

## II. Site Significance, Description and History

1. Summary statement of significance and principal threats
2. Site setting, boundaries and components
3. Historical overview and selected tomb profiles
4. Chronology of site use, research and interventions
5. Bibliographies (Valley of the Queens and Site Management, Egypt)

### Appendices

Appendix 1: Chronology of ancient Egypt

Appendix 2: History of mapping

Appendix 3: Archival photographic documentation

Appendix 4: SCA interventions (2006-2010)



## Part II.1. Summary statement of significance and principal threats



The Valley of the Queens (QV) is a major component of the World Heritage site of 'Ancient Thebes with its Necropolis.' This assessment considers the need to preserve all the cultural and natural values that make it a place of significance to Egypt and the world. The historic, artistic and research values of QV, and its role as an integral part of the Theban necropolis, require that the site as a whole be managed and conserved in a way that will not degrade or diminish its significance. For over a century, the Valley has compelled the interest of scholars, film-makers, photographers, and millions of visitors and travelers worldwide. Preservation of all its values is of the highest priority in considering how the site should be conserved, managed and presented for the future. The significance of QV lies in its individual site features and elements, its natural and cultural landscape, and in its relationship to other parts of the Theban necropolis.

### Context statement

QV's principal significance, from the 18<sup>th</sup> Dynasty through the 20<sup>th</sup>, is as a burial ground, first for officials, and later for royal wives, daughters, and sons. Use of the Valley for the queens is thought to relate to the presence of the sacred Grotto Cascade at the end of the valley, where depictions of Hathor occur on the rock. Often anonymous, 18<sup>th</sup> Dynasty tombs with vertical shaft and chamber design are without inscription or decoration. Identification of the owners has only been possible in some instances through archaeological evidence and recovered artifacts. It seems that this earliest use of QV was for lower royals and members of the court. From the beginning of the 19<sup>th</sup> Dynasty, however, with increasing royal patronage, multi-chambered tombs with entrance ramps and lavish decoration became the norm. QV as a complement to the Valley of the Kings (KV), and as part of the Theban necropolis as a whole, retains significance of the highest order despite damage to most tombs from flood, looting and re-use. It is key to understanding the changing role and status of royal women in the 19<sup>th</sup> Dynasty.

QV was also linked physically to other sites in the necropolis through workmen's paths from Deir el-Medina. The Sanctuary to Ptah and Meretseger overlooking the Valley is manifest evidence of this, as are the remains of workmen's huts lying near QV 66. Later Roman and Coptic era reuse of tombs and the remains in Deir er-Rumi demonstrate in a powerful way the archaeological sequence of use in the Valley spanning several thousand years. At the beginning of the twentieth century the Italian archaeologist Ernesto Schiaparelli was active in the Valley and discovered many tombs, including that of Nefertari. His kitchen building in mudbrick survives in good condition. The Valley thus reflects a history of modern Egyptological exploration through to the present time.

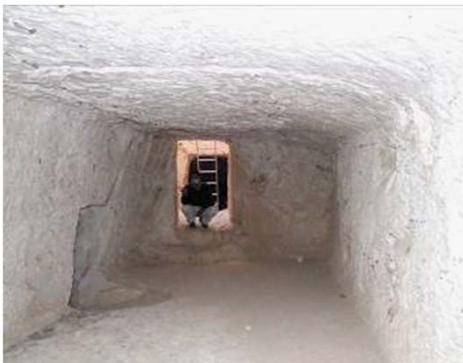


## Landscape and setting

Geologically, QV differs from other sites in the Theban mountains. During the Pleistocene rockslides occurred by slippage on the underlying Esna shale with tilting and rotation of enormous segments of the upper stratigraphy comprising marls and limestone, essentially creating the landscape we see today. Subsequent erosional runoff cut the Cascade at the head of the Valley and the main wadi along which most of the 18<sup>th</sup> through 20<sup>th</sup> Dynasty tombs were excavated. The slumped bedrock is poor quality marl, which has been unable to withstand flood and consequent expansion of the clay when wet. The situation in many of the tombs reflects these conditions: collapse, degraded wall paintings and continuing water infiltration. Geology has thus played a significant role in site selection and tomb construction, and subsequent abandonment and deterioration.

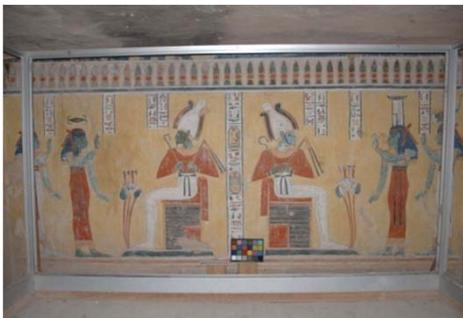


Nonetheless, the landscape of QV represents essential attributes of its historic and natural significance and contemporary aesthetic value. It is a small and serene valley, more readily grasped by the visitor than KV. The fortunate configuration of QV, in which the entry to the site and the parking lot are hidden around the bend in the path, contributes to this sense of place. These qualities of the landscape and setting should be respected in planning for modern visitor and security infrastructure.



## Individual site features and elements of significance

**18<sup>th</sup> Dynasty tombs:** The sixty-five tombs of this period differ from later ones both architecturally and in their absence of decoration and inscription. Typically shaft tombs have one or more chambers leading from the deep vertical shaft. They are often beautifully and precisely cut and show clearly the ancient tool marks on rock surfaces, but are inaccessible and largely invisible to visitors and require interpretation.



**19<sup>th</sup> and 20<sup>th</sup> Dynasty tombs:** These dynasties contain today's famous surviving tombs: those of Nefertari (QV 66), Tyti (QV 52), Amenherkhepshef (QV 55), and Khaemwaset (QV 44), all open to visitation and preserving extensive and vibrant painted decoration, though to greater or lesser degree damaged by flood, salt, and natural deterioration. Others have been extensively damaged by later reoccupation, fire, and bat colonies as well as failure of the rock into which they are cut. Yet these too have historic value and in some cases are of potential interest for visitation and interpretation to the public.

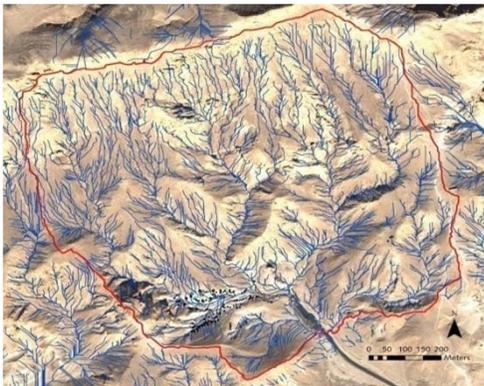


**Site elements:** Important among the numerous features associated with QV is the workers' Sanctuary to Ptah and Meretseger, which reflects the intimate connection between the royal burials and the workmen who excavated and decorated the tombs. Of singular significance is the site of Deir er-Rumi, an especially fragile extensive ruin encompassing a pharaonic tomb, remains of a Roman sanctuary, and ruins of a Coptic monastery with its nearby hermit cells. Other elements of historic interest are the Cascade and pharaonic dam at its outfall, remains of workmens' huts, and observation posts in the subsidiary valleys.



## Principal threats to preservation and integrity

In considering the principal threats to the Valley, it is appropriate to begin with the geology. Unlike sediments in KV and other areas of the West bank, the entire geological stratigraphy of the Queens Valley (limestones and marls underlain by Esna shale) has undergone faulting and slumping; that is, the horizontally deposited strata comprising the Theban limestone and marls were tilted during slumping in the Pliocene-Pleistocene period. Consequently, excavation of the tombs occurred at the base of a massive tilted block of the lowermost stratum of the Theban Formation. This is particularly so on the south side of the main wadi, where all the tombs are excavated into lower-strata comprising clay-rich marl. The clay minerals in the marl swell on wetting, and over the 3,000-plus years since their original excavation the tombs have been subjected to periodic flash-flooding. On drying the clays shrink, leading to rock collapse in many tombs and extensive damage has occurred with loss of original wall paintings. Because of tilting and consequent fracturing of the rock layers, veins of gypsum, anhydrite and halite, resulting from percolation of ground water, are also prevalent throughout most of the tombs. As is well known in the tomb of Nefertari, disruption, due to cycles of crystallization and dissolution of salt, has damaged the wall paintings and underlying plaster. See Part II:2 in this volume for an overview of the geology of the Valley and Volume 2 for geological context statements and condition of the tombs resulting from these geological processes.



Undoubtedly, the major threat to the tombs and site elements in the past, which continues today in the absence of implementation of a comprehensive plan for control and dispersal of water from the Valley, is flood. In conjunction with the geological anomalies of the site noted above, flash flooding over the centuries and in recent times has caused the most damage to the tombs and their paintings and must be the first priority for preservation of the site. The history and extent of the flood threat to tombs and site elements are discussed in detail in Part V in this volume.



Not only have most of the tombs in QV been affected by collapse and flood, but in late antiquity, during the Third Intermediate, Roman and Coptic periods, reuse of the tombs was extensive. In several tombs great damage has occurred because of fire. Soot deposits can be seen in those tombs, together with severe heat alteration of the rock, plasters and remnant wall painting. In many tombs, as well, one can see the firmly adhered residues of mud wasps that have built nests on the walls and ceiling, after wet periods. Electrical cabling and connections for lighting the four visited tombs are sub-standard and comprise a fire hazard, particularly since combustible lint from visitors' clothing has settled on the electrical installations. Detailed assessment of the wall paintings of individual tombs is described in Volume 2.





Bats of several species have also contributed to deterioration and defacement of paintings and many tombs are inhabited by colonies. The bats, while important for the ecology of the area, have damaged wall paintings and comprise a threat to people (histoplasmosis and possibly rabies) who venture into the tombs that are or have been colonized by bats. See Part V for assessment of the bats at QV.



The absence of effective site management at QV is perhaps the second greatest threat to the long term preservation of the site. A comprehensive systematic management plan, based on assessments of condition of the antiquities and their preservation is essential for survival of the site. Drawing up a management plan is only a first step—sustained implementation of the plan, with revision as needed and evaluation of its effectiveness is the means whereby beneficial change occurs. In turn, trained staff are essential. At present, SCA inspectors have little knowledge of site management and undertake site interventions on an *ad hoc* basis without appropriate consideration of visual and physical impacts and the importance of regular maintenance and upkeep. Trash accumulation in the tombs and in out-of-sight areas has been a problem in the recent past and, absent an implemented management plan and trained staff, it will certainly arise again. An assessment of the site's management context is detailed in Part III of this volume.



In recent years, with the rise of mass tourism to Egypt, one can identify excessive visitation to the Queens Valley and its tombs as an emergent threat especially in the light of inadequate management of the site. Visitors affect the microclimate within tombs (both humidity and CO<sub>2</sub>), and by touching, scratching graffiti, bumping heads on low ceilings and so forth. This has led to installation of intrusive glass barriers, which collect dust and obscure viewing.



Tombs are overcrowded and uncomfortable as temperature and CO<sub>2</sub> rise. Thus the combined affect is a pervasive degrading of the visitor experience even when the wall paintings themselves can be protected. In the tomb of Nefertari, where visitation is strictly limited, small but cumulative mechanical damages, probably from film crews, constitute the greatest change since the conservation of the tomb was completed in 1992. See Part IV in this volume for an analysis of visitation at QV.



Visually the Valley has been impacted by the construction of visitor infrastructure and more recently communication towers on the skyline and subsequently by installations for night lighting of the mountains.

These threats and impacts to the site will need to be addressed in a comprehensive program of management, conservation and condition monitoring, together with appropriate visitor management strategies and plans.

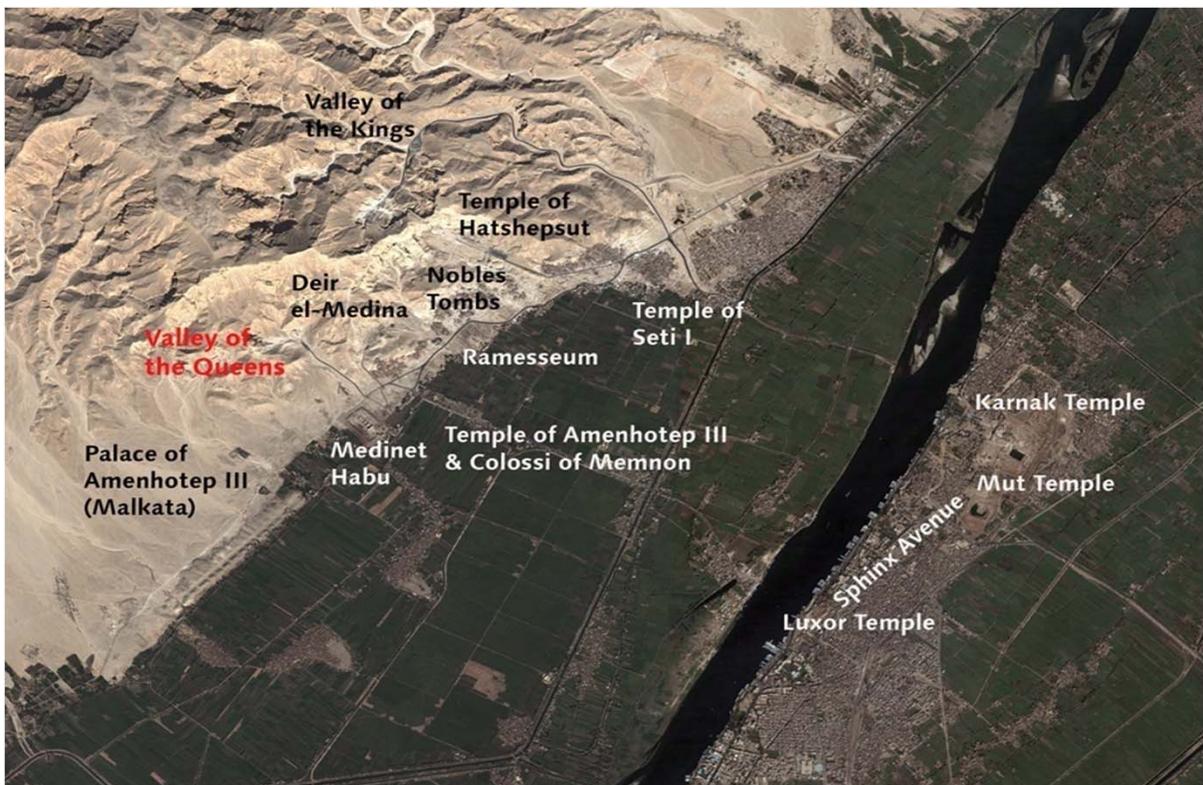
## Part II.2. Site setting, boundaries and components

### Geographic Setting

In the area of ancient Thebes the Nile River valley cuts through a desert landscape that to the west is known as the Libyan Desert, or Western Desert, and to the east as the Arabian Desert. The Nile River, which flows from the southwest to the northeast at Thebes, has for millennia brought life to the area, as currently witnessed by urban development of the city of Luxor and the irrigated agricultural lands on both banks of the river.

The ancient pharaonic civilization on the Nile's East Bank comprised the temples of Karnak, Mut, and Luxor, connected by a sphinx-lined avenue. The West Bank was established as Thebes' necropolis. It included royal mortuary temples built in the desert on the edge of the floodplain. Further west, a series of necropoleis were established in desert valleys, known as *wadis*, incised into the eastern escarpment of the Theban Plateau, which represents the eastern extent of the Libyan Desert. The plateau in the area is also known as the Theban Mountain. The necropoleis include the Valley of the Queens, the Valley of the Kings, and the Tombs of the Nobles. Queens Valley is the southern most of these necropoleis, northwest of the temple of Medinet Habu. To the southwest of Queens Valley are the remains of Malkata, a palace complex established under Amenhotep III.

Today, Thebes' ancient monuments make the area one of the world's leading tourist destinations, drawing visitors from around the globe. Most tourist infrastructure is currently situated within the modern city of Luxor on the East Bank, including the airport, hotels and restaurants, as well as cruise ship docks. Luxor is the seat of the governorate of Upper Egypt. On the West Bank, many of its residents live in villages. Much of the land is utilized for agriculture irrigated from the Nile, to a large extent for sugar cane production. The West Bank is also scattered with a number of small-scale tourist-oriented businesses, including small hotels, donkey and camel rides, hot air balloon rides, and shops making and selling tourist goods.



Satellite view of the area of ancient Thebes showing the Valley of the Queens in the context of other West Bank sites. (Satellite image: 2006 DigitalGlobe)

## Climate

The Luxor area is in a subtropical desert climatic zone, which is dominated year round by the subtropical anticyclone, with descending air and clear skies. These prevailing conditions inhibit precipitation, resulting in little rainfall annually. The only rainfall figures available for the area are from Luxor airport on the East Bank; searches over several years failed to yield rainfall records for the West Bank. The airport records, kept since 1941, show highly irregular rain events. In all likelihood, the West Bank receives greater rainfall during storms because of the higher elevation of the Theban Mountains. Localized torrential rains do occur occasionally, most commonly in October and November, and sometimes lead to flash floods. Hot and sunny conditions predominate most of the year, although winters are mild. Seasonal mean daily maximum temperatures in Luxor range from 23° C (73° F) in January to 41° C (106° F) in June and July. However, temperatures commonly soar above 45° C (113° F) in summer. Mean daily minimum temperatures range from 6° C (42° F) in January to 24° C (75° F) in July. Episodes of high winds often produce airborne dust and sand, with extreme conditions resulting in dust and sand storms. The most well known is the *khamasin*, annual periods of hot and dry winds usually occurring between March and May blowing up to 140 kilometers per hour and carrying large quantities of dust and sand from the desert. (Source: World Meteorological Organization, World Weather Information Service, [www.worldweather.org](http://www.worldweather.org); climatological information is based on monthly averages for the 30-year period 1971-2000.)

The environment at QV, as measured periodically over the past two decades by the GCI environmental monitoring station, is summarized in Part V:1 dealing with environmental threats to the site and the tombs.

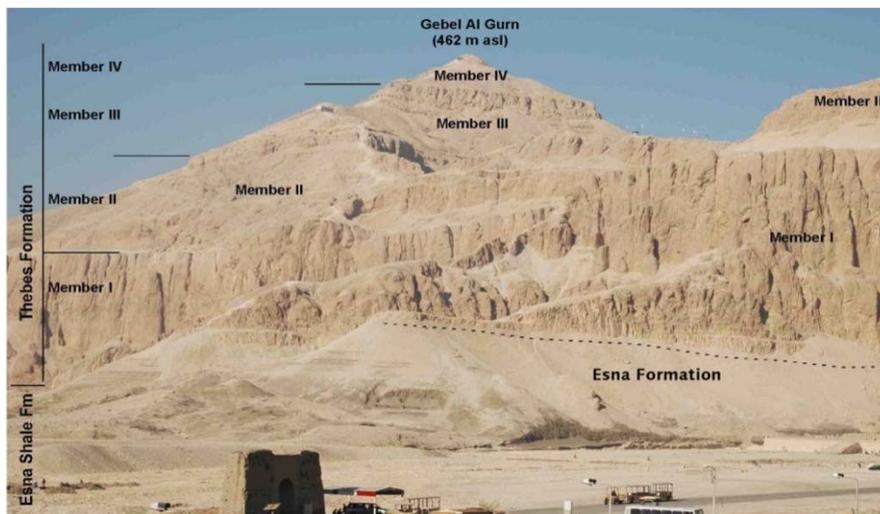
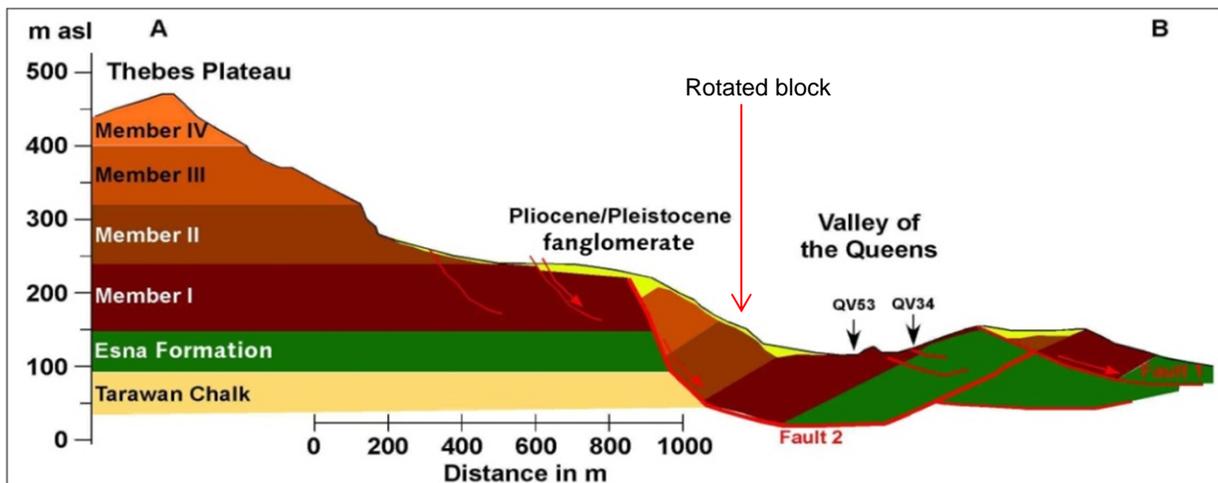


Satellite view of the Queens Valley area indicating the location of tombs clustered in the main Valley (green dots), location of ancillary valleys, historic feature and site elements, and modern infrastructure. (Satellite image: 2006 DigitalGlobe).

## Geologic Setting

The Theban Mountains on the West Bank of Luxor consist of sedimentary limestones, marls, shales, and chinks; all are marine deposits formed during the Paleocene and early Eocene (ca. 52 million years ago) in a shallow sea on a shelf of the African continent (Wüst, 2008, 5). As East African Rifting progressively moved north, these deposits were subsequently uplifted and exposed, forming the Theban Plateau. At the same time, the Proto-Nile changed its course from a south to a north-flowing river, and began to cut progressively downwards into the present Nile River valley. Following the further retreat of the ocean, the Mediterranean Sea nearly evaporated during the Messinian Event of the late Miocene (ca. 5 million years ago). Given the relative difference of sea level at this time (i.e. much lower than at present due to evaporation from the isolated Mediterranean Sea), the Nile River incised an even deeper canyon through the formations of the Theban Plateau, carving the Nile valley from the surrounding plateau. The margins of the plateau frequently collapsed or slumped along fault lines, resulting in zones with "rotated block" stratigraphies. The Queens Valley, located in the southern part of the Gebel Al-Qurn, is one of these zones of slumping.

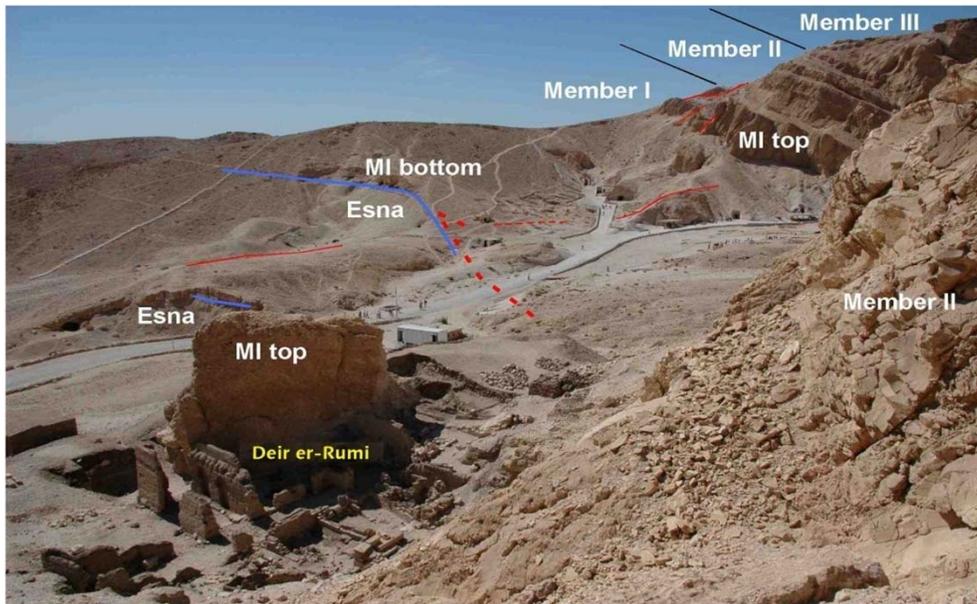
Subsequent erosion during the Pliocene (ca. 5.0-2.7 million years ago) and Pleistocene (from 2.7 million to 10 thousand years ago) has partially obscured these underlying layers through deposition of surface fanglomerate. Higher up the mountain to the north, the stratigraphy is visible in its original, nearly horizontal orientation. The primary geologic units present in QV are Members I and II of the Thebes Formation, comprised mainly of marls and limestone, and the upper part of the Esna Formation, which consists of interbedded shales and marls. The majority of the tombs in QV were cut into the "rotated block," shown below.



Above: Geological cross-section generated from surface geology (from Wüst 2009) demonstrates the "rotated block" stratigraphy and slumping that occurred in QV due to undercutting (erosion) when the Nile incised the substrate as a result of lowered sea level in the Mediterranean. View to the East.

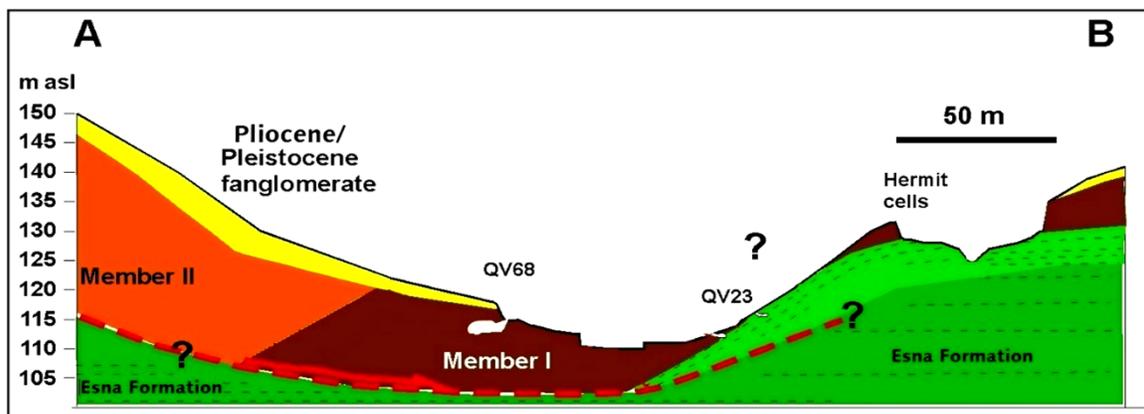
Left: Nearly horizontal stratigraphy of the Thebes Plateau as seen at Deir el-Bahari (from Wüst 2009). View to the West.

Our understanding of the sub-surface geology in the Valley has been extrapolated from outcrops visible on the surface or within the tombs themselves and is, therefore, not precise. Nevertheless, it appears that the Esna Formation only occurs at or near the surface on the southern side of the main wadi in the area of the main concentration of tombs. The northern side of the wadi in this area, though largely obscured by cemented Pliocene/Pleistocene debris, seems to consist of Member I of the Thebes Formation, while the rotated block to the west and above the fork of the wadi is an outcrop of Members I, II, and III.

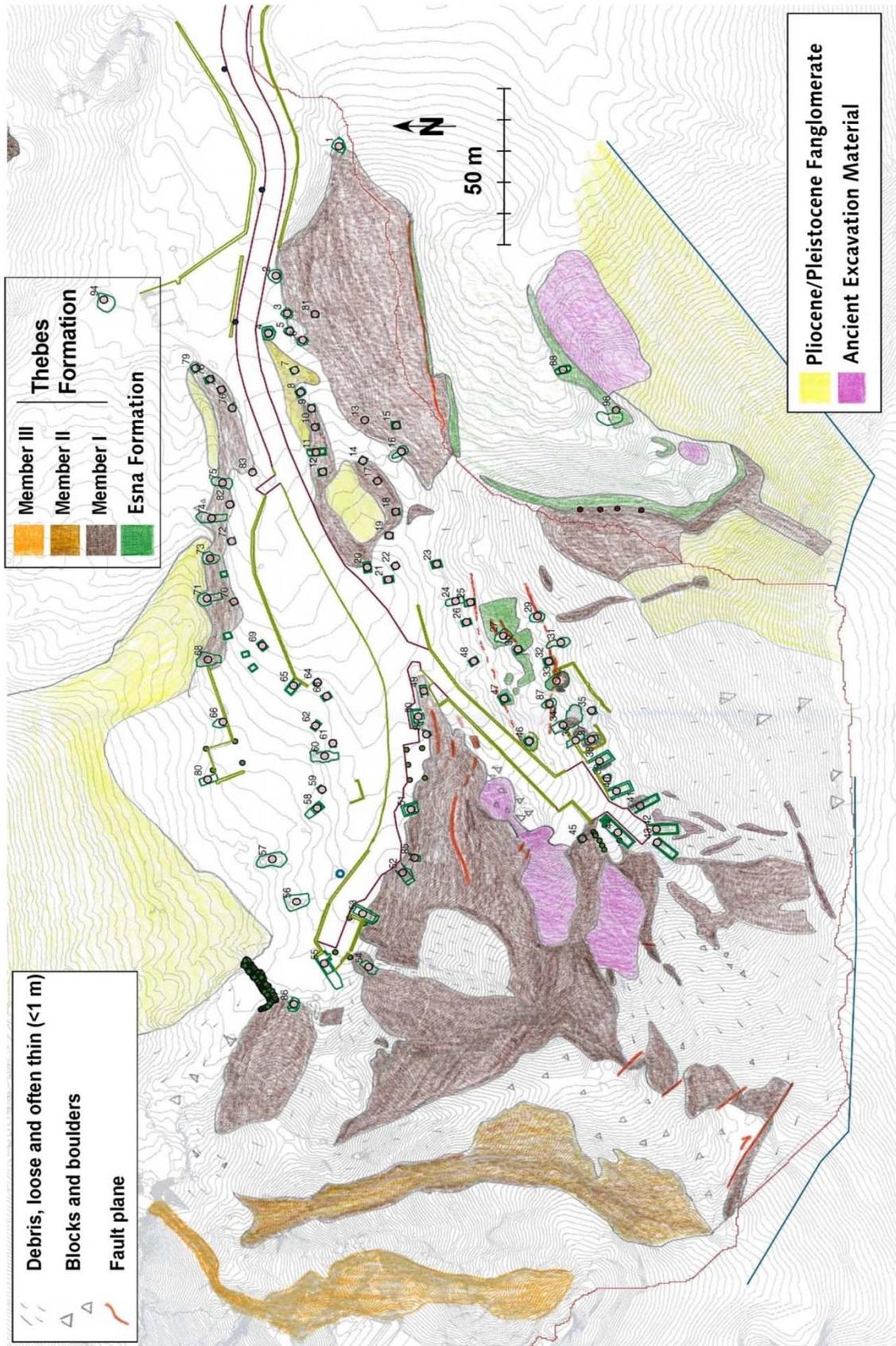


Stratigraphy of the "rotated block," looking west into the Queens Valley. Faults shown in red. Blue and black lines indicate geological horizons (top of formations), from Wüst 2009.

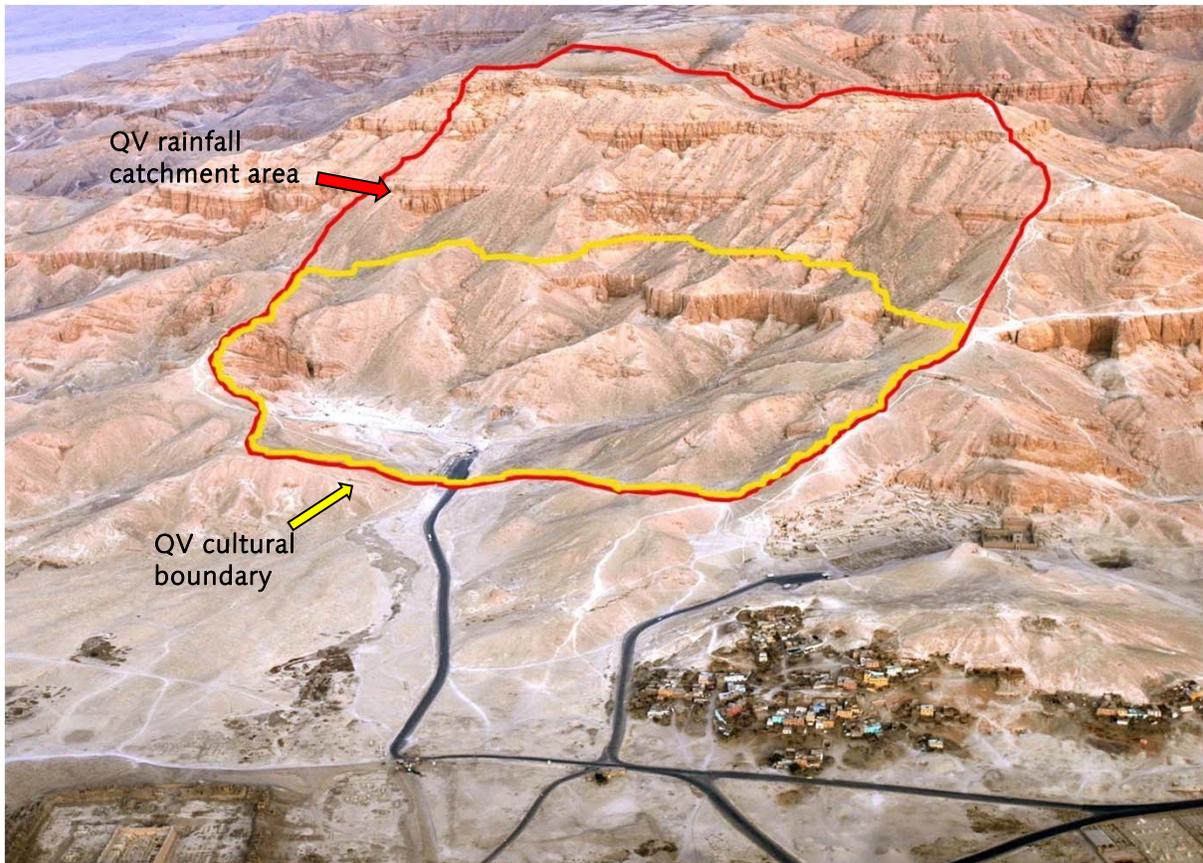
Though further research may eventually improve understanding of the subsurface geology of the Valley, for the purposes of our assessment, it is sufficient to understand that tombs excavated into the Esna Formation are more prone to deterioration due to the presence of swelling clays in the shale layers. In addition, the tombs were built into a rock formation which contained a fault and joint pattern that predates the pharaonic-era tomb excavations and present weakness points. Likewise, while mapping the precise path and extent of faults in the Valley would require further investigation, it is sufficient to recognize that many tombs are prone to movement and associated damage in the event of regional seismic activity.



Cross section of the Valley near its midpoint, view to the east. The presence of a large fault facilitating the slumping of the rotated block is denoted by the dashed red line. Dashed black lines denote bedding planes in the Esna Formation, exhibiting plastic deformation, from Wüst 2009.



Surface geology of the Valley of the Queens (from Wüst 2009).



Aerial view of the Queens Valley area, with the approximate cultural boundary indicated in yellow and the watershed, which defines the rainfall catchment area, indicated in red.

### Site Boundaries and Historic Features

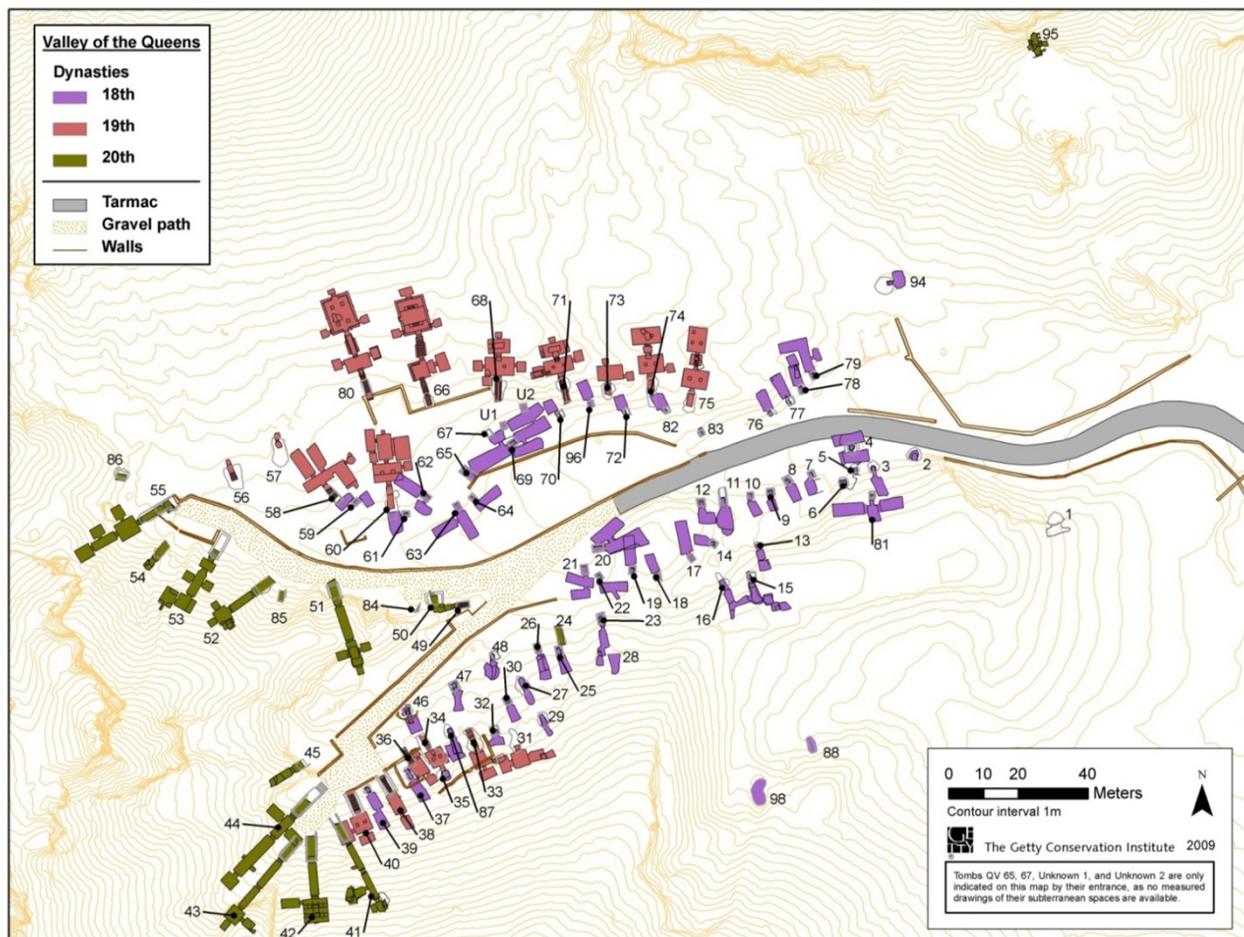
For the purposes of this assessment, the geographic limits of the Valley of the Queens as a cultural site are those defined by Christian Leblanc. He has defined QV as comprising the main wadi as well as several ancillary valleys, namely the Valley of Prince Ahmose, the Valley of the Rope, the Valley of the Three Pits, and the Valley of the Dolmen. The cultural boundary (indicated in yellow above) coincides with the lower portion of the topographic drainage basin (indicated in red) that flows into the main wadi as well as the parking area at the QV entrance (the drainage catchment is discussed in detail in Part V:2).

The primary concentration of historic features is in the main wadi, where ninety-one pharaonic-era tombs have been numbered (see Table 1) next page. At the western end of the main wadi, during torrential rains the valley of the Grand Cascade feeds a waterfall and pools of water at the Grotto Cascade, which was held sacred during the pharaonic era, and has been suggested to be the reason for the creation of a royal necropolis at this location. Below this feature are the remnants of a pharaonic-era dam apparently built to prevent flooding of tombs. From the pharaonic era the main wadi also includes remains of structures inhabited by workmen who created the tombs. Behind a rocky spur on a slope between the Valley of the Rope and the Valley of the Three Pits are the ruins of Deir er-Rumi, a small monastery of the Coptic period built on the site of a Roman sanctuary and incorporating a pharaonic tomb (QV 95).

Immediately to the south, the main wadi is flanked by the small Valley of Prince Ahmose with, at its foot, two shaft tombs (QV 88, where Prince Ahmose was buried, and QV 98) dating back to the beginning of the New Kingdom and, on its heights, traces of several Coptic-era shelters of anchorites and hermits.

Table 1. Summary table of the 111 tombs of the 18<sup>th</sup>-20<sup>th</sup> Dynasties by location and dynasty

Tomb location/ Dynasty	18 <sup>th</sup> Dynasty	19 <sup>th</sup> & 20 <sup>th</sup> Dynasties	Other	Total
All valleys (QV, Ahmose, Three Pits, Rope)	77	34 (all in QV; of which 11 are unfinished or abandoned tombs)	1 (QV 1 hermit cell; date uncertain)	111 (does not include QV 1)
Queens Valley	57	34 (of which 11 are unfinished or abandoned tombs)	1 (QV 1 hermit cell; date uncertain)	91 (does not include QV 1)
Subsidiary valleys only (Ahmose, Three Pits, Rope)	Ahmose: 2 (QV 88, 98) Three Pits: 15 (A-L, QV 89, 90, 91) Rope: 3 (QV 92, 93, 97)	None	None	19



Plan of 18<sup>th</sup>-20<sup>th</sup> Dynasty tombs in the main Valley of the Queens

The Valley of the Rope, located north of the main wadi, was named for a rope that in the past hung from a cliff at the height of the valley and is thought to have been from the Coptic era. Within this valley's upper eastern branch are tombs QV 92, QV 93, and QV 97.

To the northeast of the main wadi is the Valley of the Three Pits. In its lower reaches are eleven tombs, mostly dating to the Thutmosid period, identified by the letters A through L. In the eastern branch of its upper reaches are three shaft tombs (QV 89, QV 90, QV 91) for which the valley was given its name.

To the east of the main wadi is the Valley of the Dolmen. In this valley was an ancient trail that workmen from Deir el-Medina traversed to construct tombs at Queens Valley. Along this path is a rock-cut sanctuary dedicated by tomb workmen to Ptah and Meretseger. In this valley's upper part is a natural rock formation named the Dolmen and a structure made of stacked and standing stones called the Menhir, both of which were inhabited during the New Kingdom.

Remnants of what have been interpreted as pharaonic era observation posts for personnel providing for the security of tombs have been found on the ridge between the Valley of the Dolmen and the Valley of the Three Pits, as well as on the saddle along the ridge between the Valley of the Rope and the Valley of the Three Pits. Rock engravings and some paintings (referred in the French archaeological literature as *graffiti*) from the pharaonic and Coptic eras have been found in all parts of the Valley of the Queens, including the main wadi and all subsidiary valleys, except the Valley of Prince Ahmose.

## Part II.3. Historical overview and selected tomb profiles

### The name of the Valley

The meaning of the Pharaonic name of the Valley – *Ta Set Neferu* – is subject to different interpretations. According to Leblanc, *Ta Set Neferu* has the meaning 'the Place of the Royal Children' (T3 St Nfrw: nfrw in the context of msw nswt 'Royal Children' and in a wider sense 'of the Royal Harîm') (Leblanc 1999b, 833). The name is attested by a series of documents (papyrus, ostraca, stelae, etc.) of the Ramesside period, though the site was already used for burials at least from the 18th Dynasty onward. In Arabic, various toponyms have been used: 'Biban el Hajj Ahmed' (the Doors of the Pilgrim Ahmed), 'Biban el-Sultanat' (the Doors of the Sultanas), 'Biban el-Banat' (the Doors of the Daughters), 'Biban el-Harîm' (the Doors of the Women) and, lastly, 'Biban el-Melekat' or 'Wadi el-Melekat' (the Doors, or the Valley, of the Queens, the latter being most commonly used in recent years). Other scholars translate *Ta Set Neferu* as 'The Place of Beauty,' nfrw being given the meaning of 'beauty' or 'perfection,' based on the documented use of the name in the Ramesside period when the Valley was used primarily for burial of royal women, many of whom were not themselves 'royal children.' (Leblanc 1989a, 14f; McCarthy 2011, 2-3; Thomas 1966, 208).

### The selection of the Valley as a burial place

In the New Kingdom period the Valley of the Queens was used exclusively as a place of burial. Several ideas have been put forth for the choice of the Valley as a royal burial place. Though not initially dedicated to elaborate royal burials, the location near the Valley of the Kings and the workmen's village of Deir el-Medina was likely an important factor. From a practical point of view, "...the self-contained wadi appealed to those who were seeking to set up a formal cemetery for queens and princesses. It was not perhaps necessary to choose a secluded site, and the kings anyway seemed to have monopolized the only ones relatively easy of access and at the same time spacious" (Strudwick and Strudwick 1999, 129).



Valley of the Queens in its larger natural setting within the Theban mountains and proximity to the workmen's village of Deir el-Medina.

From a more ideological point of view, the proximity to the Theban peak, which was also important to the Valley of the Kings, would symbolically replace the pyramid superstructure normally associated with royal burials (Leblanc 1989, 12). The peak and the Theban hills were the domain of Meretseger ('she who loves silence') and the shrine between Deir el-Medina and the Valley of the Queens was dedicated both to her and Ptah.



The sacred grotto as viewed from the main Valley (left) and examples of graffiti with depictions of Hator (middle and right).

Perhaps more importantly, however, was the presence of the sacred grotto located at the end of the main wadi (Leblanc 1989, 12; Desroches Noblecourt 1990). Based on graffiti within the confines of the grotto, it is clear that the Egyptians associated it with the goddess Hator and likely with the rejuvenation of the deceased in the Valley of the Queens. Several graffiti on a high ledge in the grotto depict cows with the headdress of Hator and some also show the *menet* necklace, an object typically associated with Hator and her cult. There is also a figurative graffiti of a goddess and several hieratic inscriptions giving accounts of torrential rain fall washing down the wadi and out of the mouth of the grotto in a cascade. There are several myths associating Hator with the flood. In the myth of the wandering eye of the sun god Ra, Hator is the daughter of Ra, the vengeful eye of the god who flees to Nubia and must be summoned to return by Thoth. It is believed that upon her return, she brought with her the inundation. The same is true for the combined deity Hator-Sothis, the goddess of the star known today as Sirius, whose appearance on the horizon, as that star, heralded the arrival of the inundation and the new year. It makes sense that the cascade created from the rain water pouring out of the grotto should be likened to such an event and thus the cave considered sacred to Hator.

