

Offerings to the Discerning Eye



*An Egyptological Medley in
Honor of Jack A. Josephson*

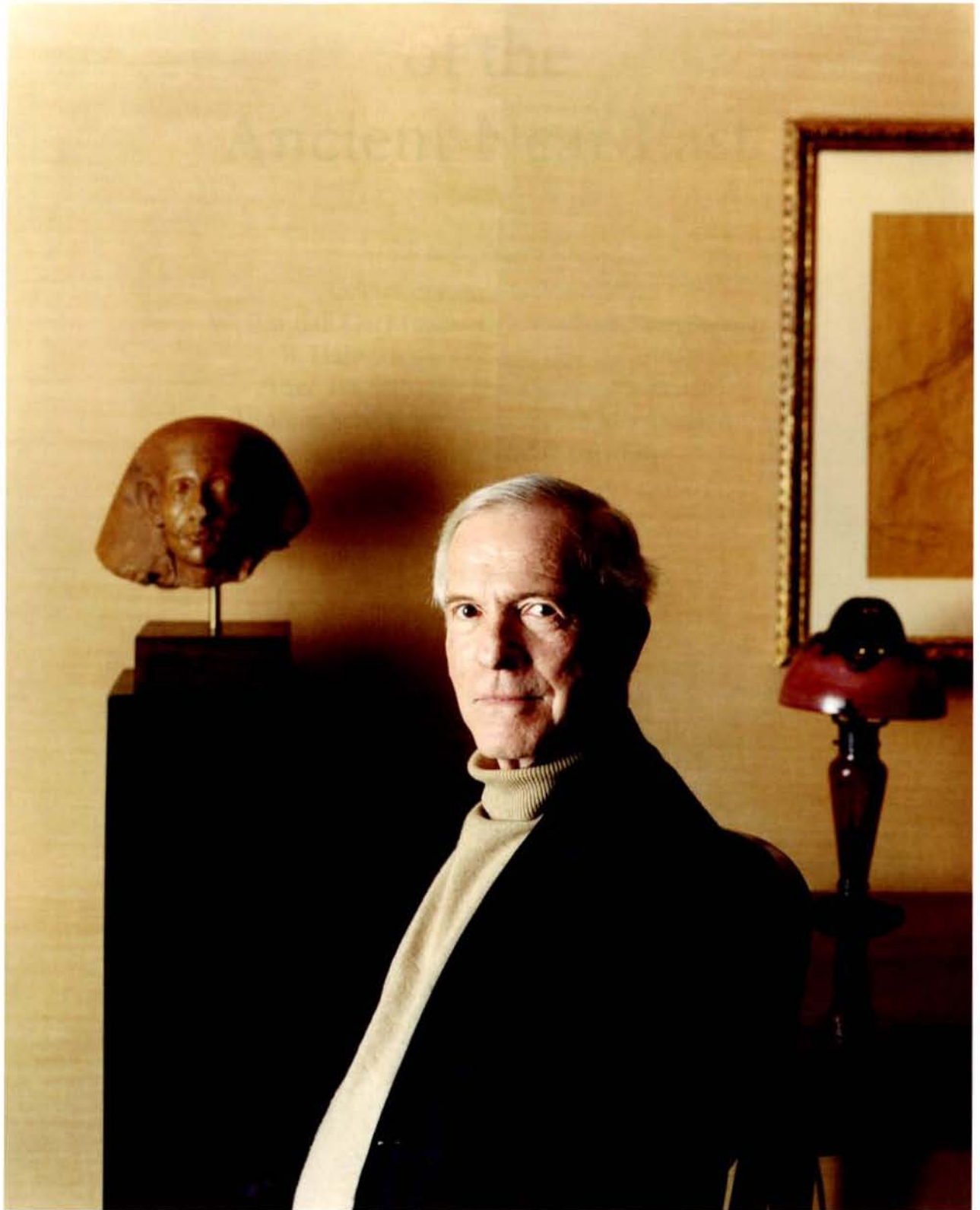
Edited by
Sue H. D'Auria

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Jack A. Josephson and a Middle Kingdom Nobleman—the Josephson Head

