

**Three Tombs,
attributed to Amenhotep I:
K93.11, AN B and KV39**

by

Sjef Willockx



Ancient Egypt, by Sjef Willockx

<http://www.egyptology.nl>
info@egyptology.nl

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DANIEL POLZ, <i>Der Beginn des Neuen Reiches. Zur Vorgeschichte einer Zeitenwende</i> (2007).	<i>Beginn</i>

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ASAE	Annales du Service des Antiquités de l'Égypte
JEA	The journal of Egyptian archeology
KMT	KMT: a modern journal of ancient Egypt
MDAIK	Mitteilungen des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts, Abteilung Kairo
Memnonia	Memnonia: bulletin édité par l'association pour la sauvegarde du Ramesseum
Serapis	Serapis: a student forum on the ancient world

Introduction

My original objective was, to write a paper about the royal tombs in the Valley of the Kings until the reign of Tuthmosis III. One of the tombs to be included in such a paper would be KV39: an as yet unidentified tomb, in persistent rumors attributed to Amenhotep I. The validity of such an attribution can however hardly be treated in isolation, i.e.: without also considering the claims of other tombs that have been proposed as possible or probable tomb for that king. For this reason, two more tombs, each located about 1.5 kilometer east of the Valley of the Kings needed to be included: tombs AN B and K93.11. Both have been put forward as tomb of Amenhotep I: AN B by Carter, and K93.11 by Polz. In the course of the project, the two “extra” tombs proved so interesting, and the question of Amenhotep’s tomb so manifold, that it seemed worthwhile to devote an entire volume to this subject. The result now lies in front of you.

I have followed, per tomb, the historic order in which the various studies have appeared, starting with – when possible¹ – the original excavators’ reports. At times, I will show myself highly critical about certain reasonings and inferences of these and other early writers. I am however acutely aware of the fact that it is their labor which now allows us to progress a bit further into the mysteries that they attacked before. They ventured into uncharted territory, for which they deserve full credit and respect. I am deeply indebted to them all.

Kinglist

This work focuses on the earlier parts of the 18th dynasty, populated by the following kings:

- Ahmose
- Amenhotep I
- Tuthmosis I
- Tuthmosis II
- Hatshepsut (originally as regent for Tuthmosis III, later ruling together with Tuthmosis III as “king”)
- Tuthmosis III (his sole reign, after the disappearance of Hatshepsut)
- Amenhotep II

Terminology

The following terms will be used with the following meaning:

- Valley: the Valley of the Kings.
- Early 18th dynasty: the period that ends with the reign of Tuthmosis III.
- Regal, or kingly: relating to a ruler. In most cases, this is a king, in one instance a queen: Hatshepsut.
- Royal: relating to the king and his major queen (the “great royal wife”).
- Commoners: all other members of society, including the crown prince, other princes, princesses and lesser queens.

Perhaps the use of the word “mountain” in this work requires something of a clarification, also. If you happen to live in California, right next to the Sierra Nevada, you won’t recognize *anything* in Egypt as a mountain. The top of El-Qurn – the highest point mentioned here – is only 489 meters above sea level, while the desert just in

¹ Andraos and Macarios unfortunately published no report about their excavation of KV39: see chapter 5 below.

front of it is about 150 meter above sea level. Yet within the context of the Egyptian landscape, this “hill” is a mountain: its majestic appearance in the fierce light of the desert sun cloaks it with the mantle of mountainhood. No-one who has seen it calls it a hill.

Conventions

- In descriptions of tombs, the terms “left” and “right” are used as seen from the entrance of the tomb, looking in.
- In the plans, grey areas indicate pillars. Dotted lines represent a room below another room. A dotted cross indicates a shaft.
- Underlinings in quotations are added by me to emphasize a particular element.

Several incipient parts of this study have previously appeared as posts in the Amun forum (<http://tech.groups.yahoo.com/group/Amun/>).

All photographs, drawings and plans in this work were specially prepared by the author for this publication, unless explicitly mentioned otherwise. All rights reserved.

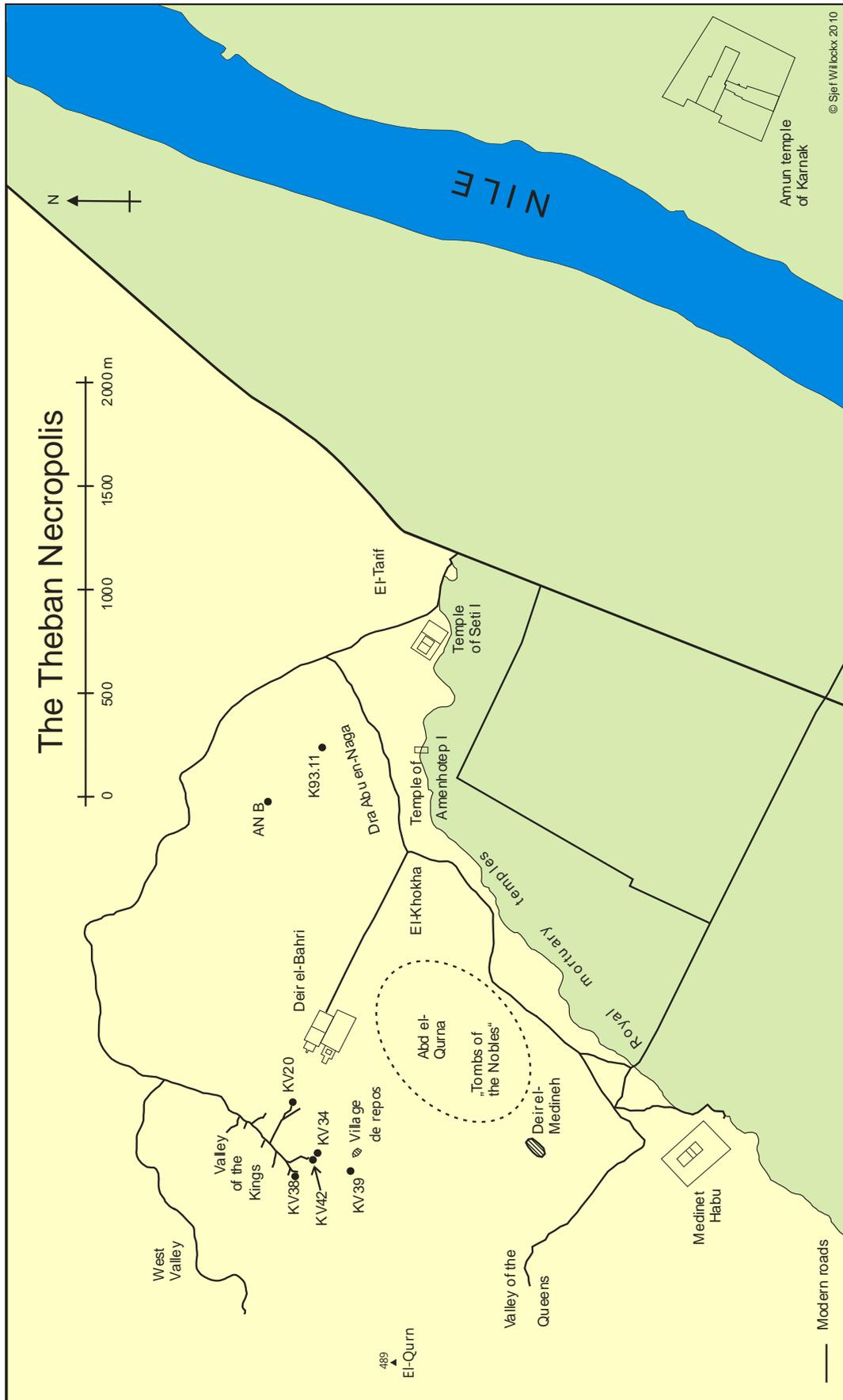


Fig. 1 The Theban Necropolis

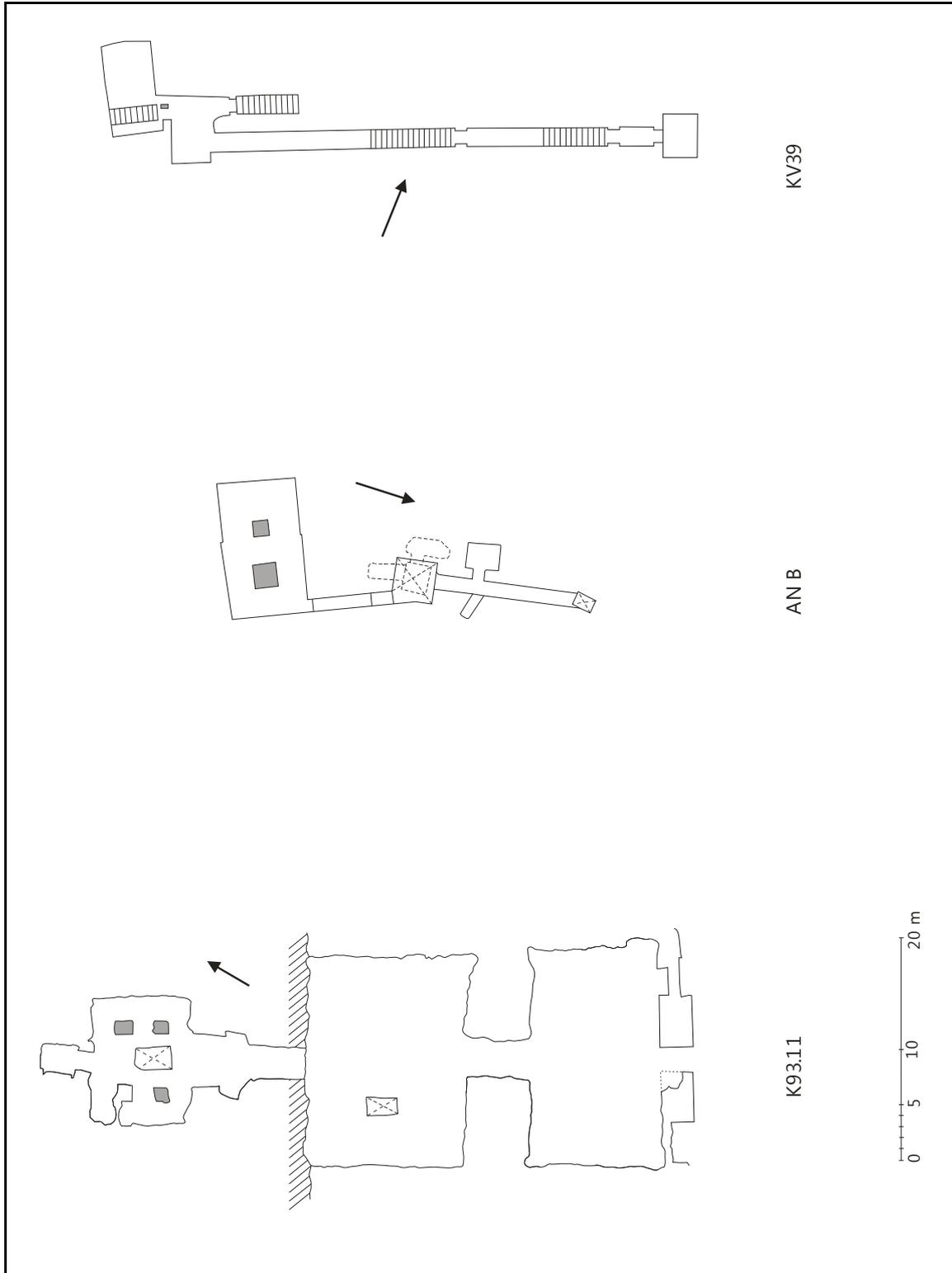


Fig. 2 The three tombs on the same scale
(KV39 in a hypothetical first version: see chapter 5)

1. The Great Royal Wife

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Urk. IV

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LÄ III

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LÄ III

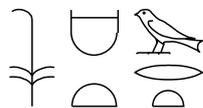
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Oxford

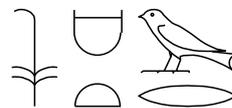
In preparation for some of the discussions to follow, we first need to consider the special position of the “great royal wife” in the period under consideration.

During the later 17th and early 18th dynasty, a series of queens attained an unprecedented position of prominence. They all had one thing in common: the title of “great royal wife.” This title occurs already sporadically during the Middle Kingdom,² but it appears that Ahmose, first king of the 18th dynasty, was the first to give these strong women full credit, and a position immediately next to the throne.³

The title in hieroglyphs:



hmt-nsw wrt
(full writing)



hmt-nsw wr(t)
(more common writing)

Near Abydos, Ahmose laid out an extensive cenotaph complex for himself. Part of this complex was a mud brick structure, dedicated to the memory of queen Tetisheri. A beautiful stela was found here, carved in a style that betrays a conscious harking back to the art of the preceding Middle Kingdom.⁴ On this stela, king Ahmose is shown presenting offerings to Tetisheri. In the text, he refers to her as “the mother of my mother, the mother of my father, great royal wife and mother of a king, Tetisheri.” So both of Ahmose’s parents were Tetisheri’s children. This means that the practice, well attested during the early 18th dynasty of marriages between (half) brothers and sisters, already began during the later days of the 17th dynasty. In the text of the stela, Ahmose tells his wife, queen Ahmose-Nefertari, that he wants to establish, in addition to Tetisheri’s already existing tomb and mortuary chapel, a pyramid for her with a temple at Abydos:

Its lake shall be dug, its trees shall be planted, its offerings shall be founded, equipped with people, endowed with lands, presented with herds, with mortuary

² LÄ III, col. 474.

³ For a genealogical chart of the kings and queens of the later 17th and early 18th dynasty, specifying among others the titles of great royal wife and god’s wife, see the section of History and Kingship on www.egyptology.nl.

⁴ For a reproduction of the stela’s lunette, see Lehner’s *The complete Pyramids*, p. 191. For the text, see BAR II, par. 33-37, or Urk. IV, 26-29.

priests and ritual priests at their duties, every man knowing his stipulation.

His majesty did this because he so greatly loved her, beyond everything. Never did former kings do the like for their mothers.⁵

The last statement is in the format of an exceedingly common sentence in the standard official's autobiography: "His Majesty did this [some favor] because he loved me beyond anything. Never was the like done for a [title of the deceased] before." But in spite of the conventionality of this clause, Ahmose may have a point. He is shown on this stela, presenting offerings to his grandmother. Kings are not regularly depicted in such a position, except when offering to gods, or to royal ancestors. We may say that Ahmose is here in fact recognizing Tetisheri as progenitrix of his dynasty.

Ahmose's mother – and Tetisheri's daughter – was queen Ahhotep: also a great royal wife.⁶ On a stela, found in Karnak, Ahmose calls upon his subjects to honor her, in the following words:

Give praise to the Mistress of the Land,
the Lady of the Isles,⁷
famous⁸ in every country,
who ruled⁹ the many:
king's wife, sister of the sovereign (Life! Prosperity! Health!),
daughter of a king, mother of a king,
noblewoman, who knows matters,
and who took care of Egypt.

She looked after its army,
she guarded over it,
she assembled its refugees,
she collected its lost ones.

She pacified Upper Egypt,
she expelled its rebels:
the [great]¹⁰ royal wife, Ahhotep, may she live.¹¹

This text clearly refers to Ahhotep as one who ruled over Egypt: she took care of Egypt, and expelled rebels. This means that she acted as regentess, during her son's minority. In this text, Ahmose acknowledges this, and praises her for it.

On the so-called Donation Stela, also from Karnak, Ahmose records that he has bought the office of "second prophet of Amun" for his wife, queen Ahmose-Nefertari.¹² In the text, she is referred to as "daughter of a king, king's sister, great royal wife, god's wife of Amun." And yet one more office that she holds is mentioned: that of divine adoratrice.¹³ Combined with the position of second prophet of Amun, this is, for a queen, an unprecedented accumulation of offices – and consequently of income. It would have allowed her to exercise considerable power on her own.

So Ahmose honors three consecutive generations of holders of the title great royal wife: his grandmother Tetisheri, his mother Ahhotep, and his wife Ahmose-Nefertari.

⁵ *BAR II*, par. 36. In other texts, the word "father" can be used for "grandfather", and the word "son" for "grandson." Here, "mother" is used for "grandmother."

⁶ There is uncertainty about who her husband – Tetisheri's son, and Ahmose's father – was: two possible candidates are Seqenenre and Kamose (*Oxford* p. 228.)

⁷ The islands of the Aegean.

⁸ Lit.: high of name.

⁹ Lit: who made plans for.

¹⁰ Emend *hmt-nsw wr(t)*, because in other texts, Ahhotep carries this title. So e.g. on her coffin: "daughter of a king, king's sister, great royal wife, mother of a king" (*Oxford* p. 228).

¹¹ *Urk. IV*, 21.

¹² *Oxford* p. 221.

¹³ *Oxford* p. 229.

The foregoing inventory of titles of Ahmose-Nefertari, in other cases augmented with “mother of a king,” describes the queen’s relation, not so much to the (ruling) king, as to kingship in general: she is daughter, sister, wife and mother of a king. She is, in short, *almost* a king herself. This is perhaps best borne out by the fact that she would become regentess, in case the heir to the throne was still under age.¹⁴ We already saw that the great royal wife Ahhotep held this position. In later days, Hatshepsut, Tuthmosis II’s great royal wife, ruled as regentess for young Tuthmosis III, and queen Tawesert, great royal wife of Sety II (19th dynasty) for his son Siptah.

With Ahmose-Nefertari, we encounter for the first time the title god’s wife, or more fully: god’s wife of Amun. This refers to the New Kingdom version of the myth of the king’s divine birth. It stipulates that the king’s mother is impregnated by the god Amun, who approached the queen to this end “in the guise of his majesty.” The queen is thereby advanced to the position of the god’s spouse. This immediate contact with the sphere of the divine again serves to further exalt the great royal wife.

(A few generations later, the title of god’s wife can also be carried by a princess that could in future become a great royal wife – such as Hatshepsut’s daughter Neferure.)

Additional signs of the elevated position of the great royal wife can be found in the area of mortuary practices. The very first stone sarcophagus of the New Kingdom that we are currently aware of¹⁵ belonged to Hatshepsut. It was made for her when she was still Tuthmosis II’s great royal wife. And the tombs of great royal wives that we can now identify with certainty were, in size and complexity, second only to that of the king himself. Status being always carefully reflected in ancient Egypt, we may surely take this as a confirmation that the great royal wife’s position was in fact second only to the king’s.

A little to the south-west of the temple-tomb complex of king Nebhepetre Mentuhotep II (11th dynasty) at Deir el-Bahri lies a comparable, but unfinished complex. It may have belonged to king Sankhkare Mentuhotep III, Nebhepetre’s successor. In its immediate vicinity, two groups of smaller tombs were found: half a dozen rectangular pits from the 11th dynasty, and about a dozen square pits from the early 18th dynasty. Thomas describes the latter group on pages 177-179 of *RN*. She refers to these tombs as those of “Wadi S:” S for Sankhkare. Remnants of funerary equipment – particularly parts of coffins – could be dated to the end of the 17th and the beginning of the 18th dynasty. A rewrapped mummy of a very young child was labeled as that of Amenemhat, a son of Amenhotep I. Another tomb contained fragments in the name of Ahmose-Tumerishy, a daughter of Amenhotep I. At least one burial was associated with the name of Tuthmosis I.

By the looks of it, this appears to have been a small graveyard for second echelon members of the royal family. These tombs are the simplest affairs possible: a shaft of 5 to 8 meter deep, with below only one, undecorated room: typically 2-3 meter wide, 3-5 meter long. Fig. 3 below demonstrates the truly awesome gap between these tombs (to the right) and AN B (to the left). As we will see, tomb AN B belonged either to a king (Amenhotep I) or a great royal wife (Ahmose-Nefertari); it was contemporary with the tombs of Wadi S.

During the Early Dynastic Period and the Old Kingdom, the position of great royal wife did not yet exist. The most important queen then was the king’s mother. Her position is already evident on the Annals of the Palermo Stone, where the titulature of the reigning king is supplemented with the name of his mother. Several king’s mothers became regentess.¹⁶ In the 1st dynasty, queen Merneith, or Meryet-Nit, mother of

¹⁴ The use of this expression may suggest that there was a specific age at which a boy would cease to be a minor, but if that was so, we are not aware of it.

¹⁵ It actually seems very unlikely that this was the *first* stone sarcophagus made during the New Kingdom: her husband’s tomb no doubt held one, too.

¹⁶ *LÄ III*, col. 464.

king Den, apparently ruled for some time as regentess, while her son was still too young.¹⁷ She was even buried on the exclusive king's cemetery at Abydos. During the New Kingdom however, the regentess¹⁸ needed to be a great royal wife, regardless of whether she was the next king's mother. At the death of Tuthmosis II, his son and heir Tuthmosis III was still a boy - if not an infant.¹⁹ It was however not the boy's mother – a minor queen called Isis – who assumed the regency, but his father's great royal wife, Hatshepsut.

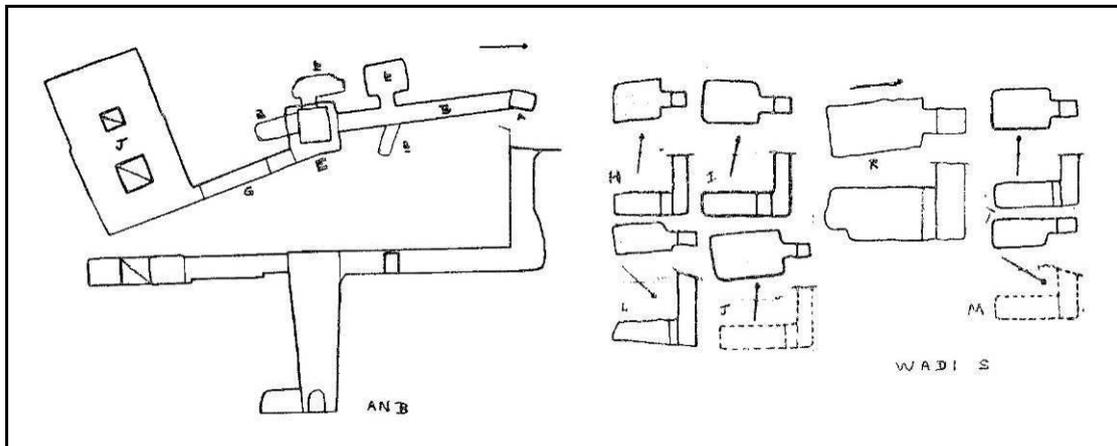


Fig. 3 Tomb AN B, and seven tombs from "Wadi S," in plan and section, on the same scale (from Thomas' RN: fig. 15 on page 159)

In the autobiography of Ineni, an official whose career spanned the reigns of Amenhotep I until Hatshepsut, the event of her becoming regentess is described as follows:

When Tuthmosis II proceeded to heaven, his son [Tuthmosis III] was set in his place as king of the Two Lands upon the throne of him who engendered him. His [Tuthmosis II's] sister, the god's wife Hatshepsut, executed the affairs of the Two Lands according to her counsels. Egypt worked for her, head bowed, the excellent seed of the god, who came forth from him.²⁰

"Seed of the god:" that was the crux of the matter.²¹

Likewise, when in the 19th dynasty king Sety II died while his son Siptah was still too young to rule himself, it was not the young boy's mother – an Asian princess called Sutorialja²² – who acted as regentess, but Sety's great royal wife, Tawesert. Whether the latter was "seed of the god" or not remains undisclosed, but an Asian princess was obviously not suited to rule Egypt, even if she was a king's mother.

Another member of the royal family that we would expect to hold an important position would be that of a crown prince. According to Betsy Bryan however, princes – crown or otherwise – are hardly attested before the reign of Amenhotep II.²³ This can not mean that the kings had no sons. Bryan suggests that their numbers may have been decimated during the many military campaigns of that period, or that they died

¹⁷ A.J. Spencer, *Early Egypt*, p. 64.

¹⁸ From ancient Egypt, no male regents are known: apparently, if a man stood close enough to the throne to be regent, he was also close enough to be king.

¹⁹ Tuthmosis' mummy has been described as that of a man "in his fifties" (RS p. 23, based on Smith, *Royal Mummies*), while he has ruled for 54 years (including the years of Hatshepsut's regency). (J. von Beckerath, *Chronologie des pharaonischen Ägypten*, p. 109).

²⁰ RS p. 145, *Oxford* p. 237.

²¹ It is uncertain who was meant here with the word "god." Amun, or her father Tuthmosis I. The distinction may have meant little though: in a series of reliefs in Hatshepsut's mortuary temple at Deir el-Bahri, it is Amun, in the guise of her father Tuthmosis I, who impregnates her mother Ahmose.

²² *LÄ III*, col. 466.

²³ *Oxford* p. 253.

from childhood diseases. It seems more likely though that princes just weren't all that important in this period – perhaps even because there were so many of them. It actually seems that the “position” of crown prince did not yet exist as such in the early 18th dynasty. In a probably large pool of heirs presumptive, one may have preferred to wait and see who would develop the skills that an heir apparent would need – and who would survive the common hazards of child disease, warfare and harim conspiracies.

Later developments

With Hatshepsut, the position of a great royal wife undoubtedly reaches an apex when she styles herself king, but her success also bred aversion: her monuments are later obscured, dismantled or defaced. This campaign against her memory is however only launched towards the end of Tuthmosis III's reign – shortly before he appoints his son, Amenhotep II, as co-regent.²⁴ This means, that Amenhotep may have been its true instigator. An additional pointer in that direction comes from several remarkable changes during the latter's reign. The position of princes suddenly rises sharply: at least half a dozen are known by name.²⁵ The position of the great royal wife stays the same, but the office is now occupied by the king's *mother*. Amenhotep II only recognizes one queen during his reign: his mother Hatshepsut-Meryetre.²⁶ She functions as Amenhotep's great royal wife.

Amenhotep's son Tuthmosis IV recognizes more wives, among which several great royal wives, but his mother Tiaa also functions as such. He bestows the title of great royal wife on her: a title she did not carry as wife of his father.

We may assume that these “marriages” were not consumed. This means that there was another reason why these older queens still held – or even just now received – the title of great royal wife. It seems to me that they were put into this position as a safety measure: should the new king die prematurely, then his mother would be in the best position to protect the interests of his sons – her grandsons – because she could, as his great royal wife, claim the regency.

Conclusion

When a tomb from the late 17th or early 18th dynasty shows itself – compared to other tombs from the same period – to be extraordinarily large and complex, it will be either a king's tomb, or a great royal wife's tomb. In the present work, I will refer to these (and only to these) as royal tombs. Since the king would always have precedence in every respect over all his subjects, his tomb would always be larger and more complex than that of his great royal wife. So the great royal wife's tomb would be the second tomb of the reign, in accordance with her overall position as the one, closest to the king.

Postscript: an alternative translation

The title  is conventionally translated as “great royal wife”, or “great wife of the king.” This means that the word order is understood as follows: *hmt-nsw wr(t)*, in which *wr(t)* is an adjective. The feminine ending (-t) is usually not written out. The word *wr/wrt* can however also be a noun, with the meaning “great one.” A regular use of this word is in the following expression:

wr wrw: greatest of the great ones

²⁴ Oxford p. 248.

²⁵ Oxford p. 253.

²⁶ Oxford p. 253.

In this case, both words are nouns, and their relationship is that of a “direct genitive.” The literal meaning is: “great one of great ones,” the sense of which is “greatest of the great ones.” There are several parallels to this in the realm of priestly titles:

wr m3w: greatest of the seers (title of the high priest of Re at Heliopolis)

wr 5: greatest of the Five (high priest of Thoth at Hermopolis)

If we now go back to the queen’s title, we see that the word order could also be interpreted differently: wrt hm(w)t-nsu (wrt as a noun), instead of hmt-nsu wrt (wrt as an adjective). The translation would then change accordingly: “great one of the king’s wives,” or “greatest of the king’s wives.” The fact that for hm(w)t “wives” the plural is not indicated is again by no means exceptional: in the priestly titles given above, the three strokes of plurality are usually absent, too.

2. K93.11

Sources, in chronological order:

Quoted as:

HOWARD CARTER, <i>Report on the Tomb of Zeser-Ka-Ra Amenhetep I, discovered by the Earl of Carnarvon in 1914</i> . JEA III (1916), plate XIX.	JEA III
R. ENGELBACH, <i>A supplement to the topographical catalogue of the private tombs of Thebes (nos. 253 to 334)</i> (1924), p. 22-23.	Supplement
C.C. VAN SICLEN, <i>The temple of Meniset at Thebes</i> . Serapis 6 (1980), p. 183-207.	Meniset
DANIEL POLZ, <i>Der Beginn des Neuen Reiches. Zur Vorgeschichte einer Zeitenwende</i> (2007), p. 172-197 (about K93.11) and p. 104-111 (about the temple of Amenhotep I and Ahmose-Nefertari).	Beginn

About half way between the Valley of the Kings and the west bank of the river Nile lies a rocky, hilly area called Dra Abu en-Naga (see Fig. 1 on page 8 above). As part of the desert, close to the edge of the cultivation, it has served the ancient Egyptians for centuries as a burial ground. It appears first to have been used this way by the kings of the 17th dynasty. Their tomb shafts were formerly topped with modest pyramids, now all gone. The area remained in use as a cemetery for commoners during all of the New Kingdom (18th till 20th dynasty). A point of interest – as yet unsolved – is which was the last king buried here. Likely candidates are the last king of the 17th dynasty (Kamose), and the first one of the 18th (Ahmose). Elizabeth Thomas believes that Ahmose was the first to leave Dra Abu en-Naga. She points at Nebhepetre Mentuhotep II, who re-united the Two Lands after the First Intermediate Period, midway during the 11th dynasty. The earlier kings of the 11th dynasty were buried at El Tarif: a smaller cemetery, close to the Nile (see Fig. 1). Upon becoming sole king of the entire land, Mentuhotep II selected a new, much grander décor for his mortuary complex: the then still vacant area of Deir el-Bahri. Thomas believes that Ahmose, after again re-unifying the country, would have done likewise: “it is reasonable to suppose that Ahmose would have abandoned the old necropolis [Dra Abu en-Naga] for the same general considerations [lack of space, and of *grandeur*] that impelled the earlier shift by the first Theban “Uniter of the Two Lands,” Nebhepetre.”²⁷ Newer insights suggest however that the re-unification of Egypt took place relatively late in Ahmose’s reign.²⁸ Ahmose by then had probably already made arrangements for his funeral. This makes it more likely that it was his successor, Amenhotep I, who was the first to look for new horizons.

