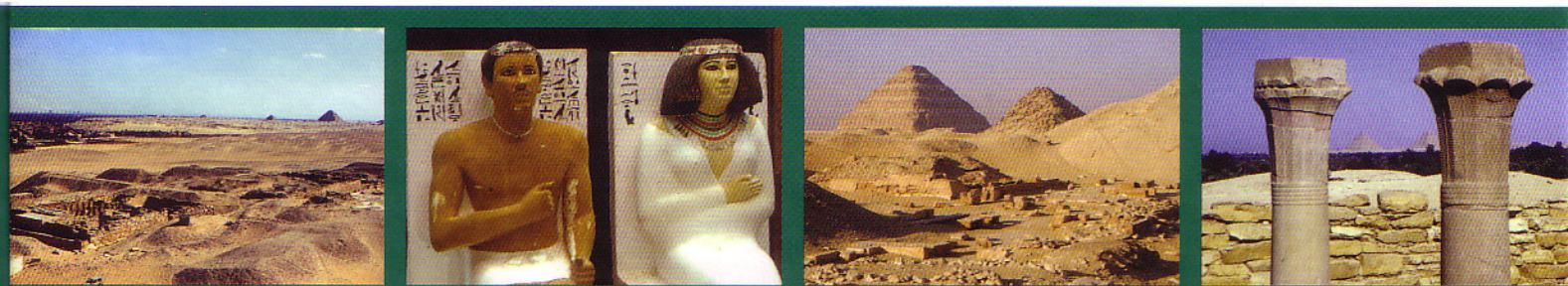


THE OLD KINGDOM ART AND ARCHAEOLOGY

Proceedings of the Conference



Prague, May 31 – June 4, 2004

Miroslav Bárta
editor

THE OLD KINGDOM ART AND ARCHAEOLOGY

PROCEEDINGS OF THE CONFERENCE HELD IN PRAGUE,
MAY 31 – JUNE 4, 2004

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editor

**Czech Institute of Egyptology
Faculty of Arts, Charles University in Prague
Academia
Publishing House of the Academy of Sciences of the Czech Republic
Prague 2006**

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Foreword

It is with pleasure that after more than two years the publication of the lectures held during the conference on the Old Kingdom Art and Archaeology in Prague in the year 2004 (May 3 – June 4) has been made possible.

The conference held in Prague continued the tradition of previous meetings by being dedicated to the same subject: art and its dating in the Old Kingdom of Egypt: the period that forms the first apogee of the developing Egyptian state. The tradition of these irregular meetings was established in 1991 by Hourig Sourouzian and Rainer Stadelmann, at that time the Director of the German Archaeological Institute in Cairo, who organised the first conference.¹ The second meeting also took place in Cairo, at this time the place of the venue was the French Institute of Oriental Archaeology and the conference, held on November 10–13, 1994, was organised by its director Nicolas Grimal.² The penultimate meeting took place in Paris, France, on April 3–4, 1998, and was organised by Christiane Ziegler, Chief Conservator of Egyptian Antiquities in the Louvre.³

The present volume continues a well-established and successful tradition of post-conference publications. As such, it makes available most of the contributions that were presented during the conference in Prague. It was mainly the scientific profile of the Czech Institute of Egyptology that led us to substantially widen the scope of the conference in 2004. The total of thirty-three contributions presented in this volume cover various aspects connected to Old Kingdom culture, not only its art, but also its archaeology and architecture, selected administrative problems, iconography, texts and the latest, often first time published results of ongoing excavations. From the list of contributions it becomes evident that natural sciences and their application in the widest sense receive general acceptance and support from among Egyptologists. It is one of the few aspects that can in the future significantly enhance our understanding of specific issues connected to the Old Kingdom art and archaeology.

Eng. Marta Štrachová carefully edited the manuscript and was essential in producing this volume. The advice and guidance of Eng. Jolana Malátková also proved indispensable. The Czech Academy of Sciences is to be thanked for the production of the book. Last but not least, it was Prof. Dr. Jean Leclant, Secrétaire perpétuel de l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres, Paris, and the chair of the European branch of the Fondation Michela Schiff Giorgini, and Prof. Dr. David Silverman, University of Pennsylvania, chair of the North American branch of the the Fondation Michela Schiff Giorgini and the respective committees that approved this publication and agreed to support it financially.

Miroslav Bárta

¹ The conference was held in the German Archaeological Institute, Cairo, on October 29–30, and the proceedings published in 1995 in the volume *Kunst des Alten Reiches. Symposium des Deutschen Archäologischen Institut Kairo am 29. und 30. Oktober 1991*, Deutsches Archäologisches Institut, Abteilung Kairo, Sonderschrift 28, Mainz am Rhein.

² N. Grimal, ed., *Lex critères de datation stylistiques à l'Ancien Empire*, Bibliothèque d'Étude 120 (Cairo, 1998).

³ Ch. Ziegler, N. Palayret, eds., *L'Art de l'Ancien Empire égyptien. Actes du colloque organisé au Musée du Louvre par le Service culturel les 3 et 4 avril 1998* (Paris, 1999).

Bibliography

Abbreviations for journals, series and monographs used throughout the volume follow the system of *Lexikon der Ägyptologie* (cf. *Lexikon der Ägyptologie, Band VII. Nachträge, Korrekturen und Indices*, founded by W. Helck and E. Otto, edited by W. Helck and W. Westendorf, Wiesbaden 1992, XIV–XXXVIII).

The following additional abbreviations are also used:

ACER – *The Australian Centre for Egyptology: Reports*, Sydney;

AOS – *American Oriental Society*, Michigan;

BSAK – *Studien zur altägyptischen Kultur, Beihefte*, Hamburg;

CA – *Current Anthropology*, Chicago, Illinois;

Hannig, *Handwörterbuch* – R. Hannig, *Die Sprache der Pharaonen. Großes Handwörterbuch Ägyptisch-Deutsch (2800–950 v. Chr.)*, Mainz 1995;

Harpur, *DETOK* – Y. Harpur, *Decoration in Egyptian Tombs of the Old Kingdom. Studies in Orientation and Scene Content*, London and New York 1988;

Harvey, *WSOK* – J. Harvey, *Wooden Statues of the Old Kingdom. A Typological Study, Egyptological Memoirs 2*, Leiden 2001;

KAW – *Kulturgeschichte der Antiken Welt*, Mainz am Rhein;

LingAeg – *Lingea Aegyptia, Journal of Egyptian language Studies*, Göttingen;

OrMonsp – *Orientalia Monspeliensia*, Montpellier;

PAM – *Polish Archaeology in the Mediterranean*, Warsaw;

SAGA – *Studien zur Archäologie und Geschichte Altägyptens*, Heidelberg;

WES – *Warsaw Egyptological Studies*, Warsaw.

The development of the Eastern and GIS cemeteries at Giza during the Fourth Dynasty

The relationship between architecture and tomb decoration

Laurel Flentye

I. Introduction

The development of the Eastern and GIS cemeteries at Giza during the Fourth Dynasty is a process of expansion that is connected to the relationship between architecture and tomb decoration. These two cemeteries are located adjacent to Khufu's pyramid; however, their expansion over time includes different architectural phases during the reigns of Khufu, Khafra, and Menkaura into the early Fifth Dynasty, ca. 2551 to 2438 B.C.¹ The Eastern Cemetery contains the burials of the royal family from different generations; whereas, the GIS consists primarily of officials. How the different architectural phases of expansion relate to the family structure and decorative programs in the mastabas and rock-cut chapel reveals how the two cemeteries are developing over time. Although there are problematic issues associated with the archaeological evidence, patterns of similarity and difference in the relief decoration are created through the architectural groups. These patterns are based on the iconography, style, and technical features of the relief decoration. How subject matter relates to a specific location in the offering chapel, and how that position connects with the 'outside' environment may reflect innovations in ideology. Integral to theme and location are changes in orientation, which may also correlate with specific iconography. Through a study of the different architectural phases and their characteristic features, the development of the Eastern and GIS cemeteries can be traced by examining the evolving decorative programs and those factors influencing their creation.

II. The architectural phases of the Eastern and GIS cemeteries

The Eastern Cemetery

During the Fourth Dynasty and into the Fifth, the Eastern Cemetery can be divided into five architectural phases of expansion based upon the archaeological and inscriptional evidence (*fig. 1*). The Eastern Cemetery, located east of Khufu's pyramid, was excavated by George Andrew Reisner of the Harvard University and Museum of Fine Arts, Boston Expedition to Giza between 1925 and the late 1930s.² Phase one includes the twelve original cores,³ which, according to Reisner, were not assigned but were intended for Khufu's 'favorites'.⁴ Reisner dated the completion of the twelve cores to ca. year 17 of Khufu.⁵

¹ These dates are based on The Metropolitan Museum of Art's chronology, see J. P. Allen, 'Dynastic and Regnal Dates', in *Egyptian Art in the Age of the Pyramids* (New York, 1999), xx. For a reassessment of the 'Standard Theory' of Cattle Counts, see J. S. Nolan, 'The Original Lunar Calendar and Cattle Counts in Old Kingdom Egypt', in S. Bickel, A. Loprieno, eds., *Basel Egyptology Prize 1: Junior Research in Egyptian History, Archaeology, and Philology*, AH 17 (2003), 75–97.

