

**Two Tombs attributed to  
Tuthmosis I:**

**KV20 and KV38**

**by**

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## Table of Contents

List of Figures.....	3
List of Tables.....	3
Bibliography .....	5
Introduction .....	7
1. KV38 & KV20: from their discovery until Winlock.....	11
1.1. Hatshepsut and Tuthmosis III .....	11
1.2. KV38 .....	14
1.3. KV20 .....	18
1.4. The Am Duat texts in KV38 and KV20.....	28
1.5. Winlock: the first comprehensive appraisal.....	30
2. KV38 & KV20: from Hayes till the present .....	35
2.1. Hayes .....	35
2.2. Thomas .....	46
2.3. Romer .....	48
2.3.1. Romer's theory: introduction.....	48
2.3.2. Intermezzo: The plan of KV20 .....	49
2.3.3. Romer's theory: an analysis .....	54
2.4. Excursus A: The orientation of KV20 .....	64
2.5. Altenmüller .....	69
2.6. Johnson.....	72
2.7. Polz .....	74
2.8. Excursus B: The remains of four burials in two tombs .....	75
2.9. Conclusions so far .....	76
3. Where does KV38 fit in?.....	78
4. A tomb for Tuthmosis I .....	83
5. The earliest history of kingly tomb building in the Valley of the Kings: a theory.....	85
Appendix 1: Thomas' standard room designations .....	88
Appendix 2: Comparing the dimensions of KV20's J1 and J2.....	89
Appendix 3: An overview of the theories concerning KV20 and KV38 .....	90

## List of Figures

Fig. 1	The Theban Necropolis .....	9
Fig. 2	Seven royal tombs from the 17 <sup>th</sup> – early 18 <sup>th</sup> dynasty (KV39 in a hypothetical first version: see 3TA) .....	10
Fig. 3	Plan of tomb KV38.....	17
Fig. 4	Carter's plan of KV20 (reproduced from DNC).....	22
Fig. 5	KV20, with Carter's room designations .....	24
Fig. 6	KV20 according to Baraize (reproduced from RN) .....	39
Fig. 7	The sarcophagus chamber in KV20, according to Baraize (reproduced from RN).....	39
Fig. 8	The underside of the lids of sarcophagi F and E (from Plate XIX in RS) .....	44
Fig. 9	KV20, with a new set of room designations .....	51
Fig. 10	KV39: hypothetical situation at the time of the original burial (sketch plan) .....	52
Fig. 11	Sections of KV39 and KV20 .....	54
Fig. 12	KV20 and Hatshepsut's temple at Deir el-Bahri, according to Reeves/Wilkinson .....	64
Fig. 13	KV20 and Hatshepsut's temple at Deir el-Bahri, on a satellite picture.....	64
Fig. 14	Map of KV20, KV38 and KV39 in relation to El-Qurn (= 3TA, page 56).....	67
Fig. 15	Map of KV20, KV38 and KV39 in relation to El-Qurn (zoomed in) (= 3TA, page 57) .....	68
Fig. 16	KV38 in a hypothetical first version.....	79
Fig. 17	The first stages of KV39, KV38 and KV20 .....	80

## List of Tables

Table 1	The sarcophagi from KV20 and KV38, according to Hayes .....	20
Table 2	Texts on the stone vessels, found in KV20 .....	27
Table 3	Stone vessels from KV20, with possible origin.....	27
Table 4	Am Duat texts from KV38 and from KV20.....	30
Table 5	Sarcophagus C: alterations .....	32
Table 6	Theory # 1: Winlock.....	34
Table 7	Royal sarcophagi of the 18th dynasty, according to Hayes.....	36

Table 8	Theory # 2: Hayes .....	41
Table 9	The main differences in decoration between sarcophagi F and E .....	44
Table 10	The distribution of Anubis forms on sarcophagi C till H.....	45
Table 11	Texts on the bottom of sarcophagi C to F .....	45
Table 12	Theory # 3: Romer.....	49
Table 13	Different room designations for KV20 .....	50
Table 14	Comparing the rooms in KV39 (excluding the southern section) with those in KV20.....	53
Table 15	The inventory of KV38 (based on Romer).....	56
Table 16	Owners per tomb, according to Altenmüller .....	69
Table 17	The sarcophagi of Hatshepsut, according to Altenmüller .....	70
Table 18	Theory # 4: Altenmüller.....	72
Table 19	Theory # 5: Polz .....	74
Table 20	The inventory of KV20 and in KV38, grouped per burial .....	75
Table 21	Unallocated items from KV20 and KV38.....	76
Table 22	Characteristics of the two earliest types of royal tombs in the Valley of the Kings .....	86
Table 23	The development of the main sequence of rooms(ignoring side chambers) in the kings' tombs from Tuthmosis III till Tuthmosis IV .....	88
Table 24	The dimensions of J1 and J2 in KV20.....	89

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

The first of these, KV39, is an as yet unidentified tomb, in persistent rumors attributed to Amenhotep I. Such a matter can however not be dealt with in isolation, i.e.: without also considering other tombs that have been proposed as possible or probable tomb of that king. For that reason, two more tombs, each located about 1.5 kilometer east of the Valley of the Kings, needed to be included: tombs AN B and K93.11. Both have, by their excavators, been claimed to be the tomb of Amenhotep I: AN B by Carter, and K93.11 by Polz.

In the course of the project it turned out that the two “extra” tombs were so interesting, and the question of Amenhotep’s tomb so manifold, that it seemed worthwhile to devote an entire volume to that subject. It was published in September 2010 under the title: “Three Tombs attributed to Amenhotep I: K93.11, AN B and KV39” (hereafter quoted as *3TA*).<sup>1</sup>

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 current work deals with KV20 and KV38, two tombs that have been put forward as having been Tuthmosis I’s original tomb. In chapter 4, their claims will be compared to those of KV39.

The original design of one study is by and large retained, which means that *3TA* contains an introduction to several matters that will not be repeated here:

- a general introduction to the Valley of the Kings (giving special attention to the significance of the mountain of El-Qurn);
- and some observations regarding the position of the various members of the royal family during the early 18<sup>th</sup> dynasty, particularly that of the Great Royal Wife.

We will follow – as in *3TA* – the historic order in which the various studies appeared, starting with the original excavators’ reports. At times, I will show myself highly critical about certain reasonings and inferences of these and other early writers. I am however acutely aware of the fact that it is their labor which now allows us to progress a bit further into the mysteries that they attacked before. They explored uncharted territory, for which they deserve full credit and respect. I am deeply indebted to them all.

At the end of this paper, I venture to formulate a theory about the earliest history of kingly tomb building in the Valley of the Kings. As this is essentially a literature study, substantial parts of this theory can for the moment only be judged on internal consistency and logic. Additional research in the tombs themselves is needed to provide physical evidence. In view of the relative unattractiveness of these tombs (relative to other projects), I am however not optimistic about the chances for such research to be conducted.

<sup>1</sup> See [www.egyptology.nl](http://www.egyptology.nl) for the pdf-file.

## Kinglist

This work focuses on the earlier parts of the 18<sup>th</sup> 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 18<sup>th</sup> 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.

## 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 7<sup>th</sup> or 20<sup>th</sup> year from the reign of Tuthmosis III.

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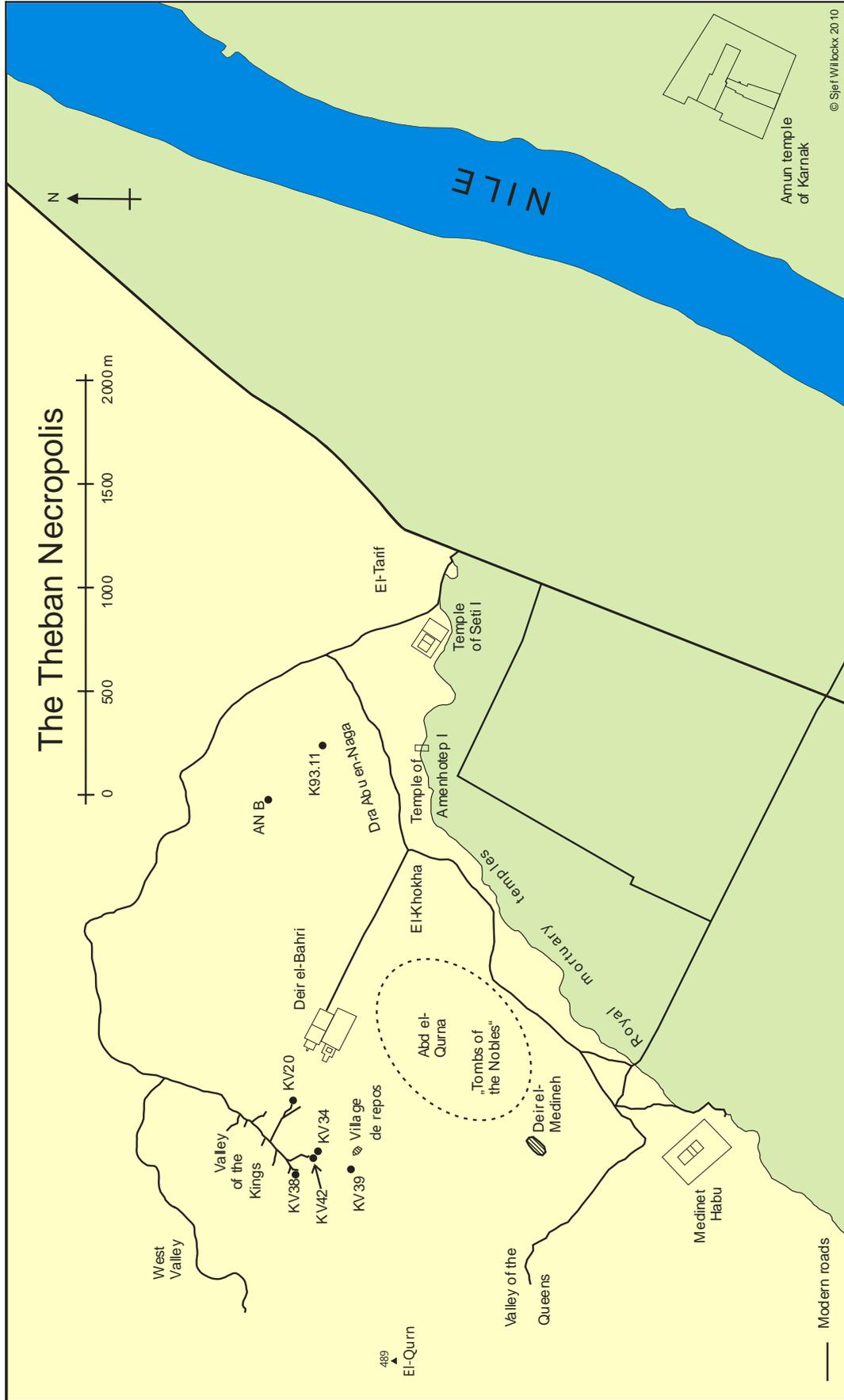


Fig. 1 The Theban Necropolis

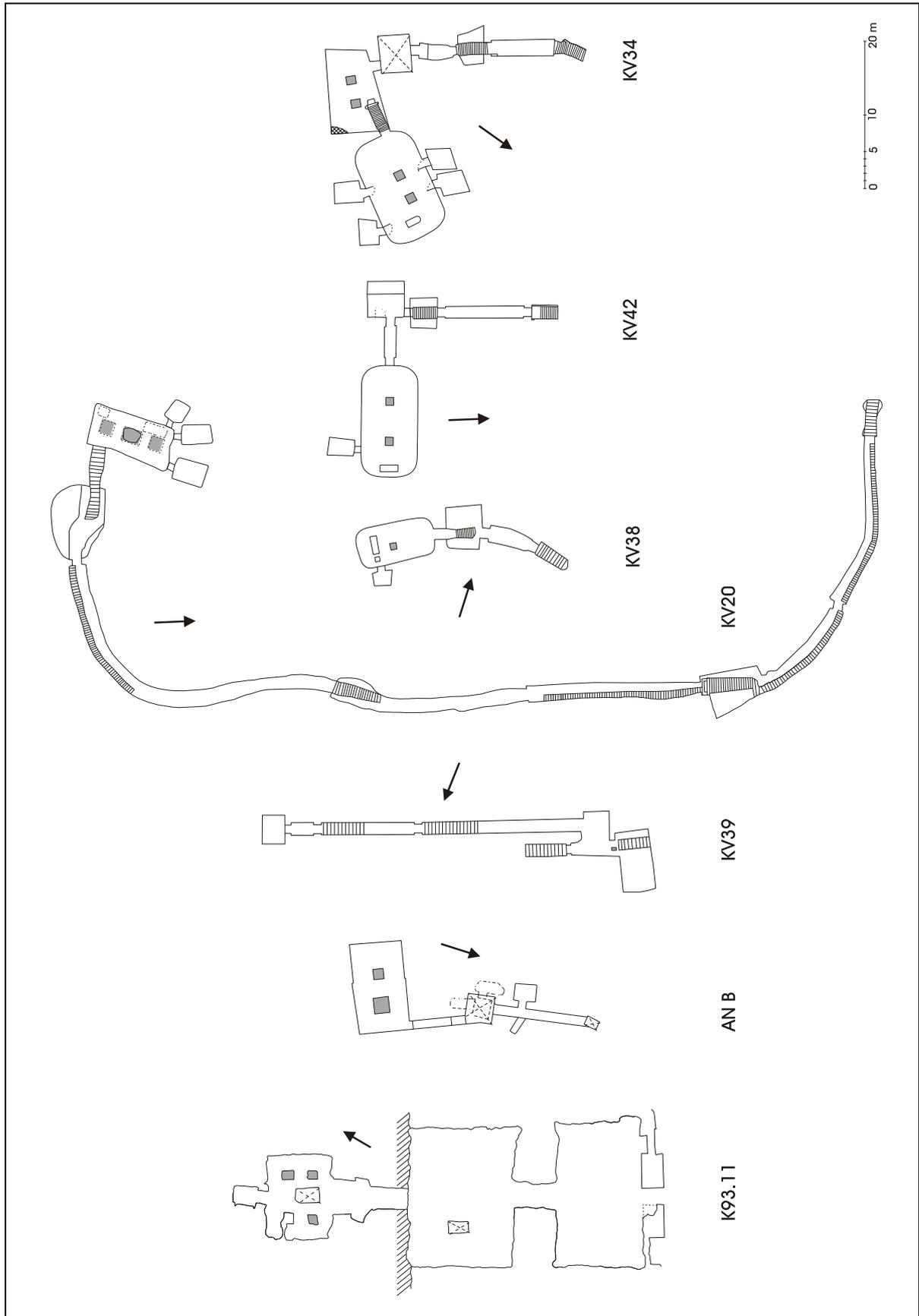


Fig. 2 Seven royal tombs from the 17<sup>th</sup> – early 18<sup>th</sup> dynasty (KV39 in a hypothetical first version: see 3TA)

## 1. KV38 & KV20: from their discovery until Winlock

In the foregoing work (3TA), I treated each tomb on its own, but the history - both ancient and modern - of KV20 and KV38 is so intertwined, that to discuss them separately would be pointless. What is worthwhile though, is to make a snip in time: before and after the publication of W.C. Hayes' study *Royal sarcophagi of the XVIII Dynasty* (1935, hereafter quoted as RS). Before this point, the world seemed simple (as regards the Valley of the Kings, anyway.) After, it all became much more complicated.

*Even though the current chapter will not address any theories, younger than that of Winlock (JEA 15, from 1929), several later sources (including RS) will be referred to, to allow some additional details of the finds to be provided right away.*

### 1.1. Hatshepsut and Tuthmosis III

With KV20 and KV38, we come to the fascinating period of the joint rule of Hatshepsut and Tuthmosis III. It has all the ingredients of a soap-opera: family intrigue around an inheritance, with a vile stepmother and a helpless orphan, incest, travesty, and even tomb desecration - all against a backdrop of power play and politics on an oriental court. Small wonder that this period spurred so much speculation.

With fateful inevitability, two solid methodological errors force themselves on the unsuspecting student of this period: the error of ethnocentrism, and that of a circular argument. We should well beware against interpreting the known facts from our own cultural perspective. And we should in particular take care not to interpret a congruence between our interpretation of the events on the one hand, and our assumptions about the protagonists' feelings and motives on the other hand, as evidence for the correctness of either.

So what *are* the facts?

Tuthmosis I had, by his great royal wife Ahmose, a daughter named Hatshepsut. By a lesser queen called Mutnefret, he had a son: the future Tuthmosis II. As was common in this dynasty, the two married, Hatshepsut becoming Tuthmosis II's great royal wife. Hatshepsut bore him a daughter, princess Neferure. Another of his wives, Isis, gave him a son, the future Tuthmosis III.

*The family relationship between Hatshepsut and Tuthmosis III can be viewed from two perspectives. Being the sister of his father, she was his aunt. Being a wife of his father, she was his step mother. For a graphic overview of these complex relations see "Genealogical chart of the kings of the 18th dynasty until Amenhotep III" on [www.egyptology.nl](http://www.egyptology.nl).*

At the death of Tuthmosis II, his son and heir Tuthmosis III was still a boy - if not an infant.<sup>2</sup> Hatshepsut assumed the regency for the youngster, as was expected from her.<sup>3</sup> The boy's mother could not fulfill that role: she was not of the royal blood.

In the autobiography of Ineni,<sup>4</sup> this event is described as follows:

When Tuthmosis II proceeded to heaven, his son was set in his place as king of the Two Lands upon the throne of him who engendered him. His [Tuthmosis II's]

<sup>2</sup> Tuthmosis III's mummy has been described as that of a man "in his fifties" (RS p. 23, quoting Smith, *Royal Mummies*, p. 34), while he has ruled for 54 years (including the years of Hatshepsut's regency). (*Chronologie* p. 109).

<sup>3</sup> It seems that precisely this duty or privilege lay at the core of the position of a great royal wife - at least during the 18<sup>th</sup> dynasty. For more on this, see the chapter "The great royal wife" in 3TA.

<sup>4</sup> A high state official whose career spanned the reigns of Amenhotep I till Hatshepsut.

sister, the god's wife Hatshepsut, executed the affairs of the Two Lands according to her counsels. Egypt worked for her, head bowed, the excellent seed of the god, who came forth from him.<sup>5</sup>

There is evidence that at least until the second year of Tuthmosis III's reign, Hatshepsut did not assume a higher position than that of great royal wife (of the deceased Tuthmosis II). At the latest during his seventh year however, she appears as King of Upper and Lower Egypt, with a complete fivefold titlature; her throne name is then Maat-ka-re.<sup>6</sup>

*There is general agreement that Hatshepsut's coronation must have taken place between Year 2 and Year 7. Wilfried Seipel, who wrote the article about Hatshepsut in the Lexikon der Ägyptologie, mentions three indications in favor of the end of this period:*

- *From Year 5, there is a decree for the installation of a vizier, in which Tuthmosis III's name is still mentioned as sole ruler.*
- *A change in the titlature of Hatshepsut occurs in texts on jugs in the tomb of the parents of Senenmut in the course of Year 7.*
- *And the construction of Hatshepsut's kingly mortuary temple at Deir el-Bahri began in Year 7.<sup>7</sup>*

Hatshepsut's rule is a golden age of grandiose building projects, daring expeditions to fetch exotic luxury products, and ambitious quarrying missions, bringing e.g. the largest granite obelisks ever to Thebes. She keeps dating her documents according to the regnal years of Tuthmosis III though, and the boy comes to no harm. At least theoretically, his position remains unchanged: he is king of Upper and Lower Egypt, just like Hatshepsut.

Co-regency was not an unknown phenomenon in Egypt, so depictions of two kings in one scene were not per se disturbing. In the famous Red Chapel e.g. (now in the Karnak Open Air Museum), the two can be seen participating together in several rituals.<sup>8</sup>

Rule by a queen was, although rare, not unknown, either. Several queens acted as regentess for their son when he was still too young to rule, and from the end of the 12<sup>th</sup> dynasty, a queen-regnant Nefru-Sobek is attested.<sup>9</sup> Still, rule by a queen was uncommon. It does not require an over-active imagination to assume the existence of some opposition against Hatshepsut, somewhere. Apparently, Hatshepsut herself felt the need to buttress her position. In her mortuary temple at Deir el-Bahri, a series of reliefs tells about Hatshepsut's divine conception and birth. It is the god Amun himself who, in the guise of Tuthmosis I, engendered her. In the end, Tuthmosis I is produced while proclaiming her his successor:

This my daughter, Hatshepsut Khnemet-Amun, may she live: I have appointed her as my deputy, because she is my successor. It is she who will sit upon my wonderful seat.

(..)

He who will praise her, he will live, but he who speaks evilly of her, or in blasphemy, he will die.<sup>10</sup>

These reliefs were not carved while her husband and half-brother Tuthmosis II was still alive, but it is nevertheless shocking to see how Hatshepsut in effect erases him from history.

<sup>5</sup> RS p. 145, Oxford p. 237.

<sup>6</sup> Chronologie, p. 109.

<sup>7</sup> LÄ II, col. 1049, n. 16.

<sup>8</sup> Tuthmosis' portrayal here as a youth gives the scenes a remarkably charming and intimate character.

<sup>9</sup> See Chronologie, p. 135. From the end of the 6<sup>th</sup> dynasty, a queen-regnant Nitokris is mentioned by Manetho and in the Turin Papyrus – but her name is not known from contemporary sources (Chronologie, p. 148).

<sup>10</sup> URK IV, 257; BAR II, par. 237.

Around his 21<sup>st</sup> regnal year,<sup>11</sup> Tuthmosis III suddenly assumes full authority, and Hatshepsut's name is never mentioned again. Tuthmosis continues counting his years on the throne, ignoring Hatshepsut's years in power. Immediately upon taking control, Tuthmosis embarks upon the first of a long series of military expeditions abroad, expanding and strengthening the realm's borders. It will earn him the title of Egypt's Napoleon.

Much later, towards the end of his reign, a campaign is launched to erase Hatshepsut's names and effigies.<sup>12</sup> At Karnak temple, her magnificent bark shrine (the Red Chapel) is taken apart. The lower part of her two superb granite obelisks in Karnak temple is walled in, to hide her proud account of their making. In her mortuary temple at Deir el-Bahri, her name is chiseled away with unprecedented zeal. And 150 years later, on the walls of Seti I's temple at Abydos, her name is not included in the list of kings of Egypt.

So far the facts. Although this information is fairly detailed, it still leaves plenty of room for speculation. The idea of a king - and not just any king, but the great Tuthmosis III - being practically invisible for more than twenty years, while his step mother ruled, has greatly stirred the imagination. Hatshepsut became the wicked stepmother, Tuthmosis the impatient young man in the wings. Breasted dubbed this period "the feud of the Tuthmosides".<sup>13</sup>

We should realize though that it would have been completely impossible for Hatshepsut to rule for so long against Tuthmosis' wish. He was after all crowned ruler of Egypt, legitimate heir of his father, seed of the god. Once he was of age - perhaps already at thirteen or fourteen years - he would have been recognized the legitimate ruler at his very first word. If Hatshepsut had wanted to secure her position for an indefinite period, her best option would have been to have him killed. Surely, such a thing would have been feasible at an ancient oriental court - after all, it is just as feasible in every decent little town all over today's civilized world. Fact is though, that she didn't.

There are indications that the defacing of Hatshepsut's monuments only took place late in Tuthmosis' reign - or perhaps it only then began in earnest.<sup>14</sup> Tuthmosis I is known to have taken towards the end of his reign his son Amenhotep II as co-ruler: a he-man of almost cartoonish proportions.<sup>15</sup> This macho may well have resented the idea that his revered father at one time had been dependent on a *woman* - by Jove! The campaign against her memory may have been his idea, rather than his father's.

As mentioned, Hatshepsut's name does not appear in the Abydos kinglist. This has been taken as another sign of a "damnatio memoriae". Akhenaten and his immediate successors - Smenkhkare, Tutankhamun and Ay - are likewise ignored in that list; clearly, the "heretic" and his successors were left out as "discredited rulers". This coincidence does however not mean that Hatshepsut was left out for the same reason. In hindsight, the years that Hatshepsut was in control were simply the years that she acted as regentess for her stepson - which makes it a matter of course that he continued counting his regnal years as if she never intervened. The legitimate line of kingship had gone from Tuthmosis II straight to his son Tuthmosis III; the fact that the latter had in the beginning been too young to rule by himself was inconsequential to that, so there was really no need to include her name in the kinglist (earlier regentesses were not included, either).

<sup>11</sup> Both Von Beckerath (*Chronologie*, p. 109, n. 465) and Wilfried Seipel (*LÄ II*, col. 1046) give as time-frame: between Year 20 and Year 22.

<sup>12</sup> According to Betsy Bryan around Year 46-47 (*Oxford* p. 248). Wilfried Seipel however raises doubts against such a late beginning of the "damnatio memoriae" (*LÄ II*, col 1051, n. 72.)

<sup>13</sup> In his *History of Egypt* (1905), p. 266 (so quoted by Hayes, *RS* p. 3).

<sup>14</sup> See note 12 above.

<sup>15</sup> On a stela, found near the Great Sphinx at Gizeh, he is bragging about his feats as a marksman, as a horseman, and a rower.

Let's suppose, just for argument's sake, that Tuthmosis III was, as a boy, of feeble health. Perhaps he had asthma. Young boys with a serious asthma condition do not make a strong, majestic impression on their environment - much to their regret. But when a boy with asthma grows up, he may partially recover, and become a reasonably healthy man. Tuthmosis III's mummy does not show any signs of bad health, but that of his father, Tuthmosis II, does. In the words of Hayes:

His mummy shows him not only to have been fairly young at the time, but to have been of a frail and sickly constitution.<sup>16</sup>

Perhaps the father was less fortunate in getting over an asthmatic condition than his son.

Let's suppose then, that the young Tuthmosis III was such a figure: of pale complexion, wheezy, coughing. Although he was of the royal blood, and rightfully crowned as king of Egypt, his appearance in public would not have inspired his subjects to feelings of awe and adoration... There are some who believe that his father, Tuthmosis II, only ruled for about three years.<sup>17</sup> If we combine this with his purported "sickly constitution", the court may well have feared that the son was now heading for a comparable fate as the father. Under such circumstances, many may have preferred to see a robust, stout woman, who already had been controlling the land with resolve for several years, continue on the job for as long as possible. Hatshepsut may have gradually grown into the role of ruler, rather than seizing power in a *coup d'état*. Nevertheless, after twenty years in power, it may have been hard to give it all up again...

## 1.2. KV38

With the contours of the scene sketched, we can now take a look at the particulars of these two tombs.

In March 1899, Victor Loret, then Director of the *Service des Antiquités*, discovered in the Valley of the Kings a small and primitive looking tomb: KV38. The tomb's entrance was cut in the wadi floor, immediately next to the cliff side, behind a protruding, vertical rock pillar. Although the tomb's walls were devoid of any texts, identifying the owner seemed easy. Loret found a stone sarcophagus with accompanying canopic box, both inscribed with the names of Tuthmosis I. There were furthermore two fragments of one alabaster vase, with the following inscription:<sup>18</sup>

The good god Aa-kheper-ka-re (= Tuthmosis I), son of Re, Tuthmosis<sup>19</sup>, justified [before] Osiris, lord of [Abydos].

The good god, lord of the Two Lands, Aa-kheper-en-re (= Tuthmosis II), given life. He made [it] as [his] monument [for his father.]<sup>20</sup>

The first part is original, the text of Tuthmosis II is a later addition, as can be seen from different styles of engraving. The son dedicated this way the vase to the memory of his father, so there can be little doubt that it was part of Tuthmosis I's burial.

In addition to these positive reasons for identifying the tomb as belonging to Tuthmosis I, two other matters were generally seen as supporting this identification:

<sup>16</sup> *RS* p. 144.

<sup>17</sup> *Oxford* p. 235.

<sup>18</sup> *CGC* 32, p. 300 (24976).

<sup>19</sup> The spelling of this name in *CGC* is most peculiar: with additional t, k and w. Perhaps this is a misinterpretation of one of the epithets that sometimes occurred in the cartouches of Tuthmosis II, possibly *h3 mi R<sup>c</sup>* (see *The cartouche names of the New Kingdom* on [www.egyptology.nl](http://www.egyptology.nl).)

<sup>20</sup> The translation "he made it as his monument for his father" is purely conventional. The actual meaning appears to be: "he made this to preserve the memory of his father."

- Tuthmosis I is the first king whose name is attested in the Valley. This corresponds well with the primitive form of the tomb. (KV39 was discovered about the same time as KV38, but initially attracted little attention; it was not before 1911 that Arthur Weigall suggested that KV39 may have belonged to Amenhotep I.)<sup>21</sup>
- And the autobiography of Ineni (the same as mentioned on page 11 above). About the excavation of the tomb of Tuthmosis I, he says: "I inspected the excavation of the cliff-tomb of his majesty, alone, no one seeing, no one hearing."<sup>22</sup> Actually, nothing in this text shows any particular link with KV38 - or with any other specific tomb. It just seemed appropriate for such a small, well-hidden tomb.

So the identification of this tomb as that of Tuthmosis I seemed certain, and Loret was convinced that he had found the first tomb ever cut in the Valley. His other finds in this tomb were the following:

- The lid of an alabaster canopic jar with a human head: not inscribed, but with a (broken) uraeus. On an object from the early New Kingdom, this means that it belonged to a king.
- Two fragments (3 and 5 cm) of blue glass (one transparent, one almost opaque).
- Two slabs of limestone with texts from the Am Duat.<sup>23</sup>
- Two fragments of painted plaster, also with Am Duat texts.
- In the burial chamber: five blocks of yellow quartzite, not plastered or inscribed, but very carefully carved.
- And in the annex to the burial chamber: many fragments of typical early 18<sup>th</sup> dynasty storage jars.

After the tomb had been cleared, the smaller items were transported to the Egyptian Museum in Cairo, and published by Daressy in the museum's *Catalogue Général*.<sup>24</sup> (Loret himself never published about this tomb.) The blocks of yellow quartzite, the sarcophagus and the canopic box for the moment stayed behind in the tomb.

Compared to later tombs in the Valley, KV38 is hardly impressive (see the plan on page 17 below, and the comparative overview of Fig. 2 on page 10 above). In the words of Romer:

Apart from its splendidly sized burial chamber, it is a very simple affair in comparison with the other two monuments of this type [KV34 and KV42].<sup>25</sup>

Opinions differ as to the original quality of the cutting of the tomb. In *RN*, Thomas gives the following description:

The poor quality of the rock and water penetration contribute to the tomb's very rough appearance today, but in Carter's view only Hall J [the sarcophagus chamber] was originally cut as accurately as the stone permitted, the other work being so careless that only the plan shows it to be royal.<sup>26</sup>

A recent appraisal by George B. Johnson is more favorable:

The walls are smoothly cut but not well squared (..)

and:

Another water-damaged doorway, once well cut (..)<sup>27</sup>

One of the photos on the TMP website shows Egyptologist Mohamed el-Bialy, indicating to what height the floods once came in the burial chamber: to about half a me-

<sup>21</sup> For more about KV39, see "Three Tombs attributed to Amenhotep I: K93.11, AN B and KV39" on [www.egyptology.nl](http://www.egyptology.nl).

<sup>22</sup> *BAR II*, par. 106.

<sup>23</sup> A funerary text, initially only used in kings' tombs of the 18<sup>th</sup> dynasty.

<sup>24</sup> *CGC 32*, p. 300-304.

<sup>25</sup> John Romer, *The tomb of Tuthmosis III*, in *MDAIK 31* (1975), p. 347. The common denominator of these three tombs is their cartouche shaped burial chamber (see Fig. 2 on page 10 above).

<sup>26</sup> *RN* p. 72.

<sup>27</sup> *No one seeing*, p. 72.

ter below the ceiling. Below this line, the walls are bare, and worse than that: it now looks like a cave. Above it is the only surviving trace of decoration: a patch of plaster with a kheker<sup>28</sup> frieze, immediately below the ceiling.<sup>29</sup> The ceiling itself was apparently undecorated. Carter also noted signs of plaster in room C (see the plan below), and in the annex to the burial chamber.<sup>30</sup> The two fragments of plaster with Am Duat texts no doubt came from the burial chamber.<sup>31</sup>

It would seem then that KV38 was once fully plastered, from room C onward, and that the walls of the burial chamber were decorated with texts and vignettes from the Am Duat. We can probably get a fair picture of the original appearance of this burial chamber, when we take a look at the far better preserved burial chamber of KV42. With its taut, evenly curved corners, its walls carefully smoothed with plaster, that room has a truly majestic appeal.<sup>32</sup> KV38's burial chamber is smaller though: it measures 10.47 x 5.43 m, against KV42's 15.25 x 7.62 m.<sup>33</sup> Originally, it had one square rock-cut pillar (KV42 has two), but that has now gone completely.

