RAMESSIDE STUDIES IN HONOUR OF K. A. KITCHEN

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Khaemwese and the Present Past: History and the Individual in Ramesside Egypt

Steven Snape

There can be few individuals who have had as deep an interest in, or as profound a knowledge of, the monuments of early Ramesside kings as the dedicatee of this well-deserved celebration of his own monumental contribution to the study of Ramesside Egypt. One possible exception is Khaemwese, fourth son of Ramesses II, whose extensive and innovative activities in the Memphite region on his own behalf and for his father combined the personal and professional. This modest contribution to a volume which honours a scholar to whom I owe both a personal and professional debt of thanks, presents a new copy of the inscription added by Khaemwese to a statue of Kawab, son of Khufu. It also discusses some of the ways in which this modest monument might be seen as part of an individual contribution by Khaemwese to the manipulation of monumental landscapes in the early Ramesside period which was, at least in part, informed by contemporary views of the past, particularly those which stressed the projection of aspects of kingship.

Khaemwese at Memphis

The career of Khaemwese is reasonably well-known and well-documented.[1] He had been installed as *sm*-priest of Ptah in time for the burial of the Apis bull of his father's Year 16 and had a career in the service of Memphite gods, especially the Apis and Ptah. His activities outside the Memphite area included the promulgation throughout Egypt of the five royal jubilees held between Years 30–42, but he is best represented in the archaeological record as a result of his leading role in a major programme of building new monuments, and reactivating/remodelling old ones, at Memphis, including the Memphite necropolis. He is especially noted for his work in connection with the remodelling of the Apis burials in the Serapeum,[2] where his agenda for reconstruction and innovation was expressed in some detail so that it might be seen and admired by future generations.[3] His activities in the Memphite region can best be summarised by noting that he seems to have been the active inspiration behind the monumental manipulation of the sacred landscape at Memphis for most of the reign of Ramesses II.

[1] F. Gomaà, *Chaemwese: Sohn Ramses' II und Hoherpriester von Memphis* (ÄA 27; Wiesbaden, 1973); M. M. Fisher, *The Sons of Ramesses II* (ÄAT 53; Wiesbaden, 2001), I, 89–105, II, 89–143; summaries in K. A. Kitchen, *Pharaoh Triumphant: the Life and Times of Ramesses II, King of Egypt* (Warminster, 1982) and J. A. Tyldesley, *Ramesses: Egypt's Greatest Pharaoh* (London, 2000), 153–60.

[2] Gomaà, *Chaemwese*, 39–47.

[3] *RITANC* 588, §336 and refs. cit.

Sacred Landscape at Memphis

Due to the archaeologically-denuded nature of the site,[4] a reconstruction of the appearance of New Kingdom Memphis must rely on a variety of sources, as assembled and analysed by Kitchen.[5] The heart of the Ramesside city was clearly the Ptah enclosure, which benefitted from embellishments during the reign of Ramesses II, principally the so-called 'West Hall'. This work (including pylon and colossi) was effectively a development of a new temple built by Amenhotep III, 'Nebmaatre-United-with-Ptah'.[6] Amenhotep III's activities at Memphis are best represented by this new temple, to the east of the earlier Ptah temple[7] and his appointment of his eldest son, Tuthmosis, as High Priest of Ptah.[8] One of Tuthmosis' acts in this role was the first known Apis bull burial in the Serapeum,[9] an obvious point of comparison with Khaemwese and an example of the parallel Ramesses II/Amenhotep III, Tuthmosis/Khaemwese roles at Memphis.[10] Kitchen regards Ramesses II's West Hall as a form of contra-temple to the eastwards-facing Ptah Temple, possibly on the site of an existing Tuthmoside structure,[11] and that its main purpose was act as a Jubilee Hall[12] to celebrate the king's jubilees at Memphis.[13] The connection between Khaemwese and his father's jubilees has already been noted, and the role of Khaemwese in constructing this hall is very likely; the names of the king on the most significant monuments from this hall – the statues of Ptah – make it likely they were part of a donation associated with the jubilees of Years 42–56[14] (i.e. when Khaemwese was still alive, apart from the Year 56 jubilee) while the foundation deposit found by Petrie[15] naming Ramesses II on plaques also inscribed with the name of Khaemwese are probably to be attributed to the West Hall, or an earlier structure which was subsequently demolished.[16] It may also be that the

[4] D. G. Jeffreys, *The Survey of Memphis* (London, 1985).