² Reisner, *Giza I*, 25; P. Der Manuelian, Giza Archives Project Director, Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, personal communication.

³ For the twelve original cores, see Reisner, *Giza I*, 41 (4i), 57–59; P. Jánosi, *Giza in der 4. Dynastie: Die Baugeschichte und Belegung einer Nekropole des Alten Reiches. Band I: Die Mastabas der Kernfriedhöfe und die Felsgräber*, DÖAW 30 (2005), 86, 89, 91–92, 93, fig. 5a.

⁴ Reisner, *Giza I*, 72.

⁵ *Ibid.*, 72–73, 80, 84 (d); Jánosi, *Giza in der 4. Dynastie*, 88. Reisner's dating of the construction phases in the Eastern Cemetery was based upon two dates: year 13 (?) found on a block from the south wall of the entrance corridor to the pyramid temple of Khufu and year 23, the last year of his reign. For a discussion, see Reisner, *Giza I*, 71–72; Jánosi, *Giza in der 4. Dynastie*, 87.

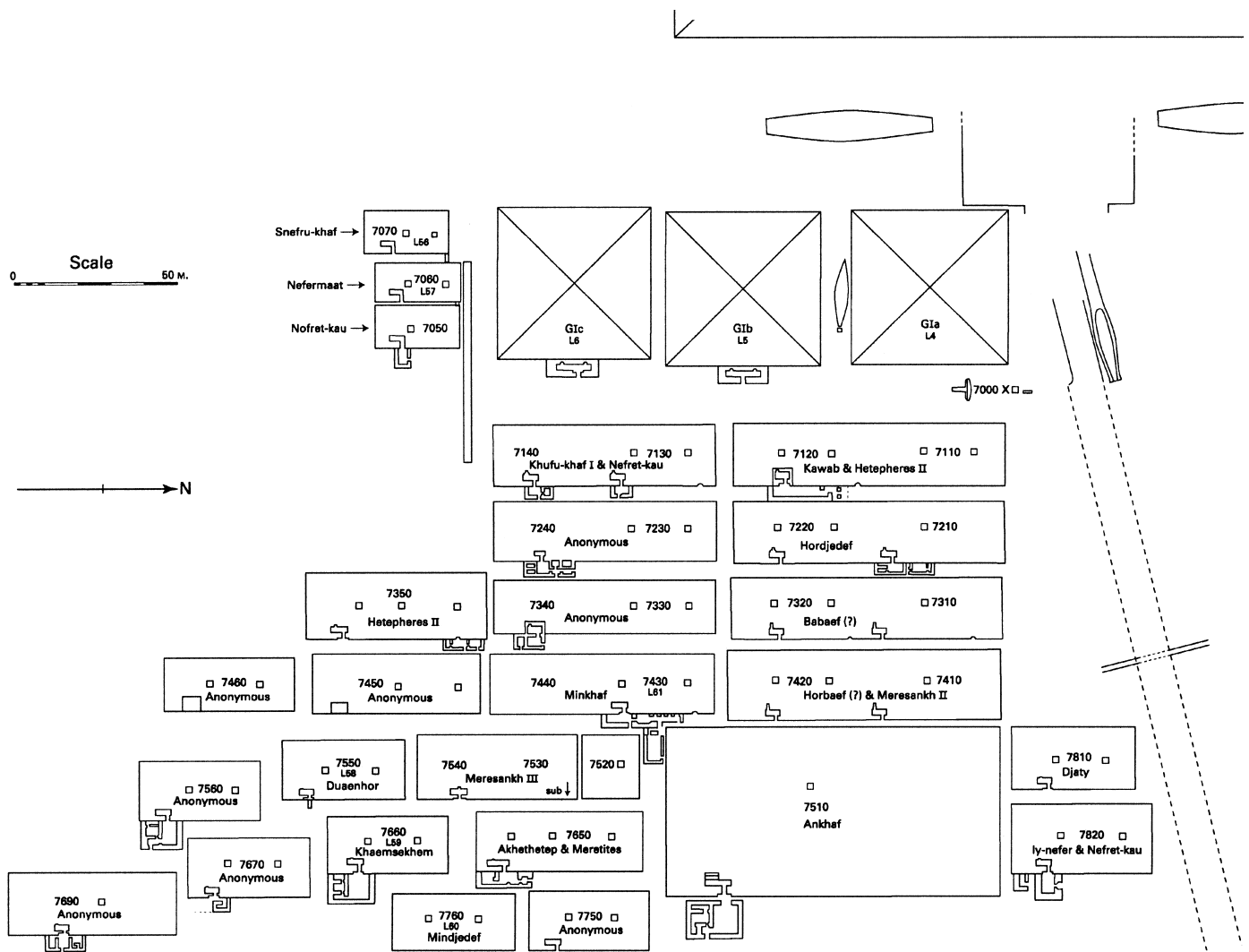


Fig. 1 Plan of the Eastern Cemetery (G 7000)
(Drawing by Barbara Harper after Reisner, *Giza I*, general plan)

The second phase includes the alteration of the twelve original cores into eight twin-mastabas⁶ consisting of two rows of four mastabas each,⁷ which Reisner believed were completed by ca. years 20 to 23 of Khufu's reign.⁸ He also believed that these eight twin-mastabas were intended for the 'sons and daughters' of the king⁹ with the two anonymous mastabas with their mudbrick and rubble offering chapels possibly for Djedefra and Khafra.¹⁰ However, the family structure in phase two is not as absolute as proposed by Reisner, particularly as it is based on location and the relationship of the mastabas to the queens' pyramids, i.e. the mastaba of a son or daughter relates by alignment to the pyramid of his or her mother.¹¹ Contrary

⁶ Reisner, *Giza I*, 58–59, 80–81, 205–207 (8–17); Jánosi, *Giza in der 4. Dynastie*, 86–87, 89, 94–95, fig. 5b.

⁷ The northern row was formed by joining together the two northernmost rows of the twelve original cores. For the northern row, see Reisner, *Giza I*, 41 (4ii), 44, 58, 59 (d), 72, 81, fig. 6; Jánosi, *Giza in der 4. Dynastie*, 87, 89, 94, fig. 5b. The northern row includes the mastabas of: Kawab and Hetepheres II (G 7110/7120), Hordjedef and wife (G 7210/7220), Babaef (?) and wife (G 7310/7320), and Horbaef (?) and Meresankh II (G 7410/7420). The southern row consists of the southernmost row of the twelve original cores plus an addition of type IViii masonry. For the southern row, see Reisner, *Giza I*, 41 (4iii), 45, 58, 59 (d), 72–73, 81, fig. 7; Jánosi, *Giza in der 4. Dynastie*, 86–87, 89, 94, fig. 5b. The southern row includes the mastabas of: Khufukhaf I and Nefretkau (G 7130/7140), Anonymous (G 7230/7240), Anonymous (G 7330/7340), and Minkhaf (G 7430/7440).

⁸ Reisner, *Giza I*, 72–73, 84 (e); Jánosi, *Giza in der 4. Dynastie*, 88.

⁹ Reisner, *Giza I*, 27, 80–81.

¹⁰ For the two anonymous mastabas (G 7230/7240 and G 7330/7340), see *ibid.*, 206 (15, 16); Reisner, Smith, *Giza II*, 8.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, 7, 8; Jánosi, *Giza in der 4. Dynastie*, 98–99.

to Reisner's theory that the highest ranking sons were located in the mastabas in the first row adjacent to the queens' pyramids,¹² Jánosi suggests that Kawab (G 7110/7120) may be a '(half-)brother, cousin, or nephew' of Khufu.¹³

The large-scale of Ankhaf's mastaba (G 7510)¹⁴ and its alignment on the north with queen's pyramid GI-a and GI-b on the south demonstrates its importance to the initial plan of the Eastern Cemetery¹⁵ as opposed to Reisner's theory that it was constructed following the eight twin-mastabas during the reign of Khafra.¹⁶ Reisner and Smith considered Ankhaf to be a son of Sneferu.¹⁷ His titles¹⁸ and the chapel type in mastaba G 7510 with two false doors¹⁹ in conjunction with the incorporation of his mastaba in the initial plan suggest that Ankhaf may be of the same generation as Khufu and possibly a son of Sneferu.²⁰ This may be further confirmed by his wife, Hetepheres, who is *z3t nswt nt ht.f smst* and has the reconstructed title of *hmt-ntr Snfrw*.²¹ However, other relationships, such as nephew, are also proposed for Ankhaf.²²

The archaeological evidence associated with phase two includes graffiti on the east face of the mastaba of Hordjedef (G 7210/7220), which give the names of three crews of Khufu.²³ The other graffito, year of the 12th occasion, is found on a casing block from the mastaba of Khufukhaf I (G 7130/7140), which was reused in the Isis Temple.²⁴ Although Reisner²⁵ and William Stevenson Smith²⁶ assigned this date to Khufu's reign, a date in Khafra²⁷ is also proposed based on the type of offering list and shaft in the mastaba.²⁸ The problematic issues associated with the

¹² For Reisner's theory, see Reisner, Smith, *Giza II*, 6–7, fig. 1; M. Lehner, *The Complete Pyramids* (London, 1997), 116; Jánosi, *Giza in der 4. Dynastie*, 98–99, 100, 101, 103–104, fig. 7.