Recently though, Daniel Polz has proposed that even Amenhotep I may have had his tomb at Dra Abu en-Naga: tomb K93.11.²⁹

Near the crest of the Dra Abu en-Naga hills, three large, undecorated tombs lie close together. Two are immediately side by side (K93.12 and K93.11) while a third (K94.01) is located a bit above and north-east of the other two.³⁰

Although these tombs are quite large, their cutting is rough and coarse. All three conform to the same basic design. An entrance in the face of the hill leads to a rock-cut chapel. From there, a vertical shaft descends to a small burial chamber. Outside, before the entrance facade, two large, open courtyards lie, one behind the other, cut

²⁷ RN p. 40.

²⁸ Oxford p. 218.

²⁹ In *Beginn*, chapter 3.4.

³⁰ See the photographs of *Tafel* 25b and 35 in *Beginn*.

from the living rock. The walls that separate both courts are tongues of rock that were left behind.

K94.01 is located right beneath the top of the hill. Although never finished, it was once crowned with a mud brick pyramid. Of the latter, only a few courses partially remain.

K93.11 was, during the reign of Ramesses VI,³¹ transformed by a high priest of Amun, Ramsesnakht, into a cult chapel for himself. In this edition, the tomb has been labeled TT293.³² Whether this Ramsesnakht was actually buried here, is not certain.³³

K93.12 was only cursory investigated, but appears to resemble K93.11.³⁴

As a group, these three tombs stand completely apart: other tombs in the Theban area, quite like these, are not known.³⁵ Their close proximity to one another, and their comparable design, furthermore suggest that they were constructed in a fairly short time span.

Conspicuous as they are, these tombs hardly needed discovering. They are already shown on a map by J.G. Wilkinson from 1830.³⁶ Almost a century later, in 1916, they appear again on Carter's map in his article about tomb AN B (*JEA III*).³⁷

Carter examined K93.11 in 1922, the year when he also discovered Tutankhamun's tomb. Which may have something to do with the fact, that he never published about this one. His findings were however recorded in the *Supplement*, s.v. Tomb 293.³⁸

Between 1993 and 2000, K93.11 was excavated and documented by the German Archeological Institute Cairo (DAIK), in cooperation with the University of California, Los Angeles, under the direction of Daniel Polz. The same parties investigated K94.01 in 1994.³⁹ In 2007, Polz published a comprehensive study of the 17th and early 18th dynasty under the title: "Der Beginn des Neuen Reiches. Zur Vorgeschichte einer Zeitenwende" ("The beginning of the New Kingdom. On the ancestry of a turning point"). In this work, Polz tries to make a case that these tombs represent the turn of the 17th to the 18th dynasty. He allocates them tentatively as follows:

- K94.01: Kamose, last king of the 17th dynasty;
- K93.11: Amenhotep I, second king of the 18th dynasty;
- and K93.12: Ahmose-Nefertari, great royal wife of king Ahmose, and mother of Amenhotep I.

We will from here on concentrate on K93.11.

K93.11 has two tomb shafts (see Fig. 4 below). The main shaft begins in the rock cut chapel, between the four pillars, and is 10 m deep. Below, a corridor runs north for 20 m. At its end is a sarcophagus shaped pit, in which a wooden coffin could be placed. The pit could be closed with stone slabs. Behind the pit is a small room or niche, for the placement of grave goods, and possibly a canopic chest.

Another shaft is located in the second court. This one is also 10 m deep, but of the planned corridor, only one meter was cut.

The rock, removed to create K93.11 and neighboring K93.12, was reused to add 11 meters to the plateau in front of the tombs. This addition was enclosed in a massive

³¹ So *Beginn* p. 177. *Supplement* has Ramesses IV.

³² According to the data in the *Supplement*, Carter also found evidence of the name Nebmaatrenakht. During the excavation of the tomb by Polz, only the name of Ramsesnakht was confirmed – and this one quite extensively. (*Beginn* p. 176, n. 691).

³³ *Beginn* p. 177-178.

³⁴ *Beginn* p. 175.

³⁵ *Beginn* p. 175, n. 688.

³⁶ Reproduced (in part) in *Beginn* on p. 178.

³⁷ On this map (reproduced in *Beginn* on p. 189, with detail on p. 165), the double tomb of K93.11 and K93.12 is identified with the word TOMB, while K94.01 is labeled PYR TOMB.

³⁸ *Supplement*, p. 22-23.

³⁹ *Beginn* p. 162.

wall of boulders over 50 m long, and up to 8 m high.⁴⁰ Exposure of a considerable part of the underside of this wall has shown, that it was erected in one go. This makes it probable that both tombs were constructed together.⁴¹

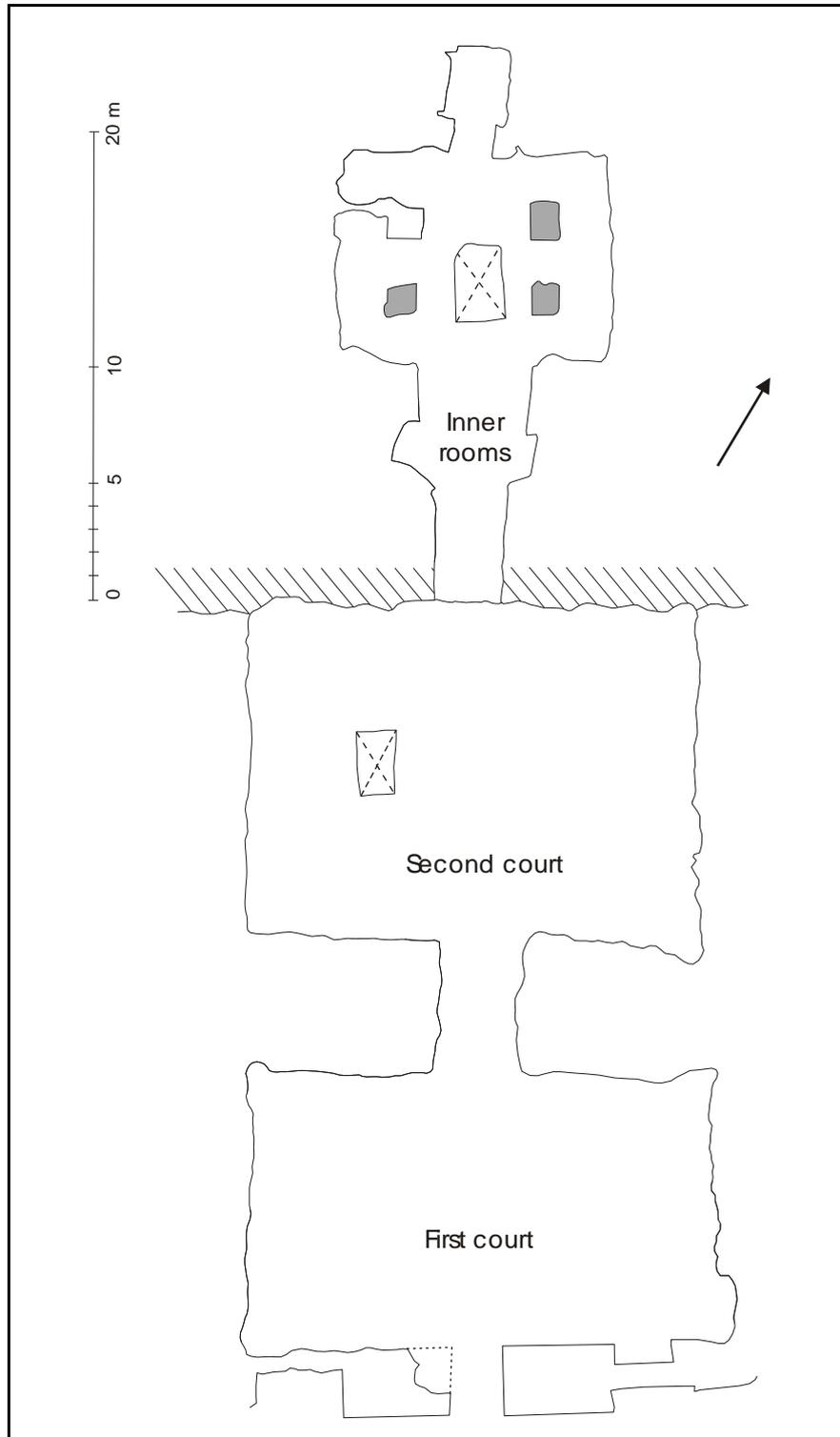


Fig. 4 Tomb K93.11

The amount of work that went into the realization of these tombs should not be underestimated. The two forecourts of K93.11 have a total area of 500 square meter.⁴²

⁴⁰ In the case of K93.11, 2/3 of the surface of the first court is formed by this artificial addition to the plateau (*Beginn* p. 179, n. 704).

⁴¹ *Beginn* p. 179-180.

The central room of the rock cut interior has an area of about 100 m². And the volume of rock, used to build the artificial terrace in front of both tombs can be estimated⁴³ at 1,100 m³. This is comparable with the quantity, removed for Hatshepsut's tomb in the Valley of the Kings, KV20.⁴⁴

It has so far not been possible to identify the original owners of these tombs. The indirect evidence however permits, for K93.11 and K93.12, an appreciable narrowing down of the range of options.

In the lower part of the terrace wall in front of these two tombs, several smaller tombs were cut. One of these can be dated to the reign of Tuthmosis IV.⁴⁵ This means that the wall, and hence K93.11 and K93.12, can be no younger than that reign. This produces a firm later time limit.

The location of Dra Abu en-Naga makes a dating before the 17th dynasty unlikely: from this area, no large tombs are known that predate that period. This gives us an earlier time limit.

Within the context of this timeframe, their size determines them as tombs of senior members of the royal family. In Polz's words: "Als mögliche Besitzer der Grabanlagen kommen grundsätzlich Herrscher der 17. und der frühen 18. Dynastie in Betracht."⁴⁶ ("Basically, rulers of the 17th and the early 18th dynasty qualify as possible owners of the tomb complexes"). He does not elaborate on his preference for rulers over other members of the royal family, but I would say that the prominence of these tombs' high location, close to the crest of the hills, indeed shows them to be kings' tombs. Within the context of a royal necropolis, neither a queen nor a prince or princess would ever be allowed such a prominent position: there should never arise even the slightest uncertainty about which tomb was the king's!

To further limit the circle of possible candidates, Polz then draws up a series of criteria they should meet:

- they should have ruled long enough to undertake such a work,
- they should have had the means to do it (enough resources, which means that they ought to have had control over at least a substantial part of the country),
- and their tombs should so far be unidentified.

For the 17th dynasty, he can cite several kings that would meet these criteria. From the 18th dynasty, he adds its first two kings, Ahmose and Amenhotep I.⁴⁷

Polz then turns to the debris in the tomb's forecourts, where a lot of pottery shards were found. A substantial portion of these date from the early 18th dynasty. The types found included vessels for offerings. Apparently, substantial offering activity took place here during the early 18th dynasty. This does not bar the possibility that the original tomb owner was from the 17th dynasty, but the fact that no pottery from that period could be recognized makes this, in Polz's opinion, "eher unwahrscheinlich" ("rather unlikely").⁴⁸

In the same forecourts, fragments of several Ramesside stelae were found, indicating cultic activities during that period. Assuming that these were related to the original owner of K93.11, Polz now concludes that this owner could *not* have been a king from the 17th dynasty for, "soweit bisher bekannt" ("as far as is known till now"), no ruler from the 17th dynasty had a cult that lasted into the Ramesside era.⁴⁹ Based on these two observations, Polz then eliminates the candidacy of all 17th dynasty kings.

⁴² In *Beginn* p. 179, n. 704, Polz mentions 365 m² as the surface of the first court alone. This is no doubt a "gross" area, including the area occupied by the walls; in my figure of 500 m² for both courts, only the part that is cut down to floor level is included.

⁴³ 11 x 50 meters surface = 550 m². Average height of the wall 0,5 x 8 meter = 4 meter, average slope of the mountain below the fill 45°: 550 x 4 x 0,5 = 1100 m³.

⁴⁴ According to the TMP website: 1,095 m³.

⁴⁵ *Beginn* p. 182-183.

⁴⁶ *Beginn* p. 183.

⁴⁷ *Beginn* p. 184.

⁴⁸ *Beginn* p. 185.

⁴⁹ *Beginn* p. 187.

He formulates his conclusion as follows: “Es bleiben als Kandidaten die schon erwähnten Könige Ahmose und Amenophis I.”⁵⁰ („The remaining candidates are the earlier mentioned kings Ahmose and Amenhotep I.“).

With respect to the candidates from the early 18th dynasty (Ahmose and Amenhotep I), Polz only states that both meet his criteria:

- they ruled long enough to undertake such a work,
- they had the means to do it,
- and their tombs are so far unknown.⁵¹

By stating that Amenhotep I's tomb is unknown, Polz implicitly rejects all other proposed identifications. Several pages earlier,⁵² he has listed those: the most important are tombs AN B and KV39 – both of which will be discussed in the coming chapters. About KV39, he later states that its owner is not yet identified, but that it seems to be of a somewhat later date than Amenhotep I.⁵³ The only candidacy that Polz treats at length – and rejects vehemently – is that of AN B. We will come back to his arguments in the next chapter below, which deals with AN B.

Polz refrains however from demonstrating that, of the early 18th dynasty, only Ahmose and Amenhotep I meet his criteria. If we go back for a minute to the earlier defined later time limit of Tuthmosis IV, we have to eliminate on some grounds the following kings (moving backwards in time):

- Tuthmosis IV
- Amenhotep II
- Tuthmosis III
- Hatshepsut
- Tuthmosis II
- and Tuthmosis I.

The first four of these present no problem: their tombs are positively identified in the Valley of the Kings (KV43, 35, 34 and 20, respectively). For Tuthmosis II and I, things are however not so clear: their tombs have so far not been identified to everyone's satisfaction. But what matters most in this context is, what Polz himself believes with respect to these two king's tombs. Elsewhere in *Beginn*, he discusses tombs KV20 and KV38 from the Valley of the Kings. Both have, by various authorities, been identified as Tuthmosis I's original tomb, but Polz believes that neither was. On the contrary: in his opinion, Tuthmosis I's tomb is still unknown. And he adds: “Diese Grabanlage möchte ich jedoch nicht innerhalb, sondern außerhalb des Tals der Könige, möglicherweise in der Nekropole von Dra Abu el-Naga lokalisieren.”⁵⁴ (“I would however look for this tomb complex [i.e.: that of Tuthmosis I] not within, but outside the Valley of the Kings, possibly in the necropolis of Dra Abu en-Naga.”) Tuthmosis I certainly ruled long enough to have a tomb of the size of K93.11 constructed, and he definitely had the means to do it. Not dealing explicitly with the option that K93.11 could have been his is a remarkable oversight – to say the least.

Likewise, Polz feels that the tomb of Tuthmosis II is also still unknown.⁵⁵ “Auch der früh verstorbene Thutmosis II. wurde m.E. außerhalb des Tals der Könige bestattet” (“Tuthmosis II, who died young, was in my opinion also buried outside the Valley of the Kings”).⁵⁶ Of this monarch, very few monuments have come to light, and one may indeed doubt whether he would have had enough time to get such a large tomb constructed.

Another ground that Polz may have had for eliminating kings of the 18th dynasty after Amenhotep I could have been the decidedly rough appearance of K93.11's walls (exemplified in *Beginn* by several photographs). It should be noted though that KV20,

⁵⁰ *Beginn* p. 187.

⁵¹ *Beginn* p. 184.

⁵² *Beginn* p. 173-174.

⁵³ *Beginn* p. 211.

⁵⁴ *Beginn* p. 219.

⁵⁵ *Beginn* p. 219.

⁵⁶ *Beginn* p. 220.

Hatshepsut's tomb in the Valley of the Kings, shows very much the same roughness of appearance.

Now that Polz has restricted the range of possible owners to just two – Ahmose and Amenhotep I – he ventures to identify Amenhotep I as the probable (“mutmaßlicher”) owner of K93.11. For this, he turns to the following:

- a papyrus from the 20th dynasty which gives a description of the location of the tomb of Amenhotep I: papyrus Abbott;
- and the later joint veneration of Amenhotep I and his mother Ahmose-Nefertari.

Papyrus Abbott

Papyrus Abbott is one of a series of texts that deal with the tomb robberies at the end of the New Kingdom. It contains the report of an inspection tour in the necropolis of western Thebes, performed during the 20th dynasty, in the reign of Ramesses IX. Among the tombs inspected were ten “tombs of former kings”: two from the 11th dynasty (Wahankh Intef II and Nebhepetre Mentuhotep II), seven from the 17th, and one from the 18th (Amenhotep I). Only the location of the two tombs from the 11th dynasty is positively identified: that of Intef II at El-Tarif,⁵⁷ that of Mentuhotep II at Deir el-Bahri. Of the tomb of Amenhotep, a description of its location is given, but the text is not unambiguous, and has therefore been translated in a variety of ways:

Breasted (1906):⁵⁸

The eternal horizon⁵⁹ of King Zeserkere, son of Re, Amenhotep, which is 120 cubits deep (measured) from its superstructure, which is called: “The-High-Ascent,” north of the House of Amenhotep of the Garden.

Weigall (1911):⁶⁰

The tomb of King Zeserka(ra), son of the Sun Amenhotep, which measures 120 cubits down from the building (?) belonging to it which is called “The Height”, north of the Palace (or Temple) of Amenhotep of the Garden.

Thomas (1966):⁶¹

The Horizon of Eternity of king Djoserka(re), son of Re Amenhotep, that is 120 cubits below its “ahay” called “the high place”, north of the temple of Amenhotep of the Garden.

Breasted, like Maspero before him,⁶² takes the 120 cubits to refer to some measurement *inside* the tomb. While this may grammatically be a correct solution, it is now generally rejected on rational grounds; the descriptions given in this papyrus of other tombs are all confined to external characteristics, and as the inspectors were not to enter the sealed tombs, they would have had little reason to mention any internal features. That is why recent translations tend to follow the position, first proposed by Weigall.

So we have two elements in this description that are potentially informative about the tomb's location: it is 120 cubits (approx. 62-63 meter⁶³) below something else (unfor-

⁵⁷ For the location of this tomb, see *RN*, Fig. 2a and 2b on page 6. The tomb of Wahankh Intef II is marked with the letter C.

⁵⁸ *BAR IV*, p. 245-264.

⁵⁹ A common circumscription of “tomb”.

⁶⁰ *ASAE 11*, p. 175.

⁶¹ *RN* p. 70.

⁶² Maspero's translation is quoted in *Rose 2000*, p. 12-13.

⁶³ In *JEA III* (p. 150), Carter introduces a measurement of 52.310 cm as length of the cubit: the mean of three actual cubit rods, now in museums. This estimate is still widely used. So e.g. Weeks in *Treasures*, p. 116: 52,3 cm. (An inquiry into the “true” length of the cubit is pointless, though. The ancient Egyptians did not have a vault somewhere, carefully kept at zero degrees, with a golden cubit inside. To some, the

tunately, the exact meaning of “ahay” is not known), and it is north of a building (possibly, but not necessarily a temple), connected with the name Amenhotep. This could be Amenhotep I, but Amenhotep II or III are also possible, and Thomas believes that it could refer to Amenhotep, son of Hapu, whose mortuary temple was located north-east of Medinet Habu.⁶⁴

Polz can not identify the “ahay”. He believes however that the “House of Amenhotep of the Garden” is Meniset: Amenhotep I’s presumed mortuary temple, which lies due south of K93.11.

Meniset

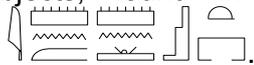
This temple, south of Dra Abu en-Naga, was first discovered in the 1890’s, and already at that time, it consisted of little more than remnants of its lower courses. Today, the last scant remains are inaccessible, and about to perish beneath an “alabaster factory” and a private residence.⁶⁵

At first, only part of the building was discovered, by Spiegelberg, who attributed it to Amenhotep I. In 1898-1899, Spiegelberg and Newberry found another part of the same building, a few meters to the north. They thought this to be a separate building, dedicated to Ahmose-Nefertari.⁶⁶ In 1916 however, Carter produced a plan of the site, showing it to be one building, with an axis that was almost exactly north-south.⁶⁷

This is now no longer disputed, but one may still find it described as a double temple, of which the southern part was dedicated to Amenhotep I, and the northern part to Ahmose-Nefertari. There are however no indications for the existence of such a subdivision in this building, and it appears most unlikely.⁶⁸

In 1980, Van Siclen published a study about this temple.⁶⁹ It shows the following:

- The name of this place was Meniset. The evidence for this comes from several objects, found in the temple, which speak of “Amun at Meniset”.⁷⁰



- It was originally built during the early 18th dynasty. There are however also later Ramesside additions and alterations.
- On materials, found in the temple, the names of various deities occur. Most frequently mentioned are the following:
 - Ahmose-Nefertari: 12 times
 - Amun: 8 times
 - Amenhotep I: 4 times.
- Most of the inscribed items found in the temple belong to the category of votive objects. This means that the names just mentioned indicate who were here at some time worshipped, not necessarily for who the building was originally erected.
- There once stood a jubilee portal in this temple, showing the Sed festival of Amenhotep I.⁷¹ This suggests a close link of this building to the person of that king - such as one would expect in a royal mortuary temple.

difference between the ancient and the modern is difficult to grasp.)

⁶⁴ RN p. 71.

⁶⁵ *Beginn* p. 105.

⁶⁶ *JEA III*, p. 147.

⁶⁷ *JEA III*, plate XIX and XXIII.

⁶⁸ Joint veneration of more than one god in a temple mostly took the form of having multiple, separate shrines - and those were built in parallel, not in series. So regularly in temples for the Theban Triad. See also the seven shrines in Seti I’s mortuary temple at Abydos. Moreover, the only actual double temple of ancient Egypt that I’m aware of - the temple of Horus and Sobek at Kom Ombo - is divided along a longitudinal axis: the left of the temple belonging to Horus, the right to Sobek.

⁶⁹ *Meniset*.

⁷⁰ *Meniset* p. 202, fig. 18.

⁷¹ See Fig. 7, *Meniset* p. 200 for a reconstruction of this portal.

The location of this temple - at the edge of the cultivation – moreover corresponds with that of all later royal mortuary temples in this area. So the picture emerges, that this may originally have been Amenhotep's mortuary temple, but that it later became a place where also - perhaps even primarily - his mother Ahmose-Nefertari and Amun were worshipped. There are however several more temples in the name of Amenhotep I known from this area, either from texts or from archeological remains, and it can not be excluded that one of those was in fact Amenhotep's mortuary temple.⁷²

The implications of a possible connection between K93.11 and Meniset

With an underground shaft and an above-ground cult chapel, K93.11 follows the classic model of a rock-cut tomb. No indications have been found that the cult chapel was in any way closed or walled in: it probably stayed accessible for the presentation of offerings – as was indeed standard practice for rock-cut tombs. This does not per se mean, that the tomb could not have had an additional mortuary temple. But if Meniset belonged to K93.11, then this can not be interpreted as an early instance of separation of tomb and offering facility: the presence of a cult chapel right next to the tomb demonstrates that such a separation was not intended. After all, the whole point of separating tomb and chapel was to allow the tomb to be hidden – and K93.11, proud and high on the Dra Abu en-Naga hills, was anything but hidden.

The later joint veneration of Amenhotep I and his mother Ahmose-Nefertari

All over the Theban necropolis, Amenhotep I and his mother Ahmose-Nefertari were after their death revered as gods.⁷³ Temples and shrines existed in their name, and they were depicted as gods in private tomb chapels. It has often been remarked, that this veneration was particularly intense at Deir el-Medineh, the village of the workers who built the tombs in the Valley of the Kings. There were cult centers for the two in the village, and in Ramesside times, most houses had a stela in their front room in honor of them.⁷⁴ These matters have widely been interpreted as evidence, that Amenhotep I was responsible for founding Deir el-Medineh⁷⁵ - and as an indication that Amenhotep's tomb was the first in the Valley of the Kings.

A recent study however has shed new light on this issue. From the work of G. Hollender, Daniel Polz advances the following observations:⁷⁶

- First of all, the oldest datable evidence at Deir el-Medineh consists of mud bricks in the wall surrounding the village, stamped with the name of Amenhotep's successor Tutmosis I. This means that there is no contemporary evidence of a connection between Amenhotep I and this village.
- The first tomb in the Deir el-Medineh cemetery with a depiction of Amenhotep I and Ahmose-Nefertari dates from the reign of Ramesses II.
- In other Theban tombs, outside Deir el-Medineh, this motif already occurs in the reign of Amenhotep III: a century before.
- In the region of Dra Abu en-Naga, 2 km north-east of Deir el-Medineh, it occurs earlier, and more often, than in the cemetery of Deir el-Medineh.

⁷² See e.g. Dodson, who assumes that the mortuary chapel of Amenhotep I was located "at Deir el-Bahri, just north of the temple-tomb of Mentuhotep II." (*Dodson* p. 23). Or Thomas, in *RN* p. 173:

"the two [Amenhotep I and Ahmose-Nefertari] had [also] a temple in the Deir el-Bahri bay, if not a third at Medinet Habu." And Rose mentions one more: "the temple of Amenhotep I in the area of the Ptolemaic temple at Deir el-Medina" (*Rose 2000*, p. 13).

⁷³ *Oxford* p. 223.

⁷⁴ *Oxford* p. 223.

⁷⁵ So e.g. Reeves/Wilkinson: *R/W* p. 88. Bryan all but takes the same position when she mentions that Amenhotep I and his mother were the patron deities of Deir el-Medineh "quite likely from the founding of the settlement" (*Oxford* p. 223).

⁷⁶ *Beginn* p. 190-191. Hollender's work is an unpublished dissertation: see *Beginn* p. 190, n. 738.

Polz sees in these facts indications, that the veneration of Amenhotep I and his mother originated in the area of Dra Abu en-Naga, perhaps because their tombs were located there. He subsequently interprets this as a point in favor of his identification of K93.11 and K93.12 as the tombs of these two.

Is K93.11 the tomb of Amenhotep I?

In total, Polz musters the following arguments in favor of his identification of K93.11 as the tomb of Amenhotep I:

- The origin of the joint veneration of Amenhotep I and Ahmose-Nefertari is the area of Dra Abu en-Naga. This is an indication that their tombs may have been there.
- K93.11 and K93.12 are built as a double tomb: this would perfectly fit the “royal twosome” of Amenhotep I and Ahmose-Nefertari.
- Meniset was Amenhotep’s mortuary temple, and K93.11 is located due north of it. This is in concord with pAbbott.
- Meniset is oriented almost exactly north-south, which is a unique feature for a royal mortuary temple in the Theban necropolis. All other mortuary temples in this area are oriented towards the Nile: roughly northwest-southeast. So Meniset was in fact oriented towards K93.11.
- One Amenemhab, mayor of Thebes at the end of the 18th dynasty, had a mud brick pyramid erected, just before the terrace wall in front of K93.11 and K93.12.⁷⁷ He was connected to a temple of Amenhotep I (possibly Meniset), and Polz presumes that this man intended to construct in this way a cultic link between himself and the tomb of the king in whose temple he served.⁷⁸

It seems to me that the following arguments can be raised against Polz’s theory:

- Although there are significant indications to suggest that Meniset was Amenhotep’s mortuary temple, this is far from certain (see the relevant section on page 22 above). For an identification of Meniset as “the House of Amenhotep of the Garden,” no indications whatsoever are forthcoming.
- The tomb itself is *not* oriented north-south, but northwest-southeast. If Meniset was built in conjunction with K93.11, it would have been more logical to orient it the same way as the tomb: northwest-southeast. The temple could have been on the same axis as the tomb, if it had been built about 200 meter east of its actual location.
- It seems to me that the royal mortuary temples of western Thebes were in most cases⁷⁹ *not* oriented to the bank of the river Nile – or to either Karnak or Luxor temple – but at a right angle to the edge of the cultivation. In the idealized geography of the ancient Egyptians, the Nile flows south-north, and the edge of the cultivation runs parallel to this. Faced with the task of orienting a temple towards the east, one may have taken one’s bearing from the nearest available indicator: the edge of the cultivation. Today, the edge of the cultivation runs here roughly east-west. Chances are, that this wasn’t any different in pharaonic times. In that case, orienting Meniset at a right angle to this cultivation line would have been north-south in the actual geography, but east-west in the idealized geography. This orientation would in that case not have been anything special, and therefore not per se indicative of anything.
- If this had been the tomb of the later so highly venerated Amenhotep I, its courts would once have been filled to the brim with stelae in his name. But although lots of debris were found here, ranging in period from the early 18th till late 20th dynas-

⁷⁷ *Beginn* p. 180.

⁷⁸ *Beginn* p. 188-190.

⁷⁹ Seti I’s temple is an exception: this one is almost directly opposite the Karnak temple, and definitely appears to be oriented towards that temple.

ty, nothing could be identified as having any relation to either Amenhotep I or Ahmose-Nefertari.

- If this had been the tomb of the later so highly venerated Amenhotep I, no Ramesside official would have dared usurp the place for himself, even if the original burial would have been removed by then. Especially during the 20th dynasty, when the reverence for Amenhotep and his mother was at its peak, such an act would have been unthinkable.
- If the officials of Ramesses IX visited K93.11, they would almost certainly have included the adjacent tomb, K94.01, in their survey, too. Polz attributes that one to Ahmose-Nefertari, but she is not mentioned in pAbbott.
- The officials of Ramesses IX reported the tomb of Amenhotep to be “intact”. This is inconsistent with the conversion of the tomb into a cult chapel for Ramsesnakht in the reign of Ramesses VI.

