

STUDIES IN THE ARCHAEOLOGY  
OF THE  
VALLEY OF THE KINGS,

with particular reference to  
tomb robbery and the caching of  
the royal mummies

(Volumes I-II)

Volume II: Notes to Text

by

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Notes

- 1) Maspero, New Light, 243.
- 2) TT1: P-M I<sup>2</sup>/i, 1 ff.
- 3) TT8: ibid., 17 f.
- 4) Cf. Rhind, Thebes, 62 ff. and passim.
- 5) Plato, Republic IV, 436a.
- 6) Cf. Ayrton & Loat, Mahasna, 1 f.; Caminos, in LA II, 866, n. 16.

Notes

- 1) Following Peet's restoration of the year: Tomb-Robberies, 37.
- 2) P. Abbott, 2, 1 ff.: ibid., pl. 1.
- 3) Černý's opinion (cited P-M I<sup>2</sup>/ii, 599), that the tomb of Amenophis I has yet to be found, was based upon an identification of the 'house of Amenophis l.p.h. of the garden' with the temple of Amenophis I and Ahmose-Nofretiri at Deir el-Bahri (cf. fig. 7). This identification can no longer be maintained, however: cf. n. 7 below.
- 4) Weigall, ASAE 11 (1911), 174 f.; cf. further his Guide, 224, and Tutankhamen, 45; also Nims & Swan, Thebes, 133 and n. 33.
- 5) Cf. Wb. I, 159, 6. Wb. treats the Abbott C as a separate word, 'als Beiname eines Teils des Grabes Amenophis des Ersten': I, 159, 7. Cf. Thomas, Necropoleis, 97, n. 17.
- 6) Since the basic meaning of C<sub>h</sub><sup>C</sup> is 'to stand up' or 'come to a standstill' (Wb. I, 218, 5), Thomas, Necropoleis, 71, has suggested that the C<sub>h</sub><sup>C</sup><sub>y</sub> of P. Abbott is a 'stopping place' of some sort - perhaps connected with the periodic circumambulation of the king's image.
- 7) Weigall suggested either the palace of Amenophis III at Malqata, or a postulated temple of Amenophis I at Medinet Habu (ASAE 11 (1911),

175; History II, 263); with regard to the latter, Thomas notes that even had Amenophis I initiated the temple there, 'it could hardly have been so identified at this time' (Necropoleis, 97, n. 23). Her own candidate, the funerary temple of Amenhotpe son of Hapu (ibid., 97, n. 24; followed by Gitton, Épouse, 17), is open to question on the grounds that the epithet 'l.p.h.' would seem to exclude a building of non-royal ownership. Schmitz's choice (Amenophis I, 221) is the temple of Amenophis I at Deir el-Medina, north of which KV39 is situated; it is probably also to be discounted, however, since its patron seems to have been 'Amenophis of the town' (Černý, BIFAO 27 (1927), 169 f.). It may be noted that Černý, although at first inclining towards Spiegelberg's identification (n. 40 below), later took the view that the P. Abbott reference was to the Amenophis I/Ahmoose-Nofretiri temple at Deir el-Bahri: P-M I<sup>2</sup>/ii, 599; cf. n. 3 above and fig. 7. This temple, however, is unlikely to have been visible at the time the commission made their report, having been demolished by Senenmut in the mid-18th dynasty (P-M II<sup>2</sup>, 343; cf. Thomas, Necropoleis, 97, n. 23).

- 8) Cf. ibid., 74.
- 9) Cf. below, chapter 8.
- 10) But cf. Romer, Valley, 250 f.
- 11) P-M I<sup>2</sup>/ii, 599; Thomas, Necropoleis, 172 f.
- 12) Cf. Carter, Notebook 16, 200. The Book of the Dead fragment acquired by de Ricci, noted ibid.

and in JEA 3 (1916), 151, n. 1, Carter elsewhere (MSS, I.A.167) dismisses as '?later and only of the cult of this king'.

- 13) Carter, JEA 3 (1916), 147 ff.; cf. id., Tut.ankh.Amen I, 75. A full account of the events leading up to the discovery is to be found in Carter, Notebook 16, 195 ff.
- 14) Ibid., 213 ff.
- 15) Ibid., 218.
- 16) Carter, JEA 3 (1916), 151.
- 17) Ibid., 151; id., Notebook 16, 195 ff.
- 18) 'Bronze eye-brows, eye-sockets, pieces of lapis-lazuli inlay, and decayed wood, found at the bottom of the Protective Well': Carter, JEA 3 (1916), 153.
- 19) Ibid., pl. 21, 1; cf. Hayes, Scepter II, 6, fig. 2.
- 20) Carter, JEA 3 (1916), pl. 21, 2-4.
- 21) Ibid., pl. 21, 5 (= Hayes, Scepter II, 45, fig. 21) & 6-9; and, for the three unpublished fragments, cf. Carter, MSS, I.A.183-5. For other vessel fragments of Ahmose-Nofretiri, cf. below, chapter 1 (s.v. Tuthmosis I; Hatshepsut).
- 22) Carter, JEA 3 (1916), pl. 21, 10-13; cf. Carter, MSS, I.A.188, 190.
- 23) Carter, JEA 3 (1916), 152; cf. id., Notebook 16, 200.
- 24) Cf. Peet, Tomb-Robberies, 43, n. 4; P-M I<sup>2</sup>/ii, 599.
- 25) Romer, MDAIK 32 (1976), 193 ff.
- 26) Carter, JEA 3 (1916), 150.
- 27) Romer, MDAIK 32 (1976), esp. 198 ff.
- 28) Cf. below, chapter 1 (s.v. Tuthmosis II).

- 29) Carter, JEA 3 (1916), pls. 17 & 18 (top); cf. Hayes, Scepter II, 123, 311, and Romer's rebuttal in MDAIK 32 (1976), 203 f.
- 30) Romer, ibid., 205. Thomas, Necropoleis, 173, and Gitton, Épouse, 17, suggest that the adaptation may have been carried out for a recently-dead queen, perhaps Mutnodjmet. This seems highly improbable, even without the evidence recently put forward for the latter's burial in the Memphite tomb of Horemheb (for which cf. Martin, in L'égyptologie en 1979 II, 275 ff.).
- 31) Romer, MDAIK 32 (1976), 200 f.
- 32) Ibid., 202 f.
- 33) The design of Hatshepsut's queenly tomb may well have been based upon dimensions recorded and filed at the time of the original burial - in the same way as those of KV2 (Ramesses IV) and certain other royal tombs (for which cf. Černý, Valley, 23 ff.).
- 34) Cf. Peet, Tomb-Robberies, 43, n. 4.
- 35) Carter, JEA 3 (1916), 147.
- 36) Breasted, Ancient Records IV, 513.
- 37) Cf. Carter, JEA 3 (1916), 150 & pl. 20.
- 38) Cf. Wb. I, 220, 11 f.
- 39) Carter, JEA 3 (1916), pl. 19.
- 40) P-M II<sup>2</sup>, 422 f. The identification goes back to Spiegelberg, Zwei Beiträge, 1; most recently reasserted by van Siclen, Serapis 6 (1980), 194.
- 41) As Carter points out, Notebook 16, 196 ff.
- 42) See n. 1 above.

- 43) Below, table 10, no. 14.
- 44) Table 7, no. 6.
- 45) Table 5, no. 8.
- 46) Cf. table 3, no. 6.
- 47) Table 10, no. 23.
- 48) See below, chapter 6.

Notes

- 1) P-M I<sup>2</sup>/ii, 546 f.; Thomas, Necropoleis, 75 ff.
- 2) Belzoni, Narrative, pl. 39.
- 3) Cf. Descr., Antiquités, Planches II, pl. 77.
- 4) Burton, MSS, 25640, 12 v.; 25642, 22 v. Cf. Wilkinson, Topography, 121.
- 5) Davis, Hâtshopsîtû, passim. Cf. Carter, ASAE 6 (1906), 119; EEFAR 1902-3, 13; 1903-4, 24; Rapports 1899-1910, 103, 121 f.
- 6) Davis, Hâtshopsîtû, 77, 105 f.; Weinstein, Foundation Deposits, 164 ff.
- 7) The presence of two vessels inscribed for Ahmose-Nofretiri is odd, in particular since the more complete of the two bears an inscription to the effect that Tuthmosis II '(made this as his monu)ment for his ancestor'. Perhaps these jars were deposited in the tomb by Tuthmosis II on behalf of the dead Ahmose-Nofretiri (as Hayes, Sarcophagi, 20 f., evidently believed); alternatively, one or more redundant vessels of Ahmose-Nofretiri may have been adapted for the burial of Tuthmosis I by adding two columns of inscription to the left of the queen's name and titulary (Gitton, Épouse, 21) - for which a parallel may be cited in CG 24976 from KV38 (Daressy, Fouilles, 300). It is perhaps less likely that Tuthmosis II should have been involved in the preparation of funerary items for Ahmose Nofretiri herself, who will have been

long dead by the time he came to the throne - unless, of course, Tuthmosis II was in some way connected with a reburial of the queen. Precisely how this would fit in with the evidence for Ahmose-Nofretiri's interment in AN B (above), however, is far from clear.

- 8) Davis, Hâtshopsîtû, 79. For the inscriptions on these vessels cf. ibid., 106 ff. with figs.; Lucas & Rowe, ASAE 40 (1940), 88 f.
- 9) Davis, Hâtshopsîtû, 81 ff. Winlock, JEA 15 (1929), 56 ff., was the first to draw attention to the fact that this sarcophagus had originally been prepared for Hatshepsut as pharaoh, and only subsequently adapted for Tuthmosis I. Cf. further Hayes, Sarcophagi, 19, 157 ff.
- 10) Davis, Hâtshopsîtû, 93 ff.; Hayes, Sarcophagi, 19 f., 161 ff.
- 11) Davis, Hâtshopsîtû, 101 f.
- 12) Ibid., xiv, 80. Other blocks, probably from the same series, were discovered in KV38: cf. Daressy, Fouilles, CG 24990. See Romer, JEA 60 (1974), 120; id., MDAIK 32 (1976), 200, n. 43; and, most recently, Wente, JNES 41 (1982), 164, n. 26.
- 13) Cf. Davis, Hâtshopsîtû, 80, 106 ff. (passim).
- 14) Cf. Winlock, JEA 15 (1929), 56 ff., for the reconstruction in its fullest form. Hatshepsut's original tomb (prepared for her as queen) was WA D (Wadi Sikkat Taqa el-Zeide): Carter, JEA 4 (1917), 114 ff. Perhaps the construction of this, rather than the adaptation of KV20, is the work alluded to in the Louvre statue of

- Hapuseneb (Urk. IV, 472, 9 ff.). For the alterations on this figure cf. Edgerton, Thutmosid Succession, 35 f.; Thomas, Necropoleis, 75.
- 15) Romer, JEA 60 (1974), 119 ff.
  - 16) Cf. Altenmüller, SAK 10 (1983), 25 ff., who reverts, essentially, to the traditional view.
  - 17) Urk. IV, 57, 3 ff. For the expression 'no-one seeing, no-one hearing', cf. Nims & Swaan, Thebes, 140. Miss Thomas furnishes me with the following parallels: Urk. IV, 546, 4 ff.; 97, 14 ff.
  - 18) Cf. Romer, JEA 60 (1974), 119 ff.
  - 19) Ibid., 124 f.
  - 20) Thomas, Necropoleis, 76, points out that, although a start had been made on preparing a site for Tuthmosis I's sarcophagus plinth, the sarcophagus itself had not been finally positioned. This state of affairs had earlier led Hayes, Sarcophagi, 12, to suggest that Tuthmosis I had never occupied this sarcophagus.
  - 21) See below.
  - 22) Davis, Hâtshopsîtû, pl. opp. p. 78.
  - 23) Ibid., 80.
  - 24) As Hayes, Sarcophagi, 21, has pointed out, the suggestion that one of the mummies found by Loret within KV35 might belong to Hatshepsut (cf. still Thomas, Necropoleis, 238) is entirely without supporting evidence, and, in the case of the 'Elder Woman' at least, now apparently ruled out: see below, chapter 2. If the body of Hatshepsut survived the plundering of her tomb, then one

might better commend the suggestion put forward by Davis, Hâtshopsîtû, xiv f., that hers is one of the anonymous female corpses from DB320 (for which cf. below, table 3).

- 25) Brugsch & Maspero, Trouvaille, pl. 19; Maspero, Momies royales, 584, 6<sup>o</sup>, pl. 22, a. In the latter publication, Maspero states that the Amun element of the queen's nomen had been erased in antiquity. Personal inspection of the box (J 26250) in Cairo has failed to convince me, however, that this is so. It therefore cannot be argued (with Carter, MSS, I.A.253, 267) that the tomb of Hatshepsut - surely the original home of the piece, despite doubts voiced in some quarters - was accessible during the Amarna period. Cf. below, table 3, no. 23.
- 26) This explanation is surely preferable to that offered by Maspero, Momies royales, 584: 'Je crois plutôt qu'on aura profité de la ressemblance de nom entre cette princesse et la reine Mâkerî de la XXI<sup>e</sup> dynastie, par donner à celle-ci un coffret qui provient du tombeau de la première. Ce serait alors une usurpation de plus au compte des grands-prêtres d'Amon et de leurs contemporains'.
- 27) See below, n. 94.
- 28) Chapter 6.
- 29) Cf. Pusch, Brettspiel, 279 f., pl. 72.
- 30) Cf. BM, Guide 3rd-4th, 214 f.; Carter, MSS, I.A.268.
- 31) Edwards, RdT 10 (1888), 125 f., 146 (pl.); id., Pharaohs, 298 ff.
- 32) Carter, MSS, I.A.264, records that 'Idris, the

salesman, told me long after, in 1893, that they (i.e. the bed fragments and related pieces) came from the rubbish heaps to the north of the Deir el Bahari temple'. This note was written in response to Petrie's attribution, n. 34 below, with which Carter evidently disagreed.

- 33) E.g. BM, Guide 4th-6th, 55 f.
- 34) Petrie, History II, 92 ff. This rumour may well have prompted Daressy's clearance of KV6 in 1888 - for which see below, chapter 6.
- 35) Ibid.
- 36) It is perhaps improbable that this material is to be associated with the finds from KV4, for which see further below, chapter 6. Amongst other pieces attributed to the burial of Hatshepsut may be noted a shabti, published by Wiedemann, PSBA 7 (1885), 183 f. Whether this piece comes from Thebes or from Abydos, however, is quite uncertain.
- 37) P-M I<sup>2</sup>/ii, 557 ff.; Thomas, Necropoleis, 71 ff.
- 38) Bénédite, Égypte, 537; Schweinfurth, Sphinx 3 (1900), 103 f. Cf. further Steindorff, Biblia 12 (1899-1900), 425 ff.
- 39) For these cf. Daressy, Fouilles, 300 ff. (passim); Romer, JEA 60 (1974), 120. The foundation deposits of KV38 were discovered by Carter in the spring of 1919: cf. MSS, I.A.233 f.; I.J.386-7, nos. 216-26; Weinstein, Foundation Deposits, 149. Cf. appendix C, site 3.
- 40) Cf. esp. Hayes, Sarcophagi, 52 ff., 104 ff. KV38 also contained a quartzite canopic chest, 'which was undoubtedly made at the same time and in the same atelier as its larger counterpart' (ibid., 13).

- 41) Daressy, Fouilles, CG 24981.
- 42) For the sarcophagus, cf. n. 50 below; for the glass, Romer, JEA 60 (1974), 120 (and cf. Lucas & Harris, Materials, 179; Harris, Legacy, 96).
- 43) Romer, JEA 60 (1974), 121 f.
- 44) Cf. P-M I<sup>2</sup>/ii, 557, following Winlock, JEA 15 (1929), 56 ff. and Hayes, Sarcophagi, 6 ff.
- 45) Cf. above, n. 17.
- 46) For the condition of the smaller items, cf. Daressy, Fouilles, 300 ff. (passim). The broken lid of the sarcophagus can be seen in Hayes, Sarcophagi, pl. 7.
- 47) Černý & Sadek, Graffiti I/i, xviii; no. 2061.
- 48) Meniunufer is evidently one of Butehamun's sons of that name: cf. Bierbrier, LNK, 42.
- 49) To judge from the size of the coffins appropriated by Pinudjem I (n. 50 below), Tuthmosis I had originally been equipped with an innermost case, now lost, perhaps similar to that of Tutankhamun. For the surviving coffins see below, table 7, no. 27.
- 50) Daressy, Cercueils, CG 61025. Despite Daressy, Winlock, JEA 15 (1929), 59, n. 3, was of the opinion that both the inner and outer coffins had originally been intended for Tuthmosis I; and indeed the (doubtful) outer coffin is 'of correct size to fit snugly into the sarcophagus of the tomb of Tuthmosis I' (i.e. KV38) (Hayes, Sarcophagi, 14). That the coffins are to be associated with Tuthmosis III's refurbishment of the burial is indicated further by the

similarity of the discernible texts on the inner coffin to those on the KV38 sarcophagus lid.

- 51) Cf. table 7, no. 27.
- 52) Cf. table 3, no. 50; table 5, no. 38; & chapter 11.
- 53) P-M I<sup>2</sup>/ii, 629 f.; Thomas, Necropoleis, 175 f.
- 54) Cf. below.
- 55) Cf. chapter 10.
- 56) Winlock, Egn. Expedn. 1928-9, 16 ff.; 1929-30, 12 ff.; id., Meryet-Amūn, passim.
- 57) On the identity of the Meryetamun from DB358 see in particular Logan & Williams, Serapis 4 (1977-8), 23 ff., who would make her the sister and queen of Amenophis I. The objects associated with Meryetamun are listed by Winlock, Meryet-Amūn, 69 ff.
- 58) For the objects relating to the burial of Nany, cf. ibid., 81 f.
- 59) Cf. above, s.v. Amenophis I.
- 60) Romer, MDAIK 32 (1976), 196.
- 61) Thomas, Serapis 6 (1980), 171 ff.; cf. esp. Addenda, 1, on p. 176.
- 62) Romer, MDAIK 32 (1976), 197.
- 63) Cf. below, table 5, no. 39.
- 64) Below, table 7, no. 40.
- 65) P-M I<sup>2</sup>/ii, 551 ff.; Thomas, Necropoleis, 77.
- 66) Cf. Loret, BIE (3 sér.) 9 (1898), 91 ff.; Schweinfurth, Sphinx 2 (1898), 145 ff.
- 67) Cf. Carter, MSS, I.J.386-7, nos. 303 ff. The foundation deposits are nos. 318-9, several pieces from which had earlier been recovered by Loret: cf. BIE (3 sér.) 9 (1898), 91; Daressy, Fouilles, CG 24917-30. See further Weinstein, Foundation

- Deposits, 190 f. Appendix C, site 13.
- 68) Loret, BIE (3 sér.) 9 (1898), 95.
- 69) Ibid. Is it possible that these and other chippings commonly found littering the inner chambers of a number of 18th dynasty royal tombs had originally been employed to fill one or other of the entrance corridors?
- 70) Daressy, Fouilles, 281 ff. Cf. further Reisner, Ships & Boats, 132 f. and passim, which complements Daressy's published listing of Loret's square designations. For other items attributed to the tomb (not always on the best evidence), cf. P-M I<sup>2</sup>/ii, 553 f. Of these, the Amherst boat (illustrated in Amherst, History, pl. opp. p. 44) is evidently a fake; whilst the attribution to Sennudjem of a sledge fragment from KV34 is based upon a misreading of Daressy's French. Cf. further BM, Guide 4th-6th, 199, where Budge attributes a series of 'bitumenised' funerary figures purchased from the dealer Mohammed Mohassib in 1912 to the tomb of Tuthmosis III. These pieces, however, are evidently later, and perhaps come from Davis's excavations in the tomb of Horemheb (KV57): cf. below, chapter 3.
- 71) Loret's excavation notes and plans cannot now be traced; see further below, chapter 10 (s.v. Amenophis II).
- 72) Daressy, Fouilles, CG 24915, 24946-7, 24951, 24959-61, 5204.
- 73) See below, chapter 10.
- 74) Loret, BIE (3 sér.) 9 (1898), 93.

- 75) Daressy, Fouilles, 283.
- 76) Loret's statement (BIE (3 sér.) 9 (1898), 94) that two of these statuettes were 'léopards' is surely mistaken. Only two such pieces were recovered from the tomb according to Daressy, and one of these is attributed to 'tas 8'.
- 77) Loret, BIE (3 sér.) 9 (1898), 94, 1<sup>o</sup>. The baboon's skull is published by Gaillard & Daressy, Faune momifiée, CG 29631.
- 78) Daressy, Fouilles, 288 f.
- 79) See n. 76 above.
- 80) Loret, BIE (3 sér.) 9 (1898), 94, 2<sup>o</sup>.
- 81) Daressy, Fouilles, 292.
- 82) Loret, BIE (3 sér.) 9 (1898), 94, 3<sup>o</sup>.
- 83) Ibid., 95, 4<sup>o</sup>.
- 84) Romer, MDAIK 31 (1975), 315 ff.
- 85) Ibid., 341 ff.
- 86) Ibid., esp. 343 f. That impressions were in use as early as the reign of Tuthmosis I, however, is indicated by that reproduced in Carnarvon & Carter, Five Years, 65 & pl. 58, 1.
- 87) Romer, MDAIK 31 (1975), 325, 344.
- 88) Cf. Hayes, Sarcophagi, pl. 10.
- 89) Cf. Romer, Valley, 158.
- 90) Cf. Daressy, Fouilles, 281 ff. (passim), and the figures reproduced ibid., pl. 55.
- 91) For other fragments from these boats, cf. the Reisner references cited in n. 70 above.
- 92) Romer, MDAIK 31 (1975), 329.
- 93) Osing, MDAIK 31 (1975), 349 ff. Osing's nos. 1 & 4 were first noted by Carter, MSS, I.A.10 f.
- 94) Since fragments from the king's funerary furniture

have been recovered from the tomb of Ramesses XI (KV4) (below, chapter 6) in association with fragments from one or more coffins of Hatshepsut, it is not inconceivable that the queen had previously been associated with Tuthmosis III within KV34.

- 95) Cf. Loret, BIE (3 sér.) 9 (1898), 95; and, for the dating, Smith, Royal Mummies, 116 (CG 61099-100).
- 96) Loret, BIE (3 sér.) 9 (1898), 95.
- 97) The 26th dynasty dating is that of Budge in BM, Guide Sculpture, 229 f. Dr A. J. Spencer, who is currently preparing the sarcophagus (n. 98 below) for publication, tells me that it might well be later.
- 98) Cf. P-M IV, 72.
- 99) Unfortunately the Hapmen sarcophagus was not discovered in the man's tomb, but in the mosque of Ibn Tulun in Cairo, where it 'was used by the Turks as a cistern, which they called "The Lovers' Fountain"' (Synopsis, 240). Cf. P-M IV, 72.
- 100) Table 5, no. 40.
- 101) For which cf. Dunham, JEA 17 (1931), 209 ff.; Nagel, ASAE 49 (1949), 317 ff.
- 102) Below, table 7, no. 41.
- 103) P-M I<sup>2</sup>/ii, 559; Thomas, Necropoleis, 78 ff.
- 104) Carter, ASAE 2 (1901), 196 ff. Cf. EEFAR 1900-1, 17; Rapports 1899-1910, 40. Appendix A, site 12.
- 105) Carter, MSS, I.J.386-7, nos. 310-19; I.G.51. Cf. below, appendix C, site 13. See also Carter, Tut.ankh.Amen I, 84, and, in general, Weinstein, Foundation Deposits, 192, 197 f. Three model vessels from one or other of these deposits are now in the Metropolitan Museum of Art, having

been purchased from the Luxor dealer Sayed Molattam in 1932 (MMA 32.2.18-20). Cf. Lansing's 'Notes on purchases 1931-2' in the Supplementary File of the Egyptian Department, and the relevant accession cards (copies of this material kindly furnished by Elizabeth Thomas); also Hayes, Scepter II, 119, 128. It is perhaps worth pointing out that the foundation deposit objects of Tuthmosis III (Carter, MSS, I.J.386-7, nos. 318-9) are probably strays from the disturbed deposits of KV34 (above). One of the 'alabaster pebbles' from Carter's group no. 318 is now in the Metropolitan Museum also (MMA 32.2.21; cf. Hayes, Scepter II, 119, 128).

- 106) Carter, MSS, I.J.387.
- 107) LdR II, 270 ff.
- 108) Cf. Weinstein, Foundation Deposits, 5 ff.
- 109) Below, chapter 2.
- 110) Romer, MDAIK 31 (1975), 347.
- 111) Apparently first proposed by Weigall, Guide, 225; id., Tutankhamen, 48. Followed by Steindorff in Baedeker, Egypt (1929), 314; Hayes, Sarcophagi, 7 ff.; id., Scepter II, passim. Cf. most recently Hornung, RdE 27 (1975), 125 ff.; Altenmüller, SAK 10 (1983), 25 ff. (passim).
- 112) Cf. Carter, ASAE 2 (1901), 197 & pl. 1, 2.
- 113) Romer, MDAIK 31 (1975), esp. 341 f. Cf. above.
- 114) Cf. Hayes, Sarcophagi, 50.
- 115) Carter, MSS, I.A.249.
- 116) As the title mwt nsw would imply: Daressy, Fouilles, CG 24112. Cf. also Bucher, Textes I, pl. 24, right.

- 117) Cf. below, chapter 10.
- 118) Carter, ASAE 2 (1901), 196.
- 119) Ibid., 198. This piece is now in the Metropolitan Museum of Art; Hayes, Scepter II, 146.
- 120) Carter, ASAE 2 (1901), 197. Cf. id., MSS, I.A.272; also the negative statement that 'not a vestige of meat was found in the store-room a. of tombs Thohtmes I and No. 42 (abandoned royal tomb)': I.A.275. The KV42 jars may have contained refuse embalming materials, as those in KV36 (Maiherpri) and KV46 (Yuya and Tjuyu); see below, chapter 8.
- 121) Four, complete, of Sennay; four, heads only, of Sennufer, and a fragmentary set of jars inscribed for Baktre: cf. Carter, ASAE 2 (1901), 197 ff.
- 122) For the shapes of these, cf. Carter, MSS, I.A.244. Five now in the Metropolitan Museum of Art, perhaps recovered from outside the tomb by Carter in 1921, are described by Hayes, Scepter II, 146.
- 123) Carter, ASAE 2 (1901), 200, for the text.
- 124) The coffins showed 'signs of ivory inlay, which it was impossible to preserve, as, on being touched, it instantly fell to pieces': Carter, ASAE 2 (1901), 198. The 'sledge fragments' were apparently from 'a large wooden sledge canopy, which must have been similar to that of Mer-ha-pri' (sic); cf. Carter, MSS, I.A.245. Hayes, Sarcophagi, 15, suggested that the sledge had been employed 'to drag the sarcophagus into the tomb'.
- 125) Helck, Verwaltung, esp. 525 f.

- 126) Baktre's relationship to Sennufer is unknown. As noted by Legrain, Répertoire, 114, no. 205, Mariette had earlier published the texts of two canopic jars (Selket and Isis) of a hkrt nsw Baktre from 'Bab el-Molouk' (Mon. div., 10, pl. 36, b-c). Thomas, Necropoleis, 79, suggests that the two Baktres are to be identified.
- 127) Below, chapter 8.
- 128) The influence of this family is perhaps shown by the fact that the decoration of Amenemopet's Qurna tomb (TT96: P-M I<sup>2</sup>/i, 197 ff.) was carried out by at least one of the artists who worked upon the tomb of Amenophis II (KV35): compare Myśliwiec, Portrait royal, esp. pls. 45-6. The burial chamber of the vizier User (TT61: P-M I<sup>2</sup>/i, 123 ff.; Hornung, User), it is worth noting, seems similarly to have been decorated by the artist responsible for the Amduat scenes in KV34 (Tuthmosis III). Cf. in general Romer, Valley, 209 f.
- 129) Carter, ASAE 2 (1901), 196 f.
- 130) Ibid., 198. Although this latter disturbance may have been due to Loret's men, Carter (ibid., 196) states only that 'the site was discovered and known to Monsieur Loret some eighteen months previously' (my italics). Elsewhere (MSS, I.A.245), Carter suggests that the dummy vase (hardly a 'canope' as described by Daressy, Fouilles, 299 f., CG 24974) was found 'quite near the opening of the tomb', and evidently not within it. The possibility exists that Loret did not actually

penetrate KV42, and that Carter's 'comparatively late' intrusion is unconnected with Loret's activities in the area. I am unable to comment upon Maspero's statement that KV42 'avait été malheureusement devasté au commencement du XIX<sup>e</sup> siècle' (Rapports 1899-1910, 40).

