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# The Tomb of Queen Khamerernebty II at Giza

## A Reassessment

By VIVIENNE G. CALLENDER and PETER JÁNOSI

(Plate 1)

Little is known about Queen Khamerernebty II, a royal woman of the 4th Dynasty. The bulk of information pertaining to her comes from a few inscriptions found in a tomb at Giza. She was the daughter of Queen Khamerernebty I – who was thought to be the wife of Chephren – and, according to the current view, Khamerernebty II is supposed to have been the wife of Mycerinus. No contemporary evidence confirms either of these marriages, which are mainly built on assumptions. What is more secure is that Khamerernebty II had a son, called Khuenre, who was also buried at Giza<sup>1</sup>).

### The Tomb

The tomb of Khamerernebty is situated to the west of the valley temple of Chephren's pyramid complex and to the south of his causeway (fig. 1). It lies in the north-eastern corner of the vast necropolis between the causeway of Chephren and the houses of the priests to the east of the tomb of Queen Khentkaus I (LG 100)<sup>2</sup>). The tomb was discovered and partly excavated by COUNT DE GALARZA under the surveillance of A. BEY KAMAL between 28th March 1907 and February 1908<sup>3</sup>). In 1910 two reports about the tomb were published in the same *Annales* volume: one by KAMAL<sup>4</sup>), who dealt briefly with some of the inscriptions and the objects found during the excavation, the other article by G. DARESSY, who took over KAMAL's position in 1909<sup>5</sup>). Since then no work seems to have been

<sup>1</sup>) Tomb MQ 1, PM III<sup>2</sup>, 293f. Evidence for the relationship comes from the prince's tomb, where he is depicted as a young boy in front of his mother, see W. SMITH, *A History of Egyptian Sculpture and Painting in the Old Kingdom*, Oxford 1949<sup>2</sup>, fig. 153.

<sup>2</sup>) The so called "Central Field" at Giza, PM III<sup>2</sup>, 230–293, fig. XX; see the general plan in S. HASSAN, *Giza IX*, 1960.

<sup>3</sup>) In March 1907 COUNT DE GALARZA was granted the permission to excavate "*dans un but purement scientifique*" in this part of the necropolis, see A. BEY KAMAL, *Rapport sur les fouilles du COMTE DE GALARZA*, *ASAE* 10, 1910, 116. It is not possible to determine the day or month when COUNT DE GALARZA hit upon the queen's tomb. According to KAMAL more mastabas were uncovered around her tomb in February 1908, A. BEY KAMAL, *ASAE* 10, 1910, 119f. Thus, by that time the queen's tomb must have been at least partly excavated. See also the remark in U. HÖLSCHER, *Das Grabdenkmal des Chephren. Veröffentlichungen der ERNST VON SIEGLIN Expedition in Ägypten I*, Leipzig 1912, 6 and Bl. II.

<sup>4</sup>) *ASAE* 10, 1910, 118f.

<sup>5</sup>) G. DARESSY, *La tombe de la mère de Chéfredon*, *ASAE* 10, 1910, 41–49. According to DARESSY's report, which is more detailed than KAMAL's description, he seems to have re-excavated or, at any rate completed the excavation of the tomb.

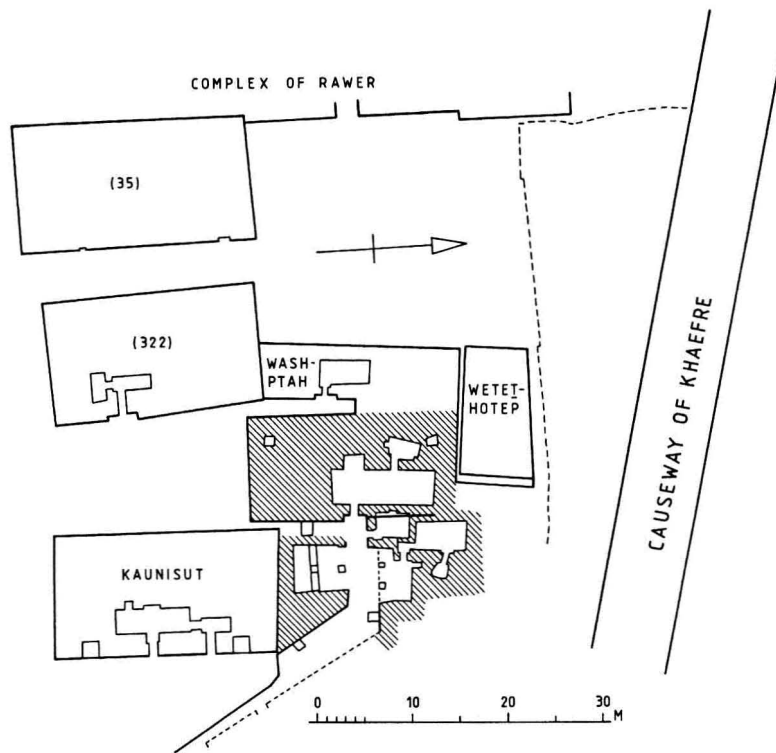


Fig. 1: The position of the Galarza Tomb in the Central Field at Giza (after S. HASSAN, *Giza II*, 1936, general plan)

executed on this tomb<sup>6</sup>). Today the tomb – especially the eastern part – is in a deplorable state of preservation and partly covered by sand and debris.

Because of the inscriptions and the objects found, the tomb was first ascribed by DARESSY to Queen Khamerernebtj I, the presumed wife of Chephren<sup>7</sup>). However, after E. EDEL had carefully

<sup>6</sup>) G. A. REISNER only copied DARESSY's plan in his publication of the site, see *A History of the Giza Necropolis I*, Oxford 1942, fig. 142, without providing any further information (236 f.). HASSAN, who conducted extensive excavations in the Central Field included the tomb in his general plan of the site, but did not comment on the architecture or state of preservation of the tomb. See S. HASSAN, *Giza II*, 1936, and *Giza IX*, 1960, general plan. It is not clear in what condition the tomb was during HASSAN's work in this part of the necropolis in 1930/31. In 1953 and 1954 E. EDEL published two important articles commenting on the inscriptions, their arrangements and reconstruction, see *Inschriften des Alten Reiches IV, Die Grabinschrift der Königin H'j-mrr-nbtj*, *MIO* 1, 1953, 333–336; IDEM, *Inschriften des Alten Reiches V, Zur Frage der Eigentümerin des Galarzagrabes*, *MIO* 2, 1954, 183–187.

<sup>7</sup>) In a recent article M. BAUD tried to identify an anonymous mastaba in the Central Field at Giza as the original burial place of Khamerernebtj I, *La tombe de la reine-mère H'j-mrr-Nbtj I<sup>r</sup>*, *BIFAO* 95, 1995, 11–19. Despite BAUD's meticulous argumentation we feel quite doubtful about the general tenor of his hypothesis, since it does not seem feasible for all later mortuary priests to have been buried near the queen mother whose cult they served. Furthermore the priests discussed (only one can safely be connected with Khamerernebtj) belong to a later period than the queen in question. An analysis and detailed discussion of BAUD's arguments will be presented in the near future, but one might ask why such a huge tomb – according to BAUD possibly begun already under Chephren (*op. cit.*, 15), which is by no means certain – was left unfinished without a single piece of inscription or decoration although it should have housed the interment of the mother of Mycerinus. The only false-door in the chapel found and described by S. HASSAN, *Giza I*, 89, can hardly be attributed to the initial conception of the tomb since it is too small. Based on the archaeological evidence reported by the excavator one might doubt if the mastaba was ever

investigated the inscriptions (see footnote 6), he assigned the tomb to Khamerernebty II, the daughter of the older queen and the alleged wife of Mycerinus.

The floor plan of the tomb and the arrangement of its rooms reveal peculiarities which make it evident that the tomb underwent several changes from its original layout. Therefore, a general description of the tomb and its different parts, as found and described by the excavators<sup>8</sup>), will be given at the beginning. Afterwards the changes and anomalies will be pointed out and possible explanations discussed.

The tomb consists of two parts (figs. 2 and 3). The front portion, on the eastern side of the tomb contains two rock-cut rooms, each having two pillars (rooms B and C). The western part of the tomb contains the actual rock-cut chapel H with the burial chamber J. One approaches the tomb from the east by a central aisle (A), which was not roofed, and which leads directly to the entrance of chapel H. On either side of this aisle are the pillared rooms. The southern one (B) contained two rectangular pillars arranged in a north-south row. The size of this room is  $5.5 \times 4.6$  to  $5.2 \times 3.0$  metres (c.  $10\frac{1}{2} \times 9$  to  $10 \times 6$  cubits<sup>9</sup>). The ceiling was 0.8 to 1.5 metres thick<sup>10</sup>). The pillars are of different sizes;  $63 \times 68$  centimetres for the northern one and  $80 \times 65$  centimetres for the southern pillar. The southern pillar had on its northern side a sculptured representation of a standing woman in a shrine facing north (figs. 2 and 3).

At some stage, the rear part of room B was walled up and was obviously used as a serdab (room B<sub>2</sub>:  $5.2 \times 1.9$  metres =  $10 \times 3\frac{1}{2}$  cubits<sup>11</sup>). This inaccessible room contained several statues, of which four were more or less complete, while a number of fragments belonging to other statues were scattered over the floor<sup>12</sup>).

Opposite the southern pillared room another rock-cut porch exists. It has two pillars of smaller size ( $50 \times 45$  centimetres) arranged in an east-west row. The dimensions of the forepart of the room are  $5.96 \times 1.6$  metres ( $11\frac{1}{2} \times 3$  cubits); the rear part measures  $4.5 \times 2.0$  to  $1.8$  metres ( $8\frac{1}{2} \times 3\frac{1}{2}$  to 4 cubits). The height of room C is 2.5 to 3.1 metres (5 to 6 cubits). At the back of the chamber two statues were found. One was placed in a niche ( $1.0 \times 0.69 \times 1.1$  metres in size) at floor level in the north-western corner<sup>13</sup>). The other was placed in the north-eastern corner (fig. 2) and represents the seated queen Khamerernebty<sup>14</sup>).

used by its originally intended occupant. Presently, the facts are too meagre to associate this tomb with the burial place of Khamerernebty I or any other queen, since especially in the case of Khamerernebty I one would envisage a pyramid for the mother of Mycerinus, see P. JÁNOSI, *BACE* 3, 1992, 51–57.

