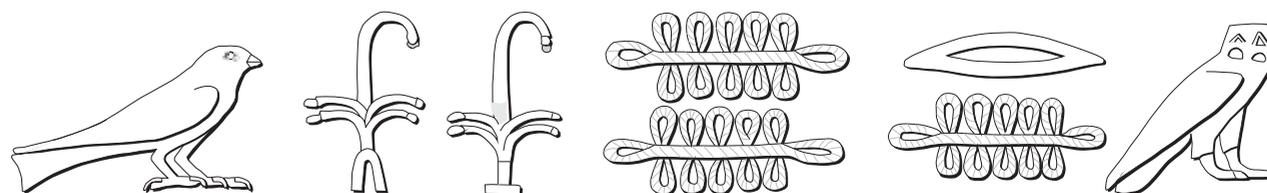


Fig. 54. Reconstruction of Section a inscription

loaves and the stems of the *h*₃ signs.⁷ Kaiemah wears a short, valanced wig and a long, tight-fitting garment that was presumably painted to match the leopard-skin pattern still preserved on the stela of Wepemnefret (g 1201) and Nefret-iabet (g 1225). Nothing can be determined about the positioning of

his hands due to the damage, but there is no reason to suspect an arrangement any different from the rest of the group of males from Cemetery 1200 (i.e., right hand reaching toward the table of bread loaves, left hand grasping his shoulder knot in his clenched fist). With this stela, the Giza group once again

shows a bull-legged, rather than lion-legged, stool, in this case with a simple papyrus umbel terminal whose interior detail might have been added in paint only. Musculature on the bull legs is indicated, and may also be evident on the ankle bone of the tomb-owner's right foot. Presumably the offering table contains a symmetrical arrangement of six half-loaves facing each other for a total of twelve. However, the leftmost half-loaf is destroyed, and cannot be confirmed. If as much of the table extends "beyond" the loaf, as it does on the right hand side, then perhaps we have an asymmetrical arrangement of only five half-loaves on the left and six on the right. This asymmetry would be paralleled by the stela of Kanefer (g 1203), Khufu-nakht (g 1205), Nefret-iabet (g 1225), and Iunu (g 4150). Furthermore, the two central loaves do not align over the center of the table stand, but are skewed to the left. The ceramic stand is clearly treated as a separate element from the stone offering table on which the bread loaves are placed.

The linen list occupies the right side of the stela, with room for three *idmy* falcons. But the titles of Kaiemah begin over the top of the linen list, reducing its height compared with all other stelae of Cemetery 1200 but for that of Wepemnefret (g 1201). An interesting epigraphic feature, unique in the Giza stela group, is the forked, or V-shaped, end of the three preserved "100" hieroglyphs on the linen list: . The overall carving of the stela is highly competent, but the amount of interior detail is sparing, and the layout, as much as it is preserved, is relatively simple. The stela is of the short-form type.

Date: The location of g 1223 within Cemetery 1200, which developed from east to west, indicates a date most likely in the first decade of Khufu's reign. While the slab stela does not show any of the archaic features found in the Wepemnefret stela (g 1201, stela 1 above), it aligns well chronologically with the other stelae from this part of the Cemetery (g 1203, g 1205, g 1225), showing such early Old Kingdom elements as short flaring loaves on the offering table (Section b). It is therefore assigned to the early or mid-reign of Khufu.

⁷ The Wepemnefret stela (g 1201) shows no red on its plant stems, but red is evident on the *h*₃ stems on the stela of Nefret-iabet (g 1225), Setji-hekenet (g 1227), and Iunu (g 4150, albeit in the latter case only on the large signs in the ideographic list under the offering table; the linen list *h*₃ sign stems are black. See below, Appendix 1, Color Palaeography.

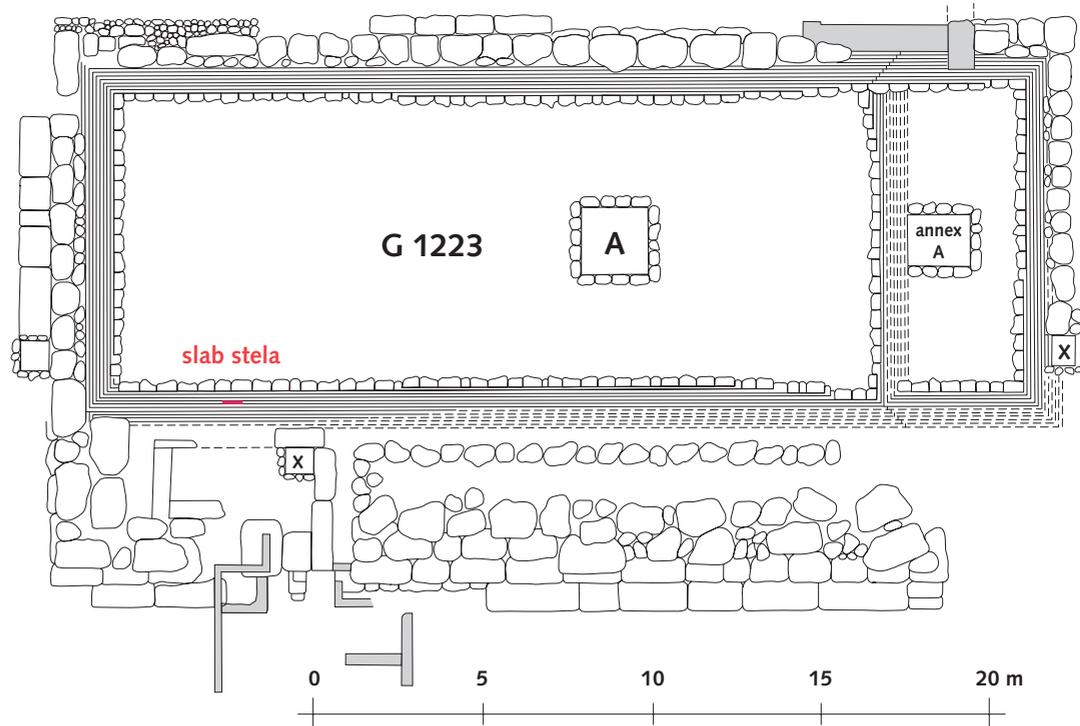


Fig. 55. Plan of the mastaba of Kaiemah, g 1223, after Reisner, *Giza Necropolis* 1, Map 4. Drawing by Ruth Bigio



Fig. 56. Chapel area, with slab stela exposed, looking north. April, 1904. HU-MFA Expedition photograph, George Reisner, b 10762



Fig. 57. Chapel area, looking southwest. February, 1905. HU-MFA Expedition photograph, George Reisner, c 11171



Fig. 58. Chapel area of g 1223, looking west. February, 1905. HU-MFA Expedition photograph, George Reisner, c 11170



Fig. 59. Chapel area of g 1223, looking west. April 22, 1999. PDM, 99.4.3



Fig. 60. Slab stela in situ, looking west. April 1904. HU-MFA Expedition photograph, George Reisner, b 10763



Fig. 61. Empty emplacement, looking west. April 22, 1999. PDM, 99.4.7



Fig. 62. Oblique view of the slab stela. April 17, 1999. PDM, 99.102.24

Slab Stela 6 (pls. 11–12)

Owner: *Nfrt-ibt*, Nefret-iabet¹ (𓏲)

Provenance: Cemetery 1200: g 1225

Excavation history: Ballard excavations, 1902, presumably in situ set into emplacement in chapel niche; collection Hirsch, then collection Sambon (and Hirsch?) then collection Curtis; acquisition by the Louvre in 1912²

Current location: Musée du Louvre, Paris E 15591

Material: Limestone covered with plaster or whitewash and painted; raised relief carving

Measurements: h. 37.7 cm; w. 52.5 cm; th. 8.3 cm

Selected bibliography: PM III, p. 59; C. Boreux, *REA (Revue de l’Égypte Ancienne)* 1 (1925), pp. 5–14; Reisner, *Giza Necropolis* 1, pp. 403–405, pl. 19b; Hassan, *Giza* 5, pp. 110–13, fig. 19; C. Ziegler, in R. Stadelmann and H. Sourouzian, eds., *Kunst des Alten Reiches*, SDAIK 28 (Mainz am Rhein, 1995), pp. 167, 170, pl. 64e; idem, *Stèles, peintures et reliefs égyptiens de l’Ancien Empire* (Paris, 1990), cover and pp. 38, 187–89, cat. 29; W. Barta, *Die altägyptische Opferliste von der Frühzeit bis zur griechisch-römischen Epoche*, MÄS 3 (Berlin, 1968), pp. 42–43; J. Vandier, *Manuel d’Archéologie Égyptienne* 1 (Paris, 1952), p. 761, fig. 504; E. Staehelin, *Untersuchungen zur ägyptischen Tracht im Alten Reich*, MÄS 8 (Berlin, 1966), pl. 6, fig. 9; *Egyptian Art in the Age of the Pyramids* (New York, 1999), cat. 51, pp. 242–44; G. Andreu, M.-H. Rutschowscaya, and C. Ziegler, *L’Égypte ancienne au Louvre* (Paris, 1997), pp. 54–55; H.G. Fischer, *Egyptian Women of the Old Kingdom and of The Heracleopolitan Period*, second edition (New York, 2000), cover (detail)

Translation

Section a:

(1) *zst nswt, Nfrt-ibt*

(1) “King’s daughter, Nefret-iabet”

Section b:

(2) *šs mnḥt r ḥs*, (3) *t ḥnkt ḥs*, (4) *trp k3 nwdw ḥs*

(2) “a thousand alabaster vessels, pieces of cloth, and *ro*-geese, (3) a thousand loaves of bread and vessels of beer, oxen, a thousand (4) *ro*-geese, oxen, and antelopes”

Section c:

(5) *kḥḥ, iꜣꜣ wꜣy* (6) *sntr, ḥst mrḥt, wsd, msdmt, db3, išd*, (7) *špṯ, irp, db3, wḥ*

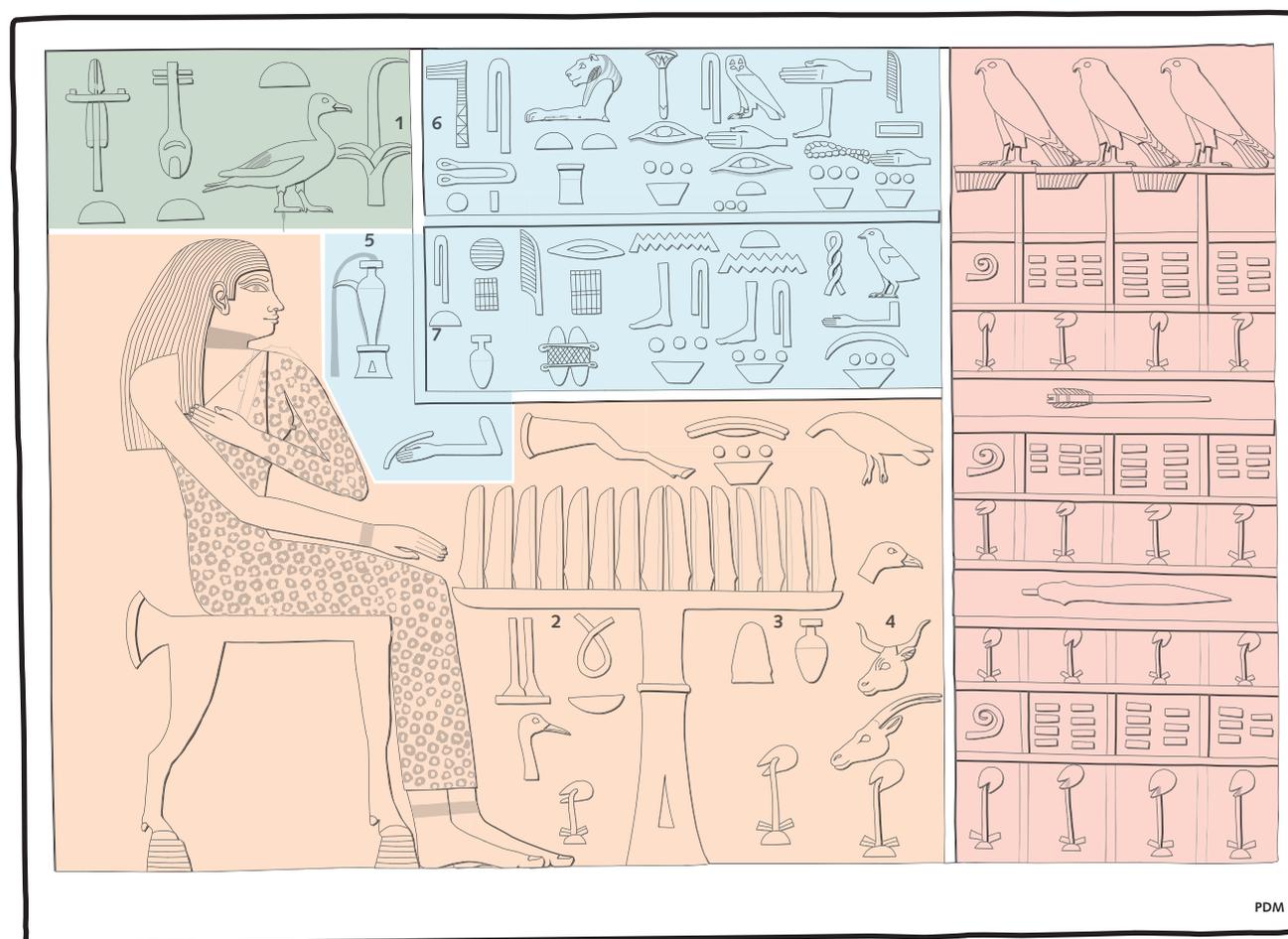


Fig. 63. Colorized facsimile drawing of the Nefret-iabet stela from g 1225

(5) “container of cool water, implements for washing hands, (6) incense, best ointment, green eye-paint, black eye-paint, figs, persea fruit (7) *sekhpet*-drink, wine, zizyphus, loaf of zizyphus, carob bean”

Section d:

idmy št ḥs, psdḥw ḥs, ḥmniw ḥs, sḥiw ḥs

“*idmy*-linen:³ a thousand of 100 (cubits wide), a thousand of 90 (cubits wide),⁴ a thousand of 80 (cubits wide), a thousand of 70 (cubits wide)”

sšr št ḥs, psdḥw ḥs, ḥmniw ḥs, sḥiw ḥs

“*sšer*-linen: a thousand of 100 (cubits wide), a thousand of 90 (cubits wide), a thousand of 80 (cubits wide), a thousand of 70 (cubits wide)”

ꜣ št ḥs, ḥmniw ḥs, sḥiw ḥs, sisiw ḥs

“*aa*-linen: a thousand of 100 (cubits wide), a thousand of 80

(cubits wide), a thousand of 70 (cubits wide), a thousand of 60 (cubits wide)”

Description and commentary: This chapel, presumably a mud-brick structure surrounding the slab stela, was enlarged after the original construction with additional core masonry

¹ Ranke, *PV1*, p. 201.11; perhaps “The beautiful one of the east.”

² Vandier, *Manuel* 1, p. 761 (h) stated erroneously that the stela was discovered by Reisner.

³ On the choice of transliteration *idmy* instead of *itiwy*, see below, Chapter 4, discussion of Section d (linen lists).

⁴ Or possibly 90 cubits square? On the difference between vertical and horizontal linen units of measure, see below, Chapters 3 and 4, based on P. Posener-Krieger, “Les mesures des étoffes à l’ancien empire,” *RdE* 29 (1977), pp. 86–96; J. Kahl, N. Kloth, and U. Zimmermann, *Die Inschriften der 3. Dynastie* (Wiesbaden, 1995), p. 175ff.; E. Edel, “Eine althieratische Liste von Grabbeigaben aus einem Grab des späten Alten Reiches der Qubbet el-Hawa bei Assuan,” *NAWG* 6 (1987), pp. 98, 104.



Fig. 64. The Nefret-iabet stela from g 1225. Maurice et Pierre Chuzeville/Musée du Louvre

and a monolithic false door. The remains of the original mud-brick chapel were not preserved, nor could the exact location of the slab stela emplacement be determined due to the destruction of this portion of the mastaba wall by Ballard.

Despite the lack of a controlled excavation at the time of discovery, this stela remains one of the best-preserved—and most often illustrated—of the entire group.⁵ Along with the stelae of Wepemnefret (g 1201) in Berkeley and Iunu (g 4150) in Hildesheim, the Nefret-iabet stela retains the most color of all fifteen examples. The most complete rendering of a spotted leopard-skin garment is preserved on Nefret-iabet's figure. She also wears a choker, bracelets, anklets, and a red shoulder knot, all applied in paint only.⁶ Red guidelines still clearly outline her seated figure. A

change of decoration, however, seems evident in the choice of costume. Nefret-iabet's figure shows the shoulder strap of her dress clearly carved, but the leopard-skin garment is overlaid in paint; thus, both garments appear, and it would seem that the skin is intended to represent a second layer worn over the dress.⁷ Nefret-iabet's hand positions are consistent with those of the other three (preserved) female figures in the Giza stelae. She reaches towards the offering table with her right hand (as do the men), but her left hand remains open, placed across her breast, rather than grasping her shoulder knot (as do the men). Her yellow skin color is well preserved, as is her long, black, tripartite wig. Facial features are clearly delineated, and even a red-painted pupil is evident in the eye.

Nefret-iabet's bull-legged stool is simply carved, although a minor amount of musculature has been modeled on the legs. The cone supports beneath the hooves are perhaps disproportionately large. The umbel decoration on the terminals was added in paint, but is barely visible today. The seat is the only one of our group to show no carved line delineating the joint between leg and side rails of the stool.

The offering table most closely resembles that of Kaiemah (g 1223), with rimmed ceramic stand (painted red) clearly differentiated from the stone (alabaster?) table set into it. The platform holding the half-loaves is very wide, while the arrangement shows eight half-loaves on Nefret-iabet's side, but only seven to the right. The half-loaves are two-toned, red on the "exterior" but uncolored at the "center."⁸

Section c (offerings) is the only one of our corpus to set the spelled-out items off from the rest of the stela by means of both horizontal and vertical dividing lines. Outside of the offerings section, some color treatments are noteworthy. The libation vessel in front of Nefret-iabet's face has been carved with a slender body, but subsequently widened in red paint. The *h* signs 𓏏 are painted, not green as on Wepemnefret's stela (g 1201), but with red stems and yellow tops, a color combination paralleled in the Kaiemah (g 1223), Setji-hekenet (g 1227) and Iunu (g 4150) stelae.⁹ Interestingly, the hand hieroglyph extending water towards Nefret-iabet's figure is painted yellow, thus taking on gender implication, just as does the red (male) sign in front of Wepemnefret's figure (g 1201).¹⁰ For a comparative color palaeography, see Appendix 1 below.

The linen list (Section d) occupies the full height of the stela, but is restricted to about one-quarter of the decorated surface, and contains only three *idmy* falcons and three types

⁵ No notes, photographs or other publication records of the Ballard "expedition" are known to me. As is clear from correspondence between Reisner and G. Maspero, housed in the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, the latter was forced for political and diplomatic reasons to grant a Giza concession to this member of the British Parliament.

⁶ Although the paint has long since disappeared from the figures of most of the slab stela owners, Nefret-iabet remains the only individual to wear anklets.

⁷ Unless this is meant to represent the broad border of the leopard skin; cf. Dunham and Simpson, *The Mastaba of Queen Merysankh III*, Giza Mastabas 1 (Boston, 1974), frontispiece (top) and fig. 7.

⁸ This two-toned motif is also apparent in the stela of Iunu (g 4150) and, less clearly, of Wepemnefret (g 1201).

⁹ On the possibility that color preferences for the sign might indicate an earlier (yellow) or later (green) date, see E. Brovarski, "An Inventory List from 'Covington's Tomb' and Nomenclature for Furniture in the Old Kingdom," *Studies Simpson* 1, pp. 121–22, and J. Kahl, "Die Farbgebung in der frühen Hieroglyphenschrift," *ZÄS* 124 (1997), p. 51 (chart).

¹⁰ The well-preserved stela of Iunu (g 4150) does not make use of this sign.

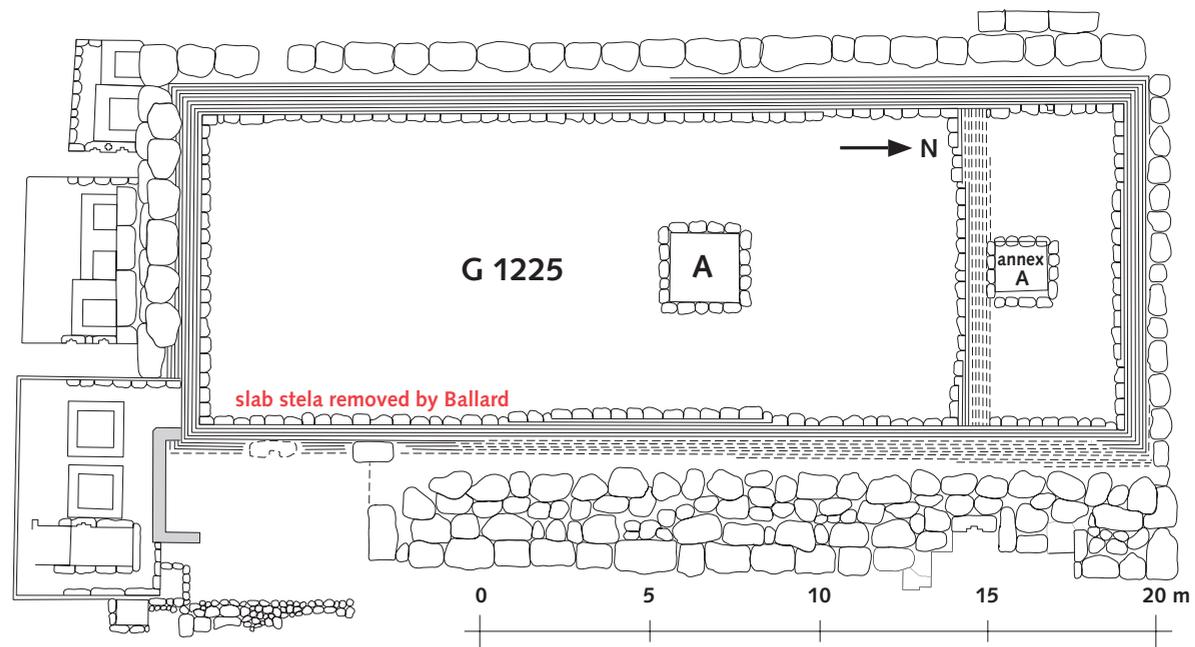


Fig. 65. Plan of the mastaba of Nefret-iabet, g 1225, after Reisner, *Giza Necropolis*1, Map 4. Drawing by Ruth Bigio



Fig. 66. Chapel area of g 1225 with reconstructed facade, looking northwest. 1905-1906. HU-MFA Expedition photograph, George Reisner, b 12977



Fig. 67. Chapel area of g 1225, looking southwest. 1905. HU-MFA Expedition photograph, George Reisner, b 11806

of linen. Perhaps the most unusual feature of the stela is a possibly last-minute correction to the linen list. As carved, the list contains vertical separators only between the linen width indications, but not the amounts of linen (*h*₃ “1,000” in every case). The list was subsequently corrected, however, to add additional vertical separators between the individual *h*₃ signs. The lines show red exterior guide lines filled with yellow. One might speculate that the stela was carved in the earlier tradition of the more “archaic” stelae (g 1201, g 1203, g 1205, g 2135) and then was “modified” in line with a new tradition, represented by the rest of the stelae in our corpus. The stela is a short-form stela.

A seated female statuette now in Munich (ÄS 7155) and purported to have surfaced at the same time Montague Ballard was plundering the Western Cemetery (1902) has often been ascribed to Nefret-iabet (fig. 70).¹¹ While a Fourth Dynasty date is entirely likely for the piece, no evidence exists to provide a secure link with the owner of g 1225. The piece is uninscribed, and the stylistic attributes, such as the wig, differ markedly from the two-dimensional representation of Nefret-iabet. The statue is therefore rejected at present as clearly deriving from g 1225 until more convincing evidence should surface.

The Harvard University–Museum of Fine Arts, Boston Expedition photographic records further complicate the issue by listing a crude limestone head of a male with valanced wig as coming from this tomb (figs. 71–72). Currently located in the storage collection of the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, the head has no number. The quality of the carving hardly aligns well with the consummate skill shown by the craftsmen of the slab stela. The face resembles the crude statuettes found by Reisner elsewhere in Cemetery 1200.¹² For the present, the possibly intrusive head must await the discovery of additional documentation before a conclusive determination concerning exact provenance can be reached.

Date: As one of the earliest mastabas to be constructed in Cemetery 1200, the tomb most likely dates to the first decade of Khufu’s reign. Along with the g 1225’s geographical location, the slab stela displays short, flaring, offering-table loaves (Section b), and a lack of vertical separators between items (later corrected), all of which support a date of the early to mid-reign of that king.



Fig. 68. Chapel area, looking west. April 22, 1999. PDM, 99.3.24



Fig. 69. Oblique view of the Nefret-iabet stela, photographed in Paris. April, 1998. PDM, 98.1.6

¹¹ C. Ziegler, in *Egyptian Art in the Age of the Pyramids* (New York, 1999), p. 242, cat. 50; idem, “L’Ancien Empire au Musée du Louvre: Jalons pour une Histoire de l’Art,” in H. Sourouzzian and R. Stadelmann, eds., *Kunst des Alten Reiches*, SDAIK 28 (Mainz am Rhein, 1995), p. 170 and pl. 64c; D. Arnold, *When the Pyramids were Built. Egyptian Art of the Old Kingdom* (New York, 1999), p. 50, fig. 38; D. Wildung, *Fünf Jahre: Neuerwerbungen der Staatlichen Sammlung Ägyptischer Kunst München, 1976–1980* (Mainz am Rhein, 1980), pp. 8–9. For additional arguments against assigning this statuette to g 1225 see János, *Giza in der 4. Dynastie* (Vienna, forthcoming), § 2.3.3(a) (“Liste der namentlich bekannten Grabbesitzer”).

¹² Several of these statuettes are in Berkeley; cf. H.F. Lutz, *Egyptian Tomb Steles and Offering Stones of the Museum of Anthropology and Ethnology of the University of California* (Leipzig, 1927), pls. 26, 36. The earliest years of the Hearst Expedition work at Giza are described by Reisner, “The Work of the Hearst Egyptian Expedition of The University of California in 1903–4,” *Records of the Past* 4, Part 5 (May, 1905), pp. 131–41.



Fig. 70. Uninscribed female seated statuette, Munich AS 7155. 1998. Bruce White

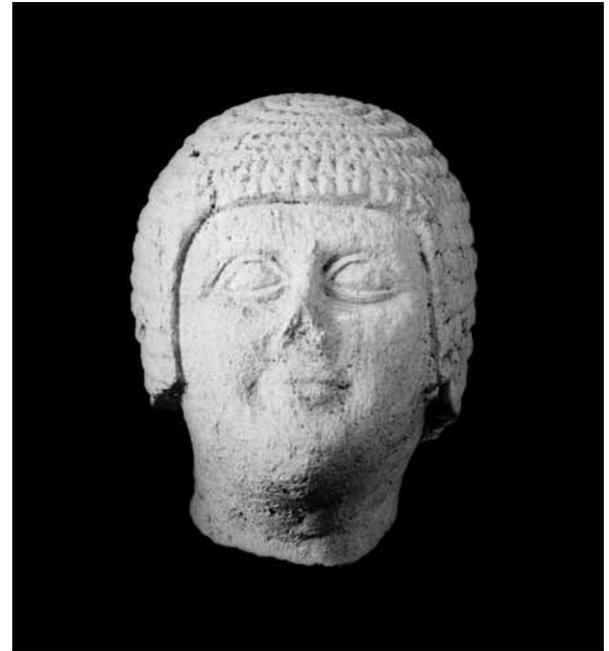


Fig. 71. Unnumbered male limestone head from g 1225 (front). Museum of Fine Arts, Boston. Photographed at Harvard Camp, Giza. 1905. HU-MFA Expedition photograph, George Reisner, c 11952

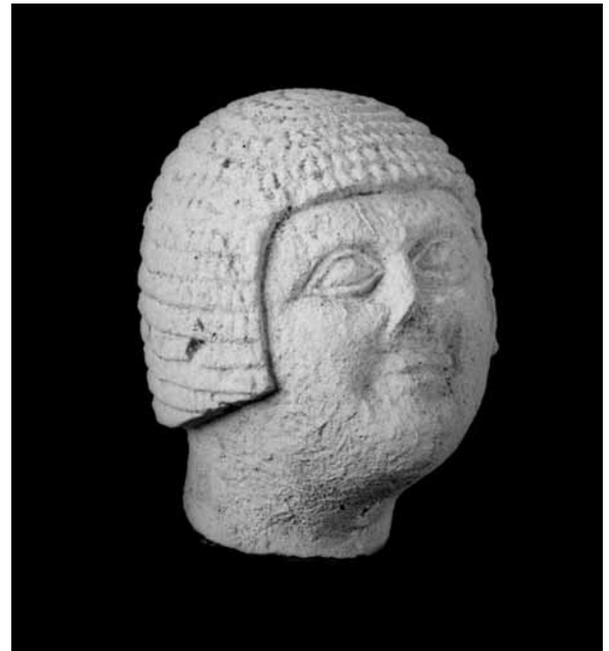


Fig. 72. The same statue as in fig. 71 (three-quarter view). Photographed at Harvard Camp, Giza. 1905. HU-MFA Expedition photograph, George Reisner, c 11953

Slab Stela 7 (pls. 14–15)

Owner: *Stj-hknt*, Setji-hekenet¹ (𓂏)

Provenance: Cemetery 1200: g 1227

Excavation history: Hearst Expedition, University of California, under G.A. Reisner, April, 1904; found in situ set into emplacement in chapel niche²

Current location: Egyptian Museum, Cairo, JE 37726 (57127); currently in the Port Said National Museum, P 4082

Material: Limestone; raised relief carving

Measurements: h. 37.5 cm; w. 52.5 cm; th. 7.6–7.8 cm

Selected bibliography: PM III, p. 60; Reisner, *Giza Necropolis* 1, p. 408, pl. 20a; W.S. Smith, *ZÄS* 71 (1935), pl. 4 (top); Vandier, *Manuel* 1, p. 760, fig. 503, top; P. Manuelian, in H. Guksch and D. Polz eds., *Stationen. Beiträge zur Kulturgeschichte Ägyptens Rainer Stadelmann Gewidmet* (Mainz, 1998), pl. 6b

Translation

Section a:

(1) *rh.t nswt, Stj-hknt*

(1) “Acquaintance of the king,³ Setji-hekenet”

Section b:

(2) *t h3, hnk t h3, mnht h3, šs h3, k3 h3, spd h3*

(2) “a thousand loaves of bread, a thousand jars of beer, (3) a thousand pieces of cloth, a thousand alabaster vessels, a thousand oxen, a thousand fowl”

Section c:

(4) *sntr, i^c wy, hst mrlht, wsd, msdmt*

(4) “incense, implements for washing hands, best ointment, green eye-paint, black eye-paint”

Section d:

idmy št h3, ifdw h3, hmtw h3, snwi, w^c h3, szf h3

“*idemy*-linen:⁴ a thousand of 100 (cubits wide), a thousand of 4 x 10 (cubits), a thousand of 3 x 10 (cubits), a thousand of 2 x 10 (cubits) and 1 x 10 (cubits), a thousand of width *sezef*”⁵

ššr h h3, š t h3, ifdw h3, snwi, w^c h3, szf h3

“*šesher*-linen: a thousand of *h* (cubits wide),⁶ a thousand of 100 (cubits wide), a thousand of 4 x 10 (cubits), a thousand of 2 x 10 (cubits) and 1 x 10 (cubits), a thousand of width *sezef*”

3 h h3, š t h3, ifdw h3, snwi, w^c h3, dšt h3

“*aa*-linen: a thousand of *h* (cubits wide), a thousand of 100 (cubits wide), a thousand of 4 x 10 (cubits), a thousand of 2 x 10 (cubits) and 1 x 10 (cubits), a thousand of width *dšt*”

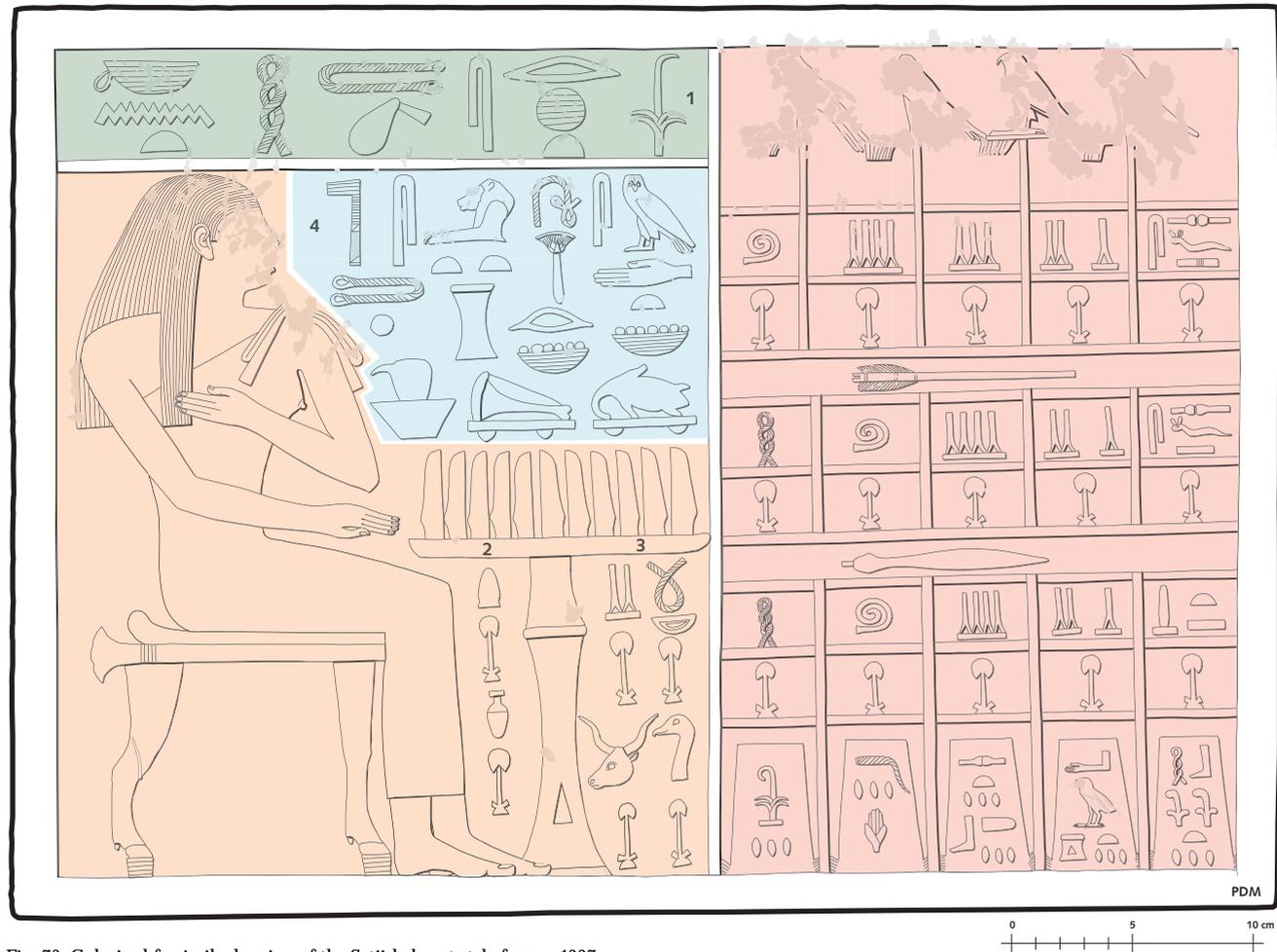


Fig. 73. Colorized facsimile drawing of the Setji-hekenet stela from g 1227

it-šm^cw, it-Mh^w bdt, zwt bš, gwt, hbnnwt

“Upper Egyptian barley, Lower Egyptian barley; emmer, emmer(?) and malt,⁷ prepared grain, *hebnetut*-bread”

¹ Ranke, *PNI*, p. 322.21. For *stj*, “odor, perfume,” cf. Faulkner, *CDME*, p. 255, and for *hkn*, “be joyful, acclaim (someone),” *ibid.*, p. 179, and *Wb.* 3, pp. 178–80. Hence could the name mean “One at whose aroma one (fem.) rejoices”? The determinative is not 𓂏 (V 33) but 𓂏 (Aa 3). Cf. the name *Šn-stj*, in L. Borchardt, *Denkmäler des Alten Reiches* 2 (Cairo, 1964), p. 160: 𓂏 𓂏, (CG 1730, an unprovenanced late Old Kingdom false door fragment).

² Reisner illustrated this stela in an unpublished report on the work of the Hearst Expedition, most likely dating to 1904, p. 69, fig. 99 (housed in the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston). The stela is mislabeled there as coming from g 1225.

³ H.G. Fischer, *Egyptian Women of the Old Kingdom*² (New York, 2000), pp. 71–72, n. 176, has shown that women do not hold the title *iry(t)-ht nswt*. Cf. Helck, *Untersuchungen zu den Beamtentiteln des ägyptischen Alten Reiches* (Glückstadt, 1954), pp. 26–28; H. Brunner, “Der Bekannte des Königs,” *SAK* 1 (1974), pp. 55–60; O. Berlev, “A Contemporary of King Sewah-en-re,” *JEA* 60 (1974), p. 109, and E. Brovanski, “Akhmim in the Old Kingdom and First Intermediate Period,” in *Mélanges Mokhtar* 1 (Cairo, 1985), p. 148, n. 129.

Description and commentary: This uncased mastaba was never enlarged with a stone chapel, but the original mud-brick chapel underwent a number of alterations; its west wall

⁴ On the choice of transliteration *idmy* instead of *itiwy*, see below, Chapter 4, discussion of Section d (linen lists).

⁵ For an alternative reading, arguing for a redundant *s* at the beginning of the word, cf. J. Kahl, *Das System der ägyptischen Hieroglyphenschrift in der 0.–3. Dynastie* (Wiesbaden, 1994), pp. 66–70 (cf. “Stoff mit bekannten Abmessungen”). See also P. Posener-Kriéger, “Les Mesure des étoffes à l’ancien empire,” *RdE* 29 (1977), p. 94, and Junker, *Giza* 1, p. 31.

⁶ This word is written *ht* on the Helwan stela from tomb 247; cf. Z. Saad, *Ceiling Stelae in Second Dynasty Tombs from the Excavations at Helwan*, *ASAE* Supplément, Cahier 21 (Cairo, 1957), pl. 30; J. Kahl, N. Kloth, and U. Zimmermann, *Die Inschriften der 3. Dynastie* (Wiesbaden, 1995), p. 175 (d); however, it never appears with a *.t* on any of the Giza slab stelae. The value is most likely more than 100 or 200, but less than 1,000; cf. Posener-Kriéger, *RdE* 29 (1977), pp. 93–94.

⁷ See D. Faltings, “*bš* und *zwt*—zwei ungeklärte Begriffe der Getreidewirtschaft im AR,” *GM* 148 (1995), pp. 35–44.

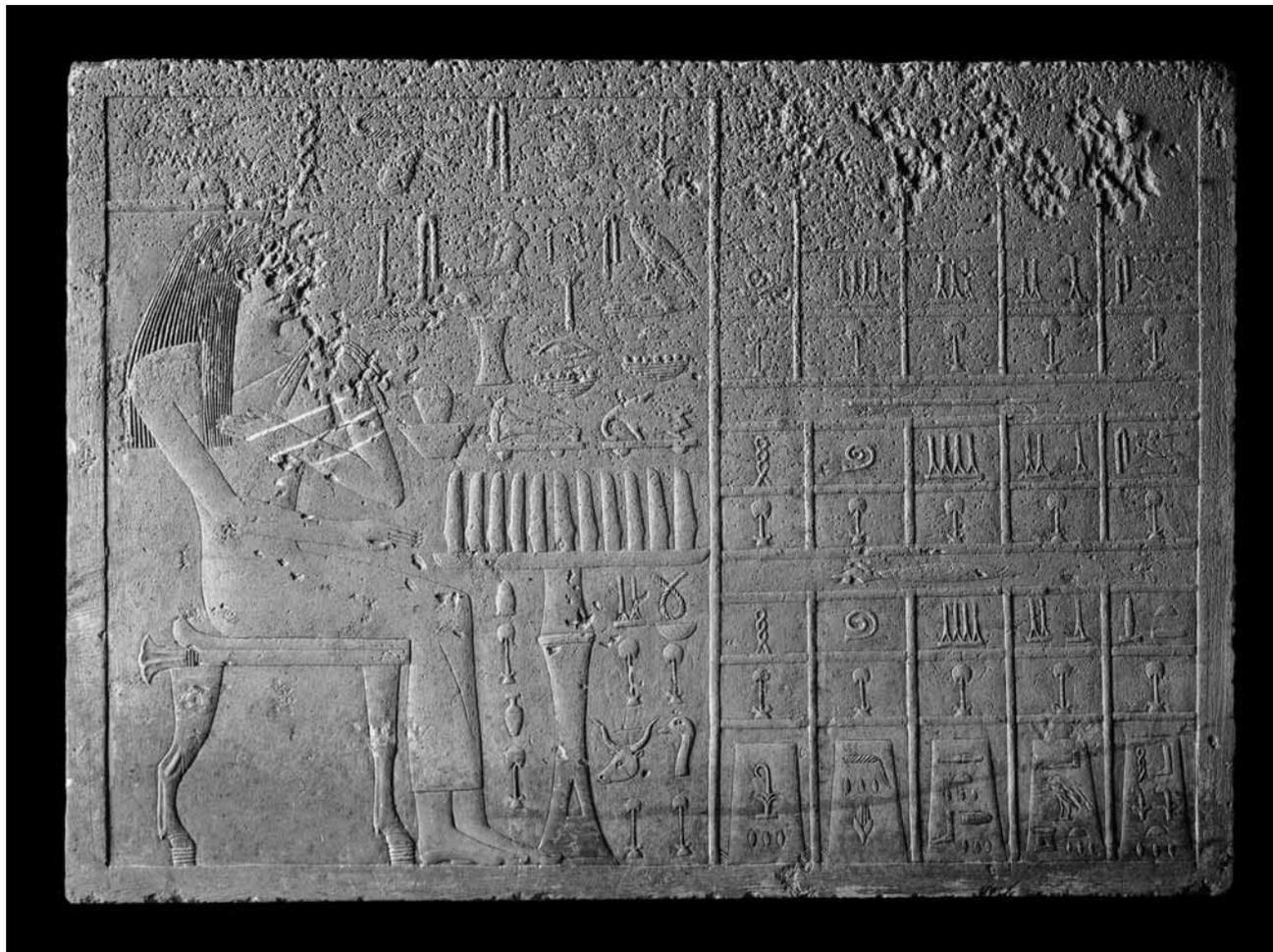


Fig. 74. The Setji-hekenet stela from g 1227, photographed at Harvard Camp, Giza. 1904–1905. HU–MFA Expedition photograph, George Reisner, a 11576 (rephotographed as a 7021, 7022)

containing the slab stela niche was most likely the oldest, original part of the chamber.⁸ Like g 1223 (Kaiemah) and g 1225 (Nefret-iabet) further to the east, this tomb likewise received an annex, or extension of the mastaba core, to the north. In this case, an additional north chapel was added in front (east) of the annex, numbered by Reisner g 1228 (fig. 75).

The stela shows a number of features not encountered in the first six stelae of our corpus. First among them is perhaps the extent of intentional damage. Setji-hekenet's face, more particularly her eye, nose, and mouth, as well as the *idmy* falcons of the linen list, have been intentionally destroyed. There is no question of natural damage, such as from a fall from the mastaba wall, since the stela was discovered in situ in its emplacement. Any number of explanations could lie behind

the destruction of her face, from *damnatio memoriae* by her contemporaries to more modern vandalism, but the former choice is the more likely one, due to the patina on the chisel marks. Much fresher, by contrast, are the three light-colored diagonal scratches across her breast and left arm. These must date to some time soon after the stela was removed in April, 1904, since they are not yet present in photographs taken at the time of discovery (see fig. 80), but do appear on the Camp "studio" photograph taken shortly thereafter, dated simply as "1904–5" (fig. 74).

It is less clear what the motivation behind destroying the *idmy* falcons could be. They seem also to be destroyed on the stela of Meretites (g 4140), along with her entire horizontal band of inscription across the top of the stela (Section a), including her name. Furthermore, the stela of Seshat-sekhentiu

(g 2120) bears similar damage, but does not preserve the fragment with the Horus falcons. In the two latter cases, Meretites and Seshat-sekhentiu, the motivation was most likely to destroy the memory of the tomb owner. In the present case, Setji-hekenet's name is intact, and only the Horus falcons have suffered mutilation. That this part of the cemetery was abandoned after the end of the Old Kingdom further narrows our time frame for this intentional mutilation, assuming the slab stela was inaccessible some generations after the death of the tomb owner. But post-pharaonic vandalism cannot be ruled out entirely.

The stela is also the only monument from Cemetery 1200 to show granaries at the bottom of the linen list. In form, number, and context these five granaries resemble most of their counterparts on the stela of Iunu (g 4150) from Cemetery 4000. Although the linen list reaches to the top of the stela's decorated surface, the presence of the granaries reduces the types of different linen to just three. At left, the seated figure of Setji-hekenet differs markedly from her three female counterparts in showing extremely broad shoulders. Her torso is almost male in its bulky width, and hardly relates to the slender figures cut by Nefer (g 1207), Nefret-iabet (g 1225), and Meretites (g 4140).⁹ Her open left hand also differs somewhat from that of the other women in being cocked slightly more horizontally. Her closely fitting garment shows a shoulder knot but no shoulder strap, as seen in the stelae of Nefer (g 1207) or Nefret-iabet (g 1225). Her right hand takes the standard pose, stretched forth towards the table of offering loaves. The table stand beneath the table flares dramatically, and contains an additional ridge or lip at the base that is absent from all other stelae, with one exception.¹⁰ Despite the lack of color, the stand is well differentiated from the stone offering table. The half-loaves of bread show the asymmetrical arrangement of five to the left, six to the right, possibly the only case where there are fewer loaves on the tomb-owner's (= table's left) side.¹¹ The loaves also show the flaring protrusion or concavity

⁸ Reisner, *Giza Necropolis* 1, p. 407.

⁹ It would probably be stretching the evidence to suggest that this figure was originally intended to represent a male, once again hinting at prefabrication in the production of funerary equipment at Giza; cf. Manuelian, "A Case of Prefabrication at Giza? The False Door of Inti," *JARCE* 35 (1998), pp. 115–27, with comments by A. Bolshakov, "Osiris in the Fourth Dynasty Again?," in H. Györy, ed., *Mélanges offerts à Edith Varga. Bulletin du Musée Hongrois des Beaux-Arts Supplément-2001* (Budapest, 2001), pp. 65–80.

¹⁰ g 4860, anonymous; see below, stela 15.

¹¹ Assuming that the damaged stela of Kaiemah (g 1223) shows six–six, and not five–six half-loaves.

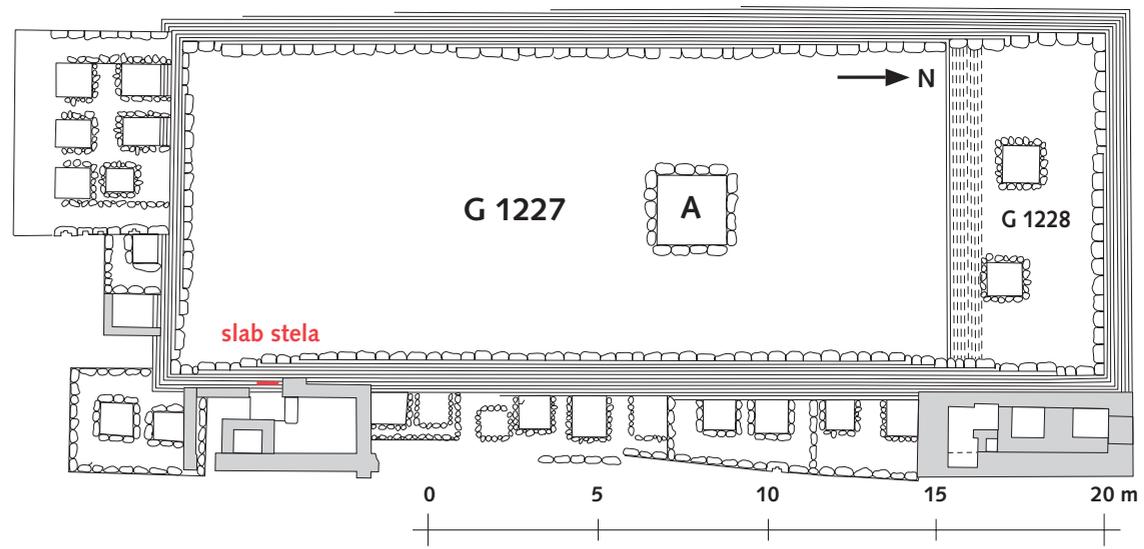


Fig. 75. Plan of the mastaba of Setji-hekenet, g 1227, after Reisner, *Giza Necropolis* 1, Map 4. Drawing by Ruth Bigio



Fig. 76. Chapel area of g 1227, looking north. February, 1905. HU-MFA Expedition photograph, George Reisner, c 11127



Fig. 77. Chapel area with slab stela in situ, looking southwest. July, 1904. HU-MFA Expedition photograph, George Reisner, b 10786



Fig. 78. Chapel area after removal of slab stela, looking southwest. Spring, 1906. HU-MFA Expedition photograph, George Reisner, c 12815



Fig. 79. Chapel area of g 1227, looking northwest. April 22, 1999. PDM, 99.3.21

towards the bottom, a feature either absent or suppressed in all the other slab stelae in the Giza group.

Setji-hekenet sits upon a full-length cushion¹² placed upon a bull-legged stool. The legs of the stool display considerable musculature modeling, including the curving tendon about halfway down. Two other stelae (Nefer, g 1207 and Iunu, g 4150) indicate this tendon. Unique to the entire group, however, is the stool's terminal ending, not in a papyrus umbel but in a palmiform terminal. The rendering is fluted with subtle, finely modeled concavities. A contemporary parallel for the palmiform umbel is preserved on the carrying poles for the sedan chair of Hetepheres (figs. 83–84).¹³

Setji-hekenet shows an abbreviated linen list, with only *idmy*, *sšr* and *ḳ* linen, since five granaries take up the bottom of the list. The items in the trapezoidal granaries appear again in exactly the same order on the stela of Iunu (g 4150). The only significant difference is perhaps the nature of the final item, *ḥbnnwt* bread on this stela, but *ḥfnwt* grain on Iunu's granary.

¹² Also attested on the stelae of Wepemnefret (g 1201), and the anonymous stela from g 4860. The stela of Meretites (g 4140) shows merely the rounded protrusion from the cushion behind the seated figure.

¹³ Cf. Reisner and Smith, *Giza Necropolis 2*, pls. 27a, 28c; *Egyptian Art in the Age of the Pyramids* (New York, 1999), pp. 218–19, cat. 33; Y.J. Markowitz, J.L. Haynes, and R.E. Freed, *Egypt in the Age of the Pyramids. Highlights from the Harvard University–Museum of Fine Arts Boston Expedition* (Boston, 2002), p. 50(f); N. Cherpion, *Mastabas et Hypogées d'Ancien Empire*, (Brussels, 1989), pp. 32–33, fig. 13, who also notes a two-dimensional example from the tomb of Kapunusut Kai (g 4651), *ibid.*, pl. 30.



Fig. 80. Slab stela in situ, looking west. April, 1904. HU–MFA Expedition photograph, George Reisner, b 10785



Fig. 81. Empty emplacement in g 1227, looking west. April 22, 1999. PDM, 99.3.22

Traces of red survive, primarily on the ideographic signs beneath the offering table, and on the stems of the *h* signs.¹⁴ The stela is of the short-form type.

Date: g 1227 is presumed to belong to the second phase of mastabas constructed in Cemetery 1200, as this portion of the Necropolis expanded from east to west. Setji-hekenet's slab stela should thus follow after the tombs of Wepemnefret (g 1201), Kanefer (g 1203), Khufu-nakht (g 1205), Kaiemah (g 1223), and Nefret-iabet (g 1225), but still date to the reign of Khufu. The second decade of that king's reign provides the most likely date for the stela.

¹⁴ Other slab stelae with red on these stems include those of Kaiemah (g 1223), Nefret-iabet (g 1225), and Iunu (g 4150).



Fig. 83. Reproduction of carrying chair of Hetepheres from g 7000 x, MFA 38.874. MFA Visual Archives, sc 122



Fig. 82. Oblique view of the Setji-hekenet stela, photographed in Port Said. April 15, 1999. PDM, 99.101.21



Fig. 84. Detail of umbel from reproduction of carrying chair of Hetepheres, MFA 38.874. MFA Visual Archives, sc 19824

Slab Stela 8 (pls. 15–16)

Owner: *Ini*, Ini¹ (𓂏)

Provenance: Cemetery 1200: g 1235

Excavation history: Hearst Expedition, University of California, under G.A. Reisner, April, 1904; found in situ set into emplacement in chapel niche²

Current location: Egyptian Museum, Cairo JE 37727 (57127 bis); currently in the Port Said National Museum, P 4083

Material: Limestone; raised relief carving

Measurements: h. 37.5 cm; w. 52.5 cm; th. 9.4–11 cm

Selected bibliography: PM III, p. 61; Reisner, *Giza Necropolis* 1, p. 412, pl. 20b; W.S. Smith, *ZÄS* 71 (1935), pl. 4 (bottom); Vandier, *Manuel* 1, p. 760, fig. 503, bottom

Translation

Section a:

(1) *hꜣp mrw ihw, iry-ht nswt, Ini*

(1) “Controller of herds,³ keeper of the king’s property,⁴ Ini”

Section b:

(2) *mnht hꜣ, šš hꜣ, (3) t hꜣ, hnkt hꜣ, ks hꜣ, nudw hꜣ*

(2) “a thousand pieces of cloth, a thousand alabaster vessels, (3) a thousand loaves of bread, a thousand jars of beer, a thousand oxen, a thousand antelopes”

Section c:

(4) *sntr, iꜣꜣwy, hꜣtt mrht snwt, wsꜣ, msdmt*

(4) “incense, implements for washing hands, two jars of best ointment, green eye-paint,⁵ black eye-paint”

Section d:

idmy št hꜣ, psꜣiw hꜣ, hmniw hꜣ, sfhiw hꜣ, sisiw hꜣ

“*idemy*-linen:⁶ a thousand of 100 (cubits wide), a thousand of 90 (cubits wide),⁷ a thousand of 80 (cubits wide), a thousand of 70 (cubits wide), a thousand of 60 (cubits wide)”

ššr št hꜣ, sisiw hꜣ, diiw hꜣ, mꜣbꜣ hꜣ, snwi hꜣ

“*šesher*-linen: a thousand of 100 (cubits wide), a thousand of 60 (cubits wide), a thousand of 50 (cubits wide), a thousand of 30 (cubits wide), a thousand of 2 x 10 (cubits)”

šmꜣt-nfrt št hꜣ, psꜣiw hꜣ, hmniw hꜣ, sfhiw hꜣ, sisiw hꜣ

“fine linen: a thousand of 100 (cubits wide), a thousand of 90 (cubits wide), a thousand of 80 (cubits wide), a thousand of 70 (cubits wide), a thousand of 60 (cubits wide)”

ꜣ št hꜣ, hmniw hꜣ, sfhiw hꜣ, sisiw hꜣ, diiw hꜣ

“*aa*-linen: a thousand of 100 (cubits wide), a thousand of 80

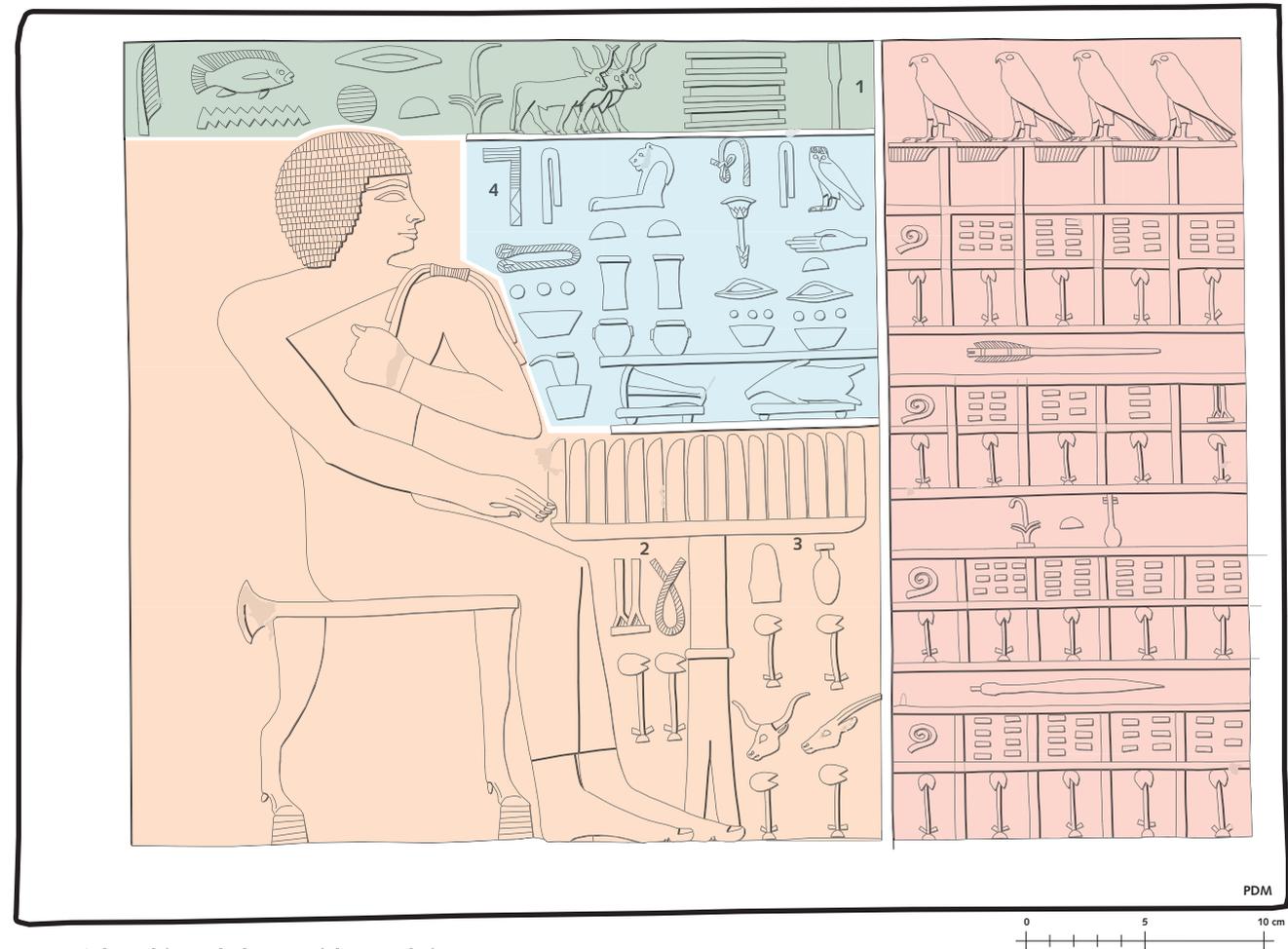


Fig. 85. Colorized facsimile drawing of the Ini stela from g 1235

(cubits wide), a thousand of 70 (cubits wide), a thousand of 60 (cubits wide), a thousand of 50 (cubits wide)”

Description and commentary: The mud-brick chapel surrounding Ini’s stela emplacement was altered several times, but three or four chambers were identified at the time of

¹ Ranke, *PN1*, p. 36.13–19, but none of these provides an exact match to the spelling found on this slab stela. For variations on the spelling within this tomb, compare the slab stela to the offering basin, figs. 95–97. Unless a pejorative connotation is intended here, such as *Ini* “the slothful one,” “the hesitater,” (but missing the walking legs determinative Δ) (cf. R. Hannig, *Großes Handwörterbuch Ägyptisch–Deutsch* [Mainz, 1995], p. 75; *Wb* 1, p. 92.18–19), a clear translation of the name seems elusive.

² The stela is illustrated in fig. 16 of Reisner’s unpublished “First Report of the Expedition of Harvard University and the Boston Museum of Fine Arts, 1906–7” (dated December 10, 1906), housed in the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston. An earlier, but undated report, whose title page is missing, records the Hearst Expedition work, and the stela is illustrated there, too, p. 68, fig. 96.

³ D. Jones, *An Index of Ancient Egyptian Titles, Epithets and Phrases of the Old Kingdom* 2 (Oxford, 2000), p. 716, no. 2614: “director of the pasture lands (of the *ihw*-cattle).”

⁴ Cf. Helck, *Untersuchungen zu den Beamtentiteln des ägyptischen Alten Reiches* (Glückstadt, 1954), pp. 26–28; H. Brunner, “Der Bekannte des Königs,” *SAK* 1 (1974), pp. 55–60; O. Berlev, “A Contemporary of King Sewah-en-re;” *JEA* 60 (1974), p. 109, and E. Brovanski, “Akhmim in the Old Kingdom and First Intermediate Period,” in *Mélanges Mokhtar* 1 (Cairo, 1985), p. 148, n. 129.

⁵ The *wsꜣ* sign shows projecting leaves at the stalk’s base, an archaic and Old Kingdom feature according to H.G. Fischer, *Ancient Egyptian Calligraphy*, 4th edition (New York, 1999), p. 33, where this sign is illustrated (M 13); additional parallels are listed on p. 64.

⁶ On the choice of transliteration *idmy* instead of *itiwy*, see below, Chapter 4, discussion of Section d (linen lists).

⁷ Or possibly 90 cubits square? On the difference between vertical and horizontal linen units of measure, see below, Chapters 3 and 4, based on P. Posener-Krieger, “Les mesures des étoffes à l’ancien empire,” *RdE* 29 (1977), pp. 86–96; J. Kahl, N. Kloth, U. Zimmermann, *Die Inschriften der 3. Dynastie* (Wiesbaden, 1995), p. 175ff.; E. Edel, “Eine althieratische Liste von Grabbeigaben aus einem Grab des späten Alten Reiches der Qubbet el-Hawa bei Assuan,” *NAWG* 6 (1987), pp. 98, 104.



Fig. 86. The Ini stela from g 1235, photographed at Harvard Camp, Giza, 1904–1905. HU–MFA Expedition photograph, George Reisner, a 11588 (rephotographed as a 7025)

excavation (figs. 87–88).⁸ The stela is in near-perfect condition, although no color has survived. The most unusual feature to strike the viewer immediately is the unbalanced layout of the decoration. The placement of Ini's figure (Section b) is near the center of the slab, instead of at the far left, as with all other stelae. This leaves a considerable amount of free space behind him. Ini's name is consequently not over his head, but actually behind it. Nothing fills the void beneath the name, behind the figure, and the artist was forced to create an unusually wide border at the stela's left edge, which fails to match the traditional, much thinner border at the right, terminating the linen list. Does this represent a change in design layout? An indication of prefabrication for the Giza stelae? Or is this simply bad planning? The high quality of the carving hardly supports a

claim of incompetent craftsmanship. And it is true that no slab stela is perfectly symmetrical. Some have thicker border frames, others thinner ones, but even if the horizontal border spaces do not equal the vertical border spaces, they are always consistent with each other. In other words, the left and right edge frames are usually the same size, as are the top and bottom frames.

Ini's feet obscure the bottom of the ceramic table stand supporting the table of bread loaves. The stand is clearly differentiated as a separate element by the thick lip at its mouth, into which the table is set. The half-loaves match in left and right numbers (eight per side) and meet in the center of the table. The tomb-owner's right hand is so close to the table that the leftmost half-loaf has been hollowed out towards the bottom to allow room for his fingertips. This "collision" would not have

occurred had Ini's figure occupied its traditional position further to the left. We may thus have one of the only indicators of the sequence of carving the various elements on the stela, namely the table loaves preceding the seated figure of Ini. The base of the offering table (as opposed to the table stand) differs from others in showing no flare and being exceedingly tall.

Ini sits on a bull-legged stool with a simple (albeit damaged) papyrus umbel terminal. He sits quite far forward, leaving ample room for a cushion behind him, but one was never carved. His tight-fitting garment, presumably intended to bear the leopard-skin pattern (found on Wepemnefret's [g 1201] and Nefret-iabet's [g 1225] stelae), reaches to the ankles, and is adorned with a shoulder knot. While Ini's left hand forms a clenched fist, it barely touches the shoulder knot, instead of firmly grasping it, as is the case with all the other male stela owners. His name and titles overhead (Section a) do not surmount the linen list, which occupies the entire height of the stela. The list occupies one-third of the decorated surface, contains four *idmy* falcons, and by omitting granaries leaves room for four different types of linen. The overall quality of the carving is excellent, albeit somewhat sparse in terms of interior detail. The most intricate elements are Ini's valanced wig, modest modeling on the bull-legged stool, tall cone supports, the *in* fish , *ihw* cattle , *wsd* sign  with projecting leaves at the base, and the diagonal incisions on the *t* , *ws* , and *ss*  hieroglyphs. The stela is a short-form stela.

Ini's tomb is one of the few to preserve an inscribed object in addition to the slab stela.⁹ A white limestone offering basin is incised with *hrp mrw ihw, Ini* (see figs. 95–97).¹⁰ The owner's name in this case is spelled with two reed leaves  , while the slab stela shows only a single one:  .

⁸ Reisner, *Giza Necropolis* 1, pp. 411–12.

⁹ Other mastabas include Seshat-sekhentiu (g 2120) with granite fragments with titles (see below, figs. 106–107); Kaninisut (g 2155), assuming the slab stela fragment really belongs to the owner of the tomb chapel now in Vienna (ÄS 8006); and Wenshet (g 4840), whose inscribed false door is in Hildesheim (Inv. Nr. 2971; see figs. 162–63). There is scant evidence that the pair statue of Kanefer and Iy-nefret in the Louvre (E 6854; A 120) belongs to this Kanefer (g 1203; see above, stela 2), or that the seated female in Munich (ÄS 7155) is our Nefret-iabet (g 1225; see above, stela 6).

¹⁰ Hearst Museum of Anthropology, Berkeley 6–19798, 40.5 x 24.4 cm; cf. Reisner, *Giza Necropolis* 1, p. 412, fig. 236; H.F. Lutz, *Egyptian Tomb Stelae and Offering Stones of the Museum of Anthropology and Ethnology of the University of California* (Leipzig, 1927), pl. 5, cat. 9. The basin is illustrated in the undated report, whose title page is missing, that records the Hearst Expedition work, p. 68, figs. 97–98.

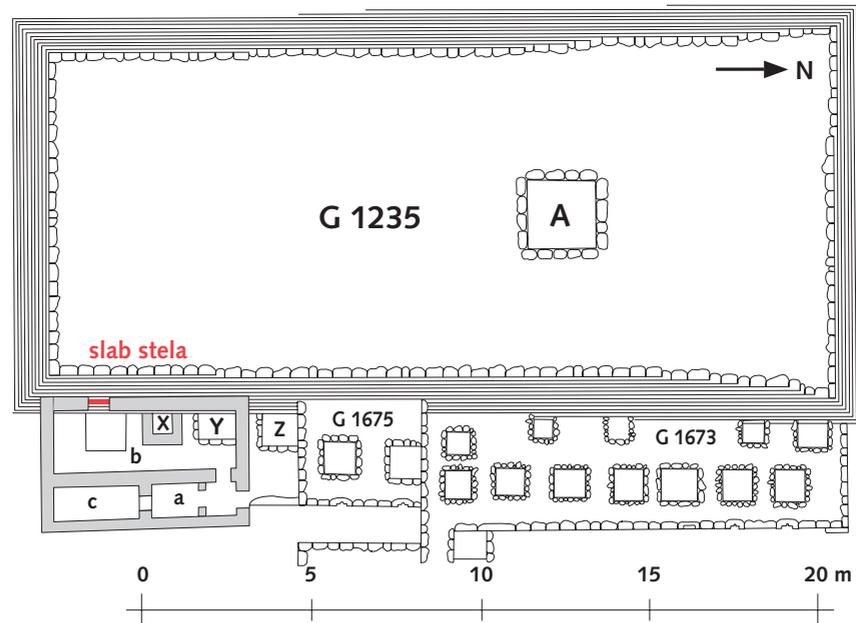


Fig. 87. Plan of the mastaba of Ini, g 1235, after Reisner, *Giza Necropolis*1, Map 4. Drawing by Ruth Bigio

Date: g 1235 belongs with the later, second group of major mastabas constructed in Cemetery 1200. This cemetery developed from east to west, and the second mastaba group thus most likely dates subsequent to Khufu's first decade. Taller offering loaves on Ini's offering table (see below, Chapter 4, Section c) may also support a date midway through the reign of this king.



Fig. 88. Chapel area of g 1235, with slab stela in situ, looking northwest. April, 1904. HU-MFA Expedition photograph, George Reisner, a 10921



Fig. 89. Chapel area of g 1235, looking northwest. April 22, 1999. PDM, 99.3.32



Fig. 90. Chapel area of g 1235, with slab stela in situ, looking southwest. May, 1904. HU-MFA Expedition photograph, George Reisner, b 10758



Fig. 91. Chapel area of g 1235 during excavation, with slab stela and offering basin exposed, looking southwest. April, 1904. HU-MFA Expedition photograph, George Reisner, c 10961

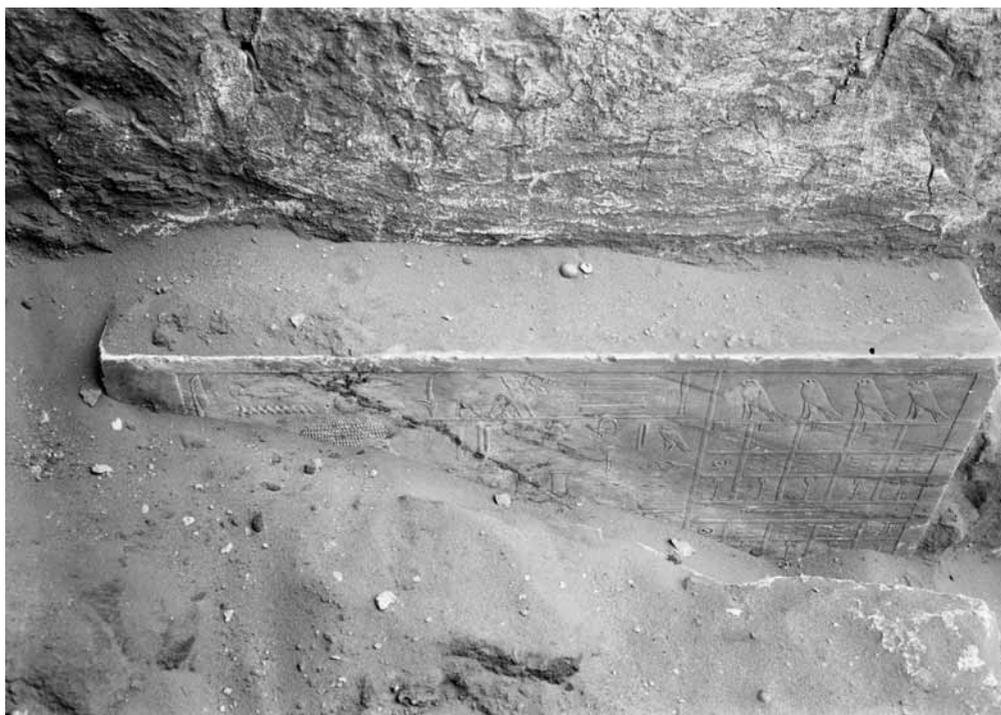


Fig. 92. Slab stela from g 1235 as first exposed, looking west. April, 1904. HU-MFA Expedition photograph, George Reisner, b 10757



Fig. 93. Slab stela from g 1235 in situ, looking west. May, 1904. HU-MFA Expedition photograph, George Reisner, a 10905



Fig. 94. Empty emplacement, looking west. April 22, 1999. PDM, 99.3.31

Fig. 95. Offering basin of Ini (Hearst Museum, Berkeley, 6-19798), photographed at Harvard Camp, Giza. 1905. HU-MFA Expedition photograph, George Reisner, c 11983

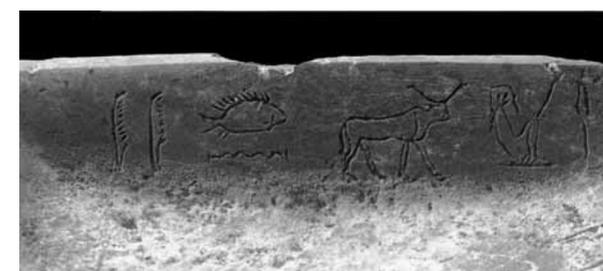


Fig. 96. Detail of inscription of offering basin of Ini (Hearst Museum, Berkeley, 6-19798), photographed at Harvard Camp, Giza. 1905. HU-MFA Expedition photograph, George Reisner, c 11984

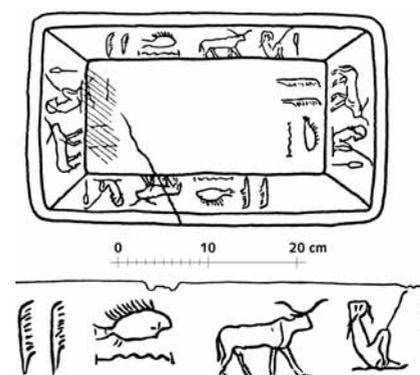


Fig. 97. Inscription on basin of Ini, after Reisner, *Giza Necropolis* 1, p. 412, fig. 236

Slab Stela 9 (pls. 17–18)

Owner: *Sšst-shntyw*, Seshat-sekhentiu¹ (𓎃𓏏)

Provenance: Cemetery 2100: g 2120

Excavation history: Harvard University–Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, Expedition, under G.A. Reisner; discovered in fourteen fragments, both in front of the chapel emplacement (1905–6, 1933), and west of the mastaba (March 6, 1938)²

Current location: Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, 06.1894

Material: Limestone; raised relief carving

Measurements: h. 51.6 cm; w. 79.8 cm; th. 9.9 cm

Selected bibliography: PM III, p. 74; Reisner, *Giza Necropolis* 1, p. 428 (also brief mentions on pp. 65, 67, 111, 306); pl. 39a; R.J. Leprohon, *Corpus Antiquatum Aegyptiacarum*, MFA Fasc. 2, *Stelae* 1 (Mainz am Rhein, 1985), pp. 59–62

Translation

Section a:

(1) [...] (2) [...] *Sšst-shntyw*

(1) “[...] (2) [...] Seshat-sekhentiu”

Section b:

(3) *t* *h*₃, (4) *hnkt* *h*₃, (5) *šs* *h*₃, (6) *mnht* *h*₃

“a thousand loaves of bread, a thousand jars of beer, a thousand alabaster vessels, a thousand pieces of cloth”

Section c:

(7) *kbh* *i* *c* *wy*, *bd*

(7) “container of cool water, implements for washing hands, natron”

(8) *sntr*, *wšd*, *msdmt*, [*h*₃]*t*[*t*] *mrht*, *šht* *h**dt* [*wšdt*], [*t-w*]*r*, *t-rth*, [*n*]*hr*[*w*], *d*[*pt*], *š*[*z*], *t-nhrw*, *bsn* [...]

(8) “incense, green eye paint, black eye paint, best [oi]nt[ment], white *sekhet*-cakes, green *sekhet*-cakes, great loaf, baked bread, [*ne*]*her*[*u*]-bread, *de*[*pet*]-bread, *šat*-bread, *ta-neheru*-bread, natron, [...]”

(9) *šhpt*, *prw*, *dsrt*, [*h**nw*]-*wy*, *istt*, *irp*, *išd*, *db*₃, *nbs*, *t-nbs*, *wšh*, *hbnmw*, *g(w)t*, *ht* *nbt* *bnr(t)*

(9) “*sekhepet*-drink, *peru*-drink, ale, [*khenu*]-*awy*-drink, milk, wine, *išed*-fruit, figs, zizyphus, loaf of zizyphus, carob bean, *hebenut*-bread, prepared grain, every sweet thing”

(10) [...]

(10) “[...]”

(11) *rn ihw* *h*₃, *ngsw* *h*₃, *ih**t* *wr*[*t*] *h*₃, *hry-dbc* *h*₃, *rn mshd* *h*₃, *dst* *h*₃, *r* *h*₃, [*tr*]*p* *h*₃, *s* *h*₃, [*m*]*nwt* *h*₃

(11) “a thousand young oxen, a thousand bulls, a thousand

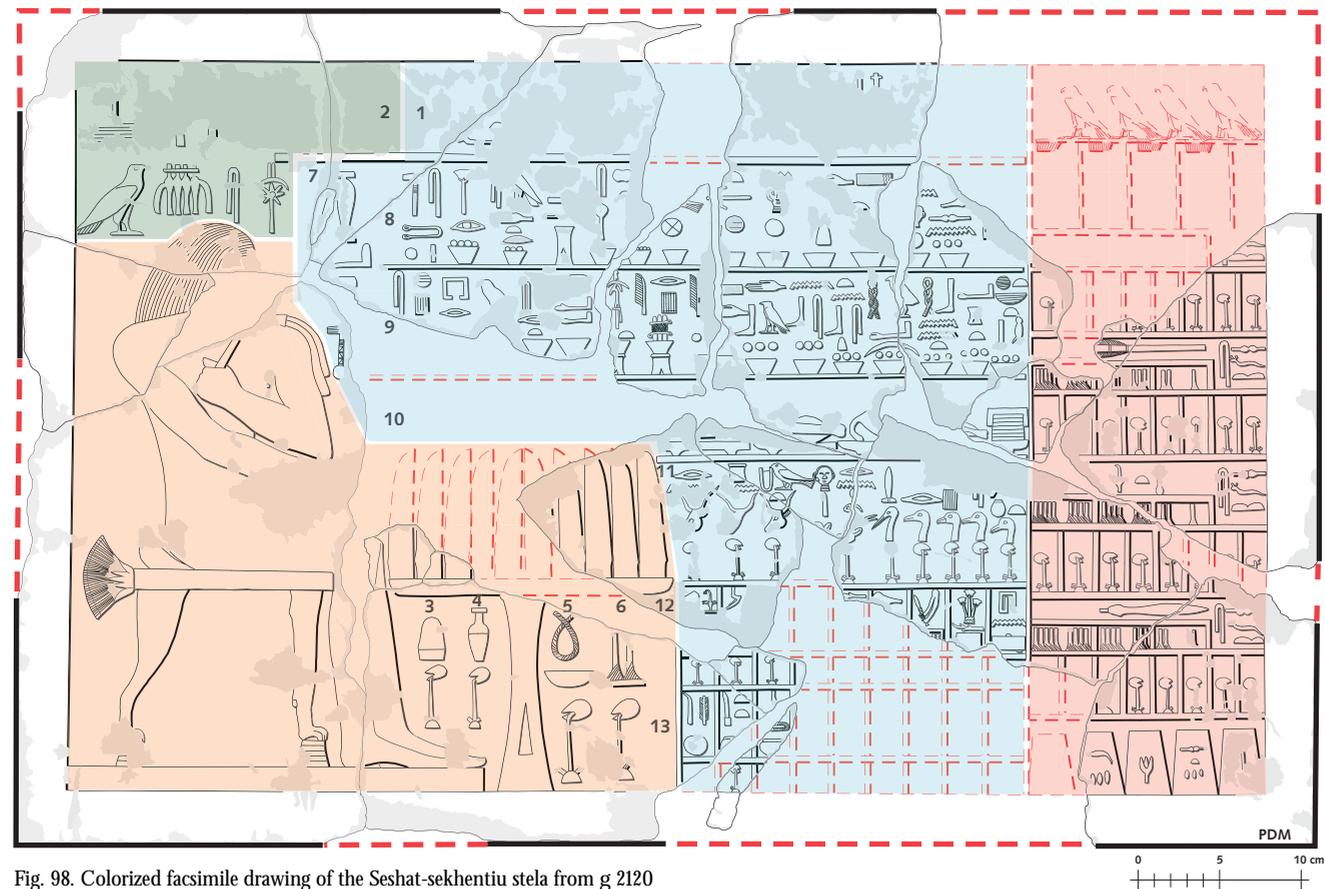


Fig. 98. Colorized facsimile drawing of the Seshat-sekhentiu stela from g 2120

large cows, a thousand suckled calves, a thousand young oryxes, a thousand cranes, a thousand *ro*-geese, a thousand [*tjer*]-*ep*-geese, a thousand *se*-geese, a thousand [*me*]*nut*-pigeons”

(12) [*i* *h*₃]*b* [*šm* *h*₃], [*i* *h*₃] *m*[*st*] *h*₃, [...] *h*₃, [...] *h*₃, *s*(?) [...] *h*₃, *wr*[*s*?] [*h*₃], *dsr* [*h*₃], *h**3*-*ht* [*h*₃], *hm* [*h*₃]

(12) “a thousand panther-skin mantles,³ a thousand mantles of wild cow skin,⁴ a thousand [...], [a thousand ...], [a thousand ...], [a thousand head]rests,⁵ [a thousand] caskets,⁶ [a thousand] boxes,⁷ [a thousand] chests”⁸

(13) *tšst* [*h*₃], *nmtt* *h*₃, *mšt* [*h*₃], [...] [...] [...] [...] [...] [...] [...]

(13) “[a thousand] lug-handled porphyry vessels,⁹ a thousand lug-handled white quartzite vessels,¹⁰ [a thousand] granite jars, [...] [...] [...] [...] [...] [...] [...]

¹ Ranke, *PN1*, p. 320.4–5; vol. 2, p. 389. Could the better reading be *Shnty(wi)-Sšst*, “Seshat advances me”? Cf. H.G. Fischer, “Three Old Kingdom Palimpsests in the Louvre,” *ZÄS* 86 (1961), pp. 23, fig. 2, 29 (*Shntyw-Pth*).

² Summarized in a letter from Reisner to E. Drioton, Director General of the

Service des Antiquités, on March 14, 1938.

³ Or Upper Egyptian panther-skin mantles; see Simpson, *Giza Mastabas* 3, p. 14 n. 27 fig. 30; *i* *h*₃ *šm*; R. Hannig, *Großes Handwörterbuch Ägyptisch-Deutsch* (Mainz am Rhein, 1995), p. 238, and also the mastaba of Nisut-nefer (g 4970) for an occurrence of *š*; Junker, *Giza* 3, p. 184, fig. 28.

⁴ Cf. Junker, *Giza* 1, p. 258; Smith, “The Coffin of Prince Min-khaf,” *JEA* 19 (1933), pp. 155–57; E. Brovarski, “An Inventory List from ‘Covington’s Tomb’ and Nomenclature for Furniture in the Old Kingdom,” in P. Der Manuelian, ed., *Studies in Honor of William Kelly Simpson* 1 (Boston, 1996), p. 122.

⁵ Compare *wrs* “headrest” listed in stela 11 from g 2155(?).

⁶ Cf. E. Brovarski, “Inventory Offering Lists and the Nomenclature for Boxes and Chests of the Old Kingdom,” in E. Teeter and J. Larson, eds., *Gold of Praise: Studies on Ancient Egypt in Honor of Edward F. Wente* (Chicago, 1999), pp. 43–45.

⁷ *Ibid.*, pp. 38–39.

⁸ *Ibid.*, pp. 32–38.

⁹ Cf. Hannig, *Großes Handwörterbuch Ägyptisch-Deutsch*, p. 917. For “vessels of *tiaat*-stone,” cf. Leprohon, *Stelae* 1, CAA Boston 2 (Mainz am Rhein, 1985), p. 60 with references to Hassan, Barta, Harris, and Meeks. On the stone in general see R.S. Bianchi, “Porphyry,” *LÄ* 4, cols. 1071–73, and in P.T. Nicholson and I. Shaw, eds., *Ancient Egyptian Materials and Technology* (Cambridge, 2000), esp. pp. 48–49.

¹⁰ *Wb* 2, p. 272.3; Hannig, *Großes Handwörterbuch Ägyptisch-Deutsch*, p. 415 (“Topf, Krug”); Junker, *Giza* 1, p. 259 (“roter Granit”); Leprohon, *Stelae* 1, p. 59 (“pots of white quartzite”); Harris, *Lex. Stud.*, pp. 88–89 (“white quartzite”).



Fig. 99. The Seshat-sekhentiu stela from g 2120, restored, with two fragments photographically montaged. MFA Visual Archives, c 8402

Section d:

[*idmy*...] *szf* *h₃* [...] [*h₃* ...] *h₃* [...] *h₃* [...] *h₃* [...] *h₃* *h₃*
 “[*idemy*-linen ...]¹¹ a thousand of width *sezeff*(?),¹² a thousand
 [...], [...], a thousand [...], a thousand [...], a thousand [...],
 a thousand [...]”

