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**DISSERTATION**

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**THE “CLIFF TOMBS” IN THEBAN NECROPOLIS:  
*STUDY OF A FUNERARY STRUCTURE IN THE XVIII DYNASTY***

**“SKALNÍ HROBKY” NA THÉBSKÉ NEKROPOLI:  
*STUDIE POHŘEBNÍ STRUKTURY DYNASTIE XVIII***


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**2024**

I hereby declare that I have written this dissertation independently, using only the mentioned and duly cited sources and literature and that the work has not been used in another university study programme or to obtain the same or another academic title.

In Rome on 04.04.2024

Dr.Giacomo Cavillier

A handwritten signature in black ink, appearing to read 'Cavillier', with a long horizontal flourish extending to the right.

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## Abstract

This thesis is devoted to the study of some particular funerary structures of the Theban necropolis, commonly called “cliff tombs”. These are graves with attached ritual elements (*stelae* and niche-chapels) located on hills and served by artificial paths in the Theban necropolis. In the texts of the New Kingdom and Late Period, these structures are often linked to the term *K3y* “top, hill, high” (Wb.IV.4.6); the use of “Kay tombs” is attested at Thebes from the beginning until the middle of 18<sup>th</sup> dynasty; at the end of 20<sup>th</sup> Dynasty, some structures were reused as royal caches.

The thesis’s primary goal is to draw up an exhaustive analysis of known cliff tombs of the 18<sup>th</sup> Dynasty and establish their essential archaeological and architectural features. Based on these data, it will be possible to isolate and compare the evidence for post-interment activity at the beginning of the Third Intermediate Period. Currently, there is no exhaustive study on the cliff tombs in the Theban Necropolis; the only contributions available are articles and research reports made on various sites since the beginning of the 20<sup>th</sup> Century.

The experience gained by the candidate as director of the Italian Archaeological Mission in the Theban necropolis from 2008 has made it possible to start research to classify these structures and to identify the different stages of the building life cycle through the study of its original features and subsequent transformations; thus, the results of the research on the so-called “cliff tombs” of the Theban necropolis flow into the present thesis.

The thesis consists of a general introduction to the Theban necropolis, the history of the studies of the cliff tombs, on the current situation on the royal tombs and those intended for queens, princes and princesses at the beginning of the 18<sup>th</sup> Dynasty as a valuable documentary context for subsequent analysis during treatment; there follow three sections dedicated to the three main areas of the Theban necropolis where the cliff tombs are attested: the Southwestern one, that of the eastern slope (Deir el-medina-Deir el-Bahari) and that of the Valley of the Kings with the relative wadis (Valley of the Pits and Western Valley).

Each section deals with known rock tombs and those identified by the author during his archaeological investigations from 2008 to the present. The final considerations will highlight what emerged from the study carried out to trace a line of development of the cliff tombs and the motivations behind their creation and modification; finally, the use of these tombs in the 21<sup>st</sup> Dynasty as special hiding places, given their structural peculiarities will be highlighted. The thesis concludes with the bibliography, the list of abbreviations and an appendix that contains the graffiti of the scribes of the necropolis in the 20<sup>th</sup> and 21<sup>st</sup> Dynasties, as responsible for the reuse of the cliff tombs as caches.



## Abstrakt

Tato práce se věnuje studiu některých konkrétních pohřebních struktur thébské nekropole, běžně nazývaných "skalní hrobky". Jedná se o hroby s připojenými rituálními prvky (stély a výklenkové kaple) umístěné na vyvýšeninách a obsluhované umělými cestami v thébské nekropoli. V textech Nové říše a pozdního období jsou tyto stavby často spojovány s termínem *K3y* "vrchol, kopec, výšina" (Wb.IV.4.6); používání "kajských hrobek" je v Thébách doloženo od počátku až do poloviny 18. dynastie; na konci 20. dynastie byly některé stavby znovu využívány jako královské skrýše.

Primárním cílem disertační práce je vypracovat vyčerpávající analýzu známých skalních hrobek 18. dynastie a stanovit jejich podstatné archeologické a architektonické prvky. Na základě těchto údajů bude možné vyčlenit a porovnat doklady o postinternační činnosti na počátku třetího meziobdobí. V současné době neexistuje žádná vyčerpávající studie o skalních hrobech v thébské nekropoli; jediné dostupné příspěvky jsou články a výzkumné zprávy, které vznikly na různých lokalitách od počátku 20. století.

Zkušenosti, které kandidát získal jako ředitel italské archeologické mise na thébské nekropoli od roku 2008, umožnily zahájit výzkum s cílem klasifikovat tyto stavby a identifikovat různé fáze životního cyklu stavby prostřednictvím studia jejich původních rysů a následných proměn; výsledky výzkumu tzv. "skalních hrobek" thébské nekropole tak přecházejí do této práce.

Práce se skládá z obecného úvodu do thébské nekropole, historie studia skalních hrobek, ze současného stavu královských hrobek a hrobek určených královnám, princům a princeznám na počátku 18. dynastie jako cenného dokumentačního kontextu pro následnou analýzu při zpracování; následují tři oddíly věnované třem hlavním oblastem thébské nekropole, kde jsou skalní hroby doloženy: Jihozápadní, na východním svahu (Deir el-medina-Deir el-Bahari) a v Údolí králů s příbuznými vádími (Údolí jam a Západní údolí).

Jednotlivé oddíly se zabývají známými skalními hroby a hroby, které autor identifikoval během archeologických výzkumů od roku 2008 do současnosti. V závěrečných úvahách bude zdůrazněno to, co vyplynulo z provedeného výzkumu, jehož cílem bylo vysledovat vývojovou linii skalních hrobek a motivaci jejich vzniku a úprav; nakonec bude zdůrazněno využití těchto hrobek v 21. dynastii jako zvláštních úkrytů vzhledem k jejich konstrukčním zvláštnostem. Práci uzavírá bibliografie, seznam zkratk a příloha, která obsahuje graffiti písařů nekropole ve 20. a 21. dynastii, jako odpovědných za opětovné využití skalních hrobek jako skrýší.

**Keywords**

Cliff tombs; Theban necropolis; New Kingdom; 18<sup>th</sup> Dynasty; Caches; Third Intermediate Period

**Klíčová slova**

skalní hrobky; thébské nekropole; Nové říše; 18. Dynastie; skryšší; třetího meziobdobí

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# INTRODUCTION

## 1. The “Cliff Tomb”: a general view

The cliff tombs are structures that exposed a new and particular style of funerary concept, which became familiar at the beginning of the 18<sup>th</sup> Dynasty. The first common factors related to the cliff tombs are their height and the inaccessibility of their location. This is likely to ensure their security. Additionally, there is good reason to consider a relationship between their position in the middle of the high rock cliff and the ritual concept of “cascade”; this may reflect a direct connection between the location of the cliff tomb and the morphology of the selected rock wall. Other features are the entrances to the tombs, which are carved inside a wide platform hidden by the external cliffs, while, above the tomb, outside, on the rock wall, there is an engraved “niche” similar to a “false-door”; the niche seems to be connected with a short semi-circular “channel” carved outside the cliff rock walls used to guide rainwater down as a proper “cascade” (Fig.In.1-2).

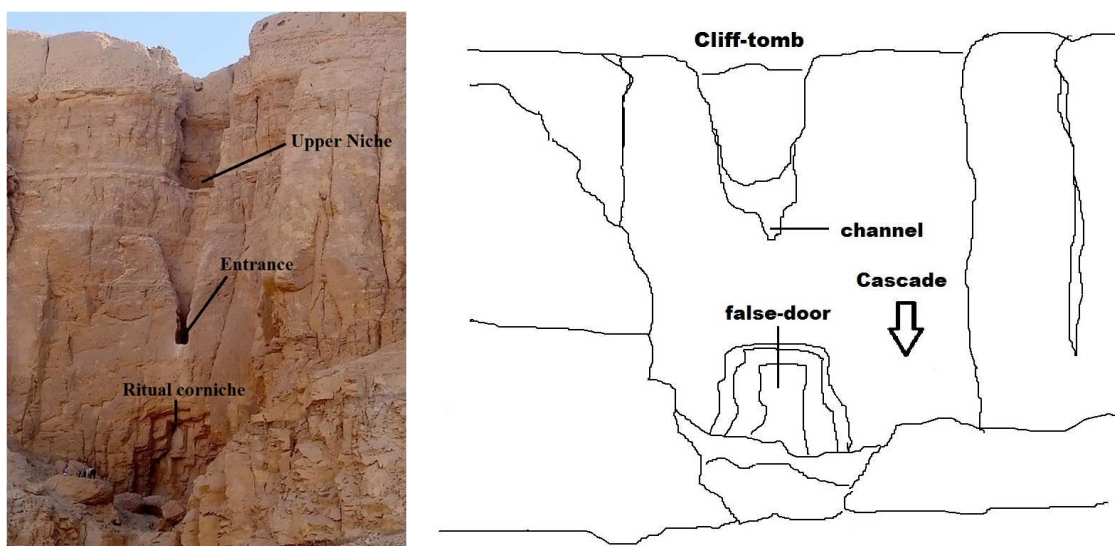


Fig.In. 1-2. The Queen Hatshepsut's cliff tomb in Wadi Sikkat Taget-Zeid and its features (photo and drawing author)

This efficient drainage system for rain and wastewater is based on the drainage principle by the inclination of the rocky surface outside the tomb. This systematically moves the water through the uncovered channel into the courtyards below. Under the sacred profile, the use of the cliff tombs is thought to relate to the presence of the “cascade”. This theme could be associated with Hathor and her cult, as attested in the Valley of the Queens, the first site known as a burial place for a prince, princesses, and high-rank officials during the 18<sup>th</sup> Dynasty. The cascade is associated with the rejuvenation of the deceased. There are several myths associating Hathor with the flood. In the myth of the wandering eye of the sun god Ra, Hathor is the daughter of Ra, the vengeful eye of the god who flees to Nubia and must be summoned to return by Thoth. It is believed that upon her return, she brought with her the inundation. The same is true for the combined deity Hathor-Sothis, the goddess of the star known today as Sirius, whose appearance on the horizon, as that star,

heralded the arrival of the inundation and the new year. It makes sense that the cascade created from the rainwater pouring out of the grotto should be likened to such an event, and thus, the cave is considered sacred to Hathor.

Finally, traces of the “path system” – planned and realized by the royal necropolis scribes and workers settled in Deir el-Medina village – are still visible in some sites (Fig.In.3-4).

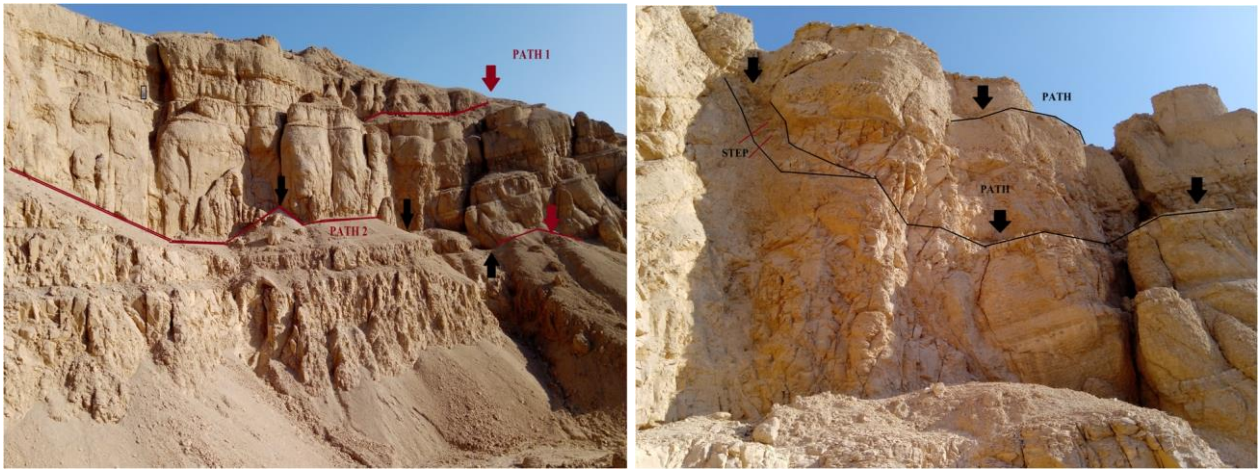


Fig.In.3-4. Traces of the path system in Wadi Sikkat Taget-Zeid

These cliff tombs are present in different sectors of the necropolis:

- the Southwestern Valley (the burial place for queens and princesses until the Tuthmosis III reign);
- the Valley of the Kings (Valley of the Pits, Valley of the Kings, and Western Valley);
- the valleys facing the old Qurna village and South Asasif (the Wadi en-Nisr, the Valley of the Last Montuhotep/Colours, the Valley of Heqnakht, the Valley of the Royal Cache).

In the Southwestern valley, there are the tombs of Princess Hatshepsut in Wadi Sikkat Taget-Zeid, the tomb of the Asian wives of Tuthmosis III in Wadi Gabannat el-Gourud and the tomb of Princess Neferure in Wadi Siqqat el-Agala.

In the Valley of the Kings, the only well-known cliff tombs are the KV33 and KV34; other known cliff tombs are the WN A, VC no.1, MMA 1021, TT320, MMA 358, KV41, VP nos.1-2, VC no.1, WV no.1. Some of these were reused as caches during the III Intermediate Period; in this introduction is important to underline two essential features of the cliff tombs to distinguish them from other funerary structures in the necropolis attested in the same period. First and foremost, the elevated position in certain morphological contexts related to both the sacredness of the place and orientation, and no less important, the layout of these tombs both inside and outside. These are elements that make cliff tombs quite different from simple vertical shafts dug into the ground or the middle level of the hill for various functions or unfinished attempts to create tombs. There is also a difference between cliff tombs and some vertical shafts realized by the necropolis administration at the end of the New Kingdom to create caches in safer and more controllable sites; they differ from cliff tombs in function, date, and plan. These are the main features of these funerary structures, started shortly before the reign of Hatshepsut and lasting until the end of the

reign of Tuthmosis III, that help us to understand this interesting phenomenon and the complexity of relations between natural and human factors in Theban Necropolis in this historical period.

## 2. The history of studies

A first significant contribution to the history of studies was that of Carter (Carter 1917) when he discovered the tomb of Hatshepsut in 1916 on the Wadi Sikkat Taget-Zeid site; he defined the structure “cliff tomb”; following the discovery of the tomb of the Asian wives of Tuthmosis III in Wadi el Gabannat Gourud and the alleged tomb of Princess Neferure on the site of Wadi Siqqat el-Agala. The cliff tomb of Wadi Gabannat el Guroud was discovered on 7 August 1916 by the local inhabitants, and then it was studied and published by Winlock in 1948 and by Lilyquist in 2003. Another cliff tomb was discovered in 1921 by Baraize on the site of Wadi Sikkat Taget-Zeid.

The preliminary study of Bruyère (1934) and Bataille (1938) at the Wadi en-Nisr site can be attributed to the same period. The picture that emerged is that of funerary structures called "cliff tombs" as types of burial of the early 18<sup>th</sup> Dynasty. Structures defined in this way for their appearance and well approached the tombs defined as “high” mentioned in the biography of *Ineni* and on the hieratic inscriptions present on some docketts of royal mummies in TT320, which is attested to the “Kay of Inhapi”.

In the 60s, a new line of research on the tombs of the Valley of the Kings and on the burials of the members of the royal dignitaries was developed by Thomas (Thomas 1966); of particular interest to Thomas is the KV41 in the Valley of the Pits, attributed to Tetisheri, as another cliff tomb not completed for the queen. After a decade, Romer (Romer 1981), in his study on royal burials, defines the four mentioned cliff tombs (Wadi Sikkat Taget-Zeid, Wadi Siqqat el-Agala, Wadi el Gabannat Gourud, and Wadi el Nisr) as the tomb’s “model” beginning of the 18<sup>th</sup> Dynasty and on which the realization of the subsequent tombs KV33, KV34 and KV38 in the Valley of the Kings is based (Reeves-Wilkinson 1996; Weeks 2005).

The question is further described by Reeves (Reeves 1981), especially about the identification of the WN A as a royal cache at the beginning of the 21<sup>st</sup> Dynasty, considering that the cliff tombs of the 18<sup>th</sup> Dynasty were probably reused as caches given their location and the possibility of being more easily controlled. IFAO research on the KV41 and WN-A in the 1990s confirmed their realization at the beginning of the New Kingdom and the reuse of funerary structures starting from the III Intermediate Period. As a result of these studies, the cliff tombs are included among the royal and noble burials of the royal necropolis in volumes and contributions by Weeks of the Theban Mapping Project. *Last but not least*, Cavillier’s recent contribution (Cavillier 2016) to ongoing research in the Bab el-Maleg (Wadi el Nisr) site.

In the area behind the hill of Qurna, between the Valley of Last Montuhotep/Colours and the Valley of Hekanakht, is located MM 1021, discovered in February 1919 by the mission of the Metropolitan Museum of New York; this cliff tomb belongs to the same typology as

those mentioned, and according to Barwick (1998), is attributed to the prince Amenemhat Q, son of Amenhotep I. Another cliff tomb to be included in the group object of the present study is the KV39, and it is one of the possible locations of the tomb of Amenhotep I, discovered and excavated in 1900 by inspectors Boutros and Macarios under the Loret supervision; the tomb was also investigated by Carter in 1916, by Rose in 1989-1991 (Rose 1992; 2000) and finally by Buckley-Cooke in 2002 (Buckley-Buckley-Cooke 2005).

In identifying the possible burials of Amenhotep I, K39.11 is associated with K39.12 and AN-B in the Dra Abu el-Naga necropolis, analysed by various scholars, including Carter (1916), Thomas (1966), Romer (1981), Polz (2007) and Willockx (2010). In a recent contribution of 2015, Aston (2015) formulated several hypotheses on the identification of three tombs in the Deir el-Bahari area (KV39, TT320, and TT358), all datable to the early 18<sup>th</sup> Dynasty and built for three queens: Ahmose-Inhapi, Ahmose-Nofretari, and Ahmose-Meryetamun.

The brief history of studies rightly emphasizes the need to deepen research on cliff tombs. This thesis is, therefore, a first step from which emerges the importance of the definition and function of the cliff tombs as funerary structures for kings and members of the royal family in Theban necropolis up to the reign of Tuthmosis III.

### **3. The geomorphologic profile of the Theban Necropolis**

The geologic stratigraphy of the Theban uplands and plateau is quite equal to several zones and areas of the African shelf in a general view. It is based on a variegated and sedimentary succession of compact limestone, shale, marl, and gypsum that has the Upper Paleocene era as its period of formation (about 50 million years) and ends in the late Eocene. It should be highlighted that the Theban geological formation is due to the accumulation and aggregation of the most recent phosphorites resulting from the amalgamation and disintegration of the oldest phosphate materials (Said 1990). If one observes this surface stratigraphy, it has a horizontal trend, while its core can be considered a single, more compact multi-stratified entity; however, in many areas, we notice a sort of vertical overlap of the layers due to a progressive rotation of the original core caused mainly by the frequent collapses and collapses along the fault lines of the plateau due to the phenomenon of decline and deposition of the rocky material (Curtis 1979; Said 1990; Sevi-Ismail-Stephenson 2006). Gradually, this stratigraphy has undergone uplift toward the surface with evident visibility to the present day, accentuated by the effect of the Messinian event around 5 million years, during the late Miocene; in fact, this period witnesses the final retreat and evaporation of the Mediterranean Sea level with the progressive increase in the depth of the wadis excavated by the Nile in the formations of the Theban Plateau (Said 1981; Cross 2008).

To all this, we must add the erosive phenomenon that occurred between the Pliocene and Pleistocene (5 million-10,000 years ago) which caused the slow deposition of the current superficial alluvial mudstone up to a 1-5 meter thick. Above the plateau, the stratigraphic morphology appears clearer and less conditioned by the amalgamation of geological rotations with an almost horizontal trend. If we exclude the rotational effect of the lower layers, the stratigraphy of the Theban sedimentary platform and consider the primary



depositional succession, the following geological units can be identified: layers I-III of limestone and marl which rest on the layers of Esna shale (Esna Formation) and of Tarawan chalk (Fig.In.5a-b and 6). The upper sedimentary layers are thicker (290-330 m) and constitute the outcropping and currently visible part; they are made up of lithostratigraphic elements such as white limestones with siliceous concretion of 120-130 m thickness, flint marls (*Lucina thebaica*) of 75-80 m thickness, limestones with *Operculina libyca* and *Nummulites praecursor* of 35-40 m thickness and limestones siliceous (*Gryphaea pharaonum*, *Ostrea multicostrata*, *Nummulites subramondi*) 30-60 m thick.

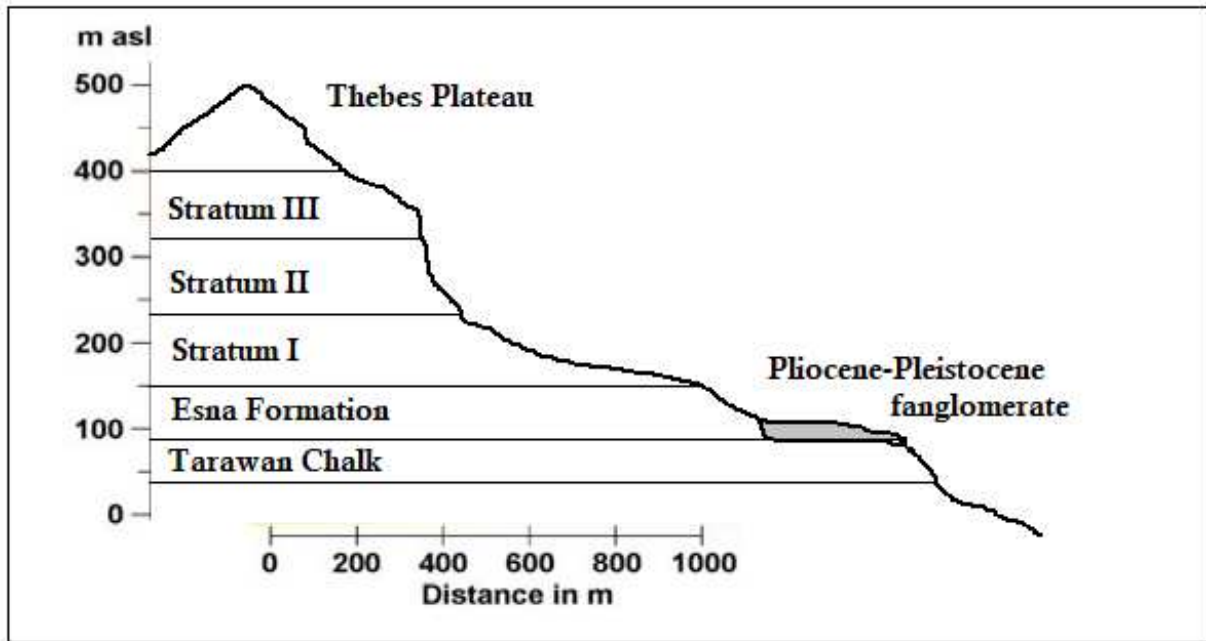


Fig.In.5a - The geological cross-section of Gebel Al-Qurn (drawing web)

Of particular interest for our investigation is the morphological profile of the limestone rocks of the mountain, which in several areas are arranged in massive rounded pillars with deep cavities. The excellent quality of the limestone (strata I-III) in these elevated areas seems to have been a discriminating factor for constructing the cliff tombs. Creating tombs on the bottom of the wadis and, in areas where the Esna shale (Esna Formation) and the chalky and clayey states are prominent, was a cause of deterioration



Fig.In.5b – A tomb dug in Esna shale layer in Deir el-Bahari plateau (photo author)

and collapses due to the poor quality of the rock incapable of withstanding overlying pressures, infiltrations of water and seismic activity (Curtis 1995; Wüst-Schlüchter 2000). Instead, most of the funerary structures excavated in layers I-III of Gebel Al-Qurn were

more stable and long-lasting and less subject to abandonment and changes of direction in the presence of shale or chalk layers.

Regarding tectonics, the Theban mountains show a certain regularity in their valleys and the shapes of their heights, except the Deir el-Bahari area, where there is “contact” between the steep rocky escarpment and the Nilotic plain. The Nile River valley cuts through a desert landscape that to the west is known as the Libyan Desert, or Western Desert, and to the east as the Arabian Desert. The West Bank was established as Thebes’ necropolis. It included royal mortuary temples built in the desert on the edge of the floodplain. Further west, a series of minor necropolises were established in desert valleys, known as *wadis*, incised into the eastern escarpment of the Theban Plateau, representing the eastern extent of the Libyan Desert. The plateau in the area is also known as the Theban Mountain. The necropolis includes the Valley of the Queens, the Valley of the Kings, The Southwestern Valleys, and the sites of Qurna, Deir el-Bahari, Dra Abu el-Naga, Assasif, El-Tarif, Qurret Murray.

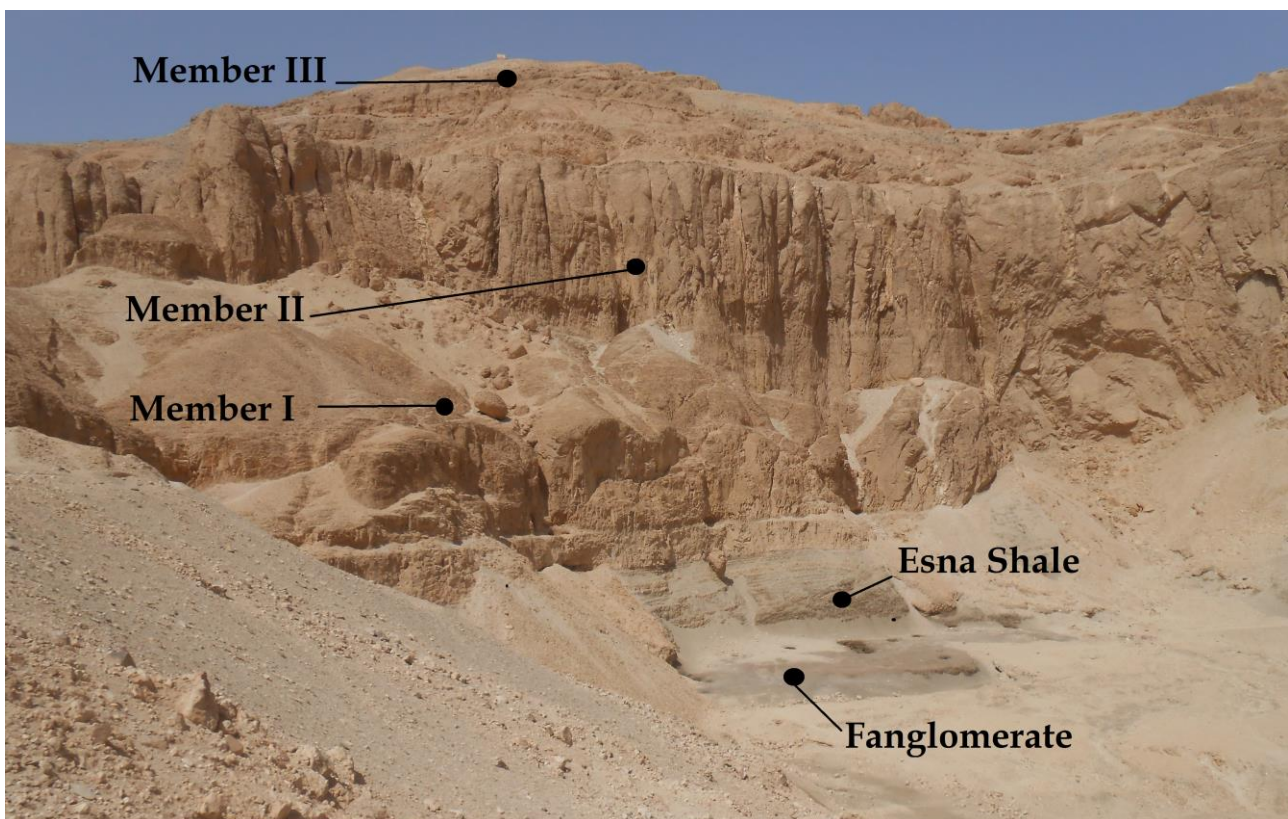


Fig.In. 6. The geological cross-section of Theban hills and plateau (photo author)

#### **4. The tomb in the Theban Necropolis in its conceptual formulation as sacred space**

Before describing the archaeological context of the necropolis to understand the cliff tomb’s origin and function, it seems useful to explain the possible relationship between the 18<sup>th</sup> Dynasty grave and its meaning.

The theme of death is central and essential for the existence of Pharaonic society itself and is evident from the path that each man has at his disposal in his life in the Nile Valley. Both mortal and pharaoh are common; it is destined to pass in the afterlife, as dead and then as reincarnated *BA* in the corpse placed in the sarcophagus, protected in its eternal casket

represented by the tomb. Depositing the sarcophagus and the inhumation of the dead assumes the function of final burial, last and total and serves as an ideal journey back to the womb. This ideal sarcophagus-tomb space is identified with the goddess Nut. This natural celestial mother embodies the eternal feminine who, like Ra, welcomes the deceased in the West and regenerates it in the East. In the coffin, the goddess can converse with her dead son and fit him into her womb - as seen in the New Kingdom sarcophagi and from the late era - but it is a sacred space and, as such, “universal”, as evidenced by Weiss (1985). The deceased is perpetually nourished, preserved, and renewed in this ideal universe. But Nut is the image of death as a “return home” in the womb of the Great Mother, in Theban necropolis is identified with the “sacred mountain” of Hathor.

Based on the studies of Jung (1912) and Frankfort (1958) that the desire for carnal and mental reunification of a man with his mother is a desire for immortality, Assmann (1982; 1983; 2000) considers the Egyptian tomb a *regressus ad uterum*. Again, according to the scholar (Assmann 1996; 1999; 2000), we, therefore, have to deal with two images: death as an enemy to *imitatio Osiridis* and death as a “return home” to *imitatio Solis* the latter linked to the eternal cycle of the sun and to his regenerate in Nut. Ra impregnates his mother, Nut, and is born of it to be reborn and bring light and life. This perpetual circular movement symbolizes the constant return to birth and the victory on the straight line whose points are birth and inevitable death. After his return on the day of rebirth, the dead is now a “true” soul living in a circular path (Assmann 1984, 29, 7). Hence the idea of scholars such as De Cenival (1988), Brunner-Traut (1989), and Smith (1984) who understand from the myth of Ra ‘how the tomb represents the place of birth and the ideal place for the regeneration of deceased’.

Assmann (2000) states that the Egyptian funerary world is a “container” of in-depth knowledge of death and its laws if the man in his generality has to create an artificial world where he can survive, different from animals and gods, both unaware of death. For Assmann (2000), “*culture springs from the awareness of death and mortality and constitutes the attempt to create a space and a time in which man can think beyond his limited horizon of life*”. If it is, therefore, true the axiom of Assmann that “man does not succeed in living, that is he does not know how to grasp meaning in what he does without the ghosts of immortality or at least of a certain continuity beyond the too narrow limits of our earthly existence”, it is equally valid that the Egyptian man center image of death on myth first rationalises death in the dissociation from life. He mythologizes, associating it with Osiris as a dead god-man and an ideal model to aspire to. Death for Assmann has a triple image: enemy, mystery, and home. Death is at first an enemy of life, overwhelms its laws, and kills existence, as also shared by Macho (1987, 47) “Perhaps every death is a murder”. The court of the gods judges not so much Seth guilty of killing Osiris, but the killing itself, the death itself (represented by Seth), who loses the cause. The order is thus re-established. Even the deceased, after winning in court against death, the guilt of his actions, receives his identity and is reintegrated into society as the transfigured spirit of *im3hw*. The eternal image of the dead has been reached, and death is wo; the balance and stability of the universe (*M3<sup>c</sup>t*) have been restored.

Ancient Egypt plays a primary role among the immortality cultures, as evidenced by Assmann (1996, 81 and 83). The tomb and the funerary outfit represent the deceased and their death and his journey into the afterlife. It is the prerogative of many cultures that have the cult of the dead to produce structures and representations of death and its material immortality. Two states, therefore, are death as non-existence and immortality as existence originating from death itself. This is an evident controversy between the materiality of the dead that changes in an influential temporal process and the rituals that try to translate the process of transforming the deceased into symbols and actions that are coherent but relevant to life. The dead man is dead, but he is revived. It is a “translation” of death that Borkeu (1984) conceives negatively as a Kantian antinomy that springs from the impossibility of imagining life after death and an end of life. From here, the idea that the myth of the impossibility of death is based on the incapacity on the part of the ancient civilization, and above all, the Egyptian civilization, to admit the end of life and hope for immortality. The “class privilege of immortality” for Borkeu is based on the moral conduct of life and that they see Osiris as an ideal model. Despite its antinomic emphasis, the Borkeu model is helpful for culturally comparing conceptions of death and funeral rituals.

In the graves of the New Kingdom and, in particular, in Thebes, the divinity of the West represents the divinization of the afterlife that welcomes the deceased as his son is transfigured. The rite of the opening of the mouth explains well the concept of awakening and new rebirth after death. The tomb becomes the ideal space for transfiguration and transformation from flesh to spirit and wandering soul. In the ideal space of transformation of the tomb, when the dead are reborn and become immortal, the act of Justice that is fulfilled (Borkeu 1984, 113) identifies in the Deity “*who redeemed life from the yoke of oblivion.*”

It is thus the tomb that marks the place of maximum longevity of the pharaonic civilization and its cultural memory, as testified by Hecean of Abdera (1986, I, 51). According to this, the Egyptians define *Aidion oikoi* as the “eternal Houses” where “*the sepulchres of the deceased, since these, they would spend an infinite time in Hades*”. The philosopher points out that it is the articulation of time arising from the Egyptian conception of death and immortality on which the tomb is based as an ideal space of rebirth. It’s what the Assmann always shows, for example, in the moralizing maxims and instructions of the Middle Kingdom and, consequently, also in the graves of the New Kingdom in which there is a contrast between the finite time in the *Aldiqua (tp t3)* and the infinite time in the afterlife (*hrt ntr*). The time spent on Earth (*tp t3*) is not comparable to Eternity (*d̄t*), which is spent in the realm of the Dead (*hrt ntr*). Therefore, memory and virtue of lived life (“*one will remember him for his virtues*”) are well connected to the tomb as a “*monument of Virtue and justice*”. The burial is, therefore, the magic container that fixes the memory and perpetuates it indefinitely in a social dimension; Depictions and inscriptions relating to the literature of the afterlife and funerary biographies are addressed to the Society of the dead and the living and in a magical and ritual sense act as “posters” of the wisdom and virtues of the deceased. In this apology of the dead, now reborn from oblivion, the tomb symbolizes justice that opposes the murder of death itself.

Donadoni (1990), in agreement with Zandee (1960) and Spencer (1982), provided a helpful definition of the tomb: “*The tomb is the house in which the deceased stays, and a house has often ultimately the structure: a part is destined to social life.*” Another is the secret part of the tomb, where the body rests, surrounded by everything it needs for its mystical survival. According to Donadoni (1990), “*Dying is the moment of the Egyptian existence and being there also means dying*”. But life is *Maat* as a universal harmony, and the deceased who lies in the tomb is, therefore, part of the *Maat* itself and, in harmony with it, becomes immortal as the deity. The dead find, thus, in the tomb its true identity and consequently its memory; if the Egyptian man loses his identity, his responsibility as a social individual ceases to live in the *Maat*. This “Memory of the will” as a source of culture and community sense for the Egyptians is a frightening *mnemotechnical* or a perennial pain in their memory; Assmann (2000) has made it very clear that, although he was coercive in his memory through cultural knowledge, the *Maat* has the function of making right and justice triumph. For the Egyptians, the culturally induced memory seems less painful as a sign of immortality than elusive and labile painless oblivion.

In full adherence to what has been said so far, the tomb of the 18<sup>th</sup> Dynasty represents a further evolution of the conception of the ideal space of rebirth of the deceased of ages before. The funeral structure, also under the layout, appears more complex in the definition and function of the interior spaces with a coherent separation of the same to scan the different phases of *post-mortem* transformation. The conception at the base of the layout definition of the tomb concerns the gradual path of the deceased towards the hall of the sarcophagus, a point of maximum transformation in a luminous and eternal spirit. The scenes and texts present in the tomb, where present, are drawn from the literary texts of the time and describe the path of the deceased in the afterlife that identifies with the tomb itself. Although far from the life that one lives outside the Necropolis, the afterlife is also the memory of the deceased. In the 18<sup>th</sup> Dynasty, this link between the afterlife, death, and immortality came to identify itself in funeral structures symbolically; each tomb, both real and noble, has spaces that punctuate the resurrection path of the deceased. The entrance and the first corridor of the tomb represent the process of initial transformation of the deceased’s body, and the anteroom and the second corridor represent the seat where the process of transformation of the body into a transfigured spirit is perfected (Assmann 2000).

The tomb is no longer a private structure but part of a collective funeral complex representing the royalty on Earth and hereafter. The figure of Osiris is particularly vivified at the beginning of the 18<sup>th</sup> Dynasty by Amenhotep I in Thebes in the Valley of the Kings and becomes part of the country's social, economic, and political structure. Each tomb can be considered an essential “piece” of the Necropolis, as well as more generally, according to Beinlich (1984), the *Nomoi* “districts” symbolically are the *disiecta* limbs of the body of Osiris reinstated during the rites of embalming in the month of *Choiak*. This concept of “recomposing” (re-collection) the god, according to always Assman (2000), binds perfectly to that of “remembering,” and the tomb is *de facto* symbol of both concepts. The work of Amenhotep I and his successors’ work in implementing the Osiris cult to reinforce the



kingdom's religious, political, and historical identity transferred the figure of the mythical sovereign god dead to the concept and the model of immortality.

If, for Assmann (2000), The man “*enters into immortality as a social and moral individual, together with all his titles and the dignity acquired in life, and according to the measure of the virtues practiced during existence*”, the tomb is his portal of unearthly entry and reign of that Osiris to which, as mentioned, the deceased tends to *imitatio Osiridis* and to a knowledge *sicut deus*. In its spatial and conceptual formulation, the 18<sup>th</sup> Dynasty tomb resumes the *imitatio* of god by a complete narrative of the texts and funerary formulas and transfers to the deceased his position as Osiris “transfigured”. The regular axis of the funeral structure and the arrangement of the “sequentially” spaces descending towards the sarcophagus chamber or the funeral chapel show this link between (deceased) and container (tomb) content well. The tomb thus arises as a concrete, material, and perpetual element that does not deny death but destroys it and turns it into a new existence. Unlike death denied and occulted in contemporary society, think of the psychoanalysis of Freud (1976), the model of Feuerbach (1997) or the anthropological study of Morin (2002) in Ancient Egypt and, in particular in that of the 18<sup>th</sup> Dynasty, death is not denied but is always transformed into perpetual life. In this view, the origin of the Theban funerary structures, as “houses of immortality”, was linked with regeneration and rebirth, primarily in two forms, one following the rising and setting of the sun cyclically and the other linked to a rebirth in the afterlife through the body of Osiris inside the Theban Mountain, the Hathor womb. From this perspective, the significance of the Valley of the Kings and the Valley of the Queens lies in its features and elements, its natural and cultural landscape, and its relationship with the inhabitants and users.

If the grave in its ideal conception, is a place of immortality and regeneration for the deceased, cliff tombs belong to this category. They have dug into Theban Hill's upper slopes. In proximity to the Theban peak, the Gebel Al-Qurn, the “sacred peak” (*t3 dhnt*) called “the Horn” by local inhabitants, which symbolically represents the pyramid superstructure generally associated with royal burials (Wilkinson 2003, 224). All tombs in Theban necropolis were built about the peak, and the Theban hills were the domain of cobra goddess *Meretseger*, the “Peak of the West” (*dhnt-Imntt*) or the “Lady of the Peak” (*nbt-dhnt*) as the actual personification of Hathor (Lichteim 1976, 107-109).

But the rebirth which physically occurred with the new inundation was likewise linked to Osiris. In her role as “Mistress of the West”, the female counterpart of Osiris, Hathor received the deceased into the afterlife (Fig.In.7). In tombs, on coffins, on votive *stelae* and in the *Book of the Dead*, she is often depicted as emerging from the Theban Mountains in her bovine form from the reeds of the marshes and the western mountains with a sun-disc and ostrich feather crown and a *meat-necklace* around her neck. In this view, if the funerary 'space' carved into the hill is conceptualized as the womb of the goddess from which the deceased is reborn from death, acting as *Kamutef*, the meaning of the “protected space” can be well connected with cliff tombs. The elevated position of these structures and the close relationship with the mountain and its morphology constitute ideal elements for combining funerary cults and aspects related to the safety of the deceased and their grave goods.

However, it is important to note, unlike the 18<sup>th</sup> Dynasty tombs in the Valley of the Kings, which have elaborated architectural plans and are extensively decorated with funerary texts and associated images of kings and deities, the cliff tombs are without any decoration, making identification of tomb owners dependent on the finds. One has to wonder why no decoration or text is present in the cliff tombs, except KV34, the last of this type, which is *un unicum*, compared to other previous structures with an innovative layout that introduces a new funerary concept. Nor are there any typical features of the private tombs of the period immediately following the reign of Tuthmosis III as the *stelae*, the false doors, and the chapels (Assmann 2003, 21). Only parts of standard funerary equipment found *in situ* occasionally included coffins, fragments of inscribed canopic jars, or texts, providing archaeologists with the name and title of the occupant. Many of the tombs were also reused in later periods, and in many cases, later reuse obscured the date and identity of the original burial. Yet, most of the known cliff tombs of the Theban necropolis, although anepigraphic and generally characterized by simple vertical shafts dug into the rock leading to a corridor and one or more burial chambers, cannot fail to reflect the funerary conception of the time.

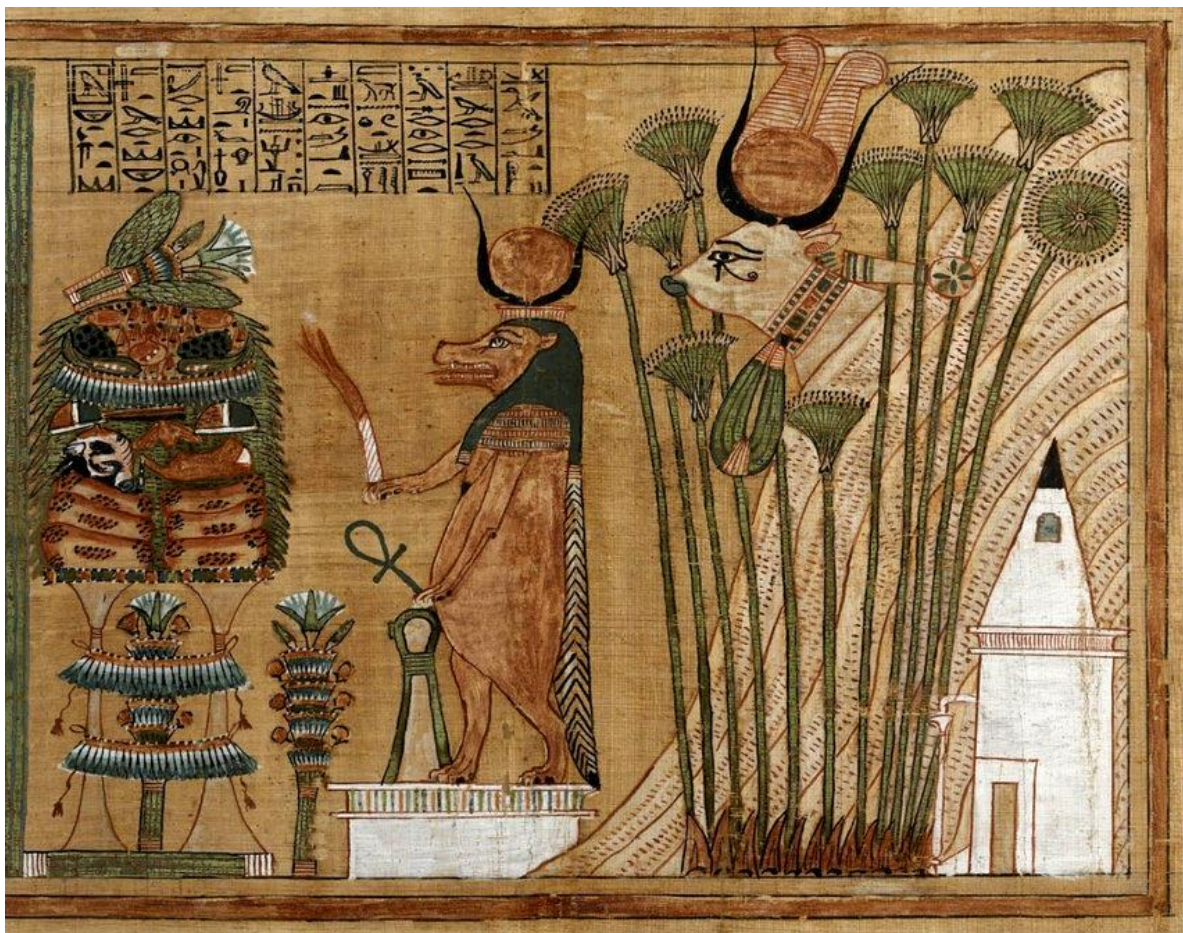


Fig.In. 7. Hathor in the shape of a sacred cow descending into the papyrus from the Theban mountain (Pap. BM 10470,3)

This consideration becomes particularly incisive when one considers that most of the private tombs from the beginning of the 18th Dynasty until the beginning of the reign of Tuthmosis III, such as, for example, TT11, TT12, TT155 at Dra 'Abu el-Naga', the TT43, TT65, TT67, TT71, TT73, TT81, TT110, TT119, TT124, TT125, TT127, C2 at Gurna, the TT179,

TT224 at El-Khokha and the TT358 at Deir el-Bahari, to name but the most significant, feature interior decorations, funerary and biographical texts.

### 5. The earliest development of the necropolis in the Valley of the Kings from the beginning of the 18<sup>th</sup> Dynasty until the end of the reign of Tuthmosis III

At the beginning of the 18<sup>th</sup> Dynasty, the Valley of the Kings (Fig. In.8) was developing into a real necropolis, and as any city, this city of the dead needed a certain measure of planning. According to the current knowledge of the Valley, the earliest royal tombs in the Valley of the Kings were the following:

- KV39 (western and eastern section): probably built for Tuthmosis I or Ahmose-Meryetamun;
- an unknown tomb for Tuthmosis II;
- KV38 (in the first phase without the cartouche-shaped burial chamber): may have been built on the orders of the queen Hatshepsut, then still the regent for the boy-king Tuthmosis III;
- KV20: tomb of Hatshepsut as ruler.

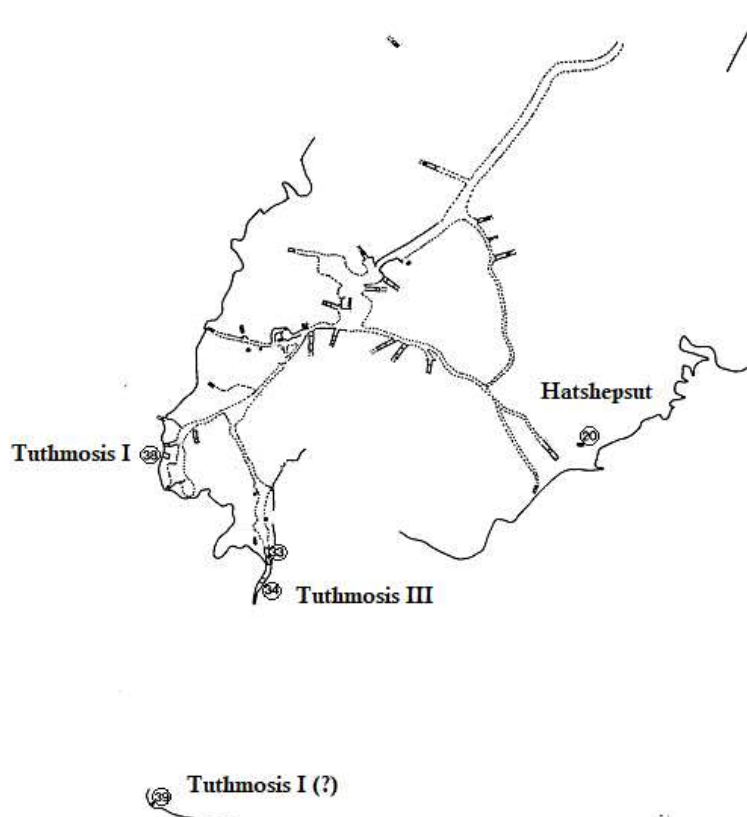


Fig.In. 8. The Valley of the Kings until the Tuthmosis III reign (drawing web)



These were followed by:

- KV33 and KV34 (tomb of Tuthmosis III);
- an extension/refurbishing of KV38, on the orders of Tuthmosis III, for reburial of his grandfather, Tuthmosis I.

These tombs were distributed over the available ground. The contours on the plan represent the modern asphalt roads, which follow the floor of the various side wadis of the Valley. As you can see in the previous figure, these earliest kings' tombs were spread out as much as possible – you might consider: “one site, one wadi, one king” – with KV39 even further away, on the outer rim of the Valley. Below is a series of smaller tombs, all believed to be of 18<sup>th</sup> Dynasty origin. The side wadis ascend from the center out; this means that the royal tombs are located above the smaller tombs in their particular side wadi. This concept of a clearly defined dependents' cemetery inside the valley (that consists of a cluster of smaller tombs below the king's tomb) was, in any event, not long-lived after the end of Tuthmosis III's reign. The Amenhotep II's and Tuthmosis IV's retainers were given a place at a somewhat more respectful distance from their patron's tomb.

### *KV39*

On this tomb, well-exposed in Section II (Fig.In.9a), Weigall describes it as containing “several fragments of pottery and alabaster, as well as some bones and other fragments of the burial” in a room off the burial chamber. It was initially oriented towards the nearby mountaintop of Gebel Al-Qurn (with its western passage). Upon hitting the inferior stone, the tomb's orientation was rotated a full 180° (the eastern path) in his second realization phase. Its originator was, in all probability, Tuthmosis I or, following the hypothesis of Aston (2015, 21), the tomb was realized for the Queen Inhapi. KV39 was also the first tomb – after the Second Intermediate Period – in which a conscious attempt was made to formalize royal funerary architecture once again. The characteristics of this tomb were:

- an emphasis on “far and deep”: long, steeply descending corridors with relatively small chambers;
- an orientation of the burial chamber towards Gebel Al-Qurn;
- essentially linear tombs: not per se following a straight line, but without angular turns or any branching off;
- no side chambers and no pillars.

KV39 stayed empty until the beginning of the 21<sup>st</sup> Dynasty when it possibly played a role in dismantling the royal necropolis; the reuse of the tomb has probably led to its enlargement and modification.

### *The Tomb of Tuthmosis II*

This tomb has not yet been located. We can, however, make a few educated guesses about it:

- typologically, it should be midway between KV39 and KV20;
- it should not be too close to any of the other regal tombs of the day. So, then it may be located in one of the side wadis of the Valley;
- it should have a stone sarcophagus inside. This can be deduced from Hatshepsut's cliff tomb contents in Wadi Sikkat Taged Zeit. If she were to have a stone sarcophagus while she was still Tuthmosis II's great royal wife, her lord and master would undoubtedly have had one, too – and his one would have been made, on account of the Law of Regal Precedence, first;
- it will probably be unfinished for his reign, which lasted no more than three years.

*KV38 first phase: Tuthmosis III's child tomb*

Immediately after the demise of Tuthmosis II, Hatshepsut, as regent, had to arrange for a tomb to be cut for the new king: young Tuthmosis III. Which tomb this was cannot yet be determined with certainty. Still, it may have been KV38, in an early edition without the cartouche-shaped burial chamber (Fig.In.9b). The main reason for assuming that this tomb was cut in this period – and therefore possibly for this purpose – is its impeccable orientation towards the Gebel Al-Qurn.

*KV20*

As soon as Hatshepsut rose to full regal dignity, the cliff tomb in Wadi Sikkat Taged Zeit, well-exposed in Section I, was abandoned, and she commissioned a new and daring project: her cultic temple at Deir el-Bahari and a tomb on the other side of the mountain. The tomb was aimed at this temple and the Gebel Al-Qurn and was planned with completed with four long corridors with steps and a burial chamber (Fig.In.9c).

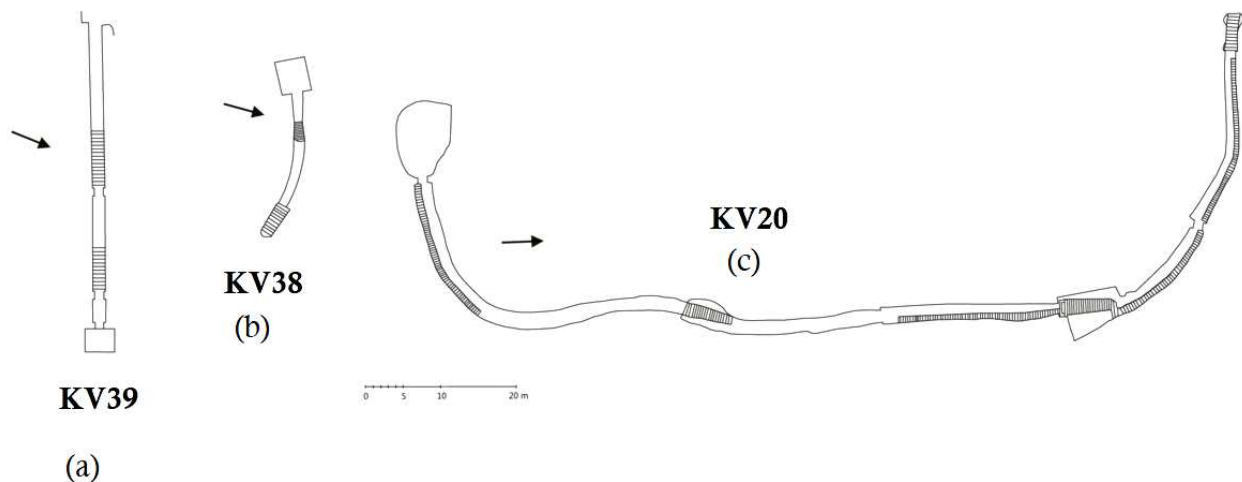


Fig.In.9. KV39 (2<sup>nd</sup> phase), KV38 and KV20 at their first stage (drawing web).

Probably towards the end of her reign, Hatshepsut decided to add a second suite to KV20, with a new burial chamber (Fig.In.10). This room was probably added to accommodate her and her father, Tuthmosis I. The latter's burial was transferred from KV39 (or another tomb

unknown) to KV20. The tomb KV20's second suite was built according to a new set of principles, which would, from here on, govern a series of royal tombs:

- an emphasis on “big and bold”: large, imposing chambers connected by short corridors;
- no particular orientation of the burial chamber;
- with a (semi)right-angled turn about halfway in the tomb;
- some chambers have pillars, and some have side chambers.

Below Hatshepsut's tomb is an uninscribed tomb, KV60, that appears to have belonged to *Sitre* called *In*, the nurse of Hatshepsut. If this is the case, it was probably the first tomb for a commoner in the Valley; an entryway, a corridor (with a side chamber), and a burial chamber (Fig.In.11). Two female mummies were found here. One was lying in the lower half of a coffin, inscribed for the royal nurse, which may be *Sitre*. Thomas has suggested that the other mummy may be Hatshepsut herself; the layout of this tomb seems to be those of the Asiatic wives of Tuthmosis III and the KV39 second phase (see Sections I and III).

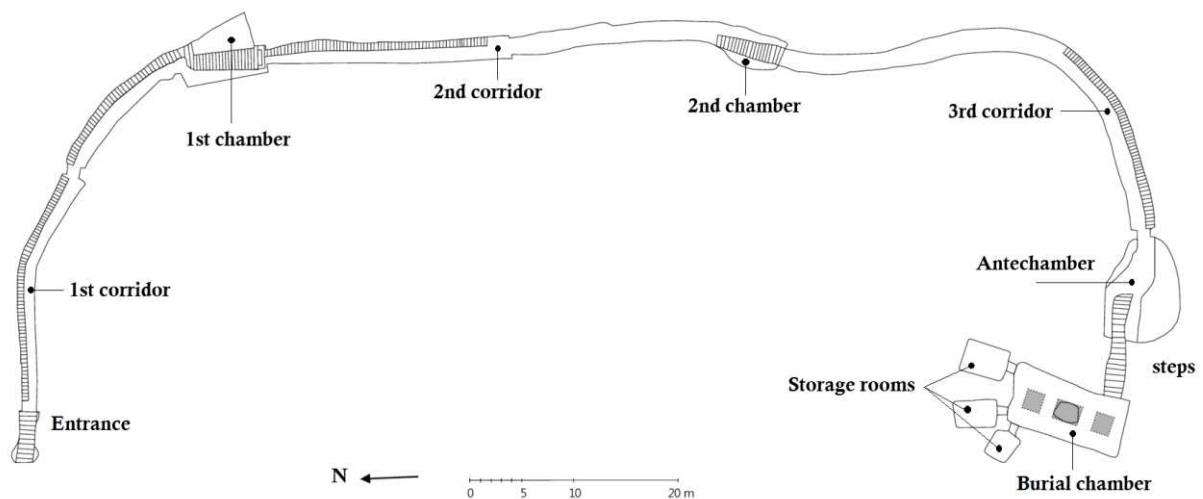


Fig.In.10. KV20 at its final stage (drawing web).

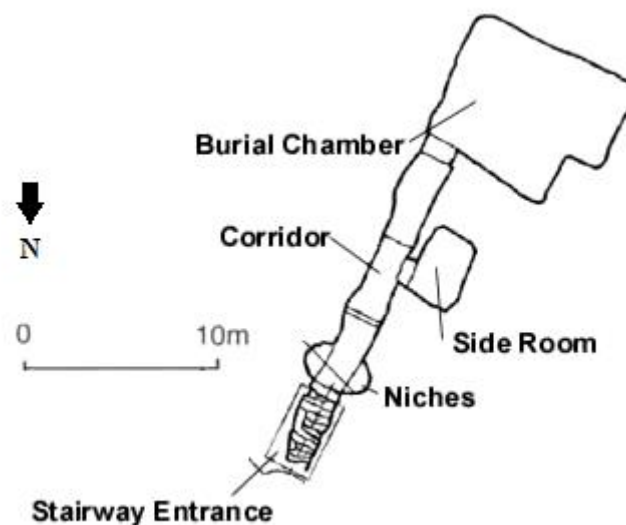


Fig.In.11. The KV60 plan (drawing web)

## KV34

KV34, see Section III, was discovered by Loret on 12<sup>th</sup> February 1898, and Carter carried out further work near the tomb entrance in the spring of 1921. The tomb itself was cleared with care over several days. From his study of the tomb, Romer has established that Tuthmosis III had been interred within KV34 and the sequence of events surrounding the burials. The king's name is all over the place: on the walls, quartzite sarcophagus, and bits and pieces that remain from the thoroughly plundered inventory. There cannot be much doubt that this one was commissioned for him and that he was interred here. The tomb has two construction phases: the first was done at the beginning of his reign has previewed the construction of the entrance, two corridors, the antechamber, the burial chamber, and a storage room annexed (Fig.In.12). This stage precedes the adaption of KV38 for Tuthmosis I and the cutting of KV42. Then, shortly before his death, Tuthmosis III suddenly decided on a substantial enlargement of KV34. This is the second phase that has previewed the extension of KV34 with a pillared antechamber, the burial chamber widened, and four storage rooms added. This was the last royal funerary project from his reign.

### *KV38 final stage*

To the new elements, already established in KV20 at his second stage, two more were added at the beginning of the Tuthmosis III reign as the cartouche-shaped burial chamber and the well. The former was the logical consequence of the recent evolution of the regal sarcophagi from rectangular to cartouche-shaped. However, it proved difficult to realize that it didn't survive Tuthmosis III's reign; the ritual shaft was an element that had occasionally been used before, notably for Amenhotep I (in tomb AN B) and for his wife Ahmose-Meryetamun (TT358). When Tuthmosis III decided to transfer his grandfather's burial out of his stepmother's tomb, he could not bring him back to his original tomb (KV39) because that would amount to placing him directly above his tomb for political and ideological reasons (Fig.In.13).

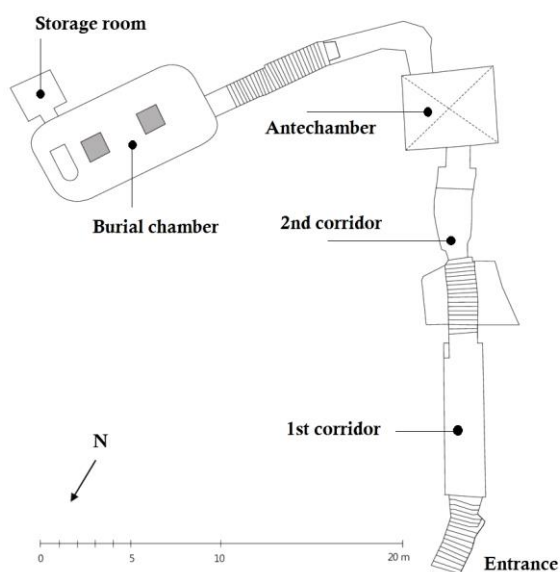


Fig.In.12. KV34 in its first stage (drawing web).

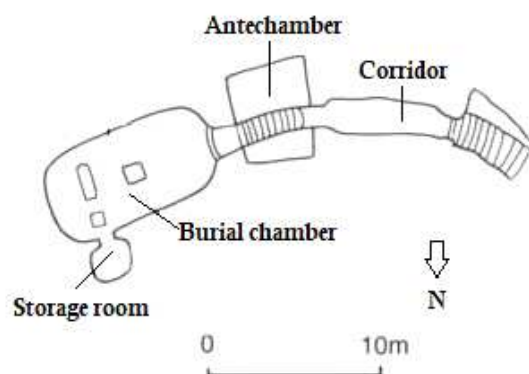


Fig.In.13. KV38 at its final stage (drawing web).

Therefore, he had to find his new quarters and those in KV38. This small tomb stood empty and could, with little effort, be brought up to date. The small rectangular burial chamber was enlarged so that it could hold one pillar. It was given the cartouche shape in vogue.

*KV42: Hatshepsut-Meryetre (reign of Tuthmosis III)*

KV42 was first cleared by Carter in late November or early December 1900. The area in front of the tomb Carter excavated in January 1921, locating the tomb's foundation deposits and several pieces thrown out from the burial. The four deposits, all "undisturbed excepting certain decay from torrential waters", were inscribed for Hatshepsut-Meryetre, the first royal wife of Tuthmosis III. Since such deposits were usually positioned at the time work on a tomb commenced, and certainly before any interment had been made (witness, in particular, the deposits of Tuthmosis IV from WV22 it is clear that KV42 had not been excavated before the reign of Tuthmosis III. This dating, confirmed by Romer based on the tomb's design, early renders the still common attribution of KV42 to Tuthmosis II impossible.

That KV42 was not employed for the burial of Hatshepsut-Meryetre is, however, evident from the fact that the sarcophagus chamber had not been decorated with the intended scenes and texts from the Amduat were at this period accomplished only after the funeral. Moreover, apart from the unfinished sarcophagus, which seems not to have been used, "not a vestige of royal antiquities was found" in the tomb. Since Hatshepsut-Meryetre lived on into the reign of her son, Amenhotep II, it may well be that he wished to bury her elsewhere - perhaps in his tomb (KV35), to judge from the remains recovered from there by Loret in 1898. We cannot conclude that the burial was initially made for this queen: the deposits may have been added later. Thomas' suggestion that Hatshepsut-Meryetre may have commissioned this tomb for a (crown) prince is untenable because the position of a (crown) prince in this period had not yet risen to the point where burial in the Valley was possible. The only remaining option is that the queen's foundation deposits indicate that, at some point in time, this tomb was destined to be hers. Only the title "great royal wife" was found on the items of the deposits. If these deposits were added by her son Amenhotep II, one would also have expected to see the title "mother of a king." It is possible also that KV42 was cut in the same period as KV38; the burial chamber took its definitive form during a (brief?) period in which the tomb was to be Tuthmosis III's, but in the end, it was apportioned to his great royal wife. Successfully capitalizing on increased experience, it was laid out much more expertly - although it still lacked in execution. The tomb has an entryway, a 1<sup>st</sup> corridor, a stairwell, a 1<sup>st</sup> chamber, a 2<sup>nd</sup> corridor, and a burial chamber with two pillars and one side chamber. The entrance to tomb KV42 was cut into the Wadi floor, immediately next to a sheer cliff - an almost exact copy of the location of KV38 (Fig.In.14). Since dynastic times, the level of the Wadi floor at this point has risen considerably, resulting in the entrance being several meters below that level. The position of the KV42 immediately below the KV34 makes it possible that the first tomb was dug at the same time when the KV34's first stage was completed. The KV42's burial chamber shape excludes *de facto* that this was the tomb that Hatshepsut, as regent, commissioned for the young Tuthmosis III (before she became ruler in her own right). This implies that the KV42 would

have been built earlier than the KV20, but it is widely demonstrated that the cartouche shape of the burial chamber is after the rectangular; there is no absolute certainty that the tombs with a cartouche-shaped burial chamber belong to the reign of Tuthmosis III, but they were all connected to this period. Several writers have insisted that KV42's cartouche-shaped burial chamber could only have been planned for a king.

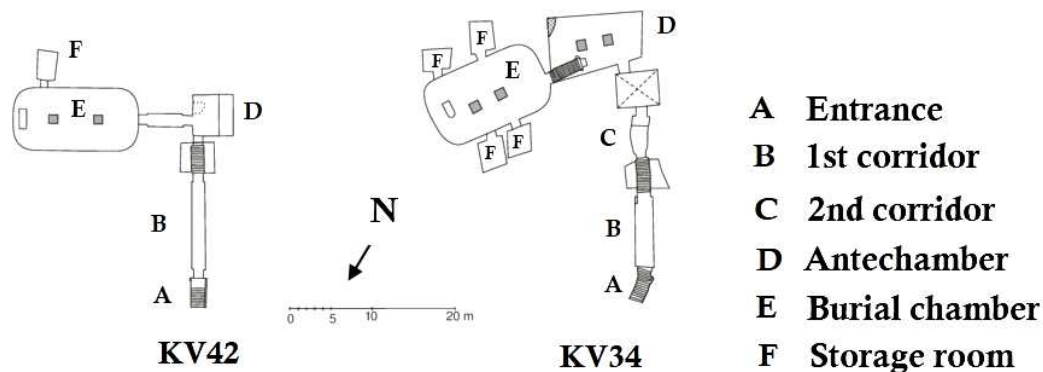


Fig.In.14. KV42 and KV34 plans (drawings web modified by author).

Thomas widens the circle of candidates to “a king, or a member of his immediate family,” but “more likely for a crown prince” than for a queen or a princess. It should be noted, though, that during the early 18<sup>th</sup> Dynasty, the king’s great royal wife was the most important member of the court after the king; that her name was regularly written in a cartouche, and that the sarcophagus that was made for Hatshepsut when she was still Tuthmosis II’s great royal wife (sarcophagus A) had a large cartouche sculpted on its lid. If, in this period, anyone other than the king would have qualified for a tomb with a cartouche-shaped burial chamber, it would have been the king’s great royal wife. But could it have been used for a queen, a great royal wife? Perhaps. Maybe Hatshepsut-Meryetre was for some time buried here and only later transferred to KV35, the tomb of her son Amenhotep II; perhaps she died before KV35 was ready. KV42 and KV34 are the Valley of the Kings’ last “pre-classical” royal tombs. Both tombs still show a considerable degree of experimenting in their plan.

### KV33

This is the only cliff tomb close to KV34 in the southern wadis of the Valley, found by Loret in 1898. As well-exposed in section 2, it has an entryway and a large central chamber with two side rooms (Fig.In.15).

Either an abandoned cutting or an “annex” to KV34, it could have belonged to a queen of Tuthmosis III but was probably never used. The owner of KV33 remains unknown, but the tomb’s size and location suggest that it must have been intended for a rather prestigious burial.

Below KV34 and close to KV42, there are several smaller tombs. Only some of these tombs were accessible and documented by the Theban Mapping Project; others have never been studied or have received recorded archaeological investigation, although some were visible in the landscape as shaft openings.





Fig.In.15 The stairwell leading to KV33 and the room with annexes before clearance (Photo BKVP).

Most of them are reinvestigated by the University of Basel King's Valley Project during the 2009-2012 seasons (Fig.In.16).

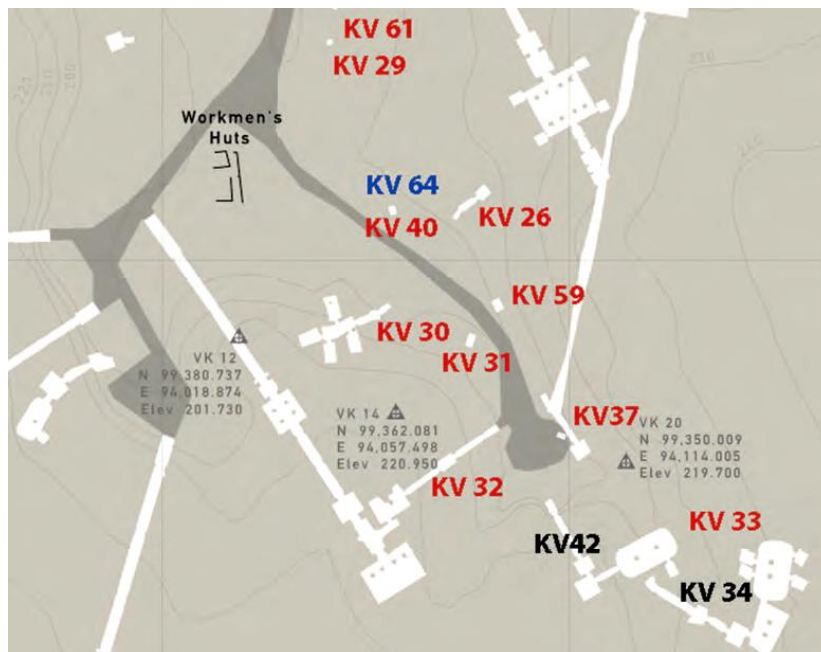


Fig.In. 16. The University of Basel Kings' Valley Project sites (Photo BKVP).

Some tombs were filled with thick layers of debris, which covered what remained of the burial equipment, pottery and human bodies. Other tombs were almost empty. The state of preservation of the remains depends on several factors; some of them were repeatedly penetrated by rainwater floods pouring down through the wadis from the desert plateau. This infiltration of moisture and humidity destroyed all organic materials. Even more devastating, however, were the hands of robbers who ransacked the tombs. The end of the 20<sup>th</sup> Dynasty led to the large-scale plundering of tombs throughout the Theban necropolis. Not only were valuables taken, but the wooden coffins were also frequently removed for recycling.

### KV26

The owner is unknown. The tomb of 18<sup>th</sup> Dynasty origin, noted by Loret in 1898, is undecorated and consists of a shaft, a corridor, and a burial chamber unfinished and undecorated (Fig.In.17). According to the BKVP, it was used for at least one burial, and the pottery types date this burial to the period of Tuthmosis III/Amenhotep II.

### KV30

The owner is unknown. This large, multi-chambered pit tomb of 18<sup>th</sup> Dynasty origin, noted by Loret in 1898, is undecorated and consists of an entrance, a corridor, and a burial chamber with four storage rooms annexed (Fig.In.17). The tomb was used for least one burial; the pottery found indicates a dating in the 18<sup>th</sup> Dynasty.

### KV31

The owner is unknown. The BKVP recently discovered three (undecorated) chambers down the shaft. There once were at least four burials here. As stated by archaeologists, pottery and coffin fragments date from the beginning of the 18<sup>th</sup> Dynasty: “dated probably (...) the reigns of Tuthmosis III/Amenhotep II.” Inside was also found a fragment of a dummy jar of *Sennefer*.

### KV32

The owner of this tomb is still often described as “unknown.” Still, excavation by the University of Basel in 2001-2002 has shown that it belonged to *Tiaa*, a lesser queen of Amenhotep II and mother of Tuthmosis IV. The tomb of 18<sup>th</sup> Dynasty origin, discovered by Loret in 1898, is undecorated and consists of an entrance, a first corridor, a stairwell, a second corridor and a burial chamber unfinished with one pillar and one storage room annexed (Fig.In.17).

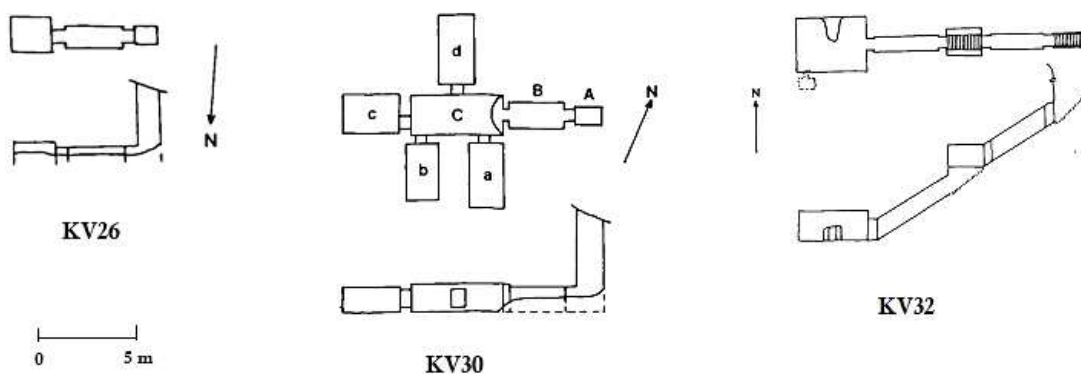


Fig.In.17. The KV26, KV30, and KV34 plans and sections (drawing web).

### KV37

The owner is unknown. The tomb of 18<sup>th</sup> Dynasty origin is undecorated and consists of an entrance, a corridor, and a burial chamber (Fig.In.18).



### *KV40*

The owner is unknown. KV40 is one of the largest tombs in the area. The BKVP was discovered in 2011, and it consists of a deep shaft that opens into a six-meter-long corridor and a large central room with three side chambers (Fig.In.18). Pottery was found from the 18<sup>th</sup> Dynasty. During the 2014 field season, the tomb was identified as the burial place of members of the Tuthmosis IV and Amenhotep III families. KV40 contained the mummified remains of at least fifty people – including newborns and infants – and countless fragments of their funerary equipment. The pieces of various wooden and cartonnage coffins indicate that members of the 3<sup>rd</sup> Intermediate Period priestly families reused the tomb as a cache.

### *KV59*

The owner is unknown. The BKVP discovered a room (undecorated) down the shaft (Fig.In.18). Although full of debris, it was – from an archaeological point of view – empty as a clean sheet. Perhaps this structure was never used or entirely cleared before being flooded. No statement concerning a possible date can be made.

### *KVF*

The owner is unknown. Its exact location is now lost below the current ground level. Probably is an abandoned cutting and was noted by Carter in January 1921 (Fig.In.18). For the Egyptologist, it is another “commencement for a tomb”, which he was inclined to see as having originally been intended for Tuthmosis III’s tomb foundation deposits. This is still far from proven.

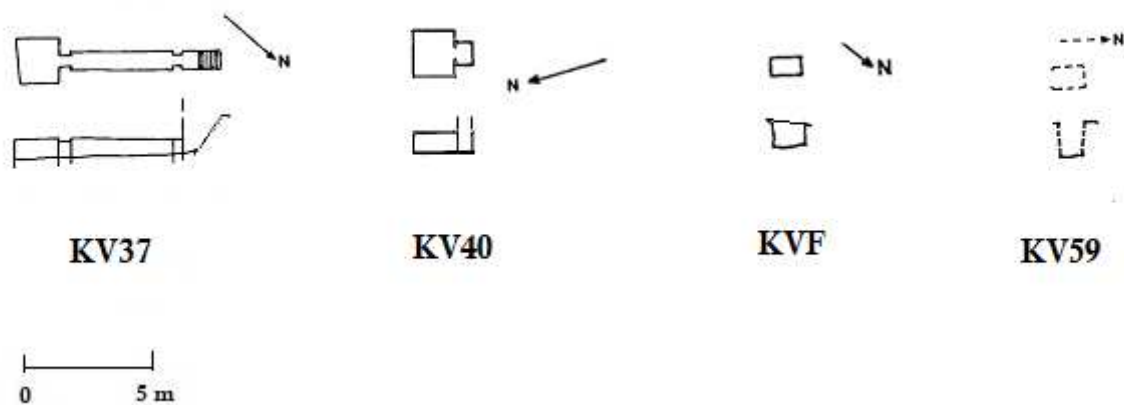


Fig.In.18. The KV37, KV40, KVF and KV59 plans and sections (drawing web).

To these must be added some unknown shaft tombs (KV24, KV50, KV51, KV52, KV53, KV61) that have similar floor plans to those mentioned above, but all date from after the reign of Hatshepsut.

## 6. The earliest development of the necropolis in the Valley of the Queens from the beginning of the 18<sup>th</sup> Dynasty until the end of the reign of Tuthmosis III

The Valley of the Queens (Fig.In.19) was used exclusively as a burial place from the 17<sup>th</sup> Dynasty and from the 18<sup>th</sup> Dynasty onward. The meaning of the Pharaonic name of the site, *t3 st nfrw* “the place of beauty” or “perfection”, has the definition in the broader sense the “Royal Harîm”, “the Place of the Royal Children”, based on the documented use of the name in the Ramesside period when the Valley was used primarily for the burial of royal women, many of whom were not themselves “royal children”. From a practical point of view, the choice of the site was linked to its location near the Valley of the Kings and the workmen’s village of Deir el-Medina. The morphology of this hidden valley was likely an important factor.

Like the Valley of the King and other areas of the West Bank, the geological stratigraphy of the Valley of the Queens (limestones and marls underlain by the Esna Formation) has undergone faulting and slumping; that is, the horizontally deposited strata comprising the Theban limestone and marls were tilted during slumping in the Pliocene-Pleistocene period. Consequently, excavation of the tombs occurred at the base of a massive tilted block of the lowermost stratum of the Theban Formation. This is particularly so on the south side of the main wadi, where all the tombs are excavated into lower strata comprising clay-rich marl. The clay minerals in the marl swell on wetting, and over the 3,000-plus years since their original excavation, the tombs have been subjected to periodic flash-flooding. On drying, the clays shrink, leading to rock collapse in many tombs, and extensive damage has occurred with the loss of original wall paintings. Because of tilting and consequent fracturing of the rock layers, veins of gypsum, anhydrite, and halite, resulting from groundwater percolation, are also prevalent throughout most of the tombs. Not only have most of the tombs in QV been affected by collapse and flood, but in late antiquity, during the Third Intermediate, Roman, and Coptic periods, the reuse of the tombs was extensive.

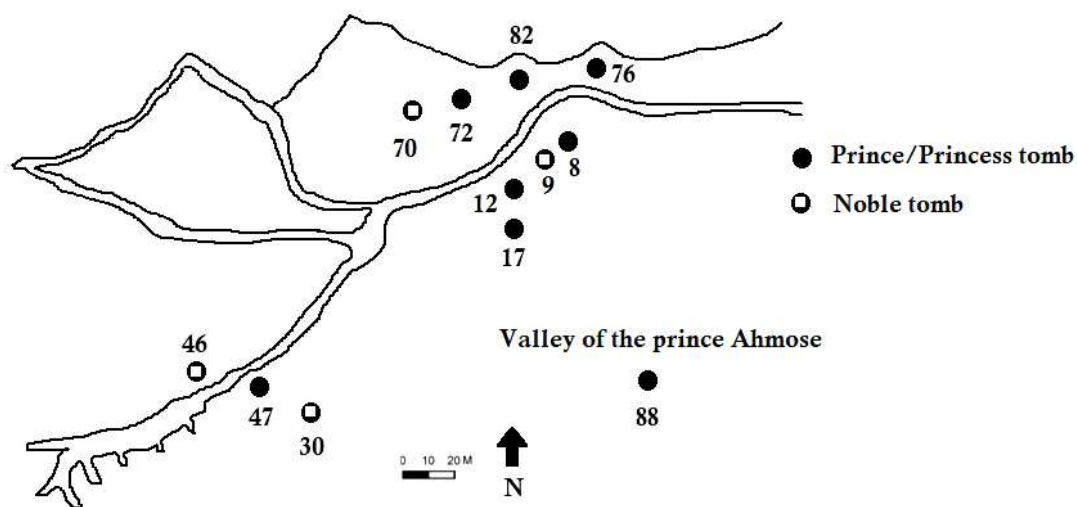


Fig.In.19. The Valley of the Queen tombs dating before the Tuthmosis III reign (drawing author).

In several tombs, significant damage has occurred because of fire. Soot deposits can be seen in those tombs, together with severe heat alteration of the rock. In many tombs, one can also see the firmly adhered residues of mud wasps that have built nests on the walls and ceiling after wet periods. Fifty-seven tombs of the 18<sup>th</sup> Dynasty have been identified and investigated in the Valley of the Queens (Fig.In.20); another twenty tombs were located in the subsidiary valleys (Valley of the Rope, Valley of the Three Pits, and Valley of the Prince Ahmose). The tombs dating before the reign of Tuthmosis III are generally characterized by simple vertical shafts excavated into the rock and leading to one or more burial chambers. Unlike the royal 18<sup>th</sup> Dynasty tombs in the Valley of the Kings, which have elaborate architectural plans and are decorated with funerary texts and associated images of kings and deities, those in the Valley of the Queens are without any decoration, making identification of tomb owners dependent on the finds. Remnants of standard funerary equipment found *in situ* occasionally included fragments of inscribed canopic jars or texts, providing archaeologists with the name and title of the occupant. Many of the tombs were also reused in later periods, and in many cases, later reuse obscured the date and identity of the original burial. As a result, most of the seventy-seven 18<sup>th</sup> Dynasty tombs in the Valley of the Queens and its subsidiary valleys are of unknown attribution.

The earliest tomb in the Valley of the Queens is considered QV47, prepared for Princess *Ahmose*, the daughter of Seqenenra Taa II. Although the precise date of her death is uncertain, the 18<sup>th</sup> Dynasty may have been underway by the time her tomb was completed. During this period, many tombs in the Valley were created for princes, princesses, nobles, and high-rank officers, including the Visir of Tuthmosis I *Imhotep* (QV46) and the Superintendent of the Royal Stables *Nebiri* during the Tuthmosis III reign (QV30). The Valley of the Rope, located directly north of the main wadi, was named for a rope that, in the past, hung from a cliff at the height of the valley and is thought to have been from the Coptic era. This valley's upper eastern branch consists of tombs QV 92, QV 93, and QV 97 (Fig.In.20).

- The QV8 is attributed to an unknown Princess, a Prince named Hori, and the noble *Imenousekhet*, all identified by inscriptions in some shrouds. The tomb lies on the south side of the main wadi, between the paved path and the higher footpath to the south. The tomb has one chamber and a shaft. Finds from the tomb are six fragmentary mummies; six human skulls, bones of at least thirteen adult individuals and seventeen children; and linen shrouds with inscriptions.
- The QV9's owner is unknown. The tomb is on the south side of the main wadi, between the paved path and the higher footpath to the south. The tombs have one chamber and a shaft entrance. QV 9 has a bench cut from the rock in the rear of the chamber. Finds are 3 fragmentary mummies, 5 human skulls, and bones from at least 10 adult individuals and 9 children. Other materials found in December 2010 are 1 crate and 1 bag of pottery fragments, 1 bag of wood fragments and linen, and 2 packs of bones. An inscribed sherd with the royal name of Tuthmosis I.

- The QV12's owner is unknown. The single-chambered tomb lies on the south side of the wadi along the main paved path. Finds are 5 fragmentary mummies, 7 human skulls, bones from at least 12 adults and 5 children, and a golden tip of a scepter inscribed with the royal name of Thutmosis II.
- The QV17 is attributed to the Princesses *Urmerutes* and *Merytra* I. The tomb is a single-chambered tomb on the south side of the main wadi and visitor path behind a low natural mound into which several tombs are cut. Finds are fragments of human and animal bones, scarab, and fragments of inscribed canopic vessels with the names of two princesses. Other materials found in December 2010 are large piles of sorted mummified human remains, 5 bags of bones, 3 baskets of pottery, and 2 bags of wood.
- The QV30 is attributed to *Nebiri*, the Superintendent of the royal stables during the Thutmosis III reign. The tomb, with a single chamber, is located on a slope on the south side of the southwest branch of the main wadi. Finds are two mummies, fragments of pottery vessels and *faience* objects, many "Aegean" style vessels, one inscribed canopic vase, and four other terracotta canopic vases.
- The QV46 is attributed to *Imhotep*, the Governor of the City, judge, and vizier during the reign of Thutmosis I. The tomb is on the south side of the road in the southwest branch of the wadi, adjacent to the retaining wall. Schiaparelli discovered the tomb and, with it, some original artifacts belonging to the vizier Imhotep, namely a canopic jar, a sarcophagus panel, and an oval alabaster plaque. Schiaparelli also noted that robbers probably left the tomb open, filling it with flood waters carrying debris.
- The QV47 is attributed to Princess *Ahmoose* and was probably the first tomb built in the Valley of the Queens. It lies towards the bottom of the slope on the south side of the wadi, a few meters from the retaining wall of the path. A deep shaft leads to a single long chamber oriented north-south. The tomb is cut primarily into shale, recognizable by its color, fissile quality, and salt veins. The tomb was first discovered and excavated in modern times by Schiaparelli and is thought to be the oldest shaft-style tomb in the Valley. Although pillaged and flooded in antiquity, the tomb retained enough material to reveal an originally rich burial and the name of the owner, identified as the King's sister and daughter of Seqenenre Taa. Schiaparelli presumed that the mummy of a relatively tall person of advanced age was that of the princess. The lack of canopic jars puzzled Schiaparelli, given the remains of a canopic chest and the fact that these are often recovered in previously pillaged tombs.
- QV70 is attributed to the 18<sup>th</sup> Dynasty dignitary *Nehesy*. The tomb is a single-chambered shaft tomb on the north side of the wadi. The tomb is cut into marl with chert inclusions that indicate the tilted bedding plane. The shaft is relatively shallow at 3 m. The archaeological material recovered during the clearing of the tomb is not decisive enough to permit the identification of the tomb owner.

- QV72 is attributed to Princess *Hatneferet* and Prince *Baki*. The tomb is a single-chambered shaft tomb on the north side of the main wadi. Finds are 5 bone fragments. The nature of the archaeological material that would have permitted the identification of the tomb owners remains unclear.
- QV76 is attributed to Princess *Merytra II*. The tomb is a single chamber shaft tomb from the 18<sup>th</sup> Dynasty on the north side of the main wadi, adjacent to the paved path. The entrance to the tomb is filled with large boulders and debris and is not accessible. The tomb was last cleared by the Franco-Egyptian team in 1987. Archaeological artifacts indicate that the tomb was first used in the 18<sup>th</sup> Dynasty and then reused during the 21<sup>st</sup>/22<sup>nd</sup> Dynasty and after in the Roman period. Finds are 3 human skulls, 2 bone fragments, sarcophagus fragments that date to the 21<sup>st</sup>/22<sup>nd</sup> Dynasty, remains of mummy nets from Roman/Saito-Persian times, and sherds of the Roman period.
- QV81 is attributed to the 18<sup>th</sup> Dynasty dignitary *Heka(...)*. The tomb is located on the south side of the paved visitor path. It consists of a vertical shaft leading to a poorly formed central chamber, oriented roughly north-south, flanked to each side by poorly formed chambers which are roughly oriented east-west. Its three chambers consist of a marl ceiling slab resting on walls excavated from weak, fractured shale. All of the wall and floor surfaces are poorly defined. Finds are 3 bags of pottery sherds, 8 bags of animal bones, and 1 bag of wood fragments.
- QV82 is attributed to princes *Minemhat* and *Amenhotep*. The structure is a single-chamber tomb on the north side of the wadi. The tomb is cut entirely into good quality marl. Finds are 1 fragmentary mummy, 10 bone fragments, a ceramic vase with texts dated to the Tuthmosid period, and the name of Prince *Minemhat*.
- QV88 is attributed to Prince *Ahmose*. The tombs lie in the Valley of Prince *Ahmose*, a small wadi immediately adjacent to and south of the Valley of the Queens, and it consists of a vertical shaft leading to a poorly formed central chamber. The tomb was first discovered and excavated in modern times by Schiaparelli, who removed from it a fragmentary copy of the Book of the Dead, mummy wrappings, alabaster and glass jars, ushabti, two incomplete canopic vessels inscribed with the name of Prince *Ahmose*, mummified human fetus in a wooden box.
- QV92 and Q93's owners are unknown. The tombs are single-chamber shaft tombs towards the head of the Valley of the Rope, north of the hill behind Deir er-Rumi. They were probably carved during the beginning of the New Kingdom, possibly during the 18<sup>th</sup> Dynasty. No archaeological material was present inside the tombs.
- QV 97's owner is unknown. This is the higher tomb known in the Valley of the Queens, but unfinished and probably used as a cache in the 21<sup>st</sup> Dynasty; it is located at the base of a cliff at the head of the Valley of the Rope; the tomb consists of an entry ramp leading to a long horizontal corridor cut into the bedrock, opening onto a single chamber at the rear.

Discovered in 1903 by the Schiaparelli expedition, the tomb entrance had been filled with debris; little archaeological material was recovered and dated to the 20<sup>th</sup> Dynasty. The internal plan of the tomb with a single room and access staircase may suggest that it was built from the mid-18<sup>th</sup> Dynasty onwards, as some tombs at Deir el-Medina of the same period seem to have a similar layout. Although positioned high, this structure does not belong to the cliff tombs under investigation here, both in terms of chronology and characteristics.