*The fact that this large room had only one pillar, which was moreover asymmetrically placed, has not attracted much attention. Undeservedly, as we will see later.*

In 1918, Carter searched the area in front of KV38 in hope of finding a foundation deposit to confirm the tomb's owner. What he found was:

...four small red pottery vases; a fragment of another; a bronze adze head of sheet metal; a fragment of a broad chisel; four bronze chisel blades.<sup>34</sup>

The items were not found in their original context: they had apparently been washed away by floods. None carried texts, but according to Romer, the items:

...strongly resembled early Eighteenth Dynasty examples from other similar deposits.<sup>35</sup>

### **KV38: plan**

The plan below is based on the TMP plan. I have retained the letters with which the TMP refers to the various rooms: A-B-C-J-Ja. These letters are from the model, originally devised by Elizabeth Thomas, which has since been widely used (see Appendix 1 on page 88 below). In the burial chamber, the rectangle and the small square beyond the pillar indicate depressions in the floor for the sarcophagus and its canopic box.

<sup>28</sup> A kheker frieze is a row of stylized reed bundle endings.

<sup>29</sup> Today, this patch is so faded that from photographs its details – necessary for a stylistic comparison with other relevant khekers, such as those from KV42 and KV34 – can not be gleaned.

<sup>30</sup> RN p. 72.

<sup>31</sup> By analogy with KV34.

<sup>32</sup> See the photographs on the TMP website: → KV42 → Images.

<sup>33</sup> Measurements from the TMP website.

<sup>34</sup> RN p. 72.

<sup>35</sup> RVK p. 307.

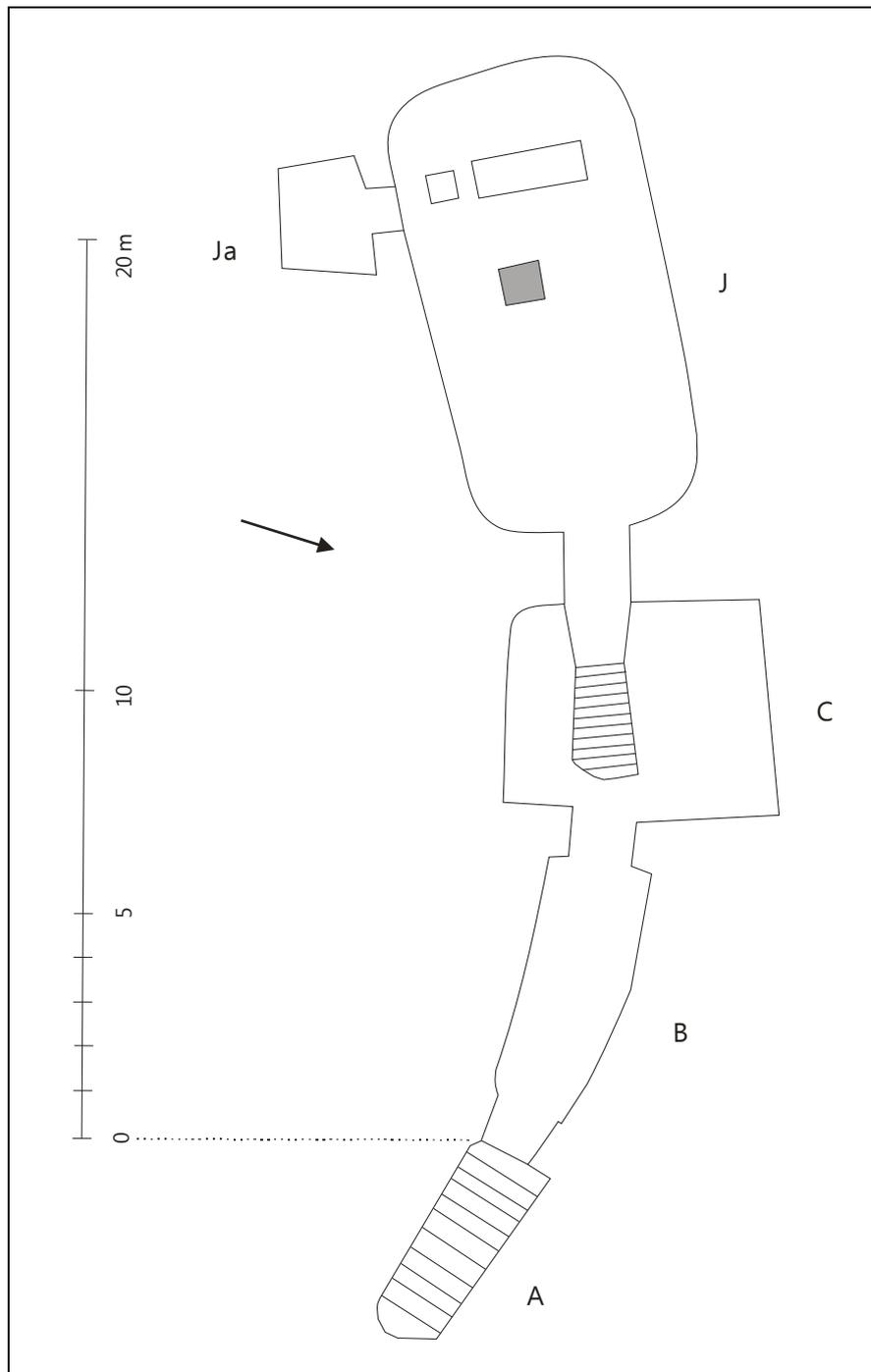


Fig. 3 Plan of tomb KV38

*This particular form of burial chamber, only repeated in two other ancient Egyptian tombs (KV42 and KV34), is generally called a cartouche shape. Although we have no direct evidence for it, it's quite possible that the intent of this design actually was to evoke the form - and hence the magical protection - of a cartouche. The royal stone sarcophagi of this period all carried a large cartouche on their lid as a frame for the lid's decoration and texts. The idea of encasing the cartouche of the sarcophagus within yet another cartouche - that of the burial chamber - would no doubt have appealed to the Egyptians. That this form for a burial chamber was nevertheless short-lived - it lasted for only one generation - is no doubt due to the extreme complexity of realizing this design underground.<sup>36</sup>*

<sup>36</sup> See Romer's study about KV34 (*The tomb of Tuthmosis III*, in MDAIK 31 (1975), p. 315-351) for some insights into this matter.

### 1.3. KV20

The entrance to KV20 is cut low in the face of a cliff. It can't be seen from the wadi floor though, as it is hidden behind a high ridge of scree. It has probably stood open since antiquity, as a result of which it gradually became filled up to the teeth with extremely hard washed-in debris and sediment. To clear the tomb again has been somewhat of a relay race. In 1799, members of Napoleon's expedition noted its entrance, and cleared the corridors for some 26 meters. On their plan, they marked it as "Commencement de grotte taillé circulairement dans le rocher".<sup>37</sup> In 1824, James Burton attempted to excavate the tomb, but he didn't get very far: according to Thomas about "6 or 8 m" beyond the first chamber – which should be about 52-54 meter from the entrance. There he gave up, beaten by the tomb's bad air, that "extinguished the lights" (through lack of oxygen, no doubt.)<sup>38</sup> In 1844, Lepsius cleared the tomb for about 46 meters before giving up.<sup>39</sup> (Apparently, part of Burton's work had been undone again by the renewed influx of sediments). It would take a very determined mind to quarry all the way down to the end. That mind was Carter's: in 1903-1904, working for the American Theodore M. Davis, he conducted in two long seasons an extremely strenuous excavation. In the Introduction to *DNC*, Davis gives a vivid description of the problems encountered:

Long before we reached this chamber [the first chamber of the tomb] the air had become so bad, and the heat so great, that the candles carried by the workmen melted, and would not give enough light to enable them to continue their work; consequently we were compelled to install electric lights, in the shape of hand wires, which could be extended to any length, with lamps attached as needed. For a time this enabled the work to progress, but as soon as we got down about 50 metres, the air became so foul that the men could not work. In addition to this, the bats of centuries had built innumerable nests on the ceilings of the corridors and chambers, and their excrement had become so dry that the least stir of the air filled the corridors with a fluffy black stuff, which choked the noses and mouths of the men, rendering it most difficult for them to breathe. To overcome these difficulties, we installed an air suction pump at the mouth of the tomb, to which was attached a zinc pipe, which before the burial chamber was reached extended about 213 metres.<sup>40</sup>

Even without the bats, it must have taken the ancient Egyptians several years to cut this tomb – and not just because of the volume of rock to be removed, although that was quite significant, too. One no doubt had to leave the tomb alone from time to time, to allow the exhausted and heated air below to evaporate – as Davis' expedition did:

During the course of the summer the tomb became somewhat ventilated, and the work of clearing the third section was commenced on October 15.<sup>41</sup>

All in all, Carter's men extracted nearly as much stone and rubble from the tomb as the original excavators had done:

...all of which had to be broken up to a size admitting of its transport on the heads of boys (!) to the mouth of the tomb.<sup>42</sup>

<sup>37</sup> *DNC* p. xi. "Beginning of a cave, cut circularly in the rock."

<sup>38</sup> *RN* p. 75, *RVK*, p. 133, p. 152-153.

<sup>39</sup> *DNC*, p. xi-xii.

<sup>40</sup> *DNC* p. xiii.

<sup>41</sup> *DNC* p. 78.

<sup>42</sup> Davis, in his Introduction: *DNC* p. xiii.

When Carter started work on KV20, no-one was aware to whom it once belonged; it was until then referred to as “the Napoleon tomb.”<sup>43</sup> But when he was done, all were convinced that it was Hatshepsut’s tomb. There were two good reasons for this attribution:

- A foundation deposit, the objects of which were inscribed with Hatshepsut’s name as ruler (Maat-ka-re), discovered about 7.5 meters before the beginning of the tomb’s entryway.<sup>44</sup>
- And in the burial chamber, a stone sarcophagus with matching canopic chest,<sup>45</sup> both inscribed for Hatshepsut. Next to it was another, somewhat smaller sarcophagus, inscribed for her father, Tuthmosis I. Originally, that monument had however also been meant for Hatshepsut: for an attentive observer, the alterations of the names were clearly visible. Its interior was moreover enlarged: presumably to accommodate his wooden coffin.

Additional support for the tomb’s identification came from the proximity of Hatshepsut’s mortuary temple, right across the mountain ridge, in the Deir el-Bahri bay. It seemed obvious that the tomb was cut here with the express intent of creating a cultic connection with that temple.

Just a few years before, KV38 had been discovered and identified as Tuthmosis I’s tomb – as explained above. The conclusion now was, that Hatshepsut had at some point the body of her father removed from KV38, to re-bury him into her own tomb, KV20. In the words of Davis:

When the tomb of Thoutmôsis I [KV38] was discovered, in 1899, it contained his sarcophagus; we found in Hâtshopsîtû’s tomb not only her sarcophagus, but one which she had made for her father Thoutmôsis I, as is told by an inscription thereon. Doubtless she had his body transferred from his tomb to hers, and placed in the new sarcophagus (...).<sup>46</sup>

Note that Davis does not mention that this sarcophagus was originally made for Hatshepsut, and only afterward changed for her father. I don’t see Mr. Davis voluntarily holding back on such a juicy detail, so we may assume that he was unaware of it – even though Carter gives the particulars, just pages ahead in the same work. Carter only *mentions* the alterations though, without making a fuss – without making a comment, even.<sup>47</sup> So unobtrusive are his remarks, that years later, Winlock had to profess that he had simply overlooked them.<sup>48</sup>

### **KV20: the sarcophagi**

The smaller of the two sarcophagi (the one for Tuthmosis I) is a rectangular box of yellow quartzite – a stone, harder than granite – painted a deep red.<sup>49</sup> With lid closed, its dimensions are approx. 221 x 83 x 99 cm (l x w x h). All planes of the monument are meticulously level, with exception of the upper side of the lid: that is lightly curved over its long axis. All surfaces are decorated and inscribed, inside and out, except for the bottom’s underside. Even the top sides of the box, on which the lid rested, are donned with a narrow band of inscriptions, all around.<sup>50</sup> On the lid, a large cartouche

<sup>43</sup> DNC p. xii.

<sup>44</sup> See the plan on the TMP website (→ KV20 → Images).

<sup>45</sup> For a picture of this box, see the TMP website (→ KV20 → Images).

<sup>46</sup> DNC p. xiv (underlining by me). For the text of the dedicatory inscription, see page 20 below.

<sup>47</sup> Presumably Carter did not quite know what to make of it, and preferred to play it safe.

<sup>48</sup> JEA 15, p. 61, n. 1.

<sup>49</sup> According to Hayes, the color was applied to give the impression “that the stone of which the sarcophagi are made of is the fine, dark red quartzite, much less common than the dingy brown-yellow variety actually used in their manufacture, and evidently much admired by the ancients.” (RS p. 36).

<sup>50</sup> Within the whole series of royal sarcophagi that Hayes describes in RS, this one is the most “literate:” it is the only one in which *all* inner surfaces are inscribed. Imagine the pains it must have taken to incise those inner surfaces, especially the lower parts: kneeling head-down on the floor, or maybe hanging

is sculpted in low relief, as a frame for decoration (the goddess Nut with outstretched arms) and inscriptions. The cartouche's bottom and sides are flush with the sides of the lid, "but its rounded head [cuts] awkwardly across the lid's right-angle head corners."<sup>51</sup>

The other sarcophagus from KV20 is of the same material (yellow quartzite, painted red) but larger: 245 x 88 x 100 cm. On the inside, the right and left walls are left blank; on the outside, the monument is again fully decorated and inscribed, in a way very similar to the smaller sarcophagus. Its overall appearance though is more balanced, more mature. The "awkwardness" that Hayes referred to with respect to the smaller sarcophagus has been solved by trimming away the corners of the head end, giving that part of the monument a semi-circular outline.

With the number of sarcophagi in view now rapidly growing, we could do with a uniform system of referring to them. In 1935, William C. Hayes published his study *Royal Sarcophagi of the XVIII Dynasty*. In it, he labeled the three sarcophagi hereto mentioned as C, D and E.

#	Tomb	Owner	Length in cm <sup>52</sup>	Shape / material
C	KV20	Originally Hatshepsut, later altered for Tuthmosis I	221 <sup>53</sup>	Rectangular / yellow quartzite, painted red
D	KV20	Hatshepsut	245	Cartouche / yellow quartzite, painted red
E	KV38	Thutmosis I	248.5	Cartouche / yellow quartzite, painted red

*Table 1 The sarcophagi from KV20 and KV38, according to Hayes*

*(The fact that in this table Tuthmosis I's sarcophagus comes after those made by his daughter Hatshepsut may seem strange, but will become clear when Hayes' theory will be treated in the next chapter.)*

Sarcophagus C carries the following dedication text:

The king of Upper and Lower Egypt, Maat-ka-re, son (!) of Re, Hatshepsut, United with Amun, made it as her monument for her father whom she loves, the Good God, Lord of the Two Lands, Aa-kheper-ka-re, son of Re, justified.<sup>54</sup>

If one simply takes this text on face value, one arrives at Davis' interpretation, quoted on page 19 above: Hatshepsut had this monument expressly made for her old man. Carter however discovered a series of modifications on the sarcophagus: in a number of cases, the names of Tuthmosis had been inserted over those of Hatshepsut. These modifications were executed by filling in the original glyphs with red plaster, and then cutting a new text on the fresh surface. They could now easily be spotted, presumably as a result of shrinkage in the plaster. Carter also noted that in several cases, the sculptor had failed to correct certain feminine inflexions in the text. He further noted alterations on the sarcophagus' inner surfaces of the head and foot ends:

The head end inscriptions have been cut away, owing to a subsequent enlargement. Over the enlargement the figure of the goddess [Nephthys] has been roughly painted.<sup>55</sup>

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upside-down over the walls... And this wasn't slave labor, either: only highly skilled masons would have been able to achieve the level of perfection reached: see *RS* p. 35 for an appraisal of the quality of the work.

<sup>51</sup> *RS* p. 42. This quote actually describes sarcophagus A, but C is in this respect identical.

<sup>52</sup> From *RS*, Appendix I.

<sup>53</sup> As found. Originally, it had been 1.5 cm longer (see page 31 below).

<sup>54</sup> After *RS* p. 19.

<sup>55</sup> *DNC* p. 87.

The foot end inscriptions have been cut away owing to a subsequent enlargement. The figure of the goddess [Isis] has been roughly repainted.<sup>56</sup>

But again, he only notes the facts, without giving an interpretation.

### **KV20: description**

The design of KV20 (see Fig. 4 and Fig. 5 below) is very different from that of every other tomb in the Valley. Its corridors display an unusual winding aspect, and its chambers are most irregular. It looks as if work had begun without a plan beyond the general idea of digging far and deep. And far and deep it is: from the entrance to the far side of the burial chamber, it is approx. 168 meter,<sup>57</sup> and from the threshold of the entrance gate to the lowest point of the burial chamber it is 92.5 meter down.<sup>58</sup> The angle of descent is a nearly constant 30°; the stairs on the left side of the corridors were certainly no luxury, and it seems probable that these steps were once present all the way down to the burial chamber.<sup>59</sup>

The long way down is alleviated by two relatively small chambers, but even in these chambers the descent continues: in a stairwell. A short distance before the burial chamber there is a room that, when first discovered, was interpreted as an ante-chamber. In this room, Carter was able:

... to get a good section of the filling of the tomb; there were three distinct strata; (1) the ancient filling, and above it (2) a water deposit, and (3) on the top of all a layer of debris of the fallen rock from the ceiling.<sup>60</sup>

Carter's "water deposit" no doubt refers to rubble, chips and rock, washed into the tomb by rains. What he means with "the ancient filling" is not so clear though. Contrasting it as he does to materials of later date, the suggestion is that he meant something original, something already there when the tomb was just made. As Romer later suggests,<sup>61</sup> this may refer to chippings from the excavation of the tomb that perhaps were not in their entirety removed – a common occurrence in tombs that were hastily finished.<sup>62</sup> A further descent through the floor of this room finally leads, via a short corridor, to the burial chamber. Here, Carter found the two sarcophagi, and the canopic chest. Three small storerooms, described by Carter as "very rough", branch out from this burial chamber.

### **KV20: Carter's plan**

In his report, Carter included a plan of the tomb. It is still useful, although not for exactness of detail: it is, like other plans by Carter, more schematic than accurate.<sup>63</sup> Its value lies in the features that it shows which are no longer there. In the burial cham-

<sup>56</sup> *DNC* p. 89.

<sup>57</sup> In other sources, you will find other figures for the total length of this tomb. In *DNC*, Davis speaks of 213.25 meter (*DNC* p. xii), while the TMP mentions on its website as "total tomb length" 210.32 meter. Davis appears to have drawn his figure from the length of the zinc pipe that Carter used to bring air into the tomb (*DNC* p. xiii). The TMP, for their key figure of total tomb length, includes the length of every room in a tomb – also those rooms that branch off from the main corridor, or that are parallel to one another. They furthermore add the length of a descent in a room, thereby counting those stretches twice. And they add the length of the open entryway, in front of the tomb, as well.

<sup>58</sup> Based on the measurements as given in the *TMP Atlas*.

<sup>59</sup> Apparently, Carter was also of this opinion. Although he does not show on his plan stairs along all the corridors, he states: "Down the entire length of the passages there is a sarcophagus slide on the one side and steps descending on the other side." (*DNC* p. 80).

<sup>60</sup> *DNC* p. 78-79.

<sup>61</sup> *JEA* 60, p.126.

<sup>62</sup> Romer mentions KV57 (Horemheb): *JEA* 60, p. 126. Another example is KV42.

<sup>63</sup> See e.g. his plan of WA D (Hatshepsut's cliff tomb), which was later corrected by Baraize: *ASAE XXI* (1921), p. 175-182. Compare also his plan of KV62 (Tutankhamun), shown on the TMP website, with the TMP plan (→ KV62 → Images).

ber, Carter shows three pillars; when the TMP surveyed the tomb, only the one in the middle was left. Carter furthermore indicates several flights of stairs in the tomb that by then had likewise disappeared.<sup>64</sup>

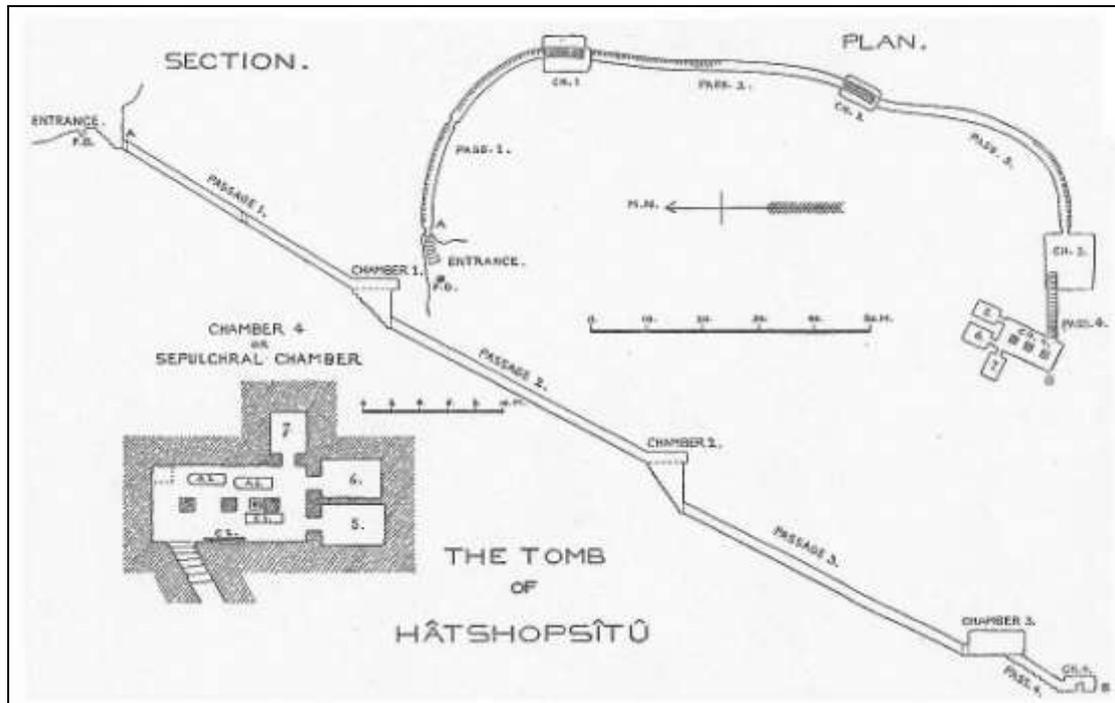


Fig. 4 Carter's plan of KV20 (reproduced from DNC)

The plan of the burial chamber reveals where Carter discovered the two sarcophagi and the canopic box. Two rectangles with one rounded side each represent Hatshepsut's sarcophagus (D) and its lid (to the left). Her canopic box is marked with a small square between the second and third pillar. The rectangle on the other side of the pillars is the box of sarcophagus C: the one that was altered for Tuthmosis I. The narrow rectangle is this sarcophagus' lid; it was found leaning against the wall. Hatshepsut occupied the room's position of honor: against the back wall.

A most peculiar aspect of this chamber is the fact that it has, not two or four, but *three* side chambers. For the symmetry-addicted Egyptians, this was most unusual. When we link this feature to the placement of the sarcophagi, a possible explanation soon emerges though. The rooms lie all three at the foot end of the sarcophagi, as was customary in the early royal toms of the Valley.<sup>65</sup> This confirms that they were store rooms, associated with those sarcophagi.

It seems that for Tuthmosis, only one side chamber was reserved – the one numbered “5” by Carter – while Hatshepsut had two – the numbers 6 & 7. Which makes sense: women have more stuff (ask any husband).

### KV20: the TMP plan

In the 1980's and 1990's, the TMP surveyed the majority of the tombs in the Valley of the Kings – including KV20. The plan below is based on their work, but with Carter's room designations. It aptly renders the horrible, cave-like appearance that the tomb has today.<sup>66</sup> Today: for it has undoubtedly suffered considerably from all sorts of erosion: by the influx of water and stones, from roof collapse, and from the work done

<sup>64</sup> According to Romer, the steps that gave access to the sarcophagus chamber were still visible in the 1960's (*JEA* 60, p. 124).

<sup>65</sup> So in tombs KV38, KV42, and possibly in KV32. Even Tutankhamun's KV62 is a case in point.

<sup>66</sup> Photographs in *No one seeing*.

during the clearing of the tomb in modern times. See e.g. the following comment by Carter, referring to work in the tomb's third chamber:

... it was totally filled up from top to bottom, and in parts the rubbish was so hard that pickaxes were necessary, and one could hardly tell whether the men were cutting the rock or the rubbish.<sup>67</sup>

Considering the large, often loosely supervised workforces that these early excavations employed, we may assume that some rock was taken down as well.

To the TMP plan, I have added some of the extra features that Carter shows: the stairs in the entryway and in several of the corridors. When the TMP surveyed the tomb, only one pillar of the burial chamber had - partially - survived. Their section shows it roughly pear-shaped, with an underside much wider than the upper part. I have assumed the pillar to originally have been rectangular and perpendicular, and have supplemented its contours accordingly. The other two pillars can hardly have been as large: even with the somewhat smaller ones that the TMP proposes, the room is congested.

*On the other hand: if the outer pillars originally continued until the side walls, the room would have had a completely different – and no less credible – appearance: two narrow chambers, with a heavy wall between them, in which there were two gates. This way, Hatshepsut and Tuthmosis would each have had their own “apartment”, each with its own side chamber(s).*

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<sup>67</sup> DNC p. 78.

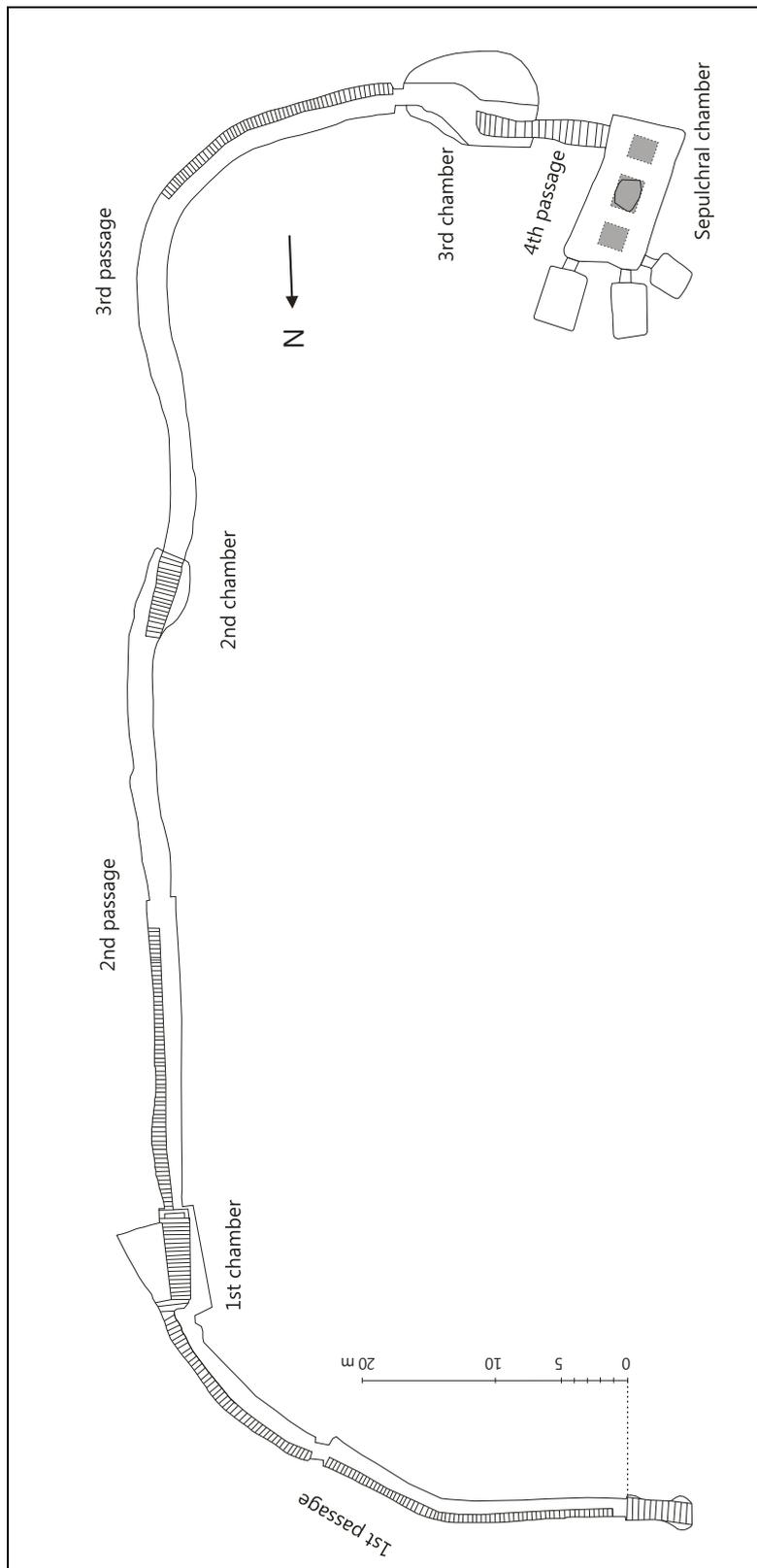


Fig. 5 KV20, with Carter's room designations

### KV20: other finds

Of the rest of the tomb's inventory, very little had survived. In the burial chamber, fifteen limestone slabs were found, "very much broken and discolored,"<sup>68</sup> with texts

<sup>68</sup> DNC p. 80. Photographs in *No one seeing*.

from the Am Duat, in the same style as later used on the walls of the burial chamber of KV34, Tuthmosis III's tomb. Carter assumed that these slabs were meant to line the chamber as decoration.<sup>69</sup> (In KV20's lower sections, the rock was not suitable for decorating). In KV38, Loret had found two similar slabs.<sup>70</sup> Thomas quotes the following remark from Carter's unpublished notes (now in the Griffith Institute):

They [the slabs in KV20] appear not to belong here but to come from the original sepulchre of Thutmose I [KV38], where other fragments of the same kind were found.<sup>71</sup>

Carter furthermore found fragments of stone and earthenware vessels, fragments of faience, and parts of the head and feet of a large wooden statue, covered with black resin: possibly the remains of a "guardian" statue, like the ones known from (a/o) Tutankhamun's burial.

As in tomb AN B,<sup>72</sup> Carter was again fortunate to discover inscribed shards from several stone vessels. The texts referred to the following personae:

- Tuthmosis I (Hatshepsut's father).
- Tuthmosis II (Hatshepsut's predeceased husband).
- Ahmose-Nefertari, mother of Amenhotep I, the predecessor of Tuthmosis I. She still held the important office of God's Wife of Amun when Tuthmosis I came to the throne - an office that may have passed directly from her to Hatshepsut.<sup>73</sup>
- And Hatshepsut herself: two instances of her name as great royal wife (of Tuthmosis II), and two as ruler, with her throne name of Maat-ka-re.

The following table lists the texts on these vessels, as reproduced by Carter in *DNC*,<sup>74</sup> in my translation. I have arranged the items according to their probable age, starting with the oldest. The figures in the last column refer to their numbers in *DNC*.

In this kind of text, queens are regularly referred to as (e.g.) sister of the king, (and) wife of the king, (and) mother of a king. In those instances, I have added the name of the king in question between < >. The title "wife of the god" refers in equal measure to Amun and the king.<sup>75</sup>

Words between [ ] are restorations.

#	Description	# in <i>DNC</i>
1.	Part of a queen's title is visible ("who is united with the White Crown"), and a cartouche that begins with Ah... According to both Carter and Hayes, <sup>76</sup> this is the beginning of the name of queen Ahmose-Nefertari, but as Lilyquist points out, <sup>77</sup> it could also refer to Hatshepsut's mother (and Tuthmosis I's great royal wife) Ahmose.	2.

<sup>69</sup> *DNC* p. 80.

<sup>70</sup> See page 15 above.

<sup>71</sup> *RN* p. 76.

