Egyptian Museum Collections around the World

Studies for the Centennial of the Egyptian Museum, Cairo

Foreword by Zahi Hawass

Edited by Mamdouh Eldamaty and Mai Trad

Volume One

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Mamdouh Eldamaty and Mai Trad

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

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The development of art in the Fourth Dynasty at the Giza Necropolis was influenced by the construction and decoration of the royal pyramid complexes with their surrounding tombs. The decoration of the mastabas in the Eastern and GIS cemeteries during the reigns of Kings Khufu, Khafra, and Menkaura of the Fourth Dynasty and into the early Fifth Dynasty, circa 2551 to 2465 B.C., significantly influenced art and the technical aspects of tomb decoration. The overall layout of the pyramid complex of Khufu with its surrounding tombs reflects the hierarchical structure of Khufu's court. The Eastern and GIS cemeteries, located to the east and south of the pyramid complex of King Khufu, contain the burials of members of the royal family and officials of the king. The study and analysis of this hierarchical structure in relation to the decorative programs in the tombs provide insight into the different influences affecting the art. As the cemeteries expanded during the Fourth Dynasty, the art evolved by integrating new elements, such as architectural features and scene types. The proximity of the pyramid complex of King Khufu with its pyramid temple, causeway, and valley temple is also an important factor in the development of art during the Fourth Dynasty. The reliefs and statuary decorating this pyramid complex were accessible to the designers and artisans involved in the decoration of the elite tombs, while the tombs were accessible to the artisans decorating the royal pyramid complexes. The artistic and technical relationship between the pyramid complex and the surrounding tombs is a dynamic exchange in which ideas for overall designs and decoration were created and disseminated throughout the Giza Necropolis.

The study of the development of art in the Eastern and GIS cemeteries necessarily includes the layout of the cemeteries. The mastabas form different groups, differentiated from each other in terms of location, materials, overall dimensions of the mastabas and their offering chambers, titles of the tomb owner, and family relationships. These different groups form patterns throughout the Eastern and GIS cemeteries that relate to

the construction and decoration of the tombs during the Fourth Dynasty. A study of the decorative programs of the individual mastabas also reveals patterns, which are based on the similarities and differences in the decoration. These similarities and differences include the iconography, style, and technical features, such as carving techniques. The overall layout of the offering chamber is influenced by the requirements of the offering cult. Certain types of figures and scenes in addition to statuary were necessary for the perpetuation of the tomb owner in the afterlife. Differences in the decorative programs are produced by alterations in the standard layout of the scenes, which suggest changes in the ideology or individual contributions by the designer, artisan, or tomb owner. These differences also indicate the connections between the mastabas, which may be related to family groupings or to the artisans themselves.

The Eastern Cemetery and its expansion during the Fourth Dynasty impacted the creation of art for members of the royal family. The Eastern Cemetery is located to the east of Khufu's pyramid and contains the burials of the sons, daughters, and grandchildren of Khufu. The original section of this cemetery is comprised of eight core mastabas located to the east of Queen's Pyramids GI-a, GI-b, and GI-c. The core mastabas are organized in a formal arrangement with streets in between. The mastaba of Ankhaf (G7510) is also a major feature of the Eastern Cemetery due to its size and location on the eastern edge of the core mastabas. The peripheral areas to the north, east, and south of the eight cores consist of more loosely organized groups of mastabas, which, in some instances, contain specific features linking some together into a group. For example, in the group of mastabas to the south of the mastaba of Ankhaf, there are stairways leading up to the offering chambers providing a formal approach, a distinctive feature of this group.

The GIS Cemetery is located to the south of Khufu's pyramid and continues the formal layout found among the eight core mastabas of the Eastern Cemetery. The mastabas in the GIS Cemetery are constructed in a row and contain the burials of officials of the king. The initiation of this cemetery is connected with the construction of the pyramid as a ramp was located on the south side for the transportation of blocks

M. Lehner, The Complete Pyramids. (Cairo, 1997), p. 107.

from the quarry on the south.² The overall dimensions of the tombs in the GIS Cemetery are more similar than those in the Eastern Cemetery, which suggests that the cemetery was laid out in a more uniform manner.³ The cemetery may date as early as the end of the reign of Khufu, but is probably later in the Fourth Dynasty.⁴ The overall plans of the Eastern and GIS cemeteries and their proximity to the pyramid complex of Khufu bind the royal family and officials to the king and create on the ground the formal structure that must have existed in life during the Fourth Dynasty.

