

Middle Kingdom Studies 11

**The Treasure  
of the Egyptian  
Queen Ahhotep**

**and International  
Relations at the Turn  
of the Middle Bronze  
Age (1600–1500 BCE)**



Gianluca Miniaci, Peter Lacovara (eds)



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Middle Kingdom Studies 11

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# Middle Kingdom Studies

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*Ai miei genitori Mariantonietta e Lucio, perchè senza di loro mi sentirei perso in questo mondo un po' troppo complicato*

*To Wolfram for our close friendship and for his inexhaustible energy and ideas which have transformed the field of Egyptology*



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## List of Abbreviations

Ä&L	Ägypten und Levante/ Egypt and the Levant	BSAE	British School of Archaeology in Egypt
AA	Archäologischer Anzeiger	BSF	Beiträge zur Sudanforschung
AAA	Athens Annals of Archaeology	CAENL	Contributions to the Archaeology of Egypt, Nubia and the Levant
AAAL	Annals of Archaeology and Anthropology	CAJ	Cambridge Archaeological Journal
ÄAT	Ägypten und Altes Testament	CCdE	Les Cahiers Caribéens d'Égyptologie
ABSA	Annual of the British School at Athens	CCE	Cahier de la céramique égyptienne
ACE	Studies Australian Centre for Egyptology Studies	CChEM	Contributions to the Chronology of the Eastern Mediterranean
ADAIK	Abhandlungen des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts, Abteilung Kairo Ägyptologische Reihe.	CdE	Chronique d'Égypte; Bulletin périodique de la Fondation Égyptologique Reine Élisabeth, Bruxelles
Aegaeum	Aegaeum. Annales d'archéologie égéenne de l'Université de Liège	CG	Catalogue général (des antiquités égyptiennes du Musée du Caire)
ÄF	Ägyptologische Forschungen	CHANE	Culture and History of the Ancient Near East
AJA	American Journal of Archaeology	CHE	Cahiers d'Histoire égyptienne
AJSL	American Journal of Semitic Languages and Literatures (Chicago) [after 1941: JNES]	ClevStHistArt	Cleveland Studies in the History of Art
ArchEph	Archaiologikē Ephēmeris	CNIANES	Carsten Niebuhr Institute of Ancient Near Eastern Studies Publications
ASAE	Annales du Service des Antiquités de l'Égypte (SAE)	CRAIBL	Comptes rendus de l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-lettres
ASR	Annuaire, École Pratique des Hautes Études: Ve section - sciences religieuses	DAE	Département des Antiquités égyptien- nes, Musée du Louvre, Paris
BABesch	Bulletin Antieke Beschaving	DB	Museum database (either online or written register)
BAEDE	Boletín de la Asociación Española de Egiptología	DE	Discussions in Egyptology
BASOR	Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research	DGÖAW	Denkschriften der Gesamtakademie, Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften
BCH	Bulletin de correspondance hellénique	EA	Egyptian Archaeology
BE	Bibliothèque Égyptologique	EES	Egypt Exploration Society, Excavation Memoirs
BICS	Bulletin of the Institute of Classical Studies of the University of London	ENiM	Égypte nilotique et méditerranéenne
BIE	Bulletin de l'Institute d'Égypt	EPHE	École Pratique des Hautes Études
BIF	Bibliothèque de l'Institut de France	EPHE Golénischeff	École Pratique des Hautes Études, Centre Wladimir Golénischeff, Fonds Lacau,
BIFAO	Bulletin de l'Institut Français d'Archéologie Orientale (IFAO)	ERA	Egyptian Research Account
BiOr	Bibliotheca Orientalis (Leiden)	ErghÖJh	Ergänzungshefte zu den Jahreshften des Österreichischen Archäologischen Institutes in Wien
BM EA	British Museum, Egyptian antiquities	EVO	Egitto e Vicino Oriente, Università di Pisa
BMMA	Bulletin of the Metropolitan Museum of Art (MMA)	FIFAO	Fouilles de l'Institute français d'archéologie orientale (IFAO) du Caire.
BMSAES	British Museum Studies in Ancient Egypt and Sudan	GEM	Grand Egyptian Museum
BMTRB	British Museum Technical Research Bulletin	GM	Göttinger Miscellen
BnF	Bibliothèque nationale de France	HAS	Harvard African Studies
BSA	Studies British School at Athens Studies	IB	Inventaire de Boulaq
BSA	The Annual of the British School at Athens	IEJ	Israel Exploration Journal

IJNA	International journal of nautical archaeology	PIOL	Publications de l'Institut Orientaliste de Leuven
J. Raman Spectrosc	Journal of Raman Spectroscopy	PM	B. Porter and R. Moss, <i>Topographical Bibliography of Ancient Egyptian Hieroglyphic Texts, Reliefs and Paintings</i> , 7 vols, 1927-1951
JAA	Journal of Anthropological Archaeology	PPS	Proceedings of the Prehistoric Society
JACF	Journal of the Ancient Chronology Forum	PSBA	Proceedings of the Society of Biblical Archaeology
JA EI	Journal of Ancient Egyptian Interconnections	PZ	Prähistorische Zeitschrift
JAOS	Journal of the American Oriental Society	RANT	Res Antiquae
JARCE	Journal of the American Research Center in Egypt	RAR	Revue archéologique
JAS	Journal of Archaeological Science	RdE	Revue d'Égyptologie
JCH	Journal of Cultural Heritage	RevL	Revue du Louvre: la revue des musées de France
JE	Journal d'entrée (Cairo Museum)	RGA	Revue générale de l'architecture et des travaux publics
JEA	Journal of Egyptian Archaeology	RT	Recueil de travaux relatifs à la philologie et à l'archéologie égyptiennes et assyriennes
JEGH	Journal of Egyptian History	Serapis	Serapis
JEOL	Jaarbericht van het Vooraziatisch-egyptisch Genootschap Ex Oriente Lux	S&N	Sudan & Nubia
JGS	Journal of Glass Studies	SAA	Studies in African Archaeology
JHS	Journal of Hellenic Studies	SAGA	Studien zur Archäologie und Geschichte Altägyptens
JMA	Journal of Mediterranean Archaeology	SAK	Studien zur Altägyptischen Kultur
JNES	Journal of Near Eastern Studies	SAOC	Studies in Ancient Oriental Civilisation
JÖAI	Jahreshefte des österreichischen archäologischen Instituts in Wien	SDAIK	Sonderschrift des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts, Abteilung Kairo
JRGZM	Jahrbuch des Romisch-Germanischen Zentralmuseums, Mainz	SIE	Studies in Egyptology
JSSEA	Journal of the Society of the Study of Egyptian Antiquities (SSEA)	SIMA	Studies in Mediterranean Archaeology
JRGZM	Jahrbuch des Romisch-Germanischen Zentralmuseums, Mainz	SIP	Second Intermediate Period
LÄ	W. Helck, E. Otto, W. Westendorf, <i>Lexikon der Ägyptologie</i> , 7 vols., Wiesbaden 1975-	SJE	The Scandinavian Joint Expedition to Sudanese Nubia Publications
LdR	Le livre des rois d'Égypte	SMEA	Studi micenei ed egeo-anatolici
MÄS	Münchener Ägyptologische Studien	SR	Special Register (Cairo Museum)
MDAIK	Mitteilungen des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts, Abteilung Kairo	StaReSO	Station de recherches sous-marines et océanographiques
MK	Middle Kingdom	TC	Turin Canon Papyrus
MKS	Middle Kingdom Studies	TR	Temporary Registrar (Cairo Museum)
MMA	Metropolitan Museum of Art	TTS	Theban Tombs Series (London)
MoDIA	Monographs of the Danish Institutes at Athens	Urk.	Urkunden des ägyptischen Altertums', 8 vols. ed. K. Sethe, H.W. Helck, H. Schäfer, H. Grapow, O. Firchow, 1903-1957
NEA	Near Eastern Archaeology	UZK	Untersuchungen der Zweigstelle Kairo des Österreichischen Archäologischen Instituts
OBO	Orbis biblicus et orientalis	WdO	Die Welt des Orient: Wissenschaftliche Beiträge zur Kunde des Morgenlandes
OJA	Oxford Journal of Archaeology	ZÄS	Zeitschrift für ägyptische Sprache und Altertumskunde
OLA	Orientalia Lovaniensia Analecta		
PAe	Probleme der Ägyptologie		
PBF	Prähistorische Bronzefunde		
Philippika	Philippika: Marburger altertumskundliche Abhandlungen		

## Introduction

The burial of Queen Ahhotep represents one of the most significant finds in Near Eastern Archaeology. A gilded coffin and a trove of magnificent jewels and objects belonging to a queen named Ahhotep was discovered at Dra Abu el-Naga, in Western Thebes by Auguste Mariette in 1859 along with a sumptuous group of jewels and elaborately decorated ceremonial objects. Many of the objects associated with the burial bore the names of Kings Ahmose and Kamose of the end of the Second Intermediate Period and the beginning of the New Kingdom and reflected the influence of the Aegean and of Nubia. The treasure caused a sensation when it was exhibited in Paris in 1867 at the International Exhibition and helped Mariette to convince the government of Egypt that a national museum should be built. Despite its importance, the treasure has never been fully published and much new research on the various aspects of the find have not been collected into a combined study until now.

This volume, following a conference on the subject at the annual meeting of the American Society of Overseas Research (ASOR) in Denver on November 17, 2018, has assembled scholars from the world over and details the circumstances of the treasure's discovery, its history of display and publication, both the technical and artistic aspects of the individual elements of the material, a review of the history and burial practices of the period and how Ahhotep and the treasure fits into them.

The book opens with a review of the Chronology of the Second Intermediate Period in Egypt and in the Levant. The first session contains an accurate transcription of the pages of the *Journal d'Entré* in order to provide for the first time the full content of the queen's burial assemblage. The second section focuses on the intricate and often obscure history of the discovery of the treasure and its display in the Egyptian museums. This session gathers unpublished information from the archives, including the first list of the content of the treasure drafted on February 25<sup>th</sup> 1859 before the objects ended up in the hands of Mariette. The third session shed light on the identity of the queen found among the hills of Dra Abu el-Naga and her historical position. In the fourth session there are studies related to some particular objects of the treasure (weapons, lion pawns, and fly pendants) and on how they reflect the burial customs and material culture of the period. The fifth session presents for the first time a detailed publication of the closest comparable context to the burial of the Queen Ahhotep: a royal burial of the Second Intermediate Period found by Petrie in the Theban necropolis (the so-called "Qurna Queen") and now in the National Museum of Scotland in Edinburgh. The sixth and last session is featured by the analysis of the Aegean influence on the elements of the treasure and the Eastern Mediterranean relations (between Egypt, Levant and the Aegean) relations at the turn of the Middle Bronze Age (1600–1500 BC). As appendices there are also maps, chronological tables, lists of the treasure and selected images.

Currently the treasure of Ahhotep is off display in the Egyptian Museum Cairo as the galleries are being renovated. A project for restudying and redisplaying the whole Ahhotep group was started in 2020 at the University of Pisa, entitled "*Queen Ahhotep Treasure and its Context: The long Road to the Egyptian Museum in Cairo, c. 1550 BC-1863 AD*". However, the ultimate disposition of the treasure at the time of this writing is unclear.

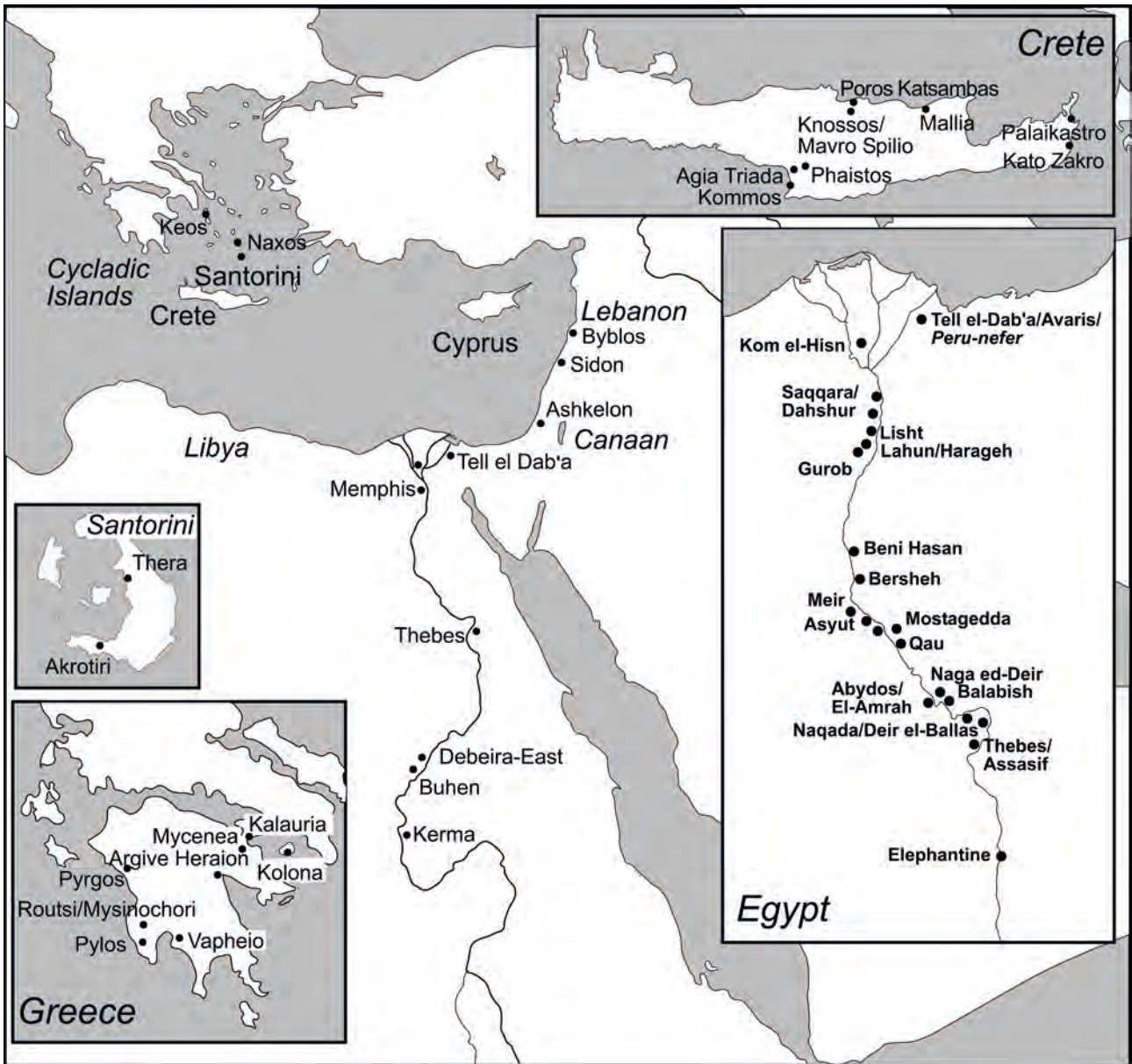
The editors are grateful to Dr. Sabah Abdel-Razek, director of the Cairo Museum, Abeer Abdel-Aziz, curator in charge of Ahhotep section, Marwa Abdel Razek, director of the Registration, Collections Management, and Documentation Department for access to Ahhotep material and archive. The volume contains part of the results of the following projects: *PROCESS – Pharaonic Rescission: Objects as Crucibles of ancient Egyptian Societies* (MIUR – PRIN 2017) and *Structures in time. Resilience, acceleration, and change perception (in the Euro-Mediterranean area) inside the framework "Accelerations and Resilience: Expansion and Growth in the Early States and Empires of the Ancient World"* (Excellence Department Project for the Dipartimento di Civiltà e Forme del Sapere, Università di Pisa). We would like to thank Stephen Quirke and Alexander Ilin-Tomich for their useful comments on the volume. We wish to thank Erika Sbarra and Wolfram Grajetzki for her assistance in copy-editing the final version of the volume.

Somewhere between Egypt and Pisa, 9<sup>th</sup> February 2022

Peter Lacovara, Gianluca Miniaci



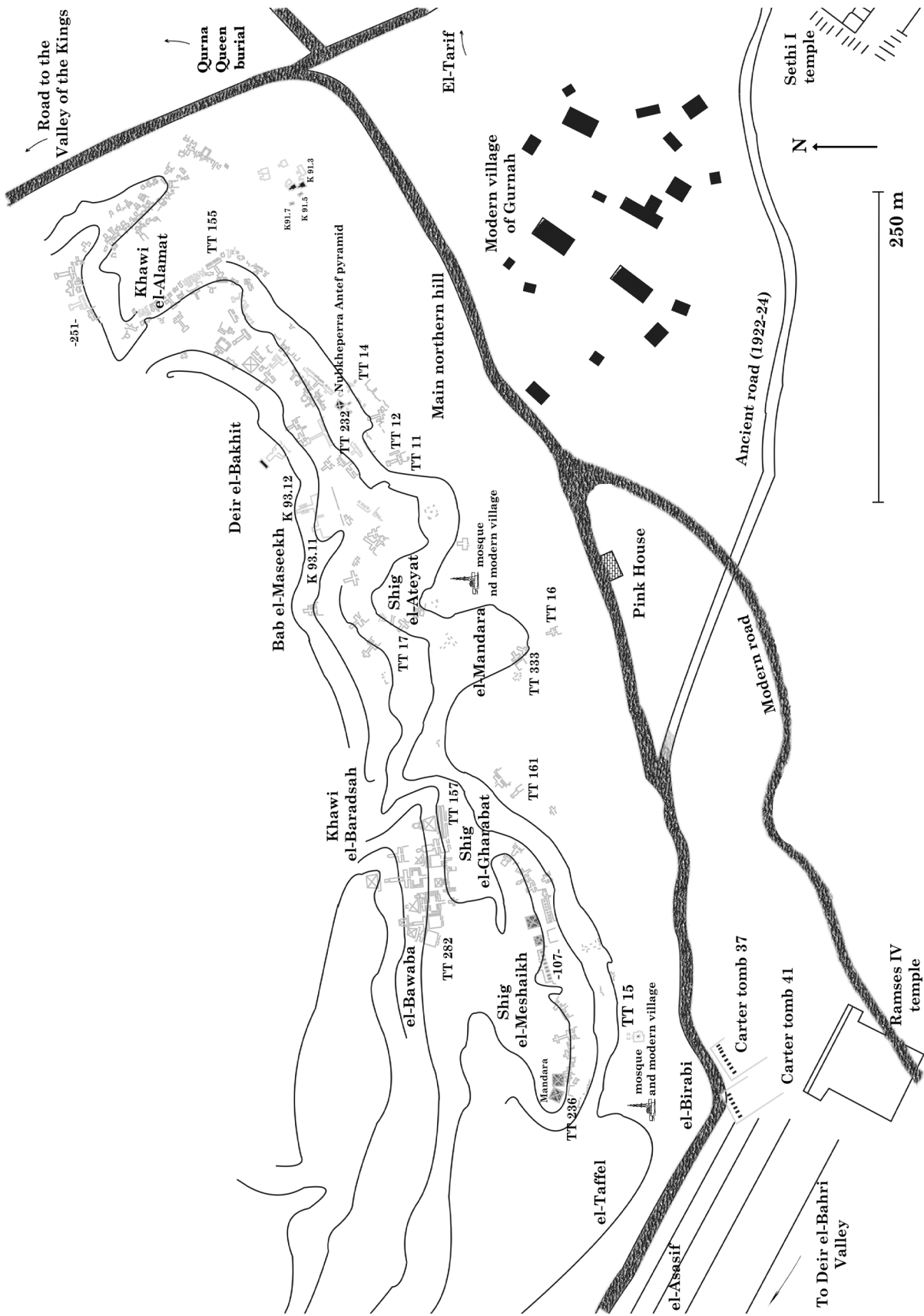
# Maps



Maps of Egypt and the Eastern Mediterranean (including the Levant, Greece and Sanorini)

© drawn by Wolfram Grajetzki





Map of the necropolis of Dra Abu el-Naga (Thebes) © drawn by Gianluca Miniaci

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by PETER LACOVARA

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# **Chronological Matters**





## The Internal Chronology of the Second Intermediate Period: A Summary of Old Theories and New Discoveries

Kevin M. Cahail

### *Abstract*

*The Second Intermediate Period is traditionally defined as the era between about the middle of the Thirteenth Dynasty to the Expulsion of the Hyksos and ascendancy of the Eighteenth Dynasty. Of all the phases of ancient Egyptian history, its internal chronology has been the most difficult to recover, and there are countless different theories and schema. Ambiguous, damaged or incomplete data represent the major hurdles scholars have attempted to overcome. The following paper presents one possible understanding of much of the information in the form of a summary of the current state of the field. The paper also attempts to incorporate the recently identified tomb of Seneb-Kay and other kings at Abydos who, as part of the Abydos Dynasty, add a new dimension to our understanding of the political history and chronology of the Second Intermediate Period.*

The internal chronology of the Second Intermediate Period (SIP) – defined as the period from about the middle of the Thirteenth Dynasty to the Expulsion of the Hyksos and the ascendancy of the Eighteenth Dynasty – has traditionally relied heavily on the authority of the Turin Canon of Kings (TC), conjoined with Manetho’s chronology as epitomized and quoted in the various ancient sources.<sup>1</sup> Modern scholars have been faced with the task of squaring these ancient texts with the slow addition of various archaeological and artifactual sources discovered over the last century. These attempts have led to different interpretations which, in some cases, diverge quite drastically from one another, but which are all based upon the same basic set of evidence. Consequently, assembling a simple summary of the internal chronology of the SIP is fraught with difficulty.

The ground-breaking studies of Winlock,<sup>2</sup> Stock,<sup>3</sup> von

Beckerath<sup>4</sup> and Franke<sup>5</sup> represent the first forays into a modern understanding of both the external temporal horizons of the period, but also its internal chronology. Building on these works, Ryholt’s monumental 1997 book appeared, and while some of his conclusions were accepted whole cloth, others were questioned, fueling the discussion of this difficult era.<sup>6</sup> Against this backdrop, ongoing excavations at the Hyksos capital of Avaris/Tell el-Dab‘a have demonstrated persistent problems with correlating the archaeology and Carbon-14 analyses with the historical reconstructions.<sup>7</sup> Recent finds

<sup>4</sup> VON BECKERATH, *Untersuchungen*.

<sup>5</sup> FRANKE, *Orientalia* 57.

<sup>6</sup> RYHOLT, *Political Situation*. For a useful summary of the field as of 2006, see SCHNEIDER, in HORNUNG, KRAUSS, WARBURTON (eds), *Ancient Egyptian Chronology*, 168-96; ILIN-TOMICH, *ZÄS* 142, 120-53; ILIN-TOMICH, in GRAJETZKI, WENDRICH (eds), *UCLA Encyclopedia of Egyptology*.

<sup>7</sup> BEN-TOR *et al.*, *BASOR* 315, 43-54; and BIETAK, in KAMRIN, BARTA, IKRAM, LEHNER, MEGAHEH (eds), *Guardian of Ancient Egypt: Studies in Honor of Zahi Hawass*, vol. I, 235-45.

<sup>1</sup> For a useful history of research, see BENNETT, *Ä&L* 16.

<sup>2</sup> WINLOCK, *JEA* 10.

<sup>3</sup> STOCK, *Studien zur Geschichte*.



at Edfu and Abydos have also had profound effects on our understanding of the period as a whole. The tombs of a series of kings discovered at Abydos, one of whom was named Woseribre Seneb-Kay, validates Franke and Ryholt's creation of an Abydos Dynasty contemporary with the Theban Sixteenth Dynasty. At Edfu, seal impressions of the Thirteenth Dynasty King Sobekhotep IV have been found in closed contexts alongside sealings of the Hyksos King Khyan. These discoveries contradict the Hyksos Low Chronology proposed and argued for by Bietak and others, however they seem to confirm recent C-14 data and corroborate a High Chronology date for the beginning of the Hyksos Period. These discussions include such world-changing events as the eruption of Thera, whose effects were felt all around the Mediterranean world, but whose exact date is still debated.<sup>8</sup>

One of the fundamental questions affecting all discussions of the period is when did the SIP begin, and exactly how long did it last? Scholars have attempted to approach this problem from a variety of angles, two of which are particularly useful. The first is the archaeological evidence at Tell el-Dab'a. Bietak identified two terminus points in the site's stratigraphy which roughly delimited the SIP. The earlier terminus is a stela of Senwosret III found at Ezbet Rushdi in Stratum K, while the late terminus is the probable abandonment of Avaris at the end of stratum D/2, assumed to coincide with the reign of Nebpehtyre Ahmose. This abandonment is also linked ideologically with destruction layers in the southern Levant, alongside the assumption that this destruction was wrought by the Egyptian army at the hands of Nebpehtyre Ahmose and his successors in the early Eighteenth Dynasty. However, recent C-14 analysis has called this Low Chronology model into question, requiring a new model to explain the data.

The other attempt to create early and late terminus points for the SIP was undertaken by Chris Bennett. Through a short series of articles, Bennett demonstrated that correspondences between the governors of Elkab and the royal house, coupled with the genealogy of those governors, define an external time-limit on the SIP.<sup>9</sup> Bennett calculated that there were 8 generations from Year 1 of the Thirteenth Dynasty King Merhetepre Ini to the death of Renni during the reign of Amenhotep I in the Eighteenth Dynasty, and more specifically that there were 6 generations from Year 1 of Sewadjenre Nebiriau I of the Sixteenth Dynasty to the same point during the reign of Amenhotep I.<sup>10</sup> Using the figure of 25 years per gener-

ation, this yields a time span of about 150 years.<sup>11</sup> Subtracting the reigns of Amenhotep I and Nebpehtyre Ahmose from this number yields about 105 years between Year 1 of Nebiriau I in the Sixteenth Dynasty, and Year 1 of Nebpehtyre Ahmose in the Seventeenth Dynasty.<sup>12</sup>

Possessing the corpus of work accomplished through the scholarly efforts of the last century, the field finds itself at a crossroads of sorts, calling for a reanalysis of much of what has already been done in an attempt to incorporate and align newly uncovered evidence with the overall understanding of the period. In the following pages, we will attempt to highlight one possible understanding of the internal chronology of the SIP, with references to the key secondary literature wherever possible.

### The Fourteenth and Fifteenth Dynasties

In his study, Ryholt attempted to argue that the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Dynasties represented a continuous group of kings ruling from the Delta region. Though most of these kings are known from royal name scarabs, it was generally accepted that the kings of both the Fourteenth and the Fifteenth dynasties were of Canaanite origin.<sup>13</sup> The TC allows for 51 or 52 royal names during the Fourteenth Dynasty, while Manetho quotes 76 kings centered at the city of Xoïs in the Delta.<sup>14</sup> The monumental record can only corroborate 4 of the badly damaged names in the TC, meaning that a complete internal chronology of the individual kings of the Fourteenth Dynasty is perhaps unattainable at the present.

Whatever scholarly agreement exists about the Fourteenth Dynasty ends when the discussion turns to the date of its foundation. Citing the confused nature of the period, von Beckerath believed the Fourteenth Dynasty to have been an ephemeral group of Delta kings ruling contemporary with the late Thirteenth Dynasty.<sup>15</sup> Ryholt proposed, based upon royal name scarabs and his understanding of their archaeological contexts that the Fourteenth Dynasty was contemporary with the late Twelfth Dynasty.<sup>16</sup> This idea was strongly refuted by Ben-Tor *et al.*

<sup>11</sup> BENNETT, *Ä&L* 16, 240, does mention the imprecise nature of the 25-year figure, lamenting the lack of studies on generation length during dynastic Egypt.

<sup>12</sup> BENNETT, *Ä&L* 16, 240 assumes that Renni's death took place at the end of Amenhotep I's reign, and therefore subtracts his entire 21-year reign from the total.

<sup>13</sup> RYHOLT, *Political Situation*, 99-102. This view was confirmed by BEN-TOR *et al.*, *BASOR* 315, 51 and 65, but was then refuted for the Fourteenth Dynasty in ALLEN, in MARÉE (ed.), *The Second Intermediate Period*, 2. Allen now prefers to see the Fourteenth Dynasty as a "Delta dynasty rather than an Asiatic one".

<sup>14</sup> ALLEN, in MARÉE (ed.), *The Second Intermediate Period*, 3.

<sup>15</sup> VON BECKERATH, *Untersuchungen*, 81-6 and 221-3.

<sup>16</sup> RYHOLT, *Political Situation*, 104.

<sup>8</sup> HÖFLMAYER, in FORSTNER-MÜLLER, MOELLER (eds), *The Hyksos Ruler Khyan*, 143-71; and HÖFLMAYER, *JAEI* 21, 20-30.

<sup>9</sup> BENNETT, *JARCE* 39, 123-55; BENNETT, *Ä&L* 16, 231-43.

<sup>10</sup> BENNETT, *Ä&L* 16, 240.

in 1999,<sup>17</sup> and again by James Allen in 2010.<sup>18</sup> Reexamination of the correspondences between royal name seals and pottery typologies at Uronarti by Susan Allen pushed the founding of the Fourteenth Dynasty back into the later part of the Thirteenth Dynasty as von Beckerath had suggested.<sup>19</sup> Assuming that the Hyksos Fifteenth Dynasty began around the time that the Thirteenth Dynasty finally ended, this would seem to reinforce the hypothesis that the rapid decline in power held by the Thirteenth Dynasty kings resulted in the creation of at least two new lines of rulers: one in the Delta and the other centered at Thebes, with the possibility of a third at Abydos/Thinis.<sup>20</sup> The Delta line would then have consisted of the Fourteenth Dynasty, which probably contained Canaanite kings, giving way to the Hyksos Fifteenth Dynasty. Unfortunately, since the TC does not preserve a full list of these kings, and there is disagreement among scholars regarding the usefulness of stylistic studies on royal name seals and whether or not these names should all be added to the master king list, the internal chronology of the Fourteenth Dynasty is currently unrecoverable.

The same cannot be said of the Fifteenth Dynasty. The TC clearly calls the six kings of the Fifteenth Dynasty “Hyksos,” which is corroborated by Manetho’s report of “6 foreign kings of Phoenicia.”<sup>21</sup> The individual royal names are not preserved except for the last king whose name is usually rendered as Khamudi. Using the versions of Manetho and the TC, Schneider reconstructed the names of the 6 kings as: Shara-Dagan; Bin-Anu; (Apaq-)Hayran = Khyan; Yinassi-Ad; Sikru-Haddu; Apapi = Apophis; and Halmu’di = Khamudi.<sup>22</sup> Unfortunately, the various sources for Manetho record different du-

rations for this period. Josephus quoted an unlikely 511 years for the rule of the Hyksos, though as Waddell pointed out, this number may have been intended to include “the whole period of their rule in Palestine and Syria.”<sup>23</sup> Syncellus gave two different numbers, 284 years for the 6 kings as quoted by Africanus,<sup>24</sup> and 250 years quoted by Eusebius.<sup>25</sup> The situation is then further confused when Syncellus called the Seventeenth Dynasty “Shepherd Kings” who ruled for 151 years *apud* Africanus, and 103 years in both version of Eusebius.<sup>26</sup> Finally, the Scholia to Plato states that Manetho’s Seventeenth Dynasty was “Shepherd Kings,” four in number, who ruled for 103 years.<sup>27</sup> Disregarding Josephus’s 511 years as being much too high, we are left with a range between 103 and 284 years. Interestingly, the TC preserves a partial summation line following the six kings of the Fifteenth Dynasty. The year total is damaged and has been reconstructed variously, with the options ranging from 100 years at the lowest,<sup>28</sup> to 108 years,<sup>29</sup> 140 years,<sup>30</sup> and even 160-189 years (plus a damaged portion giving the months and days) at the longest.<sup>31</sup>

The problem currently facing the field in terms of how the Fifteenth Dynasty fits into the overall SIP internal chronology is the possible temporal overlap of Khyan with the Thirteenth Dynasty King Sobekhotep IV, revealed by sealing deposits at Edfu.<sup>32</sup> Prior to this discovery, the beginning of the Fifteenth Dynasty was thought to land roughly at the same time as the beginning of the Theban Sixteenth Dynasty, as calculated by the fact that Nebpehtyre Ahmose’s reign overlaps with the late reign of Apophis and that of his successor

<sup>17</sup> BEN-TOR *et al.*, *BASOR* 315.

<sup>18</sup> ALLEN, in MARÉE (ed.), *The Second Intermediate Period*, 2 sees the Fourteenth Dynasty as a continuation of the Thirteenth in the TC and attempts to discredit Ryholt’s assertion that the kings of the Fourteenth Dynasty were all of Canaanite descent. It would seem that he prefers to see the Fourteenth Dynasty as representing a continuation of the Thirteenth in which Egyptian kings slowly gave way to those of Canaanite ancestry.

<sup>19</sup> S. ALLEN, in BEN-TOR *et al.*, *BASOR* 315, 55-8. See also BEN-TOR, in MARÉE (ed.), *The Second Intermediate Period*, 94-5.

<sup>20</sup> See for instance QUIRKE, in QUIRKE (ed.), *Middle Kingdom Studies*, 126, and ALLEN, in MARÉE (ed.), *The Second Intermediate Period*, 4.

<sup>21</sup> From Syncellus, according to Africanus. See WADDELL, *Manetho*, 90-91; and ALLEN, in MARÉE (ed.), *The Second Intermediate Period*, 3. For a brief overview of the various SIP chronologies attributed to Manetho, see BENNETT, *Ä&L* 16, 232.

<sup>22</sup> SCHNEIDER, in FORSTNER-MÜLLER, MOELLER (eds), *The Hyksos Ruler Khyan*, 278-9. Schneider sees no reason to add in the names of kings known only from scarabs, since the TC and Manetho broadly agree on 6 kings for the period, whose identities are mostly all known from contemporary monuments.

<sup>23</sup> WADDELL, *Manetho*, 86-7, note 1.

<sup>24</sup> WADDELL, *Manetho*, 91.

<sup>25</sup> WADDELL, *Manetho*, 93. The Armenian version of Eusebius also quotes 250 years for the Fifteenth Dynasty.

<sup>26</sup> WADDELL, *Manetho*, 95-7.

<sup>27</sup> WADDELL, *Manetho*, 99.

<sup>28</sup> ALLEN, in MARÉE (ed.), *The Second Intermediate Period*, 9.

<sup>29</sup> RYHOLT, *Political Situation*, 118-9 which follows Gardiner’s original reading; and RYHOLT, *Ä&L* 14, 142.

<sup>30</sup> Attributed to a presentation given by Ryholt, see BENNETT, *Ä&L* 16, 232.

<sup>31</sup> SCHNEIDER, in FORSTNER-MÜLLER, MOELLER (eds), *The Hyksos Ruler Khyan*, 282-3.

<sup>32</sup> MOELLER, MAROUARD, AYERS, *Ä&L* 21, 87-121; and MOELLER, MAROUARD, in FORSTNER-MÜLLER, MOELLER (eds), *The Hyksos Ruler Khyan*, 173-97. See also the comments on the chronological position of Khyan as evinced at Tell el-Dab’a in FORSTNER-MÜLLER, REALI, in FORSTNER-MÜLLER, MOELLER (eds), *The Hyksos Ruler Khyan*, 113-18. They also mention (p. 104) the existence of a “pseudo-king’s name scarab bearing the name of Sobekhotep” at Tell el-Dab’a, similar in style to seals of Khyan, but it is not certain that this Sobekhotep is royal, and whether or not the name can be reasonably linked to Sobekhotep IV.



Khamudi, and the entire Hyksos period was either 100 or 108 years long. However, this timeline no longer works if we accept that the sealing deposit at Edfu, which appears to be in a primary context, represents the actual contemporaneity of these two kings.

Based upon his two datum points, Bietak sees evidence for a Low Chronology in the stratigraphy at Tell el-Dab'a.<sup>33</sup> However, this creates a 100-to-120-year discrepancy when compared to the High Chronology corroborated with Bayesian C-14 analysis.<sup>34</sup> In other words, Bietak's Low dates do not allow Khyan and Sobekhotep IV to have been contemporaries, while the C-14 High dates do. The two options available are to disregard the C-14 dates, or to reassess the validity of the datum points identified in the stratigraphy at Tell el-Dab'a. Felix Höflmayer took the latter approach, arguing that both of Bietak's datum strata were unreliable, concluding that the High (C-14) dates were probably correct.<sup>35</sup> D. Ben-Tor responded, arguing that glyptic and ceramic evidence confirmed the Low Chronology, and that Höflmayer's chosen C-14 dates were taken from samples whose contexts were not secure.<sup>36</sup> More recently, Bietak pointed out that C-14 dates from settlement sites are not always reliable due to later intrusive digging into lower strata, while also highlighting new C-14 calibrations which place the eruption of Thera in about 1560-1540 BC, corroborating his historical dating.<sup>37</sup>

Putting aside the ongoing argument over the C-14 dates for the moment, the existence of Khyan and Sobekhotep IV seals in primary archaeological contexts cannot be explained away easily by later intrusive digging into earlier strata. Consequently, it seems increasingly likely that the beginning of the Hyksos Fifteenth Dynasty must now be placed contemporary with the middle of the Thirteenth Dynasty.<sup>38</sup> Yet, even if one were to follow Höflmayer's C-14 analysis, the overall length of the

Hyksos Fifteenth Dynasty, previously read by Gardiner and Ryholt as 108 years, does not seem to allow the contemporaneity of Khyan and Sobekhotep IV on the one hand, and Nebpehtyre Ahmose and Apophis on the other.

Thomas Schneider has discussed a solution to this problem, using his belief in the validity of Manetho's Fifteenth Dynasty of six kings with long reigns as a starting point. On the face of it, Manetho's long timespan for the Fifteenth Dynasty is at odds with the TC. However, Kim Ryholt gave a presentation in 2005 (the results of which remain unpublished), in which he discussed the summation line of the Fifteenth Dynasty preserved in the TC. As a result of a close examination of the preserved signs, compared against the handwriting of the entire papyrus, Ryholt has revised his reading away from 108 years, and now "*considers it as inevitable to assume that in all likelihood, the notation is to be understood as '140', after which 0-9 units may once have been added but are now lost*".<sup>39</sup>

Schneider took this idea further, and employing the same logic that Ryholt had used theorized that the TC summation date could feasibly have been 160 (+0-9 years) or 180 (+0-9 years).<sup>40</sup> Squaring these numbers with Bennett's understanding of the Elkab genealogy "*translates into generation lengths of between 14.375 and 19.75 years for a total of 160-169 years, and between 18.875 and 22.25 years for a total of 180-189 years*".<sup>41</sup> This final generation length is remarkably close to the 25-year window which Bennett used in his study. Schneider's hypothesis for a longer Fifteenth Dynasty allows an acceptably close contemporaneity between Sobekhotep IV and Khyan, while at the same time extending the entire dynasty's history long enough that Nebpehtyre Ahmose is still contemporary with the end of Apophis's reign (see chronological table).

Accepting an early date for the beginning of the Fifteenth Dynasty will have an impact on our understanding of the position held by the Fourteenth Dynasty. The notion that the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Dynasties were sequential with no overlap is probably incorrect, unless we accept that either: 1) the Fourteenth Dynasty represents an extremely short period of time despite the many potential kings attested in the TC and glyptic evidence; or 2) we accept Ryholt's controversial theory that the Fourteenth Dynasty was already established during the late Twelfth Dynasty. As mentioned above, Susan Allen has argued convincingly against an early origin for the

<sup>33</sup> For the debate of the High and Low Bronze Age chronologies, see ASTRÖM, *High, Middle or Low?*. These various chronologies are based upon astronomical observations recorded in ancient texts (e.g. the Venus Tablets), such that the spread of time between the Mesopotamian Ultra-High and Ultra-Low chronologies is 226 years.

<sup>34</sup> HÖFLMAYER, in FORSTNER-MÜLLER, MOELLER (eds), *The Hyksos Ruler Khyan*, 153. The application of Bayesian statistics allows the C-14 date ranges to be calibrated for external information such as the order of archaeological strata.

<sup>35</sup> HÖFLMAYER, in FORSTNER-MÜLLER, MOELLER (eds), *The Hyksos Ruler Khyan*, 158-60.

<sup>36</sup> BEN-TOR, *BASOR* 379, 43-54.

<sup>37</sup> BIETAK, in KAMRIN, BARTA, IKRAM, LEHNER, MEGAHED, *Guardian of Ancient Egypt*, 235-45.

<sup>38</sup> Based upon Ryholt dating scheme, the reign of Sobekhotep IV represents the midpoint of the Thirteenth Dynasty (c. 1803-1649 BC). See RYHOLT, *Political Situation*, 197, Table 36.

<sup>39</sup> SCHNEIDER, in FORSTNER-MÜLLER, MOELLER (eds), *The Hyksos Ruler Khyan*, 282.

<sup>40</sup> SCHNEIDER, in FORSTNER-MÜLLER, MOELLER (eds), *The Hyksos Ruler Khyan*, 283.

<sup>41</sup> SCHNEIDER, in FORSTNER-MÜLLER, MOELLER (eds), *The Hyksos Ruler Khyan*, 283.



Fourteenth Dynasty using ceramic evidence from Urnarti.<sup>42</sup> This leaves the possibility that the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Dynasties overlapped somewhat.

The existence of Fourteenth Dynasty royal monuments in the Northeastern Delta,<sup>43</sup> such as the architectural fragments of Nehesy (TC 9.01) at Tell el-Dab'a,<sup>44</sup> stelae at Tell Heboua,<sup>45</sup> and probably also the palace structure at Tell el-Dab'a, show that kings of the Fourteenth Dynasty were in power at these sites before the Hyksos Fifteenth Dynasty.<sup>46</sup> Yet, the extensive number of probable Fourteenth Dynasty kings argues for an extended period of time for the dynasty, seemingly necessitating the overlap between the two dynasties. What we are left with is the probability that the Fourteenth Dynasty had its origins during the early decades of the Thirteenth Dynasty, growing in influence and control over sites like Tell Heboua and Tell el-Dab'a.<sup>47</sup> The Fourteenth Dynasty's preeminence was short lived, and in about the middle of the Thirteenth Dynasty, the Hyksos Fifteenth Dynasty succeeded in taking power at Tell el-Dab'a. Ephemeral kings traditionally placed in the Fourteenth Dynasty who are only attested on scarabs may represent local kinglets ruling over single cities or small territories of the Delta, as opposed to being sequential rulers of a single unified dynasty. Such an understanding may explain why some of the royal names attributed to the Fourteenth Dynasty appear Egyptian or Nubian, while others are Canaanite.<sup>48</sup> On the other hand, the compiler of the TC appears to have viewed the Fourteenth Dynasty as a smooth continuation of the Thirteenth Dynasty, since the Thirteenth Dynasty list lacks a summa-

tion line.<sup>49</sup> If the list of Fourteenth Dynasty kings was later interpreted as being a single dynasty, it is perhaps logical for later historians to understand these kings as the counterfoil to the Hyksos in the eastern Delta. The dynastic break between the Thirteenth and the Fourteenth Dynasties may then represent the loss of territory around Itj-tawy to the Hyksos Fifteenth Dynasty, and the ideological movement of the remaining royal power left over from the defunct Thirteenth Dynasty up to the northern and western Delta.<sup>50</sup> However, this may be nothing more than a later misinterpretation of the evidence. The numerous kings of the Fourteenth Dynasty all had very insignificant reigns, either as a direct result of the fact that the kings were not united into a single dynasty, or perhaps as a result of plague and famine in the area.<sup>51</sup> In either case, the destabilization of the Delta under Fourteenth Dynasty kings allowed the Hyksos Fifteenth Dynasty to expand rapidly, incorporating the entirety of Lower Egypt and a portion of the middle of the country into their dominion at the end of the Thirteenth Dynasty.

### The Theban Sixteenth Dynasty

Attempts to define a "Sixteenth Dynasty" have evolved over the last century. One issue has been the fact that the sources of the Manethonian tradition are at odds with one another. Africanus *apud* Syncellus calls the Sixteenth Dynasty "Shepherd Kings", in other words Hyksos in origin, but the high number of kings and the long duration of the dynasty adds to the conclusion that he was in error.<sup>52</sup> Eusebius *apud* Syncellus on the other hand records that the Sixteenth Dynasty was Theban, with fewer kings ruling for a shorter time period.<sup>53</sup> Originally, Winlock proposed a definition of the Sixteenth Dynasty as a series of Theban kings which was distinct from the line of kings he placed in the Seventeenth Dynas-

<sup>42</sup> BEN-TOR *et al.*, *BASOR* 315, 55-8.

<sup>43</sup> RYHOLT, *Political Situation*, 103.

<sup>44</sup> RYHOLT, *Political Situation*, 377.

<sup>45</sup> RYHOLT, *Political Situation*, 377; EL-MAKSOU, VALBELLE, *RdE* 56, 4-5, 8-9 and pl. 5.

<sup>46</sup> RYHOLT, *Political Situation*, 104, sees the palace at area F of Tell el-Dab'a in local stratum d/1 as the possible residence of the Fourteenth Dynasty. The local stratum equates to the general stratigraphy of G/4. As HÖFLMAYER, in FORSTNER-MÜLLER, MOELLER (eds), *The Hyksos Ruler Khyan*, 147 points out, Khyan and Sobekhotep IV are probably contemporary with strata E/1 or D/3 with seals in D/2. This means the palace is as early as or earlier than the beginning of the Hyksos Fifteenth Dynasty, and therefore could have been the seat of the Fourteenth Dynasty. For the stratigraphy of Tell el-Dab'a, see KUTSCHERA *et al.*, *Radiocarbon* 54.

<sup>47</sup> BEN-TOR *et al.*, *BASOR* 315, 57, where Susan Allen states that the royal name seals coming from administrative documents "could therefore be earlier than the last cycle of administration of the fort". Consequently, it may be possible to argue for pushing the Fourteenth Dynasty seals toward an earlier portion of the Thirteenth Dynasty.

<sup>48</sup> RYHOLT, *Political Situation*, 99-102.

<sup>49</sup> For this idea, see ALLEN, in MARÉE (ed.), *The Second Intermediate Period*, 4-5. See also SIESSE, *GM* 246, 83 and SIESSE, *XIII<sup>e</sup> Dynastie*, 38 ff especially for comments regarding the position of Merdjefare in the Thirteenth rather than Fourteenth Dynasty.

<sup>50</sup> This is not to say that the actual royal house moved, but the rise of kings in the Delta belonging to the Fourteenth Dynasty may have been interpreted by later chroniclers as the continuation of native Egyptian rule, ideologically rather than physically or genetically linked with the rulers of the Thirteenth Dynasty at Itj-tawy.

<sup>51</sup> BIETAK, *Avaris*, 35.

<sup>52</sup> WADDELL, *Manetho*, 92-3. Africanus' also indicates that the dynasty contained 32 kings, ruling for 518 years.

<sup>53</sup> WADDELL, *Manetho*, 92-3. Eusebius indicates that the dynasty contained 5 kings, ruling for 190 years.

ty (namely Tao I, Tao II, Kamose and Ahmose).<sup>54</sup> This distinction was dropped for a time in favor of a single Theban Seventeenth Dynasty,<sup>55</sup> though this led to major problems attempting to square the TC with the other known evidence. In 1997, Ryholt resurrected Winlock's idea, and following Eusebius' version of Manetho argued for a Theban Sixteenth Dynasty.<sup>56</sup> While a minority of scholars continued to dispute its existence,<sup>57</sup> this new dynastic organization has been generally accepted because of its ability to explain the discrepancies between the archaeology and the TC.<sup>58</sup>

Unfortunately, there is virtually no genealogical information regarding the interrelations among the kings of the Sixteenth Dynasty.<sup>59</sup> Despite this shortcoming, the order of the kings is generally agreed upon, following the TC (see chronological table).<sup>60</sup> Chronologically speaking, the wife of the first king of the Sixteenth Dynasty, Djehuty, was a descendant of two late Thirteenth Dynasty viziers – her father Senebhenaf and her grandfather Ibiau whose tenure coincided with Pharaoh Merneferre Ay.<sup>61</sup> While this places the beginning of the Sixteenth Dynasty around the end of the Thirteenth Dynasty, even this genealogical connection is contested by scholars.<sup>62</sup>

As Ilin-Tomich summarized, there were two theories regarding the circumstances which led to the creation of the Sixteenth Dynasty at Thebes: 1) it represented the remnants of the Thirteenth Dynasty which moved south away from the encroachment of the Hyksos; and 2) it was a locally emergent dynasty created in a power vacuum

after the fall of the Thirteenth Dynasty.<sup>63</sup> A third option became the most favorable in the years following the publication of Ryholt's book, namely the idea that there was an overlap between the late Thirteenth Dynasty and the early Sixteenth Dynasty.<sup>64</sup> The biography of Horemkhauef (MMA 35.7.55) may even directly reference this time period when it mentions bringing the divine images of Horus of Nekhen from Itj-tawy south to Upper Egypt.<sup>65</sup> Interestingly, Horemkhauef was a contemporary of Sobeknakht of Elkab,<sup>66</sup> whose tomb decoration has very close artistic parallels to that of King Woseribre Seneb-Kay at South Abydos discussed below. From these correspondences it would appear as though the Theban Sixteenth Dynasty split off from the authority of the Thirteenth Dynasty at Itj-tawy in the closing years of that dynasty. At about the same time, another local Dynasty sprang up at Abydos in between Thebes and the Hyksos in the north.

### The Abydos Dynasty

One interpretation of the internal chronology of the SIP describes a scenario of territorial fragmentation leading to the formation of two overlapping lines of kings in Upper Egypt: the Theban Sixteenth Dynasty created from a portion of the lands administered as the "Head-of-the-South";<sup>67</sup> and the Abydos Dynasty centered at Thinis. Based upon evidence showing a targeted political vendetta against the Thirteenth Dynasty at Abydos, one possibility is that Abydos/Thinis was actually the first to break away from the control of the Thirteenth Dynasty.<sup>68</sup> The creation of such a kingdom at Abydos/Thinis would have had an insulating effect on Thebes by separating it from Itj-tawy, allowing the administrators

<sup>54</sup> WINLOCK, *Middle Kingdom in Thebes*, 104 ff, and 149.

<sup>55</sup> STOCK, *Studien zur Geschichte*, 68-70; VON BECKERATH, *Untersuchungen*, 137-8, and VON BECKERATH, *Chronologie*, 136-7, and 189, who prefers to see the Sixteenth Dynasty as a group of Hyksos vassal kings in Middle and Upper Egypt; and finally, BENNETT, *Ä&L* 16.

<sup>56</sup> RYHOLT, *Political Situation*, 151 ff.

<sup>57</sup> See particularly BENNETT, *Ä&L* 16, 233-5.

<sup>58</sup> For instance, DODSON, HILTON, *Royal Families*, 116-17; ILIN-TOMICH, *JEgH* 7, 143-93; and POLZ, in FORSTNER-MÜLLER, MOELLER (eds), *The Hyksos Ruler Khyan*, 217.

<sup>59</sup> For a brief discussion, see DODSON, HILTON, *Royal Families*, 116-18.

<sup>60</sup> RYHOLT, *Political Situation*, 158; ILIN-TOMICH, *JEgH* 7, 183-4; and ALLEN, in MARÉE (ed.), *The Second Intermediate Period*, 9-10, even though he notes the ambiguity in the TC entries 11.01 and 11.02 which could refer to the first two kings of the Seventeenth Dynasty, the following entries do not fit the other Seventeenth Dynasty kings.

<sup>61</sup> RYHOLT, *Political Situation*, 259-60. See also GRAJETZKI, *Höchsten Beamten*, 30 and 135.

<sup>62</sup> GRAJETZKI, *Coffin of Zemathor*, 47 notes that the theory put forth by Habachi that the "Overseer of Fields", Senebhenaf and the "Vizier" by the same name are the same man is not secure, but possible. See also FRANKE, *Personendaten*, doss. 661.

<sup>63</sup> ILIN-TOMICH, *JEgH* 7, 144.

<sup>64</sup> SPALINGER, *JNES* 60, 296-300; POLZ, SEILER, *Pyramidenanlage*, 46-7; and BENNETT, *JARCE* 39.

<sup>65</sup> ILIN-TOMICH, *JEgH* 7, 147-8; WEGNER, CAHAIL, *King Seneb-Kay's Tomb*, 367.

<sup>66</sup> DAVIES, in DAVIES (ed.), *Colour and Painting*, 121, who confirms that the "two tombs are more or less exactly contemporary".

<sup>67</sup> It should be noted here that, contra ILIN-TOMICH, *JEgH* 7, 158-61, we do not believe that the entire territory of the "Head-of-the-South" administered by the Theban bureaucracy separated from the Thirteenth Dynasty intact. Thinis and an area around that city broke away from both the Thirteenth Dynasty, as well as the territory administered under the "Head-of-the-South".

<sup>68</sup> WEGNER, CAHAIL, *King Seneb-Kay's Tomb*, 367. Targeted *damnatio memroiae* were carried out on Thirteenth Dynasty non-royal tomb chapels at Abydos, and a similar whole-cloth despoiling of the Thirteenth Dynasty royal tombs S-9 and S-10 at South Abydos bolster this conclusion.

of the former “Head-of-the-South” to assert themselves as pharaohs of what we term the Sixteenth Dynasty. At the same time the minor Delta rulers of the Fourteenth Dynasty, whose power expanded slightly with the final dissolution of the Thirteenth Dynasty, were eventually subsumed into the expanding Hyksos Fifteenth Dynasty.

Ryholt, following Franke, proposed the existence of the group of independent kings at Abydos/Thinis.<sup>69</sup> This was based upon the existence of three stelae from Abydos mentioning kings whose position was not corroborated by the TC, whose names were Wepwawetemsaf, Paentjeny and Senaib. The names of two of these kings – Wepwawetemsaf and Paentjeny – show clear familial connections with Abydos, in particular Paentjeny which means “The man of Thinis”. To date, none of these three kings are attested on any monument at Thebes.

In addition to these three stelae, the highly fragmentary text of the TC may actually preserve the list of Abydos Dynasty kings. The partial names of at least 16 kings in Column XI of the TC do not correspond to the members of any known dynasty. Before the discovery of the tomb of King Woseribre Seneb-Kay within a SIP royal necropolis at South Abydos, the meaning of this highly fragmentary Column XI of the TC was debated.<sup>70</sup>

Looking in detail at the section in question, lines 11.01 to 11.14 contain the fragmentary names of the kings belonging to the Sixteenth Dynasty, introduced by a heading in Column X, line 10.30. Line 11.15 contains a summation, listing [1]5 kings belonging to the Sixteenth Dynasty, whose names are now confidently reconstructed (see Chronological Table). The TC text then resumes on line 11.16 with the recording of a king “Woser-[...]re, [he made in kingship [x] years]”. As Allen wrote, “the phrase ‘he made in kingship [x] years’ marks both the first king of a dynasty and the first king in a column of the papyrus’s *Vorlage*”.<sup>71</sup> He then continues to write that, since the end of the Thirteenth Dynasty (line 8.27) lacks a summation line, and the beginning of the Fourteenth Dynasty lacks a heading, that the compiler of the TC viewed the Fourteenth Dynasty as a continuation of the Thirteenth Dynasty. Since the Sixteenth Dynasty group does in fact have a summation

(line 11.15), it would appear as though the compiler of the TC did see the list of kings which follow it as being distinct from the Sixteenth Dynasty, therefore, representing a new dynasty. Since all the Theban Sixteenth Dynasty kings known from monuments fit neatly into the broken section of the TC between lines 11.10 and 11.14 before the summation line, coupled with the fact that the only attestation of a throne name following the pattern Woser-[...]re of TC 11.16 and 11.17 comes from the tomb of Woseribre Seneb-Kay at Abydos, it seems fairly certain that the compiler of the TC believed the group of kings buried at Abydos which included Seneb-Kay to have been a distinct dynasty.<sup>72</sup>

The number of kings belonging to the Abydos Dynasty is not certain. Following an 8-line break in the TC, lines 11.26 to 11.31 contain the damaged names of at least three additional kings. Enough of these names remain to compare them with known Seventeenth Dynasty kings, but since none of them match we must conclude that the kings of the Seventeenth Dynasty do not appear on the preserved portion the TC.<sup>73</sup> There is no summation line preserved in this section, but line 11.27 does include the phrase “he made in kingship *x* years”, which Allen states represented the beginning of a column in the TC *Vorlage*. This means that it is possible that these three kings also belong to the Abydos Dynasty, and that the summation line for the group existed on the now lost Column XII, possibly following additional kings. Using only the TC, it would appear possible that the Abydos Dynasty consisted of about 16 kings, which is strikingly close to the 15 kings belonging to the roughly contemporary Sixteenth Dynasty.

Archaeological investigation at South Abydos has uncovered a group of eight similar royal tombs, one of which belonged to Woseribre Seneb-Kay.<sup>74</sup> Additionally, a group of three tomb shafts were uncovered in the space between two of these larger structures.<sup>75</sup> Because of their depth and the friable nature of the desert sub-

<sup>69</sup> FRANKE, *Orientalia* 57, 259; RYHOLT, *Political Situation*, 163-6.

<sup>70</sup> Both STOCK, *Studien zur Geschichte*, 79-80 and VON BECKERATH, *Untersuchungen*, 195, attempted to place all the Theban kings of the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Dynasty into this column before the summation line in 11.15, however they do not all fit.

<sup>71</sup> ALLEN, in MARÉE (ed.), *The Second Intermediate Period*, 2, with reference to RYHOLT, *Political Situation*, 29-30. Allen likens the situation to the TC list for Dynasties 2-5, which also lack summation lines.

<sup>72</sup> Another possible attestation of a throne name following the pattern Woser-[...]re appears on the Karnak tablet of kings, which records a king named Woserrenre. This name was proposed to be a mistake for Sewoserrenre by VON BECKERATH, *Untersuchungen*, 186. Both Bebiankh and the Hyksos King Khyan are attested with the throne name Sewoserrenre, and since the other kings listed adjacent to Woserrenre are Theban, many scholars seem to agree that the King Bebiankh was meant here. However, if the throne name Woserrenre is not a mistake, it is possible that this king represents a member of the Abydos Dynasty, whose throne name follows the Woser[...]re pattern attested in the TC and the tomb of Woseribre Seneb-Kay at South Abydos.

<sup>73</sup> WEGNER, CAHAIL, *King Seneb-Kay's Tomb*, 341.

