

## NEW ARCHAEOLOGICAL DATA FROM DRA<sup>c</sup> ABU EL-NAGA AND THEIR HISTORICAL IMPLICATIONS

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Recent excavations of the German Archaeological Institute, Cairo (DAIK), in the necropolis of Dra<sup>c</sup> Abu el-Naga in Western Thebes have yielded a substantial amount of new archaeological material dating to the Second Intermediate Period. The material includes architectural structures, such as the remains of the pyramid of King Nubkheperra Antef and a number of tomb shafts of the Thirteenth and Seventeenth Dynasties.<sup>1</sup> The excavation of these architectural structures resulted in the discovery of a large number of objects belonging to the material culture, such as pottery and items of burial equipment dating to this period.<sup>2</sup> Taken together, this new evidence not only allows for some new answers to old questions, but also enables us to formulate further questions more precisely.




The present paper focuses on the following topics:<sup>3</sup>



1. Chronological basics: The sequence of kings in the Seventeenth Dynasty at Thebes;
2. Archaeological evidence: The pyramid complex of King Nubkheperra Antef at Dra<sup>c</sup> Abu el-Naga;
3. Historical issues: The foundations of kingship in the Seventeenth Dynasty.

### 1. Chronological basics:

#### The sequence of kings in the Seventeenth Dynasty at Thebes

It is a well-established fact that the large area of Dra<sup>c</sup> Abu el-Naga in the northern part of the Theban Necropolis was the royal burial ground for a number of rulers of the Theban Seventeenth Dynasty.<sup>4</sup> Around the year 1827 and again in the forties of the 19<sup>th</sup> century, three royal coffins were discovered by native tomb-robbers at Dra<sup>c</sup> Abu el-Naga. One of these, namely the gilded

wooden coffin of a King Antef, was purchased in 1835 by the British Museum in London. In the inscriptions on the lid and at the foot end of this coffin (EA 6652), the king's *nomen* appears twice in the same spelling: . According to a brief note in one of the diaries of Sir Gardner Wilkinson, the other two coffins were found together in a shaft tomb at Dra<sup>c</sup> Abu el-Naga.<sup>5</sup> Since the earliest known drawings of these two coffins were made by Edward Stanley Poole (annotated by Anthony Charles Harris) in the year 1848, the pair must have been discovered by the local tomb-robbers in or before that year.<sup>6</sup> Both were sold to different European residents of Cairo, where they were purchased together for the Louvre by Auguste Mariette in 1854. Coffin N 712 (= E.3019) is, like the Antef coffin in the British Museum, a gilded wooden coffin and very similar both in style and execution. In its inscriptions on the lid and at the foot end, the royal owner, King Antef "the Great", is mentioned twice: . In addition, the inscription on the coffin lid explicitly states that this king's burial (*qrst nfrt m hrt-ntr*) was "given" to the king by his brother King Antef (... *m dd n.f sn.f nswt*  ...). Logically, the fabrication of both the coffin and its inscription cannot possibly date to the reign of the former, but must have been carried out during the reign of the latter King Antef.

The other Antef coffin in the Louvre, N 711 (= E.3020), is clearly not of the royal type, but a prefabricated private coffin, which was transformed into a royal coffin by means of an inscription in ink and the addition of a royal beard and a uraeus on the forehead. The inscription on the chest of the coffin lid contains the king's *prenomen*: .<sup>7</sup> In the vertical inscription on the lid, the king's *nomen* appears today as , but it seems quite clear that the name has been altered from

<sup>1</sup> Polz and Seiler 2003.

<sup>2</sup> For the pottery, see now Seiler 2005.


<sup>3</sup> The topics presented in this paper are dealt with more extensively in Polz 2007.


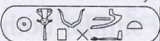
<sup>4</sup> Winlock 1924.

<sup>5</sup> Polz 2007, 22-34.

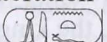
<sup>6</sup> Taylor 2000, 155-8.


<sup>7</sup> The last hieroglyph of the king's name is clearly the papyrus roll, not the arm (as in Winlock 1924, 267 and von Beckerath 1999, 129).

the original . Of the three coffins, only Louvre N 711 contains both the *prenom* and the *nomen* of its owner, King Sekhemra-heruhermaat Antef – a ruler who is not otherwise attested. The coffins British Museum EA 6652 and Louvre N 712 give only the *nomina* of two kings with the same name Antef, albeit with different spellings.

Who were these kings? Ever since the three coffins were discovered, there has been some dispute about the identity of their owners and, consequently, about their respective positions within the sequence of rulers during the Second Intermediate Period.<sup>8</sup> However, on the basis of the coffin inscriptions alone, the chronological relation between the three kings does not seem to present any major difficulties. The Antef-king of EA 6652, whose name is spelled with an additional reed-leaf after the initial *jnj*-sign, is known from a large number of objects and monuments on which his *prenom* Nubkheperra  is preserved.<sup>9</sup> Likewise, the inscriptions of monuments attributed to the King Antef of Louvre N 712, whose *nomen* “Antef” is followed in the name-ring by the designation ‘3, “the Great”, include his *prenom* Sekhemra-wepmaat .<sup>10</sup>

Until now, not a single contemporary inscriptional source has been found in which the “reed-name” Antef is combined with the *prenom* Sekhemra-wepmaat or where the “‘3-name” Antef is combined with the *prenom* Nubkheperra. One is, therefore, justified in the conclusion that all contemporary inscriptions that only include the “reed-name” Antef still refer to King Nubkheperra Antef, whereas all those where only the “‘3-name” Antef occurs still refer to King Sekhemra-wepmaat Antef.<sup>11</sup> This, in turn, leaves little doubt as to the relationship of these two kings: Sekhemra-wepmaat Antef was the immediate predecessor and (presumably elder) brother of Nubkheperra Antef, who succeeded his brother to the throne and arranged his burial.