<sup>72</sup> See 3TA on [www.egyptology.nl](http://www.egyptology.nl)

<sup>73</sup> According to Betsy Bryan: see *Oxford* p. 235. If Bryan is right, this would in a sense have made Hatshepsut the heiress of the Ahmosid tradition (see *GenChart* on [www.egyptology.nl](http://www.egyptology.nl).)

<sup>74</sup> *DNC*, p. 104-110 (#1-8).

<sup>75</sup> See chapter 1 ("The Great Royal Wife") in 3TA on [www.egyptology.nl](http://www.egyptology.nl).

<sup>76</sup> *RS* p. 20.

<sup>77</sup> Reference by Polz in *Beginn*, p. 223, n. 908.

#	Description	# in DNC
2.	<p>Original text:</p> <p>Daughter of a king &lt;...&gt;,<sup>78</sup> sister of the king &lt;Ahmose&gt;, wife of the god, wife of the king &lt;Ahmose&gt;, mother of a king &lt;Amenhotep I&gt;, Ahmose-Nefertari, may she live.</p> <p>Added dedication:</p> <p>(..) son [of Re], Tuthmosis (II)<sup>79</sup>, given life. [He made it as] his monument for his father(<i>sic</i>).<sup>80</sup></p>	1.
3.	<p>Original text:</p> <p>[The good god, lord of the Two Lands]<sup>81</sup> Aa-kheper-ka-re, [son of Re, his beloved]<sup>82</sup> Tuthmosis (I), justified before [Osiris] lord of Abydos.</p> <p>Added dedication:</p> <p>(...) Tuthmosis (II), given life. [He made it] as his monument for his father.</p>	3.
4.	<p>Original text:</p> <p>The good god, lord of the Two Lands Aa-kheper-ka-re, son of Re, his beloved Tuthmosis (I), justified before Osiris, first of the westerners.</p> <p>Added dedication:</p> <p>The good god, lord of the Two Lands, Aa-kheper-en-re<sup>83</sup> given life. He made [it] as his monument for his father.</p>	4.
5.	<p>Dedication:</p> <p>Wife of the god, who she loves, daughter of a king &lt;Tuthmosis I&gt;, whom he loves, Hatshepsut. (..) [she made it for her father, Tuthmosis I, justified],<sup>84</sup> beloved of Osiris.</p>	6.
6.	<p>Text on a horizontal band:</p> <p>The living hereditary noble woman (...??...) of the Aten, daughter of a king &lt;Tuthmosis I&gt;, sister of the king &lt;Tuthmosis II&gt;, wife of the god, great wife of the king &lt;Tuthmosis II&gt;, [Hat]shepsut, may she live forever.</p> <p>Text on a panel:</p> <p>Daughter of a king, [sister of the king &lt;Tuthmosis II&gt;], wife of the god, beloved by the god, great wife of the king, mistress of all lands, Lady of the Two Lands, Hat[shepsut], [may she live] forever.</p> <p>Above the panel is an indication of the vessel's original capacity: 35 <i>henu</i> (about 17.5 liters).</p>	8.

<sup>78</sup> King Ahmose and queen Ahmose-Nefertari had the same father, a king of the later 17<sup>th</sup> dynasty. Who he was, is not certain though. See *GenChart* on [www.egyptology.nl](http://www.egyptology.nl).

<sup>79</sup> Note the use of the *birth* name in this and many other dedication formulae: it stresses the son's position as heir, rather than as Egypt's next king. Strictly speaking, this could just as well refer to Tuthmosis I (as Carter believes). From the analogy of #3 and #4, it seems however more likely that Tuthmosis II is meant. (Hayes concurs: *RS* p. 20.)

<sup>80</sup> This vase was made for Ahmose-Nefertari, and not for Tuthmosis I, but the sculptor was probably ordered to add this formula to a series of vases, and just did as he was told.

<sup>81</sup> Restoration analogous to #4.

<sup>82</sup> Restoration analogous to #4.

<sup>83</sup> Tuthmosis II.

<sup>84</sup> Restoration by Hayes (*RS* p. 21). The part "made it for her father" seems certain, so the rest is an educated guess.

#	Description	# in DNC
7.	Only the lower part of three columns is preserved. By analogy with #5, the first column (which should be read last), may tentatively be augmented as follows: [beloved of Amun, lord] of the Two Lands, lord of the sky. The total text could then have been as follows: (.....) Maat-ka-re, may she live. [She made it as her monument for her father, Aa-kheker-ka-re, justified before] Osiris, the great god. (...) [beloved of Amun, lord] of the Two Lands, lord of the sky.	7.
8.	Text: The good goddess, Maat-ka-re, (..), daughter of Re, Hatshepsut, united with Amun <sup>85</sup> (..) justified before Osiris (..)	5.

*Table 2 Texts on the stone vessels, found in KV20*

#1 may have belonged to the original burial of Tuthmosis I, but also to that of Hatshepsut.

#2 almost certainly, and #3-5 definitely belonged to the original burial of Tuthmosis I. #5 is particularly interesting because it testifies of Hatshepsut's involvement at his funeral, as wife of Tuthmosis II.<sup>86</sup>

#6 gives Hatshepsut's name and titles as wife of Tuthmosis II, and therefore probably belonged to Tuthmosis I's original burial, like #5. Theoretically, it could have been part of Hatshepsut's own burial too, but I would expect her to have avoided including objects that refer to her as her brother's wife.

#7: the reconstruction here proposed would make this an item that was added by Hatshepsut at the occasion of Tuthmosis I's reburial in KV20, when she had risen to the position of king.

#8 speaks of Hatshepsut as ruler, and as "justified before Osiris." This item therefore must have been part of Hatshepsut's own burial.

#	Undecided	Original burial of Tuthmosis I	Added by Hatshepsut at the occasion of Tuthmosis I's reburial in KV20	Added by Tuthmosis III at the occasion of Tuthmosis I's reburial in KV38	Burial of Hatshepsut	# in DNC
1	v	?			?	2
2		v				1
3		v				3
4		v				4
5		v				6
6		v				8
7			v			7
8					v	5

*Table 3 Stone vessels from KV20, with possible origin*

When we now compare the text, found on the one vase in KV38 (see page 14 above) with those just discussed, we see that the similarity with #3 is particularly striking:

<sup>85</sup> "United with Amun" was an epithet that Hatshepsut used in the cartouche of her throne name. (For more about these epithets, see: "The cartouche names of the New Kingdom", on [www.egyptology.nl](http://www.egyptology.nl).)

<sup>86</sup> Already so noted by Winlock: *JEA* 15, p. 60.

KV20, #3.	<p>Original text:</p> <p>[The good god, lord of the Two Lands] Aa-kheper-ka-re, [son of Re, his beloved] Tuthmosis (I), justified before [Osiris] lord of Abydos.</p> <p>Added dedication:</p> <p>(...) Tuthmosis (II), given life. [He made it] as his monument for his father.</p>
KV38	<p>Original text:</p> <p>The good god Aa-kheper-ka-re, son of Re, Tuthmosis (I), justified [before] Osiris, lord of [Abydos].</p> <p>Added dedication:</p> <p>The good god, lord of the Two Lands, Aa-kheper-en-re (= Tuthmosis II), given life. He made [it] as [his] monument [for his father.]</p>

Only a few other items have surfaced that once must have belonged to Hatshepsut's burial:

- A heavily damaged shabti (the only shabti known from her), which is now in a museum in The Hague.<sup>87</sup> provenance unknown.
- A wooden chest, inscribed with her name, in which a mummified liver or spleen was found: perhaps hers. It was discovered in the "royal cache" in tomb DB320.
- During his work in 1977-1979 in KV04 (Ramesses XI), Romer discovered in that tomb's deep shaft, among many other objects, parts of one of Hatshepsut's wooden coffins. KV04 may have served – like KV39 – as a "workshop" during the dismantling of the tombs in the Valley.<sup>88</sup> This find, in this tomb, shows that in all probability, Hatshepsut was indeed buried in the Valley – although not necessarily in KV20.

Most of the objects found in KV20 went to the Egyptian Museum in Cairo. As part of the then still customary "division of finds," sarcophagus C was allotted to Theodore Davis, who donated it to the Museum of Fine Arts in Boston, where it still is today.

#### 1.4. The Am Duat texts in KV38 and KV20

The smaller finds from KV38 were described by Georges Daressy in the *Catalogue général des antiquités égyptiennes du Musée du Caire*, pages 300-304 (CGC 32). For the fragments with texts of the Am Duat, I here give Daressy's full description, followed by my English translation:

24990.

Fragments de mur.

A. Haut. 0 m. 27 cent., larg. 0 m. 27 cent. (pl. LVII).

B. Haut. 0 m. 15 cent., larg. 0 m. 28 cent.

Deux morceaux de la muraille du tombeau de Thotmès Ier retrouvés dans les décombres, portant des fragments du Livre de l'Am-Duat. Les personnages et inscriptions sont généralement à l'encre noire, quelques passages, les nom mystiques sont en rouge. Le tracé des personnages est sommaire, les textes sont en hiéroglyphes cursifs, en colonnes rétrogrades. Ils sont en mauvais état, très effacés. En haut bordure parsemée de points rouges.

C. Deux autres fragments d'inscriptions sur stuc ont été recueillis dans la même tombe; les lettres sont beaucoup plus grandes, la largeur des colonnes atteignant 0 m. 03 cent.

0 m. 20 cent. x 0 m. 18 cent.

0 m. 16 cent. x 0 m. 13 cent.

<sup>87</sup> The Museum Meermannno.

<sup>88</sup> *R/W* p. 94 and p. 172-173.

## Translation:

24990.

Wall fragments.

A. High 27 cm, wide 27 cm. (pl. LVII)

B. High 15 cm, wide 28 cm.

Two pieces of the wall of the tomb of Tuthmosis I found in the rubble, with fragments of the Book of Am Duat. The figures and inscriptions are mostly in black ink, some passages, the mystic names are in red. The design of the figures is simple, the texts are in cursive hieroglyphs, in "backward" columns.<sup>89</sup> They are in bad condition, very much faded. On the upper edges strewn with red points.

C. Two other fragments of inscriptions on plaster were recovered in the same tomb; the signs are much larger, the width of the columns reaching 3 cm.

20 cm x 18 cm.

16 cm x 13 cm.

As mentioned before, Thomas quotes the following remark from Carter's unpublished notes (now in the Griffith Institute):

They [the slabs in KV20] appear not to belong here but to come from the original sepulchre of Thutmose I [KV38], where other fragments of the same kind were found.<sup>90</sup>

In 1993, George B. Johnson published an article in KMT, with the title: *No one seeing, no one hearing. KV38 & KV20: the first royal tombs in the Valley of the Kings*. (KMT 3/4 (1992-93), p. 64-81). The following is a quote from p. 72:

Dr. Edward F. Wente of the University of Chicago Oriental Institute has kindly provided this writer with previously unpublished information confirming that KV38 was, indeed, decorated with a version of the Amduat. During his own study of objects from that tomb and KV20 in storage at the Egyptian Museum, Cairo, Wente examined small fragments of "stucco" identified as being from the walls of KV38. He noted that these were inscribed with Amduat texts, and recalls that the calligraphy of the fragments was larger and dissimilar from that on the limestone blocks found in KV20. This evidence gives no clue, however, whether the KV38 decoration was applied at the time of the tomb's original construction by Ineni, or as a consequence of Thutmose I's reburial by his grandson.

And from p. 78:

Wente has published a helpful description of them [the 15 limestone blocks from KV20]. He believes that the block texts are the earliest-known version of the Amduat and noted that these are inscribed in vertical columns.<sup>91</sup> He further observed that the relatively small size and number of the blocks precludes their ever having been used to line the walls of the burial chamber of KV38. Instead, he proposed that they had been employed to fashion a small, free-standing chamber around the king's sarcophagus in Tomb 38, or else "lined the walls of a small burial chamber located in the original version of Tomb 20." In recent conversation with this writer, Wente stated that he now believes it is "highly unlikely" that the blocks in question were ever in KV38. Because the texts are written in vertical columns, he says it is difficult to determine exactly how the blocks were originally meant to be arranged. Interestingly, Wente reports that the KV20 blocks employ "stick fig-

<sup>89</sup> This means that the hieroglyphs must be read from left to right, while the order of the columns is from right to left (or vice versa).

<sup>90</sup> RN p. 76, quoted also on page 25 above.

<sup>91</sup> The suggestion of the last remark is, that the columns in some way indicate that these texts are particularly ancient. The texts of these Afterlife Books are however generally written in columns.

ures” in the manner of those in Thutmose III’s tomb, but that there is no decorative border (such as a kheker frieze).

We can summarize this information as follows:

	KV38	KV20	Comments
Limestone slabs	2 slabs	15 slabs	Carter: “of the same kind.”
Fragments of plaster	2 fragments		Daressy: texts larger than on the 2 slabs from KV38. Wente: texts larger than on the 15 slabs from KV20.

Table 4 *Am Duat* texts from KV38 and from KV20

The results seem to suggest a common origin for all 17 slabs – be it KV20 or KV38. We can safely assume that the plaster fragments originated from the walls of KV38: on-one in his right mind is going to move plaster to re-use it elsewhere.

*Compared to the pains one has to endure to attain KV20’s last chamber J2, to reach KV38’s burial chamber is a cinch. If both chambers once contained a substantial number of useful building blocks, I would expect those in KV38 to have been much more in demand than those in KV20.*

## 1.5. Winlock: the first comprehensive appraisal

In 1905, several years after the discovery of KV38 and KV20, the three sarcophagi found in these tombs were transported to their final destination:

- sarcophagus C (from KV20, made for Hatshepsut, later altered for her father) to the Museum of Fine Arts in Boston;
- sarcophagus D (also from KV20: with Hatshepsut’s names as ruler), together with its canopic box: to the Egyptian Museum in Cairo;
- and sarcophagus E (from KV38: inscribed for Tuthmosis I), together with its canopic box: also to the Egyptian Museum in Cairo.<sup>92</sup>

Winlock was the first to examine these sarcophagi as a group, and to devote a publication to them: *Notes on the reburial of Tuthmosis I* (1929).<sup>93</sup> Where Carter had provided the skeleton for a theory, Winlock now added the flesh.

Conforming to the general opinion of the day, Winlock took KV38 to be the original tomb of Tuthmosis I.

Hence the sarcophagus found in it, and now in Cairo, must be the one which was prepared for the original burial of Tuthmosis I.<sup>94</sup>

On the left side<sup>95</sup> of this sarcophagus (E), he noted however two dedicatory inscriptions:

It was his son who caused his name to live in making excellent the monument of [his] father for all eternity.

It was his son who caused his name to live and made for him this excellent monument for all eternity.<sup>96</sup>

<sup>92</sup> *JEA* 15, p. 58. The blocks of yellow quartzite, mentioned on page 15 above, were not removed. They are apparently still in the tomb today (*No one seeing*, p. 76).

<sup>93</sup> *JEA* 15, p. 56-68.

<sup>94</sup> *JEA* 15, p. 59.

<sup>95</sup> Winlock speaks of the right side (*JEA* 15, p. 59), but Hayes has the left side (*RS* p. 109.)

<sup>96</sup> *JEA* 15, p. 59.

He thereupon concluded that the decoration of the sarcophagus must have been completed by Tuthmosis I's son, Tuthmosis II. Winlock remarks that this was in agreement with the evidence provided by the texts on several stone vessels, both in KV20 and in KV38, which testify of involvement in Tuthmosis I's original burial by his son and daughter: Tuthmosis II and his great royal wife Hatshepsut.

On Tuthmosis' "second" sarcophagus (C, found in KV20), Carter had already noted that in some places, the names of Tuthmosis were alterations. The original texts were in the name of Hatshepsut, as king Maat-ka-re. Her names were filled in with red plaster, and the names of Tuthmosis I were then carved over them.<sup>97</sup>

On closer inspection, Winlock now saw:

...evidences of very much more extensive alterations to the sarcophagus than the publication [of Carter] indicates.<sup>98</sup>

Winlock noted that on all outside surfaces of the box, and on the longer inside surfaces, *no* alterations were visible. This indicates that these texts were not altered, but straightaway carved for Tuthmosis. On the top edges of the box, a narrow column of texts is written all around. Normally, such a text band would be precisely in the middle of the surface, but here, it wasn't. On every side of the box, the area on the outside of the texts was narrower than on the inside:

- 3 cm on the left and right side;
- 1 cm on the foot end;
- and 0.5 cm on the head end.

Winlock concluded that the outer surfaces of the sarcophagus box had in their entirety been cut back, with 3, 1 and 0.5 cm, respectively. In this way, it had become possible to completely re-do the texts on these surfaces. Presumably, this course of action was followed because on the outside, the large number of necessary changes would have been too conspicuous.

*The cutting away of a full 3 cm on either side may seem excessive, and indeed, the head and foot end were cut back only 0.5 and 1 cm, respectively. Originally, the cartouche on the lid was executed as a double loop, with its sides flush with the sides of the lid. To mask the alterations, the outer of the two loops had to be cut away in its entirety. As a result, the sides of the box had to be cut back for the width of that loop: 3 cm.*

The underside of the lid was equipped with a rabbet, which fitted closely into the upper inside of the sarcophagus box. To preserve that fit, the inside upper part of the side walls was untouched, all around. As a result, one can now plainly see where, and to what extent, the rest of the inner surfaces were tampered with. The left and right side walls were left as they were, while the head and foot panels were cut back. Since the texts on the inner left and right walls were straightaway carved for Tuthmosis, while their surfaces were not cut back, these surfaces had originally – in the Hatshepsut edition – been uninscribed.

Carter had already noted the cutting back of the inside head and foot panels, but Winlock now discovered that this was done in two steps. First, about 3.5 cm was removed on either side, over the total area (except along the top edges, to preserve the fit of the rabbet). These new surfaces were then decorated and inscribed. Later, more stone was cut away, particularly in the central sections of each end. This time, work was done crudely. The texts were not re-carved, and the figures of Nephthys (head end) and Isis (foot end) were now "roughly painted" instead of incised.<sup>99</sup>

Perhaps the original end surfaces had been inscribed also, but on the inside of the box, the removal of 3.5 cm on each end would not have been necessary just to re-do the texts. The only logical explanation is, that one needed more space. It seems then that the coffin that was to be inserted into the sarcophagus had been measured, and

<sup>97</sup> See page 20 above.

<sup>98</sup> *JEA* 15, p. 61.

<sup>99</sup> *DNC* p. 87 and 89.

been found to be a bit too long for the original inner length of the box. Later however, it was found that the interior was still not large enough, and both ends were again cut back. The fact that this second enlargement was executed in a sub-standard way suggests that it was done hastily.

The following table summarizes these matters:

Element	Surface	Comments	Noted by Carter	Noted by Winlock
Lid	Upper side	Texts changed on plaster.	x	x
Lid	Under side	Texts changed on plaster.		x
Box	Left and right outside	Cut back 3 cm each, texts carved on new surfaces.		x
Box	Left and right inside	Originally not inscribed for Hatshepsut, texts freshly carved for Tuthmosis I.		x
Box	Head end, outside	Cut back 0.5 cm, texts carved on new surface.		x
Box	Foot end, outside	Cut back 1 cm, texts carved on new surface.		x
Box	Head and foot end, inside, first stage	Cut back 3.5 cm over total width (below rabbet), texts carved on new surfaces.		x
Box	Head and foot end, inside, second stage	Additional cutting in the central areas. Isis and Nephthys restored in paint only.	x	x
Box	Top edges	Texts changed on plaster.	x	x
Box	Bottom, inside	Texts changed on plaster.	x	x

Table 5 *Sarcophagus C: alterations*

Winlock could also add substantially to the connection between KV20 and Hatshepsut's mortuary temple of Deir el-Bahri. It had already been known that, right next to the shrine for Hatshepsut's mortuary cult, a smaller one had existed for her father's cult. Winlock now identified a large, granite false door stela in the Louvre (C 48) as originating from this chapel. A column of text on the left side of this monument gives Hatshepsut's names, adding that "she made [it] as her monument for her father"<sup>100</sup> – which corresponds nicely with her dedicatory inscriptions on sarcophagus C.

Winlock also looked into the matter of the coffins. Although it is probable that Tuthmosis I was originally buried in a set of three wooden coffins, only one has been conclusively identified: the outer one. It was discovered in 1881 in DB320, the "royal cache".<sup>101</sup> It had been appropriated by Pinedjem I,<sup>102</sup> but when later Pinedjem's gold foil was robbed from this coffin, Tuthmosis' names re-appeared. When the mummies of both Pinedjem and Tuthmosis were stashed away in DB320, Tuthmosis was again laid to rest in his original (outer) coffin. Another coffin was found inside it, fitting it exactly, but not inscribed for Tuthmosis I. Because of its perfect fit, Winlock nevertheless assumes it to have belonged to him.<sup>103</sup>

That there once was a third, innermost wooden coffin follows from the following observations:

<sup>100</sup> *JEA* 15, pl. XI and XIII.

<sup>101</sup> Discussed in *R/W*, p. 194-197.

<sup>102</sup> High priest of Amun, in effect ruler of southern Egypt at the beginning of the 21<sup>st</sup> dynasty.

<sup>103</sup> *JEA* 15 p. 59, n. 3.

- the room between Tuthmosis' mummy and the middle coffin would have allowed, if not necessitated, the inclusion of a third coffin: Tuthmosis' unpacked mummy is only 154.5 cm tall,<sup>104</sup> and his middle coffin is 212 cm long;
- the inside of sarcophagus C had finally to be enlarged from approx. 203 to 210 cm: with the middle coffin 212 cm long, the final enlargement of the sarcophagus must have been executed to allow the introduction of a smaller, now missing coffin.

Winlock furthermore notes, that Tuthmosis' original outer coffin would have fitted exactly in sarcophagus E:

When the dimensions of the two are tabulated, it becomes almost certain that the coffin was made to fit within the sarcophagus.<sup>105</sup>

All in all, Winlock can now paint a detailed picture of what happened.

- KV38 was the tomb that Ineni prepared for Tuthmosis I.
- Tuthmosis I was buried there under the supervision of his son Tuthmosis II, together with his great royal wife, Hatshepsut. They both added several items with a dedicatory inscription to the burial. Tuthmosis I was laid to rest in a set of three wooden coffins, made to fit snugly into a stone sarcophagus (E). The decoration of this sarcophagus was not ready at the time of the burial, so it had to be completed by his son, Tuthmosis II, who commemorated this event with dedicatory inscriptions.
- After the demise of Tuthmosis II, his great royal wife Hatshepsut assumes the regency for the child Tuthmosis III. At about the latter's 8<sup>th</sup> regnal year, she adopts the name of Maat-ka-re, and rules as king.
- "For political purposes" (i.e.: to strengthen her position as legitimate ruler), Hatshepsut seeks to associate herself as much as possible with her father Tuthmosis I, by whom she claims to have been appointed king.<sup>106</sup> To this end, she incorporates a chapel in her own mortuary temple, dedicated to his funerary cult. For the same reason, she plans to transfer his burial to the tomb that is being prepared for her on the other side of the mountain: KV20.
- For her own burial in KV20, a stone sarcophagus had already been prepared (C). This one is now altered for her father. As it is considerably smaller than Tuthmosis' original sarcophagus (E), it can only take his inner coffin. Even so, the interior of the sarcophagus has to be enlarged (in two stages) for this purpose.
- Tuthmosis' mummy, in its inner coffin, is transported from KV38 to KV20, together with most of his burial equipment. His middle and outer coffin though remain in KV38.
- A new sarcophagus is made for Hatshepsut: the cartouche shaped sarcophagus D. "In this she was probably buried beside her father, Tuthmosis I."<sup>107</sup>

(Winlock does not in any way refer to the limestone slabs, found in both KV20 and KV38.)

About Hatshepsut's motives, Winlock adds an acute observation:

It is amusing to note, however, that in spite of all her pious solicitude for her father's memory, Hatshepsut prepared a chapel for him much smaller than her own, just as she supplied him with her own cast-off sarcophagus which she, so to speak, had outgrown.<sup>108</sup>

To this, we may now add the observations from page 22 above: that she took for herself in the burial chamber of KV20 the primary position at the back of the room,

<sup>104</sup> Winlock adds to this: "Even if its [the mummies'] identification be questioned, the fact remains that all the men of the family were very short, and therefore we may assume that the length of the mummy of Tuthmosis I did not differ materially from this figure" (*JEA* 15, p. 63, n. 1.)

<sup>105</sup> *JEA* 15, p. 59-60.

<sup>106</sup> See the text from Deir el-Bahri, quoted on page 12 above.

<sup>107</sup> *JEA* 15, p. 67.

<sup>108</sup> *JEA* 15, p. 64.

and that she allotted to him only one side chamber, whereas she requisitioned two for herself.

One thing puzzles Winlock though:

Why she should feel it incumbent on herself to provide a new sarcophagus for her father - even though she wanted to move his body - is a point which requires a deeper insight into Egyptian motives than we possess.<sup>109</sup>

In hindsight, it is amazing how much of Winlock's meticulous work still stands, even when he is later shown wrong in the order in which Tuthmosis I's sarcophagi were made. Hayes really needed only to add that one new element to an already well thought-out package - for which he only reluctantly gives Winlock some credit (quoting in his Appendix Winlock's complete description of the alterations of sarcophagus C verbatim).

As the number of theories is to grow considerably, it seems best to summarize each theory's essentials in a table. This will help in identifying their new elements. The order of the columns in these tables corresponds with the presumed order in which the tombs were made. The arrows indicate the assumed movements of that "much travelled mummy" (as Romer puts it) of Tuthmosis I.

KV38	KV20
Ineni's tomb for Tuthmosis I, where he is buried in a set of wooden coffins in a stone sarcophagus (E).	
	Tomb of Hatshepsut, in which she is to be buried in sarcophagus C. The tomb is planned in conjunction with her mortuary temple on the other side of the mountain.
→	Sarcophagus C is altered for Tuthmosis I, and his mummy, in its innermost coffin, is transferred to KV20. For Hatshepsut, sarcophagus D is prepared.

Table 6 Theory # 1: Winlock

Compared to Carter, Winlock introduces a wealth of detail, but no fundamentally new view-points. I will nevertheless refer to Winlock's theory as Theory # 1, because Carter's materials in *DNC* are too vague and sketchy to be called a theory.

Blocks with Am Duat texts: unlike Carter, Winlock does not refer to them.

Actual burials in KV20: like Carter, Winlock assumes both Tuthmosis I and his daughter to have been buried here.

<sup>109</sup> *JEA* 15, p. 62. This remark is characteristic for Winlock's scholarly integrity. He could not quite fit this element into his theory, so he simply admitted that he didn't understand it. (See also his frankness in admitting to have overlooked Carter's observations concerning the changed names on sarcophagus C, as well as to having failed to notice these when he first examined the monument (*JEA* 15, p. 61, n. 1.) I dare say that Mr. Winlock was more of a gentleman than most Egyptologists - of either sex.

## 2. KV38 & KV20: from Hayes till the present

### 2.1. Hayes

In 1935, six years after the publication of Winlock's article just discussed, Hayes' study *Royal Sarcophagi of the XVIII Dynasty* was published. It brought an original view on matters, and has had a major influence ever since on how we look at events in the Valley of the Kings during the period here discussed. For all its conscientious attention for the smallest detail, it has however one aspect that should not be overlooked: it is deeply affected by Hayes' subjective interpretation of the relationship between Hatshepsut and Tuthmosis III. Take e.g. the following statement:

Tuthmosis III obtained supreme control over Egypt only after many years of humiliating subordination to Hatshepsut and only as a result of a long and bitter struggle against his royal aunt and against the capable members of her party.

As a result of which:

... he came to independent power with a loathing for Hatshepsut, her partisans, her monuments, her name, and her very memory which practically beggars description.<sup>110</sup>

According to Hayes, Hatshepsut had, even before the death of her husband Tuthmosis II, been eagerly awaiting an opportunity to take control of the country. Consequently, he places several of her actions as early in her reign as he possibly can. Likewise, he assumes that Tuthmosis III had been just as impatiently awaiting her disappearance to get to power. Hayes therefore expects Tuthmosis to have acted against her memory as early as he could. In this way, Hayes' perception of matters introduces an appreciable bias in his theories. As I've shown in the introduction to the previous chapter, events may have unfolded for completely different reasons, and much more gradually. There is evidence that of all people Senenmut, Hatshepsut's closest "partisan," still enjoyed the favor of Tuthmosis III for some time after her disappearance.<sup>111</sup> And the defacing of her monuments may have started as late as his 46<sup>th</sup> or 47<sup>th</sup> regnal year: 25 years after her disappearance.<sup>112</sup>

### The sarcophagi

Hayes examined a total of nine royal sarcophagi. To identify them, he labeled them, in what he believed to be their chronological order, A to I. The following table summarizes some of the characteristics of these sarcophagi:

#	Tomb	Owner (according to Hayes)	Length in cm <sup>113</sup>	Shape / material
A	WAD	Hatshepsut, as great royal wife of Tuthmosis II	197-199	Rectangular / yellow quartzite
B	KV42	Tuthmosis II	240.5	Rectangular / yellow quartzite
C	KV20	Hatshepsut as ruler, later altered for Tuthmosis I	222.5 <sup>114</sup>	Rectangular / yellow quartzite, painted red
D	KV20	Hatshepsut as ruler	245	Cartouche / yellow quartzite, painted red

<sup>110</sup> RS p. 138.

<sup>111</sup> Oxford p. 249, R/W p. 91.

<sup>112</sup> Oxford p. 248.

<sup>113</sup> Measurements from RS, Appendix I.

<sup>114</sup> As originally made. When found, it was 1.5 cm shorter: see page 31 above.

#	Tomb	Owner (according to Hayes)	Length in cm <sup>113</sup>	Shape / material
E	KV38	Thutmosis I (made by Tuthmosis III)	248.5	Cartouche / yellow quartzite, painted red
F	KV34	Tuthmosis III	236	Cartouche / yellow quartzite, painted red
G	KV35	Amenhotep II	246.5	Cartouche / yellow quartzite, painted red
H	KV43	Tuthmosis IV	300	Cartouche / yellow quartzite, painted red
I	KV22	Amenhotep III (of this sarcophagus, only the lid has been found)	300	Cartouche / red granite

Table 7 Royal sarcophagi of the 18th dynasty, according to Hayes

Of these sarcophagi, A is the only one not from the Valley of the Kings. It was discovered by Carter in a tomb in the area that Thomas refers to as “the Queens’ Cliffs,” west of the Valley.<sup>115</sup> Although this tomb was uninscribed, it could easily be identified by this sarcophagus, which was inscribed for:

The hereditary princess, great in favor and grace, mistress of all lands, daughter of a king, sister of the king, god’s wife, great royal wife, lady of the Two Lands, Hatshepsut.<sup>116</sup>

So this sarcophagus – and hence the tomb – was prepared for Hatshepsut while she still was Tuthmosis II’s great royal wife. Thomas later called this tomb WA D (tomb D from Wadi A) but it is now mostly referred to as Hatshepsut’s cliff tomb.

Sarcophagus B is a thorny subject, to be treated at a later occasion in conjunction with the tomb in which it was found: KV42. Sarcophagi G, H and I fall outside the scope of the current study.

Hayes’ principal conclusion was, that this series of sarcophagi was “extraordinarily homogeneous,” showing from beginning to end a definite development, which mainly consisted of a gradual increase in size, and a gradual rationalization and elaboration in form, decoration and texts.<sup>117</sup>

After the Middle Kingdom, the use of stone sarcophagi had disappeared completely. The kings of the 17<sup>th</sup> dynasty e.g. were all buried in anthropoid wooden coffins. Hayes now identified sarcophagus A as the first of the New Kingdom,<sup>118</sup> particularly because of its archaic appearance: it is an exact replica in stone of the rectangular wooden coffins of the Middle Kingdom,<sup>119</sup> 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,<sup>120</sup> to a more natural use of the stone.<sup>121</sup>

<sup>115</sup> Howard Carter, *A tomb prepared for queen Hatshepsut and other recent discoveries at Thebes*. JEA IV (1917), p. 107-118. (The account of this tomb is on pages 114-118).

<sup>116</sup> See Carter, *op. cit.*, p. 115.

<sup>117</sup> RS p. 3.

<sup>118</sup> There is a clear ideological reason why this can not possibly be true. No royal wife, great or not, was to have something for her burial that her lord would not have. If for Hatshepsut, still in her position of Tuthmosis II’s great royal wife, a stone sarcophagus was made, then surely also one for his majesty. And that one would have been prepared *before* the one for his spouse: first things first!