[5] K. A. Kitchen, 'Towards a Reconstruction of Ramesside Memphis', in E. Bleiberg and R. Freed (eds), *Fragments of a Shattered Visage: The Proceedings of the International Symposium on Ramesses the Great* (MIEAA 1; Memphis, Tenn., 1991), 87–104. For pre-Ramesside temple-building at Memphis see also J. Malek, 'The Temples at Memphis. Problems highlighted by the EES Survey', in S. Quirke (ed.), *The Temple in Ancient Egypt* (London, 1997), 90–101; R. G. Morkot, '*Nb-M3ʿt-Rʿ*-United-with-Ptah', *JNES* 49 (1990), 323–37.

[6] Morkot, *Nb-M3ʿt-Rʿ*, regards this temple as a foundation quite distinct from the Memphite Ptah Temple itself, a 'Mansion of Millions of Years' whose relationship to the Ptah Temple was analogous to that, at Thebes, between Amenhotep III's Kom el-Hetan Temple and the Amen Temple at Karnak. It is also more than possible that, if the Amenhotep III structure was indeed a 'Mansion of Millions of Years' distinct from the main Ptah Temple itself, the partial dismantling of the Amenhotep III building in order to construct the Ramesses II West Hall becomes more likely - one might cite here the possible parallel case of the Kom el-Hetan temple being used as a convenient quarry by the builders of Merenptah's nearby memorial temple.

[7] Known from fragments and, principally, texts describing it; see W. R. Johnson, 'Monuments and Monumental Art under Amenhotep III: Evolution and Meaning', in D. O'Connor and E. H. Cline (eds), *Amenhotep III: Perspectives on His Reign* (Ann Arbor, 1998).

[8] A. Dodson, 'Crown Prince Djhutmose and the Royal Sons of the Eighteenth Dynasty', *JEA* 76 (1990), 87–96. Dodson notes (ibid. 88) the ownership by both Tuthmosis and Khaemwese of the titles *wr ḫrp ḥmw* and *sm* (of Ptah) and speculates a somewhat similar *cursus honorum*, although for Khaemwese the title *s3-nsw smsw* came late and was short-lived.

[9] Attested by a stela from the burial of Apis I; PM III^2, 780.

[10] The extent to which Tuthmosis was an obvious presence in Amenhotep III's Ptah temple is unknown.

[11] As suggested by the stelae recovered by Petrie (W. M. F. Petrie, *Memphis* I (London, 1909)) during work in the West Hall. The nature of these private stelae strongly suggests that private interaction with royal temples was actively pursued at this building.

[12] Morkot, *Nb-M3ʿt-Rʿ*, 334–5, suggests that the '*Nb-M3ʿt-Rʿ* United-with-Ptah' Temple of Amenhotep III had a similar function as the primary location for the celebration of the king's jubilees.

[13] For Memphis as the nucleus for the celebration of jubilees during the Ramesside period, and specifically during the reign of Ramesses II, see A. H. Gardiner, 'The Delta Residence of the Ramessides' *JEA* 5 (1918), 127–38, 179–200, 242–71. Note also the Memphite focus of jubilee as suggested by the 'Blessing of Ptah' text recorded on a group of Ramesses II temples; K*RI* II, 258-81; *RITA* II 99–110; *RITANC* II, 159–63.

[14] *RITANC II*, 348.

[15] Petrie, *Memphis* I, 8, pl. 19.

[16] *RITANC* II, 348.

westward-facing hall, looking towards the Old Kingdom monuments of the Memphite necropolis, allowed the celebration of royal jubilee in a context where association with past kings, and the idea of the ancientness of kingship itself, was explicitly visible. This would itself not be surprising given Ramesside kings' view of the past.

Ramesside Kings and the Past

The Ramesside sense of history, and its relationship to kingship, is well-known.[17] Early Ramesside kings – specifically Seti I and Ramesses II – made clear reference to the role of their respective fathers in their own kingship,[18] particularly through their own filial piety in constructing appropriate monuments for their immediate ancestor. This father-son continuity, hardly new in Egyptian history, also found new emphasis in the chapel to the royal ancestor present in the Theban memorial temples of Seti I, Ramesses II and Ramesses III.[19] The latter king is an interesting case in that his 'royal predecessor' was not Sethnakht but the more illustrious Ramesses II, perhaps seeing in that king a more appropriate royal role-model than his own father. This too is an important notion present in Ramesside public monuments – the idea of constructing an identity through (wishful) association with 'ancestors' (the issue of consanguinity is hardly relevant in this context) in whom one might see an actual or prospective similarity. One very visible expression of this phenomenon is the extent to which early Ramesside kings, particularly Seti I, 'reactivated' earlier monuments, and labelled them as such through the application of *sm*ꜣ*y mnw* texts.[20]