šsr *szf* *h₃*, *diw* *h₃*, *ifdw* *h₃*, *hmtw* *h₃*, *hmtw* *h₃*, *snwi* *h₃*, *w^c* *h₃*
 “*šesher*-linen, a thousand of width *sezeff*(?), a thousand of 4 (cubits
 wide), a thousand of 4 (cubits wide), a thousand of 3 (cubits
 wide), a thousand of 3 (cubits wide), a thousand of 2 (cubits
 wide), a thousand of 1 (cubit wide)”

šm^t-nfrt *szf* *h₃*, *diw* *h₃*, *ifdw* *h₃*, *ifdw* *h₃*, *hmtw* *h₃*, *snwi* *h₃*, *w^c* *h₃*
 “fine linen, a thousand of width *sezeff*(?), a thousand of 5
 (cubits wide), a thousand of 4 (cubits wide), a thousand of 4
 (cubits wide), a thousand of 3 (cubits wide), a thousand of 2
 (cubits wide), a thousand of 1 (cubit wide)”

š *szf* *h₃*, *diw* [*h₃*], *ifdw* [*h₃*], *ifdw* *h₃*, *hmtw* *h₃*, *snwi* *h₃*, *w^c* *h₃*

“*aa*-linen, a thousand of width *sezeff*(?), a thousand of 5 (cubits
 wide), a thousand of 4 (cubits wide), a thousand of 4 (cubits
 wide), a thousand of 3 (cubits wide), a thousand of 2 (cubits
 wide), a thousand of 2 (cubits wide), a thousand of 1 (cubit
 wide)”

[...] *it-Mhw* *bd* *zwt* [...]

[...] ¹³ Lower Egyptian barley, emmer, barley [...]¹⁴

Description and commentary: Some confusion arose among
 the original Expedition members as to the provenance of this
 stela, and one often finds the tomb numbers g 2120 and g 2130
 standing in for one another in various unpublished manuscripts.
 On January 5, 1932, Dows Dunham in Boston wrote to William
 Stevenson Smith at Giza concerning the stela, noting that he
 failed to find provenance information or mention of the piece in
 the division lists, most likely due to its fragmentary nature

(fig. 101). Dunham tried to reconstruct the area just above the
 tomb-owner’s head. Smith has later written at the top of this
 letter, “The emplacement is 38 x 58 cm. WSS.” But this cannot
 be accurate, for the stela itself measures almost 80 cm in width
 alone; our own measurements of the emplacement produced a
 width of 81 cm. In fact, Smith’s are the measurements for the
 empty emplacement in g 2100. Smith was misled by the discov-
 ery of the lower left fragment of the Seshat-sekhentiu stela,
 containing the lion-legged stool and legs of the tomb-owner
 (fig. 102), on the *west* side of g 2120, near g 2100, hence his con-
 cern with the measurements of that tomb’s empty emplacement.
 In his article on the linen lists, published in 1935, he notes the
 fragment as if it actually derived from the emplacement of
 g 2100, instead of from g 2120.¹⁵ By the time of the publication
 of *Giza Necropolis*1 in 1942, the fragment had been correctly
 reassigned to g 2120, and Reisner’s publication noted that “two
 large fragments were found in debris east of the foundation plat-
 form of the stone chapel.”¹⁶ The photograph in pl. 39a of that
 publication shows the lower left fragment restored in place with
 the rest of the stela. Most of the fragments were set in a rectangu-
 lar slab of cement or plaster, but the two best-preserved frag-
 ments, which were discovered in 1938, after this reconstruction,
 have been added to the image in an early example of photograph-
 ic compositing (fig. 99). They are clearly distinguishable by their
 much darker color; it should also be noted that they show the
 most intricate and minutely detailed carving of the entire object.¹⁷
 The stela remains in this condition (in three separate pieces) in
 the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, as of this writing.¹⁸

¹¹ On the choice of transliteration *idmy* instead of *itiwy*, see below, Chapter 4,
 discussion of Section d (linen lists).

¹² For an alternative reading, arguing for a redundant *s* at the beginning of
 the word, cf. J. Kahl, *Das System der ägyptischen Hieroglyphenschrift in der*
0.-3. Dynastie (Wiesbaden, 1994), pp. 66–70 (*szf*: “Stoff mit bekannten
 Abmessungen”). See also P. Posener-Kriéger, “Les mesures des étoffes à
 l’ancien empire,” *RdE* 29 (1977), p. 94, and Junker, *Giza* 1, p. 31. Note also
 that each of the four occurrences of *szf* contains two *h₃* signs beneath that
 seem otherwise unassigned.

¹³ Possibly once *it-šm^cw*, “Upper Egyptian barley;” compare the stela grana-
 ries of Setji-hekenet (g 1227), Meretites (g 4140), Iunu (g 4150), and the
 anonymous g 4860.

¹⁴ The traces preserve a tall vertical sign; if this is the *b*-foot for *bš*-fruit, the
 sign should perhaps be further to the left; see D. Faltings, “*bš* und *zwt*—
 zwei ungeklärte Begriffe der Getreidewirtschaft im AR,” *GM* 148 (1995),
 pp. 35–44.

¹⁵ W.S. Smith, “The Linen Lists of the Old Kingdom,” *ZAS* 71 (1935), p. 135,
 no. 35.

¹⁶ Reisner, *Giza Necropolis* 1, p. 427.

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, pl. 39a, and commentary on p. 428.

¹⁸ It should be noted that minor discrepancies and misalignments of this now
 seven- or eight-decades-old reconstruction have been adjusted in my
 epigraphic drawing throughout this publication.

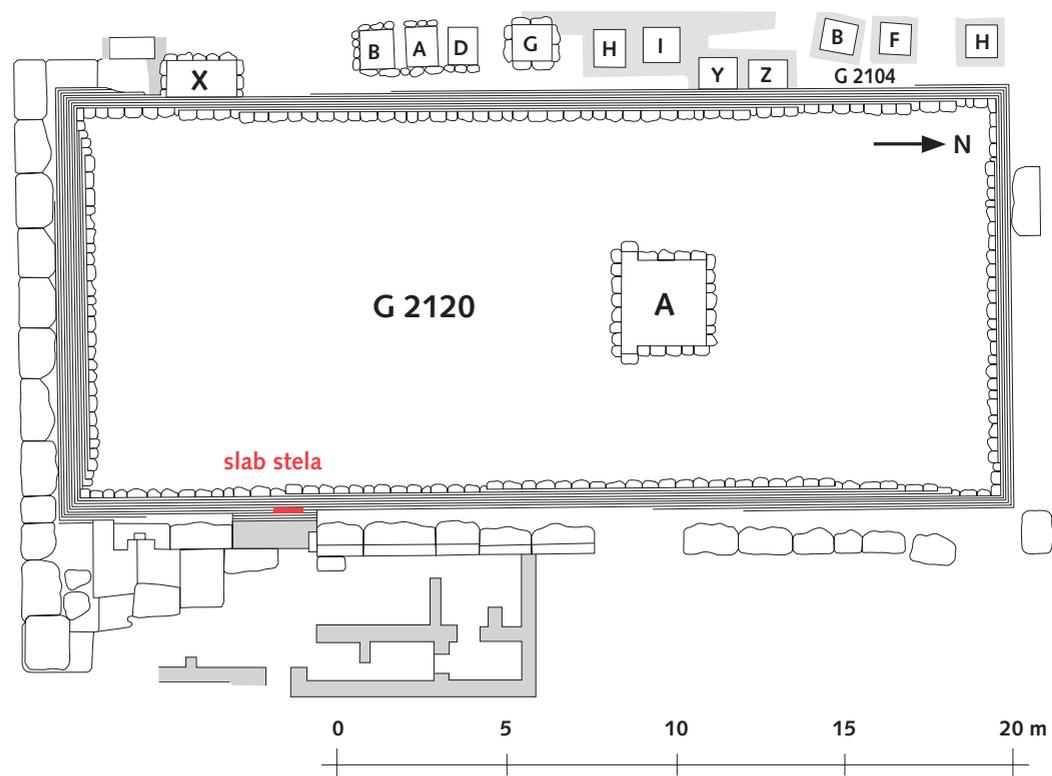


Fig. 100. Plan of the mastaba of Seshat-sekhentiu, g 2120, after Reisner, *Giza Necropolis* 1, Map 5. Drawing by Ruth Bigio

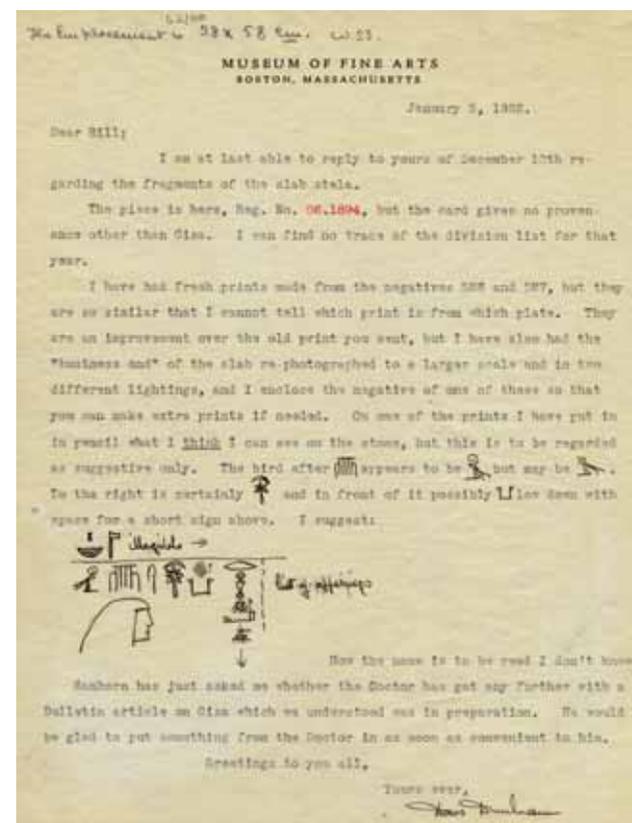


Fig. 101. Letter from Dows Dunham in Boston to William Stevenson Smith at Giza, concerning the reconstruction of the name and titles of Seshat-sekhentiu. January 5, 1932. Museum of Fine Arts, Boston



Fig. 102. Lower left fragment of the stela of Seshat-sekhentiu, MFA 33-2-187 (= MFA 06.1894). March 22, 1933. HU-MFA Expedition photograph, Dahi Ahmed, c 13410

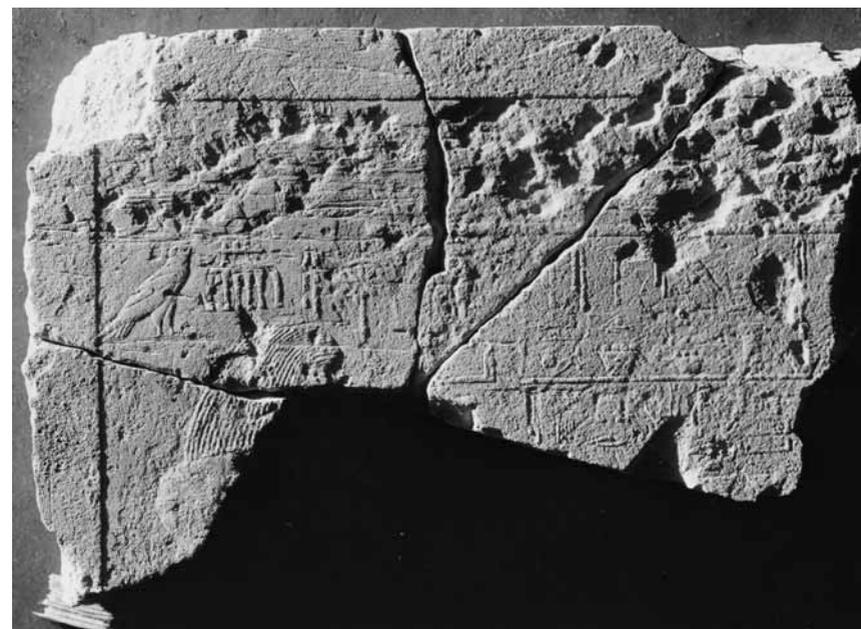


Fig. 103. Fragments of the upper left portion of the stela of Seshat-sekhentiu (MFA 06.1894). MFA Visual Archives, c 6261



Fig. 104. Fragments of the stela of Seshat-sekhentiu (MFA 06.1894). 1906. HU-MFA Expedition photograph, Albert M. Lythgoe, a 527



Fig. 105. Two additional fragments, discovered in 1938, from the stela of Seshat-sekhentiu (MFA 38-3-2, and 38-3-3 = MFA 06.1894). March 14, 1938. HU-MFA Expedition photograph, Mohammedani Ibrahim, c 14141



Fig. 106. Two fragments of inscribed red granite drum from g 2120. May 14, 1939. HU-MFA Expedition photograph, Mohammedani Ibrahim, c 14340a

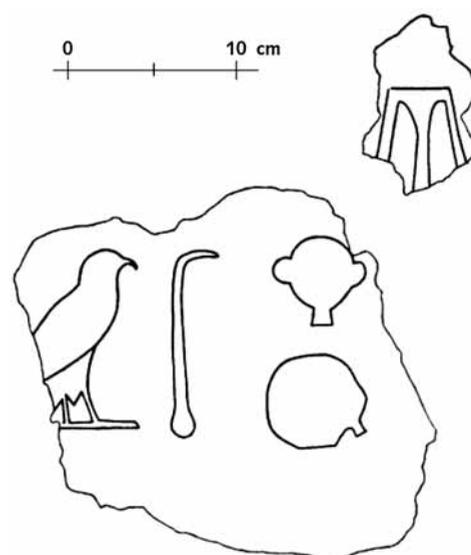


Fig. 107. Two fragments of inscribed red granite drum from g 2120, after Reisner, *Giza Necropolis* 1, p. 427, fig. 246

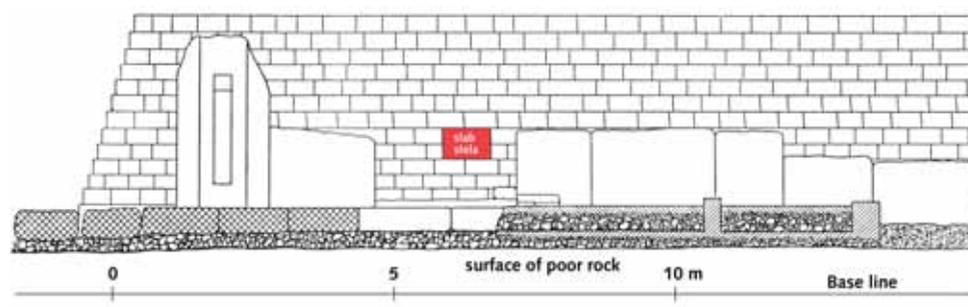


Fig. 108. Section of the chapel area of g 2120, looking west, showing the locations of the slab stela and subsequent limestone false door, after Reisner, *Giza Necropolis* 1, p. 424, fig. 243

Although most of the fragments were discovered in 1905–1906 (figs. 103–105), during Lythgoe's original clearance of Cemetery 2100, three other pieces turned up subsequently. Reisner wrote to Drioton on March 14, 1938 with the following explanation in requesting permission to export additional fragments to Boston via the expedition artist Joseph Lindon Smith:

Two fragments of a slab stela broken and scattered: in 1905–6, large fragments were found and assigned to the Boston Museum of Fine Arts: in 1933 another fragment was found in another place and assigned to the Boston M.F.A. [fig. 102]: the two new fragments were found in re-examining the foundation of the chapel of g 2120 March 6, 1938 [fig. 105]:

(a) White limestone in relief: 21 x 18 cm

(b) 23 x 10 cm

These fragments fit on the photographs made in the Boston Museum of the fragments found in 1905–6 and 1933. For fragments now in Boston Museum, see Division List of 1906. See Division List 1933: pl. 6 f.

The mud-brick chapel area of g 2120 was replaced by a more elaborate stone chapel and partial completion of limestone casing blocks. Only scant traces of the underlying chapel survive, but a secondary series of mud-brick rooms was added slightly further to the north. The slab stela emplacement would have been walled up behind a series of large casing blocks, as the cult focus shifted to a monolithic false door further to the south along the east wall.

Like the stelae of Setji-hekenet (g 1227) and Meretites (g 4140), Seshat-sekhentiu's stela has suffered intentional damage. Unlike the two former stelae, whose inscriptions have been chiseled away in specific areas, the present stela was smashed into at least fourteen fragments. These fragments were subsequently either strewn all around the mastaba or became displaced in the course of later intrusive shaft construction, followed by millennia of plundering, sanding up and reburial of the cemetery. Among the areas permanently lost are Seshat-sekhentiu's face, and the number and layout of the *idmy* falcons at the top of the linen list. The remainder of the list suggests, however, that the falcons were placed at the very top of the decorated surface, not underneath the horizontal band of identifying inscriptions (Section a).

Willful erasure has obliterated Seshat-sekhentiu's administrative titles in this band of text, and his barely discernible name survives only because it was carved in a second line, just above Seshat-sekhentiu's head. In fact, if the point of the intentional damage was indeed to obliterate Seshat-sekhentiu's



Fig. 109. Chapel of g 2120, looking southwest. March 19, 1938. HU–MFA Expedition photograph, Mohammedani Ibrahim, a 7992



Fig. 110. Chapel of g 2120, looking west. November 20, 1993. PDM, 93.104.19



Fig. 111. Chapel of g 2120, profile view of false door, looking south. November 20, 1993. PDM, 93.104.17



Fig. 112. Chapel of g 2120, looking downward (east) from top of mastaba. November 20, 1993. PDM, 93.104.18

memory, then one has to question the literacy of the agent involved. If illiterate, he must have been told that the top line of each stela contained the name and titles, and was unaware that in this case the personal name was inscribed in a second line, just above the tomb-owner's head.¹⁹ Other motivations for the erasure could include post-pharaonic vandalism, or the attempt to destroy the Horus falcons at the top of the linen list, as was done to the stelae of Setji-hekenet (g 1227) and Meretites (g 4140). Unfortunately, the fragment containing the falcons has not survived, and so it cannot be determined if they were intentionally destroyed or not. Erasures seem to be limited in the Giza group to the three stelae mentioned here (from g 1227, g 2120, and g 4140).

Fragments of a red granite false door drum were found in the debris of the mud-brick exterior chapel east of the slab stela emplacement. These preserve additional traces of the tomb-owner's name and titles (*hry-[hbt] hry-tp*) (figs. 106–107).²⁰

Seshat-sekhentiu's stela is one of five preserved "long-form" stelae, only two of which are preserved complete (Wepemnefret, g 1201, and Meretites, g 4140). The greatest affinities are with the stelae of Kaninisut(?) (g 2155) and Meretites (g 4140), primarily in the addition of the furniture lists to the expanded area between the offering table and the linen list.²¹ Reisner believed that no other slab stela was as large as that of Seshat-sekhentiu.²² He did not take into account, however, some of the fragmentary stelae that, when restored, would surpass Seshat-sekhentiu in size. The largest stela comes from g 4860 (see below, stela 15).

Seshat-sekhentiu sits on a lion-legged stool (the only one preserved in the long-form group) with a large, elaborate papyrus umbel terminal and a flaring seat cushion protruding behind. Enough of his figure survives to show his hands in the traditional arrangement, right hand extended towards the offering table, left hand grasping the shoulder knot. However, his long, striated wig falling to his shoulder is only one of two preserved examples for the male stela owners, the other being on the Wepemnefret stela (g 1201). Despite the damage to the offering table, it is clear that the table stand extends all the way up to the table's top, which must have held ten half-loaves, arranged symmetrically five to a side. The linen list shows a complexity not found in the other slab stelae. Each linen section is separated by compartments for type plus the word *szf*, then the *mnbt* signs, and finally the amounts (*h*). Four out of five granaries are preserved at the bottom, although the products on only three can be read with certainty.²³ At the top of the



Fig. 113. Emplacement in g 2120 after removal of slab stela, looking west. March 19, 1938. HU–MFA Expedition photograph, Mohammedani Ibrahim, b 8956



Fig. 114. Empty emplacement from g 2120, looking west. November 20, 1993. PDM, 93.104.12

¹⁹ On the literacy of iconoclastic agents in Egypt, see "Semi-literacy in Ancient Egypt: Some examples from the Amarna Period," in E. Teeter and J. Larson, eds., *Gold of Praise: Studies on Ancient Egypt in Honor of Edward F. Wente* (Chicago, 1999), pp. 285–98.

²⁰ Cf. Reisner, *Giza Necropolis* 1, p. 427, fig. 246, and p. 428 with speculation on the original location of the granite drum.

²¹ On furniture lists, with specific reference to this stela, see E. Brovanski, "Inventory Offering Lists and the Nomenclature for Boxes and Chests of the Old Kingdom," in E. Teeter and J. Larson, eds., *Gold of Praise: Studies on Ancient Egypt in Honor of Edward F. Wente* (Chicago, 1999), pp. 27–53, and idem, "An Inventory List from 'Covington's Tomb' and Nomenclature for Furniture in the Old Kingdom," in P. Der Manuelian, ed., *Studies in Honor of William Kelly Simpson* 1 (Boston, 1996), pp. 117–55.

²² Reisner, *Giza Necropolis* 1, p. 428.

²³ The other slab stelae containing granaries belong to Setji-hekenet (g 1227), Meretites (g 4140), Iunu (g 4150), and the anonymous g 4860.

list, I would reconstruct four *idmy* falcons, but this number is based solely on proportional estimations.

Date: Of critical importance to the dating of the mastaba was Lythgoe's discovery of a red-painted graffito with the date *rnpt-ḥsbt 12, 2 šmw...*, "year of the twelfth occurrence, second month of *shemu*," on the face of the large casing block just north of the monolithic false door (figs. 115–16). Assuming the biennial cattle count was still in effect in the early Fourth Dynasty, this would indicate year 23 of Khufu.²⁴ It is more difficult to assess the interval between construction of the mastaba core, the multiple alterations to the chapel, and the actual installation of the slab stela. Some have chosen to date the slab stela to the reign of Khafre.²⁵ However, as this graffito appears on a secondary element, the limestone block of the stone chapel that replaced the original mud-brick building, we may be fairly certain that the slab stela, walled up behind this block, predates Khufu's twenty-third year.²⁶ Taking recent arguments by P. Jánosi against completion of Western Cemetery mastabas as early as the first five years of Khufu's reign,²⁷ we may posit the installation of Seshat-sekhentiu's slab stela somewhere between years 15–22 of Khufu.

²⁴ Reisner, *Giza Necropolis* 1, p. 427; W.S. Smith, "Inscriptional Evidence for the History of the Fourth Dynasty," *JNES* 11 (1952), pp. 118, fig. 6, and 127 [3]. For more recent remarks, cf. A. Spalinger, "Dated Texts of the Old Kingdom," *SAK* 21 (1994), p. 285, no. 9.

²⁵ See, for example, N. Strudwick, *The Administration of Egypt in the Old Kingdom* (London, 1985), pp. 37–38.

²⁶ Jánosi, *Giza in der 4. Dynastie* (Vienna, forthcoming), § 2.6.2.

²⁷ *Ibid.*



Fig. 115. Graffito on monolithic block from chapel of g 2120, looking west. December 23, 1938. HU–MFA Expedition photograph, Mohammedani Ibrahim, b 9007



Fig. 116. Graffito inscription (in reversed orientation from that of fig. 115), after Smith, *JNES* 11 (1952), p. 118, fig. 6

Slab Stela 10 (pls. 19–20)

Owner: Anonymous (gender uncertain)

Provenance: Cemetery 2100: g 2135 (= VIIInn = g 4770)

Excavation history: German–Austrian Expedition under H. Junker, 1912–13; found in the debris east of the chapel area of g 2135

Current location: Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna, Inv. ÄS 7799

Material: Limestone; raised relief carving

Measurements: h. 24 cm; w. 27 cm; th. 8 cm¹

Selected bibliography: PM III, p. 75, Junker, *Giza* 1, pp. 229–30, fig. 53b, pl. 37b; R. Hözl, *Corpus Antiquitatum Aegyptiacarum*, Kunsthistorisches Museum, Wien, Lieferung 22, *Reliefs und Inschriftensteine des Alten Reiches* III, forthcoming

Translation

Section a:

[...]

Section b:

[...]

Section c:

[...], *msdmt*, [*wsd?*], *hstt mrht*, *irp*, *išd*, *nbs*

“[...] black eye-paint, [green eye-paint?], best ointment, wine, persea fruit, zizyphus”

Section d:

idmy 4 *h*₃, 3 *h*₃, 2 *h*₃, 1 *h*₃

“*idemy*-linen:² a thousand of 4 (cubits wide), a thousand of 3 (cubits wide), a thousand of 2 (cubits wide), a thousand of 1 (cubit wide)”

šsr *h* *h*₃, *št* *h*₃, *psdiw* *h*₃, *hmnw* *h*₃, *sfhiw* *h*₃, *sisiw* *h*₃

“*šsher*-linen: a thousand of width *h*₃,³ a thousand of 100 (cubits wide), a thousand of 90 (cubits wide),⁴ a thousand of 80 (cubits wide), a thousand of 70 (cubits wide), a thousand of 60 (cubits wide)”

Šmrt-nfrt *št* [...], [*psdiw?*], [...]

“fine linen: a thousand of 100 (cubits wide), a thousand of [90? (cubits wide)], [...]

[? ...]

“[aa-linen...]”

Description and commentary: Only the upper right-hand corner of this piece survives. Junker was unable to determine

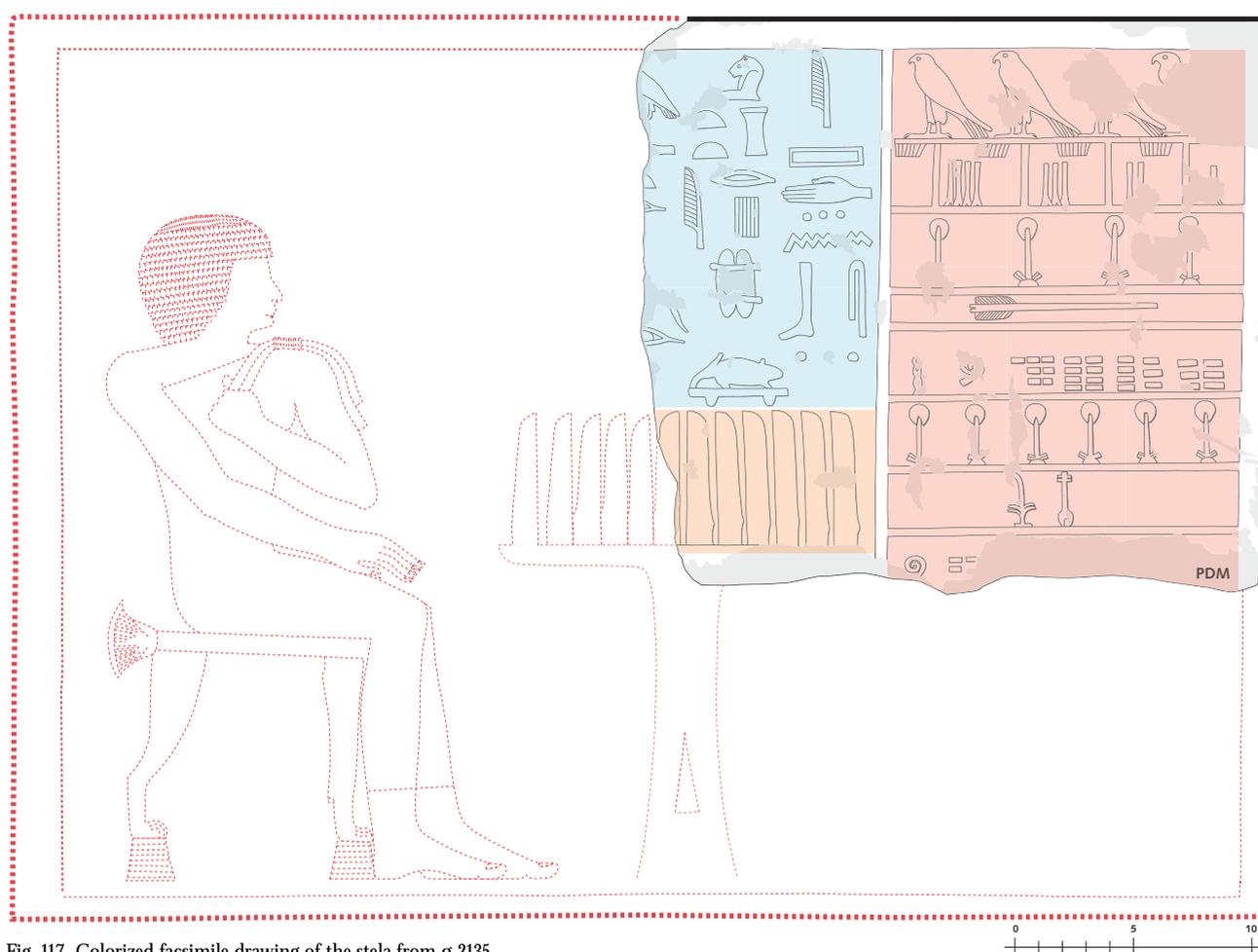


Fig. 117. Colorized facsimile drawing of the stela from g 2135

either the exact findspot for the fragment, or the emplacement area in the mastaba core wall. Recent examination of the tomb has only revealed that the area has since deteriorated further. The mud-brick chapel probably contained five chambers,

with the north–south offering room possibly divided by short walls protruding east from the mastaba core (figs. 119–120).

Extrapolating from the single fragment allows us to reconstruct a short-form stela that bears much in common

¹ I am grateful to R. Hözl of the Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna, for providing these corrected measurements, improving on those published by Junker, *Giza* 1, p. 229.

² On the choice of transliteration *idmy* instead of *itiwy*, see below, Chapter 4, discussion of Section d (linen lists).

³ This word is written *ht* on the Helwan stela from tomb 247; cf. Z. Saad, *Ceiling Stelae in Second Dynasty Tombs from the Excavations at Helwan*, *ASAE* Supplement, Cahier 21 (Cairo, 1957), pl. 30; J. Kahl, N. Kloth, and U. Zimmermann, *Die Inschriften der 3. Dynastie* (Wiesbaden, 1995), p. 175 (d); however, it never appears with a *t* on any of the Giza slab stelae. The value is most likely more than 100 or 200, but less than 1,000; cf. P. Posener-Kriéger, “Les mesures des étoffes à l’ancien empire,” *RdE* 29 (1977), pp. 93–94.

⁴ Or possibly 90 cubits square? On the difference between vertical and horizontal linen units of measure, see below, Chapters 3 and 4, based on P. Posener-Kriéger, “Les mesures des étoffes à l’ancien empire,” pp. 86–96; Kahl, Kloth, Zimmermann, *Die Inschriften der 3. Dynastie*, p. 175ff.; E. Edel, “Eine althieratische Liste von Grabbeigaben aus einem Grab des späten Alten Reiches der Qubbet el-Hawa bei Assuan,” *NAWG* 6 (1987), pp. 98, 104. On the large numbers, G. Vogelsang-Eastwood, “Textiles,” in P.T. Nicholson and I. Shaw, eds., *Ancient Egyptian Materials and Technology* (Cambridge, 2000), p. 295, notes that 845 square meters of cloth were found in the Middle Kingdom tomb of Meket-re at Thebes (H.E. Winlock, “The Mummy of Wah unwrapped,” *BMA* 35 [1940], p. 257), and Tutankhamen’s tomb produced 400 items of clothing.

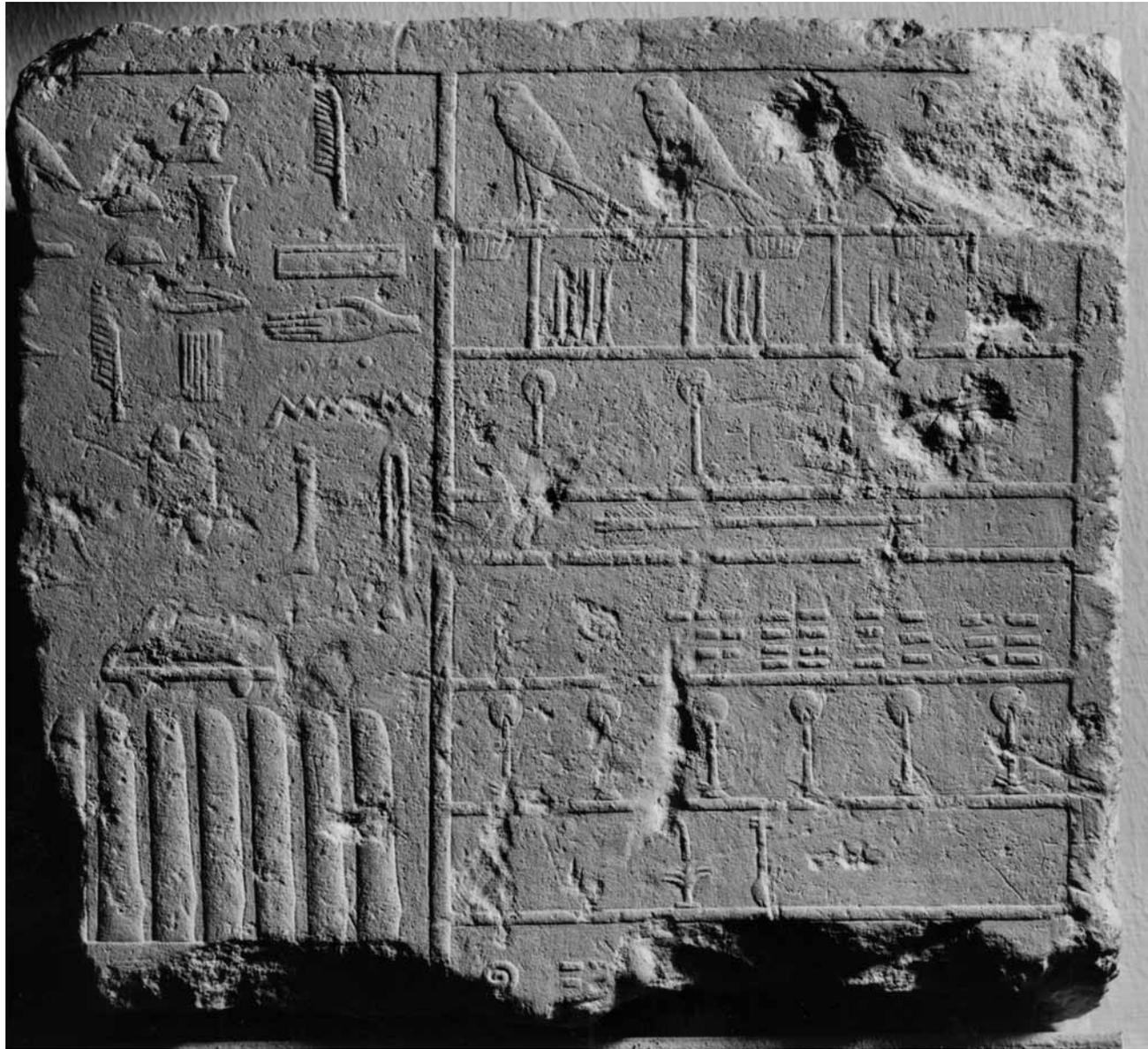


Fig. 118. The stela from g 2135. Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna, III 26.116

with the stelae from Cemetery 1200. The linen list, containing four *idmy* falcons (Section d), reached to the top of the decoration. The offerings of Section c are arranged just to the left of the list in vertical columns without any vertical dividing lines. This means that the identifying inscription (Section a) was a short one, possibly restricted to the area just above the head of the deceased, as with the stelae of Khufu-nakht

(g 1205), Nefer (g 1207), and Nefret-iabet (g 1225). Oddly enough, however, each of these stelae utilizes some sort of dividing lines, either vertical or horizontal, to separate the offerings; those stelae that do not separate the offerings with lines tend to surmount them with a longer horizontal band of text with the identifying inscription (Section a). The present fragment, then, seems to combine elements from both traditions.

The linen list falcons hover just above the *mnht* signs in an arrangement paralleled only on the stelae of Kanefer from g 1203 and on the anonymous stela from g 4860, although in the latter case the *mnht* signs appear in front of each (reversed) falcon rather than behind. A final element that recalls the examples from Cemetery 1200 is the absence of vertical dividers in the width and amount designations (*bs*) of the linen list. Parallels here include Wepemnefret (g 1201), Kanefer (g 1202), and Khufu-nakht (g 1205).⁵ Nothing remains of the funerary repast (Section b) except for six left-facing and one right-facing half-loaves of bread.

Date: Junker believed that g 2135 dates to the reign of Shepseskaf, but Jánosi has shown that there is no reason to posit such a late Dynasty 4 date for the tomb.⁶ The absence of vertical separators in the linen list (Section d), and the tall, but still flaring, shape to the offering loaves in the table scene (Section c), all speak for an early date in the dynasty. As one of the earlier of two groups of Cemetery 2100 mastabas, g 2135, along with its companion tombs likewise (once) containing slab stelae (g 2100, Sedit[?], mother of Merib, and g 2120 Seshat-sekhentiu, stela 9 above) should be placed in the early to mid-reign of Khufu, perhaps into his second decade.

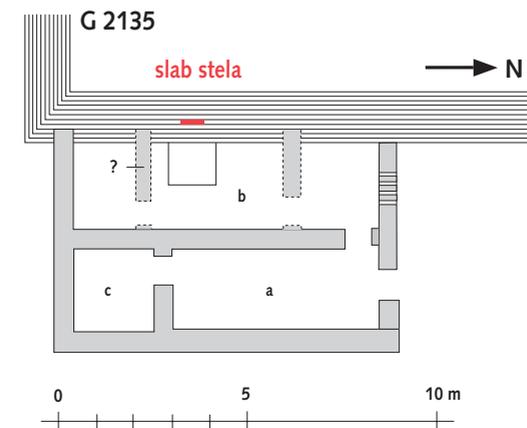


Fig. 119. Plan of the chapel of g 2135, after P. Jánosi. Drawing by Liza Majerus

⁵ The stela of Nefret-iabet (g 1225) corrected this arrangement with the addition of vertical separators between the *bs* signs in red and yellow paint.

⁶ Junker, *Giza* 1, pp. 11–12, 14; P. Jánosi, *Giza in der 4. Dynastie* (Vienna, forthcoming), §§ 2.3.4(d), 2.4.1. Cf. also Reisner, *Giza Necropolis* 1, pp. 112, 435–436.

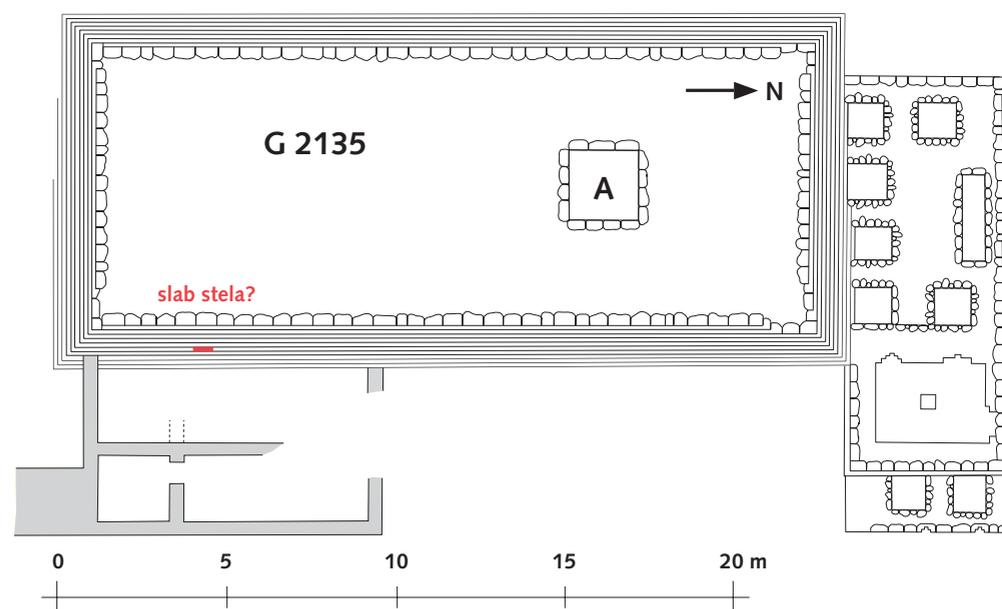


Fig. 120. Plan of the mastaba g 2135, after Reisner, *Giza Necropolis* 1, Map 5. Drawing by Ruth Bigio



Fig. 121. Chapel area of g 2135, looking west. November 20, 1993. PDM, 93.103.8



Fig. 122. Street and chapel area east of g 2135, looking south (= Junker, *Giza* 1, pl. 37a). Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna, I 5.284



Fig. 123. Street and chapel area east of g 2135, looking south. November 21, 1993. PDM, 93.103.07

Slab Stela 11 (pls. 21–22)

Owner: *K3-n-nswt*, Kaninisut(?)¹ (𓂏𓏏)

Provenance: Cemetery 2100: g 2155(?) (= VIIIInn = g 4870); see below, descriptions and commentary

Excavation history: German–Austrian Expedition under H. Junker, 1912–13 (actual chapel of g 2155, Kaninisut, was discovered on June 10, 1913,² during Junker’s second campaign, and purchased on January 27, 1914 from the Egyptian Antiquities Service)

Current location: Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna, Inv. ÄS 7447

Material: Limestone; raised relief carving

Measurements: h. 52 cm; w. 53 cm (as restored: c. 80 cm); th. 10 cm

Selected bibliography: Junker, *Giza* 1, pp. 258–59, 230, fig. 53c, pl. 29b; R. Hölzl, *Reliefs und Inschriftensteine des Alten Reiches* III, CAA Kunsthistorisches Museum, Wien, Lieferung 22, forthcoming; E. Brovarski, in P. Manuelian, ed., *Studies in Honor of William Kelly Simpson* 1 (Boston, 1996), pp. 128 (item no. 13, incorrectly citing Junker, *Giza* 1, pl. 37b instead of pl. 29b); idem, in E. Teeter and J. Larson, eds., *Gold of Praise: Studies on Ancient Egypt in Honor of Edward F. Wente*, SAOC 58 (Chicago, 1999), esp. pp. 2, n. 2 (item no. 13, incorrectly assigned to mastaba VIIInn = g 4770, and incorrectly citing Junker, *Giza* 1, pl. 37b instead of pl. 29b), 32–39, 41 (table 4.1, item no. 13)

Translation

Section a:

[...]

Section b:

(1) [mnhꜥ ꜥꜣ ꜥꜣꜣ] (2) t ꜥꜣ, hꜥkꜥt ꜥꜣ, [hꜥt nb] nfr rnpw nb

(1) “[a thousand pieces of cloth, a thousand alabas]ter³ [vessels], (2) a thousand loaves of bread, a thousand jars of beer, and everything good and all kinds of vegetables”⁴

Section c:

(3) [...] ꜥꜣ, [...] ꜥꜣ, [...] ꜥꜣ, [...] ꜥꜣ, [...] ꜥꜣ, [...] ꜥꜣ, [...] ꜥꜣ

(3) “a thousand [...] [a thousand ...] a thousand [...] a thousand [...] a thousand [...] [a thousand ...] [a thousand ...] [a thousand ...]”

(4) iꜣ ꜥꜣ ꜥꜣ, iꜣ mꜣst ꜥꜣ, ꜣtt ꜥꜣ, wrꜣ ꜥꜣ, dꜣsr ꜥꜣ, hꜣꜣ-hꜣt ꜥꜣ, hn ꜥꜣ

(4) “a thousand leopard-skin mantles,⁵ a thousand mantles of wild cow skin,⁶ a thousand beds,⁷ a thousand headrests,⁸ a thousand caskets,⁹ a thousand boxes,¹⁰ a thousand chests”¹¹

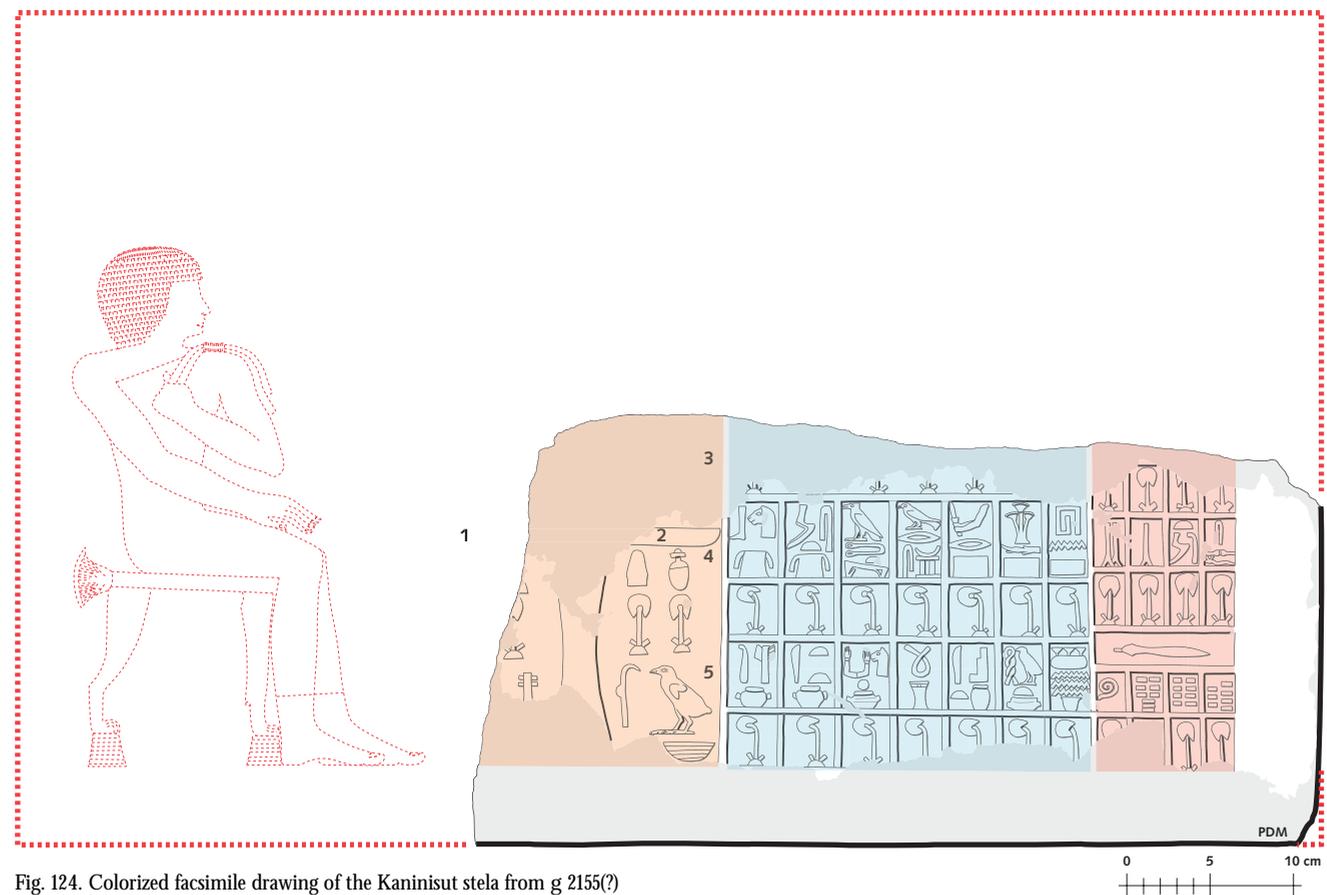


Fig. 124. Colorized facsimile drawing of the Kaninisut stela from g 2155(?)

(5) tꜣst ꜥꜣ, nmꜣt ꜥꜣ, kꜣ ꜥꜣ, ꜣꜣ ꜥꜣ, nmꜣst ꜥꜣ, whꜣt ꜥꜣ, ꜣꜣmw ꜥꜣ

(5) “a thousand lug-handled porphyry vessels,¹² a thousand lug-handled white quartzite vessels,¹³ a thousand lug-handled vessels of ka-stone,¹⁴ a thousand alabaster (cylinder) vessels, a thousand nem-set-vessels, a thousand cooking pots,¹⁵ a thousand shamubasins”¹⁶

¹ Ranke, *PN* 1, p. 340.9, “mein ka ist der des Königs.” Ranke, *ibid.*, p. 340 n. 3, cites Sethe, “Miscellen,” *ZÄS* 42 (1905), p. 143 for the reading of Kagemni’s and similar names.

² Junker, *Vorbericht* 1913, p. 188.

³ Junker, *Giza* 1, p. 258, assumes that the ꜣ sign is upside down, ꜣ for ꜣ. It is perhaps more likely that the tiny corner preserved is a different sign altogether.

⁴ Following Junker’s restoration, *Giza* 1, p. 258, and based on a similar phrase on the false door panel of Wenshet, *ibid.*, pp. 252, fig. 63, 253.

⁵ Cf. Junker, *Giza* 1, p. 258; W.S. Smith, “The Coffin of Prince Min-khaf,” *JEA* 19 (1933), pp. 155–57; W.K. Simpson, *The Mastabas of Kawab, Khaf-khufu I and II*, Giza Mastabas 3 (Boston, 1978), p. 14, n. 27, fig. 30, iꜣ ꜥꜣ ꜣꜣmꜣ.

⁶ See Junker, *Giza* 1, p. 258; Smith, *JEA* 19 (1933), pp. 155–57; E. Brovarski, “An Inventory List from ‘Covington’s Tomb’ and Nomenclature for Furniture in the Old Kingdom,” in P. Der Manuelian, ed., *Studies in Honor of William*

Kelly Simpson 1 (Boston, 1996), p. 122.

⁷ Cf. Junker, *Giza* 1, p. 258, n. 1; Brovarski, *Studies in Honor of William Kelly Simpson* 1, pp. 130–33, 155 (item no. 13).

⁸ Brovarski, *Studies in Honor of William Kelly Simpson* 1, pp. 133–34, 155 (item no. 13); Junker, *Giza* 1, p. 258, n. 2.

⁹ Cf. E. Brovarski, “Inventory Offering Lists and Nomenclature for Boxes and Chests in the Old Kingdom,” in E. Teeter and J. Larson, eds., *Gold of Praise: Studies on Ancient Egypt in Honor of Edward F. Wente* (Chicago, 1999), pp. 43–45, 49 (item no. 13); Junker, *Giza* 1, p. 259, n. 1.

¹⁰ Brovarski, in *Gold of Praise*, pp. 38–39, 49 (item no. 13).

¹¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 32–38, 49 (item no. 13).

¹² Cf. R. Hannig, *Großes Handwörterbuch Ägyptisch–Deutsch* (Mainz am Rhein, 1995), p. 917. For “vessels of tꜣꜣꜣ-stone” cf. R.J. Leprohon, *Stelae* 1, CAA Boston 2 (Mainz am Rhein, 1985), p. 60 with references to Hassan, Barta, Harris and Meeks. On the stone in general see R.S. Bianchi, “Porphyre,” *LÄ* 4, cols. 1071–73, and in P.T. Nicholson and I. Shaw, eds., *Ancient Egyptian Materials and Technology* (Cambridge, 2000), esp. pp. 48–49.

¹³ *Wb.* 2, p. 272.3; Hannig, *Großes Handwörterbuch Ägyptisch–Deutsch*, p. 415 (“Topf, Krug”); Junker, *Giza* 1, p. 259 (“roter Granit?”); Leprohon, *Stelae* 1, p. 59 (“pots of white quartzite”); Harris, *Lex. Stud.*, pp. 88–89 (“white quartzite”).

¹⁴ *Wb.* 5, p. 93.10; Hannig, *Großes Handwörterbuch Ägyptisch–Deutsch*, p. 873.

¹⁵ Faulkner, *CDME*, p. 66 (“cauldron”); Hannig, *Großes Handwörterbuch Ägyptisch–Deutsch*, p. 209 (“Kochkessel”).

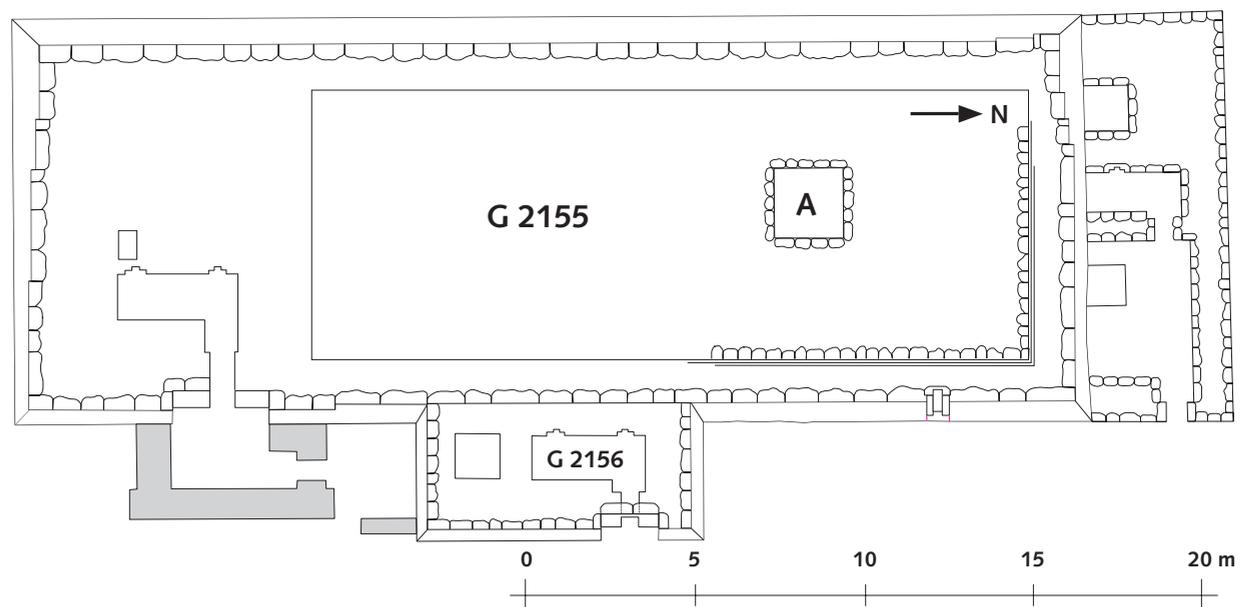


Fig. 126. Plan of the mastaba of Kaninisut, g 2155, after Reisner, *Giza Necropolis*1, Map 5. Drawing by Ruth Bigio



Fig. 127. Chapel area of g 2155, reburied, looking west. November 20, 1993. PDM, 93.96.36



Fig. 128. Chapel of Kaninisut II, built onto the center of the east wall of g 2155, looking west. November 20, 1993. PDM, 93.96.33

If true, this most intriguing revelation may serve to rewrite the history of the tomb of Kaninisut (g 2155), whose magnificently decorated chapel is on display in the Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna (ÄS 8006).²⁵ The mastaba would have held an emplacement for the slab stela, and then received the most elaborate and complete expansion of any tomb in the group of tombs under discussion. An annex was appended to the southern end of the core mastaba, and the new limestone chapel was broken into the interior of the superstructure. At a later time, the small mastaba of Kaninisut II was added to the eastern side of g 2155, utilizing the east wall of the larger tomb as the decorated west wall of the smaller one (fig. 128).²⁶ All of this subsequent construction activity has obscured the area of the southern end of the core mastaba's east wall. The result is our present inability to determine any emplacement or former existence of a slab stela. The situation is similar to that of Nefer (g 2110), whose exterior stone chapel has covered what might once have been a slab stela emplacement.²⁷

In terms of the decoration of the slab stela fragment itself, there is probably little use in a stylistic comparison with Kaninisut's chapel, for the two monuments must be quite separated chronologically. If our fragment belongs with the rest of the stelae in our corpus, it should date to the reign of Khufu, whereas Kaninisut's chapel in Vienna is traditionally dated to early Dynasty 5.²⁸ There are a number of possible scenarios, once again assuming that we have the correct provenance for the slab stela fragment in the first place:

- the mastaba originally belonged to someone else in Khufu's reign, when the slab stela was prepared, and was subsequently "usurped" by Kaninisut, who added his chapel
- both stela fragment and decorated chapel belong to Kaninisut, and the mastaba dates not to the Dynasty 5 but to Dynasty 4, as N. Cherpion has argued²⁹
- the stela fragment is an archaism and dates not to the reign of Khufu, but perhaps even into Dynasty 5, closer to the date of the chapel itself.

No determination can be made on the pose, costume, or even gender of the missing seated figure; and only traces survive of the offering table and stand, without any visible bread loaves. A unique addition to the usual items listed beneath the offering table is the phrase [*h*t *nb*(*t*)] *nfr*(*t*) *mpw*(*t*) *nb*(*t*), represented only by the top of the *nfr*-sign, the *mpw*-hieroglyph, quail chick, and *nb*-basket. No other stela contains these words, and if the text is to be read horizontally, that is, on either side of the table stand, the word arrangement too is unique.

This is the only stela that layers three rows together without the separation of a different type of linen. The other stelae show a specific linen type, its width in one row and then the amount in another. The Kaninisut list shows, from top to bottom, amount (*bs*), width and amount again (*bs*) before switching to *ꜣ*, a new type of linen. The situation would be clarified if more of the linen list had survived above. Perhaps there was a split in an upper row between two types of linen, such as we find in the stela from g 4860, where *šmꜣt-nfrt* and *ššr* share the same row.

Date: The mastaba belongs to the second group constructed in Cemetery 2100, and the decoration of the subsequently added chapel is clearly post-Khufu, quite possibly early Dynasty 5. The presence of two false doors in an interior chapel, which itself does not belong to the original mastaba core, points to a date posterior to Menkaure at least. Moreover, if Kaninisut were an actual king's son (of Khufu), we might ask why his tomb is not located in the Eastern Cemetery.³⁰ This raises the question of how many years and reigns might have passed between the completion of the slab stela and chapel's annex. Clearly Kaninisut could not have lived from Khufu's reign all the way into the early reigns of Dynasty 5. If the slab stela does not represent a first phase of Kaninisut's tomb decoration, then perhaps it should be taken as the only surviving object of the previous/original owner of the mastaba, before it was finally assigned to and altered by Kaninisut. We have opted for the present to accept Kaninisut as owner of both slab stela fragment and subsequent decorated chapel, thus both must date to some time after Khufu's reign. But the somewhat suspect nature of the stela fragment's provenance, based solely on Reisner's unpublished notes, may well repay further investigation at a future time.

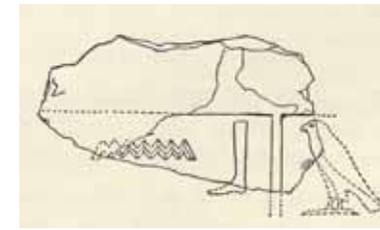


Fig. 129. Additional slab stela fragment, after Junker, *Giza* 1, p. 230, fig. 53a; present location not known

Expedition Diaries for 1912–1914.

²⁵ For the chapel of Kaninisut (Vienna, ÄS 8006), see Junker, *Giza* 2, pp. 135–72; idem, *Die Kultkammer des Prinzen Kaninjsut* (Vienna, 1955) = *The Offering Room of Prince Kaninisut* (Vienna, 1931); H. Satzinger, *Das Kunsthistorische Museum Wien, Die Ägyptisch-Orientalische Sammlung* (Mainz am Rhein, 1994), pp. 90–93; R. Hözl, *Reliefs und Inschriftensteine des Alten Reiches II*, CAA Vienna 21 (Mainz am Rhein, 2000), pp. 33–87 (with important additional bibliography), and a new monograph on the chapel by the same author, in press at this writing.

²⁶ For the tomb of Kaninisut II, cf. Junker, *Giza* 3, pp. 145–56.

²⁷ Cf. "The Problem of the Giza Slab Stelae," in H. Guksch and D. Polz, eds., *Stationen. Beiträge zur Kulturgeschichte Ägyptens Rainer Stadelmann Gewidmet* (Mainz am Rhein, 1998), pp. 115–34, and see below, Chapter 4, for

more on the mastaba of Nefer (g 2110).

²⁸ Cf. PM III, p. 78; Hözl, *Reliefs und Inschriftensteine des Alten Reiches II*, p. 33; Satzinger, *Das Kunsthistorische Museum Wien*, p. 90; Y. Harpur, *Decoration in Egyptian Tombs of the Old Kingdom* (London, 1987), p. 270; N. Strudwick, *The Administration of Egypt in the Old Kingdom* (London, 1985), p. 43 (end of Dynasty 4 to early Dynasty 5); K. Baer, *Rank and Title in the Old Kingdom* (Chicago, 1960), p. 145.

²⁹ Cherpion, *Mastabas et Hypogées d'Ancien Empire. Le Problème de la Datation* (Brussels, 1989), pp. 118–19, dates the tomb to Khufu–Djedefre, which is followed by M. Baud, *Famille royale et pouvoir sous l'Ancien Empire égyptien 2* (Cairo, 1999), p. 480 [102].

³⁰ See P. János, *Giza in der 4. Dynastie* (Vienna, forthcoming), §§ 2.3.3(b), 2.6.2.

Slab Stela 12 (pls. 23–24)

Owner: *Mrt-it-s*, Meretites¹ (𓄏)

Provenance: Cemetery 4000: g 4140

Excavation history: Excavated in January–February, 1912 by the Harvard University–Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, Expedition, under G.A. Reisner; discovered in situ set into emplacement in chapel niche; first mentioned in the Expedition Diary on January 6, 1912;² removed for photography at Harvard Camp by April 23, 1912

Current location: Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, 12.1510

Material: Limestone; raised relief carving

Measurements: h. 50.5 cm; w. 81.8 cm; th. 8.0 cm

Selected bibliography: PM III, p. 124; Reisner, *Giza Necropolis* 1, pp. 460–62, fig. 280, pl. 57a; R.J. Leprohon, *Stelae* 1, CAA Boston, MFA Fasc. 2, (Mainz am Rhein, 1985), pp. 82–85; J.L. Haynes in *Masterworks from the Age of the Pyramids* (Nagoya/Museum of Fine Arts exhibition catalogue, September 15, 2001–February 3, 2002) (Nagoya, 2001), p. 47, cat. 12 (in Japanese); R. Freed, L. Berman, and D. Doxey, *MFA Highlights. Arts of Ancient Egypt* (Boston, 2003), p. 73

Translation

Section a:

(1) *zst* [*nswt*] [*n*] *t* *ht-zf*, *Mr*[*t-it*] = [*s*]

(1) “[King’s] bodily daughter, Mer[et]it[es]”

Section b:

(2) *šs* *ḥs* (3) *mnḥt* *ḥs* (4) *t* *ḥs* (5) *ḥnkt* *ḥs*

(2) “a thousand alabaster vessels, (3) a thousand pieces of cloth, (4) a thousand loaves of bread, (5) a thousand jars of beer”

Section c:

(6) *sntr*, *wsd*, [*ms*] *dmt*, *ḥstt* *mrḥt* [*nswt*], [*irp*], [*i*] *šd*, *d* [*ḥs*], [*w*] *r* [*ḥ*], (7) *kbḥ* *i* *r* *wy*, (8) *bd* *ḥw*, (9) *smn*, (10) *nbs*, *t-nbs*, *šbt* *wsdt*, *šbt* *ḥdt*, *ḡt*, *ḥbnmw*, *ḥfint*, *npst*, *t-wr*, (11) *ḥw-r*, *nḥrw*, *dpt*, *šct*, *ḥt* (*s*), *snw*, *šbt*, *pzn*, *stt*, (12) *ḥnkt*, *pr* (*w*), *špnt*, *ḥdt*, (13) *rn* *k3* *ḥs*, *rn* *mshd* *ḥs*, *ḥry-dḥ* *ḥs*, *iws* *ḥs*, (14) *d3t* *ḥs*, *r* *ḥs*, *i* (*rp*) *ḥs*, *zt* *ḥs*, *mnwt* *ḥs*

(6) “incense, green eye-paint, black eye-paint, unguent, wine, persea fruit, figs, carob bean,³ (7) container of cool water, (8) three pellets of natron, (9) one goose, (10) zizyphus, loaf of zizyphus, green *sekh*-cakes, white *sekh*-cakes,⁴ roasted grain, *hebnenu*-bread, *khfenenu*-grain, *nepat*-cake, great loaf,⁵ (11) breakfast, *neheru*-bread, *depet*-bread, *shat*-bread, *hetja*-bread, *senu*-bread,⁶ *sekh*-bread, *pezen*-cake, *setjet*-bread, (12) beer, *peru*-drink, *sekhpet* drink, *hedjet*-drink, (13) a thousand young bulls, a thousand young oryxes, a thousand suckled

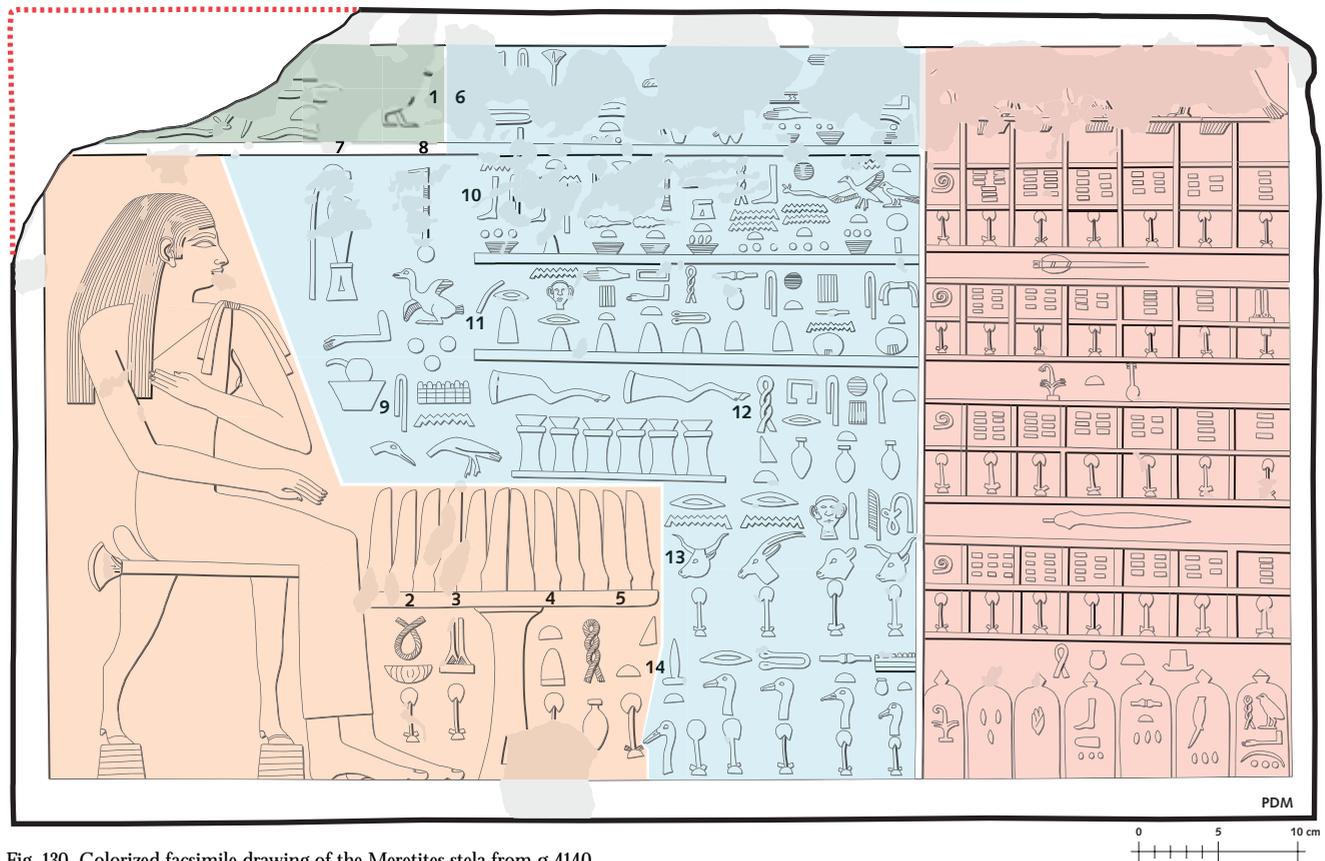


Fig. 130. Colorized facsimile drawing of the Meretites stela from g 4140

calves,⁷ a thousand oxen, (14) a thousand cranes, a thousand *ro*-geese, a thousand *tj(erep)*-geese, a thousand *zut*-geese, a thousand *menut*-pigeons”

Section d:

idmy *št* *ḥs*, *psdiw* *ḥs*, *ḥmniw* *ḥs*, *sfḥiw* *ḥs*, *sisiw* *ḥs*, *diiw* *ḥs*, *ḥmw* *ḥs*
“*idemy*-linen:⁸ a thousand of 100 (cubits wide), a thousand of 90 (cubits wide),⁹ a thousand of 80 (cubits wide), a thousand of 70 (cubits wide), a thousand of 60 (cubits wide), a thousand of 50 (cubits wide), a thousand of 40 (cubits wide)”

¹ Ranke, *PN1*, p. 161.17, with a slightly different spelling: “She whom her father loves.” Cf. E. Naville, “Les plus anciens monuments égyptiens,” *Rec-Trav* 21 (1899), p. 118.

² Expedition Diary for 1912, p. 7; housed in the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston.

³ Several of these items are new readings, and expand upon the translations given in Leprohon, *Stelae* 1, pp. 82–83.

⁴ R. Hannig, *Großes Handwörterbuch Deutsch-Ägyptisch* (Mainz, 2000),

p. 752; *Wb.* 4, p. 267.10–11; S. Hassan, *Excavations at Giza* 6, Part 2 (Cairo, 1948), pp. 410–15 (nos. 173–74).

⁵ Cf. Hannig, *Großes Handwörterbuch Ägyptisch-Deutsch*, p. 911; Hassan, *Excavations at Giza* 6, Part 2, pp. 432–33, 474 (nos. 188 and 74); Y. Harpur, *The Tombs of Nefermaat and Rahotep at Maidum* (Oxford, 2001), pp. 109, fig. 98, and 111 (false door panel of Rahotep).

⁶ Hannig, *Großes Handwörterbuch Ägyptisch-Deutsch*, p. 716.

⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 694.

⁸ On the choice of transliteration *idmy* instead of *itwy*, see below, Chapter 4, discussion of Section d (linen lists).

⁹ Or possibly 90 cubits square? On the difference between vertical and horizontal linen units of measure, see below, Chapters 3 and 4, based on P. Posener-Krieger, “Les mesures des étoffes à l’ancien empire,” *RdE* 29 (1977), pp. 86–96; J. Kahl, N. Kloth, U. Zimmermann, *Die Inschriften der 3. Dynastie* (Wiesbaden, 1995), p. 175ff.; E. Edel, “Eine althieratische Liste von Grabbeigaben aus einem Grab des späten Alten Reiches der Qubbet el-Hawa bei Assuan,” *NAWG* 6 (1987), pp. 98, 104. On the large numbers, G. Vogelsang-Eastwood, “Textiles,” in P.T. Nicholson and I. Shaw, eds., *Ancient Egyptian Materials and Technology* (Cambridge, 2000), p. 295, notes that 845 square meters of cloth were found in the Middle Kingdom tomb of Meket-re at Thebes (H.E. Winlock, “The Mummy of Wah Unwrapped,” *BMMA* 35 [1940], p. 257), and more recently, C.H. Roehrig, *Life Along the Nile. Three Egyptians of Ancient Thebes*, *BMMA* (Summer 2002), pp. 14–23 (reprint), and Tutankhamen’s tomb produced 400 items of clothing.

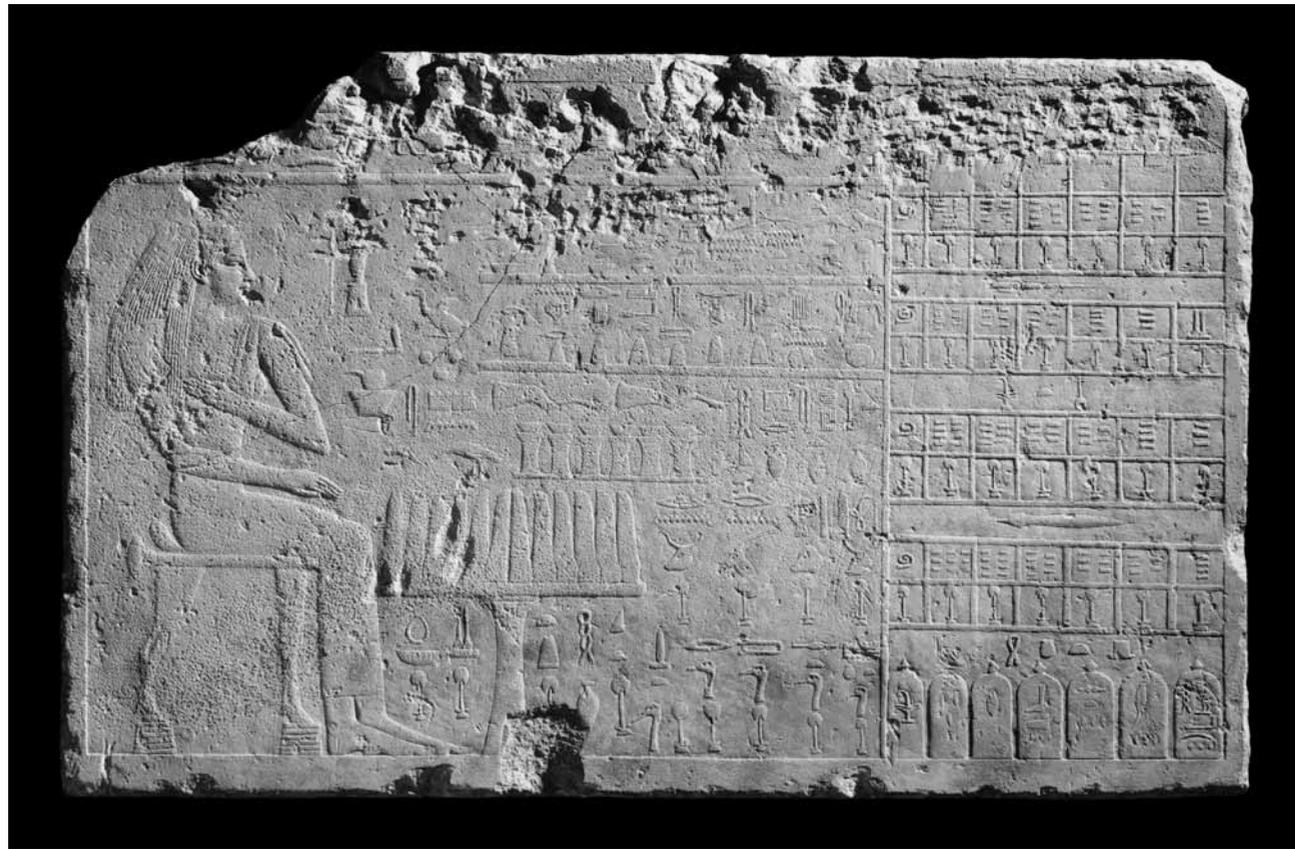


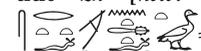
Fig. 131. The Meretites stela from g 4140. 1994. MFA Visual Archives, e 13941

ššr št ḥꜣ, sḫiꜣw ḥꜣ, sisiw ḥꜣ, diiꜣw ḥꜣ, ḥmw ḥꜣ, mꜣḥꜣ ḥꜣ, snwi ḥꜣ
 “sesher-linen: a thousand of 100 (cubits wide), a thousand of 70 (cubits wide), a thousand of 60 (cubits wide), a thousand of 5 (cubits wide), a thousand of 40 (cubits wide), a thousand of 30 (cubits wide), a thousand of 2 (cubits wide)”¹⁰

Šmꜣt-nfrt št ḥꜣ, ḥmniꜣw ḥꜣ, sḫiꜣw ḥꜣ, sisiw ḥꜣ, diiꜣw ḥꜣ, ḥmw ḥꜣ, mꜣḥꜣ ḥꜣ
 “fine linen: a thousand of 100 (cubits wide), a thousand of 80 (cubits wide), a thousand of 70 (cubits wide), a thousand of 60 (cubits wide), a thousand of 50 (cubits wide), a thousand of 40 (cubits wide), a thousand of 30 (cubits wide)”

ꜣ št ḥꜣ, psdiꜣw ḥꜣ, ḥmniꜣw ḥꜣ, sḫiꜣw ḥꜣ, sisiw ḥꜣ, diiꜣw ḥꜣ, ḥmw ḥꜣ
 “aa-linen: a thousand of 100 (cubits wide), a thousand of 80 (cubits wide), a thousand of 70 (cubits wide), a thousand of 60 (cubits wide), a thousand of 50 (cubits wide), a thousand of 40 (cubits wide)”

šnwꜣt: (it)-Šmꜣw, it, bdt, bšš, zwt, bnꜣwt, wꜣḥ
 “granaries: Upper Egyptian (barley), barley, emmer, malt and emmer(?),¹¹ dates, carob beans”

Description and commentary: The stone is complete except for the missing upper left corner, obscuring parts of the owner’s name. Despite the damage to this part of the stela, sufficient traces remain nevertheless to reveal the honorific(?) title *zst* [nswt n]t ḥt=f and the name *Mrt-(it)=s*.¹² . This is the only mention of the owner’s name from the entire mastaba (Section a).

Perhaps the most unusual feature of tomb g 4140 is the fact that the mastaba core received an extension annex to allow for a second burial to the north, and the slab stela was installed, not in the original core, but in the outer wall of the extension. The only other mastaba in which the slab stela is not part of the original core construction is g 4350, whose stela

has unfortunately not survived. Both of these tombs are mastabas of Reisner’s type III, a rare form attested elsewhere at Giza only in the twin mastaba g 7410–7420.¹³ While a mud-brick chapel was undoubtedly planned around the slab stela niche, no trace of it has survived; only the foundation of the stone chapel was discovered by Reisner.¹⁴

The only area to have suffered extensive damage besides the name in the upper left corner is the uppermost horizontal band of inscription, but this is the result of intentional destruction, for the stela’s discovery in situ in its emplacement precludes the possibility of damage from a fall. It is interesting to note that surely one, and perhaps two, motivations for the chiseling out of the signs might be at work here, not to mention a hint at the literacy of the agent(s) of the destruction. The uppermost line of the stela actually contains three separate items: the owner’s name and titles at left, facing right (Section a), part of the offerings in the center, facing left (Section c), and the *idmy* falcons of the linen list at the far right (Section d). All three items have been erased. Was this an attack on the person of the owner, as is paralleled by the (like-wise long-form) stela of Seshat-sekhentiu (g 2120)? Or was it an attack against the Horus falcons represented by the linen list, as is paralleled in the stela of Setji-hekenet (g 1227)? The fact that the entire horizontal area is hacked out indicates that the iconoclast may have been unable to read the signs, and merely followed orders to obliterate the entire line. It is thus more likely his attack was personal, against Meretites herself, rather than against the god Horus, for it seems easier to assume he believed that names and titles extended across the entire horizontal width of the stela. If Horus alone was the focus of the destruction (as with Setji-hekenet’s stela from g 1227), there should have been no need to extend the damage further to the left of the linen list. Unfortunately, the parallel afforded by the stela of Seshat-sekhentiu (g 2120) does not

¹⁰ This number is read “two” instead of “twenty” due to the vertical linen signs with no horizontal base; cf. Posener-Krieger, *RdE* 29 (1977), pp. 86–96.

¹¹ See D. Faltings, “bšš und zwt—zwei ungeklärte Begriffe der Getreidewirtschaft im AR,” *GM* 148 (1995), pp. 35–44.

¹² Cf. Reisner, *Giza Necropolis* 1, p. 462, fig. 280. It is possible that a female determinative  once fit the space after the name (cf. Nefer, g 1207, stela 4).

¹³ *Ibid.*, pp. 40–41: “retaining wall of large blocks of grey nummilitic limestone set in high-stepped courses and filled with gravel and rubbish, or more or less solid with massive blocks; the massive stepped core is faced with small blocks of drab limestone giving the same outward appearance to the core as that of type IIa and b...”

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 460; see also P. Jánosi, *Giza in der 4. Dynastie* (Vienna, forthcoming), § 2.4.1 (g 4140). For more on the significance of the slab stela’s position in the extension of the mastaba’s core, see below, Chapter 4.

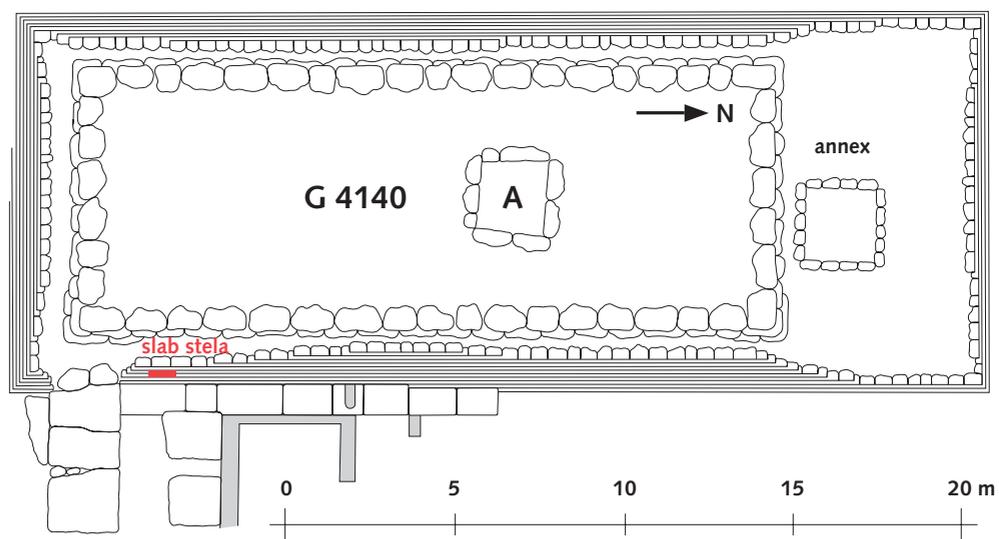


Fig. 132. Plan of the mastaba of Meretites, g 4140, after Reisner, *Giza Necropolis* 1, Map 6. Drawing by Ruth Bigio



Fig. 133. Chapel of g 4140 with slab stela in situ, looking northwest. November 20, 1913. HU-MFA Expedition photograph, Mohammed Shadduf, c 5351



Fig. 134. Chapel of g 4140 with empty slab stela emplacement indicated, looking northwest. April 22, 1999. PDM, 99.5.33



Fig. 135. The Meretites stela in situ, looking west. February 1, 1912. HU-MFA Expedition photograph (photographer not listed), b 1058

preserve the falcons of the linen list, so it is impossible to know if they too were erased along with Seshat-sekhentiu's uppermost horizontal line.

No other stela displays the extremely low relief prevalent on the Meretites stela. Some signs all but disappear into the stone without the benefit of strong raking light, a feature emphasized all the more by the total absence of surviving color. While the carving is extremely fine across the entire stela, the amount of interior detail on individual signs is sparse indeed. Perhaps additional detail was once added in paint; the most intricately carved hieroglyphs are the h ♂ of *hmk* and the ss sign ♂ with ☐ determinative, all beneath the offering table. The latter is perhaps the item carved in the highest relief. The ceramic table stand reaches all the way to the round table holding the half-loaves of bread, which are symmetrically

arranged and number six to each side. Meretites's figure occupies just less than a third of the stela's decorated surface; she appears more broad-shouldered than either Nefer (g 1207) or Nefret-iabet (g 1225), but less so than Setji-hekenet (g 1227). She sits in the same pose as all three other women (with the exception of Setji-hekenet's horizontally bent right hand), and wears the same close-fitting garment with shoulder knot. No evidence of jewelry (choker, bracelets, or anklets) is visible in the carving, but her long, tripartite wig is carefully striated and reveals a very competently modeled ear. Some damage obscures the area around the chin, but the face, with its plastic, arched eyebrow receding to a sharp point, and thickly lidded eye, detailed nostril, and well-delineated mouth, survives in perfect condition. Meretites's bull-legged stool contains a protruding cushion on the seat, a small papyrus umbel terminal in comparison to the



Fig. 136. Chapel area with slab stela covered with sand. January 7, 1912. HU-MFA Expedition photograph (photographer not listed), b 1046



Fig. 137. Chapel of g 4140 with empty slab stela emplacement indicated, looking west. April 22, 1999. PDM, 99.5.37

rest of the stool, and by far the largest conical supports beneath the legs found on any of the slab stelae. Extremely wide and barely flaring, the supports dwarf the bull's hooves that rest upon them with plenty of horizontal room to spare.

