

The last of the experimental royal tombs in the Valley of the Kings: KV42 and KV34

by

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Table of Contents

List of Figures.....	3
List of Tables.....	4
Bibliography	5
Introduction	7
1. The earliest development of the necropolis in the Valley of the Kings.....	11
2. KV42	16
2.1. Carter	16
2.2. Weigall	20
2.3. Carter again: the foundation deposits of Hatshepsut-Meryetre	20
2.4. Hayes	23
2.4.1. The tomb	23
2.4.2. The sarcophagus.....	26
2.5. Thomas	32
2.6. Hornung	35
2.7. Romer	37
2.8. Reeves	39
2.9. Johnson.....	40
2.10. El-Bialy	41
2.11. Evaluation of KV42	44
3. KV34	50
3.1. Loret.....	50
3.2. Carter: examining the context.....	56
3.3. Hayes	59
3.4. Thomas	60
3.5. Romer	60
3.6. Reeves	62
3.7. Evaluation of KV34	63
4. An attempt to reconstruct events	72
4.1. Excursus: work in progress.....	78
5. The royal tombs in the Valley of the Kings until the reign of Tuthmosis III: an overview	79

List of Figures

Fig. 1	The Theban Necropolis	9
Fig. 2	Seven royal tombs from the 17 th – early 18 th dynasty (KV39 in a hypothetical first version: see 3TA)	10
Fig. 3	The earliest regal tombs in the Valley of the Kings	11
Fig. 4	Tombs of possible dependents of Hatshepsut, Tuthmosis III and Amenhotep II	12
Fig. 5	The location of KV42 in relation to KV34	16
Fig. 6	The entrance to KV42.....	16
Fig. 7	Plan of KV42	18
Fig. 8	Plate XVII from RS, with E and F reversed	30
Fig. 9	KV42: a much enlarged detail from the TMP's plan, showing constructional irregularities	34
Fig. 10	<i>The location of KV39 and KV34.....</i>	51
Fig. 11	The end of the southernmost side wadi of the Valley of the Kings with the locations of several tombs	52
Fig. 12	KV34: the decoration in the burial chamber	53
Fig. 13	KV34: the decoration in the pillared hall.....	53
Fig. 14	Plan of KV34	55
Fig. 15	The situation of KV39, KV34 and KV33 (not to scale: diagram only)	56
Fig. 16	The area of KV34, KV F and KV42, with foundation deposits, after the notes of Howard Carter.....	58
Fig. 17	KV42 and KV34.....	63
Fig. 18	KV34: rooms E, F and J.....	64
Fig. 19	KV34: with J1 and J2.....	65
Fig. 20	KV34, with J1 and J1a	66
Fig. 21	KV34, with J1, J1a and hall F	67
Fig. 22	KV34, with "corridor F".....	67
Fig. 23	KV34 with both "corridor F" and hall F	68
Fig. 24	KV34 in a hypothetical first version (KV34-J1).....	69
Fig. 25	KV42, between KV34-J1 and KV34-J2	69
Fig. 26	KV38: in a hypothetical first phase (left), and after adaptation under Tuthmosis III (right).....	72
Fig. 27	The tombs with cartouche shaped burial chamber from the reign of	

Tuthmosis III	73
Fig. 28 Tombs from the 18th dynasty in the Valley of the Kings, (possibly) belonging to queens	77
Fig. 29 The four tombs of Type 1.....	80
Fig. 30 The first examples of Type 2.....	81

List of Tables

Table 1 Tomb below KV20 (Hatshepsut)	13
Table 2 Tombs below KV34 (Tuthmosis III)	13
Table 3 Tombs below KV35 (Amenhotep II)	14
Table 4 Likelihood of dependency below tombs KV20, KV34 and KV35.....	15
Table 5 Foundation deposits, found in the Valley of the Kings.....	20
Table 6 Characteristics of early 18 th dynasty royal tombs, according to Hayes	24
Table 7 As the previous table, extended with KV42, and with the criterion of cartouche shaped burial chambers	25
Table 8 Royal sarcophagi of the 18th dynasty, according to Hayes.....	29
Table 9 The shape of the lid of sarcophagi A–I, excluding B	31
Table 10 Royal sarcophagi of the 18th dynasty, in a revised chronological order, and with rounded lengths	35
Table 11 Summary of theories about KV42	44
Table 12 Decorative elements on the walls of the cartouche shaped burial chambers.....	46
Table 13 Overview of proposed original owners for KV42	48
Table 14 Schematic overview of (items from) foundation deposits between KV34, KV42 and KV F	59
Table 15 Dimensions of some early 18th dynasty royal burial chambers.....	66
Table 16 Average dimensions of the cartouche shaped burial chambers	75
Table 17 Tombs from the 18th dynasty in the Valley of the Kings, (possibly) belonging to queens	76
Table 18 Royal tombs from the early 18th dynasty, built in more than one phase	78
Table 19 Royal tombs from the rest of the New Kingdom, built in more than one phase	78

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- ASAE Annales du Service des Antiquités de l'Égypte
- BIÉ Bulletin de l'Institut Égyptien
- JEA The journal of Egyptian archeology
- KMT KMT: a modern journal of ancient Egypt
- MDAIK Mitteilungen des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts, Abteilung Kairo
- Memnonia Memnonia: bulletin édité par l'association pour la sauvegarde du Ramesseum
- RdE Revue d'Égyptologie
- SÄK Studien zur altägyptischen Kultur

Introduction

My original objective was, to write a paper about the royal tombs in the Valley of the Kings until the reign of Tuthmosis III. The following tombs were to be considered:

- KV39 (Amenhotep I?)
- KV20 (Tuthmosis I? Hatshepsut?)
- KV38 (Tuthmosis I? III?)
- KV42 (Tuthmosis II? Hatshepsut-Meryetre?)
- KV34 (Tuthmosis III).

It soon proved necessary to include two more tombs, each located about 1.5 kilometer east of the Valley of the Kings: tombs AN B and K93.11. Both have, by their excavators, been claimed to be the tomb of Amenhotep I: AN B by Carter, and K93.11 by Polz. In September 2010, the first part of the study was published under the title: "Three Tombs attributed to Amenhotep I: K93.11, AN B and KV39" (quoted as *3TA*).¹

The main conclusions of *3TA* were:

- Neither K93.11, nor KV39 can possibly have belonged to Amenhotep I.
- Until a better candidate for this position be found, tomb AN B may be regarded as the most probable tomb of that king.
- KV39 may have belonged to Tuthmosis I. The evidence for this is circumstantial though.

The second part of the study dealt with KV20 and KV38: two tombs that have been proposed as Tuthmosis I's original tomb. Both were found not to qualify though, which strengthened KV39's chances for this position. It was published in March 2011 as: "Two Tombs attributed to Tuthmosis I: KV20 and KV38" (quoted as *2TT1*).¹

The current paper is the third and final part in the series, dealing with KV42 and KV34.

Kinglist

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

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

Terminology

The following terms will be used with the following meaning:

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

¹ See www.egyptology.nl for the pdf-file.

Conventions

- In descriptions of tombs, the terms “left” and “right” are used as seen from the entrance of the tomb, looking in.
- In the plans, grey areas indicate pillars. Dotted lines represent a room below another room. A dotted cross indicates a shaft.
- When two or more tombs are shown in one plan, these will always be on the same scale.
- Underlining in quotations is added by me to emphasize a particular element.
- In translated texts, words between [] are restorations.
- Year: when not qualified otherwise, “Year 7” or “Year 20” will mean: the 7th or 20th year from the reign of Tuthmosis III.

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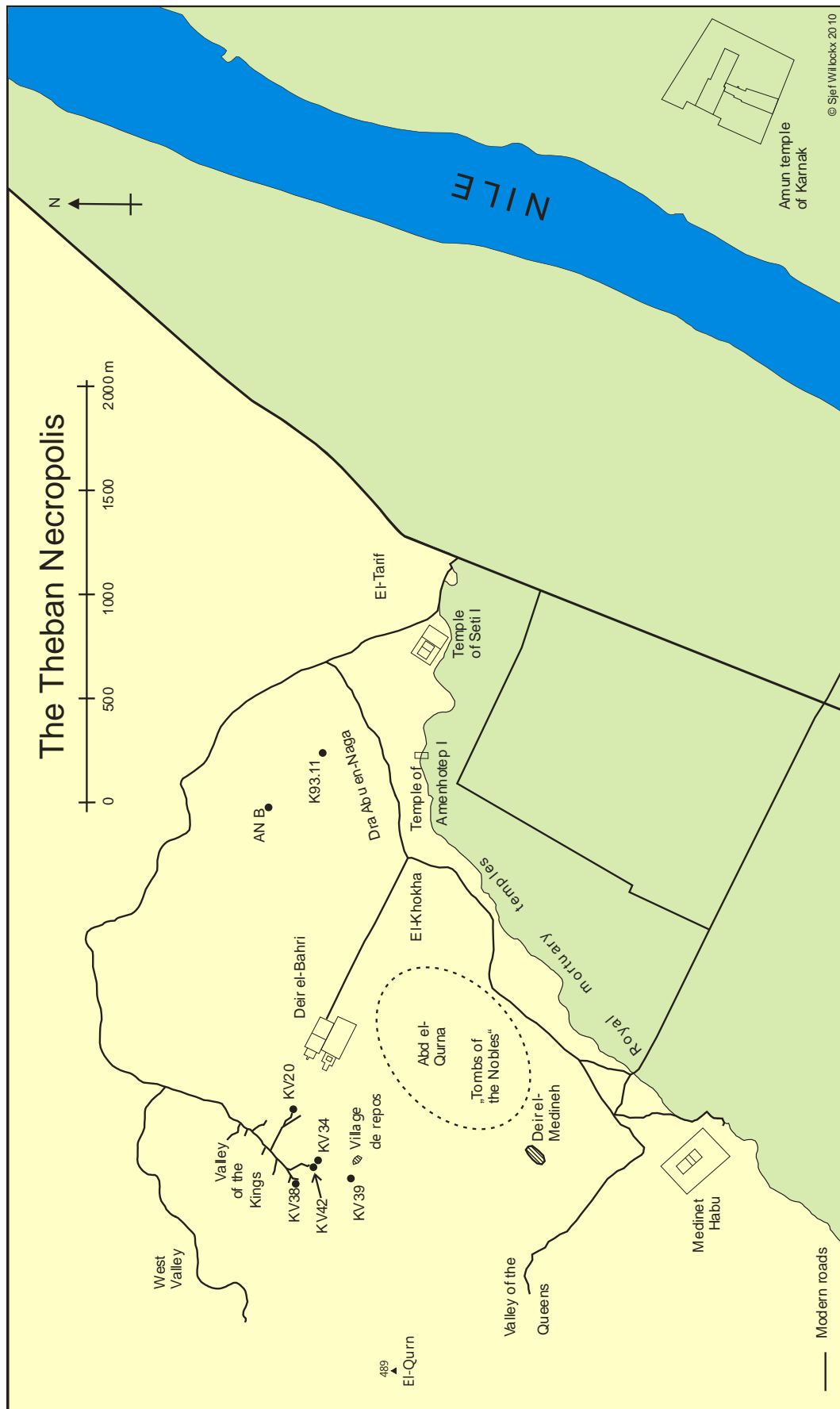


Fig. 1 The Theban Necropolis

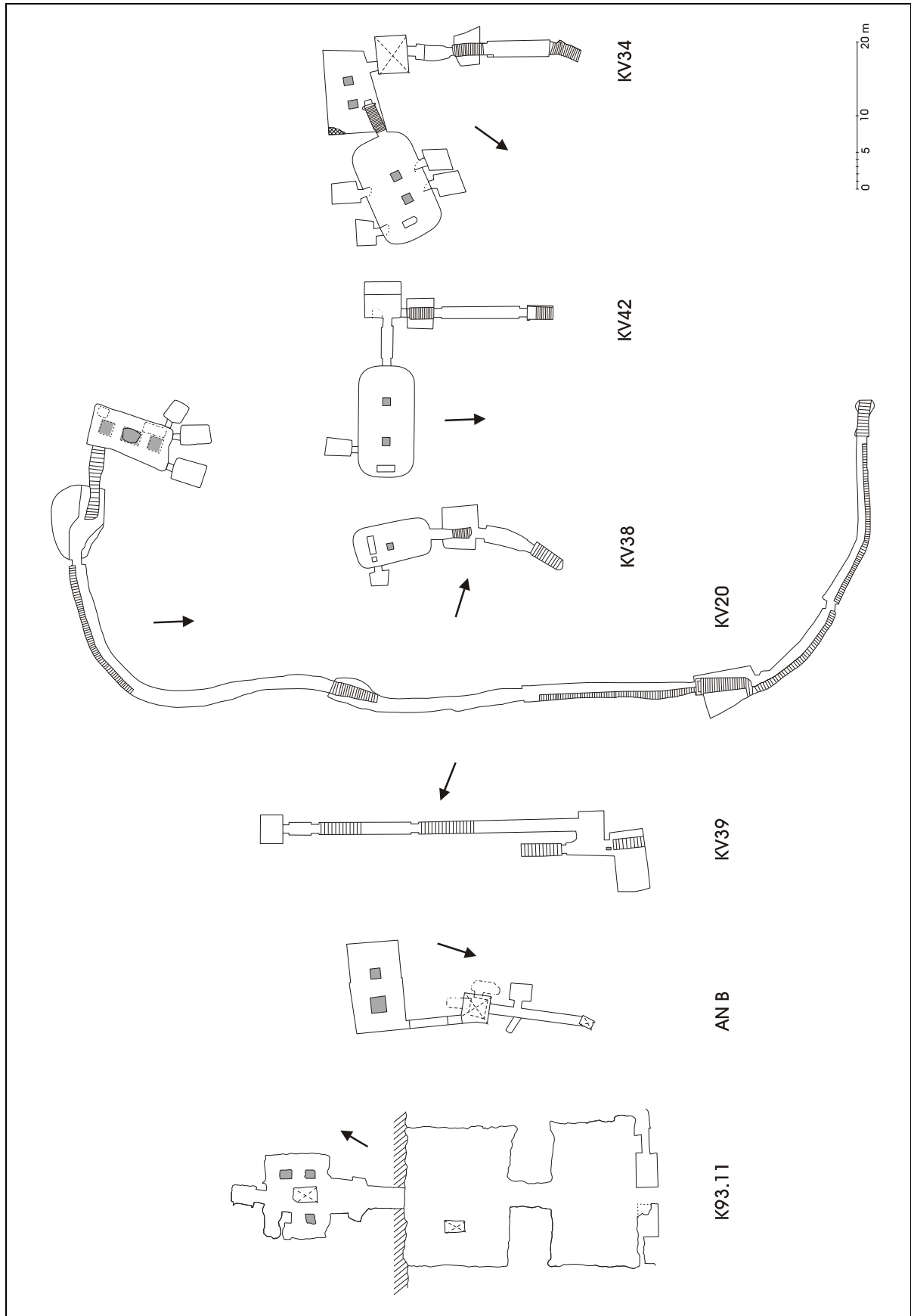


Fig. 2 Seven royal tombs from the 17th – early 18th dynasty
(KV39 in a hypothetical first version: see 3TA)

1. The earliest development of the necropolis in the Valley of the Kings

KV42 and KV34 are the last of the “pre-classical” royal tombs in the Valley of the Kings. Both tombs still show a considerable degree of experimenting in their plan. In the meantime, the Valley was now developing into a real necropolis, and as any city, this city of the dead needed a certain measure of planning. When we reconstruct what the Valley looked like at the end of the first century of its use as a cemetery, some of the principles that governed this planning will show.

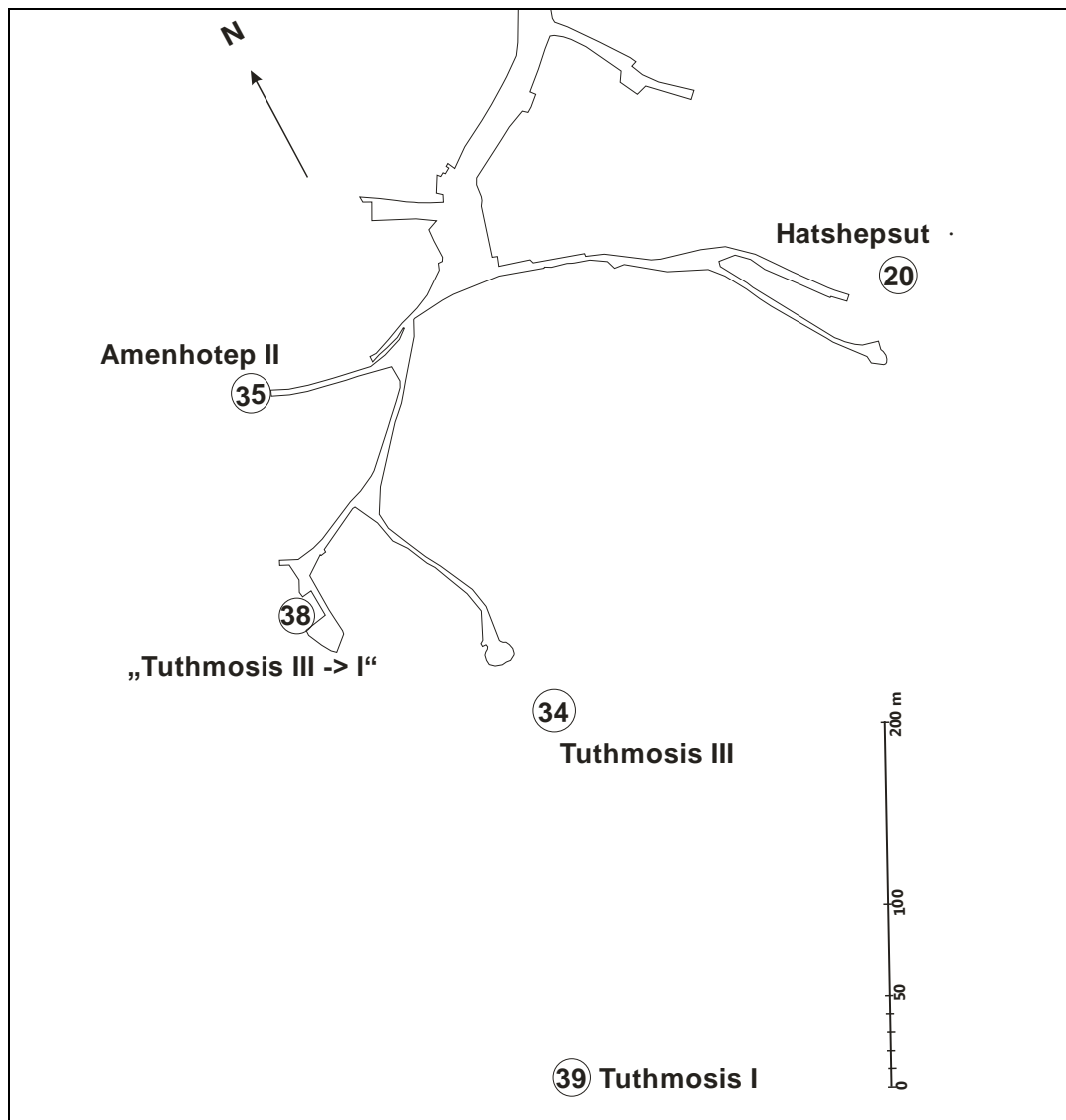


Fig. 3 The earliest regal tombs in the Valley of the Kings

The caption “Tuthmosis III → I” for KV38 means: either constructed, or adapted by Tuthmosis III for a reburial of his grandfather, Tuthmosis I. See 2TT1.

Let us begin with the regal tombs. According to the theory developed in the preceding works (3TA and 2TT1), the first regal tombs, cut in the Valley of the Kings were the following:

- KV39 (western and eastern section): probably for Tuthmosis I.
- An unknown tomb for Tuthmosis II.

- KV38 (in a first phase without the cartouche shaped burial chamber): may have been built on the orders of Hatshepsut, then still regentess, for the boy-king Tuthmosis III.
- KV20: tomb of Hatshepsut as ruler.

These were followed by:

- KV34: tomb of Tuthmosis III.
- An extension / refurbishing of KV38, on the orders of Tuthmosis III for a reburial of his grandfather, Tuthmosis I.
- And KV35: tomb of Amenhotep II.

Fig. 3 shows, how these tombs were distributed over the available ground. The contours on the plan represent the modern asphalt roads, which follow the floor of the various side wadis of the Valley. As you can see, these earliest kings' tombs were spread out as much as possible – you might say: “one wadi, one king” – with KV39 even further away, on the outer rim of the Valley.

Fig. 4 below is a blow up of the central part of Fig. 3, but now with a series of smaller tombs included that are all believed to be of 18th dynasty origin.² The side wadis ascend from the center out; this means that the regal tombs are, in their particular side wadi, located above the smaller tombs.

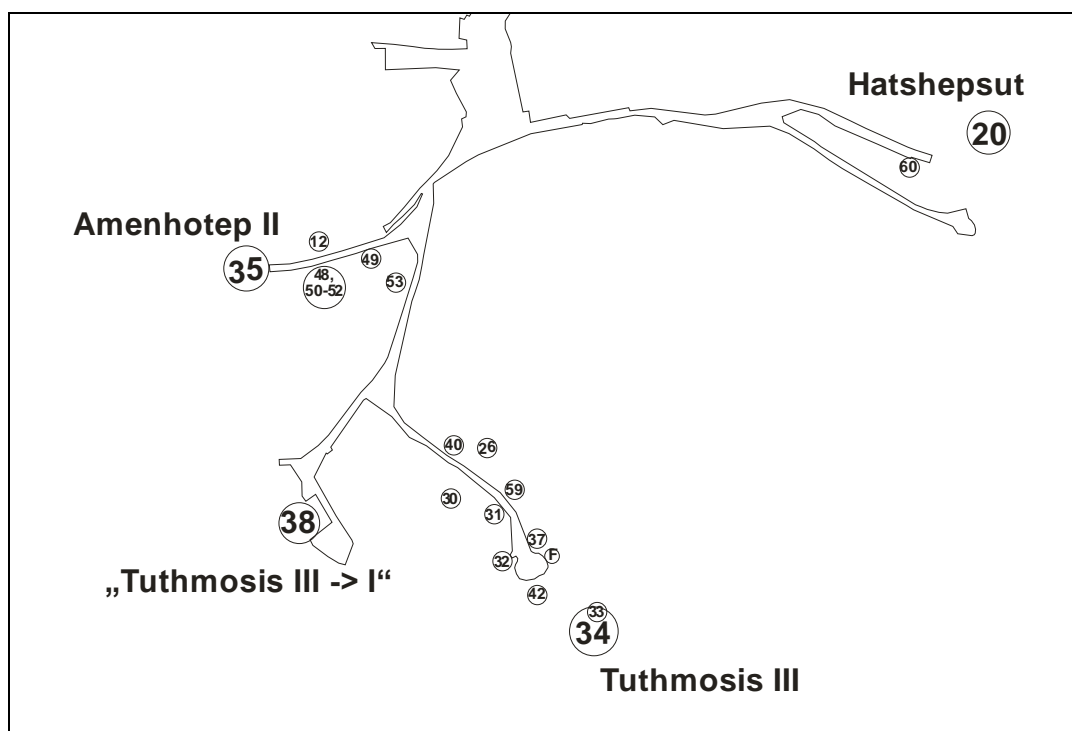


Fig. 4 Tombs of possible dependents of Hatshepsut, Tuthmosis III and Amenhotep II

The picture is reminiscent of the usual pattern of a king's tomb with the smaller tombs of retainers lying around or below, but, as we will see shortly, the situation in the Valley is not really conclusive. The concept of a clearly defined dependents' cemetery, so well known from the Giza plateau, was in any event not long-lived in the Valley: Amenhotep II's KV35 is the last that possibly had its own cluster of smaller tombs below it. Tuthmosis IV's retainers were given a place at a somewhat more respectful distance from their patron's tomb.³ Amenhotep III even left the Valley proper to move to the so-called West Valley for his tomb (KV22, sometimes referred to as WV22), while some of his courtiers and officials were still interred in the Valley of the Kings.⁴

² See e.g. the TMP website, and *R/W*.

³ Such as tombs KV36 (Maiherperi) and KV32 (Tiaa).

⁴ E.g. Yuya and Thuyu (KV46).

This increasing distance between king and commoners is one of the signs that in this period, the king's divinity is intensifying (what later evolved to unprecedented heights under Akhenaten).

Below Hatshepsut's KV20, there is an uninscribed tomb that appears to have belonged to Sit-re, nurse of Hatshepsut. If this is actually the case, it was probably the first tomb for a commoner in the Valley.

Below KV34 (Tuthmosis III) the number of smaller tombs suddenly increases to 10. Below Amenhotep II's KV35, a maximum of 7 is known.

The following tables list the tombs below KV20, KV34 and KV35, respectively, beginning with those closest to the ruler's tomb. What we know of these smaller, uninscribed tombs differs considerably: from the identity of the owner, to nothing at all. This obviously influences our ability to determine whether a given tomb actually belonged to someone from the entourage of the king whose tomb was directly overhead. The letters in the last column of these tables indicate the likelihood (in my perception) that it did, as follows:

A. 75-100%

B. 50-75%

C. 25-50%

D. 0-25%

Table 1 Tomb below KV20 (Hatshepsut)

#	Owner	Description	
60	Sit-re, called In (?) (Period of Hatshepsut)	Entryway A, corridor B (with a side chamber), burial chamber J. ⁵ Two female mummies were found here. One was lying in the lower half of a coffin, inscribed for the royal nurse In. This may be Sit-re, called In, the nurse of Hatshepsut. Thomas has suggested that the other mummy may be Hatshepsut herself.	A

Table 2 Tombs below KV34 (Tuthmosis III)

#	Owner	Description	
33	Unknown	Purported to consist of an entryway and two rooms. ⁶ Either an abandoned cutting, or an "annex" to KV34. (It's simply too close to KV34 to have belonged to any member of Tuthmosis III's entourage: see page 52 below.) Its exact location is now lost: below the current ground level.	D
F ⁷	Unknown	Nothing of its plan is known, and its exact location is now lost below the current ground level. ⁸ Probably an abandoned cutting.	C
42	Hatshepsut-Meryetre ⁹ (Period of Tuthmosis III)	Great royal wife of Tuthmosis III, mother of Amenhotep II. Entryway A, corridor B, stairwell C, chamber D, corridor "G", burial chamber J, with two pillars and one side chamber. Decoration unfinished. See chapter 2 below.	A

⁵ For more on this tomb see: Donald P. Ryan, *Who is buried in KV60?* KMT 1/1 (1990), p. 34-39, 58-59, 63.

⁶ See page 52 below.

⁷ In addition to 63 tombs (KV1 till KV63), the Valley has a number of assorted shafts and tomb commencements, most of which are believed to be abandoned cuttings. These are not labeled with a number, but with a letter: KV A, KV B etc. (The method goes back on Thomas.) The distinction between a numbered "tomb" and a lettered "abandoned cutting" is not rigorously maintained though: KV54, where remains were found from Tutankhamun's mummification and funeral is clearly not a tomb, while KV A (near Amenhotep III's tomb) may have been one.

⁸ See also paragraph 3.2, pages 56-59 below.

⁹ Hatshepsut-Meryetre has been put down here as ultimate owner of KV42, based on the evidence of the foundation deposits in her name. Whether she was from the tomb's inception its intended owner is

#	Owner	Description	
32	Tiaa* ¹⁰ (Period of Tuthmosis IV) ¹¹	The owner of this tomb is still often described as “unknown,” but excavation by the University of Basel in 2001-2002 has shown that it belonged to Tiaa, a lesser queen of Amenhotep II, and mother of Tuthmosis IV. ¹² Entryway A, corridor B, stairwell C, corridor D, burial chamber J (unfinished) with one pillar and one side chamber. Undecorated.	D
37	Unknown	Entryway A, corridor B, burial chamber J. Undecorated. Believed to be of 18 th dynasty origin.	C
31	Unknown*	The <i>BKVP</i> recently discovered three (undecorated) chambers down the shaft. There once were at least four burials here. Pottery and coffin fragments date from the Tuthmoside Period: “probably (...) the reigns of Tuthmosis III / Amenhotep II.” ¹³ Also found: a fragment of a dummy jar of Sennefer. ¹⁴	B
59	Unknown*	The <i>BKVP</i> discovered a room (undecorated) down the shaft. Although full of debris, it was – from an archeological point of view – empty as a clean sheet. Hence, no statement concerning a possible date can be made.	C
30	Unknown*	Entryway A, corridor B, chamber C with four side chambers (undecorated). The conclusions of the <i>BKVP</i> were: used for at least one burial; the pottery found indicates a dating in the 18 th dynasty.	C
26	Unknown*	Shaft A, corridor B, burial chamber J (unfinished, undecorated). According to the <i>BKVP</i> , it was used for at least one burial, and the pottery types date this burial to the period of Tuthmosis III / Amenhotep II.	B
40	Unknown*	The <i>BKVP</i> discovered in 2011 a corridor down the shaft, which was partly excavated. Pottery was found from the 18 th dynasty.	C

Table 2 Tombs below KV34 (Tuthmosis III) (continued)

KV33 and KV F will be discussed in more detail in connection with KV34. KV42 is the subject of the next chapter.

Table 3 Tombs below KV35 (Amenhotep II)

#	Owner	Description	
12	Unknown	A rather large tomb, with a complex plan, suggesting several extensions in different periods. According to the <i>TMP</i> , the oldest parts seem to be of 18 th dynasty origin (“based on architectural style”).	C
48	Amenemipet (Period of Amenhotep II)	Shaft A, burial chamber J. Remains of the burial were inscribed for Amenemipet, vizier and mayor of Thebes under Amenhotep II (and brother of Sennefer). Undecorated.	A

the subject of the next chapter.

