

ORIENTALIA
LOVANIENSIS
ANALECTA

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International Congress
of Egyptologists**

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Volume I

edited by / edités par

Jean-Claude GOYON et
Christine CARDIN

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Jean-Claude GOYON et Christine CARDIN



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TABLE DES COMMUNICATIONS

6.3	ABD EL-AAL, Soad, <i>New Demotic Ostraca in the Cairo Museum</i>	1
3.2	ABD EL-AZIZ, Eid, <i>The Hospitality of Sinuhe</i>	13
6.4	ABD EL-FATTAH, Ahmed et GEORGES, Camélia, <i>Le panthéon égyptien gréco-romain à la lumière des fouilles menées dans la zone du Delta Ouest</i>	21
6.3	ABD EL-GHANI, Mohammed, <i>The Pathyrite Nome in Upper Egypt in the Light of Greek Papyri</i>	33
8.3	ABD EL-MONEIM, Safaa, <i>The Meaning and Religious Purpose of the Naos</i>	55
7.2	ABD EL-RAZIQ, Mahmoud, CASTEL, Georges et TALLET, Pierre, <i>L'exploration archéologique du site d'Ayn Soukhna (2001-2004)</i>	61
8.3	ANDRENUCCI, Sandra, <i>Human-Bodied Goddesses in the Collection of the Egyptian Museum of Florence</i>	69
14	ASENSI AMORÓS, Maria Victoria, <i>Les bois égyptiens de la collection du Musée Antoine Vivenel de Compiègne. Analyse xylogologique</i>	77
14	ASENSI AMORÓS, M.V., ARCHIER, P., VIEILLESCEAZES, C., SOUZA, C. de, GUICHARD, H. et BLANCHEGORGE, E., <i>Un chaouabti de Séthi I^{er} au Musée Vivenel de Compiègne: analyse et identification du bois et du matériau résineux de surface</i>	87
4.6	ATALLAH, Mostafa, <i>Eine Pyramidionstele eines Trompeters aus dem Ägyptischen Museum in Kairo</i>	97
8.1	AYAD, Mariam F., <i>Towards a Better Understanding of the Opening of the Mouth Ritual</i>	109
6.4	BADRYA, Seiry, <i>Worship of the Sacred Trinity in the Greek and Roman Ages and its Impact on Alexandrian Sculpture</i>	117
13	BAKOS-MARCHIORI, Margaret, <i>Mariage entre l'Égypte ancienne et le Brésil: Perceptions de motifs égyptiens dans la vie quotidienne</i>	123
12.2	BALLET, Pascale, BÉGUIN, Frédéric, HERBICH, Tomacz, LECUYOT, Guy et SCHMITT, Anne, <i>Recherches sur les ateliers hellénistiques et romains de Bouto (Delta)</i>	133
5.1	BAREŠ, Ladislav, <i>The Saite-Persian Cemetery at Abusir</i>	145
7.2	BASÍLICO, Susana, LUPO, Silvia, <i>The Final Stage and Abandonment of Tell el-Ghaba, North Sinai: A Site on the Egyptian Eastern Border</i>	151
4.2	BEDMAN, Teresa et MARTÍN-VALENTÍN, Francisco, <i>Le faucon divin du Ouadi el-Qouroud. Un exemple de topographie sacrée à la Vallée de l'Ouest</i> ..	161

2.3	BÈNE, Élise, <i>Les textes de la paroi nord de la chambre funéraire de la pyramide de Téti</i>	167
2.2	BILLING, Nils, <i>The Corridor Chamber. An Investigation of the Function and Symbolism of an Architectural Element in the Old Kingdom Pyramids</i> ...	183
8.1	BOMHARD, A.S. von, <i>Le Livre du Ciel. De l'observation astronomique à la mythologie</i>	195
12.2	BOUQUILLON, Anne et MATOÏAN, Valérie, <i>Les faïences à glaçure monochrome bleu-gris d'Ougarit (Syrie)</i>	207
13	BRANCAGLION, Antonio, <i>La collection égyptienne du Museu Nacional do Rio de Janeiro: nouvelles perspectives</i>	221
5.1	BRISAUD, Philippe, <i>Tanis — Tell Sâ el-Hagar. Étude du fond du Temple d'Amon</i>	225
14	BRISAUD, Philippe, <i>Tanis — Tell Sâ el-Hagar. Protection et gestion patrimoniale d'un site de grande envergure</i>	233
5.1	BUDKA, Julia, <i>Tomb VII in the Assasif, Thebes: Its Owners, Date and Implications</i>	241
5.2	BUSCH, Angela, <i>Zur Ikonographie phönikischer Elfenbeine — ein Forschungsproject</i>	251
9	CAMPAGNO, Marcelo, <i>Crime and Punishment in «The Contendings of Horus and Seth»</i>	263
4.5	CARLOTTI, Jean-François et GALLET, Lætitia, <i>Le temple d'Amon-qui-écoute les-prières à Karnak. Œuvre de Ramsès II ou d'un prédécesseur?</i>	271
5.1	CASTELLANO SOLÉ, Núria, <i>The Saite Tomb Number 1 at Oxyrynkhos and its Parallels</i>	283
8.3	CENTRONE, Maria Costanza, <i>Corn-Mummies: A Case of «Figuring it out»</i>	293
2.3	CERVELLÓ-AUTUORI, Josep, <i>À propos du déterminatif du tronc de pyramide dans les Textes des Pyramides. Sémantique et archéologie</i>	303
2.2	CHAUVET, Violaine, <i>Royal Involvement in the Construction of Private Tombs in the Late Old Kingdom</i>	313
6.1	CHOUKRI, Sabri Ali, <i>Un quartier d'habitation de l'époque byzantine dans la zone dite «el-Nahda» au Sud-Est d'Alexandrie</i>	323
13	CHRYSIKOPOULOS, Vassilis I., <i>L'histoire des collections d'antiquités égyptiennes du Musée National d'Athènes: les donateurs Ioannis Dimitriou et Alexandros Rostovitz</i>	333
6.2	COLIN, Marie-Eve, <i>L'apport des onguents et tissus dans les sanctuaires des barques d'époque gréco-romaine</i>	343
8.2	COTELLE-MICHEL, Laurence, <i>Les sarcophages en terre cuite en Égypte et en Nubie</i>	353
10	DAVIDOVITS, Frédéric, <i>Étude lexicographique des termes grecs krossai et bomides dans Hérodote (II, 125): étymologie égyptienne ou grecque?</i> ...	361

12.1	DAVIDOVITS, Frédéric, <i>The Making of Ptolemaic Egyptian Blue Pigment in Latin Texts</i>	367
12.2	DAVIDOVITS, Joseph and DAVIDOVITS, Ralph, <i>Why Djoser's Blue Egyptian Faience Tiles are not Blue? Manufacturing Djoser's Faience Tiles at Temperatures as Low as 250°C?</i>	373
2.1	DE ARAÚJO DUARTE, Cássio, <i>New Considerations about the Dating of the Wep-wawet Relief from Lisht</i>	379
12.2	DEFERNEZ, Catherine, <i>Un ensemble amphorique de Tell el-Herr (Nord-Sinai) et les échanges commerciaux en Méditerranée orientale à la fin du V^e siècle av. J.-C.</i>	387
8.3	DÉGARDIN, Jean-Claude, <i>Khonsou et les manifestations osiriennes à Karnak</i>	399
4.4	DELANGE, Elisabeth, <i>Nouvelles clés de lecture de la Chambre des Ancêtres</i>	405
4.4	DELLA MONICA, Madeleine, <i>Taousert — inconnue, méconnue — une grande reine</i>	417
3.1	DE MEYER, Marleen, <i>In the Shadow of the Nomarchs: New Excavations in the Rock Tombs of Deir al-Barsha</i>	421
2.3	DE TRAFFORD, Aloisia, <i>The Pyramid Texts: A Contextual Approach</i>	429
5.1	DÍAZ-DE-CERIO, Montserrat, <i>Fouilles à Abasiya (Karima, Soudan)</i>	433
11	DINARÈS SOLÀ, Rosa, <i>Méthodes thérapeutiques et contraceptives dans la gynécologie égyptienne. Le cas de la fumigation vaginale</i>	443
2.2	DORMION, Gilles et VERD'HURT, Jean-Yves, <i>La chambre de Cheops</i>	451
4.6	DUQUESNE, Terence, <i>The Salakhana Stelae. A Unique Trove of Votive Objects from Asyut</i>	461
5.2	EINAUDI, Silvia, <i>The «Tomb of Osiris»: An Ideal Burial Model?</i>	475
2.1	EL-BAGHDADI, Salem Gabr, <i>Proto-Dynastic and Early-Dynastic Necropolis of Minshaat Ezzat and El-Samarah (El-Dakahlia Province «North-east Delta»)</i>	487
6.2	ELDAMATY, Mamdouh, <i>Die leeren Kartuschen aus der Regierungszeit von Kleopatra VII. im Tempel von Dendera</i>	501
5.2	EL-ENANY, Khaled, <i>Quelques aspects d'archaïsme dans les titulatures des rois de la XXVI^e dynastie</i>	535
10	EL-HAMRAWI, Mahmoud, <i>Substantiv + ïś im Altägyptischen</i>	545
5.2	EL HAWARY, Amr, <i>New Findings about the Memphite Theology</i>	567
5.1	EL-KINAWY, Maha, <i>A Limestone Wall Stela of Ptahemheb from Arab el-Hisn</i>	575
6.2	EL-KORDY, Zeinab, <i>Les escaliers de Dendara</i>	581
5.2	EL-LEITHY, Hisham, <i>Painted Wooden Stelae from Thebes from the 21st to the 26th Dynasties</i>	585

