

„Zur Zierde gereicht ...“

Festschrift Bettina Schmitz
zum 60. Geburtstag am 24. Juli 2008

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GEGRÜNDET VON ARNE EGGBRECHT

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herausgegeben von Antje Spiekermann

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Hemiuu, Pehenptah, and German/American Collaboration at the Giza Necropolis (Giza Archives Project Cleanings: II)

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Museum of Fine Arts, Boston and Tufts University

Few scholars have served as “keeper of the flame” with the longevity and success of Bettina Schmitz. Since the age of the great excavations at Giza, perhaps no other colleague has done more to preserve the legacy of Hermann Junker’s work at Giza. She has helped steer the Pelizaeus-Museum through both feast and famine years, assisted with countless major international exhibitions in collaboration with Arne Eggebrecht, edited and supervised ambitious publication projects such as the Hildesheimer Ägyptologische Beiträge and the Corpus Antiquitatum Aegyptiacarum, and all the while producing a steady stream of her own scholarship of the highest quality.

It is my hope that Bettina Schmitz will enjoy seeing this “old friend” discussed once more, along with some more modern excavation history to accompany it. The collaboration between the original American (Reisner) and German/Austrian (Junker) expeditions at Giza could not have been smoother. In more recent decades, I have been privileged to enjoy some of that same spirit of collaboration, for which I thank colleagues, curators and museum directors past and present (see note 44), as well as the honoree of the present volume.

Few Old Kingdom individuals cut a more imposing figure than Hemiuu, son of Nefermaat,¹ nephew of Khufu, and likely supervisor of the Khufu pyramid project. While the over-lifesized statue in Hildesheim (Pelizaeus-Museum Inv. Nr. 1962²) comes first to mind when Hemiuu’s name is mentioned, nevertheless two limestone raised relief fragments in the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston (MFA 27.296 and 27.1123; figs. 10–13) also communicate his singular visage. In fact, the first of these two reliefs has often been cited as corroboration for the modern reconstruction of the Hildesheim statue’s face.³ For another example of idiosyncratic facial features (portraiture?) in both two- and three-dimensional sculpture, we might note the reserve head and selected raised relief images from the chapel of Nefer (G 2110) at Giza.⁴ In the pages below I would like to revisit the archaeological context for the two Boston reliefs, as well as for some additional Hemiuu fragments, for their excavation history has never been adequately summarized. I also hope to suggest some possible reconstructions of Hemiuu’s decorative program in his mastaba chapel. And finally, one of the Boston Hemiuu faces (MFA 27.296) falsely came into question during a minor quibble over excavation concessions between the American and German/Austrian expeditions at Giza. As an exercise in archival research that is not without some historical interest,⁵ I will conclude with a summary of those events.

¹ Besides the administrative titles that Nefermaat and Hemiuu share, the two individuals are further linked by the unique use of colored paste to fill in sunk relief hieroglyphs; see W.S. Smith, “The Origin of Some Unidentified Old Kingdom Reliefs,” *AJA* 42, 1946, 530.

² H. Junker, *Giza I*, 153–57, pls. 18–23; B. Schmitz, in *Das Alte Reich*, Hildesheim/Mainz 1986, 36–38; J. Assmann, “Preservation and Presentation of Self in Ancient Egyptian Portraiture,” in P. Der Manuelian, ed., *Studies in Honor of William Kelly Simpson I*, Boston 1996, 62.

³ Schmitz, in *Das Alte Reich*, 38; W.S. Smith, *The Art and Architecture of Ancient Egypt*, third edition, New Haven and London 1998, 56, fig. 103; idem, “The Tomb of Hetep-heres I,” *BMFA* 51 1953, pp. 23, 26 fig. 4; G. Steindorff, “Ein Reliefbildnis des Prinzen Hemiuu,” *ZÄS* 73 1937, 120. The statue face has been restored several times; a partial restoration is visible in Junker’s “Vorläufiger Bericht über die Grabungen bei den Pyramiden von Gizeh vom 22. Januar bis 7. April 1912,” *Anzeiger der philosophisch-historischen Klasse der kais. Akademie der Wissenschaften vom 10. Juli, Jahrgang 1912, Nr. 18*, Vienna 1912, pl. 4 (hereafter *Vorbericht 1912*). A complete restoration had already been completed by the time of Junker’s more formal publication in *Giza I*, Vienna 1929, pls. 19–22. Unfortunately, no restoration documentation survives from these years. In 1974 a second restoration was undertaken at the Pelizaeus-Museum, Hildesheim, under the directorship of Arne Eggebrecht. Another partial model for the restoration of the eyes was the Saqqara statue of Ranefer (Egyptian Museum, Cairo, JE 10063 = CG 19; see M. Saleh and H. Sourouzian, *Egyptian Museum Cairo, Official Catalogue*, Mainz 1987, cat. No. 45, with additional bibliography). For information on this subject, I am grateful to Antje Spiekermann, Giza Projekt, Pelizaeus-Museum, Hildesheim (personal communication, December 17, 2007).

⁴ G.A. Reisner, *A History of the Giza Necropolis I*, Cambridge, Mass 1942, pls. 30b and 34c–f; D. Spanel, *Through Ancient Eyes: Egyptian Portraiture*, Birmingham, AL 1988, 32, figs. 38–39, and 36, figs. 40–41; D. Dunham, “Portraiture in Ancient Egypt,” *BMFA* 41, no. 246, Dec. 1943, 69, figs. 3–4; W.S. Smith, *A History of Egyptian Sculpture and Painting in the Old Kingdom* (hereafter *HESPOK*), 2nd edition, Oxford 1949, pl. 48d–e; idem, *Ancient Egypt as represented in the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston*, 6th edition Boston 1960, 36–37, figs. 4–15.

⁵ This article is one of a series of essays based on data recently made accessible by the Giza Archives Project (www.gizapyramids.org). For the first article in this series of “gleanings,” see “A ‘New’ Slab Stela for Nefer from G 2110? (Giza Archives Project Gleanings: I),” in S.E. Thompson and P. Der Manuelian, eds., *Egypt and Beyond. Essays Presented to Leonard H. Lesko upon his Retirement from the Wilbour Chair of Egyptology at Brown University, June 2005*, Providence 2008, 227–36. For permission to illustrate images from the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston collections, as well as quote from unpublished sources, I am grateful to Rita E. Freed, John F. Cogan, Jr. and Mary L. Cornille Chair of Art of the Ancient World, MFA). All HU–MFA Expedition-related images, except where otherwise noted, are reproduced courtesy Museum of Fine Arts, Boston.

I) Excavation History

In December 1925 the Harvard University–Boston Museum of Fine Arts Expedition was clearing the mastabas of Cemetery G 6000. In following a causeway ramp eastwards, the crew approached the area south of Hemiunu's large mastaba, G 4000 (see fig. 1). Figs. 2 and 3 provide two views of the progressive clearance of this part of the Western Cemetery, taken in December 1906 and October 1913, looking northwest from high up on the Khafre pyramid. G. Reisner's HU–MFA Expedition Diary page for Sunday, December 20, 1925 contains a sketch and description of the work done in this area (fig. 4; diary page), and is transcribed below:

Having picked up the main causeway of G 6040 in the low ground east of Steindorff dump, and found it continuing eastwards towards the back of G 4140, we began clearing away Junker's dump and the underlying sand in the angle between G 4000 and G 4140 in order to find the continuation of the main causeway. For it is clear that it must turn south or north at this point or about here ...

In the drift sand (not in Junker's dump) we came on a pile of broken white lst. [limestone] pieces which had evidently been accumulated as the result of the work of the lime-burners. Apparently when the chamber of Hemyun was broken up by the lime burners (or quarrymen) the blocks were hauled out into this space at the south⁶ and here broken up for the kiln (or for building stone). Some small pieces with reliefs were found among these fragments.⁷

In all, at least thirty-one fragments, some of them uninscribed, turned up in this heap of limestone blocks. The appendix at the end of this article presents the collection. Of the two large-scale faces, the better-preserved relief (MFA 27.296 = Object Register no. 25-12-299; figs. 10–11 below) is by far the better known. The other, (MFA 27.1123 = Object Register no. 25-12-324; figs. 12–13 below), has received far less attention, and was only photographed for the first time in 2004. Regarding the paucity of surviving decoration in Hemiunu's chapel, Junker stated that "Der Verlust der Reliefs ist um so schmerzlicher, als die (erhaltenen) Reste allerbesten Stil zeigen und vielleicht das einzige darstellen, was außer den Opferplatten uns aus der Zeit des Cheops überkommen ist."⁸ W.S. Smith commented that, after the Old Kingdom, interest in Hemiunu's relief sculpture is attested by red-painted artists' guidelines preserved on selected fragments.⁹ Some of the red lines extend into breaks, proving that the guidelines were added after the fragments were removed from their respective locations in the southern niche.

II) Mastaba G 4000

Hemiunu's corridor chapel area was recently re-excavated by the Supreme Council of Antiquities. This work re-exposed the corridor, with its north and south niches, for the first time since Junker's original excavation in 1912 (see figs. 5–9). Like so many early mastabas at Giza, mastaba G 4000¹⁰ reveals evidence of several construction phases. Already one of the largest tombs in the Western Cemetery, the mastaba core (Reisner's type IIa¹¹) received extensions to the south and the east. Depending on whether the cattle count was still consistently taken biennially in early Dynasty 4,¹² more than a decade's interval may have elapsed between the original core construction and the subsequent extension. Reisner was uncertain if G 4000 was already under construction when the surrounding mastabas to the east were built (G 4150, G 4160, G 4250, and G 4260),¹³ but Junker was convinced that Hemiunu's tomb existed prior to the construction of these smaller eastern mastabas (fig. 1).¹⁴

G 4000 received two burial shafts, a highly unusual feature for a Khufu-era Giza mastaba. The south shaft was presumably dug first, then abandoned unfinished in favor of a second, northern shaft, which was completed and lined with limestone

⁶ The word "north" has been corrected to "south," and the correction is signed by Reisner "G-A-R. 1938" in red pencil in the margin of the diary page.

