

The
Archaeology and
Art of
Ancient Egypt

Essays in Honor of David B. O'Connor



Volume I

Edited by
Zahi A. Hawass
and Janet Richards



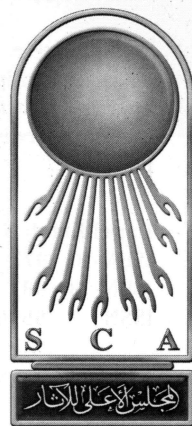
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The Mastabas of Ankh-haf (G7510) and Akhethetep and Meretites (G7650) in the Eastern Cemetery at Giza: A Reassessment

Laurel Flentye

In 1995 I began my Ph.D. with Professor David O'Connor. It was his first year at the Institute of Fine Arts, New York University and my first year as well. Professor O'Connor's approach to art history in combination with archaeology has given me a three-dimensional perspective on Egyptology, and I am most grateful to Professor O'Connor for this gift. It is to Professor David O'Connor that I dedicate this article.

A reassessment of the mastabas of Ankh-haf (G7510) and Akhethetep and Meretites (G7650) in the Eastern Cemetery at Giza is essential to a study of the development of art during the Fourth Dynasty. These two mastabas are located next to one another on the periphery of the eight twin-mastabas, which form the original section of the Eastern Cemetery. George Andrew Reisner of the Harvard University-Museum of Fine Arts, Boston Expedition to Giza dated the construction of the mastabas of Ankh-haf (G7510) and Akhethetep and Meretites (G7650) to the reign of Khafra based on their locations outside of the eight twin-mastabas and their mastaba types (REISNER 1942: 28, 73, 84 (f), 148, 212 (4, 5), 308 (d.1b,c)). In fact, he considered their locations the next phase of development of the Eastern Cemetery (REISNER 1942: 73). However, the assignment of these two mastabas to the reign of Khafra following the construction of the eight twin-mastabas is not as definite as proposed by Reisner. Through an analysis of the architectural evidence, graffiti, titles, iconography, and style of the relief decoration and statuary, the mastabas of Ankh-haf (G7510) and Akhethetep and Meretites (G7650) may actually date earlier than the reign of Khafra. Stylistic analysis, in particular, suggests that this was a significant period of artistic development from the late reign of Khufu through Khafra, including Djedefra. Through reference to royal reliefs and statuary, the relief decoration in the mastabas of Ankh-haf (G7510) and Akhethetep and Meretites (G7650) reflects overall changes occurring during this period. In this respect, a reassessment of the architectural, inscriptional, iconographic, and stylistic evidence from the mastabas of Ankh-haf (G7510) and Akhethetep and Meretites (G7650) will contribute significantly to an understanding of the development of art during the Fourth Dynasty.

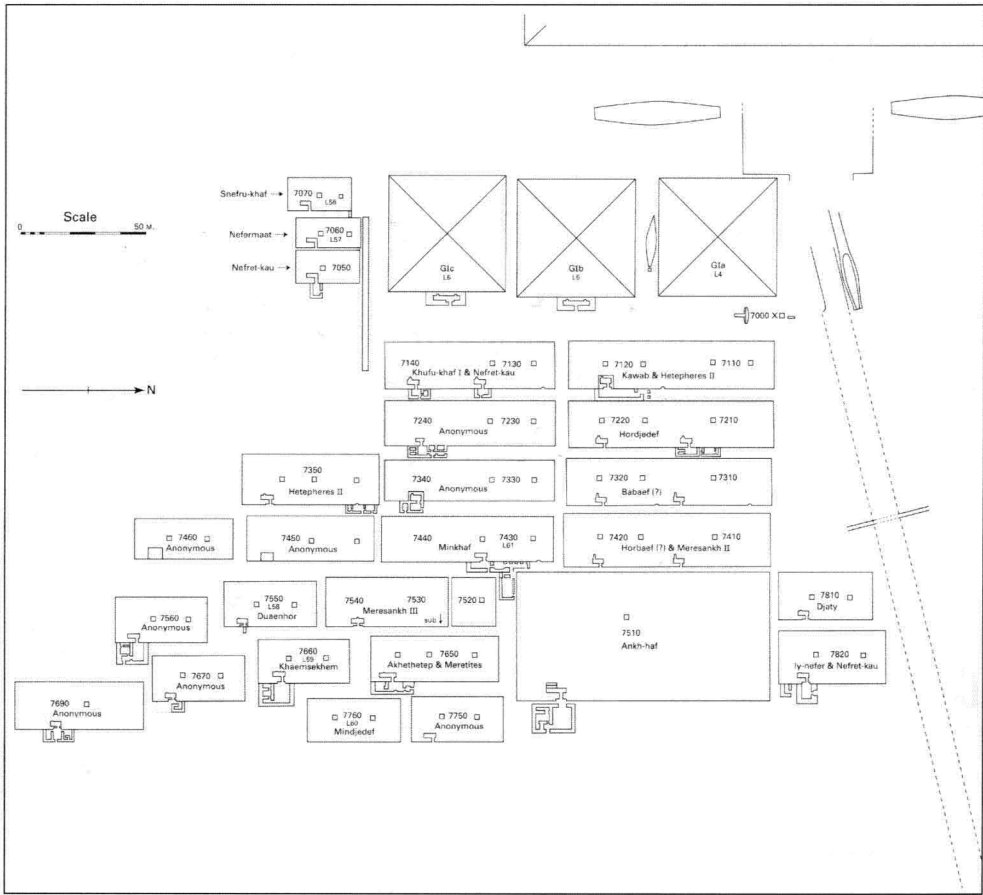


Fig. 1: Plan of the Eastern Cemetery (G7000). Drawing by Barbara Harper after REISNER 1942I, General Plan.

The mastabas of Ankh-haf (G7510) and Akhethetep and Meretites (G7650) are usually considered additions to the original section of the Eastern Cemetery (REISNER 1942: 73, 212 (4, 5), 308 (d1.b, c)(Fig. 1). A reassessment of the architectural evidence from the mastaba of Ankh-haf (G7510) suggests that it probably was included in the original plan of the Eastern Cemetery. Reisner dated its construction to the reign of Khafra based on the mastaba's location east of the eight twin-mastabas and its type IViii construction (REISNER 1942: 41 (4iii), 212 (4), 308 (d.1b); JÁNOSI 2005: 108). He placed its completion within the first five years of Khafra's reign following the mastaba of Meresankh II (G7410/7420), which he considered to be earlier in date (see REISNER 1942: 28, 148; RÖMER 1977: 24 for Reisner's dating of Ankh-haf's mastaba (G7510) to the reign of Khafra). The large size of Ankh-haf's mastaba (G7510), 101 × 52 m (REISNER 1942: 46, 59, 73, fig. 8) resembles the central focus of mastaba G2000 in the Western Cemetery (for Ankh-haf's mastaba (G7510) and G2000, see REISNER 1942: 81; JÁNOSI 2005: 92)(Fig. 2). The scale and alignment of Ankh-haf's mastaba (G7510) on the north with the northern row of the eight twin-mastabas and queen's pyramid GI-a (see JÁNOSI 2005: 89, 92, 95, figs. 5, 6 for the northern

