

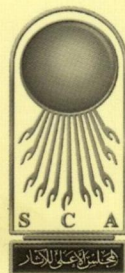
# Perspectives on Ancient Egypt

Studies in Honor of Edward Brovarski



Edited by  
**Zahi Hawass**  
**Peter Der Manuelian**  
**Ramadan B. Hussein**

CAHIER N° 40



SUPPLÉMENT AUX ANNALES DU SERVICE DES  
ANTIQUITÉS DE L'ÉGYPTÉ

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# THE MASTABAS OF DUAENRA (G 5110) AND KHEMETNU (G 5210) IN THE WESTERN CEMETERY AT GIZA: FAMILY RELATIONSHIPS AND TOMB DECORATION IN THE LATE FOURTH DYNASTY<sup>1</sup>

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*Laurel FLENTYE*

**I**t is a great pleasure to contribute this article to Dr. Edward Brovarski's Festschrift. Dr. Brovarski was an invaluable support and inspiration during my doctoral research on the Eastern Cemetery (G 7000) at Giza. His commitment to documenting the cemeteries at this necropolis conveys his own deep appreciation of this site, its funerary architecture, and decorative programs. It is to Dr. Brovarski that I dedicate this article.

The mastabas of Duaenra (G 5110) and Khemetnu (G 5210) in the Western Cemetery at Giza are important examples of tombs whose owners may have a connection to the royal family buried in the Eastern Cemetery (G 7000) and their decorative programs. The location of these two mastabas near Khufu's pyramid<sup>2</sup> may indicate that they were of high status. The mastaba of Duaenra (G 5110) is dated to the reign of Menkaura,<sup>3</sup> although a date in Khafra is also suggested;<sup>4</sup> while, Khemetnu's mastaba (G 5210) is also dated to the late Fourth Dynasty,<sup>5</sup> possibly early Fifth Dynasty.<sup>6</sup> Scholars have traditionally associated Duaenra and Khemetnu with Khufu's family: Duaenra is considered to be a son of Meresankh III and Khafra<sup>7</sup> making him a great-grandson of Khufu, while Khemetnu has the title of steward to Khufu's children and a grandchild.<sup>8</sup> These relationships with Khufu's family make their connection to the Eastern Cemetery (G 7000) an obvious one, which is further emphasized by iconographic as well as inscriptional evidence; however, Reisner's interpretation of certain aspects of this evidence is no longer accepted, serving as a catalyst for a reassessment of these two mastabas. Thus, through a study of the archaeological, inscriptional, iconographic, and stylistic evidence, it may be possible to place Duaenra and Khemetnu within the historical framework of the mid to late Fourth Dynasty and the proposed interconnections between the Western and Eastern Cemeteries at Giza.

## **Mastaba of Duaenra (G 5110)**

The mastaba of Duaenra (G 5110) is believed to belong to the son of Meresankh III based on an inscription in her rock-cut tomb (G 7530sub) in the Eastern Cemetery

(G 7000) in which a smaller figure that is painted on, rather than in relief decoration, is identified as:  $\text{z} \text{ nswt } n \text{ ht.f } Dw\text{z-r}^c$ .<sup>9</sup> Although missing the *n* of Duaenra's name (G 5110), this figure and inscription were used by Reisner in assigning G 5110 to this son of Meresankh III.<sup>10</sup> A study of this figure and inscription shows, however, there are no traces of an *n*.<sup>11</sup> Strudwick mentions one spelling of Duaenra's name in G 5110 that is also missing the *n*.<sup>12</sup> However, he considers this a mistake, possibly due to inadequate space for the inscription on the false door stela.<sup>13</sup> In the rock-cut tomb of Nebemakhet (LG 86, G 8172) in the Central Field, a brother of Duara and also depicted in Meresankh III's rock-cut tomb (G 7530sub), a Dua[enra] (?) is mentioned in an inscription.<sup>14</sup> However, the last part of his name is missing. The coordination of the Duara in Meresankh III's tomb (G 7530sub) with the Duaenra of mastaba G 5110 remains purely hypothetical.

The problematic issue regarding Duaenra's parentage is also related to two other factors. Firstly, Duaenra is missing a title with *n it.f*, which is held by two other presumed sons of Meresankh III and Khafra, Nebemaket (LG 86, G 8172)<sup>15</sup> and Niuserra (G 8140),<sup>16</sup> who have rock-cut tombs in the Central Field, southeast of the pyramid complex of Khafra. The absence of a title with *n it.f* suggests that Duaenra (G 5110) is not a king's son.<sup>17</sup> Secondly, if Duaenra was a son of Khafra, then he should have been buried in the Central Field along with his other sons.<sup>18</sup> Duaenra's burial in the Western Cemetery may indicate that he had a stronger connection to Khufu.<sup>19</sup>

### Archaeological Evidence

The large scale of Duaenra's mastaba (G 5110) is an important factor when analyzing the tomb owner's status within the Western Cemetery. It measures 51.5 x 24.5m,<sup>20</sup> and is Reisner's type VIIIx.<sup>21</sup> The mastaba contains only one shaft, which is constructed within the core.<sup>22</sup> The position and large scale of Duaenra's mastaba (G 5110) is reminiscent of mastabas G 1201, G 2100, and G 4000 in the Western Cemetery, which belonged to high-ranking individuals.<sup>23</sup> In the Eastern Cemetery (G 7000), the mastaba of Ankh-haf (G 7510), although of a larger size,<sup>24</sup> also has the same central importance. Possibly, Duaenra's status as a vizier<sup>25</sup> was a factor in the size and plan of his mastaba. Interestingly, the mastaba's north side aligns approximately with the north edge of Queen's Pyramid GI-b in the Eastern Cemetery (G 7000), while its south side aligns with the south edge of the mastaba of Ankh-haf (G 7510), Queen's Pyramid GI-b, and the south side of Khufu's pyramid.

The mastaba of Duaenra (G 5110) is located in the southeastern part of the Western Cemetery, and is positioned in an area that should have contained two smaller mastabas typical of the Cemetery en Échelon.<sup>26</sup> According to Reisner, two mastabas were either never built or were destroyed in order to construct Duaenra's mastaba (G 5110).<sup>27</sup> He dated the en Échelon plan in the Western Cemetery to Khafra's reign, possibly after Year 13, based on the en Échelon section in the Eastern Cemetery (G 7000),<sup>28</sup> or to early



in Menkaura's reign.<sup>29</sup> Reisner also believed that the Cemetery en Échelon was already built when mastaba G 5110 was constructed, which he dated to probably the middle of Menkaura's reign.<sup>30</sup> Jánosi, however, has demonstrated that the en Échelon principle is already a feature of some of the mastabas in the G 2100 Cemetery in the Western Cemetery, which he dates to Khufu's reign.<sup>31</sup> Using the mastaba type in the Cemetery en Échelon (Reisner's core type IIa) and the construction material, Jánosi argues that in fact the Cemetery en Échelon was built by Khufu towards the end of his reign, but 'left unfinished and unassigned....'<sup>32</sup> Furthermore, Jánosi questions the relationship of Duaenra's mastaba (G 5110) to the Cemetery en Échelon,<sup>33</sup> leaving the architectural connection between the two an unresolved issue.

### Inscriptional Evidence

The inscriptional evidence associated with the mastaba of Duaenra (G 5110) is not adequate for dating it to a particular reign. A flake of limestone (MFA 15-1-24) was found in the debris of the mastaba with the words: 'Western', *stt.t* and *wꜣd.t*, and 'Overseer of gangs of ten' in addition to two names of overseers, Perneb and Iwfy.<sup>34</sup> Unfortunately, this inscription does not give the date of an occurrence which would make it useful for dating the mastaba's construction. Additionally, no kings' names are mentioned in Duaenra's mastaba (G 5110) or on the associated fragments. From his titles, it is apparent that Duaenra was a vizier and a 'king's son of his body';<sup>35</sup> but, as stated above, he lacked titles ending in *n it.f* which the probable sons of Khafra, buried in the Central Field, have in their titles.<sup>36</sup> This would make Duaenra then a high-ranking official rather than a son of Khafra, particularly as it is not proven that 'born princes' were buried in the Western Cemetery.<sup>37</sup> Yet, his name, Duaenra, demonstrates a close affinity with the rising solar cult, similar to the names of probable sons of Khafra, i.e., Niuserra (G 8140), Sekhemkara (LG 89, G 8154), Nikaura (LG 87, G 8158), and Ankhmara (G 8460).

### Iconography

The layout of Duaenra's chapel (G 5110) reflects designs occurring throughout the Giza Necropolis (Fig. 1). The chapel's dimensions are 7.85 x 1.75m;<sup>38</sup> its scale resembles Ankh-haf's chapel (G 7510) in the Eastern Cemetery (G 7000), which also has two false doors.<sup>39</sup> The cruciform plan of Duaenra's chapel (G 5110) (Reisner's type 6b)<sup>40</sup> with a central entrance on the east wall is also a feature of the chapel of Queen's Pyramid GI-b and possibly the interior chapel of mastaba G 7530/7540<sup>41</sup> in the Eastern Cemetery (G 7000), the rock-cut tomb of Nebemakhet (LG 86, G 8172) in the Central Field, and Queen's Pyramid GIII-a adjacent to Menkaura's pyramid.<sup>42</sup> It is interesting that Duaenra as a high-ranking official selected a type of chapel that is associated with members of the royal family, particularly females. Finally, the construction of the

chapel with fine quality limestone contributed to the exquisite carving and modeling, equaling not only the mastabas in the Eastern Cemetery (G 7000) but also royal reliefs.

The entrance thicknesses of Duaenra's chapel (G 5110) show the tomb owner seated on a chair with a low-back cushion,<sup>43</sup> lion's feet, and both regular and inverted cones for socles.<sup>44</sup> He faces east with attendants behind.<sup>45</sup> On the north entrance thickness, Duaenra wears a panther skin and holds a scepter in his right hand and a staff in the left (Fig. 2).<sup>46</sup> The holding of a scepter and staff by the seated tomb owner on a north entrance thickness also occurs in the mastaba of Kaninisut II (G 2156),<sup>47</sup> which is dated to the mid-Fifth Dynasty.<sup>48</sup> Behind Duaenra on the north entrance thickness are two pairs of attendants each on a register facing right/east (Fig. 3). The first attendant on the top register holds a document (?) and staff, while the second has a sack over one shoulder and a bucket with a wide-ended object in his left hand. Figures holding sacks occur throughout Fourth and Fifth Dynasty chapels in the Eastern<sup>49</sup> and Western<sup>50</sup> cemeteries in addition to the Central Field.<sup>51</sup> The bucket with the wide-ended object, however, also appears in chapels in the Western Cemetery<sup>52</sup> (see n. 50) and on a fragment from the mastaba of Kaemnefret (GIIS) in the GIS Cemetery,<sup>53</sup> which dates to the early Fifth Dynasty or later.<sup>54</sup> On the bottom register behind Duaenra is an attendant carrying pleated bolts of cloth,<sup>55</sup> iconography that also decorates false doors, with an inscription above, *iti wnhw*. Smith dated the use of *wnhw* 'clothing' in offering lists to the Fifth and Sixth Dynasties.<sup>56</sup> The second attendant on the bottom register holds a chest. In front of Duaenra is an offering formula with a figure holding a document facing left/west on the bottom register and a slaughtering scene on the right/east section of the north entrance thickness (see Fig. 2).<sup>57</sup> On the south entrance thickness, Duaenra wears a pleated kilt rather than a panther skin (Fig. 4). Behind him are two attendants on the preserved bottom register (Fig. 5). An inscription is given above: *iti wnhw*. The first attendant, similar to the north entrance thickness, holds bolts of cloth but here they are unpleated. The attendant on the right/west carries vessels,<sup>58</sup> which were used for washing before and after the meal ('washing set').<sup>59</sup> In front of the tomb owner is an offering formula and an approaching figure facing right/west.<sup>60</sup> The eastern section of the south entrance thickness is mostly destroyed; however, it may also have depicted a slaughtering scene.<sup>61</sup>

