

The Location of the Tomb of Amenhotep I: A Reconsideration¹

Daniel Polz

.....

In 1991, the German Institute of Archaeology, Cairo (DAI) started a new archaeological project in the necropolis of Dra' Abu el-Naga on the West Bank of Thebes.² Since 1994 this project has been a joint venture of the German Institute and the University of California, Los Angeles. The major aim of the project is the identification of the private and royal tombs of the 17th and early 18th Dynasties in the Theban Necropolis. A large tomb in the hillside of Dra' Abu el-Naga currently excavated by the project has yielded a substantial amount of material dating to the early 18th Dynasty. For this and other reasons, that tomb is a possible candidate for being one of the lost royal tombs of the late 17th or early 18th Dynasties, including the still unknown tomb of Amenhotep I.

The present article is in a way a by-product of the project; it is meant to be a critical reconsideration and re-evaluation of the sources that have led scholars over nearly one century to numerous attempts to localize and identify the lost tomb of the second king of the 18th Dynasty, Amenhotep I.

Basically, there are three different categories of sources that have been utilized for the attempts to identify king Amenhotep's tomb:

- a. textual • the Abbott Papyrus (B.M. 10221)³
- b. archaeological • the discovery and partial excavation or clearance (?) of KV 39 around the year 1900, and the visit of the tomb, probably in 1908, by Weigall⁴
- the excavation of a tomb in the cliffs of Dra' Abu el-Naga in 1914 by Carter⁵
- the clearing of TT 320 (the "Royal Cache") in 1881 by Maspero⁶
- c. typological • several attempts to establish a sequence of the royal tombs of Dynasty 18 in and outside the Valley of the Kings based on the development of certain architectural features by Carter, Weigall, Romer, Dodson, etc.⁷

The sequence of these categories is a deliberate one, i.e., it displays a hierarchy: if viewed against the background of our present knowledge about the tombs on the West Bank of Thebes, the textual category should have—methodologically seen—the strongest evidence: up to the present, pAbbott remains the only known source that not only proves that the tomb of Amenhotep I was somewhere on the West Bank of Thebes but also gives a very detailed description of its exact location. Without this textual source, the meager archaeological evidence and the even more meager typological evidence could not have possibly led to any serious attempt to identify this royal tomb. And indeed, regardless of how

meager the overall evidence was, two particular passages of pAbbott have always been utilized to substantiate it. It is the main goal of this paper to demonstrate how methodologically questionable this procedure is. I will therefore put a certain emphasis on this first category, the textual evidence of pAbbott.

Ever since pAbbott was published for the first time,⁸ scholars were attracted by two different indications in the first part of it:

- A. The passage that deals with the location of the tomb of Amenhotep I in the Theban Necropolis and,
- B. The sequence of the other royal tombs that were inspected by the official “tomb-robberies-commission.”

A. This passage indeed gives a detailed and complete description of the tomb’s location—at least as far the potential ancient Egyptian reader is concerned. Fig. 1 shows the hieroglyphs and Peet’s translation of the hieratic text:⁹

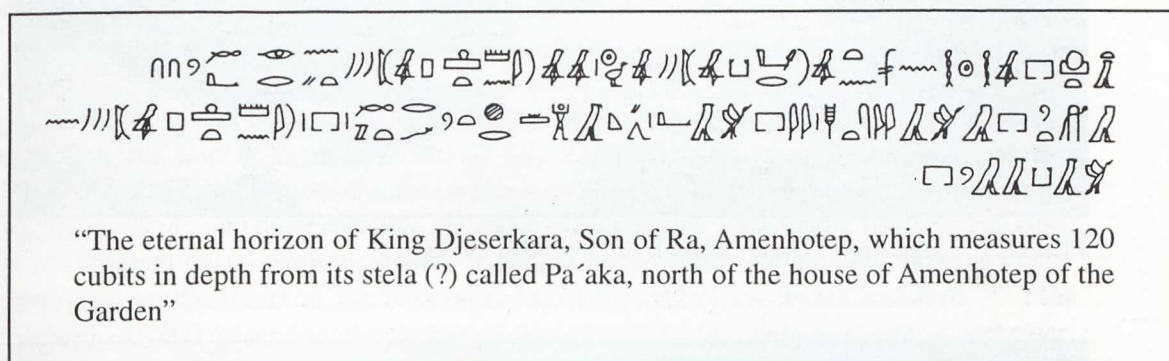


FIGURE 1: pAbbott, p. 2, lines 2-4 (Peet, *The Great Tomb-Robberies*. Hieroglyphic text, pl. I; translation, pp. 37-38.)