Redford argues that part of the reason for such identification is cultic; that the offering to ancestors or 'jubilant summons' (*nḏs ḫknw*) was a fundamental aspect of the offering-ritual in royal temples,[21] with the king who initiated the ritual also being one of its beneficiaries. This would provide one explanation for, e.g., the Abydos king-list with its rows of cartouches of royal 'ancestors' to be offered to, ending with that (or, rather, those) of Seti I himself. Redford would make a specific distinction here between the royal lists present at Abydos and in northern Egypt, and those Theban lists where the post-Hyksos Theban line was especially revered.[22] However, Redford also notes that the nature of the king-list in the tomb of Tjeroy at Saqqara suggests that, during the Ramesside period, the Theban tradition of king-lists had become influential in the Memphite region.[23]

Alongside the listing of royal names, royal statues were a major focus for this activity, chiefly as recipients of offering-cults within 'state temples and royal mortuary temples'. There are three particularly important situations where non-contemporary royal names or statues might be used in a cultic context; for offering ceremonies conducted in royal temples, in royal-sponsored processions, and in private mortuary contexts. Certainly there is abundant Theban evidence for such ancestor-oriented rituals in royal, private and semi-royal contexts, and kings of the Eighteenth Dynasty (especially the early Eighteenth

[17] e.g. W. J. Murnane, 'The Kingship of the Nineteenth Dynasty', in D. O'Connor and D. P. Silverman (eds), *Ancient Egyptian Kingship* (PdÄ 9; Leiden, 1995).

[18] For examples see D. Redford, *Pharaonic King-Lists, Annals and Day-Books* (SSEA 4; Mississauga, 1986), 190–2.

[19] And probably others now in too poor a condition to be recognised as such. However it is notable that the chapel for the immediate royal ancestor tradition is, arguably, an innovation developed specifically for the personal agenda of affirming the kingship of Hatshepsut in her own memorial temple at Deir el-Bahri.

[20] P. J. Brand, *The Monuments of Seti I* (PdÄ 16; Leiden, 2000), 45 ff. Note that this programme was particularly focussed on New Kingdom monuments, especially at Thebes, but one example of a restoration in an Old Kingdom monument is the Sekhmet shrine within the pyramid complex of Sahure at Abu Sir: Brand, *Seti I*, 53–4.

[21] Redford, *King-Lists*, 192–3.

[22] Redford, *King-Lists*, 193–4.

[23] Redford, *King-Lists*, 27. On the basis of titles linking Tjeroy with a royal jubilee, Redford (*King-Lists* 22, n. 81) suggests the first jubilee of Ramesses II in Year 30 as a *terminus post quem* for the tomb. Again, note the conjunction of Memphis, Khaemwese, and jubilees of Ramesses II.

Dynasty) offered plenty of potential as appropriate foci with a pleasing combination of ancient distance and historical familiarity. This is something even private individuals felt they could participate in, as evidenced by the likely depiction of statues of famous royal figures from the late Seventeenth and early Eighteenth Dynasties on the walls of some private tombs from the Ramesside period.[24] More intriguing for the present discussion is the presence of the so-called 'Wadjmose Chapel', immediately adjacent to the Ramesseum, where the cult of some royal queens and princes from the early Eighteenth Dynasty was perpetuated until the Ramesside period; more specifically it seems to have been vigorously re-established during the reign of Ramesses II following its abandonment after the reign of Amenhotep III,[25] and was an institution which would almost certainly have been known to Khaemwese. The statue of Ramose from the Wadjmose chapel offers an interesting parallel with the Kawab statue. The similarities are that it is a statue of a royal son which served as the focus of an offering cult. Each statue is inscribed by the individual who set it up; in the case of the Ramose statue the (presumably) near-contemporary *kꜣ*-priest Kahery, in the case of Kawab the much later Khaemwese. Although the parentage of Ramose, like that of Wadjmose, is not known for certain, Tuthmosis I is a strong contender, making Ramose, like Kawab, the son of an illustrious father (as indeed was Khaemwese himself).