<sup>8</sup>) The plans given by DARESSY and HASSAN differ in many respects. The older plan is more detailed, but lacks information which is present in the other, like the shafts, which were numbered by HASSAN. Although the layout of the tomb is clear, measurements and orientations of rooms differ sometimes considerably. Compare, for instance, the position and size of the burial chamber or the form of room G. For the sake of clarity both plans are reproduced here without any attempt to rectify one or the other, since today one half of the tomb is inaccessible and the other badly destroyed and covered by sand again. The clearance of the site would certainly reveal further information concerning the architecture and the history of the tomb. Such an attempt – although highly desirable – is unfortunately beyond the means of the authors and all conclusions are solely based on the published material and some additional observations at the site. The numbering of the individual rooms follows the letters given by DARESSY and is, for the sake of convenience, also used in HASSAN's plan in fig. 3 here.

<sup>9</sup>) All measurements are taken from DARESSY's report and his plan in *ASAE* 10, 1910, 42, with some additional observations from the still-remaining parts. The measurements given by DARESSY are approximate and do not always correspond with his plan.

<sup>10</sup>) During the excavation of the tomb the ceiling fell down. Today nothing of the original architecture of this room is visible. Unfortunately no photograph was taken and published before the structure collapsed.

<sup>11</sup>) G. DARESSY, *ASAE* 10, 1910, 43, was of the opinion that the wall was erected to prevent the ceiling from collapsing.

<sup>12</sup>) G. DARESSY, *ASAE* 10, 1910, 43.

<sup>13</sup>) It is the seated statue of a prince called *Shmr*; G. DARESSY, *ASAE* 10, 1910, pl. II.

<sup>14</sup>) A. BEY KAMAL, *ASAE* 10, 1910, 118; *PM III*<sup>2</sup>, 274; *JE* 48 856. The statue measures 2.3 metres in height and is the only

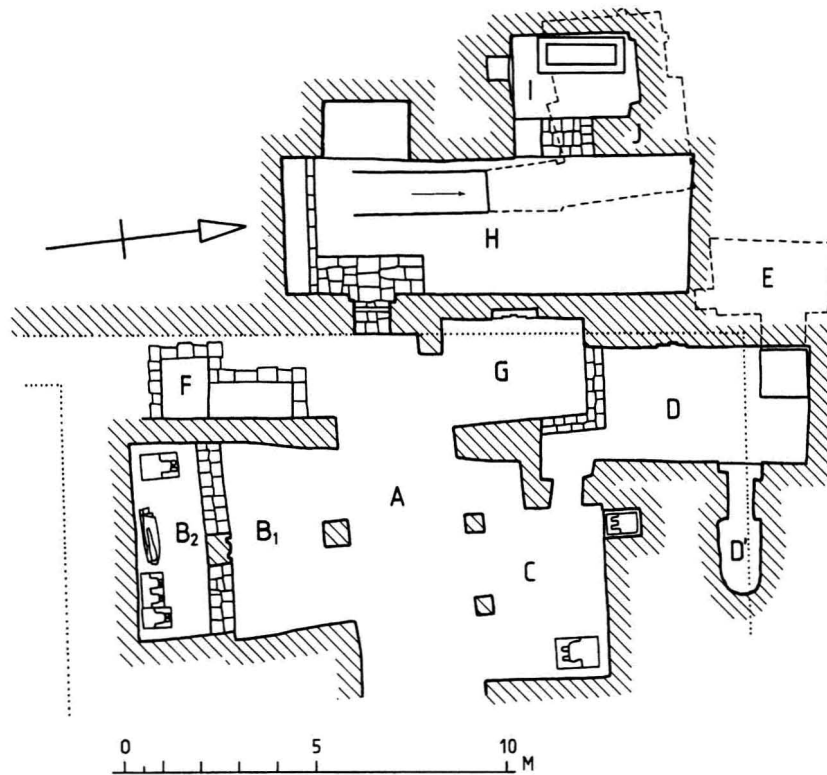


Fig. 2: The tomb of Khameremeby II  
(after G. DARESSY, *ASAE* 10, 1910, 42)

In the west wall of this pillared chamber an entrance leads into another rock-cut chamber (D). Its southern wall was partly erected with limestone blocks. The chamber measures 5.6 to 7.1 × 3.2 metres (11 to 13½ × 6 cubits). Approximately in the middle of its western wall a small false-door was cut into the rock. According to the excavation report the false-door was once painted, but no traces of either paint or inscriptions were visible at the time of the excavation. In the north-western corner a shaft, 3 metres deep, leads to the burial chamber E, 3.0 to 3.3 × 1.85 to 2.1 metres (6 × 4 cubits) in size, containing a small recess (50 × 50 centimetres) in the southern wall. This was intended as a canopic niche. No stone sarcophagus – or any part of it – was found in the burial chamber. On the floor the fragments of bones of at least two persons, and several cups made of alabaster were found. In the eastern wall of D there was once a niche; this was later cut further to the east forming an irregular cave (about 2 metres long and 1.12 metres wide)<sup>15</sup>). The purpose of this enlargement is not quite clear, but could represent an attempt to create another cult chamber.

To the right of the entrance leading into the rock-cut tomb chapel H another chamber (G) was hewn out of the rock (3.6 to 3.75 × 2.6 to 2.9 metres = 7 × 5 to 5½ cubits). Its northern wall and part of the eastern wall were built in limestone blocks forming the partition wall between this room and

monumental sculpture of a queen of the Old Kingdom still preserved, W. ST. SMITH, *A History of Egyptian Sculpture*, 15, 41 f., 46.

<sup>15</sup>) G. DARESSY, *ASAE* 10, 1910, 44. In this cave a few bones and pottery dating to the 4th dynasty have been retrieved. Note the difference of orientation of D (figs. 2 and 3); the enlargement to the east is not as straight as given in DARESSY's plan.

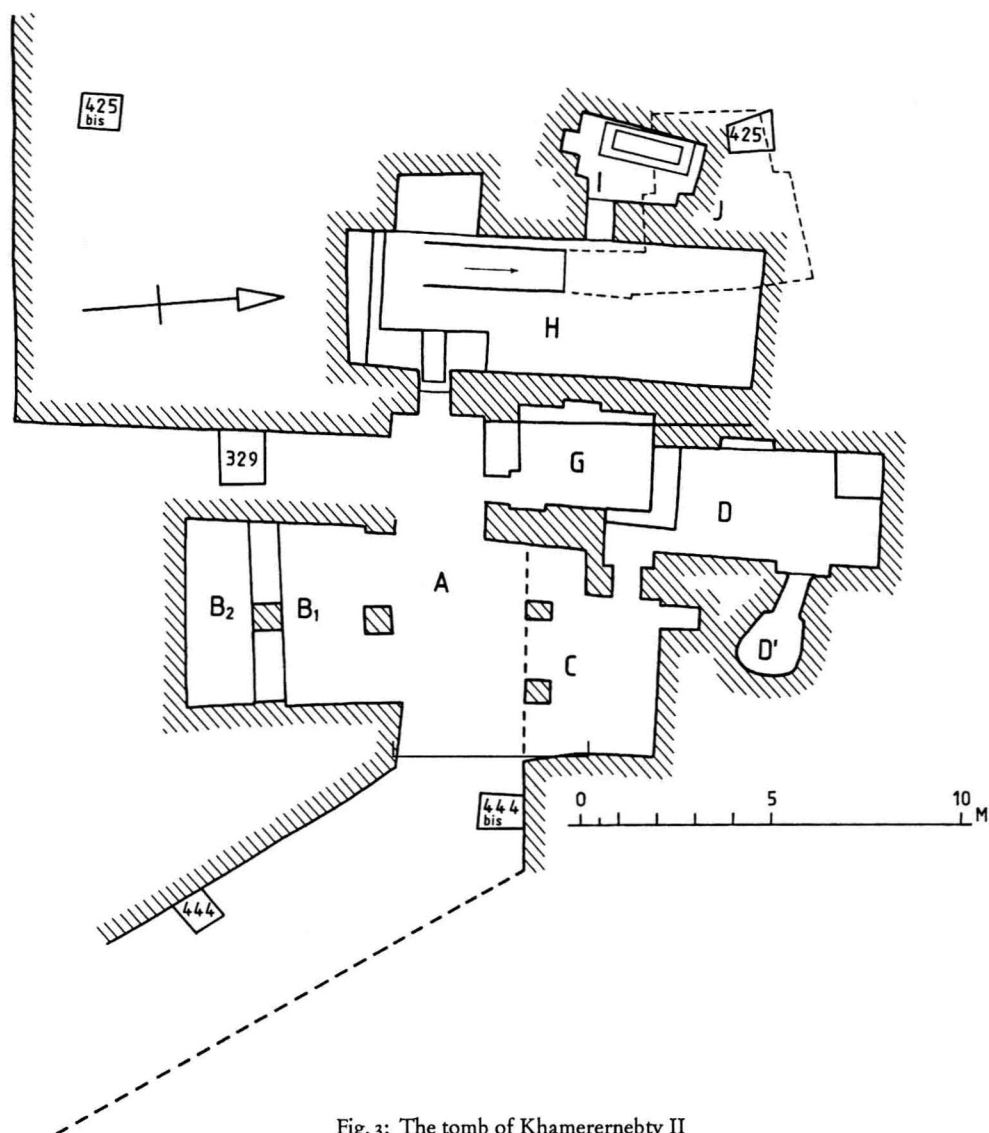


Fig. 3: The tomb of Khamererneby II  
(after S. HASSAN, *Giza II*, 1936, general plan)

the northern room D. In the middle of the western wall a large false-door (1.15 × 2.12 metres in size), made of limestone, and void of any trace of an inscription, was set into a recess in the rock.

To the left of the chapel-entrance a corridor leads to the south where a New Kingdom shaft (F) was uncovered<sup>16</sup>).

The façade of the rock-cut chapel consists of two parts: a lower part, which was cut nearly vertically from the rock, and the upper part, which was built of limestone blocks mounted on top of the rock-cut structure. The entrance into the tomb-chapel once contained a lintel with horizontal inscriptions mentioning both Khamererneby I and II, and their relationship as mother and daughter. There was a representation of these queens on the doorjamb to the right (see p. 14 below)<sup>17</sup>). Today

<sup>16</sup>) G. DARESSY, *ASAE* 10, 1910, 45. This shaft is numbered 329 in S. HASSAN, *Giza II*, general plan (see fig. 3), but no further comment relating to the shaft was provided by the excavator.