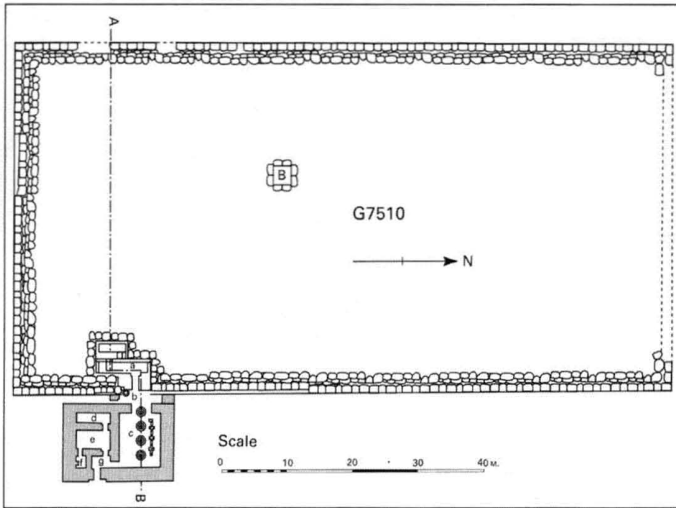


Fig. 2: Plan of the Mastaba of Ankh-haf (G7510). Drawing by Barbara Harper after REISNER 1942: 46, fig. 8.

alignment) and on the south with queen's pyramid GI-b and approximately the southern edge of Khufu's pyramid (for the southern alignment, see JÁNOSI 2005: 89, 92, 95, figs. 5a, 6) imply a preconceived plan (REISNER 1942: 16; JÁNOSI 2005: 92, 95, fig. 6). The northern alignment continues to the west and incorporates the tomb of Hetepheres I and the King's Chamber in Khufu's pyramid (LEHNER 1985: 46, 52 (7), 70, figs. 9, 19). According to Strudwick and Jánosi, the mastaba of Ankh-haf (G7510) may actually be the oldest mastaba in the Eastern Cemetery (STRUDWICK 1985: 42–43; JÁNOSI 2005: 109–111). The plan of Ankh-haf's chapel (G7510) with two false doors is similar to queen's pyramid GI-b in the Eastern Cemetery in addition to mastaba G2000 and Hemiu's mastaba (G4000) in the Western Cemetery (REISNER 1942: 211–213, figs. 120–122) and is considered a feature of Khufu's reign (STRUDWICK 1985: 42, 78). Jánosi also believes that the increasing distances towards Khufu's pyramid between the cased mastabas of the northern row among the eight twin-mastabas for the "integrated" chapels is an indication that the mastaba of Ankh-haf (G7510) was included in the original plan (JÁNOSI 2005: 92–93). These various factors might support the theory that Ankh-haf's mastaba (G7510) is actually the oldest in the Eastern Cemetery and constructed under Khufu.

The titles of Ankh-haf and his wife, Hetepheres, suggest that they are relatives of Khufu, particularly as the Eastern Cemetery consists of the burials of Khufu's family. Ankh-haf is: *z3 [nswt] n ht.f smsw* "eldest [king's] son of his body" and *[t3jtj] z3b Btj and wr djw pr-Dhwjtj* "vizier and great one of Five of the house of Thoth" (for Ankh-haf's titles, see RÖMER 1977: 24–26 (a) 204, 219; STRUDWICK 1985: 77–78 (34), 301, 308, tabs. 28, 29; BAUD 1999a, 424–425 [35]). Reisner and Smith believed that Ankh-haf was a vizier under Khafra, probably "his first vizier" (REISNER-SMITH 1955: 11). However, Strudwick believes that Ankh-haf was a vizier under Khufu (STRUDWICK 1985: 301, tab. 28). The titles of Ankh-haf's wife, Hetepheres, may indicate that she is a daughter of Snefru. She is: *z3t nswt nt ht.f smst mrt.f* "eldest king's daughter of his body, the one whom he loves" (for this title, see REISNER-SMITH 1955: 11, fig. 10 (MFA 25-5-61 (39), 25-5-61 (47)); TROY 1986: 153 (4.3); BAUD 1999a: 529 [164]) and *hmt-ntr Snfrw* "priestess of Snefru" (REISNER-SMITH 1955: 11, fig. 10 (MFA 25-5-61 (1) and 25-5-61 (13)); TROY 1986: 153 (4.3); BAUD 1999a: 529 [164]). The connection of Hetepheres to Snefru implies that Ankh-haf and his wife are probably from an older

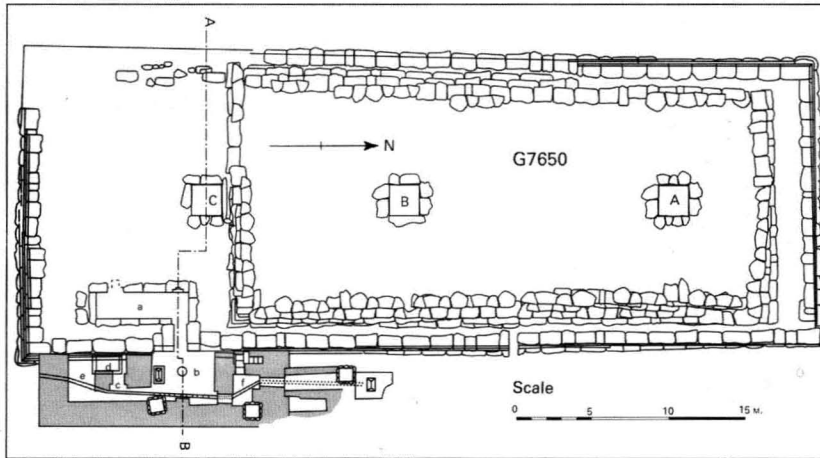


Fig. 3: Plan of the Mastaba of Akhethetep and Meretites (G7650). Drawing by Barbara Harper after REISNER 1942: 47, fig. 9.

generation than the tomb owners of the eight twin-mastabas, who are presumably children of Khufu (REISNER 1942: 27, 80–81; REISNER-SMITH 1955: 5–8; for an opposing view of the parentage of Kawab (G7110/7120), see JÁNOSI 2005: 102, 103).¹ Hetepheres' connection to Snefru could also link Ankh-haf as “eldest [king’s] son of his body” to that king, possibly as a son (REISNER-SMITH 1955: 11; STRUDWICK 1985: 77–78). Jánosi believes that Ankh-haf may be of the “same generation” as Khufu, i.e. a “(half-) brother” or “relative of the same generation” (JÁNOSI 2005: 111). This would make Ankh-haf and his wife of a similar generation to Khufu with the location of their mastaba on the easternmost edge of the Eastern Cemetery providing an architectural frame to the interior eight twin-mastabas in coordination with queens’ pyramids GI-a and GI-b.