Notes

- 1) P-M I<sup>2</sup>/ii, 559 ff.; Thomas, Necropoleis, 80 f.
- 2) Davis, Thoutmôsis IV, viii, 1 ff.; Carter, MSS, I.A.64 ff. (photo I.A.64 = Romer, Valley, 186). Cf. in general, Weinstein, Foundation Deposits, 209 f.
- 3) Cf. below, appendix B, site 5. The formal opening was on 3 February. For the discovery and eye-witness accounts of the deposit in situ, cf. Andrews, Journal, entries for 21 January, 1-3 & 8 February 1903; Carter, MSS, I.A.42 ff.; id., Notebook 16, 122 ff.; Davis, Thoutmôsis IV, passim and esp. vii ff. (This latter work incorporates the CG listing of the tomb's contents, and notes the general distribution of the finds.) Cf. further Maspero, RA 4 (1903), 413 ff. (= id., Sites, 204 ff.); Rapports 1899-1910, 95; Newberry, PSBA 25 (1903), 111 f.
- 4) Davis, Thoutmôsis IV, viii.
- 5) Ibid.
- 6) Carter, MSS, I.A.47(1).
- 7) Davis, Thoutmôsis IV, viii f.; Carter, MSS, I.A.42(4). The planks referred to by Maspero, RA 4 (1903), 414, were evidently installed by Carter.
- 8) Carter, MSS, I.A.47(2); cf. Davis, Thoutmôsis IV, xxx.
- 9) Ibid., ix. The 'unimportant pieces' included a flint l-dbn weight, CG 46153.
- 10) Ibid.
- 11) Carter, MSS, I.A.47(3).

- 12) Davis, Thoutmôsis IV, ix; Carter, MSS, I.A.42(2). Followed by, e.g., Spiegelberg in his brief study of tomb sealing, OLZ 28 (1925), 140 ff.
- 13) Davis, op. cit., xxx.
- 14) Cf. below, fig. 22-3.
- 15) Carter, Tut.ankh.Amen II, 104. Cf. further III, 85 f.: 'It is ... possible that Maya was also responsible for the resealing of Tut.ankh.Amen's tomb, for the seals employed on the tomb of Thothmes IV have a peculiar likeness to those used when Tut.ankh.Amen's tomb was reclosed'.
- 16) Cf. Romer, MDAIK 31 (1975), 344 and n. 76.
- 17) Davis, Thoutmôsis IV, ix.
- 18) Ibid., inc. CG 46097-9, 46101; cf. CG 46103-13, 46116-8, etc.
- 19) Cf. Černý, Valley, 29.
- 20) As Carter, MSS, I.A.273, notes, the majority of the tomb's 'bitumenised' figures were also recovered from the crypt.
- 21) Davis, Thoutmôsis IV, CG 46036; one in Boston, MFA 03.1130.
- 22) Ibid., CG 46037-9; one in Boston, MFA 03.1129. Cf. LdR II, 303, C.
- 23) Davis, Thoutmôsis IV, CG 46040. Cf. LdR II, 305, C.
- 24) Cf., for example, the damage to the head end of the lid visible in Davis, op. cit., ix, fig. 2, and pl. opp. p. xxxv.
- 25) Cf. ibid., ix, fig. 2.
- 26) Ibid., CG 46069.
- 27) Ibid., x; CG 46064, 46068.
- 28) Cf. Carter, MSS, I.A.272 ff. for his opinion as to the original employment of these four side rooms.

- 29) Davis, Thoutmôsis IV, CG 46132.
- 30) Ibid., x. Other items from this room apparently include CG 46058 and 46114, a wooden figure and a fragmentary leather scabbard.
- 31) Ibid. Cf. also CG 46154, an ivory mirror handle.
- 32) This corpse, which has not to my knowledge been subjected to a detailed medical examination, is usually identified as that of a boy aged between 6 and 8 years: Davis, op. cit., xxvii.  
John Romer, however, in a letter dated 26 July 1982, suggests that the body may well be female.
- 33) Davis, Thoutmôsis IV, x, fig. 3.
- 34) Ibid., CG 46161 ff.
- 35) Ibid.; cf. CG 46159.
- 36) Ibid., xi, xxx.
- 37) Ibid., xxx (Davis A).
- 38) Cf. Hari, Horemheb, 302 ff. The possibility of a restoration of KV43 under Tutankhamun, suggested in OIC, Handbook, 16, has now been discounted: Reeves, GM 44 (1981), 49 ff.
- 39) Other graffiti, as yet unpublished, have been noted by Romer (letter, 26 July 1982). These apparently include (a) a text on the south wall of chamber (I); (b) 'elaborate check lists scratched into the plaster of the b. ch. side room jambs'; and (c) 'black inked texts in this same location, one of which seems to contain a date ..., covered in the plaster applied at the time of their (sc. the side rooms') sealing'.
- 40) Davis, Thoutmôsis IV, xxxiii f., with fig. 7.  
Cf. Spiegelberg, OLZ 8 (1905), 67; Urk. IV, 2170 f.; and below, table 10, no. 1.

- 41) Davis, Thoutmôsis IV, xxxiv, with fig. 8. Cf. Spiegelberg, OLZ 8 (1905), 67; Urk. IV, 2170; and below, table 10, no. 1. This Djehutymose had earlier (to judge from the title employed) inscribed his name on an alabaster 'vase support' (Carter obj. no. 620-116=122) in the tomb of Tutankhamun: cf. Černý, Hieratic Inscriptions, 7, no. 44.
- 42) Cf. below, chapter 11.
- 43) Note that Maspero, RA 4 (1903), 415 f., did not believe the whm krs to have been inspired by robbery within the tomb.
- 44) Davis, Thoutmôsis IV, CG 46236.
- 45) Ibid., CG 46487. Such repairs are detectable in no other king's burial of the New Kingdom at Thebes, though an analogous restoration (perhaps pre-burial) occurs in the private tomb of Yuya and Tjuyu (KV46): cf. Quibell, Yuaa & Thuiu, CG 51106, and see below, chapter 8.
- 46) Other items of faience which show evidence of repair are Davis, Thoutmôsis IV, CG 46226, 46228, 46240, 46242, 46331, 46338-9, 46398, and the unnumbered items following CG 46398.
- 47) Cf., for example, d'Athanasî, Researches, 117; Schiaparelli, Relazione II, 8. The stone blocking generally occurs at the outer doorway(s), the wooden door at the entrance to the burial chamber.
- 48) The burial chamber of Kha could be entered only by cutting around the lock with a fret saw: cf. Weigall, Treasury, 178 ff. For the lock, cf. Schiaparelli, Relazione II, 107 ff.

- 49) Cf. below, chapter 3. A similar method of closure employing a plastered stone build - also sealed with the jackal and nine captives device - occurred in the tomb of Amenophis III (WV22), and it is possible that this latter tomb had required restoration at the same time, in the same fashion, and perhaps by the same officials as KV43. Cf. below. Note that KV57 (Horemheb) was fitted with a wooden door, with no evidence of a masonry build before it: cf. below, chapter 3.
- 50) Carter, MSS, I.A.47(1).
- 51) Davis, Thoutmôsis IV, ix.
- 52) Including several of the pieces restored by Horemheb (above, n. 44-6).
- 53) Davis, op. cit., xi.
- 54) The plunderers adzed off the faces of the king's funerary statuettes (CG 46047, etc.) for the sake of their copper-alloy eye inlays, and peeled off whatever gold and silver foil was still present (cf. CG 46129). The coffins of Amenemhet, Tentamun and the owner of the uninscribed canopic jars had presumably been removed entire to be dealt with elsewhere (cf. KV37: chapter 9). It is perhaps worth noting that none of the 'bitumenised' figures from the tomb of Tuthmosis IV appears to have been originally gilded like those from KV62 (Tutankhamun). The black resin finish is clearly original, and not a refurbishment due to Horemheb. (Personal inspection of the figures in Cairo and Boston; letter dated 20 June 1982 from Peter Lacovara re: a technical examination of the Tuthmosis IV figures in Boston.)

- 55) The original presence of at least one such boat may be inferred from the paddle recovered from chamber (F): Davis, Thoutmôsis IV, ix; cf. Carter, MSS, I.A.53(5).
- 56) Amongst the items of jewellery removed by thieves and subsequently cast away is presumably to be included the king's heart scarab, published by Bacchi, RSO 20 (1943), 211 ff. This was found in illicit excavations at Tarros in Sardinia, where it had evidently been carried in antiquity.
- 57) Cf. n. 54 above.
- 58) Davis, Thoutmôsis IV, x.
- 59) Cf. ibid., viii.
- 60) Table 6, no. 16.
- 61) Table 8, no. 10.
- 62) As might be inferred also from the disarticulated skeletons, doubtless belonging to members of the immediate family of Amenophis II, recovered from the well of KV35: see below, chapter 10.
- 63) It is, of course, possible that the KV43 Amenemhet is to be identified with the restored and recoffined 'King, lord of the two lands, Amenemhet' discovered by Lansing at Deir el-Bahri (Egn. Expedn. 1918-20, 8 ff.; Hayes, Scepter II, 52, 419 f.). The assumed filiation of this latter child to Amenophis I is quite uncertain, as Robins, GM 30 (1978), 71 ff., has pointed out: Amenophis I's deification was, by the late New Kingdom, practically complete, and the attachment of a pectoral bearing his name and image need

not indicate a relationship of the boy to this king. For the 21st dynasty date of this restored burial cf. Hayes, Scepter II, 419 f.; and, for the workman Pinudjem son of Bakenmut, who inscribed the pectoral, cf. Bierbrier, LNK, 30, chart VIII.

- 64) See below, chapter 9.
- 65) P-M I<sup>2</sup>/ii, 547 ff.; Thomas, Necropoleis, 83 ff.
- 66) Descr., Antiquités III, 193; X, 218; Planches II, 80 f.
- 67) Cf. Thomas, Necropoleis, 64 f.
- 68) Cf. Carter, MSS, I.A.123 ff.; P-M I<sup>2</sup>/ii, 550 (the attribution of the BM aegis and menat is extremely doubtful, however) & 588. A number of pieces of veneer from a box of Amenophis III (Mariette, Mon. div., pl. 36, a) may also originate here (cf. Hayes, Sarcophagi, 29); similar fragments (from the same box?) were recovered by Carter from his work within WV22 and in the vicinity of KV36 (Maiherpri) (see below, chapter 8). Several shabtis of this king are known: cf. Aubert & Aubert, Statuettes, esp. 46 ff. From the Karnak cachette, Carter notes a shabti (no. 407 = J 37372, unpublished) of 'rose granite ... exactly similar to those discovered by M. Devilliers in the king's tomb in 1799' (MSS, I.A.138(7)).
- 69) Carter, MSS, I.A.123 ff., esp. I.A.138(12 ff.); I.J.386-7, nos. 1-105; the season's work is briefly alluded to in Carter, Tut.ankh.Amen I, 79. Cf. below, appendix C, site 1. Davis's efforts in the vicinity of WV22 appear to have

- been confined to the 'rubbish heaps outside the king's tomb': cf. Carter, MSS, I.A.124(6); I.A.138(10); and below, appendix B, site 39.
- 70) Carter appears to have explored the burial chamber also (however superficially), to judge from the calcite canopic chest fragment he recovered from here: MSS, I.A.131(2).
- 71) Ibid., I.A.139(1 ff.); I.A.139a; I.J.386-7, nos. 5-58. Cf. Weinstein, Foundation Deposits, 210 ff. These deposits were not presented to the Ashmolean Museum, Oxford, despite the note to that effect in Carter, MSS, I.J.387. Their present whereabouts is unknown.
- 72) The fact that the corridor dimensions of WV22 are greater than those of KV43 (Thomas, Necrooleis, 83; Hornung, ZAS 105 (1978), 61) would appear to indicate that KV43 is the earlier of the two tombs.
- 73) Carter, MSS, I.A.138(19); I.A.138(25); I.J.386-7, nos. 1, 59-60, 71, 94.
- 74) Cf. ibid., I.A.127(2). 'A double seal of plaster, ... undoubtedly the original seal which was affixed to the door of the innermost chamber of this tomb' (J), once formed part of the James Burton collection: cf. Sotheby & Co., Burton Collection, 22, lot 268; also Burton, MSS, 25642, 38 (three seals noted). From the lot description, the impressions were evidently of the jackal and nine captives type (cf., perhaps, Burton, MSS, 25641, 79 vs., where two sizes are noted) - which, in the tomb of Tutankhamun (KV62), at least, was

twice employed for resealing the tomb after it had been disturbed; see below, chapter 3. The burial chamber was also fitted with a wooden door, the pivot holes of which still retain traces of wood: Burton, MSS, 25642, 38; Carter, MSS, I.A.127(2). For this sort of double closure, cf. above, s.v. Tuthmosis IV.

- 75) In the two side rooms with subsidiary chambers which lie off the burial chamber proper: Hayes, Sarcophagi, 29. Tiye's connection with the tomb was first noted by Carter, MSS, I.A.128; id., Tut.ankh.Amen I, 79.
- 76) See below.
- 77) Hayes, Sarcophagi, 29. The lid evidently broke in two when it hit the ground.
- 78) Carter, MSS, I.A.138(28); I.J.386-7, no. 79.
- 79) Cf. below, chapter 3, n. 139.
- 80) Carter, MSS, I.A.138(28); I.J.386-7, nos. 63-4 and perhaps no. 83, a human skull and hand (the former presumably that noted by Burton, MSS, 25642, 38, in room (Jee)). On the human remains from the tomb, cf. further Villiers Stuart, Nile Gleanings, 255; Piankoff & Hornung, MDAIK 17 (1961), 126; Thomas, Necropoleis, 87 and 231, nos. 28-9.
- 81) Carter, MSS, I.A.138(28).
- 82) The date of the docket on the king's shroud (table 10, no. 18). See below, chapters 11-12.
- 83) Thomas, Necropoleis, 84, very tentatively suggests that the removal of the sarcophagus box may have been due to Ramesses II; this appears highly

unlikely. Carter, MSS, I.A.131(1), was probably nearer the mark when he suggested that, 'after the king's mummy was removed by the high-priests, and the tomb became disused, the sarcophagus was taken for some other purpose: the lid being left on account of its being so damaged'. Note, however, that Burton, MSS, 25642, 38, seems to imply that the sarcophagus box was still present when he visited the tomb, albeit 'broken into small pieces'.

- 84) Table 6, no. 2; table 8, no. 2.
- 85) P-M I<sup>2</sup>/ii, 588; Thomas, Necropoleis, 141 f.
- 86) Chassinat, EEFAR 1905-6, 82.
- 87) Cf. ibid.; id., BIFAO 10 (1912), 165 ff.; Rapports 1899-1910, 210. See below, appendix A, site 22.
- 88) Cf. LD Text III, 223 f., pace Thomas, Necropoleis, 163.
- 89) Chassinat, BIFAO 10 (1912), 165. Cf. further n. 95 below.
- 90) Ibid., 166.
- 91) Thomas, Necropoleis, 142, citing Quibell, Archaic Objects, CG 11475.
- 92) For which cf. Carter, MSS, I.A.124(6), and below, appendix B, site 39.
- 93) Carter, loc. cit. The leather harness fragments are now in the Metropolitan Museum of Art: cf. I.A.138(10), and the reference in Hayes, Scepter II, 244. For the scarab, cf. I.A.138(11).
- 94) Carter, MSS, I.A.124(6). Cf. above.
- 95) Chassinat, EEFAR 1905-6, 82.
- 96) For which see above, n. 69.
- 97) Cf. the photograph in Romer, Valley, 58.

- 98) See above.
- 99) Thomas, Necropoleis, 81 ff.
- 100) Cf. conveniently Martin, Royal Tomb I, 1, n. 1.
- 101) Murray & Nuttall, Handlist, nos. 261a, 281a, 291a, 300a; cf. Carter, Tut.ankh.Amen III, 51. Cf. further the second (innermost) shrine (Carter obj. no. 237) which, as Prof. J. R. Harris points out to me, had probably also been prepared originally for Akhenaten (and not for Smenkhkare, as Engelbach, ASAE 40 (1940), 138, first suggested).
- 102) Martin, Royal Tomb I, 1.
- 103) Thomas, Necropoleis, 83; cf. Romer, Valley, 59.
- 104) Pace Thomas, Necropoleis, 83.
- 105) Belzoni, Narrative, 223 f. Cf. Burton, MSS, 25642, 2; Wilkinson, Notebook 37, 190, and the other references cited by Thomas.
- 106) Belzoni, Narrative, 223.
- 107) Cf. Burton, MSS, 25642, 2: 'At the bottom of the stairs four mummies lying and further on four more cases sunk in cement'.
- 108) Belzoni, Narrative, 223. Presumably the explanation is rather that the entrance blocking was not sufficiently watertight to prevent a deposition of silt around the coffins during one or more of the Valley's notorious flash floods.
- 109) Ibid., 223 f.
- 110) Ibid., 224.
- 111) Ibid. Cf. Lucas & Harris, Materials, 357.
- 112) Cf. further the presence of wreaths and garlands: Belzoni, Narrative, 224.

- 113) Thomas, Necropoleis, 83.
- 114) Belzoni, Narrative, 223.
- 115) Thomas, loc. cit.
- 116) Ibid.
- 117) Belzoni, Narrative, 223.
- 118) Schaden, Ay, 253; id., ASAE 63 (1979), 164 ff.
- 119) Id., ASAE 63 (1979), 164 ff.
- 120) This is the conclusion reached by J. H. Taylor, who is currently preparing a Birmingham doctoral thesis (knowledge of which I owe to D. Aston) on 'The stylistic development of Theban coffins during the Third Intermediate Period'. Carter also dated the assemblage to the 22nd dynasty (cf. Thomas, Necropoleis, 83), though on what specific grounds I am unable to say.
- 121) Schaden, ASAE 63 (1979), 165.
- 122) Ibid.
- 123) Ibid., 164.
- 124) As Schaden might suggest, ibid., 165 ff.
- 125) The lowermost section of the passage must already have been filled with a flattened layer of (flood) debris at the time the tomb was appropriated - otherwise it is difficult to see how the floor area could have accommodated eight mummies in the way described.
- 126) This is a revised and expanded version of a paper originally written in 1978/9 and published in JEA 67 (1981), 48 ff. See also Reeves, GM 54 (1982), 61 ff.
- 127) P-M I<sup>2</sup>/ii, 565 f.; Thomas, Necropoleis, 144 ff. Cf. below, appendix B, site 18. The official publication of the find is Davis, Tîyi. Other

- first-hand accounts are to be found in The Times (undated but contemporary cutting preserved with the Jones correspondence in Aberystwyth); the Jones correspondence itself (for which cf. Bosse-Griffiths, JEA 47 (1961), 66 ff.); Andrews, Journal, entries for 4-29 January 1907 (cf. Wilson, in Studies Hughes, 273 ff.); Ayrton, PSBA 29 (1907), 85 f., 277 ff.; Currelly, Ages, 142 ff.; Maspero, Causéries, 373 ff. (= New Light, 291 ff.); and cf. Rapports 1899-1910, 234; Smith, Tombs, 54 ff.; Tyndale, Cataracts, 184 ff.; Weigall, Century Magazine (September 1907), 727 ff.; id., Treasury, 185 ff. (cf. Glory, 136 ff.); id., EEFAR 1907-8, 9; id., JEA 8 (1922), 193 ff. (= Life & Times, xiv ff.). Secondary analyses of the find, or of aspects of the finds, are equally numerous. The following may be noted: Aldred, JEA 47 (1961), 40 ff.; id., Akhenaten, 106 ff.; Daressy, BIFAO 12 (1916), 145 ff.; Engelbach, ASAE 31 (1931), 98 ff.; id., ASAE 40 (1940), 148 ff.; Fairman, JEA 47 (1961), 25 ff.; Gardiner, JEA 43 (1957), 10 ff.; Giles, Ikhnaton, 103 ff.; Helck, CdE 44 (1969), esp. 212 ff.; id., GM 60 (1982), 43 ff.; Perepelkin, Perevorot I/iii-iv, 114 ff.; id., Gold Coffin, passim; Roeder, ZAS 83 (1958), 50 ff.; Romer, Valley, 211 ff.
- 128) Carter, MSS, I.J.386-7, esp. no. 349; see appendix C, site 16. Whether the 'several large jars of the XXth dynasty type' (contents uncertain) found by Ayrton 'in a recess in the rock' (Davis, Tîyi, 7) are to be in any way connected with KV55

I am at present unable to say. The deposit is considered further below, chapter 9, s.v. KV C.

- 129) The most obvious indication of its unfinished state is the back wall of the so-called 'canopic niche', which doubtless had originally been intended as a second chamber: cf. the plan of KV62 (fig. 21). The tomb, apparently a private one, may well have been abandoned by its intended occupant because of the crack running across the ceiling, which seems to have let in moisture: cf. Smith, Tombs, 65; Davis, Tîyi, 3.
- 130) Davis, Tîyi, 7.
- 131) Ibid., 1.
- 132) Ibid., 6 f.
- 133) Weigall, JEA 8 (1922), 198.
- 134) Ibid. But cf. Smith, Tombs, 55.
- 135) Weigall, JEA 8 (1922), 197.
- 136) Davis, Tîyi, 7.
- 137) Weigall, Treasury, 208.
- 138) Cf. Davis, Tîyi, pl. 25.
- 139) Davis, Tîyi.
- 140) See above, n. 127.
- 141) Davis, Tîyi, 13 ff., pls. 23-4, 26-9. 31-3.
- 142) Ibid., 30 f., 32, 35 f., pl. 4.
- 143) These impressions have not previously been published, and I owe knowledge of them to a sepia-toned photograph in the archives of the EES; cf. fig. 19. The seals in question are nos. 1-4. The reading nb for the ibis-headed deity is suggested by the rebus for nb-hprw-r<sup>C</sup> contained within the moon disc on a pectoral from the tomb of Tutankhamun (Carter obj. no. 267d = Carter, Tut.ankh.Amen III, pl. 19; Edwards,

Tutankhamun, 171). For the presence of the dd-pillar, cf. Quibell, Archaic Objects, CG 11461. For the Tutankhamun impressions, cf. below, chapter 3.

- 144) Davis, Tîyi, 16 ff., pls. 6, 26, 30; Aldred, Akhenaten, colour pl. XIV. As Prof. Harris points out to me, the sum of the various titles and epithets in the five bands of text - which, in their final form, were made to refer to the person for whom the coffin was then to be used - would not have been applicable to anyone but Akhenaten himself. The cartouches were evidently erased within the tomb: amongst the debris of bands B and C of the coffin (Daressy's lettering, BIFAO 12 (1916), 145 ff.), recently in the hands of a dealer (cf. Reeves, BiOr 38/3-4 (1981), 295 & 297), was the head and clypeus of a hpr-beetle, suitably small for the hprw-element in the prenomen nfr-hprw-r<sup>C</sup>. Cf. also Smith, Tombs, 65, where it is expressly stated that one of the gold sheets from the lining of the coffin bore Akhenaten's name. (Contrary to the implication of Smith, op. cit., 66, these sheets are apparently still in Cairo, where they form part of J 39627; six other sheets of gold foil are now in the Metropolitan Museum of Art: Hayes, Scepter II, 294.) Finally, note Carter, MSS, I.C.145(2): 'Quite a number of pieces of jewellery bearing the king's (sc. Akhenaten's) name and the Aten cartouches were in the dealers' shops in Luxor within a few days of the discovery'. For the

- original owner of the coffin - Kiya - see Perepelkin, Perevorot, I/iii-iv, 140 ff.; id., Gold Coffin, 73 ff.; Harris, CdE 49 (1974), 27; Hanke, Amarna-Reliefs, 171 ff. It is to be noted, contrary to Weigall, JEA 8 (1922), 199, Aldred, JEA 47 (1961), 49, Eaton-Krauss, CdE 56 (1981), 250 f., et al., that the coffin uraeus does not bear a cartouche. The inscribed uraeus in Davis, Tîyi, pl. 2, is a separate item, perhaps originally from a statue: cf. Edwards, Tutankhamun, 78 f. (the life-size guardian figures, Carter obj. nos. 22 & 29).
- 145) Davis, Tîyi, 24 f., pls. 7-19. On purely stylistic grounds, it is apparent that the canopic jars are to be regarded as en suite with the coffin. Moreover, although the inscribed panels which these jars originally bore have been erased, the surviving traces of text (on each of the Cairo specimens, at least) are to some extent complementary, and provide sufficient grounds for the assumption that each jar bore a similar, if not identical, inscriptional layout to that on Kiya's ointment pots (published by Fairman, JEA 47 (1961), 29 f.). Daressy's claim, in Davis, Tîyi, 24, that the jars originally carried a 'representation of some personage in adoration before a divinity', is without foundation.
- 146) Davis, Tîyi, 26 f., pl. 22. Two of the bricks were inscribed in hieratic, though unfortunately the name of the owner on these was illegible. Thomas, Necropoleis, 146, suggests that they are

perhaps to be assigned to the tomb's original owner, but there is no good evidence for this. They are more likely (since they complete the set) to be hurried replacements for two previously destroyed or lost - and hence, perhaps, a further indication that we are here dealing with a reburial. The two remaining specimens have incised hieroglyphic inscriptions, and in these the owner, nfr-hprw-r<sup>c</sup>-w<sup>c</sup>-n-r<sup>c</sup>, is referred to as 'the Osiris' - a most unusual epithet for Akhenaten, as has been pointed out by Aldred, JEA 47 (1961), 53 f., et al., who in consequence would date them to early in the reign, before the Aten schism reached its height; though it is, of course, conceivable that they are to be dated to the period after his death, and that they thereby reflect the religious persuasion of a successor - Tutankhamun. Whilst in the light of present evidence no totally convincing explanation seems possible, the inference drawn from the presence of the bricks nevertheless appears certain (pace Fairman, JEA 47 (1961), 38; Thomas, Necropoleis, 146); cf. Monnet, RdE 8 (1951), 151.

147) See above, n. 73.

148) See above, esp. n. 75.

149) Davies, RTA III, pls. 4, 6, 8-9; and, for the date, ibid., pl. 13. This assumes no lengthy coregency between Amenophis III and Akhenaten: cf. Murnane, Coregencies, 123 ff., 231 ff., where the previous literature is cited.

- 150) Thomas's view, Necropoleis, 84.
- 151) I understand from Dr G. T. Martin that his work in the royal wadi at el-Amarna during the 1984 season produced evidence to suggest that certain of the subsidiary tombs had at some stage contained contemporary, 18th dynasty interments - one of which may well have been Tiye's.
- 152) Cf. below, chapter 10.
- 153) Cf. Martin, Royal Tomb I, 105; id., ILN (September 1981), 66 f.
- 154) Cf. Romer, Valley, 226.
- 155) The presence of at least one burial within the Amarna royal tomb is suggested not only by what may well be one of the lions' heads from a viscera embalming table (Martin, Royal Tomb I, 94, no. 400; cf. Arts Council, 5000 Years, pl. 4 (below)), but by a rectangular limestone 'brick' (Martin, op. cit., 94, no. 402) recovered by Pendlebury from the well (D). This latter object was evidently one of a set, the purpose of which was to support the corpse during embalming (cf. Winlock, Materials, 12 = Davis, Tîyi, 4). Whether these items were employed for Akhenaten himself or for one of his daughters is uncertain, however. Meketaten is traditionally held to have occupied room gamma, and, on the basis of his discovery of four 'magic brick' emplacements, Martin has recently suggested that room alpha 'was adapted for the burial of a sovereign or royal consort', perhaps Meritaten (ILN (September 1981), 67). The view that such bricks were the sole prerogative of 'a soveriegn or royal consort' is mistaken, however - see below, chapter 8, s.v. Amenemopet -

and thus Meketaten's ownership of these emplacements cannot necessarily be ruled out. Since the publication of Krauss's remarks on the 'Nefertiti' shabti (Amarnazeit, 96 ff.), we possess no evidence to suggest that Nefertiti herself made any active preparations for burial within the Amarna royal tomb.

- 156) Cf. boundary stelae K and X: Davies, RTA V, pls. 30 & 32; Sandman, Texts, 114 f.
- 157) For which cf. the 'Restoration Stela' (Urk. IV, 2025 ff.), which was perhaps dated retrospectively to Tutankhamun's Year 1: Harris, GM 5 (1973), 9 ff.
- 158) Fig. 19, nos. 8, 10, 12-14. See above, n. 143. These are evidently the impressions referred to in Davis, Tîyi, 4 & 10.
- 159) It is interesting to note that one of the individuals responsible for the reburial of Akhenaten within KV55 was later involved with Tutankhamun's own burial preparations: the sealings illustrated in fig. 19, nos. 5-7 and 9 are clearly impressions from the same seal ring as type (N) from KV62 (below, chapter 3).
- 160) Davis, Tîyi, pl. 24.
- 161) Cf. Harris, Wente et al., Science 200 (1978), 1149 ff.
- 162) The precise location of this subsequent resting place cannot at present be ascertained. Is it possible that the gilded-gesso figure in Munich (Munich, Ägyptischer Kunst, 123 (AS 5873)), unprovenanced, once formed part of Tiye's transferred burial furniture?