¹⁰ The tombs marked with an * were during 2009-2011 investigated by the University of Basel King's Valley Project (see the Bibliography, s.v. *BKVP*). This has resulted in a much improved knowledge about these tombs. (In several instances, new rooms were discovered. See the website of the *BKVP* for details.)

¹¹ As a lesser queen of Amenhotep II, Tiaa would not have had enough status to merit a tomb in the Valley. This only changed when her son became Tuthmosis IV.

¹² Several objects were found, inscribed for Tiaa: parts of a canopic chest, a shabti, a miniature coffin, and an amulet. For more on this tomb see the website of the university of Basel: www.unibas.ch. Search (“Suche”) the site for Tiaa.

¹³ *BKVP*, Preliminary Report 2010.

¹⁴ For this official, see page 19 below.

#	Owner	Description	
50 51 52	Unknown	A group of three small tombs, consisting of a shaft and a small chamber. Undecorated. In all three, remnants of a burial were found, and some animal mummies. These tombs are mostly referred to as the "animal tombs," and believed to have been for pets of Amenhotep II. Evidence for this is however absent.	C
49	Unknown	Entryway A, corridor B, chamber with stairwell C (unfinished). Undecorated. Believed to be of 18 th dynasty origin.	C
53	Unknown	Shaft, and one chamber. Undecorated, today inaccessible. No clues as to period.	C

Table 3 Tombs below KV35 (Amenhotep II) (continued)

The next table recaps the results:

Ruler's tomb	Number of lower tombs	A (75-100%)	B (50-75%)	C (25-50%)	D (0-25%)	Average ¹⁵
KV20	1	1				A
KV34	10	1	2	5	2	C
KV35	7	1	0	6	0	C

Table 4 Likelihood of dependency below tombs KV20, KV34 and KV35

So although each group shows up one almost certain case for dependency, the overall picture is as yet far from conclusive.

¹⁵ The average is calculated as follows: 4 points for an A, 3 for a B, 2 for a C and 1 for a D. Divide total by number of tombs.

2. KV42

The entrance to tomb KV42 was cut in the wadi floor, immediately next to a sheer cliff – an almost exact copy of the location of KV38. Since dynastic times, the level of the wadi floor at this point has risen considerably, as a result of which the entrance is now several meters below that level.



Fig. 5 The location of KV42 in relation to KV34

To the far left is the steel stairway to Tuthmosis III's KV34. To the right is the open entryway to KV42. The stone wall in between is modern: it shows how much the wadi floor level has risen since dynastic times.



Fig. 6 The entrance to KV42

2.1. Carter

In November-December of the year 1900, Chenouda Macarios and Boutros Andraos, two citizens of Luxor, “discovered” and excavated KV42. They were working on a permit from the “Service des Antiquités”, and Howard Carter, who had just become “Inspecteur en chef” for southern Egypt in the Service, supervised their work. It was his first assignment in the Valley of the Kings.¹⁶

Carter strongly suspected that Macarios and Andraos were tipped about the existence of the tomb:

I doubt, however, if the secret was really their own, as the site was discovered by and known to Monsieur Loret some eighteen months previously, and probably their informations was obtained from his workmen.¹⁷

Macarios and Andraos never published about their work. The only report made was by Carter: five pages of text, with a plan and section by Emile Baraize, and two black-and-white photographs (ASAE 2). Later on, the tomb appears to have been investigated only once more in earnest. This was in 1999, by Mohamed el-Bialy, in the course of preservation work, carried out for the successor of the “Service des Antiquités”: the Supreme Council of Antiquities. This work has provided more accurate and

¹⁶ RVK, p. 312.

¹⁷ ASAE 2, p. 196. For a comparable situation with KV39, see 3TA, p. 61.

detailed information about the tomb. El-Bialy's report¹⁸ also contains a series of excellent color photographs of the tomb's interior.¹⁹

Description

When the tomb was opened, the lower part of the original blocking of the entrance was still in place. It was immediately clear though that the tomb had already been robbed in ancient times, and that it had suffered from flooding:

(...) the funereal furniture, vases and Canopic jars, were mashed and lying about on the ground of the passages and chambers, evidently just as the former robbers had thrown them, some being partly buried in the fine yellow mud, now dry, which was carried in by the water which had covered the floors of the lower chambers.²⁰

The first section of the tomb – entryway A, corridor B and stairwell C (see the plan below) – descends pretty steeply into the rock: at an average of 30 degrees. The rest of the rooms – D, “G” and J/Ja – stay level.

Carter refers to room D as “the small chamber”:

The small chamber was evidently intended for the offerings, for here, upon a higher level than the rest of the floor, I found some twenty or thirty, whole and broken, rough earthen jars, some with their sealings still intact (..)²¹

The “higher level” that Carter speaks about is a bench-like structure in the right half of this room (see the plan). When excavating a room, ancient Egyptian masons always worked from the ceiling downward. A bench like this is what can be expected when work on a room was not finished.

Behind the doorway to the next corridor (“G”), Carter discovered a depression in the floor, and he initially thought that this might be “an indication of a shaft in this chamber”.²² El-Bialy reports that it reaches a maximum depth of 85 cm.²³ This could be an indication that the original plan was to continue the descent with yet another sloping corridor, and that the turn to the left was a later change in plan. In that case, the original plan may have been to make a tomb of the older “far and deep” type, as discussed in *2TT1*.²⁴ Alternatively, a well may have been planned in this room, as in KV34 and later tombs.

The burial chamber itself is a magnificent, impressive room, of 15.25 by 7.62 meter, with the evenly curved corners of the “cartouche shape”.²⁵ It had two rock cut pillars; the one to the rear has now partially collapsed. It is the only chamber that was decorated. In the words of Carter:

Only the large chamber shows signs of painting; its walls and ceilings are plastered, the dado, *khaker*-ornament and part of the ceiling only being painted, the latter having the five-pointed stars yellow upon a blue ground roughly painted.²⁶

So all of the walls and ceiling had been plastered, but only part had been painted: on the walls the upper and lower portions (the “*khaker*-ornament” and the dado, respectively), and “part of the ceiling.” The wall area between the *kheker* frieze and the dado was left conspicuously empty though: apparently in waiting for religious texts and vignettes, as in KV34.

¹⁸ *RR*: see the Bibliography.

¹⁹ These photographs can also be found on the TMP website: → KV42 → Images.

²⁰ *ASAE* 2, p. 196-7.

²¹ *ASAE* 2, p. 197.

²² *ASAE* 2, p. 197.

²³ *RR*, n. 6, p. 176

²⁴ *2TT1*, chapter 5.

²⁵ For the possible significance of this shape, see *2TT1*, p. 17.

²⁶ *ASAE* 2, p. 197.

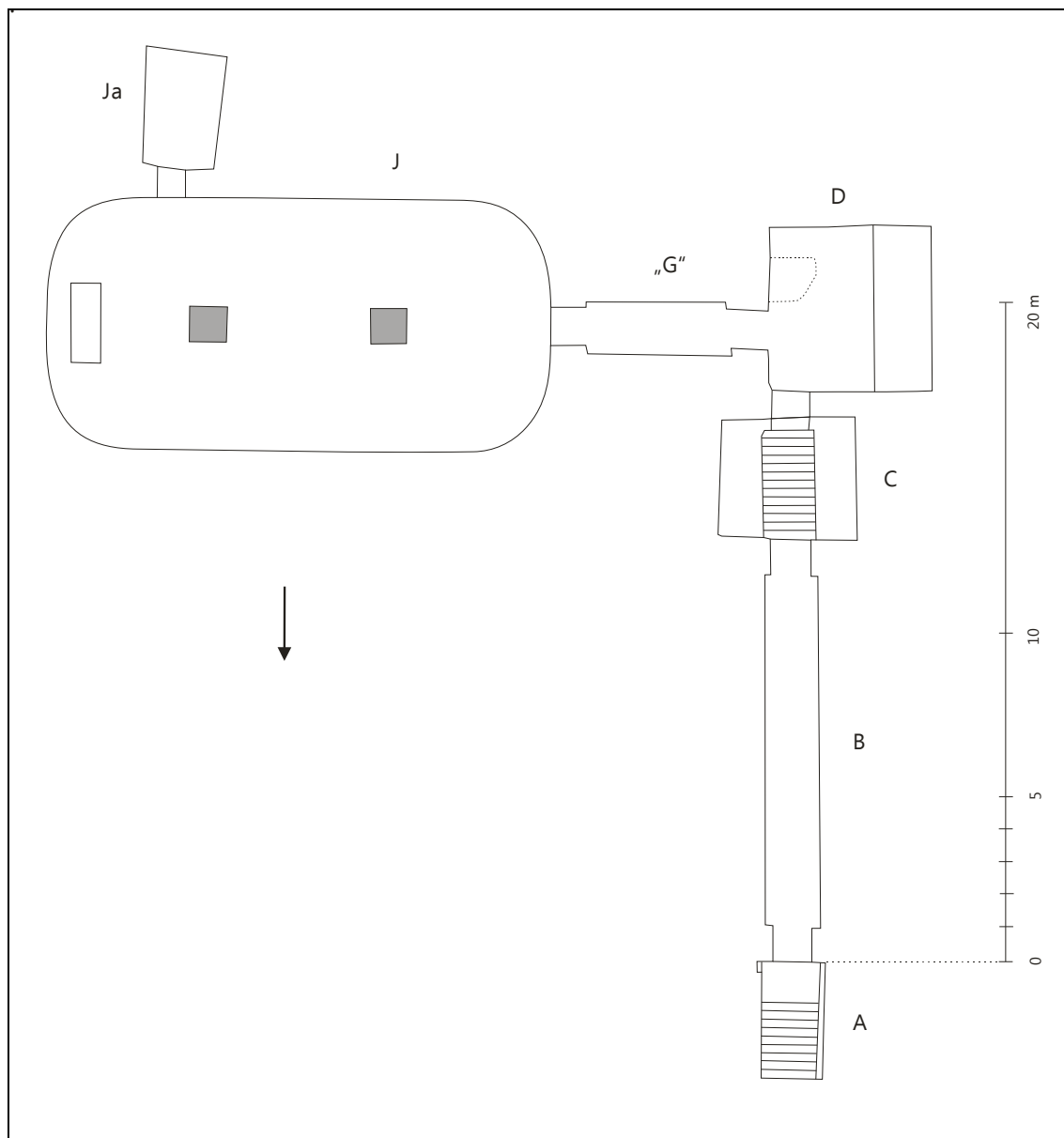


Fig. 7 Plan of KV42

The labeling of the rooms essentially goes back on Thomas, and follows her standard system of room designations (see Appendix 1 in 3TA.). Thomas however assigned the letter F to “the small chamber,” presumably because in this room, the right angled turn is effected that in later tombs occurs in “pillared hall F.” I have furthermore put the G between inverted commas. My reasons for these two departures from Thomas will become clear later, after we have examined KV34.

The photographs on the *TMP website* show that today, most of the burial chamber’s ceiling looks coarse and unfinished; plastered and painted – a dark blue with five-pointed stars in yellow – is now only the area above the sarcophagus, and a narrow strip of about half a meter wide around the room, nearest to the walls. In 1999, when the tomb was finally cleared completely, it was found that the floor had originally been well-finished, and coated with whitewash; nearly all of that had vanished though, probably as a result of the floods that over time had penetrated into the tomb.²⁷ The burial chamber’s side chamber (Ja) may have been unfinished: its walls were still very coarse, and not plastered.²⁸

²⁷ RR, p. 163.

²⁸ RR, p. 165.

*The reasonable state of preservation of the decoration on the burial chamber's walls is not at variance with the signs of flooding, i.e. the yellow mud. Whether flood waters do much damage or not largely depends on the period that the water has to exert its influence. In some tombs, cracks in the rock provide reasonably fast drainage, thereby protecting the surface of the walls. (KV39 has provided, in one tomb, a comparative "test" of this phenomenon. The 1994 floods did far more damage to the so-called southern passage, than to the eastern passage, as a result of differences in drainage.)*²⁹

Finds

The main items found in KV42 were a rectangular stone sarcophagus, and parts of three different sets of canopic vases. Everything of wood in the tomb had decayed, but Carter could still make out that there had been sledges and coffins. The more valuable items all had been lifted: just a small piece of gold foil and one inlaid gold rosette had stayed behind.³⁰

The sarcophagus was uninscribed, unfinished even; it still showed (stone) lugs on the top of the lid for handling. These would have been cut away in the process of finishing.³¹ It was found standing open, but not robbed: its lid stood leaning against the box, carefully placed on a wooden beam. This sarcophagus was either never used for a burial, or its tenant was at some point respectfully and carefully removed – as had been the case with Tuthmosis I, who was extracted from sarcophagus C in KV20.³²

The owners of two sets of canopic vases could be identified from inscriptions:

- the lady Sentnay, wife of Sennefer: mayor of Thebes in the time of Amenhotep II,
- and the lady Baketre, an otherwise unknown person.

Of a third set, only the bearded heads remained, showing that these belonged to a man. Rather arbitrarily, Carter assumed these to have belonged to Sennefer. He concluded:

Although it is not absolutely certain that this tomb is of Sen-nefer, the evidence in favour of its being so is very strong.³³

This is a still very inexperienced Carter...

The same Sennefer also had a tomb near Abd el-Qurna, about one km south-east of the Valley: TT96. This circumstance does not rule out the possibility that Sennefer also had a tomb in the Valley. Sennefer's brother, the vizier Amenemipet is known to have had one tomb near Abd el-Qurna (TT29), and one in the Valley (KV48).³⁴ These officials no doubt began providing for their "House of Eternity" early on in their career: carefully preparing their sepulchers over the years. To a few that earned the king's highest appreciation, the privilege was granted, when old age had come – or even as late as at their time of death – to be buried in the vicinity of his majesty's own tomb, in the Valley of the Kings. This is what Donald Ryan writes, in discussing the smaller, uninscribed tombs in the Valley:

*If, for example, private tombs in the Valley of the Kings were commissioned by royalty at the time of an esteemed individual's death, one might expect a small, somewhat simple, perhaps hastily carved construction.*³⁵

²⁹ See the 2002 excavation report of Buckley, Buckley and Cooke in *JEA* 91 (2005), p. 71-82.

³⁰ *ASAE* 2, p. 198.

³¹ A more usual system for making a sarcophagus' lid manageable was to leave two protruding stumps on either (narrow) side of the lid, around which ropes could be slung.

³² See *2TT1*, p. 38, for an account of Hayes' observations on this subject.

³³ *ASAE* 2, p. 197. During excavations by teams from the University of Basel, dummy vessels with the names of Sennefer and Sentnay have later also been discovered in nearby tombs KV31 (unidentified) and KV32 (queen Tiaa).

³⁴ See Table 3 on page 14 above.

³⁵ *Ryan Obs1*.

Nevertheless, for such an honor every official would no doubt gladly have given up burial in his well-prepared and lavishly decorated tomb outside the Valley.

Today, the position that KV42 was originally Sennefer's tomb has no serious supporters anymore. A more probable scenario seems to be, that KV42 was in the Third Intermediate Period used to store the remains of plundered burials from the vicinity: the three sets of canopic vases may have come from as many different tombs.

2.2. Weigall

The first to suggest another owner for KV42 – although on the vaguest of grounds – was Arthur Weigall. In 1910, he wrote:

There seems little doubt that this tomb was made for a pharaoh, but was left unfinished owing to his sudden death, though it was certainly his burial place (...). Now the tomb of Thothmes II has not been identified though the King's mummy has been found (...). Thothmes II, after a short reign died in a somewhat sudden manner (...) and it would thus seem very likely that this tomb was rapidly made as his burial-place. In the event of no other tomb being found which can be proved to belong to Thothmes II, one may say that this sepulchre may be regarded as belonging to him.³⁶

Even for 1910, this was crappy chit-chat. To paint Tuthmosis' name on the walls or the sarcophagus would only have taken a minute – and no king of Egypt would ever be buried anonymously.³⁷ Nevertheless, Weigall's early "appraisal" has made followers, way beyond its intrinsic merits.

2.3. Carter again: the foundation deposits of Hatshepsut-Meryetre

In January 1921, more than twenty years after the tomb's excavation, Carter searched the area in front of it for foundation deposits – and actually found four. Perhaps all royal tombs in the Valley of the Kings were once furnished with foundation deposits, but only some have been discovered. Foundation deposits for buildings on the ground (such as temples or pyramids) were well protected by those very buildings, under whose walls they rested. The foundation deposits of the tomb's in the Valley of the Kings were buried in shallow holes in front of the tomb's entryway, where they were accessible to both natural and human interference. Which may well explain why so few have been found.

Table 5 Foundation deposits, found in the Valley of the Kings

KV	Tomb owner (number of deposits)	Discovered by:	Remarks / sources
39	Tuthmosis I (?) (1)	Rose (1989) ³⁸	Uninscribed. <i>R/W</i> : -. <i>WFD</i> : -. <i>3TA</i> : p. 68.
20	Hatshepsut (1)	Carter (1903)	<i>R/W</i> : p. 93 <i>WFD</i> : p. 164-166. <i>2TT1</i> : p. 19.

³⁶ Arthur Weigall, *A guide to the antiquities of Upper Egypt from Abydos to the Sudan frontier* (1910), p. 224-225 (so quoted by Johnson in *Reconsideration*, p. 25).

³⁷ See in particular Hayes: *RS*, p. 15, quoted below on page 25.

³⁸ John Rose, *An Interim Report on Work in KV39, September-October 1989*, in: C.N. Reeves (Ed.), *After Tut'ankhamun: Research and Excavation in the Royal Necropolis at Thebes* (1992), p. 28-40.

KV	Tomb owner (number of deposits)	Discovered by:	Remarks / sources
34	Tuthmosis III (?)	Loret (1898)	28 objects, but the circumstances of their discovery are unknown. ³⁹ <i>R/W</i> : p. 98 <i>WFD</i> : p. 190
34	Tuthmosis III (4)	Carter (1921) (333-336) ⁴⁰	Carter believed these deposits to belong to KV F. ⁴¹ <i>R/W</i> : p. 98 <i>WFD</i> : p. 190-1
38	Tuthmosis III → I (?)	Carter (1919)	Uninscribed. <i>R/W</i> : p. 95 <i>WFD</i> : p. 149 <i>2TT1</i> : p. 16.
42	Hatshepsut-Meryetre ⁴² (4)	Carter (1921) (314-317) ⁴⁰	<i>R/W</i> : p. 103 <i>WFD</i> : p. 192, 197-199
43	Tuthmosis IV (2)	Carter (1903)	<i>R/W</i> : p. 107 <i>WFD</i> : p. 209-210
22	Amenhotep III (6 + 1)	Carter (1915) Univ. of Waseda (1989)	Inscribed in the name of Tuthmosis IV. An expedition of the University of Waseda found one more deposit, uninscribed, in 1989. <i>R/W</i> : p. 111-2 <i>WFD</i> : p. 210-212
02	Ramesses IV (4 + 5)	Ayrton (1905-6) Carter (1920)	Ayrton found 4, Carter later another 5. <i>R/W</i> : p. 162 <i>WFD</i> : p. 281-285
18	Ramesses X (?)	Carter (1901-2)	Uninscribed. <i>R/W</i> : p. 172 <i>WFD</i> : -.
04	Ramesses XI (4)	Romer (1979)	<i>R/W</i> : p. 172 <i>WFD</i> : -.

Table 5 Foundation deposits, found in the Valley of the Kings (continued)

Most of these deposits were found by Carter, who seems to have taken a special interest in these artifacts.⁴³

The four deposits of KV42 were found *in situ*, slightly damaged by water (“undisturbed excepting certain decay from torrential waters”⁴⁴). There were two on either side of the entrance to the tomb; Carter numbered them 314-7 (see Fig. 16 on page 58 below). He does not describe the objects found in the foundation deposits however: he only mentions that they were inscribed for Hatshepsut-Meryetre,⁴⁵ great royal wife of Tuthmosis III, mother of his successor Amenhotep II.

On one of the two pillars in the burial chamber of Tuthmosis III's tomb KV34, there is a most unusual depiction of Tuthmosis' family. It shows, in addition to His Majesty himself, his mother, three of his wives (with as the first of these, Hatshepsut-Meryetre), and a daughter. It looks more like a scene from a private tomb. Remarkable is the absence of any male offspring of the king: not even his successor Amenhotep II is mentioned. This shows once again the relative importance of queens (and princesses) against princes in this period.

What happened to the items from these deposits is unknown, but some are believed to have found their way to New York. Reeves, in *Decline*:

³⁹ See page 58 below.

⁴⁰ Carter's excavation numbers.

⁴¹ See page 57 below.

⁴² See note 9 on page 13 above.

⁴³ Which serves (if at all necessary) to show that Carter was hardly a treasure seeker. He was, as much as any “real” (i.e.: scientifically educated) Egyptologist, committed to the pursuit of knowledge. And with some success, too

⁴⁴ *Decline*, p. 24, quoting from Carter's notes.

⁴⁵ Sometimes referred to as Merytra (Bryan, in *Oxford*) or Merytre (Thomas, in *RN*).

Three model vessels from one or other of these deposits are now in the Metropolitan Museum of Art (MMA 32.2.18-20), having been purchased from the Luxor dealer Sayed Molattam in 1932.⁴⁶

In *WFD*, Weinstein mentions four objects (MMA 32.2.18-21):

Two alabaster model ointment jars (H. 9.8 and 7.9 cm), a small alabaster saucer (Diam. 5.0 cm), and an alabaster oval (H. 9.5 cm).⁴⁷

He adds that the jars are inscribed for “the King’s Great Wife” Hatshepsut-Meryetre, the saucer for “the King’s Wife” Hatshepsut-Meryetre, and the oval for Tuthmosis III. He expresses doubts however with respect to the attribution of the objects to these foundation deposits:

The ascription of these four items to tomb 42 is rather questionable. They were actually acquired in Cairo in 1932.⁴⁸

In addition to these deposits, Carter also found several stray items in the immediate vicinity of the tomb, in the “loose rubbish”. From these objects, Carter did make some notes. Thomas gives the following transcript from his field notebook:

Situated before KV 42: deposits of Hatshepsut Merytre, Nos. 314-17. In loose rubbish: two alabaster pebbles, a bivalve shell, Thutmose III (? from deposits), No. 318. Seven bronze model implements, one cartouche: *Mn* (?) – *hpr* (?) – *R^c* [= Tuthmosis III], fragments of blue faience tiles, part of the end of a wooden cradle (? from deposits), No. 319.⁴⁹

From their description it is almost certain that these objects came from foundation deposits; Carter’s comments “from deposits” seem justified. Thomas interprets Carter’s remark “from deposits” as: from the four deposits in front of KV42, Nos. 314-17.⁵⁰ Since Carter apparently in another part of his notes describes these four deposits as “undisturbed,” (see page 21 above), it seems more likely that they came from *other* deposits. This means that they may in fact have been washed out from one or more of the four deposits close to KV F (nrs. 333-336: see Table 5 on page 20 above, and Fig. 16 on page 58 below). Those deposits were moreover in the name of Tuthmosis III (for more on these deposits and their possible significance, see page 57 below.). Anyway, the foundation deposits now yielded a third candidate owner for KV42: queen Hatshepsut-Meryetre – after Sennefer (Carter) and Tuthmosis II (Weigall). In the first part of his work *The Tomb of Tut-Ankh-Amen* (1923) Carter came back on these deposits:

Near by [i.e.: close to KV34] at the entrance to another abandoned tomb [KV42], we came upon foundation-deposits of his wife Merytrehatshepsut, sister of the great queen of that name.⁵¹ Whether we are to infer that she was buried there is a moot point, for it would be contrary to all custom to find a queen in The Valley. In any case the tomb was afterwards appropriated by the Theban official, Sennefer.⁵²

Current insights are, that there were several tombs for queens in the Valley: see “The development of queens’ tombs in the early 18th dynasty” on page 76 below.

Normally, the name on a foundation deposit will be that of the person for whom the tomb was built, *and* the one who was interred there. The unfinished sarcophagus in

⁴⁶ *Decline*, p. 32, n. 106.

⁴⁷ *WFD*, p. 197-198.

⁴⁸ *WFD*, p. 198.

⁴⁹ *RN*, p. 79.

⁵⁰ “definitely from the deposits.” *RN*, p. 79.

⁵¹ I’m not sure on what grounds Carter bases this assumption, but according to Wilfried Seipel, author of the articles about both queens in the *Lexikon der Ägyptologie* (see the Bibliography), the lineage of Hatshepsut-Meryetre is unknown (*LÄ II*, col. 1052). He points out that she is never referred to as “daughter of a king.”

⁵² *HCTT*, p. 46-47.

KV42 though, with its lid neatly placed alongside it, suggests that the originally conceived burial - for whoever it was – may never have taken place. In addition to this, there are indications that Hatshepsut-Meryetre was actually buried inside the tomb of her son, Amenhotep II.⁵³ We will furthermore see that several writers have insisted that V42, with a cartouche shaped burial chamber prepared for Am Duat texts, could only have been made for a king. The connection between Hatshepsut-Meryetre and this tomb is therefore far from generally accepted.

There is only one certified example of foundation depots that were not in the name of the eventual inmate of the tomb. The deposits of KV22, the tomb in which Amenhotep III was buried, are in the name of his father, Tuthmosis IV. It is commonly assumed that this means that the father initiated his son's tomb.⁵⁴ It seems more probable to me though, that Tuthmosis IV at some point planned KV22 to be his own tomb, and that therefore the son finished what the father began. In view of the trend described in Chapter 1 above, noticeable during the reign of Tuthmosis IV, to increase the distance between the king's tomb on the one hand, and those of his favored officials on the other hand, it seems possible that Tuthmosis in the end had second thoughts about the East Valley as a fitting burial ground, and planned a new tomb in the West Valley – KV22 – a plan that he apparently could not finish.

(There is something quite odd about the tomb in which Tuthmosis IV was eventually buried: KV43. In spite of the fact that the cutting of this tomb was completely finished, and that several rooms had been plastered and painted, the burial chamber remained barren. In both the immediately preceding tomb (KV35 of Amenhotep II) as the immediately following one (KV22 of Amenhotep III), the walls of the sarcophagus chamber were decorated with the Am Duat texts, in the same cursive style as was employed in KV34. How it could happen that this king was buried without these texts on the walls of its burial chamber, is a complete mystery.)

2.4. Hayes

Although Hayes' study *Royal Sarcophagi of the XVIII Dynasty* primarily is concerned with the sarcophagi, he devotes considerable space to an analysis of the tombs in which they were found - and particularly to KV42. Identifying that tomb as belonging to Tuthmosis II serves as a prelude to allocating sarcophagus B to that same king.

2.4.1. The tomb

Before attacking the problem of KV42, Hayes begins with an investigation into the characteristics of those royal tombs from the early 18th dynasty that have been conclusively identified. On pages 5-7 of *RS*, he discusses the characteristics of seven tombs. Leaving out Hatshepsut's cliff tomb (since that one does not belong to the series in the Valley of the Kings), we can summarize his observations in a table as follows:

⁵³ *R/W*, p. 103, *Decline*, p. 24.

⁵⁴ So e.g. Thomas in *RN*, p. 79.

	KV38	KV20	KV34	KV35	KV43	KV22
Owner, according to Hayes	T. I	Hatsh.	T. III	A. II	T. IV	A. III
Chambers between entrance and "antechamber" ⁵⁵	0	2	2	2	2	2
Well	-	-	x	x	x	x
Pillars in "antechamber"	0	0	2	2	2	2
Pillars in burial chamber	1	3 (!)	2	6	6	6
Side chambers of burial chamber	1	3	4	4	4	4

Table 6 Characteristics of early 18th dynasty royal tombs, according to Hayes

His conclusion is:

(..) there is a definite and *invariably progressive* development throughout the tomb series, always in the direction of further elaboration of the type.⁵⁶

In other words: typological seriation is in this case a valid approach.

He then turns to KV42 (RS p. 7-10), and notes the following:

1. Comparison of its plan with the other early tombs in the Valley "is sufficient to show that it is a king's tomb".⁵⁷
2. The fact that this tomb is in the Valley is in itself all but proof that it's a king's tomb. "Until the reign of Amenhotep II - and with very few exceptions thereafter - no person who was not a king is known to have been even buried in the Valley of the Tombs of the Kings (..)"⁵⁸

In 1935, when Hayes published this study, 62 tombs were already known in the Valley of the Kings (KV62 being Tutankhamun's tomb). More than half of these are not royal, and of those, most are unidentified - which means that they could very well be from *before* Amenhotep II.⁵⁹

3. KV42 is "midway in development" between KV38 (believed by Hayes to be of Tuthmosis I) and KV34 (Tuthmosis III).⁶⁰
This is an arguable position, but KV38 - at least in its final form - appears to have been a product of Tuthmosis III's reign (see 2TT1, chapter 3).
4. KV38, KV42 and KV34 are the only tombs ever in Egyptian history with a cartouche shaped burial chamber. The unfinished decoration of the burial chamber of KV42 is furthermore very reminiscent of that of KV38 ("Tuthmosis I") and KV34 (Tuthmosis III). These matters suggests that these three constitute one group of consecutive (regal) tombs.
5. KV42 is located in the southern part of the Valley, close to KV38 ("Tuthmosis I") and KV34 (Tuthmosis III). This again suggests temporal proximity.
However, the first kings to build in the Valley were concerned with spacing out, rather than with huddling up (see Fig. 3 on page 11 above). Amenhotep III may even have decided to move to the West Valley because to him, the East Valley (= the Valley proper) was already "overcrowded".⁶¹
6. KV20 (Hatshepsut) is more developed than KV42, because it has an extra room between the entrance and the "antechamber", and two more side chambers to the burial chamber. KV42 therefore precedes KV20.
As I think I have shown in 2TT1, KV39 and KV20 belong to a separate group, following an entirely different type of design.⁶² Comparing KV20 with the three "car-

⁵⁵ In Hayes' definition, the antechamber is the last chamber before the burial chamber.