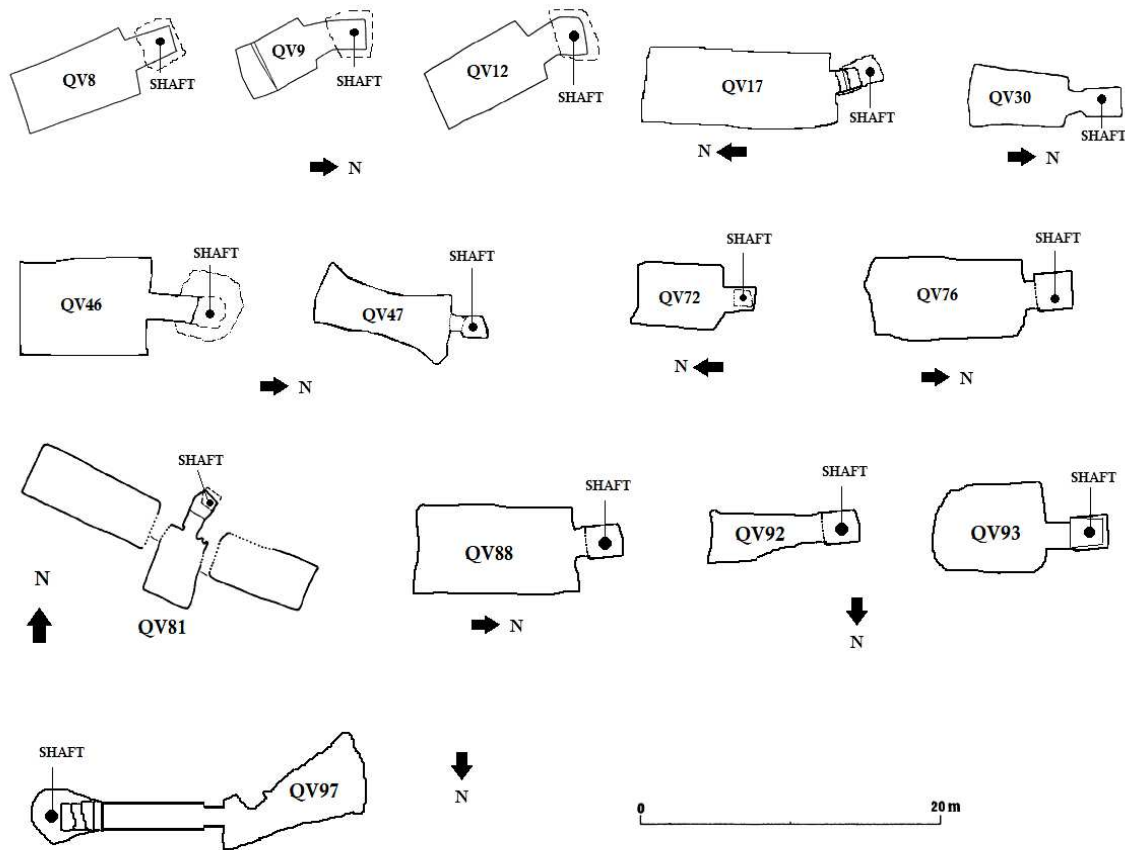


Fig.In. 20. The Valley of the Queen tombs plan (drawing author).

This is the picture of the tombs of the members of the royal family at this site at the end of the reign of Tuthmosis III, and the planimetric development of the burials, except the enlargement of QV81, seems to be within the conceptual canons of the period. Moreover, the Valley of the Queens constituted, at a certain point in time, the funerary site of attraction of princely and royal burials from other, more ancient necropoleis. What is helpful to point out, however, is that none of the tombs made for princesses, princes, and queens in the Valley of the Queens are the recipients of tomb paintings; on the stelae and chapels present *in situ* we do not know, nor is it known whether there were children and relatives of the owner in each tomb.

Yet, it is interesting that the royal consorts and princesses were destined to be royal consorts that acquired considerable political and religious importance from the 17<sup>th</sup> Dynasty onwards. As already mentioned, the coeval tombs of the nobles are richly decorated and equipped with the necessary ritual supports, whereas the tombs of the Valley of the Queens and the better-known ones such as TT320, TT358, KV39 and AN B, to name the main and largest ones, perhaps attributable to important figures like Ahmose-Meryetamun, Ahmose-Nefertari, and Inhapi, which are large and dedicated exclusively to these royal women, do not display any funerary text or images on walls. Probably, suppose for individuals, the tomb is a creative and commemorative vehicle for the deceased. Its images' positioning and functional properties are their vivid expression, for members of the royal family, in the period of our interest. In that case, this need does not seem to exist. Therefore, it remains to be understood whether the high status of the recipients of the cliff tombs led to the creation of specific funerary models or a conceptual simplification compared to those used by private individuals. What has been mentioned so far on the definition of the Theban tombs at the beginning of the 18<sup>th</sup> Dynasty, its morphological context, and the difference between private and royal models constitutes a suitable scenario for a complete study of cliff tombs and their specific peculiarities.





## SECTION I

### THE CLIFF TOMBS IN THE SOUTH-WESTERN VALLEYS

About the South-Western wadis, after his archaeological survey from October 1916 to January 1917, Carter says: “*there can little doubt [the southwest wadys are] the cemetery of the royal families of the Eighteenth Egyptian Dynasty. The cemetery proper appears to begin in the valley in which is situated the tomb of Hatshepsut that we have just opened, and to continue westward (for about four miles) as far as the great ravine called by the natives El-Wâdi El-Agala [...]*” (GI Carter MSS vi 2.8 234).

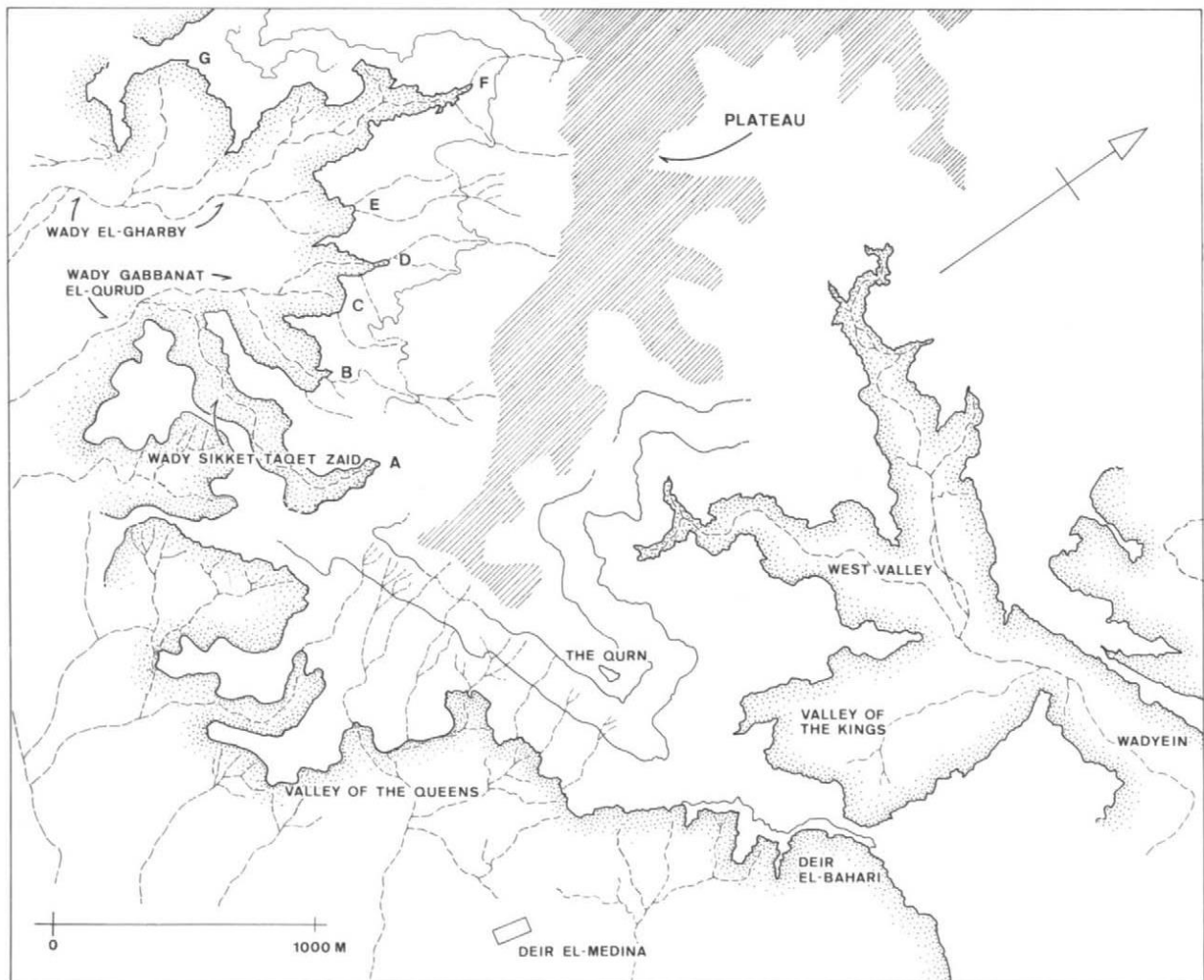


Fig.I.1 – The A-G South-Western valleys (from Lilyquist 2003, pl.3)

During the 18<sup>th</sup> Dynasty, five-six tombs were excavated in the South-Western valleys (Fig.I.1): four tombs were created in the first Wadi A (Wadi Sikkat Taget-Zeid), a tomb was built in the second Wadi C, and another burial was made in the third Wadi D (Wadi Gabannat el-Gouroud)<sup>1</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> - The article by Howard Carter (1917) is the first scientific account about the tombs in South-West Wadis in Western Thebes; Carter gives an outline description of the three tombs surveyed (HC 20, HC 21, Hatshepsut) and of the graffiti engraved on the nearby rocks following at least two inspections in October

## Geologic and historical context

Under the geologic profile, the early 18<sup>th</sup> Dynasty tombs in the Southwestern Valley were created at various high points in the main wadis, and their geological formation appears uniform<sup>2</sup>. The morphology of the valley is similar and part of what is referred to as “Thebes the Formation”, in which “*most tombs were dug in the lower strata of the Thebes Formation, a fine-grained, beige, almost lithographic, limestone*”(Aubry *et al.* 2009, 241). Characteristic of the southern valley is the presence of high ground whose morphology is defined as "Tabular Structure"; this is one of the units of coherent geological and geomorphological characteristics that “*forms the major part of the Theban Mountain dominated by the prominent El-Qurn peak. This structure consists of low dipping to sub-horizontal beds of the Esna, Thebes and Miniya Formations.*” (Aubry *et al.* 2009, 243). Most of the Southwestern Valley cliffs exposed the tabular structure and, under the lithostratigraphy profile, the “Thebes Limestone Formation”<sup>3</sup>. This particular geological formation, typical of the Gebel Gurna, the outcrops in vertical cliff sections at Deir el-Bahari and has a tough carbonate section 300 m thick that often overlaps stratigraphically with the Esna Formation. Similar to what can be seen at Deir el-Bahari and in the El-Qurn peak hills complex also in the southwest valley, the contact between the two strata, the Thebes Formation (Strata I-III), and the Esna Formation, takes place at the ground level of the wadi.

This particular situation makes the cliff tombs more solid from a structural point of view. All of these structures (Hatshepsut, Baraize, HC 20-21, Neferure, tomb of the three Asiatic wives of Tuthmosis III) are excavated in the highest part of the geological formation II-III

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1916 and January 1917. These were emergency interventions following the discovery and plundering of the tomb of the three wives of Tuthmosis III in Wadi Gabannat el Gouroud by the *Qurnawis*, Arabs from the near-by village of Qurna, on 7 August 1916 and after the discovery of the Hatshepsut tomb in October 1916. A brief account of this last discovery was published by Carter in 1916 (Carter 1916) and in 1923 (Carter-Mace 1923, pp.79-82). The account of the discovery is also reported in Gabolde (2000, 51): «*[Gournah, 1916] Des informations arrivèrent un après midi au village selon lesquelles une tombe avait été découverte dans un secteur isolé et peu fréquenté du flanc ouest de la montagne qui domine la Vallée des Rois. Instantanément, une bande rivale de pillards s'arma et se rendit sur le site; une bataille s'ensuivit qui vit la défaite de la première équipe, laquelle fut expulsée, appelant à la vengeance. A fi n d'empêcher que les troubles ne s'aggravent, les notables du village vinrent me voir et me demandèrent d'agir. Il était déjà tard dans l'après midi, aussi je rassemblai à la hâte les quelques ouvriers que m'avait laissés le service de corvée de l'armée et, muni du matériel requis, je partis pour le théâtre des opérations, une expédition qui nécessiterait de gravir et redescendre la montagne de plus de 600 rn par delà les collines de Gournah, sous le seul éclairage de la lune. Il était minuit lorsque nous arrivâmes sur le site et le guide me signala l'extrémité d'une corde qui pendait à pic le long de la paroi de la falaise. En pointant l'oreille, nous pouvions entendre les pillards à l'œuvre. J e tranchai la corde qui tomba, coupant pour les brigands toute possibilité de retraite. Puis j 'attachai solidement mon propre filin et descendis le long de la falaise. Se glisser le long d'une corde, à minuit, jusque dans le nid de pillard s à l'œuvre, constitue un divertissement qui ne manque assurément pas de sensations fortes. Huit voleurs étaient à l'ouvrage et, lorsque j 'atteignis le sol, il y eut quelques instants assez inconfortables. Je leur laissai le choix entre déguerpir à l'aide de ma corde ou rester où ils se trouvaient, sans corde du tout. Finalement, raisonnables, ils s'en allèrent et je passai la fin de la nuit au-dessus du tombeau*».

<sup>2</sup> - On the geology of Theban Necropolis: Said 1962; 1981; Curtis 1979; Tantawy 1998; Wüst - Schlüchter 2000; Aubry *et al.* 2009.

<sup>3</sup> - Aubry *et al.* 2009, 244.

(Member II-III); these cliff tombs are better preserved as they have not had contact with water during flooding events over the millennia and without any deterioration of the rock. However, in some of them (Baraize, HC 20-21 and the tomb of the three Asian wives of Tuthmosis III), there is damage due to rainwater infiltration from the upper terrace's surface layer. Their rock walls and marl ceilings deteriorated more significantly than those of other tombs due to frequent infiltrations and the consequent expansion and contraction of the rock.

Other small pit tombs (including HC 23) were excavated at the ground level of the wadis, where is the Esna Formation, whose shale is mechanically weaker, more clay-rich, and more vulnerable to the adverse effects of water infiltration. Some cliff tombs appear filled with debris caused by rock erosion and everyday activity.

Under the historical profile, no traces of activity before the 18<sup>th</sup> Dynasty are recorded. Then some cliff tombs, also called *Bab tombs* (door) and gorge tombs, were dug in wadis A, C and D. The New Kingdom pottery found by Carter on the surface of these sites and some stone huts could have been built for workers or to convoy delivering funerary goods seems to confirm his view (Carter 1917, 107).

Apart from some finds (royal and private funerary figures) dated to the end of the new Kingdom, the late 20<sup>th</sup> Dynasty and early 21<sup>st</sup> Dynasty necropolis workers roamed the area and recorded their presence and inspections through graffiti. By the Late or Ptolemaic period, the Wadi D became a place for sacred baboon burials and other deposits; in the Wadi F were found a Ptolemy II Philadelphus coin and some Late red brick structures. Coptic anchorites came to the wadis, and they used the grottos and pits here for their ascetic activity, as evidenced by pottery, graffiti and other deposits (Carter 1917, 114-118; Lilyquist 2003, 3-4).

### **1. Wadi A (Wadi Sikkat Taget Zeid)<sup>4</sup>**

The exact number of tombs in the Wadi A is still unsure; however, only the two cliff tombs are significant: Hatshepsut's tomb and the so-called "*tombe de la falaise*" or Baraize tomb (Fig.1b). North from the first one, Carter also identified two additional shaft tombs (no.20 and no.21)<sup>5</sup>. South from Hatshepsut's tomb the Berkeley Mapping project located other two shaft tomb (WAP 3 and WAP 4)<sup>6</sup>; New Kingdom sherds were found at the bottom of the shafts. Those of Hatshepsut is the most elaborate of the two cliff tombs prepared in the Wadi A.

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<sup>4</sup> - The tombs of the Southwestern Valleys were investigated by the author from 2011 to 2015 and from 2018 to 2019 as head of the Italian Archaeological Mission in West Thebes - Butehamun-Kay Project. The first phase of the project was dedicated to the study of the Butehamun graffiti and the complete survey of the cliff tombs, while the second phase, not yet completed due to Covid-19, is the search for other similar structures not yet discovered.

<sup>5</sup> - Carter 1917, 108 and 112 no 20-21. The pit tomb no 23, according to Carter, is datable to the Coptic period and it is located "at the head of the Wadi A, somewhat opposite Hatshepsut's tomb" (Carter 1917, no 29); for the director of the Berkeley Theban Mapping Project, Christopher Kirby (1988, 1) is a opening of 3.1 m wide and 1.6 m high, a "cave cut into hard-packed gebel debris" having "late pottery around entrance": see Lilyquist 2003, 15; by these features this pit-tomb no 23 is not among the funerary structures covered by the present study.

<sup>6</sup> - The results of Kirby's researches in the Southwestern Valley and, in particular, of WAP 3-4 are unpublished: Lilyquist 2003, 3.

### 1.1 The Hatshepsut Queen's Tomb (WA D)<sup>7</sup>

Sometime between her husband's accession to the throne (ca.1492 B.C.) and her adoption of kingly titles (ca. 1473 B.C.), a cliff tomb was prepared for Hatshepsut in Wadi A. By the presence of her sarcophagus, the tomb is proved to have been built for the queen. This is the first 18<sup>th</sup> dynasty burial in the Southwestern valley; looking at the site and its location, the queen's architects demonstrated a talent for innovation by creating a new type of cliff tomb in a previously unused area of the Theban necropolis.

#### *The position and the external architecture*

The tomb is located at the extreme inner end of the Wadi A, in a narrow valley with very steep sides that end abruptly under a vertical cliff 112 m high (198.9 m at Nile level); the tomb is hidden in a cleft of this cliff on 70 m above the valley bed. From the cliff's lower ledge and the valley bed, there are 40 m of high. The ridge, see in section, has a deep crack in its top followed by a slight edge at the bottom; at its base at 42 m is the tomb. This peculiar way to place the funerary structure has been done to hide it: the tomb's entrance is impossible to detect from below. After its discovery, it is visible only from the top of the cliff. The cleft is a narrow fissure in the face of the cliff; at the top, it is wide 10 m and narrows down to less than 1 m at the base, which has a convex form. Inside, it has been cut a sunken flight of steps descended to the entrance of the tomb. As mentioned above, the tomb was discovered by *Gurnawis* and investigated by Howard Carter in October 1916, who was surprised that the sun rays at sunrise illuminated the tomb's entrance on the western side of the cleft (Fig.I.2).

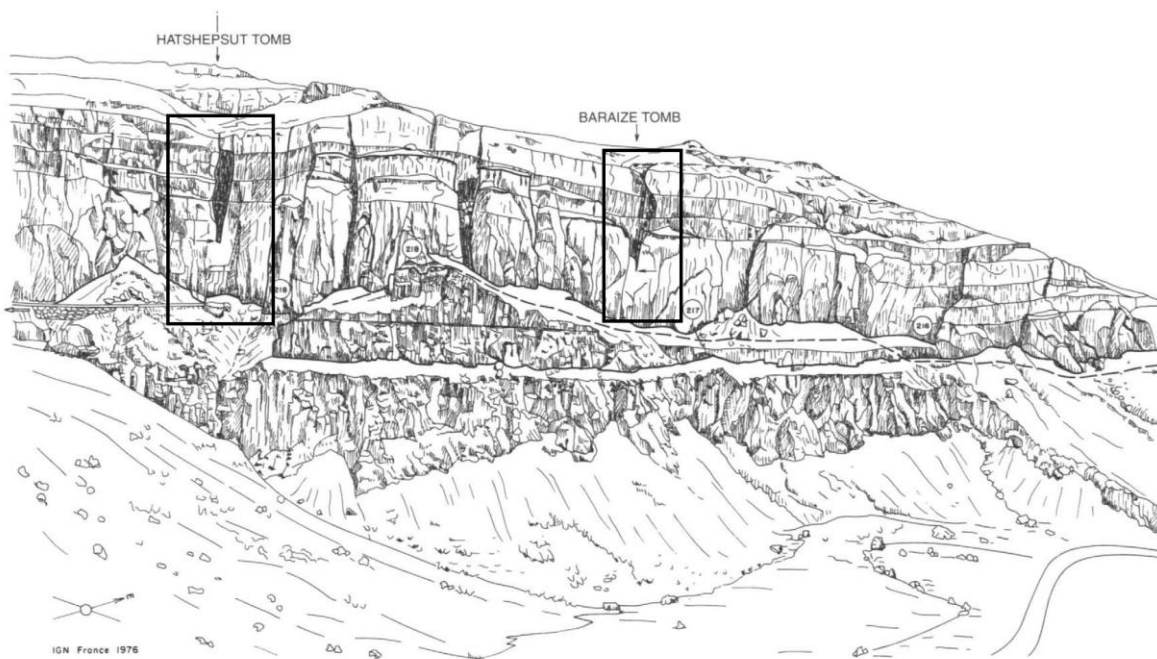


Fig.I.2 – The Wadi A tomb of Hatshepsut (GMT I/2, pl.35)

<sup>7</sup> - Carter 1917, 114-118.

*The internal architecture*

The tomb (Fig.I.3) consists of an entrance of 5 steps (A) that descends to a first corridor (B); this straight corridor (17.5 m long, 1.70 m width, and 2.20-2.30 m in height) opens directly into another descending corridor on the right side where is a small square room (C) approx. 2.50 x 2.50 m; a corridor (D) descends 5.38 m in length, leading into the antechamber (E). This large square room measures 5.42 x 5.36 m and 3.10 m in height<sup>8</sup>. From the antechamber is a small step ramp (F), cut in the floor on the side opposite to the doorway, that descends into an “incomplete” funerary chamber (G). The red quartzite sarcophagus and lid prepared for the queen were at the center of the antechamber and over the mouth of the descending ramp (F).

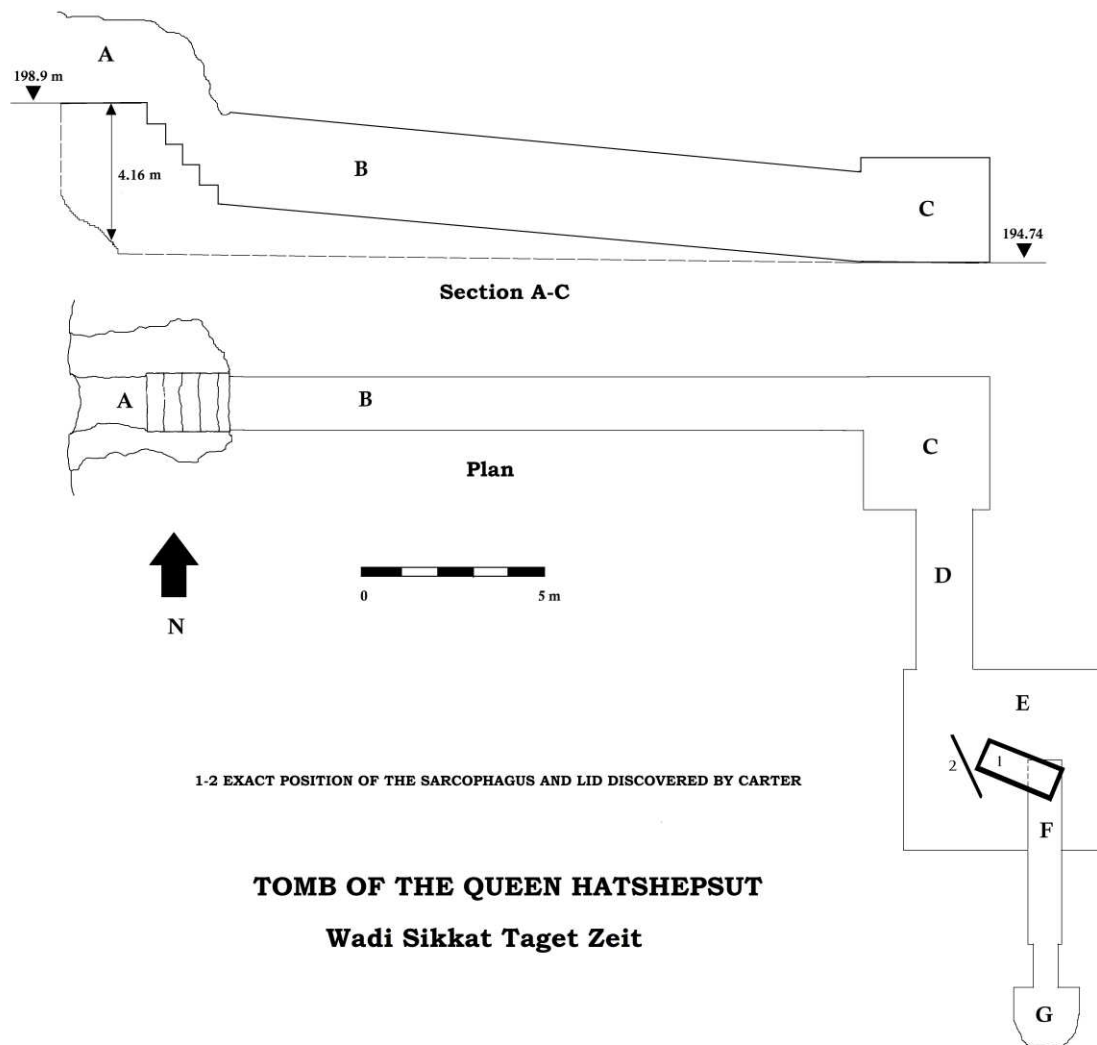


Fig.I.3 – The tomb of Hatshepsut plan and section after the survey in 2018 (drawing author)

<sup>8</sup> - The tomb dimensions provided by Carter turn out to be quite accurate and were slightly corrected with modern instruments (Leica Geosystem Disto D2 laser distance meter) during a survey conducted by the present author. The sarcophagus was left *in situ* by Carter and then removed by Baraize in 1921 to transfer it to the Cairo Museum (JE47032), where it is now in the main hall of the first floor: Baraize 1921; PM I<sup>2</sup>, 591.

A first comparative analysis can be made with some tombs recently attributed to some of the most important queens of the late 17<sup>th</sup> and early 18<sup>th</sup> Dynasty; in terms of layout, Hatshepsut's cliff tomb has some features that recall those of the queens Ahmose-Nefertari (TT320), Ahmose-Meryetamun (TT358) at Deir el Bahari and Inhapi (KV39) in the Valley of the Kings or the hillside tombs at Dra Abu el-Naga or those in the Valley of the Queens (the latter described in the introduction)<sup>9</sup>. There are differences related to the choice of Wadi A as a new grave site, the orientation, and the higher location compared to these older tombs on the Deir el-Bahari side, dating from the end of the 17<sup>th</sup> Dynasty to the beginning of the reign of Tuthmosis III.

The tomb of Ahmose-Meryetamun (TT358), prepared for the king's wife of Amenhotep I, lies under part of the Northern colonnade of the second terrace of Hatshepsut temple in Deir el-Bahari (Fig.I.4; see Section III). The tomb consists of an entrance shaft (A), a stair with steps roughly excavated, a descending corridor (B) that leads into a second corridor (C), a deep shaft (D), another short corridor (E), an antechamber (F) and a burial chamber (G) in the middle of which the queen's sarcophagus was discovered. As Winlock (1932, 7) notes, the chamber's rear wall was not completed and another interesting datum was the presence of a corridor or niche (H) in the opposite direction to corridor C that forms a 90° angle. The investigations carried out by the Polish mission in the 1980s confirm that TT358 predates the foundation of the funerary temple of Hatshepsut (Wysocki 1984, 338–342) and underlies Aston's hypothesis that the tomb was built for Ahmose-Meryetamun (Aston 2015, 20). As can be seen from the figure below, the access to TT358 is to the east and uses a shaft and staircase.

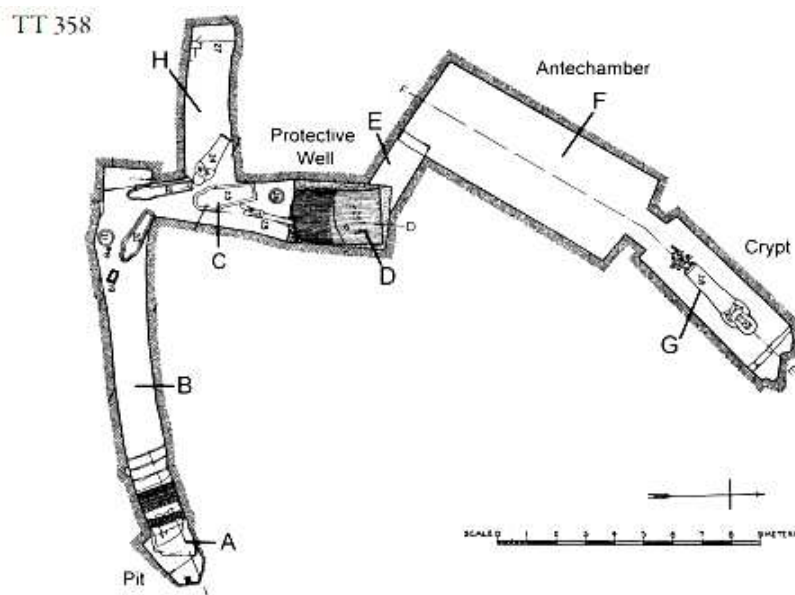


Fig.I.4 – TT358 plan (Winlock 1932, Pl. I)

<sup>9</sup> - For the recent attribution of these first three tombs to queens named “Ahmose”, see Aston 2015, while for a different view about the attribution of the tomb AN B to the queen Ahmose-Nefertari and the KV39 to Tuthmosis I see Willockx 2010, 27-50 and 60-79; a different view for the Valley of the Queens see: GMT I/4; Demas-Agrew 2012-2016 with bibliography; see the paragraph no.6 in the introduction.

As can be seen from the figure below, the access to TT358 is to the east and uses a shaft and staircase. The long corridor (B) is the only plan element that can be connected with the tomb of Hatshepsut because the shaft (D) and the other rooms (H, E, F, and G) differ in shape and size.

The tomb attributed to Ahmose-Nefertari (TT320) is also the second royal cache used by the necropolis administration after the pontificate of Paynudjem II (Fig.I.5; see Section II). The structure was thoroughly studied by Graefe and Belova in 2010. It consists of an entrance shaft (A), a corridor (B) with an irregularly cut staircase of 7 steps, a corridor (C), a staircase of 9 roughly cut steps (D), a niche (E), a corridor (F) and a quadrangular burial chamber (G). Like TT358, this last chamber was left unfinished; the investigations by Graefe and Belova seem to confirm a close similarity of the two tombs, especially in the planimetric development of the corridors in succession and in the attempt by the builders of TT320 to build corridor E (later left unfinished perhaps due to the poor quality of the rock). The shaft was transformed into an access stairway (D) to corridor F. According to Aston, in both structures “*this northward change of direction was part of the original plan*” (Aston 2015, 20)<sup>10</sup>.

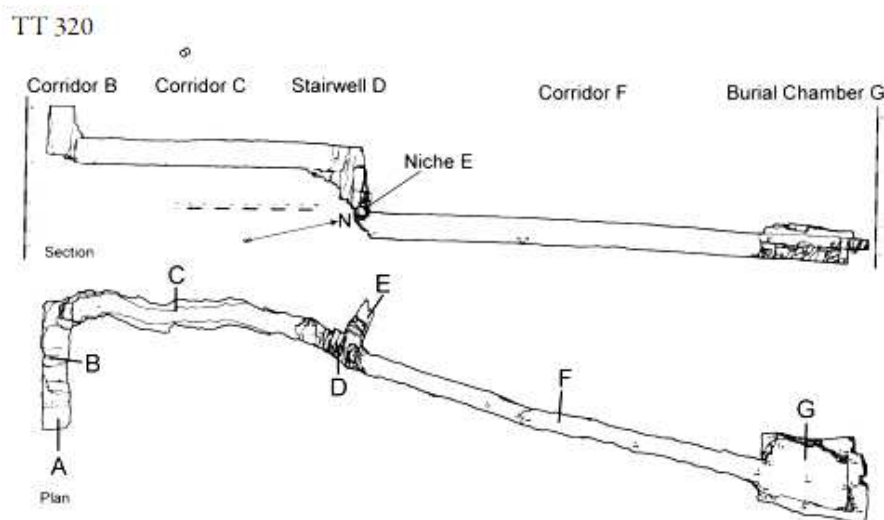


Fig.I.5 – TT320 plan and section (Graefe and Belova 2010, Plan 05)

The KV39 (Rose 2000; Buckley-Buckley-Cooke 2005) is one of the cliff tombs which we will deal with in more detail in Section II and here taken into consideration only for comparative purposes (Fig.I.6). This seems to be the first tomb – after the Second Intermediate Period – in which a conscious attempt was made to formalize royal funerary architecture in three subsequent phases.

The first two construction phases can be dated to the beginning of the 18<sup>th</sup> Dynasty and before the reign of Hatshepsut, while the third is to the reign of Tuthmosis III or Amenhotep II (Aston 2015, 22-23). In its first phase, the tomb consisted of an access shaft

<sup>10</sup> - However, graffito No. 1310 engraved near the entrance shaft and dated to the year 11 attests to a possible intervention in the tomb for its reuse at the end of the 20<sup>th</sup> or beginning of the 21<sup>st</sup> Dynasty; this suggests that the floor plan of the tomb may have been modified from the original layout of the early 18<sup>th</sup> Dynasty (Peden 2001, 216).



(A), later modified into a stairway, and a vestibule (B1) followed at the end of which there is a staircase that leads to the burial chamber (C1).

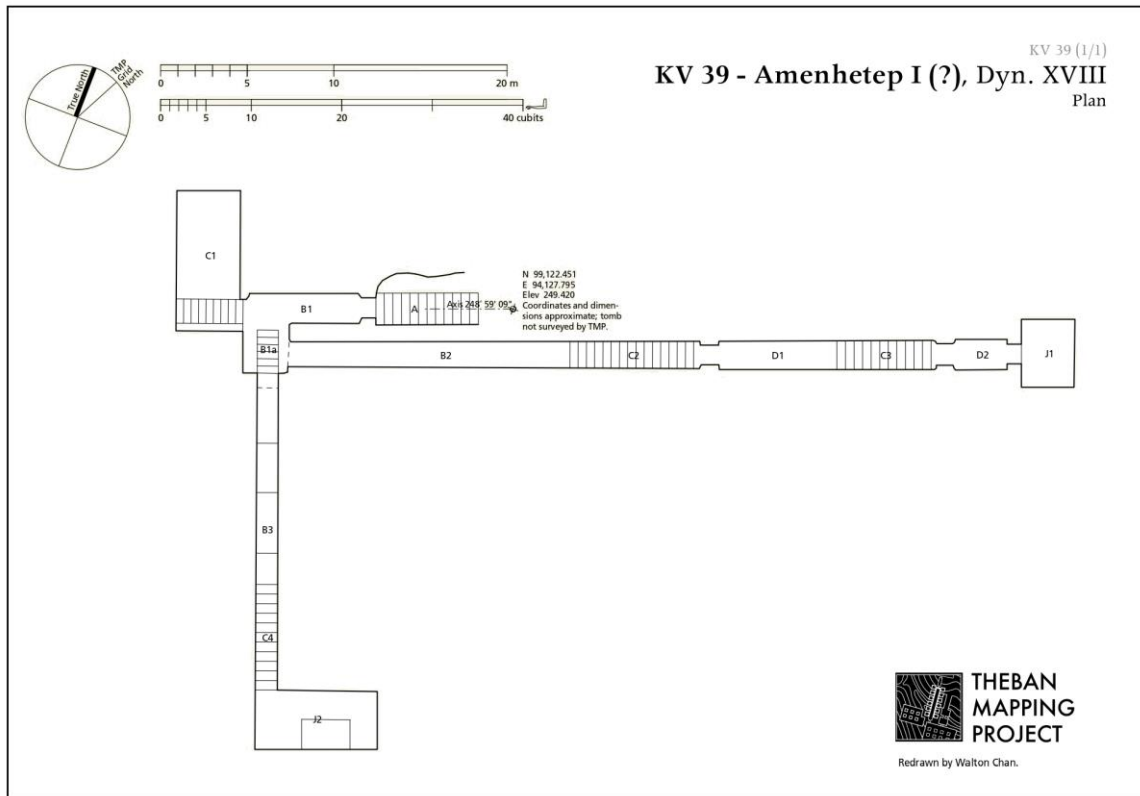


Fig.I.6 – KV39 plan (TMP)

The correspondence of the plan of KV39 (phase I) with the AN A “nameless royal tomb of the XVII-XVIII Dynasty” discovered by Carter in 2016 at Dra Abu el-Naga (Carter 2017, 114 no.238) has led to the hypothesis that also KV39 in its first stage, could be dated between the end of the XVII and the beginning of the 18<sup>th</sup> Dynasty (Thomas 1966, 172)<sup>11</sup>. In the second construction phase of the tomb, the 24 m long “south passage” was created from room B through a succession of corridors and stairways (B1a, B3 and C4) which lead into the 3.25 x 7.50 burial chamber (J2). Like the TT358 and TT320, this chamber was also not completed. As can be seen from the figure, the access to the tomb is from the east; the only structural elements that can be compared with Hatshepsut’s cliff tomb are the 90° angle that both burial chambers (C1 and J2) form with the vestibule (phase I) and with corridor C4 (phase II) and the presence of an unfinished shaft (or ramp?) in burial chamber J2.

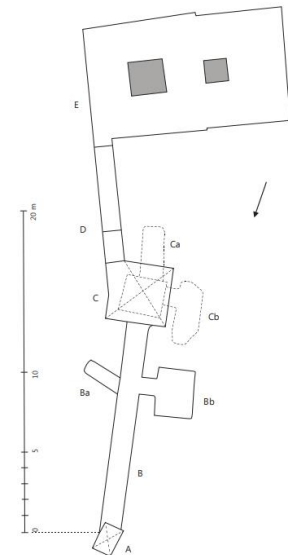


Fig.7 – AN B tomb plan (Willockx 2010, fig.5)

Another ‘royal’ tomb discovered at Dra Abu el-Naga by the *Gurnawis* in 1906-7 (Carter 1916; Romer 1981, 296-7; Willockx 2010, 37) and attributed to Ahmose-Nefertari is the

<sup>11</sup> - However, this is only a hypothesis not confirmed by archaeological data: see Aston 2010, 21.



AN B (Fig.7). It consists of a vertical access shaft (A) 9 m deep, a corridor (B) 14 m long in the axis of which there are two rooms (Ba-Bb), a quadrangular shaft (C) 10 m deep and a second corridor (D) 7.5 m long. The burial chamber (E) is rectangular 12.20 m x 6.95-7.15 m and equipped with two pillars; this room was initially conceived with a square plan but was subsequently enlarged and rectangular (Willockx 2010, 29).

It has been suggested that the AN B (Fig.I.7), under the planimetric profile, could have a close relationship with those of Hatshepsut's cliff tomb; in fact, the common right-angle curve that exists between the two tombs has convinced John Romer (1970, 202) that the planimetric model used for a group of elite burials from the early 18<sup>th</sup> Dynasty, which includes AN B, initiated the evolution of the royal tombs in the Valley of the Kings; according to the scholar, the AN B was made for Ahmose-Nefertari and was considered by Hatshepsut to be a model for her cliff tomb, while K39.11 is attributed to Amenhotep I<sup>12</sup>.

It should be noted, however, that there are two essential elements of the floor plan of AN B that we do not find in the cliff tomb of Hatshepsut: the presence of the well before the burial chamber and the pillars inside the room. The shaft is also present in TT358 and could be an element that contributes to dating AN B to the early 18<sup>th</sup> Dynasty (Willockx 2010, 30 and 46) but does not seem to have been considered by the architects of the cliff tomb, while the pillars will be built inside the burial chamber of KV20.

Therefore, this evidence raises the question of whether the plan used for Hatshepsut's cliff tomb represents the first model of the development of royal burials or is the final phase of an experience started at the beginning of the 18<sup>th</sup> Dynasty; let's go further. Regarding other funerary structures made or supposed to be made for queens and princes, as mentioned in the introduction, fifty-seven tombs of the 18<sup>th</sup> Dynasty have been identified and investigated in the Valley of the Queens (Fig.I.8); another twenty tombs were located in the subsidiary valleys (Valley of the Rope, Valley of the Three Pits, and Valley of the Prince Ahmose).

The tombs dating to the reign of Tuthmosis III are generally characterised by simple vertical shafts excavated into the rock, leading to one or more burial chambers. Two of the earliest tombs in the Valley of the Queens, dated before the reign of Hatshepsut, are QV47, prepared for Princess Ahmose, the daughter of Seqenenra Taa II, QV46, built for the vizier of Thutmose I Imhotep, QV88 built for the prince Ahmose, and the anonymous ones QV8, QV9, QV12, QV17, QV92, QV93, and QV97; the last three tombs are located in the hills that are surrounding the valley.

None of these is similar to that of Hatshepsut, except QV97, which has an entrance with steps, a corridor, and a single burial room. The elevated position, the access with steps, and the axial passage are the only features that can be highlighted. The orientation of the tomb, the absence of an antechamber, and the shape of the burial chamber differ from those of Hatshepsut.

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<sup>12</sup> - There is a rich bibliography concerning the various attribution hypotheses of the tombs mentioned so far of Deir el-Bahari (TT320, TT358), Valley of the Kings (KV39), Dra Abu el-Naga (AN B, K39.11), all of which are valid and tenable, but none decisive because the same funerary structures have been reused continuously since the end of the New Kingdom onwards and some of them used as caches: see the discussion in Willockx 2010 and in Aston 2010.

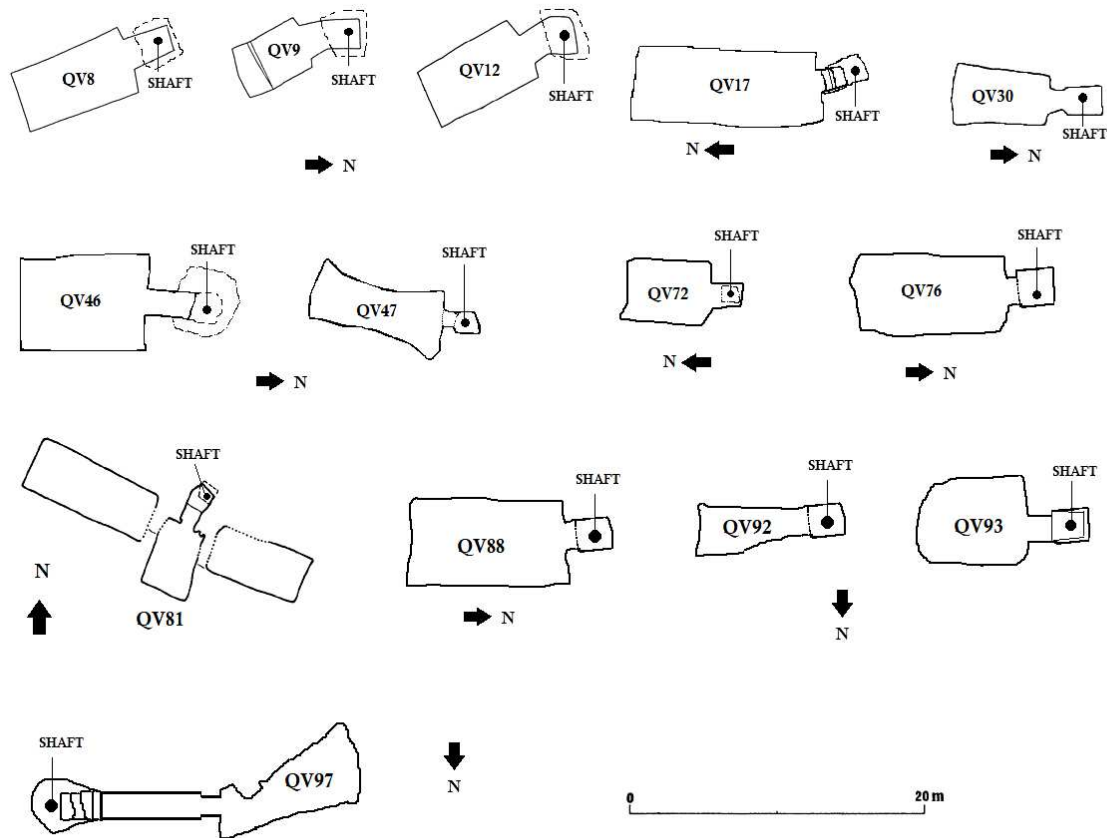


Fig. I.8. The Valley of the Queen tombs plan (drawing author).

Another group of dozen square pit tombs are similar to the Valley of the Queen; these structures were discovered in the “Wadi S” in Deir el-Bahari area near Montuhotep III-Amenemhat I temple (Fig.I.9). The structures consist of a shaft from 5 to 8 m deep and an undecorated burial chamber of 23-5 x 2-3 m (Thomas 1966, 177-179; Willockx 2010, 12-13 fig.3).

Finally, we quote only for completion, some tombs of the Valley of the Kings, whose plan consists of an access shaft and a burial chamber with or without the corridor; these funerary structures seem similar to those of the Valley of the Queens mentioned above. These are the KVF, KV24, KV26, KV30, KV31, KV32, KV37, KV40, KV50, KV51, KV52, KV53,

KV59 and the KV61 (Wilkinson-Reeves 2000, 182, 185-186) all undecorated, all anonymous and datable from to the reign of Tuthmosis III to Amenhotep III, while the KV60 (Fig.I.10), cited in the introduction, is currently attributed to the noble *Sitra In*. It seems more articulated with an access staircase of 2.56 m, a long corridor of 9.79 m and 1.25 m wide, a room/niche of 2.78 x 1.88 m, and a roughly cut burial chamber of 5.21 x 5.19 m. The plan of the tomb appears to be similar to that of KV39 (phase II), as well as the cliff tomb of the Asian wives of Tuthmosis III (see below).

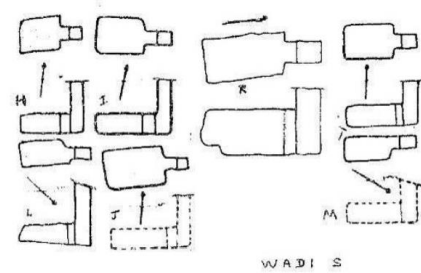


Fig.I.9 – Plan and section of seven tombs from ‘Wadi S’ (Willockx 2010, fig.3)

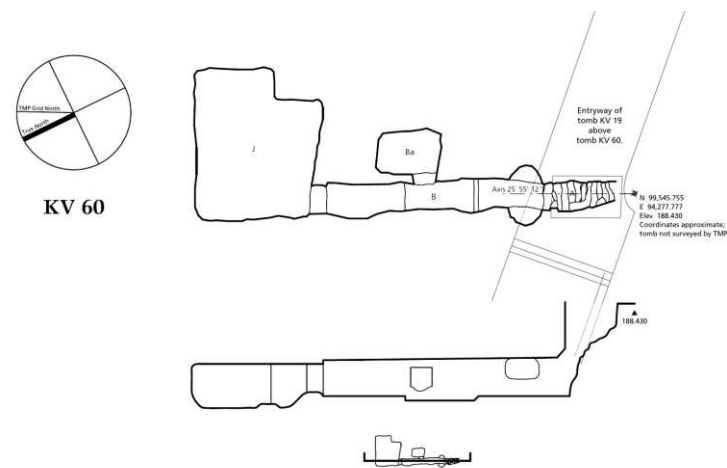


Fig.I.10 – KV60 plan and section (from Theban Mapping Project)

Thus, inside Hatshepsut’s cliff tomb, there seem to be some different (or new) architectural elements like the high position, the South-Western orientation of the entrance, the 90° right angle of intersection between the corridor and the burial chamber, the absence of side rooms and pillars and the presence of the ramp or well dug at the end of this last room. All this leads to a preliminary conclusion that there has been an accurate “reworking” of the previous models already mentioned with consequent innovation to emphasize a funerary structure that is hidden inside an invisible natural cavity, with a doorway, long descending corridors, with angular turns and spacious antechamber and a regular form of the burial chamber.

### *The External architecture*

As briefly mentioned in the introduction, the exterior of the funerary structure (Fig.I.11a-b) is a cliff rock wall at the base of a terrace, on the top of which is a niche (3 m wide, 2.57 m high) made within the natural hollow of the rock and at the base is a kind of a “false door” or a “ritual frame/corniche” (3.89 m wide, 4.84 m high). The upper ‘niche’ (chapel?) is rectangular with a profile like ‘[’ and is roughly carved into the rock face; a detailed observation of the cutting of the rock shows that the work was done with precise vertical blows and probably carried out at the time of the excavation of the tomb because there is no record of any activity by Carter or his predecessors.

By the probable presence of rock chapels for *stelae* or statues at the entrance façade of three undecorated royal tombs of the early 18<sup>th</sup> Dynasty at Dra Abu el-Naga hills (the K93.11, the K93.12, and K94.01: Polz 2007, 172-197; Willockx 2010, 16), we can speculate about such function of this element. Thus, if we accept Romer’s hypothesis that the interior layouts of these royal tombs could have served as ‘models’ for later funerary structures, including that of Hatshepsut as a great royal wife and later at the head of the affairs of the kingdom<sup>13</sup>, it is also likely that an attempt was made to retain all relevant cultic elements through careful adaptation to the different context chosen as a necropolis.

<sup>13</sup> - About the queen’s regency confirmed by the autobiography of Ineni and the position of prominence of early 18<sup>th</sup> Dynasty queens: Bryan 2000, 237; Willockx 2010, 10-13.

Another possible function may be that of a rainwater basin, part of a waterfall system (see below), or a suitable “platform” for lowering weights (such as the sarcophagus and other parts of the grave goods) from above; this last hypothesis has been verified by climbing during the survey on 2012: the shape of the rock makes possible to approach from up. This does not exclude all these functions; however, the absence of finds does not allow one to confirm these interpretations; the observations of the more regular cuts in the rock at various points of the cavity (niche) confirm the ancient excavation activity, which was probably carried out when the tomb was created. This can be deduced from the fact that the same working methodology was used for excavating the opening in front of the tomb entrance and for the frame or false door at the bottom of the rock face. Carter or others have documented no such work after him; other similar “cornices” have been excavated for other cliff tombs in the necropolis (see below).

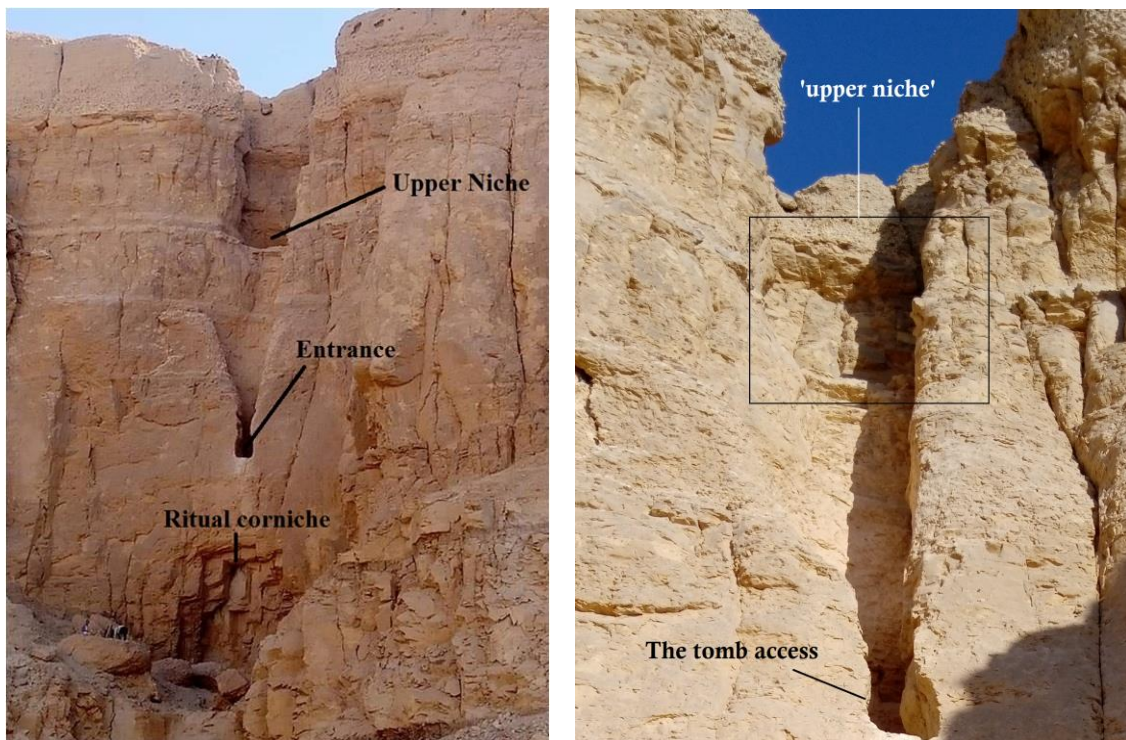


Fig.I.11 – a. the exterior of the tomb; b. the upper niche (photo by author).

The opening in the rock face is elliptical in shape and, in addition to being a suitable access breach, probably had the function of draining rainwater to prevent its infiltration into the tomb<sup>14</sup>. A possible cultic significance of this element can be discerned if we relate it to the creation of the South-Western necropolis and the Valley of the Queens, whose origin is linked to the concept of the “Grotto Cascade” (Fig.I.12a-b): *“At the western end of the main wadi, during torrential rains the valley of the Grand Cascade feeds a waterfall and pools of water at the Grotto Cascade, which was held sacred during the pharaonic era,*

<sup>14</sup> - The harmful effects of rain on the preservation of Theban tombs have been known since antiquity (Leblanc 1995) and have been observed also in modern times by Carter on 1921, October 1994, October 2001 and January 2008; see Romer 1989; James 1992, 202; Brock 1996; Cross 2008. On graffiti attesting to these events in the necropolis see Peden 2001, 178-179 notes no.285-286.



and has been suggested to be the reason for the creation of a royal necropolis at this location” (Demas-Agnew 2012, 20).

This peculiar rocky structure also has a cult value: “Its association with Hathor and the rejuvenation of the deceased may be one reason for selection of the Valley as a royal necropolis. Within this complex of features, the place known as the Grotto, a sheltered recess at the top of a natural rock platform, Hathor is depicted as a cow in rock paintings, drawings and engravings. Other engravings dating from the 19th dynasty record occasions of torrential rains (Peden 2001, 225)”. Flowing water represented fertility, apparently imbuing burial at the Valley with a tangible symbol of rebirth in the afterlife (Weeks 2005, 354, 553)” (Demas-Agnew 2012, 293).



Fig.I.12 – a. the cascade (in the red square the elliptical opening of the cascade);  
b. Rock painting of Hathor as a sacred cow (photos Demas-Agrew 2012, 297).

Let’s consider that Hatshepsut’s cliff tomb WA D is the only one in the entire South-Western necropolis where the drainage opening and the upper basin (niche) are present. It is possible to assume that the cultic and symbolic value of the waterfall sacred to Hathor for the foundation of the necropolis and the funerary function itself converge in this structure. Thus, we are dealing with an ideal relationship between the cultic symbolism of the sacred mountain (*dhnt*) and its morphology and the architectural aesthetics of an immortality dwelling ascribed to the queen.

The third element is the ritual corniche (or false door?) excavated at the bottom of the tomb (Fig.I.13) 2.78 m wide and 3.82 m high; this is an excavation of the rock in such a way as to create at least three “indentations” (1-3) that could correspond to the outer, middle and inner pair of jambs and a central niche (0) of the typical false door (Wiebach-Koepke 2001, 498). The cut is accurate and precise and such that the corniche is visible from afar but merges perfectly with the surrounding rocky wall, but some parts of the frame are collapsed and scattered on the surrounding terrain, which is due to the natural deterioration of the rock and less likely to be human action in antiquity or in modern times. Suppose we connect the three external elements of the cliff tomb with a new kingdom false door. Therefore, we can assume that the upper niche could represent the offering slab panel, the

lower lintel by the tomb and the false door by the cornice. This speculation might seem plausible if we were referring to a typical false door stele of a private tomb of the period<sup>15</sup>; still, we are dealing with a funerary structure intended for a queen without earlier or contemporary examples<sup>16</sup>.

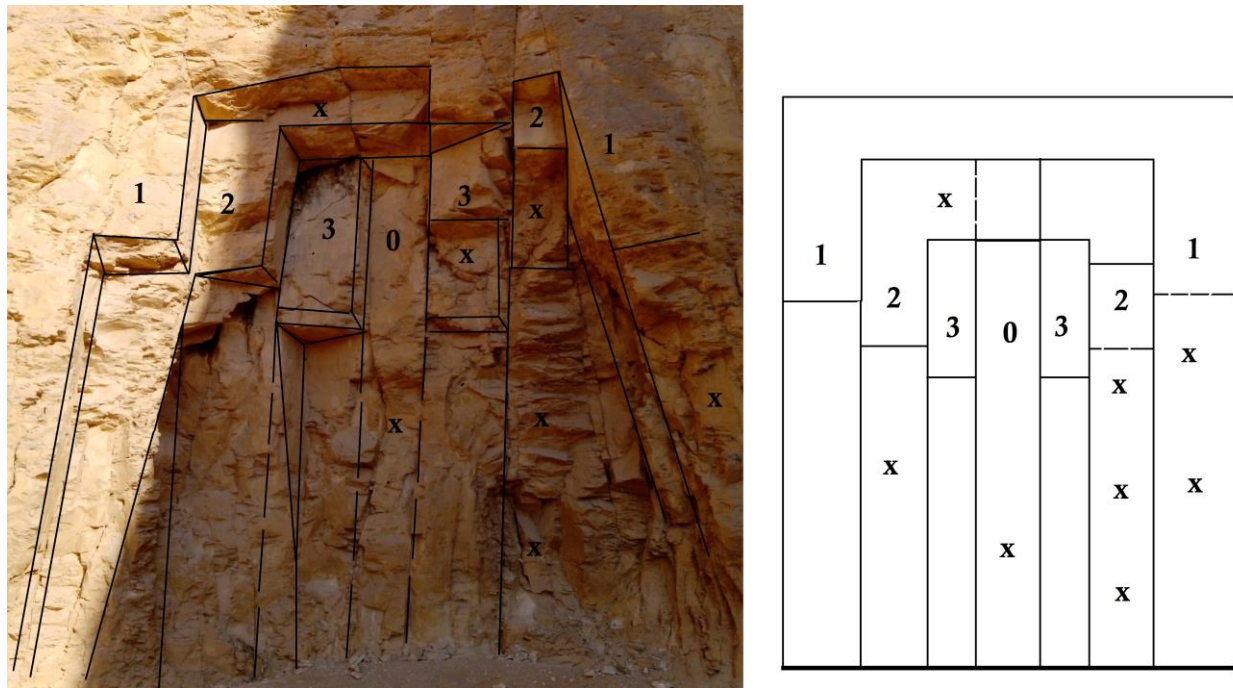


Fig.I.13 – The ‘cornice’ viewed 3/4: indentations (1-3), center (0); later deteriorations (x) (photo by author)

As mentioned, the cliff tomb fits perfectly into the scenic context of the Wadi Sikkat hills, having “the peak” on its summit. The idea of carving the tomb on the rock face most exposed to the sun’s rays at sunset and the one most visible from the narrow valley coming from the high western paths can undoubtedly be connected with the need to enhance the “natural amphitheater” here present. The Wadi Sikkat is the most profound and most hidden valley in the entire southwest area and has as its highest and most central point the circle in which the tomb is located<sup>17</sup>. The tomb access is oriented to the southwest, while the funeral chamber is taught according to the north-south axis; the tomb’s entrance could

<sup>15</sup> - “The false door is a model of the entire tomb” (Assman 2003, 48) and “The false-door is the contact point between the earthly world and the afterlife. If the entire tomb is an essential element for the rebirth of the deceased, the false door is one of the three cult points and plays so a major role in the funerary cult.” (Shaheen-Mekawy Ouda-Magdi 2016, 120).

<sup>16</sup> - However, one must consider Altenmüller’s hypothesis (1983, 34-37; Willockx 2011a, 69-72), that, following the construction of KV20, WA D was intended to serve as a ‘double cenotaph’ for the Queen; this would justify both the initiation of the excavation of shaft F in the burial chamber as well as the presence of the niche and cornice outside the tomb. Clearly, this assumption is based on the consideration that the cliff tomb would have been constructed after the first construction phase of KV20 as a ‘ritual south tomb’ analogous subsidiary pyramid of Old Kingdom’, but this seems unlikely given the presence of the queen’s sarcophagus *in situ*. Therefore, the idea of a re-use of the tomb as a 'ritual cenotaph' can be considered, but only after the construction of KV20 has begun.

<sup>17</sup> - It should be pointed out that the hypothesis of an orientation of the access of the cliff tomb solely in accordance with the morphology of the hills of the Wadi Sikkat may be plausible, but less so, given that there are several cliff-faces in the valley with different orientations and all suitable for the queen's tomb.



be lit only when sun rays hit the cliff face by an angle of 15 degrees. This phenomenon lasted about two hours (Fig.I.14-15).

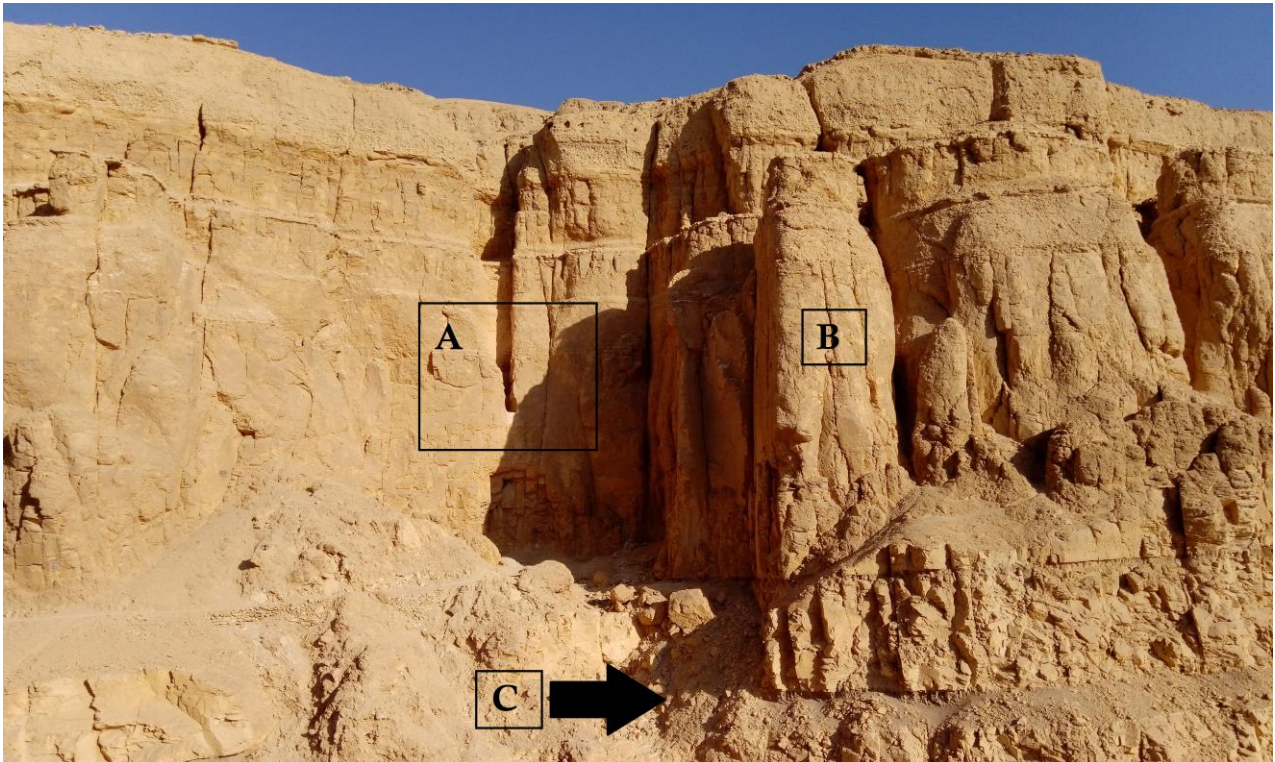


Fig.I.14 – The tomb (A) illuminated by the sun's rays at the beginning of sunset; note the shadow of the rocks that hide the access (B) to those who travel the path coming from the south (C) (photo author).

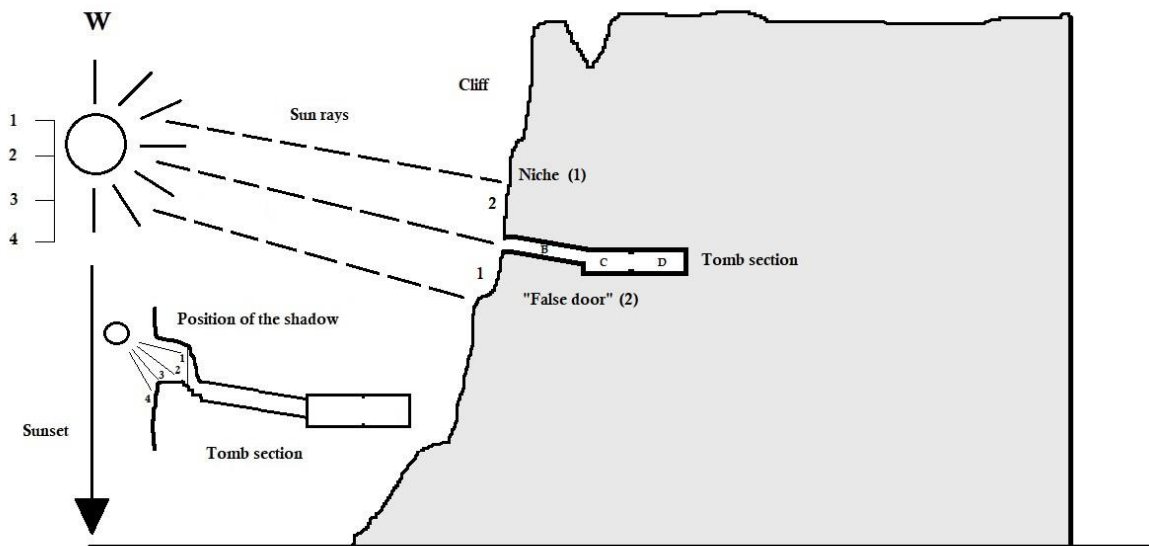


Fig.I.15 – The light at the entrance of the cliff of Wadi A tomb of Hatshepsut before sunset (drawing author).

Under the security profile, it should be noted that the position of the tomb does not allow it to be identified from the bottom of the wadi, from the surrounding heights, or from the top

of the hill<sup>18</sup> (Fig.I.16). The corniche (or false door), the most visible structure on the wall is perfectly camouflaged with the surrounding rocks and can be seen only when illuminated by the setting sun. It follows that the planning of the tomb has certainly combined the safety factor with the cultic and funerary ones.

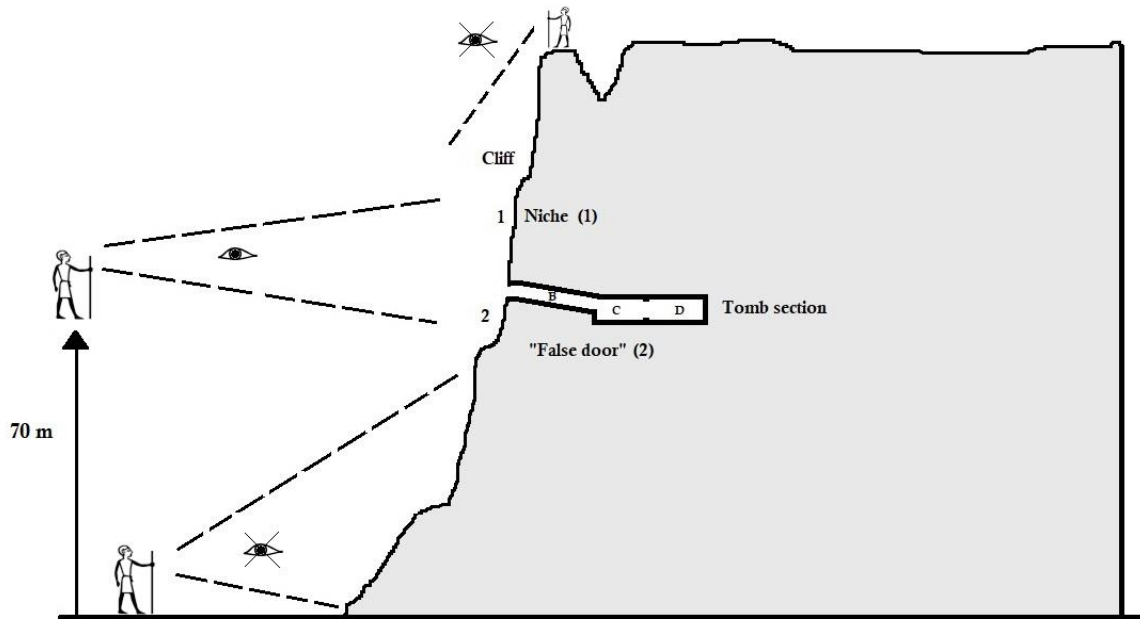


Fig.I.16 – The ideal place to see the cliff of Wadi A and the tomb of Hatshepsut (drawing author).

About the orientation, it must be said that in the above-mentioned presumed queens' tombs (TT320, TT358, KV39 and AN B), only the first and KV39 have approximately west-oriented access like the WA D. However, the orientation of these burial chambers differs; the only structure with access oriented to the north and a burial chamber with a north-south direction is the KV20 (Fig.I.17).

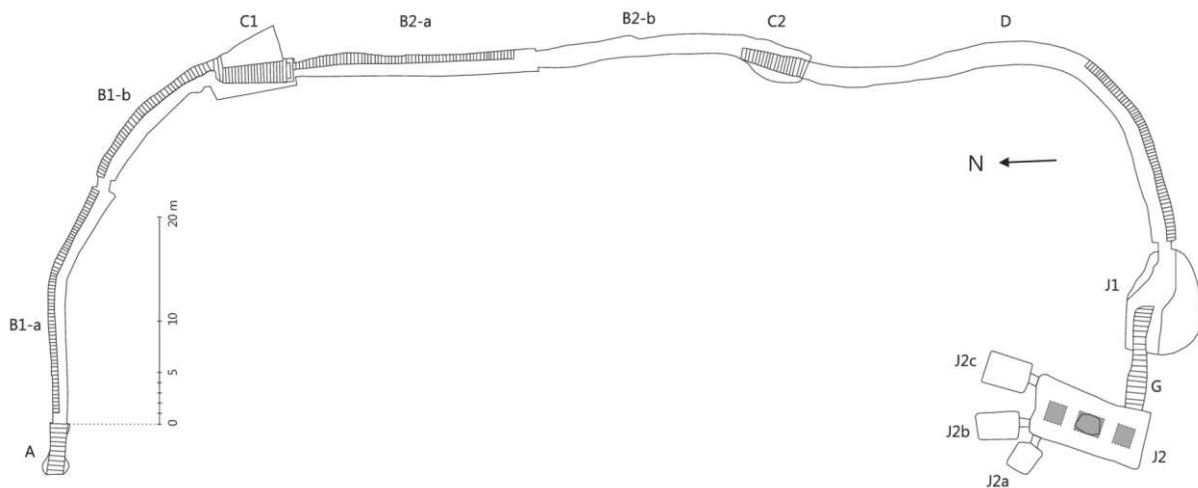


Fig.I.17 – The KV20 plan (Willockx 2011, fig.9).

<sup>18</sup> - In fact, to identify the access to the tomb it is necessary to climb to the top of an opposite hill that is not easily passable due to the absence of paths and with an inclination of 27%; now the modern path allows to reach the base of the tomb.



This is a fact that rightly makes one reflect on the importance of the experience gained in Wadi Sikkat, especially considering the different morphological contexts of the Valley of the Kings and the choice of constructing a royal tomb in connection with the *Djeser Djeseru*<sup>19</sup>.

The reference to the new funerary temple at Deir el-Bahari and the cult of Hathor may constitute the ideal parallel between the cliff tomb and the sacred “grotto” of the goddess in the Valley of the Queens. This also explains the use in KV20 of the ‘broken’ axis and the rectangular burial chamber (J2); the reworking carried out in the Valley of the Kings lies solely in the triplication of the corridor (B-D), the presence of pillars and adjoining rooms in the burial chamber (J2a-c). While these devices probably belong to the second construction phase of the tomb, it is equally valid that the orientation and shape of the burial chamber are the original ones and attributed to the first phase<sup>20</sup>.

Linked to the burial chamber is also the presence of the two sarcophagi (B-C) made of yellow quartzite painted red and 20 stone slabs bearing inscriptions from the Amduat; the presence of other 2 inscribed blocks in KV38 has made it possible to establish that KV20 KV20 was undecorated and that the inscribed material came from the tomb of Tuthmosi I<sup>21</sup>. Thus, if the presence in KV20 of the sarcophagi carved and decorated for two kings (father and daughter) is a clear indicator of its original owner (Hatshepsut), it is more difficult to define the funerary concept and symbolism of the Amduat in a space undecorated. This solution differs from the better-known one, realized in the funerary chamber of KV34; the latter, of elliptical shape, according to Hornung, joins the sarcophagus of the deceased to a closed circuit that replicates the nocturnal journey of the sun<sup>22</sup>.

Then, if KV20 is included among the tombs in which the Amduat is depicted, this is due to the discovery of slabs from KV38. Still, it is reasonable to wonder whether this “displacement” of material is sufficient to consider that this essential literary composition on the afterlife can be applied to KV20. In all likelihood, if such an event occurred, it was in the second phase of tomb construction and after the completion of the burial chamber<sup>23</sup>,

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<sup>19</sup> - The alignment between the tomb, the temple and El-Qurn peak is still debated; for Reeves and Wilkinson it seems to be “perfect” (1996, 82), but for Willockx (2010, 58-59; 2011, 64-66; 76-77) this accuracy is attributable to a mere luck; however, he concludes that “*the digging team did a great job: they managed to secure the tomb on two axes: one towards Hatshepsut’s mortuary temple, and the other to El-Qurn*”.

<sup>20</sup> - See the conclusions in Willockx 2011a, 76-77.

<sup>21</sup> - For Carter the walls of the burial chamber of KV20 were decorated with the Amduat book scenes (Carter-Naville-Davis 1906, 80); in the KV20 burial chamber Carter discovered the Hatshepsut canopic vases and two sarcophagi in yellow quartzite (CGC52459=JE 37678; Boston, MFA 04.278): Carter 1905, 119; Carter-Naville-Davis 1906, XIII-XIV. For discussion about the sarcophagi and the sources see Willockx 2011a, 24-28; 75-76 with bibliography.

<sup>22</sup> - About the Amduat/Duat concept and the identification of the king with Ra-Osiris for his rebirth in KV20, KV34 and KV35 see: Richter 2008; about the Amduat-style of tombs and their location see: Wilkinson 1994; Hornung 1999; Abt-Hornung 2003. About the Amduat in KV20 and KV38: Willockx 2011a, 28-30.

<sup>23</sup> - In fact, the extension of the burial chamber with three adjoining rooms and pillars is to be connected with the presence of the two sarcophagi (B-C) and funerary equipment, part of which was still *in situ* at the time of Carter’s discovery.

while the use and reworking of the plan of WA D as the first “model” can undoubtedly be attributed to the first phase. This view includes the entrance's orientation and the structure's excavation in an elevated rock face within the Valley of the Kings; elements and the internal plan of WA D may confirm this hypothesis.

### *The path system*

Crucial for our analysis is the system of paths and routes connecting the tomb to the other valleys of the surrounding area and the necropolis. Having defined the elements of the tomb, it is necessary to consider how to access it; as already mentioned, the Wadi Sikkat is one of the most challenging valleys to reach on foot due to the route that climbs through deep gorges whose bottom is littered with large boulders; it is no coincidence that, at present, all archaeological missions working in the area have to stop their jeeps about 1-1.5 km from the valley and must continue on foot to reach the site. It is a different situation if one accesses the valley by following the paths on the hills surrounding the peak; not only are the distances much shorter but also the nature of the terrain with small pebbles makes walking easier. The problem exists when some heights are not ‘connected’, and deep chasms of 80-90 m make it impossible to cross them.

An essential clue to establishing the presence and use of the paths used by the necropolis administration in the period of our interest is the presence of graffiti and their ‘elevation’ about the ground level<sup>24</sup>. A second clue, which expressly concerns the rocky walls of the hills, is the presence of steps or platforms carved into the rock. *Last but not least*, the data deduced from the reports of scholars and archaeologists from the late 19<sup>th</sup> and 20<sup>th</sup> centuries provide a clear picture of the necropolis’ viability. About the Southwestern valleys landscape and sites at the beginning of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, the most crucial contribution is Carter’s report of 1917; the scholar cites three ways to access the necropolis (Carter 2017, 108), but for his research, the scholar has used the ‘flat road’ that starts from the Valley of the Queens, runs along the neighboring southern hills and reaches the junction between the way to Wadi A (Sikkat) and Wadi B<sup>25</sup>. After a stretch of path difficult to follow (as it is today) Carter accesses the valley through a narrow “road” between low hills (Fig.I.18) and notes the presence of pits and graffiti on rocky walls (Carter 1917, 107-8). It is a fact that confirms the use of this route in the 18<sup>th</sup> Dynasty (Amenhotep III reign) also due to the presence of the near Malkata site as well as at the end of the 20<sup>th</sup> Dynasty when the administration of royal necropolis was settled in the temple of Medinet Habu. To reach the upper part of the valley, Carter climbed the base of the rock circle and arrived on its middle ‘terrace’ where he discovered two pits tombs (HC 20-21) which we discuss later. Along the terrace of rocky walls, there is much graffiti that confirms the use of this path by the scribes and tomb workers of the necropolis (Fig.I.19 Path no.2); Carter’s idea to explore the Wadi Sikkat hills was conceived after he discovered the Hatshepsut cliff tomb and was dedicated to finding new burials or caches. In fact, after learning of the discovery of the cliff tomb by the Gurnawis in 1916, the scholar, as SCA inspector, reached the site

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<sup>24</sup> - In the early 1960s, a major documentation project on the graffiti of the Theban necropolis was carried by Chr. Derosches-Noblecourt, J.Černý and M.Sadek; in this fundamental opera (CEDAE) are photos and maps that testify the situation of hills and sites at time just before the modern radical changes for touristic purposes.

<sup>25</sup> - Currently, it is the only way to reach the valleys coming from the plain in front of Malkata and Medinet Habu.

using the route over the heights and abseiled down from above to enter the tomb; this was because until February 1921 the tomb was not accessible from below.



Fig.I.18 – The road to the Wadi A and the modern path to climb the hills (photo author).

Baraize built the path to the tomb from below after removing and transporting the queen's sarcophagus, which is still used today (Fig.I.20a-b).



Fig.I.19 – The paths to climb the top of the Wadi Sikkat hills circle (photo author).



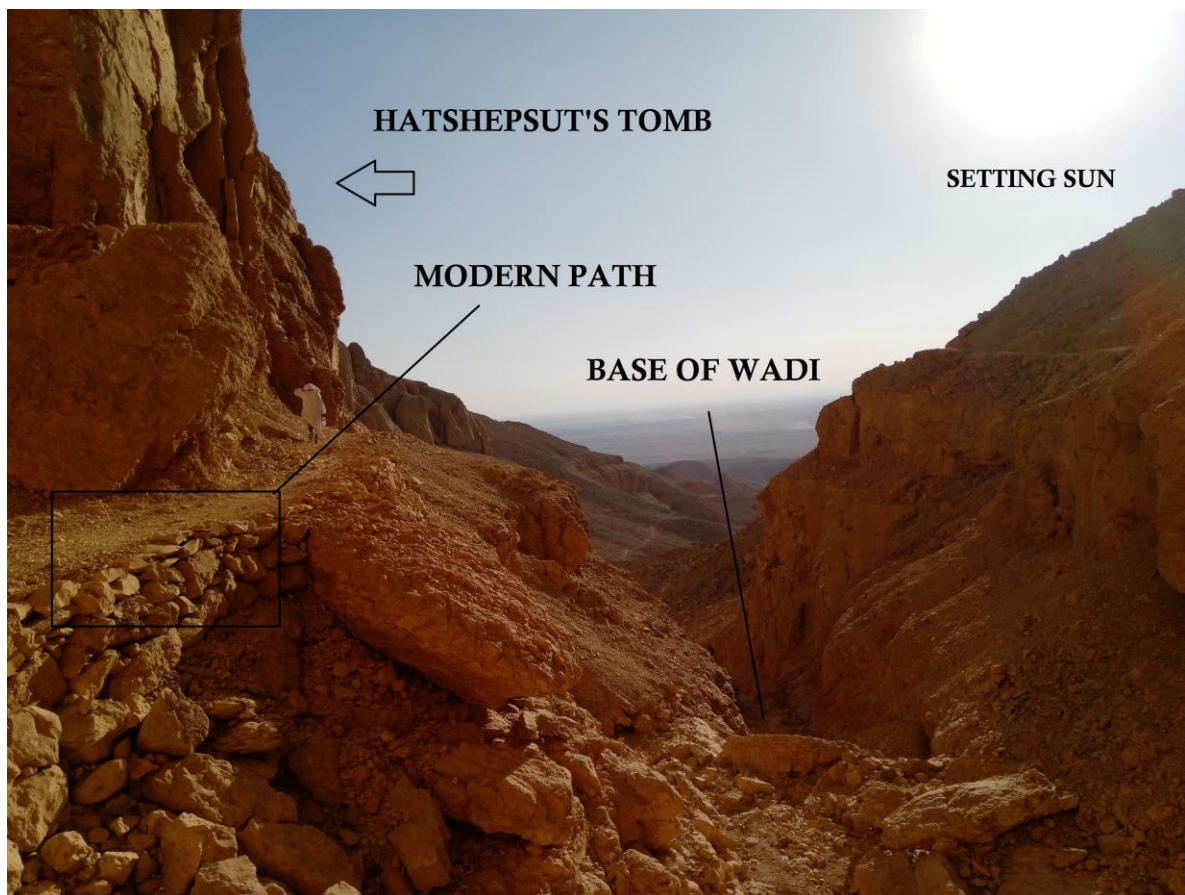
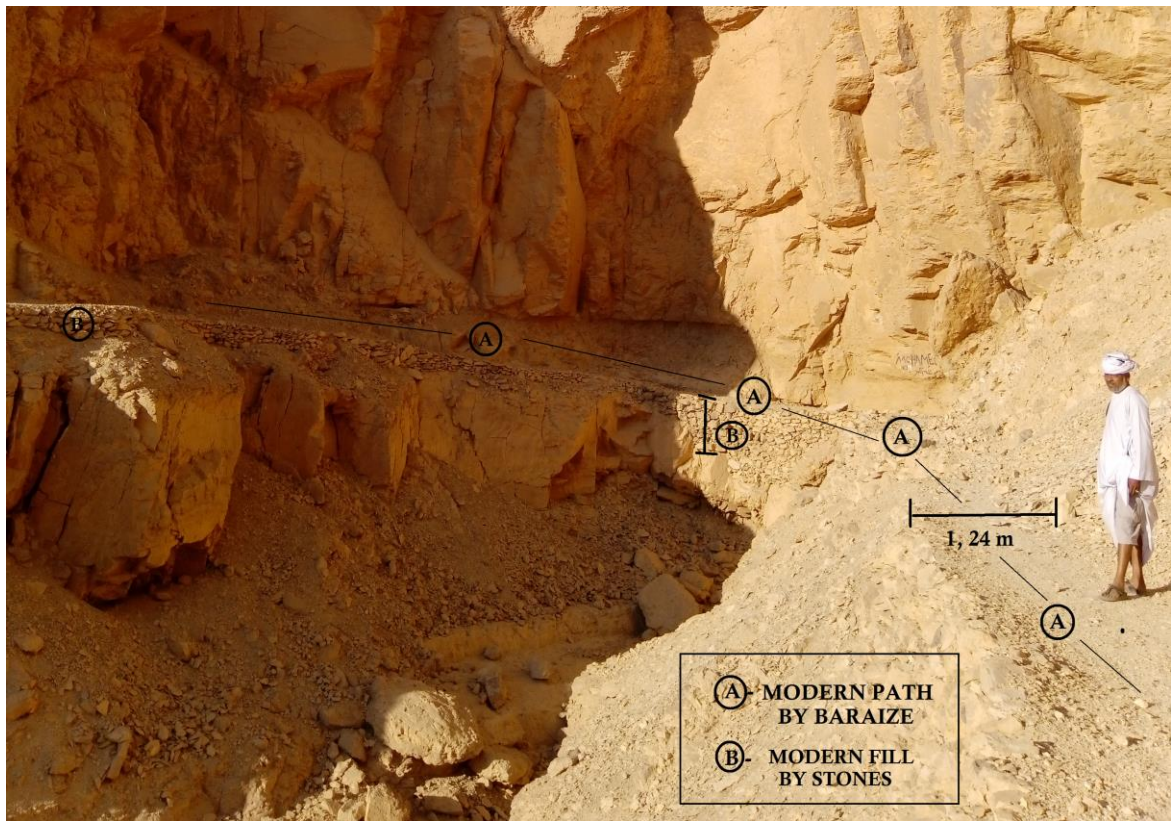


Fig.I.20a-b. The modern path to the Hatshepsut's tomb built by Baraize (photo author).

If, therefore, we interpolate the available data on the location of the graffiti and that of the cliff tombs in the Southwestern valleys, of which WAD is the one closest to the Valley of the Queens and Deir el-Medina village, it is conceivable that the necropolis administration

used two paths, the “high” one to the peak and the “lower” one close to the Valley of the Pilgrims of Spain and the wider plain that includes the sites of Malkata and Medinet Habu (Fig.I.21). The confirmation of the use of the high path is due to the presence of steps carved into the rock needed to access the rock face that closes Wadi el Gharbi (Wadi D) from above; here, given the presence of five graffiti, the tomb of Herihor is assumed to be located (Peden 2001, 232-233 and 236).

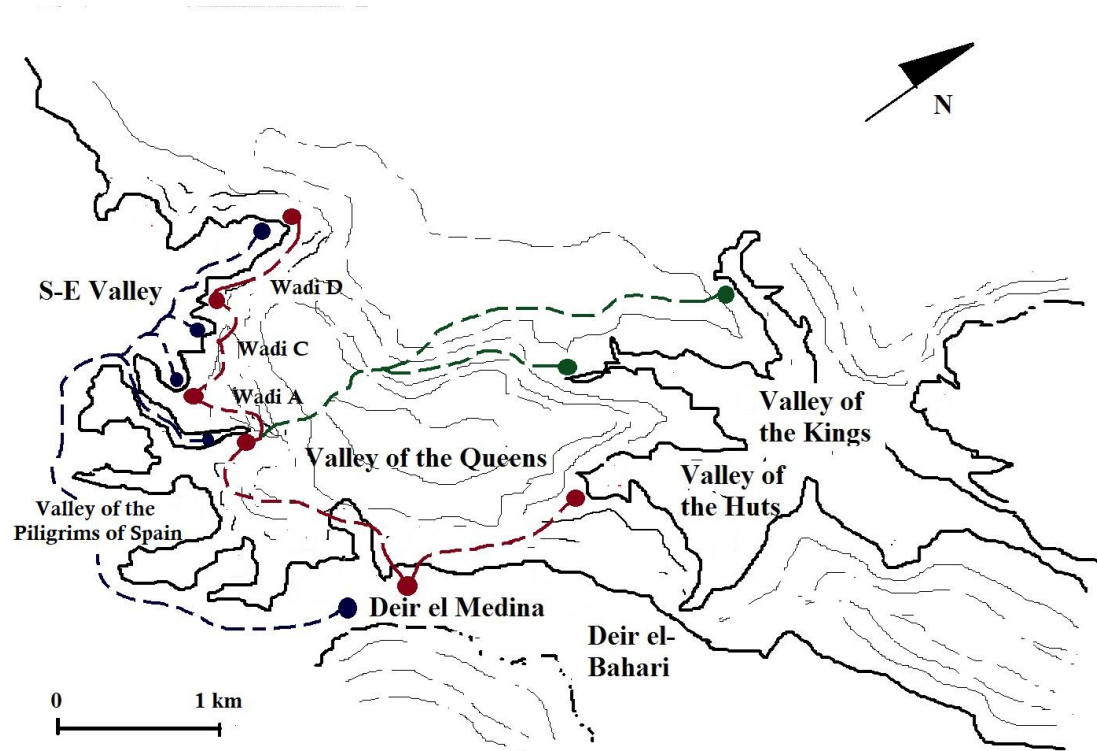


Fig.I.21 – The “path system” to and from the Southwestern valley (drawing author).

### *The finds*

When Carter discovered the tomb, the entrance was full of rubbish from floor to ceiling, pouring into it in torrents from the hills above. The debris was also found inside the tomb; in the funerary chamber was the quartzite sarcophagus (with its lid turned over the floor), as well as some limestone slabs of various sizes and plan probably for the plinth of the coffin or else for sealing the room<sup>26</sup>.

The yellow quartzite sarcophagus painted red (CG6024/JE 47032)<sup>27</sup> is the most important find of the tomb, and it was found by Carter in the antechamber and positioned at the edge of the ramp, probably ready to move into the funerary chamber after its achievement. The sarcophagus has 1.97 m in length, 0.84 m in width, and 0.73 m in height; it is a rectangular

<sup>26</sup> - On two fragments of jars and limestone slabs found by Carter in the tomb see: Carter 1916, 180-181; 1917, 114-115; Baraize 1921, 179; Thomas 1966, 195-196.

<sup>27</sup> - The material is a quartzite or ‘siliceous sandstone’ quarried at Gebel el-Ahmar or at Aswan (Aston-Harrell-Shaw 2000) and it is interesting to note that this sarcophagus is currently considered the earliest example in quartzite for a royal family member of 18<sup>th</sup> Dynasty (Willockx 2010, 12; 2011a, 19-20); it foreshadows the series of similar sarcophagi that would become traditional for kings until the reign of Tuthmosis IV. From Amenhotep III onwards, the royal sarcophagi were carved in Aswan red granite.



sarcophagus with the long sides divided into three panels devoid of images except for *udjat* eyes engraved on the left side. Four vertical transverse text bands decorate the long sides, while two decorate the ends of the head and feet.