⁷ HU–BMFA Expedition Diary for Sunday, December 20, 1925; Diary vol. 15, 99; stored in the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston.

⁸ Junker, *Giza* I, 145.

⁹ Smith, *AJA* 42, 530. Note that some of Smith's Object Register numbers are incorrect: in fig. 14, relief fragment 25-12-313 should be corrected to 25-12-303, and 25-12-329 should be corrected to 25-12-325 (= MFA 25.2946); in fig. 16, 25-12-310 should be corrected to 25-12-304.

¹⁰ PM III, 122–23; Junker, *Vorbericht* 1912, *idem*, *Giza* I, 132–62; Reisner, *Giza Necropolis* I, 455–56; N. Strudwick, *The Administration of Egypt in the Old Kingdom. The Highest Titles and their Holders* London 1985, 117 [96]; M. Baud, *Famille royale et pouvoir sous l'Ancien Empire égyptien* 2, Cairo, 1999, 516–17 [151]; P. Jánosi, *Giza in der 4. Dynastie*, Vienna 2005, 114, 125, 183–84. P. Piacentini, *Les Scribes dans la société égyptienne de l'Ancien Empire* 1, Paris 2002, 102–103.

¹¹ Reisner, *Giza Necropolis* I, 39–40; Jánosi, *Giza in der 4. Dynastie*, 221–22.

¹² See Jánosi, *Giza in der 4. Dynastie*, 67–69, and J. Nolan, "The Original Lunar Calendar and Cattle Counts in Old Kingdom Egypt," in S. Bickel and A. Loprieno, eds., *Basel Egyptology Prize* 1, (Aegyptiaca Helvetica 17), Basel 2003, 75–97.

¹³ Reisner, *Giza Necropolis* I, 75, 454.

¹⁴ Junker, *Giza* I, 132.

blocks.¹⁵ Likewise unusual is the presence of two false doors and serdabs in the long corridor chapel created by the eastern extension (figs. 5–6). The southern false door niche (fig. 7) may have replaced an original slab stela set into the exterior east face of the mastaba's core.¹⁶ The south niche was clearly the primary cult focus; the corridor chapel's entrance was located here,¹⁷ and was fronted by two exterior mud-brick chambers appended to the corridor chapel. One chamber had a limestone offering basin set into its southeast corner (fig. 8).¹⁸ Normally a Menkaure-era dating criterion, two false doors in the chapel do appear in certain Khufu-era mastabas reserved for the most elite sepulchers (G 2220, G 4000, G 7510, G-Ib, G-Ic). The north chapel niche (fig. 9) contained the serdab with the famous statue in Hildesheim (Pelizaeus-Museum Inv. Nr. 1962).

Since the chapel was dismantled in antiquity, it is extremely difficult to assess the original decoration program. The north chapel, whose serdab contained the statue now in Hildesheim (Inv. Nr. 1962), may have borne some architrave texts over the false door.¹⁹ The south niche was certainly decorated, as indicated by a few texts and scenes discovered by Junker in situ on the north exterior façade of the chapel entrance, as well as on the northern entrance thickness (Hildesheim Inv. Nr. 2146).

Due to the proximity of the pile of fragments found by Reisner in 1925 to the southern end of Hemiunu's chapel, and to the possible total absence of decoration on the north niche, it is most likely that the Boston relief fragments derive from the decorated south niche.

III) The two faces of Hemiunu

The better-preserved Boston face relief (MFA 27.296) shows a highly individualized image of Hemiunu in quite bold raised relief, looking left from the far right edge of the block (figs. 10–11). Portions of five hieroglyphs survive to the left of center. Since its discovery the relief has lost minor details, as is evident from a comparison of the photographs in fig. 10. In the earlier photograph, a third lock of Hemiunu's long striated wig is visible, and much more of the bread loaf *dj* sign is preserved in the upper left edge of the fragment. Moreover, the undecorated left side of the block, once bearing Reisner's tomb and Object Register numbers in black paint, was removed some time before the later photograph was taken, most likely for purposes of mounting and display.

Hemiunu's protruding forehead gives way to a pronounced nose that dominates the rest of the face. The nostril is not overly emphasized, but the philtrum is clearly delineated. Full lips are indicated, with the upper lip receiving more of the sculptor's attention. From the lower lip, a crease and then a bulbous chin curves downwards towards the edge of the fragment. Hemiunu's wide eye is outlined severely to hood the recessed eyeball and iris. An elongated inner canthus extends slightly downward, almost to the bridge of the nose. A plastic eyebrow swoops well above the eye, to curve back again and end in a sharp, though damaged, point. Modeling accentuates the carving in several places over the face, most notably in the bag under the eye, around the nostril, and in the chin area. The missing rest of the head, wig, and even neck all serve, inadvertently, to emphasize this powerful visage. Even if the face were surrounded by a completely preserved figure, Hemiunu would still command our undivided attention.

The *h_{tp} dj nswt* formula fills the center of the fragment. Subtle carving is apparent in the extremely fine lines of the vertical ties on the *h_{tp}* sign's bread tray, and even the bread loaf that sits upon it reveals some modeling towards its base. Less clear is the nature of the round-topped sign at the extreme left of the fragment; while it seems to resemble the *h_{tp}* hieroglyph, insufficient space exists to accommodate a second *h_{tp}* tray so close to the first *h_{tp}* sign, whose left edge is just visible above the fragment's break.²⁰ In fig. 16 I have reconstructed the top of Hemiunu's staff as the object represented, based on a suggestion kindly made by Antje Spiekermann.

The second relief fragment with Hemiunu's face (MFA 27.1123) has received much less attention, no doubt due to the poor state of preservation (figs. 12–13). All that remains are ten rows of curls on Hemiunu's wig,²¹ part of his arching eyebrow, his eye, and his nostril. Nevertheless, the powerful facial features in bold relief are clearly visible. The wig is carved high against Hemiunu's cheek, his eye socket is deep-set and outlined, and the nostril flares in a well-drilled semicircle. It is unfortunate that no more of the nose is preserved to compare with the highly idiosyncratic nose on the better-preserved fragment MFA 26.297 (figs. 10–11).

¹⁵ Jánosi, *Giza in der 4. Dynastie*, 205.

¹⁶ For descriptions of chapel decoration, see Junker, *Giza I*, 145 ff., and Jánosi, *Giza in der 4. Dynastie*, 183–84; on the slab stela issue: Manuelian, *Slab Stelae of the Giza Necropolis*, New Haven and Philadelphia 2003, 143–44.

¹⁷ For a parallel to this unusual placement of the chapel entrance on the *south* side of the east wall, see the exterior stone chapel of Nefer (G 2110); Reisner, *Giza Necropolis I*, 201, fig. 109.

¹⁸ Jánosi, *Giza in der 4. Dynastie*, 184 n. 1123; similar examples in G 1223, G 4350.

¹⁹ Junker, *Giza I*, 145, fig. 23a.

²⁰ Smith, *AJA* 46, 1942, 527 believed two *Htp* signs are present on the relief.

²¹ Fischer's and Cherpion's dating criteria are unfortunately of little use here because the top row of curls at the crown of the head is not preserved; H.G. Fischer, "A Scribe of the Army in a Saqqara Mastaba of the Early Fifth Dynasty," *JNES* 18, 1959, 238–39; N. Cherpion, *Mastabas et hypogées d'ancien empire*, Brussels 1989, 55–56.

IV) Possible Reconstructions for Hemiunu's South Niche

If we place both the fragmentary face reliefs side by side at the same scale (fig. 14), we see that they belonged to identically sized figures. They could thus represent complementary images of Hemiunu, one with long striated wig, the other with short, valanced curls, placed in a symmetrical arrangement.²² The most obvious candidates for the original location of these figures are either the exterior façade of the chapel entrance, or the entrance's opposing thicknesses.²³ Fig. 15 indicates these locations.

During Junker's 1912 excavations, the façade north of the chapel entrance revealed in situ part of a text in vertical columns, accompanied by the large-scale legs of Hemiunu wearing an ankle-length kilt and facing left (southwards) (fig. 15, lower right; now in Hildesheim, Inv. Nr. 2146²⁴). The drawing in fig. 16b shows a hypothetical reconstruction of this standing figure, incorporating the better-preserved face of Hemiunu, MFA relief 27.296. Parallels for the standing figure leaning on a staff on the façade are provided by the Giza mastabas of Neferbaupthah (G 6010) and Ity (G 6030), but such a pose is admittedly pure speculation in Hemiunu's case.²⁵

G. Steindorff visited the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston in May 1937, where he studied the MFA relief 27.296. In his resulting short ZÄS article he argued that the north façade was an unlikely original location for this relief.²⁶ But I am not sure I see the discrepancy in the style of the hieroglyphs to which Steindorff refers. Moreover, both portions of Hemiunu's figure, the head in Boston (MFA 27.296) and the feet once preserved in situ on the north façade (Hildesheim Inv. Nr. 2146), show a comparably high raised relief. A comparative measurement of the heights and widths of the hieroglyphs preserved at both head (MFA) and feet (Hildesheim)²⁷ reveal maximum widths in the area of 10–11 cm and maximum heights around 10 cm. However, we might reasonably expect some differences in size if the fragmentary *hṯp dj nswt* formula near Hemiunu's face on MFA 27.296 derives from a more free-floating text, in contrast to the rigidly arranged vertical columns down by his feet. But questions of relative scale remain, and the reconstruction in fig. 16b is not without problems.²⁸ It is equally possible that Hemiunu takes the more standard pose with rear arm hanging by his side and front arm bent at the elbow, holding his staff (as reconstructed in fig. 16a, the south façade).