The linen list contains six *idmy* falcons, but only the scantiest of traces remain, due to the intentional destruction of the top line of the stela (see above). Beneath this type of linen, the list takes on a uniform layout with *sšr*, *Šm^ct-nfrt* and ☐ linen types. At the bottom of the list, space remains for no less than seven large granaries. Although four other stelae contain

granaries,¹⁵ Meretites provides the only example of the rounded form (in place of the more traditional trapezoidal variety), with pointed tops,¹⁶ even including the identifying label of *šmw* “granary,” written above them. The greatest similarity in the sequence of granary items listed exists between the Meretites stela (g 4140) and the anonymous one from g 4860, although the latter reverses the orientation of the other stelae (see below, stela 15).

Of the six long-form slab stelae, g 1201, g 2120, g 2155, g 4140, g 4840, and g 4860, the stela of Meretites shows the greatest affinities with that of Seshat-sekhentiu (g 2120), although this might be an accident of preservation. Both stelae move their offering tables further left to make room for extended lists of ideographic offerings in Section c. Both contain granaries at the bottom of their linen lists, and both have even been attacked across the top of their inscriptions. The Meretites stela differs, however, from the fragment from g 2155(?) and the Seshat-sekhentiu (g 2120) stela, for the latter two contain furniture lists in addition to their ideographic offerings.¹⁷

In explaining the unusual arrangement of two niches for the neighboring mastaba g 4160, Junker cited Meretites's tomb (g 4140) and an early statement by Reisner that the latter once possessed two slab stelae.¹⁸ G 4140 did produce two reserve heads but, like g 4160, it contains only a single burial shaft. Nowhere else that I can determine does Reisner repeat the claim of two slab stelae for a single mastaba. Such mention is not made in his published *Giza Necropolis 1*, nor does it appear in his unpublished manuscript, “The Development of the Tablet Scene,” housed in the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston. The statement should be considered erroneous.

The tomb of Meretites is the only one of our group to preserve not one, but two reserve heads, male¹⁹ and female (figs. 138–41),²⁰ and a skull as well, generally agreed to be that of a female.²¹ This allows us the unique opportunity to juxtapose the two-dimensional head of Meretites from the slab stela with the reserve head and the skull (figs. 141–42, 144). While the reserve head displays a highly individualized portrait, there is little one can point to in the relief carving that is not idealized. As one might expect, an experimental superimposition of the drawings of the two faces produced a considerable misalignment. Thus, the two representations of Meretites do not display in two and three dimensions the same sort of similarities that have linked the reserve head of Nefer (g 2110; MFA 06.1886) with the two-dimensional relief from his chapel's

north entrance thickness.²² The only other tombs to contain a reserve head and a stela, or stela fragment, are those of Kanefer (g 1203)²³ and Wenshet (g 4840; modeled in mud instead of limestone).²⁴

Date: Despite her royal title of king's bodily daughter, Meretites was most likely only a titular princess.²⁵ She thus joins Wepemnefret (g 1201), Kaiemah (g 1223), Nefret-iabet (g 1225), Kaninisut (g 2155), and Iunu (g 4150) in possessing this title in honorific fashion. Reisner argued that g 4140 belonged to the group of Cemetery 4000 mastabas completed by Khufu's fifteenth year. The long-form stela, with extended offerings, is not necessarily a later form, as evidenced by the long-form stela of Wepemnefret (g 1201), which I would place among the very earliest Western Cemetery mastabas. Hemiunu's mastaba (g 4000) lies immediately west of Meretites's mastaba, and Helck even argued the two were husband and wife based on this proximity.²⁶ The stela is clearly within the early group of stelae, and is probably contemporary with the earlier slabs from Cemetery 1200, and from g 2120 and g 2135. While the extremely low relief style and short, flaring offering loaves (Section c) argue for a date early in Khufu's reign, the placement of the stela in the extension of mastaba indicates that it belongs to the second stage of the tomb's development. It is therefore dated from early to mid-reign of Khufu.

¹⁵ Setji-hekenet (g 1227), Seshat-sekhentiu (g 2120), Iunu (g 4150) and the anonymous tomb g 4860.

¹⁶ For parallels to this form of granary see below, Chapter 4 (Section d, linen list), with fig. 240; and H.G. Fischer, *MIO* 7 (1960), p. 308 (termed *mbr/mbr*).

¹⁷ For furniture lists, cf. E. Brovanski, “An Inventory List from ‘Covington's Tomb’ and Nomenclature for Furniture in the Old Kingdom,” in P. Der Manuelian, ed., *Studies in Honor of William Kelly Simpson 1* (Boston, 1996), pp. 117–55; idem, “Inventory Offering Lists and the Nomenclature for Boxes and Chests of the Old Kingdom,” in E. Teeter and J. Larson, eds., *Gold of Praise: Studies on Ancient Egypt in Honor of Edward F. Wente* (Chicago, 1999), pp. 27–54.

¹⁸ Junker, *Giza 1*, p. 165; Reisner and Fisher, *ASAE* 13 (1914), p. 239.

¹⁹ Boston MFA 14.717; Reisner, *Giza Necropolis 1*, pl. 52a; R. Tefnin, *Art et Magie au temps des Pyramides. L'énigme des têtes dites “de remplacement”* (Brussels, 1991), cat. 4, pp. 100–101, pl. 5a–d.

²⁰ Egyptian Museum, Cairo, JE 46217; Reisner, *Giza Necropolis 1*, pl. 52b; Tefnin, *Art et Magie*, cat. 18, pp. 113–114, pls. 17c–d, 18a–b.

²¹ I wish to thank here Allison Webb-Willcox for very kindly examining the excavation photographs of this skull in 1997; her tentative conclusions based on rather inadequate photographic documentation follow: “The general consensus is that the skull represents a probable female based on the gracility of the supraorbital ridges (area above the eye), and the bossing of the parietal bones. However, the nuchal area (at the back of the skull) is extremely robust and male-looking, and the mastoid processes (behind the ears) appear intermediate. These last two are the reason for the “probable”



Fig. 138. g 4140 shaft a, female reserve head (MFA 13–11–1 = Cairo JE 46217), in situ. November 2, 1913. HU–MFA Expedition photograph, Mohammed Shadduf, c 5309

assessment. Age is clearly adult, between about twenty-two and forty-five years, with the most likely age in the early to mid-thirties. The age is based on areas and degrees of fusion of the sagittal cranial suture. Finally, she appears to have bilateral vessel impressions on the frontal bone. (They appear as thin lines moving from above the orbits toward the back of the skull.) They are relatively common, and are of interest mostly because they are sometimes mistaken for cutmarks” (personal communication, April 7, 1997). I have been unable so far to locate this skull in Boston, Cambridge, Berkeley, or Giza; it is perhaps to be found among the skeletal material discovered over a decade ago at Kasr el-Aini University.

²² Cf. Smith, *HESPOK*, p. 27 (22), pl. 48; F. Junge, in *Kunst des Alten Reiches* (Mainz am Rhein, 1995), p. 104, pl. 36a–b; J. Assmann, in *Studies in Honor of William Kelly Simpson 1* (Boston, 1996), pp. 58, 60, fig. 7. See also on this topic, A. Bolshakov, *Man and His Double* (Wiesbaden, 1997), p. 218. Notes on the facial features on the Giza slab stelae are provided below in Chapter 4, with fig. 219.

²³ Some have suggested that the reserve head from g 1203 portrays a woman, but there is no reason not to identify the head with the male owner of this one-shaft mastaba; Cf. C.H. Roehrig, in *Egyptian Art in the Age of the Pyramids*, cat. 46, pp. 234–35; and Stadelmann, in *Kunst des Alten Reiches*, p. 163, n. 72. Reisner believed this head portrayed the owner, while Smith considered it to represent his “wife(?),” *HESPOK*, p. 26 and pl. 9b; cf. Tefnin's remarks, *Art et Magie*, pp. 64–69, and especially p. 67. On this reserve head in general (Hearst Museum, Berkeley 6–19767), see Reisner, *Giza Necropolis 1*, p. 390, pls. 21f., 22a–e, and Tefnin, *Art et Magie*, pp. 97–98, pl. 1a–d. One might also note in this regard that some consider the owners of reserve heads to be different individuals from those eventually buried in the major nucleus cemetery mastabas at Giza; cf. E. Schott, in *Fx Westendorf?*, pp. 1121–28, esp. 1126 for Kanefer as an “archaisierendes Ersatzgrab;” and Helck, *ZÄS* 81 (1956), pp. 62–65; idem, in *Hommages Leclant 1*, p. 223.

²⁴ Cairo JE 44975; Junker, *Giza 1*, p. 256, pl. 40a; Tefnin, *Art et Magie*, cat. 15, pp. 110–11, pl. 14c–d.

²⁵ Cf. Schmitz, “*Königssohn*,” pp. 123, 127, 133. Junker, *Giza 1*, p. 64, believed her to be the wife of Snefru-seneb, owner of mastaba g 4240, while Helck, in *Hommages Leclant 1*, p. 222, preferred Hemiunu (g 4000) as Meretites's husband. These theories are based, however, on little more than geographical proximity between the mastabas in question.



Fig. 139. Male reserve head (MFA 13-10-70 = 14.717) from g 4140 shaft a. November 6, 1913. MFA Visual Archives, sc 2286



Fig. 140. Female reserve head (MFA 13-11-1 = Cairo JE 46217) from g 4140 shaft A, front. September 5, 1914. HU-MFA Expedition photograph, Mohammed Shadduf, c 6409



Fig. 141. Female reserve head (MFA 13-11-1 = Cairo JE 46217) from g 4140 shaft a. Drawing by Astrid Runggaldier, 1997



Fig. 142. Detail of Meretites's face, from her slab stela



Fig. 143. Female skull from g 4140 shaft a, front. November 7, 1913. HU-MFA Expedition photograph, Mohammed Shadduf, c 5335

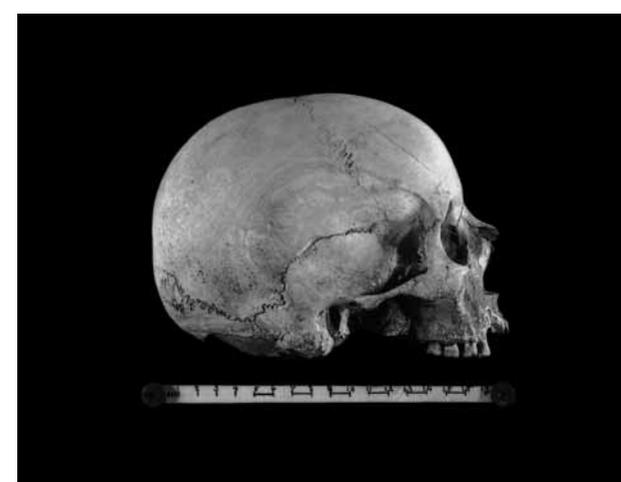


Fig. 144. Female skull from g 4140 shaft a, profile. November 7, 1913. HU-MFA Expedition photograph, Mohammed Shadduf, c 5337

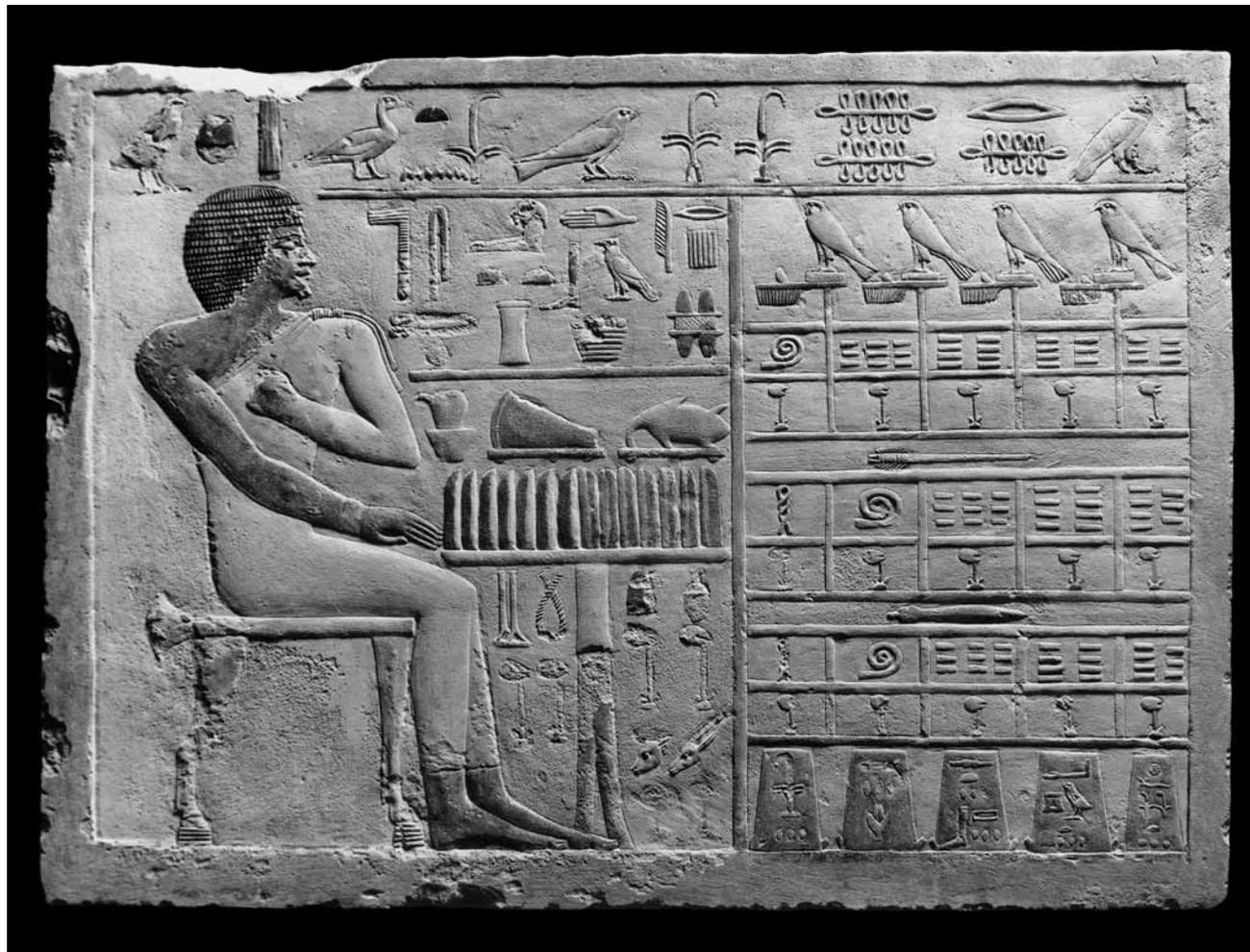


Fig. 146. The Iunu stela from g 4150. Pelizaeus-Museum, Hildesheim

(cubits wide), a thousand of 90 (cubits wide), a thousand of 80 (cubits wide), a thousand of 70 (cubits wide)”

𓆎 𓆏 𓆏, 𓆑 𓆏, 𓆒𓆑𓆏 𓆏, 𓆒𓆑𓆏𓆑 𓆏, 𓆒𓆑𓆏𓆑 𓆏

“aa-linen: a thousand of 𓆏 (cubits wide), a thousand of 100 (cubits wide), a thousand of 90 (cubits wide), a thousand of 80 (cubits wide), a thousand of 70 (cubits wide)”

𓆑-𓆑𓆑𓆑, 𓆑-𓆑𓆑𓆑 bdt, 𓆑wt 𓆑𓆑, 𓆑𓆑𓆑wt

“Upper Egyptian barley, Lower Egyptian barley: emmer, emmer(?) and malt,⁷ prepared grain, *khefnenut*-grain”

Description and commentary: Iunu’s stela is the third and final one of the Giza group whose colors survive largely intact, due to the walling up of the piece when the cult focus shifted.⁸ It thus shares several elements in common with the

stelae of Wepemnefret (g 1201) and Nefret-iabet (g 1225), such as the yellow exterior border, and the thick grayish frame line around the end of the decorated surface. However, the stela has suffered more since its discovery than have the Wepemnefret and Nefret-iabet stelae, as Junker himself noted in *Giza 1*.⁹ Junker’s assistant, Paula Czermak, prepared a copy at the time of discovery, and it is upon this copy that Junker’s reconstruction drawing, showing many details that had disappeared by 1929 (the publication date of *Giza 1*), is based.¹⁰ For this reason, I have reproduced it here (fig. 153), although several of these details have been omitted from the drawing in pl. 26 and fig. 145. Among these now faded details are the spots on the deceased’s leopard skin garment, the interior lines on the 𓆑 phyle signs 𓆑𓆑𓆑, the fringes on the tops

of the linen list items,¹¹ and the horizontals on the basket determinative of *db*, 𓆑.

Iunu wears a short, valanced wig, and sports a close-cropped beard similar to, but shorter than, that of Wepemnefret (g 1201). According to Junker, Iunu’s garment originally contained the leopard-skin spots that may still be seen on the dress of Nefret-iabet, or less clearly on that of Wepemnefret; there is no trace of them today. This might explain why one bracelet is carved on Iunu’s right hand, but not on his left: the latter was covered by the painted garment (see fig. 153). Iunu holds his shoulder knot with his left fist; with his right hand he actually touches the left-most half-loaf of bread on the offering table before him. The close juxtaposition here is matched on the stela of Ini (g 1235), where the loaf has actually been hollowed out to make room for Ini’s fingers), and the anonymous stela from g 4860.

The stool shows bull’s feet with subtle modeling on the theriomorphic legs. The tendon on the rear leg survives in between the flaked surfaces and resembles similar tendons on the stelae of Nefer (g 1207) and Setji-hekenet (g 1227). The papyrus umbel terminal preserves some interior detail, but is left blank in the early drawing in Junker’s publication (cf. our fig. 153). Moreover, Junker indicates binding or lashing on the stool rail just to the right of the umbel, but no more than one or two faint paint lines are preserved in this area today. Small conical supports are present beneath the stool’s legs. Iunu’s feet obscure the bottom of the offering table, which stands on a tall base set into a ceramic table stand whose lip is obscured by flaking on the stone. The form is best paralleled in the stelae of Kaiemah (g 1223) and Ini (g 1235), both of whom likewise cover part of the jar stand with their feet. The half-loaves on the offering table are short and two-toned in color; they are not centered on the table, although seven appear on each “side.”

Ceiling Stelae in Second Dynasty Tombs from the Excavations at Helwan, ASAE Supplément, Cahier 21 (Cairo, 1957), pl. 30; Kahl, Kloth, and Zimmermann, *Die Inschriften der 3. Dynastie*, p. 175 (d); however, it never appears with a .t on any of the Giza slab stelae. The value is most likely more than 100 or 200, but less than 1,000; cf. P. Posener-Krieger, “Les mesures des étoffes à l’ancien empire,” pp. 93–94.

⁷ See D. Faltings, “𓆑𓆑 and 𓆑wt—zwei ungeklärte Begriffe der Getreidewirtschaft im AR,” *GM* 148 (1995), pp. 35–44.

⁸ Junker, *Giza 1*, pl. 26a–b. Junker suggests that the massive stone blocking before the slab stela was probably destined to become a false door; *ibid.*, p. 173.

⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 173.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 175, fig. 31.

¹¹ This feature also appears on the stelae of Wepemnefret (g 1201, one cloth only), Kanefer (g 1203), and the anonymous stela from g 4860 (faded).

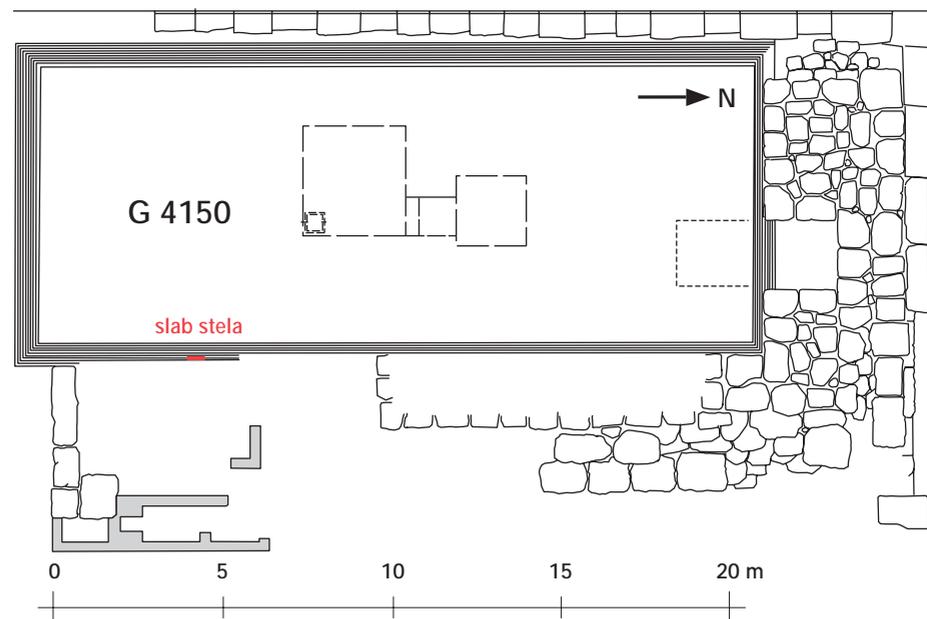


Fig. 147. Plan of the mastaba of Iunu, g 4150, after Junker, *Giza 1*, p. 170, fig. 29. Drawing by Ruth Bigio

Iunu's linen list is an abbreviated one, for it is pinched at both top and bottom. Above, the identifying inscription (Section a) extends across the entire surface of the stela, forcing the *idmy* falcons down.¹² Below, a row of five granaries appears at the bottom of the list. The result is that only three types of linen, *idmy*, *sšr* and 𓆎 , occur on Iunu's stela; *Šmṛt-nfrt* linen is absent. All three linen types, however, are represented with vertical fringes at the tops of their "widths" boxes. This feature, absent from the stela today, was apparently clear in Junker's day, for it has been added to his drawing (cf. fig. 153, and *Giza 1*, p. 175, fig. 31). While individual items receive the vertical fringe lines on the stelae of Wepemnefret (g 1201), Kanefer (g 1203), and the anonymous g 4860, Iunu's stela is the only example of fringes functioning as horizontal register lines just beneath each type of linen.

The *idmy* falcons show a little projection or hump in front on the standard platform. This is typical of the form of the standard in general (𓆎) but is absent from all of the slab stelae with the exception of g 4860 (see below, stela 15). The

¹² Falcons placed beneath overhead inscriptions may also be found on the stelae of Wepemnefret (g 1201), and of the anonymous owner of g 4860.

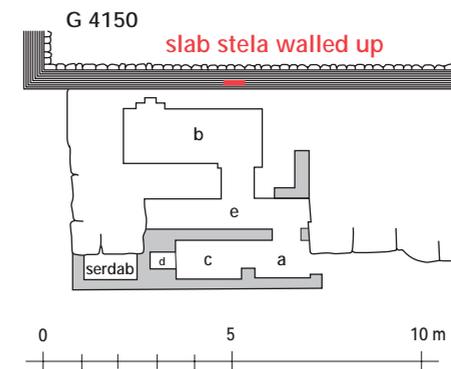


Fig. 148. Plan of the chapel of the mastaba of Iunu, g 4150, after János. Drawing by Liza Majerus



Fig. 149. Chapel area of g 4150, with slab stela walled up behind monolithic false door, looking southwest. Junker, *Giza 1*, pl. 26a. Insitut für Ägyptologie, Vienna

colossal falcon statue installed by Amenhotep III at Soleb (but discovered at Gebel Barkal) clearly illustrates this feature (fig. 152).¹³ An additional element on Iunu's falcons, however, is the little platform placed on the standard upon which the falcons rest.¹⁴ The anonymous stela from g 4860 also shows this platform between the falcons and their standards (stela 15).

We have already seen the five items in the trapezoidal granaries at the bottom of the list in exactly the same order on the stela of Setji-hekenet (stela 7, g 1227). The only significant difference is the presence of the final item, *hfnmw* here but *hbnmw* on Setji-hekenet's granary. Iunu's use of gray color indicates that the granaries are probably mud-brick constructions; unfortunately, no other stela with granaries preserves any color.

Date: It is generally agreed that g 4150 belongs to the earliest group of mastabas constructed in Cemetery 4000. How early, and whether the tomb can be assigned to the first five years of Khufu's reign, as Reisner argued, is less clear.¹⁵ But this short-form stela, with its short, flaring, offering loaves in Section c, clearly falls within the early group of Giza slab stelae, and is probably contemporary with the slabs from Cemetery 1200, and with those from g 2120 and g 2135. The early to mid-reign of Khufu is the most likely date.

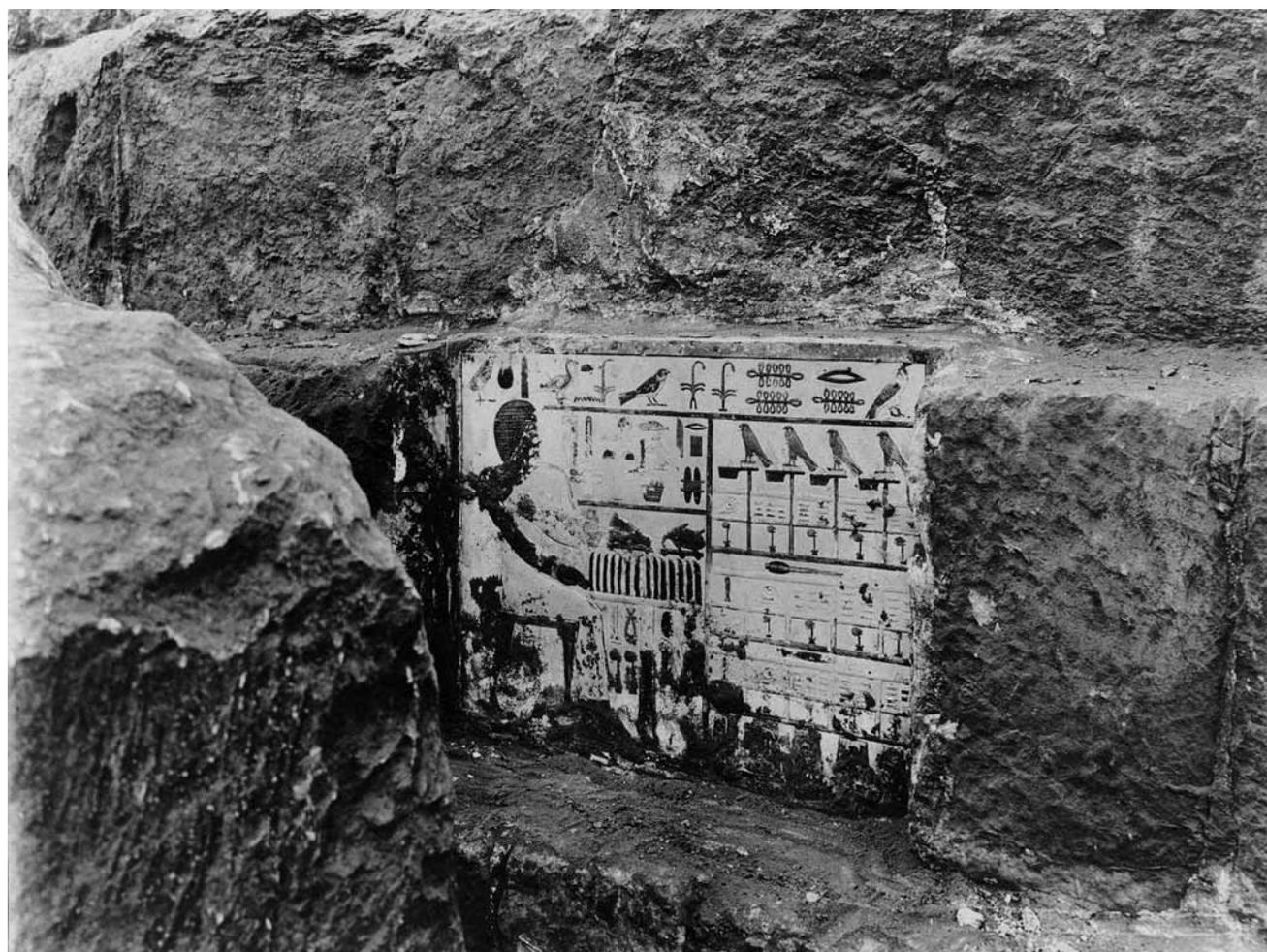


Fig. 150. The Iunu stela in situ, looking southwest. January, 1913. Pelizaeus-Museum, Hildesheim, 529a

¹³ For a Middle Kingdom parallel, a mirror handle showing the same form, see MFA 72.4470 (provenance not known), below, fig. 229, and *Art of the Ancient Mediterranean World*, Nagoya/Boston Museum of Fine Arts, April 17, 1999–March 2004 (Nagoya, 1999), pp. 72 (color plate) and 178–79, cat. 57.

¹⁴ Cf. Junker, *Giza 1*, p. 32. Both the bulbous projection and the additional platform appear on the raised and sunk relief false door tablets of Nefermaat from Meidum; see now Harpur, *The Tombs of Nefermaat and Rahotep at Maidum* (Oxford, 2001), p. 39, fig. 43, pl. 10, and the false door panel of Rahotep: *ibid.*, pl. 71; T.G.H. James, *Hieroglyphic Texts from Egyptian Stelae etc.*, in *the British Museum 12* (London, 1961), pl. 1.2 (no. 1242). Pedestals underneath the ibis on a standard are discussed by H.G. Fischer, *Varia Nova*, *Egyptian Studies 3* (New York, 1996), pp. 201–205, with fig. 13.

¹⁵ P. Jánosi, *Giza in der 4. Dynastie* (Vienna, forthcoming), § 2.3.4, argues against our ability to determine finished constructions within Khufu's first five years.



Fig. 151. Chapel area of g 4150, reburied, looking west. April 22, 1999. PDM, 99.5.29



Fig. 152. Soleb falcon of Amenhotep III from Gebel Barkal, MFA 23.1470. MFA Visual Archives, c 27222



Fig. 153. The Iunu stela as illustrated by Junker, *Giza 1*, pl. 27

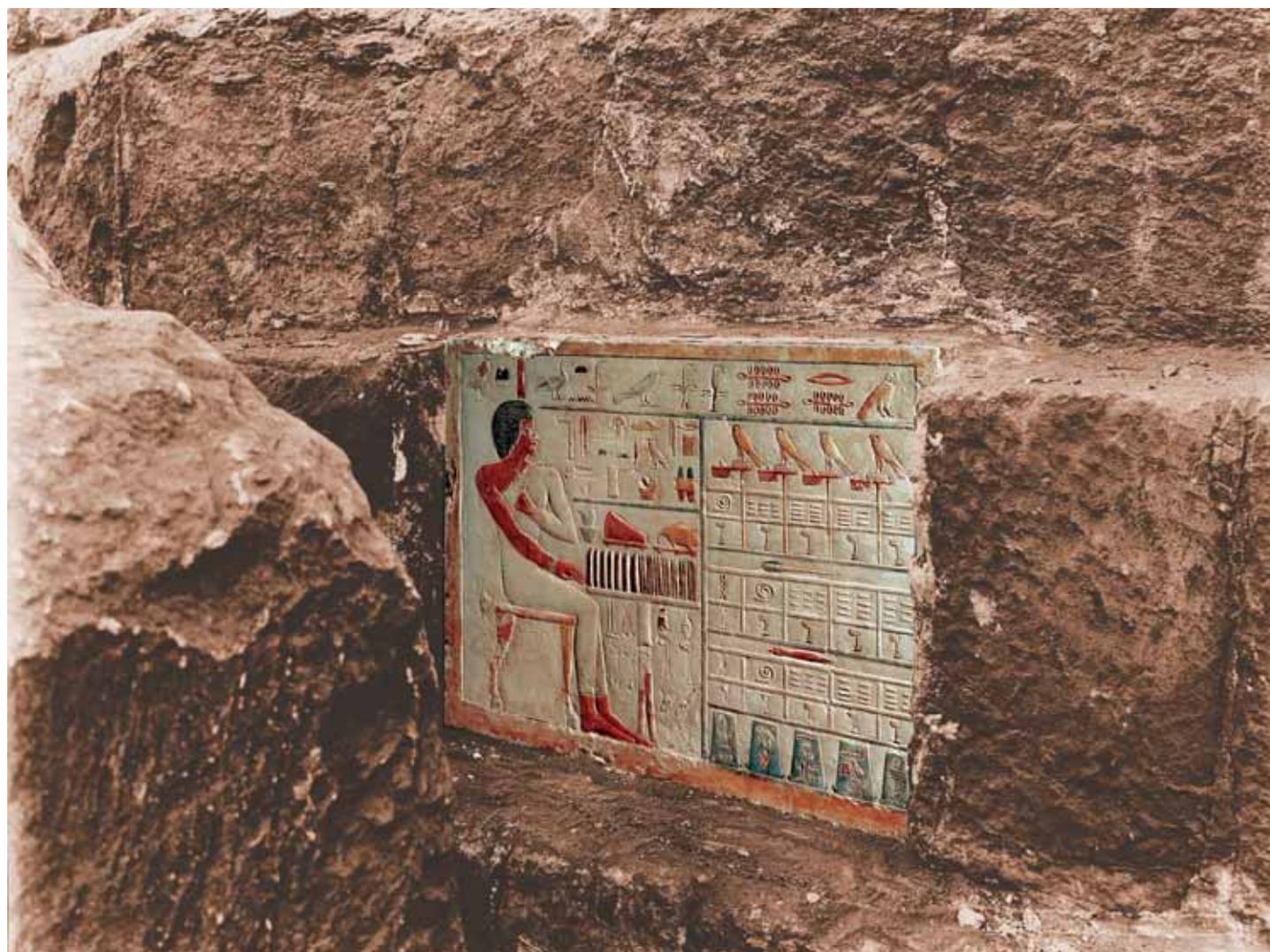


Fig. 154. Chapel of Iunu, g 4150, experimental photographic composite of recent stela photograph repositioned within original excavation photograph. Based on color stela photograph (Pelizaeus-Museum, Hildesheim) and archival Junker Expedition photograph, Hildesheim, 529a. Digital composite by the author

Slab Stela 14 (pls. 27–28)

Owner: *Wnšt*, Wenshet¹ (𓂏)

Provenance: Cemetery 4000: g 4840 (= VIIIss)

Excavation history: Harvard University–Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, Expedition, under G.A. Reisner, 1914; discovered on February 12, 1914 at a depth of about 6 meters² in shaft g 4832a

Current location: Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, 14–2–1
Material: Limestone with portions covered in gypsum; raised relief carving

Measurements: h. 12 cm; w. 46 cm; th. 12 cm

Selected bibliography: PM III, p. 139; Reisner, *Giza Necropolis* 1, p. 500, fig. 306; Junker, *Giza* 1, pp. 249–55; compare false door of Wenshet (Hildesheim 2971): H. Kayser, *Die ägyptischen Altertümer im Roemer-Pelizaeus-Museum in Hildesheim* (Hildesheim, 1966), pp. 14–15, fig. 5; B. Schmitz in A. Eggebrecht, ed., *Das Alte Reich* (Mainz am Rhein, 1986), pp. 42–43, cat. 6; Junker *Giza* 1, p. 252, fig. 63

Translation

Section a:

[zst nswt] n h[=f] mry=f hm-ntr Hwt-hr nbt nbt hm-ntr Nt Wnšt

“King’s daughter of his body, his beloved, priestess of Hathor, mistress of the sycamore, priestess of Neith, Wenshet”

Description and commentary: This fragment is added to the group of slab stelae with some hesitation, for the scale of the preserved hieroglyphs at first glance seems far too large in comparison with signs on many of the other stelae. And yet a reconstruction attempt as a long-form stela would bring it more or less in line with some of the larger monuments. G 4840 is a one-shaft mastaba with two chapels. The southern, normally primary chapel, consisted of a single chamber, entered from the east, with an undecorated false door. In an uncharacteristic reversal of tradition, the northern chapel appears more important, for it bore a slightly askew, but fully decorated false door, discovered by Junker on March 21, 1914,³ and now in Hildesheim (Inv. Nr. 2971, figs. 162–63).⁴ This door bears the same titles as are found on this fragment: above, on the lintel (*hm-ntr Hwt-hr nbt nbt*), and on the right outer jamb (*hm-ntr Nt*), thus no doubt exists that the same individual is the owner of both inscribed objects, regardless of their original locations. A size comparison of individual hieroglyphs on the false door lintel and the MFA fragment reveals that the larger scale belongs to the false door:

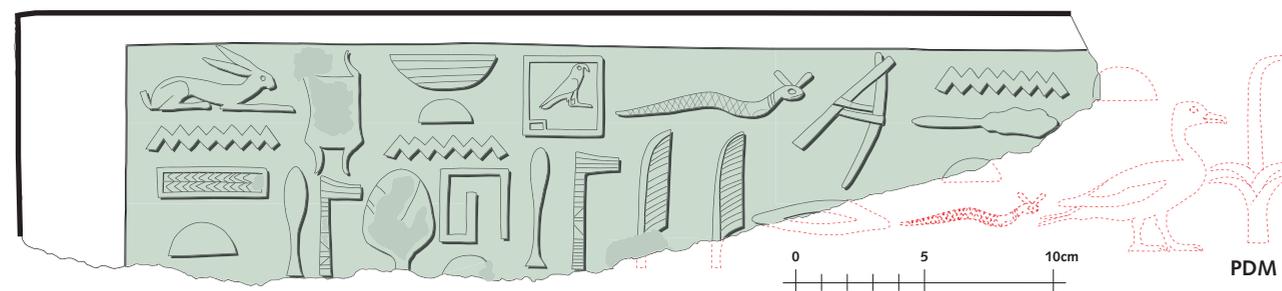


Fig. 155. Colorized facsimile drawing of the Wenshet stela fragment from g 4840

	false door	slab(?) fragment
width of 𓂏	8.5 cm	5.6 cm
width of 𓂏	8 cm	4.3 cm
height of 𓂏	9.5 cm	5 cm (beneath <i>hwt-hr</i>)

Two explanations for the MFA fragment are possible: it is either a slab stela fragment from an earlier phase of the tomb’s construction, or it derives from the upper architrave of the north chapel’s decorated false door. Junker noted “Wenn sie nicht von dem Oberteil der südlichen Scheintür stammen kann, so bleibt als Erklärung nur, daß sie bei der ursprünglichen Anlage in der Front des Tumulus gesessen hat, entsprechend wie bei Mastaba VIII n derselben Reihe.”⁶ Reisner noted that the “upper left-hand corner of slab-stela, found by us in g 4832 (14–2–1), indicates that a slab-stela was set in an emplacement in the east face of the core at the south end, but Junker found no visible emplacement.”⁷ And in his

unpublished manuscript entitled “The Development of the Tablet Scene,” Reisner writes; “Only a fragment of the upper left corner of the slab stela was found. On this was inscribed, *n h[=f] mry=f hm-ntr Hathor nbt nbt, Neith hm-ntr Wenshet*. This inscription must have formed a horizontal line which reached at least to the middle of the stela.”⁸ Thus Reisner had no doubts that the fragment was part of a slab stela. The strongest argument for its not deriving from part of the false door architrave is the size of the hieroglyphs: they should be as large, or larger, than the architrave hieroglyphs on the false door, but in fact they are smaller. In the absence of additional fragments of an architrave for the Wenshet false door that would complete its width, we will include the Wenshet MFA fragment in the Giza group of slab stelae. Other minor features might serve to support this conclusion, such as the frame preserved at the left and top edges of the stela. The asymmetry here (wider at left, thinner at top) is absolutely paralleled by other stelae, including those of Khufu-nakht (g 1205), Kaiemah (g 1223), Nefret-iabet (g 1225), and, in the most exaggerated example, Ini (g 1235). Additionally, the preserved depth of the

¹ Ranke, *PN* 1, p. 80.5, “die Wölfin.” For a discussion of the name, cf. Junker, *Giza* 1, pp. 251–53 (more likely female jackal or dog).

² Expedition Diary for 1914, p. 10; housed in the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston.

³ Junker, *Vorbericht* 1914, p. 183.

⁴ A. Eggebrecht et al., *Das Alte Reich* (Mainz am Rhein, 1986), cat. 6, pp. 42–43; Junker, *Giza* 1, pp. 249 (“Andererseits erscheint die nördliche immer als die weniger wichtige, und man erwartete die umgekehrte Behandlung der beiden Scheintüren”), 252, fig. 63 and pl. 40b; R. Schulz and M. Seidel, eds., *Egypt. The World of the Pharaohs* (Cologne, 1998), p. 82, fig. 74; A. Eggebrecht, ed., *Pelizaeus-Museum Hildesheim. Die Ägyptische Sammlung* (Mainz am Rhein, 1993), p. 21, fig. 14 (detail); W.H. Peck, *Splendors of Ancient Egypt* (Ann Arbor, 1997), p. 33. Could the unorthodox placement of the false door indicate that its findspot does not equal its original placement in the tomb?

Has there been rearrangement between the southern and northern chapels, or even between g 4840 and another tomb? Cf. P. Jánosi, *Giza in der 4. Dynastie* (Vienna, forthcoming), § 2.3.3.

⁵ I am grateful to Margaret Ellen Mayo of the Virginia Museum of Fine Arts, Richmond, for kindly allowing me to measure portions of the Wenshet false door during its visit to Virginia as part of the “Splendors of Ancient Egypt” loan exhibition from Hildesheim in 1999.

⁶ Junker, *Giza* 1, p. 249. Does Junker actually mean to say northern false door? It is difficult to imagine the inscribed MFA fragment as part of a monolithic yet un-inscribed southern false door.

⁷ Reisner, *Giza Necropolis* 1, p. 500, with fig. 306.

⁸ Unpublished manuscript housed in the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston.



Fig. 156. The Wenshet stela fragment from g 4840, photographed at Harvard Camp, Giza. February 14, 1914. HU-MFA Expedition photograph, Mohammed Shadduf, c 5599

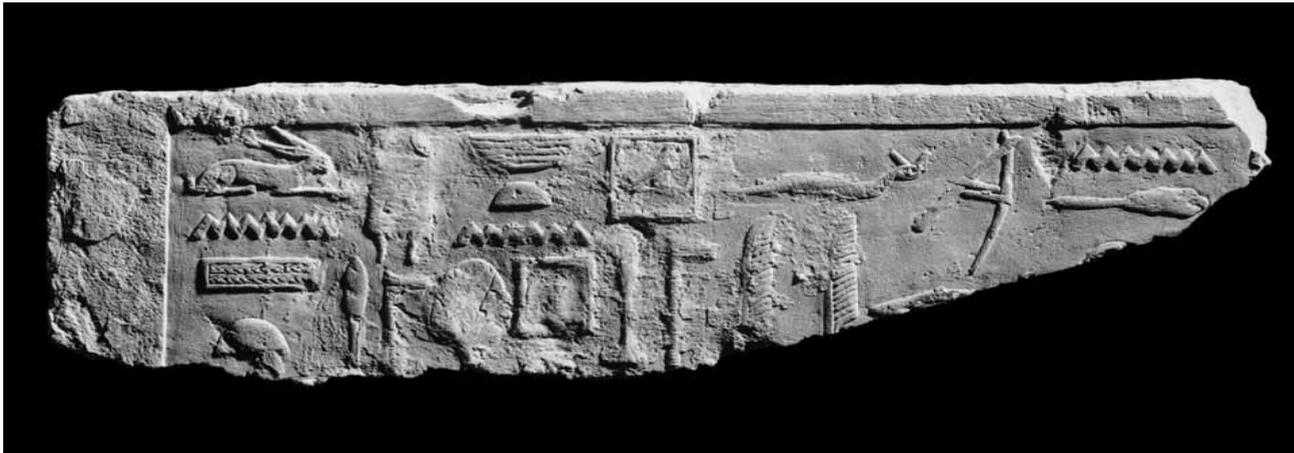


Fig. 157. The Wenshet stela fragment from g 4840, photographed at the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston. 1998. MFA Visual Archives, e 13943

Wenshet fragment, thickest at the top, extends to 11 or 12 cm, while the thicknesses of the other stelae vary between 7 and 10 cm, so once again the Wenshet fragment could be construed to fall in line with the general measurements of other stelae in our group. A hypothetical reconstruction drawing appears in fig. 158.

Portions of the fragment's decorated surface are covered with gypsum, apparently intentionally. At my request, in February, 1998, an analysis of the relief was conducted by the Department of Objects Conservation and Scientific Research at the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston.⁹ This analysis produced the following conclusion:

The limestone fragment has a pinkish-white mortar on the surface of the front, top and proper right sides. Irregular application of the mortar on the front surface of the relief

prevents some of the hieroglyphic characters from being discerned.

To determine whether the mortar could be removed from the front surface, a sample was analyzed by Fourier transform infrared spectroscopy. The composition of the mortar was identified as gypsum, calcium sulfate.... The pinkish color of the mortar was caused by the presence of iron oxide.

It was concluded by Richard Newman that the gypsum is not the result of an alteration product or a burial accretion. The gypsum was intentionally applied to the surface, for reasons not clearly evident. The mortar may have been applied in antiquity to conceal names and/or dates for the reuse of the stone. Alfred Lucas noted that gypsum was the typical mortar used for building stones in antiquity. In addition, Egyptian plaster, which is very similar in composition (gypsum and clay), has been identified as a repair material on ancient stones. The pink coloration of the

plaster, examples of which have been found in the Twelfth and Eighteenth Dynasties, is caused by the presence of iron inclusions.¹⁰

If the MFA piece is thus indeed a slab stela fragment, and one belonging to g 4840, then the emplacement must have been covered, destroyed, or removed subsequently, in order to make room for extensions to the chapel. What role the inscribed false door, now in Hildesheim, played in this extension, is not clear, since it was found in the tomb's northern chapel, far from the traditional slab stelae emplacement towards the southern end of the east wall. Perhaps the slab stela was plastered over and walled up in similar fashion to the Wepemnefret stelae (g 1201, stela 1, see figs. 10–13), and the gypsum represents the remains of the covering (cf. also figs. 253–54).

Wenshet's fragment provides one of the very few examples of a slab stela preserved along with other decorative wall surfaces clearly belonging to the same person. Other parallels are problematic: Seshat-sekhentiu's red granite drum fragments are very small and devoid of much context (see above, stela 9). "Kaninisut's" fragment may not derive from g 2155, or may derive from g 2155 but not belong to the Kaninisut whose decorated chapel in Vienna is clearly a post-Khufu era creation (see above, stela 11). Ini's offering basin from g 1235 should not be considered in the same category as inscribed wall decoration. And the statues ascribed to Kanefer (g 1203; see above, stela 2) and Nefret-iabet (g 1225; see above, stela 6) are far from confirmed in their identification.

Shaft 984 of g 4840 produced a reserve head modeled in mud instead of the usual limestone. Should the head in fact belong to Wenshet, as assumed by Reisner, but doubted by Junker,¹¹ then this is our third example of a mastaba preserving a slab stela and a reserve head; the others are Kanefer (g 1203, see above, stela 2) and Meretities (g 4140, see above, stela 12).

⁹ I am indebted to Richard Newman and Marie Svoboda of the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, for their conservation report, dated February 26, 1998.

¹⁰ A. Lucas, *Ancient Egyptian Materials and Industries*, 4th edition, rev. by J.R. Harris (London, 1962), pp. 74–79. For more on gypsum, see also P.T. Nicholson and I. Shaw, eds., *Ancient Egyptian Materials and Technology* (Cambridge, 2000), pp. 92, 158, 202, 367, 475, 562, 568, and 586. Another example of this sort of gypsum applied over hieroglyphs appears in the central false door niche of the Dynasty 5 Saqqara chapel of Kaiemnefret (MFA 04.1761): W.K. Simpson, *The Offering Chapel of Kayemnefret in the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston* (Boston, 1992), pl. 7a (not visible).

¹¹ Reisner, *Giza Necropolis* 1, p. 500; Junker, *Giza* 1, p. 256, pl. 14c–d; R. Tefnin, *Art et Magie au temps des Pyramides. L'énigme des têtes dites "de remplacement"* (Brussels, 1991), pp. 110–11. See also Smith, *HESPOK*, pp. 26, 184; and Reisner, "Accessions to the Egyptian Department during 1914," *BMA* 13 (1915), p. 32 ("certainly contemporary with Chephren").

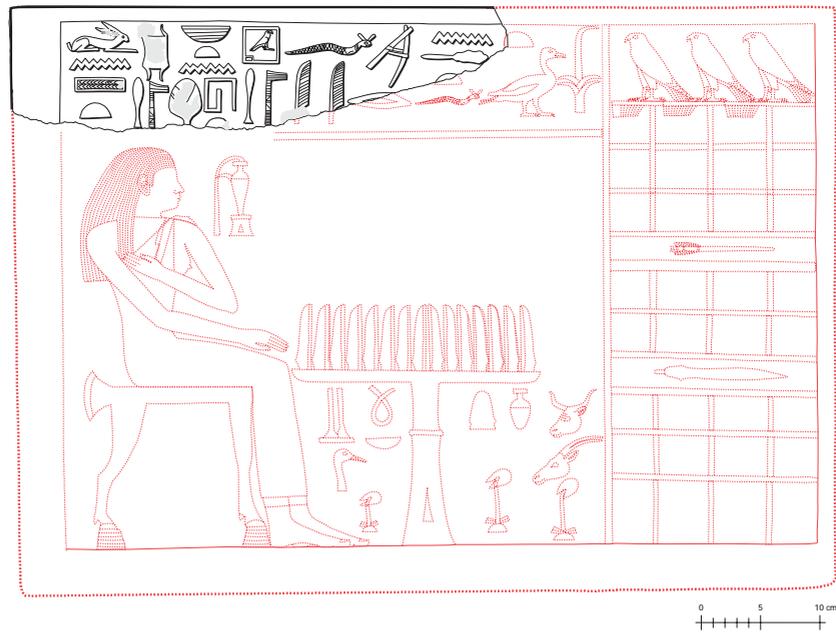


Fig. 158. Hypothetical reconstruction of the slab stela fragment of Wenshet from g 4840

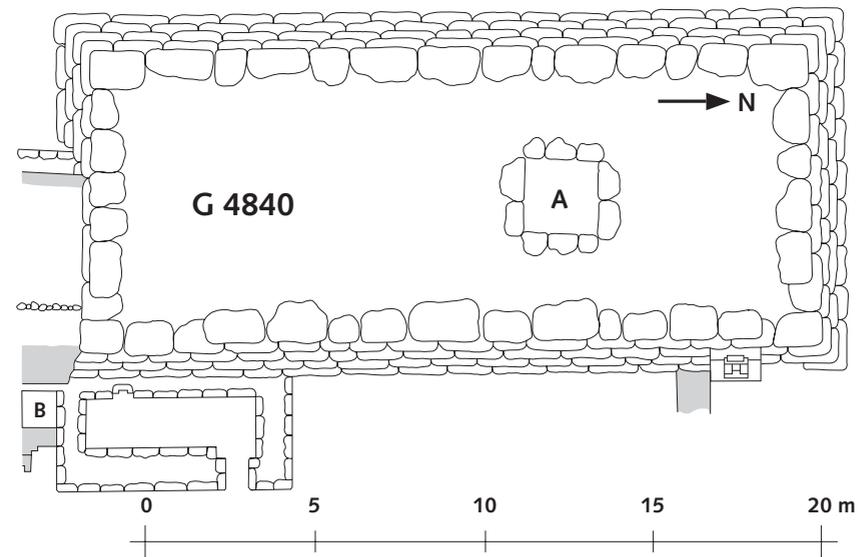


Fig. 159. Plan of the mastaba of Wenshet, g 4840, after Reisner, *Giza Necropolis 1*, Map 6. Drawing by Ruth Bigio

Date: In the Leclant *Festschrift*, W. Helck sought to link Wenshet with individuals in Cemetery 6000, located southwest of the large mastaba of Hemiunu.¹² But his late Old Kingdom date is ably refuted by Jánosi, while Porter–Moss lists Dynasty 5 as the date for g 4840.¹³ Due to the presence of a decorated false door in the tomb, albeit in the northern niche, and the extreme eastern location of the tomb relative to the slab stela-bearing mastabas in Cemetery 4000, it seems clear that Wenshet's stela fragment dates posterior to the reign of Khufu, but not necessarily as late as Dynasty 5.



Fig. 160. Northern chapel of Wenshet, g 4840, looking southwest. April 22, 1999. PDM, 99.7.32



Fig. 161. g 4832 shaft a, findspot of the Wenshet stela fragment, looking southwest. February 14, 1914. HU–MFA Expedition photograph, Mohammed Shadduf, c 5598

¹² Cf. Helck, "Die Datierung der Prinzessin Wns.t," in C. Berger, G. Clerc and N. Grimal, eds., *Hommages à Jean Leclant 1* (Cairo, 1994), pp. 221–30. Cemetery 6000 was published by K.R. Weeks, *Mastabas of Cemetery G 6000*, Giza Mastabas 5 (Boston, 1995).

¹³ Jánosi, *Giza in der 4. Dynastie*, § 2.3.3, who also notes a study of the tomb planned for the future. Cf. also PM III, p. 139, and M. Baud, *Famille royale et pouvoir sous l'Ancien Empire égyptien 1* (Cairo, 1999), p. 55, n. 279.



Fig. 162. False door of Wenshet, Pelizaeus-Museum, Hildesheim, 2971. Pelizaeus-Museum, Hildesheim

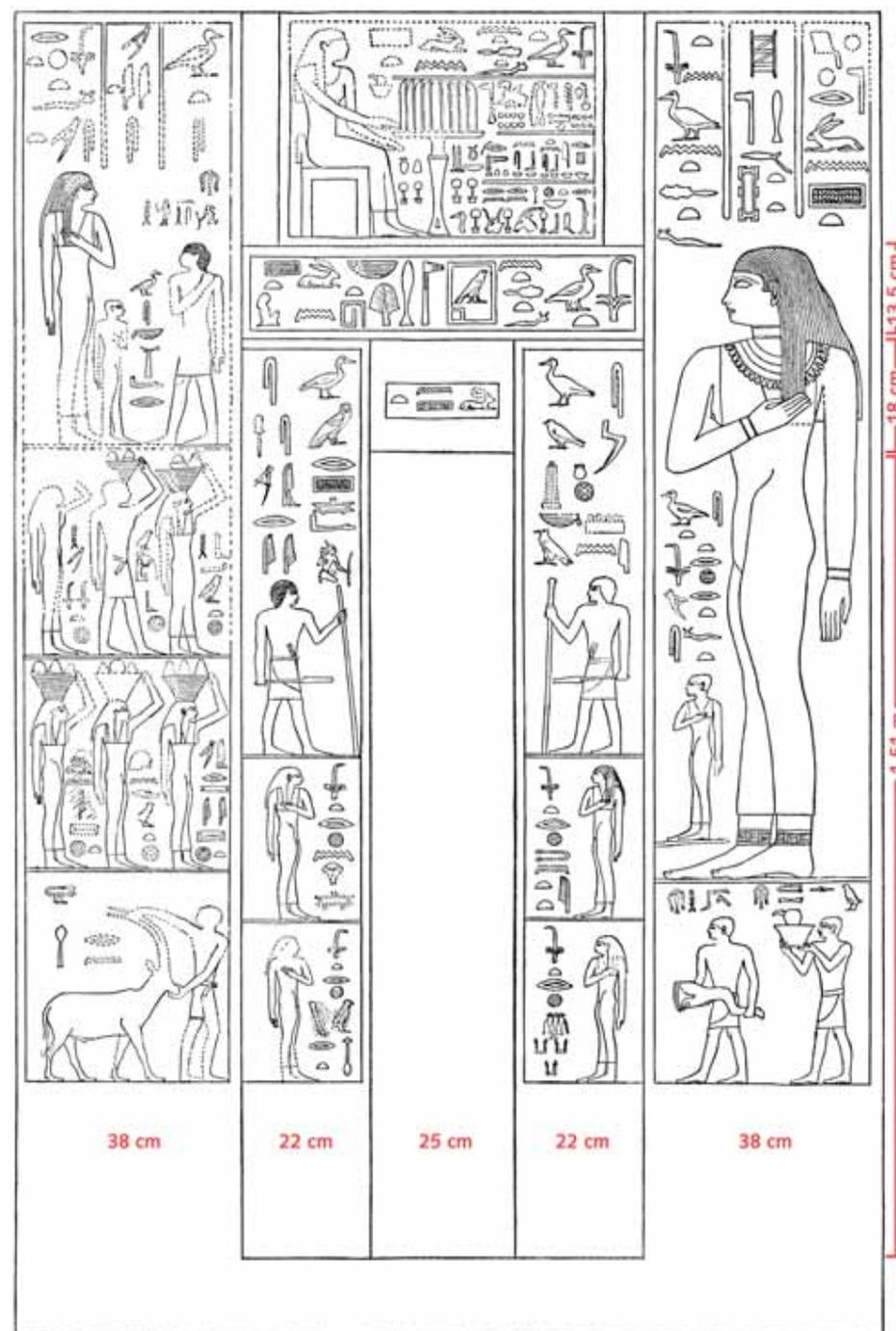


Fig. 163. False door of Wenshet, Pelizaeus-Museum, Hildesheim, 2971, after Junker, *Giza* 1, p. 252, fig. 63, with measurements added from *ibid.*, p. 250, fig. 62

Slab Stela 15 (pls. 29–30)

Owner: Anonymous (𓂏)

Provenance: Cemetery 4000: g 4860 (= VIII_n)

Excavation history: German–Austrian Expedition under H. Junker, second campaign, 1913; found in situ set into emplacement in chapel niche

Current location: Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna, Inv. ÄS 8549

Material: Limestone; raised relief carving

Measurements: h. 52 cm; w. 88 cm; th. 10 cm

Selected bibliography: PM III, p. 141; Junker, *Giza* 1, p. 245, fig. 59, pp. 242–46, pl. 8a; R. Hölzl, *Reliefs und Inschriftensteine des Alten Reiches* II, CAA Vienna 21 (Mainz am Rhein, 2000), pp. 144–49; E. Schott, “Friedhofsbräuche in Giza,” in F. Junge, ed., *Studien zu Sprache und Religion Ägyptens* (Fs. W. Westendorf), vol. 2: *Religion* (Göttingen, 1984), p. 1130, fig. 2a; J. Vandier, *Manuel d’Archéologie Égyptienne* 1 (Paris, 1952), p. 759, fig. 502 (drawing)

Translation

Section a:

(1) *zḥsw mdst ntr, ḥry-ḥbt* [...], *mdḥ? m? z* [...],
 (1) “Scribe of the god’s book, lector priest [...]”

Section b:

(2) *t ḥ3, ḥnkt ḥ3*, (3) *šs ḥ3, mnḥt ḥ3*
 (2) “a thousand loaves of bread, a thousand jars of beer, (3) a thousand vessels of alabaster, a thousand pieces of cloth”

Section c:

(4) *sntr, ḥstt mrḥt snwt, [wsd], [m]s[dmz], irp, ḥw-r3*, (5) *t-nbs, db3, nbs*, (6) *ḥt3, pzn, [grt] zwt, šct, dpt*, (7) *t-ḥr, gsw, šḥt ḥdt, šḥt wsdḥ, istt, [dsrt]-istt(?)*, (8) *t-rḥ, ḥbnnwt, šḥpt*, (9) *ḏst, trp, zt, mnwt, mshd, ḥry-dḥc, k3, ihw*
 (4) “incense, two jars of best ointment, green eye-paint,¹ black eye-paint, wine, breakfast, (5) loaf of zizyphus, figs, zizyphus, (6) *hetja*-bread, *pezen*-bread, prepared grain, *shat*-bread, *depet*-bread, (7) *t-[ne]her*-bread,² half loaf,³ white *sekhet*-cakes, green *sekhet*-cakes,⁴ milk, milky ale,⁵ (8) baked bread, *hebnenut*-bread, *sekhet*-drink, (9) crane, *tjerep*-goose, *zt*-goose, *menut*-pigeon, oryx, suckled calf, bull, ox”⁶

Section d:

idmy št ḥ3, ifdw ḥ3, ḥmtw ḥ3, snwi w^c ḥ3, szf ḥ3, ḥ^c ḥ3
 “*idemy*-linen:⁷ a thousand of 100 (cubits wide), a thousand of 4 x 10 (cubits wide), a thousand of 3 x 10 (cubits wide), a

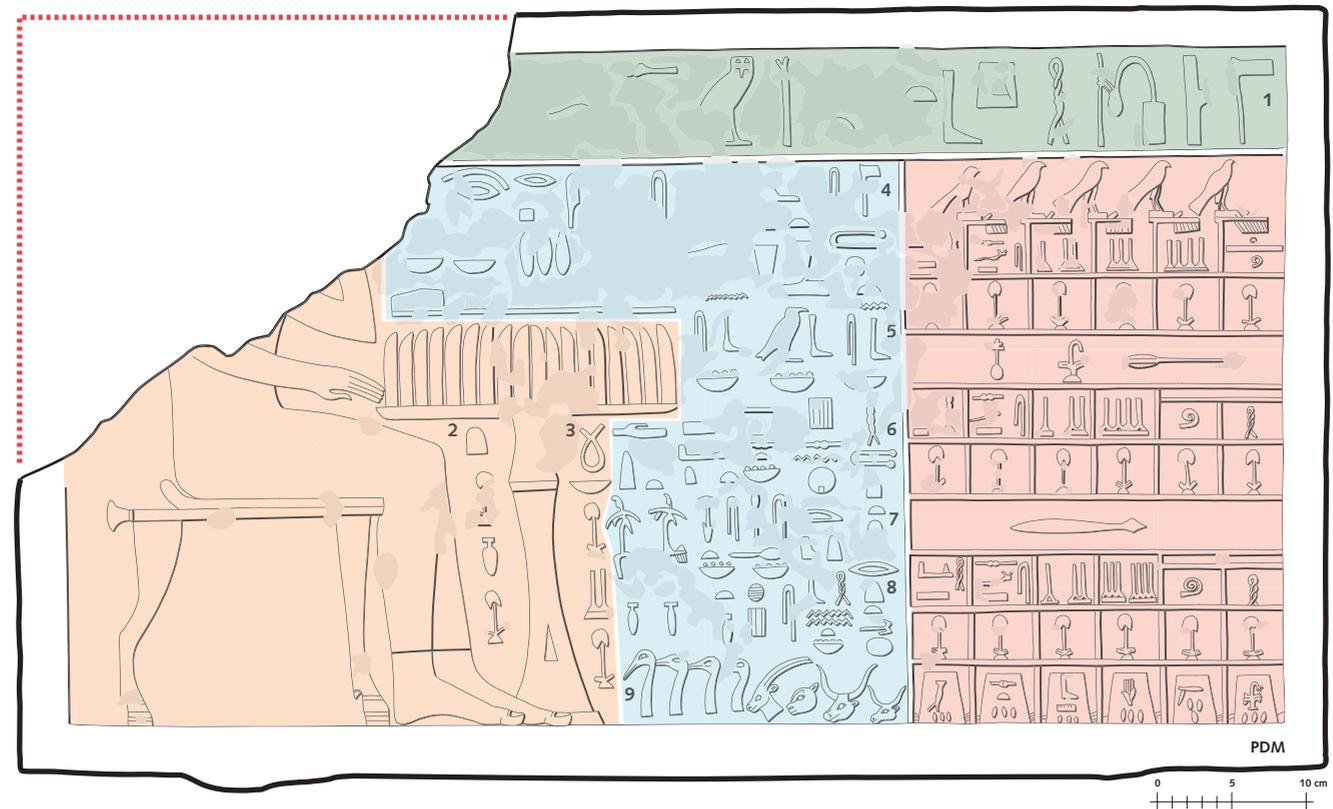


Fig. 164. Colorized facsimile drawing of the stela from g 4860

thousand of 2 x 10 (cubits wide) and 1 x 10 (cubits wide), a thousand of width *sezef*,⁸ a thousand of width *ha*⁹

sšr/Šmct-nfrt ḥ ḥ3, št ḥ3, ifdw ḥ3, snwi w^c ḥ3, szf ḥ3, ḥ^c ḥ3
 “*sesher*-/fine linen: a thousand of width *ḥ*,¹⁰ a thousand of 100 (cubits wide), a thousand of 4 x 10 (cubits wide), a thousand of 2 x 10 (cubits wide) and 1 x 10 (cubits wide), a thousand of width *sezef*, a thousand of width *ha*”

ḥ ḥ3, št ḥ3, ifdw ḥmtw ḥ3, snwi w^c ḥ3, szf ḥ3, ḥ^c ḥ3
 “*aa*-linen: a thousand of width *ḥ*, a thousand of 100 (cubits wide), a thousand of 4 x 10 (cubits wide) and 3 x 10 (cubits wide), a thousand of 2 x 10 (cubits wide) and 1 x 10 (cubits wide), a thousand of width *sezef*, a thousand of width *ha*”

¹ The *wsd* sign shows projecting leaves at the stalk’s base, an archaic and Old Kingdom feature according to H.G. Fischer, *Ancient Egyptian Calligraphy*, 4th edition (New York, 1999), p. 33 (M 13); additional parallels are listed on p. 64.

² For a parallel spelling that omits the *n* of *nhr*, see Junker, *Giza* 2, p. 187, fig. 33 = Lepsius, *Denkmaeler* 2, pl. 25, bottom (g 5150, Seshat-hetep).

³ On this term, cf. Junker, *Giza* 1, p. 246, n. 1.

⁴ Note that the three hieroglyphs for *shḥt* do double-duty for the green and white varieties.

⁵ Or perhaps both signs are to be read “milky ale—two,” following H.G. Fischer, *Varia* (New York, 1976), figs. 2, 4, and p. 17, which shows two *w3s* signs on a standard in the central niche of the false door of Samery. For this reference, I am indebted to Edward Brovarski.

⁶ The transliterations for both the four birds and four horned animals is based on the parallel afforded by the stela of Meretites (g 4140) and cannot otherwise be confirmed.

⁷ On the choice of transliteration *idmy* instead of *itiwy*, see below, Chapter 4, discussion of Section d (linen lists).

⁸ For an alternative reading, arguing for a redundant *s* at the beginning of the word, cf. J. Kahl, *Das System der ägyptischen Hieroglyphenschrift in der 0.–3. Dynastie* (Wiesbaden, 1994), pp. 66–70 (cf. “Stoff mit bekannten Abmessungen”). See also P. Posener-Krieger, “Les Mesure des étoffes à l’ancien empire,” *RdE* 29 (1977), p. 94; and Junker, *Giza* 1, p. 31.

⁹ On this word, cf. W.S. Smith, “The Old Kingdom Linen List,” *ZAS* 71 (1935), p. 142ff.; Junker, *Giza* 1, p. 246. While it is possible that the word should be read *ḥḥ*, the rectangular final sign is taken here as a linen determinative.

¹⁰ Note that the additional horizontal dividers above the *ḥ* and 100 signs, indicating fringed cloths, should be added to the drawing in Hölzl, CAA Vienna 21, *Reliefs und Inschriftensteine des Alten Reiches* II, p. 148. This word is written *ḥt* on the Helwan stela from tomb 247; cf. Z. Saad, *Ceiling Stelae in Second Dynasty Tombs from the Excavations at Helwan*, *ASAE Supplément, Cahier* 21 (Cairo, 1957), pl. 30; J. Kahl, N. Kloth, and U.

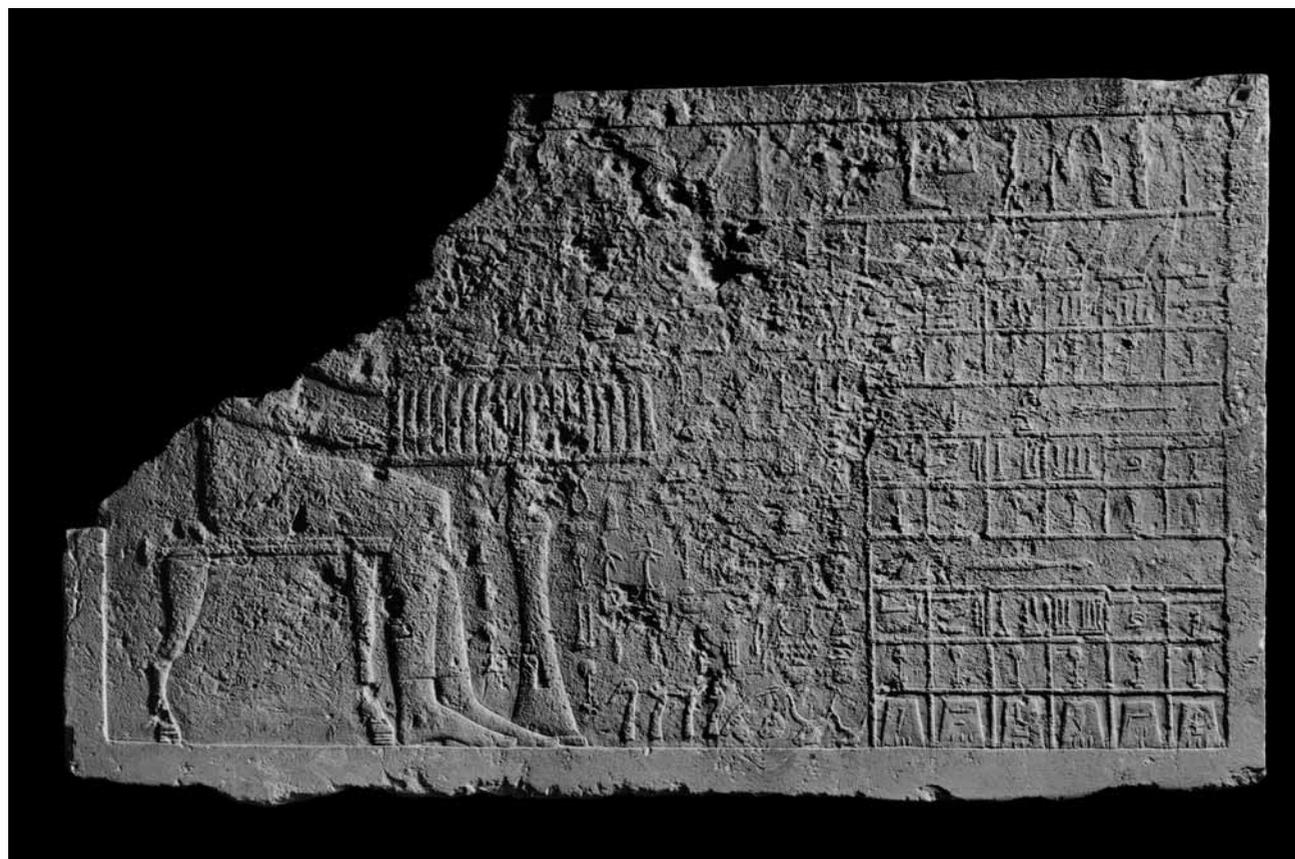


Fig. 165. Slab stela from g 4860. Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna, III 26.117

it-Šm^w, it-Mḥw, bdt, bšš, zwt, bnrwt

“Upper Egyptian barley, Lower Egyptian barley,¹¹ emmer, malt, emmer(?),¹² dates”

Description and commentary: This is the largest slab stela of the entire Giza group, but it is also in the worst state of preservation. Much of the surface is badly weathered, and significant areas are all but unreadable. Moreover, the upper left corner of the stela is missing, obscuring the seated male’s head, administrative titles, and name. Since it was discovered in situ, this suggests that it was pried away by plunderers perhaps looking for precious materials in the core of the mastaba wall immediately behind.

By far the most striking feature of this stela, beyond its size, is the orientation of the decorative layout. This is the only stela to orient most of its inscriptions *away* from the deceased, that is, facing right. Even the linen list is oriented to the right. An interesting exception, however, is the arrow, or *šr* sign (—∞ T 11),

which follows the orientation of all the other stelae in pointing its tip to the right, its feather to the left. Similarly, the *šr*, or 100-sign (∞ V 1), also fails to change its orientation. It is reversed in all of the Giza slab stelae, but in this case suddenly becomes correctly oriented due to the flipped orientation of the entire linen list. The only parallel I have been able to find for a right-facing linen list lies outside the group of Giza slab stelae proper: one of the false door tablets from the mastaba of Merib (g 2100–I; fig. 169).¹³ The *idmy* falcons have the rounded protrusion, or hump, in front, also found on the stela of Iunu (g 4150), and paralleled in three-dimensional sculpture by the Soleb falcon of Amenhotep III from Gebel Barkal (MFA 23.1470, figs. 52, 170 and 228).¹⁴ Like Iunu’s falcons, they also show the little platform placed on the standard upon which the falcons rest.¹⁵ The small, crude form of the falcons differs markedly from all other slab stelae; only the Wepemnefret stela (g 1201) falcons are similarly proportioned, but show far superior craftsmanship.

Two types of linen have been combined in a single group; *Šm^t-nfrt* and *šr* signs appear side by side in the center of the linen list. Perhaps this is reminiscent of the arrangement of Old Kingdom legal texts where repeatable phrases are understood to apply to more than one sentence.¹⁶ Here the widths and amounts of linen would therefore do double duty, applying to both *Šm^t-nfrt* and *šr*.

Four of the linen list items, in the *šr* and ∞ categories and designated with the *h* and *w* signs, show an extra horizontal line above the hieroglyphs. Junker’s original drawing reveals the reason for this addition (*Giza* 1, p. 245, fig. 59): they indicated fringed cloth items. Invisible today, the fringes were most likely supplied in paint between the two horizontals over the signs in question.¹⁷ We have already seen these fringed cloths on the stelae of Wepemnefret (g 1201, one example only), Kanefer (g 1203), and Iunu (g 4150; no longer visible today; see fig. 153). Elsewhere at Giza, the fringed cloths are attested on the east wall linen list in the chapel of Seshemnefer I (g 4940, Appendix 3, figs. 310–312).

At the bottom of this condensed linen list, six granaries face right along with the rest of the stela. The arrangement of items comes closest to that of Meritites (g 4140), although the latter adds a seventh item (*w^h*, “carob bean”) and shows rounded, rather than trapezoidal, granaries.

Zimmermann, *Die Inschriften der 3. Dynastie* (Wiesbaden, 1995), p. 175 (d); however, it never appears with a *.t* on any of the Giza slab stelae. The value is most likely more than 100 or 200, but less than 1,000; cf. Posener-Kriéger, “Les mesures des étoffes à l’ancien empire,” pp. 93–94.

¹¹ Correct the phallus hieroglyph (D 52) to the *mḥ* sign (V 22) in Hölzl, *Reliefs und Inschriftensteine des Alten Reiches II*, CAA Vienna 21, p. 144, line 6.

¹² See D. Faltings, “*bšš* und *zwt*—zwei ungeklärte Begriffe der Getreidewirtschaft im AR,” *GM* 148 (1995), pp. 35–44.

¹³ Lepsius *Denkmaeler* 2, pl. 19; K.-H. Priese, *Die Opferkammer des Merib* (Berlin, 1984), cover.

¹⁴ This feature is also discussed below in Chapter 4 (Section d), fig. 228.

¹⁵ Cf. Junker, *Giza* 1, p. 32. Both the rounded projection and the additional platform appear on the raised and sunk relief false door tablets of Nefermaat from Meidum; see now Harpur, *The Tombs of Nefermaat and Rahotep at Maidum* (Oxford, 2001), p. 39, fig. 43, pl. 10, and the false door panel of Rahotep: *ibid.*, pl. 71; T.G.H. James, *Hieroglyphic Texts from Egyptian Stelae etc., in the British Museum* 12 (London, 1961), pl. 1.2 (no. 1242). Pedestals underneath the ibis on a standard are discussed by H.G. Fischer, *Varia Nova*, *Egyptian Studies* 3 (New York, 1996), pp. 201–205, with fig. 13.

¹⁶ On the arrangement of legal inscriptions, see for example, W. Helck, *Altägyptische Aktenkunde des 3. und 2. Jahrtausends v. Chr.*, MÄS 31 (Berlin, 1974), the Abydos decree of Neferirkare, MFA 03.1896 (R.J. Leprohon, *Stelae* 1, CAA Boston 2 (Mainz am Rhein, 1985), pp. 49–53 and Y.J. Markowitz, J.L. Haynes, and R.E. Freed, *Egypt in the Age of the Pyramids* (Boston, 2002), p. 76, cat. 21; and Manuelian, “Ni-ka-ankh and the earliest *brjw mpt*,” *JNES* 45 (1986), pp. 1–18.

¹⁷ Note that one of these double horizontals is omitted from the line drawing in Hölzl, *Reliefs und Inschriftensteine II*, p. 148, and should be added.

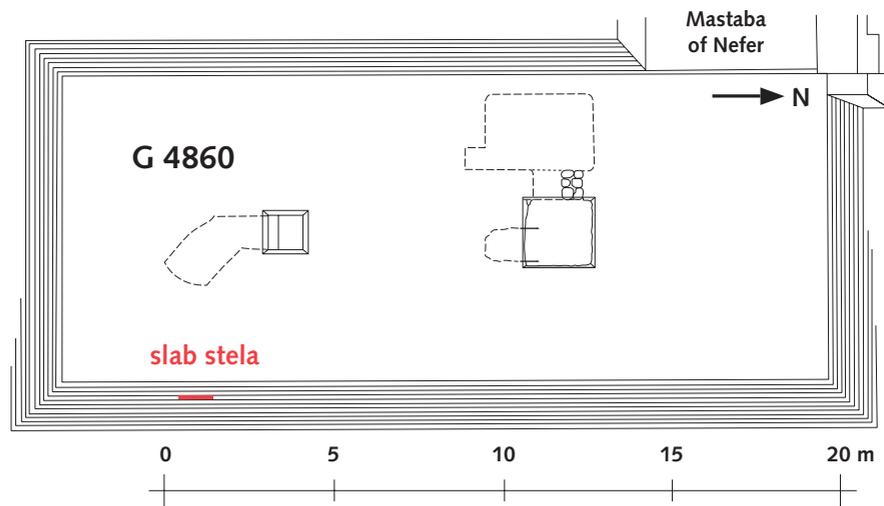


Fig. 166. Plan of mastaba g 4860, after Junker, *Giza* 1, p. 243, fig. 58. Drawing by Ruth Bigio

The headless seated figure at the left of the stela also shows some unusual features. He rests on a full-length cushion on his bull-legged stool, a feature which occurs elsewhere in the Giza group only on the stelae of Wepemnefret (g 1201) and Setji-hekenet (g 1227). More striking, however, is how far forward the figure sits; all other stela owners, with the exception of Ini (g 1235), sit further back on the stool, either directly over or very close to the rear leg. In addition, the papyrus umbel terminal seems unusually small and out of proportion with the rest of the stool, compared to the other stools we have considered. The figure extends his right hand to the offering table, just about touching the bread loaves, as do Ini (g 1235) and Iunu (g 4150). The half-loaves themselves are arranged symmetrically over the center of the table and tall ceramic table stand, with nine half-loaves to a side. The table stand shows a rimmed base, found only on the stand of Setji-hekenet (g 1227), where the deceased's feet likewise obscure a portion of its base. To the right of the table, the numerous heads of fowl and livestock appear in "correct" leftward-facing orientation, despite the rightward-facing direction of the rest of the offerings of Section c.

Date: No other stela displays so many anomalies together, and reveals a style so aberrant from the rest of the Giza group. Mastabas g 4860 and g 4840 (Wenshet) occur in the same row



Fig. 167. Slab stela from g 4860 in situ, looking west (= Junker, *Giza* 1, pl. 8a). 1913. Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna, I 5.448



Fig. 168. Chapel area of g 4860, reburied, looking southwest. April 22, 1999. PDM, 99.7.26



Fig. 169. Modern painted plaster reproduction of the south false door from the chapel of Merib, g 2100–I, showing rightward-facing falcons in the linen list; Ägyptisches Museum, Berlin. 1993. PDM, 93.30.3

further east, that is, closer to the so-called Cemetery en Echelon and the Great Pyramid, than any other tombs under discussion in the present volume. They are clearly outside of and later than the core mastabas of Cemetery 4000 as it was originally devised. The primary burial shaft of g 4860 is apparently not contemporary with the construction of the mastaba core.¹⁸ It was left incomplete at first, only to be finished at a later time with a burial chamber, not to the south of the shaft as was the tradition at Giza, but to the west.¹⁹ Furthermore, the burial chamber was not lined with limestone blocks, as was almost every other burial chamber at Giza from a tomb that contained either a slab stela or a stela emplacement. (The only other exception is the tomb of Wenshet [g 4860], which is not without problems, due to the disturbed context and fragmentary slab stela). Owing to the anomaly of the undressed burial chamber in an unusual (westerly) location for a mastaba containing a slab stela, and the many anomalies in the decoration of the stela itself, it is likely that the final owner of g 4860 and his slab stela date posterior to the reign of Khufu. The slab stela is thus a—perhaps unsuccessful—archaism, created in imitation of the twenty-four early Fourth Dynasty stelae in the three core cemeteries that were then still in existence.²⁰ Perhaps the false door tablet of Merib (g 2100–I, fig. 169), with a similarly

reversed linen list, and dating to at least the reign of Menkaure, if not Dynasty 5,²¹ provides additional support for the slab stela's assignment posterior to Khufu. While the mastaba core dates to the reign of Khufu, the final use of the tomb, including the burial shaft with chamber to the west, and the anomalous slab stela, most likely dates after the reign of that king, and possibly post-Fourth Dynasty as well.²²

¹⁸ Junker, *Giza 1*, p. 243, fig. 58, 247. The tomb's second shaft, located in the southern half of the mastaba core, is clearly a secondary, later addition.

¹⁹ János, *Giza in der 4. Dynastie*, § 2.5, doubt's Junker's explanation, *Giza 1*, p. 247, that bad quality stone prevented the construction of this (or any) traditional southern burial chamber.

²⁰ Cf. János, *Giza in der 4. Dynastie*, § 2.5.

²¹ Cf. PM III, pp. 71–72; Reisner, *Giza Necropolis 1*, pp. 419–21; Junker, *Giza 2*, pp. 121–35; K. Baer, *Rank and Title in the Old Kingdom* (Chicago, 1960), p. 79 [182]; Priese, *Die Opferkammer des Merib*, pp. 26–28; N. Strudwick, *The Administration of Egypt in the Old Kingdom* (London, 1985), p. 94 (59); M. Baud, *Famille royale et pouvoir sous l'Ancien Empire égyptien 2* (Cairo, 1999), p. 458 [73].

²² For a different conclusion, favoring a date of Dynasty 4, see P. Piacentini, *Les scribes dans la société égyptienne de l'Ancien Empire 1* (Paris, 2002), p. 112. For another example of an “archaizing slab stela,” see the partly raised, partly sunk relief stela of Setju (MFA 13.4341), found in the fill of shaft g 2352 b, and most likely dating to Dynasty 6, Chapter 5 (Conclusions), fig. 256; Appendix 3 (Selected linen lists) fig. 308, and W.K. Simpson, *Mastabas of the Western Cemetery: Part 1, Giza Mastabas 4* (Boston, 1980), p. 35, pl. 61a, fig. 47.



Fig. 170. Soleb falcon of Amenhotep III from Gebel Barkal, Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, 23.1470. MFA Visual Archives, c 27221

CHAPTER 2

The Archaeological History of the Giza Slab Stelae

At the outset of the twentieth century, as the era of the great early expeditions began, the Giza Necropolis finally received a sustained, systematic approach to clearance, recording, and publication (fig. 171). The application for archaeological concessions was spurred on in part by the amateur treasure-hunting at the site by such individuals as Montague Ballard, M.P. In 1902 Ballard removed Nefretabet's polychrome slab stela from her mastaba (g 1225) in the far Western Cemetery. No account of his "excavation" is preserved, nor did he leave the mastaba's exterior wall in a condition to allow determination of the slab stela's original emplacement. It subsequently surfaced in the Hirsch, Sambon, and Curtis collections, and was finally acquired by the Louvre in 1938.¹ While excavating in Upper Egypt on behalf of Phoebe A. Hearst and the University of California, George Reisner complained frequently to Gaston Maspero about the damage being done to the site, but the latter replied that his hands were tied for political reasons.² But Maspero encouraged Reisner to apply for Giza himself. Along with the Italian and German missions, Reisner's eventual Giza excavations³ turned out to be pivotal for our understanding of the early Fourth Dynasty, and he was able to discern the existence of the earliest nucleus cemeteries 1200, 2100, and 4000 (fig. 172).

¹ Reisner, *Giza Necropolis* 1, p. 403. Contrary to Vandier's statement in *Manuel* 1, p. 761 (h), Reisner did not discover this stela, although g 1225 did fall within the American excavation concession shortly after Ballard had removed the slab. For more on Ballard, see H.G. Fischer, "Old Kingdom Inscriptions in the Yale Art Gallery," *MIO* 7 (1960), p. 311, who cites in turn the Egypt Exploration Fund's *Archaeological Report for 1901-02*, p. 8. For Louvre E 15591, cf. C. Ziegler, *Stèles peintures et reliefs égyptiens de l'Ancien Empire* (Paris, 1990), pp. 187-89, cat. 29.

² Correspondence housed in the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, 1901.