The top of the lid is decorated with the figure of Nut and a cartouche of the queen, surrounded by a vertical column of text (Fig.I.22).

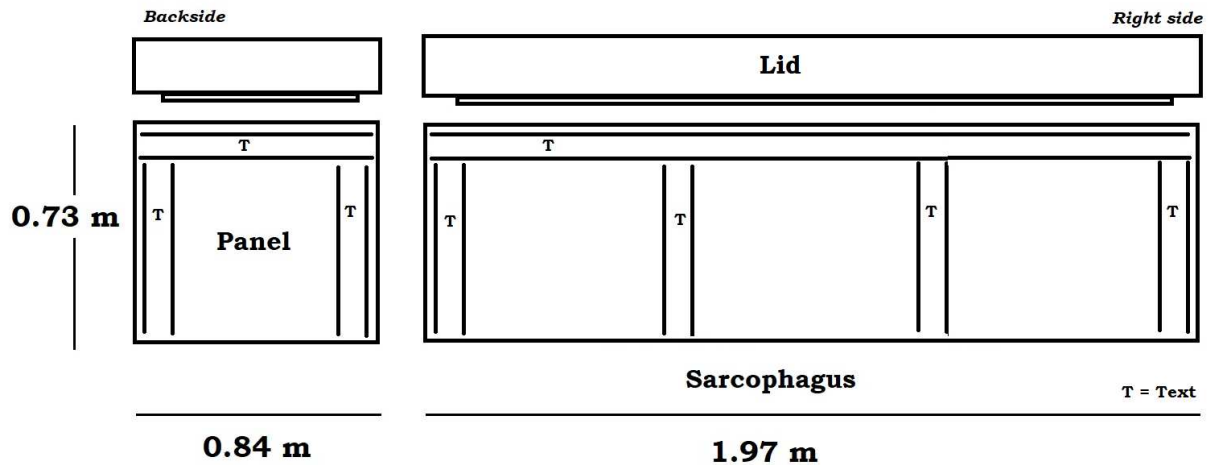


Fig. I.22. The Hatshepsut sarcophagus (JE 47302) scheme (drawing author).

For Carter, the sarcophagus wasn't moved because the tomb was abandoned, probably at the time Hatshepsut became king; this can explain why the stone box has not been painted, and some of the sculptor's guiding lines are still visible on its surface<sup>28</sup>.

The inscriptions are similar to those employed on the sarcophagi of Tutmosis I,<sup>29</sup> and Hatshepsut found in the Valley of the Kings (Cairo JE 37678 and JE 52459)<sup>30</sup>. Explicit are her epithets in the texts: alongside standard titles for a queen of ancient Egypt at that time (like "mistress of the Double Land", and "*wife, daughter, and sister of the king*")<sup>31</sup>. The hieroglyphs texts are as follows. At the head are three lines of text, one horizontal and two vertical:

<sup>28</sup> - For the texts, translations and notes about the sarcophagus see: Carter 1916, 180-182; Carter 1917, 118; Hayes 1935, pp.155-156, Pl. I; Thomas 1966, 196; Gabolde 2000, 52, Fig. 3.

<sup>29</sup> - About the sarcophagus in Museum of Fine Arts of Boston's collection (MFA 04.278.1), discovered by Carter in KV20 on 1904 during the Theodore M. Davis mission in the Valley of the Kings. It is widely accepted that Hatshepsut "after she assumed control of the throne, she commissioned a tomb in the Valley of the Kings and ordered this sarcophagus to be made for it. Later, however, Hatshepsut decided to transfer her father's mummy from his tomb to hers, and ordered her coffin to be retrofitted for him. The original inscriptions were altered to reflect the new recipient, Thutmose I. His name was substituted for hers, feminine pronouns changed to masculine, and new inscriptions added. This pious act of filial devotion is commemorated in an inscription on the outer right side of the sarcophagus: "*She [Hatshepsut] made it as her monument for her beloved father, the good god, lord of the Two Lands, king of Upper and Lower Egypt Aakheperkara, the son of Re, Thutmose, vindicated*" (text cited in web page of Boston MFA collections: <https://collections.mfa.org>).

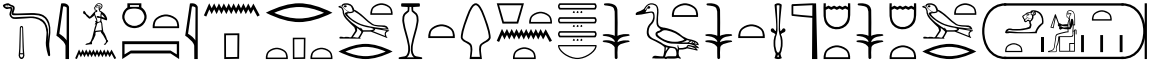




<sup>30</sup> - PM I<sup>2</sup>, 547.

<sup>31</sup> - The sarcophagus bears queen's titles; after the Hatshepsut accession to the throne, the titles as king were carved on sarcophagi discovered in KV20. On this issue see: Beckerath 1984, 226 no 5; Robins 1999. In the Section II the two texts will be compared and analyzed.



heart, Horus has rescued thee! (8) Honored before Imseti, the king's wife Hatshepsut justified before Osiris. (9) Honored before Thoth, the great wife of the king, Hatshepsut justified. (10) Honored before Anubis in front of the divine portal, the wife of the god Hatshepsut justified. (11) Honored before Duatmutf, the lady of the two lands Hatshepsut justified before Osiris.”

On the right side are a horizontal band and four vertical columns:

12. 
13. 
14. 
15. 
16. 

“(12) Recitation by Nut: I have examined the hereditary princess, great in favor and grace, mistress of all lands, the king's daughter, the king's sister, the wife of the god, the great wife of the king, Hatshepsut living, may you not perish, I destroy your disability wife of the god, the lady of two lands Hatshepsut living. Thoth hath given the gods to thee! (13) Honored before Khebesenuf, the king's sister Hatshepsut justified before Osiris. (14) Honored before Anubis Imy-ut, the wife of the god Hatshepsut justified. (15) Honored before Horus who is in the sky, the wife of the god Hatshepsut justified. (16) Honored before Hapy, the wife of the god Hatshepsut justified before Osiris.” (Carter 1917).

Recent surveys in the tomb in 2012 and 2018<sup>32</sup> revealed that some rooms (corridor B, antechamber C, corridor D, burial chamber E) are partly filled with debris. In general, this material is a mixture of mud, sand and droppings of bats that dwell on the walls and ceilings of the rooms. In staircase A and at the beginning of corridor B there are some modern traces such as plastic bottles, ropes, pieces of wood and old carpets used by local guides. No traces of stucco or wall paint appear on the walls and ceiling of the tomb, implying that in the initial planning of the structure, it was not intended. There are no archaeological finds inside the burial chamber except for several globular jar fragments (containers for provisions) scattered on the floor, as noted by Carter, probably used by the workers who built the tomb. A brief analysis of the findings (no.10 fragments) on the ground material suggests a date to the 18<sup>th</sup> Dynasty and, therefore, probably contemporary

<sup>32</sup> - A survey of the tomb was carried out in 2012 as part of the archaeological mission of the Butehamun-Kay project in the Southwest Valleys; a check on the state of preservation of the site was conducted in 2018.



with the tomb's construction<sup>33</sup>. The forms from the funerary chamber are two types of undecorated jars (Fig.I.23), and they find parallels with those discovered in situ by Carter in 1916 and other sites of Theban necropolis and are characteristic of the early 18<sup>th</sup> Dynasty<sup>34</sup>.

**Inv. no. WA-HT01:** Beer jar, fabric Nile B2, unmodeled pot thrown on the wheel, exterior surface uncoated rough, interior surface smooth, exterior colour 5YR 5/4 (reddish brown), interior colour 7.5YR 4/3 (brown), preservation part of the neck (5%), hardness 3 medium hard, Ht.4.1 cm, W.8.2 cm.

**Inv. no. WA-HT02:** Beer jar, fabric Nile B2, unmodeled pot thrown on the wheel, exterior surface uncoated rough, interior surface smooth, exterior colour 7YR 4/3 (brown), interior colour 7.5YR 4/4 (brown), preservation part of the neck (7%), hardness 2 medium hard, Ht.5.6 cm, W.7.1 cm.

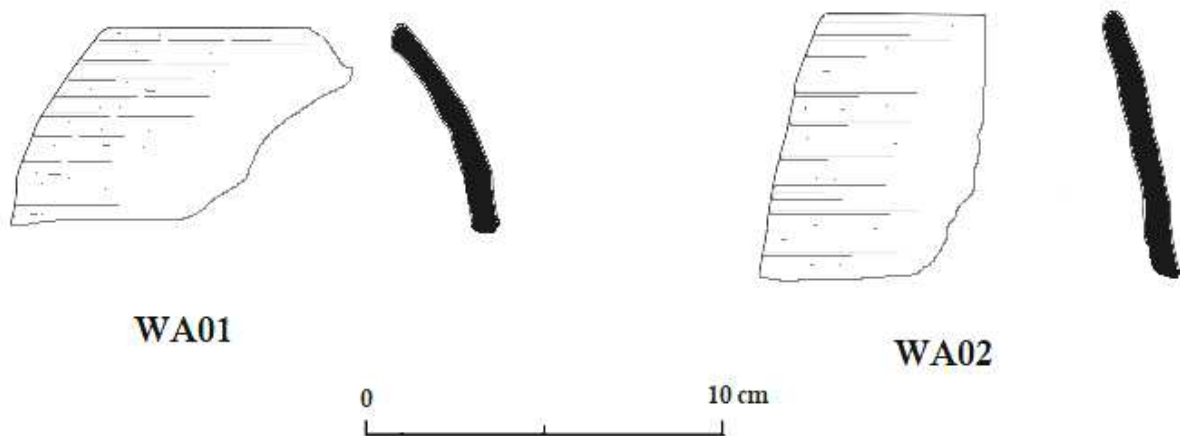


Fig.I.23 – The pottery fragments from the Wadi A tomb of Hatshepsut (drawing by Cavillier)

<sup>33</sup> - In accordance with SCA inspectors from the archaeological mission, the artifacts were documented and then left inside the tomb; the debris layer was analyzed by sampling at several points at different depths and was not removed. This methodology was adopted for all cliff tombs surveyed during the course of the Butehamun-Kay project.

<sup>34</sup> - These types of containers would belong to the first phase of 18<sup>th</sup> dynasty identified by Bourriau (1981), Arnold-Bourriau (1993) and they are similar to those discovered in Deir el-Bahari by the Polish mission (Szafranski 1992, 56, 55:11; Szafranski 1995, 63, 65; Daszkiewicz-Jelitto 1992, 66, 73, 74, 75–78) and already known in Deir el-Medina tombs of XIX Dynasty (Nagel 1938, fig.6 no.57; fig.25 no.132-34).

## 1.2 The “Baraize-tomb” (WA C)

The second cliff tomb is called “Baraize tomb” or “corridor tomb”, and it was discovered on February 18<sup>th</sup>, 1921, by some workers of Baraize to about 200 m from the WA D<sup>34</sup>. After lowering himself from the top of the mountain to take the Hatshepsut’s sarcophagus in her tomb, Baraize did not want to try to enter the second tomb in the same way, too dangerous and wasteful in terms of work and men. The solution chosen by the archaeologist was to reach the tomb from below and to lower some ropes from above to climb safely; he entered the cliff tomb by descending a 2 x 2 m wide vertical shaft at the bottom, of which there was a variety of rock excavation debris.

### *The internal architecture*

The tomb layout (Fig.I.24) consists of a descending passage (A) with two significant steps of 53-57 cm that opens onto a large room (B) of 7.8 m, 5.15 m wide, and 1.75 m height, opening off the left is a small room (C) of 3.8-4.2 m in length, 2.5 m wide and 1.80 m height. During the survey carried out by the archaeological mission directed by the writer, it was possible only to verify the Baraize account of the tomb<sup>35</sup>. In the tomb, there seems to be no trace of stucco and paint on the walls and ceilings, all roughly carved. From a planimetric point of view, it should be noted that the Baraize tomb has a south-west facing entrance and two rooms (B-C) like WA D; however, the size, shape of the chambers, and the absence of corridors make the two tombs quite different.

It is interesting to note that the Baraize cliff tomb does not appear to have a similar planimetric development to the other cliff tombs in the South-western necropolis; the absence of corridors rightly suggests that compartment B can be considered as a large burial chamber, while compartment C can be identified as an annex.

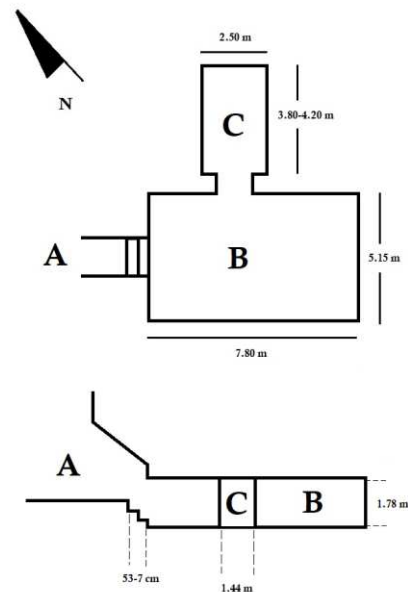


Fig.I.24 – The Baraize tomb scheme  
(drawing author)

<sup>34</sup> - This is the report on the discovery of the second cliff tomb present at Wadi Sikkat Taget-Zeid carried out by Baraize in 1921. The contribution is the only study available on the site and the scholar provides a detailed description of the tomb and the material found in it. In his contribution, Thomas (1966, 194-196) indicates this tomb with the letter C and incorrectly identifies it with Carter's HC 21.

<sup>35</sup> - The check was carried out by the observation with a night viewer (Nikon Prostaff 1000), LED torch and laser distance meter, since, due to the height of the tomb, it was not possible to transport and install a continuous lighting system powered by a generator inside it. In future missions, it is planned to use this system for next researches in the wadi. As survey result the dimensions and characteristics of the tomb seems to be accurate, as well as, the presence on either side of the entrance of blocks that, according to Baraize, were used to seal the tomb. On this last hypothesis, it is not possible to say whether these blocks were coeval with the excavation of the tomb or may have been those used for its later reuse.

If this hypothesis is true, then possible connections are to be seen with some of the funerary structures present in the necropolis (Deir el-Bahari, Valley of the Kings, and Valley of the Queens) which have as their essential elements of shaft access and a single large chamber with or without annexes. Under the planimetric point of view, one of the funerary structures that could partially be compared with the Baraize's tomb is the KV31; it is an 18<sup>th</sup> Dynasty undecorated tomb with access to a well (A), an antechamber or main chamber (B) with two rectangular annexes (C-D) of equal size and shape (Wilkinson-Reeves 1996, 183). In 2010 it was cleared and five human mummies were found inside; the tomb was reused as a cache at the end of the New Kingdom (Fig.I.25).

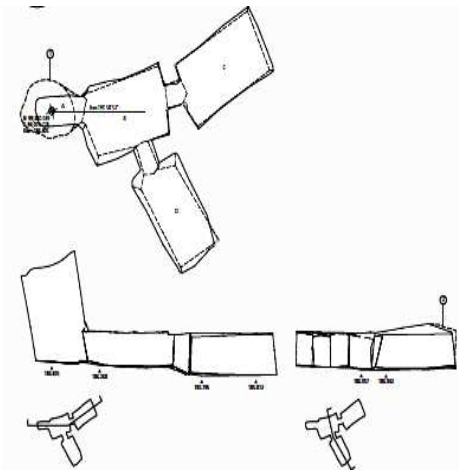


Fig.I.25 - The KV31 plan and section (TMP)

Unlike KV31, which could be considered a 'collective' tomb designed to accommodate several individuals, the one at Baraize seems to have been designed for a single burial, although the level of importance of the owner cannot be established. Certainly not

comparable to that of Hatshepsut, but its location in the wadi not far from that of this queen and the relative investment of means and men for its construction suggest it was a member of the royal family. If KV31 does not fully satisfy our analysis, we must focus on another funerary structure: cliff tomb WN A (Fig.I.26), which will be described and analyzed in Section II. As can be seen in the figure, it is a tomb with an extended access staircase and two rectangular rooms, a larger one measuring 9.60 x 6.20 m and a smaller one measuring 4.54-70 x 6.08-5.20 m. The WN A has access facing north, while inside, the two rooms are oriented from east to west, whereas in Baraize's cliff tomb, the rooms are *grosso modo* oriented from west to east. KV31 also has the same orientation as WN A regarding both the

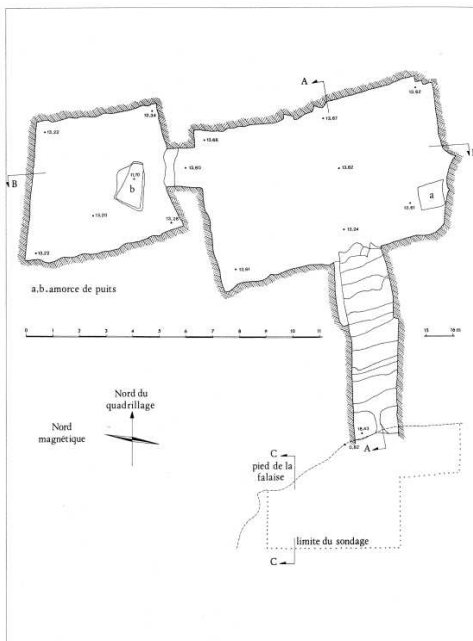


Fig.I.26-The WN A plan (Gabolde 1994, Pl.III)

access and the arrangement of two interior rooms (B-D).

In terms of height and internal arrangement of the rooms, Baraize's cliff tomb is more similar to WN A than to KV31, and this could suggest that both cliff tombs may be coeval and built according to a specific architectural model; the orientation of the two structures must take in consideration the morphological peculiarities of the hills above the two wadis and the excavation possibilities offered by the rock.



### *The external architecture*

Access to the tomb (Fig.I.27) is more complicated than that of Hatshepsut's cliff tomb because the funerary structure is set inside a narrow, steep cove only 1.55 m wide.

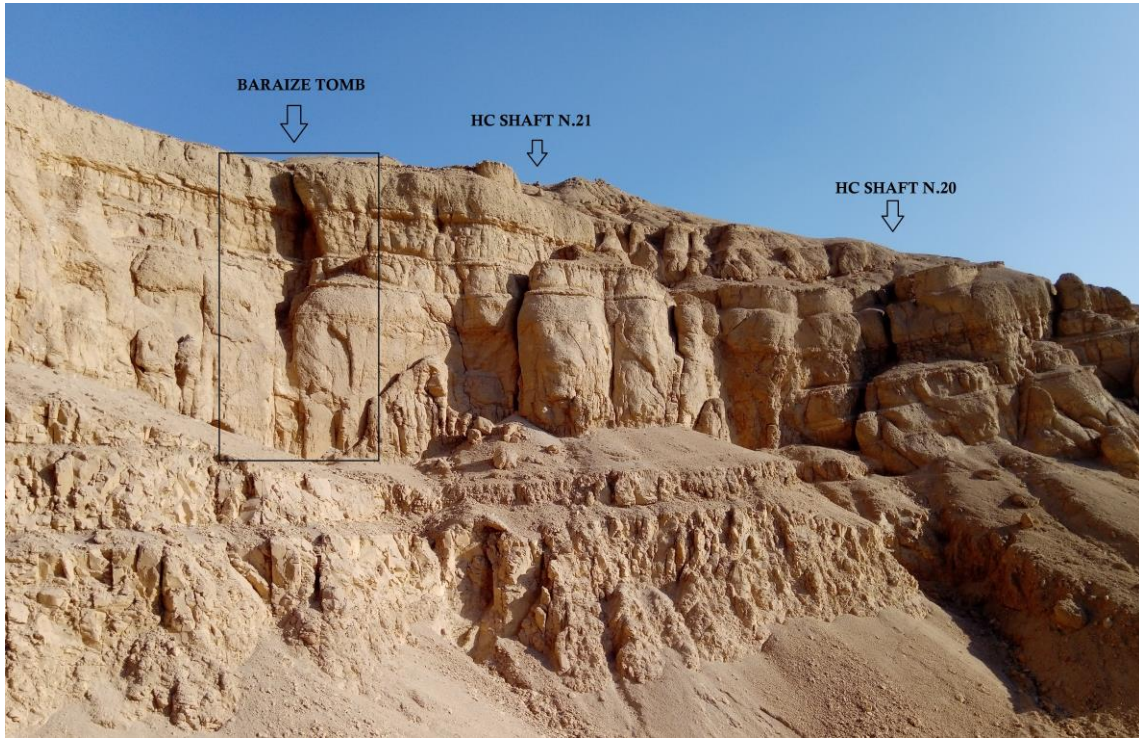


Fig.I.27 – The Baraize tomb in 2019 (photo author)

The presence of the “crevice” allows this structure to be counted among the *Bab tombs*; it is interesting to note the ability of the designers to create a tomb that is invisible both from the outside and from above.

Access to the median terrace on which the rocky wall containing the tomb was inaccessible from the bottom of the wadi, as demonstrated by Baraize at the moment of his discovery; to climb the median terrace the workers used the same paths to reach the Hatshepsut's cliff tomb bottom. The Baraize rock tomb also features three external elements already seen in the tomb of Hatshepsut, although these are sketchy and roughly shaped. These are the “niche”, the “cascade” opening, and the “cornice” or “false door” (Fig.I.28).

The first has the same shape as WA D (I), 2.57 m high and 1.88 m wide with a well-sculpted upper part and a less accurate lower leg; the second has a rectangular shape and 1.05 m wide and the third has an irregular rectangular shape because the shorter sides seem to follow the slope of

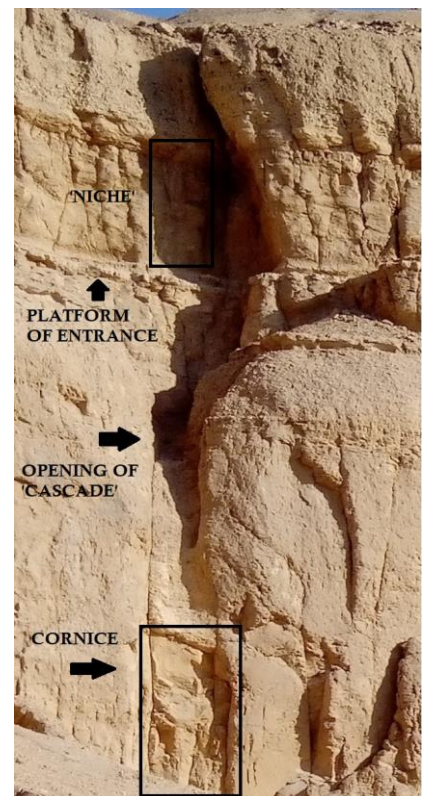


Fig.I.28 – The Baraize cliff tomb (photo author)

the ground, while the longer sides are carved orthogonally in a more precise manner; its rectangular shape may suggest its function as a false doorway, even though it lacks the ‘inner’ recesses to simulate the pillars of a typical votive structure. Another interesting fact is that the entrance to the Baraize’s cliff tomb is almost always dark because it is positioned very deep in the cave and does not allow the sunlight to penetrate it; this differs from WA D because the latter is illuminated directly by the setting sun. Both tombs’ “parallel” position (at the same height) on the façades of the cliffs overlooking the Wadi Sikkat suggests a correlation between the two funerary structures. At the same time, the different morphology of the rock face in which the Baraize one is excavated must have conditioned the lighting factor.

### *The finds*

The discovery by Baraize of a sill at the entrance, “a dressed stone block (50 x 25 x 20 cm) with a layer of mortar and other features,” led him to conclude that “the tomb had been blocked” (Baraize 1921, 184)<sup>36</sup>; another exciting data is that “large fragments of limestone were thought to have come from the ceiling in the large room”<sup>37</sup>. In the entrance debris of the tomb, Baraize found a bit of gold leaf and a neck and stopper of a pottery jug, while near the opening of the small room, he found fragments of a toilet jar’s alabaster so he thought the objects dated to the 18<sup>th</sup> Dynasty. None of these objects are traceable in the Egyptian Museum of Cairo storerooms<sup>38</sup>. No artefacts were found inside the tomb during the survey of 2018, except a layer of mixed modern rubbish (plastic bottles, blanket remnants, mud, pebbles and sand) that confirm the use of the site for tourism by local guides.

### 1.3 - The HC funerary shafts

In the Wadi Sikkat, there are two other funerary structures, probably not completed, and discovered by Carter in 1917, called HC20 and HC21; they are not *Bab tombs*, but only simple funerary shafts and their position in height allows to provide only a brief description for completeness of treatment.

#### *The HC no.21*

The HC no.21 (Fig.24) is about 22.7 m away from the Baraize’s cliff tomb; there is an incomplete shaft tomb of which only the access shaft is currently visible and which is being



Fig.I.29 – The HC 21 shaft access in 2019 (photo author)

<sup>36</sup> - This hypothesis convinced Baraize that the tomb had been sealed and subsequently plundered; the presence of graffiti from the XXI dynasty helps to support this idea.

<sup>37</sup> - Is a fact that confirms structural damage occurred inside the tomb and that may suggest an abandonment of the same during the 18<sup>th</sup> Dynasty or its reuse in the late period. The presence of structural damage on the surface of the ceiling and on some of the walls of the room corroborate this view.

<sup>38</sup> - Baraize 1921, 186.



surveyed by the archaeological mission directed by the present writer in 2018-2019 seasons. The shaft is 1.94 x 1.89 m in size and 8.68 m deep (height from the ground of 269.5 m); it was possible to analyse both the rock cut and the bottom filled with modern debris consisting of mud, sand, rock chips and plastic bottles (Fig.I.30)<sup>39</sup>. No rooms or corridors at the bottom of the structure were detected.

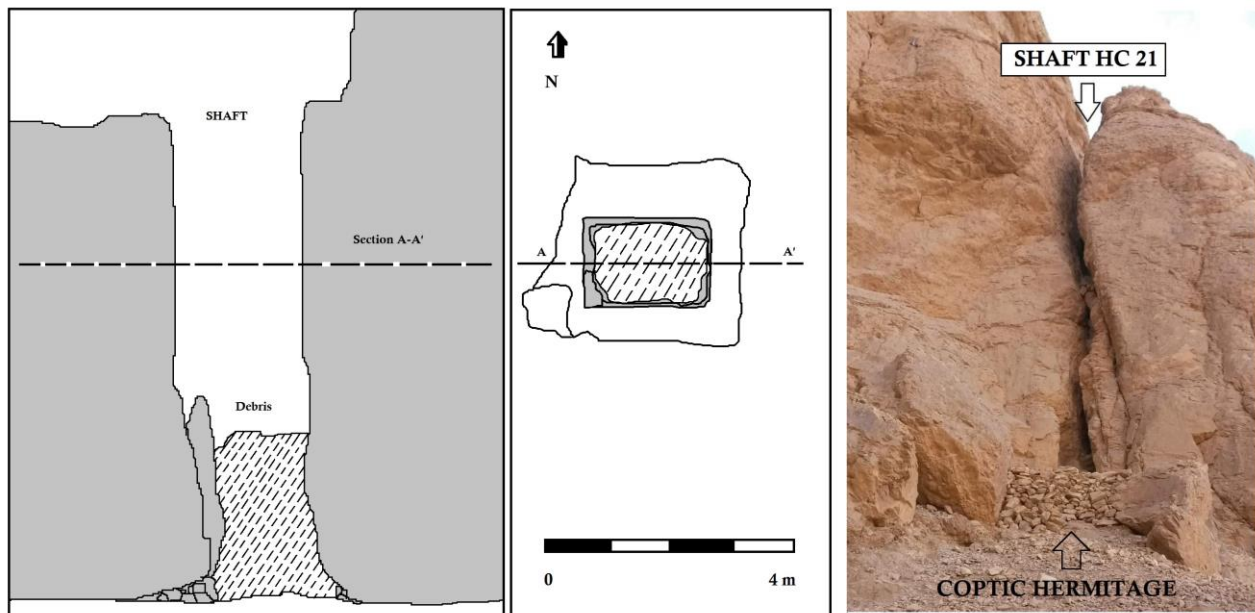


Fig.I.30 – The HC 21 shaft section and its position access in 2019 (drawing and photo author)

In the rock wall between the HC 21 access and the Baraize’s cliff tomb (GMT I/2 Section 217) are graffiti (see below), including some of the royal scribe Butehamun (Cavillier 2018) responsible for the community of Deir el-Medina at the beginning of the 21<sup>st</sup> Dynasty<sup>40</sup> and well-known maker of caches in various areas of the necropolis; it is to be suspected that the reuse or the realization of this structure could be connected with these inscriptions, similar to what can be found in other sites alleged to be used as caches (KV41, WN A, TT320, TT358). One of these inscriptions (Gr.1393) is attested to an inspection dated to year 12, the first month of summer, day 8 of the reign of Smendes I, by the royal scribe and the High Priest of Amun Paynudjem I (Peden 2001, 261); in another undated graffito (Gr.1396+1396a) Butehamon coming in the wadi to “see mountains”. This would confirm the importance of the area for the creation of royal caches or to finding coffins to be reused in tombs from previous dynasties<sup>41</sup>; outside the shaft, there were some remains of walls made of pebbles, probably of modern times used as a stopping point by local guides.

<sup>39</sup> - The mission carried out a complete survey of the two shafts and removed part of the layer of debris only to measure the depth of them; at the end of the survey the material was re-deposited on the bottom.

<sup>40</sup> - As Peden (2001, 235) says “*in this wadi there are no textual graffiti which could be assigned with clear certainty to the XXth Dynasty*” except for the damaged graffito no.3942 of unnamed official that would not indicate the excavation or reuse of the tombs here located.

<sup>41</sup> - In addition to the inspections of Butehamon, there is evidence of plundering of funerary equipment; in graffiti nos.1394 and 1397 the workman Nainudjem says that he is “*in the mountains*” and he asks the god to grant him “*to find (?) two coffins in them (mountains)*” (Peden 2001, 261).

## The HC no.20

About 35.2 m away from the HC no.21 is another funerary shaft found by Carter, of which only the access is currently visible (Fig.I.31); the shaft is 2.24 x 1.99 m in size and 11.05 m deep (height from the ground of 255.6 m). This was also filled with modern rubbish of the same composition as the other (mud, sand, rock chips and modern plastic).

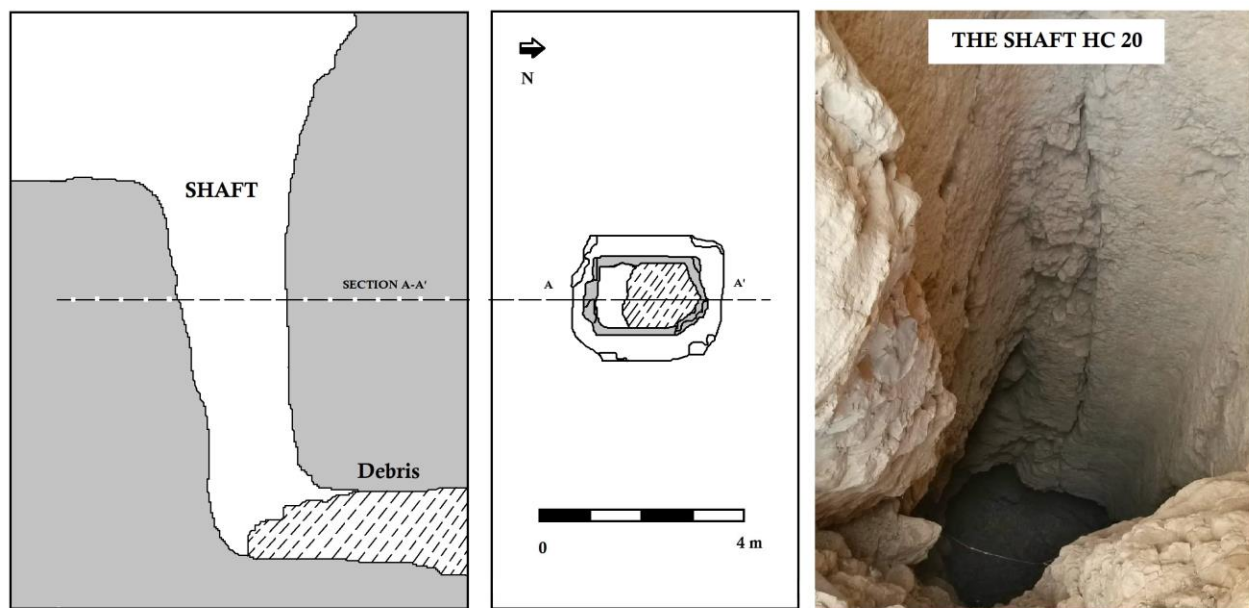


Fig.I.31 – The HC 20 shaft section and its position access in 2019 (drawing and photo author)

The access to the funerary well was probably ensured by a path on the hills but Carter climbed the median terrace from below; Baraize (1921, 177 fig.1) saw and used the high one to reach Hatshepsut's cliff tomb but, for better accessibility of the rocky amphitheater, he created the modern path<sup>42</sup>.

## 2. Wadi C (Central Bay of Wadi Gabannat el-Gourud)

### 2.1. The so-called “Princess Neferure tomb” (WC A)

The Wadi C is the Central bay of the Wadi Gabannat el-Gourud; until the end of 2022, only one tomb was attested: the so-called “tomb of Neferure”. In a crevice in the cliff about 16.80 m above the valley bed is this cliff tomb that could be included from the *Bab* tombs like those of Hatshepsut and Baraize tombs. The presence of a cartouche of Neferure, daughter of Hatshepsut (Gr.1544) discovered by Carter<sup>43</sup> in a block of limestone fallen to the bottom of the valley (Fig.I.32) has led to speculate that the tomb was made



Fig.I.32 – Neferura cartouche (Lilyquist 2003, fig.9c)

<sup>42</sup> - “On ne pouvait atteindre cette entrée qu'attaché à une corde, et c'est avec des efforts inouïs que l'on atteignait à nouveau la crête; aucun être humain n'aurait pu résister longtemps à ces exercices d'acrobaties à répéter joui'nellement pendant la durée des travaux” Baraize (1921, 176).

<sup>43</sup> - The cartouche is only 4.5 cm high and rudimentary: Carter 1917, 109; GI Carter MSS.I.D. 184 no.2, 186 = Černý MSS.6.13, 23; GMT 1977, 220B; PM I<sup>2</sup>, 592.



for the princess (Peden 2001, 262); this hypothesis has not yet found archaeological confirmation. The presence of various graffiti by Butehamun and other members of the Deir el-Medina community in Wadi C (Fig.I.33a) suggests the cliff tomb inspections (Peden 2001, 262); a very recent discovery by the Cambridge University mission of a tomb located just below the cliff tomb (Fig.I.33b-d) confirms the interest of the Deir el-Medina scribes in the area<sup>44</sup>.

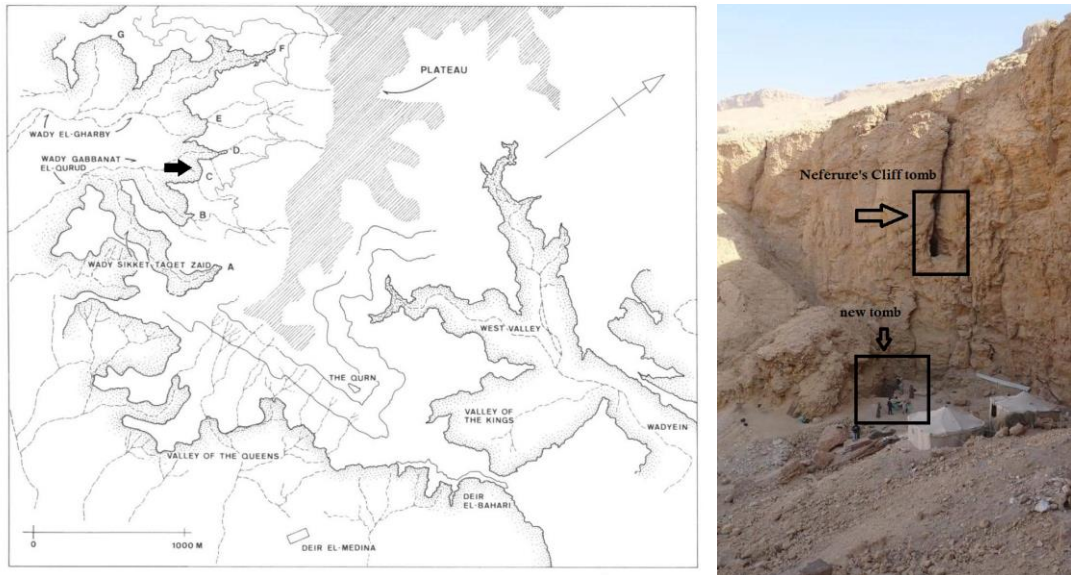


Fig.I.33 – a. The Wadi C (Lyliquist 2003, 4, Fig.6); b. the cliff tomb and the “new tomb” (photo web)



Fig.I.33 – c-d. the ‘new tomb’ access and corridor (photo web)

<sup>44</sup> - On the west side of the bay, at ground level of the Wadi C, Carter (1917, 112) drew 3 pit-tomb (no. 61); two of them are probably the huts WCP2 and WCP3 found by Kirby during his survey in October-November 1988 and unpublished; thus, it is also unclear whether this structure can be identified with one of the three pit tombs reported by Carter or if the graffiti of Neferure could be connected with this tomb. From the first information made available in the media by Piers Litherland, this could be the tomb of a Tuthmoside queen or princess; the presence of access steps and the position at the bottom level of the wadi suggest that it is a tomb dating from the end of the reign of Tuthmosis III. The funerary structure appears to have been emptied in antiquity; source: <https://www.dw.com/en/egypt-unearths-new-royal-tomb-in-luxor/a-64394999>.

### Internal architecture

The WC A cliff tomb consists of an access A (1.88 m wide and 2.03 m high), a corridor B (2.02 m wide, 2.06 m high and 4.23 m long) leading to a rectangular room C (4.2 x 5.47 m and 2.08 m high); a second corridor D (2.32 m wide, 2.02 m high and 4.28 m long) leads off to the right ending in an incomplete rectangular chamber/corridor E (1.90 m wide, 2.01 m high and 4.18 m long) with a small niche in western side and with a groove in the floor to place a stone sarcophagus (Fig.I.34).

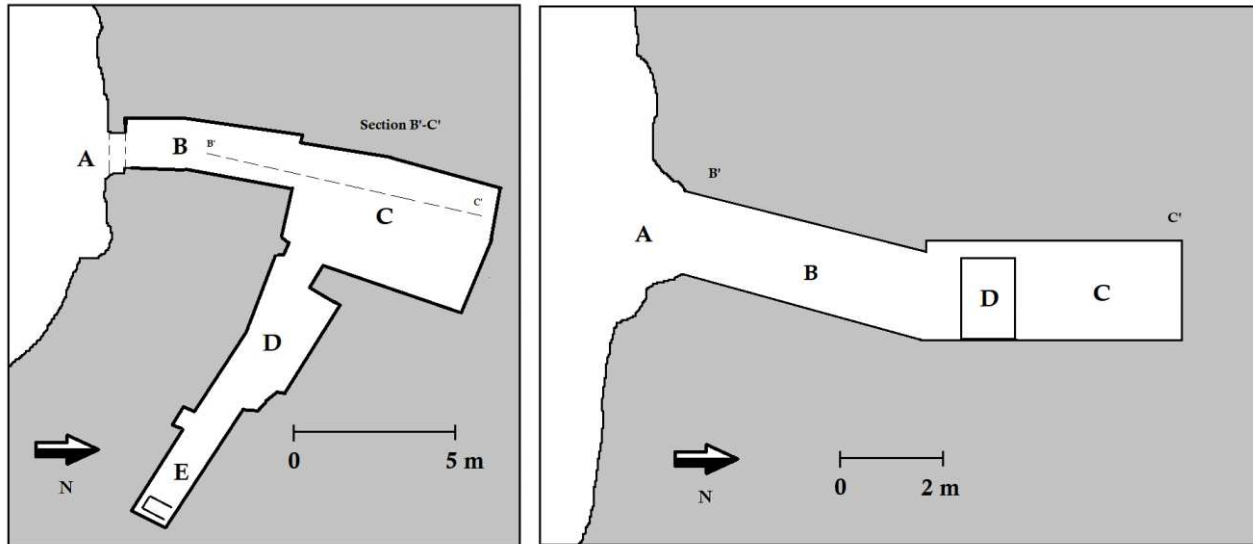


Fig.I.34 – The WC A plan and section in 2019 (drawing author)

Almost all of the ceilings in the tomb are smoothed and empty of guano for some bat colonies; the walls were once plastered, and the traces of “ochre and yellow paints could be defined” (Lilyquist 2003, 4). From a preliminary observation, it is clear that the original layout of the tomb appears to be that of Hatshepsut’s cliff tomb with the descending entrance A, the long corridor B, the large antechamber C, and the sarcophagus chamber D; it is to be suspected that the latter room was further lengthened to accommodate the sarcophagus, similarly to what is seen in corridor F of the queen’s tomb. The subsequent alternation of irregularly shaped rooms (C-D) and the excavation of the opening in the floor to place the sarcophagus in a small space (E) suggests that the tomb was not completed. However, also the TT358 seems to have two elements in common with WC A (Fig.I.35); the first is the right-hand turn of chamber D about chamber C (Willockx 2010, 46), and the second is the rectangular shape of the last two rooms of both tombs. However, the presence of the shaft and the type of corridor in TT358 do not allow for any other similarities between the two graves. The different funerary structure that can be compared is WN A (Wadi en-Nisr), which is excavated directly into the rock face and has an access corridor and a rectangular antechamber;

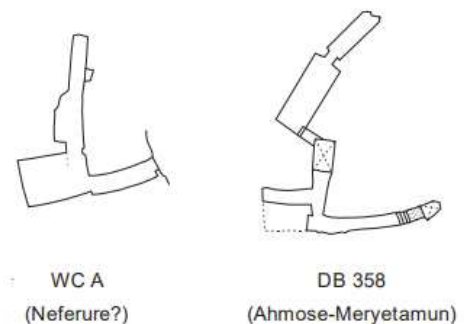


Fig.I.35 – The WC A and TT358 (Willockx 2010, fig.7)

however, the corridor of WN A has steps, and the burial chamber is located to the north of the back wall, while in WA D the D chamber is on the eastern side; no other tomb of the period has elements in common with WC A. It should also be noted that in the absence of the sarcophagus, the inner chambers of our cliff tomb are coarsely excavated and only some parts of the walls and ceilings have been smoothed and that the antechamber D and the burial chamber (without the sarcophagus) are unfinished; to all this, we should add that this tomb has elements in common with TT358, WN A and with the cliff tomb of Hatshepsut (WA D), but that the latter structure appears much more elaborate. Thus, it is possible to assume that the tomb prepared for the princess was never completed and was never used to receive her burial<sup>45</sup>. For Elizabeth Thomas (1966, 196-198), this tomb be dated to a period immediately following the end of the reign of Hatshepsut, and it was built for Tuthmosis III's principal wife Meryetra, while the princess Neferura was buried in Baraize's cliff tomb beside that destined for his mother as queen. In her view, Tuthmosis III would have positioned his wife Meryetra not far from another cliff tomb (see below) built for his Asian wives. Still, even this hypothesis has not yet found archaeological confirmation. However, it should be emphasized that, in terms of the plan, these two cliff tombs intended for the ruler's wives differ markedly from each other; WC A, as already mentioned, has elements that associate it with TT358, WN A, and WA D, while the tomb of Tuthmosis III's Asiatic wives (WD B, see below) has a similar plan to KV39. Moreover, it seems now accepted that the tomb prepared for Meryetra is KV42 located just below KV34 (Wilkinson-Reeves 2000, 102)<sup>46</sup>.

#### *External architecture*

The orientation of the presumed tomb of Neferura turns out to be to the south, probably due to the natural position of the 'cave' plus a different conception related to the setting of the sun and the necropolis. If, therefore, Hatshepsut's cliff tomb seems to have been conceived on a selected rock face within an ideal "natural amphitheater", here the present morphology was employed; here, it was precisely the conformation of the cliff crack and the steep wall with no inlets that did not allow for the niche above or the opening of the "cascade". The corniche/false door cut is raw and only sketchy, 1.67 m wide and 2.62 m high (Fig.I.36); the type of access carved directly into the rock face is similar to that of WN A (Wadi en Nisr) where the niche and 'corniche' (or false door) are absent. Approximately underneath the cliff tomb is the one recently discovered by Litherland, and at the moment, it is impossible to establish whether this latter structure is to be connected with WC A, even if its plan and its access to the wadi's ground seem to be related to the Amenhotep II kingship.

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<sup>45</sup> - Nothing excludes the possibility that this structure may have been planned for Neferura, but then left unfinished in conjunction with her mother's abandonment of the cliff tomb. Indeed, following her mother's accession to the throne, the princess assumed the role of queen in public life with the titles "Lady of Upper and Lower Egypt", "Mistress of the Lands" and "Wife of the God Amun" (Tyldesley 2006, 98). Following this important event, it is conceivable that another tomb was planned for her in the necropolis (Valley of the Kings?) or before his death in the Regnal year 11 of his mother.

<sup>46</sup> - This regardless of the fact that the tomb was planned and carved but never completed and probably never occupied by the queen; it is to be assumed that her body was buried in KV35 with her son Amenhotep II.



It is only to be noted that a tomb built on the valley floor about a necropolis in which cliff tombs stand out in importance may suggest a later date<sup>47</sup>. As with Wadi Sikkat, access to the valley has two paths, the higher that runs along, the lower terrace of the ‘peak’ and the lower that uses the surrounding plain.

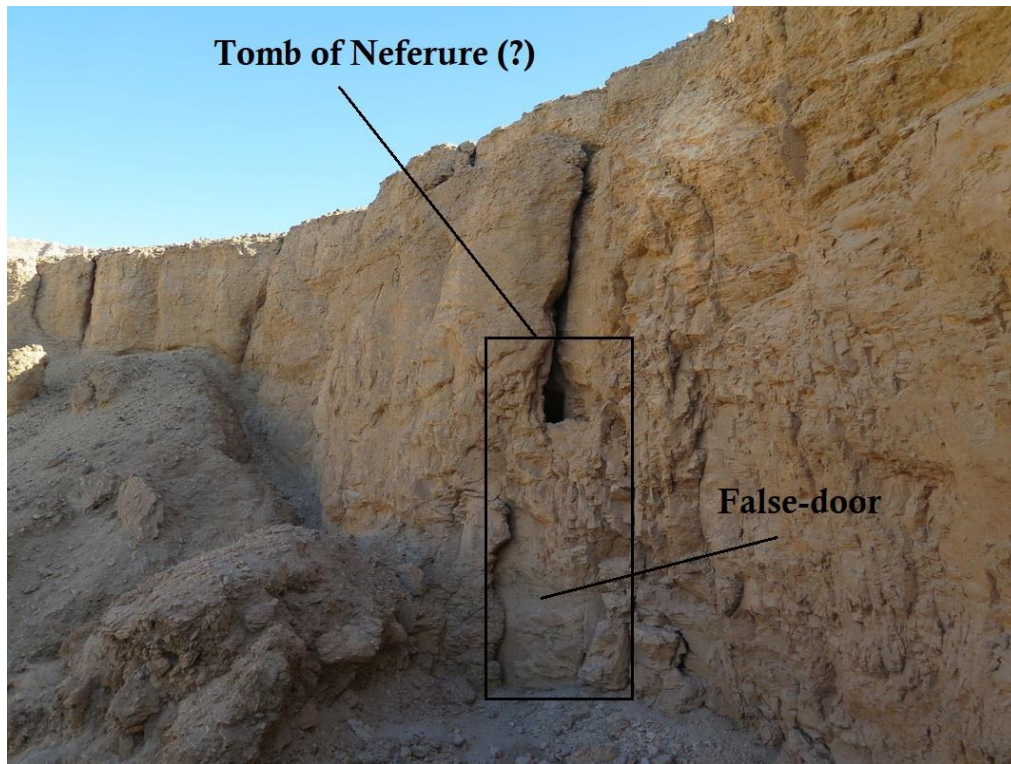


Fig.I.36 – The tomb of Neferure in 2019 (photo author)

### *Finds*

A recent survey conducted by the writer in the 2018-2019 season reveals the presence of large quantitative debris consisting of mud, sand, very minute ceramic sherds, plastic, and modern waste<sup>48</sup>. No other artifacts have been found inside the tomb except for a few recognizable pottery sherds related to a beer jar (BB jar type, clay Nile B2, surface uncoated 7YR5/4 light reddish brown, wheel made type W1, base string cut, uncomplete), probably dated to the 18<sup>th</sup> Dynasty (Fig.I.37)<sup>49</sup>.

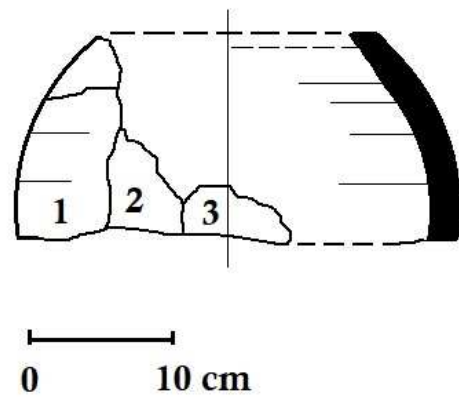


Fig.I.37 – The pottery sherds found in WC A (drawing author)

<sup>47</sup> - Indeed, this is what seems to have occurred in the Valley of the Kings where KV33 and KV34 appear to be the last cliff tombs to have been built. From the reign of Amenhotep II onwards, the tombs are located at the bottom of the valley.

<sup>48</sup> - The mission carried out a complete survey of the rooms and only part of the debris along the walls was removed to the center of the corridor and the rooms in order to verify the dimensions and state of preservation of the structure.

<sup>49</sup> - This type of jar is little different in clay colour, shape and size from those found in Hatshepsut’s cliff tomb. See Bader-Seco Alvarez 2016, 192-193 fig.15j.

### 3. Wadi D (Northern bay of Wadi Gabannat el-Gourud)

#### 3.1. The Tuthmosis III's Asian Wives cliff-tomb (WD A)<sup>50</sup>

The Wadi D (Wadi Gabannat el-Gourud, “the Apes’ Cemetery”) is a narrow valley adjacent to Wadi C, triangular in shape, whose acute angle is formed by the crevice in which there is the tomb (Fig.I.38).

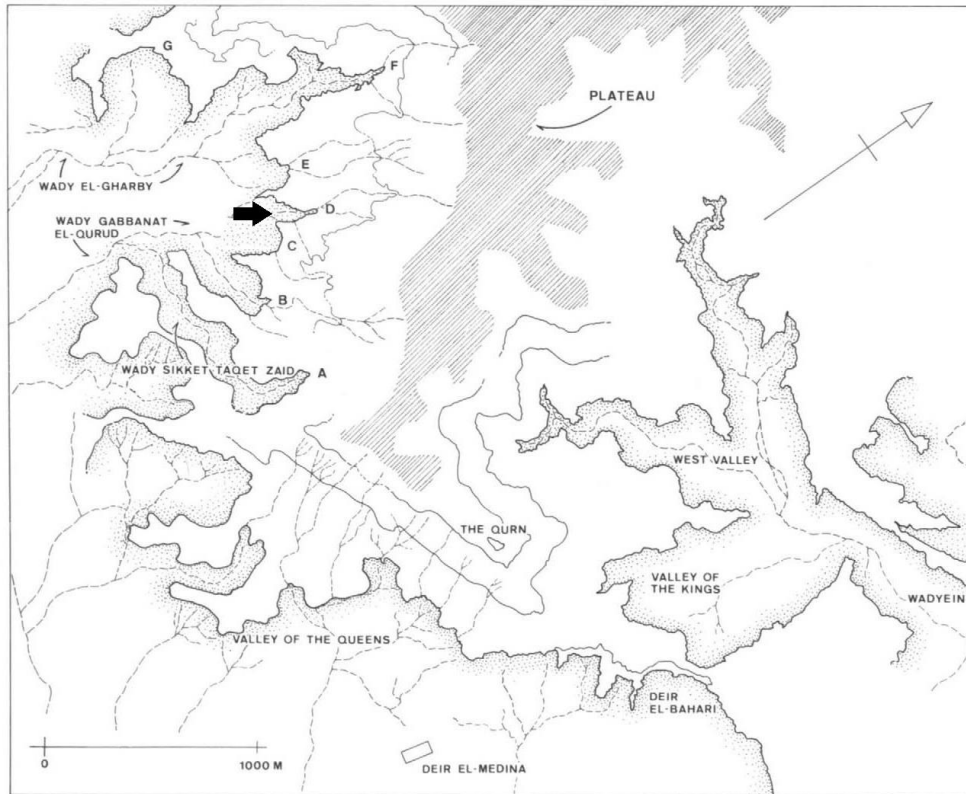


Fig.I.38 – The Wadi D (Lilyquist 2003, Fig.6d; GMT I/2, pl.35)

The discovery of the tomb took place in 1916 by the Qurnawis; Herbert Winlock says: *“In that year a violent rainstorm came in Luxor about the end of July, and when it was over a gang of Arabs from the nearby village of Kurneh went up into the mountain looking for what might have been disclosed by the floods. In one place water was still cascading down the cliffs, disappearing into a gigantic crack high up among the crags, and then came pouring out over forty yards away. To see where the water had been in the meantime the Arabs had to get into the crevice, and to enable them to clamber into the deep crack a heavy water-wheel rope had to be dragged over the hills and lowered into the gloomy depths below. Of course, everything had to be done in absolute secrecy, but the results of all their labors far surpassed any dream that the gang could have had. Before the middle of August it was pretty generally known throughout Kurneh and Luxor that an extraordinary treasure had been found”.* (Winlock 1948, 8).

<sup>50</sup> - Here WD A instead WD B as unique cliff tomb in the Wadi. The tomb was excavated and cleared of debris by the Metropolitan Museum of New York mission in 1922: Winlock 1948; GMT 1977, 206-207; PM I<sup>2</sup>, 591-592; about the excavations results and the catalogue of finds (1916-1948) see: Lilyquist 2003, 27-75. The Carter's seven pit-tombs (1917, no. 71 in Pl.XIX) on the bed of wadi are not analyzed in the present study.

A study by Christine Lilyquist (2003) has allowed outlining a practical analytical framework for the event; the analysis of the few findings recovered has permitted to identify of the three Asian wives of Tuthmosis III, *Manuway*, *Manhata*, *Maruta*, the original owners of the tomb. Regarding the tomb's position, Winlock observes: “*the funerary structure is on a narrow, vertical-sided gorge cuts down through a shelf in the limestone in a series of precipitous cascades*” (Fig.I.39).

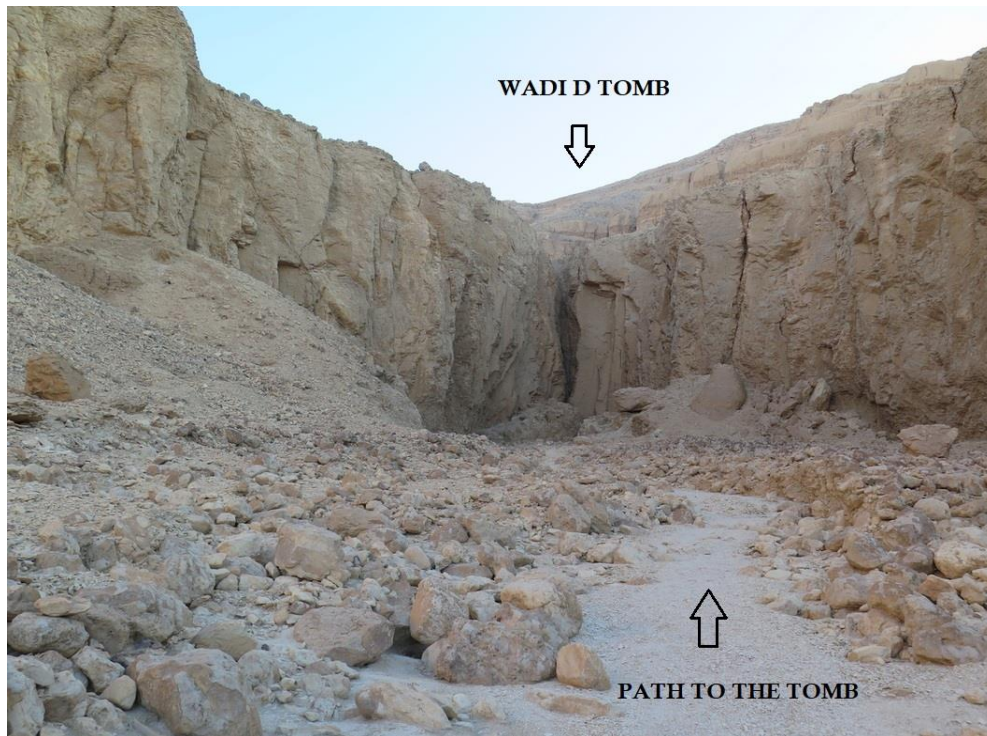


Fig.I.39 – The WD A cliff tomb ‘gorge’ in 2019 and modern path (photo author)

So “*the place chosen by Tuthmosis III for the tomb of his Asiatic wives was an ideal site for the Eighteenth Dynasty royal tomb makers*”; this was because “*the mouth of the cleft is totally inaccessible to anyone standing below and equally so to anyone above, unless he has come provided with a rope to lower himself over the precipitous rock*”. As the scholar rightly notes: “*the tomb of the Princesses was in the upper reach of a gorge which falls abruptly to an almost level stretch, roughly L-shaped, and some thirty or forty meters long. From the mouth of this last there is a sheer drop of nearly ten meters to the tumbled boulders at the head of the valley boulders now partially covered with dirt thrown out from excavations above*” (Winlock 1948, 5).

#### *Internal architecture*

The tomb consists of an entrance A with steps roughly carved into the rock, a long corridor B (1.76 m wide, 1.89-90 m high, and 13.8 m long) leading to a wide square chamber C (5.2 m wide, 7.5 m long, 4.40 m high) (Fig.I.40); the layout seems to suggest that the tomb consists of a long corridor with several slight recesses leading directly into the burial chamber. The access to the tomb is on the southern and more hidden side of the deep gorge and is served by steps roughly carved into the rocky floor (Fig.I.41-42).



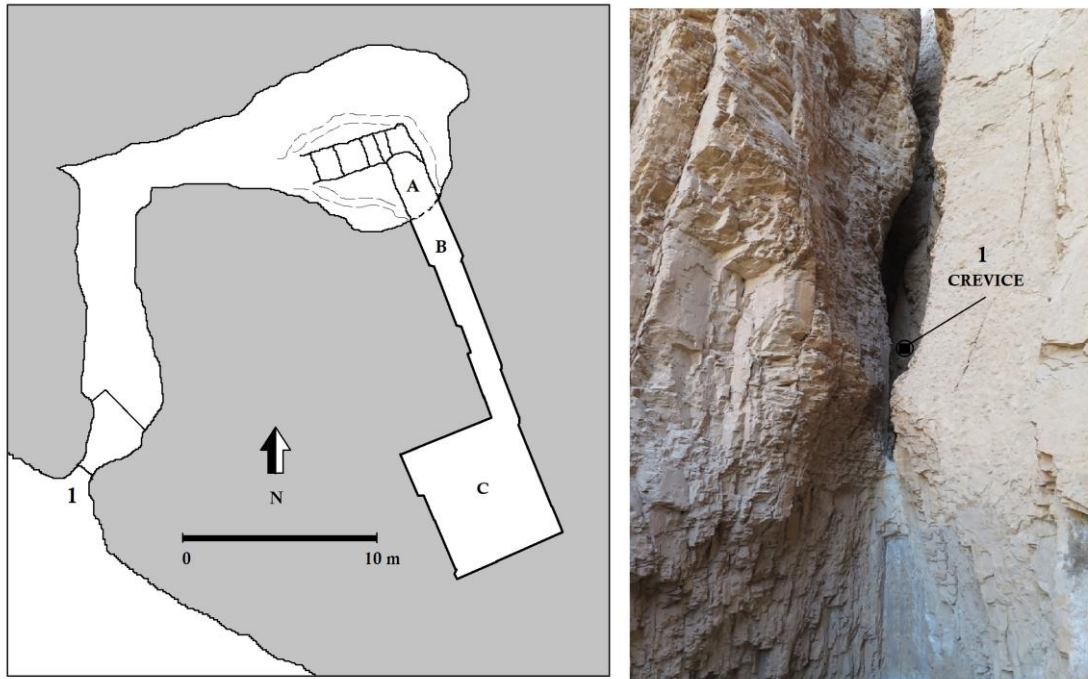


Fig.I.40 – The WD A tomb plan and the crevice opening in 2019 (drawing and photo author)

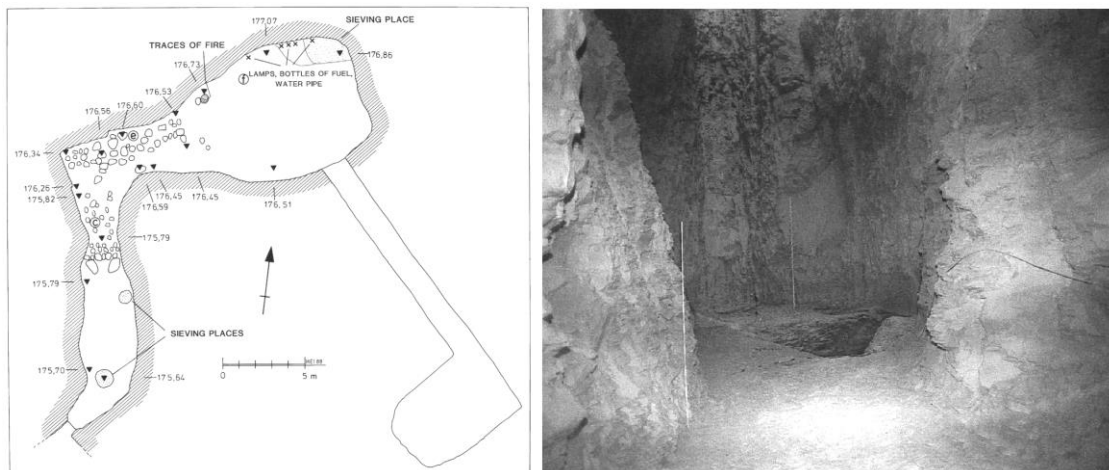


Fig.I.41 – The WD A cliff tomb access in 1988 (drawing and photo Lilyquist 2003, Fig.38-39)

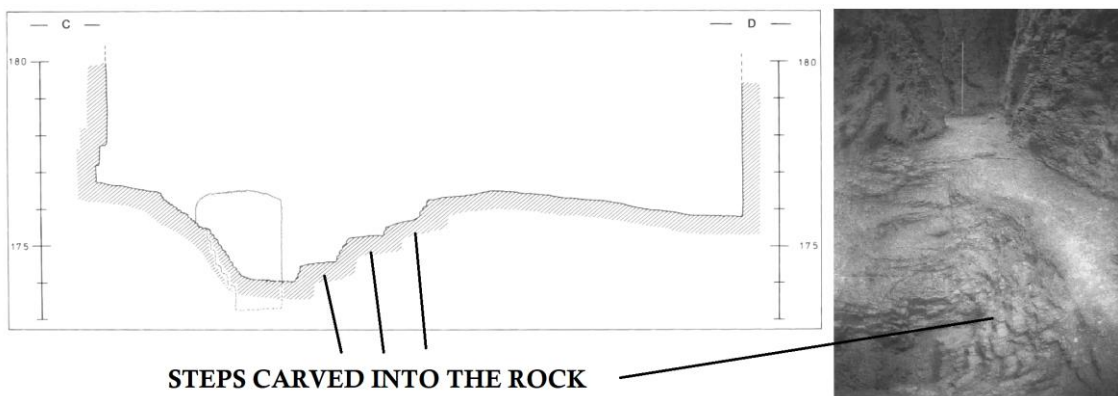


Fig.I.42 – The Wadi D tomb access in 1988 (drawing and photo Lilyquist 2003, Fig.41 and 43)



When the descending corridor (B) was cleared of debris by Lilyquist, at the lower end of this space was discovered “a horizontal patch of material, maybe a mud plaster (fine brown dust with tiny limestone chips in it) as remnants of the ancient sill or natural amalgam” (Lilyquist 2003, 60). Other interesting peculiarities are that “The corridor walls were chiselled at the point of juncture with the burial chamber” (C) (Fig.I.43) “to a height of 1.9 m” and that “the distance between the corridor walls where the ‘sill’ was placed was 1.18 m and its southern edge was 90 cm north of the burial chamber”. The presence of a threshold suggests that the burial chamber C may have been walled and sealed; however, due to the looting of the tomb in 1916, it is not possible to determine whether the concealment of the room was carried out at the time of the burial of the queens or at a later date (21<sup>st</sup> Dynasty) to protect the contents<sup>51</sup>.



Fig.I.43 – The WD A tomb corridor B end and the chamber C access (photo Lilyquist 2003, Fig.46)

Other structural data observed are that “large chunks of limestone had fallen from the ceiling were discovered still intact in various points of the chamber” (Lilyquist 2003, 60), and that the “upper ceiling of chamber C were traces of black layer smoke probably from due to the robbers fires, fissures blackened by bats and some mud layers (all way to the top), and white (lime?) deposits in the fissures. Presumably the ceiling fell in because of the lack of reinforcing chert layer(s), water seepage from above, and humidity from rain water entering the corridor. The chamber is, after all, the ultimate catchment for water coming off the plateau and emptying into Wadi D”. (Lilyquist 2003, 61). This is an effect due to the very slight slope of the gorge surface: 176.97 m at the highest point inside and

<sup>51</sup> - Two graffiti (nos. 1358 and 1359a) written by the royal scribe Butehamun (see below) in the 6<sup>th</sup> and 21<sup>st</sup> year of Smendes I attest inspections at the site and may be connected with the tomb (Peden 2001, 262-263 see note no.852).

175.19 m at the gorge mouth; as a result, in the event of rain, the water deposit inside the gorge can easily penetrate the tomb, as the access depth (175.75 m: Lilyquist 2003, Fig.I.44) is lower (about 20 cm) than the average level. After cleaning the tomb, the interior features revealed no phases of transformation, and it is to be assumed that it was planned *ab origine* by a single building program.

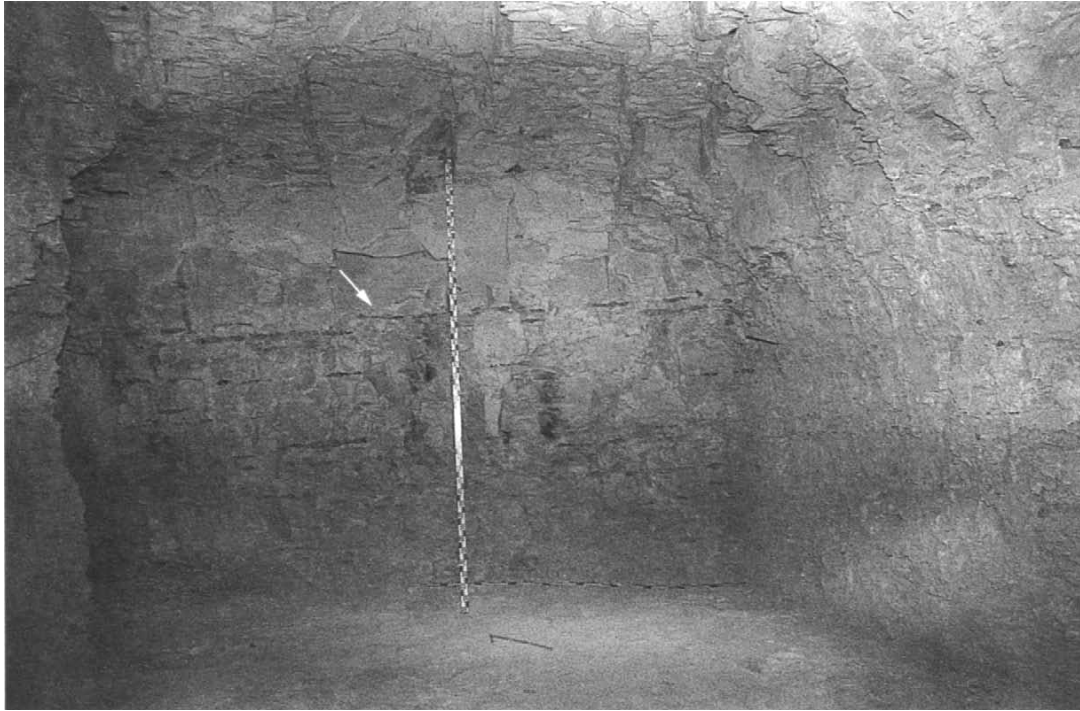


Fig.I.44 – The WD A tomb chamber C after cleaning (photo Lilyquist 2003, Fig.47)

From a planimetric point of view, as already mentioned, WD A can be compared with KV39 (phase II); in the second phase of the last tomb, a very long corridor consisting of several sections (with steps) was created, while the burial chamber is at a right angle to the direction of the corridor (Aston 2015, 23). As can be seen in Fig.I.45, the two funerary structures appear to use the same planimetric pattern, even if WD A has an absence of stairs in the corridor, the quadrangular shape of the burial chamber than rectangular, and the left turn angle of this room, as well as, in the access.

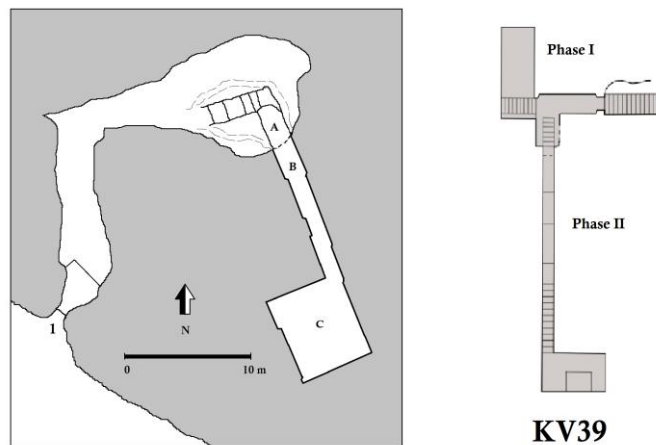


Fig.I.45 – The WD B and KV39 plans (drawing author and TMP)

Another funerary structure that

uses this solution is KV46, but unless it was possibly reused during the reign of Amenhotep III<sup>52</sup>, it is later (Wilkinson-Reeves 2000, 175-176).

### *External architecture*

On the cliff face, there are two elements similar to those observed in the cliff tombs of the Wadi Sikkat: the ‘cascade’ opening (Fig.I.46a) and the “cornice” (or false door); the latter is 2.07 m high and 1.45-68 m wide and is carefully done (Fig.I.46b)<sup>53</sup>.

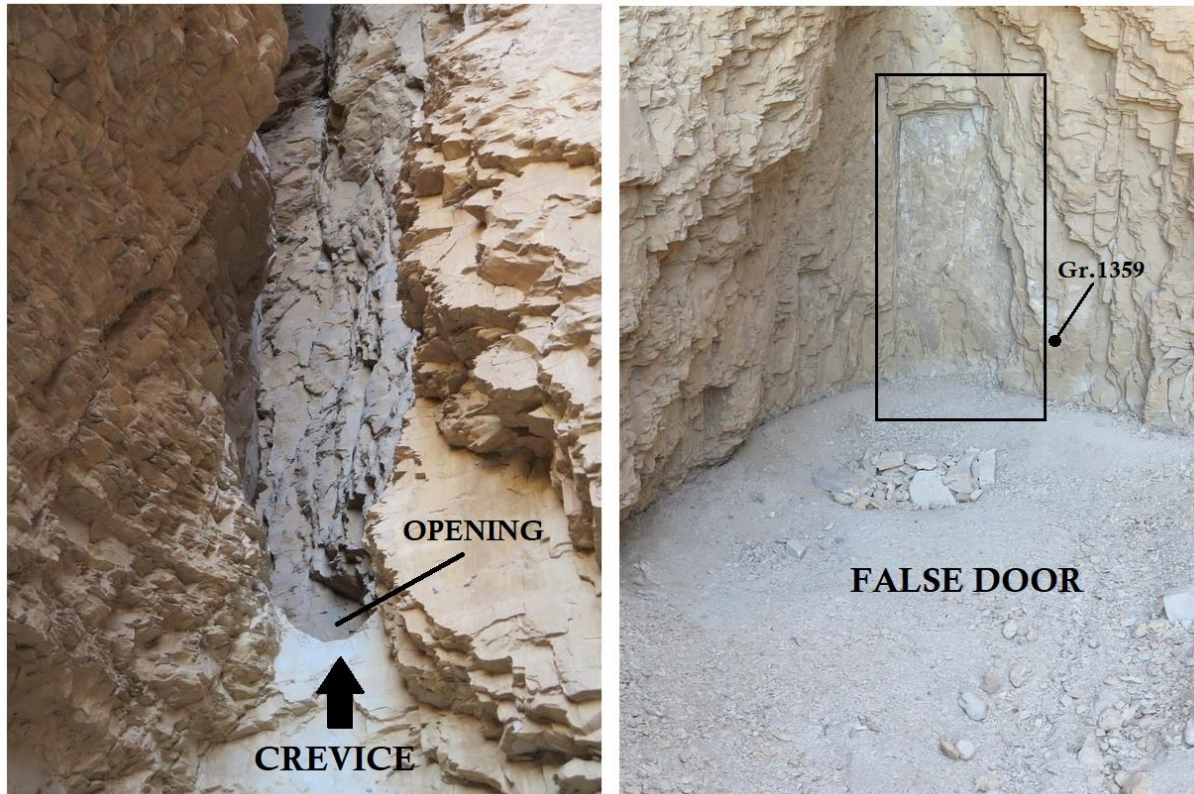


Fig.I.46 – The WD A cliff tomb opening (a) and the cornice (b) in 2019 (photo author)

The access to the east of the ravine has the same orientation as the tomb; the choice of site for the cliff tomb must probably be conditioned by the morphology of the site; but, if in WA D the sunset directly illuminates the access to the tomb, where the light only strikes the opening and the ‘cornice’ but does not penetrate inside the ravine. Is an arrangement that we see in the Valley of the Kings, in the ravine where KV33 and KV34 are located; in fact, the tomb of Tuthmosis III itself is positioned at the bottom of the gorge and thus carefully hidden.

<sup>52</sup> - This is because the layout of KV46 is in fact very similar to that of the other two tombs and, given the absence of wall decorations or inscriptions suggesting that it was prepared for Yuya and Tuya, does not exclude this possibility. On the other hand, if the dating of WD A is to be associated with the burial of the three Asian wives of Tuthmosis III, just as the second architectural phase of KV39 is to be dated before the reign of Amenhotep II (Aston 2015, 23), a coeval dating could also be assumed for KV46.

<sup>53</sup> - In his report, Lilyquist (2003,61) does mention only the ‘water-worn fissure’ (the opening on rocky wall) but not this element, although it is clearly visible on the rocky wall. The observation of the meticulous and regular cutting of the rock, especially on the western side, confirms the quality of the work carried out. Confirmation of the antiquity of the work is demonstrated by the presence of the Butehamun graffito No.1359 on the eastern ‘pillar’ of the cornice; the hieratic inscription is in fact engraved on a careful smoothed part of the rock face after the excavation work of the cornice.



Regarding the path that leads to the cliff tomb, it should be noted that, here, access to the valley via the lower path appears to be the least easy due to the presence of a difficult-to-travel canyon at the mouth of the valley (Fig.I.47a); however, the presence of graffiti engraved on the cliff walls along the path (after crossing the canyon) confirms its use by the necropolis' workers and scribes during the 21<sup>st</sup> Dynasty (Fig.I.47b).

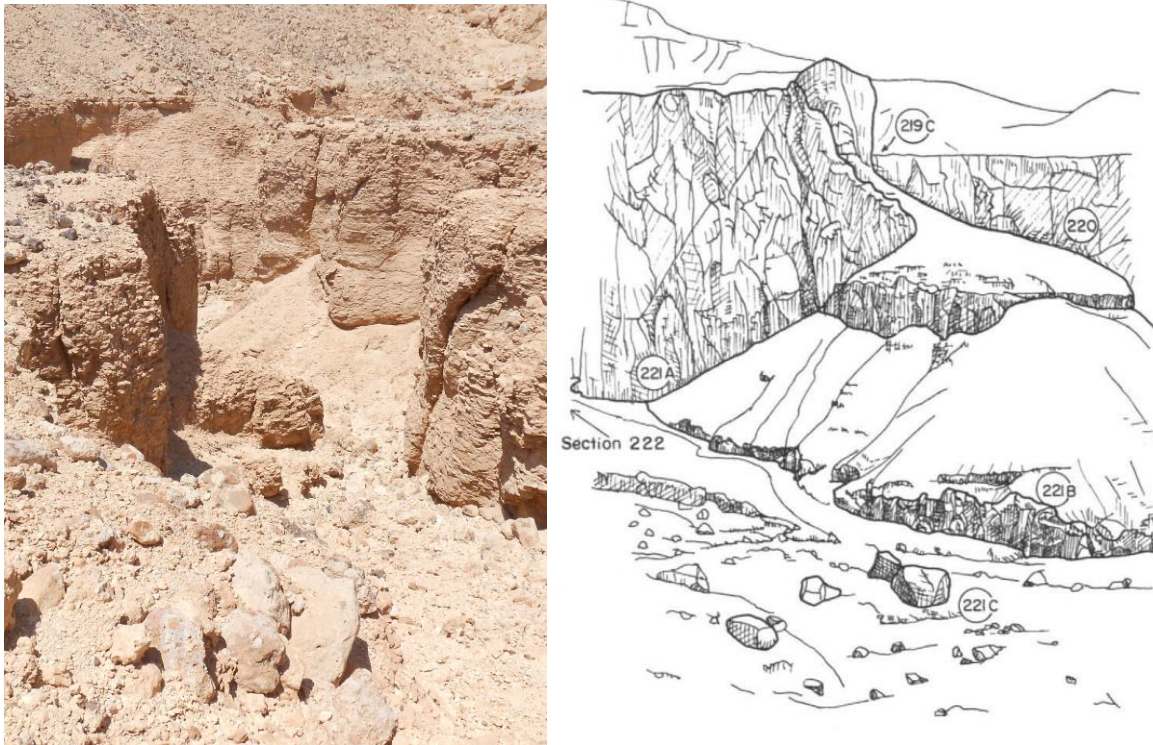


Fig.I.47 – a. The Wadi D canyon; b. the lower path with graffiti sections (photo author; GMT I Pl.206)

### *Finds*

By the documentation available about the discovery, for Lilyquist, it seems clear that “most of the valuable objects recovered by Winlock are only 10% of a trousseau that must have been much larger and left intact by the scribes of the necropolis in the XXI dynasty”. The remains are: “sherds of large storage jars and the pottery of Tuthmoside type similar to those discovered at the base of the crevice. In the crevice tunnel (platform) and near the tomb access there are some traces of installations of modern times, probably used by Qurnawis thieves in 1916”<sup>54</sup>. There are also modern remains as “part of clothes, ropes, part of baskets, cigarettes butts and plastic bottles”. The latter type of material was discovered in the path and near the access of the tomb and belonged to Qurnawis discoverers of 1916 and workers who were in the service of Winlock in 1922.

As far as the finds within the cliff tomb are concerned, the pottery is the most numerous and dates to the Thuthmosid period, and all of them are typical of a funeral provision; the clay most commonly used is Nile B2, less so Nile D, E, Marl A2, A4, D, Oasis and, in a small percentage, clay from the Levant for the amphorae of Canaanite shape<sup>55</sup>. For the

<sup>54</sup> - For a detailed description of the finds *in situ*, summarized in the following pages only to describe the archaeological context of reference, see Lilyquist 2003, 58-77.

<sup>55</sup> - Are the P99, P101 and P102 (Lilyquist 2003, 65).

forms, “slightly more than half of the Nile-ware tomb vessels were open shapes; of marls, a quarter of the shapes were open. These findings correspond with the view that silt wares were more often used for food presentation, while harder clays generally used for storage and transport” (Lilyquist 2003, 63-65).

Another essential datum is the presence of hieroglyphic names of Tutmosi III’s wives (*Manuwa*, *Mahata* and *Maruta*) engraved on twelve canopic jars and three heart scarabs, as well as hieratic names painted on three Nile B2 jars (type p1-p3) from the early 18<sup>th</sup> Dynasty that confirms the identity of the tomb owners (Lilyquist 2003, 329-332 and 333-336).

Inside the tomb was a comprehensive deal of debris of “dry earth, smaller chips, robber’s remains, skin and bone, and occasional pieces of ancient pottery and bits of glass or beads”, while in the burial chamber were found “a faience tube head, sections of two Egyptian blue lentoid beads, fragments of amber glass and four bits of turquoise glass”. In addition to the debris found on the burial chamber floor were “various robbers’ traces or by local guides as large ropes, cigarettes butts, parts of cloths, an electric cable, a match box, ladder rungs, pieces of thick green glass, modern pottery, etc” (Lilyquist 2003, 60).

After his 1988 fieldwork in WD B, Lilyquist points out that he found ceramic artifacts to date the tomb, other artifacts from the trousseau that had never been seen by previous explorers, as well as clarified the exact provenance of some finds already discovered by Winlock and Carter. Despite this, the scholar admits that “the 1988 excavations did not uncover any significant new objects, or the traces of items that surely were there, such as coffins and bones.” (Lilyquist 2003,76).

During the 2018-2019 season, the archaeological mission led by the writer was able to carry out a brief inspection of the ravine and proceeded to check the state of conservation of the graffiti. Some of the debris consists of plastic bottles, mud, chipped stones, sand, and scraps of plaid used by modern inhabitants covering the access shaft to the tomb.

### *The graffiti*

An essential source for establishing the possible reuse of the cliff tombs described thus far is the graffiti etched on rocks within a short distance of these structures<sup>56</sup>. The graffiti is not only an attestation of inspection or activities carried out on the tombs but has the merit of fixing in time the precise moment in which these occurred. Each graffiti can contain valuable data about the author (date, titles, and working context) at the place of its creation<sup>57</sup>. The inscriptions were written in hieratic writing, the standard type of writing at the time, depicted in black or red ink or carved on rocky surfaces using bronze chisels (Fig.I.48). It is a perfect exemplification of the problem of recording some information on the place selected of the necropolis, but in many cases, this complex arrangement brings issues in identifying the inscriptions’ names and authors and understanding their meaning.

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<sup>56</sup> - Carter 1917; GMT 1977, sections 216, 217, 218A-B, 219A-B, 220A-B-C, 231 A-B; Peden 2001, 144-145, 235-237, 262-265; Lilyquist 2003, 7-11, appendix 1.

<sup>57</sup> - The graffiti writing and use: Černý 1973; Peden 2001; Rzepka 2014; Cavillier 2018.



However, 80% of the carved graffiti are now illegible by the natural deterioration of rock through rainwater erosion and wetting-drying cycles or by the typical fractures<sup>58</sup>.

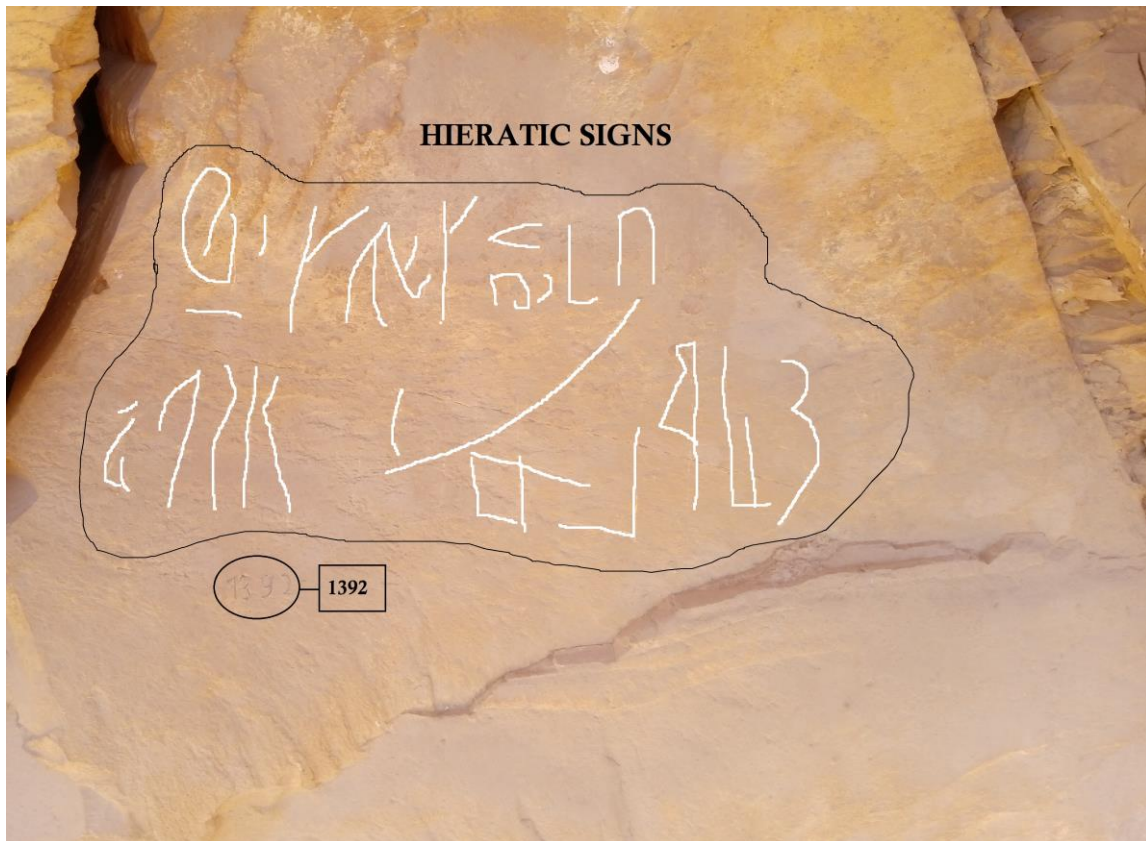


Fig.I.48 – The Butehamun graffiti no.1392 on Wadi A in 2019, hardly visible (photo with evidence by the author)

Returning to the cliff tombs in the Wadis A-C-D; it is interesting to note that no inspections are recorded before the 21<sup>st</sup> Dynasty, and non-dated petroglyphs and graffiti of the 18<sup>th</sup> Dynasty are carved on these circle rocks<sup>59</sup>. The most important records of activities (inspections and tomb work) are dated to the early 21<sup>st</sup> Dynasty by the royal scribe Butehamun and his sons and collaborators<sup>60</sup>. Of Butehamun are known more than one hundred and fifty graffiti that attest to his activity in essential areas of the necropolis destined for rulers and members of the royal family burials, including the Valley of the Kings, the Valley of the Monkey, the Valley of the Queens and Deir el-Bahari<sup>61</sup>. The inspections and the selection of the two tombs used as royal *caches* known (TT320 and KV35), as well as the activity in some funerary structures unfinished in the Valley of the Rope, Valley of the Pits, Valley of the Monkey, Valley of the Last Montuhotep could be attributed to him and his sons. Of course, whether these shafts' excavation can be

<sup>58</sup> - About the rock deterioration in Theban necropolis see: Sevi-Ismail-Stephenson 2006. For completeness, the graphic transcriptions of the graffiti mentioned in the thesis (with some recent photos) are given in a special appendix at the end of the volume.

<sup>59</sup> - A useful summary of these graffiti: Lilyquist 2003, 6-7.

<sup>60</sup> - This scribe was responsible for the necropolis during the Smendes I's reign and to him we owe the activity of evacuation of the royal tombs to protect them from looting; about the royal scribe and his activity in the necropolis see: Barwick 2011b, 257 and 282-286; Cavillier 2018, 7-19.

<sup>61</sup> - For an up-to-date report on the graffiti of the scribe Butehamun see Cavillier 2018, 63-102.

attributed to the royal scribe is unknown. Still, the presence of his graffiti in connection with these excavations confirms the interest of the necropolis administration in some remoted safer sites so suitable for housing royal mummies. By the Butehamun texts found in the Wadi A-C-D it is possible to assume that the cliff tombs (including the funerary shafts HC no.20 and 21) were taken into consideration for inspection and probably reuse as tombs for the high priests of Amun or royal caches; as Carter (1916, 181) rightly observes and Lilyquist points out (2003, 10), the stay of Butehamun and his collaborators in these inhospitable and distant valleys must have had a specific intent and careful planning; therefore, it is plausible that the construction or reuse of the cliff tombs may have motivated the royal scribe to frequent these places. The enumeration of the graffiti follows the system based on the contributions of Spiegelberg (1921), Černý (1956), and CEDAE (1970-1983).