¹³ For a discussion of Kawab's relationship to Khufu, see *ibid.*, 102–103.

¹⁴ For the similarities in scale and chapel type between the mastabas of Ankhaf (G 7510) and G 2000 in addition to Hemiuu's mastaba (G 4000) in the Western Cemetery, see Reisner, *Giza I*, 42, 46, 211–212 (2–4), 414, figs. 4, 8; M. Baud, *Famille royale et pouvoir sous l'Ancien Empire égyptien 2*, *BdE* 126/2 (1999), 424–425 [35]; Jánosi, *Giza in der 4. Dynastie*, 92, 109, 110.

¹⁵ For the inclusion of the mastaba of Ankhaf (G 7510) in the original plan, see *ibid.*, 89, 92–93, 110–111, figs. 5a–b. The increasing distances of the streets between the four twin-mastabas of the northern row towards the west for the addition of cult chapels is used by Jánosi as evidence for including Ankhaf's mastaba in the original plan of the Eastern Cemetery. See Reisner, *Giza I*, 62–63 (1a–4a); Jánosi, *Giza in der 4. Dynastie*, 92–93 for these increasing measurements.

¹⁶ See Reisner, *Giza I*, 73, 212 (4); Reisner, Smith, *Giza II*, 11; N. Strudwick, *The Administration of Egypt in the Old Kingdom: The Highest Titles and their Holders* (London, 1985), 77–78 (34) for Reisner's dating of Ankhaf's mastaba (G 7510) to the reign of Khafra.

¹⁷ Reisner, Smith, *Giza II*, 11; W. S. Smith, *Ancient Egypt as represented in the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston* (Boston, 1960), 42.

¹⁸ Ankhaf is *z3 [nswt] n ht.f smsw* and *[z3] nswt [n ht.f]*. For Ankhaf's titles, see Strudwick, *Administration*, 77 (34); Baud, *Famille royale* 2, 424–425 [35]; Jánosi, *Giza in der 4. Dynastie*, 108.

¹⁹ For the chapel type with two false doors in Khufu's reign, see Strudwick, *Administration*, 41–43, 78; Jánosi, *Giza in der 4. Dynastie*, 109.

²⁰ For Ankhaf's parentage, see Reisner, Smith, *Giza II*, 11; Strudwick, *Administration*, 77–78 (34); Jánosi, *Giza in der 4. Dynastie*, 108–109, 111.

²¹ Reisner, Smith, *Giza II*, 11, fig. 10; Strudwick, *Administration*, 77–78 (34); Baud, *Famille royale* 2, 529 [164]; Jánosi, *Giza in der 4. Dynastie*, 108, 109–110.

²² Jánosi suggests that Ankhaf may be a '(half-)brother, nephew, or relative of the same generation' as the king. See *ibid.*, 111 for Ankhaf's relationship to Khufu.

²³ W. S. Smith, 'Inscriptional Evidence for the History of the Fourth Dynasty', *JNES* 11 (1952): 117, 126 (B1), fig. 5; Reisner, Smith, *Giza II*, 8.

²⁴ The graffito is located on the east face of the block. For the graffito, see Reisner, *Giza I*, 73; Smith, *JNES* 11 (1952): 119, 127 (8), fig. 7; Reisner, Smith, *Giza II*, 5; W. K. Simpson, *The Mastabas of Kawab, Khafkhufu I and II, Giza Mastabas 3* (Boston, 1978), 9, fig. 35c; A. Spalinger, 'Dated Texts of the Old Kingdom', *SAK* 21 (1994): 285, 286–287 (3); Nolan, in Bickel, Loprieno, eds., *Basel Egyptology Prize* 1, 95, Tab. 1 (55); Jánosi, *Giza in der 4. Dynastie*, 96, 97–98, 442, Tabs. 1 (5), C4.

²⁵ Reisner, *Giza I*, 73; Reisner, Smith, *Giza II*, 5.

²⁶ Smith, *JNES* 11 (1952): 127 (8).

²⁷ For the dating of Khufukhaf I's mastaba (G 7130/7140) to Khafra, see Harpur, *DETOK*, 34, 269 (183); Spalinger, *SAK* 21 (1994): 285, 287; Nolan, in Bickel, Loprieno, eds., *Basel Egyptology Prize* 1, 95, Tab. 1 (55); Jánosi, *Giza in der 4. Dynastie*, 104.

²⁸ For a discussion of the offering list, see Strudwick, *Administration*, 38, 123 (104); Jánosi, *Giza in der 4. Dynastie*, 104. For Reisner's shaft type 4, see Reisner, *Giza I*, 87, 94 (4), 101, 115 (b9), 149; Jánosi, *Giza in der 4. Dynastie*, 104. However, Reisner believed that the burial chamber was originally type 3a and unfinished. See Reisner, *Giza I*, 120–121.

construction and the graffiti must be factored into an assessment of Khufukhaf I's decorative program.

Phase three of the Eastern Cemetery consists of the mastaba of Akhethetep and Meretites (G 7650) and mastaba G 7530/7540 originally assigned to Hetepheres II²⁹ in the 'en échelon' section³⁰ south of Ankhaf's mastaba (G 7510). As these two mastabas are assigned to Meretites³¹ and Hetepheres II,³² both possibly daughters of Khufu, this area of the Eastern Cemetery may have been reserved for the daughters of the king, particularly as it is on the periphery of the eight twin-mastabas. According to Reisner, the completion of these two mastabas dates to the first half of Khafra's reign by ca. year 13 with their cores finished between years one to five of that king.³³

The graffiti associated with the mastaba of Akhethetep and Meretites (G 7650) and mastaba G 7530/7540 are also problematic. The mastaba of Akhethetep and Meretites (G 7650) has two dates on its blocks, year of the 12th occasion and year of the 13th occasion,³⁴ which are usually assigned to Khafra's reign based on the location and construction of the mastaba.³⁵ However, it is possible that these dates may refer to Khufu depending upon a longer reign length for that king.³⁶

Grffiti on the casing blocks of mastaba G 7530/7540 give the year of the 7th occasion,³⁷ which are usually placed in Khafra's reign also based on the location and construction of the mastaba.³⁸ However, the reconstruction of mastaba G 7530/7540 from an earlier structure, mastaba G 7520/7530,³⁹ could also account for the reuse of the year of the 7th occasion blocks in mastaba G 7530/7540. Inscriptions on the northern subsidiary niche of mastaba G 7530/7540, year of the 2nd occasion (?) followed on the opposite side by a date without a year given,⁴⁰ are also problematic. Reisner believed

²⁹ Graffiti on the casing blocks of mastaba G 7530/7540 give the name and title, *wrt hts Htp-hr.s*, suggesting that Hetepheres was queen when the mastaba was constructed. She was probably the wife of Djedefra and also possibly Khafra. For her title, *wrt hts*, see Smith, *JNES* 11 (1952): 119, 127 (9), fig. 7; D. Dunham, W. K. Simpson, *The Mastaba of Queen Mersyankh III: G 7530/7540, Giza Mastabas* 1 (Boston, 1974), 3, 7, figs. 1c–d; Baud, *Famille royale* 2, 527–529 [163].

³⁰ The 'en échelon' arrangement is a development of Khafra's reign. See Reisner, *Giza* I, 75, 82 (b); Jánosi, *Giza in der 4. Dynastie*, 110 for a discussion of its appearance under Khafra.

³¹ Meretites is *hmt-ntr Hwfw* and *z3t nswt nt ht.f*. For Meretites' titles, see Baud, *Famille royale* 2, 469 [86].

³² Hetepheres II is *z3t nswt bjtj Hwfw* and *z3t nswt nt ht.f*. For Hetepheres II's titles in the rock-cut chapel (G 7530sub) of her daughter, Meresankh III, see Dunham, Simpson, *Mersyankh III*, 10, 13–14, 21, pls. 3a, 4, 7c, 15, figs. 4, 7, 14; Baud, *Famille royale* 2, 527–529 [163].

³³ Reisner, *Giza* I, 73, 82 (b), 84 (f). However, Reisner did not coordinate his theory of the completion of the mastabas by ca. year 13 with the evidence of the graffiti on the mastaba of Akhethetep and Meretites (G 7650). See *ibid.*, 73 n.1.

³⁴ The graffiti are located on the back of a block of the north wall and on the back of a casing stone on the north face. For the graffiti, see Smith, *JNES* 11 (1952): 119, 127–128 (11), fig. 7; Spalinger, *SAK* 21 (1994): 286 (2), 287 (4); Nolan, in Bickel, Loprieno, eds., *Basel Egyptology Prize* 1, 95, Tab. 1 (54, 56); Jánosi, *Giza in der 4. Dynastie*, 96, 98, 442, Tabs. 1 (6a–b), C4.