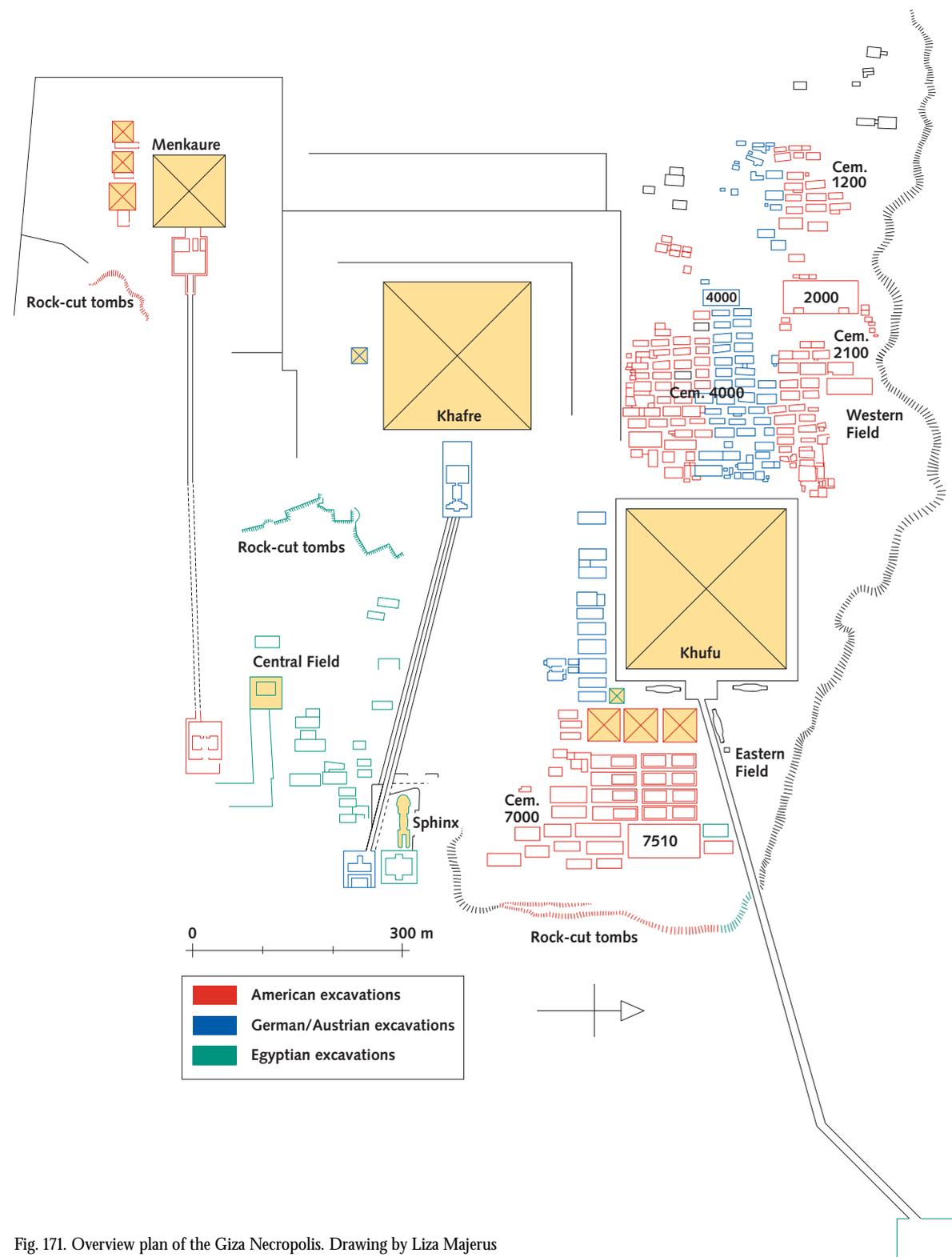


Fig. 171. Overview plan of the Giza Necropolis. Drawing by Liza Majerus

As far as the slab stelae are concerned, the critical years were 1904–05, before the termination of Mrs. Hearst’s sponsorship, and the Hearst Expedition’s metamorphosis into the Harvard University–Museum of Fine Arts, Boston Expedition. Several of the stelae from Cemetery g 1200 were discovered in situ, set into their niches at the southern end of the mastaba’s exterior. Reisner proudly reported back to his sponsor from Giza in 1904:

Hearst Expedition
Mena House
Pyramids
Cairo.
May 31 [1904]

Dear Mrs. Hearst,

... I wish merely to announce that we have found eight more painted limestone statues—four of them being very fine indeed. So our total of statues for the year is twenty five and a unique head (making thirty two figures and a head). There are six exquisite stelae of the time of Chufu, eight inscribed offering stones and a number of other inscribed stones. There are two tombs with reliefs and one with paintings. Finally there are a few pieces of stoneware and other smaller objects....⁴

Unfortunately, the dates entered in the Expedition’s photographic register books for this period often lack month or day entries; these were routinely added after 1905–06. It seems therefore impossible to reconstruct exactly which mastabas were excavated when, and in what sequence the slab stelae came to light. However, from the excerpted letter above it is clear that the six stelae referred to must be the complete Cemetery 1200 group, minus g 1225 (Nefret-iabet), removed before Reisner arrived, and g 1201 (Wepemnefret), which is referred to in a subsequent letter of 1905. Thus the six short-form stelae must all have been discovered by the Hearst Expedition before May, 1904.

The following year Reisner left Albert M. Lythgoe in charge of moving the Expedition to the eastern side of the large, anonymous mastaba Lepsius 23 (= g 2000), but not before the famous stela of Wepemnefret emerged from behind a protective covering in g 1201. At the age of 63, Mrs. Hearst had visited the site and stayed at the Hearst (soon to be renamed Harvard) Camp in February, 1905.⁵ After her departure, Reisner wrote:

Pyramids.
Cairo.
March 15 [1905]

Dear Mrs. Hearst,

With all that perversion of luck, for which “luck” is famous, the moment you leave Egypt, we begin to find things.



Fig. 172. View of the Western Cemetery from three-quarters of the way up the Khufu pyramid, showing the three earliest nucleus cemeteries. December 23, 1927. HU–MFA Expedition photograph, Mohammed Ibrahim, a 4784

1) The stelae of which I told you before you left. I enclose a photograph, but no photograph can give you an idea of the coloring. Davies has dropped all his work to make a colored copy. I suppose the stone is worth \$9000 to \$10000....

Yours faithfully
George A. Reisner.⁶

The “colored copy” by Davies of the Wepemnefret stela (from g 1201) referred to is preserved in the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, and is the frontispiece to the present volume. The “Division list” between the Expedition and the authorities at the Egyptian Museum, Cairo, from April 11, 1905, also survives in the MFA archives. On a list written in long hand by Reisner himself and marked “Excavations Hearst Egyptian Excavations

[sic] at Gizeh 1903–4” (fig. 173), twenty-eight objects are mentioned. Nos. 10–12, taken by the Egyptian Museum, Cairo, are

³ For the division of the site among the various excavators see Reisner’s account in *Giza Necropolis* 1, pp. vi, 22–25, and Manuelian, “Excavating the Old Kingdom. The Giza Necropolis and Other Mastaba Fields,” in *Egyptian Art in the Age of the Pyramids* (New York, 1999), pp. 139–53.

⁴ Personal letter from G.A. Reisner to Phoebe A. Hearst, May 31, 1904, in the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston.

⁵ See J. Robinson, *The Hearsts. An American Dynasty* (New York, 1991), p. 303, with n. 43 on p. 410.

⁶ Personal letter from G.A. Reisner to Phoebe A. Hearst, March 15, 1905, in the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston. Reisner also mentions his frustration in discovering the Wepemnefret stela one day too late in a letter to Mrs. Hearst’s acquaintance, Mary Laurence of San Francisco, dated April 26, 1912.

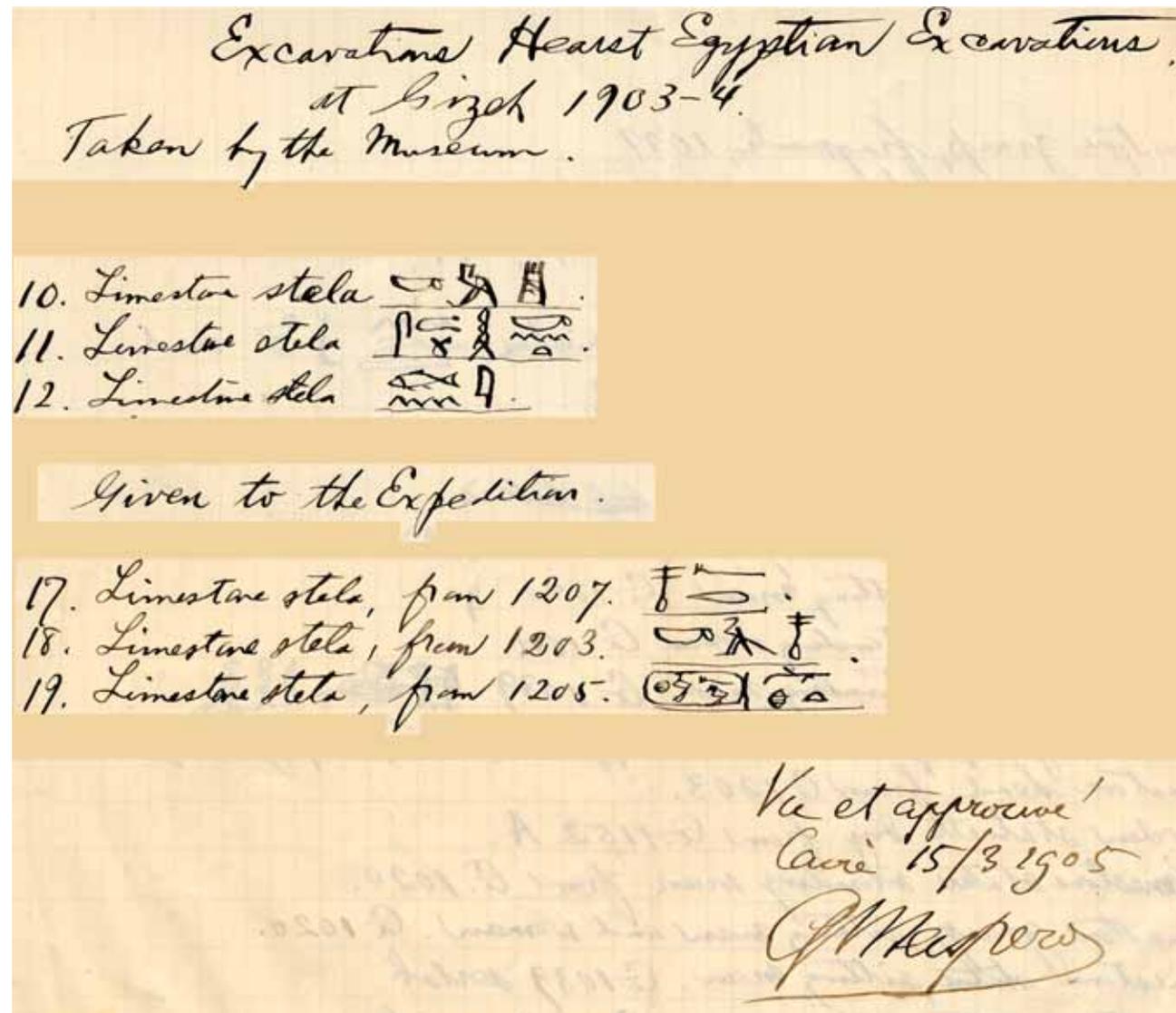


Fig. 173. Excerpts from Hearst Expedition Division List, 1903–1904, handwritten by Reisner and approved by G. Maspero; housed in the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston

the slab stelae of Kaiemah (g 1223), Setji-hekenet (g 1227), and Ini (g 1235), while nos. 17, 18, and 19, given to the Hearst Expedition for the University of California, Berkeley, are those of Nefer (g 1207), Kanefer (g 1203), and Khufu-nakht (g 1205). An additional sheet, written in A.C. Mace's hand, is marked "Objects handed over to the [Egyptian] Museum on April 11th, 1905."⁷ It lists "from Gizeh... 3 stelae." The Wepemnefret stela was apparently a fresh discovery at this point, and not ready for submission to a division.

Hearst support for the Expedition ended on October 1, 1905. By the time Lythgoe discovered the fragments of another slab stela near the chapel of g 2120, it was in the name of the Harvard–MFA Expedition (fig. 174).⁸ (This was Lythgoe's final season with Reisner, as he departed soon thereafter for the Metropolitan Museum in New York.) In a letter to Museum of Fine Arts President of the Trustees, Gardiner M. Lane, dated December 10, 1906, Reisner described his desire to obtain a slab stela for the collection in Boston:

This year, I cannot tell what we may find, though my thought in digging a royal funerary temple was naturally to obtain royal statues and reliefs of the late 4th dynasty. But there are certain rare classes of objects found as yet only in this cemetery and one other of which the Boston Museum has no examples. The most important of these is a stela in relief of the Cheops period. I send two photographs of such stela found for the University of California; one is the stela of Wep-em-nofret, son of Cheops. I wish very much that the Boston Museum might obtain one or two examples of these. Our work at the end of the last year was directed to clearing a group of Cheops mastabas, in which such stelae might be found; but in every case the stela was gone, although we found the places in the wall in which they had once set. Only a few fragments were found. Only about 8 of these stelae are known, of which I have found seven. So far as I can see, there are only a very few mastabas left in which such stelae may be found. The Wep-em-nofret stela is worth about \$10,000. I would advise the Museum to authorize me to continue the excavations in the Cheops cemetery in the hope of finding one or more of these stelae....⁹

One other stela, from the mastaba of Meretites (g 4140), emerged in Reisner's concession in January–February, 1912. In all, Reisner found eight stelae between 1904 and 1906 in the nucleus Cemeteries 1200 and 2100, and two more in 1912 and 1914 respectively in Cemetery 4000.¹⁰ The Meretites stela remained the only complete example to be assigned to Boston, although fragments of two others (Seshat-sekhentiu, g 2120, and Wenshet, g 4840) also joined that Museum's collection. Four stelae were assigned to Berkeley as part of the Hearst Expedition division, and three were sent to the Cairo Museum.

Prior to the outbreak of World War I, Hermann Junker traded his Nubian concession with Georg Steindorff in order

⁷ Mace, like Lythgoe, worked with Reisner at Giza during the 1905–06 season; cf. Reisner, *Giza Necropolis* 1, p. vii, and C. Lee, ... *the grand piano came by camel*. Arthur C. Mace, *the neglected Egyptologist* (Edinburgh, 1992), pp. 49–54.

⁸ Two additional fragments of this stela were later found in March, 1938 on the western side of g 2120. These remain at this writing separate from the reconstructed stela and are omitted from early MFA studio photography of the object.

⁹ Unpublished letter from Reisner to Gardiner Martin Lane, December 10, 1906, stored in the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, along with Reisner's unpublished "First Report of the Expedition of Harvard University & The Boston Museum of Fine Arts, 1906–7."

¹⁰ Published accounts of the Giza work prior to 1905 (the Hearst Expedition years) are meager; cf. G.A. Reisner and C.S. Fisher, "Preliminary Report on the Work of the Harvard–Boston Expedition in 1911–13," *ASAE* 13 (1914), esp. pp. 135–36, p. 4; Reisner, "The Work of the Hearst Egyptian Expedition of the University of California in 1903–4," *Records of the Past* IV, Part V (May 1905), pp. 131–41, and several unpublished reports on the Hearst Expedition at Giza in the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston.

(Nefret-iabet), which had lost its slab stela to Ballard's diggings prior to being assigned to Reisner's concession along with the rest of the tombs of Cemetery 1200. Today, the fifteen known stelae and stela fragments are housed in the museums of Berkeley (four),¹⁶ Boston (three), Cairo (three; two currently on loan to the Port Said National Museum), Hildesheim (one), Paris (one), and Vienna (three).

In the course of the excavations that unearthed the fifteen slab stelae or stela fragments, a large number of tombs revealed empty slab stela emplacements, or niches prepared in the southern half of the mastaba's east exterior wall. Thus a total of twenty-five tombs appear to have (had) a slab stela, and it is to be inferred that many more did as well, but have lost their emplacements due either to ancient alterations or accidents of chapel preservation.¹⁷ Although the actual stelae from these ten "emplacement tombs" disappeared long before the era of scientific excavation, the emplacements nevertheless have much to tell us. They have been neglected in the scholarly literature in favor of the eleven emplacements that still held actual stelae. Examination of the emplacements allows us to determine, for example, whether the stela was originally of the short-form or long-form type. The schematic map of the major mastabas of the Western Cemetery in fig. 176 portrays the tombs containing short-form (blue outline) versus long-form (pink outline) stelae, based on either actual stelae found or the dimensions of the empty emplacement. The original height of the stela is sometimes undeterminable where no upper frame or limit is visible in the mastaba's core masonry; slab stelae often protruded higher than the course of limestone blocks into which they were set. However, the width of the stelae can usually be determined. Furthermore, the emplacements vary from a carefully prepared niche aligned in the courses of casing stones (e.g., g 2100, Sedit, mother of Merib), to a hollowed-out depression carved into a single monolithic block (e.g., g 4560). One emplacement even preserves a large,

of the Old Kingdom," in W.K. Simpson and W.M. Davis, eds., *Studies in Ancient Egypt, the Aegean and the Sudan. Essays in Honor of Dows Dunham on the occasion of his 90th birthday, June 1, 1980* (Boston, 1981), pp. 129–31; C.H. Roehrig, "Reserve Heads: An Enigma of Old Kingdom Sculpture," in *Egyptian Art in the Age of the Pyramids*, pp. 72–81; N. Tacke, "Die Entwicklung der Mumienmaske im Alten Reich," *MDAIK* 52 (1996), pp. 307–36; D. Wildung, "Technologische Bemerkungen zur Kunst des Alten Reiches. Neue Fakten zu den Ersatzköpfen," in N. Grimal, ed., *Les critères de datation stylistiques à l'Ancien Empire* (Cairo, 1998), pp. 399–406.

¹⁶ Three of the four Berkeley stelae (excluding the fragmentary stela of Kanefer, g 1203) are illustrated in H.F. Lutz, *Egyptian Tomb Steles and Offering Stones* (Leipzig, 1927), pls. 1–2.

¹⁷ Cf. Junker, *Giza* 1, pp. 28–29.

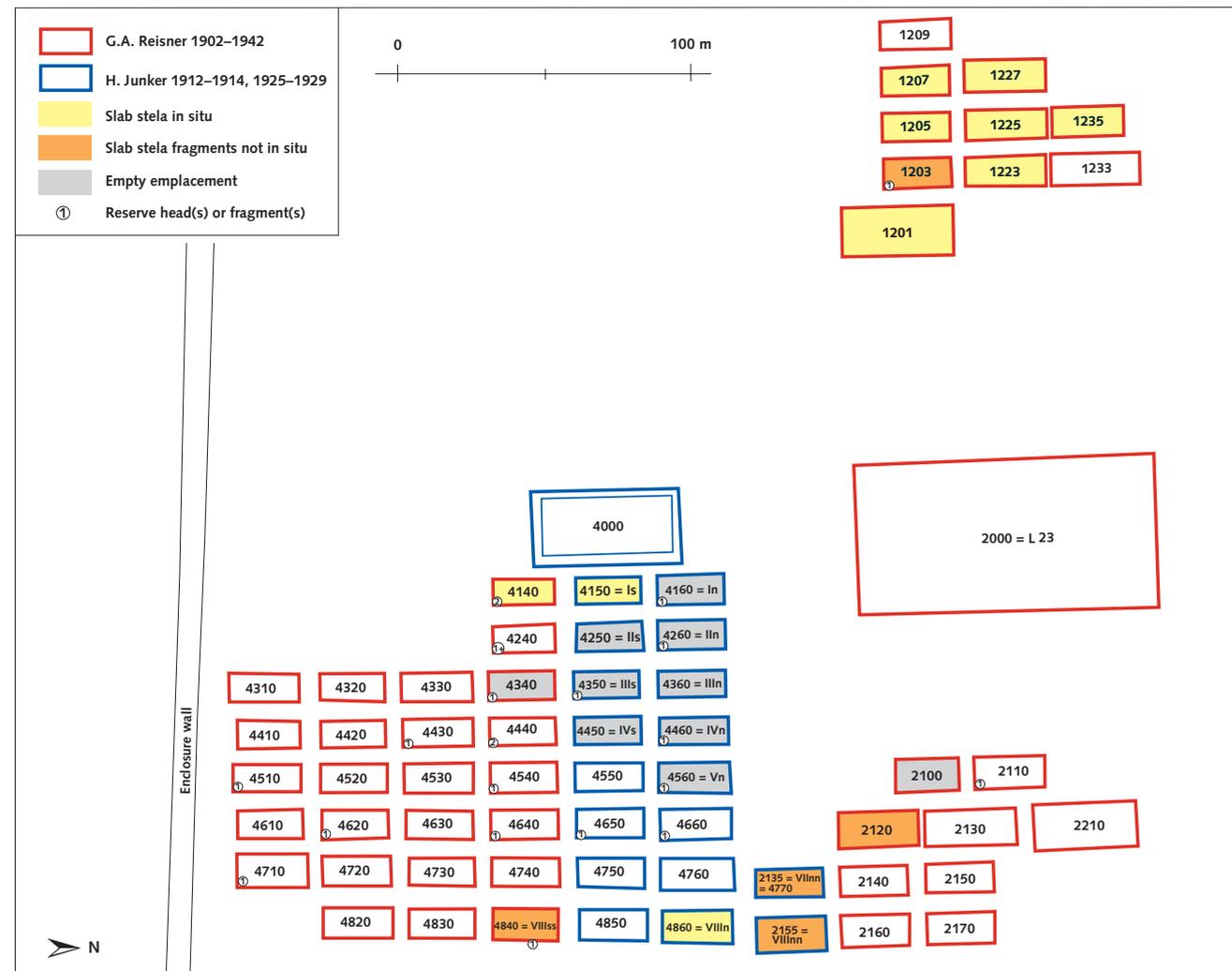


Fig. 175. Schematic plan of the major mastabas of the Western Cemetery showing mastabas excavated by Reisner and Junker, along with locations of slab stelae (in situ or not), empty emplacements, and reserve heads

weathered, white limestone fragment of the original slab stela into the twenty-first century (g 4460). Traces of mortar in some of the niches would repay analysis to tell us the exact composition of the materials and binding technique of attaching the stelae to the mastaba exteriors in question.

Two of the “empty emplacement” tombs appear in the Western Cemetery concession assigned to Reisner and the Harvard–MFA Expedition: g 2100 (Sedit), and g 4340; the mastaba of Wenshet (g 4840), likewise in Reisner’s concession, failed to preserve its emplacement. All of the other mastabas are located in Junker’s portion of the Western Cemetery.

The remainder of this chapter contains a short catalogue presenting the ten “empty emplacement” tombs with brief descriptions, and chapel area plans, as well as original expedition and more recent photography. Wherever possible, detail views of the empty emplacements are included. In addition to rounding out the documentation, these views are added in the hope that additional fragments once fitting into these emplacements may one day come to light and be more readily identified. This catalogue is then followed by a comprehensive chart of all twenty-five mastabas, both with and without preserved slab stelae, that are the primary focus of the present study.

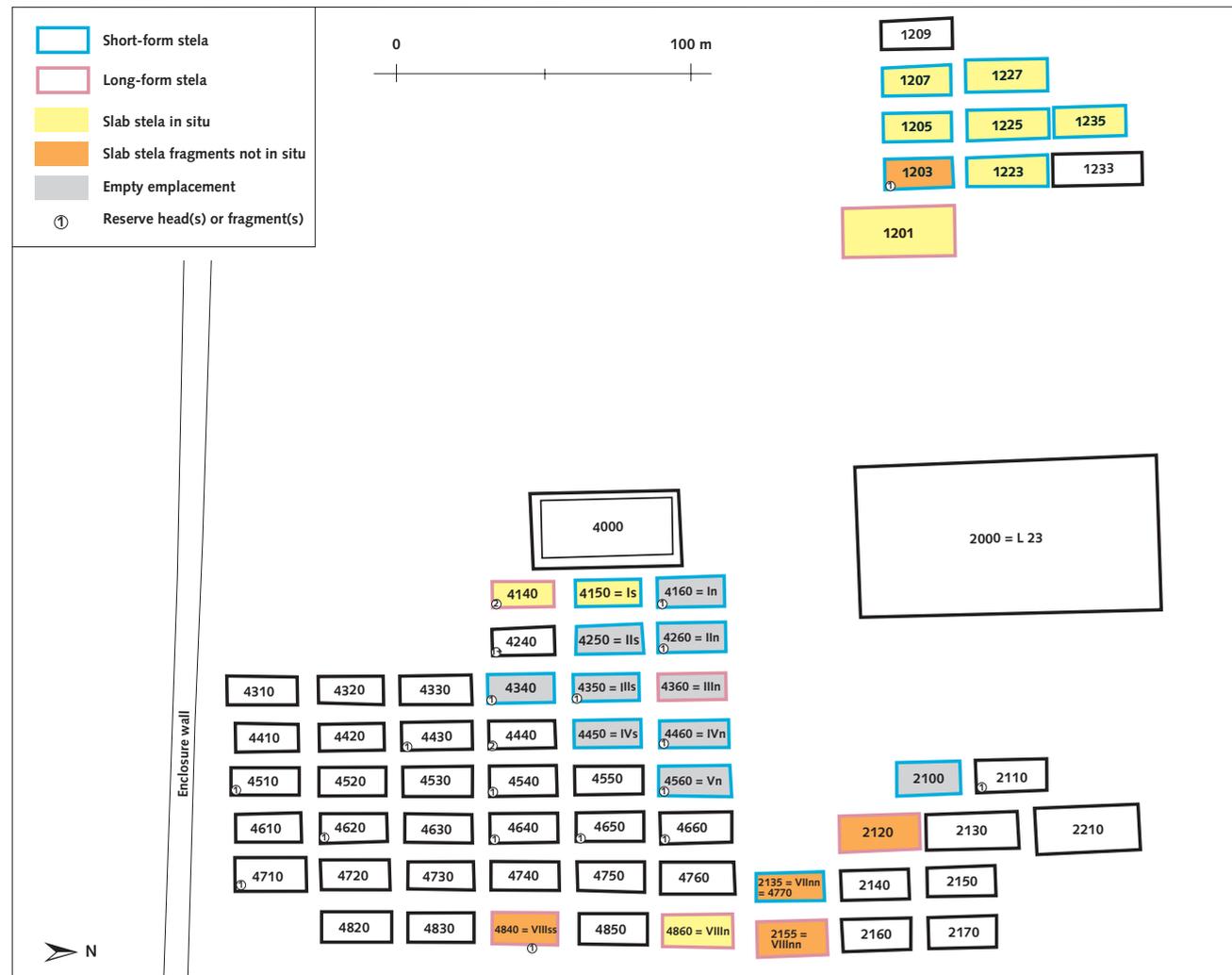


Fig. 176. Schematic plan of the major mastabas of the Western Cemetery showing mastabas containing short-form versus long-form stelae

Owner: *Sdit*, Sedit(?) ¹⁸

Location: Cemetery 2100: g 2100

Selected bibliography: Reisner, *Giza Necropolis*1, pp. 418–19

Stela: Short-form (not preserved)

Emplacement measurements: h. 38 cm (upper edge indicated); w. 58 cm

Date: Original mastaba core Khufu; Sedit: mid-Dynasty 4

Remarks: Due to recent identification of the skeletal remains from g 2100 shaft a as belonging to a female, for which I thank Dr. Azza Mohamed Sarry el-Din, I would assign this tomb to Merib's mother, Sedit, known from the chapel walls of her son's tomb next door (g 2100–I); cf. Reisner, *Giza Necropolis*1, p. 418; Junker, *Giza* 2, pp. 122, 131f. On Sedit herself, see Junker, *Giza* 2, p. 131ff., and Schmitz, "*Königsohn*," pp. 27f., 70, 103, 118, 123. W. Helck preferred to assign the tomb to Merib's (unnamed) father, "Zur Entstehung des Westfriedhofs an der Cheops-Pyramide," *ZÄS*81 (1956), pp. 63, 65.

Fig. 178. Plan of mastaba g 2100, after Reisner, *Giza Necropolis*1, Map 5. Drawing by Ruth Bigio

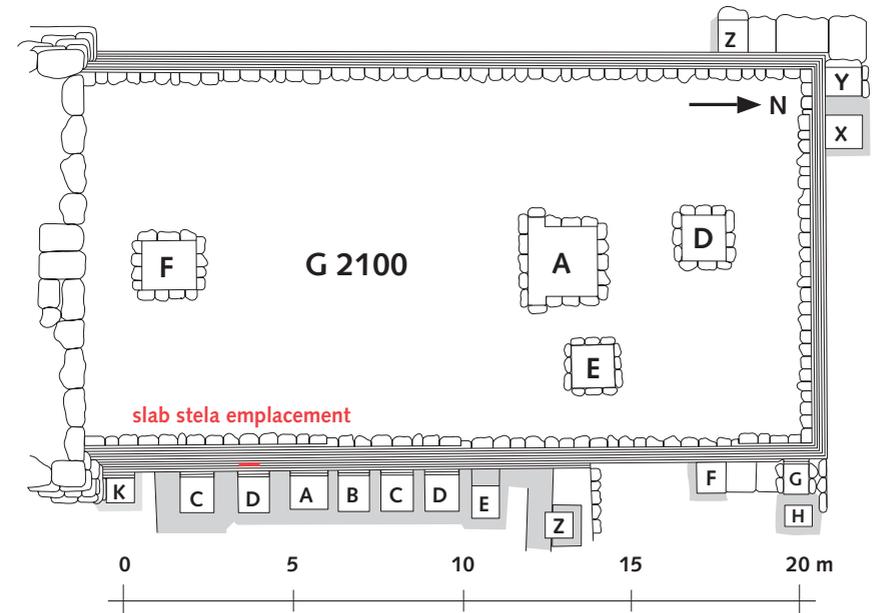


Fig. 177. Mastaba g 2100, with location of slab stela emplacement indicated, looking southwest. January 10, 1938. HU–MFA Expedition photograph, Mohammedani Ibrahim, a 7897



Fig. 179. Mastaba g 2100 and slab stela emplacement in g 2100, looking west. November 21, 1993. PDM, 93.107.27



Fig. 180. Slab stela emplacement in g 2100, looking west. 1905–1906. HU–MFA Expedition photograph, Albert M. Lythgoe, c 857



Fig. 181. Slab stela emplacement in g 2100, looking west. November 21, 1993. PDM, 93.107.26

SLAB STELAE OF THE GIZA NECROPOLIS

Owner: Anonymous (gender?)

Location: Cemetery 4000: g 4160 (=In)

Selected bibliography: PM III, p. 124–25; Junker, *Giza 1*, pp. 28, 163, fig. 25, 165, fig. 26

Stela: Short-form(?) (not preserved); chapel buried as of 2003

Emplacement measurements: Junker, *Giza 1*, p. 28: h. 38 cm; w. 56 cm; th. 10; h. to bottom of emplacement from ground 1.77 m (Junker, *Giza 1*, p. 163, fig. 25)

Date: Khufu



Fig. 183. General view of chapel of g 4160, looking northwest. April 22, 1999. PDM, 99.5.26

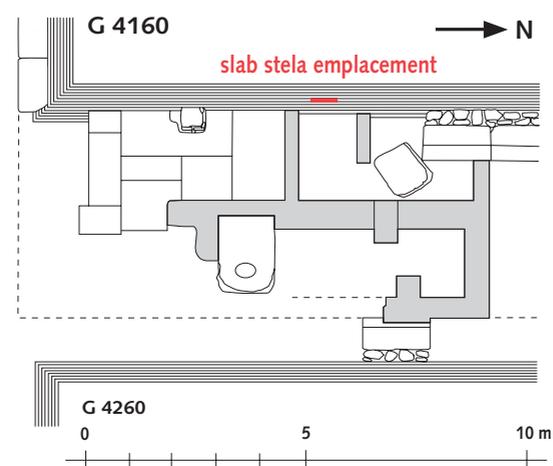


Fig. 182. Chapel plan of g 4160, after János. Drawing by Liza Majerus

Owner: Anonymous (gender?)
Location: Cemetery 4000: g 4250 (= II s)
Selected bibliography: Junker, *Giza* 1, pp.
Stela: Short-form (not preserved)
Emplacement measurements: h. 38 cm (outline indicated in stone/plaster); w. 53.5 cm; Junker, *Giza* 1, p. 28: h. 38 cm; w. 53 cm; th. 10 cm
Date: Khufu



Fig. 185. General view of chapel of g 4250, looking northwest. April 22, 1999. PDM, 99.6.9

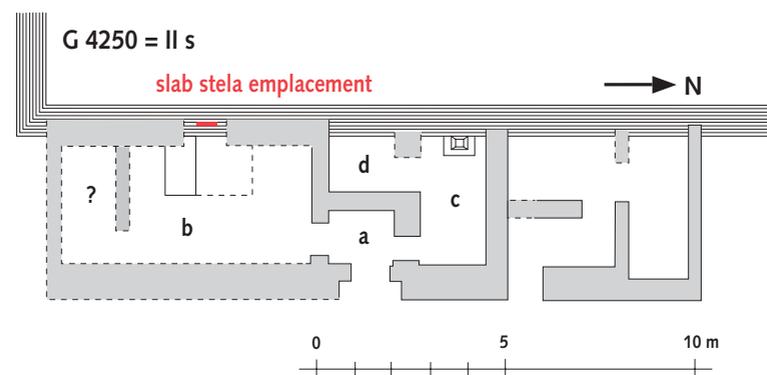


Fig. 184. Chapel plan of g 4250, after Jánosi. Drawing by Liza Majerus



Fig. 186. Slab stela emplacement in g 4250, looking west. April 22, 1999. PDM, 99.6.13

Owner: Anonymous ☐

Location: Cemetery 4000: g 4260 (= II_n)

Selected bibliography: PM III, p. 125; Junker, *Giza* 1, p. 182 fig. 34, pl. 28

Stela: Short-form(?) (not preserved); chapel buried as of 2003

Emplacement measurements: Junker, *Giza* 1, p. 28: h. 38 cm; w. 56 cm; th. 10 cm; estimated w. based on Junker, *Giza* 1, p. 184 fig. 35: 50–60 cm; h. to bottom of emplacement from ground 1.35 m (Junker, *Giza* 1, p. 182, fig. 34)

Date: Khufu



Fig. 188. General view of chapel of g 4260, looking west. April 22, 1999. PDM, 99.6.17

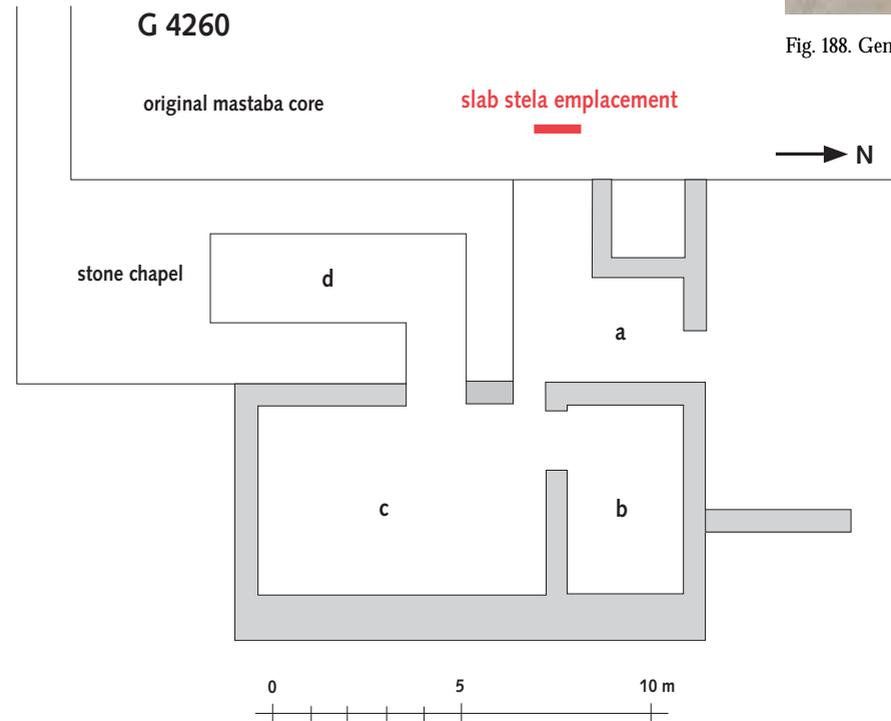


Fig. 187. Chapel plan of g 4260, after János. Drawing by Liza Majerus

Owner: Anonymous ?
Location: Cemetery 4000: g 4340
Selected bibliography: PM III, p. 126; Reisner, *Giza Necropolis*1, pp. 471–75
Stela: Short-form (not preserved)
Emplacement measurements: h. 60 cm (top ridge indicated);
w. c. 95 cm; distance to southeast corner of mastaba 3.59 m
Date: Khufu



Fig. 190. General view of chapel of g 4340, looking northwest. April 22, 1999. PDM, 99.7.2

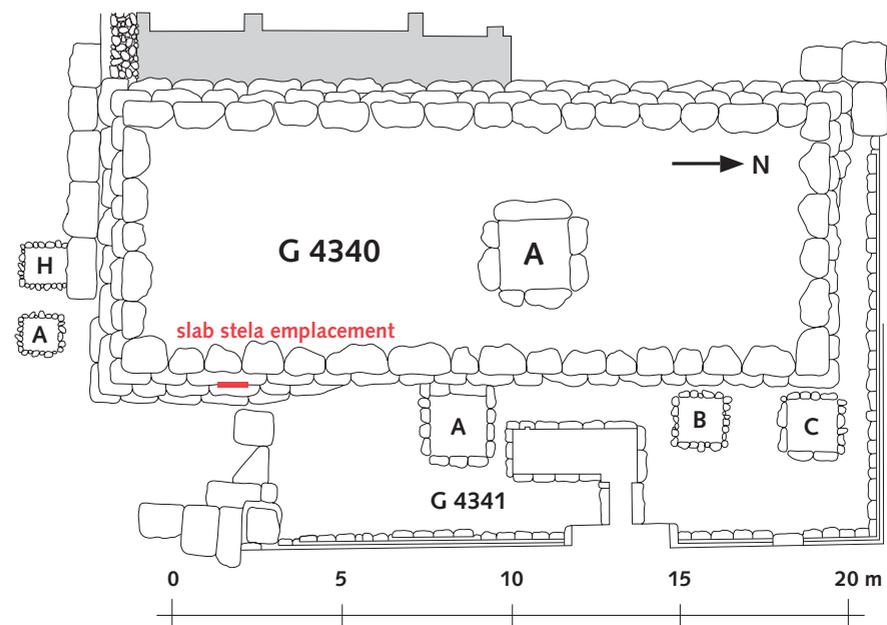


Fig. 189. Plan of g 4340, after Reisner, *Giza Necropolis*1, Map 6. Drawing by Ruth Bigio



Fig. 191. Slab stela emplacement in g 4340, looking west. April 22, 1999. PDM, 99.7.4

Owner: Anonymous (gender?)

Location: Cemetery 4000: g 4350 (= IIIs)

Selected bibliography: PM III, p. 126; Junker, *Giza* 1, p. 196, fig. 39, pl. 32b

Stela: Short-form (not preserved)

Emplacement measurements: Junker, *Giza* 1, p. 28: h. 38 cm; w. 58 cm; th. 12 cm; Junker, *Giza* 1, p. 196, fig. 39: h. 37 cm (top edge indicated); w. 54 cm; h. to bottom of emplacement from ground 1.05 m

Date: Khufu

Remarks: The most important feature of this tomb is that the slab stela emplacement is not set into the mastaba's core but into the wall of the subsequent extension to the tomb. Only one other mastaba (Meretites, g 4140) shows a similar arrangement; in all other cases the slab stela is part of the original, first construction phase of the tomb; cf. Junker, *Giza* 1, p. 196, fig. 39, pl. 32b, and P. Jánosi, *Giza in der 4. Dynastie* (Vienna, forthcoming), § 2.4.1



Fig. 193. General view of chapel of g 4350, looking northwest. April 22, 1999. PDM, 99.6.29

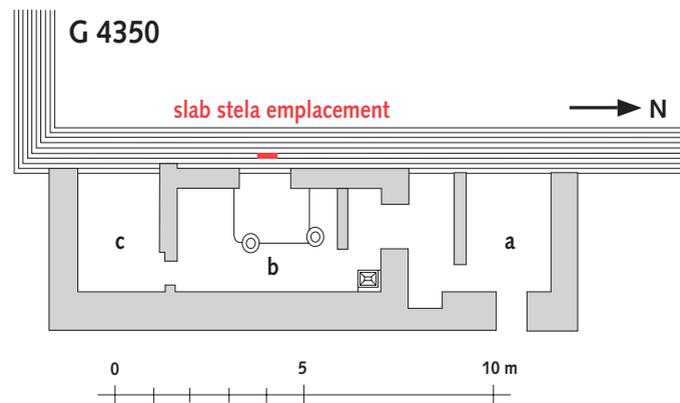


Fig. 192. Chapel plan of g 4350, after Jánosi. Drawing by Liza Majerus



Fig. 194. Slab stela emplacement in g 4350, looking west. April 22, 1999. PDM, 99.6.31

Owner: Mery-hetepf 
Location: Cemetery 4000: g 4360 (= IIIIn)
Selected bibliography: PM III, p. 127; Junker, *Giza 1*, p. 200, fig. 40, pls. 8b, 32a
Stela: Long-form (not preserved)
Emplacement measurements: Junker, *Giza 1*, p. 28: h. 62 cm; w. 85 cm; th. 17 cm; Junker, *Giza 1*, p. 200, fig. 40: h. 60 cm (Junker: 73); w. 97 cm; th. 50 cm to front of underlying block (Junker); h. to bottom of emplacement from ground 1 m
Date: Khufu

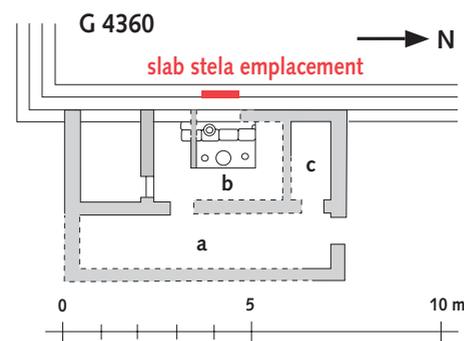


Fig. 195. Chapel plan of g 4360, after Jánosi. Drawing by Liza Majerus



Fig. 196. Slab stela emplacement in g 4360, looking west. April 22, 1999. PDM, 99.6.23



Fig. 197. Chapel of g 4360, looking west = Junker, *Giza 1*, pl. 8b. 1912–1913. Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna, 2004



Fig. 198. General view of chapel of g 4360, looking northwest. April 22, 1999. PDM, 99.6.25

Owner: Anonymous (gender?)

Location: Cemetery 4000: g 4450 (= IVs)

Selected bibliography: Junker, *Giza 1*, p. 206, fig. 44 (which differs from fig. 199 below); Reisner, *Giza Necropolis 1*, p. 65

Stela: Short-form (not preserved); chapel buried as of 2003

Emplacement measurements: Junker, *Giza 1*, p. 28: h. 37 cm; w. 52 cm; th. 13(?) cm; measurements (some estimated) from Junker, *Giza 1*, p. 206, fig. 44: h. 37 cm; w. 52 cm; c. 3 m to southeast corner of mastaba; h. to bottom of emplacement from ground 1.1 m

Date: Khufu



Fig. 200. General view of chapel of g 4450, looking northwest. April 22, 1999. PDM, 99.7.8

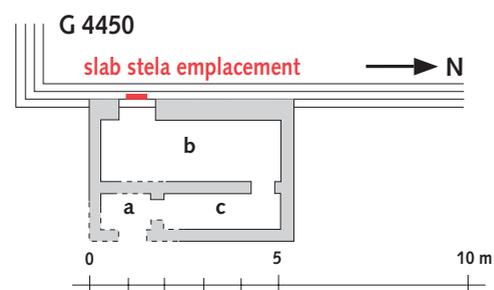


Fig. 199. Chapel plan of g 4450, after Jánosi. Drawing by Liza Majerus

Owner: Anonymous (gender?)

Location: Cemetery 4000: g 4460 (= IVn)

Selected bibliography: Junker, *Giza 1*, p. 204, fig. 42; pl. 33

Stela: Short-form (not preserved)

Emplacement measurements: h. 35.5 cm (top indicated); w 53 cm; Junker, *Giza 1*, p. 28: h. 38 cm; w. 54 cm; th. 13 cm; Junker, *Giza 1*, p. 204, fig. 42: h. 56 cm; w. 38 cm; c. 4.15 m to southeast corner of mastaba

Date: Khufu

Remarks: Undecorated fragments of stela were still in situ in 2003

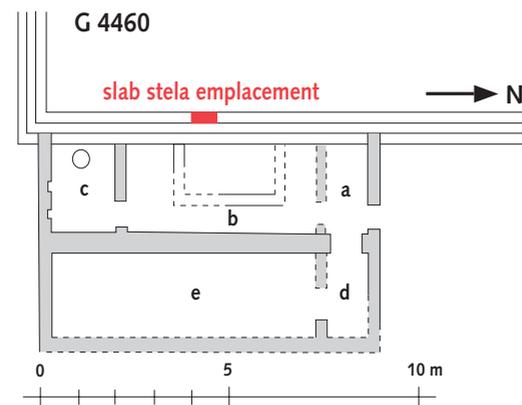


Fig. 201. Chapel plan of g 4460, after Jánosi. Drawing by Liza Majerus



Fig. 202. Slab stela emplacement in g 4460, looking west. April 22, 1999. PDM, 99.7.15



Fig. 203. Slab stela emplacement in g 4460, looking northwest. April 22, 1999. PDM, 99.7.16



Fig. 204. Chapel of g 4460, looking west = Junker, *Giza 1*, pl. 33a. 1912–1913. Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna, 2253



Fig. 205. General view of chapel of g 4460, looking northwest. April 22, 1999. PDM, 99.7.11

SLAB STELAE OF THE GIZA NECROPOLIS

Owner: Anonymous (gender?)

Location: Cemetery 4000: g 4560 (= Vn)

Selected bibliography: PM III, p. 131; Junker, *Giza* 1, p. 209 fig. 46, pl. 34a

Stela: Short-form (not preserved)

Emplacement measurements: h. 42 cm (top edge indicated); w. 58 cm; ca. 4 m to southeast corner of mastaba (Junker, *Giza* 1, p. 208: 4.5 m; but *ibid.*, p. 209 fig. 46: 4.2 m); Junker, *Giza* 1, p. 28: h. 44 cm; w. 56 cm; th. 13.5 cm

Date: Khufu

Remarks: fragments of stela found (Junker, *Giza* 1, p. 208)



Fig. 206. Slab stela emplacement in g 4560, looking west. April 22, 1999. PDM, 99.7.22



Fig. 207. Detail view of slab stela emplacement in g 4560, looking west. April 22, 1999. PDM, 99.7.23

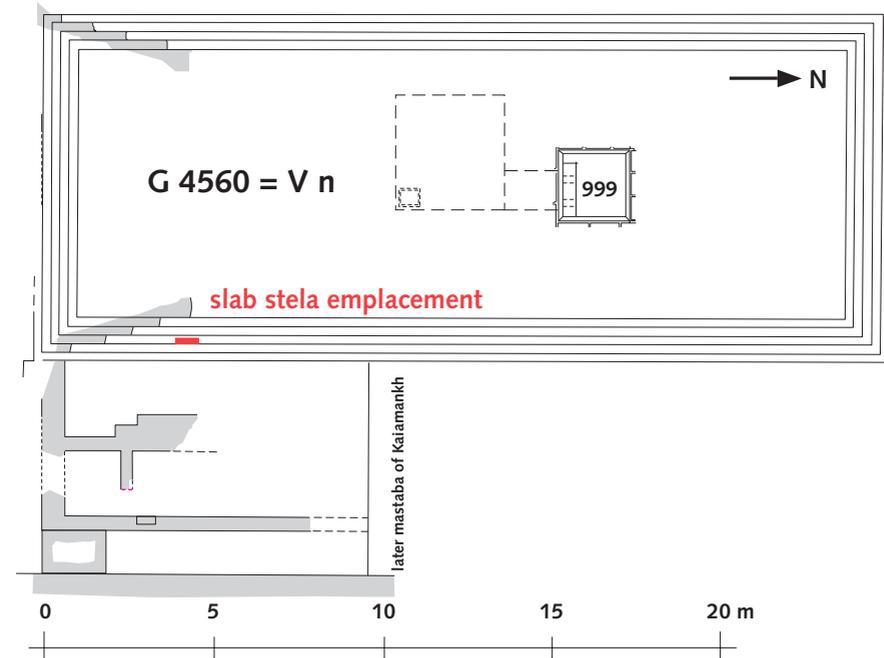


Fig. 208. Plan of g 4560, after Junker, *Giza* 1, p. 209, fig. 46. Drawing by Ruth Bigio



Fig. 209. General view of chapel of g 4560, looking northwest. April 22, 1999. PDM, 99.7.19

The summary chart in fig. 210 below assembles for quick reference all of the mastabas mentioned above, those with preserved slab stelae—numbered (1) through (15)—and those containing empty emplacements. In each case, the appropriate measurements are included (stela and emplacement), indicating where possible the distance from the southeast corner of the mastaba to the location of the emplacement niche. The chart also provides accession numbers and very limited, primary bibliographical references. Basic totals include fifteen preserved stelae or stela fragments, and ten empty emplace-

ments. Eighteen of the preserved stelae show the short-form, while seven show the long-form. Cemetery 1200 produced eight stelae, Cemetery 2100 once contained at least four stelae, and Cemetery 4000 thirteen. Additional research at the site should further distinguish the difference between the mastabas that clearly never contained a slab stela or stela emplacement, and those mastabas where a conclusion is no longer clear, due to either damage to the chapel area, or alterations/expansions that have replaced or obliterated the stela.

Name & Tomb Number	m/f	Stelae Measurements	Emplacement Measurements	Short/Long-Form	Condition	Primary Bibliography
(1) g 1201 <i>Wp-m-nfrt</i> Wepemnefret Hearst Museum, Berkeley, 6-19825		h. 45.7 cm w. 66 th. 7.6	buried as of 2003	long-form	complete	Reisner, <i>Giza Necropolis</i> 1, p. 386, pl. 17a; W.S. Smith, <i>Archaeology</i> 16 (1963), pp. 2-13; Lutz, <i>Egyptian Tomb Steles</i> , pl. 1
(2) g 1203 <i>Ks-nfr</i> Kanefer Hearst Museum, Berkeley, 6-19807		h. 38 w. 52.9 th. 7.3	h. unlimited (h. of neighboring block 32) w. 56 2.70 m to south end of east wall	short-form	fragments	Reisner, <i>Giza Necropolis</i> 1, p. 390, pl. 17b
(3) g 1205 <i>Hufw-nht</i> Khufu-nakht Hearst Museum, Berkeley, 6-19786		h. 38 w. 52.6 th. 8.2	buried as of 2003 ca. 2.85 m to south end of east wall	short-form	complete	Reisner, <i>Giza Necropolis</i> 1, pp. 393-94, pl. 18a; Lutz, <i>Egyptian Tomb Steles</i> , pl. 2, no. 3
(4) g 1207 <i>Nfr</i> Nefer Hearst Museum, Berkeley, 6-19801		h. 38 w. 50.8 th. 8.2	buried as of 2003	short-form	complete	Reisner, <i>Giza Necropolis</i> 1, p. 395, pl. 18; W.S. Smith, <i>Archaeology</i> 16 (1963), p. 6, fig. 7; Lutz, <i>Egyptian Tomb Steles</i> , pl. 2, no. 2
(5) g 1223 <i>Ks-m-h</i> Kaiemah Egyptian Museum, Cairo, JE 37725 (57128), Room R42 N6		h. 37.8 w. 52.5 th. 8	h. unlimited (h. of neighboring block 33) w. 54 4.6 m to south end of east wall	short-form	complete	Reisner, <i>Giza Necropolis</i> 1, pp. 399-400, pl. 19a
(6) g 1225 <i>Nfrt-ibst</i> Nefret-iabet Musée du Louvre, Paris, E 15591		h. 37.7 w. 52.5 th. 8.3	undeterminable	short-form	complete	Reisner, <i>Giza Necropolis</i> 1, pp. 403-405 pl. 19b; C. Ziegler, <i>Stèles, peintures et reliefs</i> , pp. 38 and cover, 187-89, cat. 29

Fig. 210. Comprehensive chart of Giza mastabas with slab stelae and/or stela emplacements

SLAB STELAE OF THE GIZA NECROPOLIS

Name & Tomb Number	m/f	Stelae Measurements	Emplacement Measurements	Short/Long-Form	Condition	Primary Bibliography
(7) g 1227 <i>Sjt-hknt</i> Setji-hekenet Egyptian Museum, Cairo, JE 37726 (57127), currently at Port Said National Museum		h. 37.5 w. 52.5 th. 7.6–7.8	h. unlimited (h. of neighboring block 27) w. 54 2.90 m to southeast corner of mastaba	short-form	complete	Reisner, <i>Giza Necropolis</i> 1, p. 408, pl. 20a
(8) g 1235 <i>Ini</i> Ini Egyptian Museum, Cairo, JE 37727 (57127 bis); currently at Port Said National Museum		h. 37.5 w. 52.5 th. 9.4–11	h. unlimited (h. of neighboring block 27) w. 54 1.90 m to southeast corner of mastaba	short-form	complete	Reisner, <i>Giza Necropolis</i> 1, p. 412, pl. 20b
g 2100, <i>Sdit</i> , Sedit		stela not preserved	h. 38 (upper edge indicated) w. 58	short-form	stela not preserved	Reisner, <i>Giza Necropolis</i> 1, Map 5
(9) g 2120 <i>Sst-shntyw</i> Seshat-sekhentiu Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, 06.1894		h. 51.6 w. 79.8 th. 9.9	h. unlimited (h. of neighboring blocks 53) w. 81 th. 10.5 6.45 m to southeast corner mastaba	long-form	fragments	Reisner, <i>Giza Necropolis</i> 1, p. 428; R.J. Leprohon, <i>CAA, MFA</i> Fasc. 2, <i>Stelae</i> 1
(10) g 2135 (= VIIInn = g 4770) Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna, Inv. ÄS 7799	?	h. 20 w. 23 th. 8	undeterminable	short-form(?)	one fragment (upper right)	Junker, <i>Giza</i> 1, pp. 229–30, fig. 53b, pl. 37b
11) g 2155? (= VIIInn) [<i>Ks-ni-nswt</i>] Kaninisut Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna, Inv. ÄS 7447		h. 52 w. 88 th. 10	undeterminable	long-form	one fragment (lower right section)	Junker, <i>Giza</i> 1, pp. 258–59, 230, fig. 53c, pl. 29b, Reisner, <i>Giza Necropolis</i> 1, p. 306 and unpubl. ms. “The Development of the Tablet Scene”
(12) g 4140 <i>Mrt-it-s</i> Meretites Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, 12.1510		h. 50.5 w. 81.8 th. 8.0	mostly buried as of 2003 h. unlimited (h. of neighboring blocks 74) 4.3 m to southeast corner of mastaba	long-form	complete	Reisner, <i>Giza Necropolis</i> 1, pp. 460–62, fig. 280, pl. 57a; R.J. Leprohon, <i>CAA, MFA</i> Fasc. 2, <i>Stelae</i> 1
(13) g 4150 (= Is) <i>Iwnw</i> Iunu Pelizaeus-Museum, Hildesheim, 2145		h. 39 w. 54 th. 9.3	buried as of 2003 h. from ground ca. 1.3 m	short-form	complete	Junker, <i>Giza</i> 1, pp. 28, 170, fig. 29, 173–79, fig. 31, pls. 26a–b, 27; Eggebrecht et al., <i>Pelizaeus-Museum Hildesheim</i> , pp. 22, 36 (color)

Fig. 210 (continued). Comprehensive chart of Giza mastabas with slab stelae and/or stela emplacements

Name & Tomb Number	m/f	Stelae Measurements	Emplacement Measurements	Short/Long-Form	Condition	Primary Bibliography
g 4160 (= In)	?	stela not preserved	buried as of 2003 h. 38 w. 56 th. 10 h. to bottom of emplacement from ground 1.77 m	short-form(?)	stela not preserved	Junker, <i>Giza</i> 1, pp. 28, 163, fig. 25, p. 165, fig. 26, pl. 25a
g 4250 (= IIs)	?	stela not preserved	h. 38 (outline indicated in stone/plaster) w. 53.5 th. 10	short-form	stela not preserved	Junker, <i>Giza</i> 1, p. 193, fig. 38, pl. 31a
g 4260 (= IIIn)	𓆎	stela not preserved	buried as of 2003 h. 38 w. 56 th. 10 h. to bottom of emplacement from ground 1.35 m	short-form(?)	stela not preserved	Junker, <i>Giza</i> 1, pp. 28, 182, fig. 34, pl. 28
g 4340	𓆎?	stela not preserved	h. 60 (top ridge indicated) w. ca. 95 3.59 m to southeast corner of mastaba	short-form	stela not preserved	Reisner, <i>Giza Necropolis</i> 1, Map 6
g 4350 (= IIIs)	?	stela not preserved	h. 38 w. 58 th. 12 h. to bottom of emplacement from ground 1.05 m	short-form	stela not preserved	Junker, <i>Giza</i> 1, pp. 28, 196, fig. 39, pl. 32b
g 4360 (= IIIIn) Mery-hetepef	𓆎	stela not preserved	h. 62 w. 85 th. 17 th. 50 to front of underlying block (Junker) h. to bottom of emplacement from ground 1 m	long-form	stela not preserved	Junker, <i>Giza</i> 1, pp. 28, 200, fig. 40, pl. 32a
g 4450 (= IVs)	?	stela not preserved	buried as of 2003 h. 37 w. 52 th. 13(?) ca. 3 m to southeast corner of mastaba h. to bottom of emplacement from ground 1.1 m	short-form	stela not preserved	Junker, <i>Giza</i> 1, pp. 28, 206 fig. 44; Reisner, <i>Giza Necropolis</i> 1, p. 65 ("weathered stela in place")

Fig. 210 (continued). Comprehensive chart of Giza mastabas with slab stelae and/or stela emplacements

SLAB STELAE OF THE GIZA NECROPOLIS

Name & Tomb Number	m/f	Stelae Measurements	Emplacement Measurements	Short/Long-Form	Condition	Primary Bibliography
g 4460 (= IVn)	?	undecorated fragments of stela still in situ	h. 35.5 (top indicated) w. 53 th. 13 ca. 4.15 m to southeast corner of mastaba	short-form	stela not preserved	Junker, <i>Giza</i> 1, pp. 28, 204, fig. 42, pl. 33
g 4560 (= Vn)	?	fragments of stela found	h. 42 (top edge indicated) w. 58 th. 13.5 ca. 4 m to southeast corner of mastaba	short-form	stela not preserved	Junker, <i>Giza</i> 1, pp. 28, 208–209, fig. 46, pl. 34a
(14) g 4840 (= VIIIss) <i>Wmš</i> , Wenshet Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, 14–2–1		h. 12 w. 46 th. 12	undeterminable	long-form	one fragment (upper left)	Reisner, <i>Giza Necropolis</i> 1, p. 500, fig. 306; Junker, <i>Giza</i> 1, pp. 28, 249
(15) g 4860 (= VIIIIn) Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna, Inv. ÄS 8459		h. 52 w. 88 th. 10	buried as of 2003	long-form	complete except for upper left corner	Junker, <i>Giza</i> 1, pp. 28, 242, 245, fig. 59, pl. 8a; Hözl, <i>CAA Wien</i> Lfg. 21, pp. 144–49

Fig. 210 (continued). Comprehensive chart of Giza mastabas with slab stelae and/or stela emplacements

CHAPTER 3

Notes on Previous Scholarly Research

The ancient history leading up to the appearance of the slab stela is, of course, much more complicated than the modern archaeological history discussed in the previous chapter. Many scholars have contributed fundamental studies to the related subjects of false doors, funerary stela, and tablet scenes with the funerary repast. This chapter, although hardly exhaustive or complete, summarizes some of the major studies, in roughly chronological order of publication.

Some have suggested that the Bankfield stela, housed in the Bankfield Museum, Halifax, England, and published by A.H. Gardiner, may be the earliest representation of the funerary repast.¹ But the most convincing stylistic and iconographic antecedents to the Giza stela are the archaic cylinder seals (mostly without known provenance; cf. Kaplony, *IAF*1–3), the archaic stela from Saqqara (less likely the extremely simplified, round-topped stela and private name stones from Abydos), the (misnamed “ceiling”) niche-stela from Helwan (Ezbet el-Walda),² and the false door panels and niches from the more elaborate Third and early Fourth Dynasty tombs at Saqqara,³ Meidum⁴ and Dahshur.⁵ Stela of uncertain provenance include those of Niankhtet (Liverpool; figs. 215 and 289),⁶ and Djefa-nisut (Hannover).⁷ Perhaps the best Fourth Dynasty comparisons to the Giza slab stela are the false door panels of Rahotep (Meidum, British Museum),⁸ Isi (Saqqara, Copenhagen),⁹ and Mery (Saqqara, Louvre).¹⁰ Many of these monuments present the deceased seated at a table of bread loaves, accompanied by additional hieroglyphic offering lists and a linen list at the right of the panel.¹¹ But none of them quite matches in layout or style the appearance of the stela from the Western Cemetery at Giza.

Confusion has arisen over a number of interrelated topics: elements possibly indicating southern influence (Abydos, round-topped, vertically oriented stela), versus northern influence (Memphite region, rectangular, horizontally oriented stela); false doors directly or indirectly related to slab stela; the originally intended appearance of the offering place in the earliest Giza mastabas; and the history of the funerary offering scene in general. Thanks to contributions by such scholars as Scharff, Smith, Vandier, Haeny, Wiebach, Strudwick, Bárta, Stadelmann, and others,¹² much light has been shed on these issues, although a clear line of development—if there truly was one—remains elusive. For example, the recently identified

tomb of Snefru's son Netjer-aperet (central Dahshur, mastaba II/1) seems to have contained a pair of round-topped stela in its exterior chapel (one later removed to Snefru's valley temple; Cairo, JE 89290).¹³ This provides an interesting blend of supposedly Upper and Lower Egyptian features, namely a round-topped stela in the Memphite region. (There are also, of course, royal round-topped stela of Snefru at both Meidum and Dahshur). Moreover, while the reduction of decorated wall surfaces is most striking at Giza, recent excavations by the German Archaeological Institute at Dahshur are forging a critical link to the Giza Necropolis, and suggesting that Snefru, not Khufu, was the originator of the reductionist policy.¹⁴

¹ *Manuel*1, p. 739, fig. 496; H.G. Fischer, *Dendera in the Third Millennium B.C.* (Locust Valley, 1968), p. 9; and idem, *Varia Nova*, Egyptian Studies III (New York, 1996), pp. 112–13, with fig. 2a. Smith, *HESPOK*, p. 143, dated the stela to Dynasty 3. Note that Netjer-aperet's round-topped stela from Dahshur casts some doubt on an Upper Egyptian provenance for the Bankfield stela based on a rounded top alone. A. Bolshakov eliminated this monument from his discussion due to its uncertain provenance; *Man and His Double in Egyptian Ideology of the Old Kingdom* (Wiesbaden, 1997), p. 32.

² Twenty-five stela were published by Z.Y. Saad, *Ceiling Stela in Second Dynasty Tombs from the Excavations at Helwan* (Cairo, 1957); see also idem, *Royal Excavations at Helwan (1941–1945)* (Cairo, 1947); and idem, *Royal Excavations at Helwan (1945–1947)* (Cairo, 1951). An additional nine stela were published by P. Kaplony, *Kleine Beiträge zu den Inschriften der ägyptischen Frühzeit* (Wiesbaden, 1966); idem, *Die Inschriften der ägyptischen Frühzeit* (Wiesbaden, 1963); and idem, *Die Inschriften der ägyptischen Frühzeit* (Wiesbaden, 1964). More recently, some of these texts have been translated by J. Kahl, N. Kloth, and U. Zimmermann, *Die Inschriften der 3. Dynastie: Eine Bestandaufnahme* (Wiesbaden, 1995), esp. pp. 172–79.

³ J.E. Quibell, *Archaic Mastabas, Excavations at Saqqara 1912–1914* (Cairo, 1923), esp. pls. 26–28. See in particular the stela of Ib-neb: J. Capart, *Recueil de Monuments Egyptiens* (Brussels, 1902), pl. 1; Vandier, *Manuel*1, p. 753, fig. 497; R. Weill, *Des Monuments et de l'histoire des IIe et IIIe Dynasties Egyptiennes* (Paris, 1908), p. 219, fig. on p. 220; Kahl, Kloth and Zimmermann, *Die Inschriften der 3. Dynastie*, pp. 218–19. For Sehefner (Saqqara 2231), see Smith, *HESPOK*, pl. 32a. For the niches of Kha-bau-sokar and Hathor-nefer-hetep, cf. M. Murray, *Saqqara Mastabas*1 (London, 1904), pls. 1–2; Smith, *HESPOK*, pp. 149–50, pl. 36a; R. Stadelmann, “Der Strenge Stil der frühen Vierten Dynastie,” in R. Stadelmann and H. Sourouzian, eds., *Kunst des Alten Reiches* (Mainz am Rhein, 1995), pl. 59a–b; N. Cherpion, “Le mastaba de Khabausokar (MM A2): prolèmes de chronologie,” *OLP*11 (1980), pp. 79–90. On Hesire, cf. W. Wood, “A Reconstruction of the Reliefs of Hesy-Re,” *JARCE*15 (1978), pp. 9–24; H.G. Fischer, “Two Replies,” *GM*49 (1981), pp. 28–31; Saleh/Sourouzian, *Egyptian Museum Cairo: Official Catalogue* (Mainz, 1987), cat. 21. For Metjen, cf. *Ägyptisches Museum Berlin* (Mainz, 1991), cat. 14, pp. 24–25; for Akhet-aa, Saqqara B 1–2, cf. Smith, *HESPOK*, p. 151; C. Ziegler, *Stèles, peintures et reliefs égyptiens de l'Ancien Empire* (Paris, 1990), pp. 96–103, nos. 14–15; and H.G. Fischer, in “Quelques particuliers à Saqqara,” in C. Berger and B. Mathieu, eds., *Études sur l'Ancien Empire et la nécropole de Saqqara dédiées à Jean-Philippe Lauer* (Montpellier, 1997), pp. 177–78, section 1.

⁴ For Rahotep and Nefret, cf. Petrie, *Medum* (London, 1892), pl. 13; A. Bolshakov, “Some Observations on the Early Chronology of Meidum,” *GM*123 (1991), pp. 11–20; Stadelmann, in *Kunst des Alten Reiches*, pls. 57, 58b; Saleh/Sourouzian, *Egyptian Museum Cairo: Official Catalogue*, cat. 27 (statues). On

Nefermaat and Atet, cf. Petrie, *Medum*, pls. 16, 20; Saleh/Sourouzian, *Egyptian Museum Cairo*, cats. 25–26. Most recently, see Y. Harpur, *The Tombs of Nefermaat and Rahotep at Maidum* (Oxford, 2001), fig. 43, pls. 10, 65, 71.

⁵ See, for example, N. Alexanian, “Die Mastaba II/1 in Dahschur-Mitte,” in *Kunst des Alten Reiches*, pp. 1–18 (tomb of Netjer-aperet); Stadelmann, in *ibid.*, pl. 59c. Smith, *HESPOK*, pl. 36b (Iy-nefer, Dahshur south); Alexanian, *Das Grab des Prinzen Netjer-aperet. Die Mastaba II/1 in Dahschur, Dahschur II* (Mainz am Rhein, 1999); and idem, with S. Seidlmayer, “Die Residenz nekropole von Dahschur. Erster Grabungsbericht,” *MDAIK*58 (2002), pp. 1–28.

⁶ Vandier, *Manuel*1, p. 754, fig. 498; Weill, *Ile et IIIe Dynasties*, p. 225.

⁷ I. Woldering, *Gods, Men and Pharaohs* (New York, 1967), p. 42, pl. 17; Vandier, *Manuel*1, p. 755, fig. 499; R. Drenkahn, *Die ägyptischen Reliefs im Kestner Museum Hannover* (Hanover, 1989), p. 22, cat. 3; and Kahl, Kloth, and Zimmermann, *Die Inschriften der 3. Dynastie*, pp. 216–17.

⁸ Petrie, *Medum*, pl. 13; British Museum 1242, James, *HTBM*2, pl. 1 (2); H.S. Baker, *Furniture in the Ancient World* (London, 1966), fig. 50 (detail photograph of figure only).

⁹ Copenhagen AEIN 896a, M. Jørgensen, *Catalogue Egypt I (3000–1500 B.C.)* (Copenhagen, 1996), p. 49.

¹⁰ Louvre B 49, a–c; Weill, *Ile et IIIe Dynasties*, p. 300; Ziegler, *Stèles, peintures et reliefs égyptiens de l'Ancien Empire*, pp. 108–111, cat. 17; E. Staehelin, *Untersuchungen zur ägyptischen Tracht im Alten Reich* (Berlin, 1966), pl. 4, fig. 6.

¹¹ For a useful summary of the evidence, and a rearrangement of some of N. Cherpion's dating criteria, see M. Bárta, “Archaeology and Iconography: *bds* and *pr* bread moulds and “Speisetschzene” development in the Old Kingdom,” *SAK*22 (1995), pp. 21–35.

¹² Scharff, “Eine archaische Grabplatte des Berliner Museums und die Entwicklung der Grabplatten im frühen Alten Reich,” in *Studies Presented to F.Ll. Griffith* (London, 1932), pp. 346–57; W.S. Smith, “The stela of Prince Wepemnofret,” *Archaeology*16 (1963), pp. 2–13; idem, *HESPOK*, pp. 159–60, 256–58; Vandier, *Manuel*1, pp. 724–774; G. Haeny, “Zu den Platten mit Opfertischzene in Helwan und Giseh,” in *Aufsätze zum 70. Geburtstag von Herbert Ricke*, (Wiesbaden, 1971), esp. pp. 153–59; S. Wiebach, *Die ägyptische Scheintür. Morphologische Studien zur Entwicklung und Bedeutung der Hauptkultstelle in den Privat-Gräbern des Alten Reiches* (Hamburg, 1981), esp. pp. 35–51. See also G.A. Reisner, “The Position of Early Grave Stela,” in *Studies Presented to F.Ll. Griffith*, pp. 324–31; N. Strudwick, *The Administration of Egypt in the Old Kingdom* (London, 1985), pp. 37–50; Bárta, *SAK*22 (1995), pp. 21–35; Stadelmann, in *Kunst des Alten Reiches*, pp. 155–66.

¹³ Cf. Alexanian, in *Kunst des Alten Reiches*, pp. 6–7, pl. 1a; N. Alexanian, *Das Grab des Prinzen Netjer-aperet*, pp. 47–49, fig. 22, pl. 10; Fischer, *Dendera*, pp. 8–9, pl. 1.

¹⁴ See Stadelmann, in *Kunst des Alten Reiches*, esp. pp. 163–64.



Fig. 211. Hermann Junker, George A. Reisner, James H. Breasted, and Ludwig Borchardt in the garden of the Continental Hotel, Cairo, November 15, 1935 (rephotograph of Chicago Expedition photograph by Mr. Leslie Frederick Thompson). Courtesy Oriental Institute, University of Chicago. HU-MFA Expedition photograph, Dahi Ahmed, b 8978

As the excavators of most of the slab stelae, G.A. Reisner and H. Junker were naturally the first to concern themselves with the problem (fig. 211). Junker's more analytical comments on the stelae may be found primarily in his *Giza* 1, pp. 23–35, *Giza* 2, pp. 4–18, and *Giza* 12, pp. 49–53. Reisner's published comments may be found primarily on pp. 305–306 of his *Giza Necropolis* 1, but several unpublished manuscripts, housed today in the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, contain additional remarks (see below, Chapters 4–5). Following upon the work of these two scholars, others have contributed important

discussions, not only on the slab stelae themselves, but on the overlapping issues of the false door, the tablet scene (funerary repast), and the famous Giza reserve heads.

The first substantial publication of the Hearst, and then Harvard-MFA, Expedition at Giza appeared in 1913, co-authored by Reisner and C. Fisher.¹⁵ Although the far Western Cemetery received some attention here, none of the slab stelae was illustrated. In 1917, Gardiner published the archaic round-topped stela purchased at Thebes and acquired by the Bankfield Museum, and dated it to Dynasty 2 (fig. 212).¹⁶ Junker

believed that this stela derived from Abydos, while A. Scharff argued for Memphis.¹⁷ Vandier preferred Abydos as well, noting that the stela was purchased at Thebes. He proposed a unique compromise between the southern, round-topped, stela tradition and the northern, funerary repast, representation by dating the Bankfield stela to the reign of Peribsen and his move into the Thinite region.¹⁸

Focusing on private tombs at Giza in a 1928 *ZÄS* article, Junker argued for a formal break from developments of the preceding Dynasty at Saqqara.¹⁹ Gone were the palace facades and interior chambers, and in their place appeared slab stelae and burial chambers lined with flat limestone blocks painted in imitation of granite. The private tombs followed the lead of the royal pyramid complex in reduction and simplicity according to Junker, and the changes were related to royal power. False doors, absent at first, eventually returned (Junker cites the tomb of Iabtet, g 4650), and the explanation for the walling up of such slab stelae as those of Iunu (g 4150) and Wepemnefret (g 1201) was the eventual conversion of the offering place to a false door. Tradition, for Junker, gradually reasserted itself at Giza, primarily after the necropolis ceased to be the primary royal cemetery. Examples he cited included g 4260, which contained a false door in the southernmost chamber and a slab stela in the connecting room in the wall of the mastaba, and the mastabas of Kaninisut I (g 2155), Merib (g 2100–I), and Nensedjerkai (g 2100–II).²⁰ Giza was thus not helpful in dating other cemetery sites.

Junker developed his thesis further with the publication of his first *Giza* volume in 1929.²¹ Although describing the slab stelae in particular, he omitted several of the Cemetery 2100

¹⁵ Reisner and Fisher, "Preliminary Report on the Harvard-Boston Expedition in 1911–13," *ASAE* 13 (1914), pp. 227–52. A less useful article appeared in 1905 in an obscure journal: Reisner, "The Work of the Hearst Egyptian Expedition of the University of California in 1903–4," *Records of the Past* IV, Part V (May, 1905), pp. 131–41.

¹⁶ A.H. Gardiner, "An Archaic Funerary Stela," *JEA* 4 (1917), pp. 256–60. See also, T. Midgley, "Egyptian Tablets," in *County Borough of Halifax, Bankfield Museum Notes*: No. 4 (Halifax, 1907).

¹⁷ Junker, *Giza* 1, p. 27; Scharff, in *Studies Presented to F.L.I. Griffith*, pp. 355–56.

¹⁸ Vandier, *Manuel* 1, pp. 738–40, fig. 496 on the Bankfield stela.

¹⁹ H. Junker, "Von der ägyptischen Baukunst des Alten Reiches," *ZÄS* 63 (1928), pp. 1–14.

²⁰ *Giza* 2, pp. 4–18.

²¹ Junker, *Giza* 1, pp. 23–35.



Fig. 212. The Bankfield stela, after A.H. Gardiner, *JEA* 4 (1917), pl. 55

examples discovered by Reisner (perhaps because they had not yet been published at that time), as well as the long-form stela of Seshat-sekhentiu (g 2120) and Meretites (g 4140). Nevertheless, he argued that the slab stela antedated the funerary repast scene on the false door. Junker mentioned the archaic, round-topped Abydos stela and Upper Egyptian tumulus burials, versus the rectangular stela and palace facade tradition of the north, but he noted that a direct line of development was hard to follow. The Bankfield stela was proof for Junker of the relationship between Abydos and Giza, and he assumed the

Giza mastaba owners were somehow forced by the court to include fewer offerings in their burials than they wanted.²²

Junker compared the style of the slab stela with objects from the immediately preceding reigns (Hesire, Rahotep, Nefermaat, Metjen, Akhet-aa, Kha-bau-sokar), and concluded that the earlier hieroglyphs were taller, thinner, and more elegant, while the Giza slab stela signs were thicker, squatter, and less refined.²³ This difference purportedly derived from the shift from verticality, found on the earlier false doors, to horizontality with the Giza slab stela form. Even the stools on which the tomb owners sat changed, from the pre-Giza thin and very stylized forms, to the heavier, wider, more modeled appearance at Giza. Furthermore, the linen lists at Giza seemed to spread out horizontally.

In 1931, Gardiner discussed the signs for alabaster and linen, touching also on the arrow sign (—∞ T 11) and the ancient and modern confusion over *šsr* and *ššr*.²⁴ He concluded that the arrow hieroglyph originally stood for both “arrow” and “linen” and that both were read *ššrw*, but that “arrow” later changed to *ššru*. This led to the abandonment of the arrow sign for “linen” by Dynasty 5 with a few rare exceptions.²⁵ Most scholars today translate the sign *ššr*,²⁶ although *šš*²⁷ is also attested, and has been accepted in the present work (see below, Chapter 4, discussion of Section d, the linen list, and Appendix 3 for a compilation of selected linen list parallels).

In 1932, A. Scharff took the opposite approach from Junker, claiming there was no Upper Egyptian, or Abydene, connection to the Giza slab stela.²⁸ He concluded that the latter evolved separately, not out of false doors. Scharff emphasized the discrepancy between the vertical, round-topped Upper Egyptian form and the horizontal, rectangular preference found at Giza and Saqqara in the north.²⁹ For him, the lack of the funerary repast, or table scene, in the south, indicated that Gardiner’s Bankfield stela originated from Saqqara, and dated to Dynasty 2. The Helwan stela were seen as the earliest precursors of later false doors. For Scharff, the first table scene dated to the end of Dynasty 1 at Saqqara with the stela of Sehefner (see Appendix 3, fig. 277). Three additional slabs from Dynasty 2 likewise derived from Saqqara, one of which was found in situ. At the end of Dynasty 3 and beginning of Dynasty 4, the fully formed slab stela was incorporated into the false door, both at Saqqara (e.g., Metjen) and at Meidum (e.g., Rahotep). From here, the transition to Giza was made. Junker replied to Scharff’s interpretation in his second *Giza* volume in 1934.³⁰

The next substantial contributions to the subject were made by W. Stevenson Smith in 1933³¹ and 1935.³² Collecting parallels for the inscribed coffin of Minkhaf from Giza (g 7430–7440), Smith became interested in the linen lists accompanying not only the Giza slab stela, but many other archaic and early Old Kingdom monuments. Smith gathered a large number of examples, and his study in *ZÄS* 71 remains the most extensive attempt to understand the various elements of the linen lists, from the types of cloth named to the qualities and quantities listed. His tally of linen lists is expanded in the present volume below in Appendix 3.

Reisner mentioned the slab stela in numerous (unpublished) reports and short articles in the first decades of the twentieth century, but did not provide more comprehensive summaries until the publication of his monumental *A History of the Giza Necropolis* 1, in 1942, the year of his death.³³ In that volume he described the major mastabas of Cemeteries 1200, 2100, and 4000 in his Appendixes A, C, and D;³⁴ the stela are listed, briefly discussed, and illustrated. Reisner went into slightly greater detail in his chapters for subsequent *Giza*

²² *Ibid.*, pp. 27–30.

²³ *Ibid.*, pp. 32–34.

²⁴ A.H. Gardiner, “Two Hieroglyphic Signs and the Egyptian Words for ‘Alabaster’ and ‘Linen,’” *BIFAO* 30 (1930), pp. 161–83.

²⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 175.

²⁶ For translations preferring *ššr* cf. Smith, *ZÄS* 71 (1935), p. 136; Junker, *Giza* 1, p. 31; Kahl, Kloth and Zimmermann, *Die Inschriften der 3. Dynastie*, pp. 144, 75, 177, 179, 189, 195, 217, 223; R. Hözl, *Reliefs und Inschriftensteine des Alten Reiches* II, CAA Wien, Lieferung 21 (Mainz am Rhein, 2000) (Vienna AS 8549 = our stela 15 from g 4860), G.A. Reisner, “The Development of the Tablet Scene,” unpublished manuscript in the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, p. 3.

²⁷ Cf. Ziegler, in *Egyptian Art in the Age of the Pyramids* (New York, 1999), p. 244; idem, *Stèles, peintures et reliefs égyptiens de l’Ancien Empire*, p. 187 (cat. 29); Vandier, *Manuel* 1, p. 770; Kaplony, *Kleine Beiträge zu den Inschriften der ägyptischen Frühzeit*, p. 27.

²⁸ Scharff, in *Studies Presented to F.L.L. Griffith*, pp. 346–57.

²⁹ Scharff cited Quibell Saqqara 2331: Quibell, *Excavations at Saqqara* VI, pls. 26–28. One might, however, note the two little round-topped stela of Shepseskaf-ankh from g 6040; cf. Reisner, in *Studies Presented to F.L.L. Griffith*, pp. 324–31, and Weeks, *Mastabas of Cemetery G 6000*, pl. 52.

³⁰ *Giza* 2, pp. 4–18.

³¹ W.S. Smith, “The Coffin of Prince Min-khaf,” *JEA* 19 (1933), pp. 150–59.

³² Idem, “The Old Kingdom Linen List,” *ZÄS* 71 (1935), pp. 134–49.

³³ Reisner, *Giza Necropolis* 1 (1942), pp. 7–8, 64–65, 68, 76, 78–79, 305–306, 332 (false door tablet scene), and also *ibid.*, *The Development of the Egyptian Tomb Down to the Accession of Cheops* (Cambridge, Mass., 1936), p. 294ff.

³⁴ Cambridge, Mass. 1942; reprinted in 1997 by John William Pye Rare Books, Brockton, Massachusetts.

Necropolis volumes, which remained unpublished at his death in 1942.³⁵ Concerning the slab stelae, he wrote:

These slab-stelae bear the table scene with titles and name of the owner, and offering lists which are characteristic of the tablet of the ordinary ka-door and related to the primitive niche-stones. In fact I take them to be intermediate in the development between the primitive niche-stones and the tablets of the stone ka-door of traditional form. In those cores which were finished with an exterior c[rude] b[rick] chapel, the slab-stela is left visible in a plain niche constructed in the west wall of the c[rude] b[rick] chapel. In the stone-cased mastabas (three examples), and those with additions containing an interior chapel (four examples), the slab-stela was left in place, and in one case (g 1201) was covered with a slab of limestone to protect it from damage during the reconstruction. The slab-stelae are obviously the work of the finest craftsmen and were, no doubt, presented by the king and affixed to the mastabas as marks of their assignment by him. So I come to the conclusion that these early stone mastabas were originally intended to be used as built with exterior c[rude] b[rick] chapels, and the casing of these cores was a modification of the original idea.³⁶

Reisner argued that the first twenty-two core mastabas of the Western Cemetery were completed by year 15 of Khufu. He also gave three possible explanations for the presence of stelae far down in mastaba line 8 of Cemetery 4000 (g 4840 and g 4860):

- a) they were made in a post-Khufu workshop (but later kings seem not to use them)
- b) they were made by Khufu and kept in storage till after the other slab stelae were used
- c) they were made by the mastaba owners (not Khufu) and affixed to mastabas assigned to them by a king later than Khufu.³⁷

In an unpublished manuscript entitled, "Giza Necropolis Chapter XI, the funerary equipment found in burial chambers," Reisner discussed the occurrence of slab stelae and reserve heads.³⁸

- a) the presentation of slab stelae by king as mark of ownership was the first type of royal gift at Giza, introduced by Khufu
- b) later on, reserve heads made by royal craftsmen were also presented to some who already had slab stelae and to some who had not
- c) reserve heads of mud, made by royal craftsmen, were presented to less favored individuals (although one was a princess) and the two known examples were made under Khafre.

S. Hassan prepared a lengthy chapter on stelae and false doors in the 1944 volume of his ambitious *Giza* series.³⁹ Hassan considered the origin of the false door, its various elements (panel, drum, niches, etc.) and separated his discussion by

dynasty. Two years later, W.S. Smith elaborated on Reisner's remarks. He linked the Giza slab stelae table scenes to earlier false doors and niche stones, noting that the seated tomb owner's right arm is always provided with a left hand, and that both feet are left feet, a convention that endured well into Dynasty 18.⁴⁰ Smith related the low relief style of the slab stelae with parallels from the chapels of Hemiunu (g 4000), and Khenty-ka(?) (g 2130), both dating to Khufu, and of Ankh-haf (g 7510) and Meretites (g 7650), both dating, according to Smith, to Khafre. Fragments found at Lisht but deriving from satellite pyramid GI-b were also cited as parallels.⁴¹ Smith's comments on the subject did not change substantially with the appearance of his second edition of *History of Egyptian Sculpture and Painting in the Old Kingdom* in 1949.