The relationship between these two kings and the owner of Louvre N 711, Sekhemra-heruhermaat Antef, is not entirely clear. However, the alteration of his *nomen* Antef from the original version  to the

now visible form  strongly suggests that both spelling variants of the Antef-name – the one with the additional reed and the other with the additional ‘3 – were known to the scribe when he inserted the inscription on the coffin lid. Moreover, it seems plausible that the scribe originally used the spelling variant with the additional reed, with which he was more familiar. He or someone else then noticed his mistake in using a form of the Antef-name that was obviously only used in combination with the name of Nubkheperra Antef. The scribe therefore altered the reed to the ‘3-sign, which he knew was part of the *nomen* of King Sekhemra-wepmaat Antef, even though the adjective ‘3 makes no sense in this particular position. Consequently, Sekhemra-heruhermaat Antef must have been buried after the other two Antef kings.<sup>12</sup> Due to the fact that his coffin is thus far the only known object dating to this reign, and that its inscriptions do not provide any filiation details, it remains unclear whether or not he was genealogically linked to the family of his two predecessors.

The successive sequence of the three Antef kings of the Seventeenth Dynasty can, therefore, be established with a fair amount of certainty:

Sekhemra-wepmaat Antef  
Nubkheperra Antef  
Sekhemra-heruhermaat Antef

Based on the analysis of pottery from the area within the pyramid complex of Nubkheperra Antef, and on a stylistic comparison of the gilded wooden coffins British Museum EA 6652 and Louvre N 712 with those of King Seqenenra (Taa) and Queen Ahhotep (I), the group of Antef kings appears to be closely linked chronologically with the latter royals; in all likelihood, the group of Antef kings was immediately followed by the Senakhtenra – Seqenenra – Kamose group at the end of the Seventeenth Dynasty.

But who were the immediate predecessors of the Antef kings? On a sandstone jamb of a small chapel or sanctuary discovered on a high plateau in the western desert at the Theban end of the so-called Farshut Road


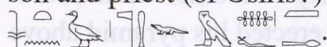
<sup>8</sup> See, for example, Winlock 1924; Ryholt 1997, 167-71 and 266-71.

<sup>9</sup> Cf. Polz 2007, 330-43 [26-48].

<sup>10</sup> Cf. Polz 2007, 326, 328 [22] (pyramidion) and 329 [24] (canopic chest). Also Papyrus Abbott gives the correct version of this king's *nomen* with the additional ‘3 within the name-ring (Peet 1930, pl. 1 [2], l. 16).

<sup>11</sup> Thus, the explicit hesitation of Quirke to assign the London coffin BM EA 6652 to one in particular of the known Antef kings seems to be over-cautious (Quirke 1994, 275-6).

<sup>12</sup> For different interpretations, see Dodson 1991, 33-8; Ryholt 1997, 267-8.

some years ago,<sup>13</sup> the *nomina* of two rulers are mentioned, connected by a filiation formula: . According to the conclusions reached above, this King Antef can only be Nubkheperra Antef. The identity of the second king mentioned on the jamb is more difficult to establish. There is little doubt, however, that he must have been one of the two Sobekemsaf kings known to have ruled during the Seventeenth Dynasty, namely Sekhemra-wadjkhau Sobekemsaf and Sekhemra-shedtowy Sobekemsaf. Both kings are known from several monuments, although Sekhemra-wadjkhau is attested in far more contemporary sources than Sekhemra-shedtowy. Is there a relationship between these two Sobekemsaf kings? Between the legs of a life-size granite statue of Sekhemra-wadjkhau Sobekemsaf from Abydos,<sup>14</sup> there is a relief figure of a royal son and priest (of Osiris?) with the name Sobekemsaf: . There seems to be little reason to assume that a non-royal, titular prince could have been depicted and mentioned in such a prominent position as on a royal statue. Therefore, it is highly probable that this prince Sobekemsaf was a real son of King Sekhemra-wadjkhau Sobekemsaf. Given the fact that the personal name Sobekemsaf is less common than might be expected during the Second Intermediate Period,<sup>15</sup> it seems plausible to identify this prince Sobekemsaf as the later king and successor of Sekhemra-wadjkhau, i.e. as Sekhemra-shedtowy Sobekemsaf and, accordingly, as the father of both King Sekhemra-wepmaat Antef and his brother, King Nubkheperra Antef, who is mentioned on the jamb of the Farshut Road.

King Sekhemra-wahkhau Rahotep also seems to belong to this dynasty; his reign probably preceded the reign of Sekhemra-wadjkhau Sobekemsaf.<sup>16</sup>

Thus, it seems reasonable to reconstruct the sequence of rulers of the Theban Seventeenth Dynasty as follows:<sup>17</sup>

Sekhemra-wahkhau Rahotep  
 Sekhemra-wadjkhau Sobekemsaf  
 Sekhemra-shedtowy Sobekemsaf  
 Sekhemra-wepmaat Antef  
 Nubkheperra Antef

Sekhemra-heruhermaat Antef

Senakhtenra

Seqenenra Taa

Wadjkheperra Kamose

## 2. New archaeological evidence:

### The pyramid complex of King Nubkheperra Antef at Dra' Abu el-Naga

The search for the royal tomb of Nubkheperra Antef began shortly after 1835, when the gilded wooden coffin of the king was purchased by the British Museum in London.<sup>18</sup> Investigations among the local inhabitants of the village of Dra' Abu el-Naga resulted in a brief description of the tomb in which the tomb-robbers apparently discovered the coffin. The archaeological search for the tomb was begun by Auguste Mariette in 1860, immediately following the first published translation of Papyrus Abbott (today also in the British Museum), in which the king's tomb is listed among other allegedly plundered tombs in the Theban necropolis. In connection with the pyramid, the papyrus mentions the private tomb of a certain Iuroy, in whose "outer hall" the thieves had dug a "tunnel" in an unsuccessful attempt to reach the burial chamber of the royal tomb. In the vicinity of the tomb of Iuroy, Mariette discovered fragments of two small sandstone obelisks, whose inscriptions included the almost complete titulary and names of Nubkheperra Antef. Close by, Mariette also found a rock-cut tomb, which he believed to be the king's tomb, but he explicitly states that he found no remains of a pyramid. More than 60 years after Mariette's discoveries, Herbert E Winlock published his seminal work on the location of the royal tombs of the Seventeenth Dynasty in the *Journal of Egyptian Archaeology*. Winlock also chose the tomb of Iuroy (known today as TT 13, the tomb of Shuroy<sup>19</sup>) as the starting point of his search for the pyramid of Nubkheperra and he examined the area around it but "could identify no trace of the tomb of King Intef".