The description of the location of the king’s tomb is far more detailed than those of the following nine royal tombs, and for the ancient Egyptian reader it must have been unambiguous. The passage is, however, extremely ambiguous for us: besides the question of whether the adverbial phrase “north of the house (or temple) ...” is controlled by “stela / Pa’aka” or by “the eternal horizon,” the passage contains at least three if not four unknown or unclear terms: *m dt* in connection with buildings is used for both “depth” and “height,”¹⁰ the word which Peet translates with “stela,” *ḥꜥy* seems to be a *hapax legomenon*; the same is true for “Pa’aka” (*pꜣ ḥꜥj*), which by its determinative seems to indicate a term connected with the verb *qꜣj* (“be high” or the noun “height”); lastly, the toponym *ḥwt Jmn-ḥtp n pꜣ kꜣmw* (the “temple of Amenhotep of the Garden”) is not yet positively identified with a known building on the West Bank. In other words: we are confronted with an equation of four unknown quantities!¹¹

The first to actually combine the textual and the archaeological evidence was A. Weigall, who in 1911 published a short article on this subject.¹² Weigall held the position of Inspector-General of Antiquities for the Egyptian Government from 1905-14, when he was also



PLATE I: Location of Carter's tomb in Dra' Abu el-Naga



PLATE II: Entrance to Carter's tomb in Dra' Abu el-Naga

responsible for supervising the archaeological work in the Valley of the Kings;¹³ during that time, Weigall also stepped into KV 39 which was still mostly unexcavated, and he eventually came to the conclusion that this tomb belonged to Amenhotep I. He took "Pa'aka" to be the peak of the mountain path leading from the workmen's village of Deir el-Medina to the Valley. On that peak, the famous "workmen's huts" are located; measuring down 120 cubits (i.e., approximately 63 meters) from that spot, Weigall arrived at the mouth of KV 39. To match the other indication of pAbbott, "north of the house of Amenhotep of the garden," Weigall identified this building with either the temple of Amenhotep III or an unknown temple of Amenhotep I at Medinet Habu.

His interpretation of the passage in question of pAbbott and the subsequent identification of KV 39 as the king's tomb were adopted by only a small group of Egyptologists;¹⁴ the most recent support of Weigall's identification is that of Dodson in an article dealing with the royal tombs of the early 18th Dynasty.¹⁵ After a thorough discussion of all the different attempts to identify the king's tomb, Dodson finally supports in a cautious way Weigall's attempt.

A new development in the discussion about Amenhotep I's tomb was initiated by Howard Carter in an article which appeared in 1916; while working for Lord Carnarvon in the Dra' Abu el-Naga area in 1914, Carter discovered a rock tomb in a somewhat remote area in the hillside to the west of the modern village (pls. I and II).¹⁶ The subsequent excavation and clearance of that tomb showed that it was in a rather deplorable state: obviously plundered both in antiquity and quite recently, an unknown amount of what Carter identified as parts of the original burial equipment was "scattered in the valley outside the entrance of the tomb, and on the floors of the interior as far as the end of the Sepulchral Hall."¹⁷ This "deposit" itself is intriguing: it consisted of a large number of fragmented pottery and stone vessels; some of the latter are inscribed with the names and titles of royal personages from the early 18th Dynasty. On three fragments the names of king Neb-pehtj-Ra Ahmose are found; one is inscribed with the cartouche (!) names of the last Hyksos king, Aa-User-Ra Apophis, and of one of his daughters, *Hrj* or *Hrtj*; nine fragments mention the names of Amenhotep I; and another eight fragments show the names of the king's mother, Ahmes-Nefertari.¹⁸ As those last mentioned fragments form the basis for Carter's identification of the tomb, it seems appropriate to take a closer look at the rather enigmatic circumstances of the actual finding of those "debris"; collecting the various bits of information about the "debris" it is by no means clear whether or not the number of fragments bearing the names of Amenhotep I and his mother includes those two fragments Carter "procured ... in the local antiquity dealers' shops,"¹⁹ and those which were offered to him by one of the West Bank tomb-plunderers who eventually pointed out the tomb's position to Carter.²⁰ In other words, there is absolutely no certainty about where exactly the inscribed fragments came from or how many of them really came from the tomb itself!

Yet, for Carter, the noticeable imbalance between those fragments which mention the names of Amenhotep I and Ahmes-Nefertari and those bearing other names clearly indicates that this tomb must have belonged to either Amenhotep I alone or to the king and his mother. He supports his theory with two additional hints:

a) The head of a small royal statue which, according to Carter, dates to the early 18th Dynasty. Again, the circumstances of this object are far from being clear: "During the season of 1912-13 the beautiful head ... was purchased in Cairo."²¹ When Carter was clearing the tomb in 1914, apparently "small fragments belonging to its headdress were found

in this tomb..." Since Carter fails to give any details on the whereabouts of those pieces and whether they really belonged to the head, i.e., whether they were fragments chipped or broken off the head, his statement that the fragments allow us "to identify (the head's) provenance" should be taken very carefully. Besides, Carter's dating of the head is more than questionable: it seems that a date later in the Dynasty is much more likely.²²

b) Like Weigall before him, Carter makes intensive use of pAbbott, especially of 1) the passage that deals with the dimensions of the tomb and 2) the fact that it lies to the North of the *ꜥwt Jmn-ꜥtp n pꜣ kꜣmw*. The latter presents a problem only insofar as one has to accept Carter's identification of this temple as the one that was excavated by Spiegelberg in 1895 and by Spiegelberg and Newberry in 1898-99.²³ Up to now, however, there is nothing to support this identification: as has been earlier mentioned, the "Temple of Amenhotep of the Garden" is not yet positively identified. The former is a remarkable example of a purposeful manipulation of data. Figuratively speaking, Carter puts the zero of a long measuring tape at the mouth of the vertical shaft of the tomb (pl. II) that he has excavated; he then measures down the shaft, along the first corridor, down the so-called "tomb-robbers-shaft" (his "protective well") and up again (!), all through the second corridor, and along the burial chamber into one of the corners of that chamber. Not surprisingly, the entire distance of 62.80 meters comes very close to the 120 cubits (= 63 meters, with one cubit equaling 52.31 cm, an average measurement based on three preserved wooden cubits in different collections) of pAbbott! Although Carter's method of applying the 120 cubits of pAbbott to the inside part of the tomb has provoked various critical comments, his identification of this tomb as the tomb of Amenhotep I (and perhaps his mother) has been accepted widely.²⁴ There are three major obstacles to Carter's method:

- 1) No part of the passage in pAbbott suggests that the mouth of the vertical shaft is the point from where the 120 cubits are counted.
- 2) It is difficult to imagine that the ancient Egyptian scribe would include the absolutely insignificant depth of the "tomb-robbers-shaft" in the figure if he wanted to describe the tomb's dimensions. Why should he? Besides, as in the case of King Intef II's tomb, the detailed remarks of the papyrus seem to aim more at indicating the position of the tomb in the necropolis area than the interior dimensions of the subterranean, concealed, and inaccessible part of it.
- 3) This tomb must have been blocked and sealed somewhere, presumably either close to the shaft's mouth or at the beginning of the second corridor—just behind the "tomb-robbers-shaft"; according to pAbbott, the tomb of Amenhotep I was *intact*²⁵ when the officials inspected it: would those inspectors remove the debris, break the seals, enter the tomb, and proceed into the last corner of the burial chamber in order to find out whether it was broken into (and also its exact dimensions)? Most likely not!

Recently, Carter's identification of the tomb of Amenhotep I was supported by N. Reeves,²⁶ who after a discussion of the two other major candidates, KV 39 and TT 320 (see below), comes to the conclusion that Carter's tomb in Dra' Abu el-Naga "is most likely to be the tomb described in P. Abbott ..." Reeves' critical attempt is also mainly based on the indications of pAbbott and it is innovative insofar as he introduces a new "datum" which in his opinion the 120 cubits of the papyrus refer to: he suggests that the crucial word *ꜥꜥꜣ* (the "stela" in Peet's translation) could be the word *ꜥꜥ* ("Haufen," "heap, pile") referring to one

of the “cairns” on Carter’s map. This particular “cairn” is about 80 meters (or 153 cubits) to the north of the tomb’s entrance and would have been some sort of a “marker” indicating the position of the tomb.²⁷ This is, however, not very plausible: first, the “cairns” on the Theban West Bank have not been systematically studied yet and up to now there are no clear indications as to their date or dates;²⁸ secondly, the position of the Dra’ Abu el-Naga tomb is a hidden one: whoever excavated it originally did obviously not intend to make the tomb an easily accessible place. Hiding a tomb and afterwards “marking” it by a widely visible “cairn” does not seem to make much sense. Finally, as Reeves correctly states, the number of still visible “cairns” in the mountainous area of the West Bank is immense (there are five on Carter’s “sketch map” alone!)—how could those many piles of stones be *significant* “markers”?

A third and more recent attempt to identify the royal tomb may be added: in his comprehensive biography of king Amenhotep I, F.J. Schmitz also lengthily discusses and finally rejects Weigall’s and Carter’s attempts.²⁹ On the basis of later textual sources—the inscriptions on some of the coffins in the Deir el-Bahri Cachette³⁰—which mention the Cachette (TT 320) as the tomb of Queen Inhapi “... in which Amenhotep rests,” Schmitz identifies TT 320 as the original tomb of the king. He also uses some of the indications in pAbbott to support his idea: for Schmitz, the passage *m p3jj.s hꜣy p3 qꜣj hr.tw r.f* should be translated as “at its mountain ridge, called the high track / the high path,” referring to the old (and modern) foot path on the ridge high above the Deir el-Bahri valley. Measuring down from that path directly above TT 320, we find the vertical (!) distance from the path to the mouth of the tomb shaft to be 73 meters; to tally with the 63 meters of pAbbott, Schmitz has to subtract 10 meters which brings him to a small platform in the area above the shaft—presumably the old entrance, according to Schmitz. Again, and to no surprise, the “archaeological” record seems to perfectly match with the indications of pAbbott!

As is quite obvious from these examples of different attempts to identify the original tomb of Amenhotep I, any attempt to apply its description in pAbbott to the archaeological record is, at the most, a matter of likeliness or unlikeliness, of plausibility or implausibility. This is in itself, of course, an absolutely acceptable methodological procedure—as long as the line of argumentation is incontestable. This is not the case in any of the discussed attempts: Weigall based his approach on a tomb which wasn’t even excavated at his time.³¹ In addition, Weigall identifies, for no obvious reasons, the mortuary temple of Amenhotep III, or else an otherwise unattested temple of Amenhotep I at Medinet Habu, as the “Temple of the Garden” of pAbbott. Carter’s main line of argumentation is based on the inscribed jar fragments which may or may not have come from the tomb he was excavating. Schmitz’s results are entirely based on textual evidence and the interpretation of two of the unknown words in pAbbott.³² Besides, why would a 21st Dynasty scribe call the king’s original tomb “the tomb of (Queen) Inhapi ... in which Amenhotep rests”?