Old Kingdom Memphis - the view from the New Kingdom

Redford argues that the importance of Memphis was as the predominant place where, if anywhere, kingship resided, as *the* royal city in terms of establishing a king, through mechanisms such as the coronation, the importance of the Apis, and the increasingly important role of the priesthood of Ptah;[26] these functions largely post-date, and might even be said to flow from, the activities of Khaemwese there. For kings of the New Kingdom, Memphite monuments of the Old Kingdom could represent active present phenomena, such as the case of Tuthmosis IV and the Sphinx Dream Stela.

For non-royal individuals the same monuments could be viewed with passive admiration, perhaps mixed with hoped-for benefits,[27] or a more deliberate connection that opened channels of communication to gods resident in these monuments, particularly the great Sphinx at Giza.[28] The model for the latter interaction might well have been aspects of 'personal piety' which has come to typify the Ramesside period, but specifically taking advantage of opportunities for interaction in or around New Kingdom temple sites. At Memphis the most obvious examples for this were the aforementioned great Sphinx at Giza and the contemporary colossal statues of Ramesses II at the Ptah temple which, like similar colossal statues at Thebes, Pi-Ramesses and, presumably, elsewhere[29] provided deliberately created opportunities for interaction, and memorialisation of that interaction through stelae.[30]

[24] For a collection of these see Redford, *King-Lists,* 45–52; a specific Deir el-Medina context for most of these attestations is noticeable and there may, of course, be specific reasons why members of the royal family in the early New Kingdom were featured in tombs at the site. See also S. Snape, 'Ramose restored: a royal prince and his mortuary cult', *JEA* 71 (1985), 180–3.

[25] Snape, *Ramose restored*, 183.

[26] Redford, *King-Lists*, 298.

[27] New Kingdom graffiti on Old Kingdom Memphite monuments are often a combination of awe at the ancient achievement and pious hopes for participation in offering-cults; for examples see A. J. Peden, *The Graffiti of Pharaonic Egypt* (PdÄ 17; Leiden, 2001), 95–102. For a discussion of Saqqara as a focus of New Kingdom interest see J. Malek, 'A Meeting of the Old and New : Saqqara during the New Kingdom', in A. B. Lloyd (ed.), *Studies in Pharaonic Religion and Society in Honour of J. Gwyn Griffiths* (London, 1992), 57-76.

[28] For examples see Ch. Zivie-Coche, *Sphinx: History of a Monument* (Cornell, 2004).

[29] The likelihood that further named colossal statues of the king remain to be located is suggested by the head-piece from a Ramesses II colossus found at Bubastis (L. Habachi *Features of the Deification of Rameses II* (ADAIK 5; Glückstadt, 1969), 38, 41, fig. 29), and the discoveries of colossal statues of female family members of Ramesses II at Akhmim and Bubastis.

[30] Particularly the so-called 'Horbeit Stelae'; Habachi, *Features, passim.*

The Ramesside period is one where 'consciousness of lineage' finds expression in the explicit recording of multiple-generation genealogies, an aspect of personal identity which became especially important in the Third Intermediate Period.[31] However, identity in the Ramesside period might be recognised and expressed in different ways, on individual monuments, especially statues, where the iconography of the statue, the texts it bears and its physical context allowed multi-layering of expressions of a rich personal identity.[32] Monuments of private individuals could also include references to Old Kingdom kings, usually in the form of statuary which envisaged an offering-cult where both the private individual and the Old Kingdom monarch were honoured.[33] It is also possible that views of the past were shaped, in at least some cases, by personal identification with individuals from the past.[34]

For Khaemwese the combination of his particular position, and the ability which it gave him to express his identity, has resulted in a particularly varied and interesting monumental self-presentation. It is possible to see his activities at Memphis as re-modelling the city as a sacred landscape whose foci were Ptah/Apis/Old Kingdom royal tombs, emphasising the affirmation of kingship at the ancent capital, when the working administrative capital was shifting to Pi-Ramesses. Within this sacred landscape, created specifically for Ramesses II, the royal programme gave plenty of potential for individual participation.

Khaemwese and the Past; labelling the pyramids

An important factor defining the limits of Khaemwese's activity at Memphis, at least in presentational terms, was the necessity of framing what one might suspect as being a personal agenda within the declarations which present him as agent for a greater royal imperative. Perhaps the best example of this is in one of the most strikingly original acts by Khaemwese; his programme of reconstructing and labelling a series of major Old Kingdom[35] (and at least one Middle Kingdom[36]) monuments in the Memphite necropolis. The extent of this reconstruction – given the subsequent chequered history of these monuments – is unclear,[37] but Khaemwese's labels give a (undoubtedly intended) sense of decrepitude of the monuments concerned, *the strength of which had fallen into decay*. Khaemwese also notes, presumably with genuine puzzlement for one with experience of the importance of naming monuments for oneself, *His* (i.e. the original royal owner) *name was not found on the face of his pyramid.*

[31] Redford, *King-Lists*, 196.