<sup>17</sup>) G. DARESSY, *ASAE* 10, 1910, 45 f.; A. BEY KAMAL, *ASAE* 10, 1910, 119.

nothing is clearly visible of these texts and representations at the entrance, but the inscribed limestone lintel (pl. 1) is kept in the Cairo Museum<sup>18</sup>).

The tomb chapel (H) is rectangular and measures  $3.7 \times 11$  metres ( $7 \times 21$  cubits). Its walls are only roughly dressed and it has no inscriptions or reliefs. The entrance was once walled up, but this wall had already been broken through in antiquity. Opposite the entrance a large niche ( $2.28 \times 1.65$  metres) exists at a height of 40 centimetres in the west wall. In front of the southern wall a stone wall was erected right up to the ceiling, making a narrow room, with a space of 65 centimetres in width at its widest part. The wall was clearly a later addition and the narrow room probably served as a serdab<sup>19</sup>).

An entrance in the northern part of the western wall leads into a smaller chamber (I),  $3.2 \times 2.15$  metres ( $6 \times 4$  cubits) in size, which served as a burial place. This is clearly indicated by the limestone sarcophagus<sup>20</sup>), which is set alongside the western wall, and the canopic niche ( $64 \times 52$  centimetres), placed in the middle of the southern wall. The entrance into the chamber was walled up after the burial took place. Probably the burial was already pillaged in antiquity, leaving only a few pieces of the mummified corpse in the chamber.

In the floor of the main chapel a sloping passage, orientated north-south and approximately 2 cubits in width, leads into the subterranean area J. This section consists of two chambers. The first or eastern room is asymmetrical and deviates from the main axis of the tomb structure. Its size is  $3.32 \times 3.6 \times 3.0 \times 2.5$  metres, and it seems to have been left unfinished. The second room (to the west) is on an elevated floor level, 50 centimetres higher than the first room, and measures  $3.1 \times 1.8$  to  $2.1$  metres.

No sarcophagus was found in the substructure. The finds retrieved from the debris of these two chambers were a headless limestone statue, most probably coming from the tomb chapel, and fragments of two badly destroyed human bodies<sup>21</sup>).

As indicated above, the architecture of the tomb shows various peculiarities which deserve a closer investigation. In fact, it can be shown that the tomb complex was originally of smaller size, and only later received alterations and enlargements. Since there are no inscriptions and reliefs left in the tomb itself (except for a few at the entrance, which have vanished beyond recognition today), and since access is presently restricted, all these present observations have to be based on the published accounts of the architecture, and the archaeological remains.

It is quite evident that the initial core of the tomb consisted only of the large rectangular room (H) which contained the sloping passage to the burial apartment<sup>22</sup>). The large southern niche in H was intended to house a statue or, more likely, several statues of the tomb owner. This feature of placing a statue or statues opposite the entrance and thus facing the visitor who enters the tomb, was a common practice, as evident from other rock-cut tombs at Giza<sup>23</sup>).

A different situation is encountered with room I further to the west. The limestone sarcophagus and the canopic niche in the southern wall are clearly later additions and alterations, and cannot have been part of the initial plan of the tomb<sup>24</sup>). In none of the rock-cut tombs at Giza is the actual

<sup>18</sup>) PM III<sup>2</sup>, 273. We would like to thank Ms SILKE ROTH (Mainz) who kindly pointed out the whereabouts of this piece in the museum.

<sup>19</sup>) In this room fragments of servant statues were found, G. DARESSY, *ASAE* 10, 1910, 47.

<sup>20</sup>) The sarcophagus is undecorated and measures  $2.3 \times 1.0 \times 0.7$  m (L  $\times$  W  $\times$  H), with two handles at each side of the lid (height of the lid: 0.22 m), see G. DARESSY, *ASAE* 10, 1910, 47.

<sup>21</sup>) G. DARESSY, *ASAE* 10, 1910, 48.

<sup>22</sup>) Tombs with such sloping passage ways in the rock-cut chapel are numerous in that period; three of these tombs belong to queens: Persenet; Rekhitre and Bunefer; see G. A. REISNER, *Giza* I, 225 fig. 125; 227 f. fig. 133; 230 fig. 135.

<sup>23</sup>) G. A. REISNER, *Giza* I, figs. 126, 130, 132, 140. In some cases a false-door or a serdab faces the entrance, G. A. REISNER, *Giza* I, figs. 131, 136, 145. This arrangement can also be found in large mastabas of that period.

<sup>24</sup>) G. A. REISNER, *Giza* I, 236 f., called the room "the chief burial place". He was obviously misled by the existence of the limestone sarcophagus. See also REISNER's remarks concerning the burial place in the chapel itself, *Giza* I, 246.



burial place on the same floor level as the cult chapel, and it is hardly acceptable that the Egyptians intended this concept for Khamererneby's tomb. Two questions arise, therefore: did room I exist already, or was it the result of the secondary burial, for which more space was necessary; secondly, when was the limestone sarcophagus set up and room I used as a burial chamber?

In regard to the first question it might be envisaged that the room initially had been a small niche in the west wall of H. This later had to be widened to the west in order to receive the limestone sarcophagus. Apart from this alteration, one can see, by looking closer at the tomb's layout and size in general that the plan shows striking similarities to the rock-cut tombs of other queens in Giza.

By comparing the Galarza Tomb with the tombs of the Queens Persenet, Bunefer and Rekhitre (fig. 4) and by referring back to DARESSY's report, it becomes evident that room H was left unfinished (as was the burial apartment J, see p. 9). These, then, could not have been part of the final plan, since the structure is lacking some essential features, such as the false-doors. If, as already indicated, a

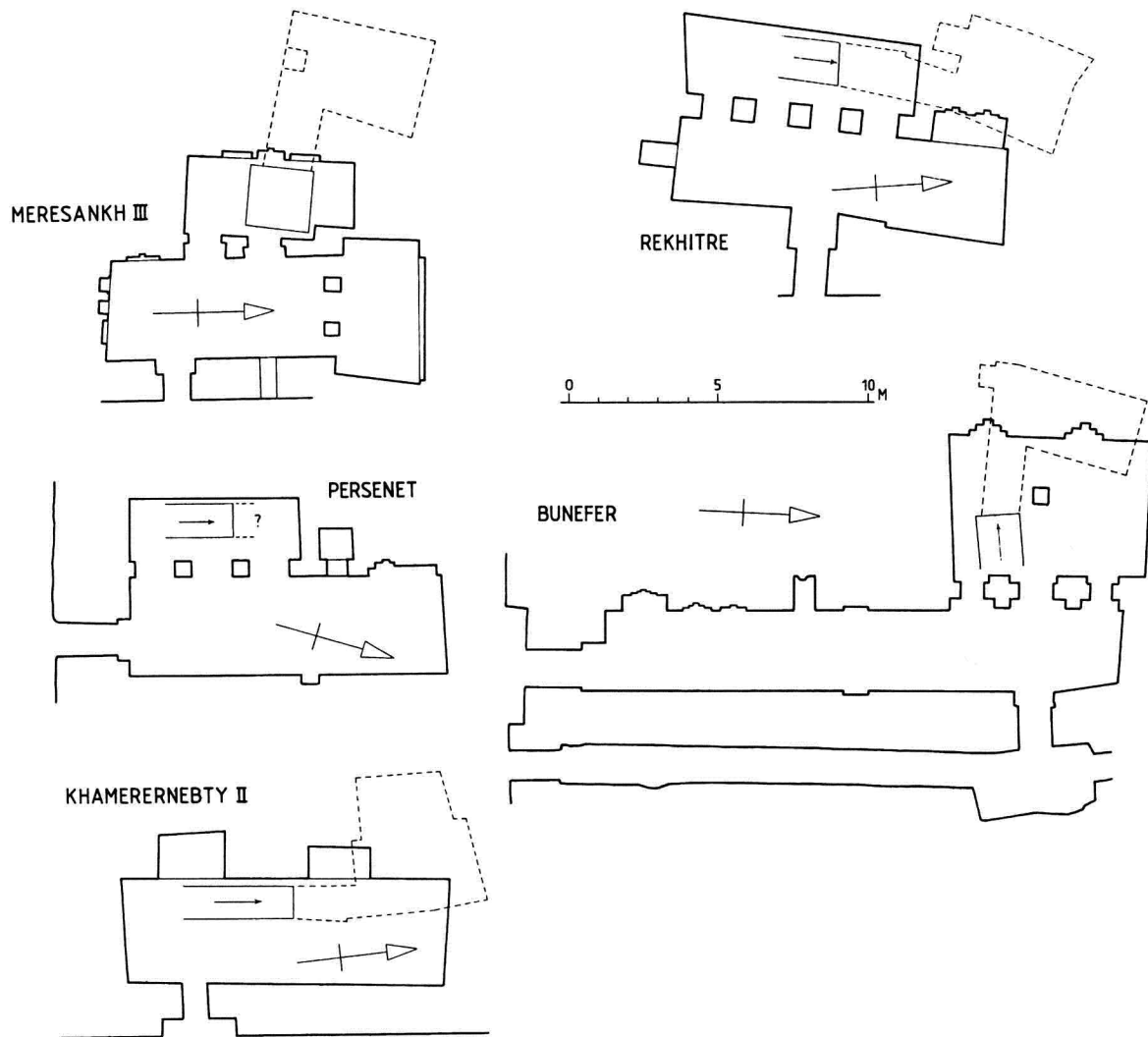


Fig. 4: The rock-cut tombs of the queens in Giza

smaller niche had once existed in the place where the door providing access into room I is situated, it could have contained statues (or at least one statue) of the tomb owner, as did the larger niche to the south<sup>25</sup>). Another possible reconstruction would be to envisage room I as already having existed as part of the original layout, but without the canopic niche in the south of course<sup>26</sup>). The room might have been intended as an enlargement of the rock-cut structure, a feature which is observable in other rock-cut tombs of queens at Giza as well (fig. 4)<sup>27</sup>). In any case, the present entrance into I is too wide (2.1 metres) to be accepted as the original doorway; initially the door should have had a width of only about 1 metre. It could be assumed that the later widening was necessary for moving the sarcophagus into the chamber. The explanation seems feasible, but does not explain the width, since a widening to ca. 1.5 metres would have been more than sufficient to move and turn the sarcophagus into its place (fig. 5). It seems more justified, therefore, to assume that a niche with a width of 2.1 metres existed already and that this was later altered into a doorway leading into room I.