<sup>74</sup> WEGNER, CAHAIL, *King Seneb-Kay's Tomb*, 240-308.

<sup>75</sup> WEGNER, CAHAIL, *King Seneb-Kay's Tomb*, 304-7.



surface matrix into which they were cut, they could not be fully excavated. Since their architecture is different from the other tombs, they may represent satellite burials associated with one of the royal tombs, but they may also have belonged to Abydos Dynasty rulers. As a result, funerary architecture at South Abydos accounts for the burials of between eight and eleven kings. Additionally, the location of Seneb-Kay's tomb directly in front of one of the Thirteenth Dynasty tombs at South Abydos may indicate that further SIP royal tombs were originally located within these earlier enclosures. The complete destruction of the superstructures of these Thirteenth Dynasty tombs, which probably belonged to the Kings Sobekhotep IV and Neferhotep I,<sup>76</sup> would have wiped away any trace of these tombs.

Adding Woseribre Seneb-Kay and the other kings listed in Column XI of the TC – at the very least 7 of whom also had tombs at South Abydos – to the number of Theban kings ruling during the 105-year window proposed by Bennett makes the period uncomfortably tight.<sup>77</sup> Subtracting the known regnal dates of Theban kings from this time span yields 39 years which must then accommodate the reigns of all the kings whose dates are not known. This list includes all the kings buried at Abydos and mentioned in the TC, as well as at least five kings at the end of the Sixteenth Dynasty after Nebiriau I – a total of potentially 25 kings.<sup>78</sup> Compressing all these kings into a single Theban dynasty would require that each king ruled for a maximum of one and a half years. Unless we believe Meyer and Morenz's notion that the kings of this period were elected for short reigns,<sup>79</sup> such a brief average tenure for all of these 25 kings is highly unlikely.<sup>80</sup> This is especially true since the Sixteenth Dynasty contains the long reigns of Nebiriau I and Bebiankh, whom the TC ascribes reign lengths of 26 and 12 years respectively.<sup>81</sup> If even one of these kings of un-

known reign length were to have ruled for a significantly longer time than the maximum one and a half years (as seems likely), then the average for the rest of the kings would decrease sharply.

Discarding the notion of brief-ruling elected kings, three feasible possibilities present themselves to explain how all these kings could have ruled within the time constraints of the SIP as defined by Bennett. One is to discount the longer reigns of Nebiriau I and Bebiankh quoted in the TC, but doing so would only increase the average reign lengths of these 25 kings to 3 years each. The second option is to disregard the genealogical time-frame provided by the governors of Elkab entirely. Proceeding down this path would force us to push the beginning of the Theban hegemony further back into the Thirteenth Dynasty, to a time before the reign of Merneferre Ay. Such a situation also seems highly unlikely, if not impossible, since the wife of the first king of the Sixteenth Dynasty was the granddaughter of the vizier during Ay's reign. The final possibility is that there were at least two different regional dynasties ruling synchronically in Upper Egypt, and that the kings enumerated in Column X and XI of the TC ruled in concurrent dynasties as opposed to sequentially in the same dynasty. The fact that the TC itself includes a summation line at the end of the Sixteenth Dynasty, coupled with the existence of a royal cemetery at South Abydos containing the tomb of a king whose throne name matches those appearing in the TC, argue strongly in favor of this option.

Ryholt theorized that the Abydos Dynasty only existed for about 20 years, based on his conclusion that the Fifteenth Dynasty arose at the same time as the Sixteenth Dynasty, and that it attacked Thebes 20 years after the beginning of the Sixteenth Dynasty.<sup>82</sup> As discussed above, this reconstruction of events no longer works, given the archaeological correspondences between Sobekhotep IV and Khyan, as well as the new reading of the length of the Hyksos Period in the TC. Together, these sources show that the Hyksos Fifteenth Dynasty was much longer than the combined Sixteenth and Seventeenth Dynasties. Furthermore, assuming that the last six entries in Column XI of the TC represent kings of the Abydos Dynasty, their reigns alone add up to 16 years. Adding in the reigns of at least 11 more kings, with the possibility of additional Abydos Dynasty kings in the now lost Column XII, forces the conclusion that the Abydos Dynasty must have endured for longer than 20 years. Indeed, given the number of kings listed in the TC, combined with their extensive necropolis at South

<sup>76</sup> WEGNER, CAHAIL, *JARCE* 51, 123-64.

<sup>77</sup> WEGNER, CAHAIL, *King Seneb-Kay's Tomb*, 356-7.

<sup>78</sup> WEGNER, CAHAIL, *King Seneb-Kay's Tomb*, 356-7.

<sup>79</sup> The idea that the Theban "kings" of this period were elected to the throne for a period of a year or two before relinquishing power to the next ruler was originated by MEYER, *Geschichte des Altertums*, vol. I, § 309 ff. More recently MORENZ, *JEgH* 3, looked at the language of certain Sixteenth Dynasty stelae to the same end. Since the notion of elected kings goes completely against known royal mythology, and the long reigns of Nebiriau I and Bebiankh argue against regular elections, it seems a much less likely than the idea of overlapping dynasties centered at multiple locations.

<sup>80</sup> Particularly because the last five kings in the TC (11.27 to 11.31) are attested with reign lengths between 2 and 4 years each, totaling about 16 years.

<sup>81</sup> ALLEN, in MARÉE (ed.), *The Second Intermediate Period*, 9-10. As mentioned above, these longer reigns argue against

a system of royal election since such a system would presumably yield a regular series of short reign lengths as opposed to a seemingly random sequence of long and short reigns.

<sup>82</sup> RYHOLT, *Political Situation*, 202-3.

Abydos, it is reasonable to conclude that the Abydos Dynasty existed for at least 50 years, and possibly somewhat longer. In all likelihood, the Abydos Dynasty was roughly coeval with Theban Sixteenth Dynasty, lasting for between 50-70 years.<sup>83</sup>

While the throne name Woseribre may indicate that Seneb-Kay's reign occurred at the beginning of the Abydos Dynasty as presented in the TC, a number of archaeological and artistic features of Seneb-Kay's burial assemblage help to place him chronologically closer to the end of the Dynasty. Most importantly, the artistic style of the wall paintings in his tomb are closely parallel to the decoration in the tombs of Sobeknakht II at Elkab and Horemkhauef at Hierakonpolis.<sup>84</sup> Bennett's genealogical chronology places these tombs concretely within the Sixteenth Dynasty, between the reigns of Nebiriau I and Semenre, thus placing Seneb-Kay as a contemporary of the kings of the mid to late Sixteenth Dynasty.

Another correspondence is worth noting here. Tomb D78 at North Abydos contained a stela datable stylistically to the Sixteenth Dynasty, which was dedicated to a high-ranking soldier with the title of "Commander of the Crew of the Ruler", Sobekhotep and his wife, the "Lady of the House", Neferuptah.<sup>85</sup> In the same tomb as the stela, excavators found an apotropaic wand which was inscribed with the cartouche of a king reading "Seb-Kay", and which is almost certainly to be identified as belonging to Seneb-Kay. Since wands of this type were used in birth magic, and often included in the tombs of either the child or the mother, it is a distinct possibility that Sobekhotep and his wife Neferuptah were the non-royal parents of Seneb-Kay.<sup>86</sup> As a military King Seneb-Kay met a violent death on the battlefield, being finally dispatched with an axe-blow to the front of his skull. One possibility is that he died fighting the Hyksos in the north, but perhaps a more likely explanation is that he died fighting the expanding Theban kingdom to the south, since the axe wound in his skull more closely matches the style of axe used in Upper Egypt (exemplified by the Seventeenth Dynasty Ahhotep axe), than those used by the Hyksos.<sup>87</sup> Since the skulls of the other kings discovered at South Abydos

lacked evidence for such mortal wounds, one possibility is that Seneb-Kay was one of the final rulers of the Abydos Dynasty, after whose reign the Thinite territory was incorporated into the Theban Kingdom.

A further possibility is that after Seneb-Kay died fighting the Theban Sixteenth Dynasty, the line of Abydene kings persisted for a time after his death. Stylistic features of the stelae belonging to Paentjeny, Wepwawetemsaf and Rathotep argue for a close chronological timeframe at the very least, and perhaps even demonstrate that they came from the same workshop.<sup>88</sup> Though their birth names link them concretely with Abydos/Thinis, the throne names adopted by Paentjeny (Sekhemre-Khutawy) and Wepwawetemsaf (Sekhemre-Neferkhau) both include the Sekhemre element common to the kings of the Sixteenth and early Seventeenth Dynasty, but lacking in attested Abydos Dynasty kings.<sup>89</sup> If the birth names of these two kings truthfully reflect a close familial connection to the Abydos/Thinis area, then it is equally possible to see them as descending from one or multiple royal families of the Abydos Dynasty who, through either diplomacy or open warfare, eventually stepped into the role of king over a united Theban-Thinite kingdom, and thereby ushered in the Theban Seventeenth Dynasty (see chronological table, where Paentjeny is placed as the final king of the Sixteenth Dynasty, but he may equally belong at the end of the Abydos Dynasty).<sup>90</sup>

The transition between the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Theban Dynasties would then have little to do with a possible invasion of Thebes by the Hyksos leading to a brief hiatus, for which the evidence is tenuous.<sup>91</sup>

<sup>83</sup> MARÉE, in MARÉE (ed.), *The Second Intermediate Period*, 265.

<sup>84</sup> The name of the other king which Ryholt included in the Abydos Dynasty (Sewadjtawy Menkhaure Senaib) does not follow the Theban throne name pattern, contra Siesse's (*GM* 246, 88) assumption that the "Sekhemre" element was "missing or implied". It is also not stylistically connected with either the stela of Wepwawetemsaf or that of Paentjeny. Given this, along with its mention of the local Abydene cult of Minhornakht, it is highly likely that Senaib was a member of the Abydos Dynasty, see WEGNER, CAHAIL, *King Seneb-Kay's Tomb*, 353-4.

<sup>85</sup> WEGNER, CAHAIL, *King Seneb-Kay's Tomb*, 371-2. As the traditional seat of power in Upper Egypt, these Abydene kings could easily have chosen to move their royal house to Thebes. Such a move may explain why there is a break between the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Dynasties, since if both of them had been Theban, they may just as easily have appeared in the TC as a single dynasty.

<sup>86</sup> WEGNER, CAHAIL, *King Seneb-Kay's Tomb*, 346-50. While this fact also must remain somewhat speculative, it may reinforce the notion that Seneb-Kay came from a military family, and that they originated locally at Abydos/Thinis, and chose to be buried at North Abydos, but that the Abydos Dynasty kings did not all descend from a single family.

<sup>83</sup> WEGNER, CAHAIL, *King Seneb-Kay's Tomb*, 356-7.

<sup>84</sup> WEGNER, CAHAIL, *King Seneb-Kay's Tomb*, 343-6.

<sup>85</sup> The wooden sarcophagus usurped by this Sobekhotep from the Royal Ornament Nefretetresis was found in the same area, demonstrating that this assemblage belonged to an actual tomb as opposed to a memorial chapel.

<sup>86</sup> WEGNER, CAHAIL, *King Seneb-Kay's Tomb*, 346-50. While this fact also must remain somewhat speculative, it may reinforce the notion that Seneb-Kay came from a military family, and that they originated locally at Abydos/Thinis, and chose to be buried at North Abydos, but that the Abydos Dynasty kings did not all descend from a single family.

<sup>87</sup> WEGNER, CAHAIL, *King Seneb-Kay's Tomb*, 127 and 361.

Rather, the end of the Sixteenth Dynasty would represent the incorporation of the Abydos Dynasty's territory into the growing Theban kingdom, possibly under a royal family of Thinite origin. In either case (Thinite or Theban), this transition between the Sixteenth and Seventeenth dynasties is ideologically identical to the transition of the Seventeenth Dynasty to the Eighteenth during the reign of Nebpehtyre Ahmose (II), produced by the Expulsion of the Hyksos and the incorporation of their territory into the Theban kingdom. In other words, the beginnings of both the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Dynasties mark the incorporation of new territory into the domain of the previous royal line.

### The Theban Seventeenth Dynasty

As discussed above, the Turin Canon was cut off either near the end of, or directly after the Abydos Dynasty, and the names of the kings of the Seventeenth Dynasty are not preserved. Consequently, one of the most important sources for reconstructing the order of the kings of the Theban Seventeenth Dynasty has been the Abbott Papyrus, dating to the reign of Ramesses IX.<sup>92</sup> This papyrus is a so-called fair copy of a series of notes compiled during inspections of the royal tombs at Dra Abu el-Naga. Winlock attempted to use the order of the tombs in the document to reconstruct the chronological order of the kings.<sup>93</sup> Later, scholars criticized the validity of this idea, and attempted to reanalyze the evidence without recourse to pAbbott.

In the broadest possible strokes, the Seventeenth Dynasty consists of three main groups of kings: 1) the Rahotep and Wepwawetemsaf group,<sup>94</sup> 2) the Sobekemsaf/Intef family; and 3) the Ahmosid family group which may have originated at Dendera, and consisted of kings Senakhtenre Ahmose (I), Seqenenre Tao, Wadjkheperre Kamose and Nebpehtyre Ahmose (II).<sup>95</sup> Of these three groups, the order of the Ahmosid kings has enjoyed the most scholarly agreement.

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of the Seventeenth Dynasty, for which see SCHNEIDER, in HORNUNG, KRAUSS, WARBURTON (eds), *Ancient Egyptian Chronology*, 183; and POLZ, *Der Beginn*, 8-11.

<sup>92</sup> Purchased from Dr. Abbott in 1857 by the British Museum (BM EA 10221). See KITCHEN, *RI VI*, 468, and BREASTED, *Ancient Records*, vol. IV, § 510 ff for a discussion and translation. For the correlation of the papyrus with the archaeology of the area, see WINLOCK, *JEA* 10, 217-77.

<sup>93</sup> WINLOCK, *JEA* 10, 272.

<sup>94</sup> This group of kings may have belonged to the same family, which probably also included Paentjeny ruling at the end of the Sixteenth Theban dynasty or the end of the Abydos Dynasty.

<sup>95</sup> For the theory that this family originated at Dendera, see HELCK, *SAK* 13, 125-33; and also SCHNEIDER, in HORNUNG, KRAUSS, WARBURTON (eds), *Ancient Egyptian Chronology*, 190.

Beginning with the first of these groups, the stylistic study done by Marée has confirmed that Wahkhau Rahotep was probably the first king of the Seventeenth Dynasty, and that his successor was almost certainly Wepwawetemsaf, whom Ryholt had previously placed in the Abydos Dynasty.<sup>96</sup> Marée also placed Sekhemre-Wadjkhau Sobekemsaf in this line of kings, since his monuments follow the same style, though there is no evidence that he was genetically related to his predecessors. Paentjeny, whose stela is of similar style, led Marée to place him in between Wepwawetemsaf and Sobekemsaf Wadjkhau. However, Wegner and Cahail presented another possibility mentioned above, namely that this king belongs either at the very end of the Theban Sixteenth Dynasty, or at the end of the Abydos Dynasty, placing him as a close temporal successor to Woseribre Seneb-Kay.<sup>97</sup> While on the one hand, Paentjeny's throne name Sekhemre-Khutawy fits into the naming conventions of the Theban Kings of the late Sixteenth and early Seventeenth Dynasty, his birth name meaning "The Man of Thisis" on the other hand argues for a familial connection with Thisis/Abydos. As discussed above, either he was a king of the Abydos Dynasty who adopted a throne name modeled on those of the Theban Sixteenth Dynasty, or he was a Theban king who wished to portray hegemony over Thisis/Abydos through the adoption of a new birth name following the unification of Thebes and Thisis. The possibility certainly also exists that he was an Abydos Dynasty king who succeeded in uniting Thisis and Thebes, bringing about the Seventeenth Dynasty which was ruled over by his two successors and possible genetic descendants Rahotep and Wepwawetemsaf.

Regarding the positions of the two kings named Sobekemsaf (identified as (W) Wadjkhau and (S) Shedtawy), Ryholt and Polz present two different scenarios based upon the same evidence. Ryholt believed that the two Sobekemsaf kings could not have ruled sequentially. Genealogical evidence shows that two of the Intef kings (designated (W) for Wepmaat and (N) for Nubkheperre) were full brothers, while the third (designated (H) for Heruhermaat) was their brother-in-law, and that Intef (W) and Intef (N) were the sons of a king named Sobekemsaf.<sup>98</sup> However, statue BM EA 13329 names a "King's Son" Intefmose, who was praised by a king named Sobekemsaf without throne name. Ryholt's as-

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<sup>96</sup> MARÉE, in MARÉE (ed.), *The Second Intermediate Period*, 256 and WEGNER, CAHAIL, *King Seneb-Kay's Tomb*, 350-2.

<sup>97</sup> WEGNER, CAHAIL, *King Seneb-Kay's Tomb*, 352-3.

<sup>98</sup> RYHOLT, *Political Situation*, 169 and 267-8. Ryholt also makes the assertion that Intef (H) was a coregent of Intef (N) who predeceased him, and therefore would not have counted his own regnal years.



sumption was that the Intef portion of the basiliophoric name must refer to one or another of the Intef kings of the Seventeenth Dynasty, and therefore the King Sobekemsaf named on the statue must have ruled after the Intef kings.<sup>99</sup> In attempting to refute this assumption, Polz highlighted the fact that kings of the Eleventh Dynasty also held the name Intef, therefore the name Intefmose would have little to do with the chronology of the two Sobekemsaf kings of the Seventeenth Dynasty.<sup>100</sup> In effect, Polz resurrected Winlock's assertion that the two Sobekemsaf kings were father and son,<sup>101</sup> and that the inscription on a statue of Sobekemsaf (W) which demonstrates that his son was also named Sobekemsaf may actually be evidence for King Sobekemsaf (S) before he ascended to the throne.<sup>102</sup> Though the evidence is less than conclusive, we have adopted Polz's reconstruction here, placing Sobekemsaf (W) as the father and predecessor of Sobekemsaf (S). This situation would seem to require that Intef (W) and Intef (N) were sons of Sobekemsaf (S).<sup>103</sup>

After the death of Intef (N), the royal house appears to have shifted to a new family, perhaps evinced by the final abandonment of the Sekhemre element of the throne name. This terminal group of kings represents the direct ancestors of Pharaoh Nebpehtyre Ahmose (II). While this fact is well established, scholastic understanding of the individual kings' identities has evolved over the past century, since early reliance on the text of pAbbott led to confusion and consternation. In that document, there are seemingly references to two tombs belonging to Seqenenre Tao, one of whom was evidently called "the elder".<sup>104</sup> This led Winlock to propose the existence of two kings named Tao, arguing that the Turin Canon contained an error, and that the two kings ought to be read Senakhtenre Tao (I) and Seqenenre Tao (II). This solution appeared to solve the issue regarding the identity of the king whose throne name was Senakhtenre, but whose nomen was unknown at the time.

<sup>99</sup> RYHOLT, *Political Situation*, 170.

<sup>100</sup> POLZ, *Der Beginn*, 49.

<sup>101</sup> WINLCOCK, *JEA* 10, 272.

<sup>102</sup> RYHOLT, *Political Situation*, 170; POLZ, *Der Beginn*, 50. Polz's argument also nullifies Ryholt's assertion that Sobekemsaf (S) must have ruled first. He argued that since Sobekemsaf (W)'s son is named as Sobekemsaf not Intef, the first Sobekemsaf had to be Sobekemsaf (S). If we accept Polz's assertion, then the order of the Sobekemsaf kings must be reversed with Sobekemsaf (W) ruling first, followed by Sobekemsaf (S). For kings Sobekemsafs see also MINIACI *et al.*, *BMTRB* 7.

<sup>103</sup> RYHOLT, *Political Situation*, 169 and 267-9 identified Intef (H), the brother-in-law of Intef (N), as the grandson of an unnamed king, which in this layout may be Sobekemsaf (W).

<sup>104</sup> WINLCOCK, *JEA* 10, 243.

Vandersleyen returned to the argument in 1983 and posited that the duplicate attestation of Tao with the epithet "the great" in pAbbott was either an outright error, or the name and title represented a dittography of the 3<sup>c</sup>-sign. In either case, he argued, the text of the papyrus did not contain any valid evidence that Senakhtenre's nomen was Tao.<sup>105</sup> Possibilities for the error included the fact that the actual papyrus was a final copy made from field notes, or the notion that the second tomb listed under the name Tao actually belonged to a different king whose name was not visible at the time of the visit.

While Bennett and Dodson/Hilton attempted to return to Winlock's identification of the two Taosid kings as Senakhtenre and Seqenenre, ultimate clarification arrived with the publication by Biston-Moulin in 2012 of a fragmentary door frame bearing the titulary of the Horus Merymaat, King of Upper and Lower Egypt Senakhtenre, Son of Re Ahmose.<sup>106</sup> This object gives definitive proof that Senakhtenre's nomen was Ahmose, not Tao as theorized by Winlock based upon pAbbott. This discovery also means that the founder of the Eighteenth Dynasty, Nebpehtyre Ahmose, is now properly the second Ahmose king.<sup>107</sup> Additionally, as Biston-Moulin points out, all attestations of the royal nomen Ahmose from the SIP which are not accompanied by a throne name may, in fact, belong to either Senakhtenre Ahmose (I) or Nebpehtyre Ahmose (II) – a chronological question which must wait for further study of the topic.<sup>108</sup>

From Nebpehtyre Ahmose (II)'s stela dedicated to his grandmother Tetisherit, it has been generally accepted that Senakhtenre Ahmose (I) was married to Tetisherit, the daughter of Tjenna and Nofru. They had two sons who ruled in succession with one another: Seqenenre Tao and Wadjkheperre Kamose.<sup>109</sup> During his tenure as King, Seqenenre Tao took his sister Queen Ahhotep I as his wife and fathered a son who would eventually become Nebpehtyre Ahmose (II), whom we now know was

<sup>105</sup> VANDERSLEYEN, *GM* 63, 67-70.

<sup>106</sup> BISTON-MOULIN, *ENiM* 5, 61-71.

<sup>107</sup> This may potentially lead to confusion, since the Twenty-Sixth Dynasty King Amasis is often referred to as Ahmose II in print. The two SIP Ahmose kings are presented here with their throne names, and the Roman numerals (I) and (II) in parenthesis for clarity.

<sup>108</sup> BISTON-MOULIN, *ENiM* 5, 66. As he points out, the name Ahmose belonging to Senakhtenre makes use of the moon hieroglyph with upward facing horns and a disc in the middle. Nebpehtyre Ahmose has been assumed to have had both that version as well as the version employing the downward facing moon without disc, for which see VON BECKERATH, *Handbuch*, 83 and 224.

<sup>109</sup> For a brief summary of the main genealogical schema for the relationship between Kamose and Ahmose II, see BENNETT, *GM* 145, 42-4.

named after his grandfather. However, the untimely death of Ahmose (II)'s father Seqenenre Tao on the battlefield against the Hyksos caused a break in the royal succession from father to son. Perhaps in order to maintain stability in politically uncertain times, Seqenenre Tao's brother Kamose took the throne instead of his young nephew Ahmose (II).

Based upon rock inscriptions at Arminna and Toshka, it is probable that Kamose had two sons whose names were Djehuty and Teti.<sup>110</sup> Since both Kamose and Ahmose (II) appear in these rock inscriptions with the epithet *dj 'nh*, Ryholt proposed that they were coregents beginning in Kamose's Year 3.<sup>111</sup> Kamose's sons Djehuty and Teti do not appear in the record again, which appears to indicate that Kamose stepped in as king, acting as a regent for his young nephew Ahmose (II) after the death of Seqenenre Tao, and that Kamose's sons never had a claim to the throne.

Beginning in his Year 3, Kamose began campaigning both in Nubia and in the north against the Hyksos Fifteenth Dynasty. After gaining Hyksos territory in the Cynopolite Nome, Kamose died, and the kingship passed to the junior coregent Ahmose (II). Ten years of war against the Hyksos finally concluded with their expulsion from Egypt. Thus around 1550 BC, Ahmose (II) succeeded in reuniting Egypt under one king, beginning the Eighteenth Dynasty and setting the stage for his son Amenhotep I's successful 21-year reign. Both the Egyptians themselves, as well as later historians saw the Ahmosid family of the Seventeenth Dynasty as the progenitors of the New Kingdom, with monuments set up to their worship in the early years of the Eighteenth Dynasty.

## Conclusion

This summary presents one possible understanding of the internal chronology of the SIP. It is a scenario in which Egypt fractured politically in the middle of the Thirteenth Dynasty in a spectacular fashion. A line of kings continued to rule from Itj-tawy as the late Thirteenth Dynasty. The Delta region fractured into two possibly overlapping kingdoms, the Fourteenth Dynasty possibly located in the western and central Delta, and the Hyksos Fifteenth Dynasty in the eastern Delta. The Thirteenth Dynasty continued to hold power over Upper Egypt almost until its final demise, at which point two smaller local dynasties cropped up. The first was the Abydos Dynasty, centered at Thinis with its royal necropolis lo-

cated at South Abydos. Clear evidence exists at Abydos for a targeted destruction of Thirteenth Dynasty monuments which may indicate that Abydos was the first to throw off the yoke of Thirteenth Dynasty hegemony in the closing years of that dynasty. The bureaucracy of the old "Head-of-the-South" centered at Thebes quickly followed suit, beginning the Theban Sixteenth Dynasty which controlled the territory of Upper Egypt not claimed by Thinis.

Given that these disparate kingdoms existed for multiple generations in relative peace argues against the widely held notion that the SIP was a time of continual struggle and warfare. Stemming from the propaganda of Seventeenth and Eighteenth Dynasty texts, alongside the violence visible on the bodies of Seneb-Kay and Seqenenre Tao, this theory assumes that the driving goal of each of these individual kingdoms was the complete destruction of the others, and the uniting of Egypt. Consequently, the notion that Theban royal names occurring north of Abydos and along the Red Sea coast must nullify the validity of the Abydos Dynasty as a political entity rests squarely on the assumption that these two kingdoms were not allied in any way. Indeed, the kingdoms of Abydos and Thebes were isolated, bordered on the north by the Hyksos and on the south by Kerma. In such a situation, it is more likely that the Theban and Abydene kings maintained a delicate truce or status-quo with one another for much of the SIP, only coming into open warfare toward the end of the period. Being landlocked, these two kingdoms were forced to maintain trade agreements both with each other as well as with the Hyksos in the north to secure the goods they needed. Inevitably, this competition for resources led to war, yet the end of the Sixteenth Dynasty does not represent the dying out of either the local Theban kingdom, or that of Thinis. Rather, it marks the beginning of a unified Theban/Thinite kingdom which, with its newly found increased power, would eventually rival the Hyksos kingdom in the north.

After the incorporation of Abydos into its territory, the Theban Seventeenth Dynasty went through a period of stability which inevitably led on the one hand to the desire for increased land, wealth and access to the trade-routes controlled by the Hyksos in the north, and on the other hand to an increased state of safety from the allied Hyksos and Nubian kingdoms. Hence the SIP ended with the increased bellicosity of the Ahmosid kings. Early expeditions north under Seqenenre Tao ended in disaster, but ultimately the death of the king fortified the resolve of the Theban kingdom to overcome their northern neighbors. Consequently, under Kamose and Ahmose (II), the reunification of Egypt under one pharaoh was once again achieved, ushering in the Eighteenth Dynasty.

<sup>110</sup> For the Toshka inscription see WEIGALL, *Report*, 127, plate 65 (4). For the Armina inscription see SIMPSON, *Heka-Nefer*, 34, 46, fig. 27 and pl. 17b.

<sup>111</sup> RYHOLT, *Political Situation*, 273-4. Kamose was the senior king.



Though the details of the internal chronology of the SIP are still far from perfect, and scholarly debate still rages on, it is useful to take a step back and realize that the field is so much further along now that it was only a few generations ago. It is our sincere hope that the debate will continue, and with the inclusion of new archaeological finds and textual interpretations we can get closer to a model upon which the majority of the field can agree. The articles in this volume represent one of the next steps in the process of understanding the SIP more fully.

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## Chronology of the Eastern Mediterranean Area

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	CRETE	ANATOLIA	N MESOPOTAMIA	S MESOPOTAMIA	LEVANT	EGYPT	
-2000 BC	PRE-PALATIAL PERIOD			ISIN-LARSA PERIOD	EARLY BRONZE AGE IV/ MIDDLE BRONZE AGE I	MIDDLE KINGDOM DYNASTIES 11-13 <i>Dynasty 12</i>	-2000 BC
	PROTO-PALATIAL PERIOD MIDDLE MINOAN IB TO IIA-B	OLD ASSYRIAN <i>Killepe karum II</i> TRADING/COLONY PERIOD	OLD ASSYRIAN PERIOD		MIDDLE BRONZE AGE IIA		
-1800 BC		<i>Killepe karum Ib</i>	<i>Reign of Shamshi-Adad?</i>	OLD BABYLONIAN PERIOD		<i>Dynasty 13</i>	-1800 BC
	NEO-PALATIAL PERIOD MIDDLE MINOAN IIIA-B			<i>Reign of Hammurabi</i>	<i>Mari Archives</i>		
-1600 BC	LATE MINOAN IA	HITTITE OLD KINGDOM			MIDDLE BRONZE AGE IIB	SECOND INTERMEDIATE PERIOD DYNASTIES 13-17 <i>Hyksos Dynasty</i>	-1600 BC
	LATE MINOAN IB		<i>Mitanni Period</i>		MIDDLE BRONZE AGE IIC		
		HITTITE MIDDLE KINGDOM		<i>Fall of Babylon</i> MIDDLE BABYLONIAN/ KASSITE PERIOD	LATE BRONZE AGE I	<i>Tell el-Dab'a mostly abandoned</i> NEW KINGDOM <i>Dynasty 18</i> DYNASTIES 18-20	
-1400 BC	FINAL-PALATIAL PERIOD LATE MINOAN II LATE MINOAN IIIA1-2		MIDDLE ASSYRIAN PERIOD		LATE BRONZE AGE IIA		-1400 BC
		HITTITE NEW KINGDOM			LATE BRONZE AGE IIB	<i>Amarna Period</i>	
	FINAL-POST PALATIAL PERIOD LATE MINOAN IIIB					<i>Dynasty 19</i>	

Understanding chronological correlations across the Eastern Mediterranean is essential for any attempt to explore long-distance connectivity and macroscale phenomena. However, this endeavour has been replete with debate and disagreement, particularly for the period spanning the first half of the Second Millennium BC. The contentions have been spurred by a paucity of archaeological and historical material especially from elusive periods, insufficient or incomplete excavations or publications thereof, unbalanced explorations of some regions or material types in comparison with others, as

well as continually evolving scientific methods and refinements to dating techniques. Further complications arise when local and regional developments are considered, as some areas experienced cultural transitions at a different rate than others, the transformations still being revised and newly assessed in view of current theoretical understandings on cultural change.

Despite these issues, significant advancements have been made in discerning general synchronisations of historical or cultural periods between Western Asia, the Aegean, Anatolia, and Egypt. Thus far, the archaeolog-

ical-historical record has allowed for the broad and fairly secure relative correlation of the Levantine Middle Bronze Age with the Cretan Proto- to Neo-Palatial Periods, the Mesopotamian Old Babylonian and Old Assyrian Periods, and the Egyptian Middle Kingdom and Second Intermediate Period. In turn, the Late Bronze Age would generally and approximately correlate with the Cretan Neo- to Post-Palatial Periods, the Hittite Middle to New Kingdoms, the Middle Babylonian, Kassite, Mitannian and Middle Assyrian Periods, as well as the Egyptian New Kingdom.

Further refinements to these correlations have contributed to variant chronologies, identified as the low (short), middle, and high absolute chronologies. The following table depends on the low chronology for Egypt and Western Asia, as supported by the extensively studied correlations between such sites as Tell el-Dab'a (Egypt), Ashkelon (Southern Levant), and Sidon College Site (Northern Levant), among others.<sup>1</sup> For more on these correlations, readers can refer to the publications of the Synchronisation of Civilisations in the Eastern Mediterranean in the Second Millennium BC (SCIEM) project and other recent studies, particularly those examining the archaeological and historical material.<sup>2</sup> In accordance with this chronology, the Modified Traditional Chronology is presented for developments on Crete,<sup>3</sup> together

<sup>1</sup> The terminology presented in the table for the Levant follows the traditional tripartite division of the Middle Bronze Age; for the Northern Levant, the periods are instead commonly identified as MBI (MBIIA) and MBII (MBIIB-C).

<sup>2</sup> See the articles in BIETAK, *BASOR* 281, 471-85; BIETAK, *Synchronisation of Civilisations*, vols I-II; BIETAK, CZERNY, *Synchronisation of Civilisations*, vol. III. See also ASTON, *A Corpus of the Late Middle Kingdom and Second Intermediate Period Pottery*; ASTON, BIETAK, *The Classification and Chronology of Tell el-Yahudiya Ware*; BAGH, *Levantine Painted Ware*; D. BENTOR, in BIETAK, CZERNY (eds), *Scarabs*, 27-42; BIETAK, *BASOR* 281, 27-72; BIETAK *et al.*, *Ä&L* 18, 49-60; CZERNY, in BIETAK (ed.), *MBA in the Levant*, 133-42; CZERNY, *Die Siedlung und der Tempelbezirk*; KUTSCHERA *et al.*, *Radiocarbon* 54, 407-22; MARCUS, in SHORTLAND, BRONK RAMSEY (eds), *Radiocarbon*, 192-208; MLINAR, in BIETAK, CZERNY (eds), *Scarabs*, 107-39; CZERNY, *Eine Plansiedlung*; KOPETZKY, in BIETAK, CZERNY (eds), *Bronze Age in the Lebanon*; KOPETZKY, *Eine Plansiedlung*; STAGER, VOSS, *Eretz-Israel* 30, 119\*-26\*; STAGER, VOSS, in STAGER, SCHNLOEN, VOSS (eds), *Ashkelon*, vol. VI, 103-13. The low chronology is also followed by, for instance, ALBRIGHT, *BASOR* 176, 38-46; WEINSTEIN, *Levant* 23, 105-15; WEINSTEIN, *BASOR* 288, 27-46; WEINSTEIN, in DAVIES, SCHOFIELD (eds), *Egypt, the Aegean and the Levant*, 84-90. For the Egyptian chronology, see HORNUNG, KRAUSS, WARBURTON, *Ancient Egyptian Chronology*; SHORTLAND, BRONK RAMSEY (eds), *Radiocarbon*.

<sup>3</sup> For an overview, see HANKEY, WARREN, *BICS* 21, 142-52; HÖFLMAYER, *Die Synchronisierung*; PHILIPS, *Aegyptiaca*. The

with a modified low or short chronology for Anatolia and Mesopotamia.<sup>4</sup> The Middle Chronology for the latter, however, is otherwise typically used.<sup>5</sup>

While the radiocarbon dating of organic material from some sites have been employed to support a high chronology,<sup>6</sup> its dates and methodologies have been questioned.<sup>7</sup> Indeed, at the time of writing, many results remain to be updated in view of the latest curve for calibrating <sup>14</sup>C radiocarbon dates, the IntCal20.<sup>8</sup> This signals that, as the scientific method continues to be enhanced, it should not be used solely as the determining factor for ascertaining chronological synchronisations, but alongside the archaeological and historical data.

A further point to bear in mind when approaching correlations is the continually developing scholarly understandings of micro- to macro-chronological developments. The typical division of defined cultural areas into units with

terminology presented in the table follows PHILIPS (*Aegyptiaca*, fig. 1), but this is not unanimously utilised, especially for classifications following the Neo-Palatial Period. For more on the terminologies and chronologies, see WARREN, HANKEY, *Aegean Bronze Age Chronology*; REHAK, YOUNGER, *AJA* 102/1, 92-100; MANNING, in CLINE (ed.), *Bronze Age Aegean*; HALLAGER, in CLINE (ed.), *Bronze Age Aegean*.

<sup>4</sup> See GASCHE *et al.*, *Dating the Fall of Babylon*; GASCHE *et al.*, *Akkadica* 108, 1-4; MEBERT, *Die Venustafel*; PRUZSINSZKY, *Mesopotamian Chronology*; WARBURTON, *Akkadica* 132, 1-22; A. BEN-TOR, *Ä&L* 14, 45-67.

<sup>5</sup> See, for instance, BARJAMOVIC, HERTEL, LARSEN, *Ups and Downs at Kanesh*; MANNING, BARJAMOVIC, LORENTZEN, *JAEI* 13, 70-81; VEENHOF, *Old Assyrian List of Year Eponyms*. See also the papers in HUNGER, PRUZSINSZKY (eds), *Mesopotamian Dark Age Revisited*.

<sup>6</sup> BONANI *et al.*, *Radiocarbon* 43/3, 1297-320; HÖFLMAYER, in MYNÁŘOVÁ, ONDERKAAND, PAVÚK (eds), *Crossroads*, vol. II, 265-95; HÖFLMAYER, *JAEI* 13, 20-33; HÖFLMAYER, COHEN, *JAEI* 13, 1-6; HÖFLMAYER *et al.*, *BASOR* 375, 53-76; MANNING, *Absolute Chronology*; MANNING, *Test of Time*; MANNING *et al.*, *Antiquity* 88, 1164-79; MANNING *et al.*, *Radiocarbon* 52/4, 1571-97. For others that follow a middle to high chronology, see, for instance, DEVER, *BASOR* 288, 1-25. For those that follow a high chronology, see also GERSTENBLITH, *Levant at the Beginning of the MBA*; MAZAR, *IEJ* 18, 65-97.

<sup>7</sup> D. BEN-TOR, *BASOR* 379, 43-54; BIETAK, in SHORTLAND, BRONK RAMSEY (eds), *Radiocarbon*, 76-109; BIETAK, *Bryn Mawr Classical Review* 2016.04.06; BIETAK, in KAMRIN *et al.*, *Guardian of Ancient Egypt*, vol. I, 235-45; BIETAK, *Bibliotheca Orientalis* 78; HAGENS, *Ä&L* 24, 171-88; PEARSON *et al.*, *Science Advances* 4/8; PEARSON *et al.*, *PNAS* 117/5, 8410-15. For more on the debate between high, middle, and low chronologies, see ÅSTRÖM (ed.), *High, Middle or Low?*; BIETAK, in BIETAK, *Synchronisation of Civilisations*, vol. II, 23-34.

<sup>8</sup> REIMER *et al.*, *Radiocarbon* 62/4, 725-57; PEARSON *et al.*, *Radiocarbon* 62/4, 939-52; PLICHT *et al.*, *Radiocarbon* 62/4, 1095-117. For examples of recalibrated results, see MARTIN *et al.*, *BASOR* 384, 234; MANNING *et al.*, *Science Reports* 10, 13785.



clearly differentiated spatial and temporal borders usually does not take into account local and regional variations, especially across transitional phases.<sup>9</sup> To show this, recent illustrations of chronological and/or stratigraphic developments have opted for different means to display variability, such as dotted or diagonal lines between units. This table also does not present solid lines to discern between periods, but rather grey transitions, some diagonal, at approximated shifts in an attempt to show that changes from one phase to another on a regional or supra-regional scale rarely occur at the same rate or the same exact moment in time, or at least a clearly distinguishable one in the evidence.

In view of these briefly discussed points, the chronology herein should be considered as a guide. It will surely be enhanced by continued interdisciplinary explorations into multiscale spatial and temporal developments and correlations across the Eastern Mediterranean, the outcomes of which can only benefit our research into the fascinating ways that communities connected in the Second Millennium BC.

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<sup>9</sup> For more on the impact of the culture-historical approach on chronological charts, see FEINMAN, NEITZEL, *JAA* 60.

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# **The History of the Discovery and Display of Ahhotep's Treasure**

*with a Section on the Journal d'Entrée*



# The Discovery of Queen Ahhotep's Burial at Dra Abu el-Naga (Thebes) in the Nineteenth Century AD: Between Tale and Archaeological Evidence

Gianluca Miniaci

## Abstract

In 1859 some Egyptian workmen digging in the northern sector of the Theban necropolis on behalf of Auguste Mariette brought to light the coffin of a queen called Ahhotep (Second Intermediate Period), which contained rare and unparalleled items, forming the largest “treasure” of the goldsmith’s art then known from Egypt. The discovery of the burial equipment quickly received international attention, triggering the need for more definite and appropriate contours of its story. Nonetheless, the accounts produced have wrongly been interpreted as archaeological reports, generating an inaccurate understanding of the events and assumptions handed down in the Western Egyptological tradition. The article aims at deconstructing and then reconstructing the history of this discovery through archival research, in order to: a) retrace the most important events in the timeline; b) determine the roles played by the people involved; c) provide the approximate spatial coordinates for location of the burial; d) shed light on the type of burial in which the coffin was found; e) determine the total number and type of recorded objects; f) analyse the consistency of the assemblage. The final objective is to define more realistic contours for the discovery, moving away from the narrative which Egyptological tradition contributed to build.

## Introduction

During October 1857, the French scholar Auguste Mariette<sup>1</sup> was sent to Egypt for an archaeological mission of eight months. The aim of this campaign was to collect Egyptian antiquities in order to prepare for the cultural journey of Prince Napoleon to Egypt. Works were set up throughout Egypt, from Alexandria into Aswan, especially concentrating in the Memphite necropolis, at Abydos, Thebes and Elephantine.<sup>2</sup> On June 1<sup>st</sup> 1858, Mariette was appointed at the head (as *mamour*) of a new institution for the conservation and excavation of Egyptian antiquities called *Maslahat al-Athar* (Antiquities Service) by the Viceroy Saïd Pasha<sup>3</sup> (see Table 2).

On the west bank of Thebes, Mariette set up his excavations in different spots in the hills of Dra Abu

el-Naga.<sup>4</sup> In 1859, Egyptian workmen digging in the northern sector of Dra Abu el-Naga, most probably on behalf of Mariette, brought to light the burial of a queen named Ahhotep,<sup>5</sup> which contained the largest “treasure” of the goldsmith’s art ever found in Egypt until then. The discovery had an international resonance at that time, due to the exceptional number of precious, luxury items as well as rare and unparalleled types. The burial assemblage of Ahhotep is still considered one of the most important discoveries in Egyptian archaeology.<sup>6</sup>

## Premise

The only publication of the funerary assemblage of Ahhotep was produced by Friedrich von Bissing in 1900. This publication aimed to be preliminary in view of a

<sup>1</sup> DAWSON, UPHILL, BIERBRIER, *Who Was Who*, 355-7; see also DAVID, *Mariette Pacha*.

<sup>2</sup> DESTI, *Des dieux, des tombeaux, un savant*, 20.

<sup>3</sup> See DE ROUGÉ, *CRAIBL* 2, 115-21.

<sup>4</sup> MINIACI, in BETRÒ, DEL VESCO, MINIACI (eds), *Seven Seasons*, 41-3.

<sup>5</sup> For the identity of Queen Ahhotep, see BETRÒ, “The Identity of Ahhotep and the Textual Sources”, in this volume.

<sup>6</sup> Cf. REEVES, *Ancient Egypt*, 50-1; ORSENIGO, in PIACENTINI (ed.), *Egypt and the pharaohs*.

more complete one, to be part of the *Catalogue Général* of Cairo, which never appeared.<sup>7</sup> No further attempts have been produced to re-assess the whole group, but objects have been randomly individually selected for study. A project for restudying the whole Ahhotep group was undertaken in 2020 by Gianluca Miniaci “*Queen Ahhotep Treasure and its Context: The long Road to the Egyptian Museum in Cairo, c. 1550 BC-1863 AD*”.

The archive documents which contain some relevant information about the Ahhotep discovery belong to the *Fonds Maspero* in the *Bibliothèque de l’Institut de France* in Paris: the letter of Maunier (Q.1), the two lists of February 25<sup>th</sup> 1859 (Q.7),<sup>8</sup> and some other administrative documents which could be related to the event (Q.9, Q.14). These documents originally belonged to Mariette and entered in possession of Maspero only at his death.<sup>9</sup> Other useful information are preserved in a notebook of Déveria in the Louvre Museum (see Q. 11, Q. 17 and *Appendix A* at the end of the article) and in the *Fonds Lacau* of the *Centre Wladimir Golénischeff* at the *École Pratique des Hautes Études* in Paris (Q.4-6).

The *Journal d’Entrée* numbering system has been adopted here for referring to the objects associated with the Ahhotep assemblage because it is the only system that uniformly records **all** the objects found in association with the queen’s burial.<sup>10</sup>

## The unsolved Questions

The accounts about the discovery of Ahhotep’s coffin too often have wrongly been interpreted as archaeological reports, although the person/s who discovered the coffin is/are still unknown. Egyptological literature attributes to Auguste Mariette the credit of the find, although he was miles away from Luxor at that moment; even his Egyptian foremen were not exclusively working only on his behalf at Thebes. The exact location of the queen’s burial and the type of structure in which it was found were forgotten since its discovery, and they are now lost.

The objects associated with the queen have predominantly been considered in terms of their aesthetic value

rather than being investigated as a group.<sup>11</sup> Their coexistence in a single context raised questions about whether the group was assembled in modern times, mixed lavish finds from other burials of the area, and/or really belonged to the queen. Remarkably, the burial equipment consisted almost exclusively of precious objects, made of the highest value metals and semi-precious stones of the time, *i.e.* gold, silver, electrum, turquoise, lapis-lazuli, carnelian, and feldspar. Even more surprisingly, all these objects were found – according to the accounts of the time – packed inside the coffin, used as a sort of all-inclusive storage space or “treasure trove”. Finally, none of the objects are inscribed for the queen herself and those bearing inscriptions only refer to the Kings Kamose and Ahmose (in at least seven cases, there is evidence that this is Ahmose Nebpehtyre).<sup>12</sup> To further cloud things, the body inside the coffin – if it was ever present – was destroyed soon after its discovery in the search for precious objects. Therefore, the “identity” of the person contained inside the coffin has been lost forever and the assumption that those objects belonged to Queen Ahhotep is mainly grounded in the fact they were found inside a coffin inscribed with her name.

Therefore, the discovery of Ahhotep’s assemblage and its archaeological context are still shrouded in mystery and inconsistency. Such a level of ambiguity has raised among scholars questions of what the diggers actually found in Dra Abu el-Naga in the mid-nineteenth century: the expected royal original funerary structure of the queen (unseen, since not reported in the accounts), a simpler burial (shaft tomb without a burial chamber/surface burial), or a cache; an intact or a secondary deposition (disturbed or rehashed burial); a standard funerary assemblage or an ancient/modern assemblage of disparate items.

The aim of this paper is to reassess the question, providing all the available pieces of information currently known, noting down the secure and indisputable evidence, highlighting the inconsistencies, and questioning the insecure elements, which generated assumptions then fostered and handed down in Egyptological literature.

<sup>7</sup> See below § **The Timeline of the Discovery and successive related Events**, 1900, p. 34-5. See also VON BISSING, *Ein thebanischer Grabfund*.

<sup>8</sup> MINIACI, “The original Inventory List of the Queen Ahhotep ‘Treasure’ from Mariette’s Papers (*BIF* Paris, *Fonds Maspero*, Ms. 4052)”, in this volume.

<sup>9</sup> See below § **People involved with the Discovery and its Transmission**, *Gaston Maspero*, p. 41-2.

<sup>10</sup> For cross-references to *CG*, *TR*, *SR*, other inventory numbers or lost locations, see MINIACI, “Notes on the Journal d’Entrée Entries for Queen Ahhotep’s Assemblage”, in this volume, Tables 2-3.

<sup>11</sup> The only full publication of the group – which appeared 40 years after the discovery – is credited to von Bissing, who was not even born at the time of the discovery (DAWSON, UPHILL, BIERBRIER, *Who Was Who*, 60-1), VON BISSING, *Ein thebanischer Grabfund*. Von Bissing visited Egypt for the first time in 1897, ABOU-GHAZI, *ASAE* 67, 29.

<sup>12</sup> See below § **The Burial Assemblage**, *Absence of the queen’s name on the objects*, p. 62-3. See also discussions in BETRÒ, “The Identity of Ahhotep and the Textual Sources”, in this volume; and BISTON-MOULIN, *ENiM* 5, 66. See also below Table 4.

## Written Reports produced in Conjunction with the Discovery

Before tackling any of these questions, all the available accounts of Ahhotep's discovery must be carefully considered, since none of them can be taken as reliable archaeological reports. The discovery of the coffin attributed to Auguste Mariette first-hand must be reconsidered since he was directing things from Cairo and was moving up and down the Nile in his steamboat, the *Samanoud*.<sup>13</sup> A letter from Victor Maunier (Q.1) and other later accounts (cf. Q.10, Q.12-13) clearly document that Mariette was in Cairo at the moment of the discovery of Ahhotep's coffin, which was actually a matter in the hands of Egyptian workmen and foremen. However, so far no sketch or written notes from any of them is preserved or known today. Many of them may have been illiterate, but also Arabic archival documentation has only rarely been considered by Egyptologists.<sup>14</sup> The only known written documentation close to the time of the discovery is provided by oral accounts noted down (and filtered?) by European Egyptologists and explorers circulating in Luxor or revolving around the figure of Mariette.

The most detailed information – and apparently the closest in time – about the unearthing of the coffin is to be found in a letter written by Maunier<sup>15</sup> to Mariette, supposedly drafted the day after the discovery (“hier”). Unfortunately, the letter does not bear any date, probably once placed in the worn upper part of the sheet. The letter, published by Maspero, is now in the *Bibliothèque de l'Institut de France* in the *Fonds Maspero* together with other documents of Mariette's excavations at Dra Abu el-Naga<sup>16</sup> from 1858-63 (Fig. 1a-b).

**Q.1** – “*Mon cher Monsieur Mariette,*  
*J'ai le plaisir de vous donner avis que vos reys de Gourneh ont trouvé à Dra-Abou-Naggi [read Dra Abu el-Naga], une magnifique boîte de momie, et une caisse renfermant quatre vases en albâtre, variés de formes, sans couvercles ni inscriptions, trouvés à côté de la boîte de la momie. La boîte de la momie a le couvercle entièrement doré, une inscription longitudinale, que j'ai copiée ci-derrière ; les yeux sont en émail enchâssés dans un cercle en or ; sur la tête est un serpent Uréus en relief, malheureusement la tête du serpent manque, elle devait être en or à juger à la richesse de la boîte. Quelques petits conflits ont eu lieu ces jours-passés entre vos reys de Gourneh et Bédaoui-Efendi. Ce dernier,*

*il paraît en l'absence du reys Aouad, s'est permis d'ouvrir une boîte de momie, qui était dans votre magasin à Gourneh et d'en démailloter le cadavre [not referring to Ahhotep]. Aouad est arrivé à la fin de l'opération ; de là, grande discussion. Hier quand vos reys eurent trouvé la belle boîte ils m'en ont prévenu immédiatement, mon intervention vous l'a conservée intacte. Par précaution je l'ai fait transporter dans votre magasin de Karnac, après y avoir apposé à la cire d'Espagne le grand cachet V.G.M. Cette opération a fait faire la grimace à plus d'un qui aurait bien voulu voir ce qu'il y avait dans le Sendouk bita' el-Sultana [...]. Nous comptons que vous allez nous revenir dans une quinzaine au plus tard ; nous sommes depuis votre départ dans une solitude thébaine [...].*

*V. G. Maunier*<sup>17</sup> – Maunier<sup>17</sup>

In his letter, Maunier notified Mariette about the fact that the coffin of the queen had been discovered at Dra Abu el-Naga and it was left untouched. To this letter, Maunier added a very faithful hand-copy of the hieroglyphic inscription visible on the coffin<sup>18</sup> (see Fig. 1b). The central part of the letter is not connected with Ahhotep but it rather focuses on an event which frequently happened at that time: a local official of the governor of Qena province, Bedawy Effendi,<sup>19</sup> visited Mariette's storerooms in Qurna and opened some sealed coffins, ravaging the mummies.<sup>20</sup>

Unfortunately, Maunier did not add any information about the people involved with and the place of the discovery of Ahhotep's coffin, nor did he add any type of data on the structure in which it was found. The relationship with Mariette's excavations is rather clouded; the discovery is not attributed to a specific *rais* (the very active *rais* Sheikh Awad is mentioned in connection with another event) but vaguely to some *ruasa*<sup>21</sup> who are tied to Mariette.<sup>22</sup> The *ruasa* were not necessarily expected to constantly be on the excavation spot, so it is possible that none of them were present at the moment of discovery. Also, the presence of Mariette's workmen could be questioned, since in that time at Thebes, temporary – and partially independent – diggers were circulating and they were selling their discovered antiquities to the various

<sup>17</sup> BIF Ms 4030, f. 393. Reposted also in MASPERO, *RT* 12, 214. The emphasis is mine.

<sup>18</sup> See also BETRÒ, “The Identity of Ahhotep and the Textual Sources”, in this volume, fig. 1.

<sup>19</sup> See below, § **People involved with the Discovery and its Transmission**, Bedawy Effendi, p. 38.

<sup>20</sup> Cf. below, § **People involved with the Discovery and its Transmission**, Fadil Pasha, p. 36-8-3.

<sup>21</sup> The term *ruasa* is here preferred to *raises*, as the plural of *rais*.

<sup>22</sup> See also below § **People involved with the Discovery and its Transmission**, *Egyptian workmen and foremen*.

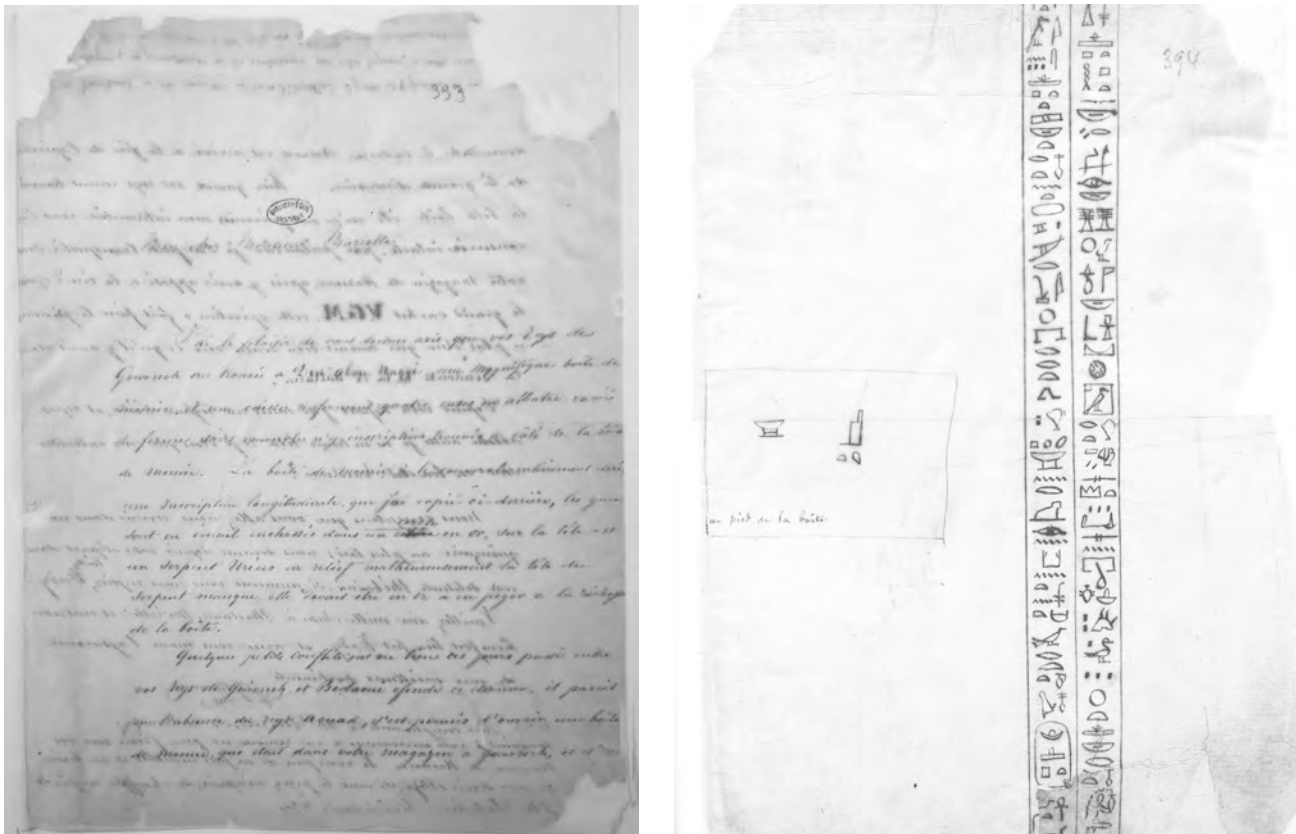
<sup>13</sup> THOMPSON, *Wonderful Things*, vol. I, 230.

<sup>14</sup> Cf. discussions in QUIRKE, *Hidden hands*, 33, 36, 306-7.

<sup>15</sup> See below § **People involved with the Discovery and its Transmission**, Victor Maunier, p. 36.

<sup>16</sup> See above, p. 28, n. 8, and below, p. 41.





**Fig. 1a-b** – Letter written by Victor Maunier to Auguste Mariette about the discovery of Ahhotep’s coffin – supposedly – in February 1859. *1a*) First page of the letter (undated/date lost); *Fonds Maspero*, Ms 4030, f. 393 *1b*) Fac-simile of the inscription on the coffin of the Queen Ahhotep; handwriting of Maunier; *Fonds Maspero*, Ms 4030, f. 394

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*ruasa* of Thebes (cf. **Q.34**). In addition, Maunier, acting also as antiquities dealer in Luxor, placed over the coffin his own sealing, probably with a view to a possible profit. The general impression from this account is that the Ahhotep discovery was “claimed” from multiple sources: private diggers (**Q.34**; see also **Q.12**), some of the *ruasa* of Mariette, Maunier, and the governor of Qena.