<sup>13</sup> Darnell and Darnell 1993, 50-1; 1997, 10; Polz 2007, 34-8.

<sup>14</sup> CG 386; see Davies 1981, 9-10.

<sup>15</sup> Polz 2007, 45-50.

<sup>16</sup> For a detailed discussion, see Polz 2007, 50-6.

<sup>17</sup> Throughout this article and in Polz 2007, 5-11, Ryholt's definition of the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Dynasties has been adopted (Ryholt 1997, 9-33). For a discussion of Ryholt's

chronological and historical considerations and a synopsis of several previous chronological reconstructions, see Polz 2007, 7, table 1; cf. now Bennett 2002.

<sup>18</sup> Polz 2003b, 5-10.

<sup>19</sup> For an explanation of the different spellings, see Winlock 1924, 227-8; Polz 2003b, 8-9.

In the spring of 2001 an attempt was made by the German Archaeological Institute, Cairo to (re-)locate the pyramid of Nubkheperra Antef archaeologically.<sup>20</sup> A new excavation area in the plain of Dra' Abu el-Naga was designated – Area H – and a number of test trenches were dug in the vicinity of the tomb of Iuroy/Shuroy. These trenches resulted in the discovery of several rock-cut tombs and shaft tombs and of a small funerary chapel made of mud-bricks, whose interior walls still bore remains of the original paintings. On a small mud-brick pillar in front of the niche in the west wall, the remains of a large painted cartouche were preserved which contains the *prenomen* Nubkheperra. The tomb owner, the *jrj-p't h3tj-° htmtj-bjtj smr-w'tj jmj-r htmt* (“hereditary prince, count, king’s sealer, sole companion, treasurer”) Teti was, therefore, a high official of the court of Nubkheperra Antef. Immediately north of Teti’s chapel, the lower layers of an enclosure wall and, even further north, the southern side of the mud-brick pyramid itself were discovered (**Fig. 1; Plates 121-122**).

After the remains of the pyramid had been completely cleared, its architectural construction became apparent: the pyramid was built against the natural slope (ca. 22%) of the hillside with no substantial foundations. It was built using a casing technique, i.e. only the outer 1 to 1.5 metres had been erected with mud-bricks whereas the core was filled up with rubble and small limestone flakes. In several places on the northern, western, and eastern sides of the pyramid, the mud-bricks had disappeared down to the first layer. Only the lower section on the southern side is still preserved, ranging from a minimum height of 40 cm to a maximum of 95 cm. On all four sides, however, enough was preserved to allow the measurement of the pyramid’s original inclination. Based on a total of 26 measurements, the average angle of inclination was 67.81°, which may correspond to the ancient intended angle of 2 palms recess at 5 palms height (i.e. 66.66°). The calculated angle also allows for a reconstruction of the pyramid’s original overall height: it stood approximately 11.50 metres tall from the bottom of its eastern side, 9.90 metres above its centre, and 8.25 metres from the bottom of its western side.

On three sides the pyramid was surrounded by an enclosure wall, which was covered on its outer and

inner faces with a fine white lime plaster. The area in front of its eastern side was most probably supported by an artificial terrace. The debris on this side – presumably the old filling of the artificial terrace – contained a square sandstone block, which must have been the basis for an obelisk (see further below and plan on **Fig. 1**).

The clearing of the pyramid’s core resulted in the remarkable discovery of a tomb shaft (K02.2) almost exactly beneath the centre of the construction. This shaft has no apparent architectural connection to the pyramid and was inaccessible once the pyramid had been erected above it. The preserved remains of funeral equipment in the chamber of the shaft tomb were even more interesting since they can be dated to a period clearly preceding the construction of the pyramid, namely the Thirteenth Dynasty.<sup>21</sup> In other words, Nubkheperra Antef intentionally erected his pyramid above an already existing shaft of an earlier date. Since the identity of the original owner of K02.2 is unknown, the relationship between Nubkheperra Antef and the owner of K02.2 can only be a matter of speculation: perhaps the person buried in K02.2 was an ancestor of the king or he might have been regarded by the king as some kind of local “forefather”. Regardless of the relationship of these two individuals, the fact that Nubkheperra chose this particular site for his pyramid also explains why it was built against the steep slope of the hillside: any levelling of the area before the construction of the pyramid would have resulted in a partial destruction of the earlier tomb’s shaft.

While excavating the area to the east of the pyramid in the spring of 2002, the shaft tomb K02.1 was discovered and the removal of its fill began. The upper part of the fill revealed two large and dozens of small sandstone fragments that belong to the lower half of an obelisk, notably similar in size to those found by Mariette in 1860, but without inscription.<sup>22</sup> This obelisk may once have stood (presumably as one of a pair) in front of the eastern side of the pyramid, as can be deduced from the fact that the debris of this area contained a sandstone base whose dimensions almost exactly fit those of the obelisk fragments (see plan on **Fig. 1**).

In the autumn of 2002, further clearing of the shaft of K02.1 brought to light two fragments of another,

<sup>20</sup> Polz 2003b, 10-20.

<sup>21</sup> Seiler 2003, 51-7.

<sup>22</sup> For the obelisks found by Mariette, see Mariette 1889, pl. 50 [a]; cf. Polz 2003b, 19-20 and fig. 7; Polz 2007, 122-32.