## Wadi A

### 1. *The funerary shaft HC 20 area (Fig.I.49)*

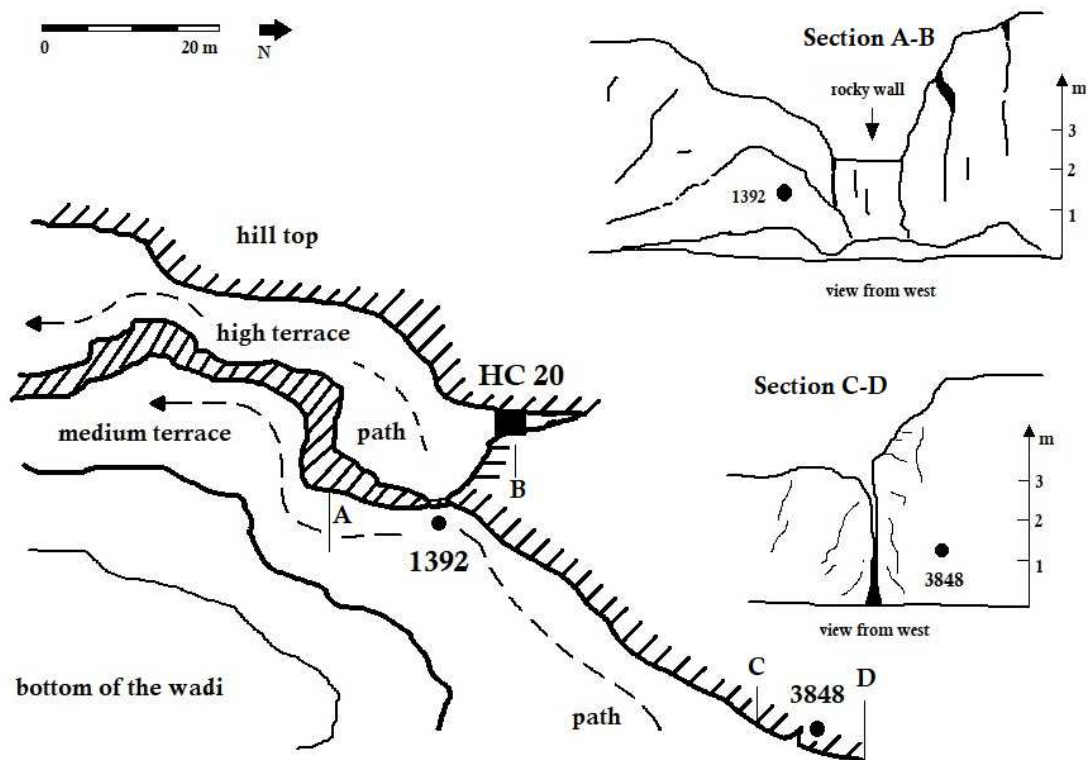


Fig.I.49 – Plan and section position of graffiti no.1392 and 3848 on Wadi A (drawing author)

### 2. *The funerary shaft HC 21 area (HC 24-25 and Baraize's cliff tomb; Fig.I.50)*

Graffito 1393 attests to the inspection of the area in year 12 of Smendes I's reign by Butehamon and his son and successor as scribe of the necropolis Ankhfenamun, probably for Hatshepsut and Baraize's cliff tombs or for a burial in HC 21, later unfinished or the soundings made in the small shafts HC 24 and 25. The second graffiti bears only the name and title of Butehamun, and it was placed near another graffiti (1396) that contains a prayer for the Theban triad (Amun, Mut and Khonsu) and Montu, probably done by the same author.

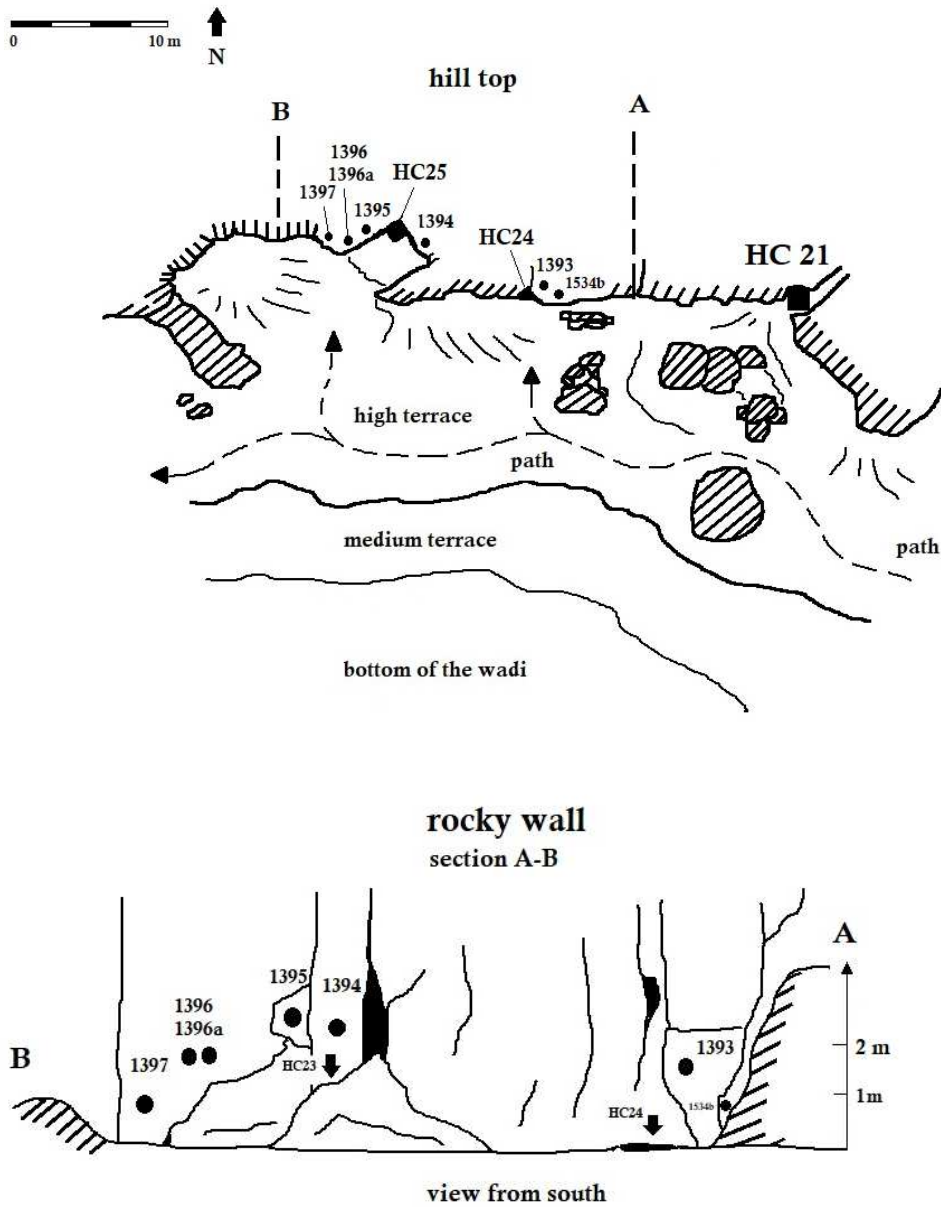


Fig.I.50 – Plan and section position of Butehamun (and others) graffiti on Wadi A (drawing author)

No. 1393



(1) *rnpt 12, 3bd 1 šmw, ssw 8* (2) *nfryt 3bd šmw, ssw 9, hrw pn iy r ḏww* (3) *r m33 in sš Bw-th3-Imn* (4) *sš ḥḥ.f-n-Imn n pr-ḥr-pr imnt w3st*

“Year 12, 1<sup>st</sup> month of shomu, day 8; the same month of shomu, day 9. In this day, coming to see the hills by the scribe Butehamun and the scribe Ankhefenamun of the necropolis of Thebes West” (Černý 1956 GMT = Reg.E - Sect.2 - Sez.217).



(1) *i.irt ii r m33 dw* (2) *smi p3 bin n Imn Mwt Hnsw* (3) *[h]y Mntw n3 nty rh ht hcp rwd* (4) *iw.w db3w n p3 bin iw.w sd p3 m3t n bin r. f[---]* (5) *i.n? n.k Imn nsty t3wy mntk i.ir.tw.k db3w.n n (a) sš Bw-th3-Imn*

“This is done coming to see the hills: a report of evil to Amon, Mut and Khonsu. Hi Montu who are known in the womb (of this) secret and prosper place! We (ask) the compensation for the evil! We (ask) let the truth take (it) away so that no evil (is) in his mouth [---] our? for you, Amon ruler of gods of Two Lands, you are the one who ensures that our petitions do not go away (i.e. do not return). The scribe Butehamun”. (Černý 1956 GMT = Reg.E - Sect.2 - Sez.217)

Wadi C

The so-called “Princess Neferure tomb” (WC D; Fig.I.51a-b)

The graffiti 1301, 1307 and 1309 attest inspections of the area, probably for the realization of a burial in the year 1<sup>st</sup>, 2<sup>nd</sup> month of *prr*, day 2 of Smendes I’s reign or more likely of Payndjem I. The graffiti 1308, 3926 and 3931 attest the titles and name of Butehamun and one of his sons and collaborators, the scribe Pakhynetjer (n.1308).

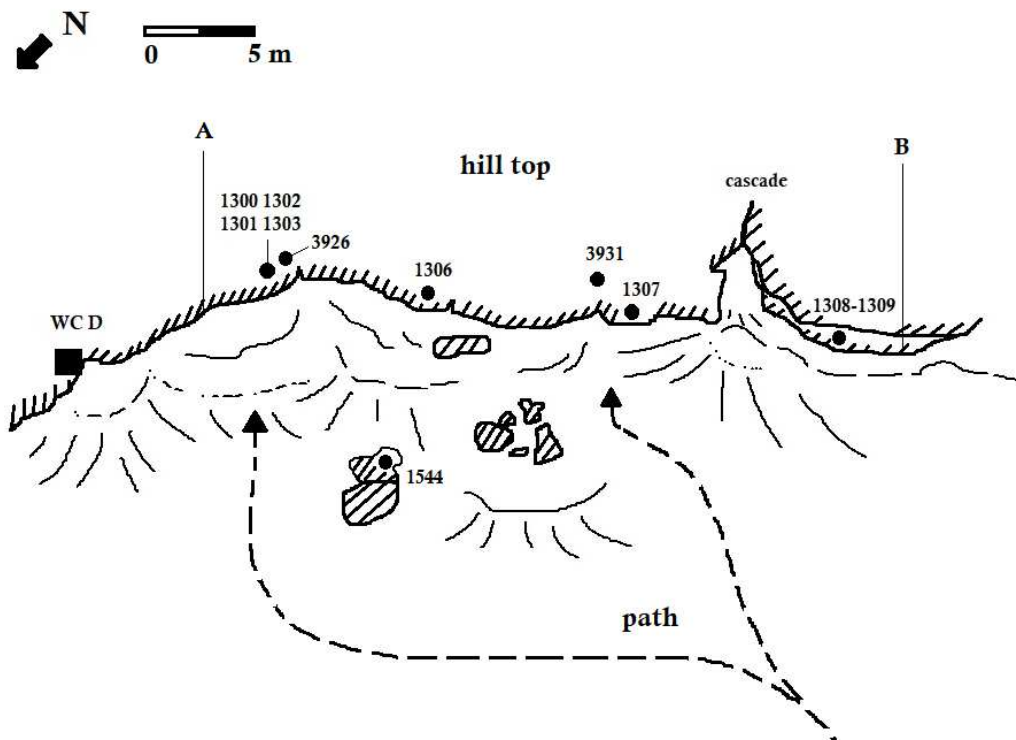


Fig.I.51a – Plan of the position of Butehamun (and others) graffiti on Wadi C (drawing author)



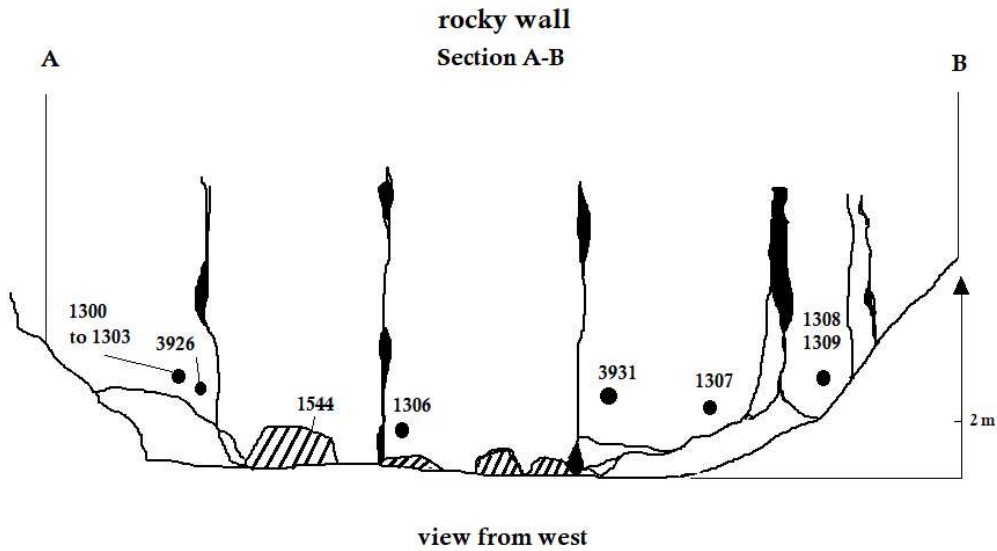


Fig.I.51b –Section of the position of Butehamun (and others) graffiti on Wadi C (drawing author)

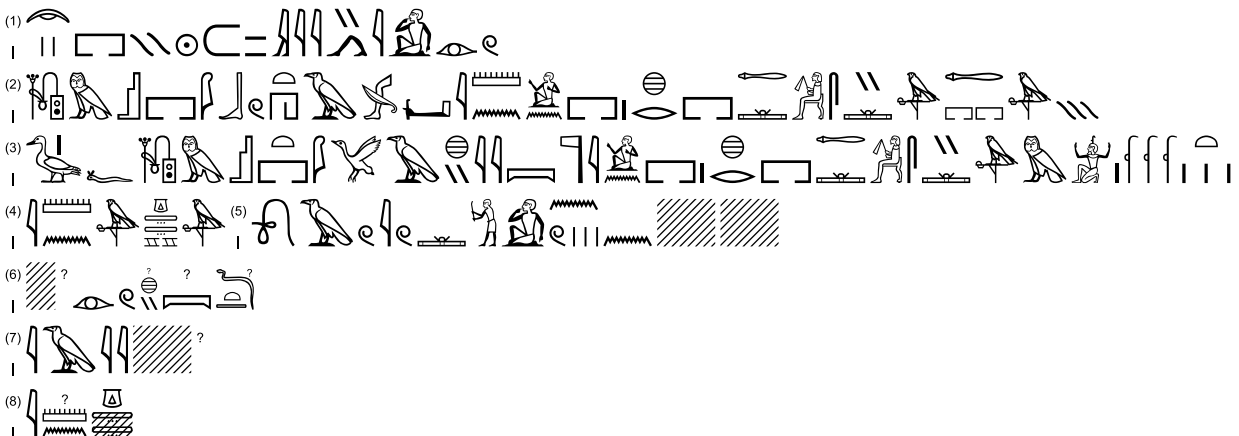
No. 1301



(1) *rnpt 1, 3bd 2 prt, ssw 2, iy sš Bw-th3-Imn* (2) *w3b n Imn sw-wcy hri* (3) *P3-ḥr-n-t3-ḥt*  
(4) *hri* (5) *ns-Imn-ipr*

“Year 1, 2<sup>nd</sup> month of peret, day 2, coming by the scribe Butehamun, the priest of Amun Hori, (the workers) Pahertahat, Hori, Nesamunaper” (Černý 1956 GMT = Reg.E - Sect.3 - Sez.220A).

No.1307



(1) *3bd 2 prt, ssw 12, iy i.irw* (2) *sš m st-M3t Bw-th3-Imn n pr-ḥr-pr 3 špsy 3-prw*  
(3) *z3.f sš m st-M3t p3-ḥy-ntr n pr-ḥr-pr 3 špsy m ḥḥ rnpwt*  
(4) *Imn nst t3wy* (5) *w3w.n n [---]* (6) *[---] irw ky? dt?* (7) *i3y[---]* (8) *Imn nst t3wy*



“2<sup>nd</sup> month of peret, day 12, coming done by the scribe of the place of truth Butehamun of the great, noble and royal necropolis, his son the scribe of place of truth Paky-Netjer of the great, noble of thousands of years, Amun ruler of god(s) of Two Lands. Our leader of (workers) [---] has done [Pa]ky[netjer?] forever(?) [...] iauy[---] Amun ruler (of gods of) Two Lands” (Černý 1956 GMT = Reg.E - Sect.3 - Sez.220A).

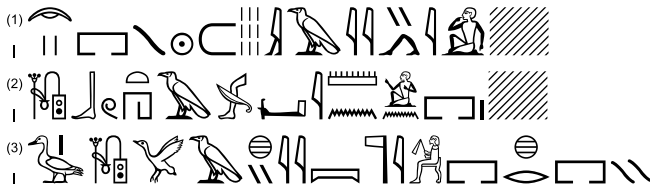
No.1308



(1) sš-nsw Bw-th3-Imn n pr-hr-pr (2) z3 n sš-nsw dhwtj-ms n st-M3t (3) z3.f sš m st-M3t p3-hy-ntr

“the royal scribe Butehamun of the necropolis, son of the royal scribe Tuthmosis of place of truth, his son the scribe of the place of truth Pakynetjer” (Černý 1956 GMT = Reg.E - Sect.3 - Sez.220A).

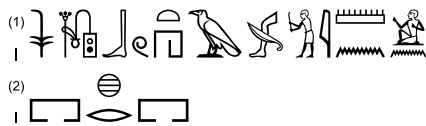
No.1309



(1) 3bd 2 prt, ssw 19, iy i.[---] (2) sš Bw-th3-Imn pr[---] (3) z3.f sš p3-hy-ntr špsy pr-hr-pr

“2<sup>nd</sup> month of peret, day 19, coming by[---]the scribe Butehamun of the necropolis [---], his son the scribe Pakynetjer of the noble necropolis” (Černý 1956 GMT = Reg.E - Sect.3 - Sez.220A).

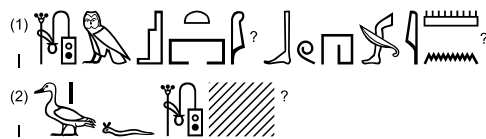
No.3926 (=1304)



(1) sš-nsw Bw-th3-Imn n (2) pr-hr-pr

“the royal scribe Butehamun of the necropolis” (Černý 1956 GMT = Reg.E - Sect.3 - Sez.220A)

No.3931



(1) sš m st-M3t Bw-th3-Imn (2) z3.f sš [---]

“the scribe of the place of truth Butehamun, his son [---]”(CEDAE GMT = Reg.E - Sect.3 - Sez.220A).

## Wadi D

### *The tomb of the Asian wives of Tuthmosi III (Fig.I.52)*

Graffiti 1358 and 1359 attest to two inspections of the area. The first inscription is engraved on a rock wall at the valley's entrance and where there are some small funeral wells, and attests to an inspection in the year 6<sup>th</sup>, 3<sup>rd</sup> month of *šmw*, day 11 Smendes I's reign. The second inscription is engraved on the right wall of the false door of the tomb of the Asian wives of Tuthmosi III, at the base of the crevice. It attests to an inspection of the site in the year 21<sup>st</sup>, 1<sup>st</sup> month of *3ht*, day 20 of Smendes I's reign by the scribe Nebhepe, son of Butehamun, with others workers of the necropolis.

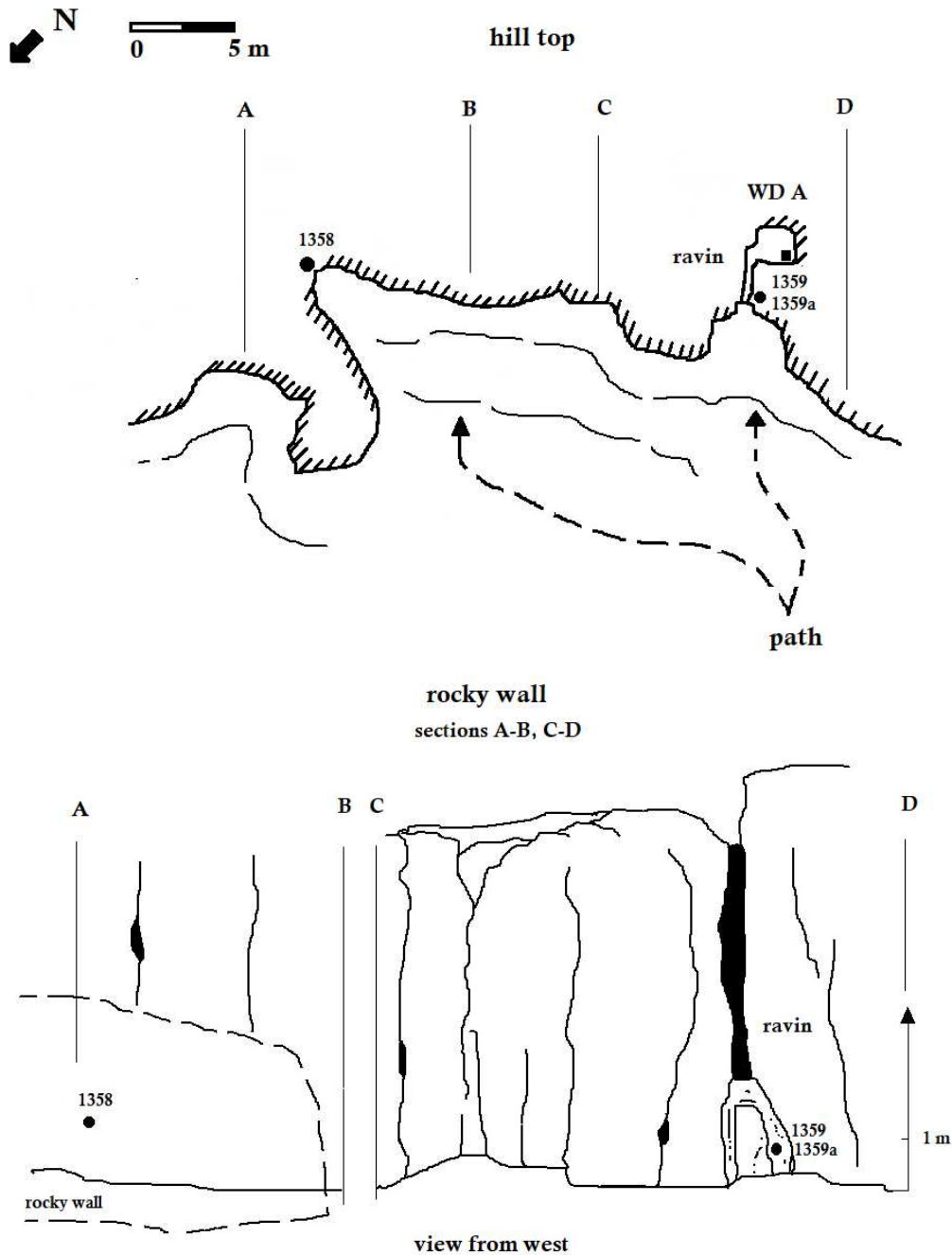
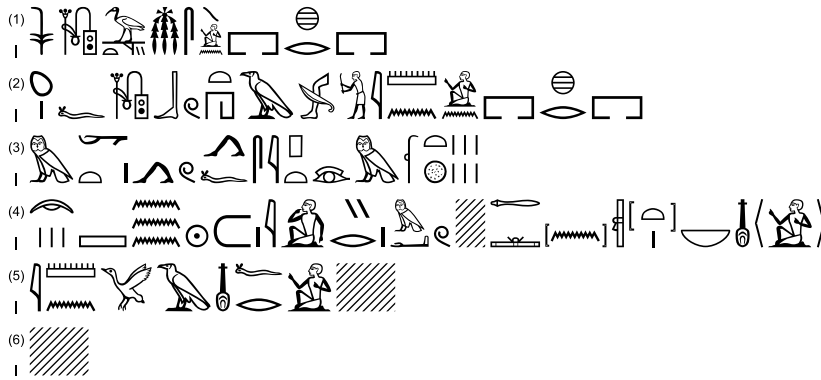


Fig.I.52 –Plan and section of the position of Butehamun graffiti on Wadi D (drawing author)

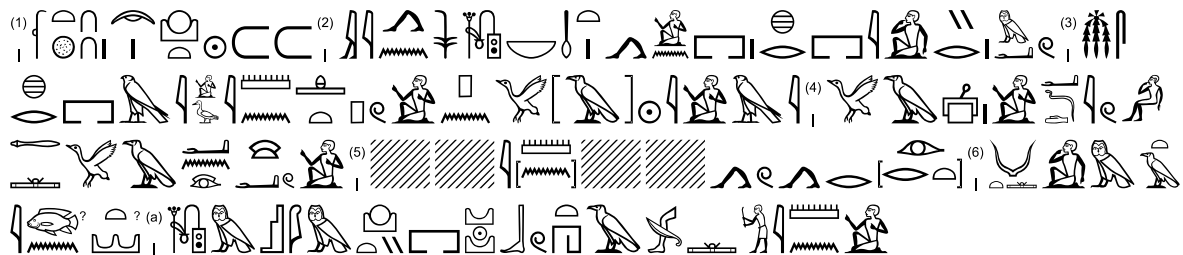
No.1358=3951



(1) *sš-nsw dhwty-ms n pr-hr-pr* (2) *z3.f sš Bw-th3-Imn n pr-hr-pr* (3) *m-ht iw.f sipt m rnpt*  
6 (4) *3bd 3 šmw, ssw 11, irm [---] 3 n iz nb-nfr* (5) *Imn-p3-nfr*

“the royal scribe Tuthmosis of the necropolis, his son the scribe Butehamun of the necropolis, when he come to inspection in year 6, 3<sup>rd</sup> month of shomu, day 1, in company of the leader of the squad Nebnufer, Amunpanefer [---]” (Černý 1956 GMT = Reg.E - Sect.3 - Sez.222B)

No.1359+1359a



(1) *rnpt 21, 3bd 1 3ht, ssw 20* (2) *iy n sš-nsw Nb-hpt n pr-hr-pr irm* (3) *ms-hr-hri z3 Imn-htpw pn-p3-r<sup>i</sup> hri* (4) *p3-s3 ddiw 3-p3<sup>n</sup>-h3w* (5) *[---] Imn [---] iw r ir[t]* (6) *wpt m t3 int*  
(a) *sš m st-M3<sup>t</sup> m 3hty Bw-th3-Imn*

“year 21, 1<sup>st</sup> month of Akhet, day 20, coming by the royal scribe Nebhepe of necropolis in company with the child of the tomb Hori, son of Amenhotep, Penparei, Hori, Pasa (and) the senior youth Paankha [---] Amon [---] coming to [perform] a task in the valley, the scribe of the place of truth of the horizon Butehamun” (Černý 1956 GMT = Reg.E - Sect.3 - Sez.222B).

As mentioned, other graffiti dating from the end of the 20<sup>th</sup> to the beginning of the 21<sup>st</sup> Dynasty show some frequentation of Wadi A, B, C and D by scribes and necropolis workers. However, unlike what we know of Butehamun and his collaborators, the reason for these visits is still unclear. Most of these inscriptions bear only the name and title of the author, and that activity may have been surveyed for possible reuse of graves already known, or like in the case of Nainudjem, to appropriate grave goods for their reuse (Peden 2001, 261-263; Lilyquist 2003, 8-10).

- In Wadi A, there are the graffiti of the royal workers Amun(neb)nesttaeynakhte (no. 1534b), Ity (no.1535) and Nainudjem (nos.1394-1397); this last inscription contains the cited prayer to Amun to grant him “*to find two coffins in them (the mountain)*”.
- In Wadi C, there are the graffiti of the scribe Ankhefenamun (no.1306), Mehaftho (no.1300) and workman Nainudjem son of Akhay (nos.1303-1348); this last figure held also the title of scribe.
- In Wadi D, there are the graffiti of the workman Dikhonsiry (no.3955), of the scribe and priest of Amenhotep Ankhefenamun (1359a) and the high priest of Amun Herihor (no.1299).

The peculiarities of these remote sites seem to have attracted visitors from the Ptolemaic to Late Roman eras; various graffiti and some baboon burials confirm this hypothesis. In the Coptic period, grottos and *hypogea* were used by Anchorites living in nearby valleys such as the Valley of the Spanish Pilgrims and the Valley of the Queens, as confirmed by the graffiti and artefacts<sup>62</sup>.

## Conclusions

From an initial examination of the cliff tombs and the sources in our possession, it is clear that each structure seems to exploit different models; in fact, in the Wadi Sikkat the two known tombs, that of Hatshepsut and the Baraize tomb, differ in size and plan, although an attempt has been made to roughly construct on the outer rock surface of the latter some elements such as the opening for draining rainwater and the 'corniche' or false door.

Regarding WC A, believed to be the tomb of Neferure, structural elements link it to WA D, such as the intersection from the antechamber C and the corridor/room D and the layout of the burial chamber at his final stage. Still, the cliff tomb also has some exciting analogies with TT358 for the rectangular shape of the interior rooms.

WD A has completely different planimetric characteristics from the other three tombs but similar to KV39 in its second phase which confirms its dating to the reign of Tuthmosis III; the discovery of the tomb and the analysis of the artifacts found by Winlock and Lilyquist ensure that the tomb was built for the Asian wives of the sovereign and it was never violated in antiquity.

About the shafts HC no. 20-21 in Wadi A, here taken into consideration only for completeness of treatment, it is not possible to establish their dating and function; the few finds present in them, although from the Tuthmosid period, do not allow us to hypothesize whether they are original material from the tombs or transferred to them during the 21<sup>st</sup> Dynasty. Butehamun's graffiti near these funerary structures suggests their use as caches or burials in a sector of the necropolis still considered safe.

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62 - See Lilyquist 2003, 8-18; Delattre-Lecuyot-Thirard 2006; 2008; Lecuyot-Delattre 2008; Lecuyot 2009.

## SECTION II

### THE CLIFF TOMBS IN DEIR EL-BAHARI VALLEY

In the Deir el-Bahari area (Fig.II.1-2), there are four wadis: Wadi en-Nisr, Valley of the Last Montuhotep (also called “Valley of the Colors”), Valley of Heqanakht, and Valley of the royal cache; it consists of four valleys in succession, the first of which, the highest, is located almost above the second; Wadi en-Nisr, also known as the “Valley of the Eagle”, rises on a rocky massif that bounds the valley of Deir el-Medina and the Ptolemaic temple of Hathor. The last valley in which the first royal cache (TT320) was discovered in 1881 is named after this tomb and is adjacent to the funerary temple of Montuhotep II.

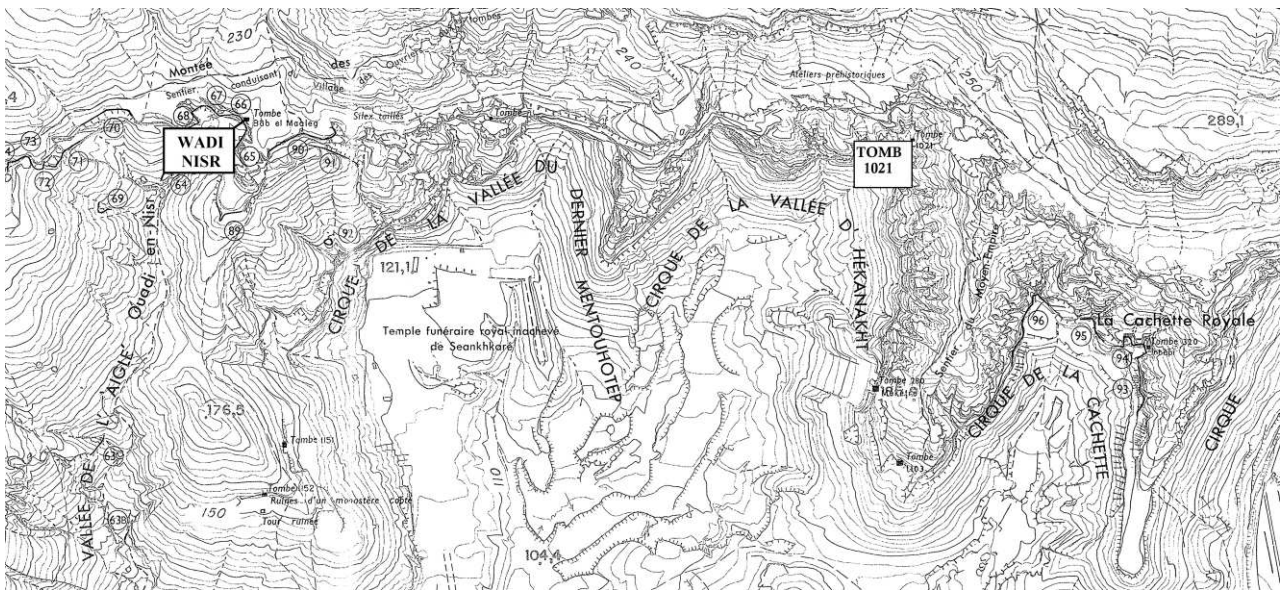


Fig.II.1a – The Deir el-Bahari valleys (GMT I, General Plans)

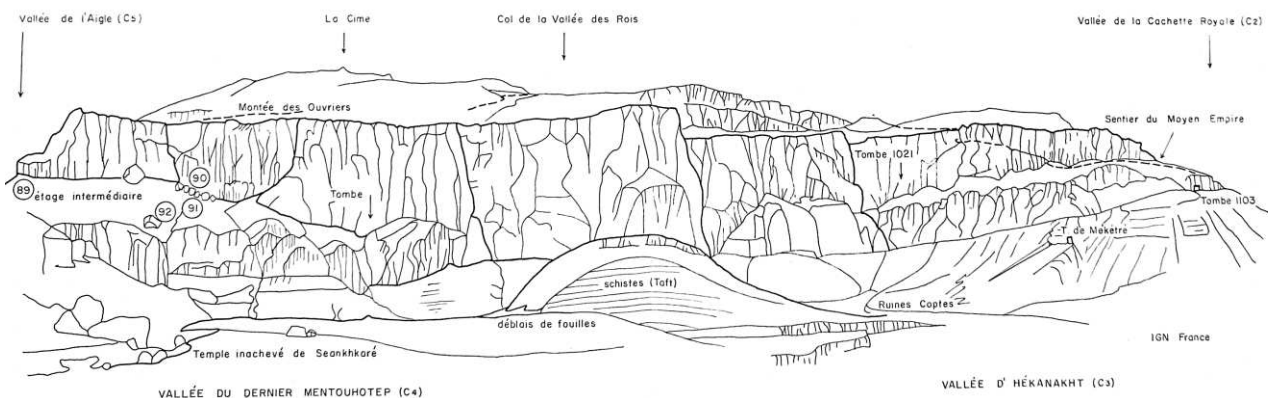


Fig.II.1b – The Deir el-Bahari valleys sections (GMT II, Pl. CXIV)

### Geologic and historical context

The morphology of the valleys falls perfectly into the “Thebes Limestone Formation”, and as for sites cited in Section I, the vertical cliffs exposed the tabular structure typical of the Gebel Gurna; here, the rock structure dating back to the Palaeocene-Eocene has remained sub-horizontal or tabular with a predominance of compact limestone on the Esna Marls



and, below the last layer, the Tarawan Limestone; the previous two formations, the horizontal layers of which are visible from the valley floor, is set against the compact limestone core of the summit. Thus, at the base of the solid limestone layers (Layers I-III) is the Esna Formation, which takes place at the ground level of the extensive plateau with the Gurna hill at its centre (Fig.II.2a). The poor quality of the rock in the plain (a mixture of shale, chalk, and mud) did not allow the temple and burial structures of the Middle Kingdom to be preserved; in particular, the temple of Amenemhat I,<sup>1</sup> whose remains gave its name to the valley (Fig.II.2b) that contained it and of which only faint traces remain (Karlshausen-Dupuis 2015, 263-264).

The cliff tombs in Deir el-Bahari excavated in the highest part of the geological formation II-III (Member II-III) hills are solid from a structural point of view, and they are better preserved over the millennia; in fact, there are no traces of damage of their internal rocky walls due to the infiltration of rainwater from the upper terrace of hills. All cliff tombs in these valleys (WN-A, VC1, MA 1021, TT320, KV49) appear to be filled only with debris caused by rock erosion and everyday activity.

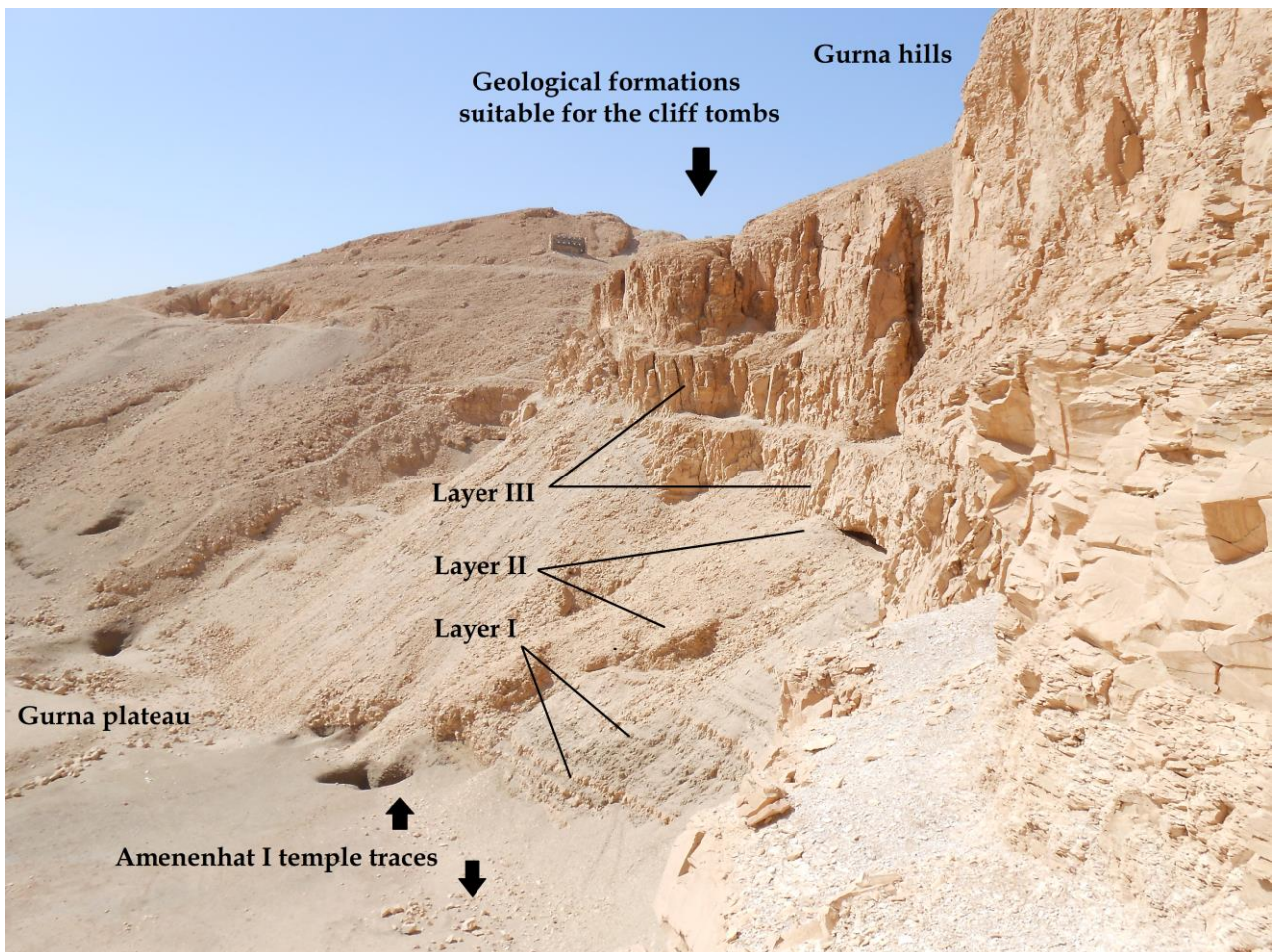


Fig.II.2a – The Valley of the Color geology layers and the Amenemhat I temple traces (photo author)

<sup>1</sup> - The remains of this temple complex have been attributed by Winlock (1941, 154-155) to Montuhotep III, based on the presence in this valley of the tomb of the chancellor Meketre (TT280) active during the reign of this king and the graffiti of the priests of Montuhotep II engraved near the funerary structure; on site, Petrie found traces of the “Sed chapel” of Montuhotep III and inscribed blocks (Petrie 1909, 4-6; Pl. IV-IX); now, it is commonly accepted the theory of Arnold (1991b, 14-18) that attributes the temple to Amenemhat Sehetepibre.



Fig.II.2b – The Valley of the Royal Cache geology layers (photo author)

Under the historical profile, it should be noted that, unlike other sectors of the necropolis in which no activities before the New Kingdom are attested (as said in Section I), that of Deir el-Bahari boasts a millenary tradition since the beginning of the Middle Kingdom until the end of II Intermediate Period; it is a fact to take into account for the analysis of the cliff tombs, as structures that are influenced by this tradition, in whole relationship with the Theban mountain and with its cultic and cultural context. The tombs located within the wide circle of Deir el-Bahari (Fig.II.3a)

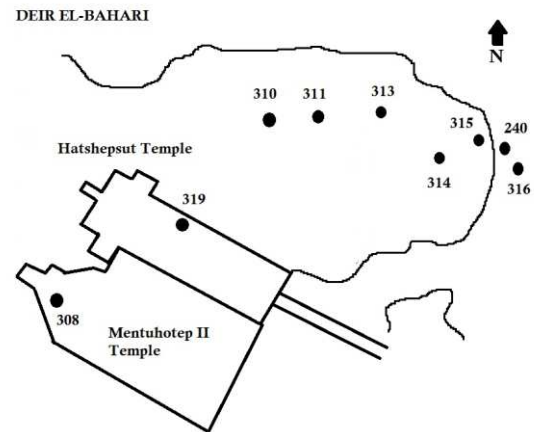


Fig.II.3a – The Deir el-Bahari circle tombs of the Middle Kingdom (drawing author)

and under the hill of el-Qurn constitute the first nucleus of a necropolis destined for the court and the royal family; the whole has as its centre of attraction the funerary temple *Akh-sut-Nebhepetre* of Montuhotep II; its rising elevation with successive terraces that evokes the solar creation myth (Arnold 1971), its orientation was where the sunrise at the middle-winter solstice (Gabolde 2015, 148; 153-154) and aligned with the structures of the nascent temple of Amun at Thebes (first small temple or chapel for Amun erected by Antef II: Polz 2001, 384). This was an ideal combination of royal and divine worship; the choice of the pharaoh to carry out his building program in the Deir el-Bahari site by exploiting the Theban heights and abandoning the flat area of el-Tarif from the 1<sup>st</sup> Intermediate Period symbolizes the new way of conceiving the cult concerning the divinity itself of the sacred mountain (Polz 2001, 386). This development led to Deir el-Bahari being considered a place of rocky worship dedicated to Amon of Thebes, whose sanctuary was in Karnak, to Hathor, identified with the sacred mountain, and to the divinity of the sovereign of which the funerary complex was full expression.



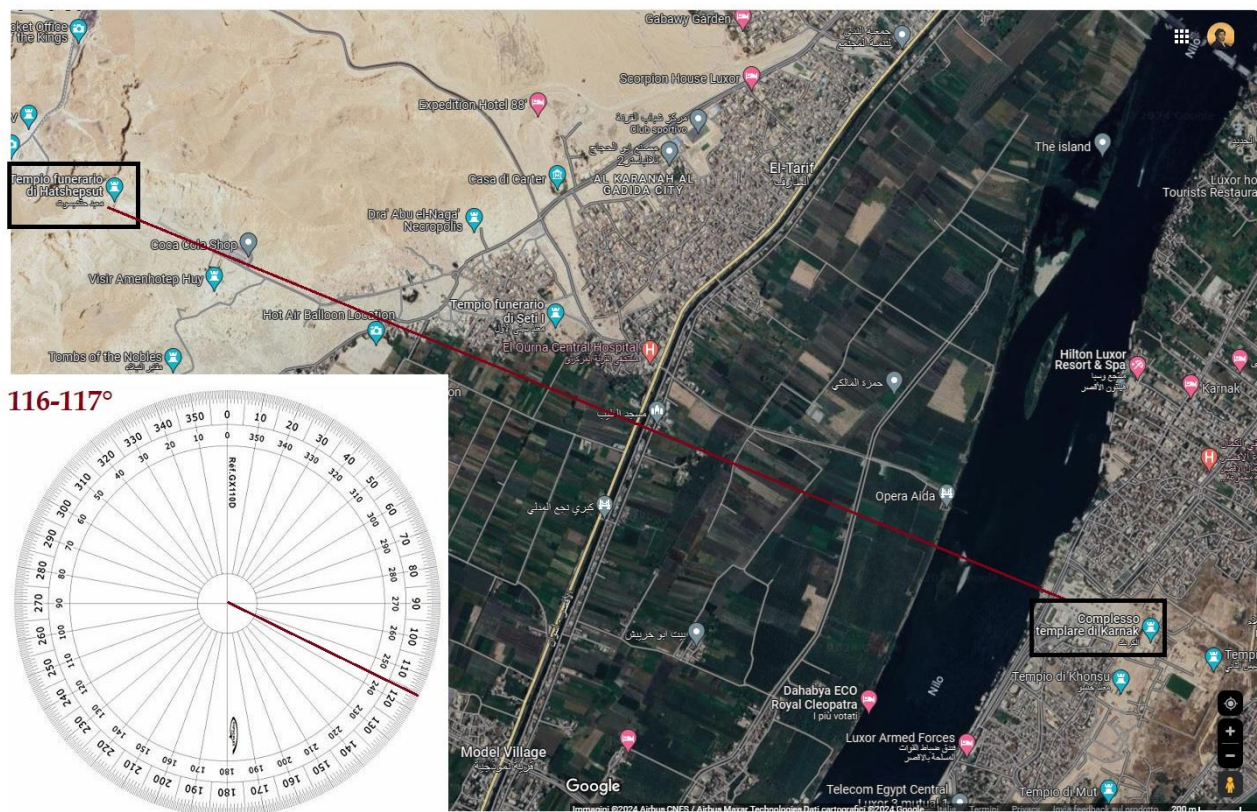


Fig.II.3b – The Deir el-Bahari temple alignment with Karnak temple (google map modified by the author)

The construction of the temple and tomb intended for the ruler in the wide rocky circle of Deir el-Bahari, as well as the tombs of the two consorts, queens Kemsit (TT308) and Nofru (TT319), seems to have triggered the development of the necropolis intended for high officials and members of the court. The funerary structures of Vizier Ipi (TT315), treasurer Khety (TT311), Great Administrator Henenu (TT313), Sealbearer Horhotep (TT314), chief archer Neferhotep (TT316), and Sealbearer overseer Meru (TT240), all coeval, have the peculiarity of being built on the heights surrounding the Montuhotep II complex. Also dating to this period are the tombs of nobles made on the western part of Gurna Hill and oriented toward the temple of the ruler (MMA Nos. 802, 803, 804, 805, 806, 807, 1104, 1105, 1106)<sup>2</sup>.

Between the end of the 11<sup>th</sup> Dynasty and the beginning of the Middle Kingdom, the construction of the temple of Amenemhat I in the Valley of Colours marks a different orientation of tombs toward this important complex (Allen 1996, 22; Chudzik 2013, 193; Karlshausen-Dupuis 2015, 266-267); we see this for the orientation of tombs MMA no.1151 and 1152 in the Valley of Colors, those in the adjoining Heqanakht Valley, including the tomb of the chief chancellor and administrator Meketre (TT280-MMA no.1101) and the royal butler Wah (TT22-MMA no.1102), to which are added MMA nos.1107, 1108, 1109, 1110, 1112, 1113, 1114 and 1115 on the low slopes of the hills between Gurna and Deir el Medina (Fig.II.3c-d).

The elevated development of the temple of Montuhotep II, in addition to constituting an important innovation in the temple architecture of the period, seems to have had notable effects on Theban funerary architecture; as already mentioned, in addition to the traditional

<sup>2</sup> - Winlock 1924; 1942; Pischikova *et al.* 2014.

use of the royal necropolis of El Tarif with tombs built on the plain at the level of the Nile, the sovereign opted for a solution that valorises the elevation as a morphological and cultural factor linked to the solar cult. Gabolde's (2015, 148-152) hypothesis on the presence of a monumental solar altar on the top of Montuhotep's temple seems to be confirmed by Hatshepsut's idea of installing a similar one on the high terrace of her temple.

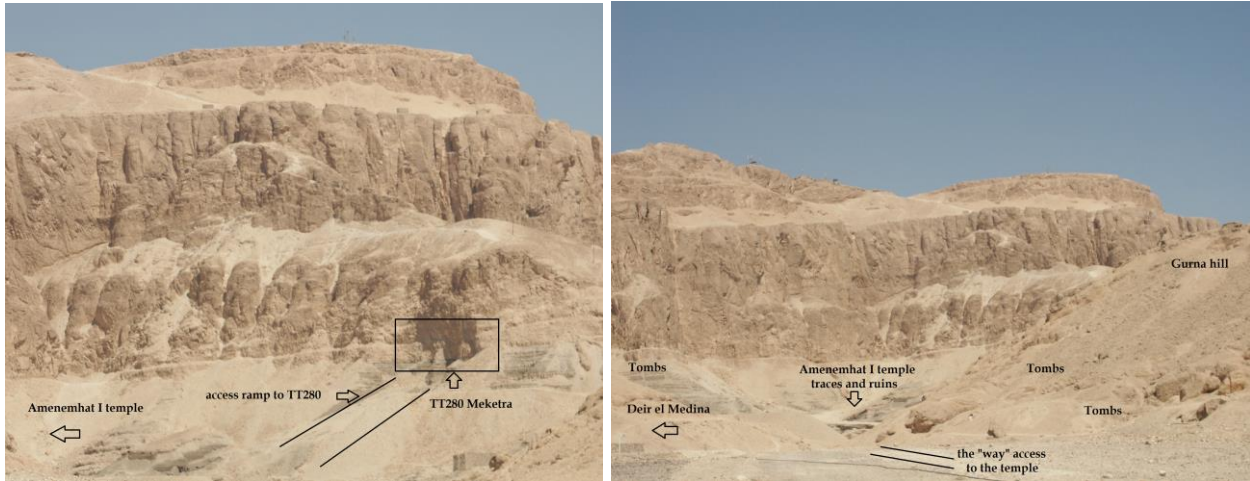


Fig.II.3 - c) The TT280 orientation with Amenemhat I temple; d) the temple and tombs around (photos by the author)

Thus, if this event is associated with the creation of “elevated” royal and noble tombs throughout the Deir el-Bahari valley and then in the neighbouring ones oriented towards the temple of Amenemhat I, it is therefore in this phenomenon that the origin can be traced to the cliff tombs at the beginning of the New Kingdom. Yet this way of conceiving the tombs for some important figures of the society of the XI-XII dynasties (except TT60 of the Visir Antefoker) does not seem to have continued for long in the necropolis; with the fall into disuse of the temple of Montuhotep II and the non-completion of that of Amenemhat I, the royal and noble tombs of the second intermediate period seem to be concentrated on El-Tarif and Assasif plains and, further, in the Dra Abu el-Naga area, where the royal necropolis of the 17<sup>th</sup> Dynasty was placed (Polz 2001, 386).

An important exception to this practice and one “link” with the funerary tradition of Dynasties 11<sup>th</sup> and 12<sup>th</sup> linked to the Montuhotep II descendants is the tomb created for Queen Inhapi (KV49, see Section III) between Deir el Bahari and the Valley of the Kings, on the slopes of the sacred mountain “the peak” which can be dated to the end of the 17<sup>th</sup> Dynasty.

The creation of the Inhapi tomb, referred to in later texts as *h3i* “high, elevated”, may have been a suitable incipit for the development of the cliff tomb concept; in fact, there is no record of any activity to create funerary structures in entire Deir el-Bahari area at the beginning of the 18<sup>th</sup> Dynasty before and even the Deir el-Medina village foundation. In the Wadi en-Nisr (a narrow high valley upon the Valley of the Colours) only one graffito bearing the name of the king Amenhotep I “Lord of the Two Lands” (GMT III/5 Pl. CCLIII; GMT IV/4, no.3541) is attested, whose dating suggests it was engraved after his reign o in a late period (Fig.3e).



Graffiti preserving the title and names of several Deir el-Medina workers in the area are attested from the 19<sup>th</sup> Dynasty (GMT I/1, 50-51, Pl.116 and 123, Sections 62-74; 89-92, 146-147, and 212-213). These wadis for Peden (2001, 173-174) “*have held but little interest for early Ramesside workmen. We can only assume that they ventured into these two wadis during periods of inactivity out in the Valley of the Kings and Queens when they felt like stretching their legs*”; in the graffito no. 988, the scribe Huy clearly states that he made an excursion (*swtwt*) to the area. For the scholar, this is due to the fact “*that several sections of the ‘Vallée de l’Aigle’ are located very close to the cliff-top path linking Deir el-Medina with the workmen’s settlement on the col*”.

In the 20<sup>th</sup> Dynasty, there was a fair number of rock graffiti relating to the workmen of the Deir el-Medina community. As in earlier periods, these inscriptions record only the name and title of the author but are undated and without the reason for the visit. For Peden (2001, 216), “*one can only assume that the shady cliffs and ridges of these wadis retained their popularity as accessible sites to wander along during rest periods*”; in the graffito no.1110, the necropolis scribe Penparei came to Wadi en-Nisir in Year 12 (Ramses XI or Smendes I) “*to see this valley*”. In two wadis are attested 18 royal tomb workers’ graffiti and a carved name (without title) in solitary rock in the Valley of the Colours (GMT IV/3 no.2977) of Herihor, probably relating to the high priest of Amun (Peden 2001, 218).

At the end of the 20<sup>th</sup> or early 21<sup>st</sup> Dynasty in these two wadis is the name of scribe Butehamun and those of his many sons that we see on a small amount of rock graffiti (Peden 2001, 255); proper in the Valley of the Colours, the scribe left two graffiti (no.1001 and 1021) to record “*to see mountains*” in Year 10 and 11 of Smendes I with the High Priest of Amun Pinudjem. These inspections show the importance of the area to task-building activity relating to tombs; in fact, other workmen are attested, probably for the same reason: the foreman Nebnufer (no.998), the scribes Horemqenese (no.1012c) and Paynebenadjed (no.1002).

The same situation of relative silence of the textual sources in the 19<sup>th</sup> and 20<sup>th</sup> Dynasties applies to the Valley of the Royal Cache (GMT I/1 sections 93-96, 206-209, 211), whereas, in the Middle Kingdom and early 18<sup>th</sup> Dynasty, this area becomes particularly interesting from a cultic point of view; this is probably due to the presence of the two funerary temples of the Montuhotep as said before. In addition to the tombs, a conspicuous number of graffiti testify to this, including that of Aakheperraseneb, priest of the funerary temple of Tuthmosis I within the MMA504<sup>3</sup>; the first source in the wadi, dated at the end of the 20<sup>th</sup> or early 21<sup>st</sup> Dynasty, is a graffito (no. 904) inscribed upon a side-wall in the natural rock-chimney that allows entrance to the TT320 that offering a short prayer to Amun by the necropolis scribe Penparei son of Pahirentaunakhte; other two graffiti are carved by two

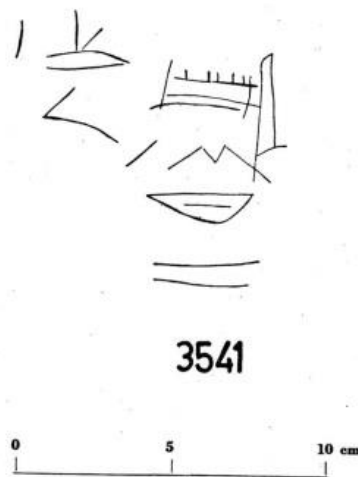


Fig.II.3e – Graffito no.3541 (GMT III/5)

<sup>3</sup> - The graffito is carved inside the tomb, on its western wall (Ragazzoli-Frood 2013, 31-32; Vivas Sainz 2019, 405).



scribes Tuthmosi and his son Butehamun (GMT IV/4 no.3651) and the Chief workman Khyrenef (GMT IV/3 no.2943:2). For Peden (2001, 216) “*the very fact that these rock graffiti appear to be earliest inscriptions anywhere near the entrance shaft to TT320 may imply that the knowledge of this tomb’s existence was lost for much of the New Kingdom. It seems that TT320 was only relocated at the very end of Dynasty XX, perhaps during a careful inspection of the royal necropolis*”.

At the beginning of the 21<sup>st</sup> Dynasty, there were several graffiti related to the reuse of TT320, but they were updated except for two carved by Butehamun; the first, the no. 914 is a brief prayer to Amun of Karnak, who came “to see the mountains” in Year 13 of Smendes I, and the second that contains a list of his five sons (no.1311a+b) is dated to Year 11 of Smendes I. Another graffiti records the presence of this scribe and his sons and collaborators, and this interest by the administration of the royal necropolis directed by Butehamun was connected with the reuse of TT320 “*among the accessible monuments of the Theban necropolis*” (Peden 2001, 251-252). The ink graffiti written within TT320, located at the bottom of the tomb shaft, records the burial of Neskhons in Year 5 of Siamun and, 5 years after, the burial of his husband, the High Priest of Amun Pinudjem II (Peden 2001, 252-253). Still, if these texts mark the establishment of the TT320 as the family burial of a Priest of Amun, it is interesting to note what the duty of Butehamun is here if the tomb was used one hundred years later.

## 1. Wadi en-Nisr<sup>4</sup>

### 1.1. The WN A

The area known as Wadi en-Nisr (‘Valley of the Eagle’, GMT I/1 Sez.65-66 Pl.123) is also known as Bab el-Maâleg or al-bâb al-Mu’llaq (Bonomi-Newberry 1906). Peculiar to the valley is its semicircular shape, at the centre of which are the remains of a round core of living rock, all of which can be likened to the hieroglyphic sign *3ht* “horizon”; above the top terrace of the wadi, at a medium height of one of the rocky wall, there is the tomb WN-A, a well-known funerary structure in use from the New Kingdom until the Roman Age<sup>5</sup> (Fig.II.4a-b). The cliff tomb was first investigated in 1934 by Clément Robichon (Bruyère 1934, 92-94), while in 1991-1992, the IFAO team directed by Luc Gabolde conducted a complete survey of the site (Gabolde 1994). For Gabolde, the tomb, the owner is still unknown, and this is also due to the absence of reliefs or wall painting inside the tomb’s rooms. Given the typology of the tomb and its position, some scholars think that it was a funerary structure related to an 18th Dynasty figure like Amenhotep, son of Hapu (Wildung 1977, 289), the Queen Ahmose-Mereytamun (Thomas 1966, 179-180) or Tuthmosis II (Romer 1981, 242, 1), while Nicholas Reeves put forward the idea that the cliff tomb could be identified with the *k3i* “high place” of Queen Inhapi and that it was used as a temporary royal *cache* before TT320 (Reeves 1990, 190).

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<sup>4</sup> - The cliff tombs of the Deir el-Bahari were investigated by the author in 2015 and 2017 as head of the Italian Archaeological Mission in West Thebes - Butehamun-Kay Project. The missions were dedicated to the study of the Butehamun graffiti and the complete survey of the cliff tombs.

<sup>5</sup> - A double crown sculpture and a piece of an offering table dated to the Roman Age were found by Bataille at the base of the rock walls under the cliff tomb (Bataille 1939, 164).



Fig.II.4 – a. The Wadi en-Nisir; b. the cliff tomb view from the hills (photo author)

According to Gabolde (1994, 230-234), the typology of the tomb, similar to that of Hatshepsut in Wadi Sikkat Taged Zeit, could date its creation back to the beginning of the 18<sup>th</sup> Dynasty, while the finds collected inside the structure suggest a certain continuity of use in the 21<sup>st</sup>, 25<sup>th</sup>-26<sup>th</sup> dynasties and further in the Ptolemaic and Roman periods. The considerable number of materials (coffin pieces, pottery, and statue pieces)<sup>6</sup> discovered *in situ* and graffiti on rocky walls below confirm that during the 21<sup>st</sup> Dynasty, the WN-A tomb was used as *a cache*. In contrast, from the 25<sup>th</sup> Dynasty until the Greco-Roman Period, it was used more as a single than a collective tomb.

#### *The internal architecture*

The tomb (Fig.II.5) consists of an entrance directly carved on the rock wall with rough significant steps from 1.65 to 1.85 m; the step has a depth of 4.87 m from the access to the ground of the antechamber, while its length is 7.20 m. This room, the largest of the tomb, is 9.60 x 6.20 m, rectangular and roughly carved; on the southeast angle of the room is a square unfinished shaft of 1 x 1 m for side and 40 cm depth.

Traces of burning of the room are still visible on walls and ceiling, as well as a layer of guano by the birds that used this open space for a long time (Fig.II.6); Gabolde (1994, 178) dates the burning to the modern times (end of 1800), and he agrees with Bruyère that the Abd el-Rassul family could be the responsibility of the pillage of the cliff tomb and the burning the finds left on the ground.

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<sup>6</sup> - The most important findings inside the tomb, which confirm its use as a *cache* during the 21<sup>st</sup> Dynasty are various fragments of a funerary cone, an ushabti, some pottery bowls, and amphorae, all dated from the beginning of the New Kingdom to the Third Intermediate Period; in the antechamber were found ten pieces of wooden coffins similar to those found among the Priests of Montu in Bab el-Gasus (Gabolde 1994, 180 note 20).

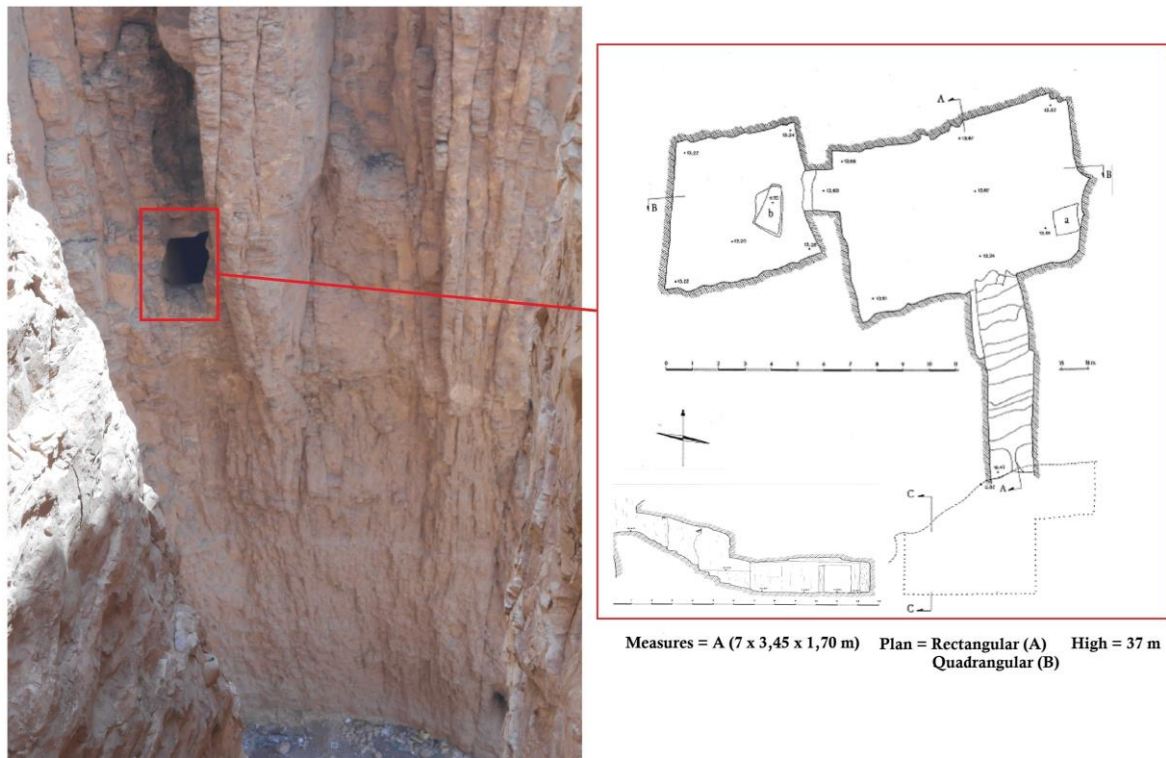


Fig.II.5 – The WN A tomb access (a), the plan (b) (Gabolde 1994, Pl. III-IV; photo author)

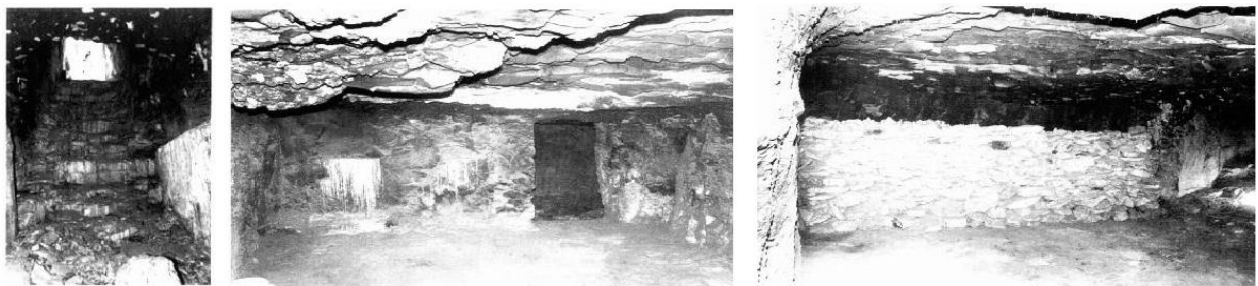


Fig.II.6 – The WN A entrance steps, the antechamber, and the burial chamber (Gabolde 1994, Pl. VI-IX)

The large amount of limestone blocks found inside the room and outside below the tomb, has convinced Gabolde (1994, 179) that: “*qu’une partie de ces matériaux a pu appartenir à un blocage prévu pour obstruer une portion – voire la totalité – de la cage d’escalier*”.

After a passage of 1.56 x 1.34 m, and height of 2.04 m, and two rough steps, there is the burial chamber; this irregular rectangular shape room of 4.54-6.08 m to 4.70-5.20 m has dimensions with a height of 2.66 m; like the antechamber, there is on the west side of the room a rectangular roughly carved shaft of 1.50 x 2 m and deep 1.58 m.

Under the layout profile, in Section I, we compared WN A with the Baraize tomb, and it became clear that there are structural elements in joint such as an antechamber and a burial chamber; this last room (without pillars) that turns into the left, as well as the dimensions (Gabolde 1994, 227); here too we are probably dealing with a single burial and the finds discovered in the WN A (see below) can suggest an early 18<sup>th</sup> Dynasty date<sup>7</sup>. But suppose

<sup>7</sup> - Is a piece from a funerary cone of the royal herald Antef that in Gabolde opinion “*ne peut renseigner en rien sur l’occupant primitif du tombeau et on admettra qu’il se trouve là fortuitement*” (Gabolde 1994, 180 and 226); Willockx (2010, 44), following Romer’s point of view (1976, 201), note that this approach must be adopted with caution. Based on the funerary furniture WD B, where only a few objects are



the two tombs seem to follow a common layout model. In that case, it is interesting to note that while WN A cannot use the access shaft because it is excavated in a vertical rock face without recesses and caves, the architects of the Baraize tomb, despite having the possibility of constructing a proper “shaft”, chose a different solution with a step access system.

About the turn to the left or the right of the burial room, as we said in Section I, in Romer hypothesis (1976, 205-206), royal tombs of the early 18<sup>th</sup> Dynasty with a turn to the left are kings' tombs, while queens' tombs have a turn to the right<sup>8</sup>. Thus, if one accepts Romer's idea, WN A should have been intended for a ruler, while the Baraize tomb should, by its location, be ascribed to a queen or a princess. Yet, Romer's hypothesis for WN A and the presence of the graffiti have convinced him that the tomb was built for Tuthmosis II (Romer 1976, 242, 1). Other solutions, however, have been proposed by different scholars: Wildung (1977, 289) assumes it to be a second tomb made for Amenhotep, son of Hapu, Thomas (1966, 179-180) believes it to be the tomb of Meryetamun and Reeves (1990, 183-190) that identifies it with the *k3i* of Inhapi<sup>9</sup>.

However, as rightly noted by the Gabolde (1994, 226-227), “*l'examen du matériel exhumé de la tombe [...] n'a pas révélé le nom du destinataire primitif du tombeau et pourrait même faire douter que la tombe ait jamais appartenu à la XVIII<sup>e</sup> dynastie*”; however, the same scholar argues “*Du point de vue typologique, en revanche, le tombeau remonte bien au début de la XVIII<sup>e</sup> dynastie*” by its position and its inaccessibility like the wadi A, C and D cliff tombs and KV34. According to the scholar, the various hypotheses on the identification of the owner of WN A present various problems (Gabolde 1994, 228); Romer's idea, like Thomas's, although plausible, is not matched either inside or outside the tomb, while Wildung does not check the typology of the rock-cut with other tombs from the time of Amenhotep III and in particular with KV46.

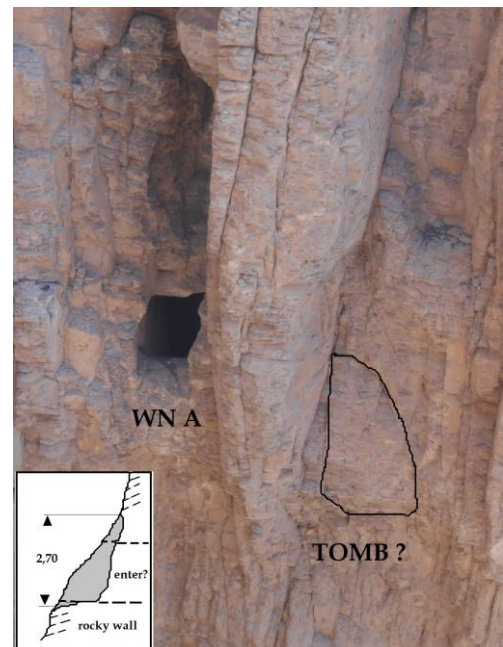


Fig.II.7 – The WN A rocky wall (photo and drawing author)

Reeves' hypothesis is also to be ruled out because the rock-cut of WN A differs from that of the tomb attributed to Ahmose-Nefertari (TT320) and is probably more recent. Another

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inscribed with three Asiatic wives of Tuthmosis, while the rest of this copious furniture bears the name of the pharaoh and Hatshepsut, Romer again warns against the general principle of using the inscribed object alone to determine the ownership of such tombs.

<sup>8</sup> - This attractive view does not explain why some tombs attributed to queens do not follow this planimetric principle (Willockx 2010, 45); KV20, although intended for a pharaoh, has a left-hand orientation, as does KV42 intended for queen Hatshepsut-Meryetra. Note that TT358 destined for Ahmose-Meryetamun has both orientations.

<sup>9</sup> - According to Reeves (1990, 190-192 and 255), WN A may have been used as a royal cache at the beginning of the 21st Dynasty and for the burial of the High Priest and King Paynujsem I. Two graffiti (Nos. 1001 and 1021a, see below) concerning the inspection of the Valley of Colours may suggest this (Peden 2001, 255).



interesting issue raised by Gabolde (1994, 230) concerns the closure of the cliff tomb, of which only faint traces remain in the entrance but cannot be dated, so it is impossible to establish whether this burial structure was ever used in the early 18<sup>th</sup> Dynasty. Even with due caution, however, it should be noted that the cliff tomb is complete in all its structural parts and has no unfinished rooms; just the creation of the closing system of the entrance is to confirm its use. Another fact is its reuse in the 21<sup>st</sup> Dynasty and in the late period, which suggests its suitability as a funerary structure due to its hidden position and safety for its contents; Thus, from the layout model adopted by the architects, we are dealing with an early 18<sup>th</sup> Dynasty cliff tomb probably built after KV39, TT320, and TT358, but before WA B, WC A, and coeval with the Baraize tomb.

### *External architecture and path*

The tomb rises 19.25 m above the ground of the wadi and is excavated within a 32 m high rock face and can be reached either from below or from the upper terrace of the heights; from the latter position, the entrance to the cliff tomb is visible. The cliff tomb is excavated from the exterior within a shallow cavity in the rock face (Fig.II.7)<sup>10</sup>.

Above WN A is a small “niche” excavated in one of the two rock ridges that form the cliff (Fig.II.8), while below, shifted slightly to the right, is a semi-elliptical excavation of the rocky wall (Fig.II.9), probably to be connected with the “waterfall” concept (see Section I).

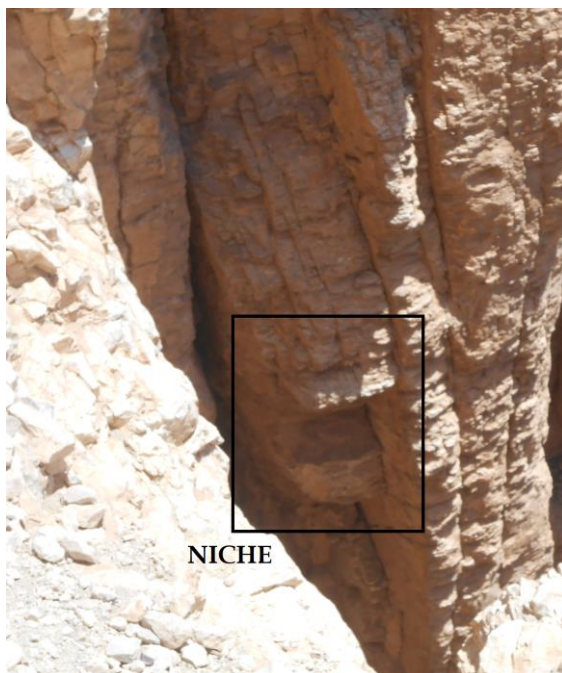


Fig.II.8 – The WN A niche (photo author)



Fig.II.9 – Cut off the rock (photo author)

The study of the graffiti by the CEDAE has made it possible to establish with high probability the system of routes used by the workers of Deir el-Medina throughout the New Kingdom and the 21st Dynasty to inspect the tombs (Fig.II.10).

<sup>10</sup> - Just for info, it is interesting to note that to the right of the inlet, there is another similar one and the cutting of the rock (Fig.II.7), well observed with appropriate instrumentation in 2015, has allowed us to detect the possible presence of another access; it is a block of the wall that seems perfectly “reinserted” to occult a space inside. Further deepest investigations under the geological profile will reveal whether there is a “twin” tomb (WN C) behind this access stone block or is only due to the rocky morphology.

As far as WN A is concerned, the tomb is visible from the narrow walkway of the heights that form the ancient route from Deir el-Medina to the “Village du Col” and the Valley of the Kings, or the top of the temple of Deir el-Bahari (signed by the black arrow in the figure). The use of the “higher” path by the scribes and workers of the necropolis, among whom we include Butehamun, is the impossibility of observing the access to the cliff tomb from below to check its integrity; the particular location of the funerary structure within the natural inlet of the Wadi en-Nisr, on the northern cliff face, is constantly shaded and hidden by the high frontal rocks and can be better observed from above.

A “lower” path was used to carry out the work and surveys of the entire wadi; it started from the “Černabru”<sup>11</sup> hill, which overlooked the village of Deir el-Medina and descended towards the wadi (Fig.II.11); on the way a grotto known as the “crocodile” and some graffiti carved on the rocky walls confirm the use of this path; among these, the graffito no.1037, by Butehamun, in which the scribe addresses a prayer to Amenhotep I, protector of the necropolis.

The peculiarity of this place is probably that it serves as a suitable prayer site between the village and the king’s burial place(?)<sup>12</sup>, as well as an ideal starting point for the itinerary that winds through the eastern slope of the Theban peak.



Fig.II.10 – The paths from Deir el-Medina village to Deir el-Bahari-Valley of the Kings (GMT II, Pl. CX)

<sup>11</sup> - It is the “Mont du Village” called by the archaeologists Černabru in honor of the three Egyptologists at the head of the first mission IFAO in Deir el-Medina site: Černý, Nagel and Bruyère: GMT II, 40; Romer 1984, 209.

<sup>12</sup> - The presence of graffiti with the name of the king in Wadi en-Nisr and the prayer of Butehamun could suggest this idea, even if no archaeological finds can prove that.



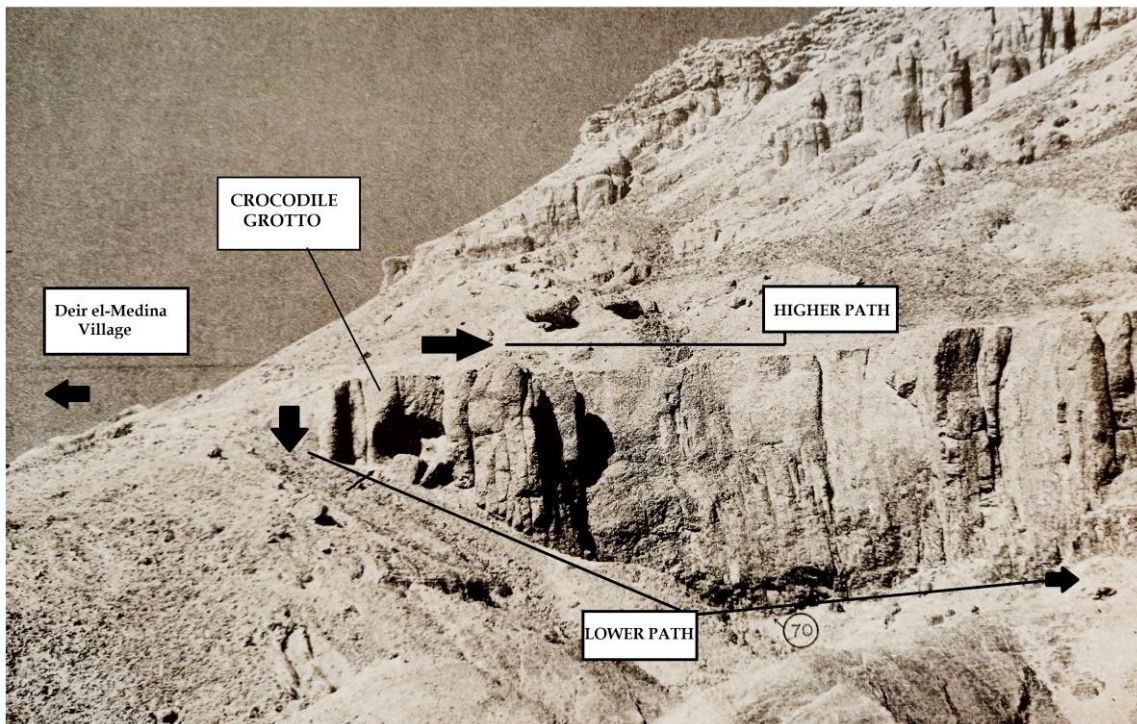


Fig.II.11 – The higher and lower paths from Deir el-Medina village to Wadi en-Nisr (GMT II, Pl. CXXII)

### *Finds*

The material discovered by Gabolde (1994, 196-197) in the tomb is a heap of finds datable from the beginning of the 18<sup>th</sup> Dynasty to the late period that includes part of an inscribed funerary cone, some decorated pieces of wooden coffins, fragments of gold foil, cartonnage, pieces of painted linen used to cover mummies, parts of seventy poorly preserved mummified bodies; seven of these remains are attributable to infants and children. Finally, abundant ceramic artefacts dated from the New Kingdom to the medieval period; in the first room (antechamber) were found 3300 fragments of all periods cited, while in the second room (burial chamber) all 300 pieces discovered inside are dated to the Late and Ptolemaic ages (Gabolde 1994, 200-201). The following figure highlights some of the artefacts (Fig.II.12a-f) that allowed the scholar to establish the use of the tomb from the 18<sup>th</sup> Dynasty to the Late Period.

As previously mentioned, the presence of materials from different epochs inside the tomb seems to confirm Gabolde's hypothesis of prolonged use of the tomb as a cache in the 21<sup>st</sup> Dynasty and later periods, a fact that is probably to be connected with its position and confirmed by the numerous graffiti from various eras engraved on the rock walls of the wadi. It is equally valid, however, that from the analysis of the layer of bird guano on the surfaces of the tomb on which the late-period finds were deposited, Gabolde (1994, 179, 231-232) hypothesises that after the beginning of the 3<sup>rd</sup> Intermediate Period, WN A was abandoned and left open; only from the 25-26<sup>th</sup> Dynasties onwards is the tomb reused until the Roman period; not only the finds but also some graffiti from the Roman period (nos. 3248a-b; see below) expressly mention the "suspended" tomb as a family burial site.

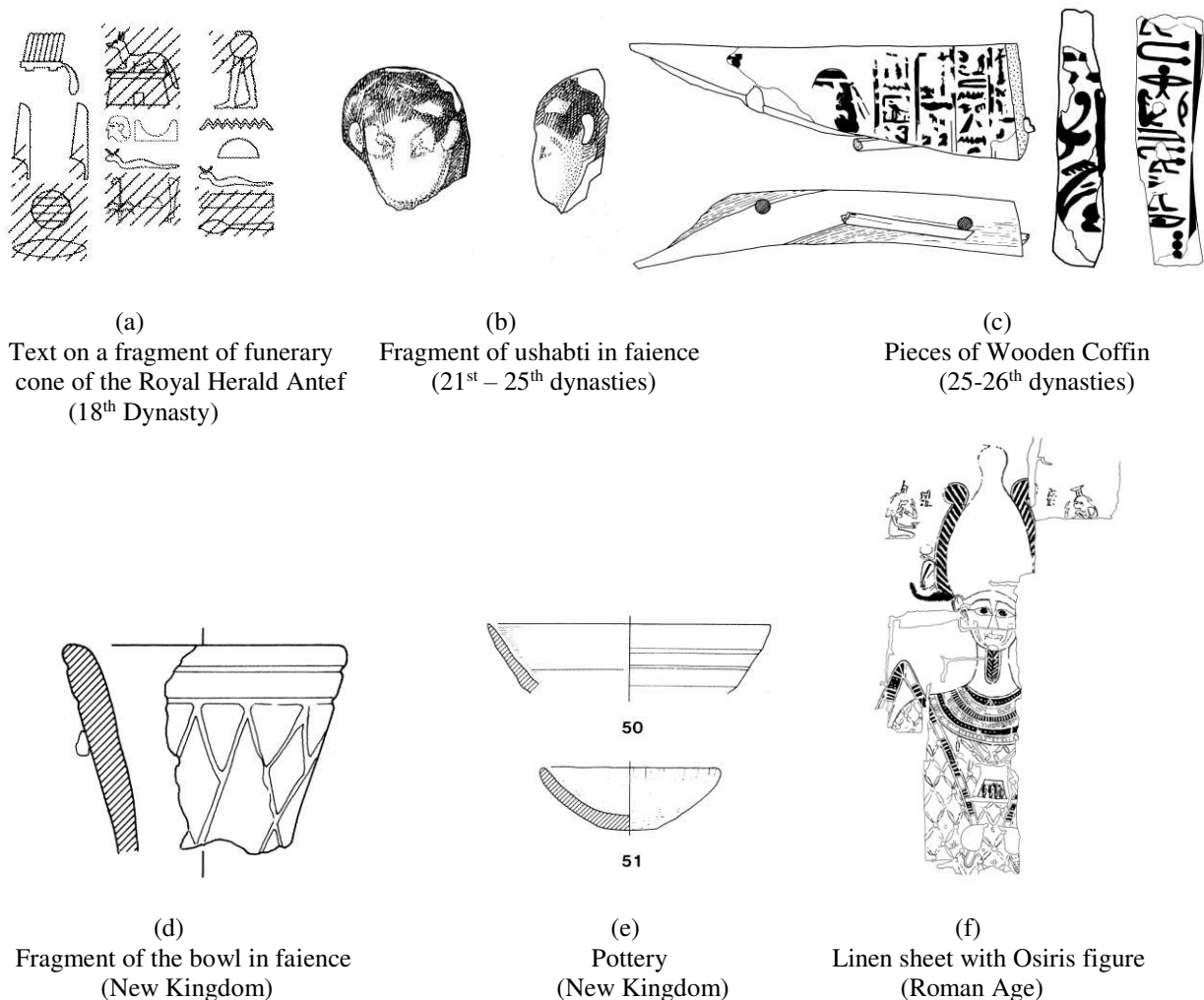


Fig.II.12 – WN A finds (from Gabolde 1994,180-181, 187, 189, 194, 205)

Although there are doubts as to its use in the early New Kingdom, WN A remains one of the most architecturally complete cliff tombs; it is an innovative funerary structure compared to both the Middle Kingdom and early 18<sup>th</sup> Dynasty rock tombs found in the Deir el-Bahari and Dra Abu el-Naga valleys and the later tombs in the Southern Valleys and the Valley of the Kings. The architects' solution of excavating a cliff tomb by exploiting an almost vertical wall without deep recesses was probably dictated by the fact that the burial structure is in such a position that it cannot be seen from the valley floor or the elevated path. Its access is only visible from above on a short section of the high path, making WN A unique.

### 1.2 The suspected cliff tomb WN B

Walking along the upper path on the upper terrace of the eastern slope of the Theban mountain, there is a rocky "hollow" on the ground, which is barely visible and the only suitable point to observe and control WN A from the opposite side; this site consists of a narrow natural fissure in the rock that bears traces of excavation on the inside to create a resting place (Fig.II. 13-14). The cavity, in the form of an 'inverted funnel', consists of a 3.16 m wide, 2.75 m high, and 5.78 m long fissure that slopes towards the edge of the rock face; on the southern side is a small semicircular niche 1.06 m wide and 1.45 m long. 06 m wide and 1.45 m high; the sides of the fissure slope down to a width of 1.31 m, and



on the layer of chippings, derived from the probably ancient excavation, there is a 0.92 m x 1.05 m block of rock that conceals the floor (Fig.II.15a). The sharpening traces of the excavation tools (Fig.II.15b) and the cut visible on the walls at the sides of the boulder are similar to those found on the outside of the cliff tomb and the walls of the rock face below; at the base of the wadi, a semicircular “bay” has been dug.

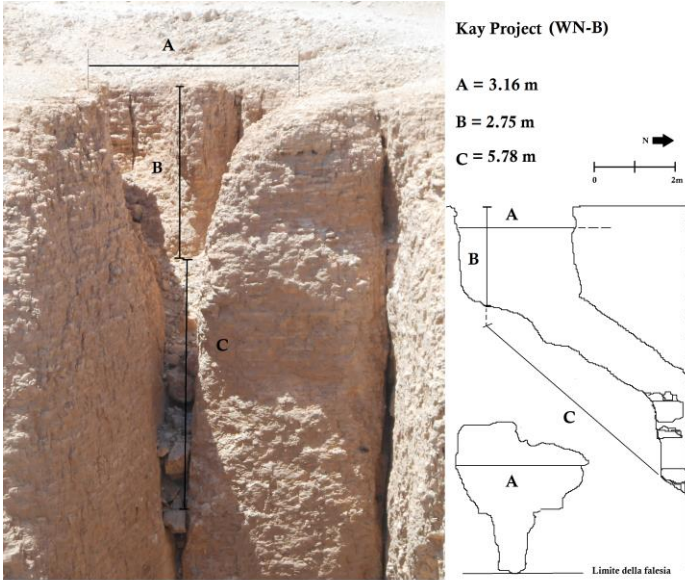


Fig.II.13 - The WN B tomb? layout (photo and drawing author)

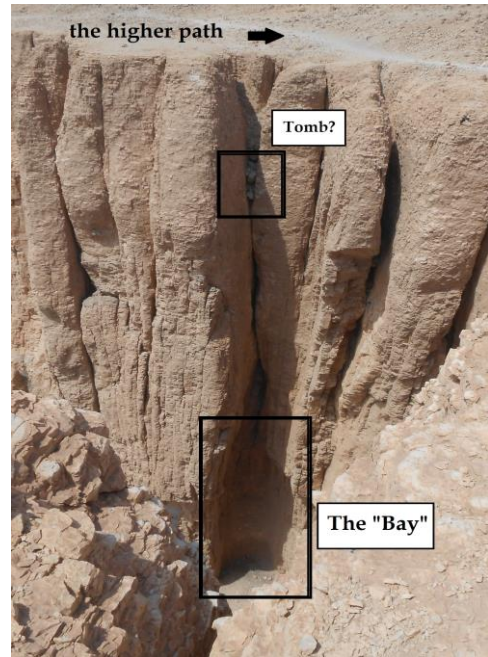


Fig.II.14 - The WN B tomb? (photo author)

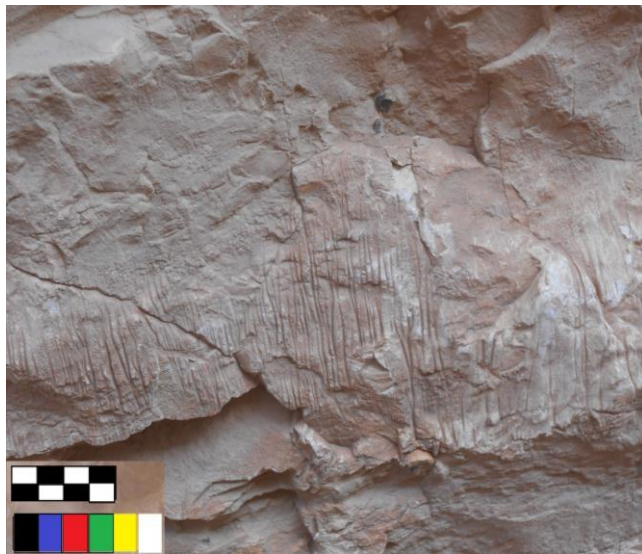


Fig.II.15.a. Sharpening traces of digging tools



- |                                |                           |                     |               |
|--------------------------------|---------------------------|---------------------|---------------|
| 1                              | 2                         | 3                   | 4             |
| Boulder<br>hides<br>the access | Access sides<br>excavated | Processing<br>chips | Modern debris |

b. The WN B tomb access? (photos author)

But there is more because, from the short boreholes carried out below the aforementioned boulder, the layer of debris has a thickness greater than one meter and fills a quadrangular cavity of 1.01 high and 1.60 m large whose short side is almost on the edge of the wall rock overlooking the wadi; it is probably the access to a tomb, similar to that of WN A but more minor, which is confirmed both by the regularity of the excavated cavity and by internal observation using a torch with a cable inserted into the fissure on the side of the

boulder<sup>13</sup>. In the natural “bay” below the cliff at the presumed grave, the lower part is crudely excavated, similar to that observed for WN A; on the sides of the bay, various graffiti testify to the interest in the site.

### The graffiti

Engraved on the cliff walls of the wadi are numerous graffiti (Fig.II.16; see Appendix) whose dating seems to follow the use of the WN A and covers a very long period from the end of the New Kingdom to the Roman imperial period; most of these bear only the name of the necropolis worker or scribe or visitor to the site. Among these are some that are important because they testify to the reuse of the cliff tomb and the area during the early 21<sup>st</sup> Dynasty and in the Ptolemaic and Roman periods; in these two latter periods, WN A is said to be a κρεμαστηρίω τάφω “the suspended tomb” connected to Amenhotep I. This association is unclear whether due to his deification as patron of the necropolis or because it was still believed to be the burial place of the ruler at the time; however, it is an important clue that places WN A among the cliff tombs attributed to an early 18<sup>th</sup> Dynasty ruler. Gabolde (1994, 231-232) suggests that the material from the Greco-Roman period discovered in the grave would appear to be coeval with some of the graffiti written in Demotic and Greek on the rock walls of the wadi, and this would confirm that the area and the “hanging” tomb itself were of some importance at the time; it should be noted that even at this time there was the difficulty of access to an isolated, elevated site.