Additional observations

- *In the onset to his theory, Polz stipulated that these tombs – all three of them – were kings’ tombs: “Als mögliche Besitzer der Grabanlagen kommen grundsätzlich Herrscher der 17. und der frühen 18. Dynastie in Betracht.”⁸⁰ His later proposition that K93.11 and K93.12 are the tombs of Amenhotep I and Ahmose-Nefertari is conflicting with this*
- *For K93.11, Polz spoke of two possible candidates from the 18th dynasty: Ahmose and Amenhotep I.⁸¹ He completely ignores however Ahmose, dealing instead only with Amenhotep.*
- *If K93.11 and K93.12 are the tombs of Amenhotep I and Ahmose-Nefertari, why should that of Amenhotep then be K93.11, and not K93.12? With K93.12 not yet fully investigated, this amounts to jumping to conclusions.*

In combination with his “oversight” concerning Tuthmosis I (see page 20 above) a picture starts emerging of a considerable bias.

Conclusions

- In the history of tomb building, we may assume, between the royal tombs of the 17th dynasty at Dra Abu en-Naga, and those of the 18th dynasty in the Valley of the Kings, the presence of a transitional period, somewhere. K93.11 however is not yet part of that transition: it still firmly belongs to the older of the two traditions. The decisive factor is, that no attempt was yet made to hide this tomb.
- Polz’s claim that this may have been the tomb of Amenhotep I is untenable.

An alternative appraisal

When we look more open-minded to the matter of dating this tomb, we should return to the timeframe defined earlier: the 17th, or early 18th dynasty. Polz’s reasons for eliminating the 17th dynasty are really wanting.⁸² Based on the already discussed indicators of location and size, a dating of this tomb in the 17th dynasty seems a distinct possibility.

Assuming – as I’m sure we may – that K93.11 was expertly excavated and documented, we must conclude that this tomb’s owner can – if at all – only be identified through indirect evidence. Which is what Polz tries to do, looking at Meniset, and the joint veneration of Amenhotep I and Ahmose-Nefertari. Regrettably, the end result of his effort has proved to be untenable. This does however not mean that now all available clues have been exhausted.

First of all, there is one constructional element in K93.11 and K93.12 that is reminiscent of work, attributed to Ahmose. Part of Ahmose’s cenotaph complex at Abydos is

⁸⁰ See page 19 above.

⁸¹ See page 21 above.

⁸² See page 19 above.

a construction that consists of two broad terraces, built against the desert cliff, one above the other. Polz points out, that these may have been constructed from the rock and chips that came from the excavation of the subterranean structure, some two hundred meters in front of the terraces.⁸³ This presents a striking analogy with the terrace in front of the two tombs, made from their excavation debris. The analogy is not lost on Polz, but he does not elaborate on it. The similarity is however such, that one would be tempted to assume these structures to be not too far removed from each other, temporally.

But the most significant feature of this double-tomb is, that it's a double-tomb. Combined burials were by no means rare in ancient Egypt, but these normally come in two types:

- one structure with multiple burials (such as the family mastaba's of the 6th dynasty);
- and large tombs surrounded by smaller ones (e.g. the first dynasty kings' tombs with their subsidiary tombs, the Old Kingdom pyramids with their rows of mastaba's, or the 11th dynasty saff-tombs).

This complex of two individual, yet united, juxtaposed tombs, of exactly the same high status, is probably unique in ancient Egypt.

These were king's tombs, and every king was supposed to rule for a generation, with total commitment to that time span. For a ruling king to construct a double tomb, for himself and his son, would have been unnatural. Inversely, a son who had just become king would not construct for his father a tomb, comparable in size to his own (we will come back to this phenomenon later, see page 44 below). A king and his major queen? No queen was ever that important: not even Akhenaten did this for Nefertiti, nor Ramesses II for Nefertari.

If Polz is right, and these tombs were constructed simultaneously, as one project, I can only see one possible scenario: they were constructed for a king who had a twin brother.

The ancient Egyptian attitude towards twins is strangely ambiguous. Before the Late Period, only one definite case of twins is known: that of Suty and Hor, architects during the reign of Amenhotep III. It seems that the subject of twins was avoided. During the Late Period, when twins are more frequently mentioned, an oracular text describes the birth of twins as "inauspicious."⁸⁴ In the realm of divinity and kingship however, multiple births are viewed much more positively. On the Palermo Stone, one particular year is referred to as the "Year of the birth of the two royal children:" presumably twins. In papyrus Westcar, the birth of the first three kings of the 5th dynasty is represented as the birth of triplets. And during the Late Period, Isis and Nephthys are sometimes regarded as twins, as are Shu and Tefnut.

It has been suggested that Ahmose and Kamose were brothers, but in pAbbott, only Kamose is mentioned, as number 8 in the list. Number 9 though is the tomb of Ahmose-Sapair. Ahmose-Sapair was actually not a king, but a prince: his title is "king's son." It is unclear where he fits in exactly in the royal genealogy, but it seems certain that he belongs to the late 17th or early 18th dynasty.⁸⁵ Although he never became king, he enjoyed a remarkable posthumous reverence, until at least the end of the New Kingdom. Perhaps he was a brother of Kamose; his name in any event suggests that he belonged to what Bryan refers to as "the Ahmosid family."⁸⁶ Now if Ahmose-Sapair was Kamose's *twin* brother, it would all fit perfectly: the unique double tomb, and the unique reverence for a prince who never got to be king.

But sure enough: without additional corroboration, it's just fancy speculation...

⁸³ *Beginn* p. 97. For more on this interesting complex, see: E.R. Ayrton, C.T. Currelly and A.E.P. Weigall: *Abydos III* (1904).

⁸⁴ John R. Baines in the *Lexikon der Ägyptologie (Zwilling)*, col. 1436-1437, LÄ VI).

⁸⁵ Thomas quotes two sources proposing Ahmose-Sapair to be a son of Ahmose (Gauthier and Porter & Moss), and one that considers him a son of Amenhotep I (Winlock) (*RN* p. 40).

⁸⁶ See page 48 below. About Ahmose-Sapair, see also *Beginn* p. 155-158, and p. 228-229.

3. AN B

Sources, in chronological order:	Quoted as:
HOWARD CARTER, <i>Report on the Tomb of Zeser-Ka-Ra Amenhetep I, discovered by the Earl of Carnarvon in 1914</i> . JEA III (1916), p. 147-154.	JEA III
ELIZABETH THOMAS, <i>The royal necropoleis of Thebes</i> (1966), p. 70-71 (about Amenhotep I) and p. 172-173 (about tomb AN B).	RN
JOHN ROMER, <i>Royal Tombs of the Early Eighteenth Dynasty</i> . MDAIK 32 (1976), p.191-206.	JRRT
JOHN ROMER, <i>Valley of the Kings</i> (1981), p.288-289, 291, 296-298.	RVK
AIDAN DODSON, <i>Egyptian Rock-cut Tombs</i> (1991), p. 23-25.	Dodson
NICHOLAS REEVES AND RICHARD H. WILKINSON, <i>The Complete Valley of the Kings</i> (1996), p. 90.	R/W
BETSY M. BRYAN, <i>The Eighteenth Dynasty before the Amarna Period</i> , in: IAN SHAW (ED.): <i>The Oxford History of Ancient Egypt</i> (2000).	Oxford
DANIEL POLZ, <i>Der Beginn des Neuen Reiches. Zur Vorgeschichte einer Zeitenwende</i> (2007), p. 192-197.	Beginn

Tomb AN B is situated near the top of a gentle slope, on a plateau in an otherwise deserted area, 350 meter NNW of the tomb just described (K93.11). The designation AN B is from Thomas; it means: tomb B in the area of Dra Abu en-Naga. Although the tomb actually lies north of these hills, Thomas included it in a group of seven for which she could find no better designation: "Under Dra Abu'n-Naga, for lack of a more precise term, will be placed Tomb [AN] A-G, [although] these [are] as far as 1700 m distant from each other (..)"⁸⁷

The question of who was the original owner of AN B has been the subject of considerable debate. The combination of the finds in the tomb on the one hand (see page 31 below) and its size and complexity on the other hand, make it clear that this was a royal tomb from the early 18th dynasty, but opinions oscillate between Amenhotep I and his mother, queen Ahmose-Nefertari. Carter, who excavated the tomb, vigorously defended the position that it belonged to Amenhotep. Several others (among whom Weigall, Cerný, Thomas and Romer) disagreed, opting for Ahmose-Nefertari. Speculations concerning the possibility of a joint burial of the two have also been popular: even Carter contemplated it.⁸⁸ The evidence is complex though, and the matter was never settled in a convincing way.

Discovery

The tomb was discovered originally by the *Gurnawis*: the inhabitants of Abd el-Gurna, a village situated – most strategically – right in the middle of the Theban necropolis. They probably found it in or shortly before 1907. At that time, interesting items started to appear on the international antiquities market, displaying the names of Amenhotep I and his mother queen Ahmose-Nefertari.⁸⁹ The "official" archeologists of the day soon realized that possibly, the missing tomb of Amenhotep I had been found, and did their utmost to discover its location. Carter, Flinders Petrie and

⁸⁷ RN p. 171.

⁸⁸ JEA III, p. 152, to be discussed on page 37 below.

⁸⁹ Carter mentions a Book of the Dead from Amenhotep I, and two fragments of alabaster vases with the names of Amenhotep and Ahmose-Nefertari (JEA III, p. 151, n. 1).

Burton (the latter working for Davis), each spend considerable time searching for it - whilst all being carefully misguided by the *Gurnawis*.

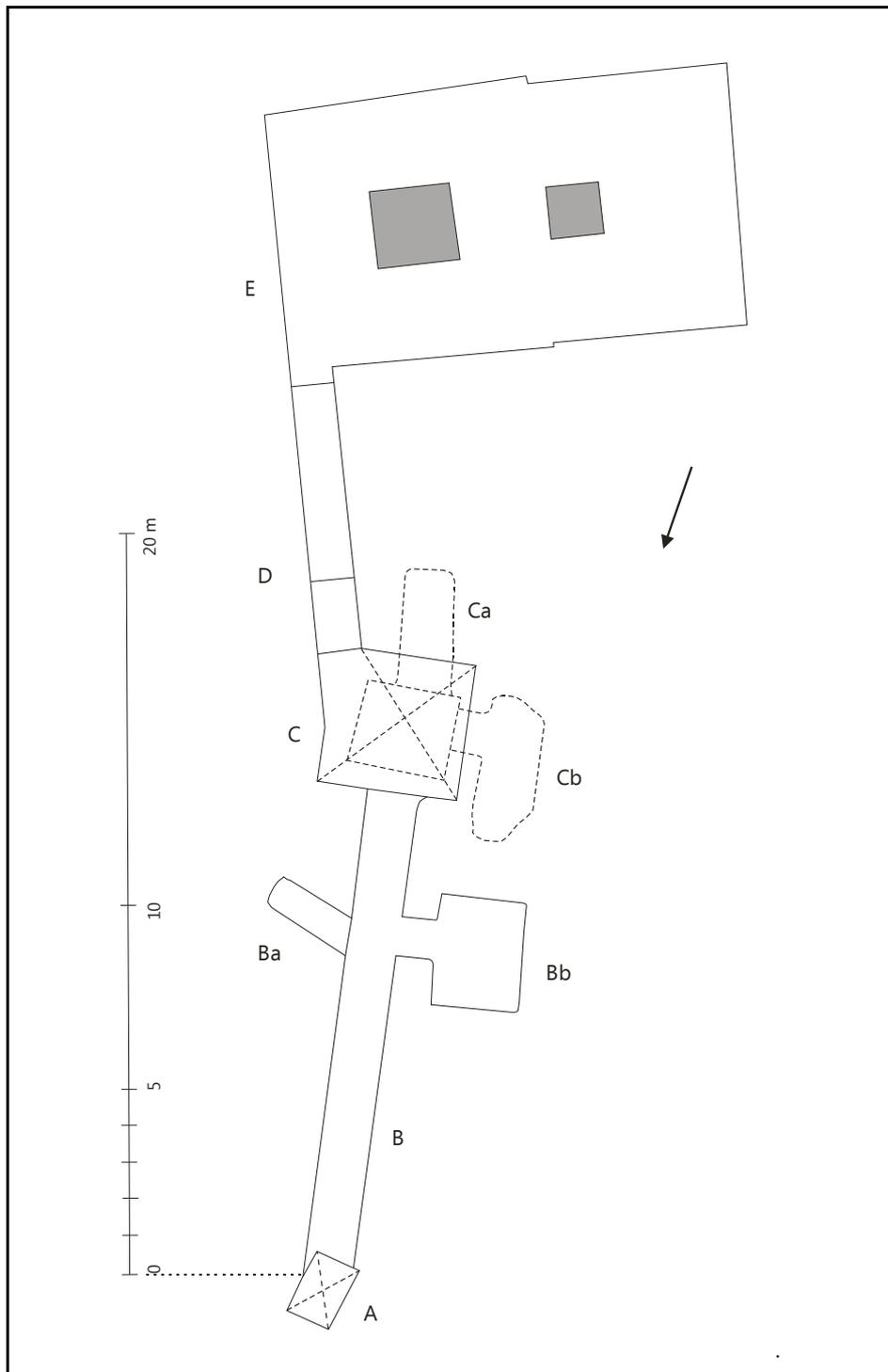


Fig. 5 Tomb AN B

It was only in 1914, no doubt after making absolutely certain that to them, the tomb was completely exhausted, that the *Gurnawis* finally sold their knowledge of its whereabouts to Carter.⁹⁰ In keeping with the customs of the time, Carter later graciously attributed the tomb's discovery to his patron, Lord Carnarvon.

⁹⁰ See *RVK* p. 296-297 for a vivid description of this episode.

Description

Quite unlike K93.11, this tomb's entrance is carefully concealed under a large bolder.⁹¹ As an additional measure to hide the tomb's presence, the chippings from its excavation were "removed in its entirety to a considerable distance away, and hidden in a depression in the ravine below".⁹² Entry into the tomb is by means of a vertical shaft (A), 9 m deep.⁹³ Below, a horizontal corridor (B) of 14 m leads to a well chamber (C) with well: the first in a New Kingdom rock cut tomb. To the right of corridor B is a small side chamber (Bb); opposite this chamber, to the left, is a feature that Carter identifies as a niche, but which looks more like an unfinished chamber (Ba). The well is 10 meter deep. Going down, it tapers in. Below are two roughly cut side chambers (Ca and Cb).

Beyond the well, a further horizontal corridor of 7.5 meter (D) leads to the burial chamber (E). This room is 12.20 m long, while its width varies between 6.95 m and 7.15 m. The plan of the burial chamber shows, that it was originally conceived as a nearly square chamber, with one rather stout pillar in the middle. It was then at some point enlarged, almost doubling its size, with a second, somewhat less massive pillar. *When* this change in design was effected is not self-evident. Carter assumed that it took place as part of the initial cutting process of the tomb ("no doubt contemporaneous with the construction of the tomb"⁹⁴), but not everyone agrees. When discovered, the tomb was greatly encumbered with *debris*: "Lord Carnarvon discovered the tomb to be three parts full of detritus from the desert, the Protective Well being filled to the level of the galleries and the Sepulchral Hall being the only part that was at all clear."⁹⁵

Although the tomb is, within its temporal context, majestic of proportions, its overall appearance is still primitive. In the words of Romer: "In general the Dra Abu'l Nega tomb is roughly cut and the walls are often out of vertical."⁹⁶

If we examine the plan closely, we will see furthermore that the tomb's lay-out was left to chance more than to planning. The first corridor does not continue along the axis of the entrance shaft, but moves a bit to the left. Behind the well chamber, the next corridor limply moves off even further left. At its end, the final chamber just as awkwardly turns to the right. According to Carter, this rather offhand planning was due to "the poor quality of the rock in which the tomb is hewn, and also to the custom, not uncommon among the ancient masons, of utilizing whenever possible the natural surfaces formed by the fissures in the rock".⁹⁷ This informal aspect of early New Kingdom tomb building is still quite apparent in KV34, Tuthmosis III's tomb. In his description of that tomb, Romer closely follows Carter's observations just quoted: "Tuthmosis III's tomb already displays the main elements of the architecture of all the later tombs [in the Valley of the Kings] and in the order in which they were always used. However, the precise relationship and articulation of these units was left rather to expediency. Occasionally the precise direction of the corridor for example, was established by following a crack in the rock. The tomb of Tuthmosis III is a series of rooms and staircases joined haphazardly by tunnels."⁹⁸

One aspect of AN B that can easily be overlooked is, that it possessed no superstructure of any kind. If this was a king's tomb, it is so far the earliest one known without an immediately associated above-ground component.

⁹¹ For a picture, see *R/W*, p. 90.

⁹² *JEA III*, p. 149. Carter marks the spot on his sketch map of the area (Plate XIX), at some 250 meters to the east.

⁹³ I have worked out the measurements here mentioned from Carter's plan.

⁹⁴ *JEA III*, p. 150.

⁹⁵ *JEA III*, p. 151.

⁹⁶ *JRRT* p. 199.

⁹⁷ *JEA III*, p. 150.

⁹⁸ *RVK*, p. 211.

The well

The presence of a well in this tomb is enigmatic. In the tombs in the Valley of the Kings, the well is only present in king's tombs, and only from Tuthmosis III onwards. If this be the tomb of Amenhotep I, it would be three kings too early (or four, if we include Hatshepsut). If this was the tomb of Ahmose-Nefertari, it would moreover be in a wrong gender-context. The most common way out of these problems is, to propose that the well was a later addition. (We will find that both Thomas and Romer opt for this solution).

As was noted above, Carter found the well completely filled, "to the level of the galleries". This puzzled him: "How all this rubbish got further than the Entrance Pit and the commencement of the First Gallery is one of the problems yet to be solved."

Which means that it was not washed-in debris from rain storms: Carter would certainly have recognized such fill, which he had seen before. (The tomb's location, in relatively open country, would have made the influx of water-borne debris in such quantities very unlikely, too.)

In the meantime, it is remarkable how much this well already anticipates the later wells of regal tombs. The exit of the well chamber is on the left side of the wall opposite the entrance - as will be the case in all tombs with a well up until Amenhotep III. In those later tombs, that doorway was closed, sealed, and painted over, to hide its presence, but in AN B, no signs to this effect were found.⁹⁹

AN B's well has two side chambers below. In the well of Tuthmosis III, there were no side chambers, but the following three tombs - those of Amenhotep II, Tuthmosis IV and Amenhotep III - each had one.

A special case is tomb DB358, near Hatshepsut's temple at Deir el-Bahri.¹⁰⁰ This tomb, belonging to Ahmose-Meryetamun (queen of Amenhotep I), also had a well - but without side chambers.

The following table lists the particulars of these early 18th dynasty wells:

Owner	Tomb	Exit in left corner	Exit walled	Side chambers
Amenhotep I ?	AN B	Yes	No	2
Ahmose-Meryetamun (queen of Amenhotep I)	DB358	Yes	No	0
Tuthmosis I	Several candidates, so far none with a well	?	?	?
Tuthmosis II	Tomb probably still undiscovered	?	?	?
Hatshepsut	KV20	-	-	-
Tuthmosis III	KV34	Yes	Yes	0
Amenhotep II	KV35	Yes	Yes	1
Tuthmosis IV	KV43	Yes	Yes	1
Amenhotep III	KV22	Yes	Yes	1

Table 1 Wells in early 18th dynasty royal tombs

Carter voices an interesting theory about the well's side chambers: "These chambers might be said to form a sort of false tomb, as, up to the present day, in none of the Royal tombs of this type has any evidence been found that these chambers were intended for use, either for burial purposes or to contain part of the tomb equipment."¹⁰¹ In the somewhat later tombs, where the well's exit was concealed, the well may (also) have been meant as a decoy for intruders: giving the false impression that the

⁹⁹ *JEA III*, n. 4 on p. 149. Carter assumed though, that closure was intended.

¹⁰⁰ For this tomb, see H. E. Winlock: *The tomb of Queen Meryet-Amun at Thebes* (1932).

¹⁰¹ *JEA III* p. 149, n. 3.

sequel of the tomb was to be found deeper, down the shaft of the well: “Look, here are more rooms!”

Plan

The only plan ever made of AN B is Carter’s, published in *JEA III*. Both Thomas and Romer simply copied it - as have I. Unfortunately, Carter’s plans tend to be schematic rather than accurate.¹⁰² Especially the straightness of the walls of the various rooms may be deceptive: my guess is, that this is a simplification of reality. (See also Romer’s remark about the overall appearance of the tomb, quoted above on page 29.)

I have not used Thomas’ designations per room,¹⁰³ but simply labeled them A till E. Referring to the well chamber as E, and to the burial chamber as J, suggests that this tomb already is a direct ancestor to the royal tombs in the Valley of the Kings - a suggestion that can not be substantiated, and that in fact will lead to false conclusions - as we will see later when we come to Romer’s remarks about left versus right turns in royal tombs (see page 40 below).

Within the context of the early 18th dynasty, there can be little doubt that this was a royal tomb, in the sense defined above: belonging to either a king, or a great royal wife. This follows from its size and innovative design, in comparison to other tombs of this period.¹⁰⁴ The evidence shows (by way of conspicuous absence) that in this early period princes - even crown princes - did not yet have enough status to merit a tomb of such size and complexity - nor did princesses, or “minor” queens.

Back to the burial chamber

The strange, uncharacteristic “indent” in the side walls of the burial chamber has universally been interpreted as an indication that this room was at some point enlarged. On an intuitive level, this seems obvious – but let’s be honest: it’s not as if the ancient Egyptians didn’t know how to cut a straight wall. And this wasn’t just any old tomb, either: it was a *royal* tomb. So how could this have come about?

In all ancient Egyptian constructional stone working, it was standard procedure to first complete a surface in the rough. Whether it was a wall or a column, built in the open, or underground, it would only be smoothed, top-down, *after* it had been erected in full. From the burial chamber’s plan we can deduce, that the surfaces of the original square chamber had already been smoothed when it was decided to enlarge it. To minimize work, the center part of the already smoothed east wall was promoted to the west surface of a second pillar.¹⁰⁵ The extensions of the north and south walls were initially cut some 10 cm inward from their intended final position. This allowed the masons to work fast: they didn’t yet have to worry about being precise, because enough room was left to err in. The walls would then later be cut back to their definitive position during the smoothing process. In the end though, lack of time, or some unforeseen interruption, prevented the execution of this plan.

Finds

The objects found in the tomb show that it has been used more than once. First of all, there were burnt remains of several wooden coffins from the 22nd dynasty. These ap-

¹⁰² See e.g. his plan of WA D (Hatshepsut’s cliff tomb), which later has been corrected by Baraize: *ASAE XXI* (1921), p. 175-182. See also the examples of KV20 (Hatshepsut’s tomb in the Valley), and KV62 (Tutankhamun) both documented on the TMP website.

¹⁰³ *RN* Fig. 15 on p. 159.

¹⁰⁴ See e.g. Figures 15 and 16 in *RN* (p. 159-160), or Fig. 3 on page 13 above.

¹⁰⁵ This should show in the finishing of that side of the pillar. Carter unfortunately does not give details about the degree of finishing of the various surfaces.

parently belonged to the ubiquitous Third Intermediate Period “intrusive burials”. Then there were parts of two basalt statuettes (a man’s and a woman’s) from the post-Amarna period (late 18th / early 19th dynasty),¹⁰⁶ and a small greywacke¹⁰⁷ king’s head from the early 18th dynasty. The king’s head is variously identified: Carter assumed it to be Amenhotep I, several others (among whom Hayes and Romer¹⁰⁸) take it to represent Tuthmosis III.¹⁰⁹

Also from the early 18th dynasty are the numerous fragments of stone vessels that Carter found. All were smashed, but on some of the pieces, bits of text had survived - including several royal names.

A total of 54 different vessels could be identified by their remains; 21 of these had been inscribed (20 of alabaster, and 1 of “green feldspar”). The following names were recorded:

- The Hyksos king Apop: once. The text also mentions a daughter of his, Herti.
- Ahmose, first king of the 18th dynasty: 3 times.
- His great royal wife, queen Ahmose-Nefertari: 8 times.
- And their son, Amenhotep I: 9 times.¹¹⁰

As these vessels represent the oldest materials discovered in the tomb, the conclusion lies close at hand that they might be from the original burial.

But whose burial would that have been?

In *JRRT*, Romer warns against “the general principle of using inscribed objects alone to determine the ownership of such tombs”.¹¹¹ The example that he gives is that of WD B, a tomb that held the intact burials of three lesser wives of Tuthmosis III.¹¹² Only a handful of objects were actually inscribed with these queens’ names, the rest of the “copious grave furniture”¹¹³ carrying just the names of Tuthmosis III and Hatshepsut, then still acting as regent. Had this burial been plundered as severely as that in tomb AN B, then probably only the latter names would have been preserved. From those names alone, we would never have guessed that this tomb once housed three wives of Tuthmosis III.

*Perhaps on the court of the early 18th dynasty, only for the most important members of the royal family, a complete burial set was prepared in advance, including specially commissioned objects, inscribed with the future defunct’s name. The lower classes (of the court) may have been interred with what was available in the way of general supplies – which still meant that their burials could be quite rich. Those who lived in the palace were at all times surrounded by objects bearing the names of the reigning king, and to a lesser extent that of his great royal wife: furniture, jewelry, unguent containers, mirrors, writing gear, games, weapons, boxes, etcetera. So when a burial had to be prepared for any member of the royal family, the name of the king and his major queen would automatically be well represented.*¹¹⁴

A related matter is the split of names in the finds. Could that perhaps be of some use? Once again, Romer issues a warning: we can not simply identify the owner of AN B from the relative frequency of these names, because of the thoroughly ruined

¹⁰⁶ When Carter wrote his article, in 1916, the distinctive post-Amarna style was apparently not yet recognized. He assumed the statuettes to be contemporary with the original burial, presumably depicting “the king and queen” (Amenhotep I and Ahmose-Nefertari). *JEA III*, p. 153.

¹⁰⁷ A type of sandstone.

¹⁰⁸ *JRRT* p. 203-4.

¹⁰⁹ The head is reproduced in *JEA III*. A lesser photograph in *R/W*, p. 90. It was actually “found” by illegal diggers: presumably the Gurnawis mentioned before; Carter purchased it “in Cairo”. He could demonstrate however that it came from AN B, because he found splinters there that fitted onto the head – or so he tells us (*JEA III* p. 151, n. 1). In my opinion, it does *not* represent Tuthmosis III: stylistically, it seems to predate his reign considerably. I see no reason why this could not be Amenhotep I.

¹¹⁰ *JEA III* p. 152 and Plate XXI.

¹¹¹ *JRRT* p. 201.

¹¹² Thomas speaks of “the Syrians Mewhet, Merti and Merwi.” See *RN* p.197-198, and Fig. 18 on p. 192.

¹¹³ *JRRT* p. 201.

¹¹⁴ This approach was for lesser queens perhaps in part adopted out of prudence; after all, who was to know which harem lady would stay in favor long enough to receive a state funeral?

and plundered status of the burial.¹¹⁵ However, there are in this particular burial no reasons to assume an unbalanced reduction in the number of objects. When a group of items is *randomly* reduced in numbers, the original distribution within that group can be expected to stay the same in the remaining sample, until that sample becomes too small to be still representative for the original set. It would therefore be quite helpful if we could arrive at an estimate for the original number of stone vessels in the tomb.

We have already established that this was a royal tomb (see page 31 above). What numbers of stone vessels could we expect in the burial of either a king, or a great royal wife, from the early 18th dynasty? And what distribution of names should we expect to find?

No intact, or almost intact, burial of a great royal wife from this period has ever come to light. What has been found are several coffins and at least one stone sarcophagus of a great royal wife.¹¹⁶ What we can learn from these is, that only the defunct's name was inscribed on them – not that of their husband. These queens had enough status to enter the Afterlife under their own name. I would therefore expect a great royal wife's name to be more prominently present in her burial than those of Tuthmosis III's Syrian queens were – but just how prominently, we have no way of knowing.

There is only one example of an almost untouched king's burial from the 18th dynasty: that of Tutankhamun (KV62). This burial contained "more than eighty" stone vessels; of these, nineteen were inscribed with the name of Tutankhamun or other members of the royal family.¹¹⁷ If we assume "more than eighty" to be 85, then 22% of the total number was inscribed.

Tutankhamun's burial was, although not undisturbed, still largely intact. The robbers moreover were primarily interested in jewelry, and in the *contents* of stone vessels: unguents and the like. Most pots were found empty, indicating that only their contents had been lifted, presumably by emptying them into leather sacks or bags. The stone containers were no doubt too heavy – as well as too easily traceable. I'm sure we can safely assume that the original number of stone vessels in this burial never exceeded 100.

Tutankhamun's burial was cramped in far too little space, and may therefore have been somewhat under-stocked in the way of stone vessels; perhaps an average king's burial of the later 18th dynasty had twice that many stone vessels: 200. The size and splendor of the royal burials of the 18th dynasty no doubt increased from king to king – as the tombs did – so if we assume that Amenhotep I had in his burial just as many stone vessels, then we are certainly not underestimating this. But perhaps AN B once held *two* royal burials: that of Amenhotep, and that of Ahmose-Nefertari. If we assume Ahmose-Nefertari's burial to have been as large as that of a king, we are once more certainly not guilty of underestimation. In that case, the original number of stone vessels in AN B could have amounted to 400, of which 88 inscribed – assuming the same distribution of inscribed versus uninscribed items as in KV62. In AN B, Carter actually identified 54 vessels, 21 of which were inscribed. In a table:

¹¹⁵ *JRRT* p. 201. For the details, Romer refers in a footnote to *JEA* III, Carter's original publication, according to which the name of Ahmose-Nefertari occurred 8 times, and that of Amenhotep 9 times. In *RVK* (published five years later), Romer mixes things up: "As for the inscriptional evidence, it was too confusing, and so much had already been taken from the tomb that a simple tally of names which actually brought Nefertari out in front as the chief claimant, proved very little" (*RVK* 297).