⁵⁶ RS, p. 7. Italics by Hayes.

⁵⁷ RS, p. 7.

⁵⁸ RS, p. 8, n. 22.

⁵⁹ See also Romer's remark about this issue, quoted on page 38 below.

⁶⁰ RS, p. 8.

⁶¹ Amenhotep III must have been the forefather of the Australians.

⁶² See 2TT1, p. 85-86.

“touche-tombs” is comparing apples with oranges. See what happens when we add the characteristics of KV42, and the criterion of the cartouche chamber, to our earlier table:

	KV38	KV42	KV20	KV34	KV35	KV43	KV22
Owner, according to Hayes	T. I	T. II	Hatsh.	T. III	A. II	T. IV	A. III
Chambers between entrance and “antechamber”	0	1	2	2	2	2	2
Well	-	-	-	x	x	x	x
Pillars in “antechamber”	0	0	0	2	2	2	2
Pillars in burial chamber	1	2	3 (!)	2	6	6	6
Side chambers of burial chamber	1	1	3	4	4	4	4
Cartouche shaped burial chamber	x	x	- (!)	x	-	-	-

Table 7 As the previous table, extended with KV42, and with the criterion of cartouche shaped burial chambers

It mostly shows that KV20 does not fit in.

But for Hayes, there is simply no escaping from it: being a king’s tomb, in type between Tuthmosis I and Tuthmosis III, *and* before Hatshepsut’s KV20, KV42 must have belonged to Tuthmosis II. Even the foundation deposits in the name of queen Hatshepsut-Meryetre do not represent an insurmountable problem:

That the name of a daughter of the King should appear on objects prepared in connection with his burial is perfectly natural.⁶³

Perhaps so, but not so likely in a foundation deposit. And a group of four foundation deposits that contain *only* the name of the daughter, and *not* the name of the deceased king, would be a most amazing phenomenon, indeed.

Of the six arguments that Hayes produces in support of his position that KV42 has to be the tomb of Tuthmosis II, I have for the moment left two undiscussed: numbers 1 and 4. These (related) items will be addressed in the final paragraph of this chapter (s.v. “The cartouche shape of the burial chamber” on page 46 below).

Hayes also addresses the question whether Tuthmosis II was actually buried in this tomb or not – and he concludes: not, for a variety of reasons:

- a) Carter had found parts of a wooden sledge, “probably the one used to drag the sarcophagus into the tomb.”⁶⁴ When the proposed burial had been effected, such an auxiliary piece would have been removed.
- b) Not the tiniest scrap of original inventory for the king has been found in the tomb – or anywhere else, for that matter.
- c) There was still a lot of excavation debris inside the tomb.
- d) “The complete absence anywhere in the tomb of the name of its royal owner is also suspicious; for it would have been a matter of seconds to establish the identity of the occupant by scribbling a cartouche either on one of the blank wall spaces or pillar faces of the sepulchral hall or on the sarcophagus; and it is not likely that any king of Egypt would have been buried incognito.”⁶⁵

⁶³ RS, p.10, n. 37.

⁶⁴ RS, p. 15.

⁶⁵ RS, p. 15.

- e) “Probably the strongest point against Tuthmosis II’s ever having been buried in Tomb 42 is the fact that no later than the reign of his grandson, Amenhotpe II, it was occupied by a private individual and his family.”⁶⁶

On closer inspection, only Hayes’ arguments b. and d. stick, but that does suffice. (In KV34, the tomb of Tuthmosis III, part of a sledge was found, too,⁶⁷ and there is little doubt that his burial was effected; excavation debris inside a tomb that was actually used was nothing special; and the remnants of the private burials may have been introduced into the tomb as late as the Third Intermediate Period.)

Hayes describes the rubble in the tomb as “much of the chip which had piled up in the course of its excavation.” Carter however speaks of “yellow mud” (page 17 above), interpreting it as influx from flooding. Modern photographs suggest that it actually was a bit of both. El-Bialy however has reported that the floor of the burial chamber was made completely level, and whitewashed (page 18 above). That would not agree with much excavation debris still lying around.

2.4.2. The sarcophagus

On pages 48-51 of *RS*, Hayes examines the sarcophagus, found in KV42: sarcophagus B. He begins with harking back to his earlier discussion of tomb KV42:

The tomb, as we have already seen, because of its location, its form, and its decoration, is almost certainly that of Tuthmosis II. It naturally follows that the sarcophagus found in the burial chamber of this tomb is also his; and if this is so, we must expect the form of the monument to be most closely affiliated with that of Sarcophagus A – to which it must needs be almost exactly contemporary – and to show none of the developments which appear in the necessarily later Sarcophagi C and D.⁶⁸

The following quotes from Hayes’ description of this intriguing monument may serve as introduction.⁶⁹

Form of the sarcophagus:

Rectangular box, flat sides and ends. Four walls on exterior, at tops, and to depth of 5 cm. on interior, dressed true, but not polished. Bottom on exterior and all of interior rough dressed with mason’s pick. Corners on exterior and to depth of 5 cm. on interior finished square. Corners on interior below depth of 5 cm. rounded, thus creating at each corner a roughly triangular ledge, set 5 cm. below the top edge of the box, on which the four square corners of the tongue of the lid rested.

Form of the lid:

Low rectangular block, with rabbet cut in under side around outer edge. Upper surface now rough – intended to be flat. Under surface slightly concave. Four large roughly cut lugs, with transverse holes for hoisting ropes, left on upper surface of lid, one near each corner. Edges of lid dressed true, but not polished. Upper and under surfaces rough dressed with a mason’s pick. Inside corners on under side rounded; all other corners finished square.

Miscellaneous data:

Both the sarcophagus and its lid are obviously in an unfinished state: neither is painted, inscribed, or decorated in any way. The sides of both the sarcophagus and lid, on the exterior, have been dressed smooth, but not polished, and the traces of the gouges made by the mason’s pick in the course of the preliminary

⁶⁶ *RS*, p. 15.

⁶⁷ *CGC* 32, p. 293-4, # 24965.

⁶⁸ *RS*, p. 48. Underlining by me.

⁶⁹ *RS*, Appendix 1.

rough dressing are still visible all over these surfaces. The floor of the rabbet around the outside of the under side of the lid, the tops of the box walls, as well as an area 5 cm. wide on the interior of the box walls just below the top and the four inside corners of the box to the same depth have all been dressed smooth: that is to say, just those surfaces which would require to be dressed true in order that the lid might fit snugly on to the box have received any special attention. The rest of the monument (bottom of sarcophagus, outside; interior of sarcophagus; upper and under side of lid) has been merely roughly hacked out with a mason's pick; the four roughly cut lug-handles being left on the top of the lid.

Taken together this means that the monument, with closed lid, would have presented on the outside an overall, uniform appearance of being "dressed smooth" – i.e. finished except for polishing and subsequent decorating. The only visible exception to this would have been the upper side of the lid, which Hayes describes as "rough dressed with a mason's pick," and which was moreover still fitted with the lug handles. All invisible surfaces (the bottom, and the interior) were left rough – with the exception of those surfaces where box and lid met, so as to allow a proper fit between the two.

Earlier in his study, Hayes has convincingly shown that sarcophagus A – made for Hatshepsut when she was still Tuthmosis II's great royal wife – was an exact replica in stone of a rectangular Middle Kingdom wooden coffin.

The following is an excerpt from *2TT1*:

Hayes now identified sarcophagus A as the first of the New Kingdom, particularly because of its archaic appearance: it is an exact replica in stone of the rectangular wooden coffins of the Middle Kingdom, without the slightest adaptation to the new material: stone. One of the trends that can be observed in the early development of the series is a gradual movement, away from mimicking the appearance of wooden constructions, to a more natural use of the stone. In the earlier sarcophagi, both the inner and outer corners of the box were made crisply square-cut, exactly as would be the case with a wooden box, made of planks. The inner corners later became rounded (easier to manufacture), the outer ones beveled (less vulnerable in transport).⁷⁰

Assuming the sarcophagus from KV42 to have been made for Tuthmosis II – because KV42 was that king's tomb – Hayes now looks for clues that show this monument to be more or less contemporary with sarcophagus A. For this, he focuses on evidence that this sarc is still largely a copy in stone of a wooden prototype. He examines the box and the lid separately, starting with the box. He advances the following observations:⁷¹

- a) The outside corners of the box are cut square, not beveled.
- b) The inside corners of the box were only dressed smooth on the top 5 cm, but those 5 cm are also made square. This means that the inside corners of the completed monument would also have been square instead of rounded.
- c) The walls of the box would have been "exceptionally thin for a stone monument:" reminiscent of a wooden coffin.
- d) The shape of the box is rectangular, not cartouche shaped.
- e) And the dimensions, while larger than those of sarcophagus A, "are still well within the range of wooden coffin sizes."

Matters are less clear with the lid, because that element was left relatively rough: particularly so the upper side, with the lugs. Hayes points at the way the holes are drilled through these lugs:

(...) deeply into the flank of the present vault.⁷²

⁷⁰ *2TT1*, p. 36 and n. 121.

⁷¹ *RS*, p. 48-49.

⁷² *RS*, p. 49.

To remove all traces of both lugs and holes, it would in his opinion have been necessary to cut the surface of the lid down to a point where there would not have been any room left for a vaulting of its upper side. So this plane would have become flat, as is only the case with sarcophagus A.

The under side of the lid though appears to have been planned as vaulted. As a result, the lid would have taken the form of a:

... low block cover with flat top and hollowed under side; and, since this type is as common with rectangular wooden coffins of the Middle Kingdom as is the solid block lid occurring on Sarcophagus A, it develops that the form of Sarcophagus B is derivable *in toto* from a type of wooden coffin which existed and was widely known before the XVIII Dynasty. It shows, moreover, not one of the developments which occur in the forms of either Sarcophagus C or D. It is clearly, then, one of the two initial monuments of the series: earlier in date than Sarcophagus C and, because of its unfinished state, slightly later in being started than Sarcophagus A – all of which is tantamount to saying that it is the sarcophagus of the only king who could have had such a monument made within the brief span of time between the commencing of Sarcophagus A and the commencing of Sarcophagus C: Tuthmosis II.⁷³

Concerning the box, one may comment as follows.

- a) To create beveled corners on the outside of the monument, one necessarily has to produce square corners, first. It would furthermore be wise to polish the sides first, and only then cut the bevels, since a minor difference in the plane of a side would show up conspicuously in the bevel. This means that the square outside corners of the box do not show, that they were intended to stay that way.
- b) The inside corners of the box are, for the top 5 cm, finished square. Hayes infers from this that the interior corners would have been square all the way down, had the monument been finished. If one is in a hurry though – and the evidence surely suggests this – then it is easier to prepare a square cut on both box and lid, than produce curved ones on box and lid that match exactly – provided one has only to finish the upper 5 cm of the inside corners.
- c) Hayes states that the walls of the box would have been “exceptionally thin for a stone monument,” but he does not give a figure. In his Appendix 1 however, he gives as thickness of the walls (presumably as found, i.e. in coarse condition): 11 cm. If we assume that 0.5 cm would have been lost on the outside with polishing, and 2.5 cm on the inside with smoothing and polishing, then the resulting thickness would have been 8 cm. If we tabulate the length and thickness of the side walls of all sarcophagi in this series, we arrive at the following picture:

⁷³ RS, p. 49-50.

#	Tomb	Owner (according to Hayes)	Length in cm ⁷⁴	Thickness of side walls in cm
A	WA D	Hatshepsut, as great royal wife of Tuthmosis II	197-199	8
B	KV42	Tuthmosis II	240.5 ±239.5	11 (as found) ⁷⁵ ±8 (finished)
C	KV20	Hatshepsut as ruler, later altered for Tuthmosis I	222.5 ⁷⁶	13 ⁷⁶
D	KV20	Hatshepsut as ruler	245	9
F	KV34	Tuthmosis III	236	8
E	KV38	Thutmose I (made by Tuthmosis III)	248.5	7.5
G	KV35	Amenhotep II	246.5	10
H	KV43	Tuthmosis IV	300	14
I	KV22	Amenhotep III (of this sarcophagus, only the lid has been found)	300	(box not found)

*Table 8 Royal sarcophagi of the 18th dynasty, according to Hayes
(See 2TT1 p. 43-46 for my reasons for putting F before E.)*

These figures show that the thickness increased from A till C, and then decreased till E, to increase again till H. The projected 8 cm of B fits nicely between A and C, but just as nicely between F and E, or E and G: somewhere in the reign of Tuthmosis III or Amenhotep II.

- d) The shape of the box is rectangular, instead of cartouche shaped. This is generally seen as an indication that sarcophagus B can in any event not postdate D, the first monument in this series with a cartouche shape. If B was planned for a king, this would certainly be a valid argument. However, if it was planned for say a great royal wife, things may have been different.
- e) The length of the box may have been "well within the range of wooden coffin sizes," but it does not really seem to fit at its proposed position in the range. It would, even when polished, still have been larger than Tuthmosis III's sarcophagus (F).

With respect to the lid, Hayes believes that B represents not a further development of A, but an alternative for it: a copy of another type of wooden original. Hayes' Plate XVII from *RS* shows the lids of all sarcophagi in silhouette: longitudinal, and lateral. Fig. 8 below is an adjusted version of Hayes' Plate I: I have put F before E.⁷⁷

⁷⁴ Measurements from *RS*, Appendix I.

⁷⁵ On page 50 of *RS*, Hayes states: "The interior of the sarcophagus was planned to measure 218.5 cm in length." This figure is apparently calculated as follows: 240.5 cm -/- (2*11) cm. But with a thickness of 11 cm, the walls would hardly have been "exceptionally thin."

⁷⁶ As originally made (before the alteration for Tuthmosis I: see 2TT1, p. 31.)

⁷⁷ See 2TT1, p. 43-46 for my reasons for doing so.

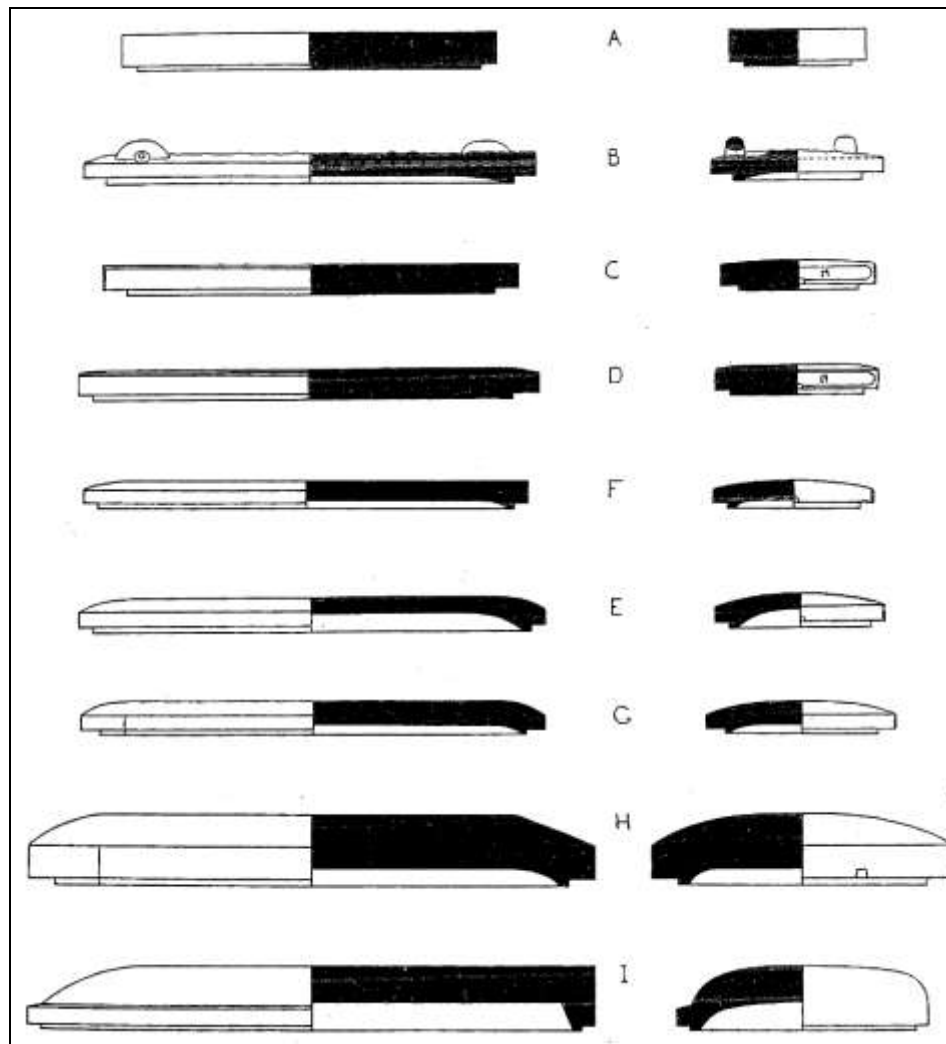


Fig. 8 Plate XVII from RS, with E and F reversed

With respect to B, I think this picture shows the following:

- Lengthwise, it's in the wrong section of this overview; it seems to be later than C.
- Its underside was to be hollowed out, but that characteristic does otherwise not appear before the reign of Tuthmosis III (in sarcophagi F and E).`

Fifteen years later, Hayes described the sarcophagus of Senenmut, Hatshepsut's highest official.⁷⁸ He labeled this one "S" and believed it – probably correctly – to be roughly contemporary with Hatshepsut's sarcophagus D. Sarcophagus S had a lid of exactly the type that Hayes assumed for B: flat on top, but hollowed out underneath. Its interior corners are however all rounded, which shows a solid departure from the wooden original. And it has one characteristic that sets it apart from each and every wooden Middle Kingdom coffin: it has an oval shape, rounded at both the head end and the foot end. With an overall length of 2.33 meter, it is 12 cm shorter than D. Its decoration is in the main identical to that of the royal specimen of the day, with a few simplifications. But since this is a piece for a commoner, we can't be sure that its characteristics can be validly compared to those of the royal monuments.

The following table gives an overview of the various elements of the lids of all sarcophagi in the original series, excluding B:

⁷⁸ JEA 36: see the Bibliography.

#	Upper surface	Under side	Head end of upper surface	Foot end of upper surface
A	Flat	Flat	Vertical	Vertical
C	Cylindrical	Flat	Vertical	Vertical
D	Cylindrical	Flat	Curving down	Curving down
F	Cylindrical	Cylindrical	Curving down	Vertical
E	Cylindrical	Cylindrical	Curving down	Curving down
G	Cylindrical	Cylindrical	Curving down	Curving down
H	Cylindrical	Cylindrical	Curving down	Slanting down
I	Cylindrical	Cylindrical	Curving down	Vertical

Table 9 The shape of the lid of sarcophagi A–I, excluding B

This table illustrates that the form of the foot end of the upper surface of the lid was never settled definitively during all of this series: it is the most variable element of the sarcophagi. The other characteristics show an orderly development.

The photographs of sarcophagus B on the TMP website show, that the upper surface of the lid is less rough than Hayes' drawings suggest, and that it is clearly rounded over its long axis. Picture 14916 shows that the holes in the lugs are cut too deep "into the flank of the present vault," but this mostly looks like a clumsy mistake. It seems to me that the upper surface was planned to be cylindrical. A curving down of the head and foot end would have been possible, too.

On page 28 above, I quoted Hayes' conclusion about sarcophagus B. The following is a part of that conclusion:

It is clearly, then, one of the two initial monuments of the series: earlier in date than Sarcophagus C and, because of its unfinished state, slightly later in being started than Sarcophagus A (...)

Here again,⁷⁹ Hayes decides on an inappropriate order of events. In hyper-status-conscious Egypt, the king had precedence over all his subjects (including his great royal wife) in all respects. This aspect of ancient Egyptian culture is so consistent, that we may refer to it as the Law of Regal Precedence. So *his* statues / tomb / sarcophagus / etcetera were to be the biggest, *and* the first to be commissioned. Considering that sarcophagus A was made for Hatshepsut and probably completed before her husband's death, there must have been another stone sarcophagus, also completed, for Tuthmosis II.⁸⁰ As this sarcophagus is not yet known, it most likely still stands in his original – not yet discovered – tomb.

When KV42 was opened by Carter, he found the sarcophagus' lid beside the box, right side up, carefully placed on a piece of timber. From this, Hayes concludes that it "had never contained a burial."⁸¹ In the same study however, Hayes also describes the circumstances in which sarcophagus C was discovered in KV20: with its lid just as carefully placed, leaning against the wall. Here, he interprets this as evidence that Tuthmosis I was with "the utmost respect" removed from this sarcophagus on the orders of Tuthmosis III, to allow his reburial in KV38.⁸²

In chapter 2 of RS, Hayes again discusses the rope-lugs of B:

The fact that the rope-lugs were allowed to remain on the lid of Sarcophagus B can only be explained by the assumption that, when Tomb 42 was abandoned by the XVIII Dynasty authorities, these lugs had not yet served their purpose – that is, the lid had not as yet been hoisted into place on the sarcophagus.⁸³

⁷⁹ See 2TT1 43-46 for an analysis of his reasonings with respect to sarcophagi E and F.

⁸⁰ The same argument also with Johnson: *No one seeing*, p. 79-81.

⁸¹ RS, p. 12.

⁸² RS, p. 150.

⁸³ RS, p. 34.

This is not a valid conclusion. On pages 11-12 of *RS*, Hayes compares the circumstances in which sarcophagi A and B were discovered. Of A (in Hatshepsut's cliff tomb) it is certain that it was never used. That sarcophagus, and its lid, were however completely finished, up to and including the application of all decoration, and of polishing. And there were no lugs, or any other devices left to facilitate maneuvering the lid.

The quintessence of the matter is in the polishing. You can't decently polish a surface before removing such lugs – and you don't want to do all that work inside the tomb, after the funeral with the lid already placed on the box. Which means that the Egyptians habitually used other means to lift the lid on the box – and they may have used those means for sarcophagus B, also.

After formulating his general conclusions about the monument, Hayes adds an interesting observation:

While by no means finished, the sarcophagus is practicable for use, that is, the box is hollowed out, the sides of the box and lid have been dressed to produce a uniformity of plan between the two units, and the surfaces of both box and lid where they come into contact one with another have been very carefully dressed in order to assure a tight fit. It is evident, therefore, that the sarcophagus had been ordered to be made ready for use. The fact that there seems to have been time to complete the monument *only* in the essential places indicates that this order was given on very short notice (...).⁸⁴

2.5. Thomas

Thomas begins with stating that in form, KV42 “undoubtedly falls between KV38 [in her opinion the original tomb of Tuthmosis I] and 34 [Tuthmosis III]”.⁸⁵ For that reason:

Weigall's and Hayes' proposed identification as the tomb of Thutmose II appeared nearly certain to me, also. Now I question it for three principal reasons: the tomb's apparent precision, the foundation deposits of Queen Merytre at its entrance, and detailed tomb comparisons (...).⁸⁶

With respect to a possible tomb for Tuthmosis II she proposes:

KV32 or 39 seems possible to me (...) It is also possible that the king's tomb has not yet been discovered (...).⁸⁷

The only part of KV42 that she could investigate herself were the steps of the entryway. According to Thomas, these resemble those of KV35 (Amenhotep II) and KV43 (Tuthmosis IV) more closely, than those of 38-34. She is furthermore much impressed by “the tomb's apparent precision”, which can be gleaned from its plan:

(..) the plan's precision, reinforced by the visible outside steps and including the [right] angles of turn, definitively indicate a later date than 35 [the tomb of Amenhotep II].⁸⁸

From that period, no king's tombs are missing, so it must then have belonged to someone of the royal family. Because of the cartouche shape of the burial chamber,

⁸⁴ *RS*, p. 50. Italics by Hayes.

⁸⁵ *RN*, p. 79.

⁸⁶ *RN*, p. 79.

⁸⁷ *RN*, p. 75.

⁸⁸ *RN*, p. 80. Underlining by me.

she believes a crown prince would be the most probable candidate.⁸⁹ A prince from that period would also qualify as owner of the sarcophagus:

(...) its rectangular form would have been suitable for a prince even after the cartouche had been established for sovereigns.⁹⁰

She doubts Hayes' appraisal of this sarcophagus:

For a king the position [as second in the series] is difficult to question in view of the cartouche form established with D; for a potential prince the outer dimensions warrant comparative reconsideration with all nine monuments (...)⁹¹

Based on both length and width, she feels that sarcophagus B could have belonged to a prince from the reign of Tuthmosis III or Amenhotep II.

She argues that the deposits in the name of Hatshepsut-Meryetre may indicate, that the queen commissioned the tomb, albeit not for herself. She may have buried here a son of Tuthmosis III or one of Amenhotep II: her son or grandson. She points at the case of KV22 (the tomb of Amenhotep III) which had foundation deposits in the name of Amenhotep's father, Tuthmosis IV.⁹² The usual explanation for this is, that the father commissioned the tomb for his son.

Thomas makes no statements about whether in her opinion KV42 or sarcophagus B were actually used.

Comments to Thomas

Thomas clearly overestimates the importance of (crown) princes during the earlier part of the 18th dynasty. It would not be before Ramesses II (who built a veritable warehouse for his predeceased sons in the Valley: KV5) that the position of a king's son had risen enough to warrant burial in the Valley of the Kings. In *Oxford*, Bryan even mentions that before Amenhotep II, few princes can be documented at all.⁹³ Thomas is however no doubt right in her assumption that KV42's cartouche shaped burial chamber is indicative of a very elevated position of the tomb's intended owner. In this particular timeframe however, the king's great royal wife was definitely heading the list.⁹⁴ It should furthermore be noted that during the New Kingdom, it was not unusual to write the name of a major queen (a great royal wife) in a cartouche,⁹⁵ and that sarcophagus A, made for Hatshepsut when she was still Tuthmosis II's great royal wife, had a large cartouche sculpted on its lid.

Thomas also overestimates the precision of the plan. The plan in Carter's publication was made by Emile Baraize, who had a good reputation in this area, but who was no match for the computer-aided design work of today. Below is a much enlarged detail of the TMP plan (displaying corridor G between Carter's "small chamber" and the burial chamber), clearly showing a host of small irregularities.

⁸⁹ *RN*, p. 80.

⁹⁰ *RN*, p. 80.

⁹¹ *RN*, p. 80.

⁹² *RN*, p. 80.

⁹³ *Oxford*, p. 253.

⁹⁴ This position of the great royal wife can perhaps be likened to that of an American Vice President: largely ceremonial, but always present, always ready to take over if the need would arise: when the intended heir had, at his father's death, not yet become of age. (See also 37A, chapter 1: "The Great Royal Wife").

⁹⁵ Examples are Tetisheri (grandmother of Ahmose; her name is written in a cartouche on a stela from his reign: a picture in Lehner's *Complete Pyramids*, page 191), Ahmose-Nefertari (queen of Ahmose and mother of Amenhotep I), Hatshepsut (while still Tuthmosis II's queen), Teye (queen of Amenhotep III), Nefertiti (queen of Akhenaten) - and also several princesses, such as Neferure, daughter of Hatshepsut, and the daughters of Akhenaten. (These princesses may already have been regarded as great royal wives to-be.)

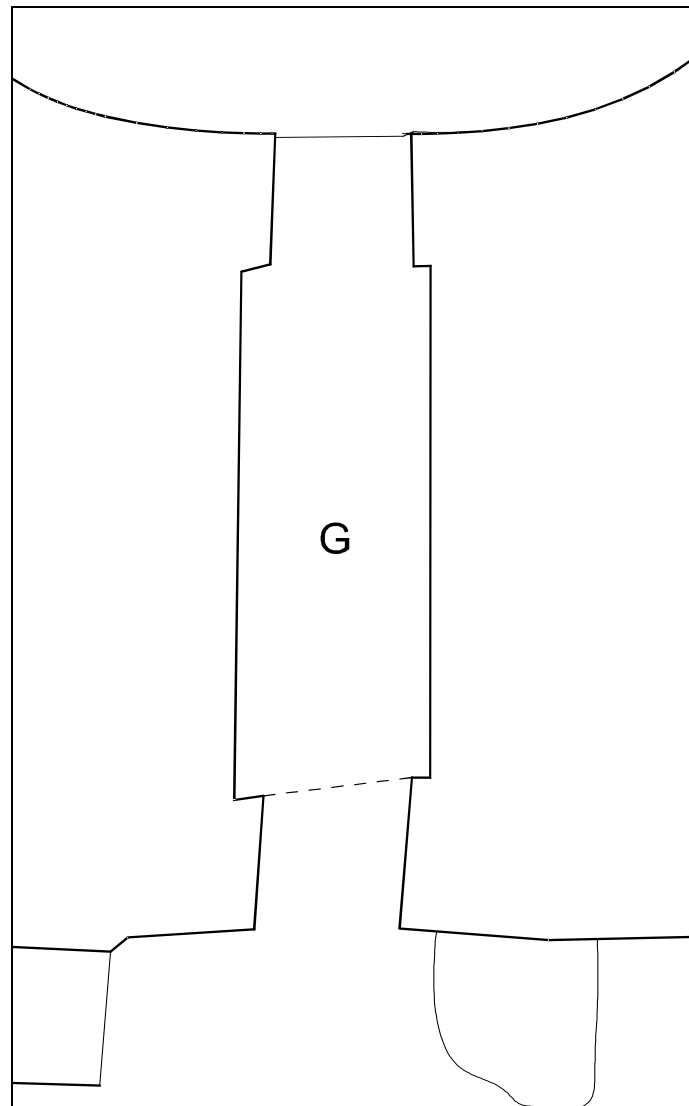


Fig. 9 KV42: a much enlarged detail from the TMP's plan, showing constructional irregularities

The general principle of “Exceeding the Existing,” as formulated by Hornung⁹⁶ is definitely valid, but should not be taken too literally in every context. Suppose Pharaoh decides to order a sarcophagus of 5 by 2 by 2 cubits. So he sends out an expedition to the quarry, to fetch him a suitable block. If the leader of the expedition is any good though, he will look for a piece of rock from which he can extract a stone of at least 6 by 2.5 by 2.5 cubits. This way he needs not worry too much about damage to the block, during either quarrying or transport, while the masons back home will still have some room left to err in. But stone is a produce of nature, and even the most beautiful block may have hidden faults in it. In the workshop, at some point a sliver may flake off, necessitating an adjustment in the size of the sarcophagus to just one or two inches below Pharaoh’s demands. Or an experienced mason discovers signs of a fault deeper in, and decides to hold his cutting back a bit to avoid a problem, thereby making the monument an inch larger. It seems to me that we can for such reasons not simply rank the various boxes according to size to determine in what order they were made.