The east wall in Duaenra's chapel (G 5110) is divided into north and south sections, based on the central entrance, with images of the tomb owner facing away from the entrance on either section. On the south, Duaenra stands facing right/south towards a 'presentation' scene.<sup>62</sup> Only the lower portion of his legs is preserved but he does carry a staff. According to Smith, craftsmen scenes originally decorated the east wall's southern section, including boat building.<sup>63</sup> Interestingly, scenes with craftsmen in five registers south of the entrance also decorate the rock-cut chapels of Meresankh III (G 7530sub),<sup>64</sup> Nebemakhet (LG 86, G 8172),<sup>65</sup> and Khuenra (MQ 1)<sup>66</sup> of the late Fourth Dynasty,<sup>67</sup> in addition to possibly the mastaba of Hemiuunu (G 4000).<sup>68</sup> The placement

of craftsmen scenes south of the entrance also reaffirms a local geography, namely the settlement site excavated by Mark Lehner, an area of production located to the southeast of the royal necropolis area.<sup>69</sup> On the preserved bottom register in front of Duaenra is a document bearer facing left/north<sup>70</sup> with two men behind leading an oryx and antelope respectively with an ibex at the rear (Figs 6, 7).<sup>71</sup> Oryxes and/or ibexes decorate the east walls in the chapels of the Eastern (G 7000)<sup>72</sup> and Western<sup>73</sup> Cemeteries. Oryxes also appear on the east walls in the Central Field, including the tomb of Kaemnefret.<sup>74</sup> The two men leading animals in Duaenra's chapel (G 5110) wear kilts; the second figure has a more distinctive flap on his kilt and also possibly wears a beard. Inscriptions above the animals identify them. At the top of the register is another inscription stating that the offerings are coming from Duaenra's Upper Egyptian estate,<sup>75</sup> making the southern section of the east wall an appropriate location for these desert animals as their origin is in the south.

The south wall depicts Duaenra standing and facing right/west with offering tables<sup>76</sup> in front and a trussed goose,<sup>77</sup> with a slaughtering scene below (Fig. 8).<sup>78</sup> Duaenra leans on a staff,<sup>79</sup> which is iconography characteristic of the chapels in the Eastern Cemetery (G 7000) including: Khufu-khaf I (G 7140), Ankh-haf (G 7510), and Akhethetep and Meretites (G 7650) (Fig. 9).<sup>80</sup> Interestingly, Duaenra, Khufu-khaf I, and Ankh-haf are viziers,<sup>81</sup> and all three use this image, connecting them both through their titles and iconography.<sup>82</sup> Although Duaenra's left leg is missing, the position of leaning on a staff with both feet on the ground may be an 'outdoor' pose in a 'viewing' scene.<sup>83</sup> Yet, here, in Duaenra's chapel (G 5110), this type of figure is combined with offering tables and a slaughtering scene. Although offering table scenes usually occur on the south walls in the mastabas of the Eastern Cemetery (G 7000), the tomb owner is shown seated. Moreover, slaughtering scenes typically appear on the west wall in connection with the false door. This alteration in layout is probably due to the chapel type with two false doors. Interestingly, offering tables and a slaughtering scene decorate the south wall in entrance chamber (a) of the rock-cut tomb of Meresankh III (G 7530sub), but with the tomb owner seated.<sup>84</sup> The slaughtering scene on Duaenra's south wall also has distinctive iconography: the butcher's head is placed between his arms as he holds the foreleg (Fig. 10).<sup>85</sup> This particular pose resembles slaughtering scenes in the chapels of Djaty (G 7810) of the late Fourth/early Fifth Dynasty in the Eastern Cemetery (G 7000),<sup>86</sup> Kai (G 4651) of the early to mid-Fifth Dynasty in the Western Cemetery,<sup>87</sup> and Akhethetep's chapel of the early Fifth to early Sixth Dynasties in the Central Field.<sup>88</sup> In this respect, the artisans of Duaenra's chapel (G 5110) used particular iconography that suggests a specific artisan(s) or one group of artisans influencing another. Behind the south wall is a serdab.<sup>89</sup>

The west wall depicts two scenes between the two false doors: on the south section, a preliminary carving suggests a seated figure of Duaenra facing right/north with traces of an offering table in front; while, on the north section, the tomb owner stands

right/north facing offerings of cattle (Fig. 11).<sup>90</sup> In front of the traces of the offering table on the south is an unfinished object (offering?) with possibly unfinished offerings above. The design of a tomb owner seated facing right/north on the west wall's south section between two false doors with an offering table in front (and offerings to the right of the table) resembles the layout of Akhethetep and Meretites' west wall (G 7650) in the Eastern Cemetery (G 7000),<sup>91</sup> dated from Khufu through Khafra.<sup>92</sup> On the northern section of Duaenra's west wall, the tomb owner's feet face right/north with traces of a staff in front, iconography that is dated to the late Fourth Dynasty or possibly earlier.<sup>93</sup> Behind Duaenra's feet are two small-scale figures: the one directly behind faces right/north, while the second one faces left/south towards the offering table scene. According to Junker, Duaenra's son is shown with him;<sup>94</sup> so, the small-scale figure directly behind him may be his son, particularly as he is carrying a staff.<sup>95</sup> In front of Duaenra's staff is another small-scale figure facing left/south. Behind him are two preserved registers: on the top register are traces of a cow with a herdsman behind, whose kilt is made of a similar material to that worn by a herdsman in the rock-cut tomb of Meresankh III (G 7530sub) in the Eastern Cemetery (G 7000) of the late Fourth Dynasty,<sup>96</sup> in addition to Seneb's mastaba (PM 101)<sup>97</sup> which Cherpion dates to Djedefra<sup>98</sup> and Iymery's mastaba (G 6020) in the Western Cemetery of the Fifth Dynasty (see Fig. 11).<sup>99</sup> In the register below, a herdsman stands between two cattle. In the Eastern Cemetery (G 7000), files of cattle/oxen occur both on the west and east walls. In Ankh-haf's chapel (G 7510), Smith reconstructs the west wall with cattle,<sup>100</sup> while cattle and oxen decorate the east walls in the mastaba of Nefermaat (G 7060)<sup>101</sup> and the rock-cut chapel of Meresankh III (G 7530sub),<sup>102</sup> both of the late Fourth/early Fifth Dynasty.<sup>103</sup> In the Western Cemetery, cattle occur on the west walls in the mastabas of Nesutnefer (G 4970),<sup>104</sup> Seshathetep (G 5150),<sup>105</sup> and Iymery (G 6020),<sup>106</sup> all of the late Fourth/Fifth Dynasty.<sup>107</sup> In the Central Field, cattle decorate the west wall in the tomb of Kaemnefret of the mid-Fifth Dynasty.<sup>108</sup>

The north wall in Duaenra's chapel (G 5110) is mostly missing (Fig. 12). However, the tomb owner's feet decorate the left side facing right/east with a staff in front. Two small-scale, male figures face left/west, towards the northern false door, in front of the staff. Interestingly, Duaenra is shown standing on both the north and south walls in the chapel similar to Akhethetep and Meretites' chapel (G 7650) which also has two false doors.

The northern section of the east wall shows Duaenra standing near the entrance facing left/north in a 'viewing' scene. On a reconstructed block, two attendants face left/north on a register line behind Duaenra's head. The tomb owner wears a shoulder-length wig. Behind Duaenra's legs is his dog.<sup>109</sup> In the Eastern Cemetery (G 7000), the south walls in the chapel of Nefermaat (G 7060)<sup>110</sup> and entrance chamber (a) of Meresankh III's rock-cut tomb (G 7530sub) depict the tomb owner with a dog.<sup>111</sup> In front of Duaenra are two columns of text facing left/north: [ ] *m pr dt* and [ ] *dw3-n*[

]. In front of the columns are two preserved registers (Fig. 13).<sup>112</sup> The top register has traces of a figure facing right/south with vessels behind. Offerings of vessels also decorate the east wall in the chapel of Khufu-khaf I (G 7140),<sup>113</sup> which is dated to the mid-Fourth Dynasty, i.e., Khafra's reign.<sup>114</sup> In Duaenra's chapel (G 5110), the register below depicts a scribe facing right/south making the accounts. Cherpion dates the 'coquillage en guise d'encrier', tied to the scribe's kilt, primarily to the reigns of kings of the Fourth Dynasty,<sup>115</sup> citing mastabas that are dated to the late Fourth/early Fifth Dynasty.<sup>116</sup> Behind the scribe are an oryx and ibex led by two men each,<sup>117</sup> iconography that decorates the east wall's southern section. The first man leading the oryx is shown partially bald, wearing a beard and loincloth similar to figures leading oxen/cattle on the east wall in entrance chamber (a) of the rock-cut tomb of Meresankh III (G 7530sub) (Fig. 14).<sup>118</sup> Interestingly, the iconography of a scribe followed by two men leading an oryx, with almost identical arm positions as those in Duaenra's chapel (G 5110), occurs on the west wall in the mastaba of Nesutnefer (G 4970) in the Western Cemetery<sup>119</sup> of the early Fifth Dynasty (see Fig. 14).<sup>120</sup> The unfinished figure at the northern end surrounded by chisel marks shows how the artisans carved away the background from the figures (see Fig. 13).

### Stylistic Features

A study of Duaenra's chapel (G 5110) suggests that the artisans were influenced by the carving styles of both Khafra and Menkaura. Although the chapel is unfinished, the carving is of the highest quality in fine limestone, and its boldness was remarked upon by Smith.<sup>121</sup> This boldness, however, is counterbalanced by finely carved details, e.g., chest on the north entrance thickness' bottom register (Fig. 15). Interestingly, high/bold carving also occurs in the chapel of Khufu-khaf I (G 7140), suggesting either the same group of artisans or possibly artisans working in a similar style but not necessarily contemporary.

A study of the block reconstructed on the northern section of the east wall shows Duaenra's head with a small, almond-shaped eye with a cavity underneath (Fig. 16). The eye, however, distinctively tilts downward towards the front. This diagonally placed eye also appears on Meresankh III on the east and west walls (entrance chamber a) in her rock-cut chapel (G 7530sub).<sup>122</sup> It is possible that this is a specific stylistic treatment characteristic of a particular group of artisans, or even an individual artisan, that can be dated to the late Fourth Dynasty, based on the rock-cut tomb of Meresankh III (G 7530sub).