The second question, regarding the date of the secondary burial in I, has to be postponed for the moment and will be discussed further below, since it is necessary to deal with some other peculiarities apparent in room H. These might have some bearing on the events which could have affected the architecture of the tomb.

The unfinished condition of the rock-cut chapel presents another essential question encountered in reconstructing the layout: where would the false-doors have been positioned? All the false-doors of the Galarza Tomb are situated outside room H (in rooms G and D, figs. 2 and 3). False-doors are one of the most essential features of a private tomb and it is curious that no such devices were reported to be in the tomb, i. e. in room H. It seems evident that room H must be looked at as the main offering-room for the burial in J. Since there is no space to accommodate the false-doors of a tomb chapel anywhere else except the western wall, it means that parts of the wall between the large southern niche and the smaller northern niche – or even to the north of the latter – must have been the appropriate places for containing the false-doors. Perhaps these false-doors could have

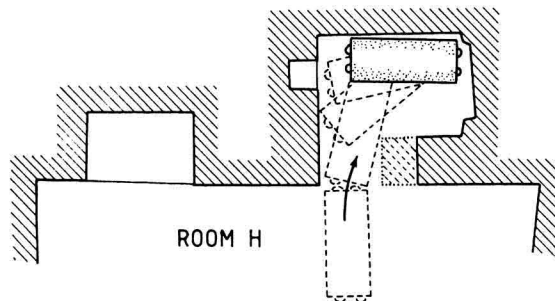


Fig. 5: Moving the sarcophagus into room I

<sup>25</sup>) For a statue shrine in exactly the same position see the tomb of Queen Persenet fig. 4.

<sup>26</sup>) Since it is not possible to enter the rock-cut chapel today, the question must be left undecided whether or not room I was an original concept, or whether only a niche originally existed in this area.

<sup>27</sup>) It is also observable, and somewhat puzzling, that the sloping corridor to the substructure in each of these tombs (in the tomb of Meresankh III the shaft) is situated in the western, or second room (fig. 4), whereas in the Galarza Tomb the corridor is evidently in the eastern room. Should room I have originally been planned to be the so-called "shaft-chamber" (REISNER), and was for some reason this idea later abandoned? One could accept of course that room H with the corridor to the burial chamber was in fact the westernmost room in regard to rooms B and C to the east.

been carved at the back of the niches, or – as is observable in room G – the false-doors could have been planned to be of fine limestone of Turah-quality and set as monoliths into the niches<sup>28</sup>).

Looking at the other rock-cut tombs of that period again, especially at the tombs of the queens, one characteristic is observable (fig. 4) which might be helpful in reconstructing the position of the false-doors: in those tombs the place for the false-doors is situated at the northern end of the western wall; sometimes even in a special room separated from the main rock-cut chapel – as can be seen in the plan (fig. 4) for Meresankh III<sup>29</sup>). In these tombs that particular position is an architectural feature, ensuring that the false-doors are practically situated above and/or in line with the sarcophagus chamber further below in the rock. Thus the architects ideally tried to link the place where the offerings were set up in front of the false-door with the subterranean room which contained the sarcophagus with the body of the deceased<sup>30</sup>). This special disposition of the offering-place in regard to the burial chamber was without doubt intended as a direct link between the world of the dead and the world of the living. That the northern end of the west wall of H was envisaged as being the most likely place for the false-doors becomes obvious by looking at the position of the burial chamber, which is exactly in line with this part of the wall (see figs. 2 and 3).

It is feasible therefore to propose that, as originally conceived, the layout of room H should have had the main offering place with the false-doors at the northern end of the west wall, thus being in line with the burial chamber J below. The other features of H would then have been the smaller niche to the north, the larger niche further to the south, and, of course, the sloping corridor leading to the burial chamber (see fig. 6.1).

We now have to turn to the question of the reasons for the observable changes in the architecture. It is clear that at some stage during the construction major alterations took place which affected the layout and purpose of the tomb as it was originally conceived. These alterations can be seen in the following details: the subterranean part was left unfinished and never received a stone sarcophagus; neither was the main chamber finished or decorated – except for scenes at the main entrance. Thus, the tomb was not used as originally planned.

It is indeed surprising that the almost complete subterranean part was abandoned, and that a limestone sarcophagus was set up in the upper room I. There are two possible explanations for this anomaly: either, when the secondary burial was made in I, the burial chamber J was already occupied (which would explain its unfinished state) or, it was still intended to bury the original owner in this room, which, therefore had to stay empty. In both cases the explanation seems odd, especially in regard to the status of the women concerned, as indicated by the few inscriptions associated with this tomb. Concerning the first explanation, it is difficult to understand why no sarcophagus was found in J. A stone sarcophagus would have been an obvious requirement for the person buried here, especially for a queen.

Whatever the reason might have been, we have to accept the fact that the originally intended burial never took place. The scattered bones of two individuals found in the debris of the burial chamber (provided that the bones originate from that period)<sup>31</sup>) are unlikely to be the remains of the original interment, since one would expect the bones of only one person. We should therefore assume that one set at least would be intrusive. If we accept this answer it becomes even more inexplicable why the secondary burial was not removed to the subterranean chamber or immediately

<sup>28</sup>) G. DARESSY, *ASAE* 10, 1910, 45; for these types of false-doors see G. A. REISNER, *Giza* I, 374.

<sup>29</sup>) For tombs with this arrangement of the rooms and offering places see G. A. REISNER, *Giza* I, figs. 126 f., 129 f., 132, 134, 136.

<sup>30</sup>) Concerning the position and direction of inscriptions on sarcophagi and in burial chambers see H. G. FISCHER, *Egyptian Studies* II, *The Orientation of Hieroglyphs*, Part 1, *Reversals*, New York 1977, 36–40, fig. 42.

<sup>31</sup>) See footnote 21.

transferred there. Practical reasons could not have been an obstacle because the limestone sarcophagus would have passed the sloping corridor (1.1 metres wide) without difficulty, and could have been easily set up at the western wall of the burial chamber<sup>32</sup>). Whatever the final destination of the burial chamber was, the fact is that a "second" burial was set up in room I and, in consequence, this room was walled up with limestone blocks and became a burial chamber on the upper floor level of the tomb. Presumably because of the lack of any decorations in the main chapel H, a kind of serdab was created by building a wall next to the southern wall, thus forming the narrow space which contained statues of the deceased and servant statues<sup>33</sup>). The existence of these servant statues seems to be a further indication that room H was now considered as being part of the burial, and since H was not used as the cult chapel of the tomb (no false-doors, inscriptions or decorations) the main doorway was walled up as well<sup>34</sup>). Thus, the upper part of the originally planned rock-cut tomb consisting of two rooms (H and I) was turned into the actual burial place.

By setting up the burial in the upper floor level the character of the original tomb design was changed considerably. Normally, a tomb consists of three parts which form the essential architectural requirements for the deceased buried within the structure, and provide for his or her welfare in the afterlife<sup>35</sup>). These are the subterranean room or rooms containing the burial; the superstructure, marking the place of the burial and, connected to the superstructure, or built into it, there is the cult chapel with the false-door. By converting the cult chambers (originally intended as the rooms for the mortuary cult) into the burial chamber, the burial place of the Galarza Tomb was lacking both a superstructure, and the necessary room with the false-door for the offerings.

As mentioned above, the tomb consists of a structure cut out of the rock (containing the rooms H, I, J), and a built core of limestone masonry set up on top of the rock. There can be no doubt that this masonry intends to imitate a mastaba, although there is no shaft going through the core of the mastaba itself as is usual with this type of tomb. Similar tombs which combine these two features of a rock-cut part with the built masonry on top belong to the tombs of three other queens from this period: Rekhitre<sup>36</sup>), Meresankh III (G 7530/40)<sup>37</sup>) and Khentkaus I (LG 100)<sup>38</sup>). Furthermore, this tomb type is quite common with private persons in the Giza necropolis<sup>39</sup>). The characteristic feature of this sort of tomb is that the superstructure and the substructure consist of two isolated elements which are not connected by any burial shaft<sup>40</sup>). It might be asked, therefore, was the masonry on top of the rock-cut tomb a direct result of changing the initially conceived architecture of the Galarza Tomb? As the tomb would then have lacked the usual superstructure the ancient architects might have felt the necessity for erecting a substitute on top of the rock-cut structure. The Galarza Tomb may thus have been the prototype for the composite rock-cut tomb. Admittedly, this is a hypothetical solution, but since it is a fact that in the Giza necropolis quite a number of tombs exhibit this form of architectural design, it seems conceivable that some idea or concept was responsible for this tomb type. On the other hand, it cannot be ruled out that, although the theory might have had an

<sup>32</sup>) For the measurements of the sarcophagus as given by DARESSY see footnote 20.

<sup>33</sup>) G. DARESSY, *ASAE* 10, 1910, 47.

<sup>34</sup>) By this the few inscriptions and decorations at the entrance must have become invisible. This would further suggest that these decorations belonged to the original burial, which never seems to have taken place.

<sup>35</sup>) G. A. REISNER, *The Development of the Egyptian Tomb Down to the Accession of Cheops*, Cambridge 1936, 237.

<sup>36</sup>) S. HASSAN, *Giza VI*, 3, 5.

<sup>37</sup>) D. DUNHAM/W. K. SIMPSON, *The Mastaba of Queen Mersyankh III, Giza Mastabas I*, Boston 1974, 2 f., pl. Ic.

<sup>38</sup>) S. HASSAN, *Giza IV*, 1-18.

<sup>39</sup>) G. A. REISNER, *Giza I*, 219.

<sup>40</sup>) Shaft 425, indicated by S. HASSAN, *Giza II* in the general plan (see fig. 3), does not belong to the original tomb. It seems to be a later addition. Unfortunately, HASSAN did not give any description of the subterranean part of this shaft and its contents.

ideological or conceptual background, the necessity of building a superstructure on top of rock-cut tombs was in most instances governed by purely practical considerations<sup>41</sup>).

At this stage of construction the Galarza Tomb consisted of a 'substructure' with the burial apartment in the rock on ground level and, above this, a mastaba as superstructure. However, in contrast to ordinary mastabas, the superstructure of the tomb lacked a place for the mortuary offerings (niche, chapel etc.). Therefore, in addition to having a superstructure without rooms, the tomb was subsequently provided with additional chambers for the mortuary cult, these being situated in front of the original entrance, since the chambers could not be placed within the superstructure itself as is usual in an ordinary mastaba (fig. 6.2).