[32] E. Frood, *Biographical Texts from Ramessid Egypt* (Atlanta, 2007), 7 and, for examples, *passim*.

[33] E.g. the offering-basin of Amenwahsu – possibly dated to the reigns of Seti I/Ramesses II – which shows Amenwahsu and his wife adoring a statue of Teti; J. Berlandini-Grenier, 'Varia Memphitica I', *BIFAO* 76 (1976), 301–316, esp. 313. Note that Berlandini-Grenier's principal focus in this article, the tomb of Ameneminet and the cult of kings of dynasties 5–6, suggests that such activity was taking place in the Memphite necropolis (especially in mortuary temples of that period) in the late Eighteenth Dynasty.

[34] Note that not only kings, but also famous non-royals from the past, might be celebrated in quasi-monumental form – Imhotep is an obvious example, but there are others, cf. Berlandini-Grenier, *Varia Memphitica,* 316, n. 2. The most important attestation of reverence paid to famous non-royals of the past is a pair of blocks depicting rows of 'sages' from an unattributed tomb of the Nineteenth Dynasty from Saqqara which, as Fischer-Elfert intriguingly notes, would not have been out of place in the tomb of Khaemwese himself; H-W. Fischer-Elfert, 'Representations of the Past in New Kingdom Literature', in J. Tait (ed.), *'Never Had the Like Occurred': Egypt's view of its past* (London, 2003), 130–1 and refs. cit.

[35] Gomaà, *Chaemwese*, 61 ff; K*RI* II, 873–5; *RITA* II, 566–7; *RITANC*, 583–4; Fisher, *Sons of Ramesses II*, II, 107–8, 123

[36] A. Oppenheim and J. P. Allen, 'The Inscription of Prince Khaemwaset', in D. Arnold, *The Pyramid Complex of Senwosret III at Dahshur: Architectural Studies* (New York, 2002), 29–30.

[37] Regarded as minimal by Malek, *Saqqara during the New Kingdom*, 65. However, it is possible that a graffito from the South Mastaba of the Djoser step-pyramid complex, dating to Year 36 of Ramesses, noting 'The First (day) of work of the stone-hewers(?) from the quarry' may refer to the beginning of a genuine restoration project, although other interpretations as to what the quarrymen were actually doing are possible; C. M. Firth and J. E. Quibell, *The Step Pyramid* I (Cairo, 1935), 85; K*RI* II, 875; Peden, *Graffiti* 100, n. 259.

The framing of royal approval of the actions described is apparent from the beginning of the text, *His Majesty decreed an announcement.* But what follows is stimulated by the experiences, and motivated by the desire for action, of Khaemwese himself; these desires are explained in terms which fit well within a generalised Ramesside agenda for respecting and making relevant an ancient past, but although this seems to be an agenda which is geared primarily towards the goal of turning Memphis into a city whose sacred landscape is dominated by ideas of kingship present and past, Khaemwese emerges as an individual who should attract the admiration of the viewer who can appreciate the nobleness of his sentiments and his ability to bring about this monumental work: *Very greatly did the* sm*-priest, the royal son Khaemwese desire to restore the monuments of the dual-kings, because of what they had done … He* (Khaemwese) *set forth a decree for its* (the OK monument's) *sacred offerings … its water … with a grant of land, together with its personnel…*

It is notable that the monuments selected are not all pyramid tombs, although all are significant Old (or Middle) Kingdom structures. To date, the monuments which have been found to have been restored and relabelled in this way are, from north to south, the Pyramid of Khufu,[38] the Sun-Temple of Niuserre, the Pyramid of Sahure, the Pyramid of Userkaf, the Pyramid of Djoser, the Pyramid of Unas, the Mastabat Fara'oun tomb of Shepseskaf, and the Pyramid of Sewosret III. The possibility that Old Kingdom tombs were, at least in part, located so that they could see/be seen from the Re-Horakhty temple at Iunu (Heliopolis) has been suggested by Jeffreys.[39] It is also possible that similar sight-lines may have influenced the location of Khaemwese's labelling or, to put it another way, the mutual visibility of the labelled Old Kingdom monuments and the westward-facing Ramesses II colossi[40] erected as part of the West Hall extension to the Ptah Temple at Memphis, if not providing a reason for each others' existence, would certainly have helped cement the idea of a sacred landscape which was integrated both spatially and temporally. The colossi of the king might therefore have been seen (literally) as having the kingship of Ramesses II himself affirmed through their connection to the pyramids of Old Kingdom rulers.