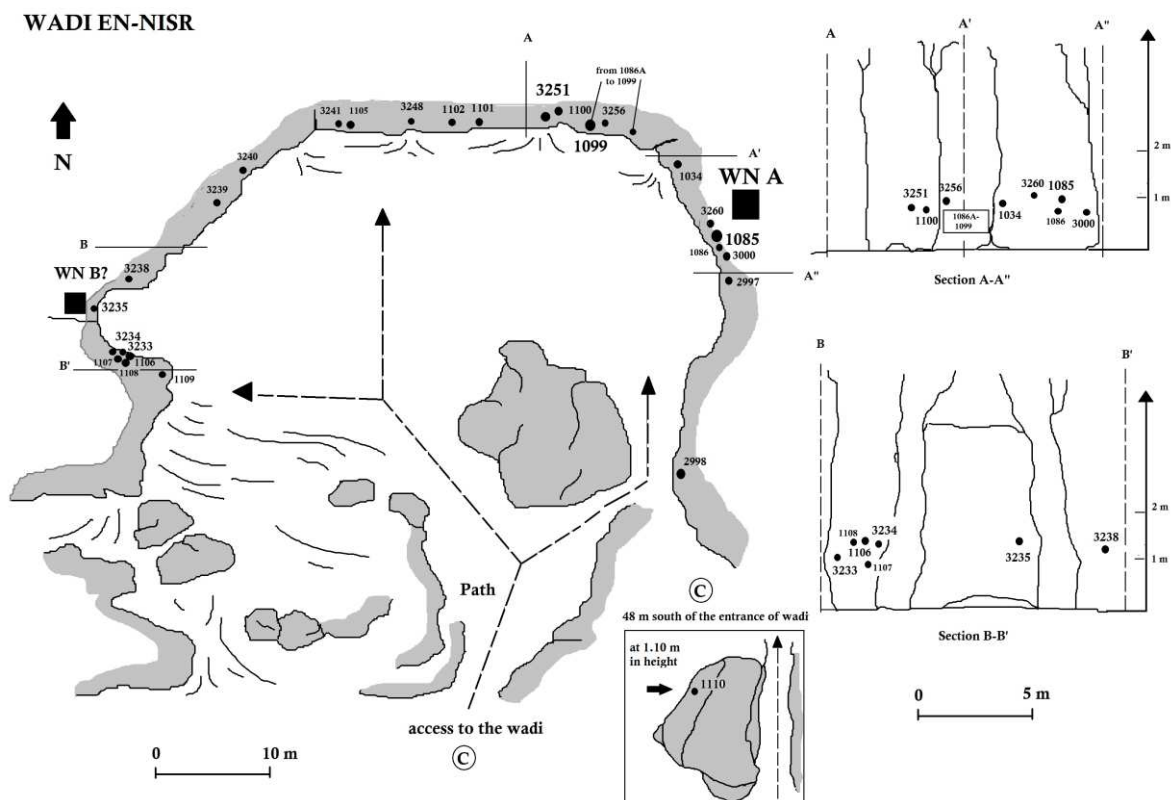
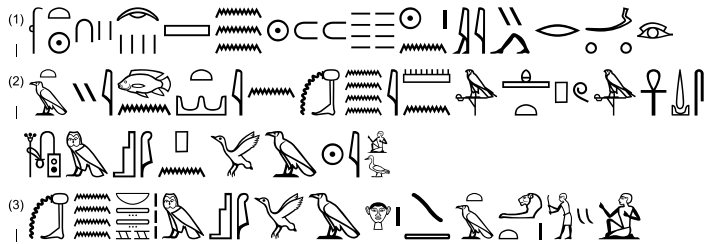


Fig.II.16. The graffiti in Wadi en-Nisr (drawing by author).

<sup>13</sup> - Further and much more in-depth investigations could confirm this hypothesis and allow the site to be included among the cliff tombs placed on the eastern slope of the Theban mountain.

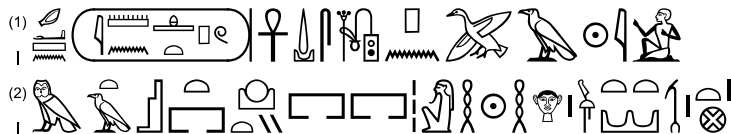
Graffiti no. 1078 to 1082 engraved on the rock face to the left before the entrance to the wadi bear the names of workers of the necropolis, including a prayer to Amun and Meretseger by the scribe Hori and other workers; also, inside the wadi from no. 1086 to 1105 bear the known names of scribes of the necropolis to which are added nos. 1107 and 1109 that attest the presence *in situ* of the royal scribe Tuthmosis (father of Butehamun) in year 14, the first month of Peret, day 28 of the reign of Ramses XI<sup>14</sup>. Graffiti nos. 1106 and 1108 are illegible, while in no.1110 (engraved on a rock south of the entrance to the wadi), the priest of Amenhotep and scribe Penparei records his inspection in the wadi “to see this valley” in Year 12 of Ramses XI or more probably of Smendes I (GMT I/1 Section 92; Peden 2001, 216).



*Rnpt 12 ꜥbd 4 šmw ssw 28 n iy r m33 (2) t3y int in wꜥb n Imn-htp ꜥnh wḏ3 snb sš m st-M3ꜥt Pn-p3-rꜥi (3) wꜥb n nb-t3wy m st-M3ꜥt P3-ḥr-t3-ḥ3t*

“Year 12, 4<sup>th</sup> month of Shomu, day 28 of coming to see this valley from the priest of Amenhotep, l.p.h., of the necropolis Penparei (and) the priest of necropolis Pahertahat” (Černý 1956, 3).

In graffito no. 1059, the same scribe bears more extensive titling but still refers to Amenhotep I, but earlier, his function being that of the worker rather than the priest of the deified ruler<sup>15</sup>.



*ꜥš n Imn-htp ꜥnh wḏ3 snb sš Pn-p3-rꜥi m t3 st-3ḥty nḥḥ Imnt W3st*

“the workman of Amenhotep, l.p.h., the scribe of the horizon of eternity in Western Thebes” (Spiegelberg 1921, 90).

<sup>14</sup> - In these two graffiti, in addition to the date, Tuthmosis’ genealogy is given but not his activity; the absence of Butehamun’s name in the text allows us to assume that it is from the reign of Ramesses XI; about his graffiti see Rzepka 2014, [7.12]. We know in fact that the elderly royal scribe was fully in office during the reign of this ruler and the sources indicate that after the year 29 (year 10 of *wḥm-mswt*) Tuthmosis is no longer attested in the necropolis. When Butehamun is the young scribe of the necropolis, his father is often present in his graffiti, either as his companion or as a genealogical specification; at the beginning of the reign of Smendes I, Butehamun succeeds his father as head of the necropolis and the elder Tuthmosis is no longer mentioned, probably due to his death perhaps during Payankh’s campaign in Nubia. In graffito no. 1573 (Peden 2001, 192 no. 375; Rzepka 2014, [8.7]; Barwick 2015; Cavillier 2018, 82) Butehamun begs Amon “to protect him and not to abandon him as did for his father”.

<sup>15</sup> - The “Horizon of Eternity” is probably the same name used to refer to the tomb of Amenhotep I in Papyrus Abbott during the inspection in the year 6 of Ramesses IX, and this information may suggest that the Wadi en-Nisr or the entire area including the Valley of the Colours may be the site where the king was buried.

As already mentioned in Section I, the presence at the site of Tuthmosis, but especially of the scribe of the necropolis Butehamun and his sons, suggests that there was an activity to inspect or empty the tomb or to reuse it as a cache at the beginning of 21<sup>st</sup> Dynasty. There is no trace of the well-known royal scribe's specific activities in the Wadi en-Nisr. However, his prayer to Amun and Amenhotep I was engraved on the rocky walls of the lower path from Deir el-Medina to the site (no.1037) and his name alone (no. 3370) with other scribes and workers of the necropolis (nos.1037A, 3368, 3252) testifies his presence in the area (Peden 2001, 255). Note also the name of *Imn-htp nb t3wy* "Amenhotep I Lord of Two Lands" in the graffito no.3541 carved on rocky walls at the entrance of the wadi (GMT II/5 Pl.53bis; III/5 Pl. CCLIII).

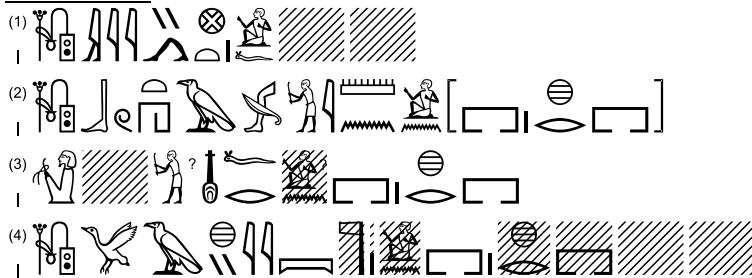
No.1037



*Imn nsty-t3wy* (2) *Imn-htp ʿnh wd3 snb mk ssr.i (?)* (3) *iw.sn nhḥ rʿ-nb* (4) *irw in sš m st-M3ʿt Bw-th3-Imn*

“(1) Amun of the Thrones of Two Lands, (2) Amenhotep, l.p.h., who endures (?) my name (?) (3) eternally and every day; (4) made by the scribe in the Place of Truth Butehamun”

No.1037A



(1) *sš iw-niwt.f* (2) *sš M3ʿt Bw-th3-Imn n [pr-ḥr-pr]* (3) *iry [---] nfr n pr-ḥr-pr* (4) *sš P3-ḥy-ntr n pr-ḥr-pr*

“(1) The scribe Iunutef (2) the scribe in [the Place of Truth] Butehamun (3) the guardian [---]nefer of Place of Truth (4) the scribe Pakynjeter of the Place of Truth” (Spiegelberg 1921, 88).

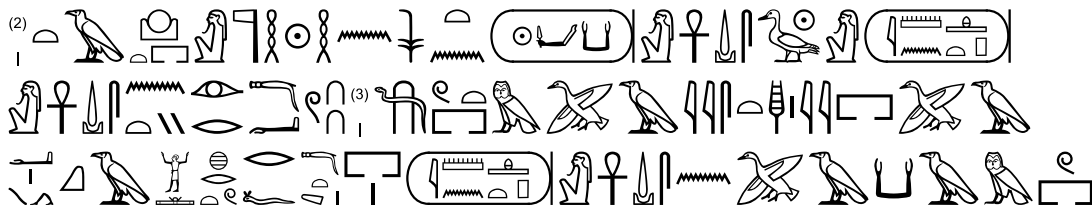
His father, Tuthmosis, and his son Ankhefenamun with other members of the necropolis administration, inspect the wadi; the first activity was carried out before the evacuation of the necropolis at the beginning of Smendes I's reign by Butehamun himself, while the second was Ankhefenamun's continuation of his father's activity.







Pap.Abbott (Peet 1930, 28-38; Peden 2004, 228-237; Willockx 2010, 23, 36 and 80-82)<sup>17</sup>. This quote is difficult to interpret as it lends itself to different possibilities and solutions; one of them could be as follows:



(2) *t3 3ḥt-nṯr ḥḥ n nsw Dsr-k3-Rꜥ ḥḥ wd3 snb z3-Rꜥ Imn-ḥtp ḥḥ wd3 snb nty ir mḥ 120 (3) mdt m p3y.s (m)ḥꜥ(t) p3 ꜥ k3 ḥr.tw r.f mḥt pr Imn-ḥtp ḥḥ wd3 snb n p3 k3mw*

“(2) *The eternal horizon of King Djeserkara, l.p.h., son of Re Amenhotep l.p.h., which measures 120 cubits (3) in depth from its rock tomb(?) (to) the high arm (path) which mouth (start) is known at the north of the temple of Amenhotep of (4) the garden*”.

The relevant and controversial data of the text are, therefore: the 120 cubits (about 62 m) depth of the rock tomb (*mḥꜥt*)<sup>18</sup> from an elevated *p3 k3y* “the higher” path which starts to the north of the temple of “Amenhotep I of the garden”; another possibility is that it could be understood as the distance that runs between a reference of the tomb (stele?) and the same high path that runs above it.

Now, independently of the identification of which necropolis it is, what seems relevant is that the papyrus specifies precisely where it is located in contrast to the other tombs verified by the commission; this is important if one considers that the necropolis scribes knew precisely where each royal tomb was found did not need to repeat them in the papyrus. It is a consideration that rightly suggests the presence of two (or more?) tombs intended for the king and of which, in the inspection report, it was necessary to specify which of them was still in use. If one follows the theory of Carter, Romer, and Polz, in all probability, a first “double” tomb (K39.11 and K39.12) or a single tomb to enlarge (AN B) had been built at Dra Abu en-Naga in early 18<sup>th</sup> Dynasty; so for Willockx (2010, 50) after Amenhotep death, the successor Tuthmosis I, “*orders the enlargement of his predecessor’s tomb to allow the inclusion of Ahmose Nefertari’s burial*” in AN B and

<sup>17</sup> - The papyrus describes inspections of violated royal tombs during the 16<sup>th</sup> year of the reign of Rameses IX; a royal commission was appointed to investigate possible vandalized tombs. Ten royal tombs are mentioned in the document, including that of Amenhotep I found intact, the location of which is also specified next to a temple of “Amenhotep of the garden” not yet identified. Based on the archaeological evidence of a double temple called “Amun of Meniset” dedicated to Amenhotep I and his mother Ahmose Nefertari, discovered in 1898-1899 at Dra Abu en-Naga and the presence of tombs with plausible dimensions according to the papyrus (AN B and K93.11), it was assumed by Carter (1916), Romer (1976) and Polz (2007) that the pharaoh’s eternal resting place could be located in this necropolis. Other scholars considered other solutions, however, none of them were decisive (Thomas 1966, 71; Rose 2000, 27; Willockx 2010, 21-22).

<sup>18</sup> - Other versions say about an *ḥꜥy* “stela” instead of *ḥꜥw* (Peet 1930, 43 note no.4), and even if the related possessive *p3.s* is feminine and the *t* redundant; it is commonly accepted that the mentioned depth could refer to the distance between the stele and the access to the tomb and not to its internal dimension (Willockx 2010, 21).

“when he shortly afterward founded Deir el-Medineh, he may have equipped that place with a shrine for them, thereby introducing their cult into this village”. But rightly the scholar must admit that “if both Amenhotep I and his mother were buried in this tomb, why then would the scribe of pAbbott just have spoken about the tomb of Amenhotep?” (Willockx 2010, 50); it is conceivable, therefore that the first construction of the tomb of the sovereign and his mother in the 17<sup>th</sup> Dynasty necropolis at Dra Abu en-Naga, with the foundation of the village of Deir el-Medina by Tuthmosis I, a temple on its neighboring hill and a new burial structure could be built in a dedicated site in Wadi en-Nisr area. Regarding the “house of the garden”, it is not known whether it is his mortuary temple or another cultic structure dedicated to him; in fact, there are various cult structures devoted to the ruler (even in private chapels) in Deir el-medina and cult chapels in Deir el-Bahari (Rose 2000, 13; Willockx 2010, 23). According to Polz (2007, 190-191), this cult would have originated in Dra Abu en-Naga. The temple of Amun of Meniset is to be connected with the tombs K93.11 (Amenhotep I) and K93.12 (Ahmose Nefertari) and from identity with what is reported in the Papyrus Abbott; the two other known temples dedicated to Amenhotep of which we have only faint traces were one at Medinet Habu and one at Deir el-Bahari, both of which were incorporated into funerary complexes of a later period (Willockx 2010, 65) and were clearly distant from the necropolis and probably not taken into account by the Papyrus Abbott inspectors. About this inspection team, it should be noted that one of the members was *Paankhu* that bears the title of “prophet of the temple of Amenhotep” (Peet 1930, 37), and this implies not only the existence of the funerary temple but also the importance of the inspection at the tomb of the king. The strong tradition of the cult of the ruler and his mother at Deir el-medina, as evidenced by the remains of his temple *in situ*, could indicate here a survival of the cult and related activities both at the time of the aforementioned inspection and the beginning of the 21<sup>st</sup> Dynasty confirmed by the later priests of Amenhotep, Penparei and Ankhefenamon, the authors of the cited graffiti at Wadi en-Nisr. Therefore, it is possible to speculate that the “Amenhotep of the garden” temple could refer to the cultic structure at or near Deir el-Medina from which the “high path” to the north departs. If, therefore, the most recent tomb of Amenhotep is located in the Wadi en-Nisr area or is WN A itself, this could justify the fact that the first tomb inspected by the Abbott Papyrus inspectors is precisely that of the king, not so far from the village<sup>19</sup>. Finally, it should be underlined that the “left” arrangement of the intersecting corner between the antechamber and the burial chamber, according to Romer’s hypothesis (Willockx 2010, 44-45 summary), could confirm this hypothesis.

## **2. Valley of the Colors (Valley of the Last Montuhotep)**

The valley consists of two vertical terraces, the higher and the lower (Fig.II.18); in the first, there is the higher path to the Deir el-Bahari temple, and in the second, the slope ends in a natural “gully” on which there is a round “ball-shaped” rock. Below is an overhanging wall at the bottom of the lower terrace.

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<sup>19</sup> - The hypothesis that the Wadi en-Nisr, the Valley of Colours, and the Valley of Hekanakht are sites linked to the figure of Amenhotep I and his family is confirmed by the presence in the area of the tomb of Prince Amenemhat Q (MM 1021), the young son of the ruler (see below).



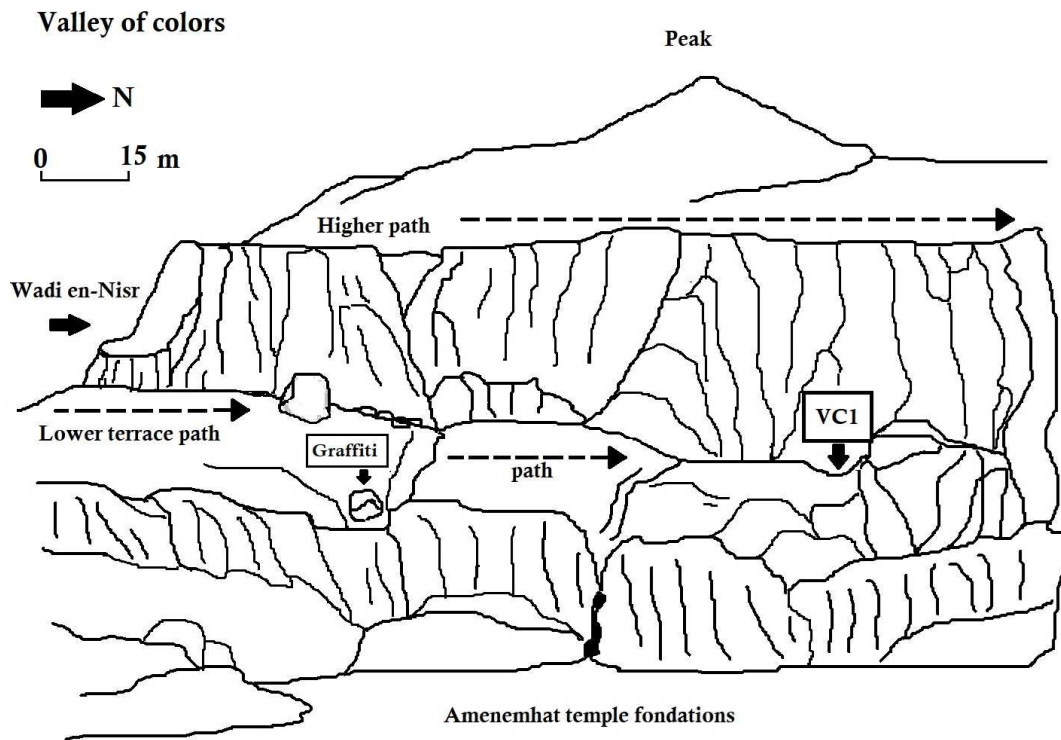


Fig.II.18. The Valley of Colors (drawing author)

On the round stone is a conspicuous number of graffiti, most of which bears the name of Butehamun and his collaborators (Peden 2001, 255). Graffiti 1001 and 1021a are significant, in which the scribe inspects the area in the company of the high priest of Amun Paynedjem I in the years 10 and 11 of Smendes I (see later)<sup>20</sup>.

In this diversified archaeological context with a very complex anthropic stratification, there appears to be only one tomb (VC no.1), the elevation of which may place it alongside the other cliff tombs; however, as already mentioned, the presence of a vast Middle Kingdom necropolis that includes the Gurna elevation does not allow this structure to be dated with certainty to the 18<sup>th</sup> Dynasty.

### 2.1 The VC no.1 (Fig.19)

The entrance to the tomb is at the height of 144 m from the level of the bottom of the Valley of Colours and excavated on the flat rock surface of the low terrace; the date of its discovery in modern times is unknown, nor is it known whether it was also open or used in antiquity. The only available source is the brief description written by the CEDAE on the graffiti of the Theban Mountain: “*un puits funéraire a été creusé à l’extrémité Nord de la terrasse, en amont du dernier ravin longeant la Falaise*” (GMT I/1, 50), later accompanied by the 1971 plan (GMT II/3 Section 147, Pl.129).

This hypogeum consists of a rectangular “oblique” shaft entrance measuring 2.80 x 1.60 m and 1.45-2.40 m in height, which bears traces of two significant, roughly hewn steps at a distance from each other and a kind of smooth ramp between the two; this is followed by a

<sup>20</sup> - For Reeves (1990, 190-192 and 255) the presence of these inscriptions confirms the use of WN A to cache New Kingdom royal mummies as well as those of Paynudjem I: Peden 2001, 255 note no.804.

single rectangular burial chamber measuring 5.42-5.20 x 3.85 m and 2.60-3.10 m in height<sup>21</sup>.

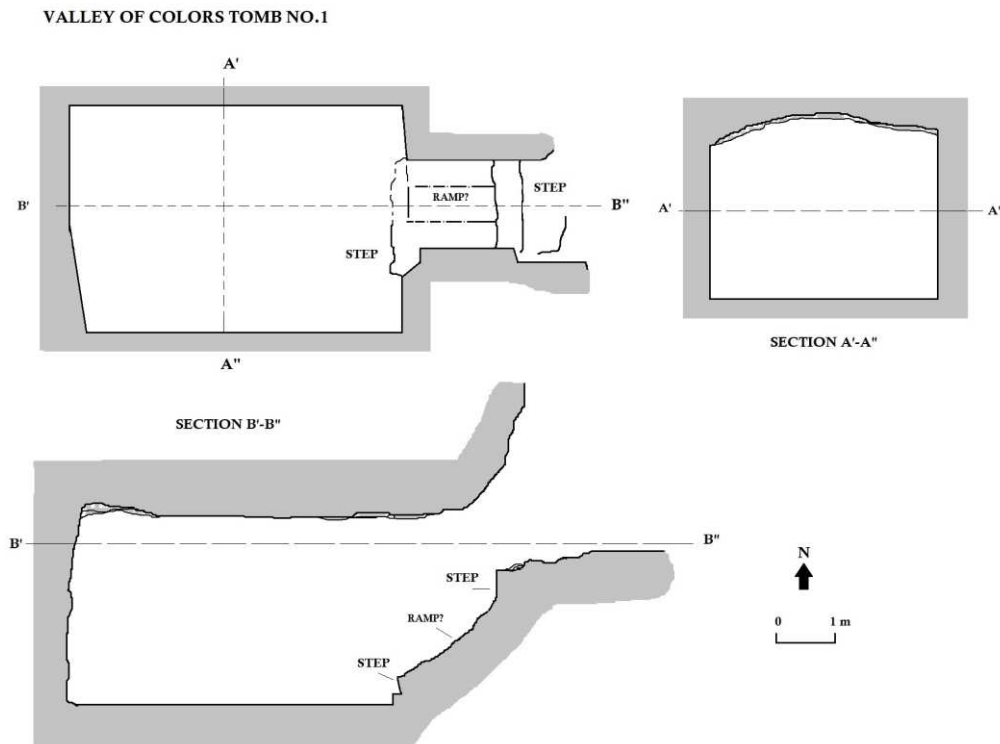


Fig.II.19. The Valley of Colors tomb, plan, and sections (drawing author)

The excavation of the structure and the absence of reliefs or paintings allow VC no.1 to be associated with WN A and the Baraize tomb. However, the much simpler planimetry opens a triple consideration: Middle Kingdom date about the neighboring temple of Amenemhat I or a tomb of the early 18<sup>th</sup> Dynasty with an entryway shaft after modified in a stepped entry. The element of the structure that appears interesting is the type of the “oblique” entrance shaft, which has an external height of 1.45 m and then widens to 2.40 m with steps and a very steep “rough” ramp. Indeed, a tomb consisting of only one room is widespread in the necropolis. We find it in the Valley of the Kings in KV36, KV44, KV45, KV58, and KV61 (Wilkinson-Reeves 1996, 179-181, 184, 186-187); these consist of an entryway vertical type shaft and a small undecorated room (Fig.II.20) and are dated to the middle of the 18<sup>th</sup> Dynasty.

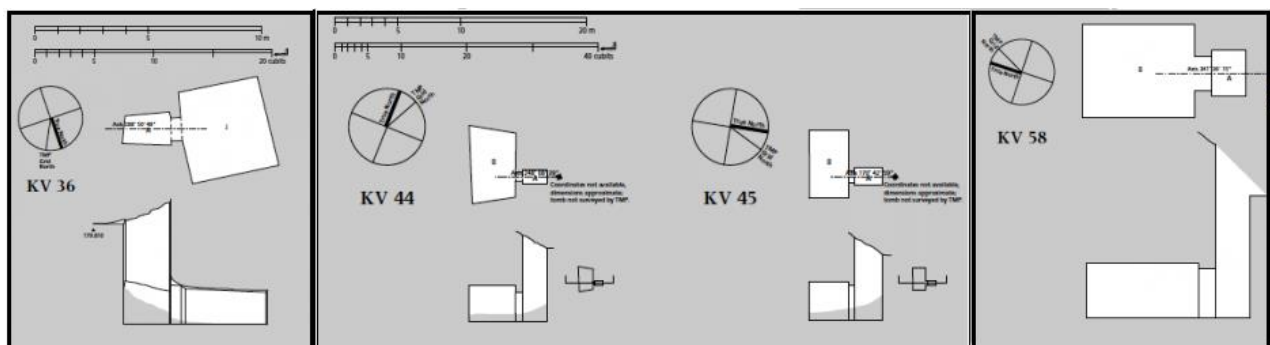


Fig.II.20. The KV36, 44, 45, and 58 plans and sections (TMP).

<sup>21</sup> - The mission headed by the writer carried out a brief survey of the tomb in 2018; the structure is partially obstructed by modern rubbish and no artifacts or other ancient material can be found inside.

The same features are present in the Valley of the Queens tombs of the early 18<sup>th</sup> Dynasty (see Introduction), as well as in AN A and B tombs in Dra Abu-en-Naga; none of these funerary structures uses a flight of steps, whereas, as we have said, WN A and the Baraize tomb, to which we add KV39, have this architectural element. The typology of the access of VC no.1, therefore, gives one reason to consider that it is a tomb excavated in the rock platform of the lower terrace of the Valley of Colors and not into the vertical surface of a rock face on which it is impossible to carve a shaft as in WN A. We are dealing with a funerary structure designed with a plan similar to WN A and probably coeval. It differs from the mentioned planimetric models with an access shaft and a single burial space.

*The graffiti*

The graffiti engraved on the neighboring rocky walls (Fig.II.21) should be noted that on the rock wall above the entrance to VC no.1 is graffiti no. 2952 engraved by the scribe Tuthmosi (Peden 2001, 217). Interestingly is the absence of other neighboring inscriptions dating to earlier periods, which suggests that the scribe probably inspected the tomb with a view to its possible reuse during the reign of Ramses XI. Graffiti nos. 2953 and 996 are similar and attest to the presence of Butehamun with his father, while graffiti from no. 990 to 995 are made by workmen in the necropolis, from which the well-known Pakhynetjer (Spiegelberg 1921, 83).

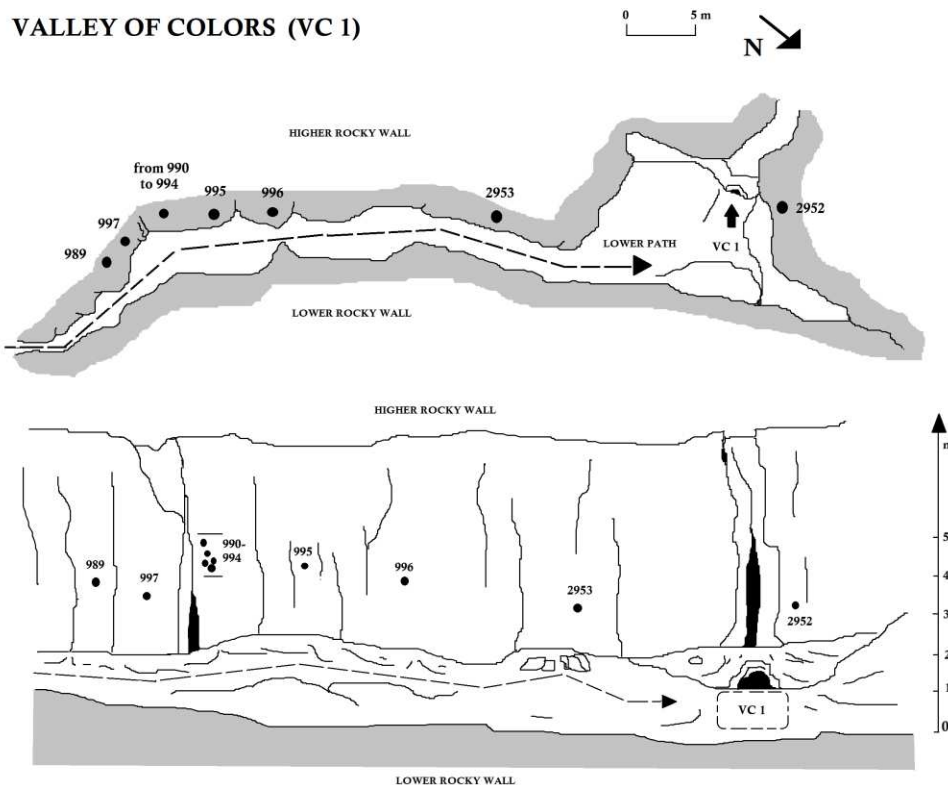


Fig.II.21. Graffiti in Valley of Colors near VC NO.1 tomb (drawing by author).

The presence of workmen with Butehamun and Tuthmosis could suggest some activities in this sector of the valley, probably because VC no.1 not so far; at the beginning of the 21st Dynasty, there was an interest in this place by the Deir el-Medina workers and managers as confirmed by two inspections carried out during the reign of Smendes I.





(a.1) *rnpt 11, 3bd 2 3ht, ssw 13 ii r m33* (a.2) *ḏww m-ḥt iyt tpy n* (a.3) *ʿImn-Rʿ nsw-nṯrw P3y-ndm* (a.4) *z3 n tpy n ʿImn-Rʿ nsw-nṯrw* (a.5) *P3y-ḥnh w3b n ʿImn sw [---]* (a.6) *sš-nsw m st-M3ʿt Bw-th3-ʿImn z3 šs-nsw m st-M3ʿt Dḥwty-ms* (a.7) *ʿ3 n izt Nb-nfr w3b n ʿImn Hnmt-nḥḥ* (a.8) *P3-ih3y-wd3 bit(?) User-h3t [---]* (a.9) *Pn-p3-Rʿi rmt-izt P3y-ndm z3 p3*

“(a.1) Year 11, 2<sup>nd</sup> month of Akhet, day 13, coming to see (a.2) the mountains after the come by the high priest of (a.3) Amun-Ra king of gods Paynudjem (a.4), son of the high priest of Amun king of gods (a.5) Payankh, the priest of Amun Sw[---] (a.6) royal scribe in the Place of Truth Butehamun son of the royal scribe in the Place of Truth Tuthmosis (a.7) the chief of tomb workers team Nebnufer, the priest of Amun of Medinet Habu (a.8) Pahay-wedja, worker(?) Userhat [---] (a.9) Penparei, the member of the tomb workers team Paynudjem the son” (Spiegelberg 1921, 87).

### 3. Valley of Hekanakht

This is the most difficult-to-access and walk-through sector of the entire Deir el-Bahari area, which consists of a circle of high cliffs, an intermediate terrace, and a broad ramp of pebbles, mud, and sand that slopes down to the valley floor (Fig.II.22).

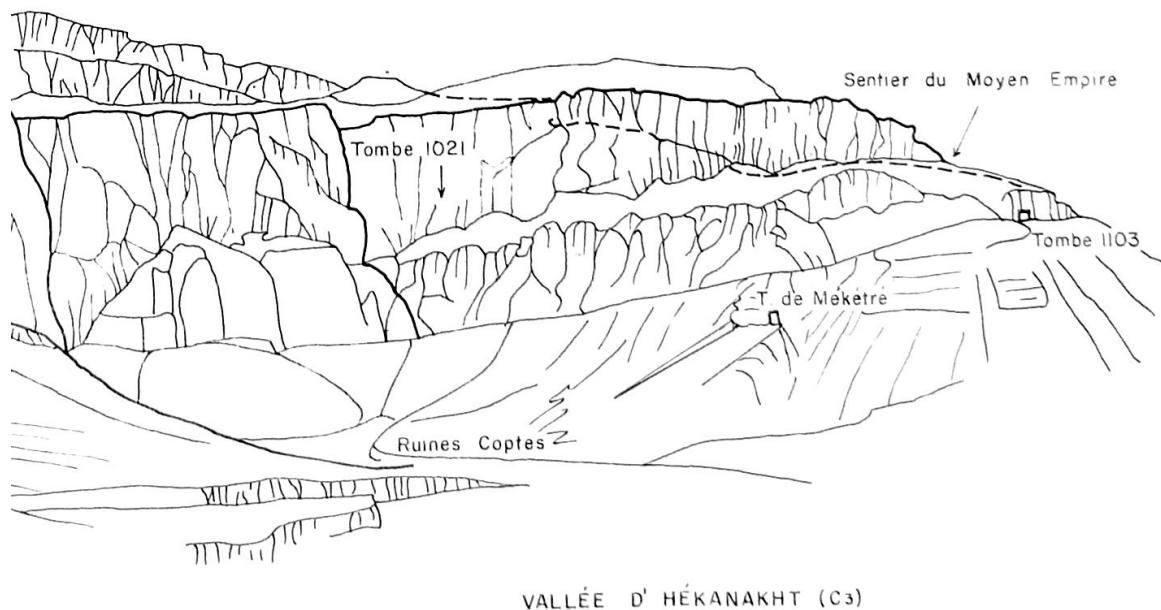


Fig.II.22 – The Valley of Hekanakht (GMT/1, Pl.114)

In the rocky outcrop that forms the northern boundary of the circle are the tomb of Meketra (TT280) and tomb MMA 1103, both from the Middle Kingdom, from which a path leads to the heights; at the bottom of the valley are numerous Coptic ruins (GMT I/1, 49). The only notable New Kingdom funerary structure is MMA 1021, discovered in 1918 and probably destined for the newborn prince Amenmhat son of Amenhotep I; the proximity of the tomb to WN A and TT320 suggests the importance of these valleys for the cult of the ruler and royal family in the early 18<sup>th</sup> Dynasty (see below).

### 3.1. MMA 1021

In a small bay below one of the highest and most inaccessible rock faces in the valley, there is a shaft tomb (Fig.II.23); it was discovered by the Gurnawis in the summer of 1918 and then investigated by Lansing in February 1919 (Lansing 1920, 7-8). The archaeologist named MMA 1021 because its owner is unknown; in the tomb were some funerary meats and an ushabti of the Chief Steward and Scribe *Seniu* from the early 18<sup>th</sup> Dynasty. Outside the tomb and under a large flat stone was found the sarcophagus and the mummy of the newborn prince Amenmhat son of Amenhotep I, called *Amenmhat Q* (Lansing 1920, 10). However, the mummy of the infant (barely a year old) appears to have been damaged by thieves, probably at the end of the 20<sup>th</sup> Dynasty, and subsequently rebandaged, adorned with a wooden breastplate with an image of his father and with numerous floral garlands placed inside a “reused” coffin of the 22<sup>nd</sup> Dynasty (MMA 19.3.212-292); on the lid is the hieratic inscription with the standard titles of the king followed by the name of the royal son (Lansing 1920, 9-10). Lansing himself states, “*It might be argued further that the tomb in which the mummified meats were found was the resting-place of the prince when he was buried. But the question arises as to why he was not reburied in the same tomb, since they took the trouble to bring him all the way up the hill*” (Lansing 1920, 10). From this it is, therefore, difficult to say whether MMA 1021 is the original tomb of Amenemhat Q or whether it is a funerary structure reused as a cache by the managers of the necropolis; and the presence of the sarcophagus outside the tomb and covered by debris may have been the result of later or more recent plundering. On the period in which this reburial would have taken place, Barwick (1998; 2011b, 279) considers that “*There are good reasons to suppose that the reburial of prince Amenmhat was conducted approximately at the same time as other members of the Ahmoside family, and queen Ahmose-Meritamun in particular, being possibly the original owner the tomb in question, and finally transferred to the royal cache in Deir el-Bahari*”. This is because, in a short hieratic text written on the underside of the prince’s pectoral, the royal workman Paynudjem<sup>22</sup> commemorates his participation in rewrapping the prince’s mummy. Thus, in Barwick’s view, MMA 1021 could be the tomb of Ahmose-Meritamun, daughter of Seqenenra Taa II, but this does not explain if the prince was buried in the second tomb later reused as a cache.



Fig.23 – The MMA 1021 (Lansing 1920, 5)  
(The arrow indicates the place)

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<sup>22</sup> - This workman son of foreman Bakenmut is a collaborator of Butehamun and Ankhefenamun and he is mentioned in graffiti no.1007 in Valley of the Colors, no.1085 in Wadi en-Nisir (Peden 2001, 255; Barwick 2011b, 279-280).

### *The internal architecture*

MMA 1021 is a tomb with an access shaft and a single chamber (Fig.II.24) whose floor plan is similar to the previously mentioned tombs in the Valley of the Kings and the Valley of the Queens.

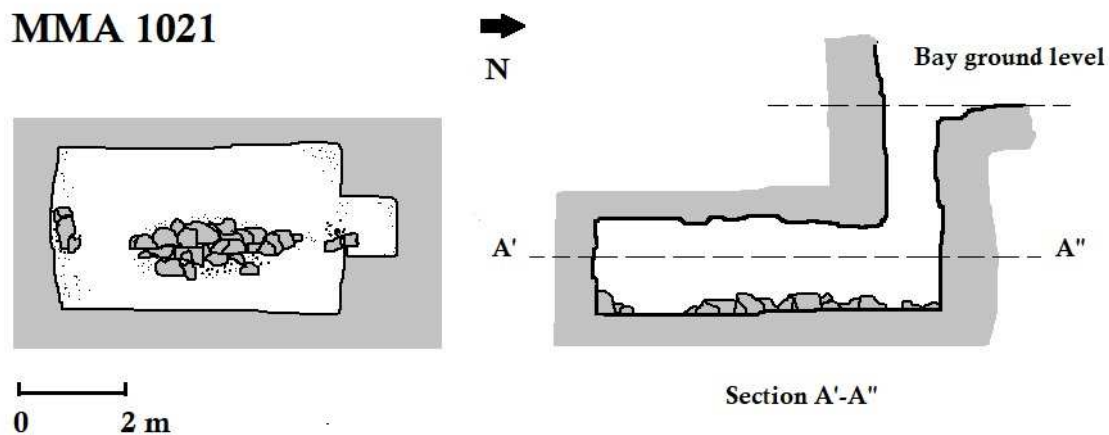


Fig.II.24 – MMA 1021 plan and section (drawing author)

Lansing asserts in this regard: “*The pit was only about two metres deep and opened directly into a small low chamber roughly cut in the rock. This was nearly free of debris except for stone fallen from the ceiling*” (Lansing 1920, 8)<sup>23</sup>.

The tomb has an entrance shaft 2.25 m deep and 1.64-1.72 m wide and a burial chamber 4.45 m long, 2.87 m wide, and 1.84 m high; the walls are roughly excavated without decorations, while the south wall and ceiling bear traces of subsidence, the fragments of which are still present on the ground. The funerary structure can be included among the cliff tombs as it is within a bay (crevice) bordered between two high cliff faces similar in type to those in which WD A and KV34 are found; it is a pit-entry tomb whose dating, as already mentioned by Lansing and Barwick, could date to the early 18<sup>th</sup> Dynasty.

### *External architecture*

The cliff tomb is hidden from the outside and below an observer; from the higher path to the Deir el-Bahari, the bay was visible only if the head position of the observer was over the rock. In other words, the site was ever hidden from all places, and a stratum of mud, sand, and stones also covered the tomb. Lansing made the discovery of the site following the traces of local thieves (Gurnawis) on the path of the Middle Kingdom that served the neighboring MMA 1103 and Meketre tombs (GMT II/5, Pl.191-193).

### *The graffiti*

on this way and the valley hills near, there are some graffiti, many of them are datable to the Middle Kingdom (nos.920-980; Spiegelberg 1921, 76-82), while two were carved by

<sup>23</sup> - In his account, Lansing did not provide any further details of the tomb; a brief inspection of the bay was carried out in 2015; on that occasion, temporary access was granted to MMA 1021 for measurements and verification of the tomb.





## The Finds

One of the most exciting artifacts found by Lansing (1920, 7-8) in MMA 1021 and outside its entrance shaft were 79 food mummies (also called “virtual”) that ensured the survival of the deceased for eternity; these were mummified meat and poultry (beef, geese, and ducks) wrapped in linen bandages and provided with wooden cases. Some of them contain poultry coated with bitumen, and on the outside, the boxes were covered with white stucco and secured by strips of linen and sealed by knots; these artefacts and their method of production appear to have started in the New Kingdom, although it may date

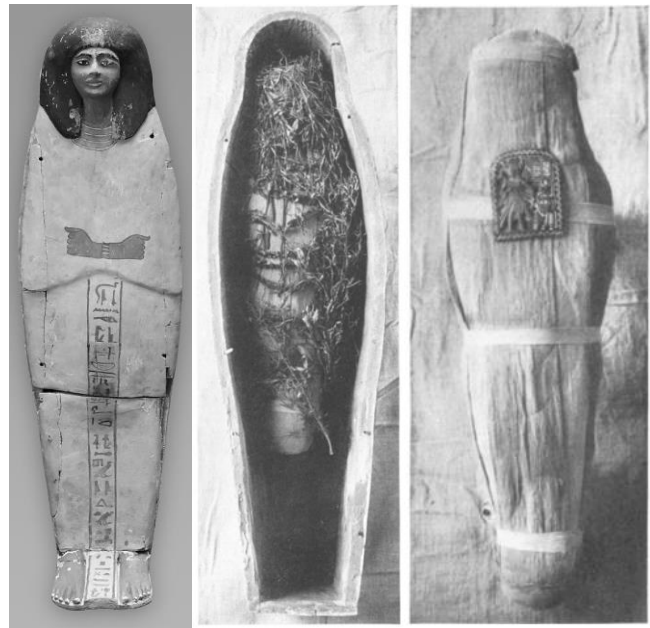


Fig.II.26 -The Amenmhat Q coffin and mummy (MMA 19.3.207; Lansing 1920, 8, Fig.5-6)

back to the Old Kingdom (Ikram 2012, 119-121). As the scholar rightly notes, specimens of this type can be found in various tombs in the Valley of the Kings (KV21, KV28, KV34, KV35, KV42, KV46, and KV60). Still, the finds attributable to MMA 1021 at Amenemhat Q are the earliest and one of the most significant attested examples of this type of funerary offering in the New Kingdom. The existence *in situ* of these finds allows Ikram to assert that “until further archaeological evidence to the contrary is found, one can assume that the victual mummies date to the late Seventeenth/early Eighteenth Dynasties, and were intended for someone of royal blood” (Ikram 2012, 122).

Following analysis of the finds, Ikram believes that “though the burial was rich, it was not quite as lavish as the burials of kings that tended to contain more than one cow/ox, animals that were higher status than poultry (e.g., KV62 and KV34–35). It should be noted

that none of the other tombs provided with victual mummies contained as many poultry offerings as did Amenemhat Q. Thus, although the poultry offerings were an investment, they probably were not equal to a second cow/ox” (Ikram 2012, 134).

However, the presence of precious resins and the extensive use of wood for the construction of each chest confirm the high status of the tomb’s owner (Ikram 2012, 135); other essential finds discovered near the rock tomb are a coffin (MMA 19.3.207a, b) and, of course, the mummy of the infant prince placed inside it (Fig.II.26).

The reused wooden coffin painted in yellow and black is 104 cm high and 30.6 cm wide and is dated to the late New Kingdom to the early 3<sup>rd</sup>



Fig.II.27 – The Amenmhat panel (Hayes 1959, 422 Fig.268)

Intermediate Period (Hayes 1959, 52, 419; Barwick 1998; Aston 2009, 231)<sup>24</sup>. On the lid's external surface, the king title followed by the name of prince Amenmhat was added in a preexisted central vertical column of hieroglyphs: *Nsw Nb-t3wy Imn-m-h3t* “the king of Two Lands, Amenmhat”.

About the mummy, the treatment carried out by the necropolis managers to restore the body, rewrap it in the shroud, and seal it with linen strings is similar to that carried out for the father, as well as for the two other best-preserved mummies of Amenhotep III and Isetemkheb D found in the two royal caches (Smith 1912, 18, 46 and 106).

As cited before, on the chest of the prince's mummy was placed the wooden painted pectoral of deified Amenhotep I (MMA 19.3.210; Fig.II.27), high 11 cm and wide 8.9 cm, “dated to the late Ramesside period” (Hayes 1959, 52, 422 Fig.268; Barwick 1998; 2011b, 279), as a protective amulet (Lieven 2000, 104).

For Hayes, the pectoral in a “parade shield” shape shows the king slaying with his battle axe an Asiatic and a Nubian chieftain in a conventional late Ramesside style work; and, as cited before, “the dating is supported by a hieratic docket written on the back of the inscribed panel by ‘the servitor in the Place-of-truth Pay-nedjem, son of the Chief of the Gang of the Place-of-truth, Baki-mut’” (Hayes 1959, 420). The last part of the funerary set was a pottery bowl filled with dates and fruits (MMA 19.3.211) that, like the mummified food offerings, “provided eternal sustenance for the prince” (Hayes 1959, 52).

#### 4. Valley of the Royal Cache

The valley takes its name from the discovery, in 1881, of the first royal cache (TT320) and is bounded to the south by the Hekanakht Valley, to the north by the circle of Deir el-Bahari and to the east by the hill of Sheikh Abd el-Gurna (GMT I/1, 44-45); as with the other valleys, there are two terraces, the lower and the upper. In the latter is the path that leads to the Hill Village and the Valley of the Kings, while on the lower terrace, the route heads towards TT320 and the valley plan (Fig.II.28); on the rock face of the lower terrace, there are several graffiti that attest activities linked to the funerary purposes from the Middle Kingdom until the 3<sup>rd</sup> Intermediate Period (Peden 2001, 29-32; 215-216; 251-254). In a tiny bay on the lower terrace, there is the shaft tomb TT320.

At the end of the New Kingdom, several graffiti are engraved on the rock walls at the entrance to the valley, including the scribe Penparei (no. 904), the scribe Butehamun and his father Tuthmosis (no. 3451), all dated to the end of the 20<sup>th</sup> Dynasty. At the beginning of the 21<sup>st</sup> Dynasty, several inscriptions are engraved near the entrance of TT320, probably for the inspection and expansion of this tomb for its reuse. Graffito no. 914, very close to the TT320, the scribe Butehamun attests to coming “to see the mountains” in Year 13, the second month of Akhet, day 15 of Smendes I; in the exact text, the author makes a brief prayer to Amun of Karnak. In another graffito (no.1311 a+b) dated to the Year 11, the third month of Shomu, day 13 of Smendes I, the scribe lists five of his sons and collaborators with him in the valley (Peden 2001, 251)

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<sup>24</sup> - For the reuse of coffins and funerary sets in this period see Aston 2009; Cooney 2011; 2017; on the cult of Amenhotep I in the Theban necropolis see Lieven 2001.



Fig.II.28 – The Valley of Royal Cache (photo by author)

Some of these have carved their names and titles into the neighboring rock faces: Nebhepe (no. 911 and 1316), Manenufer (no. 2929 and 2930), and Pakynetjer (no. 2931); as Peden rightly hypothesized, “*the interest shown by Scribe Butehamun and his family in the high cliffs of the ‘Vallée de la Cachette Royale’ was perhaps due to the reappearance of TT320 among the accessible monuments of the Theban necropolis. It is even possible that it was the Scribe Butehamun or his father who was responsible for relocating this royal tomb*” (Peden 2001, 252). Suppose Peden’s idea could be considered acceptable. In that case, it is therefore clear that the activities of the scribe and his collaborators in the valley must have been motivated by the need to have a tomb from the early 18<sup>th</sup> Dynasty to be reused as a cache; indeed, the “strategical” position of the tomb and of the valley itself in terms of safety (because the hill of Gurna hides it) may have been a decisive element for this choice<sup>26</sup>. However, it should be considered that the ink graffiti present inside the TT320 attest to the burial of Paynudjem II and that of his young wife Neskhons in the years 5 and 10 of Siamun; thus, the tomb, although subject to the activity of Tuthmosis, Butehamun and his collaborators at the beginning of the 21<sup>st</sup> Dynasty, does not appear to have been reused for a century (Peden 2001, 254). It is not known whether this funerary structure was prepared for Paynudjem I as an alternative to the KV4 already intended for Ramses XI and never completed or whether WN A was designed for the High Priest of Amun (Reeves 1990, 189, 244-245, 255; Peden 2001, 254 notes no.801).

<sup>26</sup> - This hypothesis is not accepted by various scholars who believe the tomb was excavated in the 21<sup>st</sup> Dynasty or enlarged during the pontificate of Paynudjem II: Niwinski 1984, 77; Graefe-Belova 2006, 211; 2010, 48; Peden (2001, 215) and Aston (2015, 32) believe it is a late 17<sup>th</sup> or early 18<sup>th</sup> Dynasty tomb.



#### 4.1. TT320

The tomb was discovered by the Abd el-Rassul family from Gurna in 1871 and cleared by Brugsch in 1881 (Maspero 1889, 65); the last mission on site was done between 1998 and 2006 by a German–Russian team (Graefe-Belova 2010). This funerary structure with a shaft entrance and its elevated position, like MMA 1021, allows it to be included among the cliff tombs in the present study. The location of TT320 and the discovery within it of the mummy of Queen Inhapi led to the assumption that it was her elevated tomb “*k3y*” mentioned in the hieratic inscriptions on the coffins of Ramses I, Sethi I, and Ramses II; in the texts, written in the Year 10 of the reign of Siamun, the coffins were moved for safety from KV17 to the queen’s tomb<sup>27</sup>. Even more interesting is that the texts specify that “lay Amenhotep I” in the same tomb. The presence of the mummies of the three kings and the queen in TT320 and the elevated position of the tomb convinced Winlock and Černý that TT320 was indeed the *k3y* mentioned in the hieratic inscriptions (Aston 2015, 32).

Another hypothesis is that TT320 is, in fact, the tomb of Amenhotep I, as asserted by Breasted (1906, 690) and Schmitz (1978, 218-219), although Polz rightly observes (1995, 13) that it is unusual that “*a 21st dynasty scribe would have called the king's original tomb 'tomb of (Queen) Inhapi ... in which Amenhotep I rests'?*” is a consideration that rightly suggests that TT320 is to be attributed to another early 18<sup>th</sup> Dynasty figure. For Aston (2015, 32), one of the most decisive data for believing that Ahmose-Nefertari could be the tomb’s owner is the mummy’s presence in its original coffin, while the other mummies were placed in reused coffins. Indeed, it is a datum which, if combined with the probable provenance of the canopic jar of the queen from TT320 as hypothesized by Maspero (1889, 516), would seem to confirm Aston’s view. The scholar, in support of his hypothesis, also points out that the coffin of the queen is similar to that of Ahmose-Meryetamun found in TT358; both coffins were probably stripped of their precious decorations, either by thieves or by 21<sup>st</sup> Dynasty restorers during the reign of Smendes I. For that of Ahmose-Meryetamun, we know that this operation took place in the Year 19 of the king (Winlock 1932, 51); presumably, this intervention was also carried out for the coffin of Ahmose-Nefertari (Reeves 1990, 276-278; Graefe-Bickerstaffe 2013, 116) and this does not exclude that following this activity the original burial of the sovereign was sealed again and reused as the TT358 (Aston 2015, 33). The identification of TT320 with the tomb of Ahmose-Nefertari is a matter of dispute among scholars, although its location (adjacent to the temple of Montuhotep II, the Valley of Hekanakht and the Valley of Colours, the cliff tombs WN A and MMA 1021) and the planimetric similarity with TT358 and the coeval dating of the finds discovered in both, suggest that this hypothesis is the most probable.

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<sup>27</sup> - There are two moves made in year 10, the first on day 16 and the second on day 20; on day 16 the three mummies are moved from KV17 to the *k3y* of Inhapi and on day 20 the mummies of Sethi I and Ramses II are moved to the *House of Eternity* of Amenhotep I.



### *The internal architecture*

The tomb consists of an entrance shaft (A), rectangular in shape, measuring approximately 2 x 2 m and 12.85 m deep, a descending staircase of seven steps (B), 7.40 m long, 1.68 m wide, and 3.92 m high; from this, an entrance leads into the descending corridor (C), 23.80 m long, 1.40 m wide and 1.80 m high, with a staircase 7.20 m long and 6.40 m high at its end. On the left side of the staircase is a niche (D), 3 m long, 1.80 m wide, and 0.70 m high, cut perpendicular to the corridor in the northwestern direction, while on the right side begins another corridor (E), 30.6 m long, 1.40 m wide and 1.70 m high; at the end of this is a burial chamber (F) of irregular rectangular shape with a bench cut into the rock face. The inner surface is 6.80 x 4.40 m, the outer surface is 8.40 x 5.20 m, and the height is 1.70 m (Fig.II.29).

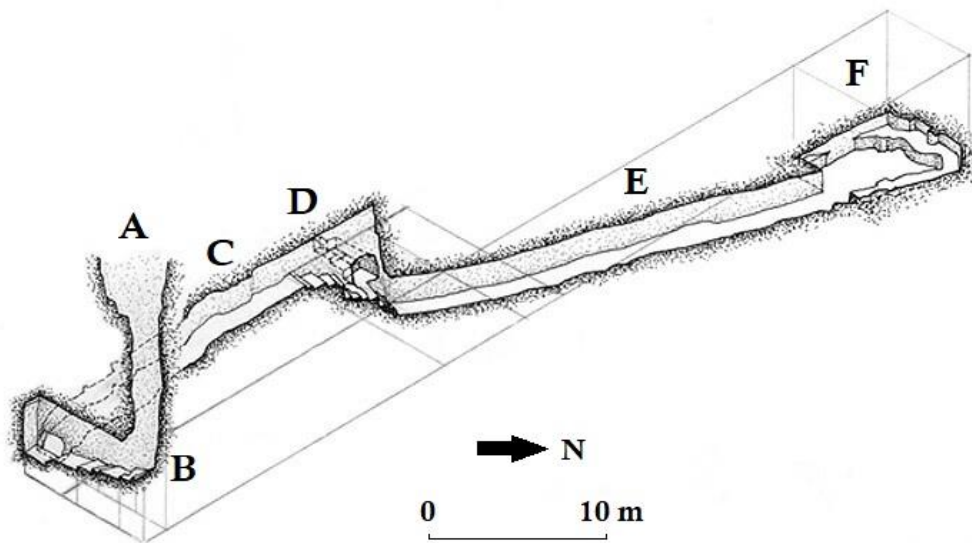


Fig.II.29 – Isometric drawing of TT320 (drawing by Graefe-Belova 2010, Pl.10 with letters added by author)

It must be noted that the uncertainty deriving from the scarcity of information deducible from the tomb, which is roughly excavated without inscriptions and paints, has often led to doubts about its dating; in fact, Niwiński (1984, 77) hypothesizes that the construction of the tomb was started in the 21<sup>st</sup> Dynasty and then enlarged for the burial of Neskhnos, while Graefe believes that “*the tomb was cut in the XXI dynasty*” (Graefe-Belova 2006, 211) or that “*whether TT 320 was an unfinished tomb reused for Neskhnos [A] or if it was cut for her remains an open question*” (Graefe-Belova 2010, 48)<sup>28</sup>. However, this view does not take into account some structural elements of the tomb, which appear to be similar to another tomb ascribable to the beginning of the 18<sup>th</sup> Dynasty; in fact, TT320 has planimetric similarities with the TT358 (Fig.II.30); first, the shaft entrance (A) and the direction to the northwest of the staircase/corridor B in both tombs. In particular, the 90° change of direction of the niche seems to be part of the original plan of both tombs and

<sup>28</sup> - The analysis conducted by the Russian-German mission in 2010 showed that all the rooms and internal structures of the tomb were heavily damaged in antiquity, in addition to the frequent filling of the entrance shaft and spaces B-C with sand, mud, and debris (Graefe-Belova 2010, 40-43).

could make a strict connection between them. Not only do the arrangement of the corridors and the cut of the steps seem to correspond, but the excavation of the two burial chambers (F and G) is not completed (Aston 2015, 20-21).

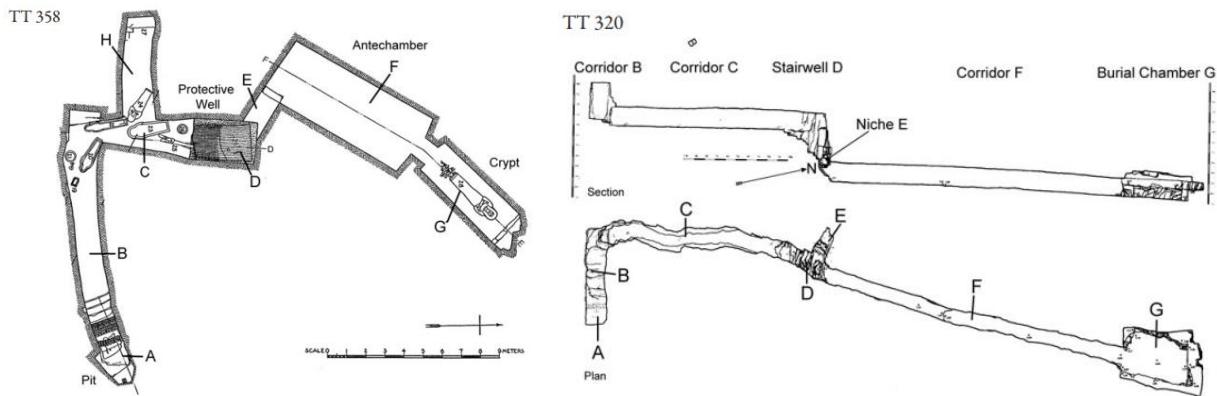


Fig. II.30 - TT 358 plan and TT 320 plan and section (Winlock 1932, Pl. I; Graefe-Belova 2010, Pl.5)

What seems different and may suggest a slight difference in dating between the two funerary districts is the presence of the ritual well between corridors C and E; it is an element present in the AN-B tomb of Dra Abu el-Naga. Therefore, TT320 appears to be similar to TT358 in planimetric conception but without the ritual well, which could indicate a different dating between the two tombs; this, considering that the well appears only in KV34 and in K93.11 (Willockx 2010, 29-30). The latter has two shafts inside the burial, but the plan differs from TT320<sup>29</sup>; we do not know if the presence of this ritual element could be a determining factor for the dating. Therefore, the current view on the dating of TT320 that Aston reiterates is based on the fact that TT358 is before the construction of the temple of Hatshepsut and that from the analogies between the two tombs, it is possible to date them to the beginning of the 18<sup>th</sup> Dynasty. From the finds discovered in the tomb by Winlock (1932, 24-36), it is now clear that this was made for Queen Ahmose-Meryetamun, wife of Amenhotep I, then restored in the Year 19 of Paynudjem I, and reused for the burial of the queen Nauny at the beginning of the 21<sup>st</sup> Dynasty. As rightly pointed out by Aston, Winlock's careful study of the grave goods present confirmed this reconstruction and, above all, that the burial of Ahmose-Meryetamun must have been made during the reign of his consort or that of his successor Tuthmosis I (Aston 2015, 24). So, ultimately, the most relevant observable fact is the almost similar planimetric design of TT320 and TT358, which suggests a coeval dating and the burial of two queens who lived in the same period; if one adds to this Romer's hypothesis on the angle of the first corridor on the right, typical for the tombs of early 18<sup>th</sup> Dynasty queens (Romer 1976, 195), then the attribution of TT320 to Ahmose-Nefertari

<sup>29</sup> - Polz (1995) attributes KV39.11 to Amenhotep I and AN B to Ahmose-Nefertari because they are tombs dating to the late 17<sup>th</sup>-early 18<sup>th</sup> Dynasty; the latter, according to Romer (1976, 205), were later modified during the reign of Tuthmosis III for the reburial of Amenhotep I. For Polz, this tomb would therefore be the one mentioned in Pap. Abbott as the *Horizon of Eternity* (Polz 1998, 291).

suggested by Aston (2015, 37-38) can be considered as a reasonable solution to solve the question. In this regard, in support of Aston’s hypothesis, it should be noted that if TT320 had been built in the 21<sup>st</sup> Dynasty, as considered by various scholars, including Graefe and Belova, the presence of niche D would not be justified (in Fig.II.30 indicated with E). In contrast, it could be fully explained if the tomb had been designed at the beginning of the 18<sup>th</sup> Dynasty. In any case, even if we consider Graefe-Belova’s (2010, 43) assumption that niche E (here D) “cannot represent the extension of a pre-existing tomb”, this does not exclude the possibility that this space was part of a plan typical of the early years of the New Kingdom and where the coffin of Ahmose-Nefertari was probably placed for Maspero (1889, 518) based on the Brugsch report. Moreover, it should be noted that no new tombs were built after the middle of the reign of Rameses XI, as suggested by both the excavation of KV4 left unfinished and the attempt to reuse it by Paynudjem I (Reeves 1990, 121-126; Peden 2001, 245; Barwick 2011b, 263-268); it is no coincidence that several tombs in the Valley of the Kings were used as royal caches, such as KV14, KV57, KV17 and finally KV35 (Reeves 1990, 201-215; Peden 2001, 247; Barwick 2011b, 270-272).

Although it was not considered more convenient to carry out such work due to the expense of men and means and the danger that they would be immediately plundered, even if one were to assume an excavation of a tomb intended for Neskhnos, whose death was sudden, or for his consort Paynudjem II (Graefe-Belova 2010, 47-48), one cannot understand the reason for constructing the access shaft, niche, and burial chamber according to a model typical of early 18<sup>th</sup> Dynasty tombs. It would have made more sense to excavate a structure of more limited dimensions and able to accommodate several sarcophagi if necessary, given the needs of the period and with the typical elements inferable from KV4, the last tomb of the late 20<sup>th</sup> Dynasty in the Valley of the Kings (Reeves 1990, 121-126): an access staircase, three sloping corridors, an antechamber, and a pillared burial chamber with a ritual shaft<sup>30</sup> (Fig.II.31).

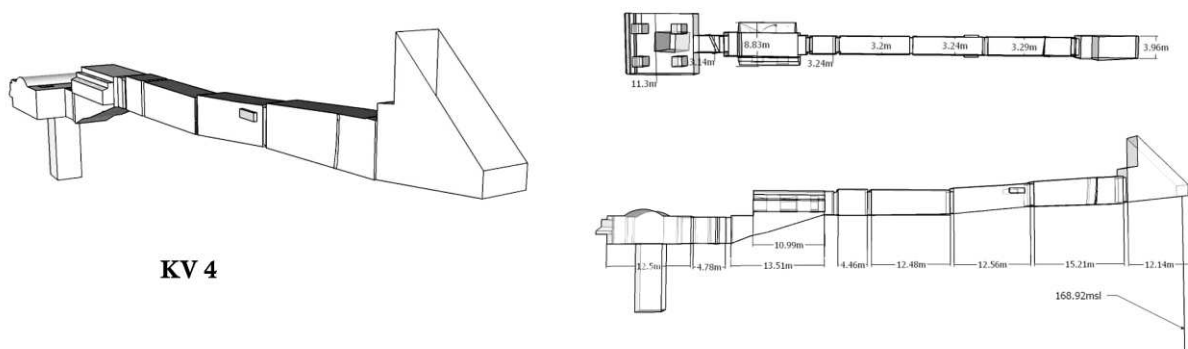


Fig. II.31. KV4 plan and section (TMP)

<sup>30</sup> - The tomb was made for Ramesses XI as confirmed by the decoration of the corridor and the foundation deposits associated with the shaft in a pillared burial chamber at the bottom of the funerary structure; this project was later abandoned and the tomb was readapted and restored for Herihor or Payankh or Paynudjem himself upon his accession to the throne of Thebes as evidenced by his cartouche on the walls decorations.

Suppose one considers that the only tombs used as royal caches are within the Valley of the Kings, including KV35 discovered by Loret in 1898, and that tombs dating to the early 18<sup>th</sup> Dynasty, such as TT358, MMA 1021, KV39, and WN A are reused. In that case, it is safe to assume that TT320 can also be counted among them.

### *External architecture*

TT320 was not visible from the valley floor, nor the different sides of the valley, as it was excavated within a small semicircular bay. Even from above, it is possible only to see it from a certain angle, as it is concealed by the irregular morphology of the surrounding rock face; observation of the entrance shaft (Fig.II.32) is only possible by walking along the path on the low terrace and coming close to the bay. The way best known and used in antiquity has two starting points, one to the north from the plain of Montuhotep II temple (Fig.II.33) and the other from the plain of the temple of Amenemhat I in the Valley of Colors. Once in the valley, it is possible to climb the low terrace and walk along the rock face that forms its northern limit to reach the entrance shaft of TT320. The use of the path is evidenced by the various Middle, New Kingdom, and 3<sup>rd</sup> Intermediate Period graffiti, which we have briefly mentioned.

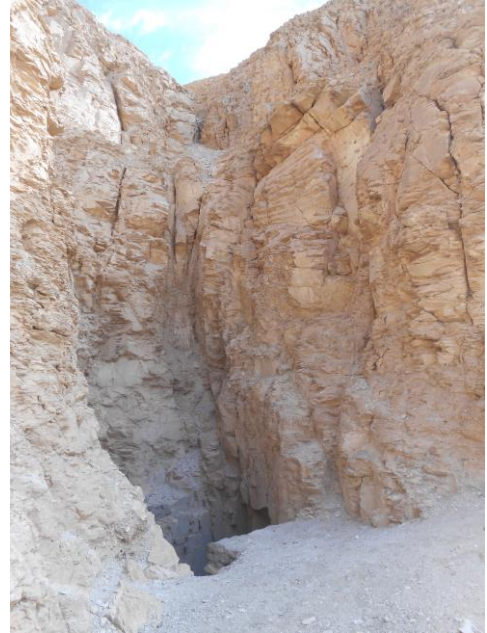


Fig.II.32. TT320 entrance shaft and tiny bay  
(photo author)

### *Finds*

Unlike the kits of TT358, more homogeneous and perfectly datable to the 18<sup>th</sup> and 21<sup>st</sup> Dynasty, those taken by Brugsch in 1881 from TT320 belong to most of the kings and queens of the end of the 17<sup>th</sup> and the beginning of the 18<sup>th</sup> Dynasty. They are Ahmosis, Amenhotep I, Seqenenra-Taa II, Tuthmosis II, and Tuthmosis III, the queens Ahmose-Henetempet, Ahmose-Inhapi, Ahmose-Meryetamun, Ahmose-Nefertari, Ahmose-Sitkamose, the princes and princesses Ahmose-Hettimehu, Ahmose-Sipair, Siamun, and Sitamun. To these are added the high priests of Amun of the 21<sup>st</sup> Dynasty and their relatives: Nodjemet, Tayuheret, Paynudjem I, Henuttawy A, Maatkara A, Isetemkheb D, Masaharta A, Neskhons A, Paynudjem II, Nesitanebtashru and Djedptahiufankh A. The mummies of Sethi I, Ramses II, Ramses III, and Ramses IX, of the noble Rai, and six anonymous individuals conclude the picture of the presence of the cache (Maspero 1889; Smith 1912; Daressy 1909; PM I<sup>2</sup>, 658-667; Graefe-Belova 2010, 50-59). As already mentioned, the graffiti present in the access shaft confirms that Paynudjem II reused the TT320 for the burial of his wife Neskhons in Year 5 of Siamun's reign (Peden 2001, 253; Graefe-Belova 2010, 46); the same priest had himself buried in the tomb five years later. However, it is not known when the tomb was reused again for the burial. At the same time, it is possible that the introduction of the bodies of Djedptahiufankh A and Nesitanebtashru



could have occurred during the Year 11 of the reign of Sheshonq I, as testified by the docket present on the male mummy.

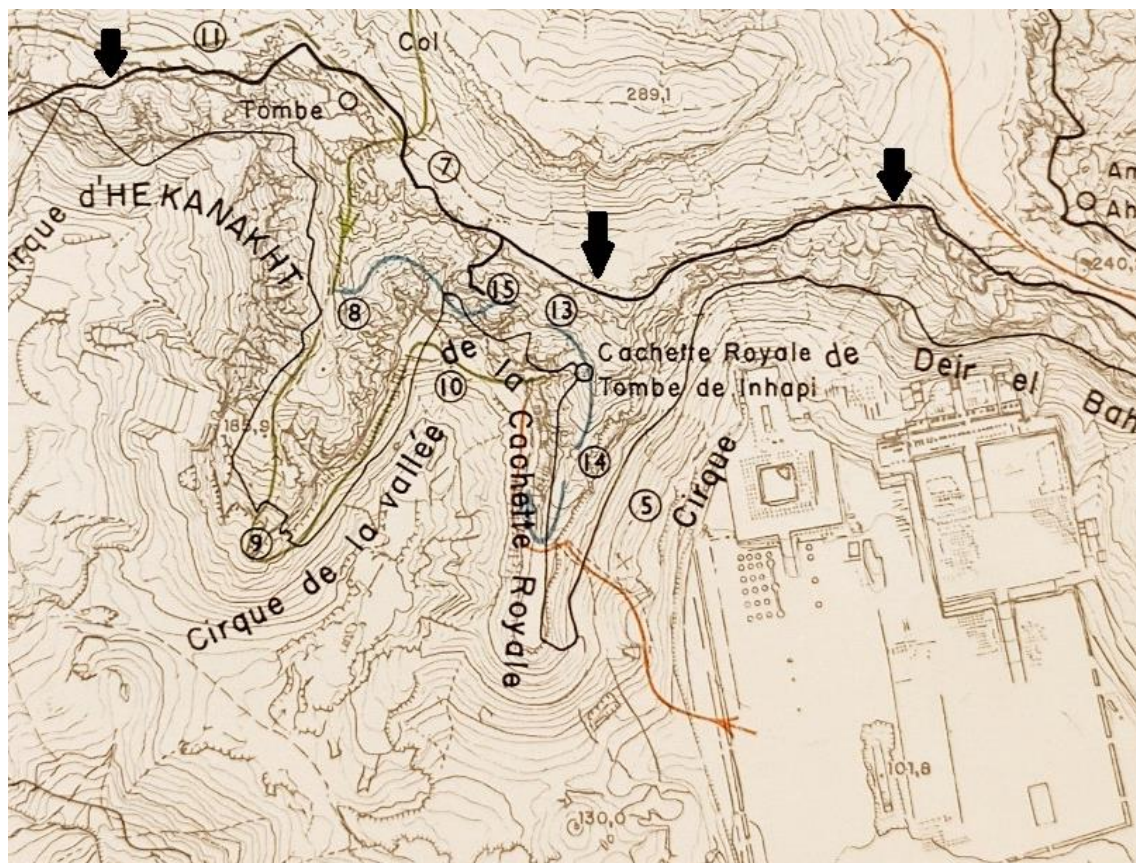


Fig.II.33 – In red is the path from Deir el-Bahari to TT320 (Part of the map from GMT II, Pl. CX)

The “original” position of the mummies and their coffins inside the cache tomb is a question still debated, due to the absence of a plan or drawing by Brugsch during the evacuation of the finds. The only evidence is the account of the discovery made by Maspero in 1889 based on Brugsch’s version about the great confusion of artifacts inside the tomb; many fragments of pottery, coffins, and funerary utensils dated between the 18<sup>th</sup> and 21<sup>st</sup> dynasties, left by Brugsch after his clearance, were found inside all rooms of the tomb (Graefe-Belova 2010, chapters 4-5). These finds confirmed the full use of all parts of the tomb and that it is not possible to assign them a “fixed” position to establish the original location of each coffin and mummy; this is because all funerary tools were placed inside the tombs near their owners, but could be moved by the necropolis workers during each reopening of TT320 and also by the Abd el-Rassul for their business<sup>31</sup>.

<sup>31</sup> - There are still open questions about the discovery of the royal cache and the subsequent activities of the Abd el-Rassuls in it; this is due to a series of events related to the sale and appearance of artifacts from the tomb on the illegal market long before the 1881. The first item to our discussion is the presence of the mummy of Rameses IX in one of Neskhon’s coffins; if TT320 was the first tomb of the youngest wife of Paynudjem II, was this “action” carried out by the Abd el-Rassuls brothers or by the 21<sup>st</sup> necropolis workers? Another question is the exact date of purchase of some of the artefacts from the tomb, such as the funerary papyrus of Paynudjem II (BM EA 10793/1) purchased in 1876 by the merchant Wardi in Luxor and the Nodjemet papyrus purchased by the Prince of Wales in 1862 or 1869, probably during his tour of Egypt (Maspero 1889, 512; Ward 2003). And yet another *quaestio* concerning the mummy of

Another interesting question concerns the pottery type and funerary pieces tools found in the burial chamber of TT320 (Aston 2015, 27-29), some of them dating to the 18<sup>th</sup> Dynasty, which makes the strict connection between this tomb with TT358; for Aston, the presence of the mummy of Ahmose-Nefertari (CGC 61055), her coffin (GCC 61003) and her alabaster canopic jars (CGC 26255/A-B-C-D; Maspero 1889, 583) removes any doubt as to whether the tomb was made for her. The reuse of the funerary structure for the burial of Amun's high priest, Paynudjem II, and his two wives Isiemkheb and Neskhons must have involved, at first, moving the trousseau of the original 'owner'. Later, TT320 was used as a cache for members of the high priest's family as confirmed by the trousseaus of Nodjemet, Paynudjem I, Henuttauy, Maatkara, Nestanebtashru and Djedptahiufankh (Maspero 1889, 584-614). At this point, it is not possible to determine precisely what transfers of royal mummies and their trousseaus took place during the 21st dynasty before their deposition in TT320, nor how many 'withdrawals' of objects were made by the Abd el-Rassul after their discovery and what artefacts were sold or lost; that the Ahmose-Nefertari trousseau was preserved in comparison to other trousseaus in the tomb seems rather difficult to accept given the historical period and the need for intact sarcophagi. Thus, Aston's hypothesis is currently the most plausible but not definitive because if TT320 belongs to Ahmose-Nefertari, it should be noted that his mummy is damaged, as shown by the investigations carried out by Smith (1912, 13-14), who found the absence of the hands and part of the forearm (severed) and the removal of the embalming plate.

This leads to the conclusion that the tomb must have been violated at the end of the New Kingdom and that, following the restoration of the mummy, it seems complicated to hypothesize that the same tomb was subsequently reused for the new burial of Neskhons, given that its secrecy was already compromised. However, in favor of Aston's hypothesis, it is helpful to consider that TT320, given its proximity to the Circle of Deir el-Bahari, was probably closed to house the restored mummy of Queen Ahmose-Nefertari in its original coffin (CG 61003). The absence of valuables, already taken by thieves, could not have been a reason for further looting. In fact, after about 60 years, the cliff tomb was prepared for the burial of the mummies Neskhons and Paynudjem II, probably keeping its noble owner inside the niche. We are dealing with one of the tombs in the necropolis that is most suitable for new burials because it is in such a position that it can be checked daily. Furthermore, in the hypothesis held by various scholars that TT320 belonged to Queen Inhapi based on the fact that her mummy was found intact (Smith 1912, 8-11), it must be considered that the body was placed in the recycled sarcophagus of the noble Rai (CG 61004) which excludes the original burial *in situ*.

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Ramses I acquired in Luxor in 1858-60 that implies the discovery of TT320 by the Abd el-Rassul before the 1875 declaration to the Egyptian authorities; in the same year, Amelia Edwards (1881, 187) states that "*the hiding place of Deir el Baharee was known and plundered by the Arabs*" and, as reported by Graefe-Belova (2010, 34), the writer believes that the two Abd el-Rassuls "*had removed the bejeweled mummy and coffin of Queen Ahhotep from the Royal Cache and reburied it at Dra Abu el-Naga, only to be rediscovered there by Mariette's workers in 1859*". According to Edwards's idea, the large outer coffin (CG 61006) discovered at TT320 and the one at Dra Abu el-Naga (CG 285019) were part of the same funerary equipment; Maspero (1889, 544-545) rejected this thesis because the two coffins were of equal size and could not have contained one another as they usually do (Graefe-Belova 2010, 35).

*The graffiti*

The primary texts attesting to the use (or reuse) of the tomb are two pieces of graffiti written in black ink on the walls of the access staircase (B), documented and removed by Maspero; these texts now in Cairo Museum are illegible due to the poor condition of the rock fragments and the black ink discoloration (Maspero 1889, 520-523, Pl.07-08). Two other signs painted inside the tomb, one of a round shape similar to the hieroglyphic sign *niwt* or  $\otimes$  *dw3t*, while the second similar to a stick or elongated element, remains completely incomprehensible (Graefe-Belova 2010, Pl.11-12). According to Maspero's facsimile, the oldest text from the tomb concerns the burial of Neskhons by certain high officials, such as the divine Father of Amun and the Treasury Overseer Djedkhonsuefankh, who was responsible for sealing the funerary structure (Fig.II.34a-b).

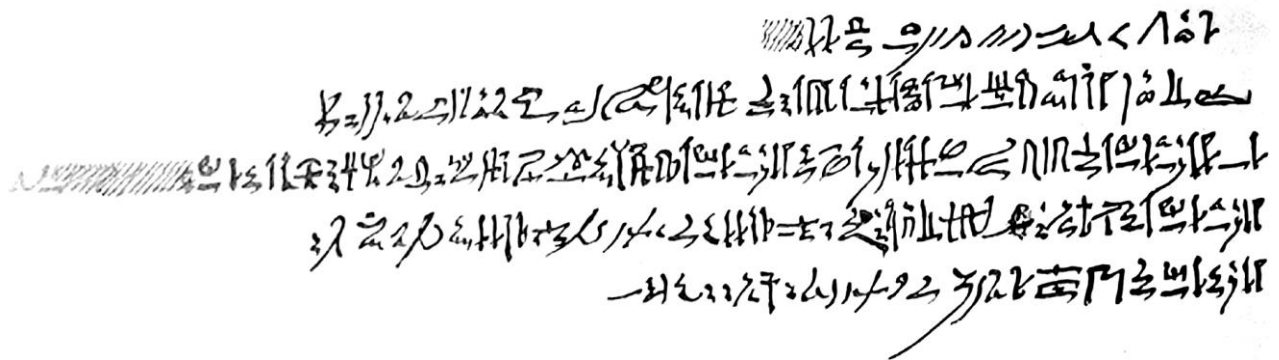


Fig.II.34a. The Maspero's fac-simile of the burial of Neskhons graffiti (Graefe-Belova 2010, Pl.8)

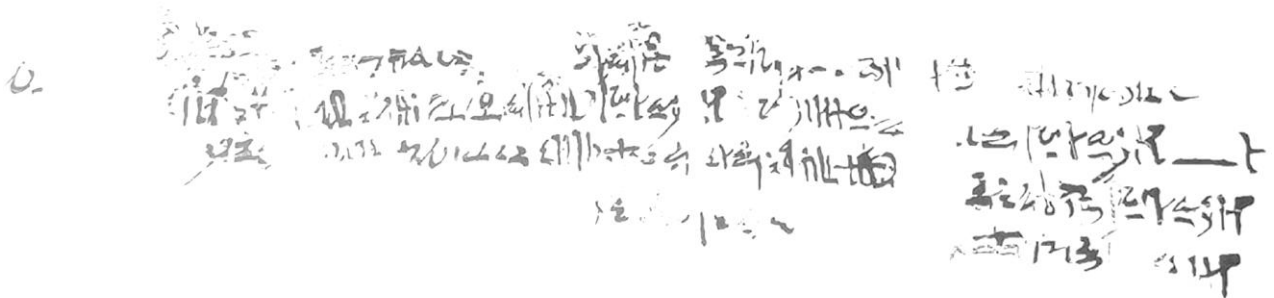


Fig.II.34b. Part of the graffiti of the burial of Neskhons (Graefe-Belova 2010, Pl.8)









Valley of the Royal Cache

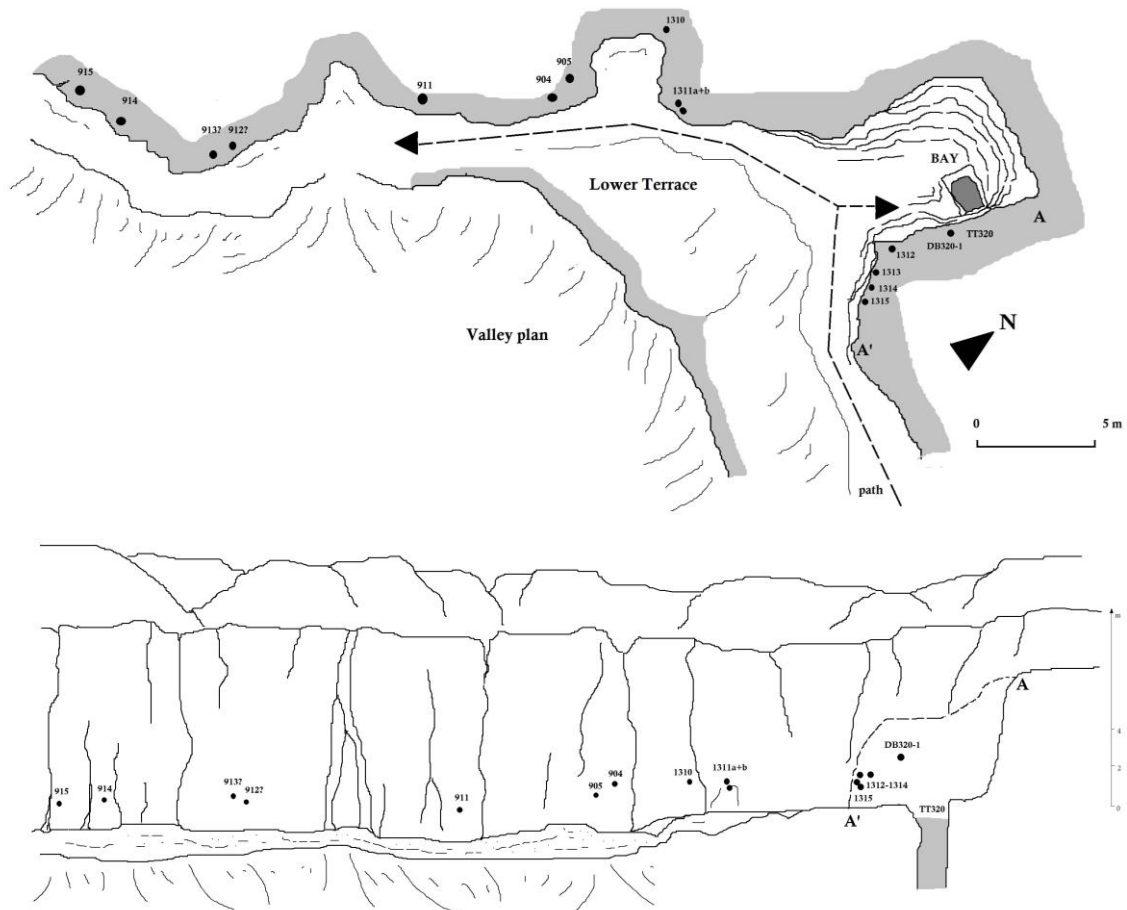


Fig.II.35 – The Valley of Royal Cache plan and section with the position of some graffiti (drawing author)

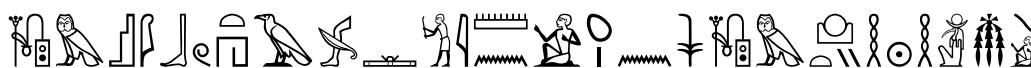
No.905



(1) *Imn -- ir n sš-nsw Bw-th3-Ḳ[mn] (n) pr-ḥr-pr z3.f sš Imn-ms (n) pr-ḥr-pr*

“(1) Amun -- Made by the royal scribe Butehamon (of) the necropolis, his son the scribe Amenemes (of) the necropolis” (Spiegelberg 1921, 75).

No.912



*sš m st-M3ʿt Bw-th3-Imn, z3 n sš-nsw m 3ḥt-nḥḥ Ḳḥwty-ms*

“The scribe of Place of Truth Butehamon son of the royal scribe of Horizon of the Eternity (necropolis) Tuthmosis” (Spiegelberg 1921, 75).

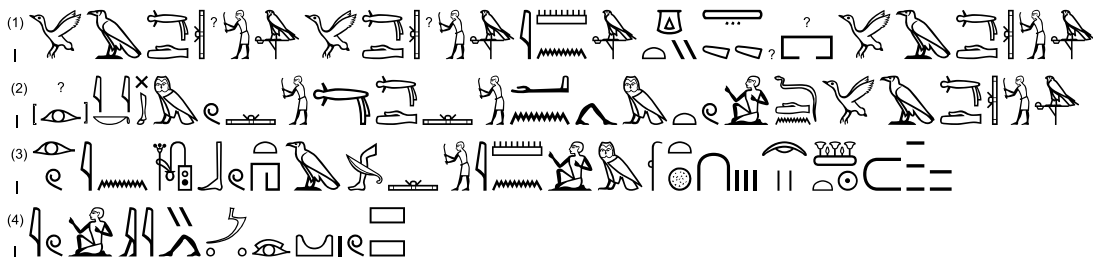
No.913



sš *Bw-th3-Imn*

“*The scribe Butehamon*” (Spiegelberg 1921, 75).

No.914



(1) *p3 šd p3 šd Imn nsty t3wy p3 šd* (2) *iry.k whmw šd n mtw.i dd n p3 šd* (3) *irw in sš Bw-th3-Imn m rnpt 13 3bd 2 3ht ssw 15* (4) *iw.i iy m33 dww*

“(1) *Savior! Savior! Amun Lord of Thrones of Two Lands! Savior!* (2) *Make the salvation again and I will speak (i.e. pray) to the Savior!* (3) *Made by the scribe Butehamon in the year 13, 2<sup>nd</sup> month of Akhet, day 15* (4), *when I came to see the mountains*” (Spiegelberg 1921, 75-76).

No. 915a



sš *nsw Bw-th3-Imn n pr-hr-pr z3 sš-nsw Dhwty-ms*

“*the royal scribe Butehamun of the necropolis son of the royal scribe Tuthmosis*” (Spiegelberg 1921, 76).

The graffiti nos. 938 and 980b bearing the name of Butehamun and his son Ankhefenamun were engraved on the rock walls above the valley, a site where many inscriptions of the priests and scribes of the Middle Kingdom were found (Spiegelberg 1921, 76-82).

No. 938



sš *m st-M3t Bw-th3-Imn,*

“*the scribe in the Place of truth Butehamun*” (Spiegelberg 1921, 78).

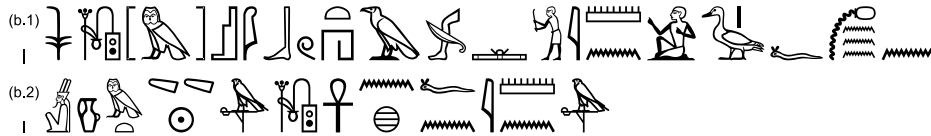
No.971



sš st-M3t Bw-th3-Imn,

“the scribe Butehamun” (Spiegelberg 1921, 81).

No. 980b



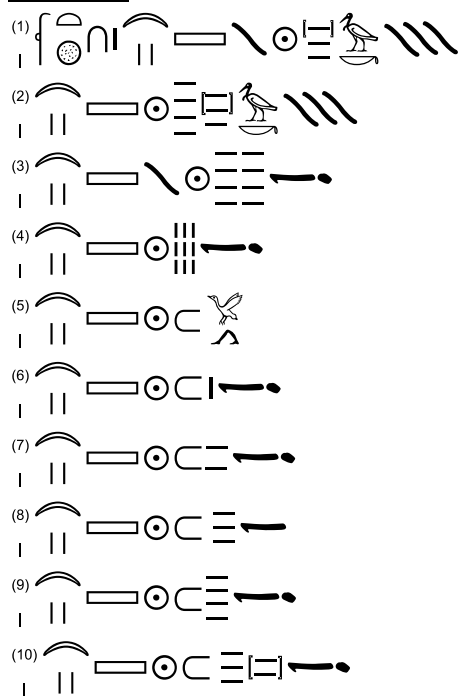
(b.1) sš-nsw (m) st-M3t Bw-th3-Imn z3.f wcb n (b.2) Imn hnm̄t nh̄h ḥnh̄.f-n-Imn

“(b.1) the royal scribe in the Place of truth Butehamun, his son the Priest of (b.2) Medinet Habu Ankhefenamun” (Spiegelberg 1921, 82).

