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The Tombs of Khamerernebty I and II at Gîza

Michel BAUD

Data about Queen-mother Khamerernebty I, a major personality of the IVth Dynasty since she is probably Chephren's wife and more certainly Menkaura's mother, are sparse. Our major source of information comes from the tomb of her daughter Khamerernebty II (a queen herself), the so-called « tomb of Count Galarza » named after its discoverer (see B. Porter & R. Moss rev. J. Málek, *Topographical Bibliography* III, *Memphis*, p. 273-274). This monument has long been considered the final resting place of Khamerernebty I until E. Edel, who carefully studied its inscriptions, gathered evidence that the tomb belonged to her daughter only (*MIO* 1, 1953, p. 333-336 and *MIO* 2, 1954, p. 183-187). Consequently, the location of the Queenmother's funerary monument remained to be found, a question that has attracted little attention until recently. As a member of the royal family of Chephren and Menkaura, one expects a burial in the Central Field of Gîza, but no direct epigraphic data did identify Khamerernebty I as a possible owner of one of the many discovered (but usually badly damaged) tombs of this area.

I have tried to identify this tomb with the huge « rock-cut mastaba » discovered here by Selim Hassan (*Excavations at Giza* I, Oxford, 1932, p. 89-91), south of the tomb of Rawer : see *BIFAO* 95, 1995, p. 11-21. As the monument does not bear any inscription, only indirect evidence could be gathered which I briefly sum up hereby :

(a) Priest Nimaetra is connected to the queen-mother through his titles and a reversion of offerings from the tomb of Khamerernebty I, consequently expected nearby.

(b) From the mastaba of Nimaetra, respectively 25 m and 50 m further north on the same line, exactly in front of the anonymous structure, are located the tombs of the two « servants of the ka of the Queen-mother » Imby and Akhethetep. The name of the queen is unspecified, but the title hm-ksprecludes a connection with the only other known royal mother of the area, the famous Khentkaus I: her cult was performed by *hmw-ntr*. A further official connected to the Queen (through reversion of offerings at least; titles missing) could well be Netjeripunesut, west of the anonymous tomb.

(c) To avoid fortuitous analogies, investigation was made about the patterns of location of the tombs whose owners where connected by links of subordination. It is well known that the monuments of the elite cluster in « nucleus cemeteries » (terminology of Reisner) in the West and East Fields of Gîza, while the tombs of elite's priests and minor officials are contained in the immediate periphery. The Central Field departs drastically from Cheops' pattern, since the two abovementioned groups are mixed together. Chephren's pattern of tomb settlement associates minor officials (priests, stewards) with the monument of the personality they served or had to serve after the master's death. This is especially true when the personality is a female member of the royal family. It is important to state that those two patterns remained largely in use long after the death of their royal promoters. But in the case of the two rows of tombs on both sides of the access street to the anonymous mastaba, no serious data precludes a date roughly contemporary to this structure, against K. Baer assumptions. Nimaetra could be one of the latest, under Niuserre, but his tomb lays south of the abovementioned « street of priests ».

(d) The anonymous tomb, in such environment, could well be the mastaba of Khamerernebty I herself. Furthermore, its building predates an extension of the mastaba Rawer, so that a date before the beginning of the Vth Dynasty is secured, which could even match the reign of Chephren.

In the last *MDAIK*, V. Callender and P. Jánosi devoted a detailed study to the tomb of Khamerernebty II (*MDAIK* 53, 1997, p. 1-22), which bears new conclusions regarding the burial of her mother Khamerernebty I. Regardless of the conclusions I reached (see under), they suggest that the Galarza tomb was first planned for the mother and then devoted to the daughter. The final resting place of Khamerernebty I thus still remains unknown. Though one could see no contradiction between the two theses - a first burial planned in the Galarza tomb, then a new project started with the nearby « anonymous rock-cut mastaba » of Hassan (may be connected to the change of status from queen to queen-mother) - I would like to present various arguments against the new proposal.

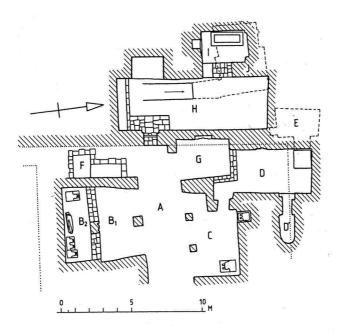
At this point, it is necessary to differentiate the argumentation of V. Callender and P. Jánosi into two parts or purposes, though intricate. Most of the article deals with the description of both architectural and epigraphic peculiarities of the tomb. We are indebted to the authors for their thorough examination of the excavations records and analysis of the present remains, that led them inter alia to the reconstitution of the building phases of the complex tomb, set into the frame of the development of rock-tombs structures (ibid., p. 6-13, fig. 4 and 6), and to pinpoint some unnoticed epigraphic phenomena, such as the harmonization of the inscriptions of mother and daughter on the entrance lintel, bearing consequences to the formulation of Khamerernebty I titles (ibid., p. 15-16, fig. 8). The second aspect is more controversial, as it connects those peculiarities with a change of owner. If two main building phases can be determined, connected to various unusual characteristics, the mastaba proper (never used) would have been intended for the mother, and, for the daughter, the reconversion of the initial decorated chapel into a funerary chamber, with new rooms added further east to house the daily cult. If the entrance decoration of the initial chapel repeatedly bears the names, titles and representation of both mother and daughter (in this order), it must also be the trace of this successive ownership.