The excavations of the Eastern and GIS cemeteries during the early twentieth century have contributed significant information to our knowledge of Fourth Dynasty art. The Eastern Cemetery was excavated by George Andrew Reisner between 1924 and 1931; while, the GIS Cemetery was excavated by Hermann Junker between 1927 and 1929. Objects from these two cemeteries are now in the collections of the Egyptian Museum, Cairo; Museum of Fine Arts, Boston; and The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York in addition to other major collections. The study of the reliefs, statuary, and sarcophagi from these two cemeteries is essential to tracing the development of the art during the Fourth Dynasty. This includes not only the identification of the individual tomb owner through the titles, family relationships, and iconography but also the different groups of artisans involved in the creation of the art through stylistic and technical analyses.

A study of the in situ reliefs and objects from the mastaba of Khufu-khaf I (G7130/7140) and the surrounding area in the Eastern Cemetery, which are now in the Egyptian Museum, Cairo and the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston demonstrates how these various mastabas are connected through family relationships and through the artisans. The mastaba of Khufu-khaf I is located in the first row of mastabas to the east of Queen's Pyramid GI-c. It is believed that GI-c belongs to Queen Henutsen, a wife of Khufu. It is her image together with that of her son, Khufu-khaf I, that decorates the

² Z. Hawass, 'Pyramid Construction: New Evidence Discovered at Giza,' In Stationen: Beiträge zur Kulturgeschichte Ägyptens. Rainer Stadelmann Gewidmet. (Mainz, 1998), p. 58.

³ G. A. Reisner, A History of the Giza Necropolis. Volume I. (Cambridge, Mass., 1942), p. 61.

⁴G. A. Reisner, Giza I, p. 74.

⁵ G. A. Reisner, Giza I, pp. 24-25.

southern section of the west wall in the outer chamber of the latter's tomb. A gneiss statue of Khufu-khaf I in the Egyptian Museum, Cairo (CG 46) and related fragments in the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston (MFA 24-12-656 and MFA 24-12-962) provide the three-dimensional counterpart to the bold, sculptural relief decoration found in the mastaba.7 This seated statue, discovered in the Isis Temple at Giza in 1888, gives the name and titles of Khufu-khaf I. The statue is 80 cm. in height and is missing its head and feet although the top of the right foot remains near the ankle. The right hand of the statue is now in the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston (MFA 24-12-656), which was placed vertically upon Khufu-khaf I's lap holding the folded cloth. The left hand is placed flat on his left leg with wide chisel marks defining the fingers. Khufu-khaf I's titles are inscribed on either side of the seat in the front with his name on the fragment of the statue base in the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston (MFA 24-12-962), which continues the left side of the inscription. The inscriptions on either side are oriented to the right. On the left side, the inscription reads: s3 nswt n ht.f htmw bity hwfw-hcf ("King's son of his body, seal-bearer of the King of Lower Egypt, Khufu-khaf'). The right side gives the titles: iry-pct t3yty s3b t3ty wr 5 [pr Dhwty] ("Hereditary prince, he of the curtain, chief justice, and vizier, greatest of the five [in the temple of Thoth]"). The inscriptions on the statues of Rahotep and Nefret in the Egyptian Museum, Cairo are also oriented to the right similar to those on the statue of Khufu-khaf I, although their names and titles are

⁶ W. K. Simpson, *The Mastabas of Kawab, Khafkhufu I and II*. Volume 3 of Giza Mastabas. (Boston, 1978), p. 11, pls. XVc, XVIa, fig. 26.