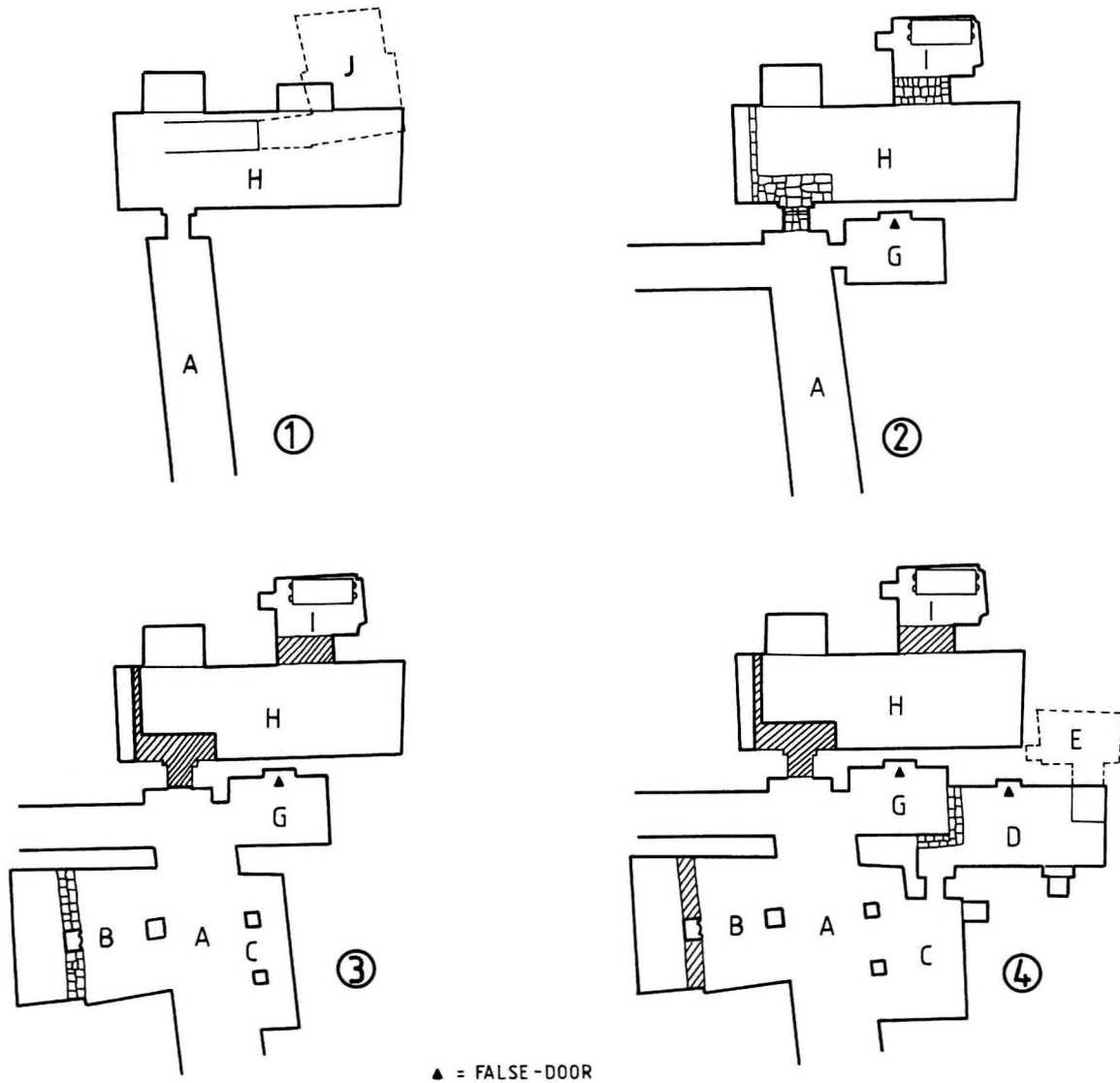


Fig. 6: The different building phases of the Galarza Tomb

<sup>41</sup>) Taking the poor quality of rock in this part of the necropolis into account, one might assume that in most cases there were technical and architectural requirements which led to the construction of an (additional) isolated mastaba on top of the rock-cut tomb.

This new part of the tomb consisted of a central aisle (A), which was not roofed, two pillared chambers (B and C), a smaller chamber (G) and an additional tomb to the north (rooms D and E). From the remaining architecture it can be shown that this eastern enlargement was not erected at once, but in successive stages. Unfortunately, the description of the individual rooms and their chronological order is somewhat hampered by the present state of the tomb, which does not permit a full and detailed treatment. However, taking all the available information into consideration, the following sequence of events can be suggested: As soon as the "secondary" burial was introduced in the upper floor level, the original plan of the tomb had to be changed and further additions were required. First and foremost, an offering place with a false-door was necessary for the burial in I. Therefore, a room (G) was cut out of the rock to the right of the old entrance. This room was equipped with a false-door of fine limestone set into a niche on its western wall, this being nearly in line with the burial to the west (fig. 6.2)<sup>42</sup>). Room G became the offering chapel for the burial in I. The rooms with pillars (B and C) were hewn out of the rock to the north and south of the aisle A. Room B was further divided into two parts by erecting a stone wall without a doorway, thus creating a serdab, where several statues were set up. Serdabs of this kind can be found in other tombs as well, and the arrangement of setting up statues along a wall displays a striking similarity to the rock-cut statues in the northern room of the tomb of Queen Meresankh III<sup>43</sup>).

As mentioned already at the beginning, room C is not symmetrical (figs. 2 and 3) and there is some likelihood that its present appearance was not its original form. It is possible that it was once smaller in size, measuring only about 5.6 to 5.9 × 1.6 metres (11 × 3 cubits) (fig. 6.3). At a later stage the chamber was enlarged to the north. It can be assumed that this was due to the new rooms, D and E, which were planned to the northwest. For this addition a doorway was cut into the western wall of C providing an independent access into room D. During this procedure the north-eastern corner of G was destroyed and, in order to separate the new room (D) from the already existing part (G) with the offering place for the burial in I, a stone wall had to be erected creating a narrow entrance passage into D. The odd-looking orientation of the stone wall jutting into room D (see fig. 6.4) was probably chosen so as not to obstruct the place in front of the false-door in room G, where the mortuary ceremonies for the deceased buried in I had to be performed<sup>44</sup>).

Room D, with its uninscribed false-door in the western wall, is the offering-room for the burial in E, which was accessible through the shaft in the north-western corner. There is good reason to believe that this set of chambers is the tomb of the *jjj p't s3 njšwt šmšw Šhmr*, whose seated statue was found in the niche to the right of the doorway into D (see footnote 13). This prince may have been a relative of the person buried in the Galarza Tomb, although this is not established by the few inscriptions. It is only the proximity of his supposed burial place to the queen's monument which indicates a relationship of some sort.

In summary, the available information, epigraphical as well as architectural, presents a complex history of the Galarza Tomb which was transformed from a simple rock-cut structure into a monument which combines a mastaba as a superstructure and the rock-cut section as the burial apartment, although the latter is not situated (as is usual) below ground level. This combined rock-cut/mastaba

<sup>42</sup>) G. DARESSY, *ASAE* 10, 1910, 45. The false-door seems to have been only painted. No traces of any inscription remained.

<sup>43</sup>) D. DUNHAM/W. K. SIMPSON, *Meryankh III*, 20, pl. VI.

<sup>44</sup>) Admittedly, the explanation is somewhat speculative. Because of the orientation of the wall one would rather assume that G was later cut into the rock, when the mortuary cult of the person buried in D was not practised any more. This explanation would, of course, alter the proposed course of events considerably. It would mean that room D already existed and, as a consequence, also the portico C, or at least, an entrance for D – probably with an additional chamber (now the enlarged portico C) – to provide access. It is impossible to settle this matter without a reclearance of the area.

tomb became popular in the later part of the 4th Dynasty and the tomb under discussion could be considered as one of the oldest in the Giza necropolis<sup>45</sup>). Because of circumstances unknown to us, the rock-cut part, which initially should have housed the cult-rooms, was altered, and a burial place set up with a limestone sarcophagus. The original burial place J was left unfinished, and probably not used until later times when the interment of at least two bodies took place. In order to create the necessary cult-chambers and at least one false-door for the mortuary offerings, rooms G, B and C were hewn out of the rock to the east of the tomb. These rooms contained at least one serdab (B<sub>2</sub>) and several other statues, indicating that quite an important cult existed for the woman buried here. This is further strengthened by the existence of the huge limestone statue of a queen which was found in room C and which is the only monumental representation of a queen in the Old Kingdom (see footnote 14).

There is good reason to believe – as EDEL has pointed out already<sup>46</sup>) – that it was Khamerernebty II, who found her final resting place in this tomb; the presence of her colossal statue would indicate this. As a result, we have to accept that it was Khamerernebty II who was buried in the limestone sarcophagus in the upper floor of the rock-cut part. Simultaneously, we have to ask, why was her burial not set up in the nearly finished sarcophagus chamber? Even though it seems plausible that the tomb was begun for Khamerernebty I (see p. 19), she does not seem to have been interred there. Some historical implications must have affected the tomb building procedures, but the reason for this change of plans is, at present, unknown<sup>47</sup>). In such a case one would expect two individual burial chambers – unless we accept the unique and provocative proposal that two queens were intended to have shared one tomb.

The problems concerning the original owner of the Galarza Tomb, and the events which subsequently led to the many alterations may never be completely resolved; however, it must be pointed out – although it cannot be satisfactorily explained – that the circumstances regarding other queens of this Dynasty<sup>48</sup>) also show inexplicable factors in regard to their monuments. This is especially so concerning queens (as far as it can be gathered from the few available historical documents) involved in the internal affairs of the dynasty's history: their tombs exhibit strange and much debated features<sup>49</sup>). One of the factors which might provide a clue to these complex cases lies in the nebulous history and genealogy of the 4th Dynasty. The material, meagre as it is, indicates at least that the historical implications were much more complex and substantial than is usually realized, and that the puzzling details detected in the tombs of royal wives are the distant reflections of these events.

<sup>45</sup>) A study on the rock-cut tombs of the Old Kingdom at Giza is presently in preparation by the author.

<sup>46</sup>) See *MIO* 1, 1953, 333–336; *MIO* 2, 1954, 183–187.

<sup>47</sup>) A similar situation seems to have existed in the case of Queen Hetepheres II, who abandoned her tomb in favour of her daughter, Queen Meresankh III.