- 163) Davis, Tîyi, xxv. The report in The Times (n. 127 above) mentions that a shabti of Ramesses VI was found not far from the surface.
- 164) Cf. Carter, MSS, I.G.52 (the relevant portion of which is here reproduced as fig. 20); BTMP, Prelim. Report 1978, sample map (sheet 7). (Thomas's plan of KV6, Necropoleis, 119, fig. 13, is inaccurate at this point.) The position of KV55 may, of course, have been discovered before the commencement of work on KV6, at the time the site was 'probed' (gmgm) by the tomb architects - for which cf. Černý, CAH II, ch. 35, 4; id., Valley, 17.
- 165) As the collisions of KV11 into KV10, KV47 into KV32, and KV9 into KV12 (q.v.).
- 166) For the coffin, cf. n. 144 above. With the shrine, the intention seems to have been not so much to obliterate the names of Akhenaten as to replace them by those of Amenophis III: cf. Davis, Tîyi, 13. The explanation for this action eludes me, unless the intention was to make the shrine fit for removal with Tiye's body. That the alterations were never completed was perhaps due to the realisation that the shrine panels were too large to extract from the only partially cleared corridor.
- 167) Cf. Reeves, GM 54 (1982), 61 ff.
- 168) Letter dated 5 August 1907 from Davis to Elliot Smith, at one time in the possession of Warren R. Dawson (cited by Aldred, JEA 47 (1961), 49, n. 1); letter from A. H. Sayce to the Editor of The Times, 17 September 1907.

- 169) Smith, Tombs, 66.
- 170) Davis, Tîyi, 9; Smith, op. cit., 65.
- 171) Cf. Gray, JEA 58 (1972), 202 f. For sculpture in the round, cf. Wenig, Frau, passim.
- 172) Elliot Smith, letter to the Editor of The Times, 15 October 1907; id., in Davis, Tîyi, xxiii f.; id., Royal Mummies, 51 ff.; cf. id., Tutankhamen, 85 ff.; Derry, manuscript of a lecture on 'The skeleton of Akhenaten' (1923), Gardiner, MSS, AHG/44.16 (a précis amongst the Derry MSS, UCL); id., ASAE 31 (1931), 115 ff.; Harrison, JEA 52 (1966), 95 ff.; Costa, JEA 64 (1978), 76 ff.
- 173) Smith: 25/26+; Derry: 23; Harrison: 20.
- 174) In Carter, Tut.ankh.Amen II, 153 f.
- 175) Derry, ASAE 31 (1931), 118.
- 176) Harrison, JEA 52 (1966), 113 ff.; restated in Harrison & Abdalla, Antiquity 46/181 (1972), 8 ff.
- 177) Harrison, Connolly & Abdalla, Nature 224 (1974), 325 f. Subsequent attempts to utilise such serological evidence in establishing a common parentage (Connolly, Harrison & Ahmed, JEA 62 (1976), 184 ff.) can hardly be considered conclusive, however (cf. Ray's remarks, Antiquity 49/193 (1975), 45).
- 178) Cf. most recently Reeves, GM 56 (1982), 65 ff.
- 179) Cf. Robins, GM 45 (1981), 63 ff.; Reeves, GM 54 (1982), 61 ff.
- 180) Harris, GM 4 (1973), 15 ff.; id., AcOr 35 (1973), 3 ff.; id., AcOr 36 (1975), 11 ff. Cf. further Krauss, Amarnazeit; Perepelkin, Gold Coffin; id., Kéïe.

- 181) The most notable 'usurpations' are: the external trappings of the mummy (from nfr-nfrw-<sup>3</sup>itn) (Engelbach, ASAE 40 (1940), 137; McLeod, Composite Bows, 11, n. 1 = Carter obj. nos. 256a, b(4)); the canopic coffins (from nfr-nfrw-<sup>3</sup>itn) (Engelbach, loc. cit. = Carter obj. nos. 266g); as well as the king's 'bow of honour' (from nfr-nfrw-<sup>3</sup>itn) (McLeod, Composite Bows, no. 4 = Carter obj. no. 48h; cf. McLeod, op. cit., 11, n. 1). Other instances are listed in Harris, AcOr 36 (1975), 11 ff. For the second (innermost) shrine, cf. above, n. 101.
- 182) I.e. appendix C, site 18, the excavation of which had hardly commenced when Carter stumbled upon KV62 (Tutankhamun). The Amarna cache (KV55) is situated in this same general area.

Notes

- 1) P-M I<sup>2</sup>/ii, 569 ff.; Thomas, Necropoleis, 142 f.
- 2) Carter, MSS, I.J.387, no. 433; Carter, Tut.ankh.Amen I, 87. See below, appendix C, site 18.
- 3) Carter's card index of objects and other notes are now preserved in the Griffith Institute, Oxford. A series of fascicles based upon these documents is gradually being published in the Tut<sup>C</sup>ankhamūn's Tomb Series, the first volume of which, Murray & Nuttall, Handlist, provides a convenient listing of the material found in the tomb. One or two pieces removed at the time of the discovery and after, and subsequently dispersed, are not included in this catalogue; cf. in general Hoving, Tutankhamun, 349 ff. (a book which is not reliable in every detail).
- 4) It is possible that the enormous wealth displayed in the tomb of Tutankhamun was not the norm. Cf., for example, the fact that KV62 is (with the possible exception of KV16 (Ramesses I): below, chapter 4) the only tomb in the Valley known to have contained gilded representations of the various deities and of the king (not all of which, incidentally, seem to be representations of Tutankhamun himself). The analogous material from KV34 (Tuthmosis III), KV35 (Amenophis II), KV43 (Tuthmosis IV), WV23 (Ay), KV57 (Horemheb) and KV17 (Sethos I) - insufficient details are available to me of the wooden statues from WV22 (Amenophis III), KV9 (Ramesses VI) and KV6

(Ramesses IX) - show no indications of ever having been covered with gold leaf to the same extent, though this may, admittedly, be a chance of preservation. Tutankhamun's burial is also particularly rich in personal items, perhaps because he was the last of his line.

- 5) Pace Vandersleyen, in Studia Naster, 263 ff. Engelbach, ASAE 40 (1940), 136, suggested that KV62 had originally been intended for Ay before his accession to the throne. For the adaptation for royal use, cf. Carter, Tut.ankh.Amen III, v and passim.
- 6) Cf. fig. 17.
- 7) Cf. Steindorff, ASAE 38 (1938), 667; Engelbach, ASAE 40 (1940), 139 f.; id., Archaeology, 94.
- 8) See below.
- 9) Carter, Tut.ankh.Amen I, 87. For these huts cf. Carter, MSS, I.G.52; id., Tut.ankh.Amen I, pl. 10. The relative positions of KV9 and KV62 are clearly shown in Hammerton, Wonders I, fig. on p. 28 (but note that the details of KV62 - e.g. the stepped passage - are incorrect).
- 10) Carter describes the finds (obj. nos. 1-3) as 'Helter skelter in rubbish covering the last four steps and threshold of doorway, as if dropped or cast away' (MSS, obj. card no. 1). See his plan I.G.1 and cf. Tut.ankh.Amen I, 93.
- 11) Cf. Romer, Valley, 256 (left), for a photograph of this blocking in situ. For the dismantled fragments, cf. Burton's photos C/B 7, 276-9, and see further n. 16 below.

- 12) Carter, Cards, no. 4.
- 13) Ibid. On the sealings cf. Spiegelberg, OLZ 28 (1925), 140 ff.
- 14) For sections of the corridor fill, cf. Carter, MSS, I.G.2, and Carter's obj. card index. See also the photograph reproduced in Romer, Valley, 256 (right).
- 15) Carter, Cards, obj. nos. 5-12; Carter, Tut.ankh.Amen I, 94. The findspot of obj. no. 8, the gessoed wooden portrait head of the king rising out of a lotus flower, is, however, debatable: cf. Hoving, Tutankhamun, 318 ff., and esp. 324 f.
- 16) Carter, Cards, no. 13. No photographs of this blocking appear to exist. However, remains of both the outer and inner corridor blockings were discovered by Romer in the tomb of Ramesses XI (KV4) (cf. Romer, Valley, 260), which Carter used as a storeroom before taking over the tomb of Sethos II (KV15) (Hoving, Tutankhamun, 323).
- 17) Cf., for example, Carter, Tut.ankh.Amen I, pls. 16-22 and passim; Cone, Discovery, 30, 32, 34 f., 37; Edwards, Tutankhamun, 24 f., 28, 34 f., 42, 50 f., 58 f., 62 f., 74 f., 79 ff. Plans (by Hall and Hauser) of the objects in situ are preserved amongst the Carter MSS, I.G.10-29.
- 18) Cf. Carter, Tut.ankh.Amen III, pls. 30-1; Cone, Discovery, 76 f., 80 f.; Edwards, Tutankhamun, 206 f., 214 f., 226 f., 240 f. For the state of the Annexe, cf. further below.

- 19) Carter, Cards, no. 171.
- 20) Ibid.
- 21) For Breasted's responsibility for copying the Tutankhamun seal impressions cf. Carter, Tut.ankh.Amen I, 109; Breasted, Pioneer, 339 ff.
- 22) Carter, Cards, no. 171.
- 23) Cf. the Carter MS sheet entitled 'Conspectus of the eight seals on the four doors of Tutenkhamon's tomb', evidently the work of Breasted to judge from the spelling of the king's name (for which cf. Breasted, Pioneer, passim).
- 24) Note, however, that Carter nowhere makes clear whether any sealed debris from the breach in the blocking was recovered.
- 25) Cf. Carter, Tut.ankh.Amen I, 223, and, for the plaster, ibid. II, 163. This partition had to be dismantled to extract the shrines from the burial chamber, destroying in the process part of the wall decoration in this latter chamber. For the destroyed scene, cf. Romer, Valley, 262.
- 26) Unnumbered, amongst the Carter papers.
- 27) Conveniently reproduced in Edwards, Tutankhamun, 80 f.
- 28) Pace Carter, Tut.ankh.Amen I, 102.
- 29) Cf. Lucas, ASAE 41 (1942), 136; id., ASAE 45 (1947), 133 f.; and, more recently, Hoving, Tutankhamun, 90 ff. and esp. 97 ff.
- 30) Cf. Carter, Tut.ankh.Amen I, pls. 16, 41.
- 31) Ibid., pl. 42.
- 32) Lucas, ASAE 45 (1947), 134. Cf. his earlier opinion (February 1923), Carter, MSS, unnumbered cards entitled 'Evidence of Robbery', iv.

- 33) This, i.e. N-S, is the position in which Carter records the box on obj. card no. 21; 'close to statue 22. Must almost certainly have been moved out of position by plunderers'.
- 34) Cf. further the description of the blocking in Carter, Cards, no. 172: 'Parts of one or more necklaces' had been 'discovered fallen between the stones of the sealed doorway leading to the Tomb-chamber, beside (west) a small hole made through the masonry by the thieves - subsequently reclosed by the necropolis officials' (my italics).
- 35) Lucas, ASAE 41 (1942), 136.
- 36) C/B 7 282; cf. C/B 3 283, lower right edge.
- 37) For the finds of the Burial Chamber in situ, cf. Carter, Tut.ankh.Amen I, pl. 45; ibid. II, pls. 4 f., 14, 54 ff.; Cone, Discovery, 43 ff.; Edwards, Tutankhamun, 84 f., 89, 92 ff., 108 f., 114 f. Cf. also the plans Carter, MSS, I.G.30-9, 42-3.
- 38) Cf. the Turin plan of KV2 (Ramesses IV) (below, chapter 6), the relevant portion of which is clearly seen in Carter & Gardiner, JEA 4 (1917), pl. 29.
- 39) The introduction and erection of these shrines had evidently been achieved only with some difficulty. Carter, MSS, I.G.1 f., notes that 'the last six steps, the lintel, and jambs had been cut away for taking the larger objects into the tomb', and had had to be 'subsequently renovated with stone and plaster', the top of the doorway being 'repaired by a heavy wooden lintel to support the masonry that patched the

gap'. 'A large portion of rock of the north-west corner of the ante-chamber' had also had to be cut away 'to allow the larger and longer shrines' to be introduced into the Burial Chamber. Note further the disorientation of the shrines (Carter, Tut.ankh.Amen II, 25 and 47 f.) made necessary in part by the cramped nature of the Burial Chamber but due also, it seems, to haste. Note too that the second (innermost) shrine had apparently been appropriated from an earlier king: Engelbach, ASAE 40 (1940), 138. See further above, chapter 2 (s.v. Akhenaten).

- 40) Carter, Tut.ankh.Amen II, 49 f. The lid, 'tinted to match the quartzite sarcophagus', had been broken across in antiquity, and the break carefully filled with plaster and painted over. Cf. Carter, ibid., pl. 64, and see further below for what may well be analogous damage to the sarcophagus lid of Horemheb.
- 41) For the coffins, each covered with a linen shroud, cf. Carter, Tut.ankh.Amen II, pls. 16, 22 ff., 66 ff.
- 42) Cf. ibid., pl. 25. As Engelbach has pointed out (ASAE 40 (1940), 137), 'the inlaid gold "trappings" which covered Tut<sup>C</sup>ankhamun's mummy show traces of having been usurped for him; the inlay containing his name has, in places, been let into the space occupied by a previous name, and a patch put on the back'. Cf. above, chapter 2 (s.v. Smenkhkare).
- 43) Cf. Carter obj. nos. 256a-4v; Carter, Tut.ankh.Amen II, pls. 25, 29 ff. and passim. The ornamentation of

- the mummy recalls P. Leopold-Amherst, 2, 13 ff.:  
Capart, Gardiner & van de Walle, JEA 22 (1936),  
pl. 13.
- 44) Cf. Carter, Tut.ankh.Amen I, 183; ibid. II, 30.
- 45) Cf. ibid. III, pls. 2 ff.; Cone, Discovery,  
64 ff.; Edwards, Tutankhamun, 152 ff.
- 46) Obj. nos. 317a(1)-(2). Carter, Tut.ankh.Amen III,  
88 f., 167 ff., pls. 26, 51; Leek, Human Remains,  
21 ff., pls. 23 f.; Harrison et al., Antiquity 53  
(1979), 19 ff., pl. 7. The gilded cartonnage  
mask (J 39711) (n. 94 below) for the larger foetus was  
found in KV54 (Reeves, BSEG 8 (1983), 81 ff.), having  
never been employed: it was evidently too small  
to fit over the head of the larger foetus mummy  
(Carter, Tut.ankh.Amen III, 89) and had been  
relegated in the funerary workshop to one of the  
jars containing the embalming refuse.
- 47) It would appear that all of the chests and caskets,  
without exception, had been opened by the tomb  
robbers, as well as a number of the 'bitumenised'  
shrines (which are evidently to be identified  
with the 'chests' of Breasted, Pioneer, 344).
- 48) For which cf. Černý, Hieratic Inscriptions, 7 ff.
- 49) Breasted's view also, Pioneer, 343.
- 50) Cf. Carter, Tut.ankh.Amen II, 98 ff.
- 51) On the assumption that separate individuals had  
responsibility for particular seals, as was  
evidently the case with the smaller impressions  
(below, n. 54). Cf. Romer, MDAIK 31 (1975),  
344, n. 77.
- 52) Cf. above, s.v. Tuthmosis IV (KV43).

- 53) Cf. Carter, Tut.ankh.Amen II, 44, and the caption to pl. 60.
- 54) Such rings were conferred upon individuals acting in the king's name (Winlock, Egn. Expedn. 1934-5, 28; Hayes, JNES 10 (1951), 166), and their impress would have been irrelevant after the king's death. It is possible that a number of the seal rings employed for the smaller impressions within KV62 formed the contents of box no. 54ddd (Carter, Tut.ankh.Amen I, pl. 57), inscribed in hieratic on the lid: 'Gold rings belonging to the funeral procession' (Černý, Hieratic Inscriptions, 9, no. 49). These latter may, on the other hand, be the rings discovered wrapped in a scarf and dumped within box no. 44 (Carter, Tut.ankh.Amen I, pl. 30).
- 55) This seal fragment was found upon the floor of the Annexe. If of Akhenaten, it is presumably to be associated with the material prepared for this king's Theban burial which Carter recovered from the tomb. Cf. above, chapter 2 (s.v. Akhenaten).
- 56) Cf. Breasted, Pioneer, 338 f.
- 57) This chest, found in the Treasury, contained figures of Qebhsenuf and Duamutef.
- 58) For this dating of the robberies cf. further Carter, MSS, unentitled note in the hand of Carnarvon(?), 3. Elsewhere (Tut.ankh.Amen I, 93, n. 1), Carter rather obliquely writes: 'From later evidence we found that this resealing (i.e. of the outer doorway) could not have taken place later than the reign of Hor.em.heb, i.e. from ten to fifteen

years after the burial' - from which Capart, Tout-Ankh-Amon, 105, concluded that 'Horemheb, l'usurpateur, règne' at the time of the second robbery. Cf. further chapter 2, n. 41.

- 59) For this common motif, which has no regnal significance, cf. Petrie, Buttons, pl. 14, 906.
- 60) Cf. Carter, Tut.ankh.Amen II, pl. 53, b; and, for the condition of the seals at the time of the discovery, Carter, Cards, no. 193.
- 61) Cf. Carter, Tut.ankh.Amen II, pl. 5.
- 62) Carter, Cards, no. 304.
- 63) Cf. Romer, Valley, 256 (left).
- 64) Cf. Carter, Cards, unnumbered, entitled 'Successive Re-openings and Reclosings', ii.
- 65) Cf. ibid., iii f.: '... it would appear that (the KV54 assemblage) had some relation to the burial of the king. What this relation may be is not evident, but these objects may have some connection with ... the large objects found upon the floor of the passage'.
- 66) Cf. in particular obj. no. 5d, 'fragments of mud (?)boxes (?)from foundation deposit', to be compared with Winlock, Materials, 11 f., pl. 10, T; whilst the material recovered from the 'rubbish filling staircase before (outer) entrance' included fragments of '(?)large white zeers containing rubbish from burial' (obj. card no. 2) reminiscent of the large jars found in KV54. The 'fragments of clay seals from packages (apparently of linen)' (obj. no. 1c, 'mostly of Royal Necropolis type') seem to be analogous to the sealings from KV54

(Winlock, Materials, 7), and are perhaps to be associated with the 'fragments of linen' recorded under no. lm. For embalmers' refuse of this sort, cf. in general Lucas & Harris, Materials, 278, 292 f., 296, 324 f., 493 f., and see below, chapter 8, s.v. Maiherpri, Yuya and Tjuyu.

- 67) Cf. obj. nos. 5-12 and see n. 15 above.
- 68) Carter, Cards, entitled 'Successive Re-openings and Reclosings', i & iii.
- 69) I owe this suggestion to Prof. J. R. Harris. It is interesting to note amongst this material several wine jar fragments and their sealings, which had apparently been stored in the corridor at the time of the original sealing of the tomb.
- 70) Although the fragmentary impression of seal type (P) found by Carter within the rubble debris of the corridor (obj. no. 12i; re-excavated by Romer within the corridor of KV4 (Ramesses XI), his reg. no. 304) is otherwise restricted to the Burial Chamber (cf. obj. no. 179, probably from no. 178), the distribution of the smaller sealing types is on the whole fairly even throughout the tomb, and probably not particularly significant.
- 71) E.g. obj. nos. 12a and 12c come from the 'corselet' 54k; 12k is associated with 54ddd; 12q joins 10lw; 'two fragments from floor rubbish antechamber' join to 12t; the copper-alloy arrowhead, part of group 12n (re-excavated by Romer from KV4, reg, no. 299) is probably a stray from those broken from arrows found in the Antechamber (cf. Carter, Tut.ankh.Amen I, 114,

- 135; McLeod, Self Bows, 13 ff.), whilst the 'gold and bronze staple', also part of group 12n, seems to have originally been attached to obj. no. 79 + 574 (cf. BM, Tutankhamun, no. 17).
- 72) Carter, Tut.ankh.Amen III, 103.
- 73) As Winlock, Meryet-Amun, 37, notes, subsequent phases of activity go far towards effacing all traces of earlier enterprise within a tomb.
- 74) Cf. the missing contents, presumed to have been of glass, of the padded boxes nos. 141 & 315. See Carter, Tut.ankh.Amen III, 86. As Prof. Harris has suggested to me, the faience cup of Tutankhamun, found by Davis in 1906 (Davis, Harmhabi, 2, 135, no. 21) 'under a large rock, some distance from the tomb' (i.e. KV57; for the precise findspot cf. the Ayrton sketch map, appendix B, fig. 103), had perhaps been removed from KV62 in antiquity under the mistaken impression that it was made of glass, and subsequently discarded when it was found not to be.
- 75) Cf. Černý, Hieratic Inscriptions. As Prof. Harris tells me, the object missing from box no. 487 was clearly not a cubit rod, despite Carter, Tut.ankh.Amen III, 127. For the fragments of gold foil recovered by Davis from KV58 in 1908, often (mistakenly) connected with KV62 (e.g. by Smith, Tutankhamen, 35 ff.), see further below.
- 76) Černý, Hieratic Inscriptions, no. 47.
- 77) Ibid., no. 53.
- 78) Ibid., no. 59.
- 79) Obj. no. 108; Carter, Tut.ankh.Amen I, 119 f.

- 80) Černý, Hieratic Inscriptions, no. 46.
- 81) Cf. Carter, Tut.ankh.Amen III, 105 f. Note, however, that there is nothing to suggest that the 'leather bags or waterskins' found in the rubble of the passageway (obj. no. 6) had been intended to carry off this spoil. These containers had more probably been employed to hold water for the repair of the first robbers' breach.
- 82) Cf. above, n. 71.
- 83) Particularly in the Treasury, where the disturbance was apparently selective: cf. Carter, Tut.ankh.Amen III, 34 and passim). Carter estimated that some 60% of the jewellery from this room was missing (ibid., 69 ff.).
- 84) Obj. nos. 12t; see above, n. 71.
- 85) The notable absence of papyri (with the exception of that mentioned in Carter, Tut.ankh.Amen II, 119), so much regretted by the excavators, is unlikely to be due to robbers. If such documents were ever deposited in KV62, it may be that they have as yet to be discovered: the fact that one of the divine figures from KV35 (Amenophis II) (Daressy, Fouilles, CG 24619) and the two guardian figures from KV17 (below, chapter 4) had been hollowed out, in the former case at least for the purpose of containing a papyrus roll, might suggest that any papyri buried with Tutankhamun were concealed in a like manner, rather than (as was first hoped) in 'the numerous coffers which are still sealed or in

- the sarcophagus' (Capart, Tutankhamen, 39).
- 86) Carter, Tut.ankh.Amen I, 139.
- 87) Cf. in particular the confused contents of the boxes nos. 54, 54ddd, 68, 386, etc.
- 88) Carter, Tut.ankh.Amen I, 139; III, 98 ff.
- 89) On the similarity of the seal type (H) with the jackal and nine captives seal from KV43 (Tuthmosis IV), cf. Carter, Tut.ankh.Amen III, 85 f., where Maya's role in the restoration is suggested as a possibility.
- 90) Cf. ibid. I, 133 f.; II, 104; III, 107. See above, n. 58.
- 91) Cf. below, s.v. Maiherpri (KV36) (chapter 8).
- 92) Cf. Carter, Tut.ankh.Amen I, 138 f.
- 93) P-M I<sup>2</sup>/ii, 586; Thomas, Necropoleis, 163 f.
- 94) See below, appendix B, site 19. Cf. Reeves, BSEG 8 (1983), 81, n. 1. The miniature gilded cartonnage from this cache has recently been published (though without attribution) as Palazzo Ducale, Tesori, no. 34.
- 95) Cf. Davis, Tīyi, 4 f.; id., Harmhabi, 3, 112, 134 f. (no. 20).
- 96) Winlock, Materials.
- 97) Cf. ibid., esp. 7 ff.
- 98) Above.
- 99) Winlock, Materials, 11 f., pl. 10, T.
- 100) Cf. above, n. 66.
- 101) Cf. Winlock, Materials, pl. 7, E, which is perhaps to be recognised as a version of Carter's seal type (J) (above, fig. 23).
- 102) Cf. above.

- 103) P-M I<sup>2</sup>/ii, 550 f.; Thomas, Necropoleis, 90 ff.
- 104) Belzoni, Narrative, 123.
- 105) Note, however, that a faience 'Bruchstück vom Rand des Fusses eines Gefäßes' was apparently recovered from WV23 in April 1882: von Bissing, Fayencegefäße, CG 3668.
- 106) Schaden, Ay, 224 ff., and cf. id., ASAE 63 (1979), 161 ff.
- 107) Schaden, Ay, 231 f.
- 108) Ibid., 233.
- 109) Ibid., 289, n. 60.
- 110) Ibid., 233.
- 111) Ibid.
- 112) Cf. the analogous examples from KV55 (Davis, Tîyi, 40, no. 54), KV57 (Davis, Harmhabi, 108, no. 36) and KV62 (cf. Edwards, Tutankhamun, 93-4).
- 113) Schaden, Ay, 233.
- 114) Ibid., 235.
- 115) Cf. ibid., 234, fig. 3.
- 116) Ibid., 235.
- 117) Ibid., 236.
- 118) Ibid.
- 119) Ibid.
- 120) Ibid.
- 121) Cf. ibid., fig. on p. 238.
- 122) Ibid., 240.
- 123) Surely the most likely alternative put forward by Schaden, ibid., 240 f.
- 124) Ibid., 242.
- 125) Ibid.
- 126) Note that the epithet C<sub>n</sub>h.ti applied to Tiy in the WV23 tomb scenes (Piankoff, MDAIK 16 (1958), pl. 21,1)

could be construed as indicating that she was still alive at the time the scenes were painted - i.e. at the time of the funeral (for which cf. Carter, Tut.ankh.Amen II, 26; Romer, MDAIK 31 (1975), 338 ff.). But cf. Harris, SAK 2 (1975), 97, n. 16.

- 127) Cf. Thomas, Necropoleis, 91; Romer, Valley, 56.
- 128) Briefly considered above, chapter 2.
- 129) Schaden, Ay, 246, 249. Cf. below, s.v. KV58 for remains of Ay's funerary chariot equipment.
- 130) Cf. Piankoff, MDAIK 16 (1958), pls. 21-5.
- 131) Maspero, Guide (1915), 175. This was evidently the end at which the doors of the king's shrines were positioned. That WV23 had been furnished with such shrines is suggested by the height of the sarcophagus chamber - as Romer, Valley, 56, has pointed out.
- 132) See above, chapter 2.
- 133) See above.
- 134) Piankoff, MDAIK 16 (1958), pl. 24, 2.
- 135) Cf. conveniently Maspero, Struggle, 335.
- 136) Cf. Schaden, Ay, 244, fig. 5.
- 137) It is possible, of course, that the inconsistency of the erasures of the king's cartouches etc. was due to difficulties encountered in manoeuvring around the shrines - dismantled or otherwise. The excision of cartouches in a running text seems, in any case, to have been less vital than removing cartouches accompanying a representation.
- 138) Cf. the 19th dynasty date of the king lists and

other documents - such as Mes - which omit these rulers, and consider the fact that the Hermopolis 'talatat' were not re-used until the reign of Ramesses II: Hari, Horemheb, 419 ff.; Schaden, Ay, 278 ff.

- 139) Perhaps to the reign of Ramesses IX: cf. the ostracon recovered by Schaden, Ay, 247 f. (A reading nfr-(k3)-r<sup>C</sup> seems preferable to Schaden's proposed wsr-(m3<sup>C</sup>t)-r<sup>C</sup>.)
- 140) Cf. Thomas, Necropoleis, 83.
- 141) Chapter 2 (s.v. Akhenaten).
- 142) Schaden, Ay, 250.
- 143) P-M I<sup>2</sup>/ii, 588; Thomas, Necropoleis, 165.
- 144) As Winlock, Materials, 7, points out, the KV58 deposit is not to be confused or in any way connected with the KV54 embalming cache; nor with the tomb of Horemheb (KV57), despite Maspero, Guide (1915), 379. The find has been variously discussed by Carter, Tut.ankh.Amen III, 26; Gardiner, Egypt, 237 f.; Schaden, Ay, 139 ff.; Hari, BSFE 82 (1978), 15 ff.; Reeves, GM 46 (1981), 11 ff.; id., GM 53 (1982), 33 ff.
- 145) Jones & Burton, Tombs, entry for 10 January 1908; cf. below, appendix B, site 23. Objects found during the work of the previous two days included a wooden coffin fragment, which - like the shabti (table 1, D1) - may well have belonged to an earlier occupant of the tomb.
- 146) Cf. Reeves, GM 53 (1982), 33 ff.; also id., GM 46 (1981), 11 ff.
- 147) Reeves, GM 53 (1982), fig. 1.