In the following table, I have added an extra column with rounded length figures. I have placed F before E (as explained before), and moved B down, between Tuthmosis III and Amenhotep II. As you can see, the whole series from D till G now forms

⁹⁶ See 2TT1, p. 55.

one group, with an average⁹⁷ length of 242 cm (rounded). The table now suggests that the length of these monuments did not increase gradually, but in leaps. And that lengthwise, sarcophagus B may have been commissioned by Hatshepsut, Tuthmosis III or Amenhotep II.

#	Tomb	Owner	Length in cm	Length in cm, rounded
A	WA D	Hatshepsut, as great royal wife	197-199	198
C	KV20	Hatshepsut as king, altered for Tuthmosis I	222.5	223
D	KV20	Hatshepsut, as king	245	242 ± 6
F	KV34	Tuthmosis III ⁹⁸	236	
E	KV38	Thutmosis I, made by Tuthmosis III	248.5	
B	KV42	?	240.5	
G	KV35	Amenhotep II	246.5	
H	KV43	Tuthmosis IV	300	300
I	KV22	Amenhotep III (only its lid has been found)	300	

Table 10 Royal sarcophagi of the 18th dynasty, in a revised chronological order, and with rounded lengths

I think however, that the most serious problem for Thomas' theory is the supposed use of a cartouche shaped burial chamber *after* KV35 (Amenhotep II's tomb). KV35 has a rectangular burial chamber. Once the king had reverted back to that type of burial chamber, I would not expect anyone to stay loyal to the extremely complex and awkward design of the cartouche shaped room.⁹⁹

2.6. Hornung

In 1975, Erik Hornung publishes an article in which he makes a passionate statement, that KV42 was the tomb of Tuthmosis II.

He begins with stating as his purpose, to determine which tomb was originally planned for this king, regardless of the question whether he was also buried there.¹⁰⁰

In addition to KV42, he examines the two other tombs that Thomas has proposed as possibly belonging to Tuthmosis II: KV32 (recently shown to have belonged to Tiaa, queen of Amenhotep II¹⁰¹), and KV39 (probably the tomb of Tuthmosis I: see 2TT1). Because all three are uninscribed, Hornung falls back on "die allgemeine Entwicklung der Königsgräber" ("the general development of the regal tombs") as a means of ranking the tombs in time: typological seriation, again.

⁹⁷ Mid-range value, actually.

⁹⁸ See 2TT1, p. 43-46, for the reasons for this precedence of F over E.

⁹⁹ See T III, p. 327-329 for some details about the difficulties involved in planning such a room. Laying out this design in the open is difficult enough, but planning it underground, working from the inside-out, must be an overseer's nightmare. (For some examples of how arches in general were laid out in ancient Egypt, see Dieter Arnold's "Building in Egypt: Pharaonic stone masonry," pages 21-22, with fig. 1.1 and 1.22.)

¹⁰⁰ RdE 27, p. 125-6

¹⁰¹ See page 14 above. Plan: Fig. 28 on page 77 below.

First of all, KV42 simply *has* to be a regal tomb, because it has a stone sarcophagus, and decoration:

(...) beides ist für ein nichtkönigliches Grab der 18. Dynastie undenkbar.¹⁰²

(...) both would be unimaginable for a non-regal tomb of the 18th dynasty.

Neither KV32, nor KV39 meets these criteria.

With his seriation, he arrives at a predictable conclusion: KV42 is midway in development between 38 (believed by Hornung to have been Tuthmosis I's original tomb), and 34 (Tuthmosis III). He furthermore concludes that KV42 predates KV20 (Hatshepsut), because of the number of pillars in the tomb:

- KV38: 1 (Tuthmosis I: in the burial chamber)
- KV42: 2 (in the burial chamber)
- KV20: 3 (Hatshepsut: in the burial chamber)
- KV34: 4 (Tuthmosis III: two in the burial chamber, two in hall F)

Note that Hornung here solves a problem that Hayes apparently didn't notice, by counting all the pillars in the tomb, not just those of the burial chamber (see Table 7 on page 25 above).

So, since KV42 is a king's tomb, and since there is only one king without an identified tomb between Tuthmosis I on the one hand, and Hatshepsut and Tuthmosis III on the other hand, KV42 was prepared for that one king: Tuthmosis II. Q.E.D.

Regarding the foundation deposits in the name of Hatshepsut-Meryetre, he voices doubts with respect to their relationship to KV42. For this, he points at the notes of Carter in his diary, as quoted by Thomas, which he feels are ambiguous.¹⁰³

Tucked away in a footnote, Hornung gives an interesting alternative for his attribution of KV42 to Tuthmosis II: perhaps it was cut during the period of Hatshepsut's and Tuthmosis III's joint rule, as tomb for the latter - to be discarded later in favor of a new tomb, KV34.¹⁰⁴

Comments to Hornung

Hornung states that both a stone sarcophagus and decoration on the walls would be "undenkbar" (unimaginable) for a non-regal tomb of the 18th dynasty. A few pages earlier though, he mentions that outside the Valley, for others than kings, stone sarcophagi in this period were rare, and apparently indicative of a very special royal favor. He gives two examples: Senenmut, and Merimes.¹⁰⁵ But if there can be two exceptions elsewhere, why then not a third in the Valley?

Regarding the decorated walls, it is evident that Hornung refers only to the tombs in the Valley of the Kings: many commoners' tombs of the 18th dynasty elsewhere show magnificent decoration on their walls. But if we confine ourselves to the Valley of the Kings, Hornung has a point: all identified decorated 18th dynasty tombs in this necropolis belonged to rulers.

Concerning the foundation deposits, I really see no ambiguities in Carter's sketch map (reproduced here as Fig. 16 on page 58 below). The location of the deposits in relation to the tomb is strictly according to the general rules for these deposits: symmetrically placed on either side of the tomb's axis. In *RVK*, Romer mentions about them:

¹⁰² *RdE* 27, p. 129.

¹⁰³ *RdE* 27, p. 128, and again on p. 130, n. 20. See also paragraph 2.3 on page 20 above.

¹⁰⁴ *RdE* 27, p. 130, n. 20.

¹⁰⁵ *RdE* 27, p. 127.

The holes that held these deposits were accurately planned by Carter and, a few years ago, I was able to uncover one of them that had once again been buried in loose debris.¹⁰⁶

The deposits were furthermore found intact (page 21 above), which means that the name discovered on them (Hatshepsut-Meryetre) is authentic.

Let's go back for a minute to Hornung's point of departure for his "Notiz". He states as his purpose, to determine which tomb was originally planned for Tuthmosis II, regardless of the question whether he was also buried there:

Ohne Zweifel ist nicht jeder König des Neuen Reiches in demjenigen Grab beige-
setzt worden, daß man nach seinem Regierungsantritt für ihn im Tal der Könige
vorbereitet hat; Tutanchamun ist das prominenteste Beispiel für solche Ausnah-
men.¹⁰⁷

Translation:

It is certain that not every king of the New Kingdom was interred in the tomb that was after his accession prepared for him in the Valley of the Kings; Tutankhamun is the most prominent example for such exceptions.

This may be so, but it was not so common as to be standard routine, either. The fact that Hornung does in no way attempt to formulate a plausible reason why Tuthmosis II would not have been buried in the tomb that was prepared for him, does not help to prop up his theory.

Hornung's suggestion that KV42 may have been an early tomb for Tuthmosis III is without a doubt the most interesting element in his article. It seems certain that such an early tomb was made for the young Tuthmosis III; when Hatshepsut, after her husband's death, assumed the regency for her stepson, one of her first duties was to see to a fitting tomb for the new king of Egypt. Although Tuthmosis III at that point was a child, perhaps even an infant, he was already crowned king of the land. Therefore, his ritually impeccable burial was essential to the nation: a tomb had to be prepared for him, without delay. This means that work on this "child tomb" must have commenced well before the commissioning of KV20, Hatshepsut's tomb in the Valley in her later capacity as sovereign. (See also *TTT1*, chapter 3, where I discussed this matter in more detail, and explored the possibility that KV38 was Tuthmosis III's child tomb.)

2.7. Romer

In 1975, the same year in which Hornung's paper about Tuthmosis II's tomb appeared, Romer published a detailed account of KV34, the tomb of Tuthmosis III.¹⁰⁸ By way of postscript, he gives a short overview of the royal tombs to follow, including a concise account of KV42. He gives a pointed analysis of Hayes' reasoning with respect to KV42 and sarcophagus B. He observes that Hayes assumes the existence of "a royal exclusivity of design" (the context shows that Romer uses the word "royal" here in the sense of "regal"):

He [Hayes] argues that Tuthmosis II is the owner of KV42 and its sarcophagus on the basis that the monuments are royal in form, and Tuthmosis II is the only king of the period with no accountable tomb.¹⁰⁹

¹⁰⁶ *RVK*, p. 312 (written in 1981).

¹⁰⁷ *RdE* 27, p. 125.

¹⁰⁸ *T III*: see the Bibliography.

¹⁰⁹ *T III*, p. 347.

Romer then states that such an exclusivity can not be demonstrated: neither in the area of sarcophagi, nor that of tombs. For the sarcophagi, he points at sarcophagus A (made for Hatshepsut while still a great royal wife), and the sarcophagus of the commoner Senenmut, which both exhibit the same design characteristics as those of the kings in this period. Romer does not address KV42's form, but he ably rebuts Hayes argument about a supposed exclusivity of the Valley as a burial place for kings in this period:

Over half the tombs presently known there are non-royal, and of these the greater part were cut during the period in question [= the 18th dynasty]. Indeed it is highly probable that the dozen tombs that line the wadi in which Tuthmosis III's tomb is situated date either from his reign or earlier. KV42, then, may well be the tomb of a member of the royal family or household of that time, and we will find an immediate claimant in Queen Merytre Hatshepsut, the principal wife of Tuthmosis III, as has previously been suggested by different people.¹¹⁰

In Romer's opinion, KV42 is of *later* date than KV34. He gives the following arguments:

- "The rather random relationships of the rooms in the tomb of Tuthmosis III have [in KV42] been rigorously straightened out, as have the plans of the rooms themselves."
- "Some elements that are found in the later tombs of the series, such as the additional room between the antechamber and the burial chamber [corridor G], are also present in KV42."
- And: "...the rough enlargements of the doorways between the well and the antechamber in Tuthmosis III's tomb find proper architectural expression in the much enlarged doorways of KV42."

As we saw before (see Fig. 9 on page 34 above), there is a lot that can be said against the supposed accuracy of this tomb's plan. Regarding the relationships between the various rooms: it is true that in KV42, these are more balanced than in 34 – which suggests better planning.

Romer's second argument suggests that there are *several* innovations in KV42, but he does not substantiate that claim; I see no other novelties than the introduction of "corridor G." With respect to this corridor, it remains to be seen whether we can regard this as the first appearance of the later standard element of corridor G.¹¹¹ At this point in time, the development of royal funerary architecture was still in a phase of experimenting. The possible transformation of "corridor D" into "chamber D" could be a case in point (see page 17 above).

Romer's third argument is not corroborated: neither by the TMP plan, nor by the TMP's measurements of the various gates in these tombs. Moreover, the record shows that the lessons of too small doorways for too large burial equipment had to be learned many times over...¹¹²

In a footnote, Romer adds a fascinating observation: KV42 shares with KV38 a unique feature, in that the proportions of their burial chambers are

... virtually 2 : 1, whereas Tuthmosis III's chamber is 1.75 : 1, which became standard for the next three royal tombs.¹¹³

But, since Romer assumes KV42 to be of *later* origin than KV34, there is not much he can do with this observation...

*Romer's mention of KV42 in T III serves only a limited purpose, and he does there not go into questions such as whether tomb or sarcophagus were actually used. Elsewhere however he states that "this tomb had never received its proper burial."*¹¹⁴

¹¹⁰ T III, p. 347.

¹¹¹ Against Reeves/Wilkinson, see R/W 102.

¹¹² See e.g. KV8, the tomb of Merneptah (19th dynasty).

¹¹³ T III, p. 347, n. 87.

2.8. Reeves

According to Reeves, the foundation deposits in the name of Hatshepsut-Meryetre all but prove that the tomb could not have been made for Tuthmosis II. In *Decline*, he states that foundation deposits:

... were normally positioned at the time work on a tomb commenced, and certainly before any interment had been made (..)

Hence:

... it is clear that KV 42 had not been excavated before the reign of Tuthmosis III. This dating, supported by Romer on the basis of the tomb's design, clearly diminishes the likelihood that this sepulchre had ever been intended for the burial of Tuthmosis II.¹¹⁵

Reeves accepts Romer's theory that KV20 was originally Tuthmosis I's tomb, extended by Hatshepsut with a second suite to accommodate both his and her burial. He therefore also accepts that Hatshepsut must have installed her foundation deposit in front of KV20 when her extension works began. In his note 109 on page 32, he acknowledges that this is an "apparent exception" to the rule just formulated.

Reeves favors another tomb, situated close to Hatshepsut's mortuary temple at Deir el-Bahri, as probable tomb of Tuthmosis II: DB358. Unfortunately, this claim (or any other) can not be substantiated to the point where it would no longer be necessary to consider the chances of KV42.

Reeves is convinced that KV42 was planned for Hatshepsut-Meryetre, but that it was not used for her. This is:

...evident from the fact that the sarcophagus chamber had not been decorated with the intended texts and scenes from the Amduat – which, as Romer has shown from his study of KV34, were at this period accomplished only after the funeral.¹¹⁶

Other indications are that the sarcophagus was apparently never used, and that not the tiniest little bit of royal funerary trappings was found.

Since Hatshepsut-Meryetre evidently lived on into the reign of her son, Amenophis II, it may well be that he wished to bury her elsewhere – perhaps in his own tomb (KV 35), to judge from the remains recovered from there by Loret in 1898.¹¹⁷

Reeves regards the remains of a blocking wall in the tomb's entrance gate as evidence that the tomb was later used for an "official" burial, rather than an intrusive one: the burial of Sennefer, his wife Sentnay, and Baketre.

A new hypothesis

In 2003, Nicholas Reeves published an article about the characteristics of the tombs of several 18th dynasty queens.¹¹⁸ For this, he not only took "stand alone" tombs into account, but also the extra burial suites that exist in several kings' tombs (notably Amenhotep III's KV22 and Horemheb's KV57), which are believed to have been meant for queens. Reeves summarizes as follows:

To conclude: from this morass of disjointed facts and supposition a relatively clear picture has hopefully emerged – that a single-columned burial chamber was a

¹¹⁴ RVK, p. 218.

¹¹⁵ *Decline*, p. 24.

¹¹⁶ *Decline*, p. 24.

¹¹⁷ *Decline*, p. 24.

¹¹⁸ *Queens' Tombs*: see the Bibliography.

characteristic feature of certain queenly tombs during the Eighteenth Dynasty. Furthermore, if the side rooms positioned to either side of the burial chamber of Horemheb's sepulchre (KV57) had been extended for the same reason as those in Amenophis III's tomb – for queens' burials – then the absence of the single column in these later suites may indicate that it was a feature which did not survive the Dynasty's close.¹¹⁹

In the same article, he proposes that KV42 (with its two pillars) may originally have been conceived for Tuthmosis I, and KV38 (with only one pillar) for Hatshepsut-Meryetre:

(...) the single pillar within KV38 makes me wonder whether, in antiquity, this had ever been the *anticipated* use of the tomb – whether, in fact, KV38 might initially have been designed with a queenly interment in mind before the sepulchre (as perhaps the first to be completed?) was taken up for the reburial of Tuthmosis I. If so, the obvious candidate for ownership of the queenly KV38 at the time of its inception would have been Hatshepsut-Meryetre – with Tuthmosis I's intended place of reburial the rather more kingly two-pillared KV42.¹²⁰

It's an attractive idea, because it would explain a lot – except why a king would have been buried in a queen's tomb.¹²¹

2.9. Johnson

In 1999, two more articles were published about KV42: one by Georges B. Johnson,¹²² and one by Mohamed el-Bialy.¹²³ Both published photographs in their article, and these show, that Johnson visited the tomb before El-Bialy did. On the photos in Johnson's article, there is still a lot of debris visible on the floor of the burial chamber: debris that later was removed by El-Bialy's team. The photographs made after this clearance – which can be viewed on the TMP website – allow to check (and correct) several of Johnson's observations. (In addition to visiting the tomb when it was still encumbered with debris, Johnson could only bring a flashlight, whereas El-Bialy had the opportunity to work with excellent lighting equipment – as the photos in *RR* clearly demonstrate.)

Johnson reports that the dado was not finished:

This dado decoration remains unfinished along a wide section of the north wall.¹²⁴

On the TMP website, image 14910 shows this wall (to the left) before clearance, while image 15420 shows it after clearance. On the latter picture, one can see that a narrow strip of the dado survived just above floor level; it had been hidden behind the rubble.

Johnson further notes that on the ceiling, decoration had only been applied on "the perimeter of the ceiling." For the most part, this is a narrow band of about half a meter, immediately along the walls.¹²⁵ The photograph on page 27 of *Reconsideration* shows, that this area was considerably widened in the back of the room, above the position of the sarcophagus.¹²⁶ If the deceased would have looked up from the sar-

¹¹⁹ *Queens' Tombs*, p. 72. An interesting question would be, what the connection was between a single column and a great royal wife. Maybe it had something to do with domestic architecture, e.g. the form of a bedroom or of the harim.

¹²⁰ *Queens' Tombs*, p. 72. Italics by Reeves.

¹²¹ See also my email to Reeves, quoted on page 83 below.

¹²² *Reconsideration*: see the Bibliography.

¹²³ *RR*: see the Bibliography.

¹²⁴ *Reconsideration*, p. 28.

¹²⁵ *Reconsideration*, p. 28.

¹²⁶ See also several pictures on the TMP website (nrs. 15417, 15419, 14915 and 14911).

cophagus, he (or she) would have gazed at a star-studded night sky – just as advertised.

Johnson draws attention to the particular type of kheker depiction, used in this tomb's kheker frieze. He points out that kheker depictions fall in either of two groups: those with a pointed top, and those with a splayed top. Both types have been employed throughout ancient Egypt's history, but in this particular timeframe and area of application – royal tombs of the early 18th dynasty – only splayed khekers are attested. The khekers in KV42 are however of the pointed type.

The closest match to the KV42 khekers is found in a wall decoration from the Chapel of Thutmose III at Deir el Bahari. Among the many painted-reliefs from that monument (..) is an offering scene which has a nearly identical blue-and-yellow kheker frieze. (..) this kheker motif is so close to the one in KV42 that both might have been painted by the same artist during the reign of Thutmose III. This contemporaneous dating supports the other evidence that KV42 was begun for that king's Great Royal Wife, Hatshepsut-Merytre.¹²⁷

And pictures of both khekers are presented to demonstrate the marked similarity.¹²⁸ Johnson describes the lid of the sarcophagus as "slightly convex," which to him suggests that it was contemporary with Tuthmosis III:

(...) most likely made for Great Royal Wife Hatshepsut-Merytre early in the sole reign of Tuthmosis III.¹²⁹

So both tomb and sarcophagus were made for this queen – but neither was ever used.

Johnson concludes that the remnants of private burials were intrusive, for no human remains were found from these burials, and:

(...) the broken canopic vessels and stone vases are missing parts, and there is no indication that such pieces were ever found in KV42, suggesting that these objects were not original to the tomb, but had been cached there.¹³⁰

2.10. El-Bialy

In his description of the tomb, El-Bialy remarks the following about the tomb's entry-way:

En contrebas, juste avant la porte d'entrée et pratiquement à même hauteur, avait été ménagée dans les parois latérales une cavité peu profonde, de section presque carrée (dimensions: 0,31 m x 0,35 m; profondeur 0,15 m). C'est à l'intérieur de ces deux niches que H. Carter avait retrouvé des dépôts de fondation au nom de la reine Merytrê-Hatshepsout, grande épouse royale de Thoutmosis III.¹³¹

Translation:

Below, just in front of the entrance gate and practically at the same level, an un-deep cavity was placed in the side walls, nearly square in section (dimensions: 0,31 m x 0,35 m; 0,15 m deep). It was in these two niches that H. Carter found foundation deposits in the name of queen Hatshepsut-Merytre, great royal wife of Tuthmosis III.

¹²⁷ *Reconsideration*, p. 31.

¹²⁸ *Reconsideration*, p. 29.

¹²⁹ *Reconsideration*, p. 32.

¹³⁰ *Reconsideration*, p. 84.

¹³¹ *RR*, p. 161-162.

The discovery of these niches is interesting, but they have nothing to do with the foundation deposits. Foundation deposits were in this period always placed in front of the tomb's entryway, not inside it. There were moreover four deposits found, whereas there are two niches. Carter has indicated the position of the deposits in his notes,¹³² and Romer later could actually retrieve one.¹³³

El-Bialy concludes - against Johnson - that work on the ceiling of the burial chamber had been completed, and that its current appearance is due to flaking off of most of the painted plaster.

Le plafond (...) avait été recouvert d'un enduit (...) En plusieurs endroits, l'enduit est tombé, mais les traces encore subsistantes prouvent que ce décor avait été réalisé sur la totalité de la surface.¹³⁴

Translation:

The ceiling (...) was covered with plaster (...) In several places, the plaster has fallen off, but the remaining bits prove that this decoration was once applied to the entire surface.

The part of the ceiling that is now undecorated looks decidedly rougher than the decorated parts. Whether this resulted from the flaking off of the plaster, or whether the plaster flaked off because the surface was not smoothed enough, is from the pictures not clear.

With respect of the walls of the burial chamber, El-Bialy points out that the middle section is not uniform in color:

(...) sur les parois, entre les frises supérieures et les bandeaux inférieurs, un large espace est demeuré entièrement vierge. L'enduit s'y présente de deux couleurs: blanc sur un tiers de la hauteur et beige sur presque les deux tiers inférieurs.¹³⁵

Translation:

(...) on the walls, between the [kheker] frieze on the top and the bands [=dado] below, a large area has remained completely empty. The plaster there shows up two colors: white for one third of its height and beige for about the lower two thirds.

In T III, Romer discusses the plaster used in the burial chamber of KV34:

*In fact, there is no evidence of tinting on the walls at all, and as lime plaster occurs naturally in Egypt in a wide range of tones and colours, it would seem that any colour on the wall was already in the plaster at the time of its application.*¹³⁶

So perhaps the differing colors on the burial chamber's walls in KV42 resulted from switching to a new batch of plaster.

Like Johnson, El-Bialy points at the remarkable similarity of KV42's khekers to those of Tuthmosis III's temple at Deir el-Bahri.¹³⁷

Like Hayes and Hornung, El-Bialy takes the position that the tomb's appearance, with its cartouche shaped burial chamber and decoration scheme, already proves that it was originally meant for a king.¹³⁸ He is more cautious though than either regarding a

¹³² See Fig. 16 on page 58 below.

¹³³ See page 37 above.

¹³⁴ *RR*, p. 163.

¹³⁵ *RR*, p. 163.

¹³⁶ *T III*, p. 332. See also notes 60 and 61, same page.

¹³⁷ "Dans les tombes KV38 et KV42, on remarquera que les frises de *khekerou* ont été traitées exactement de la même manière que celles qui ornent la chapelle de Thoutmosis III, à Deir el-Bahari." *RR*, p. 178, n. 23. (Although the khekers in KV38 are now very much faded, those on picture 14901 on the TMP website seem to me splayed – which is also the conclusion of Johnson in *Reconsideration*, p. 29.)

¹³⁸ *RR*, p. 170.

possible attribution to Tuthmosis II, bringing up arguments both in favor and against this option. As arguments in favor he mentions that:

- the shape of the tomb is typical for the early 18th dynasty,
- and that the tomb of Tuthmosis III lies just above this one.

He lists three arguments against an attribution to Tuthmosis II:

- The yellow sarcophagus, which was more likely meant for a queen than for a king.
- The fact that nothing in either the tomb or its inventory shows any link with Tuthmosis II.
- And the foundation deposits in the name of Hatshepsut-Meryetre.

The sarcophagus in KV42 is made of yellow quartzite. El-Bialy points out that the sarcophagi of kings were, in the 18th dynasty, always red.¹³⁹ Until Tuthmosis IV however, these were of yellow quartzite, *painted* red: see Table 8 on page 29 above. (The later sarcophagi of the 18th dynasty were mostly made from red granite). Painting the sarcophagus was necessarily the last step in the production process. (Thomas even assumes that it only took place *after* the burial.)¹⁴⁰ Sarcophagus A, which was made for Hatshepsut while she was still a great royal wife, was also made of yellow quartzite, and not painted - but it was never used, so it may not have been ready yet. All in all, it seems best not to attach any particular meaning to the color of sarcophagus B.¹⁴¹

The fact that in the tomb or its inventory no links to the person of Tuthmosis II are found is clearly a strong indication that this king was never buried here. It does however not bar the possibility that the tomb was initially constructed for him.

The foundation deposits show that at some point, the tomb was destined for Hatshepsut-Meryetre, but El-Bialy opposes the view, favored by Gabolde,¹⁴² and Reeves/Wilkinson,¹⁴³ that these deposits indicate that the tomb was originally initiated for her. He insists, that the tomb's plan and decoration program unequivocally show that the tomb originally was constructed for a king, although in his opinion, this may have been either Tuthmosis I, II or even III. Work was evidently not finished though, as a result of which the tomb became available for Hatshepsut-Meryetre.

In a footnote, El-Bialy proposes that Tuthmosis III may have wanted to transfer both his grandfather *and* his father from tombs elsewhere to new sepulchers in the Valley: the first to KV38, and the second to KV42.¹⁴⁴

¹³⁹ *RR*, p. 171.

¹⁴⁰ *RN*, p. 196, about sarcophagus A in Hatshepsut's cliff tomb: "Presumably the closed sarcophagus would have been painted red, as usual, after the burial." This does however not take into account that the sarcophagi were painted inside and out, "with the exception of the floor of the sarcophagus on the interior and, of course, its bottom on the exterior" (*RS*, p. 35).

¹⁴¹ On the other hand, it *is* remarkable that on murals, men are mostly depicted with a dark red skin, while women have a yellowish skin.

¹⁴² *RR*, p. 171.

¹⁴³ *R/W*, p. 103.

¹⁴⁴ *RR*, p. 177-8, n. 23.

2.11. Evaluation of KV42

Let us begin with a summary of the theories discussed so far.

Writer	KV42 was orig. planned for:	So used?	It was then prepared for:	So used?	Other remarks
Carter (1902)	Sennefer	Yes			
Weigall (1910)	A king, probably Tuthmosis II	Yes			
Carter (1923) ¹⁴⁵	Hatshepsut-Meryetre?	??	Sennefer	Yes	The tomb was “appropriated” by Sennefer.
Hayes (1935)	Tuthmosis II	No	Sennefer	Yes	Use by Sennefer was official, during reign of Amenhotep II.
Thomas (1966)	A crown prince, son of Tuthmosis III or Amenhotep II	??			Commissioned by Hatshepsut-Meryetre. Later than KV35 (A-II).
Hornung (1975)	Tuthmosis II	No			Or perhaps commissioned by Hatshepsut as “child tomb” for Tuthmosis III?
Romer (1975)	Probably Hatshepsut-Meryetre	No			
Reeves (1990)	Hatshepsut-Meryetre	No	Sennefer	Yes	Use by Sennefer was official, during reign of Amenhotep II.
Johnson (1999)	Hatshepsut-Meryetre	No			Remains of private burials seem intrusive (cached).
El-Bialy (1999)	Tuthmosis I, II or III	No	Hatshepsut-Meryetre	No	Perhaps constructed by Tuthmosis III for a reburial of his father?
Reeves (2003) ¹⁴⁶	Tuthmosis I (by Tuthmosis III)	No	Hatshepsut-Meryetre	No	Originally, KV38 was meant for Hatshepsut-Meryetre.

Table 11 Summary of theories about KV42

Having gone now through the writings of so many scholars, we still find ourselves pretty much empty-handed – and Polz has nothing to add, either.¹⁴⁷ Time for a systematic screening of all available material.

The tomb's location

The setting of KV42 is an almost exact copy of that of KV38: in the (former) wadi floor, right next to the cliff, just around the corner of a protruding rock pillar. It lies to the side of a small, open bay at the head of the wadi, just in front of the cliffs that close it in, and in which KV34 lies hidden, up a narrow cleft (see Fig. 5 on page 16 above, and Fig. 11 on page 52 below).

Two aspects of this location are particularly relevant:

¹⁴⁵ In *HCTT*.

¹⁴⁶ In *Queens' Tombs*.

¹⁴⁷ *Beginn*, p. 217-219.

- its position in relation to KV39, probably the tomb of Tuthmosis I;
- and its position in relation to KV34, the tomb of Tuthmosis III.

As I have argued in *2TT1*, the position of Tuthmosis III's KV34 immediately below KV39 makes it unimaginable that 39 was occupied when 34 was dug – for no ancient Egyptian king would, for reasons of status, consider having his own tomb so clearly below that of a preceding monarch. For KV42, lying in the same run off but even 18 meter lower, this line of reasoning is all the more applicable. If KV39 was the original and still occupied tomb of Tuthmosis I, then KV42 can not have been planned by Tuthmosis II as his tomb.