It seems, therefore, that all pAbbott-based attempts to identify the tomb of Amenhotep I over the last nearly 100 years have yielded close to nothing: the alleged tombs of the king are scattered throughout the necropolis, from Dra’ Abu el-Naga in the northeast, and the valley of Deir el-Bahri, to the Valley of the Kings in the southwest. One of the attempts may be more plausible than another, depending on the point of view, but if one considers all the possible criticisms, none of them has any great chance of actually having been the king’s tomb.³³ In addition, the pAbbott-based attempts may have had one side-effect: they somewhat obscure the possibility of dealing with the alleged tombs of Amenhotep I solely

on the basis of their internal archaeological, architectural or typological evidence.

B. The second information, the sequence of the royal tombs visited, has played an important role, too, as a supporting evidence in the attempts to identify king Amenhotep's tomb. The papyrus starts with an introduction (page 1, line 1): "[year 16], 3rd month of the inundation season, [day] 18, under ... king Ramesses IX ... [On this day were sent the] officials of the Great and Noble Necropolis, ..., [to examine] the graves [of the] kings of old and the tombs and resting-places of the blessed ones [of days gone by, which are on the] West of Thebes, ..." ³⁴ Then follows a list of the officials and (from page 2, line 2) the description of the location of the tomb of Amenhotep I and the remark *sw gmy wd*, "it was found intact." The text continues (on pages 2 and 3) with a list of nine more royal tombs which were also inspected on the same day. The complete list has the following order:

Amenhotep I	Senakhtenre
Intef II	Sequenre-Tao
Intef V	Kamose
Intef VI	Ahmose-Sapair
Sobekemzaef II	Mentuhotep II

According to the remarks that accompany each entry, out of the ten tombs inspected nine were found to be intact, only the tomb of Sobekemzaef II was obviously badly plundered and its contents utterly destroyed.

The crucial point is that among Egyptologists this list has almost unanimously been regarded as describing the *chronological* order in which the tombs were inspected by the commission, thus reflecting a *topographical* order or an itinerary, i.e., the actual way the officials took on their one-day inspection.

H.E. Winlock in his brilliant article ³⁵ on the royal tombs of the 17th Dynasty was the first to carefully suggest that the list actually describes the route of the inspection; the problem remains that only two of the tombs mentioned in pAbbott are positively identified, that is the tomb of the second king of the list, Intef II, and that of the last of the list, Mentuhotep II.

The tomb of the former is the so-called Saff el-Kisasiya in el-Tarif, which is the most northern part of the Theban necropolis and the burial ground of the first three kings of the 11th Dynasty and their officials. In pAbbott the tomb of Intef II is identified by the mentioning of a stela of that king on which, among other things, a number of the king's pet dogs are depicted with their non-Egyptian names written above their heads. The papyrus cites one of the dog's name: *Bhk3(j)* (page 2, line 11). During excavations in the entrance building of the Saff el-Kisasiya in 1860 and 1889, parts of that stela were found where the very same dog's name is mentioned. ³⁶ This, indeed, is a rare example of a high probability of a match between textual and archaeological evidence!

The tomb of Mentuhotep II is part of the king's temple complex at Deir el-Bahri, also identified beyond question by excavations. There can be but little doubt that these two tombs are the same as those mentioned in pAbbott.

In his article, Winlock added another royal tomb to the two known ones: it is Carter's tomb, in the cliffs of Dra' Abu el-Naga. For Winlock, basically these three identified tombs — one at the northern end of the Theban Necropolis, one at Deir el-Bahri, and the third in the hillside of Dra' Abu el-Naga, somewhat half way between the other two tombs — were the topographical frame of the scenario that is described in pAbbott; according to him, the unknown tombs of the other kings clearly must be somewhere in the area between el-Tarif,

the Carter-tomb and Deir el-Bahri. Splendid as this idea was, there remained one problem, that is, the sequence of the tombs visited. Winlock had to reconstruct the events of that particular day of the inspection and he did it in an admittedly charming way:

"The inspection was made in September, and we might quite safely assume that the eleven officials, many of whom may well have been old and corpulent, would prefer to puff their way up the desolate little valley to the High Ascent (i.e., the tomb in Dra' Abu el-Naga) before the sun shone down upon it in the fierceness of full mid-day heat."³⁷

The next tomb visited was that in the farthest north, the tomb of Intef II, followed by the inspection of the unknown tombs and at the end of the day the officials visited the tomb of Mentuhotep II at Deir el-Bahri. Those unknown other tombs, then, must have been in the Dra' Abu el-Naga area, apparently somewhere in the plain, and this is where Winlock tentatively placed the tombs of the kings of the 17th Dynasty. His ideas are supported by the fact that from the 20's to the 60's of the 19th century a considerable number of coffins and parts of the funeral equipment of royal 17th Dynasty burials were found somewhere in the Dra' Abu el-Naga plain. Without doubt, Winlock's reconstruction is one of the cornerstones of Theban archaeology; ever since his article appeared there was a solid and well researched basis³⁸ to locate those lost royal tombs of the 17th Dynasty in the Dra' Abu el-Naga area. The brilliance of Winlock's article lies partly in the fact that his basic ideas still hold true, even if the tomb of Amenhotep I is most probably not the one Carter discovered and the tombs of the 17th Dynasty are most probably not exactly where he put them.