³⁵ See Reisner, *Giza* I, 41 (4iv), 47, 73, 84 (f), 180 (29), 212 (5), fig. 9; Smith, *JNES* 11 (1952): 127–128 (11) for the date and type of construction, which is a type IVi core extended to the south for an interior chapel and completed with IViv masonry.

³⁶ Jánosi, *Giza in der 4. Dynastie*, 98. A year 27 in Khufu's reign was discovered near the Dakhla. For the year 27, see R. Kuper, F. Förster, 'Khufu's "mefat" expeditions into the Libyan Desert', *EA* 23 (2003): 26.

³⁷ Smith, *JNES* 11 (1952): 119, 127 (9), fig. 7; Dunham, Simpson, *Mersyankh III*, 3, figs. 1b–c; Spalinger, *SAK* 21 (1994): 289 (4); Jánosi, *Giza in der 4. Dynastie*, 96–97, 356 (a), 442, Tab. 1 (2a–b), C4; Nolan, in Bickel, Loprieno, eds., *Basel Egyptology Prize* 1, 96, Tab. 1 (60).

³⁸ For the date and construction of mastaba G 7530/7540, which is a type IVi core shifted to the south for an interior chapel and completed with IViv masonry, see Reisner, *Giza* I, 41 (iv), 73, 84 (f), 180 (30), 207 (18); Smith, *JNES* 11 (1952): 127 (9).

³⁹ For the reconstruction of mastaba G 7530/7540 from mastaba G 7520/7530, see Dunham, Simpson, *Mersyankh III*, 1–3, 7, plan B; P. Jánosi, 'Die Grabanlagen der Königin Hetepheres II', *ZÄS* 123 (1996): 52–55, figs. 3, 4; *idem*, *Giza in der 4. Dynastie*, 354–356.

⁴⁰ For the inscriptions on the northern subsidiary niche, see Smith, *JNES* 11 (1952): 116, 126 (A2), fig. 4; Dunham, Simpson, *Mersyankh III*, 7, pl. 1b, fig. 1e; Spalinger, *SAK* 21 (1994): 286 (1); Nolan, in Bickel, Loprieno, eds., *Basel Egyptology Prize* 1, 95, Tab. 1 (53); Jánosi, *Giza in der 4. Dynastie*, 356–357 (b).

that the dates referred to the beginning and completion of the mastaba during Khafra's reign;⁴¹ however, Jánosi suggests that the dates on the niche could also refer to Menkaura based upon their relationship to the vertical inscriptions on the façade of the rock-cut chapel of Meresankh III below (G 7530sub).⁴² The problematic issues associated with the graffiti on the casing blocks and the northern subsidiary niche inscriptions on mastaba G 7530/7540 reflect those discrepancies involved in an assessment of the construction and subsequent decoration of the mastaba.

Phase four consists of eight nummulitic mastabas, which are in the 'en échelon' section, the area south of queen's pyramid GI-c, and north of Ankhaf's mastaba (G 7510)⁴³ (*pl. V, 8*). These mastabas are usually dated from mid-Khafra though Menkaura⁴⁴ based on Reisner's type VIa classification⁴⁵ with their locations as the next areas of development.⁴⁶ Mastaba G 7050 assigned to Nefretkau is also included within this phase, although its casing and offering chapel are of fine quality limestone.⁴⁷ According to Reisner, the tomb owners in the 'en échelon' section are grandchildren of Khufu.⁴⁸ However, Duaenhor (G 7550), Khaemsekhem (G 7660), and Mindjedef (G 7760) possess titles ending with *n jt.f* suggesting that they are also probable sons of Khufu⁴⁹ with the 'en échelon' section developed for younger sons of that king following the eight twin-mastabas. Djaty (G 7810)⁵⁰ and Nefretkau (G 7820)⁵¹ may also be a son and daughter of Khufu as opposed to Reisner's theory that they are children of Meresankh II⁵² whose mastaba, G 7410/7420, is in close proximity.

The family grouping of mastaba G 7050 assigned to Nefretkau, Nefermaat (G 7060), and Sneferukhaf (G 7070), south of queen's pyramid GI-c, is generally considered to be mother, son, and grandson based upon the inscriptional evidence⁵³ (*pl. V, 9*). Reisner believed that Nefretkau was a sister of Khufu and also probably a wife⁵⁴ based on the location of her mastaba south of the queens' pyramids and using her title, *nswt bjtj Snfrw z3t.f nt ht.f smst*.⁵⁵ However, there is no evidence to support Reisner's theory. If Nefretkau is a true daughter of Sneferu, her burial at Giza is problematic since her tomb should be looked for in Meidum or at Dahshur.

⁴¹ Dunham, Simpson, *Mersyankh III*, 7; Jánosi, *Giza in der 4. Dynastie*, 357.

⁴² See Jánosi, *Giza in der 4. Dynastie*, 356–358 for a discussion of the inscriptions on the northern subsidiary niche in relation to the inscriptions on the façade of the rock-cut chapel (G 7530sub), which he places at the earliest in the reign of Shepseskaf.

⁴³ These mastabas include: Duaenhor (G 7550), Khaemsekhem (G 7660), Anonymous (G 7750), Mindjedef (G 7760), Nefermaat (G 7060), Sneferukhaf (G 7070), Djaty (G 7810), and Iynefer and Nefretkau (G 7820).

⁴⁴ Reisner dated the eight nummulitic mastabas from mid-Khafra to mid-Menkaura [see Reisner, *Giza I*, 28, 309 (1a–h)], Smith from late Khafra to Menkaura [see Smith, *Sculpture*, 164].

⁴⁵ See Reisner, *Giza I*, 43 (6), 49, 208–209 (27–34), fig. 11 for this classification.

⁴⁶ *Ibid.*, 28, 43 (6), 60, 308–309.

⁴⁷ For mastaba G 7050, see *ibid.*, 43 (5), 48, 60, 73, 207 (21), fig. 10.

⁴⁸ Reisner believed that the tomb owners in the 'en échelon' section were probably children of Kawab and Hetepheres II. This theory may be based upon the proximity of mastaba G 7530/7540 assigned to Hetepheres II and subsequently Meresankh III. See *ibid.*, 208–209 (27–30).

⁴⁹ Duaenhor is *smr n jt.f* and *nb jm3h hr jt.f*; Khaemsekhem is *smr w'tj n jt.f* and *... n jt.f*; Mindjedef is *... n jt.f*. For their titles with *n jt.f*, see Strudwick, *Administration*, 165; Baud, *Famille royale* 2, 457 [71], 590–591 [236], 607–608 [249]. For Duaenhor and Mindjedef, 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], 154–155 [579]; B. Schmitz, *Untersuchungen zum Title s3-njswt 'Königssohn'* (Bonn, 1976), 66. Also, for a discussion of titles ending with *n jt.f*, see Junker, *Giza II*, 33–34; Strudwick, *Administration*, 7.

⁵⁰ Strudwick, *Administration*, 165. Strudwick also suggests that Iynefer (G 7820) may be a son of Khufu, see *ibid.*, 165 n. 6.

⁵¹ Baud, *Famille royale* 2, 502–503 [132].

⁵² See Reisner, *Giza I*, 209 (33, 34) for Djaty's and Nefretkau's descent from Meresankh II.

⁵³ G. Reisner, 'Nefertkauw, the eldest daughter of Sneferuw', *ZÄS* 64 (1929): 97–99, pls. 2, 3; *idem*, *Giza I*, 60, 207 (21), 209 (31, 32); Reisner, Smith, *Giza II*, 11; Baud, *Famille royale* 2, 490–491 [118], 501–502 [131], 571 [211].

⁵⁴ For Reisner's proposed relationships between Nefretkau and Khufu, see Reisner, *ZÄS* 64 (1929): 98–99; *idem*, *Giza I*, 60.

⁵⁵ For Nefretkau's titles, see Reisner, *ZÄS* 64 (1929): 97–99, pl. 3; Baud, *Famille royale* 2, 501–502 [131].

Phase five consists of mastabas on the periphery of the eight twin-mastabas⁵⁶ and the rock-cut chapel of Meresankh III (G 7530sub). According to Reisner, mastaba G 7350 assigned to Hetepheres II and Anonymous mastaba (G 7450) were constructed after ca. year 13 of Khafra.⁵⁷ However, the completion of mastaba G 7350, including its chapel, is dated to Shepseskaf by Reisner⁵⁸ and Smith.⁵⁹ The anonymous mastabas, G 7560, G 7670, and G 7690, were dated by Reisner from Menkaura through Neferirkara.⁶⁰

A graffito from mastaba G 7350 assigned to Hetepheres II gives the year of the 10th occasion,⁶¹ which is generally attributed to Menkaura's reign and after Hetepheres II relinquished mastaba G 7530/7540 to her daughter, Meresankh III.⁶² The discrepancies in the proposed dates for the completion of mastaba G7350's core, its casing, and chapel must be considered in an overall assessment of this mastaba. A fragment of limestone from Anonymous mastaba (G7450) gives year of the unification,⁶³ however, the assignment of this date to a particular king is not possible. Finally, the inscriptions on the façade of the rock-cut chapel of Meresankh III (G7530sub), year of the first occasion and the year after the first occasion,⁶⁴ were placed in the reign of Shepseskaf by Reisner⁶⁵ and subsequently revised by Dunham and Simpson to Menkaura based on the age of Meresankh III's skeleton.⁶⁶ However, suggested dates for these inscriptions range from Menkaura through Userkaf.⁶⁷

The GIS cemetery

The GIS Cemetery is located south of Khufu's pyramid and is linked with its construction (fig. 2). It was excavated by Hermann Junker of the Austrian

⁵⁶ These mastabas include: G 7350 assigned to Hetepheres II, Anonymous (G 7450), Anonymous (G 7460), Anonymous (G 7560), Anonymous (G 7670), and Anonymous (G 7690).