<sup>48</sup>) Too little is known about the Queens Meresankh II and III, Persenet, Rekhitre and Bunefer to provide useful information here, but it should be mentioned that hardly any of these queens can securely be linked with a king based on contemporary epigraphical material alone.

<sup>49</sup>) Queen Hetepheres I, the mother of Cheops, seems to have been buried in G 7000x, which is atypical for an Old Kingdom tomb. Hetepheres II, the mother of Queen Meresankh III, is generally believed to have been the wife of two kings, Djedefre and Chephren. Her final resting-place in Giza is not certain. Khentkaus I, the owner of the monumental tomb LG 100, was, according to her titles, the mother of two (?) kings, but may not have been a queen-consort. Concerning these women and their positions see V. G. CALLENDER, *A Contribution to Discussion on the Title of sst ntr*, *SAK* 18, 1991, 89–110.

### The Inscriptions

At the time of its discovery the Galarza Tomb still displayed a few inscriptions and decorations which, since then, have completely vanished. The most important text, referring to both Khamerernebtj I and II, is preserved on a lintel, which once sat above the doorway at the end of aisle A (figs. 7 [1] and 8, pl. 1)<sup>50</sup>).

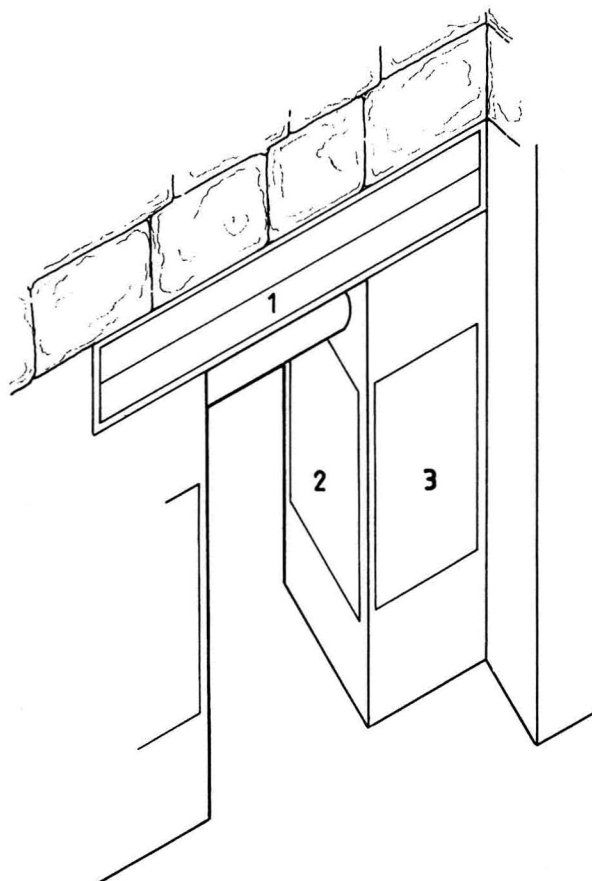


Fig. 7: The position of the inscriptions and decorations at the tomb's entrance  
(1: Lintel, 2: Representation of the two queens, 3: Text)

<sup>50</sup>) G. DARESSY, *ASAE* 10, 1910, 45 f. The lintel is now kept in the Old Kingdom section of the Cairo Museum under the number  $\frac{1}{24} \frac{12}{7}$ . The authors would like to express their thanks to the director of the Egyptian Museum in Cairo, Dr. MOHAMED SALEH, for the kind permission to reproduce a photograph of the lintel in this article. Likewise, our thanks are due to the photographer of the museum, Mr. MUSTAPHA ABDEL MAQSUD, and his staff, who kindly took the photograph of the block. Mrs. LIZA MAJERUS skilfully produced the line-drawing of the block. There is no known photograph of the block during its discovery and some doubts remain concerning its exact position above the door. That the block was found in situ above the door seems unlikely, since it was broken, which is apparent from the numerous cracks and joints in the piece today.



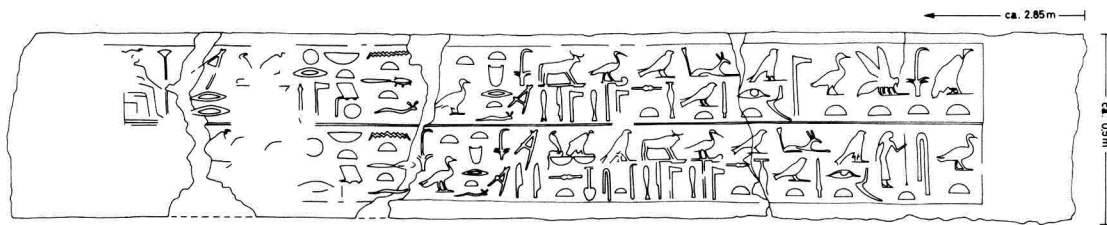


Fig. 8: The text of the lintel (after the photograph pl. 1)

The decorations of the jamb on the southern side of the door have vanished, but the northern jamb once had traces of an incomplete inscription and scene (fig. 7 [2])<sup>51</sup>). These inscriptions have been dealt with by EDEL<sup>52</sup>). Underneath the inscription was the representation of a queen holding a papyrus wand; parts of the shoulders and arms of a daughter also remained. Below these illustrations were representations of four persons – probably servants. On the right-hand outer side of the door (fig. 7 [3]) traces of another text remained, which referred to the tomb and the paying of the workmen by the queen<sup>53</sup>).

The lintel inscription (see fig. 8 and pl. 1) commences with the full titles of Queen Khamerernebty I. Those of her daughter, Khamerernebty II, occupy the second line; the translation of the inscription is as follows:

“Mother of the King of Upper and Lower Egypt, Daughter of [the King of Upper and Lower Egypt, and Daughter of] the God, She who sees Horus and Seth, Great one of the *h̄ts*-sceptre, One great of praise, Priestess of Djehuty, Priestess of Tjasepef, the Greatly loved Wife of the King, King’s Daughter of his body, revered mistress, honoured by the Great God, Khamerernebty (I).”

“Her eldest daughter, She who sees Horus and Seth, Great one of the *h̄ts*-sceptre, One great of praise, Priestess of Djehuty, Priestess of Tjasepef, One who sits with Horus, She who is united with the one beloved of the Two Ladies, Greatly loved Wife of the King, King’s Daughter of his body, revered mistress, honoured by her father, Khamerernebty (II).”

There are a number of interesting details to point out in this inscription. The most striking is that the titles of the daughter have been designed to imitate those of the mother (or vice versa). As a result, several anomalies in the titulary of the first queen are present.

Most significantly, the positioning of the *mwt* sign prior to that of the *njśwt h̄tj* sign represents an inversion of the normal honorific transposition customarily used with the name of the king. It is suggested that the vulture holds this position for two reasons, both iconographic. The first is that the vulture acts as an iconographic parallel to the goose of the *st.ś* in the inscription of Khamerernebty II below, creating a visual balance between the two similar inscriptions. The second reason is that, as a consequence of this realignment of the vulture, the *njśwt h̄tj* sign has become sandwiched between the two birds, vulture and goose, thus resulting in a further artistic balancing of the titles.

<sup>51</sup>) G. DARESSY, *ASAE* 10, 1910, 46; A. BEY KAMAL, *ASAE* 10, 1910, 119; *Urk.* I, 155 f.

<sup>52</sup>) E. EDEL, *MIO* 2, 1954, 183–187. According to kind information provided by Prof. ELMAR EDEL, he is currently preparing a more detailed reconstruction of the scene on the northern door-jamb (letter from 7th August 1993).

<sup>53</sup>) G. DARESSY, *ASAE* 10, 1910, 46; A. BEY KAMAL, *ASAE* 10, 1910, 119; *Urk.* I, 156, 1–5. For the reconstruction of this somewhat startling statement by a queen, see E. EDEL, *MIO* 1, 1953, 333–336.

Yet a second anomaly is present in this first line: the goose precedes the *ntr* sign in the title of *sst ntr*, which follows that of *mwt njswt bjtj*. Lexically, the inscription may have also served as an iconographically clever way of writing both *sst njswt bjtj*<sup>54</sup>) and *sst ntr*<sup>55</sup>), the goose doing double duty by being positioned between the *njswt bjtj* and the *ntr* signs. These two anomalies therefore indicate that the craftsman responsible for the cutting of this inscription was a rather sophisticated artist, an observation further borne out by the methods he employed in writing other titles within this extensive inscription.

There are two more examples of honorific transposition in this inscription (fig. 8): both queens carry the titles “the Greatly loved Wife of the King and the King’s Daughter of his body”, where the *njswt* sign follows that of the *sst*. Again, balance within the related group of signs appears to be the major consideration governing this unusual writing.

An important detail also worth mentioning in relation to the upper inscription is that the determinative for the first queen shows a seated woman holding a *wꜥd*-sceptre – the earliest-known such depiction for a queen. Clearly in error, DARESSY recorded this as a woman seated on a chair, one hand on her breast, the other on her knee<sup>56</sup>). Moreover, the determinative shows the queen wearing the vulture cap, the sign used in the Old Kingdom to differentiate between a queen mother and the queen consort<sup>57</sup>). Khamerernebty II’s determinative at the end of her list of titles has been destroyed, but in other inscriptions relating to this queen her determinative lacks these details. In the representation of the queens given on the northern door jamb below, the elder queen stands in front, her daughter behind her<sup>58</sup>). No further iconographic details have been noted by any of the archaeologists who have visited the tomb.

The inscription on the outer right-hand side of the doorway is of considerable interest in regard to the tomb owner’s statement. Poorly copied by DARESSY and others, the inscription has been reconstructed by EDEL<sup>59</sup>). His reconstruction and translation are as follows (fig. 9):

(1) “[Ein von Anubis Geliebter ist der, welcher] die Grabanlage einer zu ihr[em Ka] Gegangenen [sch]ützen wird; (3) ich habe (auch) niemals etwas Böses gegen [irgendwelche Leute] getan. [Wer aber] etwas gegen [dieses tun wird], (5) m[it dem wird durch den großen Gott gerichtet werden;] (6) (denn) ich habe [zufriedengestellt (gut bezahlt)] die Handwerkerschaft, [die mir dieses gemacht (gebaut) hat]”.