- 148) Reeves, GM 53 (1982), 38 f.
- 149) Davis, Harmhabi, 126 ff., nos. 2-14.
- 150) Ibid., nos. 3-5, 7-9, 15/1-15/4.
- 151) Daressy catalogues no fragments of foil bearing the name of Tiy, despite Davis, Harmhabi, 3, and Smith, Tombs, 128.
- 152) Ay's name occurs in KV62 only twice, and then in its royal form: once in the scene where Ay acts as s(t)m-priest for the dead king (cf. conveniently Petit Palais, Toutankhamon, fold-out plate between pp. 140-1); and once on a clay seal impression from the floor of the Antechamber (Carter's type (S): cf. fig. 23).
- 153) Daressy no. 15/2: Davis, Harmhabi, 133. Despite apparent exceptions (cf. Smith, Buhen Inscriptions, 86 f.), whm <sup>C</sup>nh seems primarily to have been an epithet of the dead, perhaps used in an anticipatory sense; cf. Caminos, Ibrim, 28.
- 154) Cf. above.
- 155) Carter, MSS, I.C.161; I.C.167( f.), wavered between the fragments coming partly from KV62 and partly from WV23, or from WV23 alone. Others, such as Edwards, Tutankhamun, 27; Hari, BSFE 82 (1978), 16, have preferred to connect this material solely with KV62.
- 156) The presence of fragments inscribed for Tutankhamun in the burial of Ay might be satisfactorily explained in one of two ways: either the items they decorated had been a gift from the king to Ay when the latter was still a commoner (with Aldred, cited in Thomas, Necropoleis, 169, n. 82),

- almost certainly the case with Daressy no. 4; or else they had originally been prepared for Tutankhamun himself, omitted from his burial within KV62, and included only incidentally amongst the furnishings for WV23.
- 157) To judge from the Tutankhamun material, each chariot was equipped with a single pair of yoke-saddles; the presence of finials from two pairs (Daressy no. 17) might suggest that there were at least two chariots in the WV23 burial.
- 158) Aldred, in a letter to Thomas, cited Necropoleis, 279 and n. 39, appears to have suggested a somewhat similar identification, though without developing the point.
- 159) Above.
- 160) Cf. below, chapter 6.
- 161) Cf. Reeves, GM 53 (1982), 39.
- 162) Cf. below.
- 163) Cf. further chapter 12 below.
- 164) P-M I<sup>2</sup>/ii, 567 ff.; Thomas, Necropoleis, 92 ff.
- 165) Cf. appendix B, site 21; appendix D, doc. 7. For the discovery see Ayrton, PSBA 30 (1908), 117; Davis, Harmhabi, 1 f.; Weigall, Treasury, 209 ff. (cf. id., Glory, 153 ff.); Weigall, MSS, I, 80 ff. Cf. further the Andrews Journal and the Jones correspondence. A full archaeological report was prepared by Ayrton, but never published: see Davis, Harmhabi, 3; this is now lost. A water-colour record of the tomb scenes was made by Harold and Cyril Jones (cf. Rapports 1899-1910, 292; Rapport 1911, 15; see further the Jones correspondence in

Aberystwyth) and Lancelot Crane (Hayes, Scepter II, 309). Only a selection of these water-colours has been published (in Davis, Harmhabi); the originals are now in the Metropolitan Museum of Art and in Carmarthen Museum. The tomb was fully photographed by Burton, whose record is also in the Metropolitan Museum (Hayes, Scepter II, 309); a more recent coverage, in colour, is that of Hornung, Haremhab.

- 166) Weigall, Treasury, 228. For (A-B) cf. Davis, Harmhabi, pl. 23, and for (B) ibid., pl. 24.
- 167) Davis, Harmhabi, 1.
- 168) Weigall, Treasury, 230.
- 169) Carter, MSS, I.A.97(2), notes that the entrance of the well (D-E) 'appears never to have been closed - there being no evidence of blocking of any kind'. For the decorated wall (E-F), cf. ibid.
- 170) Weigall, Treasury, 231.
- 171) Carter, MSS, I.A.97(3); cf. Weigall, loc. cit.
- 172) Cf. Carter, MSS, I.A.97( f.): 'The entrance doorway had originally been closed with a wooden door. The sockets for its pivot-hinges in the lintel and floor, and holes for its bolts cut in the reveal of the door-jamb, are evidence for this; and clay bearing impressions of a seal still adhering to the reveals and lintel show us that the door had once been sealed up. The seals were so badly made, apparently no provision used to prevent the wet clay sticking to the seal, that it is now impossible to make out the device'.
- 173) Cf. Carter, MSS, I.A.97(4): 'The inner doorway -

ingress to sepulchral hall - had also a wooden door, there being similar evidence as in the first case. These fixtures were fitted after the sculpting and painting of the chamber'.

- 174) Cf. above, chapter 1, n. 68.
- 175) Cf. Davis, Harmhabi, pls. 42 ff. Two unpublished photographs by Ayrton are in the archives of the EES: cf. Reeves, MDAIK 40 (1984) (forthcoming), n. 4.
- 176) One, Davis, Harmhabi, pl. 79.
- 177) Weigall, Treasury, 232. Other figures which perhaps originate in KV57 are noted above, chapter 1 (s.v. Tuthmosis III).
- 178) Weigall, Treasury, 232. Cf. Davis, Harmhabi, 2; Weigall, MSS, I, 83; Smith, Tombs, 88 f.
- 179) Cf. Hornung, Haremhab, pl. 64. Carter, MSS, I.A.108, writes: 'The vaulted lid ... had been broken in two pieces anciently and mended by dowels before placing it in position'.
- 180) Cf. Davis, Harmhabi, 91.
- 181) Ayrton, PSBA 30 (1908), 117.
- 182) Cf. Weigall, Treasury, 232.
- 183) Ibid. Cf. Carter, MSS, I.A.113(1): 'Never closed. Rectangular, quite plain, now contains two skulls, a few bones and fragments of mummified substances from (?for) mummies'. It seems, contrary to Davis, Harmhabi, 2, that Elliot Smith did not examine these bones: cf. Thomas, Necropoleis, 95, citing a letter from W. R. Dawson.
- 184) Weigall, Treasury, 233. Note that Davis, Harmhabi, 2, would place the bones of 'two women and one man' here.

- 185) Weigall, Treasury, 233. Thomas, Necropoleis, 95, interprets Weigall's statement as referring to the upper of these two chambers (Jd). The ownership of the KV57 skeletal material is considered further below. At least one of the skeletons, presumably, is to be identified with the otherwise unattested owner of the canopic jar of Sanwy(?) (Davis, Harmhabi, 100, no. 4) found on the '2nd step of mid-flight' of steps leading out of the crypt (cf. the second EES photograph relating to KV57: n. 175 above).
- 186) Gardiner, Notebook 70, 68 f.
- 187) Weigall, Treasury, 228. Davis, Harmhabi, 1, seems to place it 'on the side of the wall'; Weigall, MSS, I, 80 f., 'on the wall outside'. Cf. Černý, Community, 372, n. 2.
- 188) Below, table 10, no. 4.
- 189) Gardiner, Notebook 70, 69.
- 190) Ibid.
- 191) Ibid.
- 192) Below, table 10, no. 7.
- 193) Cf. Gardiner, Notebook 70, 68.
- 194) Cf. Černý, Community, 80.
- 195) Cf. below, chapter 4.
- 196) Above.
- 197) Gardiner, Notebook 70, 68.
- 198) Cf. Wb. I, 572, 5.
- 199) J 41637, unpublished. Cf. below, chapter 5.
- 200) Cf. Gardiner, JEA 40 (1954), 43; Altenmüller, SAK 10 (1983), 4; and see further below, chapter 5.
- 201) Cf. below, table 10, nos. 40-44.
- 202) Cf. below, however, for an unidentified corpse from this latter tomb.

203) Below, chapter 10.

204) Wb. IV, 495, 2.

205) Weigall, Treasury, 232.

206) Cf. below, table 5, and Goff, Symbols, 116, 148  
(with n. 96).

Notes

- 1) P-M I<sup>2</sup>/ii, 534 f.; Thomas, Necropoleis, 103 f.
- 2) Belzoni, Narrative, 229 f.
- 3) Ibid., 229.
- 4) Ibid. Burton, MSS, 25642, 36, describes them as 'parts of mummies'.
- 5) Belzoni, loc. cit. These statues are now in the British Museum, BM 854 (BM, Guide Egn. Colln., 361, fig. 198) and BM 883 (James & Davies, Sculpture, 49, fig. 55 (right)): cf. Christophe, RdC 42 (1959), 257 ff.; Mayes, Belzoni, 178, 310, n. 16, 330, nos. 567 & 685.
- 6) Belzoni, Narrative, 229. Several of these deities had apparently been covered with gold leaf: as Romer, Valley, 66, notes, these figures 'were thrown at the wall with such violence that this foil came off and stuck to the painted plaster, where it may still be seen; tiny fragments of gold glistening on the dented surface of the plaster walls'. Cf. Mayes, Belzoni, 310, n. 16, 331.
- 7) Burton, MSS, 25642, 36.
- 8) Lane, Notebook 5, 1.
- 9) Cf. Romer, Valley, 63 ff.
- 10) Cf. ibid., photograph on pp. 62-3.
- 11) Below, table 10, no. 40.
- 12) Cf. below, table 7, no. 30.
- 13) Cf. below, chapter 12.
- 14) P-M I<sup>2</sup>/ii, 535 ff.; Thomas, Necropoleis, 104 ff.
- 15) Belzoni, Narrative, 231 ff.

- 16) Belzoni, Narrative, 233. Cf. ibid., 237, for a reference to the blocking of one of the side chambers (Jff): 'The doorway of the sideboard room had been walled up, and forced open, as we found the stones with which it was shut, and the mortar in the jambs'.
- 17) Ibid., 232 f.
- 18) Ibid., 235.
- 19) This would appear to be a description of BM 882 (James & Davies, Sculpture, 49, fig. 55 (left)), the kilt of which is hollowed out in this fashion.
- 20) Belzoni, Narrative, 235 f. Cf. BM 2317, 2321, etc.
- 21) Burton, MSS, 25642, 3; cf. further Sotheby & Co., Burton Collection, 29 f., lot 348, where it is noted that a 'Mason's Mallet ..., together with ... brush, and smaller Plasterer's Tool, was found in forming a trench above the Tomb of Osirei, or Belzoni's Tomb, to turn off the mountain torrents. A mound of the rubbish, which had been excavated from the tomb, was cut through, and many pots of colour with brushes &c., were found at the same time'.
- 22) The king's shabtis have been found as far afield as Medinet Habu (cf. below, chapter 11); for specimens from the Valley of the Kings, cf. below, appendices A-C. The heart amulet of Sethos I was found in the Asasif by Mariette: cf. Mon. div., pl. 48, a, no. 3; LdR III, 22 & n. 1.
- 23) Bonomi & Sharpe, Oimenepthah; Budge, Seti I. For a colour photograph of the interior, see Ruffle, Heritage, 188, pl. 29.

- 24) Belzoni, Narrative, 236. The most convincing explanation put forward so far is that this passage (which may perhaps be paralleled in KV7; see below) was intended as a means of contact between the tomb and the waters of the Nile in the form of groundwater below - an arrangement which is, in fact, paralleled in the Sethos I cenotaph at Abydos. Cf. BTMP, Prelim. Report 1979, 20. Romer's suggestion, Valley, 76, that the passage perhaps leads to another burial chamber, seems unlikely.
- 25) Belzoni, Narrative, 236.
- 26) Budge, Seti I, 5 ff.
- 27) Cf. Bonomi & Sharpe, Oimenepthah, 16 f.
- 28) Ibid., 15.
- 29) Table 5, no. 34.
- 30) Table 7, no. 35.
- 31) Cf. also what may be an independent record of inspection within the tomb in Lefébure, Hypogées I, part 2, pl. 14 (left). Although the hieratic of this text is rather difficult, the opening phrase perhaps begins 'Inspection in Year 8'. What would appear to be a second graffito is alluded to by Maspero, Histoire ancienne, 326, n. 1: 'On voit encore dans le tombeau de Sétui I<sup>er</sup> les procès-verbaux' of 'une commission présidée par le grand prêtre d'Amon, Aménôthès'.
- 32) Below, table 10, no. 5.
- 33) Ibid., no. 17.
- 34) Ibid., no. 22. Cf. further below.
- 35) Table 10, no. 27.
- 36) Ibid., no. 26.

- 37) Table 10, no. 41.
- 38) P-M I<sup>2</sup>/ii, 505 ff.; Thomas, Necropoleis, 107 f.
- 39) For KV5, often and erroneously identified as Ramesses II's 'other' tomb, cf. below, chapter 7.
- 40) Cf. the graffiti recorded by Baillet, Inscriptions.
- 41) Cf. Jones & Burton, Tombs, entries for 11 December 1913-14 January 1914. See below, appendix B, site 40.
- 42) Ibid. On the flooding of the tomb, cf. Romer, Floods, 4 - though his statement that no burial equipment has ever been found in the tomb is patently incorrect.
- 43) Jones & Burton, Tombs, entry for 12 December 1913.
- 44) Cf. the photograph in Romer, Valley, 235. The debris within this chamber may well conceal the entrance to a 'Nun' chamber, as in KV17: cf. ibid., 75.
- 45) Burton's finds are noted below, appendix B, site 40. Other pieces assumed to come from here include a number of wooden, copper-alloy and limestone shabtis: cf. Clayton, JEA 58 (1972), 171. The attribution of the four so-called 'pseudo-canopic jars' in the Louvre (P-M I<sup>2</sup>/ii, 507), which appear to contain mummified viscera (cf. Chambers's Journal (6 ser.) 9 (1906), 495 f.), is quite speculative. I suspect (though am not yet in a position to prove) that they originate rather from Mariette's work at the Serapeum. The wooden guardian figure BM 882 often associated with KV7 (e.g. by P-M I<sup>2</sup>/ii, 507) is more likely to come from KV16: see above.

- 46) Gardiner, RAD, 57, 6 ff.; Edgerton, JNES 10 (1951), 141.
- 47) Cited by Černý, Community, 9. For 'great general' or 'generalissimo' as a probable euphemism for Ramesses II (rather than Piankh, as Černý, loc. cit., suggests), cf. Janssen, OMRO 41 (1960), 45 f.; Thomas, in Studies Hughes, 213. See further below, chapter 7.
- 48) Cf. below, table 10, no. 9.
- 49) Ibid., no. 22.
- 50) Spiegelberg, Graffiti, 93, III-IV.
- 51) Below, chapter 6.
- 52) Table 5, no. 30.
- 53) Table 7, no. 31. Daressy, Cercueils, 32, suggested that the style of this coffin is rather earlier than the identity of its final occupant might lead one to suppose. Weigall, Works of Art, 246, attributed it to either Horemheb or Ramesses I, whilst Aldred, JEA 54 (1968), 102 f., favours original ownership by the latter. Its definitive attribution may eventually be aided by the observation that the eyes of this coffin are carved in the round rather than inlaid, a feature so far attested (to my knowledge) only in statuary from KV57 (Horemheb) (cf. Davis, Harmhabi, pl. 80) and KV17 (e.g. BM 882; see above). Although a link with the former tomb would be difficult to maintain archaeologically, it may well be that the coffin had been prepared originally as a second outermost case for Sethos I, and was passed on to and restored for Ramesses II at the time of his reburial within KV17.

- 54) P-M I<sup>2</sup>/ii, 507 ff.; Thomas, Necropoleis, 108 ff.
- 55) Cf. the graffiti published by Baillet, Inscriptions.
- 56) Cf. Carter, ASAE 6 (1906), 116 ff.; appendix A, site 21.
- 57) Cf. Carter, op. cit., 118.
- 58) Ibid., and pl. 3.
- 59) Ibid., 116; cf. Assman, MDAIK 28 (1972), 47.
- 60) Carter, ASAE 6 (1906), 116 f.
- 61) Cf. Montet, Psousennès, 112.
- 62) BM 49739; cf. Thomas, Necropoleis, 118.
- 63) Cf. Thomas, op. cit., 117 f.
- 64) Černý, Ostraca, CG 25504.
- 65) Carter, MSS, I.J.386-7, nos. 250 ff.; appendix C, site 8.
- 66) Carter, MSS, I.J.386-7, nos. 257-69; I.C.168 ff.; Carter, Tut.ankh.Amen I, 83; II, 102. Seven of these jars (nos. 257-8, 261, 263, 265-7) were retained by the Cairo Museum, whilst the remainder passed into the Carnarvon collection. One of these (no. 259) is now in the Metropolitan Museum of Art (Hayes, Scepter II, 354, fig. 221); another is in the British Museum (cf. BM, Guide 4th-6th, 20, no. 41); whilst a further specimen (no. 268) was recently sold at auction in New York (cf. Sotheby Parke Bernet, Important ... Antiquities (19 May 1979: Sale No. 4253), lot 266).
- 67) Carter, MSS, I.J.386-7, note to nos. 257-69.
- 68) Cf. ibid., I.C.168 ff. (passim).
- 69) By Lucas: cf. ibid., I.C.212; partially updated in Lucas & Harris, Materials, 315.
- 70) For pr nfr, cf. Donahue, JEA 64 (1978), 143 ff.,

with the earlier references cited ibid., n. 6. Nims & Swaan, Thebes, 62, are alone in seeing the vessels as 'gifts of Merenptah at the time he buried his father'; nor can Hayes be considered strictly correct in seeing them as 'furnishings of the royal tomb' (i.e. KV8): Scepter II, 354.

- 71) E.g. nos. 260, 265-6.
- 72) Cf. Černý, Hieratic Inscriptions, 7. Černý was evidently unaware that the calcite vessel no. 268 furnishes a second instance of the word mtw3, considered ibid.; cf. Carter, MSS, I.C.205.
- 73) Cf. Cruz-Uribe, GM 24 (1977), 23 ff.
- 74) Thomas, in Studies Hughes, 209 ff.
- 75) But cf. ibid., 214.
- 76) Chapter 7.
- 77) Cf. table 6, no. 9.
- 78) But cf. below, chapter 12 (s.v. unknown woman 'D').

Notes

- 1) P-M I<sup>2</sup>/ii, 517 f.; Thomas, Necropoleis, 110 f.
- 2) On Amenmesse and the events of the late 19th dynasty cf. Krauss, SAK 4 (1976), 161 ff.; id., SAK 5 (1977), 131 ff.; Spalinger, BiOr 39/3-4 (1982), 272 ff. Cf. also Harris & Wente, Atlas, 144 ff., and see further below (s.v. Tawosret; Sethnakhte).
- 3) Cf. appendix B, site 20; appendix D, doc. 3.
- 4) Ibid.
- 5) Cf. Lefébure, Hypogées II, 154 f.
- 6) Cf. Thomas, Necropoleis, 110 f.
- 7) Carter, MSS, I.J.386-7, no. 324: 'Frag. limestone vase (?Canopic jar) bearing part of a legend and cartouche (𓆎𓆏𓆑)'. Cf. appendix C, site 14.
- 8) Cf. Thomas, Necropoleis, 110; Černý, Valley, 12.
- 9) Cf., for example, Lefébure, Hypogées II, 81 ff.
- 10) See above, chapter 4.
- 11) As in KV3 (below, chapter 7) and KV2 (Ramesses IV) (below, chapter 6).
- 12) Note the fact that there are no visible 'putt-holes' to facilitate the introduction of the sarcophagus and other large items of funerary equipment: Thomas, Necropoleis, 110. The king whose interment is recorded on an ostrakon cited ibid., 111 & 133, is not identified, but, from the cartouches on the reverse, is perhaps more likely to be Sethos II than Amenmesse.
- 13) P-M I<sup>2</sup>/ii, 532 f.; Thomas, Necropoleis, 111 f.

- 14) Černý & Gardiner, Ostraca I, 47, 1 (concerning a theft of tools); ibid., 64, 1; Černý, Ostraca, CG 25509, 25515, 25516. Cf. in general Thomas, Necropoleis, 112 f.
- 15) For the identification cf. Reeves, CdE 60 (1985), (forthcoming). The ostrakon was originally published by Engelbach, ASAE 27 (1927), 72 ff., and subsequently illustrated by Clarke & Engelbach, Masonry, fig. 53.
- 16) Thomas, Necropoleis, 112.
- 17) The whole left wall and half of the right wall of the first corridor are carved in sunk relief, whilst the remainder of the tomb is decorated in paint. Cf. n. 19 below.
- 18) Cf. Krauss, SAK 4 (1976), 181 ff.
- 19) Cf. Altenmüller, SAK 10 (1983), 53 ff.
- 20) Drenkhahn, Elephantine-Stele, 68 ff.; Altenmüller, JEA 68 (1982), 107 ff.
- 21) Altenmüller, SAK 10 (1983), 53 ff.
- 22) Aldred, JEA 49 (1963), 44 f.
- 23) Krauss, SAK 4 (1976), 198 f.
- 24) Spalinger, BiOr 39/3-4 (1982), 283.
- 25) Cf. Hayes, Scepter II, 362. The 'limestone beaker' referred to by Thomas, Necropoleis, 112, citing Carter, MSS, I.J.386, entry for 1 December 1920 (presumably no. 276), is based upon a misreading of Carter's handwriting. The object in question is a 'limestone flake'.
- 26) For which cf., for example, Hornung, Tal, 206 f.
- 27) P. Salt 124, ro. 1, 4 ff.: Černý, JEA 15 (1929), pl. 42.

- 28) If Altenmüller's hypothesis of a re-organisation of the late 19th dynasty burials under Sethnakhte (or Ramesses III) (SAK 10 (1983), 38 ff.) is well-founded, the Salt reference to what Černý translates as 'the burial of all the kings' (sm3-t3 n n3 nsywt drw: ro. 1, 4) might suggest that the thefts - by a certain Paneb - were carried out at the time of Sethos II's reburial within KV15.
- 29) Cf. Černý & Sadek, Graffiti, no. 2056a (table 10, no. 6), which was inscribed above the entrance to KV15. If the graffito 2056b (ibid.) was actually inscribed at the same time, it would indicate Butehamun's involvement in the venture.
- 30) Cf. table 6, no. 13; table 8, nos. 2, 7.
- 31) Cf. Thomas, Necropoleis, 232, no. 53.
- 32) P-M I<sup>2</sup>/ii, 564 f.; Thomas, Necropoleis, 116 ff.
- 33) On this first season's work cf. Davis, Siphtah, 2, 11 ff.; Ayrton, PSBA 28 (1906), 96; Smith, Tombs, 46 f. Cf. appendix B, site 13, and, on the finds, Reeves, MDAIK 40 (1984) (forthcoming).
- 34) Davis, Siphtah, 12.
- 35) Burton, BMMA 11 (1916), 13 ff.; Jones & Burton, Tombs, entries for 7-23 February 1912; 16 December 1912-23 January 1913; 5-8 March 1913. Cf. appendix B, site 38.
- 36) Carter, MSS, I.J.386-7, nos. 351-432. See below, appendix C, site 17.
- 37) Davis, Siphtah, 11 ff. Cf. Černý, Ostraca, 126 ff., index 6, s.v. site designation 'N. Tb.'. See further below, appendix B, site 15.

- 38) Cf. Davis, Siphtah, 13.
- 39) Ibid.; evidently of Sethos I, despite Ayrton's reservations.
- 40) Ibid.
- 41) Ibid. Cf. Thomas, Necropoleis, 118 & 291.
- 42) Davis, Siphtah, 13.
- 43) Ibid.
- 44) Černý, Ostraca, CG 25575. See n. 37 above.
- 45) Cf. Davis, Siphtah, 13, and Aldred, JEA 49 (1963), 42, fig. 2, for a fragmentary dw3-wr adze inscribed for the 'king's mother Tiaa' (J 38778); Hayes, Scepter II, 356 f., and Aldred, op. cit., fig. 1 & pl. 7, 2, for fragments of the queen's calcite canopic chest; and Carter, MSS, I.J.387, no. 351, for fragments of a 'faience (?)model coffin of Queen Thiaa' = Hayes, Scepter II, 146.
- 46) Spalinger, BiOr 39/3-4 (1982), 283.
- 47) Cf. Altenmüller, SAK 10 (1983), 48 ff.
- 48) Černý, Ostraca, 27.
- 49) Ibid., CG 25575.
- 50) Ibid., 27.
- 51) The untitled Pediamun mentioned on this ostrakon is presumably to be distinguished from the chief workman Pediamun (Černý, Community, 123 ff.) who was involved in the burial of Pinudjem II in Year 10 of Siamun, 4 prt 20 (table 10, no. 45).
- 52) Table 6, no. 14; table 8, no. 9.
- 53) Cf. below, however, chapter 12 (s.v. unknown woman 'D').
- 54) Burton, BMMA 11 (1916), 16.

- 55) P-M I<sup>2</sup>/ii, 527 ff.; Thomas, Necropoleis, 114 f.
- 56) Cf. Thomas, op. cit., 114.
- 57) Ibid., citing J 72452 (Gardiner, JEA 40 (1954), 43, n. 3).
- 58) Altenmüller, SAK 10 (1983), 38 ff.
- 59) Ibid., and cf. further id., JEA 68 (1982), 107 ff.; id., SAK 10 (1983), 1 ff.; id., BSEG 8 (1983), 3 ff.
- 60) See above, appendix B, site 15, and cf. the presence of a knob of Ay within QV66 (Nofretiri): Thomas, Necropoleis, 91 f.
- 61) First published by Gardiner, JEA 40 (1954), 43. See now Altenmüller, SAK 10 (1983), 4.
- 62) Abitz, SAK 9 (1982), 1 ff.; Drenkhahn, Elephantine-Stele, 19 f.; Hornung, Tal, 54.
- 63) See below, table 10, nos. 5, 9.
- 64) Ibid., no. 7; see above, chapter 3.
- 65) Ibid., no. 6; see above, s.v. Sethos II.
- 66) Chapter 10.
- 67) Altenmüller, SAK 10 (1983), 38 ff.
- 68) For which tomb see below, chapter 7.
- 69) Table 8, no. 8.
- 70) See below, chapter 10; table 4, no. 6; table 6, no. 6.
- 71) Descr., Antiquités X, 213.

Notes

- 1) P-M I<sup>2</sup>/ii, 518 ff.; Thomas, Necropoleis, 125 ff.
- 2) Thomas, op. cit., 125; cf. Altenmüller, SAK 10 (1983), 56.
- 3) Above, chapter 5.
- 4) Cf. fig. 39 (Da).
- 5) For shabtis probably from here cf. Clayton, JEA 58 (1972), 171 f.
- 6) Cf. further Lefébure, Hypogées II, 190.
- 7) Champollion, Notices I, 571 & 811.
- 8) Ibid., 414; transcribed by Spiegelberg, Graffiti, 93, III-IV. For the attribution to KV11 cf. Lefébure, Hypogées II, 190.
- 9) Cf. Bierbrier, LNK, 39, chart X, & 42.
- 10) For which cf. below, chapter 11.
- 11) Below, table 10, no. 20.
- 12) Table 5, no. 31.
- 13) Table 7, no. 32.
- 14) Cf. table 3, nos. 6, 39.
- 15) Table 8, no. 3.
- 16) Cf. table 4, nos. 2, 11, 15.
- 17) Descr., Antiquités X, 213, presumably identical with the mummy debris later noted by James Burton (MSS, 25642, 6 vs.) in (J2). Cf. Thomas, Necropoleis, 232, no. 58.
- 18) P-M I<sup>2</sup>/ii, 497 ff.; Thomas, Necropoleis, 127 ff.
- 19) Wilkinson, Topography, 117.
- 20) Cf. Baillet, Inscriptions, iv. Carter's work 'in front and on the SW side' of the entrance to KV2 may reflect this activity: cf. Carter,

- MSS, I.A.89 ff.; I.J.386-7, nos. 227 ff.; appendix C, site 4; further Baedeker, Egypt (1929), 303.
- 21) Cf. Carter, MSS, I.A.174.
- 22) Appendix B, site 13; Davis, Siphtah, 6 f. Cf. further Winlock & Crum, Epiphanius I, 18 f.; Reeves, MDAIK 40 (1984) (forthcoming).
- 23) Appendix C, site 4; Carter, MSS, I.A.176 ff.; I.J.386-7, nos. 227 ff. Cf. further Weinstein, Foundation Deposits, 281 ff.
- 24) See esp. appendix C, site 4. The suggestion put forward in Schäfer & Andrae, Kunst, 621, that a calcite jar formerly in the Posno collection (Berlin 8424) also originated in the tomb (for Ramesses III read Ramesses IV), is perhaps debatable.
- 25) Carter & Gardiner, JEA 4 (1917), 130 ff.; and, for a good colour photograph showing the latest arrangement of the fragments, Scamuzzi, Turin, pl. 87.
- 26) Cf. Romer, Valley, 281.
- 27) Noted by Ayrton in Davis, Siphtah, 7, and a photograph (wrongly identified) published in Clarke & Engelbach, Masonry, fig. 52. See now Reeves, CdE 60 (1985) (forthcoming).
- 28) Cf. Weigall, Guide, 197.
- 29) Cf. table 6, no. 10; table 8, no. 4.
- 30) Cf. Lefébure, Hypogées II, 190. See introduction.
- 31) P-M I<sup>2</sup>/ii, 511 ff.; Thomas, Necropoleis, 129 f.
- 32) Daressy, ASAE 18 (1919), 270 ff.; and, for the finds, cf. BIE (2 sér.) 10 (1889), xxv, xxxi.
- 33) Cf. Thomas, Necropoleis, 129 f.