⁵⁷ Reisner, *Giza I*, 73, 84 (f), 207 (19, 20), 208, fig. 116.

⁵⁸ *Ibid.*, 118 (21), 308 (2f).

⁵⁹ Smith, *Sculpture*, 164.

⁶⁰ For the dating of these anonymous mastabas, see G. A. Reisner, *Giza Necropolis II* (unpubl.), App. B, 116 (12).

⁶¹ The graffito is located on the back of a casing block on the north side. For the graffito, see Reisner, *Giza I*, 73 n. 2; Smith, *JNES* 11 (1952): 119, 127 (10), fig. 7; Spalinger, *SAK* 21 (1994): 289 (5); Nolan, in Bickel, Loprieno, eds., *Basel Egyptology Prize* 1, 96, Tab. 1 (61); Jánosi, *Giza in der 4. Dynastie*, 96–97, 442, Tabs. 1 (4), C4.

⁶² Smith, *JNES* 11 (1952): 127 (10); Dunham, Simpson, *Mersyankh III*, 1–2, 7–8.

⁶³ For the limestone fragment from the debris on top of Anonymous mastaba (G 7450), see Smith, *JNES* 11 (1952): 120, 128 (13), fig. 8; Spalinger, *SAK* 21 (1994): 293 (iii); Nolan, in Bickel, Loprieno, eds., *Basel Egyptology Prize* 1, 97, Tab. 2 (3); Jánosi, *Giza in der 4. Dynastie*, 96–97, 442, Tabs. 1 (1), C4.

⁶⁴ For the inscriptions on the façade of the rock-cut chapel of Meresankh III (G 7530sub), see Smith, *JNES* 11 (1952): 116, 126 (A1), fig. 4; Dunham, Simpson, *Mersyankh III*, 8, pl. 2a, fig. 2; Spalinger, *SAK* 21 (1994): 288–289 (1, 2); Nolan, in Bickel, Loprieno, eds., *Basel Egyptology Prize* 1, 95–96, Tab. 1 (57, 58); Jánosi, *Giza in der 4. Dynastie*, 357–358 (c).

⁶⁵ For Reisner's dating of the inscriptions to Shepseskaf, see Reisner, 'The Tomb of Meresankh, a Great-Granddaughter of Queen Hetep-Heres I and Sneferuw', *BMFA* 25 (1927): 74; Smith, *JNES* 11 (1952): 126 (A1); Dunham, Simpson, *Mersyankh III*, 7–8; Jánosi, *Giza in der 4. Dynastie*, 357.

⁶⁶ For the assignment to Menkaura, see Dunham, Simpson, *Mersyankh III*, 7–8, 21–22, pls. 14c, 16; Jánosi, *Giza in der 4. Dynastie*, 357.

⁶⁷ See Reisner, *BMFA* 25 (1927): 74; Jánosi, *Giza in der 4. Dynastie*, 358 for a possible dating to Userkaf.

⁶⁸ H. Junker, 'Bericht über die sechste Grabung bei den Pyramiden', *AnzAWW* 65 (1929): 148–152, pl. 1b; Reisner, *Giza I*, 25; P. Jánosi, *Österreich vor den Pyramiden: Die Grabungen Hermann Junkers im Auftrag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften in Wien bei der Großen Pyramide in Giza*, SÖAW 648 (Vienna, 1997), 68; P. Der Manuelian, 'Excavating the Old Kingdom: The Giza Necropolis and Other Mastaba Fields', in *Egyptian Art in the Age of the Pyramids*, 146; Jánosi, *Giza in der 4. Dynastie*, 255.

⁶⁹ For the plan of mastaba GXS, see Z. Hawass, 'The Discovery of the Satellite Pyramid of Khufu (GI-d)', in P. Der Manuelian, ed., *Studies in Honor of William Kelly Simpson*, Vol. 1 (Boston, 1996), 380, fig. 1. Also, see Jánosi, *Giza in der 4. Dynastie*, 254, 263–264, fig. 56.

⁷⁰ For the quarry and ramp, see M. Lehner, *The Pyramid Tomb of Hetep-heres and the Satellite Pyramid of Khufu*, *SDAIK* 19 (1985), 81; M. Lehner, 'The Development of the Giza Necropolis:

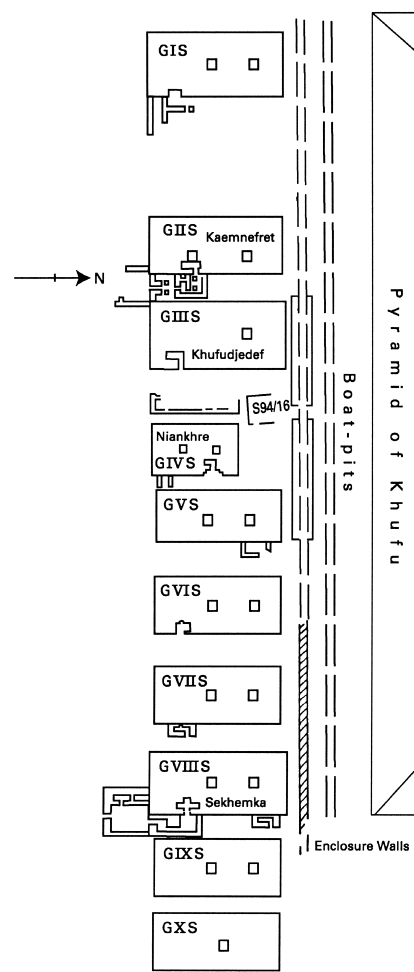


Fig. 2 Plan of the GIS Cemetery (Drawing by Barbara Harper after PM III², plan XIX [1])

Expedition to Giza between 1927 and 1929.⁶⁸ Another mastaba, GXS, was excavated by Zahi Hawass south of the satellite pyramid of Khufu (GI-d).⁶⁹ The cemetery was built following the removal of the ramp for the pyramid's construction, which led from the quarry on the south.⁷⁰ The initial phase of the GIS Cemetery consists of nine cores⁷¹ with the smaller scale mastaba of Niankhra (GIVS) added later to the row.⁷² Reisner dated the six cores on the east following queen's pyramid GI-c in the Eastern Cemetery, i.e. later than years 17 to 18 of Khufu.⁷³ Graffiti on the casing of mastaba GVIS give the names of crews in association with Menkaura and the dates: year of the 2nd occasion and year of the 11th occasion.⁷⁴ In this respect, the original phase of the GIS Cemetery may date from the end of Khufu's reign through Menkaura. However, subsequent additions to the cores, including interior chapels⁷⁵ and cult buildings,⁷⁶ demonstrate that the cemetery developed over time and into the Fifth Dynasty. As opposed to the Eastern Cemetery, the tomb owners in the GIS Cemetery are primarily

The Khufu Project', *MDAIK* 41 (1985): 119, 121–122 (B10), 124 (B24), 126–132 (C15), figs. 3B, 3C, 4, 5, 6A–B, 7A–B; M. Lehner, 'A Contextual Approach to the Pyramids', *AfO* 32 (1985): 148–151, fig. 15; Z. A. Hawass, *The Funerary Establishments of Khufu, Khafra and Menkaura during the Old Kingdom*, (Ph.D. diss., University of Pennsylvania, 1987), 84; Hawass, in Der Manuelian, ed., *Studies Simpson* 1, 390; Lehner, *The Complete Pyramids*, 204–205 (2, 6), 206, 216–217; Z. A. Hawass, 'Pyramid Construction: New Evidence Discovered at Giza', in H. Guksch, D. Polz, eds., *Stationen: Beiträge zur Kulturgeschichte Ägyptens. Rainer Stadelmann Gewidmet* (Mainz, 1998), 55–59 (II and III), figs. 3–6; R. and D. Klemm, 'Die Integralrampe als Konstruktionselement großer Pyramiden', in Guksch, Polz, eds., *Stationen*, 92.

⁷¹ Mastabas 2 and 5 planned for the spaces between mastabas GIS and GIIS and between mastabas GIIS and GVS were never finished. See Reisner, *Giza* I, 74; Junker, *Giza* X, 3–9, figs. 3, 4; Jánosi, *Giza in der 4. Dynastie*, 264, 265, 267, fig. 57, Tab. 13 for the two spaces that presumably were planned with two mastabas.

⁷² For the construction of the mastaba of Niankhra (GIVS) in the Fifth Dynasty following the nine cores, see *ibid.*, 268 (D), 271–272.