If, as Hornung suggests,¹⁴⁸ KV42 was the tomb that Hatshepsut, as regentess, commissioned for the young Tuthmosis III (before she became ruler in her own right), it would have been built earlier than her regal tomb, KV20. At that time, Tuthmosis I was still occupying his original tomb, probably KV39. In those circumstances, selecting the location of KV42 for young Tuthmosis III would have been as unexpected as it would have been for his father, Tuthmosis II. The location of KV38 would have been infinitely more logical: see Fig. 4 on page 12 above.

Once KV39 was vacant (probably towards the end of Hatshepsut's reign: see *2TT1*, p. 62-63), the location of KV42 would have been available for Tuthmosis III. If he actually planned 42 for himself, before deciding on KV34, he would have had no less than three consecutive tombs: his "child tomb" (KV38?), KV42 and KV34. Considering that his reign lasted for 54 years, this would technically have been possible.

El-Bialy has suggested that KV42 may have been constructed by Tuthmosis III so that he could move his father's burial to the Valley of the Kings.¹⁴⁹ But lying 18 meter below 34, Tuthmosis III's own tomb, KV42 is clearly in a dependent position to it. I don't think Tuthmosis III would have dug a tomb for his father right there, so clearly below his own tomb; I would assume that he would have granted his father a wadi for himself, like every ruler had until then – and like he gave his grandfather with KV38.

With respect to Hatshepsut-Meryetre: there is absolutely nothing in this tomb's location which is at variance with an attribution to her. It would in fact be exactly where we would have expected the tomb of His Majesty's Great Royal Wife: below his own, but at the head of all his retainers.

The foundation deposits

I propose that we trust Carter, both in his identification of the deposits as having been in the name of Hatshepsut-Meryetre, as in his documentation of their positions. We can then conclude that these deposits belonged to this tomb. We can *not* conclude though that the tomb was originally made for this queen: the deposits may have been added later.

Thomas' suggestion that Hatshepsut-Meryetre may have commissioned this tomb for a (crown) prince (page 33 above) is untenable, because the position of a (crown) prince in this period had not yet risen to the point where a burial in the Valley was possible.

The only remaining option is then, that the queen's foundation deposits indicate that at some point in time, this tomb was destined to be hers.

Apparently, only the title "great royal wife" was found on the items of the deposits (page 22 above). If these deposits were added by her son Amenhotep II, one would also have expected to find the title "mother of a king."

¹⁴⁸ See page 36 above.

¹⁴⁹ Page 43 above.

The plan: its precision, and possible changes

As we have seen, the precision of the plan is to a considerable degree a *trompe l'œil* (Fig. 9 on page 34 above).

Perhaps room D was transformed from a corridor into a chamber, or perhaps at some point a well was envisaged here (page 17 above). If either was actually the case, this may have been connected to a change in proposed tomb owner.

The cartouche shape of the burial chamber

There is no absolute certainty that the three tombs with a cartouche shaped burial chamber all belong to the reign of Tuthmosis III. What we can say is, that they were probably made in a fairly short span of time, and that they were all in some way connected to the person of Tuthmosis III.

Made in a short span of time: realizing a room with this particular shape underground must have been an enormously complex affair. I would assume that all three were the work of one very gifted architect.

All three connected to Tuthmosis III:

- KV34 was his own tomb.
- In KV38, he reburied his grandfather, Tuthmosis I.
- And in front of KV42, foundation deposits were discovered in the name of his great royal wife: Hatshepsut-Meryetre.

Several writers have insisted, that KV42's cartouche-shaped burial chamber could only have been planned for a king.¹⁵⁰ Thomas widens the circle of candidates to "a king, or a member of his immediate family," but "more likely for a crown prince" than for a queen or a princess.¹⁵¹ It should be noted though, that during the early 18th dynasty, the king's great royal wife was evidently the most important member of the court after His Majesty; that her name was regularly written in a cartouche; and that the sarcophagus that was made for Hatshepsut when she was still Tuthmosis II's great royal wife (sarcophagus A), had a large cartouche sculpted on its lid.

If, in this period, anyone other than the king would have qualified for a tomb with a cartouche shaped burial chamber, it would have been the king's great royal wife.

The decoration of the walls of the sarcophagus chamber

The following table shows the similarities in decoration of the three cartouche shaped burial chambers:

	KV34	KV38	KV42
Top part: a kheker frieze	x	x	x
Middle part: Am Duat texts	x	x ¹⁵²	
Lower part: a dado	x	? ¹⁵³	x

Table 12 Decorative elements on the walls of the cartouche shaped burial chambers

With so many parallels, it seems safe to assume that in KV42, the Am Duat texts were also to be added.

¹⁵⁰ Such as Weigall, Hayes, Hornung and El-Bialy. If we take into account that the concept of a cartouche shaped burial chamber is confined to three tombs, all of which appear to be from a single reign, this argument has a somewhat slender basis.

¹⁵¹ RN, p. 79-80.

¹⁵² See 2TT1, p. 15-16.

¹⁵³ Now completely ruined.

During the 18th dynasty, this group of texts is only attested in connection with rulers (including Maatkare-Hatshepsut).¹⁵⁴ The preparation of the walls for these texts therefore suggests that this tomb was initially meant for a king.

The kheker frieze in KV42 is the same as the one in Tuthmosis III's temple at Deir el-Bahri. This suggests that the decoration in KV42 was applied during his reign.

The sarcophagus

Color: there is no evidence that yellow sarcophagi were used for queens, and red ones for kings (page 43 above). But there is nothing to contradict it either, and it is an attractive thought (see the red men, and yellow women in reliefs).

Form: if sarc B was prepared for a king, it has to predate Hatshepsut, because in her reign, the cartouche form was established for rulers (sarcophagus D). If however B was *not* meant for a king, its rectangular form is not an issue: even with the cartouche well established for regal sarcophagi, a rectangular one could still be considered suitable for a queen, or even a prince (as Thomas suggested: page 33 above). Shape of the lid: would blend in more naturally in a later reign, say Tuthmosis III or Amenhotep II (page 31 above).

Length: would fit well into the reigns of Tuthmosis III or Amenhotep II (see Table 10 on page 35 above).

So, all in all, sarcophagus B may well have been made for a queen, during the reign of either Tuthmosis III or Amenhotep II. In which case we have "an immediate claimant" in Hatshepsut-Meryetre.

Even with KV42 made during the reign of Tuthmosis III, the sarcophagus may have been commissioned later, on the orders of Hatshepsut-Meryetre's son: Amenhotep II. Which incidentally would explain why the tomb was closer to completion than the sarcophagus, while this would normally be the other way around.

The circumstances in which the sarcophagus was found are inconclusive:

- The position of the lid could either mean that it was never used, or that its inhabitant was in a later stage respectfully removed (page 19 above).¹⁵⁵
- The fact that the rope-lugs were still on the lid does not prove that it was never hoisted on the box (page 32 above).
- The sarcophagus was hastily but accurately prepared to the point where it was completely ready for use (page 32 above). This means that it may have been occupied.

Used?

What is certain is, that neither tomb nor sarcophagus was ever used for a *king*: in that case, some "writing on the wall" would have been inevitable (see Hayes' fine statement, quoted on page 25 above).

But could it have been used for a queen, a great royal wife?

Perhaps. Maybe Hatshepsut-Meryetre was for some time buried here, and only later transferred to KV35, the tomb of her son Amenhotep II (page 23 above); perhaps she died before KV35 was ready (see also page 74 below, s.v. "Theory B").

¹⁵⁴ On the limestone slabs that were found in the burial chamber of KV20: see *2TT1*, p. 24-25.

¹⁵⁵ For the exact position one needs to consult the photograph in *ASAE* 2. In the pictures on the *TMP* website and in *RR*, the lid has been moved to a more upright position.

Or not used?

If the tomb was originally planned for Hatshepsut-Meryetre, and it was *not* used for her, then this does not really pose a problem. Tuthmosis III may have commissioned this tomb for her, but as she outlived him, it was his successor - and her son - Amenhotep II who would have to decide where she was to be buried. He may have chosen, for a variety of reasons, to bury his mother somewhere else (perhaps even in his own tomb, see page 23 above).

If on the other hand the tomb was originally planned for Tuthmosis II, and *he* was not buried here, then the question of “why not?” is not so easily answered. It was certainly not because the tomb was not ready. From the moment a king died, there was still a period of several months available for last minute preparations: the period of mummification alone took seventy days. Judging from tombs such as KV23 (Ay) and KV16 (Ramesses I), this period sufficed to transform the last excavated room of a tomb into a makeshift burial chamber, with a complete decoration program.

But perhaps another tomb had been prepared for Tuthmosis II, after KV42 was almost finished, and maybe he was buried there. If this king actually ruled for as little as three years, that would not be a very credible scenario, but even so: why would KV42 no longer have been good enough? After all, three-quarters of modern Egyptologists believe that this would have been a great tomb for Tuthmosis II, so who would *he* be to disagree?

Preliminary results

We can now make a list of all those who have been proposed as original owner of KV42, with an estimate of their chances.

Table 13 Overview of proposed original owners for KV42

Original owner ▪ Proposed by:	Chance	Reasons
Tuthmosis I ▪ El-Bialy	Very unlikely	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Not in this format: way too advanced for the period (cf. KV20). ▪ Perhaps the first part of the tomb was begun for him, later traded in for KV39, but that's no more than a theoretic possibility.
Tuthmosis II ▪ Weigall ▪ Hayes ▪ Hornung ▪ El-Bialy	Very unlikely	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Not in this format: way too advanced for the period (cf. KV20). ▪ Not with Tuthmosis I still buried in KV39. ▪ If KV42 was originally planned for Tuthmosis II, why was he then not buried here?
Tuthmosis III (“child tomb”), by Hatshepsut while she was still regentess ▪ Hornung	Very unlikely	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Not with Tuthmosis I still buried in KV39. ▪ He would more likely have been given a wadi for himself, as every ruler until then had. ▪ Work must have begun before KV20, and in this format, 42 is way too advanced for that. ▪ Perhaps only the first part of the tomb was begun for Tuthmosis III, but that's no more than a theoretic possibility.
Tuthmosis III ▪ El-Bialy	Possible	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Would have been possible after the transfer of the burial of Tuthmosis I from KV39 to KV20. ▪ Would perfectly explain the shape and (intended) decoration of the burial chamber. ▪ Room D may have been planned to hold a well. ▪ The kheker is in any event almost certainly from the reign of Tuthmosis III. ▪ <u>Potential problem</u>: to construct a plausible sequence of events (see chapter 4 below).

Original owner ▪ Proposed by:	Chance	Reasons
Tuthmosis I, by Tuthmosis III ▪ Reeves	Unlikely	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Reeves suggests that KV42 was originally constructed for Tuthmosis I, and KV38 for Hatshepsut-Meryetre, but that they for some reason ended up in each other's tomb. ▪ Tuthmosis III would probably not have planned to bury his grandfather below his own tomb, in a dependent position. ▪ Tuthmosis III would more likely have granted his grandfather a wadi for himself, as every ruler until then had.
Tuthmosis II, by Tuthmosis III ▪ El-Bialy	Unlikely	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Tuthmosis III would probably not have buried his father below his own tomb, in a "dependent" position. ▪ Tuthmosis III would more likely have granted his father a wadi for himself, as every ruler until then had.
Hatshepsut-Meryetre ▪ Carter (?) ▪ Romer (?) ▪ Reeves ▪ Johnson	Possible	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ The foundation deposits indicate that the tomb was at some point intended for her. ▪ The location: first of the tombs below KV34. ▪ Its size: large, but noticeably smaller than 34. ▪ The kheker is almost certainly from the reign of Tuthmosis III. ▪ <u>Potential problem</u>: KV42 would, with a cartouche shaped burial chamber prepared for Am Duat texts, have been unexpectedly lavish, for a queen.
A (crown) prince, by Hatshepsut-Meryetre, later than KV35 ▪ Thomas	Very unlikely	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ A burial chamber with a cartouche shape, after KV35: unlikely. ▪ A prince in the Valley, in this period: very unlikely. ▪ Am Duat texts for a prince in this period: quite improbable.
Sennefer ▪ Carter	No chance at all	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ A tomb with cartouche shaped burial chamber, prepared for Am Duat texts, built during the reign of Amenhotep II for a commoner: no way.

Table 13 Overview of proposed original owners for KV42 (continued)

This table shows that we now are left with only two serious contenders: Tuthmosis III, and Hatshepsut-Meryetre. But before we can progress any further with this matter, we first need to examine the tomb in which Tuthmosis III was in the end buried: KV34.

3. KV34

For every tomb discussed so far in this series, the main question was: whodunit? With KV34, that's not an issue. Tuthmosis III's name is all over the place: on the walls, on the quartzite sarcophagus, and on dozens of the bits and pieces that remain from the thoroughly plundered inventory.¹⁵⁶ There can not be much doubt that this one was commissioned for Tuthmosis III, and that he was in fact interred here. But that does not mean, that this tomb's genesis is an open book. On the contrary: when we examine it more closely, it will prove to be no less mysterious than the others.

3.1. Loret

KV34 was discovered in February 1898, by a team working for Victor Loret, then General Director of the Service des Antiquités. It had been robbed, and quite thoroughly too, in antiquity. All that remained of a once no doubt extensive burial inventory, were bits and pieces, mostly of wood, from which every last scrap of metal had been removed.

The tomb was cleared, under the direction of Loret, in about ten days time. By modern standards, this was indecently fast, but for his day, his methods were above-average; he had the location of each artifact found noted, according to a grid that he had layed out, both on a plan and "in the dust" on the floors of the tomb. All items - with the exception of the sarcophagus, which is still inside the tomb - were subsequently transported to the Cairo Museum, and published in its catalogue.

Unfortunately though, Loret's plan with the grid lay-out has never been published – or even been found, for that matter.¹⁵⁷

Loret never published a full report of his findings: the article mentioned in the Bibliography is more like an article for a popular magazine, than a scientific account. It makes good reading though, because of his vivid description of how he got for the first time into the tomb, and what it then looked like. It was apparently read attentively, for ever after each subsequent author falls back on several of Loret's descriptions: about how the burial chamber resembles a cartouche (this was the first burial chamber discovered with this form); and about how its walls, inscribed with cursive hieroglyphs, resemble a giant papyrus.

Possibly without realizing its significance, Loret mentions that, apparently all over the tomb, the floors were covered with "a thousand chips of limestone." In the process of removing this debris from the tomb, he has all of it examined to check for "traces of inscriptions or color." Just one shard is found, broken in two, which had served an artist in the tomb to test the depiction of one of the characters rendered on the walls.¹⁵⁸ Which means that the rest did *not* bear any trace of color, and could therefore not have come – in the decorated parts of the tomb – from either ceiling or walls: those were all plastered and painted. Which in turn means, that these chips were excavation debris, left behind in the tomb.¹⁵⁹

¹⁵⁶ In the Catalogue Général of the Cairo Museum, close to a thousand inventory numbers are listed for this tomb, some consisting of several (up to fifteen) objects – not counting "un grand nombre de débris de toutes sortes" (# 24970). CGC 32, p. 281-298, Pl. LV-LVI.

¹⁵⁷ Reeves: "Loret's excavation notes and plans have not yet been traced." (*Decline*, p. 31, n. 72.)

¹⁵⁸ The object in question is probably an ostrakon, numbered 24916 in CGC 32 (p. 284 and Pl. LV).

¹⁵⁹ As Romer apparently also deduced (*T III*, p. 341). Reeves however proposes an alternative explanation: "Is it possible that these and other chippings found littering the inner chambers of a number of Valley tombs had originally been employed to fill one or other of the entrance corridors, as in KV62 (and

After Loret's clearance, the tomb has attracted more attention for its decoration (particularly the texts on its walls), than for its architecture. This is undeserved, for within the context of the Valley as a whole, KV34 is at the same time capstone of the "archaic" period of experimenting, and foundation stone for the mature period of gradual evolution that is to follow. The capstone / foundation stone itself is pretty much taken for granted though. Thomas e.g. devotes less than one page of text to it in *RN* - and a rather flat account, at that. Another fine example is provided by Polz's paragraph 3.6.1. in *Beginn*, titled: "KV 20, KV 34 und KV 38."¹⁶⁰ KV34 is mentioned here, but only as one of the tombs of the period; the whole section contains not a single statement or observation about KV34 itself. A notable exception is Romer's substantial article "*The tomb of Tuthmosis III*", published in 1975.¹⁶¹



Just to the right of this image rises the slope of the mountain of El-Qurn. The arrow in the upper left indicates the approximate position of tomb KV39.

In the narrow cleft to the left, tomb KV34 lies hidden (see arrow.) The square structure to the right of the cleft belonged to an older (but modern) access route to the tomb. (Today, the tomb is accessed from below).

Fig. 10 The location of KV39 and KV34

Description

The tomb's entrance is located in a narrow cleft, about ten meters above the wadi floor, in the southernmost branch of the Valley. Today, one reaches it via a long steel stairway, which greatly impresses the tourists. From above however, the tomb was

KV55)?" (*Decline*, p. 31, n. 70.)

¹⁶⁰ *Beginn*, p. 211-217.

¹⁶¹ *T III*: see the Bibliography.

more easily accessible: the ancient construction workers, coming from their village at Deir el-Medineh, probably entered each working day from there.

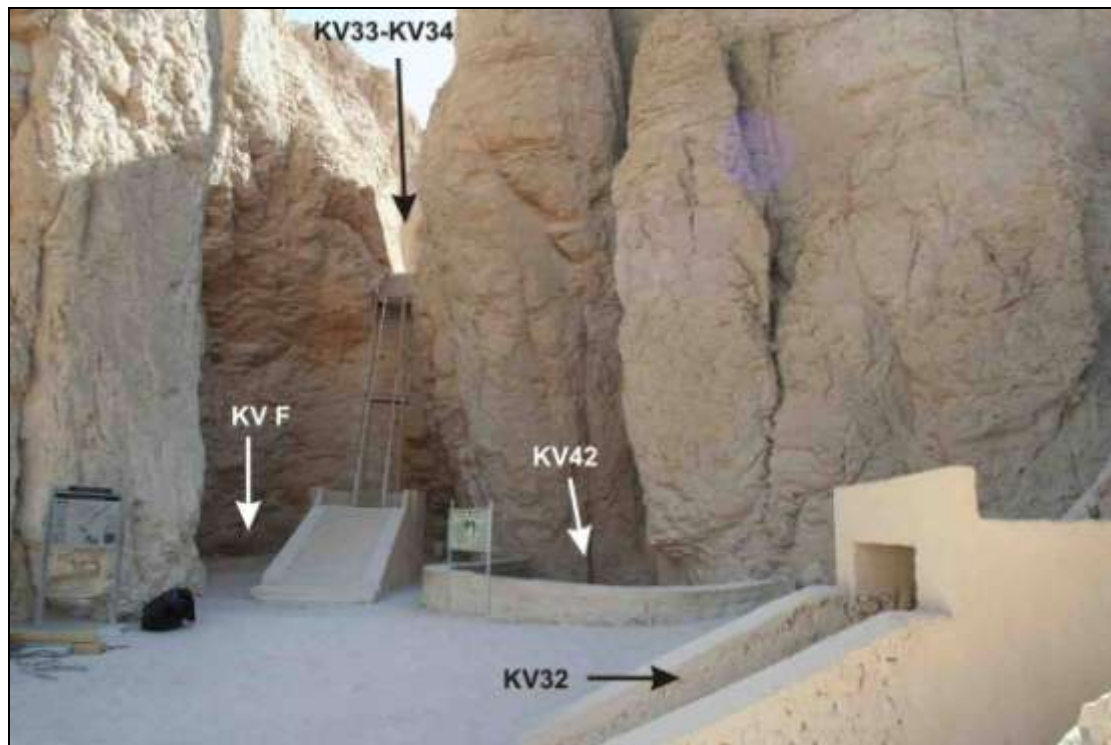


Fig. 11 The end of the southernmost side wadi of the Valley of the Kings with the locations of several tombs

The modern stairway ascends to KV33 (unidentified) and KV34 (Tuthmosis III). The four corners of the concrete base of these stairs roughly correspond with the position of the four foundation deposits, shown in Fig. 16 on page 58 below. The retaining wall around KV42 (Hatshepsut-Meryetre), and the shelter above KV32 (Tiaa) are modern structures. The arrow for KV F simply points to the modern wadi surface: the tomb is hidden somewhere under it.

When one visits the tomb today, via the stairway, one passes, just a few meters before reaching KV34, the hidden entrance to another tomb: KV33. It is now inaccessible, and even completely invisible: disappeared beneath the modern floor level of the cleft. Absolutely nothing is known with certainty about this tomb. Thomas quotes the fullest available description of it in its entirety (you may hold your breath):

No. 33, a small tomb with two empty rooms, reached by a flight of steps, was discovered by Loret.¹⁶²

This elucidating account is from the 1902 Baedeker travel guide for Egypt and the Sudan.

Thomas rightfully considers the possibility of KV33 being unrelated to KV34:

...unlikely because the difficult site could not have been selected without a compelling reason and royal help (...)¹⁶³

As the entrance to this tomb is actually located a few meters *above* the entrance to 34, it can not have been the tomb of one of the king's retainers though, or even of a member of his family.¹⁶⁴ Other options are:

- an abandoned cutting (either for Tuthmosis III, or for one of his predecessors);

¹⁶² RN, p. 139-140.

¹⁶³ RN, p. 140.

¹⁶⁴ Against Thomas and Weigall: see RN, p. 140.

- or a sort of annex to KV34. Perhaps some tomb inventory was stored here temporarily, in waiting for the day of the funeral. Closed and sealed, it would have been easier to guard than KV34, since that one had to stay open for work.¹⁶⁵

KV34 has the steep entrance sequence typical for all royal tombs in the Valley until Amenhotep III: open entryway A, corridor B, stairwell C and corridor D. It is followed by a new element: well chamber E, with a “well”: a shaft, over the whole surface area of the room, in this case 6.71 meter deep.¹⁶⁶ Although two other tombs already had a well (AN B and DB358),¹⁶⁷ this one had a brand new feature: it was blocked. The exit was closed with a wall, which was plastered over and painted to conceal its location. This suggests a marked intensification of one of the well’s functions: thwarting trespassers. Contrary to the one in AN B, this well did not have side rooms below though: perhaps the architect recognized that *no* rooms would be a more effective decoy than actual rooms: it would take intruders longer to search for rooms that didn’t exist than to check given rooms. The sharp bend to the left in the corridor after the well’s exit also fits in the general picture of concealment. (See also the discussion of wells in 37A, p. 30-31). The well room is only partly decorated: it has the dark blue ceiling with the yellow stars, and along the top of the walls the kheker frieze. The rest of the walls is only plastered and painted white though, and not all the way to the bottom, either.¹⁶⁸

The well chamber is followed by another novelty: a pillared hall. In the left hand corner of this hall, a stairwell descends to the burial chamber. That chamber, with two pillars and four side chambers, 14.64 meter long and 8.53 meter wide, has a cartouche shape, like the burial chambers of KV38 and KV42.

Although the architecture of this tomb is exceedingly interesting, as we will see shortly, it is not really surprising that its decoration has attracted most of the attention. After the scant remains of ornamentation in KV20, 38 and even 42, KV34 offers a giant leap forward to fully adorned walls and ceilings. The first rooms are undecorated, but from the well chamber onward, all walls and ceilings were plastered, for the most part painted - and still largely intact.

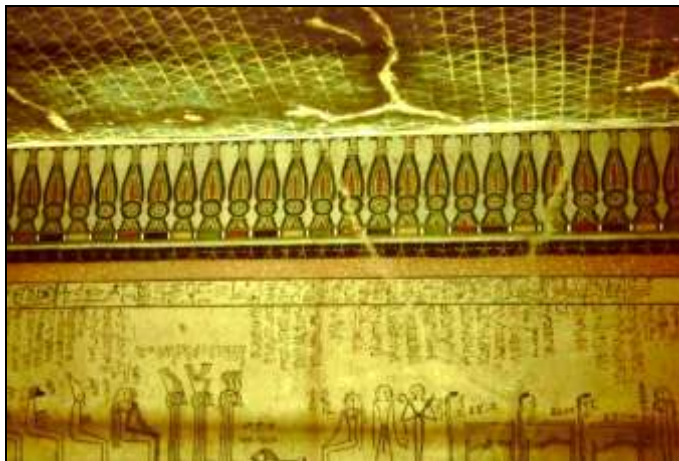


Fig. 12 KV34: the decoration in the burial chamber



Fig. 13 KV34: the decoration in the pillared hall

¹⁶⁵ KV A may have served that function near KV22 (Amenhotep III).

¹⁶⁶ *TMP website*.

¹⁶⁷ For AN B (probably Amenhotep I), see 37A, chapter 3. For DB358 (probably Ahmose-Meryetamun, great royal wife of Amenhotep I), see *QMA*.

¹⁶⁸ Romer: plastered to a maximum depth of 4.60 m from the ceiling (*T III*, p. 324).

The ceilings are of a dark blue, evenly studded with yellow, five-pointed stars, evocating the night sky. Immediately below the ceiling, the walls carry a frieze of the so-called kheker-motif. Just above the floor, the walls are finished with a dado of bands of red, yellow and black. The section in between the frieze and the dado carries the *pièce de résistance* of the decoration: in the burial chamber the “Book of what is in the Underworld”, or Am Duat; on the walls of the pillared hall a long list of names of gods from the Am Duat: 741 in total.

The following is a complete list of all decoration in the tomb.

Well E:

- Ceiling: a dark blue background with yellow, five-pointed stars.
- Walls:
 - along the top, a kheker-frieze.
 - Below this, the walls were plastered and painted white, until about half way down the shaft.¹⁶⁹

Pillared hall F:

- Ceiling: a dark blue background with yellow, five-pointed stars.
- Walls:
 - Top: a kheker-frieze.
 - Below this, a catalogue of 741 names of gods from the Am Duat.
 - Bottom: a dado.
- Pillars: no decoration, just a preparatory grid of squares in red.

Burial chamber J:

- Ceiling: a dark blue background with yellow, five-pointed stars.
- Walls:
 - Top: a kheker-frieze.
 - Below this, the complete Am Duat.
 - Bottom: a dado.
- Pillars:
 - an abridged version of the Am Duat, without vignettes (Hornung likens it to a table of contents);¹⁷⁰
 - the Litany of Re, showing the 76 forms of Re;
 - and a depiction – in the same cursive style as the religious texts – of the king, being suckled by the goddess Isis in the form of a tree.¹⁷¹ He is followed by a depiction of himself, three wives, and a daughter. (The first of the three wives is “Meryetre,” she is the only one that is referred to as living.)

(The side chambers of the burial chamber are undecorated – as are the elements A, B, C and D.)

Although the decoration of KV34 is, in comparison to that of earlier royal tombs of the dynasty, quite an improvement, its worth should not be exaggerated. Johnson gives a balanced appraisal:

The [decoration's] simplicity appeals to a modern aesthetic, but compared to the decorative motifs of later kings' tombs, it is modest and utilitarian.¹⁷²

¹⁶⁹ According to the TMP website, the well is 6.71 m deep, and the room is 1.70 m high. According to Romer, the plaster reaches till 4.60 m below the ceiling, max (*T III*, p. 324). This leaves a minimum of 3.81 m unplastered below this.

¹⁷⁰ *Treasures*, p. 139.

¹⁷¹ The king's mother's name was also Isis, so this depiction may have referred to her, too. (For the king, being Horus, a mother with the name of Isis was of course a mythical bonus.)

¹⁷² *No one seeing*, p. 81.