Therefore Khaemwese can be seen in some contexts as an agent of his father, but also as one capable of individual action within appropriate parameters and, within the inscription which was an integral part of his activity, is one whose personal role was recognised on buildings which now perpetuated the memory of three individuals, the Old Kingdom ruler, Ramesses II and Khaemwese. But the idea of a personal, individualised relationship with the past is also present in Khaemwese's activities, best represented by the statue of Kawab.

Khaemwese and the Statue of Kawab

Cairo Museum JE 40431 is the lower part of a seated diorite figure, 55 cm tall, apparently found by Quibell at Mit Rahina in 1908.[41] The text on the front of the throne, alongside the legs of the figure, identify it as belonging to the King's Son Kawab, best known from his large mastaba tomb in the Eastern

[38] Probably. Evidence for this consists of the interpretation of a text on the face of the pyramid reported by Herodotus as a garbled version of this; A. B. Lloyd, *Herodotus Book II: Commentary 99–182* (Leiden, 1988), 70; *RITANC* II, 584. It is notable that there is no obvious New Kingdom cult of divinised Giza pharaohs, although it is possible that these putative cults were absorbed into that of the sphinx; see Berlandini-Grenier, *Varia Memphitica*, 314–315.

[39] D. G. Jeffreys, 'The topography of Heliopolis and Memphis: some cognitive aspects', in H. Guksch and D. Polz (eds), *Stationen. Beiträge zur Kulturgeschichte Ägyptens, Rainer Stadelmann gewidmet* (Mainz-am-Rhein, 1998), 63–71; see also S. Quirke, *The Cult of Ra: Sun-worship in Ancient Egypt* (London, 2001), 88–90.

[40] It would be interesting to know whether the form, and naming, of these now-lost colossi reflected this role.

[41] Gomaà, *Chaemwese*, 67; no further specific information regarding the provenance of this piece is preserved in the JE record. However it might be noted that dealing with casual finds of antiquities by *sebbakh*-diggers at Mit Rahina at this period was not an unknown activity for Quibell, e.g. J. E. Quibell, 'Lintel of Merenptah at Mitrahineh', *ASAE* 8 (1907), 120–1.