Very interesting is graffito no.1310, not so far from the cited graffito no.1311a+b, which attests to some activities near the TT320 by a day book from day 6<sup>th</sup> to 23<sup>rd</sup> of the second

month of Shomu; in the text, there is the word b3k “working”, as well as the two signs for the word p3 nds “non-working” and p3 pr “the exit”.

No.1310



(1) rnpt 11 3bd 2 šmw ssw 6 b3k (2) 2 šmw ssw 7 b3k (3) 2 šmw ssw 8 p3 nds (4) 2 šmw ssw 9 p3 nds (5) 2 šmw ssw 10 p3 pr (6) 2 šmw ssw 11 p3 nds (7) 2 šmw ssw 12 p3 nds (8) 2 šmw ssw 13 p3 nds (9) 2 šmw ssw 14 p3 nds (10) 2 šmw ssw 15 p3 nds

“(1) Year 11 second month of Shomu day 6 work (2) Shomu day 7 work (3) Shomu day 8 non-working (4) Shomu day 9 non-working (5) Shomu day 10 the leaving (exit?) (6) Shomu day 11 non-working (7) Shomu day 12 non-working (8) Shomu day 13 non-working (9) Shomu day 14 non-working (10) Shomu day 15 non-working” (Černý 1956, 20).

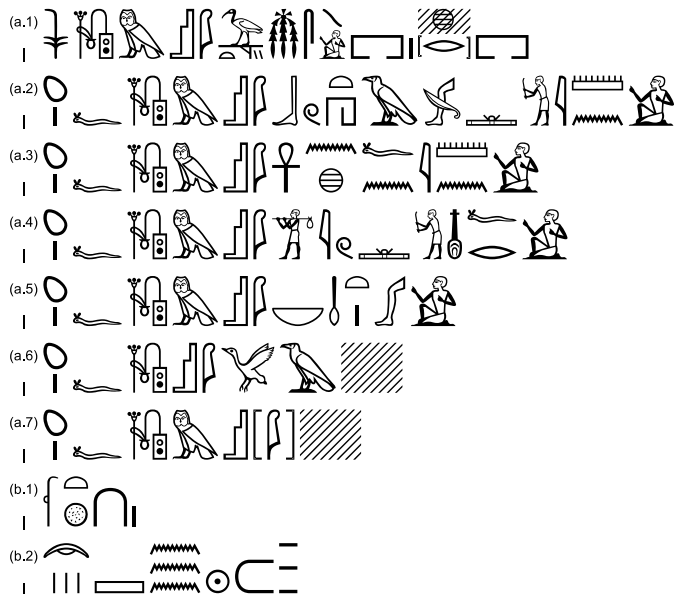
The first two terms are well known in the diary of the necropolis of Deir el-Medina<sup>33</sup>, while less used is the third, which could be connected with both previous terms for an activity in a place or a tomb.

<sup>33</sup> - Here the line is the negative mean of the point that indicates the working day (Janssen 1997, 89 and 93); a similar sign is on O.Cairo CGC 25243 of the end of 20<sup>th</sup> - early of 21<sup>st</sup> Dynasty. In all documents that formed “the Journal of the Necropolis” during Ramses XI’s reign the sign b3k is used to say “working”; see: *Giornale della Necropoli*, (P. Turin 1898 + P. Turin 1926 + P. Turin 1937 + P. Turin



The small number of working days expressed in the graffiti is to be connected more with a work of extension or arrangement of the structure than with that of a new excavation; this fact, if rightly associated with the 11<sup>th</sup> year cited in the graffiti, probably in the reign of Smendes I or Paynudjem I<sup>34</sup>, could indicate a possible relationship with the 11<sup>th</sup> year of the same kings mentioned in graffiti no.1311a+b written one month after, to indicate the end of activity in TT320 by Butehamun.

### No.1311a+b



(a.1) *sš-nsw (m) st-M3<sup>c</sup>t Dḥwty-ms pr-ḥr-pr* (a.2) *z3.f sš m st-M3<sup>c</sup>t Bw-th3-Imn* (a.3) *z3.f sš m st-M3<sup>c</sup>t ḥnh.f-n-Imn* (a.4) *z3.f sš m st-M3<sup>c</sup>t Mniw-nfr* (a.5) *z3.f sš m st-M3<sup>c</sup>t Nb-ḥpt* (a.6) *z3.f sš m st-M3<sup>c</sup>t p3 [---]* (a.7) *z3.f sš m st-[M3<sup>c</sup>t][---]* (b.1) *rnpt 11* (b.2) *3bd 3 šmw ssw 13*

“(a.1) the royal scribe in the Place of truth Tuthmosis of the necropolis (a.2) his son the scribe in the Place of truth Butehamun (a.3) his son the scribe in the Place of truth Ankhefenamun (a.4) his son the scribe in the Place of truth Maniunefer (a.5) his son the scribe in the Place of truth Nebhepet (a.6) his son the scribe in the Place of truth Pa[---] (a.7) his son the scribe in the Place of truth [---] (b.1) Year 11 (b.2) third month of Shomu day 13” (Černý 1956, 20).

Similar near the entrance of TT320 are other texts about a necropolis workman Heramunkhenu, a priest of Amun of Karnak, a scribe of the army, and a chief of workers (nos.1312-1314), while the no.1315 bearing the name and title of Butehamun, the most active figure in this sector of the valley, here as simple scribe probably at the beginning of his career during the *Wḥm-mswt* era (Barwick 2011b, 259-274; Cavillier 2018, 8-19); another text (TT320 no.1) was discovered over the entrance shaft by the polish mission and bearing the title and name of Butehamun and his son Ankhefenamun.

2094), P. BM EA 09997, P. Turin 1888 + P. Turin 2085, P. Turin 2094 [1], and O.Cairo CGC 25243 (Botti-Peet 1928, Pl. 50-63; Gardiner 1948, 64-68; Demarée 2015; Helck 2002, 568-570 and 572-573).

<sup>34</sup> - Possibly the *Wḥm-mswt* era whose end in year 10 or at most year 12 coincides with year 28 or 30 of the reign of Rameses XI: Černý 1929; 1930; Peet 1930, 128, 179-180; Kitchen 2009, 193.



18<sup>th</sup> Dynasty, as well as at the end of 20<sup>th</sup> Dynasty nor does the paucity of graffiti allow for further contributions (Barwick 2011a, 387).



Fig.II.36 – The Deir el-Bahari Valley view (photo Middle Kingdom Theban Project with notes by author)

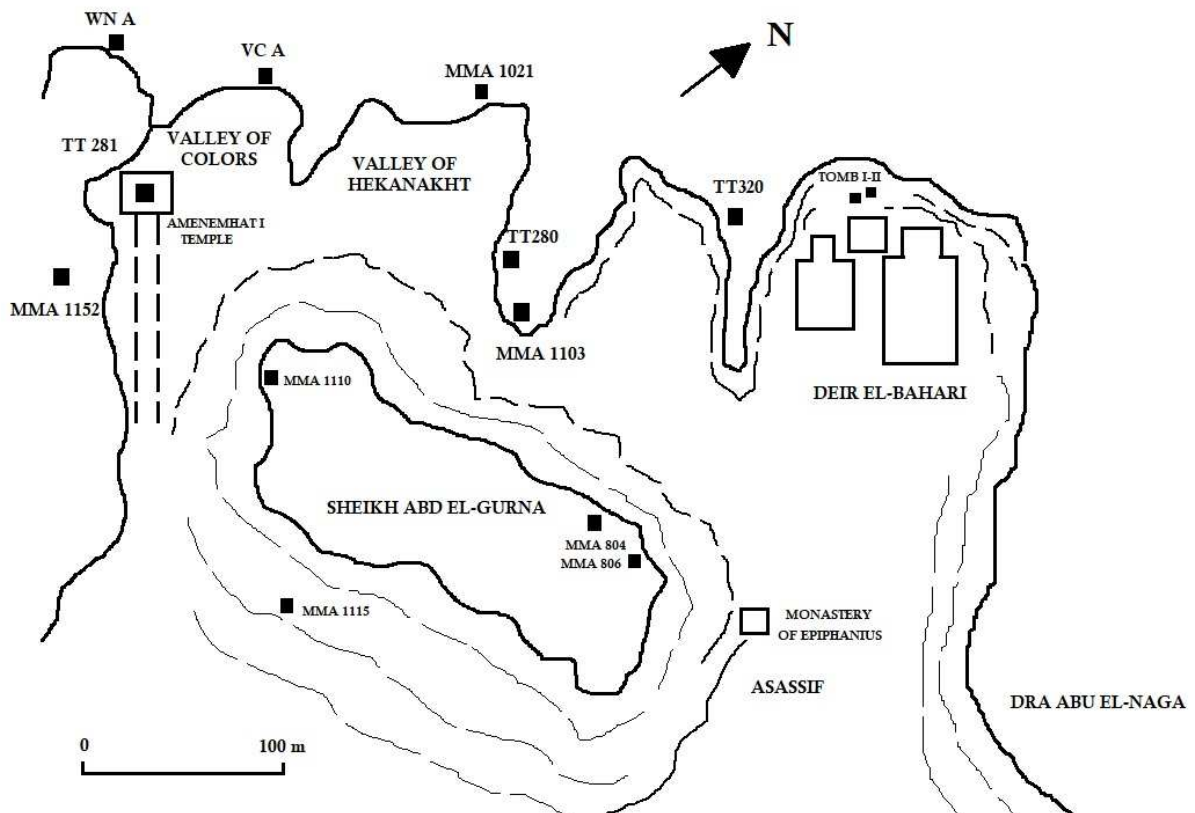


Fig.II.37 – East sector of the necropolis with the positions of some tombs (drawing author)

### The Tuthmosis III temple area

Aside from the Middle Kingdom tombs and some important early 18<sup>th</sup> Dynasty figures, including that of Senmut (TT353) and TT358<sup>35</sup>, the only two cliff tombs (Tomb I and II; Fig.II.38-39) known are those above the temple of Tuthmosis III (*dsr-3ht*), discovered by a Polish mission in 1964-1968 (Lipińska 1968, 142-143; Dąbrowski 1968, Pl. IV, V) and re-investigated in 2011-2013 by the Polish–Egyptian Archaeological and Conservation Mission of the Temple of Hatshepsut at Deir el-Bahari (Hallmann 2015, 247-249); on the rocky walls up these tombs are some Butehamun graffiti (Rzepka 1999, 186-187 section B; 2014, 8.7) that confirm the interest of the necropolis administration for the site in the early 21<sup>st</sup> Dynasty.

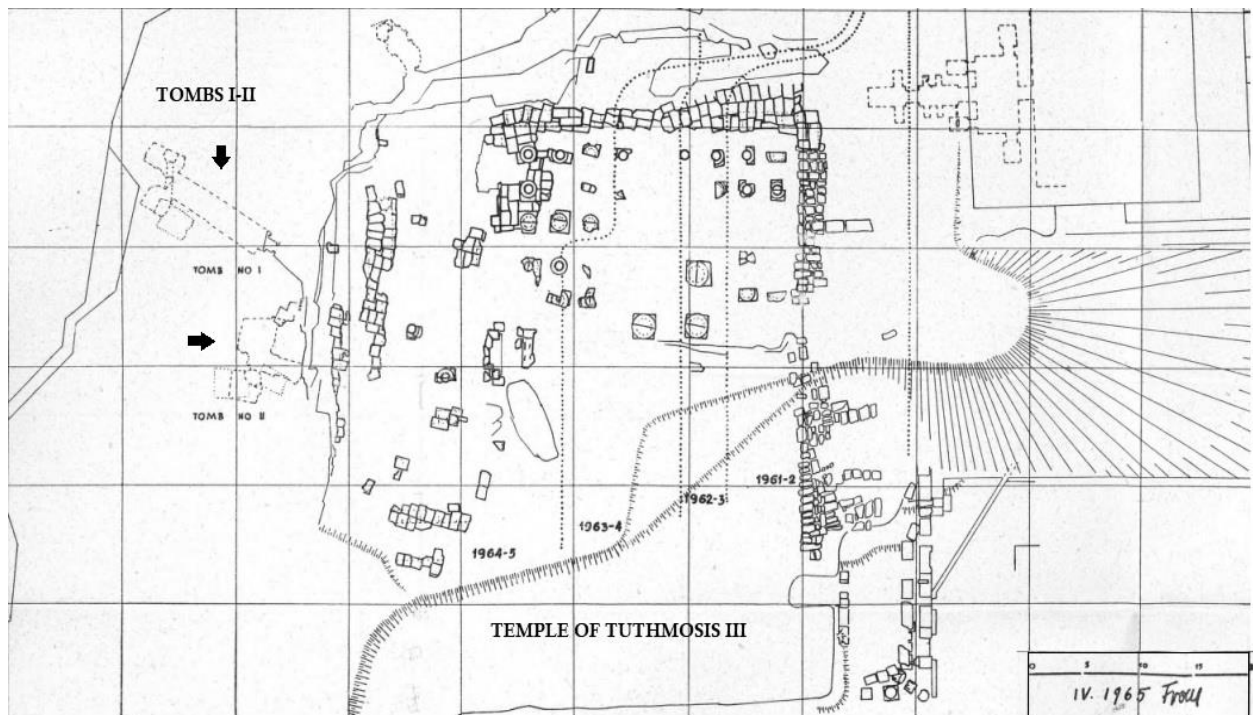


Fig.II.38 – Tomb I plan and section (Dąbrowski 1968, Pl. VI)

This preliminary consideration is based on the fact that both tombs, at the time of their discovery during the cleaning of debris that covered the ruined temple, contained parts of different grave goods from the Third Intermediate Period and early Late Period, mixed with material from the modern period (Hallmann 2015, 249); the elevated location and the entrance carved directly into the cliff face of these two burial structures could allow them to be included by the cliff tombs analyzed so far. However, the planimetric model used by the excavators raises some questions about their possible dating to the early New Kingdom or 21<sup>st</sup> Dynasty. Given the limited documentation available<sup>36</sup>, a brief description of the two structures will be given with some remarks on their typology and possible dating.

<sup>35</sup> - The TT240, TT308, TT310, TT311, TT313, TT314, TT315, TT316, and TT319 tombs in the valley are dated to the Middle Kingdom, while no TT312 is dated to the Saite period.

<sup>36</sup> - The only available documentation on these funerary structures is mostly that provided by the Polish mission in 1968 and in subsequent contributions in 2015; due to the various cleaning and restoration works continuously carried out on the site by the Polish team, given its precarious condition of stability, it was





Fig.II.39 – Tomb I-II entrances (photo Hallmann 2015, Fig.1)

### 5.1. Tomb I

This funerary structure (Fig.II.40) is carved into the rock face of the middle terrace on which the remains of the temple of Tuthmosis III still stand at a height of about 6.20 m above the ground. The tomb consists of linear east access equipped with limestone pillars, 1.10 m wide and 2 m high, an access corridor 10 m long, 2.30 to 2 m wide and 1.90 m high, and two side chambers of irregular rectangular shape, equipped with vertical shafts; the northern chamber of 3.5 m x 1.80-2.00 m has the square-shaped well measuring about 1.50 x 1.50 m and 4 m deep, while the southern room measuring 2.30 x 2.40 m has the well measuring 1.80 x 1.80 also about 4 m deep. The two wells are connected by a narrow passage 3.50 m long, 3.50 m wide, and only about 50 cm high.

In Lipińska account (1968, 142), the tombs “*were undecorated and crudely cut in soft argillaceous schist. They were presumably built in the Late Period, when the temple of Tuthmosis III had been already destroyed*”. The dating provided by the archaeologist is essentially based on the fact that the temple fell into disrepair at the end of the 20<sup>th</sup> Dynasty and was used as a stone quarry, as well as, “*there are no graffiti later than XXth Dynasty*” and that “*the clearance of this tomb exposed several fragments of broken sarcophagi, smashed mummies and small objects of funerary equipment, shabti box, ushabti, fragments of coffins*”.

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only possible for the writer to access it for a brief observation of the tombs. The data given in the present discussion are taken from the cited contributions and verified *in situ*. I wish to thank the head of Polish Mission in Dair el-Bahari, Zbigniew Szafranski for fruitful discussions and info about the site.

All of these finds are dated to the Late Period and, in particular, “*the burials from the time of the XXVIth Dynasty were found in a heap of debris 1.5 m above the temple ‘pavement’ this is proof that the site was then already long abandoned and turned into a cemetery*” (Lipinska (1968, 144-145). From Tomb, I come three wooden ushabti boxes (Inv. nos. F.6432, 6433, 6439), a hawk figurine (F.6434), various ushabti (F.6435-7115), two fragments of coffins (F.6437, 6438), and a wooden hoe (F.7962) (Lipinska 1968, 201-203).

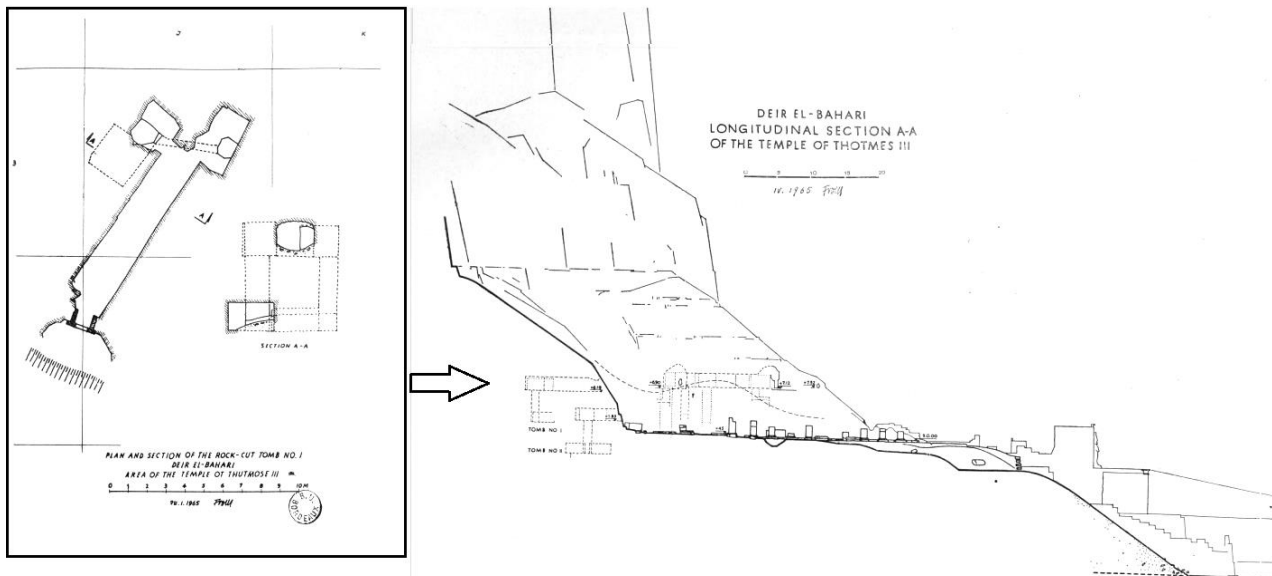


Fig.II.40 – Tomb I plan and section (Dąbrowski 1968, Pls. IV and VII)

## 5.2. Tomb II

This tomb (Fig.II.41) is also carved into the rock face of the middle terrace on which the remains of the temple of Tuthmosis III still stand, at a height of about 1.93 m above the ground. The tomb consists of linear east access equipped with mud-brick walls on each side, 1.15 m wide and 1.80 m high, an access corridor 3.10 m long, 2 m wide and 1.80 m high, and a vertical square-shaped shaft measuring about 1.30 x 1.30 m and 3.60 m deep; at the bottom of the shaft, there are two side chambers of irregular rectangular shape. The northern chamber dimensions are 3.30 m x 2.90 m with a height of 2 m, while the southern room measures 1.80 x 3.10 m with a height of 2 m; the two rooms are connected like a unique long burial chamber. Lipinska (1968, 143) says about tomb access: “*In front of the second tomb, two parallel walls about 1.5 m. high, built of undecorated limestone blocks (presumably taken from the temple of Hatshepsut), formed a causeway about 4 m long*”; as for tomb I, this datum, as well as the discovery of burials of the 21<sup>st</sup> Dynasty and the absence of sources after the Ramses IX reign, have suggested to the archaeologist that the tomb was excavated after the destruction of two temples (Lipinska 1968, 144-145).

Concerning the finds discovered inside the tomb, there are less numerous than the first one: an ushabti (Inv. nos. F.6626), a fragment of the funerary cone (F.6636), and two shallow bowls (F.6658, 6659) (Lipinska 1968, 204).

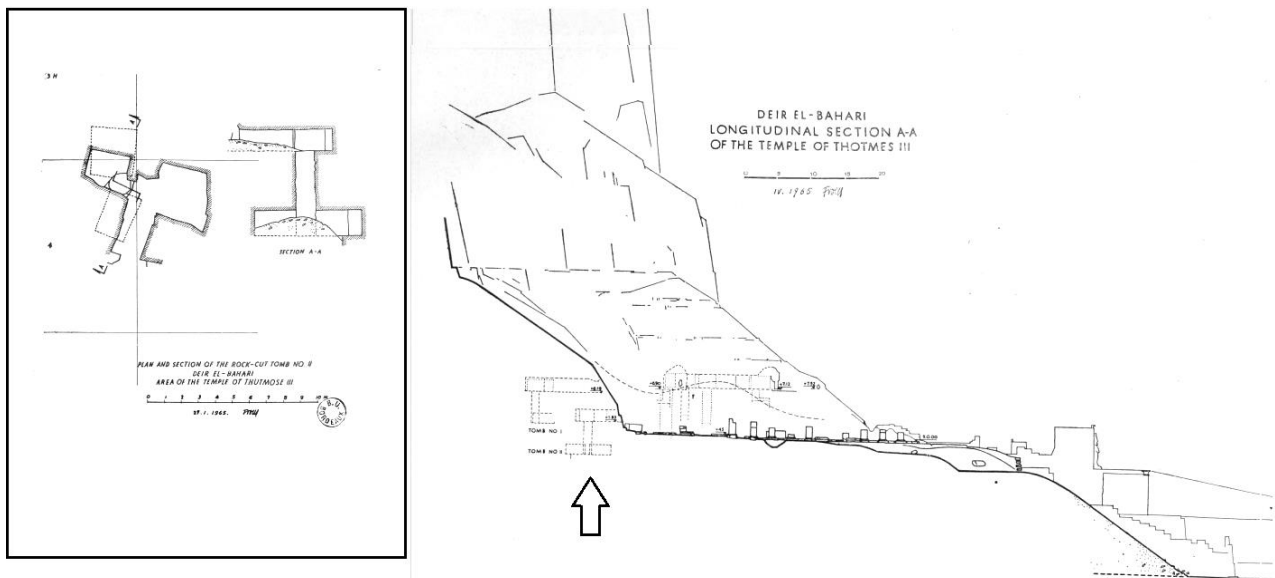


Fig.II.41 – Tomb II plan and section (Dąbrowski 1968, Pls.V and VII)

To these objects, it's important to add many linen pieces from the Third Intermediate Period discovered in 2011-2013 by the Polish–Egyptian Archaeological and Conservation Mission of the temple of Hatshepsut at Deir el-Bahari (Hallmann 2015; 2016); this last discovery confirms the reuse of the tomb from 22<sup>nd</sup> Dynasty and, in particular, in 25<sup>th</sup> and 26<sup>th</sup> Dynasties<sup>37</sup>, but this not excludes a previous existence in the Middle Kingdom by the architectural elements that could be observed. If we see the floor plan of the two tombs is interesting to note the presence in each funerary structure of a long and narrow corridor, a niche, a vertical shaft, and a rectangular-shaped burial chamber with a narrow cultic pit within it, all elements not found in any New Kingdom tomb in the Deir el-Bahari, but in many Middle Kingdom tombs found in the valley and surrounding areas.

Most of these funerary structures consist of a long corridor and cultic space (chapel) for the statue of the deceased, below which are the shaft and burial chamber. This consideration takes on much more value when one considers that the two alleged cliff tombs are located on the median terrace above the temple of Montuhotep II and thus directly connected with the main funerary cultic area of the period. For comparative analysis, one can compare Tombs I-II with both one of the best-known and most planimetrically complex Middle Kingdom *Šaff* tombs, such as those of Meketre (TT280; Fig.II.42) in the Hekanakht Valley (Winlock 1920, 12-16; 1955, 9-15; PM I<sup>1</sup>, 359-364) and those of Meru MMA 517 (PM I<sup>1</sup>, 330-331; Chudzik 2016, 297-300) on the hills in the northern part of the Deir el-Bahari circle (Fig.II.43), as well as, a more simple tomb such as MMA 1103 (Fig.II.44) excavated on the vertical wall of the southern promontory of the Valley of the Royal Cache (Winlock 1921; GMT II/5).

<sup>37</sup> - It is interesting a note from Lipinska (1968, 143 no.1) that “*The dimensions of the bricks are 28 + 14+10 cm. and are similar to the bricks from the tomb of Pabasa*”, a noble tomb (TT279) dated on 26<sup>th</sup> Dynasty: PM I<sup>1</sup>, 357-359.

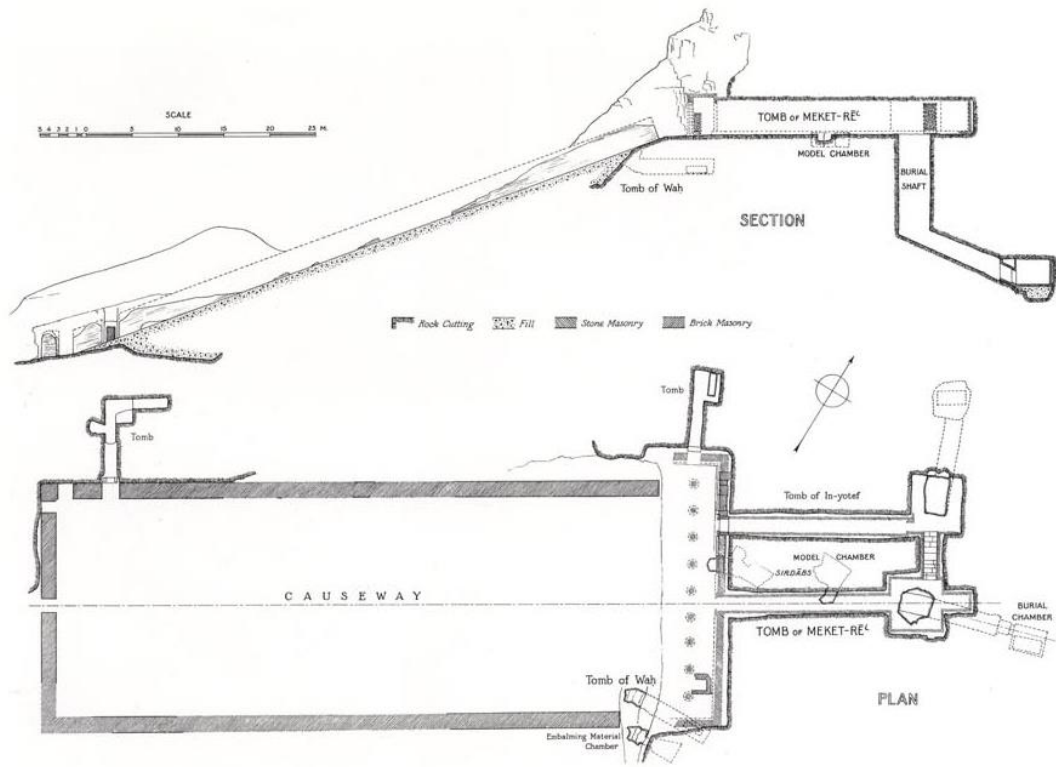


Fig.II.42 – TT280 plan and section (Winlock 1955, Pl.54)

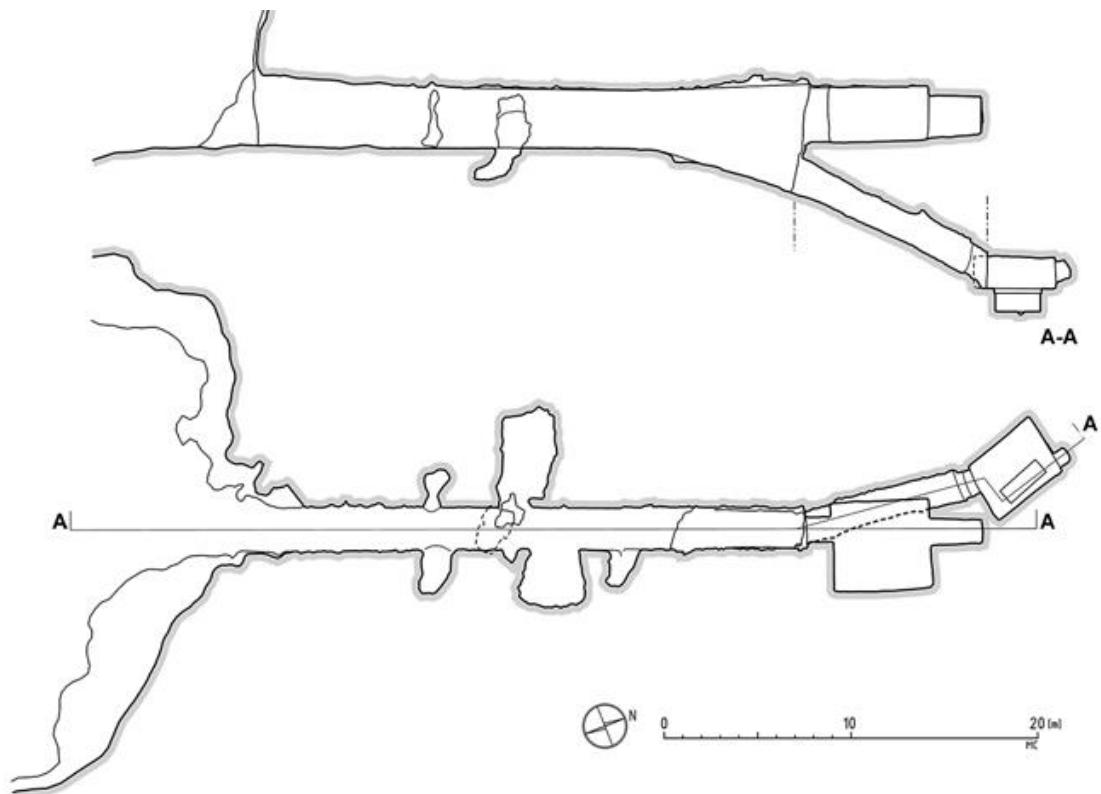


Fig.II.43 – MMA 517 plan and section (Chudzik 2016, Fig.11)



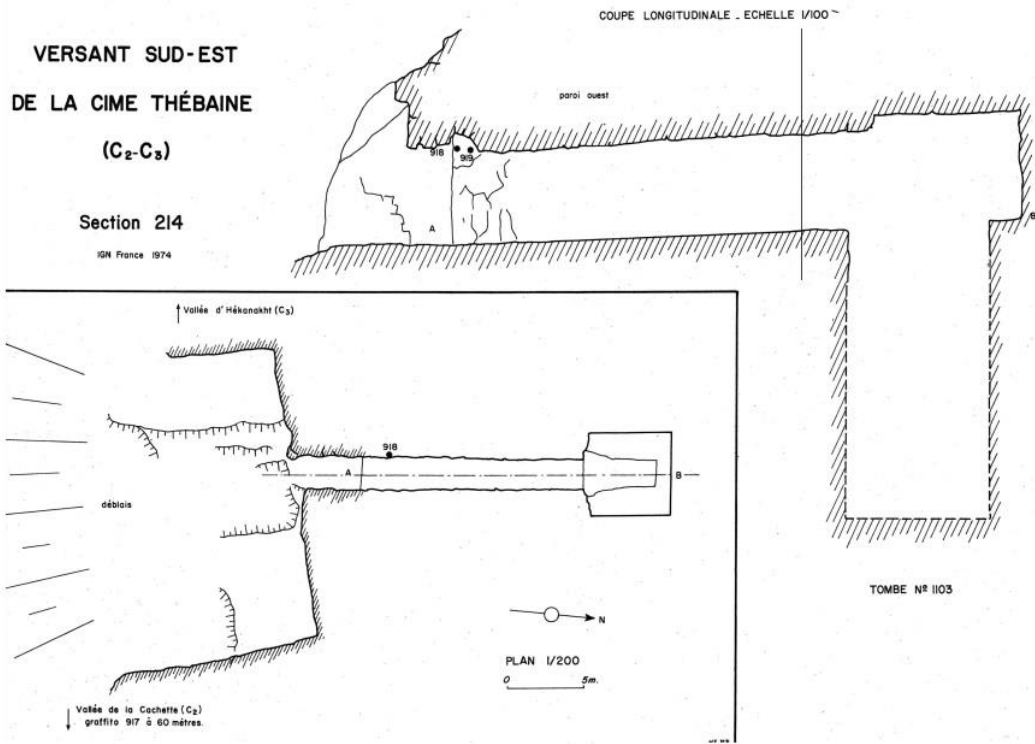


Fig.II.44 – MMA 1103 plan and section (GMT II/5, Sez.214, Plan no.196)

MMA 1013 is dated to the beginning of the Middle Kingdom for its typical architectural plan<sup>38</sup>; on the access walls are two graffiti (nos. 918 and 919) written by workers and a priest of Montu (Spiegelberg 1921, 76-77).

The tomb is the same type and has the same elements as the other tombs in Sheikh Abd el-Gurna necropolis MMA nos. 804, 806, 811, 1115, 1118, and 1152: a little causeway and the *Şaff* court, a linear access, a long corridor, a serdab and underneath a funerary shaft its ground dimensions to allow the deposition of the coffin and funerary equipment<sup>39</sup>. The double burial chamber accessed through a central shaft in tombs I-II also finds similarities in other *Şaff* tombs of the Middle Kingdom, MMA 511 (Fig.II.45), also placed on the hills in the

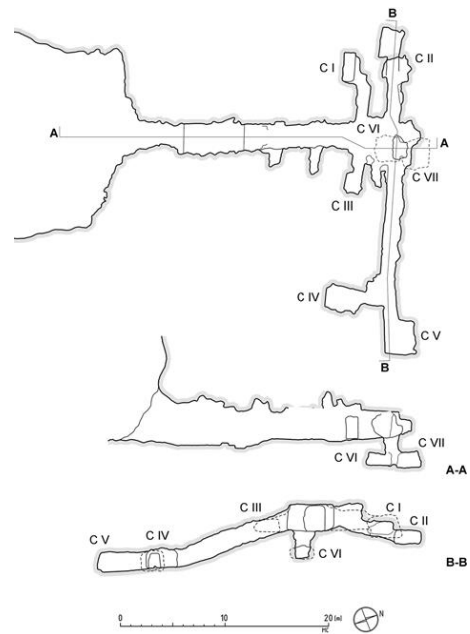


Fig.II.45 – MMA 511 plan and section (Chudzik 2016, Fig.10)

<sup>38</sup> - As noted by Chudzik (2013, 193), this funerary structure is of “corridor type II B” in Arnold 1971, 47.

<sup>39</sup> - The serdab for place wooden models sets is also present in Meketre tomb and Meru, as well as, other tombs of the period: MMA 510, MMA 516, MMA 801, MMA 1101, and MMA 1152: Winlock 1920, 20; 1922, 33; Chudzik 2013, 2016; in a general view about the Middle Kingdom in Thebes (Winlock 1942) about the tombs of this period in the Deir el-Bahari and Sheikh Abd el-Gurna necropolis: Winlock 1915, 27-29 and 34-37.

northern part of the Deir el-Bahari Circle (Chudzik 2016, 295-297). Again, the floor plan of the tomb with the *Şaff* court, the long corridor, the *Serdab*, and the access shaft to the two burial chambers CVI and CVII seems similar, although in more reduced dimensions, to what is present in the two Tombs I-II. From what has been briefly mentioned, the presence of the court, the two burial shafts, and the burial chamber under the southern cult chamber (*serdab*) in the two Tombs I-II appear to be more in line with the Middle Kingdom tomb patterns found in the Deir el-Bahari and Sheikh Abd el-Gurna necropolis. What may create some difficulty in dating the Middle Kingdom the two funerary structures in question is their location and the possible presence of the *Şaff* court; on the location, it should be pointed out that the entrances of both tombs are made on a rock face sloping down to a higher flat terrace and included between the temple of Montuhotep II and that of Hatshepsut (Fig.II.46).

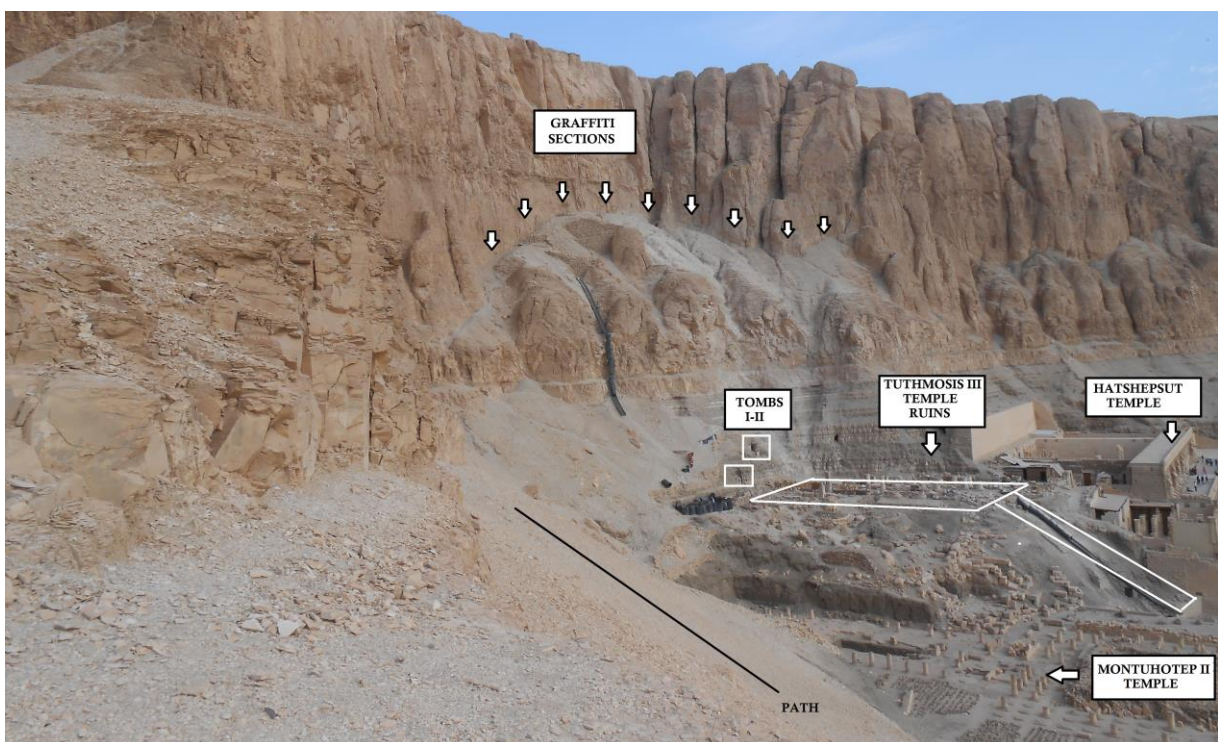


Fig.II.46 – Deir el-Bahari temples and tombs I-II (photo author)

As can be seen in the photo above, tombs I-II also have an outer space on which lie the ruins of the Temple of Tuthmosis III; the probable excavation of the *Şaff* court and the location of the two tombs “alongside” the temple of Montuhotep II may suggest a date to the Middle Kingdom of these structures. It is, therefore, possible that we are dealing with two funerary structures that existed before the construction of the below temple of Tuthmosis III and were subject to reuse in the 21<sup>st</sup> Dynasty.

But, as said before, according to Lipinska (1968, 144-145), the two tombs would have been excavated in the 21<sup>st</sup> Dynasty and during the period when the Tuthmosid temple and the temple of Montuhotep II fell into ruin; the *terminus post quem* cited by the scholar is the reign of Ramses IX in which the second temple is mentioned. Thus, the

presence inside the two tombs of blocks from the neighboring temple, of bricks similar in size to those of the Late period (like TT279) and of burials and grave goods from the Third Intermediate Period found *in situ* for the scholar implies a relative dating of these funerary structures. What is not convincing in Lipinska's reconstruction is why the architects of Deir el-Medina at the end of the Ramesside Age would have designed and excavated the two tombs I-II according to the *saff* typology of the Middle Kingdom funerary structures and not according to the plans in vogue at the time. Another *datum* that emerges from Lipinska's view is the absence of graffiti from the 21<sup>st</sup> Dynasty that usually attests to such construction activities; the archaeological research carried out by the Polish mission in 1999-2000 on the rock walls above the two temples (Montuhotep II and Tuthmosis III) has revealed the presence of graffiti. In the previous photo, above the terrace of the temples, the "graffiti sectors" are indicated, documented by the Polish mission, most of which attest to the presence of the scribe Butehamun and his sons and collaborators.

This is an important fact because it confirms not only the scribe's inspection activity in an area considered necessary but also the possible pre-existence of Tombs I-II and other neighbouring burials to be reused as caches and warehouses and deposits for materials of mummification and funerary tools<sup>40</sup>.

### *The graffiti*

Butehamun's graffiti, bearing only his name and titles, are engraved on the rock faces above the two temples (Niwiński 2003; Rzepka 1999; 2014, 8.7); other Coptic texts and drawings are present *in situ* given the reuse of the tombs and a narrow cave (Section D) as suitable places of prayer (Fig.II.47a-b).

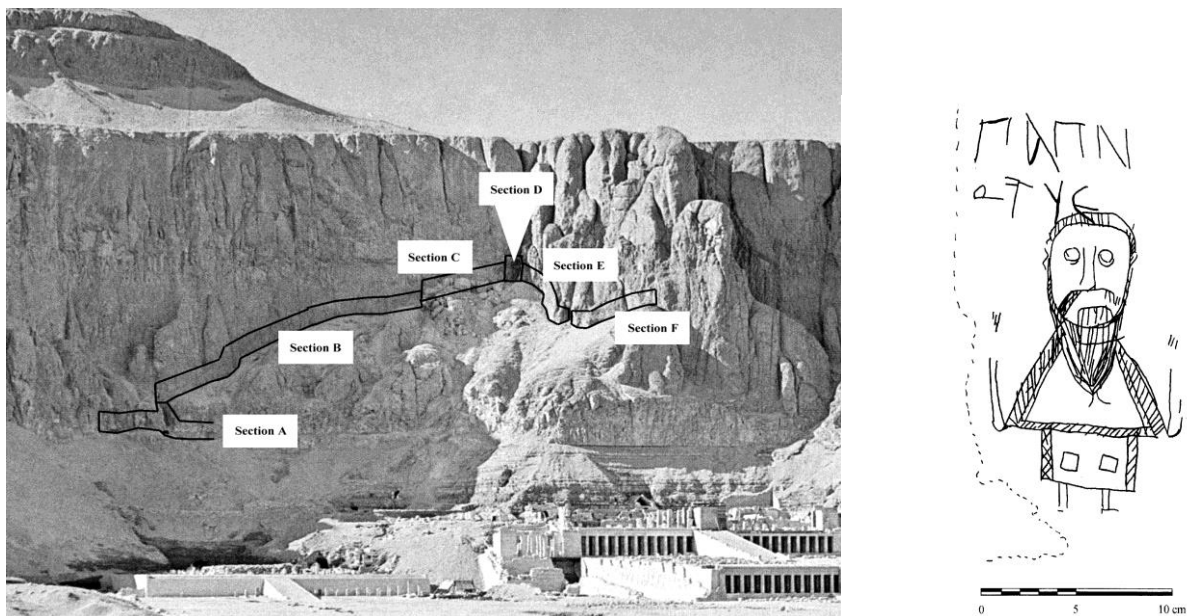


Fig.II.47 – a. Deir el-Bahari graffiti sections; b. the Coptic graffiti no.C18 (Rzepka 1999, Fig.1 and 4)

<sup>40</sup> - See as an example the use by Butehamun of KV49 as a repository for embalming material for the restoration of royal mummies and witnessed by the graffiti 1282a present in the entrance to the tomb in red ink (Černý 1956, 17 and Pl.45A).





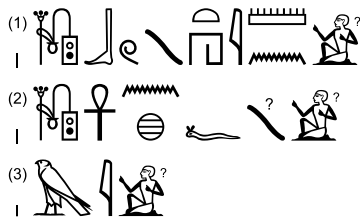


## DBCME14



*sš Bw-th3-Imn n pr-hr-pr “the scribe Butehamun of the necropolis”.*

## DBCME22



*(1) sš Bw-th3-Imn (2) sš ‘nh-f-n-Imn (3) (sš) hri*

*(1) “The scribe Butehamon, (2) the scribe Ankhefenamun” (3) (the scribe) Hori”.*

As already mentioned, no graffiti related to work carried out at the two Tombs I-II are carved on the rocky wall near them, and the type of attestations suggest a simple inspection and reconnaissance activity in the area by Butehamun; these are, therefore, two funerary structures excavated in the rock in an elevated position and built with a typical Middle Kingdom layout, lacking architectural elements or graffiti that would confirm a date to the 21<sup>st</sup> Dynasty. Although not counted among the cliff tombs of interest, it should be noted that precisely this funerary structure from the 1<sup>st</sup> Intermediate Period and the Middle Kingdom could be considered the earliest examples of “*k3y*” tombs.

## The Hatshepsut temple area

### 5.3 TT358

The tomb, extensively cited and described in the course of the discussion, should be highlighted here as the “twin” of the TT320 and a model for later developments of this type of funerary structure. As already mentioned, TT358, cleared by Winlock in 1929 (1932), is located at the average height of the northern side of the Deir el-Bahari circle and, interestingly enough, almost at the same height as TT320. Access to the tomb does not make use of a rocky bay or a back wall like its “twin”, but of the sloping ground level of the rise above the northern side of the temple of Hatshepsut.

### *Internal architecture*

The tomb (Fig.II.48) consists of an entrance square shaft 1.20 x1.20 m wide and 2 m deep (A), a 4 m long staircase, wide 1.60 m and 3 m deep with roughly cut steps, a descending corridor (B) 10 m long and 1.70 m wide, a second corridor (C) long 4.5 m, a square shaft (D) of 3 m and 5 m deep, a short third corridor (E) 2 m long and 1.60 wide with a step giving access to the antechamber (or a wide corridor F) 8.20 m long and 4 m wide and the burial chamber (G) 6 m long and 3 m wide with an “unfinished rear wall (m)” (Winlock 1932, 7).

Another corridor or a “long niche” (H) is 5 m long and 2 m wide, westwards from corridor C, and is related to the 90° change of direction in the original plan.

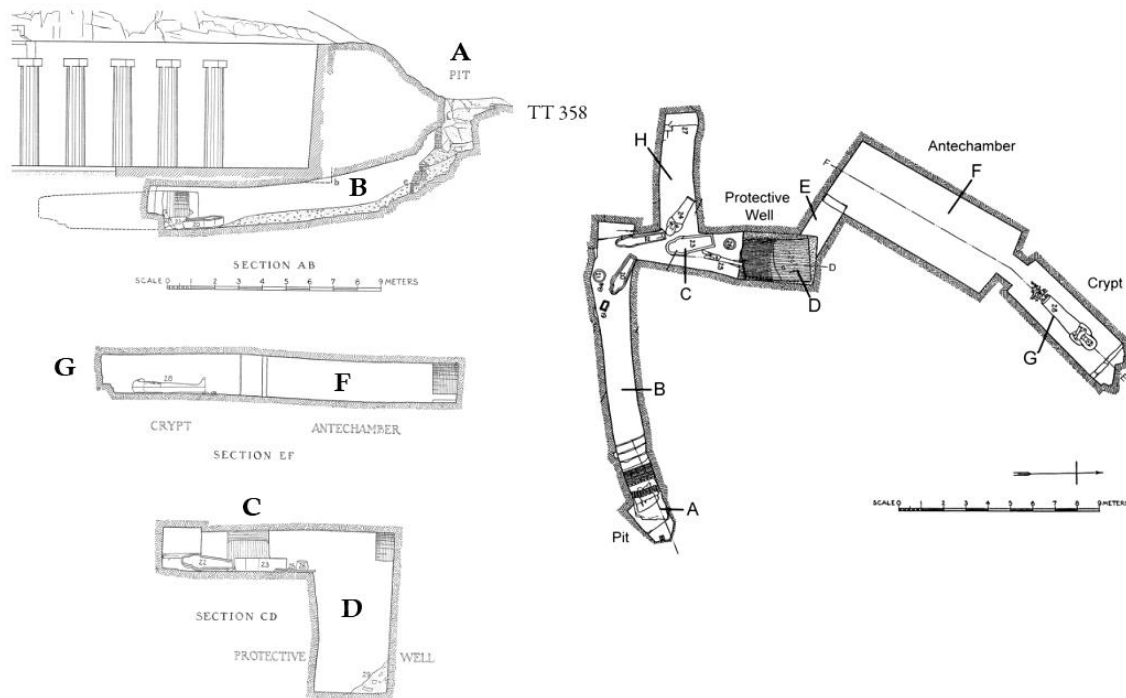


Fig.II.48 – TT358 pal and sections (Winlock 1932, Pl.I-II; with letters added by author)

### *External architecture*

Externally, the access to the grave, at ground level, was not distinguishable in the same way as TT320; there are no graffiti, and the path connecting the plain below was connected to those to reach the northern hills and the Valley of the Pits (Section III).

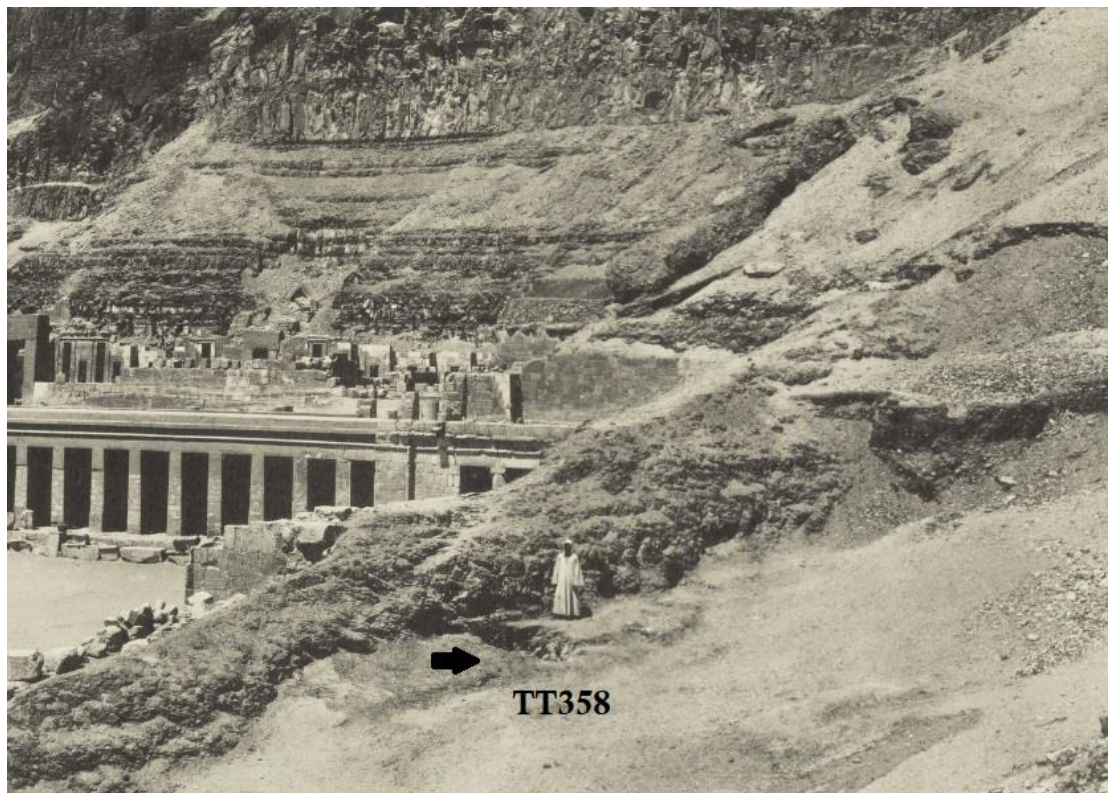


Fig.II.49 – TT358 access shaft a Deir el-Bahari (Winlock 1932, Pl.V)

### *Finds*

Winlock's discovery has the merit of having confirmed that TT358 was made for Queen Ahmose-Meryetamun, consort of Amenhotep I, subjected to inspection and restoration in the year 19 of Smendes I and subsequently used to place the Queen Nauny's coffin and funerary objects during the 21<sup>st</sup> Dynasty. Winlock's (1932, 24-36) skillful work of cataloging and analyzing the finds made it possible to identify and attribute an essential part of her funerary objects to the original burial of Queen Ahmose-Meryetamun, including pottery, canopic jars, a wooden lattice (part of a bed?), a wooden case, fragments of chairs, stuffed meat carefully wrapped in linen, wooden containers, including one in the shape of a duck, various loaves of bread, baskets and wicker containers, some closed with ropes, cordage for transporting objects, an alabaster container (bowl); these are objects whose style and manufacture date back to the beginning of the dynasty.

Now if we consider that some of the fragments of funerary objects discovered in the burial chamber of TT320 during the last investigation, including wooden "knob handles" (Graefe and Belova 2010, 137; 142-144) are similar to those coming from TT358 (Winlock 1932, 28) as well as the pottery and the sarcophagi of the two queens (Ahmose-Nefertari and Ahmose-Meryetamun), of the same make and typology, Aston's hypothesis (2015, 27-31) on the relationship chronology between the two cliff tombs is rightly accepted.

### *Conclusions*

The evidence so far points to the Deir el-Bahari area as an important site for the development of cliff tombs in the early New Kingdom; the presence of the two temples dedicated to Montuhotep II and Montuhotep III-Amenemhat I seems to have conditioned all the development and genesis of tombs intended for nobles and viziers whether they were elevated on the heights that make up the circle of Deir el-Bahari and neighbouring valleys or in the ground-level areas of Sheikh Abd el-Gurna, Asasif, and Dra Abu el-Naga. This is quite different from the other areas of the necropolis that were developed from scratch in the early New Kingdom where there is a fusion between the traditional funerary architecture of Deir el-Bahari and the new experimental impulses of the new ruling dynasty. The Valley of the Kings, the Valley of the Queens, and the Southern Valleys are new sites where evolutionary processes of funerary conception related to the rise of the Amonian and Hathoric cults are triggered.

As we will also have occasion to point out later, Deir el-Bahari thus remains the nucleus of attraction and dissemination of the dynastic culture of the 18<sup>th</sup> Dynasty rulers; it is the location where Montuhotep II and his family dwell and is the funerary and cultic reference point for his entourage. From here, we understand how the first formulations and experiments of cliff tombs take place in this particular setting, and the elevated tombs around the rocky circle and, in particular, Tombs I-II are the most significant examples.

Therefore, if everything rotates and centers on Deir el-Bahari, it is easy to understand how the oldest cliff tombs of the site, the TT320, the TT358, and the MMA 1021, follow this tradition. We know that Amenhotep I and his mother Ahmose-Nefertari had at least two burials, an initial one at Dra Abu el-Naga and a later one probably at Deir el-Bahari, coinciding with the creation of the village of Deir el-Medina; if all this is true, it is

understandable that it is precisely from Deir el-Bahari, from the heights flanking the temple of Montuhotep II that this *modus operandi* seems to have been initiated. The creation of TT320, TT358, MMA1021, VC no.1, and WN A could be the essential result of a suitable cultural and cultic readjustment for the founders of the new ruling dynasty.



## SECTION III

### THE CLIFF TOMBS IN THE VALLEY OF THE KINGS

The area of the Valley of the Kings (Fig.III.1) can be considered a vast area divided into three wadis, of which the central one, the Valley of the Kings, is the widest and deepest; the other two, the Valley of the Pits and the Western Valley (also called “Valley of the Monkeys”) are less large and more inaccessible.

During the New Kingdom and until the last century, access to the Valley of the Pits and, consequently, to the Valley of the Kings and the West Valley occurred via two main routes: the “high” one which starts from the high path of Deir el-Medina, reaches the village of the hill and descends towards the Valley of the Kings and the “low” one which from the plain of Deir el-Bahari goes up towards the northern ridge; from here you had access to the Valley of the Pits or continuing on the west and descended towards the Valley of the Kings.

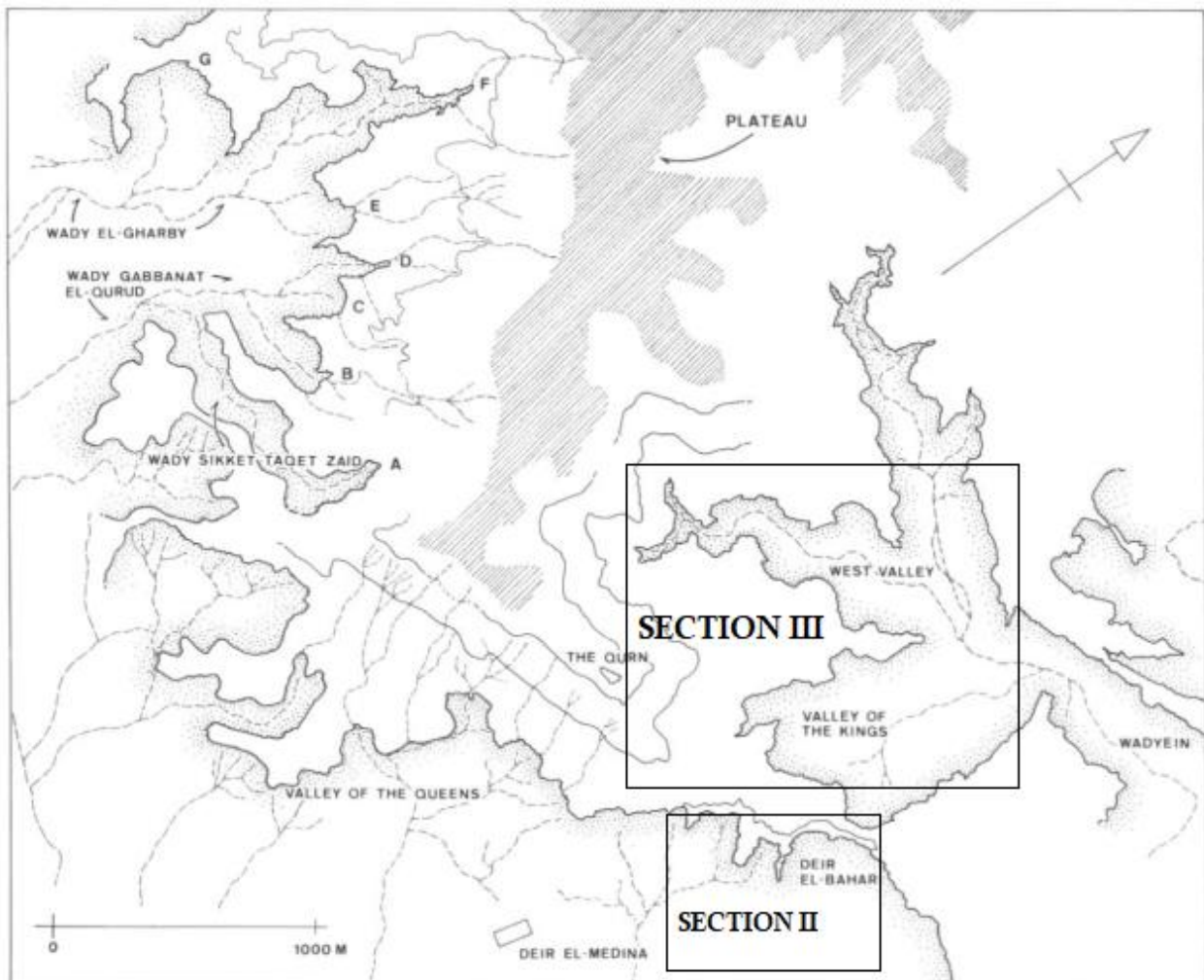


Fig.III.1 – The Valley of the Kings areas (Lilyquist 2003, pl.3)

## Geologic and historical context

The geological conformation of the Valley of the Kings and the two adjacent valleys is the same type as the other sectors of the necropolis (“Thebes Limestone Formation”). Here, too, below the limestone compact layers (sub-horizontal or tabular in shape) of the Esna Marls (marl, schist, and flint), there is the Tarawan Limestone stratum; the presence of the latter layers almost below the alluvial plane of the wadi caused frequent interruptions of tomb excavations due to the poor quality of the rock. Another reason that has caused damage to some of the tomb structures excavated in the wadi base level is the slow movement of the ancient African basement of Palaeocene-Eocene faults on which the Theban basement rests; these frequent movements have progressively damaged some tombs and caused others to be abandoned in antiquity. Unlike the tombs of the 18<sup>th</sup>, 19<sup>th</sup>, and 20<sup>th</sup> dynasties that were excavated deep within the ground, the cliff tombs in the Valley of the Kings areas (KV41, KV33, KV34, KV39) were excavated in the highest part of the Theban formation (Member II-III) and are therefore structurally more solid and primarily more well-preserved.

### 1. Valley of the Pits<sup>1</sup>

The valley (Fig.III.2) is a broad rocky circle behind that of Deir el-Bahari with pillar-shaped walls sloping down to the wadi floor, served by various routes that terminate on the southern slope directed to the Valley of the Kings.

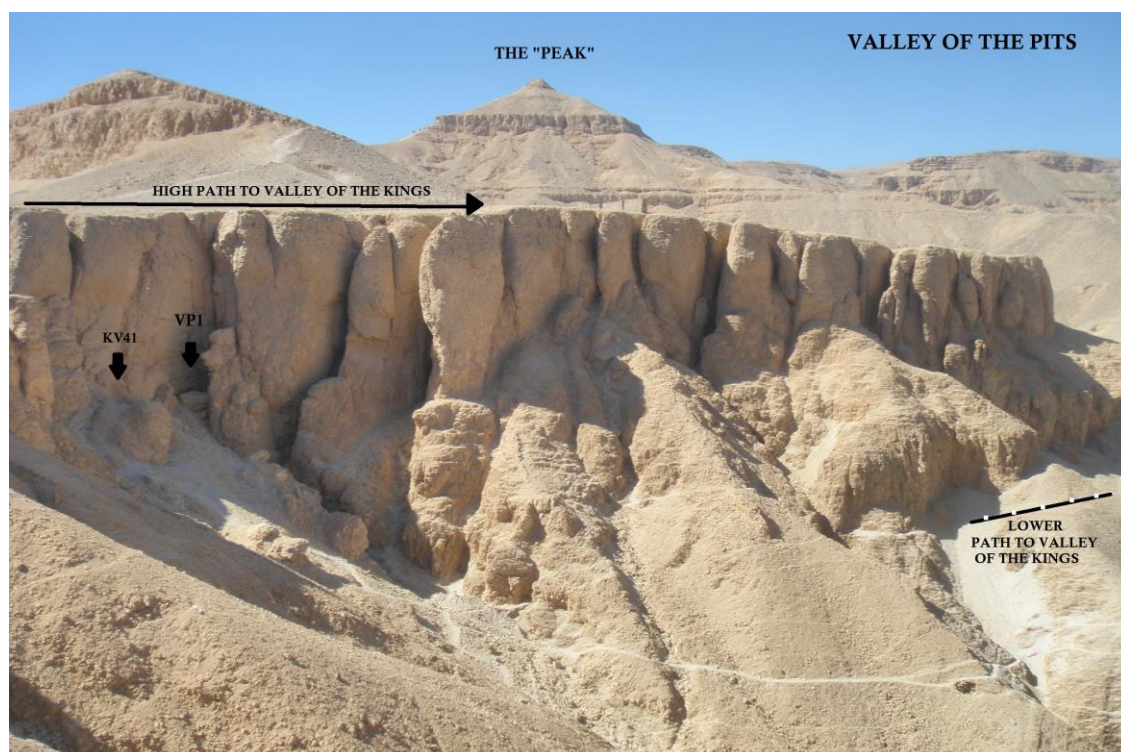


Fig.III.2 – The Valley of the Pits view from the eastern hill (photo author)

<sup>1</sup> - The tombs of the Valley of the Pits and the Valley of the Kings were investigated by the author from 2011 to 2015 as head of the Italian Archaeological Mission in West Thebes - Butehamun-Kay Project. The project was dedicated only to the study of the Butehamun graffiti with a brief survey of the rock tombs KV41, KV39, and KV34, while KV33 was at the time filled with concrete and not accessible.



The valley takes its name from the presence of the “funerary pit” (KV41) featured on a 1900 map (Bénédite 1900, 537) and in a 1902 publication (Steindorff 1902, 277), the discovery of which is uncertain but probably to be attributed to the Coptic excavators Butros Andraos and Chenuda Macarios who were very active in the Valley of the Kings during that period (Thomas 1966, 63, 156 and 171; Gabolde 1992, 173 and 176). As already mentioned, access to the valley was possible by ascending the heights (north side) surrounding Deir el-Bahari and descending by two flights of steps carved into the rock (Fig.III.3a-b); one of the two ramps, as reported by Gabolde (1992, 176 note no.19) turns out to have been built during the Napoleonic expedition.



Fig.III.3 – a. The Valley of the Pits access and paths; b. the SCA inspector in one of two ramps (photo author)

### 1.1 KV41

This is the only recognizable tomb in the Valley of the Pits (Fig.III.4-5); the only archaeological investigations into the funerary structure were carried out by the IFAO and Cairo University in 1991, which confirmed that it was an incomplete funerary structure “*Ainsi inachevée, la sépulture n’a jamais pu être utilisée, puisqu’il n’avait pas la place d’étendre horizontalement un corps*” (Gabolde 1992, 179). Thomas (1966, 156) and Romer (1975, 323-324) believe that the location and choice of the site may contribute to the dating

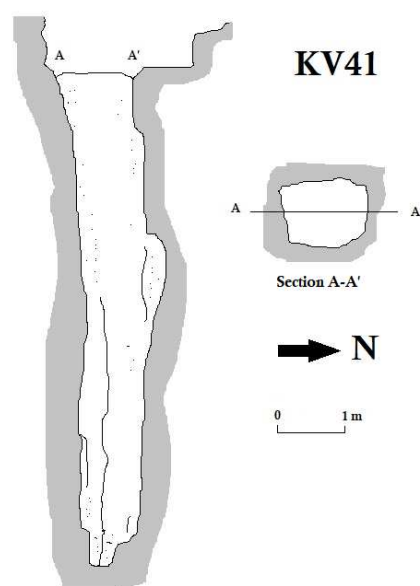


Fig.III.4 – KV41 plan and section (drawing author)

of the tomb to the early 18<sup>th</sup> Dynasty. It should be pointed out that access to the tomb is not visible from any position in the valley or even from the path above; therefore, the decision to make a tomb in this sector of the royal necropolis must necessarily be subject to both secrecy and probably to the strict proximity at Deir el-Bahari Circle<sup>2</sup>.

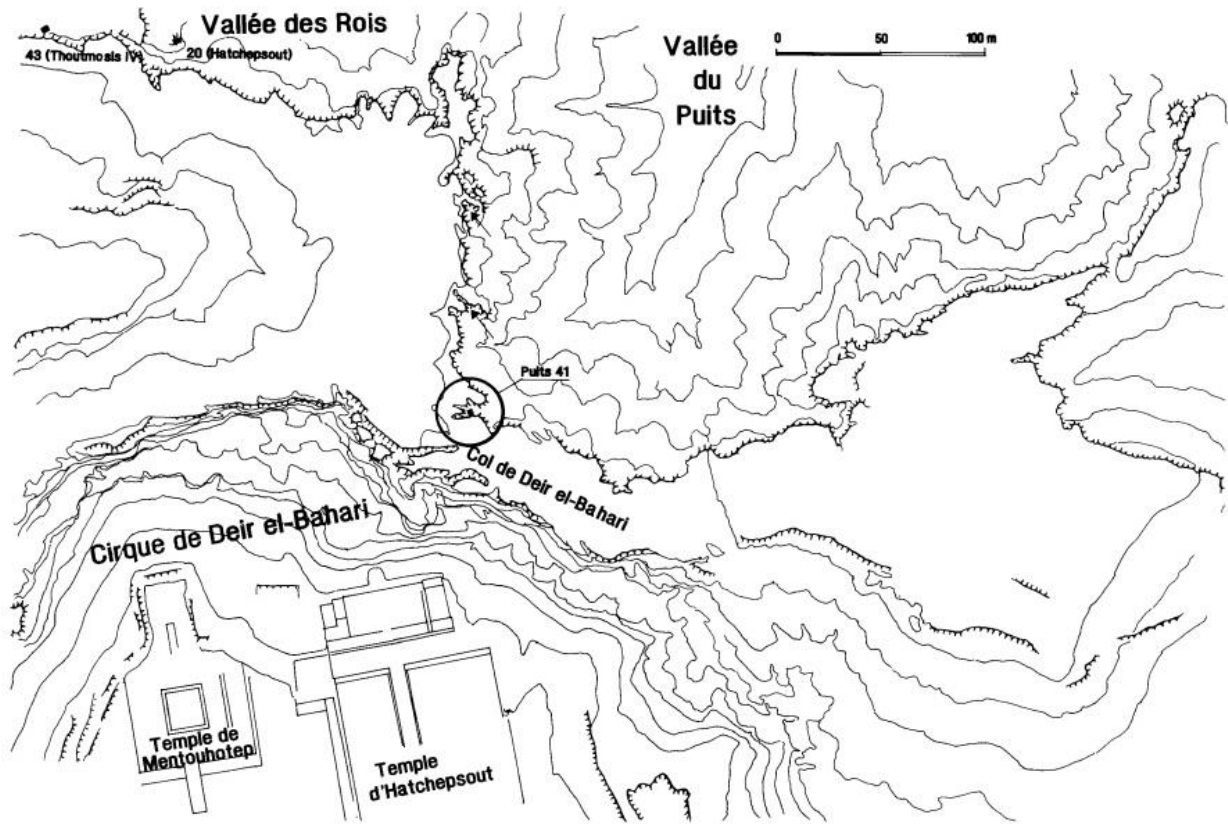


Fig.III.5 – The position of KV41 in the Valley of the Pits (Gabolde 1992, Fig.III.1)

### *Internal architecture*

The KV41 consists solely of a 1.10 x 1.15 m quadrangular pit about 11.22-27 m deep; at about 0.50 m from the bottom, the shaft narrows into a funnel shape, and the rock bears no traces of workmanship; the horizontal cut of the shaft's vertical walls (Fig.III.6a), according to Romer (1975, 322) similar to that of KV34, has suggested a date to the reign of Thutmosis III. Gabolde admits that the rock has a substantial irregularity as one descends towards the bottom and that a long fault inside the shaft may have prompted the builders to abandon the excavation (Gabolde 1992, 179)<sup>3</sup>. According to the scholar, the typology of the well seems to have a similar layout with HC no.20 and no.21 (Section I), or with the princesses and princes' tombs QV nos. 65, 70, 72, 82, and 83, although in all of these the depth, the access does not exceed 3-4 m (Gabolde 1992, 180 and 184, Fig.8-11). Except for QV65, dated to the 19<sup>th</sup> Dynasty and equipped with a flight of access steps, the

<sup>2</sup> - As Gabolde (1992, 173) rightly observed, the valley "*elle n'est séparée que par un col, sorte d'isthme de 10 m d'épaisseur à peine*".

<sup>3</sup> - The survey carried out by the writer in 2013-2015 (Fig.III.6b) using computerized images confirms Gabolde's assumption, as the fault on the southern wall of the well extends to the bottom with several collapses of the schist rock present.



other tombs of the Valley of the Queens considered by Gabolde (1992, 180) can be dated to the 18th dynasty starting from the reign of Tuthmosis I and, as the rest of the funerary structures of the period present in situ (QV no.5-64 and from 66 to 96), all have the access shaft (Agnew *et al.* 2016, 11 and 36-127).



Fig.III.6 – The KV41 shaft vertical walls and the author’s mission team upon it for the survey (photo author)

Another fact to consider is that the tombs of the Valley of the Queens mentioned are excavated at the bottom of the wadi or a slightly higher level, while the QV89, QV92, and QV93 (Figg.III.7-8), which also consist of an access shaft and a single room are positioned on the middle-high hills of two neighboring valleys, Valley of the Rope and the Valley of the Menhir (Agnew *et alii* 2016, 129-131 and 135-136), but not hidden by the vertical walls or grottos similar to that of the cliff tomb KV41. Instead, this last feature and the elevated position of the tomb, presumed to date to the 18<sup>th</sup> Dynasty as said by Gabolde (1992, 189), allows it to be included among the cliff tombs intended for members of the royal family, even if not completed and less elaborate; in terms of access shaft depth and site morphology, the TT320 may be considered for a similar layout. We can say that the access shaft of KV41 (1 x 1 m and 11 m deep) appears to be a smaller prototype than that of TT320 (2 x 2 m and 12.85 m deep).

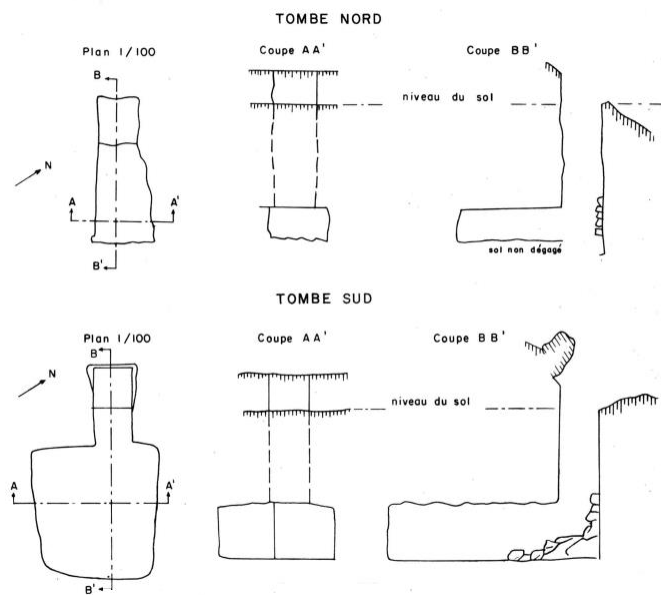


Fig.III.7 - The tombs QV92-93 (GMT II/4 Plan 48ter)



Fig.III.8 - The tombs QV92-93 (Agnew *et al.* 2016, 129-130)

The two structures have in common the excavation context, i.e., below a vertical and compact rock face, with access carefully concealed from the outside. Add to this is the area where the funerary shaft was selected, connected to the Valley of the Kings and the Circle of Deir el-Bahari.

#### *External architecture*

The burial pit has no external architectural features, and the routes available to reach the site are the same as those used to arrive in the valley; the presence of various graffiti by the scribe Butehamun along the path to go KV41, including two inspections of the valley in the year 11<sup>th</sup> of Smendes I or Paynudjem I reign (Nos.48 and 51), confirm this assumption.

#### *Finds*

The material collected in KV41 during the 1991 survey consists of a phalanx of a mummy, a stone pearl, some New Kingdom ceramic sherds similar to those found at Deir el-Medina, and some amphorae from the Roman and Byzantine periods (Gabolde 1992, 178 and 186-188); the latter artifacts confirm the valley's frequentation in Coptic times, given the presence of the monasteries at Asasif and Dra Abu el-Naga.

#### 1.2. VP no.1

It is a new site; during the investigations carried out in the valley by the writer, another well present near the KV41, named by the mission "VP no.1", was documented and subjected to investigation. The dimensions of the well of 2.20 x 2.30 m are much larger than that of the KV41 and even slightly larger than the TT320; the eastern side of the wall is partly covered by an enormous boulder detached from the top above, whose relatively regular shape suggests as results of an anthropic work than a natural one. Traces of tool signs left on the internal rocky walls of the pit (Fig.III.9) confirmed that it is an access shaft excavated for a funerary structure (Fig.III.10).



Fig.III.9 - The VP no.1 traces of tool signs left on the internal rocky walls of the pit (photo author)



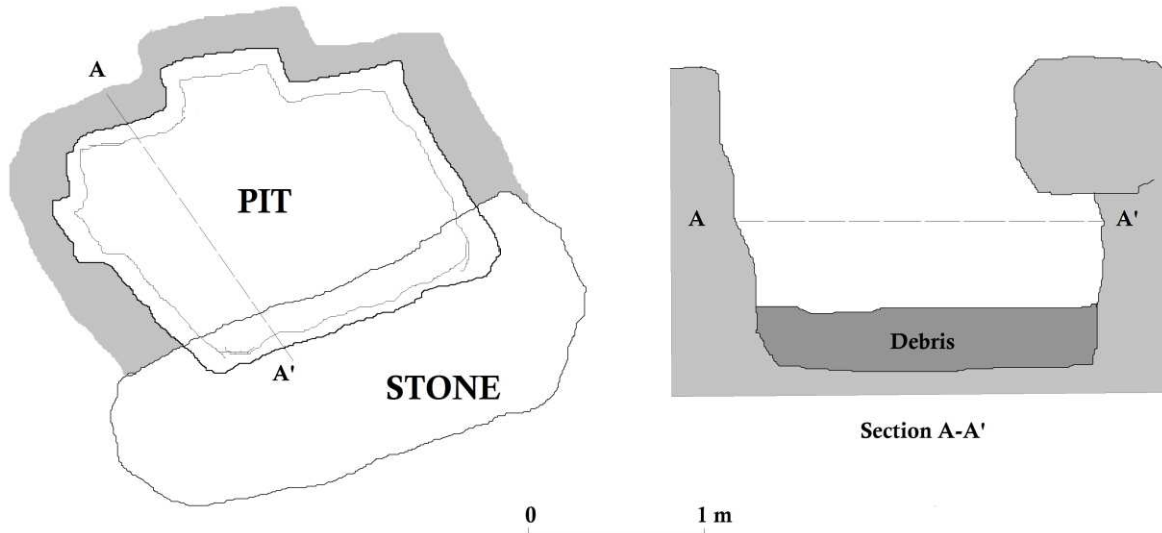


Fig.III.10 - The VP no.1 plan and section (drawing author)

This survey's modern stratum of debris covering the shaft confirmed that the current trash constitutes a deep layer; sampling removed up to 1 m of sand, stone flakes from excavation, and plastic bottles (Figg.III.11a-b). Subsequently, beneath the large boulder, the removal of the layer of debris confirmed that this rock obscures the view of the well behind it from the outside (Fig.III.11c).



Fig.III.11a - The VP no.1 shaft before the survey (photo author)





Fig.III.11b - The VP no.1 shaft after the brief survey (photo author)



Fig.III.11c - The VP no.1 shaft builder after the brief survey (photo author)



No traces of ancient artifacts have been found inside the well; however, the results of the geological investigation with electrical tomography showed that the cavity has a depth of 7.5-8 m and is entirely covered with debris and non-compact material<sup>4</sup>.

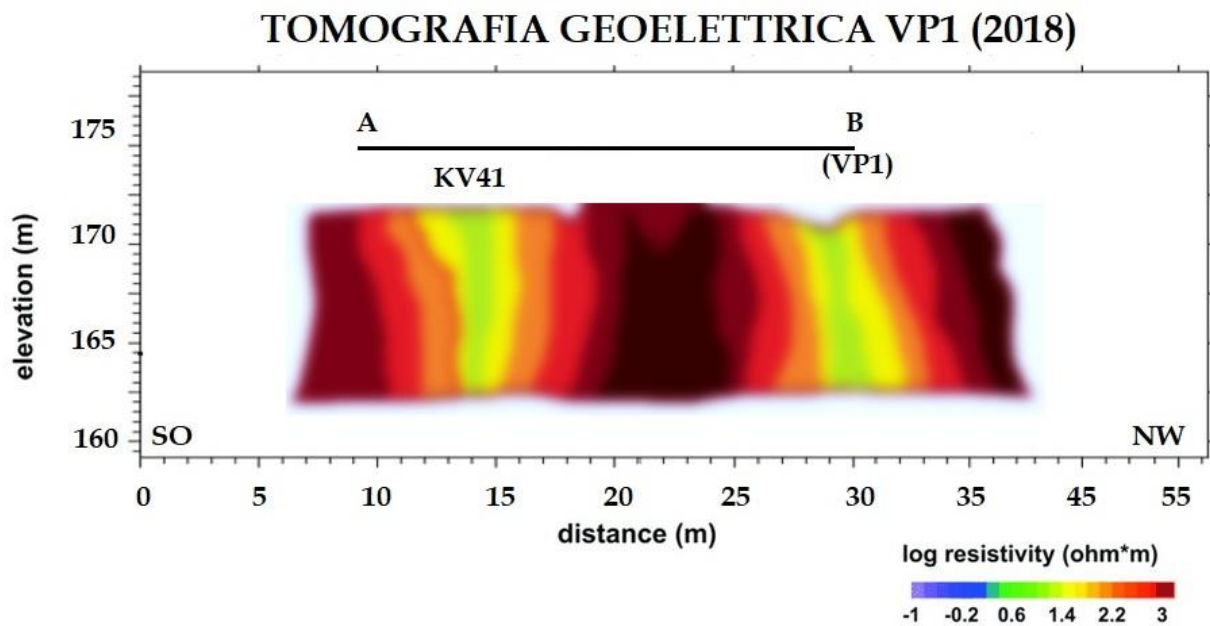


Fig.III.11d - The VP no.1 shaft tomographic morphology (drawing author)

Regarding the position of VP no.1, it should be noted that it is located below a high vertical wall which forms the corner of the western rocky chain of the valley and the final point of arrival of the path that passes through KV41. Concerning the position of VP no.1, it should be noted that this is located below a high vertical wall that forms the corner of the western rocky chain of the valley and the final point of arrival of the route from Deir el-Bahari which passes through KV41 (Fig.III.11e-f); even the typology of the rock is the same as the last tomb. Therefore, if the two wells are close and in succession and no other tomb or well is present in the vicinity, it is plausible to hypothesize a close relationship between the two structures in their reuse in the 21<sup>st</sup> Dynasty if we consider the presence of graffiti very close to the two sites.

The inspections of Butehamun and his collaborators in the valley make possible the presence of other tombs in it or could reveal a plan to reuse these funerary structures as caches under the Paynudjem I pontificate. Some of these structures present in the valley (including VP no.1) may have been damaged and looted by the *Gurnawis* in modern times; as is often the case in the various sectors of the necropolis, some of the artifacts found in KV41 may be scraps from clandestine excavations of tombs present in the valley, as yet unknown to us.

<sup>4</sup> - The results of the geoelectrical investigations, carried out with different configurations multi-electrodes (Wenner and Pole-Dipole and Dipole-Dipole axial by Polares machine ver.2.0) along a measurement line that extends for approximately 23 m from VP1 to the rocky pavement beyond KV41, has identified anomalies related to this cavity with poor sediments.

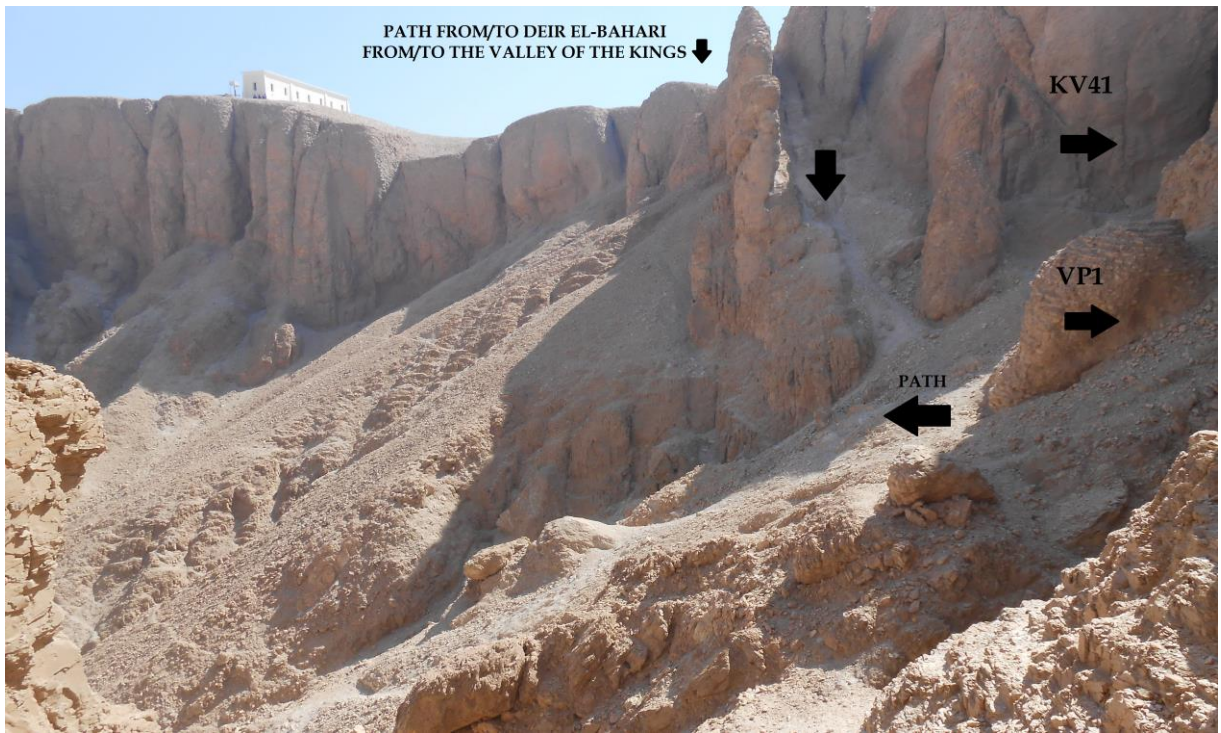


Fig.III.11e-f - The VP no.1 shaft position with KV41 (photo author)

### 1.3 VP no.2

On the eastern side of the rock circle of the valley, there is another cliff tomb, named VP no.2 during the archaeological mission in 2011; the individuation of the tomb was done by the presence of a “corniche” (or false door) 2.72 m high and 1.60 m wide in the vertical rock face at the foot of one of the hills. On it is a “hole” for water drainage (Figg.III.12a-b-c) that recalls *grosso modo* what was seen in Section I of the three tombs of the southwest valleys (WA D, WC A and WD A of Hatshepsut, of Neferure and Asian wives of Tuthmosis III).



Regular rock cutting of the “corniche” suggests an anthropic activity although, at present, no graffiti was found on the neighboring rock faces of it. The presence of the water drainage hole above and the frame allowed for the identification of a possible cliff grave; the geological investigation with electrical tomography showed that below the inner vertical wall is a cavity approximately 6.70 m deep entirely covered by sand, mud, and debris (Fig.III.12d). This data allows us to hypothesize a cliff tomb of the period of our interest on this slope; traces of engravings are present on the vertical wall, but they are completely illegible.



Fig.III.12 – a. The VP no.2; b. the “corniche” carved on the rocky wall (photo author)

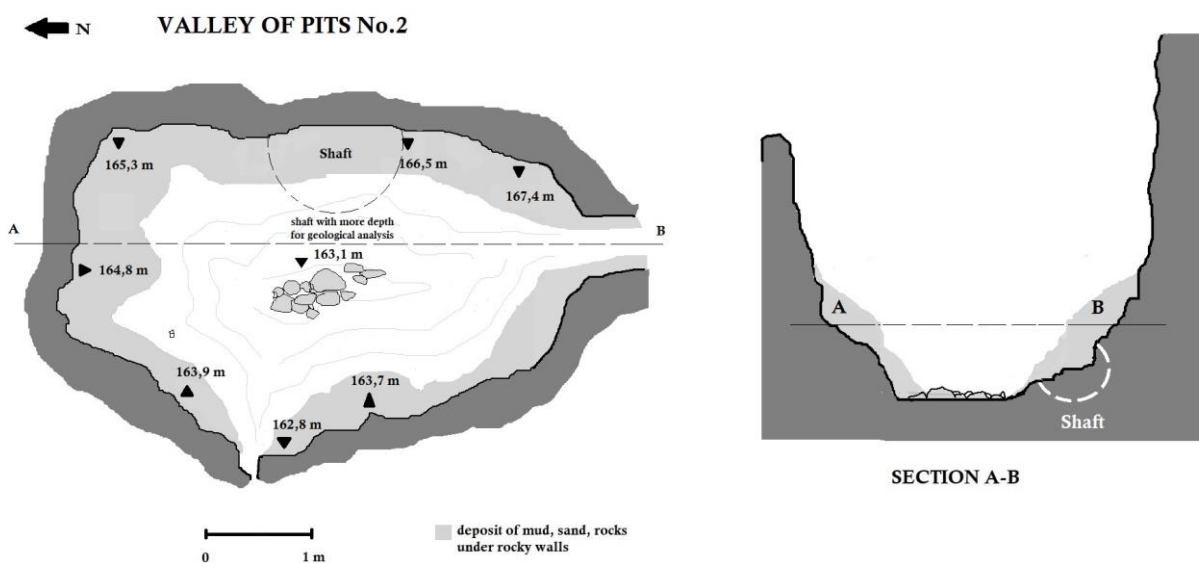


Fig.III.12c - The VP no.2 plan and section (drawing author)

## TOMOGRAFIA GEOELETRICA VP 2 (2018)

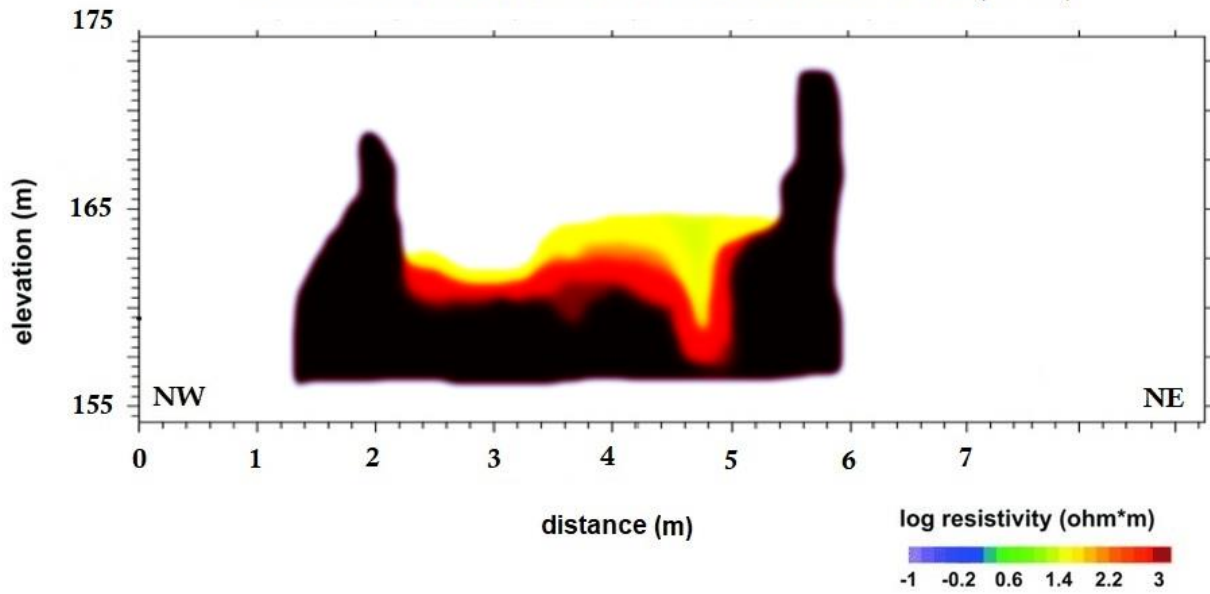


Fig.III.12d - The VP no.2 shaft tomographic morphology (drawing author)

### *The graffiti*

Several graffiti are attested in the Valley of the Pits (Fig.III.13).