⁷ I am grateful to Dr. Gaballa Ali Gaballa, former Secretary-General of the Supreme Council of Antiquities, the Supreme Council of Antiquities, and Dr. Mamdouh Eldamaty, Director-General of the Egyptian Museum, Cairo for permission to study and photograph the statue of Khufu-khaf I in the Egyptian Museum, Cairo. I am also indebted to Dr. Rita Freed, Curator of the Egyptian, Nubian, and Near Eastern Art department, Art of the Ancient World, at the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston for allowing me to include the fragments (MFA 24-12-656 and MFA 24-12-962) in this article and to Dr. Larry Berman and Dr. Denise Doxey at the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston for confirming the use of anorthosite gneiss. For fragments, see W. K. Simpson, *The Mastabas of Kawab*, p. 33, fig. 69.

⁸ L. Borchardt, Catalogue Général des Antiquités Égyptiennes du Musée du Caire. Nr. 1-380. Statuen und Statuetten von Königen und Privatleuten. (Berlin, 1911), p. 42, no. 46, Blatt 12; W. S. Smith, A History of Egyptian Sculpture and Painting in the Old Kingdom. Second edition. (London, 1949), p. 31; G. A. Reisner and W. S. Smith, A History of the Giza Necropolis. Volume II. The Tomb of Hetep-Heres the Mother of Cheops: A Study of Egyptian Civilization in the Old Kingdom. (Cambridge, Mass., 1955), p. 10, fig. 11; W. K. Simpson, The Mastabas of Kawab, p. 33, fig. 69.

⁹ For folded cloth, see H. G. Fischer, 'An Elusive Shape within the Fisted Hands of Egyptian Statues,' Ancient Egypt in the Metropolitan Museum Journal. Volumes 1-11 (1968-1976). (New York, 1977), pp. 148-150.

given at the level of their heads.¹⁰ The statue of Hemiunu seated in the Roemer- und Pelizaeus-Museum, Hildesheim (1962) also has rightward facing hieroglyphs on its statue base. This rightward orientation contrasts with the inscriptions on the thrones of seated statues of King Khafra in the Egyptian Museum, Cairo (CG10, CG14, CG15, and CG17). These inscriptions are oriented inwards in a symmetrical arrangement.¹¹ Possibly, the symmetrical inward orientation was more of a royal prerogative. Yet, Khufu-khaf I's title as vizier and the location of his mastaba at Giza in the first row to the east of the queens' pyramids in the Eastern Cemetery suggests that he was a high ranking member of the royal family.

The modelling of the statue of Khufu-khaf I is distinctive as are the images of the tomb owner decorating the offering chamber of his mastaba (G7140) in the Eastern Cemetery. The statue is headless; however, this places focus upon the structure of the body. At the top of the torso, the clavicle is well defined just below the break. The upper part of the torso is rather fleshy with breasts that protrude slightly; while, the lower part of the torso in the stomach area continues the modelling of the upper torso with gentle swelling. The back is carved with a sense of the musculature with a ridge running down the middle. The upper arms are also well defined with a roundness that becomes flatter where it joins with the forearm. Traces of the folded cloth are sculpted on his right leg just below the right hand, which is now in the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston (MFA 24-12-656). The kilt is a flat surface, which is slightly higher at the stomach level than at the knees. A ridge runs along the front of each leg defining the bone, while the calf muscle is indicated behind. The sculptor has also carved the inner bone of each knee so that it protrudes rather visibly.

The most distinctive feature of the statue of Khufu-khaf I is the ridge carved on the upper arms adjacent to the join with the forearm. (Plate IA) These ridges are semicircular on each arm and extend down to the elbow. They appear to be some type of sleeve; yet, the figure is wearing a kilt with no other type of garment. Adjacent to

¹⁰ Y. Harpur, The Tombs of Nefermaat and Rahotep at Maidum: Discovery, Destruction and Reconstruction. (Cheltenham, England, 2001), pp. 124, 294 n. 6.

H. G. Fischer, The Orientation of Hieroglyphs. Part I. Reversals. Egyptian Studies II. (New York, 1977), p. 9.

these ridges on the upper arms are rather wide and deeply carved chisel marks, so that the ridges are even more emphasized. The purpose of these ridges is not readily apparent. The seated statues of Khafra in the Egyptian Museum, Cairo do not have these ridges at the join between the upper and lower parts of the arm. However, standing statues of the Old Kingdom Period are carved with a diagonal ridge at the join reflecting the structure of the arm. In this respect, the sculptor of Khufu-khaf I's statue may have used an individual treatment of the arm.