The rebirth which physically occurred with the new inundation was likewise linked to Osiris. In her role as Mistress of the West, the female counterpart of Osiris, Hator received the deceased into the afterlife (Desroches Noblecourt 1990-1991, 14). She is often depicted as emerging from the Theban Mountains in tombs (e.g. QV 40) and on votive stela. The space may have been conceptualized as the womb of the goddess from which the deceased was reborn acting as *Kamutef* 'the bull of his mother' (Desroches Noblecourt 1990-1991, 13; Leblanc 2001, 278).

## The Valley of the Queens in the 18<sup>th</sup> Dynasty (1550-1295 B.C.)

### *Historical context*

*Seqenenra Tao, a ruler of the late 17<sup>th</sup> Dynasty, was thought to have begun the war against the Hyksos and was possibly grandfather or uncle of Ahmose, first king of the 18<sup>th</sup> Dynasty. The successor to Ahmose, Amenhotep I led the restoration of Egypt with building projects throughout the country. He founded the workmen's village of Deir el-Medina where he was deified after his death and a temple was built for him. Subsequent rulers (Thutmosis II, III) led campaigns into Nubia and the Near East in a bid to strengthen the country and regain its former power (Dodson and Ikram 2008).*

The Valley of the Queens was first used as a cemetery at the end of the 17<sup>th</sup> or beginning of the 18<sup>th</sup> Dynasty of the New Kingdom (encompassing the reigns of Thutmosis I and II, Hatshepsut, Thutmosis III, and Amenhotep II-IV), although the recovery of several Palaeolithic stone tools by the Turin Museum expedition of Schiaparelli suggests that the Valley was inhabited by humans long before the time of the pharaohs (Schiaparelli 1923, 8).

Fifty-seven tombs of the 18<sup>th</sup> Dynasty have been identified and investigated in the Valley of the Queens; another twenty tombs were located in the subsidiary valleys (Valley of the Rope, Valley of the Three Pits, and Valley of the Prince Ahmose). Tombs of this period are generally characterized by simple vertical shafts excavated into the rock and leading to one or more burial chambers. Over time the shaft tombs became more complex, as additions and enlargements were made to suit burials of more than one person (e.g. QV 17 for princesses Urmerutes and Merytra I; QV 69 Anonymous; QV 78 Anonymous; and QV 82 for princes Minemhat and Amenhotep) (Leblanc 1989, 237, and 1999).

Unlike the 18<sup>th</sup> Dynasty tombs in the Valley of the Kings, which have elaborate architectural plans and are extensively decorated with funerary texts and associated images of kings and deities, those in the Valley of the Queens are without any decoration, making identification of tomb owners dependent on the finds. Remnants of standard funerary equipment found in situ occasionally included fragments of inscribed canopic jars or texts, providing archaeologists with the name and title of the occupant (Table 1 summarizes the tombs that can be attributed to a person or reign, followed by profiles of selected tombs). Many of the tombs were also reused in later periods, and in many cases later reuse obscured the date and identity of the original burial. As a result, the majority of the seventy-seven 18<sup>th</sup> Dynasty tombs in the Valley of the Queens and its subsidiary valleys are of unknown attribution.

The earliest tomb in the Valley of the Queens is believed to be QV 47, prepared for Princess Ahmose, the daughter of Seqenenra Tao, a ruler of the late 17<sup>th</sup> Dynasty (Porter and Moss 1962, I.2, 755; Leblanc 1993, 21). Although the precise date of her death is uncertain, it is possible that the 18<sup>th</sup> Dynasty may have been underway by the time her tomb was completed. During this period, many tombs in the Valley were created for high level elites, including Imhotep (vizier of Thutmosis I, buried in QV 46) and Nebiri (superintendent of the Royal Stables under Thutmosis III, buried in QV 30). Such use for high-level officials is not unusual at this time.

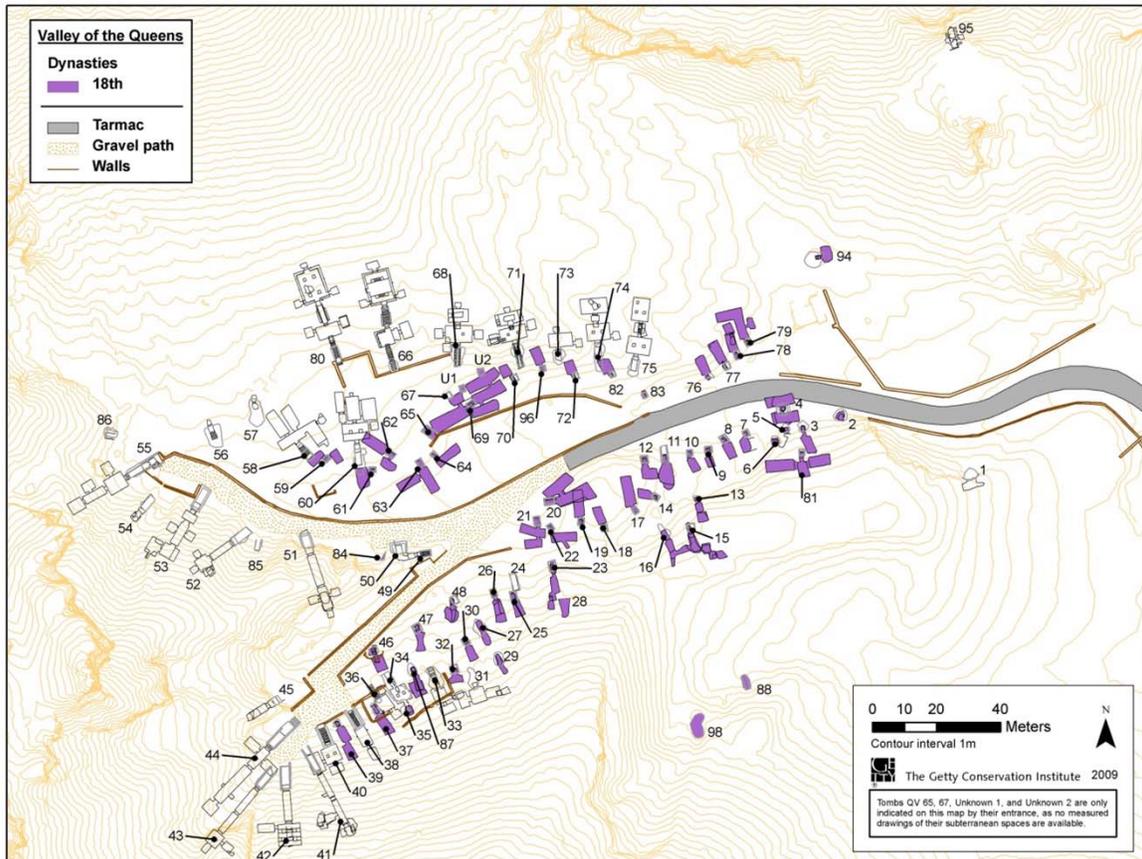
Nevertheless, it is important to note that royal women gained prominence at the beginning of the 18<sup>th</sup> Dynasty, and the royal consort held considerable influence both politically and religiously. The tombs of Ahmose-Nefertari, at Dra Abu el-Naga, and Merytamun, at Deir el-Bahari, are both sizable and solely dedicated to these royal women. At the same time, it was also common practice for such women to be buried with male relatives—either their fathers or husbands. Though there is little consistency in the style of burials, the general trend in the location of royal burials seems to indicate movement in the Theban hills to the south, from other wadis in the north, to the Valley of the Queens (Dodson 2003, 190).

A certain number of women with the title "khekeret-nesu(t)" (lady-in-waiting) were likely buried in the Valley of the Queens. Canopic jars with their names and titles were identified (Porter and Moss 1962), but their tomb locations remain unknown. This title was given to the wives and sometimes the daughters of high officials in the New Kingdom. Prior to the 18<sup>th</sup> Dynasty, the title was given to the wives of middle ranking officials, while the wives of high ranking officials bore the title "khekhert nesu watet" (sole lady-in-waiting). From the 18<sup>th</sup> Dynasty onwards, the simpler form of the title, "khekeret nesu," became synonymous with high status (Robins 1993, 115-117).

Thus, while the actual social role of the title bearers is not clear, the presence of such inscriptions in the Valley of the Queens provides further evidence of its use as a burial ground for elite females. The names of "khekeret nesu" known from canopic jars which are probably from the Valley of the Queens are: Sitti, Takha'at, Tuy, Tausert, Hatti, Hedjitti, Mut, Tentnet, Hatshepsut, By, Paih, Kafi, Hezti. Some of them are associated with the reigns of Amenhotep III or Akhenaten (Legrain 1903).

Table 1. Numbered tombs of the 18<sup>th</sup> Dynasty whose owners, titles or reign dates can be identified (see tomb profiles for bolded entries)

Status	Tomb	Name	Reign	Notes
Princess	QV 8	Unknown		Daughter of a king. Identified from partial inscription on a shroud.
	QV 17	Urmerutes Merytra I		Daughter of a king. Tomb identified from lid of canopic jar.
	<b>QV 47</b>	<b>Ahмосe</b>	<b>Thutmosis I</b>	<b>Daughter of a king</b>
	QV 72	Hatneferet		Daughter of a king
	QV 76	Merytra II		Daughter of a king
Prince	QV 8	Hori		Son of a king
	QV 72	Baki		Son of a king. Tomb identified from inscribed painted vases.
	QV 82	Minemhat Amenhotep		Sons of a king. Tomb identified from inscribed painted vases.
	<b>QV 88</b>	<b>Ahмосe</b>		<b>King's son</b>
Elites	QV 8	Imenousekhet		Identified from inscription on a shroud.
	<b>QV 30</b>	<b>Nebiri</b>	<b>Thutmosis III</b>	<b>Superintendent of royal stables</b>
	<b>QV 46</b>	<b>Imhotep</b>	<b>Thutmosis I</b>	<b>Vizier, governor of the city, judge</b>
	QV 70	Nehesy		
Unknown	QV 81	Heka....		Name is only partly preserved
	9	Unknown	Thutmosis I	An inscribed sherd with the name of Thutmosis I was found in QV 9 (Lecuyot 2000, 46), suggesting the tomb was constructed during his reign.
	12	Unknown	Thutmosis II	A golden cap of a scepter bearing the name of Thutmosis II was found in QV 12 (Lecuyot 2000, 46), suggesting the tomb was constructed during his reign.
	22	Unknown	Amenhotep III	Fragments of jar stoppers with the name of Amenhotep III were found in the tomb (Shumann Antelme 1996), suggesting the tomb was used in his reign (see also Lecuyot 2000, 46).



18<sup>th</sup> Dynasty tombs in the Valley of the Queens (also shown are tombs 88 and 98 in the Valley of Prince Ahmose).

**18<sup>th</sup> Dynasty**

**Thutmosis III**

**Nebiri (QV 30)**

**Nebiri**

Superintendent of the Royal Stables

Nebiri was a superintendent of the royal stable under Thutmosis III. His tomb is located on the south slope of the main Valley and is comprised of a single, rectangular-shape chamber with a vertical shaft. By the time it was discovered by Schiaparelli's mission in 1904, it had already been looted. Nevertheless, fragments of two mummies - one is believed to be Nebiri's and the other may be his servant's (Schiaparelli, 1923, 39) - faience objects, terracotta vases, and a canopic jar inscribed with the name of Nebiri and his title were recovered from the tomb. Also found amongst the burial assemblage were many vessels in an "Aegean" style (Cypriot), which helped Schiaparelli to date the tomb.



Mummified head of Nebiri (upper right), fragment of Aegean-style vessel (lower right) and a canopic jar with the name of Nebiri (upper left), housed in the Turin Museum (Images: Schiaparelli 1923).

**18<sup>th</sup> Dynasty****Thutmosis I****Vizier Imhotep (QV 46)****Imhotep**

Vizier

Governor of the City

Judge

Imhotep was the governor of the city (Thebes), judge and vizier under Thutmosis I. Inscriptions found in a temple record that he was also a tutor to the sons of the king.

His tomb, QV 46, was discovered by Schiaparelli's mission (1903-05) and is located on the south slope of the main Valley. It is a simple shaft tomb with a single chamber. His mummy was recovered along with funerary goods including mummified ducks in boxes, wooden boxes, baskets, alabaster plaques and part of a canopic jar inscribed with his name. The objects are housed in the Turin Museum today. Ramesside ostraca were also found near the tomb entrance by CNRS-CEDAE in 1989.



The mummified remains of Imhotep (above), and a canopic jar (left) found in his tomb. (Images: Schiaparelli 1923).

**18<sup>th</sup> Dynasty****Thutmosis I****Princess Ahmose (QV 47)****Ahmose**

Princess/King's daughter

Ahmose was a daughter of the 17<sup>th</sup> Dynasty king, Seqenenre Tao and Sitdjehuty and sister of Queen Ahmose Nefertari and half sister of Ahmose I, the first king of the 18<sup>th</sup> Dynasty (Dodson and Hilton 2004). She outlived her brother and sister and is thought to have been buried during the reign of Thutmosis I but the burial may have taken place under Ahmose or Amenhotep I. Names of the princess and her parents were written on an inscribed cloth found in the tomb (Schiaparelli 1923, 15).

QV 47 is thought to be the first royal tomb constructed in the Valley of the Queens. It consists of a single, rectangular chamber with a shaft to provide access and is located in one of the subsidiary valleys, the Valley of Prince Ahmose. The mummy of Princess Ahmose was discovered by Schiaparelli's mission (1903-1905) together with her funerary goods which included fragments of her coffin, fragments of twenty different chapters of the *Book of the Dead* written on linen (the oldest example of the Book known at the time of Schiaparelli's excavation), and leather sandals. All of the artifacts are housed in the Turin Museum.



The mummified remains of Princess Ahmose (above) and fragments of *Book of the Dead* (left) written on linen recovered from QV 47. (Images: Schiaparelli 1923).

**Ahmose**

Prince/King's son

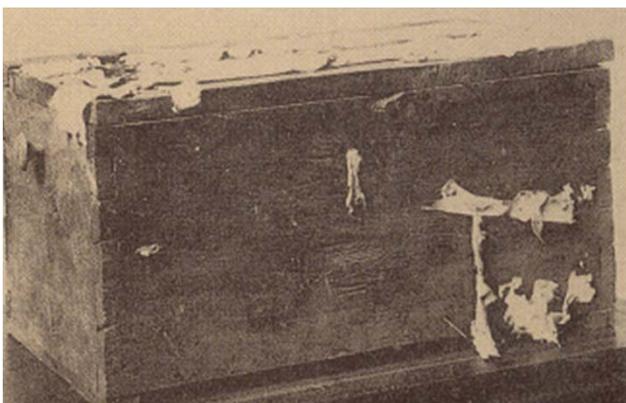
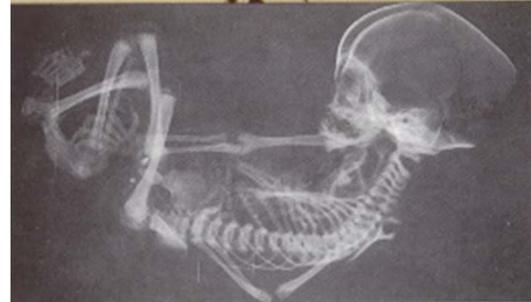
Inscriptions found in this tomb record that Ahmose was a son of Nebesu and Ian. Schiaparelli speculates about his royal origin, although the king named Nebesu is not known in the Dynasty.

Discovered by Schiaparelli's mission in 1903, the tomb of the prince is situated in one of the subsidiary valleys, the Valley of Prince Ahmose, which was named after the prince's tomb. The tomb has a vertical shaft with a single chamber. The funerary goods discovered in the tomb include fragments of mummy wrappings as well as alabaster and glass jars. Fragments of canopic jars and *ushabti* are inscribed with his and his parents' names.

A mummified fetus was found in the Valley of Prince Ahmose by the Italian Mission in 1903 in the tomb of Prince Ahmose. Schiaparelli (1923) records that perfume oil was sprinkled over the mummy and it was wrapped with fine linen. It was found within a wooden box, also wrapped in linen. The fetus is on display in the tomb of Amenherkhepshef (QV 55) today.



Part of an *ushabti* (left) and fragments of a canopic jar (right) with names of the prince and his parents. (Images: Schiaparelli 1923).



Wooden box in which the mummified fetus was found (above) (Image: Schiaparelli 1923); fetus, as found and x-rayed (above right) (Images: A. Macke, CNRS); and as currently displayed in QV 55 (below right).

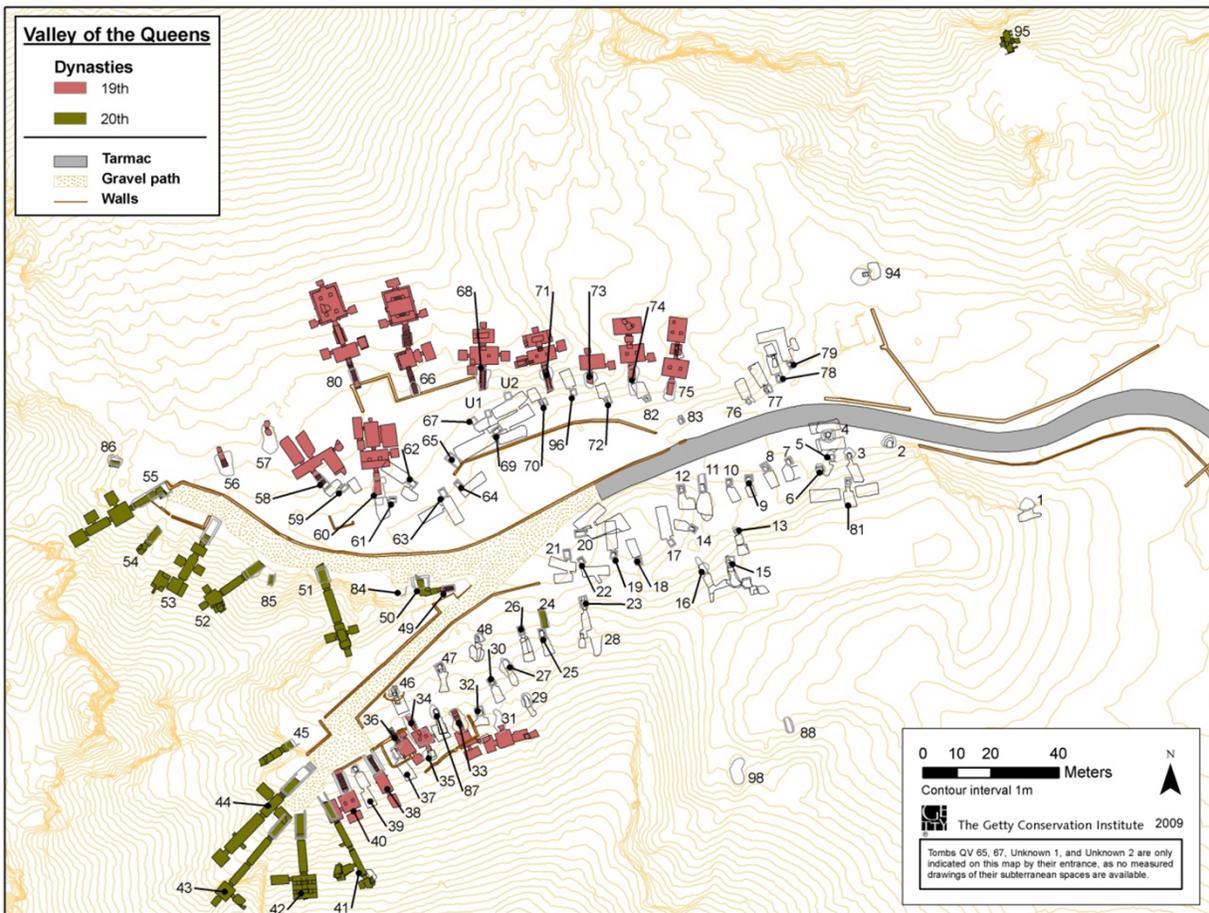


## The Valley of the Queens in the 19<sup>th</sup> Dynasty (1295-1188 BC)

### *Historical context*

The kings of the close of the 18<sup>th</sup> Dynasty came from the military ranks, a tradition which continued into the next dynasties. Rameses I is thought to have come from a non-royal military background and, importantly, was not born in Thebes but in the Delta at Avaris (Van Dijk 2000: 272). The kings who followed were some of the most prolific builders in Egyptian history, with Seti I and Rameses II undertaking projects throughout Egypt and Nubia. Seti I built a temple complex of Osiris at Abydos as well as his own mortuary temple in Thebes, while Rameses II is famous for his beautiful temple at Abu Simbel as well as monuments at Thebes, Memphis and in the Delta.

This period is the most interesting in the Valley of the Queens, for with the advent of the 19<sup>th</sup> Dynasty, the function and exclusivity of the cemetery changes. In the 19<sup>th</sup> Dynasty the Valley was used solely as the burial place for royal women, including high-ranking queens associated with Rameses I, Seti I and Rameses II. The royal queens and princess-queens were given their own tombs (not shared with other royal relatives) incorporating elaborate decorative programs (McCarthy 2007, 105) which mirror, on a smaller scale, the grandeur of tombs in the Valley of the Kings. Other members of the royal family continued to be buried in the Valley of the Kings, such as the famous KV 5 belonging to the sons of Rameses II (Leblanc 2001, 278-279).



Location of 19<sup>th</sup> and 20<sup>th</sup> Dynasty tombs.

The same craftsmen from the village of Deir el-Medina (*Ta Set Maat*, the Place of Truth) who built the royal tombs in the Valley of the Kings were now employed in the Valley of the Queens and stylistic similarities are evident though iconographic themes show significant differences. Funeral texts that decorated the kings' tombs throughout the New Kingdom have greater variety and were inspired by different funeral books. The queens' tombs employed a decorative scheme largely with scenes taken from the *Book of the Dead* and without any depictions of their husbands (McCarthy 2007). Though there are no pictorial representations of queens in contemporary Ramesseid kings' tombs, they are occasionally mentioned textually in kings' tomb programs. There is a relief-carved text mentioning Sat-Re on a lateral wall in Corridor G of Seti I's tomb (KV 17), and Nefertari's relief-carved cartouche appears in the third corridor of Rameses II's tomb (KV 7) (Leblanc 1997, 53; McCarthy 2011, 623).

Rameses I and Seti I ruled for a total of sixteen years, during which six tombs were built in the Valley. The tomb of Queen Satra (QV 38) is the first queen's tomb prepared, likely by Rameses I, but certainly decorated by her son, Seti I. Seti I prepared several other tombs (QV 31, 33, 34, 36 and 40) before assigning a specific person to be buried in them. Cartouches on decorated walls were left blank and later inscribed with the names of the deceased (Leblanc 2001, 281). The tombs are based on a similar plan and decorative program, grouped together in the same part of the necropolis along the southern branch of the wadi.

Rameses II reigned for sixty-seven years and built a further eight tombs in the Valley (Leblanc 2001, 274-5). Rameses II chose the northern slope of the main wadi for the "houses of eternity" of his mother (wife of Seti I), Queen Tuy (QV 80), his wife Nefertari (QV 66) and some of his daughters who became his queens (QV 60, 68, 71, 73, 75). One tomb, QV 74, was prepared but not used for burial under Rameses II (it was used for Duatentipet, Great Royal Wife of Rameses IV in the 20<sup>th</sup> Dynasty). Three 19<sup>th</sup> dynasty tombs were not completed or abandoned. Table 2 shows the 19<sup>th</sup> Dynasty tombs built at QV and their occupants and titles, followed by the 19<sup>th</sup> Dynasty family tree and biographical and iconographical profiles of selected tombs.



The huts built for the workmen of the royal tombs in the 19<sup>th</sup> Dynasty (above) and two of the tombs that may have been the fruits of their labors: the largely destroyed QV 73 built for a daughter of Rameses II (top right) and the well preserved QV 66 constructed for Nefertari, the wife of Rameses.

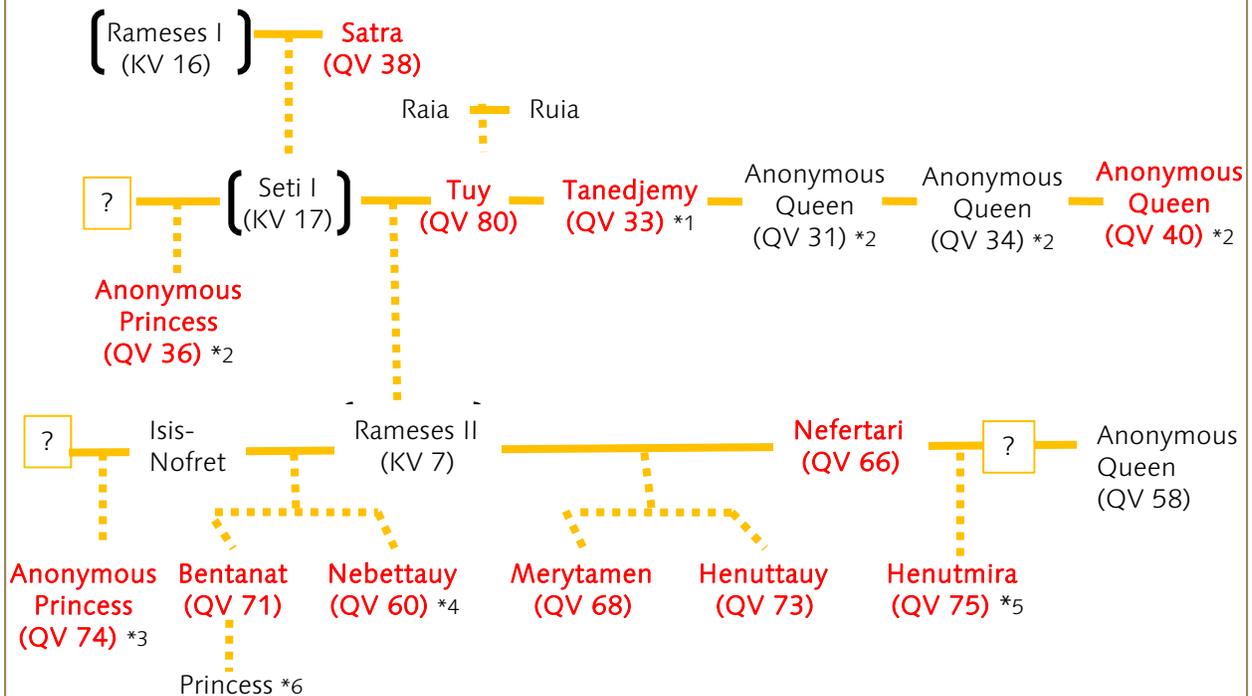
The mortuary temples of the Ramesside kings are better preserved than those of their predecessors, from whose monuments they likely took materials to build their own (Dodson and Ikram 2008, 249). There are no remaining superstructures in the Valley of the Queens from this period, though it is likely that the royal women were venerated at the mortuary temples of the king; for example, the Ramesseum has a small temple dedicated jointly to his mother, Tuy and wife, Nefertari (Desroches Noblecourt 1991, Leblanc 1999, Willeitner 1994).

Several sources reveal activities at the site besides tomb construction during the Ramesside period. A little hamlet (the 'Workmen's Huts') was built in the heart of the main Valley in the Rameses II reign. Based on the artifacts found in the houses, some workmen from Deir el-Medina lived in the houses while working in the royal tombs. This hamlet remained occupied through the 20<sup>th</sup> Dynasty and was later modified and reoccupied in part for habitation and religious purposes in the Roman and Coptic periods (Kalos 1990, 32; Leblanc 2001, 282). To protect the royal tombs from occasional flash floods, a masonry 'dam' or catchment basin was constructed in the primary drainage channel of the main Valley, in front of the Grotto Cascade. Numerous rock engravings found in the Grotto Cascade suggest the sacred nature of the Valley. Several masonry structures, known as Observation Posts, Menhir and Dolmen, which were probably used by guards or workmen as a shelter, have been found on the slopes of the side valleys. See Part VI for details of these site elements.

Table 2. 19<sup>th</sup> Dynasty tombs, their occupants and titles (tomb profiles exist for bolded entries)

<b>Royal status</b>	<b>Tomb</b>	<b>Name</b>	<b>Reign</b>	<b>Notes</b>
Princess-Queen	QV 31	Anonymous	Seti I	Great Royal wife of Rameses I and mother of Seti I
Princess-Queen	<b>QV 33</b>	<b>Tanedjemy</b>	Seti I	King's wife and King's daughter
Princess-Queen	QV 34	Anonymous	Seti I	King's wife and King's daughter
Princess-Queen	<b>QV 36</b>	<b>Anonymous</b>	Seti I	King's daughter
Queen	<b>QV 38</b>	<b>Satra</b>	Rameses I/ Seti I	Great Royal wife; mother of Seti I
Princess-Queen	<b>QV 40</b>	<b>Anonymous</b>	Seti I	Great Royal wife and King's daughter
Queen	QV 58	Anonymous	Rameses II	Wife of Rameses II (?)
Princess-Queen	<b>QV 60</b>	<b>Nebettauy</b>	Rameses II	Wife and King's daughter
Queen	<b>QV 66</b>	<b>Nefertari</b>	Rameses II	Great Royal wife
Princess-Queen	<b>QV 68</b>	<b>Merytamen</b>	Rameses II	Wife and King's daughter
Princess-Queen	<b>QV 71</b>	<b>Bentanat</b>	Rameses II	Wife and King's daughter
Princess-Queen	<b>QV 73</b>	<b>Henuttauy</b>	Rameses II	Wife and King's daughter
Princess-Queen	<b>QV 74</b>	<b>Anonymous</b>	Rameses II	Tomb prepared; not used until Rameses IV
Princess-Queen	<b>QV 75</b>	<b>Henutmira</b>	Rameses II	Wife and King's daughter
Queen	<b>QV 80</b>	<b>Tuy</b>	Seti I/ Rameses II	Mother of Rameses II; wife of Seti I
Unknown	QV 49, 56, 57	Unknown		Unfinished tombs

## Family tree of the 19<sup>th</sup> Dynasty



Scholarly interpretations of royal lineages differ. This family tree is based on Leblanc (1999) but other studies are also considered: Troy (1986); Leblanc (2001); Leblanc and Siliotti (2002); Grajetzki (2005); Dodson and Hilton (2004); Tyldesley (2006); Gosseline (2007). Family members who are not closely related to those buried in the Valley of the Queens are omitted. Selected tomb profiles, for which sufficient evidence exists to construct a reasonable biography and to interpret iconography are highlighted in red in the family tree. The selected profiles that follow are sequenced numerically according to their QV tomb numbers.

Note: "Anonymous" refers to those whose cartouches were left blank in their tombs in the Valley of the Queens, while "unknown" means that their names are not preserved in their tombs today, because the tombs are either badly damaged or lost their original inscription when they were reused.

\*1 Troy (1986) suggests that Tanedjemy is a daughter-wife of Rameses II.

\*2 Their positions in the lineage are not clear. Leblanc (2001) suggests they were prepared for princess-queens in the reign of Rameses I or Seti I on the basis of tomb architectural plans and location in Valley of the Queens.

\*3 According to Leblanc and Abdel-Rahman (1991), the tomb was prepared for a princess in Rameses II reign but was never occupied by her.

\*4 It is clear that Nebettauy was either a daughter of Nefertari and Rameses II or of Isis-Nofret and Rameses II. At present, there is no conclusive evidence to prove which of these two queens bore Nebettauy. Scholars have been (and still are) somewhat divided about this (Hellinckx 1999, 113; McCarthy 2011, 441-444).

\*5 Troy (1986), Dodson and Hilton (2004) and Tyldesley (2006) identify Henutmira as a daughter of Seti I and Tuy and sister-wife of Rameses II. Sourouzian 1983 argues that Henutmira was a daughter-wife of Rameses II.

\*6 Unnamed princess, possibly a daughter of Bentanat, is depicted in the burial chamber of QV 71.

**Tanedjemy**

Queen / King's Wife

Princess / King's Daughter

Tanedjemy ('The Sweet One') is believed to be the wife of Seti I (Leblanc 1999), although an alternative theory has proposed that she may have been a daughter-wife of Rameses II (Troy 1986, 170). Among the royal women buried in QV, Tanedjemy is unique in being both the daughter of a king (Rameses I) and a secondary wife, rather than a 'Great Royal Wife' (Leblanc 1980). Earlier attribution to Moutnedjemt, wife of Horemheb, based on an alternative reading of a poorly preserved cartouche (Hari 1965; Thomas 1967) is no longer accepted (Leblanc 1985, 27-28). The tomb is in poor condition with little painted decoration remaining. The queen's poorly preserved image and cartouche survive on the south wall of Chamber C.



Image (above) and cartouche (below) of Tanedjemy (Portrait drawing Leblanc 1999/CNRS).



Cartouches on west wall with no inscription (left) and south wall (right) noted by Lepsius in 1844 and later recorded by Thomas (1967).

**Later reuse**

The tomb was probably pillaged at the end of the 20<sup>th</sup> Dynasty and reused during the Saite period (26<sup>th</sup> Dynasty), as evidenced by a large amount of glazed beadwork with winged scarabs and pearls and wooden sarcophagus fragments painted with mythological scenes. A second period of Roman reuse as catacombs during the 2<sup>nd</sup> and 3<sup>rd</sup> centuries A.D. was revealed by the presence of 108 mummies from this period. One of the dead was linked to the corporation of gardeners and farmers for Amun, also mentioned on sarcophagi found by Schiaparelli in QV 43 and 44.

**Anonymous princess**

Princess / King's Daughter

Schiaparelli referred to the tomb owner as "Regina Innominata" because no cartouche was found on the walls of the tomb, whose paintings are poorly preserved, to identify the deceased. Only the title—King's Daughter of His Body—survives. Spaces were left blank throughout the tomb for insertion of the cartouche. Leblanc dates the tomb to the early 19<sup>th</sup> Dynasty based on location and architectural form; she may have been the daughter of Seti I or Rameses I.

Title block of princess:  
"..the daughter of the king, engendered by him"

**Iconography**

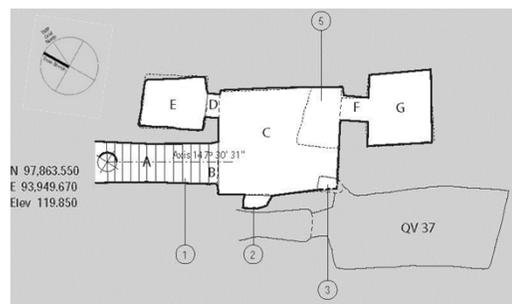
Construction on this tomb began in the reign of Seti I or earlier under Rameses I. It may have been halted because of collapse, leaving the relief carved in the rear chamber unfinished. The main chamber (C) has two fecundity gods with offering plates, the spirit Ka and the two barks of Ra (the day and night barks) (Loyrette and Mohammed Sayed 1993, 120-123). Porter and Moss (1964, 751) mistakenly identified scenes from the east wall of Chamber C and an image of a monkey on the right side of Chamber G's doorway as scenes from the *Book of Caverns*. The east wall was actually decorated with the same deities as shown on the corresponding wall of QV 38; the monkey on the doorway is part of an offering table scene. Both scenes are part of the 'Satra Repertoire' defined by McCarthy, which adorns the sarcophagus chamber of every queen's tomb on the south flank of the Valley (McCarthy 2011, 78-79).



Chamber C, south wall, current condition (left) showing the two fecundity figures, the Ka and the barks of the day and night; and at the time of Schiaparelli's discovery when iconography is more legible showing detail of fecundity figures (middle) and detail of Ka and the barks (right, Image: Schiaparelli 1923).



Chamber G, west wall (left) with seated Anubis and south wall (right) with kneeling Isis. (CEDAE 84)



Rear room (G) with incised, unpainted decoration illustrates the introduction of the deceased into the realm of Osiris (Loyrette and Mohammed Sayed 1993, 129).

**Satra**

Queen / Great Royal Wife  
King's Mother

Satra ('Daughter of Ra') is believed to be the queen of Rameses I and the mother of Seti I based on evidence from a relief scene in Seti I's temple at Abydos where she bears the title of King's Mother (Leblanc 2009). In the tomb of Seti I (KV 17) the title *mwt-ntr* (god's mother) appears and may have described Satra (McCarthy 2011, 9, note 26). A stela from Tanis says that the mother of Seti I was actually named Tia – possibly she took the name Satra after becoming queen (Dodson and Hilton 2004, 162). Although Satra was a woman of great importance, being the wife and mother of kings, she is attested in relatively few places in comparison to the women of the 18<sup>th</sup> Dynasty. Her husband, Rameses I, was a vizier under Horemheb and came to power as an elderly man. Satra certainly outlived Rameses I and her tomb may have been commissioned by her son, Seti I, as suggested by the epithet 'Great Royal Mother' (Thomas 1966, 213).



Portrait (CEDAE 09) and  
cartouche of Satra.

**The tomb**

The tomb of Satra is simple with a stepped ramp entryway and two rooms cut into the rock, similar in style to QV 33 and 36 (Leblanc and Siliotti 2002, 179). The decoration of her tomb was left unfinished, perhaps due to concentration of work in the Valley of the Kings and her unforeseen death. The rear room (E) is only roughly cut while the walls of the burial chamber were plastered and the figures sketched out.

The tomb of her husband, KV 16, has similarities with Satra's tomb in that both are incomplete, and are painted without carved relief, have relatively simple plans with iconographic programs limited to two chambers (KV 16 has a small decorated 'Osiris niche') and a similar prioritization of design elements (i.e. the tomb architecture and decorative program are reduced to essential features--decorated sarcophagus chamber and rear annex, likely necessitated by hasty construction) (McCarthy 2011, 107). Hornung (1990, 60) points out in reference to KV 16 the value of such a 'summary' tomb in revealing what was essential in a tomb's decorative program. Satra is not mentioned in KV 16 but in an inscription of her son Seti I who was buried in KV 17.



Burial Chamber C.



North wall of Chamber E.

**Magical brick niches**

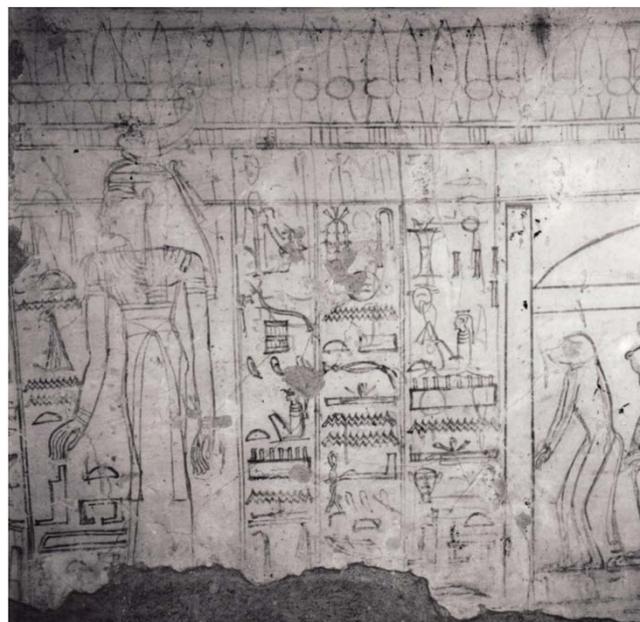
Four niches, one on each wall, are found within the burial Chamber C. The niches would have held magical bricks inscribed with images and spells as outlined in the *Book of the Dead*, chapter 151. Intact examples were found in the tomb of Tutankhamen. The four directions can be associated with the four sons of Horus and thus, in turn, with protecting the four parts of the body held within the canopic jars. Likewise, they may be connected to the birthing bricks used in childbirth in Egypt which is natural for a situation where the deceased wishes to be symbolically reborn into the afterlife (Roth and Roehrig 2002, 133).



Magical brick niches in Chamber C of QV 38 and intact example with figure of Anubis from Tutankhamen's tomb (far right; Image: Griffith Institute).

**Painting technique**

In Chamber C it is possible to see the two step process of decoration with a rough draft sketched in red paint, often showing mistakes and corrections, probably applied by the chief draftsman, and a more detailed drawing later added in black. The only colored figure was on the ceiling where Nut was roughly incised, then painted in yellow and outlined in red. It is unclear why the workmen started by painting the ceiling, but it appears that they then moved to the east wall in the southern corner. There the draftsman made an error in the first draft by drawing the columns of hieroglyphs and the goddess Selkis into the row reserved for the titulary. This was corrected in the second pass over the hieroglyphs, although interestingly, the goddess remained larger than the other deities who follow.



Detail of red snap line, used to lay out decoration, followed by black paint (above left, Image: CNRS); Nut on ceiling (below left); corrected east wall of Chamber C (above; Image: CNRS).

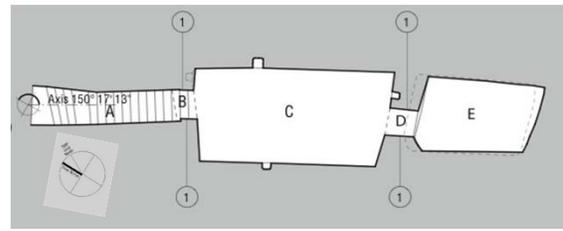
### Iconography - Chamber C

In the burial Chamber (C) is a procession of deities on the left and right walls who all face out toward the entrance of the tomb. These include the four sons of Horus: Imset, Duamutef (east wall) and Hapy and Kebehseneuf (west wall), as well as four protective goddesses: Nephthys and Selkis (east wall) and Isis and Neith (west wall).

Anubis and a number of lesser deities, who all appear in the *Book of the Dead* chapter 17, are also depicted (Franco and El-Fikri 1990, 31). Each god is accompanied by columns of text describing the god's words. Preserved on the right back wall is a procession of Egyptian fertility gods bearing offerings for the deceased. On the left back wall, the queen is depicted also facing into the tomb space. Above the figures is a band for the titulary of the queen, seen for example on the west wall. At the very top is a *kheqer* frieze which is typical decoration in the royal tombs of the period.

Before the reign of Seti I, the ceiling was most often painted in the standard sky motif with yellow stars on a blue background. QV 38 may be the first depiction of the goddess of the sky, Nut, on a burial chamber ceiling (McCarthy, pers. comm.). This depiction became common on the ceilings of royal tombs especially in the 20<sup>th</sup> Dynasty and over time the illustrations grew to be more elaborate. Dodson and Ikram claim that placing a figure of Nut on the ceiling was first done by Seti I at his temple to Osiris at Abydos (2008, 260); while Brand notes (2000, 177) that the decoration was carved, but not completed under Seti I (the completed decoration probably belongs to Merenptah's reign), and thus Satra's ceiling may pre-date the Osireion by years. Another contemporary depiction of the goddess Nut is on the interior of the sarcophagus of Seti I (Reeves and Wilkinson 1996, 137), though the tradition of placing Nut on the underside of the sarcophagus lid began in the 18<sup>th</sup> Dynasty.

Nut is shown in the same form as the other standing goddesses, fully dressed with her name above her head, labeling her symbolically. Her body spans the width of the chamber, from east to west (north to south in the ideal, symbolic orientation). In Egyptian mythology, the sun god was thought to travel through Nut, the sky, in his solar bark during the night to be reborn each day in the eastern horizon.



East wall (CEDAE 88).



Left back wall (CNRS).

Right back wall.

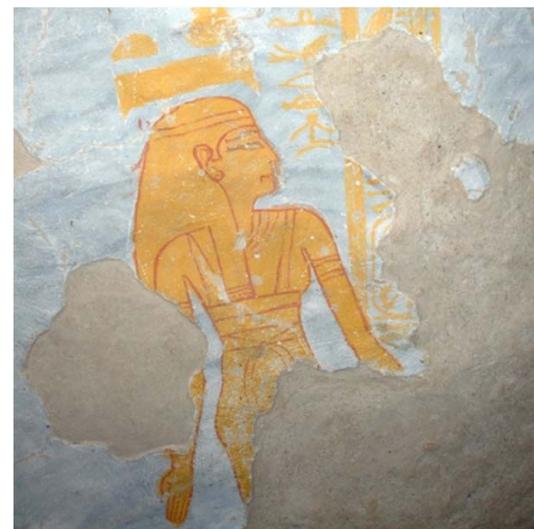


Figure of Nut on ceiling.

### Anonymous Queen

Queen / Great Royal Wife  
Princess / King's daughter

Tomb 40 was likely made for a woman of great importance, judging from the quality of the painting, but the cartouches were never filled in; nor is it known if the tomb was ever used. Titles exist above the blank cartouches and there are six images of the queen. The tomb is attributed to the reign of Seti I, or possibly Rameses I, based principally on its location within the valley. It is the first Ramesside queen's tomb that contains multiple images of the deceased and the first that depicts the queen actively making offerings to gods rather than just being the recipient of offerings as in, e.g., QV 33, 36, 38) (McCarthy 2011, 140-141).



Blank cartouche and image of the queen.

### The tomb and painting technique

The tomb is located on the south slope near other early 19<sup>th</sup> Dynasty tombs from the reigns of Rameses I and Seti I. It has a more complex architectural plan and decorative program than the other south flank tombs, which corresponds with an expansion of the netherworld cosmography. QV 40 is the first tomb constructed with a barrel-vaulted chamber and a pillared hall, which served as the antechamber; this is also the first use of an antechamber representing the architectural and cosmographic expansion and evolution in the conception of what a Ramesside queen's tomb should be (McCarthy 2011, 182) (the transition from Leblanc's 'Type I' to 'Type II' tombs built largely under the reign of Rameses II). The smaller rear room (E) of the tomb, and not the pillared chamber, was decorated as the burial chamber (Leblanc 1989, 240).



Chamber C: Hathor depicted as a cow on a bark in a shrine (left); full wall with Imentet to right of door (right).

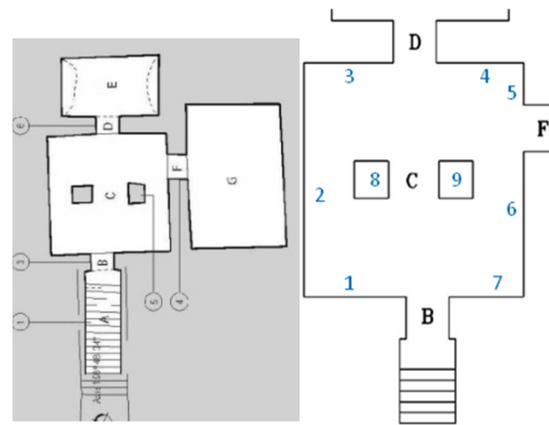
The decoration in this tomb is remarkably complete with raised plaster relief, similar to Nefertari, in Chamber C and painted plaster in Chambers E and G. The most care seems to have been taken with the decoration of the pillared hall where the paint is layered for shading and texture details were added. In the side chambers, the drawing is still well done but the execution of the final painting is incomplete: colors are blocked in but the final color application and white corrections to sharpen the edges were not finished, and there are several places where paint goes outside the lines. The fine quality of the paintings has been compromised by loss and excessive cleaning.