Another stylistic feature of Duaenra's chapel (G 5110) is the emphasis placed on the tomb owner's musculature. Although his torsos are mostly missing, a study of Duaenra's legs suggests that the artisans were influenced by the statuary of both Khafra and Menkaura. The treatment of Duaenra's knees with u-shaped<sup>123</sup> and c-shaped grooves<sup>124</sup> or v-shaped<sup>125</sup> ridges is also characteristic of royal statuary, i.e., Khafra's

statues<sup>126</sup> and Menkaura's triads.<sup>127</sup> Duaenra's outer leg on the entrance thicknesses, east wall/south section, and south wall also have a series of ridge/groove/ridge/groove/ridge, as do the minor figures on the south entrance thickness (Fig. 17). This treatment of the leg through ridges and grooves also occurs in the chapel of Khufu-khaf I (G 7140).<sup>128</sup> In royal statuary, ridges and grooves are used to define the outer part of the leg as on the greywacke statues of Khafra (CG 15-17)<sup>129</sup> and the triads of Menkaura (JE 40678, 40679, 46499) in the Egyptian Museum, Cairo. Royal statuary probably influenced the pronounced articulation of knees and legs in relief since statues of Khafra and Menkaura exhibit this tendency.<sup>130</sup>

Another distinctive treatment is the use of horizontal and vertical incisions on the offering table on Duaenra's south wall.<sup>131</sup> This type of treatment also occurs on the north wall (screen)<sup>132</sup> in the entrance chamber of Debehen's tomb (LG 90, G 8090), which traditionally was dated to Menkaura based on the inscription mentioning this king's name,<sup>133</sup> but may date to the mid-Fifth Dynasty.<sup>134</sup> These horizontal and vertical lines also decorate an offering table on the north wall of the inner room of Nikauhor's mastaba (LG 91, G 8091) in the Central Field<sup>135</sup> and on the west wall in the mastaba of Neferbaupthah (G 6010) in the Western Cemetery,<sup>136</sup> both dated to the mid to late Fifth Dynasty.<sup>137</sup>

Another interesting feature of Duaenra's chapel (G 5110) is the rather over-large heads of the subsidiary figures on the northern section of the east wall. They were already remarked upon by Smith, including their similarity to figures in Khufu-khaf I's chapel (G 7140),<sup>138</sup> again suggesting a connection between these two mastabas.

### **Mastaba of Khemetnu (G 5210)**

The mastaba of Khemetnu (G 5210) is located east of Duaenra's mastaba (G 5110), which places it in close proximity to the pyramid of Khufu. Khemetnu's title of *hmntr Hwfw* apparently confirms his connection to this king.<sup>139</sup> He was also connected to Khufu's family, based on his position as a steward to Kawab (G 7110/7120), Hetepheres II (G 7110/7120), and their daughter Meresankh III (G 7530sub).<sup>140</sup> In fact, Khemetnu is depicted in the rock-cut tomb of Meresankh III (G 7530sub) on the south entrance thickness,<sup>141</sup> southern section of the west wall in entrance chamber (a),<sup>142</sup> south wall in west chamber (b),<sup>143</sup> and also possibly the rock-cut statues located in the south wall of entrance chamber (a).<sup>144</sup> His son, Khemetnu the Younger, is also depicted in Meresankh III's tomb (G 7530sub),<sup>145</sup> emphasizing the close association of his family with that of Meresankh III's.

### **Archaeological Evidence:**

The mastaba of Khemetnu (G 5210) is located in the southeasternmost corner of the Western Cemetery. It is apparent that the mastabas of Khemetnu (G 5210) and Duaenra (G 5110) have an architectural relationship based on their proximity to one another.

However, this may not necessarily be based on a family connection. In analyzing the alignments of Khemetnu's mastaba (G 5210), its southern side approximates with the northern edge of mastaba G7530/7540 assigned to Hetepheres II and also the rock-cut tomb of Meresankh III (G 7530sub) in the Eastern Cemetery (G 7000), possibly intentionally as Khemetnu was closely associated with these specific individuals.

The mastaba of Khemetnu (G 5210) measures 19.3 x 11.1m,<sup>146</sup> and is Reisner's type IXa (1) of nummulitic limestone with an exterior chapel.<sup>147</sup> A similar type of mastaba belongs to Babaef (G 5230) in the Western Cemetery, which is dated to the late Fourth/early Fifth Dynasty,<sup>148</sup> and is located close to Khemetnu's mastaba (G 5210). The mastaba of Khemetnu (G 5210) has one shaft in its core,<sup>149</sup> plus three other shafts outside the mastaba.<sup>150</sup> There are also two serdabs: one in the mastaba and one in the south wall of the exterior chapel.<sup>151</sup>

### Inscriptional Evidence

An inscription in sunk relief along the top of the east face of Khemetnu's mastaba (G 5210) gives the names of Kawab, Hetepheres II, and Meresankh III, as well as one of the names of Khufu (Fig. 18).<sup>152</sup> Khemetnu's title of *imy-r pr*, given in the inscription,<sup>153</sup> emphasizes his status as a steward to members of Khufu's family. Although Reisner and Smith reconstructed part of the inscription with Duaenra's name, there is no apparent evidence for this,<sup>154</sup> despite the close proximity of his mastaba. The placement of an inscription along the top of the mastaba face is also a feature of the 'Statuenhaus' of Rawer I (G 5270)<sup>155</sup> in the Western Cemetery and the mastaba of Khufu-khaf II (G 7150)<sup>156</sup> in the Eastern Cemetery (G 7000), which are dated to the mid-Fifth Dynasty.<sup>157</sup> This may suggest that Khemetnu's mastaba (G 5210) is closer in date to the Fifth Dynasty.

On the northern subsidiary niche is an offering formula carved in sunk relief with Khemetnu seated on the left side oriented to the right/north and wearing a long wig. The inscription gives his titles: *rh nswt*, *w' b nswt*, and *hm-ntr Hwfw*.<sup>158</sup> In the rock-cut tomb of Meresankh III (G 7530sub), Khemetnu is identified as: *imy-r hmw-kꜣ*, *w' b nswt*, *rh nswt*, *imy-r pr*, and *zš*.<sup>159</sup>

### Iconography

Khemetnu's mastaba (G 5210) has an exterior chapel consisting of two chambers (Reisner's type 8f),<sup>160</sup> which is adjacent to the mastaba's main niche on the south (Fig. 19). The chapel is constructed of nummulitic limestone. The undecorated first chamber measures 1.05 x 1.4m; while, the second decorated chamber has dimensions of 3.8 x 0.95m (Fig. 20).<sup>161</sup> The size of the second chamber is comparable to chapels with two false doors in the surrounding area, e.g., G 4930 of the Fifth Dynasty,<sup>162</sup> Seshemnofer I (G 4940) of the early Fifth Dynasty,<sup>163</sup> and G 5030 of the late Fourth/Fifth Dynasty.<sup>164</sup>

However, Khemetnu's chapel (G 5210) is smaller than the majority of chapels with one or two false doors in the Eastern Cemetery (G 7000).<sup>165</sup>

The entrance thicknesses of the second chamber depict Khemetnu standing and facing north. The northern orientation resembles the focus of Kawab's exterior chapel (G 7120) in the Eastern Cemetery (G 7000).<sup>166</sup> Additionally, chapels in the Cemetery en Échelon also have a northern access rather than an eastern one.<sup>167</sup> On the entrance thicknesses, Khemetnu holds a staff and wears a pointed kilt with a long sash;<sup>168</sup> on the preserved west thickness, the tomb owner wears a long wig and also holds a scepter (Fig. 21). The iconography of a standing figure with a staff, facing north, may derive from the decoration in Kawab's chamber (c) (G 7120).<sup>169</sup> The type of kilt worn by Khemetnu is, however, a feature of Fifth Dynasty statuary,<sup>170</sup> possibly dating the chapel to this period. In the Eastern Cemetery (G 7000), this type of kilt is also possibly worn in the chapels of Nefermaat (G 7060) and Djaty (G 7810) whose mastabas date to the late Fourth/early Fifth Dynasty,<sup>171</sup> in addition to Khemetnu's image on the south entrance thickness in the rock-cut tomb of Meresankh III (G 7530sub).<sup>172</sup>

The east wall in Khemetnu's second or offering chamber is only partially preserved with traces of relief in the bottom register (Fig. 22). On the northern section, a file of animals is being led to the right/south.<sup>173</sup> In the Eastern Cemetery (G 7000), the 'presentation' of animals occurs on the east walls in the chapels of Kawab(?) (G 7120), Akhethetep and Meretites (G 7650), Khaemsekhem (G 7660), Nefermaat (G 7060), and Meresankh III (G 7530sub),<sup>174</sup> the latter three dating from mid-Khafra through possibly the early Fifth Dynasty.<sup>175</sup> In the Western Cemetery, animals appear on the east walls in the late Fourth through Sixth Dynasty<sup>176</sup> mastabas of Kaninisut I (G 2155),<sup>177</sup> Seshathetep (G 5150),<sup>178</sup> Rawer II (G 5470),<sup>179</sup> Nefer (G 4761),<sup>180</sup> Sekhemka (G 1029),<sup>181</sup> Iasen (G 2196),<sup>182</sup> Neferbauphtah (G 6010),<sup>183</sup> and Iymery (G 6020).<sup>184</sup> In the Central Field, the presentation of animals decorates the east wall in the tomb of Kaemnefret of the mid-Fifth Dynasty or later.<sup>185</sup> The next sequence on the east wall in Khemetnu's chapel (G 5210) depicts a group of musicians, namely a flute-player, harpist, and singer.<sup>186</sup> Musicians occur on the north wall in west chamber (b) in the rock-cut tomb of Meresankh III (G 7530sub),<sup>187</sup> which may have influenced Khemetnu's decoration, as well as the south wall in the mastaba of Nefermaat (G 7060).<sup>188</sup> Following the musicians in Khemetnu's chapel (G 5210) is another figure, possibly an overseer, with an eroded inscription in front with *htmt*. Beyond this figure are two pairs of men each with boxes of linen, possibly unpacking them (Fig. 23).<sup>189</sup> Similar iconography decorates the east wall in the chapel of Khufu-khaf I (G 7140), which Smith categorized as a presentation scene,<sup>190</sup> as well as a scene in the Louvre.<sup>191</sup> In this respect, the file of animals, musicians, and the boxes of linen is iconography that is used in the Eastern Cemetery (G 7000), and which may have influenced Khemetnu's mastaba (G 5210), particularly as he was closely associated with Khufu's family, in addition to the Western Cemetery. Yet, the decoration of Khemetnu's east wall may be somewhat reduced due to the scale of his chapel.



The south wall in Khemetnu's chapel (G 5210) is also only partially preserved. It depicts five male figures processing to the right/west towards the false door on the west wall/east face of the mastaba. The first two figures may carry the *khepesh*, while the next three may be holding bolts of cloth. Figures carrying the *khepesh* occur both in the Western Cemetery and the Cemetery en Échelon, such as the chapels of Kaninisut I (G 2155), Nesutnefer (G 4970), and Seshathetep (G 5150) in which there are rows of offering bearers, in addition to the chapels of Mindjedef (G 7760), Nefermaat (G 7060), and Meresankh III (G 7530sub) in the Eastern Cemetery (G 7000).<sup>192</sup> The three figures in Khemetnu's chapel (G 5210) possibly holding bolts of cloth may relate back to the scene on the southern section of the east wall, in which figures are probably unpacking boxes of linen. Figures carrying bolts of cloth occur not only in the Western and GIS cemeteries,<sup>193</sup> but also in the Eastern Cemetery (G 7000)<sup>194</sup> in mastabas mostly of the late Fourth or early Fifth Dynasty.<sup>195</sup> To the south of the south wall is a *serdab*.