An analysis of the reliefs in the offering chamber of Khufu-khaf I (G7140) in the Eastern Cemetery demonstrates that the figures of Khufu-khaf I also have distinctive features similar to the seated statue.12 The rather bold, sculptural quality of the images of Khufu-khaf I in the offering chamber is evident in that the relief rises 5 to 7 mm. above the wall surface. The height of the relief allows greater modelling of the body, particularly the arms and the legs. This type of modelling is also due to the qualities of limestone since it is softer and easier to carve in comparison with the hardness of the gneiss used for the statue. Similar to the statue, the upper arms of the figures of Khufukhaf I in the offering chamber are also carved with distinct ridges. However, these ridges are located at the top of the upper arm instead of at the join of the upper arm with the forearm. The use of a distinct juncture between the shoulder and the upper arm occurs on the figures of Khufu-khaf I decorating the northern section of the west wall of the outer chamber in addition to the east wall in the main offering chamber. Possibly, the same artisan carved these two figures. On the northern section of the west wall in the outer chamber, the corpulent and older image of Khufu-khaf I is shown with ridges on his upper arms.13 The right arm has more of a horizontal ridge; while, the left is carved with a diagonal ridge. On the east wall in the main offering chamber, there are two vertical grooves on each of Khufu-khaf I's shoulders (Plate IB) His right arm also has a diagonal ridge at the juncture between the shoulder and the upper arm; while, the left is carved with a horizontal ridge. The ridges carved on these two images of Khufu-

¹² I am grateful to Dr. Zahi Hawass, Secretary-General of the Supreme Council of Antiquities, for permission to study and photograph the mastaba of Khufu-khaf I (G7130/7140) in the Eastern Cemetery at Giza.

¹³ W. K. Simpson, The Mastabas of Kawab, pp. 11-12, pl. XVIb, fig. 27.

khaf I may relate to the translation of three-dimensional images into two-dimensional relief.

The identification of individual artisans or groups of artisans employed in the decoration of the offering chambers in the Eastern and GIS cemeteries provides a stylistic and technical framework for the creation of art. The identification of these groups connects different mastabas within the cemeteries; and, therefore, relationships or patterns can be established between the tombs based upon the artisans. The style of carving in the offering chamber of Khufu-khaf I (G7140) is similar to a relief fragment now in the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston (MFA 27.796).4 Both the relief decoration in the mastaba of Khufu-khaf I and the relief fragment are carved from fine, white limestone. Khufu-khaf I's daughter on the east wall in his offering chamber is carved with distinctive facial features.¹⁵ (see Plate IB) The daughter is shown standing behind a seated figure of Khufu-khaf I with her left arm placed upon his kilt. She wears a short wig or hair. She is also depicted wearing a choker and an elaborate necklace with a bracelet on her left wrist. 16 She is carved with a high cheekbone with lower relief along the edge of her hair or wig. Both her nose and mouth are partially destroyed. This daughter may be the same daughter represented on the northern and southern jambs. On the northern jamb, she is identified as: s3t nswt nfrt-k3 ("Kings' daughter, Nefret-ka").17 On the southern jamb, there is no accompanying inscription, but the female figure also wears an elaborate necklace.18 The daughter is shown on the east wall with an elongated eye with a band above and an eyebrow in relief. The distinctive shape and carving of the eye suggests an individual artisan who has used a different stylistic treatment.

The Relief of a Woman in the collection of the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston (MFA 27.796) is stylistically similar to Khufu-khaf I's daughter and to other female representations in the offering chamber of Khufu-khaf I (G7140). The relief fragment

¹⁴ I am grateful to Dr. Rita Freed of the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston for allowing me to include the Relief Figure of a Woman, Old Kingdom, Dynasty 4, 2625-2500 B.C., Limestone, Harvard University-Museum of Fine Arts Expedition (MFA 27.796) in this article.

¹⁵ W. K. Simpson, The Mastabas of Kawab, p. 13, pl. XVIII, fig. 30.

¹⁶ For necklace, see E. Staehelin, *Untersuchungen zur ägyptischen Tracht im Alten Reich*. (Berlin, 1966), p. 123 n. 2, Tafel XXXVIII, fig. 55d.