Only four official reports were produced around the time of the discovery (see Table 1, uppermost row):

**R.1**) a report signed on behalf of Mariette and presented at the *Séance du 5 juin 1859* and published in the *Bulletin de l’Institut Egyptien*, in which there are no details about the discovery;<sup>23</sup>

**R.2**) another short report signed on behalf of Mariette presented at the *Séance du 26 août 1859* and published in *Comptes rendus des séances de l’Académie des Inscriptions & Belles-Lettres* of 1862;<sup>24</sup>

**R.3**) a letter of March 14<sup>th</sup> 1860 addressed by Mariette to the *Vicomte de Rougé* published in the *Revue archéologique* of the same year;<sup>25</sup>

**R.4**) a more extensive report, with coloured plates of most of the objects, produced by Ernest Desjardins for the *Revue générale de l’architecture et des travaux publics* of 1860; this report aimed to be only a temporary description of Mariette’s results in Dra Abu el-Naga but it actually remained the only comprehensive account of the time.<sup>26</sup>

The main person responsible for passing on the account of the discovery of the coffin is Ernest Desjardins,<sup>27</sup> who drew up the preliminary information about the excavations of Mariette for his work in Egypt 1850-54 and 1858-60. Desjardins, with the help of Mariette’s notes, reconstructed a version of the discovery of the coffin (**R.4**). However, the account is *per se* already tendentious, almost turning that event into a novel: Mariette is described by Desjardins as a nineteenth century “hero”, carrying out excavations in first person (while he was in reality somewhere in Cairo) and encountering the body of the dead queen (while there is no report about the body

<sup>23</sup> MARIETTE, *BIE* 1, 32-6.

<sup>24</sup> MARIETTE, *CRAIBL* 3, 161-3.

<sup>25</sup> MARIETTE, *RAr* 2, 29; the date of the letter should be wrong-

ly typed, “Bédéréchyn, le 14 mars 1850 [sic]”. See also **Q.28**.

<sup>26</sup> DESJARDINS, *RGa* 18, 98-112. See **Q.2**, **Q.18-19**, **Q.27**, **Q.37**.

<sup>27</sup> See below, § **People involved with the Discovery and its Transmission**, Ernest Desjardins, p. 39.



inside the coffin); the assemblage had been reduced to a treasure, focussing only on the gold and silver items.

**Q.2** – “*M. Mariette trouva le corps de la reine Aah-Hotep littéralement couvert et enveloppé d’objets d’or et d’argent*” – Desjardins<sup>28</sup>

This story has been passed down in the Egyptological tradition and since then almost mechanically repeated.

**Q.3** – “*The circumstances of their discovery are as follows: – In 1859, M. Mariette had remarked, at the entrance of the valley of the Biban-el-Melook, or Valley of the Tombs of the Kings, in the Gournah quarter of Thebes, a strip of earth, formed of fragments of stone and broken pottery, revealing the situation of an ancient sepulchre. On the 5th February, 1859, a magnificent gilded wooden coffin was found there in a pit of between 15 and 18 feet deep*” – Birch<sup>29</sup>

### The Timeline of the Discovery and successive related Events (see Tables 1-2)

**November 1858** = At the beginning of November 1858, Mariette’s excavations started in the area of Qurna,<sup>30</sup> as explicitly mentioned in a number of letters written by the French scholar in which he reminded the governor of Qena that his *ruasa* of Qurna (especially *rais* Awad) should have been paid for the work done (“*Les travaux de S. A. ont commencé depuis deux mois et 24 jours* [letter dated to January 24<sup>th</sup> 1859], *et par conséquent on devra, de 84 jours aux réis* [damage]”).<sup>31</sup>

**January 1859** = The *Inventaire de Boulaq*,<sup>32</sup> recorded by Mariette himself<sup>33</sup> for the entries of Ahhotep, reported the month of January 1859 as the date of discovery (“*Gournah / Drahou l’Neggah / Janv. 1859*”), which is repeated in the *Journal d’Entrée* and in the various entries

<sup>28</sup> DESJARDINS, *RGA* 18, 99.

<sup>29</sup> BIRCH, *Facsimiles*, 1.

<sup>30</sup> The toponym “Gurnah”/“Gournah”/“Qurneh”/“Qurna”, was used by explorers and archaeologists of the nineteenth century to indicate either the west bank of Luxor or, more specifically, the northern part of Dra Abu el-Naga, MINIACI, in BETRÒ, DEL VESCO, MINIACI, *Seven Seasons*, 15. In **Q.4** there is a clear indication that at least by January 24<sup>th</sup> 1859 the excavations should have moved to an area of Dra Abu el-Naga in search for Second Intermediate Period burials.

<sup>31</sup> Letter of Mariette to the governor of Qena, Luxor 24<sup>th</sup> January 1859, *EPHE Golénischeff*, Ms. boîte 44, pièce 43. Transcription courtesy of Thomas Lebée.

<sup>32</sup> See MINIACI, “Notes on the Journal d’Entrée Entries for Queen Ahhotep’s Assemblage”, in this volume, p. 85.

<sup>33</sup> The handwriting for the entries of Ahhotep belongs to Mariette; information by Elisabeth David.

of the *Catalogue Général des antiquités égyptiennes du Musée du Caire*. The letter of Maunier to Mariette (**Q.1**) – which is the closest written testimony of the discovery – is unfortunately left undated or the date is lost, given the bad state of preservation of the document (see Fig. 1).

**24<sup>th</sup> January 1859** = A letter written in Luxor by Mariette to his *rais* Awad and dated January 24<sup>th</sup> 1859 indicates that until then no significant discovery had been made in Qurna area.

**Q.4** – “*A Aouad, réis des travaux de Gournah.*

*Demain vous prendrez 75 hommes avec vous et vous les mettez à Gournah pour chercher des boîtes de momies de l’espèce de ceux que vous nommez richi. Vous enverrez Aly avec les 25 autres hommes à Deir-el-Bahari et vous lui direz de nettoyer ta complètement la chambre que j’ai fait ensabler. Dans quelques jours je désire enlever des pierres de cette chambre.*

*Louqsor, 24 Janvier 1858,*” – Mariette<sup>34</sup>

Other documents of Mariette dated to January 24<sup>th</sup> 1859 reveal his clear disappointment at the lack of any notable discoveries.

**Q.5** – “*Jusqu’à présent on vous doit 84 jours. Mais comme, en mon absence, vous n’avez pas trouvé beaucoup de choses, je vous retranche 24 jours de paie*” – Mariette<sup>35</sup>

**Q.6** – “*Mais comme, en mon absence, vous avez été négligent et que vous n’avez rien trouvé, je vous retranche en punition 24 jours de paie*” – Mariette<sup>36</sup>

Therefore, presumably the treasure of Queen Ahhotep was not found before January 24<sup>th</sup>. In addition, these documents substantiate that Mariette was in Luxor at least till January 24<sup>th</sup>: the discovery of the treasure must have occurred at a later date.

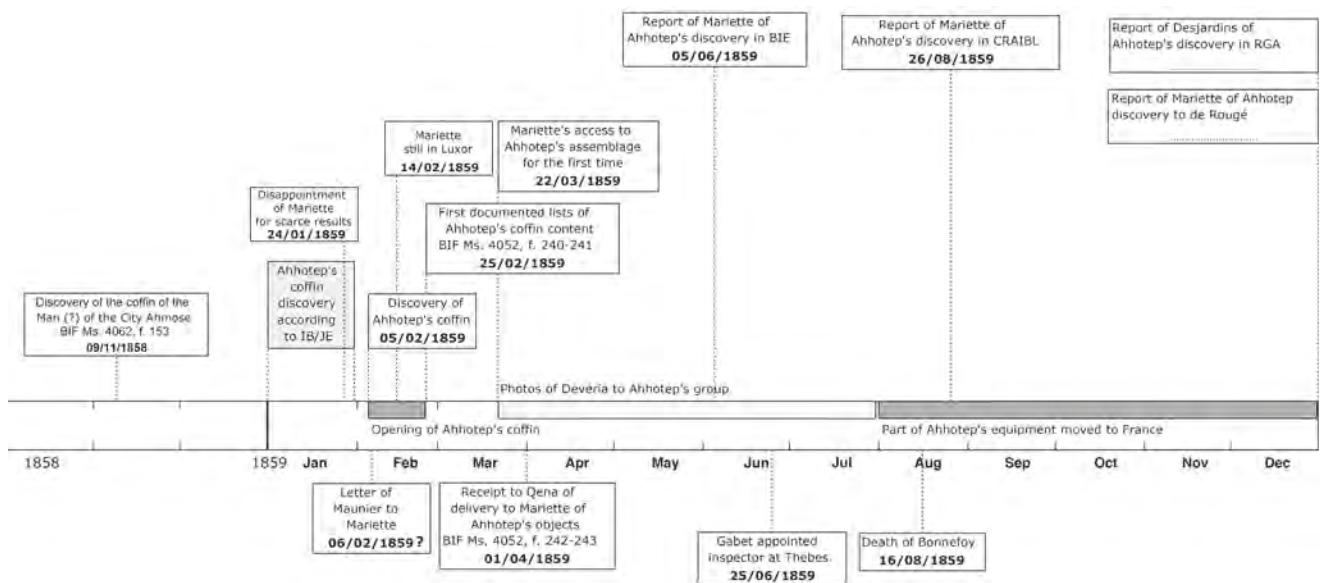
**5<sup>th</sup> February 1859** = The accounts of Mariette and Desjardins (see above, **R.2**, **R.4**) provide a more precise date for the discovery of the coffin, which is stated to have occurred precisely on February 5<sup>th</sup> 1859 (**Q.27**), later followed also by Birch (**Q.3**), Maspero (**Q.29**),<sup>37</sup> and Winlock (**Q.30**). This date conflicts with the month

<sup>34</sup> Letter of Mariette to Awad, Luxor 24<sup>th</sup> January 1859, *EPHE Golénischeff*, Ms. boîte 44, pièce 44. Transcription courtesy of Thomas Lebée.

<sup>35</sup> Letter of Mariette to Awad, Luxor 24<sup>th</sup> January 1859, *EPHE Golénischeff*, Ms. boîte 44, pièce 46. Transcription courtesy of Thomas Lebée.

<sup>36</sup> Letter of Mariette to his *ruasa*, Luxor 24<sup>th</sup> January 1859, *EPHE Golénischeff*, Ms. boîte 44, pièce 47. Transcription courtesy of Thomas Lebée.

<sup>37</sup> MASPERO, in MARIETTE (ed.), *Oeuvres diverses*, cii.



**Table 1** – Chronological table for the year 1859, highlighting the main events in relation to the Ahhotep discovery and the publication of its “notice”; graphic by Gianluca Miniaci

recorded in the *IB/JE* (January) and with a letter written by Mariette in Luxor on February 14<sup>th</sup> (see below).

**14<sup>th</sup> February 1859** = In the archives of the Centre Wladimir Golénischeff at the *EPHE* is a letter written by Mariette to the governor of Qena while being in Luxor [sic] dated to February 14<sup>th</sup>.<sup>38</sup> The date and place of the letter should be reliable enough, since on February 21<sup>st</sup> Mariette was in Asyut (probably sailing back to Cairo).<sup>39</sup> There is no mention in the letter of the discovery of the queen’s coffin. Therefore, there are only two possible options: either Mariette had not been informed about the discovery of the queen’s coffin (although the news should have had a certain resonance in Luxor) or this must have happened after Mariette’s departure from Luxor, sometime after February 14<sup>th</sup>.

**25<sup>th</sup> February 1859** = Two copies of the coffin’s contents, drawn up in Arabic and in French, contain the first known inventory list of the objects associated with Queen Ahhotep.<sup>40</sup> The two lists are both dated to February 25<sup>th</sup> 1859 (23 Ragab 1275 of the Hijri calendar)<sup>41</sup> and were found among the papers in possession of Mariette, later passed to Maspero.

**Q.7** – “*Copie d’une liste adressée par le Moudir de Kineh à la Maïeh Sanieh en date du 23 Ragab 1275 N 16 [25<sup>th</sup> February 1859] contenant les antiquités trouvées à Gurné*” – anonymous (French version)

“*Copy of a list in which there is description of ancient objects found in the tomb of el-Qurna, in the directorate of Qena, returned to Ma’iyyeh, on the date of the 23<sup>rd</sup> of Ragab, year 1275 (Hijry) [25<sup>th</sup> February 1859], 16*” – anonymous (Arabic version)<sup>42</sup>

Both lists seem to have been drafted from another original document which was composed on February 25<sup>th</sup> and certainly before the objects from the Ahhotep burial had been shipped by the governor of Qena to Cairo. The February 25<sup>th</sup> date might also correspond with the date of the official opening of the coffin,<sup>43</sup> since the majority of testimonies suggest that the coffin was only opened at a later date by the governor of Qena (cf. **Q.10**, **Q.12-13**; *contra* see **Q.34**). However, between its discovery (presumably February 5<sup>th</sup>) and February 25<sup>th</sup>, at the latest, the coffin was opened (see Table 1). The manner in which these two documents came into the possession of Mariette is unknown; one could have been copied in Upper Egypt and accompanied the boat during the transport of boxes containing the “treasure” (cf. **Q.14**), while the other could have been copied in Cairo and officially passed onto Mariette by the central

<sup>38</sup> Letter of Mariette to the governor of Qena, Luxor 14<sup>th</sup> February 1859, *EPHE Golénischeff*, Ms. boîte 44, pièce 48. Transcription courtesy of Thomas Lebée.

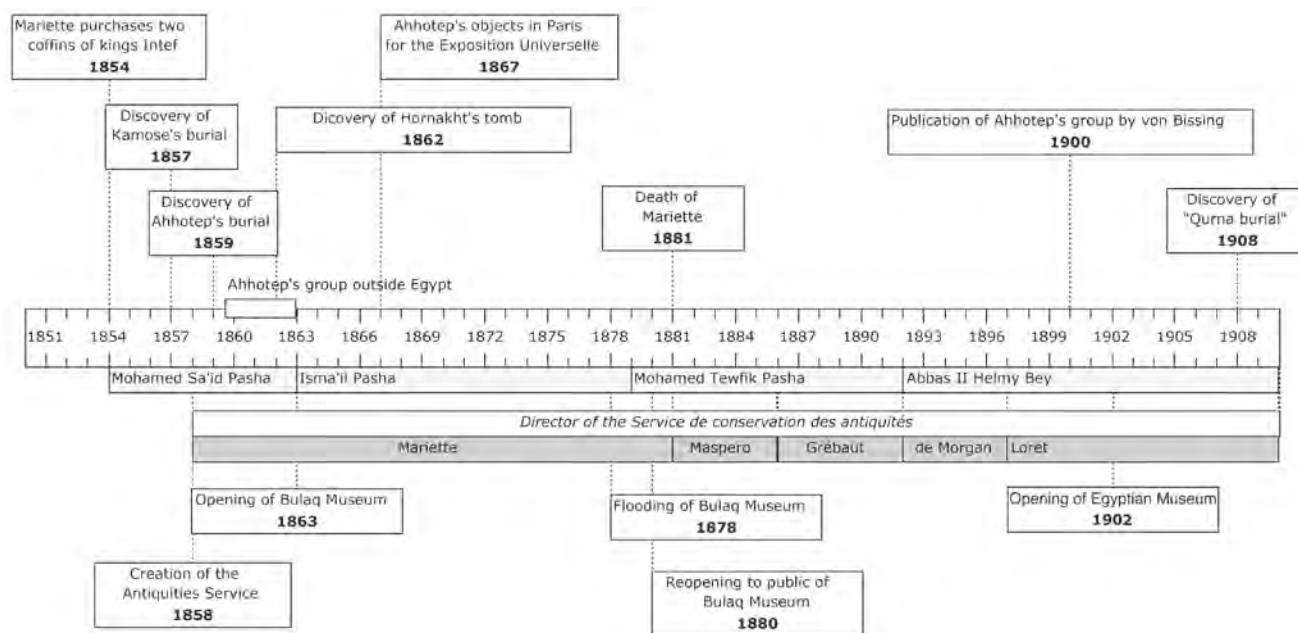
<sup>39</sup> Letter of Mariette to the *nazir* of Garga, Asyut 21<sup>st</sup> February 1859, *EPHE Golénischeff*, Ms. boîte 44, pièce 49. Transcription courtesy of Thomas Lebée.

<sup>40</sup> MINIACI, “The original Inventory List of the Queen Ahhotep ‘Treasure’”, in this volume.

<sup>41</sup> For the correspondence with the Gregorian calendar, see <https://calendarhijri.com/en>.

<sup>42</sup> BIF Ms. 4052, f. 240-241. The emphasis is mine. See also MINIACI, “The original Inventory List of the Queen Ahhotep ‘Treasure’ from Mariette’s Papers (BIF Paris, Fonds Maspero, Ms. 4052)”, in this volume.

<sup>43</sup> See below, § **People involved with the Discovery and its Transmission**, *Fadil Pasha*, p. 36-8.



**Table 2** – Chronological table for the time span 1850-1900, highlighting the main events in relation to the Ahhotep assemblage and Mariette excavations at Dra Abu el-Naga North; graphic by Gianluca Miniaci

administration or by his employees. They seem to correspond to the same documents mentioned by Théodule Devéria<sup>44</sup> in his account about the recovery of the treasure by Mariette on the boat:

**Q.8** – “*M. Mariette en reçut l’inventaire d’un de ses employés arabes. Le gouverneur en avait de son côté expédié la liste au vice-roi, en le prévenant de l’envoi direct de ces objets à la Cour khédiviale [...]. Les deux listes comparées étaient assez bien d’accord, mais elles nous parurent singulièrement exagérées, quant au nombre des choses décrites et quant à leur poids d’or. Munis d’un ordre ministériel, conférant le droit d’arrêter tous les bateaux chargés de curiosités et de les transborder sur notre vapeur*” – Devéria<sup>45</sup>

**22<sup>nd</sup> March 1859** = After its opening, the coffin together with its funerary equipment was shipped from Upper Egypt to Cairo by the governor of Qena. On 21<sup>st</sup> March Mariette, impatient and afraid about the destiny of the queen’s equipment once it would have arrived in the docks of Cairo, decided not to wait and intercept the boat transporting the treasure downstream along the Nile under the surveillance of Bedawy Effendi<sup>46</sup> (**Q.9**). On

March 22<sup>nd</sup>, after one day boat journey, Mariette came into possession of the Ahhotep treasure.<sup>47</sup> Devéria, who was accompanying Mariette on the boat in that journey, provided a brief and vivid account about the event.<sup>48</sup> From this account, the “treasure” of Ahhotep seems to have been inaccessible to Mariette for inspection, most probably still locked inside some packing cases or resealed inside the coffin itself. It is very likely that the funerary assemblage had been unpacked by Mariette only after after the arrival at Bulaq, where Devéria took some photos of the coffin and its content.<sup>49</sup> According to Maspero, once back in Cairo, the objects had been offered by Mariette to Saïd Pasha, who took for himself only a necklace and the scarab, which would have eventually returned into the group not too long after.<sup>50</sup>

**1<sup>st</sup> April 1859** = Among the papers of Mariette preserved in the *BIF* in Paris, there is a copy (both in French and Arabic) of a receipt-letter dated to April 1<sup>st</sup> 1859 (27 Shaban 1275 of the Hijri calendar)<sup>51</sup> sent by the Maïeh in Cairo to the governor of Qena. The letter attests the re-

<sup>44</sup> See below, § **People involved with the Discovery and its Transmission**, *Théodule Devéria*, p. 38-9.

<sup>45</sup> MASPERO, in MARIETTE (ed.), *Oeuvres diverses*, cii. The emphasis is mine.

<sup>46</sup> See below, § **People involved with the Discovery and its Transmission**, *Bedawy Effendi*, p. 38.

<sup>47</sup> MASPERO, in MARIETTE (ed.), *Oeuvres diverses*, ciii; see also DAVID, *Mariette Pacha*, 114.

<sup>48</sup> The content of the account is reported in MASPERO, in MARIETTE (ed.), *Oeuvres diverses*, cii-ciii; translated into English by WINLOCK, *JEA* 10, 252-3.

<sup>49</sup> See below, § **People involved with the Discovery and its Transmission**, *Théodule Devéria*, p. 38-9.

<sup>50</sup> MASPERO, in MARIETTE (ed.), *Oeuvres diverses*, civ; DAVID, *Mariette Pacha*, 115.

<sup>51</sup> For the correspondence with the Gregorian calendar, see <https://calendarhijri.com/en>.



cept of the “antiquities in gold” sent to Cairo and their transmission to Mariette for custody:

**Q.9** – “*Copie de la traduction d’une lettre adressée par la Maïeh au Moudir de Kéneh en date 27 Shaban 1275 N 15* [1<sup>st</sup> April 1859]. *La Maïeh accuse réception de votre lettre et en réponse, Elle vous averti que les antiquités en or adressées à la Maïeh sous la surveillance de Bedaoui effendi ont été remises entre les mains de M. Mariette*” – Maïeh in Cairo<sup>52</sup>

Given the close date and the specific mention of objects in gold, this letter seems to refer to Ahhotep’s treasure and was presumably sent in response to the communication of the governor of Qena who informed the Khedival court that he had shipped the coffin and its precious assemblage to Cairo. In this case the antiquities were accompanied on the boat by Bedawy Effendi, a person not particularly dear to Mariette (cf. **Q.14**).

**August 1859-1862** = Most of the objects from the assemblage were brought to Paris for an exhibition in August 1859 at the *Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres* and in the autumn of the same year were cleaned and restored in France. Not all the objects were brought to Paris, since at least the coffin remained in Cairo. Afterwards, Mariette had them exhibited in Boulogne-sur-Mer.<sup>53</sup> There is no information – easy to be retrieved – about the destiny of the objects after 1859, but in 1862 they were displayed in London at the *International Exhibition*.<sup>54</sup>

**16<sup>th</sup> October 1863** = On October 16<sup>th</sup> 1863, Mariette inaugurated the first national museum to open to the public in Egypt, the Bulaq Museum:<sup>55</sup> it housed the assemblage of the Queen Ahhotep which represented one of the main attractions for the museum.<sup>56</sup> In this year, at the latest, the whole burial assemblage received a number in the *Inventaire de Bulaq*, later repeated in the *Journal d’Entrée* of the Egyptian Museum in Cairo.<sup>57</sup>

**April-November 1867** = The objects from Ahhotep’s coffin were brought to France in order to be part of the

*Exposition Universelle* which took place in Paris in 1867, from April to November.<sup>58</sup> The exhibition was a great success, and the “treasure” played an essential role for the impact of Egyptian archaeology among the international community. During this time, the whole assemblage ran the risk of being torn apart, since the Empress Eugénie strongly expressed her desire to possess some of Ahhotep’s jewellery.<sup>59</sup> However, all the pieces safely returned to Egypt thanks to the opposition of Mariette.<sup>60</sup>

**October 1878** = In the month of October 1878, the Bulaq Museum and the house of Mariette suffered from a violent flooding. This event had little impact on the objects of Ahhotep, but it damaged the written documentation produced by Mariette. Indeed, in a letter of von Bissing to Maspero, an “*inventaire de Mariette*” concerning the assemblage of Queen Ahhotep is mentioned in order to facilitate the reconstruction of the *wesekh* collar.<sup>61</sup> This document seems to prove that the documentation produced by or in the hands of Mariette in relation to the assemblage of Ahhotep was larger than that preserved today.

**1881** = On January 18<sup>th</sup> 1881, Mariette died and was succeeded by Gaston Maspero in the direction of the museum and antiquities service (*Maslahat al-Athar*). Mariette’s books, papers, notes, and manuscripts were bought by the French government in 1882 on the advice of Maspero and brought to Paris for the archives of the *Bibliothèque nationale de France*.<sup>62</sup> At present, no relevant documents concerning Ahhotep’s group are known in Mariette’s archives in the *BnF*, but there is a group of documents preserved in the archives of the *Bibliothèque de l’Institut de France* in Paris.<sup>63</sup>

**1900** = In 1900, Friedrich Wilhelm von Bissing published Ahhotep’s objects, which aimed to be a full publication of the group, providing descriptions for most of the objects, photographs (a few) and drawings (mainly) (see also Pls III-VI).<sup>64</sup> Nonetheless, he did not provide the *Journal d’Entrée* inventory numbers for them, but he instead followed the arrangement of elements in his

<sup>52</sup> BIF Ms. 4052, f. 242 (Arabic version f. 243).

<sup>53</sup> PODVIN, *Auguste Mariette*, 118, 121.

<sup>54</sup> BIRCH, *Facsimiles*.

<sup>55</sup> The museum of Bulaq constituted the nucleus of the collection of the Egyptian Museum in Cairo, and it was formed by those objects collected during Mariette’s previous excavations. See ABOU-GHAZI, *ASAE* 67, 15; LEBÉE, *Le musée d’antiquités*, 137-43; PIACENTINI, in PIACENTINI (ed.), *Egypt and the pharaohs*, 5-45; PIACENTINI, RONDOT, in ELDAMATY, TRAD (eds), *Egyptian Museum Collections*, 949-56; PIACENTINI, in RAFFAELE, NUZZOLO, INCORDINO (eds), *Recent discoveries*, 221-36.

<sup>56</sup> See also EL-SHAZLY, “The Display History of the Ahhotep Treasure”, in this volume.

<sup>57</sup> See below, § **The Burial Assemblage**, *Total number of recorded objects*, p. 57.

<sup>58</sup> NOUR, *MDCCC 1800* 6, 35-49.

<sup>59</sup> ABOU-GHAZI, *ASAE* 67, 19-20.

<sup>60</sup> DAVID, *Mariette Pacha*, 181-2; THOMPSON, *Wonderful Things*, vol. I, 235.

<sup>61</sup> BIF Ms. 4005, f. 473 is dated to the “17 février 1907”, and is, therefore, later than von Bissing’s publication in 1900, which was intended not to be the ultimate report.

<sup>62</sup> DAVID, *Gaston Maspero*, 81.

<sup>63</sup> See above, § **Introduction**, *Premises*, p. 27-8. See also below, § **People involved with the Discovery and its Transmission**, *Gaston Maspero*, p. 41. MINIACI, “The original Inventory List of the Queen Ahhotep ‘Treasure’ from Mariette’s Papers (BIF Paris, *Fonds Maspero*, Ms. 4052)”, in this volume.

<sup>64</sup> VON BISSING, *Ein thebanischer Grabfund*.

own plate section.<sup>65</sup> The absence of consistent inventory numbering creates some difficulties in providing a solid reference system for the entire group. Von Bissing had planned a special issue for the *Catalogue Général* series specifically devoted to the assemblage of the queen with dedicated new inventory numbers,<sup>66</sup> but this project never saw light. In addition, von Bissing decided that the objects coming from Kamose's coffin (the mirror,<sup>67</sup> the bracelet,<sup>68</sup> and the dagger<sup>69</sup> – in addition to a scarab and a few amulets which unfortunately were lost) should have belonged to Queen Ahhotep too, so he mingled all the objects together, creating a layer of misinterpretation, occasionally still repeated in Egyptological literature nowadays.<sup>70</sup>

### People involved with the Discovery and its Transmission

**Egyptian workmen and foremen** = Apparently, the Egyptian workmen and foremen were the only direct witnesses to the discovery. Among those “invisible” people, there were probably the *ruasa*<sup>71</sup> on the “payroll” of Mariette at Thebes (cf. Q.1). However, no direct information from any of them is currently known, although a certain amount of written documentation on the excavations would have been produced. For instance, from a letter of Mariette it is known that he expected some of the Egyptian people supervising the excavations on his behalf to produce written reports concerning the state of the works and discoveries, as well as indicating which antiquities were being shipped to the governorate store-rooms.<sup>72</sup>

At Dra Abu el-Naga, *rais* Sheik Awad was the man responsible for reporting to Mariette (referred to in his

letters as “*rèis des traveaux de Gourneh*”; see Q.4), although there were at least two other *ruasa* who could have partnered him. A document of Mariette addressed to the governor of Qena explicitly states that the *ruasa* Sheik Awad and Aly (Rabbah Ali?) had been appointed to supervise excavations in Qurna (“*j’ai eu l’honneur de vous remettre relativement aux rèis des travaux d’antiquités, je vous prie d’inscrire comme rèis : [...] Pour Gournah, les nommés Aouad et Aly*”).<sup>73</sup> In another document of January 24<sup>th</sup> 1859, Mariette mentions a certain Moustapha-agma, “*cawass des traveaux de Gournah*”.<sup>74</sup> A note of Vassalli in his *Album di disegni* (f. 111v) mentions some other *ruasa* who were probably supervising excavations on Mariette's behalf at Thebes a few years later (1863): “*Reis Rabbah Ali. Gournah / Ali Kalifeh Gournah. El Baharat / Ali Mohamed Gournah / Demmerai – Luxor / Cavass Hussein ay. (?)*”.<sup>75</sup> However, no other indications are provided and they could have been assigned to different areas of Thebes (cf. for instance, Mohammed Damaroui was assigned to Karnak in 1859).<sup>76</sup> The exact number of workmen employed by Mariette at Dra Abu el-Naga should be 75, known from a letter of Mariette to the *rais* Awad (Q.4).<sup>77</sup> Since in nineteenth century Egypt a workforce of twenty to thirty-five workers was usually supervised by a single *rais*,<sup>78</sup> the presence of more than one *rais* for Mariette's larger number of workers is not inconceivable at Dra Abu el-Naga at that time.

Carter gave a different account of the discovery, unrelated to Mariette and instead connected to the private (illicit?) “enterprise” of a man called Ahmed Saïd el-Hagg<sup>79</sup> (Q.34; cf. Q.12). However, also in this case there are no direct sources.

<sup>65</sup> MINIACI, “Notes on the Journal d’Entrée Entries for Queen Ahhotep’s Assemblage”, in this volume, Table 5.

<sup>66</sup> See MINIACI, “Notes on the Journal d’Entrée Entries for Queen Ahhotep’s Assemblage”, in this volume.

<sup>67</sup> Louvre E 3458; DESTI, *Des dieux, des tombeaux, un savant*, 221.

<sup>68</sup> Louvre E 7168; DESTI, *Des dieux, des tombeaux, un savant*, 220.

<sup>69</sup> Bruxelles, Royal Library of Belgium, Coin Cabinet; BEN AMAR, *In Monte Artium* 5, 45-67.

<sup>70</sup> VON BISSING, *Ein thebanischer Grabfund*, 24; cf. BOVOT, in HEIN (ed.), *Pharaonen und Fremde*, 263, nr. 364 and fig.

<sup>71</sup> DOYON, in CARRUTHERS (ed.), *Histories of Egyptology*, 145, 147.

<sup>72</sup> See for instance the letter of Mariette addressed to the *nazir des traveaux d’antiquités* of Girga: “*Vous m’adresserez des rapports sur le résultats des traveaux en mettant votre lettre à la poste à mon adresse au Caire [...]. A ce rapport vous aurez toujours soin de joindre un état des antiquités que vous aurez expédiées à Girgeh*”, Asyut 21<sup>st</sup> February 1859, *EPHE Golénischeff*, Ms. boîte 44, pièce 49. Transcription courtesy of Thomas Lebée.

<sup>73</sup> Letter of Mariette to the governor of Qena, 24<sup>th</sup> January 1859, *EPHE Golénischeff*, Ms. boîte 44, pièce 43. Transcription courtesy of Thomas Lebée.

<sup>74</sup> Letter of Mariette to Moustapha-agma, Luxor 24<sup>th</sup> January 1859, *EPHE Golénischeff*, Ms. boîte 44, pièce 45. Transcription courtesy of Thomas Lebée.

<sup>75</sup> See TIRADRITTI, in ANONYMOUS (ed.), *L’egittologo Luigi Vassalli*, 88.

<sup>76</sup> Letter of Mariette to the *ruasa*, Luxor 24<sup>th</sup> January 1859, *EPHE Golénischeff*, Ms. boîte 44, pièce 47. Transcription courtesy of Thomas Lebée.

<sup>77</sup> The same number is also reported in DAVID, *Mariette Pacha*, 112.

<sup>78</sup> See VYSE, *Operations*; cf. MARIETTE, *CRAIBL* 3, 161, “*une vingtaine d’hommes suffirent pour mettre au jour des cercueils de la XI<sup>e</sup> dynastie [read Seventeenth Dynasty]*” (also followed by WINLOCK, *JEA* 10, 252).

<sup>79</sup> See BETRÒ, “A Note to Carter Manuscripts and the Discovery of Ahhotep’s Coffin (Cairo CG 28501)”, in this volume. See also below § **The presumed Architectural Structure**, *Placed in a hole dug out inside a mud-brick structure*, p. 50-1.

Unfortunately, Egyptological history has largely omitted Egyptian written sources (archives of the khedival court and local governors), which creates a big gap in our historical and archaeological reconstruction. Engagement between Egyptian Egyptologists and Egyptian historians of nineteenth century AD Egypt would be necessary to explore this area more effectively and possibly fill the gap.

**Victor Maunier** = Victor Gustave Maunier,<sup>80</sup> a French antiquities dealer in Luxor often wrongly mistaken for a consular agent in the same nineteenth century sources, was among the first Europeans to be informed about the discovery of the treasure (together with Gabet),<sup>81</sup> and he produced the first written record about it (Q.1). He was particularly enthusiastic about the find, noticing that the coffin was gilded and of magnificent manufacture, and that it bore an inscription of certain interest (given the presence of the cartouche; see Fig. 1b):<sup>82</sup> probably his enthusiasm, his own sealing affixed over the coffin, and his immediate letter to Mariette could be seen as attempts to obtain some “profit” from this discovery.<sup>83</sup> From Maunier’s description, the coffin seems to have still been closed at that time (or it was carefully reclosed by the workmen who had discovered it).

**Charles Gabet** = Charles Edmond Gabet<sup>84</sup> was appointed as inspector of the Theban district under Mariette’s supervision on June 25<sup>th</sup> 1859,<sup>85</sup> although he was already in Luxor at the time of Ahhotep’s discovery. He also became assistant curator in the Bulaq Museum at the time of its opening. Although he is likely to have played an important role in the timeline of Ahhotep’s discovery and public display, there is no information from his side. From later accounts (Q.13), Gabet, together with Maunier, was the first European to be informed about the discovery of Ahhotep’s coffin.<sup>86</sup>

**Joseph Bonnefoy** = In 1858, Mariette entrusted to his assistant Marius François Joseph Bonnefoy<sup>87</sup> the di-

rection of excavations in Qurna. However, by the end of November he was sent by Mariette to Lower Egypt (“*je vous invite à prendre soin des travaux qui se font ou vont se faire dans la Basse-Egypte, à partir de Béni-Souef*”).<sup>88</sup> He was called back to Luxor by Mariette only in March 1859<sup>89</sup> where he died (16<sup>th</sup> August 1859)<sup>90</sup> not long after the discovery of the queen’s assemblage. Therefore, he is scarcely mentioned in connection with this event, although he played an important role in Theban excavations.

**Fadil Pasha** = Fadil Pasha, the governor of Qena province, was connected with the coffin of Ahhotep and its assemblage to a very profound degree after it had been found and brought to the storerooms of Karnak. He played the “role of the villain” since he seems to have acted in an illegitimate way, confiscating the coffin, opening it, ravaging the mummy, and shipping it to Cairo against Mariette’s will. However, the events of Ahhotep’s coffin in connection with the governor of Qena have been narrated exclusively from a European perspective. To what extent the accounts of Devéria (Q.10-11) are based on trustworthy eyewitnesses or Mariette himself is unknown. However, his version is the one faithfully reproduced by Maspero two decades later in 1883 (Q.12), and – with slight embellishments – in 1902 (Q.13).

**Q.10** – “*M. Maunier prévenu de cette découverte, envoya à Mariette une copie de l’inscription, assez lisible pour que j’aie pu reconnaître qu’il s’agissait de la momie d’une reine nommée Aah-Hotep. Mariette écrivit alors de l’envoyer tout de suite à Boulaq par un vapeur spécial ; malheureusement, avant réception de cette lettre, le gouverneur de la province avait fait ouvrir le cercueil, par curiosité ou par zèle malentendu, on ne sait trop [...]. On avait jeté, comme de coutume, la toile et les ossements, pour ne conserver que les objets ensevelis avec la momie*” – Devéria<sup>91</sup>

**Q.11** – “*Le gouverneur de la province la [Ahhotep’s coffin] fit apporter chez lui et eut l’audace de l’ouvrir lui-même, en dépit des protestations du surveillant des travaux. [unreadable] cachet d’un européen (Français) qui réside à Luqsor. Les bandelettes furent déchirées et enlevées dans le harem de ce pacha, le corps brisé puis jeté dehors ; on ne conserva que les objets précieux*

<sup>80</sup> DAWSON, UPHILL, BIERBRIER, *Who Was Who*, 363; WEENS, in COOKE (ed.), *Journeys erased by time*, 101-13.

<sup>81</sup> See below, § **People involved with the Discovery and its Transmission**, Charles Gabet, p. 36.

<sup>82</sup> See also BETRÒ, “The Identity of Ahhotep and the Textual Sources”, in this volume, fig. 1.

<sup>83</sup> Maunier was involved in the trade of antiquities, “*Such objects of curiosity, works of art, domestic utensils, etc I find in these excavations, I send immediately to Cairo, where the Pasha is forming a museum*”, in WEENS, in COOKE (ed.), *Journeys erased by time*, 104.

<sup>84</sup> DAWSON, UPHILL, BIERBRIER, *Who Was Who*, 203.

<sup>85</sup> Information from BIF Ms. 4052, f. 226.

<sup>86</sup> See BETRÒ, “A Note to Carter Manuscripts and the Discovery of Ahhotep’s Coffin (Cairo CG 28501)”, in this volume.

<sup>87</sup> DAWSON, UPHILL, BIERBRIER, *Who Was Who*, 67. Bonnefoy entered in service on 1<sup>st</sup> June 1858 and was dismissed from his duties 10<sup>th</sup> March 1859, see BIF Ms. 4052, f. 226.

<sup>88</sup> Letter of Mariette to Bonnefoy, Bulaq 20<sup>th</sup> November 1858, EPHE Golénischeff, Ms. boîte 44, pièce 37. Transcription courtesy of Thomas Lebée.

<sup>89</sup> Letter of Mariette to Erfan Bey (?), 10<sup>th</sup> March 1859, EPHE Golénischeff, Ms. boîte 44, pièce 44. Transcription courtesy of Thomas Lebée.

<sup>90</sup> Information from BIF Ms. 4052, f. 226.

<sup>91</sup> MASPERO, in MARIETTE (ed.), *Oeuvres diverses*, cii. The emphasis is mine.



*qui y étaient enfermés, encore en fit-on sans doute disparaître quelques uns et ce n'est qu'à grand peine que Mr Mariette parvient à rentrer en possession du plus des pièces principales pour les placer dans la collection du vice-roi*" – Devéria<sup>92</sup>

**Q.12** – "La momie de la reine Ahhotpou fut découverte par les fouilleurs arabes, en 1860, et **confisquée par le moudir de Qénéh, qui la fit ouvrir et s'empara de ce qu'elle contenait. Le bruit de la trouvaille s'étant répandu, M. Mariette mit la main sur le cercueil et sur les bijoux qui sont exposés dans la vitrine H, mais pas assez à temps pour empêcher que beaucoup d'objets précieux eussent été volés**" – Maspero (version 1883)<sup>93</sup>

**Q.13** – "Le bruit de la trouvaille s'étant répandu promptement, le moudir de Kénéh saisit le cercueil et prévint le vice-roi Saïd Pacha. Mariette, averti à son tour par M. Gabet, Inspecteur des fouilles, et par M. Maunier, agent consulaire de France à Louxor, fit expédier aussitôt l'ordre de conserver le cercueil tel qu'il était, mais l'ordre ne fut pas exécuté : **la momie fut déshabillée dans le harem du moudir et une partie des objets qu'elle portait disparut dans l'opération. Mariette eut grande peine à obtenir la restitution des autres, et avant qu'ils lui fussent remis, plusieurs d'entre eux furent retenus par le prince**" – Maspero (version 1902)<sup>94</sup>

Nonetheless these accounts mainly mirror European scholars' point of view and show a touch of "orientalism", building up a tradition which took hold in Egyptological literature: the coffin was supposedly opened by the governor in his harem (probably to be intended as a sector of the private apartments of the "Mudirieh" of the governor); the mummy was ravaged in search for precious objects; much of the original burial equipment was stolen.

No primary written records about the event, including Arabic/Turkish sources such as the governmental archives, have been used for its reconstruction, and the only records provided show a tendentious reinterpretation. Actually, the facts would have been more nuanced than those handed down in the Egyptological tradition.

A part of the wages of the workforce devoted to the archaeological tasks on the west bank of Thebes was in the charge of the governor of Qena.<sup>95</sup> Therefore, the

claim of Mariette that the coffin was discovered by his workmen could have been more disputed than the Egyptological tradition shows: the legal and financial regulations of archaeological finds at that time did not have yet clear borders, and situations were evaluated on a case-by-case basis. For instance, in April 1859, the *rais* Muhammad Husein, working on behalf of Lord Dufferin at Deir el-Bahri, had troubles with some of Mariette's men and Fadil Pasha had to intervene and stop the excavations of both missions, awaiting a clarifying *firman* from Saïd Pasha.<sup>96</sup> Indeed, not by chance, in the following decades, the government authorities underwent a redefinition of the legal rights of intervention, in order to solve more and more frequent disputes raised over the ownership of antiquities.<sup>97</sup>

If it really took place, the presumed destruction of the mummy attributed to the governor and portrayed as an inappropriate act would have been in line with the customs of the time of unwrapping mummies and searching for objects amongst the bandages.<sup>98</sup> The mummy of Kamose, discovered a few months before by Mariette's workmen, underwent a similar fate (and according to Desjardins, it was Mariette himself who had "ravaged" the mummy searching for antiquities: "*M. Mariette, après avoir levé les dernières bandelettes, fouilla dans le corps de ce roi [Kamose] enseveli depuis de quatre mille ans, et il en retira un scarabée, des amulettes et deux petits lions d'or couchés*").<sup>99</sup>

Also the action of sending the coffin with its contents to Qena and then to Cairo was in line with the normal procedure of the time. Indeed, a decree of 1835 had placed on local governors the legal obligation for bringing antiquities to the Antikhana,<sup>100</sup> and the governor of Qena acted accordingly, shipping all the objects to Cairo instead of waiting for the boat sent by Mariette to gather Ahhotep's antiquities (**Q.10**). Indeed, only later Mariette obtained, directly from the viceroy, a special ministerial order for stopping the boat and confiscating the coffin.<sup>101</sup>

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of sections", an elaboration of *al-mashayikh sheykhs* of a village, as documented in a register of 1613-15. These are heads of the (mainly) agricultural workforce which needed to pay the levy, see MICHEL, *L'Égypte des villages*, 290-1. The terms "*corvée*" used in some instance by Mariette in relation of his excavation workforce (cf. DAVID, *Mariette Pacha*, 109; LEBÉE, *CAHIERS* 5, 59) may mirror a system in use from the central administration applied also for the organisation of the "archaeological" work of Mariette.

<sup>92</sup> Cahier de notes Devéria, 1858-59, Musée du Louvre, Département des Antiquités égyptiennes. The emphasis is mine. See also Appendix A at the end of the article.

<sup>93</sup> MASPERO, *Guide Musée de Boulaq* [1883], 77. The emphasis is mine.

<sup>94</sup> MASPERO, *Guide Musée du Caire* [1902], 413-14. The emphasis is mine.

<sup>95</sup> The word for *rais/ruasa* can come from *ruus al-hisas*, "heads

<sup>96</sup> The episode is quoted in EDWARDS, *JEA* 51, 17.

<sup>97</sup> Cf. HUNTER, *Egypt under the Khedives*. The redefinition of authority in Egypt in the nineteenth century AD is investigated by FAHMY, *In Quest of Justice*.

<sup>98</sup> Cf. RIGGS, *Unwrapping Ancient Egypt*, 56-8.

<sup>99</sup> DESJARDINS, *RGA* 18, 53.

<sup>100</sup> DAVID, *Mariette Pacha*, 115-6; KHATER, *Le Régime juridique*, 37-71.

<sup>101</sup> MASPERO, in MARIETTE (ed.), *Oeuvres diverses*, cii-ciii.



Furthermore, the presence of the two lists drafted on 25<sup>th</sup> February may indicate the opposite of a thoughtless action, and the governor of Qena could have been instead following a legal and formal procedure for the opening of the coffin: listing all the contents from the coffin in front of a sort of official “notary”.<sup>102</sup>

Three documents (A.-C., respectively Q.14-16) show the procedure in action at Thebes at that time: the antiquities found on behalf of Mariette were assigned to Fadil Pasha, who shipped them to a recipient in Cairo (Maïeh), accompanied by a list of contents drafted by or on behalf of Fadil Pasha, and later both objects and lists were re-directed to Mariette. In other cases, Mariette visited the storerooms of the “Mudirieh” at Qena and selected the objects that were destined for Cairo or his storerooms in Luxor.

A. The first document is a letter, left undated and written by Mariette: it mentions some objects coming from his own excavations at Qurna shipped to Cairo (?) (and from Cairo to him?) by Fadil Pasha together with a list of content personally drafted by the governor himself.<sup>103</sup>

**Q.14** – “*Erfan-bey Excellence, En réponse à la lettre de Votre Excellence de .... j’ai l’honneur de vous informer que j’ai reçu la caisse envoyée par Fadil Pacha et contenant des antiquités trouvées par moi à Gournah. La liste de ces antiquités est conforme à la liste ci-jointe dressée par Fadil-Pacha lui-même. Quant à Bedaoui-effendi, j’ai de grands sujets de plainte contre lui et depuis long-temps. Il a brisé des monuments de ses mains et à Gournah, il a battu fait battre des rêis pour les forcer à me désobéir, et lui-même il a fait tout le contraire des instructions que je lui avais laissées, étant cependant un serviteur mis par Votre Excellence à ma disposition. Je ne demande cependant pas sa destitution, quoique je l’eusse obtenue facilement de Son Altesse quand j’ai eu l’honneur de la voir. Mais je demande qu’il soit envoyé, conformément à vos premiers ordres, à Harabat-el-Madfounet [Abydos], en l’informant qu’il doit m’obéir en tout ce que je lui commanderai pour le bien du service dont je suis chargé. Quelques mots sévères adressés par Votre Excellence à cet employé le forceront à comprendre ses devoirs un peu mieux qu’il ne l’a fait jusqu’à présent*” – Mariette<sup>104</sup>

B. Another more formal document mentions some antiquities shipped by Fadil Pasha to Cairo and later ending up in the hands of Mariette, together with the list of the objects produced in connection with the dispatch.

**Q. 15** – “*Copie d’une liste envoyée à la Maïeh par le Moudir de Kineh en date de 12 Chawal 1274 [25<sup>th</sup> May 1858] contenant les antiquités trouvées à Gourneh*”.<sup>105</sup>

C. A page of Montaut’s diary records a visit paid by Mariette to the governor of Qena in October 1858 in order to see the antiquities deposited in the “Mudirieh”.

**Q. 16** – “[Mariette] choisit quelques objets et donne l’ordre qu’on les porte à son bateau à vapeur. Les autres devront venir à Thebes dans un magasin général qu’il y fera préparer” – Montaut<sup>106</sup>

**Bedawy Effendi** = Bedawy Effendi was a local official, probably based in Luxor, working under the direction of the governor of Qena. Unfortunately, there is no complete information in the Egyptological sources about this person, although his relations with Mariette would not have been very friendly, as documented in one of the letters of Mariette, who complains about the behavior of Bedawy Effendi, not following his instructions (Q.14). The expressed request of sending Bedawy Effendi to Abydos in Q.14 may be a direct effect of the Ahhotep episode, although the letter was left undated. Effendi seems to have been on the boat sent to Cairo accompanying the treasure (Q.9).

**Théodule Devéria** = Théodule Charles Devéria,<sup>107</sup> who often accompanied Mariette as copyist and photographer, arrived in Cairo at the end of December 1858,<sup>108</sup> and was with Mariette when he received the news about Ahhotep’s discovery. He was also with Mariette on the boat when the assemblage was retrieved by the French scholar (Q.8). In this case, he produced a vivid (and embroidered?) account of the event (“*M. Mariette propose à l’un de le jeter à l’eau, à un autre de lui brûler la cervelle, à un troisième de l’envoyer aux galères, et à un quatrième de le faire pendre*”).<sup>109</sup>

Devéria is also responsible for a kind of preliminary list of the contents of the treasure written in one of

<sup>102</sup> See MINIACI, “The original Inventory List of the Queen Ahhotep ‘Treasure’”, in this volume.

<sup>103</sup> The fact that this letter was found in the same folder containing the letter of Maunier, the mention of Bedawy Effendi and the detonative hostility shown by Mariette towards him might suggest a connection with the Ahhotep story (*i.e.* could this letter have been written soon after the confiscation of Ahhotep assemblage by Mariette?).

<sup>104</sup> BIF Ms. 4030, f. 392. The emphasis is mine. The transcription is given by Elisabeth David.

<sup>105</sup> BIF Ms. 4025, f. 235.

<sup>106</sup> *Journal de Montaut*, f. 35v, October 1858; Musée du Louvre, *Département des Antiquités égyptiennes*. Transcription courtesy of Elisabeth David.

<sup>107</sup> DAWSON, UPHILL, BIERBRIER, *Who Was Who*, 153; MASPERO, in DEVÉRIA, *Mémoires et fragments*; LE GUERN, *L’Antiquité à la BnF*.

<sup>108</sup> DAVID, *Mariette Pacha*, 110.

<sup>109</sup> Reported in MASPERO, in MARIETTE (ed.), *Oeuvres diverses*, cii ff; translated in WINLOCK, *JEA* 10, 252-3.

his diaries – still unpublished – kept in the Musée du Louvre, unfortunately without any date.

**Q.17** – “Voici maintenant la liste des principaux objets trouvés dans la momie : (voir p. 63 l'extrait de la lettre de Mr Maunier)

(vases, chevet, coffre, étui à collyre)

1° Une hache d'arme en or incrustée de pierres dures et portant la légende complète du roi Aahmès ; 2° plusieurs haches de bronze sans légendes apparentes ; 3° un poignard sans gaine dont le manche est en or massif et la lame en bronze ; sans ornements ni légendes ; 4° un poignard muni d'une gaine d'or et dont le manche de bois sculpté est orné de quatre têtes humaines, recouvert de lames d'or et incrusté de pierres dures, sans légende apparente ; 5° trois ou quatre petits poignards plus ou moins ornés ; 6° un flagellum ou éventail de bois recouvert de lames d'or et pourtant sur chaque face les cartouches prénom du roi Kamès ; 7° plusieurs chaînes d'or de différentes formes ; et [unreadable] la plus grande, longue de près de deux mètres et fort pesante porte sur les fermoirs les deux cartouches du roi Aah-mès ; un scarabée d'or incrusté de lapis lazuli et admirablement travaillé, y est suspendu. 8° plusieurs bracelets et anneaux de jambes en or et de différentes formes mais sans légendes, 9° trois bracelets composés de grains de pierres dures et d'or en passés dans des fils du même métal en forme de mosaïque, avec les noms d'Aahmès sur les fermoirs ; 10° un bracelet d'or avec personnages ciselés et incrustations de lapis lazuli ; on y lit les cartouches d'Aahmès. 11° un bracelet d'or incrusté de pierres dures ayant la forme d'un épervier les ailes éployées 12° un autre bracelet d'or incrusté de pierres dures et formé d'une grosse torsade qui supporte le cartouche d'Aah-mès entre deux sphinx ; la partie inférieure de ce joyau est munie d'un appendice toujours incrusté de pierres dures et destiné à l'empêcher de tourner sur le bras. 13° Un pectoral d'or découpé à jour et incrusté de pierres dures taillées en très léger relief et représentant le roi Aahmès entre deux divinités, avec accessoires et légendes hiéroglyphiques, cette dernière pièce est certainement le plus beau de tous les bijoux antiques connus jusqu'à ce jour ; 14° un miroir métallique avec un manche de bois orné d'or. 15° un petit modèle de barque avec ses rameurs, 16° un autre modèle de barque en or avec ses rameurs en argent et les chefs de l'équipage également en or ; celui-ci porte le nom de Kamès ; 17° un modèle de char à quatre roues en bronze et bois pour supporter l'une de deux barques ; 18° diverses parties de colliers et autres objets” – Devéria<sup>110</sup>

<sup>110</sup> Cahier de notes Devéria, 1858-59, Musée du Louvre, Département des Antiquités égyptiennes. See also **Appendix A**

In addition, he took the first (?) photographs of the coffin and part of its burial equipment<sup>111</sup> (see Figs 2-3, 17, 21-22, Pls I-II). Devéria's negatives and photos are now in the archives of the Musée d'Orsay, gathered from the archives of the Louvre (DAE) in the years 1980-90.<sup>112</sup> On the back of most of these photos is indicated the date “1859”, a sign that the pictures were taken in the same year as the discovery, probably soon after Mariette had retrieved the coffin and its funerary equipment. Indeed, the background of some of these photos may provide further information about the place where they were taken. In the photo PHO 1986 131 221 (see Fig. 2) are present some vertical bars, while in the photo PHO 1986 131 220 in the upper right corner is visible a thick rope rolled up around a kind of thick metal cleat (see Fig. 3). These elements are those of the storerooms of Bulaq (just behind Mariette's house), as visible in another photo of Devéria himself, provided with an explicative label: “Magasins de remorquage à Boulaq” (PHO 1986 131 185; see Fig. 4). Therefore, most probably the photographs of Devéria were taken right at the arrival of the objects in the storerooms of Mariette at Bulaq in March 1859.

**Ernest Desjardins** = Antoine Émile Ernest Desjardins<sup>113</sup> was a close friend and admirer of Mariette,<sup>114</sup> and officially in charge of reading his excavation accounts in front of the members of the *Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres* in Paris when Mariette was away. He was the first scholar to produce a more detailed account about the discovery and content of the assemblage in 1860, although this aimed only to be preliminary (see above **R.4**). From November 1862 to January 1863, Desjardins visited Upper Egypt, accompanied by Mariette, and had the chance to meet also Vassalli and Gabet, who were excavating at Thebes on behalf of Mariette.<sup>115</sup>

and MINIACI, “The original Inventory List of the Queen Ahhotep ‘Treasure’”, in this volume.

<sup>111</sup> Musée d'Orsay, photos inv. nos: PHO 1986 144 93/MS 163 89 and PHO 1986 131 220 (coffin lying horizontally, with the four calcite jars, wooden box, kohl jar and headrest); PHO 1986 144 104/MS 164 4, PHO 1986 144 94/MS 163 90 and PHO 1986 131 221 (standing coffin with the four calcite jars, wooden box, kohl jar and headrest); PHO 1986 144 95/MS 163 91, PHO 1986 144 96/MS 163 92 and PHO 1986 131 219 (detail of the coffin, profile); PHO 1986 144 97/MS 163 93 and PHO 1986 131 216 (foot end of the coffin). See also comments in LE GUERN, *L'Antiquité à la BnF*.

<sup>112</sup> Information kindly provided by Elisabeth David; see also STARING, *JEA* 102, 146.

<sup>113</sup> *Maître de conférences* at the *École Normale Supérieure* in 1874; afterwards professor at the *Collège de France*. Responsible for the course of *Géographie* at the *École Normale* in 1861: DE FRANQUEVILLE, *Le Premier Siècle*, vol. I, no. 827.

<sup>114</sup> DAVID, *Mariette Pacha*, 74.

<sup>115</sup> DAVID, *Mariette Pacha*, 148.





**Fig. 2** – Photo of the coffin of the Queen Ahhotep in standing position with a few objects of its assemblage, photo by Devéria; PHO 1986 131 221 © Musée d’Orsay, Dist. RMN-Grand Palais / Alexis Brandt



**Fig. 3** – Coffin of the Queen Ahhotep laying on its base; photo by Devéria; PHO 1986 131 220 © Musée d'Orsay, Dist. RMN-Grand Palais / Alexis Brandt



**Fig. 4** – Storerooms of Mariette at Bulaq; photo by Devéria; PHO 1986 131 185 © Musée d'Orsay, Dist. RMN-Grand Palais / Alexis Brandt

There are other persons, who were not directly involved with the 1859 events, but who played an important role in the transmission of the “account of the discovery” because they were closely connected to Mariette: Vassalli, Brugsch, and Maspero.

**Luigi Vassalli** = In 1859, Mariette decided to engage Luigi Vassalli<sup>116</sup> to supervise some of his archaeological activities, but in that year he was primarily in the necropolis of Giza. Shortly after he returned from Italy, where he had joined Garibaldi in 1860, Vassalli was under Mariette service again from the 29<sup>th</sup> October 1861,<sup>117</sup> and he was sent to Thebes only in December 1862 in order to continue excavation in the same area of Dra Abu el-Naga where the coffin of Ahhotep had been discovered before.<sup>118</sup> Inevitably, the news about Ahhotep's discovery reached Vassalli's ears either via Mariette or any of the workmen/foremen working under his supervision.

**Heinrich Brugsch** = Although behind the scenes, also Heinrich Ferdinand Karl Brugsch<sup>119</sup> would have played an important role, since he was a close friend of Mariette. Information reached Brugsch via Mariette rather quickly, as for instance the first account about the discovery of Kamose's coffin is contained in a letter sent by Brugsch to von Humboldt on the 31<sup>st</sup> of December 1857 “*In Theben ist ein Sarkophag aus den Zeiten der*

*12ten Dynastie* [sic; read instead Seventeenth Dynasty] (*älter als 2000 Jahre vor unserer Ära*) *aus der Erde gezogen, welcher außer der In Staub zerfallenen Mumie, einen Dolch mit goldenem Griff, zwei Löwen in Gold und einen noch unbekanntem Königsnamen enthält*”.<sup>120</sup> He also helped Mariette in drafting the first register of the Museum of Bulaq. Nonetheless, at the moment, there is no information about the Ahhotep discovery from his side.

**Gaston Maspero** = Gaston Camille Charles Maspero<sup>121</sup> met Mariette only in 1867, therefore a few years after the discovery of Ahhotep's coffin, and when he was at a young age (twenty-one); nonetheless on February 8<sup>th</sup> 1881, he succeeded Mariette as director of the Museum of Bulaq and head of the Antiquities Service, taking charge of his legacy too, being executor of Mariette's will. In the archives of the *Bibliothèque de l'Institut de France* in Paris, there is a thin folder titled “*Fouilles de Gournah*”,<sup>122</sup> introduced by a paper explaining the reason why this group of papers was in the hands of Maspero: “*Fouilles de Gournah de Mariette. Mariette est mort le 18 janvier 1881. Gaston Maspero a été prié par les enfants Mariette de regarder les papiers laissés par lui / l'annotation à publier en grande partie [...]*”.<sup>123</sup> Unfortunately, these are only a few scattered papers, from different times, but several of these refer to the excava-

<sup>116</sup> DAWSON, UPHILL, BIERBRIER, *Who Was Who*, 552-4. See also TIRADRITTI, in MARÉE (ed.), *Second Intermediate Period*, 329-42. See also LA GUARDIA, in ANONYMOUS (ed.), *L'egittologo Luigi Vassalli*, 11-44.