In 1947, Z. Saad published the group of early dynastic stelae he excavated at Helwan, naming them "ceiling stelae" due to their unusual findspots towards the tops of the burial chambers.⁴² These provided some "new" predecessors for the Giza stelae, widening the earlier debate about southern (Abydos) and northern (Saqqara) influence on the Giza Necropolis. However, the original context of the stelae was eventually disputed (see below).

In 1952 J. Vandier's fundamental *Manuel d'archéologie égyptienne* appeared, covering the earlier stages of Egyptian history.⁴³ In a comprehensive review of the entire subject, Vandier summarized some previous discussions, including the views of Junker and Scharff, and noted Müller's terminology of tectonic (= stand-alone, e.g., stela, obelisk) versus architectonic (= dependent, e.g. false door) monuments.⁴⁴ He concluded that royal, round-topped stelae originally stood alone in front of the tomb, while the Abydos private stelae came to be set into the tomb wall. This explained for Vandier the transition at Abydos from round-topped to rectangular stela. From Dynasty 2 onwards, the Memphite stelae took the rectangular form, and included the funerary table scene. Function was a principal factor; for Vandier, the Abydos stelae provided the deceased's name, while the Memphis stelae added the entire funerary repast ritual. Since the latter required more space for the scene, the northern preference was for rectangular stelae.⁴⁵ Abydos and Memphis were thus unrelated in terms of stela development. The Bankfield stela represented a unique case of compromise experimentation under Peribsen, who reached the Thinite area. Since the stela was supposedly acquired in 1839 at Thebes, Vandier felt it probably did come from

Abydos, not Memphis, but represented an attempt to graft the Memphite funerary repast scene (normally rectangular) onto an Abydene round-topped form.

Vandier continued his discussion with the Giza stelae, dividing them into sections (much like the Sections a, b, c, and d used above) of inscriptions, offering lists, linen lists, pose and costume of the deceased, and the table of offerings.⁴⁶ Expanding his comments beyond slab stelae alone into false door tablets, he noted that only the false door tablet of Nefer from g 2110 (now in the Museo Barracco, see Appendix 3, fig. 303)⁴⁷ and the anonymous slab stela from g 4860 bear hieroglyphs facing right. This is not correct, however, for the only Barracco lines of hieroglyphs that face right are the uppermost (common to all slab stelae) and lower (lintel) texts (absent from all slab stelae).⁴⁸

³⁵ Reisner, unpublished manuscript: *Giza Necropolis* Chapter XI, "The funerary equipment found in burial chambers," esp. 239–39; on reserve heads and slab stelae p. 237ff, and "The Development of the Tablet Scene," unpublished separate manuscript. I am grateful to Rita E. Freed, Norma Jean Calderwood Curator of the Egyptian Section of the Department of Art of the Ancient World, Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, for permission to consult these unpublished documents.

³⁶ Reisner, *Giza Necropolis* 1, pp. 7–8.

³⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 79.

³⁸ Reisner, unpublished manuscript for *Giza Necropolis* Chapter XI, "The funerary equipment found in burial chambers," esp. pp. 239–39. Reisner's conclusions were based on his somewhat convoluted correlation of: "eight mastabas with reserve heads (= nine reserve head total) had slab stelae (actual or emplacements). Fourteen of the mastabas with slab stelae had no reserve head found. Six mastabas with no slab stelae did have seven reserve heads." If the head, no. 21–22, is correctly assigned by Reisner, then "seven mastabas with eight heads had no slab stela. This omits two mud heads, one of Wenshet(?) with a slab stela and one without a slab stela."

³⁹ S. Hassan, *Excavations at Giza 5* (Cairo, 1944), pp. 65–180.

⁴⁰ Smith, *HESPOK*, pp. 159–60, 256–58.

⁴¹ *Ibid.*, p. 160.

⁴² Z.Y. Saad, *Ceiling Stelae in Second Dynasty Tombs*.

⁴³ Vandier, *Manuel* 1, esp. pp. 724–774.

⁴⁴ *Ibid.*, *Manuel* 1, p. 728, citing H.W. Müller, "Die Totendenksteine des Mittleren Reiches," *MDAIK* 4 (1933), pp. 166–67.

⁴⁵ Vandier noted that Junker's argument that "stelae follow tomb shape" breaks down when one considers the royal Meidum stelae of Snefru: two royal, round-topped stelae in front of a pyramid that contained no tumulus or rounded superstructure elements; *Manuel* 1, p. 747.

⁴⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 766.

⁴⁷ Reisner, *Giza Necropolis* 1, fig. 241 (after p. 423); Vandier, *Manuel* 1, p. 764, fig. 507.

⁴⁸ Several other statements by Vandier are also worthy of refinement or correction: the g 4860 stela's failure to use horizontal register lines between items is not unique among slab stelae (p. 767); Wepemnefret (g 1201) does indeed have a triangular slit in the table jar stand, at the very bottom (p. 774); and while the female slab stela owners do indeed show the left hand open, note the false door tablet of Meretites from g 7650, which assumes the "male" pose with clenched left fist holding the shoulder knot (p. 767); see our figs. 304–305.

In 1955, Junker published his twelfth and final *Giza* volume.⁴⁹ By this time he had given up the notion of Abydene influence on the north, now that the Helwan stelae were known. Junker saw the latter as the true Giza predecessors, taking them as independent monuments. But this interpretation was later refuted by G. Haeny, who sought to prove that the Helwan stelae were set up in false door niches, and thus were not independent monuments (see below).⁵⁰ Helck focused on the Western Cemetery the following year, arguing that most of the mastabas with slab stelae belonged to senior construction officials whose private initiative accounted for their mortuary complexes.⁵¹ He further suggested a number of familial relationships, but these were based primarily on mastaba proximity and the similarity of certain names and titles.

W.S. Smith briefly treated the slab stelae in his survey of Egyptian art and architecture, first published in 1958, noting that despite the relatively high, bold relief style of Snefru's reign, "the slab-stelae of the older members of the family and court in the Western Cheops Cemetery are carved in the very low relief employed in the royal temples and in a few badly preserved chapels like those of Hemiuu and Ankh-haf."⁵² Smith looked at one stela in particular, that of Wepemnefret (g 1201), in 1963, taking a somewhat more architectural approach.⁵³ He argued that in the mid-reign of Khufu the royal twin mastabas of the Eastern Cemetery were joined into the great double mastabas, with L-shaped chapels added. Then renovations began in the Western Cemetery along the same lines. It was at this point, according to Smith, that Wepemnefret destroyed his exterior mud-brick chapel, walled up his slab stela, and commenced with the construction of a new stone chapel. Smith counted twenty-four surviving slabs, of which eleven were "virtually complete."⁵⁴ He also noted a short inscription on the upper edge of the Wepemnefret stela (see above, stela 1).⁵⁵

In 1963, W. Barta examined the offering lists in general with a view to establishing chronological sequences.⁵⁶ He followed Junker's division of the Giza Western Cemetery into tombs dating to Khufu, Khafre, and Menkaure, and in the offering ritual he focused on the introduction of *bd t3(w)*, natron, supposedly indicating the transition from Khufu to Khafre,⁵⁷ and the *Mundwaschung* (*bw r3*, "breakfast"),⁵⁸ which appears at the end of Dynasty 4. His sequence for Giza appears below:

Reign of Khufu: g 4150 (Iunu), g 4260 (anonymous),⁵⁹
g 1203 (Kanefer)
End of the reign of Khufu: g 1225 (Nefretiaabet), g 1235 (Ini)

Reign of Khafre: g 1205 (Khufu-nakht), g 1207 (Nefer)
End of the reign of Khafre: g 1201 (Wepemnefret)
Reign of Menkaure: g 4840 (Wenshet), g 4860
(anonymous)⁶⁰

A novel approach to the problem from the point of view of costume was offered by E. Staehelin in 1966.⁶¹ Considering eleven stelae, she provided useful references to Junker's research on the funerary meal, and argued that the need for additional offerings and larger lists were the catalysts in moving the scene off of the slab stelae, onto the tablets of false doors, and later onto the south and west walls of chapels. The theme of slab stelae versus false doors was taken up in greater detail in an important article by Haeny in 1971.⁶² Refuting Saad's interpretation of the Helwan pieces as "ceiling stelae," Haeny noted the disturbed context due to plunder, and the destruction of all superstructures. Many stelae were even discovered far from their original tombs. None of the thirty-three stelae was originally placed in a subterranean chamber.⁶³

Haeny believed that neither the Saqqara archaic offering slabs nor the Abydos stelae provided suitable predecessors for the Giza slab stelae. The Helwan stelae left their sides free of decoration, possibly for assemblage as part of false doors, while the Giza stelae decoration filled the entire slab. Where many had seen the funerary repast of the slab stelae and the accompanying offerings as eventually evolving into the false door panel, and then beyond the false door itself onto decorated chapel walls, Haeny argued for the reverse development, namely that false doors were the originally intended cult focus for the earliest Giza mastabas.⁶⁴ In particular, he cited the mastaba of Nefer in the Western Cemetery (g 2110), a tomb with finished casing, exterior stone chapel, and false door (see below, Chapter 5).

The most significant analysis of the linen lists since Smith's 1935 *ZÄS* essay was written by P. Posener-Kriéger in 1977.⁶⁵ Comparing the Old Kingdom lists with a Dynasty 4 or 5 papyrus from Gebelein, she observed that the totals of certain account columns were not figuring properly. Cubits were listed 1 through 9 with single strokes, but 10 was never listed. Posener-Kriéger realized the only solution lay in taking the rectangular, horizontal sign — (Aa 12) as equal to ten cubits.⁶⁶ Consequently, multiples of — over a — sign signified ten cubits times however many verticals were present, e.g., $\text{—} \perp \perp = 10$ cubits long x 20 cubits wide. Once the number of verticals exceeded four or five, there was a tendency to express the total in a series of horizontal — signs alone, designating tens of

cubits.⁶⁷ The question of linear versus square cubits is still problematic, for the horizontals could represent ten cubits squared,⁶⁸ or ten cubits times a number of palms, etc. Of additional interest is the question of the presence or absence of the horizontal — beneath the vertical — signs, for examples of both writings are present in the Giza slab stelae.

One of the most important Old Kingdom contributions from the 1980s was written by N. Cherpion on dating criteria measured against a reference framework of tomb chapels containing royal names.⁶⁹ This method allowed for a number of tombs to be redated back to early Dynasty 4, and Cherpion made use of several features found on the Giza slab stelae to support her dating criteria. While the method is not without its complications,⁷⁰ it provides a systematic approach to evaluating many of the elements found on the monuments considered in the present volume.

⁴⁹ Junker, *Giza* 12, pp. 49–53.

⁵⁰ See the discussion of Haeny's important article below, Chapter 5, along with Wiebach, *Die ägyptische Scheintür*, pp. 36–37. The Helwan objects are being studied by E.C. Köhler; cf. "Hidden Treasures in the Egyptian Museum in Cairo. The Collection of Objects from Zaki Saad's Excavations at Helwan/Ezbet el-Walda," in M. Eldamaty and M. Trad, eds., *Egyptian Museum Collections around the World* (Cairo, 2002), pp. 679–90.

⁵¹ Helck, "Zur Entstehung des Westfriedhofs an der Cheops-Pyramide," *ZÄS* 81 (1956), pp. 62–65.

⁵² Smith, *The Art and Architecture of Ancient Egypt*, third edition, revised by W.K. Simpson (Hong Kong, 1998), p. 57.

⁵³ W.S. Smith, *Archaeology* 16 (1963), pp. 2–13.

⁵⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 7.

⁵⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 13.

⁵⁶ W. Barta, *Die altägyptische Opferliste von der Frühzeit bis zur griechisch-römischen Epoche*, *MÄS* 3 (Berlin, 1963).

⁵⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 43.

⁵⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 44.

⁵⁹ Note that this fragment is not a slab stela. The drawing in Junker, *Giza* 1, p. 186, fig. 36, omits additional decoration at the left edge, behind the seated figure; see pl. 29a.

⁶⁰ Barta, *Die altägyptische Opferliste*, pp. 41f., 56, and see below, Chapter 5.

⁶¹ Staehelin, *Tracht*, pp. 222–26.

⁶² Haeny, in *Fs. Ricke*, pp. 143–64.

⁶³ *Ibid.*, pp. 148, 151.

⁶⁴ Haeny, in *Fs. Ricke*, esp. pp. 158–59. See the useful summary by Wiebach, *Die ägyptische Scheintür*, pp. 29–51.

⁶⁵ P. Posener-Kriéger, "Les mesures des étoffes à l'ancien empire," *RdE* 29 (1977), pp. 86–96.

⁶⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 88.

⁶⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 92.

⁶⁸ This is the translation preferred by Kahl, Kloth and Zimmermann, *Die Inschriften der 3. Dynastie*, p. 175ff.

⁶⁹ N. Cherpion, *Mastabas et Hypogées d'Ancien Empire. Le Problème de la Datation* (Brussels, 1989).

⁷⁰ For reviews of Cherpion's work, cf. A.M. Roth, in *JNES* 53 (1994), pp. 55–58; and J. Malek, in *DE* 20 (1991), pp. 93–100.

The 1990s saw a wide range of publications on numerous aspects of mortuary equipment and tomb decoration. Considering the offering loaves of the table scene (our Section b), M. Bárta presented a new evolutionary division over that of Cherpion.⁷¹ His sequence followed the course of *bedja* loaves, replaced by *aperet* loaves, then by reed leaves. Bárta placed the Giza slab stela examples back in the *bedja* loaf phase (his phase 2). Other studies have further expanded on Cherpion's dating methods.⁷² An alternative approach to dating criteria using statistical analysis was presented by S. Seidlmayer in 1997.⁷³ Building on Cherpion's work, Seidlmayer demonstrated that most of the royal names appeared in correct historical sequence with only four exceptions (Shepseskaf, Neferefre, Mankauhor and Merenre). The dating pitfalls posed by early royal names in later tombs, and later names in apparently earlier tombs were discussed, and a useful list of elements appearing on slab stela and false door tablets (furniture, offering table, costume, false door, varia) was provided. Although problems are found with Cherpion's reliance on royal names (see for example the case of Meresankh III, g 7530sub), Seidlmayer's statistical analysis owes much to the principles of her individual dating criteria.

On a more general level, in the first of several Old Kingdom symposium publications, Stadelmann considered the "strict style" (Junker's term) of tomb decoration in early Dynasty 4.⁷⁴ Following upon a survey of the development of the major necropoli of the early Old Kingdom, and their interpretation in the scholarly literature, he concluded that the reduction to limited, critical elements for the mortuary cult can be traced further back than Giza and the reign to Khufu to that of his father Snefru at Dahshur. The reduction focused attention on the institution of the monarchy as the visible manifestation of the sun god, and Stadelmann saw no real break between the reigns of Snefru and Khufu—that is, between Dahshur and early Giza—as far as the strict style was concerned.

Renewed attention on the Archaic Period has arisen in the last decade or so. The so-called "ceiling stela" from Helwan/Ezbe el-Walda are in the process of reevaluation. T. Wilkinson discussed the group of twenty-five stela published by Saad, along with the nine additional stela published by Kaplony.⁷⁵ He argued for a stylistic approach to ordering the stela, and stretched Saad's dating of all stela to Dynasty 2 to include a few stela from Dynasty 3. Wilkinson also considered the relative sizes of the Helwan tombs compared with their counterparts at North Saqqara. The latter site produced

by far the larger, and hence more important, tombs.⁷⁶

In 1997 J. Kahl re-examined the archaic stela situation after producing a study on the writing system of Dynasties 0–3,⁷⁷ and assembling, along with N. Kloth and U. Zimmermann, a valuable compendium of Dynasty 3 inscriptions.⁷⁸ Noting that Haeny had effectively eliminated the framework for dating the stela due to his emphasis on disturbed context, Kahl attempted to use palaeographical elements (primarily the signs N 35, Q 3, and Aa 1). These allowed for a relative chronological arrangement, securing the vast majority of the Helwan stela in Dynasties 2–3. Kahl also noted that cylinder seals, despite depicting similar scenes of the deceased at table, could form part of a different tradition, and therefore need not be contemporary with the stela.

In recent years, E.C. Köhler has reopened the Helwan excavations and re-examined the Saad stela in the Egyptian Museum, Cairo. One fragment, discovered in situ in 1999 in a late Dynasty 2 mastaba, contains part of a compartmentalized offering list, providing us with an important *terminus a quo* for this element.⁷⁹

Several recent studies of Old Kingdom tombs and analyses of their content have contributed much to organizing the massive amount of primary source material from Giza and elsewhere. A. Bolshakov studied the elements of tomb decoration in association with his analysis of the ka in the Old Kingdom.⁸⁰ M. Baud's study of the royal family and administration provided a critical review of the dating criteria applied to 300 individuals, including several of the Giza mastabas and cemeteries considered in the present work.⁸¹ Baud posited two main construction phases, based on some of Cherpion's dating methods, the first from the reign of Khufu to the beginning of Khafre, and the second from Khafre to the reign of Menkaure. Among his additional categories are individuals with titles that omit parentage, titles with parentage unassociated with the king, and titles expressly associated with the king. Taking a different approach to social organization in the Old Kingdom, P. Piacentini has recently collected all examples of scribes attested in the major Memphis cemeteries.⁸²

In an invaluable *Habilitation* on Giza in the Fourth Dynasty, P. Jánosi has recently addressed the slab stela issue.⁸³ He failed to see any evidence of the stela being forced upon the elite class of tomb owners by the king, or that the owners had to "make do with just a slab stela." Instead he viewed the stela owners as individuals who died during the reign of Khufu with mastabas yet unfinished. Casing and cult focus (false

door) were all still missing at time of death; merely the raw superstructure and substructure were complete. Instead of a false door, then, a slab stela was provided along with a mud-brick chapel as a sort of "emergency solution."

Jánosi noted that while the superstructure may have been incomplete in the mastabas in question, the burial chamber was always dressed and ready for the burial. He claimed in fact that no tomb with an undressed burial chamber had a slab stela.⁸⁴ While plans may have remained to finish the tomb at a later time, the mortuary cult had to be set up as soon as possible at time of burial. This led to the construction of the mud-brick chapel with the slab stela provided from the royal workshop, as a temporary "fix" until a proper false door could be provided.⁸⁵ What the slab stela could not replace was the

⁷¹ Bárta, *SAK* 22 (1995), pp. 21–35.

⁷² M. Baud, "A propos des critères iconographiques établis par Nadine Cherpion," in N. Grimal, ed., *Les Critères de datation stylistiques à l'Ancien Empire* (Cairo, 1998), pp. 31–95. Cherpion herself applied her dating methods to three-dimensional sculpture in "La Statuaire privée d'Ancien Empire: indices de datation," *ibid.*, pp. 97–142.

⁷³ S.J. Seidlmayer, "Stil und Statistik. Die Datierung dekorierte Gräber des Alten Reiches—ein Problem der Methode," in *Internationale Archäologie* 23 (1997), *Archäologie und Korrespondenzanalyse. Beispiele, Fragen, Perspektiven*, pp. 17–51.

⁷⁴ R. Stadelmann, in *Kunst des Alten Reiches*, pp. 155–66.

⁷⁵ T. Wilkinson, "A Re-examination of the Early Dynastic Necropolis at Helwan," *MDAIK* 52 (1996), pp. 337–54.

⁷⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 351.

⁷⁷ J. Kahl, *Das System der ägyptischen Hieroglyphenschrift in der 0–3. Dynastie*, GÖF IV, 29 (Wiesbaden, 1994).

⁷⁸ J. Kahl, N. Kloth, and U. Zimmermann, *Die Inschriften der 3. Dynastie*, and Kahl, "Zur Datierung der frühen Grabplatten mit Opfertischszene," *SAK* 24 (1997), pp. 138–45. More recently, Kahl has begun publishing a dictionary of archaic Egyptian: *Frühägyptisches Wörterbuch. Erste Lieferung s–f* (Wiesbaden, 2002).

⁷⁹ E.C. Köhler, "Excavations at Helwan," *EA* 17 (2000), esp. p. 39. See also *idem*, in *Egyptian Museum Collections around the World*, pp. 679–90; *idem*, "The New Excavations in the Early Dynastic Necropolis at Helwan," *Archeo-Nil* forthcoming (2003); *idem* and M. Birrell, *Helwan II. The Early Dynastic Funerary Stelae*, with a contribution by J. Jones, in preparation.

⁸⁰ A. Bolshakov, *Man and His Double*.

⁸¹ M. Baud, *Famille royale et pouvoir sous l'Ancien Empire égyptien*, BdE 126/1–2 (Cairo, 1999).

⁸² P. Piacentini, *Les scribes dans la société égyptienne de l'Ancien Empire 1. Les premières dynasties. Les nécropoles memphites* (Paris, 2002).

⁸³ P. Jánosi, *Giza in der 4. Dynastie* (Vienna, forthcoming), § 4.2. I am especially indebted to the author for sharing this critical work on the Giza Necropolis with me in manuscript form.

⁸⁴ On this point see below, Chapter 5, fig. 250, note v.

⁸⁵ *Ibid.*, § 4.2; Jánosi makes the interesting observation that no slab stela contains a *hṗ di nswt* formula, possibly contradicting the assumption that the stela were "gifts of royal favor;" cf. Smith, *HESPOK*, p. 159. The presence of this formula on the false door tablet of Nefer (g 2110) may speak for its dating slightly later than Khufu's reign; cf. Reisner, *Giza Necropolis* 1, fig. 241 (after p. 424).

communicative function between living and dead normally provided by the false door. The slab stela signaled only that a burial existed in that particular tomb, for which a mortuary ritual had been established. Since the finalized stone elements were often never added, the deceased's descendants were forced to consider these once temporary mud-brick elements as the final elements for the tomb. This would explain the countless repairs, improvements, and changes that are evident in many of these mastabas.

To summarize Jánosi's arguments, the slab stelae were the foci for the mortuary cult of people who died during Khufu's reign while their tombs in the West Cemetery were still under construction. The burial could take place once the cased walls of the burial chamber were ready. The slab stela was added at the time of burial to a now functional, if unfinished, mastaba. The attempt to finalize these temporary arrangements came later, with casing and cult chapel of stone, and a false door.

The slab stelae, covered up in the wall after completion, were temporary "placeholders" guaranteeing the cult, until the final elements (false door, casing)—many of which were never installed—were in place.

To the question—why not build a false door into these mastabas right from the beginning?—Jánosi replied that preparing a false door took longer than a slab stela, and that the cult was needed immediately. Furthermore, the uncased cores were in no condition to take false doors. The false door was usually added *after* the mastaba was cased, or at least planned to be cased, for it needed to be anchored into the casing.

For those tombs where further construction was finally carried out, Jánosi noted that the slab stela had by that time become so crucial to the cult that it could not simply be removed, destroyed, or reused without damage to the deceased. Slab stelae were walled up in four tombs (Wepemnefret g 1201, Kaiemah g 1223, Nefret-iabet g 1225, and Iunu

g 4150).⁸⁶ He concluded that chapels that were later broken into the core of the tumulus for their chamber(s) could not yet have possessed a slab stela or a burial, because the alterations would have required the removal or destruction of the slab stela.

Other authors, inadvertently omitted here, have doubtless provided contributions to the slab stela debate, and the last word has clearly not been written on the subject. This impressionistic sketch of some of the more significant works may, however, serve to lead us into the next two chapters, which present comparative remarks on the slab stelae decoration program (Chapter 4), and interpretive comments on the slab stela genre as a whole (Chapter 5).

⁸⁶ This may also have been the intention with the stelae of Seshat-sekhentiu from g 2120 and of Wenshet from g 4840 (see above, Chapter 1, stelae 9 and 14).

CHAPTER 4

Comparative Remarks on Decoration and Layout

The plates and line drawings above in Chapter 1 mislead the reader somewhat as far as the relative scale of the fifteen slab stelae is concerned. Fig. 213 therefore gathers all the stelae and stela fragments together in one place, shown at a greatly reduced, but consistent relative scale. Given the great distances that lie between the stelae today, it is only through such a comparison that one is struck by the disparity between the short-form and long-form examples.

In order to separate elements of the slab stelae decoration program, I have adopted throughout this, and an earlier publication,¹ the use of four “sections” to describe the basic elements common to all the stelae (see Chapter 1, fig. 4), and have color-coded these elements in the individual translations above in Chapter 1 as follows:

Section a	overhead identifying text, placed at the top of the stela
Section b	funerary repast at the left side (seated figure before the table of offering loaves)
Section c	list of offerings located centrally
Section d	linen list towards the right edge of the stela

In an attempt to further organize the fifteen stelae in terms of their arrangement of these sections, I had earlier proposed five separate layout pattern variations for these Sections a, b, c, and d listed above.² These variations may now be modified somewhat and reduced to just four as a result of additional research. But before discussing them, we should note that Reisner himself attempted to organize and classify the slab stelae in an unpublished chapter originally planned

for additional volumes of his *History of the Giza Necropolis* monograph series. In a manuscript entitled “The Development of the Tablet Scene,” Reisner concentrated on the presence or absence of granaries and additional compartment list offerings—our short-form versus long-form stelae. His slab stelae classes took the following form:³

Class I	Cupboard list of linen only <i>Above table: word written vertically and not separated by lines or in vertical or horizontal columns separated by lines. Under table: ideographic list, usually with oryx</i>
Examples	g 1201 Wepemnefret (vertical lines; oryx)
	g 1203 Kanefer: no lines; oryx.
	g 1205 Khufu-nakht: horizontal lines; oryx
	g 1207 Nefer: vertical lines; no oryx
	g 1223 Kaemah: broken; oryx
	g 1225 Nefret-iabet: horizontal lines; oryx
	g 1235 Ini: horizontal lines; oryx

Class II	<i>As above with granaries at bottom of linen list</i>
Examples	g 1227 Setji-hekenet: no separating lines; no oryx
	g 4150 Iunu: horizontal lines; oryx

Class III	Linen list with granaries <i>Second cupboard list of garments, furniture and vessels between linen list and table. Horizontal lines above and beside table. Ideographic list below table. No oryx</i>
Examples	g 2120 Seshat-Sekhentiu
	g 2155(?) Kaninisut ^a

^a Elsewhere in this manuscript Reisner seems certain of the attribution to g 2155; here he notes: “Stela of unknown provenience (g 2155?),” in the absence of better evidence, and perhaps in light of Junker’s elaboration on the subject (“an bestimmtes Grab nicht mehr zuweisbar”), *Giza* 1, p. 230, fig. 53c.

Class IV	Cupboard list with linen and granaries <i>Horizontal lines above table and between table and linen list. Ideographic list under table</i>
Examples	g 4140 Meretites
	g 4860 Anonymous

Unclassified	
Examples	g 2135 Anonymous: either class I or class II
	g 4840 Anonymous: entirely doubtful. Type IV?

It is not clear why Reisner laid so much emphasis on the presence or absence of the oryx ideographic offering. He paid no heed to the relationship of our Section a to the rest of the stela layout, that is, the placement and extent of titles and identifying text vis à vis the representation of the tomb owner and the linen list. Moreover, his Class III contains an error, for there are no granaries on the g 2155(?) fragment (stela 11).

After focusing on the granaries, Reisner went on to note that his classifications are of no help in questions of chronological development:

... It is hardly to be concluded, however, that the presence or absence of granaries has a chronological significance for the tablets or slab-stelae. The earliest of the tablets at Meydum (Nefer-ma’at) has granaries while the later tablet of Ra-hotep has none. The compartment lists of Khabauwsokar have the granaries, but the primitive niche stones do not have them. In Cemetery g 1200, only one of the two latest slab-stelae, Sety-Hekenet, has the granaries. It is necessary to conclude that the representation of the granaries depended on the choice of the craftsmen. Thus, there is no essential difference between Class I and Class II....⁴

... This comparison makes it obvious that no chronological development can be deduced from the different classes of the slab-stelae of Giza, except perhaps that Classes III and IV were amplifications of Class I and II, based on other known forms of the tablet scene.⁵

¹ P. Der Manuelian, “The Problem of the Giza Slab Stelae,” in H. Guksch and D. Polz, eds., *Stationen. Beiträge zur Kulturgeschichte Ägyptens Rainer Stadelmann Gewidmet* (Mainz am Rhein, 1998), pp. 123–25.

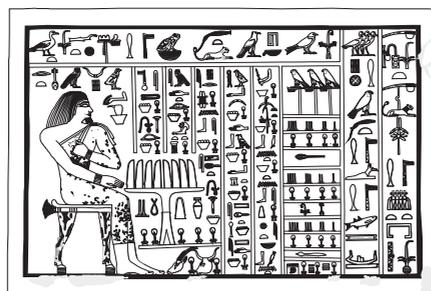
² Ibid., p. 124, fig. 5.

³ G. Reisner, “The Development of the Tablet Scene,” unpublished, pp. 19–21; housed in the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston. I have altered Reisner’s spellings to match those used throughout the present volume.

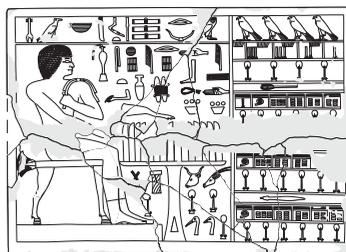
⁴ Ibid., p. 19.

⁵ Ibid., p. 21.

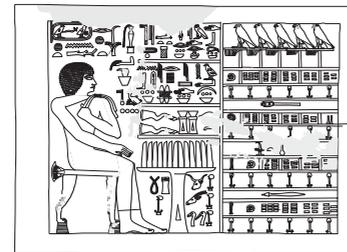
SLAB STELAE OF THE GIZA NECROPOLIS



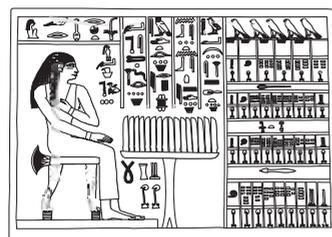
G 1201 Wepemnefret



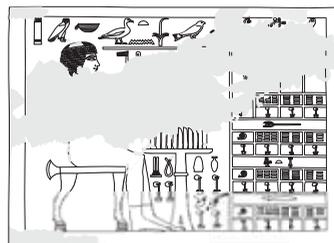
G 1203 Kanefer



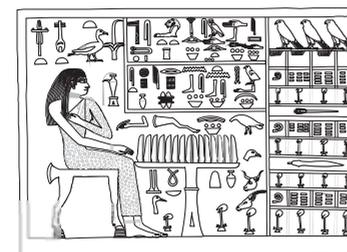
G 1205 Khufu-nakht



G 1207 Nefer



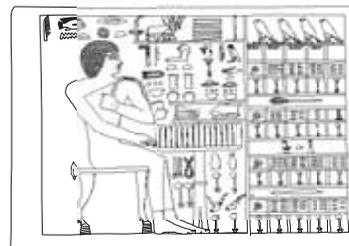
G 1223 Kaiemah



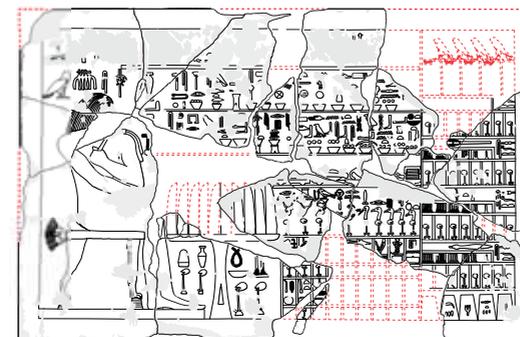
G 1225 Nefret-iabet



G 1227 Setji-hekenet



G 1235 Ini



G 2120 Seshat-sekhentiu

0 5 10 cm

Fig. 213. Comparison chart of all slab stelae reduced to the same relative scale

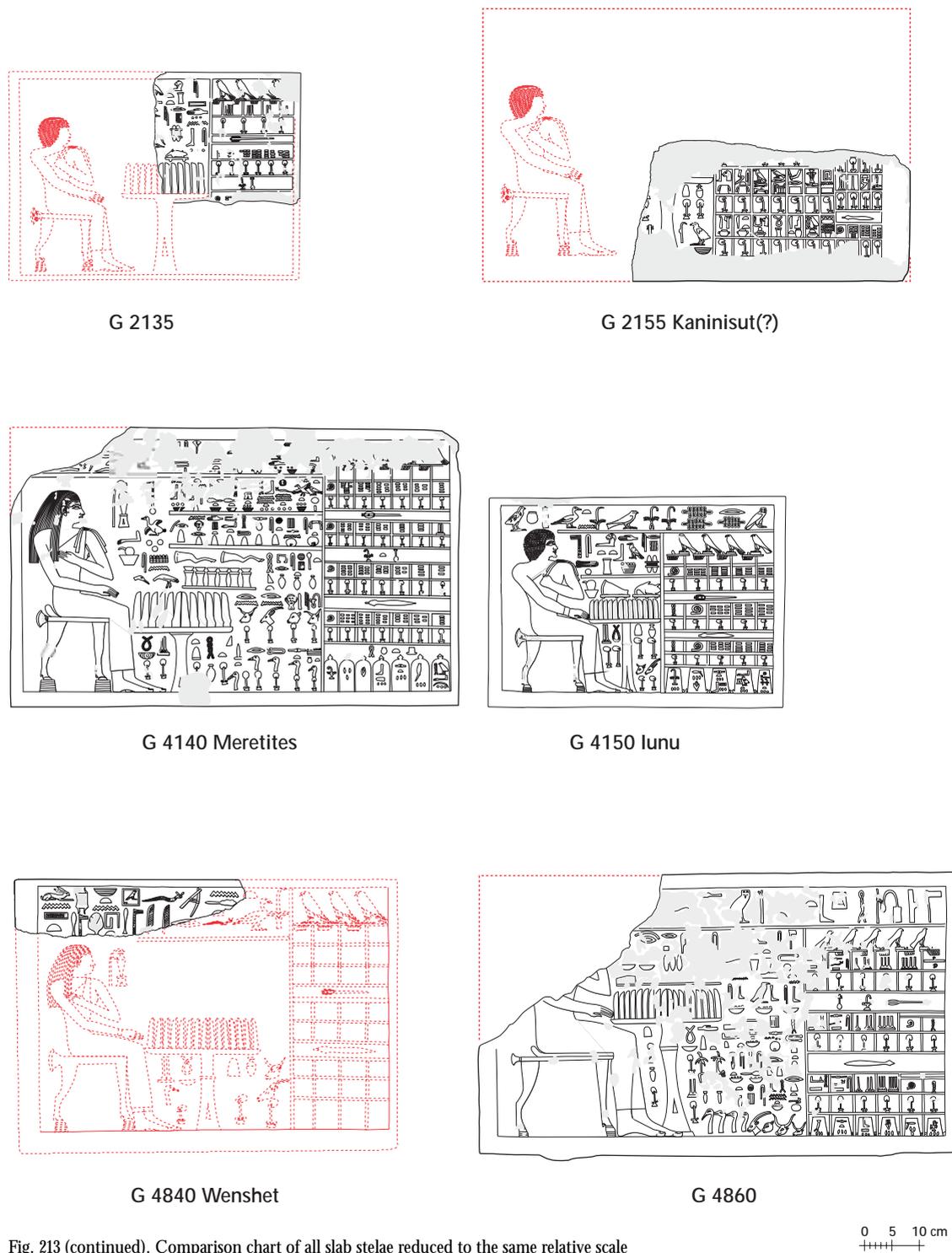


Fig. 213 (continued). Comparison chart of all slab stelae reduced to the same relative scale

Since Reisner's classification scheme brings us no closer to a chronological sequence for the stelae, we now return to the four pattern variations used in the present work (fig. 214). Pattern 1 is unique to the long-form stela of Wepemnefret (g 1201), for no other stela contains so many columns and lines of identifying titles (Section a). Even more striking is the fact that the Section a inscription begins further to the right than the linen list itself, another feature unique in our group of stelae. These factors, along with the position of the mastaba in Cemetery 1200, may well suggest that Wepemnefret's is the earliest stela of the group. We have already noted archaic parallels to his layout above in Chapter 1 (stela 1); compare for example the vertical and horizontal combination of inscriptions on the archaic stela of Niankhtet in Liverpool (fig. 215).⁶ Other possible clues to archaic influence include the small size of the *idmy* falcons in the linen list, the absence of vertical separators in the "compartments" of the linen list, and the offering table with loaves raised up on a separate ground line.⁷ Based on the layout of the Wepemnefret stela, it is perhaps worth investigating whether the largest mastabas of each nucleus cemetery (g 1201 Wepemnefret; g 4000 Hemiunu,⁸ g 2220 anonymous⁹ and g 7510 Ankh-haf in the Eastern Cemetery¹⁰) were the very first

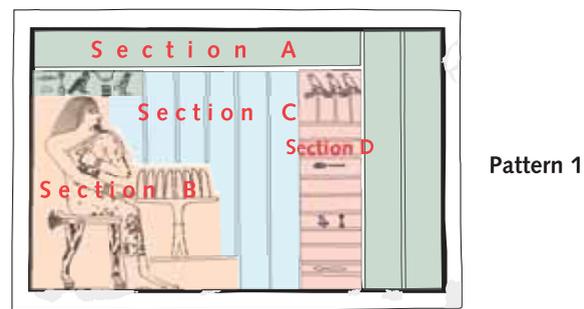
⁶ Cf. J. Vandier, *Manuel d'Archéologie Egyptienne 1, Les époques de formation* (Paris, 1952), p. 754, fig. 498; R. Weill, *Des Monuments et de l'histoire des IIe et IIIe Dynasties* (Paris, 1908), p. 226. Conversely, in its horizontal and vertical inscriptions, the layout of the Wepemnefret stela could call to mind the royal decrees of the later Old Kingdom, such as are found, for example, in H. Goedicke, *Königliche Dokumente aus dem Alten Reich* (Wiesbaden, 1967), esp. after p. 168, fig. 17 (Coptos L). On document layout in general, see W. Helck, *Altägyptische Aktenkunde des 3. und 2. Jahrtausends v. Chr.* (Berlin, 1974). For a suggested date for Wepemnefret late in the development of Cemetery 1200, see Strudwick, *Administration*, p. 37.

⁷ Small *idmy* falcons and an absence of vertical separators are present on a host of pre-Giza niche-stelae; for raised offering tables see, for example, Z. Saad, *Ceiling Stelae in Second Dynasty Tombs from the Excavations at Helwan* (Cairo, 1957), pl. 27; idem, *The Excavations at Helwan* (Norman, 1969), p. 150, pl. 70 (Heken); Kaplony, *IÄF Supplement*, pl. 3 (1054), and idem, *Kleine Beiträge*, pl. 3 (1093). For a Dynasty 4 parallel from Giza, see the false door tablet of Snefru-seneb from g 4240: Reisner, *Giza Necropolis 1*, pl. 57b.

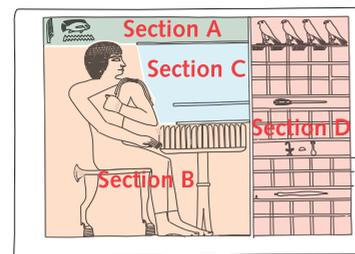
⁸ Reisner, *Giza Necropolis 1*, pp. 75, 454, was less certain than Junker, *Giza 1*, p. 132, that Hemiunu's mastaba (g 4000) already existed when the first group of Cemetery 4000 mastabas immediately to the east (g 4150, g 4160, g 4250, and g 4260) were built. Wepemnefret and Hemiunu were recently discussed by P. Piacentini, *Les Scribes dans la société égyptienne de l'Ancien Empire 1* (Paris, 2002), pp. 91–92, and 102–103.

⁹ Despite its number 2220, this tomb clearly belongs to nucleus Cemetery 2100, as does g 2210, which was similarly "misnumbered" by Reisner as he continued to clear the entire area.

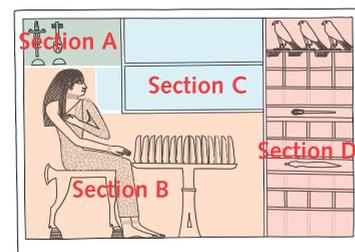
¹⁰ P. Jánosi has recently demonstrated that Ankh-haf's mastaba most likely dates to Khufu's reign and was among the first, not the last, to be constructed in the Eastern Cemetery, *Giza in der 4. Dynastie* (Vienna, forthcoming), § 2.2.6 (g 7510).



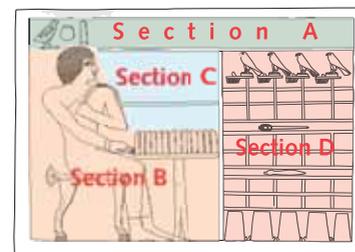
Pattern 1



Pattern 2



Pattern 3



Pattern 4

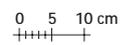


Fig. 214. Four layout patterns for the Giza slab stela

to be constructed. Furthermore, could they all originally have contained slab stelae? Alterations were later made to the interiors of g 4000 and g 2220, perhaps eliminating their slab stelae and emplacements.¹¹ This would leave Wepemnefret's as the only surviving slab stela among the "principal" mastabas of the three nucleus cemeteries in question.¹²

Moving on to the other three patterns for the decorative layout of the slab stelae, we find they are much more uniform, and each pattern contains several examples. Pattern 2 shows the identifying text above (Section a) stretching over Sections b (funerary repast scene) and c (offerings), while the linen list (Section d) occupies the full height from the bottom to the top of the stela's decorative frame. Both short-form and long-form stelae are attested for Pattern 2. Examples include the stelae of Kanefer (g 1203), Setji-hekenet (g 1227), Ini (g 1235), Seshat-sekhentiu (g 12120),¹³ and Meretites (g 4140).

Pattern 3 reduces the identifying inscription (Section a) still further to just a very short text over the funerary repast (Section b), with the offerings (Section c) filling in the newly won space to the upper edge of the stela. Examples of Pattern 3 stelae consist of Khufu-nakht (g 1205), Nefer (g 1207), Nefret-iabet (g 1225), and the anonymous fragment from g 2135. The stela of Nefer actually separates the offerings of Section c with vertical column dividers. All of the stelae of Pattern 3 are short-form stelae.

Pattern 4 completes the group with added emphasis on the identifying inscription (Section a). This text becomes a wide horizontal band across the top, reducing the height of the linen list (Section d), for the *idmy* falcons are now tucked underneath the inscription of Section a. In fact, one could almost add Wepemnefret to this group, were it not for the other unusual features of his stela's layout. The other examples of Pattern 4 stelae are Kaiemah (g 1223), Iunu (g 4150), and the anonymous stela from g 4860. Two stela fragments that cannot be ascribed with certainty to one of the above patterns are those of Kaninisut(?) (g 2155) and Wenshet (g 4840).

We may now proceed to a comparative discussion of the four sections of the slab stela.



Fig. 215. Archaic stela of Niankhtet, after R. Weill, *Des Monuments et de l'histoire des IIe et IIIe Dynasties* (Paris, 1908), p. 226

SECTION A: THE IDENTIFYING INSCRIPTION

The chart in fig. 216 lists all the titles preserved in the Giza stela. An attempt is also made to group them according to their type or nature, using the following letter abbreviations: bureaucratic (B), epithet (E), geographical (G), priestly (P), and royalty-related (R):¹⁴

According to the scheme listed above, the slab stela owners display seven bureaucratic titles (B), possibly one epithet (E), two geographic titles (G), thirteen priestly titles (P) and three or four titles indicating royalty (R), whether actual or not. By far the largest number of titles belongs to Wepemnefret, and

¹¹ Both tombs were also originally designed as two-shaft mastabas; cf. Reisner, *Giza Necropolis* 1, map 5, and Junker, *Giza* 1, p. 133, fig. 18. Wepemnefret's tomb, however, remained a single-shaft mastaba.

¹² Clearly the enormous anonymous mastaba g 2000 plays a significant, but as yet unclear, role in the development and orientation of the Western Cemetery mastabas. If the three large mastabas, g 1201, g 2220, and g 4000, are not the primary tombs in each of their core cemeteries, then g 2000 should be evaluated for its orientation vis à vis Cemeteries 1200 and 2100. For more on this mastaba, cf. Reisner, *Giza Necropolis* 1, pp. 414–16 [Appendix B]; and Jánosi, *Giza in der 4. Dynastie*, forthcoming, § 2.3.3b.

¹³ This stela does not preserve the top of the linen list; nevertheless, based on its similarities to the stela of Meretites from g 4140, we can assume that the *idmy* falcons extend to the top of the stela.

¹⁴ Helck preferred to relate them all to the administration of construction projects: "Zur Entstehung des Westfriedhofs an der Cheops-Pyramide," *ZAS* 81 (1956), pp. 62–65.

Title/Epithet and Type	Translation	Bearers
<i>imy-r wpwt</i> (b)	overseer of commissions ^a	Kanefer (g 1203)
<i>imy-r zsw Šmꜣw</i> <i>imy-r zš[w Šmꜣw]</i> (g)	overseer of the phyles of Upper Egypt ^b	Iunu (g 4150) Kaiemah (g 1223)
<i>iry(t)-ḥt nswt</i> (b)	keeper of the king's property ^c	Khufu-nakht (g 1205); Ini (g 1235)
<i>ꜣd-mr wḥꜣ(w)</i> (b)	overseer of fishers ^d	Wepemnefret (g 1201)
<i>wr mꜣw Šmꜣw</i> (g)	great one of the Tens of Upper Egypt ^e	Wepemnefret (g 1201); Kaiemah (g 1223, fragmentary); Iunu (g 4150)
<i>mꜣḥ zḥꜣw nswt</i> (b)	commander of the king's scribes ^f	Wepemnefret (g 1201)
<i>mꜣḥ-?</i> (archaic title with lioness) (p)	translation uncertain ^g	Wepemnefret (g 1201)
... n ḥtꜣf mry(t)ꜣf (e or r)	... of his body whom he loves	Wenshet (g 4840)
<i>rḥ.t nswt</i> (b)	acquaintance of the king ^h	Nefer (g 1207); Setji-hekenet (g 1227)
<i>ḥkꜣ Mḥyt</i> (p)	heka-priest of Mehyt ⁱ	Wepemnefret (g 1201)
<i>ḥm bꜣw P</i> (p)	priest of the souls of Pe ^j	Wepemnefret (g 1201)
<i>ḥm-nṯr Inpw</i> (p)	priest of Anubis ^k	Wepemnefret (g 1201)
<i>ḥm-nṯr Nt</i> (p)	priestess of Neith ^l	Wenshet (g 4840)
<i>ḥm-nṯr Ḥwt-ḥr nbt nht</i> (p)	priestess of Hathor, mistress of the sycamore ^m	Wenshet (g 4840)
<i>ḥm-nṯr Ḥr mḥty</i> (p)	priest of the northern Horus ⁿ	Wepemnefret (g 1201)
<i>ḥm-nṯr Ḥḫt</i> (p)	priest of Heqet ^o	Wepemnefret (g 1201)
<i>ḥm-nṯr Ššꜣt ḥntt pr mꜣs(w)t iry ḥt nswt</i> (p)	priest of Seshat, foremost of the archive(s) of the keeper of the king's property ^p	Wepemnefret (g 1201)
<i>ḥrp mrw iḥw</i> (b)	controller of herds ^q	Ini (g 1235)
<i>ḥrp tmꜣt(yw)</i> (b)	controller of bowcase bearers ^r	Kanefer (g 1203)
<i>ḥt Ḥs</i> (p?)	<i>ḥt</i> -priest of Ha(?) ^s	Wepemnefret (g 1201)
<i>ḥry-ḥbt</i> (p)	lector priest ^t	g 4860
<i>ḥry-[ḥbt] ḥry-tp</i> (p)	chief lector priest ^u	Seshat-sekhentiu (g 2120)
<i>zš nswt</i> (r)	king's son ^v	Wepemnefret (g 1201), Kaiemah (g 1223), Iunu (g 4150)
<i>zšt nswt</i> (r)	king's daughter ^w	Nefret-iabet (g 1225)
<i>zšt nswt n ḥtꜣf</i> (r)	bodily daughter of the king ^x	Meretites (g 4140), Wenshet (g 4840)
<i>zḥꜣw mꜣst nṯr</i> (p)	scribe of the god's book ^y	g 4860

Fig. 216. List of titles attested for the owners of the Giza slab stelae

^a Cf. D. Jones, *An Index of Ancient Egyptian Titles, Epithets and Phrases of the Old Kingdom 1* (Oxford, 2000), pp. 88–89, no. 375.

^b Ibid., pp. 202–203, no. 759; A.M. Roth, *Egyptian Phyles in the Old Kingdom*, SAOC 48 (Chicago, 1991), pp. 119–22, esp. 121 n. 8, and Fischer, *Dendera*, p. 70, n. 283.

^c Jones, *Index 1*, pp. 327–28, no. 1206; Helck, *Untersuchungen zu den Beamtentiteln des ägyptischen Alten Reiches*, ÄF 18 (Glückstadt, 1954), pp. 26–28; H. Brunner, *SAK 1* (1974), pp. 55–60; O. Berlev, *JEA 60* (1974), p. 109, and E. Brovarski, in *Mélanges Mokhtar 1* (Cairo, 1985), p. 148, n. 129.

^d Jones, *Index 1*, p. 356, no. 1323 (*ꜣd-mr wḥꜣw* [spdw]); idem, *A Glossary of Ancient Egyptian Nautical Titles and Terms* (London, 1988), pp. 71–72 (no. 92; transliterated *ꜣd mr wḥ*); Fischer, *GM 126* (1992), pp. 63–64.

^e Jones, *Index 1*, pp. 388–89, no. 1437.

^f Ibid., pp. 467–68, no. 1739; and cf. Fischer, *Varia Nova*, Egyptian Studies 3, p. 33, note f, with important bibliography.

^g On this archaic title, cf. *ibid.*, p. 32 note c; Jones, *Index 1*, pp. 459–60, no. 1718 (transliterated *mꜣḥ Mḥyt*!); Kaplony, *IÄF 1*, pp. 582 (2), 583 (6); Strudwick, *Administration*, p. 215; G. Godron, *RdE 8*, (1951), pp. 91–98, S. Curto, *ZÄS 94* (1967), pp. 15–20; Helck, *Beamtentitel*, p. 76, and J. Kahl, *Das System der ägyptischen Hieroglyphenschrift in der 0.–3. Dynastie*, GÖF 29 (Wiesbaden, 1994), pp. 482–83.

^h H.G. Fischer, *Egyptian Women of the Old Kingdom 2* (New York, 2000), pp. 71–72, n. 176, has shown that women do not hold the title *iry(t)-ḥt nswt*.

ⁱ Kaplony, *IÄF 1*, p. 582 (2) notes that this title is born only by Wepemnefret and Neferseshemre, for which see P. Montet, *Kémi 1* (1928), pp. 84–85; Helck, *Beamtentitel*, p. 76; and L. Kákosy, in *LÄ 4*, cols. 5–6; Jones, *Index 1*, pp. 494–95, no. 1849.

^j Ibid., p. 501, no. 1876.

^k Ibid., p. 505, no. 1891; Kaplony, *IÄF 1*, p. 584, and Brovarski, *ASAE 71* (1987), p. 46 (comparing Wepemnefret and a writing board from Giza).

^l Jones, *Index 2*, p. 529, no. 1973.

^m Ibid., p. 545, no. 2024.

ⁿ Ibid., p. 555, no. 2057; B. Begelsbacher-Fischer, *Untersuchungen zur Götterwelt des Alten Reiches*, OBO 37 (Freiburg and Göttingen, 1981), pp. 82–83; H. Kees, *ZÄS 64* (1929), pp. 102–104.

^o Jones, *Index 2*, pp. 564–65, no. 2084; Helck, *Beamtentitel*, pp. 48, 121.

^p Jones, *Index 2*, pp. 578–79, no. 2126; Helck, *Beamtentitel*, pp. 70–71, n. 30; idem, in *LÄ 5*, col. 885 with n. 19.

^q Jones, *Index 2*, pp. 716–17, no. 2614 (“director of the pasture lands [of the *iḥw*-cattle]).”

^r On this military title, cf. H.G. Fischer, *JNES 18* (1959), pp. 267–68 (22) and Junker, *Giza 4*, pp. 71–72 (9); Jones, *Index 2*, p. 753, no. 2746. Helck, in *Hommages à Jean Leclant 1*, BdE 106/1 (Cairo, 1994), p. 221, translates it “Leiter der Bogentruppen.”

^s A discussion of this title is provided by A. McFarlane, *GM 121* (1991), pp. 90–91. See also Jones, *Index 2*, p. 757, no. 2756; Helck, *Beamtentitel*, pp. 47–48; Strudwick, *Administration*, pp. 184–86, with table 9; and Begelsbacher-Fischer, *Untersuchungen zur Götterwelt*, pp. 211, 228–29, and 251.

^t Jones, *Index 2*, p. 781, no. 2848.

^u Preserved, not on his slab stela, but on a fragment from his mastaba; cf. Reisner, *Giza Necropolis 1*, p. 427, fig. 246. On the title, cf. Jones, *Index 2*, p. 784, no. 2860.

^v Ibid., p. 799, no. 2911.

^w Ibid., pp. 817–18, no. 2988.

^x Ibid., p. 819, no. 2993.

^y Ibid., pp. 857–58, no. 3132.

the inclusion of his twelve titles clearly indicates that there was no lack of space on the format of slab stelae for full listings of an individual's administrative duties. The much smaller numbers of titles on other slab stelae need not, therefore, reflect any kind of obligatory abbreviation of titles due to lack of space.¹⁵ Judging from both the size of his mastaba and the number of his titles, there can be little doubt, then, that Wepemnefret was indeed the highest ranking and most important individual in Cemetery 1200. His twelve titles compare well with some twenty-three titles listed for Hemiunu, the highest ranking individual in Cemetery 4000.¹⁶ As far as Cemetery 2100 is concerned, if the most important individual there was indeed the owner of g 2220, neither name nor titles are preserved.¹⁷

Determining the genealogical relationships between the various slab stelae owners would be of great import as far as familial exclusivity within the three nucleus cemeteries is concerned. However, the paucity of inscriptions renders definitive connections almost impossible. The nature of the slab stela form, and the dearth of accompanying inscriptions from the mastabas in question, leaves us with little more than guesswork concerning spouses and offspring. Reisner believed that nucleus Cemeteries 1200, 2100, and 4000 represented three different branches of Khufu's family.¹⁸ We might summarize just a few genealogical suggestions by other scholars, but they rely on little more than similar names, geographical proximity, or a shared title or two. For Cemetery 1200, Helck suggested that, based on their respective "royal" titles of *z3* and *z3t nswt*, Nefret-iabet (g 1225) was the wife of Wepemnefret (g 1201).¹⁹ He further proposed that Khufu-nakht (g 1205) might have been Wepemnefret's son, though without any particularly compelling reason. Further to the east, in Cemetery 4000, Helck posited that Meretites (g 4140) was the wife of Hemiunu (g 4000), based on the geographical proximity of their two tombs. The existence of the second (male) reserve head in Meretites' tomb, however, might cast doubt upon this

¹⁵ One often finds references in the scholarly literature to the format of the slab stela as containing insufficient space for all the items supposedly "desired" by the deceased; cf. E. Staehelin, *Untersuchungen zur ägyptischen Tracht im Alten Reich*, MÄS 8 (Berlin, 1966), p. 224, Junker, *Giza 1*, pp. 8, 29, 30. This is a modern value judgment.

¹⁶ Hemiunu's titles are listed by Junker, *Giza 2*, pp. 148–51; see also Piacentini, *Les Scribes dans la société égyptienne de l'Ancien Empire 1*, pp. 102–103.

¹⁷ On this tomb, cf. Reisner, *Giza Necropolis 1*, pp. 450–53.

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, pp. 27, 77. For another view, focusing instead on the "private initiative" of senior construction officials, see Helck, *ZÄS 81* (1956), pp. 62–65.

¹⁹ W. Helck, "Die Datierung der Prinzessin *Wn3.t*," in C. Berger, G. Clerc and N. Grimal, eds., *Hommages à Jean Leclant 1* (Cairo, 1994), p. 221.

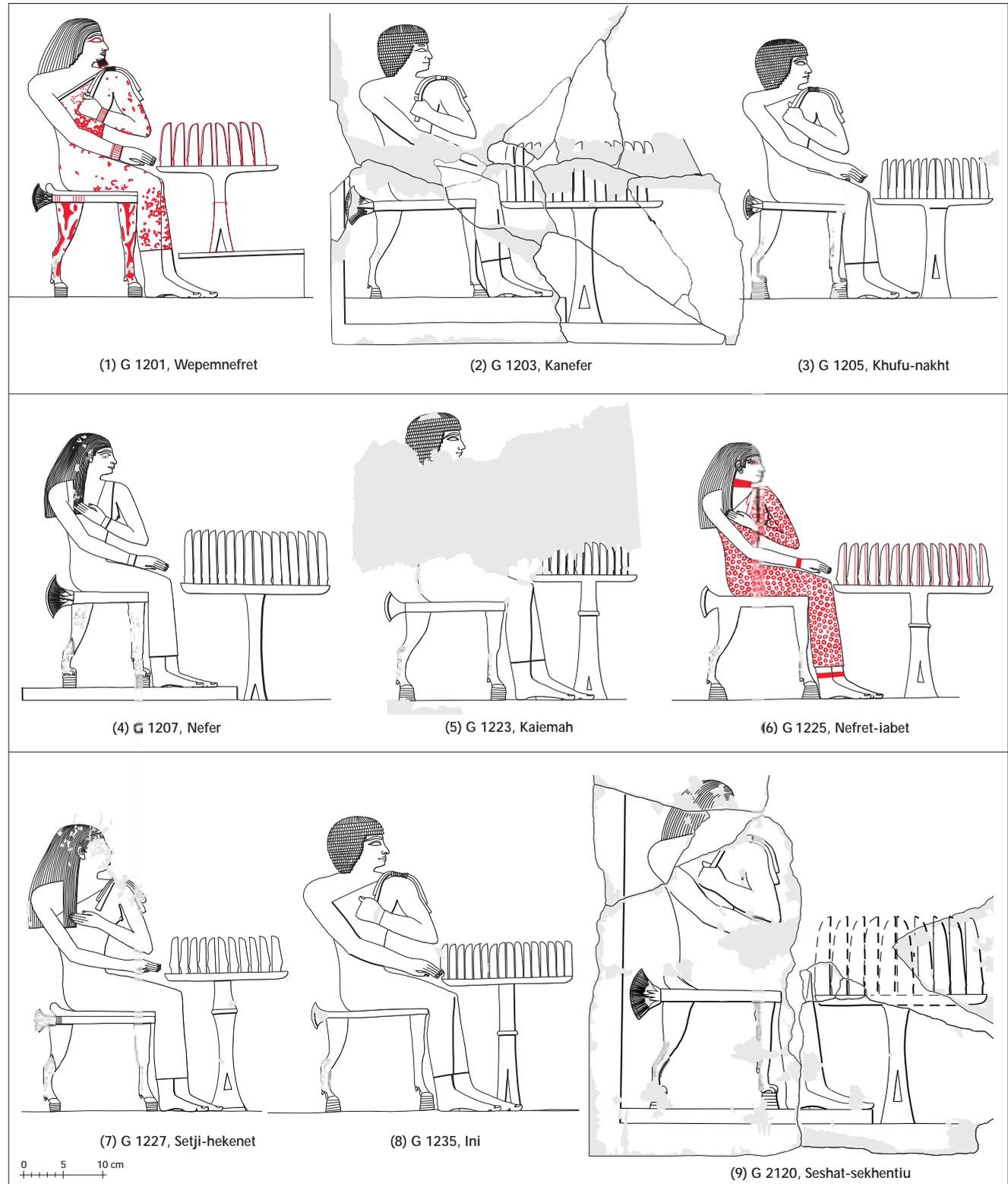


Fig. 217. Seated figures of the slab stela tomb owners, stelae 1–9

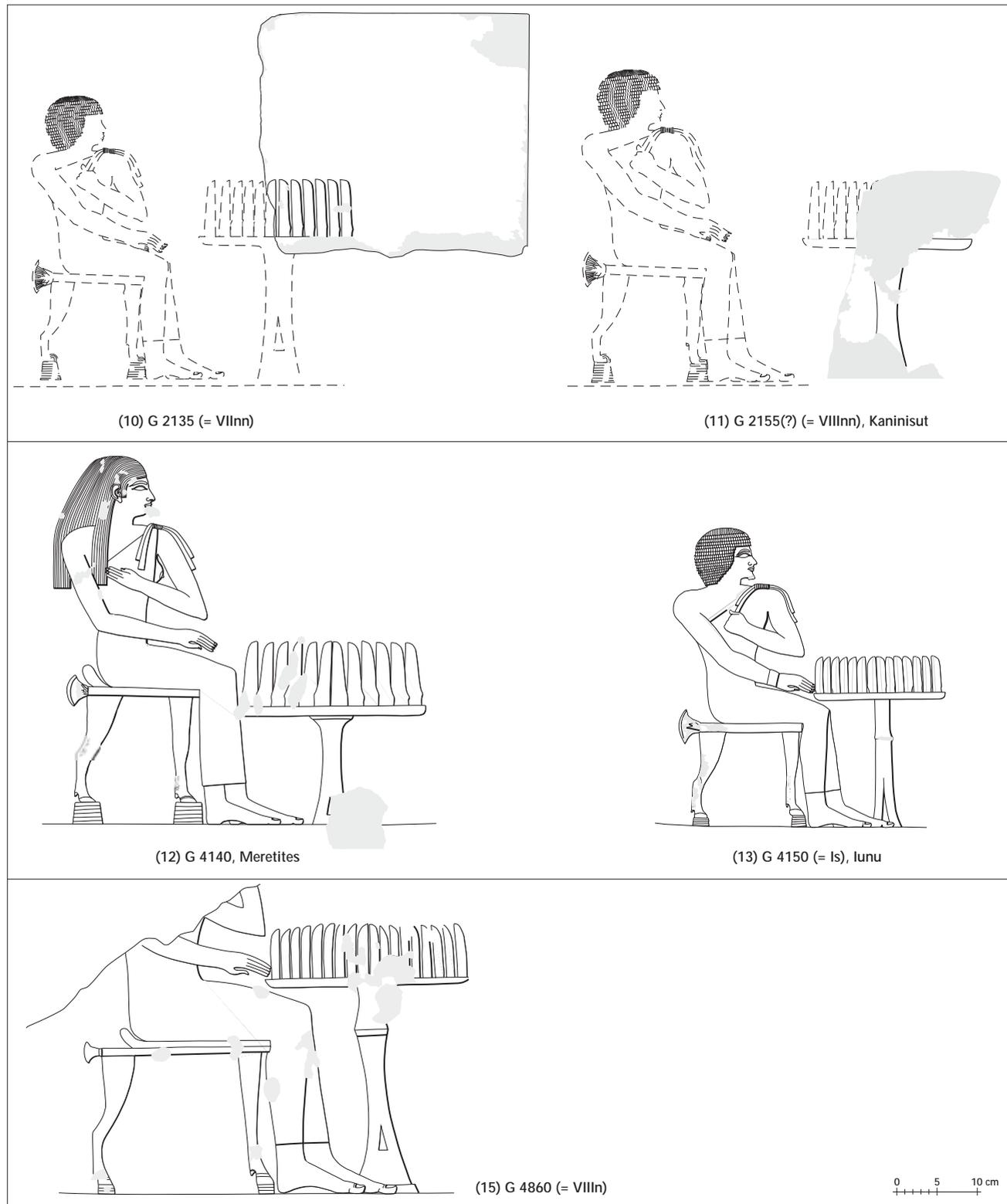


Fig. 217 (continued). Seated figures of the slab stela tomb owners, stelae 10–15

assumption.²⁰ Finally, Helck suggested that Iunu (g 4150) in Cemetery 4000 was the successor of Kaiemah (g 1223) of Cemetery 1200, since both individuals bore the titles of *imy-r zsw šm'w*.²¹ Junker wondered whether Kanefer (g 1203) of Cemetery 1200 was a predecessor of the Kanefer (g 2150) of Cemetery 2100, since both men hold the same titles, as does the latter Kanefer's son Ka-sewedja (g 5340 = Lepsius 37).²² Most of these tenuous suggestions and assumptions, however, cannot be demonstrated by the archaeological evidence. The one conclusion we might draw is that none of the slab stela owners designated as “children” or “bodily children” of the pharaoh necessarily had an actual blood relation to him. We should expect the tombs of actual royal family members to be located in the Eastern, not the Western Cemetery at Giza.²³

SECTION B: THE FUNERARY REPAST SCENE

Some of the layout irregularities of the slab stelae are highlighted by the treatment of the large-scale seated figures of the tomb owners. Twelve of the fifteen stelae in our group preserve, at least partially, the seated figure at the lower left of the slab (fig. 217). The outer frame and border areas vary widely from stela to stela; the seated figure of Ini (g 1235), for example, appears to have too much room at his disposal. His figure almost occupies the center of the stone, leaving a large blank space and disproportionately wide vertical framing border behind him that is more than twice as thick as the border on the right-hand side of the stela. Khufu-nakht (g 1205) shows a similarly wide left border.

The orientation of each of the twelve seated figures is always the same: at the left edge of the stela facing right, along with his or her identifying inscription above (Section a). Normally, the rest of the stela, offerings, linen list, etc., face left

²⁰ On the two reserve heads found in g 4140, cf. Reisner, *Giza Necropolis* 1, pls. 46c, 52a (MFA 14.717); Smith, *HESPOK*, pl. 6b, and R. Tefnin, *Art et Magie au temps des Pyramides. L'énigme des têtes dites “de remplacement”* (Brussels, 1991), pp. 100–101, no. 4, pl. 5a–d, pp. 113–14, no. 18, pls. 17c–d, 18a–b.

²¹ Helck, in *Hommages Leclant* 1, pp. 221–22. He makes no attempt to demonstrate, however, that this title was held by only one individual at a time.

²² Junker, *Giza* 3, p. 5. On the tomb of Ka-sewedja, cf. Junker, *Giza* 7, pp. 158–84, and Fischer, *The Orientation of Hieroglyphs 1, Reversals* (New York, 1977), p. 80, fig. 81.

²³ Cf. B. Schmitz, *Untersuchungen zum Titel s-njswt “Königsohn”* (Bonn, 1976), esp. pp. 17–22, and Junker, *Giza* 2, pp. 34–39, listing all the royal family members. For an example of a queen buried in the Western Cemetery, see P. Jánosi, “g 4712—Ein Datierungsproblem,” *GM* 133 (1993), pp. 53–64.



Fig. 218. False door tablet of Meretites from g 7650, looking west. June 30, 1929. HU–MFA Expedition photograph, Mohammedani Ibrahim, b 6858

towards the deceased. The only glaring exception to the rule is the anonymous stela from g 4860, where everything, from the seated male figure (Section b) to the offerings (Section c) and the linen list (Section d) is oriented to the right.²⁴

No significant statements can be made concerning the gender of the slab stela owners. It is probably just an accident of preservation that there are nine males versus five females. Only four of the women are actually represented. We know the gender of the owners of two fragments, from the tombs of Kaninisut(?) (g 2155) and of Wenshet (g 4840) by virtue of the associated inscriptions rather than preserved seated figures. The gender of only a single stela owner remains undeterminable—g 2135. If we expand our sample to include the mastabas con-

taining slab stela emplacements, many of these are, of course, undeterminable as to gender, but the tallies come to either twelve or thirteen males, six females and six undetermined (see Chapter 2, fig. 210). It is worth noting once again how, with very few exceptions, the mastabas that contained a slab stela contained nothing else inscribed.

The poses chosen for the seated tomb owners show some variation. Each male clenches his (left) hand into a fist, usually²⁵ grasping the shoulder knot of his garment, while each woman places her (left) hand with palm outstretched across the breast. Note, however, the Dynasty 4 false door panel still in situ in the East Cemetery interior stone chapel of Meretites (g 7650; a different individual from the Meretites of g 4140),

containing a layout very similar to a slab stela, and showing the female in the “male pose” of grasping the shoulder knot with a fisted left hand (fig. 218).

It appears that all the men wear the same close-fitting garment, painted (where pigment survives) to represent a leopard skin and leaving one shoulder exposed. Some of the women wear this same garment (Nefret-iabet, g 1225; Setji-hekenet, g 1227), while others bear the traditional tight-fitting dress with shoulder straps that in two-dimensional relief appears to leave the breast exposed (Nefer, g 1207; Meretites, g 4140). The stela of Nefret-iabet (g 1225) shows the shoulder strap clearly carved, and the leopard-skin garment overlaid in paint; thus, both garments appear, and it would seem that the leopard skin is intended to represent a second layer worn over the dress.²⁶ All of the women wear long, striated wigs with lappets falling in front of the shoulder. The men all sport the round, valanced wig, with two exceptions (Wepemnefret, g 1201; Seshat-sekhentiu, g 2120), where a longer, striated wig touches the shoulder. Of the preserved males, only Wepemnefret (g 1201) and Iunu (g 4150) sport beards. The valanced wig shows the high, overlapping locks topped by a row of vertical lines typical of Dynasties 3 and 4. Both Fischer and Cherpion have noted that the taller vertical row of locks at the top or crown of the wig indicate earlier, Dynasty 4, examples. Since most of the slab stelae preserving such wig details date to this era, the criterion is of little use in providing differentiation within the Giza slab stelae group.²⁷

The preserved faces of the tomb owners are placed together for comparison in fig. 219. In each case, the facial features are carefully and prominently modeled; each face shows

²⁴ Cf. Junker, *Giza* 1, p. 245, fig. 59 and pl. 8a (Vienna, ÄS 8549). The *idmy* falcons also face right in the niches of Kha-bau-sokar and Hathor-nefer-hotep, but following rightward dominant orientation beneath the seated figures; cf. Murray, *Saqqara Mastabas* 1, pls. 1–2; J. Kahl, N. Kloth and U. Zimmerman, *Die Inschriften der 3. Dynastie. Eine Bestandsaufnahme*, ÄA 56 (Wiesbaden, 1995), pp. 186–91, 194–97.

²⁵ One slightly exceptional case is provided by Ini (g 1235) whose fisted hand just barely touches his shoulder knot. On gestures in general, see now B. Dominicus, *Gesten und Gebärden in Darstellungen des Alten und Mittleren Reiches* (Heidelberg, 1993), pp. 77–79. For this reference I am indebted to Miroslav Bárta.

²⁶ Or is this meant to represent the broad border of the leopard skin? Cf. Dunham and Simpson, *The Mastaba of Queen Merysankh III*, Giza Mastabas 1 (Boston, 1974), frontispiece (top) and fig. 7.

²⁷ Cf. Fischer, “A Scribe of the Army in a Saqqara Mastaba of the Early Fifth Dynasty,” *JNES* 18 (1959), pp. 238–39, fig. 4; N. Cherpion, *Mastabas et Hypogées d’Ancien Empire. Le Problème de la Datation* (Brussels, 1989), p. 55 (criterion 28), citing occurrences attested under kings as late as Menkaure.

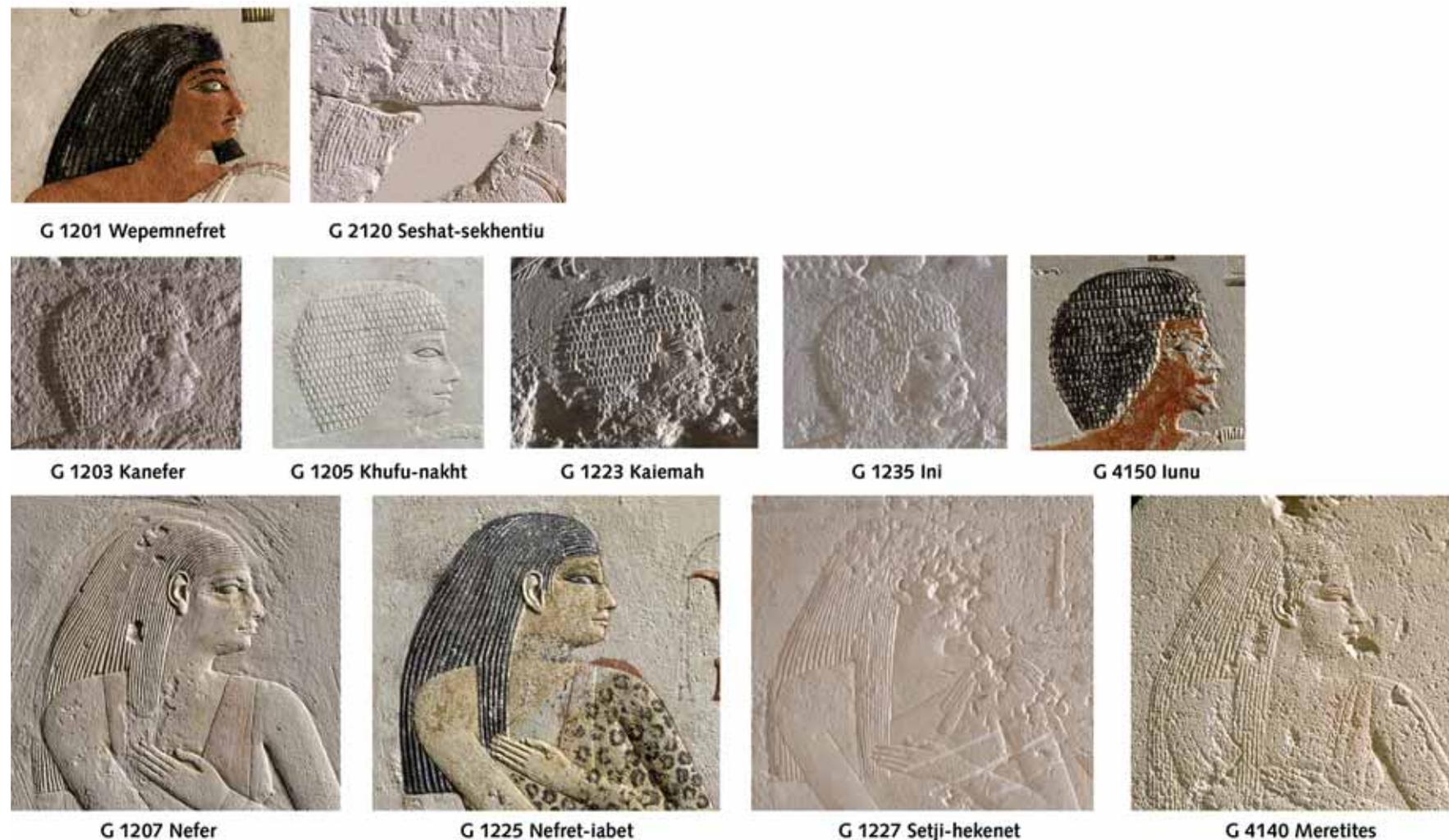


Fig. 219. Faces of slab stela owners, arranged by gender and wig style

a plastic eyebrow, and only Kanefer (g 1203) fails to delineate a second upper eyelid line. Even more attention seems to have been given to the four preserved female faces, including detailed ear modeling, and long striated wigs. These images bear striking similarities to the female face on a personified estate from Khufu's pyramid temple, now in New York (MMA 22.1.7),²⁸ and to a female offering bearer from the tomb of Ankh-haf (g 7510).²⁹

It is interesting to note briefly one other type of comparison, fragmentary though the evidence is. The only example of a Giza mastaba discovered so far that includes a slab stela, a reserve head,³⁰ and an actual human skull is the tomb of Meretites

(g 4140; two reserve heads, and two skulls). The reader is referred to stela 12 above in Chapter 1 (figs. 138–43).

A number of features appear on the Giza stelae that Cherpion incorporated into her system of criteria for dating Old Kingdom tombs, among them seats (including cushions, legs, floral umbels, floor supports³¹), offering tables, bread

²⁸ *Egyptian Art in the Age of the Pyramids* (New York, 1999), p. 226, cat. 41, also shown in Smith, *HESPOK*, pl. 39.

²⁹ *Art of the Ancient Mediterranean World*, Nagoya/Boston Museum of Fine Arts, April 17, 1999–March 2004 (Nagoya, 1999), pp. 57 (color plate) and 173, cat. 43; Smith, *HESPOK*, pl. 40e.

³⁰ For the reserve head (Cairo, JE 46217), see Reisner, *Giza Necropolis* 1, p. 462, pl. 52b, and Tefnin, *Art et Magie*, pp. 113–14, pls. 17c, d–18a, b.

³¹ Cf. J. Vercoutter, "Supports de meubles, éléments architectoniques, ou 'établis'?" *BIFAO* 78 (1978), pp. 81–100. Cf. Stadelmann, in *Kunst des Alten Reiches*, p. 163, n. 72. Reisner considered this head to represent the owner, while Smith considered it to represent his "wife(?)," *HESPOK*, p. 26 and pl. 9b; cf. Tefnin's remarks, *Art et Magie*, pp. 64–69, and especially p. 67. On this particular reserve head in general (Hearst Museum, Berkeley 6–19767), see Reisner, *Giza Necropolis* 1, p. 390, pls. 21f, 22a–e, and Tefnin, *Art et Magie*, pp. 97–98, pl. 1a–d. One might also note in this regard that some consider the owners of reserve heads to be different individuals from those eventually buried in the major nucleus cemetery mastabas at Giza; cf. E. Schott, "Friedhofsbräuche in Giza," in F. Junge, ed., *Studien zu Sprache und Religion Ägyptens (Festschrift für W. Westendorf)* 2 (Göttingen 1984), pp. 1121–28, esp. 1126 for Kanefer as an "archaisierendes Ersatzgrab," and W. Helck, *ZAS* 81 (1956), pp. 62–65; idem, "Die Datierung der Prinzessin *Wn.t*," in C. Berger, G. Clerc and N. Grimal, eds., *Hommages à Jean Leclant* 1, Bibl. d'étude 106/1 (Cairo, 1994), p. 223.

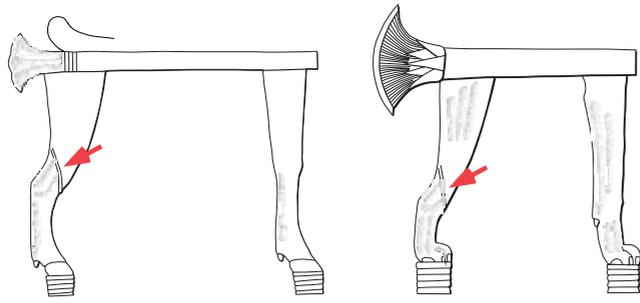


Fig. 220. Muscle cords on the rear legs of the stools of Nefer (g 1207, left) and Setji-hekenet (g 1227, right)

loaves,³² and hairstyles.³³ Although she has laid too much emphasis for dating purposes on the presence of the latest royal name in the tombs in question,³⁴ her summaries of iconographic elements provide numerous useful comparisons. Unfortunately, many of Cherpion's dating criteria are ubiquitous in the early Fourth Dynasty, and only come to be differentiated at later stages of the Old Kingdom. Thus, for example, the radial "top" (actually the center) of the male valanced wigs does not diminish in size until after the reign of Menkaure, well after the early period under discussion here.³⁵

Concerning the theriomorphic seats themselves, both bull-legged and lion-legged feet are attested since the beginning of the Old Kingdom. Cherpion notes that bull legs seem to disappear after the reign of Isesi,³⁶ but in fact they are attested later, albeit rarely.³⁷ Lion legs, on the other hand, continue for centuries. The bull legs thus form a marginally useful dating criterion, while lion legs do not, although the latter were apparently the rarer motif of privilege early in the Old Kingdom. As far as the preserved examples allow us to determine, there are nine cases of bull-legged seats versus three lion-legged seats, one for a woman (Nefer, g 1207) and two for men (Khufu-nakht, g 1205, and Seshat-sekhentiu, g 2120). Nefer and Khufu-nakht share the same title of *rh.t nswt*. As Smith has noted,³⁸ an interesting detail on the chair legs is the addition of the curving muscle "cord" halfway down the rear leg. This appears on preserved areas of only two stelae (fig. 220), one with bull legs (Setji-hekenet, g 1227), the other with lion legs (Nefer, g 1207). Examples are known from other reliefs at both Giza and Saqqara, and the dates range from Dynasties 5 to 6.³⁹ Both Vercoutter and Cherpion have studied the conical supports at the bottoms of the legs.⁴⁰

On the papyrus umbel-shaped seat terminals, Cherpion⁴¹ argues for increased size and detail as an indicator of an older date. The noticeably smaller umbels of the Giza stelae belong to Iunu (g 4150), Meretites (g 4140) and the anonymous owner of g 4860, a factor which would speak for nucleus Cemetery 4000 postdating nucleus Cemetery 1200. The stela of Setji-hekenet shows the only example of a palm umbel, a feature paralleled by the royal furniture of Hetepheres (see figs. 83–84 above, Chapter 1, stela 7).⁴² None of the Giza seats shows either the archaic feature of two umbels, with the seat "flipped up" in plan view for complete visibility, or the absence of a front leg, obscured by human legs of the seated figure.⁴³

Only five of the stelae display cushions, three of which are visible under the entire length of the deceased's posterior and thigh (Wepemnefret, g 1201; Setji-hekenet, g 1227; g 4860), while two take the form of the Δ (*k*) hieroglyph behind the deceased (Seshat-sekhentiu, g 2120; and Meretites, g 4140). Each type of cushion (or cushion representation) appears with both males and females. Cherpion concludes that the lack of cushion and back is primarily a Fourth Dynasty phenomenon, with the fully visible cushion appearing into the reign of Khafre, whereas the cushion visible only behind the posterior of the deceased continues to the reign of Niuserre.⁴⁴ Only three slab stelae, belonging to two males (Kanefer, g 1203; and Seshat-sekhentiu, g 2120) and one female (Nefer, g 1207), display a mat underneath the entire figure and seat, resembling a raised, rectangular platform.⁴⁵

The offering table piled high with bread loaves most often takes the form of a ceramic stand on the floor, into which is set a circular (calcite?) table with base. Both the ceramic stands (complete with triangular slit towards the base) and the offering tables accurately reflect actual examples, such as those illustrated in figs. 221 and 222.⁴⁶ Most of the stands flare towards the bottom, while a few (Ini, g 1235; Iunu, g 4150) show a more rigid vertical line. On approximately six stelae (see fig. 223), the mid-level join between stand and table is absent, with the stand extending all the way to the round tray, attaching by some sort of tenon on the bottom of the latter. Cherpion has argued (critères 24–25) that the table with a base set into a jar stand appears from Dynasty 4 to the first half of Dynasty 5, while the table without such a base appears during all periods, and is of no value for chronological seriation.⁴⁷ As an experiment, one might "translate" the two-dimensional scene into a modern, three-dimensional perspective, as illustrated in fig. 224.

In only three examples does the outstretched hand of the stela owner come in contact with the actual bread loaves. Both Iunu (g 4150) and the owner of the g 4860 stela just touch the left-most loaf, while in Ini's case (g 1235), the loaf has actually been scooped out to make room for the hand. As for the loaves

³² On the bread loaves themselves (*gsu? bds?*), see Junker, *Giza* 1, p. 246, n. 1; M. Bárta, "Archaeology and Iconography: *bds* and *pr* bread moulds and 'Speisetschzene' development in the Old Kingdom," *SAK* 22 (1995), pp. 21–35; C.E. Worsham, "A Reinterpretation of the So-called Bread Loaves in Egyptian Offering Scenes," *JARCE* 16 (1979), pp. 7–10. For more on bread baking, cf. H. Wilson, "Pot-baked bread in Ancient Egypt," *DE* 13 (1989), pp. 89–100; B. Vachala and D. Faltings, "Töpferei und Brauerei im AR—einige Relieffragmente aus der Mastaba des Ptahschepes in Abusir," *MDAIK* 51 (1995), pp. 281–86. On the bakery discovered at south Giza, cf. Z. Hawass, "The Workmen's Community at Giza," in M. Bietak, ed., *Haus und Palast im Alten Ägypten. Internationales Symposium 8. bis 11. April 1992 in Kairo* (Vienna, 1996), pp. 60–62.

³³ Cherpion, *Mastabas et hypogées*, esp. pp. 25–64. Additional remarks on the layout of individual stelae are provided by Vandier, *Manuel* 1, pp. 756–63, and Junker, *Giza* 1, pp. 29–32.

³⁴ Critical reviews of this procedure are offered by A. Roth in *JNES* 53, 1994, pp. 55–58; Bolshakov, *Man and his Double in Egyptian Ideology of the Old Kingdom* (Wiesbaden, 1997), p. 54 n. 8; idem, "Osiris in the Fourth Dynasty Again?" in H. Györy, ed., *Mélanges Offerts à Edith Varga* (Budapest, 2001), p. 77; and Jánosi, *Giza in der 4. Dynastie*, forthcoming, esp. § 1.1. See also M. Baud, "A propos des critères iconographiques établis par Nadine Cherpion," in N. Grimal, ed., *Les Critères de datation stylistiques à l'Ancien Empire* (Cairo, 1998), pp. 31–95.

³⁵ Cherpion, *Mastabas et hypogées*, p. 55.

³⁶ *Ibid.*, pp. 33–34.

³⁷ Fischer, *Varia Nova*, Egyptian Studies 3 (New York, 1996), p. 146, and idem, "Stuhl," in *LÄ* 6, col. 94; and N. Strudwick, *RdE* 38 (1987), pp. 144–46.