¹⁷ W. K. Simpson, *The Mastabas of Kawab*, pp. 12-13, pl. XVIIb, fig. 29.

¹⁸ W. K. Simpson, The Mastabas of Kawab, p. 12, pl. XVIIa, fig. 28.

was discovered south of Queen's Pyramid GI-c and may have come from the mastaba of Nefretkaw (G7050). The Relief of a Woman measures 20 cm. in height and 12.5 cm. in width. This relief fragment depicts a female oriented to the left with her right hand to her breast. She is shown wearing short hair or a wig. She also wears a choker with a bracelet on her right wrist. The fragment is only partially preserved with the upper part of the figure remaining. She is also shown with a distinctive elongated eye that has a band at the top and an eyebrow in relief similar to Khufu-khaf I's daughter on the east wall of his offering chamber. The carving of the eye of both figures suggests a stylistic relationship between the mastaba of Khufu-khaf I and the relief fragment. This stylistic similarity is confirmed by the carving of the female estates on the southern section of the west wall in the offering chamber of Khufu-khaf I, which also have distinctive noses and full lips comparable to the Relief of a Woman.

The stylistic similarity between the decoration of the offering chamber of Khufukhaf I (G7140) and the relief fragment (MFA 27.796), probably from the mastaba of Nefret-kaw (G7050), may be a result of the proximity of their mastabas to one another in addition to possible family connections. The title of Nefret-kaw (G7050) is: nswt-bity snfrw s3t, f nt ht.f smst ("King of Upper and Lower Egypt, Sneferu, his eldest daughter of his body"). The title comes from the architrave of Nefret-kaw's grandson, Sneferukhaf (G7070). The location of her mastaba south of the row of queens' pyramids and her title emphasize her high ranking position within the royal family. The wife of Khufu-khaf I is also called Nefret-kaw. George Andrew Reisner has suggested that Nefret-kaw, the wife of Khufu-khaf I, is the daughter of Nefretkaw (G7050) and that Nefermaat (G7060) was her brother. 19 Nefermaat is the son of Nefret-kaw (G7050) and the father of Sneferu-khaf (G7070). The connection between the Nefret-kaw of G7050 and the Nefret-kaw of G7130/7140 is also mentioned by Michel Baud, although he believes that the similarity of names is merely a homonym.²⁰ It is apparent that there is a separate cemetery for Nefret-kaw (G7050), Nefermaat (G7060), and Sneferu-khaf (G7070) as a family grouping because they are related to Sneferu. The offering

¹⁹ G. A. Reisner and W. S. Smith, Giza II, p. 11.

²⁰ M. Baud, Famille royale et pouvoir sous l'Ancien Empire égyptien. Tome 2. (Le Caire, 1999), p. 540.

chambers of Nefermaat and Sneferu-khaf further highlight this family connection. *Prunkscheintürs* decorate the west walls in both of their offering chambers. This type of relationship between family members and the decoration may be the same link between the mastaba of Khufu-khaf I and the Relief Figure of a Woman (MFA 27.796), which is believed to be from the mastaba of Nefret-kaw (G7050). The similarity in style may derive from an individual artisan working among these tombs or possibly the influence of one mastaba's decoration upon another.

The analysis of carving techniques in the mastabas of the Eastern and GIS cemeteries and on reliefs attributed to the pyramid complex of Khufu can identify individual artisans or specific types of carving. The Head of a Female Personification of an Estate in The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York (MMA 22.1.7) has similar carving techniques to the relief decoration in the offering chamber of Khufu-khaf I (G7140).²¹ (Plate II) The Head of a Female Personification measures 30 cm. in height and 22 cm. in width. It was found reused in the Pyramid of Amenemhet I at Lisht and is believed to be originally from Khufu's pyramid complex, probably the pyramid temple or causeway.22 Although it is attributed to Khufu's complex and not the Eastern and GIS cemeteries, it is important to the study of the development of art during the Fourth Dynasty. The Head of a Female Personification of an Estate is dated to the reign of Khufu; while, the decoration in the mastaba of Khufu-khaf I is dated between Khufu and Khafra. The height of the relief differs between the Female Personification and the offering chamber of Khufu-khaf I. William Stevenson Smith believes that there were two different schools working during the reign of Khufu – one in the low relief, such as the Female Personification, and one in the higher relief style, such as Khufu-khaf I.23 In the offering chamber of Khufu-khaf I, it is apparent that the artisans utilized both high and low relief. The main figures are carved in high relief, which allows greater

²¹ I am grateful to Dr. Dorothea Arnold, Curator of the Department of Egyptian Art, at The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York for allowing me to include the Head of a Female Personification of an Estate (MMA 22.1.7) in this article.

