

SOME RAMESSIDE APPROPRIATIONS OF ANCIENT MEMPHIS

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***Abstract:** This paper examines some of the ways in which the monumental landscape of Old and Middle Kingdom Memphis was relevant to Egyptians of the New Kingdom, particularly the Ramesside Period. It will address the ways in which contemporary Ramesside views of 'the past' influenced elite culture, as reflected in the different ways in which that ancient monumental landscape was appreciated, interacted with, and adapted. Although the activities of Khaemwese, High Priest of Ptah at Memphis and son of Ramesses II, are the best evidenced example of an interaction with ancient royal monuments at Memphis (because of the particular position of Khaemwese as a quasi-royal figure), it will be seen that such concerns were also shared and acted upon by other members of the New Kingdom literate elite, both royal and non-royal.*

***Key words:** Memphis, Ptah Temple, Khaemwese, graffiti, sphinx, Giza, identity*

One of the things which unites a modern Egyptologist and an educated scribe living in Memphis during the Ramesside Period is a fascination with ancient Egypt, its monuments, and the kings who built them. Of course, with a *terminus ante quem* of the observer's lifetime, our conception of 'ancient Egypt' is rather broader than that of a Ramesside scribe; while we have the whole of pharaonic history to observe and study, for the Ramesside Memphite scribe 'ancient' meant, to a substantial degree, the monuments of the Old and Middle Kingdoms, of which there was no lack in the environs of Memphis, especially the extended desert-edge royal and private necropolis stretching from Abu Roash in the north to Meidum in the south. In this paper I would like to look at some of the ways in which 'ancient' Memphis was relevant to, and used by, some members of the Ramesside *intelligensia*.

A good starting point is a stela (**figure 1**), found by Hassan during his excavations around the Great Sphinx at Giza in 1935-36 (for the location of this findspot see 'Sphinx *Temenos*' on **figure 2**).¹ It is a typical New Kingdom private votive stela, divided into two with the upper part depicting the object of devotion and the lower part showing and naming the devotees who, in this case, are the scribes Montuher and Kamutnakht. Note that

¹ Hassan 1953: 62-63. For this stela see Zivie-Coche 2002: 61 (fig. 12); Shedid 2002.

Kamutnakht has his writing kit slung over his shoulder, perhaps as an indication of his status and also a practical preparation for the activities which the pair are planning to undertake at their destination. The object of their devotion is the god Horemakhet, made manifest in the physical presence of the Great Sphinx at Giza. The identity of the sphinx is made very clear by depicting it in its monumental setting at Giza by the device of also showing two of the Giza pyramids - perhaps those of Khufu and Khaefre. It is also worth noting that the specific identity of the sphinx depicted here as the Great Sphinx at Giza is emphasised by the presence on the stela of a depiction of the New Kingdom royal statue² standing immediately in front of the sphinx. Apart from being a marvellous and rare example of an Old Kingdom monumental landscape in the New Kingdom (and note what one has to assume is the ideal steep gradient of pyramids), this stela is a prime example of the interaction of Ramesside private individuals with Old Kingdom royal monuments - monuments which are very relevant to those Ramesside individuals albeit in ways which were not originally

² Zivie-Coche notes that the style of the stela means that it could date to the first half of the Eighteenth Dynasty - a *terminus post quem* could be provided by the identity of the New Kingdom royal statue, on which there is no agreement but might be Amenhotep II (see Zivie-Coche 2002: 60-63).

intended by their builders. The stela was excavated by Hassan as part of a scattered collection of New Kingdom objects, especially stelae, left as *ex-votos* by private individuals in the 'Sphinx Temenos', an area for cultic deposition chiefly to the north of the Great Sphinx itself.

New Kingdom Graffiti on Old Kingdom Monuments at Memphis

Other ways in which connections were made by Ramesside individuals with Old Kingdom royal monuments in the Memphite necropolis include graffiti written in ink by visitors to those monuments, especially royal pyramids. Two examples, among the many which have been recorded, will make the point. In the following graffito the Step Pyramid of Djoser is visited by a pair of brothers or colleagues during the reign of Ramesses II: *Regnal year 47, month 2 of Peret, day 25, there came the scribe of the Treasury Hednakhte, son of Sel/Sunero, his mother is Tawosre, to make a stroll and amuse/invigorate himself, in the West of Memphis together with his brother/colleague and scribe Panakhte, of the vizier's office saying: All the Gods of Western Memphis, the Ennead, You who reside in the sacred land, Osiris, Isis, all the Blessed Souls of the western Ankhtawy, give good lifetime serving to your kas, and a good burial after a strong old age, in sight of Western Memphis like the praised*

*ones, like your person (sic), by the scribe of the Treasury of the Lord of Two Lands, Hednakhte, justified, and the scribe Panakhte.*³

In another graffito, from the pyramid of Khendjer at South Saqqara, a visit by another scribe is recorded, probably also during the reign of Ramesses II:

There came the scribe Nashuy to the neighbourhood of the Pyramid of (King) Teti Beloved of Ptah, and the Pyramid of Djoser, Discoverer of Stone(working).