- 34) Černý, Ostraca, CG 25677-80. For the archaeological context, cf. Carter, MSS, I.J.386-7, nos. 152-5; appendix C, site 2.
- 35) Cf. Daressy, ASAE 18 (1919), 271. Thomas, Necropoleis, 129, also notes 'a possible coffin peg of his' from Davis's excavations (site unknown); cf. Hayes, Scepter II, 375 (MMA 30.8.249).
- 36) Cf. Jelgersma, JEOL 21 (1970), 173 f.
- 37) Thomas, Necropoleis, 134.
- 38) Peet, Mayer Papyri, 19 f., pl. & transcr. at end.
- 39) Cf. below, chapter 7.
- 40) Peet, Tomb-Robberies, 176.
- 41) Champollion, Notices II, 635; transcribed by Spiegelberg, Graffiti, 92, II. The text is inscribed upon the ceiling of (J) (Thomas, Necropoleis, 130; though Lefébure, Hypogées II, 80, was inclined to doubt the attribution to KV9).
- 42) Aldred, in (Fairman), Glimpses, 92 ff.
- 43) Cf. table 6, no. 11; table 8, no. 5.
- 44) Table 6, no. 12; table 8, no. 6.
- 45) P-M I<sup>2</sup>/ii, 495 ff.; Thomas, Necropoleis, 130 f.
- 46) Cf. Baillet, Inscriptions, 5 ff.
- 47) Cf. Thomas, Necropoleis, 130 f. The photograph in question is published as Davis, Harmhabi, pl. 4; but cf. Weigall's categorical statement to the contrary, Guide, 195.
- 48) Cf. Engelbach, ASAE 21 (1921), esp. 193 f.; Aubert & Aubert, Statuettes, 119.
- 49) Romer, Valley, 252; Ciccarello, Ushebties, passim, with fig. at end.
- 50) LD Text III, 195.

- 51) Cf. Thomas, Necropoleis, 131.
- 52) Hayes, Scepter II, 376 & fig. 235 (called Ramesses VIII). Note, however, that the inscriptions on these vessels are not of a specifically funerary character.
- 53) Weigall's suggestion, Guide, 195 f., that the tomb was 'perhaps unknown to the priests who transferred the royal mummies to their hiding places', and that 'it may have been found and robbed at a later date', would appear less likely.
- 54) But cf. Thomas, Necropoleis, 131, where the inception of KV19 (below, chapter 7) is tentatively ascribed to him.
- 55) P-M I<sup>2</sup>/ii, 501 ff.; Thomas, Necropoleis, 131 f.
- 56) See the following note.
- 57) Cf. Daressy, ASAE 18 (1919), 270 ff. For the finds, cf. BIE (2 sér.) 10 (1889), xxiv, xxx. Several of the ostraca are published in Daressy, Ostraca; cf. ibid., 112, index 4. For pharaonic graffiti from the tomb cf. Lefébure, Hypogées II, 23.
- 58) Champollion, Notices I, 472.
- 59) For which cf. Daressy, ASAE 18 (1919), 272.
- 60) Like those of Maiherpri and Yuya, for example (below, chapter 8).
- 61) Maspero, Momies royales, 567 f. See table 3, nos. 29, 40; table 5, no. 32; and cf. LdR III, 214, n. 2.
- 62) Cf. Maspero, Momies royales, 584, 7<sup>o</sup>.
- 63) Cf. Budge, Lady Meux, 349 f., no. 1299 = Waring & Gillow, Theobald's Park, 120, lot 1642.

- 64) P-M I<sup>2</sup>/ii, 545; Thomas, Necropoleis, 132.
- 65) Cf. Thomas, loc. cit.
- 66) Aubert & Aubert, Statuettes, 120.
- 67) P-M I<sup>2</sup>/ii, 501; Thomas, Necropoleis, 132 f.
- 68) Cf. Baillet, Inscriptions, 169 ff.
- 69) Cf. Romer, Project, passim; Ciccarello & Romer, Report; Ciccarello, Ushebties; id., Graffito; Romer, Sunday Times Magazine (8 June 1980), 36 ff. Through the kindness of Romer, I have also had full access to the expedition's unpublished records and photographs. Individual objects are cited below by their expedition register nos. Several of the pieces recovered during the clearance of KV4 originated in KV62 (Tutankhamun) (e.g. reg. nos. 299 = Carter obj. no. 12n; reg. no. 304 = Carter obj. no. 12i; as well as the major portion of the blockings and their sealings from the KV62 entrance passageway), and owed their presence to Carter's employment of the tomb as a store before KV15 (Sethos II) was made available to him for that purpose. See further above, chapter 3.
- 70) E.g. KV2 (Ramesses IV) and KV3.
- 71) Ciccarello & Romer, Report, 2; reg. no. 344.
- 72) Ibid.; perhaps reg. nos. 281-4.
- 73) Notably reg. no. 286.
- 74) Reg. nos. 320, 329, 333, 340.
- 75) Ciccarello & Romer, Report, 2.
- 76) Romer, Project, 16 (fig.); Ciccarello & Romer, Report, 4 ff., figs. 10-14; Romer, Sunday Times Magazine (8 June 1980), 36 (fig.) & 43 ff. The

- foundation deposit objects are reg. nos. 706-39.
- 77) Ciccarello & Romer, Report, 6. It should be noted that no chamber was found at the bottom of the shaft, contrary to the speculations of Thomas, Necropoleis, 132 f.
- 78) Ciccarello & Romer, Report, 2.
- 79) For the dating cf. above, chapter 2, n. 20.
- 80) Two of the larger fragments (reg. nos. 454 & S1) are published in Ciccarello & Romer, Report, fig. 3.
- 81) Reg. no. 461. For the piece in situ, cf. Romer, Project, 50; id., Sunday Times Magazine (8 June 1980), 36 f.
- 82) Ciccarello & Romer, Report, 2.
- 83) Ibid., 3.
- 84) Reg. nos. 462, 474-5; cf. Ciccarello, Ushebties. A fragmentary shabti of Ramesses VII (reg. no. 696) was found 'during the removal of the modern false floor in corridor B' (Ciccarello & Romer, Report, 3; cf. further Ciccarello, Ushebties).
- 85) Ciccarello & Romer, Report, 3; reg. no. 420. The remaining portion of the inscription reads: '... strong bull, beloved of Maat ...'.
- 86) Reg. nos. 346, 350, 356-7, 361, 364, etc.
- 87) Ciccarello & Romer, Report, 3.
- 88) Reg. nos. 479 + 510 + 535, 646.
- 89) Reg. nos. 568, 627, 633: cf. Ciccarello & Romer, Report, fig. 7 (top).
- 90) Daressy, Fouilles, CG 3838. Note also the mummiform statue foot, reg. no. 634, which may join to one of the mummiform statues from KV34 (in particular CG 3832 or 3836).

- 91) Reg. nos. 534, 565, 581, 601, 631.
- 92) Cf. Davis, Hâtshopsîtû, 112.
- 93) Cf. Daressy, Fouilles, CG 24133.
- 94) In particular, reg. nos. 487 + 488 + 562 + 623 + 683: cf. Romer, Project, caption opp. p. 1; Ciccarello & Romer, Report, 4; Romer, Sunday Times Magazine (8 June 1980), 37.
- 95) Notably reg. no. 488, which (joined as in n. 94 above) is illustrated in Ciccarello & Romer, Report, fig. 8.
- 96) Cf. Romer, Sunday Times Magazine (8 June 1980), 37.
- 97) Romer, Valley, 28.
- 98) Cf. Ciccarello, Graffito, 3.
- 99) This is surely the most plausible of the alternatives put forward by Ciccarello & Romer, Report, 9, and by Ciccarello, Graffito, 2 ff. For the text of the graffito, cf. Romer, Project, 18 f.; and, in full, Ciccarello, Graffito, figs. 1-2.
- 100) Cf. below, chapter 12.
- 101) Notably reg. nos. 394 (Ciccarello & Romer, Report, fig. 6), 412a, 419, 422, 492, 494. No. 394 is clearly from the edging of the coffin foot: cf. Carter, Tut.ankh.Amen II, pls. 69, 72, etc.
- 102) Cf. Romer, NARCE 109 (summer 1979), 6 f.; Leclant, Orientalia 49 (1980), 379. It may even have been intended at one stage to cache the royal mummies within the shaft - which must have been excavated for some purpose.
- 103) Daressy, Cercueils, CG 61014.
- 104) The gilded-gesso coffin fragments (n. 101 above) are slightly larger than the equivalent sections of the Tutankhamun gold (innermost) coffin. This suggests that they originate from a second innermost coffin - which that of Tuthmosis III

evidently is, to judge from the difference in size between it and the king's mummy (2.07 m & 1.615 m respectively). Traces of the innermost coffin of Tuthmosis III (or a close contemporary) may be represented by the footboard fragments with a slightly reduced scale 'chequer-board' design (reg. nos. 424, 579) recovered from KV4.

- 105) For other coffins treated in this or an even more discriminating manner, cf. tables 7 & 8.
- 106) It would have been far simpler and quicker merely to burn the coffins and retrieve the melted gold: cf. P. BM 10054, ro. 1, 6 ff. (Peet, Tomb-Robberies, pl. 6).
- 107) Cf. Ciccarello & Romer, Report, 9 f.: 'It is unlikely that the tomb was a simple robbers' workshop, for the lower sections of the tomb are very dark and provide no alternative means of exit, such as numerous nooks in the rocks ... within a hundred yards of the tomb door could obviously supply'.
- 108) Cf. below, conclusions.

Notes

- 1) P-M I<sup>2</sup>/ii, 501; Thomas, Necropoleis, 149 f.
- 2) Burton, MSS, 25641, 42 (M); 25642, 19 (M).
- 3) Ibid., 25642, 19.
- 4) E.g. P-M I<sup>2</sup>/ii, 501.
- 5) Burton, MSS, 25642, 19; Burton suggested that the sarcophagus had perhaps originally been situated in a chamber which he thought led off from the north-west wall of the 16-columned chamber. For the term 'breccia verd'antico', cf. Thomas, Necropoleis, 135 f., n. 93.
- 6) Thomas does note, however, 'a small fragment from the lid of an alabaster canopic jar, too small to be dated, ... found in the near vicinity of KV5' and conceivably from the tomb: Necropoleis, 150. Carter similarly discovered a broken ostrakon bearing a sketch of a royal head whilst digging in the vicinity of KV5 in 1902: cf. appendix B, site 2.
- 7) J 72460, ro: Thomas, in Studies Hughes, 209 ff. For the verso of this ostrakon, cf. further above, chapter 4 (s.v. Merenptah).
- 8) For this individual cf. Moursi, Hohenpriester, 64 ff., 158, 170.
- 9) Perhaps 'a cult place and/or the tree itself' of a willow divinity: Thomas, in Studies Hughes, 213.
- 10) Cf. ibid.
- 11) Ibid., and cf. above, chapter 4, n. 47.
- 12) The KV7 area was not only partially searched by

- Davis in 1902 (appendix B, site 1), but was cleared fully by Carter in 1920 (appendix C, site 6).
- 13) See the text as published by Thomas, in Studies Hughes, 210 f. An arc of 50, rather than the ostracon's specified 30 cubits, centred upon the entrance of KV7, would comfortably intersect an arc of 25 cubits centred upon the presumed position of KV5 to both north and south of the latter tomb (thus providing two possible locations for the tr(t)yt - for which see above, n. 9).
  - 14) P-M I<sup>2</sup>/ii, 527; Thomas, Necropoleis, 148 f.
  - 15) Burton, MSS, 25642, 8.
  - 16) Ibid.
  - 17) Cf. Romer, Valley, 104 f.
  - 18) Ibid. The blocking may, however, have been erected subsequently to prevent (or close off) access to KV9 - for which see below.
  - 19) Burton, MSS, 25642, 8 (E).
  - 20) Jones & Burton, Tombs, entry for 7 December 1908; cf. appendix B, site 22. Cf. n. 18 above.
  - 21) Carter searched for the tomb's foundation deposits in 1920, but without result. Cf. appendix C, site 10.
  - 22) Cf. Gardiner, RAD, 58; Edgerton, JNES 10 (1951), 141. Cf. also KV30 (chapter 9 below); and for analogous tombs in the Queens' Valley, Thomas, Necropoleis, 155, n. 175.
  - 23) P-M I<sup>2</sup>/ii, 567; Thomas, Necropoleis, 166.
  - 24) Cf. appendix B, site 21; appendix D, docs. 4-5.

- For the discovery cf. further Davis, Siphtah, 31 f.; Ayrton, PSBA 30 (1908), 116.
- 25) Davis, Siphtah, 32.
  - 26) Ibid.
  - 27) For the contents of the tomb cf. Davis, Siphtah, 35 ff.; id., Tîyi, 41 ff. Cf. further Hayes, Scepter II, 360.
  - 28) After Davis, Siphtah, 30.
  - 29) Note that the cartouches of Ramesses II occur on two of the calcite vases from the tomb (Davis, Siphtah, 45 f., nos. II-III) as well as one of the finger-rings (ibid., 41, no. 21).
  - 30) Ibid., xxviii. Cf. Gardiner, JEA 44 (1958), 20.
  - 31) Cf. Altenmüller, SAK 10 (1983), 58 ff., who would see KV56 as the tomb in which Tawosret was reburied at the time Sethnakhte took over KV14.
  - 32) Aldred, JEA 49 (1963), 176 ff.
  - 33) Davis, Siphtah, 32. Cf. the analogous inlays recovered from KV19 (Mentuherkhepshef): Ayrton photos 46-8; cf. Reeves, MDAIK 40 (1984) (forthcoming).
  - 34) Aldred, JEA 49 (1963), 176 ff.
  - 35) Ibid.
  - 36) Davis, Siphtah, 32.
  - 37) Aldred, JEA 49 (1963), 178.
  - 38) This reconstruction of events differs from that proposed by Aldred, ibid., 177.
  - 39) P-M I<sup>2</sup>/ii, 527; Thomas, Necropoleis, 115 f.
  - 40) That the tomb is not strictly royal in its

## Chapter 7 Notes

- inception is clearly shown by its scale: cf. Thomas, Necropoleis, 115; Hornung, ZAS 105 (1978), 59 ff.
- 41) Cf. Thomas, Necropoleis, 116.
  - 42) Cf. Lefébure, Hypogées II, 122.
  - 43) Thomas, Necropoleis, 115.
  - 44) München Gl. 122; cf. JEA 48 (1962), pl. 3. The attribution is that of Drenkhahn, Elephantine-Stele, 35 ff.; cf. further Spalinger, BiOr 39/3-4 (1982), esp. 280 ff.
  - 45) P-M I<sup>2</sup>/ii, 500; Thomas, Necropoleis, 150 f.
  - 46) Burton, MSS, 25642, 21.
  - 47) Jones & Burton, Tombs, entries for 7-15 February 1912; cf. below, appendix B, site 37.
  - 48) Quibell, ASAE 7 (1906), 8 f.; appendix B, site 8.
  - 49) Davis, Siphtah, 6; cf. appendix B, site 12.
  - 50) See n. 47 above, and Winlock & Crum, Epiphanius I, 19. Cf. further Romer, Valley, 221.
  - 51) Cf. KV2 (Ramesses IV), above, chapter 6.
  - 52) After Wente, JNES 32 (1973), 223 ff.
  - 53) Černý's rendering (Community, 69 f.) is: 'the gang (of workmen) went up to the Great Place to make a plan of the house of the king's child(?) of his majesty, l.p.h.'.
  - 54) Cf. Černý, loc. cit.; Wente, JNES 32 (1973), 226 f.
  - 55) Cf. Edgerton, JNES 10 (1951), 138.
  - 56) Wente, JNES 32 (1973), 228.
  - 57) KV3 was traditionally identified as Ramesses III's second tomb: cf. P-M I<sup>2</sup>/ii, 500.
  - 58) Thomas, Necropoleis, 150 f.
  - 59) P-M I<sup>2</sup>/ii, 546; Thomas, Necropoleis, 151 f. Cf. Lefébure, Hypogées II, 164 ff.

- 60) Cf. Belzoni, Narrative, 227.
- 61) Cf. Burton, MSS, 25642, 22 vs. (S); L'Hôte, Lettres, 163, n. 1; Champollion, Notices II, 464.
- 62) L'Hôte, Lettres, 163, n. 1.
- 63) Ayrton photo no. 43; Reeves, MDAIK 40 (1984) (forthcoming). Cf. further L'Hôte's description (n. 58 above) of the mummies as being '... noire et imprégnée de bitume'.
- 64) So LdR III, 215 f.
- 65) The name of Ramesses X appears in the inscriptions of the tomb, the name of Ramesses IX on the belt of the god Thoth on the west wall: Thomas, Necropoleis, 151.
- 66) Davis, Siphtah, 23.
- 67) Ayrton photos. 46-8; Reeves, MDAIK 40 (1984) (forthcoming).
- 68) Reeves, loc. cit.; Davis, Siphtah, 23. For the dating cf. above, chapter 2, n. 120.

Notes

- 1) Thomas, Necropoleis, 137 f.
- 2) Carter, ASAE 4 (1903), 176 f.; id., MSS, I.B.198 f.; id., Notebook 16, 130. The date 1904/5 in Davis, Siphtah, 23, is in error, as Thomas, Necropoleis, 152, n. 6, has pointed out. Cf. appendix B, site 6.
- 3) Carter, ASAE 4 (1903), 176.
- 4) Ibid.
- 5) Ibid., 177. Cf. Carter, Notebook 16, 130.
- 6) Thomas, Necropoleis, 137 f., citing Helck, Militärführer, 67.
- 7) Carter, ASAE 4 (1903), 176. But cf. id., Notebook 16, 130, where Carter's reference to 'part of one of the broken coffins' might suggest the presence of more debris.
- 8) Carter, ASAE 4 (1903), 176.
- 9) Thomas, Necropoleis, 161.
- 10) Davis, Siphtah, 18. Appendix B, site 16.
- 11) Ibid.
- 12) Ibid.
- 13) Two of these (Cairo J 48849, 38758), Ayrton photo 28; the third (J 38755) and fragmentary fourth (Toronto, ROM 906.6.1) unpublished.
- 14) J 38784; cf. Reeves, MDAIK 40 (1984) (forthcoming).
- 15) Cf. Ayrton photos 26-7 (J 38756-7, 38759). Ayrton photo 25 depicts a pair of rush sandals, ostensibly from this tomb.
- 16) Weigall, Guide, 227.
- 17) By Thomas, Necropoleis, 161; cf. Helck, Verwaltung, 297 f., 439 f. (who makes no mention of the KV48 material).

- 18) Davis, Siphtah, 18.
- 19) Cf. above, chapter 1 (s.v. Hatshepsut-Meryetre; Sennufer). Note, however, that Amenemopet-Pairy did possess a tomb chapel at Sheikh Abd el-Qurna (TT29: P-M I<sup>2</sup>/i, 45 f.), though without a known burial chamber. The 'water-color palette' (Hayes, BMMA (ns) 7 (1948), lower fig. on p. 60) and gold-mounted scarab ring (id., Scepter II, 146) in the Metropolitan Museum of Art perhaps relate to the same man, though they are unlikely to come from KV48.
- 20) P-M I<sup>2</sup>/ii, 556 f.; Thomas, Necropoleis, 157 f.
- 21) Cf. Helck, Verwaltung, 281 ff., and, for hrd n k3p, the bibliography cited by Zivie, RdE 31 (1979), 140 f.
- 22) Daressy, Fouilles, 1. The main contents of the tomb are listed in BIE (3 sér.) 10 (1899), 245 ff. and Daressy, Fouilles, 1 ff. Appendix A, site 5.
- 23) Schweinfurth, Sphinx 3 (1900), 103 ff.; Steindorff, Biblia 12 (1899-1900), 425 ff. (perhaps based on Schweinfurth's article as it appeared in n. 24 below); Quibell, EEFAR 1898-9, 20 f.; cf. ibid., 24 f.
- 24) The article first appeared in the Vossische Zeitung for 25 May 1899; cf. Schweinfurth, Sphinx 3 (1900), 107.
- 25) Daressy, Fouilles, CG 24047-56.
- 26) Ibid., inc. CG 24093-4.
- 27) Ibid., CG 24069-70. Schweinfurth, Sphinx 3 (1900), 105.
- 28) Daressy, Fouilles, CG 24003.
- 29) Schweinfurth, Sphinx 3 (1900), 105.

- 30) Daressy, Fouilles, CG 24001.
- 31) Ibid., CG 24002, 24004.
- 32) Ibid., inc. CG 24037-46. Schweinfurth, Sphinx 3 (1900), 105.
- 33) Daressy, Fouilles, 20; Lucas & Harris, Materials, 278.
- 34) Cf. below, fig. 60.
- 35) Schweinfurth, Sphinx 3 (1900), 105.
- 36) Daressy, Fouilles, CG 24005.
- 37) Ibid., CG 24006.
- 38) Ibid., CG 24061.
- 39) Cf. Hayes, Sarcophagi, 30.
- 40) Cf. n. 31 above.
- 41) Cf. n. 30 above.
- 42) Daressy, Fouilles, CG 24003.
- 43) Maspero, Guide (1908), 494, is evidently mistaken when he implies that two unused coffins were found in KV36; he is nevertheless followed in all the subsequent Cairo Guides, and by Engelbach, Archaeology, 89.
- 44) Quibell, EEFAR 1898-9, 20.
- 45) Maspero, Guide (1915), 394.
- 46) Thereby providing Maiherpri with a nest of three coffins, as Yuya (KV46, below), for example.
- 47) Cf. Carter, Tut.ankh.Amen II, 89 f.; III, 89; also Engelbach, ASAE 40 (1940), 142 f. For a similar state of affairs, cf. Winlock, Egn. Expedn. 1923-4, 24.
- 48) Daressy, Fouilles, 58.
- 49) Ibid., CG 24062-4, 24065 (part), 24066, 24067a, 24068.
- 50) Ibid., CG 24002.
- 51) Ibid., CG 24056 bis.

- 52) Daressy, Fouilles, CG 24004.
- 53) Ibid., 59.
- 54) Ibid.
- 55) Ibid.
- 56) Several vessels from the burial had been damaged or else had had their sealed coverings removed: e.g. Daressy, Fouilles, CG 24015, 24020, 24022, 24027.
- 57) Note, for instance, that only one of the original four 'arceaux en cuivre' from the canopic chest is still present: ibid., CG 24005.
- 58) Cf. the mass of textiles recovered from the burial of the architect Kha: Schiaparelli, Relazione II, esp. 92 ff., 129 ff. That articles of this type were sought after and easily negotiable is indicated by the tomb robbery papyri, in particular P. BM 10068: Peet, Tomb-Robberies, pls. 9-13.
- 59) The canopic jars had originally been individually wrapped in linen, with only the faces and texts left uncovered. When found, however, 'deux des canopes ont perdu cet habillement; le troisième vase n'a plus que l'entourage de la tête et des lambeaux pendants; seul le canope B ... est resté intact': Daressy, Fouilles, 11, CG 24006.
- 60) Ibid., CG 24010-11, 24013-4.
- 61) Keimer, Gartenpflanzen I, 30; Lucas & Harris, Materials, 331 f.
- 62) Helck, Materialien IV, 700.
- 63) Carter, ASAE 4 (1903), 46 f.; appendix B, site 4. A series of workmen's huts was discovered in the general area of KV36 in 1909/10: Jones & Burton,

- Tombs, entry for 24 November 1909, with sketch map on opp. p. Cf. below, appendix B, site 26.
- 64) Engelbach, Archaeology, 89.
- 65) Steindorff, Biblia 12 (1899-1900), 426.
- 66) Daressy, Fouilles, CG 24099.
- 67) Ibid., CG 24100. No other estimate of his age at death is known to me, though his mummy has apparently been x-rayed: cf. Harris & Wente, Atlas, xvi f.
- 68) Quibell, EEFAR 1898-9, 20.
- 69) Supported in this dating by Carter, MSS, I.B.163(1); and indeed cf. Bourriau, Umm el-Ga<sup>C</sup>ab, 78 f., no. 150, and Brovarski, Golden Age, 79, no. 55, with regard to the type represented by Daressy, Fouilles, CG 24018. Daressy himself evidently had in mind later 18th dynasty parallels when he described the ware of CG 24009 ('comme les amphores des palais d'Amenhotep III et IV') (Fouilles, 14).
- 70) Daressy, RdT 23 (1901), 133.
- 71) Id., Fouilles, CG 24099. Cf. Newberry, JEA 6 (1920), 155.
- 72) Maspero, Guide (1908), 492.
- 73) Carter, ASAE 4, 1903, 47, fig. 1; Brovarski, Golden Age, 176, no. 200.
- 74) Carter, ASAE 4 (1903), pl.
- 75) Ibid., 46; Maspero, RA 4 (1903), 413. Carter later suggested a connection between these fragments and other pieces discovered by Mariette, Mon. div., pl. 36, a, and felt that they all originated in the king's tomb (WV22): MSS, I.A.138(5).

- 76) Maspero, Guide (1915), 368.
- 77) Cf. Säve-Söderbergh, Ägypten u. Nubien, 238; Helck, Verwaltung, 280 f.; P-M I<sup>2</sup>/ii, 556.
- 78) E.g. Engelbach, Archaeology, 88 f. (maintaining Maspero's dating to temp. Amenophis III); Hayes, Sarcophagi, 55, n. 1, and id., Scepter II, 116 (suggesting that Maiherpri was a contemporary of Tuthmosis III, but allowing a date for the tomb group of temp. Amenophis II on the basis of the style of the contents and especially the illustrations of the papyrus); Smith, Ancient Egypt, 113 (a contemporary of Amenophis II, again on the basis of style). Cf. also Aldred, NK Art, 76 (a date of temp. Amenophis II for the faience bowl CG 24058); Lucas & Harris, Materials, 192, n. 7 (a date of temp. Tuthmosis IV for the glass from the tomb).
- 79) Nolte, Glasegefäße, 50 f.
- 80) Cf. Naville, Deir el Bahari, pls. 69, 74, 91, 124-5, 125-6, 155, etc.
- 81) Cf. Davies & Gardiner, Painted Box.
- 82) Cf. Aldred, NK Art, pl. 147.
- 83) Schiaparelli, Relazione II, 32 ff. Cf. Hayes, Sarcophagi, 55, n. 59. Kha's burial is usually ascribed to the reign of Amenophis III on the basis of an electrum cup inscribed with that king's prenomen (Schiaparelli, Relazione II, 172, fig. 157). Other names occur in the tomb, however, and the small sealings appear to incorporate the prenomen of Tuthmosis III: cf. Černý, MSS, 4.190.

- 84) Helck, Verwaltung, 281 ff.
- 85) Cf. Aldred, Jewels, 143.
- 86) A damaged seal impression from the tomb (Daressy, Fouilles, CG 24014) is evidently to be restored as imn(-r<sup>c</sup>) wr htpw (cf. Quibell, Archaic Objects, CG 11475; Reeves, MDAIK 40 (1984) (forthcoming) (J 38784)), and is of little help in establishing the date of the assemblage.
- 87) P-M I<sup>2</sup>/ii, 562; Thomas, Necropoleis, 162.
- 88) Carter, ASAE 4 (1903), 45 f. Appendix B, site 3.
- 89) Carter's dating, ibid.
- 90) Ibid.
- 91) Ibid. Wreaths and abundant floral matter were evidently a common feature of 22nd dynasty burials; cf. above, chapter 3, s.v. Horemheb.
- 92) Thomas, Necropoleis, 162, follows Carter (MSS, I.B.196) in identifying this Userhet with the owner of TT47 (temp. Amenophis III). Note, however, that the Userhet of TT56 (P-M I<sup>2</sup>/i, 111 f.) was a 'child of the k3p', and as such perhaps more likely to have merited a Valley tomb.
- 93) P-M I<sup>2</sup>/ii, 562 ff.; Thomas, Necropoleis, 143 f. The principal accounts of the discovery are: Davis, Iouiya & Touiyou; Greene, Century Magazine (November 1905), 60 ff.; id. (spelled 'Green'), ILN, Supplement (17 March 1906) = Bacon, Great Archaeologists, 121 ff.; Maspero, New Light, 241 ff.; Quibell, EEFAR 1904-5, 24 ff.; id., Yuaa & Thuiu; Sayce, Reminiscences, 322 f.; Smith, Tombs, 25 ff.; Weigall, Treasury, 172 ff. (cf. Glory, 127 ff.). Manuscript sources include: Carter, MSS, I.C.163 ff.; Smith, Diary 1904/5,

entries commencing 12 February 1905; Weigall, MSS, I, 20 ff.; II, 21 ff. (MSS I and II comprise notes made by Weigall for a lecture tour of the United States following the discovery of the tomb of Tutankhamun; kindly made available to me by his daughter, Mrs P. Moore); III (entitled 'Chapter V. The Tomb of Yuua and Thuau and the Tomb of Huy' (sc. Kha)), 6 ff.; IV (entitled 'Preface to 2nd Chapter'; both MSS III and IV kindly loaned by Mrs V. Hankey). See also Maspero, Guide (1906), 431 ff.; Guide (1908), 496 ff.; Guide (1915), 369 ff.; and cf. the report in The Times, 10 March 1905.

- 94) See above, chapter 7.
- 95) Davis, Iouiya & Touiyou, xxv; Quibell, EEFAR 1904-5, 25; id., ASAE 7 (1906), 8; id., Yuua & Thuiu, i; Smith, Tombs, 26 f. Cf. Greene, Century Magazine (Nov. 1905), 75. Appendix B, site 8.
- 96) Davis, Iouiya & Touiyou, xxvi.
- 97) Weigall, MSS, III, 8.
- 98) Ibid.
- 99) Weigall, MSS, II, 21; cf. Davis, Iouiya & Touiyou, xxx.
- 100) Cf. n. 142 below.
- 101) Greene, Century Magazine (November 1905), 65.
- 102) Davis, Iouiya & Touiyou, xxvii.
- 103) Quibell, Yuua & Thuiu, ii; Sayce, Reminiscences, 323, refers to them as being of 'royal seal' type.
- 104) Smith, Tombs, 32.
- 105) Davis, Iouiya & Touiyou, xxvii, pl. 5; Quibell, Yuua & Thuiu, ii.
- 106) Davis, Iouiya & Touiyou, xxvi; Maspero, New Light, 243; Quibell, Yuua & Thuiu, i; Smith, Tombs, 37.