²² H. Goedicke, Re-used Blocks from the Pyramid of Amenemhet I at Lisht. Egyptian Expedition, no. 20. (New York, 1971), pp. 16-17; W. S. Smith, The Art and Architecture of Ancient Egypt. Revised by W. K. Simpson. (New York and London, 1998), pp. 50-52, fig. 95; DOA. Arnold, 'Head of a Personification of an Estate,' In Egyptian Art in the Age of the Pyramids. (New York, 1999), pp. 226-227.

²³ W. S. Smith, *HESPOK*, pp. 160-161; W. S. Smith, *Art and Architecture*, pp. 50-52, 57, fig. 95.

modelling with a more sculptural quality; while, the subsidiary registers are carved in a lower relief, particularly the northern section of the west wall. The Head of a Female Personification has an elaborate standard with the cartouche of Khufu placed on a horizontal element. This is decorated with feathers at the front and two streamers at the back.24 The estates on the southern and northern sections of the west wall in the mastaba of Khufu-khaf I have the cartouches separate from the figure. Yet, the Head of a Female Personification of an Estate and the decoration in the mastaba of Khufu-khaf I have the same detailed carving including the intricate rope pattern of the cartouches and the markings found on the quail chicks within the cartouche. Even the f of the viper hieroglyph on the Female Personification has necking rings, which are also found in the mastaba of Khufu-khaf I. However, the carving of several of the cartouches in Khufukhaf I do not have incision lines decorating the double rope, and there are fs that have cross-hatching on the body of the viper. Why there is this variation within the same offering chamber must be attributed to the individuality of the artisans. The high quality of carving exhibited on the Head of a Female Personification of an Estate and in the mastaba of Khufu-khaf I suggests that the artisans working in the pyramid complex of Khufu and in the mastabas of the royal family had standard images with comparable carving techniques but how the images were actually decorated could also be influenced by the individual artisan.

The development of art at Giza in the Fourth Dynasty is a result of the dynamic relationship created by the construction of the pyramid complexes of Kings Khufu, Khafra, and Menkaura with their surrounding tombs. The establishment of Giza as a major necropolis during this period involved the skills of builders, designers, artisans, and the tomb owners. As the cemeteries expanded, the decorative programs of standing mastabas could be used as references for ones in the process of construction and decoration. The artisans of the tombs also had the decoration of the pyramid complex itself as a source. Its construction and decoration provided artistic ideas that influenced the development of art throughout the Giza Necropolis.

²⁴ DOA. Arnold, 'Head of a Personification of an Estate,' p. 226.

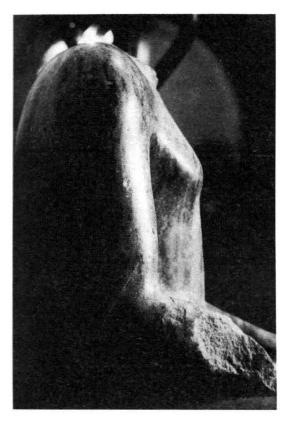


Plate IA: The Statue of Khufu-khaf I Egyptian Museum, Cairo (CG 46)



Plate IB: The Mastaba of Khufu-khaf I East wall of main offering chamber Eastern Cemetery, Giza (G7130/7140)



Plate II: Head of a Female Personification of an Estate The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York (22.1.7) Rogers Fund and Edward S. Harkness Gift

مقتنيات آثار مصرية في متاحف حول العالم

دراسات بمناسبة الإحتفال بالذكري المئوية للمتحف المصري بالقاهرة

تقديمر زاهي حواس تحرير مملوح اللماطي ومي طراد

المجلد الأول