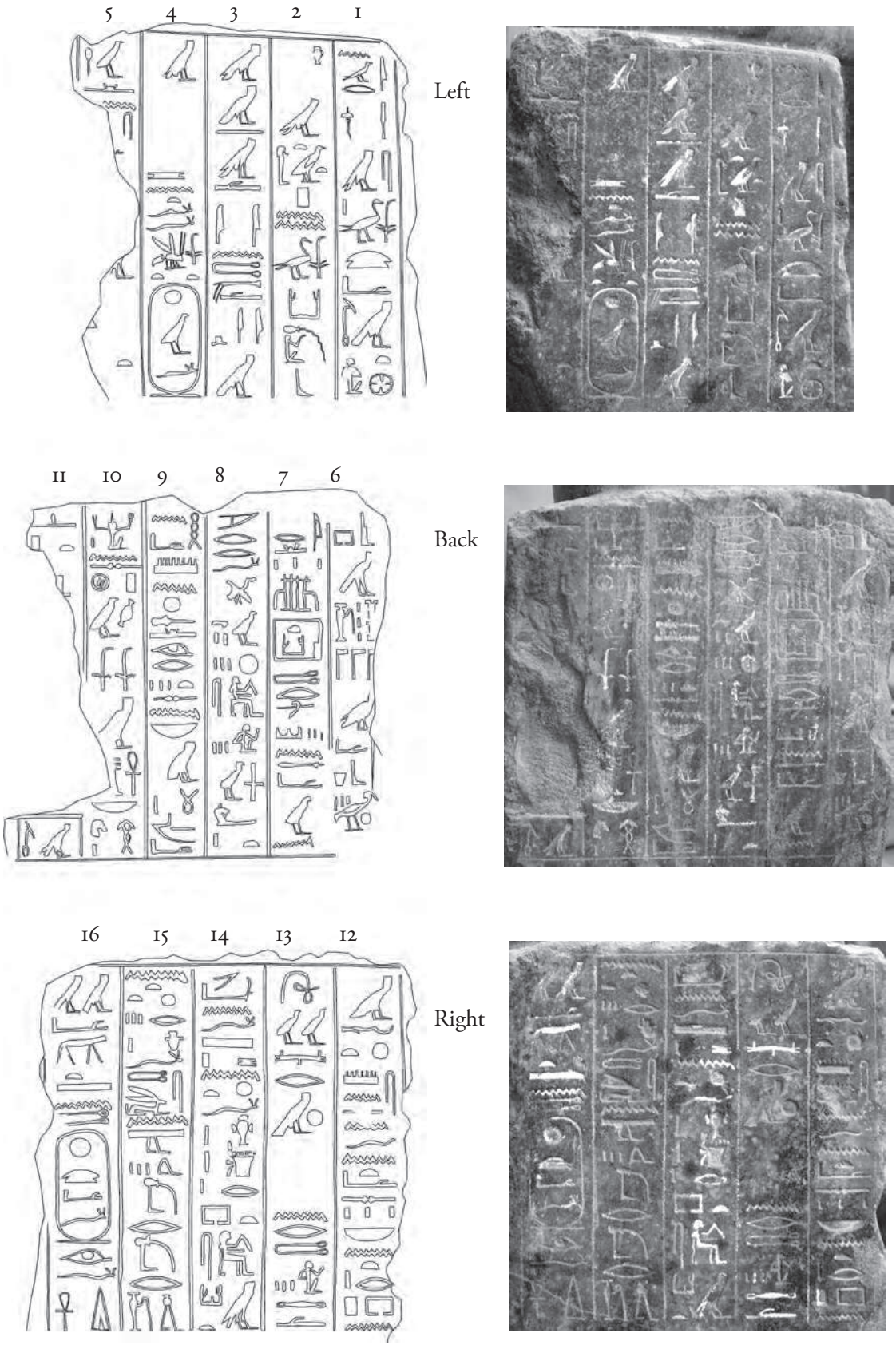

Figure 1 : Facsimile copy of the Khaemwese Text

Cemetery of his father's pyramid at Giza.[42] The style of the statue make its Old Kingdom origin very likely.[43] The identity of the statue-owner is further emphasised by a later text which was added to the statue, incised into the two sides and rear of the block throne (see Figure 1), and filled (traces still remain) with white plaster in order to make the text more visible against the dark surface of the stone. The addition of this text post-dated the creation of the statue by over a millennium since it was the self-proclaimed work of the fourth son of Ramesses II, Khaemwese. This statue was published by Gomaà in his compendium of monuments of Khaemwese,[44] including a hand-copy of the texts, which were later transcribed into the appropriate volume of K*RI*.[45] Gomaà's copy was also replicated by Fisher, along with new photographs of the statue, in her publication of monuments of Khaemwese.[46] In Summer 2007 the author had the opportunity to examine the Kawab statue,[47] and to prepare a facsimile copy of the Khaemwese texts, which provided a number of improved readings to the earlier version. With the new copy a few emendations might be made to Kitchen's[48] translation of the Khaemwese text:-

(1) By the Chief-directing-Artisans, *sm*-priest, King's Son, Khaemwese
(2) ... in/as this statue of the King's Son Kawab,
(3) who took it from what was cast (away) in
(4) ... beloved of his father, King of Upper and Lower Egypt, Khufu.
(5) [The *sm*-priest and King's Son Khaemwese?] decreed ...
(6) place in Memphis, (he) libates the gods in the company of the excellent *akh*-spirits
(7) before the *ka*-chapel of Ro-Setjau, so greatly
(8) did he love antiquity and the noble ones who were before,
(9) together with the excellence of all they did, in truth
(10) a million times. This inheritance(?) as all life, stability [health], to multiply
(11) offering ... ... [Kha]emwese.
(12) after he re-established all the rituals of this temple
(13) which had lapsed into desuetude ... of men.
(14) He dug a lake before the noble temple in work
(15) which agreed with his desire, making exist pure courses, for purity(?) to bring libations
(16) from the reservoir(?) of Khaefre, making for him 'given life'.

Observations on the Text

The first point to note is that there is no royal framing to the action described in the text. The recovery of this statue, its appropriate relocation and the provision of the resources to maintain an offering cult are clearly an appropriate individual action by Khaemwese acting by himself. Nevertheless, this is not the action of a private individual; the parallel status of the royal son Khaemwese and the royal son Kawab

[42] W. K. Simpson, *The Mastabas of Kawab, Khafkhufu I and II* (Boston, 1978). Simpson notes that statuary found within the tomb seems to have been deliberately attacked.