The west wall in the chapel of Khemetnu (G 5210) is also the east face of the mastaba. It consists of figural decoration as well as an architrave, false door stela, and an inscribed lintel. There is also a bench in front of the false door, similar to one in the mastaba of Khufudjedef (GIIS) in the GIS Cemetery, dated to the early Fifth Dynasty.<sup>196</sup> South of the false door, Khemetnu stands facing right/north holding a scepter in his right hand and presumably a staff in the left.<sup>197</sup> Khemetnu's image is unfinished, as is the panther skin he wears.<sup>198</sup> Images of the tomb owner south of the false door niche are unusual in the Eastern Cemetery (G 7000), since estates and offering bearers are usually located in this position. However, in the chapels of Nefermaat (G 7060) and Meresankh III (G 7530sub) of the late Fourth/early Fifth Dynasty,<sup>199</sup> Nefermaat and his wife (G 7060) and Khemetnu (G 7530sub) respectively decorate this area of the west wall. Khemetnu's location on the east face of the mastaba (west wall of G 5210's chapel) is similar to the decoration of an embrasure, e.g., the nummulitic mastabas in the Eastern Cemetery (G 7000). Above the false door niche is an architrave in raised relief with an offering formula showing Khemetnu seated on the left facing right/north.<sup>200</sup> On the false door stela below in sunk relief, Khemetnu sits facing right/north wearing a panther skin with an offering table in front.<sup>201</sup> Above the offering table, a title and his name are inscribed. On the lintel below, also carved in sunk relief, are additional titles and his name.<sup>202</sup>

### Stylistic Features

The carving of the relief decoration in Khemetnu's chapel (G 5210) is generally of medium height,<sup>203</sup> although the decoration is badly eroded. Smith placed Khemetnu's chapel within a group of mostly nummulitic mastabas that date to the late Fourth to early Fifth Dynasty, and which are all of medium height relief.<sup>204</sup> The treatment of Khemetnu's legs on the entrance thicknesses resembles Duaenra's (G 5110) with the series of ridge/groove/ridge/groove/ridge (Fig. 24). This bold modeling of the lower

leg is also a feature of Khafra's and Menkaura's statuary, demonstrating how statuary and relief decoration impacted one another at the Giza Necropolis (see above).

The treatment of the shoulders on two of the offering bearers on the south wall suggests that they are within the stylistic framework of the late Fourth/early Fifth Dynasty. The first and fifth offering bearers have a triangular treatment of their torsos with wide shoulders and a narrow waist. This stylistic treatment also occurs in Anonymous mastaba (G 7560) and the rock-cut tomb of Meresankh III (G 7530sub) in the Eastern Cemetery (G 7000) of the late Fourth/early Fifth Dynasty.<sup>205</sup>

## Conclusion

An analysis of the mastabas of Duaenra (G 5110) and Khemetnu (G 5210) in the Western Cemetery at Giza suggests that these two tomb owners are high-ranking individuals, whose decorative programs reflect overall developments occurring throughout the Giza Necropolis, but also have specific connections to the Eastern Cemetery (G 7000). Iconographical similarities with mastabas in the Eastern Cemetery (G 7000) belonging to viziers, such as Khufu-khaf I (G 7140) and Ankh-haf (G 7510), reflect this selective process, in which the decorative programs of chapels belonging to the royal family were possibly admired and then replicated. Direct references to images in tombs that may date from the mid to late Fourth Dynasty suggest that the artisans of Duaenra's and Khemetnu's mastabas were aware of particular modes of representation. Interestingly, a wife is not represented in either Duaenra's mastaba (G 5110) or Khemetnu's (G 5210) based on the preserved decoration, which is uncharacteristic of mastabas of this period. Stylistically, the features of the two chapels also reflect developments occurring throughout other cemeteries as well as the royal sphere, i.e., the statuary of Khafra and Menkaura, particularly in the carving of the musculature, indicating how the royal workshops influenced two-dimensional representation throughout the Giza Necropolis. Thus, a study of the chapels of Duaenra (G 5110) and Khemetnu (G 5210) indicates that they are fully within the artistic repertoire of the late Fourth/early Fifth Dynasty, but include elements of earlier tombs that emphasize their connection to Khufu and the royal family.

## Endnotes

- 1 I am grateful to Dr. Zahi Hawass, Secretary General of the Supreme Council of Antiquities (SCA), and the SCA for permission to publish the photographs of the mastabas of Duaenra (G 5110) and Khemetnu (G 5210).
- 2 For their locations, see G. A. Reisner, *A History of the Giza Necropolis*, I (Cambridge, Mass., 1942), 69, 146.
- 3 For the date of Duaenra's mastaba (G 5110), see G. A. Reisner *Giza I*, 146, 167, 218 (31); M. Baud, *Famille royale et pouvoir sous l'Ancien Empire égyptien*, BdÉ 126/1 (Cairo, 1999), 60; Baud, *Famille royale et pouvoir sous l'Ancien Empire égyptien*, BdÉ 126/2 (Cairo, 1999), 606–607 [248].
- 4 Baud, *Famille royale* 1, 60; Baud, *Famille royale* 2, 606 [248].
- 5 Baud, *Famille royale* 1, 61; Baud, *Famille royale* 2, 544.
- 6 Reisner, *Giza I*, 330; Baud, *Famille royale* 1, 61, n. 318.
- 7 Reisner, *Giza I*, 218 (31); Baud, *Famille royale* 1, 60.
- 8 For Khemetnu's titles, see Baud, *Famille royale* 2, 542–44 [182].
- 9 D. Dunham and W. K. Simpson, *The Mastaba of Queen Mersyankh III: G 7530-7540, Giza Mastabas 1* (Boston, 1974), 13, pl. 6a, fig. 6.

- 10 For the assignment of G 5110 to the son of Meresankh III, see G. A. Reisner, *Mycerinus: The Temples of the Third Pyramid at Giza* (Cambridge, Mass., 1931), 242 (7); Reisner, *Giza I*, 146, 218 (31), 247, 248; *PM III*<sup>2</sup>, 148, 198; N. Strudwick, 'The Administration of Egypt in the Old Kingdom: The Highest Titles and their Holders', in W. V. Davies (ed.), *Studies in Egyptology* (London, Boston, Henley and Melbourne, 1985), 162; P. Jánosi, *Giza in der 4. Dynastie: Die Baugeschichte und Belegung einer Nekropole des Alten Reiches, I: Die Mastabas der Kernfriedhöfe und die Felsgräber*, *DÖAW* 30 (Vienna, 2005), 242.
- 11 It might also be possible that the inscription in the rock-cut tomb of Meresankh III (G 7530sub) is missing its *n* due to scribal error or disintegration of the paint over time. There are traces of brown paint in the area of the feet.
- 12 Strudwick, *Administration*, 162.
- 13 Strudwick, *Administration*, 162.
- 14 For this inscription, see S. Hassan, *Excavations at Giza, IV, 1932–1933* (Cairo, 1943), 126, 140, fig. 81, pl. 38.
- 15 For the titles of Nebemakheth, see Baud, *Famille royale* 2, 487–88 [113].
- 16 For the titles of Niuserra, see Baud, *Famille royale* 2, 475–76 [96].
- 17 According to Junker, the use of *n it.f* 'for his father' in titles rather than *nswt* 'of the king' is an indication of a 'true king's son', see H. Junker, *Giza II, Die Mastabas der beginnenden V. Dynastie auf dem Westfriedhof*, DAWW (Vienna and Leipzig, 1934), 33–34; also, see K. Baer, *Rank and Title in the Old Kingdom: The Structure of the Egyptian Administration in the Fifth and Sixth Dynasties* (Chicago, 1960), 78 [175]. Schmitz believes its usage occurs more frequently during Khafra's reign; see B. Schmitz, *Untersuchungen zum Titel sz-njswt 'Königssohn'*, Habelts Dissertationsdrucke: *Reihe Ägyptologie* 2 (Bonn, 1976), 59–60, 334b, 335b, tabs. 1, 2. For the use of *it.f* 'his father', see also L. A. Flentye, *The Decorated Elite Mastaba and Rock-cut Tomb in the Eastern and GIS Cemeteries at Giza and their Relationship to the Development of Art during the Fourth Dynasty* (PhD diss., New York University, 2006; UMI), 29.
- 18 Jánosi, *Giza in der 4. Dynastie*, 242.
- 19 An analogy would be the rock-cut tomb of Meresankh III (G 7530sub): as a presumed wife of Khafra, she should be buried in the Central Field, but her parents are considered to be children of Khufu. For this reason, she is buried in the Eastern Cemetery (G 7000).
- 20 Reisner, *Giza I*, 60; Jánosi, *Giza in der 4. Dynastie*, 237, 251, 454, tab. J.
- 21 Reisner, *Giza I*, 218 (31), 311.
- 22 For the single shaft in Duaenra's mastaba (G 5110), see Reisner, *Giza I*, 54; P. Jánosi, *Giza in der 4. Dynastie*, 239, 251, fig. 54.
- 23 Jánosi, *Giza in der 4. Dynastie*, 112, 237. For the dimensions of G 1201, see Reisner, *Giza I*, p. 57 (1); Jánosi, *Giza in der 4. Dynastie*, 449, tab. G1. For the dimensions of G 2100, see Reisner, *Giza I*, 57 (3); Jánosi, *Giza in der 4. Dynastie*, 449, tab. G2. For the dimensions of G 4000, see Reisner, *Giza I*, 57 (7); Jánosi, *Giza in der 4. Dynastie*, 183, 450, tab. G3.
- 24 Reisner, *Giza I*, 46, 59, 73, fig. 8.
- 25 For the titles of Duaenra (G 5110), see Baud, *Famille royale* 2, 606–607 [248].
- 26 Reisner, *Giza I*, 146; Jánosi, *Giza in der 4. Dynastie*, 236, 237.
- 27 Reisner, *Giza I*, 69; Jánosi, *Giza in der 4. Dynastie*, 237; Jánosi, 'Old Kingdom tombs and dating—problems and priorities, The Cemetery en Échelon 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), 176.
- 28 Reisner, *Giza I*, 82 (b). For a recent discussion of Reisner's theories concerning the en Échelon principle, see Jánosi, in *The Old Kingdom Art and Archaeology*, 181–82.
- 29 Reisner, *Giza I*, 82 (c). Jánosi also discusses Reisner's use of two mud seals in dating the cemetery. For this discussion, see Jánosi, in *The Old Kingdom Art and Archaeology*, 177.
- 30 Reisner, *Giza I*, 82 (c).
- 31 Jánosi, *Giza in der 4. Dynastie*, p. 238; idem, in *The Old Kingdom Art and Archaeology*, 182.
- 32 Jánosi, in *The Old Kingdom Art and Archaeology*, 182–83.
- 33 Jánosi, in *The Old Kingdom Art and Archaeology*, 177–78.
- 34 W. S. Smith, 'Inscriptional Evidence for the History of the Fourth Dynasty', *JNES* 11 (1952), 120, 126 (B.5), fig. 8.
- 35 For Duaenra's titles, see Baud, *Famille royale* 2, 606–607 [248]; Jánosi, *Giza in der 4. Dynastie*, 242.
- 36 For the probable sons of Khafra in the Central Field (Niuserra (G 8140), Sekhemkara (LG 89, G 8154), Nikaura (LG 87, G 8158), Nebemakheth (LG 86, G 8172), Ankhmara (G 8460)) with titles ending in *n it.f*, see Hassan, *Giza IV*, 103, 125, 185; Baud, *Famille royale* 2, 423 [33], 475–76 [96], 481–82 [104], 487–88 [113], 575 [218].
- 37 Jánosi, *Giza in der 4. Dynastie*, 242.
- 38 Reisner, *Giza I*, 218 (31), 249, fig. 152; Jánosi, *Giza in der 4. Dynastie*, 251, 453, tab. I.
- 39 For the dimensions of the chapel of Ankh-haf (G 7510), see Reisner, *Giza I*, 212 (4), 213, fig. 122; Jánosi, *Giza in der 4. Dynastie*, 198, 199, 453, fig. 48, tab. I; Flentye, 'The Mastabas of Ankh-haf (G7510) and Akhethetep and Meretites (G7650) in the Eastern Cemetery at Giza: A Reassessment', in Z. Hawass and J. Richards (eds), *The Archaeology and Art of Ancient Egypt: Essays in Honor of David B. O'Connor*, CASAE 36/I (Cairo, 2007), 295, fig. 4.
- 40 Reisner, *Giza I*, 218 (31), 248–49, 311, fig. 152.
- 41 Dunham and Simpson, *Mersyankh III*, 3, Plan B.
- 42 Reisner, *Giza I*, 247–248; Flentye, 'The Mastaba of Meresankh III (G7530/7540) in the Eastern Cemetery at Giza: An Archaeological and Art Historical Analysis', *BEM* 3 (2006), 72.