³⁸ *HESPOK*, p. 160.

³⁹ Among the many attested examples besides the slab stelae are Nihetepkhnun (Cherpion, *Mastabas et hypogées*, pl. 3), Akhetetep in the Louvre (*ibid.*, pls. 38–39), Ptahhotep (Saqqara D 64, *ibid.*, pls. 44–45), the entrance jamb(s) of Kanefer (g 2150; Reisner, *Giza Necropolis* 1, p. 440, fig. 261), Ankh-haf (g 7510; unpublished) and Khufu-khaf (g 7140); W.K. Simpson, *The Mastabas of Kawab, Khaf-khufu I and II*, Giza Mastabas 3 (Boston, 1978), pls. 18–19, 21a, figs. 30–32.

⁴⁰ Vercoutter, *BIFAO* 78 (1978), pp. 81–100; Cherpion, *Mastabas et hypogées*, pp. 36–40.

⁴¹ *Ibid.*, p. 32, n. 31.

⁴² Cf. H.S. Baker, *Furniture in the Ancient World* (New York, 1966), pp. 46–47; Cherpion, *Mastabas et hypogées*, p. 33, fig. 13.

⁴³ See below, Appendix 3, figs. 265–99; Cherpion, *Mastabas et hypogées*, p. 32, n. 28–29; Saad, *The Excavations at Helwan*, p. 150, pl. 70 (stela of Heken).

⁴⁴ Cherpion, *Mastabas et hypogées*, pp. 30–31.

⁴⁵ Nefer (g 1207), Seshat-sekhentiu (g 2120), and Kanefer (g 1203). Cherpion, *Mastabas et hypogées*, pp. 40–41 (critère 15), notes "L'usage d'une natte apparaît pour la première fois et de façon sporadique dans les mastabas qui présentent sur leurs parois des cartouches de la V^e dynastie, mais il est surtout en vogue dans les mastabas dans lesquels on lit le cartouche de Têti et, dans une moindre mesure, celui de Pépi I^{er}." However, the illustration she uses in fig. 25 is the Fourth Dynasty slab stela of Nefer (g 1207).

⁴⁶ Or, in four cases, the slit appears at the very bottom of the stand's base: Wepemnefret (g 1201), Nefer (g 1207), Ini (g 1235, obscured by the owner's feet), and Iunu (g 4150). Cf. Cherpion, *Mastabas et hypogées*, p. 50, n. 66.

⁴⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 51.



Fig. 221. Calcite offering table from g 2009; mid to late Dynasty 5. MFA 06.1883a-b. Ht. 5.7 cm; diam. 16.5 cm. Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, e 1925cr-d1



Fig. 222. Ceramic offering stand from the mastaba of Seniwehem, g 2132, shaft c, chamber, MFA 36-2-15. Ht. 56 cm. PDM

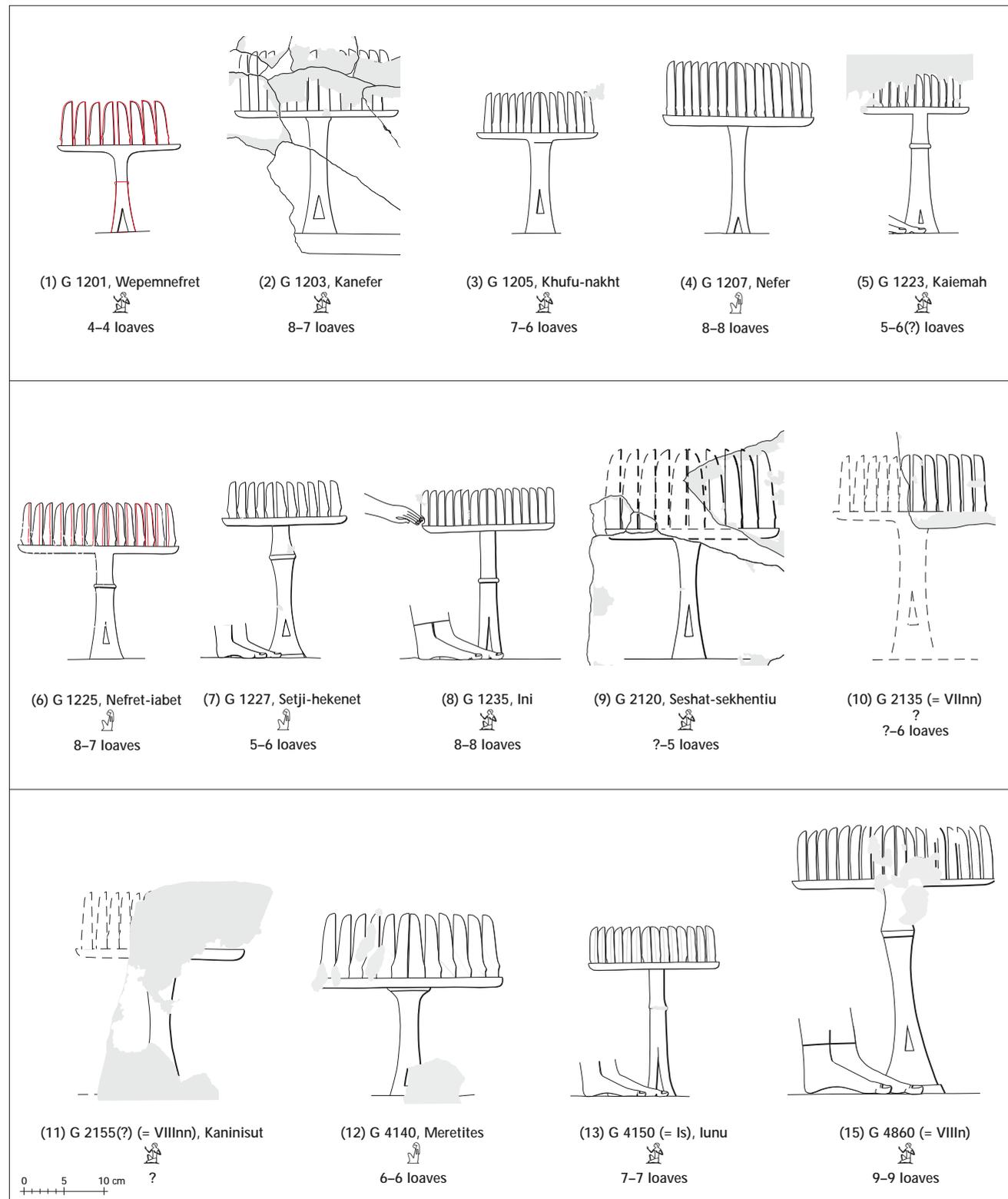


Fig. 223. Chart of offering tables from fourteen slab Giza slab stelae

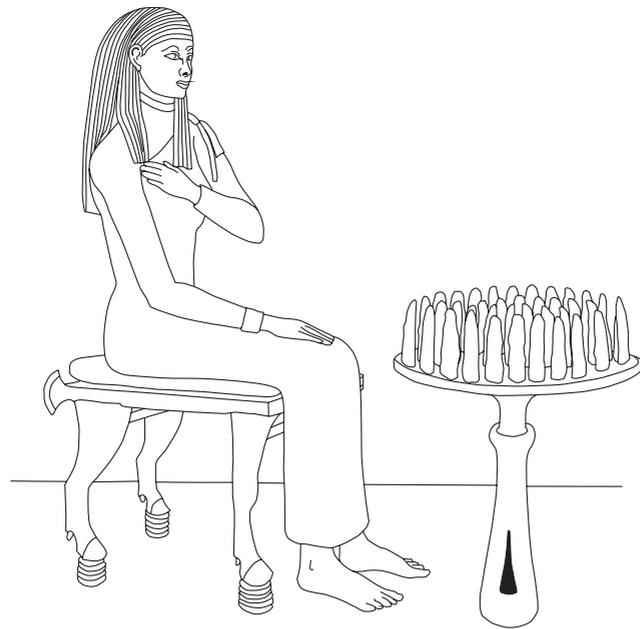


Fig. 224. Three-dimensional perspective “translation” of the table scene from Section b of the slab stela

themselves, they curiously fail quite often to show a proportional division in their left- and right-facing numbers. Cherpion has detailed the transformation of these items from true loaves of bread, even showing the difference in color between the crust and the interior,⁴⁸ into tall reeds.⁴⁹ The Giza stelae evolve only in showing a moderate gain in height, and a straight vertical, losing the concavity towards the bottom of the loaf that is indicative of the form of the bread mold. They correspond to the area between the knee and the elbow of the seated tomb owner except in two long-form stela examples (Seshat-sekhentiu, g 2120, and Meretites, g 4140), where the loaves begin well below the knee area.⁵⁰ Were we to divide the stelae strictly into an earlier and a later group, based solely on the squat, knobbed loaves (earlier) versus the tall, straight loaves (later), we would have to separate the slab stelae into two groups.⁵¹

	Slab stelae by shape of offering loaves
Earlier	Wepemnefret g 1201; Khufu-nakht g 1205, Kaiemah g 1223, Nefret-iabet g 1225, Setji-hekenet g 1227, Seshat-sekhentiu g 2120, g 2135, Meretites g 4140, Iunu g 4150
Later	Kanefer g 1203, Nefer g 1207, Ini g 1235, g 4860

SECTION C: THE OFFERINGS

As far as the preserved examples allow us to determine, the stelae of Wepemnefret (g 1201) and Nefer (g 1207) are the only ones to show a vertical arrangement of their offerings with vertical separating lines (Section c). All others either contain actual horizontal separators, or are placed in such a manner that a horizontal arrangement is implied, even if the individual word items are spelled vertically.⁵²

Some of the most elegantly detailed hieroglyphs of the Old Kingdom appear in these offering lists. With the possible exception of the legs on the tomb owners' stools, far more attention to detail was lavished on this part of the decoration program than on any other, including the actual figure of the deceased. Analysis of some of the finer examples, whether carved or painted, refutes Junker's apparent denigration of the Giza reliefs in favor of earlier relief from other sites.⁵³ More exhaustive analyses of the individual items have been made elsewhere,⁵⁴ and the reader is referred to the palaeography at the end of the present work (Appendix 2). A color palaeography, based on the three stelae that preserve major amounts of pigment (Wepemnefret g 1201, Nefret-iabet g 1225, and Iunu g 4150) is also provided below (Appendix 1).⁵⁵

A few items may be noted here. In particular, signs with interwoven interior elements (rope, flax, basketry containers, etc.) are exquisitely executed. The human hands ☞ (D 46) display an added detail of a curving line in the palm. The *sw* plant ☛ (M 23) shows the leaves overlapping alternately, which is consistent with the earliest Dynasty 3 and 4 forms of this hieroglyph.⁵⁶ Later, in Dynasty 5 the leaves overlap less regularly, or meet symmetrically in the middle of the sign. Unfortunately, we have no examples of this hieroglyph in the slab stelae that might appear to date later than Khufu's reign (cf. esp. g 4840 and g 4860, Chapter 1, stelae 14–15).

The ubiquitous *h3* sign ☛ for “1,000” (M 12) usually shows the leaf turned forward. In studying an inventory list from “Covington's Tomb” at Giza, Brovanski noted that the earliest example of an upturned *h3* sign was on the slab stela of Seshat-sekhentiu (g 2120), while both versions occur on other slab stelae.⁵⁷ The upright leaf makes occasional appearance during the Old Kingdom, but later the sign turns the leaf forward almost exclusively.⁵⁸ Despite the wide variation in the sign on the Giza slab stelae, no particular patterns or criteria appear to be forthcoming that would establish a chronological sequence.⁵⁹

Reversals appear in the offerings and, of course, elsewhere on the slab stelae. One might note on the Meretites stela (g 4140) the decapitated bird with reversed head for *smn* (with *s* reversed as well) just in front of the seated figure.⁶⁰ There is one unusual example of the hill sign ☛ (N 29) reversed in *hmk*t (g 4140 Meretites), and four examples of the reversed rope sign ☛ (*ws* (V 4), one of which is a “half-reversal” (g 4140 Meretites). Numerous examples of the tall cloth *s* sign ☛ (S 29) appear in reversal (see Appendix 2, Palaeography, fig. 262). Two stelae even show two ☛ signs practically side by side but with opposing orientations (Seshat-sekhentiu, g 2120 *nbs* and *t-nbs*, and Kaninisut[?], g 2155, offering list, *mst* and *wrs*).

Section c also contains certain anomalies. The stela of Nefer (g 1207) fails to list any offerings (typically oxen, fowl, bread, and/or beer) beneath the right-hand portion of the offering table; this is the most glaring example of asymmetry

⁴⁸ See the polychromy on the stelae of Wepemnefret (g 1201), Nefret-iabet (g 1225), and Iunu (g 4150); Chapter 1 above, stela 1, 6, and 13.

⁴⁹ Cherpion, *Mastabas et hypogées*, pp. 41–49 (critères 16–21).

⁵⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 45.

⁵¹ This list omits, of course the fragments from the tombs of Kaninisut(?), g 2155, and Wenshet, g 4840, since they fail to preserve any offering loaves.

⁵² Compare Junker's remarks on verticality, *Giza* 1, p. 32.

⁵³ *Ibid.*, pp. 33–34, where Junker seems to prefer the earlier, more vertical styles of Hesire and other predecessors of the Giza stela group.

⁵⁴ On this topic see W. Barta, *Die altägyptische Opferliste*, MÄS 8 (Berlin, 1963); idem, *Aufbau und Bedeutung der altägyptischen Opferformel*, ÄF 24 (Glückstadt, 1968); and Kaplony, *IÄF* 1, p. 227ff.

⁵⁵ For more on color see Appendix 1, and Smith, *HESPOK*, pp. 256, 366–82 and color pl. A; E. Hornung, *Idea into Image* (Princeton, 1992), pp. 26–27; J. Kahl, “Die Farbgebung in der frühen Hieroglyphenschrift,” *ZÄS* 124 (1997), pp. 44–56 (with important bibliography on p. 56); W. Schenkel, “Die Farben in ägyptischer Kunst und Sprache,” *ZÄS* 88 (1963), pp. 131–47.

⁵⁶ Cf. H.G. Fischer, “A Scribe of the Army in a Saqqara Mastaba of the early Fifth Dynasty,” *JNES* 18 (1959), pp. 269–71; idem, *Dendera in the Third Millennium B.C.* (New York, 1968), p. 17; idem, *Ancient Egyptian Calligraphy*, 4th edition (New York, 1999), p. 34; A. Bolshakov, “Osiris in the Fourth Dynasty Again?,” *Mélanges offerts à Edith Varga*, pp. 74–75 (feature 10).

⁵⁷ E. Brovanski, “An Inventory List from ‘Covington's Tomb’ and Nomenclature for Furniture in the Old Kingdom,” in P. Der Manuelian, ed., *Studies in Honor of William Kelly Simpson* 1 (Boston, 1996), p. 122.

⁵⁸ Fischer, *Ancient Egyptian Calligraphy*, p. 33 (M 12); idem, *Varia Nova*, *Egyptian Studies* 3, pp. 205–207.

⁵⁹ Cf. Junker, *Giza* 1, p. 32, who cites L. Klebs, *Die Reliefs des Alten Reiches* (Heidelberg, 1915), p. 134, n. 2. On the possibility that the color of the sign might indicate an earlier (yellow) or later (green) date, cf. Brovanski, “An Inventory List from ‘Covington's Tomb’ and Nomenclature for Furniture in the Old Kingdom,” pp. 121–22; Kahl, *ZÄS* 124 (1997), p. 51.

⁶⁰ For discussion of this element, see H.G. Fischer, *The Orientation of Hieroglyphs*, Part 1, *Reversals*, *Egyptian Studies* 2 (New York, 1977), p. 77, fig. 79 and pp. 129–30 (fig. 121).

in the entire stela group. And two long-form stelae bear relatively rare furniture lists that are very similar to each other: Seshat-sekhentiu (g 2120) and the Kaninisut(?) fragment from g 2155.⁶¹

SECTION D: THE LINEN LIST

Junker discussed the linen list in connection with his discovery of the slab stela of Iunu (g 4150),⁶² but the most intensive attempt to interpret the linen list remains that of W.S. Smith in 1935.⁶³ His list of all monuments known to him bearing linen lists is a fundamental source for the study of this archaic and early Old Kingdom item. However, several decades have passed since Smith's time, and it was thus deemed worthwhile to gather additional examples of linen lists. I have collected this new list below in Appendix 3, and augmented it with as many illustrations as possible. While this new compilation is neither complete nor exhaustive, it should serve to demon-

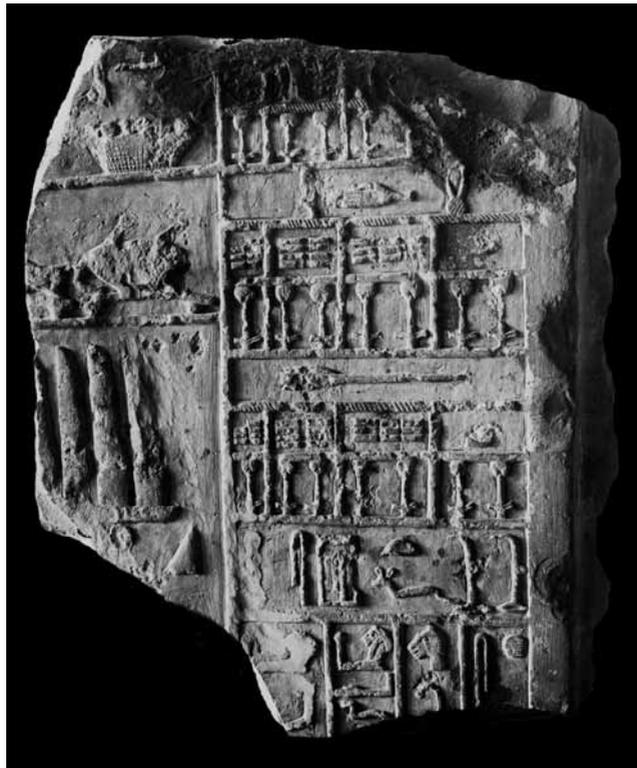


Fig. 225. Limestone Archaic relief with linen list, Egyptian Museum, Cairo, JE 46436 (= Special Register sr 15351); h. 27 cm; w. 31 cm. William Stevenson Smith photo archive, housed in the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston

strate the tradition out of which the Giza slab stelae developed. Additional examples should be forthcoming as Z. Saad's Helwan stelae in the Cairo Museum receive new study, and new excavations at such sites as Abusir, Dahshur, Abu Roash, and even Giza produce new material. While the reader is referred to Appendix 3 for linen list parallels, we will continue below with comparative notes on the individual elements, reading from the top to the bottom of the Giza lists.

Multiple readings have been suggested for the falcons on standards that appear at the top of each linen list, from *ntw* to *itiw(y)* to *idmy*. Edel has gathered many references, chiefly from the Pyramid Texts and later linen lists, and concluded a similarity in meaning between *itiw(y)* and *idmy* (*ntw* is the least likely transliteration).⁶⁴ These two terms may originally have been differentiated, *itiw(y)* being, as Edel suggests, a nisbe-form for "royal linen," and *idmy* bearing connotations of red linen.⁶⁵ They seem to have melded together over the course of Dynasty 4, with *idmy* eventually replacing *itiw(y)*, perhaps altogether. An Archaic Period or early Old Kingdom fragment in the Cairo Museum (fig. 225) shows a damaged top row that doubtless contained falcons, while in the row beneath, *idmy* is written $\text{𓆎} \text{𓆏}$.⁶⁶ On the (sunk relief, paste-filled) false door tablet of Nefermaat from Meidum, four falcons surmount the linen list, while *idmy*, written $\text{𓆎} \text{𓆏}$, is relegated below to one of the four specific types of linen.⁶⁷ The raised relief tablet from Nefermaat's shallow niche shows a similar arrangement, albeit with only three types of linen.⁶⁸ Thus at the start of Dynasty 4 there is still some differentiation between the two terms. As early as the tomb of Rahotep at Meidum, following directly after Nefermaat's burial, however, this distinction disappears. Rahotep's false door tablet (British Museum 1242) shows three falcons only. None of the Giza slab stelae shows both terms together; the falcons appear at the top of the list in each case, without any phonetic spellings. By the time of the Saqqara false door tablet of Mery, most likely dating to the middle of Dynasty 4,⁶⁹ we find *idmy* written out phonetically, including the falcon on the standard $\text{𓆎} \text{𓆏} \text{𓆑}$, and located at the top of the linen list. Combining the evidence provided by the Rahotep tablet, predating the Giza slab stelae, and the Mery tablet, postdating them, we may conclude that the Giza stelae signs may be read as *idmy*. Additional evidence from Giza is provided by the linen scenes from the tomb of Khufukhaf I (g 7130–7140; fig. 226).⁷⁰ Whether the translation of *idmy* should remain identical to *itiw(y)*, that is, "royal linen" is perhaps less certain.

Smith took the four basic headings of the lists to refer to different qualities of cloth, with the subdivisions indicating the width of the linen and the amounts to be made available (fig. 227). In the top heading of two stelae, it is curious to find that the *idmy*-falcons appear to be erased. In the stela of Meretites (g 4140), the adjacent inscription has also been damaged, as is that of Seshat-sekhentiu (g 2120). In the stela

⁶¹ Cf. Brovarski, "An Inventory List from 'Covington's Tomb' and Nomenclature for Furniture in the Old Kingdom," p. 128, nos. (11) and (13); idem, "Inventory Offering Lists and the Nomenclature for Boxes and Chests of the Old Kingdom," in E. Teeter and J. Larson, eds., *Gold of Praise: Studies on Ancient Egypt in Honor of Edward F. Wente* (Chicago, 1999), pp. 27–54; Leprohon, CAA 2, *Stelae 1* (MFA 06.1894); Junker, *Giza 1*, 230, fig. 53c.

⁶² Junker, *Giza 1*, pp. 177–78.

⁶³ "The Old Kingdom Linen List," *ZÄS 71* (1935), pp. 134–49. See also the discussions by P. Posener-Kriéger, *Les Archives du temple funéraire de Néferirkarê-Kakai 2*, BdE 65/2 (Cairo, 1976), p. 341ff., with references to Jéquier, *Frises d'objets des sarcophages du Moyen Empire* (Cairo, 1921). For a recent compilation of archaic examples of the *mnbt* sign, see Kahl, *Das System der ägyptischen Hieroglyphenschrift in der 0.–3. Dynastie*, p. 710ff.

⁶⁴ E. Edel, "Beiträge zum ägyptischen Lexikon VI," *ZÄS 102* (1975), pp. 24–27. See also Fischer, *Variā Nova*, *Egyptian Studies 3*, p. 23 n. 63; and Kahl, *Das System der ägyptischen Hieroglyphenschrift*, p. 515; idem, *Frühägyptisches Wörterbuch* (Wiesbaden, 2002), p. 62.

⁶⁵ Hannig, *Großes Handwörterbuch*, p. 117 ("Leinenstoff [dunkelrot]"); *Wb 1*, p. 153.14–16 ("Leinenstoff von roter Farbe"); Faulkner, *CDME*, p. 35 ("red linen"); *BD 308.3*; *Urk. IV*, 1380.3. Junker, *Giza 1*, p. 177, argued that what hangs from the falcon standards is actually folded cloth, and the three stelae that preserve pigment do show red-colored standards beneath the yellow falcons. See also Smith, *ZÄS 71* (1935), p. 139. For *idmy* as an Egyptian loan word in the Old Testament, see T.O. Lambdin, "Egyptian Loan Words in the Old Testament," *JAOS 73* (1953), p. 147, with n. 15.

⁶⁶ JE 46436 = SR 15351, limestone, h. 27 cm, w. 31 cm. The fragment was a gift from Aly Baghat and entered the Museum on July 24, 1919. I am indebted to Hourig Sourouzian for obtaining this information from the Egyptian Museum, Cairo.

⁶⁷ Cf. Ziegler, *Stèles, peintures et reliefs égyptiens de l'Ancien Empire*, pp. 172–75, cat. 27 (B 78), and Harpur, *The Tombs of Nefermaat and Rahotep at Meidum*, pl. 10.

⁶⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 39, fig. 43.

⁶⁹ Ziegler, *Stèles, peintures et reliefs égyptiens de l'Ancien Empire*, pp. 108–12, cat. 17; Y. Harpur, *Decoration in Egyptian Tombs of the old Kingdom* (London, 1987), p. 274, no. 408.

⁷⁰ W.K. Simpson, *The Mastabas of Kawab, Khaf-khufu I and II*, Giza Mastabas 3 (Boston, 1978), pls. 18, 22b, figs. 27, 30, 33; Smith, *ZÄS 71*, p. 141, fig. 2. For a Dynasty 6 intrusive inscription mentioning *idmy* ʿ wrt for a dog's burial and written $\text{𓆎} \text{𓆏} \text{𓆑} \text{𓆒}$ (Cairo, JE 67573), see G.A. Reisner, "The Dog which was Honored by the King of Upper and Lower Egypt," *BMFA 34* (1936), pp. 96–99; idem, "Ancient King Gives Dog a Royal Burial," *The American Kennel Gazette* 55.5 (May 1, 1938), pp. 7–9, 180–82, with improvements by Bolshakov, "Osiris in the Fourth Dynasty Again?" in H. Györy, ed., *Mélanges Offerts à Edith Varga*, pp. 65–80; idem, *Man and his Double in Egyptian Ideology of the Old Kingdom*, *ÄAT 37* (Wiesbaden, 1997), pp. 262–63, and H.G. Fischer, "An Old Kingdom Monogram 𓆎," *ZÄS 93* (1966), pp. 56–69. More recently, this inscription was discussed by O. Goldwasser, *Prophets, Lovers and Giraffes: Wor(l)d Classification in Ancient Egypt* (Wiesbaden, 2002), pp. 93–94, fig. 5-1.

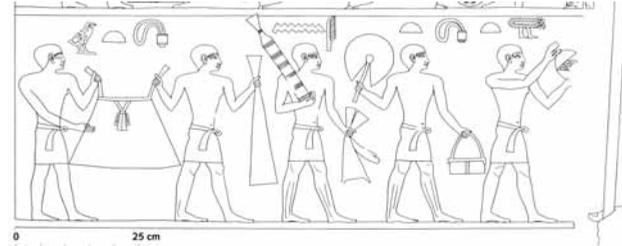


Fig. 226. Linen-related scenes from the Giza mastaba of Khufu-khaf I (g 7130–7140), after W.K. Simpson, *The Mastabas of Kawab, Khaf-khufu I and II*, Giza Mastabas 3 (Boston, 1978), figs. 27 (lower left; north facade), 30 (top; east wall), and 33 (lower right; west wall, north section)

of Setji-hekenet (g 1227) the falcons are selectively destroyed, and there is also damage to the owner's face. The stelae of Meretites and Setji-hekenet were discovered in situ, so a fall from the mastaba wall can be ruled out as the cause of the damage. The stela of Seshat-sekhentiu was discovered in fragments near its original emplacement, although the lower left piece (containing the owner's seat) was found far away, behind the mastaba, in the street between g 2120 and g 2100.

Other anomalies concerning the falcons appear on the stela of Iunu (g 4150) and on the anonymous stela from g 4860. In these cases the falcons are set on rectangular pedestals with a rounded projection in front (see Sign List R 12 ☐).⁷¹ An informative three-dimensional parallel of colossal proportions is available from the New Kingdom. A pair of falcon statues were erected by Amenhotep III at Soleb, and later removed to Gebel Barkal. The better-preserved statue, discovered

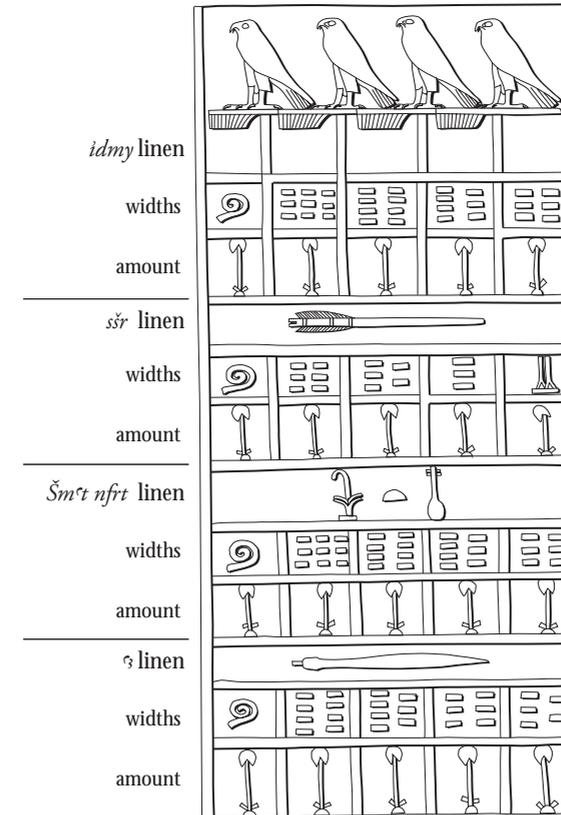


Fig. 227. The basic elements of the linen list, adapted from the slab stela of Ini (stela 8, g 1235)

by Reisner, is illustrated here (fig. 228, and above, figs. 152, 170), although its reconstruction is, at this writing, undergoing a rearrangement.⁷² The standard is further exemplified in three dimensions by a Middle Kingdom mirror with a handle based on the ☐ sign (fig. 229).⁷³

⁷¹ Cf. Junker, *Giza* 1, p. 32; this feature appears on both the raised and sunk relief false door tablets of Nefermaat from Meidum, cf. W.M.F. Petrie, *Medum* (London, 1892), pls. 16, 20; Harpur, *The Tombs of Nefermaat and Rahotep at Maidum*, p. 39, fig. 43, pl. 10, and one parallel (out of three falcons shown) appears on the false door panel of Rahotep: Petrie, *Medum*, pl. 13; T.G.H. James, *Hieroglyphic Texts from Egyptian Stelae etc.*, in *the British Museum* 1² (London, 1961), pl. 1.2 (no. 1242); Harpur, *The Tombs of Nefermaat and Rahotep at Maidum*, pl. 71. Pedestals underneath the ibis on a standard are discussed by Fischer, *Varia Nova*, *Egyptian Studies* 3, pp. 201–205, with fig. 13.

⁷² MFA 23.1470; D. Dunham, *The Barkal Temples* (Boston, 1970), pp. 25, 27, fig. 20, pl. 25b, and W.K. Simpson, "A Horus-of-Nekhen Statue of Amunhotep III from Soleb," *BMFA* 69 (1971), cover and pp. 152–63. The companion statue to this piece is in the collections of the Ägyptisches Museum, Berlin, Lepsius, *Denkmaeler* 3, pl. 90d–f; Text 5, 271.

⁷³ *Art of the Ancient Mediterranean World, April 17, 1999–March 2004* (Nagoya, 1999), pp. 72 (color plate) and 178–79, cat. 57.

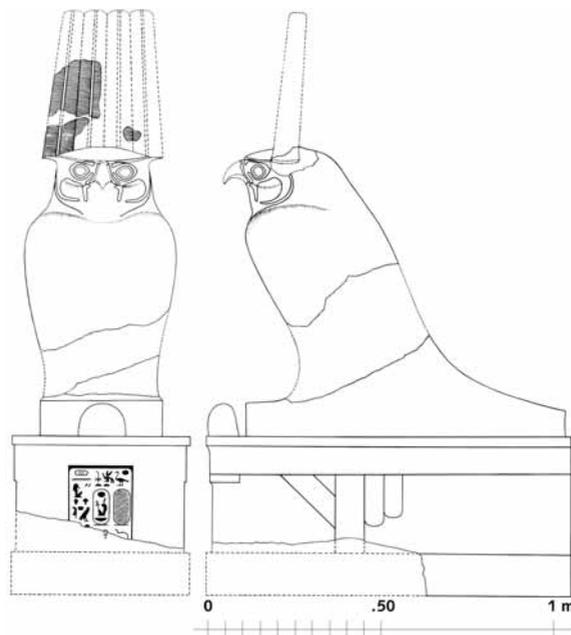


Fig. 228. Soleb falcon of Amenhotep III, MFA 23.1470, after D. Dunham, *The Barkal Temples* (Boston, 1970), fig. 20



Fig. 229. New Kingdom mirror and handle of unknown provenance, MFA 72.4470; Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, f 4020cr-dl

The numbers of falcons shown on the Giza stela vary considerably. As a general rule, the smaller numbers may indicate a more archaic leaning (see fig. 230). Wepemnefret's three falcons are by far the smallest in the Giza stela group, and evoke the less organized, archaic stelae of preceding dynasties. Even though Nefret-iabet (g 1225) and Kaiemah (g 1223) likewise show only three falcons, theirs are much more in keeping with the standard size favored by the majority of the stelae. It is not entirely clear whether the number of falcons related somehow to the quantities of cloth, or more to problems of space and layout of the linen list on the individual stelae. But each artist or tomb-owner seems to have had the flexibility to choose between three (minimum) and six (maximum) falcons, depending on the size and contents of the rest of the linen list.

Slab Stela	m/f	Number of falcons
(1) g 1201 Wepemnefret	☩	☩☩☩ 3
(2) g 1203 Kanefer	☩	☩☩☩☩ 4
(3) g 1205 Khufu-nakht	☩	☩☩☩☩☩ 5
(4) g 1207 Nefer	☩	☩☩☩☩☩ 5
(5) g 1223 Kaiemah	☩	☩☩☩ [3]
(6) g 1225 Nefret-iabet	☩	☩☩☩ 3
(7) g 1227 Setji-hekenet	☩	☩☩☩☩ 4
(8) g 1235 Ini	☩	☩☩☩☩☩ 9
(9) g 2120 Seshat-sekhentiu	☩	☩☩☩☩☩ (☩) [4 or 5?]
(10) g 2135 (= VIIInn = g 4770)	?	☩☩☩☩ 4
(11) g 2155? (= VIIIInn) Kaninisut	☩	?
(12) g 4140 Meretites	☩	☩☩☩☩☩☩ 6
(13) g 4150 (= Is) Iunu	☩	☩☩☩☩ 4
(14) g 4840 (= VIIIss) Wenshet	☩	?
(15) g 4860 (= VIIIIn)	☩	☩☩☩☩☩ 5

Fig. 230. Number of clothing falcon signs per slab stela

Useful studies of pharaonic clothing⁷⁴ have appeared in recent years, and instructive three-dimensional representations of the ancient spinning and weaving processes are provided by, among others, the model from the tomb of Meketre.⁷⁵ One of the earliest examples of (female) mummification, from the Fourth Dynasty Western Cemetery Giza mastaba g 2220 (shaft b), revealed that fine linen (*šmꜣ nfrꜣ*) was used for the individual body wrappings (figs. 231–33).⁷⁶ A hieratic graffito contains the words on some linen used to model one of the woman's body contours. Other examples of labeled linen were found with the burial of Idu II at Giza,⁷⁷ and with the so-called slain soldiers of Mentuhotep at Thebes. But as welcome as the recent interest in pharaonic textiles is, there is still a need to reconcile more of the textual evidence with the material remains.⁷⁸ Our understanding of the linen lists of the Old Kingdom would greatly benefit from such an interdisciplinary approach.

In some cases the vertical separators between various elements of the linen list are omitted, calling to mind the less ordered arrangements found in the earlier stelae from Saqqara and Helwan. The stela of Wepemnefret (g 1201) and the anonymous stela fragment from g 2135 bear no vertical separators; could this indicate a relatively early date for g 2135? The stelae

⁷⁴ None of these studies, however, seems to take up the issue of the Old Kingdom linen list; cf. R. Germer, *Die Textilfärberei und die Verwendung gefärbter Textilien im Alten Ägypten* (Wiesbaden, 1992); G. Vogelsang-Eastwood, *Pharaonic Egyptian Clothing* (Leiden, 1993); idem, *Die Kleider des Pharaos* (Hanover/Amsterdam, 199); idem, *The Production of Linen in Pharaonic Egypt* (The Hague, 1992); E. Zoffili, *Costume e cultura dell'antico Egitto* (Milan, 1991) = idem, *Kleidung und Schmuck im alten Ägypten* (Frankfurt, 1992); E. Staehelin, *Tracht*, esp. pp. 222–23. For a more recent study on linen and its relations to socio-economic status, see P. Bochi, "Of Lines, Linen, and Language: A Study of a Patterned Textile and its Interweaving with Egyptian Beliefs," *CdE* 71 (1996), pp. 221–53. For technical studies, cf. M. Stoll and D. Fengel, "Chemical and Structural Studies on Ancient Egyptian Linen," *Berliner Beiträge zur Archäometrie*, Berlin 10 (1988), pp. 151–72; A.K. Astbury, "The Manufacture of Linen in Ancient Egypt," *The Egyptian Bulletin*, London No. 14 (Sept. 1985), pp. 17–21.

⁷⁵ H. Winlock, *Models of Daily Life in Ancient Egypt from the Tomb of Meketre at Thebes* (New York, 1955), pp. 29–33, pls. 26–27, 66–67.

⁷⁶ Cf. Y.J. Markowitz, J.L. Haynes, and R.E. Freed, *Egypt in the Age of the Pyramids. Highlights from the Harvard University-Museum of Fine Arts Boston Expedition* (Boston, 2002), p. 68, cat. 16.

⁷⁷ See R.M. Janssen, in B. Schmitz, ed., *Untersuchungen zu Idu II, Giza. Ein interdisziplinäres Projekt*, HÄB 38 (Hildesheim, 1996), pp. 47–56, and esp. the *nfr* sign on pl. 12.

⁷⁸ Note that no mention is made of the Giza slab stelae linen lists, nor is W.S. Smith's *ZAS* 71 (1935) article even cited, in G. Vogelsang-Eastwood's otherwise superlative essay "Textiles," in P.T. Nicholson and I. Shaw, eds., *Ancient Egyptian Materials and Technology* (Cambridge, 2000), pp. 268–98.



Fig. 231. G 2220 b 1, mummy in situ in cedar coffin, looking south. January 19, 1933. HU-MFA Expedition photograph, Dahi Ahmed, a 7041



Fig. 232. Hieratic inscription on linen wrapping from g 2220 b 1; MFA 33.1017.2. Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, cr 6989-d1

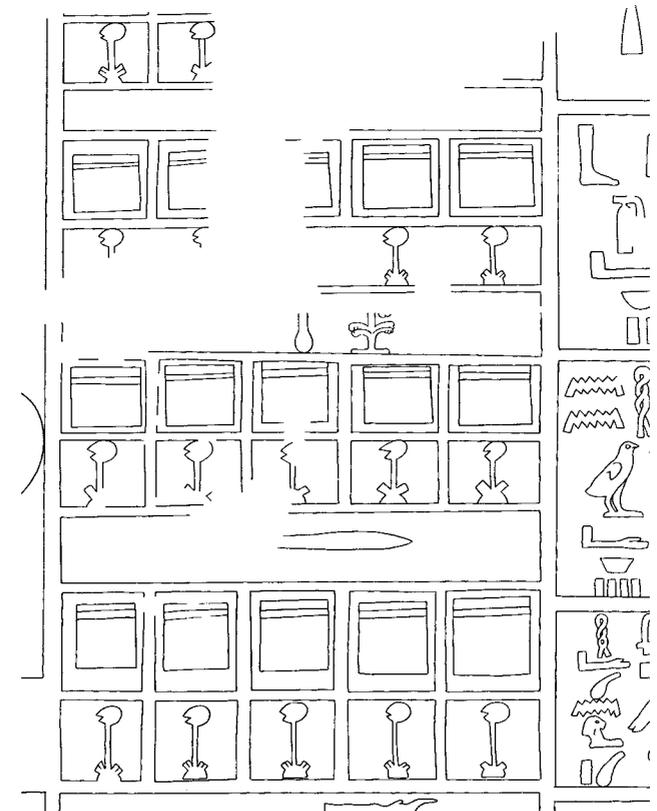


Fig. 234. East wall of chapel of Seshem-nefer I, g 4940, fringed cloths in the linen list. Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, eg 4215

of Kanefer (g 1203) and Khufu-nakht (g 1205) omit the vertical separators between the *l*₃ plants only. The stela of Kanefer (g 1203) places numbers within fringed cloths that provide a sort of natural vertical divider. These fringed cloths also appear twice on the stela from g 4860 and once on that of Wepemnefret (g 1201). In addition, an early drawing by Junker shows fringes at the tops of horizontal dividers across all three types of linen, but no trace of these vertical lines is visible today.⁷⁹ Elsewhere at Giza, the fringed cloths are attested on the east wall linen list in the chapel of Seshem-nefer I (fig. 234, and Appendix 3 below, figs. 310–12).⁸⁰ Note also that a correction occurred during the decoration of the stela of Nefret-iabet (g 1225), where uncarved vertical separators between the *l*₃ signs were later uniformly added in paint. This correction almost seems to indicate that an earlier motif was now out of style and had to be corrected.⁸¹



Fig. 233. Hieratic inscription on linen wrapping from g 2220 b 1; MFA 33-4-22. January 26, 1933. HU-MFA Expedition photograph, Dahi Ahmed, c 13376

It is interesting to note that the arrow hieroglyph (\leftarrow T 11) indicating *ssr* linen appears reversed (facing right) in each of the thirteen linen lists where it is preserved. Still more interesting is the fact that the stela from g 4860 *likewise* keeps this (here no longer reversed) orientation, even though the rest of its linen list uniquely faces right. In other words, the g 4860 example is the only non-reversed *ssr* sign; logically, it should be the only stela to reverse the arrow to face left. Could this be an indication that this stela is an archaizing throwback that has misunderstood the reversal of the other stelae and copied it literally, while reversing the rest of the decorative layout?⁸²

⁷⁹ Junker, *Giza* 1, p. 175, fig. 31.

⁸⁰ See also N. Kanawati, *Tombs at Giza* 1, ACE Reports 16 (Warminster, 2001), pl. 43.

⁸¹ A curious parallel is offered by the false door tablet of Meretites in the Eastern Cemetery (g 7650; no relation to our Meretites of g 4140) where the *l*₃ signs are divided into pairs by vertical separators; see above, fig. 218.

⁸² Cf. A.H. Gardiner, "Two Hieroglyphic Signs and the Egyptian Words for 'Alabaster' and 'Linen,'" *BIFAO* 30 (1930), p. 175; idem, Gardiner, *Egyptian Grammar*, p. 512.

In terms of the meaning of \rightarrow in this context, Gardiner argued that the *sšr* sign (T 11) was related to words such as *zwn*, *zín*, and eventually *zwnw*, “physician.” Is it possible this type of linen bore some connection to medicinal usage before being added to the lists of burial equipment deemed essential enough to warrant representation on the slab stelae? Could the arrow hieroglyph, like *idmy* and *itiw(y)*, also once have had a royal connotation as well?⁸³ In terms of the confusion that has arisen over the transliteration of *sšr* or *ššr*; (see above Chapter 3), in the present work I have preferred *sšr*. Following Gardiner’s lead,⁸⁴ I believe two parallels are especially significant in regards to the Giza linen lists. One predates the Giza slab stelae, the other postdates them. On the unfinished Dynasty 3 stela of Djefa-nisut now in Hannover, the arrow sign appears not alone but preceded by the bolt \rightarrow .⁸⁵ The second parallel dates to Dynasty 6 (Teti–Pepi I), and may be found on the south wall of the burial chamber of Ankhmahor at Saqqara.⁸⁶ Here the list of linen in storage chests contains \rightarrow \rightarrow \rightarrow . By chronologically sandwiching the Giza slab stelae with two writings clearly indicating an initial *s* and not *š*, the reading of \rightarrow as *sšr* rather than *ššr*, at least at Giza in Dynasty 4, seems clear.

Most of the *sšr* arrows show a blunt, often squared-off “point” facing right (fig. 235). The Meretites arrow (g 4140) seems to blend into the relief surface without indicating an actually carved termination, while Iunu (g 4150) shows the only truly pointed arrow tip, although Ini’s (g 1235) and Nefer’s (g 1207) certainly taper. The tip of Khufu-nakht’s (g 1205) arrow even seems to widen somewhat. Two feathers (indicating a third feather would have challenged Egyptian perspectival representation) appear at the tail end. Most of these show a curved outline that angles sharply back towards the end of the arrow shaft; three exceptions, with a much softer curve to the feathers are those of Nefer (g 1207), g 2135 (almost vertical feather ends), and g 4860 (no curve-back whatsoever). Some feathers (Meretites, g 4140, and g 4860) even seem almost oval or circular when viewed together in outline. All the feather pairs, with the exception of Khufu-nakht (g 1205) and g 4860 show striated diagonal lines as interior detail. In all cases, two rectangular protrusions at the tail end of the arrow shaft delineate the groove that fits the arrow to the bowstring. Most of the arrows show three pairs of double vertical lines adorning the shaft between the “two” arrows; only Nefer (g 1207), g 2135, and g 4860 bear no interior shaft detail.⁸⁷

The next linen type, \rightarrow ,⁸⁸ uses the column or tent-pole sign \rightarrow (O 29). This hieroglyph is clearly exemplified in three dimensions contemporaneously in the bedroom canopy set of Hetepheres from Giza (g 7000 x; figs. 236–37).⁸⁹

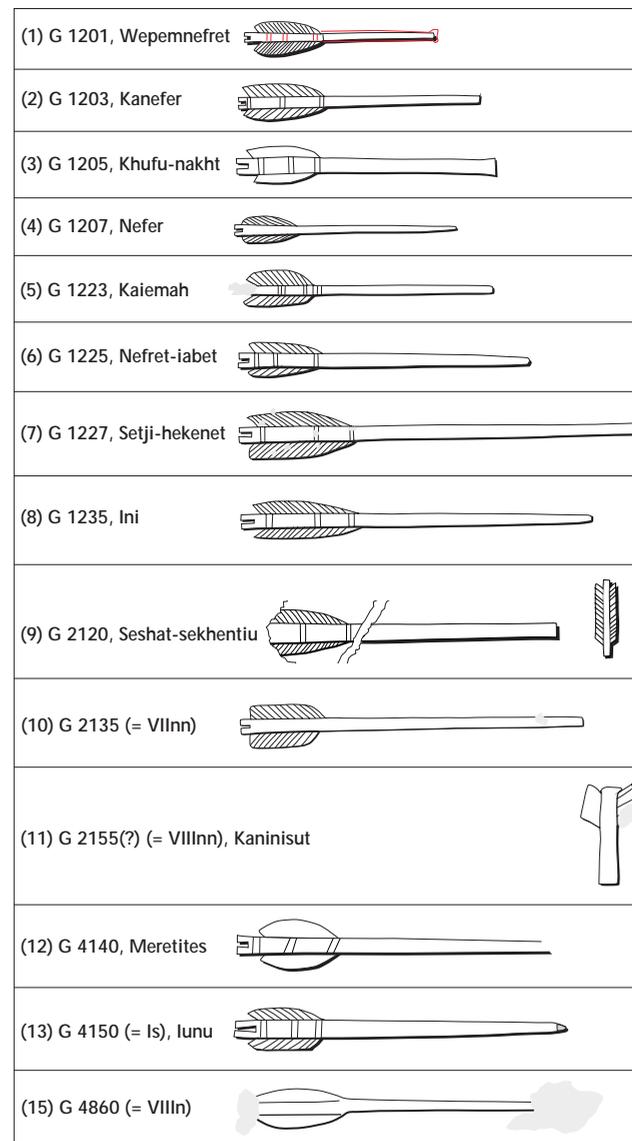


Fig. 235. Arrow signs occurring in the linen lists (and elsewhere) on the Giza slab stelae

⁸³ Edell cites *sšr nsut*, written \rightarrow \rightarrow \rightarrow , ZÄS 102, p. 26, “royal linen;” A. Mariette, *Les Mastabas de l’ancien empire* (Paris, 1885), p. 252 (D 25, Djau at Saqqara).

⁸⁴ Gardiner, *BIFAO* 30 (1930), pp. 174–75.

⁸⁵ Hannover 1935.200.46; cf. I. Woldering, *Gods, Men & Pharaohs* (New York, 1967), p. 42, pl. 17; R. Drenkhahn, *Ägyptische Reliefs im Kestner-Museum Hannover* (Hanover, 1989), cat. 3, pp. 22–25; W. Seipel, *Bilder für die Ewigkeit* (Konstanz, 1983), cat. 27, pp. 43–43; Vandier, *Manuel* 1, p. 755, fig. 499; J. Kahl, N. Kloth, and U. Zimmermann, *Die Inschriften der 3. Dynastie*, pp. 216–17.

⁸⁶ See most recently N. Kanawati and A. Hassan, *The Teti Cemetery at*



Fig. 236. G 7000 x, Hetepheres I, gilded tent-poles resting on the (empty) sarcophagus, looking northeast. October 29, 1926. HU–MFA Expedition photograph, Mustapha Abu-el-Hamd, a 4370



Fig. 237. G 7000 x, Hetepheres I, reproduction furniture, showing tent-pole “hieroglyphs” in use in the queen’s bed canopy, MFA 38.873. Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, sc 11358

Saqqara II, The Tomb of Ankhmahor. ACE 9 (Warminster, 1997), p. 61, pls. 27b and 65; Gardiner, *BIFAO* 30 (1930), p. 175.

⁸⁷ W. McLeod, *Self Bows and Other Archery Tackle from the Tomb of Tutankhamun* (Oxford, 1982), pp. 13–26, 53–60, pls. 4–5.

⁸⁸ Cf. J. Kahl, *Das System der ägyptischen Hieroglyphenschrift in der 0.–3. Dynastie* (Wiesbaden, 1994), pp. 637–38; E. Edell, ZÄS 102 (1975), pp. 13–17.

⁸⁹ Reisner and W.S. Smith, *Giza Necropolis 2, The Tomb of Hetep-heres, The Mother of Cheops* (Cambridge, MA, 1955), pp. 23–27, figs. 19–20, pls. 5, 7, 9c–d; Markowitz, Haynes, and Freed, *Egypt in the Age of the Pyramids. Highlights from the Harvard University–Museum of Fine Arts Boston Expedition*, pp. 48–49, cat. 1.

A number of somewhat difficult terms appear in the Giza linen lists, and these are but a subset of those that are found in parallel lists from other sites.⁹⁰ While these are translated above in Chapter 1, the Giza examples are gathered below for ease of reference in tabular form (fig. 238).

Slab Stela	Linen list term
(2) g 1203 Kanefer (3) g 1205 Khufu-nakht (4) g 1207 Nefer (7) g 1227 Setji-hekenet (10) g 2135 (= VIIIn = g 4770) (?) (13) g 4150 (= Is) Iunu (13) g 4150 (= Is) Iunu (15) g 4860 (= VIIIIn)	<i>h</i> 
(15) g 4860 (= VIIIIn)	<i>hꜣ</i> 
(7) g 1227 Setji-hekenet (9) g 2120 Seshat-sekhentiu 11) g 2155? (= VIIIIn) Kaninisut (15) g 4860 (= VIIIIn)	<i>szf</i> 
(1) g 1201 Wepemnefret (2) g 1203 Kanefer (3) g 1205 Khufu-nakht (4) g 1207 Nefer (5) g 1223 Kaemah (6) g 1225 Nefret-iabet (7) g 1227 Setji-hekenet (8) g 1235 Ini (10) g 2135 (= VIIIn = g 4770) (?) 11) g 2155? (= VIIIIn) Kaninisut (12) g 4140 Meretites (13) g 4150 (= Is) Iunu (15) g 4860 (= VIIIIn)	<i>št</i> 
11) g 2155? (= VIIIIn) Kaninisut	<i>tmꜣ</i> 
(7) g 1227 Setji-hekenet	<i>dst</i> 

Fig. 238. Problematic linen terms from the Giza slab stelae

⁹⁰ Many of these terms are discussed by Smith, *ZÄS* 71 (1935), p. 137ff. For the transliteration of *zf* instead of *szf*, see Kahl, *Das System der ägyptischen Hieroglyphenschrift in der 0.-3. Dynastie*, pp. 65–70.

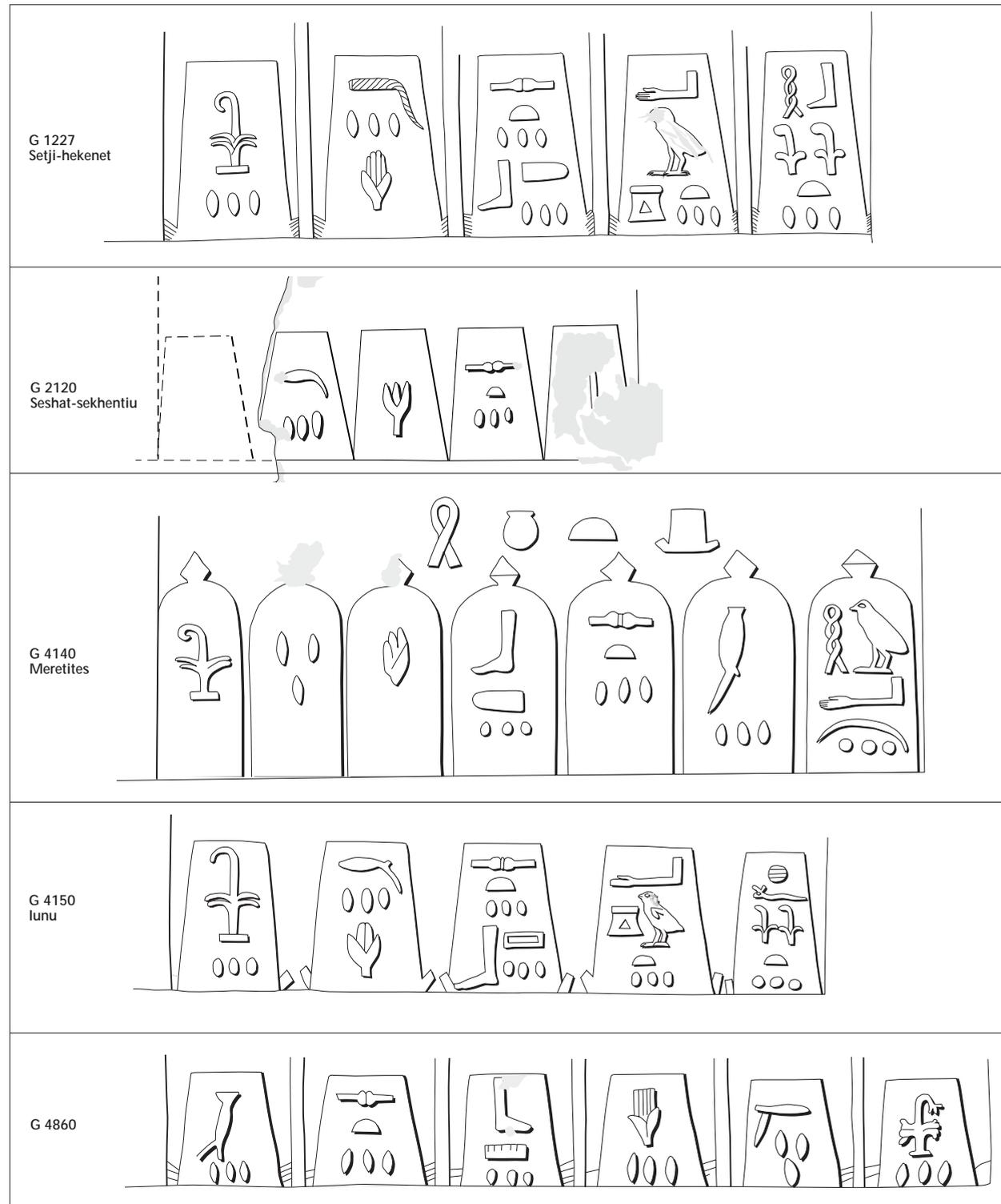


Fig. 239. The five granaries attested in the Giza slab stelae linen lists



Fig. 240. Dynasty II model granary from Gebelein, Museo Egizio, Turin, 15802. Courtesy Museo Egizio di Torino

The individual units of cloth are indicated in several different ways.⁹¹ We have already noted Posener-Kriéger's discovery that $\perp\perp$ must represent 10 cubits (long) by twenty cubits (wide).⁹² But some of the Giza stelae show the horizontal \equiv beneath the signs, while others show only bare \perp signs merging into the baselines of their respective divisions. Those stelae showing the horizontal base \equiv beneath their verticals (hence $\perp\perp$) include: Setji-hekenet (g 1227), Ini (g 1235), Meretites (g 4140), and the anonymous stela (g 4860). Those stelae showing merely bare \perp signs include Wepemnefret (g 1201), Nefer (g 1207), Seshat-sekhentiu (g 2120), anonymous (g 1235), and Kaninisut(?) (g 2155). The remaining stelae either do not use these signs or do not preserve them.

At the bottom of the linen lists, five of the Giza stelae contain granaries:⁹³ Setji-hekenet (g 1227) with five, Seshat-sekhentiu (g 2120) with four or five, Meretites (g 4140) with seven; Iunu (g 4150) with five—painted dark gray to indicate their mud-brick construction material—and g 4860 with six (fig. 239). Most of the granaries are trapezoidal in shape, similar to the *šmw* hieroglyph (O 51 $\perp\perp$) and showing the diagonal lines at each lower edge.⁹⁴ The exception here is found on Meretites's stela (g 4140), where seven granaries show the rounded form with pointed top, called either *šmw* or *mbr/mbr* (compare fig. 240).⁹⁵ No particular title sequences for the owners appear common to all five granary-bearing stelae, and we have already seen above that Reisner discounted

Slab stela owner	Granary 1	Granary 2	Granary 3	Granary 4	Granary 5	Granary 6	Granary 7
g 1227 Setji-hekenet	<i>it-šmꜣw</i>	<i>it-Mḥw bdt</i>	<i>zwt bš</i>	<i>ꜥꜣwt</i>	<i>ḥbnmw</i>		
g 2120 Seshat-sekhentiu	[...]	<i>it-Mḥw</i>	<i>bdt</i>	<i>zwt</i>	[...]		
g 4140 Meretites	(<i>it</i>)- <i>šmꜣw</i>	<i>it</i>	<i>bdt</i>	<i>bš</i>	<i>zwt</i>	<i>bnrwt</i>	<i>wꜥḥ</i>
g 4150 Iunu	<i>it-šmꜣw</i>	<i>it-Mḥw bdt</i>	<i>zwt bš</i>	<i>ꜥꜣwt</i>	<i>ḥfnmw</i>		
g 4860	<i>it-šmꜣw</i>	<i>it-Mḥw</i>	<i>bdt</i>	<i>bš</i>	<i>zwt</i>	<i>bnrwt</i>	

Fig. 241. List of granary contents across five Giza slab stelae

the granaries in his unpublished manuscript as indicators of any relative chronological seriation. The breakdown of the five granary lists on the slab stelae is summarized in the chart in fig. 241.

The two closest parallels among the five sets of granaries are those of Setji-hekenet (g 1227) and Iunu (g 4150). They show the same number of granaries with almost identical contents in the same order. The only discrepancies are the non-rectangular

“Saatgetreide,” in *LÄ* 5, col. 592. Other representations may be found in the tombs of Akhi, Junker, *Giza* 1, pl. 39; Kha-bau-sokar and Hathor-nefer-hetep, Murray, *Saqqara Mastabas* 1, pls. 1–2; cf. also Junker, *Giza* 4 (Vienna, 1940), pl. 12b, with discussion on pp. 64, 83–84, including the diagonals at the bottom, apparently representing chaff in section view running all around the mud-brick granary (tomb of Kaemankh at Giza). Is this chaff also indicated in the Saqqara chapel of Akhethetep in the Louvre: C. Ziegler, *Le Mastaba d'Akhetetep* (Paris, 1993), p. 137 (upper right)? Some of Junker's examples are shown in H.G. Fischer, “Old Kingdom Inscriptions in the Yale Gallery,” *MIO* 7 (1960), pp. 308–309; cf. also A. Badawy, *A History of Egyptian Architecture* 1 (Berkeley, 1954), pp. 58–59, fig. 44. See also Brovarski, “An Inventory List from ‘Covington's Tomb’ and Nomenclature for Furniture in the Old Kingdom,” in *Studies in Honor of William Kelly Simpson* 1, p. 119, fig. 1.

⁹¹ For other common appearances of the *mbr* sign \perp see the first full rendition of the Amduat, eighth and ninth hours in the burial chamber of the tomb of Thutmose III, E. Hornung, *The Valley of the Kings, Horizon of Eternity* (New York, 1990), pp. 76, p. 84, pl. 51; idem, *The Ancient Egyptian Books of the Afterlife*, transl. by D. Lorton (Ithaca, 1999), p. 50, fig. 22 (ninth hour of the Amduat); and R. Wilkinson, *Reading Egyptian Art* (London, 1992), pp. 174–75.

⁹² The resulting large amounts of linen should not surprise us. G. Vogelsang-Eastwood's valuable essay “Textiles,” in P.T. Nicholson and I. Shaw, eds., *Ancient Egyptian Materials and Technology* (Cambridge, 2000), pp. 295, notes that 845 square meters of cloth were found in the Middle Kingdom tomb of Meket-re at Thebes (H.E. Winlock, “The Mummy of Wah Unwrapped,” *BMA* 35 [1940], p. 257), and Tutankhamen's tomb produced 400 items of clothing.

⁹³ See B. Schmitz, “Scheune, Scheunenvorsteher,” in *LÄ* 5, cols. 591–97, with important bibliography, including Vandier, *Manuel* 6, pp. 223–28 (pp. 223–25 for a list of granary models). For a more recent discussion, see R. Siebels, “Representations of Granaries in Old Kingdom Tombs,” *BACE* 12 (2001), pp. 85–99.

⁹⁴ Some confusion has arisen over whether this form represents an actual granary, or simply a stack of grain on a mud floor; cf. Gardiner, *EG*, p. 498 (sign list O 51 $\perp\perp$). Schmitz remarks on this form being used for

An archaic parallel for this granary form is provided by an administrative seal from Saqqara 3505; Kaplony, *IÄF* 2, p. 1142, and 3, pl. 94, fig. 366. Wall reliefs and/or paintings of similarly shaped granaries appear in the Saqqara mastaba of Kaemrehu (D 2, CG 1534, Dynasty 5), M. Saleh, H. Sourouzian, *The Egyptian Museum Cairo, Official Guide* (Mainz, 1987), cat. 59; D. Faltings, *Die Keramik der Lebensmittelproduktion im Alten Reich*, SAGA 14 (Heidelberg, 1998), p. 25(K); in the tomb of Senedjemib Inti at Giza (g 2370): E. Brovarski, *The Senedjemib Complex, Part I*, Giza Mastabas 7 (Boston, 2001), fig. 56 (from Lepsius's *Ergänzungsband*, pl. 21); in Kaemankh's burial chamber (Dynasty 6): Junker, *Giza* 4, pl. 2; Fischer, *MIO* 7 (1960), p. 308, n. 18, and pp. 44–45; and see now N. Kanawati, *Tombs at Giza 1, Kaemankh (G4561) and Seshemnefer I (G4940)*, pls. 14b, 36; and in A. Moussa and H. Altenmüller, *Das Grab des Nianchnum und Chnumhotep*, AV 21 (Mainz, 1977), pl. 23, fig. 24 = Dominicus, *Gesten und Gebärden in Darstellungen des Alten und Mittleren Reiches*, p. 165, fig. 60d (detail). Three-dimensional parallels from the Old Kingdom and later may be found in J.H. Breasted Jr., *Egyptian Servant Statues* (Washington, 1948), pp. 10–12, pls. 8–9a, to which may be added a Dynasty 11 clay and straw parallel from Gebelein in Turin (Museo Egizio 15802) showing exactly the same form as the Meretites granaries: our fig. 240 and R. Schulz and M. Seidel, eds., *Egypt. The World of the Pharaohs* (Cologne, 1998), p. 375, fig. 76.

⁹⁶ On *bš* see D. Faltings, “*bš* und *zwt*—zwei ungeklärte Begriffe der Getreidewirtschaft im AR,” *GM* 148 (1995), pp. 35–44.

š in *bšš* (Setji-hekenet's third granary),⁹⁶ the transposed spelling *ꜥwꜥt* for *ꜥwt* (Setji-hekenet's fourth granary), and *ḥbnnwt* bread (Setji-hekenet) versus *ḥfnwt* grain (Iunu). The greatest anomaly is the reversed arrangement of the granaries (from right to left instead of left to right) in the anonymous stela of g 4860. It is interesting to note that the only example to contain carob beans (*wꜥḥ*) is the rounded granary form peculiar to Meretites (g 4140). One wonders if this form of granary might have been better suited to non-cereal crops.⁹⁷

Granary lists in Dynasty 4 generally contain *šmꜥw*, *mḥw*, *bdꜥt*, *zwt*, and *bšš*, with the occasional addition of *bnr* and *wꜥḥ*.⁹⁸ Nearly contemporary examples of granaries from Giza may be found on two granite sarcophagi from the Eastern Cemetery. One belongs to Minkhaf, owner of g 7430–7440,⁹⁹ and the other to Meresankh II, owner of g 7410–7420 (fig. 242).¹⁰⁰ Minkhaf's granaries are listed on the west side: *it-šmꜥw*, *it-Mḥw*, *bdꜥt*, *zwt*, *bšš*, *bnrwt*, and perhaps *d(w)dw*.¹⁰¹ Meresankh II lists on her sarcophagus's south end: *it*, *bdꜥt*, *zwt*, *bšš*, *bnrwt*, *d(w)dw*, and *wꜥḥ*.

⁹⁷ Cf. Siebels, *BACE*, 12 (2001), p. 88, noting carob beans and figs (*dbꜥw*) shown in the tomb of Kagemni at Saqqara.

⁹⁸ Barta, *Die altägyptische Opferliste*, p. 45.

⁹⁹ Cairo, JE 48852, discovered by the Service des Antiquités and brought to the Museum in 1902; see W.S. Smith, "The Coffin of Prince Min-khaf," *JEA* 19 (1933), pp. 150–59; A.M. Donadoni-Roveri, *I sarcofagi egizi dalle origini alla fine dell'Antico Regno* (Rome, 1969), pp. 117–19, pls. 32–33.

¹⁰⁰ MFA 27.441a–b; Donadoni-Roveri, *I sarcofagi egizi*, p. 116, pls. 30–31.

¹⁰¹ This word ("flour, meal") also appears on the false door tablet of Nefer from g 2110, in the Museo Barracco in Rome; cf. Reisner, *Giza Necropolis* 1, fig. 241, pl. 31c; Hannig, *Großes Handwörterbuch Ägyptisch-Deutsch*, p. 990.



Fig. 242. South (short) end of the granite sarcophagus of Meresankh II from g 7410–7420, MFA 27.441a–b, showing seven granaries. MFA Visual Archives, c 2345

CHAPTER 5

Interpretation and Conclusions

As noted above in Chapter 3, many scholars have argued that the funerary repast scene of the slab stelae and the accompanying offerings eventually evolved into the false door panel, and then beyond the false door itself onto decorated chapel walls. Haeny, however, argued for the reverse development, namely that false doors were the originally intended cult focus for the earliest Giza mastabas.¹ His primary argument rests at Giza on the mastaba of Nefer in the Western Cemetery (g 2110), a tomb with finished casing, exterior stone chapel and false door:

Es gibt jedoch, was Junker anscheinend übersehen hat, im Friedhofgelände von Giseh eine Mastaba, g 2110, deren Kalksteinverkleidung am ursprünglichen Kernbau fertiggestellt und auch außen geglättet worden ist, bevor die Anlage um einen geschlossenen Kultraum erweitert wurde; dessen Anschlußwände sind ohne jeden Verband gegen die Außenfläche der Mastaba gesetzt. Hier aber ist die Opferstelle nicht—wie wir nach Junker erwarten müßten—durch die in Giseh übliche Grabtafel gekennzeichnet, sondern in traditioneller Weise durch zwei abgetreppte Scheintürnischen, die man im Voraus beim Anlegen der Verkleidung einberechnet hatte.²

It is true, as Haeny notes, that no joins are apparent between the exterior stone casing and the exterior stone chapel, so the chapel did not break into the casing. However, all this signifies is that g 2110, unlike most of the tombs in the three nucleus cemeteries, actually did receive its final casing complete. Nefer's tomb certainly could once have been uncased and contained a slab stela, only to be subsequently cased and provided with an exterior chapel with a false door (and another niche at the northern end of the east wall). It therefore does not differ from other nucleus cemetery mastabas except by virtue of the completion of its casing.³ Moreover, the extremely constricted passage space between the front of Nefer's chapel and the back (west) wall of mastaba



Fig. 243. View between the casing and core of the mastaba of Nefer, g 2110, looking south. 1905–1906. HU–MFA Expedition photograph, Albert M. Lythgoe, b 953

g 2130 (Khenty-ka?)—about 130 cm—was most likely not intended in the original layout of mastaba cores; it is thus additional evidence for Nefer's exterior chapel being a secondary development. In fact, many of the elements of Nefer's false door tablet, housed in the Museo Barracco in Rome (CMB no. 1),⁴ might well place the chapel in the reign of Khafre, that is, somewhat later than the slab stelae under discussion.⁵ These elements (form of the offering loaves, the expanded form of the offering lists, and the *hṫp di nswt* formula) have misled some scholars to date the piece as late as the Sixth Dynasty.⁶ In short, Haeny's argument that the current appearance of g 2110 proves that the false door—and not a slab stela—was intended as the cult focus from the beginning, is not supported by the evidence. Excavation photographs taken by the Harvard–MFA Expedition show the gap between the original core stones and the casing blocks (see figs. 243–46).⁷ One wonders if a slab stela might once have been or actually could still be in



Fig. 244. View between the casing and core of the mastaba of Nefer, g 2110, looking north. 1905–1906. HU–MFA Expedition photograph, Albert M. Lythgoe, b 887

¹ G. Haeny, "Zu den Platten mit Opfertischszene in Helwan und Giseh," in *Aufsätze zum 70. Geburtstag von Herbert Ricke* (Wiesbaden, 1971), esp. pp. 158–59. See the useful summaries by S. Wiebach, *Die ägyptische Scheintür* (Hamburg, 1981), pp. 29–51; N. Strudwick, *The Administration of Egypt in the Old Kingdom* (London, 1985), pp. 9–52; S. Hassan, *Giza 5* (Cairo, 1944), pp. 65–180; and P. Piacentini, *Les Scribes dans la société égyptienne de l'Ancien Empire* 1 (Paris, 2002), pp. 96–99.

² Haeny, *Fs. Ricke*, p. 158.

³ Reisner, *Giza Necropolis* 1, p. 417, posits the order of completion of the cores of Cemetery 2100 as follows: g 2100, g 2130, g 2120, g 2110 (Nefer), g 2210.

⁴ *Ibid.*, fig. 241, pl. 31c; Weill, *Ile et IIIe Dynasties*, pp. 236–42, pl. 4; Vandier, *Manuel* 1, pp. 763–65 with fig. 507. For more recent bibliography, see M. Nota Santi, M.G. Cimino, *Museo Barracco Roma* (Rome, 1991), p. 46 and p. 47 fig. 29; *Il "Nuovo" Museo Barracco. Mostra Storica e Documentaria. 18 novembre 1982 – 18 gennaio 1983* (Rome, 1982), p. 88–89 (with important bibliography), fig. 68 (color illustration).

⁵ P. Jánosi, *Giza in der 4. Dynastie* (Vienna, forthcoming), § 2.6.2; Reisner, *Giza Necropolis* 1, p. 306f.; W.S. Smith, *HESPOK*, p. 163.

⁶ Vandier, *Manuel* 1, p. 764; for others who date it to Dyn. 6, see Cherpion, *Mastabas et hypogées d'Ancien Empire* (Brussels, 1989), p. 120, n. 243; she herself prefers a date for Nefer no later than Djedefre. Strudwick, *Administration*, p. 110, suggests the reign of Khafre or a little latter, while Baer, *Rank and Title in the Old Kingdom* (Chicago, 1960), pp. 89–90, prefers the end of Dynasty 4 to early Dynasty 5.

⁷ For additional views of the chapel, the casing stones, and the original core of the mastaba, see also Reisner, *Giza Necropolis* 1, pl. 29a–c.



Fig. 245. Exterior chapel of the mastaba of Nefer, g 2110, looking northwest. 1905–1906. HU–MFA Expedition photograph, Albert M. Lythgoe, c 883



Fig. 246. Exterior chapel of the mastaba of Nefer, g 2110, looking northwest. 1987. PDM

place between the mastaba core blocks and the massive blocks of the exterior chapel and casing, perhaps plastered over and/or walled up, as were the stelae of Wepemnefret (g 1201), Nefret-iabet (g 1225), Seshat-sekhentiu (g 2120), and Iunu (g 4150).⁸

As far as Barta's dating of the slab stelae to Khufu, Khafre, and Menkaure (see above, Chapter 3), P. Jánosi has shown that this arrangement does not hold for a number of reasons.⁹ First of all, the major mastabas of Cemetery g 4000 do not date to three separate pharaohs, but rather to Khufu. If three separate reigns were concerned, slab stelae and decorated chapels

would be in simultaneous production in various mastabas, a highly unlikely scenario. Furthermore, the introduction of additional elements to the offering ritual need not automatically signify a transition in the monarchy from one ruler to the next. Barta's chronological arrangement, as far as the slab stelae are concerned, has not received acceptance in the subsequent scholarship.

In Chapter 3 above we outlined the tempting explanation by Jánosi of the Giza slab stela phenomenon as a temporary, "emergency solution," due to the death of the tomb owners in the reign of Khufu. Jánosi argued that what the slab stelae could not replace was the communication function between living and dead normally provided by the false door. The slab stela, according to him, signaled only that a burial existed in that tomb, for which a mortuary ritual had been set up. I would prefer to assign somewhat more significance to the slab stela niche and cult place. By their very nature, these cult foci, often provided with offering tables (Khufu-nakht, g 1205; Meryhetepef, g 4360) and ceramic table stands (Khufu-nakht, g 1205; Meryhetepef, g 4360, g 4460), and even stairs (Kaiemah, g 1223, figs. 57–58), attest to the communicatory nature of the area.

In answer to the question why one would not simply build a false door from the start, Jánosi noted that preparing a false door took longer than a slab stela, that the cult was needed immediately, and that the uncased cores were in no condition to take a false door. We might query, however, why simple mud-brick false doors could not have sufficed in the interim? Was mud brick too low-level a solution for the elite tomb owners in question? In the case of the chapel area itself, these individuals had no aversion to mud brick. And while prefabrication of slab stelae, made ready for "emergency" use (i.e. early death) may be an unlikely solution,¹⁰ note, however, the unusual placement of Ini's seated figure (g 1235): he sits toward the center of the stela, perhaps implying some prefabrication of design, if not simply inept layout.

Jánosi concluded that chapels that later broke into the core of the tumulus for their chamber(s) could not yet have possessed a slab stela or a burial, because the alterations would have required the removal or destruction of the slab stela. This is a rather rigid statement, and the argument from silence (i.e., interior chapels proving the non-existence of slab stelae) renders the situation complicated at best.¹¹

Two additional comments concerning the "emergency solution" theory are noteworthy here. The first concerns the very

problematic anonymous mastaba g 1209 in Cemetery 1200 (figs. 247–49). This mastaba contains a mud-brick chapel with cult focus, but has neither a slab stela nor even an emplacement for one. How can one explain g 1209, seemingly bearing all the trappings for a slab stela (mud-brick chapel, niche area up against the east wall) but no emplacement? If mud-brick chapels represent a hasty insistence on a temporary "emergency solution," then there should be at least a preserved slab stela emplacement in g 1209, if not an actual stela itself. Since no emplacement is present, does this suggest that the mud-brick exterior chapel was not a "hurried" addition, functioning solely as a "place-holder" until it could be replaced by a stone chapel? The mud-brick chapel seems rather to have been planned all along, and the builders had simply not reached the point of preparing an emplacement for the slab stela.

The second comment focuses on two mastabas in Cemetery 4000: both g 4140 (Meretites) and g 4350 had slab stela emplacements built into the *extensions* to their respective mastaba cores (figs. 133 and 192).¹² This might seem to throw the sequence of events as suggested by Jánosi somewhat out of order. Instead of his sequence resembling:

assignment of core > sudden death of tomb owner > necessitates mud-brick chapel and slab stela > later permanent stone alterations;

we seem to find with g 4140 (Meretites) and g 4350 the following scenario:

assignment of core > extensions to core > addition of slab stela emplacement.

⁸ Reisner's notes contain no mention of any attempt to examine or dismantle portions of the chapel in search of a slab stela, and the excavation diaries for 1905—the excavation date for g 2110—were either never kept by Reisner (or A.M. Lythgoe, his field director at the time), or are now lost. (Correspondence between Reisner at Giza and Lythgoe's widow, Lucy, in New York and Boston during the 1930s mentions Reisner's hope of retrieving Lythgoe's missing Giza notes, but Mrs. Lythgoe and the Egyptologists at the Metropolitan Museum were unable to locate them.) Such a slab stela could, of course, also have been removed or destroyed during construction of the exterior chapel.

⁹ Jánosi, *Giza in der 4. Dynastie*, §2.3.2 ("die Grabbesitzer").

¹⁰ Cf. Manuelian, "A Case of Prefabrication at Giza? The False Door of Inti," *JARCE* 35 (1998), pp. 115–27, with comments by A. Bolshakov, "Osiris in the Fourth Dynasty Again?," in H. Györy, ed., *Mélanges offerts à Edith Varga, Bulletin du Musée Hongrois des Beaux-Arts Supplément-2001* (Budapest, 2001), pp. 65–80.

¹¹ As described above at the beginning of this chapter, perhaps an interesting test case would be the mastaba of Nefer (g 2110), whose chapel, while an exterior and not an interior one, may have covered or still be covering an earlier slab stela; cf. Manuelian, in *Stationen (Fs. Stadelmann)*, pp. 120–21.

¹² For g 4140, see above, Chapter 1, stela 12, and for g 4350 see Chapter 2, fig. 192 and Junker, *Giza* 1, p. 196, fig. 39; Jánosi, *Giza in der 4. Dynastie*, § 2.3.1.

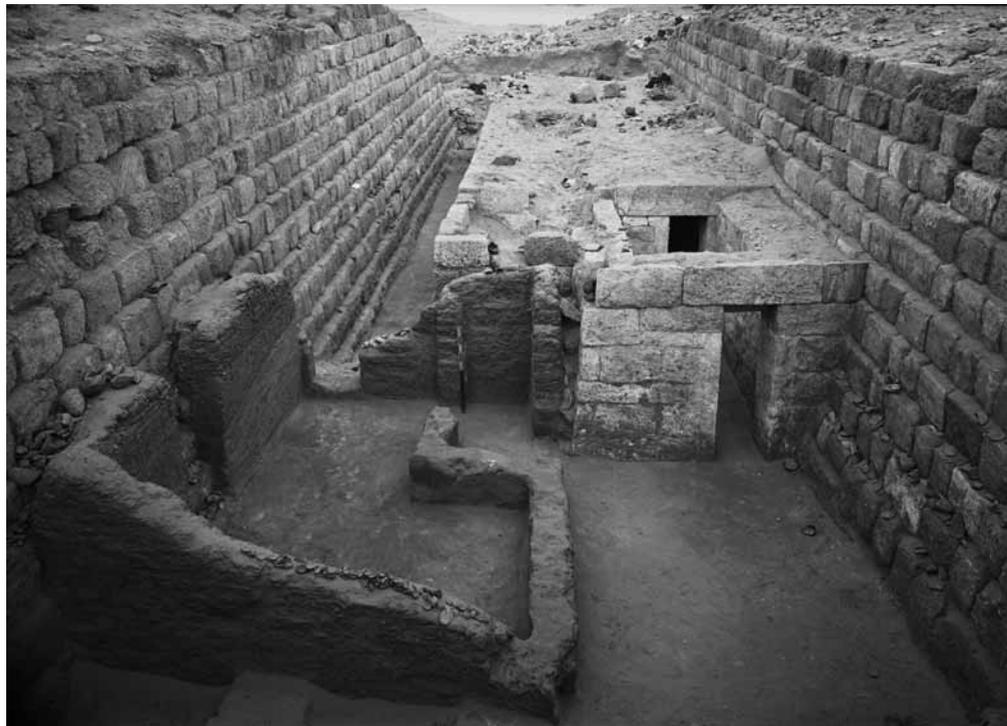


Fig. 247. Exterior chapel of mastaba g 1209, looking north. January, 1905. HU-MFA Expedition photograph, George Reisner, b 11052



Fig. 248. Chapel of mastaba g 1209, looking west. January, 1905. HU-MFA Expedition photograph, George Reisner, b 11053

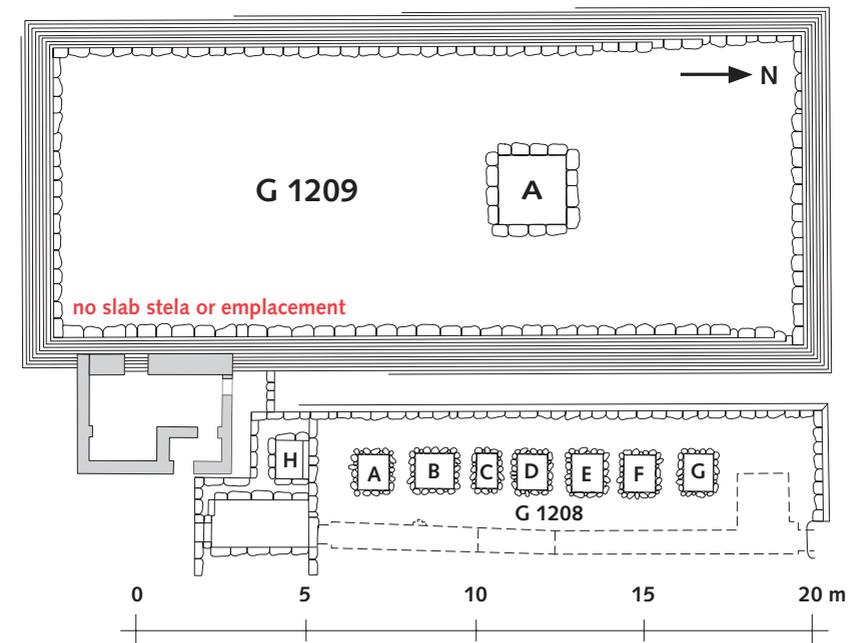


Fig. 249. Plan of mastaba g 1209, after Reisner, *Giza Necropolis 1*, Map 4. Drawing by Ruth Bigio

These two tombs thus more likely resemble a scenario whereby the slab stela was an integral—not a sudden, or emergency—part of the original mastaba planning process. Otherwise, we should be finding preparations for a monolithic false door in Meritites's (g 4140) extension, not a slab stela.¹³ We might therefore revert to the argument that mastaba cores were assigned by Khufu, mud-brick chapels and slab stelae were subsequently prepared, and stone alterations added later.

This is not to say the slab stela could not have been added at the time of burial (or immediately earlier). It may also be likely that, in each case of alterations or extensions to a mastaba or chapel, the work was carried out after the death of the tomb owner. Perhaps additional research might determine the chronology of mastaba annexes and additional shaft construction versus installation of the slab stela. Obviously, most stone chapel additions and walling-up operations took place after the installation of the slab stela. Conversely, the expansions of g 4140 and g 4350 clearly took place prior to slab stela installation, which are found in the extensions, not the original mastaba cores. But what of the construction of the annex buildings of g 1223, g 1225, and g 1227?

¹³ This fact might provide further refutation of Haeny's claim that false doors were the original cult focus; see above, and Chapter 3.

Jánosi has recently provided an excellent discussion of the original layout scheme for the Giza mastabas as consisting of a single burial shaft at the northern end of the mastaba core.¹⁴ Some tombs, however, later received an extension to the core, primarily to allow for the addition of a second shaft. In these cases, the tomb's primary burial may have shifted from the northern to the southern shaft, presumably to remain in closer proximity to the cult focus, at the southern end of the mastaba's east wall.¹⁵ As the chart below in fig. 250 indicates, twenty slab stela-bearing tombs are one-shaft mastabas, while five show the addition of a second shaft to the north (g 1223, g 1225, g 1227, g 4140, g 4150).

In terms of the shaft form, it should be noted that the mastabas of Sedit(?) (g 2100) and Seshat-sekhentiu (g 2120) in Cemetery 2100 show the older form, with T-shaped plans to allow for sliding portcullis stones. This form is attested earlier in Dynasty 4 at other sites, under Snefru, but at Giza it appears only in five mastabas of Cemetery 2100: g 2100, g 2110, g 2120, g 2130 and g 2210.¹⁶ The chart in fig. 250 outlines the one-shaft versus two-shaft mastabas among the slab stela tombs, along with the contents of their respective burial chambers.

Based on factors discussed above, such as the development of the core cemeteries (east–west for Cemetery 1200, west–east for cemeteries 2100 and 4000), the archaeological and architectural context (mastaba casings, chapel alterations, conversion from mud brick to stone, introduction of false door, additional burial shafts), and features internal to the stela decoration (orientation, size and shape of individual items such as bread loaves, wig styles, choice of stools, use of vertical separators in the linen lists, etc.), I would propose the following broad relative chronology for the fifteen Giza slab stelae, as organized below in fig. 251.