He says to all the gods of the West of Memphis, "Be kind, be kind! I am close to you. I am your servitor.

*Year 34, 4th Month of Shemu, Day 24, day of the festival of Ptah South of his Wall, Lord of Ankh-Tawy, when he appeared outside the Temple(?)/Palace(?) at time of evening.*⁴

From these two graffiti we can already see a number of interesting things. Firstly, the visitors have a good, clear understanding of what they are visiting and who built it. That is to say, they are well informed about the ancient kings of Egypt (Djoser's reign is approximately 1,400 years earlier than that of Ramesses II). Secondly, writing graffiti - a short ink inscription recording one's visit - is clearly not seen as vandalism or behaving disrespectfully towards an ancient monument, but quite

³ For translation and commentary see Navrátilová 2007: 108-111.

⁴ Translation from Kitchen 2000: 312.

the reverse as many graffiti express admiration and wonder at the works of antiquity. Thirdly, although the graffiti-writers refer to 'taking a stroll' and 'enjoying themselves'⁵ like any good tourists, they also ask for benefits for themselves from the blessed dead who inhabit the Memphite necropolis. These Ramesside visitors are not merely looking at the dead husks of ancient buildings, but living monuments which are the home of active spiritual presences who are able to do good (or bad) to the living. These ancient monuments are not just interesting to their Ramesside visitors - as they are to us - but they are also useful and relevant to their lived experience. Fourthly, as an extension to this idea, we can note that Nashuy's visit to the Memphite necropolis is linked to a contemporary festival procession concerning the god Ptah, taking place in the city of Memphis. What exactly Nashuy is trying to do by bracketing these Old Kingdom monuments in the same graffiti with a reference to religious festivals in contemporary Memphis is not clear, but the relationship between Old Kingdom monuments of the Memphite necropolis and the development of the monumental core of the city of Memphis in the reign of Ramesses II is one which is worth exploring a little further.

⁵ For these terms see Navrátilová 2007: 110-111, 133.

Kings and King-Lists on Royal and Private Monuments of the Ramesside Period

First, though, it might be worth saying something about the level of understanding of the past in the Ramesside Period, which I have already referred to. In terms of a respect for, and appreciation of, the past, scholars have tended to focus on periods where 'archaism' is an obvious strand of cultural life. Dynasties 25 and 26, for instance, are rich in examples where cultural models from the past - in tomb decoration for instance - have clearly been deliberately sought out and used. Some of the reasons for archaism are located in the desire to identify with the period being 'copied'. The Ramesside Period is also a time when the past is deeply scrutinised - not just as something to be admired, but something to be amalgamated within contemporary cultural practices, even if some of the aims of archaism, such as a desire to associate oneself with the great kings of the past, are still present.

On one level an understanding of the past, in ancient Egyptian terms, is an understanding of the names and deeds of long-dead kings. It is no coincidence that the Ramesside Period has produced the majority of the (admittedly small) collection of texts we refer to as king-lists.⁶ The Seti I kinglist in his cenotaph temple at Abydos is the best-known example but

⁶ Redford 1986.

another of these lists, and one more directly relevant to the topic of this paper, does not come from a royal monument, but from elements of the Ramesside private tomb of Tjuneroy at Saqqara. These stone blocks were found by Mariette in 1860 - exact location unclear but probably south of the Unas Causeway - and are now in the Cairo Museum. The blocks⁷ were removed by Mariette because they show rows of royal cartouches being offered to by Tjuneroy. The list is by no means comprehensive or in chronological order, but does include most of the better-known royal figures up to the reign of Ramesses II. To this extent it is similar to the Seti I (and Ramesses II) Abydos kinglists but one obvious difference is that many of the monuments of the Old Kingdom rulers referred to on the list would have been visible in the vicinity of the tomb of Tjuneroy at Saqqara, rather less obviously so at Abydos.