- 43 The low-back cushion is Cherpion's 'critère 3', which appears in tombs with primarily the names of Fourth Dynasty kings, but also the early Fifth. See N. Cherpion, *Mastabas et hypogées d'ancien empire: le problème de la datation* (Brussels, 1989), 27, 28, 147–49, fig. 4b.
- 44 For the socles, see Cherpion, *Mastabas*, 36–38, figs 19a, 21–22.
- 45 For the entrance thicknesses, see H. Junker, *Giza III, Die Mastabas der vorgeschrittenen V. Dynastie auf dem Westfriedhof*, DAWW (Vienna and Leipzig, 1938), 36 (16); Reisner, *Giza I*, 318 (24).
- 46 The upper part of a scepter decorates a fragment attributed to Duaenra's chapel (G 5110), now in the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston (MFA 14–11–100), which probably joins with the north entrance thickness.
- 47 H. Junker, *Giza III*, 151, 154, fig. 20.
- 48 For the dating of the mastaba of Kaninisut II (G 2156), see *PM III*<sup>2</sup>, 79.
- 49 A figure carries a sack and a staff on the north section of the embrasure in the chapel of Khufu-khaf (G 7140). See W. K. Simpson, *The Mastabas of Kawab, Khafkhufu I and II, Giza Mastabas 3* (Boston, 1978), 12, pl. 16b, fig. 27.
- 50 A figure carries a sack on a false door on the west wall in the mastaba of Kaninisut I (G 2155). See Junker, *Giza II*, fig. 18. A figure carries a sack and wide-ended object on a false door on the west wall in the mastaba of Nesutnefer (G 4970) (Junker, *Giza III*, fig. 27) and also on the south wall in the mastaba of Iasen (G 2196) (Simpson, *Mastabas of the Western Cemetery, I, Giza Mastabas 4* (Boston, 1980), fig. 32).
- 51 In the Central Field, a figure carries a sack and a staff on the east wall in the inner chapel of the rock-cut tomb of Nebemakhet (LG 86, G 8172) (Hassan, *Giza IV*, 140, fig. 81, pl. 38) and on the left/south entrance thickness in the rock-cut tomb of Debehen (LG 90, G 8090) (Hassan, *Giza IV*, 166, fig. 117).
- 52 The wide-ended object is carried by a figure on the north wall in the first chamber of G 6020 (K. R. Weeks, *Mastabas of Cemetery G 6000: Including G 6010 (Neferbaupth); G 6020 (Iymery); G 6030 (Ity); G 6040 (Shepseskafankh)*, Giza Mastabas 5 (Boston, 1994), fig. 32).
- 53 For this fragment, see Junker, *Giza X, Der Friedhof südlich der Cheopspyramide. Westteil*, DAWW 74,1 (Vienna, 1951), 28–30, fig. 12A, pl. 16b.
- 54 Jánosi, *Giza in der 4. Dynastie*, 261.
- 55 For this iconography, see Junker, *Giza III*, 105, 109, fig. 10 (12).
- 56 W. S. Smith, 'The Old Kingdom Linen List', *ZAS* 71 (1935), 142; Flentye, *The Decorated Elite Mastaba and Rock-cut Tomb in the Eastern and GIS Cemeteries at Giza and their Relationship to the Development of Art during the Fourth Dynasty*, 163.
- 57 Reisner, *Giza I*, 318 (24), 328 (e.8). For slaughtering scenes on entrance thicknesses, see Y. Harpur, 'Decoration in Egyptian Tombs of the Old Kingdom: Studies in orientation and scene content', in W. V. Davies (ed.), *Studies in Egyptology* (London and New York, 1987), 56–57 (4.14), 255 (31). The location of this scene type on the entrance thickness is a development of the late Fourth Dynasty.
- 58 See Junker, *Giza III*, 105, 106–107, fig. 10 (3).
- 59 Junker, *Giza III*, 106–107. I am grateful to Dr. Anna Wodzińska for the identification of the vessels as a 'washing set'.
- 60 Reisner, *Giza I*, 318 (24).
- 61 Reisner, 'A History of the Giza Necropolis II, Unpublished 1942 manuscript, Appendix A: Cemetery en Échelon', page ApxA 032d.
- 62 Junker, *Giza III*, 36 (16).
- 63 Smith, *A History of Egyptian Sculpture and Painting in the Old Kingdom* (London, 1946; reprint, New York, 1978), 169 n. 1.
- 64 Reisner, *Giza I*, 350–51 (1); Smith, *HESPOK*, 169; Dunham and Simpson, *Mersyankh III*, 11–12, pls. 3b, 5, fig. 5.
- 65 See Junker, *Giza III*, 50 (47); Reisner, *Giza I*, 351 (2); Hassan, *Giza IV*, 140, 141–42, fig. 81, pl. 38; Smith, *HESPOK*, 169 for Nebemakhet's tomb (LG 86, G 8172).
- 66 Reisner, *Giza I*, 351 (3); Smith, *HESPOK*, 169, pl. 49b.
- 67 For Smith's dating of these rock-cut tombs to the reign of Menkaura, see Smith, *HESPOK*, 167, 169.
- 68 Smith, *HESPOK*, 169 n. 1.
- 69 M. Lehner, 'The Millennium Project: Marathon Excavation to 'Capture' Area A', *Aeragram* 3/1 (1999), 1–3; Lehner and W. Wetterstrom (eds), *Giza Reports: The Giza Plateau Mapping Project, I, Project History, Survey, Ceramics, and the Main Street and Gallery III.4 Operations* (Boston, 2007).
- 70 P. Der Manuelian, 'Presenting the Scroll: Papyrus Documents in Tomb Scenes of the Old Kingdom', in P. Der Manuelian (ed.), *Studies in Honor of William Kelly Simpson*, 2 (Boston, 1996), 571, 572, fig. 4 (3).
- 71 Smith, *HESPOK*, pl. 58b.
- 72 For the Eastern Cemetery (G 7000), see the chapels of: Khaemsekhem (G 7660) (Flentye, *The Decorated Elite Mastaba and Rock-cut Tomb in the Eastern and GIS Cemeteries at Giza and their Relationship to the Development of Art during the Fourth Dynasty*, 94, pl. 111) and Nefermaat (G 7060) (LD II, pl. 17b; Junker, *Giza III*, 45 (36)).
- 73 For the Western Cemetery, see the chapels of: Shepseskafankh (Junker, *Giza III*, 72, fig. 8a); Seshemnefer II (G 5080) (Junker, *Giza III*, 72, fig. 8a); Seshemnefer III (G 5170) (Junker, *Giza III*, 73, fig. 8b); Rawer II (G 5470) (Junker, *Giza III*, 233, fig. 48); Nefer (G 4761) (Junker, *Giza VI, Die Mastabas des Nfr (Nefer), Kdfj (Kedfi), K:hjf (Kaijef) und die westlich anschließenden Grabanlagen*, DAWW 72, 1 [Vienna and Leipzig, 1943], 59, figs 14, 16); Sekhemka (G 1029) (Simpson, *Mastabas of the Western Cemetery I*, fig. 4); Iasen (G 2196) (Simpson, *Mastabas of the Western Cemetery I*, fig. 31); Neferbaupth (G 6010) (Weeks, *Mastabas of Cemetery G 6000*, fig. 18); Iymery (G 6020) (Weeks, *Mastabas*