### Iconography – Chamber C

Chamber C contains two pillars, only one (C8) of which remains and has an image of a god on each of its four faces (Horus-Inmutef, Hathor, Anubis, Ptah/Ma'at from the north face clockwise). The front room has raised plaster relief on all its walls, with the gods progressing out of the tomb and the deceased into the tomb.

Starting to the left of the entrance and moving clockwise, on wall C1 are the remains of the deceased who is worshipping Ptah, the creator god, who is in his seated mummiform depiction. Continuing onto the east wall (C2), the deceased offers cones of incense and a shrine containing a recumbent Anubis protected by the goddesses Nephthys and Isis, who stand to either side of the jackel god. Anubis is the 'Lord of the desert' and the god of embalming and the dead. In the far corner, there is another image of the deceased who stands before an offering table for the goddess Hathor. On the text which accompanies the scene, we can see her titles: "king's daughter of his body, his beloved, Osiris, king's [...] wife, lady of the two lands, lady of the North and South," followed by a blank cartouche painted in yellow. The object of her offerings is Hathor (see image previous page) who is depicted as a cow on a bark in a shrine. The same image is found painted on small votive offerings from shrines to Hathor but very rarely on tomb walls. Also of interest are the two hieratic texts which were written onto her back in black ink during the reign of Rameses III (Leblanc 1989, pl. LXXVII).

This scene works in parallel with that on the other side of the doorway (C4) which shows the god Re-Herakty as a falcon perched on top of the west standards. Imentet, goddess of the west, is depicted as a winged eye with outstretched wings protecting Re-Herakty. His image is placed over the mountain of the Theban necropolis and is framed at the bottom by the hieroglyph for 'horizon' (*akhet*), where the underworld (*duat*) began. The two images, of Hathor and Imentet, come out from the doorway to the sarcophagus room, symbolizing movement out of the tomb by the soul of the deceased with the two gods of the Western necropolis. The deceased worships the god of the west on C5 and on C6 there is the same scene as found on the east wall (C2). The final wall of the tomb (C7) is again parallel to that on the other side of the door except that the seated god is Thoth, recorder of the gods and keeper of knowledge, with a damaged figure of Ma'at standing behind.



Deceased before offering table for Hathor (C2).



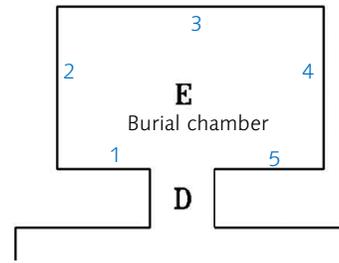
Re-Herakty and Imentet on the Theban mountain (C4).

**Chamber E**

The door jambs (D) into the burial chamber (E) were decorated but little remains of the raised plaster relief. As one looks into the chamber the visitor can see the standing figure of Ka recognizable by the hieroglyph of the arms placed upon his head (E3). This wall dominates the chamber and shows the seated queen to the east before a table of offerings. Before her is a baboon with a boomerang and a doorway. Behind two Nile gods (one of them now destroyed) and the Ka, there are the two barks of the sun god (the bark of the day and the bark of the night) in which the god Ra travels across the sky and through the underworld. The final image on that wall is a shrine containing the Hememet spirits found in several *Book of the Dead* spells and in particular in chapters 144 to 146\* where they act as guardians of the gates of the underworld (Loyrette and Sayed 1993, 128).

The two side walls (E2, E4) include images of the four sons of Horus: Imset, Duamutef (east wall) and Hapy and Kebehsenuf (west wall), as well as protective goddesses: Isis and Neith (east wall) and Isis and Selkis (west wall). These same deities are depicted on the walls of Satra's burial chamber. The inspiration for the choice of these deities appears to have been *Book of the Dead* chapters 144-6 (corner shrine groupings) and chapter 17 (gods on lateral walls). Anubis and a number of lesser deities are also depicted, all of whom appear in the *Book of the Dead* chapter 17\*\* (Loyrette and Sayed 1993, 128). A depiction on E2 of the young Horus (Horus-in-his-youth) seems to be specific to QV (McCarthy 2011, 87-88). The north wall next to the door (E1) has images of the two guardians - the jackal and the lion - and seated ibis and hawk headed gods in a shrine. The decoration on the other side of the door (E5) is destroyed, but based on parallels in other tombs, it likely would have shown the divine dyad Herymaat, a form of the deceased as a solarized being, and Nebneru, a lion-headed deity whose name means 'Lord of Terror' (see northwest wall of QV 38, 52, 74, 75) (Loyrette and Sayed 1993, 135; Abitz 1986, 80-85.)

\*Chapter 144 "Knowing the names of the keepers of the seven approaches"  
 Chapter 145 "Start of the gateways of the Field of Reeds of the domain of Osiris"  
 Chapter 146 "Start of the gateways of the domain of Osiris in the Field of Reeds"  
 \*\*Chapter 17 "Formulae for elevation and transfiguration"



Hememet guardian spirits inside a shrine (E3).



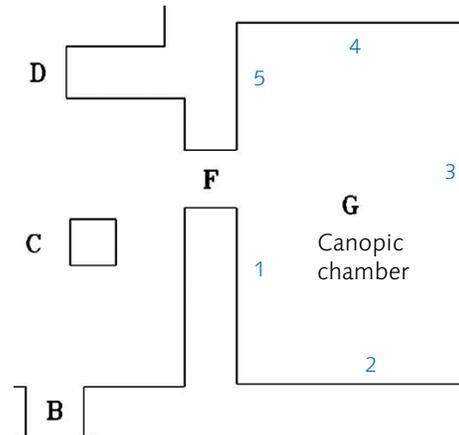
Sons of Horus, east wall (E4), (CEDAE 09).



Horus-in-his-youth (depicted as a naked man with falcon head), Selkis, Isis, and other gods (E2), (CEDAE 84).

**Chamber G**

On the south wall of passageway F, there is an image of the goddess Meretseger in the form of the goddess of the West. The normal form of this goddess is as a cobra and a shrine dedicated to her is found on the pathway between the Valley of the Queens and the workman's village of Deir el-Medina. The side Chamber G or 'canopic room' is named as such because of the depiction immediately as you enter of two canopic chests (G3) and it is likely that this was where the funerary equipment was kept. The scenes on either side of the doorway (G1, G5) on the east wall are of biers and tomb objects. The scenes on either side of the doorway (G1, G5) on the east wall are of biers and tomb objects. The north and south walls (G2, G4) have two depictions of ibis headed gods who are personifications of the four winds found in chapter 161\* of the *Book of the Dead* (Leblanc 1989, pl. LXXXII). The west wall (G3) has two images of canopic chests with a figure of the winged goddess Ma'at in between them.



Goddess Ma'at between two canopic chests depicted on G3 (CEDAE 09).



Ibis headed gods in Chamber G.



Bier depicted on G1 (CEDAE 09).

**Nebettauy**

Queen / Great Royal Wife  
Princess / King's Daughter



Nebettauy ('Lady of Two Lands') may have been the daughter of Rameses II and Isis-Nofret (Leblanc 1999), although others propose her as a daughter of Nefertari and Rameses II (Dodson and Hilton 2004, 172, Dewachter 1972, 22-24). She appears fifth in the procession of daughters from Abu Simbel and with Bentanat at the foot of one of the colossi of Rameses II on the façade of this temple. Otherwise we know very little about her life. She is part of a list on a papyrus fragment (pTurin 1877) where she is labeled as 'great royal wife' along with other princess-wives of Rameses II (Gosselin 2007, 94). All of the images of Nebettauy in the tomb are damaged.



Damaged portrait and the cartouche of Nebettauy.

**The tomb**

The tomb is in poor condition with numerous structural problems though it would originally have been one of the largest tombs in the Valley and with high quality painting. It was not built in line with the other tombs of the daughters of Rameses II (QV 68, 71, 73, 74, 75) and the tombs of Nefertari (QV 66) and Queen Tuy (QV 80), but it was placed in front of QV 80, near QV 58, also dating to the reign of Rameses II. Being the fifth daughter of Rameses II, it is probable that there simply was not enough room at the end of the valley to fit her tomb when she died and so it was placed down the slope closer to the Valley floor.

The entrance way to QV 60 had decorations around the exterior doorway of which very little remains, and which is also an innovation from the time of Rameses II who added images of the sun god on the exterior lintel of his tomb's door (Dodson and Ikram 2008, 260). The first room (C) has a barrel vault in the front section which was first seen in a royal tomb in the burial chamber of Seti I (KV 17) and was also used in Rameses II's tomb (Reeves and Wilkinson 1996, 137).



Chamber C with barrel vault (east wall) and structural collapse of ceiling and walls.

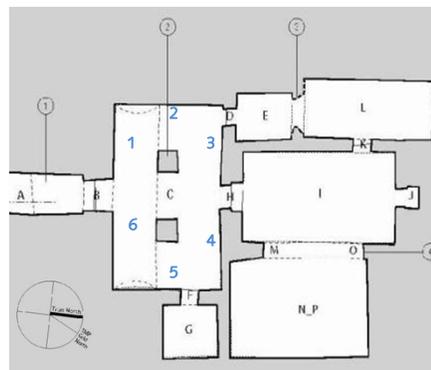
**Iconography**

The entrance way to the tomb (B) has an image in light raised relief on the left. The image was left unfinished, having only been prepared in red paint. It is uncertain whether this represents the queen with divine headdress in the position of leaving the tomb (surviving text columns include the queen's titles), or the goddess Hathor, based on surviving text that reads 'Words spoken by Hathor...' (McCarthy 2011, 45-451)

**Chamber C**

The first room (C) has a barrel vault in the front section. The room originally had two pillars to support the ceiling, but they are now mostly destroyed. To the left of the doorway (C1), the deceased queen is offering Ma'at to the god Ptah-Soker. The god is contained within an elaborate shrine, but is not bounded by that shrine. His ornate crown surpasses the roof of the painted structure, a fairly common pictorial device in Ramesside royal tombs.

The walls of this chamber were inscribed with a number of texts from the *Book of the Dead* including part of the well known chapter 125, the 'Declaration of Innocence.' This text is found on the west wall of the tomb (C2) and is below a large seated figure of Isis. In the judgment before Osiris later in chapter 125, the heart of the deceased is placed on a scale against a feather which is the symbolic representation of Ma'at, who is the goddess of justice and truth, and is here shown seated. The declarations which are in the form, "O God X who came from Y, I did not do Z," are contained within a shrine decorated with a row of alternating *uraei* and Ma'at feathers, similar to representations on papyri. This scene is first attested in royal tombs in the tomb of Rameses II and continues to be used in royal tombs from then onward. [It is found in KV 7 room I, which is the room directly in front of the burial chamber, as is the case in QV 60. The tombs of Merneptah (KV 8), Rameses IV (KV 2), Rameses VI (KV 9) and Rameses IX (KV 6) also contain this passage.] The winged figure of Isis can be compared to the similar representation of Ma'at found in QV 40 (Dewachter 1972, 22).



Above: Entrance B, figure of Hathor or queen with divine headdress.

Below: Chamber C, west wall (C2) with winged figure of Isis in upper left.



**Chamber C continued**

The scene on C3 above doorway D depicts an abbreviated version of the *Book of the Dead* chapter 16 vignette, in which baboons worship the sun as it rises over the horizon. The north wall (C3, C4) depicts pendant scenes showing the deceased worshipping deities; C3 depicts the queen worshipping Osiris and Hathor, while the scene on C4, though largely destroyed, showed the queen (in the north corner of C5) worshipping the god Ptah, who may have been paired with the goddess Ma'at (McCarthy 2011, pp. 458-459). C6 and C5 depict *Book of the Dead* chapter 18, which is a series of appeals by the deceased to the god Thoth to vindicate him over his enemies before various councils of gods. The south wall (C6) depicts the queen offering a figure of Ma'at to the deities who are mentioned and depicted in the *BD* 18 chapter on the same wall. The chapter continues on the east wall (C5), where a kneeling, winged figure of the goddess Nephthys above *BD* 18 parallels the figure of Isis above *BD* 125 on the west wall. (For a discussion of Coptic graffiti see below, Coptic re-use).

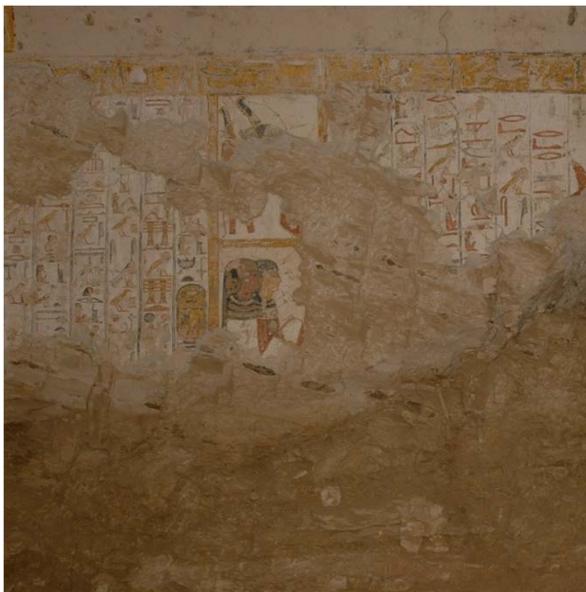
Chapters 16 and 15 are largely solar-themed. *BD* 15 is typically a collection of solar hymns dedicated to the god Re in a variety of his forms, and *BD* 16 is only an image, sometimes used as an illustration for *BD* 15, and does not contain any text. Baboons are frequently depicted worshipping the sun god, as it is believed that they would start to shriek at sun rise and may have been kept at temples.



Remains of the deceased (left) worshipping Osiris and Hathor (right) on north wall (C3) (CEDAE 09).



Detail from north wall of Baboon worshipping the sun, a vignette from chapter 16 (CEDAE 09).



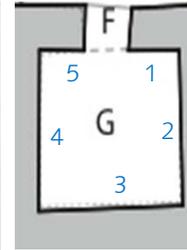
South wall (C6) depicting deceased offering to the gods (CEDAE 09).



East wall (C5) with kneeling winged Nephthys (CEDAE 09).

**Chamber G**

Two small chambers are located to the north (E) and the east (G) of the entrance hall. Chamber E has no visible decoration except for a djed pillar, a typical symbol of stability, painted at the entrance way. Chamber G, on the other hand, has beautiful decoration remaining on the upper portions of its walls, which consists of a number of deities all progressing out from the chamber. To the left of the entrance (G1) is an image of "Ra is he who rests in Osiris; Osiris is he who rests in Ra" as can be determined from a similar image in the tomb of Nefertari (Leblanc 1983, 47). This deity is an embodiment of the fundamental principle of Egyptian funerary religion wherein the sun god Ra joins with the body of Osiris in the sixth hour of the night and can therefore be reborn at dawn.

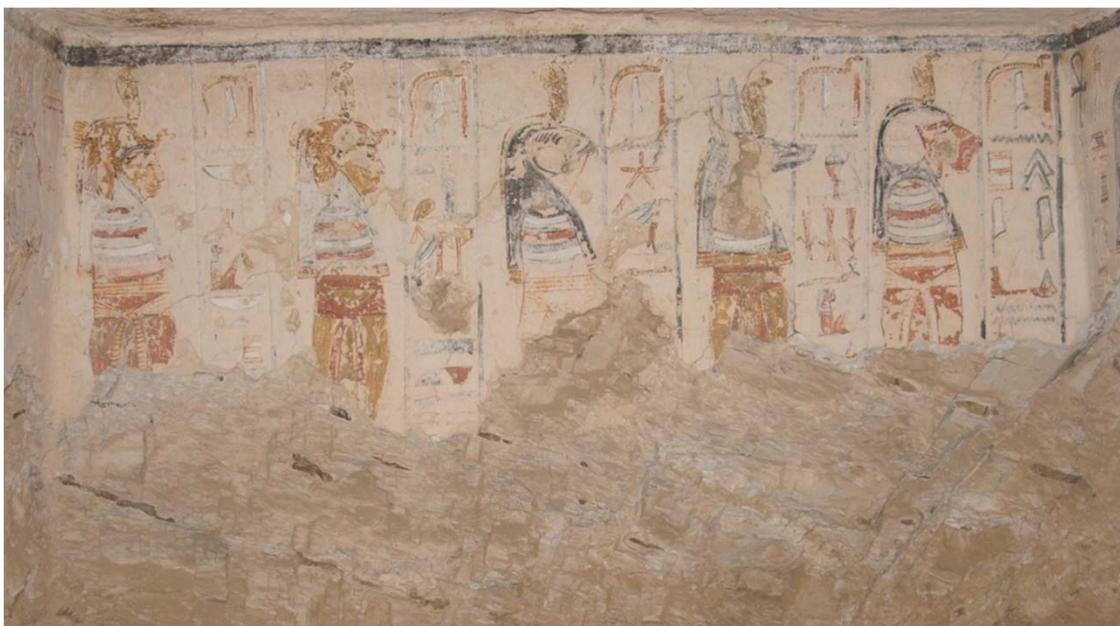


West wall, Chamber G.

The north wall (G2) has broken through to Chamber N-P and only a few hieroglyphs remain. The rear, east, wall (G3) has an image of the scorpion goddess Selkis though she takes on the image of the queen. Beside her are two images of the winged goddess Ma'at who protect a seated Osiris whose face has been plastered over with mud. The south wall (G4) has a procession of animal-head mummified gods (Nephthys, Isis, Duamutef, Kebehsenuf, and Hapy) that concludes on the wall to the right of the entrance (Imset). These images are the four sons of Horus and the protective goddesses who are typically depicted in tombs of QV and KV.



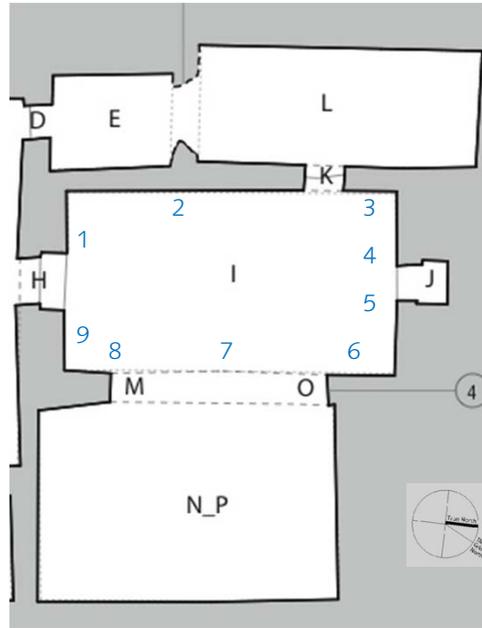
Re-Osiris in QV 66 (Nefertari) (left) and on west wall of Chamber G (right).



South wall, sons of Horus, represented in mummified form.

**Chamber I**

The sarcophagus chamber is in poor condition as the original doorways collapsed, as did the walls around them. There is almost nothing left on some walls (I-1, I-2) apart from the fragmentary images of gods, the deceased and the texts which accompany them. Toward the back, there is a depiction of the goddess Hathor (I-3) with a woman's body and the head of a cow. The goddess Hathor is most often illustrated as a woman, though in Western Thebes she was considered a local god and is often portrayed as a cow. The combination in the form seen here is much less common. On the fragmentary west wall are the queen offering to Osiris-Wennenefer and Isis and Thoth. On the rear north wall, there is a niche (J) which may have held a statue of the deceased, or perhaps the canopic chest, and above it is a beautifully painted winged sun disk. The decoration to the side of the niche (I-4, and if there were any remains I-5 would be the same) invokes the deceased and gives her titulary: "king's daughter, king's great wife, lady of the two lands, lady of the South and the North, Nebettauy, justified in front of the great god, lord of the West (=Osiris)". The east side of the tomb (6, 7, 8, 9) is not well preserved, though it is likely that it would have shown the deceased offering to the gods Ra-Herakty, Shu, Thoth and Geb (Leblanc 1983, 48).



**Chamber L**

This chamber has lost most of its decoration. The room may have served as storage for the funerary equipment due to the remains of fragmentary painting that illustrates the upper part of chests (Leblanc 1983, 49). A beautiful depiction of the *uraeus* and *wadjet* eye in combination is shown above the chest providing protection. In mythology, the eye of Ra ran away from her father to the South and so was replaced. When she returned, she was jealous and Ra placed her on his brow in the form of the cobra.



West wall, Chamber I.

The last room (N-P) has only three decorated relief fragments remaining: a *djed*-pillar on southernmost doorway, a male head on east wall, and perhaps a Ra-Osiris scene on west wall has collapsed and no decoration remains.



Left: East wall with *uraeus* and *wadjet* eye in Chamber L. Above male head in Chamber N-P.



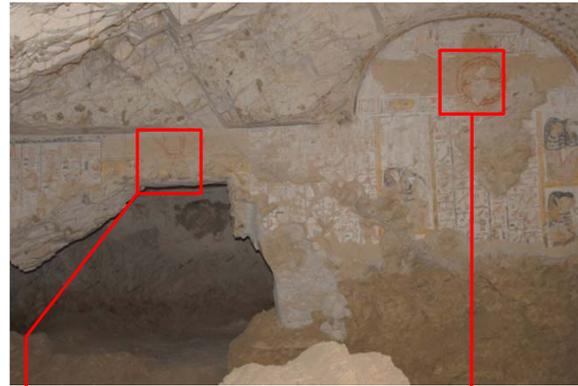
### Coptic re-use

One feature of particular interest in this tomb is its reuse in the Coptic period. The tomb was thought never to have been reused for burial from the end of the New Kingdom through the Roman Period. However, when a small Coptic community moved into the Valley of the Queens and constructed the monastery of Deir er-Rumi over the Roman sanctuary, they also lived in and used several of the tombs. From the archaeological remains, it seems as though this tomb may have been converted into a small chapel and used until at least the 8<sup>th</sup> century, based on a papyrus fragment found in the ramp (Leblanc 1985, 29). It was not uncommon for Coptic monks to reuse pagan spaces, and by neutralizing the demons of the past, they believed that they would attain enlightenment.

The entrance way to the tomb was modified with pink granite blocks brought from other pharaonic monuments and fired mudbrick was used to create a new floor for the space (Lecuyot 1999, 46). A niche on the east wall was added in Chamber C. (Lecuyot 1993a, 269). Other remains of Coptic structures were found outside QV 60 including a semicircular structure, paved with fired bricks (from a nearby kiln) (CNRS mission report 1991-2; Leblanc 1984). (See Part VI for details of Coptic remains).

The room most affected by Coptic use was Chamber C. Various images of the gods were covered in mud and then two crosses were added on the east wall in red paint and two prominent graffiti were added in red on the east wall (C5). Both graffiti have the abbreviations, "IC – XC" for 'Jesus Christ'. There was apparently also a dividing screen added between the east pillar and the south wall (C6) in order to separate the space for worship, a practice which continues today in most Coptic churches (Lecuyot 1999, 269). A number of ostraca with liturgical and lay texts were found in the tomb and at its entrance.

There are a few pieces of Islamic period pottery suggesting that it may have been used as a shelter after the Coptic period in the 8<sup>th</sup> century.

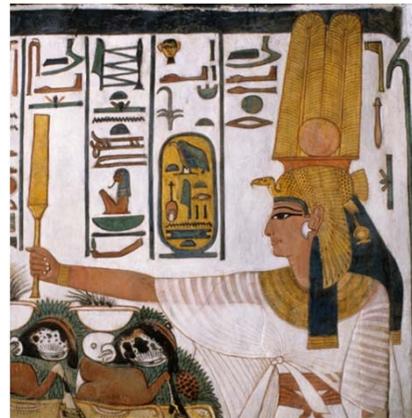


East wall of Chamber C with details of Coptic crosses and graffiti (CEDAE 09).

**Nefertari (QV 66)**

Queen / Great Royal Wife  
God's wife

Nefertari-Meryenmut (Nfri-try mrt n Mwt – 'Beloved of Mut') was the first great royal wife of Rameses II. She has sometimes been connected to Ay, because an object bearing his name was found in the tomb. However, it is unlikely as she never has the title 'king's daughter' and it is probable that she was of non-royal origin. She has a temple dedicated to her at Abu Simbel, she appears on several reliefs at Luxor Temple and numerous statues of her have been found throughout Egypt. There is also a small temple dedicated jointly to Nefertari and Tuy on the north side of the Ramesseum. She has been identified as the mother of Amenherwenemef, Paraherwenemef and Meriatum who all died prior to the end of Rameses II's reign. Nefertari played an important political role and is also attested from a letter she wrote to Queen Puduhepa of the Hittite empire. She is no longer attested by year 30 of the reign of her husband but was thought to still be alive during the construction of Abu Simbel in year 24, placing the time of her death somewhere in between (Grajetzki 2005, 68).



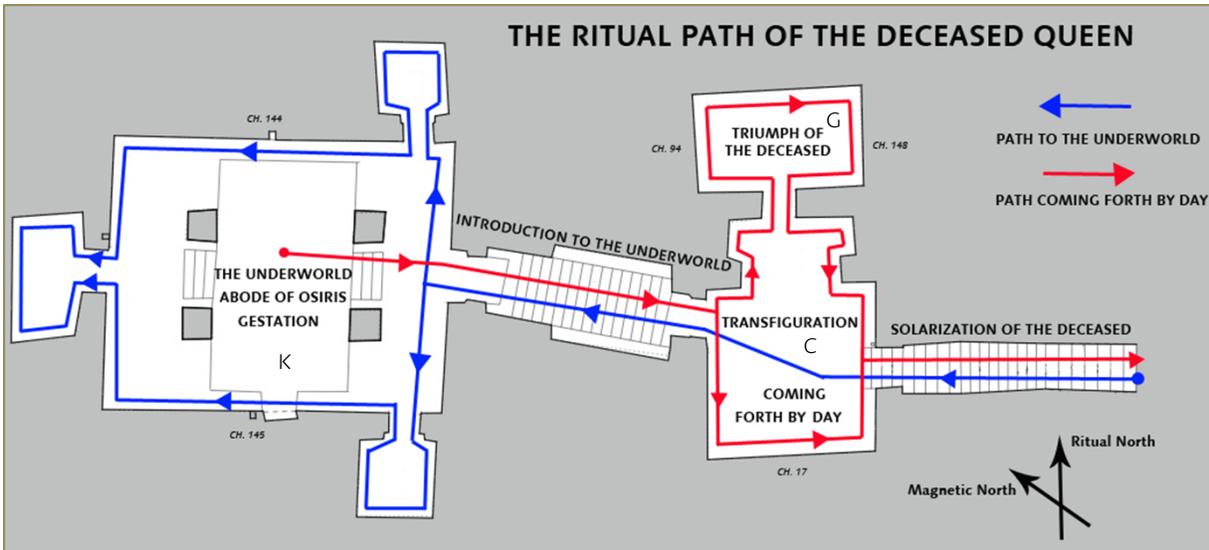
Portrait of Nefertari with her title block and cartouche.

**The tomb and its iconography**

The tomb of Nefertari is arguably the most beautiful and well preserved tomb in the Theban necropolis. It has been extensively documented and published and the state of preservation has given scholars the unique opportunity to study the decorative scheme as a whole. Several authors have given their theories as to the distribution of the imagery and religious iconography (e.g. Goedicke and Thausing 1971; Schmidt and Willeitner 1994; McDonald 1996; Leblanc and Siliotti 2001; McCarthy 2002 and 2006).

The tomb was constructed in a style similar to that of Seti I and Merenptah in the Valley of the Kings where the tomb descends by way of a long stepped corridor into a large pillared burial chamber (Goedicke and Thausing 1971, 35). In the case of Nefertari, the corridor essentially divides the tomb space into two with the antechamber and adjoining room providing one set of decoration and the burial chamber another.

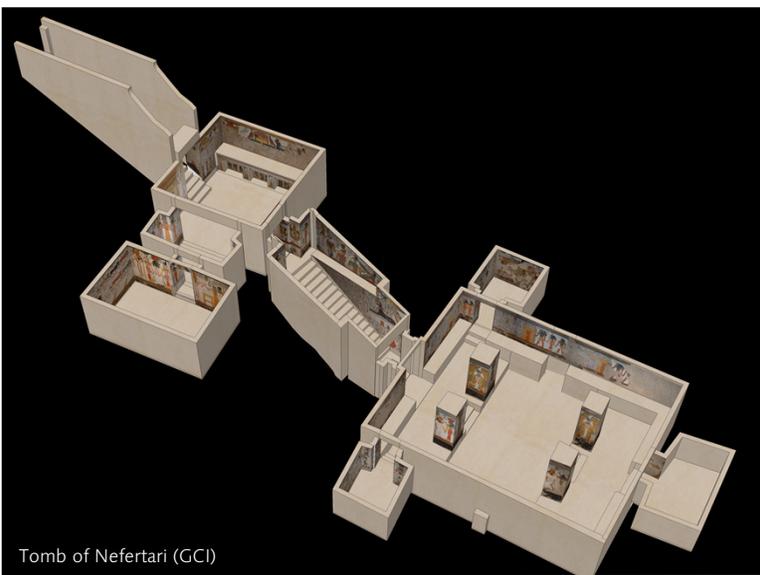
The conception of death for the Egyptians was linked with regeneration and rebirth, primarily in two forms, one following the rising and setting of the sun cyclically and the other linked to a rebirth in the afterlife through the body of Osiris (Hornung 1999, 27). The tomb of Nefertari illustrates both of these concepts of rebirth through the choice of deities (Osiris and Isis are often represented but so are Ra-Harakty, Atum, etc.) and her choice of texts from the *Book of the Dead* found inside the tomb. The queen always appears by herself in her tomb without her husband Rameses II. Likewise, her skin is almost always painted in more masculine reddish tones rather than the typical female yellow, which suggests that by adopting typically male attributes, she was able to become Osiris and complete her transformation into the afterlife (McCarthy 2006, 116).



Conceptual drawing of the journey of the deceased through the tomb (after Leblanc 1989, 246; Base plan: CNRS)

In his article on the development of the tomb, Leblanc (1989, 245-7) proposed a model where the deceased needed first to be interred in the sarcophagus chamber (K). There she went through a stage of gestation after passing into the underworld (Egyptian *duat*) through the gates outlined in chapters 144-6 of the *Book of the Dead* which are found on the room's walls. The images which appear on the wall are similar to those found in the vignette which accompanies chapter 182, "Book for causing Osiris to endure" (Goedicke and Thausing 1971, 37). The second step of 'coming forth by day' was then seen as taking place in the antechamber and lateral room where the spells from the *Book of the Dead* reflect the emergence and regeneration of the deceased. Chapter 17 in particular identifies the deceased with Atum and is one of the most commonly used chapters from the *Book of the Dead* with roots in the *Coffin Texts* (CT 335). The text gives the deceased the power to be reborn and to pass into the land of the living as they please.

In the side room, there are located chapters 94 and 148 which have the titles: 'Spell for obtaining water-bowl and palette from Thoth in the Necropolis' and 'Spell for initiating the spirit into the mind of Ra' (Goedicke and Thausing 1971, 44).



Tomb of Nefertari (GCI)

The opening lines of Chapter 17 read as follows:

*Formulae for elevation and transfiguration, for going out from the necropolis, for being in the following of Osiris, and being content with the food of Wennefer, going out by day, taking any form desired to be taken, playing the board-game senet, being in the pavilion, a living soul, the Osiris N among the revered before the great Ennead which is in the west, after he moors.*

**Chambers C and G**

Going beyond what Leblanc set out very briefly, McCarthy has created a similar but nuanced paradigm for the layout of the tomb (McCarthy 2002). For her, the antechamber and lateral side room (Chambers C and G) represent the horizon (Egyptian *akhet*) where the sun rises and sets. This is highlighted by the large image of the horizon painted over the entrance into the tomb. To the Egyptians, this was the liminal space between the physical world and that of the underworld through which the deceased must pass to be joined with Osiris.



Image of the horizon with the sun flanked by two falcons

Chamber G highlights the union of Atum and Osiris in its illustrations. The wall which one faces when entering the room depicts Osiris and Atum seated back to back, while one of the most evocative scenes is found on the east wall of Chamber G and it features a syncretism of Osiris and Ra who is being protected by Isis and Nephthys. The hieroglyphic text which lies to either side of the mummiform god says, "Osiris rests in Ra" and "It is Ra who rests in Osiris."



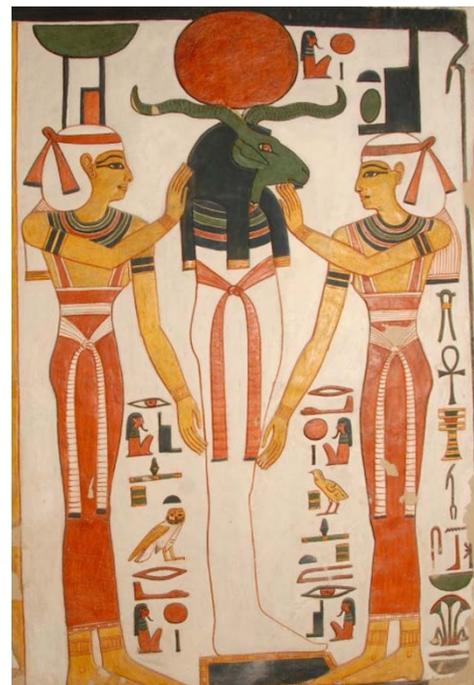
Osiris (left) and Atum (right) seated back to back (CEDAE 09).

**Staircase I**

Descending into the burial chamber, one follows the deceased into the *duat* where the body rests at night. This transition is illustrated by the seated Anubis jackals who keep watch at the entrance to the sarcophagus chamber.



Seated Anubis on staircase wall (CEDAE 09).



Mummiform union of Ra and Osiris being protected by the goddesses Nephthys on the left and Isis on the right (CEDAE 09).

**Chamber K**

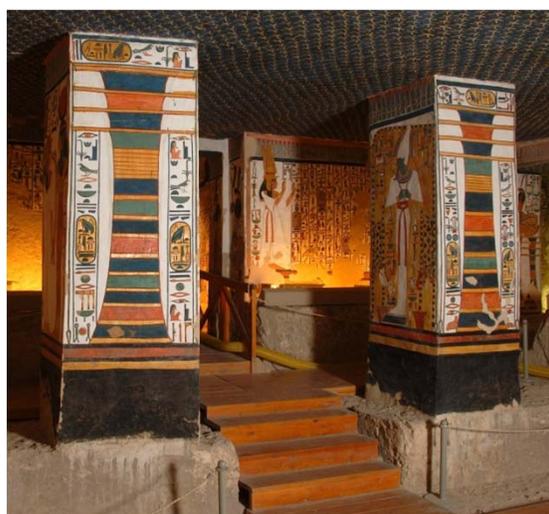
Once inside, the deceased passes through the gates of the underworld and arrives before Osiris, Hathor of the West and Anubis on the rear right wall. On the left side wall is a small recess with images of the mummiform sons of Horus which may have been where the canopic chest was kept. Of the two side rooms off the burial chamber, the one to the left (west) also contains images of the sons of Horus and Isis and Nephthys, while the rear wall has an image of the tomb of Osiris which is mythically located at Abydos. The right (east) side chamber has images of the queen before Hathor, Anubis and Isis as well as a large figure of Nut on the back wall. Both of these rooms were likely used as storage for the burial goods of Nefertari. The rear chamber is unfortunately in poor condition and has only a small amount of decoration remaining on the side walls. This style of decoration appears different from the rest of the tomb and may have been added later (Goedicke and Thausing 1971, 36). The center of the tomb is protected by four pillars each faced with *djed* column, a symbol of stability and of the god Osiris and it is there that Nefertari becomes Osiris who rests in the sleep of death (McCarthy 2002, 187-8).

**Objects from the tomb**

The tomb of Nefertari was looted in antiquity but a number of fragmentary objects were recovered by Schiaparelli and are now in the Turin Museum. These include thirty-four *ushabt*, the lid of a box and scepter head, both with the name of the pharaoh Ay, protective amulet, remains of the granite sarcophagos, and a pair of sandals (Leblanc 1999 and Leblanc and Siliotti 2002). During the conservation project in 1988, a fragment of embossed gold foil with Nefertari's name was found in the tomb (McDonald 1996, 38).



The queen before Hathor in east side chamber (CEDAE 09).



Pillars in Chamber K depicting *djed* columns (CEDAE 09).



Clockwise from upper left: protective amulet, remains of granite sarcophagos, box lid and scepter head with cartouche of Ay; above: Nefertari's sandals (Images: Fondazione Museo Egizio).

**Merytamen (QV 68)**

Queen / Great Royal Wife  
Princess / King's Daughter

Merytamen was the daughter of Rameses II and Nefertari (Leblanc 2009, 226ff). She is the 4<sup>th</sup> daughter in procession of daughters at Abu Simbel and was great royal wife after her mother's death (Dodson and Hilton 2004, 172). It is not certain whether or not she held the title of 'God's Wife of Amun' (Gosselin 2007, 106-7 contra Leblanc 1999). A colossal statue of her was found at Akhmim in 1983 (Leblanc 2009, 228; Gosselin 2007, 106-7), indicating she achieved high status in the royal court after the death of her mother.



Portrait and cartouche of Merytamen.

**The tomb and its iconography**

Merytamen has a large tomb, architecturally comparable with QV 66, 71, and 80, including magical niches in the burial chamber. The poor preservation and fragmentary nature of the wall paintings makes it difficult to understand the tomb's decorative program; extant scenes are all 'divine,' showing the queen offering to and receiving favors from the gods with short text captions, in contrast to the text-heavy *Book of the Dead* chapters in QV 66, 80 and 60. The north wall (C) scene of 'consecrating boxes of colored cloth to Osiris, and Hathor as the Western goddess' (Porter and Moss 1964, 766) is shown in better condition and more clearly in the drawing by Rosellini. The west wall shows the deceased accompanied by Harsiesis and Isis. The east wall depicts the deceased in the presence of Ptah-Sokar-Osiris (Leblanc 1989a, pls CLXXV, CLXXVI).

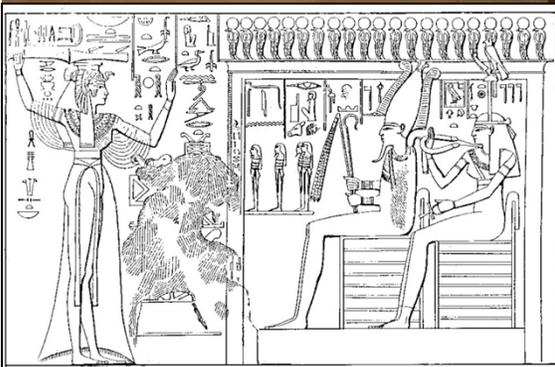
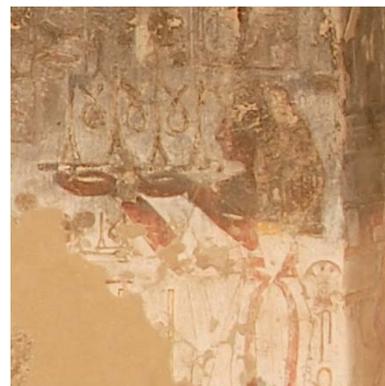
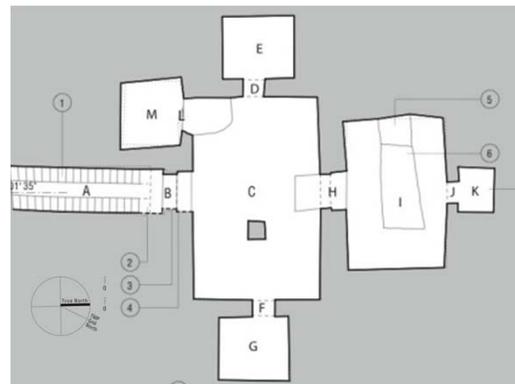


Photo and drawing of north wall (drawing from Rosellini 1832-1841).

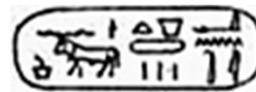


East wall of Chamber C, the deceased makes offerings to Ptah-Sokar-Osiris (CEDAE 09).

## Bentanat

Queen / Great Royal Wife  
Princess / King's Daughter

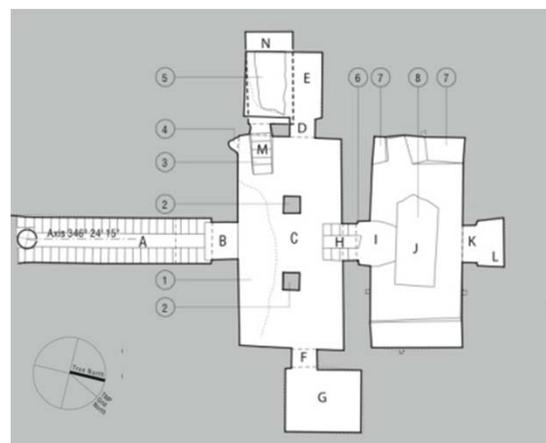
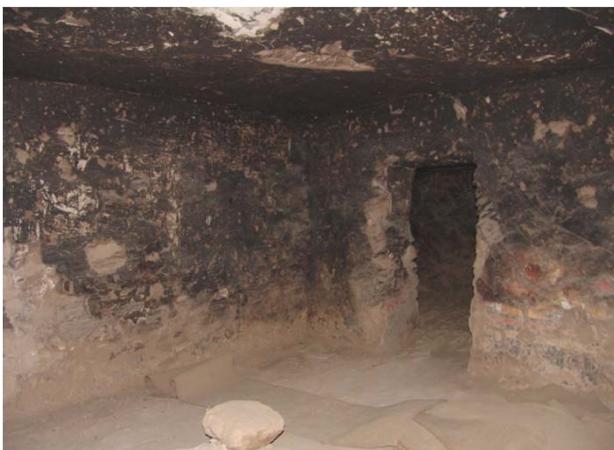
Bentanat was the daughter of Rameses II and Isis-Nofret, and the oldest daughter of the king. She has a foreign name meaning 'Daughter of Anat' (a Canaanite goddess with a warlike aspect) (Leblanc 2009; Schmidt and Willeitner 1994, 30). Anat is depicted in Rameses II's temple with martial iconography, which may account for the name choice (Wilkinson 2003, 137). She may have served as the great royal wife of Rameses II after the death of her mother based on a depiction in Chamber J of her with a princess, possibly her daughter; whether the princess/daughter was also interred in the tomb is unclear. Alternatively, she was possibly married to Merenptah after the death of Rameses II because she is depicted on a statue of that king from Luxor (Schmidt and Willeitner 1994, 30; Grajetzki 2005, 69-70). A wooden *ushabti* of Bentanat was found in the tomb (Leblanc and Siliotti 2002).



Portrait and  
cartouche of  
Bentanat  
(CNRS).



Bentanat (left) and  
the unnamed  
princess (right) on  
blackened wall in  
burial Chamber J  
(Image: CEDAE  
1984; Drawing  
CNRS).

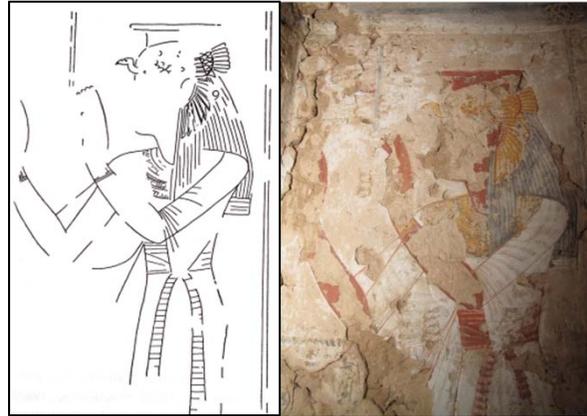


QV 71 is architecturally complex, similar in layout to QV 68 and 71. Loss and blackening of wall paintings from re-use in the Third Intermediate and possibly Coptic periods obscure the iconography, as seen left in Chamber C.

**Henuttauy (QV 73)**

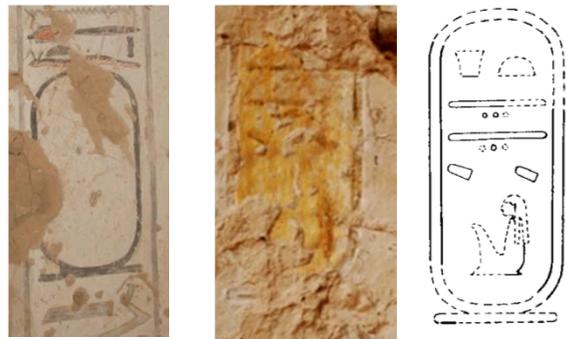
Queen / Great Royal Wife  
Princess / King's Daughter

Henuttauy was the daughter of Rameses II and Nefertari. At the grand temple of Rameses II at Abu Simbel, she is the 7<sup>th</sup> daughter in procession of daughters (Leblanc 1986, 225; 1999, 237). At the small temple of Abu Simbel, her figure is represented alongside that of her siblings, the children of Nefertari (Leblanc 1999, 237). She can also be found in similar processions found at temples to Ramses II at Derr and Wadi as Sebou'a (Leblanc 1986, 204-5).



Portrait of Henuttauy (Drawing: CNRS)

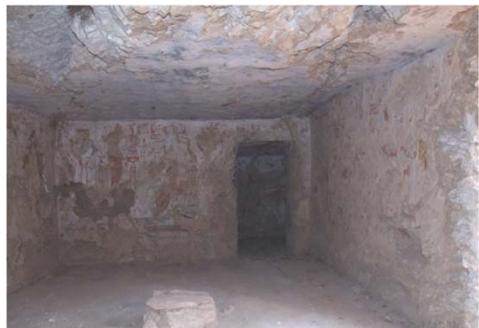
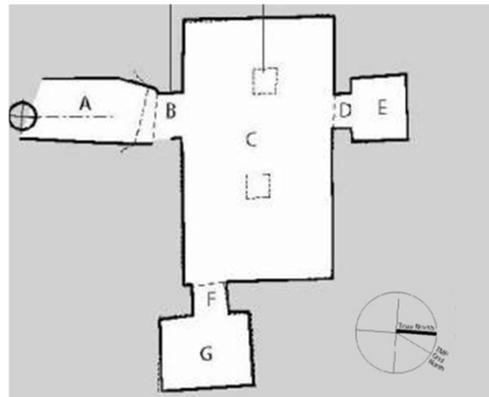
The attribution of this tomb to princess Henuttauy was initially difficult, as a number of cartouches remained blank, particularly in Chamber (E). However, at the time of the Franco-Egyptian campaign, it was possible to examine and clarify the traces of black ink on the cartouche with a yellow background found in Chamber C to make a positive identification (Leblanc 1986, 211). It is likely that the tomb was initially carved for a generic princess and then personalized at the time of Henuttauy's death.