Yet, is the list of pAbbott really an itinerary? Did the ancient Egyptian scribe really have in mind, or was he ordered to list the tombs according to the *order* in which they were *visited* during the inspection? Or, are there any other possible explanations regarding the order of the tombs listed?

In attempting to answer these questions, a closer look at the text of pAbbott is necessary.

Page 1: The first page of the papyrus is the introduction, so to speak, to the inspection of the tombs. It contains the [regnal year], month, and day of king Nefer-Ka-Ra Setep-en-Ra (Ramesses IX) under whose reign the inspection took place; this is followed by two brief statements introducing:

a) the main actors,

"...the inspectors of the ... Necropolis, the scribe of the vizier, the scribe of the overseer of the treasury of Pharaoh..."

and b) the action that they undertook,

"[to inspect] the *js*-tombs [of the] kings of old and the *m^ch^t*-tombs (and) resting-places (*swt n htp*) of the blessed ones [of days gone by, which are on the] West of the City" (follows a detailed list with the titles and names of the involved officials).

Page 2/3: The first line is the heading for the following paragraphs (until page 4, line 4, where the official inspection on this day ends):

"The *mr*-tombs, the *js*-tombs, (and) the *m^ch^t*-tombs, inspected on this day by the officials."

It follows the above-mentioned list of royal tombs, starting with the tomb of Amenhotep I and ending with that of king Mentuhotep II. Except for Amenhotep's tomb which is called *t3 3h̄t nh̄h* ("the eternal horizon"), all royal burial places are called *p3 mr* ("the pyramid tomb").

Close to the end of page 3 (line 15) we find a summary:

"Total: *mr*-tombs of the kings of old inspected this day by the officials (and) found to be intact: 9 *mr*-tombs; found to have been violated: 1; total: 10."

Page 3/4: The last two lines of page 3 introduce a new group of inspected tombs:

"The *m̄h̄t*-tombs of the chantresses of the temple of the Divine Adoratrice of Amun-Ra, King of Gods, found to be intact: 2; found to have been violated by the thieves: 2; total: 4."

The first four lines of page 4 report on the inspection of yet another group of tombs:

"The *m̄h̄t*-tombs (and the) *js*-tombs in which rest the blessed ones of old, the citizenesses (and) citizens on the West of Thebes. It was found that the thieves had violated them all ..."

It follows a description of the nature of these last robberies and of the legal procedures that were taken by the officials and which mark the end of that day of inspections.

Coming back to our initial question, it seems that there are at least three important observations to make, based solely on the contents of the papyrus and without any further interpretation:

1. The inspection on that 18th day of the third month of the inundation season in the 16th year of king Ramesses IX did not exclusively deal with royal tombs; four tombs of chantresses of Amun-Ra and an unknown number of other private tombs were also inspected.
2. Although there seems to be a confusingly large number of terms for "tomb," a certain pattern is detectable: the ten royal tombs listed in the first paragraph are all called *mr*-tombs—except for the first one (that of Amenhotep I), but in the summary (page 3,15) this tomb also falls under the category "*mr*-tomb." The second paragraph lists the four tombs of chanteresses all of which are *m̄h̄t*-tombs. Finally, in the third paragraph, the tombs of other private individuals are mentioned: this group apparently contains tombs of both the *m̄h̄t*—and the *js*-type.³⁹ These three different terms also occur in the line that heads the three paragraphs (page 2,1) in the order: *mr*-tombs—*js*-tombs—*m̄h̄t*-tombs.
3. The meticulous description of the location of the tomb of Amenhotep I and the somewhat vague reference to the position of the tomb of king Intef II (page 2, line 8: "... north of the temple of Amenhotep of the Garden") point to the fact that also all the other tombs visited on that first day of the inspection lay outside the Valleys of the Kings or the Queens—in a later part of pAbbott both places are indeed mentioned but with other terms (*p3 hr 3 šps / t3 st nfrw*; for example, page 6, line 6).
4. Except for the first (Amenhotep I) and the last (Mentuhotep II) in the list of inspected royal tombs, the sequence of tombs no. 2 to no. 9 partly shows a striking affinity to the Egyptologically reconstructed *chronological* sequence of kings in the 11th/17th Dynasties (fig. 2).⁴⁰

	Franke ⁴¹ /von Beckerath ⁴²	pAbbott
Dynasty 11	1. Intef I 2. Intef II 3. Intef III 4. Mentuhotep II 5. Mentuhotep III 6. Mentuhotep IV	1. Amenhotep I 2. Intef II
Dynasty 17	1. Intef V 2. Rahotep 3. Sobekemzaef I 4. Djehuti 5. Mentuhotep VI 6. Nebiriau (I) 7. Nebiriau (II)? 8. Semen-Re 9. Seuserenre Bebi-ankh 10. Sobekemzaef II 11. Intef VI 12. Intef VII 13. Senakhtenre 14. Seqenenre 15. Kamose	3. Intef V 4. Intef VI 5. Sobekemzaef II 6. Seqenenre-Taa 7. Seqenenre-Taa-aa 8. Kamose
Dynasty 18	-- (Ahmose-Sapair ⁴³) 1. Ahmose 2. Amenhotep I	9. Ahmose-Sapair 10. Mentuhotep II