The mastaba of Akhethetep and Meretites (G7650) is located in the “en échelon” section south of Ankh-haf’s mastaba (G7510)(Fig. 3). It is usually included within the next phase of development of the Eastern Cemetery following the eight twin-mastabas and is generally dated to Khafra’s reign (REISNER 1942: 73, 84 (f)). In its original form, the mastaba of Akhethetep and Meretites (G7650) consisted of a core comparable in size, ca. 36 × 16 m (REISNER 1942: 59, 73), to the twelve cores in the original section of the Eastern Cemetery prior to their conversion into eight twin-mastabas (for the twelve original cores, see REISNER 1942: 72, 80–81; JÁNOSI 2005: 86–87, 89, fig. 5a). The core of mastaba G7650 with its type IVi construction was altered by an extension on the south of type IViv construction that included an interior chapel (for southern extension, see REISNER 1942: 47, 73, 212 (5), fig. 9; JÁNOSI 1996: 54, fig. 4). Graffiti give the dates *rnpt zp 12 2 šmw sw 10* “year 23, month 2 of Shemu, day 10” on the back of a block of the north wall of the chapel and *rnpt zp 13 4...* “year 25, month 4...” on the back of a casing stone on the mastaba’s north face (for the graffiti, see SMITH 1952: 119, 127–128 (11), fig. 7; SPALINGER 1994: 286 (2), 287 (4); NOLAN 2003: 95, tab. 1 (54, 56); JÁNOSI 2005: 96–97, 98, 442, tabs. 1 (6a, b), C4). The “year 23” and “year 25” are usually dated to Khafra’s reign based on the location and construction of the mastaba (SMITH 1952: 127–128 (11)). However, these dates could also refer to Khufu based on a longer reign length for that king (JÁNOSI 2005: 98). The discovery of a “year 27” in Khufu’s reign creates this possibility (see KUPER and FÖRSTER 2003: 26 for the “year 27” of Khufu). The construction of the chapel with two false doors (REISNER 1942: 47, 212 (5), fig. 9 for plan of G7650), comparable to the design of Ankh-haf’s mastaba (G7510), is also an architectural feature dated to Khufu’s reign (STRUDWICK 1985: 41–43). In this respect, the architectural

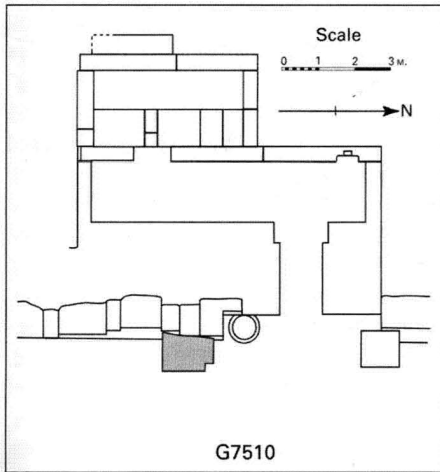


Fig. 4: Plan of the Chapel of Ankh-haf (G7510). Drawing by Barbara Harper after REISNER 1942: 213, fig. 122.

development of the mastaba of Akhethetep and Meretites (G7650) may actually date to the end of Khufu's reign rather than late Khafra.

The titles of Akhethetep and Meretites do not provide enough evidence regarding their parentage. Strudwick suggests that Akhethetep was possibly a "non-royal official" (STRUDWICK 1985: 165) based on his titles: *smr w^ctj*, *hm-[b3w] Nhn*, *hrp h*, and *d-mr wh^cw (3pdw)* "sole friend, priest of the [Bas] of Nekhen, administrator of the palace, and overseer of fishers/ fowlers" (for Akhethetep's titles, see SCHMITZ 1976: 121–122; BAUD 1999a: 400 [3]. For *d-mr wh^cw* (overseer of fishers/fowlers), see JONES 2000: 356 [1323]). Scholars believe that Meretites (G7650) was probably a daughter of Khufu (see SCHMITZ 1976: 121–122; STRUDWICK 1985: 165; HARPUR 1987: 300 (2.76); BAUD 1999a: 469–470 [86] for Meretites' descent from Khufu as a daughter). Schmitz bases this on the location of her mastaba on the edge of the original section

of the Eastern Cemetery (SCHMITZ 1976: 121). Meretites has the title: *z3t nswt nt ht.f* "king's daughter of his body" (BAER 1995; BAUD 1999a: 469–470 [86]). Interestingly, the mastabas of Akhethetep and Meretites (G7650) and G7530/7540 assigned to Hetepheres II are adjacent to one another in the "en échelon section, and they may both belong to daughters of Khufu. Akhethetep and Meretites are also *hm-ntr Hwfw* "priest of Khufu" and *hmt-ntr Hwfw* "priestess of Khufu" (HAWASS 1987: 646 (#1), 669 (#37); BAER 1995; BAUD 1999a: 400 [3], 469–470 [86]) respectively reaffirming their connection to that king. In this respect, the titles of Akhethetep and Meretites do not conclusively prove that they are children of Khufu, but certainly the location of the mastaba in the Eastern Cemetery implies a connection to that king.

Within this framework of architectural and inscriptional evidence, iconographic and stylistic analysis of the relief decoration and statuary from the chapels of Ankh-haf (G7510) and Akhethetep and Meretites (G7650) provide essential data towards the creation of an artistic chronology. Through a study of the relief decoration and statuary, references to the iconography and style of Khufu, Djedefra, and Khafra can be ascertained and used as dating criteria for the chapels. In addition, recent theories concerning the reign length of Djedefra, i.e., longer than eight years,² must also be factored into the decoration of the mastabas at Giza. The size of Ankh-haf's chapel (G7510), 7.55 × 1.65 m (REISNER 1942: 212 (4)), distinguishes it from other mastabas in the Eastern Cemetery (Fig. 4). The decorative program in the chapel was reconstructed by Smith and Brovarski from fragments as well as in situ decoration. Brovarski has suggested that the south wall was decorated with a large-scale image of Ankh-haf facing right/west (BROVARSKI 1989: 2) based on the reconstruction of the west wall with estates facing left/south towards the south wall.³ The length of the west wall and its two false doors affected its overall design.⁴ The south false door is attributed to Ankh-haf, and the north is assigned to his wife, Hetepheres, although the mastaba is lacking a shaft for her burial (for the lack of a shaft for Hetepheres' burial, see JÁNOSI 2005: 109–110). The north section of the west wall shows Ankh-haf standing and facing left/south towards subsidiary registers (SMITH 1946: 279; BROVARSKI 1989: 2). He is shown leaning

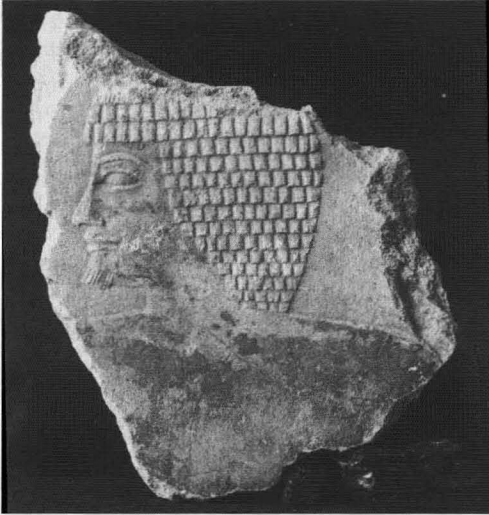


Fig. 5: Fragment of limestone relief from G7510, Ankh-haf, chapel: 25-2-119 (= MFA 30.833), from mastaba G7510: C11810. C11810 New Series, Photographer: unlisted, April 17, 1930. Harvard University–Boston Museum of Fine Arts Expedition.

on a staff in the “flat foot” position holding a cloth for his brow. Harpur considers this position an “outdoor” pose in a “viewing” scene (HARPUR 1987: 127–128 (6.2.2), 255 (4), 325 (6.3)). Ankh-haf is shown bald and wearing a mid-calf kilt (BROVARSKI 1989: 2). Behind Ankh-haf is his grandson depicted as a youth (SMITH 1946: 392, pl. 40b; REISNER-SMITH 1955: 11; BROVARSKI 1989: 2). Smith reconstructed the west wall’s central section with figures oriented in both directions (BROVARSKI 1989: 2). On the south end, estates face left/south alternating male/female (BROVARSKI 1989: 2). For the estates, see JACQUET-GORDON 1962: 209 [3G4]; PORTER and MOSS 1974: 196 (II.2) (Fig. 5).⁵ To the right/north and below the estates, offering bearers, offerings,⁶ and scribes⁷ face right/north towards Ankh-haf (BROVARSKI 1989: 2). The reconstruction of the west wall⁸ in Ankh-haf’s chapel (G7510) with possibly a file of cattle resembles King Khufu’s Cattle (MMA 22.1.3), which was reused in the pyra-

mid complex of Amenemhat I at Lisht and attributed to Khufu’s pyramid complex.⁹ The north false door belonging to Hetepheres has an early compartment list on her stela that includes linen (see STRUDWICK 1985: 39 n. 3, 78 for the false door stela). Reisner dated this list to Khafra based on its type (REISNER 1942: 332–333 (3)). Yet, its type is also used by Jánosi as evidence for dating Ankh-haf’s mastaba (G7510) to the early stages of the Eastern Cemetery (JÁNOSI 2005: 109). The north wall is reconstructed by Harpur with an ibex facing left/west (HARPUR 1987: 395, plan 39). An offering bearer probably lead the ibex towards an image of Ankh-haf on the west section of the north wall based on Akhethetep and Meretites’ north wall (G7650).