This aspect of the demonstration must be challenged, on both the architectural and (even more) epigraphic data.

Architecture

(a) If the initial subterranean funerary chamber (called « J ») was left unfinished and did not contain any sarcophagus, the authors conclude that the initial owner was not buried here. I do not feel necessary to exemplify at length how many funerary chambers where discovered empty, which does not mean that they were never used. It only gives the large scale of depredation and robberies ancient cemeteries did suffer. See what is left of the queens' pyramids connected to Cheops and Menkaura.

(b) Because a sarcophagus (without inscriptions) has been found in a little room («I») of the initial chapel («H»), the authors suggest that the whole superstructure of the first building project was converted into a burial place, with its entrance walled up. If so, the question that arises is why the initial funerary chamber would have been left unoccupied. Old Kingdom Egyptians did not feel any taboo to such a reuse, since among many examples



Plan of the tomb of Khameremebty II (V. Callender, P. Jánosi, op. cit., fig. 2, from G. Daressy, ASAE 10, 1910, p. 42)

we know that Queen Mersyankh III was buried in the funerary chamber of the mastaba designed for her mother Hetepheres II, including her own (initial) sarcophagus (D. Dunham, W.K. Simpson, The Mastaba of Queen Mersyankh III, Giza Mastabas 1, Boston, 1974, p. 1-3, 21, fig. 14, pl. xiv-xv). At this point of the demonstration of V. Callender and P. Jánosi, a discussion of the parallels to the extraordinary situation of a sarcophagus settled in the superstructure, contradicting the general rule of a deeply sunk burial through a shaft, would have been welcome. We allude to the sarcophagi of Prince Ptahshepses, found on the floor of the Valley temple of King Unas (Porter-Moss III², p. 645), and of Queen-mother Ankhesenpepy III, slightly sunk into the floor of a magazine of Queen Iput II's pyramid temple (ibid., p. 676). Recent studies have been devoted to those monuments, that point towards possible reburial phenomena after the troubled events of the end of the Old Kingdom - beginning of the First Intermediate Period, see C. Berger, in Hommages à Jean Leclant, BdE 106/1, 1994, p. 75-76; M. Baud, V. Dobrev, BIFAO 95, 1995, p. 54-55; further information about the archaeological context for Ptahshepses' sarcophagus in A. Labrousse, Le temple d'accueil du complexe funéraire du roi Ounas, BdE 111, 1996, p. 8-9, n. 11, p. 58, fig. 33-34. Though adequate information is lacking to settle the date of the installation of the anonymous sarcophagus in the Galarza tomb (but see next §), the abovementioned parallels rather point towards a late date.

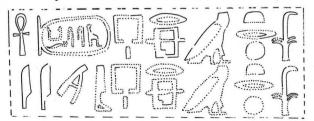
(c) This could well be the case since, when the initial chapel «H» was walled up, the entrance decoration was in part no more visible (ibid., p. 10, n. 34)... or it gives strong support to the ownership of Khamerernebty II only. If we agree with the authors that the entrance between «H» and «I» was probably the original place for the false-door, before the cutting of the sarcophagus-room « I » (ibid., p. 6, 8-9, fig. 5), and that the place for the falsedoor was consequently moved outwards in «G», nothing settles this change in the lifetime of Khamerernebty II or little latter. On the contrary, room «G» in its final design is in all probability a much latter addition, since it cuts into room « D », seriously altering this cult place. This part of the tomb certainly belongs to the King's son Sekhemra, following an interesting suggestion by the authors themselves (ibid., p. 12, 21). Then, as a person who could be a close relative of the Queen, son or grand-son, i.e. of the next generation at the earliest, the recutting of room «G» and walling of «H» must have been even later. The authors were aware of this totally different possibility of reconstructing the events (ibid., p. 12, n. 44), but did not carry the alternative explanation to its end.

(d) In such conditions, one would rather see the whole tomb as part of a coherent project in successive additions, excluding the latter installation of the sarcophagus into the main chapel. Indeed, the cutting of room «I» as sarcophagus-chamber, the partial conversion of chapel «H» into a serdab, the walling of the entrance to «H», even masking part of the initial inner decoration, does not seem to belong to this continuum of events (see above, § b). With a significant chronological gap between the coherent design (the tomb as it is, including the complex of eastern rooms) and the conversion of the main chapel into a burial place, we present an alternative explanation that avoids to refer to a rather *unägyptisch* concept, a tomb planned by its owner with both burial place (which the authors call a « substructure » within brackets, *sic*) and rooms for the daily cult *at the same floor level*.