<sup>117</sup> Information from *BIF* Ms. 4052, f. 226.

<sup>118</sup> See below, § **The presumed Location of the Burial, Kha-wi el-Alamat, near TT 155**, p. 45-7.

<sup>119</sup> DAWSON, UPHILL, BIERBRIER, *Who Was Who*, 84-5.

<sup>120</sup> BEN AMAR, *In Monte Artium* 5, 48.

<sup>121</sup> DAWSON, UPHILL, BIERBRIER, *Who Was Who*, 359-61; DAWID, *Gaston Maspero*.

<sup>122</sup> *BIF* Ms. 4062, ff. 148-165.

<sup>123</sup> *BIF* Ms. 4062, f. 148. The inventory lists of February 25<sup>th</sup> are in another folder, see MINIACI, “The original Inventory List of the Queen Ahhotep ‘Treasure’ from Mariette's Papers (*BIF* Paris, *Fonds Maspero*, Ms. 4052)”, in this volume.



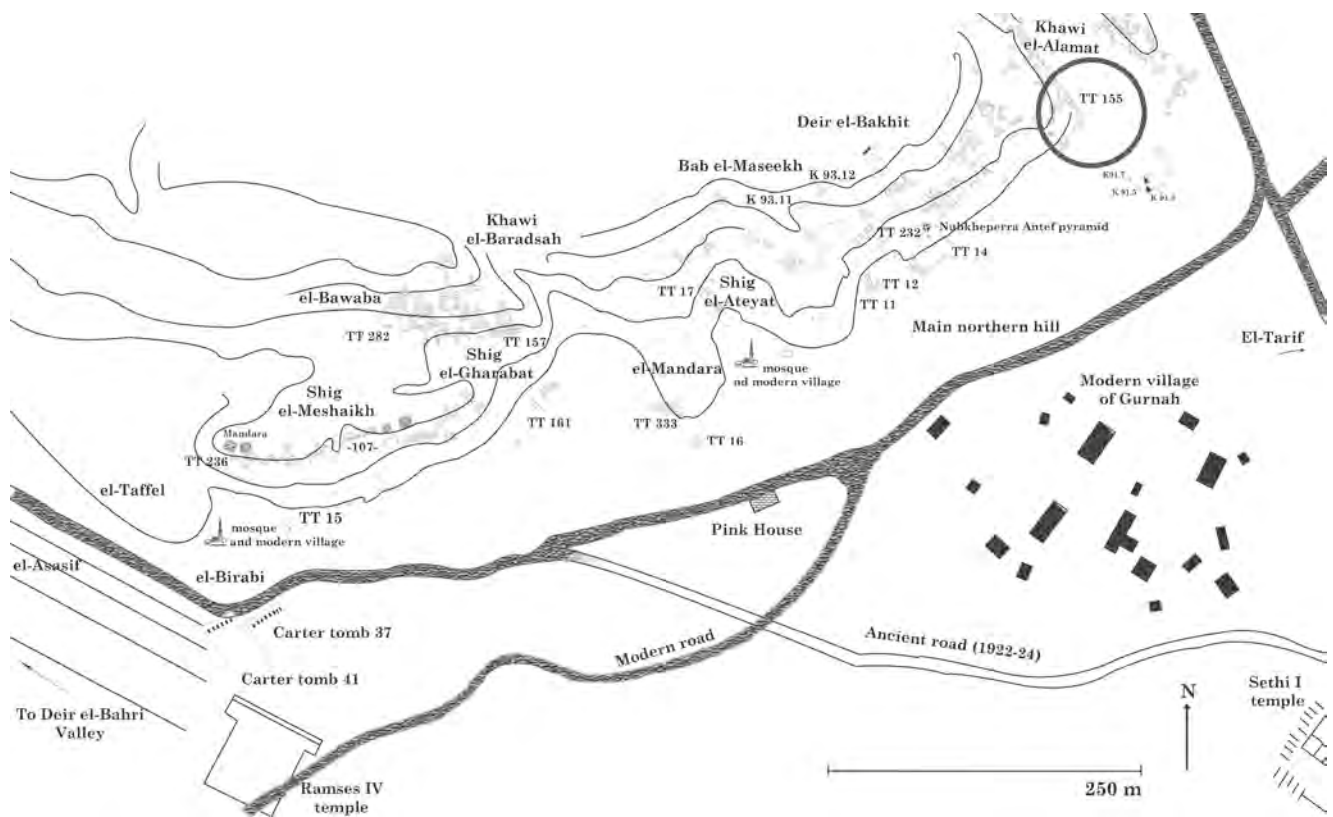


Fig. 5 – Plan of the necropolis of Dra Abu el-Naga © drawing by Gianluca Miniaci

tions at Dra Abu el-Naga.<sup>124</sup> In 1883, he published his first edition of the guide to the Bulaq Museum, after the six editions issued by Mariette from 1864 till his death. In his edition, he detailed the information already provided by Mariette in his various editions, adding new details, whose source is often unknown.<sup>125</sup>

### The presumed Location of the Burial

Since his arrival at Thebes, Mariette decided to devote one part of his research to the northern section of Dra Abu el-Naga. The selection of the area could be due to the incredible intuition of the French Egyptologist, but probably it was also the result of his personal acquaintances and the accumulated knowledge and experience from the local workmen. Excavations of Mariette were significantly rapid in Dra Abu el-Naga: in December 1857, Mariette had already discovered the coffin of Ka-

mose.<sup>126</sup> In addition, just over one year later, on January/February 1859 he would have discovered the burial of Queen Ahhotep. It is worth emphasizing that Mariette in 1853 had purchased for the Louvre two other royal coffins of the Seventeenth Dynasty, previously part of the collection of Triantaphillos,<sup>127</sup> coming from Dra Abu el-Naga North as well<sup>128</sup> (see Table 2). Probably the connections between the discovery of the two royal coffins by Triantaphillos, the purchase of them by Mariette and the area selected in Dra Abu el-Naga were deeper than the sources seem to suggest.

**Dra Abu el-Naga North** = In spite of the lack of precise information, the area where the coffin of Ahhotep had been found can be approximately located within the northernmost part of Dra Abu el-Naga North (see Figs 5-6; see also Q.4).<sup>129</sup>

<sup>124</sup> BIF Ms. 4062, f. 150 reproduces the box coffin belonging to Sobeknakht, coming from the same tomb of Hornakht found by Vassalli in Dra Abu el-Naga in 1863, cf. Ms. Vassalli AV f. 110v in the *Civica Biblioteca d'Arte di Milano – Fondo Luigi Vassalli*, Album H 2 and MINIACI, QUIRKE, *EVO* 31, fig. 2. For a *rishi* coffin of a private individual named Ahmose, see BIF Ms. 4062, f. 153, and see below.

<sup>125</sup> ABOU-GHAZI, *ASAE* 67, 22.

<sup>126</sup> Egyptian Museum, Cairo TR 14.12.27.12, DARESSY, *ASAE* 9, 61-3, pl. 9; MINIACI, *Rishi Coffins*, 226-7 (rT03C).

<sup>127</sup> DEWACHTER, *RdE* 36, 43-66; DEWACHTER, in LECLANT (ed.), *Entre Égypte et Grèce*, 119-29.

<sup>128</sup> MINIACI, in BETRÒ, DEL VESCO, MINIACI (eds), *Seven Seasons*, 37.

<sup>129</sup> Other short accounts on Mariette excavations at Dra Abu el-Naga can be found in MINIACI, in BETRÒ, DEL VESCO, MINIACI (eds), *Seven Seasons*, 41-3.





**Fig. 6** – Dra Abu el-Naga north. View from the east. On the right the narrow rocky slope called Bab abu Negga. Between the two hills the mouth of the wadi Khawi el-Alamat. Photo by Gianluca Miniaci

**Q.18** – “L’endroit où M. Mariette fit faire la fouille avait fourni déjà des cercueils de rois de la XI<sup>e</sup> dynastie [read Seventeenth Dynasty], dont les souverains ne possédaient, selon toute apparence, que la Thèbaïde” – Desjardins<sup>130</sup>

**Q.19** – “Malgré les nombreux explorateurs qui avaient précédé M. Mariette dans la partie de Gournah qui porte le nom de Drah-Aboul-Neggah, il remarqua, presque à l’entrée de la longue vallée qui mène à Biban-el-Moluk, une bande de terrain dont le sol, formé d’éclats de pierres et de poteries brisées, trahissait un de ces lieux de sépulture antique qui semblaient à l’éminent archéologue avoir été affectés aux rois de la XI<sup>e</sup> dynastie. Ce terrain n’avait jamais été fouillé. [...]” – Desjardins<sup>131</sup>

Mariette concentrated his work mainly in Dra Abu el-Naga North, probably excluding the hills of Dra Abu el-Naga South. He certainly explored the main hill in Dra Abu el-Naga North, where he (re)-discovered the tomb of Nubkheperre Intef.<sup>132</sup> As stated by Desjardins, he worked also

<sup>130</sup> DESJARDINS, *RGA* 18, 53. The emphasis is mine.

<sup>131</sup> DESJARDINS, *RGA* 18, 99. The emphasis is mine.

<sup>132</sup> MARIETTE, *Monuments divers*, pl. 50 (copy of the inscription of one of the obelisks of Nubkheperre Intef). Actually, in his notes, Mariette records “*celles des rois Ra-noub-Kheper-Entef et Sevek-em-Saf*”, MARIETTE, *RAr* 2, 28. Puzzlingly, Mariette does not give sufficient evidence for the tomb of Sobekemsaf. As suggested by Weill, probably when Mariette discovered Intef Nubkheperre’s tomb, he recalled the story that a golden scarab inscribed with the name of a King Sobekemsaf was associated through an account of Athanasi with the discovery of the King Intef coffin in 1827. In his notes, Mariette would have associated by mistake the name of Sobekemsaf with that of Nubkheperre, see WEILL, *La fin du Moyen Empire*, 363. However, there could be some faint evidence that Mariette actually discovered a tomb of a king

in the plain and onto the hill of Dra Abu el-Naga North next to the entrance of the Valley of the Kings (Q.19).

From this area come the coffin of the King Kamose and other burials of the same period. The royal coffin of Kamose was discovered in December 1857 by the workmen excavating on behalf of Mariette at Dra Abu el-Naga North (see Q.20-21). On 9<sup>th</sup> November 1858, Mariette recorded a *rishi* coffin bearing the name of the “Man/Official (?) of the City” (*s n niwt* or *shzwt wr n niwt*) Ahmose, not known from other sources. A drawing of this coffin is preserved in the folder of Qurna excavations among a few scattered papers of Mariette taken into the possession of Maspero in 1881<sup>133</sup> (see Fig. 7). Unfortunately the provenance of the coffin is not precisely indicated beyond a generic “Gournah”,<sup>134</sup> but the style and type of the coffin can be compared with that one of Kamose and other coffins later found by Vassalli in the northernmost part of Dra Abu el-Naga.<sup>135</sup> In addition, a photo of Devéria taken in the storeroom area of Bulaq shows another *rishi* coffin bearing the handwritten notes “Qournah” in the front and “1859” on the verso<sup>136</sup> (see Fig. 8). The *rishi* style of the coffins is very diagnostic of the Second Intermediate Period–early Eighteenth Dynasty.<sup>137</sup> Therefore the exploration of a Second Intermediate Period cemetery along the hills of Dra Abu el-Naga

called Sobekemsaf, see MINIACI, *EVO* 29, 75-87. See discussions in POLZ, *Der Beginn*, 123-30.

<sup>133</sup> BIF Ms. 4062, f. 153. See above, § **People involved with the Discovery and its Transmission**, Gaston Maspero, p. 41.

<sup>134</sup> The “Gournah” reference poses some problems as it can be interpreted both as the excavation provenance but also as the storeroom for Mariette’s excavations on the west bank of Thebes (cf. Q.1).

<sup>135</sup> MINIACI, *Rishi Coffins*, 56-63. See below, § **The presumed Location of the Burial**, Khawi el-Alamat, near TT 155, p. 45-7.

<sup>136</sup> Musée d’Orsay, PHO 1986 131 261.

<sup>137</sup> Cf. MINIACI, *Rishi Coffins*.



Fig. 7 – Drawing of a *rishi* coffin bearing the name of the “Overseer of the City” Ahmose – *Fonds Maspero* Ms 4062, f. 153 © courtesy of the *Bibliothèque de l’Institut de France*





Fig. 8 – *Rishi* coffin in the storeroom area of Bulaq; photo by Devéria; PHO 1986 131 261  
© Musée d'Orsay, Dist. RMN-Grand Palais / Alexis Brandt

on behalf of Mariette seems to have been uninterrupted from 1857 to 1859. Certainly, the excavation activity of Mariette in that area for a prolonged time (1857-59) would have also attracted “side”-excavations and illicit digs in the area.

**Close to Kamose** = Other accounts provide the information – and they are all consistent in this – that the find-spots of Ahhotep’s and Kamose’s coffin were close each other.

**Q.20** – “M. Mariette a trouvé, en 1859, au même endroit [the find-spot **Kamose’s coffin**], un autre cercueil [Ahhotep’s] semblable à celui-là” – Desjardins<sup>138</sup>

**Q.21** – “Le tombe di Gurnah sono scavate parte nella collina e parte nella pianura. Alcune delle ultime hanno il pozzo verticale che conduce alla camera sepolcrale, ma la maggior parte ne sono prive. Fu in una di queste che il signor Mariette anni sono scoprì un sarcofago inviolato [**Kamose**] [...]. È pure all’incirca in questo posto un po’ verso l’alto della collina che fu scoperto dal signor Mariette il magnifico sarcofago dorato della regina Ahhotep” – Vassalli<sup>139</sup>

**Khawi el-Alamat, near TT 155** = The general information about Dra Abu el-Naga North can be further narrowed down, thanks to the information provided by Vassalli and Carter (also re-posted by Winlock), who could have been somehow aware of its original location.

**Q.22** – “Je ne veux pas commencer la nouvelle année sans vous écrire deux mots [...]. J’ai abandonné le projet d’aller dans la vallée de l’ouest, où j’ai vu la presque impossibilité de ne rien trouver, tandis que les fouilles de Drahou Neggah me promettent mieux ; j’ai mis moitié des hommes dans l’emplacement que nous avons visité ensemble et le reste sur la lisière de la montagne de la reine Ahhotep et sur les environs du sarcophage de S.A. le prince Napoléon [read Kamose]” – Vassalli<sup>140</sup>

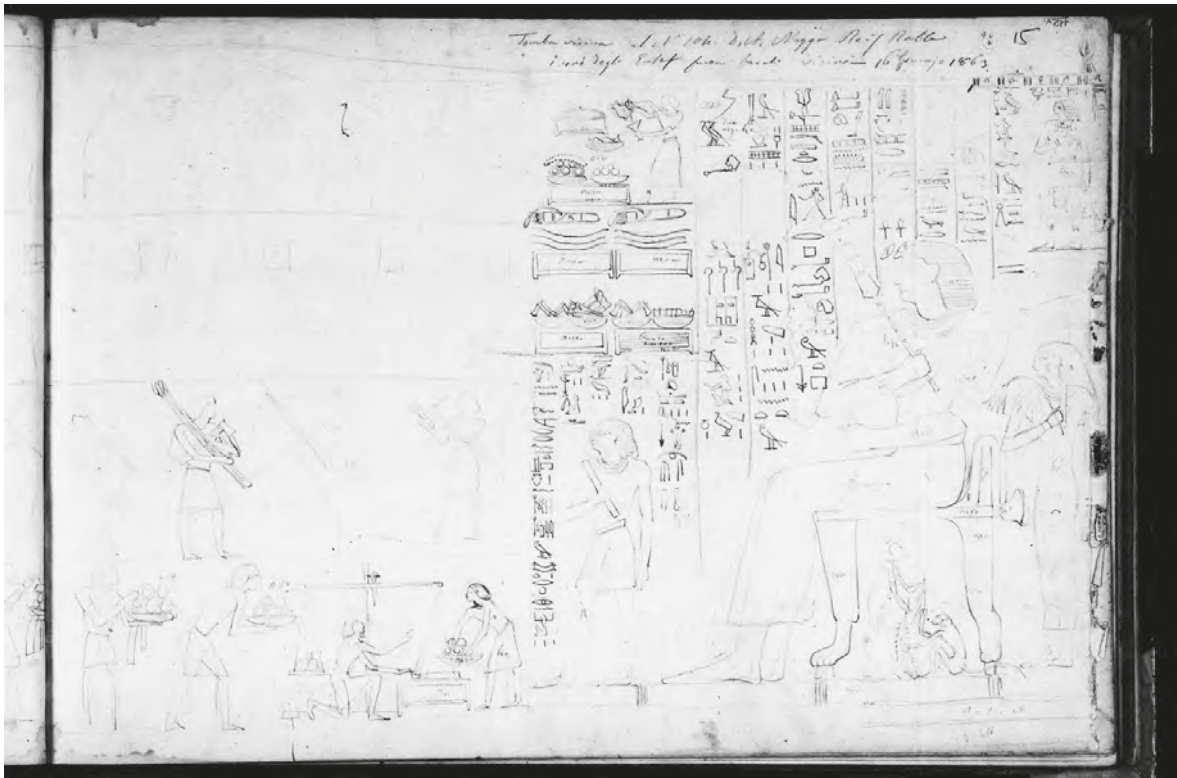
**Q.23** – “Non molto distante [the find-spot of Ahhotep’s coffin] e precisamente ai piedi della collina io ritrovai pure un bel sarcofago, che conteneva la mummia di un principe per nome Tuau [coffin inscribed for Hornakht; throw-stick bearing the name of the king’s son Tjuiu]” – Vassalli<sup>141</sup>

<sup>138</sup> DESJARDINS, *RGA* 18, 53. The emphasis is mine.

<sup>139</sup> VASSALLI, *I monumenti storici egizi*, 128. The emphasis is mine.

<sup>140</sup> *BnF* Ms. 20179, f. 278. Letter of Vassalli to Mariette, Gurnah 1<sup>st</sup> January 1863. The emphasis is mine.

<sup>141</sup> VASSALLI, *I monumenti storici egizi*, 131. The emphasis is mine. The reference is to the tomb of Hornakht in which the throw-stick of prince Tuau (read Tjuiu) was found.



**Fig. 9** – Vassalli’s drawing of some scenes from the tomb of the “great royal herald” Intef (TT 155); see the annotation “Tomba vicina al N. 104 D. A. Negga Reis Rabba” in the upper right-hand corner; *Album di disegni Vassalli*, Ms. AV, f. 112v  
 © courtesy of the *Civica Biblioteca d’Arte di Milano – Fondo Luigi Vassalli*, Album H 2



**Fig. 10** – Dra Abu el-Naga North, area around TT 155 © photo by Gianluca Miniaci



According to Vassalli the burial of Queen Ahhotep was not too distant from the tomb of Hornakht (Q.23), although unfortunately there is no information about the exact position of the last. Nonetheless, some hypotheses can be advanced, since during Vassalli's work at Dra Abu el-Naga in 1862-63, he set up his work in the area where the coffins of Kamose and Ahhotep had been found a few years before and here discovered some burials of the same time span (Q.22).

In his *Album di disegni*, Vassalli had noted in a drawing of some scenes from the tomb of the "Great Royal Herald" Intef (TT 155) the following text (see Fig. 9):

**Q.24** – "Tomba vicina al N. 104 D. A. Negga Reis Rabba / i coni degli Entef furono trovati vicini – 16 Gennaio 1863" – Vassalli<sup>142</sup>

Therefore, Vassalli's tomb 104 was located near TT 155. The position of Vassalli's tomb 104 is nowadays lost but TT 155 is well known, located in the northernmost part of Dra Abu el-Naga North, at the mouth of the wadi called Khawi el-Alamat<sup>143</sup> (see Fig. 10; cf. Fig. 6). Vassalli was working in tomb 104 on 23<sup>rd</sup> December 1862,<sup>144</sup> and in the same time, on 21<sup>st</sup> December 1862, Vassalli had discovered also the burial of the "Royal Acquaintance" Hornakht (Q.23),<sup>145</sup> misinterpreted as "un principe per nome Tuau" since it was equipped with the throw-stick inscribed for the "King's Son"<sup>146</sup> Tjuiu, bearing the cartouche of King Seqenenre Tao (see Fig. 11).<sup>147</sup> The tomb is unfortunately not numbered (the only coffin received number 67), however, in the same days, other tombs belonging to the Second Intermediate Period–early Eighteenth Dynasty and featuring *rishi* coffins were numbered from the "100" system and were

recorded in Vassalli's *Album di disegni*.<sup>148</sup> Therefore, given the coincidence of the date of discovery and overlap of the types of the burial equipment, it is possible to suppose that in the season December 1862-January 1863, Vassalli had found a cluster of tombs all belonging to the same period (Second Intermediate Period), one next to another. The tomb of Hornakht should have been included in this cluster, not too distant from the tomb no. 104, and – in consequence – in the neighbourhood of the tomb of the "Great Royal Herald" Intef<sup>149</sup> (TT 155; see Fig. 10). As stated by Vassalli, the tomb of Hornakht was not so distant from the find spot of Ahhotep (just the latter should have been located more up to the hill; cf. Q.23): in consequence, Ahhotep's burial should have also been in the proximity of TT 155 (see Fig. 5).

The hypothesis pieced together from Vassalli's scattered notes seems to be confirmed by a piece of later information handed down by Carter,<sup>150</sup> that the queen's burial was found in close proximity to TT 155.<sup>151</sup> The same information is reported in a footnote also by Winlock who heard this from Carter himself.

**Q.25** – "[the tomb was] at the extreme northern boundary of the hill-slope [of Dra Abu el-Naga], deep below a tomb (of a certain Antef, the 'Great Herald of the King', dating from the reign of Tuthmosis III) where there are some hidden brick vaults [...]" – Carter<sup>152</sup>

**Q.26** – "Carter has heard a tradition in Kurnah that the site [the find-spot of Ahhotep's coffin] was near Tomb 155" – Winlock<sup>153</sup>

<sup>142</sup> In Vassalli AV f. 112 v. The emphasis is mine. Read in TIRADRITTI, in ANONYMOUS (ed.), *L'egittologo Luigi Vassalli*, 89. See also MINIACI, in BETRÒ, DEL VESCO, MINIACI (eds), *Seven Seasons*, 43, fig. 20.

<sup>143</sup> MINIACI, in BETRÒ, DEL VESCO, MINIACI (eds), *Seven Seasons*, 15-16, fig. 3.

<sup>144</sup> TIRADRITTI, in ANONYMOUS (ed.), *L'egittologo Luigi Vassalli*, 70.

<sup>145</sup> TIRADRITTI, in ANONYMOUS (ed.), *L'egittologo Luigi Vassalli*, 69.

<sup>146</sup> On this title, see SCHMITZ, *Untersuchungen zum Titel s3-njswt*. On the possibility he was not belonging to the royal sphere, see MINIACI, in PERNIGOTTI, ZECCHI (eds), *IV Colloquio di Egittologia*, 99-131.

<sup>147</sup> In Vassalli AV f. 36r. See also MARIETTE, *Monuments divers*, 16, pl. 51. The reading Seqenenre Tao has been questioned by Parlebas who argues for Seqenenre Djehutj-aa, see PARLEBAS, *GM* 15, 39-43.

<sup>148</sup> MINIACI, *Rishi Coffins*, 58-63; TIRADRITTI, in ANONYMOUS (ed.), *L'egittologo Luigi Vassalli*, 55.

<sup>149</sup> See also POLZ, *Der Beginn*, 171.

<sup>150</sup> See BETRÒ, "A Note to Carter Manuscripts and the Discovery of Ahhotep's Coffin (Cairo CG 28501)", in this volume. See also below, § **The presumed Architectural Structure**, *Placed in a hole dug out inside a mud-brick structure*, p. 50-1.

<sup>151</sup> The mention of the brick vault structures in the notes of Carter led Eaton-Krauss to believe that the find spot of Ahhotep could have been more shifted towards the plain, where Polz has cleared a number of free-standing chapels in the plain, EATON-KRAUSS, in BLÖBAUM, KAHL, SCHWEITZER (eds), *Ägypten-Münster*, 82. However, this observation would go against the information provided by Vassalli, that the coffin of Hornakht had been found at the foot of the hill.

<sup>152</sup> LILYQUIST, *Egyptian Stone Vessels*, 55 reporting a note of Carter preserved in the MMA. The emphasis is mine. See BETRÒ, "A Note to Carter Manuscripts and the Discovery of Ahhotep's Coffin (Cairo CG 28501)", in this volume.

<sup>153</sup> WINLOCK, *JEA* 10, 252, n. 2. The emphasis is mine.







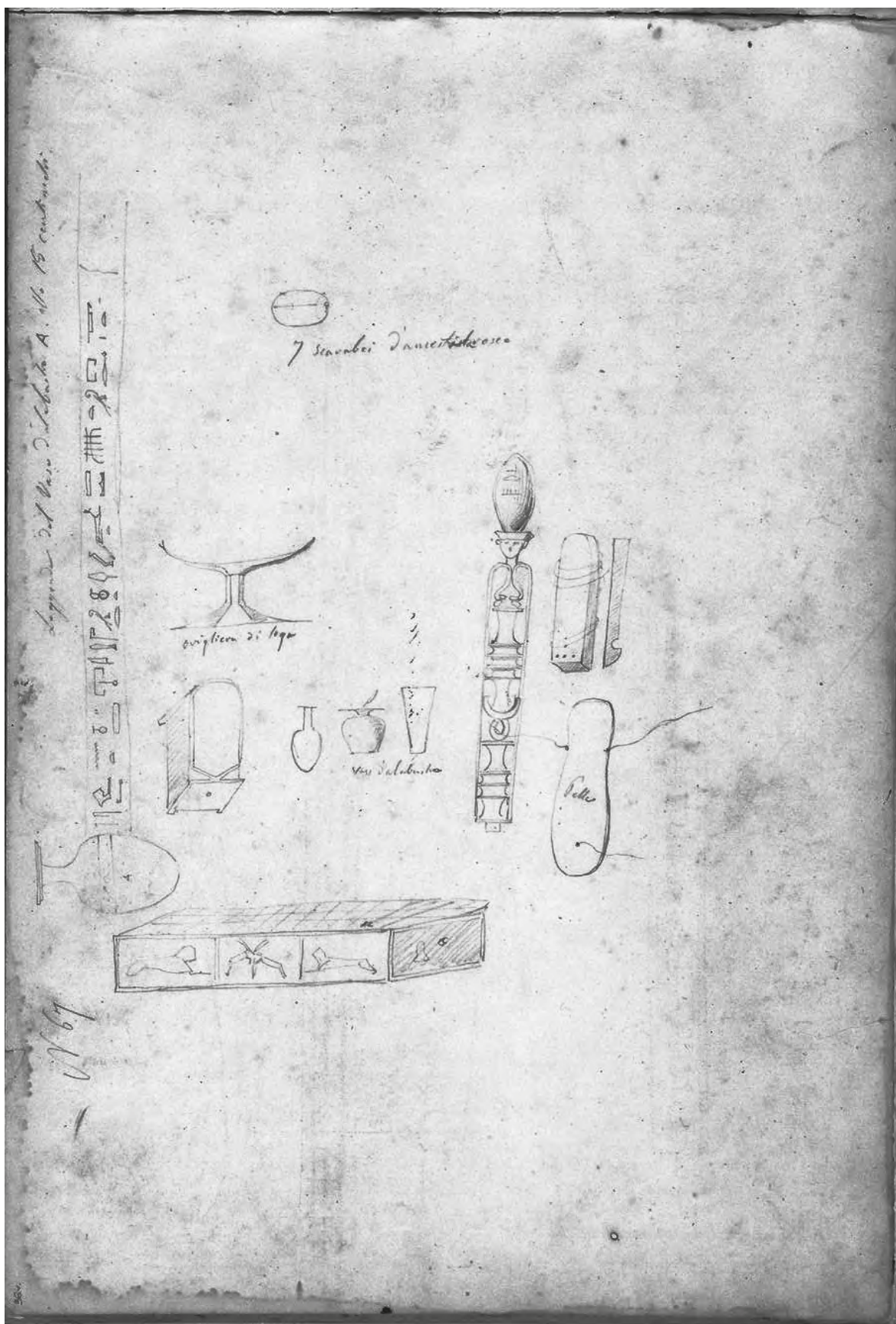


Fig. 11 (left and right) – Drawing of the coffin of Hornakht and part of its burial equipment, including the throw-stick inscribed with the cartouche of King Seqenenre Tao; *Album di disegni Vassalli*, Ms. AV, f. 36r-v © courtesy of the Civica Biblioteca d'Arte di Milano – Fondo Luigi Vassalli, Album H 2

## The presumed Architectural Structure

One of the main questions concerns the type of structure in which the coffin of Ahhotep had been found. The structure is undefined and variously reported in the different accounts of the time, often in conflict with each other.

*At the bottom of a deep pit without any chamber* = Desjardins is the main person responsible for handing down the most reproduced version. From his report, the coffin seems to have been found at the bottom of a pit, deep five or six metres; since no chamber is mentioned, supposedly the coffin was found at the bottom of the pit.

**Q.27** – “On retira, le 5 février 1859, d’une fosse de cinq à six mètres, un magnifique cercueil doré [Ah-hotep], dans l’intérieur duquel étaient enfermés tous les objets d’or dont il s’agit, à côté d’une momie humaine” – Desjardins<sup>154</sup>

The same reconstruction is offered by Mariette himself, who specified that the coffin was simply placed at the bottom of the pit; Mariette’s report added another piece of information, that there was no visible structure above the pit:

**Q.28** – “Les tombes de la quatrième sorte sont les plus simples : dans le sol pierreux de la plaine, on faisait un trou de quelques mètres de profondeur ; on descendait le cercueil dans ce trou, qui était ensuite rebouché, et tout était dit [...] celle [the tomb] d’un roi Ahmès [read Kamose] qui n’est ni l’Aosis de Manéthon, ni l’Ahmès sipear du papyrus, ainsi que celle de la reine Aah-Hotep, toutes deux arrangées selon la quatrième système, c’est-à-dire que les momies royales enfermées dans leur cercueil avaient été confiées à la terre sans aucun signe extérieur qui en révélat la présence” – Mariette<sup>155</sup>

Correspondent versions to those of Mariette and Desjardins were handed down by other scholars:

**Q.29** – “Or, le 5 février, les ouvriers, qui remuaient en corvée les sables de Draḥ abou ’l-Neggah, recueillirent au milieu des décombres, dans un trou profond de quatre ou cinq mètres” – Maspero<sup>156</sup>

**Q.30** – “On February 5, 1859, at a depth of some five or six metres in the surface-rubbish and sand, this gang found the coffin containing the mummy and jewelry of Ahhotep” – Winlock<sup>157</sup>

<sup>154</sup> DESJARDINS, *RGA* 18, 99. The emphasis is mine.

<sup>155</sup> MARIETTE, *RAr* 2, 28. The emphasis is mine.

<sup>156</sup> MASPERO, in MARIETTE (ed.), *Oeuvres diverses*, cii. The emphasis is mine.

<sup>157</sup> WINLOCK, *JEA* 10, 252. The emphasis is mine.

*In a shallow hole below the surface* = On the other hand, Mariette himself produced another version of the same discovery in 1872, in which the coffin was found in a shallow hole in the ground, just below the surface.

**Q.31** – “Contre toutes les habitudes, Aah-hotep avait été ensevelie, non dans un souterrain précédé d’une chambre mortuaire, mais en pleine terre et à un mètre à peine du sol” – Mariette<sup>158</sup>

A few numbers of other publications tended to follow this version produced by Mariette:

**Q.32** – “Chose singulière et inexplicable, ce cercueil fut trouvé dans une masse de matériaux au milieu desquels il semblait avoir été déposé” – Matthey<sup>159</sup>

**Q.33** – “Ce cercueil fut découvert en 1860 [sic], par des fouilleurs indigènes, couché à même dans le sable à Draḥ abou ’l Neggah” – Maspero<sup>160</sup>

Although this version evidently conflicts with the earlier version, the words used by Desjardins, “fosse” (Q.27), and Mariette, “trou” (Q.28), in both cases underline a sort of unstructured deposit in the open ground rather than the more usual rock-cut structures frequently attested at Thebes. However, the version of a shallow hole appeared only in 1872 and it may have been influenced by the tradition handed down about Kamose’s coffin discovery (Q.36-38), which was stated to be placed in a hole just below the surface.

*Placed in a hole dug out inside a mud-brick structure* = At the beginning of the twentieth century, Howard Carter gathered another version of the discovery from Ahmed Saïd el-Hagg,<sup>161</sup> an Egyptian peasant and occasional digger of antiquities, who claimed to have discovered the coffin himself inside a mud-brick structure:

**Q.34** – “[...] deep below a tomb (of a certain Antef, the ‘Great Herald of the King’, dating from the reign of Tuthmosis III) where there are some hidden brick vaults, he [Ahmed Saïd el-Hagg] found hidden in one of the vaults a massive wooden coffin containing a mummy, four alabaster canopic jars, a bundle of gold and silver ornaments hurriedly placed beside the mummy in the coffin. The coffin he said was placed in a hole at

<sup>158</sup> MARIETTE, *Album du Musée de Boulaq*, pl. 29 with text. The emphasis is mine.

<sup>159</sup> MATTHEY, *Explorations modernes*, 162. The emphasis is mine.

<sup>160</sup> MASPERO, *Guide Musée du Caire* [1902], 413. The emphasis is mine.

<sup>161</sup> See BETRÒ, “A Note to Carter Manuscripts and the Discovery of Ahhotep’s Coffin (Cairo CG 28501)”, in this volume.



*the side of the vault that seemed to have been gouged out expressly for it, and it was roughly covered up with bricks as if to hide it* – Carter<sup>162</sup>

The tradition of a brick structure has been handed down in Egyptological literature, increasing the dissemination of different versions:

**Q.35** – “The burial of the queen [Ahhotep] was found in a brick-lined vaulted chamber” – Grajetzki<sup>163</sup>

This version introduced a brick vaulted structure completely absent from other accounts. Mariette and Desjardins totally disavowed the presence of any brick structure, as Mariette explicitly remarked the absence of any external sign for a structure (“sans aucun signe extérieur qui en révélât la présence”, **Q.28**). However, neither Mariette nor Desjardins were present at the time of the discovery.<sup>164</sup> The account provided by Ahmed Saïd (**Q.34**) is reliable in certain details: the location is explicitly indicated close to TT 155 as supported by the documentation independently drawn from Vassalli’s notes.<sup>165</sup> Even the mention of a mudbrick structure (in ruin?) seems to provide a more archaeologically adherent explanation for the mass of material mentioned in earlier versions (cf. **Q.29-30, Q.32**).

The account handed down by Carter is not accurate in other respects: all the sources are consistent in mentioning that the jars had been found outside the coffin (cf. **Q.1**; see also p. 61) and not inside the coffin as indicated by Ahmed Saïd. However, given the elapsed timeframe from the actual moment of the discovery, the memory of Ahmed Saïd could have been mistaken, mingling his own account and experience with the details known from the news.<sup>166</sup> Alternatively, the account reported by Carter could have been totally invented by Ahmed Saïd building on local accounts and rumours circulating in the village of Qurna.

<sup>162</sup> LILYQUIST, *Egyptian Stone Vessels*, 55 reporting a note of Carter preserved in the Metropolitan Museum of Art in New York. The emphasis is mine. See especially BETRÒ, “A Note to Carter Manuscripts and the Discovery of Ahhotep’s Coffin (Cairo CG 28501)”, in this volume.

<sup>163</sup> GRAJETZKI, *Tomb Treasures*, 166.

<sup>164</sup> Winlock remarked that Mariette missed the pyramid features above the tomb of Nubkheperre, WINLOCK, *JEA* 10, 226. However, one wonders how much Mariette was interested in an empty and very decayed brick structure in his synthetic reports, see archaeological report in POLZ, SEILER, *Die Pyramidenanlage*.

<sup>165</sup> See above, § **The presumed Location of the Burial**, *Khaw el-Alamat, near TT 155*, p. 45-7. See also discussions in BETRÒ, “A Note to Carter Manuscripts and the Discovery of Ahhotep’s Coffin (Cairo CG 28501)”, in this volume.

<sup>166</sup> BETRÒ, “A Note to Carter Manuscripts and the Discovery of Ahhotep’s Coffin (Cairo CG 28501)”, in this volume.

### Other non-normative contemporary burials

A “non-normative” status seems to emerge from the different accounts over the type of burial granted to Ahhotep. This status is unexpectedly shared with other royal or wealthy burials of the Second Intermediate Period: namely, the coffin of Kamose and an anonymous burial labelled in Egyptological literature as the “Qurna Queen”, now in National Museums Scotland in Edinburgh.<sup>167</sup>

**Q.36** – Kamose: “Le sarcophage [Kamose’s] découvert par M. Mariette était confondu dans une masse de matériaux avec lesquels il semblait qu’il eût été posé pêle-mêle, au lieu d’être déposé dans un caveau comme à l’ordinaire; il était couché sur le côté droit, et néanmoins ce cercueil n’avait pas été violé” – Mariette<sup>168</sup>

**Q.37** – Kamose: “Le sarcophage [Kamose] découvert par M. Mariette fut trouvé dans une masse de matériaux, au milieu desquels il semblait avoir été déposé. Il n’aurait donc pas été renfermé, comme à l’ordinaire, dans un caveau. Le cercueil était couché sur le côté droit, et cependant il n’avait pas été violé [...]” – Desjardins<sup>169</sup>

**Q.38** – Kamose: “[Kamose’s coffin discovered at] deux pieds sous terre sans caveau ou autre construction” – Prisse d’Avennes<sup>170</sup>

**Q.39** – Qurna burial now in Edinburgh: “In the ground below this were several natural boulders lying close together. When our men came to clear amongst these they found that they covered a burial, which was placed in an open shallow trench in the rock [...]. Though this burial was only in the open ground yet it is very complete in personal objects. Probably it is the richest and most detailed undisturbed burial that has been completely recorded and published” – Petrie<sup>171</sup>

<sup>167</sup> Since the label “Qurna Queen” contains an assumption (there are no explicit indications that this burial belongs to the royal circle apart from the remarkable quantity of precious objects), here it is adopted a more neutral label “Qurna burial”. For the archaeological context, see PETRIE, *Qurneh*, 6-10, pls 22-9; MINIACI, *Rishi Coffins*, 65-6. All the funerary equipment of this burial was transferred by Petrie to a single destination, Edinburgh, in order not to split its archaeological unity; see MAITLAND, POTTER, TROALEN, “The Burial of the ‘Qurna Queen’”, in this volume.

<sup>168</sup> MARIETTE, *CRAIBL* 2, 120. The emphasis is mine.

<sup>169</sup> DESJARDINS, *RGA* 18, 53. The emphasis is mine.

<sup>170</sup> DESTI, *Des dieux, des tombeaux, un savant*, 219 *verbatim* quoting a note taken by Prisse (without any reference). The emphasis is mine.

<sup>171</sup> PETRIE, *Qurneh*, 6, 10. The emphasis is mine.



**Fig. 12a-b** – Photos of the so-called “Qurna Queen” burial as found by Petrie in the northernmost part of the Theban necropolis; *a.* (upper): PMAN2851; *b.* (lower left) PMAN2852; © courtesy of the Petrie Museum of Egyptian Archaeology, London

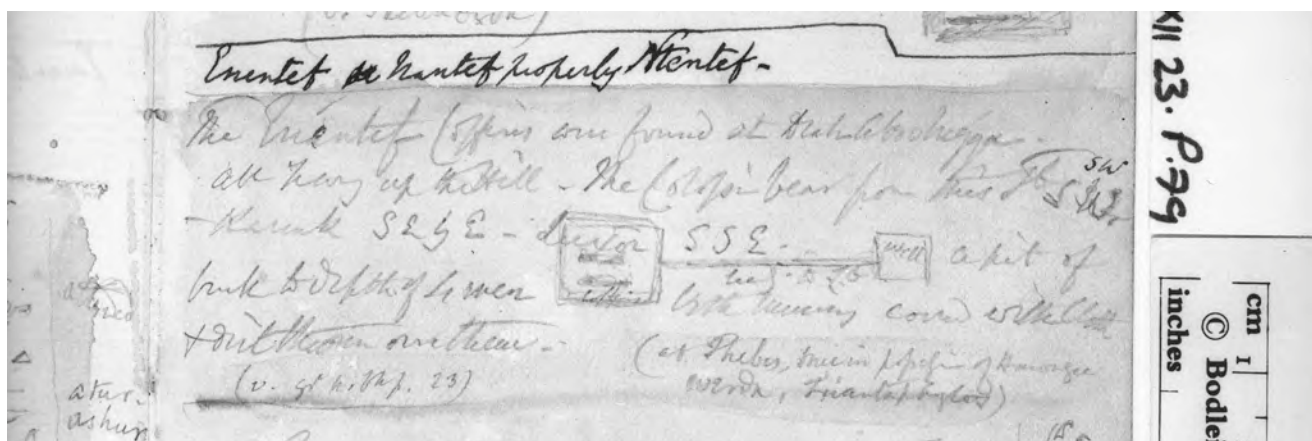
**Fig. 13** – (lower right) Plan of the so-called “Qurna Queen” burial, from PETRIE, *Qurneh*, pl. 22



Neither of the two burials had been found in a proper structure, rather they were buried just below the surface. While for Kamose there is only another set of oral accounts provided by Mariette and others, who were absent from the find-spot at the moment of the discovery, for the Qurna burial there is photographic documentation of the actual moment of discovery and a plan of the finds as it was discovered (see Figs 12-13). Flinders Petrie in the season 1908-09 in the northernmost part of the Theban necropolis<sup>172</sup> discovered an undisturbed *rishi* coffin buried – together with a rectangular box containing the body of an infant – in an open shallow trench, below the ground, covered up by several boulders (see Fig. 12a-b). The coffin, partially gilded and equipped with a rich set of jewellery and precious items, is believed to have belonged to a member of the royal family or uppermost classes of the Second Intermediate Period.

were not found in tombs, but simply buried in the rubbish”,<sup>174</sup> without quoting any reference for such information. Nonetheless, there is no evidence that the two Kings Intef (Wepmaat and Heruhirmaat) were found in a ditch; rather, according to an annotated sketch of their find-spot provided by Wilkinson, they seem to have been found buried in a rock cut tomb with a shaft and a room (?) opening at the bottom. In addition, in the accompanying written notes, Wilkinson mentioned a brick pit (?) and a cloth over the coffins, which allows one to imagine a primary burial rather than a reburial or a cache (see Fig. 14).

**Q.40** – “A pit of brick to depth of 4 men both mummies [Intef’s coffins] covered with cloth & dirty thrown over them” – Wilkinson<sup>175</sup>



**Fig. 14** – Wilkinson’s sketch showing the burial deposition of the Kings Wepmaat Intef and Sekhemre Heruhirmaat Intef coffins; Ms. Wilkinson dep. e. 67, p. 79 [former Wilkinson MSS XII, 79] © courtesy of the Bodleian Library, Oxford

The analogies, chronological, spatial, and “depositional” of the two burials with that one of Ahhotep are particularly striking. From these analogies, one is inclined to pay more attention to the 1872 version of Mariette (**Q.31**), in which Ahhotep is stated to have been found in a shallow hole dug into the ground. The account reported by Carter could also be reconsidered in this light (**Q.34**).

In addition to the Ahhotep, Kamose and Qurna burials, two other coffins of the same dynasty, Sekhemre Wepmaat Intef and Sekhemre Heruhirmaat Intef, were also reportedly discovered in an unusual context.<sup>173</sup> Herbert Winlock, in his article about the kings of the Seventeenth Dynasty, noted that “*Mariette and Brugsch both seem to have known that the Louvre Intef coffins*

Other, more modest burials of the Second Intermediate Period—early Eighteenth Dynasty show a similar non-normative attitude in their deposition: the coffin of Harmose and another anonymous individual were interred in surface burials (coffins *F* and *D*), found under some tumuli of limestone chips and blocks below the courtyard of the tomb of Senenmut (TT 71) at Sheikh Abd el-Qurna<sup>176</sup> (see Figs 15-16).

<sup>174</sup> WINLOCK, *JEA* 10, 236-7, fn. 5. Cf. BRUGSCH, *Egypt under the Pharaohs*, 51, “hidden under heaps of loose stones and sand” in relation to King Intef Nubkheperre.

<sup>175</sup> Bodleian Library Oxford, Ms. Wilkinson, dep. e. 67, p. 79. See also MINIACI, in BETRÒ, DEL VESCO, MINIACI (eds), *Seven Seasons*, 37 and POLZ, *Der Beginn*, 31, Abb. 8.

<sup>176</sup> Harmose “was given burial at the bottom of the pile of limestone chip which was gradually filling up the gully [of Senenmut’s courtyard]”, see LANSING, HAYES, *BMMA* 32, 6-8, figs 11, 13. To be noted that “a household box near the foot of Har-mose’s coffin had been converted, by setting boards crosswise, into a Canopic chest”, recalling a closer parallel

<sup>172</sup> MINIACI, in BETRÒ, DEL VESCO, MINIACI, *Seven Seasons*, 45-7.

<sup>173</sup> Louvre E 3019 and E 3020; see MINIACI, *Rishi Coffins*, 268-71 (rT01P-rT02P).

In sum, the question of the (re-)/burial of Ahhotep and other sovereigns of the Seventeenth Dynasty is certainly still an open question. Several scholars have envisaged in the hasty and non-normative characters of these burials an intention to cache or rebury these coffins and some of their funerary equipment,<sup>177</sup> in analogy to a well-known practice of ancient and modern Egypt.<sup>178</sup> However, if at first sight the accounts provided for the burials of Ahhotep and Kamose point directly to “caches/reburials”, this is less evident for the Qurna burial, which rather points to a primary deposition with a complete group of funerary equipment. The presence of several items of furniture, pottery vessels, food offerings, net bags and a wooden stick for vessel transport,<sup>179</sup> seem to suggest a primary surface burial left untouched since its original deposition.

This encourages to advance a working, very speculative hypothesis: a need for extreme secrecy and/or hasty burial could have led most members of the royal family of the Seventeenth Dynasty—early Eighteenth Dynasty to select unusual, hidden burial spots, conceived of as primary burials, purposely distant, without a conventional architectural structure and separated from their cult places. Unpredictably, surface burials could actually be more hidden than other rock-cut tombs, since a cut in the rock and any architecture already reveals where to search to ancient as well as modern robbers.

The practice of hiding a burial/coffin could be envisaged as being at the origin of the separation of the tomb from the cult funerary structure for the kings at the dawn of the New Kingdom.<sup>180</sup> It cannot be just chance that most of the coffins of the kings of the Seventeenth Dynasty and their funerary equipment were preserved intact till the nineteenth century.<sup>181</sup>

with the wooden box found next to the coffin of Ahhotep, cf. LANSING, HAYES, *BMMA* 32, 8. For further comments, see GALÁN, *JEA* 103, 182, esp. n. 28.

<sup>177</sup> See for instance, WINLOCK, *JEA* 10, 274; THOMAS, *Royal Necropoleis*, 39-40; EATON-KRAUSS, *CdE* 65, 205; JANSEN-WINKELN, *ZÄS* 122, 62-78; TAYLOR, in WILKINSON, WEEKS (eds), *The Oxford Handbook*, 362. A few scholars believed that these coffins had been reburied in a modern reburial, see for instance, POLZ, *Der Beginn*, 169-72, esp. 170.

<sup>178</sup> Cf. GRAEFE, in COULON (ed.), *La Cachette de Karnak*, 71-86.

<sup>179</sup> See § **The Burial Assemblage**, *Burial equipment type*, p. 63-5.

<sup>180</sup> ULLMANN, in WILKINSON, WEEKS (eds), *The Oxford Handbook*, 417-8.

<sup>181</sup> Some pharaohs and members of the royal family of the Sev-

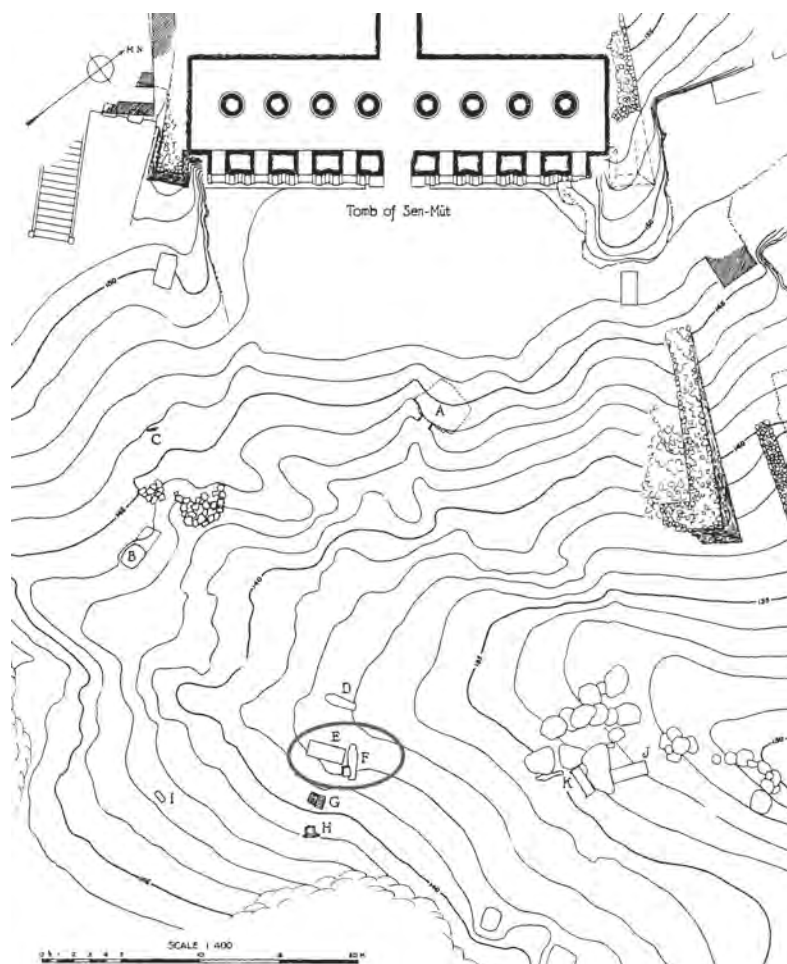


Fig. 15 – Map of the area in front of the tomb of Senenmut, from LANSING, HAYES, *BMMA* 32, fig. 8



Fig. 16 – Photo of the burial of Harmose as found during excavation in the courtyard of Senenmut, from LANSING, HAYES, *BMMA* 32, fig. 11

enteenth Dynasty are still “missing from the list” (*i.e.* King Senakhtenre Ahmose, Queen Nubkhaes, etc.), and they could remain buried hidden in secrecy under the ground of Dra Abu el-Naga.



## The Burial Assemblage

The coffin is repeatedly stated to have been found “intact”, following a recurrent myth in the histories of archaeology: the magical awakening of a forgotten past by the archaeologist, as did the prince with the “sleeping beauty” in fairy tales.<sup>182</sup> The word “intact” has created some imprecisions and misconstructions, since it indicates several possible conditions that may lead to further assumptions. In the case of Ahhotep, “intact” should be intended to mean that the coffin was found “closed”, *i.e.* not opened or visibly violated at the time of its discovery in the nineteenth century, if the accounts are to be believed. This does not mean that the coffin had been not opened, altered, or tampered in the time before its modern discovery. Therefore, it is useful to distinguish the condition of being “closed” before and “opened” after 1859.

**Closed before 1859** = According to the collected accounts, the coffin was reportedly found closed (Q.1). Most probably, the coffin was not actually opened at the time of the discovery, since the presence of precious objects was not mentioned in Maunier’s letter to Mariette and he explicitly stated that the coffin had been kept closed, shipped to the storerooms in Karnak, and properly sealed with his own sealing “V.G.M.” (*contra see* Q.34). The absence of the uraeus from the head of the coffin, already noted in the first account of the discovery produced by Maunier (Q.1), may be interpreted as signs that the only stealable part – due to time availability and conditions – was actually stolen (this could be modern, at the time of the discovery, but also ancient, at the time of the primary or secondary depositions). However, it is worth remembering that the coffin was discovered in total absence of scientific control; therefore, although the possibility that it was found closed and kept as such till it arrived at the storerooms in Karnak may be reliable, this should not be considered incontrovertible evidence.<sup>183</sup>

If the find status (“closed”) of the coffin is to be believed, the archaeological evidence implies that the last action to be performed on the coffin was closing it with all that was inside. Therefore, the main concern is to understand when the last closing took place. Given the type of objects, it is difficult to imagine that such an action could have been performed by any individuals after the beginning of the nineteenth century AD, when Egyptian antiquities had already become “valuable” items to be sold on market. Probably also in the previous centuries, or millennia, few people would have left un plundered such wealthy contents.<sup>184</sup> Unless one assumes a number of *lec-*

*tiones difficiliore*s,<sup>185</sup> the only time when the coffin could have been closed with all the valuable objects inside is in the pharaonic period, when the sensorial links between the objects and their social significance were active.<sup>186</sup> The date of sealing may coincide either with: 1) the primary (and original) deposition of the individual buried inside the coffin (therefore defining it as a purely intact context – but potentially conflicting with the unconventional architectural features);<sup>187</sup> or 2) a secondary deposition, following one or more moments of movement and opening, which could give rise to several conjectures (including the option that the person buried inside the coffin was not the queen herself).<sup>188</sup> Unfortunately, nothing was recorded in the account about the fastening and closing system (ropes, tenons, etc) of the coffin (see Fig. 17). In addition, today only the lid is preserved and on display in Cairo Museum, while the lower case is unavailable for inspection.<sup>189</sup>

**Opened after 1859** = The second-hand account provided by Carter about the discovery of Ahhotep (Q.34) suggests that a first opening of the coffin could have happened on the spot. Faithful or not, the objects officially recorded as coming from the coffin of Ahhotep<sup>190</sup> may not correspond to the content of the assemblage as originally deposited in the ground, since the opening of the coffin happened without any scientific control. Maspero, more than once, repeated that the treasure was only partial, and that several objects may have been lost at the time of the opening<sup>191</sup> (Q.12-13). However, certainly by February 25<sup>th</sup> the coffin had been opened, since its contents was reported in an official list drafted on behalf of

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early Eighteenth Dynasty prince called Amenemhat, reburied in a late Ramesside coffin in the ground beneath a large rock high in the cliffs of the Theban massif, not far from the Royal Cache (DB 320), deprived of any burial equipment, *cf.* LANSING, *BMMA* 15, 8-10, figs 4-6.

<sup>185</sup> See some hypotheses in WINLOCK, *JEA* 10, 254.

<sup>186</sup> MINIACI, *CAJ* 29/2, 287-307.

<sup>187</sup> See above, § **The presumed Architectural Structure**, *Other non-normative contemporary burials*, p. 51-4.

<sup>188</sup> The reason for reopening could probably exclude the intent of ancient robbery, unless it was interrupted, since – at least on a theoretical level – the primary logic of plundering is not to leave precious objects behind. Nonetheless, any reasons behind possible re-openings and re-closings are only assumptions and hypotheses at the present state of current knowledge; therefore, they will not be explored further here.

<sup>189</sup> For the lid see MINIACI, *Rishi Coffins*, 225, rT02C. For the lower case, see comments in MINIACI, “Notes on the Journal d’Entrée Entries for Queen Ahhotep’s Assemblage”, in this volume.

<sup>190</sup> See below, § **The Burial Assemblage**, *Objects found inside/outside the coffin*, p. 60-1.

<sup>191</sup> MASPERO, *Guide Musée de Boulaq* [1883], 77; followed by VON BISSING, *Ein thebanischer Grabfund*, 24; PETRIE, *History*, vol. II, 13.

<sup>182</sup> Cf. SOMMER, in LINK, SCHIMMELPFENNIG (eds), *Taphonomie*, 15-34.

<sup>183</sup> VON BISSING, *Ein thebanischer Grabfund*, 24.

<sup>184</sup> See ROTH, in TEETER, LARSON (eds), *Gold of Praise*, 369. See also comments in GALÁN, *JEA* 103, 182-3 quoting an



**Fig. 17** – Coffin of the Queen Ahhotep in profile; photo by Devéria; PHO 1986 144 95/MS 163 91 © Musée d’Orsay, Dist. RMN-Grand Palais / Alexis Brandt

the governor of Qena.<sup>192</sup> The intention of the governor of Qena may not have been to gain personal profit from this discovery, but to follow the law and possibly obtain the favor of the Khedive in Cairo. However, the list produced on February 25<sup>th</sup> shows that formal and legal procedures were carried out in respect to the coffin assemblage. Moreover, the surprising correspondence between the objects listed in Upper Egypt and those later inventoried by Mariette in the *Inventaire de Boulaq*<sup>193</sup> represents good grounds to believe that the preserved assemblage corresponds with what was actually inside the coffin at the time of discovery.<sup>194</sup>

<sup>192</sup> See MINIACI, “The original Inventory List of the Queen Ahhotep ‘Treasure’ from Mariette’s Papers (*BIF Paris, Fonds Maspero*, Ms. 4052)”, in this volume.

<sup>193</sup> See MINIACI, “Notes on the Journal d’Entrée Entries for Queen Ahhotep’s Assemblage”, in this volume.

<sup>194</sup> WINLOCK, *JEA* 10, 254. See now MINIACI, “The original Inventory List of the Queen Ahhotep ‘Treasure’ from Mariette’s Papers (*BIF Paris, Fonds Maspero*, Ms. 4052)”, in this volume, to be noticed some minor discrepancies among the first inventory lists and the objects recorded in the *IB/JE*.