Seen originally as the tomb of the mother of Chephren, the ownership of the Galarza Tomb had, prior to EDEL’s articles, been accepted as the tomb of Queen Khamerernebty I. EDEL, however, was able to demonstrate that the major section of the remaining text referred to Queen Khamerernebty II as having paid well the craftsman who built the tomb. Since the inscription refers to this queen, EDEL rightly concluded that she was the person who paid for the tomb, and that she was its sole, original occupant<sup>60</sup>). It is surprising, as EDEL and others had noticed<sup>61</sup>), that it was necessary

<sup>54</sup>) *Sst njswt bjtj* is a recognised title used by a select few princesses in the Old Kingdom – see B. SCHMITZ, *Untersuchungen zum Titel st-njswt “Königssohn”*, Bonn 1976, 109; V. G. CALLENDER, *The Wives of the Egyptian Kings Dynasties I–XVII*, Vol. 1, unpublished dissertation, Macquarie University 1992, 44 f.

<sup>55</sup>) On the use and possible meaning of this title see V. G. CALLENDER, *SAK* 18, 1991, 89–110. Khamerernebty I is the only queen known to date who held both the *sst nswt* and *sst ntr* titles.

<sup>56</sup>) G. DARESSY, *ASAE* 10, 1910, 46.

<sup>57</sup>) V. G. CALLENDER, *Wives* 1, 232–234.

<sup>58</sup>) G. DARESSY, *ASAE* 10, 1910, 46.

<sup>59</sup>) E. EDEL, *MIO* 1, 1953, 333–336.

<sup>60</sup>) E. EDEL, *MIO* 1, 1953, 336 and later *MIO* 2, 1954, 183–187.

<sup>61</sup>) See H. JUNKER, *Giza* XII, 94 f.



Fig. 9: EDL's reconstruction of the text on the northern outside of the doorway  
(*MIO* 1, 1953, 334)

for the queen to pay for her own tomb; one would have expected the cost of the monument to have been borne by the state. Khamerernebty II, however, was not the only queen to have found herself in this situation<sup>62</sup>).

While not disagreeing in general with the opinion of EDL concerning Khamerernebty II's payment for work done for her in the tomb, there are some regions where there is room for further speculation about who may have been the tomb owner. On a minor point, his conclusion that the elder queen is not represented by the statuary may not be correct<sup>63</sup>). He has not taken into consideration the fact that only two of the five female statues were inscribed; we do not know the identity of the other three. DARESSY<sup>64</sup>) had mentioned that, among the broken statuary found in B 2, there was a single diorite piece with the fragmented title *////njswt bjtj ////* inscribed upon it. The use of diorite for the statue suggests that the piece came from the royal workshop.

Apart from the title of the king himself, there are not many titles which incorporate the use of the expanded *njswt bjtj* form, and none of these is carried by males. Most feminine royal titles are compiled using the simple *njswt*<sup>65</sup>). There are only a limited number of women who hold the ex-

<sup>62</sup>) V. G. CALLENDER, *Wives* I, 203 f. This kind of text is dealt with by H. JUNKER, *Giza* IX, 74 f., 234; E. EDEL, *MDAIK* 13, 1944, 50. For a recent discussion of the economics of tomb-building and paying the workmen found in texts of three tombs at Giza, see A. M. ROTH, *The Practical Economics of Tomb-Building in the Old Kingdom: A Visit to the Necropolis in a Carrying Chair*, in: *For His Ka: Essays Offered in Memory of KLAUS BAER*, SAOC 55, 1994, 227-238.

<sup>63</sup>) E. EDEL, *MIO* 1, 1953, 336.

<sup>64</sup>) G. DARESSY, *ASAE* 10, 1910, 43 f.

<sup>65</sup>) Those titles are *sst njswt bjtj* (a title carried by Queen Hetepheres II and Queen Iput I; it may also have been held by Princess Nefretkaw), and *mwt njswt bjtj* (a title held by Queens Nymaathap I, Hetepheres I, Khamerernebty I, Khentkaus I and II, Seshshet, Khent...?, Iput I, Ankhnesmeryre I and II, and Ankhnespepy). For further discussion see V. G. CALLENDER, *Wives* 1, 34-38, 44 f.

tended titles – with one possible exception, all of them are queens. Khamerernebty II does not hold either title, so the diorite fragment could not refer to her. On the other hand, Khamerernebty I holds the titles of *sît njswt bjtj* and *mwt njswt bjtj*. It is therefore most likely that Khamerernebty I is the title holder mentioned on the fragment.

The second point one could make in reference to EDEL's assumption that Queen Khamerernebty I is not represented in this tomb concerns the unusual offering chapel arrangements. As has been pointed out above, the original chapel was walled up during the Old Kingdom, and the rooms designated B and C on DARESSY's plan became the new venue for the mortuary cult. To this end, we believe, room B2 was bricked up to serve as a serdab. It was here that the statues – perhaps of both queens – were found. Moreover, the location of two wings (B and C) in the offering chapel, both containing statuary, could indicate that one wing (room C, where the gigantic statue of Khamerernebty II was found, fig. 2) was dedicated to Khamerernebty II, and that B may have been either a family memorial, or one where Khamerernebty I had precedence. Certainly, Khamerernebty I must have taken precedence over her daughter on the door jamb scene, since this queen carries the papyrus wand – also depicted in the little determinative to her name on the lintel inscription. The identity of the woman carved on the pillar in front of the serdab (B<sub>2</sub>) is also ambiguous – it could be either of the queens – so we do not feel with EDEL that the older queen was not represented in the Galarza Tomb.

Yet a third observation concerns the nature of the titles on the lintel previously mentioned. These titular strings commence with the full titles of Queen Khamerernebty I; her daughter's titles are secondary. Even though the older queen may not have paid for the tomb's completion, there seems every likelihood that Khamerernebty I was the person for whom the tomb was originally planned; the primacy of her titles on the lintel above the door would indicate that. It is suggested, therefore, that her daughter is more likely to have taken over the construction (or enlargement) of the tomb at a later stage. Whether or not she altered that inscription, her titles undoubtedly take second place and there has to be some reason for that.

EDEL has drawn strength for his argument that the tomb was intended for Khamerernebty II alone by calling attention to other instances where the name of an elder person was cited by the tomb owner, and where that elder is not buried in that tomb<sup>66</sup>). He claims that this has been the case for Khamerernebty I.

It should be noted, however, that in each case given by EDEL the inscription cited has not been positioned over the entrance on the lintel of a tomb, as it is in the Galarza Tomb. Lintels are always the place for the tomb-owner's name not those of family members. It is also apparent that in none of the tombs owned by offspring where the names of queen-mothers are written does the full titulary of that queen-mother appear in a single case, as it does here in this tomb. In another instance, unknown to EDEL at the time (since the tomb report had not been published), Queen Meresankh III also gives honourable mention to both parents in her tomb<sup>67</sup>). Although Hetepheres II is honoured in several places within Meresankh's tomb, it is never with the record of her full titulary. That only appears on the sarcophagus which she donated to her daughter<sup>68</sup>).

With the single exception of the inscription above the doors to the chamber containing the burial in Meresankh's tomb<sup>69</sup>), all of these citations were recorded on walls, not on the architraves, while the entranceway lintel to the tomb only features the name of Meresankh III<sup>70</sup>). As a rule,

<sup>66</sup>) E. EDEL, *MIO* 1, 336.

<sup>67</sup>) D. DUNHAM/W. K. SIMPSON, *Mersyankh III*, figs. 2, 6, 7 and 10.

<sup>68</sup>) *Mersyankh III*, 21, fig. 14, pl. XV.

<sup>69</sup>) *Mersyankh III*, fig. 7, pl. VII.

<sup>70</sup>) *Mersyankh III*, pls. IIa and IIb.

although exceptions do exist, the lintels of tombs only feature the name of the tomb owner. The models chosen by EDEL are not really appropriate to the Galarza Tomb situation.

The tomb of Meresankh III is also instructive in demonstrating that, while mentioning Meresankh's mother on the one occasion that her name appears on an architrave, she is introduced as *mwt.ś, śt njśwt, mꜣꜣt Hr Stḥ Htp-ḥr.ś*, her name is accompanied by the determinative of a seated woman, one hand on her knee, the other on her breast. It is clear from this inscription that the tomb owner is the daughter, and that her mother's records are subsidiary to hers. This is exactly the reverse of the inscriptional model provided by the Galarza Tomb.

In the Galarza Tomb the inscription first gives the full titles of the elder queen – without the introductory *mwt.ś* that accompanies the titles of Hetepheres. Below the elder Khamerernebty's row of titles is the phrase *śt.ś śmśwt*, after which the titles of the younger queen are given. On the inner side of the door she is similarly entitled, *śt.ś śmśwt mꜣꜣt Hr Stḥ, ḥst wrt ...*<sup>71</sup>). In these instances it is Queen Khamerernebty I who is represented as if she were the tomb owner, although in other inscriptions in the tomb, as EDEL has indicated, the younger queen takes priority. There is thus a clear distinction between the examples provided by Meresankh's tomb and those of the Galarza Tomb inscriptions, and we would like to propose that – whatever the subsequent use of the tomb – it was originally intended as a foundation for Khamerernebty I, and that it was later altered and used by her daughter – evidently because the king had made no other provisions for this queen. It is thus more likely that a mother began a tomb which the daughter completed.

#### The Relationships of Persons in the Galarza Tomb

The most obvious relationship evident from inscriptions in the Galarza Tomb is that Queen Khamerernebty was the mother of Khamerernebty II. This daughter was the eldest daughter of Khamerernebty I, for she is entitled *śt.ś śmśwt* on the lintel inscription. Elsewhere (such as on her seated statue, the inscriptions from the tomb of Khuenre<sup>72</sup>), and in the tomb of Washptah<sup>73</sup>) Khamerernebty II is given the title of *śt njśwt śmśwt* a title which she habitually uses in a prime position within her titulary. For example, in the Galarza Tomb lintel inscription it comes first, her final title in this titular string being *śt njśwt n ḥt.f*. It is also first in the titular string used in the tomb of Washptah, and in that of Khuenre. It is fairly unusual for a queen's titular string to begin and end with the same relationship title. Moreover, it is remarkable that the title in this case is of lesser rank than her *ḥmt njśwt* title, which has not been used in its customary prime position (i. e. commencing or ending a titular string). One might then suggest that this statement of royal affiliation had some especial significance for Khamerernebty II.