The Tjuneroy list is not unique to the extent that other lists which show private individuals offering to dead kings are known, especially in the form of (Theban) tomb scenes showing the tombowner offering to what appear to be rows of statues of dead kings and queens.⁸ To what extent these scenes represent 'real' events taking place in front of 'real' collections of

statues of deceased rulers is not clear, although it is possible that such structures did exist in the context of the monumental landscape of New Kingdom Thebes at least, and perhaps also Memphis. Even more relevant to the Tjuneroy list is the so-called 'Abusir List'⁹ - just a single block recovered from a house in Abusir, probably from a nearby Ramesside private tomb, and showing kings - or statues of kings - of the Old Kingdom. There is one final point worth making about Tjuneroy - his titles, which include that of 'Overseer of Works of All Royal Monuments'. He is also known from the Memphite stela of his brother Paser,¹⁰ who was 'Overseer of Builders'. So, to summarise, Tjuneroy is an individual who has a keen awareness of Old Kingdom rulers and he is also builder, moreover a builder of royal monuments at Memphis.

Khaemwese's Building Activities in the Memphite Region

Another individual who lived during the reign of Ramesses II, knew all about Old Kingdom kings, and built at Memphis was Khaemwese, fourth son of Ramesses II and High Priest of Ptah at Memphis.¹¹ His building projects can be divided into two sets of activity (although with some

⁷ Redford 1986: 21-24; Kitchen 2000: 340-347.

⁸ Redford 1986: 45-54.

⁹ Redford 1986: 25-26.

¹⁰ BM 165; Kitchen 2000: 197-198.

¹¹ For Khaemwese see Gomaa 1973; Fisher 2001; Snape 2011.

interesting overlaps) - the creation of new structures and the renovation of old ones. The first set of buildings includes the creation of the Apis Bull vaults of the Serapeum, a series of buildings of uncertain cultic significance in the desert to the west of Saqqara, and the major work of carrying out his father's building projects in the city of Memphis itself.

The second set of works saw Khaemwese 'restoring' a series of ancient royal monuments in the Memphite necropolis which, by the Ramesside Period, had fallen into disrepair. The most obvious sign of this restoration was Khaemwese carving an appropriate text on the side of those monuments lucky enough to receive his beneficence. None of these monuments has preserved a complete text, but piecing together fragments from all of them, a standard version can be extracted. As Khaemwese says;

... Very greatly did the sm-priest, Prince Khaemwaset, desire to restore the monuments of the Kings of Upper and Lower Egypt, because of what they had done, the strength of which (i.e. the monuments) was falling into decay.

*He (i.e. Khaemwaset) set forth a decree for its (i.e. the pyramid's) sacred offerings ... its water ... with a grant of land, together with its personnel ...*¹²

Because of their fragmentary nature, it is impossible now to say how many Old

Kingdom royal monuments received the Khaemwese treatment, but we know of such restoration texts from the pyramids of Djoser, Userkaf and Unas at Saqqara, the pyramid of Sahure at Saqqara, the sun-temple of Niuserre at Abu Ghurab, and the Mastabat Fara'un of Shepseskaf in Saqqara South.

The restoration inscriptions refer to a re-establishment of cult activity associated with these monuments. Some scholars have been sceptical about how far this promise was honoured, citing a graffito of Year 36 (Ramesses II) from the Djoser enclosure which refers to 'the first (day) of work of the stone-hewers from the quarry'. This has been interpreted as evidence of a shameless robbing of the Djoser Enclosure of its building stone (presumably to be used in Ramesside buildings in Memphis) and that Khaemwese's 'restorations' were nothing of the sort, but merely a sort of cover for this more cynical activity of acquiring large quantities of good quality building stone for the massive building projects in the monumental core of the city of Memphis itself.¹³

However, the publication of an offering basin by Allen,¹⁴ which turned up in a private collection in the United States, suggests that actual cultic activity did take place in association with this 'restoration'

¹³ Malek 1992: 65, n.60; Wildung 1969: 71.

¹⁴ Allen 1999.

¹² Snape 2011: 469-470 and refs cit.

activity. The basin was produced by Khaemwese to form part of the monumental physical setting for a libation ceremony for Imhotep, and internal evidence strongly suggests that it was set up in the south-western court of the Djoser pyramid complex, perhaps in association with the Khaemwese restoration inscription. The evidence therefore suggests that we are looking at a phenomenon which is rather more nuanced than simply reverence on the one hand or stone-robbing on the other.