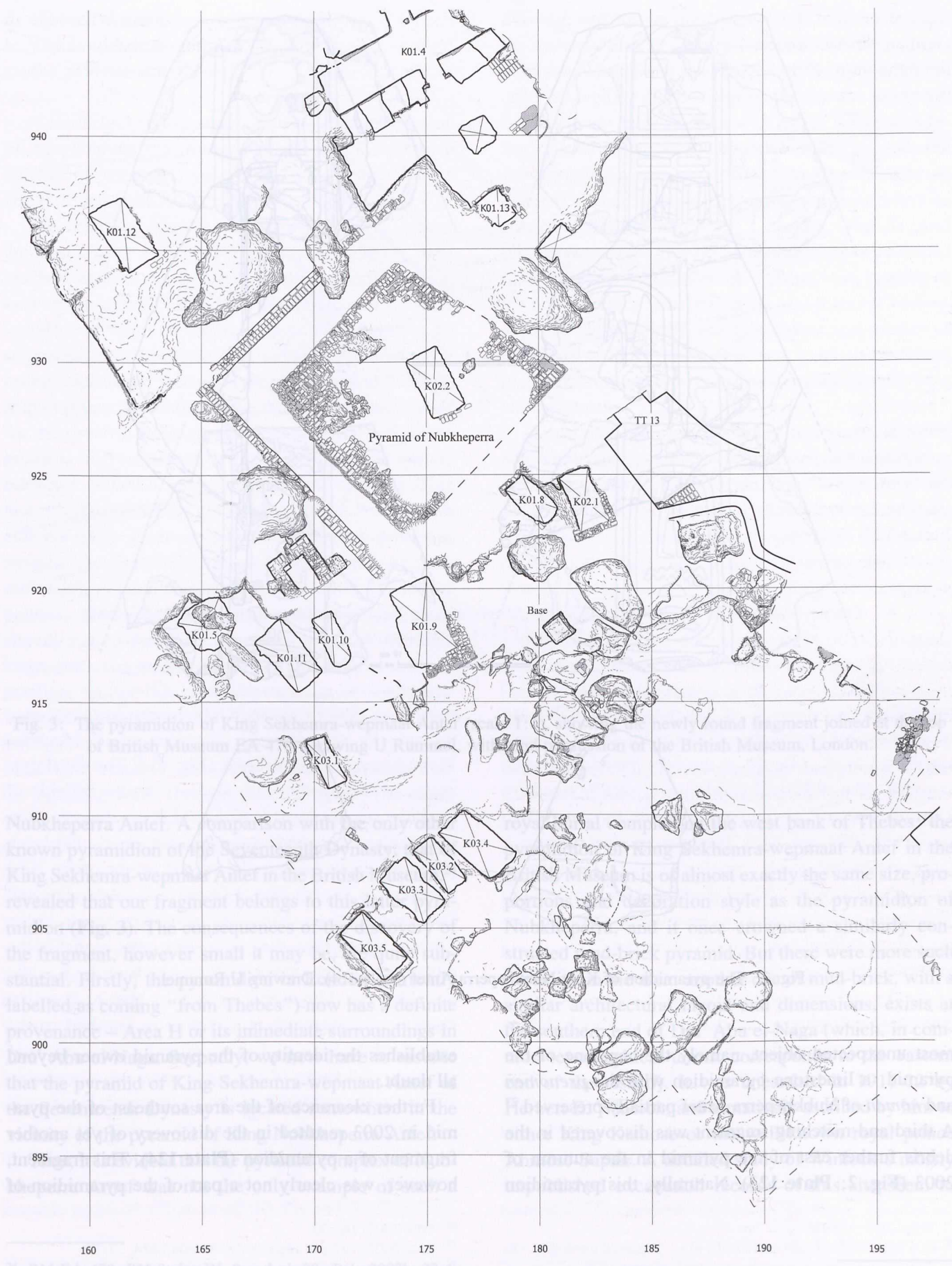


Fig. 1: Preliminary plan. The pyramid of King Nubkheperre Antef and its surroundings (scale 1:200).