Blank cartouche in Chamber E, cartouche with traces of black ink in Chamber C, and drawing reconstructing the cartouche of Henuttauy (Drawing: CNRS).

**The Tomb**

The architectural plan of QV 73 is relatively simple, consisting of one main chamber (C) and two small side chambers. Unlike other contemporary tombs excavated during the reign of Rameses II, the first chamber (C) after the tomb entrance is the burial chamber with a small subsidiary chamber (G) and rear annex (E) for funerary goods, particularly canopic jars. The ceiling of Chamber C was originally supported by two columns which have since collapsed, though fragments of those supports and the painted plaster which likely covered them were discovered during the Franco-Egyptian campaign (Leblanc 1986, 213). Extant paintings are refined and from the same period and palette as Nefertari; however, the more interesting areas of the painting have suffered substantial loss from pillaging at the end of the 20<sup>th</sup> Dynasty and later reuse in the Third Intermediate, Roman and Coptic periods, including defacing and over-plastering of faces of figures during Coptic reuse.



Chamber C, looking to the east wall and door to Chamber G.

### Iconography

Though the iconography in Chamber C has been obscured or damaged by later periods of reuse, several of the scenes remain legible. In the northwestern corner, the princess can be seen making an offering before Anubis and Meretseger. On the western wall, she is depicted in adoration of Isis and Nephthys, and opposite that, she is found with two of the sons of Horus, Hapy and Kebehsenuef. On the east half of the rear wall is a 'weighing of the heart' scene from Chapter 125 of the *Book of the Dead*.

The decorations of the side (G) and rear (E) chambers have survived intact to a greater extent. In Chamber E, the sons of Horus are depicted protecting the canopic vessels of the deceased. On the south wall, Kebehsenuef and Hapy perform this duty and on the north wall, the vessels are protected by Imset and Duamutef. On the eastern wall of the same room, the goddess Nut is shown flanked by a *djed* pillar and *tyt* knot. Immediately adjacent to the doorway (D), a mummiform Isis and Nephthys face each other.

In Chamber G, Osiris is depicted sitting between Isis and Nephthys on the northern wall, while both the eastern and western aspects of the chamber are dedicated to Anubis, who is shown sitting on a stylized platform in the shape of a chapel.



The princess before Hapy and Kebehsenuef on the east wall of Chamber C (CEDAE 09).



Kebehsenuef and Hapy protecting canopic vessels with seated Anubis in Chamber E (CEDAE 09).



Anubis seated on platform in Chamber G (CEDAE 09).



Mummiform figures of Isis and Nephthys adjacent to doorway D.



Goddess Nut in Chamber E (CEDAE 09).

**Anonymous Princess (QV 74)**

Princess / King's Daughter [Rameses II]

Queen / Great King's mother and King's wife [Duatentipet,  
Queen in reign of Rameses IV]

The tomb was constructed and decorated for a princess of Rameses II but was never occupied (Leblanc and Abdel-Rahman, 1991). A portrait of the original owner exists in Chambers C and I (ibid, 159). Titles of the princess (s3t nswt [King's daughter]) who was originally to be interred in the tomb survive in Chamber I but spaces for the name of the princess were left blank.

The tomb was later used for Queen Duatentipet in the reign of Rameses IV in the 20<sup>th</sup> Dynasty. The workmen's strike in Year 2 of Rameses IV reign may be the reason for re-use of earlier non-used tombs (Peden 1994, 46, note 2). Duatentipet is a wife of Rameses IV and mother of Rameses V. She is depicted in the temple of Khonsu in Karnak where she is associated with Rameses III and IV (Gosselin 2007, 184-187). She is mentioned in the tomb of an official Amenhotep (TT 346) who was the 'superior of the royal harem of the Adoratrice Tentopet' (Gosselin 2007, 189). She may have been the last king's wife to have the title of God's wife as well (unless Tyti was a late 20<sup>th</sup> Dynasty queen and therefore was the last) – afterward it was given to kings' daughters (Grajetzki 2005, 74).

Evidence of re-painting and re-carving titles of the queen exist in Chambers C and G, when the tomb was reused in the 20<sup>th</sup> Dynasty (Leblanc and Abdel-Rahman 1991). A different color scheme may have been used in the antechamber (C) and burial chamber (G) indicating some part of decoration was completed after the initial decoration in the 19<sup>th</sup> Dynasty, but this may be due to color alteration from burning.



Queen: east wall Chamber I (CEDAE 87).



Cartouche: Chamber G (east pillar, west face)—Duatentipet, great wife of Rameses IV.



Details from Chambers C (left) and G (right) (CEDAE 09).



Hathor descending from the Theban Hills, south wall of Chamber G (CEDAE 09).

**Henutmira (QV 75)**

Queen / Great Royal Wife  
Princess / King's Daughter

Henutmira (Lady who is Like Ra) was the daughter of Rameses II and an unknown queen. However, some scholars suggest she was a daughter of Seti I and Tuy (QV 80), since the image of Henutmira is carved next to Tuy, queen of Seti I, with titles 'daughter of the king, King's wife', on a statue housed in the Vatican (Troy 1986, 169; Grajetzki 2005, 70-1; Dodson and Hilton 2004, 170; Tyldesley 2006). This is contrary to Sourouzian and Leblanc who believe that she is the daughter of Ramses II (Sourouzian 1983; Leblanc 1999, 2002); the Vatican statue was almost certainly made during the reign of Rameses II. Her tomb was plundered in the late 20<sup>th</sup> Dynasty and her coffin was reused by the great priest of Amun, Harsiese, who was buried at Medinet Habu in the 22<sup>nd</sup> Dynasty.

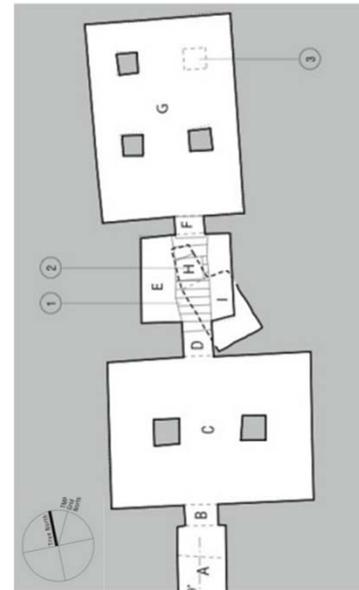


Portrait of Henutmira (CEDAE 09).

**Tomb**

The tomb has a simple linear plan consisting of a rock-cut stairway (A) descending to a pillared entry chamber (C), followed by a further stairway and smaller chamber (E) leading down to a four-pillared burial chamber (G). Based on the archaeological material recovered by the Franco-Egyptian team, the tomb appears to have been reused during the 22<sup>nd</sup> Dynasty and again during the Roman period (Leblanc 1988, 146). An undecorated pit (F) was excavated in Chamber E during one of these later periods of reuse.

Since it is the 19<sup>th</sup> Dynasty tomb closest to the mouth of the Valley, it may have been the last tomb in the Valley of the Queens to be completed during the reign of Rameses II (Leblanc 1988, 146). Given the relatively high frequency of the title "daughter of the king" amongst the remaining inscriptions, it is possible that the tomb was initially carved for a princess, but was adapted for Queen Henutmira at the time of her death (Leblanc 1988, 137).



Chamber C.



Chamber G.

**Iconography**

Though the tomb's decorative program is poorly preserved, the iconography seems to be generally consistent with the scenes from the *Book of the Dead* depicted in other 19<sup>th</sup> Dynasty tombs. In the earlier tombs on the south side of the Valley this decorative scheme is, however, used in the burial chamber (McCarthy 2011, 392-396). In Chamber C, the pillars are decorated with deities including Anubis and Horus-Inmutfef. The fragmentary reliefs on the walls of this chamber are difficult to interpret, but Herymaat and Nebneru can be found together on the southeastern wall. The western wall of Chamber C depicts a procession of deities and in the northwest, the queen can be seen in front of a table of offerings (Leblanc 1988, 142).

On the east walls of the intermediate chamber (E), the queen is depicted in adoration of several gods including Ra-Herakty and Ptah. The rear wall depicts two heavily eroded scenes: the queen offers to Osiris and Isis (west side) and to Hathor and Anubis (east side).

In the burial chamber (G), some of the decorated surfaces bear enough of their original color and form, allowing them to be recognized more easily. Such is the case with the image of the queen worshipping Ra-Herakty (*Book of the Dead* Chapter 16), taking the form of a falcon with prominent claws holding the heiroglyph *jmntt*. The east half of the south wall depicts funerary goods. The *djed* pillar on the east wall is part of a scene depicting the queen offering to three gods; on the west wall is a unique scene of the queen following a procession of standards.



Seated Anubis on pillar of Chamber C.



Procession of deities on west wall of Chamber C (CEDAE 84).



Right: Queen in adoration of gods in Chamber E (CEDAE 84).

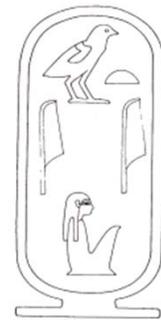
Ra-Herakty on south wall of Chamber G (far left) and east wall of Chamber E (CEDAE 09).



**Tuy**

Queen / Great Royal Wife  
Great King's Mother  
God's Wife  
God's Mother

Tuy (or Mut-Tuy) (Mwt-twy) was the non-royal wife of Seti I, and mother of Rameses II (Leblanc 2009, 174ff) and possibly Henutmira (see QV 75) (Troy 1986, 168). Her cartouche in QV 80 preserves only the hieroglyph 'mwt[...]'. The rest of the name is broken off (Leblanc 1999). The title of 'great royal wife' was given to her posthumously (Grajetzki 2005, 66-7). Her father and mother are known from a block at Medinet Habu to be Raia, a Lieutenant of Chariotry, and Ruia (Dodson and Hilton 2004, 162). There are a number of statues with her name, she is shown in a divine birth scene at Medinet Habu, in Ramesside name lists at Abu Simbel and referenced in cuneiform letters to the Hittites. She has a small temple north of the Ramesseum dedicated jointly to Tuy and Nefertari and a cult chapel in the Ramesseum. She probably died in year 22 of her son, Rameses II, or after (Gosselin 2007, 103).



Cartouche:  
Image (upper left) CEDAE;  
Drawing: CNRS.

**Objects recovered**

Although the tomb painted reliefs are very poorly preserved due to later re-use in the Third Intermediate and possibly Ptolemaic and Coptic periods, a number of objects were recovered from the tomb by the CNRS-CEDAE team. These include the shattered granite sarcophagus on the floor of the burial chamber (G); lid of a canopic jar in the form of the head of the queen (now in the Luxor Museum); approximately 80 *ushabti* in glass-frit paste showing the queen in her mummified aspect and with text referring to chapter 6 of the *Book of the Dead* (Leblanc 1999); fragments of ceramic receptacles and wine jars, one of which bears an inscription referring to a grape harvest of the year 22 providing a date for the death of the queen; and an alabaster stopper.



Remains of sarcophagus in Chamber G.



Above right: Lid of canopic jar of Tuy (Luxor Museum) (CEDAE 74); Below right: *Ushabti* of Tuy (CEDAE 74).

## The Valley of the Queens in the 20<sup>th</sup> Dynasty (1188-1069 BC)

### *Historical context*

*The later Ramesside rulers had to face increased pressure from Libyan incursions from the Western desert as well as the attacks of the so-called 'Sea Peoples,' attested on the walls of Rameses III's mortuary temple at Medinet Habu. Other than Rameses III's temple, the remainder of the Ramesside kings had fewer resources to undertake monumental building projects. In the South, the economy was weakened and the kings' power was eroded by the local priesthood of Amun-Re who became the driving force in Thebes through the Third Intermediate Period.*

The Valley of the Queens continued to be extensively used during the reign of Rameses III, but its character changed once again. At this time the Valley became the burial place not only of the royal women but also for many of the princes. The tomb plan was modified to a straight axis with long narrow corridors leading to the burial chamber and side chambers, recalling the tombs of the period in the Valley of the Kings on smaller scale (Leblanc 1993, 22). Tombs of this period were located at the southern end of the SW wadi and at the far (western) end of the main Valley.

Seven tombs are attributed to Rameses III, who reigned thirty-one years (see Table 3). These may include two of the Great Wives of the King (QV 51 and 52) and five princes (QV 42, 43, 44, 53 and 55). Rameses III ordered construction of at least two more tombs (QV 41 and 45) but these were left unfinished or were abandoned (Leblanc 2001, 274-5). Only one tomb can be attributed to the short, six-year reign of Rameses IV. This is QV 74, which was constructed during the reign of Rameses II, but not used at that time, and later adapted for burial by Queen Duatentipet, wife of Rameses IV.

Five other tombs were probably constructed during the 20<sup>th</sup> Dynasty but they are unfinished and cannot be attributed to a specific reign; these are: QV 54, 84, 85, 86, and 95. The Turin Papyrus records that six tombs were prepared for Rameses VI, but no evidence has been found, except that QV 51 may have been finished during his reign as Rameses VI's mother, Isis-ta-Hemdjeret, was buried here.

Table 3. 20<sup>th</sup> Dynasty tombs at QV and their occupants and titles (Profiles exist for tombs in bold)

Royal status	Tomb	Name	Reign	Notes
Prince	<b>QV 42</b>	<b>Pareherunemef</b>	Rameses III	Possibly also occupied by Minefer, wife of Rameses III
Prince	QV 43	Sethherkhepshef	Rameses III	
Prince	<b>QV 44</b>	<b>Khaemwaset</b>	Rameses III	Buried in reign of Rameses IV
Queen	QV 51	Isis	Rameses III	Wife of Rameses III and mother of Rameses VI
Queen	<b>QV 52</b>	<b>Tyti</b>	Rameses III	Relationship of Tyti is disputed (see Family tree)
Prince	QV 53	Rameses Meryamen	Rameses III	
Prince	<b>QV 55</b>	<b>Amenherkhepshef</b>	Rameses III	
Queen	<b>QV 74</b>	<b>Duatentipet</b> (see also 19 <sup>th</sup> Dynasty)	Rameses IV	Wife of Rameses IV (Originally constructed, but not used, in Rameses II reign)
Unknown	QV 41 & 45		Rameses III	Tomb construction never completed

As was also the case for the 19<sup>th</sup> Dynasty, there are no indications of superstructures on the 20<sup>th</sup> Dynasty tombs, and as speculated for the 19<sup>th</sup> Dynasty, it is likely that family members shared the mortuary temples of the king. At Medinet Habu, there is a frieze with a number of the sons of Rameses III offering to their father, which was later added to by his son Rameses IV, and suggests at least the inclusion of the royal sons in the temple cult (Leblanc 2001-2002). The last known mortuary temples of the 20<sup>th</sup> Dynasty are those of Rameses V and VI, the latter of which was left unfinished (Leblanc and Zaki 2010; Dodson and Ikram 2008: 249).

The Sanctuary to Ptah and Meretseger, located on the path between the workmen's village and the Valley of the Queens, was established towards the end of 19<sup>th</sup> Dynasty with active religious practice in the early 20<sup>th</sup> Dynasty. The sanctuary was probably a popular place to worship two local deities: Ptah of Ta Set Neferu, the patron god of the Valley of the Queens, and of craftsmen, and Meretseger, the goddess of the Qurn and the Theban necropoleis. At the shrine, offerings could be made in front of rock-cut stela. It was later transformed into a place of meditation for Coptic hermits.

From the second half of the reign of Rameses III, economic turbulence and social disturbance led to strikes. The first strike was organized in the year 22 of his reign and interrupted construction activity in the Valley. Strikes were repeated several times, as social instability worsened towards the end of the dynasty (Leblanc 1993a, 24). This turbulent period led to repeated desecration of the royal tombs and the Valley of the Queens did not escape such sacrilege. Boards of enquiry followed by trials, as recorded in papyri such as Abbott, Meyer (A), and Ambras Papyrus, reveal that a certain number of tombs belonging to kings and queens had been looted, amongst them the tombs of Isis-ta-Hemdjeret (QV 51) and Henutmira (QV 75) (Leblanc 1993, 25). After the violation of royal tombs, the mummies of the queens and royal children may have been reburied in a cache by the priests, as those of kings were reburied in several different locations in western Thebes. None of the pharaonic mummies, except a part of Nefertari's mummy, have been found in the Valley of the Queens (Leblanc 1993a, 24).



The rock-cut sanctuary dedicated to Ptah and Meretseger (left), located on the ancient path between Queens Valley and the workmen's village at Deir el-Medina, was used by the workmen of the royal tombs at QV during the 20<sup>th</sup> Dynasty, among which was that of Queen Isis, wife of Rameses III, now largely destroyed, its smashed granite sarcophagus still in situ (right, QV 51).

## 20<sup>th</sup> Dynasty royal family

The genealogy of the 20<sup>th</sup> Dynasty royal family has been debated for decades (e.g. Seele 1960; Thomas 1967; Kitchen 1972, 1982; Dodson 1983; Grist 1986; Grandet 1993; Leblanc 2001-02; Dodson and Hilton 2004; Grajetzki 2005; Gosselin 2007). Studies are largely based on interpretations of the list of princes in the temple of Rameses III at Medinet Habu (a double procession of figures, carved into the north and south walls of the doorway that leads from the Second Court of the temple into its rear room) with additional evidence from other temples, tombs and objects. However, there is insufficient information to form any consensus of the family tree of Rameses III and the later 20<sup>th</sup> Dynasty. The list of princes and princesses at Medinet Habu was never completed. Some titles and/or names were unfilled and additions were made by Rameses IV, VI and Rameses VIII after the death of Rameses III. Furthermore, some princes of Rameses III were given identical names or titles, and it is difficult for scholars to differentiate them from each other.

The absence of mothers' names in princes' tombs or other archaeological or epigraphic records makes it difficult to identify maternal lineage. According to Leblanc (2001-2002), Rameses III had at least five wives, Isis-ta-Hemdjeret (QV 51), Minefer (QV 42), Tyti (QV 52), Tyyi, and Isis-Hemdjeret (II) who is a daughter of Rameses III and Isis - ta-Hemdjeret (QV 51). In addition, there should be at least one more wife of the king: the queen, Tiye (Dodson and Hilton 2004), who had a son called Pentawret, who was involved in the murder of Rameses III, the so-called "Harem conspiracy" as recorded on papyri such as the Judicial Papyrus of Turin. Isis - ta-Hemdjeret was the principal wife of Rameses III. However, the number of her children and their names are unclear. Tyti was a queen of Rameses III (Leblanc 2001-2002; Grajetzki 2005), or Rameses X (Dodson and Hilton 2004) or Rameses XI (Dodson 1983; Grajetzki 2005). In her tomb (QV 52), she is described as king's daughter, king's mother, king's great mother, and king's sister. She also bears the sacerdotal titles 'god's wife' and 'sistrum player of Amun,' but her family and marital relationships are not clear. Three sons of Rameses III, Pareherunemef (QV 42), Khaemwaset (QV 44), and Setherkhepshef (QV 43), have the title 'First King's Son.' A few scholars (e.g. Dodson and Hilton 2004) argue that this suggests both princes were first-born to the king but from different mothers. Duatentipet (QV 74) is probably Adoratrix Tentopet who is shown with a king, probably Rameses III or IV, in the Khonsu temple in Karnak.

Based on relationships with queens and their husbands/sons, the main interpretations are listed below. The family tree based on Leblanc's interpretation follows on the next page.

### **Leblanc (2001-2002)**

Isis (QV 51) – mother of Rameses IV and Isis (II)  
Isis (II) – mother of Rameses VI  
Tyti (QV 52) – wife of Rameses III; mother of Khaemwaset (QV 44), Rameses Meryamen (QV 53), Amenherkhepshef (QV 55)  
Tiyi – mother of Setherkhepshef (QV 43)  
Minefer (QV 42) – mother of Pareherunemef (QV 42)  
Duatentipet (QV 74) – wife of Rameses IV and mother of Rameses V

### **Grajetzki (2005)**

Isis (QV 51) – wife of Rameses III; mother of Rameses VI  
Tyti (QV 52) – wife of Rameses III or Rameses XI  
Tentopet (Duatentipet) (QV 74) - wife of Rameses IV; mother of Rameses V

### **Gosselin (2007)**

Isis (QV 51) – mother of Rameses IV, V or VI  
Duatentipet (QV 74) – wife of Rameses IV  
Tyti (QV 52) – sister-wife of Rameses III and mother of Rameses IV

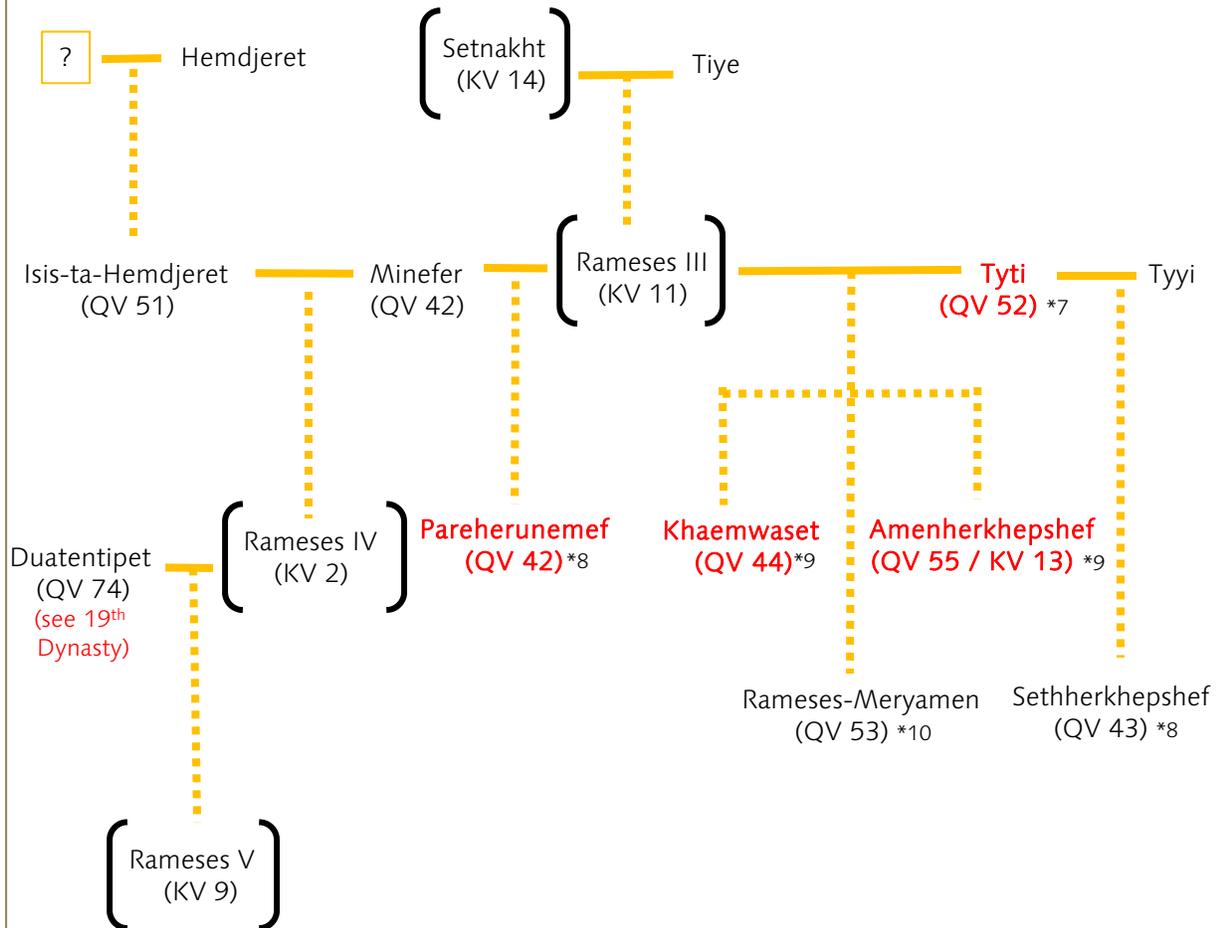
### **Kitchen (1972)**

Isis (QV 51) – mother of Khaemwaset (QV 44), Rameses Meryamen (QV 53), Amenherkhepshef (QV 55), Rameses VI  
Unknown queen(s) – mother of Pareherunemef (QV 42), Setherkhepshef (QV 43)  
Duatentipet (QV 74) – wife of Rameses IV, mother of Rameses V  
Tyti (QV 52?) – daughter of Rameses IX, wife of Rameses X, mother of Rameses XI (Kitchen 1982)

### **Dodson and Hilton (2004)**

Isis (QV 51) – mother of Rameses Meryamen (QV 53), later Rameses IV, and mother of Rameses VI  
Tyti (QV 52) – wife of Rameses X  
Unknown queen(s) – mother of Khaemwaset (QV 44), Rameses Meryamen (QV 53), Amenherkhepshef (QV 55), Pareherunemef (QV 42), and Setherkhepshef (QV 43) and Duatentipet (QV 74)  
Duatentipet (QV 74) – wife of Rameses IV; mother of Rameses V

## Family tree of the 20<sup>th</sup> Dynasty



The genealogy shown here is based on Leblanc (2001-2002). Other interpretations are noted in the discussion on the previous page and the notes below. Family members who are not closely related to those who were buried in the Valley of the Queens are omitted from the family tree. Selected tomb profiles for which sufficient evidence exists to construct a reasonable biography and to interpret iconography are highlighted in red in the family tree. The selected profiles that follow are sequenced numerically according to their QV tomb numbers.

\*7 Kitchen (1972), Grandet (1993), Dodson and Hilton (2004) and Tyldesley (2006) identify Tyti as wife of Rameses X while Grajetzki (2005) considers her to be the wife of either Rameses III or XI.

\*8 Pareherunemef and Sethherkhepshef may have the same anonymous mother according to Grandet (1993). Kitchen (1972) and Dodson and Hilton (2004) suggest that mother(s) of Pareherunemef and Sethherkhepshef are unknown wife/wives of Rameses III.

\*9 Kitchen (1972) and Grandet (1993) suggest that Khaemwaset and Amenherkhepshef are the sons of Isis. Troy (1986) considers Isis as the mother of Amenherkhepshef and Rameses-Meryamen. Dodson and Hilton (2004) maintain that the mother of Khaemwaset and Amenherkhepshef is an unknown wife/wives of Rameses III.

\*10 Mother of Rameses-Meryamen is possibly Isis according to Kitchen (1972); Dodson and Hilton (2004); and Troy (1986).

### Pareherunemef & Minefer (QV 42)

King's Son / King's mother [Minefer]  
 First One of the King  
 Charioteer of the Stable

Pareherunemef (Pa-Ra-Hr-wnm-f) is the son of Rameses III by an unknown queen although it is suggested that his mother was the queen Minefer (Mi-nefr) from inscriptions on *ushabtis* found in a re-excavation of QV 42 in 1990-1 (Leblanc 2001-2002, 199-200) and in front of QV 45. He is number 5 on the list of sons at Medinet Habu (Dodson and Hilton 2004, 194; Gosselin 2007, 142) and was possibly deceased by year 12 of the reign of Rameses III (Kitchen 1982, 119), although Leblanc (2001-2002, 200) maintains that this dating put forward by Kitchen (1982, 119) and adopted by Grandet (1993, 62) is not convincing as it uses only a particular writing of the cartouches of Rameses III as evidence. However, the prince did not die as a child, as one of his titles is 'Charioteer of the Stable of the Great House,' which is likely not simply to be an honorific but functional title. He also held the title 'eldest king's son of his body' (s3 nswt tpi n hm=f) indicating that when he died, he was the eldest living son. Apart from his appearance as the fifth figure in the Medinet Habu prince list, he does not have any other attestations. Likewise, there are no other sources for his mother, Minefer, who was given the title 'king's mother' (mwt nswt) on one of her *ushabtis* (Leblanc 2001-2, 216 n.30).



Portrait of Pareherunemef



Portrait of an unnamed queen, possibly Minefer.

### The Tomb

This is the only tomb of the 20<sup>th</sup> Dynasty that has a pillared hall, with barrel vaults (the burial Chamber E). The early death of the prince may explain the few unfinished aspects of his tomb (the unpainted decoration on doorway F and lack of decoration in Chamber G) and its closer comparison with the 19<sup>th</sup> Dynasty tombs of the wives of Rameses II with their pillared burial chambers. According to Thomas, the tomb may have originally been built for Minefer or another queen and started at the end of the 19<sup>th</sup> Dynasty, but was clearly usurped by Pareherunemef (Thomas 1966, 219). The sunken space in the floor of the burial chamber likely held the coffin. Fragments of a granite sarcophagus found by Schiaparelli (in the Turin Museum) suggest the tomb was re-used as the cartouche was erased (Leblanc 1988a, 133, n.7). The quality of painted reliefs is high although now blackened from later re-use. A different painting technique (painted plaster) is used for the depiction of the unnamed queen.

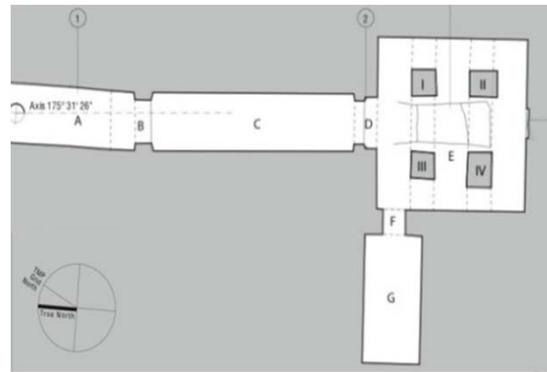


**The iconography**

QV 42 demonstrates the fundamental difference between the queen's tombs and those of the princes. The tomb's decorative program focuses on the king, Rameses III, who is shown officiating in all of the offering scenes in both the corridor and the sarcophagus chamber. The prince, on the other hand, is secondary and shown as a child with the side lock, or Horus lock, of youth on the side of his wig. The prominence of the king over his son in the decorative scheme is typical and is seen in other princes' tombs (QV 43, 44). Generally it has been noted that the tombs of princes are more variable in the location of their burial and that the images of the king found throughout guarantee at least a symbolic proximity to the ruler (McCarthy 2005, 114). Unlike other Rameses III sons' tombs, QV 42 has no excerpts from the *Book of Dead* on its walls.

The entrance ramp (A) to the tomb slopes down slightly and one enters into the tomb proper through a doorway that was decorated with a winged sundisk (B). From here, there is a longer passageway decorated with painted sunken plaster relief along both sides (C). On the east side, the prince holds a single feather fan and is depicted standing behind the king, Rameses III, who worships various gods. The prince and king move into the tomb and are welcomed by the gods whom they praise, such as Anubis, Meretseger, Geb, Osiris, Thoth, Atum, etc.

Hieratic graffiti was noted at the Entryway B (not located) as well in Corridor C, attesting to the later use of this tomb (Thomas 1966, 220).



Prince Pareherunemef behind Rameses III (CEDAE 09), east wall.



Hieratic graffiti in Corridor C.



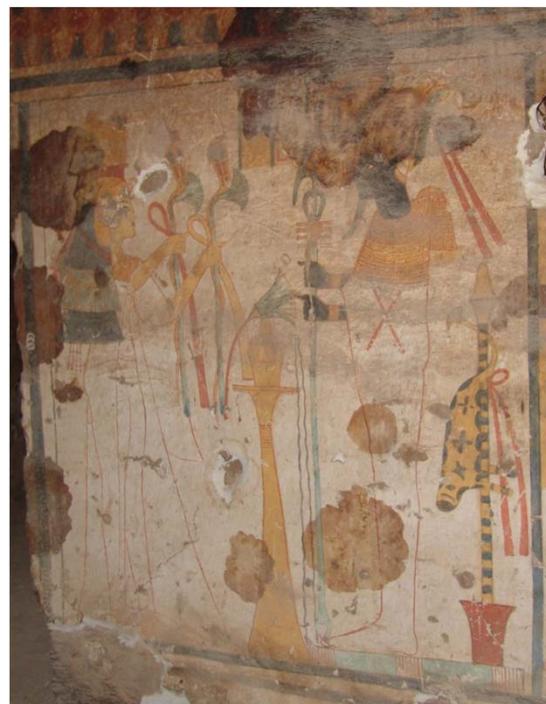
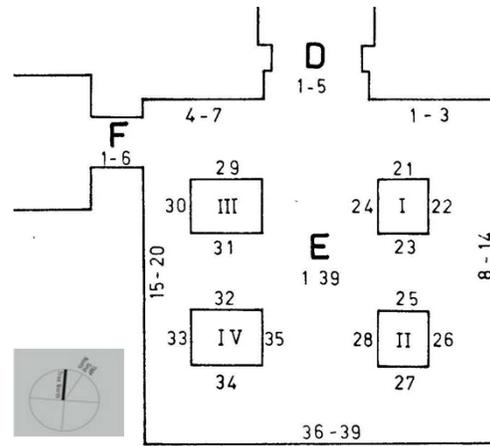
**Chamber E**

The corridor leads directly to the sarcophagus chamber (E). At the entrance (D) to this chamber there is a winged solar disk above the doorway and a hymn carved into the door jambs.

The burial chamber is a four pillared room with three barrel vaults running east-west between the pillars. There is painted plaster sunken relief decoration on all of the walls and the pillars. Pillars II and IV are partially intact and have images of the king offering to various deities. The other two pillars have suffered more damage, in particular pillar III on which we cannot even recognize which deities were depicted.

The walls of the chamber are decorated with offering scenes and protective deities. One of the most interesting is that directly to the east of the entrance (E1-3) which has an image of the queen offering to Osiris. She has a vulture headdress and the two ladies (vulture and cobra – Nekhbet and Wadjet) on her crown. She offers *uraei* with the crowns of Lower and Upper Egypt and gives a water libation to Osiris who stands upon a plinth holding symbols representing life, stability and dominion (*ankh, djed, was*). The scene is not carved in relief but is only painted onto a plaster base on a wall constructed of mudbrick. The upper part of the queen's body is drawn with simple red lines, in contrast to her upper body which is filled in with a variety of colors. This scene is the only appearance of a queen on the walls of this tomb and is also significant as the only extant pictorial (as distinct from textual) representation of a royal woman in the tomb of a Ramesside royal male (McCarthy 2011, 670-671). Behind Osiris is a seated baboon in a shrine above an image of a recumbent Anubis.

Continuing to the east wall (E8-14) of the chamber the king and prince are shown offering to Anubis and the barrel vault is filled with the typical image of a winged goddess. The next scene is of the king alone offering to a shrine with a winged eye holding a *shen* sign and two *uraei* in its talons, and a seated, bull-headed deity holding two knives (Abita 1986, 88, 90, Abb.28). The final scene is again of the king and prince offering to the vulture goddess Hememet, the goddess Taweret, and a full-face anthropomorphic male deity.



Wall E1-3 showing a queen offering to Osiris.



Shrine with the Hememet triad on the east wall.

### Chamber E cont.

The rear (south) wall of the burial chamber (E36-39) is illustrated with two figures of Osiris arranged in antithetical composition in the center of the rear wall. On the west side of Osiris are Nephthys (wearing the red crown), Selket, Rameses III and the prince. On the east side, Osiris is adored by two largely destroyed goddesses (probably Isis and Neith) followed by Rameses III and the prince. Above the scene, there is a row of alternating *uraei* and cartouches with the names of Rameses III, while on the side walls there were only *kheqer* friezes.



Rear south wall with damaged scene of back-to-back seated figures of Osiris, facing east (left) and west (right) (CEDAE 09).

The west wall of the chamber has the image of a jackal-headed god in the south corner with a protective lion headed demon. The king and prince offer to Osiris and Harsiese, the son of Osiris and Isis (literally, 'Horus, son of Isis'), who is the legitimate heir of his father Osiris. The final wall (E4-7) of the chamber shows Nebneru (lion-headed deity) and Herymaat (a son of Horus) who were commonly depicted on the right (symbolic north) half of the entry wall and were protective deities welcoming the deceased into the underworld (see QV 38, 40 (scene destroyed), 52, 74, 75) (Loyrette and Sayed 1993, 135). Some scholars have suggested that Herymaat represents the deceased tomb owner as a solarized being (Leblanc 1999, 249; Bruyère 1952, 36).



Section of west wall of Chamber E with jackal-headed god and lion headed demon (CEDAE 09).

### Entrance F and Chamber G

The entranceway (F) into the side chamber is decorated in unpainted sunken plaster relief with an image of the deity of Pe on the south side and the deity of Nekhen on the north. These images represent the *bas* from the historical cities of Buto in Lower Egypt and Hierakonpolis in Upper Egypt which appear as early as the Pyramid Texts of the Old Kingdom. These *bas* are commonly connected to the kingship of Egypt and are shown in tombs of the Valley of the Kings (KV 16, KV 17) and in QV queens' tombs (on pillars in QV 74 and 75; in the north lateral annex of QV 52). In these instances, the falcon-headed soul is labeled 'Souls of Nekhen', while the jackal-headed soul is labeled 'Souls of Pe' (the reverse is usually true) (McCarthy 2011, 384-385).

The side annex (G) is well carved and the walls carefully straightened but no decoration was ever added.



Unpainted reliefs of Pe (left) and Nekhen (right) (CEDAE 09).

**Khaemwaset (QV 44)**

King's Son  
King's First Son of his Body  
Priest of Ptah

Prince Khaemwaset was the son of Rameses III and his mother may have been Rameses' great royal wife Tyti (QV 52). He should not be confused either with his famous predecessor, Khaemwaset, son of Rameses II, or with his half-brothers Rameses IX and XI who both took the name Khaemwaset as well. Also like the son of Rameses II, he was a priest of Ptah and probably spent his life at the temple in Memphis occupied by his religious duties. The remains of his coffin are in Turin while one of his canopic jars is in the Egyptian Museum in Cairo. Otherwise, he is only mentioned as the eighth son on the prince list at Medinet Habu where he is listed as deceased. A fragment of his coffin with an inscription of Rameses IV (Leblanc and Siliotti 2002, 75) indicates that he did not die before his father but during the reign of the latter (Leblanc 2001-2002, 202). At some point in his life, he was the 'king's first son of his body' but he never took the throne.



The prince shown as a child with the side lock, or Horus lock, of youth.

**The tomb**

The tomb is located at the end of the side wadi where a number of the sons of Rameses III of the 20<sup>th</sup> Dynasty were buried. When it was rediscovered by Schiaparelli, it was filled with a huge number of 22<sup>nd</sup> to 26<sup>th</sup> Dynasty sarcophagi from later burials.

The completed decoration was executed in painted sunken relief. The quality of preservation is remarkable. The texts are written in red, green, blue and black on a yellow or white background depending on the base color of the scene. This color scheme appears to be held to throughout the tomb, the signs retaining their same color in each case they are drawn. A similar hieroglyphic style is employed in the tomb of Rameses III (KV 11) and in the tomb of Pareherunemef (QV 42). The hieroglyphs are carved deeper and do not have the same attention to detail as for example those in the tomb of Nefertari. A second phase of construction appears to have been undertaken when the main chambers were finished. The doorways at the entrance (B) and into the sarcophagus chamber (I) were widened to allow the large granite sarcophagus to be brought into the tomb. These doorways were replastered and the decoration was carved, but they were never painted. It has been assumed that the two entryways which were carved on either side of the sarcophagus chamber had been planned as full side chambers to the room and were never finished (Hassanein and Nelson 1997, 18).



Contents of tomb on rediscovery by Schiaparelli (Schiaparelli 1923).



Tomb as it appears today.

### Iconography

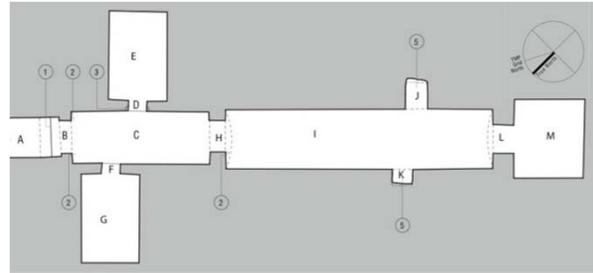
The prince and king move into the tomb and are welcomed by the various gods whom they praise, such as Anubis, Meretseger, etc. In the antechamber (C) and the sarcophagus chamber (I) the king is always placed as the dominant figure in the scene, and it is he who actually performs the offerings. On certain occasions, the prince is not even shown at all. When he is, the prince is secondary and shown as a child with the side lock, or Horus lock, of youth on the side of his wig. The prince appears on his own in the side chambers off the antechamber (E, G).

### Chamber C

The first internal corridor (C) has scenes of Rameses III and Khaemwaset offering to various deities. Of note is the figure of Ptah who is standing within his shrine and is painted with his characteristic green skin on the south wall at the entrance. Opposite him is the god Ptah-Soker-Osiris, likewise with green skin but in anthropomorphic form. It is Rameses III alone who worships them and he is located to the north and south of the entrance way on the east face. As usual, the procession of gods exits the tomb while the prince and his father are directed in toward the burial chamber. The scenes are framed by a *kheqer* frieze at the top and a multicolored dado. The ceiling is painted blue with yellow stars as is typical by this time for royal tombs.

### Chambers E and G

The two side chambers (E, G) contain images of the four sons of Horus as well as the protective goddesses Isis, Nephthys, Neith and Selkis. This grouping of gods was also seen in the queens' tombs such as QV 40 or QV 38 and the other tombs of Rameses III's sons such as QV 42. The focal point of both rooms is the wall opposite the entrance where two back-to-back, enthroned figures of Osiris are depicted in the center of the hall being worshipped by Isis and Nephthys. The south chamber appears to be the domain of Anubis and Thoth who are in place to send the deceased forth from the next life; while to the north, it is Ptah-Soker-Osiris who links the deceased to the afterlife (Hassanein and Nelson 1997, 87).



The prince and king praise Anubis on the east wall of Chamber C (CEDAE 09).



Ptah-Soker-Osiris in anthropomorphic form, Chamber C (CEDAE 09).



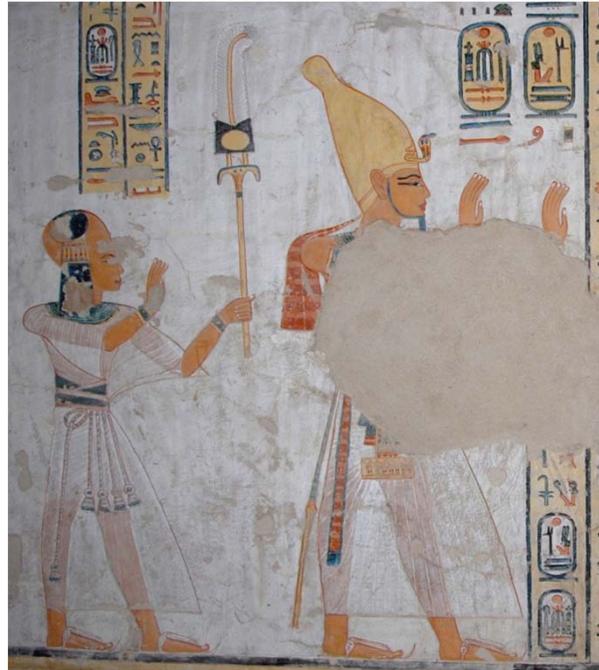
Osiris on his throne, Chamber E, east wall (CEDAE 09).

## Chamber I

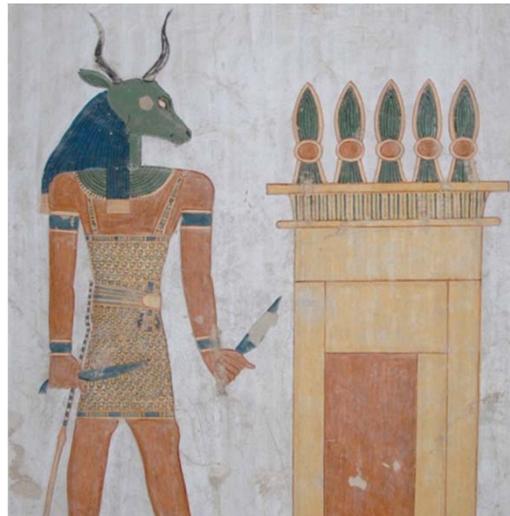
The sarcophagus chamber (I) again has both the prince and Rameses III, who are depicted offering to various guardian deities who guard a series of gates. There are eight of the "mysterious gates of the domain of Osiris in the Field of Reeds" which occur in chapters 145 and 146 of the *Book of the Dead* (gates 9-16). The same chapters are found in the tombs of the Valley of the Kings, for instance in the tomb of Tausert and Sethnakht (KV14) and the tomb of Bay (KV 13) from the 19<sup>th</sup> Dynasty, which was later usurped by the princes Amenherkhepshef and Mentuherkhepshef (the sons of Rameses III [of QV 55] and of Rameses VI respectively) during the 20<sup>th</sup> Dynasty. The decorative style of these chapters in QV 44 is quite similar to KV 14 and these images may connect to those found in the tomb of Amenherkhepshef (QV 55).

At each encounter, the king acknowledges the deities and pronounces their name, which allows him to pass safely through the gateways into the afterlife. Rather than use the *Book of the Dead*, Rameses III has passages from the *Book of Gates* lining the walls of his own sarcophagus chamber. In QV 44, the openings of the two incomplete side chambers are used in place of gates 13 and 14. The ceiling of this chamber is painted solid black, without stars, which symbolizes placing the deceased under the earth.

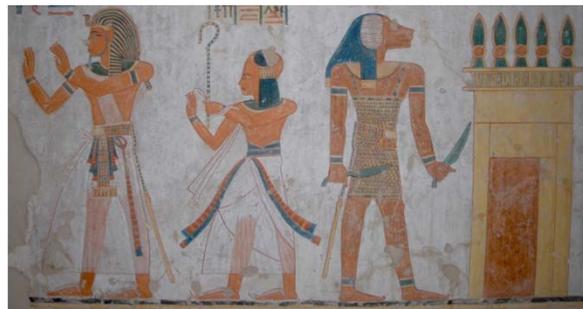
The *Book of the Dead* chapter 145 gate illustrations are distributed among the princes' tombs in a particular pattern. QV 53 of Rameses-Meryamen contains gates 1 to 4, followed by Amenherkhepshef with gates 5 to 8 and Khaemwaset has 9 to 16. The final gates 17 to 21 were thought to have been intended for another, unfinished, tomb, possibly QV 45 or 53 (Leblanc 2001, 313; Yoyotte 1958, 28).