¹¹⁶ Coffins of Ahhotep (late 17th dynasty) and of Ahmose-Meryetamun (early 18th dynasty), sarcophagus of Hatshepsut (in tomb WA D: sarcophagus A). The attribution of sarcophagus B in KV42 to Hatshepsut-Meryetre is contested.

¹¹⁷ See Nicholas Reeves: *The Complete Tutankhamun* (1990), p. 198-199.

	A	B	C	D	E	F
	King Tut, as found	King Tut, max. origi- nal num- ber	Average king's burial of the 18 th dynasty (?) (= B x 2)	Amenhotep I & Ahmose- Nefertari (?) (= C x 2)	Actually identified in AN B	Column E as a per- centage of column D
Total number of stone vessels	± 85	100	200	400	54	13.5%
Of which in- scribed with royal names:	19	22	44	88	21	24%
Inscribed, in % of total	22%	22%	22%	22%	39%	

Table 2 Percentage of inscribed stone vessels in the tomb of Tutankhamun, compared to tomb AN B

It may seem that we have been heaping up numbers quite liberally, but there are a lot of uncertainties, too. The composition of a royal burial may e.g. have changed considerably between Amenhotep I and Tutankhamun. After all, the time difference is about two centuries.

If the numbers above make any sense, then at least one of every eight original stone vessels would – in part – have survived. A statistic could perhaps deduce from this to what extent the remaining sample can be regarded as representative for the original set, but not being a statistic, I will resort to my gut feel. I would say that such a proportion as one out of eight would, given a random reduction in numbers, still represent to a considerable degree the original distribution. I feel confident to make the following inferences:

1. In the original set, both the name of Amenhotep I and that of Ahmose-Nefertari were present in considerable numbers.
2. The name that was originally the most numerous one on these vessels was either of these two.

On the Tutankhamun stone vessels, the distribution of names was as follows:

- Tuthmosis III: 2 times.
- Amenhotep III: 4 times (once with also the name of his great royal wife, queen Tiye).
- Tutankhamun: 13 times (3 times with also the name of his great royal wife, Ankhsenamun).¹¹⁸

The older pieces, with the names of Tuthmosis III and Amenhotep III, were included in the burial as “heirlooms”. This was not uncommon; in the words of Carter: “In most of the Royal sepulchers discovered in the Theban necropolis, among the many objects discovered one sees objects bearing the names of relatives and ancestors of the monarch in whose tomb they are found.”¹¹⁹

When we compare this distribution to that, found in tomb AN B, we see both similarities and differences.

¹¹⁸ See Nicholas Reeves: *The Complete Tutankhamun* (1990), p. 198-199.

¹¹⁹ *JEA III*, p. 152, n. 5.

	AN B	KV62 (Tutankhamun)
Heirlooms	Apep and Herti (1) Ahmose (3)	Tuthmosis III (2) Amenhotep III (4)
Pieces of (possible) tomb owner	Ahmose-Nefertari (8) Amenhotep I (9)	Tutankhamun (13)

Table 3 Comparing the stone vessels in AN B and KV62 (Tutankhamun) by content

Similar is the presence of heirlooms, different is that in AN B *two* names are dominant, and hence possibly belong to the original tomb owner.

The presence of heirlooms in AN B also speaks against identifying its original owner as a royal back-bencher. I would expect such pieces to follow the line of true power: ending up in the burial of either a king, or a great royal wife.

Before we definitively exclude Apep, Herti and Ahmose as possible owners of this burial, let's take a final look at their chances.

Any claims – if they ever were – of Apep or his daughter Herti can be eliminated swiftly. Although Apep was a king, he was also Ahmose's main adversary. His burial, right here in Thebes, would be inconceivable. His daughter Herti does not qualify either: if she had been married to either Ahmose or Amenhotep I, as part of the arrangements of a truce, she would, as the daughter of a foreigner, certainly have acquired no higher status than that of a "minor queen."¹²⁰ Tomb AN B would have been way too grand for her.

But how about king Ahmose? When he was buried, his wife Ahmose-Nefertari was still alive, and their son Amenhotep I was already a few months in office. Both could therefore have contributed to his burial. There are however several matters that plead against this option:

- If this had been Ahmose's burial, his name would originally have been by far the most frequent one. A mere count of 3 out of 21 inscribed items would, in a random selection of 13.5% from the total set, be highly improbable.
- If this had been Ahmose's burial, the contributions by his son would in most – if not all – cases have been in the format of a dedicatory formula, such as the following: "King X made this as his monument for his father, King Y." Such formulae however are absent from the record.¹²¹

The presence of the names of both Ahmose-Nefertari *and* Amenhotep I does not constitute a problem per sé. It is known that Ahmose-Nefertari survived her husband Ahmose, still acting as God's Wife of Amun during the reign of her son Amenhotep I.¹²² We will shortly see evidence that she even outlived her son. Considering both her importance as one of the great matriarchs of the early New Kingdom, and her longevity, one would expect to find several items with her name in Amenhotep's burial: both on heirlooms, and on gifts of the mother for her deceased son.

Ahmose-Nefertari was a great royal wife, but not Amenhotep's great royal wife. The practice of a king's mother acting as his major queen is not attested before the reign of Amenhotep II (see page 14 above). Her burial would in substance have been pre-

¹²⁰ The three queens in WD B were apparently of Syrian origin, which made them diplomatic goodwill presents. But although they were buried in great luxury, there is no indication that their position at the court exceeded that of everyday harem ladies. Considering the prevailing feelings of superiority among the ancient Egyptians, this is to be expected for "foreigners" – and the daughter of a Hyksos would have been a foreigner, too.

¹²¹ From the burial of Tuthmosis I, several examples are known, with dedications by both Hatshepsut and Tuthmosis II. Note that in the Tutankhamun burial, such items (which should have been in the name of Ay) were entirely missing: another (superfluous) indication that his burial was prepared in a hurry.

¹²² Oxford p. 231.

pared during Ahmose's reign. As she remained "in office" during all of her son's reign, some items with the name of Amenhotep would no doubt have found their way into her burial. We don't know for sure how often Ahmose's name would have occurred in his great royal wife's burial, but I would expect it to have been much more common than that of her son, Amenhotep I. If this had been her burial, then the relative frequency of Amenhotep's name would be hard to explain. Inversely, if this was Amenhotep's burial, then the considerable number of occurrences of Ahmose-Nefertari's name would be equally difficult to explain.

Papyrus Abbott

As explained in the previous chapter, any potential tomb of Amenhotep I has to be checked against papyrus Abbott. In the full title of his publication, Carter shows himself totally convinced that he had found the tomb of Amenhotep I, and with great fervor he puts himself to the task of proving his point by demonstrating that the tomb passes the Abbott-test.

With respect to the temple ("north of the House of Amenhotep of the Garden"), Carter points out that AN B lies only 18° west of the south-north axis of Meniset, Amenhotep's presumed mortuary temple, almost 800 m away.¹²³ If you are a sailor, you would refer to this as north-by-northwest, but for landlubbers like us, "north" will do just fine. Carter is right: there is no particular reason why an Egyptian official would *not* have referred to AN B as lying north of this temple. As mentioned before, it is not absolutely certain that Meniset was Amenhotep's mortuary temple, but Carter's position in this one is definitely defensible. But not so his argument concerning the measurement of 120 cubits. He uses Breasted's translation, according to which the 120 cubits refer to an internal measurement of the tomb:

The eternal horizon of King Zeserkere, son of Re, Amenhotep, which is 120 cubits deep (measured) from its superstructure, which is called: "The-High-Ascent," north of the House of Amenhotep of the Garden.¹²⁴

He thereby ignores Weigall's more recent alternative¹²⁵ - as well as the fact that AN B has no superstructure. Carter draws a line on the plan and section of the tomb: from the top of the entrance shaft to its bottom, through the first corridor, down the well, on the other side of the well up again to the next corridor, and so on and so forth until the far side of the sarcophagus chamber. And he calculates that this line is almost exactly 120 cubits long.

Enough has been said about this approach: its fallacy may be considered self-evident.¹²⁶ Carter's ingenuity has all the characteristics of an attempt to prove a preconceived notion.

The location of AN B in a totally deserted area would have made an indication about where to find it most useful. But as Thomas remarks: today, there is nothing in particular at a distance of 120 cubits from the tomb's entrance.¹²⁷ R/W points at a "cairn", that is marked on Carter's sketch map of the area, but this is at a somewhat greater distance: about 160 cubits.¹²⁸ It may of course be, that some marker has since disappeared, - or that the figure of 120 cubits in the text is a scribal error.¹²⁹

¹²³ *JEA III*, p. 149.

¹²⁴ See page 21 above.

¹²⁵ Also on page 21 above.

¹²⁶ See the brief rebuttal (to borrow an expression from Thomas) on page 21 above.

¹²⁷ *RN* p. 173.

¹²⁸ *R/W* p. 90.

¹²⁹ Wouldn't that be the greatest irony of all: the whole modern scientific community running around with a measuring tape of 120 cubits, while some scribe just made a simple typo...

The context of Carter's conclusion

From 1907 till 1914, the Egyptological community had been in eager anticipation for the location of the tomb of Amenhotep I to be revealed. In that same period, the collaboration between Carter and lord Carnarvon had begun, and Carter must have been acutely aware of the desirability of him finding this tomb for his new patron. When the time had come to publish an article about AN B, Carter went very, very far out of his way to please his sponsor. It already begins with that unusual title: "Report on the Tomb of Zeser-Ka-Ra Amenhetep I, discovered by the Earl of Carnarvon in 1914". In the narrative, he continues full throttle on this approach:

In spite of this additional knowledge, namely the position of the king's mortuary chapel, his tomb remained undiscovered until the year 1914, when lord Carnarvon had the good fortune to reveal its hiding-place.¹³⁰

So convincing was Carter, that Thomas fully accepted it; in her account of AN B, she writes: "It was discovered by Lord Carnarvon and published by Carter."¹³¹ In the sequel of his article, Carter supports his claim with every shred of evidence he can muster, or if need be: concoct. And yet, the inquisitive, critical, stubborn loner underneath still had his doubts, and with characteristic frankness, he simply included these doubts in his article:

The percentage of vases bearing the name of Queen Aahmes-nefert-ari, being almost as great as that of those bearing the name of Amenhetep I, may possibly indicate that she also was buried in this tomb; and indeed, when the discovery of the tomb was first made, I was under the impression that it belonged to the queen.

And in a footnote, he adds:

It should be noted that their mortuary chapels [i.e.: Meniset] were one monument, and further that the Sepulchral Hall was enlarged to double the size.¹³²

On the last page of his report, he even speaks of "the Royal burials" in the tomb - a most meaningful slip of the pen.¹³³

Carter is justly condemned for the unsound way he defended his claim that this was the tomb of Amenhotep I, and there are certainly not enough grounds to attribute, beyond any reasonable doubt, AN B to that king. However, there are no obvious reasons that definitively exclude the possibility, either. In this light it is surprising to read statements like the following:

This tomb has frequently been the subject of discussions, Carter's liberal way of dealing with figures and his faulty argumentation have also repeatedly been pointed out. It is therefore really remarkable that the structure is still considered a serious candidate for the king's tomb. (Polz, *Beginn* 195, in my translation).

Why this scorn?

Howard Carter made a fool of himself the way he interpreted pAbbott - and in the Egyptological community, where prestige is everything,¹³⁴ to make a fool of yourself is to commit both social and professional suicide. Therefore, no-one dares to take sides with Carter on this one, lest one be accused of being a fool himself.¹³⁵

The Egyptological community can at times exhibit a strong likeness to a school class: uniting against the outsider in their midst, so that the majority can have that so craved for feeling of belonging, of mutual support, and shared superiority.

¹³⁰ *JEA III*, p. 147.

¹³¹ *RN* p. 172. See *RVK* p. 296-297 for Romer's more credible account.

¹³² *JEA III*, p. 152 and n. 4.

¹³³ *JEA III*, p. 153.

¹³⁴ See the section "About Egyptology" on www.egyptology.nl.

¹³⁵ I suppose it would make a good title for a movie: "Get Carter!"

Thomas

In *RN* (1966), Thomas unhesitatingly declares AN B to have belonged to Ahmose-Nefertari. She refers to several writers who in varying degrees concur (Weigall, Peet and Cerný), but strangely enough to none who disagree - while she was very well familiar with at least one: Hayes. In his study *Royal sarcophagi of the XVIII Dynasty* (1935), Hayes showed himself convinced that AN B was Amenhotep I's tomb.¹³⁶

Thomas may have felt uncomfortable with the situation that a scholar she much admired advocated a position that in her eyes was indefensible.¹³⁷

Thomas begins with listing the "three principal reasons" that Carter had for identifying AN B as the tomb of Amenhotep I:

- its location, 18° west of the south-north axis of Meniset, Amenhotep's presumed mortuary temple;
- the internal measurement of the tomb of 120 cubits;
- and "the slight proportion of Amenhotep cartouches over Nefertari's".¹³⁸

The first two are indeed discussed at length by Carter, but he does not explicitly refer to the third as an argument in favor of his identification. What he did say about the split of names between Amenhotep and Ahmose-Nefertari is quoted above: s.v. "The context of Carter's conclusion". Thomas comments on these three reasons as follows: that the first and third do not prove anything, and that the second is "not valid". Having thus eliminated, not Amenhotep as possible tomb owner, but Carter's reasoning in support of such a claim, she more or less leaves it to the reader to conclude, with her, that it was Ahmose-Nefertari's.

In Thomas' opinion, AN B is, in its final form, too elaborate for either Amenhotep I or Ahmose-Nefertari, when compared to KV38, the tomb that she holds to be Tuthmosis I's. To her, this is an indication that AN B was later at some point enlarged. One option that she develops in some detail is that of a possible reuse of AN B for Mutnedjemet, queen of Horemheb. "If the tomb [AN B] had been robbed by Year 8 of Horemheb, like that of Thutmose IV, [Ahmose]-Nefertari may have been reburied at this time and the tomb prepared for the interment of Mutnedjemet, by enlarging the sarcophagus hall, adding the well according to contemporary custom,¹³⁹ and perhaps excavating the rooms off Corridor B. With the possible exception of the statuettes there is no evidence (..) "¹⁴⁰ Why Horemheb would have taken the unprecedented step of lodging his queen in someone else's queen's tomb, remains undisclosed...

Romer

In the 1970's, John Romer publishes a remarkable series of articles about the early tombs in the Valley of the Kings.¹⁴¹ The most ambitious of these articles is *Royal Tombs of the Early Eighteenth Dynasty (JRRT)*. It makes fascinating and persuasive reading, but it is written in a very compact, dense manner. The exact line of his reasoning is at various points difficult to uncover.

Romer's main thesis in this one is, that the beginnings of the evolution of the royal tombs in the Valley of the Kings can be traced back to a group of early 18th dynasty elite tombs, of which AN B is one. He identifies in particular a line of development from AN B to the "cliff tomb" that was prepared for Hatshepsut when she was still

¹³⁶ So *RS* p. 7, n. 29 and 30, and p. 9, n. 33.

¹³⁷ In the Preface to *RN* she writes: "Dr. Hayes generously made available unpublished material from Museum excavations in Thebes, as he responded to my queries with further suggestions. Indeed, the pages following would hardly have taken form without his encouragement and belief in their value." (*RN* p. i.)

¹³⁸ *RN* p. 173.

¹³⁹ This is an incomprehensible remark: in Horemheb's time, use of the well was definitely restricted to the king's tomb.

¹⁴⁰ *RN* p. 173.

¹⁴¹ See the chronological Bibliography on page 4 above.

Tuthmosis II's great royal wife: tomb WA D.¹⁴² When Hatshepsut later became king, she brought - in Romer's opinion - this development to the new royal necropolis of the Valley of the Kings, where it was further elaborated by Tuthmosis III.

Like Thomas, Romer concludes that AN B was originally Ahmose-Nefertari's tomb. But where Thomas relies on repudiating Carter's arguments in favor of Amenhotep, Romer brings in a clue that in his opinion points explicitly toward Ahmose-Nefertari. In the course of his argument he identifies AN B as a queen's tomb – and therefore it must be Ahmose-Nefertari's, rather than Amenhotep's. Also like Thomas, Romer believes that the tomb was in a later stage (after having been closed with its first burial) modified – but for other reasons, and in another period: during the reign of Tuthmosis III, to also accommodate Amenhotep I's burial.

Romer begins his analysis of tombs AN B and WA D (Hatshepsut's cliff tomb) as follows:

At a glance the plans of these two tombs may be seen to have much in common, and also share close connections with others of the group. Both the tombs have almost ninety degree right turns in them and both have great similarity in room and corridor order.¹⁴³

After a detailed comparison of both tombs, Romer concludes:

The Dra Abu'l Nega tomb is earlier than the Queen's [WA D], which may now be seen as a smaller and carefully studied design based in large part upon the earlier tomb [AN B].¹⁴⁴

Considering that Romer has little more to show for than a similarity in plan, his jump from “have much in common” to “based in large part upon” seems tentative at best.

As we will see later, Romer assumes that it was during the sole reign of Tuthmosis III that the burial chamber was enlarged – and the well added. This means that AN B would have looked rather differently at the time Hatshepsut's cliff tomb was made. I have worked out a hypothetical plan of this assumed first phase of AN B:

¹⁴² For this tomb, see especially: Howard Carter: *A tomb prepared for queen Hatshepsut and other recent discoveries at Thebes*, JEA IV (1917) p. 107-118, and Émile Baraize: *Rapport sur l'enlèvement et le transport du sarcophage de la reine Hatschopsitou*, ASAE XXI (1921), p. 175-182. Reeves/Wilkinson give a useful summary: *R/W* p. 94. (WA D is again a typical Thomas designation. It means: Wadi A, tomb D.)

¹⁴³ *JRRT* p. 199. In Fig. 7 on page 46 below, both tombs are depicted side by side on the same scale.

¹⁴⁴ *JRRT* p. 200.

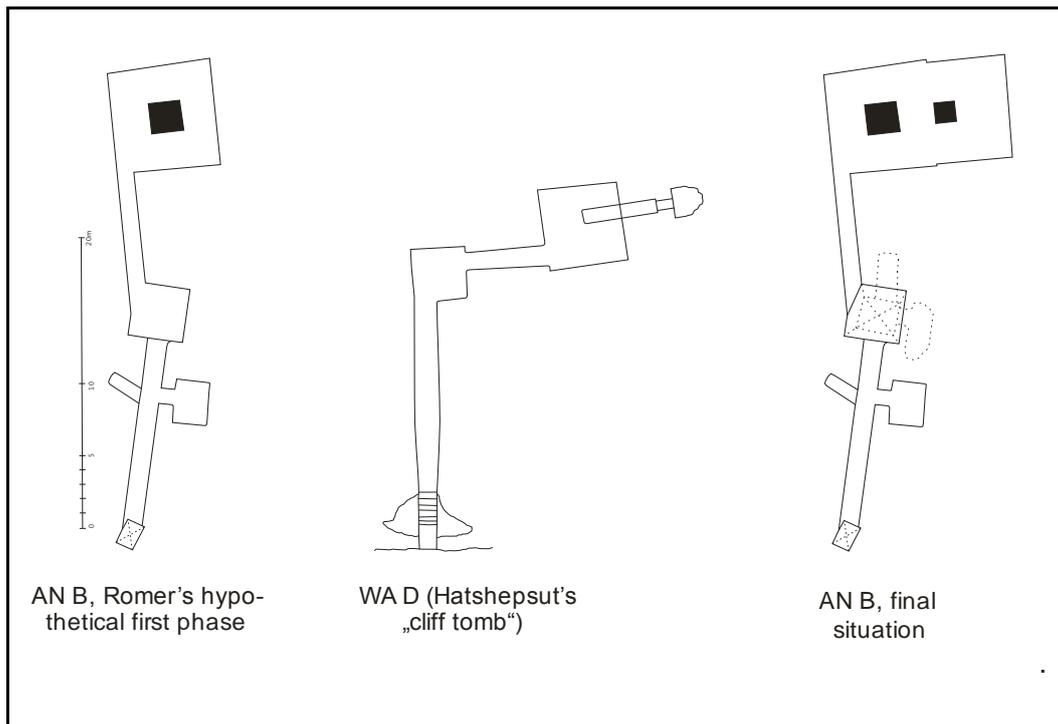


Fig. 6 Romer's hypothetical first version of AN B, compared to WA D (Hatshepsut) and the definitive plan of AN B

Note how extremely massive the pillar now looks in the original square burial chamber. When we progress through time, we will see in later tombs a gradual but constant evolution towards less oppressive pillars.

*One has but to go back to the Middle Kingdom rock cut tombs of Beni Hassan to find many examples of infinitely more elegant, slender columns, expertly carved in the shape of bundles of lotus stems. Compared to those, the royal tombs of the early 18th dynasty represent a huge step backwards. This demonstrates the tremendous decline in expertise and workmanship that was caused by the Second Intermediate Period. Rock cut tomb building simply had to be invented all over again.*¹⁴⁵

After dismissing both “the ingenuities of Carter’s attribution” and the “ambiguity of the Papyrus Abbott description”, Romer asks himself the following question:

What is there left to us to decide the ownership of this [tomb]? At the outset, we should observe that it was the first phase of the Dra Abu’l Nega tomb [meaning: when AN B still had a square burial chamber, and no well] that was copied by Queen Hatshepsut’s architects. (..) What more appropriate model could the ambitious young queen choose for her tomb than that of her most august immediate ancestor, Queen Ahmose Nefertiri?¹⁴⁶

So after moving from “have much in common” to “based in large part upon”, we have now arrived at “copied.” Note that no additional evidence has been produced to support Romer’s upgrading of his appraisal.

In Romer’s opinion, royal tombs from this period with a turn to the right are queens’ tombs, while kings’ tombs have a turn to the left:

¹⁴⁵ For a diametrically opposed position, see Romer in *JEA* 60, p. 122.

¹⁴⁶ *JRRT* p. 202.

The typical sharp turn present in these early [kings'] tombs, (...) was first adopted in Tuthmosis III's tomb, then formalized in the right angle turn in the succeeding kings' tombs. Unlike the early queens' tombs, however, this turn is to the left.¹⁴⁷

And about "the missing kings' tombs of this time" (those of Ahmose, Amenhotep I and Tuthmosis I and II):

They probably turn to the left, as opposed to the queens' tombs which turn to the right.¹⁴⁸

AN B has a turn to the right, which makes it - in Romer's opinion - a queen's tomb. Given the choice of either Amenhotep I or Ahmose-Nefertari as original owner, the latter wins by default.

In *JEA III*, Carter notes that AN B's burial chamber was at some point enlarged. He also writes extensively about the well, but nowhere questions its being part of the original plan. Romer however quotes Carter as follows:

Whilst Carter was surveying the Dra Abu'l Nega tomb he realized that the original tomb plan had been changed, and at a time "no doubt contemporaneous with the construction of the tomb,"¹⁴⁹ though why he thought this to be the case he does not say. In fact, there is evidence that these alterations were made later in the dynasty, and this will be discussed below.¹⁵⁰

Note that "alterations" is in the plural, while Carter in the quoted passage only refers to the alteration of the burial chamber. By means of this suggestion, we are being prepared for Romer's coming position, that *both* the enlargement of the burial chamber *and* the addition of a well were later modifications to the original plan.

He then mentions the enlargement of the burial chamber, which changes the proportions of the room from nearly square to a ratio of 1 : 1.72.

This latter proportion is very similar to that of the burial chambers of the tombs of Tuthmosis III and the two succeeding kings, although these are all of different physical size.¹⁵¹

And finally:

The well too demands attention. If it is to be considered as a part of the original design of the tomb it is the earliest securely dated example of this feature. As I have commented elsewhere, the location of this tomb near the top of a small valley renders this feature quite functionless in the protection of the tomb against flooding, for no water of sufficient quantity to do damage to the tomb could ever collect at the tomb's mouth. Apart from denying visitors immediate access to the lower chambers of the tomb, this feature is ritual in nature, copied from some other example. In its shape this well is unique, losing some 1.3 m of its width in a drop of over 10 m.¹⁵²

I quote this section in full, to show that Romer actually makes no statement at all about the presence of a well in this particular tomb – least of all an assessment whether it was an original feature, or one added later. Nor does he make any such statement elsewhere in this article.

And yet he writes, immediately after this:

¹⁴⁷ *JRRT* p. 206.

¹⁴⁸ *JRRT* p. 205, n. 73.

¹⁴⁹ *JEA III*, p. 150, quoted before on page 29 above.

¹⁵⁰ *JRRT* p. 198.

¹⁵¹ *JRRT* p. 202. I have checked Romer's figures against those of the TMP; there are minor differences, but nothing to contradict his conclusions.

¹⁵² *JRRT* p. 203.

Faced with such evidence [*sic!*] of alterations to the original design of the tomb we should look for evidence of intrusion amongst the objects found in the tomb, objects not from the original burial.¹⁵³

Romer then points at the fragmentary statuettes of post-Amarna origin, and the small royal head that he feels could represent Tuthmosis III.¹⁵⁴ Theoretically, these objects could have come from one or more intrusive burials, but he rightly notes that an intrusive burial in a royal tomb, during the 18th or 19th dynasty, would be unimaginable. So these items must have been brought in at another occasion: some other type of activity. He then continues:

The joint evidence of the architectural changes in the tomb with their indications of mid-Eighteenth-Dynasty activity, and the fragmentary statues must point to an entry and reworking of the tomb at a later period than its initial excavation.

Romer realizes that the idea of entering a sealed tomb – more specifically: a sealed *royal* tomb – is not exactly commonplace. He therefore produces a substantial list of examples that show that this was actually much more common than we may think.

The official New Kingdom attitude to the inviolability of the royal tombs of that time may be induced from a series of graffiti and small finds from the tombs themselves.¹⁵⁵

Note the temporal qualification: the New Kingdom. He then produces the following list of examples (here presented in the same order as in which he lists them):

- Tuthmosis I was “twice, if not thrice” reburied.
- “Hatshepsut’s second tomb [KV20] was entered, apparently by agents of her successor.”
- There are several New Kingdom graffiti in the tomb of Tuthmosis III.
- The tomb of Tuthmosis IV was “inspected” in the reign of Horemheb.
- In the tomb of Amenhotep III, a ring with the name of Ramesses II was found in the well.
- KV55 (the “Amarna cache”) “shows many signs of official interference and re-openings”.
- The tomb of Tutankhamun was entered by necropolis officials after a robbery and resealed.

Romer concludes: “It is hardly surprising, therefore, that the Dra Abu’l Nega tomb should also have been re-opened in the Eighteenth Dynasty.”¹⁵⁶ Note the temporal shift from “the New Kingdom” to “the Eighteenth Dynasty.”

Most of the cases Romer mentions require however some qualification.

- Tuthmosis I was almost certainly reburied twice, but “thrice” really comes out of the blue.
- In a footnote, Romer concedes that the entering of Hatshepsut’s tomb is actually not a separate incident, but another aspect of the reburial of Tuthmosis I by the latter’s grandson Tuthmosis III.
- In Appendix II to Romer’s article *T III*, Jürgen Osing describes five roughly incised graffiti in the tomb of Tuthmosis III. Only two of these can be dated: to the late 20th dynasty or even a bit later. The other three could be from the same period.¹⁵⁷
- The tomb of Tuthmosis IV was not simply “inspected” under Horemheb, but “restored” – meaning: put back to order after having been broken into. The full text on the wall reads as follows:

Year 8, third month of the Akhet season, day 1 under the majesty of the king of Upper and Lower Egypt Djeser-kheperure-setepenre, Son of Re,

¹⁵³ *JRRT* p. 203.

¹⁵⁴ See note 109 on page 32 above.

¹⁵⁵ *JRRT* p. 204.

¹⁵⁶ *JRRT* p. 204.

¹⁵⁷ *T III*, p. 349.

Horemheb-merenamun.

His majesty (Life! Prosperity! Health!) has ordered that the fan-bearer on the king's right hand side, the king's scribe, overseer of the treasury, chief of the works in the Necropolis and leader of the festival of Amun at Karnak, Maya, son of Iahmose, born of the lady of the house Weret, be commissioned to restore the burial of king Menkheperure [= Tuthmosis IV], justified, in his august house [= tomb] west of Thebes.¹⁵⁸

- The legitimate owner of a ring, who wears it on his finger, is not so likely to lose it. The ring with the name of Ramesses II that was found in the tomb of Amenhotep III was more probably lost by an unlawful owner: a tomb robber going from tomb to tomb (probably at the end of the New Kingdom, or even later), and losing something on the way.
- The conditions in KV55 were so confused, that it is hard to draw conclusions. KV 55 mostly testifies of the hate-infested turmoil in which the Amarna regime was smothered.

If we now put these events in historical order, and correct the texts a bit, we get a rather different picture:

- a) Tuthmosis I was reburied twice, which meant the reopening of two tombs, one of which was KV20, Hatshepsut's tomb.
- b) KV55 (the "Amarna cache") was probably reopened too, somewhere in the aftermath of the Amarna period.
- c) The tomb of Tutankhamun was restored after a robbery and resealed.
- d) The tomb of Tuthmosis IV was likewise restored after a robbery, during the reign of Horemheb (last king of the 18th dynasty).
- e) In the tomb of Amenhotep III, a tomb robber apparently lost a ring with the name of Ramesses II.
- f) Some late New Kingdom graffiti in the tomb of Tuthmosis III probably belong to the period of organized dismantling of the entire necropolis.

Beginning with b) (the Amarna cache), all incidents post-date Amarna. Beginning with c) (Tutankhamun), all incidents relate to robberies – robberies that were made possible, if not actually triggered by the traumatic events of the Amarna period. *Only* the exceptional ongoings relating to Tuthmosis I predate the Amarna period.