<sup>119</sup> This illustrates the conscious harking back of the Theban early New Kingdom to the models of the Middle Kingdom – completely ignoring (if not rejecting) the local traditions of the preceding 17<sup>th</sup> dynasty.

<sup>120</sup> For other examples of mimetic ornamentation in ancient Egyptian architecture, see *Building in stone in Ancient Egypt, part 1: Columns and pillars* on [www.egyptology.nl](http://www.egyptology.nl), paragraph 1.2.

<sup>121</sup> 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).

Winlock had already concluded that the adjustment of sarcophagus C for its new occupant had occurred in two stages: when the original enlarging of the interior was found to have been insufficient, a further extending – and redecorating – was carried out. The first alteration was performed with all the skills one would expect in a royal project, but the second was done in a surprisingly crude manner.

Hayes now concluded that the original, careful revamping had taken place in an environment that did not interfere with the quality of the work: in a decently equipped workshop, before the sarcophagus went underground – while the second was done under unfavorable working conditions: inside the sarcophagus chamber, where the problem was only discovered when one attempted to insert Tuthmosis' coffin into the sarcophagus.<sup>122</sup>

This seems to make sense. We don't know for sure how the Egyptians brought a king's mummy into the tomb, but I don't think they did it in a stone sarcophagus. Bringing in such a large and heavy, bulky block of stone can hardly have provided the solemn undertaking that a funerary ritual should be; it involved more likely a lot of hissing, grunting and cursing. No, it seems a lot more likely that the sarcophagus was brought in empty, well before the funeral, and that the mummy was brought in, in its innermost coffin. So only when Tuthmosis I's mummy finally arrived in KV20's burial chamber, was it discovered that the inside of the sarcophagus was just a wee bit too small to take the coffin. It had to be enlarged, right then and there in the deep, dark tomb, where oxygen was scarce - which explains why this part of the job was done on an appreciably lower standard than usual.

It was with Tuthmosis I's sarcophagus from KV38 (E), that Hayes achieved a major breakthrough. He came to the conclusion that it was, in text and decoration, almost identical to Tuthmosis III's sarcophagus in his own tomb, KV34 (F). The similarities – which include a host of details in the spelling of the texts – are such, that in his opinion, the two have to be contemporary: made in the same workshop, by the same team. This led him to re-interpret the two dedicatory inscriptions on the sarcophagus. The first of these is carved along the top of the left side of the sarcophagus (on the outside):

It was his son who caused his name to live by preparing the monument of his father, for all eternity.<sup>123</sup>

And the second is on the top edge of the same wall (where it would be hidden under the closed lid):

It was his son who caused his name to live and made for him this excellent monument, for all eternity.<sup>124</sup>

Tuthmosis I had ruled for at least 10 years:<sup>125</sup> quite enough to gather a complete set of funerary trappings. Tuthmosis II would simply have supervised a funeral for which his father amply provided, including – if one had been made – a finished sarcophagus.<sup>126</sup> Hayes now concluded that sarcophagus E had been specially prepared on

<sup>122</sup> RS p. 148.

<sup>123</sup> The difference between this translation and that of Winlock (quoted on page 30 above) provides an illustrative example of one of the many difficulties in translating ancient Egyptian texts. Winlock has “making excellent the monument of his father,” while Hayes has: “preparing the monument of his father.” The original has a verb (*smnh*) which may have a variety of meanings (see Faulkner's *Dictionary*, p. 225). Winlock's translation is literal, but arguable academic. Hayes' translation is more freely, but arguably too much so, and too mundane. I would favor: “embellishing the monument of his father.” On the other hand: Winlock's is the only translation that does justice to the pun – if intended – with the word “excellent” in the second text.

<sup>124</sup> RS p. 109. Note that these translations differ slightly, but not materially, from those by Winlock, given on page 30 above.

<sup>125</sup> *Chronologie* p. 121-123.

<sup>126</sup> Although it was not unusual for a king's son to donate some items to his father's funeral - or at least pretend to have done so by adding a dedicatory inscription to an existing piece: see the stone vases in KV20 and KV38 - this practice was limited to lesser (non-essential) items. As every other surviving royal

orders of Tuthmosis III for a reburial of his grandfather in KV38, and that here, “son” did not refer to Tuthmosis II, but to the 3<sup>rd</sup> of that name. The fact that Tuthmosis III was actually the *grandson* of Tuthmosis I does not present a problem: the term “father” was regularly used in a broader sense, as “forefather”, so a “son” could be any descendant. There are more texts known, in which Tuthmosis III calls himself a son of Tuthmosis I.<sup>127</sup>

Hayes gave special attention to the position of the lids of the various sarcophagi. He noted that in most cases, the lid was found beside the sarcophagus, parallel to it, bottom-up: the result of a forced, straightforward removal, without any concern for damage to either box or lid – in short: by thieves. Inversely, Hayes concluded that finding a sarcophagus’ lid in this position means that it once held a burial.<sup>128</sup> In no less than four cases however, the lid was *not* found in the “robbed-position”. Two of these<sup>129</sup> are the sarcophagi in KV20.

- The lid of sarcophagus C (the one altered for Tuthmosis I), was found leaning against the wall of the burial chamber (see Fig. 4 on page 22 above). If, as Hayes believes, the mummy of Tuthmosis I was, on the orders of his grandson transferred from this sarcophagus to KV38, such a work would no doubt have been undertaken with the utmost care and piety. Carefully placing the lid against the wall would certainly fit well in such a scenario. (But note that this position of the lid would also allow the conclusion that the sarcophagus was never used. In fact, Thomas will later favor this interpretation.)
- The lid of sarcophagus D (the third and last made for Hatshepsut), was found on the floor, not beside the box but in line with it, bottom-up. Hayes assumes that the workmen left it in this position, after bringing it into the burial chamber, “which, if correct, infers that the sarcophagus never contained a burial.”<sup>130</sup>

In Carter’s unpublished notes, now at the Griffith Institute, there is a plan of KV20 made by Émile Baraize. It has been reproduced by Thomas in *RN* (Fig. 10 on p. 86), by Johnson in *No one seeing* (p. 73), and below as Fig. 6.<sup>131</sup>

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sarcophagus demonstrates, these objects were always made on orders of the deceased himself. They were moreover in nearly every case finished, even if the tomb itself was not. This suggests that the sarcophagus was among the first objects of the funeral equipment to be commissioned.

<sup>127</sup> *RS* p. 139. Kurt Sethe devised an enormously complex “reconstruction” of the history of this period, based on a literal interpretation of these texts. Breasted followed this model in his *History of Egypt* (1905), but it is now largely forgotten. It is typical for the career of the great Sethe, which was characterized by major ups and downs; his work on the Pyramid Texts e.g. is one of the finest achievements ever in Egyptology, but in this dossier he really dropped a brick.

<sup>128</sup> But see the example of the sarcophagus of king Sekhemkhet (3<sup>rd</sup> dynasty), found by Zakaria Go-neim. To the excavator’s utter frustration, this sarcophagus was, although closed, quite empty.

<sup>129</sup> The others are A and B. A was certainly never used, B probably not.

<sup>130</sup> *RS* p. 12.

<sup>131</sup> Thomas’ reference to the origin of this plan is: GI I. G. 74f. (*RN*, n. 72 on p. 98).

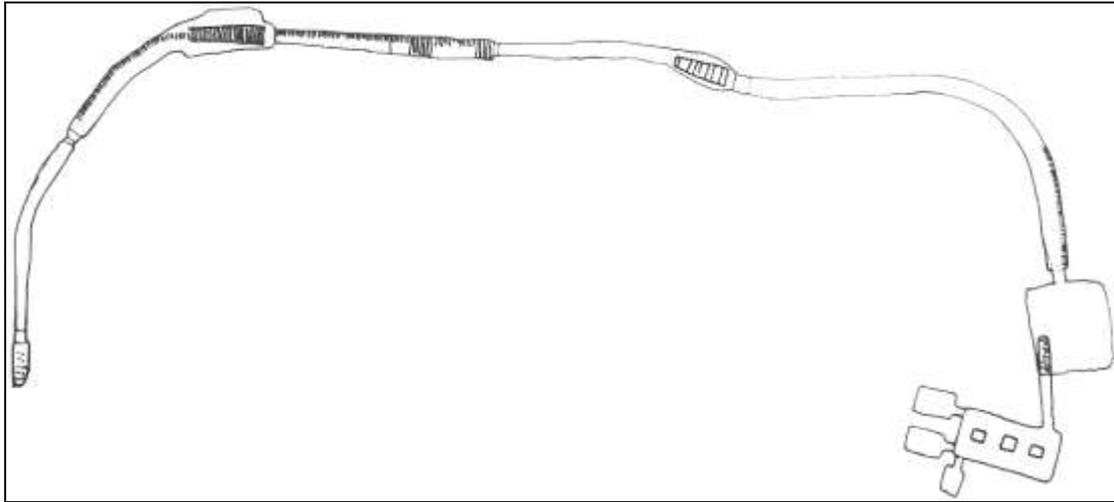


Fig. 6 KV20 according to Baraize (reproduced from RN)

Baraize gives a separate, detailed plan of the burial chamber: see Fig. 7 below. It differs from Carter's plan in that it shows the lid of sarcophagus D turned around 180°: with its rounded head end towards the head end of the box. If the lid had been removed from the box, it would have been all but impossible to put it down like this.

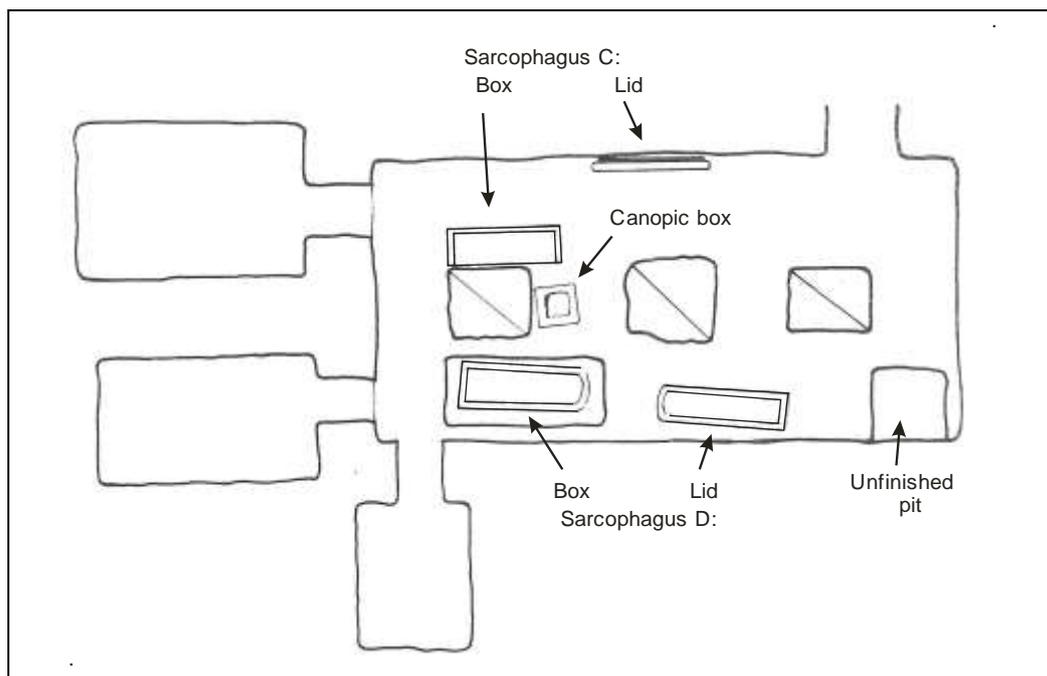


Fig. 7 The sarcophagus chamber in KV20, according to Baraize (reproduced from RN)

The three rectangles with an oblique line are the three pillars. The box of sarcophagus C lies against a pillar, on its side, with its opening towards the pillar.<sup>132</sup> The box of sarcophagus D is placed in a roughly cut sarcophagus pit.

Hayes also elaborates on Winlock's observations concerning the relationship of KV20 and Hatshepsut's mortuary temple at Deir el-Bahri.<sup>133</sup> He remarks that of the hundreds of scarabs that filled the foundation deposits of this temple, two carried the

<sup>132</sup> This may have come about when treasure hunters later turned it over to check if something was hidden underneath.

<sup>133</sup> See page 32 above.

name of Tuthmosis I.<sup>134</sup> According to Hayes, this proves that Hatshepsut intended, right from the start, to include a shrine for her father in this temple:

But, as two scarabs with the name of Tuthmosis I found in the foundation deposits of the temple clearly indicate, the erection of the chapel [for Tuthmosis I] must have been already planned at the time the temple was founded.<sup>135</sup>

Because of the obvious link between the temple and KV20, this in turn means to Hayes that the transfer of his burial into her tomb also was part of the original plan. Hayes shares Carter's views on the limestone slabs, found in KV20:

The slabs inscribed with citations and scenes from the Book of Am Duat seem certainly to have been intended to adorn the walls of the sepulchral hall, since this identical decoration was used in both the halls of Tuthmosis I [KV38] and Tuthmosis III [KV34], as well as in most of the early royal tombs.<sup>136</sup>

Concerning KV38, Hayes doesn't have a doubt:

The tomb of Tuthmosis I contained not only a sarcophagus and canopic box of that king, but also a fragmentary stone vase bearing his name. His ownership of the tomb has never been doubted and the identification seems certain.<sup>137</sup>

We can summarize Hayes' theory as follows.

- KV38 is the tomb that Ineni prepared for Tuthmosis I.
- Tuthmosis I is buried there in a set of three wooden coffins, without a stone sarcophagus.
- After the demise of Tuthmosis II, his great royal wife Hatshepsut takes for herself the crown as soon as she possibly can. Immediately upon this, she commissions her mortuary temple at Deir el-Bahri, as well as her tomb KV20, both as part of one overall design.
- It is her intention, right from the start, to incorporate in her mortuary temple at Deir el-Bahri a shrine for her father, *and* to transfer his burial into her own tomb.
- Sarcophagus C is commissioned to replace Hatshepsut's earlier one (sarcophagus A) which still bore her titles as great royal wife, and which is left in her tomb in the Queens' Cliffs: tomb WA D.
- She then decides that her devoted father should have a stone sarcophagus, too. Sarcophagus C, already inscribed for her, is therefore re-cut for him. Its interior is enlarged so that it can hold his inner wooden coffin.  
*(When one lists the various steps of Hayes' theory this way, one immediately senses a strain at this point: this would have been an incredibly fast change of plan).*
- Tuthmosis' mummy, in its inner coffin, is transported from KV38 to KV20, together with most of his burial equipment. His middle and outer coffin though remain in KV38.
- Upon arrival in KV20 it is discovered that the enlargement of C's interior still falls a bit short of allowing the introduction of Tuthmosis' coffin. It is therefore hastily enlarged (and redecorated) once more on head and foot end.
- A new sarcophagus is then made for Hatshepsut: cartouche shaped sarcophagus D. It is however never used, as is shown by the position in which its lid was found: Hatshepsut was never buried in KV20.
- Immediately after her disappearance, Tuthmosis III rushes in to bring his grandfather back into his original tomb, KV38. His workforce cautiously removes him from Hatshepsut's sarcophagus, carefully placing its lid against the wall.

<sup>134</sup> See the website of the Metropolitan Museum of Art in New York for a considerable number of photographs of these scarabs ([www.metmuseum.org](http://www.metmuseum.org)).

<sup>135</sup> RS p. 147.

<sup>136</sup> RS p. 21.

<sup>137</sup> RS p. 6.

- Obviously, Tuthmosis III can do no less than his cursed stepmother, so he too has a stone sarcophagus commissioned for the old man - and this time a brand new one, too (E). So urgent is this matter, that providing for his own sarcophagus (F) is postponed until his grandfather is decently re-buried.<sup>138</sup>

KV38	KV20
Ineni's tomb for Tuthmosis I, where he is buried in a set of wooden coffins.	
	Tomb of Hatshepsut, in which she is to be buried in sarcophagus C. The tomb is planned in conjunction with her mortuary temple on the other side of the mountain, and both are – from the start – planned for her as well as her father.
→	Sarcophagus C is altered for Tuthmosis I, and his mummy, in its innermost coffin, is transferred to KV20. For Hatshepsut, sarcophagus D is prepared.
Tuthmosis III commissions a new sarcophagus: E. He brings his grandfather back to KV38, where he is now buried, with his original set of wooden coffins, in this sarcophagus.	←

Table 8 Theory # 2: Hayes

So Hayes introduces three new elements in the theory:

- Tuthmosis I's burial is moved not once (from 38 to 20, by Hatshepsut) but twice (later back again to 38, by Tuthmosis III).
- Sarcophagus E (for Tuthmosis I, in KV38) is made on the orders of Tuthmosis III.
- And Hatshepsut is never actually buried in KV20.

Blocks with Am Duat texts: Hayes mentions their presence in both KV20 and KV38, but does not speculate about transport of (some of) these in either direction.<sup>139</sup>

Actual burials in KV20: only Tuthmosis I.

### Comments to Hayes: sarcophagi C and D

Hayes' ideas about when sarcophagus C was re-cut for Hatshepsut's father, and when D was made, are not convincing.

In ancient Egypt, "taking care of Number One" was always taking care of the king. And that was not just his majesty's priority: it was the genuinely and deeply felt priority of the entire nation. Everyone perfectly knew, that Egypt depended for her prosperity and wellbeing on the king's life to follow a ritually impeccable course, up to and including his funeral. There was never any time to waste, when the requirements for the king's proper burial were at stake: that is why preparations for it began immediately upon his coronation. Re-doing sarcophagus C, while D had not yet been made (as Hayes assumes), would have amounted to a reckless gamble. If D would not have been ready in time, Hatshepsut, king of Egypt, would have had to face death sub-standardly equipped. There could be no conceivable reason why any king would have accepted such a risk. (That she was no so infatuated with her father as to lose all control is adequately demonstrated by the fact that she did not overspend on his mortuary chapel: see Winlock's remarks quoted on page 33 above.)

<sup>138</sup> RS p. 151, cited on page 43 below.

<sup>139</sup> RS p. 21.

With respect to the decoration of C and D, Hayes can point out a great number of parallels. These are however confined to the texts, and details of the design of the decoration.<sup>140</sup> Before commencing such a task, a plan was no doubt made on papyrus. If for D, the original plans of C were re-used, this would fully explain these similarities. With respect to form however, C and D differ considerably. D is larger, better proportioned, and it has a brand new format: the cartouche shape. These aspects suggest the passing of considerable time between the manufacture of these monuments.

It therefore seems more likely to me, that matters developed as follows:

- After the completion of sarcophagus C, several years passed in which no change of plan was considered. The sarcophagus remained all that time above ground, ready to be lowered into KV20 when the time had come.
- Then, a new concept for a sarcophagus was formulated: grander, and in the shape of a cartouche. Sarcophagus D was commissioned; for texts and decoration, use was made of the original plans for C. Both sarcophagi remained in store.
- Only *then*, the plan was conceived of transferring Tuthmosis I's burial into Hatshepsut's tomb, KV20. At that point, it was remembered that her old sarco was still in stock, and it was decided that this offered a great opportunity to upgrade – with little expense – Tuthmosis' burial with a stone sarcophagus. Only *then* was C altered for him.

The one clue that to Hayes signifies that Hatshepsut meant from the start to incorporate in her mortuary temple a shrine for her father – the two (!) scarabs in his name<sup>141</sup> – is way too weak to carry such a conclusion. The name of any royal forefather was always considered a powerful talisman, so adding a few of such items to the foundation deposits would simply have been regarded as a measure to further strengthen their effectiveness.

The position in which D's lid was found does suggest that this sarcophagus was never used, but there is also another, ideological reason why a kingly burial for Hatshepsut, in KV20, is most unlikely.

We do not know whether Tuthmosis III's taking over corresponded with her death (either as cause or effect), but her burial would in any event have presented a problem. She had assumed the position of a king, and prepared for herself a king's burial: complete with a fine stone sarcophagus, that proudly heralded her kingly status. But a king had to be buried by his son, who would supervise the rites that would transform his father into a new "compound god": Osiris-NN.<sup>142</sup> This would make the son automatically Horus, Osiris' heir, thereby legitimizing his kingship before the gods. No matter what Tuthmosis' feelings may have been towards his aunt, this would surely have been a bridge too far. It would have meant that he had to give up, in retrospect, the first twenty or so years of his reign, and renounce his real father, supplanting him with her. It therefore seems most unlikely, that he granted her a formal burial as king of Egypt. And if Hatshepsut still lived for some time after Tuthmosis had taken over, then such a happening would have become even less likely. With Hatshepsut already for some time retired, there would have been no conceivable reason why she should be buried as a king.

KV20 may therefore well have served for some time as Tuthmosis I's tomb – but with an empty sarcophagus, inscribed for Hatshepsut, alongside his.

<sup>140</sup> RS p. 99-102.

<sup>141</sup> RS p. 147.

<sup>142</sup> It is my conviction that we should understand the compound name Osiris-NN the same way as e.g. Amun-Re or Re-Atum: that of a compound or "syncretic" god. The deceased became a god, without losing his own identity, but his appearance was modeled on that of Osiris: the supreme god of the Afterlife.

*This conclusion requires us to explain the presence of vase #8 in KV20: see page 27 above. The text on that vase clearly makes it an item from Hatshepsut's burial. Perhaps she felt her end approaching, and ordered her sarcophagus to be lowered into the burial chamber, and the tomb to be stocked – at least partially. Several later tombs show evidence that the side chambers of the burial chamber were pre-stocked and sealed behind a layer of plaster, before the decoration of the burial chamber's walls was completed.<sup>143</sup> This may have been a ploy to hide the presence of these side chambers. (It may also explain the presence of indents in the plaster on the walls of the burial chamber of KV34 (Tuthmosis III). These were made by objects from the inventory that were smashed against the walls.<sup>144</sup> Rather than simple vandalism, this may have been meant to locate the side chambers – given away by a hollow sound on impact.)*

### Comments to Hayes: sarcophagi E and F

Hayes quite emphatically puts the sarcophagus, made by Tuthmosis III for his grandfather (E), before the one he ordered for himself (F). This seems again (as was the case with Hatshepsut's two sarcophagi) an unlikely order of events. No matter how much a king respected, or even revered his grandfather, it was his most solemn duty against his people and the gods to prepare for a proper burial for himself first – for the current king's burial was a vital link in the continuously repeating cycle of king to king on which the nation's fortune and happiness depended.

Hayes formulates his point of view as follows:

The completion of Sarcophagus E was the more pressing task and this sarcophagus, as its form and decoration indicate, appears to have been finished before its mate [F].<sup>145</sup>

Exactly 99 pages earlier in the same study, Hayes has already summed up the differences between E and F in form:

- E is a bit longer;
- the curve of E's head end is not, as that of F, semicircular, but a flattened curve;
- and the profile of the upper surface of the lid of E curves down at the foot end as well as the head end, while that of F only curves down at the head end.

Hayes then adds:

None of these points of divergence are, however, of the slightest importance in determining the relative date of the monument.<sup>146</sup>

He points at the very large size of Tuthmosis I's outer coffin, which required an extra long sarcophagus. He does not go into the flattened curve of E's head end, but this may well have been caused by the same reason: if this end were to have been semicircular, the box would have had to be longer still. And the shape of the foot end of the lid was never settled definitively during all of this series: it is the most variable element of the sarcophagi. Hayes is right: these matters tell us nothing about the order in which these monuments were made.

So, with "form" gone as possible indicator, what can "decoration" reveal?

Pages 104 to 113 of *RS* are devoted to the decoration of these two sarcophagi. His analysis shows that the two are remarkably alike. In fact, there is hardly a difference at all. The parallels, including certain peculiarities of writing, are such, that Hayes feels confident that these two monuments were made in the same workshop, by the same artisans, within a very short period of each other.

The following table lists the major differences: one of the exterior, and two on the interior.

<sup>143</sup> So e.g. KV34 (Tuthmosis III), and KV14 (Tawesert/Sethnakht). The evidence consists of the decoration that once continued right across the sealed doors of these side chambers.

<sup>144</sup> *RVK*, p. 200.

<sup>145</sup> *RS* p. 151. Underlining by me.

<sup>146</sup> *RS* p. 52.

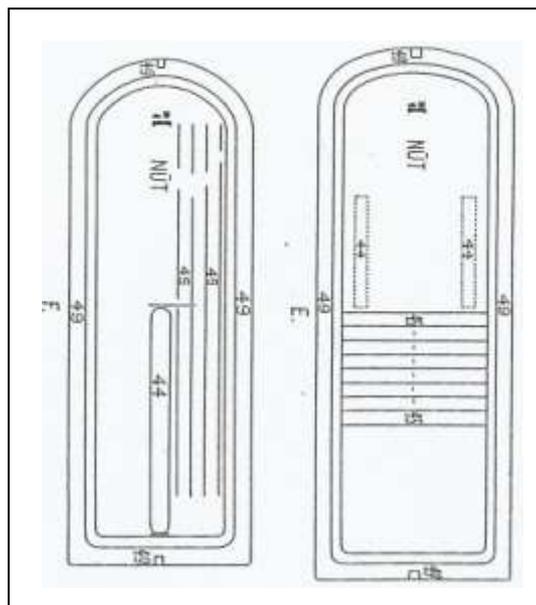
Sarcophagus F, for Tuthmosis III	Sarcophagus E, for Tuthmosis I
The texts on the under side of the lid are a-symmetrically arranged.	The texts on the under side of the lid are symmetrically arranged.
Anubis “who presides over the divine booth” was originally planned on the exterior’s right side, while Anubis “who belongs to the wrappings” would be on the left side. Later, the names of the two figures were swapped. <sup>147</sup>	Anubis “who presides over the divine booth” is on the exterior’s left side, while Anubis “who belongs to the wrappings” is on the right side (as on F after correction.)
On the bottom, three texts appear: speeches by the king.	On the bottom, one text appears: a speech by Geb.

*Table 9 The main differences in decoration between sarcophagi F and E (As I believe F to predate E, I will from here on list F before E.)*

According to Hayes, the distribution of texts on the underside of the lid of F, is:

...from a compositional point of view, (..) a distinct improvement over that employed on Sarcophagus E.

From a modern viewpoint, this is a defensible position. But the ancient Egyptians, being an itchy-bitsy pre-modern, had very different ideas about esthetics. The following drawing is part of Plate XIX of *RS*:



*Fig. 8 The underside of the lids of sarcophagi F and E (from Plate XIX in RS)*

The word “Nut” indicates where on each lid the goddess Nut is depicted: standing upright, with her arms spread out sideways. On F, text 44 is written in a single column under Nut – as was the case on sarcophagi C and D. Text 45 appears to be added later, as an afterthought. (It is the very first time that text 45 appears on these sarcophagi.) It is not only placed asymmetrically – unusual for the ancient Egyptians – but it also crosses Nut’s left arm (as indicated by the gaps in the lines of text 45.) On E, text 44 is divided over two columns on either side of Nut, under her arms, and text 45 is now written right across the middle of the lid in eight horizontal lines. So the composition of E, although a bit formal to a modern mind, adheres more closely to the ancient Egyptian ideas about art. Where F appears to be the outcome of improvi-

<sup>147</sup> For more on these and other epithets of Anubis, see the chapter devoted to this god in “Magic and religion in ancient Egypt, Part 2: 81 gods” on [www.egyptology.nl](http://www.egyptology.nl).

sation, E is clearly the result of planning. I would say that this points to E being of later date than F.

From C till H, the two forms of Anubis appear on all the sarcophagi – but not always on the same side:

	Right (west) side	Left (east) side
C (Hatshepsut → Tuthmosis I)	Anubis “who presides over the divine booth”	Anubis “who belongs to the wrappings”
D (Hatshepsut)	Anubis “who presides over the divine booth”	Anubis “who belongs to the wrappings”
F (Tuthmosis III)	Anubis “who belongs to the wrappings” (after correction)	Anubis “who presides over the divine booth” (after correction)
E (Tuthmosis III → Tuthmosis I)	Anubis “who belongs to the wrappings”	Anubis “who presides over the divine booth”
G (Amenhotep II)	Anubis “who presides over the divine booth”	Anubis “who belongs to the wrappings”
H (Tuthmosis IV)	Anubis “who presides over the divine booth”	Anubis “who belongs to the wrappings”

Table 10 The distribution of Anubis forms on sarcophagi C till H

As you can see, only F and E differ from the others. It seems that originally, the layout as used till then – on sarcophagi C and D – was also applied to F, but then changed. When shortly afterwards E was made, the new layout scheme was immediately applied. So this again points to F predating E.

The third difference regards the texts on the bottom of the sarcophagi. On sarcophagi C to F, the goddess Nut is carved on the bottom – as on the upper and under side of the lid. The accompanying texts on the bottom differ however:

C	D	F	E
Text 54	Text 54	Texts 55, 56, 57	Text 54

Table 11 Texts on the bottom of sarcophagi C to F

Text 54 is a speech by Geb, spouse of Nut. Texts 55 till 57 are speeches by the king. Geb being a god of the earth, a speech by him on the bottom of the sarcophagus makes sense. On the other hand, a speech by Geb accompanying the figure of Nut is a bit odd. Hayes, who believes E to predate F, comments as follows:

Text 54 – the speech by Geb written on the floors of Sarcophagi C, D and E – no longer appears [in F]. Its elimination is probably due to the fact that, even while laying it out on the floor of Sarcophagus E, the designer saw the incongruity of having a speech by Geb accompanying a figure of Nut.<sup>148</sup>

This reasoning definitely makes sense – at least from a modern perspective. It is most unfortunate that the Egyptians chose not to inscribe the bottom of their royal sarcophagi *after* E and F: it would have been interesting to see what happened later on. Perhaps in sarcophagus E, the “modernism” of F was quickly discarded again, to return to the safe haven of tradition.

It seems then that two of the three indicators point in a direction, opposite to the one that Hayes advocates, while the third is uncertain. I’d therefore rather stick to what, from the perspective of the ancient Egyptians, was the most logical procedure: first a

<sup>148</sup> RS p. 112.

sarcophagus for the ruling king (F, for Tuthmosis III) and only then one for his forefather (E, for Tuthmosis I).

Let's go back for a minute to Hayes' conclusion about KV38, quoted on page 40 above:

The tomb of Tuthmosis I contained not only a sarcophagus and canopic box of that king, but also a fragmentary stone vase bearing his name. His ownership of the tomb has never been doubted and the identification seems certain.<sup>149</sup>

Hayes makes this straightforward statement at the very beginning of his study, when his extensive analysis of sarcophagus E is still to come. What he fails to see is, that precisely his analysis of E eliminates most of the reasons for this attribution of KV38 to Tuthmosis I. It will be Romer who sees through this.

Notwithstanding all the criticism that can be raised against Hayes' reasonings, he certainly has made a lasting contribution to our understanding of this period. His notion that Tuthmosis I's burial was transferred by his grandson (at some point in time) from KV20 to KV38, where his mummy was then re-buried in a new sarcophagus, custom-built for him, now seems assured beyond a reasonable doubt.

## 2.2. Thomas

### KV38

In the 1960's, Thomas, like Hayes, believes KV38 to have been the original tomb of Tuthmosis I, "and quite possibly the first excavated here [in the Valley of the Kings]".<sup>150</sup> She bases her opinion on the inscriptional evidence – which only exhibits the cartouches of Tuthmosis I – and on the tomb's typological characteristics. She sees in this tomb the first beginnings of the coming evolution of the royal tombs of the Valley:

... here the royal form is established in detail for the first three elements and in essence for the sarcophagus hall: two steep sunken stairways - the second in the floor of a small room - that are connected by a less severely sloping corridor; a large burial hall - of cartouche form as again in KV34 and 42 only - provided with a small storeroom at the foot of the sarcophagus.<sup>151</sup>

Thomas furthermore follows Hayes in his dating of sarcophagus E to the reign of Tuthmosis III.

Although Thomas believes that Hatshepsut intended to rebury her father in KV20, she doubts if it ever got that far. As mentioned before, one of the finds in KV38 consisted of two limestone slabs, inscribed with texts from the Am Duat, of the same type as found in KV20. Like Carter before her, she believes the blocks in both tombs to have belonged to Tuthmosis I's original burial, in KV38.<sup>152</sup> Since two of these blocks still remained in KV38, she assumes that work on the transfer of Tuthmosis' burial was never completed. In that case, the king's mummy probably never left KV38:

(...) surely his mummy would have remained in 38 until the hall of 20 was fully lined [with the limestone blocks] and completed; for honor could scarcely have been paid Thutmose by working near a sarcophagus actually holding his body.<sup>153</sup>

<sup>149</sup> RS p. 6.