**Total number of recorded objects** = The *Journal d’Entrée* is the most reliable source for the reconstruction of the burial assemblage of the queen.<sup>195</sup> The first volume of the *Journal d’Entrée* was drafted in 1881, hence more than twenty years after Ahhotep’s discovery,<sup>196</sup> by a museum assistant, Ernest Cousin. Nonetheless, it was meant to be a faithful copy of the *Inventaire of Boulaq*, drawn up in the first years of the 1860s by Mariette himself, Vassalli and Heinrich Brugsch.<sup>197</sup> The front page of the *Inventaire de Boulaq* claims that the finds were entered in the inventory book in the order that they were found (“*au fur et à mesure de leur découverte*”);<sup>198</sup> therefore its contents can be treated as a sort of abridged “archaeological diary” for the time.<sup>199</sup> Presumably, the entries for Ahhotep in the *Inventaire* were compiled closer to their find-date, and in any case not beyond 1863. The handwriting for Ahhotep’s entries in the *IB* is that of Mariette.<sup>200</sup>

The *Journal d’Entrée* reports 70 items forming the total of Ahhotep’s assemblage (including the coffin), although at the beginning of the Ahhotep list, the *IB/JE* counts a total of 68 objects.<sup>201</sup> The same number (70) is provided also by the two lists drafted on the 25<sup>th</sup> of February, although using a different ratio for counting the objects.<sup>202</sup> Although Mariette and Maspero repeatedly lamented that the assemblage suffered from illicit subtraction or robbery of objects (**Q.11-13**), Winlock noticed that in the accounts provided at the time of the discovery, including Dévéria’s account, there was no “*suggestion that any of the jewellery was lost, or that any of it was introduced from other sources*”.<sup>203</sup>

<sup>195</sup> See MINIACI, “Notes on the Journal d’Entrée Entries for Queen Ahhotep’s Assemblage”, in this volume.

<sup>196</sup> DEWACHTER, *BIFAO* 85, 110.

<sup>197</sup> About the relation between Heinrich Brugsch, Vassalli, Mariette and Ahhotep, see above § **People involved with the Discovery and its Transmission**, p. 41.

<sup>198</sup> DEWACHTER *BIFAO* 85, pl. 20. Were the entries recorded in a sort of chronological order according to their discovery?

<sup>199</sup> DEWACHTER *BIFAO* 85, 110. The *Inventaire de Boulaq* is nowadays preserved in the *Cabinet des manuscrits* of the *Bibliothèque nationale de France* in Paris (*BnF* 20181-20183), made of four registers of 1340 pages.

<sup>200</sup> Information kindly provided by Elisabeth David.

<sup>201</sup> See Table 3. Mariette in his first report mentioned only about forty objects “*au nombre d’une quarantaine*”, MARIETTE, *BIE* 1, 32. See also MINIACI, “Notes on the Journal d’Entrée Entries for Queen Ahhotep’s Assemblage”, in this volume § *Comment to the JE entries*, Table 2.

<sup>202</sup> See MINIACI, “The original Inventory List of the Queen Ahhotep ‘Treasure’ from Mariette’s Papers (*BIF Paris, Fonds Maspero*, Ms. 4052)”, in this volume.

<sup>203</sup> WINLOCK, *JEA* 10, 253.



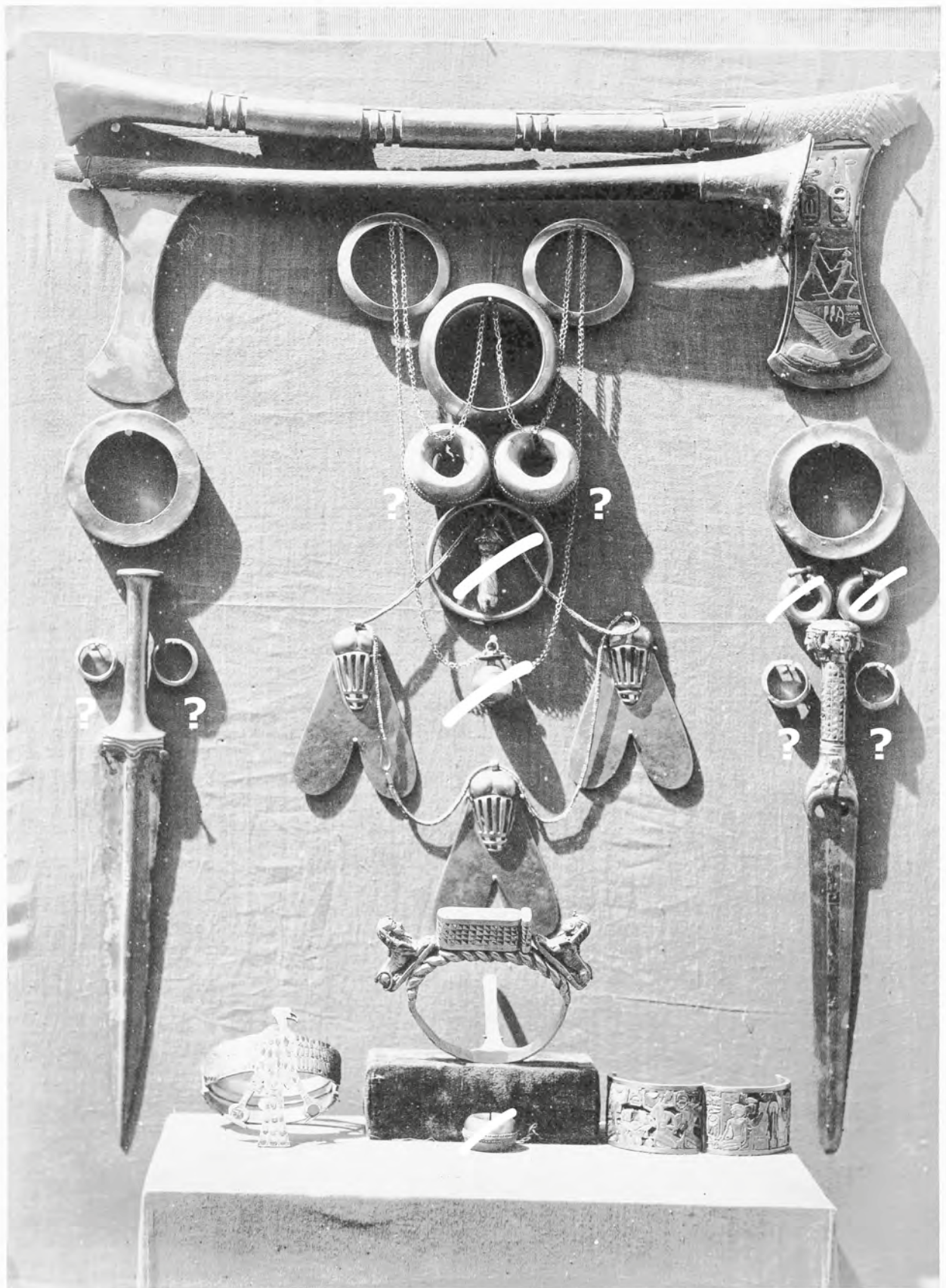
*The types of objects* = [see Figs 18-20; Pls III-XX; see also Table 3] Beside the coffin (JE 4663), the assemblage as it is known from the preserved written records was formed by a mirror (JE 4664), four daggers (JE 4665-68: JE 4666 shows an unusual human heads shaped handle; for JE 4667 only the blade was preserved), two boat miniatures (JE 4681 in gold and JE 4682 in silver, which could have been positioned over a wagon with four wheels, JE 4669), a plaquette (JE 4670), a short wooden stick (JE 4671), a fan stick whose feathers or any other organic material were missing (JE 4672), six axes (JE 4673-78: for JE 4677-78 only the blades were preserved), two armllets (JE 4679 showing a vulture and JE 4680 bearing a three-dimensional cartouche inscribed with the

name Ahmose), a pectoral (JE 4683), four bracelets bearing the name and prenomen of King Ahmose (JE 4684-87), several necklaces, including some fragmented pieces (JE 4688-95: JE 4694 presents three miniaturised and stylised golden flies; JE 4695 is holding a scarab), a bracelet in thick gold (JE 4696), sixteen different types of bracelets (JE 4697-4712), two lion head gaming pieces (JE 4713-14), nine miniature axes (JE 4715-23), one ring (JE 4724), a large *wesekh* collar (JE 4725; hypothetically reconstructed) and several elements, pendants, and beads listed under it, an antimony kohl jar (JE 4726), four toilet jars (JE 4727-30), a wooden box (JE 4731), and a wooden headrest (JE 4732).

pNo.	Type	JE						
1	Coffin	JE 4663	31	Necklace ending with papyrus buttons, in 3 pieces	JE 4693	63.1	<i>Wesekh</i> collar – Falcon head pendants	JE 4725-1
2	Mirror	JE 4664	32	Necklace ending with flies	JE 4694	63.2	<i>Wesekh</i> collar – Lion head pendants	JE 4725-2
3	Dagger with straight grip	JE 4665	33	Necklace with scarab	JE 4695	63.3	<i>Wesekh</i> collar – Fly pendants	JE 4725-3
4	Dagger with human heads shaped handle	JE 4666	34	Bracelet in massif gold	JE 4696	63.4	<i>Wesekh</i> collar – Bell pendants	JE 4725-4
5	Dagger (only blade)	JE 4667	35	Bracelet (*)	JE 4697	63.5	<i>Wesekh</i> collar – Spiral-shaped pendants	JE 4725-5
6	Dagger with discoid butt	JE 4668	36	Bracelet (*)	JE 4698	63.6	<i>Wesekh</i> collar – Rosette disks	JE 4725-6
7	Waggon miniature	JE 4669	37	Bracelet (*)	JE 4699	63.7	<i>Wesekh</i> collar – Four pointed star pendants	JE 4725-7
8	Plaquette	JE 4670	38	Bracelet (*)	JE 4700	63.8	<i>Wesekh</i> collar – Drop shaped pendants	JE 4725-8
9	Stick	JE 4671	39	Bracelet (#)	JE 4701	63.9	<i>Wesekh</i> collar – Almond shaped pendants	JE 4725-9
10	Fan	JE 4672	40	Bracelet (#)	JE 4702	63.10	<i>Wesekh</i> collar – Rectangular plaques	JE 4725-10
11	Axe with Ahmose name/premen	JE 4673	41	Bracelet (#)	JE 4703	63.11	<i>Wesekh</i> collar – Buttons	JE 4725-11
12	Axe in bronze	JE 4674	42	Bracelet (#)	JE 4704	63.12	<i>Wesekh</i> collar – Bird pendants	JE 4725-12
13	Axe in silver	JE 4675	43	Bracelet	JE 4705	63.13	<i>Wesekh</i> collar – Hawk pendants	JE 4725-13
14	Axe in bronze (golden foil handle)	JE 4676	44	Bracelet	JE 4706	63.14	<i>Wesekh</i> collar – Vulture pendants	JE 4725-14
15	Axe (only blade)	JE 4677	45	Bracelet (°)	JE 4707	63.15	<i>Wesekh</i> collar – Winged cobra pendants	JE 4725-15
16	Axe (only blade)	JE 4678	46	Bracelet (°)	JE 4708	63.16	<i>Wesekh</i> collar – Antelope pendants	JE 4725-16
17	Armllet with vulture	JE 4679	47	Bracelet (°)	JE 4709	63.17	<i>Wesekh</i> collar – Lion pendants	JE 4725-17
18	Armllet with Ahmose cartouche	JE 4680	48	Bracelet (°)	JE 4710	63.18	<i>Wesekh</i> collar – Running dog pendants	JE 4725-18
19	Boat miniature in gold	JE 4681	49	Bracelet (°)	JE 4711	63.19	<i>Wesekh</i> collar – Seated dog pendants	JE 4725-19
20	Boat miniature in silver	JE 4682	50	Bracelet (°)	JE 4712	63.20	<i>Wesekh</i> collar – Box with beads	JE 4725-20
21	Pectoral with Ahmose name/premen	JE 4683	51	Lion head pawn in gold	JE 4713	64	Kohl jar	JE 4726
22	Bracelet with Ahmose name/premen	JE 4684	52	Lion head pawn in copper	JE 4714	65	Toilet jar	JE 4727
23	Bracelet with Ahmose prenomen (*)	JE 4685	53	Axe miniature in gold (§)	JE 4715	66	Toilet jar	JE 4728
24	Bracelet with Ahmose name (*)	JE 4686	54	Axe miniature in gold (§)	JE 4716	67	Toilet jar	JE 4729
25	Bracelet with Ahmose prenomen	JE 4687	55	Axe miniature in gold (§)	JE 4717	68	Toilet jar	JE 4730
26	Necklace ending with hemispherical beads	JE 4688	56	Axe miniature in silver (§)	JE 4718	69	Wooden box	JE 4731
27	Necklace ending with hemisph. beads	JE 4689	57	Axe miniature in silver (§)	JE 4719	70	Headrest	JE 4732
28	Necklace	JE 4690	58	Axe miniature in silver (§)	JE 4720			
29	Necklace	JE 4691	59	Axe miniature in silver (§)	JE 4721			
30	Necklace ending with papyrus buttons, in 5 pieces	JE 4692	60	Axe miniature in silver (§)	JE 4722			
			61	Axe miniature in silver (§)	JE 4723			
			62	Ring	JE 4724			
			63	<i>Wesekh</i> collar	JE 4725 (1-20)			

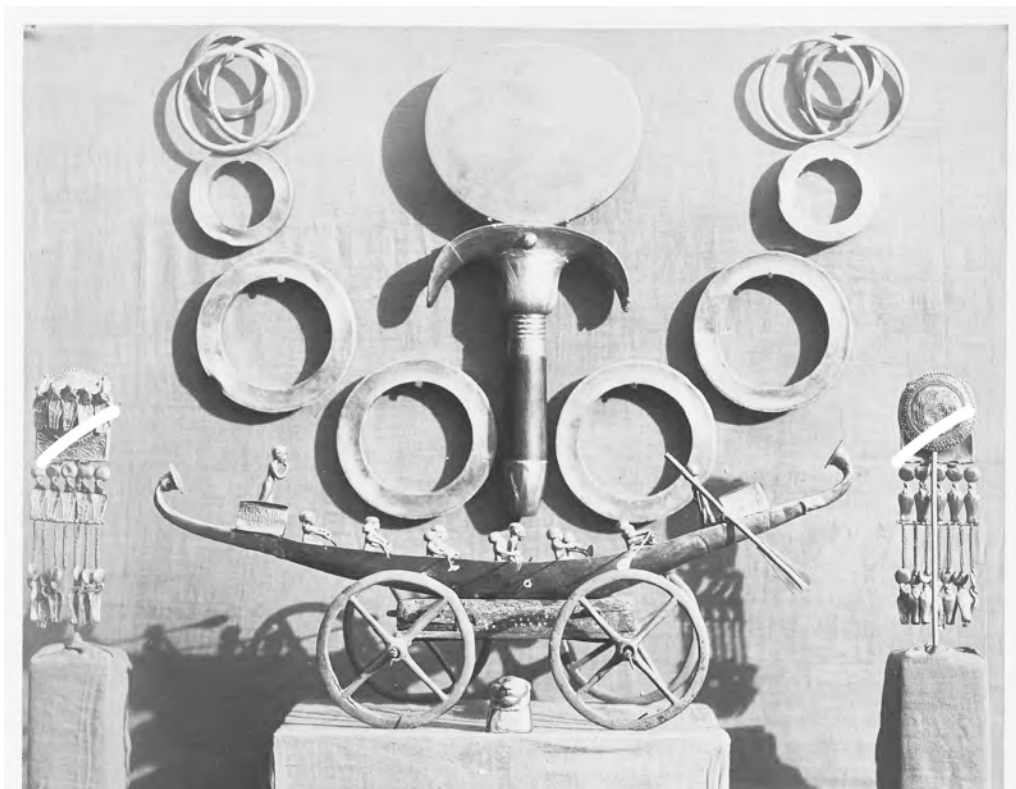
Table 3 – List of all the objects recorded in the JE for the burial equipment of Ahhotep



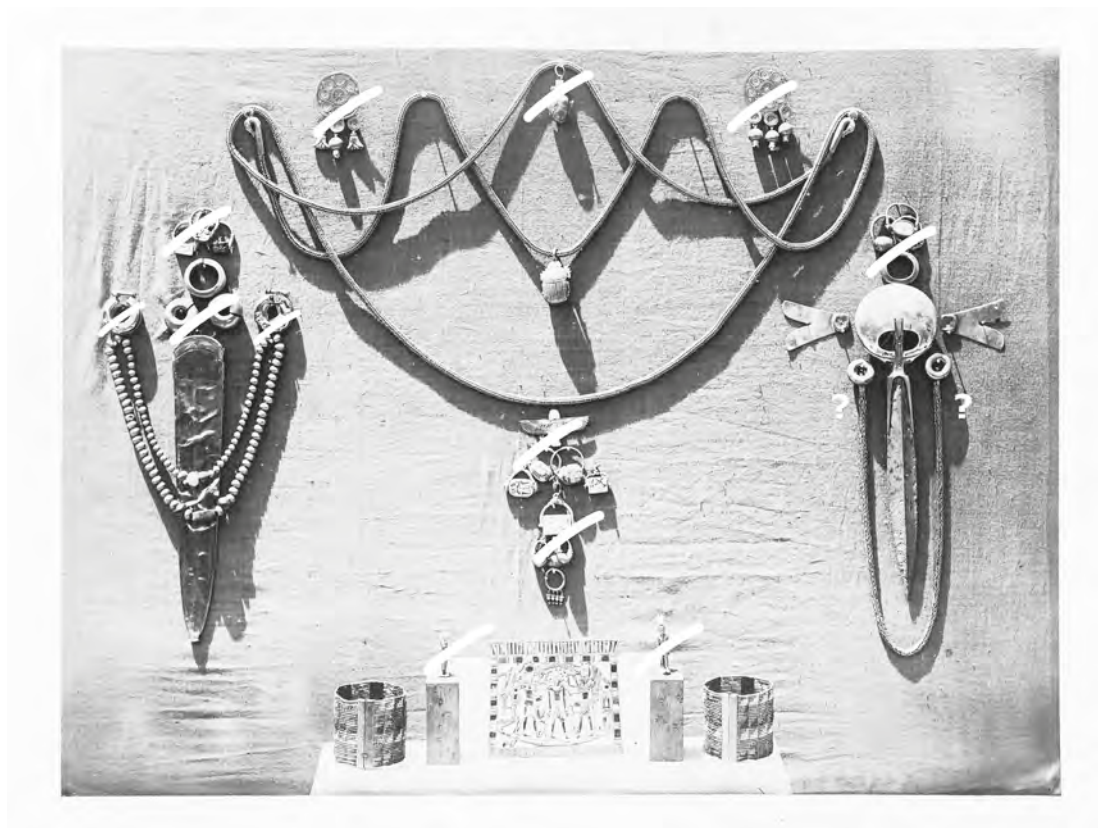


**Fig. 18** – Part of the burial assemblage from the coffin of the Queen Ahhotep, from MARIETTE, *Album*, 137, pl. 31  
 © courtesy of the Musée du Louvre. Note: not all the objects in the photo belong to the burial assemblage of Ahhotep;  
 those unrelated (when clearly identified) have been crossed with a white stroke





**Fig. 19** – Part of the burial assemblage from the coffin of the Queen Ahhotep, from MARIETTE, *Album*, 133, pl. 30  
© courtesy of the Musée du Louvre. Note: not all the objects in the photo belong to the burial assemblage of Ahhotep;  
those unrelated (when clearly identified) have been crossed with a white stroke



**Fig. 20** – Part of the burial assemblage from the coffin of the Queen Ahhotep, from MARIETTE, *Album*, 129, pl. 29  
© courtesy of the Musée du Louvre. Note: not all the objects in the photo belong to the burial assemblage of Ahhotep;  
those unrelated (when clearly identified) have been crossed with a white stroke

**Objects found inside/outside the coffin** = In the *Journal d'Entrée* there is a number of dissonant pieces of information. In a note appended to the end of the group list, the items numbered from JE 4663 [sic]<sup>204</sup> to JE 4725 are supposed to have been found inside the coffin, seemingly excluding the remaining seven: an antimony kohl jar (JE 4726), four calcite jars (JE 4727-30), a wooden box (JE 4731), and headrest (JE 4732). The note appended in the *JE* is directly copied from the *Inventaire de Boulaq*. A part of this information agrees with the first account (Q.1) which states that calcite jars were found in a box outside the coffin. The *JE* comment is followed by a short note “+ no. 4726 à 4732” (not present in the *Inventaire de Boulaq*), implying that also these objects should have been found inside the coffin. Given that the handwriting is different to Cousin's, it must be supposed that this was a later addition. Another comment, made in pencil, and in English, noted down some uncertainties about the last addition, adding two question marks and the indication that at least the wooden box should not have been found inside the coffin.

**Q.41** – JE 4727-4730 “*Tous les objets catalogués du no. 4663 au no. 4725 ont été trouvés dans le cercueil de la reine Aahhotep*” “+ no. 4726 à 4732 [different handwriting]” “?? Surely JE 4731 was not *in* coffin” [pencil annotation; different handwriting] – *Journal d'Entrée*<sup>205</sup>

On this premise, it is to be noted that the coffin of the queen was photographed by Devéria in front of the Boulaq magazines with exactly those items reported in the *Inventaire de Boulaq* to have been found outside the coffin (the headrest, kohl jar, calcite jars and wooden box; see Fig. 21; see also Figs 2-3, and Pls I-II). Devéria also kept separated these items in his own object list (Q.17).

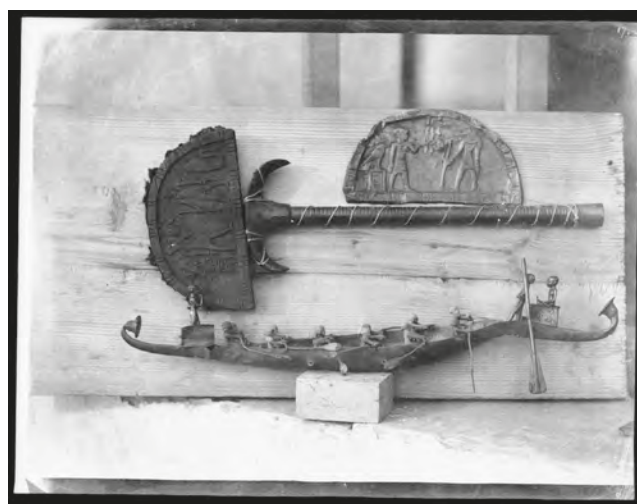


**Fig. 21** – The objects shown next to the coffin in Devéria's 1859 photos; cuts from PHO 1986 144 94/MS 163 90 © Musée d'Orsay, Dist. RMN-Grand Palais / Alexis Brandt

<sup>204</sup> JE 4663 is the coffin itself, probably to be intended 4664.

<sup>205</sup> See MINIACI, “Notes on the Journal d'Entrée Entries for Queen Ahhotep's Assemblage”, in this volume.

None of the objects presumably found inside the coffin was present in those photos, although the composition would have been more effective with the coffin next to some of the precious and eye-catching items. Instead, some of the artefacts found inside the coffin were separately photographed by Devéria (see Fig. 22), very probably in the same moment and with the same background settings.<sup>206</sup> Hence, the compositions of the coffin and other *external* elements in the photos of Devéria could represent a sort of aide-mémoire, almost as if intended to reproduce an “archaeological context”, indicating the spatial separation of elements according to their place of discovery (those found outside the coffin separated from those contained inside it). It must be born in mind that the photos of Devéria were most probably taken as soon as the assemblage arrived in Bulaq.<sup>207</sup>



**Fig. 22** – Photo of Ahhotep's assemblage by Devéria in 1859, “*Momie de la reine Aahhotep. Bijoux de Kemès*” in the Bibliothèque nationale de France © Source gallica.bnf.fr / BnF

To further complicate things, in the individual descriptions of the objects in the *IB/JE*, the wooden headrest was instead explicitly stated to have been found inside the coffin, as more expected.<sup>208</sup>

**Q.42** – JE 4732 “*Chevet trouvé dans le cercueil de la reine Aahhotep*” – *Journal d'Entrée*

From the two lists dated to February 25<sup>th</sup>, the headrest and the antimony kohl jar were listed among all the other objects associated with Ahhotep, presumably indicating

<sup>206</sup> Pectoral (PHO 1986 144 128, MS 164 8); bracelets and pectoral (PHO 1986 144 127, MS 164 7 and PHO 1986 144 126, MS 164 6); boat and fan (PHO 1986 144 98, MS 163 94).

<sup>207</sup> See above, § **People involved with the Discovery and its Transmission**, *Théodule Devéria*, p. 38-9.

<sup>208</sup> See below n. 206.



that they were found inside the coffin. Archaeological evidence of the Second Intermediate Period suggests that these two items were usually included inside the coffin.<sup>209</sup> In opposition, the wooden box and the four calcite jars were excluded from those two lists.

The *IB/JE* descriptions for the calcite jars and wooden box are more ambiguous since they are stated to have been found “together” (“avec”) with the mummy of Ahhotep – though not necessarily to be understood as inside the coffin.<sup>210</sup>

**Q.43** – JE 4731 “Boite à dos bombé qui contenait les quatre vases précédents [JE 4727-30] trouvé avec la momie de la reine Aahhotep” – Journal d’Entrée<sup>211</sup>

A pencil note in the *JE*, written in English, remarks that the wooden box (JE 4731) was certainly not included inside coffin<sup>212</sup> (**Q.41**). Von Bissing is responsible for handing down the information that the calcite jars were found directly inside the coffin of the queen (“Bei der Mumie wurden vier Alabastergefäße gefunden [...]. Sie [...] sollen nach dem Journal d’entrée 4727-30 in dem Sarg der Aahhotep gefunden sein”),<sup>213</sup> but there is no evidence for such a statement in the *JE* unless some personal notes (currently unknown) were in the hands of von Bissing.<sup>214</sup> However, the first account (**Q.1**) explicitly noted that the jars and the wooden box were found outside the coffin (*contra* see **Q.34**). Also, the box and the jars were not included in the two lists of objects drafted on February 25<sup>th</sup> 1859, which, being closest to the discovery, might represent the documentation of the actual moment of the opening of the coffin.<sup>215</sup>

In conclusion, there is a good evidence to believe that all the objects attributed to Ahhotep in the *JE*, apart from the wooden box and the four calcite jars, were actually stored inside the coffin.

**The position of the objects in the coffin** = The information provided about the position of the objects inside the coffin is very approximate and may not be unconditionally reliable, since none of the people who handed

down the account of the discovery was present at the moment of the opening of the coffin. In addition, Mariette himself gave some contradictory and vague information in his publications.

**Q.44** – “Les morts sont plutôt entourés de linges en forme de linceuls que serrés dans des bandelettes; **entre ces linges sont placés des objets** de toute sorte en rapport avec les usages de la vie privée; d’autres objets de même nature **adhérents à la peau**, ou bien encore **déposés dans les vides du cercueil**” – Mariette<sup>216</sup>

**Q.45** – “Deux barques d’or et d’argent, des haches de bronze, de bracelets gros de jambes ont été trouvés à côté d’elle [mummy], sur le bois du cercueil. **Entre les linges mal noués étaient déposés, comme au hasard, des poignards, une hache d’or, une chaîne garnie de trois mouches d’or, un pectoral. Enfin le cadavre lui-même était revêtu d’une autre chaîne d’or ornée d’un scarabée, de bracelets, d’un diadème, etc.**” – Mariette<sup>217</sup>

**Q.46** – “Des bijoux destinés à la momie royale, les uns étaient déposés **au fond du cercueil**, les autres **adhéraient extérieurement aux bandelettes**, les autres enfin **couvraient directement le cadavre**” – Mariette<sup>218</sup>

According to the information provided by Mariette, the objects seemed to be placed inside the coffin in three main locations:

- a. directly over the mummified body, under the linen wrappings. This group should have included the golden necklace with scarab (JE 4695), some bracelets (JE 4684-87), and probably the armlet with vulture (JE 4679) (*cf.* **Q.45**);
- b. entangled within the linen bundles, possibly indicating that they were either poked in the external surfaces of the bandages or wrapped in a linen bundle (as suggested in **Q.34**).<sup>219</sup> This group seems to be more definite, as it should have included – according to Mariette – some of the daggers, the axe with the golden handle (JE 4673), the chain with flies (JE 4694), and the pectoral (JE 4683) (*cf.* **Q.45**);
- c. loosely placed inside the coffin, since – according to one account of Mariette – they were found at the back/bottom of the coffin: the two boat models (JE 4681-82), some of the metal axes (JE 4674, 4676-78?) and larger bracelets (JE 4697-4700?) (*cf.* **Q.45**).

<sup>209</sup> See below § **The Burial Assemblage**, *The position of the objects in the coffin*, p. 61-2, esp. n. 222.

<sup>210</sup> The four calcite jars have been preserved in association with the coffin, and they are currently on display in the Egyptian Museum in the same showcase.

<sup>211</sup> See MINIACI, “Notes on the Journal d’Entrée Entries for Queen Ahhotep’s Assemblage”, in this volume.

<sup>212</sup> See comments in MINIACI, “Notes on the Journal d’Entrée Entries for Queen Ahhotep’s Assemblage”, in this volume.

<sup>213</sup> VON BISSING, *Ein thebanischer Grabfund*, 23.

<sup>214</sup> VON BISSING, *Ein thebanischer Grabfund*, 24; VON BISSING, *Steingefäße*, 18478-80.

<sup>215</sup> See above, § **The Timeline of the Discovery and successive related Events**, 25<sup>th</sup> February 1859, p. 32-3.

<sup>216</sup> MARIETTE, *Notice* [1864], 219. The emphasis is mine.

<sup>217</sup> MARIETTE, *Notice* [1864], 219-20. The emphasis is mine.

<sup>218</sup> MARIETTE, *Album*, text of pl. 29. The emphasis is mine.

<sup>219</sup> See BETRÒ, “A Note to Carter Manuscripts and the Discovery of Ahhotep’s Coffin (Cairo CG 28501)”, in this volume.

The sources for such information are unknown, whether Mariette had been directly informed by the people who were present during the opening of the coffin or if he drew some evidence from the condition of the artefacts themselves (pieces of bandages or resinous matter from embalming still attached to them), or if he figured out a plausible and reliable reconstruction to be presented to the public. Unfortunately, after the restoration of the objects which occurred in the autumn of 1859,<sup>220</sup> there is little hope of finding traces of any organic material or bandages still adhering to the surface of the objects.

A number of the object types were indeed made to be placed either on the body or among the bandages: collars, amulets, bracelets, necklaces, armbands, chains, plaquettes, pectorals, pendants or small amulets/miniatures (such as the two lion's heads<sup>221</sup> and the nine reduced-scale axes). In other burials of the period, mirrors, headrests and (single) kohl jars<sup>222</sup> are usually found inside the coffin, as it may have been for Ahhotep. The objects adhering to the body and wrapped within the mummy – if the account can be considered reliable – allow little room for differences of opinions: they would have been placed during the mummification process and belonged to the buried person. Other objects find a natural position inside the coffin, such as staves, axes and daggers, which were commonly placed inside coffins for the burials of the time.<sup>223</sup>

The position of a few object types inside the coffin is more difficult to explain: the two boat models and the fan. Nonetheless, models have occasionally also been placed inside coffins during the late Middle Kingdom,<sup>224</sup> and the position of the fan can be paralleled with two fans found in the burial of Tutankhamun (although of

a different date), placed in the space between the third and fourth shrine and on the southern side of the innermost shrine, therefore almost inside the coffin.<sup>225</sup> Other burials of the time show all the objects of their funerary equipment stored inside the coffin (see for instance Hornakht).<sup>226</sup> However, if any of the objects were deposited inside the coffin or gathered in a separate bundle, as stated by Mariette, they could have been added to, tampered with, or reshuffled at any moment.

**Absence of the queen's name on the objects** = None of the inscribed objects deposited inside the coffin bore the name Ahhotep (apart from the coffin itself; see Table 4). All the inscribed objects bear the names of the Kings Kamose and Ahmose Nebpehtyre.<sup>227</sup> Some issues should be noted: the mention of the surname Wadjkeperre on JE 4676 is given by von Bissing in his 1900 publication, while in the *JE* it is specifically stated that there were no inscriptions on the bronze axe (“*pas de legends*”). The armband JE 4680 bears only the name Ahmose but, due to the presence of another king called Ahmose (Senakhtenre)<sup>228</sup> and the lack of the prenomen on the object, its attribution to Ahmose Nebpehtyre could be questioned.<sup>229</sup> Bracelets JE 4686 and JE 4687 were intended as a pair, one bearing the king's name, Ahmose, and another the King's prenomen, Nebpehtyre.

The absence of the queen's name raised a number of doubts about whether the burial assemblage could have been untouched since its primary deposition and about its authenticity as a group. Based on this evidence, some scholars supposed that the Egyptian diggers who discovered the coffin had encountered – or artificially “composed” – a burial assemblage made up of precious objects from other burials of the period.<sup>230</sup>

<sup>220</sup> See above, § **The Timeline of the Discovery and successive related Events**, *August 1859-62*, p. 34.

<sup>221</sup> See COLELLA, “Queen Ahhotep's Lion Heads and the Inclusion of Gaming Pieces in the Funerary Costumes of Second Intermediate Period-early Eighteenth Dynasty”, in this volume.

<sup>222</sup> See for instance, the tomb of Vassalli no. 100, “*sotto la testa [of a woman] un vasetto d'alabastro per il kohl*”, in *Album di Disegni Vassalli*, f. 44r, TIRADRITTI, in ANONYMOUS (ed.), *L'egittologo Luigi Vassalli*, 71. See also MAITLAND, POTTER, TROALEN, “The Burial of the ‘Qurna Queen’”, in this volume, p. 209.

<sup>223</sup> SMITH, *MDAIK* 48, 205-6, 209. For similar types of objects found inside coffins in Second Intermediate Period burials at Asasif, see LILYQUIST *et al.*, *Excavations at Thebes*, kohl jars: cat. nos 70, 139, 164, 173, 195, 218, 324, 425, 617, 696, 700, 702, 729, 753, 771, 800 (?), 824, 835, 842, 850, 874, 879, 885, 941, 951, 1070, 1071, 1098, 1330, 1338, 1433, 1474, 1475, 1484, 1491, 1492, 1541, 1560; mirrors: cat. nos 69, 642, 764, 802, 841, 886, 1337, 1526, 1534 (?); headrests: cat. nos 249, 339, 727, 736; staves: cat. nos 323, 327, 383; axes: cat. nos 728, 804 (?), 836.

<sup>224</sup> MINIACI, *Miniatures Forms*.

<sup>225</sup> Cf. REEVES, *The Complete Tutankhamun*, 179 (all the other fans were placed in a wooden box and in the Annexe).

<sup>226</sup> VASSALLI, *I monumenti storici*, 131. See also *Album di Disegni Vassalli*, f. 36r, TIRADRITTI, in ANONYMOUS (ed.), *L'egittologo Luigi Vassalli*, 69-70.

<sup>227</sup> See BETRÒ, “The Identity of Ahhotep and the Textual Sources”, in this volume for remarks about the paleography of the name Ahmose. The evidence leads to the assumption that the king named only Ahmose is Ahmose Nebpehtyre (the two bracelets could have been pair; see VON BISSING, *Ein thebanischer Grabfund*, 8). See also MINIACI, “Notes on the Journal d'Entrée Entries for Queen Ahhotep's Assemblage”, in this volume.

<sup>228</sup> Cf. CAHAIL, “The Internal Chronology of the Second Intermediate Period: A Summary of Old Theories and New Discoveries”, in this volume.

<sup>229</sup> See BETRÒ, “The Identity of Ahhotep and the Textual Sources”, in this volume.

<sup>230</sup> WINLOCK, *JEA* 10, 254. Especially, Daressy believed that the workmen found the coffins of Ahhotep and Kamose together and placed a part of the items of Kamose inside the

Object Type	JE inv. no.	Inscribed Objects
Coffin	JE 4663	Ahhotep
Axe in silver	JE 4675	Kamose Wadjkheperre
Axe (only blade)	JE 4677	Kamose Wadjkheperre
Boat miniature in gold	JE 4681	Kamose Wadjkheperre
Axe in bronze (golden foil handle)	JE 4676	Kamose Wadjkheperre (?)
Fan	JE 4672	Wadjkheperre
Armlet with Ahmose cartouche	JE 4680	Ahmose
Dagger with human heads shaped grip	JE 4666	Ahmose Nebpehtyre
Axe with Ahmose name/prenomem	JE 4673	Ahmose Nebpehtyre
Pectoral with Ahmose name/prenomem	JE 4683	Ahmose Nebpehtyre
Bracelet with Ahmose name/prenomem	JE 4684	Ahmose Nebpehtyre
Necklace with scarab	JE 4695	Ahmose Nebpehtyre
Bracelet with Ahmose prenomem (*)	JE 4685	Nebpehtyre
Bracelet with Ahmose name (*)	JE 4686	Ahmose
Bracelet with Ahmose prenomem	JE 4687	Nebpehtyre

**Table 4** – List of the inscribed objects from the Queen Ahhotep assemblage

The absence of any object bearing the name of Ahhotep, although surprising, is not to be completely unexpected. Also, the few objects found inside the coffin of Kamose did not bear his name, and the golden bracelet bore a cartouche with the name of King Ahmose Nebpehtyre.<sup>231</sup> Not by chance, this burial had been for a long time believed to belong to King Ahmose, until Daressy provided the hieroglyphic inscription on the foot end of the coffin in 1907, naming King Kamose.<sup>232</sup>

Although from a different social level but almost contemporary with Ahhotep and found not so far from her find-spot (Q.23), none of the objects found inside the undisturbed (?) coffin of the “Royal Acquaintance” Hornakht,<sup>233</sup> bore his name apart from his coffin. The objects were inscribed for the “King’s Son” Tjuiu, “Mayor” Minemhat, “Mayor of Hierakonpolis” Sobeknakht, and an official named Idi.<sup>234</sup> Also from the intact tombs of the Second Intermediate Period found at the Asasif by Carter and Carnarvon there is a lack correspondence between the names of the owners of the coffins and the names inscribed on the

coffin of Ahhotep, see DARESSY, *ASAE* 9, 63. The fact that the satisfaction of the prince Napoleon during his visit to Egypt would have determined Mariette’s presence in Egypt and his possibility to continue carrying out excavations has not to be underestimated as “playing factor” in “creating” an extraordinary event, the discovery of a treasure, see DAVID, *Mariette Pacha*, 102; PODVIN, *Auguste Mariette*, 102-9.

<sup>231</sup> BEN AMAR, *In Monte Artium* 5, 48, see also n. 12.

<sup>232</sup> DARESSY, *ASAE* 9, 61-3.

<sup>233</sup> See above, p. 47, n. 145, Fig. 11.

<sup>234</sup> MINIACI, *Rishi Coffins*, 58.

objects found inside the coffins.<sup>235</sup> For instance, inside the *rishi* coffin inscribed for the “Lady of the House” Reri, a bronze razor naming the “Estate Overseer” (?) Sobeknakht was found;<sup>236</sup> if the coffin had been anonymous, the name of the razor could have been leading to a wrong assumption, that the burial belonged to Sobeknakht. In this light, also the nineteenth century story – barely believed by Egyptologists – that the mummy of King Nubkheperre Intef was found with a heart scarab inscribed for King Sobekemsaf<sup>237</sup> can be reconsidered (“*the scarabaeus, which was purchased by the British Museum, from Mr. Salt’s collection, was placed on the breast [of the mummy of Nubkheperre Intef], without having, as is usual, any ornament attached to it*”).<sup>238</sup>

The discrepancy between the coffin owner (when attested) and the wide array of names inscribed on the objects stored inside the coffins of Second Intermediate Period burials could then raise the question of what these objects could represent: misappropriation (reuse from other burials), heirlooms, donations or gifts received for their key role, the continuous reuse of objects. The heirloom/gift practice is to be found with more evidence in the following period (early New Kingdom).<sup>239</sup>

**Burial equipment type** = This paragraph does not aim to discuss each type of item but solely to assess its consistency as group. The objects found inside the coffin show material, manufacture and chronological consistency, spanning a broad dating from the late Seventeenth to early Eighteenth Dynasties, although most of them remain rare and unparalleled. Further studies can help in narrowing down a more precise date, targeting different chronological moments inside the assemblage itself, and investigating the place(s) and techniques of manufacture.

The calcite cosmetic jars, larger than usual, were originally interpreted as part of a canopic set, since they seem to contain some materials from the embalming process, associated by Mariette with animal remains.

**Q.47** – “*Quatre vases sans couvercles trouvés dans le même coffre que la momie de la reine Ahhotep. Ils contenaient des matières animales embaumées, et faisaient office de canopes. Pas d’inscription*” – Maspero<sup>240</sup>

This has generated the false belief that the Ahhotep assemblage also included canopic equipment.<sup>241</sup> The wood-

<sup>235</sup> See LILYQUIST *et. al.*, *Excavations at Thebes*.

<sup>236</sup> MINIACI, *Rishi Coffins*, 93-4. The *rishi* coffin is rT04NY.

<sup>237</sup> MINIACI, *EVO* 29.

<sup>238</sup> See D’ATHANASI, *A Brief Account*, 237-8.

<sup>239</sup> Cf. RUSSO, *Kha (TT 8)*; REEVES, *The Complete Tutankhamun*, 168-9 (roughly thirty objects inscribed with the names of other persons).

<sup>240</sup> MASPERO, *Guide Musée du Caire* [1902], 183-4.

<sup>241</sup> PETRIE, *A history*, vol. II, 12.



Material	Quantity	JE inv. no.
Gold	49	JE 4663; JE 4664; JE 4665; JE 4666; JE 4667; JE 4668; JE 4671; JE 4672; JE 4676; JE 4679; JE 4680; JE 4681; JE 4683; JE 4684; JE 4685; JE 4686; JE 4687; JE 4688; JE 4689; JE 4690; JE 4691; JE 4692; JE 4693; JE 4694; JE 4695; JE 4696; JE 4697; JE 4698; JE 4699; JE 4700; JE 4701; JE 4702; JE 4703; JE 4704; JE 4705; JE 4706; JE 4707; JE 4708; JE 4709; JE 4710; JE 4711; JE 4712; JE 4713; JE 4714; JE 4715; JE 4716; JE 4717; JE 4724; JE 4725 (1–20)
Silver	12	JE 4668; JE 4670; JE 4675; JE 4681; JE 4682; JE 4718; JE 4719; JE 4720; JE 4721; JE 4722; JE 4723; JE 4725 (1–20)
Copper alloy	11	JE 4665; JE 4666; JE 4667; JE 4668; JE 4669; JE 4674; JE 4675; JE 4676; JE 4677; JE 4678; JE 4724
Semi-precious stones	9	JE 4673; JE 4679; JE 4680; JE 4683; JE 4684; JE 4685; JE 4686; JE 4687; JE 4725 (1–20)
Wood	10	JE 4663; JE 4664; JE 4666; JE 4669; JE 4671; JE 4672; JE 4673; JE 4674; JE 4676; JE 4731; JE 4732
Calcite	5	JE 4726; JE 4727; JE 4728; JE 4729; JE 4730

**Table 5** – List of the main materials (as reported in the *JE*) employed for the Ahhotep's equipment objects

en box, whose location is currently lost although registered in the *Journal d'Entrée* of Cairo Museum, is shown in the photos of Devéria (see Figs 2, 21; Pl. I): its narrow and vaulted shape with a knob on one short side indicates that it represented a toilet box rather than a canopic chest.<sup>242</sup> Also the shape of the jars classifies them as a toilet set rather than a canopic one (although they may have been readapted to serve for embalming rites). Von Bissing first realised that the jars did not represent canopic equipment,<sup>243</sup> but were ointment jars of larger dimensions. The shape of the jars is not consistent with similar objects manufactured in the Second Intermediate Period, but they find closer parallels with Old Kingdom ones (although their reuse in the Second Intermediate Period is attested in a number of occasions).<sup>244</sup> In the absence of archaeological reports, the connection of the wooden box and the jars with the whole assemblage of Ahhotep can be reasonably questioned.

The most remarkable evidence from the assemblage is an almost total absence of artefacts in more ordinary materials, such as pottery, faience, resin, basketry, linen, papyrus, other organic material (e.g. food offerings), plain wood (without the addition of gold elements), and ordinary stone types. The wooden box and the four calcite jars shall be considered separately,<sup>245</sup> since they were

apparently found outside the coffin and, at the moment, there is no cogent evidence that connects them to the Ahhotep coffin if not the fact that they were stated to be found in proximity to each other.<sup>246</sup> Only two objects (one stone toilet jar, JE 4726 and a wooden headrest, JE 4732)<sup>247</sup> fall within the “more ordinary materials” that are traditionally part of burial equipment.<sup>248</sup> The rest of the queen's assemblage seems to be at first sight a selection of purely valuable and precious items rather than the complete or expected burial equipment of the time (see Table 5).

The predominance of precious metals and semi-precious stones could be explained for most of the objects by the fact that they would have adorned the body of the mummy. However, among other richly equipped and intact burials of adjacent times, none exhibits such a mass of material all sealed inside a coffin, apart from Tutankhamun who belongs to a different era and expresses another material culture phase.<sup>249</sup>

*jects found inside/outside the coffin*, p. 60-1.

<sup>246</sup> The wooden box could be also interpreted as part of another burial equipment, *i.e.* a previous funerary equipment disturbed by the intrusion of queen's coffin or part of the equipment of the people who were (re)burying the coffin of Ahhotep, or a later intrusion inside the funerary space of the queen. See also comments above, § **The Burial Assemblage**, *Objects found inside/outside the coffin*, p. 60-1.

<sup>247</sup> For the calcite jars and the wooden box (JE 4726-4731), they were found outside the coffin; their connection with the burial of Ahhotep can be disputed; see below § **The Burial Assemblage**, *Objects found inside/outside the coffin*, p. 60-1.

<sup>248</sup> *Cf.* to be noted the pottery, faience, basketry, organic, and wooden objects in the burial equipment Tutankhamun, in REEVES, *The Complete Tutankhamun*, 127-207.

<sup>249</sup> The body and wrappings of Tutankhamun were mainly featured by gold and other metal objects and adornments, nonetheless resin, faience, papyrus, and linen materials were

<sup>242</sup> A very close parallel although unprovenanced is an ivory inlaid wooden toilet box, inv. no. A635008 of the Science Museum, London, <https://wellcomecollection.org/works/fs5yvxc-m>, <accessed 26.04.2021> (dated in the online archive to the Late Period; however, the dotted circle decoration on the ivory inlays is attested since the late Middle Kingdom).

<sup>243</sup> VON BISSING, *Ein thebanischer Grabfund*, 23.

<sup>244</sup> ASTON, *Ancient Egyptian Stone Vessels*, 80, fig. 90. For the reuse of Predynastic and Early Dynastic stone vessels in the Middle Bronze Age, see LILYQUIST *et al.*, *Excavations at Thebes*, Essay 20: *Vessels and Containers*.

<sup>245</sup> See also discussion above, § **The Burial Assemblage**, *Ob-*



Luxury Materials	Distinctive Materials	More Ordinary Materials
2 gold necklaces (A+sA); 4 gold ear-rings (A+sA); 4 gold bracelets (A); 1 electrum girdle (A); 1 electrum button (A); 1 copper alloy knife	1 gilded sycamore-fig and tamarisk anthropoid coffin (A); 3 ivory bracelets (sA); 1 acacia, ebony, and ivory headrest (A); 1 horn and ivory container (horn-shaped); 1 blue anhydrite bowl; 1 obsidian kohl jar (A); 2 cedar wood stools; 6 pottery beakers (imported from Nubia); 1 thread of fine linen; 14 linen wrappings; Linen nettings	1 sycamore-fig and cedar rectangular coffin (sA); 1 faience girdle (sA); 2 faience anklets (sA); 1 faience fly-whisk (A); 2 faience bead bags (A); 1 glazed steatite scarab (A); 1 wood stool (unidentified wood type); 1 wood box; 1 sandstone sharpener; 2 flint flakes; 2 calcite toilet jars (A); 1 wood stick for vessel transport; 16 pottery flasks/jars; 4 pottery bowls; c. 6 breads; 1 palm leaf basket; 1 grass fibre basket (A); Fruit

**Table 6** – List of the objects in the Qurna burial divided according to more luxury and more ordinary materials (including both those elements associated with the adult [A] buried inside the *rishi* coffin and with the infant [sA] buried in the rectangular box, and those in common), drawn from MAITLAND, POTTER, TROALEN, “The burial of the ‘Qurna Queen’”, in this volume

The coffin of the Qurna burial discovered by Petrie at Thebes, which would have been almost contemporary with Ahhotep and still belonging to a high social status (due to the type and manufacture of the gold jewellery),<sup>250</sup> contained beside the objects made in the most precious materials, a number of more ordinary objects<sup>251</sup> (see Table 6). Also the mummy of King Kamose, very probably almost contemporary with Ahhotep, was not so richly equipped, unless one can suppose that most of his objects had been plundered in ancient time or at the moment of the opening.<sup>252</sup>

In conclusion, the composition of the elements within the coffin is not unexpected or unreasonable for the time and, given the royal nature of the burial, an exceptional selection of objects is possible (especially since there are no precise parallels or references which may reinforce or negate their presence in the coffin as part of the burial equipment). The remarkable and stunning aspects of the assemblage remain in the quantity of goldsmith's artworks, rare or unparalleled, and especially in the outnumbered quantity of elements, *cf.* four daggers, six axes,<sup>253</sup> twenty-one bracelets. In this respect it

present too, although in minor quantity, see REEVES, *The Complete Tutankhamun*, 112-13. *Cf.* Kha and Merit, FERRARIS, *La tomba di Kha e Merit*, 40-53.

<sup>250</sup> TROALEN, TATE, GUERRA, *JAS* 50, 219-26.

<sup>251</sup> PETRIE, *Qurneh*, 9-10; see MAITLAND, POTTER, TROALEN, “The Burial of the ‘Qurna Queen’”, in this volume.

<sup>252</sup> *Cf.* discussions of VON BISSING, *Ein thebanischer Grabfund*, 24-5 (he attributed some unprovenanced objects to the burial of Ahhotep, but the same can be ascribed rather to Kamose's coffin); however, see comments in WINLOCK, *JEA* 10, 254.

<sup>253</sup> MORRIS, “Daggers and Axes for the Queen: Considering

is worth noting, without questioning the authenticity of the group, that Maunier, the person directly connected with the discovery,<sup>254</sup> was a skilled goldsmith,<sup>255</sup> and he often created unique and beautiful pieces of jewellery, so much so that Mariette requested some of his works to be included in the *Exposition Universelle* of 1878 in Paris.<sup>256</sup>

### Conclusion: Any possible Reconstruction for Ahhotep's Find Context?

As stated at the beginning, the intention of this article was not to provide an interpretation of the numerous, often contrasting accounts and notes concerning the discovery of Ahhotep but to define their contours, what could be considered appropriate, acceptable and what should be carefully evaluated, or even rejected.

To sum up by paragraph: **§ The Timeline of the Discovery:** the moment of discovery is relatively certain, in early 1859, January or February (5<sup>th</sup> February has been put forward as “the date”); **§ People involved:** it had happened in the absence of Mariette and any other European supervision; **§ The presumed Location:** the exact find-spot of the coffin is lost but it could be located along the northernmost part of the hills of Dra Abu el-Naga, most certainly in the *wadi* called Khawi el-Alamat and not too distant from the tomb TT 155, the location of which is nowadays well known; **§ The presumed Architectural Structure:** the

Ahhotep's Weapons in their Cultural Context”, in this volume.

<sup>254</sup> To be borne in mind that the coffin bore his own sealing, when brought in Karnak.

<sup>255</sup> PASCAL, *La Cange*, 283.

<sup>256</sup> WEENS, in COOKE (ed.), *Journeys erased by time*, 106.

type of burial encountered by the Egyptian workmen and foremen poses more difficulties. Ahhotep's coffin seems to have been found in the proximity of a densely populated and partially undisturbed Second Intermediate Period-early Eighteenth Dynasty cemetery. This location also included the burial of another royal person from the end of the Seventeenth Dynasty, King Kamose.<sup>257</sup> The position of the burial place is also in line with the customary funerary practices of the time: the royal burials were surrounded by contemporary burials of courtesans and officials.<sup>258</sup> Nonetheless, most of the accounts were in complete accordance in indicating that the coffin had not been buried in a standard structure, which is explicitly stated as “lacking”, whereas it was expected. The inconsistent information about the presence or absence of a shaft (which is not irrelevant) must be combined with the more remarkable information about the absence of any superstructure or funerary chamber. All of the accounts suggest the idea of either a hasty or a non-normative character for her burial, something partially contrasting with the apparently intact character of the coffin and its position in a cemetery of the Second Intermediate Period. Therefore, the find-spot of 1859 as the primary deposition place can be extensively debated and with good reason; § *The Burial Assemblage*: the exceedingly preponderant presence of objects made of luxury materials, the absence of pottery and food offerings, and the mode of storage of the objects (all packed inside the coffin) conflict with the hypothesis of a context being left untouched since its primary deposition.

In conclusion, the original archaeological context in which the coffin was found has been lost in time and in memory. The primary witnesses of the discovery remain faceless and silent. The records of the discovery are entrusted to oral accounts handed down (faithfully?) in writing only by secondary witnesses and from them to the Egyptological literature. What remains to us are a number of confusing and extremely synthetic reports of Mariette and some of his collaborators or colleagues based on their own (re)interpretations of oral accounts from several people involved to different degrees with the discovery and movement of Ahhotep's assemblage. The risk is that of any chain of oral communication: when passing information from one person to another, each one adds, removes or modifies something, and in the end the final output is completely different from the starting one. Through the passage of time, the discovery of the burial of Ahhotep and its treasure has become legend too, and modern literature cannot always see clearly the borders between the tale and reality.

<sup>257</sup> Between Ahhotep and Kamose there should be a certain connection, given by the presence of king's name on some of the objects found inside the coffin of Ahhotep.

<sup>258</sup> POLZ, *Der Beginn*, 231-45.

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## Appendix A – Transcription of the pages from Devéria's diary

“Sur l'autre rive du Nil, près du village moderne de Qournah, de nouveaux tombeaux sont souvent mis à découvert par les travailleurs, et à quelque distance dans de cet emplacement et de celui où a été trouvé autrefois la momie le cercueil du roi Antef de la XI<sup>e</sup> dynastie, conservé au Musée britannique, où ont été trouvés depuis par Mr Mariette les deux cercueils royaux de la même dynastie ainsi que ceux qui enrichissent la collection du Louvre, et où a été également découvert par Mr Mariette la momie du roi Ahmès qui régna vers le même temps et dont S.A.S. le prince Napoléon possède le poignard ainsi que les principaux ornements, à Dra-abou-Nagga cet habile explorateur sur ce lieu même Mr Mariette qu'on a pu conserver vient de découvrir encore une momie royale ; de cette époque antérieure à Abraham ; c'est celle d'une reine appelée Aah-hotep. Par malheur, Mr Mariette et moi nous avons quitté Thèbes depuis quelque temps lorsque les ouvriers la trouvèrent ; le gouverneur de la province la fit apporter chez lui et eut l'audace de l'ouvrir lui-même, en dépit des protestations du surveillant des travaux. [word unreadable] cachet d'un européen (Français) qui réside à Luqsor. Les bandelettes furent déchirées et enlevées dans le harem de ce pacha, le corps brisé puis jeté dehors ; on ne conserva que les objets précieux qui y étaient enfermés, encore en fit-on sans doute disparaître quelques uns et ce n'est qu'à grand peine que Mr Mariette parvient à rentrer en possession du plus des pièces principales pour les placer dans la collection du vice-roi. Le cercueil de cette momie, heureusement bien conservé présente une analogie frappante remarquable avec ceux des rois déjà connus des rois Antef de la XI<sup>e</sup> dynastie des rois de la XI<sup>e</sup> dynastie dont nous venons de parler ; la partie supérieure ou le couvercle est comme dans ces derniers entièrement dorés mais la masque est plus finement sculpté que sur ces dernières : il représente les traits d'une femme et l'ensemble du visage n'est pas dépourvu de grace ; les yeux sont incrustés en pierres dures et les paupières sont en or massif. La coiffure est formée deux grosses tresses qui tombent et s'enroulent sur la poitrine ; les mains ne sont pas apparentes. Au dessous de la gorge sont figurés un aspic ou Uraeus et un vautour. Tout le corps est entouré de deux grandes ailes. Sous les pieds, Isis et Nephthys sont figurées dans des formes masculines. L'inscription hiéroglyphique qui se lit par devant est assez négligemment tracée ; elle nous apprend comme je l'ai dit que cette momie était celle de la reine Aah-hotep. Mais, chose étrange, aucun des objets remis à Mr Mariette comme en provenant ne porte le nom de cette reine ; presque tous portent celui du roi Amosis que Champollion a assimilé à l'Amosis des listes de Manéthon et deux d'entre eux, les cartouches d'un roi inconnu jusqu'ici, appelé Kàmès. Quoi qu'il en soit de ce dernier pharaon, si la Si cette momie, malgré son style archaïque, n'est pas antérieure à la XVIII<sup>e</sup> dynastie, c'est-à-dire au 16<sup>e</sup> siècle avant notre ère, il faut y reconnaître celle de la femme ou, suivant Mr Mariette, peut-être de la mère d'Amenophis I, 2<sup>e</sup> roi de cette dynastie et probablement peut-être fille d'Amosis ou plus probablement, d'après l'opinion de Mr Mariette, la momie de la mère de ce dernier roi. Kamès serait alors un du roi de la 17<sup>e</sup> dynastie qui est encore presque entièrement inconnue ; si au contraire elle date de la 11<sup>e</sup> dynastie ainsi que sa décoration et son style archaïque sembleraient le faire supposer il y aurait une problème historique très grande difficulté historique ; il faudrait faire remonter à cette époque le pharaon dans les cartouches duquel Champollion on a cru reconnaître jusqu'ici les noms de l'Amosis des listes de Manéthon du premier roi de la 18<sup>e</sup> dynastie. Cette La question demande à être examinée sérieusement, mais cette dernière supposition me paraît peu probable.