Romer now recapitulates as follows:

The three small stone statues from the Dra Abu'l Nega tomb, one Tuthmoside and two post-Amarnan, are of a type unknown in the royal tombs of the dynasty and may denote a desire for personal representation at a burial which was of special cultic significance. The differing dates of the pieces may simply denote a continuing interest in the tomb.¹⁵⁹

Romer paints here a picture that suggests, for the period of the 18th/19th dynasty, a to-and-fro of pilgrims, depositing votive gifts inside a closed and sealed royal tomb. This particular tomb however was very well-hidden, located on an extremely desolate spot, without any kind of superstructure to give its presence away. This situation corresponds exactly to that of all 18th dynasty royal tombs in the Valley of the Kings: their entryways completely filled up, to hide all traces of the tomb's existence. Every precaution was taken to make these tombs disappear for good. Official re-entry was obviously never intended, and, other than in the wake of a robbery, never performed. Romer's carefully construed suggestion of routine visits into closed and intact royal tombs, whether for purposes of inspection or on a pilgrimage, is simply not valid.

¹⁵⁸ Translation based on Breasted, *BAR II*. A photograph of this text in *R/W*, p. 108.

¹⁵⁹ *JRRT* p. 205.

(There is another, entirely plausible explanation for the presence of mid-18th dynasty sculpture: it may have been introduced into the tomb at the occasion of the 22nd dynasty intrusive burials. By that time, effigies like these were valued antiquities. Fitted with a new name, they could again have served their original purpose of representing the deceased - for a new owner.)

Romer is now ready for his closing statement:

Most probably it was when the tomb was first re-opened that the proportion of the burial chamber was changed from that of a square to that of the burial chambers of the mid-Eighteenth Dynasty. As for the well, that strange functionless feature may also have been added at the same time. But for what purpose? The evidence [*sic* !] indicates that the architectural changes in the tomb altered the design from that of a queen's tomb of the early Eighteenth Dynasty, to that of a king's tomb of the mid-Eighteenth Dynasty as best the workmen were able, and with a minimum of work. It would further seem likely that this conversion was effected to accommodate the mummy of Amenhotep I in a joint reburial of the two patrons of the necropolis.¹⁶⁰

And now he finally produces perpetrator and motive:

Tuthmosis III certainly reorganized the burials of Tuthmosis I and Hatshepsut, he also, in his own tomb, set the pattern for the succeeding royal hypogea. Obviously during his reign much thought was given to the royal tomb and the royal necropolis. It would hardly be surprising if it was at this time that the funerary arrangements of his most illustrious predecessors were altered to suit the contemporary ideas.¹⁶¹

This is, where Romer's theorizing finally leaves the realm of the possible. We are here talking about *modernizing* a closed and sealed king's tomb. For such an enterprise, no precedent can be found anywhere in the ancient Egyptian history. Restoration works on temples were not uncommon, but entering a king's tomb, His Majesty's House for Eternity, in which this Most Noble and August God resided, to *revamp* it?! Quite apart from the fact that Tuthmosis III hardly "reorganized" Hatshepsut's burial, bringing an ancestor's burial "up to date" would not have squared with the ancient Egyptian attitude towards the past in general, and royal forefathers in particular. From the Old Kingdom, several examples are known of funerary monuments that were finished by a son, because the father ran out of time. But Shepseskaf finished the mortuary temple of his father Mykerinos hurry-up in mud brick, instead of in stone. One king of the 5th dynasty (Niuserre) even appropriated his father's unfinished causeway for himself: it has a most conspicuous kink halfway where it suddenly continues in a new direction - straight to the son's new pyramid.¹⁶²

These are not signs of disrespect, but of expediency. In the Egyptian worldview, the past was done, and the future now had to be secured by enacting again that ideal model of the past into the present - not by perfecting the actual past in retrospect.¹⁶³

Once a new king had risen, the efforts of the entire nation - including those of the new king - were primarily focused on once again re-building the framework of society, to secure the land's prosperity and the people's happiness. In this connection, providing for the new king's funeral was infinitely more important than embellishing the past.

¹⁶⁰ *JRRT* p. 204-205.

¹⁶¹ *JRRT* p. 205.

¹⁶² See Lehner's *The complete Pyramids*, p. 142 ff.

¹⁶³ Levy-Strauss is right when he says that the primitive always seeks to repeat the past, but we should not interpret this as a inclination to looking back. The primitive is probably more focused on the immediate future than we are; he just happens to believe that a model of the ideal future can be found in the past, that it once existed already.

Moreover, a properly buried king had become a god, and should therefore best be left alone. Actually, the fact that he *had* become a god was to no small extent the result of his ritually impeccable burial. Tampering with that would jeopardize the original outcome – putting not only that king’s destiny at risk, but also the entire nation’s, for Egypt’s continued wellbeing was dependent on the perpetually repeated cycle from king to king, from Horus to Osiris to Horus again. No risks could be taken with that – least of all for the craze of the day: upgrading the *looks* of a tomb.

Narrowing down the timeframe to Tuthmosis III

When Romer finally allocates events to the reign of Tuthmosis III, the reader is well-prepared for this idea. Careful re-reading of the article shows, that he accomplishes this by means of the following suggestions:

- the enlargement of the burial chamber to the proportion of 1 : 1.72 (“This latter proportion is very similar to that of the burial chambers of the tombs of Tuthmosis III and the two succeeding kings”);¹⁶⁴
- the stone head that in Romer’s mind represents Tuthmosis III (“Hayes claimed this statue to be a likeness of Tuthmosis III, and it undoubtedly looks like it is”¹⁶⁵);
- and the fact that Tuthmosis III already had a record of moving royal burials around (“Tuthmosis III certainly reorganized the burials of Tuthmosis I and Hatshepsut”¹⁶⁶). If Tuthmosis III transferred the burial of his grandfather Tuthmosis I from KV20 to KV38, then why not that of Amenhotep I from an unnamed tomb to AN B?

Note that Romer refrains from actually asserting that any of this shows Tuthmosis III to have been involved in modifying the tomb, but when he comes to his remark just quoted (“It would hardly be surprising...”: see page 44 above), the seed falls in receptive ground.

Further comments

1. “Boys to the left, girls to the right”

Romer’s idea that kings’ tombs from this period turn to the left, while the queens’ tombs turn to the right is certainly an attractive one – if only because it is so endearingly simple. It hasn’t much going for it, though. Hatshepsut did, as king, her utmost to pass for a man, so why would then her king’s tomb (KV20) not have had left-hand turns? And Ramesses II, who was at least in his own mind quite a man, had a tomb with a right-hand turn in it (KV07). Furthermore, KV42, tomb of queen Hatshepsut-Meryetre, has a left turn, while tomb DB358 of queen Ahmose-Meryetamun has a right- *and* a left-hand turn – just like the tombs of Horemheb (KV57) and Seti I (KV17). I think we should just forget about this right-hand versus left-hand stuff: what matters is, whether a tomb had a turn or not – not if such a turn goes this way or that.¹⁶⁷

The real problem with Romer’s identification of AN B as a tomb with a right-hand turn goes deeper though. When we compare the plan of this tomb to those of the Valley, we may indeed be tempted to see in it a turn (from corridor D to burial chamber E), analogous to the turn that later becomes the unfailing characteristic of the 18th dynasty regal tombs until Amenhotep III. Those tombs however all had a chamber that was purposefully dedicated to effect a right angle turn: a chamber with entry and exit in adjacent walls (“Pillared chamber F”). The burial chamber of AN B more looks like a

¹⁶⁴ *JRRT* p. 202.

¹⁶⁵ *JRRT* p. 203.

¹⁶⁶ *JRRT* p. 205.

¹⁶⁷ For several comparably fuzzy, indistinct matters, also in the realm of funerary practices, see *Magic and Religion in ancient Egypt. Part I: The roots*, particularly chapter 2.5 “Matters of life and death”, on www.egyptology.nl.

corridor that was one-sidedly extended into a hall. This feature also occurs in several other elite tombs of the period: DB358 (Ahmose-Meryetamun), WC A (Neferure?), WD B (3 minor wives of Tuthmosis III): see Fig. 7 below. It seems that this feature was part of the eruption of new ideas about tomb building in the early 18th dynasty. It was later discarded again.¹⁶⁸

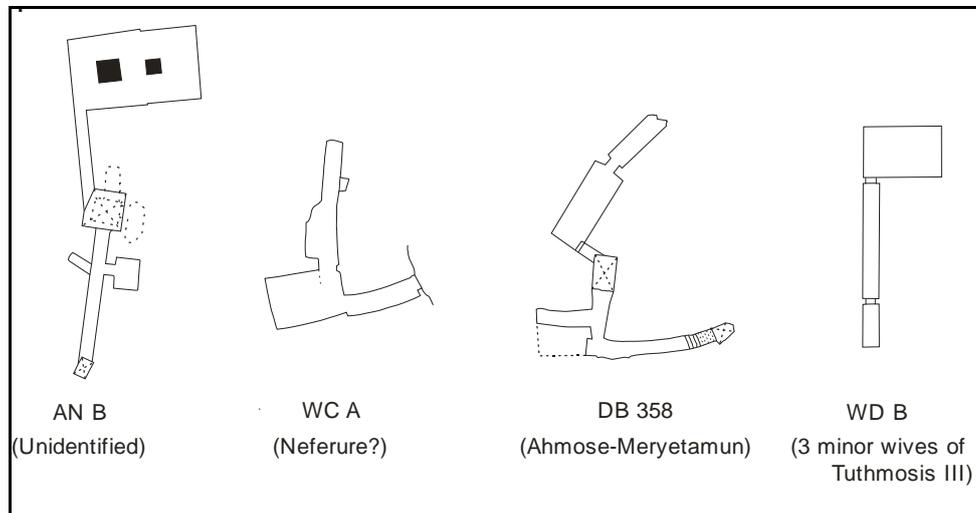


Fig. 7 Four early 18th dynasty elite tombs

The dotted line in the lower left of DB358 indicates what, in all probability, the original plan was for this room.¹⁶⁹

Ahmose-Meryetamun was a great royal wife (of Amenhotep I), and Neferure either was one (of Tuthmosis III), or she was destined to become one. Both their tombs were unfinished. Tomb WD B clearly sticks out for having the simplest design. If one takes into account that this tomb housed three queens, it is also the most modest one.

2. The well: other considerations

I already mentioned that the presence of a well in this tomb is somewhat unexpected (see page 30 above). Many have argued that the gap in time between either Ahmose-Nefertari or Amenhotep I on the one hand, and Tuthmosis III (when the well made its first appearance in a royal tomb in the Valley of the Kings) on the other hand, is simply too large. The idea that this well was a later addition to the tomb consequently has a lot of appeal. The following should be noted however:

- The well in AN B, not completely square, and tapering in, looks decidedly primitive in comparison with the wells in the Valley. All those wells are meticulously vertical, with fine straight angles.
- Tomb DB358 near Hatshepsut's temple at Deir el-Bahri, belonging to Ahmose-Meryetamun (queen of Amenhotep I), also had a well.¹⁷⁰ That well's authenticity has also been questioned (as has the tomb's dating) but it has the same primitiveness that also characterizes the well of AN B.
- We are not familiar with several kings' tombs of the early 18th dynasty: see Table 1 on page 30 above. These might hold intermediate stages in the development of the well.
- And finally: the underground structure of a Middle Kingdom royal pyramid also contains a well - albeit in a somewhat different context.¹⁷¹

¹⁶⁸ Another element of AN B's design that was soon to be abandoned for royal tombs is its entry by means of a shaft.

¹⁶⁹ See Romer's reconstruction, *JRRT* p. 195.

¹⁷⁰ For this tomb, see H.E. Winlock: *The tomb of Queen Meryet-Amun at Thebes*, MMA 6 (1932).

¹⁷¹ The pyramid of Sesostri II at Illahun: see *The Complete Pyramids* by Lehner, p. 175.

Although Romer builds much of his propositions on a framework of perceived evolution, he rightfully warns against over-appreciating the forces of tradition during the initial phases of this evolution:

Although the royal tomb series there [in the Valley of the Kings] does possess obvious continuities, one should always bear in mind that the early Eighteenth Dynasty was a period of creative activity in this whole area, and that far from being bound by such conventions as may later have been the case, these early Eighteenth-Dynasty architects were engaged in the exciting process of formulating these rules!¹⁷²

The early 18th dynasty was a period of intense experimenting. After a gush of great and luminous ideas, such a period may be followed by one of eliminating several, and recombining the remainder of the innovations. It seems to me that the true significance of Tuthmosis III for the development of tomb design was not the introduction of new ideas, but the combining of just a few of many recent developments into one coherent and articulate scheme. One of the elements in that new scheme was the well: a feature only rarely used until then. An element that was dropped was the entrance by means of a vertical shaft. One more was the use of rooms, formed as a lateral extension of a corridor: the last example of that feature in a regal tomb is in Hatshepsut's KV20.

3. Refurbishing a tomb

The overhaul of a closed and sealed tomb that already held a full royal burial would have been an incredibly drastic affair. As anyone who has done some refurbishing can testify, such undertakings can be absolutely disastrous for your furniture and fittings. So all of the tomb's inventory would no doubt have had to be removed to begin with. For a densely packed and stacked royal tomb, this would not only have presented a logistic nightmare (where would you leave the stuff, for a period of months??) , but also a ritual one. Every object served a ritual purpose, so moving it out, and back in again, would have involved a lot more than the normal care you would show your household furniture: all of the elaborate funerary ritual would have had to be repeated again. I really don't see anyone embarking on such an undertaking. If Tuthmosis III wanted to join the burials of Amenhotep I and Ahmose-Nefertari, it would have been easier to construct a completely new tomb for the both of them. And such a new tomb would in that event undoubtedly have been constructed in *the* royal necropolis of the day: the Valley of the Kings. It would seem therefore, that AN B looked just like this, when it was for the first time closed with a burial inside.

Later writers

Reeves and Wilkinson, in *The Complete Valley of the Kings*, give a summary of Carter's and Romer's views, without taking a position.¹⁷³

In *Beginn*, Polz's main interest in the matter is, to show that AN B can't have been Amenhotep's tomb – because that would undermine the position of his own candidate. So he joins hands with Thomas and Romer¹⁷⁴ in cutting Carter into slivers (see in particular the quote on page 37 above). Like Thomas, he opts for "allocation by default": it can't have been Amenhotep's tomb – 'cause Carter was an idiot – so it has to be Ahmose-Nefertari's.

John Rose, who, like Polz, has another candidate for the position of Amenhotep's tomb (KV39: see chapter 5 below), brings in another objection against AN B:

¹⁷² *JRRT* p. 192, n. 4.

¹⁷³ *R/W* p. 90.

¹⁷⁴ See *Beginn* p. 194, n. 760.

Apart from having a protective well, the tomb behind Dra Abu el-Naga, published by Carter, is sited in a spot that hardly seems suitable for the pomp and circumstance of a royal funeral. The coffin would have had to be lowered vertically down the narrow entrance shaft in full view of the mourners, a most undignified procedure for such a famous pharaoh. However, a change in protocol may have occurred, perhaps to thwart tomb-robbers, resulting in a policy of inconspicuous tomb siting.¹⁷⁵

Rose's point is valid. The section of AN B shows, that the lower part of the shaft had to be widened to allow passage of the coffin (see Fig. 3 on page 13 above). Clumsy fumbling with the coffins during the funeral at AN B – regardless of whose funeral it was – may well have prompted the immediate abandoning of the vertical shaft as entrance for a royal tomb.

Interim results

Based on the available evidence, we could narrow the range of possible owners for this tomb down to Ahmose-Nefertari and Amenhotep I. We have furthermore seen that the tomb was in all probability constructed as found - with well and enlarged burial chamber - before being closed for the first time with a burial inside. But whose burial that was, is still undecided.

An interesting bit of evidence comes from a stela, found at Wadi Halfa in Nubia (between the 1st and 2nd cataract), with a text announcing Tuthmosis I's accession.¹⁷⁶ Translations of this text can be found in Sethe's *Urkunden* (1914), and in Breasted's *Ancient Records* (1906).¹⁷⁷ As far as I know, no-one has yet brought this text to bear on the current issue.

The accession of Tuthmosis I

Amenhotep I died without leaving an heir. He was succeeded by Tuthmosis I, who apparently was not a direct relative of his. In the words of Bryan: "(...) perhaps owing to the stability provided by Amenhotep's rule, the succession passed without event to Thutmose I, who is not known to have been a member of the Ahmosid family."¹⁷⁸

The succession may have past "without event", but not without special consideration. Although a new king preferably was a son of the deceased king, there were other options available. A man could acquire a legitimate right to the throne by marrying into the royal family. Tuthmosis' principal wife was called Ahmose, which suggests that she belonged to the royal family, or that strain of it that Bryan refers to as the Ahmosid family. At Wadi Halfa, a stela has been found with a text announcing Tuthmosis' accession. The king is depicted, worshipping a god whose name is now lost. Behind the king stands his wife, queen Ahmose: proof that he had, by marriage, attained membership of the legitimate royal family. But even more importantly: behind *her* stands another queen: Nefertari. This is no other than Ahmose-Nefertari, wife of king Ahmose, and mother of Amenhotep I.¹⁷⁹ Ahmose-Nefertari was not only important because she was wife of a king, and mother of a king, but also because of several priestly offices that she held. She was god's wife of Amun, divine adoratrice, and "second prophet" of Amun.¹⁸⁰ This way, she wielded considerable power on her own:

¹⁷⁵ Rose 2000, p. 27.

¹⁷⁶ CG 34006, in CGC 32. I owe this reference to Dr. Bryan .

¹⁷⁷ *Urk. IV*, 79-81; *BAR II*, par. 54-60.

¹⁷⁸ *Oxford* p. 230.

¹⁷⁹ According to Dr. Bryan, Ahmose-Nefertari was regularly called Nefertari. On the donation Stela e.g., she is called Nefertari in the text, but Ahmose-Nefertari in the scene (*pers. comm.*). Likewise, queen Ahmose-Meryetamun was sometimes called Meryetamun (Hayes, cited by Romer, *JRRT* p. 195).

¹⁸⁰ See page 11 above.

she was one of the great matriarchs that are so characteristic for the Ahmosid family. Her support must therefore have meant a lot for Tuthmosis.

Not only gives this stela us a rare insight into the dealings of the royal family, it also provides us with tangible evidence that Ahmose-Nefertari actually survived her son, Amenhotep I.¹⁸¹ This gives us some additional about what to expect in their respective burials.

Back to statistics¹⁸²

First to die was Amenhotep I. His burial, already for some time prepared for him, contained mostly pieces carrying his own name. His successor, Tuthmosis I, no doubt added several items to the burial, with a dedicatory inscription. These would however have been relatively few in number. Amenhotep's aging mother in all likelihood also added some memorabilia - but these would again have been relatively few. I would expect Tuthmosis' and Ahmose-Nefertari's name to have been present in the burial in comparable quantities, but both heavily outnumbered by Amenhotep's. After looting, Amenhotep's name would then still by far be the one most frequently attested. How many instances of the name of either Tuthmosis I or Ahmose-Nefertari would have been preserved, would depend on chance. Both could in fact be completely absent.

Ahmose-Nefertari's burial would in substance have been prepared for her during the reign of her husband, king Ahmose. When she died, after the demise of her son Amenhotep, the latter was no longer in the position to contribute to her burial. Nevertheless, some pieces with his name would be included, on objects she had used during her life. And the grateful Tuthmosis I, who after all owed his throne to her, certainly contributed too. I would expect Tuthmosis' name to have been at least as prominently present in her burial as Amenhotep's - but both in considerably smaller numbers than that of either Ahmose, or Ahmose-Nefertari. How many instances of the name of either Tuthmosis I or Amenhotep I would have been preserved after looting, would depend on chance. Both could in fact be completely absent.

Only one of these predictions is consistent with the actual findings in AN B: the missing of the name of Tuthmosis I. The roughly equal presence of the names of Amenhotep and his mother in this tomb can not be explained if it contained only his burial, or only hers. Which means that we seriously have to consider the possibility that they were both interred here. But that could have prompted the adding of a second burial to an already closed royal tomb, extending it by enlarging its burial chamber, perhaps even adding the well? As we have seen, that would have been a most unlikely course of events.

How to solve this riddle?

A possible scenario

Amenhotep dies, while his mother, Ahmose-Nefertari, is still alive. The preparations for his burial, in tomb AN B, begin right away, but will take several months. In the meantime, his mother lends her support to Tuthmosis, who is crowned next king of Egypt. Her support for him is documented on the Wadi Halfa stela. Then, *after* Tuthmosis' coronation, but *before* Amenhotep could be buried, she suddenly dies, too. Her tomb must have been prepared for her a long time ago, but Tuthmosis decides that she is to be buried together with her son, in the tomb that originally was meant to hold only him: tomb AN B. Maybe Tuthmosis considered this appropriate since he owed his crown to the two of them in equal measure: to him for letting go of it, and to her for handing it to him. Or perhaps rather: he may have wanted to bring the mother

¹⁸¹ Romer was apparently not aware of this stela. In *JRRT*, he explicitly states that Ahmose-Nefertari died during the reign of her son (*JRRT* p. 202).

¹⁸² See also the section of Finds on page 31 ff. above.

in a position from where she could best persuade her son to agree with her, that it was a good idea – in fact: a *very* good idea – to let Tuthmosis succeed him.¹⁸³

So Tuthmosis orders the enlargement of his predecessors' tomb, to allow the inclusion of Ahmose-Nefertari's burial. The great haste with which this work is executed explains why the burial chamber so clearly shows the signs of it.¹⁸⁴

Tuthmosis' gratitude towards the two may have further have been the origin of their joint veneration. And when he shortly afterwards founded Deir el-Medineh, he may have equipped that place with a shrine for them, thereby introducing their cult into this village.

There is just one little annoying thing: 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? For this one, there appears not to be a convincing explanation. Perhaps a king's tomb was in the end just that king's tomb, no matter who was buried in it alongside him - but in the case of a tomb that held these two important gods, surely an exception would have been made...

But so far, tomb AN B is the most credible candidate for the position of Amenhotep I's tomb. An attribution of AN B to this king must for the moment however be provisional: until a more likely candidate be found, either as owner for AN B, or as tomb for Amenhotep.

¹⁸³ Hatshepsut later did something comparable: she transferred the burial of her father – the same Tuthmosis I – to her own tomb. To legitimize her reign, she had him (post-mortem), in texts inside her mortuary temple, declare her his successor. She may have wanted to have his mummy by her side, to "remind" him of his wise decision.

¹⁸⁴ One way of further speeding up the process would have been to simply dump the excavation debris of the burial chamber's extension into the well. Initially I thought that this could be a (partial) explanation of the fact that Carter found the well completely filled. I guess though that Carter would have recognized the difference between excavation debris and "detritus from the desert" (see page 29 above).

4. The Valley of the Kings: preliminary remarks

Sources, in chronological order:

Quoted as:

ELIZABETH THOMAS, <i>The royal necropoleis of Thebes</i> (1966).	RN
JOHN ROMER, <i>Valley of the Kings</i> (1981).	RVK
NICHOLAS REEVES AND RICHARD H. WILKINSON, <i>The Complete Valley of the Kings</i> (1996).	R/W
THEBAN MAPPING PROJECT, http://www.thebanmappingproject.com (1997-2006)	TMP website

With the next tomb, KV39, we reach the Valley of the Kings. The sources quoted above may serve as introduction to this magnificent place.

Thomas' *Necropoleis* is a comprehensive study, not just of the Valley of the Kings, but of the entire Theban necropolis. It is starting to show its age of almost fifty years, but still every page holds at least one or two stimulating ideas. It is written in a very personal style: at times so concentrated that the reading becomes demanding. It was privately published in only 90 copies, so it's really hard to come by: you're best chance is a specialized library.¹⁸⁵

John Romer's work "Valley of the Kings" gives a very readable account of the modern history of the site. It vividly tells the tale of those who came to look, what they found, and how they found it.

The book of Reeves and Wilkinson provides a summary of the then (1996) current status of knowledge about the Valley and its tombs. Its title is appropriate: it covers each and every tomb in the Valley, including all the "abandoned cuttings" and the like that are designated by letters instead of numbers (KV A, KV B etc.)

Of a different nature is the work of the Theban Mapping Project (TMP). Over the years, this organization, under the direction of Kent Weeks, has produced state-of-the-art plans for most tombs in the Valley of the Kings. In addition to this, their research has produced a mass of data about the tombs (facts and figures, but also many photographs), accessible for all, through the Internet

([Http://www.thebanmappingproject.com](http://www.thebanmappingproject.com)). Today, no serious work on the Valley of the Kings can be done without constant reference to this vast database.

In the current chapter, only two issues concerning the Valley will be highlighted: the question of who was the first king to have his tomb cut here, and the significance of the mountain El-Qurn.

4.1. Who inaugurated the Valley of the Kings?

The direct approach to this matter would of course be to list all the kings' tombs in the Valley in chronological order, and then determine which king heads the list. For the time being, this is not yet feasible though; especially with the older tombs, there are still many uncertainties. This is why, to some extent, focus tends to shift to a related question: who founded Deir el-Medineh, the village of the workers who built the tombs in the Valley of the Kings. This under the assumption, that the first king who had his tomb cut in the Valley, also founded the village. If this assumption is valid,

¹⁸⁵ I had the opportunity to consult it at the library of the NINO (Dutch Institute for the Near East) at Leiden.

then to identify the founder of Deir el-Medineh is to know the owner of the first king's tomb in the Valley.

Deir el-Medineh was a small village, located in the desert, about half a kilometer away from the arable land. This unusual location – ancient Egyptian villages were normally built on the flood plain, conveniently amidst the fields – has had the pleasant consequence that it is relatively well preserved. Most of the material found here dates from the 19th and the 20th dynasty. It shows, that the inhabitants were artisans, involved in the cutting and decorating of the king's tomb in the nearby Valley of the Kings. Other finds show that the village is actually considerably older than this: the earliest attested king's name in the village is that of Tuthmosis I, third king of the 18th dynasty.

Even if we assume that this community was from the start involved in constructing the king's tomb, there is no overriding reason why already the first of these tomb's must have been in the Valley of the Kings. Deir el-Medineh is most strategically placed in the Theban necropolis (see Fig. 1 on page 8 above). If we make a virtual tour around it, beginning in the north and moving clockwise, we successively see: the Valley of the Kings, Deir el-Bahri, the area of the Tombs of the Nobles around Qurna, the royal mortuary temples along the edge of the cultivation, and finally the Valley of the Queens. The workers from this village at one time or another no doubt had business in all these parts – and the first king's tomb they cut may have been anywhere within this area.

One thing is nevertheless quite clear: this location was *not* selected with Dra Abu en-Naga in mind, which lies two kilometers to the north-east. In fact, the foundation of Deir el-Medineh in all likelihood marks the end of Dra Abu en-Naga as a royal cemetery.¹⁸⁶ The king who founded Deir el-Medineh was not necessarily buried in the Valley of the Kings, but it seems certain that neither he, nor any of his immediate successors, was buried at Dra Abu en-Naga.

Two kings are regularly credited with having founded Deir el-Medineh: Amenhotep I, and his successor Tuthmosis I. Amenhotep's claim is based on the later joint veneration of him and his mother Ahmose-Nefertari in Deir el-Medineh. This veneration is taken as evidence that the two once founded this village. In the relevant section on page 23 above, it has been shown however that this line of reasoning is not valid.

The evidence in favor of Tuthmosis I as founder of Deir el-Medineh is of a more tangible nature: mud bricks, found in the wall surrounding the village, stamped with his name.¹⁸⁷ These bricks show, that the settlement existed in his day – although this obviously does not bar the possibility that it was founded even earlier.

Tuthmosis I is also a candidate for the position of first tomb-owner in the Valley of the Kings on other, more direct grounds. In 1899, tomb KV38 was discovered, and immediately identified as Tuthmosis I's on account of a stone sarcophagus found there, inscribed for him. His name then was (and still is) the earliest king's name attested in the Valley. KV38 moreover is relatively small and primitive, so the conclusion lay close at hand: this was the very first tomb ever, here in the Valley of the Kings. It was then remembered that there is a line in the autobiography of Ineni, a high state official whose career spans the reigns of Amenhotep I till Hatshepsut, in which he mentions the excavation of the tomb of Tuthmosis I in the following way:

I inspected the excavation of the cliff-tomb of his majesty, alone, no one seeing, no one hearing.¹⁸⁸

¹⁸⁶ The area of Dra Abu en-Naga continued to be used as a cemetery for commoners during all of the New Kingdom.

¹⁸⁷ *R/W* p. 22.

¹⁸⁸ *BAR II*, p. 43.

Many have interpreted this passage as evidence that Tuthmosis I's tomb was excavated in secrecy, in an isolated area. So Breasted in a note to his foregoing translation:

This remarkable statement indicates the secrecy with which the vast rock-cut tombs of the emperors were excavated, in order to avoid the tomb-robberies, which finally forced the removal of the royal mummies to Der el-Bahri.

But even if this interpretation of the text is correct,¹⁸⁹ then it is still far from certain that this isolated area was in fact the Valley of the Kings; it could just as well refer to a number of other remote places.

Conclusions

The considerations above allow the following conclusions:

- Neither the tomb of Tuthmosis I - during whose reign Deir el-Medineh already existed - nor that of his immediate successor Tuthmosis II, can be found in the Dra Abu en-Naga area.¹⁹⁰
- If it would turn out that Amenhotep I after all founded this community, then AN B - located just north of Dra Abu en-Naga - must be dropped from the shortlist of possible tombs for that king.
- If AN B can definitively be identified as belonging to Amenhotep I, then Tuthmosis I can as definitively be identified as founder of Deir el-Medineh.

4.2. The significance of El-Qurn

The whole area of the Valley of the Kings is dominated by the mountain El-Qurn ("The Peak"). It has a remarkable resemblance with a pyramid: the royal funerary icon *par excellence*. It has been suggested that the Valley may in fact have been chosen as a royal burial ground because of the proximity of this pyramid-shaped mountain.



Fig. 8 The mountain of El-Qurn, seen from within the Valley of the Kings (February 2007)

¹⁸⁹ There are some serious doubts to this: see *Beginn* 212 or *RN* p. 71, where Nims is cited with an alternative interpretation: the expression could also mean that Ineni supervised this work alone, without having to share this responsibility with anyone else.