Steindorff preferred to assign this relief (MFA 27.296) to a hypothetical seated figure of Hemiunu before an offering table. The presence of the fragmentary *hṯp dj nswt* formula in front of Hemiunu's face may well support this argument. Although Steindorff does not mention the south thickness of the chapel's entrance, it is the likeliest candidate for the location of such a pose.²⁹ Fig. 17a shows such a hypothetical reconstruction of the south entrance thickness. Unfortunately, no traces of the decoration on the south entrance thickness remained in situ when Junker excavated the chapel in 1912.

Turning now to the more fragmentary face of Hemiunu, with the valanced wig and facing right (MFA 27.1123), we can assign the opposite or complementary locations. These are either on a standing figure on the exterior south façade, facing northwards (fig. 16a) or a seated figure on the north thickness of the chapel's entrance (fig. 17b). The remains of an offering list and table stand (Hildesheim Inv. Nr. 2146) all but prove that a seated figure of the deceased was indeed once located here.

No evidence survives to suggest that other large-scale figures of Hemiunu once adorned the south or north false door niches, or the corridor in between.

²² The exterior entrance façade of Merib (G 2100-I) provides an example of two standing figures, one with long striated wig (north side), the other with short, valanced wig (south side), the same orientation as shown by the two Hemiunu faces, MFA 27.296 and 27.1123; see K.-H. Priese, *Die Opferkammer des Merib*, Berlin 1984, 38–39; Y. Harpur, *Decoration in Egyptian Tombs of the Old Kingdom*, London and New York 1987, 456, fig. 20. The same orientation and wig choices also appear on Merib's chapel entrance thicknesses, *ibid.*, 43, 46 = LD II, pl. 22a–b = Junker, *Giza II*, 128, fig. 11; Harpur, *Decoration*, 472, fig. 62, and on the jambs of Khafre-ankh (G 7948); *ibid.*, 459, fig. 25. K. Martin, *Reliefs des Alten Reiches I*, Mainz 1978, 69–72.

²³ It is, of course, possible that Hemiunu preferred an asymmetrical arrangement, with one figure standing and the other sitting. For example, the entrance thicknesses of Nefer's chapel at Giza (G 2110) show the deceased standing on the north side (Boston relief MFA 07.1002), and seated on the south (Paris relief, Louvre B 51); see Reisner, *Giza Necropolis I*, pl. 30a–b; C. Ziegler, *Stèles, peintures et reliefs égyptiens de l'Ancien Empire*, Paris 1990, 167–71, cat. 26. For another example, see the Saqqara tomb of Akhetetep, PM III.2, 634–37; C. Ziegler, *Le Mastaba d'Akhetetep. Une chapelle funéraire de l'ancien Empire*, Paris 1993, 107, 117.

²⁴ Martin, *Reliefs des Alten Reiches I*, 69–72.

²⁵ See K. R. Weeks, *Mastabas of Cemetery G 6000*, Giza Mastabas 5, Boston 1994, fig. 14, and pl. 6a for Neferbaupthah, and fig. 48 for Ity. A similar pose is shown for Ankh-haf (G 7510), possibly a contemporary of Hemiunu's (see Jánosi, *Giza in der 4. Dynastie*, 108–11), but doubtless from his chapel's interior, not from the façade (see HU-MFA Expedition Photograph A6515, and for W. S. Smith drawings, A8001, A8002, and A8003. For reminding me of the existence this scene I thank Edward Brovarski.

²⁶ G. Steindorff, ZÄS 73, 1937, 121: "Die naheliegende Frage, ob etwa unser Köpfchen derselben stehenden Figur des Hemiun angehört, wie der von Junker gefundene Rest mit den Beinen, ist wohl schon wegen der verschiedenartigen Inschrift zu verneinen."

²⁷ For kindly supplying the measurements for the hieroglyphs on Hildesheim Inv. Nr. 2146 I am once again most grateful to Antje Spiekermann.

²⁸ In this very hypothetical reconstruction the position of the staff does not align, and the face relief should be greatly reduced in size.

²⁹ Steindorff, ZÄS 73, 1937, 121. Steindorff reconstructed a height of 1.08 to 1.10 m for such a seated figure.

V) Boundary Issues: The American and German/Austrian Concessions at Giza

In later years, the Boston relief MFA 27.296 was inadvertently drawn into a minor dispute over the Giza excavation concessions as agreed upon by Reisner and Junker. Correspondence exists between the two parties and their institutions, and some notes, written upon the Reisner letters in Dows Dunham's unmistakable handwriting, add the phrases "Complaint re frag. of Relief of Hem-Iwn," and "Re Hem-Iwn fragment." The events seem to have taken the course laid out below.

In 1912 the HU–BMFA Expedition was clearing the eastern portion of the Cemetery en Echelon.³⁰ The (northern) boundary line between the German/Austrian and the American concessions followed east–west from the northwest corner of the Khufu Pyramid through the Western Cemetery (westwards towards the south end of mastaba G 2000 = Lepsius 23; see fig. 18). By the nature of its uneven rows, the Cemetery en Echelon forced the concession boundary line to bisect certain mastabas, leaving them to overlap both concession areas. In October 1912, six months after the conclusion of Junker's first excavation season,³¹ his reis Sadiq believed that Reisner had transgressed too far (southwards) into the German/Austrian concession.³² As Junker was back in Germany at this time, Sadiq undertook to write the officials at the Pelizaeus-Museum, who in turn contacted Reisner at Giza about the matter. While these documents have yet to surface in the archives at the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, if indeed they still exist, there are in Boston two of Reisner's replies, one to Wilhelm Pelizaeus himself (dated October 18, 1912), the other to Junker (dated November 1, 1912). It is these letters that Dows Dunham believed to concern the Hemiunu relief(s), and his confusion is understandable, since no specific tombs or ancient individuals are mentioned in the correspondence. But after quoting both letters in full below, I believe it will be apparent that Reisner is referring to none other than the tomb of Pehenptah (G 5280, formerly known as G 2320), the early Fifth Dynasty royal document scribe and son of Seshemnefer I (owner of G 4940) and Amendjefaes.³³ Pehenptah's tomb was a large, multi-shafted mastaba overlapping the German/Austrian and American concessions' east–west boundary line in the Cemetery en Echelon (fig. 18). Reisner's clearance of the disturbed serdab revealed a series of statues and statue fragments which, I believe, must have caught Sadiq's attention. Reisner's first letter stated (I have not corrected his German):

Pyramids
Cairo
Okt. 18, 1912
Sehr geehrter Herr Pelizaeus,

Ich habe eine Anfrage vom Museum erhalten ob ich auf Ihrem Gebiete grabe. Da diese Anfrage scheinbar auf Ihrem Antrag gemacht worden, möchte ich Sie bitten die Sache selbst zu untersuchen. Sie werden sich erinnern dass wir uns versprochen haben alles unter uns friedlich abzumachen. Das Prinzip dass eine Mastaba die *zum grössten Teil* in einem Gebiet liegt auf der Andere hinüber verfolgt wird ist seit dem ersten Jahre nie angefochten worden. Zum Beispiel, Junker hat im letzten Jahr die grosse Mastaba etwa zehn meter südlich auf unserem Gebiet verfolgt. In dem jetzigen Falle glaube ich doch dass ich die Grenze kaum überschritten haben. Die gegenseitige Anklage beim Museum schadet nur beide Interessen.

Mit bestem Grusse,
Ihr ergebener
[G.A. Reisner]

"Junker's grosse Mastaba" is most likely G 4000, the tomb of Hemiunu, the largest tomb Junker had cleared up to October 1912 (and beyond). Reisner's second letter, addressed to Junker, goes into more detail concerning the principles of concession sharing:

³⁰ See most recently P. Jánosi "Old Kingdom tombs and dating – problems and priorities. The Cemetery en Echelon at Giza," in M. Bárta, ed., *The Old Kingdom Art and Archaeology. Proceedings of the Conference held in Prague*, May 31–June 4, 2004, Prague 2006, 175–83.

³¹ Junker's expedition departed Giza on April 8, 1912 after two and a half months of work. The second season did not commence until December 16, 1912; cf. Junker, *Vorbericht 1913*.

³² At the Institut für Ägyptologie, Universität Wien, there is a diary entry from April 1, 1912: "...Am Morgen kommt Steindorff; Unterredung wegen eines Missverständnisses in der Abtretung der Grabungskonzession." But this incident is clearly connected to the change of expedition directorship at Giza from Steindorff over to Junker, and in any case takes place a good six months before the events in question. I thank Peter Jánosi, kindly brought this diary entry in the Institut für Ägyptologie, Vienna, to my attention.

³³ PM III, 158; Reisner, *Giza Necropolis I*, 251, 376 fig. 209; Junker, *Giza III*, 10 [6]; Piacentini, *Les Scribes dans la société égyptienne de l'Ancien Empire I*, 166–67. For the tomb of Seshemnefer I, see now N. Kanawati, *Tombs at Giza 1. Kaiemankh (G4561) and Seshemnefer I (G4940)*, Warminster 2001.

Pyramids
Cairo
Nov. 1st, 1912

Lieber Freund!

Es thut mir Leid dass Sädeeq sich nicht besser überlegt hat. Dass er Ihnen geschrieben hat, war ganz in Ordnung. Er hat sich aber auch bei dem Geschäftsführer Herrn Pelizaeus beklagt, und der hat einen Brief an das Museum gesandt. Das Museum hat hieraus Ibrahim Faid geschickt um die Frage zu untersuchen. Natürlich hat Sädeeq nur aus Loyalität gehandelt, und darf nicht zu viel getadelt; aber trotzdem hat er sich beklagt ohne mich zu fragen wo die Grenzlinie liegt. Ich versuche eben den nach Osten liegenden Teil unserer Concession fertig zu machen ehe Sie anfangen, damit nichts die Bau Ihrer Feld-bahn-linie über unserer Concession nach Norden verhindert oder verzögert. Die südlichen Ende der Mastaba-Reihe die östlich von der Seshem-nofer Mastaba liegen, sind in einer Fluglinie mit den südlichen Enden der grossen gelben Mastabas welche an Ihrer Nord-grenze liegen. Nach unseren gegenseitigen Abmachungen und der seit Anfang bestehenden Praxis kann kein Zweifel bestehen dass ich nur in vollem Recht gegraben habe.