- 107) Cf. Greene, Century Magazine (November 1905), 69: 'A mass of chippings piled against the step from the higher floor level (of the burial chamber) confirmed ... (the) suggestion of unfinished work' made by the walls, which were 'wholly undecorated' and the 'lower level of the floor ... (which was) marked with chisel gashes, suggesting that here was the beginning of a shaft' (sic); cf. further Quibell, Yuaa & Thuiu, iii.
- 108) With the refuse embalming material contained in a series of large zeers in situ in the burial chamber. For these and the inscriptions they carried, cf. Quibell, Yuaa & Thuiu, vi; Carter, MSS, I.E.294-305.
- 109) After Quibell, Yuaa & Thuiu, iv; drawn 'from notes of the way it had looked when first seen by me' (Smith, Tombs, 39).
- 110) Davis, Iouiya & Touiyou, xxix; Quibell, Yuaa & Thuiu, vii; Smith, Tombs, 38.
- 111) Smith, ibid.; the same view in Quibell, EEFAR 1904-5, 27; Maspero, Guide (1908), 496, etc. To my knowledge, the only exception to this dating is that expressed in Rapports 1899-1910, 175, where the thefts are dated to the 20th dynasty.
- 112) Maspero, New Light, 241.
- 113) Rapports 1899-1910, 175. This view is frequently repeated: cf. Romer, MDAIK 32 (1976), 205, n. 72; Schaden, Ay, 5; Smith, Art & Architecture, 350
- 114) Harris & Weeks, X-Raying, 142; Harris & Wente, Atlas, 169 f.

- 115) Quibell, Yuua & Thuiu, CG 51014-7 (Yuya), 51018-21 (Tjuyu).
- 116) In Davis, Iouiya & Touiyou, xxi.
- 117) Cf. fig. 60. According to Quibell, Yuua & Thuiu, vi f., this large wooden shrine sarcophagus (cf. Hayes, Sarcophagi, 60) was erected and finished (i.e. its joints gessoed and gilt) in the tomb - thus, perhaps, ruling out the possibility that the deposit is a reburial (cf. n. 118 below). Similar evidence of regilding, following damage incurred in introducing material, was to be seen in KV62 (Tutankhamun): cf. Carter, Tut.ankh.Amen I, 131.
- 118) Cf. Aldred, Akhenaten, 195, n. 5.
- 119) Cf. further n. 117 above.
- 120) The following pieces were found on the bodies at the time of the discovery (cf. Quibell, Yuua & Thuiu, passim): Yuya - CG 51165, 51167-8, 51184; cf. also Quibell, op. cit., 68 (gold plate over embalming wound, and finger stall(s)); Harris & Weeks, X-Raying, 141, note in addition 'rings on his fingers'. Tjuyu - CG 51164, 51166, 51169-72; cf. Quibell, op. cit., 71, for impressions etc. of jewellery stolen. Note also that Tjuyu's sandals are still in place on her feet (ibid., 72).
- 121) Schiaparelli, Relazione II.
- 122) Cf. ibid., and further the gold and silver dishes of Djehuty (TT11: P-M I<sup>2</sup>/i, 23 f.).
- 123) Quibell, Yuua & Thuiu, CG 51174. Perhaps one might postulate a similar fate for the (presumably) double amulet inscribed with spells 3 and 4 of the 'Chapter of the Four Flames' (the pair to CG 51035), the original presence of which seems

- likely in view of the curtailed nature of BD 151 in Yuya's funerary papyrus (Naville, P. Iouiya, 13).
- 124) Only the crude amulet CG 51167 and beads 51184 from Yuya's mummy remain, together with the scarab CG 51164 of Tjuyu. Cf. further the series of dummy vessels CG 51071-4, 51079-82 - stone forms, the painted decoration of which nevertheless seeks to imitate the 'combed' effect of polychrome glass (Nolte, Glasegefäße, 151; cf. Baldassari, EVO 4 (1981), 143 ff.).
- 125) Cf. n. 58 above. Apart from that associated with the mummies, only one item of linen appears to have been found in the tomb: cf. Quibell, Yuaa & Thuiu, v.
- 126) It is true that the painted pottery jar of Taemwadjes (CG 51083) may, from its shape, have been anointment container; unfortunately, the hieratic docket on its shoulder (Davis, Iouiya & Touiyou, pl. 28, centre) yields little more than a tentative nty im.f: ..., 'Contents (lit.: what is in it): ...'.
- 127) Quibell, Yuaa & Thuiu, CG 51055-82. Cf. n. 124 above.
- 128) Cf. P. BM 10068, ro. 2, 14, etc.: Peet, Tomb-Robberies, pl. 9 and passim. Clarke's analysis of the contents of two calcite jars from the unrobbed burial (subsequently 'elaborated' by modern forgers) of three of Tuthmosis III's minor wives (Winlock, Three Princesses, 67) suggested a mixture of animal or vegetable oils and lime (or possibly chalk) - i.e. a type of 'cold cream'. Similar results had earlier been obtained by

Lucas from his examination of the contents of one of Tutankhamun's cosmetic jars (in Carter, Tut.ankh.Amen II, 206 ff.).

- 129) Quibell, Yuaa & Thuiu, CG 51104-6.
- 130) Cf. Davis, Iouiya & Touiyou, xxix.
- 131) CG 51104.
- 132) In Quibell, Yuaa & Thuiu, 75 ff.
- 133) CG 51105.
- 134) But cf. Lucas & Harris, Materials, 328. The tradition that one of these jars contained liquid honey (cf. Maspero, New Light, 247; Greene, Century Magazine (November 1905), 70) is unfounded, and results from confusion with the viscous contents of CG 51105. Lindon Smith, Tombs, 39, similarly confuses the contents of CG 51104 and 51105.
- 135) CG 51106.
- 136) CG 51104.
- 137) This can be demonstrated for castor oil at least. According to Strabo (Geography, XVII, 2, 5), ricinus was a type of oil used by the poorer classes. It was apparently the most common oil in use at Deir el-Medina, and is perhaps the mrht of the price texts (Janssen, Commodity Prices, 333 ff.). During the Ramessid period, the value of mrht-oil was about half that of sesame oil (nḥḥ), and this seems to have been the case down to early Ptolemaic times (cf. Janssen, loc. cit., for references). Its main use appears to have been as a laxative, though the word's etymology (cf. Wb. II, 111, 2) clearly indicates that its original employment was for

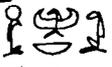
anointing purposes. As for natron, no indication of price seems to have survived (cf. Janssen, Commodity Prices, 440 f.). Nevertheless, it is unlikely to have possessed much value.

- 138) Cf. in particular P. Leopold-Amherst, 2, 15 ff.: Capart, Gardiner & van de Walle, JEA 22 (1936), pl. 13 f.; P. BM 10054, vs. 1, 8 f., ro. 1, 5 ff.; 2, 8 ff.: Peet, Tomb-Robberies, pls. 6-7.
- 139) Cf. above, s.v. Maiherpri.
- 140) Above, n. 105.
- 141) Cf. Quibell's valuable comments, Yuaa & Thuiu, iii ff. From the plan (fig. 60), it appears that the boxes had been rifled first and thrown aside onto the bed pile before Yuya's sarcophagus was dismantled to gain access to the mummy. It seems likely that Yuya's coffins were violated before those of his wife, though certainty on this matter is, of course, impossible to achieve.
- 142) Namely: a 'green stone' scarab (CG 51165?), the yoke of the chariot CG 51188, and a wooden staff (prob. CG 51131; for 51132, cf. Quibell, Yuaa & Thuiu, iii) - all 'lying on the floor immediately in front of us' (Weigall, MSS, III, 8), i.e. just behind the outer wall sealing the corridor. In addition, Maspero, New Light, 242, notes pieces of an alabaster vase (not in Quibell's catalogue), a papyrus roll (CG 51189), and a 'parcel of onions and dried herbs (that) had been carelessly thrown on to a bench at the left of the stairway'; whilst Davis, Iouiya & Touiyou, xxvii, claims to have found, on the same 'bench'

or shelf, 'a large ceremonial wig ..., also an armful of dried flowers'. The wig is CG 51185. The vegetable matter mentioned by Maspero and Davis consisted 'mainly of mimusops (persea), with a good many young onions, and small bundles of a much smaller plant' (CG 51186); for persea, cf. Winlock, Meryet-Amūn, 51 f., with n. 23. Smith, Tombs, 27 & 32, notes in addition a pair of sandals (CG 51123? 51124?). Weigall's suggestion (MSS, I, 29; II, 28), that the papyrus roll had been found in a box (not specified) within the chamber, is evidently mistaken (as also is his similar positioning of the wig), unless, of course, he is venturing an opinion as to the original positions within the burial before the tomb was disturbed. With regard to this, however, one might speculate that the papyrus of Yuya had originally been contained in the 'model coffin' (CG 51054), which was found empty 'but once contained an object wrapped in papyrus, for slips of this material still adhere to the pitch' (Quibell, Yuaa & Thuiu, 41). Cf. in particular the damaged state of what was evidently the outer portion of the roll: Naville, P. Iouiya, pl. 1. Moreover, the height of the papyrus is 45 cm, the external length of the coffin 61.5 cm. Carter, too, seems to have felt that the coffin and papyrus were to be associated: cf. MSS, I.C.166(1).

143) Cf. Davis, Iouiya & Touiyou, xxix.

- 144) Two of the boxes (CG 51115-6) at the south end of the chamber contained a jumbled assortment of shabtis, shabti implements, copper foil, barley grains, a sandal and rags; the 'jewel box' (CG 51118) contained nothing but two model hoes of wood. Cf. Quibell, Yuaa & Thuiu, v f.
- 145) Cf. above, n. 99.
- 146) From Greene, Century Magazine (November 1905), 75. The confused statement in the text, p. 63, referring to 'chippings from the neighboring tomb ... found on the steps, apparently in the very piles thrown there by the eighteenth dynasty workmen', is difficult to evaluate. The difficulty is compounded by Weigall, who, in an unpublished letter brought to my attention by Prof. J. R. Harris, claims that 'the mouth of the tomb was covered with XIX dynasty rubbish undisturbed'. Since KV46 was probably one of the first tombs to be sunk in that area, it is difficult to see how Greene's dating can be upheld - 'chippings from the neighboring tomb' (whichever Greene had in mind, KV3 or KV4) would be dated to the 20th dynasty. Weigall's 19th dynasty date is similarly obscure, since there are no (recognised) workings of that date within the vicinity of KV46. Perhaps he too was referring to the construction chippings from KV3 or KV4 and merely confused his dynasties?
- 147) Cf. Černý, CAH II, ch. 35, 4; id., Valley, 17.
- 148) Quibell, Yuaa & Thuiu, CG 51179-80. Each sealing

is impressed with (a) the prenomen of Ramesses III, wsr-m3<sup>c</sup>t-r<sup>c</sup>-mr-imn, from 'an oval scarab', and (b) a cryptogram , the impressions arranged at 90° one to the other.

- 149) Thomas, Necropoleis, 144, 'from above or within the stairwell'. She, like Carter, MSS, I.C.165), noted only one example.
- 150) Above, chapter 7.
- 151) The editor of Smith's notes is evidently mistaken in stating (Tombs, 37) that KV3 was employed as a workroom during the clearance of KV46: 'Ramesses III' there should read 'Ramesses XI', since KV3 was only partially accessible at this time. The tomb was cleared by Burton in 1912, and yielded no indications of ever having been employed for a dynastic burial. See above, chapter 7.
- 152) For the 'magical brick' of Amenemopet and the jars with sealings of Hatshepsut, assigned to KV46 by P-M I<sup>2</sup>/ii, 564, but unconnected with the burial, cf. Thomas, Necropoleis, 153 & 161.
- 153) In appearance, the clay of these sealings is identical to two of the three bearing impressions of the jackal and nine captives motif (CG 51182-3; CG 51181 is larger and perhaps of coarser clay), the provenance of which is not disputed. The linen to which the Ramesses III and jackal sealings are attached is also of the same colour and texture (personal inspection in Cairo). Furthermore, the presence of at least five sealings can be attested from the actual deposit: three attached to the 'wig basket' (CG 51119), of which

'one remains' (in situ? cf. Quibell, Yuaa & Thuiu, pl. 48); one attaching the linen covering to the mouth of the alabaster vessel CG 51105 (noted in Davis, Iouiya & Touiyou, 30); and one from amongst the mixed contents of a box (CG 51115), which it had evidently been employed to close (Quibell, op. cit., pl. 44, shows traces of the binding still in place around one of the knobs). It thus follows that at least one (and therefore both) of the Ramesses III sealings might be accounted for in the burial without speculating an external origin.

- 154) That none of the sealings is to be connected with the final period of restoration activity is clear from the fact that the burial had been disturbed after their application.
- 155) Cf. Winlock, Meryet-Amun, 37.
- 156) Thomas, Necropoleis, 139.
- 157) Belzoni, Narrative, 228.
- 158) Cf. Burton, MSS, 25642, 23 (tomb T).
- 159) Belzoni, Narrative, 228.
- 160) Cf. above, s.v. Maiherpri.
- 161) Thomas, Necropoleis, 163.
- 162) Wilkinson, Notebook 45, A1, tomb C.
- 163) Thomas, Necropoleis, 163, and her unpublished appendix 2, 1.
- 164) Ibid., 138.
- 165) See, conveniently, ibid., 59, fig. 7; cf. ibid., 138.
- 166) Lefébure, Hypogées II, 187.
- 167) Thomas, Necropoleis, 138.
- 168) Cf. n. 165 above.

- 169) Lefébure, Hypogées II, 187. He explains the presence of the debris as follows: 'les fellahs y cachent probablement ... quelques uns des objets qu'ils cherchent à vendre aux voyageurs'.
- 170) P-M I<sup>2</sup>/ii, 559; Thomas, Necropoleis, 70 ff., 73 ff. and passim.
- 171) Introduction.
- 172) Weigall, ASAE 11 (1911), 174.
- 173) Id., Guide, 224.
- 174) Thomas, Necropoleis, 162.
- 175) Carter, ASAE 2 (1901), 144 f. Cf. addenda to p. 313: appendix A, site 12a.
- 176) Ibid.
- 177) Ibid.; cf. Thomas, Necropoleis, 168, n. 38.
- 178) Cf. Carter, ASAE 2 (1901), 145, with the note by Maspero, ibid. For the woman's name, cf. Rowe, ASAE 41 (1942), 346.
- 179) Carter, ASAE 2 (1901), 144; Rowe, ASAE 41 (1942), 346.
- 180) Carter, loc. cit.; Rowe, loc. cit.

Notes

- 1) Thomas, Necropoleis, 158 ff.
- 2) Cf. the Loret map, and see below, appendix A, site 1.
- 3) Thomas, Necropoleis, 161.
- 4) Ibid., 157.
- 5) Ibid. Cf. her unpublished appendix 2, 1.
- 6) Burton, MSS, 25642, 5 vs. Cf. Thomas, Necropoleis, fig. 15.
- 7) Cf. the Loret map, and see below, appendix A, site 1.
- 8) Thomas, Necropoleis, 157.
- 9) Cf. the Loret map, and see below, appendix A, site 1.
- 10) Thomas, Necropoleis, 73.
- 11) Cf. the Loret map, and see below, appendix A, site 1.
- 12) Thomas, Necropoleis, 139 f.
- 13) Cf. the Loret map, and see below, appendix A, site 3.
- 14) Baedeker, Egypt (1902), 276.
- 15) Thomas, Necropoleis, 140 f.
- 16) Cf. the Loret map, and see below, appendix A, site 6.
- 17) Daressy, Fouilles, CG 24971 & 24978 bis respectively ('sondage 37').
- 18) Ibid., CG 24980 ('sondage 37').
- 19) Cf. id., Ostraca, 112.
- 20) Cf. BIE (3 sér.) 10 (1899), 253 (J 33861).
- 21) Thomas, Necropoleis, 140.

- 22) Chapter 3.
- 23) Thomas, Necropoleis, 161.
- 24) Cf. the Loret map, and see below, appendix A, site 9.
- 25) Thomas, Necropoleis, 156 f.
- 26) Cf. the Loret map, and see below, appendix A, site 10.
- 27) Baedeker, Egypt (1902), 277.
- 28) Thomas, Necropoleis, 147.
- 29) Davis, Siphtah, 16 f. Cf. below, appendix B, site 16.
- 30) Romer, Valley, 208.
- 31) Daressy, ASAE 22 (1922), 75 f.
- 32) Davis, Siphtah, 16 f. Amongst other debris, Romer, Valley, 208, notes 'a single small wooden label with scribbled hieratic writing upon it', a photograph of which was kindly sent to me by Prof. H. Goedicke. Amongst the commodities listed on this fragment may perhaps be discerned mrḥt-oil. See further below, chapter 11.
- 33) rwdw; cf. Janssen, Commodity Prices, 284 f.
- 34) swḥ(t) <sup>C</sup>3t; ibid., 290.
- 35) Černý, Graffiti, no. 1282; cf. table 10, no. 19. A Davis expedition photograph of this text is to be found amongst the Gardiner papers in the Griffith Institute (AHG/31.261); cf. Reeves, MDAIK 40 (1984) (forthcoming).
- 36) Černý, Community, 15.
- 37) Thomas, in Studies Hughes, 213.
- 38) Cf. below, chapter 11.
- 39) Thomas, Necropoleis, 166 f. Note that in her

- fig. 15 the numbering of KV50 and KV51 has been inadvertently transposed: cf. Davis, Siphtah, 17, and Carter, MSS, I.G.48.
- 40) Davis, Siphtah, 17. Cf. below, appendix B, site 16.
  - 41) Davis, Siphtah, 17.
  - 42) Ibid.
  - 43) Thomas, Necropoleis, 167. Cf. n. 39 above.
  - 44) Davis, Siphtah, 17 f. Cf. below, appendix B, site 16.
  - 45) Davis, Siphtah, 17 f. Cf. Thomas, Necropoleis, 167.
  - 46) Davis, Siphtah, 18. This is evidently the mask which Winlock, Materials, 12, pl. 2, B, attributes to KV54: cf. Reeves, BSEG 8 (1983), 83.
  - 47) Carter, MSS, I.B.183.
  - 48) Davis, Siphtah, 17.
  - 49) Thomas, Necropoleis, 167.
  - 50) Davis, Siphtah, 18. Cf. below, appendix B, site 16.
  - 51) Davis, Siphtah, 18.
  - 52) Thomas, Necropoleis, 158. Note, however, that the Andrews Journal entry for 22 January 1908 there quoted is probably to be construed as a reference to the material from KV54: cf. Reeves, BSEG 8 (1983), 81, n. 1.
  - 53) Cf. Davis, Siphtah, 18 f., and see appendix B, site 16.
  - 54) Davis, Siphtah, 19. This 'ostrakon' is in fact a small stela: cf. Bruyère, Mert Seger, 113, fig. 53; Ayrton photo 32; Reeves, MDAIK 40 (1984) (forthcoming).

- 55) Cf. Ayrton photos 31, 33-4, 40; Reeves, MDAIK 40 (1984) (forthcoming).
- 56) Davis, Siphtah, 19.
- 57) Thomas, Necropoleis, 141.
- 58) Ibid., 161.
- 59) Jones & Burton, Tombs, entry for 6 January 1910; cf. below, appendix B, site 30.
- 60) Ahmed Girigar, Jones' reis, for whom cf. Romer, Valley, 174 & 177.
- 61) Jones & Burton, Tombs, entry for 6 January 1910.
- 62) Unless, of course, it was an intact burial.
- 63) The reblocking erected in KV43 (Tuthmosis IV), for example, after the tomb's principal occupant had been removed, was presumably intended to safeguard the subsidiary burial left in the tomb. See above, chapter 2.
- 64) As, apparently, in WV25 (above, chapter 2).
- 65) Thomas, Necropoleis, 149.
- 66) Davis, Siphtah, 6. Appendix B, site 11.
- 67) Thomas, Necropoleis, 149.
- 68) Davis, Siphtah, 3, n. 1.
- 69) Thomas, Necropoleis, 149.
- 70) Davis, Tîyi, 7. Cf. below, appendix B, site 18.
- 71) See above, chapter 3.
- 72) Two of these jars, formerly in the Metropolitan Museum of Art (MMA 09.184.171-2), were de-accessioned in the 1950s and are now in the Oriental Institute Museum, Chicago. They are referred to in a letter from Winlock to Carter dated 25 June 1915, now in the Carter archive at Oxford.
- 73) See above, chapter 2.

- 74) Thomas, Necropoleis, 140.
- 75) Cf. Carter, MSS, I.G.51.
- 76) Carter, Tut.ankh.Amen I, 84. Cf. below, appendix C, site 15.
- 77) Carter, MSS, I.J.386-7, nos. 333-6.
- 78) Cf. above, chapter 1 (s.v. Tuthmosis III).
- 79) Thomas, Necropoleis, 149.
- 80) Ibid., 156.
- 81) Ibid., 163.
- 82) L'Hôte, Lettres, 164.
- 83) Thomas, Necropoleis, 163.
- 84) Jones & Burton, Tombs, entry for 4 December 1908; cf. appendix B, site 22.
- 85) Jones & Burton, Tombs, entry for 4 December 1908
- 86) Ibid., entry for 21 December 1908; cf. below, appendix B, site 22.
- 87) Cf. Carter, MSS, I.G.48 for the location.
- 88) Jones & Burton, Tombs, entry for 4 February 1909; cf. appendix B, site 25.
- 89) Davies & Macadam, Cones I, no. 419.
- 90) Jones & Burton, Tombs, entry for 12 December 1909; cf. appendix B, site 26.
- 91) Jones & Burton, Tombs, entry for 12 December 1909.
- 92) Ibid.
- 93) Cf. n. 60 above.
- 94) Jones & Burton, Tombs, entry for 12 December 1909.
- 95) Above, chapter 3.
- 96) Jones & Burton, Tombs, entry for 13 December 1909; cf. appendix B, site 26.
- 97) Jones & Burton, Tombs, entry for 15-20 December 1909; appendix B, site 26.

- 98) See above, s.v. KV C-E, and n. 68.
- 99) Thomas, Necropoleis, 149.
- 100) Jones & Burton, Tombs, sketch map opp. entries for 15-27 December 1909; cf. appendix B, fig. 109.

Notes

- 1) Other such deposits from this period are the burial of the prince Amenemhet (P-M I<sup>2</sup>/ii, 667; cf. above, chapter 2); that of another prince, Kamen(?) (Bruyère, BIFAO 25 (1925), 147 ff.); and perhaps the (?re)burials of Ahhotpe II and Kamose (P-M I<sup>2</sup>/ii, 600 ff.; cf. Carter, Notebook 17, 168 ff.). Cf. further the 21st dynasty cache of priests and priestesses of Amun at 'Bab el-Gasus' (P-M I<sup>2</sup>/ii, 630 ff.), and the 22nd-26th dynasty burials of the priests of Montu (P-M I<sup>2</sup>/ii, 643 ff.).
- 2) P-M I<sup>2</sup>/ii, 658 ff.; Thomas, Necropoleis, 177 & chapters 12-13 (passim).
- 3) Cf. Dewachter, BSFE 74 (1975), 19 ff.; Thomas, JARCE 16 (1979), 85 ff. (where a relatively full bibliography - which may be augmented by reference to Černý, Notebook 59A, and the pertinent volumes of the OB - will be found).
- 4) Maspero, Momies royales, 511, n. 1; cf. Dewachter, BSFE 74 (1975), 30.
- 5) Maspero, Momies royales, 512.
- 6) P-M I<sup>2</sup>/ii, 658 ff. (with several errors). For the main items, cf. Maspero, Momies royales, 512 f.; Budge, P. Greenfield, introduction; Dewachter, BSFE 74 (1975), 28 ff.
- 7) For the events leading up to the discovery, cf. Maspero, Momies royales, 511 ff.; Charmes, L'Égypte, 157 ff.; also Maspero correspondence, no. 14. (154).
- 8) That Brugsch kept Maspero informed as to events

- is clear from the extracts of a letter published by the latter in Momies royales, 516, n. 2.
- 9) Cf., for example, Maspero, BIE (2 sér.) 2 (1881), 134 f.; id., Momies royales, 518 f.; id., Guide (1915), 365 f.
  - 10) Notably: Maspero, Trans. 5th ICO, part 2 (I), section 3, 12 ff.; id., BIE (2 sér.) 2 (1881), 129 ff.; id., Guide Boulaq, 314 ff.; id., Momies royales, passim; id., Guide (1906), 392 ff.; id., Guide (1908), 452 ff.; id., Guide (1915), 362 ff. Locations not otherwise credited refer to these sources. Cf. also Service des Antiquités, Principaux monuments, 288 ff. The article published by Wilson, Century Magazine (May 1887), 3 ff., recounts details of a visit to the tomb with Brugsch after the clearance; that published by Amelia Edwards in Harper's Magazine 65/386, 185 ff., was apparently based upon materials furnished by Maspero.
  - 11) Cf. Maspero, Struggle, 771.
  - 12) Id., Momies royales, 518.
  - 13) Ibid., 521.
  - 14) Id., BIE (2 sér.) 2 (1881), 134.
  - 15) Id., Momies royales, 518; followed by Dewachter, BSFE 74 (1975), 26 f. Table 7, no. 34.
  - 16) Maspero, Guide (1906), 395; Guide (1908), 455; Guide (1915), 365.
  - 17) Id., BIE (2 sér.) 2 (1881), 134; id., Guide Boulaq, 318.
  - 18) Id., BIE (2 sér.) 2 (1881), 138 (2). Table 7, no. 29.
  - 19) Thomas, JARCE 16 (1979), 87, suggests that the

second object in the corridor may have been 'one or both boxes of Henttawy' (for which cf. Maspero, Momies royales, 590, pl. 21, c), on the basis that the only coffin dated by Daressy (my italics) to the 17th dynasty is that of Seqenenre-Taa II - which she agrees was situated in the side chamber of the tomb. Daressy's opinion as to date is irrelevant, however; it is Brugsch's view, related by Maspero, which is here significant.

- 20) Maspero, BIE (2 sér.) 2 (1881), 134.
- 21) Brugsch, quoted in Wilson, Century Magazine (May 1887), 6.
- 22) Maspero, Momies royales, 551 f.
- 23) Ibid., 552.
- 24) Ibid., 518; id., Guide (1915), 365. Thomas's argument (JARCE 16 (1979), 91, n. 14) that Maspero's wording ought to place Amenophis I and Tuthmosis II within the side chamber is unconvincing; there seems no good reason to question the translation offered by Quibell & Quibell in Maspero, Guide (1906), 395 and Guide (1908), 455, etc.
- 25) Maspero, Momies royales, 518; id., Guide (1915), 365.
- 26) Cf. Edwards, Harper's Magazine 65/386, 187. For her source see ibid., 185, n. \*.
- 27) Maspero, Struggle, 771.
- 28) Wilson, Century Magazine (May 1887), 7.
- 29) Maspero, Momies royales, 518. Cf. further Thomas, JARCE 16 (1979), 88 & fig. 2.
- 30) Dewachter's opinion, BSFE 74 (1975), 20, which is, perhaps, over sceptical.

- 31) Cf. Maspero, Momies royales, 519: 'La plupart des cercueils soulevés à grand peine par douze ou seize hommes, exigèrent sept ou huit heures de transport entre la montagne et la berge'.
- 32) Cf. Dewachter's comments on the size of the first corridor, BSFE 74 (1975), 26 f.
- 33) Cf., perhaps, the holes burrowed through the bandages of one or two of the mummies in search of saleable heart scarabs - as, for example, in the mummy of Tuthmosis III (Maspero, Momies royales, pl. 6, a).
- 34) Cf. below, table 10, no. 37.
- 35) Ibid., no. 48.
- 36) Ibid., no. 49. Cf. Kitchen, TIP, 64.
- 37) Cf. Maspero, Momies royales, 570. It is perhaps worth stating that the claims of such individuals as Revillout, RE 2 (1881), 344 ff., and Villiers Stuart, Funeral Tent, 1, to the effect that the Luxor antiquities market was, at the time of the discovery, virtually swimming in items of New Kingdom date from the cache, are grossly exaggerated. It appears, in fact, that relatively few items of this date found their way on to the market (amongst these the shroud fragments of Tuthmosis III: P-M I<sup>2</sup>/ii, 660 f.; but clearly not the Great Harris Papyrus, contra Borchardt, ZAS 73 (1937), 97 ff.) - presumably because the cached mummies had been thoroughly robbed before they were reburied within DB320. The Abd er-Rassuls will soon have come to the same conclusion, and abandoned the roughly confined bodies for the richer pickings of the 21st dynasty burials.