¹⁹⁰ Contrary to El-Bialy: see *Récentes recherches effectuées dans la tombe No. 42 de la Vallée des Rois*. Memnonia X (1999), p. 177, n. 23.

Today, one reaches the Valley from the north-east, via a modern asphalt road (see Fig. 1 on page 8 above). It is a long, meandering road, rising ever so slowly: particularly suited for busses with tourists. Immediately upon entering through to admission gate, you see the picture of Fig. 8 in front of you. This way, the relation between El-Qurn and the Valley acquires an aspect of inevitability: as if anyone who wished to invoke the protection of El-Qurn would naturally have selected this valley for his tomb. Seen from the opposite side however, the view on this mountain is no less impressive. When one approaches from the Nile, one sees The Peak rising majestically, crowning the mountain-ridge that oversees the entire necropolis:



Fig. 9 The mountain of El-Qurn, seen from the edge of the cultivation (November 2009)

Although the Egyptians preferred to lay out their cemeteries in the desert, they avoided venturing too far into it. When the people of newly founded Thebes were looking for a place to bury their dead, they started on the eastern and south-eastern slopes of the desert hills: places close to, and within sight of the cultivation. Some Old Kingdom tombs from the 6th dynasty were dug at El-Khokha,¹⁹¹ just south of the causeway to Hatshepsut's temple at Deir el-Bahri (see Fig. 1 on page 8 above). The local potentates of the early 11th dynasty selected El-Tarif in the north: a place that was even closer to the river. Mentuhotep II, the 11th dynasty king who reunited Egypt, ushering in the Middle Kingdom, was the first to brave the deeper desert – but his magnificent funerary complex, at Deir el-Bahri, was still in full view of the floodplain. The kinglets of the 17th dynasty again hugged the hill side close to the cultivation, now at Dra Abu en-Naga. So the picture of Fig. 9 above was not only the first, but also for a long time the *only* view that the ancient Egyptians had of this mountain. The vista from Fig. 8 came much later in sight, when one started descending, on the other side of the mountain ridge, into the Valley of the Kings.

When finally the Egyptians reached the Valley, it was almost certainly *not* from the north-east, where now the tourist road is: that's really a huge detour. The natural sense of exploration of the desert is perpendicular to the banks of the Nile, and in this area, that direction is from the south-east to the north-west. It was therefore probably

¹⁹¹ RN p. 3.

from that direction that the Valley was first reached. From Deir el-Bahri, where now Hatshepsut's mortuary temple lies, it's only a ten minute hike to the cliffs above the Valley of the Kings. From there, a slowly rising footpath continues to the west, further towards El-Qurn, while several other paths to the north and north-west descend into the Valley. The path up along the Deir el-Bahri bay however is rather narrow and steep: not really suited for bringing up supplies – not to mention a funeral cortège. A more gradual approach comes from the south, from the area of Medinet Habu. Here lies the well-trodden footpath from Deir el-Medineh to the *Village de Repos* or Way Station, and from there to the Valley.

The prominent Peak no doubt attracted the people's attention right from the start. You simply can't help noticing this remarkable feature: etched against the radiant blue sky, it's an icon of beauty. In the minds of the people, the significance of this place rose over time to the point where it came to be regarded as the abode of a goddess. She was given the name of Meretseger, "She who loves silence".¹⁹² This accentuating of The Peak may have served to gradually impede the approach of the tombs of commoners - and attract those of kings. The significance that El-Qurn had for those who started excavating their tombs here is aptly demonstrated by the orientation of these tombs. The next two figures show the location of KV20, KV38 and KV39 – probably the first three tombs ever cut here – in relation to the mountain. The slight curve in KV38 is aimed, with uncanny precision, exactly at the heart of the mountain. KV20 is oriented in part to El-Qurn, as is KV39.

¹⁹² For this manner of god-forming see the chapter about the goddess Amentet in *Magic and Religion in Ancient Egypt, part II: 81 gods – Second Preview*, on www.egyptology.nl.

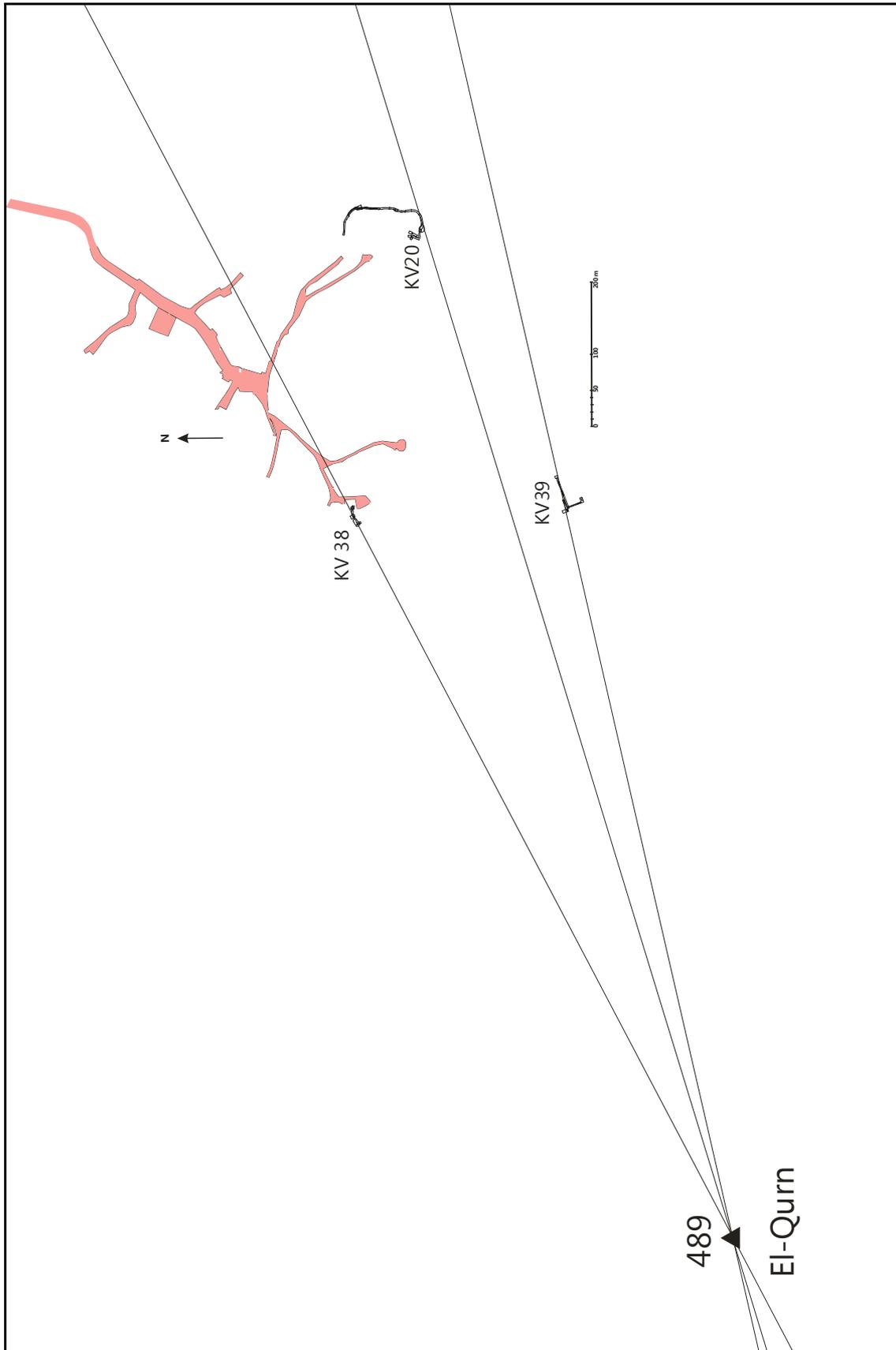


Fig. 10 Map of KV20, KV38 and KV39 in relation to El-Qurn

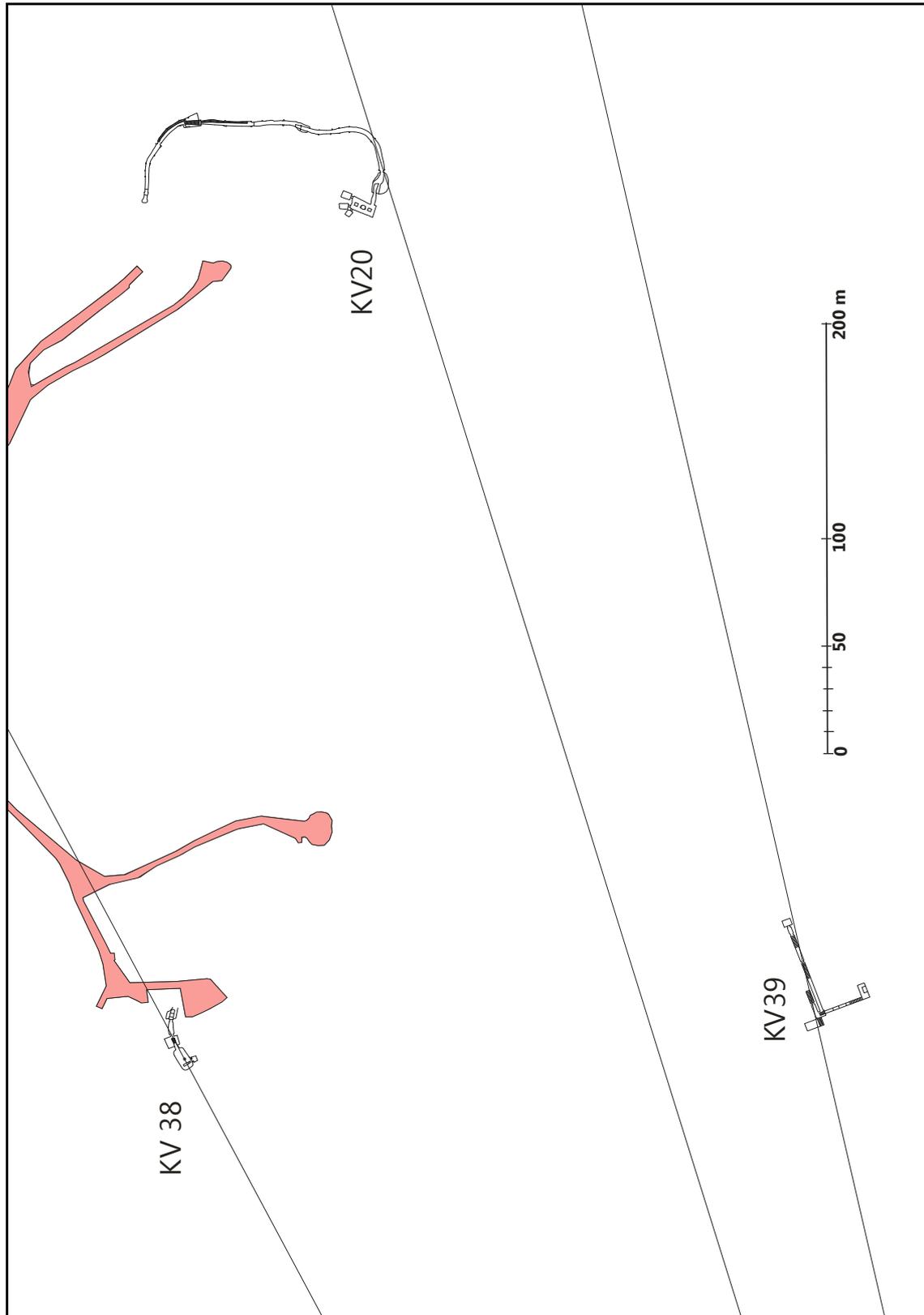


Fig. 11 Map of KV20, KV38 and KV39 in relation to El-Qurn (zoomed in)

The orientation of KV20

The orientation of Hatshepsut's tomb KV20 has always been a mystery: its initial phase, until its first bend, is clearly aimed at her mortuary temple on the other side of the mountain, but the rest of the tomb seems to be wandering off, as if the digging crew had lost their way.

It has often been suggested, that the alignment between KV20 and Hatshepsut's Deir el-Bahri temple is perfect. See e.g. the plan in *R/W*, page 92 (here reproduced).

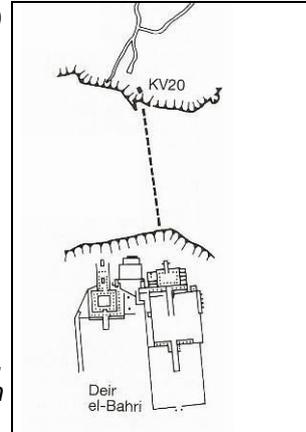


Fig. 12 KV20 and Hatshepsut's temple at Deir el-Bahri, according to Reeves/Wilkinson

Satellite pictures of the area show, that the distance between the temple and the entrance of the tomb is approx. 350 meters.

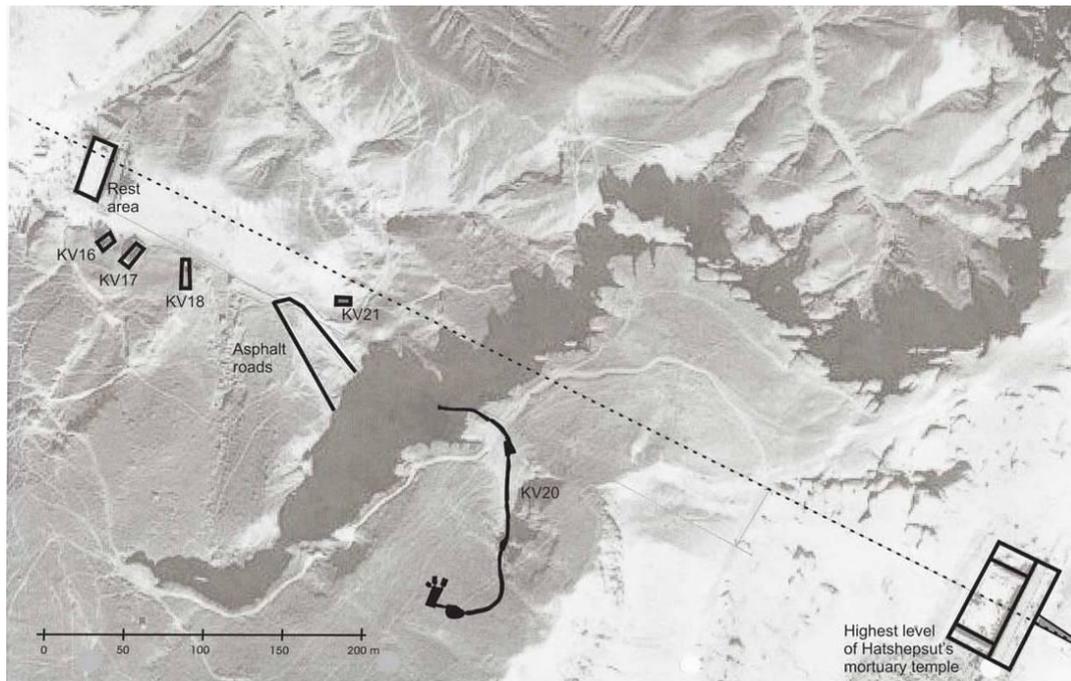


Fig. 13 KV20 and Hatshepsut's temple at Deir el-Bahri, on a satellite picture

This picture comes from Google Maps.¹⁹³ Several items on the ground could be identified, and these have been traced with black lines: the rest area, two bits of asphalt road, the entrances to several tombs, and the highest level of Hatshepsut's temple.¹⁹⁴ The dotted line represents the temple's axis. With the help of these markers, the TMP plan of the Valley could be superimposed onto it (this plan does not include Hatshepsut's temple). This made it possible to determine the position of KV20 in relation to the temple. The entrance of the tomb lies about 50 meters left (south-west) of the temple's axis.

Considering the distance, and the fact that there is no clear line of sight between the two points - the mountain ridge being in the way - this would be not too bad for an intentional

¹⁹³ It can be found by searching for "Deir el-Bahri."

¹⁹⁴ Above and to the right of the "Rest Area", the entrance road into the Valley can just be seen. On the original photograph, even busses and groups of tourists can be discerned.

alignment.¹⁹⁵ If we now return to Fig. 10 and Fig. 11 above, we can see that the tomb's last corridor, ending in chamber J1 (the original burial chamber),¹⁹⁶ points pretty accurately towards El-Qurn. Considering that one had at that point already cut for more than 100 meters underground, this orientation – if it was intentional – can even be called surprisingly accurate. I would say that this picture supports Romer's theory that the last part of the tomb (corridor G, burial chamber J2 and side chambers J2a, J2b and J2c) was added to the tomb in a later stage, by another architect. By then, an orientation towards El-Qurn apparently was no longer deemed essential – as is confirmed by the next king's tomb: Tuthmosis III's KV34. That one lacks any particular orientation, as will nearly all later tombs in the Valley.¹⁹⁷ KV38's orientation moreover seems to me an indication that it predates KV20's last construction phase.

So, far from loosing their way, 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.

¹⁹⁵ Actually, the shrine for Hatshepsut's mortuary cult was left of the temple's axis. This means that the alignment was even better- but I'm inclined to attribute this more to luck than skill.

¹⁹⁶ See for the designations of the various rooms the plan of KV20 on the website of the *TMP*.

¹⁹⁷ Although its orientation is not impeccable, KV17, the tomb of Sety II, may also have been aimed at El-Qurn.

5. KV39

Sources, in chronological order:	Quoted as:
ARTHUR E.P WEIGALL, <i>Miscellaneous notes</i> . ASAE 11 (1911), p. 174-175.	ASAE 11
ELIZABETH THOMAS, <i>The royal necropoleis of Thebes</i> (1966), p. 70-71 (Amenhotep I) and 73-75 (KV39).	RN
JOHN ROMER, <i>The tomb of Tuthmosis III</i> . MDAIK 31 (1975), p. 315-351. Relevant are pages 317 and 320-321.	T III
JOHN ROSE, <i>An Interim Report on Work in KV39, September-October 1989</i> , in: C.N. REEVES (ED.), <i>After Tut'ankhamun: Research and Excavation in the Royal Necropolis at Thebes</i> (1992), p. 28-40.	Rose 89
NICHOLAS REEVES AND RICHARD H. WILKINSON, <i>The Complete Valley of the Kings</i> (1996), p. 89.	R/W
JOHN ROSE, <i>Tomb KV39 in the Valley of the Kings: a Double Archeological Enigma</i> (2000).	Rose 2000
IAN M. BUCKLEY: <i>Excavations at Theban tomb KV39</i> , in: ASHLEY COOKE AND FIONA SIMPSON (EDS.): <i>Current Research in Egyptology II</i> (2005), p. 21-28.	IB
IAN M. BUCKLEY, PETER BUCKLEY AND ASHLEY COOKE: <i>Fieldwork in Theban tomb KV39: the 2002 season</i> . JEA 91 (2005), p. 71-82.	BBC 02
THEBAN MAPPING PROJECT, http://www.thebanmappingproject.com (1997-2006)	TMP website
DANIEL POLZ, <i>Der Beginn des Neuen Reiches. Zur Vorgeschichte einer Zeitenwende</i> (2007), p. 211.	Beginn

The third tomb that has been proposed as tomb of Amenhotep I is KV39. It is located, not within the Valley of the Kings proper, but on a plateau just above it, at the foot of El-Qurn. It lies some 200 meter south of the southernmost tomb inside the Valley: Tuthmosis III's KV34 (see Fig. 1 on page 8 above).

It's an ill-chosen location: "at the base of the mountain, three steeply descending [dry] water courses feed into the entrance area of the tomb."¹⁹⁸ As a result, it has suffered severe damage from flooding after the occasional rain storm that sweeps the area. In his geology report, Peter Buckley concludes: "The only permanent solution for the certain protection of KV39 would be to re-direct the flow of the watercourses around its entrance stairwell. This would be a prohibitive task, well beyond the scope of most archeological budgets."¹⁹⁹ In view of the meager results of the last expeditions, a really generously funded new one is unfortunately not the most likely thing to happen to this tomb.

*It has frequently been suggested, that the ancient Egyptians deliberately chose places like this, in a water course, or below a dry waterfall, for their royal tombs. Baraize e.g. states, with respect to Hatshepsut's cliff tomb (WA D), that its particular location was probably chosen because it would soon be buried by the debris of rain storms that wash down the mountains.*²⁰⁰

This is not a credible theory. Although the ancient Egyptians possessed many skills, geology was not one of them. The shaping effects of running water may be common knowledge today, the ancients knew nothing about these matters. Despite their proud and confident designation

¹⁹⁸ BBC 02, p. 73.

¹⁹⁹ BBC 02, p. 74.

²⁰⁰ ASAE XXI, p. 176. For a comparable position, see Thomas in RN p. 73, in her discussion of KV32, and Rose in Rose 2000 on p. 10 (about KV39).

for the royal mortuary temples - "Houses for Millions of Years" - such a time horizon was really way out of their grasp. But had they recognized smooth cliff surfaces as dry waterfalls, or certain gullies as potential waterways, they would surely have chosen other locations for their tombs. The cutting of a tomb could take several years, and the prudent Egyptians would never consciously have accepted the risk of serious damage by flooding to a tomb under construction during such a long period. Romer has reported extensive brown staining in the upper corridor of KV34, the tomb of Tuthmosis III. He assumes that this resulted from mud, washed in during a rain storm, while the cutting of the tomb was still in progress.²⁰¹ Flash floods like these only occur rarely though: the last of these floods in the 20th century happened in 1994, while the last one before that was in 1918.²⁰² As a result, the Egyptians apparently never reached enough of an understanding of these matters to avoid locations that were too exposed.

When one follows the footpath from Deir el-Medineh north, one arrives, shortly before reaching the Valley of the Kings, at a broad and flat "col": the location of the *Village de Repos*. The Valley is straight ahead, but can not yet be seen from here. To the left one sees a long slope rising further towards the top of the Peak. At the foot of this slope, a level path wanders off, first a bit to the left, then with a broad arc to the right. About ten meters below this path, to the right, there is now a wide hole in the ground: the ruin of the former entryway of KV39 (see Fig. 14 below).

The positioning of the tomb's entrance has much in common with that of AN B. Both were basically just holes in the ground, dug in a small natural depression. Both lie quite isolated, and both were constructed in a place that had no immediate relief below it.²⁰³ But where AN B still had a vertical entrance shaft, KV39 already possessed an entryway with a flight of steps.

KV39 may have been discovered by Victor Loret in 1899, or rather: by his workforce, which operated with considerable autonomy. Loret would generally indicate where to dig, and then leave the work to his men.²⁰⁴ These appear to have tipped, on several occasions, locals about their finds, so that these could then apply for a permit to dig at the indicated area. In 1900, KV42 was probably "discovered" this way by Chenouda Macarios and Boutros Andraos, two citizens of Luxor. As the same duo excavated KV39 in the same period, a comparable course of events may be assumed. Macarios and Andraos never published anything about this excavation - or about that of KV42, for that matter. Their interest may not have been purely scientific... Anyway, they partially cleared the tomb, leaving huge excavation dumps behind.

Weigall

A few years later, the tomb was visited by Weigall. In a short article in 1911,²⁰⁵ he identifies in less than two pages of text KV39 as the tomb of Amenhotep I. Until I had read this article, I was a bit amazed how such a cursory identification could have been so influential. Weigall however makes his point most persuasively. He begins with pointing out, that what he considers to be the first three royal tombs in the Valley of the Kings (KV38, 42 and 34, in his opinion belonging to Tuthmosis I, II and III, respectively), all lie near its southern end. So KV39, being even a bit further to the south, could well have preceded these three.

²⁰¹ *T III*, p. 321-322. Note however that Johnson interprets a brown coloring in KV20 differently: "For the first few meters [of the tomb, after the entrance], the limestone of the walls and ceiling is patinated a dark-brown, the result of the tomb having stood open for so long" (*No one seeing*, p. 76).

²⁰² *Ryan Obs2*, p. 1.

²⁰³ The oldest securely dated regal tombs in the Valley of the Kings (Hatshepsut's KV20 and Tuthmosis III's KV34) were constructed in such a way, that there was room below them for the tombs of dependents; neither KV39, nor AN B was in a position to oversee other tombs.

²⁰⁴ For a lively description of this and other early episodes in the history of the Valley of the Kings, see *RVK*.

²⁰⁵ *ASAE 11*, p. 174-175.

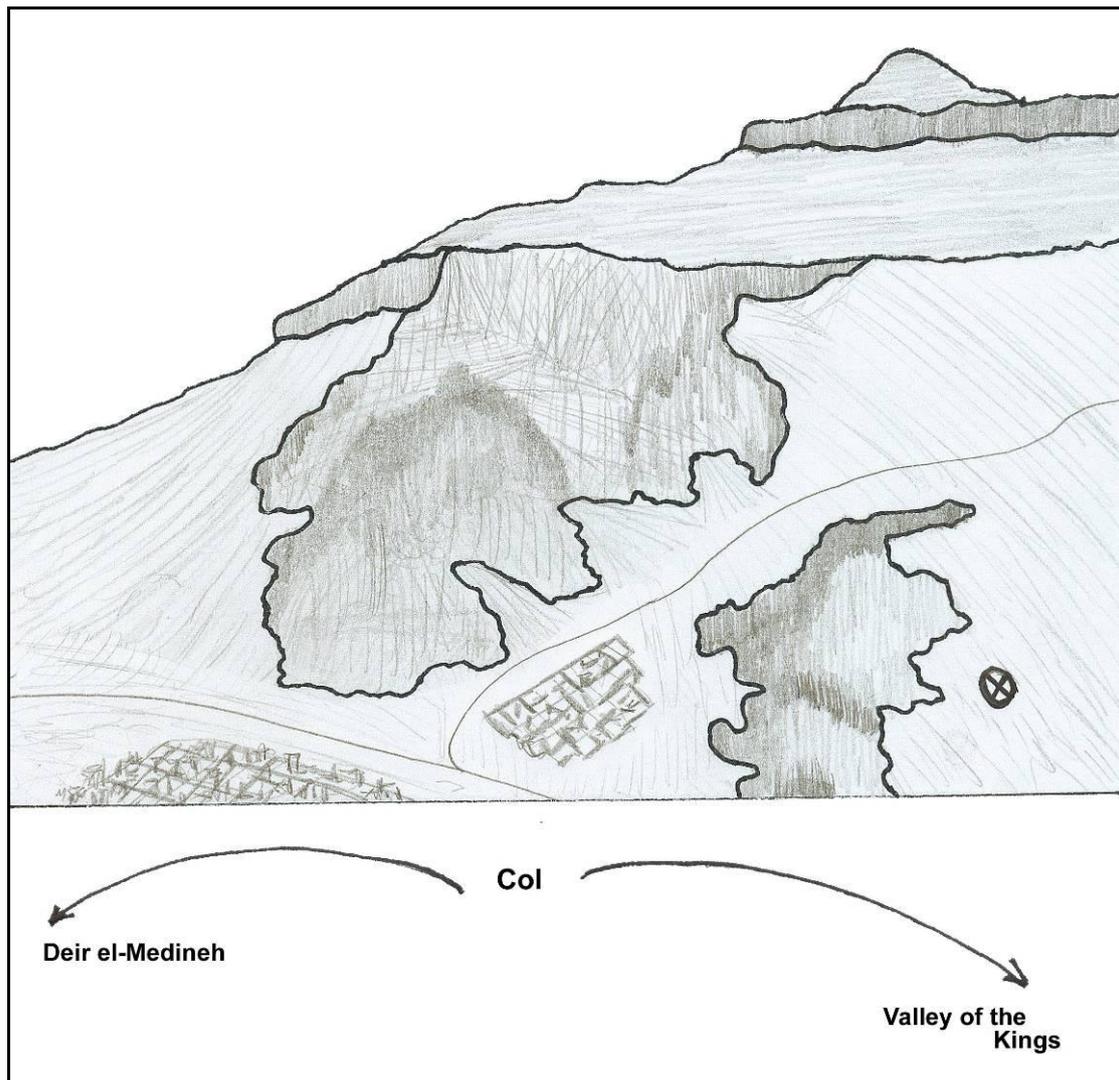


Fig. 14 The location of KV39 in relation to El-Qurn, Deir el-Medineh and the Valley of the Kings.

Drawing based on a photograph in Rose 89:Plate 4 on p. 29. (The checker boards at the bottom are two parts of the Village de Repos, and "X" marks the location of the treasure: KV39.)

Weigall then gives the following description of the tomb:

This tomb is entered down a steep flight of steps which brings one to a low doorway, and this entrance is exactly similar to those of the succeeding Pharaohs' tombs. Thus one has to suppose that this no. 39 is a royal tomb of the early XVIIIth Dynasty. There is no well in the tomb, and hence it is earlier than the time of Thutmose III, who was the first king to make a well in his tomb. No inscriptions remain upon the walls, and the chambers are entirely wrecked. Several fragments of pottery and alabaster, however, lie about, which confirm the dating of the work to the early part of the dynasty. Its size and construction is such as to preclude the possibility of it being anything but a royal tomb.²⁰⁶

Weigall subsequently combines this with his earlier remark about the location of the tombs of Thutmose I, II and III:

We have then, on the one hand, a royal sepulcher of the style of the other royal tombs of the early XVIIIth Dynasty, situated close to the Tombs of Thutmose I, II,

²⁰⁶ ASAE 11, p. 174.

and III; and on the other hand we have king Amenhotep I whose tomb has not yet been identified.

For those dummies that still haven't fully grasped it, he then puts in the evidence from pAbbott. He gives a new translation of the relevant text portion, for the first time interpreting the measurement of 120 cubits as referring to the distance that the tomb's entrance is away from something else:

The tomb of King Zeserka(ra), son of the Sun Amenhotep, which measures 120 cubits down from the building (?) belonging to it which is called "The Height", north of the Palace (or Temple) of Amenhotep of the Garden.²⁰⁷

KV39 does lie north of at least two places that may have been meant with "the House of Amenhotep of the Garden:" the palace of Amenhotep III at Malkata, and a temple of Amenhotep I near Medinet Habu. And the nearest of the huts of the Way Station is located *exactly* 120 cubits above the opening of the tomb: Q.E.D.