On the other side of the spectrum come such statements as the following from Romer:

There are other instances in the [burial] chamber of the division of the registers balancing the architectural asymmetry of the room, the long register of the 5th hour helping to balance the strange positioning of the columns by pulling the eye along the east wall to the sarcophagus. It is this division of the registers that is the real key to the aesthetic success of the room as an architectural environment, the careful interplay of the asymmetrical architecture and the regularising registers combining to create an overall dynamic symmetry.¹⁷³

The plan

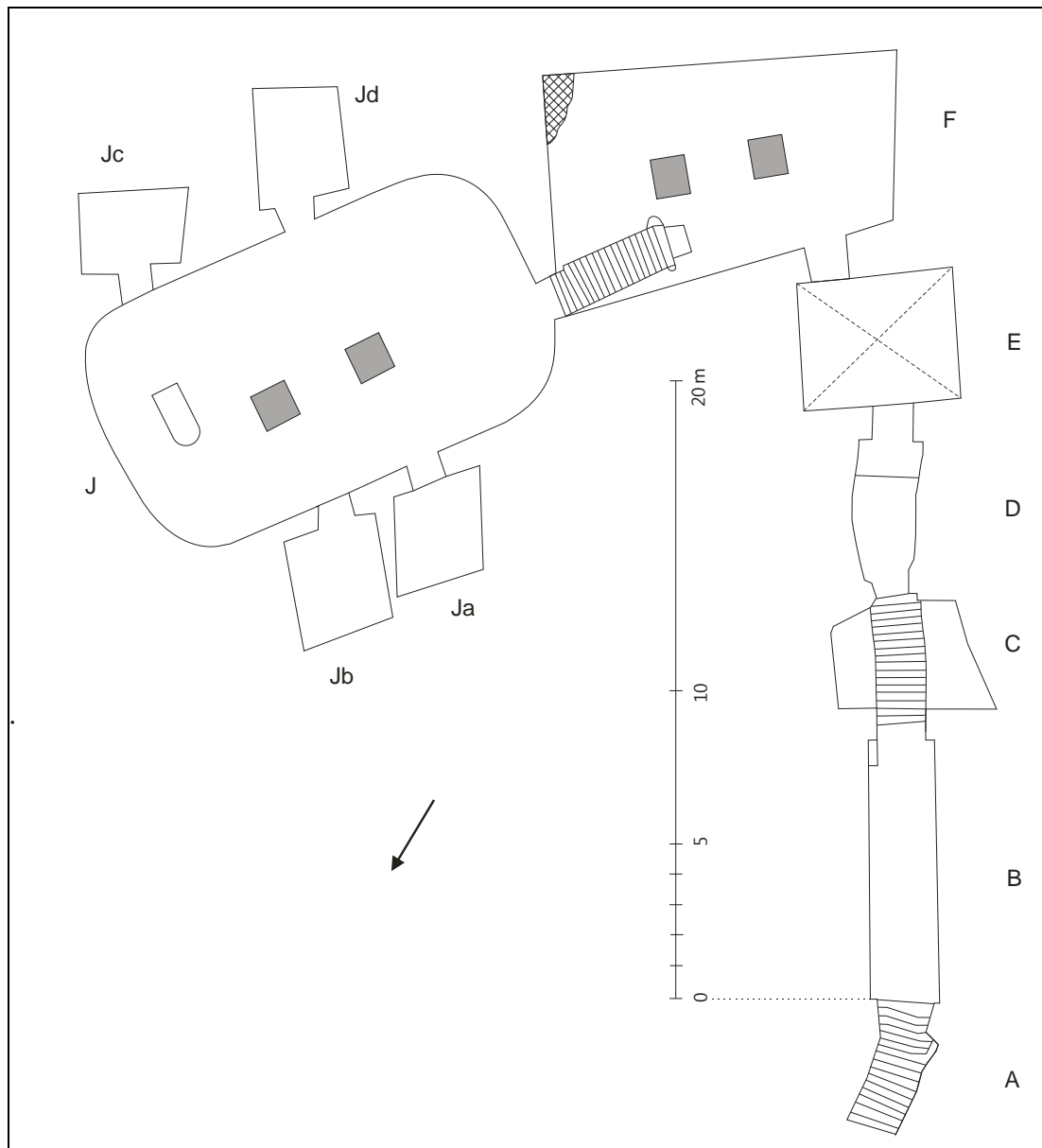


Fig. 14 Plan of KV34

The position of the sarcophagus is hypothetical: today, it stands at an angle of about 15 degrees from the room's back wall.

¹⁷³ T III, p. 334.

The hatched area in one corner of pillared hall F indicates where the cutting of this chamber was not finished. A chunk of rock, about half a meter high, has not been removed.

3.2. Carter: examining the context

Howard Carter discovered the tomb of Tutankhamun in November, 1922. In the years immediately preceding this “mother of all archeological discoveries,” he closely examined – under the patronage of Lord Carnarvon – the area around KV34.¹⁷⁴ This resulted in a series of much more modest, but still relevant discoveries.

In February 1920, Carter investigated the cleft in which KV34 lies hidden. He discovered there a dump of excavation debris, shortly above the tomb’s entrance. He believed this to have come from KV39, not KV34:

The boulders and debris from an excavation of a tomb of early date are very puzzling - it is difficult to understand their meaning unless from tomb 39 at the head of the Upper Valley, like the debris hidden in the case of Amenhotep I tomb.¹⁷⁵

KV39 (probably from Tuthmosis I) is located some 200 m south from KV34, and about 40 m above it¹⁷⁶ – and in a mountainous environment, the hiding of debris is more likely to go downhill than uphill. If it had been from 34, it would moreover have been too close to the tomb – between 10 and 40 meters – to be actually hidden.

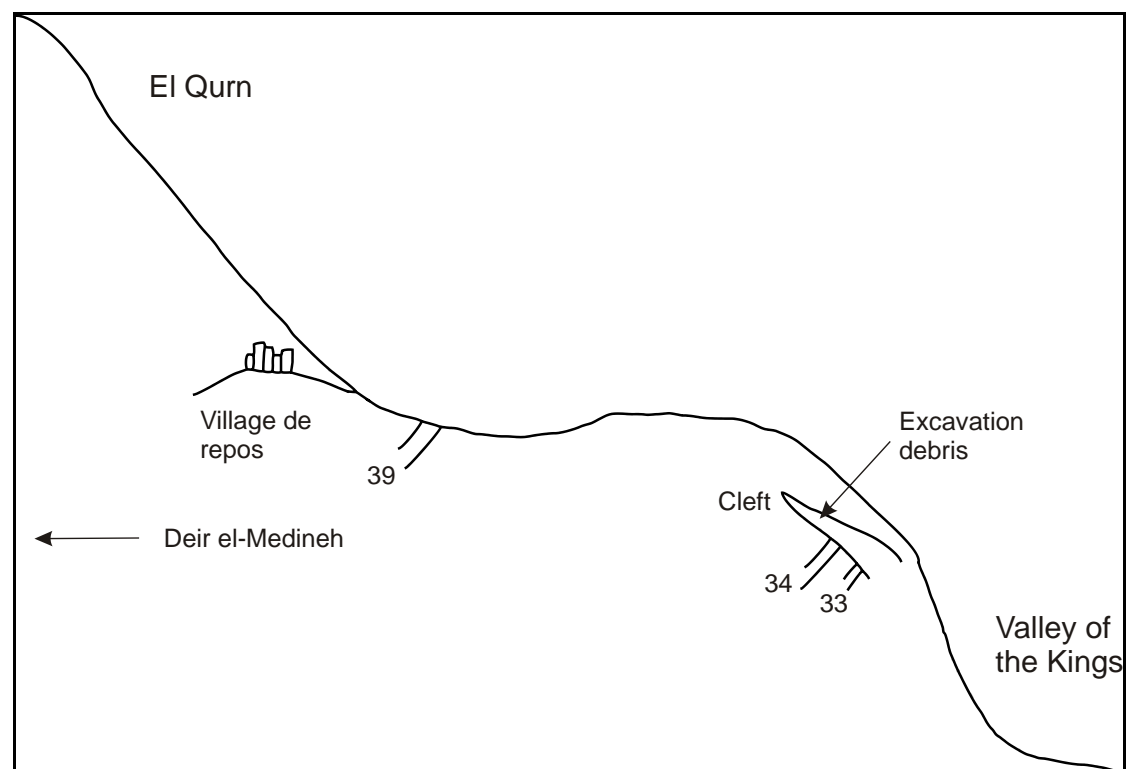


Fig. 15 The situation of KV39, KV34 and KV33 (not to scale: diagram only)
(= Fig. 17 on page 72 of 3TA)

In January 1921, Carter was working on the wadi floor, immediately below KV34. When he discovered here the foundation deposits of Hatshepsut-Meryetre, previous-

¹⁷⁴ Carter had already in 1917 made a “careful survey of the burial chamber” of KV34, which Romer found to be “largely accurate and (...) useful in the early part of my work.” (*T III*, p. 321, n. 39.)

¹⁷⁵ From Carter’s excavation journal, quoted by Romer (*T III*, p. 320). The “Amenhotep tomb” that Carter refers to is tomb AN B. For more on this, see 3TA, p. 78-79.

¹⁷⁶ Fig. 10 on page 51 above shows the relationship between KV39 and KV34.

ly discussed (see section 2.3 on page 20 above), he also found evidence of four more deposits, in circular holes “in bed rock.”¹⁷⁷ All that we now know about these finds are some cursory remarks in his unpublished field notes. Thomas cites these as follows:

- 333 Foundation deposit hole and remains of deposit.
 334 “ “ “ “ “ “ “ “ “
 335 Foundation deposit hole and complete deposit of Thotmes III.
 336 Foundation deposit hole. (Nb. Near this a commencement for a tomb.)¹⁷⁸

So one of the holes contained an intact foundation deposit, with items inscribed for Tuthmosis III. Two others contained remains of a deposit, and one was apparently empty.

Thomas assigned the letter F to the “commencement for a tomb.” All that is known about it are the contours of its entrance, as drawn by Carter on a map in his unpublished notes (see Fig. 16 on page 58 below). Thomas estimates the dimensions of this entrance as “270 by 150 cm.”¹⁷⁹

A few years later, in his book “*The Tomb of Tutankhamun*,” Carter refers again to this tomb:

For our next attempt we selected the small lateral valley in which the tomb of Thothmes III was situated. This occupied us throughout the whole of the two following seasons, and, though nothing intrinsically valuable was found, we discovered an interesting archeological fact. The actual tomb in which Thothmes III was buried had been found by Loret in 1898, hidden in a cleft in an inaccessible spot some way up the face of the cliff. Excavating in the valley below, we came upon the beginning of a tomb [= KV F], by its foundation deposits originally intended for the same king. Presumably, while the work on this low-level tomb was in progress, it occurred to Thothmes or to his architect that the cleft in the rock above was a better site.¹⁸⁰

Based on Carter’s account, Thomas assumes KV F to have been planned as a substantial piece:

Evidently a stair led to an appreciable beginning, for he thought it could have been Thutmose’s and he speaks of the possibility of its having been “flooded out.”¹⁸¹

She has no suggestion for an original owner for KV F other than: “its position strongly suggests relation with Thutmose [III].”¹⁸²

With respect to the foundation deposits, she doubts whether they belonged to KV F, as Carter believed, and instead proposes that they belonged to KV34:

But for me the position of the deposits would be highly unusual for F. Instead of being closely grouped in front of the entrance – compare the nearby 42, as well as 20, 43, 22, and 2 – they form a large square on the wadi bed to the west, below the mouth of the cleft that holds the actual tomb of Thutmose. For the latter no deposits, or search therefore, are known. Perhaps the rock floor of the narrow chimney was unsuitable, or requisite space in front of the entrance non-existent. But if the cleft was considered to be the beginning of the tomb’s entrance the wadi below would have substituted, with the deposits spaced in relation to the cleft walls approximately as they are proportionately in front of KV42. Thus deposits 333-36

¹⁷⁷ RN, p. 140.

¹⁷⁸ RN, p. 140. The original also gives grid references to a sketch map of Carter’s.

¹⁷⁹ RN, p. 140.

¹⁸⁰ HCTT, p. 46. Underlining by me.

¹⁸¹ RN, p. 140.

¹⁸² RN, p. 140.

on the basis of present evidence seem to have been placed for 34; perhaps they were considered sufficient for 33, too, and possibly for F.¹⁸³

According to Weinstein, the four deposits on the wadi floor could hardly belong to KV34 up in the cleft because there are:

... no parallels for such a situation, and in any event, one then needs to explain the circumstances of the discovery of the twenty-eight foundation deposit objects during the excavation of the tomb by Loret.¹⁸⁴

(With two of the deposits being incomplete, and one completely missing, that couldn't be too difficult, I would say.)

Weinstein agrees with Thomas that these deposits could not have belonged to KV F:

Although Carter (...) suggests that the four deposits were for this tomb F, the latter is aligned on a completely different axis from the deposit pits. Hence it is unlikely that they are related to each other.¹⁸⁵

Romer also believes that the deposits belonged to KV34,¹⁸⁶ – and so do I.

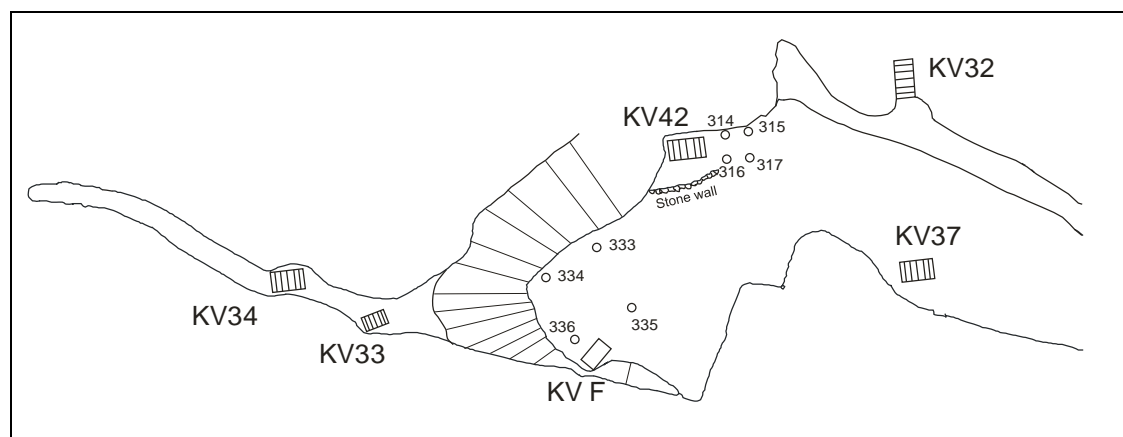


Fig. 16 The area of KV34, KV F and KV42, with foundation deposits, after the notes of Howard Carter

This drawing is based on RN, Fig. 14 (p. 120) and WFD, Fig 7 (p. 106). The level of KV F and KV42 lies below that of KV34 and KV33. The small circles represent the foundation deposits, with the excavation numbers assigned to them by Carter. (See also the photograph of Fig. 11 on page 52 above.)

During the excavation of KV34 by Loret in 1898, 28 objects were found that by their appearance can be identified as coming from one or more foundation deposits; those that were inscribed carried the name of Tuthmosis III. Nothing is known however about how or where they were found. My guess would be that they came from the "loose rubbish" below the tomb: in the area between KV F and KV42.

When Carter discovered the foundation deposits of Hatshepsut-Meryetre, he also came across several items, found in the "loose rubbish" of the wadi floor. These have already been mentioned on page 22 above:

Seven bronze model implements, one cartouche: *Mn* (?) – *hpr* (?) – *R^c* [= Tuthmosis III], fragments of blue faience tiles, part of the end of a wooden cradle (? from deposits), No. 319.

¹⁸³ RN, p. 140.

¹⁸⁴ WFD, p. 191.

¹⁸⁵ WFD, p. 191.

¹⁸⁶ RVK, p. 313.

It seems to me that the approximate spatial relationships of these deposits and stray deposit objects could be depicted schematically as follows:

			KV42 ↑
			A. Four intact deposits of Hatshepsut-Meryetre. Found by Carter (# 314-317).
		B. Several stray objects, some possibly in the name of Tuthmosis III. Found by Carter.	
		C. 28 stray objects in the name of Tuthmosis III. Found by Lorent.	
KV34 ←	D. Four deposits, of which one intact (for Tuthmosis III), and one empty. Found by Carter (# 333-336).		
	↓ KV F		

Table 14 Schematic overview of (items from) foundation deposits between KV34, KV42 and KV F

It seems to me that categories B. and C. may stem from the empty and damaged deposits of D, which were probably associated with KV34.

3.3. Hayes

In RS, Hayes gives a detailed description of the well and well chamber; a description that will later be refuted by Romer.

That the well was originally planned and executed as a chamber, and only made into a well after the descent of the sarcophagus and other heavy furniture into the portions of the tomb beyond, is attested by a rough and slightly projecting ridge which is visible around its walls at the level of the passage floors and which marks the edges of the original chamber floor; and by the fact that the stucco work and painted decoration of the well ends abruptly at this floor level, the lower part of the well being left as subsequently cut.¹⁸⁷

Romer later suggests that Hayes may have been referring to KV43, the tomb of Tuthmosis IV, "which has the features that he attributes to Tuthmosis III's tomb."¹⁸⁸

¹⁸⁷ RS, p. 22.

¹⁸⁸ T III, p. 324, n. 43.

3.4. Thomas

Thomas mentions that the quality of the rock is excellent:

(...) yet the steep stairs and adjacent wall surfaces are again quite rough, in spite of the skillful edging at the upper corners of the corridors (...)

After Loret, she notes that the walls of the burial chamber and the pillared hall:

(...) were evidently considered to be huge sheets of papyrus, for their decoration is of the same form in the main, as if applied by pen.

And as if writing a tour guide, she adds:

The color throughout is fully appreciable in the light of well placed electric lamps.¹⁸⁹

Although her treatment of this tomb is uncharacteristically superficial, we will later have reason to come back to her remark about “the skillful edging at the upper corners of the corridors.”

3.5. Romer

In 1975, Romer published the results of a thorough study he made of KV34 (*T III*). Romer’s observations offer an amazing mix of magnificent, and downright poorly finished elements.

Entryway A (*T III*, p. 321):

“At its entrance, the tomb of Tuthmosis III is not encouraging of access. The steep and poorly cut steps down to the door are at an odd angle to the first corridor of the tomb (...)

Corridor B (*T III*, p. 322).

This corridor is “the finest example of stone working visible in the tomb. Almost ten metres long, and square in section behind the entrance, it tapers gently, losing 0.20 m in its width and height before stopping at the first staircase.”

Stairwell C (*T III*, p. 322).

“(...) seventeen steep and poorly cut steps, similar to those at the entrance, which run down through a low irregular chamber. (..). This chamber [is] perhaps better described as two recesses cut either side of a staircase (..). These recesses trace a most irregular path in the rock, principally because rock faults have been followed at the expense of symmetry. It is the first example of a common occurrence in the tomb: expediency and ease of working affecting the tomb’s final form.”

Corridor D (*T III*, p. 322-4).

“The second passage of the tomb (..) is little more than a large tunnel (..). The floor is a series of rough outcroppings of limestone and the shapeless plan of the walls, and the half finished door jamb behind the doorway from the second stair complete the impression of work abandoned when half completed.”

Well chamber E (*T III*, p. 324).

The crisply cut well is “almost perfectly rectangular in plan, measuring 5.15 m by 3.96 m.”

Pillared hall F (*T III*, p. 325).

The two pillars, although “in precise alignment to one another,” are not parallel to any of the walls. The walls themselves are “finely plastered and painted”, but stand at odd angles to one another. In addition to this, in one corner of the room, a chunk of bedrock, “over half a metre high” was not removed. The decoration of

¹⁸⁹ All quotes: *RN*, p. 77.

the room was not finished: on the pillars, only a preparatory grid of red lines was applied.

Burial chamber J (*T III*, p. 325-329).

"The fine form of the chamber, enhanced by the careful divisions and registers of the wall paintings is quite still after the confusion of the previous corridors and rooms. It seems to be a perfect geometry, floating deep in the rock and quite unrelated to the world above."¹⁹⁰ Romer made a detailed analysis of this chamber's ground plan, revealing several mistakes in its laying out. The room is also strangely asymmetrical: "Virtually every element in the design of the room, the columns, the sidechambers and the entrance doorway are asymmetrically placed (...)"¹⁹¹ Romer mentions these matters, but offers no explanation other than that "speed was a significant factor in the final shape of the monument."¹⁹² For a people so devoted to symmetry as the ancient Egyptians, this state of affairs is however most odd, and really needs to be addressed.

Side chambers Ja, Jb, Jc and Jd (*T III*, p. 329-331).

These side chambers were once equipped with single leaf wooden doors: the first time that we encounter such a feature in the tombs in the Valley of the Kings. These opened from the side chamber out: into the burial chamber. (The plan of the *TMP* erroneously shows them opening into the side chambers.)

A careful examination of the painted decoration revealed a lot about the order of events in the construction of the tomb. From such matters as spilled drops of one color of paint over another color, Romer could reconstruct the following sequence:

- a) Cutting of the tomb.
- b) Plastering of all surfaces that were to be painted.
- c) Painting of the ceilings, the kheker friezes and the dados.
- d) Enlargement of three doorways in the tomb, presumably to allow the passing of some larger items from the burial inventory.
- e) Sealing of the side chambers of the burial chamber.
- f) Painting of the Am Duat texts in the burial chamber, right across the sealed doors of its side chambers. After this, these side chambers were in effect hidden.¹⁹³
- g) Painting of the texts in the pillared hall.
- h) Repainting of the frieze in the well chamber, as this was damaged at the occasion of enlarging the doorway that leads to the pillared hall.
- i) Closing of the tomb.

The enlargement of the doorways (from stairwell C to corridor D, from corridor D to well chamber E, and from well chamber E to pillared hall F¹⁹⁴), in all probability took place during the burial or immediately before, when certain items of furniture that were brought into the tomb were found to be too large to pass the existing doorways. This means that events d) till i) happened in a fairly short span of time. Which makes sense: bringing in valuables long before the burial would have constituted a major security risk. Events e) till i) moreover follow a strict route: from the inside out. We can all but see how events unfolded, during the last days before the closing of the tomb.

An important consequence of this is, that the texts of the Am Duat on the burial chamber's walls were apparently added as part of the burial rites. This corresponds with the findings in KV42, where the walls of the burial chamber were completely

¹⁹⁰ *T III*, p. 326.

¹⁹¹ *T III*, p. 326.

¹⁹² *T III*, p. 329.

¹⁹³ There has been considerable variation in these procedures. In the next king's tomb, Amenhotep II's KV35, a narrow frieze of rectangles actually frames, and thereby accentuates the doorways of these side chambers. But in Tawesert's KV14, the same procedure was followed as in KV34.

¹⁹⁴ See *T III*, p. 341 and 323.

plastered, but only the kheker frieze on top, and the dado below painted, leaving the middle section open for texts: until the time of burial.

A remarkable feature of the burial chamber's side chambers is the strange, seemingly random placement of their doorways. As these doors were meant to be sealed, hidden behind the plaster of the walls, it seems to me that this irregular placement may have been an additional device for hiding their locations. In this context it is interesting to note, that apparently several objects were smashed most vigorously against the walls:

They [the remnants of the original burial] had been broken against the walls with such force that its plaster was dented.¹⁹⁵

Perhaps thieves were trying this way to locate the doorways from the hollow sound that these would produce.

3.6. Reeves

In *Decline*, Reeves tries to reconstruct the grid that Loret used to record the finding places of objects in the burial chamber. He further discusses (and accepts) Romer's work with respect to KV34.¹⁹⁶

¹⁹⁵ *RVK*, p. 200.

¹⁹⁶ *Decline*, p. 19-24.

3.7. Evaluation of KV34

Although the ownership of KV34 is not in doubt, the tomb still confronts us with several mysteries:

- The relationship with KV42: was KV34 made before or after 42?
- The tomb was not ready when Tuthmosis III died. How can this be reconciled with the duration of Tuthmosis' reign: more than thirty years (after the disappearance of Hatshepsut)?
- The inexplicable asymmetric placement of the pillars in the burial chamber, and the equally inexplicable design of the pillared hall.
- And finally: the amazing mix of smooth and rough in the various rooms' finishing.

The relationship with KV42

When we compare the plans of KV42 and KV34, we find contradicting signals with respect of which tomb precedes the other.

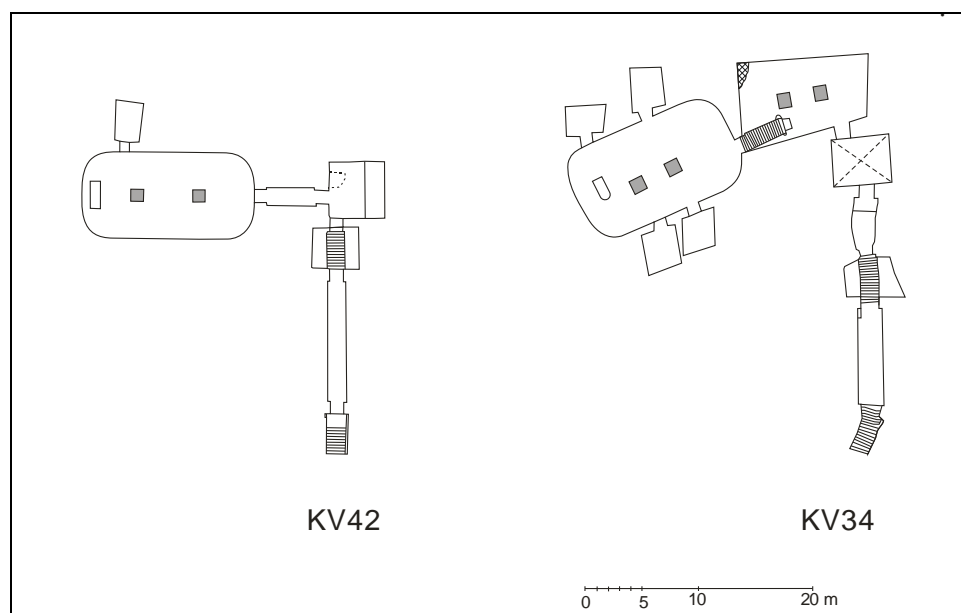


Fig. 17 KV42 and KV34

Signs to suggest that KV42 is older than KV34:

- Like KV20 and KV38, KV42 has a rather narrow burial chamber (with a length-width proportion of approx. 2 : 1), while the same proportion in KV34 (1.75 : 1) already is as that in the regal tombs to come (page 38 above).
- KV34 has several new elements, compared to 42: a well, a pillared hall, and four side chambers instead of one.

Signs to the contrary:

- Overall, with its straight lines and square corners, 42's plan is more rationalized than KV34's.
- KV42 has one element that belongs to a later stage in the type's development: an extra corridor before the burial chamber.
- The pillars in KV42 are better proportioned, and better placed, than those in either KV20 or KV34, which suggests a more seasoned approach.

KV34 was not ready when Tuthmosis III had to be buried

This follows from:

- the excavation debris still in the tomb (page 50 above);
- the rough state in which several rooms were left (notably stairwell C and corridor D: page 60 above);
- the unfinished corner of pillared hall F (page 60 above);
- and the unfinished decoration of the pillars in that hall (page 60 above).

How can this be reconciled with on the one hand the long duration of Tuthmosis' reign (32 years after the disappearance of Hatshepsut), and on the other hand the compelling necessity to begin preparing for a king's funeral immediately after his accession? The tombs of several kings that reigned a lot shorter make it abundantly clear that constructing a considerably larger, much more sumptuous tomb could easily be done in less time.¹⁹⁷

The burial chamber and hall F

KV34's burial chamber has one eye-catching anomaly: its two pillars are in the wrong place. They stand too close to one another, *and* they are not on the center line of the room. Another oddity is less conspicuous: the lower part of the entrance stairs to the burial chamber was broken away, and re-modeled from limestone:

The staircase [between F and J] is probably of sixteen steps, fourteen of which are visible, two being hidden under the modern steps. At 3.60 m the rock steps finish, leaving a vertical drop of over two metres to the floor beneath. Below this edge, seven steps have been fabricated from limestone chips and plaster that would seem to be ancient, although they have been skimmed with modern cement.¹⁹⁸

Hall F of course is all oddity: it has only one truly square corner, and the sides of its pillars are not parallel to any of its walls.

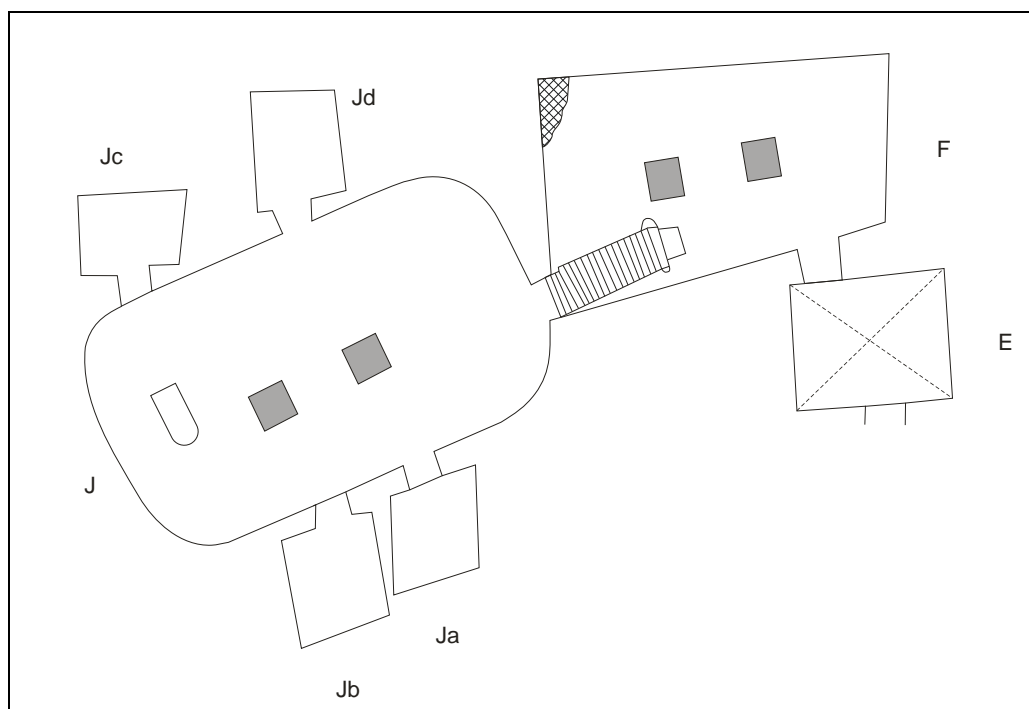


Fig. 18 KV34: rooms E, F and J

¹⁹⁷ Perhaps the best example is KV8, of king Merneptah (19th dynasty). This king ruled for only 10 years, but the underground volume of his tomb is almost three times that of KV34.

¹⁹⁸ *T III*, p. 325.

Matters in the burial chamber could be explained if we assume that originally, it was executed on a considerably smaller scale. The contours of this smaller burial chamber (let's call it J1) may be guesstimated if we work from the following assumptions:

- the pillars should be at about 1/3 and 2/3 of the length of the room;
- and the ratio of length and width should be about the same as in the other regal burial chambers of the period (KV20, KV38 and KV42): roughly 2 : 1 (see Fig. 19 below).