6.4	EL-NOWIEEMY, Magda, <i>Ancient Egyptian Religion in Apuleius' Metamorphoses</i>	597
1.3	EL-SADEEK, Wafa, <i>Museum – (K)ein Ort für Kinder? Die Museumpädagogik: Kurzer historischer Überblick</i>	607
1.3	EL-SHAL, Omaïma, <i>L'élite culturelle égyptienne vis-à-vis de quelques sites archéologiques</i>	613
6.4	EL-SHAL, Omaïma, <i>Le symbolisme égyptien dans la vie religieuse copte</i>	627
8.1	EL-WESHAHY, Mofida, <i>Studying Representation of the «Flame Lake» in the Egyptian Underworld</i>	641
10	EMERIT, Sibylle, <i>Ces musiciens qui n'en sont pas</i>	653
4.6	ESHMAWY, Aiman, <i>Names of Horses in Ancient Egypt</i>	665
9	FABRE, David, <i>Recherches sur l'organisation du commerce maritime dans l'Égypte ancienne. L'apport de l'anthropologie: enjeux et questionnements</i>	677
4.6	FAROUK, Azza, <i>Eine unveröffentlichte Totenstele aus den jüngsten Ausgrabungen in Heliopolis</i>	695
3.2	FATHY, Ashraf M., <i>The Meanings of 'snwt' in the Coffin Texts</i>	701
8.2	FERREIRA DE SOUSA, Rogério, <i>The Heart Amulet in Ancient Egypt: A Typological Study</i>	713
2.4	FLENTYE, Laurel, <i>The Development of Art in the Eastern and GIS Cemeteries at Giza during the Fourth Dynasty: Iconography and Style</i>	721
6.4	FRANCOCCI, Stefano, <i>Documents concernant la diffusion des cultes égyptiens le long de la vallée moyenne du Tibre</i>	737
4.3	GABER, Hanane, <i>Les scarabées de cœur à tête humaine à la lumière d'une variante de la pesée du cœur</i>	743
4.2	GABOLDE, Luc, <i>Sur quelques tombeaux mineurs de la Vallée des Rois découverts par V. Loret</i>	749
4.2	GABOLDE, Marc, <i>Travaux dans la nécropole royale de Tell el-Amarna</i> ..	763
13	GADY, Éric, <i>Champollion, Ibrahim Pacha et Méhémet Ali: aux sources de la protection des antiquités égyptiennes</i>	767
4.3	GALÁN, José M., <i>The Tombs of Djehuty and Hery (TT 11-12) at Dra Abu el-Naga</i>	777
12.2	GALLORINI, Carla, <i>Late Period and Ptolemaic Pottery from the Work of the Saqqara Geophysical Survey Project</i>	789
6.4	GAY, Véronique, <i>Un zodiaque égyptien au Musée des Beaux-Arts de Lyon</i>	799
8.3	GEE, John, <i>Were Egyptian Texts Divinely Written?</i>	807
2.2	GENNARO, Alfredo, <i>Giza Pyramids Today. Figures Against Assumptions</i> ..	815
2.3	GOURDON, Yannis, <i>Le hiéroglyphe de la houe, un critère de datation à l'Ancien Empire</i>	821

2.1	GRAFF, Gwenola, <i>Les représentations prédynastiques d'oryctéropes</i> ...	829
10	GREGersen, Mette, <i>Butler, Cupbearer, L'échanson or Truchsess</i>	839
14	GUASCH, Maria Rosa, IBERN, Maite, ANDRÉS, Cristina, LAMUELA, Rosa M., <i>Scientific Research on Archaeological Residues from Ancient Egyptian Wines</i>	851
14	GUICHARD, Hélène, NOTIN, Véronique, COIGNARD, Benoît, FABRE, Made- leine, BONCŒUR, Marie-Paule, <i>La tomographie à rayons X au service de l'étude et de la restauration d'un sarcophage du Musée Municipal de l'Évêché à Limoges</i>	857
13	GUICHARD, Sylvie, <i>Nouvelle approche de Bernardino Drovetti, consul de France en Égypte de 1803 à 1829, à partir d'une correspondance inédite récemment acquise par le Musée du Louvre</i>	871
12.2	GUIDOTTI, Maria Cristina, <i>La céramique d'Antinoopolis. Fouilles 2003 et 2004</i>	877
8.3	GUILHOU, Nadine, ARQUIER, Bernard, <i>Ciels diurnes et ciels nocturnes</i> ...	883
4.5	GULYÁS, Andras, <i>A Cosmic Libation. Researches on the Theology of Luxor Temple</i>	895
6.1	GYÖRY, Hedvig, <i>The Story of the Gamhud Excavations</i>	907
12.1	HOUDIN, Jean-Pierre, <i>La construction de la grande pyramide</i>	919
8.3	IBRAHIM ZAKI, Mey, <i>Les déesses dans les tombes de Deir el-Médineh</i> ..	927
7.1	IKRAM, Salima, <i>The North Kharga Oasis Survey: A Brief Overview</i>	953
2.1	INCORDINO, Ilaria, <i>The Third Dynasty: A Chronological Hypothesis</i>	961
14	JIMÉNEZ SERRANO, Alejandro, ORDÓÑEZ GARCÍA, Javier, <i>The Temple of Horus at Edfu: Future Strategies of Conservation</i>	969
2.1	JONES, Jana, <i>New Perspectives on the Development of Mummification and Funerary Practices during the Pre- and Early Dynastic Periods</i> ..	979
4.5	KJØLBY, Annette, <i>Decision-making Processes: A Cognitive Study of Pri- vate Statues in New Kingdom Temples</i>	991
11	KOLEVA-IVANOV, Elka, «Être sous l'emprise de la mort (hry mt)» dans <i>les textes magiques et littéraires égyptiens</i>	1001
4.1	KOLTSIDA, Aikaterini, <i>Malkata Revisited: Defining Domestic Space at the Palace City of Amenhotep III</i>	1011
2.4	KORMYSHEVA, Eleonora, <i>Minor Cemetery on the Eastern Edge of the Eastern Necropolis in Giza</i>	1023
13	KOROLEVA, Natalia E., <i>Egyptology and Egyptomania in Russia in the XIXth and the Beginning of the XXth Century</i>	1037
11	KOUSOULIS, Panagiotis I.M., <i>Dead Entities in Living Bodies: the Demo- nic Influence of the Dead in the Medical Texts</i>	1043
7.1	KRAEMER, Bryan, <i>A Ptolemaic Canal in the Northeast Fayyum: The His- tory of the Bahr Wardan</i>	1051

7.1	LABRIQUE, Françoise, <i>Ayn el Mouftella: Osiris dans le Château de l'Or (Mission IFAO à Bahariya, 2002-2004)</i>	1061
5.2	LADYNIN, Ivan A., 'Iw («Island») and ^{URU} PŪTŪ-YĀMAN («The City of Greek Buto»): Two Toponymes in the Sources on the Babylonian Invasion into Egypt in 567 B.C.	1071
2.4	LANDGRÁFOVÁ, Renata, <i>Faïence Fragments from the Funerary Temple of Raneferef, Part II – The Motifs</i>	1077
3.2	LAVIER, Marie-Christine, <i>La barque-nechemet dans le chapitre 409 des Textes des Sarcophages</i>	1083
8.3	LAZARIDIS, Nikolaos, <i>The Religion of Egyptian Instructions: Divine Characters and the Language of Demotic Proverbs</i>	1091
4.5	LEBLANC, Christian, <i>L'école du temple (ât-sebait) et le per-ânk (maison de vie) à propos de récentes découvertes effectuées dans le contexte du Ramesseum</i>	1101
5.2	LEFÈVRE, Dominique, <i>Les archives documentaires de la 21^e dynastie provenant d'el-Hibeh</i>	1109
8.1	LENZO MARCHESE, Giuseppina, <i>Les abrégés hiératiques du Livre des Morts durant la Troisième Période Intermédiaire</i>	1117
8.1	LEPPER, Verena, <i>New Readings of an Old Text: Papyrus Westcar</i>	1125
1.4	LINES, Dan, <i>First Millennium BC Temple Structures at Saqqara: Preliminary Report on the Archaeological Work of the Saqqara Geophysical Survey Project, 2003 Season</i>	1137
4.5	LISZKA, Kate, <i>Tracing Stylistic Changes within Coronation Scenes</i>	1151
5.1	LOPES, Maria Helena Trindade, <i>The Portuguese Archaeological Project at Memphis: The Apries Palace in Kôm Tumân</i>	1163
1.5	LORING, Edward, <i>Databank and History</i>	1167
2.2	LOVE, Serena, <i>Materialisations of Memory: Remembering and Forgetting the Pyramid Kings</i>	1169
8.1	LUCARELLI, Rita, <i>The Vignette of Ch. 40 of the Book of the Dead</i>	1181
6.4	LUFT, Ulrich Hans, <i>Schöpfung des Menschen in Zwei Stufen</i>	1187
12.2	LUNGU, Vasilica, <i>L'Égypte lagide et les cités grecques du Pont Ouest</i> ...	1197
2.2	LUPO, Silvia, <i>A New Approach to the Pyramid Towns</i>	1211
3.1	MAHFOUZ, Elsayed, <i>Les fonctionnaires bénéficiant d'une formule d'eulogie royale durant la Première Période Intermédiaire et le Moyen Empire</i>	1223
8.2	MANTELLINI, Elio, <i>L'ombre pour les Anciens Égyptiens</i>	1237
8.3	MARAVELIA, Amanda-Alice, <i>La loi universelle et le temps selon les Orphiques et selon les Égyptiens</i>	1243
4.1	MARLAR, Michelle, <i>Excavations of the Temple of Osiris at Abydos Reported on behalf of the University of Pennsylvania Museum – Yale University – Institute of Fine Arts, New York University Expedition to Abydos</i>	1251