The prince and the king on the east wall of Chamber I (CEDAE 09).



Guardian deity at the gate (CEDAE 09).



The prince and the king successfully pass through one of the gates (CEDAE 09).

### Doorway L

The doorway (L) into the rear chamber is well preserved with the image of a *djed* pillar representing stability and protection on either side.

### Chamber M

The rear room (M) has a background color scheme different from that in the tomb's other chambers; the walls are painted a yellow color that imitates gold and evokes solar rebirth. The hieroglyphic texts are inscribed on columns with contrasting white background. This chamber may perhaps be considered a 'room of rebirth' (Hassanein and Nelson 1997, 76). The king alone appears in the scenes without the prince on the north and south walls of the chamber. On the west back wall, two back-to-back enthroned images of Osiris are shown being worshipped by the goddesses depicted in the side chambers: Isis, Neith, Nephthys and Selkis. To the south of the doorway on the east wall, there are protective apotropaic images of Anubis and an unnamed lion deity, each reclining on a tomb. To the north are representations of the gods Nebneru and Herymaat who are associated with the rebirth of the deceased and the young god Horus (Hassanein and Nelson 1997, 77).

### Re-use of the tomb

The tomb was intensively re-used in the Third Intermediate Period as a family burial of low ranking local elites working as farmers and gardeners in the Temple of Amun. Some 49 wooden sarcophagi dating to the 22<sup>nd</sup> through the 26<sup>th</sup> Dynasties were recovered by Schiaparelli.



Anubis and lion deity in Chamber M (CEDAE 09).



Herymaat (left) and Nebneru (right) (CEDAE 09).



Rear wall of Chamber M depicting worship of Osiris by Neith (left) and Nephthys (right) (CEDAE 09).

**Tyti (QV 52)**

Queen / King's Great Wife / Great Royal wife  
 King's Daughter  
 King's Sister  
 King's Mother  
 King's Great Mother  
 God's Mother

Leblanc believes that Tyti is the mother of Khaemwaset, Amenherkhepshef and Rameses-Meryamen, whose tombs have similar decorative programs (Grist 1985), and that she became the Great Royal Wife of Rameses III presumably following the death of his first wife, Isis (QV 51) (Leblanc 2001-2002, figure 9). It has been suggested that she might have instead been the wife of Rameses X (Dodson 1983, 224, 1987, 2004), while most recently, Gosselin has suggested that she is the sister-wife of Rameses III and in fact the mother of Rameses IV though with admittedly little to back up his claim (2007, 182-3). Her tomb contained the remains of a sarcophagus which had been broken in antiquity probably when the tomb was plundered (Sayed and Sesana 1995).



Portraits and reconstruction drawing of Queen Tyti (Drawing: Prisse d'Avannes, Pl. II.52).

**The tomb**

All of the rooms have molded sunken plaster relief but with less vibrant colors and greater loss than QV 44 and 55. The queen is always depicted with a long white linen dress, which is largely translucent revealing her feminine form and thus associating her with fertility and rebirth. The ceiling in all of the rooms is covered with a buff/beige paint over which white stars were painted. This is different from the common blue and yellow color scheme that is generally used for the starred ceilings in these tombs.



Chamber C, south wall, with typical loss, and ceiling.

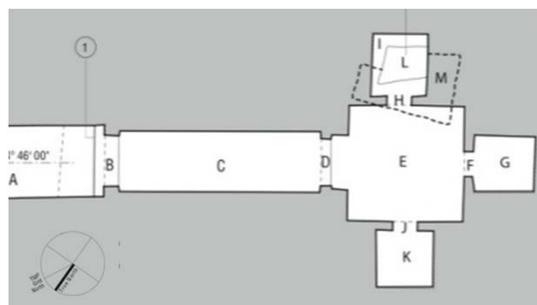
## Iconography

### Chamber C

The entrance corridor (A) has little decoration remaining, though the doorway (B) into the tomb has some evidence of hymns to the deceased and on the south wall, one can see the image of a vulture standing over a papyrus thicket of Lower Egypt. Within the antechamber (C) after a seated winged goddess Ma'at, there are images of the deceased in three groups. Along the south side, Ptah, Ra-Herakty and Imset, Duamutef and Isis are depicted, while on the north, Thoth, Atum and Hapy, Kebehsenuf and Nephthys. At the front half of the corridor, the gods situated directly across from each other evoke the same symbolic concepts: Ptah and Thoth can both be associated with the chthonic realm (underworld), the nighttime, and the netherworld, while Ra-Herakty and Atum are solar divinities. At the rear half of the corridor, the deities depicted evoke the protection of Osiris (and by extension, the deceased queen), namely, the sons of Horus and Isis and Nephthys, the sisters of Osiris. When the queen is depicted before the solar deities, she is shown shaking the sistra, a ritual act that pleases the gods and also associates the queen with the goddess Hathor, the mother, consort, and daughter of the sun-god.

### Chamber E

Selkis and Neith adorn the inner thickness of the sarcophagus chamber door (D). The program of the sarcophagus chamber (E) includes images of gods employed in other queens' tombs. Protective deities are depicted on both halves of the east wall, flanking the sarcophagus doorway. The gods shown include the pair comprising Herymaat, who evokes the solar rebirth of the deceased tomb owners, and the god Nebneru, whose name means 'Lord of Terror' (see also northwest wall of QV 38 and the southeast wall of QV 74 and 75) (Loyrette and Sayed 1993, 124, 135). The side walls of the doorways into annexes (I, K) room are decorated with numerous protective gate guardians, similar to *Book of the Dead* chapters 145-6 (Loyrette and Sayed 1993, 128). The simian triad also figure on the side walls. The west wall depicts the deceased on either side of the doorway into the rear chamber offering to the sons of Horus: Imset and Duamutef on the south and Hapy and Kebehsenuf on the north. Above this scene, the two barks of the sun-god are depicted (the bark of the day and the bark of the night) in which the sun-god travels across the sky and through the underworld, and evokes the queen's solar rebirth.



Queen Tyti shaking the sistra before Ra-Herakty on south side of antechamber C (CEDAE 09).



Herymaat (left) and Nebneru (right) as they appear in Chamber E (CEDAE 09).



Simian triad on south wall of Chamber E (CEDAE 09).

**Chambers K, I and G**

While the burial chamber shows images of gateway deities and seems to be more connected to the journey of the deceased through the underworld, the side chambers are already in the underworld (Egyptian *duat*). In Chamber K, the side walls are adorned with images of the netherworld gods, images of canopic boxes and the souls of Pe and Nekhen (see QV 42). The rear wall shows the deceased adoring two different forms of Hathor: (1) as an anthropomorphic tree goddess who emerges from the top of a sycamore and pours cool water for the queen, and (2) as a cow emerging from the Western Mountains.

In Chamber I, the side walls are decorated with nearly identical simply-composed, pendant scenes, each depicting the queen offering to the four sons of Horus. The deities on the focal (rear) wall showed the deceased before Osiris. In both of these chambers, the deceased is depicted on the walls directly to the left and right of the doorway as the male (*Hor-*) *lumutef* priest giving water libations to the gods.

Finally, in Chamber G, the deceased stands to the left and right of the door before numerous seated deities along the side walls. On the rear wall is an Osiris scene, which is the focal point of the room and is visually framed by all the doorways along the tomb's central axis. He is seated on a throne and surrounded by deities who assist and protect him and his regenerative capacity in the afterlife, namely: Thoth, Nephthys, Neith and Selkis (from left to right). These rooms therefore are associated more closely with the afterlife, and represent a place where the deceased is united with the resurrected Osiris.

Chamber I had a large pit dug through the floor, which is thought to have been cut during the Third Intermediate Period reuse of this tomb. More than 150 fragments of funerary equipment (sarcophagi, chests, personal items, etc.) were found within this pit as well as a shallower depression which was cut into the floor of the burial chamber (E).



East wall of Chamber I with deceased worshipping deities of the underworld (CEDAE 09).



The queen depicted as a male *lumutef* priest at the entrance of Chamber K (CEDAE 09).



Osiris surrounded by protective deities in Chamber G (CEDAE 84).



Left: Chamber I with the large pit dug down and under the wall.

**Amenherkhepshef (QV 55)**

King's Son  
 King's Son of his Body  
 Foremost of the Two Lands  
 King's Scribe  
 Commander of the  
 Cavalry/Charioteers



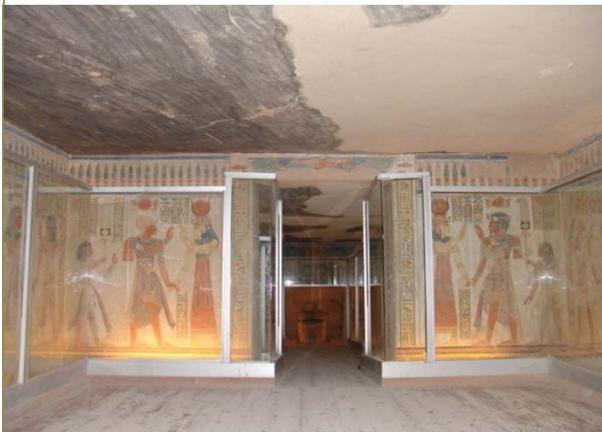
Portraits of prince with wig and side lock.

Amenherkhepshef is ninth on the list of sons of Rameses III at Medinet Habu, where he is given the name of Rameses-Amenherkhepshef and is listed as having died, something which probably occurred before year 30 of the reign of Rameses III (Leblanc 2001-2000, 203; Dodson and Hilton 2004, 192). He should not be confused with his predecessor, Amenherkhepshef, son of Rameses II. He was given the titles of 'king's scribe' and 'great commander of the cavalry' as well as the more common 'king's son of his body whom he loves'. Nowhere is he given the title 'king's eldest son.' Judging by the location of his tomb, it is believed that he was a son of queen Tyti whose tomb (QV 52) is in the same area (Leblanc in Weeks 2001, 313). A relief from Karnak and a fragment of a stela from Deir el-Medina also bear the name of this prince. He may not even have been buried in the QV but in KV 13, where excavations revealed a re-carved sarcophagus of Tawosret with his name (Leblanc 2001-2002, 203, 205). A partial stela showing his image was found at the Sanctuary to Ptah and Meretseger, probably an ex-voto by craftsmen who worked on his tomb (Leblanc 2001-2002, 203). His image and name were also on an incomplete stela from Deir el-Medina (Leblanc 2001, 316-318).

**The Tomb**

Schiaparelli followed the trace of the ancient dam and found the upper part of the entrance ramp to the tomb in 1904. At its discovery part of the plastered wall, which originally sealed the entrance, remained in situ (Thomas 1966, 221). The tomb was empty except for a few funerary objects and an unfinished sarcophagus (Leblanc and Siliotti 2002, 82-83). The sarcophagus was found in Chamber G but was re-located to Chamber K to allow passage through the narrow space.

The imagery, vibrant color scheme and painting technique (sunken relief) in this tomb are quite similar to that in the tomb of Khaemwaset (QV 44), though more was left unpainted (Chambers E, I and K) in QV 55.



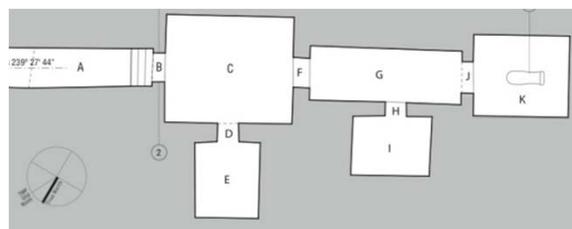
Chamber C, with view to Chamber G.



Chamber K, where granite sarcophagus was re-located from its find spot in Chamber G.

**Antechamber C**

The front antechamber (C) has depictions of Rameses III and the prince worshipping various deities. To the left of the doorway, the king is shown in the embrace of Isis with Thoth standing behind him. To the right, the king can be seen with another female deity, perhaps Hathor (Hassanein and Nelson 1976). Female deities are only portrayed in the side chambers and the rear chamber of QV 44 where they are always connected to the worship of Osiris. In the antechamber and the burial chamber (G) the king is always placed as the dominant figure in the scene, and it is he who actually performs the offerings. As in QV 42 and 44, the prince is secondary and shown as a child with the side lock, or Horus lock, of youth.



King embraced by Isis and flanked by Thoth, with prince depicted as a child with side lock (CEDAE 09).

**Chamber E, Doorway F, Chamber G**

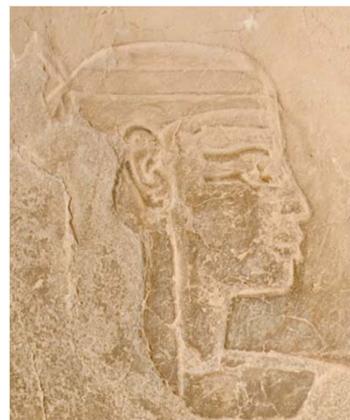
A side chamber (E) communicates with the antechamber; it was left unfinished, with only the plaster and a few line drawings of figures on the walls. At the doorway (F) into the burial chamber (G) the goddesses Isis and Nephthys are depicted with the water symbol, the hieroglyph for *n*, in their hands and they are doing the *nyny* ritual (Leblanc 1989, pl.CXL) to welcome the deceased into the netherworld. Chamber (G) is decorated with four gate guardians (gates 5 to 8) from Chapter 145 of the *Book of the Dead* (see QV 44 for more information). Again the king interacts with the deities while the prince stands behind. Above the doorway into the rear chamber, there is a winged solar disk and two *uraei* surrounding the cartouches of Rameses III.



Nephthys performing the *nyny* ritual in doorway F (CEDAE 09).

**Chambers I, K and entrance J**

The side chamber (I) and the rear room (K) are undecorated though the images of Isis and Nephthys are found on the entranceway (J) into the back chamber (K). Here, the granite sarcophagus, presumably meant to be used for the prince himself, is now located. However, a sarcophagus of Tawosret with the prince's name was found in the tomb of Bay (KV 13) from the 19<sup>th</sup> Dynasty, which was later usurped by the princes Amenherkhepshef (son of Rameses III of QV55) and Mentuherkhepeshef (son of Rameses VI) during the 20<sup>th</sup> Dynasty (Nelson and Hassanein 1995; Leblanc 2001b, 318).



Unfinished portrait of Nephthys in entranceway J (CEDAE 09).

## The Valley of the Queens in the Third Intermediate Period (21<sup>st</sup>–25<sup>th</sup> Dynasties, 1070–656 B.C.), Late Period (26<sup>th</sup>–30<sup>th</sup> Dynasties, 672–342 B.C.) and Second Persian Period (342–332 B.C.)

### *Historical Context*

*After the end of the 20<sup>th</sup> Dynasty the priests of Amun took on royal titles and in some cases had their names inscribed in the cartouche, which was normally reserved for royal use. The kings now ruled exclusively from the North, living in new capitals in the Delta, and the royal burials no longer took place in Thebes but at Tanis. The dynasties are not as clearly defined during this period, and there were certainly multiple ruling lines. The priests in Thebes were fairly autonomous. They continued to administer the temples of Thebes and control the land in Upper Egypt. The 25<sup>th</sup> Dynasty in essence reunified the country under its Kushite rulers, who came from Nubia and eventually defeated the 24<sup>th</sup> Dynasty in the Delta. Throughout this period, the position of Divine Wife of Amun-Ra became very important politically. The tombs of these royal women have been found within the temple precinct of Medinet Habu, which became particularly important during the 23<sup>rd</sup> Dynasty (Dodson and Ikram 2008, 276-7).*

The role of the Valley of the Queens as a royal cemetery ceased at the end of 20<sup>th</sup> Dynasty followed by the division of political power in the country. Tombs came under the control of priests of Thebes and they were redistributed as family concessions. Most tombs in the main Valley were extensively reused from the 22<sup>nd</sup> Dynasty onwards to the Late Period (Leblanc 1999b; Lecuyot 2000, 51). Certain tombs (e.g. QV 11, 43, 44) were refitted to hold multiple burials and hundreds of mummies were placed within the reused tomb space (Leblanc and Siliotti 2002, 72; Aston 2003, 155). QV 3, 7-14, 16-18, 22-24, 31-34, 53, 71, 77-80 and A-K were reused in the late eighth or seventh century B.C. (Loyrette 1997, 192; Aston 2003, 149).

What marks this period with respect to funerary practices is essentially reuse – tombs, sarcophagi, canopic jars, even the smallest *ushabtis* and amulets were re-appropriated from New Kingdom burials (Taylor 2000, 363). There is a change of funerary cult with a corresponding change in associated objects. Funerary goods are more modest both in quality and quantity, but are given more symbolic meaning. Elaborate decorations of funerary texts over wooden coffins and mummy wrappings, beaded nets (QV 15) and a great number of *ushabtis* were also common throughout the Theban necropolis of this period. While tombs in other cemeteries, such as Assasif and Dra Abu el-Naga, are known to be modified as high-rank elite tombs in the Third Intermediate Period, the QV tombs were occupied by lower-class elites who worked at local temples (low rank priests, singers and songstresses of Amun) and were engaged in other occupations such as overseers of the estate, gardeners, cultivators of flowers, florists and perfumers living in Thebes (Leblanc 2006, 3). Some tombs remained open, perhaps after looting, judging from signs of animal disturbances of mummies at the time of modern discovery.

## The Valley of the Queens in the Ptolemaic Period (332–30 B.C.)

### *Historical context*

*Alexander the Great conquered Egypt in 332 B.C. and his general Ptolemy established the Ptolemaic Dynasty which ruled Egypt until 30 B.C. when the Romans defeated Cleopatra VII and the Roman general Marcus Antonius. The country was in some ways dramatically changed and in others remained staunchly traditional during this period. The official language became Greek and Alexandria became the most important city in the country. The priesthood of Egypt, however, retained a certain degree of control and the Ptolemies attempted to work within established systems rather than overturn existing structures. They continued to venerate Egyptian gods, who were then associated with Greek deities, and to build new temples.*

Little is known about use of the Valley of the Queens in this period, but we may assume that along with the other tombs, valleys and temples of the West Bank, there continued some form of public access, which before had been part of maintaining the funerary cult. In particular, the ruined statues of Amenhotep III, known today as the Colossi of Memnon, were often viewed by curious visitors who left behind inscriptions on the statues and people may have come simply to view the Valley, as a few finds suggest. From QV 80, an ostrakon dated to Ptolemy III or IV and two coins of Augustus from the Roman period were found (Lecuyot 1999, 33-34, note 5).

In one tomb, though the location is unknown today, a graffito from c. 122 B.C. during the reign of Ptolemy VIII, was written by a man who hoped to benefit from the sacred nature of the Valley of the Queens: *His name remains here before the protective deities of the mountain forever and eternity. Whoever destroys these writings, the protective deities of the mountain will destroy his name. Written in the year 49, third month of Peret (=winter), day 10.* (translation adapted from W. Spiegelberg *Demotica II*, 1928, 26).

### **The Valley of the Queens in the Roman Period (30 B.C.–337 A.D.)**

#### ***Historical context***

*When Egypt was subsumed into the Roman Empire in 30 B.C., it became little more than another Roman province to the emperor who ruled from Rome, though governed by a Roman prefect in Alexandria. There is no internal dynastic succession. The ethnic diversification of the Theban population brought with it innovations in mummification and decoration, as well as burial practices. Mummification continued but with less care and less funerary equipment. The religious and cultic traditions were greatly diminished in Thebes and it was no longer a political or administrative center, but it was involved in revolts against the Romans. The place became a provincial backwater while still retaining a symbolic importance judging by the graffiti of visitors, including emperors, to the monuments.*

Far more intensive reuse of the necropolis occurred in the Roman period in about the second century A.D. QV came under the authority of Djem (Memnonia in Greek, a village located in the Medinet Habu precinct). The tombs, especially 18<sup>th</sup> Dynasty shaft tombs, were systematically reoccupied and often enlarged for burials of modest people from Djem, western Thebes and nearby towns with simple funerary objects (Leblanc 2001, 284). Certain tombs contained more than a hundred mummies (QV 15-16, 34, 39). They were heaped up in corridors and chambers, reminiscent of the burial system in the catacombs. Though this popular cemetery was often reserved for human beings, some sepulchers were also used for mummified animals: ibis and falcons (in particular in tombs QV 3-4, 9-10, 11-12, 53). Family concessions were abandoned when tombs were overcrowded, and family tombs were redistributed according to village of origin (Leblanc 2001, 284).

Innovations in mummification and decoration, as well as burial practices led to the body being covered in successive layers of shrouds which were often beautifully painted with scenes of rituals and protective deities. The face of the deceased was preserved in the form of a portrait or, more commonly in Thebes, in a modeled cartonage (e.g. found in QV 15, 33, 73). Mummification continued to be important but the quality decreased, and sarcophagi were made of terra cotta (e.g. found in QV 13, 53) rather than wood or stone as before. In addition to mummies, a large amount of funerary objects such as jewelry, amulets, funerary beds and ceramics were found within tombs and the main Valley.

In the second century, an epidemic of bubonic plague in the area occurred. Skeletal remains of 276 infected bodies were found encased in lime in QV 53 in front of which a lime kiln remains (Nelson and Janot 1993, 372). A sanctuary was built during the rule of Antoninus Pius (138-161) against a rock-cut pharaonic tomb (QV 95) at the mouth of the main wadi, on the location known as Deir er-Rumi today. The sanctuary was dedicated to Montu-Ra, Lord of Southern Heliopolis (i.e. Armant, near Thebes). It lies on the axis and appears to have been a kind of annex to the 18<sup>th</sup> Dynasty 'Mound of Djem' temple at Medinet Habu (also added to by Antonius Pius) (Lecuyot 1999, 36). Another important sanctuary near the Valley of the Queens was built at Qasr el-Aguz (Teephibis of Djem), south of Medinet Habu. The presence of the sanctuaries is associated with the revitalization of funeral activities at QV and other necropoleis in the Roman period (Leblanc 1999b, 836).

### **The Valley of the Queens in the Byzantine (Coptic) Period (337–641 A.D.)**

#### ***Historical context***

*Christianity arrived in Egypt in the third century A.D. and spread fairly rapidly. What came to be regarded as pagan practices of the old Egyptian religion continued into the sixth century A.D. but were condemned by the Christian rulers. Egypt is regarded as one of the birthplaces of Christian monasticism, for the early Christians would retreat into desert caves to follow severe aesthetic practices – including lengthy vigils and fasting. Apart from desert caves, early Christians seeking to particularly challenge their faith would enclose themselves in Pharaonic tombs where they were better able to fight the pagan demons, which were depicted on the walls, and overcome temptation. As Christianity became progressively more organized in Egypt from 400 A.D. on, dozens of monasteries and hermit shelters began to appear on the slopes of the western Theban mountain.*

Towards the second half of the fourth century A.D., the Valley of the Queens became a refuge and a place of meditation for anchorites and hermits, marking a major change in the role of the site from burial place to religious community. Tombs, cells, and natural shelters were modified and occupied for small chapels and dwellings at QV and other pharaonic cemeteries. Evidence of Coptic reuse of the site is seen most prominently in tombs QV 60 and 73 where pharaonic wall paintings are covered in plaster with symbols of Christianity placed above in red. QV 1, which was thought to be a pharaonic tomb when first discovered and numbered as such, was probably excavated in the Coptic period for use as a hermit cell (Lecuyot 1993, 268-9). Deir er-Rumi ('Monastery of the Greeks') was constructed over the Roman sanctuary re-using its stone blocks from nearby pharaonic monuments and was largely hidden from view by the rock spur near the entrance to the Valley. The church was built on an E-W axis with the apse to the west. The monastery probably served as a gathering place for the men who lived in the tombs and caves in the Valley. Hermit shelters were created as part of the Coptic monastic community associated with Deir er-Rumi in the Valley of Prince Ahmose and Valley of the Dolmen (Lecuyot 1993, 272; Leblanc 1993a, 27f). Other evidence of Coptic use is found in the graffiti and ostraca in the Grotto Cascade and the side valleys.

The settlement of the Christians in the valleys of Western Thebes lasted into the 7<sup>th</sup> century. In 641 the early Arab caliphates invaded Egypt and held control as least as far south as Elephantine. Only a very few finds attest to any use of the valley in the early centuries of the Arab (Islamic) period.

## Modern excavation and intervention (1816–present)

The Valley of the Queens is one of the most extensively explored sections of the Theban necropolis (Weeks 2005, 354). G. B. Belzoni is the earliest recorded modern explorer to the site. In the nineteenth century, the pioneers of Egyptology - R. Hay of Linplum (1826), J. G. Wilkinson (1828), J. F. Champollion and I. Rosellini (1829), K. R. Lepsius (1844), and H. Brugsch (1854) - explored accessible tombs of the Valley of the Queens, conducted epigraphic surveys and documented architectural tomb plans in their notebooks (Leblanc 1989a, 24-38).

The Italian mission, led by E. Schiaparelli and F. Ballerini (Turin Museum), carried out the first systematic excavation at the site from 1903 to 1906. Their contribution includes discovery of the tombs of Nefertari (QV 66), of the princes of Ramesses III (QV 43, 44 and 55), clearing some 18th-dynasty shaft tombs in the main wadi, Valley of the Three Pits and Valley of Prince Ahmose, and photographic documentation of the landscape, tombs and finds. They also carried out investigation of Deir er-Rumi and the Sanctuary to Ptah and Meretseger in 1906. Ballerini applied a new tomb numbering system which is currently in use. The mudbrick kitchen of the Italian mission is preserved today on the slope at the entrance to the main wadi. G. Farina, the head of Turin Museum, conducted two short-term campaigns in the Valley of the Queens and Sanctuary to Ptah and Meretseger but the research by the Italian mission at the site had to be abandoned after 1937, due to events leading up to the second World War. The three-year campaigns of Schiaparelli at the Valley of the Queens led to the formation of the largest collection of QV objects at the Turin Museum, including hundreds of painted coffins of the Third Intermediate Period and Late Period, granite sarcophagi, and canopic jars. The discovery of the beautifully decorated tombs, QV 66 in particular, drew far more tourists to the site, which had been rarely visited before (Leblanc 1989a, 39-42).

A comprehensive archaeological investigation began in 1970 by a French-Egyptian team (CNRS-CEDAE) under the direction of C. Desroches Noblecourt and later of C. Leblanc. Their activities were largely developed from 1984-1994. These included epigraphic survey, architectural and photographic documentation, clearing and exploration of all numbered tombs and efforts at site presentation. The research and investigation provided a holistic understanding of the use of the Valley, the identity of many tombs and the post-pharaonic history of the site. A serious flood in 1994 damaged many tombs and emergency intervention was undertaken by SCA-CNRS (Leblanc 1989a).

In 1986 the Getty Conservation Institute (GCI) in collaboration with the Egyptian Antiquities Authority (EAO) began a project for the conservation of the wall paintings of the tomb of Nefertari (Corzo 1993; McDonald 1996). The project took place from 1986 to 1992 with environmental monitoring and periodic evaluations of the condition of the wall paintings continuing until 1996. All stages of the work from emergency treatment, consolidation and cleaning were recorded in photography and video. Beginning in 2006, the GCI and the SCA initiated a new collaborative project to develop and implement a comprehensive conservation and management plan for the Valley of the Queens.

The Table of Chronology of Site Use, Research and Interventions that follows in Part II:4 provides an overview by year of modern exploration, excavation and interventions at QV.



## Part II.4. Chronology of site use, research and interventions

Date	Use, events, research, interventions	Source and Notes
Prehistory	A <b>graffito</b> [#3010] depicting animals engraved in a rock shelter at the <b>Grotto Cascade</b> is interpreted as being from the prehistoric period by a few scholars. Stone tools from the site are dated to the Palaeolithic.	Desroches Noblecourt 1990-1991, 13; Sadek 1972 III-4; Sadek 1972 IV-3, 154. Leblanc 1989a, 62; Schiaparelli 1923, 8.
18 <sup>th</sup> Dynasty (1550-1295 B.C.)	The first use of the Valley as a burial place is the beginning of the 18 <sup>th</sup> Dynasty. The reigns of Thutmose I, Thutmose II, Hatshepsut, Thutmose III, Amenhotep II, Amenhotep III and Amenhotep IV are attested by <b>seventy-seven tombs</b> , consisting of a shaft leading to one or more chambers, constructed in the main Valley, the Valley of Prince Ahmose, the Valley of the Rope, and the Valley of the Three Pits.	Desroches Noblecourt 1990-1991, 13; Leblanc 1989a; 1993a, 21; 1999b, 834; 2001, 279; Lecuyot 1993a, 263; 2000, 46
19 <sup>th</sup> Dynasty (1295-1188 B.C.)	In the 19 <sup>th</sup> Dynasty (reigns of Seti I, Rameses I, Rameses II), the use of the Valley of the Queens as a burial site for queens and princesses was established. <b>Fourteen tombs</b> are attributed to this period (plus three unfinished). Other extant features from this period are a masonry <b>dam</b> below the Grotto Cascade; a hamlet for the <b>tomb workers</b> ; the <b>Sanctuary to Ptah and Meretseger</b> on the path to Deir el-Medina; and <b>rock engraving and paintings</b> at the Grotto Cascade and other locations.	Grist 1986, 89; Leblanc 1989a; 1993a, 20; 1999b, 834; 2001, 282; Lecuyot 2000, 51; Peden 2001, 175
20 <sup>th</sup> Dynasty (1188-1069 B.C.)	The 20 <sup>th</sup> Dynasty (Rameses III, and Rameses IV) marked the last period when QV was used as a royal necropolis. <b>Nine tombs</b> are attributed to this period for the queens and princes (plus eight unfinished or of uncertain date). In the later part of the reign of Rameses III, economic and social troubles led to strikes and to desecration of the royal tombs	Leblanc 1989a; 1993a, 25; 1999b, 834; 2001, 283; Lecuyot 2000, 51; Thomas 1966, 223, 268
Third Intermediate Period (1069-656 B.C.) and Late Period (672-332 B.C.)	This period marked a transition in the history of the necropolis. Most of the plundered tombs were reused as family concessions by members of the Theban minor clergy and priestly personnel. Hundreds of bodies were interred in elaborately decorated coffins or mummy wrappings. Graffiti by scribes and workmen recorded in the main Valley and subsidiary valleys.	Schiaparelli 1923; Leblanc 1989a; 1993, 27; 1999b, 835; Peden 2001, 257-259.
Ptolemaic Period (332-30 B.C.)	A few finds suggest the site was visited at this period. A graffito, probably by a visitor, was left in the Year 49 of Ptolemy VIII. A few objects (coins and ostrakon) dated to this period have been found.	Desroches Noblecourt 2006, 301; Lecuyot 1999, 34; Spiegelberg 1928, 26; Strudwick 2003, 178
Roman Period (30 B.C.-337 A.D.)	Far more intensive reuse occurred in the Roman period in the 2 <sup>nd</sup> century A.D. Tombs were used for mass burials. A small <b>sanctuary</b> was constructed during the reign of the Roman emperor Antoninus Pius (138-161 A.D.) in front of <b>QV 95</b> . A plague outbreak in the area occurred from 165 to 180 A.D.; infected bodies were covered with lime and buried in <b>QV 53</b> , apparently for disinfection of bodies.	Desroches Noblecourt 2006, 301; Leblanc 1993a, 27; 1999b, 836; 2001, 285; Lecuyot 1993a, 263f; 2000, 52; Macke and Macke-Ribet 1993, 303; Ritner 1998, 17; Strudwick 2003, 179
Byzantine (Coptic) Period (337 A.D.-641 A.D.)	Towards the second half of the 4 <sup>th</sup> century A.D., QV became a refuge and a place of meditation for Coptic Christian anchorites and hermits. Tombs, cells, and natural shelters were occupied as small chapels and hermit shelters. The monastery of <b>Deir er-Rumi</b> was established between the 6 <sup>th</sup> and the 7 <sup>th</sup> centuries.	Leblanc 1993a, 28; 1999a, 836; 2001, 282; Lecuyot 1993a, 267, 271; 2000, 55; Lecuyot, Delattre and Thirard 2006, 2
Arab (Islamic) Period (641 A.D.- )	Little is known of the use of the Valley during this period although the local population may have used some of the tombs as shelters.	Leblanc 1993a, 28

	Modern period	
Early 1800s	J. J. Rifaud visited and recorded QV 52.	Porter and Moss 1964, 758
1816	G. B. Belzoni recorded the tomb of Tyti [QV 52] (but did not identify the name of the owner) and left a graffito on the sepulchral chamber door [not located].	Leblanc and Siliotti 2002; Mohamed Sayed and Sesana, 1995, 215
1826	R. Hay of Linplum recorded tombs [QV 40, 41, 42, 45, 51, 52, 53, 54, 58, 60, 68, 71, 73, 74, 75, 80] and also <b>Sanctuary to Ptah and Meretseger</b> .	Leblanc 1989a, 25, 38; Porter and Moss 1964, 707
1828	J. G. Wilkinson recorded 24 tombs [QV 27, 28, 29, 31, 33, 38, 40, 41, 42, 45, 49, 51, 52, 53, 54, 58, 60, 65, 68, 71, 73, 74, 75, 80] and created first map of the Valley in relation to Thebes, and assigned the first numbering system for QV tombs. He also recorded the <b>Sanctuary to Ptah and Meretseger</b> .	Leblanc 1989a, 25, 38; Porter and Moss, 707
1828-1829	As a part of the Franco-Tuscan Expedition, J. F. Champollion and I. Rosellini carried out the first scientific study in the Valley and recorded the tombs [QV 31, 38, 40, 42, 45, 51, 52, 53, 54, 58, 60, 68, 71, 73, 74, 75, 80] and <b>Sanctuary to Ptah and Meretseger</b> and iconography, and created a new numbering system. N. l'Hôte visited and recorded the <b>Sanctuary to Ptah and Meretseger</b> .	Leblanc 1989a, 25, 29, 32, 38; Porter and Moss 1964, 707; Rosellini MSS; l'Hôte MSS
1830	J. Bonomi recorded that the site was called "Biban el-Hagi-Hamid" after a man "Hagi Hamid" from Bairat who once lived in Deir er-Rumi [when he lived is unknown]. He also visited and recorded <b>Deir er-Rumi</b> .	Bonomi, cited by Newberry 1906, 82
1844-1845	C. R. Lepsius conducted documentation of tombs [QV 31, 33, 38, 40, 42, 51, 52, 53, 60, 68, 71, 72, 73, 74, 75, 80] and <b>Sanctuary to Ptah and Meretseger</b> and created a new numbering system. Some archaeological finds of the expedition are in the Berlin Museum. He published a map of Luxor including QV in Denkmäler aus Aegypten und Aethiopien Abteilung I (1897-1913).	Leblanc 1989a, 29, 35, 38; Bruyère 1930, 39; Porter and Moss 1964, 707
1854	H. K. Brugsch recorded 20 tombs [QV 31, 32, 33, 38, 40, 41, 42, 49, 51, 52, 53, 56, 57, 58, 60, 68, 71, 73, 74, 75], found QV 56 and 57, and assigned a new tomb numbering system.	Leblanc 1989a, 37, 38
1860s	Prisse D'Avannes recorded QV 60, published in 1878.	Porter and Moss 1964, 761
1880s	G. Bénédite conducted epigraphic studies at QV 52.	Dawson and Uphill, 1972, 25; Mohamed Sayed and Sesana, 1995, 217
1895	M.G. Daressy cleared two tombs in the Valley of the Three Pits.	Daressy 1901; Leblanc 1989a, 9; Thomas 1966, 181
Early 1900s	E. Baraize moved stone blocks at <b>Deir er-Rumi</b> to their original location at Deir el-Bahari.	Winlock, Crum and Evelyn-White 1926, 8
1903-1906	In 1903 QV became an Italian archaeological concession. E. Schiaparelli and F. Ballerini conducted annual campaigns until 1906 on behalf of the Turin Museum, leading to the discovery of new tombs, of the 19 <sup>th</sup> dynasty: QV 36 & 66, the 20 <sup>th</sup> Dynasty: QV 55, 44 & 43; and the 18 <sup>th</sup> Dynasty: QV 46, 47, 30 & 87; and QV 89, 90, 91 in the Valley of the Three Pits and QV 88 in the Valley of Prince Ahmose. They identified <b>hermit shelters</b> , photographed an <b>observation post</b> between Valley of the Rope and Valley of the Three Pits and cleared tombs known previously [QV 51, 52]. The mission assigned a new numbering system to all the known tombs in the valley, which is still in use today. In 1906 Schiaparelli excavated the <b>Sanctuary to Ptah and Meretseger</b> and <b>Deir er-Rumi</b> .	Carter 1905, 120; Leblanc 1989a, 39-42; Leblanc and Fekri 1993, 260; McDonald 1996, 21; Porter and Moss 1964, 707; Schiaparelli 1923 and 1927; Siliotti and Leblanc 2002, 78-80;

1904	French engineer E. Baraize mapped the Theban necropolis, including QV; the resulting topographic maps (1:500 scale) were published by the Department of Antiquities. The map shows 'Gufa's house' west of QV 66 entrance and a shed in the center of the main Valley.	Baraize 1904
1904	QV 66 opened to visitors (closed in mid 1930s or early 1940s).	
1906-1908	C. Campbell surveyed and photographically documented tombs [QV 44, 55, 52, 66].	Afshar 1993, 97; Campbell 1909, vii
1907	J. B. Stone photographed QV 66.	Afshar 1993,97
1909	A. Weigall and J. L. Smith planned a play near the Grotto-Cascade but it was cancelled after the rehearsal.	Bickerstaffe, 2008, 76-83
1909	G. Schweinfurth produced a map of Thebes (1:25,000 scale) including QV, but not showing much detail.	
1912	H.E. Winlock located a hermitage (the location is unknown at present) in the Valley of Prince Ahmose during a campaign of the Metropolitan Museum of Art.	Leblanc 1989a, 11; Winlock, Crum and Evelyn-White 1926
1910s-1920s	A. Gaddis and G. Seif (Oriental Institute, University of Chicago) conducted photographic documentation of QV 66 and QV 55.	Afshar 1993, 97-98
1914-1916	R. Mond (Metropolitan Museum of Art) photographed QV 66.	Ibid.
1920-1923	H. Burton (Metropolitan Museum of Art) photographed QV 66.	Ibid., 98
1922	Tourist map (1:10,000 scale) of the West Bank of Luxor (El Qurna) including QV was published in collaboration with the Department of Antiquities and the Survey of Egypt.	
1923	Bruyère investigated Menhir	Bruyère 1952a, 74-75
1924	G. Farina, the head of the Turin Museum, conducted surveys in the Valley of the Queens.	Leblanc 1989a, 42; Leblanc and Siliotti 2002, 86
1926	Survey of Egypt surveyed QV (as part of its mapping of archaeological areas of Luxor) and published topographic maps (1:1,000 scale) in collaboration with the Department of Antiquities, resulting in two permanent bench marks indicating elevation above sea level.	
1926, 1929	B. Bruyère excavated and recorded the Sanctuary to Ptah and Meretseger.	Bruyère 1929-1930; Porter and Moss 1975, 707
1930s (?)	B. A. Stewart took color photographs of QV 66 published in the National Geographic magazine in 1940.	Afshar 1993, 98
1934, 1935	Bruyère located an observation post between Valley of the Dolmen and Valley of the Three Pits.	
1936, 1937	G. Farina surveyed the Sanctuary to Ptah and Meretseger and located an observation post at Valley of Dolmen and Valley of the Three Pits. Investigations by the Turin Museum at QV were abandoned in 1937.	Farina 1931
1945, 1947	Bruyère cleaned three tombs in the Valley of the Three Pits [location unclear].	Bruyère 1952a, 72f; Thomas 1966, 181
1946-1947	Dolmen and Menhir investigated by Bruyère.	Bruyère 1952a, 73
1953	C. Emmer took color photographs of QV 66.	Afshar 1993, 98
1953-1954	E. Thomas conducted research and documentation at QV.	Thomas 1959, 101; 1966, i, 221
Early 1950s	Hassia, Cairo photographer, took color photographs of QV 66.	Afshar 1993, 100
Early 1950s	D.S. Boyer photographed QV 66.	Afshar 1993, 100
1956 (Mar)	P. Derchain visited and photographed Deir er-Rumi.	Derchain 1959

1956 (May & Apr)	J. Yoyotte cleared and recorded the inscriptions of the tomb of prince Rameses-Meryamen [QV 53].	Yoyotte 1958,26; Nelson and Janot 1993.
1958, 1965	CEDAE photography of tombs began with Nefertari	Afshar 1993, 98
Late 1950s to 1960s	E. Ritter produced color photography of QV 66 wall paintings	Afshar 1993, 100-101
1959-1960	Thomas conducted research and documentation at QV.	Thomas 1959, 101; 1966, i, 221
1960 (?)	W. C. was built (current generator building) in the main wadi.	
1964 - 1966	The French National Geographical Institute (IGN) carried out aerial photography in 1964 to map the topography and archaeology of the Theban Mountain, including Queens Valley; field mapping took place from October 1965 through January 1966, with maps published in 1969-1970. 79 tombs were known at this time and mapped.	Černý et. al 1969-1970, III-IV; Leblanc 1989a, 45
1966	E. Thomas published her research and documentation of the Theban Necropolis including the QV tombs	
1968	Majority of fragmentary artifacts left by the Schiaparelli mission was cleared from some tombs (e.g. QV 51 and 60) by the Department of Antiquities	Leblanc 1989, 76, note 169
1968	CEDAE-CNRS began survey and documentation of graffiti in the Theban Mountain, including QV, funded by UNESCO.	Leblanc 1989
1970	Grossmann visited Deir er-Rumi and published an architectural plan in 1974	Grossmann 1974, 26
1970-present	Excavations in the Valley were renewed in 1970 with a Franco-Egyptian team [CNRS – CEDAE] under the direction of C. Desroches Noblecourt and later of C. Leblanc. CNRS activities were most fully developed from 1984. This included systematic clearing and exploration of all the numbered tombs and efforts at site presentation. Their contribution includes rediscovery of QV 80, 34 and 97, clearance of tombs [QV 2, 3, 7-24, 30-37, 39, 46, 47, 51, 53, 56-58, 60, 61, 63, 65, 67-83, 87, 94-98] and hermit shelter [QV 1], formalization of the Italian tomb numbering system, removing debris from the wadi floor, microgravimetric survey to the west of QV 80. The team also cleared and excavated Deir er-Rumi and investigated the Roman sanctuary (1988-1994), Grotto Cascade (1989), hermit shelters (1986,1988), tomb worker's structures (1975, 1985-1986). From 1986 to 1993, A. Macke and C. Macke-Ribet studied the mummies at the site. The team continues working on publication of their work.	Bougrain Dubourg 1990, 40; Delattre, Lecuyot and Thirard 2008, 124; Dunand and Lichtenberg 2006, 163-164; Leblanc 1989a, 45-52; Leblanc and Fekri 1993, 26; Lecuyot 2000, 44-45, 48-49,52; Pezin and Lecuyot 2007, 759
Early 1970s	The Department of Antiquities cleared QV 68 and QV 71	Leblanc 1989a, 49
Early 1970s	QV 66 was closed to general visitors until 1994	
1973 (Mar)	Finds from Ramesseum were stored in QV 38	
Late 1970s/ early 1980s	University of Toronto team conducted environmental monitoring and pigment analysis to investigate wall painting deterioration in QV 66.	Corzo 1987, 37
1970s-90s	CEDAE conducted photographic documentation of tombs [QV 33, 36, 38, 40, 42, 43, 44, 51, 52, 53, 55, 60, 66, 68, 71, 73, 74, 75, 80] and Deir er-Rumi in 1970-75, 77-78, 80, 82, 87-89, 1993, 1995	CEDAE
1975	Kodak Pathé Foundation (France) made a life-size photographic reproduction of Qv 66	Lagostera 2005
After 1978	A building in front of QV 66 was demolished.	Leblanc 1989a, Pl.1; CNRS photos; GCI photos

1980s (?)	J. Grist researched and photographed the tombs in QV, slides were later donated to the slide library of the University of California, Berkeley	Grist 1986
1980	A shelter was constructed for visitors to <b>QV 55</b> .	
1980	Entrance of <b>QV 44</b> was restored by EAO.	Hassanein and Nelson 1997
1980s	CNRS began using QV 58 as a magazine for QV and Ramesseum finds and wooden shelves were installed in side chambers in c. 2000.	
1980s	Shoring was installed in rear chambers of <b>QV 60</b> .	
1981	TMP (Theban Mapping Project) surveyed 63 tombs, including interior architecture.	Weeks 1981
1985	Conservation work at <b>QV 38</b> and wall painting cleaning by EAO at <b>QV 43</b> .	pers.comm., Leblanc
1986	Area of <b>hermit shelters</b> at top of western slope of Valley of Prince Ahmose cleared and studied by T. Zimmer.	Lecuyot, 1993a, 271
1986-89	Structural stabilization and plastering in <b>QV 31</b> by EAO.	
1986 -1992	Getty Conservation Institute project for conservation of the wall paintings of Nefertari ( <b>QV 66</b> ), with environmental monitoring continuing until 1996. Photographic and film documentation of wall paintings and conservation work.	Corzo 1987; Corzo and Afshar 1993; McDonald 1996
1987	BBC filmed at <b>QV 66</b> .	Afshar 1993, 101
1988	CNRS (by Y. Laurent) produced topographical map recording subterranean and interior plans of all tombs in the main wadi.	
1988	The <b>kitchen</b> of the Italian mission began to be used as a magazine to store finds from Deir er-Rumi by CNRS.	Leblanc 1989a, 64
1988	Two of the <b>tomb worker's structures</b> were restored.	CNRS mission report
1988-1991	Wall painting cleaning and plaster infill in <b>QV 38</b> and rock and painting stabilization in <b>QV 42</b> and <b>QV 60</b> (in May 1989), plaster testing and infill and stabilization at <b>QV 73</b> and <b>74</b> by CNRS, CEDAE, EAO in 1989, 1990-1991; R. Bougrain Dubourg and S. Deparis conducted plaster stabilization of <b>QV 42, 60</b> and <b>73</b> .	CNRS mission report 1988-90, 51; 1991-2, 71f; Bougrain Dubourg 1990, 40
1988-1991	Restoration of wall painting in burial chamber of <b>QV 51</b> by EAO.	pers.comm., Leblanc
1989	F. El-Baz of Boston University produced a topographic map of the QV rainfall catchment area (1:5,000 scale) through balloon and aerial photos and field work by Earthwatch volunteers. El-Baz used this map to produce a drainage pattern map of the catchment area.	El-Baz 1989
1989	New parking area was constructed outside the Valley.	GCI Photos; pers.comm., Leblanc
1990 (Jan)	A strong downpour recorded.	Leblanc 1993, 20
1990-1991	Prototype and protection for shaft tombs <b>QV 59</b> and <b>61</b> tested; further applied to <b>QV 20, 21, 22, 63, 64, 65</b> . Development of prototype protection for ramps of chamber tombs at <b>QV 53</b> .	CNRS mission report 1991-2, 70f
c. 1990	A trailer toilet was located in the main Valley.	
1991	R. E. Cameron and Associates of Norwood, Massachusetts, USA, produced a topographic map (1:200) of the area of tomb concentration of the QV main wadi.	Cameron 1991
1991	Construction of side walls and steps in ramp at <b>QV 44</b> by CNRS.	CNRS mission report 1991-1992
1992-94	Wall painting treatment by SCA in <b>QV 44</b> .	SCA conservator notes