The mastaba of Akhethetep and Meretites (G7650), located south of the mastaba of Ankh-haf (G7510) in the “en échelon” section, received an extension on the southern end of its original core that included a chapel indicating that the mastaba developed over a period of time (Fig. 6). The embrasure of the chapel shows Akhethetep holding a staff on either side facing inwards (REISNER 1942: 316). Superposed registers with subsidiary figures are placed or reconstructed behind Akhethetep (HARPUR 1987: 50).¹⁰ This design with a major figure and superposed registers behind is similar to the layout of the block showing Khufu wearing the Red Crown excavated in Khufu’s pyramid complex.¹¹ The entrance thicknesses in the chapel of Akhethetep and Meretites (G7650) presumably depict Akhethetep and Meretites standing with their children facing east (REISNER 1942: 316 (6); HARPUR 1987: 310 (4.8)). Reisner also noted a minor figure on the south thickness facing in, i.e. right/west. See REISNER 1942: 316 (6). The east wall in the chapel depicts Akhethetep and Meretites standing with their children facing right/south in a “viewing” scene. MFA 37.2620 depicting Meretites is reconstructed on the north section of the east wall (Fig. 7). The emphasis placed on the family group in this chapel’s decoration corresponds with similar imagery in statuary during Djedefra’s reign, e.g. the Louvre statue group (Musée du Louvre,

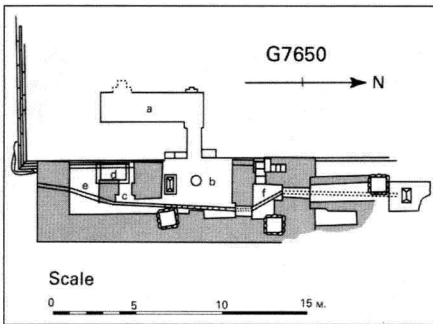


Fig. 6: Plan of the Chapel of Akhethetep and Meretites (G7650). Drawing by Barbara Harper after REISNER 1942: 47, fig. 9.

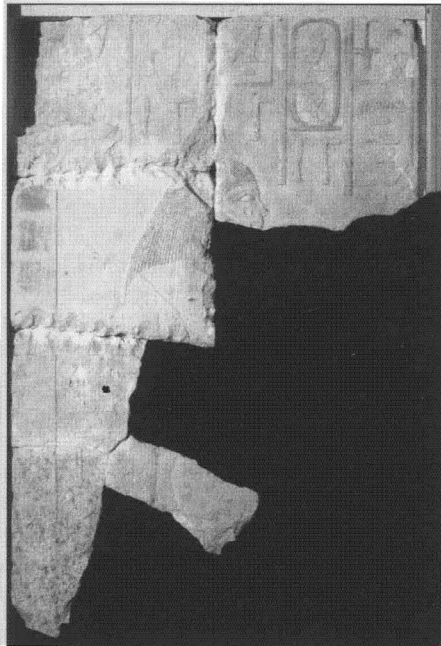


Fig. 7: Relief of Princess Meretites III. Old Kingdom, Dynasty 4, reign of Khufu or later, 2551–2465 BCE. Findspot: Egypt, Giza, Tomb G7650, east wall. Height x width: 105 x 68.5 cm. Museum of Fine Arts, Boston. Harvard University–Boston Museum of Fine Arts Expedition 37.2620.

“lost stela” and the Museo Barracco relief). The central section of the west wall depicts an offering table scene and a “viewing” scene (REISNER 1942: 323, 328 (e1)). On the south end, a figure sits

Paris E 12627) (see FAY 1997: 161 (3), 175, fig. 6; BAUD 1999b: 48, 60, fig. 8; STADELMANN 1999: 172–173, 175, 188, fig. 8a, b; BAUD 1999a: 232 for the Louvre statue group and family groups in statuary during Djedefra’s reign). The overall influence of Ra at this time also may have infused the artistic repertoire at Giza with images relating to family and abundance (ROTH 1993: 54). South of the family group is a “marshland” scene with a seining scene above and offering bearers below facing left/north (SMITH 1946: 167, 170, fig. 66). A clapnet scene was probably placed above the seining scene (REISNER 1942: 322 n. 1, 357; SMITH 1946: 167. For seining scene, see FISCHER 1959: 241–242; HARPUR 1987: 145–148 (6.3.1.3), 173). On the bottom register, Reisner saw eight figures (REISNER 1942: 357), who are in a striding position carrying ducks/geese, fish, an animal, and an object (REISNER 1942: 322 n. 1, 357; SMITH 1946: 170, fig. 66; HARPUR 1987: 181, 394, plan 38). According to Reisner, the south wall depicted an offering scene with a picture list (offerings in pictorial form) with “an extended family group” (REISNER 1942: 323 (D.1b), 360). This iconography differs from the typical offering table scene that usually decorates the south wall.

The west wall in the chapel of Akhethetep and Meretites (G7650) has a similar design to Ankh-haf’s west wall (G7510) as the south false door is larger than the north (REISNER 1942: 47, fig. 9). Several different reliefs have been assigned to the south false door, including Mariette’s “lost stela” of Queen Meretites wearing the high-peaked garment (REISNER 1942: 308 (d.1c)).¹² The stela could not be placed south of the false door because this section has a width of 81 cm. and is too small for Mariette’s stela of 1.25 m. in width (MARIETTE 1889: 565 (VI)). Smith proposed the relief of Akhethetep (Museo Barracco, Rome, Inv. n. 3) facing right measuring 36 cm. in width (as preserved) (CAREDDU 1985: 5 (2), 53, pl. 2; SIST 1996: 19–20), a width suitable to a side panel of the false door rather than the section south of the false door (see SMITH 1946: 161, pl. 42b for his discussion of Mariette’s