⁷³ Reisner, *Giza* I, 74, 82–83.

⁷⁴ For a discussion of the graffiti, see H. Junker, 'Vorläufiger Bericht über die VII. Grabung bei den Pyramiden von Giza', *AnzAWW* 66 (1930): 81–82 (1); *idem*, *Giza* VII, 6; *idem*, *Giza* X, 75, 77–78 (9, 10), fig. 35 (9, 10); Smith, *JNES* 11 (1952): 123 n. 10; A. M. Roth, *Egyptian Phyles in the Old Kingdom: The Evolution of a System of Social Organization*, *SAOC* 48 (1991), 13–15, 130–132, fig. 2.2; Spalinger, *SAK* 21 (1994): 289 (3, 6); Nolan, in Bickel, Loprieno, eds., *Basel Egyptology Prize* 1, 96, Tab. 1 (59, 62); Jánosi, *Giza in der 4. Dynastie*, 255–256, 257, 442, Tab. C5.

⁷⁵ Those mastabas with interior chapels broken into their cores include: Kaemnefret (GIIS), Khufudjedef (GIIS), GVIS, and Sekhemka (GVIIIS). See Reisner, *Giza* I, 83; Jánosi, *Giza in der 4. Dynastie*, 260–261, 262 for these chapels.

⁷⁶ Cult buildings were added to the mastabas of Kaemnefret (GIIS), Khufudjedef (GIIS), GVIS, and Sekhemka (GVIIIS). For the mastaba of Kaemnefret (GIIS), see Junker, *Giza* X, 17, 19–22, fig. 8, pl. 3a–b; Jánosi, *Giza in der 4. Dynastie*, 254, 260, fig. 56. For the mastaba of Khufudjedef (GIIS), see Junker, *Giza* X, 43, 44, 46–50, figs. 20, 21, pl. 3d; Jánosi, *Giza in der 4. Dynastie*, 254, 261, fig. 56. For mastaba GVIS, see Junker, *Giza* X, 83–84, fig. 36, pl. 5b; Jánosi, *Giza in der 4. Dynastie*, 254, 262, fig. 56. For the mastaba of Sekhemka, see Junker, *Giza* XI, 2–8, fig. 3, pls. 2a–c, 3a–b; Baer, *Rank and Title*, 129–130 [467]; Jánosi, *Giza in der 4. Dynastie*, 254, 263, fig. 56.

officials,⁷⁷ whose relationships may have a basis in family connections.⁷⁸ However, Junker did argue that the status of Khufudjedef (GIIS) was higher due to his title, *z3 nswt*, and the construction of his mastaba with a mantle of better quality limestone blocks.⁷⁹

III. Tomb decoration

The formation of the different architectural phases in the Eastern and GIS cemeteries provides a framework in which to discuss the development of tomb decoration. The patterns of similarity and difference in the iconography, style, and technical features of the relief decoration created by these phases illustrate how the cemeteries are developing during the Fourth Dynasty. Through this methodology, each architectural phase has distinct iconography that may be related to overall developments in decoration and ideology.

In phase two in the Eastern Cemetery, there are similarities in the decoration of the entrance thicknesses and the false door panels among the eight twin-mastabas. In the chapels of Kawab (G 7120)⁸⁰ and Khufukhaf I (G 7140),⁸¹ the entrance thicknesses are reconstructed or decorated with images of Anubis within an offering formula. This iconography is used later in phase five by Kawab's daughter, Meresankh III, in the decoration of the entrance thicknesses of her rock-cut chapel (G 7530sub).⁸² The panels on either side of the false door in the chapels of Khufukhaf I (G 7140)⁸³ and Hordjedef (G 7220) in addition to traces of relief in Horbaef's (?) chapel (G 7420) show offering stands with bowls⁸⁴ (*pl. VI, 10*). However, even within this similar iconography are stylistic differences suggesting different groups of artisans. The offering stands in the chapel of Khufukhaf I (G 7140) are carved in high, bold relief as opposed to the low relief in Hordjedef's mastaba (G 7220).

In phase three, the mastaba of Akhethetep and Meretites (G 7650) and mastaba G 7530/7540 assigned to Hetepheres II are decorated with images emphasizing the female. In the mastaba of Akhethetep and Meretites (G 7650), Meretites and her daughters are frequently depicted throughout the offering chapel;⁸⁵ while, in

⁷⁷ Titles are present in the mastabas of Kaemnefret (GIIS), Khufudjedef (GIIS), and Sekhemka (GVIIIS). Kaemnefret is: *hrj-tp nswt, jmj-r zS[w] c nswt, jm3hw hr nb.f*, and *hrj-[wdb]*. For Kaemnefret's titles, see Reisner, *Giza I*, 208 (24); Junker, *Giza X*, 30, 34, 35–36, figs. 13, 15, pls. 10, 16c; A. M. Donadoni Roveri, *I Sarcofagi Egizi Dalle Origini Alla Fine Dell'Antico Regno, Serie archeologica* 16 (Rome, 1969), 120 (B25); M. Seidel, 'Sarkophag des Kaj-em-nofret', in A. Eggebrecht, ed., *Pelizaeus-Museum Hildesheim: Die ägyptische Sammlung. Zaberns Bildbände zur Archäologie* 12 (Mainz, 1993), 22–24, fig. 15; Jánosi, *Giza in der 4. Dynastie*, 259. Khufudjedef has the titles: *z3 nswt, hrj-wdb [m hwt-ḥnh?]* and *...nswt*. For Khufudjedef's titles, see Reisner, *Giza I*, 207 (23); Junker, *Giza X*, 11, 50, 52, 60–61, 62–63, figs. 27, 28, pls. 11, 12a, 17b; Donadoni Roveri, *Sarcofagi Egizi*, 113–114 (B14), pl. 20 (2); M. Römer, *Zum Problem von Titulatur und Herkunft bei den Ägyptischen 'Königssöhnen' des Alten Reiches* (Ph.D. diss., Freie Universität Berlin, 1977), 104 (dd); Baud, *Famille royale* 2, 542 [181]. Sekhemka has the titles: *hrj-tp nswt, z3b, cḏ-mr, jwn knmwt, mdw rhjt, hm-ntr M3t*, and *...z3*. For Sekhemka's titles, see Junker, *Giza XI*, 17–18, 31, figs. 11, 18, pls. 4d, 5a; K. Baer, *The Egyptological Card-Files of Klaus Baer: III. A Prosopography of Old Kingdom Names* (Chicago, 1995); Jánosi, *Giza in der 4. Dynastie*, 259.

⁷⁸ Sekhemka's son, Kaemnefret, may relate the mastaba of Kaemnefret (GIIS) to the mastaba of Sekhemka (GVIIIS) possibly as father and son. See Junker, *Giza XI*, 18; Baer, *The Egyptological Card-Files of Klaus Baer*; Jánosi, *Giza in der 4. Dynastie*, 259 for this possible relationship.

⁷⁹ Junker, *Giza X*, 45. See Jánosi, *Giza in der 4. Dynastie*, 261 n. 1644 for similar constructions in the Cemetery en Échelon. Jánosi also mentions that mastaba GXS is constructed with a mantle of better quality limestone blocks. See *ibid.*, 263–264.

⁸⁰ Simpson, *Kawab*, 2, pl. 5a, figs. 5, 10A.

⁸¹ *Ibid.*, 10, pl. 15a–b, figs. 24, 25.

⁸² Dunham, Simpson, *Mersyankh III*, 4, 8–9, pls. 2c–d, figs. 3a–b.

⁸³ Simpson, *Kawab*, 15, 16, pls. 20, 21a, fig. 32.

⁸⁴ Reisner, *Giza I*, 341–342 (d26–28).

⁸⁵ For Meretites and her daughters, see Smith, *Sculpture*, 160–161, pl. 41a–b; M. H. T. Lopes, 'Relief Block from the Tomb of Princess Merit-ites and Akhti-hetep', in K. Baetjer, J. D. Draper, eds. *'Only the Best': Masterpieces of the Calouste Gulbenkian Museum, Lisbon* (New York, 1999), 24 (6).

mastaba G 7530/7540, the north wall is decorated with female offering bearers oriented to the left/west.⁸⁶ The prevalence of female images in the mastaba of Akhethetep and Meretites (G 7650) is due to Meretites' presence as the northern false door of two false doors is attributed to her. The increase in the number of children represented in the decoration may reflect overall developments in tomb decoration; however, in conjunction with the increasing emphasis placed upon the sun-god during this period,⁸⁷ the decoration in the mastabas probably mirrors the developing ideology as family groups become more frequent in royal statuary under the reign of Djedefra.⁸⁸ Mastabas of phase four continue this iconography with numerous children included in family depictions on the northern section of the west wall as opposed to Stadelmann's theory that there are actually fewer family images in royal statuary during the reigns of Khafra and Menkaura.⁸⁹ The female offering bearers on the north wall in the offering chapel of mastaba G 7530/7540 are probably directed towards a female image similar to the iconography in the rock-cut chapel of Meresankh III (G 7530sub) below.⁹⁰

Phase four, the eight nummulitic mastabas and mastaba G 7050 assigned to Nefretkau, has similar iconography in the decoration of the entrance thicknesses, east walls, and the west walls. The entrance thicknesses in the mastabas of Duaenhor (G 7550), Khaemsekhem (G 7660), Mindjedef (G 7760), and Djaty (G 7810) are decorated with seated images of the tomb owner and his wife facing to the east. On the entrance thicknesses of the mastabas of Duaenhor (G 7550) and Khaemsekhem (G 7660),⁹¹ an offering table is placed in front; while, in the mastabas of Mindjedef (G 7760)⁹² and Djaty (G 7810),⁹³ the eastern section of the thickness is eroded. This similarity in the iconography links together these younger male members of Khufu's family, i.e. presumably sons.