Uebrigens sind die Statuen nichts besonders – ein zertrümmert, ein kopflos, ein mit beschädigtem Gesicht. Anbei sende ich eine Photographie der Grabung.³⁴

Wir werden uns freuen Sie un Ihr Fräulein Schwester wieder zu sehen. Mit vielen herzlichen Grüssen von uns allen,
Ihr, wie immer,
REISNER.

The key sentence in Reisner's letter towards elucidating the location of the dispute is in the final paragraph, which discusses the "unimpressive" statuary: one destroyed, one headless, and another with damaged face. This description jibes quite well with the statues found in Pehenptah's serdab; these are illustrated in figs. 19–20, although there were actually additional fragments that Reisner did not mention in this letter.³⁵ Reisner defends himself by describing his efforts to clear the area so that Junker may run his Decauville railway over the American concession and out to the north of the Giza plateau.

For some reason, the situation was not resolved until much later, probably due to the two excavators' varying dig schedules, and their concentration on other areas of the Western Cemetery. In May of 1914 Junker wrote to Reisner on the subject:

Wien VIII/1 Alserstrasse 17
am 13. Mai 1914

Lieber Reisner,

wie ich durch einen Brief meines Reis erfahre, liegt ein Missverständnis vor, das ich nur auf ungenügende Information zurückführen kann. Wenn ich recht verstehe, handelt es sich um einen Grabschacht, von dem ich annahm, dass er noch auf unserem Gebiete lag. Ich hatte seinerzeit gebeten, von der Durchsuchung desselben abzustehen, bis ich mit Ihnen persönlich Rücksprache genommen habe. Andererseits stellte ich an der Nordgrenze unserer Grabung auf Bitte Ihres Herrn Assistenten die Arbeit ein, weil er glaubte, dass der jetzt unbearbeitet gebliebene Teil noch zu Ihrer Konzession gehöre. Die Abmachung beruht somit auf voller Gegenseitigkeit. Da sich Ihre Rückkehr verzögerte und ich nicht mehr die Möglichkeit hatte, mit Ihnen zu sprechen, nahm ich an, dass die Entscheidung bis zur nächsten Kampagne vertagt werde. Ich möchte Sie darum bitten, alles bis zu diesem Zeitpunkt auf den status quo zu belassen, da ja hier eine einseitige Lösung nicht angängig ist. Ich bin überzeugt, dass wir mündlich die Frage in kurzer Zeit ohne Schwierigkeit lösen werden, so aber könnte bei Ihnen und meinen Leuten der Anschein erweckt werden, als handle sich um ein Streitobjekt, für das eine friedliche Vereinbarung nicht gefunden werden könne, und es täte mir leid, wenn dadurch ein irgendwie gearteter Gegensatz zwischen unseren Leuten herbeigeführt würde, was wir doch unter allen Umständen vermeiden müssen. Unser Reis beklagt sich, man habe ihn gar mit der Flinte bedroht, als er sich die Sache blos ansehen wollte. Ich glaube wir wollen beide derartige Zustände nicht.

Mit besten Glückwünschen für Ihre glänzenden Erfolge im Sudan und vielen Grüssen verbleibe ich

Ihr sehr ergebener
H. Junker

³⁴ A duplicate print of this photograph was not preserved with the letter in the archives of the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston.

³⁵ Additional views of the tomb are illustrated in E. Brovarski, "A Triad for Pehenptah," in *Essays in honour of Prof. Dr. Jadwiga Lipinska*, Warsaw Egyptological Studies I, Warsaw 1997, pl. 47.1–2.

It seems that depending where exactly one placed the hypothetical east-west boundary line, Reisner was in the right or in the wrong. A hypothetical line running westwards, parallel to the north face of the Khufu pyramid, places part of Pehenptah's mastaba G 5280 in the American concession. However, a hypothetical east-west line following the south face of mastaba G 2000 puts Pehenptah completely in the German/Austrian concession (see fig. 18).

In fact, the statuery turned out to be much more than "nichts besonders," but Reisner may perhaps be forgiven for belittling this find in comparison to the many extraordinary discoveries that he and Junker had so far unearthed. Despite Reisner's rather self-righteous claim of innocence, one wonders if he did not feel some form of restitution was in order after all. The reason for this speculation lies in the fact that the three major statues from the serdab of G 5280 did not all go the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston and the Egyptian Museum, Cairo, but to those museums *plus* the Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna. Boston received the damaged triad of Amendjefaes flanked by two images of her son Pehenptah.³⁶ The standing male figure of Pehenptah, unique in that its *right* leg is advanced, was sent to Cairo.³⁷ And the headless pair statue is now Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna Inv. Nr 7502.³⁸

It is thus clear that this minor squabble, contrary to Dows Dunham's assumptions, and my own incorrect summary of the situation in a previous publication,³⁹ had nothing to do with the tomb of Hemiunu, or the Boston relief MFA 27.296. The boundary dispute occurred in late 1912; the Boston Hemiunu relief was not discovered until December 1925.

Highlighting this correspondence hardly tarnishes the exemplary collaboration between the German/Austrian and the American expeditions to Giza in the first half of the twentieth century. In fact, there were several minor "Grenzüberschreitungen" over the years. For example Georg Steindorff excavated G 2005, which lay clearly in the American portion of the Western Cemetery.⁴⁰ And in 1938, Junker wrote:

Im Jahre 1912 hatte G. Reisner den anschließenden Teil seiner Konzession in Angriff genommen und dabei gebeten, daß das Südende der anstoßenden Mastaba, das auf unserem Gebiet lag, ihm überlassen werde. Er fand hier die Kultkammer des *Symfr* II, deren Zugang in einem Vorraum lag. (Boston Bulletin XI, 20).⁴¹

Despite these events, when Junker hoped to resume his excavations in 1925 after the end of the First World War, Reisner was only too willing to lend him the services of reis Sadiq and other Egyptian staff members, most of whom had joined his crew in 1914.⁴² On May 4, 1931, Junker wrote to Reisner informing him that he (Reisner) had been elected a member of the Archäologisches Institut. And finally, upon receiving congratulatory words from Junker on his seventieth birthday (November 5, 1927), Reisner wrote back stating "... I look forward with pleasure to the continuation of our cooperation reading the history of the Giza necropolis... We have worked side by side at Giza for so many years and have never had a quarrel over our boundaries, and I prize your friendship and your good wishes more than I can say."⁴³ To these two individuals, and in more recent years a host of scholars⁴⁴ following in their footsteps, including the honoree of the present volume, we owe a tradition of international cooperation that has enlightened our attempts to comprehend the development of the Giza plateau. At present, it is a goal of the Giza Archives Project, an international endeavor to share the scholarly documentation online of all archaeological activity at Giza, to continue this tradition.

³⁶ This triad (12-10-4 = MFA 13.4330 +12.4358) has received much attention in recent decades, as parts of it have traveled to Memphis, TN and back to Boston, and its reconstruction, with all three heads in place, is now complete. See M. Eaton-Krauss, "Pseudo-Groups," in *Kunst des Alten Reiches*, SDAIK 28, Mainz 1995, 59, 74, no. *30, pl. 14a, and E. Brovarski, "A Triad for Pehenptah," *Fs. Lipinska*, 261–73. In addition, there were the head and feet of a statuette: MFA 13.3157, Smith *HESPOK*, pl. 26b (lower right). All of the statuery from G 5280 is summarized by Brovarski "A Triad for Pehenptah," *Fs. Lipinska*, esp. 266–68.

³⁷ Egyptian Museum, Cairo JE 44609; Reisner/Fisher, "Preliminary Report on the Work of the Harvard–Boston Expedition in 1911–13," *ASAE* 13, 1914, 250, pl. 10a. The statue was recently illustrated, with a very short description, in R. Assem, "Two Statues and a Naos at the Cairo Museum," *JARCE* 41, 2004, 138, fig. 5.

³⁸ For Vienna Inv. Nr. 7502 see B. Jaroshin-Deckert and E. Rogge, *Statuen des Alten Reiches*, CAA Wien 15 Mainz 1993, 45–49.

³⁹ In 1996 I mistakenly followed Dunham's conclusions relating the Hemiunu relief to this boundary dispute; cf. "A month in the life of a great Egyptologist: George Reisner in March, 1912," *Kmt* 7 no. 2 Summer 1996, 72–73.






⁴⁰ For sharing this discovery with me, I am grateful to Antje Spiekermann, who describes the excavation of G 2005 elsewhere in this volume.






⁴¹ Junker, *Giza III*, Vienna, 1938, 187.

⁴² Junker's request letter to Reisner for the services of Sadiq dates to September 30, 1925; Reisner's reply dates to September 11, 1925; either Reisner meant to type October (instead of September) 11, 1925, or Junker's original Sadiq request predates September 11, 1925. Both letters are stored in the archives of the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston.





⁴³ These letters are also stored in the archives of the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston.

⁴⁴ International Giza collaboration in recent years has been made possible by such scholars as Eleni Vasilika, Giovanni Bergamini, Elise Fiore-Marochetti, and Matilde Borla (Turin), Manfred Bietak, Regina Hözl, and Peter János (Vienna), Stephan Seidlmayer, Stefan Grunert, Dietrich Wildung, and Klaus Finneiser (Berlin), Hans-Werner Fischer-Elfert and Friederike Seyfried (Leipzig), Katja Lembke, Bettina Schmitz, and Antje Spiekermann (Hildesheim), Joan Knudsen, Cathleen Keller, and Elizabeth Minor (Berkeley), Zahi Hawass, Wafaa el-Saddik (Cairo), Kamal Wahied, Ala El-Shahat, Mohammed Shiha, and Mansour Boraik (Giza), William Kelly Simpson (Katonah), Rita Freed and Edward Brovarski (Boston), David Silverman and Josef Wegner (Philadelphia), and Mark Lehner (Giza/Boston).