- 38) Winlock, JEA 17 (1931), 107 ff.
- 39) Below, table 10, nos. 40-44.
- 40) Černý, JEA 32 (1948), 24 ff.
- 41) Cf. table 10, nos. 40-42.
- 42) Ibid., nos. 43-44.
- 43) Dewachter, BSFE 74 (1975), 21 ff.
- 44) Schmitz, Amenophis I, 205 ff.
- 45) I.e. table 10, nos. 43-44.
- 46) P. Abbott, 2, 2: Peet, Tomb-Robberies, pl. 1.
- 47) Thomas, JARCE 16 (1979), 85 ff.
- 48) Table 10, no. 45.
- 49) Year 10 (of Siamun), 4 prt 20: cf. Černý, JEA 32 (1948), 27 ff. Table 10, nos. 43-44.
- 50) Romer, in Thomas, JARCE 16 (1979), 85; id., Valley, 141. The late 17th/early 18th dynasty coffin fragments recovered by Lansing 'in the debris near the bottom of the pit' (Egn. Expedn. 1918-20, 12) may or may not be 'from the original occupation of the tomb' (ibid.). For further details of this and other material, cf. Jones & Burton, Tombs, entry for 12 February 1920.
- 51) Both Engelbach, Archaeology, 100, and Daressy before him, Principal Monuments, 20, attribute DB320 to the 11th dynasty, perhaps influenced by its proximity to the mortuary temple of Nebhepetre Mentuhotpe; this dating is repeated by Spencer, Death, 101. Maspero, Momies royales, 517, prefers to date the tomb 'vers la fin de la XX<sup>e</sup> dynastie'.
- 52) Cf. Lansing, Egn. Expedn. 1918-20, 12; Thomas, Necropoleis, 177; id., JARCE 16 (1979), 85 ff.

- 53) As implied by Lansing, Egn. Expedn. 1918-20, 12.
- 54) Maspero, Momies royales, 520 f.
- 55) Cf. Černý, JEA 32 (1948), 26, and below, table 10, no. 36.
- 56) Table 10, no. 35.
- 57) Hacking off the gilded face and hands of both the inner coffin and coffin board, often leaving the outer coffin intact to allay suspicion, is indicative of the sort of petty plundering carried out by the burial parties at this period: cf. Winlock, Egn. Expedn. 1924-5, 18 ff., and esp. 26 f.; 1928-9, 24. The mummy of Nestanebtishru, intact when found, had been robbed during the wrapping of her corpse, to judge from the impression of an embalming plate noted by Elliot Smith, Royal Mummies, 110.
- 58) I am unable to offer any convincing explanation as to why one of the coffins of Neskhons (which coffin is nowhere stated) apparently contained the body of Ramesses IX when found (Maspero, Momies royales, 567 f.). Dewachter, BSFE 74 (1975), 27, suggests that this was a mix-up which must have taken place in the cache; but since Neskhons evidently provided much of the linen for Ramesses IX's rewrapping (cf. table 10, no. 35), could it be that she gave one of her coffins also?
- 59) Maspero, Momies royales, 522 f.
- 60) Cf. Černý, JEA 32 (1948), 26 f., and below, table 10, no. 45.
- 61) Table 10, no. 39.
- 62) Above, chapter 3. Cf. the seal noted in chapter 1, n. 86, and Rhind, Thebes, 83 ff.

- 63) Daressy, ASAE 21 (1921), 137.
- 64) Daressy failed to recognise that t3 st mry dhwtj was the name of a locality (cf. Černý, LRL, 81, no. 20; id., JEA 32 (1948), 28 & n. 5; Yoyotte, RdE 7 (1950), 63 ff.), and did not, therefore, connect the imy-r mš<sup>C</sup> (which he in any case read imy-r htm) of this place with Nespakashuty.
- 65) Cf. Romer, JEA 60 (1974), 119 ff. Cf. above, chapter 1.
- 66) Niwiński, JARCE 16 (1979), 49 ff. & tables IIA-IIB; cf. also Kitchen, TIP, 475 & table 9.
- 67) Niwiński, JARCE 16 (1979), 49 ff. Niwiński differentiates between the owner of coffin CG 61030 (later usurped by Neskhons) and the owner of CG 61031: the former is most probably the Isiemkheb 'B' (Kitchen's 'C') wife of Menkheperre 'A', whilst Isiemkheb 'C' (Kitchen's 'D'), the owner of CG 61031, wife of Pinudjem II, is the individual of this name represented in DB320. The heart scarab of an Isiemkheb illustrated in Zoëga, De origine, pl. 7, will have belonged to Isiemkheb 'B' (pace Daressy, ASAE 20 (1920), 17 f.): the mummy of Isiemkheb 'C' was intact when found and had evidently not been plundered, despite Maspero's statement to the contrary (Momies royales, 577, followed by Dewachter, BSFE 74 (1975), 32, n. 31). For the intact state of Isiemkheb's mummy, cf. Smith, Royal Mummies, 106 f. & pl. 80; Harris & Weeks, X-Raying, 50 f. Although relatively few items of jewellery were disclosed by the recent radiographic study of the mummy (Harris & Wente, Atlas, 187,

- fig. 5.12), its wrappings are probably original.  
Cf. table 5, no. 21.
- 68) On which cf. Dewachter, BSFE 74 (1975), 20 f.
- 69) Maspero, Momies royales, 518.
- 70) Cf. n. 57 above.
- 71) Niwiński, JARCE 16 (1979), 49 ff.
- 72) Niwiński, loc. cit., would make Pinudjem I, Duathathor-Henttawy and Nodjmet children of Piankh and Hrere. David Aston, however, who is currently writing a Birmingham University thesis on Third Intermediate Period tomb groups has made the plausible suggestion that Nodjmet, rather than having been a sister of Pinudjem I, was in fact a sister of Ramesses XI and consequently Pinudjem I's aunt by Ramesses XI's marriage to Tentamun.
- 73) Cf. below, table 10, nos. 40-42.
- 74) Cf. Gardiner, Grammar, 596.
- 75) Wb. V, 6, 6.
- 76) Thomas, Necropoleis, 179 f.; Romer, MDAIK 31 (1975), 319; id., MDAIK 32 (1976), 191 ff. For its position, cf. Carter, JEA 4 (1917), pl. 19, no. 251; also the photographs published in Bataille, BIFAO 38 (1939), pl. 16; Romer, Valley, 242 (top left).
- 77) Cf. Romer, MDAIK 31 (1975), 319, n. 30; cf. id., Valley, 243. The height of 19 metres given in Bruyère (n. 80 below) and repeated by Bataille (n. 82 below) is either in error, or else the measurement has not been made from the base of the cliff.
- 78) Cf. Wehr, Dictionary, 635.

- 79) Bonomi, quoted in Newberry, ASAE 7 (1906), 79.
- 80) Cf. Bruyère, Deir el Médineh (1931-2), 94.
- 81) Cf. the references in n. 76 above.
- 82) Bataille, BIFAO 38 (1939), 162 ff.; id., Memnonia, 187 f.
- 83) Below, table 10, nos. 46-48.
- 84) Cf. Kitchen, TIP, 289.
- 85) Table 10, no. 49.
- 86) Cf. n. 36 above.
- 87) P-M I<sup>2</sup>/ii, 554 ff.; Thomas, Necropoleis, 77 f. & chapters 12-13 (passim).
- 88) For the date, cf. Daressy, Fouilles, 63. First-hand accounts of the discovery are to be found by Loret, BIE (3 sér.) 9 (1898), 98 ff., and Schweinfurth, Sphinx 2 (1898), esp. 149 ff. Both Carter and Jones later carried out work in the vicinity of the tomb: cf. appendix A, site 18; appendix B, site 22. Rumours that KV35 had been known to the Qurnawis for several years before Loret's entry in 1898 (cf. Petrie, History II, 342; Budge, Nile & Tigris II, 392, n. 1; Hayes, Sarcophagi, 25) appear to be unfounded. To my knowledge, Carter nowhere mentions the possibility. I have, furthermore, been unable to trace any material acquired before 1898 which can with certainty be ascribed to the tomb: the alabaster vase from the Hood collection (P-M I<sup>2</sup>/ii, 556) is of quite doubtful provenance, whilst the kneeling statue of Amenophis II in Turin (no. 1375, ex-Drovetti collection; P-M ibid.) is almost certainly not from the tomb. The duplicate 'magical brick' of the southern quarter (Berlin 20113: P-M ibid.;

cf. Thomas, JARCE 3 (1964), 74 & n. 24) is also of uncertain origin. As Griffith reports in EEFAR 1897-8, 17, the Arabs had for several years prior to the opening 'offered to reveal the secret of new royal tombs to wealthy tourists' - yet such empty claims need not imply that the Qurnawis in fact possessed such knowledge. Doubtless stories of this sort underlie the tale, fuelled - in the case of Petrie at least - by personal enmity towards Loret; for the archaeological evidence, as we shall see, argues strongly against the possibility of modern native interference in the tomb.

- 89) Loret, BIE (3 sér.) 9 (1898), 105.
- 90) Ibid., 105 f.
- 91) Daressy, Fouilles, 63 ff. Cf. BIE (3 sér.) 9 (1898), 317 ff. and passim for the Journal d'entrée numbering. Note that the CG numbers employed by Reisner, Ships & Boats, frequently differ from those employed by Daressy.
- 92) From a passing mention in Maspero, Sites, 115, it might be inferred that the relevant notes remained in Cairo; it has not been possible to establish for certain whether or not they still survive. The only unpublished records of Loret's work in the Valley known to me are a number of photographic plates preserved in the Victor Loret Institute in Lyon (kindly brought to my notice by M. J.-C. Goyon). The copy of the Loret BIE article (n. 88 above) preserved in the Wilbour Library, Brooklyn, does contain certain annotations in Loret's own hand; however, it is impossible

to believe that the grids there superimposed in pencil upon the plans of KV34 and KV35 are his own work or indeed have any connection with the lost distribution grids. See further n. 106 below.

- 93) Loret, BIE (3 sér.) 9 (1898), 100.
- 94) Daressy, Fouilles, 162.
- 95) Loret, BIE (3 sér.) 9 (1898), 100.
- 96) Daressy, Fouilles, 239 ff., 242 f.; Reisner, Ships & Boats, 96 ff., 98 f.
- 97) Loret, BIE (3 sér.) 9 (1898), 100.
- 98) Daressy, Fouilles, 241 f.
- 99) Loret, BIE (3 sér.) 9 (1898), 101.
- 100) Daressy, Fouilles, 160.
- 101) Loret, BIE (3 sér.) 9 (1898), 101. The name is actually wbn-snw: cf. LdR II, 289 f.
- 102) Daressy, Fouilles, 104.
- 103) Loret, BIE (3 sér.) 9 (1898), 101.
- 104) Ibid., 102.
- 105) Daressy, Fouilles, 163.
- 106) Two copies of a key to the symbols apparently employed by Loret to distinguish objects from different squares in the burial chamber are pasted into volume VI of the Journal d'entrée in Cairo, pp. 493-4. (The division there of the burial chamber into 18 sections is evidently in error, since the key records no symbol for objects from section 18.) This key may, at some future date, allow further headway to be made in distinguishing material found in the antechamber from that found in the burial chamber. See further, n. 107 below.

- 107) This is not so for the boats and fragments of boats. Despite one or two evident errors in the numbering, Reisner's Ships & Boats does distinguish between sections in the antechamber ('Room 1') and those in the burial chamber 'Grande salle' or similar). The pieces in this catalogue may thus be located with some certainty.
- 108) Loret, BIE (3 sér.) 9 (1898), 102.
- 109) Ibid.
- 110) Daressy, Fouilles, 216 f.; cf. ibid., 277 f., CG 11494; 278, CG 11496 (= Quibell, Archaic Objects, pl. 18).
- 111) Loret, BIE (3 sér.) 9 (1898), 103.
- 112) Ibid.
- 113) Daressy, Fouilles, 119, 218 & passim.
- 114) Loret, BIE (3 sér.) 9 (1898), 103.
- 115) Daressy, Fouilles, 160 f.
- 116) Ibid., 106 & passim.
- 117) Ibid., 96 f.
- 118) Loret, BIE (3 sér.) 9 (1898), 103.
- 119) Ibid., 104.
- 120) Daressy, Fouilles, 79; cf. Gardiner, JEA 37 (1951), 111.
- 121) Daressy, Fouilles, 158, 162 f.
- 122) Cf. on this Carter, MSS, I.A.272 ff.
- 123) Hayes, Sarcophagi, 25, and cf. further Loret, BIE (3 sér.) 9 (1898), 102. Carter, MSS, I.A.29(3), describes it as follows: 'The coffin which enclosed the king does not appear to be original. It is very light and made of glued linen and stucco resembling papier-mâché'. Cf. table 8, no. 1.
- 124) Hayes, Sarcophagi, 25.

- 125) Loret, BIE (3 sér.) 9 (1898), 102.
- 126) Ibid., 108. Cf. table 6, no. 1.
- 127) Loret, BIE (3 sér.) 9 (1898), 100 f., pl. 9; cf. table 6, no. 6. This mummy was 'smashed to pieces' in 1901, and the boat upon which it lay was stolen (Carter, ASAE 3 (1902), 116; Rapports 1899-1910, 32 f.). The boat was later recovered, and is now in Cairo (Carter, Notebook 17, 189). The story related by Budge, Nile & Tigris II, 365 f., is wholly unreliable.
- 128) Loret describes the finds from the well as follows: 'deux crânes et trois couvercles de canopes, en grès recouvert de bitume'. Daressy identifies the material of the lids as 'terre cuite' (Fouilles, CG 5033), and notes in addition 'des fragments de vases'. Since the lids 'portent une tête de femme(?)' rather than the heads of three of the four genii, there can be little doubt that the canopic set is of 18th dynasty origin; one or both skulls may thus be contemporary with the original burial. One possible candidate is Hatshepsut-Meryetre, wife of Tuthmosis III and mother of Amenophis II, who appears not to have occupied the tomb (KV42; above, chapter 1) prepared for her by her husband, whom she evidently outlived (cf. Bucher, Textes I, pl. 24 (right)). Her presence within KV35 is suggested by a cane inscribed for the 'god's wife, great king's wife and lady of the two lands, Hatshepsut-Meryetre, true of voice before Osiris ...' (Daressy, Fouilles, CG 24112, from section 8); cf. Carter, MSS, I.A.270. The

- other skull may well be that of Webensenu (above, n. 101), whose burial within KV35 is attested by CG 24269-73 and CG 5031. Cf. table 6, nos. 7-8.
- 129) Cf. Loret, BIE (3 sér.) 9 (1898), 105.
- 130) Ibid., 108 f. Cf. tables 6 & 8.
- 131) Daressy, Cercueils, CG 61043. Table 8, no. 6.
- 132) Loret, BIE (3 sér.) 9 (1898), 111 f.
- 133) Cf. esp. Groff, RdT 23 (1901), 32 ff., with the earlier references there cited.
- 134) Smith, Royal Mummies, CG 61082. Cf. table 6, no. 5.
- 135) Cf. Loret, BIE (3 sér.) 9 (1898), pl. 15.
- 136) Cf. ibid., 109. These 'court groupes' have since been published by van Siclen, JEA 60 (1974), 129 ff.
- 137) Van Siclen, op. cit., 130 f.
- 138) Reading the beginning of the group on block no. 9 as a variant of the word sipy, of which the first three characters are quite clear; cf. table 10, no. 21. For what may well be an earlier record of official activity within KV35 (under Ramesses VI), cf. Černý & Sadek, Graffiti, no. 1860 (= Bierbrier, JEA 58 (1972), 195 ff.; Bell, Serapis 6 (1980) (Fs. Nims), 7 ff.). Cf. table 10, no. 2. This text is usually connected with the closing of the previously reigning king's tomb, but an association with KV35 (above the entrance to which the graffito has been written) seems equally possible.
- 139) For the layout, cf. Loret, BIE (3 sér.) 9 (1898), pl. 11.
- 140) Ibid., 103 f. Cf. table 6, nos. 3, 4 & 15.
- 141) Smith, Royal Mummies, CG 61070.
- 142) Cf. Harris, Wente et al., Science 200 (1978), 1149 ff.

- 143) Smith, Royal Mummies, CG 61071.
- 144) Ibid., CG 61072; not 'un homme', as Loret, BIE (3 sér.) 9 (1898), 104, states.
- 145) Loret, op. cit., 106.
- 146) Ibid., 103.
- 147) E.g. Wente, JNES 31 (1972), 139.
- 148) Loret was able to remove all of the chamber's occupants by dismantling no more than the five uppermost courses: cf. BIE (3 sér.) 9 (1898), 109.
- 149) Cf. van Siclen, JEA 60 (1974), 133. This blocking may well have replaced an original wooden door damaged during an earlier period of theft; cf. above, s. v. KV43, WV22.
- 150) Despite the fact that, from a comparison with the range of wooden funerary figures found in the tomb of Tutankhamun (KV62), there appear to be traces of more than one 'set' within KV35, there are no indications that any material of this sort entered the tomb of Amenophis II with the cached mummies.
- 151) Cf. table 9, no. 18.
- 152) Ibid., no. 9.
- 153) Ibid., no. 14.
- 154) Ibid., no. 16.
- 155) Ibid., no. 12.
- 156) Ibid., no. 13.
- 157) Ibid., no. 6.
- 158) Table 8, no. 7.
- 159) Ibid., no. 9.
- 160) Ibid., no. 4.

- 161) Moreover, the technique of rewrapping to be seen in the mummies of Merenptah, Siptah, Sethos II and Ramesses IV-VI, and indeed of Amenophis III also - a shroud held in place by a series of transverse bands, containing a mass of roughly bundled rags and the corpse itself - is remarkably consistent. Cf. table 6.
- 162) Daressy, Fouilles, CG 24880.
- 163) Cf. id., Cercueils, pl. 61; table 8, no. 2; table 9, no. 7.
- 164) Cf. table 8, no. 3. Its presence within KV35 is considered further below, chapter 12.
- 165) Table 10, no. 18.
- 166) See below, chapter 11.
- 167) Note that mummy CG 61071 from (Jc) had a hole in the head analogous to the holes found in the skulls of Merenptah, Sethos II, the 'body on the boat' and Ramesses IV-VI, suggesting that the body had been stripped of its bandages in a similar fashion to (and thus conceivably by the same individuals as) the (Jb) corpses. For the skull damage and Elliot Smith's opinion as to its possible cause - the plundering of the mummies 'by a band of robbers who made a practice of chopping the bandages of the head for the purpose of rapid stripping' - cf. Royal Mummies, 89, and cf. table 6 below.
- 168) See above, n. 145.
- 169) Cf. Loret, BIE (3 sér.) 9 (1898), 108.
- 170) Ibid., pl. 15.
- 171) Cf. Smith, Royal Mummies, s.v. CG 61082 & 61086, and table 6 below, nos. 5 & 12.

172) Daressy, Fouilles, CG 24737.

173) Cf. above, n. 127.

Notes

- 1) Contrast, for example, the photographs of the Sethos I coffin docket in Maspero, Momies royales, pl. 12, and Daressy, Cercueils, pls. 16 and 18-19.
- 2) A period of study on the records in Cairo between December 1982 and January 1983 yielded the following museum numbers: J 26266, linen from the mummy of Neskhons; J 26267, funerary linen of Ramesses III; temp. reg.  $\frac{19|3}{26|5}$ , linen of Inhapi and Duathathor-Henttawy; temp. reg.  $\frac{19|3}{26|6}$ , linen of Tawosret (sic; presumably the unknown woman 'D') and Pinudjem (sic); temp. reg.  $\frac{19|3}{26|7}$ , linen of Tuthmosis II; and temp. reg.  $\frac{19|3}{26|8} - \frac{19|3}{26|9}$ , miscellaneous linen from the royal mummies.
- 3) Cf. most recently the implied dismissal of docket from the mummy and coffin of Amenophis III by Wente, JNES 42 (1983), 316.
- 4) Cf. table 9, no. 3.
- 5) Maspero, Momies royales, 539 f.
- 6) Daressy, Cercueils, i.
- 7) Smith, Royal Mummies, 6 ff. But cf. still Troy, GM 50 (1981), 81 ff.
- 8) It should be pointed out that the miniature mummy of a baboon (cf. Harris & Weeks, X-Raying, 53, 174; Yoyotte, BSFE 64 (1972), 41 f.) found in the DB320 coffin of Maatkare did not carry a docket identifying the owner as the king's daughter Mutemhet (as Smith, Royal Mummies, 98, would seem to imply). Although the name Mutemhet does appear

among the formal inscriptions of the coffin, Maatkare-Mutemhet was clearly the queen's full name. Cf. chapter 1, n. 77.

- 9) See above, chapter 10 (s.v. Amenophis II).
- 10) Cf. table 9, no. 7.
- 11) After Wente, in Thomas, Necropoleis, 250. Prof. Wente was kind enough to confirm his reading in a recent letter. Cf. table 10, no. 18.
- 12) Smith, Royal Mummies, pls. 32, 100-103.
- 13) Ibid., 49; cf. Smith & Dawson, Mummies, 94.
- 14) Derry, in Carter, Tut.ankh.Amen II, 147 f.; id., ASAE 41 (1942), 259.
- 15) In Carter, Tut.ankh.Amen II, 147 f.
- 16) Wente, JNES 31 (1972), 139.
- 17) Giles, Ikhnaton, 42 f.
- 18) Cf. Daressy, Cercueils, CG 61035.
- 19) Id., ASAE 4 (1903), 110 ff. Cf. table 9, no. 18.
- 20) Giles, Ikhnaton, 42 f.
- 21) Cf. Smith, Royal Mummies, 45, the only informed opinion available to Giles. Harris & Wente, Atlas, 209, now suggest an age limit of between 30 and 40 years. See further below, however, n. 23.
- 22) In the Tombos inscription: cf. Kitchen, Serapis 4 (1977-8), 69; Weinstein, JARCE 15 (1978), 42, n. 15.
- 23) Robins, GM 45 (1981), 63 ff.
- 24) Winlock, Meryet-Amūn, 58.
- 25) Cf. table 3, nos. 11-19.
- 26) Maspero, Momies royales; cf. in particular the corpses of Ahmose-Meryetamun (p. 539 f.), 'Ramesses I' (p. 552), Nebseni (p. 574 ff.) and 'Meshenuttimehu' (p. 544).
- 27) Cf. Smith, Royal Mummies, 6 ff., 14 f., 31 f., etc.

- 28) Maspero, Momies royales, 581 f.
- 29) Cf. table 3, no. 34; table 7, no. 27.
- 30) Maspero, Momies royales, 581.
- 31) Smith, Royal Mummies, 25.
- 32) In Harris & Wente, Atlas, 351. Cf. ibid., 288.
- 33) Cf. the Greek text in Wilcken, Chrestomathie I/ii, 577 f., no. 499, translated by Mueller, JEA 59 (1973), 176.
- 34) Table 9, no. 6; Maspero, Momies royales, 541, fig. 11. Cf. in general ibid., 538, 541 etc.; Thomas, Necropoleis, 263, n. 28. These correlations are made with all due reserve.
- 35) Table 10, no. 28; Maspero, Momies royales, 541, fig. 12.
- 36) Table 9, no. 17; Maspero, op. cit., 538.
- 37) Table 9, no. 3; Maspero, op. cit., 539, fig. 10.
- 38) Table 10, no. 30; Maspero, op. cit., 538, fig. 9.
- 39) Table 10, no. 29; Maspero, op. cit., 534, fig. 7. For the probable association of Amosis I and Siamun cf. below, chapter 12.
- 40) Table 9, no. 2; Maspero, Momies royales, 530, fig. 6.
- 41) Cf. table 10, nos. 43-4. Cf. further below, n. 97.
- 42) Cf. table 9.
- 43) Except, however, for a rough 'facsimile' of the docket inscribed in black upon the shroud of Merenptah (table 9, no. 9): Groff, RdT 23 (1901), 32.
- 44) Cf. above, chapter 10.
- 45) Cf. Daressy, ASAE 4 (1903), 110 (Tuthmosis IV); table 9, no. 18.
- 46) Cf. Wb. IV, 35, 2.

- 47) Cf. those instances noted in table 10, to which may be added: the inspections of P. Abbott and the other tomb robbery papyri (cf. Botti & Peet, Giornale, pl. 14, 1; pl. 24, VIII, 5); the inspection of a private tomb in O. Wien 1 + O. IFAO 628 (Zonhoven, JEA 65 (1979), 89 ff.); and similar proceedings in O. Mus. Madrid 16243 (cf. Zonhoven, op. cit., 98, n. 80), P. Berlin 10496, O. BM 5624 and O. Firenze 2621.
- 48) Table 10, no. 25.
- 49) Cf. Winlock, Meryet-Amun, 37 ff. and esp. 40 ff.
- 50) Cf. Wb. V, 63, 3; Thomas, Necropoleis, 255. For the variant k3s, cf. Wb. V, 14, 2, and Leahy, GM 31 (1979), 67 ff. (the 21st dynasty examples apparently unknown to him).
- 51) Sinuhe, B 190 ff.: Blackman, MES, 32. Cf. B 300 ff.: Blackman, op. cit., 40 f.
- 52) Shipwrecked Sailor, 167 ff.: Blackman, op. cit., 47.
- 53) Cf. Smith & Tait in (Turner), Papyri, 78, and note the coffin determinative employed in the hieroglyphic and hieratic spellings of krs and its variants.
- 54) Table 10, nos. 36 & 45.
- 55) Ibid., no. 27.
- 56) Cf. Thomas, Necropoleis, 255 ff.
- 57) Table 10, no. 1.
- 58) Ibid., no. 5.
- 59) Cf. line 4 of the otherwise illegible transcription given by Daressy, Cercueils, 32, and the apparent similarity to the (corresponding) text of Sethos I (table 10, no. 5).

- 60) Table 10, no. 9.
- 61) Ibid., no. 22.
- 62) Ibid., no. 14.
- 63) Ibid., no. 23.
- 64) Cf. above, introduction.
- 65) Table 10, no. 22.
- 66) Wente, in Thomas, Necropoleis, 262, n. 24. Wente's alternative rendering (ibid., 250) is '(to) renew him (for) his burial (in)'
- 67) BM, Mummies & Coffins, 42 (numbered 15650 in error); cf. table 10, no. 12. The dating is Niwiński's.
- 68) For the msw hr, cf. Černý, Community, 117 ff.; Edwards, Decrees I, 13, n. 7.
- 69) Lit. 'put to rest'; cf. Erman, Glossar, 31, s.v. wrd, 'ruhen, Ruhe'.
- 70) Personal inspection.
- 71) Cf. tables 5-6.
- 72) Cf. Thomas, Necropoleis, 249. The reading is that of Gardiner, JEA 37 (1951), 112, n. 1, who seems to have considered it a variant of whm krs.
- 73) Cf. table 10, no. 13.
- 74) Cf. below, chapter 12.
- 75) Thomas, Necropoleis, 257. Cf. Gardiner, JEA 37 (1951), 112; Kákosy, SA 2 (1976), 173.
- 76) Table 10, no. 20.
- 77) Ibid., no. 28.
- 78) Ibid., no. 29.
- 79) Ibid., no. 30.
- 80) Thomas, Necropoleis, 257.

- 81) Kitchen, TIP, 419 f.
- 82) Cf. the connotation of smn.ti<sup>2</sup> w3h.ti<sup>2</sup> dt used in respect of the mummy of Ramesses III (table 10, no. 20): '(his bones) set in place and enduring forever' (cf. Faulkner, Dictionary, s.v. smn).
- 83) Smith, Royal Mummies, 84 ff.; Harris & Wente, Atlas, 290.
- 84) Cf. Smith, op. cit., 18.
- 85) Table 10, no. 37.
- 86) Cf. Thomas, Necropoleis, 256. Note too that Ramesses III was rewrapped with linen from Medinet Habu (table 5, no. 31).
- 87) Černý, JEA 26 (1940), 127 ff.
- 88) Cf. Hölscher, Excavation V, 5, 10, n. 48.
- 89) Ibid., 5.
- 90) No. 407 = J 37372: Carter, MSS, I.A.138(7).
- 91) It is, of course, possible that shabtis were removed from the tombs and preserved in the principal temples with a view to the owner benefitting henceforth from the offerings presented daily to the gods.
- 92) Winlock, Meryet-Amūn, 40 ff.
- 93) Ibid., 48.
- 94) As the inscriptions frequently found upon them (cf. table 10, nos. 15-17, 24, 26, etc.) indicate. Cf. the 'shawls' employed to wrap the divine images found in the tomb of Tutankhamun (KV62): Carter, Tut.ankh.Amen III, pls. 2 & 11-13.
- 95) Table 10, no. 19.
- 96) For rather different interpretations as to the purport of these docketts cf. above, chapter 9.

- 97) Table 10, no. 20. It is possible, of course, that Butehamun's specific worship of Amenophis I, Ahhotpe, Ahmose-Nofretiri, Sitamun, Meryetamun and Sipair on his middle coffin (Lepsius, Auswahl, pl. 11, middle left) indirectly reflects his role in the restoration and caching (presumably within the k3y of Inhapi) of these individuals also.