[43] Simpson, *Kawab,* 8, n. 20.

[44] F. Gomaà, *Chaemwese*, 84, Abb. 19, Tf. IV.

[45] K*RI* II, 872–3.

[46] Fisher, *Sons of Ramesses II*, II, 125, I, plates 139–40.

[47] For kindly granting permission to study and publish the texts on the Kawab statue I am grateful to Dr. Wafaa el-Sadek, for arranging physical access to the statue I would like to thank Mahmoud el-Halwagy, Andrew Bednarski and, for helpful discussions regarding issues discussed herein, Campbell Price.

[48] *RITA* II, 566. See also Gomaà, *Chaemwese*, 68. Even with improved readings of some signs this remains a 'difficult' (Malek, *Saqqara during the New Kingdom,* 61) text.

is one of the underlying themes of the text. It would be hard to imagine that the recovery of statuary of royal sons, and their reinscription, by most private individuals would be considered a decorous act.[49] The twin features of lack of royal framing and the apparent decorum of the act individualise Khaemwese in a very specific way.

An awareness of the past, at least in knowing the identity of Kawab, is also demonstrated.Indeed it may be that there is an element of deliberate demonstration of knowledge of Old Kingdom Memphis. Not only are Kawab and his father Khufu mentioned, but also a feature (reservoir?) named for Khaefre, an opportunity to have the cartouches of not one, but two Fourth Dynasty kings embedded within the text.

The topographic detail contained within the text is problematic. It is unclear exactly where Khaemwese set up the statue. The find-spot of Mit Rahina might indicate that it was placed within the West Hall of the Ptah Temple,[50] although the text itself might suggest a location in Ro-Setjau, a toponym which seems to refer to an area of the northern Memphite necropolis running south from Giza to Zawiyet el-Aryan.[51] The most important Ramesside structure in this area was the *Shetayet* shrine of the god Sokar,[52] whose importance is comparable to Abydos as a site for quasi-funerary deposition, such as the deposits of shabtis including those of Khaemwese.[53] Apart from restoring Old Kingdom monuments, Khaemwese's activities in the Memphite necropolis included the erection of new structures, including the so-called 'Hill-Shrine' the function of which is not obvious, but seems to have been a personal, rather than royal, project of Khaemwese, and one involving the substantial re-use of blocks from Old Kingdom monuments.[54] The excavators also note that this structure 'could easily be seen from the city of Memphis'.[55]

Finally, it is worth noting that, in constructing a personal identity based on an awareness of the past, Khaemwese gave himself a somewhat paradoxical position. One one hand, as with the labelling of the Old/Middle Kingdom royal monuments and the Kawab statue, he effuses respect for the past and the achievements of those who lived then. On the other, as at the Serapeum, he scornfully dismisses the efforts of those who came before him for their 'poor and ignorant works'.[56] As self-presentation, both views of the past have a certain validity to them and, one suspects, might well represent Khaemwese's sense of his own historical role.

[49] Although the stela of Bakenkhonsu (M. Boraik, 'Stela of Bakenkhonsu, High Priest of Amun-Re', *Memnonia* 18 (2007), 119–26) suggests that the reinstallation of overturned royal statuary, together with the addition of one's own statue, was an acceptable activity during the reign of Sethnakht.

[50] It is possible that its eventual (re-)location to Memphis itself represents a post-Khaemwese movement of the object.

[51] Kitchen, *Reconstruction*, 93.

[52] I. E. S. Edwards, 'The Setayet of Rosetau', in L. H. Lesko (ed.), *Egyptological Studies in Honor of Richard A. Parker* (London, 1986), 26–36.

[53] Kitchen, *Reconstruction*, 93.

[54] S. Yoshimura and M. Saito, 'Waseda University Excavations in Egypt and Recent Works at North Saqqara', in Z. Hawass (ed.), *Egyptology at the Dawn of the Twenty-First Century. Proceedings of the Eighteenth International Congress of Egyptologists Cairo, 2000* I*: Archaeology* (Cairo, 2003), 574–81. The authors suggest that this monument may have been a 'Ka-House' for Khaemwese.

[55] Yoshimura and Saito, *Waseda University Excavations*, 577.

[56] *RITA* II, 878–9.