1.1	MEEKS, Dimitri, <i>Le programme international «paléographie hiéroglyphique» (IFAO, Le Caire)</i>	1261
9	MENU, Bernadette, <i>L'Association Internationale pour l'étude du Droit de l'Égypte Ancienne (AIDEA)</i>	1269
3.2	MEYER-DIETRICH, Erika, <i>Die Aktualität des Rituals in den Sargtexten ...</i>	1277
2.1	MEZA, Alicia I., <i>Neolithic Boats: Ancient Egypt and the Maltese Islands, a Minoan Connection</i>	1287
13	MEZA, Alicia I., <i>Shedding New Light on an Egyptian Statuette in Malta</i>	1299
6.2	MOLINERO POLO, Miguel Ángel, MARTÍN FLORES, Alfonso, <i>Le naos de Ptolémée XII pour Amon de Debod</i>	1311
3.1	MOSTAFA, Doha, <i>Glimpses on Tombs and Funerary Equipment from Provincial Sites in Middle and Upper Egypt in the First Intermediate Period</i>	1327
9	MÜHLESTEIN, Kerry, <i>Binding with Heraldic Plants</i>	1335
3.1	MÜLLER, Maya, <i>Braids for Paradise from Dynastic Egypt to the Islamic Middle Ages</i>	1343
5.2	MÜLLER-WOLLERMANN, Renate, <i>Ägypten auf dem Weg zur Geldwirtschaft</i>	1351
2.2	MURGANO, Roberto, <i>The Sun and Stars Double Cult in the Old Kingdom</i>	1361
1.5	NAVRATILOVA, Hana, <i>The Visitors' Graffiti Database</i>	1371
4.1	NICOLAKAKI-KENTROU, Margarita, <i>Affinities Between the Aegeanizing Mural Motifs from Malkata's Site K and Contemporary Textile Iconography</i>	1381
4.2	NIWIŃSKI, Andrzej, <i>Archaeological Secrets of the Cliff Ledge above the Temples at Deir el-Bahari and the Problem of the Tomb of Amenhotep I</i>	1391
2.2	NUZZOLO, Massimiliano, <i>Sun Temples and Kingship in the Ancient Egyptian Kingdom</i>	1401
10	OREAL, Elsa, <i>De la corrélation à la subordination: (proto-)histoire de la particule (j)sk/t</i>	1411
2.3	ORRIOLS I LLONCH, Marc, <i>Divine Copulation in the Pyramid Texts. A Lexical and Cultural Approach</i>	1421
4.3	ORSENIKO, Christian, <i>La découverte du tombeau de Maiherperi (KV 36) dans les notes inédites de Victor Loret</i>	1429
3.2	OUELLET, Brigitte, <i>L'enseignement du ba à l'homme désillusionné: une praxis en rapport avec le sens de la vie</i>	1437
6.1	PADRÓ, Josep, AMER, Hassan I., ERROUX-MORFIN, Marguerite, MASCORT, Maite, et HAMZA, Mahmoud, <i>Découverte et premiers travaux à l'Osi-reion d'Oxyrhynchos</i>	1443
2.1	PÄTZNICK, Jean-Pierre, <i>L'Horus Qahedjet: souverain de la 3^e dynastie?</i>	1455
5.2	PAYRAUDEAU, Frédéric, <i>Une mention posthume du pharaon Takélot III à Abydos (stèle Caire JE 30434)</i>	1473

3.1	PEETERS, Christoph, <i>Excavations in the Western Cemeteries at Deir al-Barsha: Results and Perspectives</i>	1481
4.3	PEREYRA V., FANTECHI S., and ZINGARELLI, A., <i>Figuration of an Egyptian Theban Tomb belonging to Ay's Reign: TT49</i>	1485
8.1	PERRAUD, Milena, <i>Les formules spécifiques du Chapitre 166 du Livre des Morts inscrites sur les amulettes-chevets</i>	1495
1.2	PIACENTINI, Patrizia, <i>De Mariette à Edel: les archives égyptologiques de l'Université de Milan</i>	1509
8.2	PIRELLI, Rosanna, <i>Les répertoires de scènes des tombeaux privés de la 18^{ème} dynastie et les scènes de banquet: présentation d'une étude</i>	1519
6.2	POO, Mu-Chu, <i>Ritual Texts in the Ptolemaic Temples: The Liturgies of Libation and Beer Offering</i>	1527
3.1	POSTEL, Lilian, <i>Fragments inédits du Moyen Empire à Tôd (Mission épigraphique de l'IFAO)</i>	1539
6.2	PREYS, René, <i>Jeux de titulatures dans le temple de Dendera</i>	1551
2.1	RADWAN, Ali, <i>Small Mastabas and Subsidiary Graves from the Archaic Cemetery at Abusir</i>	1559
8.3	RAVEN, Maarten J., <i>Egyptian Concepts on the Orientation of the Human Body</i>	1567
5.2	RAZANAJAO, Vincent, <i>Tell el-Balamoun: considérations toponymiques autour de la ville la plus septentrionale d'Égypte</i>	1575
8.1	RÉGEN, Isabelle, <i>Recherche sur les versions tardives du Livre de l'Amdouat et du Livre des Portes (époques saïte-ptolémaïque). Présentation du projet</i>	1587
1.6	REVEZ, Jean, TIDAFI, Temy, PARISEL, Claude, MEYER, Elise, CHARBONNEAU, Nathalie, SEMLALI, Anis, <i>Méthodes informatisées de relevés et de reconstitution archéologique: le cas du temple d'Amon à Karnak</i>	1599
13	ROCHAS, Joëlle, <i>La part de l'égyptologie dans les origines scientifiques du Muséum de Grenoble: les travaux des frères Champollion au cabinet d'histoire naturelle de Grenoble (1809-1812)</i>	1611
4.1	ROSATI, Gloria, <i>Amarna Reliefs from el-Sheikh 'Abadah</i>	1613
8.3	ROSSO, Ana María, <i>Une nouvelle tentative pour décoder la «symbologie» de l'œil d'Horus</i>	1621
2.1	ROWLAND, Joanne M., <i>Death and the Origins of Egypt: Mortuary Variability as an Indicator of Socio-Political Change during the Late Predynastic to Early Dynastic Period</i>	1629
2.3	RULL RIBÓ, David, <i>Solar Ascension and Osirian Raising in the Pyramid Texts Concentrating on the Study of the Determinatives</i>	1645
2.4	SAKR, Faiza Mahmoud, <i>New Foundation Deposits of Kom el-Hisn</i>	1657
6.3	SALES, José das Candeias, <i>Termes et concepts dans le protocole pharaonique des Lagides. Le cas du nom d'Horus</i>	1673

8.3	SANDRI, Sandra, <i>Har-pa-chered (Harpokrates). Die Genese eines göttlichen Kindes</i>	1685
8.3	SHALOMI-HEN, Racheli, <i>The Earliest Pictorial Representation of Osiris</i>	1695
12.2	SILVANO F., COLOMBINI, M.P., MODUGNO, F., RIBECHINI, E., <i>Roman Amphorae from Fayum Oasis (Medinet Madi)</i>	1705
13	SOLKIN, Victor V., <i>The Sphinxes of Amenhotep III. in St. Petersburg: Unique Monuments and their Restoration</i>	1713
8.3	SPIESER, Cathie, <i>Le sang et la vie éternelle dans le culte solaire amarnien</i>	1719
11	STROUHAL, Eugen, <i>Anthropological and Palaeopathological Examination of Persons Buried in the Shaft Tomb of Iufaa at Abusir (Egypt)</i>	1729
14	SUITA, Hiroshi, AKARISH, Adel I.M., NISHIURA, Tadateru, SHOAB, Ahmed S.A., YONEDA, Fumitaka, <i>The Restoration Project of the Burial Chamber of the Mastaba of Idout in Saqqara, Egypt</i>	1741
13	SUZUKI, Madoka, <i>Les antiquités égyptiennes conservées dans les musées nationaux et dans les collections privées au Japon</i>	1749
12.2	TAKAMIYA, Izumi H., <i>Blue-Painted Pottery from a New Kingdom Site at North Saqqara: A Preliminary Report of the Waseda University Expedition</i>	1757
1.1	TASSIE, Geoffrey J., <i>Have we Dug Ourselves into a Hole? Reappraising Excavation Methodology and Approaches in Egyptian Archaeology (Part Two): Kafr Hassan Dawood, A Case Study</i>	1769
11	TATOMIR, Renata, wd3.t, ir.t, ir.ty dw.ty et ir.t bin.t. <i>Aspects magiques, physiologiques et psychologiques concernant l'œil en Égypte ancienne</i>	1783
4.6	TAWFIK, Tarek S., <i>The Tomb as Temple in the New Kingdom at Saqqara</i>	1791
9	TAZAWA, Keiko, <i>Syro-Palestinian Deities in the New Kingdom: Reschef, Seth and Baal</i>	1799
6.2	THIERS, Christophe, <i>Missions épigraphiques de l'IFAO dans les villes méridionales du palladium thébain</i>	1807
2.2	TORCIA RIGILLO, Maria, <i>Clay-Sealings from the Giza Pyramids Area</i> ..	1817
3.1	TRAPANI, Marcella, <i>A Prominent Family from Edfu in the Second Intermediate Period (A Study of Stela CGC 20530 = JdE 22183)</i>	1827
1.4	TRISTANT, Yann, DE DAPPER, Morgan, MIDANT-REYNES, Béatrix, <i>Recherches géo-archéologiques sur le site pré- et protodynastique de Kôm el-Khilgan (Delta du Nil). Résultats préliminaires des campagnes de prospection 2002-2004</i>	1841
10	ULJAS, Sami, «Nominal Forms» and Irrealis in Earlier Egyptian Complementatation	1851
2.4	VALLOGIA, Michel, <i>Le complexe funéraire de Radjedef à Abu Rawash: bilan et perspectives au terme de dix saisons</i>	1861
8.2	VALLÉE, Brigitte, <i>Les hypocéphales</i>	1869