1993 (Apr)	Geotechnical assessment by C. Messein, H. Halal and T. Abdallah (?) (Cairo University) at <b>QV 42</b> and <b>60</b> .	Messein, Helal and Abdallah 1994, 478-480
1993	Bazaar was constructed by the parking area.	GCI photo
1993	<b>QV 43</b> opened to visitors and closed around 2000	West Bank inspectorate
1993	Carpeted walkway installed in <b>QV 66</b> by GCI.	GCI
1993-1995	Wall painting conservation, including consolidation of cracks and plaster repairs by SCA at <b>QV 40</b> .	Conservators' notes
1994 (Oct)	Torrential rain occurred in western Thebes.	Leblanc 1995, 206
1994 (Nov)	Serious flooding in Valley of the Queens caused by torrential rains. Access road to the Valley was destroyed and some tombs filled with water.	Leblanc 1995
1994	SCA-CNRS undertook emergency intervention after the flood, including pumping of water and removing mud from tombs, asphalt paved area for buses in the main wadi and footpath to <b>QV 66</b> were removed; a terrace at the south side of wadi built for tourist path; a wooden footbridge installed from the path to <b>QV 66</b> across the wadi. Existing walls at tomb entrance were replaced with new walls at several tombs [e.g. <b>QV 41, 42, 43, 44, 55, 65</b> ]. Ancient <b>dam</b> was restored. Main wadi excavated to bedrock.	Leblanc 1995; Leblanc pers. comm.  Lecuyot 2000, 45
1994	Mummies and wooden coffins stored in <b>QV 60</b> as study materials were disturbed by flood; after the flood the tomb continued to be used as a storage for study artefacts and mummies by CNRS.	Leblanc pers. comm.
1995	Shelters for visitors near <b>QV 44</b> and <b>66</b> were built by SCA.	West Bank inspectorate
1995,1996	Wall painting treatment in <b>QV 44</b> by SCA.	Conservators' notes
1995 (May)	Heavy rain but no tombs flooded.	Leblanc 1995, 214
1995 (Nov)	<b>QV 66</b> was re-opened to visitors by SCA after completion of GCI-SCA conservation project.	GCI
1995	<b>QV 97</b> rediscovered by CNRS using ground penetrating radar in the Valley of the Rope	Côte et al. 1996, 145
1996	Wooden walkway, handrails and lighting installed by SCA in <b>QV 66</b> .	GCI
1997	A shelter for visitors was constructed near <b>QV 52</b> .	West Bank inspectorate
1998 /2000	National Security guard post was established at the top of the mountain. Concrete stairs up the mountain to the security station were built in 2000.	West Bank inspectorate
2000	<b>QV 40</b> was closed to visitation by SCA (the date opened is unknown).	West Bank inspectorate
2000 (?)	Old W C. building was altered to a new electricity generator building.	QV electrician
2004	Ticket office was constructed at entrance to bazaar.	West Bank inspectorate
2003 (Jan)	SCA closed <b>QV 66</b> to general visitors and opened to restricted groups.	SCA
2003-2004	H. L. McCarthy field research for 15 Ramesside queens' tombs [ <b>QV 31, 33, 34, 36, 38, 40, 51, 52, 60, 68, 71, 73-75, 80</b> ].	McCarthy 2007, 109
2004-2007	IFAO mission survey of southern wadis of the Theban Mountain, from Queens Valley to Wadi Sikkat el-Agala, in search of remains dating from Coptic period, including a survey of Coptic graffiti in the Valley of the Rope, Valley of the Three Pits and Grotto Cascade.	Lecuyot 2009
2005	GCI-SCA project for the conservation and management of QV initiated.	GCI

2006	Wall painting treatment in <b>QV 44</b> by SCA.	SCA conservators' notes
2006-2008	Phase 1 of SCA - GCI project for the conservation and management of the Valley.	GCI
2007 (Feb & June)	Visitor surveys and stakeholder consultation undertaken by GCI-SCA.	GCI
2007	GCI consultant H. Rüther, the University of Cape Town, carried out fieldwork at QV to produce a new, highly accurate and precise, topographic map of the Valley, using laser scanners as well as other survey equipment.	GCI
2007 & 2008	Site cleaning was undertaken by GCI-SCA.	GCI
2007 (Dec) - 2008 (Jan)	Excavations by IFAO mission led by G. Lecuyot on the west side of <b>Deir er-Rumi</b> .	Lecuyot 2009
2008 (Jan)	Environmental monitoring re-started at <b>QV 66</b> .	GCI
2008 (Feb)	R. Wüst (GCI consultant) conducted preliminary geological description and assessment for the Valley and tombs [ <b>QV 33, 34, 42, 53, 60, 73, 80</b> ].	GCI
2008 (Oct)	Leblanc and SCA personnel removed study materials from tombs and consolidated them in <b>QV 69</b> .	GCI
2008	GCI installed prototype shaft cover on tomb <b>Unknown 1</b> .	GCI
2008	A security station at site entrance was rebuilt with air-conditioning.	GCI
2008-2009	Hamza Associates (GCI consultant) undertook geotechnical, flooding and geological assessment and developed concepts for visitor infrastructure.	GCI
Early 2009	Old generator building was demolished by SCA	GCI
2009 (Jan)	CEDAE photographic documentation of 21 chamber tombs [ <b>QV 31, 33, 34, 36, 38, 40, 42, 43, 44, 51, 53, 55, 60, 66, 68, 71, 73, 74, 75, 80</b> ].	GCI
2009 (Feb)	Environmental monitoring began by GCI at <b>QV 44, 55</b> and <b>Unknown 1</b> .	GCI
2009 (Mar)	Concept proposals for all aspects of conservation and management of QV presented by GCI and Hamza Assoc. to SCA.	GCI
2009	Installation of cables for new lighting system for the Theban mountain by SCA begins; construction of new walls in area of unstable tombs in SW wadi by SCA; goose neck security lamps along the eastern main path removed by SCA.	GCI
2009 (Nov)	SCA banned tourists bringing cameras into the site (revoked by early 2010).	GCI
2009 (Nov) – 2010 (Mar)	SCA work on site: conservation treatment to wall paintings and sarcophagus, installation of glass case to sarcophagus and re-location of fetus mummy case from chamber (K) to chamber (E) in <b>QV 55</b> . <b>QV 43</b> opened to visitors.	GCI
2010 (Feb-Mar)	Wall painting stabilization in 8 tombs [ <b>QV 31, 33, 34, 36, 42, 53, 60, 73</b> ] by GCI-SCA.	GCI
2010	SCA work on site: trenches and cabling for mountain lighting continued; removal of remaining tarmac on visitor/vehicle path (Jul); Sanctuary to Ptah and Meretseger (perimeter wall and shelters); conservation treatment to wall paintings in <b>QV 44</b> (Apr).	GCI
2010 (Apr)	Construction drawing and specifications (tender documents) for flood control, structural stabilization of tombs and visitor infrastructure prepared by Hamza Assoc. for GCI presented to SCA.	GCI
2010 (Dec)	Leblanc and SCA personnel completed removal of study materials from tombs, begun in Oct 2008.	GCI



## Part II.5. Bibliographies

### 1. Valley of the Queens Bibliography

The following sources are specific to or contain references relevant to research undertaken on the Valley of the Queens during the assessment phase. For references on site and visitor management in Egypt see Bibliography 2.

- Abitz, Friedrich. 1986. *Ramses III in den Gräbern seiner Söhne*. Orbis biblicus et orientalis, no. 72. Freiburg, Schweiz: Universitätsverlag and Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht.
- Aboudi, Mohamed. 1946. *Aboudi's Guide Book to the Antiquities of Upper Egypt & Nubia, Including: Cairo, Great Pyramids, Memphis, Bent Hassan, Tell El-Amarna, Assiut, Abydos, Dendera, Luxor, Karnak, Thebes, Esneh, Edfu, Kom Ombo, Assuan, Abu Simbel, and Wady Halfa: Historically Treated, With Many Illustrations*. 4th ed. Cairo: C. Tsoumas & Co.
- Afshar, Mahasti. 1993. Photographic documentation of the Nefertari wall paintings. In *Art and Eternity: The Nefertari Wall Paintings Conservation Project, 1986-1992*, ed. Miguel Angel Corzo, and Mahasti Ziai Afshar, 95-104. Santa Monica, Calif.: Getty Conservation Institute and Cairo: Egyptian Antiquities Organization.  
[http://www.getty.edu/conservation/publications\\_resources/pdf\\_publications/art\\_eternity.html](http://www.getty.edu/conservation/publications_resources/pdf_publications/art_eternity.html).
- Anon. 1994. [Book review] Nefertari e la Valle delle Regine, LeBlanc - Siliotti. *Archeologia viva* 13(43): 90.
- The Asahi Shimbun, and Toei Company, ed. 2009. *Ancient Egypt in Torino: [An Exhibition of Works From the Museo egizio di Torino, held in Japan, August 2009-August 2010]*. [Tokyo]: The Asahi Shimbun, Toei Company.
- Aston, D. A. 2003. The Theban West Bank from the Twenty-fifth Dynasty to the Ptolemaic Period. In *The Theban Necropolis: Past, Present and Future*, ed. Nigel Strudwick, and John H. Taylor, 138-63. London: British Museum.
- Aubry, Marie-Pierre, Christian Dupuis, Holeil Ghaly, Christopher King, Robert Knox, William A. Berggren, Christina Karlshausen, and Members of the TIGA Project. 2011. Geological setting of the Theban Necropolis: Implications for the preservation of the West Bank monuments. In *Under the Potter's Tree: Studies on Ancient Egypt Presented to Janine Bourriau on the Occasion of Her 70th Birthday*, ed. David A. Aston, Bettina Bader, Carla Gallorini, Paul T. Nicholson, and Sarah Buckingham, 81-124. *Orientalia Lovaniensia analecta*, no. 204. Leuven: Uitgeverij Peeters en Departement Oosterse Studies.
- Augé, Christian, and Guy Lecuyot. 1998. Deir er-Roumi: Étude du matériel numismatique. *Memnonia: Bulletin édité par l'Association pour la sauvegarde du Ramesseum* 9: 107-19.
- Bagnall, Roger S, and Dominic Rathbone. 2004. *Egypt: From Alexander to the Early Christians: An Archaeological and Historical Guide*. Los Angeles: J. Paul Getty Museum.
- Ballerini, F. 1903. *Notizia sommaria degli scavi della missione archeologica italiana in Egitto, anno 1903: Valle delle regine*. Torino: Museo di antichità.
- Baraize, E., and Service des antiquités de l'Egypte. 1904. *Plan des nécropoles thébaines*. Sheet 40 (1:500 Scale). Le Caire: General Survey Printing Office. (Note: Includes Sanctuary to Ptah and Meretseger).
- Bard, Kathryn A. 2008. *An Introduction to the Archaeology of Ancient Egypt*. Malden, MA: Blackwell Pub.

## Valley of the Queens Bibliography

- Baud, Marcelle, Académie des inscriptions & belles-lettres (France), and Fondation Catenacci. 1935. *Les dessins ébauchés de la nécropole thébaine: Au temps du nouvel empire: Ouvrage publié avec le concours de l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles Lettres, Fondation Catenacci*. Mémoires publiés par les membres de l'Institut français d'archéologie orientale du Caire, no. 63. Le Caire: Imprimerie de l'Institut français d'archéologie orientale.
- Bénédite, Georges Aaron. 1893. Le tombeau de la reine Thiti. In *Mémoires publiés par les membres de la Mission archéologique française au Caire*, Georges Aaron Bénédite, U. Bouriant, and G. Maspero, Vol. 5, fasc. 3, [381]-540. Paris: E. Leroux.
- Bickerstaffe, Dylan. 2008. The Fury of Amen: The cursed play in the Valley of the Queens. *KMT: A Modern Journal of Ancient Egypt* 19(3): 76-83.
- Boessneck, J, and A. von den Driesch. 1989. Vogelknochenfunde aus dem Tal der Königinnen. *Spixiana* 11(3): 279-302.
- Bougrain Dubourg, Robert. 1990. Pour un sauvetage des tombes ramessides. *Les Dossiers d'archéologie* (149/150): 40-43.
- Bougrain-Dubourg, Robert. 1997. Les tombs de la Vallée des Reines: Propositions concernant leur restauration. In *La peinture égyptienne ancienne: Un monde de signes à préserver: Actes du Colloque international de Bruxelles, avril 1994*, ed. Roland Tefnin, 121-42. Monumenta Aegyptiaca. vol. 7, no. 1. Bruxelles: Fondation égyptologique reine Elisabeth.
- Brand, Peter James. 2000. *The Monuments of Seti I: Epigraphic, Historical, and Art Historical Analysis*. Probleme der Ägyptologie, vol. 16. Leiden and Boston: Brill.
- Brochwic, Zbigniew. 1973. The structure of mural paintings in the tomb of Queen Nefertari. In *The Tomb of Queen Nefertari: Problems of Conserving Wall Paintings: Diagnosing the State of Preservation and Conservator's Proposals: The Working Group of the State Ateliers for the Preservation of Historical Property: Collected Works*, ed. Andrzej Michalowski, 16-36. Conservator's Material. Warsaw: Conservator's Information Centre, State Ateliers for the Preservation of Historical Property.
- Brugsch, Heinrich Karl. 1855. *Reiseberichte aus Aegypten*. Leipzig: F.A. Brockhaus.
- Brugsch, Heinrich. 1862-1885. *Recueil de monuments égyptiens dessinés sur lieux et publiés sous les auspices de Son Altesse le vice-roi d'Égypte Mohammed-Saïd-Pasha par le docteur Henri Brugsch*. Leipzig: Hinrichs.
- Bruyère, Bernard. 1926. *Rapport sur les fouilles de Deir el Médineh (1924-1925)*. Fouilles de l'Institut français d'archéologie orientale du Caire, vol. 3, part 3. Le Caire: Imprimerie de l'Institut français d'archéologie orientale.
- — —. 1929-1930. *Mert Seger à Deir el Médineh*. Mémoires publiés par les membres de l'Institut français d'archéologie orientale du Caire, no. 58. Le Caire: L'Institut français d'archéologie orientale.
- — —. 1939. *Rapport sur les fouilles de Deir el Médineh: (1934-1935): Part 3: Le village, les décharges publiques, la station de repos du col de la vallée des rois*. Fouilles de l'Institut français d'archéologie orientale du Caire, vol. 16. Le Caire: Impr. de l'Institut français d'archéologie orientale.
- — —. 1952. Neb-Nerou et Hery-Mâat. *Chronique d'Égypte: Bulletin périodique de la Fondation égyptologique reine Elisabeth* (53): 31-42.

## Valley of the Queens Bibliography

- — —. 1952a. *Rapport sur les fouilles de Deir el Médineh (années 1945-1946 et 1946-1947)*. Fouilles de l'Institut français d'archéologie orientale du Caire, vol. 21. Le Caire: l'Institut français d'archéologie orientale.
- Budge, Ernest Alfred Wallis. 1906. *Cook's Handbook for Egypt and the Sūdân*. 2nd ed. London: T. Cook & Son.
- Budge, E. A. Wallis. 1921. *Cook's Handbook for Egypt and the Egyptian Sūdân*. 4 ed. London: Thomas Cook and Son.
- Burns, G., K. M. Wilson-Yang, and J. E. Smeaton. 1989. Archaeological sites as physicochemical systems: Macroarchaeometry of the tomb of Nefertari, Valley. In *Archaeological Chemistry IV: Developed From a Symposium Sponsored by the Division of History of Chemistry at the 193rd Meeting of the American Chemical Society, Denver, Colorado, April 5-10, 1987*, ed. Ralph O. Allen, Advances in Chemistry Series. vol. 220, Washington, DC: American Chemical Society.
- Cabrol, Agnès. 2001. *Les voies processionnelles de Thèbes*. *Orientalia Lovaniensia analecta*, vol. 97. Leuven: Peeters.
- Campbell, Colin. 1909. *Two Theban Queens Nefert-Ari and Ty-Ti, and Their Tombs*. London: Kegan Paul, Trench, Trübner & Co.
- — —. 1910. *Two Theban Princes, Kha-Em-Uast & Amen-Khepesf, Sons of Rameses III, Menna, a Land-Steward, and Their Tombs*. Edinburgh and London: Oliver and Boyd.
- Carotti, Giulio, ed. 1937. *L'arte dell'antico egitto*. Milano: Ulrico Hoepli.
- Carter, Howard. 1903. Report of work done in Upper Egypt (1902-1903). *Annales du Service des antiquités de l'Égypte* 4: 171-86.
- — —. 1905. Report of work done in Upper Egypt (1903-1904). *Annales du Service des antiquités de l'Égypte* 6: 112-29.
- Carter, H., and A. Gardiner. 1917. The Tomb of Ramesses IV and the Turin Plan of a Royal Tomb. *The Journal of Egyptian Archaeology* 4: 130-158.
- Castel, Elisa, and Laura Di Nóbile. 1996. El Valle de las Reinas. *Revista de arqueología* (180): 24-33.
- — —. 1996a. Los últimos días de Nefertari. *Revista de arqueología* (181): 18-27.
- Černý, Jaroslav. 1956. *Graffiti hiéroglyphiques et hiératiques de la nécropole Thébaine*. Documents de fouilles publiés par les membres de l'Institut français d'archéologie orientale, vol. 9. Le Caire: L'Institut français d'archéologie orientale.
- — —. 1958. Queen Eset of the Twentieth Dynasty and her mother. *The Journal of Egyptian Archaeology* 44: 31-37.
- — —. 2001. *A Community of Workmen at Thebes in the Ramesside Period*. 2nd ed. Bibliothèque d'étude, vol. 50; Publications de l'Institut français d'archéologie orientale du Caire, 866. Le Caire: Institut français d'archéologie orientale.
- Černý, Jaroslav, R. Coque, F. Debono, Christiane Desroches Noblecourt, and M. Kurz. 1971. *Graffiti de la montagne thébaine: Vol. 1, Part 2: Cartographie, topographie, géomorphologie, préhistoire: La vallée de l'Ouest*. Collection scientifique (Markaz Tasjil al-Athar al-Misriyah). Le Caire: Centre de documentation et d'études sur l'ancienne Égypte.

## Valley of the Queens Bibliography

- Černý, Jaroslav, Christiane Desroches Noblecourt, and M. Kurz, ed. 1969-1970. *Graffiti de la montagne thébaine: Vol. 1, Part 1 Cartographie et étude topographique illustrée*. Collection scientifique (Markaz Tasjil al-Athar al-Misriyah). Le Caire: Centre de documentation et d'études sur l'ancienne Egypte.
- Champollion, Jean-François. 1845. *Monuments de l'Egypte et de la Nubie*. Vol. 1-2. Paris: F. Didot frères. Geneve: Editions de Belles-Lettres.
- CNRS mission report: Centre national de la recherche scientifique. 1985-1986. Rapport d'activite 1985-1986 URA N°1064.
- — —. 1987-1988. Rapport d'activite 1987-1988 URA N°1064.
- — —. 1988. Rapport d'activite 1988/1989 and 1989/1990 URA N°1064. Recherches sur les Necropoles Thebaines et le Ramesseum; Publication des Temples de Nubie.
- — —. 1991-1992. Rapport des activites scientifiques et administratives: Perspectives 1991 – 1992 URA N°1064.
- — —. 1992-1994. Rapport des activites scientifiques et administratives 1992-1994. URA N°1064. Recherches sur les Necropoles Thebaines et le Ramesseum; Publication des Temples de Nubie.
- — —. 1995-1996. Rapport des activites scientifiques et administratives 1995-1996. URA N°1064. Recherches sur les Necropoles Thebaines et le Ramesseum.
- Coque, R., F. Debono, Ch. Desroches-Noblecourt, M. Kurz, and R. Said. 1973. *Graffiti de la montagne thébaine: Vol. 1, Part 4: Cartographie, topographie, géomorphologie, préhistoire: Vallée des Pèlerins d'Espagne (E.1) et compléments aux secteurs A, B et C, nouvelles observations à la frange du Sahara thébain*. Le Caire: Centre de documentation et d'études sur l'ancienne Egypte.
- Coque, Roger, and Rushdi Saïd. 1973. Étude géomorphologique de la Vallée des Reines et de la Vallée des Pèlerins d'Espagne. In *Graffiti de la montagne thébaine: Vol. 1, Part 4: Cartographie, topographie, géomorphologie, préhistoire: [Vallée des Pèlerins d'Espagne (E.1) et compléments aux secteurs A, B, et C.: Nouvelles observations a la frange du Sahara Thébain]*, Roger Coque, Fernand Debono, Christiane Desroches-Noblecourt, Marcel Kurz, and Rushdi Saïd, 30-34, pl. CCLVII-CCLXII. Collection scientifique (Markaz Tasjil al-Athar al-Misriyah). Le Caire: Centre de documentation et d'études sur l'ancienne Égypte.
- Coquin, René-Georges, and S. J. Maurice Martin. 1991. Dayr al-Rūmī: History. In *The Coptic Encyclopedia*, ed. Aziz Suryal Atiya, Vol. 3, 856-57. New York: Macmillan; Toronto: Collier Macmillan Canada and New York: Maxwell Macmillan International.
- Corzo, Miguel Angel, ed. 1987. *Wall Paintings of the Tomb of Nefertari: Scientific Studies for Their Conservation: First Progress Report, July, 1987: A Joint Project of the Egyptian Antiquities Organization and the Getty Conservation Institute*. Le Caire: Organisation des antiquités égyptiennes and Marina del Rey, Calif.: Getty Conservation Institute.
- Corzo, Miguel Angel, and Mahasti Ziai Afshar, ed. 1993. *Art and Eternity: The Nefertari Wall Paintings Conservation Project, 1986-1992*. Santa Monica, Calif.: Getty Conservation Institute and Cairo: Egyptian Antiquities Organization.  
[http://www.getty.edu/conservation/publications\\_resources/pdf\\_publications/art\\_eternity.html](http://www.getty.edu/conservation/publications_resources/pdf_publications/art_eternity.html).
- Corzo, Miguel Angel, Mahasti Ziai Afshar, and Julián Zugazagoitia, ed. 1994. *Nefertari, luce d'Egitto*. Rome: Leonardo Arte.

## Valley of the Queens Bibliography

- Côte, Philippe, Xavier Derobert, Christian Leblanc, and Angelo Sesana. 1996. Prospection géophysique et archéologique dans la "Vallée de la Corde": Rapport préliminaire, campagnes 1993-1994-1995. *Memnonia: Bulletin édité par l'Association pour la sauvegarde du Ramesseum* 7: 141-56, pl. XL-XLIV.
- Cross, Stephen W. 2008. The hydrology of the Valley of the Kings. *The Journal of Egyptian Archaeology* 94: 303-10.
- Curtis, Garniss H., John Romer, Marc Monaghan, Mark Ciccarello, and Joseph Esherick. 1979. *Theban Royal Tomb Project*, Vol. 1-8. ed. The Brooklyn Museum Theban Expedition. Brooklyn: The Museum.
- Curto, S. 1954. Un Egittologo comasco: Francesco Ballerini. *Rivista archeologica della provincia di Como* 135: 35-51.
- Curto, Silvio. 2001. The Egyptian Museum of Turin: Archaeological expeditions to Egypt from 1760 to 1967. In *One Hundred Years in Egypt: Paths of Italian Archaeology*, ed. Maria Casini, 41-47. Milano: Electa.
- D'Amicone, Elvira, ed. 2009. *Sarcófagos del antiguo Egipto: Jardineros de Amón en el Valle de las Reinas: Expósición presentada en el Museu Egipci de Barcelona, 13 de marzo de 2008-13 de abril de 2009*. Barcelona: Museu Egipci de Barcelona; Fundació Arqueològica Clos.
- Daressy, G. 1898. Un plan Égyptien d'une tombe royale. *Revue archéologique* 3rd ser., 32: 235-40.
- Daressy, M. G. 1901. Trois points inexplorés de la nécropole Thébaine. *Annales du Service des antiquités de l'Égypte* 2: 133-36.
- Delattre, A., G. Lecuyot, and C. Thirard. 2008. L'occupation Chrétienne de la Montagne Thébaine: Première approche. In *Etudes coptes X: Douzième journée d'études (Lyon, 19-21 mai 2005)*, ed. Anne Boud'hors, and Catherine Louis, 123-35. *Etudes d'archéologie et d'histoire ancienne; Cahiers de la bibliothèque copte.* no. 16. Paris: De Boccard.
- Derchain, Phillippe. 1959. Une porte d'Antonin le Pieux et l'Osiris d'Erment à Médinet Habou. *Chronique d'Égypte: Bulletin périodique de la Fondation égyptologique reine Élisabeth* 34(67): 21-33.
- Desroches Noblecourt, Christiane. 1973. Les temples de la Nubie submergée et la rive gauche de Thèbes. *Le Courrier du CNRS* (9): 28-38.
- — —. 1981. Musée de site et musée du site: A propos de la Vallée de Reines. In *Prospection et sauvegarde des antiquités de l'Égypte: Actes de la table ronde organisée à l'occasion du centenaire de l'IFAO, 8-12 janvier 1981*, ed. Nicolas-Christophe Grimal, 95-97, pl. VIII, B. Bibliothèque d'étude. vol. 88, Cairo, Egypt: Institut français d'archéologie orientale du Caire.
- — —. 1982. Touy, mère de Ramsès II, la reine Tanedjmy et les reliques de l'expérience amarnienne. In *L'Égyptologie en 1979: Axes prioritaires de recherches*, Vol. II, 227-43. Colloques internationaux du Centre national de la recherche scientifique, no. 595. Paris: Editions du C.N.R.S.
- — —. 1986. La Vallée des Reines retrouvera t-elle sa splendeur passée? *Archéologia* 209: 22-37.
- — —. 1990. Le message de la Grotte Sacrée. *Les Dossiers d'archéologie* (149/150): 4-42.
- — —. 1990-1991. Le mammisi de Ramsès au Ramesséum. *Memnonia: Bulletin édité par l'Association pour la sauvegarde du Ramesseum* 1: 26-46.
- — —. 1996. *Ramsès II: La véritable histoire*. Paris: Pygmalion/G. Watelet.

## Valley of the Queens Bibliography

- — —. 2006. *Le secret des découvertes*. Paris: Télémaque.
- Dewachter, Michel. 1972. Thèbes Monuments en péril dans la Vallée des Reines: La tombe de la reine Nebet-Taouy. *Archéologia* (53): 18-24.
- Dodson, Aidan. 1987. The Takhats and some other royal ladies of the Ramesside Period. *The Journal of Egyptian Archaeology* 73: 224-29.
- — —. 1988. The tombs of the queens of the Middle Kingdom. *Zeitschrift für ägyptische sprache und altertumskunde* 115: 123-36.
- — —. 1995. Amenmesse in Kent, Liverpool, and Thebes. *The Journal of Egyptian Archaeology* 81: 115-28.
- — —. 2003. The burial of members of the royal family during the Eighteenth Dynasty. In *International Congress of Egyptologists: Egyptology at the Dawn of the Twenty-First Century: Proceedings of the Eighth International Congress of Egyptologists, Cairo, 2000*, ed. Zahi A Hawass, and Lyla Pinch Brock, Vol. 2, 187-93. Cairo and New York: American University in Cairo Press.
- — —. 2005-2006. An eternal harem: The tombs of the royal families of ancient Egypt: Part 3: The New Kingdom. *KMT: A Modern Journal of Ancient Egypt* 16(4): 32-42.
- Dodson, Aidan, and Dyan Hilton. 2004. *The Complete Royal Families of Ancient Egypt*. London: Thames & Hudson.
- Dodson, Aidan, and Salima Ikram. 2008. *The Tomb in Ancient Egypt: Royal and Private Sepulchres From the Early Dynastic Period to the Romans*. London: Thames & Hudson.
- Donadoni Roveri, Anna Maria. 1988. The Valley of the Queens. In *Egyptian Civilization*, ed. Anna Maria Donadoni Roveri, Vol. 2, 146-61. Museo egizio di Torino. Milan: Electa.
- Donadoni Roveri, Anna Maria, Enrichetta Leospo, Elvira D'Amicone, Alessandro Roccati, and Sergio Donadoni. 1993. *Il Museo egizio di Torino: Guida alla lettura di una civiltà: Nuova edizione*. Novara: Istituto geografico De Agostini.
- Dondelinger, Edmund. 1973. *Der Jenseitsweg der Nofretari: Bilder aus dem Grab einer ägyptischen Königin*. Graz: Akademische Druck-u. Verlagsanstalt.
- Dorman, Peter, and Betsy Morrell Bryan. 2007. *Sacred Space and Sacred Function in Ancient Thebes*. 1st ed. Studies in Ancient Oriental Civilization; Occasional Proceedings of the Theban Workshop, vol. 61. Chicago, Ill.: Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago.
- Dunand, Françoise, and Roger Lichtenberg. 2006. *Mummies and Death in Egypt*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press.
- Dupuis, Christian, Marie-Pierre Aubry, Chris King, Robert W. O'B. Knox, William A. Berggren, Mostafa Youssef, Wael Fathi Galal, and Marc Roche. 2011. Genesis and geometry of tilted blocks in the Theban Hills, near Luxor (Upper Egypt). *Journal of African Earth Sciences* 61(3): 245-67.
- Dziobek, Eberhard. 1987. The architectural development of Theban tombs in the early Eighteenth Dynasty. In *Problems and Priorities in Egyptian Archaeology*, ed. Jan Assmann, Günter Burkard, and Vivian Davies, Studies in Egyptology. London and New York: KPI and New York, NY, USA: Distributed by Methuen, Routledge & Kegan Paul.
- Eid, Yehia M. 1998. A preliminary study about the royal tomb in the time of the New Kingdom at Thebes. *Göttinger Miszellen* 134: 31-33.

## Valley of the Queens Bibliography

- El Baz, F. 1989. Hydrologic modeling of the Tomb of Nefertari, Luxor, Egypt. *Abstracts/28th International Geological Congress, Washington, D.C. USA, July 9-19, 1989* 1: 442-43.
- El-Baz, Farouk. 1989a. Remote sensing of the Tomb of Nefertari [abstract]. In *Advance Printing of Paper Summaries: SPSE's 42nd Annual Conference, May 14-19, 1989, Marriott Hotel, Copley Place, Boston, Massachusetts, Springfield, VA: SPSE - The Society for Imaging Science and Technology.*
- El-Damak, Reda, Ashraf Ghanem, and Mohamad El-Gamal. 2010. Protection of the Valley of the Queens From Flash Floods: Final Report. Prepared for the Getty Conservation Institute.
- Farina, Giulio. 1931. *Il Regio museo di antichità di Torino, sezione egizia. Itinerari dei musei e monumenti d'Italia*, n.7. Roma: Libreria dello stato, a.xe.f.
- Faton, Andrée, ed. 1990. Egypte: Vallee des Reines: Vallee des Rois: Vallee des Nobles, Special issue, *Les Dossiers d'archéologie* (149/150).
- Fekri, Magdi Mohamed, and Anne-Marie Loyrette. 1998. Vallée des Reines: La tombe VdR 34 d'une reine inconnue et le puits VdR 87. *Memnonia: Bulletin édité par l'Association pour la sauvegarde du Ramesseum* 9: 121-38, pl. XIII-XVI.
- Forbes, D. C. 2008. Never-before-exhibited coffins from the Valley of the Queens: On view at the Egyptian Museum, Barcelona. *KMT: A Modern Journal of Ancient Egypt* 19 (3): 65-68.
- Franco, Isabelle. 1988. Fragments de "Livre des Morts" sur toile: Découverts dans la Vallée des Reines. *Bulletin de l'Institut français d'archéologie orientale* 88: 71-82.
- Franco, Isabelle, and Magdi Mohamed Fekri. 1990. La tombe de Sat-rê. *Les Dossiers d'archéologie* (149/150): 30-31.
- Frankfurter, David. 1998. *Pilgrimage and Holy Space in Late Antique Egypt. Religions in the Graeco-Roman World*, vol. 134. Leiden and Boston: Brill.
- Gabolde, Marc. 1992. Compte rendu d'une mission dans le secteur de la Vallée des Trois Puits de la Vallée des Reines. *Bulletin du cercle Lyonnais d'Égyptologie Victor Loret* (6): 109-17.
- Gander, P. [1995]. Geological mapping of the Valley of the Queens, Valley of the Kings, Luxor, Egypt = Geologische Kartierung Tal der Könige und Tal der Königinnen.  
<http://www.flachfisch.ch/pierre/frames/egypt-e.htm>.
- Gitton, Michel. 1984. *Les divines épouses de la 18e dynastie. Annales littéraires de l'Université de Besançon* no. 306; Centre de Recherches d'Histoire Ancienne, no. 61. Paris: Les Belles Lettres.
- Gosselin, Luc. 2007. *Les divines épouses d'Amon dans l'Égypte de la XIXe à la XXIe dynastie. Etudes et mémoires d'égyptologie*, no. 6. Paris: Cybele.
- Grajetzki, Wolfram, ed. 2005. *Ancient Egyptian Queens: A Hieroglyphic Dictionary*. London: Golden House Publications.
- Grandet, Pierre. 1993. *Ramsès III: Histoire d'un règne. Bibliothèque de l'Égypte ancienne*. Paris: Pygmalion/G. Watelet.
- Grist, Jehon. 1985. The identity of the Ramesside Queen Tyti. *The Journal of Egyptian Archaeology* 71: 71-81.
- Grist, Jehon Michael. 1986. The Identity of the Ramesside Queen Tyti. Ph.D. diss., University of California, Berkeley.

## Valley of the Queens Bibliography

- Grossmann, Peter. 1974. Untersuchungen im Dair ar-Rūmī bei Qurna in Oberägypten. *Mitteilungen des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts, Abteilung Kairo* 30(1): 25-30, pl. 4-6.
- — —. 1991. Dayr al-Rūmī: Architecture. In *The Coptic Encyclopedia*, ed. Aziz Suryal Atiya, Vol. 3, 857. New York: Macmillan; Toronto: Collier Macmillan Canada and New York: Maxwell Macmillan International.
- Habachi, Labib. 1974. Lids of the outer sarcophagi of Merytamen and Nefertari, wives of Ramesses II. In *Festschrift zum 150jährigen Bestehen des Berliner Ägyptischen Museums, Ägyptisches Museum*, 105-12. Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Mitteilungen aus der Ägyptischen Sammlung. vol. 8, Berlin: Akademie-Verlag.
- Häggman, Sofia. 2002. *Directing Deir el-Medina: The External Administration of the Necropolis*. Uppsala Studies in Egyptology, vol. 4. Uppsala: Dept. of Archaeology and Ancient History, Uppsala University.
- Hamza Associates. 2009. Geological and Geotechnical Report on the Valley of the Queens. Report commissioned by the Getty Conservation Institute.
- — —. 2009a. Geological Investigation Laboratory Test Results. Report commissioned by the Getty Conservation Institute .
- Hari, Robert. 1965. *Horemheb et la Reine Moutnedjemet: Ou, la fin d'une dynastie*. Genève: Editions de Belles-Lettres.
- Harlé, D. 1976. La reconstitution de la tombe de Nefertari. In *Ramsès Le Grand: Exposition, Galeries nationales du Grand Palais* (France), Paris: Galeries nationales du Grand Palais.
- Harlé, Diane. 1976a. La tombe de la reine Nofretari, ornée de peintures aux couleurs chatoyantes (Thèbes). *Archéologia* (100): 35-50 .
- Hassanein, F. 1978. Etude comparative de quatre tombes de princes, fils de Ramses III, de la Vallée des Reines. Thesis, Univ. de Lyon II.
- Hassanein, Fathy. 1991. Le problème historique du prince Seth-h.er-khopchef, fils de Ramses III: A propos de la tombe no. 43 de la Vallée des Reines. In *Akten des vierten Internationalen Ägyptologen Kongresses*, ed. Sylvia Schoske, Vol. 4, 63-66. Studien zur Altägyptischen Kultur. vol. 1, Hamburg: Helmut Buske.
- Hassanein, Fathy, and Monique Nelson. 1976. *La tombe du prince Amon-(Her)-Khepchef*. Collection scientifique; Vallée des Reines. Le Caire: Centre d'études et de documentation sur l'ancienne Egypte.
- Hassanein, Fathy, Monique Nelson, and Guy Lecuyot. 1997. *La tombe du prince Khaemouaset [VdR no 44]*. Collection scientifique: Vallée des Reines: vol. 72. Le Caire: Conseil supérieur des antiquités.
- Hay of Linplum, Robert. 1824-1838. Hay MSS [Robert Hay of Linplum and his artists made the drawings etc. in Egypt and Nubia between 1824-1838]. British Library Add. MSS 29812-60, 31054.
- Hegazy, El Sayed. 1999. Saving the Theban Necropoleis: An emergency documentation proposal. *KMT: A Modern Journal of Ancient Egypt* 10(1): 28-33.
- Helck, Wolfgang. 1980. Königsgräbertal. In *Lexikon der Ägyptologie*, ed. Eberhard Otto, Wolfgang Helck, and Wolfhart Westendorf, Vol. 3, 468-73. Wiesbaden: O. Harrassowitz.

## Valley of the Queens Bibliography

- Hellinckx, Bart R. 1999. A new daughter of Ramesses II? *Göttinger Miszellen* 173: 113-21.
- Heurtel, Chantal. 2002. Nouveaux aperçus de la vie anachorétique dans la montagne thébaine: Les ostraca coptes de la tombe TT29. *Bulletin de l'Institut français d'archéologie orientale* 154: 29-45.
- Hornung, Erik. 1990. *The Valley of the Kings: Horizon of Eternity*. New York: Timken Publishers.
- — —. 1999. *The Ancient Egyptian Books of the Afterlife*. Ithaca, N.Y. Cornell University Press.
- — —. 2001. The Tomb of Thutmose III. In *The Treasures of Luxor and the Valley of the Kings*, Kent R. Weeks, 137-39. Art Guides. Vercelli: White Star.
- Institut Géographique National. 1969-1970. Carte des Vallées de la montagne occidentale de thébes (1:5,000 scale). In *Graffiti de la montagne thébaine: Vol.1, Part 1 Cartographie et étude topographique illustrée*, ed. Jaroslav Černý, Christiane Desroches Noblecourt, and M. Kurz, pl. 2. Collection scientifique (Markaz Tasjil al-Athar al-Misriyah). Le Caire: Centre de documentation et d'études sur l'ancienne Egypte.
- — —. 1969-1970a. Vallée de Reines (1:2,000 scale). In *Graffiti de la montagne thébaine: Vol.1, Part 1 Cartographie et étude topographique illustrée*, ed. Jaroslav Černý, Christiane Desroches Noblecourt, and M. Kurz, pl. 6. Collection scientifique (Markaz Tasjil al-Athar al-Misriyah). Le Caire: Centre de documentation et d'études sur l'ancienne Egypte.
- John Murray (Firm). 1875. *A Handbook for Travellers in Egypt: Including Descriptions of the Course of the Nile Through Egypt and Nubia, Alexandria, Cairo, the Pyramids, and Thebes, the Suez Canal, the Peninsula of Mount Sinai, the Oases, the Fyoom &c.* 5th ed. London: John Murray.  
<http://catalog.hathitrust.org/api/volumes/oclc/14140895.html>.
- Kalos, Mikaël. 1990. La restauration du hameau d'artisans. *Les Dossiers d'archéologie* (149/150): 32-33.
- Karl Baedeker (Firm). 1902. *Egypt: Handbook for Travellers*. 5th remodeled ed. Leipsig: K. Baedeker and New York: C. Scribner's Sons.
- — —. 1914. *Egypt and the Sudân: Handbook for Travellers*. 7th remodelled ed. Leipzig: K. Baedeker, London: T. Fisher Unwin and New York: C. Scribner's Sons.
- Keller, C. A. 1991. Royal painters: Deir el-Medina in Dynasty XIX. In *Fragments of a Shattered Visage: The Proceedings of the International Symposium of Ramesses the Great*, ed. Edward Bleiberg, and Rita Freed, 50-86. Monographs of the Institute of Egyptian Art and Archaeology. no. 1. Memphis, Tenn.: Memphis State University.
- Kitchen, K. A. 1972. Ramesses VII and the Twentieth Dynasty. *The Journal of Egyptian Archaeology* 58: 182-94.
- Kitchen, Kenneth Anderson, ed. 1973. *The Third Intermediate Period in Egypt, 1100-650 B.C.* Warminster, England: Aris & Phillips.
- — —. 1982. The Twentieth Dynasty revisited. *The Journal of Egyptian Archaeology* 68: 116-25.
- Kitchen, Kenneth Anderson. 1985. *Pharaoh Triumphant: The Life and Times of Ramesses II, King of Egypt*. 3rd corrected impression ed. Monumenta Hannah Sheen dedicata. Warminster, England: Aris & Phillips.
- Koenig, Yvan. 1988. Nouveaux textes hiéroglyphiques de la Vallée des Reines, I. *Bulletin de l'Institut français d'archéologie orientale* 88: 113-29.

## Valley of the Queens Bibliography

- Kurz, Marcel. 1973. *Graffiti de la montagne thébaine: Vol. 2, Part 4: Plans de position*. Collection scientifique (Markaz Tasjil al-Athar al-Misriyah). Le Caire: Centre de documentation et d'études sur l'ancienne Egypte.
- Leblanc, Christian. 1980. Le dégagement de la tombe de Ta-nedjemy: Une contribution à l'histoire de la Vallée des Reines [no. 33]. *Bulletin de la Société française d'Égyptologie* 89: 32-49.
- — —. 1981. Une collaboration franco-égyptienne dans la Vallée des Reines pour l'enregistrement et la protection des tombeaux brûlés. In *Prospection et sauvegarde des antiquités de l'Égypte: Actes de la table ronde organisée à l'occasion du centenaire de l'IFAO, 8-12 janvier 1981*, ed. Nicolas-Christophe Grimal, 37-42. Bibliothèque d'étude, no. 88. Cairo, Egypt: Institut français d'archéologie orientale du Caire.
- — —. 1982. La Vallée des Reines: Dégagement et publication des tombes, recherches sur l'histoire de la nécropole. In *Recherches sur les temples de Nubie, histoire de la montagne thébaine, du Ramesseum et de la Vallée des Reines: Exposition au Centre culturel français du Caire, du 3 au 18 mai 1982*, Centre culturel français du Caire, Markaz Tasjil al-Athar al-Misriyah, Centre national de la recherche scientifique (France), and Equipe de recherche associée no. 439, 10-13. Cairo: Le Centre.
- — —. 1983. Les tombes n° 58 [Anonyme] et n° 60 [Nebet-Taouy] de la Vallée des Reines: Rapport préliminaire. *Annales du Service des antiquités de l'Égypte* 69: 29-52 pl. I-VI.
- — —. 1984-1985. Les tombes n° 58 [Anonyme] et n° 60 [Nebet-Taouy] de la Vallée des Reines: Achèvement des dégagements et conclusions. *Annales du Service des antiquités de l'Égypte* 70: 51-68 pl. I-II.
- — —. 1986. Henout-Taouy et la tombe n° 73 de la Vallée des Reines. *Bulletin de l'Institut français d'archéologie orientale* (86): 203-26.
- — —. 1988. L'identification de la tombe de Henout-mi-rê: Fille de Ramsès II et grande épouse royale. *Bulletin de l'Institut français d'archéologie orientale* 88: 131-46, pl. VIII-XIII.
- — —. 1988a. T3 st nfrw: Une nécropole et son histoire. In *Akten des vierten Internationalen Ägyptologen Kongresses: München 1985 = International Congress of Egyptologists (4th: 1985: München, Germany)*, ed. Sylvia Schoske, Vol. 2, 89-99, 2 plates (Tables 8-9). Studien zur Altägyptischen Kultur. Beihefte. vol. 1, Hamburg: Helmut Buske.
- — —. 1989. Architecture et évolution chronologique des tombes de la Vallée des Reines. *Bulletin de l'Institut français d'archéologie orientale* (89): 227-47, pl. XXX-XXXI.
- — —. 1989a. *Ta Set Neferou: Une necropole de Thebes-Ouest et son histoire: Géographie, toponymie: Historique de l'exploration scientifique du site*, Vol. 1. Le Caire: Nubar Printing House.
- — —. 1990. L'archéologie et l'histoire de la Vallée des Reines. *Les Dossiers d'archéologie* (149/150):2-29.
- — —. 1993. Isis-Nofret, grande épouse de Ramsès II: La reine, sa famille et Nofretari. *Bulletin de l'Institut français d'archéologie orientale* 93: 313-33.
- — —. 1993a. The Valley of the Queens and royal children: History and resurrection of an archaeological site. In *Art and Eternity: The Nefertari Wall Paintings Conservation Project, 1986-1992*, ed. Miguel Angel Corzo, and Mahasti Ziai Afshar, 19-29. Santa Monica, Calif.: Getty Conservation Institute and Cairo: Egyptian Antiquities Organization.  
[http://www.getty.edu/conservation/publications\\_resources/pdf\\_publications/art\\_eternity.html](http://www.getty.edu/conservation/publications_resources/pdf_publications/art_eternity.html).