at an offering table facing right/north and wearing a long garment (HARPUR 1987: 395, plan 38). Porter and Moss identified this figure as a woman (PORTER and MOSS 1974: 201 (5), plan XXXI). However, males also wear long panther skins as on the false door stelae in the Western Cemetery (for the stelae of Iunu (G4150) and Mastaba II n (G4260), see JUNKER 1929: 173–175, 185–186, figs. 31, 36, pls. XXVIb, XXVII, XXIXa. For Wepemnefert (G1201) and Khufu-nakht (G1205), see LUTZ 1927: 1 (1), 1 (3), pls. 1, 2 (3), 48. Also, see DER MANUELIAN 2003: 2–7, 10–11, 16–17, 26–27, 32–49, 54–57, 70–74, 98–103, pls. 1–6, 9–10, 15–16, 25–26). The seated figure could be Akhethetep positioned next to his false door. Harpur considers the west wall with its offering table scene to be the earliest among L-shaped chapels with two or more false doors at Giza dating it from Khufu to Khafra (HARPUR 1987: 70–71). In front of the offering table scene on the bottom register are two slaughtering scenes with three figures each (SMITH 1946: pl. 41c; HARPUR 1987: 395, plan 38). On the north section, Akhethetep stands facing left/south holding a staff in his right hand with a daughter in front (REISNER 1942: 328 (e1)). Behind him are two superposed registers also facing left/south. The north false door is assigned to Meretites. The stela shows her seated at an offering table facing right/north (REISNER 1942: 333 (a5)) and wearing a long garment, possibly a panther skin. Based on Meresankh III's chapel (G7530sub), her wearing of a panther skin might indicate that she is a royal daughter (STAEHELIN 1966: 176; BAUD 1999a: 197). The offering list retains the old compartment form with a linen list similar to Hetepheres' stela (G7510) (REISNER 1942: 333 (5); JÁNOSI 2005: 109 n. 597). The false door panels depict Meretites facing inwards (REISNER 1942: 341 (7b.16)). North of the false door are three registers with offering bearers facing left/south (REISNER 1942: 327 (df.1), 344 (9.3), 346 (a2)). Also, see HARPUR 1987: 71, 395, plan 38).

The north wall depicts Akhethetep standing and facing right/east towards four panels with offering bearers (REISNER 1942: 323 (C.1c); SMITH 1946: pl. 42a). He leans on a staff standing in the "flat foot" position, i.e., a viewing scene "outdoors." Harpur considers Akhethetep's "flat foot" posture (b) to be the earliest example predating Khufu-khaf I's chapel (G7140) (HARPUR 1987: 127–128 (6.2.2), 325 (6.3)). However, Ankh-haf (G7510) may actually be the earlier example of this posture. The top panel facing Akhethetep shows two male figures carrying an outstretched garment on a pole suggesting a difference in its weight or material (for the garment, see SMITH 1933: 155, 156, fig. 3). The second panel shows two men leading an oryx. The third panel is mostly destroyed; while, the bottom also shows two men leading an oryx (?).

As the mastabas of Ankh-haf (G7510) and Akhethetep and Meretites (G7650) are located next to one another and are generally assigned to the reign of Khafra based on Reisner's original assessment of the expansion of the Eastern Cemetery (REISNER 1942: 212 (4, 5)), their decoration, including the statuary, should reflect the stylistic features of that king's reign. An assessment of the relief decoration in the two chapels should include the height of the relief and its stylistic features, and how these particular features relate to royal reliefs and statuary. Smith, in fact, placed the low relief decoration in the chapels of Ankh-haf (G7510) and Akhethetep and Meretites (G7650) in a group consisting of the slab stelae and fragments from Khent-ka's (G2130) and Hemiunu's (G4000) mastabas in the Western Cemetery (SMITH 1946: 160, 361) as well as fragments from queen's pyramid G1-b in the Eastern Cemetery (SMITH 1946: 157–158, 160, 249, 361). He also believed that these mastabas were carved possibly by the same group of artisans (SMITH 1946: 160, 361). The relief decoration in Ankh-haf's chapel (G7510) is carved in fine quality limestone. Low relief decoration in fine quality limestone also occurs among the eight twin-mastabas, including those of Hordjedef (G7210/7220), Babaef (?) (G7310/7320), Horbaef (?) and Meresankh II (G7410/7420) (SMITH 1946: 161–162),¹³ and Minkhaf (G7430/7440) (SMITH 1946: 162).¹⁴ Although low relief generally characterizes the eight twin-mastabas, the actual decoration of the



Fig. 8: Bust of Prince Ankh-haf. Old Kingdom, Dynasty 4, reign of Khafre (Chephren), 2520–2494 BCE. Giza, tomb G7510. Painted limestone. Height: 50.48 cm. Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, Harvard University–Boston Museum of Fine Arts Expedition 27.442.

of the decoration in Ankh-haf's chapel (G7510). Ankh-haf's large-scale figure assigned to the west wall is carved with broad shoulders but not well-defined musculature (MFA photo A6515). In fact, the modeling of the figure, particularly the lower half, is reminiscent of Hemiunu's relief in the Pelizaeus-Museum, Hildesheim (#2146) (MARTIN 1978: 69–72 (2146)). Distinctive stylistic treatments of the relief fragments from the chapel can also be identified. The figures and animals on these fragments are carved with a "bony structure." (MFA 25-2-133, 30.833, 30.835, 30.836, 30.837, 34.1468) (see Fig. 5). In particular, the "bony structure" delineating an ibex's head in coordination with its overall modeling and the two distinctive, horizontal lines at its throat are stylistic markers (SMITH 1946: pl. 40c). The bust of Ankh-haf also has this "bony structure" (SMITH 1946: 38–39, pls. 14, 15a; SMITH 1960: 39, 42–43, fig. 17)(Fig. 8). Smith, in fact, used this terminology to describe the underlying form beneath the skin on the bust, which he equated with "the more plastic modelling" of Reisner's Sculptor B (see SMITH 1946: 39 for the "bony structure," naturalistic modeling, and the association with Sculptor B. For the relationship of Ankh-haf's bust to the reserve heads, see SMITH 1946: 39; JUNGE 1995: 107–109, pl. 41). Ankh-haf's folded eyelids and the pouches beneath his eyes reflect an interest in portraying realistic features. The subtle musculature at the back of his mouth is also an identifiable treatment (SMITH 1960: 42–43). The use of these stylistic elements gives Ankh-haf's face greater definition and expresses the "softer modeling" characteristic of this period.

A study of the minor male and female figures on fragments from Ankh-haf's chapel (G7510) also produces significant stylistic features. Firstly, the use of a concave line for the profile was noted by Smith (Type 1) (SMITH 1946: 301–302, pl. 40e). Secondly, a male figure and female estate (MFA 30.833, 30.837) have a distinct ridge along their profiles similar to Hemiunu's relief (MFA 27.296) (see Fig. 5). Thirdly, the "rounded eyeball" of the female estate (MFA 30.837) and its similarity to Hemiunu's eye (MFA 27.296) was noted by Dorothea Arnold (Do. ARNOLD 1999:

chapels may date from Khufu through Khafra (see HARPUR 1987: 266–268 (85, 97, 171, 175), 270 (252) for her dating of the chapels in the Eastern Cemetery), which does not provide conclusive evidence for dating low relief solely to Khufu's reign. The excavated royal reliefs at Giza and those reused in the pyramid complex of Amenemhat I at Lisht attributed to the pyramid complexes of Khufu and Khafra are also carved in low relief height (SMITH 1946: 157 n. 1, 158, 160, 361; HASSAN 1960: 17). In this respect, the use of low relief as a dating criterion for the mastaba of Ankh-haf (G7510) is not valid because low relief characterizes both the reigns of Khufu and Khafra.