¹⁴ P. Jánosi, "Aspects of Mastaba Development: The Position of Shafts and the Identification of Tomb Owners," in F. Coppens, ed., *Abusir and Saqqara in the Year 2001 (Archiv Orientalní 70*, August 2002), pp. 337–50.

¹⁵ Ibid., pp. 345–46, figs. 1–2, and Junker, *Giza 2*, pp. 8, 23, 109; idem, *Giza 3*, p. 200; Reisner, *Giza Necropolis 1*, p. 293. As Jánosi notes, however, the situation is different in the Eastern Cemetery, with the primary shaft being placed at the south end of the mastaba, before the tombs were converted from twelve mastabas for twelve persons into eight mastabas for sixteen persons, op. cit., pp. 341, 347, fig. 3.

¹⁶ Cf. Reisner, *Giza Necropolis 1*, pp. 417–18, on the T-shape with portcullis groove in the Cemetery 2100 burial shafts. See also N. Alexanian, "Die Mastaba II/1 in Dahschur-Mitte," in R. Stadelmann and H. Sourouzian, eds., *Kunst des Alten Reiches*, SDAIK 28 (Mainz, 1995), p. 2, fig. 1–18; idem, *Das Grab des Prinzen Netjer-aperet. Die Mastaba II/1 in Dahschur*, Dahschur II, AV 56 (Mainz am Rhein, 1999), fig. 4, pl. 2. For a brief announcement of a newly discovered Dynasty 4 shaft within the Dynasty 12 mastaba of Nebit also bearing the T-shaped form, cf. D. Arnold, "Die letzte Ruhestätte ägyptischer Beamter," *Antike Welt* 6 (2002), pp. 628–29.

One shaft		Two or more shafts	
g 1201 Wepemnefret 	fragmentary white limestone sarcophagus ^a	g 1223 Kaiemah 	Shaft A: fragmentary smooth white limestone sarcophagus Annex Shaft A: plundered ^b
g 1203 Kanefer 	no trace of coffin; one half of human femur ^c	g 1225 Nefret-iabet 	Shaft A: fragmentary smooth white limestone sarcophagus Annex Shaft A: plundered ^d
g 1205 Khufu-nakht 	no trace of sarcophagus	g 1227 Setji-hekenet 	Shaft A: no trace of burial or sarcophagus Annex Shaft A: open and empty Annex Shaft B: no chamber ^e
g 1207 Nefer 	no trace of sarcophagus	g 4140 Meretites 	Shaft A: fragments of decayed wooden coffin, female skull Shaft B: plundered or unused ^f
g 1235 Ini 	damaged white limestone sarcophagus ^g	g 4150 Iunu 	Shaft A: fragments of sarcophagus lid, and wooden box (chest or coffin) Shaft B: secondary burial, no finds ^h
g 2100 Sedit(?) (shafts d, e, and f are later additions) 	fragmentary white limestone sarcophagus, scattered bones ⁱ		
g 2120 Seshat-sekhentiu 	fragmentary white limestone sarcophagus ^j		
g 2135	limestone sarcophagus (Hildesheim) ^k		
g 2155 Kaninisut 	completely plundered ^l		
g 4160	fragments of limestone sarcophagus and wooden coffin ^m		
g 4250	fragmentary skeletal remains ⁿ		
g 4260	fragments of limestone sarcophagus and wooden coffin ^o		
g 4340	no trace of sarcophagus; headless mummy found in southeast corner, extended(?) burial, limbs wrapped in linen ^p		
g 4350	no trace of sarcophagus ^q		
g 4360 Mery-hetepef 	white limestone sarcophagus ^r		
g 4450	fragments of limestone sarcophagus, skull and bones ^s		

Fig. 250. One-shaft and two-shaft mastabas possessing slab stelae or stela emplacements

One shaft		Two or more shafts	
g 4460	fragments of white limestone sarcophagus ^t		
g 4560	fragments of white limestone sarcophagus, skull ^u		
g 4840 Wenshet 	no trace of sarcophagus ^v		
g 4860 (second shaft a later addition) 	no trace of sarcophagus ^w		

^a Reisner, *Giza Necropolis* 1, p. 387.

^b Ibid., pp. 400–401.

^c Ibid., pp. 390–91.

^d Ibid., p. 405.

^e Ibid., p. 408.

^f Ibid., pp. 46, 464.

^g Ibid., p. 413.

^h Junker, *Giza* 1, pp. 179–80.

ⁱ Reisner, *Giza Necropolis* 1, p. 418.

^j Ibid., p. 428.

^k Junker, *Giza* 1, pp. 55, fig. 5, 56, 231

^l Reisner, *Giza Necropolis* 1, p. 447, and Junker, *Giza* 1, p. 141.

Junker mentions that prior excavations by the Egyptian Antiquities Service reportedly produced an alabaster sarcophagus, but this could not be substantiated.

^m Reisner, *Giza Necropolis* 1, p. 456.

ⁿ Junker, *Giza* 1, pp. 192–94.

^o Reisner, *Giza Necropolis* 1, p. 457.

^p Ibid., p. 471.

^q Junker, *Giza* 1, p. 197, where no mention is made of burial chamber finds.

^r Reisner, *Giza Necropolis* 1, p. 458, and Junker, *Giza* 1, p. 202.

^s Ibid., p. 207.

^t Reisner, *Giza Necropolis* 1, p. 458, and Junker, *Giza* 1, p. 205.

^u Reisner, *Giza Necropolis* 1, p. 458, and Junker, *Giza* 1, pp. 210, 261–62.

^v Ibid., p. 255, where no mention is made of burial chamber finds. Contra Jánosi, this burial chamber is not dressed, unlike all other slab stela-bearing tombs.

^w Junker, *Giza* 1, p. 247.

Fig. 250 (continued). One-shaft and two-shaft mastabas possessing slab stelae or stela emplacements

SLAB STELAE OF THE GIZA NECROPOLIS

Early Khufu	Early-mid-Khufu	Mid-Khufu	Post-Khufu	Post-Dynasty 4
(1) g 1201 Wepemnefret  (earliest mastaba in Cemetery 1200; archaic features of stela; unique layout, and no vertical separators by <i>h3</i> signs in linen list; short, flaring offering loaves)				
	(2) g 1203 Kanefer  (one of the earliest mastabas of Cemetery 1200; no vertical separators by <i>h3</i> signs in linen list; tall, vertical offering loaves)			
	(3) g 1205 Khufu-nakht  (one of the earliest mastabas of Cemetery 1200; no vertical separators by <i>h3</i> signs in linen list; short, flaring offering loaves)			
		(4) g 1207 Nefer  (one of the later mastabas of Cemetery 1200; elaboration of linen list; taller, vertical offering loaves)		
	(5) g 1223 Kaiemah  (one of the earliest mastabas of Cemetery 1200; short, flaring offering loaves)			
	(6) g 1225 Nefret-iabet  (one of the earliest mastabas of Cemetery 1200; no vertical separators by <i>h3</i> signs in linen list—later corrected; short, flaring offering loaves)			
		(7) g 1227 Setji-hekenet  (one of the later mastabas of Cemetery 1200; short, flaring loaves)		
		(8) g 1235 Ini  (one of the later mastabas of Cemetery 1200; taller, vertical offering loaves)		
	(9) g 2120 Seshat-sekhentiu  (one of the earliest mastabas of Cemetery 2100, year 23/24 graffito, presumably of Khufu; short, flaring offering loaves)			
	(10) g 2135 (= VIIInn = g 4770) (one of the earliest mastabas of Cemetery 2100; no vertical separators by <i>h3</i> signs in linen list; short, flaring offering loaves)			

Fig. 251. Fifteen Giza slab stelae arranged in a relative chronology

Early Khufu	Early-mid-Khufu	Mid-Khufu	Post-Khufu	Post-Dynasty 4
			11) g 2155? (= VIIIIn) Kaninisut  (dates to early stage of Kaninisut's decoration, or to his predecessor? fully decorated mastaba chapel, with two false doors, dates to Dynasty 5; roughly cased burial chamber differs from other stela-containing mastabas; large scale, bold relief)	
	(12) g 4140 Meretites  (one of the earliest mastabas of Cemetery 4000; low Khufu relief style; stela set into extension of mastaba, indicating second stage of tomb's development; short, flaring offering loaves)			
	(13) g 4150 (= Is) Iunu  (one of the earliest mastabas of Cemetery 4000; short, flaring offering loaves)			
			(14) g 4840 (= VIIIss) Wenshet  (only fully decorated false door to replace a slab stela; eastern location of mastaba)	
				(15) g 4860 (= VIIIIn),  (eastern location of mastaba; archaizing stela; unlined burial chamber, located to west—not south—of shaft; unique decoration/orientation of stela; taller, vertical offering loaves)

Fig. 251 (continued). Fifteen Giza slab stelae arranged in a relative chronology

EPILOGUE

In the preceding discussion I have attempted to demonstrate that false doors did not precede the slab stelae at Giza, and that the slabs were part of the original Khufu-era mastaba planning from the outset of mastaba assignment by the king. For the motivation behind the Giza stelae, three possible models might clarify their role in the funerary provisions for the highest echelons of society during early Dynasty 4. The first model involves royal command, the second pure economics, and the third what I have called, for want of a better term, “non-linear reductionism.”

Central organization is clearly a major theme in the early development of the Giza Necropolis and the monarchy is the natural place to assign responsibility for this innovation.¹⁷ The construction, decoration, and alteration attested in both the

Eastern and Western Cemeteries make sense only if approached from the standpoint of “prefabricated tombs,” that is, mastaba cores constructed “ownerless” and only later assigned by the king to specific individuals who customized them according to tastes, time, and means. If, as Helck has argued,¹⁸ the first pharaohs of Dynasty 4 felt compelled to “downsize” the funerary equipment of courtiers and officials in order to maintain focus on and preserve the essential uniqueness of the monarchy, this might explain the comparative simplicity of the Giza mastabas compared to the tombs of their immediate predecessors. Under Khufu, decorated chambers in private mastabas disappear, false doors are scarce, and the architecture mimics aspects of the austerity of the royal mortuary complexes. Stadelmann has commented on this

“strenger Stil” of the Fourth Dynasty (Junker’s term), and traced it back to Dahshur late in the reign of Snefru.¹⁹ The slab stelae—and the absence of any other decoration—might

¹⁷ Cf. D. O’Connor, “Political Systems and Archaeological Data in Egypt: 1600–1780 B.C.,” *World Archaeology* 6/1 (June, 1974), pp. 20–23; B.J. Kemp, *Ancient Egypt. Anatomy of a Civilization* (London, 1989), pp. 111–17.

¹⁸ Helck, *Politische Gegensätze im alten Ägypten* (Hildesheim, 1986), esp. pp. 19–26. For bringing this reference to my attention, I thank Miroslav Bárta. For another interpretation cf. A.M. Roth, “Social Change in the Fourth Dynasty: The Spatial Organization of Pyramids, Tombs, and Cemeteries,” *JARCE* 30 (1993), pp. 33–55.

¹⁹ R. Stadelmann, in *Kunst des Alten Reiches*, pp. 155–66. See also idem, *Die ägyptischen Pyramiden*, 2nd ed. (Mainz, 1991), p. 125; C. Vandersleyen, “Grabstatue,” in *LÄ* 2, cols. 870–71, n. 2 citing in turn A. Shoukry, *Die Privatgrabstatue im Alten Reich*, CASAE 15 (Cairo, 1951), pp. 38–43, and Helck, *Geschichte des alten Ägypten* (Leiden, 1968), p. 54.

represent one more attribute of the revitalized emphasis on pharaoh himself.

A second model for explaining the slab stelae, however, might relieve Snefru and Khufu of much of the responsibility for the new apparent austerity at Giza. This concerns the economics of the Giza undertaking. The simultaneous construction of the Great Pyramid itself,²⁰ the pyramid temple, causeway and valley temple, boat pits, and four satellite and queens' pyramids,²¹ must have taxed state resources and placed sculptors and craftsmen in high demand and short supply.²² Perhaps, as some have suggested, we must imagine the area surrounding what was destined to become the Great Pyramid as littered with scaffolding, ramps, and other equipment. It is then no surprise that mastaba construction commenced so far west and only reached eastward—closer to Khufu's Pyramid—later in the dynasty. And if Cemetery 1200 developed first, the direction of construction from east to west—to escape the congestion of pyramid construction—becomes clear.³⁶ Under these circumstances, and with a burgeoning bureaucracy making increased demands for funerary provisions, could the number of workshops and craftsmen have failed to meet the need? Was the slab stela form a reduction to the barest essentials needed because of a dearth of sculptors and painters available to design and produce chapels with decorated wall surfaces?²⁴ Analogous to slab stelae in place of decorated walls, we might view the reserve heads as a similar austerity measure in place of full-figured statues. Moreover, we might consider the miniature ritual vessels from Giza as taking the place of normal-sized ceramic vessels.²⁵ Are all these objects to be understood as abbreviations or compromises that only disappeared, to be replaced by their fuller (and earlier) counterparts, once the strain of the royal construction project was relieved or, at least, reduced?²⁶ In this context it might be worth mentioning a most unusual empty "emplacement" (?) in the east wall of the Dynasty 4 mastaba of Khenty-ka (g 2130, figs. 252–55). The location is just north of the subsequent(?) interior chapel entrance, and the atypical dimensions and copious amounts of plaster may well indicate that it is simply a patch stone or reused block (but cf. Wenshet's gypsum cover, stela 14).

The third and final model overturns the modern scholarly prejudice that the Giza stelae were a necessary sacrifice imposed from without (i.e., either by the king for religio-political reasons or by the economics of the time). Can we assume that it was indeed every Fourth Dynasty Egyptian official's desire to provide his or her mastaba with a chapel cov-



Fig. 252. Chapel area and unusual "emplacement" stone in eastern facade of mastaba g 2130, Khenty-ka. November 26, 1993. PDM, 93.117.18

ered with relief decoration, or at the very least, more offerings than the "small" number that fit on a slab stela?²⁷ Two factors led to this modern conclusion: the presence of decorated chambers and longer offering lists in the period immediately prior to the Giza slab stelae, especially at Meidum, and the proliferation of chapels and decorated chambers after the reign

²⁰ See M. Lehner, "The Development of the Giza Necropolis: The Khufu Project," *MDAIK* 41 (1985), pp. 109–43.

²¹ On the recently discovered fourth satellite pyramid near the southeast corner of Khufu's monument, see Z. Hawass, "The Discovery of the Satellite Pyramid of Khufu (GI-d)," in P. Der Manuelian, ed., *Studies in Honor of William Kelly Simpson 1* (Boston, 1996), pp. 379–98.

²² As the reused reliefs of Khufu found at Lisht, along with isolated fragments from the pyramids in the East Cemetery attest, the royal mortuary complex was far from devoid of decorated surfaces; cf. H. Goedicke, *Re-used Blocks from the Pyramid of Amenemhet I at Lisht* (New York, 1971), p. ix for cat. numbers, and Smith, *HESPOK*, pl. 39. Schott cites these references in *Fs.*

Westendorf, p. 1124, n. 24. More recently, Goedicke described one of the fragments (MMA 22.1.3, showing three long-horned bulls) in "The Perimeter of Geographic Awareness in the Fourth Dynasty and the Significance of *hsw-nbw* in the Pyramid Texts," *SAK* 30 (2002), p. 125ff.

²³ Cf. Helck, *Hommages Leclant* 1, p. 221. A different arrangement would have to have been made for the Eastern Cemetery, which attains a much closer proximity to Khufu's pyramid than the three nucleus cemeteries in the west that are under discussion here; on this point cf. Reisner, *Giza Necropolis* 1, pp. 71–72. The Cemetery en Echelon was, of course, added later. On the construction of the Khufu pyramid itself, see M. Lehner, *MDAIK* 41 (1985), p. 1.

²⁴ See Haeny, *Fs. Rieke*, esp. pp. 158–59.

²⁵ On the miniature vessels, see M. Bárta, *GM* 149 (1995), pp. 15–24. On reserve heads, cf. A. Bolshakov, *Man and his Double* (Wiesbaden, 1997), p. 38.

²⁶ On the return to pre-Giza norms, the alteration and expansion of Giza tombs, cf. Stadelmann, in *Kunst des Alten Reiches*, p. 166; H. Junker, "Von der ägyptischen Baukunst des Alten Reiches," *ZAS* 63 (1928), p. 12. Against this interpretation one might cite Stadelmann, in *Kunst des Alten Reiches*, pp. 163–64, noting that the "strenger Stil" of Dynasty 4 really begins with Snefru, not Khufu. Additionally, E. Russmann argues that "... the evidence at this point is not sufficient to support the theory of a royal "interdiction" of private sculpture..." (in *Kunst des Alten Reiches*, p. 118, with n. 65, citing the private statuary attested for Kawab, Khafkhufu I, and Hemiunu).

²⁷ Cf. Junker, *Giza* 1, pp. 28–30.



Fig. 253. Unusual "emplacement" stone in eastern facade of mastaba g 2130, Khenty-ka, smeared with plaster. 1905-06. HU-MFA Expedition photograph, Albert M. Lythgoe, c 1348



Fig. 254. Detail of unusual "emplacement" stone in eastern facade of mastaba g 2130, Khenty-ka. 1905-06. HU-MFA Expedition photograph, Albert M. Lythgoe, c 854



Fig. 255. Detail of unusual "emplacement" stone in eastern facade of mastaba g 2130, Khenty-ka. November 26, 1993. PDM, 93.117.19

of Khufu. A modern Egyptological assumption on the linearity of Egyptian tomb development, and the "concept of progress" leads to the expectation that funerary complexes should become more, rather than less, elaborate over time. We may have come to expect larger settlements, increased literacy, bigger tombs, and a broader artistic repertoire, all moving in the same linear direction of ever-expanding development.²⁸ This same prejudice has resulted, at the other end of ancient Egyptian history, in modern attitudes towards the Late Period as an era of decline.

We have already seen ample evidence for concomitant developments throughout archaic and Old Kingdom Egypt, from the round-topped vertical orientation of Abydene stelae to their often rectangular Memphite counterparts, or the "dependent" false door panel versus the "independent" slab stela. The Giza slab stelae provide an obstacle to the concept of clean linear development, for here we have greater elaboration both before and after their era. We might do well, then, to understand the slab stelae, not as emergency placeholders for later false doors, or as reductionist tombstones forced upon the administrative elite against their will, but rather as an

intentionally chosen form of tomb decoration, in keeping with the trends of the age. Complete in and of themselves, they did not represent a compromise, sacrifice, or a hurried solution due to untimely death, but rather provided every critical element needed to ensure the continued successful mortuary cult.²⁹ Names and titles, the funerary repast, a selected offering list, and multiple varieties of funerary linen were placed at the focal point of the mastaba, superseded in importance only by the actual subterranean burial of the body itself. There is an iconic purity and economy to the slab stelae that serves their functional purpose and still provides an elite element of burial equipment. It was only in the reigns succeeding that of Khufu that tastes changed once again, and chapels with decorated walls reasserted themselves in the Old Kingdom repertoire. A few archaizing throwbacks at Giza, best attested by the slab stela from g 4860 (stela 15), several later false doors, a mastaba chapel wall³⁰ and, by Dynasty 6, the hastily prepared raised *and* sunk relief stone of Setju found reused in g 2352 b,³¹ inform us that later generations had not forgotten the elegance and simplicity of Khufu's era. Indeed, they seem to have sought, however unsuccessfully, to emulate it.

²⁸ See Haeny's apt comments against such a misleading perspective with respect to simple and multi-niched (palace facade) tomb construction, *Fs Rieke*, p. 163. However, the thrust of much of his article is to place necropolis development within a scheme of generally linear development, against Junker's thesis that Giza marks a strong break with the past, *ZAS* 63 (1928), summary on p. 13. See also the remarks by S.J. Gould quoted in "The Problem of the Giza Slab Stelae," in H. Guksch and D. Polz, eds., *Stationen. Beiträge zur Kulturgeschichte Ägyptens Rainer Stadelmann Gewidmet* (Mainz, 1998), p. 134.

²⁹ Cf. Bolshakov, *Man and his Double*, p. 38.

³⁰ See in particular, false door tablets in emulation of slab stelae belonging to Nefer (g 2110), g 4260, Meretites (g 7650), Merib (g 2100-1), Seshemnefer I (g 4940, east wall linen list), and Senetites, wife of Seneb. Reference images of these monuments are gathered below in Appendix 3.

³¹ See fig. 256, and Appendix 3, fig. 314. For a recent discussion, dating the tomb-owner to Dynasty 4, see Piacentini, *Les Scribes dans la société égyptienne de l'Ancien Empire* 1, pp. 105-106.



Fig. 256. Archaizing Dynasty 6 "slab stela" of Setju in raised and sunk relief, from the fill of g 2352 shaft b; MFA 13.4341. MFA Visual Archives, c 3400

APPENDIX I

Color Palaeography

The palaeography chart below displays all the hieroglyphs from the three Giza slab stelae that preserve the greatest amount of pigment. These are the stelae of Wepemnefret (g 1201), Nefret-iabet (g 1225), and Iunu (g 4150), discovered by Reisner, Ballard, and Junker respectively. To create the palaeography, photographs were digitally cropped and rearranged sign by sign. To demonstrate the value of juxtaposing photographed hieroglyphs in color we might cite a single sign: the *h₃* plant  (M 12) displays the following polychromy across four different Giza stelae:

- Wepemnefret (g 1201): green with gray/black outlines
- Khufu-nakht (g 1205): traces of blue/green
- Nefret-iabet (g 1225): red with yellow buds
- Iunu (g 4150): red with yellow buds.

For a graph displaying the frequency of this sign across all fifteen stelae and stela fragments, see below, Appendix 2, fig. 261.

By way of comparison to the signs in the color palaeography, the reader is also referred to the frontispiece painting of the Wepemnefret stela (g 1201) by Norman de Garis Davies, and the color reproduction of the Iunu stela (g 4150) from Junker's *Giza* 1, pl. 27, reproduced above as fig. 153.

Throughout his Egyptological career, W.S. Smith paid great attention to polychrome hieroglyphs, including those on the stelae presented here. Fig. 257 contains the original mockup of his color Plate A at the back of his *HESPOK* publication (largely based on Davies's work), and figs. 258–59 show miscellaneous notes on the Wepemnefret hieroglyphs from one of Smith's notebooks. Both items are stored in the archives of the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston. For additional remarks on color, the reader is referred to Chapter 4 above, esp. p. 152, n. 55.

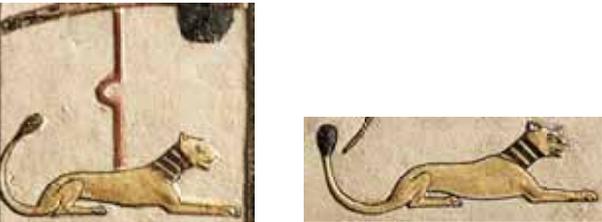
Fig. 257. Original mockup of polychrome hieroglyphs, primarily from the slab stela of Wepemnefret (g 1201), as arranged by W.S. Smith for Plate A of *HESPOK*; housed in the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston

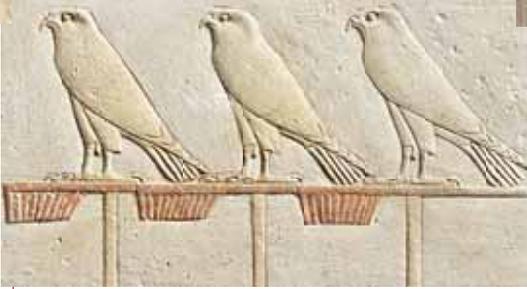




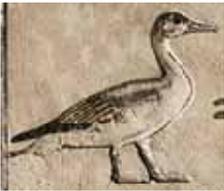
Fig. 258. One of two pages of color notations on the slab stela of Wepem-nefret (g 1201) by W.S. Smith; housed in the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston

APPENDIX 1: COLOR PALAEOGRAPHY

HIEROGLYPH	Stela 1: G 1201, <i>Wp-m-nfrt</i> Wepemnefret Berkeley, 6–19825 	Stela 6: G 1225, <i>Nfrt-ibbt</i> Nefret-iabet Paris, Louvre E 15591 	Stela 13: G 4150 (= Is), <i>Iunu</i> Iunu Hildesheim 2145 
D 7 			
D 2I 			
D 36 			
D 46 			
D 58 			
D 253 			
D — (207?) 			
E —			
F 4 			

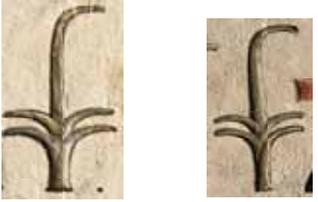
HIEROGLYPH	Stela 1: G 1201, <i>Wp-m-nfrt</i> Wepemnefret Berkeley, 6-19825 	Stela 6: G 1225, <i>Nfrt-ibt</i> Nefret-iabet Paris, Louvre E 15591 	Stela 13: G 4150 (= Is), <i>Iunu</i> Iunu Hildesheim 2145 
F 13 			
F 32 			
F 35 			
G 1 			
G 5 			
G 7 	 Stela 1: G 1201, Wepemnefret	 Stela 6: G 1225, Nefret-iabet	 Stela 13: G 4150 Iunu

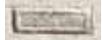
APPENDIX 1: COLOR PALAEOGRAPHY

HIEROGLYPH	Stela 1: G 1201, <i>Wp-m-nfrt</i> Wepemnefret Berkeley, 6-19825 	Stela 6: G 1225, <i>Nfrr-ibbt</i> Nefret-iabet Paris, Louvre E 15591 	Stela 13: G 4150 (= Is), <i>Iwnw</i> Iunu Hildesheim 2145 
G 17 			
G 30 			
G 36 			
G 38 			
G 43 			
I 7(?) 			

HIEROGLYPH	Stela 1: G 1201, <i>Wp-m-nfrt</i> Wepemnefret Berkeley, 6–19825 	Stela 6: G 1225, <i>Nfrr-ibrt</i> Nefret-iabet Paris, Louvre E 15591 	Stela 13: G 4150 (= Is), <i>Iunu</i> Iunu Hildesheim 2145 
I 9 			
K 3 			
M 3 			
M 12 			
M 13 			
M 17 			

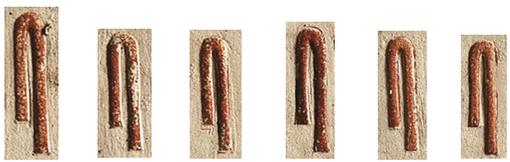
APPENDIX 1: COLOR PALAEOGRAPHY

HIEROGLYPH	Stela 1: G 1201, <i>Wp-m-nfrt</i> Wepemnefret Berkeley, 6–19825 	Stela 6: G 1225, <i>Nfrt-ibt</i> Nefret-iabet Paris, Louvre E 15591 	Stela 13: G 4150 (= Is), <i>Iunu</i> Iunu Hildesheim 2145 
M 22 			
M 23 			
M 26 			
M 28 			
M 30 			
M 33 			
M 34 			

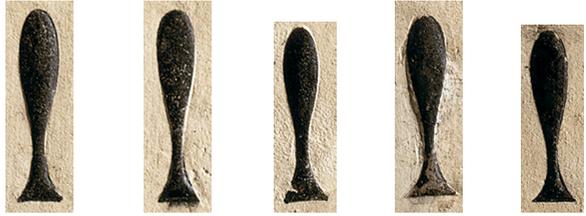
HIEROGLYPH	Stela 1: G 1201, <i>Wp-m-nfrt</i> Wepemnefret Berkeley, 6-19825 	Stela 6: G 1225, <i>Nfrt-ibst</i> Nefret-iabet Paris, Louvre E 15591 	Stela 13: G 4150 (= Is), <i>Iunu</i> Iunu Hildesheim 2145 
M 39 	  	  	
M 163 			
N II 			
M 35 	 		
N 36 			
N 37- N 39 			
O I 			

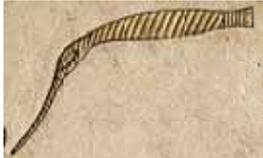
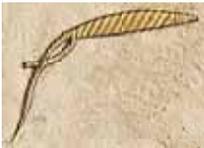
APPENDIX 1: COLOR PALAEOGRAPHY

HIEROGLYPH	Stela 1: G 1201, <i>Wp-m-nfrt</i> Wepemnefret Berkeley, 6-19825 	Stela 6: G 1225, <i>Nfrt-ibt</i> Nefret-iabet Paris, Louvre E 15591 	Stela 13: G 4150 (= Is), <i>Iunu</i> Iunu Hildesheim 2145 
O 4 			
O 28 			
O 29 			
O 34 			
O 49 			
P 3 			
Q 3 	 	 	
R 8 	   		
R 15 			

HIEROGLYPH	Stela 1: G 1201, <i>Wp-m-nfrt</i> Wepemnefret Berkeley, 6-19825 	Stela 6: G 1225, <i>Nfrt-ibbt</i> Nefret-iabet Paris, Louvre E 15591 	Stela 13: G 4150 (= Is), <i>Iunu</i> Iunu Hildesheim 2145 
R 21 			
R — 			
R — 			
S 27 			
S 29 			
S II4 			
S II5 			

APPENDIX I: COLOR PALAEOGRAPHY

HIEROGLYPH	Stela 1: G 1201, <i>Wp-m-nfrt</i> Wepemnefret Berkeley, 6-19825 	Stela 6: G 1225, <i>Nfrr-ibrt</i> Nefret-iabet Paris, Louvre E 15591 	Stela 13: G 4150 (= Is), <i>Iunu</i> Iunu Hildesheim 2145 
S II6 			
S I52 			
T 3 			
T 7 			
T II 			
U 36 			
V I 			
V 4 			
V 6 			

HIEROGLYPH	Stela 1: G 1201, <i>Wp-m-nfrt</i> Wepemnefret Berkeley, 6–19825 	Stela 6: G 1225, <i>Nfrt-ibbt</i> Nefret-iabet Paris, Louvre E 15591 	Stela 13: G 4150 (= Is), <i>Iunuw</i> Iunu Hildesheim 2145 
V 12 			
V 13 			
V 16 			  
V 23 	 		
V 28 			 
V 30 			
V 31 			
W 2 			
W 10 	  		
W 12 			

APPENDIX 1: COLOR PALAEOGRAPHY

HIEROGLYPH	Stela 1: G 1201, <i>Wp-m-nfrt</i> Wepemnefret Berkeley, 6-19825 	Stela 6: G 1225, <i>Nfrit-isbt</i> Nefret-iabet Paris, Louvre E 15591 	Stela 13: G 4150 (= Is), <i>Tunw</i> Iunu Hildesheim 2145 
W 16 			
W 18 			
W 21 			
W 22 			
W 24 			
W 69 			
X 1 			

HIEROGLYPH	Stela 1: G 1201, <i>Wp-m-nfrt</i> Wepemnefret Berkeley, 6-19825 	Stela 6: G 1225, <i>Nfrt-ibst</i> Nefret-iabet Paris, Louvre E 15591 	Stela 13: G 4150 (= Is), <i>Iwnw</i> Iunu Hildesheim 2145 
X ₂ ␣			
Y ₂ ␣			
Y ₃ ␣			
Z ₁			
Aa ₁ ␣			
			
			
			
 			
 			

APPENDIX I: COLOR PALAEOGRAPHY

HIEROGLYPH	Stela 1: G 1201, <i>Wp-m-nfrt</i> Wepemnefret Berkeley, 6-19825 	Stela 6: G 1225, <i>Nfrt-ibt</i> Nefret-iabet Paris, Louvre E 15591 	Stela 13: G 4150 (= Is), <i>Iunu</i> Iunu Hildesheim 2145 
			
			
			
			
			
Offerings			
Offerings			
Offerings		 	

HIEROGLYPH	Stela 1: G 1201, <i>Wp-m-nfrt</i> Wepemnefret Berkeley, 6-19825 	Stela 6: G 1225, <i>Nfrr-ibrt</i> Nefret-iabet Paris, Louvre E 15591 	Stela 13: G 4150 (= Is), <i>Iunu</i> Iunu Hildesheim 2145 
Offerings			
Offerings			
Offerings			
Offerings			
Offerings			

APPENDIX 2

Hieroglyphic Palaeography

One of the advantages of digital epigraphy is the potential for convenient palaeographical compilations. As an experiment in “repurposing” the digital drawings presented above (Chapter 1, pls. 1–30), the following palaeography represents all hieroglyphs attested in the Giza group of fifteen slab stelae and stela fragments. Unlike the color palaeography above in Appendix 1, no attempt is made here to reproduce every single example of a particular sign. Only the primary diagnostic and variant forms are represented, but a number in the upper left corner of each table cell provides the occurrences of the particular sign on the stela in question. The example at right indicates that on the stela of the male tomb-owner Kanefer, there is one (1) occurrence of the *nfr* sign.

The chart in fig. 260 indicates the number of different words appearing on each stela. While the data are somewhat skewed, due to the fragmentary nature of some of the stelae, the long-form slabs (colored blue) nevertheless clearly demonstrate their extended vocabulary compared to their short-form counterparts (colored green). Singling out the most common hieroglyph, the *h* plant (M 12), we find the distribution as presented in fig. 261, which once again differentiates between short-form and long-form stelae. And finally, fig. 262 summarizes the attested reversals found on the stelae.

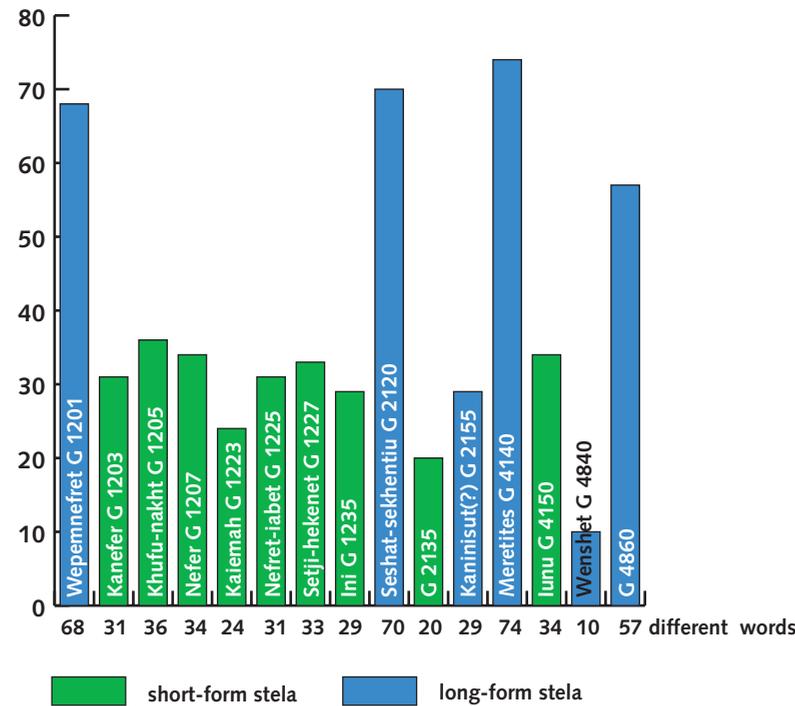
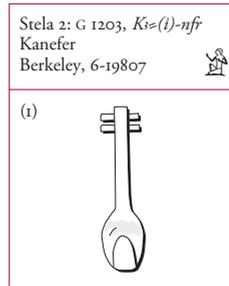


Fig. 260. Comparative graph of the number of words used in the Giza slab stelae

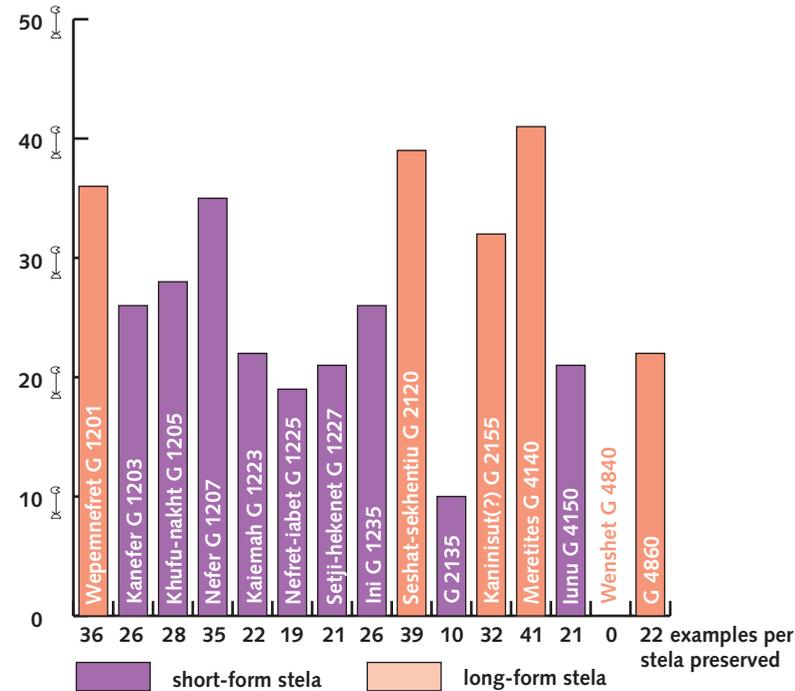
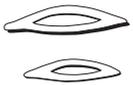
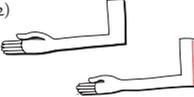
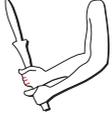


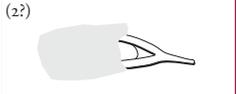
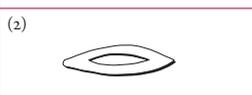
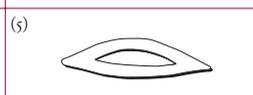
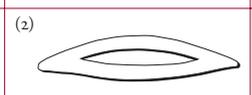
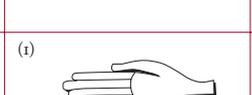
Fig. 261. Comparative graph of the occurrences of the “1,000” hieroglyph (Sign List M 12) in the Giza slab stelae

HIEROGLYPH	REVERSALS (NUMBER PER STELA)
M 12	Stela 3: G 1205, Khufu-nakht (4) Stela 4: G 1207, Nefer (2) Stela 6: G 1225, Nefret-iabet (14) Stela 9: G 2120, Seshat-sekhentiu (4)
M 30	Stela 1: G 1201, Wepemnefret (2) Stela 9: G 2120, Seshat-sekhentiu (1?) Stela 12: G 4140, Meretites (1) Stela 15: G 4860 (= VIIIIn) (1)
N 29	Stela 12: G 4140, Meretites (1 of 2)
S 29	Stela 1: G 1201, Wepemnefret (all 6) Stela 3: G 1205, Khufu-nakht (all 3) Stela 4: G 1207, Nefer (all 5) Stela 6: G 1225, Nefret-iabet (all 5) Stela 9: G 2120, Seshat-sekhentiu (all 9 of 13) Stela 10: G 2135 (= VIIIn) (1) Stela 11: G 2155(?) Kaninisut (2 of 3) Stela 12: G 4140, Meretites (6 of 8 preserved examples)
T II	Stela 1: G 1201, Wepemnefret (1) Stela 2: G 1203, Kanefer (1) Stela 3: G 1205, Khufu-nakht (1) Stela 4: G 1207, Nefer (1) Stela 5: G 1223, Kaiemah (1) Stela 6: G 1225, Nefret-iabet (1) Stela 7: G 1227, Setji-hekenet (1) Stela 8: G 1235, Ini (1) Stela 9: G 2120, Seshat-sekhentiu (1) Stela 10: G 2135 (= VIIIn) (1) Stela 12: G 4140, Meretites (1) Stela 13: G 4150 (= Is), Iunu (1)
V I	Stela 1: G 1201, Wepemnefret (1) Stela 2: G 1203, Kanefer (3) Stela 3: G 1205, Khufu-nakht (4) Stela 4: G 1207, Nefer (4) Stela 5: G 1223, Kaiemah (3) Stela 6: G 1225, Nefret-iabet (3) Stela 7: G 1227, Setji-hekenet (3) Stela 8: G 1235, Ini (4) Stela 10: G 2135 (= VIIIn) (2) Stela 11: G 2155(?) Kaninisut (1) Stela 12: G 4140, Meretites (4) Stela 13: G 4150 (= Is), Iunu (3)
V 4	Stela 1: G 1201, Wepemnefret (2) Stela 7: G 1227, Setji-hekenet (1) Stela 12: G 4140, Meretites (1, “half-reversal”)
Offerings	Stela 6: G 1225, Nefret-iabet (1)

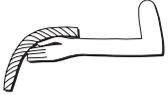
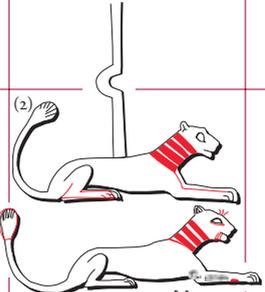
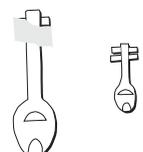
Fig. 262. Reversals attested on the Giza slab stelae

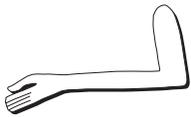
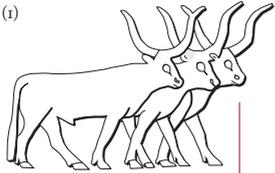
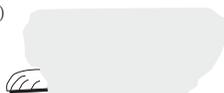
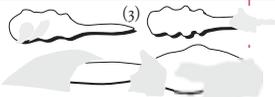
APPENDIX 2: HIEROGLYPHIC PALAEOGRAPHY

HIEROGLYPH	Stela 1: G 1201, <i>Wp-m-nfrt</i> Wepemnefret Berkeley, 6–19825 	Stela 2: G 1203, <i>K3=(i)-nfr</i> Kancfer Berkeley, 6–19807 	Stela 3: G 1205, <i>Hwfw-nht</i> Khufu-nakht Berkeley, 6–19786 	Stela 4: G 1207, <i>Nfr</i> Nefer Berkeley, 6–19801 	Stela 5: G 1223, <i>K3=(i)-m-ḥ</i> Kaiemah Cairo, JE 37725 (57128) 	Stela 6: G 1225, <i>Nfrt-ibbt</i> Nefret-iabet Paris, Louvre, E 15591 	Stela 7: G 1227, <i>Sti-hknt</i> Setji-hekenet, Cairo JE 37726 (57127), Port Said, P 4082 
B 1 				(1) 			
D 2 							
D 4 				(1) 			(1) 
D 7 	(2) 		(2) 	(1) 		(2) 	
D 21 	(2) 	(2) 	(2) 	(3) 		(1) 	(1) 
D 28 							
D 36 	(2) 		(1) 	(1) 		(1) 	(1) 
D 37 							
D 46 	(3) 	(2) 	(3) 	(2) 		(3) 	(1) 
D 50 							
D 58 	(3) 	(1) 	(2) 	(2) 		(3) 	(2) 
D 154 							
D 253 	(1) 						

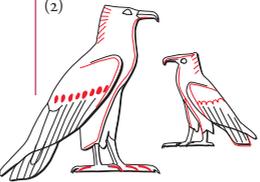
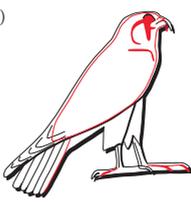
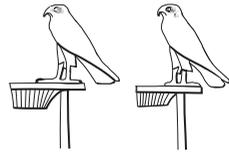
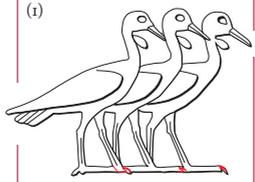
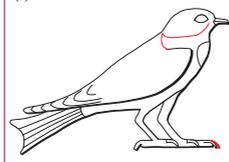
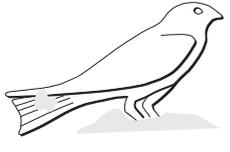
Stela 8: G 1235, <i>Ini, Ini</i> Cairo, JE 37727 (57127 bis) Port Saïd, P 4083	Stela 9: G 2120, <i>Sst-shntyw</i> Seshat-sekhentiu Boston, MFA, o6.1894	Stela 10: G 2135 (= VIIInn) Vienna, AS 7799	Stela 11: G 2155(?) (= VIIIInn) Kaninisut Vienna, AS 7447	Stela 12: G 4140, <i>Mrt-its</i> Meretites Boston, MFA, 12.1510	Stela 13: G 4150 (= Is), <i>Iwnw</i> Iunu Hildesheim, 2145	Stela 14: G 4840 (= VIIIss) Wenshet Boston, MFA, 14-2-1	Stela 15: G 4860 (= VIIIIn) Vienna, AS 8459
	(3) 			(2) 			
	(2) 	(2?) 					
(2) 							
(1) 	(6) 	(1) 	(2) 	(5) 	(2) 	(1) 	(2) 
			(1) 				
	(4) 			(4) 	(1) 		(2) 
							(3) 
(1) 	(4) 	(2) 		(4) 	(1) 		(2) 
	(1) 			(1) 			
	(6) 	(1) 	(1) 	(4) 	(2) 		(6) 
				(1) 			
	(1) 		(1) 				(1) 

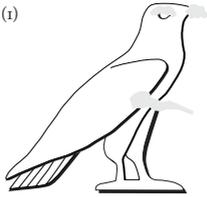
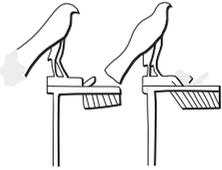
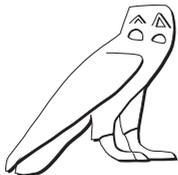
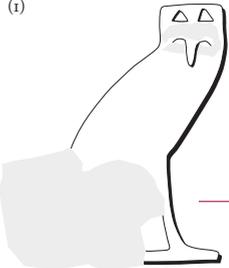
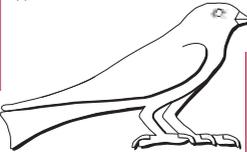
APPENDIX 2: HIEROGLYPHIC PALAEOGRAPHY

HIEROGLYPH	Stela 1: G 1201, <i>Wp-m-nfrt</i> Wepemnefret Berkeley, 6-19825 	Stela 2: G 1203, <i>Ks-(i)-nfr</i> Kanefer Berkeley, 6-19807 	Stela 3: G 1205, <i>Hwfw-nbt</i> Khufu-nakht Berkeley, 6-19786 	Stela 4: G 1207, <i>Nfr</i> Nefer Berkeley, 6-19801 	Stela 5: G 1223, <i>Ks-(i)-m-tp</i> Kaiemah Cairo, JE 37725 (57128) 	Stela 6: G 1225, <i>Nfrt-ibbt</i> Nefret-iabet Paris, Louvre, E 15591 	Stela 7: G 1227, <i>Stj-hknt</i> Setji-hekenet, Cairo JE 37726 (57127), Port Said, P 4082 
D — (207?) 	(i) 	(i) 	(i) 	(2) 		(i) 	
E 34 							
E 166 							
E —	(2) 						
E — 	(i) 						
F 4 	(i) 		(i) 			(i) 	(i) 
F 9 							
F 13 	(i) 	(i) 					
F 26 							
F 32 	(2) 			(i) 			
F 35 	(2) 	(i) 	(i) 	(2) 	(i) 	(i) 	

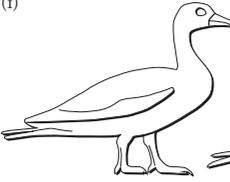
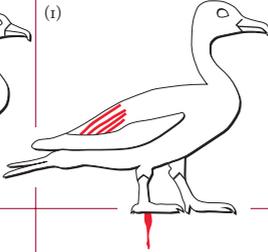
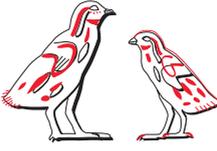
Stela 8: G 1235, <i>Ini, Ini</i> Cairo JE 37727 (57127 bis) Port Saïd, P 4083	Stela 9: G 2120, <i>Sšw-sbntyw</i> Seshat-sekhentiu Boston, MFA, o6.1894	Stela 10: G 2135 (= VIIInn) Vienna, ÄS 7799	Stela 11: G 2155(?) (= VIIIInn) Kaninisur Vienna, ÄS 7447	Stela 12: G 4140, <i>Mrt-it-s</i> Meretites Boston, MFA, 12.1510	Stela 13: G 4150 (= Is), <i>Iunw</i> Iunu Hildesheim, 2145	Stela 14: G 4840 (= VIIIss) Wenshet Boston, MFA, 14-2-1	Stela 15: G 4860 (= VIIIIn) Vienna, ÄS 8459
	(i) 			(i) 			
						(i) 	
(i) 							
(i) 		(i) 		(i) 	(i) 		(i) 
	(i) 		(2) 				
	(i) 						
	(i) 			(3) 		(i) 	(i) 
(i) 	(2) 	(i) 	(i) 	(i) 			(i) 

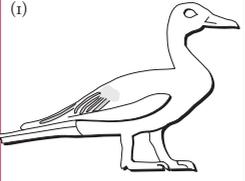
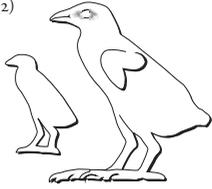
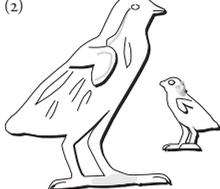
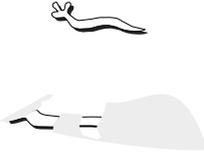
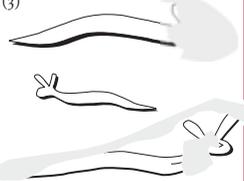
APPENDIX 2: HIEROGLYPHIC PALAEOGRAPHY

HIEROGLYPH	Stela 1: G 1201, <i>Wp-m-nfrt</i> Wepemnefret Berkeley, 6-19825 	Stela 2: G 1203, <i>Ks-(i)-nfr</i> Kanefer Berkeley, 6-19807 	Stela 3: G 1205, <i>Hwfw-nht</i> Khufu-nakht Berkeley, 6-19786 	Stela 4: G 1207, <i>Nfr</i> Nefer Berkeley, 6-19801 	Stela 5: G 1223, <i>Ks-(i)-m-ḥ</i> Kaiemah Cairo, JE 37725 (57128) 	Stela 6: G 1225, <i>Nfrt-hbt</i> Nefret-iabet Paris, Louvre, E 15591 	Stela 7: G 1227, <i>Stj-hknt</i> Setji-hekenet, Cairo JE 37726 (57127), Port Said, P 4082 
G 1 	(2) 	(1) 					
G 4 							
G 5 	(1) 						
G 7  (reduced)	(3) 	(4) 	(5) 	(5) 		(3) 	(4) 
G 17 	(2) 	(1) 	(1) 	(1) 	(2) 	(1) 	(1) 
G 30 	(1) 						
G 36 	(1) 				(1) 		

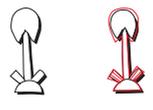
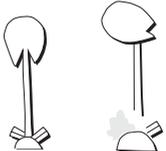
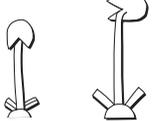
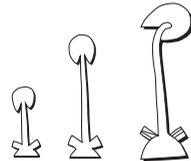
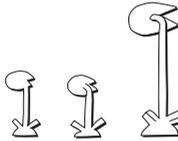
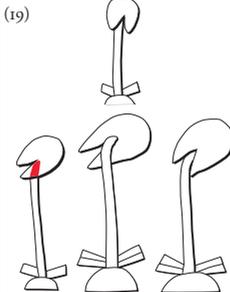
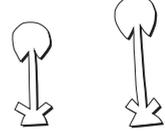
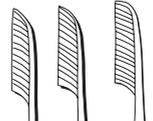
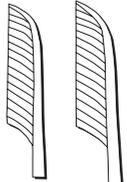
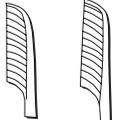
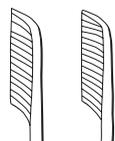
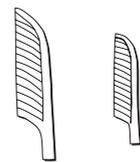
Stela 8: G 1235, <i>Ini</i> , Ini Cairo JE 37727 (57127 bis) Port Said, P 4083 	Stela 9: G 2120, <i>Sst-shntyw</i> Seshat-sekhentiu Boston, MFA, o6.1894 	Stela 10: G 2135 (= VIIInn) Vienna, AS 7799 ?	Stela 11: G 2155(?) (= VIIIInn) Kaninisut Vienna, AS 7447 	Stela 12: G 4140, <i>Mrt-it-s</i> Meretites Boston, MFA, 12.1510 	Stela 13: G 4150 (= Is), <i>Tunw</i> Iunu Hildesheim, 2145 	Stela 14: G 4840 (= VIIIss) Wenshet Boston, MFA, 14-2-1 	Stela 15: G 4860 (= VIIIIn) Vienna, AS 8459 ?
	(i) 		(i) 		(i) 		(i) 
	(i) 						
(4) 		(4) 		(6) 	(4) 		(5) 
(i) 	(i) 	(i) 			(i) 		(i) 
	(3) 		(i) 	(i) 	(i) 		

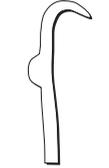
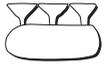
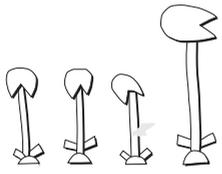
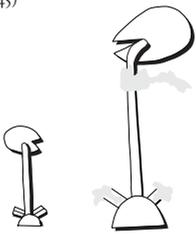
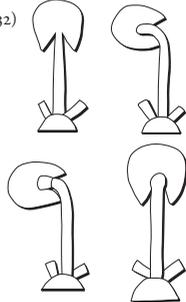
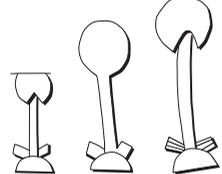
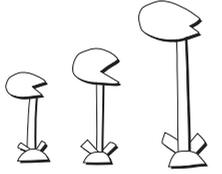
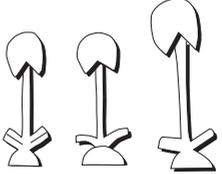
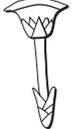
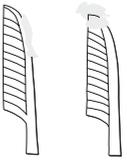
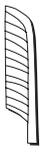
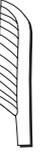
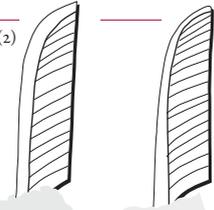
APPENDIX 2: HIEROGLYPHIC PALAEOGRAPHY

HIEROGLYPH	Stela 1: G 1201, <i>Wp-m-nfrt</i> Wepemnefret Berkeley, 6-19825 	Stela 2: G 1203, <i>K3-(i)-nfr</i> Kanefer Berkeley, 6-19807 	Stela 3: G 1205, <i>Hufu-nht</i> Khufu-nakht Berkeley, 6-19786 	Stela 4: G 1207, <i>Nfr</i> Nefer Berkeley, 6-19801 	Stela 5: G 1223, <i>K3-(i)-m-tp</i> Kaiemah Cairo, JE 37725 (57128) 	Stela 6: G 1225, <i>Nfrt-ibbt</i> Nefret-iabet Paris, Louvre, E 15591 	Stela 7: G 1227, <i>Stj-bknt</i> Setji-hekenet, Cairo JE 37726 (57127), Port Said, P 4082 
G 38 	(i) 				(i) 	(i) 	
G 40 							
G 43 	(2) 		(3) 	(i) 		(i) 	(i) 
G 47 			(i) 	(i) 			
I 7(?) 	(i) 						
I 9 			(i) 	(i) 			(2)  
I 10 				(i) 			
K 1 							
K 3 	(i) 						

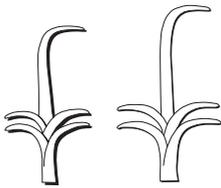
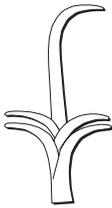
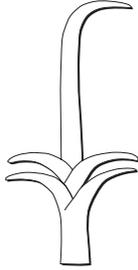
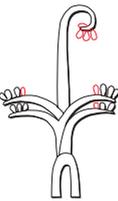
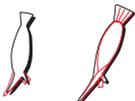
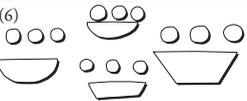
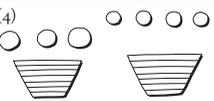
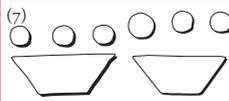
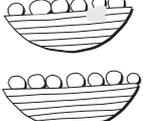
Stela 8: G 1235, <i>Ini</i> , Ini Cairo, JE 37727 (57127 bis) Port Said, P 4083 	Stela 9: G 2120, <i>Sst-shntyw</i> Seshat-sekhentiu Boston, MFA, o6.1894 	Stela 10: G 2135 (= VIIInn) Vienna, AS 7799 ?	Stela 11: G 2155(?) (= VIIIInn) Kaninisur Vienna, AS 7447 	Stela 12: G 4140, <i>Mrt-its</i> Meretites Boston, MFA, 12.1510 	Stela 13: G 4150 (= Is), <i>Iunu</i> Iunu Hildesheim, 2145 	Stela 14: G 4840 (= VIIIss) Wenshet Boston, MFA, 14-2-1 	Stela 15: G 4860 (= VIIIIn) Vienna, AS 8459 ?
				(i) 	(i) 		
				(i) 			
	(2) 		(2) 	(i) 	(2) 		
				(i) 			
	(5) 		(i) 	(3) 	(i) 	(i) 	(3) 
		(i) 					
(i) 							

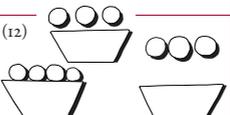
APPENDIX 2: HIEROGLYPHIC PALAEOGRAPHY

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M 1 							
M 3 	(1) 		(1) 				
M 4 							
M 8 							
M 12 	(36) 	(26) 	(28) 	(35) 	(22) 	(19) 	(21) 
M 13 	(2) 		(1) 	(2) 		(1) 	(1) 
M 16 							
M 17 	(3) 	(2) 	(2) 	(2) 		(2) 	
M 22 							(2) 

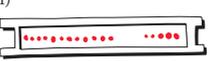
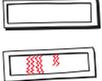
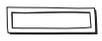
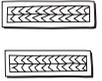
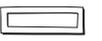
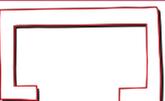
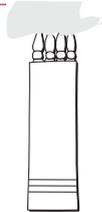
Stela 8: G 1235, <i>Ini</i> , Ini Cairo, JE 37727 (57127 bis) Port Saïd, P 4083 	Stela 9: G 2120, <i>Sst-sbntyw</i> Seshat-sekhentiu Boston, MFA, 06.1894 	Stela 10: G 2135 (= VIIInn) Vienna, AS 7799 ?	Stela 11: G 2155(?) (= VIIIInn) Kaninisut Vienna, AS 7447 	Stela 12: G 4140, <i>Mrt-its</i> Meretites Boston, MFA, 12.1510 	Stela 13: G 4150 (= Is), <i>Iwnw</i> Iunu Hildesheim, 2145 	Stela 14: G 4840 (= VIIIss) Wenshet Boston, MFA, 14-2-1 	Stela 15: G 4860 (= VIIIIn) Vienna, AS 8459 ?
						(1) 	
	(2) 		(1) 				
			(1) 				
			(1) 				
(26) 	(45) 	(10) 	(32) 	(41) 	(21) 		(22) 
(1) 	(1) 			(2) 			(1) 
	(1) 		(1) 				
(1) 	(2) 	(2) 	(1) 		(1) 	(2) 	(1) 
					(2) 		

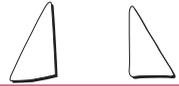
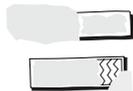
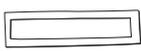
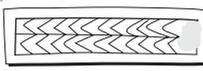
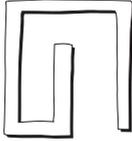
APPENDIX 2: HIEROGLYPHIC PALAEOGRAPHY

HIEROGLYPH	Stela 1: G 1201, <i>Wp-m-nfr</i> Wepemnefret Berkeley, 6-19825 	Stela 2: G 1203, <i>Ks(i)-nfr</i> Kanefer Berkeley, 6-19807 	Stela 3: G 1205, <i>Hwfw-nht</i> Khufu-nakht Berkeley, 6-19786 	Stela 4: G 1207, <i>Nfr</i> Nefer Berkeley, 6-19801 	Stela 5: G 1223, <i>Ks(i)-m-ḥ</i> Kaiemah Cairo, JE 37725 (57128) 	Stela 6: G 1225, <i>Nfrt-ibet</i> Nefret-iabet Paris, Louvre, E 15591 	Stela 7: G 1227, <i>Sjt-hknt</i> Setji-hekenet, Cairo, JE 37726 (57127), Port Said, P 4082 
M 23 	(2) 		(1) 	(1) 	(1) 	(1) 	(1) 
M 26 	(1) 		(1) 	(1) 	(2) 		(1) 
M 28 	(1) 				(1) 		
M 30 	(2) 						
M 33 							(6) 
M 34 							(1) 
M 39 	(10) 	(2) 	(6) 	(4) 		(7) 	(2) 
M 163 	(1) 						

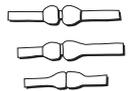
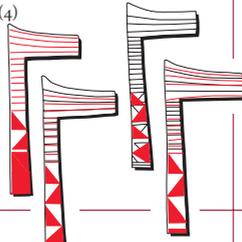
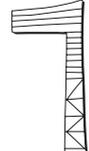
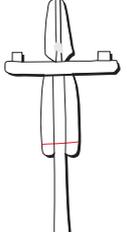
Stela 8: G 1235, <i>Ini</i> , Ini Cairo, JE 37727 (57127 bis) Port Said, P 4083 	Stela 9: G 2120, <i>Sst-shntyw</i> Seshat-sekhentiu Boston, MFA, o6.1894 	Stela 10: G 2135 (= VIIInn) Vienna, AS 7799 ?	Stela 11: G 2155(?) (= VIIIInn) Kaninisut Vienna, AS 7447 	Stela 12: G 4140, <i>Mrt-its</i> Meretites Boston, MFA, 12.1510 	Stela 13: G 4150 (= Is), <i>Iwnw</i> Iunu Hildesheim, 2145 	Stela 14: G 4840 (= VIIIss) Wenshet Boston, MFA, 14-2-1 	Stela 15: G 4860 (= VIIIIn) Vienna, AS 8459 ?
(1) 					(1) 		
(1) 	(2) 	(1) 		(2) 	(2) 		(2) 
					(1) 		
	(1) 			(1) 			(1) 
	(2) 			(5) 	(6) 		(6) 
	(1) 			(1) 	(1) 		(1) 
(3) 	(12) 			(6) 	(1) 		(7) 

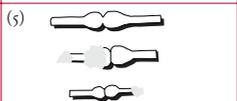
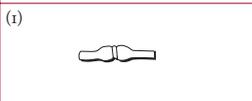
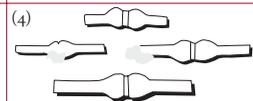
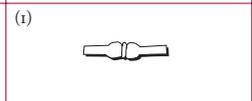
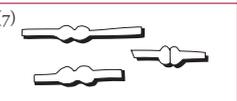
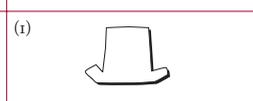
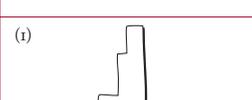
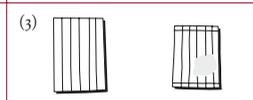
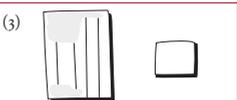
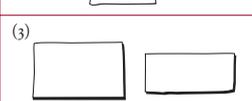
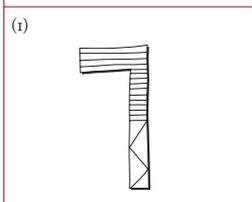
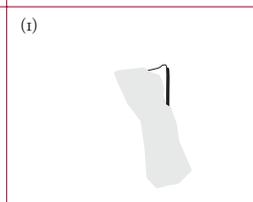
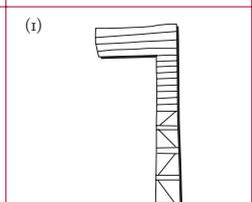
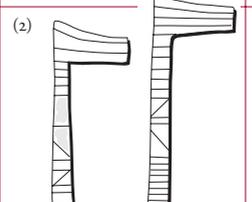
APPENDIX 2: HIEROGLYPHIC PALAEOGRAPHY

HIEROGLYPH	Stela 1: G 1201, <i>Wp-m-nfrt</i> Wepemnefret Berkeley, 6-19825 	Stela 2: G 1203, <i>Ks=(i)-nfr</i> Kanefer Berkeley, 6-19807 	Stela 3: G 1205, <i>Hwfw-nht</i> Khufu-nakht Berkeley, 6-19786 	Stela 4: G 1207, <i>Nfr</i> Nefer Berkeley, 6-19801 	Stela 5: G 1223, <i>Ks=(i)-m-ḥ</i> Kaiemah Cairo, JE 37725 (57128) 	Stela 6: G 1225, <i>Nfrt-ibbt</i> Nefret-iabet Paris, Louvre, E 15591 	Stela 7: G 1227, <i>Stj-bknt</i> Setji-hekenet, Cairo, JE 37726 (57127), Port Said, P 4082 
N II 	(i) 		(i) 	(i) 		(i) 	
N 22 							(i) 
N 29 							
M 35 	(4) 		(2) 	(2) 	(i) 	(2) 	(i) 
N 36 	(i) 						
N 37- N 39 	(3) 	(i) 	(i) 	(2) 		(i) 	
N 4I 							
O I 	(i) 						
O 4 	(i) 						
O IO 							
O II 					(i) 		
O 28 							

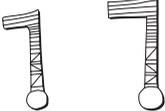
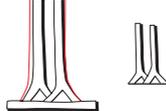
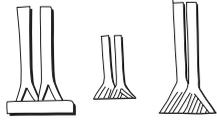
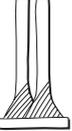
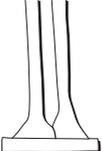
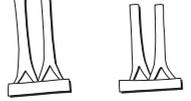
Stela 8: G 1235, <i>Ini</i> , Ini Cairo, JE 37727 (57127 bis) Port Said, P 4083 	Stela 9: G 2120, <i>Sst-shtytw</i> Seshat-sekhentiu Boston, MFA, o6.1894 	Stela 10: G 2135 (= VIIInn) Vienna, AS 7799 ?	Stela 11: G 2155(?) (= VIIIInn) Kaninisut Vienna, AS 7447 	Stela 12: G 4140, <i>Mrt-its</i> Meretites Boston, MFA, 12.1510 	Stela 13: G 4150 (= Is), <i>Iwnw</i> Iunu Hildesheim, 2145 	Stela 14: G 4840 (= VIIIss) Wenshet Boston, MFA, 14-2-1 	Stela 15: G 4860 (= VIIIIn) Vienna, AS 8459 ?
	(i) 			(2) 			
				(1) 			
				(2) 			(i) 
(i) 	(II-12) 	(i) 	(4) 	(12) 	(i) 	(3) 	(5) 
(i) 							
	(2) 	(i) 		(2) 	(i) 	(i) 	(i) 
	(i) 						
	(i) 			(i) 			
	(i) 		(i) 			(i) 	
						(i) 	
					(i) 		

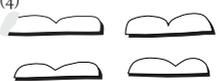
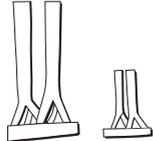
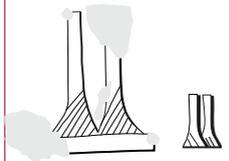
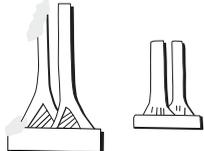
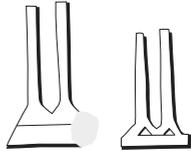
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O 29 <i>(reduced)</i> 	(i) 	(i) 	(i) 	(i) 	(i) 	(i) 	(i) 
O 34 							(3) 
O 49 	(i) 						
O 51 							
P 3 	(i) 						
Q 1 							
Q 3 	(3) 	(2) 	(i) 	(i) 		(2) 	
Q 4 							
Q — 							
Q —							
R 8 	(4) 		(i) 		(i) 	(i) 	(i) 
R 15 						(i) 	

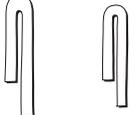
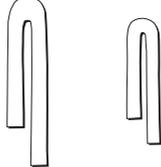
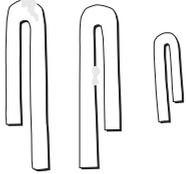
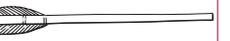
Stela 8: G 1235, <i>Ini</i> , Ini Cairo, JE 37727 (57127 bis) Port Said, P 4083	Stela 9: G 2120, <i>Sst-shntyw</i> Seshat-sekhentiu Boston, MFA, o6.1894	Stela 10: G 2135 (= VIIInn) Vienna, AS 7799	Stela 11: G 2155(?) (= VIIIInn) Kaninisut Vienna, AS 7447	Stela 12: G 4140, <i>Mrt-its</i> Meretites Boston, MFA, 12.1510	Stela 13: G 4150 (= Is), <i>Iwnu</i> Iunu Hildesheim, 2145	Stela 14: G 4840 (= VIIIss) Wenshet Boston, MFA, 14-2-1	Stela 15: G 4860 (= VIIIIn) Vienna, AS 8459
(i) 	(i) 		(i) 	(i) 	(i) 		(i) 
	(5) 		(i) 	(4) 	(i) 		(7) 
				(i) 			
			(i) 				
	(3) 	(i) 		(3) 	(i) 		(3) 
			(i) 				
	(3) 		(3) 				
			(i) 				
(i) 	(i) 			(i) 	(i) 	(2) 	(2) 

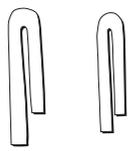
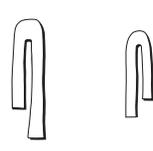
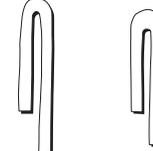
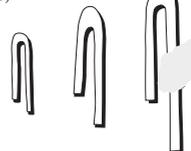
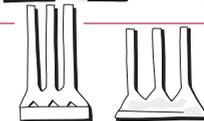
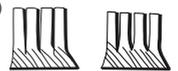
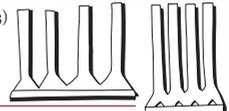
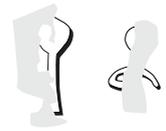
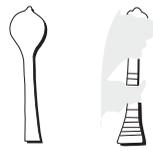
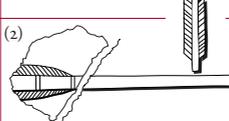
APPENDIX 2: HIEROGLYPHIC PALAEOGRAPHY

HIEROGLYPH	Stela 1: G 1201, <i>Wp-m-nfrt</i> Wepemnefer Berkeley, 6-19825 	Stela 2: G 1203, <i>Ks=(i)-nfr</i> Kanefer Berkeley, 6-19807 	Stela 3: G 1205, <i>Hwfw-nht</i> Khufu-nakht Berkeley, 6-19786 	Stela 4: G 1207, <i>Nfr</i> Nefer Berkeley, 6-19801 	Stela 5: G 1223, <i>Ks=(i)-m-ḥ</i> Kaiemah Cairo, JE 37725 (57128) 	Stela 6: G 1225, <i>Nfrt-ḥbt</i> Nefret-iabet Paris, Louvre, E 15591 	Stela 7: G 1227, <i>Stj-ḥknt</i> Setji-hekenet, Cairo, JE 37726 (57127), Port Said, P 4082 
R 21 	(i) 						
R 24 							
R — 	(i) 		(i) 	(2) 			
R — 	(i) 						
S 22 							
S 25 							
S 130a (N 18) 							(3) 
S 27 	(4) 	(i) 	(i) 	(4) 	(i) 	(i) 	(4) 

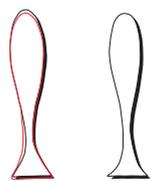
<p>Stela 8: G 1235, <i>Ini</i>, Ini Cairo, JE 37727 (57127 bis) Port Said, P 4083 </p>	<p>Stela 9: G 2120, <i>Sšt-šntjw</i> Seshat-sekhentiu Boston, MFA, o6.1894 </p>	<p>Stela 10: G 2135 (= VIIInn) Vienna, AS 7799 ?</p>	<p>Stela 11: G 2155(?) (= VIIIInn) Kaninisut Vienna, AS 7447 </p>	<p>Stela 12: G 4140, <i>Mrt-its</i> Meretites Boston, MFA, 12.1510 </p>	<p>Stela 13: G 4150 (= Is), <i>Twnw</i> Iunu Hildesheim, 2145 </p>	<p>Stela 14: G 4840 (= VIIIss) Wensher Boston, MFA, 14-2-1 </p>	<p>Stela 15: G 4860 (= VIIIIn) Vienna, AS 8459 ?</p>
	(i) 						
						(i) 	
	(i) 			(i) 			
	(i) 						
			(2) 				
	(4) 						(6?) 
(2) 	(4) 	(i) 	(i) 	(2) 	(i) 		(4) 

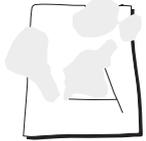
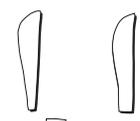
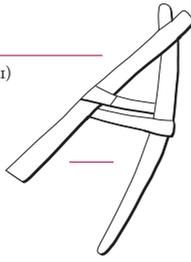
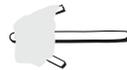
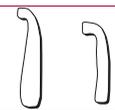
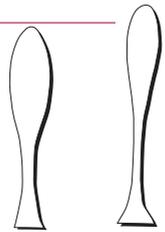
APPENDIX 2: HIEROGLYPHIC PALAEOGRAPHY

HIEROGLYPH	Stela 1: G 1201, <i>Wp-m-nfrt</i> Wepemnefer Berkeley, 6-19825 	Stela 2: G 1203, <i>Ks=(i)-nfr</i> Kanefer Berkeley, 6-19807 	Stela 3: G 1205, <i>Hufw-nht</i> Khufu-nakht Berkeley, 6-19786 	Stela 4: G 1207, <i>Nfr</i> Nefer Berkeley, 6-19801 	Stela 5: G 1223, <i>Ks=(i)-m-tp</i> Kaiemah Cairo, JE 37725 (57128) 	Stela 6: G 1225, <i>Nfrt-ibrt</i> Nefret-iaber Paris, Louvre, E 15591 	Stela 7: G 1227, <i>Sjt-hknt</i> Setji-hekenet, Cairo, JE 37726 (57127), Port Said, P 4082 
S 29 	(6) 	(1) 	(3) 	(5) 	(1) 	(5) 	(5) 
S 42 		(1) 					
S II4 	(3) 	(1) 		(1) 			(3) 
S II5 	(3) 	(1) 					(1) 
S II6 	(3) 	(1) 					(3) 
S II7 							
S 152 	(1) 						
T 3 	(1) 						
T 7 	(2) 						
T II (reduced) 	(1) 	(1) 	(1) 	(1) 	(1) 	(1) 	(1) 

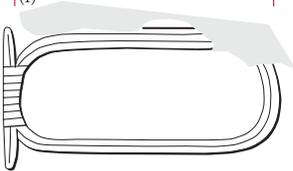
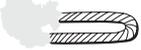
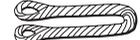
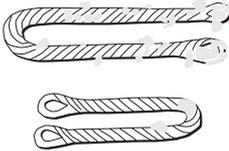
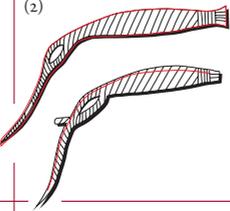
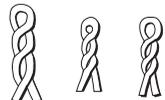
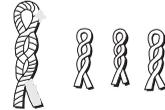
Stela 8: G 1235, <i>Ini</i> , Ini Cairo, JE 37727 (57127 bis) Port Said, P 4083	Stela 9: G 2120, <i>Sst-shntyw</i> Seshat-sekhentiu Boston, MFA, 06.1894	Stela 10: G 2135 (= VIIInn) Vienna, AS 7799	Stela 11: G 2155(?) (= VIIIInn) Kaninisut Vienna, AS 7447	Stela 12: G 4140, <i>Mrt-it-s</i> Merites Boston, MFA, 12.1510	Stela 13: G 4150 (= Is), <i>Iwnw</i> Iunu Hildesheim, 2145	Stela 14: G 4840 (= VIIIss) Wenshet Boston, MFA, 14-2-1	Stela 15: G 4860 (= VIIIIn) Vienna, AS 8459
(2) 	(13) 	(1) 	(3) 	(8) 	(1) 		(10) 
(1) 							
	(3) 	(1) 	(1) 				(3) 
	(3) 	(1) 					(2) 
	(5) 	(1) 					(3) 
	(3) 						
	(1) 						(2) 
	(2) 			(2) 			(1) 
(1) 	(2) 	(1) 	(1) 	(1) 	(1) 		(1) 

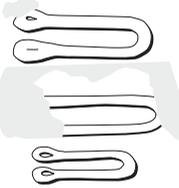
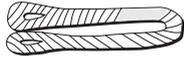
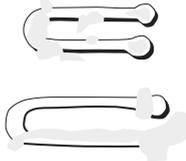
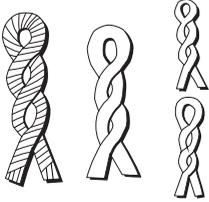
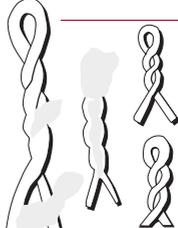
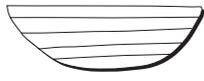
APPENDIX 2: HIEROGLYPHIC PALAEOGRAPHY

HIEROGLYPH	Stela 1: G 1201, <i>Wp-m-nfrt</i> Wepemnefret Berkeley, 6–19825 	Stela 2: G 1203, <i>Ks=(i)-nfr</i> Kanefer Berkeley, 6–19807 	Stela 3: G 1205, <i>Hufw-nht</i> Khufu-nakht Berkeley, 6–19786 	Stela 4: G 1207, <i>Nfr</i> Nefer Berkeley, 6–19801 	Stela 5: G 1223, <i>Ks=(i)-m-rh</i> Kaiemah Cairo, JE 37725 (57128) 	Stela 6: G 1225, <i>Nfrt-isbt</i> Nefret-iabet Paris, Louvre, E 15591 	Stela 7: G 1227, <i>Sjt-hknt</i> Setji-hekenet, Cairo, JE 37726 (57127), Port Said, P 4082 
T 28 							
T 34 							
T 35 							
U 1 		(i) 					
U 6 							
U 28 							(i) 
U 31 							
U 33 							
U 36 	(s) 						
V 1 	(i) 	(s) 	(4) 	(4) 	(s) 	(s) 	(s) 
V 2 							
V 4 	(2) 						(i) 

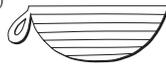
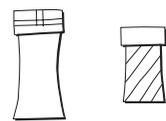
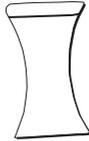
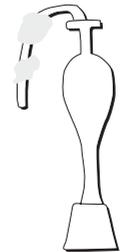
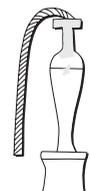
Stela 8: G 1235, <i>Ini</i> , Ini Cairo, JE 37727 (57127 bis) Port Said, P 4083 	Stela 9: G 2120, <i>Sst-shmyw</i> Seshat-sekhentiu Boston, MFA, o6.1894 	Stela 10: G 2135 (= VIIInn) Vienna, AS 7799 ?	Stela 11: G 2155(?) (= VIIIInn) Kaninisut Vienna, AS 7447 	Stela 12: G 4140, <i>Mrr-it-s</i> Meretites Boston, MFA, 12.1510 	Stela 13: G 4150 (= Is), <i>Iunu</i> Iunu Hildesheim, 2145 	Stela 14: G 4840 (= VIIIss) Wenshet Boston, MFA, 14-2-1 	Stela 15: G 4860 (= VIIIIn) Vienna, AS 8459 ?
							(i) 
	(i) 						
			(2) 				
	(2) 		(2) 				
				(i) 		(i) 	
	(i) 			(i) 			
	(i) 						(i) 
							
						(2) 	
(4) 		(2) 	(i) 	(4) 	(3) 		(3) 
							(i) 
(i) 				(i) 			

APPENDIX 2: HIEROGLYPHIC PALAEOGRAPHY

HIEROGLYPH	Stela 1: G 1201, <i>Wp-m-nfrt</i> Wepemnefret Berkeley, 6–19825 	Stela 2: G 1203, <i>Ks=(i)-nfr</i> Kanefer Berkeley, 6–19807 	Stela 3: G 1205, <i>Hwfw-nbt</i> Khufu-nakht Berkeley, 6–19786 	Stela 4: G 1207, <i>Nfr</i> Nefer Berkeley, 6–19801 	Stela 5: G 1223, <i>Ks=(i)-m-ḥ</i> Kaiemah Cairo, JE 37725 (57128) 	Stela 6: G 1225, <i>Nfrt-isbt</i> Nefret-iabet Paris, Louvre, E 15591 	Stela 7: G 1227, <i>Stj-bknt</i> Setji-hekenet, Cairo, JE 37726 (57127), Port Said, P 4082 
V 6 	(1) 	(1) 	(1) 	(1) 	(1) 	(1) 	(1) 
V 7 							
V 10 			(1) 				
V 12 		(1) 	(1) 			(1) 	
V 13 	(1) 		(1) 	(1) 		(1) 	(2) 
V 16 					(1) 		
V 23 	(2) 						(1) 
V 28 	(1) 	(1) 	(3) 	(4) 		(1) 	(4) 
V 30 	(1) 					(1) 	

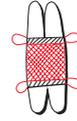
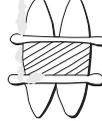
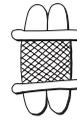
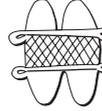
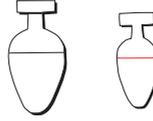
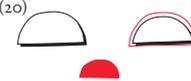
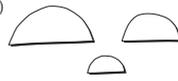
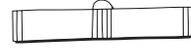
Stela 8: G 1235, <i>Ini</i> , Ini Cairo, JE 37727 (57127 bis) Port Said, P 4083 	Stela 9: G 2120, <i>Sst-shntyw</i> Seshat-sekhentiu Boston, MFA, 06.1894 	Stela 10: G 2135 (= VIIInn) Vienna, AS 7799 ?	Stela 11: G 2155(?) (= VIIIInn) Kaninisut Vienna, AS 7447 	Stela 12: G 4140, <i>Mrt-its</i> Merettes Boston, MFA, 12.1510 	Stela 13: G 4150 (= Is), <i>Iwnw</i> Iunu Hildesheim, 2145 	Stela 14: G 4840 (= VIIIss) Wenshet Boston, MFA, 14-2-1 	Stela 15: G 4860 (= VIIIIn) Vienna, AS 8459 ?
(1) 	(1) 		(1) 	(1) 	(1) 		(1) 
				(1) 			
(1) 	(2) 		(1) 	(3) 	(1) 		(2) 
					(3) 		
	(1) 				(1) 		(1) 
	(2) 	(1) 	(1) 	(5) 	(2) 		(8) 
(1-2) 			(1) 			(1) 	(2) 

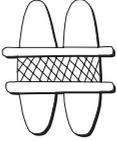
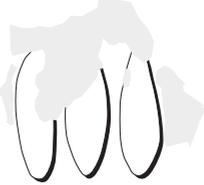
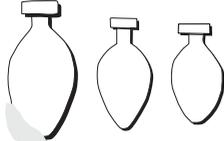
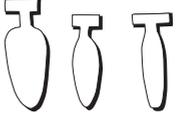
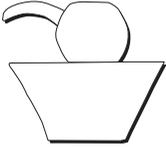
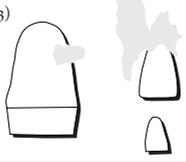
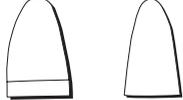
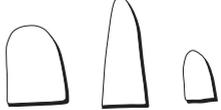
APPENDIX 2: HIEROGLYPHIC PALAEOGRAPHY

HIEROGLYPH	Stela 1: G 1201, <i>Wp-m-nfrt</i> Wepemnefret Berkeley, 6-19825 	Stela 2: G 1203, <i>Ks=(i)-nfr</i> Kanefer Berkeley, 6-19807 	Stela 3: G 1205, <i>Hwfw-nbt</i> Khufu-nakht Berkeley, 6-19786 	Stela 4: G 1207, <i>Nfr</i> Nefer Berkeley, 6-19801 	Stela 5: G 1223, <i>Ks=(i)-m-ḥ</i> Kaiemah Cairo, JE 37725 (57128) 	Stela 6: G 1225, <i>Nfrr-ibbt</i> Nefret-iabet Paris, Louvre, E 15591 	Stela 7: G 1227, <i>Stj-bknt</i> Setji-hekenet, Cairo, JE 37726 (57127), Port Said, P 4082 
V 3I 	(i) 	(i) 			(i) 		(i) 
W 2 	(i) 	(i) 	(2) 	(i) 		(i) 	(i) 
W 3 							(i) 
W 6 							
W 10 	(3) 						
W 12 	(i) 						(i) 
W 16 		(i) 	(i) 	(i) 		(i) 	
W 18 	(i) 						

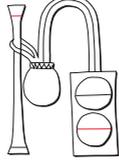
<p>Stela 8: G 1235, <i>Ini, Ini</i> Cairo, JE 37727 (57127 bis) Port Said, P 4083 </p>	<p>Stela 9: G 2120, <i>Sst-shntyw</i> Seshat-sekhentiu Boston, MFA, o6.1894 </p>	<p>Stela 10: G 2135 (= VIIInn) Vienna, AS 7799 ?</p>	<p>Stela 11: G 2155(?) (= VIIIInn) Kaninisut Vienna, AS 7447 </p>	<p>Stela 12: G 4140, <i>Mrt-its</i> Meretites Boston, MFA, 12.1510 </p>	<p>Stela 13: G 4150 (= Is), <i>Twnw</i> Iunu Hildesheim, 2145 </p>	<p>Stela 14: G 4840 (= VIIIss) Wenshet Boston, MFA, 14-2-1 </p>	<p>Stela 15: G 4860 (= VIIIIn) Vienna, AS 8459 ?</p>
<p>(2) </p>		<p>(i) </p>	<p>(i) </p>		<p>(i) </p>		<p>(2) </p>
	<p>(i) </p>			<p>(i) </p>			<p>(i) </p>
<p>(2) </p>	<p>(2) </p>		<p>(4) </p>				
	<p>(8) </p>		<p>(i) </p>	<p>(2) </p>			
	<p>(2) </p>			<p></p>	<p></p>		
	<p>(i) </p>			<p>(i) </p>			
	<p>(i) </p>						

APPENDIX 2: HIEROGLYPHIC PALAEOGRAPHY

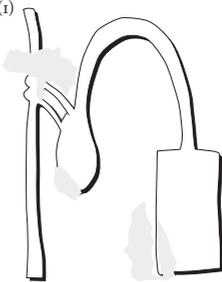
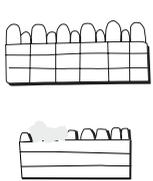
Hieroglyph	Stela 1: G 1201, <i>Wp-m-nfrt</i> Wepemnefret Berkeley, 6-19825 	Stela 2: G 1203, <i>Ks=(i)-nfr</i> Kanefer Berkeley, 6-19807 	Stela 3: G 1205, <i>Hwfw-nbt</i> Khufu-nakht Berkeley, 6-19786 	Stela 4: G 1207, <i>Nfr</i> Nefer Berkeley, 6-19801 	Stela 5: G 1223, <i>Ks=(i)-m-ḥ</i> Kaiemah Cairo, JE 37725 (57128) 	Stela 6: G 1225, <i>Nfrt-ibbt</i> Nefret-iabet Paris, Louvre, E 15591 	Stela 7: G 1227, <i>Sjt-bknt</i> Setji-hekenet, Cairo, JE 37726 ₆ (57127), Port Said, P 4082 
W 21 	(1) 	(1) 	(1) 	(1) 		(1) 	
W 22 	(1) 	(1) 			(1) 	(2) 	(1) 
W 24 							
W 62 							
W 69 	(1) 		(1) 	(1) 			(1) 
X 1 	(20) 	(2) 	(5) 	(5) 	(2) 	(8) 	(9) 
X 2 	(2) 			(1) 	(1) 	(1) 	(1) 
X 6 							
Y 2 	(1) 	(3) 					

Stela 8: G 1235, <i>Ini</i> , Ini Cairo, JE 37727 (57127 bis) Port Said, P 4083 	Stela 9: G 2120, <i>Sst-shtywy</i> Seshat-sekhentiu Boston, MFA, o6.1894 	Stela 10: G 2135 (= VIIIn) Vienna, AS 7799 ?	Stela 11: G 2155(?) (= VIIIss) Kaninisut Vienna, AS 7447 	Stela 12: G 4140, <i>Mrt-its</i> Meretites Boston, MFA, 12.1510 	Stela 13: G 4150 (= Is), <i>Tmw</i> Iunu Hildesheim, 2145 	Stela 14: G 4840 (= VIIIss) Wenshet Boston, MFA, 14-2-1 	Stela 15: G 4860 (= VIIIIn) Vienna, AS 8459 ?
	(i) 	(i) 		(i) 	(i) 		(i) 
(i) 	(i) 		(i) 	(4) 	(i) 		(4) 
	(i) 			(3) 	(i) 		
			(i) 				
(i) 				(i) 	(i) 		
(5) 	(17) 	(3) 	(8) 	(26) 	(6) 	(4) 	(16) 
(i) 	(3) 		(i) 	(9) 	(i) 		(6) 
	(4) 			(3) 			(3) 
							(i) 

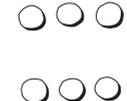
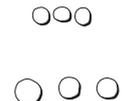
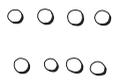
APPENDIX 2: HIEROGLYPHIC PALAEOGRAPHY

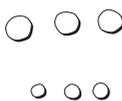
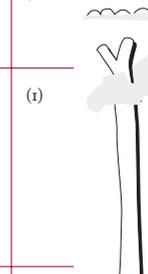
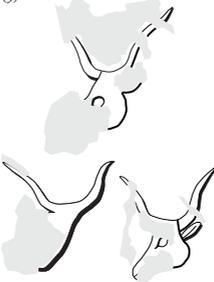
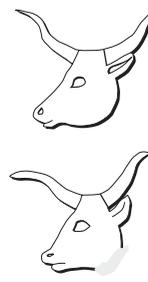
Hieroglyph	Stela 1: G 1201, <i>Wp-m-nfrt</i> Wepemnefret Berkeley, 6-19825 	Stela 2: G 1203, <i>Ks-(i)-nfr</i> Kanefer Berkeley, 6-19807 	Stela 3: G 1205, <i>Hufiw-nht</i> Khufu-nakht Berkeley, 6-19786 	Stela 4: G 1207, <i>Nfr</i> Nefer Berkeley, 6-19801 	Stela 5: G 1223, <i>Ks-(i)-m-ḥ</i> Kaiemah Cairo, JE 37725 (57128) 	Stela 6: G 1225, <i>Nfrt-ibbt</i> Nefret-iabet Paris, Louvre, E 15591 	Stela 7: G 1227, <i>Stj-bknt</i> Setji-hekenet, Cairo, JE 37726 (57127), Port Said, P 4082 
Y 3 	(1) 						
Y 5 							
Z 1 						(1) 	
Z 8 							
Aa 1 	(2) 	(1) 	(3) 	(1) 		(1) 	(1) 
Aa 3 							(1) 
Aa —		(1) 					
Aa 14 							
	(1) 						
	(1) 			(2) 			
		(1) 	(4) 	(3) 		(1) 	

APPENDIX 2: HIEROGLYPHIC PALAEOGRAPHY

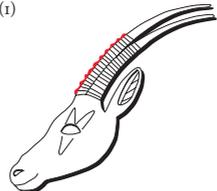
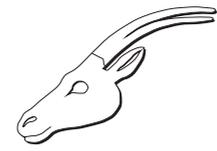
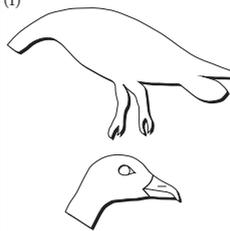
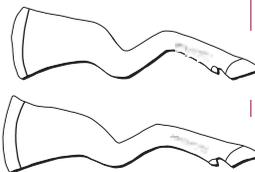
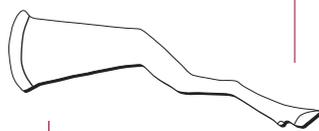
Stela 8: G 1235, <i>Ini</i> , Ini Cairo, JE 37727 (57127 bis) Port Said, P 4083 	Stela 9: G 2120, <i>Sst-shntyw</i> Seshat-sekhentiu Boston, MFA, 06.1894 	Stela 10: G 2135 (= VIIInn) Vienna, AS 7799 ?	Stela 11: G 2155(?) (= VIIIInn) Kaninisut Vienna, AS 7447 	Stela 12: G 4140, <i>Mrt-its</i> Meretites Boston, MFA, 12.1510 	Stela 13: G 4150 (= Is), <i>Twnw</i> Iunu Hildesheim, 2145 	Stela 14: G 4840 (= VIIIss) Wensher Boston, MFA, 14-2-1 	Stela 15: G 4860 (= VIIIIn) Vienna, AS 8459 ?
							