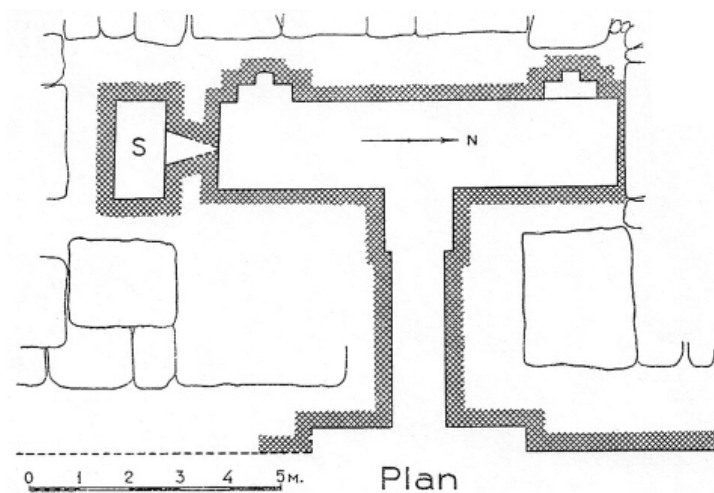
- of Cemetery G 6000, fig. 42).
- 74 S. Hassan, *Excavations at Giza, 1930-1931* (Cairo, 1936), fig. 136.
- 75 Junker, *Giza* III, 36 (16). For the reversed inscription with *mꜣꜥ*, see Der Manuelian, in *Studies in Honor of William Kelly Simpson*, 2, 585 n. 56.
- 76 The depiction of offering tables/platters with offerings also occurs on the east wall in the second room of the chapel of Sekhemkara (LG 89, G 8154) in the Central Field. See Hassan, *Giza* IV, 117, fig. 62. Onions placed on an offering table occur throughout the Western Cemetery, including the mastaba of Iymery (G 6020) of the Fifth Dynasty. See Weeks, *Mastabas of Cemetery G 6000*, fig. 43. The scene occurs on the south wall in the third chamber. For the date of Iymery's mastaba (G 6020), see *PM* III<sup>2</sup>, 170.
- 77 For the goose, see Smith, *HESPOK*, 321, fig. 192. The iconography of a trussed goose/duck decorates the east and north(?) walls in the mastaba of Sekhemka (GVIIIS) in the GIS Cemetery. See Junker, *Giza* XI, *Der Friedhof südlich der Cheopspyramide. Ostteil*, DAWW 74, 2 (Vienna, 1953), 38, 39, figs 21, 23. Also, see a fragment from Sekhemka's mastaba (GVIIIS), Junker, *Giza* XI, 42, fig. 25 (4). For the date of Sekhemka's mastaba (GVIIIS) in the late Fifth Dynasty, see Jánosi, *Giza in der 4. Dynastie*, 262–63, 268.
- 78 Junker, *Giza* III, 36 (16); Reisner, *Giza* I, 328 (e.7).
- 79 Duaenra measures 159.2cm in height, while a similar image of Khufu-khaf I has a height of 164cm.
- 80 Flentye, *The Decorated Elite Mastaba and Rock-cut Tomb in the Eastern and GIS Cemeteries at Giza and their Relationship to the Development of Art during the Fourth Dynasty*, 68, 79–80, 87, pls 33, 60, 62, 89. A small-scale figure is also shown leaning on a staff on a false door on the west wall in the mastaba of Nesutnefer (G 4970). See Junker, *Giza* III, fig. 27.
- 81 For the titles of Duaenra (G 5110), Khufu-khaf I (G 7140), and Ankh-haf (G 7510), see Baud, *Famille royale* 2, 424–25 [35], 539–40 [179], 606–607 [248].
- 82 Smith, *HESPOK*, 279.
- 83 Harpur, *Decoration*, 127–28 (6.2.2), 255 (4, 5), 325 (6.3).
- 84 Dunham and Simpson, *Mersyankh* III, 4–5, 15–17, pls 8–9, fig. 8.
- 85 Smith, *HESPOK*, 316, 317, fig. 185.
- 86 Flentye, *The Decorated Elite Mastaba and Rock-cut Tomb in the Eastern and GIS Cemeteries at Giza and their Relationship to the Development of Art during the Fourth Dynasty*, 112, 156–57, pl. 164.
- 87 For Kai's chapel (G 4651), see Junker, *Giza* III, 139, fig. 18, pl. 7b. For the date, see *PM* III<sup>2</sup>, 135.
- 88 For Akhetetep's chapel in the Central Field, see S. Hassan, *Excavations at Giza: 1929–1930* (Oxford, 1932), 79, fig. 138, pl. 49. See *PM* III<sup>2</sup>, 284 for the date of Akhetetep's chapel.
- 89 For the serdab, see Reisner, *Giza* I, 218 (31), 248, 249, fig. 152.
- 90 Junker, *Giza* III, 36 (16); Reisner, 'A History of the Giza Necropolis II, Unpublished 1942 manuscript, Appendix A: Cemetery en Échelon', page ApxA 032.
- 91 Harpur, *Decoration*, 70–71, 395, Plan 38.
- 92 Flentye, *The Decorated Elite Mastaba and Rock-cut Tomb in the Eastern and GIS Cemeteries at Giza and their Relationship to the Development of Art during the Fourth Dynasty*, 149, pl. 85; idem, in *The Archaeology and Art of Ancient Egypt* 1, 297–98. Other examples in the Western Cemetery of comparable date include the mastaba of Sennuka (G 2041); while, in the Central Field, the rock-cut tomb of Nikaura (LG 87, G 8158) shows the tomb owner in the same position. For these tombs, see Harpur, *Decoration*, 395, 399, Plans 40, 52.
- 93 For Duaenra's iconography, see Baud, *Famille royale* 1, 60.
- 94 Junker, *Giza* III, 36 (16).
- 95 On the south wall in the chapel of Akhetetep and Meretites (G 7650), the son also carries a staff.
- 96 Dunham and Simpson, *Mersyankh* III, 11, pls 3a, 4, fig. 4. For the date of Meresankh III's tomb (G 7530sub), see Jánosi, *Giza in der 4. Dynastie*, 358. For additional comparanda, see the mastaba of Nesutnefer (G 4970), Junker, *Giza* III, pl. 6 (7).
- 97 Junker, *Giza* V, *Die Mastaba des Šnb (Seneb) und die umliegenden Gräber*, DAWW 71, 2 (Vienna and Leipzig, 1941), 77, fig. 18.
- 98 See Cherpion, *Mastabas*, 226 for her dating of Seneb's mastaba (*PM* III<sup>2</sup>, 101).
- 99 Weeks, *Mastabas of Cemetery G 6000*, fig. 42. For date, see *PM* III<sup>2</sup>, 170.
- 100 For Smith's reconstruction, see MFA photo A8294; Flentye, in *The Archaeology and Art of Ancient Egypt* 1, 296.
- 101 LD II, pl. 17b.
- 102 For cattle/oxen on the east wall in entrance chamber (a), see Dunham and Simpson, *Mersyankh* III, 4, 11, pls 3a, 4, fig. 4.
- 103 For the dates of the mastaba of Nefermaat (G 7060) and the rock-cut tomb of Meresankh III (G 7530sub), see Flentye, *The Decorated Elite Mastaba and Rock-cut Tomb in the Eastern and GIS Cemeteries at Giza and their Relationship to the Development of Art during the Fourth Dynasty*, 153–55, 158–60.
- 104 Junker, *Giza* III, fig. 27.
- 105 Junker, *Giza* II, 182, fig. 28.
- 106 Weeks, *Mastabas of Cemetery G 6000*, fig. 31.
- 107 For their dates, see *PM* III<sup>2</sup>, 143, 149, 170; Jánosi, *Giza in der 4. Dynastie*, 243.
- 108 Hassan, *Giza* II, fig. 138. For the tomb's date, see *PM* III<sup>2</sup>, 263.

- <sup>109</sup> Smith, *HESPOK*, pl. 58d.
- <sup>110</sup> For the chapel of Nefermaat (G 7060), see LD II, pl. 17c; Flentye, *The Decorated Elite Mastaba and Rock-cut Tomb in the Eastern and GIS Cemeteries at Giza and their Relationship to the Development of Art during the Fourth Dynasty*, 104, 155. Nefermaat is shown seated.
- <sup>111</sup> Dunham and Simpson, *Mersyankh III*, 16, pl. 9c, fig. 8. Here, Meresankh III is shown seated.
- <sup>112</sup> Junker, *Giza III*, 36 (16).
- <sup>113</sup> Simpson, *Kawab*, 13–14, pl. 18, fig. 30.
- <sup>114</sup> Flentye, *The Decorated Elite Mastaba and Rock-cut Tomb in the Eastern and GIS Cemeteries at Giza and their Relationship to the Development of Art during the Fourth Dynasty*, 143–47. Baer even suggested a mid to late Fourth Dynasty date for Khufu-khaf I's mastaba (G 7130/7140). See Baer, *Rank*, 112 [375].
- <sup>115</sup> This is 'critère 57'. See Cherpion, *Mastabas*, 77–78 (2), 201, fig. 71; Baud, 'À propos des critères iconographiques établis par Nadine Cherpion', in N. Grimal (ed.), *Les critères de datation stylistiques à l'ancien empire*, BdÉ 120 (Cairo, 1998), 71, 92–93, tab. 4, fig. 1; Baud, *Famille royale* 1, 17 (57), tab. 1.
- <sup>116</sup> Cherpion, *Mastabas*, 201; Flentye, *The Decorated Elite Mastaba and Rock-cut Tomb in the Eastern and GIS Cemeteries at Giza and their Relationship to the Development of Art during the Fourth Dynasty*, 147.
- <sup>117</sup> Junker, *Giza III*, 36 (16); Smith, *HESPOK*, pl. 59a.
- <sup>118</sup> Dunham and Simpson, *Mersyankh III*, 11, pls 3a, 4, fig. 4.
- <sup>119</sup> Junker, *Giza III*, fig. 27.
- <sup>120</sup> For the date of the mastaba of Nesutnefer (G 4970), see Jánosi, *Giza in der 4. Dynastie*, 243.
- <sup>121</sup> Smith, *HESPOK*, 164.
- <sup>122</sup> Dunham and Simpson, *Mersyankh III*, pls 3a, 4, 7c.
- <sup>123</sup> A u-shaped groove appears on Duaenra's right knee on the north entrance thickness.
- <sup>124</sup> A c-shaped groove is carved on Duaenra's left knee on the south entrance thickness.
- <sup>125</sup> A v-shaped ridge is used on Duaenra's legs on the southern section of the east wall.
- <sup>126</sup> CG 16, a standing statue, has a u-shaped depression on the right outer knee. Another standing statue of Khafra (JE 72213) has a v-shaped ridge on the outer part of the right knee.
- <sup>127</sup> A v-shaped depression occurs on the outer part of Menkaura's left knee, while a u-shaped groove occurs on the inner left knee on JE 40678; on the outer part of the nome's left knee on JE 40678, there is a u-shaped groove; on the outer part of Menkaura's left knee on JE 40679, there is a u-shaped ridge; and on the outer part of Menkaura's left knee on JE 46499, there is a u-shaped groove.
- <sup>128</sup> Flentye, *The Decorated Elite Mastaba and Rock-cut Tomb in the Eastern and GIS Cemeteries at Giza and their Relationship to the Development of Art during the Fourth Dynasty*, 210–11.
- <sup>129</sup> This treatment of the leg with ridge/groove/ridge/groove/ridge is also found on an anorthosite gneiss statue of Khafra standing (JE 72213) in the Egyptian Museum, Cairo.
- <sup>130</sup> For statues of Khafra, see L. Borchardt, *Statuen und Statuetten von Königen und Privatleuten im Museum von Kairo, Nr. 1–1294*, part 1, Catalogue Général des Antiquités Égyptiennes du Musée du Caire, 53 (Berlin, 1911), 9–11, 13–19, pls 3–5 (9–10, 13–17). For the greater articulation of legs on statues of Menkaura, see Reisner, *Mycerinus*, 129, pls. 12, 16a, 38, 40–43, 45, 46f, 48a, d, 56–57; Smith, *HESPOK*, 36, pl. 13; C. Ziegler, 'King Menkaure and A Queen', in Do. Arnold et al., *Egyptian Art in the Age of the Pyramids* (New York, 1999), 269–71 (67); S. Labbé-Toutée and C. Ziegler, 'Triad of King Menkaure', in *Egyptian Art in the Age of the Pyramids*, 272–73 (68). Also, see Flentye, *The Decorated Elite Mastaba and Rock-cut Tomb in the Eastern and GIS Cemeteries at Giza and their Relationship to the Development of Art during the Fourth Dynasty*, 231, pls 330, 331.
- <sup>131</sup> The use of horizontal and vertical incisions also occurs on a fragment from the mastaba. See MFA photo C14304, bottom. This fragment may be from either the south wall or the southern section of the west wall.
- <sup>132</sup> These offering tables decorate the top three registers of the south face of the north wall. See Hassan, *Giza IV*, p. 170, fig. 119, pl. 49.
- <sup>133</sup> For a date in the reign of Menkaura, see Reisner, *Giza I*, pp. 221 (2), 358; Baud, *Famille royale* 2, 407.
- <sup>134</sup> Jánosi, *Giza in der 4. Dynastie*, 393.
- <sup>135</sup> Hassan, *Giza IV*, 191, fig. 136, pl. 53A.
- <sup>136</sup> Weeks, *Mastabas of Cemetery G 6000*, fig. 22, pl. 10. This scene occurs on the central section of the west wall.
- <sup>137</sup> For this dating, see *PM III\**, 169, 236.
- <sup>138</sup> Smith, *HESPOK*, p. 164; Flentye, *The Decorated Elite Mastaba and Rock-cut Tomb in the Eastern and GIS Cemeteries at Giza and their Relationship to the Development of Art during the Fourth Dynasty*, 204. Figures with over-large heads decorate the jambs of the false door in Khufu-khaf I's chapel (G 7140).
- <sup>139</sup> For Khemetnu's titles, see Baud, *Famille royale* 2, 542 [182].
- <sup>140</sup> Reisner and Smith, *A History of the Giza Necropolis*, II, *The Tomb of Hetep-heres The Mother of Cheops* (Cambridge, Mass., 1955), 11 n. 13.
- <sup>141</sup> Dunham and Simpson, *Mersyankh III*, 9, pl. 2c, fig. 3b.
- <sup>142</sup> Dunham and Simpson, *Mersyankh III*, 15, pl. 7a, fig. 7.
- <sup>143</sup> Dunham and Simpson, *Mersyankh III*, 18, pl. 10, fig. 9.
- <sup>144</sup> Smith, *HESPOK*, 43–44, 189, 360; Dunham and Simpson, *Mersyankh III*, 17, particularly n. 37, pls 8a, d, 9b. For another interpretation of these statues, see S. Rzepka, 'Hidden Statues and Reliefs in Old Kingdom Tombs: Some remarks on