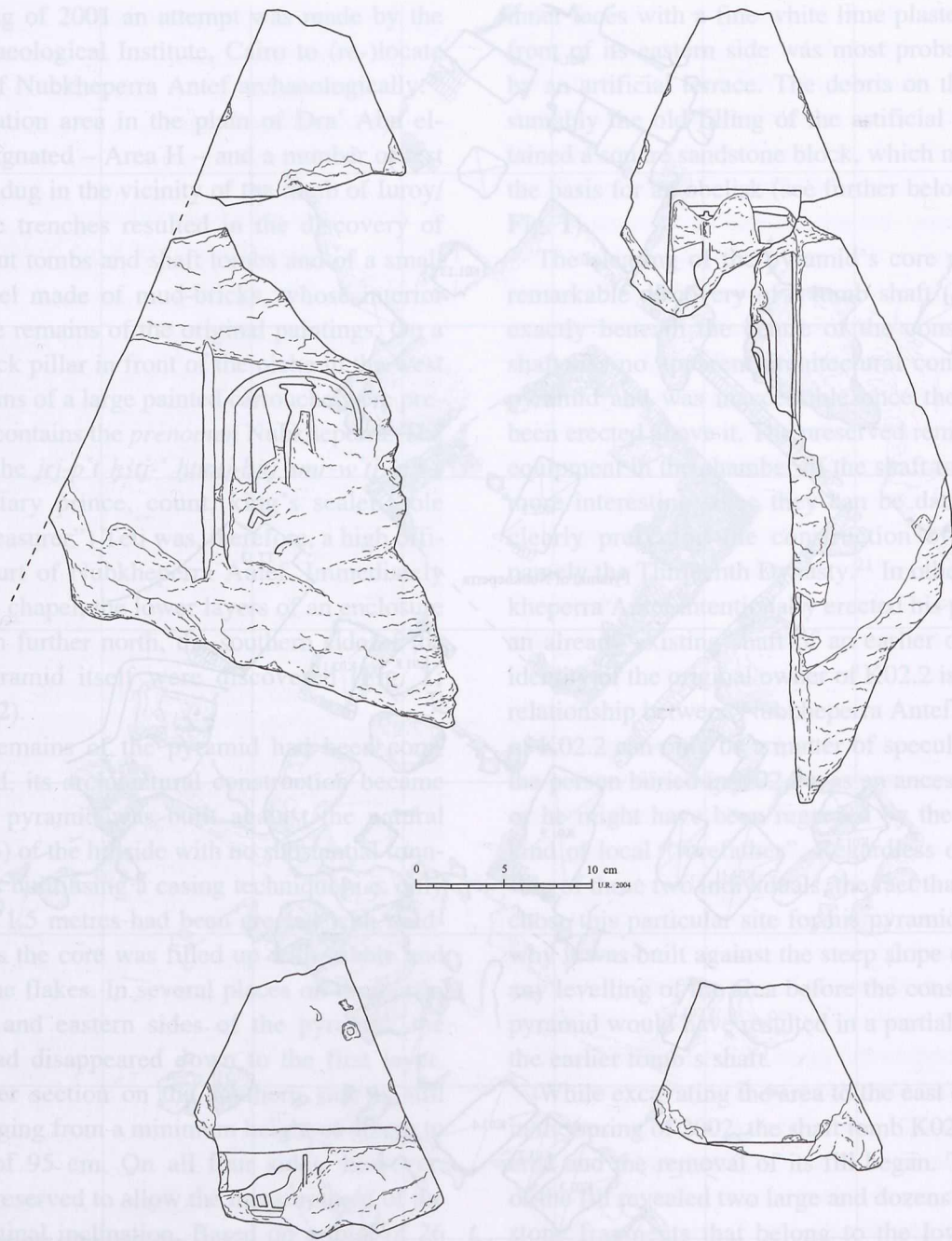


Fig. 2: The pyramidion of King Nubkheperra Antef (scale 1:4). Drawing U Rummel.

most unexpected object, namely the capstone of the pyramid: a limestone pyramidion with the *prenomen* and *nomen* of Nubkheperra Antef partially preserved.<sup>23</sup> A third and matching fragment was discovered in the debris further east of the pyramid in the autumn of 2003 (Fig. 2; Plate 123). Naturally, this pyramidion

establishes the identity of the pyramid owner beyond all doubt.

Further clearance of the area southeast of the pyramid in 2003 resulted in the discovery of yet another fragment of a pyramidion (Plate 124). This fragment, however, was clearly not a part of the pyramidion of

<sup>23</sup> Polz 2003b, 20-4, pls. 1 [d], 7 [a-b].

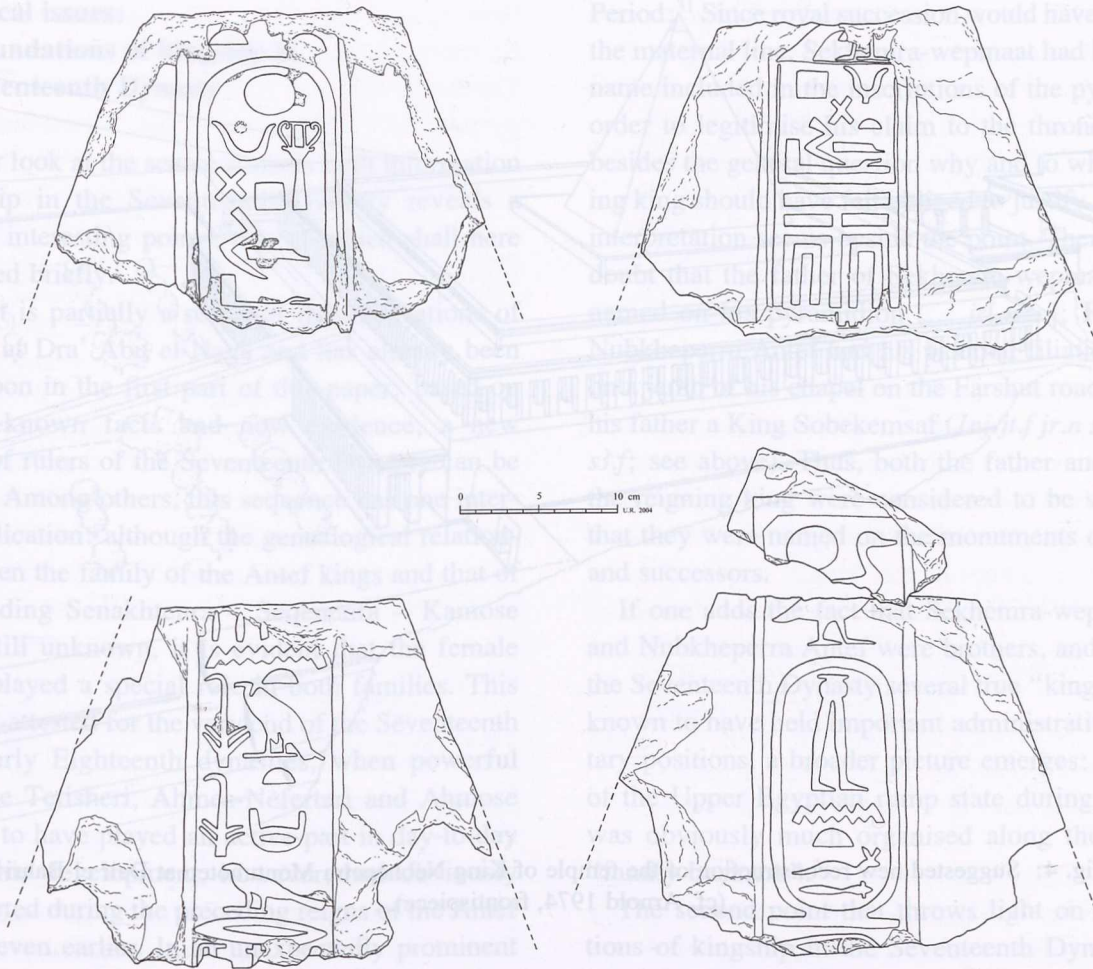


Fig. 3: The pyramidion of King Sekhemra-wepmaat Antef (scale 1:4), showing the newly found fragment joined at the top of British Museum EA 478. Drawing U Rummel, with kind permission of the British Museum, London.