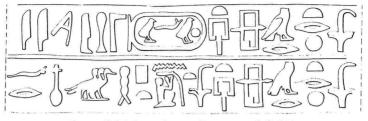
Epigraphy and iconography

(a) The authors' demonstration is clearly tendentious concerning the epigraphic data (*ibid.*, p. 14-19). The content of the fragmentary text reconstructed by E. Edel (*MIO* 1, 1953, p. 333-335) leaves no doubt about the ownership of the tomb, because Khamerernebty II (identified from the general context) states that she financed herself the building of the monument. If we can also imagine that she did so for her mother in an act of filial piety, then we should expect the tomb to belong also to Khamerernebty I, i.e. that the Queen-mother was actually buried there. This is contradicted by the inscriptions on the tomb's entrance.

(b) The entrance lintel of the main chapel bears two lines of inscription, the top one for the mother, the bottom one for the daughter (*ibid.*, p. 14-16, fig. 8, pl. 1). As the authors stressed, the two lines have been harmonized in order to present a certain degree of parallelism. This phenomenon of « mimetism » is not infrequent and bears no consequence on the possibility of a double ownership, nor does the mentioning itself of two persons on this kind of monument. This has been fully demonstrated by E. Edel (MIO 1, 1953, p. 336), but we feel some obligation to produce again a counterexample, one among many. Two mastabas of cemetery G 6000 in the West Field of Gîza exhibit the abovementioned characteristics : main or secondary entrance drums divided into two lines, the first for the father, the second for the son (family relationship unspecified here, but known from the rest of the decoration), with a selection of identical titles able to produce a harmonious effect of parallelism. In none of these cases were the tombs shared by contemporary or successive owners, since each person mentioned possessed his own mastaba, namely G 6020, 6030 and 6040 (see now K.R. Weeks, Mastabas of the Cemetery G 6000, Giza Mastabas 5, Boston, 1994).



Drum of Iymery son of Ankhshepseskaf, tomb G 6020 (from K.R. Weeks, op. cit., fig. 25, with dots added)



Drum of Neferbauptah son of Iymery, tomb G 6010 (K.R. Weeks, op. cit., fig. 15)

(c) For the same reason, the decoration of the northern door jamb cannot serve the thesis of successive ownership. The representation of Khamerernebty I, followed by her daughter Khamerernebty II and her grandson Khuenra is not relevant to this purpose (E. Edel, *loc. cit.*) One feels that the striking parallel offered by the tomb of Mersyankh III, also represented between her mother Hetepheres and her son Nebemakhet (D. Dunham, W.K. Simpson, *op. cit.*, fig. 7), may have influenced the authors in their suggestion that the Galarza tomb was first planned for the mother and then attributed to the daughter, a situation fully exemplified by the mastaba of Mersyankh but highly conjectural for Khamerernebty I.

The last remarks unfortunately have to enter the field of scientific deontology. It is obvious that the authors wrote their article some years ago (see the reference to a letter to E. Edel in 1993, ibid., p. 15, n. 52) and did not wish to modify their argumentation after my contribution appeared in 1996. Between silence and full treatment of the topic, they chose an in-between : to get rid of the *impedimenta* in a single footnote (p. 2-3, n. 7) that significantly caricatures the tenor of my demonstration. A closer reading would have led them at least to some bibliographical modifications. For example - redde Caesari quae sunt Caesaris - though the two detailed studies of E. Edel are acknowledged as the sound demonstration of Khamerernebty II ownership of the Galarza tomb, the paternity of this idea must return to W. Federn as I stated in BIFAO 95, 1995, p. 11, n. 6, referring to WZKM 42, 1935, p. 190. As for the rest, the arguments they briefly present (I do expect a fuller treatment somewhere, sometime) are only general statements with no value of a proof. To the remark « one might ask why such a huge tomb ... was left unfinished without a single piece of inscription or decoration although it should have housed the interment of the mother of Mycerinus », we will refer to the

parallels of the queens' pyramids of Menkaura (some with unfinished burial apartments), argue that nothing speaks in favour of a fully unfinished building state for the anonymous tomb (but material stripped away), and - ultimate proof - appeal to the general « explanation » which V. Callender and P. Jánosi venture about the queens of the IVth Dynasty : « (they) show inexplicable factors in regard to their monuments » (op. cit., p. 13).

The conclusion that speaks in itself will be taken from the last sentence of their short review of my argumentation. Here, they express doubts about the identification of the ultimate burial place of the Queen-mother with the huge mastaba excavated by Hassan - a challenge that I accept as a matter of normal scholarly discussion - because « one would envisage a pyramid for the mother of Mycerinus, see P. Jánosi, *BACE* 3, 1992, 51-57 » (*MDAIK* 53, 1997, p. 3, n. 7). Scholars interested in this topic will have the surprise to read there that, for the IVth Dynasty, « two of the three known mothers of kings were buried in tombs other than pyramids » (from p. 55; I underline). The third one being precisely the subject of the present controversy, the unlocated *mastaba* of Khamerernebty I.

Cairo, Oct. 21, 1997