An analysis of the stylistic features of the relief decoration and statuary in the mastaba of Ankh-haf (G7510) is crucial to the creation of an artistic chronology. Through a study of these distinctive features and by comparison with other mastabas and royal reliefs and statuary, it is possible to reassess the dating

233, n. 6). Fourthly, incision lines are also used. A male estate has an incised line above the upper eyelid (MFA 30.835),¹⁵ while another male and a female estate have a horizontal line at the inner canthus cutting into the bridge of the nose¹⁶ (MFA 30.833, 30.837)(see Fig. 5). This horizontal line also occurs on the relief of Hemiunu (MFA 27.296) and several of the reserve heads (University of California, Berkeley, 6-19767 and MFA 21.328) (for the relief of Hemiunu (MFA 27.296), see Do. ARNOLD 1999: 232–233 (45). For the reserve heads, see ROEHRIG 1999: 234–237 (46, 47)) 5). Finally, the lips on two of the male figures (MFA 30.833, 34.1468) are carved with the top lip slightly overhanging the bottom with the back of the mouth in a slightly downturned position with subtle musculature (see fig. 5).¹⁷ An overall study of the facial features on the male figures (MFA 30.833, 30.835, and 34.1468) and the female estate (MFA 30.837) demonstrates their resemblance to Hemiunu's features (MFA 27.296) (Do. ARNOLD 1999: 232–233 (45)). Smith already remarked upon the similarity of Ankh-haf's and Hemiunu's styles suggesting that the two mastabas were carved by the same group of artisans (SMITH 1946: 361).

A study of royal reliefs suggests that the decoration in the chapel of Ankh-haf (G7510) resembles both the artistic styles of Khufu and Djedefra. The proximity of the mastaba of Ankh-haf (G7510) to the pyramid complex of Khufu may have influenced the decoration in Ankh-haf's chapel. The large-scale figure of Ankh-haf with its lack of bold musculature (MFA photo A6515) resembles the relief depicting Khufu wearing the Red Crown, which also has rounded surfaces with precisely carved edges. The precisely carved edges on Ankh-haf's reliefs are also a feature of the Head of a Female Personification of an Estate (MMA 22.1.7) reused in the pyramid complex of Amenemhat I at Lisht and assigned to Khufu's pyramid complex.¹⁸ The relief fragments depicting animals from Ankh-haf's chapel (G7510) also exhibit distinct modeling similar to reliefs attributed to the pyramid complexes. MFA 25-2-133 from Ankh-haf's chapel (G7510) shows an ox carved in low relief height with well-defined musculature and the rounded edges of Khufu's reliefs (Do. ARNOLD 1999: 226 (41)) similar to King Khufu's Cattle (MMA 22.1.3). The ox and ibex (MFA 25-2-133 and MFA 30.836) from Ankh-haf's chapel (G7510) also resemble the carving of another Lisht relief, Billy Goat (MMA 22.1.20), which is attributed to one of the pyramid complexes.¹⁹ Billy Goat (MMA 22.1.20) is carved in low relief height with bold modeling and has a three-dimensional quality, differentiation of parts of the body, and the rounded surfaces characteristic of Khufu's reliefs. The small, diagonal incision at the inner canthus on Billy Goat (MMA 22.1.20) is also used on Ankh-haf's ibex (MFA 30.836). A relief showing a hippo, now in the Bab el Futtûh in Cairo, is carved in very low relief height with rounded surfaces resembling the treatment of the ibex (MFA 30.836) from Ankh-haf's chapel (G7510) based on its modeling and the incision lines at the neck (see DROWER 1935: 350 for the low relief on the block showing a hippo). As it relates to a Heb Sed Scene, the relief depicting a hippo must be from a pyramid complex (DROWER 1935: 350, pl. VIII; CAPART 1936: 468–469; LAUER 1949: 114; GOEDICKE 1971: 9; HAWASS 1987: 515; PAWLICKI 1990: 20, 25, fig. 8). Hawass reconstructs it in the portico of Khufu's pyramid temple based upon its appearance in the *pr-wrw* "house of the great ones" of Pepi II (HAWASS 1987: 519). In this respect, the reliefs from the chapel of Ankh-haf (G7510) exhibit a strong similarity in their modeling, carving, and high level of quality to those reliefs attributed to Khufu's pyramid complex.

Stylistic similarities between royal statuary and the reliefs and bust of Ankh-haf from Ankh-haf's chapel (G7510) place them on the same artistic line of development. The modeling and stylistic features of the Head of Djedefra (Musée du Louvre, Paris E 12626) (ZIEGLER 1999: 248–249 (54)) directly relate to the style of the reliefs and statuary from Ankh-haf's chapel (G7510) (see SMITH 1946: 39, pls. 11a, b, 14, 15a; SMITH 1960: 39, 42–43, fig. 17 for Ankh-haf's



Fig. 9: Head of Djedefra. Dynasty 4, reign of Djedefra. Red Quartzite with remains of paint. Height: 26.5 cm. Width: 28.8 cm. Depth: 38.5 cm. Musée du Louvre, Paris E 12626. Photograph courtesy of the Musée du Louvre, Paris. Published with permission of the Musée du Louvre, Paris.

bust and the more plastic modeling under the reign of Djedefra) (Fig. 9). The Head of Djedefra (Musée du Louvre, Paris E 12626) has the same “bony structure;” incised lines carved above the upper eyelids (ZIEGLER 1999: 249); inner canthi demarcated by horizontal incisions;²⁰ and subtle musculature at the back of the mouth, which Smith described as “a bunching of the flesh at the corners of the mouth...” (SMITH 1946: 32). Smith even noted the “remarkable facial resemblance” between Ankh-haf and the Head of Djedefra. (SMITH 1960: 43). This direct correlation in style raises the question of chronology, and how exactly the reliefs and statuary from the chapel of Ankh-haf (G7510) should be dated. If, in fact, Reisner’s assessment of the development of the Eastern Cemetery is incorrect and Ankh-haf’s mastaba (G7510) is actually an integral part of the original layout, then the chapel cannot be assigned to Khafra based on

the architectural evidence and may date to Khufu’s reign. This reassessment would alter the theory that the “bony structure” style and “new naturalism” were a product of Djedefra’s reign. Instead, these stylistic features may have appeared at the end of Khufu’s reign influencing the subsequent artistic style at Abu Rawash (for a discussion of the softer modeling on Hemiunu’s body, see RUSSMANN 1995: 113).

The mastaba of Akhethetep and Meretites (G7650) is also carved in low relief height in fine quality limestone. The Relief of Meretites (MFA 37.2620), in particular, is carved in very low relief height with rounded edges (see Fig. 7). Outline incisions are also used around the relief edges in this chapel to enhance the low height (SMITH 1946: 249). Similar to the chapel of Ankh-haf (G7510), the low relief height cannot be used as a dating criterion for the relief decoration in the chapel of Akhethetep and Meretites (G7650) since low relief characterizes chapels dated to Khufu through Khafra as well as the reliefs assigned to both Khufu’s and Khafra’s pyramid complexes.

A study of the stylistic features in the chapel of Akhethetep and Meretites (G7650) shows that there is a direct correlation with the styles of Khufu, Djedefra, and Khafra. Although the relief height is very low, it also capable of expressing through distinct modeling both the structure and musculature of the figures. Meretites’ face on the Relief of Meretites (MFA 37.2620) is defined by its “bony structure” even though it is only partially preserved (see Fig. 7). The minor figures in the chapel of Akhethetep and Meretites (G7650) are also carved in a highly sculptural style. Several figures on the west wall have features in higher relief, e.g., the lips on the third figures of each slaughtering scene, the hands on the daughter in front of Akhethetep, and Meretites’ hands on her false door. The offering bearers on the east wall and the figures involved in the slaughtering scene on the west wall also have legs that are highly sculptured with slightly angled edges. Smith defined this angling as “shading off” (SMITH 1946: 249), which actually shapes the back of the upper thigh and calves. This type of modeling enlivens the scenes giving an overall sense of movement and dynamism.