							
							
							
							
							
							
							
							

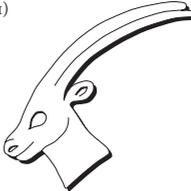
APPENDIX 2: HIEROGLYPHIC PALAEOGRAPHY

HIEROGLYPH	Stela 1: G 1201, <i>Wp-m-nfrt</i> Wepemnefret Berkeley, 6-19825 	Stela 2: G 1203, <i>Ks(i)-nfr</i> Kanefer Berkeley, 6-19807 	Stela 3: G 1205, <i>Hwfw-nbt</i> Khufu-nakht Berkeley, 6-19786 	Stela 4: G 1207, <i>Nfr</i> Nefer Berkeley, 6-19801 	Stela 5: G 1223, <i>Ks(i)-m-ḥ</i> Kaiemah Cairo, JE 37725 (57128) 	Stela 6: G 1225, <i>Nfrt-ibbt</i> Nefret-iabet Paris, Louvre, E 15591 	Stela 7: G 1227, <i>Stj-bknt</i> Setji-hekenet, Cairo, JE 37726 (57127), Port Said, P 4082 
		(2) 	(4) 	(4) 		(1) 	
		(3) 	(3) 	(4) 	(4) 	(2) 	
		(3) 	(4) 	(4) 	(4) 	(3) 	
		(3) 	(2) 	(4) 	(4) 	(2) 	
			(1) 	(1) 		(1) 	(1) 
		(2) 	(6) 	(5) 		(8) 	
			(1) 	(2) 			
							
Uncertain							
Offerings	(i) 	(i) 	(i) 		(i) 	(i) 	(i) 

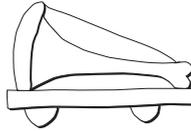
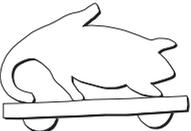
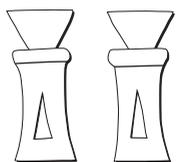
Stela 8: G 1235, <i>Ini</i> , Ini Cairo, JE 37727 (57127 bis) Port Saïd, P 4083 	Stela 9: G 2120, <i>Sšst-shntyw</i> Seshat-sekhentiu Boston, MFA, o6.1894 	Stela 10: G 2135 (= VIIInn) Vienna, ÄS 7799 ?	Stela 11: G 2155(?) (= VIIIInn) Kaninisut Vienna, ÄS 7447 	Stela 12: G 4140, <i>Mrt-hts</i> Meretites Boston, MFA, 12.1510 	Stela 13: G 4150 (= Is), <i>Iwnw</i> Iunu Hildesheim, 2145 	Stela 14: G 4840 (= VIIIss) Wenshet Boston, MFA, 14-2-1 	Stela 15: G 4860 (= VIIIIn) Vienna, ÄS 8459 ?
(4) 		(1) 		(4) 	(1) 		
(3) 		(2)  sic?	(1) 	(4) 	(3) 		
(3) 		(1) 	(1) 	(3) 	(3) 		
(2) 			(1) 	(3) 	(3) 		
	(1) 		(1) 	(1)  (?)	(1) 		
(3) 	(10) 	(2) 		(9?) 	(6) 		(6) 
	(2) 						(3?) 
					(1) 		(3?) 
							(1) 
(1) 	(3) 			(2) 	(1) 		(2) 

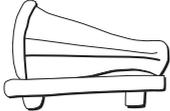
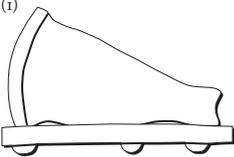
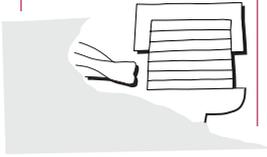
APPENDIX 2: HIEROGLYPHIC PALAEOGRAPHY

Hieroglyph	Stela 1: G 1201, <i>Wp-m-nfrt</i> Wepemnefret Berkeley, 6-19825 	Stela 2: G 1203, <i>Ks=(i)-nfr</i> Kanefer Berkeley, 6-19807 	Stela 3: G 1205, <i>Hwfw-nbt</i> Khufu-nakht Berkeley, 6-19786 	Stela 4: G 1207, <i>Nfr</i> Nefer Berkeley, 6-19801 	Stela 5: G 1223, <i>Ks=(i)-m-ḥ</i> Kaiemah Cairo, JE 37725 (57128) 	Stela 6: G 1225, <i>Nfrt-isbt</i> Nefret-iabet Paris, Louvre, E 15591 	Stela 7: G 1227, <i>Sti-bkent</i> Setji-hekenet, Cairo, JE 37726, (57127), Port Said, P 4082 
Offerings							
Offerings	(i) 	(i) 	(i) 		(i) 	(i) 	
Offerings						(i) 	
Offerings		(2) 	(2) 			(i) 	(2) 
Offerings		(i) 	(2) 			(i) 	

<p>Stela 8: G 1235, <i>Ini</i>, Ini Cairo, JE 37727 (57127 bis) Port Said, P 4083 </p>	<p>Stela 9: G 2120, <i>Sst-shtytw</i> Seshar-sekhentiu Boston, MFA, o6.1894 </p>	<p>Stela 10: G 2135 (= VIIInn) Vienna, AS 7799 ?</p>	<p>Stela 11: G 2155(?) (= VIIIInn) Kaninisut Vienna, AS 7447 </p>	<p>Stela 12: G 4140, <i>Mrt-its</i> Meretites Boston, MFA, 12.1510 </p>	<p>Stela 13: G 4150 (= Is), <i>twnw</i> Iunu Hildesheim, 2145 </p>	<p>Stela 14: G 4840 (= VIIIss) Wenshet Boston, MFA, 14-2-1 </p>	<p>Stela 15: G 4860 (= VIIIIn) Vienna, AS 8459 ?</p>
	(i) 			(i) 			(i) 
(i) 	(i) 			(i) 	(i) 		(i) 
				(i) 			
	(5)     			(6)     			(4)    
				(2)  			

APPENDIX 2: HIEROGLYPHIC PALAEOGRAPHY

Hieroglyph	Stela 1: G 1201, <i>Wp-m-nfrt</i> Wepemnefret Berkeley, 6-19825 	Stela 2: G 1203, <i>Ks=(i)-nfr</i> Kanefer Berkeley, 6-19807 	Stela 3: G 1205, <i>Hwfw-nbt</i> Khufu-nakht Berkeley, 6-19786 	Stela 4: G 1207, <i>Nfr</i> Nefer Berkeley, 6-19801 	Stela 5: G 1223, <i>Ks=(i)-m-ḳ</i> Kaiemah Cairo, JE 37725 (57128) 	Stela 6: G 1225, <i>Nfrt-ibbt</i> Nefret-iabet Paris, Louvre, E 15591 	Stela 7: G 1227, <i>Sti-bkent</i> Setji-hekenet, Cairo, JE 37726, (57127), Port Said, P 4082 
Offerings			(1) 				(1) 
Offerings						(1) 	
Offerings							(1) 
Offerings			(2) 				

<p>Stela 8: G 1235, <i>Ini</i>, Ini Cairo, JE 37727 (57127 bis) Port Said, P 4083 </p>	<p>Stela 9: G 2120, <i>Sst-shntyw</i> Seshar-sekhentiu Boston, MFA, o6.1894 </p>	<p>Stela 10: G 2135 (= VIIInn) Vienna, AS 7799 ?</p>	<p>Stela 11: G 2155(?) (= VIIIInn) Kaninisut Vienna, AS 7447  ?</p>	<p>Stela 12: G 4140, <i>Mrt-ht-s</i> Meretites Boston, MFA 12.1510 </p>	<p>Stela 13: G 4150 (= Is), <i>Iwnw</i> Iunu Hildesheim, 2145 </p>	<p>Stela 14: G 4840 (= VIIIss) Wenshet Boston, MFA, 14-2-1 </p>	<p>Stela 15: G 4860 (= VIIIIn) Vienna, AS 8459 ?</p>
<p>(1) </p>	<p>(2) </p>				<p>(1) </p>		
	<p>(1) </p>						
<p>(1) </p>	<p>(1) </p>	<p>(1) </p>			<p>(1) </p>		
	<p>(1) </p>			<p>(1) </p>			

APPENDIX 3

Selected Linen Lists



Fig. 263. Helwan stela of Hepet-khenmet. Z.Y. Saad, *Ceiling Stelae in Second Dynasty Tombs from the Excavations at Helwan* ASAE Supplément, Cahier 21 (Cairo, 1957), pp. 5–7, pl. 2. Archaic Period.

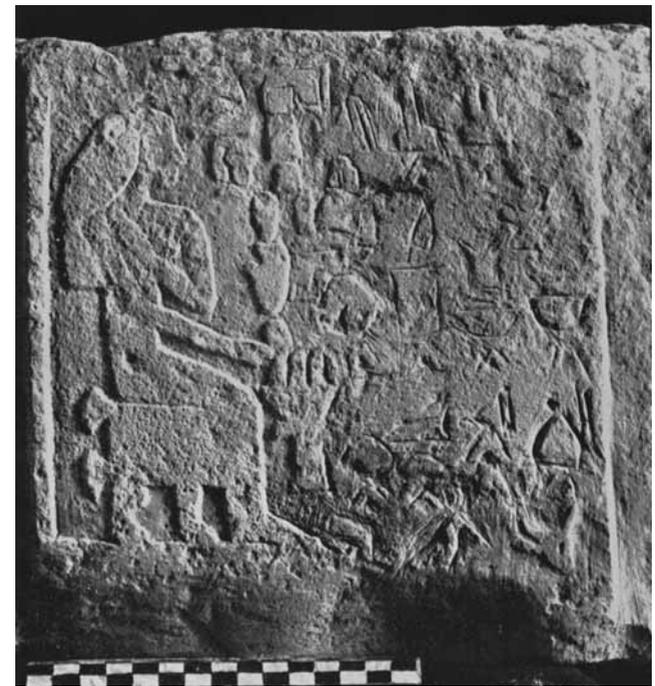


Fig. 265. Helwan stela of Duat. Saad, *Ceiling Stelae*, pp. 12–13, pl. 6. Archaic Period.

Junker discussed the linen list in connection with his discovery of the slab stela of Iunu (g 4150; Junker, *Giza* 1, pp. 177–78), but the most extensive attempts to interpret the linen list remain those of W.S. Smith in 1935 (“The Old Kingdom Linen List,” *ZÄS* 71 [1935], pp. 134–49) and E. Edel in 1975 (“Beiträge zum ägyptischen Lexikon VI,” *ZÄS* 102 [1975], pp. 13–30). See also the discussions by P. Posener-Kriéger, *Les Archives du temple funéraire de Néferirkarê-Kakai* 2, BdE 65/2 (Cairo, 1976), p. 341ff., with references to G. Jéquier, *Frises d’objets des sarcophages du Moyen Empire* (Cairo, 1921). For a recent compilation of archaic examples of the *mnht* sign, see J. Kahl, *Das System der ägyptischen Hieroglyphenschrift in der 0.–3. Dynastie* (Wiesbaden, 1994), p. 710ff.

Smith’s list of all monuments known to him which bore linen lists has been augmented below, with updated references and additional examples. The stelae and related monuments are presented in roughly chronological order.



Fig. 264. Helwan stela of Nisu-heqet. Saad, *Ceiling Stelae*, pp. 8–10, pl. 4. Archaic Period.

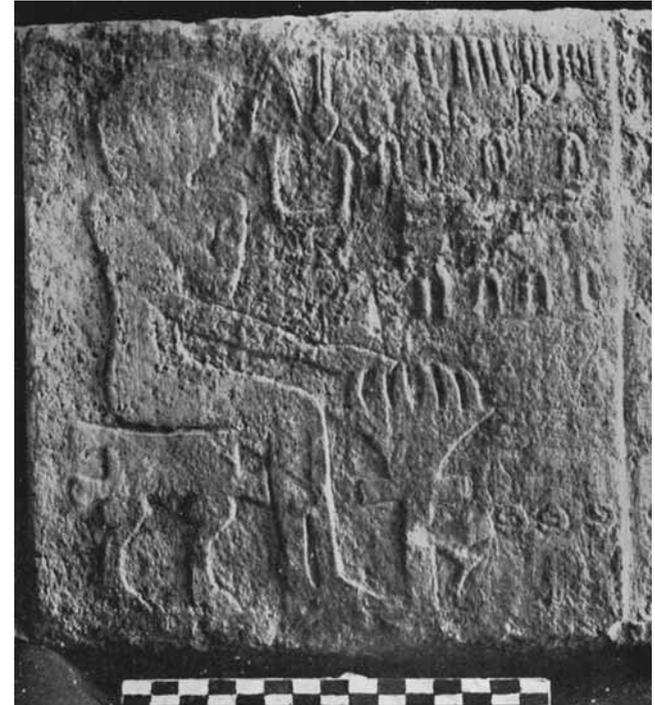


Fig. 266. Helwan stela of Nefer-merika. Saad, *Ceiling Stelae*, pp. 14–15, pl. 7. Archaic Period.



Fig. 267. Helwan stela of Khu-itef. Saad, *Ceiling Stelae*, pp. 15-17, pl. 9. Archaic Period.



Fig. 268. Helwan stela of Heken. Saad, *Ceiling Stelae*, pp. 17-19, pl. 10. Archaic Period.



Fig. 269. Helwan stela of Ka-khet. Saad, *Ceiling Stelae*, pp. 20-22, pl. 12. Archaic Period.



Fig. 270. Helwan stela of Nisi-neith. Saad, *Ceiling Stelae*, pp. 24-25, pl. 14. Archaic Period.



Fig. 271. Helwan stela of Shepses-kau. Saad, *Ceiling Stelae*, pp. 26-28, pl. 15. Archaic Period.



Fig. 272. Helwan stela of Irimi. Saad, *Ceiling Stelae*, pp. 31-33, pl. 18. Archaic Period.

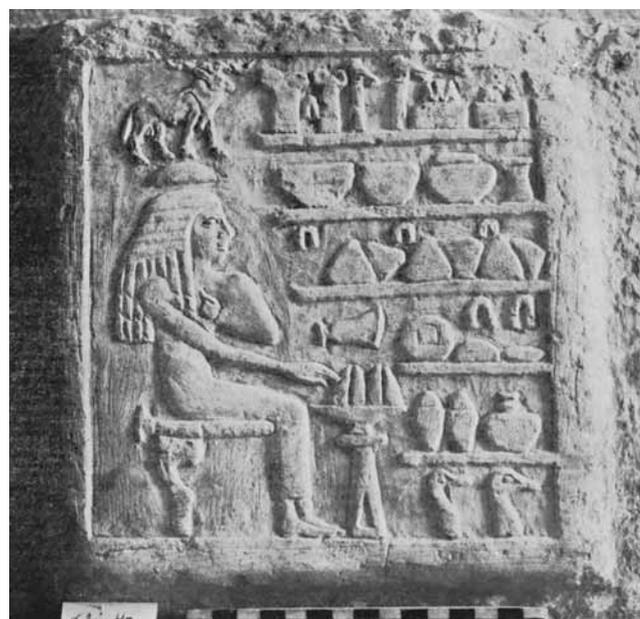


Fig. 273. Helwan stela of Bat. Saad, *Ceiling Stelae*, pp. 34-36, pl. 19. Archaic Period.



Fig. 275. Helwan stela of Nisu-hedjet. Saad, *Ceiling Stelae*, pp. 38-39, pl. 22. Archaic Period.



Fig. 274. Helwan stela of Wehem-rud. Saad, *Ceiling Stelae*, pp. 36-37, pl. 21. Archaic Period.



Fig. 276. Helwan stela of Iu-sendjet. Saad, *Ceiling Stelae*, pp. 39-41, pl. 23. Archaic Period.

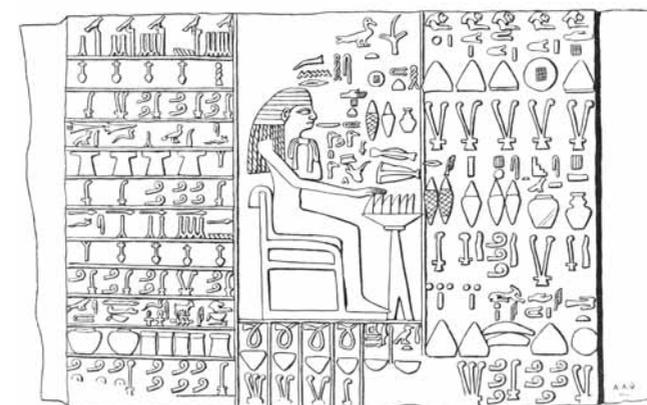


Fig. 277. Tablet of *Sehefner* from Saqqara tomb 2146 E, apparently built into a mud-brick false-door; Egyptian Museum, Cairo. Quibell, *Archaic Mastabas* (Cairo, 1923), p. 10, pls. 26-27; Smith, *HESPOK*, pl. 32a. Archaic Period.

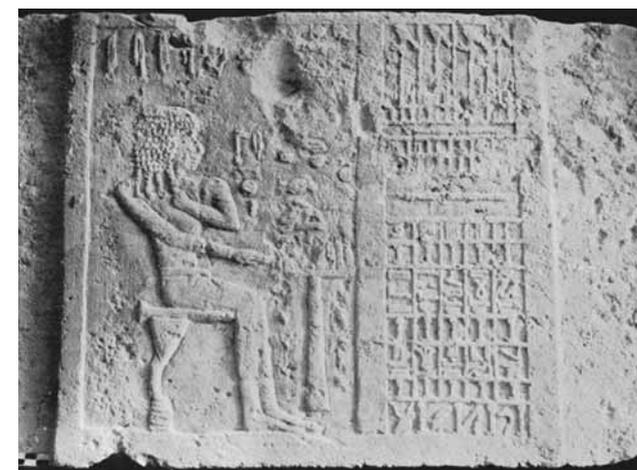


Fig. 278. Helwan stela of Sisi. Saad, *Ceiling Stelae*, pp. 46-48, pl. 27; Kahl, Kloth, and Zimmermann, *Die Inschriften der 3. Dynastie*, pp. 178-79. Dynasty 3.

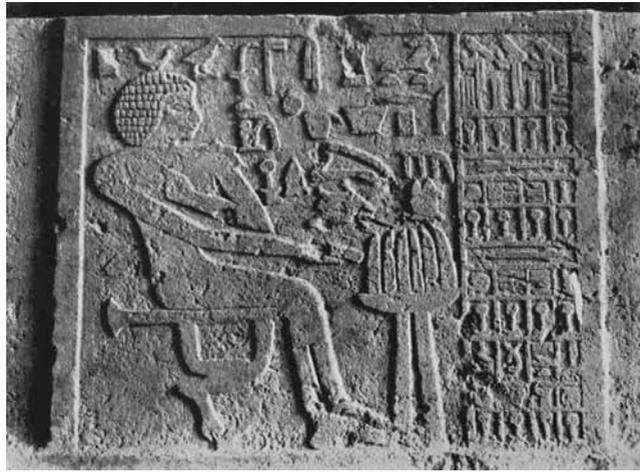


Fig. 279. Helwan stela of Wepu. Saad, *Ceiling Stelae*, pp. 48–50, pl. 29; Kahl, Kloth, and Zimmermann, *Die Inschriften der 3. Dynastie*, pp. 176–77. Dynasty 3.

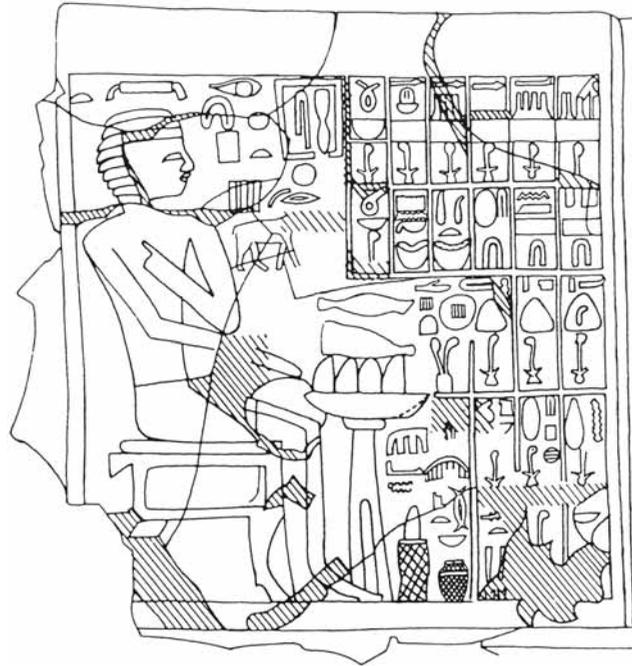


Fig. 281. Stela from Saqqara tomb S 3036 x. Kaplony, *IÄF3*, pl. 138, fig. 833; idem, *Kleine Beiträge zu den Inschriften der ägyptischen Frühzeit* (Wiesbaden, 1966), pl. 4 (833); Kahl, Kloth, and Zimmermann, *Die Inschriften der 3. Dynastie*, pp. 182–83. Dynasty 3.



Fig. 283. Raised relief slab stela. Brooklyn Museum of Art 37.1348 E. Kaplony, *IÄF3*, pl. 139, fig. 838; idem, *Kleine Beiträge*, pl. 5; T.G.H. James, *Corpus of Hieroglyphic Inscriptions in the Brooklyn Museum 1²* (Brooklyn, 1974), pl. 17 (31); Kahl, Kloth, and Zimmermann, *Die Inschriften der 3. Dynastie*, pp. 222–23. Dynasty 3.



Fig. 280. Helwan stela of Nefer-setesh. Saad, *Ceiling Stelae*, pp. 51–53, pl. 30; Kahl, Kloth, and Zimmermann, *Die Inschriften der 3. Dynastie*, pp. 172–75. Dynasty 3.

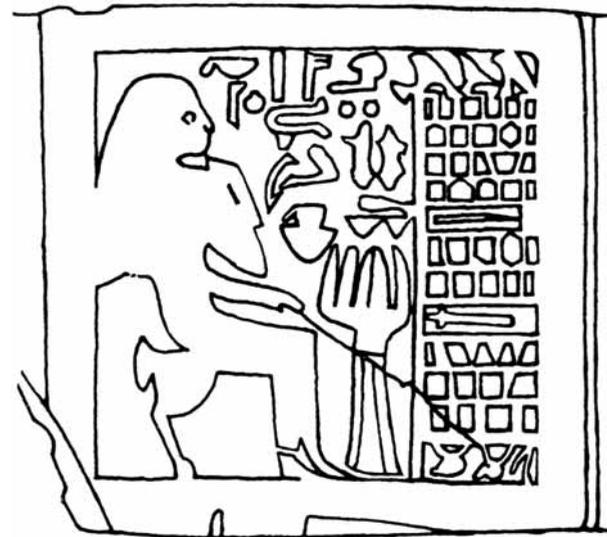


Fig. 282. Stela from Saqqara tomb S 3073 x. Kaplony, *IÄF3*, pl. 139, fig. 835; idem, *Kleine Beiträge*, pl. 4 (835); Kahl, Kloth, and Zimmermann, *Die Inschriften der 3. Dynastie*, pp. 200–201. Dynasty 3.

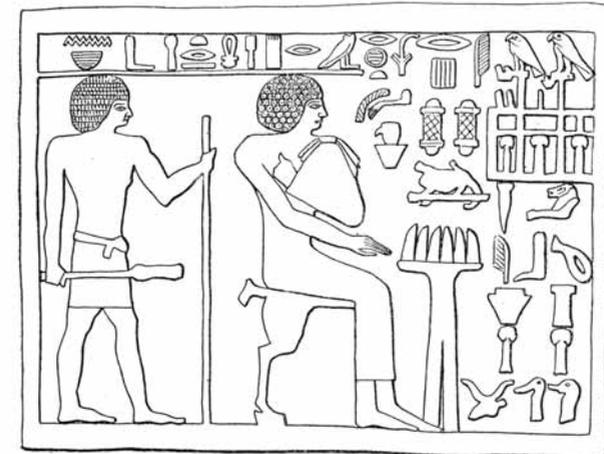


Fig. 284. Tablet of Ib-neb; Rijksmuseum van Oudheden, Leiden, AM 10. Weill, *Ile et IIIe Dynasties* p. 220; Capart, *Recueil de Monuments 1* (Brussels, 1902), pl. 1; H.D. Schneider and M.J. Raven, *De Egyptische Oudheid* (Leiden, 1981), p. 46, cat. 23; Vandier, *Manuel 1*, p. 753, fig. 497; Kahl, Kloth, and Zimmermann, *Die Inschriften der 3. Dynastie*, pp. 218–19. Dynasty 3.



Fig. 285. Tablet of Djefa-nisut; formerly in Munich, Von Bissing Collection; Von Bissing-Bruckmann, *Denkmäler Aegyptischer Skulptur*, pl. 14; now Kestner-Museum, Hanover: 1935.200.46. I. Woldering, *Gods, Men & Pharaohs* (New York, 1967), p. 42, pl. 17; R. Drenkhahn, *Ägyptische Reliefs im Kestner-Museum Hannover* (Hanover, 1989), cat. 3, pp. 22–25; W. Seipel, *Bilder für die Ewigkeit* (Konstanz, 1983), cat. 27, pp. 42–43; Vandier, *Manuel* 1, p. 755, fig. 499; Kahl, Kloth, and Zimmermann, *Die Inschriften der 3. Dynastie*, pp. 216–17. Dynasty 3.



Fig. 286. Tablet fragment, Egyptian Museum, Cairo, JE 46436 = SR 15351; mentioned by Junker, *Giza* 1, p. 177; gift of Aly Baghat, July 24, 1919. Archaic Period–Dynasty 3.

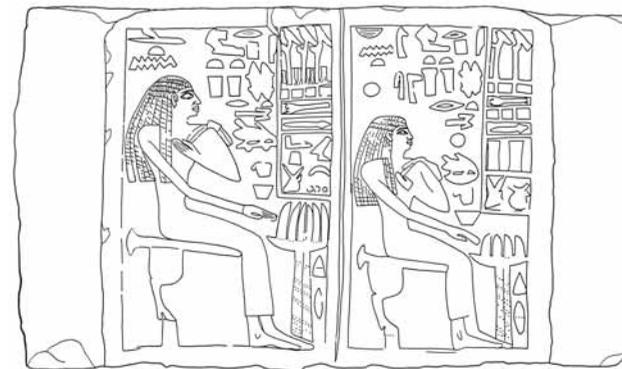


Fig. 287. Double stela of Nytwa and Nytneb, Saqqara; Musée du Louvre, Paris E 27157. A. Moret, *Revue Egyptologique* (Jan., 1919), pp. 1–5, pl. 2; C. Ziegler, *Stèles peintures et reliefs égyptiens de l’Ancien Empire* (Paris, 1990), cat. 23, pp. 157–60. Dynasty 2–3.

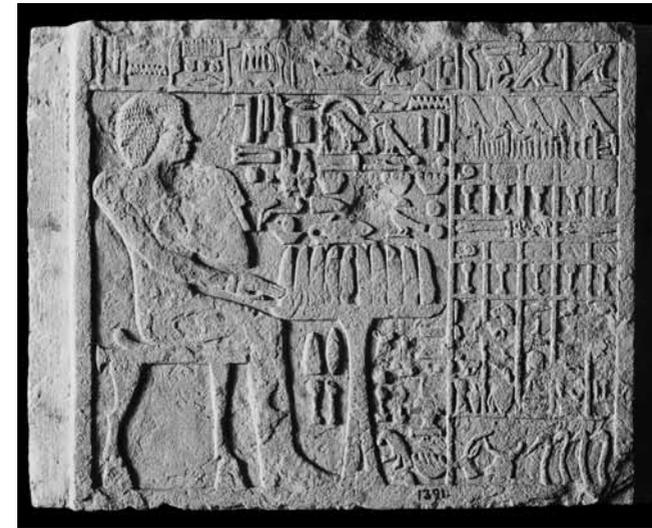


Fig. 288. Tablet of Itisen/Ir(?)en-sen; Cairo, CG 1391; Borchardt, *Denkmäler des Alten Reiches* 1 (CG), p. 52, pl. 13. Archaic Period–Dynasty 3.



Fig. 289. Tablet of Niankhtet/Tetenankh; Liverpool Museum; Weill, *IIe et IIIe Dynasties*, p. 226; Vandier, *Manuel* 1, p. 754, fig. 498. Archaic Period–Dynasty 3 (see also above, Chapter 4, fig. 215).



Fig. 290. Tablet of Wep-ka(?) set over a stone drum in the mud-brick false door of a small Saqqara mastaba (not found in situ); Quibell, *Archaic Mastabas*, p. 10, pl. 28.1. Archaic Period–Dynasty 3.



Fig. 291. Stela of Imet from Saqqara, found by Zaki Saad. Sketch watercolor painted by Joseph Lindon Smith for William Stevenson Smith in 1938–39, housed in the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston. See W.S. Smith, *The Art and Architecture of Ancient Egypt*, 2nd edition, rev. by W.K. Simpson (Harmondsworth, 1981), p. 49, fig. 32; third edition (New Haven and London, 1998), p. 22, fig. 32; this watercolor is referred to by E. Brovanski, “An Inventory List from ‘Covington’s Tomb’ and Nomenclature for Furniture in the Old Kingdom,” in P. Der Manuelian, ed., *Studies in Honor of William Kelly Simpson 1* (Boston, 1996), p. 121–22, n. 26. Archaic Period–Dynasty 3.



Fig. 292. Stone-lined niche of Kha-bau-sokar; Egyptian Museum, Cairo, CG 1385. Murray, *Saqqara Mastabas*, pl. 1; L. Borchardt, *Denkmäler des Alten Reiches* 1, CG (Berlin, 1937), pp. 44–47, pl. 10; Smith, *HESPOK*, pl. 36a (detail); Kahl, Kloth, and Zimmermann, *Die Inschriften der 3. Dynastie*, pp. 188–93. Dynasty 3.

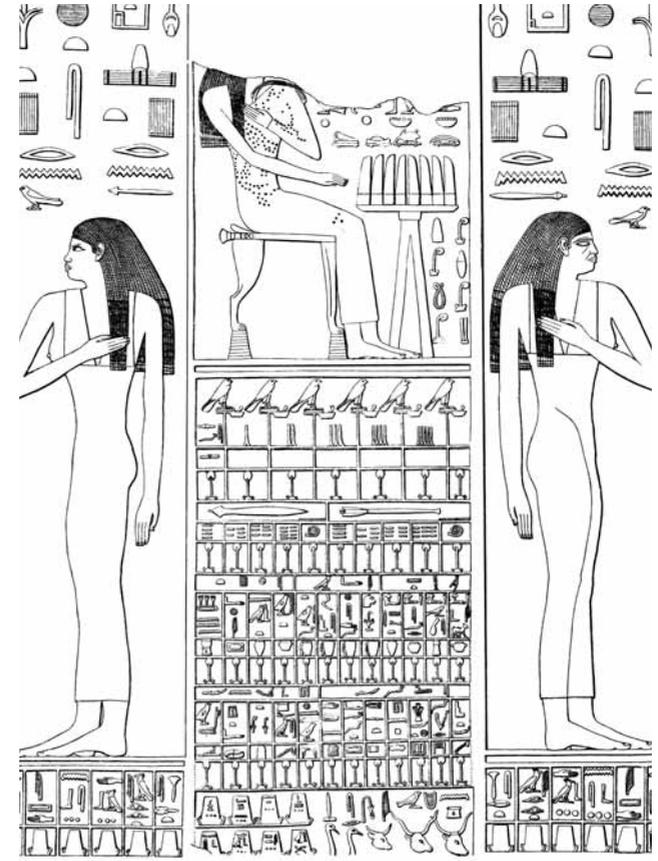


Fig. 293. Stone-lined niche of Hathor-nefer-hetep, wife of Kha-bau-sokar; Egyptian Museum, Cairo, CG 1386–87. Murray, *Saqqara Mastabas*, pl. 2; Borchardt, *Denkmäler des Alten Reiches* 1, pp. 48, pl. 11; Kahl, Kloth, and Zimmermann, *Die Inschriften der 3. Dynastie*, pp. 1794–97. Dynasty 3.

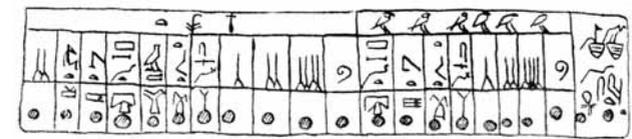


Fig. 294. Ivory tablet from Step Pyramid of Sekhemkhet at Saqqara; Egyptian Museum, Cairo, JE 92679. Z. Goneim, *Horus Sekhem-Khet* (Cairo, 1957), pl. 65b; W. Helck, “Das Kleidertäfelchen aus der Pyramid des *Sym-h.t.*,” *WZKM* 54 (1957), p. 76; Kahl, Kloth, and Zimmermann, *Die Inschriften der 3. Dynastie*, p. 134. Dynasty 3, reign of Sekhemkhet.

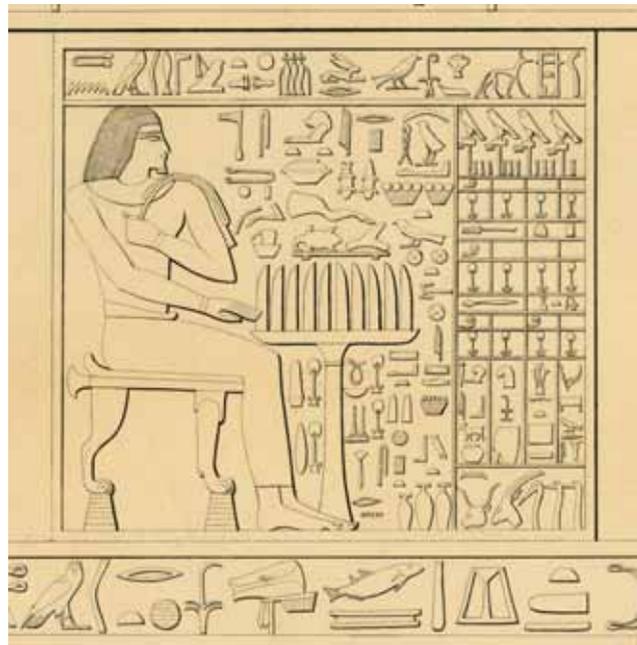


Fig. 295. False door tablet of Metjen from Saqqara cruciform chapel. Lepsius, *Denkmaeler II*, pl. 3. Dynasty 4, reign of Snefru.



Fig. 297 (see below).



Fig. 299. False door tablet of Rahotep from Meidum stone-lined cruciform chapel; British Museum, 1242. Petrie, *Medum*, pl. 13; Budge, *Egyptian Sculptures in the British Museum*, pl. 5; Smith, *HESPOK*, pl. 33a; James, *HTBM 1*, 2nd ed. (London, 1961), p. 1, pl. 1; H.S. Baker, *Furniture in the Ancient World* (New York, 1966), p. 54, fig. 50; Harpur, *The Tombs of Nefermaat and Rahotep*, p. 109, fig. 98, pls. 65, 71. Dynasty 4.

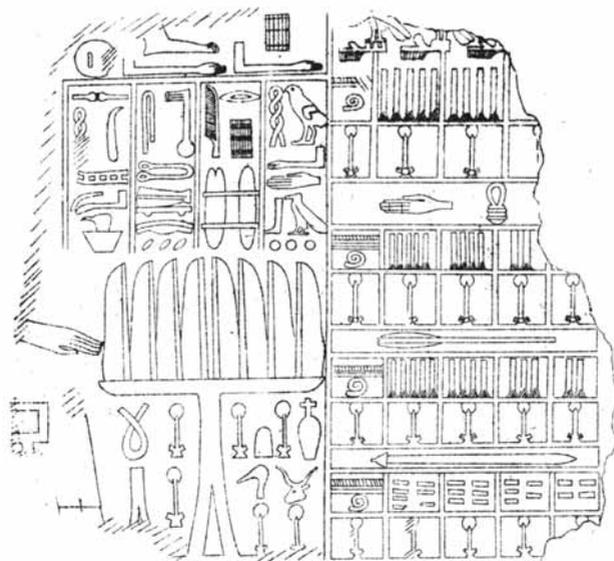
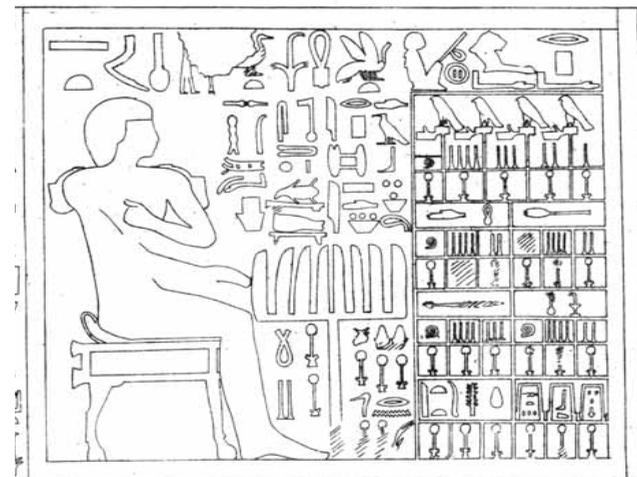


Fig. 296. False door tablet of Nefermaat at Meidum, cut in the shallow niche blocking of the entrance to the stone-lined niche when the chapel was reconstructed with a mud-brick addition. Egyptian Museum, Cairo. Petrie, *Medum*, pl. 16; Y. Harpur, *The Tombs of Nefermaat and Rahotep at Maidum* (Oxford, 2001), p. 39, fig. 43. Dynasty 4, reign of Snefru.



Figs. 297-98. False door tablet of Nefermaat from Meidum, at back of stone-lined niche; Musée du Louvre, Paris B 78. Petrie, *Medum*, pl. 20; C. Ziegler, *Stèles, peintures et reliefs égyptiens de l'Ancien Empire* (Paris, 1990), cat. 27, pp. 172-75 (reproducing Petrie's drawing of the then complete false door on p. 174); Y. Harpur, *The Tombs of Nefermaat and Rahotep at Maidum*, p. 69, fig. 78, pl. 10. Dynasty 4, reign of Snefru.



Fig. 300. Tablet of Isy, Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek, Copenhagen, AIN 896a, probably from Saqqara. M. Mogenson, *La Glyptothèque Ny Carlsberg*, pl. 93; M. Jørgensen, *Catalogue. Egypt I (3000-1550 B.C.)*, Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek (Copenhagen, 1996), cat. 11, pp. 48-49, and two additional fragments, AIN 896b-c, pp. 50-51. Probably Dynasty 4.

APPENDIX 3: SELECTED LINEN LISTS

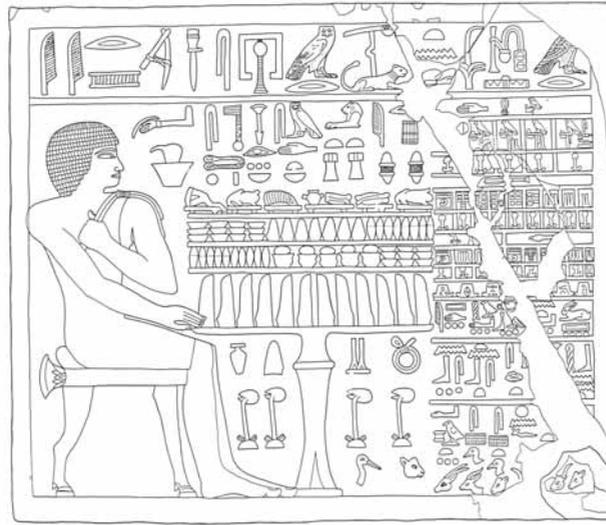


Fig. 301. False door tablet of Mery; Musée du Louvre, Paris, B 49, a–c (Saqqara north). Weill, *Ile et IIIe Dynasties* p. 300; C. Ziegler, *Stèles, peintures et reliefs égyptiens de l’Ancien Empire*, cat. 17, pp. 108–111. Dynasty 4.

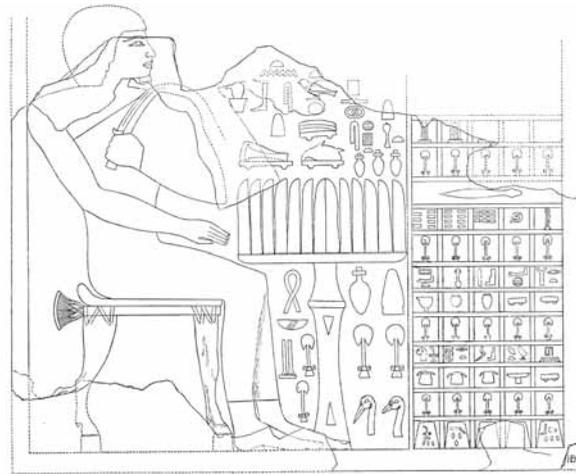


Fig. 302. Giza false door tablet from g 4260 = IIn. Junker, *Giza* 1, p. 186, fig. 36 (missing left-hand extension) and pl. 29a. Dynasty 4.



Fig. 304 (see below).

- Wepemnefret, g 1201; see the present study, stela 1.
- Kanefer, g 1203; see the present study, stela 2.
- Khufu-nakht, g 1205; see the present study, stela 3.
- Nefer, g 1207; see the present study, stela 4.
- Kaiemah, g 1223; see the present study, stela 5.
- Nefret-iabtet, g 1225; see the present study, stela 6.
- Setji-hekenet, g 1227; see the present study, stela 7.
- Ini, g 1235; see the present study, stela 8.
- Seshat-sekhentiu, g 2120; see the present study, stela 9.
- g 2135 = Junker VIIIn; see the present study, stela 10.
- Kaninisut(?), g 2155 = g 4870; see the present study, stela 11.
- Meretites, g 4140; see the present study, stela 12.
- Iunu, g 4150; see the present study, stela 13.

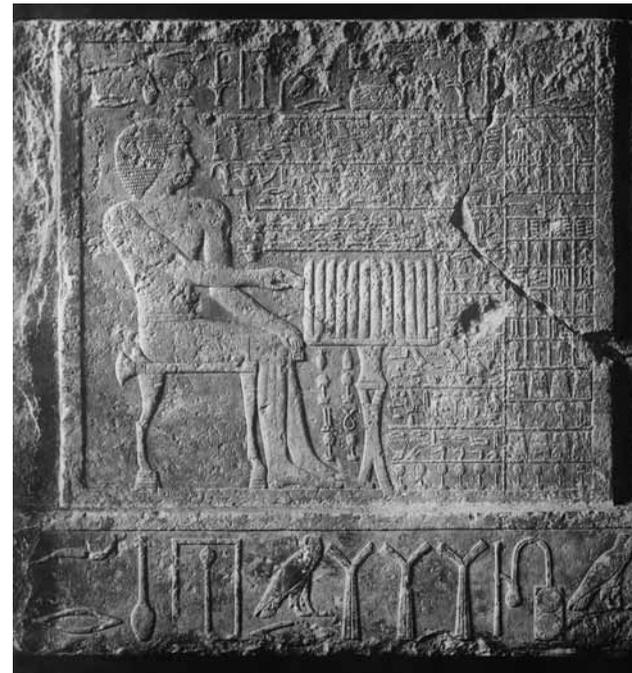


Fig. 303. Giza false door tablet of Nefer from g 2110; Museo Barracco, Rome, CMB 1. Weill, *Ile et IIIe Dynasties*, pl. 4; Reisner, *Giza Necropolis* 1, pl. 31c; Vandier, *Manuel* 1, p. 764, fig. 507; P. Piacentini, *Les Scribes dans la société égyptienne de l’Ancien Empire* 1 (Paris, 2002), pp. 96–99. Dynasty 4.



Figs. 304–305. Giza false door tablet of Meretites, g 7650. Above: June 30, 1929. HU–MFA Expedition photograph, Mohammedani Ibrahim, b 6858. Below: April 22, 1999. PDM, 99.8.22. Dynasty 4.

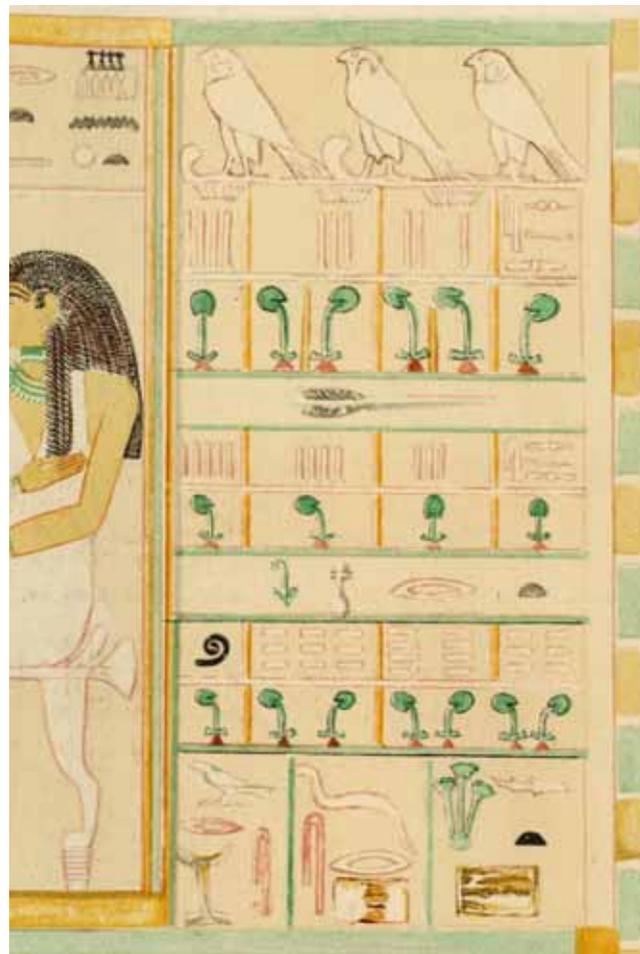


Fig. 306. Right aperture of Giza false door of Ni-hetep-khnum. Abdel-Moneim Abu-Bakr, *Excavations at Giza 1949–1950* (Cairo, 1953), fig. 10 opp. p. 14, and pls. 8 and 10B; E. Brovarski, in *Studies in Honor of W.K. Simpson 1* (Boston, 1996), p. 128 (15); N. Cherpion, *Mastabas et Hypogées* (Brussels, 1989), pl. 4. End of Dynasty 4.

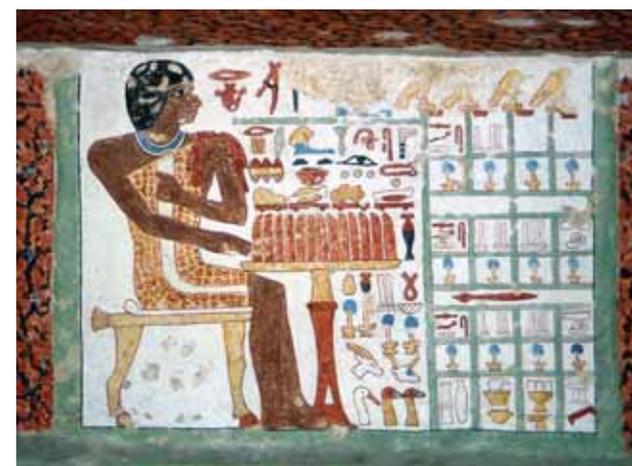


Fig. 307. False door tablet of Senetites, from the Giza tomb of Seneb. Junker, *Giza 5*, p. 99, fig. 27. Dynasty 4–5.

— g 4860 = Junker VIIIIn; see the present study, stela 15.



Fig. 308 (see below).



Figs. 308–309. North false door tablet of Merib from Giza, g 2100–I = LG 24. Lepsius, *Denkmaeler 2*, pl. 19; P. Piacentini, *Les Scribes dans la société égyptienne de l'Ancien Empire 1* (Paris, 2002), pp. 117–19. Above: composite photographic montage; photographs courtesy Karl-Heinz Priese. Below: modern painted plaster reproduction, Ägyptisches Museum, Berlin. July, 1993. PDM, 93.30.3. Dynasty 5.

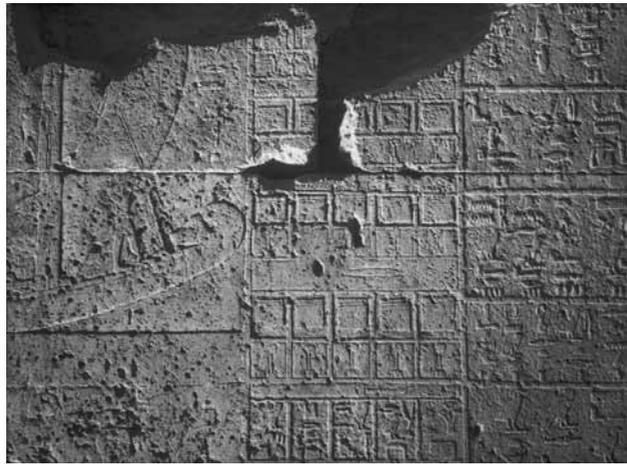
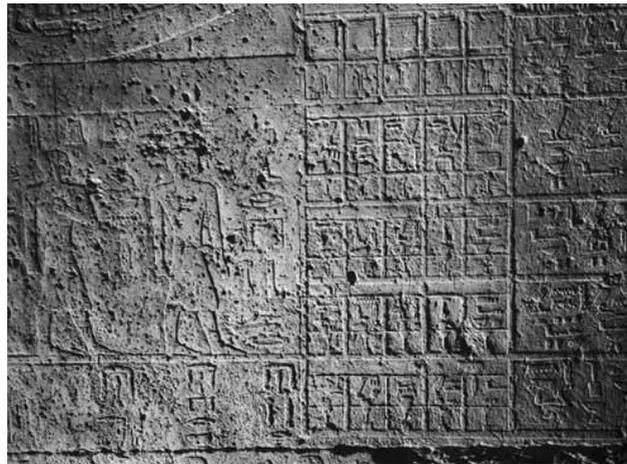


Fig. 310 (see below).



Figs. 310–311. East wall of Giza chapel of Seshem-nefer I, g 4940 = LG 45. Lepsius, *Denkmäler* 2, pl. 28; HU–MFA Expedition photographs, March 16, 1931, Mohammedani Ibrahim, a 6386, a 6390; N. Kanawati, *Tombs at Giza* 1 (Warminster, 2001), pl. 43. Dynasty 5.

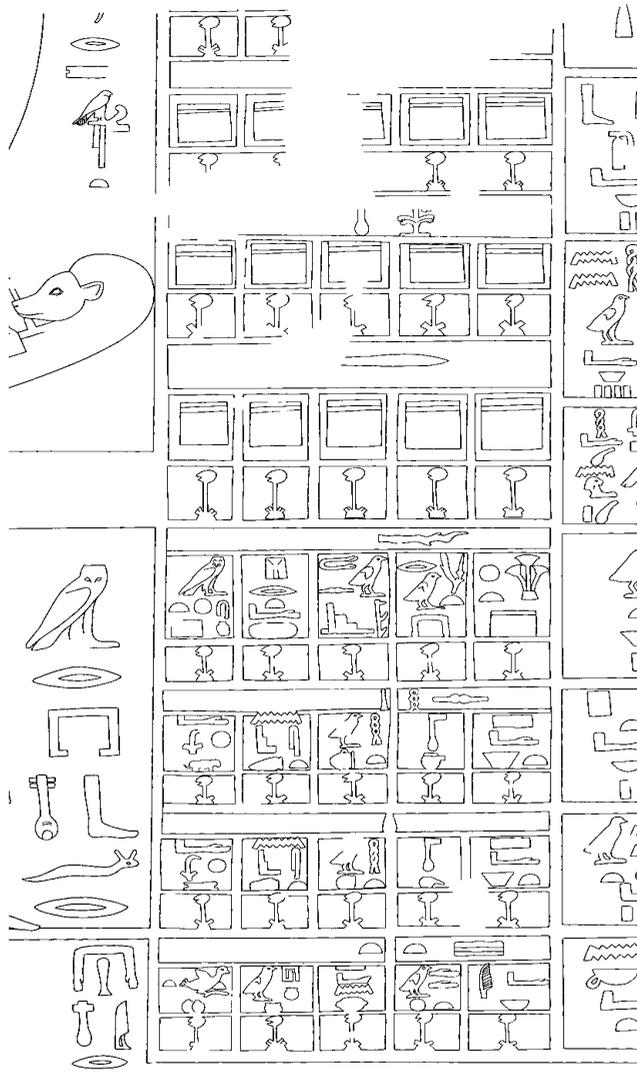


Fig. 312. East wall of Giza chapel of Seshem-nefer I, g 4940 = LG 45. Lepsius, *Denkmäler* 2, pl. 28; HU–MFA Expedition line drawing, eg 4215. Dynasty 5.

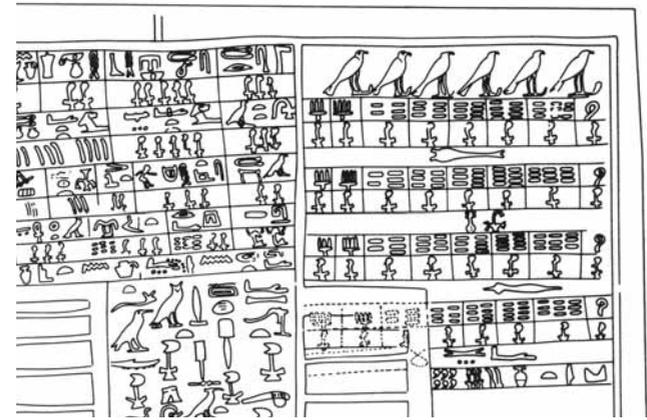


Fig. 313. West wall of burial chamber of Giza tomb of Kaiemankh. Junker, *Vorbericht*, 1926, pl. 6; idem, *Giza* 4, pl. 9; N. Kanawati, *Tombs at Giza* 1 (Warminster, 2001), pls. 15a, 36. Dynasty 6.

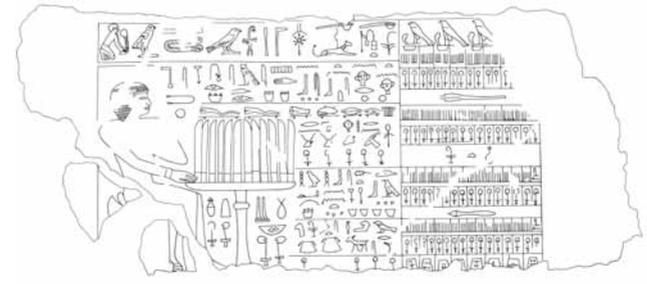


Fig. 314. Archaizing “slab stela” of Setju from g 2352 shaft b; MFA 13.4341. Chapter 5, fig. 256; W.K. Simpson, *Mastabas of the Western Cemetery*, Giza Mastabas 4 (BostOn, 1980), pl. 61 and fig. 47; R.J. Leprohon, *CAA Boston* 2 (Wiesbaden, 1985), pp. 93–96; Piacentini, *Les Scribes dans la société égyptienne de l’Ancien Empire* 1, pp. 105–106. Dynasty 6.

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Personal Names

Iwnw, “Iunu,” g 4150 (1) (stela 13)
Wpmmfrt, “Wepemnefret,” g 1201 (1) (stela 1)
Wnšt, Wenshet (1) (stela 14)
Mrt-itꜣs, Meretites g 4140 (1) (stela 12)
Nfr, Nefer g 1207 (1) (stela 4)
Nfrt-ibbt, Nefret-iabet g 1225 (1) (stela 6)
Hwfw-nht, Khufu-nakht g 1205 (1) (stela 3)
Stj-hknt, Setji-hekenet g 1227 (1) (stela 7)
Ini, Ini g 1235 (1) (stela 8)
Sšt-shntyw, Seshat-sekhentiu g 2120 (1) (stela 9)
Kꜣ=(i)-m-ꜥh, Kaiemah g 1223 (1) (stela 5)
Kꜣ=(i)-ni-nswt, Kaninisut(?) g 2155 (1) (stela 11)
Kꜣ=(i)-nfr, Kanefer g 1203 (1) (stela 2)

Titles

imy-r wpwt, “overseer of commissions,” Kanefer (g 1203)
imy-r zꜣw Šmꜣw, *imy-r zꜣ[w Šmꜣw]* “overseer of the phyles of Upper Egypt,” Iunu (g 4150); Kaiemah (g 1223)
iry-ht nswt, “keeper of the king’s property,” Khufu-nakht (g 1205); Ini (g 1235)
ꜥd-mr whꜣ(w), “overseer of fishers,” Wepemnefret (g 1201)
wr mdw Šmꜣw, “great one of the Tens of Upper Egypt,” Wepemnefret (g 1201); Kaiemah (g 1223, fragmentary); Iunu (g 4150)
mdh zḥꜣw nswt “commander of the king’s scribes,” Wepemnefret (g 1201)
mdh-? (archaic title with lioness), translation uncertain, Wepemnefret (g 1201)
...n htꜣf mry(t)ꜣf, “... of his body whom he loves,” Wenshet (g 4840)
rh.t nswt, “acquaintance of the king,” Nefer (g 1207); Setji-hekenet (g 1227)
hkꜣ Mhyt, “heka-priest of Mehyt,” Wepemnefret (g 1201)
ḥm bꜣw P, “priest of the souls of Pe,” Wepemnefret (g 1201)
ḥm-ntr Inpw, “priest of Anubis,” Wepemnefret (g 1201)
ḥm-ntr Nt, “priestess of Neith,” Wenshet (g 4840)
ḥm-ntr Hwt-ḥr nbt nht, “priestess of Hathor, mistress of the sycamore,” Wenshet (g 4840)
ḥm-ntr Hr mḥty, “priest of the northern Horus,” Wepemnefret (g 1201)
ḥm-ntr Hkt, “priest of Heqet,” Wepemnefret (g 1201)
ḥm-ntr Sšt ḥntt pr mdꜣ(w)t iry ht nswt, “priest of Seshat, foremost of the archive(s) of the keeper of the king’s property,” Wepemnefret (g 1201)
ḥrp mrw ihw, “controller of herds,” Ini (g 1235)
ḥrp tmst(yw), “controller of bowcase bearers,” Kanefer (g 1203)
ht Hꜣ, “*ht*-priest of Ha(?),” Wepemnefret (g 1201)
ḥry-ḥbt, “lector priest,” g 4860
ḥry-[ḥbt] ḥry-tp, “chief lector priest,” Seshat-sekhentiu (g 2120)
zꜣ nswt, “king’s son,” Wepemnefret (g 1201); Kaiemah (g 1223); Iunu (g 4150)
zst nswt, “king’s daughter,” Nefret-iabet (g 1225)
zst nswt n htꜣf, “bodily daughter of the king,” Meretites (g 4140); Wenshet (g 4840)
zḥꜣw mdst ntr, “scribe of the god’s book,” g 4860

Egyptian Words and Phrases

The number in parentheses refers to the number of times the word occurs in the stela in question.

3

ꜣpd, “fowl,” Setji-hekenet g 1227 (1)
ꜣtt, “bed,” Kaninisut(?) g 2155 (1)

i

ibꜣ, “mantle,” Seshat-sekhentiu g 2120 (2); Kaninisut(?) g 2155 (2)
istt, “milk,” Wepemnefret g 1201 (1); Seshat-sekhentiu g 2120 (1); g 4680 (1)
istt dsrt, “milky ale,” g 4680 (1?)
isꜣ, “purification,” Nefer g 1207 (1)
irꜣwy, “implements for washing hands,” Wepemnefret g 1201 (1); Kanefer g 1203 (1); Khufu-nakht g 1205 (1); Nefer g 1207 (1); Nefret-iabet g 1225 (1); Setji-hekenet g 1227 (1); Ini g 1235 (1); Seshat-sekhentiu g 2120 (1); Meretites g 4140 (1); Iunu g 4150 (1)
iws, “ox,” Meretites g 4140 (1)
ifdt, “4,” Wepemnefret g 1201 (2); Kanefer g 1203 (1); Setji-hekenet g 1227 (3); Seshat-sekhentiu g 2120 (5); g 2135 (1); g 4680 (1)
imy-r, “overseer,” Kanefer g 1203 (1); Kaiemah g 1223 (1); Iunu g 4150 (1)
Inpw, “Anubis,” Wepemnefret g 1201 (1)
iry, “keeper,” Wepemnefret g 1201 (1); Khufu-nakht g 1205 (1); Nefer g 1207 (1); Setji-hekenet g 1227 (1); Ini g 1235 (1)
irp, “wine,” Wepemnefret g 1201 (1); Kanefer g 1203 (1); Khufu-nakht g 1205 (1); Nefret-iabet g 1225 (1); Seshat-sekhentiu g 2120 (1); g 2135 (1); Meretites g 4140 (1); Iunu g 4150 (1); g 4680 (1)
ihw, “herd, cattle, ox,” Ini g 1235 (1); Seshat-sekhentiu g 2120 (1); g 4680 (1)
ihꜣt, “cow,” Seshat-sekhentiu g 2120 (1)
išd, “persea fruit,” Wepemnefret g 1201 (1); Kanefer g 1203 (1); Khufu-nakht g 1205 (1); Nefer g 1207 (1); Nefret-iabet g 1225 (1); Seshat-sekhentiu g 2120 (1); g 2135 (1); Meretites g 4140 (1)
it, “barley,” Meretites g 4140 (1)

it-Mḥw, “Lower Egyptian barley,” Setji-hekenet g 1227 (1); Seshat-sekhentiu g 2120 (1); Iunu g 4150 (1); g 4860 (1)
it-Šmꜣw, “Upper Egyptian barley,” Setji-hekenet g 1227 (1); Meretites g 4140 (1); Iunu g 4150 (1); g 4860 (1)
idmy, type of linen, Wepemnefret g 1201 (3); Kanefer g 1203 (4); Khufu-nakht g 1205 (5); Nefer g 1207 (5); Kaiemah g 1223 (3); Nefret-iabet g 1225 (3); Setji-hekenet g 1227 (4); Ini g 1235 (4); g 2135 (4); Meretites g 4140 (6); Iunu g 4150 (4); g 4860 (5)

r

r, type of linen, Wepemnefret g 1201 (1); Kanefer g 1203 (1); Khufu-nakht g 1205 (1); Nefer g 1207 (1); Kaiemah g 1223 (1); Nefret-iabet g 1225 (1); Setji-hekenet g 1227 (1); Ini g 1235 (1); Seshat-sekhentiu g 2120 (1); Kaninisut(?) g 2155 (1); Meretites g 4140 (1); Iunu g 4150 (1); g 4860 (1)
ḥw-rs, “breakfast,” Meretites g 4140 (1); g 4680 (1)
ḡ(w)t, “prepared grain,” Wepemnefret g 1201 (1); Setji-hekenet g 1227 (1); Seshat-sekhentiu g 2120 (1); Meretites g 4140 (1); Iunu g 4150 (1); g 4860 (1)
ḡd-mr, “district administrator,” Wepemnefret g 1201 (1)

w

wṣḏ, “green eye-paint,” Wepemnefret g 1201 (1); Khufu-nakht g 1205 (1); Nefer g 1207 (1); Nefret-iabet g 1225 (1); Setji-hekenet g 1227 (1); Ini g 1235 (1); Seshat-sekhentiu g 2120 (1); g 2135 (11); Meretites g 4140 (1); g 4860 (1)
wṣḏ(t), “green,” Wepemnefret g 1201 (1); Nefer g 1207 (1); Seshat-sekhentiu g 2120 (1); Meretites g 4140 (1); g 4860 (1)
wꜣ, “1,” Wepemnefret g 1201 (3); Kanefer g 1203 (1); Nefer g 1207 (1); Setji-hekenet g 1227 (3); Seshat-sekhentiu g 2120 (3); g 2135 (1); Kaninisut(?) g 2155 (1); g 4860 (3)
wꜣḥ, “carob bean,” Wepemnefret g 1201 (1); Khufu-nakht g 1205 (1); Nefer g 1207 (1); Nefret-iabet g 1225 (1); Seshat-sekhentiu g 2120 (1); Meretites g 4140 (2)
wḫwt, “commissions,” Kanefer g 1203 (1)
wr, “great one,” Wepemnefret g 1201 (1); Kaiemah g 1223 (1); Iunu g 4150 (1)
wr, “great,” Seshat-sekhentiu g 2120 (1)
wrs, “headrest,” Seshat-sekhentiu g 2120 (1?); Kaninisut(?) g 2155 (1)
wḥst, “cooking pot,” Kaninisut(?) g 2155 (1)

b

(iꜣ) bꜣ, “leopard skin,” Kaninisut(?) g 2155 (1)
bꜣ-Šmꜣ, “panther-skin,” Seshat-sekhentiu g 2120 (1)
bꜣw, “souls,” Wepemnefret g 1201 (1)
bnrwt, “dates,” Meretites g 4140 (1); g 4860 (1)
bnrꜣ, “date wine,” Wepemnefret g 1201 (1)
bsn, “natron,” Seshat-sekhentiu g 2120 (1)
bšš, “malt,” Setji-hekenet g 1227 (1); Meretites g 4140 (1); Iunu g 4150 (1); g 4860 (1)
bd, “natron,” Khufu-nakht g 1205 (1); Nefer g 1207 (1); Seshat-sekhentiu g 2120 (1); Meretites g 4140 (1)
bd, “emmer,” Setji-hekenet g 1227 (1); Seshat-sekhentiu g 2120 (1); Meretites g 4140 (1); Iunu g 4150 (1); g 4860 (1)

p

P, “Pe,” Wepemnefret g 1201 (1)
pr-mḏꜣ(w)t, “archive(s),” Wepemnefret g 1201 (1)
prw, “peru-drink,” Seshat-sekhentiu g 2120 (1); Meretites g 4140 (1)
pzn, “pezen-bread,” Meretites g 4140 (1); g 4860 (1)
pṣḏiw, “9,” Kanefer g 1203 (3); Khufu-nakht g 1205 (2); Nefer g 1207 (4); Kaiemah g 1223 (4); Nefret-iabet g 1225 (2); Ini g 1235 (2); g 2135 (2?); Kaninisut(?) g 2155 (1); Meretites g 4140 (2); Iunu g 4150 (3)

f

≠f, third person masculine singular suffix pronoun “his,” Meretites g 4140 (1); Wensheet g 4840 (1)

m

mꜣ-ḥḏ, “oryx,” Seshat-sekhentiu g 2120 (1); Meretites g 4140 (1); g 4860 (1)
(iꜣ) mꜣst, “wild cow skin,” Seshat-sekhentiu g 2120 (1); Kaninisut(?) g 2155 (1)
mꜣst, “granite jar,” Seshat-sekhentiu g 2120 (1)
mꜣbꜣ, “30,” Wepemnefret g 1201 (1); Ini g 1235 (1); Meretites g 4140 (2)
mnwt, “pigeon,” Seshat-sekhentiu g 2120 (1); Meretites g 4140 (1); g 4860 (1)
mnḫt, “cloth,” Wepemnefret g 1201 (1); Nefer g 1207 (1); Kaiemah g 1223 (1); Nefret-iabet g 1225 (1); Setji-hekenet g 1227 (1); Ini g 1235 (1); Seshat-sekhentiu g 2120 (1); Meretites g 4140 (1); Iunu g 4150 (1); g 4860 (1)

mry, “beloved,” Wenshet g 4840 (1)
mrw, “pasture lands(?)” Ini g 1235 (1)
mrḫt, (with *ḥst*, “best”) “ointment,” Wepemnefret g 1201 (1); Khufu-nakht g 1205 (1); Nefret-iabet g 1225 (1); Setji-hekenet g 1227 (1); Ini g 1235 (1: “two jars of best ointment”); Seshat-sekhentiu g 2120 (1); g 2135 (1); Meretites g 4140 (1); Iunu g 4150 (4); g 4860 (1)
Mḫyt, “Mehyt,” Wepemnefret g 1201 (1)
mḫty, “northern,” Wepemnefret g 1201 (1)
msdmt, “black eye-paint,” Wepemnefret g 1201 (1); Khufu-nakht g 1205 (1); Nefer g 1207 (1); Nefret-iabet g 1225 (1); Setji-hekenet g 1227 (1); Ini g 1235 (1); Seshat-sekhentiu g 2120 (1); g 2135 (1); Meretites g 4140 (1); g 4860 (1)
mdst, “book,” g 4860 (1)
mdḥ, “commander,” Wepemnefret g 1201 (2)

n

n, indirect genitive, Meretites g 4140 (1); Wenshet g 4840 (1)
nwdw, “antelopes,” Wepemnefret g 1201 (1); Kanefer g 1203 (1); Khufu-nakht g 1205 (1); Kaiemah g 1223 (1); Nefret-iabet g 1225 (1); Ini g 1235 (1); Iunu g 4150 (1)
nb, “every,” Wepemnefret g 1201 (1); Seshat-sekhentiu g 2120 (1); Kaninisut(?) g 2155 (1)
nbs, “zizyphus,” Wepemnefret g 1201 (1); Khufu-nakht g 1205 (1); Nefer g 1207 (1); Seshat-sekhentiu g 2120 (1); g 2135 (1); Meretites g 4140 (1); g 4860 (1)
nbt, “mistress, lady,” Wenshet g 4840 (1)
npꜣst, “nepat-cake,” Meretites g 4140 (1)
nfr, “good,” Kaninisut(?) g 2155 (1)
nmst, “nemset-vessel,” Kaninisut(?) g 2155 (1)
nmtt, “lug-handled white quartzite vessel,” Seshat-sekhentiu g 2120 (2); Kaninisut(?) g 2155 (1)
nḫt, “sycamore,” Wenshet g 4840 (1)
nḫr(w), “neheru-bread,” Seshat-sekhentiu g 2120 (1); Meretites g 4140 (1)
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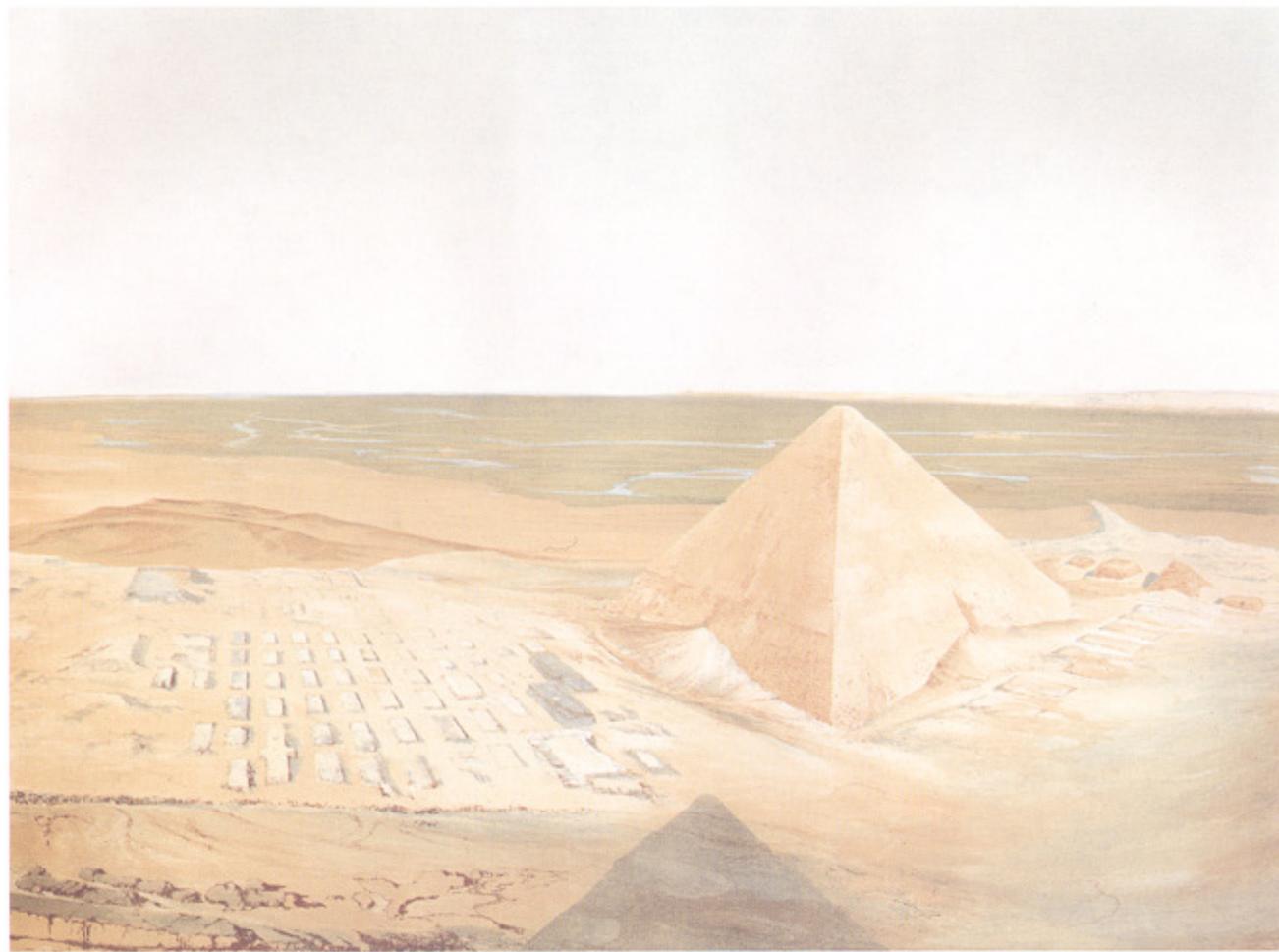
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As the Great Pyramid of Khufu began to rise over the Giza plateau in the Fourth Dynasty (about 2585–2560 BCE), a vast cemetery dedicated to high officials and royal family members gradually surrounded the king's royal funerary complex. Despite this impressive display of resources, the earliest Giza mastaba tombs enigmatically bear only minimal decoration: a rectangular "slab stela" set into the exterior east wall. The fifteen surviving stelae provide one of the most important sources for the study of early Old Kingdom art, religion, and history. This publication presents a fresh interpretation of the Giza stelae, with new color photography, "digital epigraphy" facsimile line drawings, new translations, original discovery photographs, and recent color images taken at the site. Appendixes include both color and line drawing palaeographies of all hieroglyphs appearing on the stelae.



SLAB STELAE OF THE GIZA NECROPOLIS

Fifteen “slab stelae” and stela fragments were found set into the exterior walls of Giza mastaba tombs in the reign of Khufu and his successors. Taken as a group, they provide one of the most important sources of Egyptian artistic and historical documents of the early Old Kingdom; several stelae even preserve remarkable amounts of color after nearly 5,000 years. This publication presents a fresh interpretation of the Giza stelae, with new color photography, “digital epigraphy” facsimile line drawings, new translations, original discovery photographs, and recent color images taken at Giza. In a departure from traditional scholarly works, the book is published in full color, with numerous charts and catalogues, information on all Giza tombs with slab stelae emplacements, the history of their excavation, previous scholarly research, and comparative and interpretive chapters. Appendixes include both color and line-drawing palaeographies of all hieroglyphs appearing on the stelae, and a collection of the enigmatic “linen lists” that adorn the Giza stelae and many other Archaic and Old Kingdom monuments. Indexes complete the volume.

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Peter Der Manuelian received a BA from Harvard University in 1981, and a Ph.D. in Egyptology from the University of Chicago in 1990. Since 1987 he has been on the staff of the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston. He is the author of *Studies in the Reign of Amenophis II*, and *Living in the Past: Studies in Archaism of the Egyptian Twenty-sixth Dynasty*, as well as several Egyptological children’s books. In recent years he has been Lecturer in Egyptology at Harvard University and Tufts University. He is co-editor, with William Kelly Simpson, of the MFA’s *Giza Mastabas Series*, and has recently initiated a project dedicated to digitizing and integrating Giza excavation records for the Internet.

Illustrations

Front jacket: Slab stelae of Wepemnefret (G 1201), Nefret-iabet (G 1225), Iunu (G 4150), and Nefer (G 1207, line drawing).

Back jacket: View of the Giza Western Cemetery, looking north from the pyramid of Khafre; from C.R. Lepsius, *Denkmaeler aus Aegypten und Aethiopien I*, pl. 15.

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SLAB STEELAE OF THE GIZZA NECROPOLIS
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THE PENNSYLVANIA–YALE EXPEDITION TO EGYPT
CO-DIRECTED BY DAVID B. O’CONNOR
AND WILLIAM KELLY SIMPSON

The Pennsylvania–Yale Expedition to Egypt—a joint project of the University of Pennsylvania Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology and the Peabody Museum of Natural History of Yale University—is a continuation of the Nubian salvage program originally conducted from 1960 to 1963. Since that time, the expedition has focused on the Upper Egyptian site of Abydos. The scope of the expedition has increased dramatically in recent years. The Abydos project has been jointly directed by Professor David B. O’Connor, formerly of the University of Pennsylvania, now of the Institute of Fine Arts, New York University, and Professor William Kelly Simpson of Yale University.

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