To take another example, the Ramesside temple of Herishef at Herakleopolis Magna included granite columns whose forms suggest an origin in the Old Kingdom. It is possible that Khaemwese himself was responsible for this particular construction. While this may or may not be the case, it is certainly noticeable that two pyramid complexes which received Khaemwese restoration inscriptions, that of Unas and that of Sahure, are among those late Old Kingdom pyramid complexes which have not retained the full complement of columns with which they were originally provided. Is this another example of the give-and-take policy in respect of Old Kingdom monuments in the Ramesside Period?

Re-used material in the West Hall of the Ptah Enclosure

One of the best places to explore issues of monumental re-use is at the most visible surviving part of the city of Memphis in the Ramesside Period, the so-called West Hall of Ramesses II.¹⁵ Today this looks like a rather forlorn collection of collapsed masonry, surrounded by modern rubbish - and so it is - but there is still much of interest here.

The first thing to note is that the visible remains, such as they are, constitute the remnants a pylon, behind which is a columned hall. The most convincing explanation for the role of this structure in the monumental core of New Kingdom Memphis - that is to say the Ptah Temple Enclosure - is as a sort of contra-temple facing west, while the main body of the Ptah Temple was the eastward facing structure as per the tentative reconstruction by Kitchen.¹⁶ We know from textual evidence that this version of the main Ptah Temple was chiefly the work of Amenhotep III, although the very poor state of preservation of this structure, and the difficulties of archaeological work in this part of the site, means that any reconstruction on paper must be somewhat speculative. However, we do know that the Amenhotep III structure was the nucleus

¹⁵ Jeffreys 1985: 33-38, 69, figs 22-23.

¹⁶ Kitchen 1999: fig. 27.

around which Ramesside kings - especially Seti I and Ramesses II - constructed 'satellite' temples. The West Hall can be considered to be one of these.

As far as the specific function of the West Hall is concerned, it might be noted that Kitchen labels it as a 'Hall of Jubilees' of Ramesses II. Without elaborating on this point here, this identification is one which can be tentatively accepted as an explanation for this structure. It is also an identification which goes some way to explaining some other features in this area. Looking from the west, the original appearance of this pylon would have been quite similar to that of, for instance, the Ramesses II pylon at Luxor Temple. This similarity extends to the presence of colossal statues standing in front of the pylon. This is not surprising, since other entrances to the Ptah enclosure - especially its southern approach - were provided with colossal Ramesses II statues.

However, it is not the statues that once stood here that are worth noting, but the bases on which they stood, specifically a statue-base made from a block of red granite, the larger part of a monumental text of the Middle Kingdom which seems to have been re-used during the Ramesside period.¹⁷ The text is one of the most important documents from the Middle Kingdom, describing activities taking place at the court of Amenemhat II. These

activities include sending expeditions to foreign lands and the endowment of temple cults, and the text has given rise to much discussion about what sort of document it actually is. It reads like a court circular or day-book of royal activity - the sort of document which one might imagine being kept on neat rolls of papyrus in the palace archives, but hardly the subject for a monumental inscription, although one might argue that a text such as the Annals of Tuthmosis III at Karnak is a later, but similar, example of royal records turned into monumental inscriptions.

These questions, and the identities of foreign lands mentioned in the text, have engaged scholars of the Middle Kingdom, and are still largely unresolved. However, our concern here is not the detail of the inscription, but how this block came to be re-used in this Ramesside structure, and where it was set up in the first place. There are two most likely explanations. The first is that it came from a building erected by Amenemhat II in Middle Kingdom Memphis - wherever that might be. This explanation has the advantage that it assumes that the re-use of this block took place close to where it was originally erected, and indeed proximity is an advantage in re-use as, for example in the amount of material Merenptah took from the nearby Kom el-Hetan monument of Amenhotep III at Thebes. The flaw in this argument is that the existence of a

¹⁷ Altenmüller 2015.

monument of Amenemhat II in this (or indeed any other) part of the Memphite cityscape is entirely theoretical.

Perhaps a more likely possibility is that the block came from a monumental structure which we actually know to have been constructed by Amenemhat II, that is to say his pyramid complex at Dahshur. The ancillary temple buildings of this pyramid, already in a poor condition, were very badly excavated and published by de Morgan,¹⁸ and so we can offer no good comparative material from the site to support this as the original location of the statue-base block. However, we do know that this is a site where monumental masonry was used by Amenemhat II, that ancillary temple structures attached to pyramids were becoming increasingly complex in the later part of the 12th Dynasty (the 'labyrinth' of Amenemhat III at Hawara is the outstanding example here) and that a mortuary temple attached to a royal tomb is an extraordinarily appropriate place to record the activities of kings, as can be seen from the Old Kingdom onwards.