1.2	VELDMEIJER, A.J., <i>The PalArch Foundation: New Way of Publishing in Egyptology</i>	1881
10	VENTURINI, Isabelle, <i>Le statut des exercices scolaires au Nouvel Empire: balbutiements d'écoliers ou entraînements d'étudiants?</i>	1885
1.5	VERGNIEUX, Robert, <i>Égyptologie et technologies nouvelles (groupe «Informatique et Égyptologie»): liminaire</i>	1897
8.1	VERHOEVEN, Ursula, <i>Das Kind im Gehörn der Himmelskuh und vergleichbare Rinderomotive</i>	1899
8.1	VUILLEUMIER, Sandrine, <i>Un nouvel ensemble tardif de rituels sur papyrus</i>	1911
10	WARBURTON, David A., <i>La terminologie des couleurs</i>	1919
8.3	WENZEL, Diana, <i>The Use of the Term Khefethernebes as a Divine Epithet</i>	1927
8.1	WERNING, Daniel A., <i>An Interpretation of the Stemmata of the Books of the Netherworld in the New Kingdom — Tomb Decoration and the Text Additions for Osiris NN</i>	1935
4.3	WILBRINK, Heleen, <i>Stelae and Stelophorous Statues with Hymns to the Sun in Deir el-Medina Tomb Chapels</i>	1951
4.4	XEKALAKI, Georgia, <i>The Procession of Royal Daughters in Medinet Habu and their Ritualistic Role: Origins and Evolution</i>	1959
7.1	YAMANI, Sayed, <i>Roman Necropolis in Ezbet Bashendi, Dakhla Oasis Egypt</i>	1967
6.2	ZAKI, Gihane, <i>L'île de Philæ, entre gloire et abandon. D'après les textes ptolémaïques, romains et les extraits des récits des chroniqueurs arabes</i>	1985
2.1	ZAKRZEWSKI, Sonia R., <i>Gender Relations and Social Organisation in Predynastic and Early Dynastic Periods</i>	2005
2.4	ZIEGLER, Christiane, LECUYOT, Guy, <i>Mission archéologique du Musée du Louvre à Saqqara: dernières découvertes</i>	2021

THE DEVELOPMENT OF ART IN THE EASTERN AND GIS CEMETERIES
AT GIZA DURING THE FOURTH DYNASTY:
ICONOGRAPHY AND STYLE

LAUREL FLENTYE

A comparative study of the decorative programs in the Eastern and GIS cemeteries at Giza in coordination with the architectural expansion reveals how iconography, style, and technical features impact the development of art during the Fourth Dynasty of the Old Kingdom Period. The Eastern and GIS cemeteries are located adjacent to Khufu's pyramid, but the period of construction and decoration of the selected group of mastabas and rock-cut chapel extends from the reign of Khufu through the early Fifth Dynasty, ca. 2551 to 2438 B.C.¹ Through an analysis of the iconography, style, and technical features in the mastabas and rock-cut chapel, patterns of similarity and difference are created. Although certain elements of the decorative programs are unchanging and essential to the offering cult, such as images of the tomb owner and offering bearers, the introduction of new subject matter suggests that the artistic repertoire is developing in conjunction with changes in ideology. The architectural expansion of the Eastern and GIS cemeteries over time also implies that different groups of artisans were involved in their decoration. How style and carving techniques are affected by these different groups may express overall developments occurring throughout the Giza Necropolis, presumably as a result of the exchange of ideas between the artisans of the royal pyramid complexes and the surrounding cemeteries. Through a study of the royal reliefs excavated at Giza, blocks reused in the pyramid complex of Amenemhat I at Lisht, and royal statuary, an iconographical, stylistic, and technical framework can be established with the decoration in the mastabas and rock-cut chapels in the Eastern and GIS cemeteries revealing how the art is developing during the reigns of Khufu, Khafra, and Menkaura.

I. THE EASTERN CEMETERY: ARCHITECTURAL EXPANSION

A study of the development of art in the Eastern Cemetery, located east of Khufu's pyramid, during the Fourth Dynasty is based upon five different phases of architectural

¹ These dates are based on the chronology used by the Metropolitan Museum of Art. See J.P. Allen, «Dynastic and Regnal Dates,» in Dorothea Arnold *et al.*, *Egyptian Art in the Age of the Pyramids* (New York, 1999), p. xx.

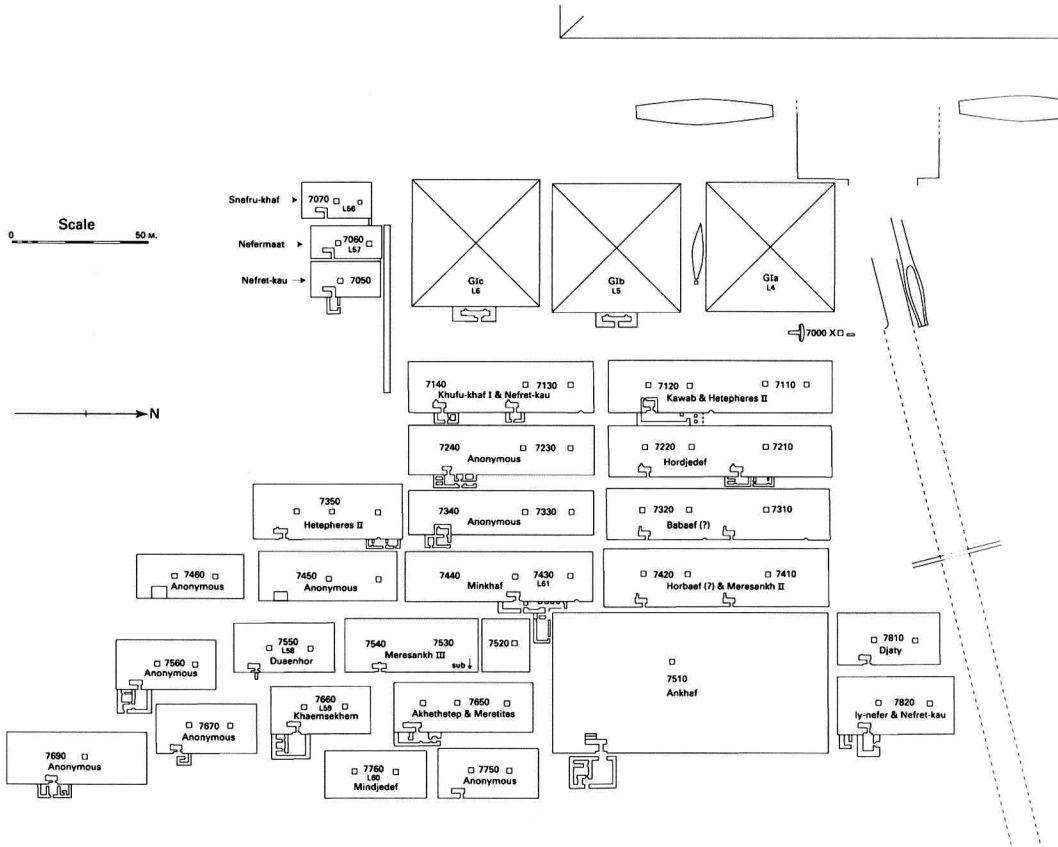


Fig. 1. Plan of the Eastern Cemetery (G7000)
(Drawing by Barbara Harper after Reisner, *Giza I*, general plan).

expansion using the archaeological evidence, including graffiti and inscriptions (Fig. 1). The Eastern Cemetery 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 Phases one and two include the conversion of the twelve original cores into eight twin-mastabas,³ whose owners probably were the sons and daughters of

² G.A. Reisner, *A History of the Giza Necropolis*, I (Cambridge, MA, 1942), p. 25; P. Der Manuelian, Giza Archives Project Director, Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, personal communication.

³ The tomb owners of the eight twin-mastabas are: Kawab and Hetepheres II (G7110/7120), Khufu-khaf I and Nefret-kau (G7130/7140), Hordjedef and wife (G7210/7220), Anonymous (G7230/7240), Babaef (?) and wife (G7310/7320), Anonymous (G7330/7340), Horbaef (?) and Meresankh II (G7410/7420), and Minkhaf (G7430/7440).

Khufu.⁴ However, Jánosi has suggested that Kawab (G7120) may be a «(half-)brother, cousin, or nephew» of Khufu.⁵ The large-scale mastaba of Ankhaf (G7510) is also included within phases one and two based upon the architectural and inscriptional evidence,⁶ although Reisner dated it following the construction of the eight-twin mastabas during the reign of Khafra.⁷ Phase three includes two mastabas in the «en échelon» section: Akhethetep and Meretites (G7650) and G7530/7540 assigned to Hetepheres II.⁸ Meretites and Hetepheres II may be daughters of Khufu suggesting that this area could have been reserved for daughters of the king.⁹ Phase four includes eight nummulitic mastabas in the «en échelon» section, the area South of queen's pyramid GI-c, and North of Ankhaf's mastaba (G7510) in addition to mastaba G7050 assigned to Nefretkau, which is of fine quality limestone.¹⁰ Reisner and Smith dated these eight nummulitic mastabas from mid-Khafra through Menkaura.¹¹ The mastabas of Duaenhor (G7550), Khaemsekhem (G7660), Mindjedef (G7760), and possibly Djaty (G7810) probably belong to younger sons of Khufu based on their titles with *n jt.f*¹² as opposed

⁴ For the owners of the eight twin-mastabas, see Reisner, *Giza I*, p. 27, 72, 205-207 (8-17); G.A. Reisner and W.S. Smith, *A History of the Giza Necropolis, II, The Tomb of Hetep-heres the Mother of Cheops* (Cambridge, MA, 1955), p. 5-8, 10-11.

⁵ Rather than the highest ranking sons closest to the queens' pyramids, Jánosi suggests that Kawab's relationship to the king may be of the same generation. See P. Jánosi, *Giza in der 4. Dynastie: Die Baugeschichte und Belegung einer Nekropole des Alten Reiches. I. Die Mastabas der Kernfriedhöfe und die Felsgräber*, DÖAW 30 (Vienna, 2005), p. 102-103.