<sup>150</sup> RN p. 71.

<sup>151</sup> RN p. 71-72, underlining by me. See also page 22 above about the three side chambers of KV20.

<sup>152</sup> See Carter's remark in his unpublished notes, quoted on page 25 above.

<sup>153</sup> RN p. 72.

She finds the presence of limestone blocks in KV38, with portions of the Am Duat, enigmatic though: why have blocks like these at all, when the walls themselves were plastered, and would have been inscribed? Thomas proposes that the inscribed blocks may have been meant to decorate a lower portion of the walls, while the higher parts were meant to be decorated on the plaster.<sup>154</sup>

## KV20

To Thomas, Carter's "Chamber 3" was a precursor of the pillared hall F of the later standard royal tomb lay-out.<sup>155</sup> She refers to it as "a potential pillared hall":

(..) the tomb is a rather natural development, perhaps twice removed, from that of Thutmose I [KV38]: a potential pillared hall was added and two storerooms.<sup>156</sup>

Thomas discusses a square depression in a corner of the burial chamber's floor, against the back wall (see Fig. 7 on page 39 above, marked there as "unfinished pit"). She believes that this was an unfinished sarcophagus pit, intended for the sarcophagus of Tuthmosis I. This would indicate that his sarcophagus was never put in its intended final position:

... and thus never made ready for the actual entombment of Thutmose. It seems odd that [his sarcophagus] would have been introduced before its place was fully prepared, unless it was in the hall before a plinth for it was conceived.<sup>157</sup>

She recapitulates as follows:

Now it seems likely that KV38 blocks were in process of transfer to 20, with furniture of Thutmose; that the Hatshepsut hall was not completed for his reburial; that neither she nor her father was ever interred here in fact – unless Carter's "ancient filling"<sup>158</sup> is a definite contraindication.<sup>159</sup>

Thomas' last remark is a bit cryptic - as is not unusual for her. She probably means that the "ancient filling" may have consisted of remains of the original burial(s). So although Thomas takes care not to commit herself, she is inclined to believe that no-one was ever buried in KV20 – which is one further down the road than Hayes, who assumed that only Hatshepsut never made it into her prepared sarcophagus.

Apart from her doubts concerning Tuthmosis' burial in KV20, her theory is basically that of Hayes.

## Comments to Thomas

If we follow Thomas' suggestion that the depression in the burial chamber's floor was the onset for a sarcophagus pit for Tuthmosis I, then both sarcophagi would have been meant to be placed in the rear of the room, against the back wall. Although not per se impossible, this would make it difficult to explain the three side chambers. The hypothesis offered on page 22 above lends considerable weight to the idea that the sarcophagi were found more or less in their intended positions – as Carter believed.<sup>160</sup>

The discovery in KV20 of movables from a burial, such as fragments of stone vessels and the head and feet of a large, wooden statue, indicate that preparations for the

<sup>154</sup> RN p. 72. She seems unaware of the fragments of inscribed plaster that were also found in this tomb: see page 15 above.

<sup>155</sup> See "Appendix 1: Thomas' standard room designations" on page 88 below.

<sup>156</sup> RN p. 75.

<sup>157</sup> RN p. 76.

<sup>158</sup> See Carter's remarks on page 21 above.

<sup>159</sup> RN p. 76.

<sup>160</sup> RN p. 76. (Thomas, quoting from Carter's unpublished notes.)

burial of at least *one* person had progressed very far. In view of the utter unattractiveness of the tomb, secondary use seems unlikely, and no-one has ever reported any intrusive objects in KV20. We already saw (on page 37 above), that the second enlargement of the interior of sarcophagus C was executed crudely and hastily: in all likelihood inside KV20's sarcophagus chamber, upon the arrival of Tuthmosis I's mummy in his inner coffin. If this be correct, Tuthmosis I's mummy actually reached KV20's sarcophagus chamber, which makes it very likely that he was in effect reburied there by his daughter – as Hayes thought all along.

## 2.3. Romer

In the 1960's, John Romer re-examined both KV20 and KV38.<sup>161</sup> He did with these tombs what Hayes had done with their sarcophagi: *look* at them, with an open mind, and let the monuments speak for themselves. Although the theory that he based on his observations is in several respects deficient, many of the observations themselves are invaluable.

### 2.3.1. Romer's theory: introduction

In KV20, Romer found clues that led him to believe the tomb was built in two phases. In his opinion, what Carter had called the 3<sup>rd</sup> chamber (Thomas' "potential pillared hall") was the burial chamber of phase 1. He believed that only in a later stage, a descent was cut in the floor of this room, followed by a corridor leading to a new burial chamber.

In the standard tomb nomenclature proposed by Thomas,<sup>162</sup> a burial chamber is referred to with the letter J. Carter's 3<sup>rd</sup> chamber is therefore by Romer referred to as J1, and the final burial chamber as J2. (The Theban Mapping Project adopted Romer's theory, and uses these designations on its plan of the tomb.)

With respect to KV38, Romer concluded that this tomb was *not* constructed by Tuthmosis I, but by Tuthmosis III – expressly for the reburial of his grandfather.

From these two conclusions, Romer forged an amazing new theory. In his opinion, the first phase of KV20 was the tomb, constructed by Ineni for Tuthmosis I, where the latter was buried in J1. Later, Tuthmosis' daughter Hatshepsut re-opened this tomb, and added a new burial chamber (J2), where she planned to be buried together with her father. Romer believes this last work was carried out in haste, presumably towards the end of Hatshepsut's reign. After Hatshepsut's disappearance, Tuthmosis III commissioned not only a new sarcophagus, but also a brand new tomb for his grandfather: KV38. A transfer of the inscribed limestone blocks from KV20 to KV38 was also part of the plan, but not all of these blocks were actually moved: some stayed behind in KV20.

Romer's is not a comprehensive theory; it primarily deals with matters of architecture and construction, largely ignoring the sarcophagi, and the organizational aspects of the burials. He shows himself e.g. undecided on the question of who was in the end actually buried in KV20, merely referring to Hayes: "but there are indications that this projected joint burial never took place."<sup>163</sup> Likewise, he rather lamely repeats Hayes' conclusions about the sarcophagi.<sup>164</sup>

We can summarize this theory as follows in the now familiar format:

<sup>161</sup> This section is primarily based on Romer's article *Tuthmosis I and the Biban el-Moluk: some problems of attribution*, here referred to as *JEA 60*.

<sup>162</sup> See "Appendix 1: Thomas' standard room designations" on page 88 below.

<sup>163</sup> *JEA 60*, p. 127: referring to *RS* p. 12.

<sup>164</sup> *JEA 60*, p. 127.

KV20	KV38
KV20 is built in two phases. Phase 1, until burial chamber J1, is Ineni's tomb for Tuthmosis I, where he is buried in a set of wooden coffins.	
↓	
	After the disappearance of Hatshepsut, Tuthmosis III has KV38 newly constructed for Tuthmosis I, where he reburies him in a new sarcophagus: E.

Table 12 Theory # 3: Romer

Note that here, the order of the two tombs is reversed: in Romer's opinion, KV20 is older than KV38.

Note furthermore that Romer agrees with Hayes in that the last transfer of Tuthmosis I's burial is from 20 to 38. In Hayes' opinion however, this was a transfer back to Tuthmosis I's original tomb, whereas Romer believes that Tuthmosis III had this tomb newly made for the occasion.

Main new elements:

- KV20 was built in two phases: until J1 by Tuthmosis I, the rest by Hatshepsut.
- KV38 was built by Tuthmosis III.

Blocks with Am Duat texts: according to Romer, those in KV38 probably originated from KV20.<sup>165</sup>

Actual burials in KV20: Romer only offers a vague reference to Hayes, who believed that only Tuthmosis I was actually buried in KV20.

### 2.3.2. Intermezzo: The plan of KV20

Before examining Romer's theory in detail, we will have another look at KV20's plan. This plan has puzzled anyone who studies the evolution of the royal tombs in the Valley of the Kings. With its extremely long, irregularly curving corridors, it's definitely a one-of-a-kind. Some have compared it with an underground structure of king Ahmose at Abydos, because that also follows a curved trajectory. There is however one crucial difference between the two: Ahmose's structure is not a tomb.<sup>166</sup>

The plan of KV39 has only recently become available: in 1989.<sup>167</sup> Comparing KV20 with KV39 reveals some interesting connections. This process however is hampered

<sup>165</sup> *JEA* 60, p. 120.

<sup>166</sup> For a sketch plan, see *Dodson* p. 24 (the two structures are not shown in the same scale though: KV20 is much larger than the Ahmose structure). As Lehner rightfully remarks, it's probably not even a cenotaph, but a token underworld (see *The Complete Pyramids*, p. 190-191). Its curves have the form of an "S", perhaps in evocation of the netherworld's "Winding Waterway".

<sup>167</sup> 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.

by the rather unpractical room designations for KV20 introduced by the TMP. I have therefore devised an alternative scheme, as follows:

<b>Carter</b>	<b>TMP</b>	<b>SW</b>
Entryway	Entryway A	Entryway A
1 <sup>st</sup> corridor	Corridor B	Corridor B1-a
	Corridor C1	Corridor B1-b
1 <sup>st</sup> chamber	Chamber C1	Stairwell C1
2 <sup>nd</sup> corridor	Corridor D1	Corridor B2-a
	Corridor C2	Corridor B2-b
2 <sup>nd</sup> chamber	Chamber C2	Stairwell C2
3 <sup>rd</sup> corridor	Corridor D2	Corridor D
3 <sup>rd</sup> chamber	Burial chamber J1	Burial chamber J1
4 <sup>th</sup> corridor	Corridor G	Corridor G
Burial chamber	Burial chamber J2	Burial chamber J2

*Table 13 Different room designations for KV20*

One obvious advantage is, that we can now simply refer to a room as “C1”, without having to add whether we mean Corridor C1 or Chamber C1.

Fig. 9 below is a copy of Fig. 5 on page 24 above, but this time with the new set of room designations.

In *3TA*, I have presented a hypothetical plan of KV39: showing what it may have looked like when it was for the first time closed with a burial inside (*3TA*, Fig. 16 on page 71). This tentative reconstruction was based on the following assumptions:

- Originally, the tomb was conceived as a linear affair, oriented towards the mountain El-Qurn (west of the tomb.)
- Upon hitting inferior, soft stone (in room C), it was decided to turn around 180° to the east. This way, the orientation on El-Qurn could be maintained – in a way – while hoping for better stone in the opposite direction.
- The resulting “Eastern Passage” was completed, and used for the burial of a king.
- The so-called “Southern Passage” was added much later, presumably during the Third Intermediate Period. At that time, the original burial had already been removed.

Fig. 10 below is essentially a copy of *3TA*'s Fig. 16, but now with a full set of room designations for the eastern passage.

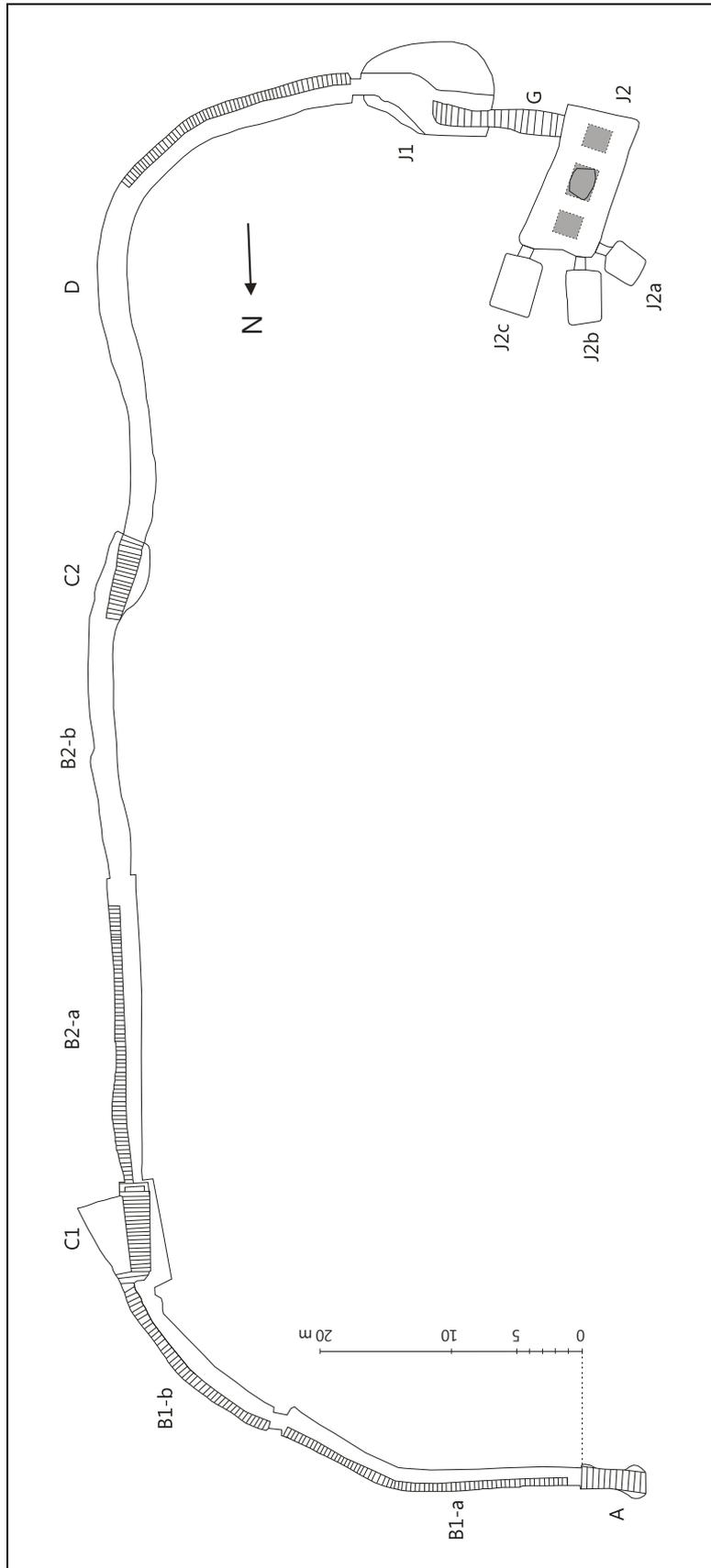


Fig. 9 KV20, with a new set of room designations

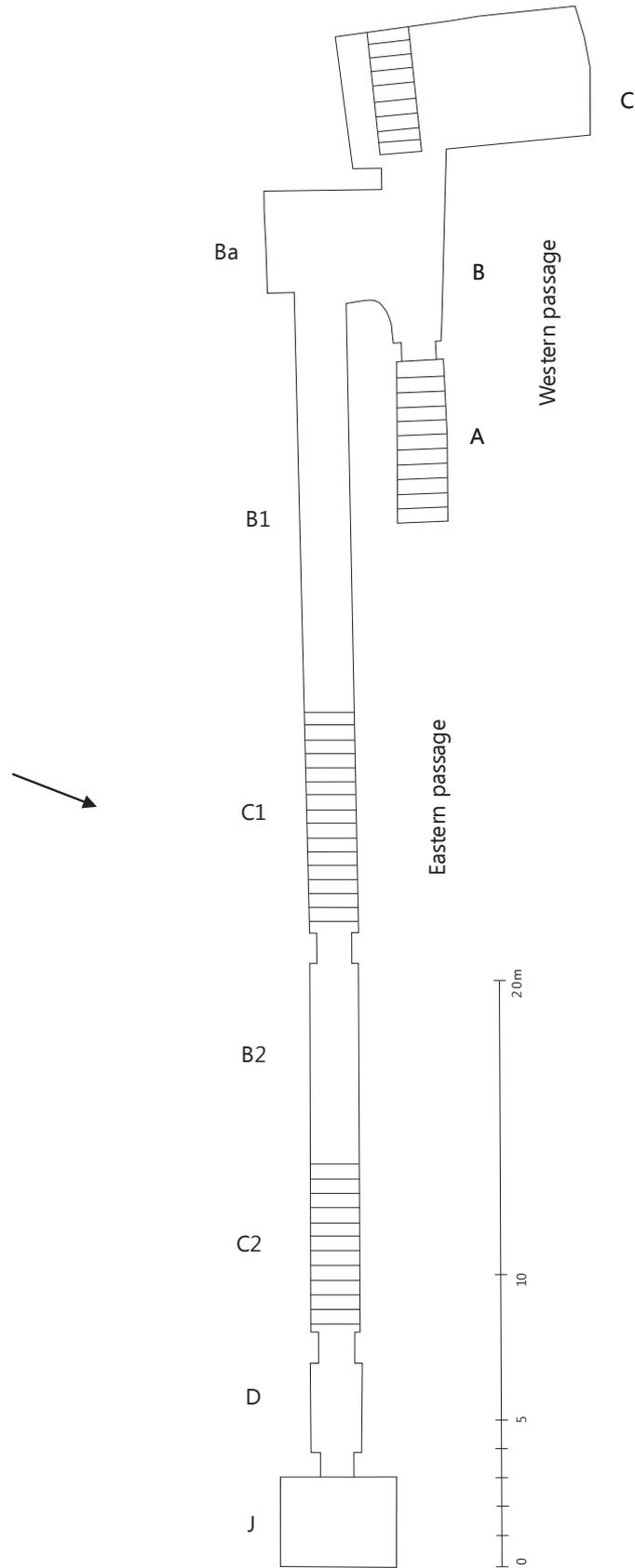


Fig. 10 KV39: hypothetical situation at the time of the original burial (sketch plan)  
(Cf. Fig. 16 on page 71, 3TA)

When we now compare the room designations of the two tombs, we find that they have more in common than a quick look at their plans reveals. The following table shows the parallels:

KV39 (western & eastern sections only)	KV20	Comments
Entryway A	Entryway A	
Corridor B		Prefix of KV39: turning around in a change of plan. <sup>168</sup>
Vestibule Ba		
Corridor B1	Corridor B1-a	} The part that shows a natural development.
	Corridor B1-b	
Stairwell C1	Stairwell C1	
Corridor B2	Corridor B2-a	
	Corridor B2-b	
Stairwell C2	Stairwell C2	
Corridor D	Corridor D	
Burial chamber J	Burial chamber J1	
	Corridor G	Suffix of KV20: the 2 <sup>nd</sup> suite.
	Burial chamber J2	

Table 14 Comparing the rooms in KV39 (excluding the southern section) with those in KV20

Compared to KV39, the stairwells in KV20 have been extended sideways to form chambers. Corridors B1 and B2 in KV39 have in KV20 been doubled by inserting midway a gate, hence B1-a and B1-b / B2-a and B2-b. The parallelism between the two tombs also serves as a confirmation that room D in KV39 is in fact a corridor, and not an antechamber, as it is sometimes called.<sup>169</sup>

Further evidence of kinship between the two tombs comes from a comparison of their sections. For KV20, the figure below shows the section of the TMP as well as that of Carter. The one from Carter, being schematic, facilitates comparison with KV39.<sup>170</sup> The dotted lines indicate where KV20's second suite begins: that section, being added later, has to be excluded from the analysis.

As you can see, the corridors in KV20 are both steeper and longer than those in KV39, and the two stairwells are more pronounced. The gap between these two tombs is large enough to postulate one, or even two more tombs in between. Which means that KV20 is not "perhaps twice removed" from KV38, as Thomas has it,<sup>171</sup> but twice or thrice removed from KV39.

(And if I may borrow a line of reasoning from Weigall:<sup>172</sup> We have then, on the one hand, a gap between the sections of two royal tombs of the early XVIIIth Dynasty, and on the other hand we have king Tuthmosis II whose tomb has not yet been identified...)

<sup>168</sup> See 3TA, p. 69-70.

<sup>169</sup> See 3TA, p. 69.

<sup>170</sup> Incidentally: for a schematic plan, Carter's agrees not too bad with TMP's state-of-the-art section.

<sup>171</sup> RN p. 75.

<sup>172</sup> See Arthur E.P. Weigall, *Miscellaneous notes*, in ASAE 11 (1911), p. 174-175 (quoted in 3TA, p. 62-63).

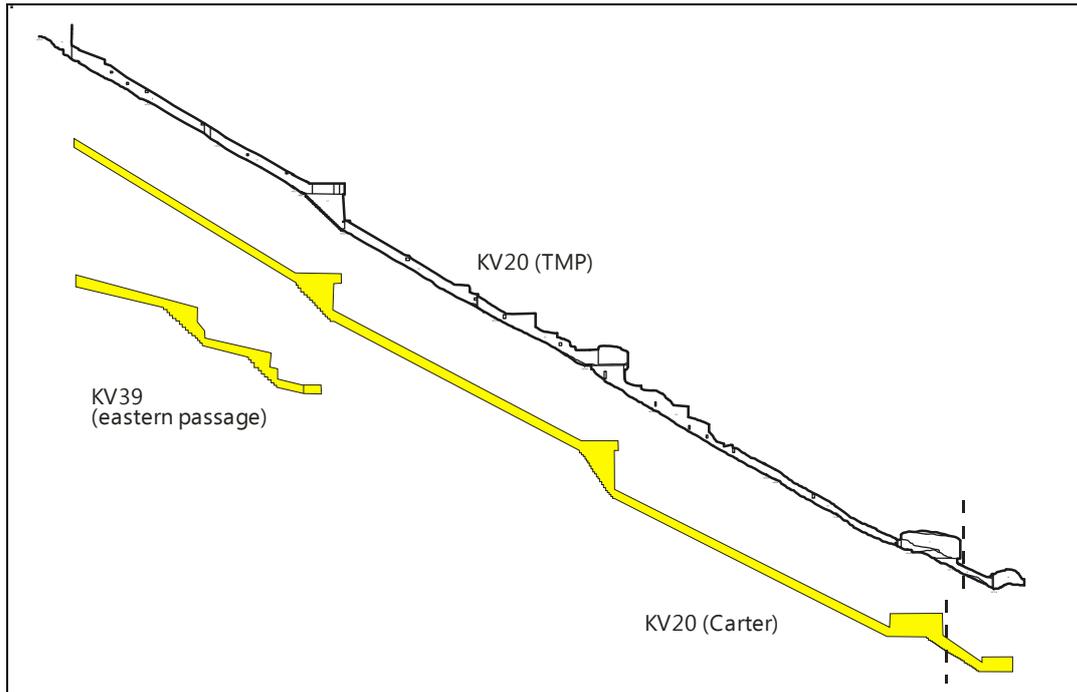


Fig. 11 Sections of KV39 and KV20

### 2.3.3. Romer's theory: an analysis

As we have seen, the main elements in Romer's theory are the following:

- KV20 was built in two phases.
- The first of these phases was commissioned by Tuthmosis I.
- Hatshepsut re-opened the tomb, extending it with a new burial chamber for herself and her father.
- Work on this second phase was carried out in great haste, probably towards the end of Hatshepsut's reign.
- After her disappearance, Tuthmosis I's burial was transferred (in part) by Tuthmosis III to KV38, a tomb that the latter had specially constructed for this purpose.

#### KV38

Before Romer can attribute the first phase of KV20 to Tuthmosis I, he has to invalidate the, till then undisputed, attribution of KV38 to that king. As mentioned before, this attribution was based on the following:

- A stone sarcophagus, with ditto canopic box, both inscribed for Tuthmosis I.
- Two fragments of one alabaster vase, with the name of Tuthmosis I, and a dedication formula by Tuthmosis II.
- And the primitive form of the tomb which, together with its modest size, was generally seen as a confirmation that this was in fact the first royal tomb in the Valley of the Kings.

The sarcophagus had already been re-examined by Hayes, who had concluded that it was made during the reign of Tuthmosis III, but Hayes never doubted that KV38 was Tuthmosis I's original tomb. His grandson had simply returned his granddad to

his original sepulcher, where he was then laid to rest in a new sarcophagus (E). Romer was the first to seriously question the tomb's dating. Although he doesn't state so explicitly, his reasoning seems to have been: "If the sarcophagus is from the period of Tuthmosis III, why then not the tomb itself, too?"

Romer begins his article *JEA 60* with the following statement:

Many authorities have expressed surprise at the meager nature of the tomb in the Biban el-Moluk [the Valley of the Kings] ascribed to Tuthmosis I, and considering the extensive building activity of the reign and the other royal tombs of that period, such a modest and poorly made tomb is rather unexpected.<sup>173</sup>

And he refers to writings of Porter and Moss, Weigall and Carter. Romer himself does not really elaborate on this matter, but to me it seems a most relevant, if not crucial observation. Tuthmosis I ruled for a considerable period: at least ten years. Yet KV38 is smaller than either tomb AN B, or tomb KV39: the two most serious candidates for the position of tomb of Amenhotep I, Tuthmosis' immediate predecessor (See Fig. 2 on page 10 above). Under "normal" circumstances, Tuthmosis' tomb would certainly have been larger than Amenhotep's.

*The apparent, almost maniacal urge of New Kingdom monarchs to outdo their predecessor in every respect has been noted by several authors. So e.g. Thomas in RN:*

*...for tombs tend to become increasingly larger and more complex with time, without reversing the process unless a king's death or another obstacle intervened.*<sup>174</sup>

*Hornung speaks of "das Gesetz von der Erweiterung des Bestehenden" (the "Law of Exceeding the Existing").*<sup>175</sup>

Romer then looks into the matter from two different angles: the tomb's inventory, and its architecture.

From the inventory, he goes over almost<sup>176</sup> every item separately.<sup>177</sup> When I organize his findings a bit, we find that they fall into three different categories:

- Items that so closely resemble pieces found in KV20, that they may have come from there when Tuthmosis I's burial was transferred by his grandson to KV38.
- Items that belonged to the period of Tuthmosis III.
- And items of uncertain date.

Inventory of KV38	Category			Observations
	Possibly originating from KV20	Period of Tuthmosis III	Of uncertain date	
a. Two blocks of limestone with texts from the Am Duat.	x			See the description on page 28f. above.
b. An alabaster vase, inscribed with the names of Tuthmosis I and II.	x			Text: see page 14 above.
c. Sarcophagus.		x		Dating by Hayes
d. Canopic chest.		x		Dating by Hayes <sup>178</sup>
e. Alabaster sarcophagus base.		x		Dating by Hayes <sup>178</sup>

<sup>173</sup> *JEA 60* p. 119.

<sup>174</sup> *RN* p. 74.

<sup>175</sup> *RdE 27* (1975), p. 128.

<sup>176</sup> He doesn't mention the fragments of plaster: see row g in the table below.

<sup>177</sup> *JEA 60*, p. 120-121.

<sup>178</sup> *RS* p. 141

Inventory of KV38	Category			Observations
	Possibly originating from KV20	Period of Tuthmosis III	Of uncertain date	
f. Five blocks of yellow quartzite: not plastered or inscribed, but very carefully made.		x		Dating by Romer: the blocks closely resemble those of the sarcophagus base in KV34 (Tuthmosis III). <sup>179</sup>
g. Two fragments of plaster, inscribed with Am Duat texts.		x		Not mentioned by Romer. Dating: by analogy with KV34 (see the section about the Am Duat texts on page 28 above, and Altenmüller's observation on page 70 below).
h. Two fragments of blue glass, of a type and quality not known before Tuthmosis III.			x	Could be intrusive objects from a later period.
i. The lid of one canopic jar: not inscribed, but with a uraeus, indicating that it belonged to a king.			x	
j. In chamber Ja: many fragments of typical early 18 <sup>th</sup> dynasty storage jars.			x	
k. An uninscribed foundation deposit.			x	According to Romer, it ...strongly resembled early Eighteenth Dynasty examples from other similar deposits. <sup>180</sup>

Table 15 The inventory of KV38 (based on Romer)

Romer's conclusion from these findings is twofold:

- The inventory shows considerable proof of involvement during the reign of Tuthmosis III.
- Nothing in the inventory supports the thesis that KV38 was constructed in the time of Tuthmosis I.

Both conclusions are above reproach.

Now that Romer has dismissed the tomb's inventory as a source of evidence in favor of KV38's attribution to Tuthmosis I, he turns to the architectural evidence:

Many writers have considered KV 38 to be the earliest example of a developmental sequence of royal tomb design which culminated in WV 22 (Amenophis III), but once the inscriptional and archeological evidence from KV 38 has been shown to be inconclusive in determining the reign of the tomb's inception, the first part of this sequence must be critically re-examined, for it is upon that alone that the attribution of KV 38 to the reign of Tuthmosis I must now rest.<sup>181</sup>

From the context of what is to follow it becomes apparent what Romer means with "the first part of this [developmental] sequence:" the regularly advocated succession of KV38, KV42 and KV34 as the tombs of Tuthmosis I, II and III, respectively. It is indeed tempting to see in the plans of these tombs an almost self-evident order of

<sup>179</sup> These quartzite blocks encased the alabaster sarcophagus base mentioned above under e.

<sup>180</sup> See page 16 above.

<sup>181</sup> *JEA* 60, p. 121.

their making: cf. Fig. 2 on page 10 above. Romer however strongly opposes this view:

The differences of design between these three tombs are those concerning room size and orientation, and the duplication of some of the elements such as pillars and store chambers; factors that, though they may alter the plans of the tombs cannot be said to determine a true typological progression, i.e. the development of an architectural design by the gradual addition of new units or motives, or the refinement of existing ones.

(...)

With the sole exception of the 'well' in KV 34, it would seem that a construction of a sequence in time concerning these three tombs based upon any kind of typological progression is not possible.<sup>182</sup>

*Note the "exception:" apparently, Romer does feel that KV34 is the youngest of these three tombs. This reduces the bearing of his argument to KV38 and KV42, only. And those two are oddballs indeed.*

Nor can we, in Romer's opinion, use the tomb's overall size or degree of refinement as an indicator, for:

It was hardly the Eighteenth Dynasty that witnessed either the establishment of basic excavation techniques or a period of developing economic resources that would suggest that a smaller and rougher work would necessarily precede a more finished and lavish one; thus a simple ordering of these tombs in terms of size and finish cannot be a guide to their relative ages.<sup>183</sup>

According to Romer, the obvious differences in size and sophistication of these three tombs must be attributed to other factors, such as the scale on which a given design was to be realized, or to "varying times allotted for each work, and the unreliable nature of the rock."<sup>184</sup> And he concludes:

It may be observed, therefore, that neither the contents of KV38 nor its design can demonstrate that the tomb was excavated before the reign of Tuthmosis III.<sup>185</sup>

A bit earlier in his exposé, Romer has drawn attention to a series of characteristics that these three tombs have in common:<sup>186</sup>

- a cartouche shaped burial chamber;
- a kheker-frieze around the top of the wall of the burial chamber;<sup>187</sup>
- and yellow tinted plaster on the walls of the burial chamber. In KV34, these walls were subsequently inscribed with the texts and vignettes of the Am Duat. In KV42, the walls were prepared to receive the same (or similar) texts. In KV38, the plaster beneath the kheker-frieze can no longer be examined: it has been washed away completely by the floods. In the tomb's wreckage though, fragments of plaster were found, still decorated with parts of the Am Duat (see page 15 above.)

Romer mentions that Thomas suggested that KV42 may have belonged to "Tuthmosis III's queen, Merytre Hatshepsut or another member of that family," and he continues:

... it would seem quite possible that all three 'cartouche'-shaped tombs may date from Tuthmosis III's reign, KV 38 being excavated at that time to house the reburial of Tuthmosis I's mummy in a new sarcophagus that had been prepared for it.<sup>188</sup>

<sup>182</sup> *JEA* 60, p. 122.

<sup>183</sup> *JEA* 60, p. 122.

<sup>184</sup> *JEA* 60, p. 122.

<sup>185</sup> *JEA* 60, p. 122.

<sup>186</sup> *JEA* 60, p. 122.

<sup>187</sup> In *RR*, El-Bialy draws attention to the similarity in design of these kheker-friezes: *RR* p. 177-178, n. 23.

<sup>188</sup> *JEA* 60, p. 122 (underlining by me).