The identification of distinct stylistic features in the chapel of Akhethetep and Meretites (G7650) contributes to the creation of an artistic chronology. Meretites on the Relief of Meretites

(MFA 37.2620) has a rounded forehead that comes into the bridge of the nose with a straight line out to its tip (Smith's type 2), which is also found on slab stelae belonging to females (see SMITH 1946: 301-302 for his assessment of the two types of profiles) (see Fig. 7).²¹ She also has a large, open eye that is banded at the top and bottom with a cosmetic line that meets at the back of the eye.²² Incision lines are also carved above and below the eyeball with a horizontal line at the inner canthus. Meretites' eyebrow in relief curves down following the outline of her eye. Her delicate mouth is outlined with a small ridge with subtle musculature at the back.

A comparison of the relief decoration in the chapel of Akhethetep and Meretites (G7650) with royal reliefs demonstrates that there are similar stylistic features. The representation of features in higher relief and the use of overlapping, outstretched arms giving a sense of depth and complexity to the slaughtering scene on Akhethetep and Meretites' west wall (G7650) resemble Lisht relief, Group of Archers (MMA 22.1.23), which is assigned to a building of the Fourth or Fifth Dynasty²³ as well as Khafra's pyramid complex.²⁴ The distinct modeling of the legs of the butchers on the west wall in the chapel of Akhethetep and Meretites (G7650) is also similar to the treatment of the upper thighs and calves on Lisht relief, Woodcutter among Trees (UPM 58-10-3) (Do. ARNOLD 1999: 224-225 (40)), which Goedicke assigns to a building of the Fourth or Fifth Dynasty based on its subject matter and style, although he suggests its quality is a reference to a royal monument (GOEDICKE 1971: 118-120). However, Dorothea Arnold places Woodcutter among Trees (UPM 58-10-3) in Khufu's pyramid complex, probably the pyramid temple, based on its composition and style (Do. ARNOLD, "Woodcutter among Trees," 1999: 224-225 (40)). The treatment of features on the Relief of Meretites (MFA 37.2620), specifically her large, open eye and the subtle modeling at the back of her mouth, also occurs on Lisht relief, Head of a Female Personification of an Estate (MMA 22.1.7), which is assigned to Khufu's pyramid complex (Do. ARNOLD 1999: 226-227 (41)). In this respect, the stylistic features of the chapel of Akhethetep and Meretites (G7650) more closely relate to reliefs assigned to Khufu's pyramid complex.

Yet, several stylistic features decorating the chapel of Akhethetep and Meretites (G7650) also occur on the relief discovered in Khafra's pyramid complex by Uvo Hölscher showing a bound Asiatic prisoner (HÖLSCHER 1912: 110-111, figs. 162, 163). Holscher's relief is carved in low relief height with certain features in higher relief. There is also an emphasis upon the modeling of the legs and detail (Do. ARNOLD 1999: 267 n. 13) similar to the butchers on Akhethetep and Meretites' west wall (G7650). Hölscher's relief was found in the debris of Khafra's valley temple, and it is generally assigned to that king's pyramid temple or causeway based on the granite construction of the valley temple. However, Goedicke believes that it was brought there for transportation from Khufu's complex (for this relief, see GOEDICKE 1971: 10).²⁵ An overall assessment of the decoration in the chapel of Akhethetep and Meretites (G7650) indicates that there are similarities not only with the reliefs of Khufu but also those assigned to Khafra.

A comparative study of the Relief of Meretites (MFA 37.2620) with statuary illustrates the similarities in style between the elite and royal spheres. The relationship between the Relief of Meretites (MFA 37.2620) and the Head of Djedefra (Musée du Louvre, Paris E 12626) is particularly relevant based on the "bony structure" style, including an emphasis upon high cheekbones and the planes of the face (for the treatment of Djedefra's heads, see ZIEGLER 1997: 44, 46; 1999: 248-249 (54); BAUD 1999b: 48-49)(see Figs. 7, 9). However, the "ribbon" treatment of Meretites' eyebrow more closely resembles the heads of Khafra (MFA 21.351) (ZIEGLER 1999: 255 (58) and Ägyptisches Museum, Universität Leipzig 1945 (for the head of Khafra in Leipzig, see ZIEGLER, 1999: 259 (61)) rather than Djedefra's low relief brow (ZIEGLER 1999: 248-249 (54)).²⁶ Meretites' outlined lips are also similar to two heads of Djedefra (Musée du Louvre, Paris E 12626 and E

11167) (ZIEGLER 1997: 42, 44, 45–46) and the Head of King Khafre (MFA 21.351) (ZIEGLER 1999: 255 (58)) and probably another small head of that king (for the small head, see DO. ARNOLD 1999: 261 (63)). Djedefra's mouth (Musée du Louvre, Paris E 12626) (ZIEGLER 1999: 248–249 (54)) also has subtle musculature at the back similar to Meretites' mouth. The similarity in the carving of the “bony structure” and lips on the Head of Djedefra (Musée du Louvre, Paris E 12626) with the Relief of Meretites (MFA 37.2620) equates the decoration in the chapel of Akhethetep and Meretites (G7650) with Djedefra's style, which emphasizes softer modeling and naturalism as compared with the more severe images of Khafra (see CHASSINAT 1921–22: 60–62; BAUD 1999b: 48–49 for the difference between the “realism” of Djedefra's head and the statuary of Khafra and Menkaura).

A reassessment of the mastabas of Ankh-haf (G7510) and Akhethetep and Meretites (G7650) illustrates that the decoration of their chapels is similar to royal reliefs and statuary. It is the identification of these similarities, which provides dating criteria for the chapels. The traditional dating of the mastabas of Ankh-haf (G7510) and Akhethetep and Meretites (G7650) to Khafra is based on Reisner's assessment of the expansion of the Eastern Cemetery, which cannot be conclusively proven. The scale of Ankh-haf's mastaba (G7510) necessarily implies that it was part of the original layout since its dimensions and alignment with other structures, such as Khufu's pyramid and the queens' pyramids, suggests a preconceived plan. The architectural evidence associated with the mastaba of Akhethetep and Meretites (G7650) is not conclusive since the graffiti can also be placed in late Khufu rather than late Khafra. In this respect, both mastabas have the possibility of being constructed during Khufu's reign. The titles of the tomb owners also do not provide enough evidence for dating the mastabas to Khafra's reign since Ankh-haf (G7510) may be a son of Snefru and Meretites (G7650) could possibly be a daughter of Khufu. Based on this inconclusive evidence, iconography and style become the crucial factors in assigning the chapels of Ankh-haf (G7510) and Akhethetep and Meretites (G7650) to a particular reign. The iconography, quality, and overall style of Ankh-haf's reliefs suggest that they are comparable to Khufu's reliefs, possibly carved by the same group of artisans or artisans working in a similar style. The proximity of Khufu's pyramid complex certainly contributed to the artistic development of mastabas in the Eastern Cemetery and vice versa. The bust of Ankh-haf, although of a private individual, clearly expresses a realism that is a feature of Khufu's reign as conveyed by the statue of Hemiunu. The re-dating of Ankh-haf's mastaba (G7510) to Khufu's reign would reaffirm the development of this “realism” and naturalistic modeling to that king's reign. The absence of reliefs that can be attributed to Khafra's pyramid complex is problematic since their stylistic features would provide additional evidence towards an artistic chronology. The decoration in the chapel of Akhethetep and Meretites (G7650) exhibits a variety of identifiable styles, which also characterize the reliefs and statuary of Khufu, Djedefra, and Khafra. In particular, its emphasis upon family groups and softer modeling correlates with Djedefra's artistic style. The possibility of a longer reign length for Djedefra probably would have affected the decorative programs at Giza. Through a reassessment of the mastabas of Ankh-haf (G7510) and Akhethetep and Meretites (G7650) is evident that these two mastabas cannot be definitely assigned to Khafra's reign but are rather indicative of the dynamic artistic environment present at the end of Khufu's reign into early Khafra at Giza.