It may well be that this statue base is not merely a useful piece of stone, but another example of the deliberate selection of parts of existing royal monuments¹⁹ designed to

¹⁸ de Morgan 1903.

¹⁹ Examples of 'borrowings' from Old Kingdom royal monuments during the Middle Kingdom are discussed in Goedicke 1971.

give extra ancient royal presence to a monument which is connected to royal jubilees. There is, at present, no direct evidence to link Ramesside activity to the Amenemhat II pyramid complex at Dahshur, although the poor quality of work at the site mentioned above may have something to do with that. However, in 1994, the team from the Metropolitan Museum found another restoration text of Khaemwese, this time on masonry from the pyramid of Senwosret III at Dahshur;²⁰ clearly Khaemwese extended his pyramid-related activities further south than Saqqara, and to Middle Kingdom monuments, perhaps including some *quid pro quo* in terms of high-quality building material taken away for re-use in the developing monumental centre of Ramesside Memphis.

This activity almost certainly involved the Giza pyramids of Khufu and Khaefre. For instance, it might be noted that the surviving elements of hard stone in the West Hall include basalt blocks and red granite blocks with the sloping faces of pyramid casing which could easily have been sourced from, for instance, the Khufu pyramid complex. Other forms of evidence also link Khaemwese, or at least the Ramesside acquisition of building materials, to Giza.

²⁰ Oppenheim and Allen 2002.

May in Memphis

Clearly, Khaemwese could not have carried out his extensive building and restoration programme alone, but required a substantial workforce including senior 'Overseers of Work/Builders', some of whom we have already met. Another important official bearing this title was the Overseer of Works May, who was active during the reign of Ramesses II and Merenptah. He is attested on a collection of revealing monuments:

- i) A graffito²¹ at Sehel near Aswan, presumably written when on a mission to acquire granite for work on no less than three temples he is said to be Overseer of Works for - a temple for Ra, one for Amen and one for Ptah.
- ii) A damaged stela²² now in the Louvre which appears to connect him with building work at the temple of Ra in Heliopolis.
- iii) A stela²³ now in Cairo, which gives substantial array of titles, acting as Overseer of Works for eight major building projects, especially in the temple of Ra at Heliopolis, including *Overseer of Works in all the Monuments of the King in the House of Ptah*.

He may also have been involved in the building of the small chapel of Ramesses II

near the Sphinx,²⁴ reflecting a possibly royal commission work at Giza itself.

During the reign of Merenptah, if a statue of his from Memphis²⁵ reflects his status during that reign, May became 'Great Craftsman in the Mansion of the Great Prince' and 'Overseer of Works in the Temple of Ptah'. He may have been responsible for the building of Merenptah's temple at Memphis, in which he placed his statue. As the Cairo statue from Memphis implies that May was active during the reign of Merenptah, his works for Ramesses II were, presumably towards the end of that reign. Khaemwese had died only about 12 years before Ramesses II himself. It is therefore unlikely that Khaemwese and May were unaware of each other, and the latter may well have acted as subordinate to the former.

This is not a complete inventory of May's monuments from the Memphite area, although it indicates the scope of his building activities, including the acquisition of stone for building work. But May's most striking self-attestation is not a conventional personal monument but a pair of graffiti. These particular graffiti are not simple ink texts, but deeply carved

²¹ Habachi 1954: 210-211, fig.24.

²² Sauneron 1953: 60-61 and refs cit.

²³ Gaballa 1972; Zivie 1976: 214-216.

²⁴ As evidenced by a fragment of a limestone stela (current location unknown) excavated by Hassan in his excavations in the Sphinx *Temenos* at Giza; Hassan 1953: 9 & fig.5; Habachi 1954: 217 & fig.29; Zivie 1976, 213.

²⁵ Habachi 1954: 213-216, figs 27-28.

inscriptions,²⁶ high in the rock face created by quarrying around the pyramid of Khaefre. The longer text reads *Overseer of Works in (the temple called) 'Effective for Ramesses-Beloved-of-Amen in the House of the Great Prince' May, son of the Overseer of Works Bakenamen of Thebes*. Immediately underneath this line of text is another shorter text which, presumably, names the actual author of this inscription, *Chief of Sculptors Pamenu, the justified*. The shorter text reads *Overseer of Works in the Temple of Ra, May*.