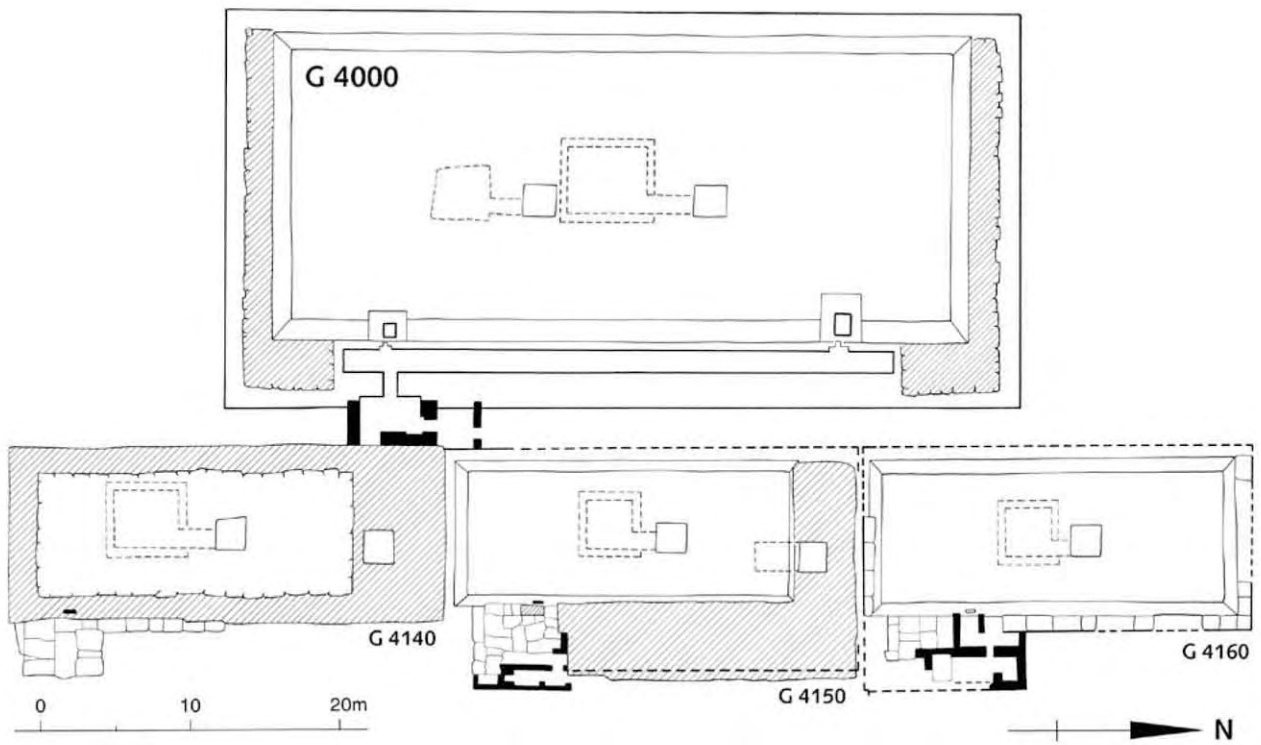
	<p>25-12-299 = MFA 27.296: Relief with face of Hemunu and partial <i>hṯp di nswt</i> formula; width: 39.5 cm; height: 12.1 cm; thickness: 7 cm. Y.J. Markowitz, J.L. Haynes, and R.E. Freed, <i>Egypt in the Age of the Pyramids: Highlights from the Harvard University–Museum of Fine Arts, Boston Expedition</i>, Boston, 2002, 65, cat. 13. W.S. Smith, “The Origin of Some Unidentified Old Kingdom Reliefs,” in <i>AJA</i> 46, 1942, fig. 13; G. Steindorff, in <i>ZAS</i> 75, 1937, 120–21; A. Eggebrecht, <i>Das Alte Reich</i>, Hildesheim/Mainz, 1986, 36–38. Images: SC69634; C11172; C6809, E14213.</p>
	<p>25-12-300: Fragment of limestone wall slab; three dressed surfaces, uninscribed; width: 14 cm; length: 28 cm; thickness: 4.1 cm. No illustration.</p>
	<p>25-12-301: Relief with hand holding staff. Smith, in <i>AJA</i> 46, 1942, fig. 14. Images: SC172209; B9107.</p>
	<p>25-12-302: Relief with part of Min sign (Sign List R23). Smith, in <i>AJA</i> 46, 1942, fig. 16.</p>
	<p>25-12-304a–b: Relief with hieroglyphic titles: <i>hṯp mrwy pr-wr; s3 nswt Hm-ḥwnw</i>. Smith, in <i>AJA</i> 46, 1942, fig. 16. Images: top: SC172210; B9107; C13245; bottom: SC172211; B9107.</p>

	25-12-305a-c: Three chips from limestone wall relief slabs; unscribed; a) width: 6.2 cm; length: 8.6 cm. b) width: 4.2 cm; length: 8 cm. c) width: 4.7 cm; length: 6.2 cm. No illustration.
	25-12-306: Chip from limestone wall relief; lower part of leg and foot barely visible; badly worn; width: 9.5 cm; length: 8.5 cm. No illustration.
	25-12-307: Chip from limestone wall relief; unscribed, red paint line visible. Illustration in HU-MFA Object Register.
	25-12-308: Relief with procession of animals (legs). Smith, in <i>AJA</i> 46, 1942, fig. 12. Images: B9107.
	25-12-309: Relief with lion <i>hst</i> sign: donated to Pelizaeus-Museum, Hildesheim Inv. Nr. 4532. Smith, <i>AJA</i> 46 (1942), fig. 16; K. Martin, <i>Reliefs des Alten Reiches</i> 1, Pelizaeus-Museum Hildesheim, CAA 3, Mainz, 1978, 188-90. Images: B8220.
	25-12-310: Relief with ram <i>hnm/bs</i> sign: donated to Pelizaeus-Museum, Hildesheim Inv. Nr. 4532. Smith, <i>AJA</i> 46 (1942), fig. 16; K. Martin, <i>Reliefs des Alten Reiches</i> 1, Pelizaeus-Museum Hildesheim, CAA 3, Mainz, 1978, 188-90. Images: B8220.
	25-12-311: Relief with <i>r</i> sign: donated to Pelizaeus-Museum, Hildesheim Inv. Nr. 4532. Height: 16.5 cm; Width: 2.8 cm. Smith, in <i>AJA</i> 46, 1942, fig. 16; K. Martin, <i>Reliefs des Alten Reiches</i> 1, Pelizaeus-Museum Hildesheim, CAA 3, Mainz, 1978, 188-90. Images: B8220.
	25-12-312 = MFA 25.2936: Relief with male head and upper torso, facing left. Smith, in <i>AJA</i> 46, 1942, fig. 14. Images: SC122227; B99107; C13245.

	<p>25-12-313 = MFA 25.2937: Relief with standing male hieroglyph holding staff. Smith, in <i>AJA</i> 46, 1942, fig. 16. Images: SC122228; B9107; B8220.</p>
	<p>25-12-314 = MFA 25.2938: Relief with cow's and black-painted lines (now faded away). Smith, in <i>AJA</i> 46, 1942, fig. 12. Images: SC122229; B9107; C13245.</p>
	<p>25-12-315 = MFA 25.2939: Relief with basket <i>nb</i> basket sign and round hieroglyph. Smith, in <i>AJA</i> 46, 1942, fig. 16. Images: SC122230; B8220; B9110.</p>
	<p>25-12-316 = MFA 25.2940: Relief with raised area for a hieroglyph, register line or perhaps a border; width: 5.4 cm; length: 8.5 cm. Images: SC122231; B9107.</p>
	<p>25-12-317 = MFA 25.2941: Relief with part of tall <i>s</i> sign and red paint line; width: 3.1 cm length: 4.6 cm. Smith, in <i>AJA</i> 46, 1942, fig. 16. Images: SC122232; B9107; C13245.</p>

	<p>25-12-318 = MFA 25.2942: Relief with unintelligible(?) sign (<i>sw</i> plant?); fragment of surface broken away; width: 5.1 cm; length: 10.6 cm. Smith, in <i>AJA</i> 46, 1942, fig. 16. Images: B9107; C13245.</p>
	<p>25-12-319: Two fragments of limestone wall slabs with tool marks, one adze cut; width: first fragment: 6.3 cm; second fragment: 6.8 cm; length: first fragment: 14 cm; second fragment: 9.7 cm. No illustration (no photographs listed in HU—MFA Object Register).</p>
	<p>25-12-324 = MFA 27.1123: Relief with face of Hemiunu with valanced wig, facing right; height: 9.3 cm; width: 24 cm. Smith, in <i>AJA</i> 46, 1942, fig. 13. Images: SC122287.</p>
	<p>25-12-325 = MFA 25.2946: Relief with plow or whip (<i>mr</i>, <i>mḥ</i> or <i>šd</i>) and <i>ḥm</i> sign, with vertical text column line at right. Smith, in <i>AJA</i> 46, 1942, 16. Images: SC122233; B9107; B8220.</p>
	<p>25-12-326 = MFA 25.2947: Relief with <i>nb</i> basket and vertical text column line at left. Smith, in <i>AJA</i> 46, 1942, 16. Images: SC122234; B9107; B8220.</p>

	<p>25-12-327 = MFA 25.2948: Relief with fragmentary hieroglyph and line. Smith, in <i>AJA</i> 46, 1942, fig. 16. Images: SC122235; B9107; C13245.</p>
	<p>25-12-328 = MFA 25.2949: Relief with unidentified hieroglyph, possibly <i>smꜣ</i>? (stolist). Smith, in <i>AJA</i> 46, 1942, fig. 16. Images: SC122236; B9107; B8220.</p>
	<p>25-12-329 = MFA 25.2950: Relief with part of male shoulder, and two red-painted guide lines. Smith, in <i>AJA</i> 46, 1942, fig. 14. Images: SC122237; B9107; B8220.</p>
	<p>25-12-330: Relief with basketry or similarly ribbed sign or item. Smith, in <i>AJA</i> 46, 1942, fig. 16. Images: B8220.</p>



area of enlargement above:

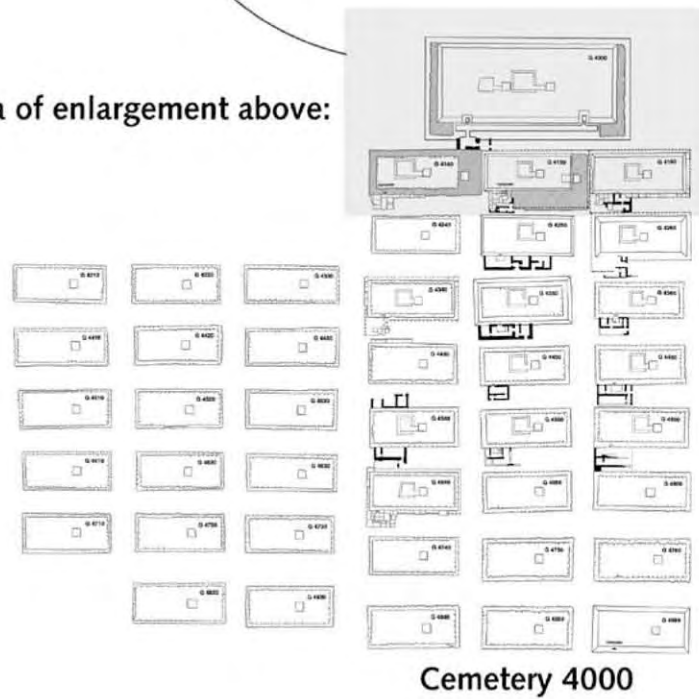


Fig. 1: Overview plan of Cemetery 4000, with detail view of mastabas G 4000, G 4140, G 4150, and G 4160; after P. Jánosi, *Giza in der 4. Dynastie*, Plan 4 (drawing by Liza Majerus, with author's additions).



Fig. 2: The Western Cemetery prior to the clearance of the area around the tomb of Hemiunu (G 4000), looking northwest from the Khafre pyramid (compare fig. 3). December 1906, HU-MEA Expedition Photograph, Said Ahmed (A13022).



Fig. 3: Clearance of the Western Cemetery around the tomb of Hemianu (G 4000), looking northwest from the Khafre pyramid. The white dot indicates the findspot of the Hemianu fragments. October 12, 1913, HU-MFA Expedition Photograph, Mohammed Shaduf (A1092).

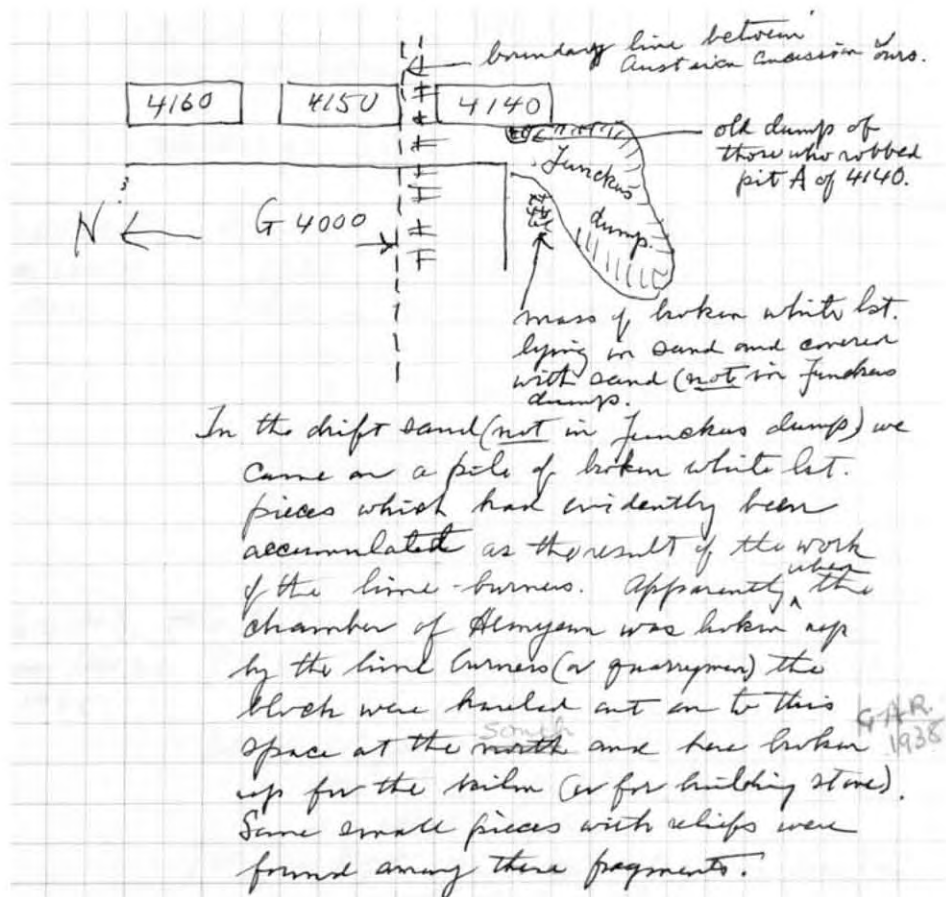


Fig. 4: G.A. Reisner's HU-MFA Expedition Diary page for Sunday, December 20, 1925 (ED25_12_099).

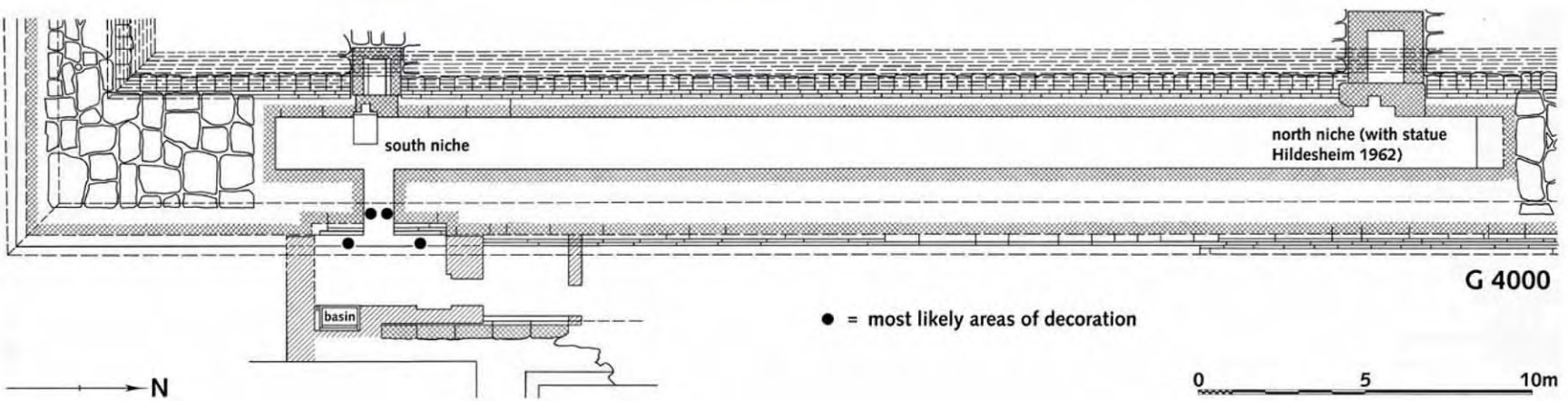


Fig. 5: Plan of the chapel of Hemimu, G 4000 by Nicholas Melnikoff = Reisner, *Giza Necropolis I*, 213, fig. 121, with additions.



Fig. 6: G 4000, eastern extension and corridor chapel, looking north. Above: Junker Expedition, 1912 (AEOS I 5294, courtesy Kunsthistorisches Museum and the Institut für Ägyptologie, Vienna); below: January 16, 2004, Peter Der Manuelian, (PDM_01283).



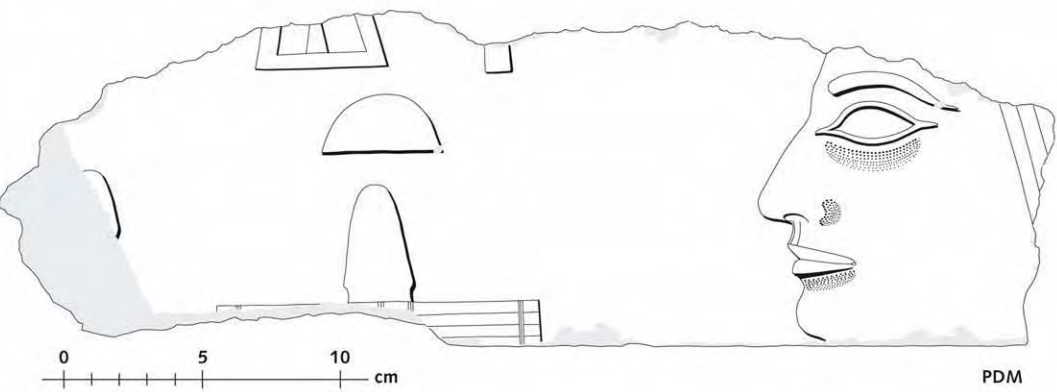
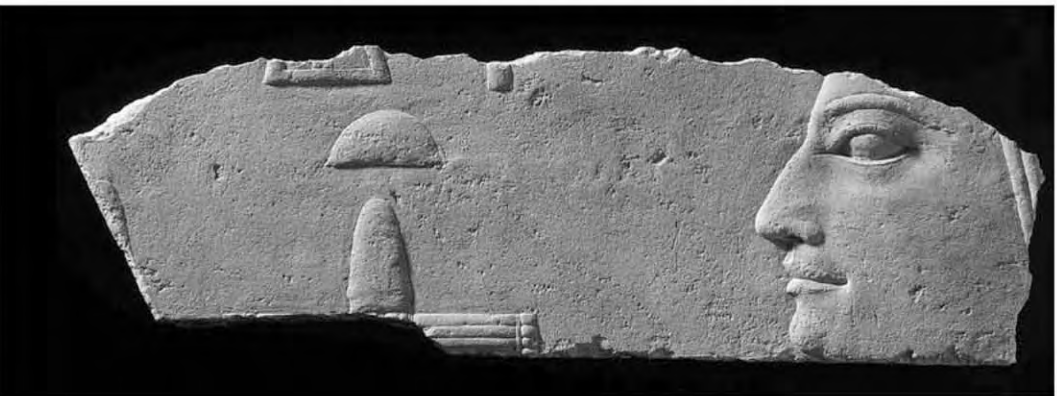
Fig. 7: G 4000, southern false door niche, looking west. Above: Junker Expedition, 1912 (AEOS I 5300, courtesy Kunsthistorisches Museum and the Institut für Ägyptologie, Vienna); below: January 14, 2004, Peter Der Manuelian (PDM_00967).