FIGURE 2: Reconstructed sequence of kings in Dynasty 11 and Dynasty 17 and the sequence of royal tombs in pAbbott

It follows then from these observations that the sequence of royal tombs in pAbbott does not *necessarily* display an itinerary. It could also very well be organized in a more or less chronological order of kings, starting with Amenhotep I because at the time he was probably regarded as being the most important king of the list.⁴⁴ Besides, the tomb of Amenhotep I could have been the initial cause for the inspection and the subsequent trial: it is the only one in the list that was (falsely) reported to the mayor of Thebes and the vizier to have been violated by the tomb-robbers.⁴⁵

Finally, it seems appropriate to utter a suspicion concerning the general reliability of the descriptions and statements of pAbbott.⁴⁶ Without doubt, the report on the inspection of tombs is everything else but an unbiased legal document or a copy thereof. In between the lines one detects a different issue, that is, the conflict between the two leading political figures in Thebes at the time, the chief of the Madjoi of the Necropolis, Pauer-aa, and his "rival," the mayor of Thebes, Paser. Although dealing with this political issue is outside the scope of this paper, one should be aware of the possibility that there could have been underlying reasons for filing this document other than just the report on the inspection of allegedly plundered or robbed tombs.⁴⁷ That in turn may have influenced the accuracy or thoroughness of the inspection; in at least two cases suspicion arises as to what and how they were inspected.⁴⁸ The first case is the tomb of king Intef II "whose pyramid," according to pAbbott, "has been removed from it, but its stela is still fixed in front of it and the figure of the king stands on this stela with his dog called Behkay between his feet" (page 2, lines 9-10). This description clearly refers to the huge entrance building of the king's gigantic tomb-complex. This entrance building indeed was an impressive piece of architecture and it is also the place where parts of the stela were found. The rock-cut royal burial chamber, however, lies in the western part of the large court—more than 250 yards away from the entrance building! What, then, did the officials of pAbbott inspect and find *intact*? The second case is the last on the list of inspected tombs, i.e., the tomb of king Mentuhotep II at Deir el-Bahri which was also found to be *intact*. At the time of the 20th Dynasty, the entrance to the long corridor and burial chamber was hidden below the pavement of the hypostyle hall and a huge sandstone wall; besides, the king's burial chamber had already been plundered for the first time before the end of the 18th Dynasty—again, what did the officials inspect and what did they find to be *intact*?⁴⁹

To sum up, on the basis of these last remarks and of our present state of knowledge about the tombs of the early New Kingdom Necropolis of Thebes, there seems to be only one way to step on methodologically solid ground: we simply have to *disregard* pAbbott as a source for any attempt to locate the royal tombs of the late 17th and early 18th Dynasties. Only additional information will enable us to identify these tombs; this information can only come from the discovery of new textual sources or through new excavations.

— University of California, Los Angeles

NOTES:

1 For various comments I am indebted to: Andrea Gnirs, Antonio Loprieno, Felicitas Polz, and William Schniedewind.

2 See the preliminary reports: D. Polz, *MDAIK* 48 (1992), 109-130; *idem*, *MDAIK* 49 (1993), 227-138; *idem*, *MDAIK* 51 (1995), 207-225; see also: *idem*, "Dra' Abu el-Naga: The First Five Years," *Egyptian Archaeology* 7 (1995), forthcoming.

3 Peet, *The Great Tomb-Robberies of the Twentieth Egyptian Dynasty* (1930), pp. 28-45.

4 A. Weigall, "The Tomb of Amenhotep 1st," *ASAE* 11 (1911), 174-75; according to E. Thomas, *The Royal Necropoleis of Thebes* (1966), p. 98, note 54, KV 39 was (re-)discovered by two inhabitants of Luxor around the year 1900 and visited by Weigall, C. L. Smith, and others, probably in 1908 (cf. D. Rose, "An Interim Report on Work in KV 39, September-October 1989," in: C.N. Reeves, *After Tut'ankhamun* [London, 1992], pp. 28-40).

5 H. Carter, "Report on the Tomb of Zeser-Ka-Ra Amen-Hetep I, Discovered by the Earl of Carnarvon in 1914," *JEA* 3 (1916), 147-54.

6 G. Maspero, "Les Momies royales de Deir el Baharî," *MMAF* 1 (1889), 516-19; cf. Thomas, *op. cit.*, pp. 228-47.

7 Carter, *op. cit.*; Weigall, *op. cit.*; J. Romer, "Royal Tombs of the Early Eighteenth Dynasty," *MDAIK* 32 (1976), 191-206; A. Dodson, "The Tombs of the Kings of the Early Eighteenth Dynasty at Thebes," *ZÄS* 115 (1988), 110-23.

8 *Select papyri in the hieratic character from the collections of the British Museum* (1841-60), part II, pls. I-VII. Since its publication in 1930, Peet's *The Great Tomb-Robberies of the Twentieth Dynasty* has become the *editio princeps* of pAbbott.

9 The hieroglyphs in fig. 1 are those of Peet, *op. cit.*, pl. I, reduced to fit the space in the present publication; translation, pp. 37-38.

10 *WB* II, 184, 12-13.