Here it is still with nominal reserve that Romer suggests that KV38 may have been constructed during the reign of Tuthmosis III. In the remainder of his exposé, he only deals with KV20: not another word about KV38. But on the last page, his earlier suggestion is promoted to the position of capstone of his theory:

Subsequently Hatshepsut's co-regent and successor, Tuthmosis III, had KV 20 reopened and Tuthmosis I's mummy, along with some pieces from the previous burials, was removed to an especially prepared tomb, KV 38, where the king was laid in a new quartzite sarcophagus, and provided with further funerary equipment.<sup>189</sup>

### “Basic excavation techniques”

Let's return for a moment to Romer's rather strongly formulated views about the level of expertise of early 18<sup>th</sup> dynasty stone masons. Craftsmanship consists of more than basic techniques. Basic techniques can be narrated: “It is best to start cutting a tunnel from the top. On the ceiling, you can then draw a straight line. This can best be done by stretching a thin cord, that you dipped in paint. Tick the cord against the ceiling, and then paint a heavier line over the tick marks. From this line, take your measurements sideways at right angles: in that way, you get a straight tunnel.” Does such knowledge make you or me an accomplished stone mason? Hardly. Years of practice is, what it takes. In an essentially local, small scale population, where crafts moreover will pass from father to son, it takes generations to develop the skills necessary for constructing large, rock cut tombs. When suddenly this passing on of experience comes to a halt, the skills are lost, even if knowledge of the basic techniques is remembered. After the Second Intermediate Period, these skills had to be acquired again. So yes: in my opinion, differences in size and workmanship of these tombs *may be* indicative of the order of their making – although other factors may have been involved as well.

### KV20

With respect to KV20, Romer's theory consists of the following three elements:

- The tomb was built in two phases;
- the first of these phases was for Tuthmosis I;
- and the second was added by Hatshepsut in great haste, presumably toward the end of her reign.

#### Two building phases

For this element of his theory, Romer advances the following arguments.

- Unlike in any other royal tomb in the Valley, the burial chamber (J2) is *smaller* than the room that precedes it (J1). There is just no way that any ancient Egyptian architect would have planned something like this - so J2 must have been added later, by another architect.

Although Romer visited the tomb personally - in 1967 and 1968<sup>190</sup> - he underpins his argument with figures from Carter's initial publication (*DNC*). Carter may have been an able excavator (and an excellent draftsman), but he was not a good architect. His plans are schematic rather than accurate, and his measurements are approximate rather than precise.<sup>191</sup> Working from these measurements, Romer overestimates the difference between the two rooms considerably. Although J1 is

<sup>189</sup> *JEA* 60, p. 127.

<sup>190</sup> *JEA* 60, p. 123.

<sup>191</sup> There is nothing per se wrong with publishing schematic plans or approximate dimensions, provided one points out that the plan is schematic, and the dimensions are approximate. Carter however consistently failed to do this.

in volume larger than J2, in area it's actually a bit smaller. (See Appendix 2 on page 89 below for the details.)

- J1 has no pillars, while J2 had three - on a smaller area. As far as the smaller area is concerned, this is - being based on Carter's figures - not correct. The use of pillars however is indeed indicative of another architectural concept.
- The stairways in the first and second chamber (C1 and C2) begin in the middle of the room, while that in the third chamber (J1) starts towards the right wall.
- Romer states that the corridor that leads from J1 to J2 differs from those in the rest of the tomb. He quotes Carter: "It is much smaller than the other passages, and only 12 m. long."<sup>192</sup> Neither Carter nor Romer specify in which respect this passage is "smaller:" it could be width, and/or height (not length, since that is mentioned separately.) Carter's plan and section show no appreciable differences in either measurement, but Baraize's plan shows it as very narrow (see Fig. 6 on page 39 above). The TMP plan shows this passage to be very wide though: perhaps the result of later caving in of the side walls?
- The stairs in the passage between J1 and J2 are different from those, employed in the higher parts of the tomb: according to Romer, both the risers and treaders are larger. The TMP does not show stairs in this position. Carter however does, but Romer mentions that already in the 1960's the state of these stairs was so poor, that he could not accurately measure the steps. So this feature may have eroded away by the time the TMP later surveyed the tomb.
- The measurements of J2 are approx. 10.5 by 21 cubits, or two squares of 10.5 by 10.5 cubits each. Both the temples of Mentuhotep and Hatshepsut at Deir el-Bahri, on the other side of the mountain, have been built with a "module square" of 94.5 cubits: nine times 10.5 cubits.<sup>193</sup> In Romer's opinion, this constitutes an affinity in design. A comparable affinity can not be demonstrated for any of the other rooms in the tomb, which suggests to him that the 2<sup>nd</sup> suite was added by another architect - presumably the one who also supervised work on Hatshepsut's temple. I don't feel really comfortable with this one: it comes too close to the esoteric to my liking. However, one can plainly see on the plan that J2 and its side chambers are different: they are the only rooms that exhibit at least the *intention* of being rectangular. I would say that this sets them apart from the rest as much as the use of any "module square" would do.
- Finally, Romer points at the remarkable state of preservation of Hatshepsut's foundation deposit, which was located about 7.5 meters in front of the beginning of the tomb's entryway.<sup>194</sup> Although this deposit was only half a meter below the surface, on a spot where it was "under the feet of almost every basket-carrier that emerged from the tomb"<sup>195</sup>, it was virtually undisturbed when Carter discovered it. Romer interprets this as evidence that this deposit was made "after the bulk of the work (...) had been completed",<sup>196</sup> meaning: at the start of constructing the tomb's extension beyond J1. There may be an entirely plausible alternative explanation. After *all* of the work was done, the immediate vicinity of the tomb's entrance had to be tidied up: supplies and tools had to be removed, and perhaps also temporary dwellings for the workers. In this process, it may have been found that the foundation deposit had been damaged, and so, as one of the last things done, a new deposit was installed.

<sup>192</sup> DNC, p. 79.

<sup>193</sup> According to Badawy: see *JEA* 60, p. 124, n. 35.

<sup>194</sup> See the plan on the TMP website (→ KV20 → Images).

<sup>195</sup> *JEA* 60, p. 125.

<sup>196</sup> *JEA* 60, p. 125.

Only about half of Romer's reasoning stands up to scrutiny, but the following matters seem indeed valid indications that the "2<sup>nd</sup> suite" was added later, by another architect:

- The use of a relatively short corridor to J2 (short in comparison to the chamber that follows it).
- The fact that the stairs in this corridor were different from those in the higher parts of the tomb: with larger risers and treads.
- The use of pillars in J2.
- And the rectangular ground plan of J2 and its side chambers, which looks decidedly different from the rest of the tomb.

It is in fact enough - but perhaps three more indications can be added:

- a) The circumstances in which the limestone slabs were found;
- b) the difference in orientation between J1 and J2;
- c) and the introduction of a sharp turn in the plan, just before J2.

a) The circumstances in which the limestone slabs were found

The condition in which Carter found the limestone slabs in J2 is most unusual: decorated, but not mounted. More specifically, Carter describes them as *not yet* mounted: they were "intended to line the room."<sup>197</sup>

In ancient Egypt, "prefab" didn't exist. It was standard practice to first assemble an architectural element in the rough, and only then finish it, *in situ*. A wall or a column for instance, would initially be constructed from blocks carrying substantial extra stock. Once the wall or column had reached its intended height, it would be smoothed from the top down, trimming away the extra stock. Only then would the decoration be applied, to the smoothed surface.

By analogy, one would expect to find such slabs either mounted to the walls *and* decorated, or not yet mounted and undecorated. Decorating them *before* mounting would bring too much risk that the decoration would be damaged during the mounting. Egyptian construction workers - or rather: the bureaucrats that supervised them - were much too prudent for such an approach.<sup>198</sup>

Yet the slabs found in J2 were decorated, but not mounted. This suggests that they were moved here from another location, to be re-used again. That would however, although not impossible, be rather improbable. In Egypt, slabs of limestone are not exactly a rare or costly commodity. Taking a decorated wall apart to rebuild it somewhere else therefore doesn't make sense. The care that would have been needed in the dismantling, transporting and mounting again of already decorated blocks would certainly have outweighed the effort of bringing in new blocks, and decorating those *after* mounting.

Unless... Unless they had to be moved only meters away, from one room to the next: from J1 to J2. If J1, as Romer believes, was the original burial chamber, it may already have been fitted with these blocks. When it was later decided to add another burial chamber, the idea may have presented itself of moving the blocks, with their decoration, into the new burial chamber.<sup>199</sup>

<sup>197</sup> DNC p. 80. The alternative would be, that they had been affixed to the walls, and fallen off. I would in that case not have expected *all* pieces to have come loose: surely some parts would have remained stuck to the wall.

<sup>198</sup> In RN, Thomas explicitly assumes that the Egyptians *did* use pre-fab: "Was the hall [KV38's burial chamber] to have been partly decorated on plaster, partly on a stone lining that would have been inscribed more easily before it was brought into the tomb?" (RN p. 72).

<sup>199</sup> If the walls of J1 were once lined with blocks of limestone, a thorough examination of those walls would probably show evidence of this.

## b) The difference in orientation between J1 and J2

A second piece of circumstantial evidence supporting a two phase building history comes from the difference in orientation of J1 and J2. As I have shown in 3TA, three of the oldest tombs in the Valley – if not the oldest *tout court* - appear to be oriented towards El-Qurn, the pyramid shaped mountain that dominates the Valley and its immediate surroundings. These three are KV39, KV38 and KV20 – the latter until J1 (see Fig. 14 and Fig. 15 below). As of Tuthmosis III's KV34, the royal tombs in the Valley show no particular orientation of their burial chamber. This seems to me an indication that we have here a break in the development of the kings' tombs in the Valley, with KV39, KV38 and KV20-J1 predating KV20-J2, KV34 etc.

## c) The introduction of a sharp turn in the plan

Finally, KV20 exhibits the first occurrence – in the Valley – of a sharp turn in the plan, here from corridor G to burial chamber J2. Tuthmosis III's KV34 shows very much the same feature: there from well chamber E to pillared hall F. So in this respect too, KV20's suffix seems to belong to the later of two developmental stages.

It therefore seems to me that Romer is right in that KV20 was probably built in two phases.

The involvement of Tuthmosis I

After having mopped the floor with the prevailing casualness of the attribution of KV38 to the first Tuthmoside, Romer says:

But if we deny that KV38 is the tomb that Ineni conceived and excavated for Tuthmosis I, then we must look elsewhere in the Bibân el-Molûk [=the Valley of the Kings] for other likely claimants. Obviously, KV20, with its many close connections with Tuthmosis I will demand close attention.<sup>200</sup>

The three parts of these two sentences that I have underlined all “demand close(r) attention”.

First of all, Romer's analysis of KV38 shows that nothing, in either the tomb or its inventory proves Tuthmosis I to have been responsible for its inception. There is however nothing to *disprove* this to have been the case, either.

Secondly, it is not all that self-evident that we need to look in the Valley of the Kings for a tomb of Tuthmosis I. As I've shown in 3TA, Amenhotep I, his immediate predecessor, was probably buried outside the Valley (in tomb AN B). But even if Amenhotep had been buried *in* the Valley (in KV39 for instance), such a fact would on its own hardly have constituted a tradition of such compelling forcefulness that Tuthmosis I could not have ignored it.

Finally, Romer states that KV20 has “many close connections with Tuthmosis I”, but just *how* many, and what is their nature?

- A stone sarcophagus, originally made for Hatshepsut, later altered for Tuthmosis;
- and Tuthmosis' name on several stone vessels that, judging by their dedicatory inscriptions, belonged to his burial.

These matters make it probable that Tuthmosis I was for some time buried in KV20, but not necessarily that he commissioned any part of this tomb. In fact, KV38 pretty much shows up the same type of materials:

- A stone sarcophagus (this time with accompanying canopic box), made for Tuthmosis I by one of his descendants;
- and Tuthmosis I's name on a stone vessel that, judging by its dedicatory inscription, belonged to his burial.

If in KV38, such articles do not prove the tomb to be from the period of Tuthmosis I, why then should comparable items in KV20 suddenly be more revealing? The con-

<sup>200</sup> JEA 60, p. 123. Underlining by me.

clusion can be simple then: there is no evidence for the involvement of Tuthmosis I in the construction of any part of KV20.

Romer however sees things differently, and he now takes two steps in one stride:

- he decides on the two phases having been the work of two different rulers,
- and he suggests Tuthmosis I to have been responsible for the first of these phases:

These differences<sup>201</sup> would seem to suggest that the burial chamber and the stair leading to it from gallery III may well have been added to the tomb after the originally conceived design had been executed, possibly with gallery III, previously the last chamber in the tomb, as the burial chamber. After Hatshepsut, the principal name associated with KV 20 is Tuthmosis I, and such a happy connection, it is suggested, may provide an explanation of the whereabouts of the original tomb of that much travelled mummy.<sup>202</sup>

### “Quick and dirty”

Romer believes that the additions to KV20 were carried out in haste, “possibly late in Hatshepsut’s reign.”<sup>203</sup> For this, he advances the following arguments.

- He assumes that Carter’s “ancient filling” (see the quotation from *DNC* on page 21 above) consisted of chippings from the excavation of the tomb, that had been left behind. Considering the context of Carter’s remarks, and the fact that this phenomenon has been noted elsewhere too,<sup>204</sup> this interpretation seems plausible indeed.
- “The rude tailoring of Hatshepsut’s sarcophagus to take Tuthmosis I’s mummy (..)”<sup>205</sup> is in Romer’s opinion also a sign of haste. The reworking of the outside and the longer insides of the sarcophagus was however executed most meticulously, and there was probably another reason altogether why work on the shorter insides was performed more clumsily: see page 37 above.
- Finally, Romer points at “the condition of the three side chambers” of burial chamber J2.<sup>206</sup> The TMP states about all three: “cutting finished”, but Carter calls them “very rough”.<sup>207</sup> Romer apparently interprets this as “unfinished”. Every wall of every room in this tomb is rough, though. In the words of Carter:

The tomb on the whole is exceedingly roughly cut, more especially in the lower part where the rock was bad.<sup>208</sup>

Left chippings are clearly an indicator for business unfinished, but Romer’s other two arguments are misinterpretations. Nevertheless, the unfinished business is a strong indication that work on J2 was performed in too short a time frame, which is indeed suggestive of a job done towards the end of Hatshepsut’s rule – just as Romer believes.<sup>209</sup>

Back for a minute to the sarcophagi in KV20. Sarcophagus D was certainly not made in great haste. Carefully executed, it is the most ambitious of the three sarcophagi that Hatshepsut commissioned. This fits in well with the general picture of an ambitious, almost extravagant queen - one who also had the largest granite obelisks ever erected at Karnak. Sarcophagus C was altered for Tuthmosis I, probably in conjunction with the extending of KV20 with the 2<sup>nd</sup> suite - a work that was most likely carried

<sup>201</sup> The architectural differences between the 1<sup>st</sup> and the 2<sup>nd</sup> phase of KV20.

<sup>202</sup> *JEA* 60, p. 124.

<sup>203</sup> *JEA* 60, p. 126.

<sup>204</sup> See note 62 on page 21 above.

<sup>205</sup> *JEA* 60, p. 126, n. 56.

<sup>206</sup> *JEA* 60, p. 126.

<sup>207</sup> *DNC* p. 79.

<sup>208</sup> *DNC* p. 80.

<sup>209</sup> Another indication for unfinished business are the 15 not yet mounted limestone slabs in J2.

out in haste, towards the end of her reign. This makes it unlikely that there was still time enough to make sarcophagus D *after* modifying C. Which means that Hatshepsut, no matter how fond she was of her Old Man, still decided that *she* was going to have the finest of two already available sarcophagi... Which ties in well with Winlock's observation, quoted on page 33 above. (A matter that Romer does not address is, in what tomb Hatshepsut originally intended to use sarcophagus C... )

The question of opening, entering and refurbishing a sealed king's tomb

With all these details available about how work on the 2<sup>nd</sup> suite was carried out, it's real easy to overlook the enormity that the act of opening, entering and refurbishing a closed and sealed king's tomb would have constituted. In another article (*JRRT*), Romer offers a comparable scenario for another tomb: tomb AN B. This tomb was by its excavator – Carter – believed to have belonged to king Amenhotep I: the predecessor of Tuthmosis I. Romer however postulates that this tomb originally belonged to Amenhotep's mother, queen Ahmose-Nefertari, that Tuthmosis III re-opened it, had it extended, and added to it the burial of her son. In the foregoing study (*3TA*) I have already examined the likelihood of such an undertaking, and concluded that it was quite improbable.<sup>210</sup>

In the case of tomb AN B, it proved possible to devise a theory in which that tomb could have been extended *before* it was for the first time closed with a burial inside. With respect to the burial of Tuthmosis I however, there is no doubt whatsoever that Hatshepsut re-opened his original tomb to move his burial – whether that tomb was KV20 (in J1), KV38 or yet another tomb. So much may be taken for granted. But only when his original resting place had been J1 in KV20, would it have been necessary to also work inside a tomb that already held a king's burial. Several writers have expressed their disbelief concerning such a happening. So e.g. Polz:

Damit läßt sich jedoch kaum vorstellen, daß die Bauarbeiten während der Erweiterung durch Hatshepsut an der vorhandenen Bestattung des Thutmosis' I. vorbei durchgeführt worden sein können.<sup>211</sup>

It would be hard to imagine though that during the extension by Hatshepsut the construction work could have been carried out right alongside Tuthmosis I's already present burial.

In *RN*, Thomas makes – even before Romer produced his theory – a comparable statement:

(...) surely his mummy would have remained in 38 until the hall of 20 was fully lined [with the limestone blocks] and completed; for honor could scarcely have been paid Thutmose by working near a sarcophagus actually holding his body.<sup>212</sup>

I would say that this problem of actually working in a stocked king's tomb lessens the likelihood of Romer's theory. One might however also argue that, after having done the inconceivable by opening a sealed king's tomb, Hatshepsut may have continued with doing the impossible by extending that tomb with her father's burial still inside...

One question that in any event has to be addressed is: why? Why did she disturb the sanctity of her father's tomb, who after all was no longer "just" her father, but a god? Tuthmosis III also handled his grandfather's mortal remains, but he may have felt obliged to undo what Hatshepsut had done. Her actions were however without precedent, and constituted a violation of tradition that was absolutely horrific. Her reasons for doing this must have been truly compelling.

Perhaps in the end, she came to fear the wrath of the gods after-all, for holding on to the throne for so long. Perhaps she sought the posthumous support of her father,

<sup>210</sup> See in particular *3TA* p. 47.

<sup>211</sup> *Beginn* p. 213.

<sup>212</sup> *RN* p. 72, quoted before on page 46 above.

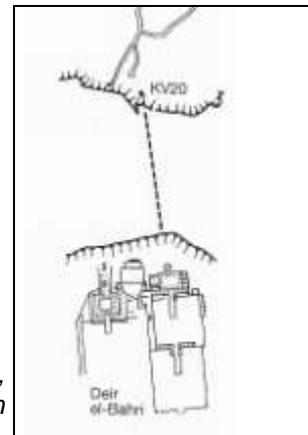
who already was a member of that illustrious body of the gods. In the Deir el-Bahri temple, she lets her father proclaim her his heir. Having him for all eternity by her side, in her tomb, where she could always “remind” him of this, may have seemed a reassuring prospect.

## 2.4. Excursus A: The orientation of KV20

*The orientation of KV20 has already been discussed in 3TA (pages 56-59). The text below is a somewhat extended version of that section.*

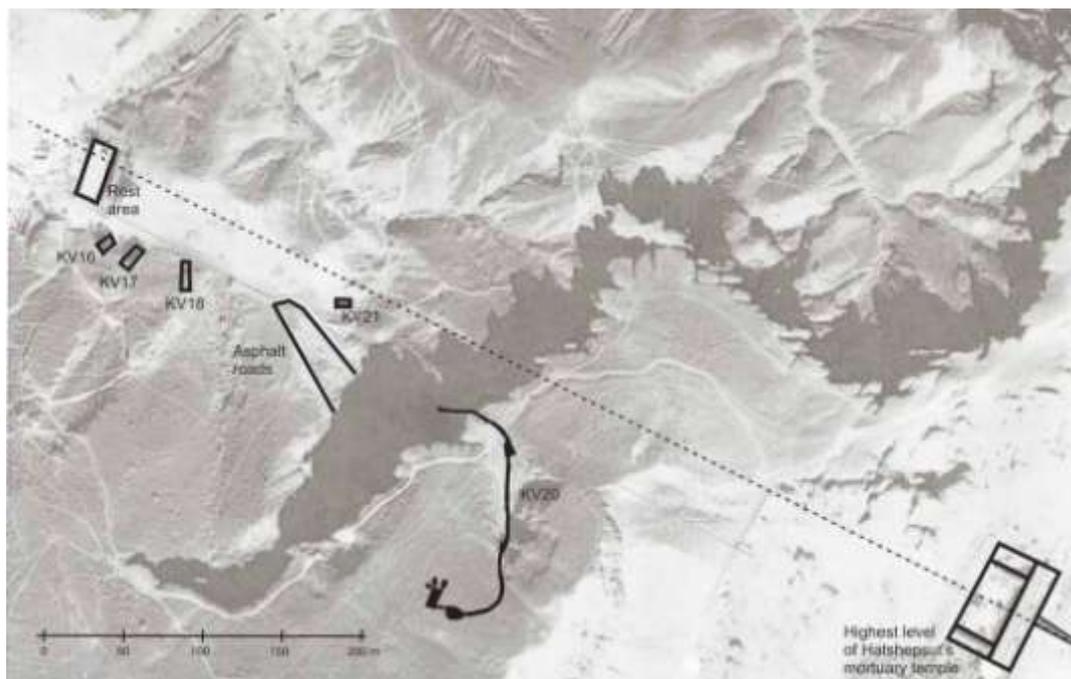
The orientation of Hatshepsut’s tomb KV20 has always been a bit of a mystery: its initial phase, until its first bend, is clearly aimed at her mortuary temple on the other side of the mountain, but the rest of the tomb seems to be wandering off, as if the digging crew had lost their way.

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



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

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



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

This picture comes from Google Maps.<sup>213</sup> Several items on the ground could be identified, and these have been traced with black lines: the rest area, two bits of asphalt road, the entrances to several tombs, and the highest level of Hatshepsut's temple.<sup>214</sup> The dotted line represents the temple's axis. With the help of these markers, the TMP plan of the Valley could be superimposed onto it (this plan does not include Hatshepsut's temple). This made it possible to determine the position of KV20 in relation to the temple. The entrance of the tomb lies about 50 meters left (south-west) of the temple's axis.

Considering the distance, and the fact that there is no clear line of sight between the two points - the mountain ridge being in the way - this would be not too bad for an intentional alignment.<sup>215</sup>

It has been suggested – and rather persistently, too – that the workers followed this curving trajectory in search for better rock. So e.g. Davis:

It doubtless was the intention of the Queen to excavate into the mountain the usual length of 80 to 100 metres, expecting to find solid rock upon which she could paint and inscribe; but at about 50 metres she found the rock so decayed, it could not be used for her purposes. Consequently she continued to descend, and to twist and turn in quest of solid rock, with an obstinacy and perseverance which we must admire in spite of the impression that, had she “raised” her excavation as soon as she struck soft rock, she would have found the sound rock she needed, and the world would now enjoy her decorations and inscriptions. (You can almost hear him add, grimly sucking his cigar: “and so would I, you stupid cow...!”)

Thomas:

(..) the corridors appear to turn in a vain search for good rock (...) <sup>216</sup>

Hayes:

Crumbly rock was struck almost immediately upon the commencement of the cutting, to avoid which it was necessary to bend the plan of the tomb completely back upon itself.<sup>217</sup>

Actually cutting a tunnel in rock is a bit more strenuous than drawing lines on a piece of paper: you don't just go on a detour to check how the rock is, ten or twenty meters to the left or right. Under comparable circumstances, the workforce in KV39 simply abandoned their original western dig, and reversed to the east. When they then hit bad rock again, they just went straight on, making the best of it (and actually reached good stone about 12 or 13 meters deeper)<sup>218</sup>. If the original plan for KV20 had been to cut a straight corridor, it would never have been allowed to deviate this far from that objective, bad rock or not.

If for a minute we just accept that this crooked trajectory of the tomb was intentional after all, where could it have been aimed at?

Figures 10 and 11 in *3TA* (here copied as Fig. 14 and Fig. 15 below) show, that three of the oldest tombs (if not *the* oldest ones) in the Valley seem to be oriented towards the mountain of El-Qurn. KV20's last corridor, ending in burial chamber J1, points pretty accurately towards El-Qurn. Considering that one had at that point already cut

<sup>213</sup> It can be found by searching for “Deir el-Bahri.”

<sup>214</sup> Above and to the right of the “Rest Area”, the entrance road into the Valley can just be seen. On the original photograph, even busses and groups of tourists can be discerned.

<sup>215</sup> Actually, the shrine for Hatshepsut's mortuary cult was left of the temple's axis. This means that the alignment was even better- but I'm inclined to attribute this more to luck than skill.

<sup>216</sup> *RN* p. 75.

<sup>217</sup> *RS* p. 17.

<sup>218</sup> See *3TA*, chapter 5, and Fig. 1 in *Rose 2000*.

for more than 100 meters underground, through several curves, this orientation – if it was intentional – can even be called surprisingly accurate. I would say that this picture supports Romer's theory that the last part of the tomb (corridor G, burial chamber J2 and side chambers J2a, J2b and J2c) was added to the tomb in a later stage, by another architect. By then, an orientation towards El-Qurn apparently was no longer deemed essential – as is confirmed by the next king's tomb: Tuthmosis III's KV34. That one lacks any particular orientation, as will nearly all later tombs in the Valley.<sup>219</sup> KV38's orientation to El-Qurn moreover seems to me an indication that it predates KV20's last construction phase.

So, far from losing their way, the digging team did a great job: they managed to secure KV20 on two axes: one towards Hatshepsut's mortuary temple, and the other to El-Qurn.

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<sup>219</sup> Although its orientation is not impeccable, KV17, the tomb of Sety II, may also have been aimed at El-Qurn.

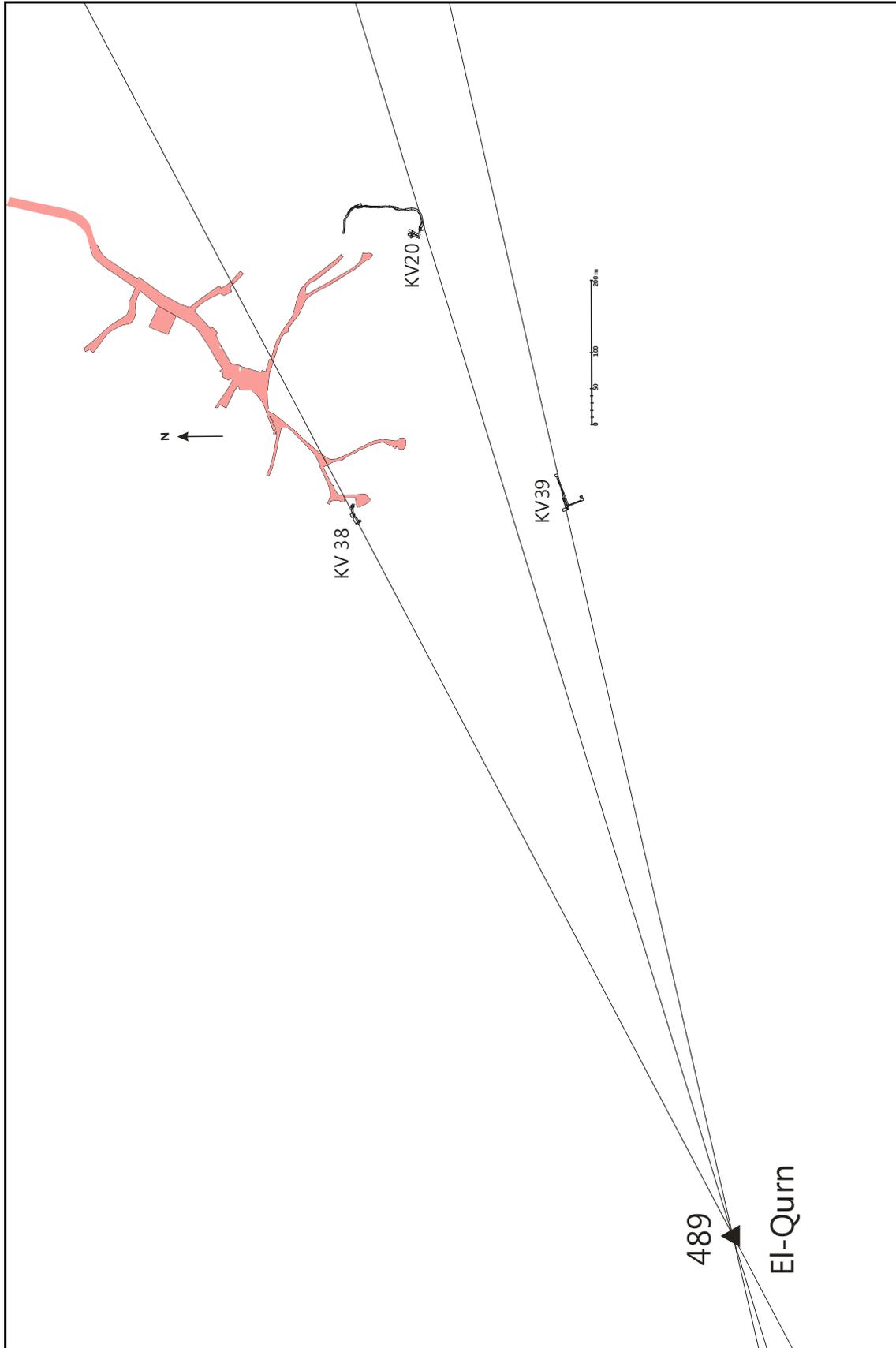


Fig. 14 Map of KV20, KV38 and KV39 in relation to El-Qurn (= 3TA, page 56)

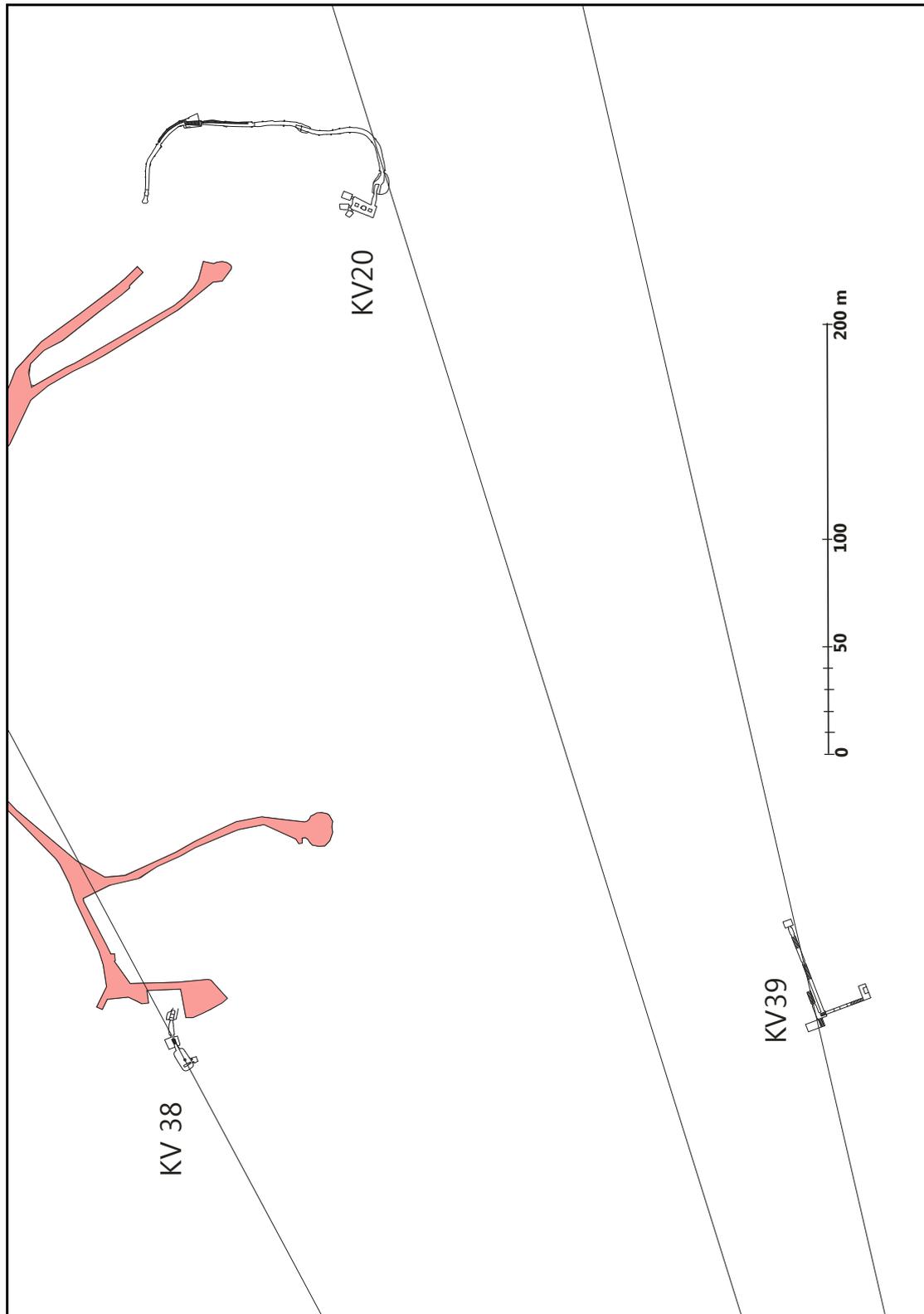


Fig. 15 Map of KV20, KV38 and KV39 in relation to El-Qurn (zoomed in) (= 3TA, page 57)

*The deviation of KV39's axis from a perfect alignment with El-Qurn seems to be about 7 degrees. This tomb was not surveyed by the Theban Mapping Project though: they just pasted Rose's plan on to their map. An accurate recording of the tomb's axis might possibly reveal a better fit. (The corridor that points to the south is a (far) later adjunct to the tomb: see 3TA, p. 70.)*

## 2.5. Altenmüller

Romer's theory has met wide acceptance: the TMP follows it, and so do Reeves / Wilkinson.<sup>220</sup> Acceptance has not been universal though. In 1983, Hartwig Altenmüller wrote an article about a number of tombs in the Valley of the Kings.<sup>221</sup> The first part of this article deals with KV20 and KV38. Altenmüller raises two objections against Romer's theory: in his opinion, it does no justice to the typological relationship between the two tombs, and he feels it does not fully explain the making and later modification of the various sarcophagi.