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THE PRINCE KAWAB, OLDEST SON OF KHUFU

Rainer Stadelmann

Cairo

The mastaba of prince Kawab is situated in the first row of the Eastern Cemetery at Giza¹ (fig. 1). It takes the first and best place in the four rows of double mastabas directly behind the queens' pyramids, that of the queen mother Hetepheres, and that of queen Meretyotes, most probably Kawab's mother (fig. 2). Therefore, and due to his titles *s3-niswt smsw* and *t3tj-jrjp't*, "King's Eldest Son" and "Vizier," Kawab was regarded by scholars as crown prince and designated successor of Khufu.² The four rows of eight large mastabas of the direct descendants of Khufu, sons and daughters, were constructed as double mastabas; only the enormous mastaba of Ankhhaf, almost certainly also a—younger—son of Khufu—not of Sneferu—who became vizier and master builder of Chephren's pyramid, was built as a single tomb, most probably during the reign of Chephren.³ These double mastabas conceived for the king's sons and their sister(?)—spouses are an innovation of the court of Sneferu at Meidum. There the princes of primogeniture, Nefermaat and his wife Atet, Rahotep and Nofret, were the first royals in the newly created princely mastaba cemetery to have the status and the benefit of this promotion.⁴ Not, however,

the crown prince.⁵ For him no tomb was foreseen. When he died in the time of his father Sneferu at Meidum, he was given a large single mastaba, M17, near the pyramid, without an annex for an unknown spouse.⁶ At Dahshur the great mastabas of the first row to the east of the Red Pyramid are too destroyed to allow us to decide whether they were conceived as double mastabas or not. The prince Netjeraperef who had his mastaba tomb in the second row at Dahshur is a king's son,⁷ but may be of a secundogeniture, a son of a son of Sneferu, like most probably Iynofor from Dahshur South.⁸

At Giza the double mastabas of the descendants of Khufu were each built by joining two separate mastabas into one of double size with a continuous casing on the east and west fronts (fig. 3). The cult niches were each cut near the southern corner of the twin mastabas. Thus there is a clear distinction between conventional mastabas, with two niches to the south and to the north, and these twin mastabas. This characteristic architectural feature may well serve as a decisive criterion for the establishment of the genealogy of the early 4th Dynasty. Regrettably it was abandoned in the time of Chephren.

¹ W.K. Simpson, *The Mastabas of Kawab, Khafkhufu I and II*, Giza Mastabas 3 (Boston, 1978); H. Junker, *Giza II* (Vienna and Leipzig, 1934), 36; G.A. Reisner, *A History of the Giza Necropolis I* (Cambridge, MA, 1942), 205 and fig. 113, see *PM III*, part I, 187-188; W.S. Smith, *A History of Egyptian Sculpture and Painting in the Old Kingdom* (HESPOK) (London, 1949), 167, 279, and fig. 62.

² B. Schmitz, *Untersuchungen zum Titel S3-NJ ŠWT "Königssohn"* (Bonn, 1976); Reisner, *A History of the Giza Necropolis II*, compl. and rev. by W. Stevenson Smith (Cambridge, MA, 1955), 1-12; also Simpson, *Mastabas of Kawab, Khafkhufu I and II*; more reserved M. Römer, *Zum Problem von Titulatur und Herkunft bei den ägyptischen Königsöhnen des Alten Reichs* (Bonn, 1977) and "Kronprinz," *LÄ* 3, 816.

³ Reisner, *Giza Necropolis I*, 41, 212, 308, and figs. 8 and 122. Reisner and Smith, *Giza Necropolis II*, 1-12, and Smith, *HESPOK*, 38-39. A. Bolshakov, "What did the Bust of Ankhhaf Originally Look Like?" *JMFA* 3 (1991), 5-14. P. Lacovara, "A New Look at Ankhhaf," *Egyptian Archaeology* 9 (1996), 6-7.

⁴ W.M.F. Petrie, *Medum* (London, 1892), 11-17.