11 In dealing with this sort of text, we have to keep in mind that we know neither the author (i.e., the person or persons who signed as responsible for it) nor the purpose: the obvious issue of the text is, of course, the report on an inspection of tombs in the Theban Necropolis. It is, however, very probable that there are one or more underlying issues which might be less obvious to us (see below). At any rate, the "intended reader" of pAbbott most probably knew or was able to find out what and where p3-q3j was, and he almost certainly knew the building "The temple of Amenhotep of the Garden."

12 A. Weigall, *ASAE* 11 (1911), 174-75; two years before, in 1909, Weigall published his *A Guide to the Antiquities of Upper Egypt*, where tomb KV 39 is already listed as being the tomb of Amenhotep I and where Weigall refers to his (later) article in *ASAE* (A. Weigall, *op. cit.*, pp. 223-24). After Carter's discovery of the Dra' Abu el-Naga tomb (see below), Weigall continued to identify KV 39 as the king's tomb (A. Weigall, *Tutankhamen and other Essays* [1923], p. 18; A. Weigall, *A History of the Pharaohs*, vol. II [1927], pp. 262-64).

13 W. Dawson, *Who Was Who in Egyptology*, 2nd ed. (1972), p. 299.

14 Thomas, *op. cit.*, pp. 70-1 and 73-5; C. Nims (following Thomas), *Thebes of the Pharaohs: Pattern for Every City* (1965), p. 133 and p. 202, note 33.

15 Dodson, *op. cit.*

16 Carter, *JEA* 3, 147-54. See also the detailed description of the events that led to "Lord Carnarvon's discovery" of this tomb in T.G.H. James, *Howard Carter: The Path to Tutankhamun* (London, 1992), pp. 93-94 and 167-72.

17 Carter, *JEA* 3, 151.

18 Carter, *JEA* 3, 152 and pl. XXI, 1; for a photograph of a restored jar with the titles and the name of Ahmes-Nefertari, now in the Metropolitan Museum of Art, see W. Hayes, *The Scepter of Egypt*, part II (1959), p. 45, fig. 64; C.N. Reeves and J.H. Taylor, *Howard Carter before Tutankhamun* (1992), p. 122.

19 Carter, *JEA* 3, 151. The passage in his autobiographical sketches in which Carter refers to those two fragments seems to indicate that the purchase took place "about 1907," see Reeves and Taylor, *op. cit.*, p. 121 and James, *op. cit.*, p. 169. James, however, seems to doubt the reliability of this entry and suggests that "These earlier fragments might have provided the spur for his 1904 attempt to find the tomb (i.e., of Amenhotep I) for Lord Amherst." It seems that Carter had developed "quite an obsession" (James, p. 93) to find that tomb already 10 years before he worked on the Dra' Abu el-Naga tomb.

20 Cf. James, *op. cit.*, p. 169.

21 Carter, *JEA* 3, 151 note 1. Cf. Romer's interesting, if unsubstantiated, comment on Carter's statement "... a well-used euphemism at the time for articles purchased on the illicit antiquities market, and Carter had probably bought it at Luxor..." J. Romer, *Valley of the Kings* (1981), p. 239.

22 W. Hayes, *op. cit.*, p. 49, p. 123 and fig. 64, dates the head to the times of Thutmose III. Concerning the provenance of the head, Hayes becomes rather explicit: "The once prevalent belief that it came from the tomb of Amun-hotpe I at Thebes and is a representation of that king appears to be without foundation." In his article, Carter also mentions "a small number of basalt fragments of two statuettes, presumably of the king and the queen ...," obviously also coming from the debris of the tomb (Carter, *JEA* 3, 153). From the photograph of the restored female statuette (*JEA* 3, pl. XVIII), it seems to be a work of the end (Amenhotep III?) rather than of the beginning of the 18th Dynasty; see Hayes, *op. cit.*, p. 311, who dates it to "the latter part of the Eighteenth Dynasty." Cf. Romer, "Royal Tombs," pp. 203-4.

23 W. Spiegelberg, "Zwei Beiträge zur Geschichte und Topographie der thebanischen Nekropolis im Neuen Reich, I. Der Grabtempel Amenophis' I. zu Draḥ Abu'l Negga (1898), pp. 1-5; Northampton, W. Spiegelberg, and P. Newberry, *Report on Some Excavations in the Theban Necropolis during the Winter of 1898-9* (1908), pp. 6-9.

24 In statements like this one, a sharp line has to be drawn between those scholars who simply adopted Carter's ideas and those who critically scrutinized his line of argumentation; the former group are: Steindorff and Wolf, "Die thebanische Gräberwelt," *LÄS* 4 (1936), 73; Vandier, *Manuel d'Archéologie Égyptienne*, part II (1954), pp. 223-28; H. Kees, *Ancient Egypt: A Cultural Topography* (1961), p. 254; Hayes, *op. cit.*, p. 48; W. Helck, "Soziale Stellung und Grabanlage," *JESHO* 5 (1962), 227-28. The latter group consists of: H.E. Winlock, "The Tombs of the Kings of the Seventeenth Dynasty at Thebes," *JEA* 10 (1924), 217-77; Peet, *op. cit.*, p. 43, note 4; Romer, *op. cit.*, pp. 238-39; C.N. Reeves, *Valley of the Kings: The Decline of a Royal Necropolis* (1990), pp. 3-9; Reeves and Taylor, *op. cit.*, p. 125.