Nubkheperra Antef. A comparison with the only other known pyramidion of the Seventeenth Dynasty, that of King Sekhemra-wepmaat Antef in the British Museum,<sup>24</sup> revealed that our fragment belongs to this latter pyramidion (Fig. 3). The consequences of the discovery of the fragment, however small it may be, are quite substantial. Firstly, the pyramidion in London (currently labelled as coming “from Thebes”) now has a definite provenance – Area H or its immediate surroundings in Dra’ Abu el-Naga. Secondly, we now have to assume that the pyramid of King Sekhemra-wepmaat Antef of the Seventeenth Dynasty is located somewhere in the vicinity of the pyramid of King Nubkheperra Antef.

Thus, it is evident that the pyramid complex of Nubkheperra Antef was not the only example of such a

royal burial complex on the west bank of Thebes: the pyramidion of King Sekhemra-wepmaat Antef in the British Museum is of almost exactly the same size, proportions and decoration style as the pyramidion of Nubkheperra, and it once crowned a similarly constructed mud-brick pyramid. But there were more such pyramids in the area: another one of mud-brick, with a similar architectural layout and dimensions, exists at the southern end of Dra’ Abu el-Naga (which, in common topographical terms, corresponds to the eastern end of the Asasif). It was unearthed in 1911-12 by Herbert E. Winlock, and tentatively ascribed by him to either King Kamose or the well-known royal prince Ahmose-Sapair. A detailed study of Winlock’s mostly unpublished excavation records of this site seem to

<sup>24</sup> BM EA 478. *BM Stelae* IV, 9 and pl. 29; Polz 2003b, 22-4, fig. 9.

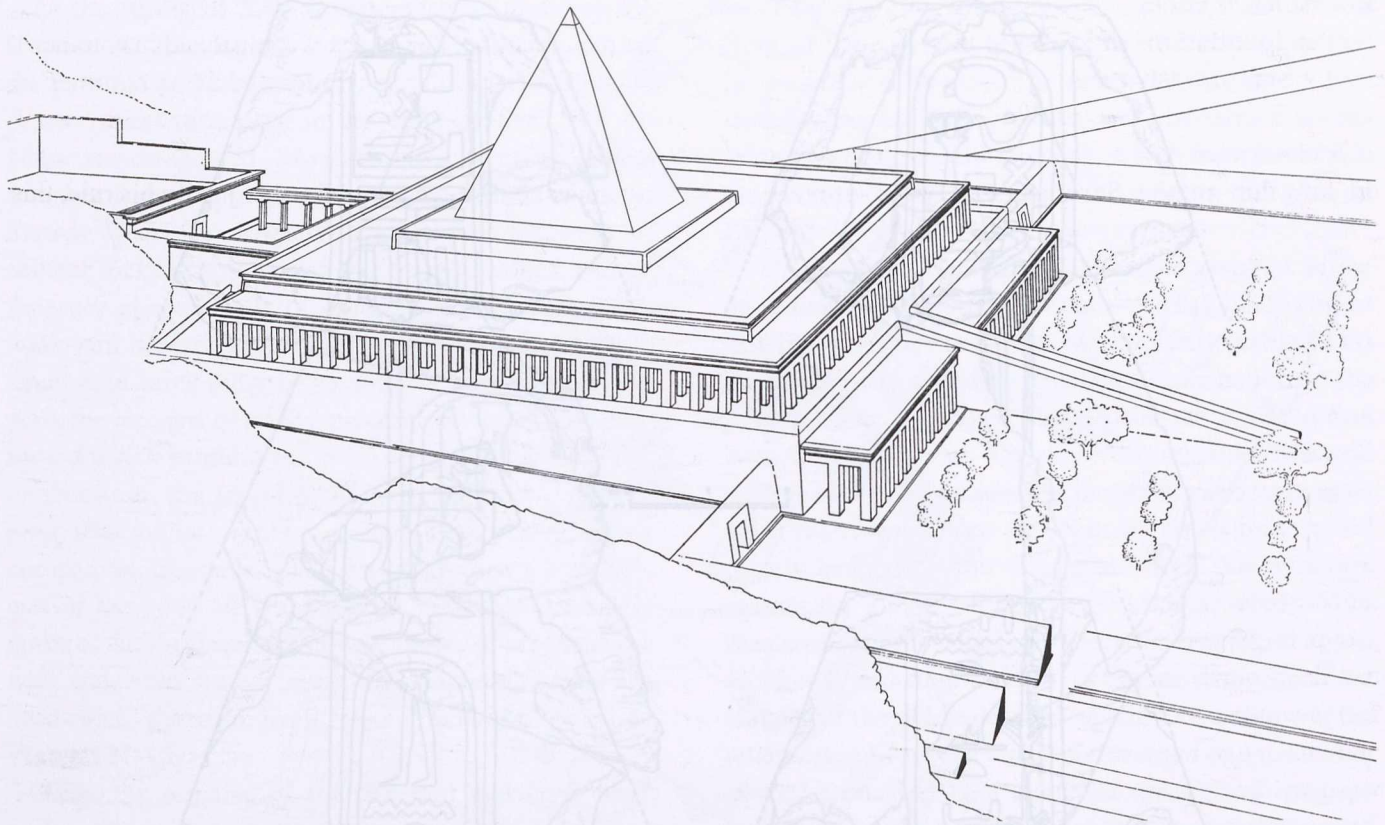


Fig. 4: Suggested new reconstruction of the temple of King Nebhepetra Montuhotep at Deir el-Bahri (cf. Arnold 1974, frontispiece).

make Sapair's ownership of this pyramid complex the more plausible explanation.<sup>25</sup> Remains of yet another royal mud-brick pyramid on the very top of the northern Dra' Abu el-Naga hillside were once noticed by Howard Carter<sup>26</sup> and recorded again by the DAIK project in 1994 and 2003. Here the pyramid crowns a large unfinished tomb complex (K94.1) including a small chamber with a burial-shaft 17 metres in depth.<sup>27</sup> This tomb complex seems to be a likely candidate for the long-lost royal tomb of King Kamose.<sup>28</sup>