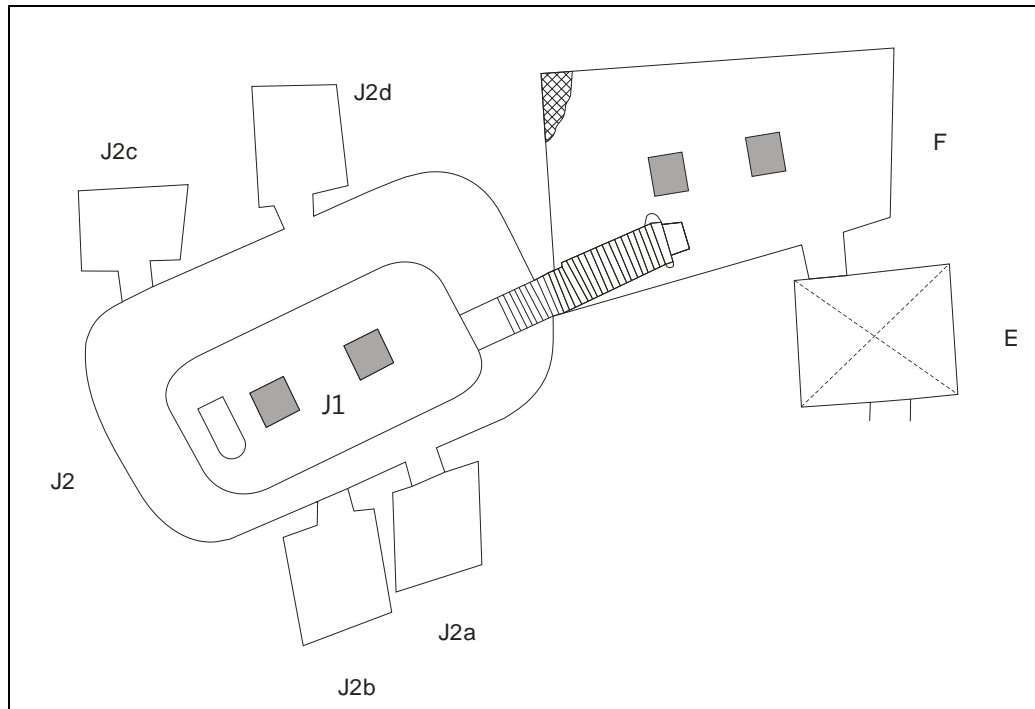


Fig. 19 KV34: with J1 and J2

Original J has now been renamed as J2. The sarcophagus has been moved to a position in J1 that corresponds to that which was probably intended in J2.

I have drawn the smaller burial chamber with rounded corners, just like its larger brother, but it may also have been rectangular. The pillars now look rather oversized, but compared to the three pillars in KV20's J2, it's already an improvement.

A smaller original burial chamber would automatically have meant a longer stairwell, from room F, possibly with a small landing at the end. When later the burial chamber was enlarged, that corridor had to be shortened, and several steps of its stairs had to be cut away. To camouflage that, the lower half of the stairs was apparently cut away in its entirety, and re-modeled, from blocks of limestone, in a slightly steeper descent.

Between the contours of J1 and J2, we now have room for a side chamber: J1a.

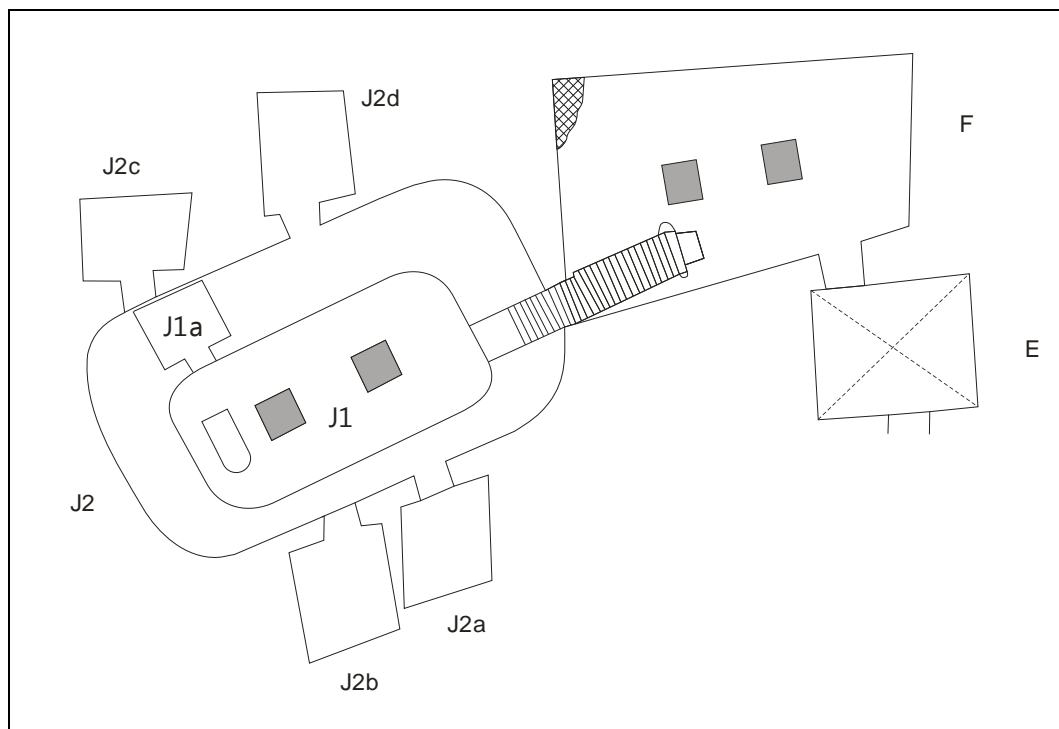


Fig. 20 KV34, with J1 and J1a

This side chamber would have been oriented towards the foot end of the sarcophagus: exactly as in KV20, KV38 and KV42 (see Fig. 2 on page 10 above).

We may now tabulate the dimensions of these four burial chambers, with their side chambers, as follows:

Tomb	Length of burial chamber	Width of burial chamber	Length of side chamber(s)	Width of side chamber(s)
KV20-J2 (Hatshepsut)	11.10	5.45	3.56 ¹⁹⁹	2.76 ¹⁹⁹
KV34-J1 (Tuthmosis III)	9.80	4.90	2.13	2.50
KV38 (Tuthmosis III → I)	10.47	5.43	1.99	2.47
KV42	15.25	7.62	3.59	2.31
KV34-J2 (Tuthmosis III)	14.64	8.53	3.12 ¹⁹⁹	3.13 ¹⁹⁹

Table 15 Dimensions of some early 18th dynasty royal burial chambers

(My reasons for this particular order will become clear later).

If we take into account that KV20's J2 was meant to house *two* burials, the measurements of KV34's hypothetical J1 and J1a do not really stand out in this series (see also Table 16 on page 75 below).

When it was later decided to enlarge the burial chamber, one naturally incorporated J1a, but apparently dared not add as much extra room in the opposite direction. A design with four pillars was not possible, because of the position of room J1a.²⁰⁰

¹⁹⁹ Mid-range value for this tomb's side chambers.

²⁰⁰ The ancient Egyptians apparently did not care for man-made pillars in their tombs. They may have

If we leave out J2, we see that the relationship between J1 and pillared hall F is now all wrong: F would have been considerably larger than J.

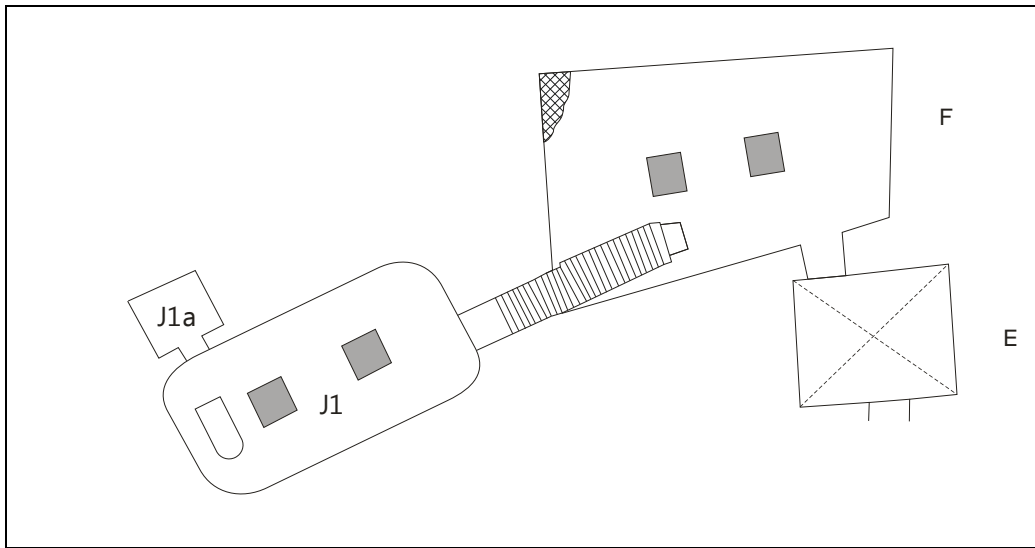


Fig. 21 KV34, with J1, J1a and hall F

We get a more credible picture if we assume that originally, there was a corridor between rooms E and J:

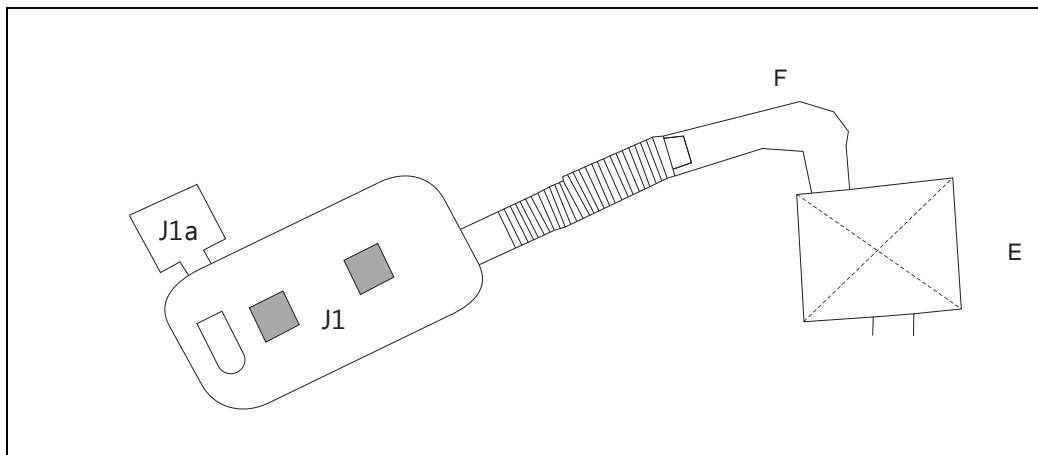


Fig. 22 KV34, with "corridor F"

When we now take a look at how hall F was once formed out of “corridor F,” between rooms E and J2, things don’t look so peculiar anymore. If the architect got the order to transform “corridor F” into as large a hall as he could, he could hardly have done any better.

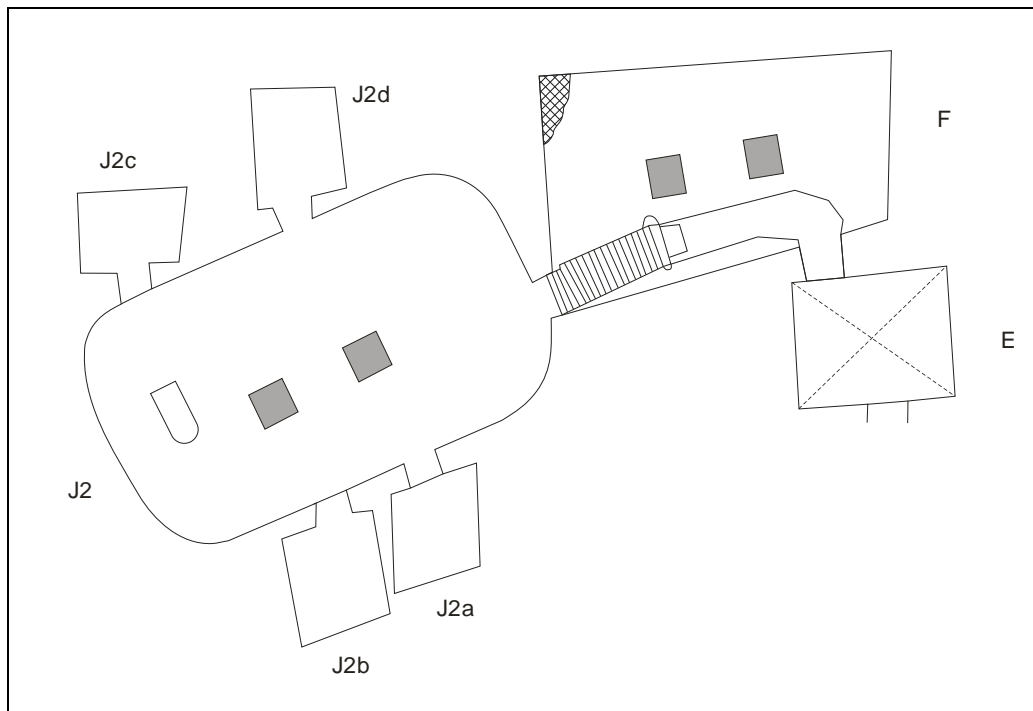


Fig. 23 KV34 with both "corridor F" and hall F

Physical evidence in support of this theory has to come from an examination of the floors and ceilings of rooms F and J, and from the stairwell in between. As the ceilings of F and J were plastered and painted, they may not show signs of a refurbishment. All floors are now hidden beneath modern floors of wooden planks. Examining the original floors will therefore have to wait until some major restoration works are being executed in this tomb.

We arrive now at the following hypothetical plan of KV34’s first phase:

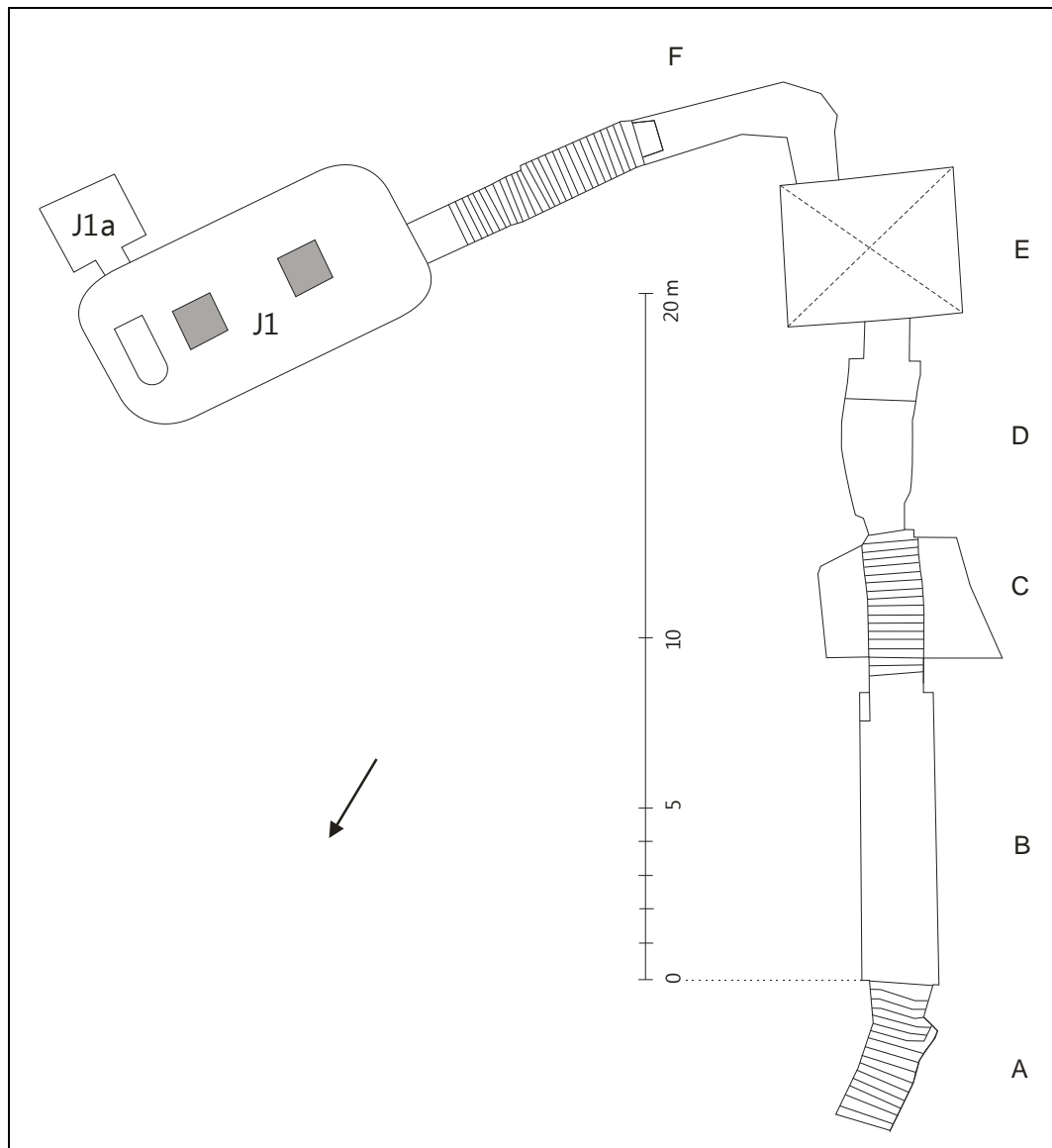


Fig. 24 KV34 in a hypothetical first version (KV34-J1)

If we now put the plan of KV42 between those of KV34-J1 and KV34-J2, the resulting image is most amazing.

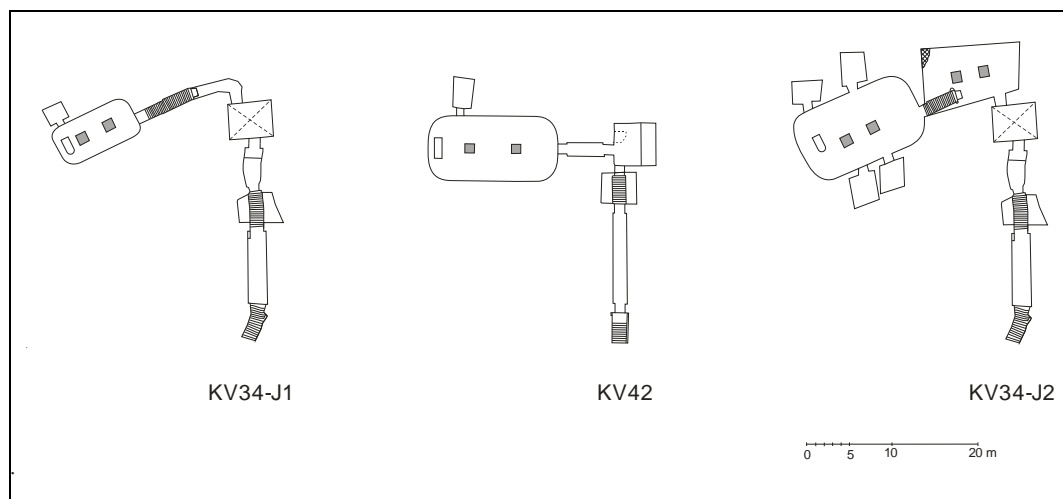


Fig. 25 KV42, between KV34-J1 and KV34-J2

This order provides a potential solution for the problem of KV42 in relation to KV34. As we saw on page 63 above, there are two indications to suggest that KV42 precedes KV34:

- The length-width proportions of the burial chamber of 42 are of the “older” type (2 : 1), while those of 34 are of the “younger” type (1.75 : 1).
- 34 has several new elements that are still lacking in 42: a well, a pillared hall and four side chambers instead of one.

These elements come from a comparison of 42 with the *definitive* form of 34, so they indicate that KV42 precedes KV34-J2. Which is in agreement with Fig. 25.

There are three indications that point the other way:

- The plan of 42 is more rationalized than that of 34.
- The pillars of 42 are better proportioned, and better placed, than those of 34.
- And 42 has one element that belongs to a later phase in the development of this tomb type: a corridor before the burial chamber.

Unlike KV34-J2, KV42 could be planned from scratch. With all the benefits from experience, the pillars in its burial chamber were cut less massive, and somewhat more spread out, so as to produce a more pleasing view. And KV34's sharp turn to the left was now formalized to a 90° angle. When KV34 was transformed into its definitive format, the overall plan could not be corrected any more, and the proportions and placement of the pillars were fixed, too.

KV34-J1 and KV42 now show one unexpected correspondence: both have a corridor before the burial chamber. In 34-J1, I have dubbed this one “corridor F,” because later, it is converted into pillared hall F. In KV42, the same corridor is generally referred to as corridor G. In my plan of 42 (see page 18 above), I have put the letter G between inverted commas: this corridor represents not the first appearance of a new element, but the last appearance of a soon discarded element.

The mix of smooth and rough

We are now ready for the last of the four mysteries from page 63 above. If we assume that in KV34's first edition, “corridor F” and side chamber J1a were of the rough type,²⁰¹ we would get, for KV34-J1 the following overall image:

Entryway A	Corridor B	Stairwell C + corridor D	Well chamber E	“Corridor F”	Burial chamber J1	Side chamber J1a
Rough	Smooth	Rough	Smooth	Rough?	Smooth	Rough?

Perhaps at first, all of the tomb was cut in the rough, with an overriding concern for speed. The beginning of each new room was carefully laid out though: see Thomas' remark, quoted earlier, about “the skillful edging at the upper corners of the corridors.”²⁰² But that being done, natural faults in the rock were followed wherever possible to speed up work. Perhaps an episode of bad health of the young king had rushed the crew. When it later appeared that there was time to spare after all, small teams were deployed to improve the cutting. These teams were put to work at some distance of each other, so as not to hinder one another. One team took on burial chamber J1, another well E, and a third team corridor B.

Then work was interrupted. It had now reached a state which would allow completion in the guaranteed 70-day period of the mummification process, should the worst happen. In the meantime, many other projects needed to be pursued. KV38 had to be adapted for the king's grandfather, and for selected commoners that had earned his majesty's highest esteem, some of the small tombs that now line the wadi below

²⁰¹ Side chambers regularly stayed rough.

²⁰² See page 60 above.

KV34 had to be cut. All of this work no doubt had to be done by the same crew that worked for the king's tomb: it would be hard to imagine a "private enterprise" going about its own business in the Valley of the Kings, within sight of the regal construction site. Other tasks on the west bank may have seemed pressing, too, such as the construction of the king's mortuary temple, of his temple at Deir el-Bahri between those of Hatshepsut and Mentuhotep II, and work on the small temple at Medinet Habu. To reward loyal officials, the workforce of Deir el-Medineh may also have been lent out for the embellishment of private tombs elsewhere in the necropolis. KV34 may have been left alone for quite some time.

4. An attempt to reconstruct events

An analysis of the arguments pro and contra the various proposed original owners for KV42 has yielded two possible candidates: Hatshepsut-Meryetre, and Tuthmosis III (Table 13 on page 48 above).

An analysis of the plans of KV42 and KV34 has produced a probable order in which these tombs were made (Fig. 25 on page 69 above).

For a complete picture of all royal tomb building in the Valley of the Kings during the reign of Tuthmosis III we still need to incorporate somewhere the refurbishment of KV38. For reasons explained in *2TT1*, I believe that tomb KV38 was originally made in another format, in the tradition of tombs KV39 and KV20.²⁰³ In this format, it did not yet have a cartouche shaped burial chamber: that feature was added when Tuthmosis III needed the tomb to rebury his grandfather, Tuthmosis I. KV38 in its original format may have been the tomb that Hatshepsut had constructed for Tuthmosis III when she was still acting as regentess (his “child tomb”).

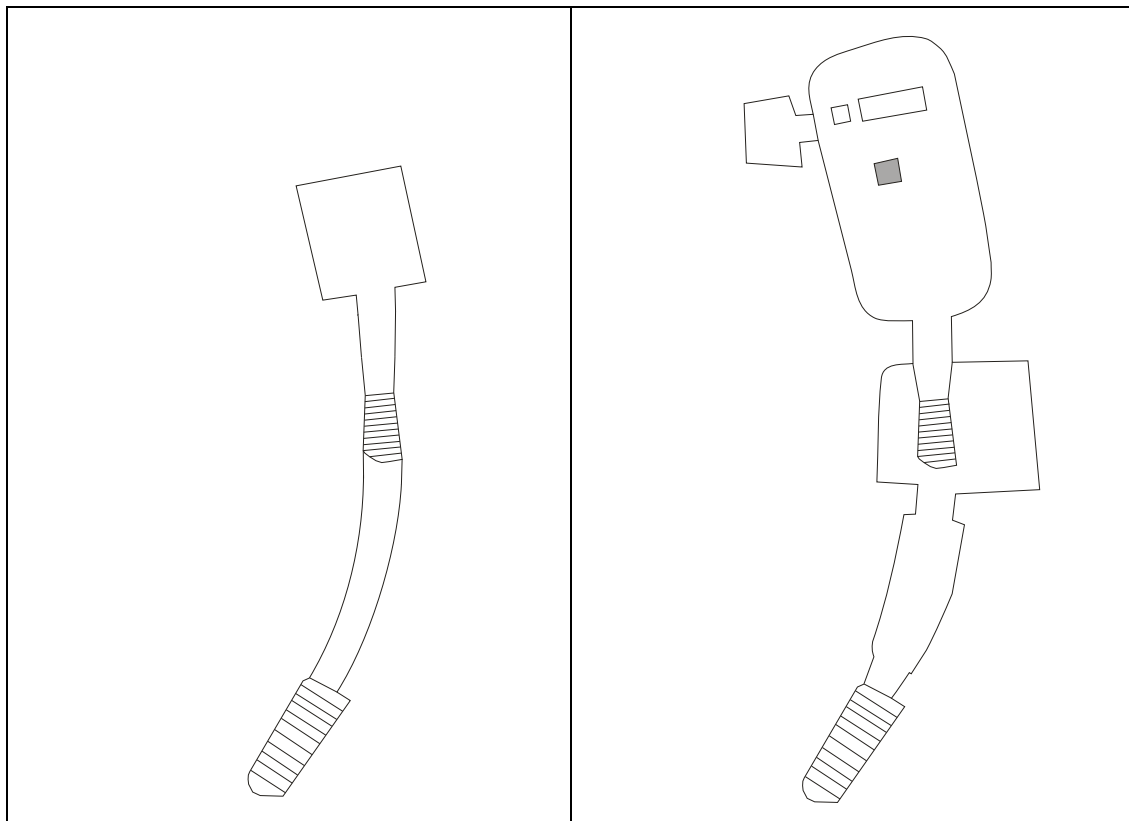


Fig. 26 KV38: in a hypothetical first phase (left), and after adaptation under Tuthmosis III (right)

With respect to the order of events, and their timing, we can define the following boundary markers:

- When KV34-J1 was cut, KV39 (probably the original tomb of Tuthmosis I) must already have been empty.²⁰⁴ This means that Tuthmosis I's mummy was at that moment resting in KV20-J2. Since I assume – with Romer – that the extension of KV20 with J2 occurred late in Hatshepsut's reign,²⁰⁵ KV34-J1 could be from the beginning of Tuthmosis III's sole reign.

²⁰³ See *2TT1*, chapter 3, and Fig. 29 on page 80 below.

²⁰⁴ See *2TT1*, chapter 4.

²⁰⁵ See *2TT1*, p. 62.

- If Tuthmosis III decided to transfer his grandfather's burial out of KV20 before beginning KV34, he could then still have brought him back to the latter's original tomb: KV39. This means that (the plan for) KV34-J1 precedes the adaption of KV38 for Tuthmosis I.
- The extension of KV34 with J2 and pillared hall F was interrupted by Tuthmosis' death. This means that KV34-J2 was the last royal funerary project from his reign. Which means that both the cutting of KV42 and the extension of KV38 came before that.

There is no way to determine with certainty whether the adaptation of KV38 for Tuthmosis I preceded the cutting of KV42 or not, but I'm inclined to think that it did. In that case the following order of events may be assumed:

1. The cutting of the first version of KV34: with "corridor F," burial chamber J1 and side chamber J1a: early in Tuthmosis III's sole reign (as replacement for his child tomb).
2. The adaptation of KV38 for Tuthmosis I.
3. The cutting of KV42 (initially for either Tuthmosis III, or for Hatshepsut-Meryetre, but ultimately apportioned to the latter).
4. The extension of KV34 with pillared hall F, burial chamber J2 and side chambers J2a-b-c-d: towards the end of Tuthmosis III's reign.

The next figure shows these tombs in this order:

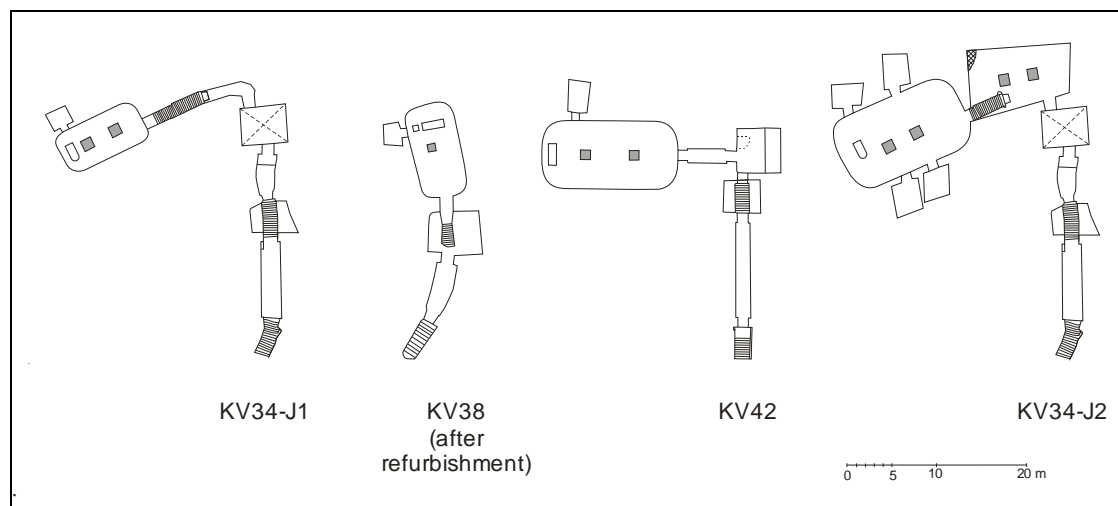


Fig. 27 The tombs with cartouche shaped burial chamber from the reign of Tuthmosis III

The lesser curve in KV38 is not a contraindication to this order. As was shown in 2TT1, this mild curve was already introduced in the original plan of the tomb (before the adaptations under Tuthmosis III) to align the burial chamber with El-Qurn.²⁰⁶

Now we "only" have to decide for whom KV42 originally was constructed. What seems certain is, that 42 was in the end allotted to Hatshepsut-Meryetre (because of the foundation deposits). This means that KV42 was:

- either prepared straight away for Hatshepsut-Meryetre (Theory A);
- or first constructed for Tuthmosis III, and only later apportioned to his great royal wife (Theory B).