The nummulitic mastabas of phase four also consistently show the tomb owner on the southern section of the east wall oriented to the left/north in contrast to phases two and three in which possibly Kawab (G 7120)⁹⁴ but certainly Khufukhaf I (G 7140) and Akhethetep and Meretites (G 7650) are shown on the northern section facing right/south.⁹⁵ Another distinct similarity of the east wall in mastabas of phase four is the theme of sheep and/or goats, possibly in a sowing activity. Although Harpur refers to Lisht relief, Plowing and Sowing (The University of Pennsylvania Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology, Philadelphia, 58-10-2),⁹⁶ and the rock-cut chapel

⁸⁶ For the north wall in the offering chapel of mastaba G 7530/7540, see Dunham, Simpson, *Mersyankh III*, 3, pl. 13a; Simpson, *Kawab*, fig. 72.

⁸⁷ For a discussion of family groups and the cult of Ra, see A. M. Roth, 'Social Change in the Fourth Dynasty: The Spatial Organization of Pyramids, Tombs, and Cemeteries', *JARCE* 30 (1993): 54.

⁸⁸ See M. Baud, 'Études sur la statuaire de Rêdjedef: I. Rapport préliminaire sur la collection de l'IFAO', in *L'art de l'Ancien Empire égyptien* (Paris, 1999), 48; R. Stadelmann, 'Représentations de la famille royale dans l'Ancien Empire', in *L'art de l'Ancien Empire égyptien*, 175, 188, figs. 8a-b for the representation of family groups during Djedefra's reign.

⁸⁹ For the frequency of family groups in royal statuary between Khafra and Menkaura, see Stadelmann, in *L'art de l'Ancien Empire égyptien*, 175–176.

⁹⁰ For images of Meresankh III opposite offering bearers in her rock-cut chapel (G 7530sub), see Dunham, Simpson, *Mersyankh III*, 4–5, 15–16, 19, pls. 8a, 9, 12a, figs. 8, 11.

⁹¹ For the mastaba of Khaemsekhem (G 7660), see Reisner, *Giza I*, 318 (16), 319 (1b, 2a).

⁹² For the mastaba Mindjedef (G 7760), see *LD Text I*, 84–85 (60); *LD II*, 33a; Junker, *Giza III*, 45 (38); Reisner, *Giza I*, 318 (25), 319 (1c, 2a).

⁹³ The south entrance thickness in the mastaba of Djaty (G 7810) does have an inscription on its easternmost section giving his name, or possibly his son's, who is also called Djaty, in addition to other names and titles of subsidiary figures.

⁹⁴ Smith did reconstruct the southern section of the east wall in chambers C and B of Kawab's chapel (G 7120) with an image of the tomb owner oriented to the left/north. See Simpson, *Kawab*, 2–3, pl. 6c, figs. 4, 10B, 11B.

⁹⁵ For the east wall in Khufukhaf I's mastaba (G 7140), see Simpson, *Kawab*, 13, pl. 18, fig. 30. For the east wall in the mastaba of Akhethetep and Meretites (G 7650), see Smith, *Sculpture*, 161, pl. 41a.

⁹⁶ For Lisht relief, University Museum, Philadelphia (58-10-2), see H. Goedicke, *Re-used Blocks from the Pyramid of Amenemhet I at Lisht, The Metropolitan Museum of Art Egyptian Expedition 20* (New York, 1971), 126–127 (74).

of Meresankh III (G 7530sub)⁹⁷ as the chronological frame for this theme during the Fourth Dynasty in the Eastern Cemetery,⁹⁸ the decoration of the east walls in the mastabas of Duaenhor (G 7550) and Djaty (G 7810)⁹⁹ with these herds is essential to its development connecting the east wall with the tomb owner in an activity of 'viewing' agricultural pursuits. Agricultural themes may also refer to the 'fields' of the afterlife¹⁰⁰ as demonstrated by the use of *sh*t and *sk*3 in the Pyramid and Coffin Texts.¹⁰¹ In this respect, the iconography of the east walls in the mastabas of Duaenhor (G 7550) and Djaty (G 7810) in addition to the rock-cut chapel of Meresankh III (G 7530sub) may actually represent an evolving ideology of the afterlife.

Another important feature of phase four mastabas is the use of 'palace façade' decoration on the west walls of the offering chapel, which is connected to overall developments occurring throughout the Giza Necropolis.¹⁰² This decoration appears in the mastabas of Mindjedef (G 7760), G 7050 assigned to Nefretkau, Nefermaat (G 7060), Sneferukhaf (G 7070), and Djaty (G 7810).¹⁰³ 'Palace façade' decoration is characteristic of the rock-cut chapels of the sons of Khafra in the Central Field and must have coordinated with its usage in the Eastern Cemetery.¹⁰⁴

In phases four and five, the increase in the scale of children of the tomb owner is a distinct feature of the iconography. This development appears on: the entrance thicknesses in the mastabas of Anonymous (G 7750)¹⁰⁵ and Sneferukhaf (G 7070) in addition to the embrasures of the mastabas of Djaty (G 7810)¹⁰⁶ and possibly Iynefer and Nefretkau (G 7820), the relief from mastaba G 7350 depicting two females (Egyptian Museum, Cairo, JE 54939),¹⁰⁷ and the west wall in the entrance chamber of the rock-cut chapel of Meresankh III (G 7530sub) showing her son.¹⁰⁸ The increased scale of the son in the mastabas of Anonymous (G 7750) (?), Sneferukhaf (G 7070), Djaty (G 7810), and possibly Iynefer and Nefretkau (G 7820) is made possible due

⁹⁷ See Dunham, Simpson, *Mersyankh III*, 4, 11, pls. 3a, 4, fig. 4 for the east wall in the entrance chamber of Meresankh III's chapel (G 7530 sub.).

⁹⁸ Harpur, *DETOK*, 205.

⁹⁹ See Reisner, *Giza I*, 322 n. 1 for the decoration of the east wall in the mastaba of Djaty (G 7810).

¹⁰⁰ For these fields, see J. P. Allen, 'The Cosmology of the Pyramid Texts', in J. P. Allen et al., *Religion and Philosophy in Ancient Egypt*, *YES* 3 (1989), 6.

¹⁰¹ R. O. Faulkner, *The Ancient Egyptian Pyramid Texts* (1969; reprint, Warminster, 1986), 873–874. Plowing also occurs in CT 72, 206, 228, 464, and CT II 245c. I am grateful to James Allen for this information.

¹⁰² Reisner also believed that the west wall in mastaba 7530/7540 had traces of niching suggesting 'palace façade' decoration. See Reisner, *Giza I*, 381 (e1). For a relief fragment with this niching, MFA 28-5-35b, see Dunham, Simpson, *Mersyankh III*, 3–4. However, if the decoration in mastaba G 7530/7540 is as late as late Khafra/Menkaura, then the niching does not predate its occurrence among the nummulitic mastabas of phase four.

¹⁰³ For the mastabas with 'palace façade' decoration in phase four, see Reisner, *Giza I*, 381–382 (e2–4, f1–2); H. Altenmüller, 'Der Grabherr des Alten Reiches in seinem Palast des Jenseits: Bemerkungen zur sog. Prunkscheintür des Alten Reiches', in C. Berger, B. Mathieu, eds., *Études sur l'Ancien Empire et la nécropole de Saqqâra dédiées à Jean-Philippe Lauer*, vol. 1, *OrMonsp* 9 (1997), 12–13 (1.4.5, 1.4.6).

¹⁰⁴ The use of 'palace façade' decoration in the Eastern Cemetery also includes the rock-cut chapel of Meresankh III (G 7530sub) of phase five. See Reisner, *Giza I*, 382 (g1); Altenmüller, in Berger, Mathieu, eds., *Études Lauer* 1, 12 (1.4.1). I am grateful to Peter János for his comments concerning the use of 'palace façade' decoration in the Eastern Cemetery and the Central Field.

¹⁰⁵ The two minor figures on the south entrance thickness of Anonymous mastaba (G 7750) are identified as *rh nswt*; however, it is not possible to conclusively prove that they are sons. I am grateful to Edward Brovanski for his comments concerning Anonymous mastaba (G 7750).

¹⁰⁶ On the southern entrance thicknesses, the minor figures in Anonymous mastaba (G 7750) measure 67.7 cm. and 59.7 cm. in height; while, Sneferukhaf's son measures 73.4 cm. On the southern section of the embrasure, Djaty's son is ca. 85.3 cm. in height.