Voici maintenant la liste des principaux objets trouvés dans la momie : (voir p. 63 l'extrait de la lettre de Mr Maunier)

(vases, chevet, coffre, étui à collyre)

1<sup>o</sup> Une hache d'arme en or incrustée de pierres dures et portant la légende complète du roi Aahmès ; 2<sup>o</sup> plusieurs haches de bronze sans légendes apparentes ; 3<sup>o</sup> un poignard sans gaine dont le manche est en or massif et la lame en bronze ; sans ornements ni légendes ; 4<sup>o</sup> un poignard muni d'une gaine d'or et dont le manche de bois sculpté est orné de quatre têtes humaines, recouvert de lames d'or et incrusté de pierres dures, sans légende apparente ; 5<sup>o</sup> trois ou quatre petits poignards plus ou moins ornés ; 6<sup>o</sup> un flagellum ou éventail de bois recouvert de lames d'or et pourtant sur chaque face les cartouches prénom du roi Kamès ; 7<sup>o</sup> plusieurs chaînes d'or de différentes formes ; et [word unreadable] la plus grande, longue de près de deux mètres et fort pesante porte sur les fermoirs les deux cartouches du roi Aah-mès ; un scarabée d'or incrusté de lapis lazuli et admirablement travaillé, y est suspendu. 8<sup>o</sup> plusieurs bracelets et anneaux de jambes en or et de différentes formes mais sans légendes, 9<sup>o</sup> trois bracelets composés de grains de pierres dures et d'or en passés dans des fils du même métal en forme de mosaïque, avec les noms d'Aahmès sur les fermoirs ; 10<sup>o</sup> un bracelet d'or avec personnages ciselés et incrustations de lapis lazuli ; on y lit les cartouches d'Aahmès. 11<sup>o</sup> un bracelet d'or incrusté de pierres dures ayant la forme d'un épervier les ailes éployées 12<sup>o</sup> un autre bracelet d'or incrusté de pierres dures et formé d'une grosse torsade qui supporte le cartouche d'Aah-mès entre deux sphinx ; la partie inférieure de ce joyau est munie d'un appendice toujours incrusté de pierres dures et destiné à l'empêcher de tourner sur le bras. 13<sup>o</sup> Un pectoral d'or découpé à jour et incrusté de pierres dures taillées en très léger relief et représentant le roi Aahmès entre deux divinités, avec accessoires et légendes hiéroglyphiques, cette dernière pièce est certainement le plus beau de tous les bijoux antiques connus jusqu'à ce jour ; 14<sup>o</sup> un miroir métallique avec un manche de bois orné d'or. 15<sup>o</sup> un petit modèle de barque avec ses rameurs, 16<sup>o</sup> un autre modèle de barque en or avec ses rameurs en argent et les chefs de l'équipage également en or ; celui-ci porte le nom de Kamès ; 17<sup>o</sup> un modèle de char à quatre roues en bronze et bois pour supporter l'une de deux barques ; 18<sup>o</sup> diverses parties de colliers et autres objets”

Description of the discovery of the Queen Ahhotep's coffin and list of the main objects preserved in the funerary equipment (Diary of Théodule Devéria, *DAE*, Musée du Louvre, courtesy of Elisabeth David)

## The original Inventory List of the Queen Ahhotep ‘Treasure’ from Mariette’s Papers (*BIF Paris, Fonds Maspero, Ms. 4052*)

Gianluca Miniaci

### *Abstract*

*The article aims to present two lists (one in French and another in Arabic) containing the first inventory of the Queen Ahhotep assemblage. The lists are dated to February 25<sup>th</sup> 1859 and were presumably drafted at the time of the first opening of the coffin after its discovery (in any case before Mariette came into possession of the treasure). Believed to be lost, these two documents are preserved in the archives of the Bibliothèque de l’Institut de France in Paris in the Fonds Maspero. The content of these lists matches closely with the inventory of the queen’s assemblage drafted in the Inventaire de Boulaq/Journal d’Entrée registers in Cairo Museum, with only minor discrepancies. The existence of these two inventory lists constitutes an essential piece of evidence to confirm that the assemblage of Queen Ahhotep as preserved today in the Cairo Museum may faithfully reproduce the original contents of Ahhotep’s coffin.*

The first detailed list of the objects found inside the coffin of Queen Ahhotep<sup>1</sup> at Dra Abu el-Naga was produced by Ernest Desjardins in 1860.<sup>2</sup> Nonetheless, his account was only partial, as it was intended to be a preliminary report in view of a more detailed publication on behalf of Auguste Mariette, which never took place. Several other scattered notes and information were published in the following years, especially in connection with the opening of Bulaq Museum,<sup>3</sup> but none produced a comprehensive list of those objects.

Mariette, who was indirectly credited with the discovery of the Ahhotep assemblage, did not produce his own account and no complete list of the burial assemblage comes from his papers, although a letter of von Bissing to Maspero might indicate that Mariette had accurately

recorded such a find.<sup>4</sup> The Egyptological literature often refers to a flooding of 1878 affecting Cairo and the house of Mariette at Bulaq, thus being responsible for the loss of a part of Mariette’s papers. All the personal written information concerning Ahhotep’s group taken by Mariette could have been lost during such a flood.<sup>5</sup> Among the Devéria’s manuscripts, there are two pages reporting a more detailed summary of the content of the coffin.<sup>6</sup>

Only in 1900, Friedrich Wilhelm von Bissing offered a full publication of the group of objects of Queen Ahhotep,

<sup>1</sup> For the identity of the queen, see BETRÒ, “The Identity of Ahhotep and the Textual Sources”, in this volume.

<sup>2</sup> DESJARDINS, *RGA* 18, 98-112.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. MARIETTE, *Notice* [1864] and other following editions; see also MASPERO, *Guide Musée de Boulaq* [1883] and other following editions.

<sup>4</sup> MINIACI, “The Discovery of Queen Ahhotep’s Burial at Dra Abu el-Naga (Thebes) in the Nineteenth Century AD: Between Tale and Archaeological Evidence”, in this volume, p. 34.

<sup>5</sup> However, some papers about the excavations of Mariette at Dra Abu el-Naga have been preserved till today, see *BIF Ms.* 4030, f. 392 and following; cf. MINIACI, “The Discovery of Queen Ahhotep’s Burial at Dra Abu el-Naga (Thebes) in the Nineteenth Century AD”, in this volume, p. 28.

<sup>6</sup> See MINIACI, “The Discovery of Queen Ahhotep’s Burial at Dra Abu el-Naga (Thebes) in the Nineteenth Century AD”, in this volume, *Appendix A*, p. 70.

providing description, photographs and drawings for most of the objects.<sup>7</sup> However, this work was produced more than forty years after the discovery of the burial. Von Bissing did not provide any inventory numbers for the listed objects, nor referred to the *Journal d'Entrée* numbers, making difficult to connect all the pieces. In addition, in this publication not all the pieces were illustrated or listed, and some of them were just quoted *en passant* in the text, without providing proper identifications. For instance, in the von Bissing volume are missing a plaquette (JE 4670), the blade of one axe (JE 4678), all the necklace chains (from JE 4688 to JE 4693; some of the pendants may have been regrouped in pl. VIIIa, used for the elements of the large *wesekh* collar), the box with beads (no. 20 of JE 4725), the kohl jar (JE 4726), the wooden box for the four calcite jars (JE 4731) and the wooden headrest (JE 4732).<sup>8</sup> To further complicate matters, von Bissing decided that the objects from Kamose's coffin and some other unprovenanced objects<sup>9</sup> – bearing the cartouches of Kamose and Ahmose – should have been included in that publication, as they could have originally belonged to the burial of Ahhotep.<sup>10</sup>

The most complete inventory list for the funerary assemblage of Ahhotep is indeed offered by the entries of the *Inventaire de Boulaq/Journal d'Entrée* drafted by Mariette himself between 1859 and 1863, unfortunately not reported in any publication.<sup>11</sup>

### The Inventory Lists of 25<sup>th</sup> February 1859 in the Fonds Maspero

Two lists inventorying the contents of Ahhotep's coffin are preserved in the archives Maspero kept at the *Bibliothèque de l'Institut de France* in Paris, inside a thin folder Ms. 4052, which grouped a handful documents mainly relating to the excavations of Mariette at western Thebes, and especially in Dra Abu el-Naga. The folder can be connected with another one titled "*Fouilles de Gournah*" (Ms 4062),<sup>12</sup> introduced by a paper explaining the reason why

<sup>7</sup> VON BISSING, *Ein thebanischer Grabfund*.

<sup>8</sup> See MINIACI, "Notes on the Journal d'Entrée Entries for Queen Ahhotep's Assemblage", in this volume, Table 5 and p. 104.

<sup>9</sup> VON BISSING, *Ein thebanischer Grabfund*, pls VIII, XII.

<sup>10</sup> VON BISSING, *Ein thebanischer Grabfund*, 24; cf. BOVOT, in HEIN (ed.), *Pharaonen und Fremde*, 263, cat. no. 364.

<sup>11</sup> The *Journal d'Entrée* numbering system has been adopted here for referring to the objects associated with the Ahhotep coffin, because it is the only system that uniformly includes **all** the objects found in association with the queen's burial (for cross-references to *CG*, *TR*, *SR*, other inventory numbers or lost locations, see MINIACI, "Notes on the Journal d'Entrée Entries for Queen Ahhotep's Assemblage", in this volume, Tables 2-4).

<sup>12</sup> *BIF* Ms. 4062, ff. 148-165.

some documents were in the hands of Maspero: "*Fouilles de Gournah de Mariette. Mariette est mort le 18 janvier 1881. Gaston Maspero a été prié par les enfants Mariette de regarder les papiers laissés par lui / l'annotation à publier en grande partie [...]*".<sup>13</sup> As stated in that paper, these documents originally belonged to Mariette, and entered into the possession of Maspero only at his death.

The two lists report the full contents of the Ahhotep treasure, providing an exceptional amount of information, especially considering the purely administrative purpose for which they had been produced. Nonetheless, contemporarily they raise several questions, especially about their origin, what they represent, and how Mariette came into possession of them.

The document *BIF* Ms. 4052, f. 240r is written in French (see Fig. 1), while the document *BIF* Ms. 4052, f. 241r is in Arabic (see Fig. 2); they both occupy a single page each. The two lists are very similar, but they are not simply translations of one another; they seem to have been independently copied/registered in two different languages (Arabic and French) from a common "source" and produced in approximately the same moment (see comments below). They are both dated to the 23 Rajab 1275 of the Hijri calendar,<sup>14</sup> corresponding to February 25<sup>th</sup> 1859. Their level of accuracy and correspondence with the inventory provided by the *Journal d'Entrée*, especially in terms of the count of the number and types of objects, is so high that they can be considered the first complete, official written record of the contents of the Ahhotep assemblage.

### Transcription of the inventory lists

Key for special symbols adopted in the transcription:

~~word~~ = deleted word/s in the original document

### = deleted word/s in the original document and overwritten by something else difficult to read

^word^ = word/s added in the original document just above another word or group of words

"word" = repeated word/s from one line to another abbreviated with ditto marks, using ' or " symbols, in the original document. In the transcription, for sake of clarity, the abbreviated words have been retyped, avoiding using the abbreviation symbols but enclosing them among two "-signs

<word> = integration of word/s not present in the original document

(?) = word hard to read or decipher because of poor handwriting, faded print; doubts in the translation/transcription

<sup>13</sup> *BIF* Ms. 4062, f. 148. The inventory lists of February 25<sup>th</sup> are in another folder, see Ms. 4052.

<sup>14</sup> For date correspondence, see <https://calendarhijri.com/en>.



**Transcription of the list written in French**  
(BIF Ms. 4052, f. 240r) (see Fig. 1)

Copie d'une liste adressée par le Moudir de Kineh à la Maïeh Sanieh en date du 23 Ragab 1275  
N 16 contenant les antiquités trouvées à Gurné.

- 1 Poignard sans gaine, poignée en or.  
1 "Poignard" en or avec sa gaine.  
2 Pointes de piques en or.  
2 Haches en or, manche en bois  
1 Miroir en or.  
1 Charriot en or à 4 roues.  
1 Une paire de bracelets en or avec une paire de figurines  
1 "Une paire de bracelets en or" d'une autre qualité  
1 "Une paire de bracelets en or d'une autre qualité"  
3 "Une paire de bracelets en or d'une autre qualité"  
4 "Une paire de bracelets en or" grandes  
4 "Une paire de bracelets en or" petites  
2 "Une paire de bracelets en or" d'une autre qualité  
4 "Une paire de bracelets en or" grandes  
2 Haches en or d'une autre qualité  
1 Un éventail en bois plaqué d'or  
3 Pectoraux en or avec une chaîne en or  
3 Pièces ayant la forme de brasselet [sic]  
2 ~~À~~ Pièces ayant la forme d'une hache  
5 Cordons en or  
1 Une barque en or avec 12 matelots en or (équipage complète)  
1 "Une barque en or avec" 10 "matelots en or"  
3 Figurines  
2 Têtes en or (petites)  
1 Chaîne en or en bon état  
12 Morceaux d'une chaîne en or 136 drahmes  
1 Grain d'or 116 drahmes  
2 "Grain" de pierre rayée ^rayée^ en or  
1 Chevet en bois  
1 Tube ###<sup>15</sup> de cohol en marbre  
1 Couvercle ^en bois^ cassé revêtu de plaques d'or

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**Transcription of the list written in Arabic**  
(BIF Ms. 4052, f. 241r) (see Fig. 2)<sup>16</sup>

صورة كشف، بيان الاثار القديمة التي وجدت بحفيرة  
(بمقبرة؟) القرنه بمديرية قنا، و ارد الى (؟) (؟) بتاريخ  
23 رجب سنة 1275 + 16 (؟)

عدد	اسماء (ء)
1	خنجر من غير حفرة بيد ذهب
1	خنجر بحفرة ذهب
2	حربة صغيرة ذهب
2	بلطة ذهب بيد خشب
1	مرايه ذهب
1	عربه بأربع عجل ذهب
1	أساور بصورتين ذهب
1	أساور ذهب - جنس آخر
1	اساور ذهب - جنس آخر
3	أساور ذهب جنس آخر
4	اساور كبيرة ذهب
4	أساور صغيرة ذهب
2	أساور جنس آخر ذهب صغير
4	أساور جنس آخر ذهب كبير
2	بلطة جنس آخر ذهب
1	مروحة خشب مصفحة بالذهب
3	تعليقات ذهب في الصدر (بمشبك) ذهب
3	قطع ذهب تشبه الأساور
2	على صورة البلطة
5	حمائل ذهب   كبير ، 2 (نوع) آخر ، 2 نوع آخر
1	مركب كامل بطوانق عدد 12 ذهب
1	مركب آخر ذهب بطوانق عدد 10 ، (جراب؟)
3	تصويره صغيرة
2	رأس صورة ذهب
1	مشبك (صاع؟) في صورة خنفساء (ء) ذهب
12	قطعة مشبك ذهب عدد 12 و عنها الوزن 136 درهم
1	خرزه ذهب عنها الوزن 112 درهم
2	خرز مخطوط بذهب من غير ميزان قرطاس عدد 2
1	مخده خشب
1	مكحله خشب، مرمر ، (؟)
1	غطاء (ء) خشب مكسور كان ملفوف عليها ذهب و صار
	وزنه مع الخروم (1 ك)
70	قط و قدره سبعون بالعدد الكشف مختوم بختم المدير و اخرين

<sup>16</sup> Transcription, translation and reading notes by Mona Akmal M. Ahmed Nasr, PhD student at the University of Pisa. I would like to thank prof. Daniele Mascitelli, University of Pisa, for providing some additional comments to the transcription and translation.

<sup>15</sup> Possible reading of the deleted word in the background, "Tuyeau d'Al..." (?).



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صورة كتبت بياض النوار القديم التي وجدت بحفره القبر بمديرية قضا ودار العينه السنه بنا ١٢٧٥ رجب

سنه ١٢٧٥ ا ح

عدد	اسم
١	قبري من غير جفنه بيد ذهب
١	جفنه ذهب
٢	قبري جفنه ذهب
٢	بلطم ذهب بيد حجب
١	قبري ذهب
١	قبري ياربوع عليه ذهب
١	اساور ذهب
١	اساور ذهب جنسي افر
١	-----
٢	-----
٤	اساور كبيره ذهب
٤	جفنه ذهب
٢	جنسي افر ذهب جفنه
٤	-----
٢	بلطم جنسي افر ذهب
١	مروحة حجب مطعم بالذهب
٣	تعلقات ذهب في الصدر بلسنك ذهب
٢	قطع ذهب تشتم الياور
٢	على صوره النظم
٥	حائل ذهب سا ٢
١	مركب كامل نظير ١٢
١	مركب افر ذهب ١٠
٣	قصوره جفنه
٢	راسي قصوره ذهب
١	كنتك صاخر في قصوره قضا ذهب
١٣	قطع كتك ذهب عدد غلا الوزن ١٢
١	فرزمه ذهب غلا الوزن ١٣٦
٣	فرز قظوظا بذهب من غير ميزانه قظلا ١١٢
١	قصوره حجب
١	مكلم حجب مروحة
١	قطا حجب بلسون كما به ملفوف على اذهب وصار وزنه مع الخردم الوجه
٧٠	قطعه وقدره سبعون بالعدد

الكفا ختم ختم الدير واخره ١

Fig. 2 – Inventory list of Ahhotep’s burial equipment written in Arabic; Fonds Maspero, Ms 4052, f. 241r © courtesy of the Bibliothèque de l’Institut de France



**English translation of the list written in Arabic (BIF Ms. 4052, f. 241r) (see Fig. 2)**

The language is a mixture of Egyptian Arabic dialect and formal Arabic. A literal translation is provided in order to adhere more closely to the original text. When the meaning of a word was not fully understandable, a question mark between round brackets has been placed after the suggested translation “(?)”.

“Copy of a list in which there is description of ancient objects found in the tomb of el-Qurna, in the directorate of Qena, returned to Ma‘iyyeh, on the date of the 23<sup>rd</sup> of Ragab, year 1275 (Hijry), 16

Numbers	Name (s)
1	Dagger without a sheath, with a golden handle
1	Dagger with a golden sheath
2	Small bayonet, gold
2	Golden axe with wooden handle
1	Golden mirror
1	Cart with four small wheels, gold
1	Bracelets with two figures, gold
1	Golden bracelets, other type
1	"Golden bracelets, other type"
3	"Golden bracelets, other type"
4	Large bracelets, gold
4	Small "bracelets", gold
2	"Bracelets", other type, gold, small
4	"Bracelets, other type, gold", large
2	Axe, other type, gold
1	Wooden fan, <sup>17</sup> whose foil is in gold
3	Pendants, <sup>18</sup> of gold in the chest with golden cords (?) <sup>19</sup>
3	Golden pieces that imitate bracelets
2	<Objects> with the same shape of the axe <sup>20</sup>
5	Golden cords (?), <sup>21</sup> 1 large, 2 of one type, 2 of another
1	A complete boat, with crew (?) <sup>22</sup> that counts 12, gold

<sup>17</sup> The word is *mirwaha*.

<sup>18</sup> The word used is *t‘aliqāt*, used of any type of object that can be worn as suspensions.

<sup>19</sup> This word, also repeated below can be derived from the root *KSNDH*, *KŚNDH*, or *KSTDH*, probably indicating a chain or a cord.

<sup>20</sup> Probably this sentence should be integrated at its beginning with the word “objects”, which is omitted in the text.

<sup>21</sup> See above, n. 18.

<sup>22</sup> The meaning word *tāqim* is unclear, it could be used to indicate the crew.

1	Another boat, gold, with the crew (?) that counts 10, <i>jarāb</i> (?) <sup>23</sup>
3	Small figures
2	Head of a small figure, gold
1	Cords (?) in the form of a scarab, gold
12	Cords, gold, that counts 12 and they weight 136 dirham
1	Golden bead, weight 112 dirham
2	Beads striped in gold, without weighting, counts 2
1	Wooden pillow
1	Wooden kohl tube, marble (?)
1	A broken wooden lid, wrapped with gold, and its weight with the scrap becomes (?) beads (?) <sup>24</sup>
70	Its count is seventy in numbers

The discovery is sealed with the seal of the director and others”

### Comments on the two Lists

The remarks at the opening of both preserved documents, “*copy of a list*”, indicate the fact that these two lists were copied from an original list. The original source from which these two lists were drawn is unknown but it was probably drafted on February 25<sup>th</sup> 1859 (23<sup>rd</sup> of Ragab 1725), assuming that the two copies were intended to be a sort of “carbon copy”, and therefore they reported the same date on the original document. There is little doubt that both documents were copied from the same source, since they report the same date, header, and protocol number (no. 16). Also, the objects are described

<sup>23</sup> The word used is *jarāb*, which is obscure in this context but it might indicate a different type/quality of the second boat.

<sup>24</sup> This sentence is difficult to read. The last word seems to have been deleted (?); it could read as “beads”, probably referring to some beads that could have been originally contained in a rotten (?) wooden box found inside the coffin (cf. JE 4725.20: “*Une boîte contenant un très grand nombre de petits et grosses perles d’or et de pierres dures*”). However, in this case the whole sentence has been left suspended or unfinished. On the other side, one should expect a measure unit at the end of the sentence, indicating the total weight of the lid with its remains, as announced in the previous wording. Following a suggestion provided by Mona Nasr, the last word could be mistakenly duplicate the previous one (“الخروم”); then it could have been roughly corrected (and not deleted) with the Arabic letter “ك”, used as an abbreviation of the word “كيلو”, kilo or kilogram (already in use in the nineteenth century Egypt?); the aleph could have been left uncorrected and used to indicate the number “1”, reading “*A broken wooden lid, wrapped with gold, and its weight with the scrap becomes 1 kg*”.

in the same manner (often extremely synthetic), same order, and same quantity.

At first sight, the two lists may appear as one being the translation of the other. Nonetheless, there are some minor divergences that do not simply fit with an inattentive or hasty copy (see Table 1): the Arabic list indicates the size (“*small*”) of one pair of bracelets (Seq. 13), which is missing in the French description; the Arabic list specifies the type of chains in the Seq. 20 (“*1 large, 2 of one type and 2 of another one*”), missing in the French list; only in the Arabic list the second miniature boat has been qualified (“*jarāb?*”) (Seq. 22); the Arabic list notes down that one of the chains was provided with a scarab, a detail not included in the French document (Seq. 25); the two lists present a divergence in the weight measurement of the golden grain (Seq. 27 – 116 dirham in the French and 112 in the Arabic); the toilet jar is indicated in both lists as a kohl tube (Seq. 30), but made of marble according to the French list and wood according to the Arabic document (which nonetheless, also indicates also the word marble soon afterwards); the Arabic list includes some additional remarks about the weight (?) and condition (“*scrap*”) of a wooden lid missing in the French list (Seq. 31); the final comment appended to the Arabic list (“*The discovery is sealed with the seal of the director and others*”) is not reported in the French one.

In conclusion, the two lists seem to have been written down from the same source (most probably written, given the accurate overlap in many respects, although an oral source, *i.e.* someone reading or dictating, cannot be completely excluded), but by two different persons who were independently adding or altering the original source.

As indicated by the date of the 25<sup>th</sup> February 1859, the list of objects was drafted before Mariette came into possession of the group of objects (which happened on the 22<sup>nd</sup> of March of the same year).<sup>25</sup> Therefore, these lists could have been copied either right at the time of the opening of the coffin or – at the latest – just before the packing and shipping of the boxes containing Ahhotep’s objects to Cairo.

Théodule Devéria, who was with Mariette at the time of the requisition of the queen’s burial assemblage, reported that Mariette had entered into the possession of two inventory lists: one drafted by one of his Egyptian employees [sic] and another addressed by the governor of Qena to the viceroy Saïd Pasha, in order to notify him of the contents of the shipped boxes, following the customs of that time. The two lists found in the archives of the *BIF* can be very plausibly considered those mentioned by Devéria in his account – believed to be lost –, given a number of coincidental elements:

<sup>25</sup> See MINIACI, “The Discovery of Queen Ahhotep’s Burial at Dra Abu el-Naga (Thebes) in the Nineteenth Century AD: Between Tale and Archaeological Evidence”, in this volume, p. 28.

“*M. Mariette en reçut l’inventaire d’un de ses employés arabes. Le gouverneur en avait de son côté expédié la liste au vice-roi, en le prévenant de l’envoi direct de ces objets à la Cour khédiviale [...]. Les deux listes comparées étaient assez bien d’accord, mais elles nous parurent singulièrement exagérées, quant au nombre des choses décrites et quant à leur poids d’or*” – Devéria<sup>26</sup>

According to Devéria the two lists seem to have been independently drafted: one directly from the governor of Qena, Fadil Pasha, who used to draft lists of the contents of the boxes he was shipping to Cairo (in Arabic?);<sup>27</sup> the other list could have been independently drafted by one of Mariette’s men (in French?). From the account of Devéria, only on the boat would Mariette have come into possession of another list to compare to the other one (already?) in his possession.<sup>28</sup> Probably since then, the two lists remained among Mariette’s documents and have been preserved until today in the archive Maspero of the *BIF*. However, the two lists mentioned by Devéria might not be the only copies of the original Ahhotep’s assemblage list circulating at this time.

As already noted down by Devéria in his account on the boat of the 22<sup>nd</sup> March, the content of the two lists was sufficiently in concordance although he doubted about the actual quantity of the objects listed and the weight of gold (“*they seemed to us remarkably exaggerated both in number of things described and in their weights of gold*”):<sup>29</sup> supposedly the boxes containing the Ahhotep treasure were not opened on the boat.

<sup>26</sup> The emphasis is mine. The first part of the account reads: “*Mariette écrivit alors de l’envoyer tout de suite à Boulaq par un vapeur special [the sealed coffin of Ahhotep, as informed by Maunier]; malheureusement, avant réception de cette lettre, le gouverneur de la province avait fait ouvrir le cercueil, par curiosité ou par zèle malentendu, on ne sait trop. Quoi qu’il en soit, je ne voudrais pas me trouver à la place de ce fonctionnaire la première fois que Mariette le rencontrera [...]*”, MASPERO, in MARIETTE (ed.), *Oeuvres diverses*, cii-ciii.

<sup>27</sup> See MINIACI, “The Discovery of Queen Ahhotep’s Burial at Dra Abu el-Naga (Thebes) in the Nineteenth Century AD: Between Tale and Archaeological Evidence”, in this volume (Q.10-11).

<sup>28</sup> The number of combination of possibilities about the mode in which these two lists ended up in the hands of Mariette are countless: for instance, one of the lists could have been accompanying the assemblage during the boat transport to Cairo (if not both); Mariette could have taken a copy of the list directly from the Maieh in Cairo, copying from the original letter sent by Fadil Pasha to the viceroy; Mariette’s “Arabic employee” could have copied the list from the local administrative sources in Upper Egypt and sent to Mariette in Cairo or given to the custody of the men on the boat, etc.

<sup>29</sup> Translated by WINLOCK, *JEA* 10, 253. From MASPERO, in MARIETTE (ed.), *Oeuvres diverses*, cii ff. DAVID, *Mariette Pacha*, 114.

Table 1 – List of correspondence between the two lists of February 25<sup>th</sup> and the JE numbers

Sequence Order in Feb 25 Lists	Quantity (French List)	Object Description (French List)	Quantity (Arabic List)	Object Description (Arabic List)	Correspondance with JE inv. no.	Object Type
Seq. 1	1	<i>Poignard sans gaine, poignée en or</i>	1	<i>Dagger without a sheath, with a golden handle</i>	JE 4665	Dagger with straight grip
Seq. 2	1	<i>"Poignard" en or avec sa gaine</i>	1	<i>Dagger with a gold-en sheath</i>	JE 4666	Dagger with human heads shaped grip
Seq. 3	2	<i>Pointes de piques en or</i>	2	<i>Small bayonet, gold</i>	JE 4667 JE 4668	Dagger (only blade) – Dagger with discoid butt
Seq. 4	2	<i>Haches en or, manche en bois</i>	2	<i>Golden axe with wooden handle</i>	JE 4673 JE 4674	Axe with Ahmose name/prenom – Axe in bronze
Seq. 5	1	<i>Miroir en or</i>	1	<i>Golden mirror</i>	JE 4664	Mirror
Seq. 6	1	<i>Charriot en or à 4 roues</i>	1	<i>Cart with four small wheels, gold</i>	JE 4669	Waggon miniature
Seq. 7	1	<i>Une paire de bracelets en or avec une paire de figurines</i>	1	<i>Bracelets with two figures, gold</i>	JE 4680	Armlet with Ahmose cartouche
Seq. 8	1	<i>"Une paire de bracelets en or" d'une autre qualité</i>	1	<i>Golden bracelets, other type</i>	JE 4679 (?)	Armlet with vulture (?)
Seq. 9	1	<i>"Une paire de bracelets en or d'une autre qualité"</i>	1	<i>"Golden bracelets, other type"</i>	4684 (?)	Bracelet with Ahmose name/prenom (?)
Seq. 10	3	<i>"Une paire de bracelets en or d'une autre qualité"</i>	3	<i>"Golden bracelets, other type"</i>	JE 4685 JE 4686 JE 4687 (?)	Bracelet with Ahmose prenom (•) – Bracelet with Ahmose name (•) – Bracelet with Ahmose prenom (?)
Seq. 11	4	<i>"Une paire de bracelets en or" grandes</i>	4	<i>Large bracelets, gold</i>	JE 4697-4700 (?)	Bracelet (*) x 4 (?)
Seq. 12	4	<i>"Une paire de bracelets en or" petites</i>	4	<i>Small "bracelets", gold</i>	JE 4701-4704 (?)	Bracelet (#) x 4 (?)
Seq. 13	2	<i>"Une paire de bracelets en or" d'une autre qualité</i>	2	<i>"Bracelets", other type, gold, small</i>	JE 4711-4712 (?)	Bracelet (^) x 2 (?)
Seq. 14	4	<i>"Une paire de bracelets en or" grandes</i>	4	<i>"Bracelets, other type, gold", large</i>	JE 4707-4710 (?)	Bracelet (°) x 4 (?)
Seq. 15	2	<i>Haches en or d'une autre qualité</i>	2	<i>Axe, other type, gold</i>	JE 4675 JE 4676	Axe in silver – Axe in bronze (golden foil handle)
Seq. 16	1	<i>Un éventail en bois plaqué d'or</i>	1	<i>Wooden fan, whose foil is in gold</i>	JE 4672	Fan
Seq. 17	3	<i>Pectoraux en or avec une chaîne en or</i>	3	<i>Pendants, of gold in the chest with golden cords (?)</i>	JE 4670 (?) JE 4683 JE 4694 (?)	Plaquette (?) – Necklace ending with flies (?) – Pectoral with Ahmose name/prenom
Seq. 18	3	<i>Pièces ayant la forme de brasselet [sic]</i>	3	<i>Golden pieces that imitate bracelets</i>	JE 4705 JE 4706 JE 4724 (?)	Bracelet – Bracelet – Ring (?)
Seq. 19	2	<i>Ata Pièces ayant la forme d'une hache</i>	2	<i>&lt;Objects&gt; with the same shape of the axe</i>	JE 4677 JE 4678	Axe (only blade) – Axe (only blade)



Sequence Order in Feb 25 Lists	Quantity (French List)	Object Description (French List)	Quantity (Arabic List)	Object Description (Arabic List)	Correspondance with JE inv. no.	Object Type
Seq. 20	5	<i>Cordons en or</i>	5	Golden cords (?), 1 large, 2 of one type, 2 of another	JE 4688-4689-4690-4691-4692-4693 (?)	Necklace ending with hemispherical beads – Necklace ending with hemispherical beads – Necklace – Necklace – Necklace ending with papyrus buttons, in 5 pieces – Necklace ending with papyrus buttons, in 3 pieces (?)
Seq. 21	1	<i>Une barque en or avec 12 matelots en or (équipage complète)</i>	1	<i>A complete boat, with crew (?) that counts 12, gold</i>	JE 4681	Boat miniature in gold
Seq. 22	1	<i>"Une barque en or avec" 10 "matelots en or"</i>	1	<i>Another boat, gold, with the crew (?) that counts 10, jarāb (?)</i>	JE 4682	Boat miniature in silver
Seq. 23	3	<i>Figurines</i>	3	<i>Small figures</i>	JE 4681 (?), part of	Part of boat miniature in gold (?)
Seq. 24	2	<i>Têtes en or (petites)</i>	2	<i>Head of a small figure, gold</i>	JE 4713 JE 4714	Lion head pawn in gold – Lion head pawn in copper
Seq. 25	1	<i>Chaîne en or en bon état</i>	1	<i>Cords (?) in the form of a scarab, gold</i>	JE 4695	Necklace with scarab
Seq. 26	12	<i>Morceaux d'une chaîne en or – 136 drahmes</i>	12	<i>Cords, gold, that counts 12 and they weight – 136 dirham</i>	JE 4725	Wesekh collar
Seq. 27	1	<i>Grain d'or – 116 drahmes</i>	1	<i>Golden bead, weight – 112 dirham</i>	JE 4696 (?)	Bracelet in solid gold (?)
Seq. 28	2	<i>"Grain" de pierre rainée ^rayée^ en or</i>	2	<i>Beads striped in gold, without weighing, counts 2</i>	JE 4725 (?)	Wesekh collar (?)
Seq. 29	1	<i>Chevet en bois</i>	1	<i>Wooden pillow</i>	JE 4732	Headrest
Seq. 30	1	<i>Tube ### de kohol en marbre</i>	1	<i>Wooden kohl tube, marble (?)</i>	JE 4726	Kohl jar
Seq. 31	1	<i>Couvercle ^en bois^ cassé revêtu de plaques d'or</i>	1	<i>A broken wooden lid, wrapped with gold, and its weight with the scrap becomes (?) beads (?)</i>	JE 4725.20 (?)	Wooden box (?)
					JE 4663	Coffin
					JE 4671	Stick
					JE 4715-4717	Axe miniature in gold (§)
					JE 4718-4723	Axe miniature in silver (§)
					JE 4724	Ring
					JE 4727-4730	Toilet jar
					JE 4731	Wooden box

**Table 1** – List of correspondence between the objects in the two lists of February 25<sup>th</sup> and those recorded in the *JE*. In the first column a numerical sequence ( e.g. “Seq. x”) has been assigned to the entries in the two lists in order to facilitate the reference in the text. At the end of the table all those objects present in the *JE* but absent from or not identified in the two lists are given

Although it is not always easy to find out the concordance between some of the objects these two lists, summarily described (especially bracelets, chains, and necklaces), and those recorded in the *Journal d'Entrée*, for most of the objects there is a surprising correspondence<sup>30</sup> (see Table 1). The two lists both agree in listing 70 objects which is – purely by chance – exactly the same number of objects recorded in the *Journal d'Entrée* (wrongly noted at the beginning of the list as being 68).<sup>31</sup>

In the following, the most complicated identifications are discussed, while the others are simply listed in the Table 1. In the Seq. 8-14, the bracelets have been not described to a fuller extent, rather occasionally described as small (Seq. 12-13) or large (Seq. 11, 14). Nonetheless, the number of the bracelets corresponds to the total number of bracelets registered in the *JE* (20 = JE 4679-80, 4684-87, 4697-4704, 4707-10, 4711-12).<sup>32</sup> In addition, the grouping of different type of bracelets in the two lists corresponds to the different shapes/types of the objects listed in the *JE* (1+1+1+2+3+4+4+4). Therefore, the bracelets from the *JE* have been tentatively associated with the entries of the two lists according to their grouping by type and the occasional mention of size (large/small) or the presence of figures.

Among the three pectorals mentioned in the two lists (Seq. 17), together with a golden chain, only JE 4683 can be truly identified since it is a pectoral, while two other elements can be more doubtfully considered to be intended as pectorals by the nineteenth century writers (JE 4670 and JE 4694). The artefact JE 4670 is a plaquette showing four figures. The item JE 4694 corresponds to the necklace with flies, which could be more possibly considered to be listed among the pectorals, especially because in the two *BIF* lists the pectorals are said to be provided with a chain, like for JE 4694.

The three pieces described as having the shape of bracelets (Seq. 18) can be assigned to JE 4705-06 in all probability; the third element can be identified as JE 4696, which has the same description of JE 4705 as the only other circular element. However, some doubts remain about this association, given the lack of further descriptions.

The chains/necklaces mentioned in the two *BIF* lists (Seq. 20) are five versus six listed in the *JE* (JE 4688-93). Nonetheless, the ratio for separation of the chains/necklaces also in *JE* is not clear, and JE 4691 mentions three fragments with the endings lost and JE 4690 mentions only two endings: therefore, JE 4690 and JE 4691 could have counted in *BIF* lists as a single chain. However, also in this case, with a minor adjustment, the correspondence seems to be enough in agreement.

The chain in gold (Seq. 25), which is vaguely described in the French list, can be identified with certainty with JE 4695, a necklace with a scarab pendant, because the Arabic list provides the information that a scarab was attached to it.

The *wesekh* collar JE 4725, together with all the mass of golden pendants and beads grouped under its inventory number,<sup>33</sup> can be identified with the 12 pieces of a golden necklace (Seq. 26). The extraordinary number of items of JE 4725 points to the need of specifying the weights in the two lists (the weight provided in the two lists is 116 dirham (= 3.48 kg) which could vaguely find a correspondence with the 2 kg indicated in Cairo Museum DB for the entry CG 52672, which corresponds to only some of the elements for JE 4725.<sup>34</sup> Nonetheless, there is also the possibility, as indicated in the letter of Devéria, that the lists overestimated some weights.

The identification of the kohl jar (Seq. 30) with JE 4726 is rather secure, although its original material – probably in calcite (= Egyptian alabaster) – is probably wrongly interpreted as marble in the two lists due to a lack of knowledge of the materials. The presence of wood indicated in the Arabic list could have referred to a stick made of wood or a wooden lid (?), although there are no traces of any of these elements in the *JE*.

Among the objects which can be doubtfully interpreted to be in *BIF* lists are 3 small figurines (Seq. 23), which are not present in the *JE* but correspond to the three golden figures in the boat (which stand out from the rest of the rowers), since they have also been mentioned in the *JE* with particular regard and specifically numbered from 1 to 3 (JE 4681).<sup>35</sup> The two incrust-

<sup>30</sup> Some identifications are rather doubtful, marked in the “correspondence with *JE* inv. no.” field with a question mark “(?)”.

<sup>31</sup> See MINIACI, “Notes on the Journal d’Entrée Entries for Queen Ahhotep’s Assemblage”, in this volume. See also MINIACI, “The Discovery of Queen Ahhotep’s Burial at Dra Abu el-Naga (Thebes) in the Nineteenth Century AD: Between Tale and Archaeological Evidence”, in this volume, Table 3.

<sup>32</sup> The French wording is inaccurate, since bracelets have been always quoted as being “a pair”, while this would have doubled the total number. The Arabic transcription seems to be more accurate, since it does not mention any “pair” but simply numbers.

<sup>33</sup> See MINIACI, “Notes on the Journal d’Entrée Entries for Queen Ahhotep’s Assemblage”, in this volume.

<sup>34</sup> See MINIACI, “Notes on the Journal d’Entrée Entries for Queen Ahhotep’s Assemblage”, in this volume, Table 2, for the correspondence of JE 4725 and other CG numbers.

<sup>35</sup> It is worth mentioning that in the collection of the Louvre there are two small figurines made of gold representing Seth (inv. nos E 7659 and E 7715) and one of them (E 7715) is inscribed with the name Ahhotep. They entered the collection from private sellers respectively in 1883 from Allemant and in 1884 from Pennelli. See GUERRA, PAGÈS-CAMAGNA, *JCH* 36, 144-7, 149; DESTI, *Des dieux, des tombeaux, un savant*, 227, fig. 227, 112a.

ed beads with gold (Seq. 28) can actually be identified with the hawk terminal(s?) for the *wesekh* collar, listed as part of JE 4725 (see under JE 4725.1).

A broken wooden lid covered by golden foil is mentioned in both lists (Seq. 31); furthermore the Arabic list indicates that together with the lid there were also some scraps, probably as parts of the lower part of a wooden container. The object mentioned in Seq. 31 could actually correspond to JE 4725.20, which reports a small box (no indication of material) containing a large number of beads, probably part of the large *wesekh* collar (JE 4725): “*Une boîte contenant un très grand nombre de petits et grosses perles d’or et de pierres dures*”.

Only one object mentioned in the two lists is really missing from the final inventory that arrived in Cairo: a golden bead (Seq. 27) whose weight has been reported in the two lists (112 dirham = 2.8 kg). Nonetheless, this massive golden bead is oddly mentioned in the report of Desjardins in 1860 (“*M. Mariette a trouvé aussi le disque figuré, par un petit ballon d’or*”) in order to sustain the idea that the two lion pawns were intended as a three-dimensional rendering of the praenomen of Ahmose, Neb-pehty-re, with the golden ball-bead acting for the sign “*r*”.<sup>36</sup>

In reverse, among the objects which entered Cairo as part of the Ahhotep burial equipment as documented by the *Journal d’Entrée*, four categories were unexpectedly not recorded in these two lists: the coffin (JE 4663), the staff (JE 4671), the ring (JE 4724) and the nine axe miniatures (JE 4715-23). The absence of the coffin is almost expected since the lists aimed at inventorying its contents and they were not intended to be an “archaeological report” of the find. The absence of the axe miniatures and ring does not raise particular concerns since, given their size, they could have gone easily unseen, probably included in some of the pendants of the golden *wesekh* collar (JE 4725). Only the stick, which measures 48 cm in height, is inexplicably missing from the very accurate *BIF* lists.

Missing from the two inventory lists are also the wooden box (JE 4731) and the four calcite jars (JE 4727-4730), although they have been associated with Ahhotep burial assemblage since the beginning and recorded in the *IB/JE*.<sup>37</sup> One of the possible reasons for their absence from the *BIF* lists is given by the fact that these

lists were recording only the objects contained inside the coffin. This would reinforce the idea that the original source for these two inventory lists had been produced at the moment of the opening of the coffin, making it into a very formal and official procedure.

In conclusion, the content of these two lists overlaps extremely well with the inventory of the queen’s assemblage drafted in the *Inventaire de Boulaq/Journal d’Entrée* registers, with only minor discrepancies. Therefore, these two documents seem to faithfully reproduce what was originally found in the Ahhotep coffin, being the closest record to its **official** opening and packaging of the objects for shipment to Cairo.<sup>38</sup>

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<sup>36</sup> DESJARDINS, *RGA* 18, 110. Cf. COLELLA, “Queen Ahhotep’s Lion Heads and the Inclusion of Gaming Pieces in the Funerary Costumes of Second Intermediate Period-early Eighteenth Dynasty”, in this volume.

<sup>37</sup> See comments in MINIACI, “The Discovery of Queen Ahhotep’s Burial at Dra Abu el-Naga (Thebes) in the Nineteenth Century AD: Between Tale and Archaeological Evidence”, in this volume, p. 61.

<sup>38</sup> Already Winlock noticed that “*there is no suggestion that any of the jewellery was lost, or that any of it was introduced from other sources*”, WINLOCK, *JEA* 10, 254.



Table 2 – List of correspondence between the *JE* and the two lists of February 25<sup>th</sup>

<i>JE</i> inv. no.	Object Type	Sequence Order Feb 25 Inventory Lists	Object Description (Arabic/French Lists)
JE 4663	Coffin		<b>MISSING</b>
JE 4664	Mirror	Seq. 5	<i>Golden mirror/Miroir en or</i>
JE 4665	Dagger with straight grip	Seq. 1	<i>Dagger without a sheath, with a golden handle/Poignard sans gaine, poignée en or</i>
JE 4666	Dagger with human heads shaped grip	Seq. 2	<i>Dagger with a golden sheath/"Poignard" en or avec sa gaine</i>
JE 4667	Dagger (only blade)	Seq. 3	<i>Small bayonet, gold/Pointes de piques en or</i>
JE 4668	Dagger with discoid butt	Seq. 3	<i>Small bayonet, gold/Pointes de piques en or</i>
JE 4669	Waggon miniature	Seq. 6	<i>Cart with four small wheels, gold/Charriot en or à 4 roues</i>
JE 4670	Plaquette	Seq. 17 (?)	<i>Pendants, of gold in the chest with golden cords (?)/Pectoraux en or avec une chaîne en or</i>
JE 4671	Stick		<b>MISSING</b>
JE 4672	Fan	Seq. 16	<i>Wooden fan, whose foil is in gold/Un éventail en bois plaqué d'or</i>
JE 4673	Axe with Ahmose name/prenom	Seq. 4	<i>Golden axe with wooden handle/Haches en or, manche en bois</i>
JE 4674	Axe in bronze	Seq. 4	<i>Golden axe with wooden handle/Haches en or, manche en bois</i>
JE 4675	Axe in silver	Seq. 15	<i>Axe, other type, gold/Haches en or d'une autre qualité</i>
JE 4676	Axe in bronze (golden foil handle)	Seq. 15	<i>Axe, other type, gold/Haches en or d'une autre qualité</i>
JE 4677	Axe (only blade)	Seq. 19	<i>&lt;Objects&gt; with the same shape of the axe/A-la Pièces ayant la forme d'une hache</i>
JE 4678	Axe (only blade)	Seq. 19	<i>&lt;Objects&gt; with the same shape of the axe/A-la Pièces ayant la forme d'une hache</i>
JE 4679	Armllet with vulture	Seq. 8 (?)	<i>Golden bracelets, other type/"Une paire de bracelets en or" d'une autre qualité</i>
JE 4680	Armllet with Ahmose cartouche	Seq. 7	<i>Bracelets with two figures, gold/Une paire de bracelets en or avec une paire de figurines</i>
JE 4681	Boat miniature in gold	Seq. 21 Seq. 23 (?)	<i>A complete boat, with crew (?) that counts 12, gold/Une barque en or avec 12 matelots en or (équipage complète)</i> <i>Small figures/Figurines</i>
JE 4682	Boat miniature in silver	Seq. 22	<i>Another boat, gold, with the crew (?) that counts 10, jarāb (?)/"Une barque en or avec" 10 "matelots en or"</i>
JE 4683	Pectoral with Ahmose name/prenom	Seq. 17	<i>Pendants, of gold in the chest with golden cords (?)/Pectoraux en or avec une chaîne en or</i>
JE 4684	Bracelet with Ahmose name/prenom	Seq. 9 (?)	<i>"Golden bracelets, other type"/"Une paire de bracelets en or d'une autre qualité"</i>
JE 4685	Bracelet with Ahmose prenom (•)	Seq. 10	<i>"Golden bracelets, other type"/"Une paire de bracelets en or d'une autre qualité"</i>
JE 4686	Bracelet with Ahmose name (•)	Seq. 10	<i>"Golden bracelets, other type"/"Une paire de bracelets en or d'une autre qualité"</i>
JE 4687	Bracelet with Ahmose prenom	Seq. 10 (?)	<i>"Golden bracelets, other type"/"Une paire de bracelets en or d'une autre qualité"</i>
JE 4688	Necklace ending with hemispherical beads	Seq. 20	<i>Golden cords (?), 1 large, 2 of one type, 2 of another/Cordons en or</i>
JE 4689	Necklace ending with hemispherical beads	Seq. 20	<i>Golden cords (?), 1 large, 2 of one type, 2 of another/Cordons en or</i>

<i>JE</i> inv. no.	Object Type	Sequence Order Feb 25 Inventory Lists	Object Description (Arabic/French Lists)
JE 4690	Necklace	Seq. 20	<i>Golden cords (?), 1 large, 2 of one type, 2 of another/Cordons en or</i>
JE 4691	Necklace	Seq. 20	<i>Golden cords (?), 1 large, 2 of one type, 2 of another/Cordons en or</i>
JE 4692	Necklace ending with papyrus buttons, in 5 pieces	Seq. 20	<i>Golden cords (?), 1 large, 2 of one type, 2 of another/Cordons en or</i>
JE 4693	Necklace ending with papyrus buttons, in 3 pieces	Seq. 20 (?)	<i>Golden cords (?), 1 large, 2 of one type, 2 of another/Cordons en or</i>
JE 4694	Necklace ending with flies	Seq. 17 (?)	<i>Pendants, of gold in the chest with golden cords (?)/Pectoraux en or avec une chaîne en or</i>
JE 4695	Necklace with scarab	Seq. 25	<i>Cords (?) in the form of a scarab, gold/Chaîne en or en bon état</i>
JE 4696	Bracelet in solid gold	Seq. 27 (?)	<i>Golden bead, weight – 112 dirham/Grain d'or – 116 drahmes</i>
JE 4697-4700	Bracelet (*)	Seq. 11 (?)	<i>Large bracelets, gold/"Une paire de bracelets en or" grandes</i>
JE 4701-4704	Bracelet (#)	Seq. 12 (?)	<i>Small "bracelets", gold/"Une paire de bracelets en or" petites</i>
JE 4705	Bracelet	Seq. 18	<i>Golden pieces that imitate bracelets/Pièces ayant la forme de brasselet [sic]</i>
JE 4706	Bracelet	Seq. 18	<i>Golden pieces that imitate bracelets/Pièces ayant la forme de brasselet [sic]</i>
JE 4707-4710	Bracelet (°)	Seq. 14 (?)	<i>"Bracelets, other type, gold", large/"Une paire de bracelets en or" grandes</i>
JE 4711-4712	Bracelet (^)	Seq. 13 (?)	<i>"Bracelets", other type, gold, small/"Une paire de bracelets en or" d'une autre qualité</i>
JE 4713	Lion head pawn in gold	Seq. 24	<i>Head of a small figure, gold/Têtes en or (petites)</i>
JE 4714	Lion head pawn in copper	Seq. 24	<i>Head of a small figure, gold/Têtes en or (petites)</i>
JE 4715-4717	Axe miniature in gold (§)		<b>MISSING</b>
JE 4718-4723	Axe miniature in silver (¶)		<b>MISSING</b>
JE 4724	Ring	Seq. 18 (?)	<i>Golden pieces that imitate bracelets/Pièces ayant la forme de brasselet [sic]</i>
JE 4725	<i>Wesekh</i> collar	Seq. 26 Seq. 28 (?)	<i>Cords, gold, that counts 12 and they weight – 136 dirham/Morceaux d'une chaîne en or – 136 drahmes</i> <i>Beads striped in gold, without weighing, counts 2/"Grain" de pierre rayée ^rayée^ en or</i>
JE 4725.20	<i>Wesekh</i> collar –Box containing beads	Seq. 31 (?)	<i>A broken wooden lid, wrapped with gold, and its weight with the scrap becomes (?) beads (?)/Couvercle ^en bois^ cassé revêtu de plaques d'or</i>
JE 4726	Kohl jar	Seq. 30	<i>Wooden kohl tube, marble (?)/Tube #### de cohol en marbre</i>
JE 4727	Toilet jar		<b>MISSING</b>
JE 4728	Toilet jar		<b>MISSING</b>
JE 4729	Toilet jar		<b>MISSING</b>
JE 4730	Toilet jar		<b>MISSING</b>
JE 4731	Wooden box		<b>MISSING</b>
JE 4732	Headrest	Seq. 29	<i>Wooden pillow/Chevet en bois</i>

**Table 2** = List of correspondence between the objects recorded in the *JE* and those listed in the two manuscripts of February 25<sup>th</sup> (Arabic and French lists)

- COLELLA, M., "Queen Ahhotep's Lion Heads and the Inclusion of Gaming Pieces in the Funerary Costumes of Second Intermediate Period-early Eighteenth Dynasty", in this volume.
- DAVID, E., *Mariette Pacha: 1821-1881* (Paris, 1994).
- DESJARDINS, E., "Découverts de M. Mariette en Egypte", *RGA* 18 (1860), 97-124.
- DESTI, M., *Des dieux, des tombeaux, un savant: en Égypte, sur les pas de Mariette Pacha* (Paris, 2004).
- GUERRA, M.F., S. PAGÈS-CAMAGNA, "On the way to the New Kingdom. Analytical study of Queen Ahhotep's gold jewellery (17th Dynasty of Egypt)", *JCH* 36 (2019), 143-52.
- MARIETTE, A., *Notice des principaux monuments exposés dans les galeries provisoires du Musée d'Antiquités Égyptiennes de S. A. le Vice-roi à Boulaq* (Cairo, 1864).
- MASPERO, G., "Mariette (1821-1881): notice biographique", in A. MARIETTE (ed.), *Oeuvres diverses* (Paris, 1904), i-ccxxiv.
- MASPERO, G., *Guide du visiteur au Musée de Boulaq* (Cairo, 1883).
- MINIACI, G., "The Discovery of Queen Ahhotep's Burial at Dra Abu el-Naga (Thebes) in the Nineteenth Century AD: Between Tale and Archaeological Evidence", in this volume.
- MINIACI, G., "Notes on the Journal d'Entrée Entries for Queen Ahhotep's Assemblage", in this volume.
- WINLOCK, H.E., "The tombs of the kings of the Seventeenth Dynasty at Thebes", *JEA* 10 (1924), 217-77.



## Notes on the *Journal d'Entrée* Entries for Queen Ahhotep's Assemblage

Gianluca Miniaci

### Abstract

*The present article aims to publish and comment on the information concerning the assemblage of Queen Ahhotep reported in the Journal d'Entrée of the Egyptian Museum in Cairo. This register copies from the Inventaire de Boulaq, which was compiled closer to the find-date of Ahhotep's funerary equipment. The information contained in this unpublished document is of extreme importance in the reconstruction of the composition of Ahhotep's funerary equipment. In addition, the Journal d'Entrée provides the only unambiguous numbering system for the assemblage of the queen, because it is the only system that uniformly includes all the objects found in association with the queen's burial and assigns them inventory numbers. The last section of the article provides a correlation of the museum numbers (CG, TR, SR, other inventory numbers) and lost locations.*

The *Journal d'Entrée* offers the most complete inventory of the objects associated with the coffin of Ahhotep from Dra Abu el-Naga. The objects of the queen have been accurately registered with each assigned unique identifier given by the progressive register numbers, going from 4663 to 4732 (see Table 1). The first volumes of the *Journal d'Entrée* were compiled between 1881 and 1886 by Ernest Cousin, as reported by a note of Gaston Maspero: “*Ce registre a été écrit par M. Cousin qui de 1881 à 1886 fut attaché provisoirement au Musée par le Ministère des Travaux Publics pour recopier les vieux registres et tenir les nouveaux*”.<sup>1</sup> However, although drafted more than twenty years after the discovery of Ahhotep, the first volumes of the *Journal d'Entrée* are meant to be a direct and faithful copy of the *Inventaire de Boulaq*, nowadays preserved in the *Cabinet des manuscrits* of the *Bibliothèque nationale* in Paris (BnF 20181-20183).<sup>2</sup>

The *Inventaire de Boulaq* was a register created in view of the opening of the Museum of Bulaq, inaugurated in October 1863.<sup>3</sup> It was drawn up in the first years of the 1860s by Mariette himself, jointly with Vassalli and Brugsch.<sup>4</sup> The front page of the *Inventaire de Bulaq*

claims that the finds entered the inventory book in order as they were found (“*au fur et à mesure de leur découverte*”);<sup>5</sup> therefore its content can be treated as a sort of abridged “archaeological diary” for the time.<sup>6</sup> Presumably, the entries for Ahhotep were compiled closer to their find-date and their handwriting is that of Mariette.<sup>7</sup> A note appended to the inventory number JE 21770 of the *Journal d'Entrée* states that the *Inventaire de Boulaq* was interrupted from 1863 to 1872.<sup>8</sup> Therefore, the entries for Ahhotep would have been compiled any time between their discovery (in 1859) and 1863, and in any case not later than 1863. As such, the list produced in the *Inventaire de Boulaq* and faithfully repeated in the *Journal d'Entrée* is the closest in chronological terms and the most reliable document for the composition of queen's assemblage.<sup>9</sup>

<sup>5</sup> DEWACHTER *BIFAO* 85, pl. 20.

<sup>6</sup> DEWACHTER *BIFAO* 85, 110. The *Inventaire de Boulaq* is nowadays preserved in the *Cabinet des manuscrits* of the *Bibliothèque nationale* in Paris (BnF 20181-20183), made of four registers of 1340 pages.

<sup>7</sup> Information kindly provided by Elisabeth David.

<sup>8</sup> DEWACHTER *BIFAO* 85, 108, no. 7: “*Les objets entrés au Musée de Boulaq n'ont pas été enregistrés depuis ce moment [1863] jusqu'au mois d'Avril 1872*”.

<sup>9</sup> See MINIACI, “The Discovery of Queen Ahhotep's Burial at Dra Abu el-Naga (Thebes) in the Nineteenth Century AD: Between Tale and Archaeological Evidence”, in this volume.

<sup>1</sup> DEWACHTER, *BIFAO* 85, 110.

<sup>2</sup> DEWACHTER, *BIFAO* 85, 110.

<sup>3</sup> PODVIN, *Auguste Mariette*, 137-43.

<sup>4</sup> About the relation between Brugsch, Vassalli and Mariette, see MINIACI, “The Discovery of Queen Ahhotep's Burial at Dra Abu el-Naga (Thebes) in the Nineteenth Century AD: Between Tale and Archaeological Evidence”, in this volume.