These texts have a special significance since they are, as Habachi notes, the '*seules inscriptions rupestres qui se trouvent dans la région des pyramides de Guizeh*'.²⁷ The reason for the presence of these graffiti is not apparent, since they do not have an explanatory element to them, unlike the more casual graffiti which typify Ramesside graffiti in the Memphite necropolis. It has been argued by some scholars, especially Hölscher,²⁸ that May's presence at Giza was linked to the removal of stone blocks - especially pyramid casing blocks - for use in other Ramesside buildings, including those at Pr-Ramesses. However, Habachi argued that a celebratory graffito placed in association with a project which

involved the partial destruction of a standing monument of an earlier king would seem an odd act.²⁹ Indeed it would seem to be almost the antithesis of the Khaemwese pyramid labellings - not a well-cut monumental 'graffito' on the casing blocks of a pyramid marking the restitution of those casing blocks, but a well-cut monumental graffito on a convenient vertical stone face facing a pyramid from which the casing blocks have been taken.

The Statue of Khaemwese/Kawab

One final piece of evidence worthy of our consideration in this context is another piece of stone with Khaemwese's name on it, in this case the lower part of a statue which originally belonged to Kawab, son of Khufu. I have already published some thoughts on this objects in the *Festschrift* for Ken Kitchen,³⁰ which particularly concentrated on the ways in which a royal son of the Nineteenth Dynasty might regard a monument of a royal son of the Fourth Dynasty in the context of the Ramesside interest in the past. My immediate concern now is to examine the original context of this Old Kingdom

²⁶ Habachi 1954: 213?; Sauneron 1954: 57-59 and refs cit.; for early copies of this text see Zivie 1976: 6, nn.4-5.

²⁷ Habachi 1954: 213.

²⁸ Hölscher 1912: 67.

²⁹ *Un homme comme Mey qui a dédié une stèle au Sphinx, qu'on croit être la représentation de Khéphren, ne devait pas songer à enlever les blocs faisant partie du temple funéraire ou du revêtement de la pyramide de ce roi*. Habachi 1954: 218.

³⁰ Snape 2011.

statue - undoubtedly it came from Kawab's mastaba at Giza - and suggest possible mechanisms for its transportation, by Khaemwese, to the Ptah Enclosure at Memphis where it was found in 1908.

Apart from the three small queen's pyramids, the mastaba tomb of Kawab (G.7110/7120)³¹ - see **figure 2** - has the prime position in the court cemetery to the east of Khufu's pyramid, occupying the north-west corner of that cemetery and therefore being the closest mastaba to the pyramid of Khufu, its mortuary temple and its causeway. This privileged position was appropriate for a tomb owned by the eldest royal son who, had he outlived his father, would have had no need of that tomb because, as king, he would have begun work on his own pyramid. The tomb is a double mastaba, built for Kawab and his wife Hetepheres II, who would outlive her husband to become the wife of kings Djedefre and (possibly) Khaefre.

The mastaba itself was, essentially, a solid rubble-filled stone box. The offering chapel of Kawab's tomb was only minimally embedded within the southern end of the eastern face of the mastaba, with most of the structure being built across the width of the corridor ('Street 7100') formed by the eastern face of Kawab's mastaba and the western face of its neighbour, G.7210/7220, belonging to Djedefhor.

³¹ Simpson 1978

The excavators discovered that attempts had been made to destroy this chapel, probably not long after it had been constructed, resulting in heavy damage to the fabric of the chapel, its reliefs and the statuary it had contained. A significant quantity of statue fragments was recovered from the chapel of Kawab; the excavators estimated that, in total, the chapel had contained between 10-20 statues of Kawab. Moreover:

*The statues were evidently smashed as a vindictive procedure instituted against Kawab or his memory personally, against the nobles of the house of Cheops as a group, or against the royal family of the Old Kingdom.*³²

As noted above, the Kawab statue which had been reinscribed by Khaemwese was found by local diggers in 1908, somewhere in the region of Mit Rahineh. The Khaemwese text on the statue self-referentially describes it as having been 'taken from what was cast (away)'.³³ The text also refers, in an unfortunately damaged way, to a monument of Khaefre. In view of the severely damaged nature of the statuary belonging to Kawab, and Khaemwese's statement that it had been found discarded - presumably part of the smashing and spreading which had resulted in the condition of the other statuary - it is

³² Simpson 1978: 7.