⁵ R. Stadelmann, "Khaefkhufu=Chephren. Beiträge zur

Geschichte der 4. Dynastie," *SAK* 11 (1984), 165-172, and Stadelmann, "Userkaf in Sakkara and Abusir," *Archiv Orientalni Supplement IX* (2000), 532 n. 14. The objections raised by A. Bolshakov in "Princes who became kings: where are their tombs?" *GM* 146 (1995), 11-22, are not relevant. His main thesis that the tombs of crown princes were abolished and demolished when they had become kings lacks evidence; neither in the row of large mastabas of the descendants of Sneferu at Meidum nor at Dahshur are there any empty spaces; and more evidently in the tomb rows of the family of Khufu at the Eastern Cemetery G 7000 at Giza, there is absolutely no empty space that might attest to contemporary relinquished or destroyed mastabas.

⁶ W.M.F. Petrie, E. Mackay, and G. Wainwright, *Meydum and Memphis III* (London, 1910), 3-4, and Stadelmann, "Khaefkhufu=Chephren," 165-172.

⁷ N. Alexanian, *Das Grab des Prinzen Netjer-aperef: die Mastaba II/1 in Dahschur*, Dahschur 2, AV 56 (Mainz, 1999).

⁸ Iynofor, see Nicole Alexanian in: R. Stadelmann and N. Alexanian, "Die Friedhöfe des Alten und Mittleren Reiches in Dahschur," *MDAIK* 54 (1998), 296 ff.



Fig. 1. Giza East Cemetery, G 7000. Photo: M. Haase.

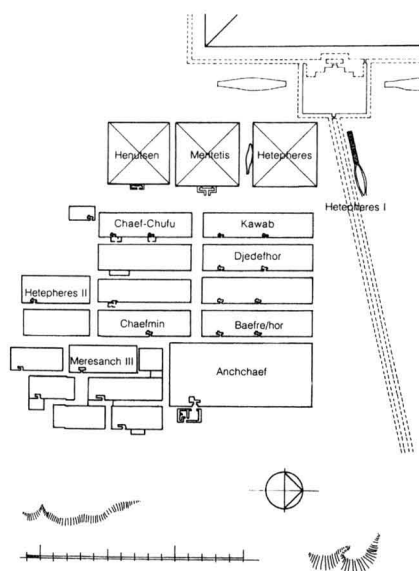


Fig. 2. Giza East Cemetery. Queens' Pyramids and Mastabas.

Kawab's mastaba has suffered badly from stone looting in later periods. Not only the exterior chapels with their elaborate decoration, but also most of the casing in the niches and on the outer face, have been cut off and torn off for reuse. The gen-

eral aspect of the destruction of the mastabas of the Eastern Cemetery does not support George Reisner's interpretation of a dynastic conflict between the sons of Khufu. This demolition is not an act of annihilation or extermination of personalities. For such a motivation, the destruction of the reliefs and the erasure of names would have been absolutely sufficient. It looks most certainly that the looting took place in order to obtain the valuable stone material in the construction of mosques, palaces, and bridges in the Arabic Middle Ages.

Kawab's wife was princess Hetepheres II, certainly also a daughter of the great king Khufu. After the death of Kawab she was married to Djedefre,⁹ son and successor of Khufu, who already had a royal spouse, Khentetka, and several sons, among them Baka, the future king and successor of Chephren. Baka was the initiator of the unfinished pyramid of Zawiyet el-Aryan. The names Meresankh/Mersiankh, Meretyotes, Hetepheres and Khentetka are very frequent queens' names in the family of the 4th Dynasty. Through her marriage to king Djedefre, Hetepheres II earned the title of queen. The daughter of Kawab and Hetepheres II was Meresankh III, who married Che-

⁹ Reisner and Smith, *Giza Necropolis II*.