Notes

- 1) Above, chapter 1, s.v. Tuthmosis I; Hatshepsut.
- 2) Table 10, no. 31.
- 3) Cf. table 7, no. 27.
- 4) Above, chapter 1, s.v. Tuthmosis I.
- 5) Table 5, no. 38.
- 6) Cf. above, n. 3.
- 7) Above, chapter 10.
- 8) Above, chapters 10-11, and cf. table 10.
- 9) Above, chapter 10.
- 10) Cf. above, chapter 10.
- 11) Above, chapter 1.
- 12) Above, chapter 6.
- 13) Cf. ibid., s.v. Ramesses XI.
- 14) Cf. table 11.
- 15) Table 3, no. 21.
- 16) Cf. chapter 10.
- 17) Ibid.
- 18) Cf. above, chapter 6.
- 19) Table 7, no. 41.
- 20) Above, chapter 10.
- 21) Ibid.
- 22) Ibid.
- 23) Cf. table 6, no. 1.
- 24) Table 9, no. 6.
- 25) Table 8, no. 1.
- 26) Above, chapter 2.
- 27) Table 9, no. 18.
- 28) Table 6, no. 16.
- 29) Cf. table 6, no. 11.

- 30) Table 8, no. 10.
- 31) Cf. above, chapter 10.
- 32) Cf. above, chapter 2.
- 33) Table 10, no. 18. Cf. table 6, no. 2.
- 34) Table 8, no. 3.
- 35) Ibid., no. 2.
- 36) Cf. table 9, no. 7.
- 37) Cf. above, chapter 10.
- 38) Above, chapter 2.
- 39) Ibid.
- 40) Table 6, no. 15.
- 41) Cf. above, chapter 2.
- 42) Above, chapter 10.
- 43) Cf. above, chapter 3.
- 44) Ibid., s.v. Horemheb.
- 45) For which see ibid.
- 46) Ibid.
- 47) Ibid.
- 48) For the coffin's type A docket, cf. table 9, no. 11.
- 49) Table 10, no. 40.
- 50) Cf. above, chapter 10.
- 51) Table 5, no. 30.
- 52) For which see above, chapter 4.
- 53) Table 10, no. 22.
- 54) Ibid., nos. 43-44.
- 55) Cf. above, chapter 10.
- 56) Table 3, no. 12.
- 57) Above, chapter 10.
- 58) Ibid.
- 59) Cf. table 3, nos. 11, 13(?), 15-18. There is,

of course, a slight possibility that this or some other mummy was removed from DB320 by the Abd er-Rassuls. Cf. Edwards, Thousand Miles, 451: '... Meanwhile we tried in vain to get sight of the coveted papyrus. A grave Arab dropped in once or twice after nightfall, and talked it over vaguely with the dragoman; but never came to the point. He offered it first, with a mummy, for £100. Finding, however, that we would neither buy his papyrus unseen nor his mummy at any price, he haggled and hesitated for a day or two, evidently trying to play us off against some rival or rivals unknown, and then finally disappeared. These rivals, we afterwards found, were the M.B.'s. They bought both mummy and papyrus at an enormous price; and then, unable to endure the perfume of their ancient Egyptian, drowned the dear departed at the end of a week'. The M.B.'s were clearly the Brocklehursts (cf. Dawson & Uphill, Who Was Who, 40), and the papyrus that of Djedptahiufankh from DB320. Cf. Dewachter, BSFE 74 (1975), 29.

- 60) Above, chapter 4.
- 61) Cf. above, chapter 10.
- 62) Cf. table 10, nos. 40-42.
- 63) Ibid., nos. 43-44.
- 64) Cf. above, chapter 10. Sethos I himself was evidently cached in corridor (B): cf. ibid.
- 65) Chapter 2.
- 66) Table 10, no. 9.

- 67) Table 10, no. 5.
- 68) Cf. ibid., no. 22.
- 69) Ibid., no. 42.
- 70) Above, chapter 10.
- 71) Table 10, no. 44.
- 72) Cf. above, chapter 10.
- 73) Above, chapter 4.
- 74) Table 6, no. 9.
- 75) Table 9, no. 9.
- 76) Table 8, no. 8.
- 77) See above, chapter 5, and cf. table 10, nos. 8, 10.
- 78) Cf. above, chapter 10.
- 79) Table 6, no. 9. Cf. above, chapter 10, n. 167.
- 80) Cf. table 6.
- 81) For the probable contemporaneity of this stripping, cf. above, chapter 10, n. 167.
- 82) Cf. above, chapter 11.
- 83) Cf. above, chapter 5.
- 84) Table 10, no. 6.
- 85) Ibid., no. 8, and see above, chapter 5.
- 86) Table 8, no. 7.
- 87) Cf. above, chapter 10.
- 88) Table 6, no. 13.
- 89) Table 9, no. 14.
- 90) Ibid., no. 7.
- 91) Above, chapter 5.
- 92) Ibid. (O. CG 25575).
- 93) Cf. table 10, no. 10.
- 94) Table 8, no. 9.
- 95) Table 6, no. 14.
- 96) Table 9, no. 16.
- 97) Cf. above, chapter 10.

- 98) Table 4, no. 5; table 6, no. 5.
- 99) Cf. above, chapters 4-5.
- 100) Above, chapter 10.
- 101) Cf. above, chapter 5.
- 102) Table 10, nos. 8, 10.
- 103) Cf. above, chapter 10.
- 104) Cf. table 4, nos. 5, 10.
- 105) Table 6, no. 6. Cf. above, chapter 10.
- 106) Cf. table 6, no. 6.
- 107) Cf. above, chapter 6.
- 108) Table 10, no. 20.
- 109) Cf. table 5, no. 31, and cf. above, chapter 11  
and table 10, no. 19.
- 110) Table 5, no. 31.
- 111) Table 7, no. 32.
- 112) Above, chapter 10.
- 113) Cf. table 3, nos. 6, 39.
- 114) Above, chapter 10.
- 115) Ibid.
- 116) Table 8, no. 3.
- 117) Table 7, no. 32.
- 118) For which cf. above, chapter 6.
- 119) Table 8, no. 4.
- 120) Cf. above, chapter 5, and table 10, nos. 8, 10.
- 121) Cf. table 6, no. 10.
- 122) Table 9, no. 12.
- 123) Above, chapter 10.
- 124) Table 6, no. 11.
- 125) Table 9, no. 13.
- 126) Cf. above, chapter 6.
- 127) For which cf. above, chapter 6.

- 128) Cf. above, chapter 10, for the dating of this transfer.
- 129) Table 6, no. 12.
- 130) Cf. ibid., no. 13.
- 131) Ibid., no. 12.
- 132) Cf. above, chapter 6.
- 133) Table 3, nos. 29, 40.
- 134) Cf. chapter 10 above.
- 135) Ibid.
- 136) Table 10, no. 37.
- 137) Cf. ibid., no. 35.
- 138) Cf. Daressy, ASAE 9 (1908), 137 f.
- 139) Cf. table 3, no. 49.
- 140) Table 3, no. 12; table 5, no. 11.
- 141) But cf. above, s.v. Ramesses I.
- 142) Above, chapter 10.
- 143) Ibid.
- 144) Cf. Urk. IV, 26 ff.
- 145) But cf. Thomas, Necropoleis, 171.
- 146) P. Abbott, 3, 8 ff.: Peet, Tomb-Robberies, pl. 2.
- 147) Table 5, no. 33.
- 148) Table 7, no. 34.
- 149) Above, chapter 10.
- 150) Cf. ibid.
- 151) Cf. Harris & Wente, Atlas, 124.
- 152) Table 10, nos. 40-42.
- 153) Above, chapter 10.
- 154) Table 5, no. 3.
- 155) Table 3, nos. 4, 36; table 7, no. 29. For the findspot of Rai's coffin, cf. above, chapter 10.
- 156) Cf. above, chapter 11.

- 157) Cf. above, chapter 10.  
158) Cf. P-M I<sup>2</sup>/ii, 604.  
159) Above, chapter 10, n. 1.  
160) Table 5, no. 1.  
161) Table 7, no. 2.  
162) Cf. above, chapter 10.  
163) Ibid.  
164) Table 5, no. 2.  
165) Table 9, no. 1.  
166) Cf. Harris & Wente, Atlas, 124. The princess is actually labelled 'sister of Amosis' on her coffin: cf. Daressy, Cercueils, 17.  
167) Above, chapter 10.  
168) Ibid.  
169) Cf. above, chapter 10, n. 1.  
170) Thomas, Necropoleis, 171 f.  
171) Table 7, no. 1.  
172) Cf. above, chapter 10.  
173) Cf. above, chapter 11.  
174) Cf. table 3, nos. 1, 34.  
175) Above, chapter 10.  
176) Cf. Harris & Wente, Atlas, 125.  
177) For the simple identification docket, cf. table 9, no. 5.  
178) Table 10, no. 28.  
179) Cf. above, chapter 11; table 5, no. 7.  
180) Above, chapter 10.  
181) Table 3, nos. 8, 33; table 7, no. 26.  
182) Cf. above, chapter 10.  
183) Cf. Harris & Wente, Atlas, 126, following Vandersleyen, CdE 52 (1977), 223 ff.

- 184) Cf. table 5, no. 36.
- 185) Table 9, no. 17.
- 186) Table 10, no. 30. Cf. above, chapter 11.
- 187) Table 7, no. 37.
- 188) Cf. above, chapter 10.
- 189) Ibid.
- 190) But cf. James, CAH II, ch. 8, 19. A single shabti of this king is known, and is now in the British Museum (BM 32191): cf. Hall, JEA 17 (1931), 10.
- 191) Table 5, no. 9.
- 192) Table 9, no. 8.
- 193) Table 10, no. 29.
- 194) Ibid., no. 30.
- 195) Cf. Harris & Wente, Atlas, 127.
- 196) Table 7, no. 7.
- 197) Ibid., no. 36.
- 198) Cf. above, chapter 10.
- 199) Ibid.
- 200) Chapter 11.
- 201) Cf. above, chapter 10.
- 202) Cf. above, introduction.
- 203) That of Ahmose-Nofretiri: table 5, no. 5.
- 204) That of Ahmose-Nofretiri: table 7, no. 4.
- 205) Above, chapter 10.
- 206) Cf. table 10, nos. 40-42.
- 207) Cf. above, chapter 10.
- 208) Cf. table 3, nos. 5, 41.
- 209) Cf. Harris & Wente, Atlas, 128.
- 210) Cf. her employment of Seniu's coffin which, to judge from a find made by Lansing in 1918/19

- (n. 226 below), had perhaps been recovered from a tomb in this area.
- 211) Above, chapter 10.
- 212) Ibid.
- 213) Cf. table 5, no. 4.
- 214) Cf. above, chapter 11.
- 215) Table 5, no. 29.
- 216) Cf. Daressy, Cercueils, 5 f.
- 217) Table 3, nos. 32, 36; table 7, no. 25.
- 218) Table 7, no. 29.
- 219) Cf. table 3, nos. 4, 36.
- 220) Table 9, no. 2. The mummy had been disturbed when found by Brugsch: cf. table 5, no. 29.
- 221) Above, chapter 11.
- 222) Above, chapter 10.
- 223) Table 7, no. 33.
- 224) Cf. table 3, nos. 5, 41.
- 225) Cf. ibid., nos. 11, 13(?), 15-18.
- 226) Lansing, Egn. Expedn. 1918-20, 6, fig. 2; Hayes, Scepter II, 59, fig. 29.
- 227) See above, introduction.
- 228) P. Abbott, 2, 2 ff.: Peet, Tomb-Robberies, pl. 1.
- 229) Table 7, no. 6.
- 230) Table 5, no. 8.
- 231) Table 10, no. 14.
- 232) Table 7, no. 40.
- 233) Table 10, no. 23.
- 234) Ibid., no. 40.
- 235) Cf. above, chapter 10.
- 236) Ibid. Amenophis I was placed outside the entrance to side room (D): cf. above, chapter 10.

- 237) Table 7, no. 5.
- 238) Table 5, no. 6.
- 239) Cf. Harris & Wente, Atlas, 130.
- 240) Table 9, no. 4. Cf. Daressy, Cercueils, 9 f.  
The original docket perhaps read simply 'Sipair',  
as so often in the late New Kingdom and after:  
cf. Lepsius, Auswahl, pl. 11 (middle left).
- 241) Cf. Thomas, Necropoleis, 40.
- 242) P. Abbott, 3, 13: Peet, Tomb-Robberies, pl. 2.
- 243) Above, chapter 10.
- 244) Cf. ibid.
- 245) Table 10, no. 13.
- 246) Table 7, no. 40.
- 247) Cf. table 5, no. 39.
- 248) For this expression, cf. above, chapter 11.
- 249) Table 10, no. 23.
- 250) See above, chapter 10.
- 251) Ibid.
- 252) Ibid.
- 253) Table 3, no. 27; Reisner & Abd-ul-Rahman, Canopics,  
CG 4086.
- 254) P-M I<sup>2</sup>/ii, 436. Cf. Hayes, Scepter II, 275 f.
- 255) Table 3, nos. 11, 13(?), 15-18.
- 256) Cf. above, s.v. Hatshepsut.
- 257) Above, chapter 10.
- 258) Ibid.
- 259) Table 7, no. 15.
- 260) Table 5, no. 18.
- 261) Above, chapter 10.
- 262) Ibid.
- 263) Cf. table 5, no. 12. For the coffin, cf. table 7,  
no. 21

- 264) Above, chapter 10.
- 265) Ibid.
- 266) Table 3, no. 45.
- 267) Cf. ibid., nos. 11, 13(?), 15-18.
- 268) Cf. above, chapter 10.
- 269) Ibid.
- 270) Cf. table 3, no. 47. The man's three coffins and shabti box, of unrecorded provenance, are now in the Louvre: cf. P-M I<sup>2</sup>/ii, 831, 837.
- 271) Table 3, nos. 11, 13(?), 15-18.
- 272) Cf. above, s.v. Hatshepsut.
- 273) Above, chapter 10.
- 274) Ibid.
- 275) Table 3, no. 53.
- 276) Ibid., nos. 11, 13(?), 15-18.
- 277) Above, chapter 10.
- 278) Ibid.
- 279) Table 3, no. 54.
- 280) Above, chapter 10.
- 281) Ibid.
- 282) Cf. table 3, nos. 11, 13(?), 15-18.
- 283) Cf. Bierbrier, LNK, 36, chart IX.
- 284) Table 7, no. 25.
- 285) Cf. table 3, nos. 32, 36.
- 286) Cf. above, chapter 10.
- 287) Table 3, nos. 11, 13(?), 15-18.
- 288) Table 5, no. 26. For the coffin, cf. table 7, no. 24.
- 289) Cf. Kitchen, TIP, 473 ff., tables 7-9; Niwiński, JARCE 16 (1979), 66 f., tables IIa-b.
- 290) Table 10, no. 11.
- 291) Above, chapter 10.

- 292) Above, chapter 10.
- 293) Table 5, no. 27.
- 294) Cf. above, chapter 10.
- 295) Table 3, nos. 34, 50.
- 296) Table 7, no. 27.
- 297) Cf. above, chapter 1.
- 298) Table 3, nos. 34, 50.
- 299) Cf. above, chapter 10.
- 300) Ibid.
- 301) Note that Pinudjem I appears to have died shortly after the osirification of Amosis I, who was evidently introduced into WN A at this time. See above.
- 302) Cf. Kitchen, TIP, 473 ff., tables 7-9 (Henttawy A); Nawiński, JARCE 16 (1979), 66 f., tables IIa-b (Henttawy A).
- 303) Cf. above, chapter 10.
- 304) Table 7, no. 17.
- 305) Table 5, no. 20.
- 306) Cf. above, chapter 10.
- 307) Ibid.
- 308) Table 7, no. 19. For the mummy, cf. table 5, no. 22.
- 309) See above, chapter 10.
- 310) Cf. ibid.
- 311) Table 7, no. 20. For the mummy, cf. table 5, no. 23.
- 312) Cf. above, chapter 10.
- 313) David Aston points out to me an entry in the Journal d'entrée which records that the lower part of a wooden pole covered in stucco (J 46953) had been placed behind the mummy,

- perhaps to strengthen it. Cf. Tuthmosis III:  
table 5, no. 40.
- 314) Table 7, no. 39. For the mummy, cf. table 5,  
no. 37.
- 315) Cf. Kitchen, TIP, 475, table 9.
- 316) Cf. above, chapter 10.
- 317) Ibid.
- 318) Table 10, no. 44.
- 319) Table 5, no. 28; table 7, no. 28. Cf. table 3,  
no. 35.
- 320) Kitchen, TIP, 475, table 9 (Neskhons A);  
Niwiński, JARCE 16 (1979), 66 f., tables IIa-b  
(Neskhons A).
- 321) Cf. table 5, no. 24; table 7, no. 22.
- 322) Table 10, no. 36.
- 323) Kitchen, TIP, 474 f., tables 8-9 (Isiemkheb D);  
Niwiński, JARCE 16 (1979), 66 f., tables IIa-b  
(Isiemkheb C).
- 324) Table 5, no. 21; table 7, no. 18.
- 325) Table 3, no. 24.
- 326) Cf. above, chapter 10.
- 327) Cf. ibid.
- 328) Table 5, no. 19. For the coffin, cf. table 7,  
no. 16.
- 329) Table 10, nos. 46-48.
- 330) Cf. above, chapter 10.
- 331) Ibid.
- 332) For which cf. ibid.
- 333) Ibid.
- 334) Cf. Niwiński, JARCE 16 (1979), 66 f., tables IIa-b.
- 335) Table 10, no. 48. Cf. chapter 10 above.
- 336) Table 5, no. 25; table 7, no. 23.

337) Table 7, no. 26.

338) Table 3, nos. 8, 33.

339) Table 10, no. 45. Pace Thomas, Necropoleis, 263,  
n. 65.

Notes

- 1) For these documents cf. Thomas, Necropoleis, 265 ff.; Bedell, Criminal Law, passim.
- 2) Cf. above, chapter 5.
- 3) Above, chapter 4.
- 4) Above, chapter 6.
- 5) Cf. above, chapters 2-3. For a possible allusion to pre-Amarna robbery(?) in the necropolis (cf. Helck, Verwaltung, 300, n. 7), see Davies, RTA V, pl. 30, 20; pl. 32, 22 f. = Sandman, Texts, 116, 9 ff.
- 6) See n. 3 above.
- 7) See n. 4 above.
- 8) Cf. Aldred, CAH II, ch. 19, 29.
- 9) Cf. conveniently Trigger, Social History, 226 ff.
- 10) Cf. above, chapter 8.
- 11) Above, chapter 5.
- 12) Above, chapter 7.
- 13) Above, chapter 3.
- 14) Cf. above, chapter 8.
- 15) Cf. Schiaparelli, Relazione II, passim. Cf. also the large amounts of funerary linen recorded in P. BM 10068 (temp. Ramesses IX): Peet, Tomb-Robberies, pls. 9-13.
- 16) Cf. above, chapter 8.
- 17) Above, chapter 3.
- 18) Chapter 8. Cf., nonetheless, the oils taken from the tomb of Isis(?), wife of Ramesses III, under Ramesses IX, their recovery noted in P. BM 10068 (n. 15 above). The thieves, however, may have intended these oils for purposes other than cosmetic (e.g. lighting).

- 19) Cf., for example, Botti & Peet, Giornale, pl. 49; P. BM 10068 (n. 15 above).
- 20) See above, chapter 3 (s.v. Tutankhamen). It must be noted, however, that the tomb of Tuthmosis IV (above, chapter 2), robbed during the same era as KV62, still contained a fair amount of glass when discovered in 1903.
- 21) Hence, for example, the large amount of glass recovered by Loret from KV35 (chapter 10). Note the fact that no items of glass are met with in P. BM 10068 (n. 15 above).
- 22) P. BM 10068 (n. 15 above).
- 23) Cf. Thomas, Necropoleis, 255.
- 24) Cf. chapter 11, table 10 and passim.
- 25) Above, chapter 2.
- 26) Cf. above, chapter 2.
- 27) Chapter 3.
- 28) Cf. also the reburials within KV55: above, chapter 2.
- 29) Notably Maya in KV43 (for his titles cf. table 10, no. 1), and his assistant, Djehutymose, in KV43 and KV62: above, chapters 2-3.
- 30) That this type of seal was not confined in its employment to the Theban necropolis is shown in particular by its occurrence in the Memphite tomb of Horemheb: Martin, JEA 64 (1978), 7 & pl. 2, 1.
- 31) Cf. fig. 22 above.
- 32) Cf. above, passim.
- 33) Above, chapter 8.
- 34) Cf. above, chapter 3.
- 35) Cf. Urk. IV, 2140 ff.; Hari, Horemheb, 302 ff.

- 36) For which cf. Černý, Community, 290 f.; Aldred, CAH II, ch. 19, 29, n. 2.
- 37) The workers who excavated the tombs were perhaps the same individuals employed in the king's other Theban building works (pace Bierbrier, Tomb-Builders, 18). Ostraca from Deir el-Bahri show the basic workforce there to have been conscripted from Esna and el-Kab, amongst other places, whilst those workers employed upon the tomb of Senenmut came from as far afield as Nefrusy, Hermopolis and Nubia (cf. ibid.). Even with the specialist crafts, the distinction between royal and non-royal workers might be challenged: see above, chapter 1, n. 128
- 38) For which cf. Černý, Community, passim; Bierbrier, op. cit.
- 39) Cf. the evidence of the later tomb robbery documents, in which the complicity of members of the necropolis workforce is self-evident (e.g. P. BM 10054, vs. 1 ff. = Peet, Tomb-Robberies, pls. 6 ff.).
- 40) Cf. Romer, Valley, 198, a poorly documented feature rarely commented upon.
- 41) Cf. above, chapter 2 (s.v. KV55).
- 42) Cf. in particular the systematic removal of metal eye inlays from the figures in KV34 (Tuthmosis III), KV35 (Amenophis II), KV43 (Tuthmosis IV), KV57 (Horemheb), KV17 (Sethos I), etc.; also the 'robbers'' ropes within KV43 and KV17. It may be that the burnt debris from pits such as KV P-R (chapter 9) is to be associated with this official activity; certainly, it seems improbable that tomb robbers would have burnt the debris from their plunderings in the full light of the Valley itself - though they did burn coffins and other items in the tombs, as is well attested by the papyri (e.g. P. Leopold-Amherst, 2, 17 f.: Capart, Gardiner & van de Walle, JEA 22 (1936), pl. 14).

- 43) Cf. above, chapter 6 (s.v. Ramesses XI), and see already Romer, Valley, 30. Note the l-dbn weight (CG 46153) from KV43 (Tuthmosis IV), which was perhaps employed for weighing out the salvaged bullion at the time the burial was dismantled.
- 44) Cf. Gardiner, LES, 61 ff.
- 45) See in general Černý, in Donadoni, Fonti, 54; more recently re-iterated by O'Connor, in Trigger, Social History, 226.
- 46) Cf. chapter 12 & fig. 97.
- 47) Above, chapters 5 & 3 respectively.
- 48) Černý, LRL, 47, 12 ff.: Wente, LRL, 61.
- 49) Contrast Aldred's thesis (in (Fairman), Glimpses, 92 ff.), in which he would attribute the despoliation of the west bank tombs to Pinhasi himself, before his retreat into Nubia.
- 50) Cf. chapter 12 & fig. 97.
- 51) It may be noted that one of the gold vessels recovered from the tomb of Psusennes I at Tanis (Montet, Psousennès, 97, no. 393, pl. 65; Grand Palais, Ramsès le grand, 294 f. with colour pl.) had in all probability originally been prepared for the funerary equipment of Amosis I: cf. the typical (but not exclusive) mortuary epithet mry wsîr nb 3bdw. The vessel had perhaps been recovered from the burial of Amosis when the king was osirified in Year 8 of Psusennes I, 3 p<sub>rt</sub> 29 (table 10, no. 29).
- 52) For the identification see above, chapter 10.
- 53) Cf. the skull damage common to several of the mummies cached within KV35 (Amenophis II): above, chapter 10 & cf. table 6.
- 54) For all the above cf. chapter 12 & fig. 97.

Notes

- 1) E.g. the papers of E. R. Ayrton, for the existence of which cf. Davis, Tîyi, pl. 26; appendix D, docs. 1-2; Davis, Harmhabi, 3. Following Ayrton's death, they perhaps passed into the hands of W. L. S. Loat (cf. JEA 9 (1923), 161, n. 1). Loat's papers have proved as elusive as those of Ayrton, however. His obituary in The Times, 30 April 1932, suggests that they may have passed into the hands of the museum at Cumnor, Oxford, though the subsequent fate of this institution and its collections I have not been able to establish. For a series of Ayrton's photographs relating to work in the Valley of the Kings, now preserved in the archives of the Egypt Exploration Society, cf. Reeves, MDAIK 40 (1984) (forthcoming).
- 2) Notably the Loret photographs preserved in the Victor Loret Institute, Lyon; cf. above, chapter 10. Other potentially fruitful sources which it has as yet proved impracticable to consult fully are: the Daressy manuscripts (in the Collège de France, Paris); the papers of Joseph Lindon Smith (in the Archives of American Art, Washington, DC); and the papers of his wife, Corinna Putnam Smith (held by the Schlesinger Library, Radcliffe College, Cambridge, Ma.).
- 3) Cf. the Wilbour Library's annotated copy of Loret's article 'Le tombeau d'Aménophis II', BIE (3 sér.) 9 (1898), pl. 1 (the Wilbour map); here reproduced as fig. 100.

- 4) KV26: cf. Thomas, Necropoleis, 158; KV27: ibid., 138; KV28: ibid.; KV30: ibid., 157; KV31: ibid.
- 5) Cf. n. 2 above.
- 6) Cf. n. 3 above.
- 7) Cf., for example, Schweinfurth, Sphinx 3 (1900), 103 ff., which would imply that KV38 was discovered before KV36 ('March' as opposed to 'March-April').
- 8) Cf. n. 14 below.
- 9) BIE (3 sér.) 9 (1898), esp. 334 ff.; BIE (3 sér.) 10 (1899), esp. 245 ff.; Daressy, Fouilles, passim.
- 10) Daressy, Fouilles, CG 24973.
- 11) Objects possibly from here, although no provenance given: ibid., CG 24984-6.
- 12) Ibid., CG 24979.
- 13) Cf. Romer, Valley, 157.
- 14) Cf. BIE (3 sér.) 10 (1899), 254. Bothmer's caution ('Numbering systems of the Cairo Museum', in (Champollion), Textes et langages III, 114), that the year of registration is not necessarily the year of acquisition, is to be noted, though a delay in accessioning is at this date perhaps less likely than in later years.
- 15) Cf. Carter, ASAE 4 (1903), 43 ff.; appendix A, sites 14-18.
- 16) Carter, ASAE 6 (1906), 116 ff.; appendix A, site 21.
- 17) Cf. above, chapter 1.
- 18) Carter, ASAE 2 (1901), 196 ff.; appendix A, site 12.
- 19) Cf. Carter, ASAE 4 (1903), 44; id., ASAE 6 (1906), 112 ff. Appendix A, site 20.

- 20) Cf. Carter, ASAE 4 (1903), 44; id., ASAE 6 (1906), 119. Appendix A, site 17.
- 21) Cf. appendix D, doc. 1.
- 22) Cf. Newberry, JEA 25 (1939), 68.
- 23) Cf. n. 21 above.
- 24) Cf. Andrews, Journal, entry for 12 March 1911.
- 25) Rapport 1914-15, 24; Dawson & Uphill, Who Was Who, 79.
- 26) Cf. above, chapter 9.
- 27) Cf. above, n. 1.
- 28) Cf. Reeves, GM 53 (1982), 36 f.
- 29) In the National Library of Wales, Aberystwyth. Cf. Bosse-Griffiths, JEA 47 (1961), 69 f.; Reeves, GM 53 (1982), 36 f.
- 30) Cf. below, n. 36.
- 31) For which cf. Wilson, in Studies Hughes, 274.
- 32) Appendix D, doc. 1.
- 33) Found in the ruins of the Davis expedition house in the West Valley. Cf. Romer, Valley, 244 f.
- 34) Cf. Carter, Tut.ankh.Amen I, 79 ff.
- 35) These were presented by Carter's niece, Miss Phyllis J. Walker, in 1946. Other Carter MSS are said to have been offered for sale quite recently in the United States; these I have not been able to trace.
- 36) My thanks are due to Weigall's daughter, Mrs Philippa Moore, for permission to quote from these documents. With the exception of doc. 1, which is retained by Mrs Moore, the Weigall papers are held by Mrs Vronwy Hankey, who has been most generous in making them available for study.
- 37) R. Paul: cf. Weigall, Treasury, pls. 18 & 20.

- 38) KV10 was employed as a 'lunching tomb' at this time; cf. Weigall, Guide, 206.
- 39) See doc. 5 below.
- 40) Cf. Winlock, Materials, 5.
- 41) Cf. Davis, Tîyi, 13. Those fragments which reached Cairo are J 39625 (four copper-alloy hinge pivots), J 39626 (four copper-alloy tenons) and J 57175 (wooden planks with remains of gilded gesso).
- 42) The date given in Davis, Harmhabi, 1, is 25 February.
- 43) Cf. the Gardiner photographs AHG/31.257-60; also, perhaps, the photographs of Davis ostraca now in the Metropolitan Museum of Art, AHG/31.108-24.
- 44) Above, appendix B, site 19.