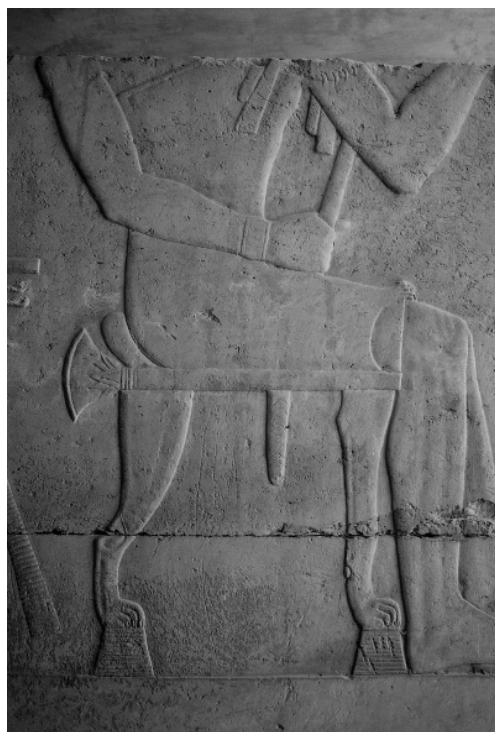
- the tombs of Mersyankh III (G 7520-7540) and Nebemakhet (LG 86)', *GM* 164 (1998), 101–107.
- 145 Khemetnu the Younger appears on the east pillar in west chamber (b). See Dunham and Simpson, *Mersyankh* III, 20, pl. 12c, fig. 12. He may also be represented amongst the rock-cut statues in the south wall of entrance chamber (a). See Dunham and Simpson, *Mersyankh* III, 17, pls 8a, 8c, 9b.
- 146 See Reisner, 'A History of the Giza Necropolis II, Unpublished 1942 manuscript, Appendix A: Cemetery en Échelon', page ApxA 046 (alternate version) for the dimensions of the mastaba.
- 147 For type IXa (1), see Reisner, *Giza* I, 281 (2), 312 (r).
- 148 Reisner, *Giza* I, 52 (9), 248, 250, fig. 153. For the date, see *PM* III<sup>2</sup>, 155.
- 149 For the shaft in the mastaba, see Reisner, *Giza* I, 54.
- 150 Reisner, 'A History of the Giza Necropolis II, Unpublished 1942 manuscript, Appendix A: Cemetery en Échelon', page ApxA 048.
- 151 Reisner, 'A History of the Giza Necropolis II, Unpublished 1942 manuscript, Chapter 09: Service Equipment of the Chapel: Statues, Offering Basins and Vessels', page 028; Reisner, 'A History of the Giza Necropolis II, Unpublished 1942 manuscript, Appendix A: Cemetery en Échelon', page ApxA 046 (alternate version).
- 152 For the inscription on the east face, see LD I, Text, 70; LD II, pl. 26a-c; P. D'Avennes, *Histoire de l'art égyptien d'après les monuments* (Paris, 1879), 216; A. Mariette, *Les Mastabas de l'ancien empire* (Paris, 1889), 520; Reisner, 'A History of the Giza Necropolis II, Unpublished 1942 manuscript, GN2-Additional Material: Description of Addition to Cemetery en Échelon', page AddCemEch 017; Reisner, 'A History of the Giza Necropolis II, Unpublished 1942 manuscript, Appendix A: Cemetery en Échelon', page ApxA 046-047 (046 alternate version); J. Burton, *Excerpta Hieroglyphica* (Wiesbaden, 1982), pl. 27 (no. 1); Baud, *Famille royale* 2, 542–43, fig. 42A, B. On the back of one these blocks, originally intended as an architrave, is a seated image of Khemetnu with an offering formula and titles. See LD II, pl. 26c bis; Mariette, *Mastabas*, 520; Reisner, 'A History of the Giza Necropolis II, Unpublished 1942 manuscript, Appendix A: Cemetery en Échelon', page ApxA 047; Burton, *Excerpta Hieroglyphica*, pl. 27 (no. 3). Interestingly, Khemetnu's name is spelled differently in this inscription from the two niches on the mastaba's east face, possibly a question of space. See LD II, pl. 26c bis, d, e.
- 153 Baud, *Famille royale* 2, 542–44 [182].
- 154 For a discussion of Duaenra's name within the inscription, see Reisner and Smith, *Giza* II, 11 n. 13; Strudwick, *Administration*, 162 [161]; Baud, *Famille royale* 2, 543, 544, particularly 544 n. 131, fig. 42C.
- 155 Junker, *Giza* III, 121, fig. 11.
- 156 Simpson, *Kawab*, pl. 31.
- 157 For the dates of these mastabas, see *PM* III<sup>2</sup>, 158, 190.
- 158 LD II, pl. 26e; Mariette, *Mastabas*, 520.
- 159 Dunham and Simpson, *Mersyankh* III, 9, 15; Baud, *Famille royale* 2, 542–43 [182], 544, fig. 42A, B.
- 160 For Reisner's type 8f chapel, see Reisner, *Giza* I, 273, 312 (r).
- 161 See Reisner, *Giza* I, 281–82 (2), fig. 177.
- 162 Jánosi, in *The Old Kingdom Art and Archaeology*, 179 n. 34.
- 163 *PM* III<sup>2</sup>, 142; Jánosi, *Giza in der 4. Dynastie*, 243.
- 164 Jánosi, *Giza in der 4. Dynastie*, 453, tab. I. For the dating of G 5030, see *PM* III<sup>2</sup>, 145; Jánosi, in *The Old Kingdom Art and Archaeology*, 179.
- 165 For the size of chapels with one and two false doors in the Eastern Cemetery (G 7000), see Reisner, *Giza* I, 205–207 (8–14, 17–21), 208–210 (27–36), 212 (4, 5); Jánosi, *Giza in der 4. Dynastie*, 453, tab. I.
- 166 See Simpson, *Kawab*, 1, figs 2, 4.
- 167 For the chapels with northern access in the Cemetery en Échelon, see Jánosi, in *The Old Kingdom Art and Archaeology*, 176.
- 168 For the kilt, see E. Staehelin, *Untersuchungen zur ägyptischen Tracht im Alten Reich*, *MÄS* 8 (Berlin, 1966), 9 (β), pl. 2, fig. 2; G. Vogelsang-Eastwood, *Pharaonic Egyptian Clothing*, *Studies in Textile and Costume History* 2 (Leiden-New York-Köln, 1993), 41–42, 45–46, fig. 3:12.
- 169 Simpson, *Kawab*, 2, pl. 5b-f, figs 4, 5; Flentye, *The Decorated Elite Mastaba and Rock-cut Tomb in the Eastern and GIS Cemeteries at Giza and their Relationship to the Development of Art during the Fourth Dynasty*, 51.
- 170 Staehelin, *Tracht*, 9 (β).
- 171 For the dates of the tombs, see Flentye, *The Decorated Elite Mastaba and Rock-cut Tomb in the Eastern and GIS Cemeteries at Giza and their Relationship to the Development of Art during the Fourth Dynasty*, 153–57.
- 172 Dunham and Simpson, *Mersyankh* III, 9, pl. 2c, fig. 3b.
- 173 Reisner, *Giza* I, 330 (3).
- 174 Flentye, *The Decorated Elite Mastaba and Rock-cut Tomb in the Eastern and GIS Cemeteries at Giza and their Relationship to the Development of Art during the Fourth Dynasty*, 173, pl. 224.
- 175 For the dating of the tombs of Khaemsekhem (G 7660), Nefermaat (G 7060), and Meresankh III (G 7530sub), see Flentye, *The Decorated Elite Mastaba and Rock-cut Tomb in the Eastern and GIS Cemeteries at Giza and their Relationship to the Development of Art during the Fourth Dynasty*, 151–52, 153–55, 158–60.
- 176 For dating, see *PM* III<sup>2</sup>, 53, 78, 82, 137, 149, 162, 169, 170; Jánosi, *Giza in der 4. Dynastie*, 243.
- 177 Junker, *Giza* II, 154, fig. 20.
- 178 Junker, *Giza* II, 185, fig. 31.

- 179 Junker, *Giza* III, 233, fig. 48.
- 180 Junker, *Giza* VI, 59, figs 14, 16.
- 181 Simpson, *Mastabas of the Western Cemetery* I, fig. 4.
- 182 Simpson, *Mastabas of the Western Cemetery* I, fig. 31.
- 183 Weeks, *Mastabas of Cemetery G 6000*, fig. 18.
- 184 Weeks, *Mastabas of Cemetery G 6000*, fig. 42.
- 185 Hassan, *Giza* II, 119, figs. 128, 136. For the tomb's date, see *PM* III<sup>2</sup>, 263.
- 186 Reisner, *Giza* I, 330 (3).
- 187 Dunham and Simpson, *Mersyankh* III, 19, pl. 12a, fig. 11.
- 188 LD II, pl. 17c. See the south wall in the third chamber of Iymery's chapel (G 6020) in Weeks, *Mastabas of Cemetery G 6000*, 53 (f), fig. 43.
- 189 Smith, *ZAS* 71, 141; Reisner, *Giza* I, 330 (3).
- 190 Smith, *ZAS* 71, 141, fig. 2; Simpson, *Kawab*, 14, pl. 18, fig. 30.
- 191 Junker, *Giza* V, 46, 47, fig. 9.
- 192 For the chapels of Kaninisut I (G 2155), see Junker, *Giza* II, fig. 18; for Nesutnefer (G 4970), see Junker, *Giza* III, 169, fig. 30; for Seshathetep (G 5150), see *Giza* II, 183, fig. 29; for Minjdedef (G 7760), see LD II, pl. 33b; for Nefermaat (G 7060), see LD II, pl. 17b; for Meresankh III (G 7530sub), see Dunham and Simpson, *Mersyankh* III, pl. 9b, fig. 8. Sometimes, the figure carrying the khepesh is accompanied by a slaughtering scene; while, in other scenes, the figure with the khepesh is in a row of offering bearers.
- 193 The chapels which show figures carrying bolts of cloth include: Kaninesut (G 2155) and Nesutnefer (G 4970) in the Western Cemetery, in addition to Khufudjedef (GIIS) in the GIS Cemetery.
- 194 Chapels with figures carrying bolts of cloth include: Khufu-khaf I (G 7140), possibly Duaenhor (G 7550), mastaba G 7530/7540 assigned to Hetepheres II, Djaty (G 7810), and Anonymous G 7560.
- 195 For the dates of these mastabas, see Flentye, *The Decorated Elite Mastaba and Rock-cut Tomb in the Eastern and GIS Cemeteries at Giza and their Relationship to the Development of Art during the Fourth Dynasty*, 143–47, 150–51, 155–57, 158–60, 161–63.
- 196 Flentye, *The Decorated Elite Mastaba and Rock-cut Tomb in the Eastern and GIS Cemeteries at Giza and their Relationship to the Development of Art during the Fourth Dynasty*, 161–63; János, *Giza in der 4. Dynastie*, 261.
- 197 See LD II, pl. 26d for the southern false door niche.
- 198 Lepsius' drawing does not note the panther skin.
- 199 For the dates of these chapels, see Flentye, *The Decorated Elite Mastaba and Rock-cut Tomb in the Eastern and GIS Cemeteries at Giza and their Relationship to the Development of Art during the Fourth Dynasty*, 153–55, 158–60.
- 200 LD II, pl. 26d; Mariette, *Mastabas*, 319.
- 201 LD II, pl. 26d; Mariette, *Mastabas*, 319.
- 202 LD II, pl. 26d; Mariette, *Mastabas*, 319.
- 203 Smith, *HESPOK*, 166.
- 204 Smith, *HESPOK*, 165–66.
- 205 For this stylistic treatment, see Flentye, *The Decorated Elite Mastaba and Rock-cut Tomb in the Eastern and GIS Cemeteries at Giza and their Relationship to the Development of Art during the Fourth Dynasty*, 236.