Although both queens were the wives of rulers, neither husband is known. Entirely due to the position and type of the Galarza Tomb the assumption has been made that the elder queen was the wife of Chephren, the younger queen the wife of Mycerinus. No evidence supports either assumption, although the presence of a flint knife<sup>74</sup>) bearing the inscription of *mwt njśwt Ḥj-mrr-Nbtj* found in the mortuary temple of Mycerinus, surely provides the best evidence we have for assigning Queen Khamerernebty I as the mother of this king.

The identity of the husband of Khamerernebty I is much more difficult to determine. The pres-

<sup>71</sup>) E. EDEL, *MIO* 2, 1954, 184–187.

<sup>72</sup>) G. A. REISNER, *BFMA* 32, 1934, 12 and fig. 10.

<sup>73</sup>) S. HASSAN, *Giza* II, 10 and figs. 7f. and pl. IV.

<sup>74</sup>) G. A. REISNER, *Mycerinus*, 18, 233, pl. 19 a.

ence of her tomb within the cemetery of Chephren's officials has given the grounds for assigning her as a wife of that king. She herself was the daughter of a king: her title of *sst njswt nt ht.f* could attest to that for, as far as we know, this title usually identified a king's daughter in the Fourth Dynasty<sup>75</sup>), although neither HELCK<sup>76</sup>) nor SCHMITZ<sup>77</sup>) is convinced that this is always the case. With regard to her husband, it can be said that Khamerernebt I is likely to have been the wife of a king whose son was not due to receive the throne, since the title of *mwt njswt bjtj* that she carries is held by only a handful of queens, all of whom had sons whose inheritance of the throne was, to some extent, accidental<sup>78</sup>). As was previously mentioned, it is very likely that Mycerinus may not have directly succeeded Chephren<sup>79</sup>), and this circumstance would endorse her candidature as the mother of Mycerinus.

It is usually accepted that Chephren was the father of Mycerinus<sup>80</sup>) but, once again, there is no secure evidence for that presumed relationship; only the site chosen for his pyramid, the implications of the Westcar Papyrus story, and the remarks of Herodotos suggest that there was a father-son relationship between these two rulers. All of these dubious areas make it impossible at this stage to ascertain the name of the husband of Khamerernebt I, either Chephren or Djedefre appear to be the names most likely.

Whether the younger queen was ever the wife of Mycerinus is equally uncertain. While the famous Boston dyad of Mycerinus and an unnamed female has been since REISNER's discovery attributed as a portrait of the king and Khamerernebt II, this is an unsupported assumption. That statue may represent the goddess Hathor with the king (as the Mycerinus triads do) or, it may represent the king with his mother, his wife, or his daughter: all such relatives were at times depicted with a king. As the woman is not named, we should not be too ready to assign the identity of this statue to Queen Khamerernebt II.

Since Khamerernebt II was the mother of Prince Khuenre, this might indicate that she was the wife of Mycerinus. Unfortunately, Khuenre, who carries the titles *ss njswt n ht.f smšw smr w'tj n jt.f* does not name his father. REISNER<sup>81</sup>) assigns his tomb to the later years of the reign of Mycerinus and, because of the position of his tomb in the Mycerinus quarry and because of Khuenre's titles, assumes that he must have been the heir who died young. This is a tenuous thread, however, and we would like to propose that, at this stage, the father of this prince is dubious, and the identity of the husband of Khamerernebt II remains in doubt.

In his reconstruction of the texts within the Galarza Tomb EDEL offers the suggestion that the traces of hieroglyphs in row 6 of his reconstruction (these feature a circular sign centred above the

<sup>75</sup>) On the topic of *sst njswt nt ht.f* see B. SCHMITZ, "Königsson", 44-51, 65-79; V. G. CALLENDER, *Wives* 1, 40-43. It may have been a ranking title within the corpus of feminine titles used in the Old Kingdom, but holders of this title could and did also refer to themselves as *sst njswt* as well. The only sure example of a *sst njswt nt ht.f* who was not the daughter of a king, is Meresankh III. B. SCHMITZ, "Königsson", 123 f., has found that only those women entitled *sst njswt* were likely to have been titular princesses, while those entitled *sst njswt nt ht.f* were more likely to have been the true offspring of kings.

<sup>76</sup>) W. HELCK, *Der Name des letzten Königs der 3. Dynastie und die Stadt Ehnas*, SAK 4, 1976, 130.

<sup>77</sup>) B. SCHMITZ, "Königsson", 134 ff.

<sup>78</sup>) V. G. CALLENDER, SAK 18, 96-100.

<sup>79</sup>) The Turin Canon lists a king between Chephren and Mycerinus, whose name is not preserved, A. H. GARDINER, *The Royal Canon of Turin*, Oxford 1959, pl. II, col. III; W. HELCK, *Untersuchungen zu Manetho und den ägyptischen Königslisten*, UGAÄ 18, 1956, 25, 52-54. The so-called Unfinished pyramid at Zawiyet el-Aryan is associated by some scholars with this king, see J.-PH. LAUER, *Sur l'âge et l'attribution possible de l'excavation monumentale de Zaouiêt el-Aryân*, RdE 14, 1962, 21-36; V. MARAGIOLIO/C. RINALDI, *L'architettura delle piramidi menfite VI*, 16-28; I. E. S. EDWARDS, *The Pyramids of Egypt*, 1993, 146.

<sup>80</sup>) J. VON BECKERATH, *LÄ I*, 933; IV, 274.

<sup>81</sup>) G. A. REISNER, *Mycerinus*, 244.

water sign), should represent the signs *h* and *n*. He then repositions the circular sign to permit the reconstructed name of Khuenre to be inserted<sup>82</sup>). In his original report, however, DARESSY<sup>83</sup>) records a circular sun sign (which he queries) in a central position above the sign for water. EDEL assumes – probably quite rightly – that these signs represent the name of an official, for they are prefaced by the fragmentary titles of a *śmśw, śmr w‘tj n jt.f*<sup>84</sup>). Khuenre holds the titles of *śj njswt n ht.f śmśw śmr w‘tj n jt.f*, which are similar to those in the inscriptions from the Galarza Tomb. EDEL<sup>85</sup>) also points out that we have here a similar instance of three generations of a family being represented on the wall of the tomb of a queen, as is the case in the tomb of Meresankh III, where Hetepheres II, Meresankh III and Prince Nebemakhet are shown<sup>86</sup>), a fact which could again suggest the close contemporaneity of these two tombs and their owners. EDEL further ascribes the fragmentary titles of an unnamed statue from the serdab of the Galarza Tomb to Khuenre on the basis of his other reconstruction<sup>87</sup>). EDEL’s suggestions provide the best solution put forward to date concerning the identity of this official. The same official is probably the one whose name is missing on a pair statue of Khamerernebty seated beside a male figure. As a king’s wife, the only possible man with whom Khamerernebty II might have been represented (apart from the king, which is not the case here) is her son.

The identification of this son of Khamerernebty raises its own question<sup>88</sup>). Who is the man who carries the titles of *jjj p‘t, śj njswt śmśw*, and, apparently, the name of Sekhemre (*Śhmr*), whose statue occupies the niche cut into the northern wall of room C? One would assume that his is the funerary apartment (D) cut into the rock to the west of this statue niche. The position of his monument clearly indicates a secondary alteration to the Galarza Tomb (see p. 11), and the proximity of his statue to the gigantic statue of Khamerernebty II begs the question of his relationship to her. There is no possibility that his name could fit within the remaining hieroglyphs of the statue fragment found in the serdab (and identified by EDEL as Prince Khuenre), however, so Sekhemre is an additional member of the Galarza Tomb. Was he either a son or grandson of this queen? Or was he no relation at all, his burial being merely intrusive? From the extant evidence we have no further answers to these questions<sup>89</sup>).

Thus the Galarza Tomb has a complexity not altogether apparent from the earlier reports. The identification of the tomb owner, which has been seriously questioned by EDEL, is not entirely free of doubt. We would suggest that the original owner is more likely to have been Khamerernebty I than Khamerernebty II, but that the latter enlarged the tomb for her own purposes. We suggest, therefore, that the original suite of chambers, H, I and J may have become hers, but that the reason for this change of plan remains unknown.

Perhaps the second stage of the building (p. 10), which was placed above the rock-cut base and involved the erection of a stone superstructure, was added to the tomb when the original chapel (H) was turned into a burial chamber, and the chambers A, B, C and G were added. All this might have been done for Khamerernebty II, who paid for work on the tomb to be finished. The later enlargement of the funerary wing known as D may have been carried out by Sekhemre – possibly because he was a relation who wished to be buried beside this queen. The position of his statue, outside his

<sup>82</sup>) E. EDEL, *MIO* 2, 1954, 185.

<sup>83</sup>) G. DARESSY, *ASAE* 10, 1910, 46.

<sup>84</sup>) EDEL’s interpretation is infinitely preferable to the transcription given by DARESSY (*mrt.f*) on page 46 of his article.

<sup>85</sup>) *MIO* 2, 1954, 184.

<sup>86</sup>) D. DUNHAM/W. K. SIMPSON, *Mersyankh III*, fig. 7.

<sup>87</sup>) E. EDEL, *MIO* 2, 1954, 185 f.

<sup>88</sup>) G. DARESSY, *ASAE* 10, 1910, 44.

<sup>89</sup>) But see V. G. CALLENDER, *A Note on the Statuary of the Galarza Tomb*, forthcoming.

entrance doorway, facing the later serdab where the family ka statues were kept, and in close proximity to Khamernerneby II's colossal statue, could suggest such a set of circumstances.

It should be clear from the tentative nature of the conclusions outlined above, and from the remarks repeatedly made within the text, that the evidence for the Galarza Tomb is both incomplete and (with the exception of EDEL's work on the entrance inscriptions), poorly analysed. There is every need for a modern excavation and re-examination of the tomb and, more importantly, urgent restoration work needs to be done to minimise the ravages of time on this significant monument.

#### Abstract

A new and closer look at the inscriptions of the so-called Galarza Tomb at Giza and the investigation of its architecture reveal a more complex history of the tomb and its original occupant. Initially believed to be the tomb of Queen Khamernerneby I, the attribution was later altered in favour of her daughter, Queen Khamernerneby II. The present study tries to show that the first queen, to some extent, could have been responsible for the building of the tomb which was later taken over by her daughter. Furthermore, it can be shown that the alterations and changes which took place in the tomb might have had considerable effect regarding the architectural development of rock-cut tombs of the 4th Dynasty at Giza in general.





Lintel from the Galarza Tomb in Giza (Court-  
esy of the Egyptian Museum, Cairo)