As for the origins of these pyramids from the end of the Second Intermediate Period, it seems clear that they were not inspired by the Old and Middle Kingdom pyramids of northern Egypt. Their shape, size and function suggest a different, local model, namely the pyramids which may have crowned the large *saff*-tomb complexes of the Antef kings of the Eleventh Dynasty

in el-Tarif, and the pyramid which most certainly once topped the temple-tomb complex of Nebhepetra Montuhotep at Deir el-Bahri (Fig. 4).<sup>29</sup> The royal pyramids of the Seventeenth Dynasty on the hillside of the large necropolis at Dra' Abu el-Naga were, in turn, the architectural predecessors of the small mud-brick pyramids erected above the private tombs of the New Kingdom in Sheikh Abd el-Qurna, Deir el-Medina and Dra' Abu el-Naga. Via these private pyramids in the Theban Necropolis, they were also most probably the model for the later stone-built pyramids of the Kushite and Meroitic kings and queens in Nubia: the first known pyramid-tomb at el-Kurru is ascribed to the first Kushite king of Egypt, Piankhi. This pyramid complex and those of his successors are remarkably similar to the pyramids of the Seventeenth Dynasty at Thebes.<sup>30</sup>

<sup>25</sup> Polz 2007, 155-60.

<sup>26</sup> In Carter MSS I.J, 294 and PM I<sup>2</sup>, 611: "Pyramid tomb 83". On Carter's map of the area: "pyr. tomb" (Carter 1916, pl. 19).

<sup>27</sup> Smith 1995, 223-5 and pl. 47 [b].

<sup>28</sup> Polz 2007, 162-72.

<sup>29</sup> Polz 2007, 197-211, against Di Arnold 1974, 27-32.

<sup>30</sup> Stadelmann 1997, 260-3; Lehner 1997, 194-9; Edwards 1961, 247-53.



### 3. Historical issues:

#### The foundations of kingship in the Seventeenth Dynasty

A closer look at the scarce sources with information on kingship in the Seventeenth Dynasty reveals a number of interesting points, two of which shall here be discussed briefly.

The first is partially a result of the excavations of the DAIK at Dra<sup>c</sup> Abu el-Naga and has already been touched upon in the first part of this paper: based on both well-known facts and new evidence, a new sequence of rulers of the Seventeenth Dynasty can be suggested. Among others, this sequence has one interesting implication: although the genealogical relationship between the family of the Antef kings and that of the succeeding Senakhtenra – Seqenenra – Kamose group is still unknown, it is evident that the female members played a special role in both families. This fact is well-attested for the very end of the Seventeenth and the early Eighteenth dynasties, when powerful women like Tetisheri, Ahmes-Nefertari and Ahmose each seem to have played an active part in day-to-day politics. This development, however, had obviously already started during the preceding reigns of the Antef kings and even earlier. In an unexpectedly prominent position, on one side of the pyramidion of Sekhemra-wepmaat Antef, the titles of the king's mother are listed *ms.n mwt-nswt hmt-nswt wrt hnmt hdt nfrt* [...], “born of the king's mother, great king's wife, who unites with the beautiful white (crown) [...]” (Fig. 3). The name of the queen must have followed these titles in the now destroyed lower portion of the pyramidion. The inscriptions on the newly discovered fragments of the pyramidion of Sekhemra-wepmaat Antef's brother, Nubkheperra Antef, also seem to have included a reference to the mother of both kings: in a two-columned inscription on one side of the topmost fragment, the *wr*-sign is preserved (Fig. 2 [bottom left]). Since the word *wr* is certainly not part of the king's royal titulary, it most probably belonged to the title *hmt-nswt wrt* borne by his mother, the queen who also featured on the pyramidion of Nubkheperra's brother Sekhemra-wepmaat.

The prominence of the queen on the pyramidion of Sekhemra-wepmaat Antef has been interpreted as a sign of necessary royal legitimisation during the instable political situation of the Second Intermediate

Period.<sup>31</sup> Since royal succession would have run through the maternal line, Sekhemra-wepmaat had his mother's name included in the inscriptions of the pyramidion in order to legitimise his claim to the throne. However, besides the general question why and to whom a reigning king should have felt obliged to justify his rule, this interpretation seems beside the point. There can be no doubt that the father of Sekhemra-wepmaat was also named on his pyramidion (... *jr*[*n*...]; Fig. 3). And Nubkheperra Antef had his paternal filiation inscribed on a jamb of his chapel on the Farshut road, naming as his father a King Sobekemsaf (*Jnj-jt.f jr.n s3 R' Sbk-m-s3.f*; see above). Thus, both the father and mother of the reigning king were considered to be so important that they were named on the monuments of their sons and successors.

If one adds the fact that Sekhemra-wepmaat Antef and Nubkheperra Antef were brothers, and that during the Seventeenth Dynasty several true “king's sons” are known to have held important administrative and military positions, a broader picture emerges: governance of the Upper Egyptian rump state during this period was obviously much organised along the lines of a “family business”.<sup>32</sup>

The second point that throws light on the foundations of kingship in the Seventeenth Dynasty is also based in part on the results of the recent DAIK excavations. As mentioned above, the massive, brick-built pyramid of Nubkheperra Antef most likely borrowed from the similar, earlier funerary complexes of the Eleventh Dynasty at Thebes, especially the temple-tomb complex of Nebhepetra Montuhotep at Deir el-Bahri (see Fig. 4). There are, on different levels, even further allusions to the earlier kings of the Eleventh Dynasty. Three kings of the Seventeenth Dynasty had the *nomen* Antef, obviously in allusion to the Antef kings of the Eleventh Dynasty: one of the kings of the Seventeenth Dynasty, Sekhemra-wepmaat Antef, even added the extension '3, “the Great”, in his royal name-ring (𓏏𓏏𓏏), almost exactly like one of his famous predecessors more than 500 years earlier, King Horus Wahankh Antef (II) of the Eleventh Dynasty: (𓏏𓏏𓏏). The gigantic *saff*-tombs of these earlier kings in the necropolis of el-Tarif and the temple-tomb complex of Nebhepetra Montuhotep at Deir el-Bahri were the only existing royal tombs in Thebes at the time of the Seventeenth Dynasty. The tomb complex of

<sup>31</sup> Winlock 1924, 234.

<sup>32</sup> Polz 2007, 305-7.