## Valley of the Queens Bibliography

- — —. 1995. Thèbes et les pluies torrentielles: À propos de *mw n pt. Memnonia: Bulletin édité par l'Association pour la sauvegarde du Ramesseum* 6: 197-214, fig. 1-3, pl. XXXVII-XXXIX.
- — —. 1999. *Nefertari, l'aimée-de-Mout: Épouses, filles et fils de Ramsès II*. Champollion. Monaco: Rocher.
- — —. 1999a. Reines, princesses et princes étrangers a la cour royale d'Egypte, durant le Nouvel Empire. *Dédale* 9-10: 497-520.
- — —. 1999b. Thebes: Valley of the Queens. In *Encyclopedia of the Archaeology of Ancient Egypt*, ed. Kathryn A. Bard, and Steven Blake Shubert, 833-36, fig. 124. London and New York: Routledge.
- — —. 2001. Western Thebes and the Queens of the Two Lands in the New Kingdom. In *The Treasures of the Valley of the Kings: Tombs and Temples of the Theben West Bank in Luxor*, ed. Kent R Weeks, 272-93. Cairo, Egypt: American University in Cairo Press.
- — —. 2001a. The Tomb of Nefertari. In *The Treasures of the Valley of the Kings: Tombs and Temples of the Theben West Bank in Luxor*, ed. Kent R Weeks, 294-311. Cairo, Egypt: American University in Cairo Press.
- — —. 2001b. The Tombs of the Sons of Rameses III. In *The Treasures of the Valley of the Kings: Tombs and Temples of the Theben West Bank in Luxor*, ed. Kent R Weeks, 312-23. Cairo, Egypt: American University in Cairo Press.
- — —. 2001c. La véritable identité de Pentaoueret, le prince "maudit". *Revue d'égyptologie* 52: 151-81.
- — —. 2001-2002. Une nouvelle analyse de la double theorie des princes du temple de Rameses III: A Medinet Habou. *Memnonia: Bulletin édité par l'Association pour la sauvegarde du Ramesseum* 12/13: 191-218.
- — —. 2008. Anubis criocéphale: Une manifestation du soleil nocturne. In *The Realm of the Pharaohs: Essays in Honor of Tohfa Handoussa*, ed. Zahi A. Hawass, Khaled Abdalla Daoud, and Sawsan Abd el-Fattah, Vol. 1, 315-22. Supplément aux Annales du Service des antiquités de l'Égypte, cahier no 37. Le Caire: Conseil Suprême des Antiquités de l'Égypte.
- — —. 2009. *Reines du Nil au Nouvel Empire*. Paris: Bibliothèque des introuvables.
- Leblanc, Christian, and Ibrahim Abdel Rahman. 1991. Remarques relatives à la tombe de la reine Douatentipet. *Revue d'égyptologie* 42: 147-69 pl. 3-10.
- Leblanc, Christian, and Magdi Mohamed Fekri. 1993. La prospection archéologique des vallées latérales de T3 st nfrw. In *Sesto Congresso internazionale di egiptologia: Atti*, 2nd ed., Vol. 2, 259-68. Torino, Italy: International Association of Egyptologists.
- Leblanc, Christian, and Fathy Hassanein. 1985. La Vallée des Reines: Des tombes royales enfin identifiées. *Archéologia* 205: 24-31.
- Leblanc, Christian, and David M. Hawke. 1993. *Nefertari no. 66 = Nefertari (66)*. 48 slides, 1 booklet Selected Theban tombs series. Paris: Coreia Editions.
- Leblanc, Christian, and Angelo Sesana. 1996. Prospection géophysique et archéologique dans la Vallée de la Corde. *Memnonia: Bulletin édité par l'Association pour la sauvegarde du Ramesseum* 7: 141-56.
- Leblanc, Christian, and Alberto Siliotti. 1991. Egitto: Ta Set Neferou. *Archeologia viva* 10(17): 60-68.

## Valley of the Queens Bibliography

- — —. 2002. *Nefertari e la valle delle regine*. 2nd ed. Firenze: Giunti.
- Leblanc, Christian, and Gihane Zaki, ed. 2010. *Les temples de millions d'années et le pouvoir royal à Thèbes au Nouvel Empire: Sciences et nouvelles technologies appliquées à l'archéologie = The Temples of Millions of Years and the Royal Power at Thebes in the New Kingdom: Science and New Technologies Applied to Archaeology: Colloque international = International Colloquium, Bibliothèque publique Moubarak, Louqsor, 3-5 janvier 2010*. Memnonia: Bulletin édité par l'Association pour la sauvegarde du Ramesseum, cahier supplémentaire no 2. Le Caire: Conseil suprême des antiquités de l'Égypte.
- Lecuyot, Guy. 1987. Découverte dans la Vallée des Reines. *Archéologia* 227: 28-33.
- — —. 1989. Le Deir Roumi: Monastère copte de La Vallée des Reines. *Les Dossiers histoire et archéologie* (136): 60-63.
- — —. 1992. Les tombes VdR 9 à 13 de la Vallée des Reines. *Memnonia: Bulletin édité par l'Association pour la sauvegarde du Ramesseum* 3: 89-129; pl. XVI-XXIII.
- — —. 1992a. Un sanctuaire romain transformé en monastère: Le Deir er-Roumi. In *Sesto Congresso internazionale di egittologia: Atti*, Vol. 1, 383-90. Torino, Italy: International Association of Egyptologists.
- — —. 1992b. Vallée des Reines CNRS (URA 1064). *Bulletin de liaison du Groupe international d'étude de la céramique égyptienne* (16): 26.
- — —. 1993. Le Deir er-Roumi. *Le Monde copte* (21-22): 101-6.
- — —. 1993a. The Valley of the Queens in the Coptic Period. In *Acts of the Fifth International Congress of Coptic Studies: Washington, 12-15 August 1992*, ed. Tito Orlandi, and David W. Johnson, Vol. 2/1, 263-76. Roma: C.I.M.
- — —. 1996. La céramique de la Vallée des Reines: Bilan préliminaire. *Cahiers de la céramique égyptienne* (4): 145-61.
- — —. 1997. Étude architecturale. In *La tombe du prince Khaemouaset [VdR no 44]*, ed. F. Hassanein, and Monique Nelson, Collection scientifique: Vallée des Reines, no. 72. Le Caire: Conseil supérieur des antiquités.
- — —. 1999. Une nécropole de Thèbes-Ouest à l'époque romaine et copte: La Vallée des Reines. *Kyphi: Bulletin du cercle Lyonnais d'Égyptologie Victor Loret* (2): 33-61.
- — —. 2000. Ta Set Neferu: A brief history of excavations in the Valley of the Queens. *KMT: A Modern Journal of Ancient Egypt* 11(2): 42-55.
- — —. 2009. Coptic occupation of the Theban Mountain. *Egyptian Archaeology* 35: 18-20.
- Lecuyot, G., and A. Delattre. 2008. Ermitages de la montagne thébaine. In *Travaux de l'Institut français d'archéologie orientale en 2007-2008*: ed. Laure Pantalacci, and Sylvie Denoix, 419-21. Bulletin de l'Institut français d'archéologie orientale. no. 108. Le Caire: l'Institut français d'archéologie orientale.
- Lecuyot, Guy, A. Delattre, and C. Thirard. 2006. Coptics remains in the Theban Hills: Mission of the French Archaeological Institute of Cairo. l'Institut français d'archéologie orientale, La Caire.
- Lecuyot, Guy, and M. Gabolde. 1998. A mysterious Dw3 dating from Roman times at the Deir er-Rumi. In *Proceedings of the Seventh International Congress of Egyptologists, Cambridge, 3-9 September 1995*, ed. Christopher Eyre, 661-66. Orientalia Lovaniensia analecta, no. 82. Leuven, Belgium: Uitgeverij Peeters.

## Valley of the Queens Bibliography

- Legrain, G. 1904. Notes d'Inspection. *Annales du Service des antiquités de l'Égypte* 5: 133-41.
- Legrain, M. Geroges. 1903. Fragments de Canopes. *Annales du Service des antiquités de l'Égypte* 4: 138-49.
- Lepsius, Richard. 1844. Lepsius MSS: [Diary of Richard Lepsius from Oct. 30 to Dec. 7 1844]. On loan to the Griffith Institute, Asmolean Museum, Oxford.
- — —. 1897-1913. *Denkmäler aus Aegypten und Aethiopien: Text*, Vol. 3. Leipzig: J.C. Hinrich.
- Levin, Jeffrey, ed. 2008. Site Management in Egypt, Special issue, *Conservation: The GCI Newsletter* 23(2). [http://www.getty.edu/conservation/publications\\_resources/newsletters/23\\_2/](http://www.getty.edu/conservation/publications_resources/newsletters/23_2/).
- L'Hôte, Nestor. 1828-9, 1838-9. Nestor L'Hôte MSS: [Egypt in 1828-9, 1838-9]. Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, Nouvelles acquisitions françaises, 20394-415; 2 volumes in Louvre Museum E. 25423, a, b.
- Llagostera, Esteban. 2005. Exhibición de la reproducción fotográfica de la tumba de la reina Nefertari (QV 66), en el Museo Arqueológico Nacional de Madrid. *Boletín de la Asociación Española de Orientalistas* 41: 91-105.
- Loyrette, Anne-Marie. 1987. Deux princesses sortent de l'oubli. *Archéologia* 228: 38-42.
- — —. 1997. À propos de boules en fritte glaçurée trouvées dans la Vallée des Trois Puits. In *Ancient Egypt, the Aegean, and the Near East: Studies in Honour of Martha Rhoades Bell*, ed. Jacke Phillips, and Lanny Bell, Vol. 2, 359-68. [San Antonio]: Van Sicklen Books.
- — —. 1997a. Les tombes de la Vallée des Trois Puits, à Thèbes-Quest. *Memnonia: Bulletin édité par l'Association pour la sauvegarde du Ramesseum* 8: 177-95, pl. XLIX-LI.
- Loyrette, Anne-Marie, and Magdi Fekri. 1991. Un ensemble céramique du Nouvel Empire: Vallée des Reines: Tombe 18. *Cahiers de la céramique égyptienne* (2): 11-16.
- Loyrette, Anne-Marie, and Sayed Mohamed Sayed. 1992-1993. La tombe d'une princesse anonyme (N 36) de la Vallée des Reines. *Annales du Service des antiquités égyptiennes* 72: 119-32, 134.
- Mackay, Ernest. 1917. Proportion squares on tomb walls in the Theban Necropolis. *The Journal of Egyptian Archaeology* 4(2/3): 74-85.
- Macke, André. 1993. Les orifices d'éviscération endocranienne aux basses époques: Une étude à propos de 84 crânes provenant de la "Vallée des Reines." *Annales du Service des antiquités égyptiennes* 72: 135-47.
- Macke, André, and Christiane Macke-Ribet. 1990. Les recherches anthropologiques (dans la Vallée des Reines). *Les Dossiers d'archéologie* (149/150): 34-39.
- — —. 1992. Paléopathologie osseuse de la population égyptienne d'époque romaine provenant de la Vallée des Reines. In *Sesto Congresso internazionale di egittologia: Atti*, Vol. 1, 299-306. Torino, Italy: International Association of Egyptologists .
- — —. 1993-1994. Pastilles dorées découvertes sur des momies provenant de la Vallée des Reines. *Memnonia: Bulletin édité par l'Association pour la sauvegarde du Ramesseum* 4-5: 157-64, pl. XXXV-XXXVIII.
- — —. 1997. Étude des composés utilisés pour dessécher les momies. *Memnonia: Bulletin édité par l'Association pour la sauvegarde du Ramesseum* 8: 197-210, pl. LII-LIV.

## Valley of the Queens Bibliography

- Macke, André, Christiane Macke-Ribet, Christian Leblanc, and J. Connan. 2002. *Ta Set Neferou: Une necropole de Thebes-Ouest et son histoire: V: Momification, chimie des baumes, anthropologie, paléopathologie*, Vol. 5. Le Caire: Nubar Printing House.
- Mahir Taha, Mahmud. 2001. *Queen Nefertari: The Most Beautiful of Them*. Egypt: Ministry of culture.
- Mahmoud Soliman, Ibrahim, and Mario Tosi. 1996. La tombe de la reine Isis [VdR 51], Grande Epouse de Ramsès III. *Memnonia: Bulletin édité par l'Association pour la sauvegarde du Ramesseum* 7: 213-25, pl. LVIII-LXI.
- McCarthy, Heather Lee. 2002. The Osiris Nefertari: A case study of decorum, gender, and regeneration. *Journal of the American Research Center in Egypt* 39: 173-95.
- — —. 2007. A study of Ramesside royal women's tombs in the Valley of the Queens. In *Current Research in Egyptology 2005: Proceedings of the Sixth Annual Symposium Which Took Place at the University of Cambridge, 6-8 January 2005*, ed. Rachel Mairs, and Alice Stevenson, 105-22. Oxford: Oxbow Books and Oakville, CT: David Brown Book Co. [distributor].
- — —. 2008. Rules of decorum and expressions of gender fluidity in Tawosret's tomb. In *Sex and Gender in Ancient Egypt: "Don Your Wig for Joyful Hour,"* ed. Carolyn Graves-Brown, 83-113. Swansea: Classical Press of Wales.
- — —. 2011. Queenship, Cosmography, and Regeneration: The Decorative Programs and Architecture of Ramesside Royal Women's Tombs. Ph.D diss., New York University.  
<http://gradworks.umi.com/34/82/3482910.html>.
- McDonald, John K. 1996. *House of Eternity: The Tomb of Nefertari*. Conservation and Cultural Heritage. Los Angeles: Getty Conservation Institute and J. Paul Getty Museum.  
[http://www.getty.edu/conservation/publications\\_resources/pdf\\_publications/house\\_eternity.html](http://www.getty.edu/conservation/publications_resources/pdf_publications/house_eternity.html)
- Messein, Christophe, Hany Helal, and Taha Abdallah. 1994. Carte de risques de tombes dans la Vallée des Reines, Louqsor, Egypte = Zone risk map for some tombs in the Queen's Valley, Luxor, Egypt. In *La conservazione dei monumenti nel bacino del Mediterraneo: Materiali lapidei e monumenti, metodologie per l'analisi del degrado e la conservazione: Atti del 3° simposio internazionale, Venezia, 22-25 giugno 1994 = The Conservation of Monuments in the Mediterranean Basin: Stone and Monuments: Methodologies for the Analyses of Weathering and Conservation: Proceedings of the 3rd International Symposium Venice, 22-25 June 1994*, ed. Vasco Fassina, Heinrich Ott, and Fulvio Zezza, 477-83. Venice, Italy: Soprintendenza ai beni artistici e storici di Venezia.
- Mohamed Sayed, Sayed, and Angelo Sesana. 1995. Les vestiges du mobilier funéraire de la reine Tyti, retrouvés dans la tombe n° 52 de la Vallée des Reines. *Memnonia: Bulletin édité par l'Association pour la sauvegarde du Ramesseum* 6: 215-28, pl. XL-XLI.
- Nelson, Monique, and Fathy Hassanein. 1995. La sortie au jour d'un membre oublié de la famille d'Ipouy. *Memnonia: Bulletin édité par l'Association pour la sauvegarde du Ramesseum* 6: 229-36, pl. XLII-XLIII.
- Nelson, Monique, and Francis Janot. 1993. Une gisante renaissant de ses cendres. *Bulletin de l'Institut français d'archéologie orientale* 93: 371-78.
- Newberry, Percy E. 1906. Topographical notes on Western Thebes collected in 1830 by Joseph Bonomi. *Annales du Service des antiquités de l'Egypte* 7: 78-86.
- Olivier, Anette. 2008. Social Status of Elite Women of the New Kingdom of Ancient Egypt. Masters thesis, University of South Africa.

## Valley of the Queens Bibliography

- Pantalacci, Laure. 2005. Ermitages de la montagne thébaine. In *Travaux de l'Institut français d'archéologie orientale en 2004-2005*, 450-451. Bulletin de l'Institut français d'archéologie orientale, no. 105. Le Caire: l'Institut français d'archéologie orientale.
- Peden, A. J. 1994. *The Reign of Ramesses IV*. Warminster, Eng.: Aris & Phillips.
- — —. 2000. The workmen of Deir el-Medina and the decline of textual graffiti at West Thebes in Late Dynasty XX and Early Dynasty XXI. In *Deir el-Medina in the Third Millennium AD: A Tribute to Jac. J. Janssen*, ed. R. J. Demarée, and A. Egberts, 287-90. Egyptologische uitgaven vol. 14, Leiden: Nederlands Instituut voor het Nabije Oosten.
- Peden, Alexander J. 2001. *The Graffiti of Pharaonic Egypt: Scope and Roles of Informal Writings (c.3100-332 B.C.)*. Probleme der Ägyptologie, vol. 17. Leiden and Boston: Brill.
- Peet, Thomas Eric. 1920. *The Mayer Papyri A & B; Nos. M. 11162 and M. 11186 of the Free Public Museums, Liverpool*. London: Egypt Exploration Society.
- — —. 1930-2005. *The Great Tomb-Robberies of the Twentieth Egyptian Dynasty: Being a Critical Study, With Translations and Commentaries, of the Papyri in Which These Are Recorded*. Mansfield, CT: Martino Pub.
- Pezin, M., and G. Lecuyot. 2007. Documents coptes découverts au Deir er-Roumi, dans la Vallée des Reines et le Ouadi duprince Ahmès. In *Actes du huitième Congrès international d'études coptes: Paris, 28 juin-3 juillet 2004*, ed. Nathalie Boisson, and Anne Bouvarel-Boud'hors, 759-86. Orientalia Lovaniensia analecta vol. 163, Leuven: Uitgeverij Peeters en Departement Oosterse Studies.
- Pijoán, José. 1945. *Summa artis: Historia general del arte: Volume 3: El arte egipcio*. Madrid: Espasa-Calpe.
- Pillet, Maurice L. 1930. *Thèbes: Palais et nécropoles*. Les villes d'art célèbres. Paris: H. Laurens.
- Pinch Brock, Lyla. 1996. The Theban Flood of 1994: Ancient antecedents and the case of KV55. *Varia Aegyptiaca* 11(1): 1-16.
- Porta, Eduardo. 1997. Restauration des tombes de Néfertari et de Toutankhamon. In *La peinture égyptienne ancienne: Un monde de signes à préserver: Actes du Colloque international de Bruxelles, avril 1994*, ed. Roland Tefnin, 97-104. Monumenta Aegyptiaca 7; Série Imago No. 1. Bruxelles: Fondation égyptologique reine Elisabeth.
- Porter, Bertha, and Rosalind L. B. Moss. 1927. *Topographical Bibliography of Ancient Egyptian Hieroglyphic Texts, Reliefs, and Paintings: Theban Necropolis*, Vol. 1. Oxford: Clarendon Press.
- — —. 1964. *Topographical Bibliography of Ancient Egyptian Hieroglyphic Texts, Reliefs, and Paintings: Volume 1: The Theban Necropolis: Part 2: Royal Tombs and Smaller Cemeteries*. 2nd ed. Oxford: Clarendon Press.
- Prisse d'Avennes, E. [1868-78] 1991. *Atlas of Egyptian Art = Atlas de l'art Égyptien* Cairo: Zeitouna. Originally published as *Histoire de l'art égyptien d'après les monuments depuis les temps les plus reculés jusqu'à la domination romaine, 1868-78*.
- Quirke, Stephen. 1992. *Ancient Egyptian Religion*. London: British Museum Press.
- R. E. Cameron and Associates. 1991. *Topographic Plan: Valley of the Queens, The Theban Necropolis, Egypt (1:200 Scale)*. Norwood, Ma.

## Valley of the Queens Bibliography

- Racanicchi, Piero, ed. 1991. *Fotografi in terra d'Egitto: Immagini dall'Archivio storico della Soprintendenza al Museo delle Antichità Egizie di Torino*. Torino: Pas Informazione.
- Redford, Susan. 2001. Valley of the Queens. In *The Oxford Encyclopedia of Ancient Egypt*, ed. Donald B. Redford, 474-76. Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press.
- Reeves, C. Nicholas. 2000. *Ancient Egypt: The Great Discoveries: A Year-by-Year Chronicle*. London: Thames & Hudson.
- Reeves, C. Nicholas, and Richard H. Wilkinson. 1996. *The Complete Valley of the Kings: Tombs and Treasures of Egypt's Greatest Pharaohs*. London: Thames and Hudson.
- Riggs, Christina. 2003. The Egyptian funerary tradition at Thebes in the Roman Period. In *The Theban Necropolis: Past, Present and Future*, ed. Nigel Strudwick, and John H. Taylor, 189-201. London: British Museum.
- — —. 2005. *The Beautiful Burial in Roman Egypt: Art, Identity, and Funerary Religion*. Oxford Studies in Ancient Culture and Representation. Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press.
- Ritner, Robert K. 1998. Egypt under Roman rule: The legacy of ancient Egypt. In *The Cambridge History of Egypt*, ed. Carl F. Petry, Vol. 1, 1-33. Cambridge and New York, NY: Cambridge University Press.
- Robins, Gay. 1993. *Women in Ancient Egypt*. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press.
- — —. 1995. *Reflections of Women in the New Kingdom: Ancient Egyptian Art From the British Museum, 4 February-14 May, 1995*. Atlanta: Michael C. Carlos Museum, Emory University.
- Romer, John. 1976. Royal Tombs of the Early Eighteenth Dynasty. *Mitteilungen des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts, Abteilung Kairo* 32: 191-206.
- — —. 1981. *Valley of the Kings*. 1st ed. New York: Morrow.
- Romer, John, and Elizabeth Romer. 1993. Appendix 2: A history of floods in the Valley of the Kings (1979): Paper written as part of the final report of the Theban Royal Tomb Project, 1977-79. In *The Rape of Tutankhamun*, 144-52. London: Michael O'Mara.
- Ronsecco, P. 1975. La tela funebre della principessa Ahmose (Scavi nel Museo di Torino VI). *Oriens antiquus* 14(2): 147-52.
- Ronsecco, Paolo, ed. 1996. *Due libri dei morti del principio del Nuovo Regno: Il lenzuolo funerario della principessa Ahmosi e le tele del Sa-Nesu Ahmosi*. Catalogo del Museo egizio di Torino. Serie prima, Monumenti e testi, vol. 7. Torino: Ministero per i beni culturali e ambientali, Soprintendenza al Museo delle antichità egizie.
- Rosellini, Ippolito. 1828-9. Rosellini MSS: [Egypt in 1828-9]. Biblioteca Universitaria, Pisa.
- Roth, Ann Macy. 1999. The absent spouse: Patterns and taboos in Egyptian tomb decoration. *Journal of the American Research Center in Egypt* 36: 37-53.
- Roth, A. M., and C. H. Roehrig. 2002. Magical bricks and the bricks of birth. *The Journal of Egyptian Archaeology* 88: 121-39.
- Rüther, Heinz. 2008. Report on the Survey of the Valley of the Queens, Luxor, Egypt. Prepared for the Getty Conservation Institute.

## Valley of the Queens Bibliography

- — —. 2009. Appendix: Report on the Creation of Additional GIS Data and 3D Models of Tombs for the Valley of the Queens Survey Project. Prepared for the Getty Conservation Institute.
- Sadek, A. F. 1972. *Graffiti de la montagne thébaine: Vol. 4, Part 3: Transcriptions et indices*. Le Caire: Centre de documentation et d'études sur l'ancienne Egypte.
- Sadek, A. F., A. Cherif, M. Shimy, and H. El-Achirie. 1972. *Graffiti de la montagne thébaine: Vol. 3, Part 4: Fac-similés*. Le Caire: Centre de documentation et d'études sur l'ancienne Egypte.
- Sadek, Abdel Aziz. 1990. Varia Graffitica. *Varia Aegyptiaca* 6(3): 109-20.
- Schiaparelli, Ernesto, and Missione archeologica italiana in Egitto. [1923]. *Relazione sui lavori della Missione archeologica italiana in Egitto, anni 1903-1920: Vol. 1, Esplorazione delle "Valle delle Regina" nella necropoli di Tebe*. Torino: R. Museo di antichità and G. Chiantore.
- — —. [1927]. *Relazione sui lavori della Missione archeologica italiana in Egitto, anni 1903-1920: Vol. 2, La tomba intatta dell'architetto Cha: Nella necropoli di tebe*. Torino: R. Museo di antichità and G. Chiantore.
- Schmidt, Heike. C. 1995. Szenarium der trasfiguration, kulisse des mythos, das grab der Nefertari. *Studien zur altägyptischen Kultur* (22): 237-70.
- Schumann Antelme, Ruth. 1976. Bouchon de vase canope représentant la tête de la reine Touy. In *Ramsès Le Grand: Exposition, Galeries nationales du Grand Palais*, 28-31. Paris: Galeries nationales du Grand Palais.
- — —. 1995. Une offrande funéraire d'Aménophis III. *Memnonia: Bulletin édité par l'Association pour la sauvegarde du Ramesseum* 6: 237-44, pl XLIV.
- — —. 1999. Un vase d'offrande de la Vallée des Reines. *Memnonia: Bulletin édité par l'Association pour la sauvegarde du Ramesseum* 10: 205-11, pl. LIX.
- Seton-Williams, M. V., and Peter Stocks. 1983. *Egypt: Atlas, Street Atlas of Cairo, Maps, Plans and Illustrations*. 1st ed. Blue Guide. London: E. Benn and New York: W.W. Norton.
- Sevi, Adam, Ahmed Ismail, and Richard Stephenson. 2006. A geotechnical investigation of sandstone degradation in Luxor, Egypt. In *Sea to Sky Geotechnique, 2006: 59th Canadian Geotechnical Conference and 7th Joint CGS/IAH-CNC Groundwater Specialty Conference: Conference Proceedings, October 1-4, Vancouver, BC, Canada*, Canadian Geotechnical Society, 109-16. [Alliston, Ont.]: Canadian Geotechnical Society.
- Shaw, Ian, ed. 2000. *The Oxford History of Ancient Egypt*. Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press.
- Siliotti, Alberto, and Christian Leblanc. 1993. *Nefertari e la valle delle regine*. 1st ed. Firenze: Giunti.
- Sourouzian, Hourig. 1983. Henout-mi-Rê, fill de Ramsès II et grande épouse du roi. *Annales du Service des antiquités de l'Egypte* 69: 365-71.
- Spiegelberg, Wilhelm, ed. 1921. *Ägyptische und andere Graffiti (Inschriften und Zeichnungen) aus der Thebanischen Nekropolis*. Heidelberg: C. Winters Universitätsbuchhandlung.
- — —. 1928. *Demotica: II (20-34)*. Sitzungsberichte (Bayerische Akademie der Wissenschaften; Philosophisch Historische Klasse); Jahrg. 1928, 2. Abhandlung. München: Bayerischen Akademie der Wissenschaften in Kommission des Verlags R. Oldenbourg.

## Valley of the Queens Bibliography

- Stoppelaëre, A. 1940. Dégradations et restaurations des peintures murales égyptiennes. *Annales du Service des antiquités de l'Égypte* 40: 941-50.
- Strelocke, Hans. 1982. *Égypte*. 2nd ed. Guide-Poche Univers. Cairo: Lehnert & Landrock : K. Lambelet.
- Strudwick, Nigel. 2003. Some aspects of the archaeology of the Theban Necropolis in the Ptolemaic and Roman Periods. In *The Theban Necropolis: Past, Present and Future*, ed. Nigel Strudwick, and John H. Taylor, 167-88. London: British Museum.
- Strudwick, Nigel, and Helen Strudwick. 1999. *Thebes in Egypt: A Guide to the Tombs and Temples of Ancient Luxor*. London: British Museum Press.
- Strudwick, Nigel, and John H. Taylor, ed. 2003. *The Theban Necropolis: Past, Present and Future*. London: British Museum.
- Survey of Egypt. 1922. *El Qurna*. Tourist ed. (1:10,000 Scale). Cairo: Survey of Egypt.
- Survey of Egypt, and Egypt Maslahat al-Athar. 1926. *The Theban Necropolis*. Sheets E-1 and E-2 (1:1,000 Scale). Cairo: Survey of Egypt.  
[http://www.lib.berkeley.edu/EART/indexes/G8304\\_t53\\_1926\\_e5\\_index.jpg](http://www.lib.berkeley.edu/EART/indexes/G8304_t53_1926_e5_index.jpg).
- Taylor, J. 2000. The Third Intermediate Period. In *The Oxford History of Ancient Egypt*, ed. Ian Shaw, 330-368. Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press.
- Thausing, Gertrud, Hans Goedicke, and Hertha Machold. 1971. *Nofretari: Eine Dokumentation der Wandgemälde ihres Grabes = Nofretari: A Documentation of her Tomb and Its Decoration*. Monumenta Scriptorum. Graz, Austria: Akademische Druck- u. Verlagsanstalt.
- Thomas, Elizabeth. 1966. *The Royal Necropoleis of Thebes*. Princeton: Privately printed, Princeton University Library.
- — —. 1967. Was Queen Mutnedjmet the owner of Tomb 33 in the Valley of the Queens? *The Journal of Egyptian Archaeology* 53: 161-63.
- Troy, Lana. 1986. *Patterns of Queenship in Ancient Egyptian Myth and History*. Acta Universitatis Upsaliensis, vol. 14. Uppsala, Stockholm: Universitetet: Distributors, Almqvist & Wiksell International.
- Tyldesley, Joyce A. 2006. *Chronicle of the Queens of Egypt: From Early Dynastic Times to the Death of Cleopatra*. New York: Thames & Hudson.
- Uphill, Eric. 1992. Where were the funerary temples of the New Kingdom Queens? In *Sesto Congresso internazionale di egittologia: Atti*, 2nd ed., Vol. 1, 613-18. Torino, Italy: International Association of Egyptologists.
- Valbelle, Dominique. 1985. *Les ouvriers de la tombe: Deir el-Médineh à l'Époque Ramesside*. Bibliothèque d'étude; 96, ed. Dominique Valbelle. Caire: Institut français d'archéologie orientale du Caire.
- Vassilika, Eleni. 2009. *Masterpieces of the Museo egizio in Turin*. Firenze: Scala.
- Vernus, Pascal. 2000. La grotte de la Vallée des Reines dans la piété personnelle des ouvriers de la Tombe (BM 278). In *Deir el-Medina in the Third Millennium AD: A Tribute to Jac. J. Janssen*, ed. R. J. Demarée, and A. Egberts, 331-36. Egyptologische uitgaven. vol. 14, Leiden: Nederlands Instituut voor het Nabije Oosten.

## Valley of the Queens Bibliography

- Wagner, Guy, Christian Leblanc, Guy Lecuyot, and Anne-Marie Loyrette. 1990. Documents grecs découverts dans la Vallée des Reines [1]. *Bulletin de l'Institut français d'archéologie orientale* 90: 365-80 pl. XXVIII.
- Wagner, Guy, and Guy Lecuyot. 1993. Une dédicace d'un néocore héraut sacré d'Apollon. *Bulletin de l'Institut français d'archéologie orientale* 93: 413-18, figs. 1-6.
- Weeks, Kent R. 1981. *The Berkeley Map of the Theban Necropolis: Report of the Fourth Season, 1981*. Berkeley: University of California.
- — —. 1990. Anatomy of a concession: Interview. *KMT: A Modern Journal of Ancient Egypt* 1(1): 40-47, 60-63.
- — —. 2001. *The Treasures of the Valley of the Kings: Tombs and Temples of the Theben West Bank in Luxor*. Cairo: American University in Cairo Press.
- — —. 2005. *The Illustrated Guide to Luxor: Tombs, Temples, and Museums*. Cairo: The American University in Cairo Press.
- Weigall, Arthur Edward Pearse Brome. 1910. *A Guide to the Antiquities of Upper Egypt: From Abydos to the Sudan Frontier*. London: Methuen & Co.
- — —. 1924. *Ancient Egyptian Works of Art*. London: T.F. Unwin, Ltd.
- Wild, James William. 1842. Wild MSS: [Architect, attached to the Lepsius Expedition in 1842]. Griffith Institute, Asmolean Museum, Oxford.
- Wildung, Dietrich. 1984. *Das Grab der Nefertari*. München: Haus der Kunst München.
- Wilkinson, J. Gardner. 1821-1855. Wilkinson MSS: [Egypt and Nubia between 1821-1831 and 1841-42, 1848-9 and 1855]. Private Collection of Mrs. Godfrey Mosley, on loan to the Griffith Institute, Asmolean Museum, Oxford.
- Wilkinson, John Gardner. 1835. *Topography of Thebes, and General View of Egypt*. London: John Murray.
- — —. 1843. *Modern Egypt and Thebes: Being a Description of Egypt: Including the Information Required for Travellers in That Country*. London: John Murray.
- — —. 1999. *Topographical Survey of Thebes*. Facsimile repr. of 1830 ed. Brockton, MA: John William Pye Rare Books.
- Wilkinson, Richard H., and Richard A. Wilkinson. 1994. Symbolic location and alignment in New Kingdom royal tombs and their decoration. *Journal of the American Research Center in Egypt* 31: 79-86.
- Willeiter, Joachim. 1994. Ein weiterer Kultbau für Nefertari? Zur Diskussion um ihren Totentempel. In *Nefertari, Gemahlin Ramses' II*, Heike C. Schmidt, and Joachim Willeitner, 80-83. Zaberns Bildbände zur Archäologie. no. 10. Mainz am Rhein: P. von Zabern.
- Wilson-Yang, K. M., T. C. Billard, and George Burns. 1982. Chemistry and physics in the Tomb of Nefertari. *The Journal of the Society for the Study of Egyptian Antiquities* (12): 9-11.
- Wilson-Yang, K. M., and George Burns. 1989. The stability of the tomb of Nefertari 1904-1987. *Studies in Conservation* (34): 153-70.

## Valley of the Queens Bibliography

- Winlock, Herbert Eustis. 1948. *The Treasure of Three Egyptian Princesses*. Publications of the Metropolitan Museum of Art. Dept. of Egyptian Art, vol. 10. New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art.
- Winlock, Herbert Eustis, W. E. Crum, and Hugh G. Evelyn-White. 1926. *The Monastery of Epiphanius at Thebes.*, Vol. 1. Publications of the Metropolitan Museum of Art Egyptian Expedition. New York: Arno Press.
- Wüst, Raphael. 2008. Valley of the Queens: Geological Investigations 2008 (Feb. 11-18). Report for the Getty Conservation Institute.
- — —. 2009. Valley of the Queens. Extended Mapping Project 2009 (June-Oct) for the Getty Conservation Institute. Geology Map and Transect Report.
- Yoyotte, Jean. 1958. The tomb of a Prince Ramesses in the Valley of the Queens [N° 53]. *The Journal of Egyptian Archaeology* 44: 26-30.
- Zugazagoitia, Julian. 1993. Conserving Nefertari's tomb. *Egyptian Archaeology: Bulletin of the Egypt Exploration Society* 3: 23-26.

## 2. Site and Visitor Management in Egypt Bibliography

- Abraham, G. 2004. Preserving Najaf's heritage. In *Sustainable Tourism*, ed. F. D. Pineda, and C. A. Brebbia, 181-90. Southampton: WIT Press.
- Abt Associates Inc. 1999. Comprehensive Development Plan for the City of Luxor, Egypt: Investment Project #1, Investment Portfolio for Proposed Grant of US\$40 Million to the Arab Republic of Egypt for the Restoration of the Avenue of the Sphinxes : Executive Summary. Abt Associates Inc., Cambridge, MA. [http://www.abtassociates.com/reports/1999829433054\\_83688.pdf](http://www.abtassociates.com/reports/1999829433054_83688.pdf).
- — — . 1999. Comprehensive Development Plan for the City of Luxor, Egypt: Investment Project #6, Investment Portfolio for the Creation of an Open Museum and Heritage District in Luxor City, Egypt. Abt Associates Inc., Cambridge, MA. [http://www.abtassociates.com/reports/1999829433054\\_15584.pdf](http://www.abtassociates.com/reports/1999829433054_15584.pdf).
- — — . 2000. The Comprehensive Development of the City of Luxor Project, Egypt – Final Structure Plan, Volume I - Technical Report: Executive Summary. Abt Associates, Cambridge, MA. [http://www.abtassociates.com/reports/2000829433054\\_99481.pdf](http://www.abtassociates.com/reports/2000829433054_99481.pdf).
- — — . 2000. The Comprehensive Development of the City of Luxor Project, Egypt: Final Structure Plan, Volume 2: Supplementary Documents. Abt Associates Inc., Cambridge, MA. [http://www.abtassociates.com/reports/2000829433054\\_64473.pdf](http://www.abtassociates.com/reports/2000829433054_64473.pdf).
- Agnew, Neville, and Martha Demas. 2008. Envisioning a future for the Valley of the Queens: The GCI and SCA Collaborative Project. *Conservation: The GCI Newsletter* 23(2). [http://www.getty.edu/conservation/publications\\_resources/newsletters/23\\_2/feature6.html](http://www.getty.edu/conservation/publications_resources/newsletters/23_2/feature6.html).
- Alcraft, Rob. 1999. *Valley of the Kings*. Visiting the Past. Oxford: Heinemann Library.
- Aly, Hassan Y., and Mark C. Strazicich. 2000. Terrorism and tourism: Is the impact permanent or transitory? Time series evidence from some MENA countries. In *ERF Seventh Annual Conference: ERF Region, Trends and Prospects for Growth and Human Development, Inter Continental Hotel, Amman, 26-29 October 2000*, Cairo: Economic Research Forum for the Arab Countries, Iran and Turkey. <http://fama2.us.es:8080/turismo/turisonet1/economia%20del%20turismo/economia%20del%20turismo/terrorism%20and%20tourism.pdf>.
- Amin, Naguib, and Michael Jones. 2008. Site management training at Medinet Habu. *Conservation: The GCI Newsletter* 23(2). [http://www.getty.edu/conservation/publications\\_resources/newsletters/23\\_2/feature6.html](http://www.getty.edu/conservation/publications_resources/newsletters/23_2/feature6.html).
- Awad, Mohamed. 2002. Management of heritage in Egypt: Towards a strategy of organizational restructuring and operational reform. In *Heritage Management Mapping: GIS and Multimedia*, 131-35. Cairo, Egypt: Smart Village.
- Berriane, Mohamed. 1999. *Tourism, Culture and Development in the Arab Region: Supporting Culture to Develop Tourism, Developing Tourism to Support Culture: World Decade for Cultural Development*. Paris: UNESCO.
- Boraik, Mansour, and W. Raymond Johnson. 2008. Western Thebes: History, change, and challenges. *Conservation: The GCI Newsletter* 23(2). [http://www.getty.edu/conservation/publications\\_resources/newsletters/23\\_2/feature2.html](http://www.getty.edu/conservation/publications_resources/newsletters/23_2/feature2.html).
- Cain, Kevin and Philippe Martinez. 2004. Multiple Realities: Video Projection in the Tomb of Ramses II. Paper Presented at the Congress of Cultural Atlases: The Human Record: Beyond GIS: Mindscapes, VR and Cultural Landscapes, May 7-10, 2004, University of California, Berkeley. [http://www.insightdigital.org/PDF%20papers/Cain\\_Ramses\\_II.pdf](http://www.insightdigital.org/PDF%20papers/Cain_Ramses_II.pdf).

## Site and Visitor Management Bibliography

- Chase-Harell, Pauline. 1989. The use of interpretive techniques to increase visitor understanding and reduce pressure on fragile resources: The West Bank of the Nile at Luxor. In *International Perspectives on Cultural Parks: Proceedings of the First World Conference, Mesa Verde National Park, Colorado, 1984*, 171-78. Denver: United States, National Park Service//Colorado Historical Society.
- Demas, Martha, and Neville Agnew. 2008. Integrated planning for the Theban West Bank. *Conservation: The GCI Newsletter* 23(2).  
[http://www.getty.edu/conservation/publications\\_resources/newsletters/23\\_2/feature7.html](http://www.getty.edu/conservation/publications_resources/newsletters/23_2/feature7.html).
- El-Iraqi, Dania, and Mohamed Osman. 2006. Site management and application to Wadilmeluk (The Valley of the Kings). *International Journal of Heritage Studies* 12(3): 283-91.
- Evans, Katie, and Lindsay Fielding. 1998. The use of GIS in managing a World Heritage Site. Giza (Egypt). In *Visitor Management: Case Studies From World Heritage Sites*, ed. Myra Shackley, 82-99. Oxford: Butterworth - Heinemann.
- Finneran, Niall P. 2009. Protecting Egypt's Christian heritage: Themes and issues in cultural resource management. In *Managing Egypt's Cultural Heritage: Proceedings of the First Egyptian Cultural Heritage Organisation Conference on Egyptian Cultural Heritage Management*, ed. Fekri A. Hassan, L. S. Owens, and A. De Trafford, 7-14. Egyptian Cultural Heritage Organisation Discourses on Heritage Management Series. London: Golden House.
- Fushiya, Tomomi, and Aloisia De Trafford. 2009. From site to society: From a garbage dumping place to a local heritage. In *Managing Egypt's Cultural Heritage: Proceedings of the First Egyptian Cultural Heritage Organisation Conference on Egyptian Cultural Heritage Management*, ed. Fekri A. Hassan, L. S. Owens, and A. De Trafford, 38-58. Egyptian Cultural Heritage Organisation Discourses on Heritage Management Series. London: Golden House.
- Gamblin, Sandrine. 2007. Tourisme international: Etat et sociétés locales en Egypte: Louxor, un haut lieu disputé. Doctorat de science politique, Institut d'Etudes Politiques de Paris, Ecole Doctorale de Sciences Po. <http://spire.sciences-po.fr/hdl:/2441/6521/resources/gamblin-scpo-2007.pdf>.
- Glazier, Darren, and Alistair Jones. 2009. 'Not just Egyptians; not just Europeans: Different cultures, working together...' Examining the heritage of Quseir, Egypt. In *Managing Egypt's Cultural Heritage: Proceedings of the First Egyptian Cultural Heritage Organisation Conference on Egyptian Cultural Heritage Management*, ed. Fekri A. Hassan, L. S. Owens, and A. De Trafford, 27-37. Egyptian Cultural Heritage Organisation Discourses on Heritage Management Series. London: Golden House.
- Hanna, Hany. 2009. Abu Mena archaeological area: An Egyptian World Heritage Site in danger: A primary investigation. In *Managing Egypt's Cultural Heritage: Proceedings of the First Egyptian Cultural Heritage Organisation Conference on Egyptian Cultural Heritage Management*, ed. Fekri A. Hassan, L. S. Owens, and A. De Trafford, 164-77. Egyptian Cultural Heritage Organisation Discourses on Heritage Management Series. London: Golden House.
- Hassan, Fekri A. 2009. Introduction: Managing Egypt's Cultural Heritage: Issues and Prospects. In *Managing Egypt's Cultural Heritage: Proceedings of the First Egyptian Cultural Heritage Organisation Conference on Egyptian Cultural Heritage Management*, ed. Fekri A. Hassan, L. S. Owens, and A. De Trafford, 1-6. Egyptian Cultural Heritage Organisation Discourses on Heritage Management Series. London: Golden House.
- Hawass, Zahi. 1995. The Egyptian monuments: Problems and solutions. *International Journal of Cultural Property* 4(1): 105-17.
- — —. 1998. Site management: The response to tourism. *Museum International* 50(4): 31-37.

## Site and Visitor Management Bibliography

- — —. 2000. Site management at Giza Plateau: Master Plan for the conservation of the site. *International Journal of Cultural Property* 9(1): 1-22.
- — —. 2003. Site management and conservation. In *Egyptology at the Dawn of the Twenty-First Century: Proceedings of the Eighth International Congress of Egyptologists, Cairo, 2000*, ed. Zahi Hawass, and Lyla Pinch Brock, Vol. 3, 48-61. Cairo: American University in Cairo Press.
- — —. 2005. A new era for museums in Egypt. *Museum International* 57(1-2): 7-23.
- — —. 2008. Conservation of Egyptian monuments: The SCA program for site management. *Conservation: The GCI Newsletter* 23(2).  
[http://www.getty.edu/conservation/publications\\_resources/newsletters/23\\_2/feature1.html](http://www.getty.edu/conservation/publications_resources/newsletters/23_2/feature1.html).
- Helmy, Eman. 2004. Towards integration of sustainability into tourism planning in developing countries: Egypt as a case study. *Current Issues in Tourism* 7(6): 478-501.
- Helmy, Eman, and Chris Cooper. 2002. An assessment of sustainable tourism planning for the archaeological heritage: The case of Egypt. *Journal of Sustainable Tourism* 10(6): 514-35.
- Hetherington, Nigel J. 2009. An assessment of the role of archaeological site management in the Valley of the Kings, Luxor, Egypt. In *Managing Egypt's Cultural Heritage: Proceedings of the First Egyptian Cultural Heritage Organisation Conference on Egyptian Cultural Heritage Management*, ed. Fekri A. Hassan, L. S. Owens, and A. De Trafford, 149-63. Egyptian Cultural Heritage Organisation Discourses on Heritage Management Series. London: Golden House.
- Ibrahim, S. E. 2001. Addressing the social context in cultural heritage management: Historic Cairo. In *Historic Cities and Sacred Sites: Cultural Roots for Urban Futures*, ed. Ismail Serageldin, Ephem Shluger, and Joan Martin-Brown, 186-91. Washington, D.C.: World Bank.
- Jones, Michael. 2008. Monument and site conservation. In *Egyptology Today*, ed. Richard H. Wilkinson, 98-120. Cambridge and New York: Cambridge University Press.
- Kokusai Kyoryoku Jigyodan [Japan International Cooperation Agency], Pacific Consultants International, and Yachiyo Engineering Co., Ltd. 2000. *The Study on Tourism Development Projects in the Arab Republic of Egypt: Volume 1-4*. [Tokyo]: Japan International Cooperation Agency.
- Lamei, Saleh. 2009. Safeguarding the Cairene historical significance: Challenges, conservation and rehabilitation. In *Managing Egypt's Cultural Heritage: Proceedings of the First Egyptian Cultural Heritage Organisation Conference on Egyptian Cultural Heritage Management*, ed. Fekri A. Hassan, L. S. Owens, and A. De Trafford, 123-48. Egyptian Cultural Heritage Organisation Discourses on Heritage Management Series. London: Golden House.
- Leblanc, Christian. 2000. Quelques suggestions pour la protection et la conservation du patrimoine pharaonique: À Thèbes-Quest. *Memnonia: Bulletin édité par l'Association pour la sauvegarde du Ramesseum* 11: 191-99 [pl. XLII-XLVII].
- — —. 2003. Response to Z. Hawass [Site management and conservation]. In *Egyptology at the Dawn of the Twenty-First Century: Proceedings of the Eighth International Congress of Egyptologists Cairo, 2000*, ed. Zahi Hawass, 62-68. Cairo: The American University in Cairo Press.
- — —. 2005. Research, development and management of heritage on the Left Bank of the Nile: Ramesseum and its environs. *Museum* 57(1-2): 79-86.