Thomas

When Elizabeth Thomas tried to enter the tomb in the 1960's, she found it inaccessible: blocked by a large rock that had fallen into the entryway.²⁰⁸ So she drafted a guessed plan of the tomb, based on several descriptions by Weigall.²⁰⁹ She then based her discussion of KV39 in *RN* (p. 73-75) entirely on this plan - which later proved to be very different from the tomb's actual design. She compared the tomb with KV38, which she considered to be the original tomb of Tuthmosis I. If KV39 is Amenhotep I's tomb, it should be both smaller and simpler than KV38: "for tombs tend to become increasingly larger and more complex with time, without reversing the process unless a king's death or another obstacle intervened."²¹⁰ Finding that KV39 is neither smaller, nor simpler than 38, it seemed more logical to her that it belonged to "Thutmose II or his half-brothers".²¹¹

Rose

Such was the level of knowledge concerning KV39, when John Rose started work here in 1989.

Rose's original occupation was that of an engineer, in industrial management.²¹² Upon a visit to Egypt in 1978, he was so struck by the country's history, that he decided on a career change. He began studies in Egyptology, earned a doctorate, and went on expedition: eleven years after his first visit to Egypt, he commenced his own excavation, in the Valley of the Kings. One would not have believed it possible in this day and age, but Rose must be a very determined man.

When he first entered KV39, he found that it contained "much debris - in no case can the original floor be seen. Passages, halls, and chambers are partially full (..)"²¹³ Already in his first interim report,²¹⁴ Rose could present a schematic plan with approximate dimensions, which looked quite different from Thomas' inferred plan. The tomb turned out to consist of three distinctly separate parts (see Fig. 15 on page 67 below). First comes an upper section, running west, consisting of entryway A, corridor B and (upper) chamber C. To this were added a section running east, and one running

²⁰⁷ Also quoted on page 61 above.

²⁰⁸ The block stayed there until 1989, when it was removed by John Rose's expedition. Rose's first excavation report (*Rose 89*) has a picture with it still *in situ*: plate IV on p. 29.

²⁰⁹ *RN* Fig. 9, p. 85, reproduced in *Rose 89*, p. 31. (I have refrained from copying it here again, because it adds absolutely nothing to understanding the tomb.)

²¹⁰ *RN* p. 74.

²¹¹ *RN* p. 74.

²¹² *Rose 2000*, p. xv.

²¹³ *Rose 89*, p. 32.

²¹⁴ *Rose 89*.

south, mostly referred to as the eastern and southern passage. Both of these sections descend steeply, and each ends in a burial chamber.

Work continued until 1994, but Rose's last excavation report, of September 1994, ends thus: "The tomb-owner remains unidentified."²¹⁵ In that same year, Rose suffered a severe stroke. As a result, it was not until 2000 before he could finally publish some measure of an account of the excavations: *Tomb KV39 in the Valley of the Kings: a double archeological enigma*.²¹⁶ It consists of two parts:

- I: The birth of two enigmas: the protocol of royal tomb chronology in the Theban Necropolis.²¹⁷
- II: The excavation of tomb KV39 in the Valley of the Kings.

It contains again only a schematic plan, dated November 1994: a revised version of his 1989 plan.²¹⁸ Rose however still makes a reservation: "This drawing is provided for the purpose of identification of parts of the tomb only and does not represent the precise details - the dimensions given are approximate."

Part I is the unrevised paper that Rose submitted when he applied for permission to excavate KV39.²¹⁹ It deals extensively with papyrus Abbott, and with a supposed protocol that governed the placement of royal cemeteries and tombs:

It is my belief that an ancient protocol existed which governed the location of a royal cemetery and where each royal tomb should be placed within that cemetery.²²⁰

Rose assumes that a change of dynasty triggered the selection of a new location for the royal cemetery. The first king of the new dynasty was granted the position, closest to the Nile, and every succeeding pharaoh built his tomb a little to the south, and a bit to the rear (the west) of his immediate predecessor, "out of respect to him".²²¹ While this idea is certainly not without merit,²²² it clearly does not apply to the royal tombs in the Valley of the Kings. Rose acknowledges this: the 18th dynasty "either abandoned protocol or was based on some new one."²²³ It is unfortunate that the tombs of those kings that span the transition between the 17th and the 18th dynasty (Kamose, Ahmose and Amenhotep I) are unknown:

There should have been a clear demarcation between the cemeteries at the founding of the new Dynasty, but the absence of [these] tombs leaves somewhat of a puzzle.²²⁴

For an answer, he looks to KV39:

KV39 (...) has never been properly excavated and may well hold clues to the break in chronological tomb protocol that took place at the time.²²⁵

²¹⁵ Rose 2000, p. 38.

²¹⁶ Rose 2000. The following is an excerpt of the accompanying text on the website of the publisher of this work: "Sadly, Dr. Rose suffered a severe stroke in 1994, shortly after completing his final Summary Excavation Report, leaving him unable to walk without assistance and impairing his speech. Despite this, with the help of family and friends, he has spent the last five years preparing this work for publication."

²¹⁷ The two enigma's that Rose refers to, are on the one hand the question about where the tomb of Amenhotep I is, and on the other hand the matter of who would be the owner of KV39.

²¹⁸ Also reproduced in *IB* on p. 23.

²¹⁹ Aidan Dodson, in the foreword to *Rose 2000*.

²²⁰ *Rose 2000*, p. 3.

²²¹ *Rose 2000*, p. 3.

²²² I would however suggest another reasoning behind the observed movement of tombs towards the south-west. The ancient Egyptians oriented their nation to the south: in every nome list, the first one mentioned is that of Elephantine. From the south came the Nile, source of all life in Egypt. As every king strove to outdo, or improve upon, his predecessor, it was natural for him to select a position further south: *in front of* his predecessor. And by moving a bit to the west, he would be overlooking the tombs of all those who went before.

²²³ *Rose 2000*, p. 3.

²²⁴ *Rose 2000*, p. 3.

²²⁵ *Rose 2000*, p. 3.

Rose begins his review of the relevant section of pAbbott with quoting six different translations,²²⁶ including the following one by himself:

The tomb of king Djeserka (L.P.H), Son of Re Amenhotep (L.P.H.), which is seen at 120 cubits down from the storehouse of the tomb buildings. The Hill-Journey or "The Summit", it is said, is north of the palace of Amenhotep (L.P.H.) of the Garden.²²⁷

His is certainly the most innovative translation.

The main problem with the designation "House of Amenhotep of the Garden" is, that it is only known from this one reference in papyrus Abbott.²²⁸ It has so far not been possible to link this name to any building on the ground.

Rose then identifies no less than seven structures that in his opinion could have been the "House of Amenhotep of the Garden." From west to east:

- The palace of Amenhotep III at Malkata.
- A mortuary temple of Amenhotep I in the area of Medinet Habu, "built over by later kings."
- A temple of Amenhotep I in the area of the Ptolemaic temple at Deir el-Medineh.
- The mortuary temple of Amenhotep III (of which now only the "colossi of Memnon" remain).
- A destroyed temple of Amenhotep I in what later became the first court of Hatshepsut's temple at Deir el-Bahri.
- A mortuary temple of Amenhotep II/III, north of the Ramesseum.
- And the temple of Meniset.²²⁹

This series of buildings is spread more or less evenly from west to east along most of the southern perimeter of the Theban necropolis. Of all tombs in this necropolis, only those in the cemetery of El-Tarif to the north-east, and those west of the Valley of the Queens, can *not* be said to be north of a potential House of Amenhotep of the Garden. Which obviously means that, as long as this House is not positively identified, the clue is all but useless. Rose recognizes this: he does not attempt to identify the House of Amenhotep of the Garden, but instead points out that, if KV39 was Amenhotep's tomb, "then Amenhotep's temple at Deir el-Medina fits perfectly."²³⁰

Papyrus Abbott refers to one more House of Amenhotep: the House of Amenhotep of the Court. This one is known from more sources, but it hasn't been identified, either. Its location can to some extent be determined though, because pAbbott mentions it in connection with the tomb of king Wahankh Intef II, from the 11th dynasty. This tomb is said to be "north of the House of Amenhotep of the Court." Intef II was buried on the cemetery of El-Tarif, so the House of Amenhotep of the Court must have been south of there. But as far as I know, nothing in that area is now in any way connected to the name of Amenhotep.

With the other pointer in the text – the one which states that the tomb is 120 cubits away from something else – Rose follows a comparable strategy. Of his own translation of the relevant passage in pAbbott, he articulates that it "seems a more accurate description of the site,"²³¹ meaning: the site of KV39. This shows that he was looking for a translation to fit the tomb, rather than a tomb that fits the description. And he continues:

²²⁶ Two of these are actually identical: Carter used Breasted's translation. Carter appears to have been well aware of his limitations in understanding the finer nuances of the ancient Egyptian language; he refrains from giving a translation of a text whenever he can.

²²⁷ Rose 2000, p. 13.

²²⁸ *Beginn*, p. 110.

²²⁹ Discussed on page 22 above.

²³⁰ Rose 2000, p. 16.

²³¹ Rose 2000, p. 13.

Reading the otherwise unattested words “wt” as “storehouse” and “y” as “tomb buildings” would aptly describe this site.²³²

This way, you will always be right.

Although Rose clearly favors the idea that KV39 was the tomb of Amenhotep I, he does manage to build in at least a touch of objectivity. So e.g. after discussing tombs KV20 and KV38, in both of which a sarcophagus was found, inscribed for Tuthmosis I, he concludes:

It is possible therefore, that either KV38 or KV20 could have originally been made for Tuthmosis I, as indeed could have KV39.²³³

But in the last paragraph of Part I, he states:

From the above considerations tomb KV39 seems to be an ideal contender for the missing tomb of Amenhotep I.²³⁴

Part II describes the excavation of KV39, and the findings, both in the way of architecture and artifacts. (We will come back to these shortly).

In one of the “specialists reports,” Rose gives a separate hypothesis concerning KV39.²³⁵ On the transportation docket, found in the royal cache (DB320), it is said of several mummies that they were routed to DB320 via another tomb: that of queen Inhapy: “this high place of Inhapy which is a great place and in which Amenhotep rests.”²³⁶ From this, he tries to work out the position that KV39 was originally the tomb of queen Inhapy, who may have been “either a secondary wife of Ahmose or a secondary wife of Amenhotep himself.” He continues:

Amenhotep I was closely related to Inhapy and when he died, her tomb, for some reason, was utilized for him as well. He was, however, not buried with her but in a separate section in the tomb.²³⁷

This may all sound very nice, but the idea that a king of Egypt – and a major one, at that – would, in the normal course of events, after his death be buried in someone else’s tomb, is just too bizarre to consider.

Apparently, Rose himself doesn’t trust this one enough to make it the main thesis of his argument. Instead, he formulates the following end-conclusion:

In the absence of contrary evidence, in my view, after five seasons of excavation, Amenhotep I is just as good a candidate [for the position of KV39’s owner] as any other royal personage.²³⁸

I understand the need for caution, but this makes a terribly diluted statement.

In the meantime, the TMP, not having surveyed the tomb itself, published a plan, based on an earlier version of Rose’s work. Fig. 15 on page 67 below is based on this TMP-plan, adding a flight of stairs in the southern passage that Rose later included in his 1994 version of the plan.

²³² *Rose 2000*, p. 13.

²³³ *Rose 2000*, p. 10.

²³⁴ *Rose 2000*, p. 27.

²³⁵ *Rose 2000*, p. 144-148.

²³⁶ *Rose 2000*, p. 145.

²³⁷ *Rose 2000*, p. 146.

²³⁸ *Rose 2000*, p. 151.

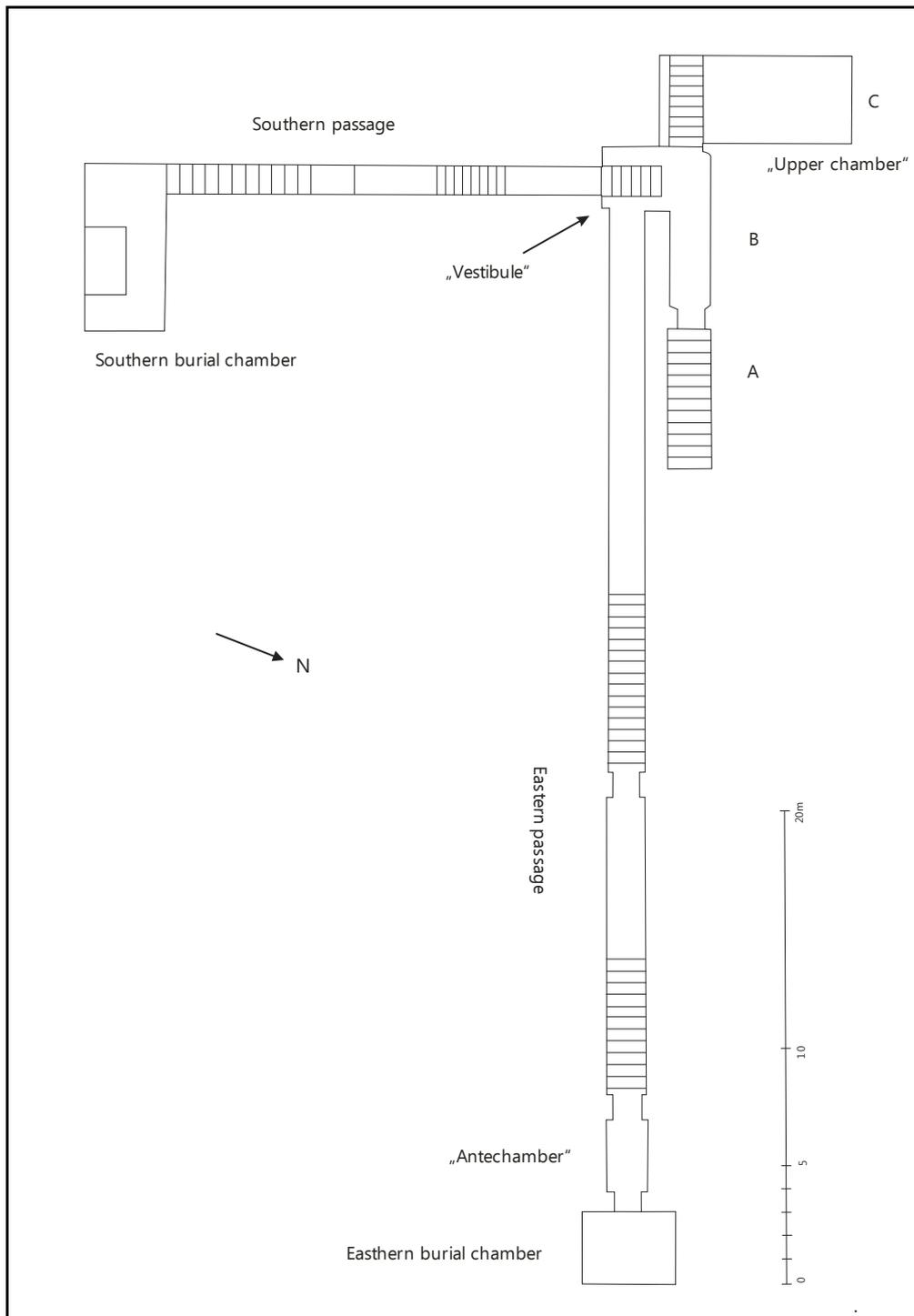


Fig. 15 KV39, in its final form (sketch plan)

Buckley, Buckley and Cooke

In 2002, Ian and Peter Buckley from Rose's original team, supplemented with Ashley Cooke, revisited KV39 with the purpose of finally producing an accurate plan, and of examining the huge collection of artifacts, recovered by Rose.²³⁹ Unfortunately, they found the tomb again heavily encumbered with debris through flooding: the result of "illicit unsealing of the tomb entrance".²⁴⁰ The south passage was totally blocked by

²³⁹ BBC 02, p. 71.

²⁴⁰ BBC 02, p. 73.

“a combination of roof collapse and deposits of water-borne rock debris.”²⁴¹ The eastern passage was accessible, but the burial chamber - previously cleared completely by Rose - was again filled with sediment until about 1 meter from its ceiling. In chamber C, the stairway was completely obstructed with debris. So only the eastern and the western passage could be charted - except for the stairway in chamber C. In the resulting plan (produced by Ashley Cooke), the southern passage is therefore simply copied from Rose’s plan. It was published in the *Journal of Egyptian Archeology* in 2005²⁴² - but unfortunately most inaccurate. The provided scale is wrong, and the plan of the eastern passage contradicts in several aspects the accompanying narrative.

Significant new finds were not made. Work on the finds gathered by Rose, did result in more detailed information. The most interesting conclusion reached was that part of the pottery found could be dated to the early part of the 18th dynasty - thereby confirming Weigall’s earlier off-hand appraisal.²⁴³

Polz

In 2007, Polz just mentions that the owner of KV39 is not yet identified, but that it seems to be of a somewhat later date than Amenhotep I.²⁴⁴

Finds

The objects that Rose recovered from inside and around the tomb are quite numerous (1,350 bags)²⁴⁵, but most of that material still awaits examination. Appearances may be deceptive, but from the published finds so far, I would not expect a major breakthrough from what’s still in store.

Intriguing are eight flat pieces of sandstone, a bit like rough ostraca, “on average 8 cm high by 5 cm wide by 2 cm thick”.²⁴⁶ Each carried a faded cartouche in blue paint: “tentatively the prenoms of Tuthmosis I, Tuthmosis II (?) and Amenophis II”.²⁴⁷

“They may be rough identity docketts of some kind, though they lack the attachment hole found on the wooden examples of such docketts.”²⁴⁸ The fact that these similar objects have been found here, inscribed with the names of kings that ruled generations apart, makes it a priori senseless to try and deduce from them a dating for the tomb. All one can say about these objects, is that they constitute a group that in its entirety belongs to a period, no earlier than the latest of the recorded names.

Fragments of wooden coffins were found, “the earliest examples of which are datable to the end of the first decade of Tuthmosis III’s reign”.²⁴⁹

Pottery finds include both early 18th dynasty and later 18th dynasty specimen. Cooke was able to put a tentative timeframe on the older pieces of c. 1500-1450 BC.²⁵⁰ This corresponds roughly with the reigns of Tuthmosis I till III.

In front of the tomb’s entryway, Rose discovered a foundation deposit of miniature pottery vessels.²⁵¹ *Malheureusement*, the objects were not inscribed.

In the tomb’s eastern passage, large quantities of mummy bandages were found, along with mummification materials.²⁵² In combination with the sandstone docketts, this has given rise to the theory that KV39 may have served as a workshop for the

²⁴¹ *BBC 02*, p. 73.

²⁴² *BBC 02*, p. 76.

²⁴³ See page 61 above.

²⁴⁴ *Beginn* p. 211.

²⁴⁵ *Rose 2000*, p.150.

²⁴⁶ *Rose 89*, p. 36, n. 26.

²⁴⁷ *Rose 89*, p. 36.

²⁴⁸ *Rose 89*, p. 36, n. 26.

²⁴⁹ *IB*, p. 26.

²⁵⁰ *BBC 02*, p. 80.

²⁵¹ *Rose 89*, p. 31.

²⁵² *IB*, p. 26.

processing of royal mummies after the New Kingdom.²⁵³ Perhaps some mummies were “restored” here – euphemism for re-wrapped after being picked clean. The docketts may have served to identify the mummies while they were lying on the floor, awaiting their turn on the bench.

This option affects the possible implications of the remains of wooden coffins. As the finds in the royal cache of DB320 have shown, the “restored” mummies of the kings were regularly packed up in coffins of commoners, from various periods. The evidence of coffins from the reign of Tuthmosis III is therefore not per se indicative for a burial from that reign. The pottery found in the tomb is in this respect more significant: unassuming earthenware is not so likely to be transferred to a cache, so chances are better that this material belonged to an original burial in this tomb.

Description of the tomb

Fig. 15 on page 67 above shows the tomb as found. Entryway A has a steep stairway, 7 m deep. Below, the tomb consists of three separate parts. The oldest section runs west; it begins with a descending corridor (B), which leads to the “upper chamber” (C). In the chamber, the beginning of a descending stairwell was found, “but unfortunately [the steps] ended in poor *gebe*²⁵⁴ and the work seems to have thus been abandoned by the original tomb-builders.”²⁵⁵

The description of the stairs in the upper chamber just quoted is from the 1991 Summary Report. In the final chapter of Rose 2000, Rose amazingly enough re-considers the steps:

*It is quite possible for the steps to lead to a shaft, another chamber or even to be abandoned altogether in antiquity because of the poor quality of the rock.*²⁵⁶

My guess would be that this re-appraisal could have been geared towards inciting enough interest for a new expedition – an expedition that actually followed in 2002. But as mentioned (see page 68 above), the stairs were found totally blocked by debris, and were not re-examined.

Later, the tomb appears to have been extended with a hall or vestibule, cut in the left side of the entrance corridor. In the words of Rose: “This hall, however, seems to have been formed as a secondary modification to the original design. The tomb may have been initially constructed as a simple straight-line tomb with a chamber at the end, the small hall having been cut later into the end of the entrance corridor, prior to the upper chamber, to make a vestibule into other passages.”²⁵⁷ From here, two new “suites” begin. The so-called eastern passage is a series of descending corridors and stairs, about 42 meter long, running east towards a burial chamber. It is well cut, with spacious corridors. The last room before the burial chamber is level. It is therefore sometimes referred to as an “antechamber”, but in ancient Egyptian architecture, an antechamber will invariably be wider than the corridor that precedes it. The room is best called a corridor.

The section ends in a surprisingly small burial chamber: only 3.30 m x 3.94 m.²⁵⁸ The entry to this chamber shows “patches of mud, indicating that this was once sealed”²⁵⁹ - presumably closing in a burial. Likewise, a 30 cm wide band of mud staining along the lintel of the entrance to the east passage indicates that this had been sealed too.²⁶⁰

²⁵³ Rose 2000, p. 149, *IB* p. 26.

²⁵⁴ Rock.

²⁵⁵ Rose 2000, p. 34.

²⁵⁶ Rose 2000, p. 150.

²⁵⁷ Rose 89, p. 34, n. 14.

²⁵⁸ See Rose's plan, reproduced in *IB* on p. 23.

²⁵⁹ *BBC 02*, p. 78.

²⁶⁰ *BBC 02*, p. 77.

Both the western and the eastern section of the tomb have, by John Romer, been dated to the early 18th dynasty. Rose mentions this in *Rose 2000*:

- “The architecture and cutting technique of the tomb entrance and the East Passage / Burial Chamber indicate early XVIIIth Dynasty.”²⁶¹
- “Architectural features and cutting techniques found in the tomb entrance, East Passage and Burial Chamber, authenticated by John Romer, are characteristic of the early XVIIIth Dynasty.”²⁶²

As this corresponds with the timeframe for the oldest pottery in the tomb, and with Weigall’s earlier assessment,²⁶³ we may adopt as a working hypothesis a dating of the tomb - as far as its western and eastern sections are concerned - in the period mentioned in connection with the pottery: from Tuthmosis I till III.

Also from the vestibule, another “suite” runs south. This south passage is of inferior workmanship. In the words of Rose: “a roughly cut tunnel.”²⁶⁴ Like the eastern passage, it descends all the way. After 19 meter, it ends in another, somewhat larger burial chamber. In the comments to the 1993 season, Rose adds: “The rough construction of the South Passage suggests either a design for a cache or an unfinished tomb”.²⁶⁵ The caches that Rose refers to were set up after the collapse of the New Kingdom, for the purpose of warehousing the stripped royal mummies. But in a context of exploitation, I don’t see anyone investing serious labor input in constructing a new tomb, or even extending an existing one, just to get some storage space - not with so many readily available, looted tombs around. So although KV39 may have been a link in the process of dismantling the necropolis, I would expect the southern passage not to be connected to this. My guess is, that it is from an even later date.

Interpreting the findings

The sequence of entryway A, corridor B and stairwell C is the classic opening sequence of the 18th dynasty royal tombs in the Valley. The only deviation from the later standard is the asymmetric extension of C to the right.

Like the western section, the eastern passage shows characteristics of early 18th dynasty activity: see Romer’s remarks above. Its dimensions and workmanship are, within the context of this timeframe, definitely royal.

The southern passage is of inferior making. It is certainly not royal, but at present not dated to any specific period. My guess would be, that it’s a Third Intermediate Period addition.²⁶⁶

Crucial is the question when the eastern passage was added. It seems to me that this happened as part of the initial construction process. The westward section is, for a royal tomb from this period, way too short to be anywhere near completion. The unfinished stairwell in room C moreover clearly shows that work on this section was ceased abruptly. When the builders were cutting the stairs in chamber C, they struck on marl.²⁶⁷ The original plan of digging westward was apparently abandoned upon hitting this soft, inferior stone, and a decision made to turn around, towards the east.

I’ve tried to reconstruct what KV39 may have looked like, when it received its original burial. As I believe the southern passage to be a much later addition, I’ve left that one out. I would have preferred to use Cooke’s plan for the remainder, but as noted above, I don’t really trust the rendering of the eastern passage in *BBC 02*.²⁶⁸ In Fig.

²⁶¹ *Rose 2000*, p. 36.

²⁶² *Rose 2000*, p. 150.

²⁶³ “Thus one has to suppose that this no. 39 is a royal tomb of the early XVIIIth Dynasty:” see page 62 above.

²⁶⁴ *Rose 89*, p. 35.

²⁶⁵ *Rose 2000*, p. 37.

²⁶⁶ The burial chamber of this passage is formed as a lateral extension of a corridor. For royal tombs, this feature was abandoned early in the 18th dynasty, but for commoners, it was apparently still an option.

²⁶⁷ *BBC 02*, p. 74.

²⁶⁸ I’ve tried to contact Mr. Cooke for assistance in this matter, but to no avail.

16 below, I've therefore combined Cooke's western section with Rose's eastern section.

One intriguing feature on Cooke's plan is a column or pillar in the opening between corridor B and chamber C. It is not shown in the TMP's version of the plan, but Rose already refers to it in his first report: he speaks of "a man-made supporting pillar".²⁶⁹

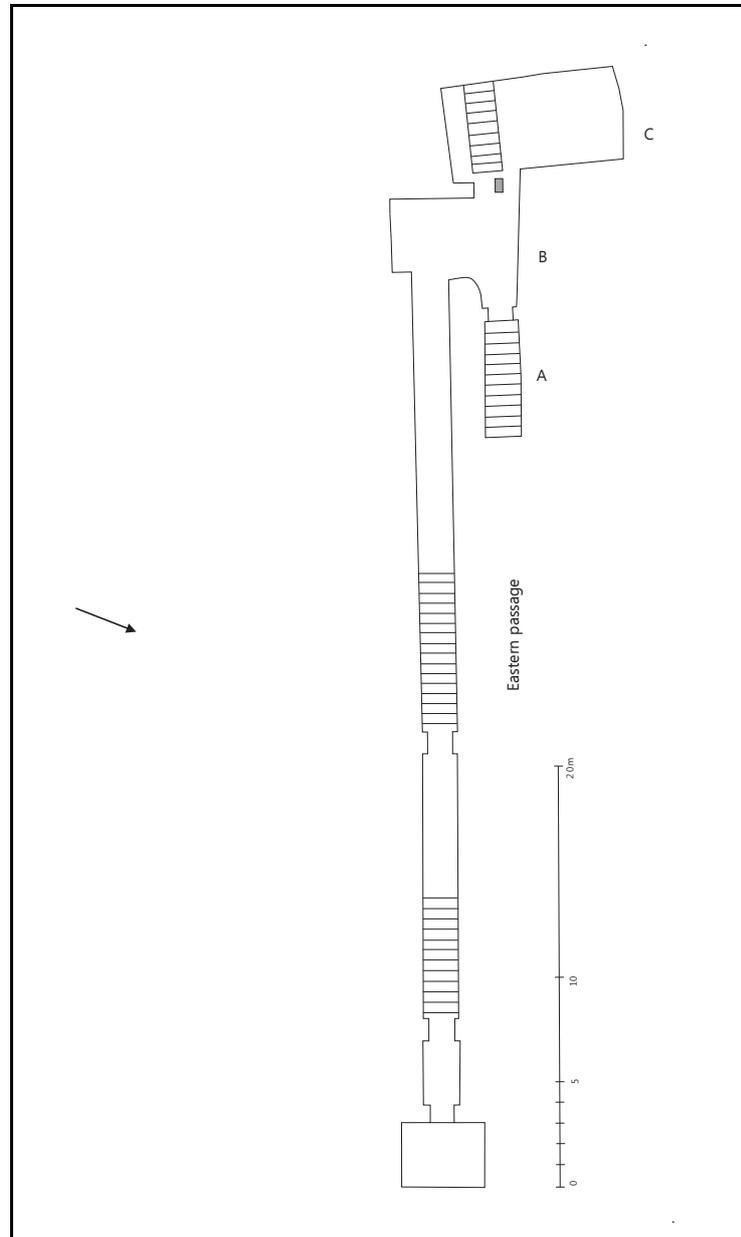


Fig. 16 KV39: hypothetical situation at the time of the original burial (sketch plan)

Interim results

We now have an idea what this tomb may have looked like, when it was for the first time closed with a burial inside. We also have an approximate timeframe for that first burial: early 18th dynasty, probably somewhere between Tuthmosis I and Tuthmosis III.

Further indications for the dating of this tomb come from a comparison with AN B. The original parts of KV39 (the western and eastern passages) were more expertly

²⁶⁹ Rose 89, p. 34.

excavated than AN B, with fine vertical walls.²⁷⁰ The placement of its entrance resembles that of AN B closely, but it has an entryway instead of a shaft. It all points to this tomb being the next step in an ongoing development.²⁷¹

As was the case with AN B, we can furthermore say that the tomb's size, combined to its dating in the early 18th dynasty, identifies it as a royal tomb: either a king's, or a great royal wife's. But so far, we haven't got a clue whose name to pin to it.