Theory A

Tomb	KV34-J1	KV42	KV34-J2
Original owner	Tuthmosis III	Hatshepsut-Meryetre	Tuthmosis III

²⁰⁶ 2TT1, p. 79-80.

Problems:

- The burial chamber for Hatshepsut-Meryetre (in KV42) would have been larger than the contemporary king's burial chamber (J1 in KV34). This would conflict with the Law of Regal Precedence.
- If KV42 was from the outset meant for a queen, it would – with its cartouche shaped burial chamber and all – have been exceptionally lavish.

Theory B

Tomb	KV34-J1	KV42	KV34-J2
Original owner	Tuthmosis III	Tuthmosis III	Tuthmosis III
Subsequent owner		Hatshepsut-Meryetre	

In this case, Tuthmosis III first had KV34-J1 constructed, but later decided on an alternative tomb: KV42. This would explain why 42 had a cartouche shaped burial chamber, prepared for the Am Duat texts. But then he apparently decided on returning to KV34 – perhaps because its location promised better concealment and hence better protection – and to extend that tomb. As a result of which 42 became available for his great royal wife. For her, the Am Duat texts needed not be added, so the tomb may even have been used for her (see also page 47 above, s.v. “Used?”).

Problem:

- Why would Tuthmosis have selected a new, alternative location below KV34, instead of extending 34, as he later did?

Frankly, I haven't got a clue. KV11 was originally begun for Sethnakht, but abandoned when the workers broke through into neighboring KV10. For KV34 however, any such reasons seem totally lacking.

Perhaps a mix of theories A and B can provide a solution:

Theory C

Tomb	KV34-J1	KV42	KV34-J2
Original owner	Tuthmosis III	Hatshepsut-Meryetre	Tuthmosis III
Subsequent owner		Tuthmosis III	
Final owner		Hatshepsut-Meryetre	

In this case, KV42 was originally conceived for the queen, as in theory A. With perhaps as much as thirty years between the cutting of the first phase of KV34 and this new project for his great royal wife, the experience and confidence of the team may have increased to such an extent, that this new tomb soon proved to become a better piece of workmanship. Upon inspecting the site, His Majesty may have concluded that this was going to be a very fine tomb indeed: pre-eminently suited for himself. So let's have a cartouche shaped burial chamber, and prepare that corridor over there to be a well. But later still, the attractiveness of 34's location in the narrow cleft as being particularly secure may have come back to the forefront again, and so the queen ultimately got her sepulcher back – suitably pimped.

Problem:

- In terms of complexity, it looks a bit over the top.

Scenario A has, notwithstanding the detected problems, still the bonus of being the simplest, most straightforward theory. It therefore seems well worthwhile to investigate whether those problems are really fatal.

Problem #1: a larger burial chamber

As already mentioned, KV34-J2 was the last royal funerary project of Tuthmosis III's reign (page 73 above). This means that KV42 necessarily was cut before KV34's J2. When we look at Fig. 27 on page 73 above, we find that the dimensions of the burial chambers show a most orderly progression in size. If however KV42 was from its inception to be Hatshepsut-Meryetre's tomb, than the queen would have gotten a larger burial chamber than the ruling king (in KV34-J1). That would be in violation of the Law of Regal Precedence. And what's more: the burial chamber of KV38 would also have been larger than that of 34-J1.

In the next table, the dimensions of KV34-J1 and KV38 on the one hand, and those of KV42 and KV34-J2 on the other hand, are averaged. As was the case with the royal sarcophagi (see Table 10 on page 35 above), we see here that the measurements again point to an increase in dimensions by leaps.

Tomb	Length of burial chamber	Width of burial chamber	Length: mid-range & spread	Length: mid-range & spread
KV34-J1 (Tuthmosis III)	9.80	4.90	10.135 ± 0.335	5.165 ± 0.265
KV38 (Tuthmosis III → I)	10.47	5.43		
KV42	15.25	7.62	14.945 ± 0.305	8.075 ± 0.455
KV34-J2 (Tuthmosis III)	14.64	8.53		

Table 16 Average dimensions of the cartouche shaped burial chambers

The increased spread for the width of 42 and 34-J2 is the result of the change of proportions from 2 : 1 to 1.75 : 1 (see page 38 above).

This renders the differences between KV34-J1 and KV38 pretty much harmless, but not so those between KV34-J1 and KV42; those appear too large to be explained as natural variation.

Problem #2: exceptionally lavish**The development of queens' tombs in the early 18th dynasty**

We can compare KV42 with several other tombs from the 18th dynasty in the Valley of the Kings that may have belonged to queens.

K V	Period	Originally intended owner	Before the burial chamber						Burial chamber		
			Entryw . A	Corr. B	Stairw. C	Corr. D	Turn	Corr. "G"	Pil- lars	De- cora- tion	Side cham- bers
42	Tuthm. III	Queen Hat- shepsut- Meryetre?	x	x	x	x ²⁰⁷	x	x	2	x	1
32	Tuthm. IV	Queen Tia'a ²⁰⁸	x	x	x	x			1 ²⁰⁹		1
21	Amenh. III? ²¹⁰	2 queens? ²¹¹	x	x	x	x			1		1
55	Amenh. III? Akhenaten?	Queen Teye?	x	x	(not finished?)				-		1

Table 17 Tombs from the 18th dynasty in the Valley of the Kings, (possibly) belonging to queens

(For an overview of their plans, see Fig. 28 on page 77 below)

When we compare KV42 with the other tombs, we can see that it has several extras:

- corridor D is either transformed into, or replaced by a chamber;
- the tomb has a right angled turn;
- before the burial chamber, another corridor is added (corridor "G");
- and the burial chamber has a cartouche shape, two pillars instead of one, and is prepared for decoration.

In comparison with contemporary KV34, there are however also several elements missing:

- the well chamber with well;
- a pillared hall;
- a wider burial chamber;
- and three more side chambers to that burial chamber.

Still, KV42 stands closer to KV34 than any of the other 18th dynasty queens' tombs in the Valley stands to the tomb of her husband: in size, in having a right-angled turn, two pillars, and preparations for texts.²¹² KV42 as cast-off for a queen is just about conceivable; as originally designed for a queen, it seems too grand. And since the matter of the too large burial chamber (page 75 above) did not really do well, either, it seems that Theory A fails the test.

Which leaves us with theories B and C, between which it is hard to choose.

²⁰⁷ In this tomb, "corridor D" was either transformed into, or replaced by a chamber.

²⁰⁸ A team from the University of Basel has recently shown, that this tomb belonged to queen Tiaa, wife of Amenhotep II, mother of Tuthmosis IV (see also page 14 above.)

²⁰⁹ This room was not finished, but the intention to leave one pillar standing in the middle is clear.

²¹⁰ On account of its stout dimensions: see Fig. 28 on page 77 below.

²¹¹ The mummies of two women were found here, who had their left arm crossed over their chest: a position apparently only used for queens.

²¹² The cartouche shaped burial chamber doesn't count, because later kings did not have that type of room, either.

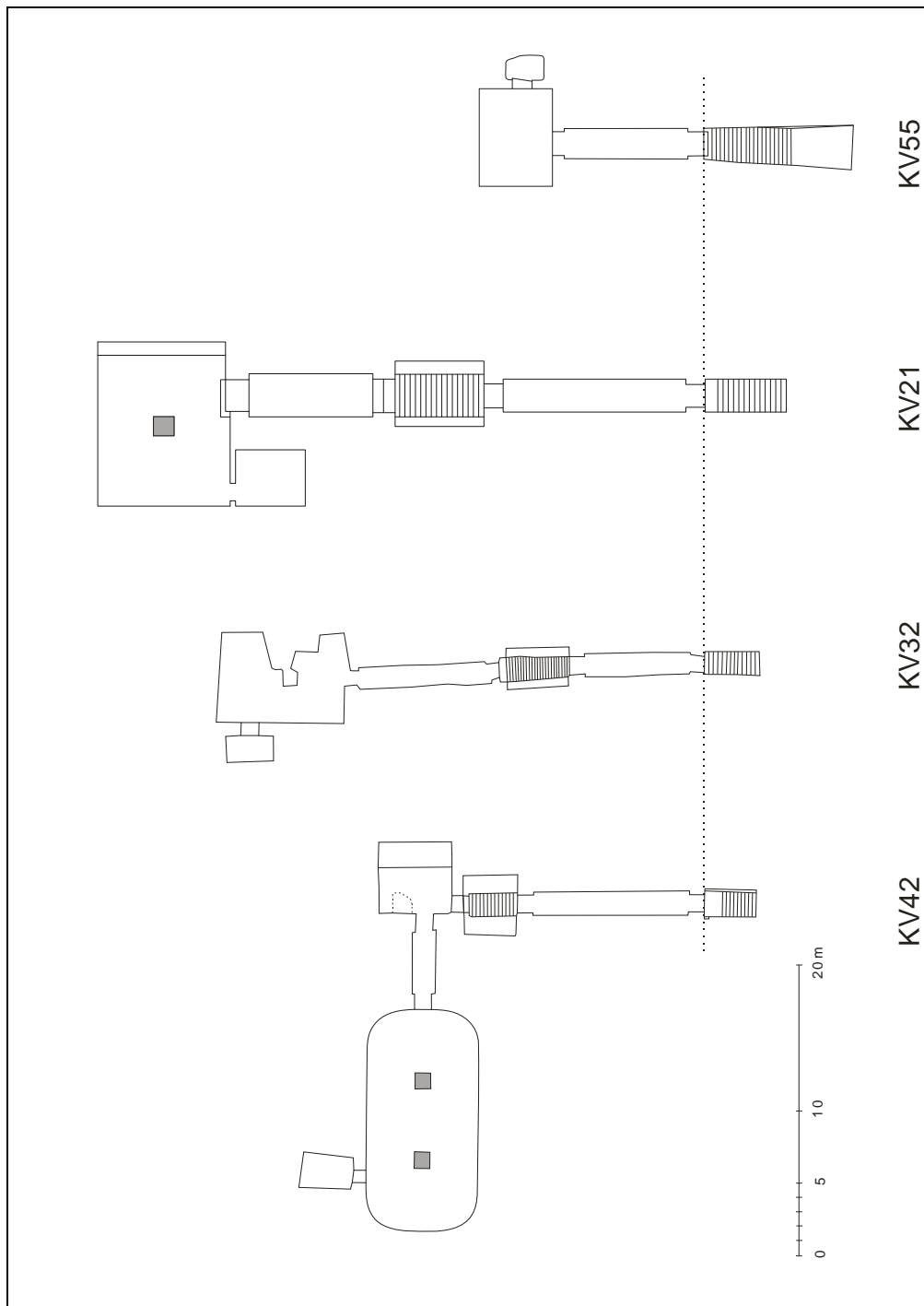


Fig. 28 Tombs from the 18th dynasty in the Valley of the Kings, (possibly) belonging to queens

To facilitate comparison, all tombs are aligned on the front side of “Gate B” (= the beginning of the tomb’s underground section).

4.1. Excursus: work in progress

In this series, seven tombs have been discussed in detail. Of five of these, I have assumed that they were constructed in two phases. This may seem an inordinately high proportion. One has to take two matters into account though:

- Some of the rulers in question reigned for considerable periods: Hatshepsut at least 15 years (between Years 7 and 22), and Tuthmosis III (after Hatshepsut) for another 32 years.
- And there are several other royal tombs of the New Kingdom that are demonstrably built in more than one phase.

From the early 18th dynasty:

Tomb	Owner	Nature of modification
AN B	Probably Amenhotep I	Extension of the burial chamber (first proposed by Howard Carter).
KV39	Probably Tuthmosis I	During initial phase: adding of the eastern passage to the original western passage (first proposed by John Rose). Later modification: adding of the southern passage, possibly during the Third Intermediate Period.
KV20	Hatshepsut	Adding of a "second suite" with burial chamber J2 (first proposed by John Romer).
KV38	Tuthmosis III → I	Adapting the tomb to modern standards by introducing a cartouche shaped burial chamber (first proposed by Erik Hornung).
KV34	Tuthmosis III	Extending the burial chamber, adding four side chambers to that, and transforming "corridor F" into a pillared hall.

Table 18 Royal tombs from the early 18th dynasty, built in more than one phase

From the rest of the New Kingdom:

Tomb	Owner	Nature of modification
KV22	Amenhotep III	Begun by Tuthmosis IV, finished by Amenhotep III. In a later stage: adding of an extra "suite", presumably for a queen.
KV57	Horemheb	Possibly in a later stage the adding of an extra (unfinished) suite off the burial chamber.
KV14	Tausert / Sethnakht	Originally for Tausert, later appropriated by Sethnakht. At some point, a second burial hall was added.
KV11	Ramesses III	Originally begun for Sethnakht, but abandoned upon breaking into KV10. Later finished for Ramesses III.
KV9	Ramesses V / VI	Begun for Ramesses V, taken over and finished by Ramesses VI.

Table 19 Royal tombs from the rest of the New Kingdom, built in more than one phase

5. The royal tombs in the Valley of the Kings until the reign of Tuthmosis III: an overview

As laid out in this and the two previous volumes (3TA and 2TT1), I believe that the earliest royal tombs in the Valley of the Kings were the following.

KV39

This was in my opinion the first regal tomb in this area. It was originally oriented towards the nearby mountain top of El-Qurn (with its western passage). Upon hitting inferior stone, the tomb's orientation was rotated a full 180° (the eastern passage). Its originator was in all probability Tuthmosis I.

KV39 was also the first tomb – after the Second Intermediate Period – in which a conscious attempt was made to once again formalize royal funerary architecture. As expounded in 2TT1, chapter 5, the characteristics of this first type were:

- An emphasize on “far and deep”: long, steeply descending corridors, with relatively small chambers.
- An orientation of the burial chamber towards El-Qurn.²¹³
- Essentially linear tombs: not per se following a straight line, but without angular turns or any branching off.
- No side chambers.
- No pillars.

The tomb of Tuthmosis II

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

- Typologically, it should be midway between KV39 and KV20 (see Fig. 11 on page 54 in 2TT1).
- It should not be too close to any of the other regal tombs of the day.
- It should have a stone sarcophagus inside. (If Hatshepsut was to have a stone sarcophagus while she was still Tuthmosis II's great royal wife, her lord and master would undoubtedly have had one, too – and his one would have been made, on account of the Law of Regal Precedence, first.)
- It will probably be unfinished. (Betsy Bryan, in *Oxford*: “The highest preserved year for the reign of Thutmose II is his first, and scholarship in the 1980s and 1990s suggests that his reign lasted for no more than three years.”²¹⁴)

Tuthmosis III's child tomb

Immediately after the demise of Tuthmosis II, Hatshepsut, as regentess, had to arrange for a tomb to be cut for the new king: young Tuthmosis III. Which tomb this was can not yet be determined with certainty, but it may have been KV38, in an early edition (without the cartouche shaped burial chamber). The main reason for assuming that this tomb was cut in this period – and therefore possibly for this purpose – is its impeccable orientation towards El-Qurn (see Fig. 14 in 2TT1, on page 67.)

²¹³ In the case of KV39, this orientation was turned around 180° to avoid (in vain) bad rock (see 3TA, chapter 5).

²¹⁴ *Oxford*, p. 235.

KV20-J1

As soon as Hatshepsut rose to the full regal dignity, she commissioned a new and daring project: a mortuary temple at Deir el-Bahri, and a tomb on the other side of the mountain, aimed at this temple, *and* at El-Qurn. It was completed, with burial chamber J1.

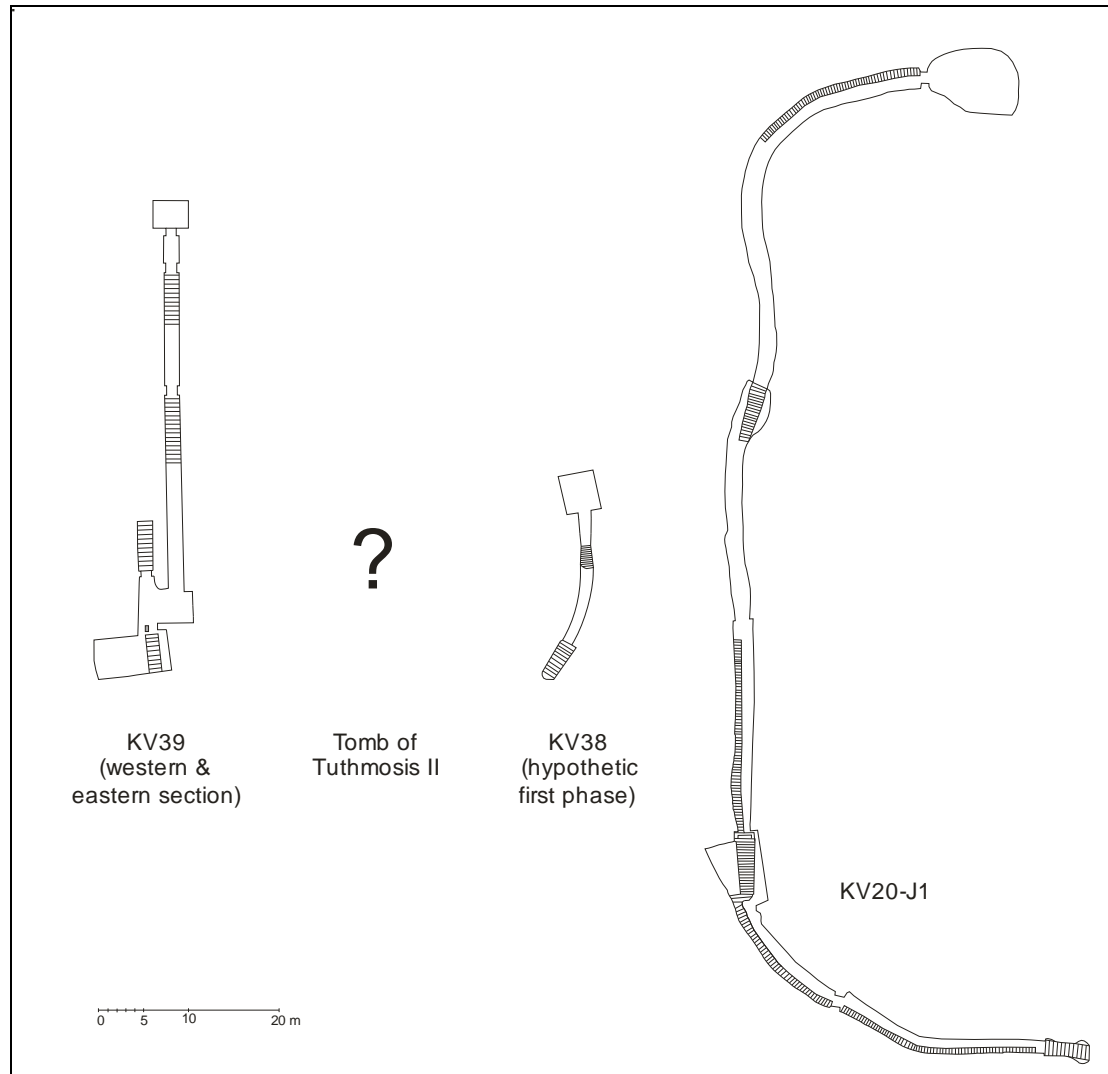


Fig. 29 The four tombs of Type 1

KV20-J2

Probably towards the end of her reign, Hatshepsut decided to add a second suite to KV20, with a new burial chamber: J2. This room was to accommodate both her and her father, Tuthmosis I. The latter's burial was transferred from KV39 to KV20. KV39 stayed empty until the Third Intermediate Period, when it possibly played a role in the process of dismantling the royal necropolis.²¹⁵

KV20's second suite was built according to a new set of principles, which would from here on govern a series of regal tombs:

- An emphasize on "big and bold": large, imposing chambers, connected by relatively short corridors.
- No particular orientation of the burial chamber.
- With a (semi)right-angled turn, about half-way in the tomb.
- Some chambers have pillars.
- And some have side chambers.

²¹⁵ See 37A, p. 68-69.

KV34-J1

To the new elements, already established in KV20-J2, two more were now added:

- the cartouche shaped burial chamber,
- and the well.

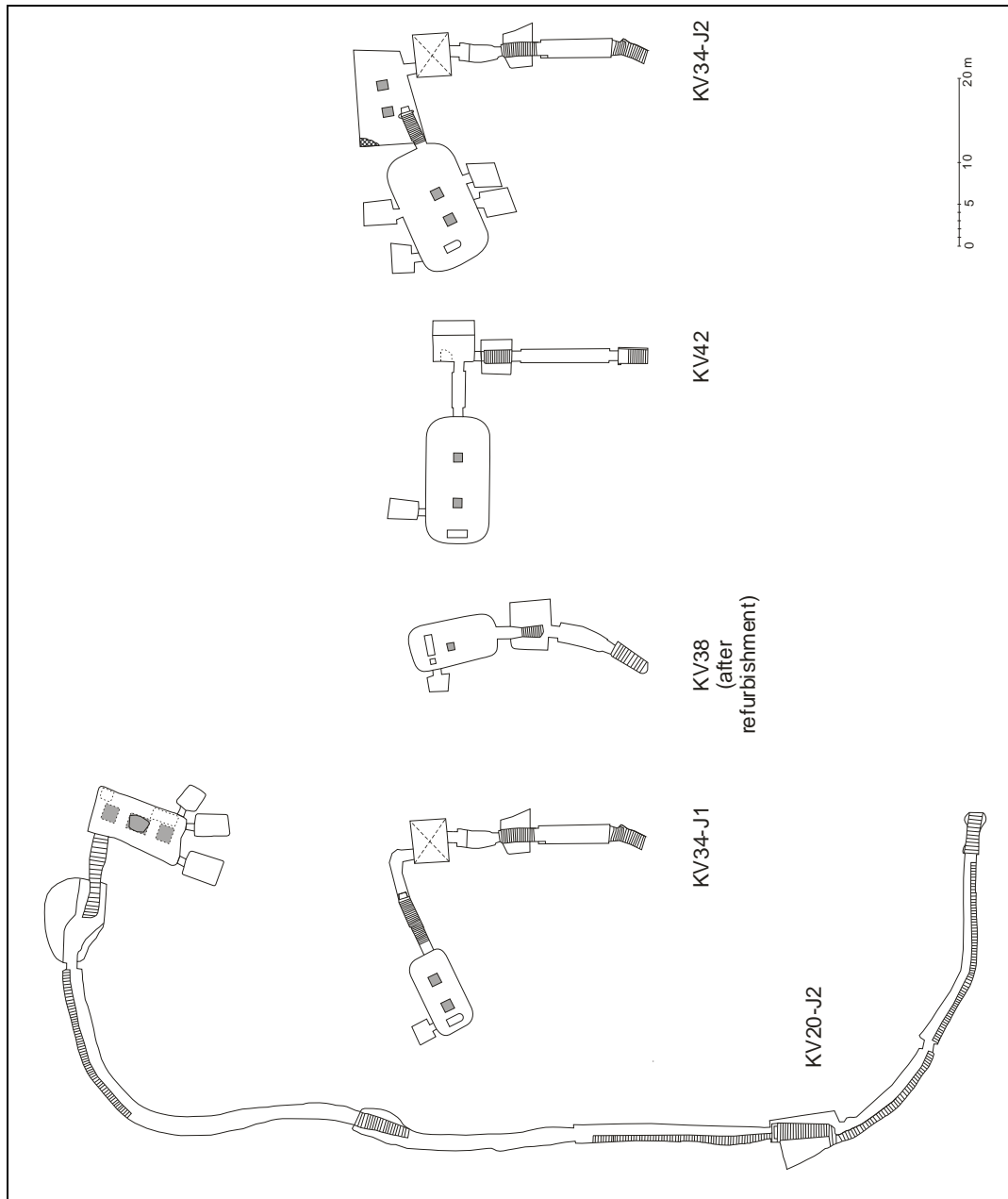


Fig. 30 The first examples of Type 2

The former was the logical consequence of the recent evolution of the regal sarco-phagi, from rectangular to cartouche shaped. It proved however so difficult to realize, that it didn't survive Tuthmosis III's reign.

The well was an element that had occasionally been used before, notably for Amen-hotep I (in tomb AN B) and for his wife Ahmose-Meryetamun (DB358).

The revamping of KV38

When Tuthmosis III decided to transfer his grandfather's burial out of his stepmother's tomb, he could not bring him back to his original tomb (KV39), because that would amount to placing him directly above his own tomb. He therefore had to find him new quarters, and found those in KV38. This small tomb stood empty, and could with little effort be brought up to date. The small rectangular burial chamber was enlarged in such a way, that it could hold one pillar. It was furthermore given the cartouche shape, then *in vogue*.

KV42

Then KV42 was cut. The burial chamber took its definitive form during a (brief?) period in which the tomb was to be Tuthmosis III's, but in the end it was apportioned to his great royal wife, Hatshepsut-Meryetre. Successfully capitalizing on increased experience, it was laid out much more expertly – although it still lacked in execution.

KV34-J2

Then, shortly before his death, Tuthmosis III suddenly decided on a substantial enlargement of KV34. The burial chamber had to be widened, and some stout storage rooms added to it. But that was not enough; His Majesty's private quarters (the burial chamber with its adjuncts) needed an imposing antechamber slash audience hall – as he had in all his palaces. He would there entertain all the gods of the Underworld. By means of their names, written on the walls, they would be for ever present there, eagerly awaiting his formal appearance.

With the well chamber and burial chamber already lying where they did, enlarging the corridor between the two into a large room was not easy. Space was limited, and the architect may have been anxious not to come too close to his precious rounded corners of the sarcophagus hall. He did the best he could under the circumstances: the room's back wall was made parallel to the corresponding wall of the well chamber, while the right wall was more or less oriented on the axis of the entrance corridors (B - C - D).

Then faith strikes. The king dies. Part of the excavation chips still lies on the floors, and the cutting of the pillared hall is not even fully complete. There is now no more time though to remove all that rubble from the tomb: it is simply pushed to the side, and the plastering of walls and ceilings begins at once. While the body of the king is going through the process of mummification, the first part of the tomb's inventory is brought in. Several items prove to be too large to pass the doorways, so these are enlarged by cutting away the door jambs. The side chambers of the burial chamber are stocked, their doors are closed and concealed behind a coat of plaster. The texts of the Am Duat are painted on the walls of the burial chamber, right across the hidden doorways. The walls of the pillared hall are painted, too. Preparations are made for the decoration of the pillars, but that part of the work is not completed. With time running out, choices have to be made, and it is deemed more important to restore the painting of the well, which has been damaged when the doorway to the pillared hall was enlarged. Finally, the mummy of the king is brought in, in its gilded or golden inner coffin, with the rest of the burial inventory, and the god is laid to rest in his stone sarcophagus. All the rituals are performed, and finally the king's intimates consume the funerary repast. When they leave, the tomb is closed and sealed, with the god resting in his House of Gold, provided with all his supplies and valuables: his clothes, weapons, chariots, games, furniture, unguents, wine, beef, bread and beer, jewelry, boats and statues – and with the chips and rubble of the excavation still lying around. What a strange mix of piety and practicality...

Postscript

My ideas, expounded in *3TA*, *2TT1* and the current paper, are primarily based on a critical study of existing literature. Such ideas need to be corroborated by physical evidence from the tombs themselves. In that process, I don't expect that all will be proven true; I would be very pleased with a score of 50%. It's not that difficult to construct, from the materials at hand, other theories. As an example, I would like to quote a passage from an email that I sent to C.N. Reeves in April, 2011. In it, I commented on his article *On some Queens' Tombs of the Eighteenth Dynasty*.

Dear Dr. Reeves,

(...)

You mention in your article the possibility that KV38 was originally a queen's tomb. I too have at some point wondered whether it may have been a queen's tomb, but for other reasons. Its location is an almost exact copy of that of 42: in the wadi floor, immediately next to the cliffs. If we regard 34 and 42 as a royal pair of king and major queen respectively, and 38 was for a queen, then there may be a king's tomb right above 38. With only Tuthmosis II's tomb missing from this period, 38 could have belonged to Hatshepsut. (This would mean that she had three consecutive tombs, but she also had three consecutive sarcophagi...) I think it would in any event be interesting to check whether the tomb of Tuthmosis II could perhaps be located in the general area above 38. If 39 was the first regal tomb here, the next may well have been cut somewhere along the path that leads from the area of 39 counter clockwise around El Qurn. That would bring one directly above 38. (...)

Best regards,

Sjef Willockx

This is an idea that I've had for years, but while working through all the material about this group of tombs, I found that I could not incorporate it into an overall theory. One problem would be, that Hatshepsut's cliff tomb (tomb WA D) and KV38 would both have had to be carved during the reign of her husband, Tuthmosis II. If, as it seems, that reign lasted for only about three years, this would have meant a lot of activity, *and* a rapid change of plan, for such a short period. Furthermore, if the burial chamber of KV38 would in this phase already have had one pillar, it probably had the cartouche shape as well – which seems several decades too early. But who knows: perhaps the discarded idea in the end proves to be the only one that sticks... ☺