Table 1 – List of Ahhotep’s entries as reported in the JE register



JE inv. no.	Description in the JE	Additional Notes: Value assigned by Mariette (V); Measurements (Meas; in metres); Material (Mat); Other JE Notes (N)	Object Type
JE 4663	Cercueil de momie. Le dessus est entièrement recouvert d’un stuc blanc, qui a été doré. La cuve est peinte en brun. La momie porte sur le front l’uraeus, dont la tête manque. Les yeux sont bordés d’or massif. Sur la poitrine on voit l’uraeus et le vouture à ailes. Le corps est recouvert de longues plumes symétriquement disposées. Aux pieds Isis et Nephthys sont représentées par deux femmes agenouillées portant la main aux fronts. Du milieu de la poitrine jusqu’aux pieds s’étend une légende en une seule ligne verticale qui nous apprend que la momie enfermée dans le cercueil était celle d’une royale épouse principale qui s’appelait La reine a les titres de  	V: 1 Meas: haut. 2,12; long. 0,66 Mat: Bois  N: “La momie de la reine Aah-hotep a fourni: No. 1 d’importance : 15 objets No. 2 ————— : 14 objets No. 3 ————— : 26 objets No. 4 ————— : 12 objets No. 5 ————— : 1 objet 68”	Coffin
JE 4664	Miroir en bronze, recouvert d’un vernis d’or. Le manche est de cèdre rehaussé d’ornements en or repoussé	V: 1 Meas: haut 0,33 Mat: Bois et or	Mirror
JE 4665	Poignard à lame de bronze et à manche d’or massif	V: 1 Meas: 0,32 Mat: Or et bronze	Dagger with straight grip
JE 4666	Poignard à lame de bronze. Le fourreau est en or, et la poignée en bois, imitant une colonnette à incrustations, surmonté de quatre tête<s> de femme	V: 1 Meas: 0,31 Mat: Or, bronze et bois  N: “Les numéros: de 19501 à 19549 à l’encre rouge ont été donnés par M. de Bissing qui avait commencé le catalogue des bijoux de la trouvaille Aah hotep. La série définitive du catalogue des bijoux commence par no. 52001. Les numéros donnés par M. de Bissing devraient donc être annulés”	Dagger with human heads shaped grip
JE 4667	Lame de poignard. La garde était d’or et la poignée qui a disparu devait être formée d’un disque plat. Comme le poignard du roi Aahmes	V: 2 Meas: 0,19 Mat: Bronze et or  N: “Both the catalogue numbers refer to the same dagger. The other is missing neither agrees with the description in the J.d.E.”	Dagger (only blade)
JE 4668	Poignard à lame de bronze et à manche d’or massif Lame de poignard. La garde était d’argent, et préparée, comme la précédente, pour recevoir un disque plat en bois, recouvert d’une feuille d’or	V: 3 Meas: 0,14 Mat: Or, Arg. et bronze	Dagger with discoid butt
JE 4669	Chariot à fond plat, qui paraît avoir été destiné à porter la barque n° 4682. Il a 4 roues	V: 2 Meas: long. 0,15 (l. des roues 0,10) Mat: Bronze et bois	Waggon miniature

TABLE 1







JE 4670	Plaque rectangulaire ornée de quatre figures de boucles de ceintures découpées à jour. Peut-être cet ornement a-t-il appartenu au n° précédent ?	V: 3 Meas: haut. 0,14; long. 0,06 Mat: Argent oxidé	Plaquette
JE 4671	Bâton en cette forme  recouvert d'une lame d'or tournée en spirale	V: 3 Meas: 0,48 Mat: Bois et or	Stick
JE 4672	Éventail. Les plumes ont disparu. Le manche est recouvert d'une feuille d'or. La partie circulaire au dessus du manche est également recouverte d'une mince plaque d'or, avec ornements repoussés. On y voit un roi inconnu debout devant Khons. Le roi s'appelait  . Son nom de bannière était 	V: 1 Meas: 0,42 Mat: Bois et or	Fan
JE 4673	Hachette. Le manche est recouvert de feuilles d'or, et à la partie postérieure signe de haut en bas la légende d'Amosis, dont le nom d'enseigne était:  . Après ce nome et avant les cartouches on lit:  Le fer est orné sur chaque face de représentations en or avec incrustations. D'un côté se voient le vautour et l'uraeus en présence, au dessus des caractères  , en bas est une sphinx devant un vase. De l'autre côté sont les deux cartouches du roi Amosis. Au dessous le roi tient une barbare par la chevelure. Au bas est une représentation d'un animal fantastique	V: 1 Meas: 0,51 Mat: Bois, or et pierres incrustées	Axe with Ahmose name/pre-nomen
JE 4674	Autre hachette. Le manche est en bois, l'arme est en bronze et les ligatures en cuir. Pas de légendes	V: 2 Meas: 0,55 Mat: Bois et cuivre  N: "Peut être 23.1.23.7"	Axe in bronze
JE 4675	Hachette. Le manche est en corne rougeâtre transparente. L'arme est en argent, les ligatures ont disparu. Pas de légendes	V: 3 Meas: 0,42 Mat: Cuivre et argent	Axe in silver
JE 4676	Hachette. Le manche est en bois, rehaussé d'une feuille d'or. L'arme est de bronze. Les ligatures ont disparu. Pas de légendes	V: 3 Meas: 0,43 Mat: Bois, cuivre et or	Axe in bronze (golden foil handle)
JE 4677	Deux hachettes, dont les manches sont perdus	V: 4 Meas: 0,13 Mat: Bronze	Axe (only blade)
JE 4678	[Described in the entry above]	V: 4 Meas: 0,11 Mat: Bronze  N: "4678 = peut être 31.12.23.1"	Axe (only blade)
JE 4679	Bracelet très riche. La partie antérieure est formée d'un épervier qui étend les ailes et qui tient dans ses palles les sceaux de l'éternité. A l'extrémité des ailes se soudent deux épais anneaux bandés d'or séparés par un disque terminé lui même par deux petites fleurs bleues. La tête et une palle de l'épervier manquent. Le monument est tout entier couvert de pierres dures enfermés dans des cloisons d'or. Pas de légendes	V: 1 Meas: diamètre 0,07 Mat: Or et pierres	Armlet with vulture

TABLE 1



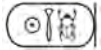

JE 4680	Bracelet du plus grand style. Le bracelet lui même est formé de deux torsades d'or que réunit une plaque d'or recouverte d'ornements variés. Au centre de la torsade est une boîte en forme de cartouche avec le nom du roi Amosis, et de chaque côté de celle boîte sont deux petits sphinx d'or de 0,04 de longueur. La boîte et les sphinx sont aussi couverts d'incrustations	<i>V</i> : 1 <i>Meas</i> : diamètre 0,08 <i>Mat</i> : Or et pierres  <i>N</i> : "c'est un diadem"	Armlet with Ahmose cartouche
JE 4681	Barque à douze rameurs. Les rameurs sont en argent, et la barque est en or. A celle barque appartiennent 1. Un personnage debout, en or, tenant le gouvernail d'une main. 2. Un autre personnage debout, en or, et pourtant la main droite à la bouche, il est nu; 3. un personnage assis, en or, tenant de la main gauche la hachette, et de la main droite le bâton recourbé. A l'arrière de la barque est une sorte de cabine, dont les parois sont ornés de lions debout, accompagné d'une côté d'un cartouche  e de l'autre du cartouche 	<i>V</i> : 1 <i>Meas</i> : long. 0,45 <i>Mat</i> : Or et argent	Boat miniature in gold
JE 4682	Barque à dis rameurs. Le pilote, tenant le gouvernail est resté debout à la poupe de la barque. Pas de légendes. Le monument paraît d'avoir été destiné à être placé sur le chariot 4669	<i>V</i> : 3 <i>Meas</i> : 0,39 <i>Mat</i> : Argent	Boat miniature in silver
JE 4683	Naos. Au centre le roi Amosis est debout dans une barque. De chaque côté Ammon et Phré versent sur la tête du rois l'eau qui coule de deux vase alongés. Les deux divinités sont accompagnées de deux grands éperviers qui étendent leurs ailer. Le monument est du travail le plus fin	<i>V</i> : 1 <i>Meas</i> : haut. 0,07; long. 0,09 <i>Mat</i> : Or et pierres dures	Pectoral with Ahmose name/pre-nomen
JE 4684	Bracelet. L'intérieur est en or massif. L'extérieur montre des représentations en or sur fond de lapis lazuli. Le roi Amosis est à genoux, accompagné de Set et de diverses divinités	<i>V</i> : 1 <i>Meas</i> : diam. du bracelet étendu 0,10; diam. du bracelet fermé 0,05 <i>Mat</i> : Or et pierres dures	Bracelet with Ahmose name/pre-nomen
JE 4685	Bracelet, formé de perles enfilées et disposées en treillage carré, de dix-huit bandes, alternativement d'or, de cornaline, de racine d'émeraude et de lapis laz. La fermeture montre le nom d'Amosis, une pièce d'or y a été ajoutée pour augmenter le diamètre du bracelet	<i>V</i> : 2 <i>Meas</i> : diam. 0,06 <i>Mat</i> : Or et pierres dures	Bracelet (•) with Ahmose pre-nomen
JE 4686	Deux bracelets de même modèle, de perles d'or, de lapis, de cornaline et d'émeraude, enfilées sur des files d'or et disposées en dessins longitudinaux. Les bracelets sont ornés intérieurement de plaques d'or, qui assurent la solidité. L'une porte le nome, l'autre le prénom du roi Amosis	<i>V</i> : 1 <i>Meas</i> : diam. 0,06 <i>Mat</i> : Or et pierres dures	Bracelet (•) with Ahmose name
JE 4687	[Described in the entry above]	<i>V</i> : 1 <i>Meas</i> : diam. 0,06 <i>Mat</i> : Or et pierres dures	Bracelet with Ahmose pre-nomen
JE 4688	Deux chaînes formées de petits cerneaux d'or, plats, enfilés les uns à la suite des autres. Les deux chaînes sont terminées à chaque extrémité par deux perles hémisphériques	<i>V</i> : 2 <i>Meas</i> : longueur de chacune 0,31; diam. de chaque anneau 0,03 <i>Mat</i> : Or	Necklace ending with hemispherical beads
JE 4689	[Described in the entry above]	<i>V</i> : 2 <i>Meas</i> : longueur de chacune 0,31; diam. de chaque anneau 0,03 <i>Mat</i> : Or	Necklace ending with hemispherical beads

TABLE 1

JE 4690	Deux bouts d'une même chaîne du même modèle que la précédente. Les extrémités sont perdues	<i>V</i> : 2 <i>Meas</i> : long. tot. 0,52; diam. de chaque anneau 0,04 <i>Mat</i> : Or	Necklace
JE 4691	Trois fragments d'une même chaîne du même modèle que la précédente. Les extrémités sont perdues	<i>V</i> : 3 <i>Meas</i> : long. tot. 0,33; diam. de chaque anneau 0,05 <i>Mat</i> : Or	Necklace
JE 4692	Une chaîne à deux rangs, du modèle des précédents. L'une des extrémités a disparu. A l'autre extrémité sont encore fixées deux chaînettes tressées et terminées par des boutons de papyrus en lapis. Le monument est en cinq morceaux	<i>V</i> : 2 <i>Meas</i> : long. tot. 0,37; diam. de chaque anneau 0,06 <i>Mat</i> : Or	Necklace ending with papyrus buttons, in 5 pieces
JE 4693	Une chaîne formée d'anneaux enfilés du modèle des précédents. L'une des extrémités a disparu. À l'autre extrémité est fixée une chaînette tressée, terminée par un bouton de papyrus en or. Le monument est en trois morceaux	<i>V</i> : 2 <i>Meas</i> : long. tot. 0,62; diam. de chaque anneau 0,08 <i>Mat</i> : Or	Necklace ending with papyrus buttons, in 3 pieces
JE 4694	Chaîne tressée avec sa fermeture antique à laquelle sont suspendues trois mouches en or massif	<i>V</i> : 1 <i>Meas</i> : long. 0,60; haut. d'un mouche 0,095; diam de la chaîne 0,03 <i>Mat</i> : Or	Necklace ending with flies
JE 4695	Chaîne tressée. La fermeture est formée de deux têtes d'oie. Au centre pend un scarabée d'or, les palles repliées, et le dos orné d'incrustations en lapis-laz.	<i>V</i> : 1 <i>Meas</i> : long. tot. 0,90; diam. 0,07; haut. de scarabée 0,03 <i>Mat</i> : Or	Necklace with scarab
JE 4696	Anneau massif à ventre renflé sans ornements	<i>V</i> : 2 <i>Meas</i> : diam. 0,08 <i>Mat</i> : Or	Bracelet in solid gold
JE 4697	Quatre anneaux épais et creux, ornés de filigrane. Ils sont du même modèle	<i>V</i> : 2 <i>Meas</i> : diam. 0,11 <i>Mat</i> : Or	Bracelet (*)
JE 4698	[Described in the entry above]	<i>V</i> : 2 <i>Meas</i> : diam. 0,11 <i>Mat</i> : Or	Bracelet (*)
JE 4699	[Described in the entry above]	<i>V</i> : 2 <i>Meas</i> : diam. 0,11 <i>Mat</i> : Or	Bracelet (*)
JE 4700	[Described in the entry above]	<i>V</i> : 2 <i>Meas</i> : diam. 0,11 <i>Mat</i> : Or	Bracelet (*)
JE 4701	Quatre anneaux plats et creux du même modèle que les précédents, mais sans filigrane	<i>V</i> : 3 <i>Meas</i> : diam. 0,07 <i>Mat</i> : Or	Bracelet (#)
JE 4702	[Described in the entry above]	<i>V</i> : 3 <i>Meas</i> : diam. 0,07 <i>Mat</i> : Or	Bracelet (#)
JE 4703	[Described in the entry above]	<i>V</i> : 3 <i>Meas</i> : diam. 0,07 <i>Mat</i> : Or	Bracelet (#)
JE 4704	[Described in the entry above]	<i>V</i> : 3 <i>Meas</i> : diam. 0,07 <i>Mat</i> : Or	Bracelet (#)
JE 4705	Anneau massif à ventre renflé, sans ornements	<i>V</i> : 3 <i>Meas</i> : diam. 0,06 <i>Mat</i> : Or	Bracelet

TABLE 1

JE 4706	Disque creux et déformé, sans ornements	<i>V</i> : 3 <i>Meas</i> : diam. 0,05 <i>Mat</i> : Or	Bracelet
JE 4707	Quatre anneaux minces et massifs, du même modèle	<i>V</i> : 3 <i>Meas</i> : diam. 0,07 <i>Mat</i> : Or	Bracelet (°)
JE 4708	[Described in the entry above]	<i>V</i> : 3 <i>Meas</i> : diam. 0,07 <i>Mat</i> : Or	Bracelet (°)
JE 4709	[Described in the entry above]	<i>V</i> : 3 <i>Meas</i> : diam. 0,07 <i>Mat</i> : Or	Bracelet (°)
JE 4710	[Described in the entry above]	<i>V</i> : 3 <i>Meas</i> : diam. 0,07 <i>Mat</i> : Or	Bracelet (°)
JE 4711	Deux anneaux plats et creux, du même modèle	<i>V</i> : 3 <i>Meas</i> : diam. 0,06 <i>Mat</i> : Or	Bracelet (^)
JE 4712	[Described in the entry above]	<i>V</i> : 3 <i>Meas</i> : diam. 0,06 <i>Mat</i> : Or	Bracelet (^)
JE 4713	Tête de lion	<i>V</i> : 2 <i>Meas</i> : 0,04 <i>Mat</i> : Or	Lion head pawn in gold
JE 4714	Tête de lion du même modèle que la précédente mais beaucoup moins fine	<i>V</i> : 4 <i>Meas</i> : 0,04 <i>Mat</i> : Or [sic]	Lion head pawn in copper
JE 4715	Trois hachettes, du même modèle	<i>V</i> : 3 <i>Meas</i> : 0,04 <i>Mat</i> : Or	Axe miniature in gold (§)
JE 4716	[Described in the entry above]	<i>V</i> : 3 <i>Meas</i> : 0,04 <i>Mat</i> : Or	Axe miniature in gold (§)
JE 4717	[Described in the entry above]	<i>V</i> : 3 <i>Meas</i> : 0,04 <i>Mat</i> : Or	Axe miniature in gold (§)
JE 4718	Six hachettes, comme les précédents, du même modèle	<i>V</i> : 4 <i>Meas</i> : 0,04 <i>Mat</i> : Argent	Axe miniature in silver (¶)
JE 4719	[Described in the entry above]	<i>V</i> : 4 <i>Meas</i> : 0,04 <i>Mat</i> : Argent	Axe miniature in silver (¶)
JE 4720	[Described in the entry above]	<i>V</i> : 4 <i>Meas</i> : 0,04 <i>Mat</i> : Argent	Axe miniature in silver (¶)
JE 4721	[Described in the entry above]	<i>V</i> : 4 <i>Meas</i> : 0,04 <i>Mat</i> : Argent	Axe miniature in silver (¶)
JE 4722	[Described in the entry above]	<i>V</i> : 4 <i>Meas</i> : 0,04 <i>Mat</i> : Argent	Axe miniature in silver (¶)
JE 4723	[Described in the entry above]	<i>V</i> : 4 <i>Meas</i> : 0,04 <i>Mat</i> : Argent	Axe miniature in silver (¶)

TABLE 1











JE 4724	Anneau épais de cuivre (?) recouvert d'une feuille d'or	<i>V</i> : 4 <i>Meas</i> : diam. 0,02 <i>Mat</i> : Or	Ring
JE 4725	Collier ousekh. Il est formé d'un grand nombre de pièces enfilées sur des fils aujourd'hui détruits. Ces pièces sont :	<i>V</i> : 2 <i>N</i> : "JE 4725 CG 52672"	<i>Wesekh</i> collar + other beads/pendants
JE 4725.1	1.° Deux têtes d'épervier, regardant en sens inversé. Elles sont en or et en lapis. Huit trous percés à la partie inférieure pour attacher les fils montrent que le collier était à huit étages	<i>V</i> : 2 <i>Meas</i> : haut. 0,05; long. 0,06 <i>N</i> : "2"	<i>Wesekh</i> collar – Falcon head pendants
JE 4725.2	2.° Or deux faces de lion, percés à la mâchoire supérieure de 4 trous pour laisser passer des pendeloques	<i>V</i> : 2 <i>Meas</i> : haut. 0,025; long. 0,02	<i>Wesekh</i> collar – Lion head pendants
JE 4725.3	3.° Argent. Deux sortes d'attaches en forme d'ailes de mouches, destinées probablement à soutenir le collier quand il était placé sur la momie	<i>V</i> : 2 <i>Meas</i> : haut. 0,04 <i>N</i> : "2"	<i>Wesekh</i> collar – Fly pendants
JE 4725.4	4.° Or. 51 pendeloques en cette forme 	<i>V</i> : 2 <i>Meas</i> : haut. 0,01 <i>N</i> : "44 44"	<i>Wesekh</i> collar – Bell pendants
JE 4725.5	5.° Or. 56 enroulements en cette forme 	<i>V</i> : 2 <i>Meas</i> : long. 0,012 <i>N</i> : "56 56"	<i>Wesekh</i> collar – Spiral-shaped pendants
JE 4725.6	6.° Or. 27 disques ornés de rosaces, formés de pierres dures	<i>V</i> : 2 <i>Meas</i> : diam. 0,09 <i>N</i> : "25 25"	<i>Wesekh</i> collar – Rosette pendants
JE 4725.7	7.° Or. 51 pendeloques en forme d'étoile à 4 branches	<i>V</i> : 2 – long. 0,01 <i>N</i> : "42 43"	<i>Wesekh</i> collar – Four-pointed star pendants
JE 4725.8	8.° Or. 13 pendeloques en forme de 	<i>V</i> : 2 <i>Meas</i> : haut. 0,02 <i>N</i> : "10 10"	<i>Wesekh</i> collar – Drop-shaped pendants
JE 4725.9	9.° Or. 26 pendeloques en forme d'amandes, entourés de filigrane et ornés d'incrustations en pierres dures	<i>V</i> : 2 <i>Meas</i> : haut. 0,02 <i>N</i> : "23 23"	<i>Wesekh</i> collar – Almond shaped pendants
JE 4725.10	10.° Or. 26 plaques d'or en forme rectangulaire percées pour recevoir des fils d'or sur lesquelles sont enfilées des perles	<i>V</i> : 2 <i>Meas</i> : diam. 0,03 <i>N</i> : "24 24"	<i>Wesekh</i> collar – Rectangular plaquettes
JE 4725.11	11.° Or. 128 boutons	<i>V</i> : 2 <i>Meas</i> : long. 0,09 <i>N</i> : "108 107"	<i>Wesekh</i> collar – Buttons
JE 4725.12	12.° Or. 24 oiseaux, les ailes carrément étendus, découpés dans une feuille d'or	<i>V</i> : 2 <i>Meas</i> : long. 0,013 <i>N</i> : "23 24"	<i>Wesekh</i> collar – Bird pendants
JE 4725.13	13.° Or. 45 aigles debout, découpés dans une feuille d'or	<i>V</i> : 2 <i>Meas</i> : long. 0,012 <i>N</i> : "37 37"	<i>Wesekh</i> collar – Hawk pendants
JE 4725.14	14.° Or. 34 vautours debout, découpés dans une feuille d'or	<i>V</i> : 2 <i>Meas</i> : 0,01 <i>N</i> : "24 23"	<i>Wesekh</i> collar – Vulture pendants
JE 4725.15	15.° Or. 22 serpents dressés sur leur queue et munis de grandes ailes. Tous ces animaux regardent vers la droite	<i>V</i> : 2 <i>Meas</i> : 0,015 <i>N</i> : "20 20"	<i>Wesekh</i> collar – Winged cobra pendants

TABLE 1

JE 4725.16	16.° Or. 26 antilopes courants, découpés dans une feuille d'or	<i>V</i> : 2 <i>Meas</i> : long. 0,015 <i>N</i> : "19 19"	<i>Wesekh</i> collar – Antilope pendants
JE 4725.17	17.° Or. 17 lions courants, découpés dans une feuille d'or	<i>V</i> : 2 <i>Meas</i> : long. 0,015 <i>N</i> : "15 15"	<i>Wesekh</i> collar – Lion pendants
JE 4725.18	18.° Or. 15 loups courants et regardant en arrière, découpés dans une feuille d'or	<i>V</i> : 2 <i>Meas</i> : long. 0,012 <i>N</i> : "16 16"	<i>Wesekh</i> collar – Running dog pendants
JE 4725.19	19.° Or. 20 loups assis, découpés dans une feuille d'or	<i>V</i> : 2 <i>Meas</i> : haut. 0,012 <i>N</i> : "18 18"	<i>Wesekh</i> collar – Seated dog pendants
JE 4725.20	20.° Or. Une boîte contenant un très grand nombre de petits et grosses perles d'or et de pierres dures destinées à être passées dans des fils pour se constituer ce collier	<i>V</i> : 2 <i>N</i> : "Tous les objets catalogués du no. 4663 au no. 4725 ont été trouvés dans le cercueil de la reine Aah hotep." "+ no. 4726 à 4732" "?? Surely JE 4731 was not in coffin"	<i>Wesekh</i> collar – Box with beads
JE 4726	Vase à poudre d'antimoine, orné de son couvercle. Il a la forme : 	<i>V</i> : 4 <i>Meas</i> : 0,055 <i>N</i> : "Vitrines et armoires couvercle"	Kohl jar
JE 4727	Vase 	<i>V</i> : 3 <i>Meas</i> : 0,33	Toilet jar
JE 4728	Vase 	<i>V</i> : 3 <i>Meas</i> : 0,26	Toilet jar
JE 4729	Vase 	<i>V</i> : 3 <i>Meas</i> : 0,23	Toilet jar
JE 4730	Vase 	<i>V</i> : 3 <i>Meas</i> : 0,15	Toilet jar
JE 4731	Boîte à dos bombé qui contenait les quatre vases précédents trouvés avec la momie de Aah hotep	<i>V</i> : 5 <i>Meas</i> : haut.?	Wooden box
JE 4732	Chevet trouvé dans le cercueil de la reine Aah hotep	<i>V</i> : 4 <i>Meas</i> : haut. 0,14; long. 0,33	Headrest

**Table 1** – List of entries for the funerary assemblage of the Queen Ahhotep as reported in the *JE* register, including the inventory number, original description, and the most relevant notes [importance value attributed by Mariette to the object (*V*), measurements (*Meas*; in metres), material (*Mat*), and *JE* notes (*N*)] and correspondence to the object type as identified in the present study. Drawing by Gianluca Miniaci; hieroglyphic transcription by Elena Tiribilli

## Comments to the *JE* Entries

In the *Inventaire de Boulaq/Journal d'Entrée* a numerical summary list of the Ahhotep assemblage composition is appended to the IB/JE 4663; in this list, the objects were gathered and ordered according to their estimated historical importance – and probably also “commercial value” – for a total of 68 objects, although the actual count of the inventory number recorded in both lists is 70.<sup>10</sup>

“*La momie de la reine Aahhetep a fourni:*

N <sup>o</sup> . 1 d'importance	: 15 objets [sic]
N <sup>o</sup> . 2 _____	: 14 objets [sic]
N <sup>o</sup> . 3 _____	: 26 objets
N <sup>o</sup> . 4 _____	: 12 objets
N <sup>o</sup> . 5 _____	: 1 objet

68”

In the *Journal d'Entrée* there are some numbers marked in red ink spanning from 19500 to 19563, with some gaps (missing numbers: 19501; 19515; 19518-25; 19527; see Table 2). As explained in a note appended to JE 4666, these numbers are those planned by von Bissing for the jewellery of Queen Ahhotep for a special volume of the *Catalogue Général*: “*Les numéros: de 19501 à 19549 [sic] à l'encre rouge ont été donnés par M. de Bissing qui avait commencé le catalogue des bijoux de la trouvaille Aah hotep. La série définitive du catalogue des bijoux commence par no. 52001. Les numéros donnés par M. de Bissing devraient donc être annulés*”. Bernard Bothmer listed the complete number sequence taken by von Bissing for the entries of treasure of Queen Ahhotep for the forthcoming (but never published) special volume of the *Catalogue Général* (19500-19566).<sup>11</sup> Abou-Ghazi noted that the CG 19500-19566 concerning the jewellery of Ahhotep were “still manuscript” by von Bissing.<sup>12</sup> Since the volume was never completed by von Bissing, the series of numbers has been *de facto* never used and annulled. The jewellery of Queen Ahhotep entered the *Catalogue Général* volume for jewels and gold smithery edited by Émile Vernier in 1927,<sup>13</sup> occupying some lots of the numbers between CG 25004 and CG 52647<sup>14</sup> (see Table 3).

Due to the fact that some objects were paired or belonged to the same/identical type, they have been marked

in the object type list with special symbols between round brackets in order to indicate their grouping system operated by the redactor of the IB/JE (•), (°), (\*), (#), (^), (§), (J).

The entry JE 4676 indicates that the axe does not bear any inscription, but von Bissing stated, without showing any drawing or picture, that the lower surface of the blade was inscribed with the name and prenom of Kamose (like it was the blade JE 4677; a memory mistake?). At the moment such information cannot be verified because the current location of the artefact is unknown<sup>15</sup> (see Table 4).

The entries from JE 4696 to JE 4712 show several narrow circular golden elements, which have been variously indicated either as bracelets, armlets, or anklets in the *JE* and various publications, given their diameter spanning from 6 to 11 cm, but they could also be ornamental elements (part of necklaces? amulets to be held?). The only circular element which can be considered a ring is JE 4724 with a diameter of 2 cm.

The large number of various pendants and beads received a single IB/JE number (4725), originally interpreted as a *wesekh* collar. The entry JE 4725 is divided according to its elements, organised by type of representation or shape; each type has been labelled with numbers from 1 to 20 under the entry JE 4725. The individual elements within each group have been counted and noted down at the time when the first inventory was drafted. A pencil annotation in the *JE* register reports a sort of later recount(s) of the actual number of the individual elements for each group, noting down also the number of missing elements from the first count. Also von Bissing recounted the individual elements by type.<sup>16</sup> The elements from JE 4725 were later assigned by different scholars to different types of collars, necklaces and adornments and provided with different inventory numbers. For instance, von Bissing separated the two flies pendants (JE 4725.3), while Vernier created six different entries in the *Catalogue Général*, often separating similar types of beads and pendants (CG 52672-52673 + 52688 + 52692-52693 + 52733).

A note appended to IB 4725 (recorded also in the *JE*) explicitly indicates that all the objects from IB/JE 4663 [sic, probably to be intended 4664] to IB/JE 4725 were found inside the coffin, while the following ones – by counter-deduction – were found outside the coffin: “*Tous les objets catalogués du no. 4663 au no. 4725 ont été trouvés dans le cercueil de la reine Aah hotep*”. In the *JE* to this sentence has been added a comment “+ no. 4726 à 4732”; given the different handwriting from the one

<sup>10</sup> There are two mistakes in the count of the objects in this summary list: under value no. 1, the *JE* actually records 15 objects and not 14, and under value no. 2, the *JE* records 14 and not 17 artefacts.

<sup>11</sup> BOTHMER, in SAUNERON (ed.), *Textes et langages*, 120.

<sup>12</sup> ABOU-GHAZI, *ASAE* 67, 30.

<sup>13</sup> VERNIER, *Bijoux et orfèvreries*.

<sup>14</sup> TRAD, *ASAE* 70, 354, no. 2.

<sup>15</sup> For this reason, the mention of Kamose Wadjkheperre on JE 4677 is marked with a question mark “(?)” in the Table 3 of MINIACI, “The Discovery of Queen Ahhotep’s Burial at Dra Abu el-Naga (Thebes) in the Nineteenth Century AD: Between Tale and Archaeological Evidence”, in this volume.

<sup>16</sup> VON BISSING, *Ein thebanischer Grabfund*, 13.



copying from the *IB*, it must be supposed that this was a later addition. Another comment, made in pencil and in English, noted some incertitude about the last addition, adding two question marks and the indication that at least the wooden box could not have been found inside the coffin: “?? Surely *JE 4731* was not in coffin”.<sup>17</sup>

### Location of the Objects

Mariette was able to avoid the dispersion of the queen's objects among various European collections and kept them all in Egypt, in order to be part of the first public museum opening in Egypt in 1863: the museum of Bulaq.<sup>18</sup> From the museum of Bulaq the objects were moved to the Museum of Egyptian Antiquities (also known as Egyptian Museum or Cairo Museum) in 1902, first to Giza and then to Tahrir square. However, not all the objects are currently present in the Egyptian Museum, some went on loan to the Egyptian Museum in Luxor or were transferred to the Grand Egyptian Museum (GEM); some others currently unlocated.

Beside the *JE* numbers, some objects received other inventory numbers: they received a *CG* number when catalogued in the volumes of the *Catalogue Général*,<sup>19</sup> a *TR* number when lost and temporarily re-inventoried, an *SR* number when on display in the museum, and other inventory numbers when moved to other collections (see Tables 2-3).

### Luxor Museum numbers

*JE 4667* (dagger, only blade) – Luxor J.853.2; assigned von Bissing inv. no. 19501, but then deleted;<sup>20</sup>

*JE 4673* (axe with Ahmose's name) – Luxor J.856;

*JE 4674* (axe in bronze) – Luxor J.889; assigned von Bissing inv. no. 19503, but then deleted;<sup>21</sup> in the *JE* a possible correspondence with the axe TR 23.1.23.7 has been proposed;

*JE 4694* (necklace with flies) – Luxor J.854

<sup>17</sup> See MINIACI, “The Discovery of Queen Ahhotep's Burial at Dra Abu el-Naga (Thebes) in the Nineteenth Century AD: Between Tale and Archaeological Evidence”, in this volume, § **The burial assemblage**, *Objects found inside/outside the coffin*, p. 60-1.

<sup>18</sup> LEBÉE, *Le musée d'antiquités égyptiennes*.

<sup>19</sup> Some objects were assigned two different *CG* numbers from the series 19500-19566, although the sequence included between 19500 and 19566 has been annulled; see comments above.

<sup>20</sup> In the *JE*, a note is written in reference to the *CG* number that “Both the catalogue numbers refer to the same dagger. The other is missing neither agrees with the description in the *J.d.E.*”.

<sup>21</sup> Von Bissing inv. no. 19503 was already assigned to another axe in bronze, *JE 4676*.

### Grand Egyptian Museum numbers

*JE 4707-10* (bracelet, thin) – GEM 4581

### Unknown current location

The location of the following objects is unknown at the moment, since the *SR* number is missing (see Tables 2-3); most of them did not receive any von Bissing or *CG* numbers, probably a sign that already at the beginning of twentieth century, their location was lost.

*JE 4667* (dagger – only blade) – no other inventory numbers;

*JE 4670* (plaquette) – no other inventory numbers;

*JE 4678* (axe without handle) – no other inventory numbers; in the *JE* a possible correspondence with the axe TR 31.12.23.1 has been proposed;

*JE 4688* (necklace ending with hemispherical beads) – no other inventory numbers;

*JE 4689* (necklace ending with hemispherical beads) – no other inventory numbers;

*JE 4690* (necklace) – no other inventory numbers;

*JE 4691* (necklace) – no other inventory numbers;

*JE 4692* (necklace ending with papyrus buttons, in 5 pieces) – no other inventory numbers;

*JE 4693* (necklace ending with papyrus buttons, in 3 pieces) – no other inventory numbers;

*JE 4705* (bracelet) – no other inventory numbers; assigned von Bissing inv. no. 19535, but then deleted;

*JE 4706* (bracelet) – no other inventory numbers; assigned von Bissing inv. no. 19522, but then deleted;

*JE 4726* (kohl jar) – assigned to *CG 18311*; in a note appended to the *JE* is mentioned “*Vitrines et armoires couvercle*”; however, in the same showcase where the coffin lid is displayed only the four calcite stone jars are exhibited;

*JE 4725.20* (box containing beads) – no other inventory numbers; probably already mentioned as broken off during the first record of the objects in February 25, 1859;<sup>22</sup>

*JE 4731* (wooden box) – no other inventory numbers;

*JE 4732* (headrest) – no other inventory numbers

To the above list should also be added the lower case of the coffin (*JE 4663*), whose current location is unknown. Von Bissing reported the information that it was decayed (“*Er [...] ist später (laut Museumsinventar) zerfallen*”), drawing this information from museum archives (?).<sup>23</sup> Certainly he was not able to find it since the measurements reported in his publication of the group did not

<sup>22</sup> MINIACI, “The original Inventory List of the Queen Ahhotep ‘Treasure’ from Mariette's Papers (*BIF Paris, Fonds Maspero, Ms. 4052*)”, in this volume.

<sup>23</sup> VON BISSING, *Ein thebanischer Grabfund*, 22.

include the lower case, while the measurements provided in the *JE* also include the height of the lower case. The lower case certainly reached Cairo, since it was photographed by Devéria and mentioned in the *Inventaire de Boulaq* (information faithfully reproduced in the *Journal d'Entrée*). It was separated from the lid at the time of its first display, since its long sides were undecorated:<sup>24</sup> Mariette described the lower case as painted in a deep blue-green colour on the outside, plastered in white in its interior, and made of a single tree trunk, in the style of other *rishi* coffins.<sup>25</sup> The decision to display only the lid was dictated by the fact that there was no decoration on the lower case.<sup>26</sup> Nonetheless, the bottom of the foot was gilded and decorated with a double *sm3-t3wy* motif (see photo of Devéria in the Musée d'Orsay, PHO 1986 144 97, MS 163 93; see Fig 1); hence the reason for not displaying it together with the lid was mainly due to the fact that coffin was supposed to be displayed vertically, as it is nowadays.



**Fig. 1** – Foot end of the coffin of the Queen Ahhotep; photo by Devéria; PHO 1986 144 97 © Musée d'Orsay, Dist. RMN-Grand Palais / Alexis Brandt

<sup>24</sup> DESJARDINS, *RGA* 18, 99.

<sup>25</sup> MINIACI, *Rishi Coffins*, 25-6.

<sup>26</sup> MARIETTE, *Notice* [1864], 218: “La cuve peinte en gros bleu sans aucune décoration n’ayant pas d’intérêt et prenant, d’ailleurs, une place considérable, nous n’avons exposé que le couvercle”.

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**Table 2 – Correlation of all museum inventory numbers, arranged by *JE***

Object Type	<i>JE</i> inv. no.	Von Bissing's inv. no.	<i>CG</i> inv. no.	<i>TR</i> inv. no.	<i>SR</i> inv. no.	Luxor inv. no.	<i>GEM</i> inv. no.
Coffin	JE 4663		CG 28501		SR 7/19408; SR 1/10339		
Mirror	JE 4664	*CG 19508	CG 52664		SR 1/6588		
Dagger with straight grip	JE 4665	*CG 19505	CG 52661		SR 1/6586		
Dagger with human heads shaped grip	JE 4666	*CG 19502	CG 52658+ CG 52659		SR 1/6589	J.853.2	
Dagger (only blade)	JE 4667	*CG 19501					
Dagger with discoid butt	JE 4668	*CG 19506	CG 52660		SR 1/6587		
Waggon miniature	JE 4669	*CG 19548	CG 52668		SR 1/6596		
Plaquette	JE 4670						
Stick	JE 4671	*CG 19509	CG 52662		SR 1/6597		
Fan	JE 4672	*CG 19510a-c	CG 52705		SR 1/6579		
Axe with Ahmose name/ prenomen	JE 4673	*CG 19500	CG 52645		SR 1/6603	J.856	
Axe in bronze	JE 4674	*CG 19503		TR 23.1.23.7 (?)	SR 3/3941	J.889	
Axe in silver	JE 4675	*CG 19504	CG 52647		SR 1/6607		
Axe in bronze (golden foil handle)	JE 4676	*CG 19503	CG 52646		SR 1/6602		
Axe (only blade)	JE 4677	*CG 19507	CG 52648		SR 1/6608		
Axe (only blade)	JE 4678			TR 31.12.23.1 (?)			
Armlet with vulture	JE 4679	*CG 19545	CG 52068		SR 1/6567		
Armlet with Ahmose cartouche	JE 4680	*CG 19540	CG 52642		SR 1/6570		
Boat miniature in gold	JE 4681	*CG 19549	CG 52666		SR 1/6596		
Boat miniature in silver	JE 4682	*CG 19547	CG 52667		SR 1/6574		
Pectoral with Ahmose name/ prenomen	JE 4683	*CG 19536	CG 52004		SR 1/6571		
Bracelet with Ahmose name/ prenomen	JE 4684	*CG 19544	CG 52069		SR 1/6566		
Bracelet with Ahmose prenom (•)	JE 4685	*CG 19546	CG 52070		SR 1/6568		
Bracelet with Ahmose name (•)	JE 4686	*CG 19541	CG 52071		SR 1/6569 (a)		
Bracelet with Ahmose prenom	JE 4687	*CG 19542	CG 52072		SR 1/6569 (b)		
Necklace ending with hemispherical beads	JE 4688						
Necklace ending with hemispherical beads	JE 4689						
Necklace	JE 4690						
Necklace	JE 4691						

Object Type	JE inv. no.	Von Bissing's inv. no.	CG inv. no.	TR inv. no.	SR inv. no.	Luxor inv. no.	GEM inv. no.
Necklace ending with papyrus buttons, in 5 pieces	JE 4692						
Necklace ending with papyrus buttons, in 3 pieces	JE 4693						
Necklace ending with flies	JE 4694	*CG 19543	CG 52671		SR 1/6584	J.854	
Necklace with scarab	JE 4695	*CG 19537	CG 52670		SR 1/6601		
Bracelet in solid gold	JE 4696	*CG 19513	CG 52073		SR 1/6565		
Bracelet (*)	JE 4697	*CG 19529	CG 52074		SR 1/6580		
Bracelet (*)	JE 4698	*CG 19530	CG 52075		SR 1/6581		
Bracelet (*)	JE 4699	*CG 19531	CG 52076		SR 1/6582		
Bracelet (*)	JE 4700	*CG 19532	CG 52077		SR 1/6583		
Bracelet (#)	JE 4701	*CG 19525	CG 52080		SR 1/6592		
Bracelet (#)	JE 4702	*CG 19526	CG 52081		SR 1/6595		
Bracelet (#)	JE 4703	*CG 19527	CG 52078		SR 1/6594		
Bracelet (#)	JE 4704	*CG 19528	CG 52079		SR 1/6593		
Bracelet	JE 4705	*EG 19535					
Bracelet	JE 4706	*EG 19522					
Bracelet (°)	JE 4707	*CG 19514	CG 52083		SR 1/6575		GEM 4581
Bracelet (°)	JE 4708	*CG 19515	CG 52084		SR 1/6576		GEM 4581
Bracelet (°)	JE 4709	*CG 19516	CG 52085		SR 1/6577		GEM 4581
Bracelet (°)	JE 4710	*CG 19517	CG 52086		SR 1/6578		GEM 4581
Bracelet (^)	JE 4711	*CG 19533	CG 52087		SR 1/6599		
Bracelet (^)	JE 4712	*CG 19534	CG 52088		SR 1/6600		
Lion head pawn in gold	JE 4713	*CG 19538	CG 52703		SR 1/6564		
Lion head pawn in copper	JE 4714	*CG 19539	CG 52704		SR 1/6564		
Axe miniature in gold (§)	JE 4715		CG 52649		SR 1/6604-06		
Axe miniature in gold (§)	JE 4716		CG 52650		SR 1/6604-06		
Axe miniature in gold (§)	JE 4717		CG 52651		SR 1/6604-06		
Axe miniature in silver (¶)	JE 4718		CG 52652		SR 1/6604-06		
Axe miniature in silver (¶)	JE 4719		CG 52653		SR 1/6604-06		
Axe miniature in silver (¶)	JE 4720		CG 52654		SR 1/6604-06		
Axe miniature in silver (¶)	JE 4721		CG 52655		SR 1/6604-06		
Axe miniature in silver (¶)	JE 4722		CG 52656		SR 1/6604-06		

TABLE 2



Object Type	JE inv. no.	Von Bissing's inv. no.	CG inv. no.	TR inv. no.	SR inv. no.	Luxor inv. no.	GEM inv. no.
Axe miniature in silver (¶)	JE 4723		CG 52657		SR 1/6604-06		
Ring	JE 4724	*CG 19535	CG 52082		SR 1/6598		
Wesekh collar	JE 4725 (1-20)	*CG 19550-63	CG 52672-52673 + CG 52688		SR 1/6572		
Wesekh collar – Falcon head pendants	JE 4725.1		CG 52672				
Wesekh collar – Lion head pendants	JE 4725.2		CG 52693				
Wesekh collar – Fly pendants	JE 4725.3	*CG 19511-12	CG 52692				
Wesekh collar – Bell pendants	JE 4725.4		CG 52672				
Wesekh collar – Spiral-shaped pendants	JE 4725.5		CG 52672				
Wesekh collar – Rosette disks	JE 4725.6		CG 52673				
Wesekh collar – Four pointed star pendants	JE 4725.7		CG 52672				
Wesekh collar – Drop shaped pendants	JE 4725.8		CG 52673				
Wesekh collar – Almond shaped pendant	JE 4725.9		CG 52672				
Wesekh collar – Rectangular plaquettes	JE 4725.10		CG 52688				
Wesekh collar – Buttons	JE 4725.11		CG 52672				
Wesekh collar – Bird pendants	JE 4725.12		CG 52733				
Wesekh collar – Hawk pendants	JE 4725.13		CG 52733				
Wesekh collar – Vulture pendants	JE 4725.14		CG 52672				
Wesekh collar – Winged cobra pendants	JE 4725.15		CG 52672				
Wesekh collar – Antelope pendants	JE 4725.16		CG 52672				
Wesekh collar – Lion pendants	JE 4725.17		CG 52672				
Wesekh collar – Running dog pendants	JE 4725.18		CG 52672				
Wesekh collar – Seated dog pendants	JE 4725.19		CG 52672				
Wesekh collar – Box with beads	JE 4725.20						
Kohl jar	JE 4726		CG 18311				
Toilet jar	JE 4727		CG 18478		SR 1/10335; SR 7/19404		
Toilet jar	JE 4728		CG 18479		SR 1/10336; SR 7/19405		
Toilet jar	JE 4729		CG 18482		SR 1/10338; SR 7/19407		

TABLE 2

Object Type	<i>JE</i> inv. no.	Von Bissing's inv. no.	<i>CG</i> inv. no.	<i>TR</i> inv. no.	<i>SR</i> inv. no.	Luxor inv. no.	<i>GEM</i> inv. no.
Toilet jar	JE 4730		CG 18480		SR 1/10337; SR 7/19406		
Wooden box	JE 4731						
Headrest	JE 4732						

**Table 2** – List of correspondence between all the museum inventory numbers assigned to the objects of the queen's assemblage, arranged by *JE* numbers. Marked with \* all the *CG* numbers annulled (von Bissing's numbers). The numbers marked with a slash (0000) are those deleted in the *JE* register

TABLE 2

**Table 3 – Correlation of all museum inventory numbers, arranged by CG**

Object Type	CG inv. no.	JE inv. no.	Von Bissing's inv. no.	TR inv. no.	SR inv. no.	Luxor inv. no.	GEM inv. no.
Kohl jar	CG 18311	JE 4726					
Toilet jar	CG 18478	JE 4727			SR 1/10335; SR 7/19404		
Toilet jar	CG 18479	JE 4728			SR 1/10336; SR 7/19405		
Toilet jar	CG 18480	JE 4730			SR 1/10337; SR 7/19406		
Toilet jar	CG 18482	JE 4729			SR 1/10338; SR 7/19407		
Coffin	CG 28501	JE 4663			SR 7/19408; SR 1/10339		
Pectoral with Ahmose name/pre-nomen	CG 52004	JE 4683	*CG 19536		SR 1/6571		
Armlet with vulture	CG 52068	JE 4679	*CG 19545		SR 1/6567		
Bracelet with Ahmose name/pre-nomen	CG 52069	JE 4684	*CG 19544		SR 1/6566		
Bracelet with Ahmose prenomen (•)	CG 52070	JE 4685	*CG 19546		SR 1/6568		
Bracelet with Ahmose name (•)	CG 52071	JE 4686	*CG 19541		SR 1/6569 (a)		
Bracelet with Ahmose prenomen	CG 52072	JE 4687	*CG 19542		SR 1/6569 (b)		
Bracelet in solid gold	CG 52073	JE 4696	*CG 19513		SR 1/6565		
Bracelet (*)	CG 52074	JE 4697	*CG 19529		SR 1/6580		
Bracelet (*)	CG 52075	JE 4698	*CG 19530		SR 1/6581		
Bracelet (*)	CG 52076	JE 4699	*CG 19531		SR 1/6582		
Bracelet (*)	CG 52077	JE 4700	*CG 19532		SR 1/6583		
Bracelet (#)	CG 52078	JE 4703	*CG 19527		SR 1/6594		
Bracelet (#)	CG 52079	JE 4704	*CG 19528		SR 1/6593		
Bracelet (#)	CG 52080	JE 4701	*CG 19525		SR 1/6592		
Bracelet (#)	CG 52081	JE 4702	*CG 19526		SR 1/6595		
Ring	CG 52082	JE 4724	*CG 19535		SR 1/6598		
Bracelet (°)	CG 52083	JE 4707	*CG 19514		SR 1/6575		GEM 4581
Bracelet (°)	CG 52084	JE 4708	*CG 19515		SR 1/6576		GEM 4581
Bracelet (°)	CG 52085	JE 4709	*CG 19516		SR 1/6577		GEM 4581
Bracelet (°)	CG 52086	JE 4710	*CG 19517		SR 1/6578		GEM 4581
Bracelet (^)	CG 52087	JE 4711	*CG 19533		SR 1/6599		

TABLE 3

Object Type	CG inv. no.	JE inv. no.	Von Bissing's inv. no.	TR inv. no.	SR inv. no.	Luxor inv. no.	GEM inv. no.
Bracelet (^)	CG 52088	JE 4712	*CG 19534		SR 1/6600		
Armlet with Ahmose cartouche	CG 52642	JE 4680	*CG 19540		SR 1/6570		
Axe with Ahmose name/prenomen	CG 52645	JE 4673	*CG 19500		SR 1/6603	J.856	
Axe in silver	CG 52647	JE 4675	*CG 19504		SR 1/6607		
Axe (only blade)	CG 52648	JE 4677	*CG 19507		SR 1/6608		
Axe miniature in gold (§)	CG 52649	JE 4715			SR 1/6604-06		
Axe miniature in gold (§)	CG 52650	JE 4716			SR 1/6604-06		
Axe miniature in gold (§)	CG 52651	JE 4717			SR 1/6604-06		
Axe miniature in silver (¶)	CG 52652	JE 4718			SR 1/6604-06		
Axe miniature in silver (¶)	CG 52653	JE 4719			SR 1/6604-06		
Axe miniature in silver (¶)	CG 52654	JE 4720			SR 1/6604-06		
Axe miniature in silver (¶)	CG 52655	JE 4721			SR 1/6604-06		
Axe miniature in silver (¶)	CG 52656	JE 4722			SR 1/6604-06		
Axe miniature in silver (¶)	CG 52657	JE 4723			SR 1/6604-06		
Dagger with human heads shaped grip	CG 52658+ CG 52659	JE 4666	*CG 19502		SR 1/6589	J.853.2	
Dagger with discoid butt	CG 52660	JE 4668	*CG 19506		SR 1/6587		
Dagger with straight grip	CG 52661	JE 4665	*CG 19505		SR 1/6586		
Stick	CG 52662	JE 4671	*CG 19509		SR 1/6597		
Mirror	CG 52664	JE 4664	*CG 19508		SR 1/6588		
Boat miniature in gold	CG 52666	JE 4681	*CG 19549		SR 1/6596		
Boat miniature in silver	CG 52667	JE 4682	*CG 19547		SR 1/6574		
Waggon miniature	CG 52668	JE 4669	*CG 19548		SR 1/6596		
Necklace with scarab	CG 52670	JE 4695	*CG 19537		SR 1/6601		
Necklace ending with flies	CG 52671	JE 4694	*CG 19543		SR 1/6584	J.854	
<i>Wesekh</i> collar – Falcon head pendants	CG 52672	JE 4725.1					
<i>Wesekh</i> collar – Buttons	CG 52672	JE 4725.11					
<i>Wesekh</i> collar – Vulture pendants	CG 52672	JE 4725.14					

TABLE 3



Object Type	CG inv. no.	JE inv. no.	Von Bissing's inv. no.	TR inv. no.	SR inv. no.	Luxor inv. no.	GEM inv. no.
<i>Wesekh</i> collar – Winged cobra pendants	CG 52672	JE 4725.15					
<i>Wesekh</i> collar – Antelope pendants	CG 52672	JE 4725.16					
<i>Wesekh</i> collar – Lion pendants	CG 52672	JE 4725.17					
<i>Wesekh</i> collar – Running dog pendants	CG 52672	JE 4725.18					
<i>Wesekh</i> collar – Seated dog pendants	CG 52672	JE 4725.19					
<i>Wesekh</i> collar – Bell pendants	CG 52672	JE 4725.4					
<i>Wesekh</i> collar – Spiral-shaped pendants	CG 52672	JE 4725.5					
<i>Wesekh</i> collar – Four pointed star pendants	CG 52672	JE 4725.7					
<i>Wesekh</i> collar – Almond shaped pendant	CG 52672	JE 4725.9					
<i>Wesekh</i> collar	CG 52672-52673 + 52688	JE 4725 (1-20)	*CG 19550-63		SR 1/6572		
<i>Wesekh</i> collar – Rosette disks	CG 52673	JE 4725.6					
<i>Wesekh</i> collar – Drop shaped pendants	CG 52673	JE 4725.8					
<i>Wesekh</i> collar –Rectangular plaquettes	CG 52688	JE 4725.10					
<i>Wesekh</i> collar – Fly pendants	CG 52692	JE 4725.3	*CG 19511-12				
<i>Wesekh</i> collar – Lion head pendants	CG 52693	JE 4725.2					
Lion head pawn in gold	CG 52703	JE 4713	*CG 19538		SR 1/6564		
Lion head pawn in copper	CG 52704	JE 4714	*CG 19539		SR 1/6564		
Fan	CG 52705	JE 4672	*CG 19510a-c		SR 1/6579		
<i>Wesekh</i> collar – Bird pendants	CG 52733	JE 4725.12					
<i>Wesekh</i> collar – Hawk pendants	CG 52733	JE 4725.13					
Axe in bronze (golden foil handle)	CG 52646	JE 4676	*CG 19503		SR 1/6602		
Dagger (only blade)	–	JE 4667	*CG 19501				
Plaquette	–	JE 4670					
Axe in bronze	–	JE 4674	*CG 19503	TR 23.1.23.7 (?)	SR 3/3941	J.889	
Axe (only blade)	–	JE 4678		TR 31.12.23.1 (?)			
Necklace ending with hemispherical beads	–	JE 4688					

TABLE 3

Object Type	CG inv. no.	JE inv. no.	Von Bissing's inv. no.	TR inv. no.	SR inv. no.	Luxor inv. no.	GEM inv. no.
Necklace ending with hemispherical beads	-	JE 4689					
Necklace	-	JE 4690					
Necklace	-	JE 4691					
Necklace ending with papyrus buttons, in 5 pieces	-	JE 4692					
Necklace ending with papyrus buttons, in 3 pieces	-	JE 4693					
Bracelet	-	JE 4705	*CG-19535				
Bracelet	-	JE 4706	*CG-19522				
<i>Wesekh</i> collar – Box with beads	-	JE 4725.20					
Wooden box	-	JE 4731					
Headrest	-	JE 4732					

**Table 3** – List of correspondence between all the museum inventory numbers assigned to the objects of the queen's assemblage, arranged by *CG* numbers. Marked with \* all the *CG* numbers annulled (von Bissing's numbers). The numbers marked with a slash (0000) are those deleted in the *JE* register

TABLE 3

**Table 4 – List of objects whose current location is unknown**

Object Type	JE inv. no.
Dagger (only blade)	JE 4667
Plaquette	JE 4670
Axe (only blade)	JE 4678
Necklace ending with hemispherical beads	JE 4688
Necklace ending with hemispherical beads	JE 4689
Necklace	JE 4690
Necklace	JE 4691
Necklace ending with papyrus buttons, in 5 pieces	JE 4692
Necklace ending with papyrus buttons, in 3 pieces	JE 4693
Bracelet	JE 4705
Bracelet	JE 4706
<i>Wesekh</i> collar–Box with beads	JE 4725.20
Wooden box	JE 4731
Headrest	JE 4732

**Table 4 – Objects whose current location is unknown****Table 5 – List of main bibliographic references to Ahhotep's assemblage**

Object Type	JE inv. no.	Bibliography (Main Reference)
Coffin	JE 4663	VON BISSING 1900, 21-2, pls XI-XII.1-7; PM I <sup>2</sup> , 2, 600-2; MINIACI 2011, 225, rT02C
Mirror	JE 4664	VON BISSING 1900, 4, pl. III.6; MARIETTE 1864, 226, no. 27; VERNIER 1927, 214-15, pl. XLVIII
Dagger with straight grip	JE 4665	VON BISSING 1900, 3, pl. III.3; MARIETTE 1864, 225, no. 23; VERNIER 1927, 212-13, pl. XLVI
Dagger with human heads shaped grip	JE 4666	VON BISSING 1900, 1-4, pl. II; MARIETTE 1864, 222, no. 6; VERNIER 1927, 209-11, pl. XLV (CG 52658 is for the dagger and CG 52659 for the sheath)
Dagger (only blade)	JE 4667	Not mentioned in VON BISSING 1900
Dagger with discoid butt	JE 4668	VON BISSING 1900, 3, pl. III.5; MARIETTE 1864, 223, no. 9; VERNIER 1927, 211-12, pl. XLV
Waggon miniature	JE 4669	VON BISSING 1900, 20-2, pl. X.3; MARIETTE 1864, 226, no. 29; VERNIER 1927, 218-19, pl. XLIX
Plaquette	JE 4670	Not mentioned in VON BISSING 1900
Stick	JE 4671	VON BISSING 1900, 6, pl. IV.7; MARIETTE 1864, 225, no. 22; VERNIER 1927, 213, no. pl.
Fan	JE 4672	VON BISSING 1900, 6, pl. IV.8, 8a-b; MARIETTE 1864, 225, no. 25; VERNIER 1927, 236-7, pl. XLVI
Axe with Ahmose name/preomen	JE 4673	VON BISSING 1900, 1-2, pl. I; MARIETTE 1864, 221, no. 5; VERNIER 1927, 205-7, pls XLII-XLIII
Axe in bronze	JE 4674	Not mentioned in VON BISSING 1900

<b>Object Type</b>	<b>JE inv. no.</b>	<b>Bibliography (Main Reference)</b>
Axe in silver	JE 4675	VON BISSING 1900, 3, pl. III.4; MARIETTE 1864, 168, no. 402; VERNIER 1927, 208, pl. XLIV
Axe in bronze (golden foil handle)	JE 4676	VON BISSING 1900, 3, pl. III.1; MARIETTE 1864, 221, no. 5; VERNIER 1927, 207, pl. XLIV
Axe (only blade)	JE 4677	VON BISSING 1900, 3, pl. III.2; VERNIER 1927, 208-9, no pl.
Axe (only blade)	JE 4678	Not mentioned in VON BISSING 1900
Armlet with vulture	JE 4679	VON BISSING 1900, 11, pl. VII.1a-c; MARIETTE 1864, 222, no. 7; VERNIER 1927, 32-33, pl. IX
Armlet with Ahmose cartouche	JE 4680	VON BISSING 1900, 7-8, pl. V.1a-b; MARIETTE 1864, 224, no. 18; VERNIER 1927, 202-3, pl. XXXIX
Boat miniature in gold	JE 4681	VON BISSING 1900, 19-20, pl. X.2a-b; MARIETTE 1864, 226, no. 29; VERNIER 1927, 216-17, pl. XLIX
Boat miniature in silver	JE 4682	VON BISSING 1900, 19, pl. X.1a-b; DE MORGAN 1892, 214, no. 956; VERNIER 1927, 217-18, no pl.
Pectoral with Ahmose name/prenomen	JE 4683	VON BISSING 1900, 9-10, pls V.3, VI.1; MARIETTE 1864, 224, no. 14; VERNIER 1927, 6, pl. III
Bracelet with Ahmose name/prenomen	JE 4684	VON BISSING 1900, 11, pl. VII.3a-b; MARIETTE 1864, 221, no. 1; VERNIER 1927, 34-5, pl. IX
Bracelet with Ahmose prenomen (•)	JE 4685	VON BISSING 1900, 8-9, pl. V.4, 4b; MARIETTE 1864, 224, no. 15; VERNIER 1927, 35-6, pl. IX
Bracelet with Ahmose name (•)	JE 4686	VON BISSING 1900, 8, no pl.; MARIETTE 1864, 221, nos 2-3; VERNIER 1927, 38, no pl.
Bracelet with Ahmose prenomen	JE 4687	VON BISSING 1900, 8, pl. V.2; MARIETTE 1864, 223, no. 11; VERNIER 1927, 38, pl. X
Necklace ending with hemispherical beads	JE 4688	Not mentioned in VON BISSING 1900
Necklace ending with hemispherical beads	JE 4689	Not mentioned in VON BISSING 1900
Necklace	JE 4690	Not mentioned in VON BISSING 1900
Necklace	JE 4691	Not mentioned in VON BISSING 1900
Necklace ending with papyrus buttons, in 5 pieces	JE 4692	Not mentioned in VON BISSING 1900
Necklace ending with papyrus buttons, in 3 pieces	JE 4693	Not mentioned in VON BISSING 1900
Necklace ending with flies	JE 4694	VON BISSING 1900, 9-10, pl. VI.2; MARIETTE 1864, 225, no. 19; VERNIER 1927, 220-21, pl. LI
Necklace with scarab	JE 4695	VON BISSING 1900, 10-12, pls VI.4, VII.2a-b; MARIETTE 1864, 221, no. 4; VERNIER 1927, 219-20, pl. L
Bracelet in solid gold	JE 4696	VON BISSING 1900, 5, pl. IV.6; MARIETTE 1864, 223, no. 11; VERNIER 1927, 38, pl. X
Bracelet (*)	JE 4697	VON BISSING 1900, 5, pl. IV.4; MARIETTE 1864, 226, no. 28; VERNIER 1927, 38-9, pl. X
Bracelet (*)	JE 4698	VON BISSING 1900, 5, no pl. (under pl. IV.4); MARIETTE 1864, 226, no. 28; VERNIER 1927, 39, pl. X
Bracelet (*)	JE 4699	VON BISSING 1900, 5, no pl. (under pl. IV.4); MARIETTE 1864, 226, no. 28; VERNIER 1927, 39, pl. X
Bracelet (*)	JE 4700	VON BISSING 1900, 5, no pl. (under pl. IV.4); MARIETTE 1864, 226, no. 28; VERNIER 1927, 39, pl. X
Bracelet (#)	JE 4701	VON BISSING 1900, 5, pl. IV.5; MARIETTE 1864, 226, no. 28; VERNIER 1927, 40, no pl.
Bracelet (#)	JE 4702	VON BISSING 1900, 5, no pl. (under pl. IV.5); MARIETTE 1864, 226, no. 28; VERNIER 1927, 40, no pl.
Bracelet (#)	JE 4703	VON BISSING 1900, 5, no pl. (under pl. IV.5); MARIETTE 1864, 226, no. 28; VERNIER 1927, 39-40, no pl.
Bracelet (#)	JE 4704	VON BISSING 1900, no pl. (under pl. IV.5); MARIETTE 1864, 226, no. 28; VERNIER 1927, 40, no pl.