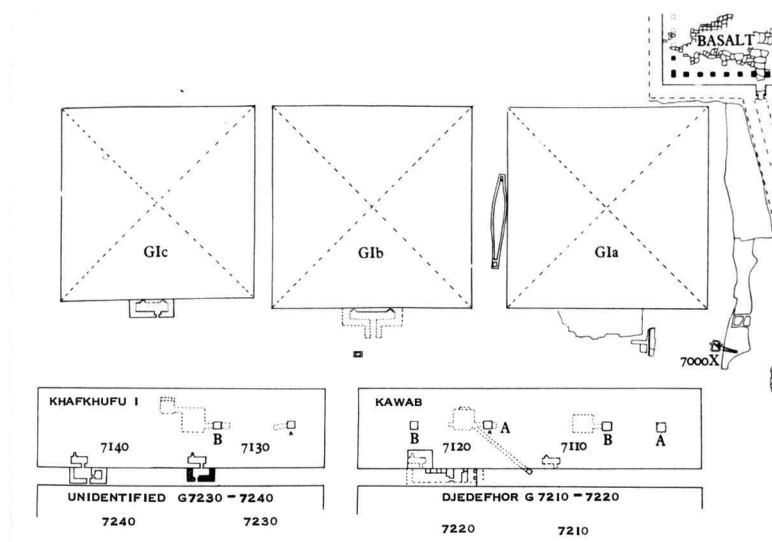


Fig. 3. Giza East Cemetery. First row. Mastabas of Kawab and Khaefkhufu. From W.K. Simpson, *The Mastabas of Kawab, Khaefkhufu I and II*, fig. 3.

phren when he had become king after the death of his brother Djedefre. But she was not the mother of Mycerinus. This was a queen Khamerernebti I, and he was also married to another woman of that name, Khamerernebti II. Hetepheres II is portrayed in the tomb of her daughter, Queen Meresankh III, G 7530 -40.¹⁰ Hetepheres wears a great court dress, deeply décolleté and with pointed stiff shoulders,¹¹ and a wig interlaced with red threads. This must have been the fashion at the court in the time of Khufu. When Reisner first saw this depiction, he wrongly interpreted the wig as natural red hair and invented a whole story of intrigue about a red-haired Libyan princess, the "blond beast" who was the instigator of a bloody family feud among the sons and daughters of Khufu.¹² Much later, Stevenson Smith found out that the assumed red hair was in reality a stylish wig, and no foreign Libyan princess was behind the intrigues, death, and the destruction of the mastabas at the Giza court.¹³

Although most of the decoration of Kawab's chapel is shattered, Stevenson Smith and William Kelly Simpson were able to reconstruct some of the scenes and the titles by analogy with the chapel of the neighboring tomb of Khafkhufu (fig. 4). According to Smith, about 342 statue fragments were recorded, which could be attributed to about ten to twenty statues of all kinds and sizes, small and life-size, standing and sitting, and, for the first time, to scribe statues. The most important titles of Kawab are preserved on these fragments of his statuary and on fragments of his sarcophagus. He is *s3 nswt smsw*, "king's eldest son," also *n ht.f*, "of his body = the king's," *t3ty* and *jry-p't* and *h3t-^c*.¹⁴ He also bears several priestly titles, but he is not priest of his father Khufu. The titles *t3ty* and *jry-p't* together with *h3t-^c* are the titles commonly regarded as those of a crown prince.¹⁵ If we, however, regard closely all persons who bore these highest titles from the Thinite period¹⁶ up to the 5th Dynasty, we can observe, and have to admit, that

¹⁰ D. Dunham and W. K. Simpson, *The Mastaba of Queen Meresankh III*, Giza Mastabas I (Boston, 1974), frontispiece and pl. VII c.

¹¹ Ibid, frontispiece, and Simpson, *Mastabas of Kawab, Khaefkhufu I and II*, pl. XVI a.

¹² Reisner, "The Tomb of Meresankh, a Great-Granddaughter of Queen Hetep-Heres I and Sneferuw," *BMFA* 25 (1927), 64-78, and Reisner, Chapter X, "The Family of Mycerinus," in *Mycerinus* (Cambridge, Mass, 1931).