With the data from finds and architecture now exhausted, we only have its location left as a source for further information. Luckily for us, that location is extraordinarily educational.

The tomb's location

The following characteristics are relevant:

1. More pointedly than any other tomb in the area, this one is positioned at the foot of El-Qurn.
2. It is not located in the Valley proper, but just outside it, on its southernmost rim.
3. Although the tomb lies very close to the actual Valley, its location bears no relation whatsoever to it.
4. It lies immediately below, and only 63 m²⁷² away from the *Village de Repos*.
5. The entrance to KV39 lies 200 m south, and 42 m above, the entrance to KV34, the tomb of Tuthmosis III.²⁷³

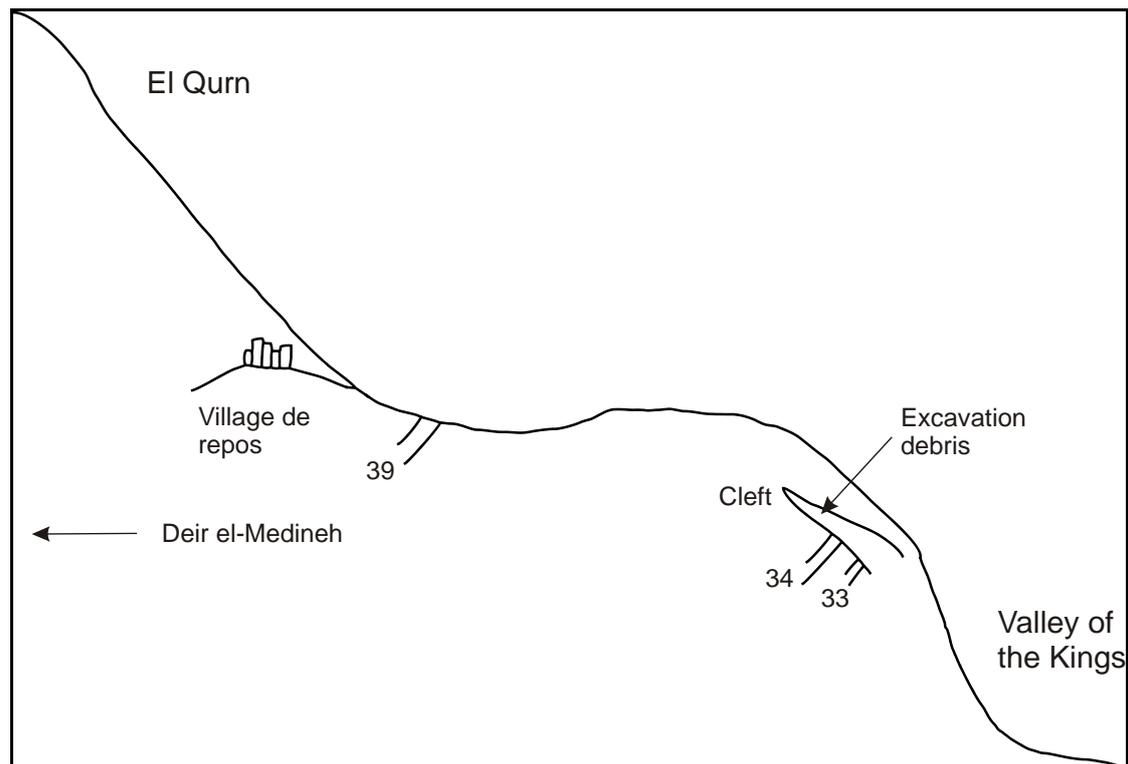


Fig. 17 The situation of KV39, KV34 and KV33 (not to scale: diagram only)

²⁷⁰ Pictures in Rose 2000.

²⁷¹ On the other hand: the workmanship of KV20, which is certainly of later date, is again quite rough.

²⁷² Equaling 120 cubits: see the discussion of pAbbott on page 21 above.

²⁷³ Distance gathered from the TMP map, sheet 3/70. Difference in elevation calculated from the elevations per tomb, as given by the TMP on their website.

1. KV39 lies most strikingly at the foot of El-Qurn

Much as a link with El-Qurn may be assumed for all tombs in the Valley, it seems inescapable for KV39. Of all the tombs in this area, this one is closest to El-Qurn. Moreover, the tomb's oldest section, from entrance A till chamber C, is oriented (roughly) toward the heart of the mountain (see the figures on page 56 and 57 above.)

The deviation of the tomb's axis from a perfect alignment with El-Qurn seems to be about 7 degrees. One has to keep in mind though, that this tomb was not surveyed by the Theban Mapping Project. The TMP just pasted Rose's plan on their map. An accurate recording of the tomb's axis might possibly reveal a better fit.

When the westward development of the tomb proved to be ill-fated one turned, not to the left or right, but straight in reverse.²⁷⁴ This way, the tomb's orientation towards El-Qurn was at least to some extent maintained: it stayed on the same axis.

KV39's setting, at the foot of this immense natural pyramid, is so remarkable that surely, no Egyptian king would have allowed anyone, not even his great royal wife, to appropriate it. More than anything else, its location determines this tomb as that of a king.



Fig. 18 KV39 in relation to El-Qurn (November 2009)

This picture was taken about 20 meter away from the tomb (the entrance lies just in the shade, immediately above the arrow). Because of this vantage point, so close to the slope of the mountain, its top (below the other arrow) hardly stands out, although the difference in altitude is 240 meters.

²⁷⁴ It didn't help much, though: on the other side, there was marl, too. But they kept digging until they finally got through, and they could cut the burial chamber in better stone.



Fig. 19 The entrance to KV39 (November 2009)

We are looking here down a big, shaft-like hole in the ground: the remains of an entryway with a flight of stairs. It seems that the latter – originally coming from the lower left corner of the picture – now have eroded away completely²⁷⁵. In the center of the picture is just the top “arc” (actually the broken remains of a once straight lintel) of the entrance gate visible. The rubbish in front of it is a collection of empty plastic water bottles: the ubiquitous driftwood in this “see of sand”.

2. KV39 lies on the Valley’s southern rim

As we have seen in the previous chapter, El-Qurn was firstly approached from the south or south-east. Along the footpath from Deir el-Medineh northwards, the first tomb that one reaches – even before attaining the Valley proper – is KV39. This suggests that this tomb may have been the first one cut in this area.

3. KV39 is not oriented towards the Valley

The next picture shows, from near the tomb’s entrance, the view towards the Valley: from here, it can not be seen. (See also the diagram of Fig. 17 above, which shows the “bump” between KV39 and the Valley, obstructing the view.) One may have been aware of the Valley, but it did apparently not play a role in the selection of this location: it was not chosen with the Valley in mind, to oversee or dominate it.

²⁷⁵ See plate 25 on page 69 in *Rose 2000*, for the slightly better preservation of the stairs in 1989.



Fig. 20 View from KV39 towards the Valley of the Kings (November 2009)

Such disregard of the Valley is consistent with an initial approach of this site from the south, before the Valley itself was explored. Which in turn would be consistent with KV39 being the first tomb ever here.

Thomas also believes that KV39 “was anciently and perhaps habitually visited from the south”,²⁷⁶ although she derives this assumption from scant evidence: the position of some pieces of rock, possibly placed as “steps” in a “runnel” arriving at the scene from the south.²⁷⁷

4. KV39 lies immediately below the *Village de Repos*

The *Village de Repos* or “way station” is situated just south of the Valley: as close to it as possible, without actually being visible from there. It may have served as a depot for storing supplies for those who were at work in the Valley, and perhaps as a convenient nearby resting place. Especially in the summer season, an evening at the exposed and windy col may have been a refreshing change after working through the hot day, below in the Valley.

With the *Village de Repos* already in place, constructing a royal tomb in full view of it, less than 70 meters away, would have been improbable, to say the least. It would of course have been most convenient for the workers, but the close ties between tomb builders and tomb robbers were well known. I don’t see anyone constructing a king’s tomb in the immediate vicinity of a semi-permanent settlement of professional tunnel cutters. (Simple huts, serving as temporary dwellings, were regularly erected next to the new king’s tomb, but these were probably used only during the period of the actual excavation of the tomb, when work was hardest, and the tomb did not yet contain anything of value). We can therefore advance this as a likely thesis: KV39 predates the *Village de Repos*.

We can take this one step further. The *Village de Repos* is located along the path, that leads from Deir el-Medineh to the Valley of the Kings. As soon as this path was established, the construction of a new king’s tomb so close to it would have been

²⁷⁶ RN p. 74.

²⁷⁷ RN p. 98, n. 60.

most unlikely. Which is again an indication that KV39 predates *all* other tombs in the Valley.

It might well be that the remarkable location of Deir el-Medineh, out in the desert, was chosen for security reasons. Here, surrounded by nothing but sand, a handful of guards could easily see to it that no-one on illicit business would sneak either in or out.

5. KV39 lies 200 m south, and 42 m above KV34 (the tomb of Tuthmosis III)

When we plot the position of the earliest regal tombs in the Valley of the Kings, we see that each was carefully situated on its own, strictly on a one-wadi-one-ruler basis (see Fig. 21 below). It clearly reveals a desire for privacy.

The distance between KV39 and KV34 (Tuthmosis III) does not stand out in this picture, but on closer inspection, there is something quite remarkable in the relationship between these two tombs, namely a striking difference in altitude: the entrance of KV39 lies 42 meter above that of KV34.²⁷⁸

As we've seen, KV39 is in all likelihood a king's tomb from the early 18th dynasty – as is KV34. But when we compare KV39 to 34, we can hardly escape the conclusion, that 34, with its deep well, its pillared halls, its large, cartouche shaped burial chamber with four side chambers, and its plastered and painted ceilings and walls is infinitely more advanced. To assume that 39 predates 34 seems a very safe bet indeed. This gives us a list of six rulers from the early 18th dynasty that could possibly qualify as principal for KV39: Ahmose, Amenhotep I, Tuthmosis I, Tuthmosis II, Hatshepsut and Tuthmosis III. (KV39 may originally have been intended for Tuthmosis III, later to be traded in for KV34. Likewise, it may have been built for Hatshepsut, but later abandoned for KV20.)

From this list, Ahmose seems the least likely candidate. As we saw in chapter 3, the first burial in tomb AN B almost certainly belonged to the reign of Amenhotep I. With KV39 probably being younger than AN B (see page 72 above), Amenhotep's predecessor Ahmose is not a likely suspect.

If KV39 was the tomb of Amenhotep I, then this would surely not have been forgotten by the time of Tuthmosis III, some 50 years later. In fact, pAbbott tells us that Amenhotep's tomb was found intact during the reign of Ramesses IX, after more than 300 years! Which means that, if 39 was Amenhotep's tomb, Tuthmosis III would knowingly have selected a place for his own tomb *below* that of another king. Ancient Egyptian kings were extremely status sensitive; although he undoubtedly held Amenhotep in the highest regard as a noble and illustrious ancestor, Tuthmosis would not have chosen a place for his own tomb which was so obviously *below* that of Amenhotep – especially not with still so many free locations to choose from. (Even in later times, when things got a lot more crowded in the Valley, no king's tomb was ever constructed with its entrance *below* that of another nearby tomb - kingly or not.)

²⁷⁸ With 249 m above sea-level, KV39 is the highest tomb in the Valley. With 207 m above sea-level, KV34 is the next-highest.

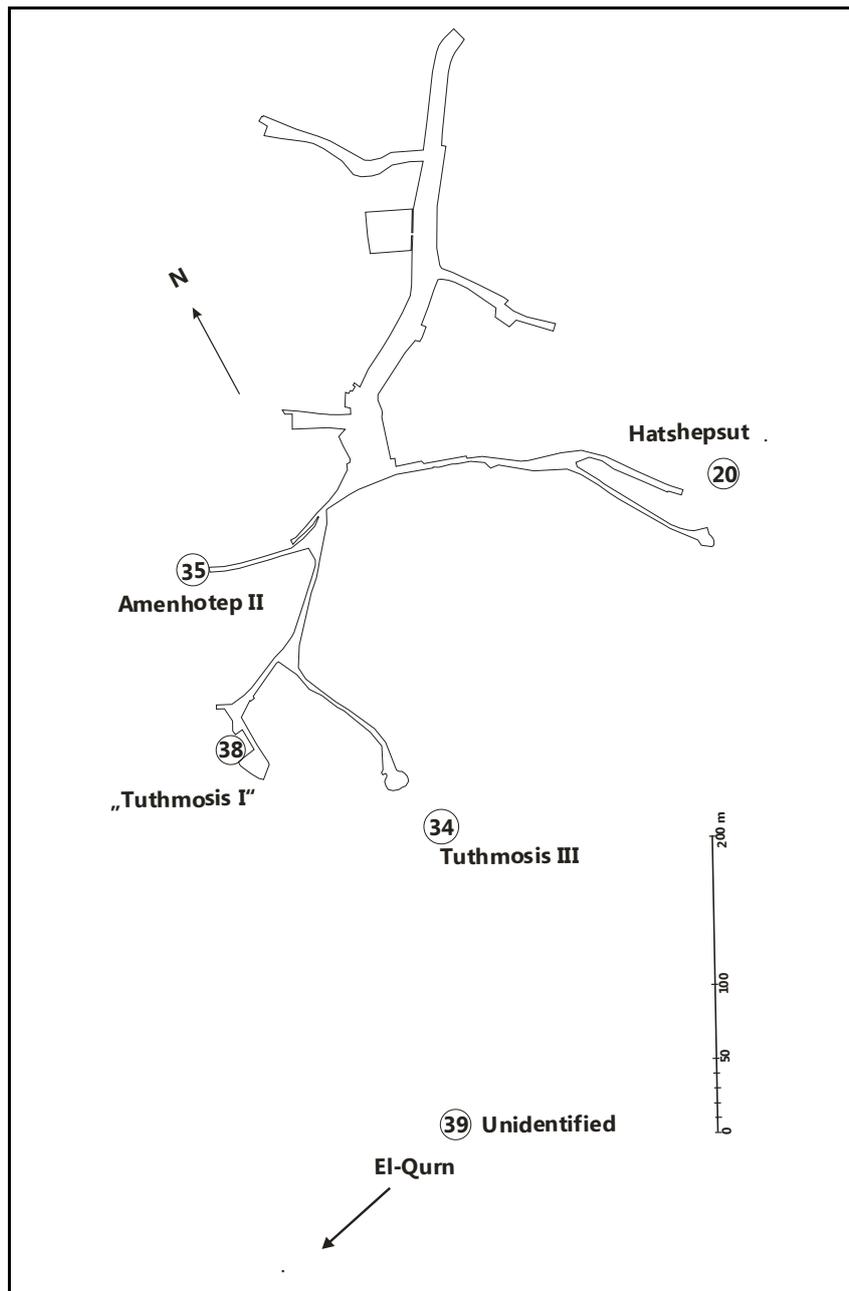


Fig. 21 Distribution of the first regal tombs in the Valley of the Kings
(The contours on this plan represent the modern asphalt roads in the Valley. These follow essentially the course of the various side wadis.)

Actually, with KV34 located where it is, KV39 can not have been an *occupied* tomb when Tuthmosis III ordered 34's excavation. It may have been an abandoned tomb, though. This means that it *may* have been Tuthmosis I's tomb, since his burial could have been removed by Hatshepsut to KV20 before KV34 was cut.²⁷⁹

If KV39 belonged to Tuthmosis II, his son Tuthmosis III would have faced the same problem. El-Bialy has suggested that Tuthmosis II's burial may at some point have been transferred from an original tomb to KV42, right below KV34.²⁸⁰ One might speculate that Tuthmosis III solved this way the status-issue by transferring his father's burial from a tomb above his own (KV39) to one below (KV42), but that seems rather far-fetched.

²⁷⁹ For this course of events, see now e.g. Polz in *Beginn*, p. 211-217 and p. 219.

²⁸⁰ See footnote 190 above.

Perhaps KV39 was planned as tomb for a ruler who later changed his mind and had another one constructed. There are a few examples known of such an incident, but these are all about very specific circumstances.²⁸¹ We may assume that the choice for king's tomb's location was not made in a frivolous way: normally, one would surely stick to a once determined plan. Nevertheless, although Hatshepsut prepared for her burial in KV20, this does not rule out the possibility that she originally had KV39 made, and only later decided on KV20. Likewise, KV39 may have been Tuthmosis III's intended tomb, later abandoned in favor of KV34. The difference in sophistication between KV39 and KV34 is admittedly very large, but his reign was long: more than 50 years. KV39 may have been constructed early on for him, when he was still a child, during Hatshepsut's regency. Finally, KV39 may have been originally intended for Tuthmosis II, but later given up in favor of another residence – whether KV42 or not.

If KV39 had been an abandoned cutting for any of these rulers, then it would almost certainly have stayed open and unused during the remainder of the 18th dynasty – for obviously, no-one would be allowed to occupy a tomb above that of Tuthmosis III. This would make it difficult to explain the presence in the tomb of early 18th dynasty pottery. (In the course of a later relocation of an early 18th dynasty burial to KV39, the bulky, heavy, and not so valuable pottery would probably not have been taken along.)

The next table sums it up:

King	Verdict	Reasons
Ahmose	Unlikely	KV39 seems younger than tomb AN B, and AN B is from the reign of Amenhotep I. That does not square with Ahmose as owner of KV39.
Amenhotep I	Impossible	There is evidence (pAbbott) that the tomb of Amenhotep I was still intact under Ramesses IX, and Tuthmosis III would not have cut his own tomb below the still occupied tomb of another king.
Tuthmosis I	Possible	When KV34 was excavated, Tuthmosis I's burial may already have been removed by Hatshepsut from KV39 – if that was his original tomb – to KV20.
Tuthmosis II	Unlikely	How to explain in this case the presence of early 18 th dynasty pottery in the tomb?
Hatshepsut	Unlikely	
Tuthmosis III	Unlikely	

Table 4 Candidates for the position of owner of KV39

There may be yet one more connection between KV39 and KV34. In the cleft in which the entrance to KV34 is cut, Carter found “boulders and debris from an excavation of a tomb,” just meters above the tomb's entryway (see Fig. 17 on page 72 above). Apparently, Carter never seriously considered the possibility that this material came from the excavation of either KV34 or nearby KV33: “The boulders and debris from an excavation of a tomb of early date are very puzzling - it is difficult to understand their meaning unless from tomb 39 at the head of the Upper Valley, like the

²⁸¹ Horemheb had a tomb in Saqqara before he became king, and had a new tomb carved in the Valley of the Kings (KV57). Likewise, Ay's original tomb may have been KV62 (in which Tutankhamun was buried), while he perhaps appropriated the latter's tomb in the West Valley (KV23). For Akhenaten, work on a tomb was almost certainly begun in the Valley of the Kings, before he moved his court to Amarna, where a new tomb was cut for him. KV11 was begun for Sethnakht, but work on it was ceased when one accidentally broke into another tomb (KV10). Sethnakht was buried in KV14 (originally planned as tomb for queen Tausert or Tawesert). KV11 was later appropriated and finished by Ramesses III.

debris hidden in the case of Amenhotep I tomb.²⁸² Which is probably a correct line of reasoning: in a mountainous environment, getting rid of something is more likely to go downhill, than uphill.

If this debris came from the cutting of the western or eastern passage of KV39, then its presence here would be an additional confirmation that those parts of KV39 pre-dates KV34: with 34 had already dug here, it would have taken a lot of nerve to dump this waste right on the king's doorstep. On the other hand, the debris may have come from the cutting of KV39's southern passage. If that, as I suspect, happened *after* the New Kingdom, KV34 may at that time have been robbed, and even completely forgotten about.

Conclusions

1. KV39 may have belonged to a number of early 18th dynasty rulers – but not to Amenhotep I.
2. The attribution of AN B to Amenhotep I, put forward in chapter 3 above, was provisional: until a more likely candidate be found, either as owner for AN B, or as tomb for Amenhotep I. I would say that this remains the case.
3. And if I may paraphrase Weigall: We have then, on the one hand, Tuthmosis I as the first king with demonstrable ties to the Valley of the Kings – his name in Deir el-Medineh, and sarcophagi with his name in both KV38 and KV20 – and on the other hand we have an unidentified royal tomb that in all likelihood was the first ever in this area. Would it then be too farfetched to assume that originally, KV39 was Tuthmosis I's tomb?

²⁸² From Carter's excavation journal, quoted by Romer (*T III*, p. 320). For Carter's reference to the "Amenhotep tomb", see page 29 above.

Appendix 1: Papyrus Abbott, from a functional perspective

Interpreting an ancient Egyptian text is never simple; in many cases, the text's background and purpose need to be taken into account as much as its grammatical peculiarities to arrive at an understanding of it. One furthermore has always to be on guard against the pitfall of ethnocentric bias. Papyrus Abbott is mostly regarded as a straightforward account of an inspection tour - but that interpretation, based as it is on *our* understanding of such matters, may well be wrong.

The city of Thebes had two mayors: one for the eastern, and one for the western side, where the necropolis was. Both came directly under the vizier, who acted as the city's governor. Under Ramesses IX, these mayors were Paser for the east, and Pawera for the west. Apparently, the two men were rivals: they seem to have been plotting against each other. At some point, Paser send word to the vizier - their common boss - of tomb robberies going on in the area under the control of Pawera - no doubt to discredit him. In response (a response, perhaps not anticipated by Paser), the vizier send over a party of officials, to inspect the tombs. Although some robbing had been going on, Paser could in the end not fully substantiate his accusations, and consequently suffered a rather humiliating defeat. And as is so often the case, history is written by the victors: the papyrus basically tells the story from Pawera's viewpoint.²⁸³

On the first day of the inspection tour, ten royal tombs are visited, as well as four tombs of "singing women of the Amun temples", and an unnamed number of other tombs. The first one on the list is that of king Amenhotep I. In the period in which this inspection was carried out, Amenhotep I and his mother Ahmose-Nefertari had become important gods, widely revered in the Theban area. As Rose suggests, the allegation that Amenhotep's tomb was among those violated may well have been included by Paser to add a measure of utter shockingness.²⁸⁴ In this connection it is interesting to see, that among the officials of the inspection party, there was also a high priest of "the House of Amenhotep". With the scene of this story on the west bank of the Nile, opposite Thebes, and with the tomb of king Amenhotep I as the major site to be visited, there can be little doubt as to what "House" is meant here: the mortuary temple of said king Amenhotep I. The temple is referred to without any additional qualification - as is only fitting for such a noble and august place, known to all.

For each of the royal tombs, a separate account is given of the result of the inspection. Only one of these is found to be robbed: the tomb of king Sebekemsaf, from the 17th dynasty. Sad as this was for king Sebekemsaf, the officials of the necropolis celebrated the outcome as a great victory. A proud summation is included at the end of this section:

Total of tombs of the former kings, inspected on this day by the inspectors:

Found uninjured:	9 tombs
Found broken into:	1
Total	10

(One of the tombs in this group was actually *not* of a king, but of a prince – although his name is here written inside a cartouche: the "king's son" Ahmose-Sapair.²⁸⁵ Perhaps his tomb was included to arrive at a round figure; after all, "9 out of 10" sounds infinitely better than "8 out of 9".)

A jubilant tone of vindication is particularly apparent in the report about Amenhotep I's tomb:

²⁸³ The translations given below are based on *BAR IV*, p. 245-264.

²⁸⁴ *Rose 2000*, p. 15.

²⁸⁵ See also page 26 above, with note 86.

The Horizon of Eternity of king Djoserka(re), son of Re Amenhotep, that is 120 cubits below its "ahay" called "the high place", north of the House of Amenhotep of the Garden, concerning which the mayor of the city, Paser, had reported to the governor of the city [=Thebes] and vizier, Khaemwese, and to the king's butler Nesuamun, and to.. (..) and to the great nobles, saying: "The thieves have broken into it". Inspected on this day: it was found uninjured by the inspectors.²⁸⁶

You can almost hear the scribe adding: yah boo!

The order in which these ten tombs are listed is mostly regarded as the order in which they were visited.²⁸⁷ From this order, educated guesses are made about where Amenhotep's tomb was located. But just how credible is this proposition?

The tomb of Amenhotep was obviously the most important one on the list, and precisely in this piece of text, the author rubs it in as best he can. So perhaps putting this one in front was for dramatic reasons: to set the tone.

The next tomb listed is that of Intef II, from the 11th dynasty. This one is said to be "north of the House of Amenhotep of the Court." Remember, that one of the party's members was the high priest of "the House of Amenhotep". This gentleman may have given a little lecture to his fellow travelers about all the different "houses of Amenhotep" that there were in the area, and the scribe may have been eager to show what he had learned.

(If AN B was Amenhotep's tomb, then "the House of Amenhotep of the Garden" must refer to Meniset. The expression "House of Amenhotep of the Garden" is only known from this single reference: perhaps the high priest coined it on the spot, to distinguish it from that other House: the House of Amenhotep of the Court.)

Of the ten royal tombs, only the first five receive a detailed account; the last five are simply listed as having been found "uninjured". After the preceding meticulous accounts, this droning fivefold acquittal works like an incantation, culminating in the glorious finale of the summation mentioned before.

Of the first five tombs, the following particulars are given:

1. The tomb of Amenhotep I.
It is 120 cubits away from "something", and it lies north of the House of Amenhotep of the Garden. It is unharmed.
2. The tomb of Intef II (11th dynasty).
This one is north of the House of Amenhotep of the Court. Its pyramid is destroyed, but in front of it still stands a stela of the king, depicted with a dog called Behuka. It is unharmed.
3. The tomb of Nubkheperure-Intef (17th dynasty).
This tomb has been tunneled into, but the thieves have not succeeded in reaching the burial chamber.
4. The tomb of Sekhemre-Wepmaat-Intef (17th dynasty).
Like the previous one, it shows evidence of an unsuccessful attempt to break into it.
5. The tomb of Sebekemsaf (17th dynasty).
Here, the thieves have been successful: the mummies of the king and his great royal wife have been robbed, and are lost: "the burial place of the king was found void of its lord."

Then follows the repetitive account of the last five tombs,²⁸⁸ all found "uninjured": a most effective ploy to render as harmless as possible the one instance of actual violation.

²⁸⁶ Translation based on *BAR IV*, p. 254, but the part about the 120 cubits taken from Thomas' translation, see page 21 above.

²⁸⁷ So Thomas in *RN*, p. 70: "the order of examination [of the tombs] evidently that of general topography with the choice of beginning and end doubtless suited to the convenience of the officials, the former probably Medinet Habu."

²⁸⁸ Seqenenre Taa I, Seqenenre Taa II, Kamose (all 17th dynasty), Ahmose-Sapair (see n. 285 on page

With this report on the ten royal tombs, the affair is not yet concluded. On the same day, four tombs of “singing women of the Amun temples” are examined, and an unnamed number of tombs of “nobles, [...], Theban women and people of the land”. Of the tombs of the songstresses, two are found broken into, and two are still intact. The “nobles, [...], Theban women and people of the land” have not been so lucky: their tombs are *all* robbed. So yes: there are many grave dangers lurking in the desert, many bad and greedy people threatening the tombs, but fortunately, the capable and vigilant administration of western Thebes is there to hold off these dangers, and protect the most sacred places of the dead: those of the kings of old...

The next day, the tombs of “the kings’ children, kings’ wives, kings’ mothers, the goodly fathers and mothers of Pharaoh” in “the Place of Beauty” (the Valley of the Queens) are inspected. These are all found to be unharmed. Upon discovering this, “the great officials” (of the necropolis) “caused the inspectors, the administrators, the workmen of the necropolis, the chiefs of police, the police, and all the serf-laborers of the necropolis of the west of the city to go around as a great deputation to the city” – to celebrate the glorious outcome.

The report is so successful in putting across the message that things weren’t so bad after all, that this may well have been the reason why it was composed this way. I would therefore say that there is no reason to assume that the order in which the tombs are listed corresponds with the order in which they were actually visited.

Appendix 2: list of tombs

The list below (in alphabetic order) is only given as a means for identifying these tombs; it certainly does not claim to be complete, neither as an overview of all prevailing theories, nor as a list of those who support these theories.

Tomb	Some of the more common opinions about its owner	Opinion of the author
AN B	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Amenhotep I (Carter). ▪ Ahmose-Nefertari (Thomas). ▪ Tomb of Ahmose-Nefertari, to which Amenhotep I was added (Romer). 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Originally built for Amenhotep I, but used for both him and his mother, Ahmose-Nefertari.
DB358	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Ahmose-Meryetamun.²⁸⁹ ▪ Unidentified / uncertain. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Ahmose-Meryetamun.
K93.11	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Amenhotep I (Polz). 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ A king, or a brother of a king, from the 17th dynasty.
KV20	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Constructed by Tuthmosis I, extended by Hatshepsut (Romer). ▪ Constructed by Hatshepsut, either in one or two phases. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Constructed by Hatshepsut, in two phases.
KV34	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Tuthmosis III. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Tuthmosis III.
KV35	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Amenhotep II. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Amenhotep II.
KV38	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Tuthmosis I. ▪ Constructed by Tuthmosis III for his grandfather, Tuthmosis I (Romer). 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Abandoned tomb, adapted by Tuthmosis III for his grandfather Tuthmosis I.
KV39	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Amenhotep I (Weigall, Rose). ▪ Tuthmosis II or a brother of his (Thomas). 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Tuthmosis I.
KV42	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Tuthmosis II (Hornung). ▪ Hatshepsut-Meryetre.²⁹⁰ 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Hatshepsut-Meryetre.
WA D	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Hatshepsut, when she still was Tuthmosis II's great royal wife. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Hatshepsut, when she still was Tuthmosis II's great royal wife.
WC A	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Neferure?²⁹¹ (Carter, Thomas). 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Neferure?
WD B	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Three minor wives of Tuthmosis III. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Three minor wives of Tuthmosis III.

Table 5 List of discussed tombs

²⁸⁹ Queen of Amenhotep I. Winlock, the original excavator, believed her to be a daughter of Tuthmosis III and queen of Amenhotep II (RN p. 175).

²⁹⁰ Queen of Tuthmosis III.

²⁹¹ Daughter of Hatshepsut.