Notes:

- 1 Jánosi believes that Kawab may be a "(half-)brother, cousin, or nephew" of Khufu.
- 2 I am grateful to Peter Jánosi for his comments concerning the reign length of Djedefra. Also, see VALLOGGIA 1997: 417–428.
- 3 The west wall was reconstructed by Smith (MFA photo A8294). Also, see BROVARSKI 1989: 2.
- 4 The length of the chamber, 7.55 m, required more figures than would usually decorate the west wall, which typically measures ca. 4.0–4.3 m in length. For the lengths of the west walls in the Eastern Cemetery (G7000), see REISNER 1942: 205–207, 208–210.
- 5 These estates include: MFA 30.833, 30.835, 30.837, and 34.1468a–f.
- 6 Offering bearers and offerings include: MFA 25–2–133, MFA photos A6494, B7622, and C11006.
- 7 The scribes are on MFA photos A6493 and A8213.
- 8 See MFA photo A8294.
- 9 Goedicke assigns King Khufu's Cattle (MMA 22.1.3) to Khufu's valley temple based on its possible connection to scenes showing the presentation of captives or funerary endowments (GOEDICKE 1971: 18–19 (4)). However, Hawass reconstructs it in the causeway in connection with scenes of royal offerings in the valley temple and foreigners in the causeway (HAWASS 1987: 517, 803, plan 35). Finally, Dorothea Arnold places King Khufu's Cattle (MMA 22.1.3) in the north half of the pyramid temple or valley temple of Khufu (Do. ARNOLD 1999: 222–223).
- 10 I am grateful to Edward Brovarski for a copy of Smith's reconstruction of the southern section.
- 11 Lauer and Reisner-Smith reconstructed the superposed registers with only one figure on each register, while Hassan placed two figures on each register. For Lauer's and Reisner-Smith's reconstructions, see LAUER 1949: 113, pl. 1; REISNER-SMITH 1955: fig. 5. For Hassan's drawing, see HASSAN 1960: 21–22, fig. 4. Hassan assigned the block showing Khufu, which was excavated in the upper area of Khufu's causeway, to his causeway, although Reisner and Smith placed it within the court of the pyramid temple. See HASSAN 1960: 21–22, fig. 4, pl. VIA. For Reisner-Smith's reconstruction, see REISNER-SMITH 1955: 4, fig. 5. Hawass also reconstructs the king in scenes of the Heb Sed in the pyramid temple. See HAWASS 1987: 518, 803, plan 35.
- 12 Reisner also believed that the false door's lintel gave Queen Meretites' titles. See REISNER 1942: 336 (3.7). For Mariette's "lost stela," see ROUGÉ 1877: pl. LXII; MARIETTE 1889: 565 (VI); REISNER 1942: 341 (7b16); REISNER-SMITH 1955: 7, fig. 8a; HAWASS 1987: 646 (#1); BAUD 1999a: 468–469 [85].
- 13 Smith believed that the quality of carving of the relief fragments from these mastabas is not equal to Ankh-haf's chapel (G7510).
- 14 Smith based his discussion on the figures decorating the south subsidiary niche of Minkhaf's chapel (G7430), which are carved in raised relief.
- 15 Incised lines above the upper eyelid are also found on the reserve heads. See ROEHRIG 1999: 234–237 (46, 47), 240–241 (49). Incised lines above and below the eyelids also decorate Hemiunu's relief (MFA 27.296). See Do. ARNOLD 1999: 232 (45). The Head of Djedefra (Musée du Louvre, Paris E 12626) also has an incised line above the upper eyelid. See ZIEGLER 1999: 249.
- 16 Ann Russmann dates the use of a horizontal line at the inner canthus extending onto the nose to the early Fourth Dynasty, namely the reigns of Snefru, Khufu, Djedefra, and Khafra (RUSSMANN 1995: 113–114, 115).
- 17 The minor figures in Khufu-khaf I's chapel (G7140) also have this downturned mouth but lack the musculature behind the mouth.
- 18 Head of a Female Personification of an Estate (MMA 22.1.7) is assigned to the valley temple of Khufu by Goedicke and Hawass. See GOEDICKE 1971: 16–17 (3); HAWASS 1987: 516, 803, plan 35. They base their attribution on Snefru's lower temple. See D. ARNOLD 1997: 51 for the fragments assigned to Khufu's pyramid temple in relation to the decoration in Snefru's lower temple. For Snefru's lower temple, see D. ARNOLD

- 1997: 47–49, figs. 11, 12; Do. ARNOLD 1999: 84–86, 94, figs. 48–50. However, Dorothea Arnold, using the layouts of subsequent royal pyramid complexes, including Sahura's pyramid temple, places the Head of a Female Personification of an Estate (MMA 22.1.7) on the south walls either in Khufu's pyramid temple or the upper section of his causeway. For the pyramid temple of Sahura, see BORCHARDT 1913: 43–45, 46, pls. 28, 31; Do. ARNOLD 1999: 94. For the placement in Khufu's pyramid complex, see Do. ARNOLD, "Head of a Female Personification of an Estate," 1999: 226–227 (41), particularly 227 n. 7 for other comparanda.
- 19 Goedicke assigns Billy Goat (MMA 22.1.20) to possibly a building of the Fourth Dynasty not specifying the type of structure. See GOEDICKE 1971: 133. Dorothea Arnold argues that Billy Goat (MMA 22.1.20) probably belongs to the south wall of Khufu's pyramid or valley temples by comparison with King Khufu's Cattle (MMA 22.1.23) on the north wall (Do. ARNOLD 1999: 227–228 (42)).
- 20 However, as noted by Ann Russmann, the bust of Ankh-haf is lacking inner canthi demarcated by horizontal incisions that extend onto the nose as opposed to the Head of Djedefra. See RUSSMANN 1995: 114.
- 21 Type 2 also occurs on heads in the chapel of Khufu-khaf I (G7140) and on the heads of Nefret-iabet and Nefer on their slab stelae.
- 22 Meretites' large, open eye resembles Khufu-khaf I's on the east wall of his chapel (G7140).
- 23 Goedicke reconstructs A Group of Archers (MMA 22.1.23) in a building of the Fourth or Fifth Dynasty based on its style and comparanda from the Fifth Dynasty (GOEDICKE 1971: 74–77).
- 24 Dorothea Arnold assigns it to Khafra's pyramid temple or possibly the causeway based on a stylistic comparison with Hölscher's block discovered in Khafra's pyramid complex (Do. ARNOLD 1999: 265, 267 n. 13). Relief fragments with archers battling Asiatics are assigned to the north wall of Unas' causeway at Saqqara. See LABROUSSE and MOUSSA 2002: 21–22 (2), 131, 136, figs. 9, 16, 17 (Doc. 5, 6), pl. Ib. for a discussion of the battle scenes from Unas' causeway, see ĆWIEK 2003: 211.
- 25 I agree with Dorothea Arnold that this relief does not belong stylistically to Khufu's complex but is originally from Khafra's complex. For her discussion, see Do. ARNOLD 1999: 267 n. 13.
- 26 However, Meretites' eyebrows taper towards the outer eye.

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