¹⁰⁷ For the relief assigned to mastaba G 7350, see Smith, *Sculpture*, 164, pl. 45a; 'Relief der Königin Hetep-Heres II', in D. Wildung, S. Schoske et al., *Nofret-die Schöne: Die Frau im Alten Ägypten* (Mainz, 1984), 60 (23); János, *ZÄS* 123 (1996): 56–57, fig. 5.

¹⁰⁸ For Meresankh III's son, Nebemakhet, see Dunham, Simpson, *Mersyankh III*, 5, 14, pl. 7c, fig. 7. Nebemakhet measures 1.08 m in height.

to the absence of the wife's image and reflects the son's growing importance in his father's cult; whereas, the younger female's scale on the relief from mastaba G 7350 and the scale of Nebemakhet in the rock-cut chapel of Meresankh III (G 7530sub) may be related to overall developments in tomb decoration as well as their royal status, e.g. the inscription above the younger female on the relief from mastaba G 7350 reads *hmt nswt mr[]* and Nebemakhet is a great-grandson of Khufu and a son of Khafra.

GIS cemetery

Relevant to a discussion of the relationship between architecture and tomb decoration during the late Fourth Dynasty and into the early Fifth are the mastabas of Kaemnefret (GIIS) and Khufudjedef (GIIS) in the GIS Cemetery. The use of 'palace façade' decoration on the embrasure of Khufudjedef's mastaba (GIIS) is unusual¹⁰⁹ but does reflect overall developments occurring throughout the Giza Necropolis (*pl. VII, 11*). Traces of paint suggest a geometric patterning on the embrasure.

IV. Conclusion

The relationship between architecture and tomb decoration in the Eastern and GIS cemeteries is an important aspect of the development of the two cemeteries. Although there are problematic issues associated with the archaeological evidence, a study of the decorative programs must include the architectural context, and how the construction of the mastaba or cutting of the rock-cut chapel coordinates with its decoration and the expansion of the cemetery. The identification of specific iconography for the different architectural phases suggests that there was an evolving artistic and ideological repertoire in coordination with the standard 'icons' or images necessary to the offering cult, which are present in all phases of architectural expansion. However, within these phases, there are stylistic and technical similarities and differences, which are essential to the identification of individual or groups of artisans. The decorative programs of preexisting mastabas and developments in other cemeteries, such as the Central Field, were also assimilated by the artisans working in the Eastern and GIS cemeteries during the Fourth Dynasty and into the Fifth. The introduction of new features, such as 'palace façade' decoration, altered the design of the west wall and the orientation of the relief decoration in some mastabas. The architecture of the offering chapel is also an important factor affecting the development of tomb decoration during the Fourth Dynasty, particularly how such features as the dado, the false door(s), and actual door directly imposed control over the design of the decorative program. Through a study of the relationship between architecture and tomb decoration, the decorative programs and artisans were affected by many factors, which influenced the development of art in the Eastern and GIS cemeteries during the reigns of Khufu, Khafra, and Menkaura, and into the early Fifth Dynasty.

¹⁰⁹ Reisner, *Giza I*, 381 (c2). 'Palace façade' decoration also occurs on the embrasure of the mastaba of Seshathetep (G 5150) in the Cemetery en Échelon. See *ibid.*, 381 (c3).



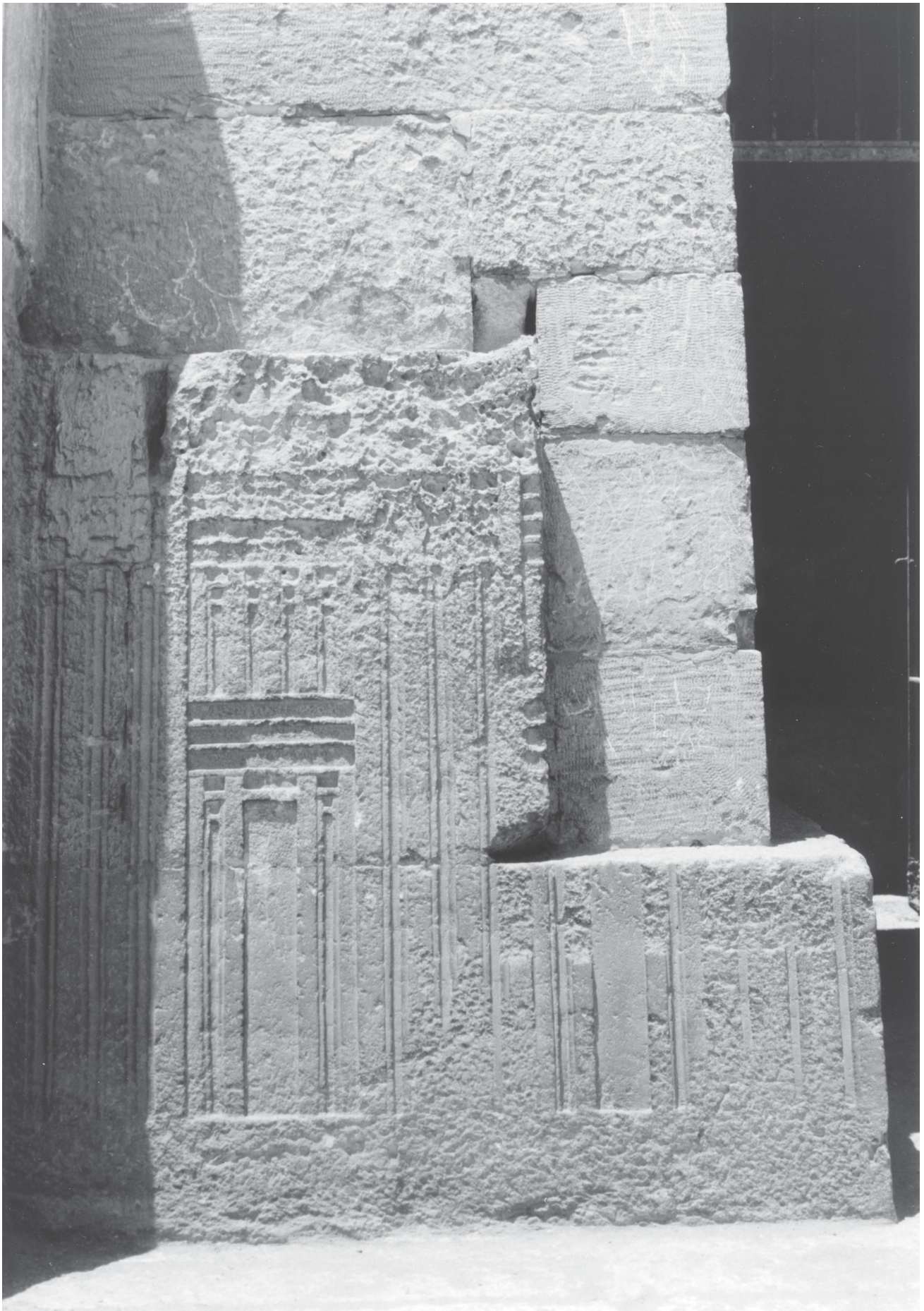
8 Mastaba of Duaenhor (G 7550), Eastern Cemetery at Giza (all photographs are published with the permission of Dr. Zahi Hawass, Secretary-General, Supreme Council of Antiquities, Egypt)



9 Architrave on the exterior of the mastaba of Sneferukhaf (G 7070), Eastern Cemetery at Giza



10 Detail of the false door in the mastaba of Khufukhaf (G 7131/7140), Eastern Cemetery at Giza



11 Detail of the embasura of the mastaba of Khufudjedef (GIIS), GIS Cemetery at Giza

THE OLD KINGDOM ART AND ARCHAEOLOGY
PROCEEDINGS OF THE CONFERENCE HELD IN PRAGUE,
MAY 31 – JUNE 4, 2004

Miroslav Bárta
editor

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Vydaly

Český egyptologický ústav Filozofické fakulty Univerzity Karlovy v Praze
Celetná 20, 110 00 Praha 1
Nakladatelství Academia, Středisko společných činností AV ČR
Vodičkova 40, 110 00 Praha 1

Kniha vychází s finanční podporou
Fondation Michela Schiff Giorgini
MŠMT, grant MSM 0021620826

Odpovědný redaktor Pavel Zátka

Obálku s použitím fotografií z archivu Českého egyptologického ústavu FF UK
a grafickou úpravu navrhla Jolana Malátková

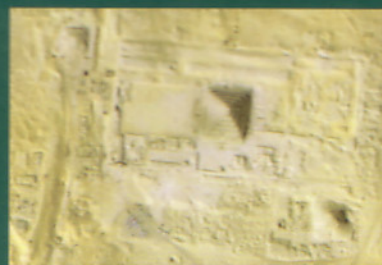
Vydání první, Praha 2006
Ediční číslo 10456

Sazba Český egyptologický ústav Filozofické fakulty Univerzity Karlovy v Praze
Celetná 20, 110 00 Praha 1

Tisk Serifa s. r. o., Jinonická 80, 150 00 Praha 5

ISBN 80-200-1465-9

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