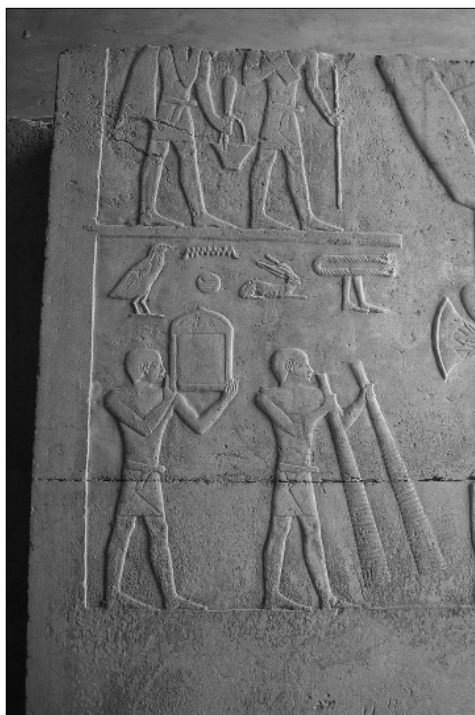




**Fig. 1.** Plan of the chapel of Duaenra (G 5110) (From Reisner, *Giza I*, p. 249, fig. 152).



**Fig. 2.** Duaenra and Inscription (details), north entrance thickness.



**Fig. 3.** Detail of attendants,  
north entrance thickness.



**Fig. 4.** Duaenra (detail), south entrance thickness.



**Fig. 5.** Detail of attendants, south entrance thickness.



**Fig. 6.** Detail of document bearer and offering bearer with oryx, east wall, south section.



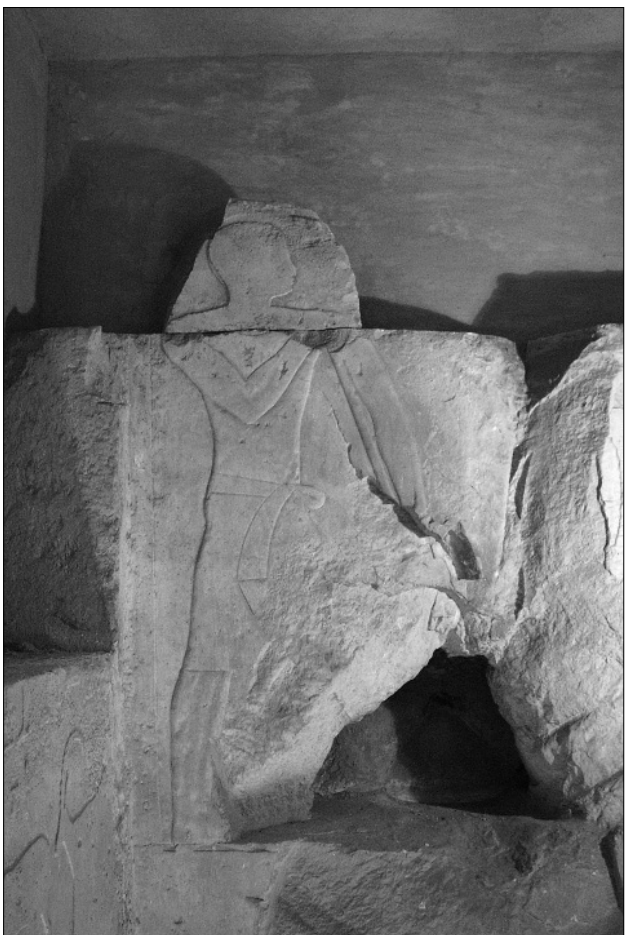
**Fig. 7.** Detail of unfinished animals, east wall, south section.



**Fig. 8.** South wall, chapel of Duaenra (G 5110).



**Fig. 10.** Detail of butcher, south wall.



**Fig. 9.** Duaenra leaning on a staff (detail), south wall.



**Fig. 11.** Herdsmen with cattle, west wall, north section.



**Fig. 12.** North wall, chapel of Duaenra (G 5110).

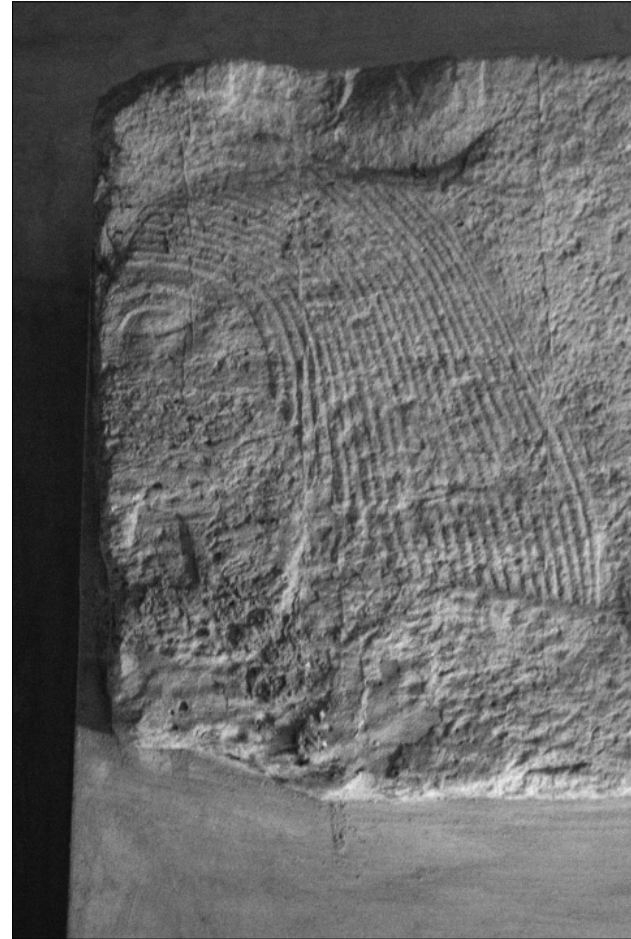




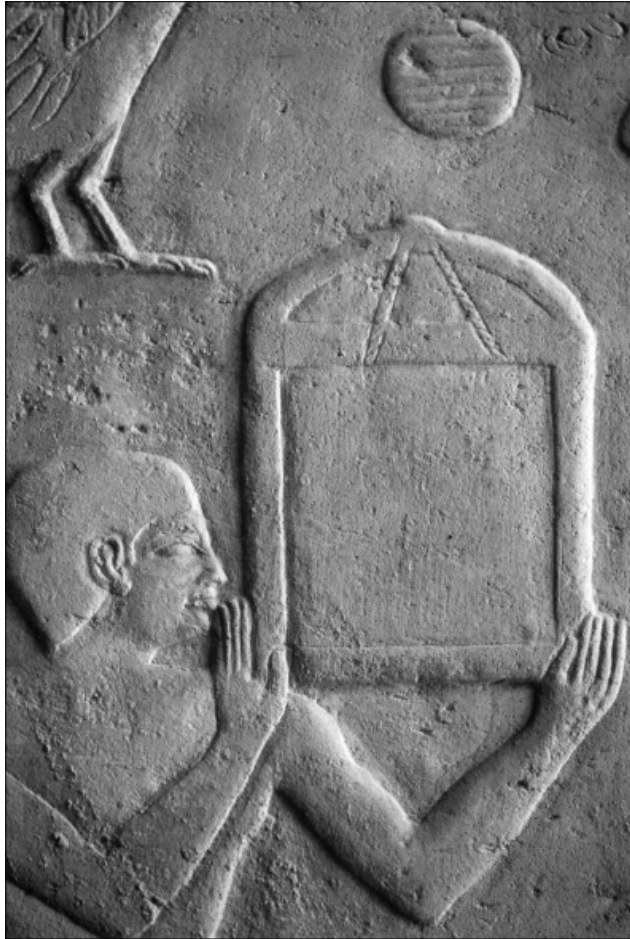
**Fig. 13.** Offerings of vessels and animals, east wall, north section.



**Fig. 14.** Detail of offering bearers with an oryx, east wall, north section.



**Fig. 16.** Head of Duaenra, reconstructed block, east wall, north section.



**Fig. 15.** Attendant with chest (detail), north entrance thickness.

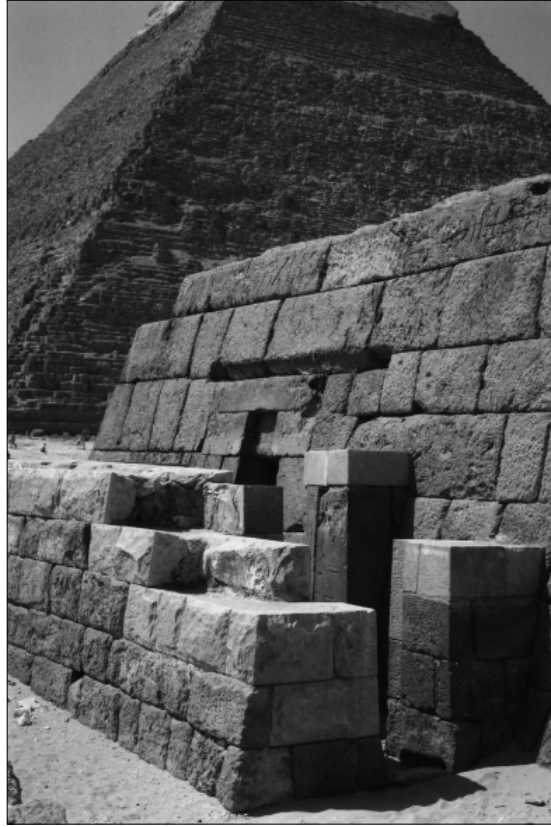




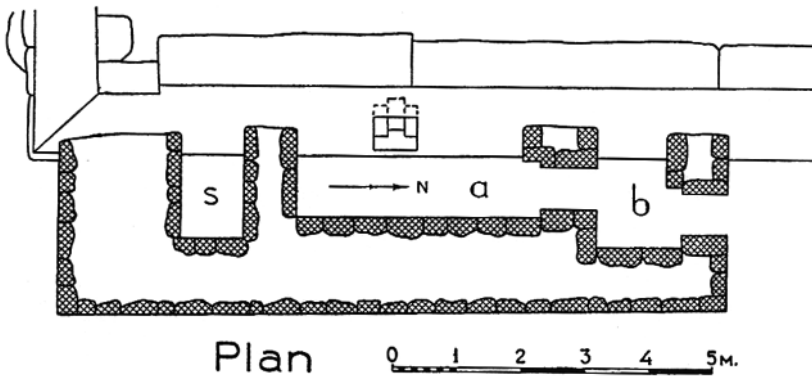
**Fig. 17.** Duaenra's legs, east wall, south section.



**Fig. 18.** View of the Inscription along the top of the east face of Khemetnu's mastaba (G 5210).



**Fig. 19.** View of Khemetnu's chapel (G 5210), looking towards Khafra's pyramid from the northeast.



**Fig. 20.** Plan of the chapel of Khemetnu (G 5210)  
(From Reisner, *Giza I*, p. 282, fig. 177).



**Fig. 21.** Khemetnu with scepter and staff, west entrance thickness.



**Fig. 22.** View of the east wall, chapel of Khemetnu (G 5210).



**Fig. 23.** Detail of musicians, overseer(?), and chests, east wall, south section.



**Fig. 24.** Khemetnu's legs (detail), west entrance thickness.