⁶ Ankhaf's mastaba aligns with queens' pyramids GI-a and GI-b on the north and south. The offering chapel consists of two false doors, an early chapel type. For the plan of the chapel, see Reisner, *Giza I*, p. 46, 213, figs. 8, 122. For an earlier dating of Ankhaf's mastaba (G7510) to Khufu's reign, see N. Strudwick, *The Administration of Egypt in the Old Kingdom: The Highest Titles and their Holders* (London, Boston, Henley and Melbourne, 1985), p. 41-43, 77-78 (34); Jánosi, *Giza in der 4. Dynastie*, 89, 109-111, figs. 5a, b. Ankhaf's titles include: *z3 [nswt] n ht.f smsw*, and he may be a son of Snefru. For Ankhaf's titles and his relationship to Khufu, see Strudwick, *Administration*, p. 77-78 (34); M. Baud, *Famille royale et pouvoir sous l'Ancien Empire égyptien 2, BdE 126/2* (Cairo, 1999), p. 424-425 (35). Jánosi does argue that he may be of the same generation as the king, such as «(half-)brother, or another relative.» See Jánosi, *Giza in der 4. Dynastie*, p. 111.

⁷ For Reisner's dating of Ankhaf's mastaba (G7510), see Reisner, *Giza I*, p. 28, 148, 212 (4), 308 (d.1b).

⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 28, 207 (18), 212 (5).

⁹ Meretites' titles include: *hmt ntr Hwfw* and *z3t nswt nt ht.f*. For Meretites' titles, see Baud, *Famille royale 2*, p. 469-470 (86). Hetepheres' titles include: *z3t nswt bjtj Hwfw* and *z3t nswt nt ht.f*. For Hetepheres II's titles in the rock-cut chapel of her daughter (G7530sub), Meresankh III, see D. Dunham and W. K. Simpson, *The Mastaba of Queen Mersyankh III: G7530-7540*, *Giza Mastabas 1* (Boston, 1974), p. 10, 13-14, 21, pls. IIIa, IV, VIIc, XV, figs. 4, 7, 14; Baud, *Famille royale 2*, p. 527-528 (163).

¹⁰ The eight nummulitic mastabas belong to: Duaenhor (G7550), Khaemsekhem (G7660), Anonymous (G7750), Mindjedef (G7760), Nefermaat (G7060), Snefru-khaf (G7070), Djaty (G7810), and Iy-nefer and Nefretkau (G7820). See Reisner, *Giza I*, p. 208-209 (27-34). For mastaba G7050 assigned to Nefretkau, see Reisner, *Giza I*, p. 60, 73, 207 (21), 308 (d.1e).

¹¹ Reisner dated the eight nummulitic mastabas from mid-Khafra through mid-Menkaura, see Reisner, *Giza I*, p. 28, 308-309. Smith dated them from late Khafra to Menkaura, see W.S. Smith, *A History of Egyptian Sculpture and Painting in the Old Kingdom* (Boston and London, 1946; reprint, New York, 1978), p. 164.

¹² For the use of *n jt.f* in their titles, see H. Junker, *Giza II. Die Mastabas der beginnenden V. Dynastie auf dem Westfriedhof* (Vienna and Leipzig, 1934), p. 33-34; K. Baer, *Rank and Title in the Old Kingdom:*

to Reisner's theory that they are actually grandsons of the king.¹³ Mastabas G7050 assigned to Nefret-kau, Nefermaat (G7060), and Snefru-khaf (G7070) may also form a family unit as mother, son, and grandson based upon the inscriptional evidence.¹⁴ However, the assignment of mastaba G7050 to Nefret-kau, who may be a daughter of Snefru based on the inscriptions in the mastabas of Nefermaat (G7060) and Snefru-khaf (G7070), is problematic since her burial should be near that king rather than at Giza.¹⁵ The fifth phase of expansion includes mastabas South of the eight-twin mastabas and the «en échelon» section¹⁶ in addition to the rock-cut chapel of Mersankh III (G7530sub), who is considered to be a granddaughter of Khufu through inscriptional evidence. Reisner dated mastaba G7350 and Anonymous mastaba (G7450) after year 13 of Khafra;¹⁷ while, he placed the Anonymous mastabas (G7560, 7670, and 7690) from Menkaura through the end of Neferirkara's reign.¹⁸

II. THE GIS CEMETERY: ARCHITECTURAL EXPANSION

A study of the mastabas in the GIS Cemetery, South of Khufu's pyramid, provides additional information for the development of art during the late Fourth and early Fifth Dynasties (Fig. 2). The GIS Cemetery was excavated by Hermann Junker of the Austrian Expedition to Giza between 1927 and 1929.¹⁹ Another mastaba, GXS, was excavated by Zahi Hawass South of the satellite pyramid of Khufu (GI-d).²⁰ The construction of the GIS Cemetery may date from the end of Khufu's reign through Menkaura based upon the archaeological and inscriptional evidence.²¹ However, the

The Structure of the Egyptian Administration in the Fifth and Sixth Dynasties (Chicago, 1960), p. 78 (175), 154-155 (579); Strudwick, *Administration*, p. 165; Baud, *Famille royale* 2, p. 457 (71), 590-591 (236), 607-608 (249).

¹³ For Reisner's reconstruction of the family relationships among the tomb owners of the nummulitic mastabas, see Reisner, *Giza I*, p. 208-209 (27-30, 33-34).

¹⁴ G. Reisner, *ZÄS* 64 (1929), p. 97-99, pls. II, III; *Ibid.*, p. 28, 207 (21), 209 (31-32); Baud, *Famille royale* 2, p. 490-491 (118), 501-502 (131), 571 (211).

¹⁵ I am grateful to Peter Jánosi for his comments regarding mastaba G7050.

¹⁶ Phase five includes: mastaba G7350 assigned to Hetepheres II, Anonymous mastabas (G7450, G7460, G7560, G7670, and G7690).

¹⁷ Reisner, *Giza I*, p. 73.

¹⁸ G.A. Reisner, *Giza II* (unpub.), App. B, 116 (12).

¹⁹ H. Junker, *AnzAWW* 65 (1929), p. 148-152, pl. Ib; Reisner, *Giza I*, p. 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), p. 68, plan 3; P. Der Manuelian, «Excavating the Old Kingdom: The Giza Necropolis and Other Mastaba Fields» in *Egyptian Art in the Age of the Pyramids* (New York, 1999), p. 146; Jánosi, *Giza in der 4. Dynastie*, p. 255.

²⁰ For the plan of 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 1* (Boston, 1996), p. 380, fig. 1. Also, see Jánosi, *Giza in der 4. Dynastie*, p. 254, 263-264, fig. 56.

²¹ The construction sequence in the GIS Cemetery depends upon the removal of the ramp on the south side of Khufu's pyramid, which lead from the quarry further South. In addition, graffiti on mastaba GVIS

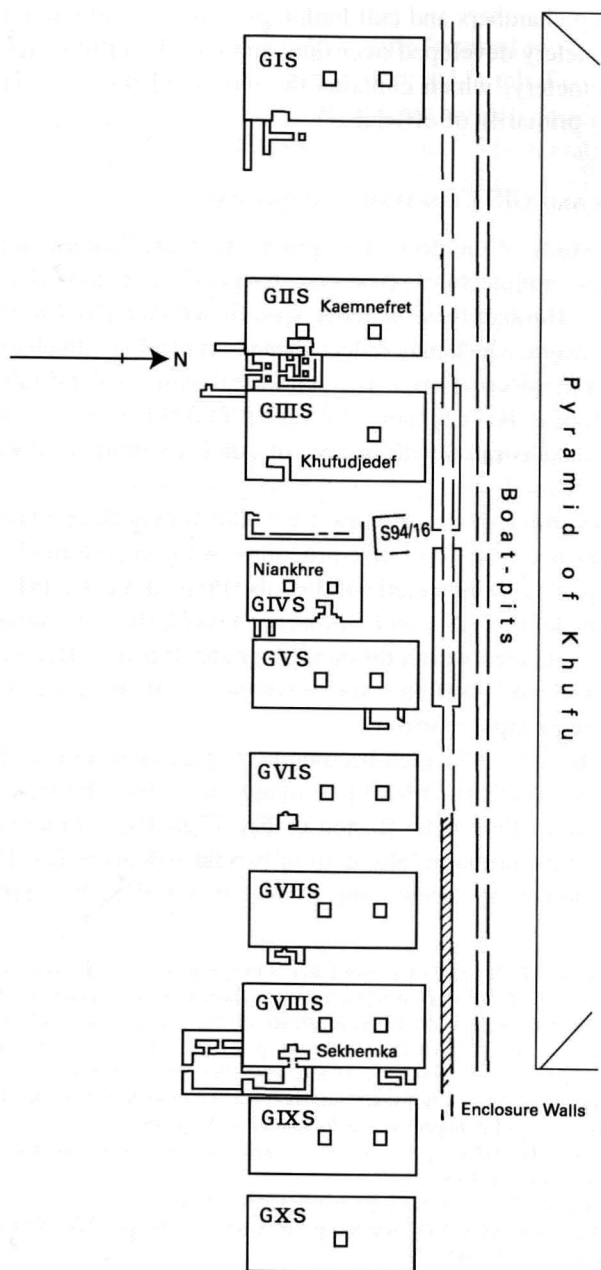


Fig. 2. Plan of the GIS Cemetery
 (Drawing by Barbara Harper after *PM III*², plan 19 (1)).

addition of offering chambers and cult buildings to the row of ten mastabas demonstrates that the cemetery developed over time and into the Fifth Dynasty. In contrast to the Eastern Cemetery, which contains the burials of the royal family, the GIS Cemetery consists primarily of officials.²²

III. THE EASTERN AND GIS CEMETERIES: ICONOGRAPHY

A comparative study of the decorative programs in the Eastern and GIS cemeteries based upon these architectural phases creates patterns of similarity and difference in the iconography. Through these patterns, specific iconography can be identified for each phase of expansion, which may reflect changes in ideology. In phase two, there are similar patterns in the decoration of the entrance thicknesses and false door panels. In the chapels of Kawab (G7120) and Khufu-khaf I (G7140), the entrance thicknesses are reconstructed or decorated with images of Anubis within an offering formula.²³ This iconography is used later by Kawab's daughter, Meresankh III, in the decoration of her entrance thicknesses of phase five²⁴ illustrating the possible influence of family relationships upon the decorative programs. Another pattern of similarity is the decoration of the panels on either side of the false doors in the chapels of Khufu-khaf I (G7140),²⁵ Hordjedef (G7220), and Horbaef (?) (G7420)²⁶ with images of offering stands and bowls. Yet, even within this similarity are stylistic differences as the high, bold relief of Khufu-khaf I's offering stands contrasts with the low relief in Hordjedef suggesting different groups of artisans.