¹³ Smith, *HESPOK*, 134, 143, 262 and fig. 48; C. Ransom Williams had interpreted the collared lines as conventional drawing lines, which was rightly corrected by W.S. Smith, in *Giza Necropolis II*, 7, with reference to the headdress worn by Djoser's queen and the lady of the Bankfield stela. Queen

Henutsen, mother of Khafkhufu, also wears this collared headdress in Khafkhufu's chapel, G 7230.

¹⁴ Reisner and Smith, *Giza Necropolis II*, 1-12; Reisner, *Mycerinus*, 244-245, and Smith, *HESPOK*, 30-31; Simpson, *Mastabas of Kawab, Khaefkhufu I and II*, 8.

¹⁵ Reisner and Smith, *Giza Necropolis II*, 1-12; Schmitz, *Untersuchungen zum Titel S3-NJSWT "Königsson."*

¹⁶ G. Dreyer, "Wer war Menes," in *The Archaeology and Art of Ancient Egypt, Essays in Honor of David B. O'Connor* 1, ed. Z. Hawass and J. Richards (Cairo, 2007), 221-230, has recently tried to identify princes with highest titles of the 1st Dynasty with future kings, but this remains as uncertain as the suggestions of N. Dautzenberg, "Zum König Ity I. der 1. Dynastie," in *GM* 69 (1983), 33-35.

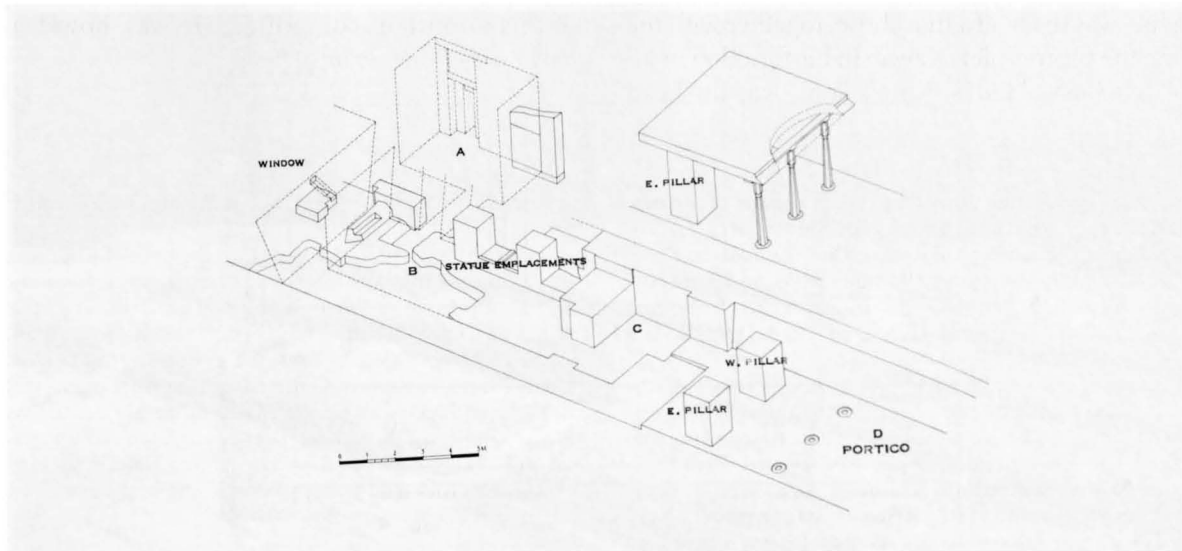


Fig. 4. Giza East Cemetery. The Mastaba of Kawab. Isometric drawing by T. Kendall. From W.K. Simpson, *The Mastabas of Kawab, Khaefkhufu I and II*, fig. 4.