³³ Snape 2011: 472

hard to imagine that the Mit Rahineh statue had been found intact by Khaemwese. This means that he brought to his statue-park a statue which was already, essentially, a base with legs, albeit one clearly inscribed with the names and titles of Kawab. This would seem a more likely scenario than Khaemwese having discovered an abandoned but intact statue of Kawab, which was subsequently damaged at some point after it had been transported to Memphis. It is less easy to be confident about describing the process by which Khaemwese came to discover the Kawab statue in the first place. Obviously he was not carrying out restoration on tombs within the court-cemetery of Khufu's pyramid complex, although the offering-chapel of Kawab – and indeed adjacent court mastabas – were in need of such restoration after a (presumably) ancient destruction. Is it possible that he was engaged in work collecting building stone for use in the Ptah Temple from the pyramid-complex of Khufu pyramid, but at the same time snapping up unconsidered trifles (such as Old Kingdom statues) for repurposing elsewhere? If so, it is possible to regard the totality of all this activity in Memphis and in the Memphite necropolis by Khaemwese and others as a genuine attempt to display an active interest in the past which goes beyond a pragmatic desire to get hold of good quality building stone, and in which we should see in the interplay

of activity a more subtle and nuanced set of intentions. After all, as Khaemwese himself boldly states:³⁴

... so greatly did he love antiquity and the noble ones who were before, together with the excellence of all they did.

³⁴ Snape 2011: 472.

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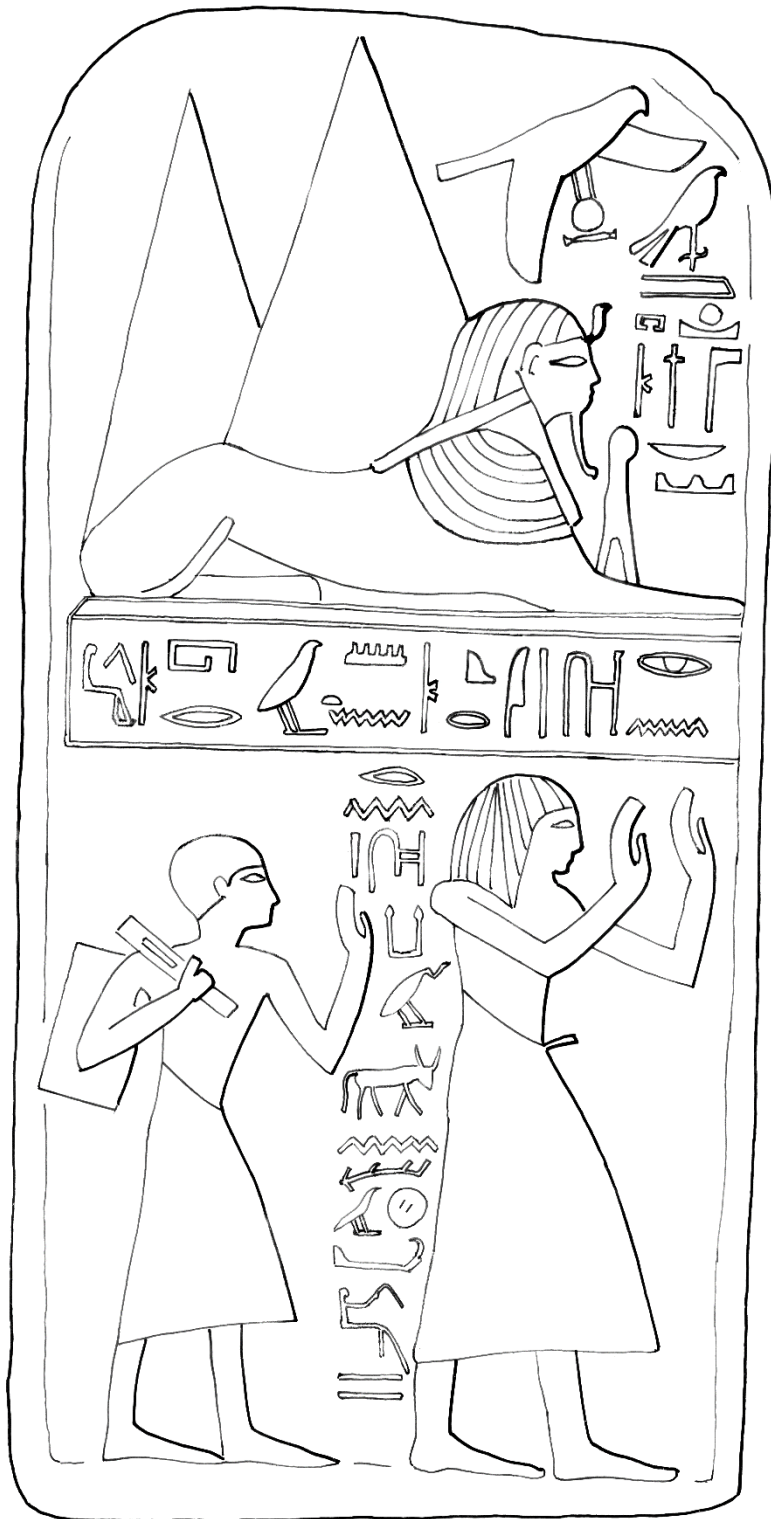


Figure 1. Stela of Montuher and Kamutnakht (original drawing by Julian Heath).