In phase three, images of women become more prevalent. In the chapel of Akhetetep and Meretites (G7650), Meretites' image, including the Relief of Meretites now in the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston (MFA 37.2620),²⁷ is more prominent due to the assignment of the northern false door of two false doors to her. Her children are also more conspicuous in the decoration,²⁸ which may reflect the increased emphasis

give dates and the name of Menkaura. For a discussion of the graffiti, see H. Junker, *AnzAWW* 66 (1930), 81-82 (1); H. Junker, *Giza X. Der Friedhof südlich der Cheopspyramide: Westteil* (Vienna, 1951), p. 75, 77-78 (9, 10), fig. 35 (9, 10); A.M. Roth, *Egyptian Phyles in the Old Kingdom: The Evolution of a System of Social Organization*, *SAOC* 48 (Chicago, 1991), p. 13-15, 130-132, fig. 2.2; A. Spalinger, *SAK* 21 (1994), p. 289 (3, 6); Jánosi, *Giza in der 4. Dynastie*, p. 257-258, 442, Tab. C5.

²² However, Junker believed that Khufudjedef (GIIS) may be of higher status due to his title, *z3 nswt*, and the type of construction of his mastaba. See Junker, *Giza X*, p. 45.

²³ W.K. Simpson, *The Mastabas of Kawab, Khafkhufu I and II*, *Giza Mastabas 3* (Boston, 1978), p. 2, 10, pls. Va, XVa, b, figs. 5, 10A, 24, 25.

²⁴ Dunham and Simpson, *Mersyankh III*, p. 4, 8-9, pl. IIc, d, figs. 3a, b.

²⁵ For Khufu-khaf I's chapel (G7140), see Simpson, *Kawab*, p. 16, pls. XX, XXIa, fig. 32.

²⁶ Reisner, *Giza I*, p. 341-342 (d26-28).

²⁷ See Smith, *HESPOK*, p. 160-161, pl. 41a; W.S. Smith, *Ancient Egypt as represented in The Museum of Fine Arts* (Boston, 1952), p. 34, 36, fig. 15 for the Relief of Meretites.

²⁸ For the two children represented on the relief in the Calouste Gulbenkian Museum, Lisbon, see Smith, *HESPOK*, p. 160-161, pl. 41b; M.H.T. Lopes, «Relief Block from the Tomb of Princess Merit-ites and

upon the sun-god²⁹ as family images become more frequent in royal statuary during Djedefra's reign.³⁰ The emphasis upon family portraits in relief continues into phase four as opposed to Stadelmann's theory that there are actually fewer family representations in royal statuary during Khafra and Menkaura.³¹ The female offering bearers on the north wall in mastaba G7530/7540 of phase three may be oriented towards an image of a female tomb owner similar to the iconography in the rock-cut chapel of Meresankh III (G7530sub) below.³²

Phase four of the Eastern Cemetery exhibits several patterns of similarity in the iconography suggesting that it was a dynamic period of development and artistic change. The entrance thicknesses of the mastabas of Duaenhor (G7550), Khaemsekhem (G7660), Mindjedef (G7760), and Djaty (G7810) show the tomb owner and his wife seated and facing to the East, usually with an offering table in front.³³ On the interior of the offering chamber, as opposed to phases two and three which typically show the tomb owner on the northern end of the east wall facing South,³⁴ phase four mastabas usually have the tomb owner on the southern end oriented to the North in a «viewing» scene.³⁵ One of the themes of these «viewing» scenes is agriculture. Images of sheep and/or goats on the east walls in the mastabas of Duaenhor (G7550) and Djaty (G7810)³⁶ in probable scenes of sowing contribute to the development of this theme. This subject matter also appears in the decoration of the rock-cut chapel of Meresankh III (G7530sub) of phase five demonstrating the importance of these «fields» to the afterlife of the tomb owner.³⁷ Finally, the use of «palace façade»

Akhti-hetep» in Katharine Baetjer and James David Draper (eds), *“Only the Best:” Masterpieces of the Calouste Gulbenkian Museum, Lisbon* (New York, 1999), p. 24 (6).

²⁹ A.M. Roth, *JARCE* 30 (1993), p. 54.

³⁰ 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), p. 48, 60, fig. 8a, b; R. Stadelmann, «Représentations de la famille royale dans l'Ancien Empire» in *L'art de l'Ancien Empire égyptien* (Paris, 1999), p. 175, 188, fig. 8a, b.

³¹ Stadelmann in *L'art de l'Ancien Empire égyptien*, p. 175-176.

³² For the north wall in mastaba G7530/7540, see Dunham and Simpson, *Mersyankh III*, p. 3, pl. XIIIa; Simpson, *Kawab*, fig. 72.

³³ For the mastabas of Khaemsekhem (G7660) and Mindjedef (G7760), see Reisner, *Giza I*, p. 318 (16, 25), 319 (2a). For Mindjedef's mastaba (G7760), see *LD I*, Text, 84-85 (60); *LD II*, pl. 33a; H. Junker, *Giza III. Die Mastabas der vorgeschrittenen V. Dynastie auf dem Westfriedhof* (Vienna and Leipzig, 1938), p. 45 (38).

³⁴ In Khufu-khaf I's offering chamber (G7140) of phase two, the tomb owner is shown seated on the northern end of the east wall oriented to the South. See Simpson, *Kawab*, p. 13, pl. XVIII, fig. 30. In Akhetetep and Meretites' offering chamber (G7650) of phase three, the tomb owner and his wife are shown standing and facing to the South on the east wall with several of their children.

³⁵ The mastabas of phase four that depict the tomb owner on the southern end oriented to the North include: Duaenhor (G7550), Khaemsekhem (G7660), and Djaty (G7810). Nefermaat is shown with his wife on the southern end of the east wall in G7060.

³⁶ For the east wall in Djaty's mastaba (G7810), see Reisner, *Giza I*, p. 322 n. 1.

³⁷ Dunham and Simpson, *Mersyankh III*, p. 4, 11, pl. IV, fig. 4.



Fig. 3. Detail of the «Palace Façade» Decoration on the Embrasure of Khufudjedef's mastaba (GIIS), GIS Cemetery (Photograph published with the permission of Dr. Zahi Hawass, Secretary-General, Supreme Council of Antiquities, Egypt).

decoration on the west walls of phase four mastabas³⁸ reflects overall changes occurring throughout the Giza Necropolis as it is also a feature of the rock-cut chapels of the sons of Khafra in the Central Field.³⁹ In Nefermaat's mastaba (G7060), the addition of «palace façade» decoration to the west wall alters its design with images of

³⁸ These mastabas include: Mindjedef (G7760), mastaba G7050 assigned to Nefret-kau, Nefermaat (G7060), Snefru-khaf (G7070), and Djaty (G7810). See Reisner, *Giza I*, p. 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 and B. Mathieu (eds), *Études sur l'Ancien Empire et la nécropole de Saqqâra dédiées à Jean-Philippe Lauer 1, OrMonsp 9* (Montpellier, 1997), p. 12-13 (1.4.5, 1.4.6).

³⁹ I am grateful to Peter Jánosi for his comments regarding the development of «palace façade» decoration at Giza.

the tomb owner and/or his wife oriented inwards on either side replacing registers with estates and offering bearers.⁴⁰ In the GIS Cemetery, the decoration of the embrasure of Khufudjedef's mastaba (GIIS) with «palace façade» decoration shows how such motifs were assimilated by other cemeteries at Giza⁴¹ (Fig. 3).

Finally, a distinct feature of the iconography in phases four and five is the increased scale of children of the tomb owner.⁴² On a relief assigned to mastaba G7350, which is now in the Egyptian Museum, Cairo (JE 54939),⁴³ the younger female's scale is probably related to her status as suggested by the inscription above, *hmt nswt mr*. The increased scale of sons in phases four and five is made possible due to the absence of the wife on certain sections of the chapel that were originally reserved for her image. The replacement of the wife by the tomb owner's son must be related to his increased importance within the offering cult.

IV. THE EASTERN CEMETERY: STYLE

A comparative study of style and technical features of the relief decoration in the Eastern and GIS cemeteries reveals the diverse character of the development of art during the Fourth Dynasty. In his analysis, Junker identified a «Gîza-Stil» based on its «monumental and austere» style;⁴⁴ while, Reisner characterized two different styles or schools, Sculptors A and B, using the stylistic features of the statuary of Khafra and Menkaura.⁴⁵ Based upon the five phases of expansion in the Eastern Cemetery, the style of the reliefs differs due to many influences including the type of limestone, fine quality versus nummulitic.

The mastabas in phase two, the eight twin-mastabas and the mastaba of Ankhaf (G7510), are carved primarily in low relief from fine quality limestone.⁴⁶ This low

⁴⁰ For the west wall in Nefermaat's mastaba (G7060), see *LD I*, Text, 82-83 (57); *LD II*, pl. 17a; Junker, *Gîza III*, p. 45 (36).