none of them ever became king! This fact has been completely ignored by all scholars who examined titles and their associated royal careers. If one would have examined simultaneously the individual princes together with their titles, it would have been obvious that these princes pursued the highest functions of *wasirs*, overseers of all building activities, directors of expeditions etc. but none of them ever became king. They cannot all have died before their royal fathers. This would mean that the designated crown prince had no official function during the lifetime of his father. Therefore we never find any hint, name or representation, of the person to become king. Under Djoser the most eminent prince and powerful person was Imhotep, who was even *snty*, “twin” of Djoser, but he was not the successor. This was Sanakht or Sekhemkhet, under whose reign Imhotep evidently supervised the construction of the pyramid complex.¹⁷ Senefru’s name never appeared during the long reign of Huni, nor was Khufu ever mentioned during Senefru’s reign, neither at Meidum nor at Dahshur, although we know that he was a son of Senefru and Hetepheres I. In Meidum the princes Nefermaat and Rahotep bear the highest titles, in Dahshur Kanofer, but a prince Khufu never came into view. Nor Djedefre at Giza before he had become king.

There is even another negative criterion regard-

ing crown princes or future kings. When Senefru created a princely necropolis with large twin mastabas as an innovation at Meidum, he did not plan a tomb for the crown prince. When this designated prince died unexpectedly before his father, a large mastaba was hastily constructed beside the step pyramid of his father for the unknown prince. Neither at Dahshur, nor at Giza in the Eastern Cemetery for the princes and princesses of the primogenitor, was a mastaba tomb for the crown prince foreseen. Obviously, according to the royal code of belief, a crown prince should or could not die before his father. He had to become king and build his own pyramid!

Who chose the future king? The reigning king alone or the ruling clan? Certainly the successor must have been chosen in advance, in order to avoid feuds or even bloody confrontations after the death of the ruler. The successor must have been installed in order to proceed at once after the death of the old king with the rituals of the mummification and deification of his predecessor.

Among Kawab’s highest titles is *hry h3bt hry tp*, “Highest Exorcist.” And he bears the bizarre title of a *wr-md-šm^cw*, “One of the Ten Great of Upper Egypt.”¹⁸ These are very ancient functions in the royal cortege dating back to the Thinite Period, when a clan of Upper Egypt reigned over Egypt. It may well be that the “Ten Great of Upper

¹⁷ Grafitto with the name of Imhotep on the inner niched wall, M. Z. Goneim, *Horus Sekhem-khet, The Unfinished Step Pyramid at Saqqara 1*, Excavations at Saqqara,

Service des Antiquités de l’Égypte (Cairo, 1957), pl. 13.

¹⁸ Simpson, *Mastabas of Kawab, Khaefkhufu I and II*, 8.

Egypt” was the board that chose, together with the king, the future ruler. Kawab in his function of an *s3-nswt-smsw*, “Eldest King’s Son,” was the head

of this important committee. He was, however, *never the Crown Prince!*¹⁹

¹⁹ After completing this article I became aware of two new publications, both related to the academic school of Vienna: Peter János, *Giza in der 4. Dynastie: Die Mastabas der Kernfriedhöfe und die Felsgräber* (Vienna, 2005), and somehow connected with the results of this study an article by Roman Gundacker, “Ein Beitrag zur Genealogie der 4. Dynastie,” in: *SOKAR* 16, 1 (2008), 22-51.

Both authors insist that Reisner’s attribution of Cemetery G 7000, the mastabas east of Khufu’s pyramid, to the sons and daughters of Khufu only, the primogeniture, cannot be proved definitely and must therefore be rejected. Their main and only argument against Reisner’s thesis is an unlikely hypothesis according to which Kawab was a younger son of Sneferu and brother of Khufu. Gundacker even invents a

mysterious first consort of Kawab and a son with identical name.

Both authors fail to notice that in the time of Khufu the allocation of a mastaba tomb was a strictly royal favor and decree of the king and there is no proof at all that any other prince or relative to Khufu was permitted to have a mastaba in the Eastern Cemetery. Even the most powerful persons beside Khufu, Hemiun, and the unknown prince of mastaba 2000, the builders of his pyramid were not authorized to have a tomb among the direct descendants, although Hemiun was a nephew, the son of Khufu’s elder brother Nefermaat. How should then Kawab have his mastaba tomb in the first row if he was not a senior son of Khufu.