Fig. 8: G 4000, offering basin set into the southeast corner of exterior chapel, looking east. Above: Junker Expedition, 1912 (AEOS I 5293, courtesy Kunsthistorisches Museum and the Institut für Ägyptologie, Vienna); below: January 14, 2004, Peter Der Manuelian (PDM_00965).



Fig. 9: G 4000, north chapel niche, looking west. Above: Junker Expedition, 1912 (AEOS I 5264, courtesy Kunsthistorisches Museum and the Institut für Ägyptologie, Vienna); below: August 11, 2005, Peter Der Manuelian (PDM_03541).



Figs. 10: Relief fragment of Hemiunu. Object Register no. 25-12-299 = MFA 27.296. Above: January 9, 1927, Mohammedani Ibrahim (C11172); below: July 10, 2003, Museum of Fine Arts, Boston (SC69634).

Fig. 11: 2008 line drawing of Hemiunu relief, MFA 27.296.



Fig. 12: Relief fragment of Hemionnu. Object Register no. 25-12-324 = MFA 27.1123; December 9, 2004, Museum of Fine Arts, Boston (SC122287).

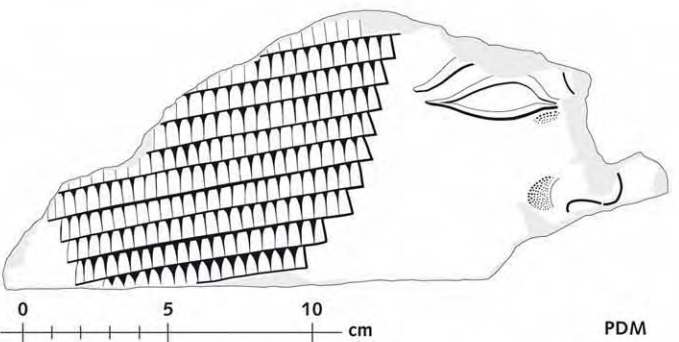


Fig. 13: 2008 line drawing of Hemionnu relief, MFA 27.1123.

Fig. 14: Two Hemionnu face reliefs illustrated at actual relative scale (left: 27.1123; right: 27.296, detail).

Left: December 9, 2004, Museum of Fine Arts, Boston (SC122287);
right: January 9, 1927, Mohammedani Ibrahim (C111172).



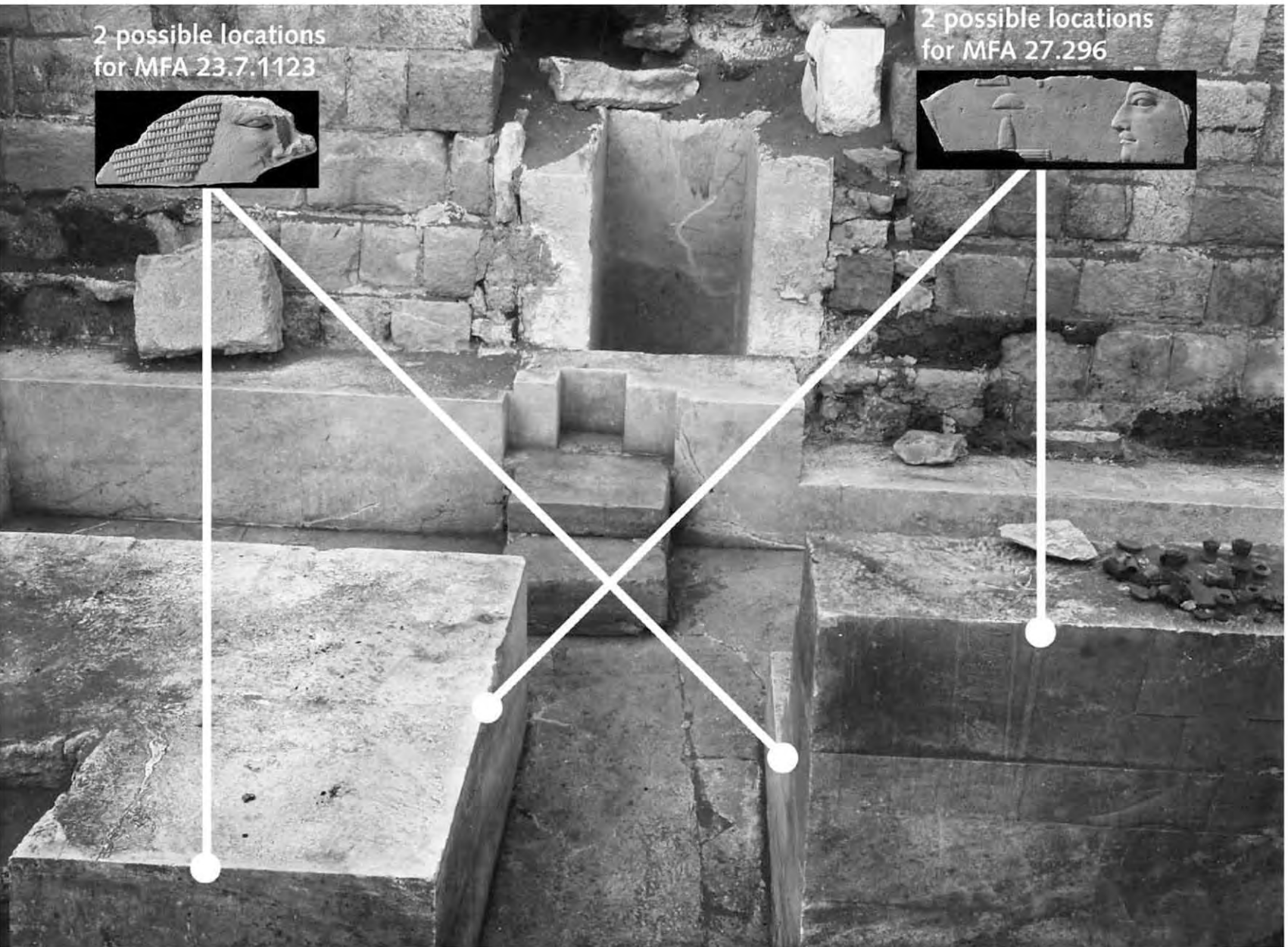


Fig. 15: G 4000, southern false door niche, looking west, with possible locations for reliefs of Hemiunu marked (MFA 27.1123 and 27.296). Junker Expedition, 1912 (AEOS I 5300, courtesy Kunsthistorisches Museum and the Institut für Ägyptologie, Vienna).