Altenmüller emphatically includes Hatshepsut's first tomb, WA D (referred to by him as QV), in his analysis.<sup>222</sup> This tomb was cut high in a cliff in a valley further to the west, when she was still Tuthmosis II's queen. It was discovered by Carter, where he found a stone sarcophagus, inscribed for Hatshepsut as great royal wife. Hayes labeled this one sarcophagus A: in his opinion the first stone sarcophagus of the 18<sup>th</sup> dynasty (see pages 35-36 above).

Altenmüller organizes the details - notably type and number of rooms - of a series of tombs in a table, using a scheme developed by Abitz.<sup>223</sup> From this table, Altenmüller concludes that these tombs were made in the following order:

Tomb	Owner (according to Altenmüller)
KV38	Tuthmosis I
KV42	Tuthmosis II
WA D	Hatshepsut's cliff tomb, as queen
KV20	Hatshepsut's tomb in the Valley, as king
KV34	Tuthmosis III
KV35	Amenhotep II
KV43	Tuthmosis IV

Table 16 Owners per tomb, according to Altenmüller

The way that Altenmüller extracts these results from his table is not convincing; for a truly devastating rebuttal see now Polz in *Beginn*, p. 214-217.

Altenmüller explicitly favors the conclusions from his table over those of a visual appraisal of the plans. On one and the same page (*KNR* 32), he first acknowledges a clear and unbroken evolution of the royal tombs in the Valley of the Kings from KV38 to KV43 (Tuthmosis IV), provided one ignores KV20 and WA D:

Werden die beiden Grabanlagen der Hatshepsut (QV, KV 20) zunächst außer acht gelassen, erkennt man mit absteigender Königsfolge von Thutmosis I. (KV 38) bis hin zu Thutmosis IV. (KV 43) eine kontinuierliche Weiterentwicklung der Grabanlagen, die sich in einer Vermehrung der Raumeinheiten abzeichnet.<sup>224</sup>

But just a few lines below this, he states that the scheme nevertheless shows that KV20:

...eine weiter entwickelte Form aufweist als das Grab Thutmosis' I. (KV 38), so daß eine Spätdatierung der Architektur des Grabes Thutmosis' I., etwa in die Zeit

<sup>220</sup> *R/W* p. 91.

<sup>221</sup> Hartwig Altenmüller, *Bemerkungen zu den Königsgräbern des Neuen Reiches*. SÄK 10 (1983), p. 25-38 (hereafter referred to as *KNR*).

<sup>222</sup> For a brief description of this interesting tomb, see *R/W* p. 94, or the website of Karl Leser: <http://www.maat-ka-ra.de/>. See also note 115 on page 36 above.

<sup>223</sup> *KNR* p. 30, n. 21.

<sup>224</sup> "If one begins with excluding both tombs of Hatshepsut (QV, KV 20), one recognizes with the order of the kings, from Thutmosis I (KV 38) all the way to Thutmosis IV (KV 43) a continuously ongoing development of the tombs, showing in an increase of rooms" (*KNR* p. 32).

Thutmosis' III., auf keinen Fall gerechtfertigt erscheint. KV 38 müsste demnach tatsächlich das ursprüngliche Grab Thutmosis' I. darstellen.<sup>225</sup>

In the meantime, Altenmüller acknowledges that today's appearance of KV38's burial chamber is too reminiscent of those of KV42 and KV34 to ignore. In this shape, and with this type of decoration, KV38 can hardly date from the reign of Tuthmosis I. He therefore assumes that the tomb's current appearance is due to restoration works performed by Tuthmosis III at the occasion of returning his grandfather.<sup>226</sup>

With respect to KV20, Altenmüller accepts Romer's theory of two construction phases. Unlike Romer however, he assumes that Hatshepsut was already responsible for KV20's first phase. He furthermore believes that Hatshepsut, after initiating KV20, retained her older cliff tomb as a ritual "south tomb", analogous to the ritual subsidiary pyramids of the Old Kingdom.<sup>227</sup> When she later decided to transfer Tuthmosis I's burial from KV38 to KV20 in an added new sarcophagus chamber, Altenmüller believes she planned to extend WA D in a comparable fashion, with a new burial chamber.<sup>228</sup> In both tombs, there were to be two sarcophagi, one for her and one for her father. Those in WA D should obviously remain empty - WA D being reinterpreted as a cenotaph.

Altenmüller furthermore gives a complex theory about the history of the sarcophagi A till F (excluding B).<sup>229</sup> In his opinion, these were all commissioned by Hatshepsut, although E and F were only inscribed under Tuthmosis III. He furthermore assumes, that Hatshepsut at some point changed her mind regarding both C and E, giving them a new purpose.

The following table represents an attempt on my part to capture this theory in a concise format.

#	Type	Originally intended by Hatshepsut for:	Later intended by Hatshepsut for:	So used by Hatshepsut:	Used by Tuthm. III for:
A	Rectangular	Hatshepsut as queen, in WA D	(to be replaced)	No	
C	Rectangular	Hatshepsut as king, in WA D (replacing A)	Thutmosis I, in KV20	Yes	
D	Cartouche	Hatshepsut as king, in KV20	Hatshepsut as king, in KV20	Yes	
E	Cartouche	Thutmosis I, in KV20	Hatshepsut as king, in WA D (replacing A)	No	Thutmosis I, in KV38
F	Cartouche	Thutmosis I, in WA D	Thutmosis I, in WA D	No	Thutmosis III, in KV34

Table 17 The sarcophagi of Hatshepsut, according to Altenmüller

In KNR page 29, note 19, Altenmüller describes Romer's theory regarding Hatshepsut's foundation deposit as "eine äußerst scharfsinnige, wenn auch nicht überzeugende Erklärung" ("a

<sup>225</sup> "shows a further developed form as the tomb of Tuthmosis I (KV38), so that a post-dating of the architecture of Tuthmosis I's tomb, say into the time of Tuthmosis III, appears to be totally unjustified. KV38 therefore has to be the original tomb of Tuthmosis I" (KNR p. 32).

<sup>226</sup> KNR p. 32, n. 23.

<sup>227</sup> WA D lies in fact due west of KV20, but in the often symbolic geography of the ancient Egyptians, such a detail would not have represented an insurmountable problem.

<sup>228</sup> A full treatment of this tomb would lead us too far beyond the scope of the present work, but I really see no indications that WA D's last chamber was added in a later stage. Altenmüller mentions, no doubt based on Carter's report, that this chamber is unfinished, but already in 1921, Baraize reported this to be not correct. The room was finished: Carter simply had not removed all the washed-in debris from it. See ASAE XXI.

<sup>229</sup> KNR, p. 34-37.

*most ingenious, although not convincing explanation*”). *Altenmüller is much too modest: his ingenuity is certainly not second to Romer’s.*

This is Altenmüller’s final conclusion:

Das Grab Thutmosis’ I. in KV38 steht an der Spitze dieser typologischen Reihe und ist daher unter den Königsgräbern des Königsgräberntales das älteste Grab. Das ursprüngliche Grab Thutmosis’ I. ist daher in KV38 und nicht, wie J. Romer vorgeschlagen hat, in KV20 zu suchen.<sup>230</sup>

The tomb of Tuthmosis I in KV38 stands at the beginning of this typological sequence and is therefore of the kingly tombs in the Valley of the Kings the oldest. For the original tomb of Tuthmosis I, one has therefore to look at KV38, and not, as J. Romer has proposed, at KV20.

In the background of Altenmüller’s reasoning, one discerns one simple axiom that distorts his (and not only his) vision, namely that the evolution of the kings’ tombs in the Valley of the Kings was a linear affair. Starting with Tuthmosis III’s KV34, a straightforward evolution can in fact be demonstrated for the whole series of regal tombs in the Valley, right until KV04 of Ramesses XI - but before KV34, matters are very different.

KV38	WA D	KV20
Ineni’s tomb for Tuthmosis I, where he is buried in a set of wooden coffins.		
	Cliff tomb, with sarcophagus A, prepared for Hatshepsut when she is still Tuthmosis II’s great royal wife.	
		Tomb for Hatshepsut as ruler, until J1. Sarcophagus D is prepared for her to be used in this tomb.
	Tomb WA D is retained as Hatshepsut’s ritual “south tomb”. Sarcophagus C is prepared to replace A, to serve as “cenotaph-double” in WA D.	
		Hatshepsut decides to rebury her father in KV20. To this end, she adds the 2 <sup>nd</sup> suite, and she commissions sarcophagus E for Tuthmosis I.
	Tomb WA D is extended with a 2 <sup>nd</sup> burial chamber, to maintain the parallelism with KV20. Sarcophagus F is commissioned as “cenotaph-double” for Tuthmosis I in WA D.	
→		Tuthmosis I is transferred to KV20. Sarcophagus E is not yet ready though, so he is buried in sarcophagus C which is altered for him.
	Sarcophagus E is to replace A in WA D (instead of C)	
		Hatshepsut is buried in KV20, in sarcophagus D.

<sup>230</sup> KNR p. 37.

KV38	WA D	KV20
Tuthmosis III has KV38 refurbished. He then brings Tuthmosis I back into KV38, where he reburies him in sarcophagus E. He appropriates F for himself.		←

Table 18 Theory # 4: Altenmüller

On the whole, this theory is too complex to be taken serious, but if we eliminate Altenmüller's all too strained ideas concerning the south tomb and the re-re-allocation of the sarcophagi, we find that it nevertheless contains two useful new elements:

- the notion that KV38's final format may stem from a later period than its original conception;
- and the idea that building KV20 in two phases not necessarily required two different sponsors.

Blocks with Am Duat texts: not mentioned.

Actual burials in KV20: both Tuthmosis I and Hatshepsut.<sup>231</sup>

## 2.6. Johnson

In 1993, Georges B. Johnson published an article about KV20 and KV38 in KMT (*No one seeing*). It is most fortunate that Johnson was allowed to visit and photograph both tombs. His photo's, published in KMT, are a more than welcome supplement to the existing material.

Johnson returns to the autobiography of Ineni, in which the latter states to have supervised the excavation of Tuthmosis I's tomb "alone, no one seeing, no one hearing." Johnson recognizes in KV38 the small tomb that could have been prepared in secrecy:

The minimal manpower required to execute the modest plan and simple decoration of KV38 nicely fits the description.<sup>232</sup>

With respect to KV20, Johnson criticizes Romer for applying an anachronistic criterion:

Romer's contention that KV20 was originally the tomb of Thutmose I is based in large part on the smaller size of the burial chamber relative to the antechamber (Chamber 3). His analogy is with standardized plans of later tombs, but such criteria were not yet traditional when KV20 was made.

Just a few lines further though, he writes:

Chamber 3 in KV20 does not meet one evident architectural requirement for a burial chamber: in all known royal sepulchers of the Eighteenth Dynasty (save Tutankhamen's, with its unusually small burial chamber) the crypts have up to six supporting pillars while there is no present evidence that there was ever even one of these in KV20's third chamber.

So in this respect, KV20 suddenly *is* subject to tradition. Perhaps it is best to let Romer himself react on Johnson's arguments. The following is a citation from Romer's article *JRRT*:

Here one should, perhaps, stress the dangers of using "rules" of design and location gleaned from the later royal tombs in attempting the identification of uninscribed Bibân el-Molûk tombs. Although the royal tomb series there does possess

<sup>231</sup> KNR p. 36, in a schematic overview of his theory: "Tod der Hatschepsut. Auflösung der Doppelbestattung von Hats und Th I. (...)" ("Death of Hatshepsut. Breaking up of the joined burial of Hatshepsut and Tuthmosis I.")

<sup>232</sup> *No one seeing*, p. 77.

obvious continuities, one should always bear in mind that the early Eighteenth Dynasty was a period of creative energy in this whole area, and that far from being bound by such conventions as may later have been the case, these early Eighteenth-Dynasty architects were engaged in the exciting process of formulating these rules!<sup>233</sup>

In another article in *KMT (Reconsideration, 1999)*, Johnson takes a particularly vicious shot at Romer's theory. He doesn't even take the time to aim properly, but just blasts away:

A recent theory [Romer's name is apparently not even worth mentioning anymore] has suggested that Thutmose III, in addition to making his grandfather a new sarcophagus, had a new tomb cut for him as well, KV38. This disregards the long-understood, overwhelming evidence, both ancient and modern, that KV38 was the first tomb to be located in the Valley of the Kings. Theories redating the tomb by reversing earlier tomb-design analogies and using restoration furnishing placed in the renewed KV38 by Thutmose III to refute contemporary documents inscribed by the architect Ineni – that he made the tomb of Tuthmosis I – and by Hatshepsut's vizier, Hapuseneb – that he made her tomb – must bear more weight than theories concocted thirty-five centuries after the fact. (..) Ineni recorded: "I made a field of clay, in order to plaster their tombs of the necropolis." There is no evidence of there ever having been clay plaster on the walls of KV20. Instead, as mentioned above, limestone blocks were brought into the tomb's burial chamber for the purpose of inscribing the *Amduat* passages. The walls of KV38 still have remnants of clay plaster (..).<sup>234</sup>

The fact that Ineni and Hapuseneb each claim to have constructed a tomb does not necessarily mean that two different tombs are meant: Hapuseneb may have referred to the extension of an existing tomb as an independent work. KV20 may well have been partially plastered: the tomb has suffered so dearly from flooding that all remains of plaster could have vanished, as they nearly did in KV38. And it is not even certain that Ineni's remark about plaster refers to the tomb of Tuthmosis I: see the plural "their tombs of the necropolis" instead of e.g. "his tomb." Johnson does not just forget to take aim: he fires with blanks.

Johnson's conclusions about these two tombs (as formulated in *No one seeing*) are as follows:

- KV38 is the tomb that Ineni excavated for Tuthmosis I.
- KV20 was cut for Hatshepsut, in one go.
- By the time it was finished, she decided to have her father's burial transferred from KV38 to her new tomb. The sarcophagus that had been prepared for her (C) was quickly adapted for him.
- "After a twenty-year coregency with Thutmose III, Hatshepsut died. Thutmose apparently saw to her burial, as intended, in KV20."<sup>235</sup> Johnson does not produce any grounds for this assumption.
- Tuthmosis III returned his grandfather to KV38, his original tomb – but at what point he did this, whether he redecorated the tomb, and whether or not he transferred burial goods back from KV20 to KV38, can not be determined. "The two small limestone fragments with *Amduat* inscriptions found by Loret in KV38 can not be explained."<sup>236</sup>

So basically, this is Hayes' theory – with one minor (unmotivated) modification: he believes both Tuthmosis I and his daughter to have actually been buried in KV20.

<sup>233</sup> *JRRT* p. 192, n. 4.

<sup>234</sup> *Reconsideration*, p. 33.

<sup>235</sup> *No one seeing*, p. 81.

<sup>236</sup> *No one seeing*, p. 81.

## 2.7. Polz

With respect to KV38, Polz has no bones to pick with Romer: he adopts Romer's idea that KV38 was custom-made by Tuthmosis III for his grandfather.<sup>237</sup>

He raises objections though against Romer's theory concerning KV20.<sup>238</sup> With the new data from the TMP, he refutes - although not methodologically impeccable: see Appendix 2 for details - Romer's conclusions about the measurements of J1 and J2. He also remarks, that it would be hard to imagine work going on inside KV20 - to add the 2<sup>nd</sup> suite - in the immediate vicinity of Tuthmosis I's burial (already quoted on page 63 above).<sup>239</sup>

Polz vehemently rejects Altenmüller's theory, in particular the supposed connection between the two tombs of Hatshepsut: her queen's tomb (WA D) and her tomb as ruler (KV20). He does so with the following arguments:<sup>240</sup>

- There is no evidence that what Altenmüller refers to as the 2<sup>nd</sup> burial chamber of WA D was added later to the tomb's design.
- The use of a "ritual south tomb" would be unique in the Theban area; it is moreover not supported by any additional evidence in either tomb.

According to Polz, KV20 was from the start planned for Hatshepsut; he interprets its location opposite the Deir el-Bahri temple as evidence that both were planned as two parts of one overall design.<sup>241</sup> With KV38 built by Tuthmosis III, Polz believes KV20 to have been the very first tomb ever in the Valley of the Kings; in his opinion, the tombs of both Tuthmosis I and II are to be found somewhere else. He proposes a routing of Tuthmosis I's mummy as follows: from his (unknown) original tomb to KV20 (by Hatshepsut) and then to KV38 (by Tuthmosis III), who has this new tomb specially made for his grandfather. Like Hayes, he doubts whether Hatshepsut was ever buried in KV20.<sup>242</sup>

"Tomb X"	KV20	KV38
Ineni's tomb for Tuthmosis I, <i>not</i> in the Valley of the Kings, where he is buried in a set of wooden coffins.		
	Tomb of Hatshepsut, in which she is to be buried in sarcophagus C. The tomb is planned in conjunction with her mortuary temple on the other side of the mountain. The tomb is completed in one go.	
→	Sarcophagus C is altered for Tuthmosis I, and his mummy, in its innermost coffin, is transferred to KV20. For Hatshepsut, sarcophagus D is prepared.	
	→	After the disappearance of Hatshepsut, Tuthmosis III has KV38 newly constructed for Tuthmosis I, where he reburies him in a new sarcophagus: E.

Table 19 Theory # 5: Polz

<sup>237</sup> *Beginn* p. 221.

<sup>238</sup> See *Beginn* p. 213-214.

<sup>239</sup> *Beginn* p. 213.

<sup>240</sup> See *Beginn* p. 214-217.

<sup>241</sup> *Beginn* p. 213-214.

<sup>242</sup> *Beginn* p. 220, n. 902.

So Polz reverts back to Winlock's and Hayes' idea that KV20 was built in one go, while accepting Romer's theory that KV38 was custom-built by Tuthmosis III for his grandfather. His novelty is that he postulates another tomb, somewhere outside the Valley, to have been Tuthmosis I's original tomb.

Blocks with the Am Duat texts: not mentioned.

Actual burials in KV20: probably just Tuthmosis I.

## 2.8. Excursus B: The remains of four burials in two tombs

In discussing the inventory of KV20, we already split the stone vase fragments found there over three different burials (see Table 3 on page 27 above). When we look at *all* items, found in KV20 and KV38, we must conclude that in these two tombs, remains of no less than four burials have been found:

1. Tuthmosis I's first burial - whether that was originally in KV38 (as per Hayes or Altenmüller), KV20 in J1 (Romer), or elsewhere in an unknown tomb (Polz). Objects with dedications by Tuthmosis II and/or Hatshepsut as his great royal wife come from this burial.
2. Tuthmosis I's 2<sup>nd</sup> burial: by Hatshepsut, in KV20 (J2). Objects in the name of Tuthmosis I with a dedication by Hatshepsut as king must have belonged to this burial.
3. Hatshepsut's own burial. Objects with her name as ruler that refer to her as "deceased" (*m3<sup>c</sup> hrw*) must be from this burial.
4. And Tuthmosis I's 3<sup>rd</sup> burial: by Tuthmosis III, in KV38. To this category, objects belong that can be dated to his reign, such as sarcophagus E and its canopic box.

The following tables show which items can be allocated to each burial, and which can not be allocated.

(See also Table 2 "Texts on the stone vessels, found in KV20" on page 27 above, and Table 15 "The inventory of KV38 (based on Romer)" on page 56 above).

#	Burial	KV20	KV38
1.	Tuthmosis I's original burial – either in KV38 (Hayes, Altenmüller), KV20/J1 (Romer), or another, unknown tomb (Polz).	Stone vases #2-6.	1 stone vase (CGC 24976: see page 14 above).
2.	Tuthmosis I's 2 <sup>nd</sup> burial: by Hatshepsut, in KV20 (J2).	Sarcophagus C. Stone vase #7.	
3.	Hatshepsut's own burial, planned (but not realized) in KV20.	Sarcophagus D and its canopic chest. Foundation deposit. Stone vase #8.	
4.	Tuthmosis I's 3 <sup>rd</sup> burial: by Tuthmosis III, in KV38.		Sarcophagus E and its canopic chest. Alabaster sarcophagus base. 5 blocks of yellow quartzite. 2 fragments of plaster with texts from the Am Duat.

Table 20 The inventory of KV20 and in KV38, grouped per burial

*Normally, the presence of items from an identifiable burial in a tomb which is contemporary with that burial, identifies the original owner of the tomb. In this case however, with evidence of several burials of one king in several tombs, such deductions necessarily fail. These data only show, that the burial of Tuthmosis I was at some point in time in KV20, and at another in KV38. It tells us nothing about who was responsible for the cutting of either tomb.*

#	Objects	KV20	KV38
??	Limestone blocks with parts of the Am Duat (whether these originally belonged together is uncertain).	15 blocks.	2 blocks.
??	Other pieces.	Pieces of a large wooden statue. Various small pieces of wood, faience and earthenware. Stone vase #1.	2 fragments of glass. Lid of a canopic jar. Storage jars. Uninscribed foundation deposit.

Table 21 Unallocated items from KV20 and KV38

## 2.9. Conclusions so far

Before attempting to exploit the accumulated material to the fullest possible extent, let's see what conclusions have already been secured.

### Retained conclusions concerning KV20

From the theories discussed, I think the following conclusions regarding KV20 can be retained:

- This tomb was constructed in two phases, with very different architectural characteristics. As per Romer.
- The last of these two phases was probably executed towards the end of Hatshepsut's reign. Again: as per Romer.
- The orientation of KV20 to Hatshepsut's mortuary temple at Deir el-Bahri confirms that it was Hatshepsut's tomb from the start. *Passim* (although contrary to Romer).
- There is no evidence of involvement of Tuthmosis I in the making of any part of KV20. As per Altenmüller and Polz, contrary to Romer.

### Retained conclusions concerning KV38

For KV38, we can keep these conclusions:

- Tuthmosis III transported his grandfather's burial from KV20 to this tomb, where he laid him to rest in a new sarcophagus: E. As per Hayes, and never seriously questioned since.
- In its final form, with cartouche shaped burial chamber, its walls plastered and donned with texts, this tomb belongs to the reign of Tuthmosis III. As per Altenmüller and Romer.
- KV38 can not have been Tuthmosis I's original tomb: it is too small for such an important king. As per Romer,<sup>243</sup> and *passim*. (Particularly noteworthy in this respect is the fact that KV38 is smaller than either AN B or KV39: the two most serious candidates for the position of tomb of Amenhotep I, his immediate predecessor: see the remarks made on page 55 above.)

### New conclusions

To the retained conclusions of Hayes, Romer, Altenmüller and Polz, I now propose to add the following ones:

<sup>243</sup> *JEA* 60, p. 119.

- KV20 until J1 was planned, not only in conjunction with Hatshepsut's Deir el-Bahri mortuary temple, but also with El-Qurn. The tomb's first passage is oriented towards Deir el-Bahri, while burial chamber J1 is aimed at El-Qurn (see "Excursus A: The orientation of KV20" on page 64 above).
- The burial chamber of KV38 is also aimed at El-Qurn (see Fig. 14 on page 67 above).
- Typologically, KV20 until J1 is related to KV39 (see pages 53 and 54 above).

With respect to KV20, this amounts to a comprehensive theory, but for KV38, we are not nearly as far yet.

### 3. Where does KV38 fit in?

Our conclusions about KV38 so far are still a bit meager: we can as yet not reconstruct its history – not even tentatively. Perhaps it will help if we re-examine the tomb's plan from the perspective of Altenmüller's suggestion that this tomb may have a two phased history, and that its current shape is the result of renovation work done by Tuthmosis III.

If there is one element in this tomb's plan that is particularly evocative of the period of Tuthmosis III, then it's the cartouche shaped burial chamber. That feature is, in all of ancient Egypt's history, confined to three tombs only: KV38, KV42 and KV34. KV34 is the tomb of Tuthmosis III, KV42 was probably meant for his great royal wife Hatshepsut-Meryetre, and in KV38, he reburied his grandfather. All of this makes the cartouche shaped burial chamber a sure sign of Tuthmosis III's reign. If KV38 was altered under Tuthmosis III, then the cartouche shape of its burial chamber was almost certainly introduced at that occasion.

So what may this tomb have looked like, before this element was added?

It is now time to come back to a remark about KV38's burial chamber, made on page 16 above:

The fact that this large room had only one pillar, which was moreover asymmetrically placed, has not attracted much attention. Undeservedly, as we will see later.

In ancient Egyptian funerary architecture, chambers with only one pillar are relatively rare, and restricted to small, square or squarish rooms, with the single pillar in its center.<sup>244</sup> From the period of the early 18<sup>th</sup> dynasty, there are two royal tombs in which the burial chamber had only one pillar: tomb AN B (in its original design: see 3TA), and KV32 (ascribed to Tiaa, queen of Amenhotep II). In both cases, the one pillar stood in the center of a small room. The asymmetrically placed pillar of KV38, in a much larger room, appears to be one of a kind.

If KV38 was, during the reign of Tuthmosis III, refurbished at the occasion of Tuthmosis I's reburial, this strange position of the one pillar may have been a result of that procedure. It may have taken shape the same way as the second pillar in AN B's burial chamber: cut out from the rock during the extension of the room.<sup>245</sup> This gives us an indication about the possible original size of this room (see Fig. 16 below).

The stairwell may also have been altered. The stairwells in KV39 occurred simply in corridors, those of KV20 in narrow chambers, while those of KV34 and its immediate successors each had much wider chambers. If the stairwell in room C of KV38 originally was cut in a corridor or in a narrow chamber, Tuthmosis III's contemporaries may have wished to transform that room into a wider chamber, as was the custom of the time – a procedure that apparently was not completely finished (see the plan below). And maybe corridor B was also widened: compare the corridors in KV39 and KV20 with the first and second corridor in KV34, as shown in Fig. 2 on page 10 above.

When we combine all of this together, KV38 may originally have looked like this:

<sup>244</sup> For some examples, see *Dodson* p. 18 (a saff-complex from the 11<sup>th</sup> dynasty) and p. 21 (cenotaph of Sesostris III at Abydos).

<sup>245</sup> See 3TA, p. 31.

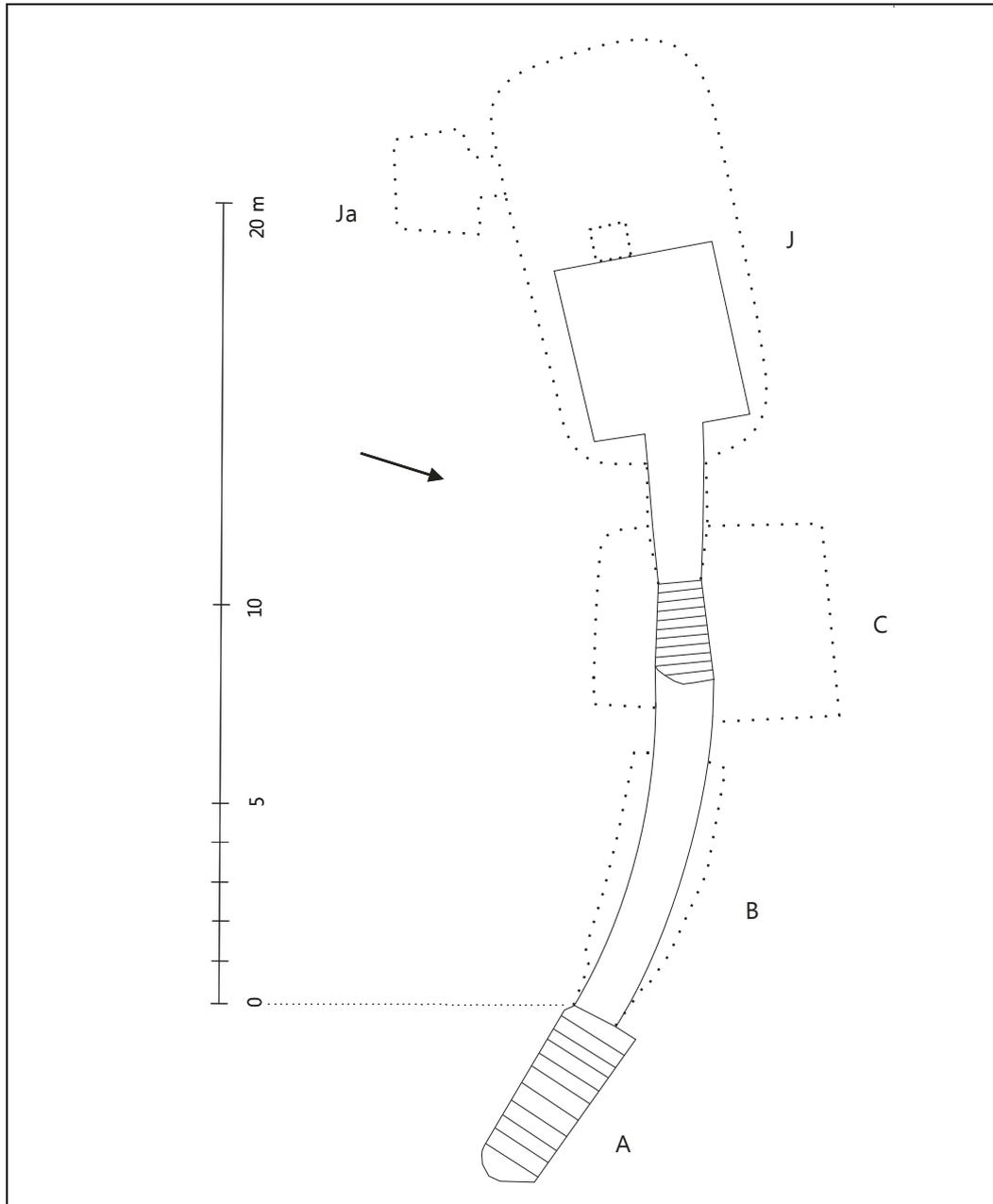


Fig. 16 KV38 in a hypothetical first version

The dotted lines indicate the final shape of this tomb.

It's admittedly an accumulation of guesswork, but the end result starts showing a remarkable degree of kinship with both KV39 (eastern passage) and KV20 (until J1): see Fig. 17 below. These three tombs now exhibit an interesting series of similarities:

- Their plans show an emphasize on long, steeply descending corridors, with relatively small chambers.
- Their burial chambers are oriented, in one way or another, towards El-Qurn.
- They are essentially linear: not per se following a straight line, but without angular turns.
- They have no pillars.
- They have no side chambers.