### Valley of the Pits

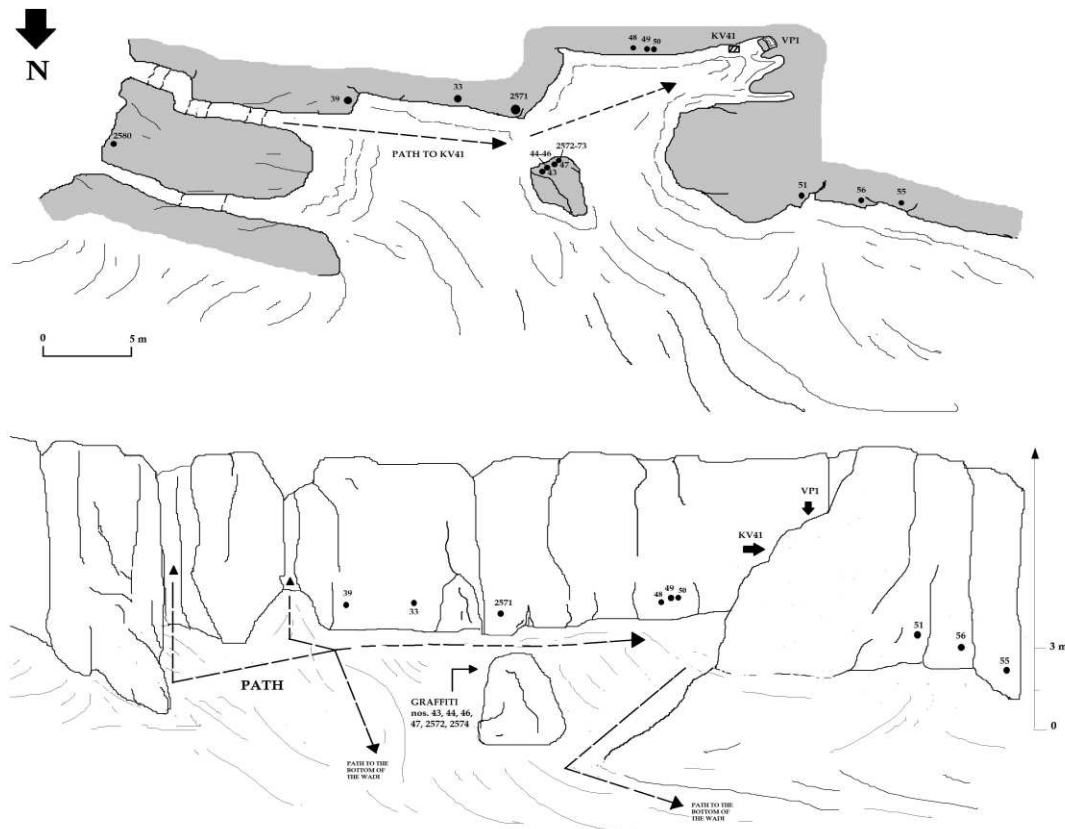


Fig.III.13 - The Valley of Pits graffiti positions in the southern hills (drawing author)



Most of them are engraved on the rocky walls of the heights of the western branch, under which is the path from KV41 down to the bottom of the wadi and into the Valley of the Kings. In these texts, there are various names and titles of workers and scribes from the necropolis of the 20<sup>th</sup> and 21<sup>st</sup> Dynasty, including the well-known Butehamun, Tuthmosis, and Ankhefenamun. Interestingly, graffito no.41 appears in which Ankhefenamun adds his name and that of his father to an earlier text engraved by his grandfather, the scribe Amunakhte son of Ipuu (Peden 2001, 241; Rzepka 2014, 5.2), who is known in the valley for leaving various graffiti along the path leading to the Valley of the Kings<sup>5</sup>.

In graffito no.43, Ankhefenamun mentions his father and grandfather and their complete titles, while in other graffiti (nos. 33 and 33a) is attested the scribe Amunnakhte son of Ipuu, father of Tuthmosis; the graffiti no. 45, 46, and 47 were carved by Butehamun.

These sources confirm the interest of the necropolis administration in the valley from the mid-20<sup>th</sup> Dynasty to the end of the reign of Smendes I and suggest here the presence of one or more valuable funerary structures for inspection.

#### No.41



*W<sup>c</sup>b sš ʿnh.f-n-ʿImn z3 (n) Bw-th3-ʿImn sš ʿImn-nht [n] p3 [pr]-hr-pr z3 ʿIpwy*

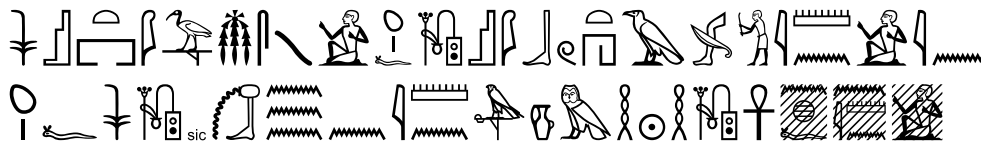
*“The priest scribe Ankhefenamun son (of) Butehamun, the scribe Amunakhte, son of Ipuu”* (Spiegelberg 1921, 6)

#### No.42



*sš Bw-th3-ʿImn n p3-[pr]-hr-pr, “The royal scribe Butehamun of the necropolis”* (Spiegelberg 1921, 7)

#### No.43



*sš-nsw st-M3ʿt Dḥwty-ms z3.f sš st-M3ʿt Bw-th3-ʿImn in z3.f sš-nsw W<sup>c</sup>b n ʿImn ḥnm ḥḥ sš ʿnh.f-n-ʿImn*

*“The royal scribe of the Place of Truth Tuthmosis, his son the scribe of the Place of Truth Butehamun by the royal scribe, priest of Amun of Medinet Habu Ankhefenamun”* (Spiegelberg 1921, 7)

<sup>5</sup> - Nos.2568, 2577, 2578b, 2579. Other scribes of the 20<sup>th</sup> Dynasty authors of graffiti in the valley attested are Meryra (nos.61+61a), Hormin (no.138), and Pashed (nos.151 and 153).

No.45



sš Bw-th3-Imn “the scribe Butehamun” (Spiegelberg 1921, 7)

As already mentioned, near KV41 and VP1 there are two graffiti attesting to two inspections by Butehamun two weeks later (Fig.III.12). In the first inspection (no.51), the scribe inspects the “hills”, while in the second (no.49) he is accompanied by the head of the workers’ team Nebnufer; next to the latter graffito is another text engraved by Butehamun (no.48) in which Amun-Ra and a *st hḥ* “place of eternity” are mentioned, probably referring to a royal tomb, VP no.1 or KV41.

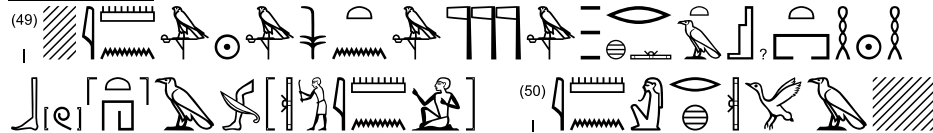
No.48



(1) *rnpt 11 3bd 4 3ḥt ssw 28 hrw pn ii r m33 ḏww* (2) *in sš st-M3ᶜt Bw-th3-Imn z3 [---] sš-nsw m 3ḥty Ḏḥwty-ms* (3) *ᶜ3 ts n st-M3ᶜt Nb-nfr z3 (n) ḥry-Pḏt Bᶜk-mwt.f*

“(1) Year 11<sup>th</sup>, 4<sup>th</sup> month, day 28, in this day come to see the hills (2) by the scribe of the Place of Truth Butehamun, the son (of) the Royal scribe of the Horizon Tuthmosis (3) the chief of workers of the Place of Truth Nebnufer son of the Chief of the Company of the Place of Truth Bakmutef” (Spiegelberg 1921, 7)

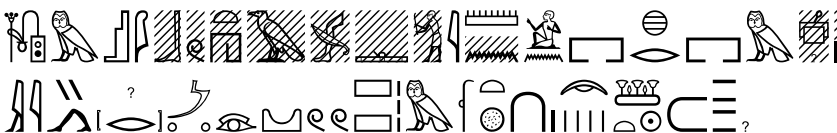
Nos.49-50



(49) [---] *Imn-Rᶜ nsw ntrw rh t3 st hḥ Bw-th3-Imn* (50) *Imn rh p3 [---]*

“(49) [---] Amun-Ra king of gods (who) knows the place of eternity (done by the scribe) Butehamun. (50) Amun who knows the [---]” (Spiegelberg 1921, 7).

No.51



*sš m st-M3ᶜt Bw-th3-Imn n pr-ḥr-pr m-z3 iy r m33 ḏww m rnpt 11 3bd 4 3ḥt ssw 14*

“the scribe of the Place of Truth Butehamun of the necropolis after the coming to see the hills in Year 11<sup>th</sup>, 4<sup>th</sup> month, day 14” (Spiegelberg 1921, 7).

It is to be noted that in the same year, Butehamun carried out the other two inspections in the Valley of Colors (nos.1001 and 1021, see previous section), and this probably indicates an attempt by the necropolis administration to verify suitable sites for making *ex-novo* or reusing existing tombs as caches. Certainly, all graffiti found in the Valley of the Wells has documentary value, but among them, precisely those engraved very close to KV41 and VP no.1 carry more weight because they allow this area to be considered among those where to continue the search for possible caches or tombs never found.

Indicative seems to be the presumed absence of graffiti on the western branch of the valley, although behind these hills is a very narrow valley in which inscriptions datable from the New Kingdom to the Late period are attested, including an invocation to Amun in demotic. Investigations in the Western sector have identified a possible cliff tomb datable to the early 18<sup>th</sup> Dynasty, a brief description of which is given below.

## 2. Valley of the Kings

The valley is a broad rocky circle behind that of Deir el-Bahari with pillar-shaped walls sloping down to the wadi floor, served by various paths that terminate on its southern slope. As already mentioned, access to the valley in ancient times was by the higher paths from the “village du Col”, the terrace overlooking Deir el-Bahari, or the lower way from the bottom of the Valley of Pits. The mouth of the Valley of the Kings is divided into two branches: on the left is the path into the valley itself, and on the right is the path to the Valley of the Monkeys (or West Valley). In the southern branch of the Valley of the Kings, there are two cliff tombs (KV33 and KV34)<sup>6</sup> within a narrow cleft located about 13 m above the wadi floor at the end of the southernmost branch (Fig.III.14); this cavity finds an interesting parallel with those where is the tomb of the three Asiatic wives of Tuthmosis III (WD A) already described in Section I. Above the southern branch and below the Village du Col is the third cliff tomb (KV39).

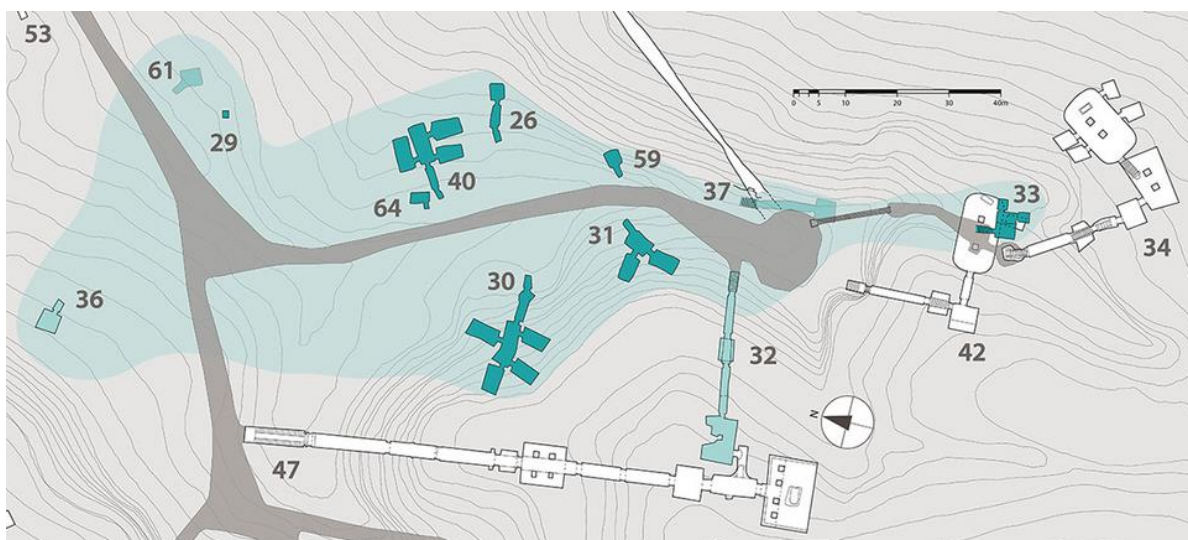


Fig.III.14 – The southernmost branch of the Valley of the Kings and KV33-34 (drawing <https://daw.philhist.unibas.ch/>)

<sup>6</sup> - The introduction briefly described the situation of the tombs present in the Valley of the Kings up to the reign of Tuthmosis III in order to outline the reference context for the study of cliff tombs; some data and information reported in the introduction are taken up and deepened here.

## The southern branch

### 2.1. KV33

The tomb is the first of two placed in the narrow high cleft of the entire valley; it is located to the left of the entrance to the cavity, while further to the right is KV34. It was discovered in 1898 by Victor Loret (Loret 1898; Thomas 1966, 139; Reeves 1990, 167; Wilkinson-Reeves 1996, 183) during excavations of the tomb of Tuthmosis III, although KV33 did not attract the interest of the French archaeologist, who gave only a few hints but no details. The reason for this attitude is that this tomb was found to be devoid of decoration and texts, modest in size compared to KV34, and despoiled in antiquity; the sketchy description of the tomb can be found in the 1902 Baedeker guidebook for the Egypt and Sudan in which it is said that the site had two rooms and was uninteresting, as reported by Thomas (1966, 139-140): “No.33, a small tomb with two empty rooms, reached by a flight of steps, was discovered by Loret”. The scholar’s hypothesis is based on the idea that this tomb and the KV34 were linked because the two structures were excavated in the same place and “because the difficult site could not have been selected without a compelling reason and a royal help” (Thomas 1966, 140). Other interpretations of this tomb are: as an annex to KV34 or an abandoned first tomb for the king of his predecessors (Willockx 2011b, 52-53); excavations conducted by the University of Basel for the “Valley of the Kings Project” from 2009 to 2014 have allowed more information to be collected about this tomb (Bickel 2014; 2018).

#### *Internal architecture*

The tomb consists of an access ramp of ten steps (1) wide 1.70 m, long 4.60 m and high 1.80 m, cut with good precision and still well preserved, a large rectangular burial chamber with a transverse axis (2) of 5 x 4.80 m and high 2 m and two smaller adjacent annexes (3-4) of 1.50 x 1.50 m (Fig.III.15).

All the chambers were precisely excavated, and the original chisel marks visible on the white limestone walls show such painstaking work; the central room was found to be filled at half its height with large limestone blocks

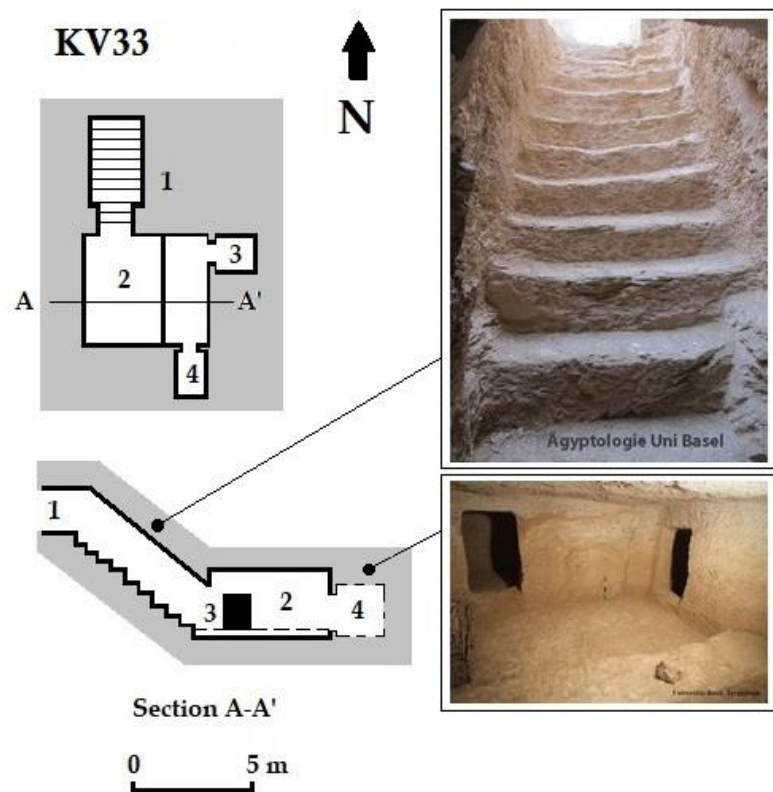


Fig.III.15 – KV33 map and section (drawing author, photos: <https://daw.philhist.unibas.ch/>)



that probably served as the entrance corridor block (Bickel 2014; 2018). According to Bickel, KV33 would have two unusual features for a tomb not intended for rulers, such as KV32 and KV37 found in the same area; the first peculiarity is that the access ramp leads directly to the sarcophagus chamber, and the second is that the floor in the burial chamber almost to its midpoint is hollowed out by about 20 cm. Bickel rightly notes that this recess used to accommodate the ruler's sarcophagus is known only from the reign of Amenhotep II onward<sup>7</sup>.

This fact poses a *vexata questio* about the identity of the owner of the cliff tomb because “the tomb’s size and location suggest that it must have been intended for a rather prestigious burial” (Bickel 2014; 2018).

Another tomb to be taken into consideration for the comparison is KV31 (Thomas 1966, 157; Reeves 1990, 167; Wilkinson-Reeves 1996, 183) which presents a large central chamber and two smaller adjoining rooms; however, it has an access shaft, is not elevated, and the central chamber is not equipped with recesses to hold the stone sarcophagus; while KV37 (Thomas 1966, 71-72; Reeves 1990, 168; Wilkinson-Reeves 1996, 183) has a ramp of access steps similar to KV33, but the long corridor and the single burial chamber at the bottom make it different from a planning perspective. The presence of the “recess” for laying the stone sarcophagus opens tends to rule out the possibility that KV33 was used as a structure attached to KV34 and opens possible reflections on which of the two tombs was made first; if it seems probable that the excavation of this hollow can be dated to the reign of Amenhotep II, it should, however, be taken into account that at the very end of the reign of Tuthmosis III the cliff tombs were no longer used.

The burials intended for the sovereigns (KV38 and KV35), queens (KV32 and KV42), and probably members of the royal family (KV26, KV30, KV31, KV37) are all excavated at the wadi level. If KV38 and KV42 (Reeves 1990, 17-18, 24-25; Wilkinson-Reeves 1996, 95-96, 102-103), built by Tuthmosis III for his grandfather Tuthmosis I and his consort Hatshepsut-Meryetre (or father Tuthmosis II?), are not cliff tombs but are positioned at the level of the wadi, the sovereign's choice to become build his tomb and KV33 itself inside the narrow cleft similar to what was done in Wadi Gabannat el-Gourud for his Asian wives.

It is known that KV34 underwent at least two phases of construction (see below). Still, as far as KV33 is concerned, this hypothesis does not seem plausible, and the excavation of the tomb appears to have been

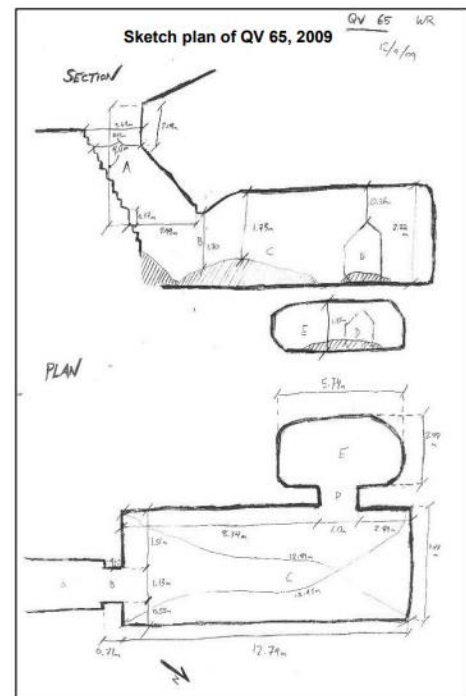


Fig.III.16 – QV65 map and section (Thomas 1966, 200 Fig.III.20)

<sup>7</sup> - This hypothesis refers to the tombs of the Valley of the Kings, while as already seen in the cliff tombs WA D, WD A, TT358 of the early 18<sup>th</sup> Dynasty, there is evidence of special recesses in the burial chamber to place the stone sarcophagus.

carried out according to a well-defined project; this is demonstrated by the fact that the excavation of the sarcophagus chamber (2) initially provided for the recess to place the stone sarcophagus and that the annexed rooms (3-4) have dimensions such as to act as rooms for the deposition of the funerary goods rather than burial chambers as instead seen in KV31.

Outside the valley, the QV65 (Fig.III.16), an anonymous tomb, dated to the 18<sup>th</sup> Dynasty, has access via steps, a burial chamber with an annex room, but this is a burial structure that has access at the wadi level, too (Agnew *et al.* 2016, 100-101); other examples are the Baraize tomb (WA C) in Wadi Sikkat Taget-Zeid (see Section I), and the WN A in Wadi en-Nisr that consist of a descending passage with steps that opens onto a large room and opening off its left is a more small room. In this case, there are two cliff tombs, and even if there is no hollow in the large room for the stone sarcophagus and there is only an annex or a small room, this could be an essential starting point for further analysis. Another fact to consider from a planimetric standpoint is that the burial chamber of KV33 forms a 90° angle to the access ramp, quite similar to the WA C and WN A mentioned above; if we simplistically apply Romer's idea "*Boys to the left, girls to the right*" to this (Willockx 2010, 45-46), the cliff tomb should be attributed to a prince or even a ruler.

Therefore, if these two cliff tombs can be dated to the beginning of the 18<sup>th</sup> Dynasty and before KV33, and if the latter, perhaps intended for a queen but devoid of decorations like the other tombs of the period, is in turn before KV34, then its realization must have taken place before the accession to the throne of Tuthmosis III. This can be seen from the fact that if KV33 had been planned for a prince (or a queen or a wife) of the ruler after KV34, it would have been similar in plan to KV42 or the tomb of his Asian wives (WD A); another interesting fact is the ruler's choice to build his tomb in the narrow cleft when he then had KV38 and KV42 funerary structures excavated at ground level for his grandfather and his wife (or his father?)<sup>8</sup>. If we add to this the hypothesis that KV20, perhaps initially made for Hatshepsut, may have been readapted and enlarged for place also Tuthmosis I burial by the female pharaoh, the two narrow cliff tombs may have been commissioned differently. If all this is true, then the choice of the narrow cleft in the Valley of the Kings as a place for a prince's tomb could be done according to the funerary layout in vogue during Hatshepsut's reign, already experimented on in the southwest Valley; at the moment it is an interpretation based only on the comparative analysis between the plans of the tombs, but which has its logic in the choice of the site and in the difficulty of building a funerary structure in an elevated position. Everything may point to an early funerary structure designed for Prince Tuthmosis<sup>9</sup> before he acceded to the throne

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<sup>8</sup> - This tomb was probably commissioned by Tuthmosis III to accommodate the burial of his father, but this was never used for this purpose and the ruler remained in his original tomb which is currently unknown; during the reign of Amenhotep II, KV42 was completed on decorations and was used as the burial of the great royal bride Hatshepsut-Meryetre with the concomitant burial of the foundation deposits. Next to KV42 was excavated KV32 intended for Tia'a, the great royal wife of Amenhotep II. For the various and all plausible hypotheses that have been formulated by scholars see Willockx 2011b, 44-49.

<sup>9</sup> - About this, it should be borne in mind that according to Ineni's biography, at the death of his father, Tuthmosis III was a boy and Hatshepsut assumed the co-regency since his mother Isis was probably not of

and then later abandoned following the excavation of KV34; this hypothesis could explain the presence of the two tombs in the cleft<sup>10</sup>.

### *External architecture*

That the construction of the two cliff tombs was based on a planimetric layout related to the “waterfall” concept already seen in the Valley of Queens (see Section I) and secondarily motivated by the security of the elevated location is evident from the fact that the cleft in ancient times was reached by a flight of steps carved into the left side of the cliff face now replaced by iron ladders. In addition, the opening and the frame/false door under the ascending arch crack, similar to that of WD A (Fig.III.17a-b) 2.75 high and 1.30-63 m wide, confirm our assumption on using this layout. As can be seen from the photo, the cornice/false door is now hidden by the modern metal staircase; the conformation of the right rock face is more inclined than the right vertical on the left (Fig.III.17b). A similar effect is slightly visible in the cornice/false door of WD A (Fig.III.17a); these elements, as mentioned above, are typical of cliff tombs of Hatshepsut’s reign.

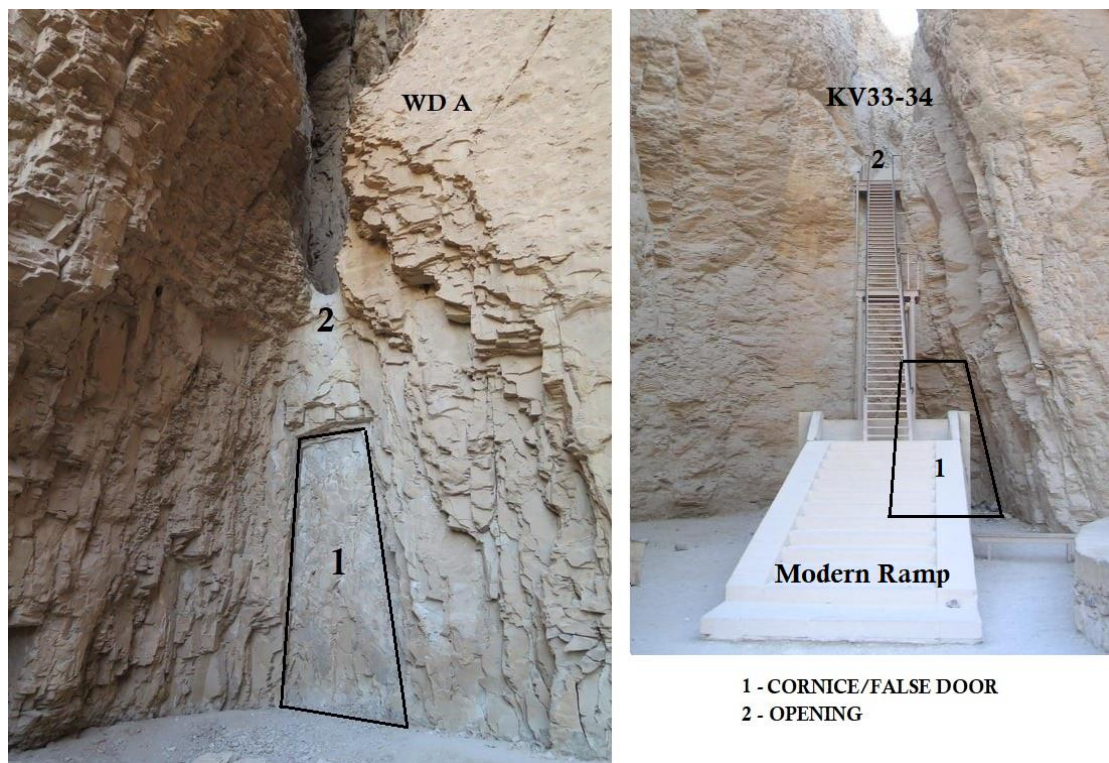


Fig.III.17 – a) the WD A and b) KV33-34 cleft opening and cornice/false door (photo author and web).

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royal blood (Dodson-Hilton 2004, 130; Willockx 2011a, 11-14) and the making of a tomb in the Valley of the Kings would be justified by the status of the young boy as a ruling prince.

<sup>10</sup> - Obviously, the hypothesis that the planning of KV33 for Prince Tuthmosis was done in anticipation of a long reign of Hatshepsut and her possible different succession must be considered in this view. Indeed, in a 2014 contribution, Bolshakov speculated that such a role might have been entrusted to Neferure as evidenced by the statuary of the princess with the “*common traits with Hatshepsut itself*”. It is known that the princess assumed a prominent role at court and in public life, obtaining the honorific title of “Lady of Upper and Lower Egypt” and “Lady of the Lands” and holding the office to obtain the title of “Wife of the God Amun”.

## *Finds*

From the results of the tomb's cleaning interventions by the University of Basel, it is clear that the structure is stripped and abandoned in antiquity; only a conspicuous number of fragments of 18<sup>th</sup> Dynasty (Tuthmosis III's reign) vessels were present among the collected debris, mixed with mud, suggesting the presence of rainwater in the tomb.

For Bickel *“The pottery assemblage shows a typological grouping of medium-sized bowls with red splash decoration on the one hand and at least 40 large storage jars which were probably used for the storing of mummification material on the other hand. Most of these vessels could be reconstructed from base to rim”* and *“Other vessel forms are rare: a delicate red-slipped carinated bowl with a black band at the rim, as well as a few larger carinated bowls with red rims, and a single flower pot came to light. Marl clay vessels were only represented by a handful of sherds. The overwhelming presence of red splash decoration and the similarity of the material to that from KV 31 indicate a dating for this pottery into the reign of Tuthmosis III”*. Again, for the scholar, *“The high number of pots might suggest that three people were originally buried in KV 33”* (Bickel 2014), although it is not possible to say who and when these three people were buried inside a tomb made for one individual; the presence of pottery does not rule out the reuse of the tomb for burials of the Tuthmosis III, as well as, that some furnishings, about the king, perhaps from KV34, were found in KV4. The presence of graffiti from the end of the 20<sup>th</sup> and beginning 21<sup>st</sup> Dynasty carved on the rocky walls below the cleft access (see after) could confirm this view; probably, the tomb had been left open in antiquity or after the discovery of Loret and this allowed water to penetrate; this element did not cause damage to the structure also due to the absence of decorations and inscriptions (Bickel 2018).

## 2.2. KV34

This is the second cliff tomb found in the narrow cleft of the Valley of the Kings and located a few meters from KV33 at the bottom of the cliff face. This tomb has long been studied because it has experimented with new plan solutions and arrangements, such as the broken-axis floor plan, the addition of the ritual well after the first corridor, the antechamber with pillars, and the funerary chamber with pillars had a cartouche-shaped; the layout and the *Amduat* decorations and texts constitute further maturation of the funerary architecture of the period that will continue until the Amenhotep III's reign (Wilkinson-Reeves 2000, 98-99; Willockx 2011b, 53-55). The foundation deposit holes nos.333-336 (no.335 with items inscribed for Tuthmosis III) found by Carter in 1921 under the cleft, placed for KV33 and KV34 (Fig.III.18), confirm that the two cliff tombs owner was the king (Willockx 2011b, 56-58).

## *Internal architecture*

KV34 (Fig.III.19) consists of an entrance stairway of 10 steps (A) long 3.03 m and wide 2.12 m, followed by a sloping corridor (B) long 8.35 m and wide 2.16 m, which gives access to a chamber, unfinished and irregularly shaped crossed by a stairway (C), long 3.61 m and wide 1.62 m, which leads to a second sloping corridor (D) long 4.38 m and wide 2.04 m.



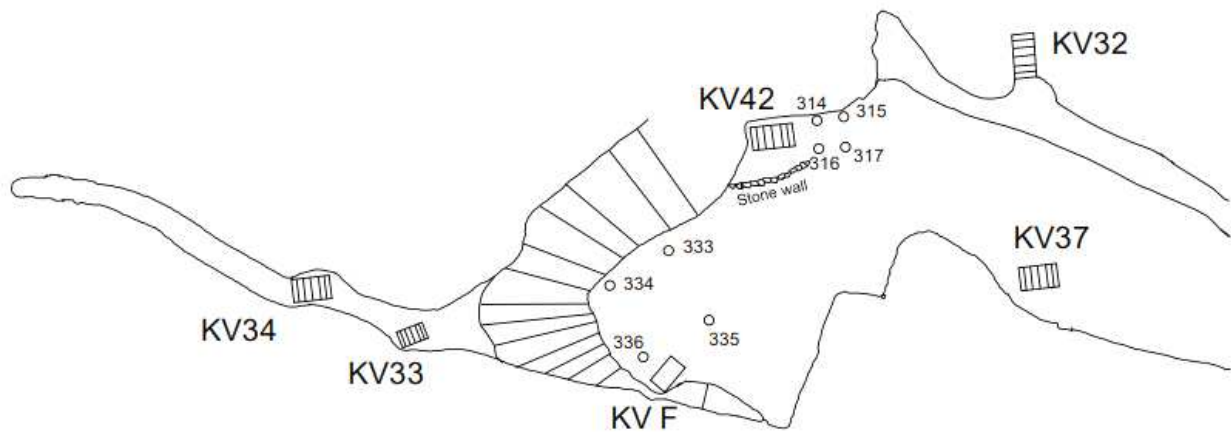


Fig.III.18 – The foundation deposit holes under the cleft (Willockx 2011b, Fig.III.16).

At the end of the corridor is the ritual shaft of about 5.06 m x 4.16 m and 6.71 m deep (E) only partly decorated, which is followed by a trapezoidal chamber with two central pillars (F) long 11.35-12.35 m and wide 5.35-6.59 m in the corner of which is a staircase that gives access to the burial chamber (G) 14.64 m long and 8.53 m wide, with two central pillars and four small adjoining compartments (nos.1, 2, 3 and 4) all rectangular with a length from 2.86 to 3.8 m and width from 2.56 to 3.67 m to contain funerary equipment.

The height of the tomb is comprised of 2.10 (A-E and 1-4) to 4.86 m (F-G). As mentioned in the introduction, the tomb had at least two construction phases, and its excavation does not appear to have been completed, just as the painting of the ceilings and friezes seems to be hasty and incomplete; the painting of the texts in the burial chamber was also redone with the erasure of earlier ones. However, the wall and ceiling decoration of KV34 constitutes the earliest example in the Valley of the Kings, given the paucity of decoration in the royal tombs of the period (KV20, KV38, and KV42, KV34); the absence of decoration in the early rooms are a clear sign that the tomb had not been completed at the time of the sovereign's burial in it. Other interesting data are the asymmetric placement of the pillars in the burial chamber and the design of the upper antechamber with pillars, the unfinished corner of this last room and the incomplete decoration of the pillars in it, and that several rooms (stairwell C and corridor D) were left the rough state. In the second phase, towards the end of Tuthmosis III's reign, the pillared room (F) and the burial chamber (G) were enlarged, and the four side rooms (nos.1-4) were added (Willockx 2011b, 63-65, 72-74); for Willockx (2011b, 63) this could imply that "tomb was not ready when Tuthmosis

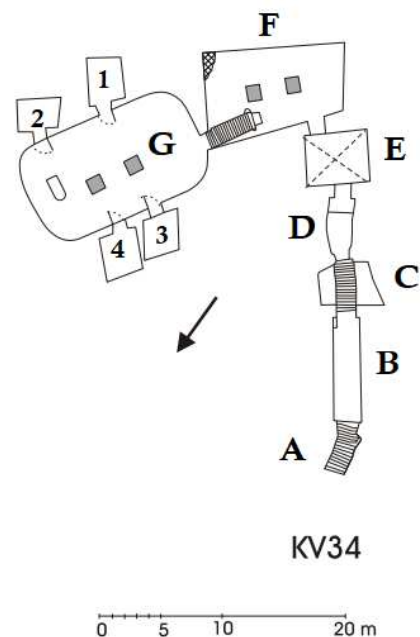


Fig.III.19 – KV34 (extrapolated from Willockx 2011a, Fig.III.10)

*III died*'. Yet, the ruler's mummy should be around 50-54 years old, and his reign should have lasted 32 years (von Beckerath 1997, 189; Lipińska 2001, 401; Willockx 2011a, 12-14), suggesting that the excavation of his tomb must have been initiated early in his reign as was customary. However, one must take into account the other funerary structures probably built by the ruler for his father (or the wife Hatshepsut-Meryetra) and grandfather; in fact, it is *communis opinio* that KV42 and KV38 are two tombs that use the same plan model as KV34 (Fig.III.20) and were used for the burial or re-burial of his family members (Willockx 2011a, 14-17; 2011b, 16-25).

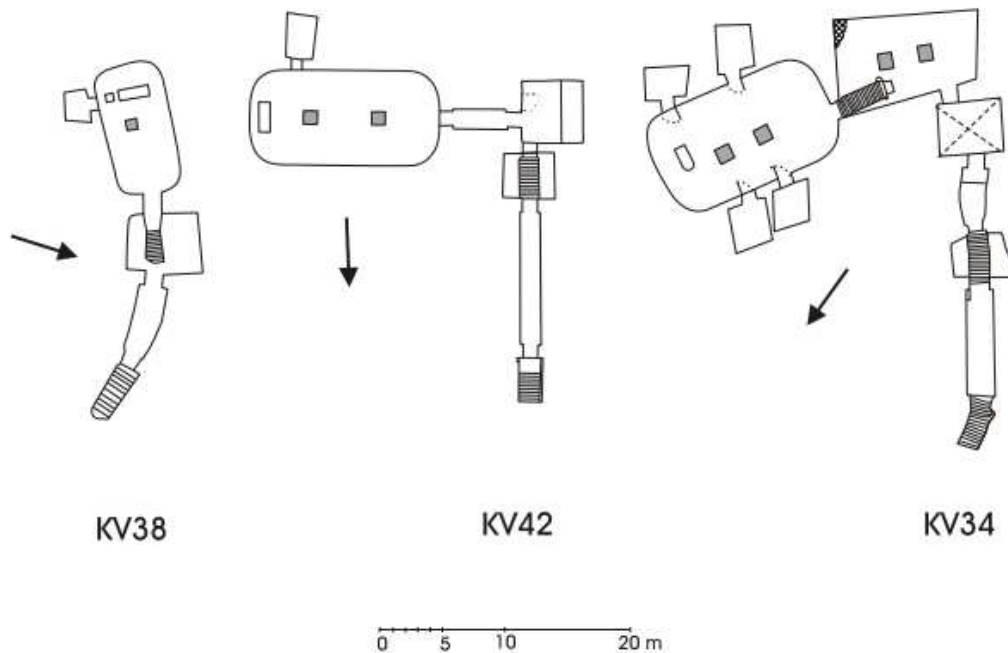


Fig.III.20 – KV34 compared with KV42 and KV38 (extrapolated from Willockx 2011a, Fig.III.10)

Add to this the various tombs (nos. 26, 30, 31, 32, 36, 37, 40, 59, 61, 64) probably intended for other royal family members, recently studied by the University of Basel (Bickel 2018), in the area where is the narrow cleft and along the path to reach it. It is a complex funeral project that probably took many years if we consider the workforce available in the first stage of the Deir el-Medina community (Peden 2001, 137 note 20). The first construction phase of KV34, which had planned for a smaller burial chamber and a single adjoining room according to a similar plan to that of the other two tombs, KV38 and KV42, probably coincides with the latter's construction.

Later, the second phase witnesses the enlargement of rooms F and G and the addition of three attached rooms; in fact, the back wall of this pillared room was enlarged in correspondence with the wall of the ritual shaft, while the opposite wall was oriented in the direction of the descending corridors (B-C-D). For Willockx (2011a, 82) the enlargement of the burial chamber involved the addition of annexed rooms as well as that of the antechamber must have created quite a few problems for the architects given the presence of the neighboring structures; it is a view based on the report by Loret during his

investigations in the tomb who noted part of the working splinters of the enlargement of the antechamber that rightly indicates that this work was not completed. Probably, with the death of the sovereign, an attempt was made to arrange the tomb in the best possible way and to complete the decorations in the two pillared rooms, while the pillars and other rooms remained incomplete.

In any case, the study of KV38 and KV42 is beyond the scope of the present discussion, just as the analysis of the construction phases of KV34 does not seem to change much the general picture of the typology of the cliff tomb built by the ruler: a funerary structure that makes use of corridors and intermediate compartments (including the ritual shaft) and culminates in the burial chamber according to a broken-axis path. If one looks closely at such a development, one realizes that the convergence of the burial chamber to the right or left seems to reflect well the earlier solutions. If one then compares the earliest example of a royal tomb in the Valley of the Kings, KV20 attributed to Hatshepsut (or Tuthmosis I), with KV33, the earliest example of a cliff tomb in the same valley (Fig.III.21a-c), one realizes a possible similarity in the presence of the attached compartments 1 and 3 (KV20) with those 3 and 4 (KV33). The presence of the three annexes in KV20 is also because we are dealing with a “double” tomb designed to contain the burials of Hatshepsut and her father; this tomb also seems to have had two construction phases, the last of which, near the end of female pharaoh’s reign, involved the exemplary arrangement of the pillared burial chamber (Willockx 2011a, 76-77). Moreover, the broken axis toward the left side of the burial chamber concerning the access ramp in KV33, as well as KV34, may be further confirmation that these are tombs intended for royal male members, while in KV20, the right side of the broken axis confirm the planning for a female king.

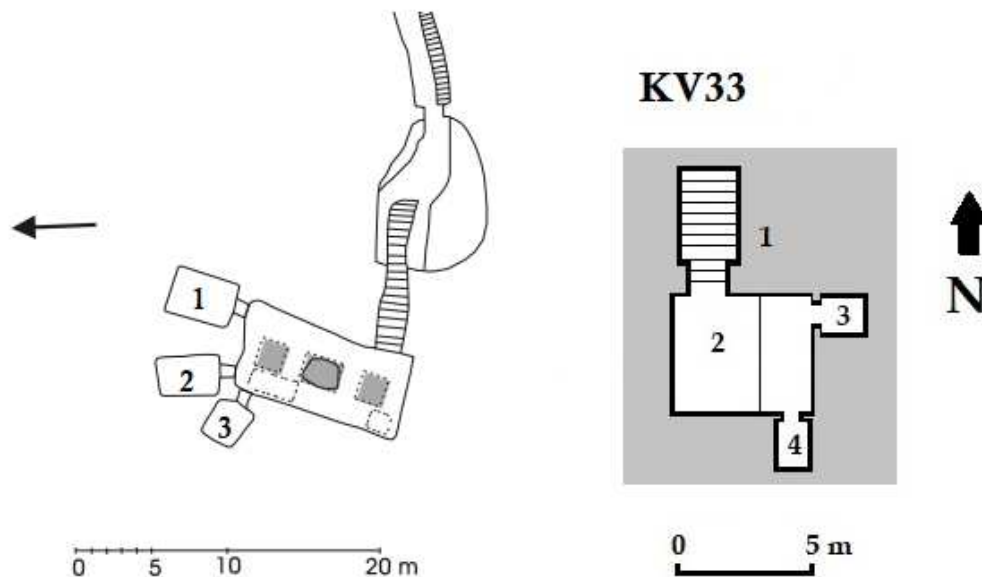


Fig.III.21.a – KV20 burial chamber plan and KV33 plan  
(drawings: extrapolated from Willockx 2011a, Fig.III.10; author)



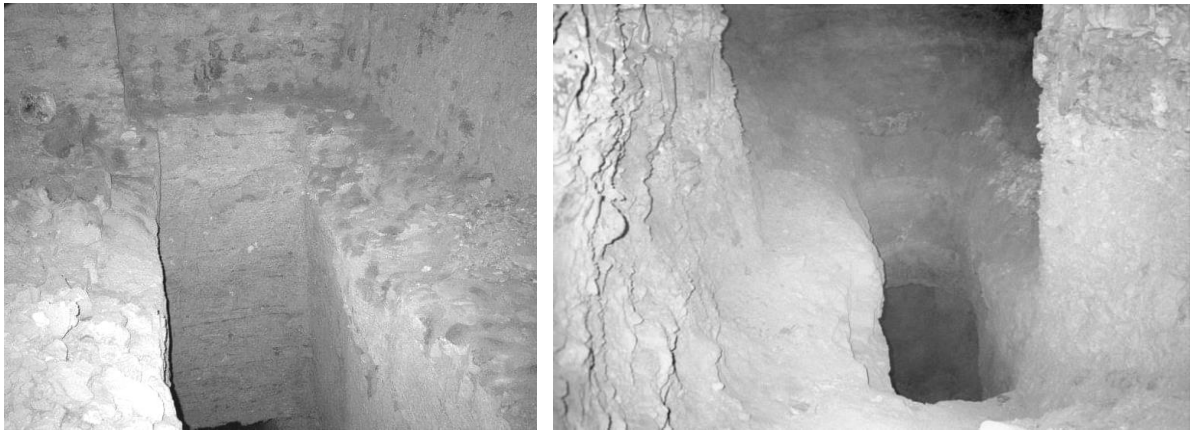


Fig.III.21.b-c – KV20 antechamber access (b) and the funerary chamber (c) (photo author)

### *External architecture*

What has been said for KV33 has the same value for KV34 given that both tombs use the same narrow cleft; one consideration must be done about the location of KV34 because if one accepts the idea that Hatshepsut, as still mentioned, made her tomb in close connection with her funerary temple and thus in a low and central position in the Valley of the Kings (where there aren't high rocky walls), the cliff tomb of Tuthmosis III is justified by its elevated and "hierarchical" position about the others in the area. KV34, in its conception, is the highest royal funerary structure in the valley, with a more prominent place even compared to KV42 and KV38, royal tombs commissioned by Tuthmosis III for his illustrious predecessors. The only tomb that is higher than KV34 but outside the Valley of the Kings (Fig.III.22) is KV39 (see below), whose plan and position places it among the cliff tombs (but not as *Bab tomb*) but datable to the early 18<sup>th</sup> Dynasty and probably identified with the *k3y* of the Queen Inhapi.

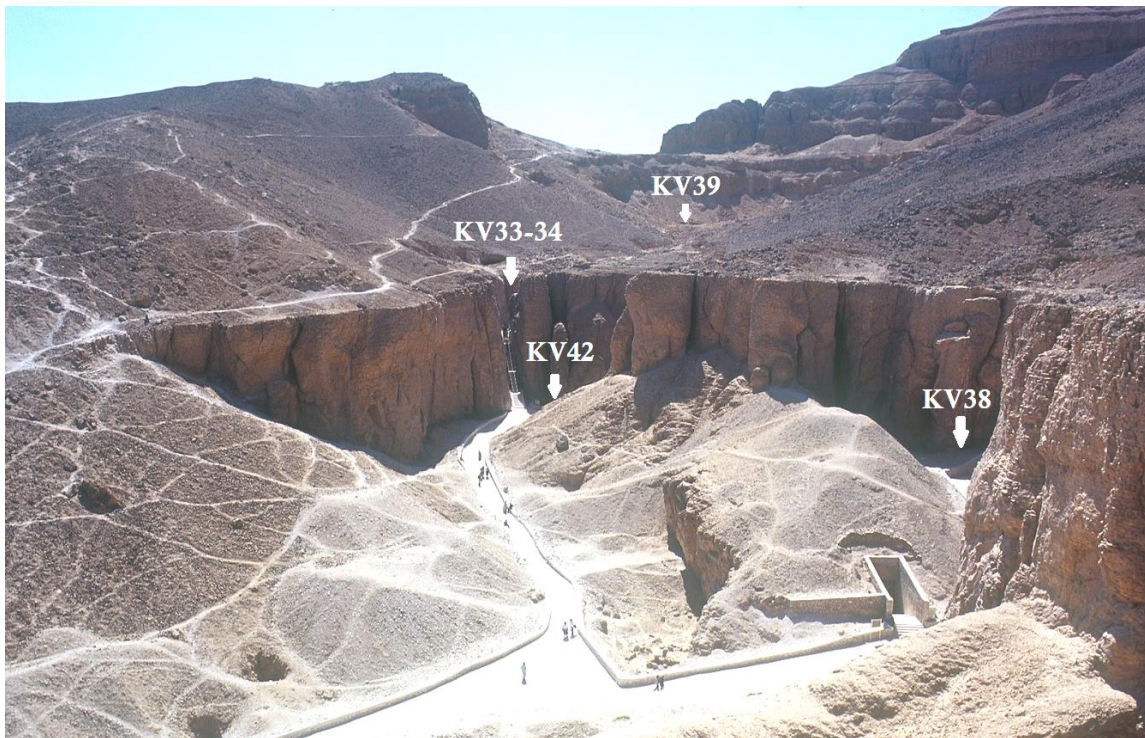


Fig.III.22 – KV39, KV33-34, KV38 and KV42 positions (photo TMP modified by author)



### *Finds*

The tomb appears to have been plundered and reused in antiquity, and upon discovery, Loret was able to document only a few damaged artifacts of the grave goods, subsequently studied and cataloged by Daressy (1902, 282-298; PM I<sup>2</sup>, 551-554), including eight wooden statuettes of the sovereign, two wooden figures of Osiris, four wooden effigies of animals (panthers and birds), three faience plaques, six stones and 15 bronze foundation tools, alabaster vases, three sticks, one of which in faience, wooden offering tables, wooden fragments of containers, clay vases, various faience amulets, parts of wooden boat models. Interestingly are an alabaster vase of his wife, Hatshepsut Meryetra (CG 24841), and a fragment of an axe found in the tomb.

In contrast, some of the grave goods present from other museums are two models of the axe in the British Museum (nos.6060-61) and a model of a boat with the ruler's cartouche from the Amherst Collection (no.81) acquired in 1921 from Sotheby's auction and currently in the Rosicrucian Museum of S.Jose (No.481).

The presence of the queen's alabaster vase in KV34 confirms the possible reuse of the tomb as a temporary cache in the early 21<sup>st</sup> Dynasty, supported by the presence on the rock face below the cleft of graffiti by Butehamun and his collaborators.

A visit to the tomb was done in the late 20<sup>th</sup> Dynasty (Peden 2001, 207) as confirmed by five ink graffiti of the scribe Amenhotep<sup>11</sup> and other workers left in the antechamber (west wall) and in the burial chamber (south wall); the same scribe left in this last room his comment about the Amduat scenes see: "*A Thousand times beautiful is the picture to the right below!*" (Romer 1981, 165). The type of visits carried out by the scribe Amenhotep during the reign of Rameses IX and his graffiti painted on the wall containing the sacred text of the Amduat in the burial chamber differs markedly from typical records of inspections. As rightly noted by Reeves, it seems to suggest that it was drafted for emptying the tomb with the transfer of the funerary equipment and mummy to another tomb in the Valley of the Kings (Reeves 1990, 23; Peden 2001, 207).

### *The graffiti*

A lot of graffiti engraved on the low rock face left of the narrow cleft entrance refers to some inspections and activities carried out mainly at KV42 (GMT II/2, A9, Sec.84) more than at KV33 and KV34 (GMT II/2, A9, Sec. 83; Fig.III.23). The records related to KV42 (Sector 84) begin during the reign of Ramesses II until the beginning of the 21<sup>st</sup> Dynasty. There are numerous authors, scribes, draftsmen, and necropolis workers<sup>12</sup>.

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<sup>11</sup> - This is Amenhotep (VI), son of the well-known necropolis scribe Amenakhte (XVII) of the late 20<sup>th</sup> Dynasty, attested in graffiti as a draftsman and later as a scribe (Černý 1973, 197-198; Rzepka 2014, 6.4.).

<sup>12</sup> - The scribes Nakhy, Qenirkhopshef, Pashedu (VI), Bay (II), Amenakhte (V), Amenhotep (VI), Butehamon (Rzepka 2014, 3.8, 3.15, 4.14, 5.3, 6.4 and 8.7); the workmen Nebnefer (VI), Meryre (V), Ptahshedu, Merysekmet (III) and the deputy of the left side Hapyunebef (Rzepka 2014, 4.7, 5.11, 5.21, 6.26 and 5.5.).

Some graffiti related to Section 83 were carved at 10 m left below the narrow cleft's entrance and numbered from the no. 2453 to 2457 (GMT IV/2, 59-60); from them are those (nos.2454, 2455) carved by the “deputy of the gang”, Hay (VII), one of most active in the valley during the 20<sup>th</sup> Dynasty (Rzepka 2014, 6.16). In the first text, Hay was with two of his sons, the scribes Amenenakhte and Nebnufer, while in the second one with Amenenakhte alone; as can be seen from the figure below, graffiti no.2457 is the only one readable below the cleft and probably not about cliff tombs but to activity in the area below or adjacent to them<sup>13</sup>. Thus, the only attestations of interest on cliff tombs KV33 and KV34 remain at present those in the last tomb by the scribe Amenhotep that could act as *terminus post quem* for the use of the narrow cleft.

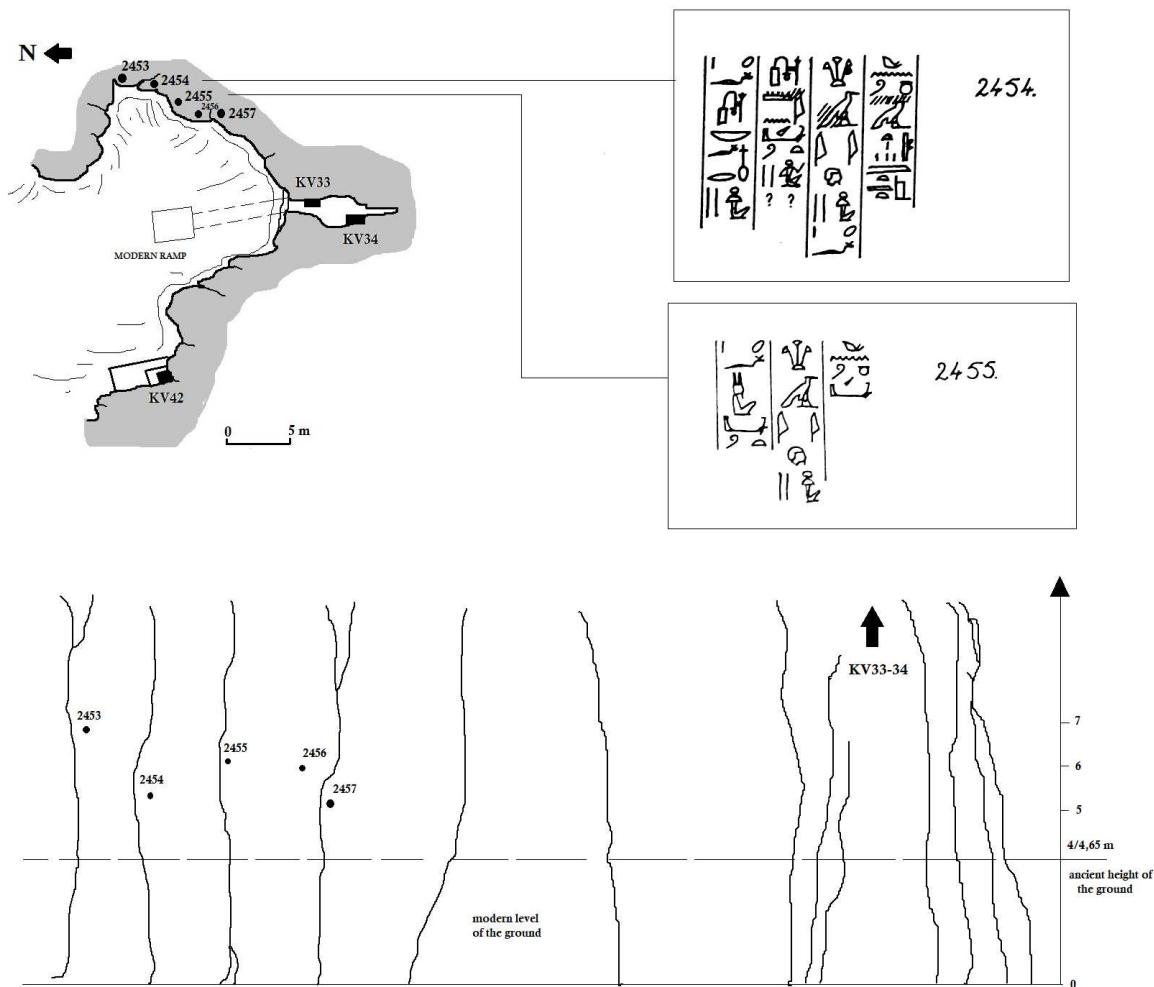


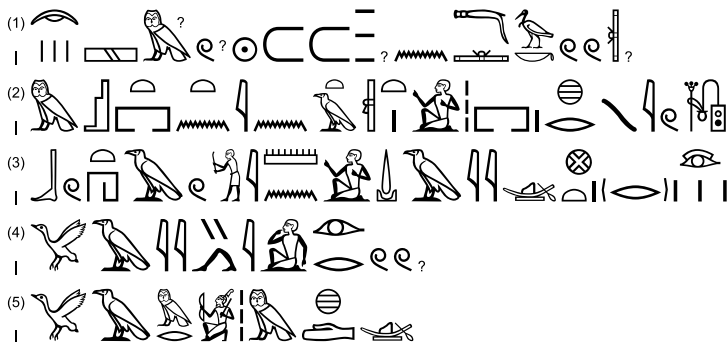
Fig.III.23 – Section 83 map and section and graffiti nos. 2454 and 2455 (drawing author and GMT IV/2, 59-60)

<sup>13</sup> - The deputy was also the author of some protome graffiti of Amun-Ra (with a sun disk above the ram head and a uraeus on it) or the goddess Meretseger (as Sphinx with snakehead) in the rocky walls tract between KV42 and below the narrow cleft; this iconographic repertoire of Amun-Ra of Karnak graffiti in the Valley of the Kings was the marker to create a sacred space for workers in the valley (Ragab 2021, 197-198; Dorn 2023, 10-11 note no.15; 13-15).

Not unexpectedly, other graffiti by scribes inspecting and reusing 18<sup>th</sup> Dynasty tombs, such as Tuthmosis and Butehamun, are found in the rock walls outside KV42; among them, one in particular (no.714) constitutes essential evidence of the work carried out by Butehamun in year 10 of *wḥm-mswt* on behalf of General Payankh.

The scribe attests to the completion of the work in the tomb by the gang workers and to cross the Nile for the general's arrival in Thebes from the south (the Nubian campaign?); it is not known what kind of activity was commissioned to the scribe, although in one of the letters of the period (Pap. BM 10375) Butehamun reply to Payankh “*Now see you have written saying ‘Uncover a tomb among the foremost tombs and preserve its seals until (I) return’ so said he, our lord. We are executing commissions.*” (Wente 1967, 61, 64 notes *am* and *an*)<sup>14</sup>.

### No.714



(1) 3bd 3 šmw ssw 23 n mḥ b3kw (2) m st tn in izt hr-pr iw sš (3) Bw-th3-Imn ḏ3y niwt r ptrw (4) p3 iy i.irw (5) p3 mr mšꜥ m-ḥd

“(1) third month of Shomu, day 23 of complete the works (2) in this place by the gang of workmen of the tomb, the scribe (2) Butehamun, (he) ferry across the city to see (4) the return (5) done by the general from south” (Spiegelberg 1921, 57).

The conspicuous number of graffiti present outside KV42 (about 120), most of which can be dated to the end of the 20<sup>th</sup> to the early 21<sup>st</sup> Dynasty, and the absence of texts at KV33 and KV34 confirm the interest of the Deir el-Medina community in the first tomb, perhaps because it was more immediately accessible as a cache and the fact that the two cliff tombs were emptied and abandoned.

It is no coincidence that no docket was found on the coffin or bandage of Tuthmosis III's mummy, unlike the other royal mummies found in TT320 and KV35 (Reeves 1990, 252-263); this could be justified by an initial relocation of the mummy and grave goods to a temporary cache at the end of the 20<sup>th</sup> Dynasty and after for Reeves (1990, 266) the “*reburial within the k3y of Inhapi and caching with the rest of the Inhapi mummies in the Pinudjem II family vault (TT320), perhaps in side room (D), after Year 11 of Shoshenq I*”.

<sup>14</sup> - This is a fact that may connect the graffiti to the required activity in a tomb *ḥ3wtjw* “first or ancestors?”, although this is still a hypothesis. On the letter and graffiti see Wente 1967, 59-61.

## The hill above the southern branch

### 2.3. KV39<sup>15</sup>

This is the third cliff tomb of the Valley of the Kings and is located on a terrace at the foot of El-Qurn below the Hill Village, a temporary way station for the workers of Deir el-Medina; it lies at 215 m upon the KV33-KV34 narrow cleft. It was discovered probably by Loret workers in 1899, but the excavation was done by the well-known Coptic explorers/inspectors Chenouda Macarios and Boutros Andraos in 1900 (Willockx 2010, 61). The tomb has been the subject of various studies and contributions (Weigall 1911; Thomas 1966, 73-75; Romer 1975, 317-321; Wilkinson-Reeves 2000, 89; Willockx 2010; Aston 2015, 21-23), as well as excavations (Rose 2000; Buckley-Buckley-Cooke 2005).

The elevated location and the presence of a vertical cliff face within which the access ramp is excavated allow KV39 to be included among the cliff tombs of our interest; it has often been debated that the high depth of the burial and the low elevation of the cliff face above it relative to the Hill Village may have caused problems with water infiltration during rain storms (Buckley-Buckley-Cooke 2005, 74). This is a fair observation, although it is not known what the solution was at the time to avoid the problem given the multiple interventions the tomb underwent during the New Kingdom; it should be noted that KV39 is not among the typology of the *Bab tombs*, but seems to be included, at least in its initial phase, among those observed among the heights of Deir el-Bahari. In the history of scholarship, this tomb has been attributed to various kings, Amenhotep I for Weigall (1911, 175), Dodson (1988, 116-117) and Rose (2000, 27 even Inhapi: 144-148), Tuthmosis I or Ahhotep for Thomas (1966, 73-75 and 172), a ruler (Tuthmosis I?) or queens of early 18<sup>th</sup> Dynasty for Buckley-Buckley-Cooke (2005, 74) and Willockx (2010, 79) and from Inhapi to Amenhotep II for Aston (2015, 22-23).

#### *Internal architecture*

The tomb has three phases of construction; the first one (Fig.III.24) could be dated to the early 18<sup>th</sup> Dynasty when the structure was probably planned for a queen (Inhapi?) and consists of an entrance staircase (A) of 12 steps roughly carved long 6 m and wide 2 m, a corridor (B) long 6.70 m and wide 2 m which descends into a rectangular room (C), probably the funerary chamber, of 8.2 x 4.4 m. In the second phase of construction, on the southwestern side of this room, the excavation of a staircase (C1) to add new rooms was probably started but was never completed (Rose 2000, 34). The excavations of Rose (2000, 144–148) shed more light on the

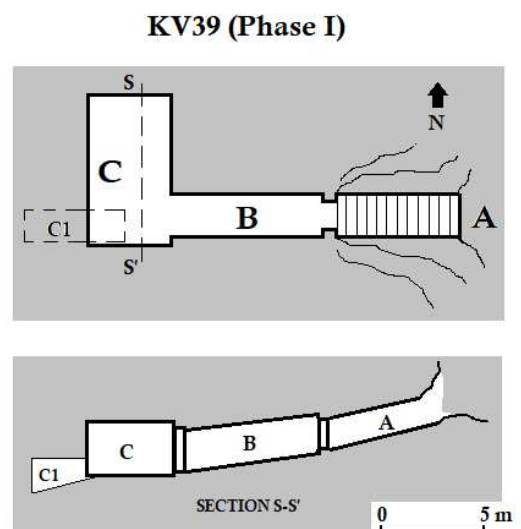


Fig.III.24 – KV39 plan and section  
(drawing author)

<sup>15</sup> - In 2015, the mission headed by the writer was able to conduct a brief survey of the tomb and verify the size of the various rooms, which appear to be completely cleared of debris and clearly visible.



possible origin of the tomb and allowed the scholar to attribute it initially to Queen Inhapi and then to be modified to become the burial of Amenhotep I; this hypothesis is based on the fact that the coffin docketts of Ramses I, Seti I, and Ramses II, reporting that on 17<sup>th</sup> day, 4<sup>th</sup> month of *Peret*, year 10<sup>th</sup> of Siamun’s reign, all three coffins were moved from KV 17 to the “*k3y of Queen Inhapi, in which Amenotep I lay*”. Another datum that is very interesting and linked to the hypothesis before is the interpretation by Weigall (1911, 175) of Pap. Abbott’s text about the tomb of Amenhotep I of the word *ḥꜥy* for “way station”; thus, KV39 will be the tomb that lay 120 cubits below where the king was reburied with Inhapi. *Last but not least*, to confirm the early 18<sup>th</sup> Dynasty date of the tomb is the pottery (calcite alabaster fragments, sherds of decorated pottery, and rim and base sherds) from the Tuthmosis I till the III (Rose 2000, 39-58; Buckley-Buckley-Cooke 2005, 80) found inside it; gold flakes, textiles and part of wooden coffins and eight pieces of sandstone each with cartouches blue painted with *prenomen* of Tuthmosis I, Tuthmosis III and Amenhotep II were also found (Rose 2000, 36). At this point,

regardless of the interpretations formulated to assign the cliff tomb to an owner or more owners, it is helpful to consider the planimetric model used, which presents some exciting elements; firstly, the access type with a staircase that Aston (2015, 21) believes was in origin a shaft so that his plan could be easily compared with other queens tombs like AN A at Dra Abu el-Naga (Carter 1917, 114) and TT320 and TT358 at Deir el-Bahari (see Section II). The presence of a simple burial chamber and its elevated position leads one to think of a structure traditionally linked to the Middle Kingdom models already seen in the Deir el-Bahari area because it was built before the Valley of

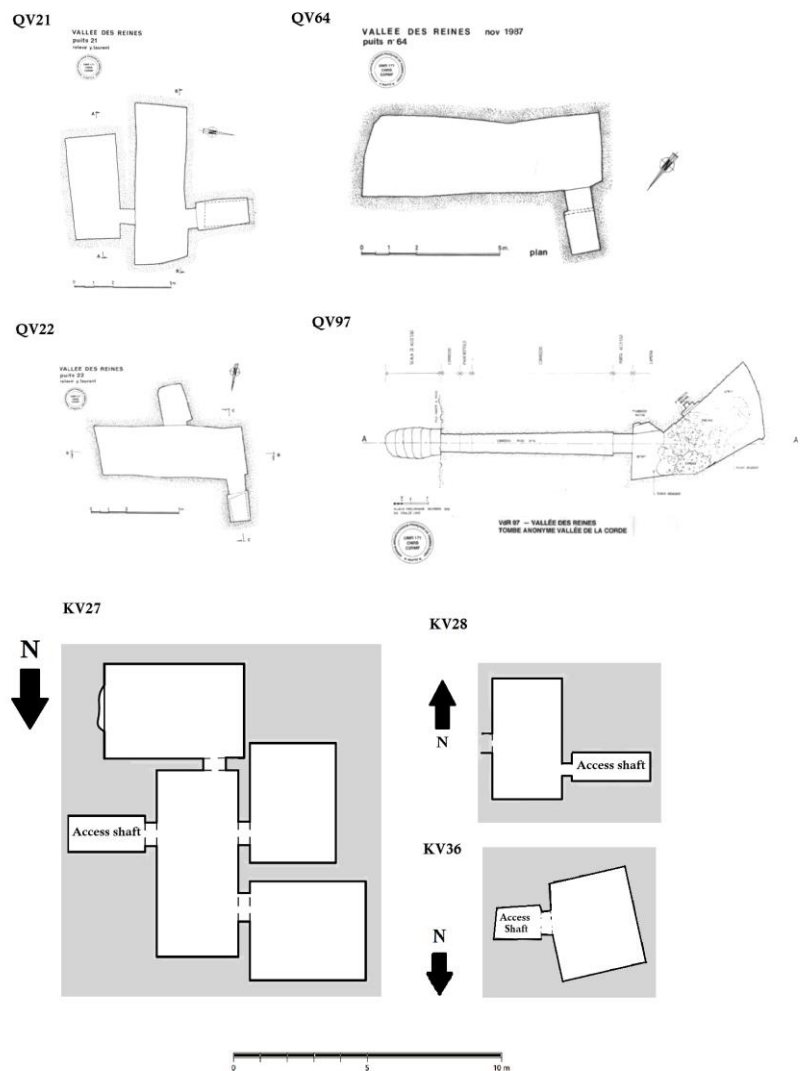


Fig.III.25 – QV21, 22, 64 and 97 and KV27, 28 and 36 tombs layouts (Agnew *et al.* 2016, 65, 99, 132; TMP modified by author)

the Kings was chosen as a necropolis for sovereigns and members of the royal family; the fact that it is a tomb for a queen or princess is evident first of all from the shape, size, and orientation of the burial chamber (C) about the corridor (B), similar to what is seen in some early 18<sup>th</sup> Dynasty tombs in the Valley of the Queens (Fig.III.25). Most of these funerary structures consist of an access shaft and a single rectangular or quadrangular room arranged on an axis with the direction of the entrance; the only three tombs anonymous and undecorated with funerary chambers perpendicular to the direction of access are QV64 (Agnew *et al.* 2016, 98-99), QV21 and QV22 (Agnew *et al.* 2016, 62-65) which show similarities with KV39 in its first phase when the excavation of the staircase is carried out; what differs in two last tombs is the presence of a second room instead of a staircase. Another element to consider is that the mentioned tombs are built at ground level; the only funerary structure in the Valley of the Queens comparable to KV39 is the aforementioned QV97 in the introduction (Agnew *et al.* 2016, 131-132); it is an elevated tomb (not a cliff tomb), dated mid-18<sup>th</sup> Dynasty, located on the hill of the Valley of the Rope, that consists of an access with steps, a long corridor and an irregularly shaped (unfinished) burial chamber with a niche on a wall. If this similarity is accepted, Aston's hypothesis about the original access shaft of KV39 does not seem plausible.

However, it is also possible that the tomb's staircase may have been built in the second construction phase. If Aston's hypothesis on the original shaft of KV39 is considered valid, the two tombs in the Valley of the Kings that have layout similarities are KV28 (Thomas 1966, 138; Reeves 1990, 155; Wilkinson-Reeves 1996, 182) and WV24 (Thomas 1966, 163; Reeves 1990, 154; Wilkinson-Reeves 1996, 182); the first is placed on the Tuthmosis IV branch and consists of a shaft leading to a rectangular chamber with an unexcavated gate in its rear wall (Fig.III.25). WV24 is a tomb (probably for a noble owner?) that lies at the end of the West Valley and consists of a deep rectangular shaft and a very rough rectangular chamber. KV27 (Thomas 1966, 138; Reeves 1990, 154; Wilkinson-Reeves 1996, 109) adopted the same layout, but like QV21, was completed with side rooms in the burial chamber; another tomb is KV36 attributed to Prince Maiheperi (Thomas 1966, 157-158; Reeves 1990, 70-72; Orsenigo 2016); the undecorated tomb, excavated at ground level, consists only of an access shaft and a square burial chamber.

Now, apart from the subtle differences in size, we are dealing with funerary structures from the Valley of the Queens and the Valley of the Kings that use a roughly similar planimetric model consisting of an access shaft and a square or rectangular burial chamber arranged either on axis with the direction of the shaft or perpendicular to it in both directions (right or left). What differs is the elevated position of KV39 and the angle of the direction of the burial chamber to the right, which, according to Romer's well-known theory (Willockx 2010, 45), should include this burial structure among those intended for queens and princesses; so, if we consider Rose's results about the tomb, the hypothesis that first phase of KV39 could be the *k3y* of queen Inhapi remains one of the most likely. In the second phase of construction (Fig.III.26), there is an extension of the tomb with the creation of a southern passage and a burial chamber; the lower part of the existing corridor B was enlarged to create a small square vestibule (D) of 3.50 x 3.50 m and a staircase (E) of 3.40

x 1.60 m running south perpendicular to corridor B. The stairway leads to a long corridor (F1) also interspersed with two other staircases (F2-F3); it is 19 m long, 1.60 m wide, and 1.80 m high, leading to the burial chamber (G), rectangular in shape, 3.25 x 7.50 m and 2 m high, in a direction perpendicular to the access stairway. This second modification does not seem to attempt to undo the first layout of the structure, but is a kind of “addiction”; if one looks closely, this layout is similar to WD A in Wadi Gabannat el-Gourud (Section I)<sup>16</sup> and this could confirm its use for one or more queens burial.

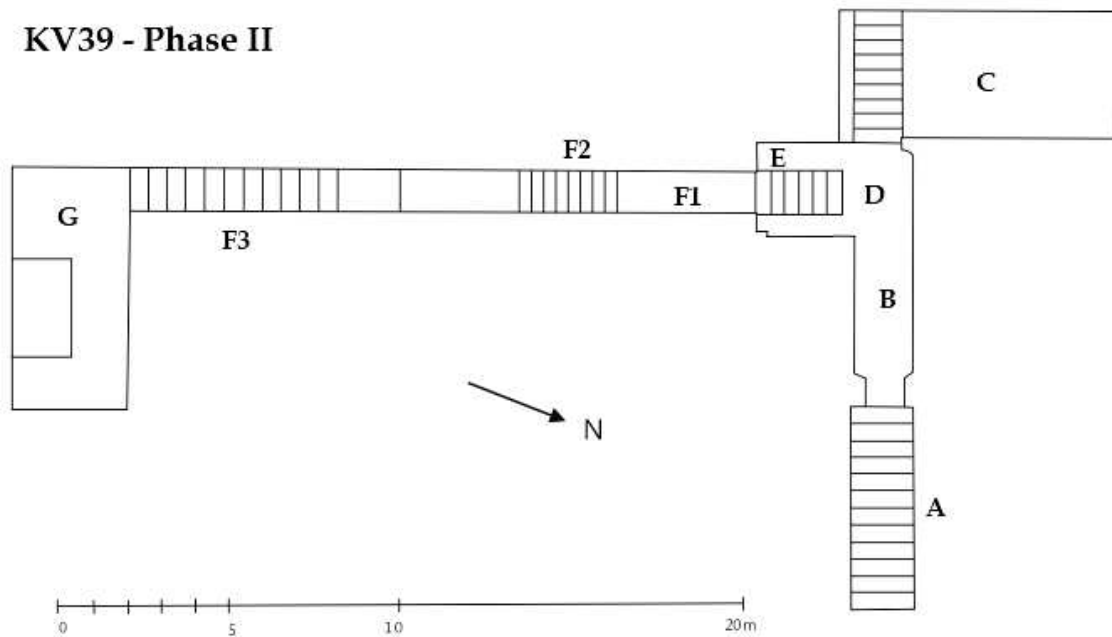


Fig.III.26 – KV39 Phase II plan (from Willockx 2010, Fig.III.15 modified by author)

In this regard, Rose (2000, 37-38) argues that it is a “*rough construction of the southern passage suggesting either a design for a cache or an unfinished tomb*”<sup>17</sup>; Willockx (2010, 70-71) considers this to be a structure datable to the Third Intermediate Period, although there is no archaeological data to prove this.

That tomb KV39 from Phase II may have been used is not known, but the floor plan similar to WD A is an essential piece of data that dates back to the reign of Tuthmosis III; this hypothesis does not rule out the use of the tomb as a royal cache in the early 21<sup>st</sup>

<sup>16</sup> - The burial chamber of WD A has dimensions of 5.2 x 7.5 m and the corridor is 13 m long, while KV39 has a smaller burial chamber but a longer corridor interspersed with two stairs. The type of access with stairs in WD A, perpendicular to the corridor, is also quite similar to what was achieved in the second phase of KV39.

<sup>17</sup> - The steepness of the corridor, the numerous collapses from the ceiling and the presence of debris which almost entirely hid it, led Rose (2000, 38) to believe that it could be unfinished due to the poor friability of the rock. Subsequent investigations confirmed this hypothesis and also the burial chamber is unfinished like TT358 and TT320 (Aston 2015, 23), although, as already mentioned, it is with W A that this phase of KV39 is completely similar.

Dynasty as Rose and Aston believe. The only diversity that seems to exist between these two cliff tombs lies in the orientation of the burial chamber concerning the access corridor; in KV39, it is to the left, while in WD A, it is to the right. If one accepts as already mentioned Romer's approach, one could therefore assume that the second phase of KV39 must have been made for a ruler, although the planimetric model datable to the reign of Tuthmosis III and used for the kings (KV38 and KV42) is quite different; one can then glimpse in this solution of KV39 the possibility of an excavation conditioned by the quality of the rock, which, as already mentioned, would have desisted from the construction of the staircase in the back wall of the tomb of the first phase. Such a consideration would explain why in the first phase of construction of KV39, the rock cutting of the C1 staircase was not continued; instead, a change in the direction of excavation and the construction of a funerary structure with a different plan, more contemporary, was preferred.

If we add to all this that the funerary structure built in the third phase of construction of KV39 (Buckley, Buckley, and Cooke 2005, 77–79) is entirely similar in plan to the KV32 of Queen Tiaa, a minor wife of Amenophis II, which can be dated to this reign (Preys 2011, 322–324), it is understandable that the D-G rooms must be antecedents to that as rightly Aston (2015, 23) observes. The third phase of construction of the tomb (Fig.III.27) involved the excavation of an eastern passage which starts from vestibule D and consists of a corridor H 42 m long, 2 m wide and 1.90 m high, alternating with two stairways (H2 and H4), a rectangular antechamber 3 x 2 m (I) and a square burial chamber (L) of 3.30 x 3.94 m, 1.60 m high with a passage of 1.16 m wide and

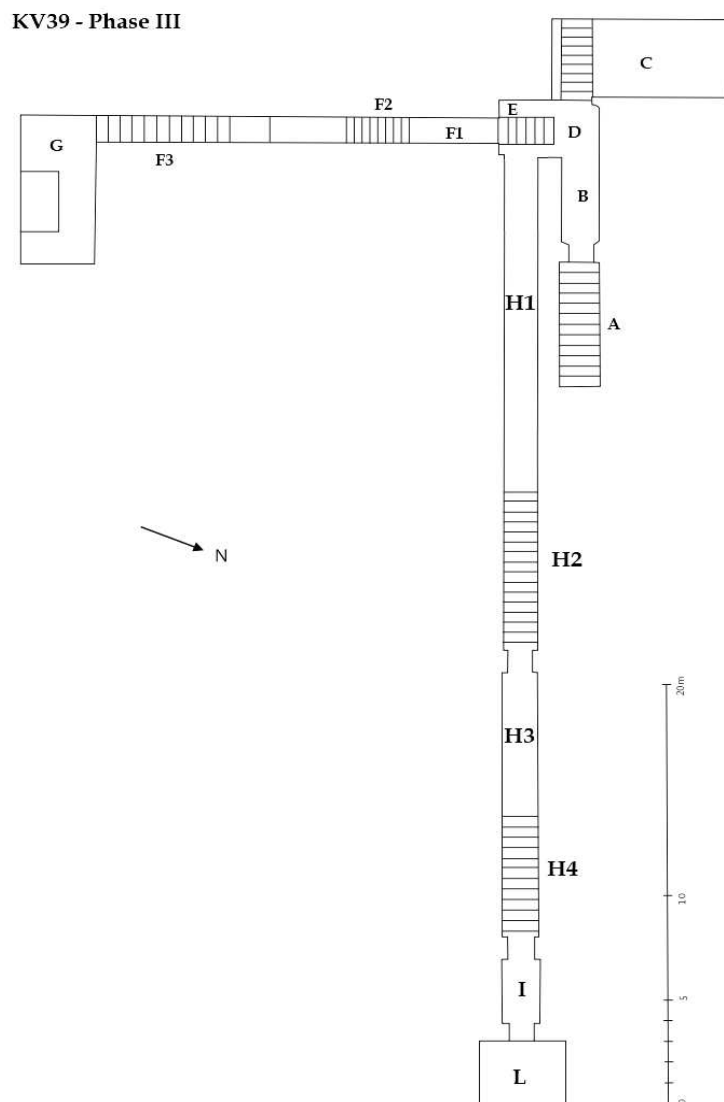


Fig.III.27 – KV39 Phase III plan (from Willockx 2010, Fig.III.15 modified by author)



0.70 m high. For Aston (2015, 23), in the “*final stage, the entrance shaft was turned into a staircase, the start of corridor B was enlarged and the eastern tomb complex, which looks somewhat similar to KV 32, was cut*”.

Another point of discussion by the scholar is the similarity of the KV39 “Eastern Passage” and the KV32 layout that makes it possible to date it to the Tuthmosis III or Amenophis II’s reigns. It is precisely the presence of the three phases of KV39 that supports the hypothesis of multiple burials inside the tomb since, if the second phase started during the reign of Tuthmosis III was not completed and used, why create another stage in the reign of the successor; it would have been easier to carry on to the completion of the second phase than to build another tomb *ex-novo* (third phase). If, therefore, it is accepted that Inhapi was initially buried in KV39, the idea of making two more tombs during these following two reigns might have something to do with the idea of burying queen mothers or consorts with this important female figure of the 17<sup>th</sup> Dynasty, and this could be interpreted as an essential “reference” to the glorious Theban rulers which Thutmose III probably promotes.

This is obvious speculation because it is not possible to say whether this act was carried out to help eliminate Hatshepsut’s link to her paternal line and Ahmosid lineage; in fact, we mentioned in Section I that the queen, as a first royal wife and queen mother regent, may have probably used Ahmose-Meryetamun’s and Ahmose-*nefertari*’s (Dodson-Hilton 2004, 128-129) funerary structures as a model to build her cliff tomb in Wadi Sikkat Taget Zeid. Therefore, Tuthmosis III’s idea of using the KV39, the *k3y* of Inhapi for his first wife<sup>18</sup> or mother<sup>19</sup>, could be inserted in his wide program of construction tombs in the Valley of Kings for the royal family members (Roehrig 2006, 248-251) and could have effectively reinforced, from a political point of view, his link with early Theban dynastic lineage<sup>20</sup>.

### *Eastern architecture*

The path that reaches KV39 is the one used by the community of Deir el-Medina to descend towards the Valley of the Kings, and the orientation of the access to the North is the same as KV33 and KV34; the top of the Theban mountain is located behind the entrance and overlooks it to symbolize its cultic reference point (Fig.III.28). As already mentioned above, KV39 does not have a *Bab tomb*-type access. Still, it uses a sloping

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<sup>18</sup> - Queen Satiah was his first wife during the coregency period until the 22<sup>nd</sup> regnal year of Tuthmosis III and she held the title of “King’s wife and “Great King’s wife”: Dodson-Hilton 2004, 140. The Queen Hatshepsut-Meryetre (Dodson-Hilton 2004, 139) was married only after the 35<sup>th</sup> regnal year and was buried in KV42 (in origin for Tuthmosis II?), while the secondary wives, the Syrian princess Menwi, Merti and Menhet were buried in WD A in a tomb excavated for them with the standard layout.

<sup>19</sup> - Queen Isis is mentioned as King’s wife but she becomes the “Great King’s wife” during his son’s reign: Dodson-Hilton 2004, 138.

<sup>20</sup> - See for example the “Chamber of the Ancestors” of the *Akh Menu* in the Karnak temple in which the pharaoh has his father and grandfather eliminated in addition to Hatshepsut, to celebrate the previous Theban rulers up to those of the 11<sup>th</sup> and 12<sup>th</sup> Dynasties, perhaps in an attempt to rewrite the history of his family (Dorman 2005, 267); this political and ideological act coincides with the *Djeser Akhet* construction in 43<sup>rd</sup> year of his reign after the partially close of the *Djeser Djeseru* in the year before (Dolińska 2007).

stairway that starts from the ground level (Fig.III.29) with the rocky wall in the background. Therefore, no reference structure (opening for rainwater and false door/frame) is present outside the tomb; the depth and square shape of the hole where the access steps were made rightly led to the hypothesis of the original presence of a shaft, as Aston hypothesized. The tomb's location, below a sheer wall, as with most of the tombs in the Valley of the Kings, has resulted in an influx of alluvial debris that has gradually filled the entire entrance opening.



Fig.III.28 – The KV39 position and the “Peak” (photo web modified by author)

The results of Rose and Buckley’s excavations revealed that such repeated influx of water, mud, and debris affected the disposition and state of preservation of the artifacts found in the tomb, the latter of which had already been damaged in the course of various breaches by thieves both in antiquity and during the last century.



Fig.III.29. The KV39 access with debris (photo author)

### *Finds*

The KV39 excavations conducted by Rose (2000, Part. II) from 1991 to 1994 had the advantage of providing an overview of the situation observed inside, even if the punctual position of the finds collected in over 1,350 bags is less precise; for example, when the scholar cites “BC” (Burial Chamber) in his catalog, this does not indicate which of the

three rooms (C, G or L) the finds were found. In any case, the distribution of the material is easily provable. It can be hypothesized that in the access stairway and corridor (A-B), there were sandstone blocks bearing parts of the cartouches of Tuthmosis I, Tuthmosis II and/or Amenhotep II, the almost illegible fragments of docket, a limestone ostrakon with hieratic writing, a portion of a mummified bird, parts of metal tools, pieces of vases, cups and clay bowls, fragments of wooden coffins, some gold flakes, a seal ring with cartouche of Tuthmosis III, some majolica beads, a mummification cloth and a portion of a limestone offertory table. In burial chamber C, there were many skeletal remains of several individuals and a skull, containers (canopic?) containing mummified remains, various bandages, wooden fragments, and a lion's foot from a chair, while the unfinished staircase was empty.

In the southern corridor (E-F), there were various wooden fragments of coffins (painted gold and black), some gold flakes, parts of a mummified human body (a hand and some hair), mummified flesh, a false wooden beard (part of a coffin?); bandages and pads for mummification, ropes and string and fragments of alabaster (jars or canopic?) and pieces of mud. Inside burial chamber G, were mummified human remains such as a child's hand, an adult skull, a phallus, various bone remains, hair, and silver filaments.

The same typology of finds seems to be present in the third phase sector (H-L): various fragments of a rich funerary outfit, including parts of wooden coffins with black and yellow paint, part of the lid, and part of a mummy mask, gold flakes, an ivory inlay with the obsidian pupil (probably from coffin), mummy bandages, clay and alabaster pottery, wooden furniture and linen sacks containing seeds. The presence of pieces of plastered mud has led to the hypothesis of a wall closing off the access to the burial chamber L; in this room, there were numerous bones remains, including five skulls and various parts of skulls, some painted pottery, some gold flakes, multiple fragments of painted wooden coffins and mummy bandages. Rose's idea that it is a tomb reused in the Third Intermediate Period as a suitable place of shelter and restoration of mummies is perfectly understandable; that the bodies restored in these cliff tombs were destined for the two royal caches remains a hypothesis<sup>21</sup>, although according to the scholar some finds would be similar to the coffin lids found in KV55 and KV62 and parts of funerary equipment intended for kings and queens. Except for the seal of Tuthmosis III and the sandstone blocks bearing the mentioned cartouches, there are no other clues that can lead us to hypothesize that the 9-12 remains of bodies found in KV39 were sovereigns or members of the royal family<sup>22</sup>; indeed, the dating of most of the finds to the 18<sup>th</sup> Dynasty and in

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<sup>21</sup> - Rose's idea that KV39 may have been used to restore the royal mummies of the two royal caches can only be plausible for TT320, given the minimum distance with KV39 and the presence of paths connecting the two tombs; as far as KV35 is concerned, it is less sustainable due to both the distance and the presence in the Valley of the Kings of tombs used as warehouses and places for the restoration of royal mummies such as the well-known KV49.

<sup>22</sup> - The DNA test on bone and mummified remains to confirm this interpretation does not appear to have been carried out or published; Another datum that denies Rose's hypothesis on the burial of Amenhotep I in KV39 as his definitive tomb in the New Kingdom is that no find can be dated to the beginning of the 18<sup>th</sup> Dynasty. The possible temporary custody of the mummy and the coffin of the sovereign in KV39,

particular from the reign of Tuthmosis I to that of Amenhotep II confirms what has been hypothesized about the Tuthmosid project of the tomb.

### *The graffiti*


Any graffiti is engraved on the internal walls of KV39; even outside the tomb, there are no texts, probably related to the type of access and the poor quality of the rock above. It is to be hypothesized that the accumulation of debris in antiquity must have completely covered the entrance to the cliff tomb with the impossibility of engraving graffiti on the outside; from the late 20<sup>th</sup> to the early 21<sup>st</sup> Dynasty, six graffiti are attested outside KV39 along the workers' path from the Village of the Hill and the Valley of the Kings. Three of these are carved by the scribe Butehamun (nos. 853 ii, 854a, and 2664c), two are by his son Pakhynetjer (nos. 772 and 841a) and one by another son Nebhepe (no. 2542) both scribes of the necropolis and collaborators of his father.