25 For the purpose of this article, the legitimate question of whether the meaning of the term *wḏ* includes that of "intact" (in the restricted sense of "undisturbed," "undamaged") is not a crucial one: in our part of pAbbott, *wḏ* occurs twice (page 3, lines 16 and 17/8) in direct opposition to *thj* ("attack," "violate;" see *WB* V, 319). *thj* is also the term used in the description of the tomb of king Sobekemzaef, which was seriously violated and parts of its contents totally destroyed (page 3, line 2).

26 Reeves, *Valley of the Kings*, pp. 3-9.

27 Reeves, *Valley of the Kings*, p. 5.

28 In fact, it seems that at least some of them may be somehow connected to prehistoric activities; see the map of Schweinfurth, *Karte der westlichen Umgebung von Luxor und Karnak* (1909).

29 F.-J. Schmitz, "Amenophis I.," *HÄB* 6 (1978), 205-232.

30 Schmitz, *op. cit.*, pp. 223-32.

31 KV 39 is currently being excavated by J. Rose (cf. above, note 4); according to the results of Rose's first excavation campaign, it seems that it was not fully cleared by its original discoverers round the turn of the century (Rose, *op. cit.*, p. 38). The question, then, is what did Weigall see when he visited the tomb? His descriptions of the tomb's plan in his various articles on the tomb (see note 12) differ considerably (cf. Rose, *op. cit.*, p. 38, note 6). It is now quite clear from the preliminary plan published by Rose (*op. cit.*, p. 34, fig. 7) that the real plan of the tomb has almost nothing in common with Weigall's descriptions of it or with the rough plans in Thomas, *op. cit.*, p. 85, fig. 9 and Dodson, "Tombs of the Kings," p. 115, fig. 2, which are ultimately based on the descriptions of Weigall and Lindon Smith.

32 Cf. Dodson's rightful rejection of Schmitz' interpretation of the "datum" indicating the position of the tomb as the mountain path over Deir el-Bahri (Dodson, "Tombs of the Kings," p. 117.)

33 The most sober look at the sources and their evaluation to be found is that of Hornung: "Das Grab Amenophis' I., meist in Dra 'abu el-Naga angenommen, ist noch nicht mit Sicherheit identifiziert, daher ist auch die Trennung von Grab und Totentempel nicht erwiesen." (E. Hornung, "Amenophis I.," *LÄ* I [1975], p. 202.)

34 Peet's translation, slightly altered and abbreviated, *op. cit.*, p. 37.

35 Winlock, "Tombs of the Kings," pp. 217-77.

36 D. Arnold, "Gräber des Alten und Mittleren Reiches in el-Tarif," *AV* 17 (1976), 25-32.

37 Winlock, "The Tombs of the Kings," p. 224.

38 It had been noticed before Winlock's article appeared that the Dra' Abu el-Naga area was the most likely candidate for the location of the 17th Dynasty burial ground; see Winlock, "The Tombs of the Kings," p. 217, note 2.

39 The occurrence of those different terms for "tomb" has, of course, already been noticed by the early translators of pAbbott; see Winlock, "The Tombs of the Kings," pp. 225-26. It lies, of course, outside the scope of this article to deal with the otherwise intriguing question of whether or not the terms for "tomb" could relate to distinctive architectural types of "tomb."

40 For different chronological approaches see, for example, A. Dodson, "On the Internal Chronology of the Seventeenth Dynasty," *GM* 120 (1991), 33-38; C. Bennett, "The Structure of the Seventeenth Dynasty," *GM*, forthcoming; I am indebted to Chris Bennett for a copy of his article before publication.

41 D. Franke, "Zur Chronologie des Mittleren Reiches - Teil I," *Or* 57 (1988), 262-73.

42 J. Von Beckerath, "Untersuchungen zur politischen Geschichte der Zweiten Zwischenzeit in Ägypten," *ÄF* 23 (1964), 165-96 and table 224; *idem*, "Königsnamen," *LÄ* III (1980), 549.

43 The "dynastic position" of Prince Ahmose-Sapair is still not perfectly clear; for the most recent attempt to clarify his genealogical position, cf. the interesting article of C. Bennett who suggests that the Prince was a younger son of Seqenenre and Ahhotep, thus a younger brother of Ahmose and possible father of Thutmose I: C. Bennett, "Thutmose I and Ahmose-Sapair," *GM* 141 (1994), 35-7.

44 Why the last king of the list is Mentuhotep II, I cannot convincingly explain.

45 pAbbott page 2, lines 4-7; cf. Peet, *op. cit.*, p. 30.

46 Cf. James, *op. cit.*, p. 170.

47 For a discussion of this issue see Peet, *op. cit.*, pp. 28-37 and his notes on the translation, 43-45; cf. Winlock, "The Tombs of the Kings," p. 265.

48 Both cases have been noticed by Arnold during his work on the royal tombs of the 11th Dynasty in el-Tarif and Deir el-Bahri, D. Arnold, *Gräber des Alten und Mittleren Reiches*, p. 25, note 55; *idem*, "Der Tempel des Königs Mentuhotep von Deir el-Bahari," *AV* 8 (1974), 38, note 70.

49 Or did they simply rely on the statements of the priests, as Arnold suggests (*loc. cit.*)?