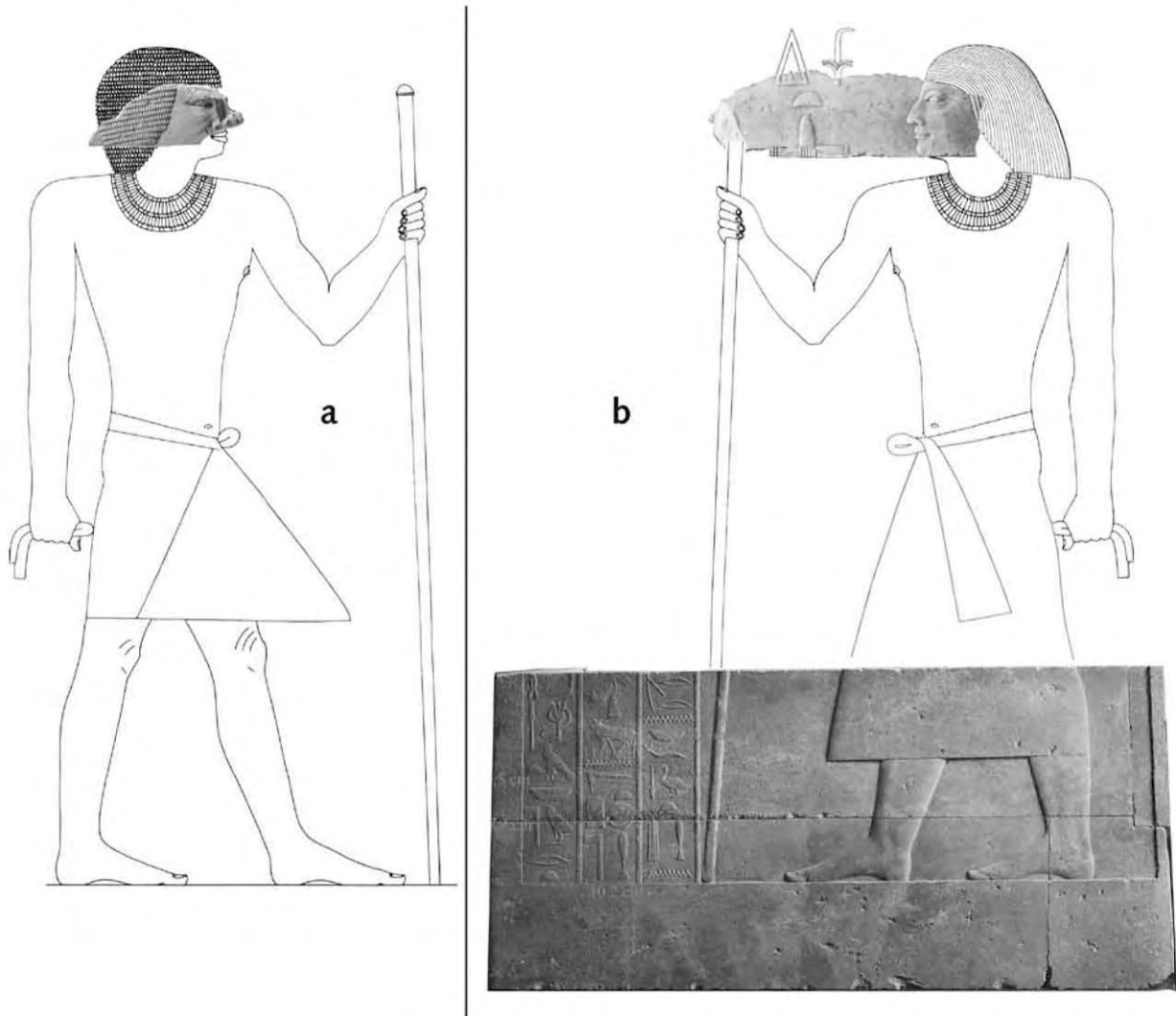


Fig. 16: Possible reconstructions for G 4000, exterior façade of the chapel;
 a: south of entrance, facing north; b: north of entrance, facing south.

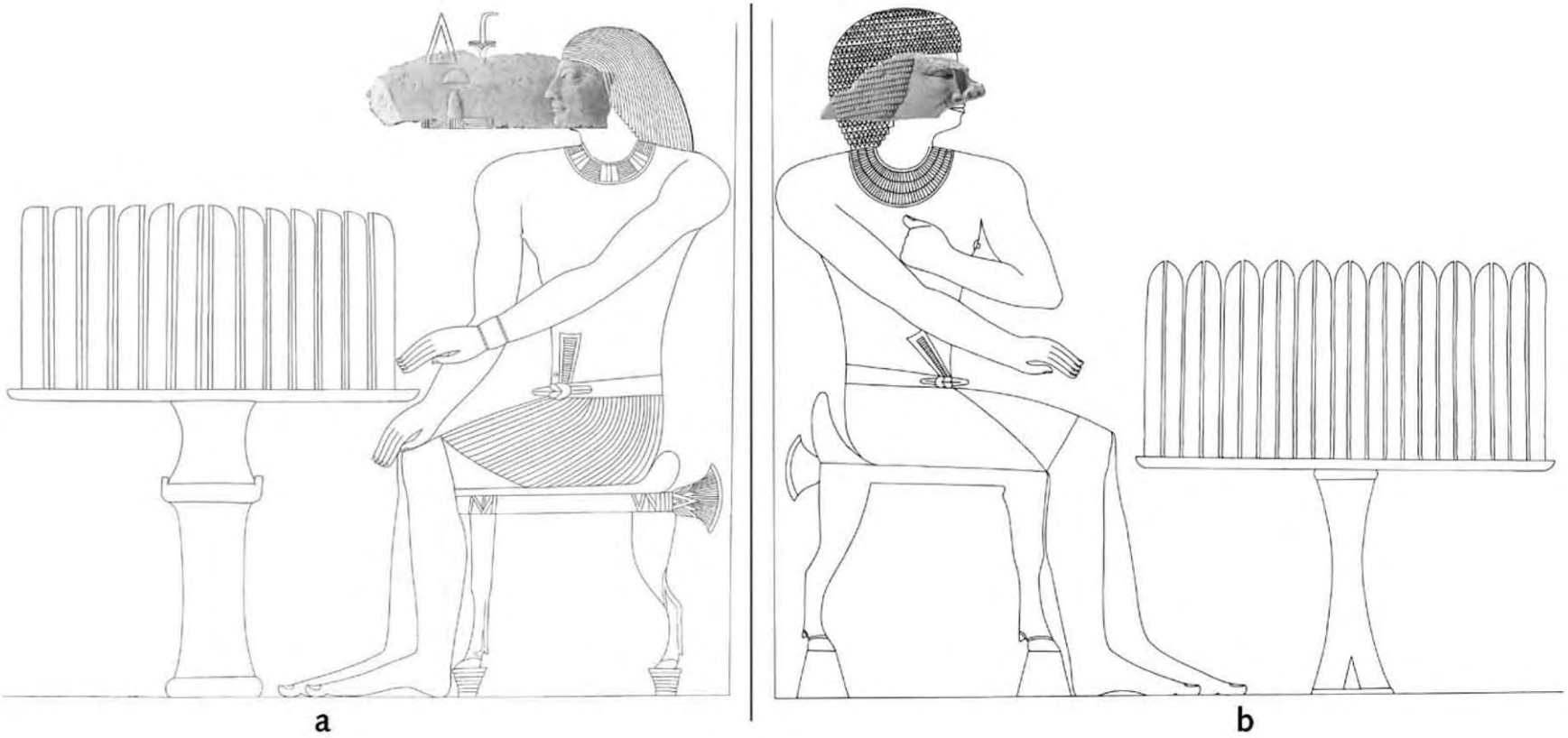


Fig. 17: Possible reconstructions for G 4000, entrance thicknesses; a: south thickness, facing east; b: north thickness, facing east.



Fig. 19: G 5280 (= G 2320), Pehemprah, serdab partly cleared, with statues in situ, looking north (12-10-4 = MFA 13.4330, 12-10-3, 12-10-2 = JE 44609). October 10, 1912, Bishari Mahfud (A696).

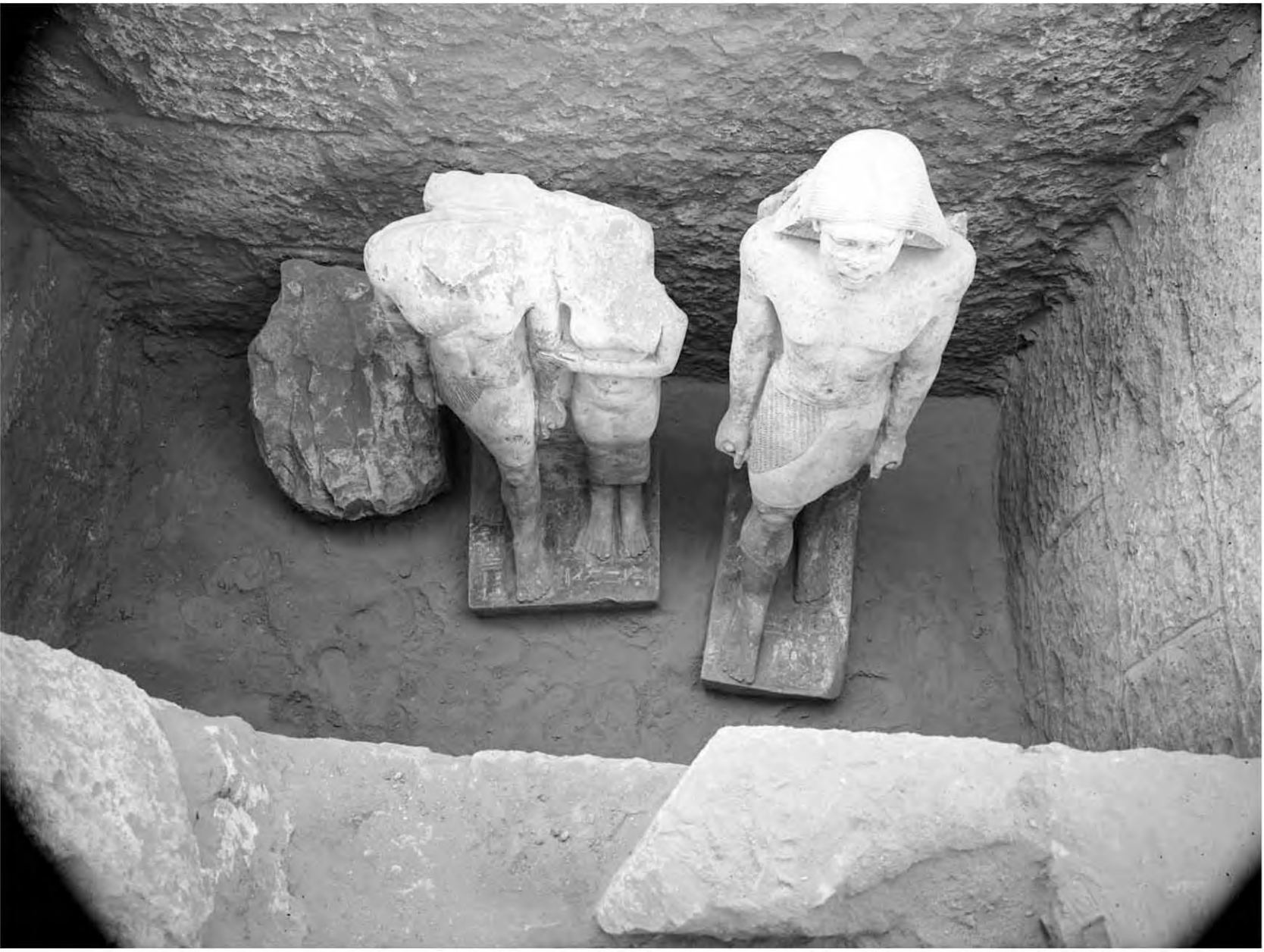


Fig. 20: G 5280 (= G 2320), Pehepneh, serdab cleared, with statues in situ, looking west (12-10-4 = MFA 13.4330, 12-10-3, 12-10-2 = JE 44609). October 11, 1912, Bishari Mahfud (A697).