#### Nos. 853 ii, 854a and 2664c

 sš *Bw-th3-Imn* "scribe Butehamun"

(Spiegelberg 1921,70; GMT IV/2, 112)

#### Nos. 772 and 841a

 sš *P3-hy-ntr* "scribe Pakhynetjer" (Spiegelberg 1921, 62, 68)

#### No.2542

 sš *nb-hpt* "scribe Nebhepe" (GMT IV/2, 64)

These graffiti show only the names and titles them, and it is not possible to establish whether these attestations are related to KV39; it is worth pointing out, however, that there are no other graves in the area and the tomb is the only one to which these inscriptions can refer. Moreover, the simple title of Pakhynetjer and Nebhepe's scribe, similar to that of his father, confirms that an initial tomb inspection activity must have been carried out by Butehamun himself early in his career at the end of the 20<sup>th</sup> Dynasty, while, some years later, during the Masaharta or Menkheperra pontificate in 21<sup>st</sup> Dynasty, such work was continued by his sons<sup>23</sup>. This could indicate that the period of Butehamun's activity in the valley coincides with the first phase of inspection of the tombs in the Valley of the Kings aimed at the creation of the first royal cache in KV35<sup>24</sup>; whereas, the presence of his sons

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like those of Sethi I, Ramses I and Ramses II, is instead plausible given the reuse of the tomb as a suitable place of restoration during the 21<sup>st</sup> Dynasty.

<sup>23</sup> - Butehamun held this title in the late Ramesside letters dated from 6<sup>th</sup> to the 10<sup>th</sup> year of the *wḥm-mswt* period when his father, the scribe of the necropolis Tuthmosis joined to the General Payankh to Nubia and his son took over this role in necropolis. At the death of the father, that coincides with the arise of the High Priest of Amun Paynudjem I (year 1 of Smendes I), Butehamun held the title of "scribe of the necropolis" and subsequently those of royal scribe. About Butehamun career and his sons: See Černý 1973; Rzepka 2014; Cavillier 2018.

<sup>24</sup> - The linen or coffin docket record the reburial operations for the royal mummies and the transfer of them to the KV35 cache under the authority of the High Priest of Amun Paynudjem I, from which those of



in the same area, would be related to the creation of the second royal cache in TT320, as the Valley of the Kings had exhausted its possibilities of secrecy<sup>25</sup>. This is what we know about the cliff tomb and, as already mentioned, from the slender clues available so far, the hypothesis of a funerary structure built for Queen Inhapi (or another member of the royal family at the beginning of the 18<sup>th</sup> Dynasty) then expanded to accommodate other leading figures of the Dynasty from the Tuthmosis III's reign, seem to be the most accredited<sup>26</sup>.

### 3. West Valley

The West Valley (in Arabic *Biban el-Gourud*) is like the Valley of the Pits, a minor and lateral artery of the larger Valley of the King's Wadi (GMT I/2, 25); it is the narrowest valley, about 2 km long and enclosed between massive and very high (300 m) vertical rocky walls, which are difficult to access and traverse (Fig.III.30).



Fig.III.30 – The West Valley and the Cliff Tomb position (photo web modified by author)

Amenhotep III in the year 12 of king Smendes I. One year after, in a linen docket of Ramses III's mummy is recorded the 'osirization' (*rdit wsir*) of the king done by the 'scribe of the place of truth' Butehamun ordered by the High Priest of Amun Paynudjem I. This activity marks the first phase of the recovery and the restoration of the mummies present in the Valley of the Kings with subsequent deposition of them in some tombs considered safe (KV15, KV57, KV17). Reeves 1990, 75-79; 92-94; 109-111; Wilkinson-Reeves 1996, 194-207.

<sup>25</sup> - We see it in the coffin dockets of Ramses I, Sethi I and Ramses II in which is recorded the transfers of these royal mummies from the Valley of the Kings to the *k3i* of Inhapi during the reign of Paynudjem I and the Masaharta pontificate (year 22-24 of Smendes I): Maspero 1889, 553 and 557. In this period, after the Butehamun dead, his sons, like Pakhynjeter and Nebhepe, were active in the necropolis as scribes.

<sup>26</sup> - The hypothesis that KV39 is to be identified with the *k3y* of Inhapi, as already mentioned, is based solely on three data: the elevated location, the type of structure intended for a queen or princess, and finally the relative proximity to TT320, which could justify the presence of Amenhotep I inside it. This is a tentative reconstruction, of course, and not confirmed by finds from the tomb belonging to Inhapi and Amenhotep, but at present the only plausible one, if we exclude the idea of a burial intended for Tuthmosis I whose only data is a limestone fragment bearing part of his cartouche.

At the bottom, the valley is divided into two branches called “Hay’s Tomb” and “Hay’s Chamber” by a massive cape. No cliff tombs are attested in the valley, but, for completeness of discussion, it should be noted that in the area facing WV23, within a very elevated natural amphitheater, there is a narrow fissure in the rock similar to those analyzed in Section I (Wadi Taget Zeit and Wadi Gabannat el-Gourud), in the Valley of the Kings (KV33 and KV34) and the Valley of the Pits. Unlike the latter, where graffiti are absent, here there are inscriptions afferent to necropolis scribes including the well-known Butehamun.

### 3.1. WV no.1

This is a narrow, triangular-shaped inlet in the face, 1.90 m wide, equipped with the well-known opening for rainwater drainage (Fig.III.31 no.1) and with a small circular-shaped bay inside with an approximate diameter of 9 m; the walkable surface of the bay consists of mixed mud, pebbles and sand greater than at least one meter deep. Below the cleft, there are two crudely excavated false doors/corniches (Fig.III.31 no.2), 2.92 m high and 1.74 m wide and well visible; beneath these two is an opening in the rock concealed by large limestone blocks (Fig.III.31 no.4) and still downward traces of another false door/corniche 1.65 m high and 1.55 m wide, only slightly hinted at in the excavation (Fig.III.31a no.3). The shape and type of the two “corniches” (or false doors) here are similar to those described above.

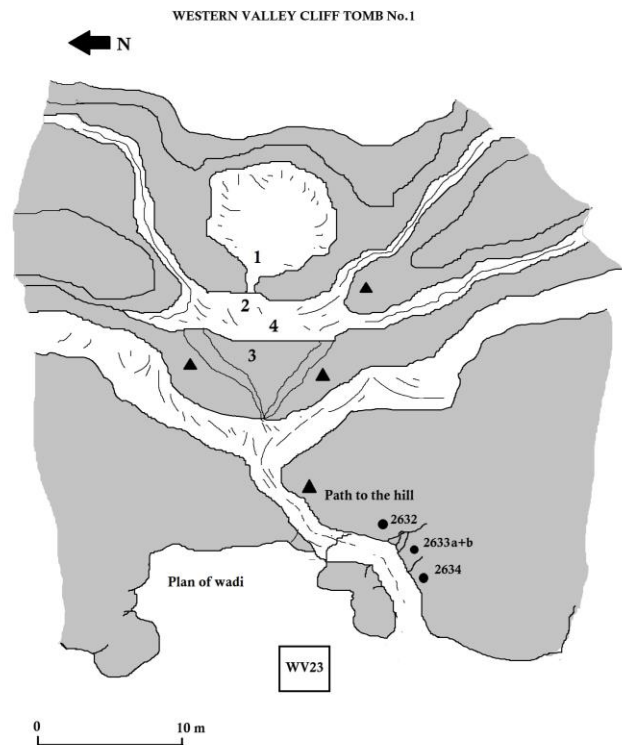
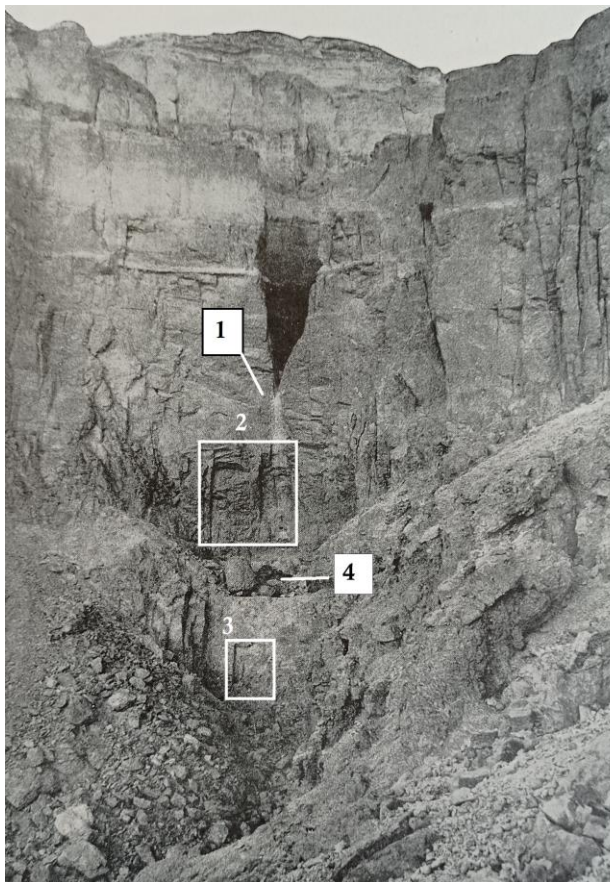


Fig.III.31a – The circular cavity position (GMT I/2 Pl.CLXI; drawing author)

The circular plan of the cavity, which is 8.90 m wide with vertical rocky walls 38.70 m high, has a pavement of pebbles, sand and mud; the geological investigation carried out inside the cavity with electrical tomography showed the presence of a shaft with a depth of 6-7 m entirely covered with debris and unconsolidated material.

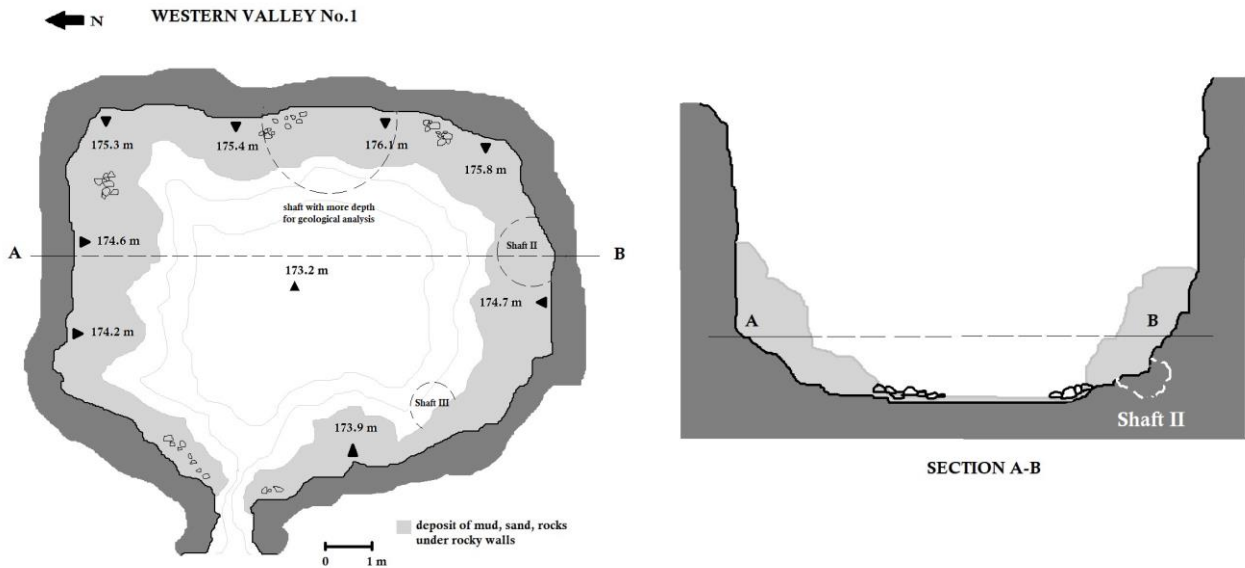


Fig.III.31b – The narrow circular cavity plan and section (drawing author)

The geological results indicate that the position of the tomb is quite similar to those of the WD A, the collective tomb of the three Asiatic wives of Tuthmosis III (see Section I)<sup>27</sup>.

### TOMOGRAFIA GEOELETRICA WV1 (2018)

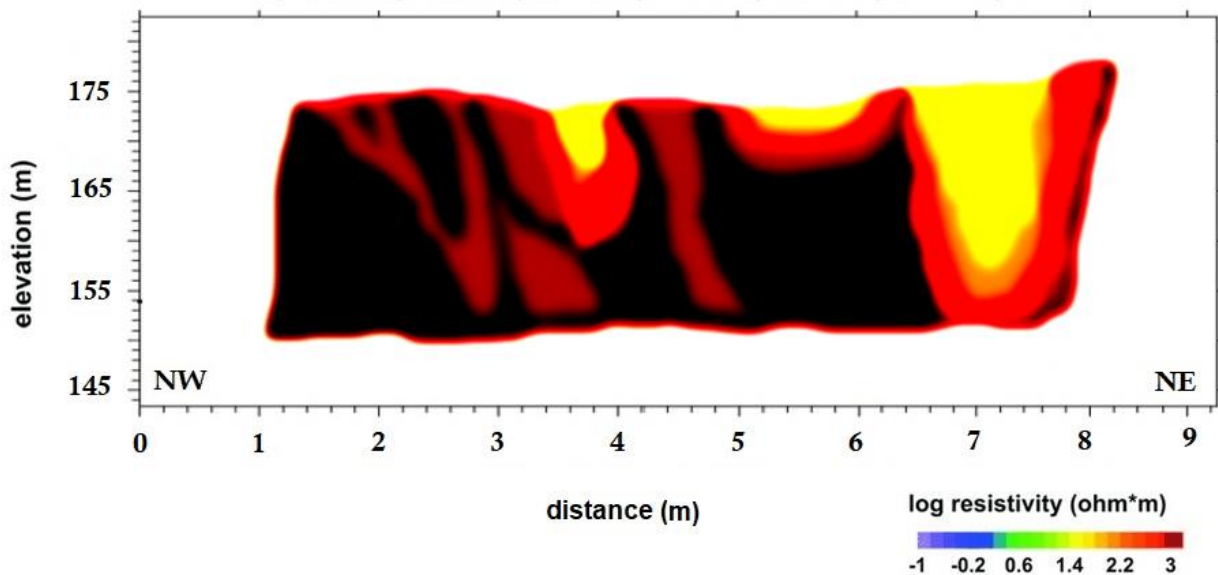


Fig.III.32 - The West Valley no.1 cavity tomographic morphology (drawing author)

<sup>27</sup> - As with VP1, geoelectrical surveys were carried out with multi-electrodes of different configurations (Wenner and Polo-Dipole and Axial Dipole-Dipole with Polares ver.2.0 machine) along a measurement line extending along the cavity depth; the surveys revealed a large anomaly at the bottom of the cavity.



The brief survey carried out by the writer in 2015 and 2018 allowed the measurement of the cleft and excavation of the underlying cliff faces and a check on the presence of any graffiti; some hieratic signs could be read as “scribe” and *i, nht* and a man (no.1), “his son” (no.2), and a “tomb”? (no.3) are present on the left side of the right cornice;

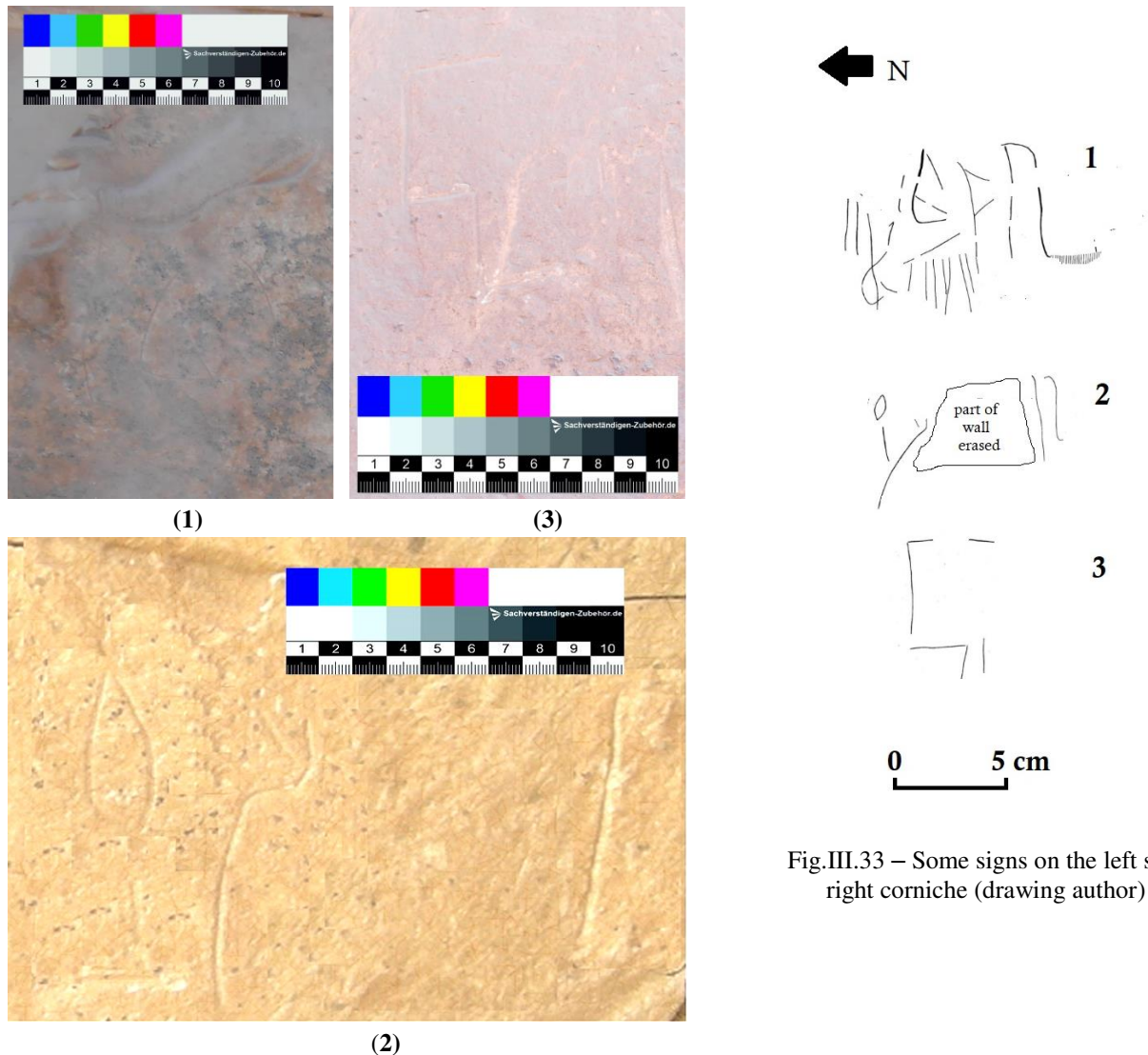


Fig.III.33 – Some signs on the left side right cornice (drawing author)

These engravings could tie in with the three graffiti on the rock walls in front of WV23 that testify to the activity of the well-known scribe Butehamun, some of his sons, and his father; indeed, these are activities related to the evacuation of the tomb of Ay during the reign of Smendes I, probably coeval with that of Amenhotep III’s WV22.

Now, if we consider that sign no.3 often indicates the excavation of a tomb in the New Kingdom and that, in the early 21<sup>st</sup> Dynasty, no tombs appear to have been excavated *ex-novo*, it is evident that this hypothetical “activity” could refer to the excavation of a cliff tomb of the early 18<sup>th</sup> Dynasty; this dating is motivated by the fact that tombs of the 19<sup>th</sup> and 20<sup>th</sup> Dynasties in general and, also in the West Valley itself (WV22, WV23, WV24 and WV25), are placed at the bottom of the wadi.



### The graffiti

other two graffiti could refer to an inspection by necropolis scribes in the 20<sup>th</sup> or early 21<sup>st</sup> Dynasty, as already seen for the other cliff tombs<sup>28</sup>. As cited above, near WV23 there are several graffiti: no.2632 bears the word  $\text{𓂏𓂏}hh$  “forever” without other signs, no.2634 bears the title and name of royal scribe Tuthmosis and no.2633a+b about Butehamun. This last graffito is more interesting because attests to some activities (inspection?) on the site by the scribe Butehamun accompanied by his sons, the scribes Maniunefer and Amunakhte. This text is also important because Butehamun used the vivification formula  $s^c n\dot{h} rn.f$  “brings to life his name” to renew the name and the importance of his father for his activity on this site; in other graffiti, for example, the eldest son of Butehamun, Ankhefenamun, use that formula to underline the figure of his deceased father in other sites of the necropolis<sup>29</sup>.

### No.2633a+b

(a.1)

(a.1)  $s\dot{s}$ -nsw  $D\dot{h}wty$ -ms n pr-<hr-pr>

(a.2)

(a.2)  $z3.f$   $s^c n\dot{h}$  rn.f  $s\dot{s}$  Bw-

(a.3)

(a.3)  $th3$ -Imn

(b.1)

(b.1)  $z3.f$   $w^c b$  n Imn

(b.2)

(b.2)  $s\dot{s}$  Mniw-nfr

(b.3)

(b.3)  $z3.f$   $s\dot{s}$  Imn-n $\dot{h}t$

“(a.1) the scribe Tuthmosis of necropolis (a.2) his son that give life to his name the scribe Bu-(a.3)-tehamun (b.1) his son the priest of Amun (b.2) the scribe Maniunefer (b.3) his son the scribe Amunakhte”

### Conclusions

To sum up, this is what we know about the cliff tombs in the Valley of the Kings and its smaller valleys in which other similar but undiscovered funerary structures may be concealed; from an initial overview; it is clear that the area above the southern sector of the Valley of the Kings and the western sector of Deir el-Bahari that includes KV39 was historically the earliest to make the first cliff tomb destined for a 17<sup>th</sup> Dynasty queen if Aston’s (2015) hypothesis is accepted.

<sup>28</sup> - These considerations must be confirmed in subsequent, much more thorough investigations *in situ*, but it seemed useful to highlight them here for the completeness of the discussion.

<sup>29</sup> - See graffiti nos.136, 999, 1000, 1023, 1285, 1352, 2425, 2486: Cavillier 2018, 65-95; the formula is attested from the early Second Intermediate Period in funerary stelae in sanctuaries or funerary chapels to admit the owner to participate at the rituals and prayers: Nelson-Hurst 2010.

That such a realization may be connected with the Middle Kingdom funerary tradition related to the funerary temples of Montuhotep II and Amenemhat I at Deir el-Bahari is entirely plausible, and this would explain the realization of the *Akhet Djoseru* of Tuthmosis III precisely in that context and the double extension of KV39 for the burial of queens or his family members. This first tomb, perhaps the *k3y* of Inhapi, was probably followed by the two cliff tombs (*Bab*), two in the Valley of Pits (KV41 and VP no.1) and then KV33 intended for a queen or an important member of the royal family; as said before the elements (“corniches” or false doors and openings for rainwater drainage) seen in Valley of the Pits and Western Valley are only included for completeness to contribute to our discussion. Finally, the overall picture is worthily concluded by KV34 which undergoes various phases of expansion and decorative enrichment and which represents the most evolved and final phase of this type of tomb. Starting from the reign of Amenhotep II, the cliff tombs will no longer be built in favor of funerary structures positioned on the bottom of the wadi, less challenging to reach and easier to carry out the works.

## FINAL CONSIDERATIONS

### 1. *The cliff tombs in the 18<sup>th</sup> Dynasty: a new type of funerary structure*

In the three sections of this study, all burial structures that can be defined as cliff tombs, i.e., “elevated” burials have specific characteristics, regardless of their location, the type, and the morphology of the rock. Certainly, there may be slight differences between the various structures, conditioned by the availability of space and the quality of the rock to be excavated; then take over for reasons related to functionality and the development of new ways of conceiving the tomb. This would explain, for example, the change of direction carried out in the second phase of KV39 or the failure to complete WA C, WC A, KV33, and KV41 due not so much to the difficulty of carrying out interventions on structures in such high positions, but to a different development of the burials at the end of the reign of Tuthmosis III which tend to be located at the bottom of the Valley of the Kings.

All the cliff tombs analyzed seem to have been designed in size and plan, according to the various phases of this phenomenon; those with a single burial chamber belong to an original phase, while in the subsequent ones, there is a greater complexity of the design system with a room attached to the place of deposition of the sarcophagus, antechamber, and corridor (Fig.C.1).

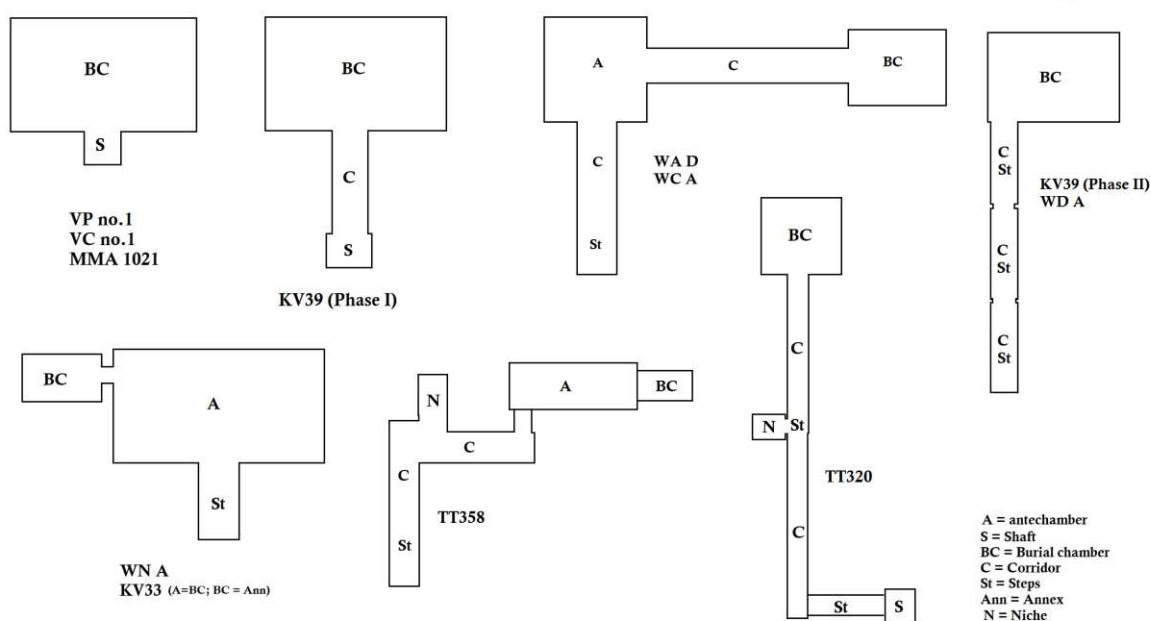


Fig.C.1 – A synthetic layout scheme of cliff tombs (also with TT358) (drawing author)

Even in the external structure, we are dealing with a development that reflects a greater complexity, in terms of funerary conception, between the different phases; the first cliff tombs make use of an access shaft inside a small rocky bay or beneath a vertical wall, while those built later are positioned inside deep cavities and inlets. There is also a “cascade” wall with a drainage hole and a “corniche” (or false door) dug at the base of the

rock; the following diagram shows the architectural elements present in the cliff tombs analyzed (Tab.I) concerning their complexity in terms of planning.

Tomb	E1	E2	E3	I1	I2	I3	I4	I5	I6	I7
WAD	x	x			x	x	2	x	x	1
WAC	x	x			x	x	1		x	1
WCA	x				x	x		x	x	
WDA	x	x	x		x	x	2		x	
WNA	x				x	x	1	x	x	
VC 1				x					x	
MMA1021				x					x	
KV33	x	x	x		x	x			x	1
KV34	x	x	x	x	x	x	3	x	x	4
KV39 Ph.1				x		x	1+1?		x	
KV39 Ph.2					x	x	3 (x1)		x	
KV41				x						
VP1				x						
VP 2	x	x	x	x						
WV 1	x	x	x	x						
TT320				x	x	x	2	x	x	
TT358				x	x	x	2	x	x	

E	EXTERNAL
1	“FALSE DOOR”
2	“CHANNEL”
3	“CREVICE”

I	INTERNAL
1	ACCESS SHAFT
2	STEPS ACCESS
3	TURN RIGHT/LEFT
4	N. CORRIDOR/PASSAGE
5	ANTECHAMBER
6	BURIAL CHAMBER
7	ANNEX CHAMBER

Tab.I – The cliff tombs feature scheme.

As can be seen, there is a strong correlation between the complexity of the internal layout and the external cultic elements (niche, cornice/false doorway); all the simpler and older cliff tombs have an entrance and burial chamber, while the later ones have a vestibule, corridors and annexes to the burial chamber; TT320 and TT358 stand out in this context, both of which have these internal elements and, as already noted, were the result of *ad hoc* planning for two prominent figures from the early 18<sup>th</sup> Dynasty.

We are dealing with a phenomenon that originated at the beginning of the 18<sup>th</sup> Dynasty and which, as already mentioned, can find its inspiring model in the burial models of the Middle Kingdom in Deir el-Bahari. It should, however, be considered that in the same period, the beginning of the 18<sup>th</sup> Dynasty, the tombs intended for queens, princes, princesses, and nobles in the Valley of the Queens seem to follow the same model (an access well and a quadrangular-shaped burial chamber) but made at the bottom of the wadi. In other sectors of the Theban necropolis (Deir el-Bahari, Sheikh Abd el-Gurna, Dra Abu El-Naga, Asassif, El-Tarif, Qurnet Murray), there are tombs of the same type built at ground level too, and all conceived in the tradition of the 17<sup>th</sup> Dynasty tradition. Therefore, the creation of the first cliff tombs is due to a very specific choice on the part of those responsible for the necropolis and justifies such a laborious and expensive activity in terms of time and resources. From this perspective, the factor of elevation, certainly essential for the safety of the deposition of the sarcophagi and the funerary objects, does not appear to be decisive.

In contrast, if the reuse of these tombs at the end of the New Kingdom is to be explained, the factor of height by itself may be an essential element. However, as is well known, these



are two different periods in terms of needs and operations; reflecting on these two aspects can shed more light on understanding the two phenomena. The former is characterized by a selection of locations about the cult traditionally present and the importance of the tomb owner. At the same time, in the latter, the security factor seems essential for the mummy's safekeeping and their funerary equipment; it is no coincidence that once the possibilities of the Valley of the Kings to create suitable safe caches were exhausted (after the KV35, the KV15, the KV57, and the KV17), cliff tombs such as the *k3i* of Inhapi, the TT358 and the TT320 were reused as collective tombs.

If we want to trace a phenomenon in the development phases of the Theban necropolis that justifies the appearance of cliff tombs, we need to take into account the burials intended for queens, princesses, princes, and high-ranking nobles between the end of the 17<sup>th</sup> and the beginning of the 18<sup>th</sup> Dynasty, built in the rocky circle of Deir el-Bahari and on the hill of Dra Abu el-Naga, at an average altitude above the plain below.

It is therefore a particular choice linked to the important place of worship of the glorious founder of the Theban kingship Montuhotep II. This historical figure, considered the "founding" of the new dynasty, seems to justify the presence of royal tombs and prominent figures of the court in the area. Therefore, the cult of the glorious ancestor and his tomb are attractive elements for the new rulers, and the Deir el-Bahari circle provides the ideal setting. However, it must be considered that such intent cannot be realized to the detriment of those Middle Kingdom burials, coeval or later, at Montuhotep II and Amenemhat I; this justifies the consistent "cohabitation" of the earlier tombs with the new ones (northern slope of Deir el-Bahari), and where it is not possible to do so other necropolises are developed such as Dra Abu el-Naga and sand to bury in isolated scattered tombs in neighboring valleys like the Valley of the Queens.

If Deir el-Bahari is, therefore, the ideal scenario in which to build tombs for members of the royal family, the elevation is undoubtedly an element to be connected to the cultic and cultural tradition of the Middle Kingdom; it can therefore be considered that this is the conceptual incipit of the cliff tombs: the elevated position as a distinctive dynastic sign and it is no coincidence that Queen Inhapi, wife of Seqenenra Taa and daughter of Senaquetenra Ahmose, due to her role at court may have benefited of a prominent burial and a *post mortem* cult as evidenced by the scenes of the funerary stele of the noble Amenemhat in TT53 in Sheikh Abd el-Gurna (PM I<sup>1</sup>, 102-103).

Therefore, if Aston's (2015) hypothesis is believed, the first construction phase of KV39, built for Queen Inhapi, should be considered the first "elevated" tomb of the necropolis. The queen's *k3i* would therefore constitute an architectural *unicum* among the tombs of the 17<sup>th</sup> Dynasty and this characteristic has distinguished its name in subsequent eras; KV39 is not only the tallest of the known cliff tombs but, also from a planimetric point of view, it must have constituted a model for the tombs of a subsequent period; the early 18<sup>th</sup> Dynasty tombs in the Valley of the Queens and later in the Valley of the Kings bear an access shaft and a single burial chamber.

Certainly, TT320 and TT358 are later, more complex layout models. In that case, it becomes clear that KV39 belongs to a cultural and cultic context that is based more on the

uniqueness of the chosen site (about the temple of Montuhotep II to the east and the Dra Abu el-Naga necropolis to the north) than on its architecture; it is a small, undecorated tomb equipped with a corridor and an access shaft, but when placed about the First Intermediate Period and Middle Kingdom necropolis of Deir el-Bahari it takes on considerable importance, especially in the attempt to tie this structure to this glorious tradition. It is no coincidence that Hatshepsut and Tuthmosis III himself would construct the *Djeser-Djeseru* and the *Akhet-Djeseru* to reaffirm such ancient legitimacy; if therefore viewed from this perspective, cliff tombs KV39, MMA 1021, VC1, and WN A are to be considered funerary structures intended for important members of the royal family because they are placed around the valleys where these temples were realized.

If, therefore, everything revolves around the Middle Kingdom tradition, it can be argued that the earliest cliff tomb patterns known to us at Deir el-Bahari are based on a relatively simple scheme: access shaft, corridor, and rectangular or quadrangular burial chamber; this is what is observed in KV39 (Phase I) and VC no.1. The “elevation” factor from the lowest or middle level of the Deir el-Bahari plain (Montuhotep II temple area) also seems to tie in well with the Middle Kingdom tradition. It may indicate, as mentioned, a hierarchical pre-eminence in terms of a royal family member.

In fact, at the beginning of the 18<sup>th</sup> Dynasty, the two tombs probably destined for the queens Ahmose-Meryetamun (TT358) and Ahmose-Nefertari (TT320), were made in the Deir el-Bahari area and developed a more complex planimetric model consisting of multiple rooms (corridors and compartments) leading to the burial chamber; if you carefully observe these structures, as mentioned in Section II, you realize that they are “hybrid” typologies such as to combine some elements visible in the first tombs realized for Ahmose-Nefertari in 17<sup>th</sup> Dynasty necropolis of Dra Abu El-Naga (AN B) such as the “ritual shaft” in the funerary structure and the already known elements of the Middle Kingdom tradition like one or more votive niches, observed in the most ancient tombs of the Valley of the Queens.

That the Middle Kingdom tradition is pre-eminent in the Deir el-Bahari area is also shown by the two other burial structures (MMA 1021 and VC no.1) in the valleys adjacent to the Valley of the Royal Cache where is placed the TT320; the former probably intended for Prince Amenemhat Q and the latter for another member of the royal family. These are always undecorated tombs of small size with an access shaft and quadrangular burial chamber; thus, it seems that the plan of the KV39 first phase constituted an early plan model for the burial of sovereigns and princes in the area.

At this point, it can be said in all likelihood that if the first phase KV39 is the first burial intended for a queen at the end of the 17<sup>th</sup> Dynasty at Deir el-Bahari, TT320 in its early phase attributed to Ahmose-Nefertari represents a more advanced model of it because it has two long corridors and the well-known niche angle. The strong recall connection with the necropolis of the 17<sup>th</sup> Dynasty rulers of Dra Abu-el-Naga and El-Tarif must have implied a possible proliferation of burials (at least two) for the queen; the presence of the ritual shaft in tomb AN B seems to highlight this development, although it should be considered that TT320 was the final burial of the queen.

It is understandable how the TT358 intended for Ahmose-Meryetamun contains all the architectural elements relating to the TT320 and the AN B and constitutes an innovative model at the beginning of the 18<sup>th</sup> Dynasty; but, as already mentioned, this tomb is not a cliff tomb, although its position at a medium height of the circle of Deir el-Bahari has allowed it to be used for the necessary comparisons.

Therefore, we are dealing with a first burial on the hill overlooking both the temple of Montuhotep II and the incomplete one of Amenemhat I (KV39); further down on the eastern slope, the TT320 with the MMA 1021 and the VC no.1 connected to the latter; on the northern side is the TT358 built at a later time and associated with the necropolis of Dra Abu el-Naga. This the situation of the cliff tombs of the area relating to the beginning of the 18<sup>th</sup> Dynasty coeval with the reign of Amenhotep I, while the development of the necropolis of the Valley of the Queens and not connected with the concept of the “elevated tombs” can be attributed to the beginning of the reign of Tuthmosis I. As already highlighted, almost all of the tombs follow a unitary planimetric model, which is well connected to the first phase of KV39 and which would also explain the presence in the necropolis of the QV47 tomb of Princess Ahmose, daughter of Seqenenra Ta II; during the reign of Tuthmosis I, we witnessed an actual development of the area as a necropolis for princes, princesses and nobles, as evidenced by the presence of those of Prince Imhotep (QV46) and Prince Ahmose (QV88).

The only tomb on the eastern side of Deir el-Bahari is WN A, which corresponds in terms of the plan with KV33, both for the presence of access steps and for the antechamber and the burial chamber positioned on one side; precisely the use of the access steps instead of the well constitute an innovation that can be attributed to the beginning of the reign of Tuthmosis II or Hatshepsut. It is no coincidence that the presence of steps in the tomb of the queen in Wadi Sikkat constitutes a *terminus ante quem* for this innovative element; it is evident that the archaeological data relating to WN A only indicate the reuse of the structure as a cache in various periods starting from the end of the New Kingdom.

The plan of TT358 appears to be relevant, which therefore seems to have served as a model for Hatshepsut in the articulation of the interior rooms of her cliff tomb in the southern valley; the broken axis orientation of the path and the typology of the rectangular burial chamber find interesting parallels with the burial of Queen Ahmose-Meryetamun, positioned, among other things, close to the area where her mortuary temple will be built.

In the same valley, the Baraize tomb, on the other hand, appears to be later, given the use of access steps, an antechamber, and a side burial chamber that finds interesting parallels with WN A and KV33; it is not known for whom the cliff tomb was intended, although its location might hint at a possible relationship with that of Queen Hatshepsut. Similar, at least in its initial layout, is the cliff tomb in the Wadi Gabannat el-Gourud (WC A), attributed by various scholars to Neferure, the queen’s only daughter and probably at first destined to succeed her as great royal wife; Hatshepsut’s accession to the throne must have changed the necropolis’s priorities resulting in the temporary abandonment of the site.

Recent investigations *in situ* had revealed the presence of a tomb at ground level, probably intended for members of the royal family beginning in the reign of Amenhotep II, when

cliff tombs were no longer considered a model for high-profile funerary structures for queens and princes.

In the northern bay of Wadi Gabannat el-Gourud is the cliff tomb destined for the three Asiatic wives of Tuthmosis III and whose floor plan reveals an axial development of the burial with access steps, long narrow corridors, and a quadrangular burial chamber; this model is similar, if not coeval, to that of the second phase of KV39. The presence of a further burial in this complex cliff tomb, datable to the reign of Amenhotep II, highlights the close relationship that seems to exist between the two construction phases; this can be deduced from the fact that the cliff tombs built during the reign of Tuthmosis III are flanked by those built during the reign of his son and successor, as seen in Wadi Gabannat el-Gourud between WC A and the ground-level tomb discovered in the neighboring bay or the Valley of the Kings between cliff tombs KV33 and KV34 and KV32.

If KV33 is one of the least elaborate cliff tombs in terms of the plan and probably datable to the first construction phase inside the rock cavity, KV34, in its more mature construction phase, represents the final and apical development of this type of burial. As already mentioned, for royal and princely tombs starting from the end of the reign of Tuthmosis III and the beginning of that of Amenhotep II, see, for example, KV38 and KV42, the choice was made for structures dug directly into the bottom of the wadis.

Still within the framework of the Valley of the Kings, different is the case for KV20; the choice of site, the orientation of access, and the burial chamber do not seem to belong to the traditional "cliff tomb concept" but probably mark a different way of conceiving the royal burial in close relation to the planning and construction of the *Djeser Djeseru*. Indeed, the presence of the various corridors in succession, almost forming a ritual spiral, seems to be an advanced plan solution. At the same time, the rectangular-shaped burial chamber with pillars and adjoining compartments, as said before, well reflects the *modus operandi* of WA D and WA C and takes its cue from TT358 and AN B.

Other "alleged" rock tombs in Wadi en-Nisr, in the Valley of the Wells, and the Western Valley, described summarily only for completeness of treatment, can contribute to strengthening the vision on which this research is based that cliff tombs are specific funerary structures with precise planimetric characteristics, created from the end of the reign of Amenhotep I to the end of the reign of Tuthmosis III. The development of the "Bab" tombs, those structures with a complex plan with external elements (frames and drainage holes) designed to symbolize "the cascade" concerning the Hathoric cult, seems to be attributed to the reign of Tuthmosis II. Some rock tombs, built in subsequent periods on the hills around the Hatshepsut temple of Deir el-Bahari (TT253), the Valley of the Queens (QV95), and Qurna (TT28, TT57, TT71, TT84, TT95, K453, K555), do not bear typical elements of cliff tombs and are based on other later cultural models.

## 2. *The cliff tombs typology*

At this point, what has been said in these conclusions, to outline a reconstructive picture of the development phases of the cliff tombs analyzed in this work, allows us to carry out a general classification of these structures; this is not only important for defining the



characteristics and peculiarities of the tombs but allows their function to be fixed in space and time.

A first distinction must be made between the *Babs* and the shafts tombs; the former indicates access to a vertical “door” on the rock wall, while the latter uses a well or excavation with access steps. These are two different architectural concepts; even if inside the funerary structure, the plans can converge in the common aim of ensuring the use of various rooms in succession; the concept that underlies the *Bab-tombs* is, above all, the verticality of the rock face to be excavated to obtain access and rooms; this is the case of WN A, WC A and WA D, all responding to the indicated layout and planned both by position and by rock quality even if the internal plan may differ. This typology presents a significant variant when the rocky wall has a deep cavity inside, on whose treading surface it is possible to dig the access with steps; this is the case of WDA, KV33, KV34, VP no.2 and WV no.1, all built according to this access scheme. Connected to all the *Bab-tombs* is the concept of the “waterfall” with rainwater outflow opening designed to avoid infiltrations inside the tomb, be it a well or "open" access; to this is added the “false door or frame” which recalls the traditional funerary ritual of rock tombs and mastabas.

The cliff tombs with shafts are the oldest ones and instead have the peculiarity of making use of a higher vertical rocky face “support”, which guarantees their visibility from above and anonymity from below; this is the case of KV39, TT320-TT358, KV41, VC no.1 and MMA 1021. To these, we can associate some tombs, such as the AN B, and the two in the Valley of the Rope, positioned at a medium height, not proper cliff tombs, but elevated structures than those excavated in the plain.

All the cliff tombs with shafts lack the *Bab* tombs’ external elements (opening and cornice) and could be considered the first basic models of this funerary structure. Suppose one wants to identify a period and a structure among those known that initiated the transition from well-type cliff tombs to those of the *Bab* type, also in terms of layout for experimentation. In that case, one can think of the reign of Tuthmosis II and the WA D of Hatshepsut (Figg.C.2-3).

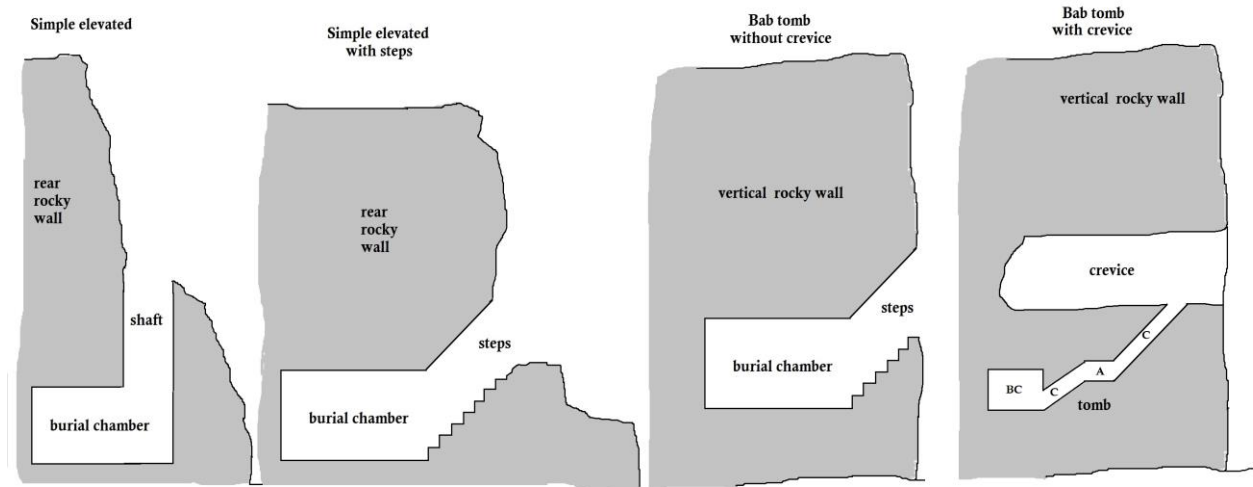


Fig.C.2 – Cliff tombs typology (drawing author)

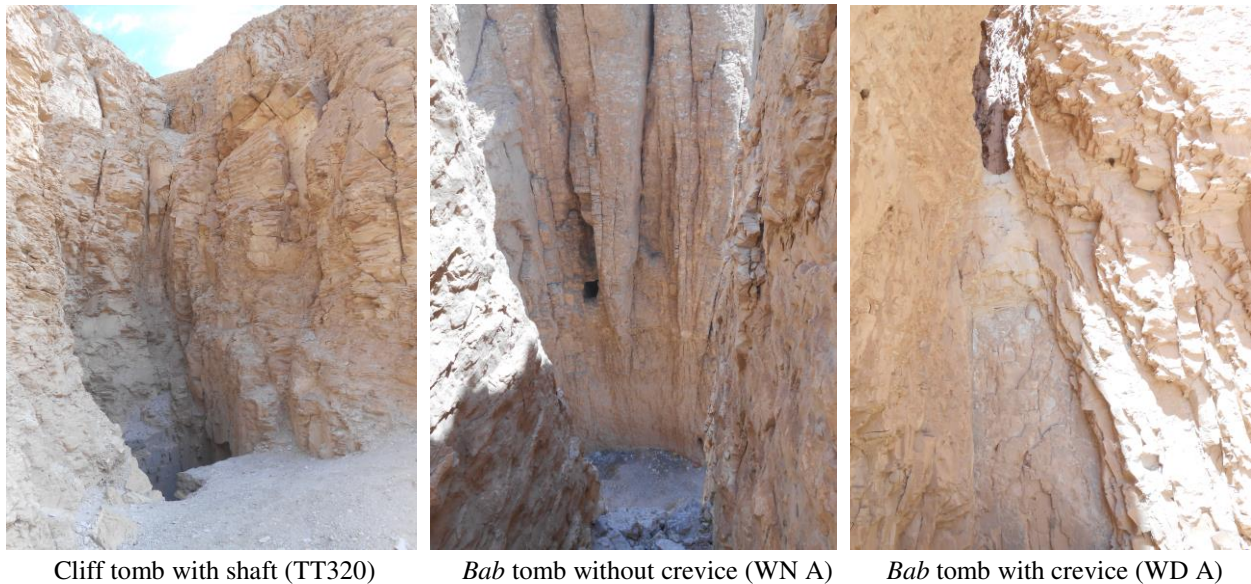


Fig.C.3 – Cliff tombs typology examples (photo author)

It is probably the first *Bab tomb* “model” of the Theban necropolis based on the ideal “link” between the tradition linked to the architecture of the TT358 and TT320 and the innovation consisting in the choice of place, position, type of hill (vertical wall continues) and the type of access with steps, the intersection of the internal corridors and rectangular burial chamber of the elongated type. An innovative part is the waterfall concept applied to the rocky wall using the false door/frame; the subsequent funerary structures will follow this layout, albeit with significant variations.

The planning of the WA D is, therefore, as said, the result of a skillful reworking of the dictates of the funerary architecture of Deir el-Bahari of the late 17<sup>th</sup> and early 18<sup>th</sup> Dynasty, which has its roots in the Theban Middle Kingdom; it is on this cultural background and cultural intersection that we need to reflect and try to trace other elements to explain the dynamics of events currently only suggested by the structures examined; Montuhotep II temple and the sacred circle of Deir el-Bahari, the 17<sup>th</sup> Dynasty tomb of Ihnapi (KV39), the TT320 and TT358 as queen tombs remain the prodromes of this phenomenon.

### 3. The reuse after the end of the New Kingdom

At the end of the New Kingdom, the emergency related to the looting perpetrated on the royal burials in the necropolis and the difficulty of creating *ex-novo* funerary structures (Aston 2009; Cooney 2011; 2017) brought out the importance of the cliff tombs of the 18<sup>th</sup> Dynasty; this is a “compulsory” choice connected with the security of the royal mummies and their grave goods, and the elevated position becomes the essential element to which the creation of the caches is subject.

All cliff tombs were initially designed for a single burial. However, their reuse as caches inevitably compromised their original state of deposition and the opportunity to ascertain

the owner's identity. This state of affairs is linked to the fact that these burials, except for the last one built, KV34, are all unwritten and undecorated; thus, the "vertical" and "horizontal" removal of the mummies and related grave goods from the "low" tombs in the necropolis areas (Valley of the Kings, Valley of the Queens and Dra Abu el-Naga) to the cliff tombs and between the original cliff tombs and other "reused" ones does not allow establishing the identity of the owners. Added to this are the discoveries and looting carried out since the beginning of the 19<sup>th</sup> Century by improvised adventurers and archaeologists who have inevitably compromised the state of deposition of the finds inside most of the Theban tombs present in the lower part of the Wadis and easily accessible. Fortunately, the archaeological investigations in the cliff tombs have been carried out since the end of the 19<sup>th</sup> Century, a period in which the documentation is more reliable and has made it possible to establish the contexts of the position of the finds with greater precision. The investigations by Loret for KV33, KV34, KV39 and KV41 and those by Carter for WA D, WC A, by Baraize for WA C, by Winlock for WD A, VC no.1, MMA 1021, TT358, by Bruyère and Bataille for WN A and by Brugsch-Maspero for TT320, provide a more reliable record of these funerary structures. It should be noted that there are various inaccuracies and errors made during the investigations and in the reports provided; think, for example, as said, of the discovery and emptying of the TT320 by Brugsch, whose report still today does not allow us to establish the exact location with a certainty of the royal mummies and their order of entry into the cache. Indeed, however, compared to previous eras, it can be asserted that the research reports of the cliff tombs can be considered reliable, as demonstrated by the further investigations carried out in these sites by other contemporary scholars such as Gabolde, Lilyquist, Graefe, Belova, Polz, Bickel, Rose, Buckley, Cook, to name a few.

These new analyses and studies have opened up new perspectives in identifying the owners of the cliff tombs; if, in the introduction, it seemed practical to mention only the contexts of reference, the sectors of the necropolis, its cultic significance, the tombs known in the reference period and the very concept underlying burial, in the discussion an attempt was made to welcome and filter the different reconstructive hypotheses. All the theories formulated so far are plausible and worthy of consideration; however, it was preferred to concentrate the analysis of the cliff tombs on their layout and morphological peculiarities; precisely, the evacuation of the necropolis and the frequent movement of the royal burials in some of the cliff tombs makes it challenging to establish the identity of the owners. The experience gained during the *in situ* research allows us to express a few considerations on the possible identity of the owners of the cliff tombs; in the course of the discussion, an attempt was made to address the possible explanations of the morphology and context of the analyzed tombs, whose chronology can help identify the original owner, without prejudice to the subsequent activities (structural modification, transfer of the mummy and the grave goods and reuse) about which we often know little.

On the first of the tombs, KV39, in the first phase, the hypothetical attribution to Queen Inhapi seems plausible given the references in the docketts of the sarcophagi of Sethi I, Ramses I, and Ramses II and the planimetric similarity with QV47 intended for Princess

Ahmose, daughter by Seqenenra Taa. The quote “*Kay of Inhapi where is Amenhotep*” in the docket well explains the elevated position of the tomb used as a cache in the early 21<sup>st</sup> Dynasty, following the temporary transfer of the Amenhotep and Ramesside mummies to the queen’s tomb. The proximity to the KV39 places the TT320 as the final destination of the mummies mentioned above and the last finds deposited therein; the attribution of the tomb to Queen Ahmose-Nefertari is plausible both based on the layout and based on the discovery of the queen's sarcophagus in the niche, which may indicate its displacement when the tomb was reused for Neskhons and Paynudjem II.

What is claimed would well connect with the identification of the nearby cliff tomb MMA 1021 for Prince Amenemhat Q, son of Amenhotep I; VC no.1 may also have been made for a member of the royal family related to Ahmose-Nefertari such as Prince Ahmose-Ankh (Dodson and Hilton 2004, 129) whose burial is not still known.

We have some more data on TT358, as the type of layout and the discovery of the tomb in 1929 with the discovery of the sarcophagus of Ahmose-Meryetamun in the burial chamber seem to confirm its attribution to the queen consort of Amenhotep I; and to say that the absence of specific titles on the two sarcophagi has raised doubts about the identity of the queen, given the existence of the homonymous Meryetamun wife of Amenhotep II. However, the 1980s investigations into the north colonnade of Hatshepsut’s temple and the contribution of Wysocki (1984, 342) clarified that the burial was first excavated in the 11<sup>th</sup> Dynasty and then, with possible modifications, used for the consort of Amenhotep I in the early 18<sup>th</sup> Dynasty (Dodson and Hilton 2004, 129).

The reference to Amenhotep I allows us to consider the cliff tomb WN A, a Bab-tomb without a crevice, as a potential funerary structure attributed to the sovereign; the graffiti of Butehamun and the layout of the tomb that we can establish between the reign of Tuthmosis I and that of Hatshepsut, favorably suggest that a cliff tomb was built for Amenhotep I near the village of Deir el-Medina. It is unknown whether the tomb’s construction was accompanied by that of the temple, defined by him as “of the garden”. This last is not the only place of worship dedicated to the sovereign and his mother; in fact, we know that another similar site was built near the Hatshepsut temple; this state of affairs has led to various interpretations of the passage from the Pap. Abbott on the location of the king’s tomb. From the necropolis of Dra Abu el-Naga, the site of the first burial of the ruler, his mother, and other members of the 17<sup>th</sup> Dynasty during the reign of Tuthmosis I, both of these figures were probably reburied in other “elevated” burial structures (TT320 and WN A) in the Deir el Bahari area; also for other family members such as Ahmose-Meryetamun, Amenemhat Q, Ahmosi-Ankh(?) the cliff tombs TT358, MMA 1021 and VC no.1 were realized. As already highlighted in the discussion, this would explain the reference in Pap. Abbott to the characteristics of the tomb:

*3ht-ntr ḥḥ [...] nty ir mh 120 (n) mḏt m p3y.s (m)ḥ(t) p3 ʿ k3 hr.tw r.f mḥt pr [...] n p3 k3mw*

*“The horizon of eternity (tomb) [...] which is 120 cubits deep from its stela/signal of ‘the high path’, whose mouth is to the north of the temple [...] of the garden”.*



A consideration therefore arises: Why did the scribes active during the reign of Ramses IX indicate these topographical peculiarities of the tomb if they knew that it was the tomb of the sovereign? This description is justified if several tombs were made for Amenhotep I in the necropolis, the one inspected and mentioned in Pap. Abbott should therefore be the last place of deposition of the mummy and the king's funerary equipment.

That would justify the presence of another burial of the sovereign at Dra Abu el-Naga (K39.11 or AN A-B), which, as mentioned, must have been abandoned starting from the reign of Tuthmosis I for the area of Deir el-Bahari and subsequently of the foundation of the village of Deir el-Medina. As already mentioned, the period from the reign of Tuthmosis I to the beginning of the reign of Hatshepsut must have triggered new experiences in terms of funerary concepts that reached maturity in the creation of the WA D in Wadi Sikkat Taget Zeit. The attribution of the tomb to the queen is now clear, but as regards the WA C in the same valley, it is impossible to say; that Baraize's tomb seems to belong to the previous layout, the one closest to the tombs of Deir el-Bahari.

In this realization, we can see a first tomb intended for the queen, then abandoned for the much more complex WA D or to be assigned to her daughter Neferure; on the latter figure, it is not known whether she is the owner of WC A, although the layout seems to suggest this as does the presence of her cartouche. There has been some debate about this inscription, although this very presence at the entrance to the valley could indicate that this place was dedicated to the future queen; the recent discovery of a tomb in the plain just below the WC A, undoubtedly later, makes us understand the possible reuse of the area starting from the end of the reign of Tuthmosis III-beginning of the reign of Amenhotep II in connection with another cliff tomb in the neighboring valley, the WD A.

The cliff tomb with crevice intended for the three Asian wives of Tuthmosis III constitutes the final layout of the tomb designed for the queens and princesses and finds complete similarity with the second phase of KV39; what is not known if even in KV39, there were more mummies as in WD A, but it is probable that in the latter, the multiple depositions is a *unicum*. That is because all known tombs in the Valley of the Kings and Valley of the Queens intended for queens, princes, and princesses are of single deposition; however, it should be considered that the Butehamun graffito carved on one side of the "cornice" (or false door) under the crevice of WD A could also indicate that in the cliff tomb for one of Tuthmosis III's Asian wives the other two were also laid to rest. If this tomb was reused as a cache for these three queens, it is plausible that two others must be present in the same wadi or neighboring ones; alternatively, as assumed so far, the graffito in question would only have been engraved following inspection of the integrity of the tomb entrance.

The Valley of the Kings, considered in its entirety with the annexed wadis (Valley of Pits and Western Valley), sees a first probable construction of the KV41, not completed, but similar in depth and type of access shaft to the TT320; among the hypotheses formulated on the owner of the tomb, that of Thomas (1966, 171) that she is Queen Tetisheri, mother of Seqenenra Taa, considered the "mother of the New Kingdom" remains one of the most plausible. On the other hand, the proximity of the Valley from both Dra Abu el-Naga and the Circle of Deir el-Bahari makes its realization in the late 17<sup>th</sup> and early 18<sup>th</sup> Dynasties

plausible. Its “unfinished” can be attributed to the rock’s poor quality and or a change in funerary concepts during its excavation; the first solution remains the most plausible, and the presence of VP no.1 could have constituted a suitable site for this burial or another important figure of the Dynasty. The presence in the Valley of the Pits of funerary structure similar to KV41 (VP no.1) and another, on the opposite side, which presents the external elements of a Bab tomb with a crevice, as well as for the West Valley where another similar structure is present, it can lead to the hypothesis of the use of these sites in the first phase of the 18<sup>th</sup> Dynasty (reign of Tuthmosis I-II?); these are remote wadis far from the plain of Deir el-Bahari which can be considered among the sites chosen by the architect Ineni in charge of building the tomb of Tuthmosis I, as his funerary biography says:

*iw m3.n.i š3d hrt nt hm.f m w<sup>c</sup>w n m33 n sdm jw d<sup>r</sup>.n.i 3ht hrw [...] m k3t mnht*

*“I saw the digging of the rock tomb of His Majesty in private, unseen, unheard. I investigated what could be helpful for this. [...] in excellent work” (PM I<sup>1</sup>, 159-162; Sethe 1927).*

It is not known where the king’s original tomb is located or if it is a cliff tomb, as the text does not seem to indicate it; however, if we take into account that KV20 and KV38 in the Valley of the Kings are built at an average height from the wadi level and can be dated between the beginning of the reign of Hatshepsut and the middle of the reign of Tuthmosis III, it is probable that during the reign of Tuthmosis I and II the royal tombs could be built in elevated following the previous tradition of beginning 18<sup>th</sup> Dynasty. In this perspective, WV no.1 in the Western Valley should also be considered, probably to be added to the other cliff tombs of the period of our interest. Moreover, we come to the Valley of the Kings, whose only two cliff tombs, *Bab*-tombs with crevice, are KV33 and KV34; as mentioned in Section III, the first represents a minor tomb intended for a prince, queen, or princess. It uses a traditional and older plan reminiscent of KV39 in its first phase, WA C and WN A; therefore, the structure was probably excavated at the same time as or shortly before the first phase of KV34 and was left in its initial stage. KV34, on the other hand, underwent at least three phases of development and represented the final maturation of the royal tomb at the end of the reign of Tuthmosis III with inscriptions and painted reliefs.

The excavation of KV38 and KV42 intended for Tuthmosis I and Tuthmosis II also marks the definitive abandonment of the cliff tomb as a model of a royal tomb; the reign of Amenhotep II initiates a new development of funerary architecture now based on tombs accessible from the bottom of the Valley.

The research conducted so far on the cliff tombs which are the subject of this thesis has resulted in having analyzed, classified, and described the lines of development of this particular type of funerary structure from the early 18<sup>th</sup> Dynasty. Essential to outlining this study path was considering the cultural and cultic imprint of the Middle Kingdom on the Theban funerary concept capable of influencing its art and architecture in the first phase of

the New Kingdom. If we look more closely at the evolution of royal burials and necropolises from the 11<sup>th</sup> to the 17<sup>th</sup> Dynasties, in the area of El-Tarif and Dra Abu el-Naga, we can glimpse the creation of the cliff tombs of Amenhotep I (WN A?), of Ahmose-Nefertari (TT320), of Ahmose-Meryetamun (TT358) and Amenemhat Q (MMA 1021) at the “new” necropolis of Deir el-Bahari the conceptual “change of step” culminating in the subsequent creation of the village of Deir el-Medina.

The deification of these dynasts as ideal protectors of the necropolis, witnessed centuries later by the royal scribe Butehamun and his descendants, advocates of the protection of the royal mummies at the end of the New Kingdom<sup>1</sup> (Fig.C.4), confirms not only the importance of these figures but corroborate the significance cliff tombs as suitable tombs to represent this shining past.

Giacomo Cavillier

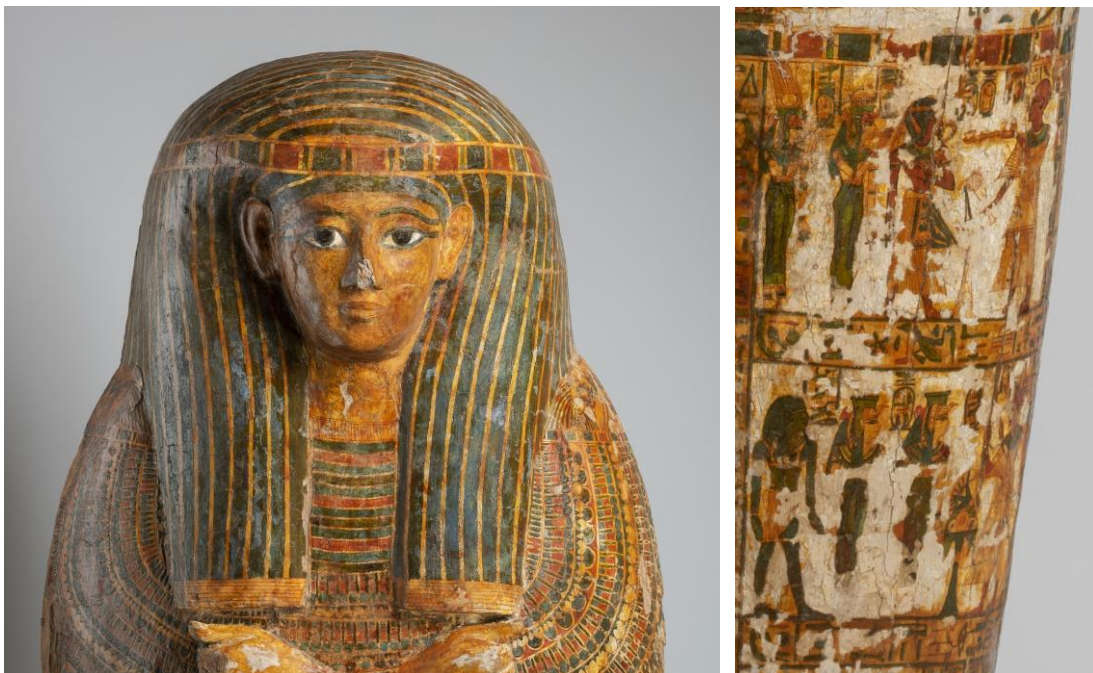


Fig.C.4. a) - The lid of the external Butehamun's coffin in the Turin Museum (CGT 10101a);  
b) - The royal scribe in front of Amenhotep I's family (photo Turin Egyptian Museum website)

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<sup>1</sup> - On the lid of the external Butehamun's coffin in Turin Museum (CGT 10101a), the royal scribe is depicted in an act of offering and libation to Amenhotep I, Ahhotep, Ahmose-Nefertari, Ahmose-Meryetamun and his brother Ahmose-Sapair; this is unique in the decoration of yellow sarcophagi of the 21<sup>st</sup> Dynasty but is reminiscent of the royal couple and deified depicted in many tombs in necropolis (Dra Abu el-Naga, Khokha, Gurna, Qurnet Murrain and in Deir el Medina, protecting the deceased and the community itself: Andreu 2002.





## LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

AN = Dra Abu el-Naga tombs

BKVP = Basel University King's Valley Project

BM = British Museum collections

CGC = General Catalogue of Cairo Egyptian Museum

CGT = Egyptian Museum of Turin Catalogue

DB = Deir el-Bahari

EA = British Museum collections

*eds.* = Edited by

*et al.* = *et alii*

GI Carter MSS = Carter Manuscript Oxford

GMT = Cerný J., Desroches-Noblecourt C., Kurz M. *et al.*, *Graffiti de la montagne thébaine*, Voll.I-XII, Le Caire 1970-1983, CEDAE Collection Scientifique.

Gr. = Graffito

JE = Journal d'entrée (Catalogue of Cairo Egyptian Museum)

K = Dra Abu el-Naga tombs

KV = Valley of the Kings tombs

MMA = Metropolitan Museum of Arts New York

MFA = Boston Museum Catalogue

MKTMP = Middle Kingdom Theban Mapping Project

MSS = Manuscript

O = Ostrakon

Pap. = Papyrus

PM I<sup>1</sup> = Porter B.- Moss R.L.B., *Topographical Bibliography of Ancient Egyptian Hieroglyphic Texts, Reliefs and Paintings - Part.1, The Theban Necropolis*, Oxford 1960

PM I<sup>2</sup> = Porter B.- Moss R.L.B., *Topographical Bibliography of Ancient Egyptian Hieroglyphic Texts, Reliefs and Paintings - Part 2, Royal Tombs and Smaller Cemeteries*, Oxford 1964

QV = Valley of the Queens tombs

TMP = Theban Mapping Project

TT = Theban Tombs

Turin = Egyptian Museum of Turin

VC = Valley of the Colors tombs

VP = Valley of the Pits tombs

WA/B/C/D = Southwestern wadis – Wadi A/B/C/D tombs

Wb = Erman A., Grapow H., *Wörterbuch der ägyptischen Sprache*, Voll.I-IV, Berlin 1926–1961

WN = Wadi en-Nisr

WV = Western Valley tombs (Cliff tombs)

Hieroglyph texts:

rt. recto

vs. verso

( ) comments and notes

[ ] reconstructed lacunose text

[---] absent text

 worn text

[...] text not included and/or omitted

lit. literally

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## APPENDIX

### THE GRAFFITI

The graffiti transcribed, transliterated, and translated in this thesis are taken from the contributions of Spiegelberg 1921, Černý 1959, CEDAE 1970, and Rzepka 2014. Such documentation is accepted by all scholars in the field, e.g., Reeves (1990), Gabolde (1992, 1994), Peden (2001), Barwick (2011), Dorn (2023), and Rzepka himself. The writer has viewed all the graffiti mentioned in the thesis and has ascertained that 85% of them are now illegible due to natural degradation and anthropic damage to the rock surfaces on which they are engraved (Figs. 1-2); in many cases, the graffiti number left by Spiegelberg, Carter, Černý and CEDAE team, written by a pencil, is deleted (Fig.3).



Fig.1 - Natural rock degradation (photo author)

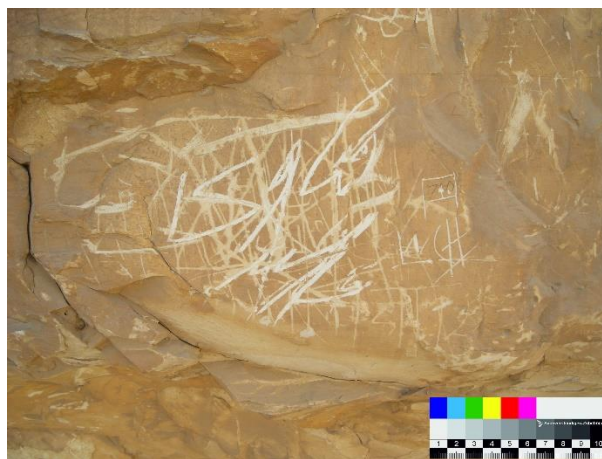


Fig.2 – Anthropic damage of a graffiti (photo author)

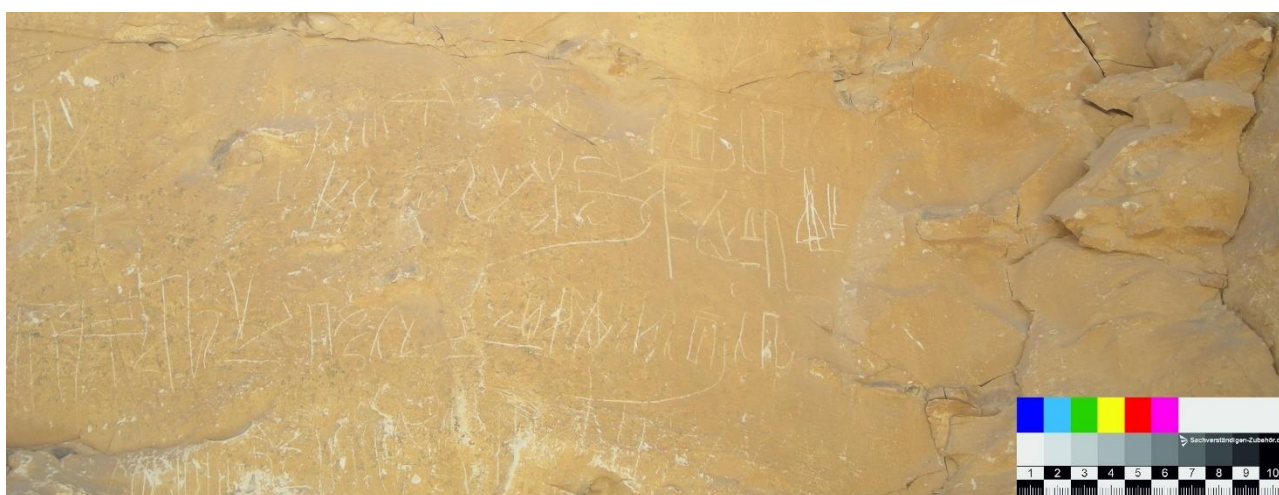


Fig.3 – Graffiti with absent pencil number (deleted?; photo author)



Of some of the graffiti mentioned here are some photos taken by the author during archaeological missions at the Theban necropolis, the transcriptions of which were made by Spiegelberg and Carter, verified punctually *ictu oculi* at each site by Černý between 1936 and 1956 (Fig.4), carried out using copy paper and reported in special notebooks (MSS Figg.5-6). As we can see in the following photos the statement *number = SP number* stands to indicate that Spiegelberg's or Carter's transcriptions turn out to be right.



Fig.4 - A Černý signature on a rock

These writings formed the documentary basis for CEDAE's subsequent work throughout the necropolis.

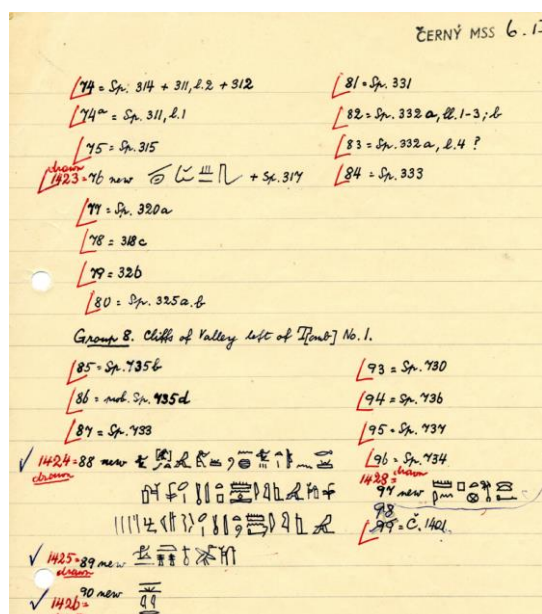
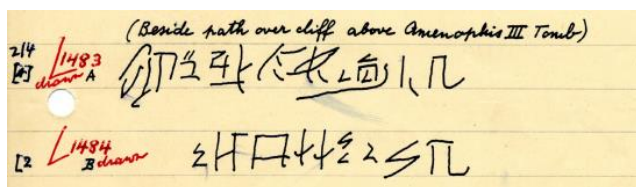


Fig.5 - Černý's transcription of a Carter graffito and photo (author); Fig.6 - Černý's report on notebook (MSS) the correctness of a Spiegelberg graffito (SP).

That said, Černý's, Spiegelberg's, and Rzepka's transcripts of the graffiti mentioned above are given, accompanied by only the author's photos in which the marks and numbers are barely visible; the numbering of the graffiti respects the sequence mentioned in the various sections of the thesis.

Section I

No.1393



Handwritten text in a cursive script, likely a form or document, with a small number '1393' at the bottom center.

No.1396+1396a

Handwritten text in a cursive script, consisting of several lines of text.

No. 1301

Handwritten text in a cursive script, consisting of several lines of text.

No.1307

Handwritten text in a cursive script, consisting of several lines of text.

No.1308

Handwritten text in a cursive script, consisting of several lines of text.

No.1309

Handwritten text in a cursive script, consisting of several lines of text.

No.1304

Handwritten text in a cursive script, consisting of several lines of text.

No. 3931

No.1359+1359a

Handwritten cursive script in a single column.

Handwritten notes in a single column, including a small 'A' at the top left.

Handwritten notes in a single column, including a small 'B' at the top left.

Section II

No.1110

Handwritten cursive script in two lines, with the number '1110' centered below the second line.

No.1059

No.1037

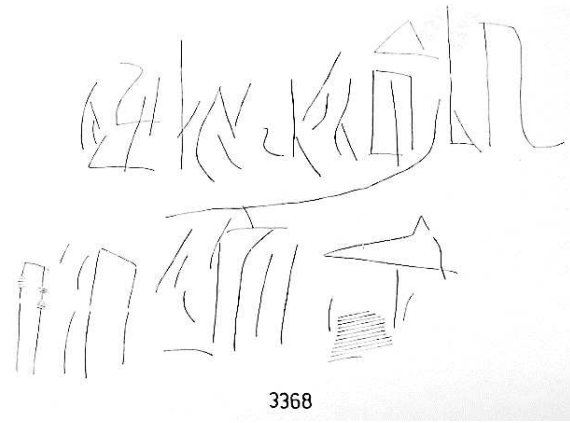


1059\* Oberhalb von Der el Babri. Lesbar war nur  
: 𐤀𐤓𐤌𐤏𐤃𐤁 𐤏𐤓𐤏𐤃𐤁 𐤏𐤓𐤏𐤃𐤁 𐤏𐤓𐤏𐤃𐤁  
: 𐤏𐤓𐤏𐤃𐤁 𐤏𐤓𐤏𐤃𐤁 𐤏𐤓𐤏𐤃𐤁 𐤏𐤓𐤏𐤃𐤁

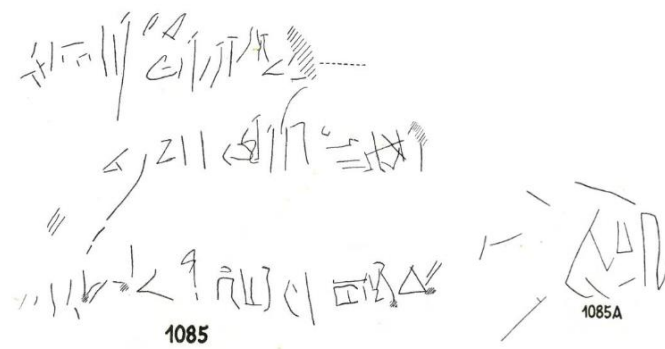
1037 : 𐤀𐤓𐤌𐤏𐤃𐤁 𐤏𐤓𐤏𐤃𐤁  
: 𐤀𐤓𐤌𐤏𐤃𐤁 𐤏𐤓𐤏𐤃𐤁 𐤏𐤓𐤏𐤃𐤁 𐤏𐤓𐤏𐤃𐤁  
: 𐤀𐤓𐤌𐤏𐤃𐤁 𐤏𐤓𐤏𐤃𐤁 𐤏𐤓𐤏𐤃𐤁 𐤏𐤓𐤏𐤃𐤁 𐤏𐤓𐤏𐤃𐤁



No.3368



No.1085

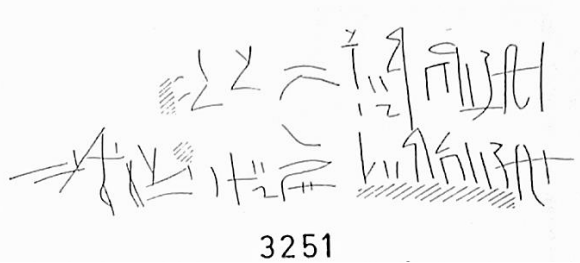


No.1099

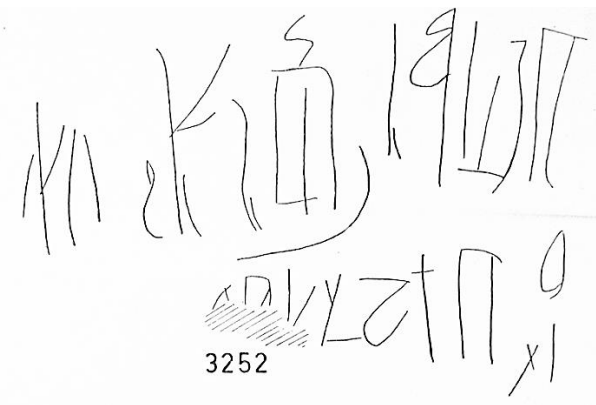




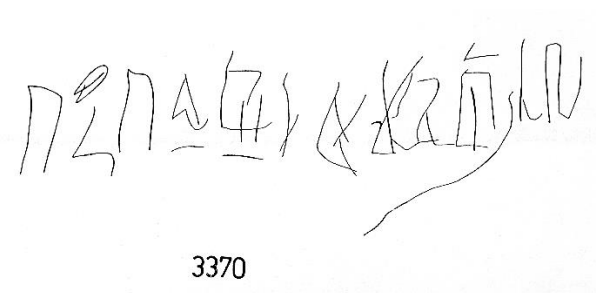
No.3251



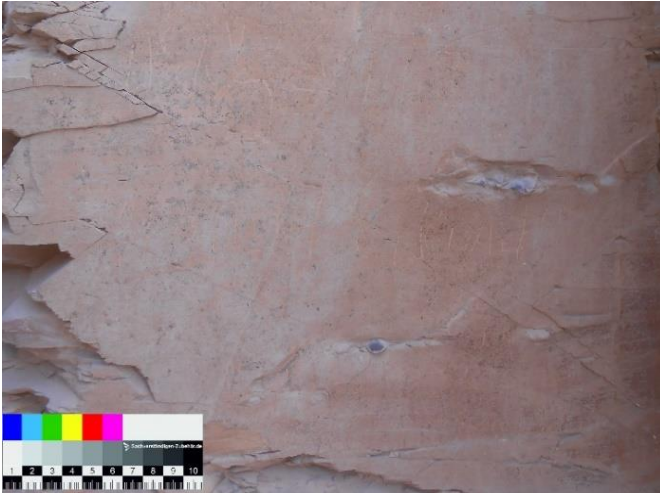
No.3252



No.3370



No.996



⑨96 1 𐤀𐤁𐤁 𐤀𐤁𐤁 𐤀𐤁𐤁  
 𐤀𐤁𐤁 𐤀𐤁𐤁 𐤀𐤁𐤁 𐤀𐤁𐤁 𐤀𐤁𐤁 𐤀𐤁𐤁 𐤀𐤁𐤁  
 𐤀𐤁𐤁 𐤀𐤁𐤁 𐤀𐤁𐤁 𐤀𐤁𐤁 𐤀𐤁𐤁 𐤀𐤁𐤁  
 7

No.1001



⑩001 1 𐤀𐤁𐤁 𐤀𐤁𐤁 𐤀𐤁𐤁 𐤀𐤁𐤁  
 𐤀𐤁𐤁 𐤀𐤁𐤁 𐤀𐤁𐤁 𐤀𐤁𐤁 𐤀𐤁𐤁 𐤀𐤁𐤁  
 𐤀𐤁𐤁 𐤀𐤁𐤁 𐤀𐤁𐤁 𐤀𐤁𐤁 𐤀𐤁𐤁 𐤀𐤁𐤁  
 𐤀𐤁𐤁 𐤀𐤁𐤁 𐤀𐤁𐤁

No. 905

⑨05 1 𐤀𐤁𐤁 𐤀𐤁𐤁 𐤀𐤁𐤁 𐤀𐤁𐤁  
 𐤀𐤁𐤁 𐤀𐤁𐤁 𐤀𐤁𐤁 𐤀𐤁𐤁 𐤀𐤁𐤁

No. 912

⑨12 1 𐤀𐤁𐤁 𐤀𐤁𐤁 𐤀𐤁𐤁  
 𐤀𐤁𐤁 𐤀𐤁𐤁 𐤀𐤁𐤁 𐤀𐤁𐤁

No. 913



⑨13 𐤀𐤁𐤁 𐤀𐤁𐤁 𐤀𐤁𐤁

No. 914

⑨14 1 𐤀𐤁𐤁 𐤀𐤁𐤁 𐤀𐤁𐤁  
 𐤀𐤁𐤁 𐤀𐤁𐤁 𐤀𐤁𐤁 𐤀𐤁𐤁  
 𐤀𐤁𐤁 𐤀𐤁𐤁 𐤀𐤁𐤁

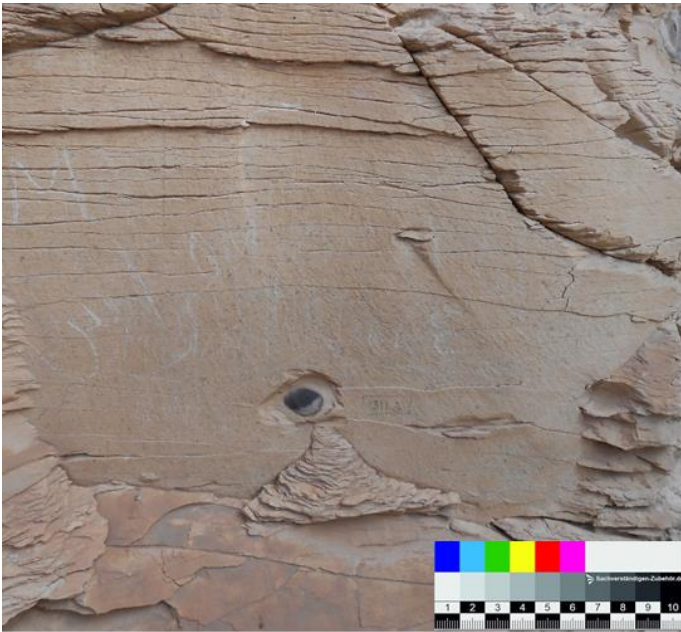
No. 915a

⑨15 𐤀𐤁𐤁 𐤀𐤁𐤁 𐤀𐤁𐤁 𐤀𐤁𐤁 𐤀𐤁𐤁 𐤀𐤁𐤁





No.1311a+b



Handwritten transcription of the rock surface inscription, showing several lines of text in a cuneiform script. The transcription includes a large 'V' symbol and the number '1311a'.

Handwritten transcription of the rock surface inscription, showing several lines of text in a cuneiform script. The transcription includes the number '1311b'.

No.1315



Handwritten transcription of the rock surface inscription, showing a large 'V' symbol and several lines of text in a cuneiform script. The number '1315' is written below the transcription.

No. DB320-1 (PAM XII/2000, Fig.7)

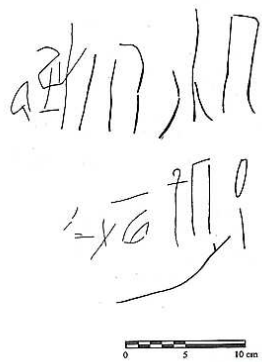
Handwritten transcription of the rock surface inscription, showing several lines of text in a cuneiform script. A scale bar is visible at the bottom left.

No. DBCMB15 (PAM XI/1999, Fig.3)

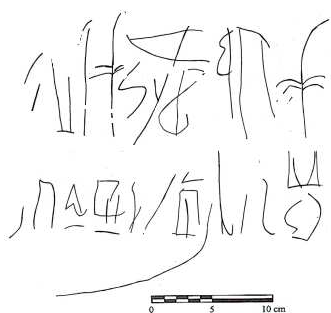
Handwritten transcription of the rock surface inscription, showing several lines of text in a cuneiform script. A scale bar is visible at the bottom right.



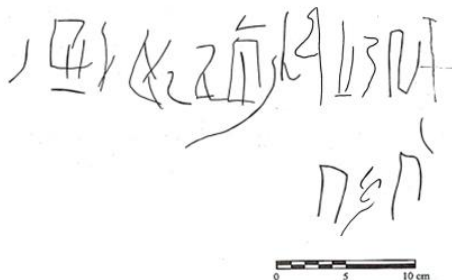
No. DBCMC4



No. DBCME4



No. DBCM22



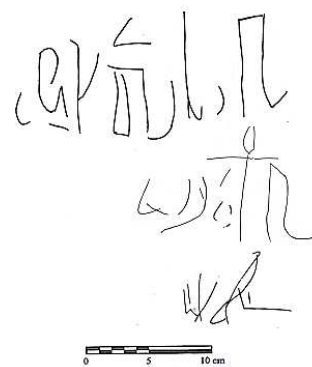
No. DBCME14



No. DBCM23 (Rzepka 2014, fig.10)

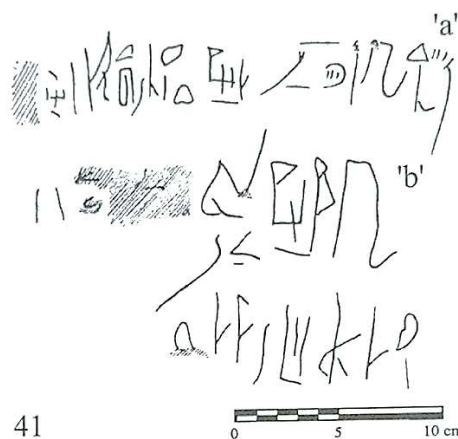
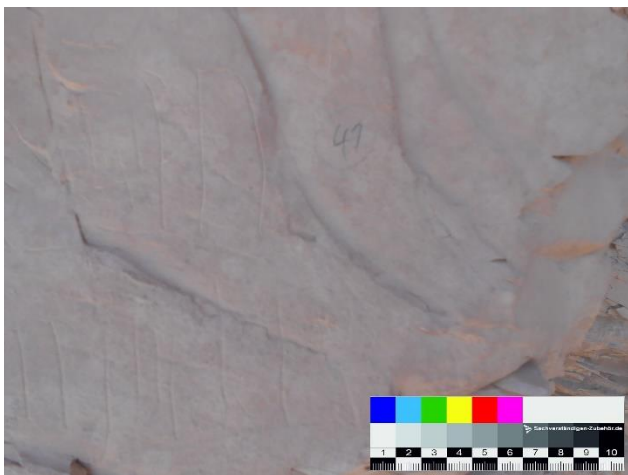


No. DBCMF22



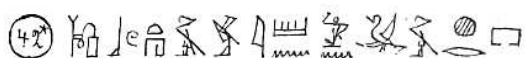
Section III

No.41



41

No.42



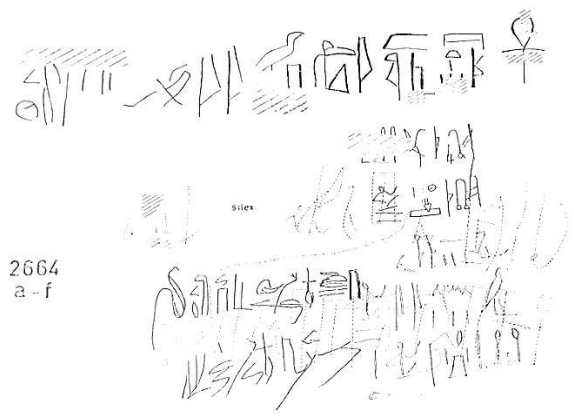
No.45







No.2664c

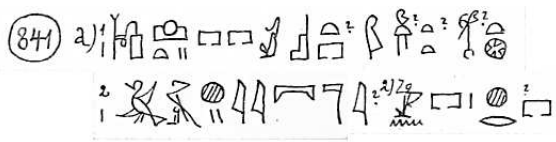


2664  
a-f

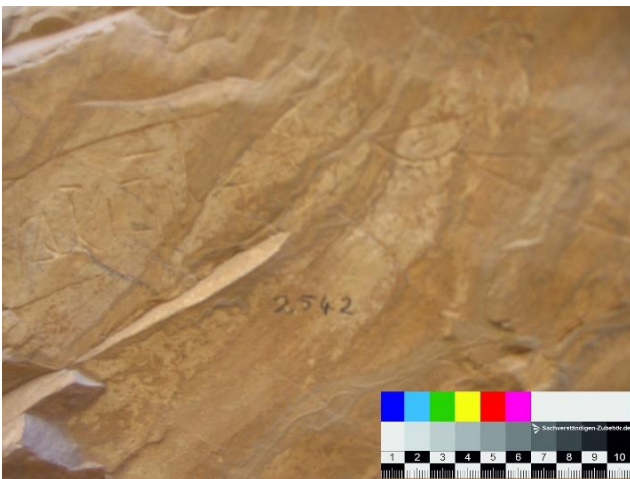
No.772



No. 841a



No.2542



2542

No. 2633a



2633a<sup>c</sup>