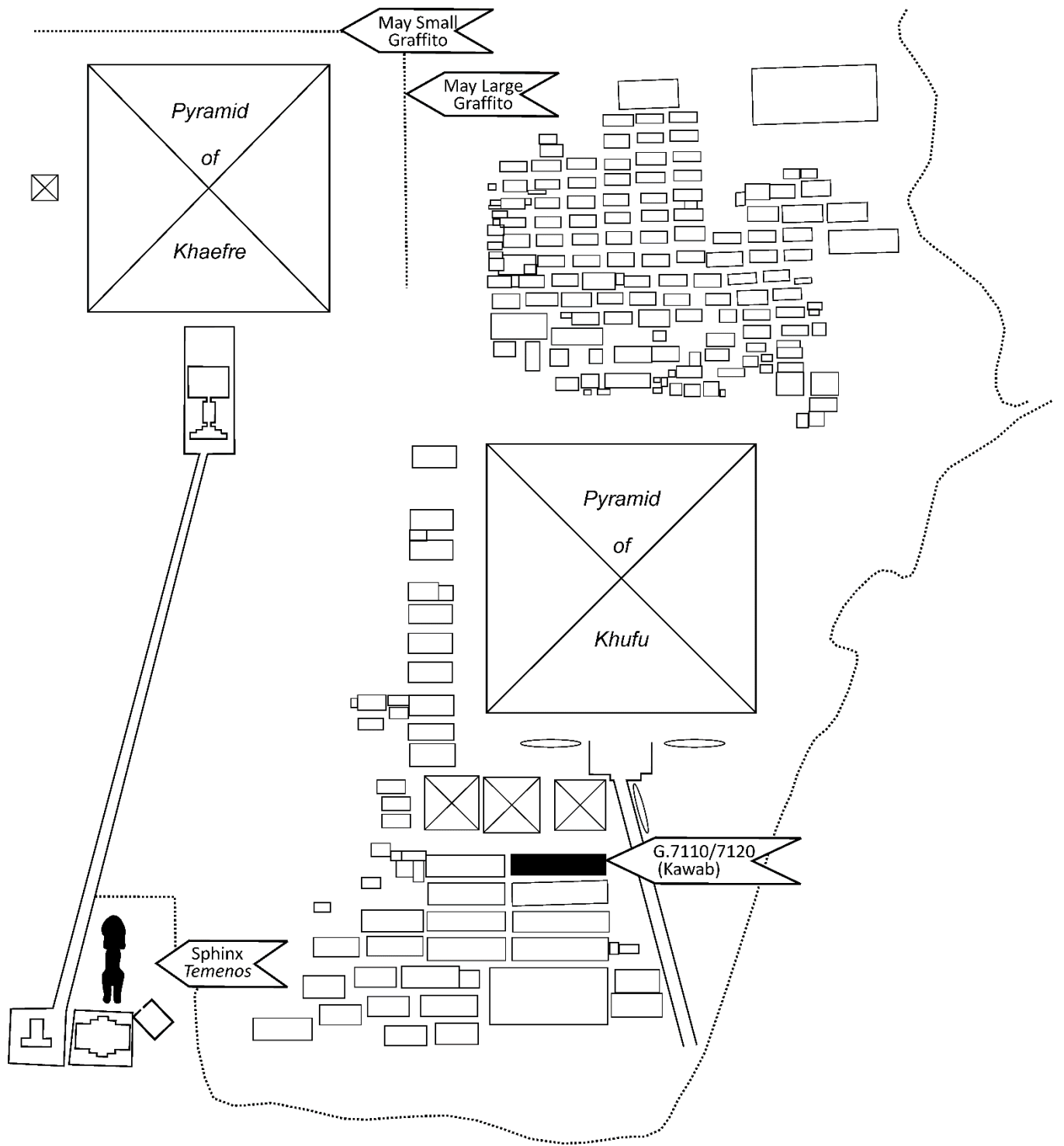


Figure 2. Plan of part of the Giza Necropolis, showing places mentioned in the text.