## Site and Visitor Management Bibliography

- — —. 2008. The Ramesseum: A model for conservation and presentation of heritage. *Conservation: The GCI Newsletter* 23(2).  
[http://www.getty.edu/conservation/publications\\_resources/newsletters/23\\_2/feature5.html](http://www.getty.edu/conservation/publications_resources/newsletters/23_2/feature5.html).
- Leblanc, Christian, Guy Lecuyot, and Mahmoud Maher-Taha. 2003. Documentation, recherches et restauration au Ramesseum: Bilan et perspectives. In *Egyptology at the Dawn of the Twenty-First Century: Proceedings of the Eighth International Congress of Egyptologists, Cairo, 2000*, ed. Zahi A Hawass, and Lyla Pinch Brock, 257-66. Cairo, New York: American University in Cairo Press.
- Levin, Jeffrey, ed. 2008. Site Management in Egypt, Special issue. *Conservation: The GCI Newsletter* 23(2). [http://www.getty.edu/conservation/publications\\_resources/newsletters/23\\_2/](http://www.getty.edu/conservation/publications_resources/newsletters/23_2/).
- Mansfield, Yoel, and Onn Winckler. 2004. Options for viable economic development through tourism among the non-oil Arab countries: The Egyptian case. *Tourism Economics* 10(4): 365-88.
- Mayer, Wolfgang. 2003. Response to Z. Hawass [Site management and conservation]. In *Egyptology at the Dawn of the Twenty-First Century: Proceedings of the Eighth International Congress of Egyptologists Cairo, 2000*, ed. Zahi Hawass, 69-70. Cairo: The American University in Cairo Press.
- McManamon, F. P., and J. L. Rogers. 1994. Developing cultural resource management in Egypt. *CRM: Bulletin* 17(3): 18-21. <http://crm.cr.nps.gov/archive/17-3/17-3-11.pdf>.
- Meskel, Lynn. 2000. The practice and politics of archaeology in Egypt. *Annals of the New York Academy of Sciences* 925: 146-69.
- — —. 2005. Sites of violence: Terrorism, tourism, and heritage in the archaeological present. In *Embedding Ethics*, English ed., ed. Lynn Meskel, and Peter Pels, 123-46. Wenner-Gren International Symposium Series. Oxford, UK and New York: Berg.
- Mora, Paolo, Giorgio Torraca, Paul Schwartzbaum, and Elizabeth Smith. 1981. *Luxor West Bank Visitor Management Study: Possible Impact of Increased Tourist Numbers on the Tombs of the West Bank at Luxor*. ICCROM Mission Report. Rome: ICCROM.
- Moser, Stephanie, Darren Glazier, James E. Phillips, Lamy Nasser el Nemr, Mohammed Saleh Mousa, Rascha Nasr Aiesh, Susan Richardson, and Andrew Seymour Michael Conner. 2002. Transforming archaeology through practice: Strategies for collaborative archaeology and the Community Archaeology Project at Qusir, Egypt. *World Archaeology* 34(2): 220-248.
- Nasser, Noha. 2007. A historiography of tourism in Cairo: A spatial perspective. In *Tourism in the Middle East: Continuity, Change, and Transformation*, ed. Rami Farouk Daher, 70-94. Tourism and Cultural Change. vol. 9, Clevedon and Buffalo: Channel View Publications.
- O'Connor, A., A. Zerger, and B. Itami. 2005. Geo-temporal tracking and analysis of tourist movement. *Mathematics and Computers in Simulation* 69: 135-50.
- Pimpaud, Alban-Brice, and Naguib Amin. 2008. Un Système d'Information Géographique (SIG) pour la Sauvegarde et la valorisation du patrimoine archéologique de Thèbes-ouest. *Memnonia: Bulletin édité par l'Association pour la sauvegarde du Ramesseum* 19: 199-214 [pl. XXXII-XXXVI].  
[http://www.mafto.fr/wp2\\_mafto/wp-content/uploads/memnonia\\_19\\_09.pdf](http://www.mafto.fr/wp2_mafto/wp-content/uploads/memnonia_19_09.pdf).
- Rady, Adel. 2002. Tourism and sustainable development in Egypt. In *Réunion d'Experts "Livre blanc: Tourisme et développement durable en Méditerranée"*, Sophia Antipolis, 25-26 février 2002, Valbonne, France: Plan Bleu. [http://www.planbleu.org/publications/livreblanc\\_egy.pdf](http://www.planbleu.org/publications/livreblanc_egy.pdf).
- Rivers, Jenny. 1998. Thebes (Luxor, Egypt) traffic and visitor flow management in the West Bank Necropolis. In *Visitor Management: Case Studies From World Heritage Sites*, ed. Myra Shackley, 161-81. Oxford: Butterworth - Heinemann.

## Site and Visitor Management Bibliography

- Sakr, Mohamed Fathi, and Nada Massoud. 2003. *International Tourism Volatility: With Special Reference to Egypt*. Working Paper, no. 83. Egyptian Center for Economic Studies.  
[http://www.eces.org.eg/Publications/View\\_Pub.asp?p\\_id=10&p\\_detail\\_id=121#mytop](http://www.eces.org.eg/Publications/View_Pub.asp?p_id=10&p_detail_id=121#mytop).
- Saleh, Fathi, and Hala N. Barakat. 2005. The Global Village of Heritage: The contribution of the Centre for Documentation of Cultural and Natural Heritage (CULTNAT). *Museum International* 57(1-2): 73-78.
- Seymour, Michael. 2009. Cultural heritage management and development in Egypt. In *Managing Egypt's Cultural Heritage: Proceedings of the First Egyptian Cultural Heritage Organisation Conference on Egyptian Cultural Heritage Management*, ed. Fekri A. Hassan, L. S. Owens, and A. De Trafford, 95-104. Egyptian Cultural Heritage Organisation Discourses on Heritage Management Series. London: Golden House.
- Shaalán, Ihab Mohamed. 2005. Sustainable tourism development in the Red Sea of Egypt: Threats and opportunities. *Journal of Cleaner Production* 13(2): 83-87.
- Shackley, Myra, ed. 2000. *Visitor Management: Case Studies From World Heritage Sites*. Oxford: Butterworth - Heinemann.
- Sigala, Marianna. 2005. In Search of post-modern online authenticity: Assessing the quality of learning experiences at eternalegypt.org. In *International Cultural Tourism: Management, Implications and Cases*, ed. Marianna Sigala, and Leslie David, Oxford: Elsevier Butterworth-Heinemann.
- Sinha, P. B. 1998. Threat of Islamic terrorism in Egypt. *Strategic Analysis: A Monthly Journal of the IDSA* 22(8): 1-19. <http://www.idsa-india.org/an-content.htm>.
- Tassie, G. J., and Fekri A. Hassan. 2009. Sites and Monuments Records (SMRs) and cultural heritage management. In *Managing Egypt's Cultural Heritage: Proceedings of the First Egyptian Cultural Heritage Organisation Conference on Egyptian Cultural Heritage Management*, ed. Fekri A Hassan, L. S Owens, and A De Trafford, 191-205. Egyptian Cultural Heritage Organisation Discourses on Heritage Management Series. London: Golden House.
- Tohamy, Sahar, and Adrian Swinscoe. 2000. *The Economic Impact of Tourism in Egypt*. The Egyptian Center For Economic Studies (ECES): Working Paper , no. 40. Cairo: Egyptian Center For Economic Studies.  
[http://www.eces.org.eg/Publications/View\\_Pub.asp?p\\_id=10&p\\_detail\\_id=189#mytop](http://www.eces.org.eg/Publications/View_Pub.asp?p_id=10&p_detail_id=189#mytop).
- Van der Spek, Kees. 2003. Negotiating life in the city of the dead: The political economy of tourism, heritage management, academia, and the national interest in the Theban Necropolis, Luxor, Egypt. In *Managing Conflict & Conservation in Historic Cities: Integrating Conservation With Tourism, Development & Politics*, Washington D.C.  
[http://www.icomos.org/usicomos/Symposium/SYMP03/Van\\_der\\_Spek.htm](http://www.icomos.org/usicomos/Symposium/SYMP03/Van_der_Spek.htm).
- Weeks, Kent R. 2000. Response to Z. Hawass [Site management and conservation]. In *Egyptology at the Dawn of the Twenty-First Century: Proceedings of the Eighth International Congress of Egyptologists Cairo, 2000*, ed. Zahi Hawass, 71-72. Cairo: The American University in Cairo Press.
- — —. 2006. *The Valley of the Kings, Luxor, Egypt Site Management Masterplan*. Cairo: The Theban Mapping Project. <http://www.thebanmappingproject.com/about/masterplan.html>.
- — —. 2008. Developing a management plan for Egypt's Valley of the Kings. *Conservation: The GCI Newsletter* 23(2): 112-15.  
[http://www.getty.edu/conservation/publications\\_resources/newsletters/23\\_2/feature3.html](http://www.getty.edu/conservation/publications_resources/newsletters/23_2/feature3.html).



# Appendices

## Appendices

Appendix 1: Chronology of ancient Egypt

Appendix 2: History of mapping

Appendix 3: Archival photographic documentation

Appendix 4: SCA interventions (2006-2010)



## Chronology of the 18<sup>th</sup> Dynasty through the Arab Conquest of Egypt

Dates for the earlier periods are from Leblanc with additional dates taken from Kitchen. Later dates are taken from Dodson. The dates of the Roman Empire are well attested and are largely taken from Bagnall and Rathbone. The dates of the Popes of the Coptic Orthodox Church (Patriarchs of Alexandria) begin with Mark the Evangelist in 43 A.D. through to the Arab conquest of Egypt in 641, thus overlapping with the Roman and Byzantine chronologies.

Bagnall, R. and Rathbone, D. 2004. *Egypt: From Alexander to the Early Christians. An Archaeological and Historical Guide*. Los Angeles: The J. Paul Getty Museum.

Dodson, Aidan. 2000. *After the pyramids: the Valley of the Kings and beyond*. London: Rubicon.

Kitchen, Kenneth. 1973. *The Third Intermediate Period in Egypt (1100-650 B.C.)*. Warminster: Aris & Phillips Ltd.

Leblanc, Christian. 1989. *Ta Set Neferou: Une necropole de Thebes-Ouest et son histoire. Vol. 1. Géographie, toponymie: Historique de l'exploration scientifique du site*. Le Caire: Nubar Printing House.

Valley of the Queens - Egyptian Chronology	
18th Dynasty	
<b>(Leblanc)</b>	
1550-1525	Ahmose I
1525-1504	Amenhotep I
1504-1492	Thutmosis I
1492-1479	Thutmosis II
1479-1457	Thutmosis III
1479-1425	Hatshepsut
1427-1396	Amenhotep II
1396-1386	Thuhutmosis IV
1386-1349	Amenhotep III
1356-1340	Amenhotep IV / Akhenaten
1342-1340	Semenkhkara
1340-1331	Tutankhamen
1331-1327	Ay
1327-1295	Horemheb
19th Dynasty	
1295-1294	Rameses I
1294-1279	Seti I
1279-1212	Rameses II
1212-1199	Merenptah
1202-1199	Amenmeses
1202-1196	Seti II
1196-1190	Siptah
1196-1188	Tausert
20th Dynasty	
1188-1186	Setnakht
1186-1154	Rameses III
1154-1148	Rameses IV
1148-1144	Rameses V
1144-1136	Rameses VI
1136-1128	Rameses VII
1128-1125	Rameses VIII
1125-1107	Rameses IX
1107-1098	Rameses X
1098-1069	Rameses XI
1080	Beginning of 'Renaissance Era'

Third Intermediate Period - 21st Dynasty			
Preferred Dates (Kitchen)		Preferred Dates (Kitchen)	
<i>Kings</i>		<i>High Priests</i>	
1080-1069	Smedes in N	1070-1055	Pinudjem I, hp
1069-1043	Smedes I	1054-1032	Pinudjem I, 'kg'
1043-1039	Amenemnisu	1054-1046	Masaharta
1039-991	Psusennes I	1046-1056	Djed-Khons-ef-ankh (?)
993-984	Amenemope	1045-992	Menkheperre
984-978	Osochor	992-990	Smedes II (?)
978-959	Siamun	990-969	Pinudjem II
959-945	(Har-)Psusennes II	969-945	Psusennes 'III'
Third Intermediate Period - 22nd Dynasty			
<b>(Leblanc)</b>			
945-924	Shoshenq I		Iuput
924-889	Osorkon I		Shoshenq
c.890	Shoshenq II		Smedes
889-874	Takeloth I		Iuwelot
870-860	Harsiese		
874-850	Osorkon II		Nimlot
850-825	Takeloth II		Osorkon
825-773	Shoshenq III		
773-767	Pimay		
767-730	Shoshenq V		
circa 730	Osorkon IV		
Third Intermediate Period - 23rd Dynasty			
<b>(Kitchen)</b>	<b>(Leblanc)</b>		
818-793	818-793		Pedubast I
804-783			Iuput I
783-777			Shoshenq IV
777-749	787-757		Osorkon III
754-734	764-757		Takeloth III
734-731	757-754		Rudamun
731-720/715			Iuput II
720/715			Shoshenq VI
Third Intermediate Period - 24th Dynasty			
	727-720		Tefnakht I
	720-715		Bocchoris (Bakenraenef)
Third Intermediate Period - 25th Dynasty (Nubian)			
	747-716		Piankhy
	716-702		Shabako
	702-690		Shabitku
	690-664		Taharqa
	664-656		Tantamani
Late Period - 26th Dynasty (Saite)			
	672-664		Necho I
	664-610		Psammetichus I
	610-595		Necho II
	595-589		Psammetichus II
	589-570		Apries
	570-526		Amasis
	526-525		Psammetichus III
Late Period - 27th Dynasty (Persian)			
	525-522		Cambyses
	521-486		Darius I
	486-465		Xerxes I
	465-424		Artaxerxes II
	424		Xerxes II
	423-405		Darius II
	405-359		Artaxerxes II

Late Period - 28th Dynasty	
404-399	Amyrtaios
Late Period - 29th Dynasty	
399-393	Nepherites I
393	Psammouthis
393-380	Achoris
380	Nepherites II
Late Period - 30th Dynasty	
380-362	Nectanebo I
362-360	Teos
360-342	Nectanebo II
Late Period - Second Persian Period	
342-338	Artaxerxes III Ochus
338-336	Arses
335-332	Darius III Codoman
Ptolemaic Period	
332-323	Alexander III the Great
323-316	Philip Arrhidaios
316-306	Alexander IV
306-282	Ptolemy I Soter I
282-246	Ptolemy II Philadelphos
246-222	Ptolemy III Euergetes I
222-204	Ptolemy IV Philopator
204-180	Ptolemy V Epiphanes
180-164	Ptolemy VI Philometor
170-163	Ptolemy VIII Euergetes II
163-145	Ptolemy VI Philometor
145	Ptolemy VII Neos Philopator
145-116	Ptolemy VIII Euergetes II
116-107	Ptolemy IX Soter II
107-88	Ptolemy X Alexander I
88-81	Ptolemy IX Soter II
80	Ptolemy XI Alexander II
80-51	Ptolemy XII Neos Dionysos
58-55	Berenike IV
55-51	Ptolemy XII Neos Dionysos
51-30	Cleopatra VII Philopator
51-47	Ptolemy XIII
47-44	Ptolemy XIV
41-30	Ptolemy XV Caesarion
Roman Period	
27 BC- AD14	Augustus
14-37	Tiberius
37-41	Caligula
41-54	Claudius
54-68	Nero
68-69	Galba, Otho, Vitellius
69-79	Vespasian
79-81	Titus
81-96	Domitian

Roman Period continued			
96-98		Nerva	
98-117		Trajan	
117-138		Hadrian	
138-161		Antoninus Pius	
161-180		Marcus Aurelius	
161-169		Lucius Verus	
180-192		Commodus	
193-211		Septimius Severus	
211-217		Caracalla	
217-218		Macrinus	
218-222		Elagabalus	
222-235		Alexander Severus	
235-238		Maximinus the Thracian	
238-244		Gordian III	
244-249		Phillip	
249-251		Decius	
251-253		Trebonianus Gallus	
253-260		Valerian and Gallienus	
268-270		Claudius II	
270-275		Aurelian	
275-276		Tacitus	
276-282		Probus	
284-286		Diocletian	
<b>Western Empire</b>		<b>Eastern Empire</b>	
286-305	Maximian	286-305	Diocletian
305-306	Constantius I	305-311	Galerius
306-307	Severus II	308-324	Licinius
306-312	Maxentius	310-313	Maximinus Daia
307-337	Constantine		
307-308	Maximian returned		
<b>Re-United Empire</b>			
337-340		Constantine II	
337-350		Constans II	
337-361		Constantius II	
360-363		Julian	
363-364		Jovian	
<b>Western Empire</b>		<b>Eastern Empire</b>	
364-375	Valentinian	364-378	Valens
367-383	Gratian	379-395	Theodosius
375-392	Valentinian II		
392-394	Eugenius		

Byzantine Period (Formal Division of Roman Empire)			
Western Empire		Eastern Empire	
395-423	Honorius	395-408	Arcadius
423-425	John	408-450	Theodosius II
425-455	Valentinian III	450-457	Marcian
455	Petronius Maximus	457-474	Leo I
455-456	Avitus	474	Leo II
457-461	Majorian	474-491	Zeno
461-465	Severus III	475-476	Basiliscus
467-472	Anthemius	491-518	Anastasius I
472	Alybrius		
473-474	Glycerius		
474-475	Julius Nepos		
475-476	Romulus Augustus		
Byzantine Empire			
518-527			Justin I
527-565			Justinian I
565-578			Justin II
578-582			Tiberius II Constantine
582-602			Maurice
602-610			Phocas
610-641			Heraclius
641			Constantine III
641-668			Constans III



## History of mapping the Queens Valley

Since the first half of the nineteenth century a number of efforts have been made to map the West Bank generally as well as the Queens Valley. The resulting maps that have documented the Queens Valley are records of the specific points in time that they were produced, both in terms of the current knowledge of the antiquities and the physical state of the Queens Valley landscape, which has been changed periodically by human intervention, particularly with respect to infrastructure built for archaeological investigation, tourism, and flood mitigation. Improvement of survey technologies has also allowed for mapping Queens Valley with better accuracy and precision over time, and particularly since the 1960s. (See Section 4 for a chronology of mapping.)

The Napoleonic expedition of the 1790s did not even record QV on its maps. The earliest known map noting the location of QV in relation to the whole of ancient Thebes was produced in 1828 by J. G. Wilkinson as part of the *Topographic Survey of Thebes* and recorded 24 tombs. Between 1844 and 1845, C.R. Lepsius produced a map of Thebes including QV and showing the location of several of its tombs, which was subsequently published in *Denkmäler aus Aegypten und Aethiopien, Abteilung I*. In 1904 French engineer E. Baraize produced a series of topographic maps (1:500 scale) of much of the Theban necropolis published through the Egyptian Antiquities Department. Although Baraize planned to map the Queens Valley, this work was never undertaken. However, Baraize did produce a map of the area of the Sanctuary to Ptah and Meretseger. In 1909 G. Schweinfurth produced a map of Thebes (1: 25,000 scale) including QV, but not showing much detail (see Černý, et al. 1969-1970, Pl. II).

In 1922 the Survey of Egypt, the national mapping authority, published a 1:10,000 scale tourist map of the West Bank, which included the Queens Valley as well as other archaeological monuments. In 1926 the Survey of Egypt mapped and published two topographic map sheets of the Queens Valley area (E-1 and E-2) at 1:1,000 scale in collaboration with the Egyptian Antiquities Department as part of its broader topographic mapping of archaeological areas of the West Bank. This work utilized two permanent benchmarks indicating elevation above mean sea level, one a metal disk embedded in the brick entrance to the tomb of Nefertari and the other a metal post set vertically in the ground approximately 30 meters west of the Sanctuary to Ptah and Meretseger. Both benchmarks remain in place today.

In 1964, the French Institut Geographique National (IGN) carried out aerial photography to map the topography and archaeology of the Theban Mountain, including the Queens Valley. Related field mapping (from October 1965 through January 1966) resulted in a map of the QV area published in 1969 (1:2,000 scale) with a contour interval of 2 meters. 79 tombs were known at that time and mapped.



Survey benchmark at entrance to Nefertari tomb (QV 66)



Survey benchmark to west of Sanctuary to Ptah and Meretseger (background)

In 1981 the Berkeley Theban Mapping Project, today known as the Theban Mapping Project (TMP), surveyed 63 QV tombs, including interior architecture, as part of its broader survey of the archaeological monuments of Thebes. Under the current GCI-SCA project, in 2007 the GCI commissioned TMP to convert the results of that survey work into digital CAD drawings. In 1988 CNRS produced a topographic map recording subterranean tomb plans and interior architecture of all tombs in the main wadi. The map, with a 2 meter contour interval, is the most complete and current record to date of the subterranean plans of QV tombs (Leblanc 1989, Pl XXXI). In 1989 F. El-Baz of Boston University produced a topographic map of the QV rainfall catchment area (1:5,000 scale) through balloon and aerial photos and field work by Earthwatch volunteers. El-Baz used this map to produce a drainage pattern map of the QV rainfall catchment area. In 1991 R. E. Cameron and Associates of Norwood, Massachusetts, USA, produced a topographic map (1:200) of the area of tomb concentration of the QV main wadi.

Under the current GCI-SCA project, the GCI commissioned new topographic mapping of QV by H. Rüter of the University of Cape Town (UCT), including the locations of its tombs, other ancient features, and modern infrastructure. Importantly, all previous mapping predated the changes to the topography at the bottom of the main wadi following the 1994 flood, which included removal of the asphalt parking area (opposite the tomb of Nefertari, QV 66), the built up path that connected it to that tomb, and the creation of a drainage channel and terraces in the area. Creating a new map was essential, in particular, to preparing a flash flood protection scheme.

The results of most prior QV mapping efforts mentioned are also limited in that they did not incorporate national or international coordinate systems, thereby limiting their utility. Only the maps produced by IGN and El-Baz incorporate national or world coordinate systems, both referring to the Egyptian Transverse Mercator (ETM) system. (NB: TMP mapping has utilized its own local coordinate system that uses an origin point on the monumental axis of Karnak Temple.)

Before beginning fieldwork, the GCI decided to use the ETM coordinate system for the QV survey given that it is Egypt's national coordinate system. The GCI attempted to determine whether datums with known ETM coordinates exist in the Luxor area, including requests through SCA and the Egyptian Survey Authority. None were located. (No ETM coordinates could be obtained for the two datums mentioned in the QV area, although the known elevations of these datums were used to determine elevation within the new mapping.) Therefore, an approximation approach had to be adopted to georeference the new data produced to the ETM system. This was based on visual alignment of map grid intersections (with ETM coordinates shown) on the IGN 1969 map and El-Baz map with the approximate positions of the same grid intersections in the resulting QV GIS (geographic information system). These intersections were digitized from scans of paper versions of the IGN 1969 and El-Baz maps. The error introduced through this approach has resulted in a deviation of the ETM coordinates assigned in the QV GIS compared to correct ETM coordinates of the order of 2 m to 5 m. Although it was determined through various checks that the alignment is of reasonable accuracy and very close to the ETM system, it was decided to refer to the reference derived in this way as 'Proximate ETM'. (If coordinated ETM points can be found in the QV area in the future, then the GIS data could be shifted into the correct ETM position.)

The new mapping, carried out in the field in 2007, utilized long-range (Optech Ilris 3D) and short-range (Leica HDS 3000) laser scanners, a theodolite, and a global positioning system (GPS) device to produce an accurate and detailed map (Rüter 2008). Data capture through laser scanning was carried out through 142 scans, and a few hundred higher resolution sub-scans to record details of tomb openings and other features. Scan resolutions (i.e., distance between captured points) varied from 2 cm for important details to 50 cm and less for higher elevation rock faces and talus slopes outside the main wadi. Of the entire QV rainfall catchment area (104 hectares), approximately 68 percent of topography (including the entire main wadi) was mapped through laser scanning. Due to time limitations, data from prior topographic mapping (IGN 1969 and El-Baz) was utilized for about 32 percent of the catchment area (mostly upper reaches of subsidiary valleys) to fill in gaps in the QV GIS. Initial mapping results were field checked and necessary adjustments made.



A member of the UCT survey team conducting laser scanning.



Part of the topographic map produced through laser scanning showing 10cm contour lines (gray), tomb openings (green), and drainage lines (blue) produced through ArcHydro software.

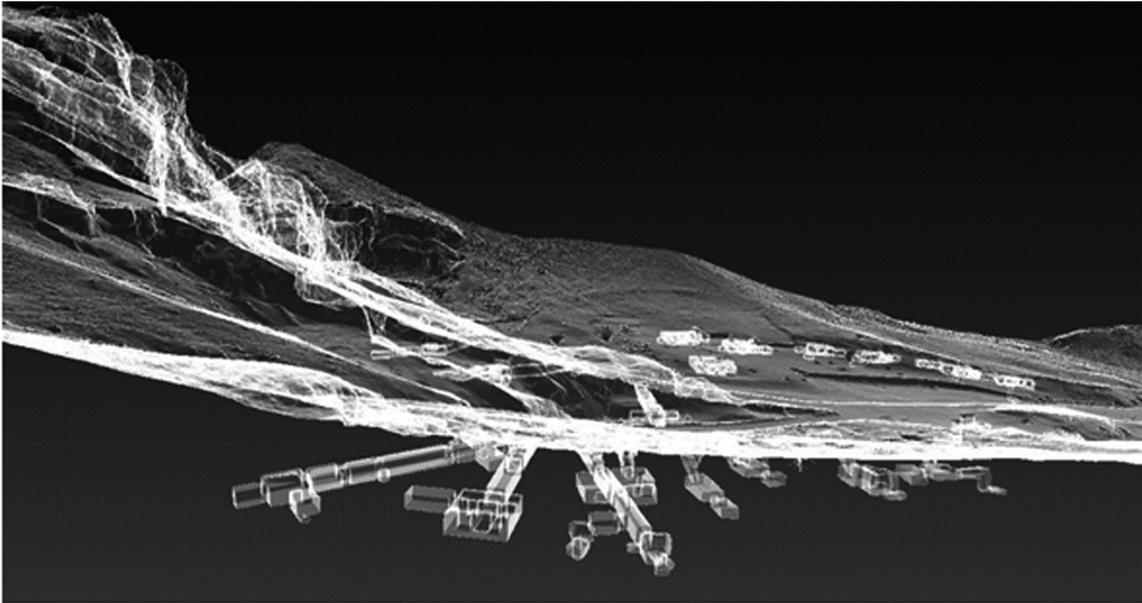
The data produced through this effort resulted in several products. One product is an ESRI ArcMAP™ 9.2 GIS data set that integrates topographic contours of 50cm interval covering the entire rainfall catchment area and of 10cm interval in the area of the main concentration of tombs, digital tomb plans produced by TMP, other digitized CNRS tomb plans, a number of existing maps of QV and the surrounding area that were scanned and geo-referenced, and geo-referenced Digital Globe Quickbird satellite imagery. All data in the QV GIS is georeferenced to the Proximate-ETM system. Topographic data in the GIS, as well as topographic cross sections of five locations along the main QV drainage channel, have been used for assessment of the threat of flash flooding, which is discussed in more detail later in this report.

Other products of the most recent mapping are PLY-format 3D models of QV topography derived from laser scan point clouds, individual laser scan data in the PTX-format (ASCII), and a database containing all scans, and thus the complete point cloud, in Leica's proprietary IMP-format. All of this data is also georeferenced to the Proximate-ETM system.



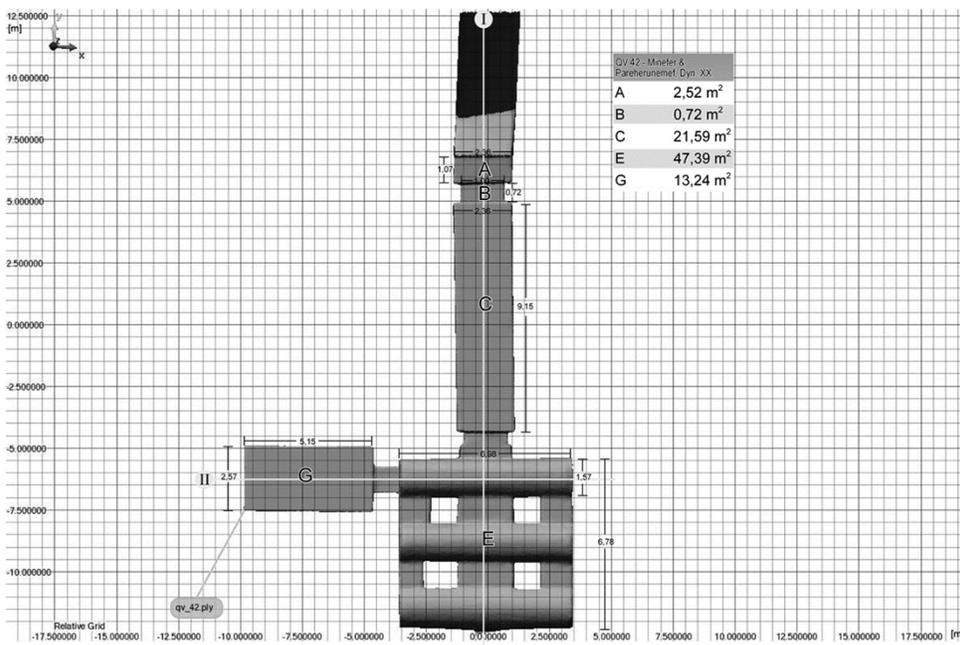
View of QV topography 3D model looking from a vantage near the top of the southern slope of the main wadi toward to the north. Gray areas represent scanned surfaces. White areas represent voids in scanning, which in most most cases are tomb openings. The model is viewed in MeshLab 1.2.2 software.

3D CAD drawings of subterranean tomb architecture were also converted to digital 3D solid models. Those tomb solid models were then integrated into their correct positions within a 3D model of the QV topography (mentioned previously).

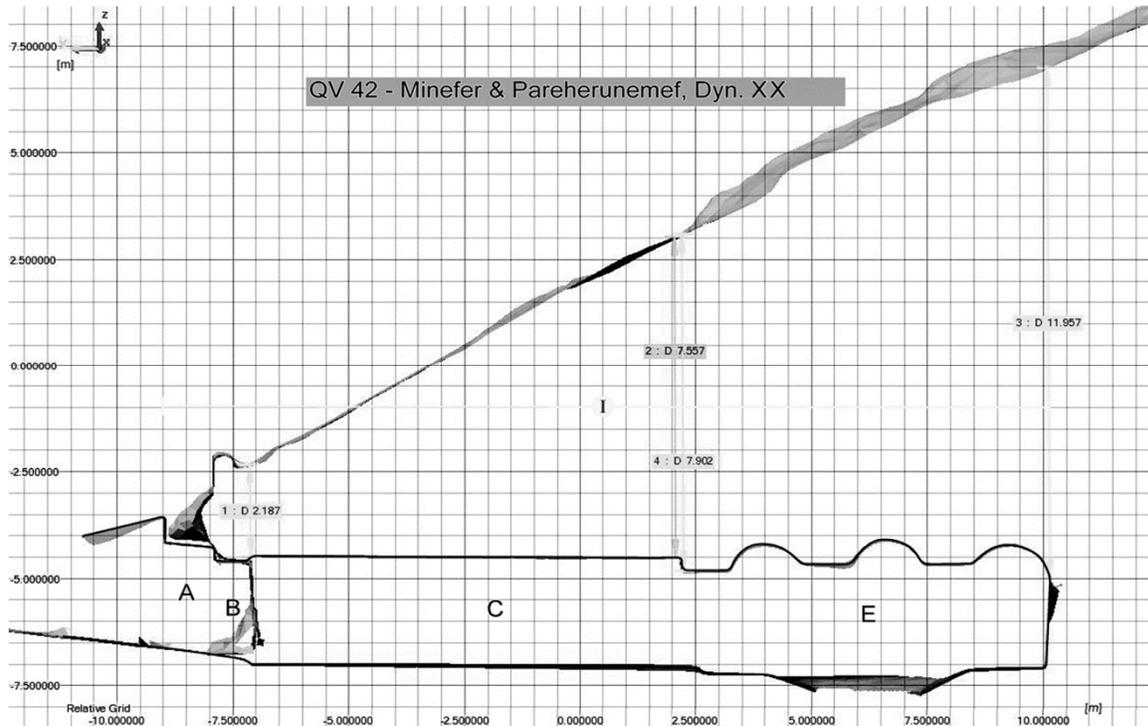


X-ray view of 3D tomb models imbedded into the 3D surface model viewed in MeshLab 1.2.2 software. View from south, with tombs QV 41, 42, and 43 in foreground.

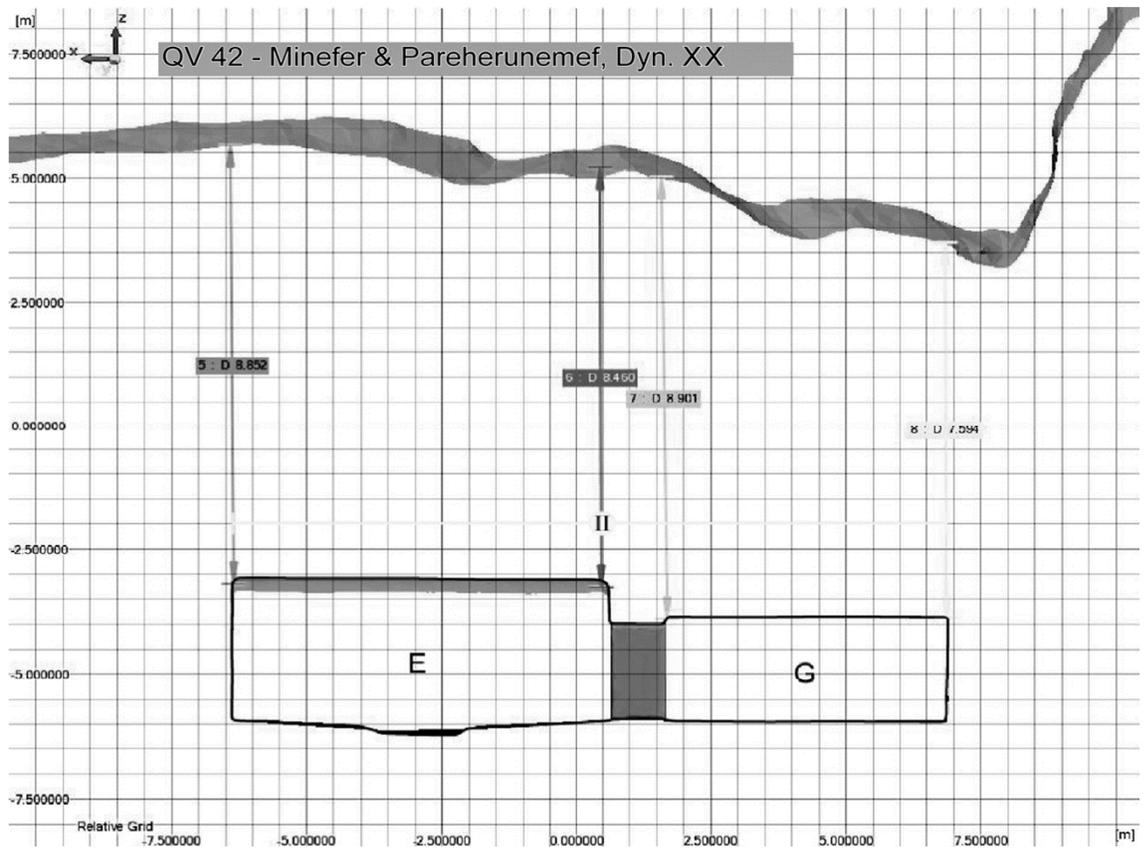
This integration allowed for the production of a set of sectional drawings of twenty-three tombs along tomb principal axes (from tomb entrance to deepest part of tombs) showing ceilings in relation to surface topography (Rüther 2009). Sectional drawings were produced for the following tombs: QV 20, 21, 31, 33, 36, 38, 40, 41, 42, 43, 44, 51, 52, 53, 55, 60, 66, 68, 71, 73, 74, 75, 80. The sections show the depth of rock/soil overburden above tombs, which has served as input in assessing structural stability of tombs. The sections also provide the ability to compute the mass of the overburden above tombs and the related load.



Top view of 3D model of QV 42 showing position of sections (I and II) and area of ceiling of each chamber (m<sup>2</sup>).



Longitudinal section (I) of 3D model of QV 42 and surface topography showing depth of overburden (m).



Lateral section (II) of 3D model of QV 42 and surface topography showing depth of overburden (m).



## Archival photographic documentation of the Valley of the Queens

### **Turin Museum (Museo Egizio, Torino)**

Turin Museum has the earliest photographs of the Valley of the Queens, taken by the Museum expedition to QV led by Ernesto Schiaparelli in 1903-1906. The photographic collection includes 132 glass-plate negatives of Nefertari's tomb and about 20 images of the general view of the site. They also photographed wall paintings of QV 36, 38, 40, 42, 44, 51, 52, and 55; a few 18<sup>th</sup> Dynasty tomb entrances (QV 30, 46); site elements (Deir er-Rumi, Sanctuary to Ptah and Meretseger, observation posts); artefacts; Italian mission camp and Egyptian workers in the excavations. The original plates are in the photographic archives of the museum as "Scavi Schiaparelli – Valle delle Regine e tomba di Nefertari – album 2 e 3;" all photographs date from the period 1903-1905. Francesco Ballerini and Don Michele Pizzio, who also joined the later Museum expedition at QV under the direction of Giulio Farina in 1930, were two of the photographers in the mission known today, but it is likely that other participants in the mission also documented the site. (Source: Afshar 1993; Donadoni Roveri 1991).

### **CEDAE**

CEDAE is a documentation center under the SCA, responsible for recording ancient monuments in the country and maintaining their archival collection. For QV documentation, see description and inventory that follows on the next page (Source: Leblanc 1989; CEDAE).

### **Theban Mapping Project**

Theban Mapping Project (University of California, Berkeley at the time, currently based at American University in Cairo) surveyed the QV tombs in 1981 and took aerial photographs of the site as a part of their project to map and document Thebes.

### **Oriental Institute of Chicago, Chicago House, University of Chicago**

Twenty-five photographs of the tomb of Nefertari taken in the 1920s (photographers: A. Gaddis and G. Seif) are in the archive of the University of Chicago and nearly 1000 negatives of Gaddis and Seif's photographs of the tomb are housed at Chicago House in Luxor. Some general images of the site taken at the time of the CNRS excavations (photographer Tom Van Eynde) are currently at the Oriental Institute of Chicago. (Source: Afshar 1993).

### **Metropolitan Museum of Art**

Metropolitan Museum of Art has more than 60 images of the tomb of Nefertari taken by Harry Burton in 1920-1923. His original glass-plate negatives are stored in the museum's Egyptian Department archives. (Source: Afshar 1993).

### **Other Institutions and archives**

A set of Gaddis and Seif photographs of the tomb of Nefertari is in the National Geographic Society Archives. Four of their photographs are owned by Fratelli Treves, reproduced in G. Farina (1929) "La Pittura egiziana". Robert Mond produced black-and-white photographs of the interior of Nefertari's tomb, from 1914 to 1916 as a part of an Egyptian expedition of the Metropolitan Museum of Art and the images are housed at the Griffith Institute of the Ashmolean Museum, Oxford University. (Source: Oriental Institute website; Afshar 1993).

### **Getty Conservation Institute**

GCI has an extensive photographic and video-documentary collection of the tomb of Nefertari, largely recording conservation issues, pre- and post-treatment conditions of wall paintings, conservation techniques and processes, established as a part of the GCI project from 1986 to 1992 (photographer: Guillermo Aldana and others). Over 7000 images are stored at the GCI visual archive.

## CEDAE photographic documentation of QV and inventory

CEDAE first conducted photographic documentation of the tomb of Nefertari (QV 66) in 1958 (photographer: Ghazouli) and subsequently in 1965 (photographer: Fathy Ibrahim). From 1968, in collaboration with CNRS, they surveyed and recorded the graffiti in the Theban Mountains. Major photographic documentation of CEDAE and CNRS at QV began in 1970 and continued until 1995. This includes photographs of QV tombs, Deir er-Rumi (see Table) and general site images, resulting in more than 2200 photographs. The CEDAE team returned to the site in January 2009 to undertake digital color photography of the tombs with wall paintings (as listed in Table).

Tomb	Owner	Dynasty	No. of Images	Inventory numbers	Date of Documentation
31	Anonymous	19 <sup>th</sup>	21	28977-28997	Nov. 1990
33	Tanedjemy	19 <sup>th</sup>	54	25590-25640	April 1978
				28998-29001	Nov 1990
34	Anonymous	19 <sup>th</sup>	32	28747-28778	Oct. 1989
36	Anonymous	19 <sup>th</sup>	32	27879-27910	Oct. 1984
38	Satra	19 <sup>th</sup>	51	28283-28316	March 1988
				28730-28746	Nov. 1989
40	Anonymous	19 <sup>th</sup>	128	21061-21127	Feb. 1970
				21129-21188	Feb. 1971
				23216	Feb. 1973
				29002	Nov. 1990
42	Pareherunemef	20 <sup>th</sup>	226	25126-25299	March 1977
				28627-28685-(1)	Nov. 1987
43	Sethherkhepshef	20 <sup>th</sup>	24	25302-25316/ 26115-26233	March 1977
44	Khaemwaset	20 <sup>th</sup>	251	24072-24167	March 1975
				27006- 27995	Feb.1980
				27116-27211	Dec. 1980
				29880-29891	April 1993
51	Isis-ta-Hemdjeret	20 <sup>th</sup>	127	28072-28117	Oct. 1986
52	Tyti	20 <sup>th</sup>	117	27971-28071	March 1986
				28607-28626	March 1989
53	Rameses-Meryamen	20 <sup>th</sup>	15	28366-28380	Oct. 1986
55	Amenherkhepshef	20 <sup>th</sup>	158	21952-21964	Dec. 1972
				22255-22351	March 1973
				22689-22788	March 1974
60	Nebettau	19 <sup>th</sup>	80	27290-27356/ 37256-37258	Jan. 1983
				29819-29828	April 1993
66	Nefertari	19 <sup>th</sup>	568	2851-3002/ 7082-7096	1958
				14741-14970	Dec. 1964
				15015-15379 / 15808-15861	March 1965
				16424-16427	Oct. 1965
				16742-16745/ 16753	March 1966
68	Merytamen	19 <sup>th</sup>	51	28789-28790	Nov. 1991
				28685-28729	April 1987
71	Bentanat	19 <sup>th</sup>	77	22513-22518	Dec. 1972
				27911-27970/ 22857-22876	Nov. 1984
73	Henuttau	19 <sup>th</sup>	35	28331-28365	March 1987
74	Duatentipet	20 <sup>th</sup>	76	28381-28447	Nov. 1987
				28789-28787	Nov. 1991
75	Henutmira	19 <sup>th</sup>	158	28448-28606	April 1985
80	Tuy	19 <sup>th</sup>	116	22623-22643/ 24357-24422	March 1973
				22809-22892	April 1974
Deir er-Rumi		Roman-Coptic	29	32309-32337	Jan. 1995

**SCA interventions in the Valley of the Queens (2006-2010)**

The photos on the following pages represent some of the changes that have been undertaken by the SCA in the Valley during the course of the GCI assessment and planning process (2006-2010). They have been tracked and documented to the extent possible, but were not part of the GCI-SCA project and were often undertaken when GCI personnel were not on site and without prior discussion.

**Tomb Openings – QV 2**



The opening of QV 2 was largely occluded by rubble and scree in 2006.



By November 2009, the SCA had filled the entrance entirely with scree.

**Tomb Openings – QV 4**



In 2006, a roughly laid circle of boulders and a broken sign surrounded the entrance of QV4.



In 2007 a low rubble masonry wall was built around the opening.



As of Dec. 2009, the SCA had installed a masonry surround with a metal grate over the opening of QV 4.



The masonry surround was removed and the shaft of QV 4 was filled with scree as of Feb. 2010.

### Shaft tomb openings



In 2009, new surrounds were constructed on some shaft tombs (QV 39 above) and existing surrounds were re-painted (e.g. left). Bricks for new surrounds were placed directly on loose soil (upper left) and therefore have little structural integrity. They will need to be replaced.

### Chamber tomb openings



In 2009, existing retaining walls on chamber tombs in the SW wadi were given new cement caps and painted (above, left and middle). A new wall built adjacent to the opening of QV 34 is precariously located above the collapsed chamber of the tomb (above, right).



A retaining wall was constructed around the area of instability (above, arrow) in 2009. (Photo also shows new surrounds).

In 2007, along the main wadi, access to tomb ramps was blocked with rubble masonry and new surrounds on QV 50.

### Edging walls and paving of visitor paths



Rubble walls along the south side of main visitor path (left) were dismantled in 2007. New stone masonry walls were built in various stages and versions with painted, cement caps in 2008-2009 (below). Walls edging the SW wadi path were capped with cement (bottom left). The remaining area of tarmac road that constitutes the main path in the valley (seen in photo bottom right) was removed in 2010 (from the security station to the Y-Junction).



### Signage and shelters

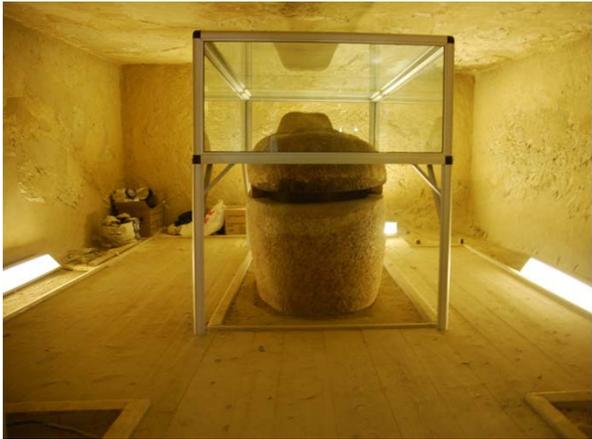


Old signage at the Y-junction was dismantled in 2007.



Shelters on site were painted in 2009.

### Interior of QV 55



In 2009-2010 SCA technicians undertook work in QV 55, including installation of glass case over sarcophagus, treatment of ceiling cracks, and cleaning of paintings. Glass barriers were removed to undertake the work and replaced when completed. QV 43 was opened to visitors while this work was being carried out.

### Old generator building and new generator



The 'old generator room' (long since disused and located below the guardian's house, above left) was demolished in 2008. A new generator was installed in 2006 in the generator building (right)

### Site Elements – Sanctuary to Ptah and Meretseger



In 2010 a new perimeter wall with fencing was constructed following the line of an existing dry rubble wall along the path adjacent to the Sanctuary to Ptah and Meretseger. Shelters were then constructed to protect engraved stelae. The terrace wall within the sanctuary was also reconstructed.

### Communications Towers



Cell phone towers were installed on the top of the southern ridge in 2008. The towers are visible from the Valley (lower left).

### Security station



A new security building with AC (right) was built in 2009 at the entry to the Valley to replace the shed structure (left).

### Electrical cabling



In 2010 trenching for installation of electrical cabling for lighting of the mountains was undertaken across the Valley near the generator building and continuing to the mountains.