*Incidentally: the fact that KV38 is aimed at El-Qurn implies, that the plan's bend to the left does not mark the beginning of the later right-angled turn, as is sometimes suggested: this bend was just needed to bring about the desired orientation of the tomb. The fact that the en-*

trance of the tomb was not from the start aligned with El-Qurn could be due to a preference for following natural faults in the rock. As Carter once remarked (and Romer later repeated), it was not uncommon for the ancient masons to utilize "whenever possible the natural surfaces formed by the fissures in the rock."<sup>246</sup>

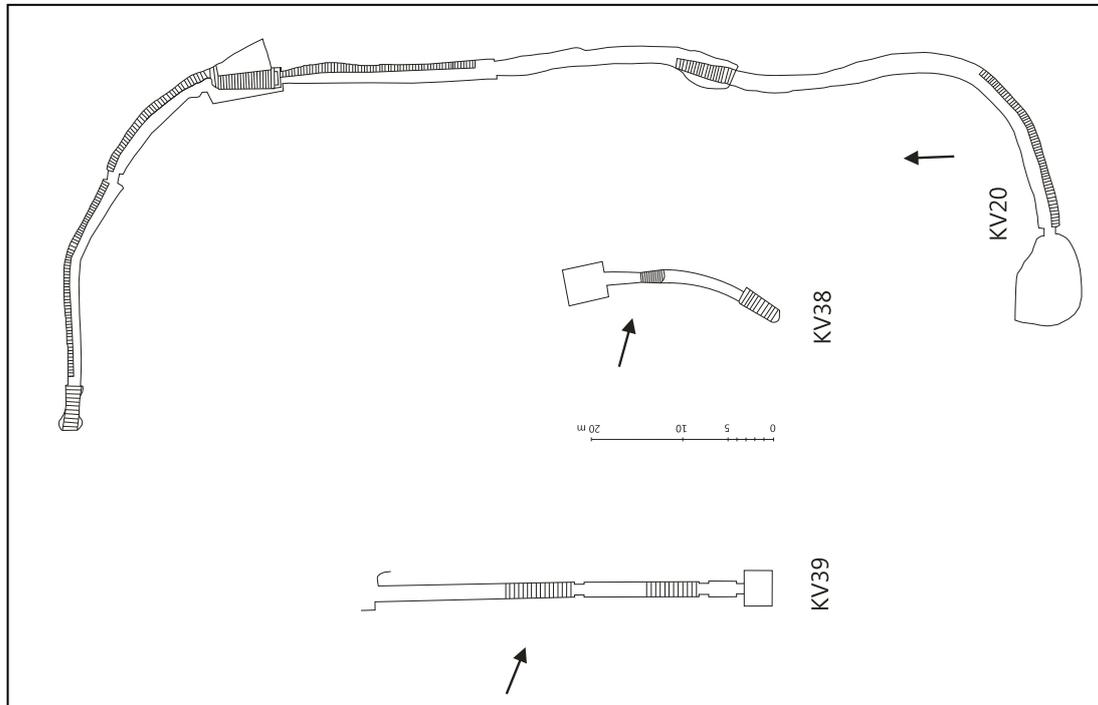


Fig. 17 The first stages of KV39, KV38 and KV20

*KV39: eastern passage only (see page 50 above).*

*KV38: hypothetical first phase: before refurbishing by Tuthmosis III.*

*KV20: first phase, with J1 as its burial chamber.*

In all five respects, these tombs differ moreover markedly from KV34 and its immediate successors.

- Their plans show an emphasize on large, imposing chambers, connected by relatively short corridors.
- Their burial chambers are not in any particular way oriented.
- They have a (semi)right-angled turn.
- Some chambers have pillars.
- And some have side chambers.

If we now return to KV20, and consider again the architectural differences between the two phases of that tomb, we see that its second phase adheres in every respect to this newer set of characteristics:

- The relationship between J2 and its introductory corridor G is the inverse of that between J1 and its preceding corridor, D (see Fig. 9 on page 51 above).
- Burial chamber J2 is not oriented in any particular way.
- From G to J2, there is a right-angled turn.
- J2 has three pillars.
- And it has three side chambers.

I would say that, between the first and second phase of KV20, a drastic change occurred in the basic ideas governing the construction of regal tombs.

Having tentatively decided on a two-phased history for KV38, with Tuthmosis III as sponsor for its second phase, we now need to find a likely suspect, responsible for its beginnings. Let's start with trying to narrow down the list of potential candidates.

<sup>246</sup> Carter in *JEA III*, p. 150, quoted *3TA*, p. 29.

First of all, KV38 appears to be a king's tomb. As I have advanced in 3TA, the stunning appearance of El-Qurn seems to have made it during the early 18<sup>th</sup> dynasty a kingly prerogative to have one's tomb in its immediate vicinity, and oriented towards it. The three tombs that appear to be the oldest in the Valley – KV39, KV20 and KV38 – all are, in one way or another, oriented towards this mountaintop.<sup>247</sup>

In 3TA, I have furthermore argued that KV39 must be the first tomb ever constructed in this area. Amenhotep I is regularly mentioned as possible sponsor for that tomb (e.g. by Weigall and Rose). Another tomb, outside the Valley (tomb AN B) also seems a very good candidate for this position (see 3TA). Combined, these matters pretty much bar Amenhotep I from our shortlist of potential originators for KV38. Which in turn makes his successor Tuthmosis I the first possible candidate. Considering that Tuthmosis III used this tomb for his granddad, he is obviously the last possible candidate.

Let's go back for a minute to the moment of Tuthmosis II's death. His great royal wife Hatshepsut assumes the regency for the child-king Tuthmosis III. What is her first obligation? To make sure that the eternal cycle of divine kingship will endure, for the sake of Egypt. Essential to that continuing cycle is the passing from Horus to Osiris to Horus again, which is accomplished at each king's tomb. Child or not, Tuthmosis III is the crowned king of Egypt, and at his death, there must be a proper tomb ready for him. So immediately after his father Tuthmosis II died, work on a tomb for his successor started, on the orders of Hatshepsut, regentess of the realm.

If KV20 was from the start planned by Hatshepsut as her kingly tomb – as seems certain in view of its orientation to her kingly mortuary temple on the other side of the mountain – then work on it can not have started before Year 2, because Hatshepsut is in that year still attested as regentess. Therefore, Tuthmosis III's "child's tomb" must predate KV20. I don't think anyone has ever seriously suggested that KV34 predates KV20, so Tuthmosis III's child tomb has to be a different one.<sup>248</sup>

We can now draft the following list of rulers who may have been responsible for initiating KV38:

- a) Tuthmosis I;
- b) Tuthmosis II;
- c) Hatshepsut, commissioning it for Tuthmosis III as a child, when she was still regentess;
- d) Hatshepsut for herself, in her guise as king Maat-ka-re, before she had KV20 cut;
- e) Tuthmosis III for himself, before he had KV34 constructed;
- f) and Tuthmosis III, commissioning it expressly for his grandfather.

a) Tuthmosis I has to be dropped on account of size. Even in its final shape, KV38 would have been too small for that king (see the conclusions about KV38 on page 76 above), so an even smaller tomb (before the refurbishing by Tuthmosis III) need not be considered seriously.

b) KV38 would actually make a great candidate for the position of Tuthmosis II's tomb: it has the right size for a short-lived king.<sup>249</sup> Fact is though that KV38 was used by Tuthmosis III to re-bury his grandfather. If that tomb had been his father's, it would have been occupied, and therefore not available for such a purpose.

<sup>247</sup> See in 3TA paragraph 4.2: "The significance of El-Qurn."

<sup>248</sup> Hornung has suggested that perhaps KV42 was originally Tuthmosis III's child tomb: *RdE* 27, p. 130, n. 20.

<sup>249</sup> Opinions differ as to how long Tuthmosis II may have ruled: see page 14 and note 17 above. A very short rule seems the more plausible to me, in view of the sparse signs of his existence available. Were it not for his name (Tuthmosis) and his dynasty (the 18<sup>th</sup>), one would probably speak of him as an ephemeral king.

- c) KV38 as child tomb for Tuthmosis III seems a distinct possibility. There would be one problem though: its size. Normally, the tomb of Tuthmosis III would have been larger than that of his father, Tuthmosis II, which in turn would have been larger than that of *his* father, Tuthmosis I (probably KV39). We are however unaware of the tomb of Tuthmosis II. If that king ruled for as little as three years, as has been suggested,<sup>250</sup> then his tomb may not have reached its intended size. (See page 55 above for a fitting quote from Thomas: "...for tombs tend to become increasingly larger and more complex with time, without reversing the process unless a king's death or another obstacle intervened."<sup>251</sup>) And if the child Tuthmosis III had a weak constitution, as I suggested,<sup>252</sup> then the ambitions for his tomb may have been not too high to start with.
- d) Also, the tomb may have been an (unfinished) first for Hatshepsut, discarded when suddenly the idea of a cultic connection of her tomb with her temple in the Deir el-Bahri bay presented itself.
- e) Or Tuthmosis III may have begun KV38, before he decided on another, more imposing spot, for KV34.
- f) And then there is still Romer's idea, that Tuthmosis III established KV38 expressly for his grandfather. Although not downright impossible, there are indirect indications that seem to point away from this option:
- Constructing a completely new tomb for an ancestor does not really square with the general attitude of ancient Egyptian kings in these matters: see the examples given in *3TA*, page 44.
  - The asymmetrically placed pillar in KV38's burial chamber suggests an extension of an existing tomb (see page 78 above). *That* would square infinitely better with the general attitude just referred to.

So what can we conclude?

- a) Tuthmosis I: improbable.
- b) Tuthmosis II: impossible.
- c) Child tomb for Tuthmosis III: possible.
- d) Forerunner for KV20: possible.
- e) Forerunner for KV34: possible.
- f) Custom-made by Tuthmosis III for his grandfather: improbable.

On an intuitive level, I favor option c. After all: there has to be a child's tomb for Tuthmosis III somewhere. As explained, Hatshepsut was under obligation to construct a tomb for him right away, even before she rose to the dignity of king and initiated KV20. And KV34, Tuthmosis III's final tomb, can hardly have been constructed before KV20. When later Tuthmosis III was faced with the task of relocating his grandfather's burial, it would have been completely natural for him to immediately remember that abandoned little tomb that had once been prepared for him: KV38.

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<sup>250</sup> See page 14 above.

<sup>251</sup> *RN* p. 74.

<sup>252</sup> See page 14 above.

## 4. A tomb for Tuthmosis I

If KV38 and KV20 have one thing in common, it's their connection with Tuthmosis I; basically, KV20 is about Tuthmosis I and Hatshepsut, while KV38 is about Tuthmosis I and Tuthmosis III. We need not doubt that Tuthmosis I was once buried in each of these tombs – but as we have seen, it seems very doubtful indeed that either was his original tomb. The very least one has to say is, that there isn't a shred of positive evidence to support the position that Tuthmosis I was involved in the construction of either tomb.

Romer's proposal that the first part of KV20 was Tuthmosis I's original tomb bites the dust primarily because of the fact that precisely its first corridor is so clearly oriented towards Hatshepsut's mortuary temple at Deir el-Bahri. In addition to this there is the unlikelihood that Hatshepsut would not only have opened her father's tomb, but also have executed major extension works in this tomb, with his burial still inside. Even for a queen who did many incredible things, this would seem a bit too much.

The position that KV38 was Tuthmosis I's original tomb is downright untenable. In its final form, with cartouche shaped burial chamber, its walls plastered and donned with texts, it definitely belongs to the reign of Tuthmosis III: the correspondence in style with KV42 and KV34 is too conspicuous to ignore. But if this had been Tuthmosis I's original tomb, renovated later by Tuthmosis III at the occasion of his grandfather's reburial, then it would at first have been even smaller than it is now - and even in its current size, it is smaller than either AN B, or KV39: the two most serious candidates for the position of tomb of Amenhotep I (see also the argumentation on page 55 above.)

If, as I believe, neither KV20 nor KV38 was Tuthmosis I's original tomb, then we have to look out for an as yet unknown or unidentified king's tomb from the early 18<sup>th</sup> dynasty: the one from Polz's theory, that I labeled "Tomb X." As I have argued in *3TA*, there are grounds to assume that Tuthmosis I's tomb was in any event located within walking distance of Deir el-Medineh – the village for the workers on the tombs in the Valley of the Kings – but that still leaves us plenty of room to search in. We can however also look at this matter in an indirect way, via a mirror if you like. When Tuthmosis III decided to remove his grandfather's burial from KV20, he must have been aware of his original tomb: Tomb X. He did however choose *not* to bring the old man back to that tomb, but brought him to KV38 instead. Why?

One reason why Romer's theory is so attractive is, that it immediately gives an answer to this very question: removing his grandfather's mummy from *Hatshepsut's* tomb may well have been at the forefront of Tuthmosis III's thinking. But having robbed myself from Romer's answer, I now need a new one.

What could have deterred Tuthmosis III to bring back his grandfather's mummy to his original tomb?

It may no longer have been available, for various reasons:

1. It may have been destroyed, or seriously damaged, by a natural disaster: an earthquake, or floods.
2. Or it may have been re-used by someone else.

Or it may now have seemed a king unbecoming, for any of the following reasons:

3. It was now considered too small, or too primitive.
4. Or it was at a location that was no longer deemed appropriate.

Let's examine them, one by one.

1. Destroyed or damaged: a flood could very well have caused something like this. In that case, the tomb in question is probably not known to us: I know of no tomb that fits this description - royal, but ruined. Although... Weren't this exactly Hayes'

words about KV39?

“No inscriptions remain upon the walls, and the chambers are entirely wrecked.”

And: “Its size and construction is such as to preclude the possibility of it being anything but a royal tomb.”<sup>253</sup>

2. Re-used by someone else: such a re-use would have had to occur during the joint rule of Hatshepsut and Tuthmosis III: between the moment that Tuthmosis I's burial was transferred by Hatshepsut to KV20, and the moment that Tuthmosis III removed it from there. In this day and age, only re-use by a king would seem possible, which really restricts the range of possible candidates to one: Tuthmosis III. If Tuthmosis III would have taken over his grandfather's abandoned tomb, then obviously he would have had to find something new for his grandfather. In the end, Tuthmosis III was buried in KV34, but that tomb is way too advanced to have been built by Tuthmosis I. So perhaps Tuthmosis III only later decided to have KV34 built for himself, as replacement for the tomb that he had earlier taken over from his grandfather. This means that there would have to be, somewhere, a kingly tomb from the early 18<sup>th</sup> dynasty, whose owner has not yet been identified. Having already eliminated KV38 and KV20, I can think of only one candidate for that position: KV39.
3. The tomb was now found to be too small, or too primitive: this would mean that Tuthmosis I's original tomb was even smaller, and/or more primitive, than KV38. That would be too improbable to consider.
4. The tomb's location was no longer deemed appropriate. If Tuthmosis I's original tomb was located outside the Valley of the Kings, then perhaps that fact alone would have sufficed to render it now unsuitable. Or perhaps other activities had occurred in the neighborhood that would now oppose re-use of that location for a king's burial. One could think of a place where the houses of commoners (either the living or the dead) had come too close. Or of a place where a new road was now passing, too close for reasons of safety. Like KV39, where the new footpath from Deir el-Medineh to the Valley of the Kings was now passing, only meters away, while a new village - the *Village de Repos* - was sitting right above it.

There appears to be a host of pointers towards KV39, and in *3TA*, I believe I've shown that this tomb is a credible candidate for the position of Tuthmosis I's original tomb – although not for the reasons sketched above. The evidence in *3TA* rests on the following observations (see *3TA* for underpinning):

1. KV39 is a king's tomb from the early 18<sup>th</sup> dynasty, older than KV34. It was more-over used for a burial in that same period.
2. As KV39 is located directly above KV34, 39 must have stood empty when 34 was cut for Tuthmosis III, for no ancient Egyptian king would – for reasons of prestige – consider building his own tomb immediately below the (occupied) tomb of a predecessor.
3. The only early 18<sup>th</sup> dynasty king whose burial was, during the reign of Tuthmosis III, removed from his tomb, was Tuthmosis I. The fact that Hatshepsut transferred her father's burial to her own tomb, KV20, is established beyond any reasonable doubt.

Since Tuthmosis III's own tomb, KV34, had already been cut in the cliff face below the deserted KV39, the grandson could, when he wished to transfer his grandfather's burial away from KV20, not re-instate him in his original tomb. That is why he had to look for an alternative: either a place to have a new tomb dug, or – preferably – an already available, unused tomb that could be adapted.

<sup>253</sup> *ASAE* 11, p. 174 (quoted in *3TA* on p. 62.)

## 5. The earliest history of kingly tomb building in the Valley of the Kings: a theory

I believe that the tomb of Amenhotep I (probably tomb AN B) was for quite a while the last king's tomb *not* to be cut in the Valley of the Kings. KV39 (probably the tomb of Tuthmosis I) is in my opinion the first tomb in the area of the Valley of the Kings,<sup>254</sup> as well as the first – after the Second Intermediate Period – in which a conscious attempt can be witnessed to once again formalize funerary architecture. The hallmarks of this first model of kingly tomb building of the New Kingdom were:

- An emphasize on “far and deep”: long, steeply descending corridors, with relatively small chambers.
- An orientation of the burial chamber towards El-Qurn.<sup>255</sup>
- Essentially linear tombs: not per se following a straight line, but without angular turns.
- No pillars.
- No side chambers.

The tombs built in accordance with these principles were:

1. KV39, eastern passage (probably Tuthmosis I).
2. An unknown tomb, belonging to Tuthmosis II.
3. The first phase of KV38 (possibly Tuthmosis III's child tomb).
4. And KV20 until burial chamber J1 (Hatshepsut).

Perhaps because of the difficulties involved in the cutting of ever deeper tombs,<sup>256</sup> a new concept was tried. The characteristics of this new model were:

- 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.

The larger chambers were especially suited for storing larger quantities of grave goods, both of a physical and of a ritual kind - the latter in the form of texts and decorations on the smoothed and plastered walls.

*Much later still, during the 19<sup>th</sup> and 20<sup>th</sup> dynasty, the long corridors make a glorious comeback in the Valley, albeit in a very different format: almost level, of truly majestic proportions, allowing a superb display of the tomb's ritual inventory: its vignettes and texts.*

The right-angled turn may have been introduced to camouflage – by blocking the view – the fact that the tomb was now overall shorter.

*When later, starting with Horemheb, the tombs are getting much longer again, the turn is gradually being dropped again from the canon.*

The first time that this new concept is tried is in the extension of KV20. With the next king's tomb, Tuthmosis III's KV34, the new model immediately comes into its own. When later this king decides to bring his grandfather's burial over to abandoned KV38 – possibly his former child tomb – his architects adapt the little tomb as much as possible to the new standards. They widen corridor B, extend stairwell C into a chamber, more than double the length of the burial chamber, introducing a pillar and

<sup>254</sup> See 37A for argumentation.

<sup>255</sup> In the case of KV39, this orientation was turned around 180° to avoid (in vain) bad rock (see 37A, chapter 5).

<sup>256</sup> See the immense problems encountered by the excavators, described on page 18 above.

a side chamber. The scale of the proposed changes though prohibits the adding of the last characteristic: the right-angled turn.

		KV39, eastern passage	KV38 1 <sup>st</sup> phase	KV20 till J1	KV20 beyond J1	KV34	KV38 2 <sup>nd</sup> phase	KV35, KV43 <sup>257</sup>
A	Emphasize on long corridors, with relatively small chambers	X	X	X				
B	Burial chamber oriented towards El-Qurn	X	X	X			X	
C	Essentially linear (straight or curving), without a sharp bend	X	X	X				
D	No pillars	X	X	X				
E	No side chambers	X	X	X				
F	Emphasize on large rooms, with relatively short corridors				X	X	X	X
G	Burial chamber not oriented in any particular way				X	X		X
H	With a (semi)right angled turn				X	X		X
I	With pillars				X	X	X	X
J	With side chambers				X	X	X	X
	Proposed sponsor	T. I	H.	H.	H.	T. III	T. III	A. II, T. IV
	Proposed occupant	T. I	T. III (child tomb)	H.	H. + T. I	T. III	T. I	A. II, T. IV
	Likelihood of these proposals	75%	50%	95%	99.9%	99.9%	99.9%	99.9%

*Table 22 Characteristics of the two earliest types of royal tombs in the Valley of the Kings  
Characteristics A-E constitute the older of two types, while F-J form the younger type.*

With KV43 (Tuthmosis IV), the younger type is complete – so with the next king's tomb (Amenhotep III's KV22), new dimensions are immediately explored. This process of a constant evolution will continue all through the New Kingdom.

### The limestone slabs

What could be the story behind the limestone slabs with the Am Duat texts? On page 30 above, the following table summarized the available information about both the slabs and the fragments of plaster, found in both tombs:

<sup>257</sup> KV35: tomb of Amenhotep II. KV43: tomb of Tuthmosis IV.

	KV38	KV20	Comments
Limestone slabs	2 slabs	15 slabs	Carter: "of the same kind."
Fragments of plaster	2 fragments		Daressy: texts larger than on the 2 slabs from KV38. Wente: texts larger than on the 15 slabs from KV20.

Essential is the question whether the 17 slabs once belonged together. The results in the table seem to suggest that they did, but there is as yet no evidence to this. Highly significant seems to me the fact that in KV38, not only slabs, but also fragments of plaster were found, with very different writing. Thomas was struck by the presence of slabs in 38 when the walls would have been plastered to receive texts,<sup>258</sup> and Johnson stated that the presence of the slabs in this tomb could not be explained.<sup>259</sup> But perhaps it is precisely this enigma that provides an answer as to what happened.

As explained on page 60 above, the presence of decorated but not mounted slabs in KV20's J2 suggests, that they were moved to that location for re-use. Since the re-use of decorated slabs of limestone would under normal conditions be an irrational procedure, this was taken as an indication that the slabs came from J1, where they may have been in use when that was still this tomb's burial chamber. Now the remains of 15 slabs in the debris of J2 suggests that the plan to re-use them had not yet been executed: one more indication that the extension of the tomb was carried out towards the end of Hatshepsut's reign, when time was running out. When later Tuthmosis III's men came to transfer his grandfather's burial to KV38, they may have decided to take the dismantled blocks with the Am Duat texts along, too. After all, they contained royal funerary texts, and were ready to be picked up. This may explain why, in a tomb with texts on its plastered walls, there were also limestone slabs with the same texts: probably neatly stacked in little piles in a corner of the burial chamber, as part of the god's inventory.

*Compared to the pains one has to endure to attain KV20's last chamber J2, to reach KV38's burial chamber is a cinch. If both chambers once contained a substantial number of useful building blocks, I would expect those in KV38 to have been much more in demand than those in KV20.*

<sup>258</sup> See page 47 above.

<sup>259</sup> See page 73 above.

## Appendix 1: Thomas' standard room designations

Thomas' standard scheme is only fully applicable to the series of kings' tombs that starts with KV34. The following table shows in what way this scheme was developed until KV43 (Tuthmosis IV). Side chambers are ignored.

Element	KV34	KV35	KV43
	Tuthmosis III	Amenhotep II	Tuthmosis IV
A: open entryway	x	x	x
B: corridor	x	x	x
C: stairwell	x	x	x
D: corridor	x	x	x
E: well chamber with well	x	x	x
F: pillared hall	x	x	x
G: corridor		x	x
H: stairwell			x
I: chamber			x
J: burial chamber	x	x	x

*Table 23 The development of the main sequence of rooms(ignoring side chambers) in the kings' tombs from Tuthmosis III till Tuthmosis IV*

*Tombs KV38 and KV42 have been omitted: KV38 because it was originally conceived as a tomb of the earlier canon, KV42 because it was not a king's tomb, but a queen's.*

## Appendix 2: Comparing the dimensions of KV20's J1 and J2

Romer underpins his argument about the difference in size between J1 and J2 with figures from Carter's publication of KV20.<sup>260</sup> These figures are however not very accurate, and as a result, Romer exaggerates this difference considerably. Polz<sup>261</sup> rightfully remarks about this. Using the new plan by the TMP, he derives from it other values.<sup>262</sup> But he then simply multiplies length and width of these irregularly shaped rooms, thereby again overstating the differences. The TMP figure for area even indicates that J1 is (in area) *smaller* than J2.

The following table summarizes the three sets of data:

	J1					J2				
	length	width	height	area	volume	length	width	height	area	volume
Carter / Romer	10	9	4,4	90	396	11	5,5	3	60,5	181,5
Polz	10,25	6,9		71		11	5,4		59,5	
TMP website	10,11	7,18	4,53	59,1	268,49	11,1	5,45	2,7	61,7	166,48

Table 24 The dimensions of J1 and J2 in KV20

<sup>260</sup> See *JEA* 60, 123.

<sup>261</sup> *Beginn* 213.

<sup>262</sup> Apparently by taking measurements on the scale drawing: see *Beginn* 213, n. 862. As the next row shows, his measurements come fairly close to the actual figures.

### Appendix 3: An overview of the theories concerning KV20 and KV38

*Tomb WA D (Hatshepsut's "cliff tomb") is in these tables only mentioned in Altenmüller's theory, because it does not play a significant role in any of the other theories.*

#### **Theory # 1: Winlock**

(from page 34 above)

KV38	KV20
Ineni's tomb for Tuthmosis I, where he is buried in a set of wooden coffins in a stone sarcophagus (E).	
	Tomb of Hatshepsut, in which she is to be buried in sarcophagus C. The tomb is planned in conjunction with her mortuary temple on the other side of the mountain.
→	Sarcophagus C is altered for Tuthmosis I, and his mummy, in its innermost coffin, is transferred to KV20. For Hatshepsut, sarcophagus D is prepared.

Blocks with Am Duat texts: not referred to by Winlock.

Actual burials in KV20: both Tuthmosis I and Hatshepsut.

**Theory # 2: Hayes**

(from page 41 above)

KV38	KV20
Ineni's tomb for Tuthmosis I, where he is buried in a set of wooden coffins.	
	Tomb of Hatshepsut, in which she is to be buried in sarcophagus C. The tomb is planned in conjunction with her mortuary temple on the other side of the mountain, and both are – from the start – planned for her as well as her father.
→	Sarcophagus C is altered for Tuthmosis I, and his mummy, in its innermost coffin, is transferred to KV20. For Hatshepsut, sarcophagus D is prepared.
Tuthmosis III commissions a new sarcophagus: E. He brings his grandfather back to KV38, where he is now buried, with his original set of wooden coffins, in this sarcophagus.	←

New elements:

- Tuthmosis I's burial is moved not once (from 38 to 20, by Hatshepsut) but twice (later back again to 38, by Tuthmosis III).
- Sarcophagus E (for Tuthmosis I, in KV38) is made on the orders of Tuthmosis III.
- And Hatshepsut is never actually buried in KV20.

Blocks with Am Duat texts: Hayes mentions their presence in both KV20 and KV38, but does not speculate about transport of (some of) these in either direction.

Actual burials in KV20: only Tuthmosis I.

**Theory # 2a Thomas**

As Hayes.

Blocks with Am Duat texts: those in KV20 probably came from KV38.

Actual burials in KV20: probably none.

**Theory # 2b Johnson**

As Hayes.

Blocks with Am Duat texts: the presence of those in KV38 "can not be explained."

Actual burials in KV20: both Tuthmosis I and Hatshepsut.

**Theory # 3: Romer**

(from page 49 above)

KV20	KV38
KV20 is built in two phases. Phase 1, until burial chamber J1, is Ineni's tomb for Tuthmosis I, where he is buried in a set of wooden coffins.	
<p style="text-align: center;">↓</p> Towards the end of her reign, Hatshepsut opens her father's tomb, and adds a 2 <sup>nd</sup> suite, with burial chamber J2. Sarcophagus C, originally made for her, is altered for Tuthmosis I, and his mummy is transferred from J1 to J2. For Hatshepsut, sarcophagus D is prepared.	
<p style="text-align: center;">→</p>	After the disappearance of Hatshepsut, Tuthmosis III has KV38 newly constructed for Tuthmosis I, where he reburies him in a new sarcophagus: E.

New elements:

- KV20 was built in two phases: until J1 by Tuthmosis I, the rest by Hatshepsut.
- KV38 was built by Tuthmosis III.

Blocks with Am Duat texts: those in KV38 probably came from KV20.

Actual burials in KV20: a vague reference to Hayes, who believed that only Tuthmosis I was actually buried in KV20.

**Theory # 4: Altenmüller**

(from page 72 above)

KV38	WA D	KV20
Ineni's tomb for Tuthmosis I, where he is buried in a set of wooden coffins.		
	Cliff tomb, with sarcophagus A, prepared for Hatshepsut when she is still Tuthmosis II's great royal wife.	
		Tomb for Hatshepsut as ruler, until J1. Sarcophagus D is prepared for her to be used in this tomb.
	Tomb WA D is retained as Hatshepsut's ritual "south tomb". Sarcophagus C is prepared to replace A, to serve as "cenotaph-double" in WA D.	
		Hatshepsut decides to rebury her father in KV20. To this end, she adds the 2 <sup>nd</sup> suite, and she commissions sarcophagus E for Tuthmosis I.
	Tomb WA D is extended with a 2 <sup>nd</sup> burial chamber, to maintain the parallelism with KV20. Sarcophagus F is commissioned as "cenotaph-double" for Tuthmosis I in WA D.	
→		Tuthmosis I is transferred to KV20. Sarcophagus E is not yet ready though, so he is buried in sarcophagus C which is altered for him.
	Sarcophagus E is to replace A in WA D (instead of C)	
		Hatshepsut is buried in KV20, in sarcophagus D.
Tuthmosis III has KV38 refurbished. He then brings Tuthmosis I back into KV38, where he reburies him in sarcophagus E. He appropriates F for himself.		←

Altenmüller reverts back to the premise of KV38 predating KV20.

New elements: too many to list.

Useful new elements:

- KV38's final format may be from a later period than its original conception.
- Building KV20 in two phases not necessarily required two different sponsors.

Blocks with Am Duat texts: not mentioned.

Actual burials in KV20: both Tuthmosis I and Hatshepsut.

**Theory # 5: Polz**

(from page 74 above)

"Tomb X"	KV20	KV38
Ineni's tomb for Tuthmosis I, <i>not</i> in the Valley of the Kings, where he is buried in a set of wooden coffins.		
	Tomb of Hatshepsut, in which she is to be buried in sarcophagus C. The tomb is planned in conjunction with her mortuary temple on the other side of the mountain. The tomb is completed in one go.	
→	Sarcophagus C is altered for Tuthmosis I, and his mummy, in its innermost coffin, is transferred to KV20. For Hatshepsut, sarcophagus D is prepared.	
	→	After the disappearance of Hatshepsut, Tuthmosis III has KV38 newly constructed for Tuthmosis I, where he reburies him in a new sarcophagus: E.

New element: another tomb, somewhere outside the Valley, was Tuthmosis I's original tomb.  
 Blocks with the Am Duat texts: not mentioned.  
 Actual burials in KV20: probably just Tuthmosis I.

**Theory #6: Willockx**

KV39	KV38	KV20	KV34
Ineni's tomb for Tuthmosis I, where he is buried in a set of wooden coffins.			
	Hatshepsut as regentess orders the cutting of this tomb for the young Tuthmosis III.		
		Hatshepsut's kingly tomb, with J1 as burial chamber, in which she is to be buried in sarcophagus C. The tomb is planned in conjunction with her mortuary temple as well as with El-Qurn.	
		A new and grander sarcophagus is prepared for Hatshepsut: sarcophagus D.	
→		Towards the end of her reign, Hatshepsut adds a 2 <sup>nd</sup> suite to KV20, with burial chamber J2. Sarcophagus C is altered for Tuthmosis I, and his mummy, in its innermost coffin, is transferred to KV20.	
			Tuthmosis III commissions sarcophagus F, and has a new, grander tomb constructed for himself, below abandoned KV39.
	Tuthmosis III has KV38 refurbished for his grandfather, whose burial is transported from KV20 to this tomb where he is reburied, in his original set of wooden coffins, in a new sarcophagus: E.	←	

## New elements:

- KV20 was not only oriented toward Hatshepsut's mortuary temple, but also to El-Qurn.
- KV39 was probably Tuthmosis I's original tomb.
- KV38 may have been built, on the orders of Hatshepsut, as tomb for the young Tuthmosis III.
- Tuthmosis III could not bring his grandfather back to KV39, because that would now have meant placing him above his own tomb: newly cut KV34. He therefore had to look for an alternative location, which he found in abandoned KV38.

Blocks with the Am Duat texts: those in KV20's J2 may have come from J1. Those in KV38 probably came from KV20.

Actual burials in KV20: just Tuthmosis I.