⁴¹ Reisner, *Gîza I*, p. 381 (c2); Junker, *Gîza X*, p. 47, 51, 52, figs. 23, 24, pls. IIIc, IVa.

⁴² This development occurs in the mastabas of Snefru-khaf (G7070), Djaty (G7810), G7350 assigned to Hetepheres II, and possibly Anonymous (G7750) and Iy-nefer and Nefret-kau (G7820), and the rock-cut chapel of Meresankh III (G7530sub).

⁴³ «Relief der Königin Hetep-heres II» in *Nofret-Die Schöne: Die Frau im Alten Ägypten* (Cairo and Mainz, 1984), p. 60 (23); P. Jánosi, *ZÄS* 123 (1996), p. 56, fig. 5.

⁴⁴ For the «Gîza-Stil», see H. Junker, *ZÄS* 63 (1928), 1-14; H. Junker, *Gîza I. Die Mastabas der IV. Dynastie auf dem Westfriedhof* (Vienna and Leipzig, 1929), p. 74-81, figs. 6, 7; R. Stadelmann, «Der Strenge Stil der frühen Vierten Dynastie» in Rainer Stadelmann *et al.*, *Kunst des Alten Reiches, SDAIK* 28 (Mainz am Rhein, 1995), p. 155; Jánosi, *Gîza in der 4. Dynastie*, 79-84. For a recent discussion of Stadelmann's assessment of the «Gîza-Stil», see P. Der Manuelian, *Slab Stelae of the Giza Necropolis*, Publications of the Pennsylvania-Yale Expedition to Egypt 7 (New Haven and Philadelphia, 2003), p. 138.

⁴⁵ Sculptor A worked in a more severe style; while, Sculptor B was more realistic in his approach emphasizing a softer appearance. See G.A. Reisner, *Mycerinus: The Temples of The Third Pyramid at Giza* (Cambridge, MA, 1931), p. 127-129; Smith, *HESPOK*, p. 35-36 for a discussion of these two styles.

⁴⁶ However, relief fragments with hieroglyphs from Babae (?) and wife (G7310/7320) and Horbaef (?) and Meresankh II (G7410/7420) are carved in a low to medium style.

relief style was classified by William Stevenson Smith based upon the slab-stelae, reliefs from the royal pyramid complexes, including those reused in the pyramid complex of Amenemhat I at Lisht, and queen's pyramid GI-b as well as several mastabas in the Eastern and Western cemeteries at Giza.⁴⁷ However, there are two exceptions among the mastabas of phase two, Kawab (G7110/7120) and Khufu-khaf I (G7130/7140), which actually possess all three types: low, medium, and high relief. The presence of high, bold carving in the chapel of Khufu-khaf I (G7140), particularly the definition of the musculature through a series of ridges and grooves, is similar to the carving of reliefs from Junker's mastaba II n (G4260) in the Western Cemetery and now in the Pelizaeus-Museum, Hildesheim, which are dated from Khufu through Djedefra⁴⁸ (Fig. 4). Even offering bearers in Khufu-khaf I's chapel (G7140) have the same diagonal groove behind the kneecap that is exhibited on a fragment from mastaba II n.⁴⁹

The discrepancy in phase two between mastabas carved in low relief and those in a higher bold style must be a result of the different groups of artisans. In contrast to the bold relief style in Khufu-khaf I's chapel (G7140), Ankhaf's mastaba (G7510) is in low relief characterized by precision carving. The modeling of the facial features on the estates and offering bearers as well as the bodies of the animals accentuates their overall structure. Although the mastaba of Ankhaf (G7510) is generally assigned to Khafra's reign based on its location outside of the eight twin-mastabas,⁵⁰ the low relief decoration compares stylistically with reliefs from Hemiuu's mastaba (G4000), royal reliefs excavated at Giza, and those reused in the pyramid complex of Amenemhat I at Lisht in addition to fragments from queen's pyramid GI-b.⁵¹ The assignment of Ankhaf's reliefs to Khufu's reign would coordinate with the theory that the mastaba was constructed in the early phases of the Eastern Cemetery.⁵²

The mastabas of phase three, Akhethetep and Meretites (G7650) and G7530/7540, represent two different styles of relief in fine quality limestone: low and medium respectively. Reisner dated the mastaba of Akhethetep and Meretites (G7650) to Khafra based upon its construction and location outside of the eight twin-mastabas.⁵³ Although the graffiti associated with Akhethetep and Meretites' mastaba (G7650), year of the 12th occasion and year of the 13th occasion, would place it late in Khafra's

⁴⁷ For the low relief style, see Smith, *HESPOK*, p. 160, 361.

⁴⁸ See Junker, *Giza I*, p. 188-190, fig. 37 (1, 2, 8), pl. XXXa, b; Smith, *HESPOK*, p. 162; K. Martin, *Reliefs des Alten Reiches 2*, CAA Pelizaeus-Museum Hildesheim 7 (Mainz am Rhein, 1979), p. 9-14 (2382, 2383) for the relief fragments from Junker's mastaba II n (G4260).

⁴⁹ For the offering bearers in Khufu-khaf I's chapel (G7140), see Simpson, *Kawab*, p. 16, pl. XXb, fig. 32. For the offering bearer (?) in mastaba II n, see Martin, *Reliefs des Alten Reiches 2*, p. 20-25 (8).

⁵⁰ Reisner, *Giza I*, p. 28, 73, 84 (f), 212 (4), 308 (d.1b).

⁵¹ This stylistic comparison was already noted by Smith, although he also dated Ankhaf's mastaba (G7510) to Khafra similar to Reisner. See Smith, *HESPOK*, p. 160, 361.

⁵² For the dating of Ankhaf's reliefs to Khufu's reign, see Jánosi, *Giza in der 4. Dynastie*, p. 111.

⁵³ Reisner, *Giza I*, p. 28, 73, 84 (f), 212 (5), 308 (d.1c).



Fig. 4. Khufu-khaf I, East wall of Offering Chamber (G7140)
(Photograph published with the permission of Dr. Zahi Hawass, Secretary-General,
Supreme Council of Antiquities, Egypt).

reign,⁵⁴ a date in Khufu is also proposed for the graffiti depending upon a longer reign length for that king.⁵⁵ The relief decoration is low and delicate and has stylistic features characteristic of both Djedefra and Khafra. Meretites' face retains the «bony structure» and sharply outlined lips of the Head of King Djedefra in the Louvre (E 12626).⁵⁶ However, the treatment of her eyebrow as a «ribbon» coupled with the large, open eye more closely resembles images of Khafra.⁵⁷ The carving of minor figures in the chapel of Akhetetep and Meretites (G7650) in low relief with features in higher relief, such as the hand, is stylistically related to the relief discovered by Hölscher and assigned to Khafra's pyramid complex.⁵⁸

By contrast, mastaba G7530/7540 assigned to Hetepheres II is carved in a medium style of relief. Although Reisner dated the mastaba to Khafra based on its construction and location,⁵⁹ its reliefs lack the fine, delicate quality of carving characteristic of the mastaba of Akhetetep and Meretites (G7650).⁶⁰ In fact, the medium style of relief in mastaba G7530/7540 may actually coordinate with the nummulitic mastabas of phase four rather than phase three. It is even suggested that the decoration in this mastaba might be later than the first half of Khafra's reign,⁶¹ contrary to the graffiti giving year of the 7th occasion,⁶² which illustrates the discrepancy between construction and the actual decoration of the chapel.

In phase four, the relief style of the nummulitic mastabas and mastaba G7050 is generally of medium height.⁶³ However, there are exceptions including Anonymous mastaba (G7750), whose entrance thicknesses are carved in a high, bold style; while,

⁵⁴ For the graffiti, see *ibid.*, p. 73 n. 1; W. S. Smith, *JNES* 11 (1952), p. 119, 127-128 (11), fig. 7; Spalinger, *SAK* 21 (1994), p. 286-287 (2, 4); J.S. Nolan, «The Original Lunar Calendar and Cattle Counts in Old Kingdom Egypt» in S. Bickel and A. Loprieno (eds), *Basel Egyptology Prize I: Junior Research in Egyptian History, Archaeology, and Philology*, *AH* 17 (Basel, 2003), p. 95, Tab. 1 (54, 56).

⁵⁵ See Jánosi, *Giza in der 4. Dynastie*, p. 98 for this possibility. A year 27 in Khufu's reign was discovered near the Dakhla Oasis. See Rudolph Kuperand, Frank Förster, *EA* 23 (2003), 26 for the year 27.

⁵⁶ C. Ziegler, «Head of King Djedefre» in *Egyptian Art in the Age of the Pyramids* (New York, 1999), p. 248-249 (54). However, the ridge defining her mouth is also apparent on a head of Khafra (MFA 21.351).

⁵⁷ C. Ziegler, «Head of King Khafre» in *Egyptian Art in the Age of the Pyramids* (New York, 1999), 255 (58). However, Meretites' eyebrow tapers more than on the images of Khafra.

⁵⁸ For the relief assigned to Khafra's pyramid complex, see U. Hölscher, *Das Grabdenkmal des Königs Chephren*, Sieglin Exp., vol. I, (Leipzig, 1912), p. 110-111, figs. 162, 163. See Do. Arnold, «Group of Archers» in *Egyptian Art in the Age of the Pyramids* (New York, 1999), p. 264-267 (66), particularly 267 n. 13 for the style of the relief.

⁵⁹ Reisner, *Giza* I, p. 28, 73, 84 (f), 207 (18), 308 (d.1d).

⁶⁰ The relief is higher in mastaba G7530/7540. In both mastabas, the edges of the relief are rounded; however, in the mastaba of Akhetetep and Meretites (G7650), they are more angled shaping the relief.