Horus Wahankh Antef (II), with its chapel-like entrance building containing the king's impressive "Dog Stela", was a visible and accessible monumental structure of the earlier, more glorious period of Theban rule.<sup>33</sup>

During the excavations of the DAIK, an intentionally defaced sandstone head of a life-size royal statue, probably once seated, was recovered from the fill of a shaft (K01.9) immediately southeast of the pyramid of Nubkheperra Antef. It is extremely doubtful that this statue was originally carved for Nubkheperra Antef, as the discernible iconographic and stylistic features of the head suggest an earlier date.<sup>34</sup> The statue may well have been usurped by Nubkheperra and taken from the temple of Nebhepetra Montuhotep at Deir el-Bahri, since its iconographic details closely resemble those of the well-known statues of this king.<sup>35</sup> In return, Nubkheperra might have reinstated or bolstered the cult of Amun-Ra at the temple of Nebhepetra Montuhotep: the lower portion of a wooden shrine for a statue of the god, inscribed with the royal titulary of Nubkheperra Antef, was discovered in the sanctuary of the temple in 1854 during an excavation undertaken by Lord Dufferin.<sup>36</sup>

Lastly, the area in the necropolis of Dra' Abu el-Naga chosen by the kings of the Seventeenth Dynasty for at least some of their funerary complexes was already an old cemetery of the Thirteenth Dynasty.

Here again, some faint allusions to the kings of the Eleventh Dynasty are traceable. In the chamber of a Thirteenth Dynasty shaft tomb (K01.12) west of the pyramid of Nubkheperra Antef, a limestone stela of the tomb-owner Iayseneb was found. Besides the gods Osiris-Khentiaementiu and Wepwawet, the text of the offering formula includes two deified kings of the Eleventh Dynasty, Nebhepetra Montuhotep and his successor, Sankhkara Montuhotep.<sup>37</sup>

The results of the recent excavations of the DAIK in the necropolis of Dra' Abu el-Naga have contributed substantially to our knowledge of the internal history of the Second Intermediate Period in Thebes. We are now able to start painting a picture of the period, albeit faint and still far from complete. The discovery of the pyramid of Nubkheperra Antef and of several contemporary as well as earlier shaft tombs in its vicinity allows us to contextualise objects and monuments whose chronological and cultural-historical *Sitz im Leben* have thus far been uncertain. The end of the Second Intermediate Period in Thebes, the period of the rulers of the Seventeenth Dynasty, presents itself in many aspects as a phase of continuous historical development during which these rulers created the cultural foundations of the New Kingdom in Egypt, based on a deliberate adoption of local and regional traditions.

<sup>33</sup> On the royal tomb and the stela, see Di Arnold 1976, 25-31. This stela was still accessible and visible more than 400 years later during the reign of Ramesses IX, when the inspection committee of Papyrus Abbott visited the building and described the "Dog Stela" in the text of its report (Peet 1930, pl. 1 [2], ll. 8-11).

<sup>34</sup> For colour photographs of the head, see Polz 2002, 295 and fig. 13 [a-c]; Polz 2003a, 15.

<sup>35</sup> Compare, for example, the head of a statue of Nebhepetra Montuhotep from Deir el-Bahri in the British Museum (Russmann 2001, 84-5 [15]). The head from Dra' Abu el-Naga will be published by Alexandra Verbovsek.

<sup>36</sup> Edwards 1965, 17-8, pl. 9 [4].

<sup>37</sup> Franke 2003, with pl. 2.

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<sup>1</sup> Legrain 1903, 25-9.

<sup>2</sup> Legrain 1903, 29.

<sup>3</sup> Azim and Réveillac 2004.

<sup>4</sup> Azim and Réveillac 2004, p. 231. In comments to the photograph, the editors have noted the very bad state of the stela and

the difficulty in discerning the content of the text. They suggest that "elle pourrait dater du début de la XIX<sup>e</sup> dynastie."

<sup>5</sup> Van Sicken III 2003, 21-3.

<sup>6</sup> Gabolde 2005. At the time, Gabolde was not aware of the present whereabouts of these fragments.



Plate 121: The remains of the pyramid of King Nubkheperre Antef.

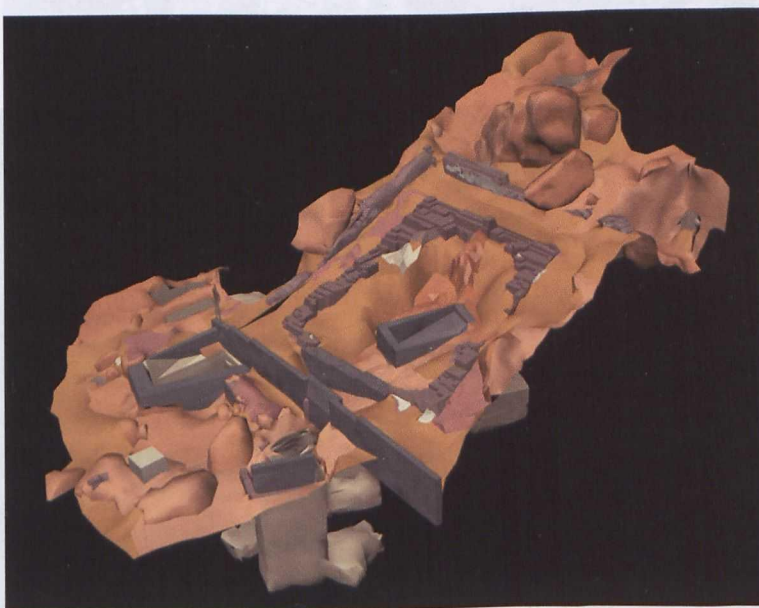


Plate 122: The pyramid and its surroundings. Still of an animated 3D reconstruction by U Fauerbach and A Kreisel.

Plate 124: Fragment of the pyramid of King Schemwoseptah Antef from Dra Abu el-Naga.



Plate 123: Pyramidion with remains of the names of King Nubkheperra Antef.



Plate 124: Fragment of the pyramidion of King Sekhemra-wepmaat Antef from Dra' Abu el-Naga.