⁶¹ I am grateful to Peter Jánosi for his comments regarding mastaba G7530/7540; and, in particular, his theories concerning the use of «palace façade» decoration as traces of niching were found in G7530/7540. For this niching, see Reisner, *Giza* I, p. 381 (e1); Altenmüller, *Études Lauer* 1, p. 13 (1.4.6).

⁶² For the graffiti, see Smith, *JNES* 11 (1952), p. 119, 127 (9), fig. 7; Dunham and Simpson, *Merysankh* III, 3, fig. 1b, c.

⁶³ Smith, *HESPOK*, p. 164. In the nummulitic mastabas, the edges of the relief are generally more angled than the relief in the chapels of fine quality limestone, particularly among the eight-twin mastabas.

the false door, carved from a block of fine quality limestone, is in low relief.⁶⁴ Smith remarked upon the medium style of relief in these nummulitic mastabas⁶⁵ but its earlier appearance in the chapels of Kawab (G7120) and Khufu-khaf I (G7140) of phase two already demonstrates that it was in use among the eight twin-mastabas.

In phase four, there are distinct patterns of similarity in the carving of certain features. A large, open eye is characteristic of this phase occurring in the decoration of the mastabas of Snefru-khaf (G7070), Djaty (G7810), and Iy-nefer and Nefret-kau (G7820). This type of eye is less well-defined as those decorating mastabas in phases two and three, such as Khufu-khaf I (G7140) and Akhethetep and Meretites (G7650). The emphasis upon a large, open eye may derive from the statuary of Khafra and, more particularly, Menkaura, who is shown with «bulging» eyes.⁶⁶

Another characteristic feature of phase four is the broad, almost rectangular treatment of the shoulders. This appears in the mastabas of Khaemsekhem (G7660), Anonymous (G7750), Snefru-khaf (G7070), and Djaty (G7810). In Khaemsekhem's mastaba (G7660), the emphasis upon the shoulder area is enhanced by the short necks of the tomb owner and his wife. The high placement of the shoulder level and the musculature resemble the alabaster seated statue of Menkaura in the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston (MFA 09.204).⁶⁷

Evidence for the interconnections between royal statuary and relief decoration in phase four is apparent in the articulated musculature of the legs. This occurs primarily on images of the tomb owner but also on subsidiary figures as well. The knees have a distinct cavity behind the kneecap;⁶⁸ while, the structure and musculature of the legs are well defined.⁶⁹ This type of modeling is also apparent on statues of Khafra and, more particularly, Menkaura.⁷⁰ Interestingly, this style or treatment of the leg is also a feature of the decoration in the mastaba of Duaenra (G5110) in the Western Cemetery at Giza, which is dated to Menkaura.⁷¹

⁶⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 164.

⁶⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 162, 249.

⁶⁶ For Menkaura's «bulging eyes», see Reisner, *Mycerinus*, p. 127-128; C. Ziegler, «King Menkaure and a Queen» and «Head of Menkaure» in *Egyptian Art in the Age of the Pyramids* (New York, 1999), p. 269-271 (67), 273-274 (69); C. H. Roehrig, «Head of King Menkaure as a Young Man» in *Egyptian Art in the Age of the Pyramids* (New York, 1999), p. 274-276 (70); Do. Arnold, *When the Pyramids were Built: Egyptian Art of the Old Kingdom* (New York, 1999), p. 64, 66-68, frontispiece, figs. 55, 57.

⁶⁷ Smith, *HESPOK*, p. 35, 36, pl. 13; W.S. Smith, *Ancient Egypt as represented in the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston* (Boston, 1960), p. 46, 49, fig. 24.

⁶⁸ A cavity behind the kneecap occurs on figures in the mastabas of Anonymous (G7750), Mindjedef (G7760), Snefru-khaf (G7070), Djaty (G7810), and Iy-nefer and Nefret-kau (G7820).

⁶⁹ Modeling of the legs appears in the mastabas of Duaenhor (G7550), Khaemsekhem (G7660), Anonymous (G7750), Nefermaat (G7060), Djaty (G7810), and Iy-nefer and Nefret-kau (G7820).

⁷⁰ For the articulated musculature of Menkaura's statues, see Smith, *HESPOK*, p. 36; Ziegler, in *Egyptian Art in the Age of the Pyramids*, p. 269-271 (67).

⁷¹ See Reisner, *Giza I*, p. 218 (31), 311; Smith, *HESPOK*, p. 164, 169, n. 1 for the dating of Duaenra's mastaba (G5110) to Menkaura.

In phase five, the use of different materials⁷² in the chapels affected the carving of the relief decoration and its stylistic features, such as the painted plaster over the rock-cut walls in Meresankh III's chapel (G7530sub). This phase is characterized by both low and medium relief. Stylistically, there is a pronounced modeling of the facial features on both main and subsidiary figures. It is characterized by a cavity underneath the eye, a c-shaped depression behind the nose and at the back of the mouth with subtle musculature. The two females on the relief attributed to mastaba G7350, which is now in the Egyptian Museum, Cairo (JE 54939),⁷³ exhibit this modeling in addition to images of Hetepheres II and Meresankh III in the rock-cut chapel of Meresankh III (G7530sub).⁷⁴ The two females on the relief may also be Hetepheres II and Meresankh III.⁷⁵ In royal statuary, Menkaura is shown with «drooping lower lids»⁷⁶ with a depression below as well as fleshy cheeks with a pronounced fold adjacent to the nostrils.⁷⁷ In this respect, there is a direct correlation between the style of the relief decoration with its emphasis on the modeling of the facial features and the evidence from royal statuary.

V. GIS CEMETERY: STYLE

The relief decoration in the mastabas of Kaemnefert (GIIS) and Khufudjedef (GIIS) in the GIS Cemetery relates to a discussion of the development of art during the late Fourth and early Fifth Dynasties. These two mastabas are carved in a medium style of relief; however, they are stylistically different from the Eastern Cemetery.⁷⁸ In Khufudjedef's mastaba (GIIS), the tomb owner's facial features are

⁷² These materials include: fine quality limestone in the mastabas of G7350 assigned to Hetepheres II, Anonymous (G7450), and Anonymous (G7560); plastered mudbrick in Anonymous mastaba (G7670); and nummulitic limestone in the rock-cut chapel of Meresankh III (G7530sub). Fine quality limestone is also used for the façade and entrance thicknesses of Meresankh III's rock-cut chapel (G7530sub). The chapel of Anonymous mastaba (G7690) is destroyed. For mastaba G7350, see Smith, *HESPOK*, p. 164-165. For Anonymous mastaba (G7450), P. Der Manuelian, personal communication. For the Anonymous mastabas (G7560, G7670, G7690), see Reisner, *Giza II* (unpub.), App. B, 116, 120, 122. For the rock-cut chapel of Meresankh III (G7530sub), see Dunham and Simpson, *Mersyankh III*, p. 1, 8, pls. Ic, IIa, III-XII, XX.

⁷³ «Relief der Königin Hetep-heres II» in *Nofret-Die Schöne*, p. 60 (23).

⁷⁴ The modeling of facial features occurs on Hetepheres II and Meresankh III as well as minor figures on the east wall in the entrance chamber.

⁷⁵ For a discussion of the identity of these two females, see Jánosi, *ZÄS* 123 (1996), p. 56-57, fig. 5.

⁷⁶ See Ziegler in *Egyptian Art in the Age of the Pyramids*, p. 273 (69) for a discussion of the «drooping lower lids.»

⁷⁷ For the fleshy cheeks with folds beside the nostrils, see *ibid.*, p. 273 (69); Do. Arnold, *When the Pyramids were Built*, p. 64, 66-68, frontispiece, figs. 55, 57.

⁷⁸ Smith remarked that Khufudjedef's reliefs are carved in a medium style «tending toward the high, bold style». See Smith, *HESPOK*, p. 164. Also, there is a lack of detailed decoration of Khufudjedef's reliefs.

quite distinct from the figures of phases two through four. There is an emphasis upon a boldly rimmed eye, a strong diagonal for the jawline, and a short chin and neck. Similar features appear in the rock-cut chapel of Meresankh III (G7530sub)⁷⁹ and also on the statue of Kai with inlaid eyes in the Louvre (N 117), which may date to the early Fifth Dynasty.⁸⁰ In this respect, the decoration in Khufudjedef's mastaba (GIIS) may date to the early Fifth Dynasty in conjunction with the process of expansion of the GIS Cemetery into the Fifth Dynasty.

A comparative study of the iconography, style, and technical features in the Eastern and GIS cemeteries during the Fourth Dynasty and into the early Fifth based on the different architectural phases creates many patterns of similarity and difference. These patterns are a result of changes or influences both in ideology as well as developments in artistic and technical features. In this respect, the decorative programs in the mastabas and rock-cut chapels reflect not only an overall evolution in ideas but also the artisans' approach to relief decoration. Through the expansion of these two cemeteries over time, the presence of different groups or individual artisans in addition to the influence of pre-existing mastabas affected the development of art. Developments in other cemeteries, such as «palace façade» decoration in the Central Field, were also assimilated by the artisans in the Eastern and GIS cemeteries illustrating how ideas were created and then adopted throughout the Giza Necropolis. Finally, the stylistic and technical innovations that characterize the royal reliefs and statuary of Khufu, Khafra, and Menkaura are reflected in the decoration of the mastabas and rock-cut chapels. The exchange of ideas and techniques between the artisans of the royal pyramid complexes and those working on the surrounding cemeteries created a dynamic environment in which artistic change was possible. Through this methodology, it is possible to trace the development of art and those factors that influenced its creation during the Fourth Dynasty.

⁷⁹ Kawab and Khemetnu the younger in the entrance chamber and west chamber of G7530sub respectively also have full lips and a short chin similar to Khufudjedef.

⁸⁰ For the statue of Kai, see C. Ziegler, «Kai Seated» in *Egyptian Art in the Age of the Pyramids* (New York, 1999), p. 362-364 (124).