TABLE 5



Object Type	JE inv. no.	Bibliography (Main Reference)
Bracelet	JE 4705	VON BISSING 1900, 5, pl. IV.1
Bracelet	JE 4706	VON BISSING 1900, 5, no pl.
Bracelet (°)	JE 4707	VON BISSING 1900, 5, pl. IV.3; MARIETTE 1876, 252, no. 838; VERNIER 1927, 41, pl. XI
Bracelet (°)	JE 4708	VON BISSING 1900, 5, no pl. (under pl. IV.3); MARIETTE 1876, 252, no. 838; VERNIER 1927, 42, pl. XI
Bracelet (°)	JE 4709	VON BISSING 1900, 5, no pl. (under pl. IV.3); MARIETTE 1876, 252, no. 838; VERNIER 1927, 42, pl. XI
Bracelet (°)	JE 4710	VON BISSING 1900, 5, no pl. (under pl. IV.3); MARIETTE 1876, 252, no. 838; VERNIER 1927, 42, pl. XI
Bracelet (^)	JE 4711	VON BISSING 1900, 5, pl. IV.2; MARIETTE 1864, 223, 228, 827-8; VERNIER 1927, 42-3, pl. XI
Bracelet (^)	JE 4712	VON BISSING 1900, 5, no pl. (under pl. IV.2); MARIETTE 1864, 223, 228, 827-8; VERNIER 1927, 42-3, pl. XI
Lion head pawn in gold	JE 4713	VON BISSING 1900, 23, pl. XI; MARIETTE 1864, 225, no. 20; VERNIER 1927, 235-6, pl. XXXIX
Lion head pawn in copper	JE 4714	VON BISSING 1900, 23, pl. XI; MARIETTE 1864, 225, no. 20; VERNIER 1927, 236, pl. XXXIX
Axe miniature in gold (§)	JE 4715	VON BISSING 1900, 23, pl. XI; MARIETTE 1872, 270, no. 837; VERNIER 1927, 209, pl. XXXIX
Axe miniature in gold (§)	JE 4716	VON BISSING 1900, 23, pl. XI; MARIETTE 1872, 270, no. 837; VERNIER 1927, 209, pl. XXXIX
Axe miniature in gold (§)	JE 4717	VON BISSING 1900, 23, pl. XI; MARIETTE 1872, 270, no. 837; VERNIER 1927, 209, pl. XXXIX
Axe miniature in silver (¶)	JE 4718	VON BISSING 1900, 23, pl. XI; MARIETTE 1872, 270, no. 837; VERNIER 1927, 209, pl. XXXIX
Axe miniature in silver (¶)	JE 4719	VON BISSING 1900, 23, pl. XI; MARIETTE 1872, 270, no. 837; VERNIER 1927, 209, pl. XXXIX
Axe miniature in silver (¶)	JE 4720	VON BISSING 1900, 23, pl. XI; MARIETTE 1872, 270, no. 837; VERNIER 1927, 209, pl. XXXIX
Axe miniature in silver (¶)	JE 4721	VON BISSING 1900, 23, pl. XI; MARIETTE 1872, 270, no. 837; VERNIER 1927, 209, pl. XXXIX
Axe miniature in silver (¶)	JE 4722	VON BISSING 1900, 23, pl. XI; MARIETTE 1872, 270, no. 837; VERNIER 1927, 209, pl. XXXIX
Axe miniature in silver (¶)	JE 4723	VON BISSING 1900, 23, pl. XI; MARIETTE 1872, 270, no. 837; VERNIER 1927, 209, pl. XXXIX
Ring	JE 4724	VON BISSING 1900, 5, no pl.; VERNIER 1927, 40-1, no pl.
<i>Wesekh</i> collar	JE 4725 (1–20)	VON BISSING 1900, 6, 9-10, pls VI.3a-b, VIII.1-14, VIIIa, IX; MARIETTE 1864, 223-4, nos 10, 13, 16; VERNIER 1927, 221-3, 230-1, 247-8, pls LI-LIII, LXV
<i>Wesekh</i> collar – Falcon head pendants	JE 4725.1	VON BISSING 1900, 9-10, pls VIII.1, IX.1f-g; MARIETTE 1864, 223, no. 13; VERNIER 1927, 221-2, pl. LII
<i>Wesekh</i> collar – Lion head pendants	JE 4725.2	Not mentioned in VON BISSING 1900 (?); VERNIER 1927, 231, pl. LII
<i>Wesekh</i> collar – Fly pendants	JE 4725.3	VON BISSING 1900, 10, pl. VI.3a-b; MARIETTE 1864, 223, no. 10; VERNIER 1927, 230-1, pl. LI
<i>Wesekh</i> collar – Bell pendants	JE 4725.4	VON BISSING 1900, 9-10, pls VIII.9, VIIIa.12; MARIETTE 1864, 223, no. 13; VERNIER 1927, 221-2, pl. LII
<i>Wesekh</i> collar – Spiral-shaped pendants	JE 4725.5	VON BISSING 1900, 9-10, pls VIII.2, VIIIa.14, IX.1e, 1h; MARIETTE 1864, 223, no. 13; VERNIER 1927, 221-2, pl. LII
<i>Wesekh</i> collar – Rosette disks	JE 4725.6	VON BISSING 1900, 9-10, pls VIIIa.2, IX.1c-d; MARIETTE 1864, 224, no. 16; VERNIER 1927, 222-3, pl. LIII
<i>Wesekh</i> collar – Four pointed star pendants	JE 4725.7	VON BISSING 1900, 9-10, pls VIII.4, VIIIa.4; MARIETTE 1864, 223, no. 13; VERNIER 1927, 221-2, pl. LII

TABLE 5

Object Type	JE inv. no.	Bibliography (Main Reference)
<i>Wesekh</i> collar – Drop shaped pendants	JE 4725.8	VON BISSING 1900, 9-10, pls VIIIa.2, IX.1d; MARIETTE 1864, 224, no. 16; VERNIER 1927, 222-3, pl. LIII
<i>Wesekh</i> collar – Almond shaped pendant	JE 4725.9	VON BISSING 1900, 9-10, pls VIII.6, VIIIa.3; MARIETTE 1864, 223, no. 13; VERNIER 1927, 221-2, pl. LII
<i>Wesekh</i> collar – Rectangular plaquettes	JE 4725.10	VON BISSING 1900, 9-10, pl. IX.1a-b; VERNIER 1927, 229, pl. LIII
<i>Wesekh</i> collar – Buttons	JE 4725.11	VON BISSING 1900, 9-10, pl VIII.11; MARIETTE 1864, 223, no. 13; VERNIER 1927, 221-2, pl. LII
<i>Wesekh</i> collar – Bird pendants	JE 4725.12	VON BISSING 1900, 9-10, pls VIII.2, VIIIa.7; VERNIER 1927, 247-8, pl. LXV
<i>Wesekh</i> collar – Hawk pendants	JE 4725.13	VON BISSING 1900, 9-10, pls VIII.1, VIIIa.13; VERNIER 1927, 247-8, pl. LXV
<i>Wesekh</i> collar – Vulture pendants	JE 4725.14	VON BISSING 1900, 9-10, pls VIII.8, VIIIa.14; MARIETTE 1864, 223, no. 13; VERNIER 1927, 221-2, pl. LII
<i>Wesekh</i> collar – Winged cobra pendants	JE 4725.15	VON BISSING 1900, 9-10, pls VIII.15, VIIIa.5; MARIETTE 1864, 223, no. 13; VERNIER 1927, 221-2, pl. LII
<i>Wesekh</i> collar – Antelope pendants	JE 4725.16	VON BISSING 1900, 9-10, pls VIII.3, VIIIa.10; MARIETTE 1864, 223, no. 13; VERNIER 1927, 221-2, pl. LII
<i>Wesekh</i> collar – Lion pendants	JE 4725.17	VON BISSING 1900, 9-10, pls VIII.3, VIIIa.6; MARIETTE 1864, 223, no. 13; VERNIER 1927, 221-2, pl. LII
<i>Wesekh</i> collar – Running dog pendants	JE 4725.18	VON BISSING 1900, 9-10, pls VIII.7, VIIIa.8; MARIETTE 1864, 223, no. 13; VERNIER 1927, 221-2, pl. LII
<i>Wesekh</i> collar – Seated dog pendants	JE 4725.19	VON BISSING 1900, 9-10, pls VIII.7, VIIIa.13; MARIETTE 1864, 223, no. 13; VERNIER 1927, 221-2, pl. LII
<i>Wesekh</i> collar – Box with beads	JE 4725.20	Not mentioned in VON BISSING 1900, probably pl. VIII.13-14 (?)
Kohl jar	JE 4726	VON BISSING 1904, 53, no. pl. I
Toilet jar	JE 4727	VON BISSING 1900, 23, pl. XI; VON BISSING 1904, 93, pl. I
Toilet jar	JE 4728	VON BISSING 1900, 23, pl. XI; VON BISSING 1904, 93, pl. I
Toilet jar	JE 4729	VON BISSING 1900, 23, pl. XI; VON BISSING 1904, 94, pl. I
Toilet jar	JE 4730	VON BISSING 1900, 23, pl. XI; VON BISSING 1904, 94, pl. I
Wooden box	JE 4731	Not mentioned in VON BISSING 1900
Headrest	JE 4732	Not mentioned in VON BISSING 1900

**Table 5** – List of three main bibliographic references to Ahhotep's assemblage: MARIETTE 1864, 1872, 1876 = MARIETTE, *Notice* (the closest in time to the time of the discovery); DE MORGAN 1892 = DE MORGAN, *Notice*; VON BISSING 1900 = VON BISSING, *Ein thebanischer Grabfund*; VERNIER 1927 = VERNIER, *Bijoux et orfèvreries*; MINIACI 2011 = MINIACI, *Rishi Coffins; of the Bulaq Museum*, and *CG* volumes

TABLE 5



## A Note to Carter Manuscripts and the Discovery of Ahhotep's Coffin (Cairo CG 28501)

Marilina Betrò

### Abstract

Among Howard Carter's "autobiographical sketches" in the Griffith Institute and the Metropolitan Museum of Art at New York, an interesting digression narrates "the first modern discovery connected with the royal mummies", that of the coffin of Queen Ahhotep at Dra Abu el-Naga (Cairo CG 28501). While the discovery is traditionally credited to Auguste Mariette, according to his own descriptions and those of his friends and collaborators, here Carter gave a radically different account of the find, attributing it to an Egyptian fellâh acting alone, the father of his servant Abd el-Arl. The presence of some quite precise details, absent in the much vaguer – and sometimes contradictory – versions of Mariette and his collaborators, makes it remarkable and seriously raises the question of the reliability of Mariette's accounts of the discovery. The paper provides a transcription from Carter's manuscripts and comments on the most significant points.

The Griffith Institute Archive at Oxford houses in its rich collection of manuscripts the so-called "*Autobiographical Sketches*" of Howard Carter, drafts of what was probably intended as a book.<sup>1</sup> They are unpublished, with the exception of passages quoted in later publications by other scholars.<sup>2</sup> In a charming and engaging style, Carter evokes moments of his life, from the early years to those in Egypt, interspersed with archaeological and historical information. A number of versions of the planned autobiography are in the Griffith Institute, both handwritten and typewritten, at least one further version is in the Metropolitan Museum of Art at New York, and others probably elsewhere.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> CARTER MSS vi.2.1-14; <http://www.griffith.ox.ac.uk/gri/4cartervi+vii.pdf>. On Carter MSS see also BOSCH-PUCHE, FLEMMING, WARSI, SALMAS, in CONNOR, LABOURY (eds), *Toutankhamon*, 62-7.

<sup>2</sup> See REEVES, TAYLOR, *Howard Carter*, passim.

<sup>3</sup> JAMES, *Howard Carter*, 2 no. 3. A recent project of digitization of the correspondence to and from Carter (1874-1939) is currently in progress at the Metropolitan Museum: <https://www.metmuseum.org/art/libraries-and-research-centers/watson-digital-collections/manuscript-collections/howard-carter-papers>, <ac-

Among the "*autobiographical sketches*" in the Griffith Institute, a chapter entitled "*A History of the Theban Royal Mummies Decadence and Destiny I-IX*" (Carter MSS VI.2.4) deals with the story of ancient grave-robbing in the thirteenth century BC, the subsequent transfer of royal mummies from place to place and their final destination in two caches, until they were re-discovered nearly twenty-nine centuries later. With a few slight variants the story is also included in Carter MSS VI.2.11 (formerly Carter notebook 17), "*Sketch IX*", again devoted to "*Tomb-Robberies and the Fate of the Royal Mummies*", and in a further draft in the Department of Egyptian Art in the Metropolitan Museum. This latter is presently outside the Department to be digitized and

cessed on 5 February 2021>. The original papers partly transcribed here are among them and will be soon available online (personal communication by Diana Craig Patch). An autograph draft of an autobiography by Howard Carter has been sold by Bonhams, in a lot including the remaining papers of Carter owned by his family, during the auction on June 12, 2012 in London, Knightsbridge.



I could not see it, but I had its transcription, made by Marsha Hill in 1985, thanks to the kindness of Diana Craig Patch.<sup>4</sup>

In the context of this story, Howard Carter introduced an interesting digression to narrate “*the first modern discovery connected with the royal mummies*”, that of the coffin of Queen Ahhotep at Dra Abu el-Naga (Cairo CG 28501).<sup>5</sup> Here Carter gave a radically different account of the find, attributing it to an Egyptian *fellâh* acting alone, the father of his servant Abd el-Arl. His testimony is therefore of great interest, not only to clarify important data about the find and its context<sup>6</sup> but also to shed new light on the construction of an archaeological narrative, which seems to have begun after the mid-nineteenth century, centred around the figure of the European Archaeological Hero.

While Carter MSS VI.2.4 is a typewritten version, with pencil notes and corrections by hand of Carter, Carter MSS VI.2.11 is a final draft, copied in a notebook, from previous rough drafts on paper sheets, handwritten in ink, with pencil corrections and additions by Carter (see Fig. 1a-b). As for the version in the Metropolitan Museum, according to the description Diana Craig Patch wrote to me, it is entirely handwritten by pencil. I will call them here respectively GI MSS VI.2.11, GI MSS VI.2.4 and MMA MS. (Table 1).

Precise dates of their drafting by Carter are missing, although T.G.H. James believed that they probably were composed during his late years.<sup>7</sup> A useful clue in this respect is given in MMA MS: Carter says here that his servant Abd el-Arl, son of the true protagonist of the story, was at his service since forty years. In the letter of condolence written by Abd el-Arl himself on Carter’s death in 1939, he states that he had served him for 42 years.<sup>8</sup> This suggests that the British Egyptologist was writing his autobiography around 1937. Based on data internal to the text, such as Carter’s annotations and corrections, it is possible to suggest that the pencil version of MMA MS is the eldest of the three drafts. GI MSS VI.2.4 represents an intermediate step, being

clearly based on the draft now in the MMA MS, with few modifications, while GI MSS VI.2.11 is the latest. It is worth noting to this purpose that, both in MMA MS and in GI MSS VI.2.4, Carter referred to Ahmose as Ahhotep’s husband and Kamose as her son: these wrong genealogical ties are absent in GI MSS VI.2.11, where Ahmose is called her son-in-law and Kamose is more vaguely qualified as a king, without any statement of family relationships.

James, commenting Carter’s inaccuracy with respect to the dates of his own life, remarked that Carter’s autobiographical sketches are “*unfortunately so full of errors and inconsistencies – where precision can be secured from more reliable sources – that they can be taken only as rough guides to his careers*”.<sup>9</sup> However, this does not seem to be the case for Carter’s account of the find: we have no other sources to be sure of its reliability but the three texts are entirely consistent in content and differences between them are not significant, mostly concerning stylistic features. The whole story, bitterly told to Carter by his servant’s father, could certainly only have been a harmless boast of the old peasant, with no factual basis, dictated by the desire to show off. But the presence of some quite precise details, absent in the much vaguer – and sometimes contradictory – accounts of Mariette and his collaborators, makes it remarkable. These details, clearly stated in all three versions, concern:

- the author of the find

Ahmed Saïd “el-Hagg” is referred to as the sole author of the discovery.

According to Carter’s words, when he met him, he was an old man. Abd el-Arl’s statement at Carter’s death in 1939, quoted above,<sup>10</sup> says that he had served him for 42 years. This places his employment by the archaeologist at around 1897. Behind the expression “*old*” different assessments of the age of the man may lie, none of which, however, rules out the possibility that Ahmed Saïd might actually have found the queen’s coffin around the time when its discovery is generally dated.<sup>11</sup>

<sup>4</sup> A passage from this manuscript was transcribed by Edward Castle in LILYQUIST, *Egyptian Stone Vessels*, 55 and no. 177, for the purpose of contextualizing the alabaster jars found with the coffin.

<sup>5</sup> Carter gives here the erroneous date of 1860. On the history of the find and the identity of the queen, see BETRÒ, “The Identity of Ahhotep and the Textual Sources”, in this volume.

<sup>6</sup> *Ibidem*. See also MINIACI, “The Discovery of Queen Ahhotep’s Burial at Dra Abu el-Naga (Thebes) in the Nineteenth Century AD: Between Tale and Archaeological Evidence”, in this volume.

<sup>7</sup> JAMES, *Howard Carter*, 2.

<sup>8</sup> JAMES, *Howard Carter*, 469; REEVES, TAYLOR, *Howard Carter*, 181.

<sup>9</sup> JAMES, *Howard Carter*, 2.

<sup>10</sup> See n. 8.

<sup>11</sup> If Ahmed Saïd’s story is trustworthy, probably the effective date of the find must be placed earlier than the 5<sup>th</sup> of February 1859 assigned to it by the accounts of Mariette and Desjardins: a certain amount of time must be left between the discovery of Ahmed Saïd, the spreading of the news by his workers and the confiscation by the governor. About the contradictory information concerning the date see MINIACI, “The Discovery of Queen Ahhotep’s Burial at Dra Abu el-Naga (Thebes) in the Nineteenth Century AD: Between Tale and Archaeological Evidence”, in this volume, p. 31-2.

- its location

The two earlier versions specify the approximate position of the find by using as landmark TT 155, located almost at the end of the wadi Khawi el-Alamat, in the northernmost part of Dra Abu el-Naga:

MMA MS: “*deep below a tomb (of a certain Antef, the ‘Great Herald of the King’, dating from the reign of Tuthmosis III) where there are some hidden brick vaults, (...) hidden in one of the vaults. The coffin (...) was placed in a hole at the side of the vault that seemed to have been gouged out expressly for it, and it was roughly covered up with bricks as if to hide it*”

GI MSS VI 2.4: “*The vault was situated deep below a tomb-chapel of a certain Antef, ‘The Great Herald of Tuthmosis III’; the coffin he said was tucked away in a hole that had been roughly hollowed out of the side of the vault, and then it had been carefully covered up with mud bricks as if to hide it*”

The final draft (GI MSS VI 2.11) omits this detail, only retaining that it was found “*hidden in a brick vault*”. No other report of the finding by Mariette and his collaborators mentions those brick structures. On the contrary, they vary between locating the find in a shaft 5-6 meters deep or in a shallow hole under the surface.<sup>12</sup> Winlock reported in a note that Carter had “*heard a tradition in Kurnah that the site was near Tomb 155*”.<sup>13</sup> The expression “*deep below*” in Carter’s account must be understood in the sense of “*much further downhill*”, *i.e.*, in the plain. In fact, the possibility that it refers to an underground depth can be ruled out: the subsequent description of the hole covered with bricks piled up in bulk (“*roughly*”) suggests that the hiding place was just below the surface of the ground.

The position in the plain joined to the reference to the brick vaults might point out to the brick chapels associated to the burials of the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Dynasty found by the German Archaeological Institute, as Marianne Eaton-Krauss has already remarked.<sup>14</sup> One of those ruined brick chapels would have been used as a cache for hiding the coffin stolen from its royal tomb on the ridge of Dra Abu el-Naga, according to Carter’s notebook.<sup>15</sup>

<sup>12</sup> See BETRÓ, “The Identity of Ahhotep and the Textual Sources”, in this volume, n. 94, and MINIACI, “The Discovery of Queen Ahhotep’s Burial at Dra Abu el-Naga (Thebes) in the Nineteenth Century AD”, in this volume.

<sup>13</sup> WINLOCK, *JEA* 10, 252, n. 2.

<sup>14</sup> EATON-KRAUSS, in BLÖBAUM, KAHL, SCHWEITZER (eds), *Ägypten-Münster*, 82; POLZ, *Der Beginn*, 239-245. Another mud-brick offering chapel has been recently excavated at Dra Abu el-Naga by the Spanish Mission: GALÁN, *JEA* 103/2, 187 ff.

<sup>15</sup> EATON-KRAUSS, in BLÖBAUM, KAHL, SCHWEITZER (eds),

- contents and description of the coffin<sup>16</sup>

It is consistently described as a massive wooden coffin which contained a mummy, four alabaster vases and a bundle of gold and silver objects:

MMA MS: “*a massive wooden coffin containing a mummy, four alabaster canopic jars, a bundle of jewellery and gold and silver ornaments hurriedly placed beside the mummy in the coffin*”

GI MSS VI 2.4: “*a massive wooden coffin containing a mummy, four alabaster canopic vases, and a bundle of gold and silver ornaments*”

GI MSS VI 2.11: “*an immense wooden coffin containing a mummy, four alabaster (calcite) canopic jars, and a bundle of gold and silver ornaments*”

The earliest manuscript adds to the description a remark about the haste with which the objects were apparently placed in the coffin, but it is impossible to say whether this detail, later removed, was due to a greater fidelity to Ahmed Saïd’s account or to Carter’s later reworking of the man’s words, as I am inclined to believe.

While the massive wooden coffin and the alabaster vases are details already present in the first descriptions, more interesting is the constant presence of the “*linen bundle*”. The official accounts of the time mostly give the list of the jewels and precious objects found with the queen, without any information concerning their position within the coffin. Although it is clear from Maunier’s letter and later from Devéria that Mariette was not present at the discovery and was, indeed, in Cairo, the official reports of the time casually omit the detail or even depict him present and in the act of examining the mummy and the contents of the coffin: “*Après avoir enlevé les bandelettes, M. Mariette trouva le corps de la reine Aah-Hotep littéralement couvert et enveloppé d’objets d’or et d’argent du plus grand intérêt*”.<sup>17</sup>

In his catalogue of the Museum at Bulaq, Mariette says that the objects had been found partly near the mummy, on the wooden bottom of the case, partly arranged as if at random between the poorly knotted linens. Finally, some jewels were on the body of the queen:

*Ägypten-Münster*, 81, no. 36. Eaton-Krauss remarks that REEVES, *Great discoveries*, 50 was the first to quote Carter’s sources, believing however that this was the original site of the queen’s burial. The exact reference to Carter’s Notebook 17 was however provided by Aidan DODSON, *Canopic Equipment*, 43, no. 33, who interpreted it as a cache.

<sup>16</sup> See MINIACI, “The original Inventory List of the Queen Ahhotep ‘Treasure’ from Mariette’s Papers (BIF Paris, *Fonds Maspero*, Ms. 4052)”, in this volume.

<sup>17</sup> DESJARDINS, *RGA* 18, 99-100.

“Sous la XI<sup>me</sup> dynastie [read: XVII<sup>me</sup>], l’emmaillotage proprement dit est rare; les morts sont plutôt entourés de linges en forme de linceuls que serrés dans des bandelettes; entre ces linges sont placés des objets de toute sorte en rapport avec les usages de la vie privée; d’autres objets de même nature adhérents à la peau, ou bien encore déposés dans les vides du cercueil. Or l’emmaillotage de la reine Aah-hotep s’est fait exactement dans ces conditions. Deux barques d’or et d’argent, des haches de bronze, de gros bracelets de jambes ont été trouvés à côté d’elle, sur le bois du cercueil. Entre les linges mal noués étaient déposés, comme au hasard, des poignards, une hache d’or, une chaîne garnie de trois mouches d’or, un pectoral. Enfin le cadavre lui-même était revêtu d’une autre chaîne d’or ornée d’un scarabée, de bracelets, d’un diadème, etc”.<sup>18</sup>

The detail concerning “les linges mal noués” recalls the “linen bundle” of Ahmed Saïd: apparently, Mariette’s description is fairly precise, nonetheless it is known that it could not derive from a first-hand autoptic view. Might Mariette have relied here on the accounts of people in Qurna? Ahmed Saïd “el-Hagg” declared to Carter that he discovered the coffin, after many days searching for “antiquas” in the northern part of Dra Abu el-Naga. He seems to have been helped by some men, defined as “his fellow workers” in MMA MS and GI MSS VI 2.4, “his fellow illicit diggers” in GI MSS VI 2.11. It is clear however that they were not co-authors of the find or “partners”, who would have shared with him the profits of the fabulous discovery: if they had been, they would certainly not have divulged the news, thus leading in practice to the loss of any possible profits and the confiscation of the coffin. According to Carter’s account, these men, moved by envy, spread the news to the four winds.

The next part of the text is no longer concerned with Ahmed Saïd’s words. Carter narrates the events followed to the confiscation of the coffin with its treasure by the governor and the strenuous and eventually successful attempts by Mariette to recover them (completely or partly, as Carter rather believed). Finally, he exposes his interpretation of the facts which brought to hide the coffin and leaving it neglected for centuries: as Petrie, he remarks that ordinary thieves would not have taken the trouble to carry the heavy coffin with its untouched mummy inside, but, while Petrie thought of “pious hands” trying to protect the coffin and its contents, Carter rather suspected that corrupted officials, at the time of recovering the royal mummies in the caches, hid the treasure with an eye to their future benefit.<sup>19</sup>

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- WINLOCK, H.E., “The tombs of the kings of the Seventeenth Dynasty at Thebes”, *JEA* 10 (1924), 217-77.

<sup>18</sup> MARIETTE, *Notice* 1864, 219-20; BETRÒ, “The Identity of Ahhotep and the Textual Sources” in this volume, p. 144 and n. 91.

<sup>19</sup> *Ibidem*.



They remained undisturbed, until the descendants of the Western Thebes were the first to re-discover them. In this case, as in the former, for no other useful purpose than for loot.

For many years the northern end of the Necropolis, known as Dira Abu'l-Neggâ, was one of the favourite sites for illicit digging. This was probably on account of its conspicuous brick pyramid-tombs and its mummy-pits easily found and easily worked. It was here, in 1860, where a discovery connected with the removals of the Royal Mummies was first brought to light in modern times. The "find" was made by a man named Ahmed Saïde el-Hagg ("the pilgrim"), a devout, straight-forward fellâh, who apparently only pursued his crops to dig for "antiquas" when he was out-of-work during the season of inundation. He was still living when I first went to Western Thebes; in fact, his youngest son Abd-el-Ad became my servant and has remained with me ever since.

This old fellâh, then hoary with age, declared to me that at the northernmost boundary of the hill-slope of Dira Abu'l-Neggâ, he found hidden in a brick vault an immense wooden coffin containing a mummy, four alabaster (calcite) Canopic Jars, and a bundle of gold and silver ornaments.

The magnificence of the coffin and the beauty of the gold and silver objects in the inner bundle, excited the envy of his fellow illicit diggers so much the news of the find soon got abroad. Housely and defiantly they started the sensational news, and gave out un-  
varacious stories of the amount of gold. With a result. The Governor of the



Province quickly seized everything, and gave notice of the discovery to H. H. the Khedive, Saïde Pasha. The news of the discovery also reached the ears of a certain M. Gabot, then an Inspector of the District, and a M. Hauvric The French Consul at Luxor. They notified Mariette Pasha, the founder of the Service des Antiquités for the protection of Ancient Monuments in Egypt. According to M. Maspero, Mariette Pasha, on the receipt of the news, immediately sent an order to the effect that the Coffin and its contents were to be preserved intact and forwarded to the Museum, then at Boulaq near Cairo. Apparently no notice was paid to this "Order of Service". The mummy was unwrapped by the harem of the Governor, and it is said that many of the objects that were found within its linen wrappings disappeared in the process. It would have been, I think, in no way astonishing if the whole lot had vanished. However, with the greatest difficulty, Mariette Pasha eventually succeeded in obtaining restitution of the remainder, but before we return was given up the wiver of H. H. the Khedive Took Toll of some of the more attractive pieces.

The coffin and the mummy proved to be of Queen Agh-hetep, the wife of King Sesostris III of the late Seventeenth Dynasty. She lived to a great age, and was one of the greatest queens in Theban history; acting as she did as an important link, on the spindle side, between two lines of Theban Rulers. Her daughter, the celebrated Hereditary Princess and heiress Aghmose-nefert-ari, was married to Ahmose I, the founder of the Eighteenth Egyptian Dynasty, and she was the mother of Amenophis I. In these ages woman had an important status of

Fig. 1b – Page 169 from Carter MSS VI.2.11 © Griffith Institute Archive, Oxford

Table 1 – Synoptic view of the three manuscripts

MMA MS <sup>1</sup>	Carter MSS VI.2.4 <sup>2</sup>	Carter MSS VI.2.11
<p>For many years Drâh Abu'l-Neggâ, the northern and most ancient end of the Theban Necropolis, was a favourite site for diggers on account of its tomb-pits being easily found and worked, and it was there the first modern discovery connected with the royal mummies was found accidentally in 1860.<sup>3</sup> In spite of the administration of Mariette Pasha, the founder of the "Service des Antiquités" for the protection of the monuments, his efforts could not restrain the pillage of tombs which was carried on surreptitiously. He even enrolled large numbers of the more energetic populace to dig for the Museum.</p> <p>The last discovery was made by a devout fellâh, by name Ahmed Saïda El-Hâgg ("the pilgrim"); the father of my servant Abd El Ârl, who has been in my service for nearly 40 years. Abd El Ârl first came to me as a donkey-boy and sâis (groom for horse) but he eventually worked up to be vallet and now is my factotum. Ahmed Saïda El-Hâgg - a burley straight-forward hoary old man, who apparently only forsook his crops to dig for 'antiquas' when out-of-work during the season of inundation - declared to me that at last after many days of toil at the extreme northern boundary of the hill-slope, deep below a tomb (of a certain Antef, the "Great Herald of the King", dating from the reign of Tuthmosis III) where there are some hidden brick vaults, he<sup>4</sup> found hidden in one of the vaults a massive wooden coffin containing a mummy, four alabaster canopic jars, a bundle of jewellery—and gold and silver ornaments hurriedly placed beside the mummy in the coffin. The coffin he</p>	<p>(...) /95/ In spite of the administration of Mariette Pasha, the founder of the "Service des Antiquités" for the protection of the ancient Egyptian Monuments, his efforts could not restrain the pillage of antiquities which was being carried on surreptitiously. He even enrolled large numbers of the more energetic populace to dig for the Boulac Museum at /96/ Cairo, but the results were equally disastrous.</p> <p>/95/ For many years the district of Dirâh Abu'l-Neggâ, the northern and most ancient <del>end</del> part of the Necropolis; was <del>a</del> the favourite site for illicit diggers on account of its conspicuous pyramid-tombs and its mummy-pits being easily found and easily worked. It was <del>there</del> here the first modern discovery connected with the royal mummies was made by chance in 1860.</p> <p>/96/ A This discovery of <del>outstanding importance</del> <del>was made by a fellâh, by name</del> was made by Ahmed Saïda El-Hâgg ("the pilgrim"), actually the father of my servant who has been in my service for nearly forty years. Ahmed Saïda El-Hâgg, a devout burly straight-forward hoary old peasant, who apparently only forsook his crops to dig for 'antiquas' when he was out-of-work during the season of inundation, declared to me that after many weeks of toil at the extreme northern boundary of the hill-slope of Dirâh Abu'l-Neggâ, he found hidden in a brick vault a massive wooden coffin containing a mummy, four alabaster canopic vases, and a bundle of gold and silver ornaments. The vault was situated deep below a tomb-chapel of a certain Antef. "The Great Herald of Tuthmosis III"; the coffin he said was tucked away in a hole that had been roughly hollowed out of the side of the vault, and then it had been carefully covered up with mud bricks as if to hide it.</p>	<p>(...) /168/ For many years the northern end of the necropolis, known as Dirâ Abu'l-Neggâ, was one of the favourite sites for illicit digging. This was probably on account of its conspicuous brick pyramid-tombs and its mummy-pits easily found and easily worked. It was here, in 1860, where a discovery connected with the removals of the Royal Mummies was first brought to light in modern times.</p> <p>The "find" was made by a man named Ahmed Saïda El-Hâgg ("the pilgrim"), a devout, straight-forward fellâh, who apparently only forsook his crops to dig for "Antiquas" when he was out-of-work during the season of inundation. He was still living when I first went to Western Thebes; in fact, his youngest son Abd-El-Arl became my servant and has remained with me ever since. This old fellâh, then hoary with age, declared to me that at the northernmost boundary of the hill-slope of Dirâ Abu'l-Neggâ, he found hidden in a brick vault an immense wooden coffin containing a mummy, four alabaster (calcite) canopic jars, and a bundle of gold and silver ornaments.</p>



<p>said was placed in a hole at the side of the vault that /2/ seemed to have been gouged out expressly for it, and it was roughly covered up with bricks as if to hide it.</p> <p>The magnificence of the coffin, and the beauty of the gold and silver boats and valuable gold and bronze weapons in the bundle, excited the envy of his fellow workers to such an extent that the news of the discovery soon got abroad.</p>	<p>The magnificence of the coffin and the beauty of the gold and silver objects in the linen bundle, excited the envy of his fellow workers to such an extent that the news of the discovery soon got abroad.</p>	<p>The magnificence of the coffin and the beauty of the gold and silver objects in the linen bundle, excited the envy of his fellow illicit diggers so much the news of this find soon got abroad. Hoarsely and defiantly they shouted the sensational news, and gave one un-verified stories of the amount of gold. With a result: the Governor of the /169/ Province quickly seized everything, and gave notice of the discovery to H.H. the Khedive, Saïde Pasha. The news of the discovery also reached the ears of a certain M. Gabet, then an inspector of the district, and a M. Maunier the French Consul at Luxor. They notified Mariette Pacha, the founder of the Service des Antiquités for the protection of Ancient Monuments in Egypt. According to M. Maspero, Mariette Pasha, on the receipts of the news, immediately sent an order to the effect that the coffin and its contents were to be preserved intact and forwarded to the Museum, then at Boulaq near Cairo.</p>
<p>With the result that within a short time the Muḍīr (Governor) of Kena seized them, and gave notice of the "find" to H.H. The Khedive, Saïde Pasha. News of the discovery also reached the ears of a certain M. Gabet, then Inspector of Excavations, and M. Maunier the French Consul at Luxor, who notified Mariette Pasha in Cairo.</p>	<p>With the result that within a very short time the Governor of the Province seized them, and gave notice of the "find" to H.H. the Khedive, Saïde Pasha. News of the discovery also reached the ears of a certain M. Gabet, then inspector of excavations, and a M. Maunier the French Consul at Luxor, who notified Mariette Pasha in Cairo.</p>	<p>According to M. Maspero, Mariette Pasha, on the receipt of the news, immediately sent an order to the effect that the coffin and its contents were to be preserved intact and forwarded to the Museum then at Boulaq. But apparently no attention was paid to this order.</p>
<p>According to M. Gaston Maspero, Mariette Pasha, on the receipt of the news, immediately sent an order to the effect [that] the coffin and its contents were to be preserved intact and forwarded to the Museum then at Boulaq. But apparently no attention was paid to this order.</p>	<p>According to M. Maspero, Mariette Pasha, /97/ on receipt of the news, immediately sent an order to the effect that the coffin and its contents were to be preserved intact and forwarded to the Museum then at Boulaq.</p>	<p>Apparently no notice was paid to this "Order of Service". The mummy was unwrapped by the harem of the Governor, and it is said that many of the objects that were found within its wrappings disappeared in the process. It would, I think, have been in no wise astonishing if the whole (lot) had vanished - However, with the greatest difficulty Mariette Pasha eventually succeeded in obtaining restitution of the remainder, but before they were even given up the wives of H.H. the Khedive took toll of some of the objects.</p>
<p>The mummy was unwrapped by the harem of the Muḍīr, and it is said that many objects of jewellery disappeared in the process. It would have been in no wise astonishing if the whole (lot) had vanished - However, with the greatest difficulty Mariette Pasha eventually succeeded in obtaining restitution of the remainder, but before they were even given up the wives of H.H. the Khedive took toll of some of the objects.</p>	<p>But apparently no attention was paid to this "Order of Service". The mummy was unwrapped by the harem of the Governor, and it is said that many of the objects that were found within its wrappings disappeared in the process. It would, I think, have been in no wise astonishing if the whole lot had vanished. However, with the greatest difficulty, Mariette Pasha eventually succeeded in obtaining restitution of the remainder, but before even this was given up, the wives of H.H. the Khedive took toll of some of the objects.</p>	<p>Apparently no notice was paid to this "Order of Service". The mummy was unwrapped by the harem of the Governor, and it is said that many of the objects that were found within its linen wrappings disappeared in this process. It would have been, I think, in no way astonishing if the whole lot had vanished. However, with the greatest difficulty, Mariette Pasha eventually succeeded in obtaining restitution of the remainder, but before even this was given up the wives of H.H. the Khedive took toll of some of the more attractive pieces.</p>
<p>The coffin and mummy proved to be of Queen Aahotep the wife of <u>Seqen-en-Re Ta-aa-gen</u> of the late Seventeenth Dynasty. She lived to a great age and was one of the greatest queens in Theban history, acting, as she did, as</p>	<p>The coffin and the mummy proved to be of Queen Aah-hotep, the wife of a king <u>Seqen-en-Re-Ta-aa-gen</u> of the late Seventeenth Dynasty. She lived to a great age, and was one of the greatest queens in Theban history;</p>	<p>The coffin and the mummy proved to be of Queen Aah-hotep, the wife of king <u>Seqen-en-Re</u> of the late Seventeenth Dynasty. She lived to a great age, and was one of the greatest queens in Theban history; acting as she did as</p>



<p>an important link on the spindle side between two lines of Theban rulers. Through her daughter, the celebrated /3/ hereditary princess and heiress Aahmes-Nefertari, who married to Neb-pehti-Re Aahmes I - the founder of the Eighteenth Egyptian Dynasty - [and] was the mother of Amenophis I.<sup>5</sup> In those ages women had a definite status of which no memory exists, hence the jewels heaped upon her.</p>	<p>acting as she did as an important link, on the spindle side, between two lines of Theban rulers. Her daughter, the celebrated hereditary princess and heiress Aahmes-Nefertari, was married to Neb-pehti-Re Aahmes I, the founder of the Eighteenth Egyptian Dynasty, and was mother of Amenophis I. In those ages woman had an important status of which no memory exists, hence the jewels heaped upon her.</p>	<p>an important link, on the spindle side, between two lines of Theban rulers. Her daughter, the celebrated hereditary princess and heiress Aahmes-Nefertari, was married to Aahmes I, the founder of the Eighteenth Egyptian Dynasty, and she was the mother of Amenophis I. In those ages woman had an important status of /170/ which no memory exists.</p>
<p>It is a misfortune that we have no trustworthy account of what treasures were found upon the mummy of that Queen, but by the jewellery recovered and from various reports the following were presumably among those actually on her body: a beautiful scarab suspended on a flexible gold chain with hook fastenings in the shape of duck heads, an inlaid pectoral ornament also made of gold; another neck-chain with large gold flies hanging from it; anklets, armbands and bracelets; all bearing the name of Aahmes I, as well as amulets, a mirror and the handle of a fan.<sup>6</sup></p>	<p>It is a misfortune that we have no trustworthy account of what treasures were found upon the mummy of that queen, but by from the jewels recovered, and from various reports the following were presumably among those found upon within her body wrappings: 98/ a beautiful scarab suspended on a long flexible gold chain with hook fastenings in the shape of ducks, an inlaid pectoral ornament also of gold; another neck-chain with large gold flies hanging from it; anklets, armbands, and bracelets and anklets; all bearing the name of Aahmes I. There were also a number of amulets, a mirror and a fan handle.</p>	<p>We have no trustworthy account of what treasures were found upon the mummy of that queen, but from the objects recovered, the following were presumably among those found within her wrappings: a beautifully wrought scarab suspended on a long flexible gold chain, with hook fastenings in the shape of ducks; a finely inlaid pectoral ornament of gold; a neck-chain with large pendant gold flies; armbands, bracelets and anklets, all bearing the name of Aahmes I. There were also a number of gold amulets, a mirror and a fan handle.</p>
<p>In the linen bundle placed beside the mummy were two gold and silver miniature boats upon wheels, with oarsmen, helmsman and pilots; a dagger and spear head; axes and flail of bronze which all bore the name of her son king Kames; and a magnificent battle axe and dagger of gold and bronze bearing the name of her husband [sic] the Pharaoh Neb-pehti-Re Aahmes I.</p>	<p>In the linen bundle that was placed in the coffin, there were two gold and silver miniature boats upon wheels, with oarsmen, helmsmen and pilots; a dagger and a spear head, axes and a flail, which all bore the name of her son king Kames; with there was a magnificent battle axe and dagger of bronze fine inlaid with gold. They bore the names and titles of her husband the Pharaoh Neb-pehti-Re Aahmes I.</p>	<p>In the linen bundle that was placed in the coffin, there were two gold and silver miniature boats upon wheels, with oarsmen, helmsmen and pilots; a dagger, a spear head, axes and a flail, which all bore the name of her son king Kames; with there was a magnificent battle axe and dagger of bronze fine inlaid with gold. They bore the names and titles of her husband son-in-law Aahmes I.<sup>8</sup></p>
<p>This unique treasure is now housed in the Cairo Museum without the slightest attempt to mount them in their proper order. But some of the objects belonging to Kames and recorded above found their [way] to England and are now in the collection of Sir Arthur Evans.<sup>9</sup></p>	<p>Most of this unique treasure is now in the Cairo Museum, still without any attempt of putting them in their proper order. Many years later, some of the objects belonging to Kames (recorded above) found their [way] to England and are now in the collection of Sir Arthur Evans.<sup>9</sup></p>	<p>Most of this unique treasure is now in the Cairo Museum, still without any attempt of putting them in their proper order. Many years later, some of the objects belonging to Kames (recorded above) found their [way] to England and are now in the collection of Sir Arthur Evans.<sup>9</sup></p>



<p>Those objects evidently come from more than one burial, and the 14/ sepulchres of these kings cannot be far away, for we have circumstantial evidence in the Abbott Papyrus of their pyramid-tombs being in the district of Draḥ Abu'l Neggā.</p> <p>Various hypotheses have been hazarded with regard to this discovery, yet no convincing reason has been revealed for this coffin full of valuable material being deposited alone in such a poor and inappropriate hiding place. Hidden evidently, or at least probably, not due merely to chance. We may find among those conjectures some interesting deductions and suggestions, but to my mind the discovery is but evidence of some corrupt official, or officials, employed during those removals of the royal mummies that have been already mentioned above.</p>	<p>There can be little doubt that this treasure these objects came from more than one burial. The sepulchres of the kings whose names we find upon this treasure cannot have been very far away. In fact, we have first-hand evidence in the Papyrus Abbott that their pyramid-tombs are all in the district of Dirāḥ Abu'l Neggā.</p> <p>Various hypotheses have been hazarded with regard to this discovery; yet no convincing reason has been revealed for this coffin, full of such valuable material, being deposited alone in such a poor <del>and-inappropriate</del> hiding place. <del>Hidden, evidently, or at-least-probably,</del> <del>not-by-merchance.</del> We may find among those many ready conjectures and conclusions some interesting deductions and suggestions; but to my mind the discovery is but further evidence of corruption among the officials employed during the removals of the royal mummies <del>that</del> <del>I</del> have recorded above.</p>	<p>There can be little doubt that these objects came from more than one burial. The tombs of the kings whose names we find upon these objects cannot have been very far away from the spot they were found. We have first-hand evidence in the Papyrus Abbott that their pyramid-tombs are all in the district of Dirāḥ Abu'l Neggā.</p> <p>Various hypotheses have been hazarded with regard to this "find"; yet no convincing reason has been revealed for this coffin, full of valuable material, being deposited alone in such a poor hiding place. We may find among the many conjectures and conclusions some interesting suggestions and deductions; but to my mind the discovery is but further /171/ proof of the corrupt officials employed in the removal of the Royal Mummies recorded in the above paragraphs.</p> <p>The simplest and kindest thing to say would be: hidden and forgotten. For it is clear that the discovery does not lack answers to this argument. The officials might have overlooked this temporary hiding place when removing the Royal Mummies to the larger and safer caches. I take, however, the opposite view. For an outstanding fact remains: in the two great caches subsequently found - one at Deir el-Bāhari, the other in the tomb of Amenophis II, - not a single object of real intrinsic value was discovered upon those royal remains. Here, instead, we find a coffin full of valuable treasure, tucked away in a place where it certainly does not belong. If this hoard had been amassed and put away by ordinary thieves, would they have gone to the trouble of transporting their loot in an immensely heavy wooden coffin, with an untouched mummy inside it, when all the valuables could have been easily put in a comparatively small bundle?</p>
<p>My reasons for believing this to be the case are: there is the notable fact that in the two caches - one at Deir el-Bāhari, the other in the tomb of Amenophis II - not a single object of any intrinsic value was found with those hidden remains of royal mummies. While here we find a coffin full of valuable jewellery tucked away where it does not belong. If this hoard had been amassed and put away by ordinary thieves, would they have gone to the trouble of transporting their loot in an immense and heavy wooden coffin, with a mummy inside? - when the valuable objects could have been put in a small bundle or bag.</p>	<p>My reasons for believing this to be the case are - There is the notable fact that in the two great caches of royal mummies subsequently found - one at Deir el-Bāhari, the other in the tomb of Amenophis II - not a single object of real intrinsic value was discovered with upon those royal remains. Here, isolated, we find a coffin full of valuable treasure, etc., tucked away in a place where it certainly does not belong. If this hoard had been amassed and put away by ordinary thieves, would they have gone to the trouble of transporting their loot in an immensely heavy wooden coffin, with an untouched mummy inside it, when all the valuables <del>the-mummy-and-coffin-contained</del> could have easily been put in a comparatively small bundle or bag? On the other hand, does it not seem more likely, that during the various transportations of those royal</p>	<p>On the other hand, does it not seem more likely, that during the various transportations of those royal</p>

<p>mummies, some corrupt person in charge of the operations, knowing the value this coffin contained, arranged to have it secreted, with an eye to his future benefit?</p> <p>The enigma may never be solved, but this hypothesis might well be true. In the absence of a better explanation, may we not provisionally connect this isolated "find" with the dishonesty we have proof that existed, - among a number of records which lead us to /5/ understand why the mummies were moved to safer places, and how tragic has been their situation. Or, would it be more just to say: hidden temporarily and forgotten! I suspect more remains from royal tombs may be thus hidden, and that we have yet much to discover.</p>	<p>remains, someone in charge of the operations, knowing well the contents of that coffin arranged to have it secreted with an eye to his future benefit? Or, <del>would it be fairer to say: "hidden temporarily and forgotten"?</del></p> <p>The enigma may never be solved, but the hypothesis might well be true.</p> <p>Now that we know how tragic was the situation of those mummies, I suspect that other remains from royal tombs may have been thus hidden, and that we have yet <del>more</del> <del>and</del> many strange events to discover.</p>	<p>remains, officials in charge of the operations, knowing well the contents of this coffin, arranged to have it secreted with an eye to their future benefit?</p> <p>The enigma may never be solved, but the hypothesis might well be true.</p> <p>And now that we know how tragic was the situation of those mummies, I suspect that other remains from royal tombs have been hidden thus, and that we have yet many strange events to discover.</p>
<p>Illicit digging during that latter half of last century was not encouraged. I shall always remember the sad expression on Ahmed Saïda El-Hagg's face when he told me "he derived not a 'fodda'<sup>11</sup> of recompense for his 'find'". He was, however, wont to swagger of his connection with it, if that be any compensation for his trouble. A Nabboot<sup>12</sup> was the remedy in his hands for his fellow workers who gave him away, and "Allah the Supreme Court of Appeal".</p>	<p>/100/ <del>Illicit digging during that latter half of last century was not encouraged. ....</del><sup>10</sup> I shall always remember the sad and forlorn expression upon Ahmed Saïda El-Hagg's face when he told me that he derived not a <u>fodda</u> as recompense for his find. However, he was wont to swagger about his connection with it, if that be any compensation for his trouble. A heavy <u>nebboot</u> (wooden staff) was the remedy at his hands for his fellow <del>workers</del> diggers who gave him away, and Allah the Supreme Court of Appeal.</p>	<p>I shall always remember the sad and forlorn expression upon Ahmed Saïda El-Hagg's face when he told me that he derived not a <u>fodda</u> (40th part /172/ of a piastre) as recompense for his find.</p> <p>Apparently a heavy <u>nebboot</u> ("wooden staff") was the remedy at his hands for his fellow diggers who gave him away, and Allah the Supreme Court of Appeal.</p>



## Textual Notes

- <sup>1</sup> My text is based on Marsha Hill's transcription. As she had noted on her transcript, she left Carter's misspellings and "*only included alternate versions of a word or phrase (i.e. ones he had marked out) if they seemed to give different information than was in the text as he let it stand*". For my part, I intervened in the text where the other Oxford versions allowed some doubts to be resolved.
- <sup>2</sup> Three handwritten sheets, in ink, containing a further version of the story, are inserted among page 96 and 97 of the manuscript. They are slightly different but without significant variants.
- <sup>3</sup> Carter's dating of the discovery, here as in the other manuscripts, is wrong: for it see BETRÒ, "The identity of Ahhotep and the textual sources", in this volume.
- <sup>4</sup> Here Edward Castle erroneously integrated "[Abd el-Arl]", name of the son of the man.
- <sup>5</sup> As commented by Marsha Hill in her transcription, the "*grammar of this sentence is confused as various possibilities for connecting it to foregoing sentence seem to have been under consideration*".
- <sup>6</sup> Here Marsha Hill adds as her comment: "*part of an alternate version not lined out reads: two lion heads of bronze and gold belonging to some ornament, amulets, mirror and fan handle, all bearing the name of Ahmes I*".
- <sup>7</sup> I am not sure about this reading: the word, together with "finely", is a handwritten pencil adding by Carter over the line.
- <sup>8</sup> Carter inserted here the following note, written on the opposite page: "*This unique treasure is now in the Cairo Museum; still without any attempt of putting them in their proper order. Many years after the discovery some of the objects belonging to Kâmes found their way to England*".
- <sup>9</sup> Carter's annotation here makes clear that he meant to move the sentence in a note, as he did in the final draft.
- <sup>10</sup> Carter intended to replace the cancelled sentence with another he wrote over the line, whose content I could not decipher: "*But he ...this discovery*" (?).
- <sup>11</sup> Carter himself added here a footnote explaining the word: "*The 40th part of a piastre*".
- <sup>12</sup> Wooden staff, as explained by Carter in the other versions.

## The Display History of the Ahhotep Treasure

Yasmin El Shazly

### *Abstract*

*The exquisite treasures of Ahhotep were discovered by Auguste Mariette in the Northern sector of Dra Abu el-Naga in Western Thebes in 1859. It was the beauty of this discovery that triggered the decision to establish a museum in Bulaq in which such finds would be displayed. This chapter traces the history of the display of this unique collection in Bulaq, its travel to Paris in 1867 to be displayed at the Paris Exposition Universelle, its various displays at the Egyptian Museum in Tahrir and the participation of some of its pieces in travelling exhibitions.*

The exquisite treasures of Ahhotep were discovered by Auguste Mariette in the Northern sector of Dra Abu el-Naga in Western Thebes in 1859.<sup>1</sup> It was the beauty of this discovery that triggered the decision to establish a museum in Bulaq in which such finds would be displayed.<sup>2</sup> On 18<sup>th</sup> October 1863 Auguste Mariette, who was appointed in 1858 as director of antiquities by Egypt's Viceroy Saïd Pasha, opened the Bulaq Museum to house Egyptian antiquities. The museum was located in the former riverside quarter of the overland transit company, near the current radio and television building. It was remodeled and transformed into one of the first buildings in neopharaonic style.<sup>3</sup> Its location by the

Nile was convenient, for it allowed for the transport of antiquities to and from the museum via the river.<sup>4</sup> Mariette said of it:

*“You would no longer recognize our old court at Boulak. At the center now is a vast monument, in ancient Egyptian style, consisting of a dozen rooms built to my plans. This is our provisional museum. I don't say we will be lodged there like kings, but at least we will have an ensemble of galleries while we await the definitive museum. On the interior as on the exterior, all is decorated à l'égyptienne, and the monuments will soon begin to take their places... The inauguration of these new constructions will take place Oct. 1”<sup>5</sup>*

<sup>1</sup> See BETRÒ, “The Identity of Ahhotep and the Textual Sources”, in this volume; MINIACI, “The Discovery of Queen Ahhotep's Burial at Dra Abu el-Naga (Thebes) in the Nineteenth Century AD: Between Tale and Archaeological Evidence”, in this volume.

<sup>2</sup> MASPERO, *Guide*, XV.

<sup>3</sup> REID, *Whose Pharaohs?*, 104-5; MASPERO, *Mariette*, cxxxvii. On the Bulaq Museum in general, see MARIETTE, *Notice*;

The complex consisted of a court for the museum and one for Mariette's residence, in addition to a garden. Two

MASPERO, *Guide*, VII-XX; DRIOTON, *CHE* 3, 1-12; MARIETTE, *Album*.

<sup>4</sup> REID, *Whose Pharaohs?*, 104.

<sup>5</sup> REID, *Whose Pharaohs?*, 104; MASPERO, *Mariette*, cxxxvii.



additional display galleries were created for the celebrations of the inauguration of the Suez Canal. According to Mariette, the viceroy wanted a museum that would appeal to the local population, rather than to European travelers, and that would educate them about their own history. The organization of the museum galleries was modelled after Emmanuel de Rougé's display of Egyptian materials in the Musée du Louvre's top level, divided into four main themes: religious, funerary, civil and historical monuments. A fifth section for Graeco-Roman and Christian objects was added later.<sup>6</sup> Mariette was eager to make his displays aesthetically appealing, often at the expense of chronological, contextual and thematic considerations, explaining this as an attempt to appeal to local visitors.<sup>7</sup>

Ahhotep's treasures were put on display in the Bulaq Museum in the *Salle des bijoux* (jewelry room), under the "historical monuments" section<sup>8</sup> (see Fig. 1), along with the lid of the queen's coffin, which could be seen by the visitors on the right as they entered the gallery.<sup>9</sup> The coffin trough, which other than having been painted blue was undecorated, was kept in storage.<sup>10</sup> At its discovery in 1859 the coffin had contained the mummy of the queen, which was very unfortunately destroyed shortly afterwards.<sup>11</sup> The jewelry was displayed in a showcase at the center of the gallery.<sup>12</sup> Among the pieces mounted on a board on one side of the showcase (*Planche 29*)<sup>13</sup> was a gold necklace with a scarab pendant (JE 4695, see Pl. VIII).<sup>14</sup> On its right was a gilded silver and bronze dagger (JE 4668),<sup>15</sup> flanked by two gold and silver flies (CG 52692, JE 4725.3; see Pl. VI)<sup>16</sup> and other pieces made of precious metals on either side. Below them was a gold pectoral with the image of Ahmose in a boat being purified by the gods (JE 4683, see Pl. V),<sup>17</sup> flanked by two gold pendants and two beaded cuff bracelets with the cartouche of Ahmose (JE 4685 and JE 4686).<sup>18</sup> A gold,

bronze and cedar wood mirror of Ahhotep (JE 4664; see Pl. III)<sup>19</sup> was mounted on another board (*Planche 30*),<sup>20</sup> along with 12 plain gold and electrum bracelets, from the collection of bracelets numbered JE 4696-JE 4712 and JE 4724 (see Pl. VIII). Below them, on a stand, was a gold model boat (JE 4681; see Pl. XIII)<sup>21</sup> on a four-wheeled carriage.<sup>22</sup> Flanking the boat and mounted on the board were two gold earrings that do not belong to Ahhotep's collection, but were found on the mummy of an unknown official in Abydos and are inscribed with the cartouche of Ramesses XI<sup>23</sup> (CG 52323-24).<sup>24</sup> The disintegrated mummy was found in a large wooden coffin, within an intact limestone sarcophagus, discovered by Mariette in 1859 – the year of the discovery of the Ahhotep collection.<sup>25</sup> This explains why it was displayed with the queen's treasures. On another board (*Planche 31*)<sup>26</sup> was mounted Ahhotep's gold chain with her famous gold military flies of valour (JE 4694; see Pl. VII),<sup>27</sup> along with the gold bracelets remaining from the group numbered JE 4696-JE 4712 and JE 4724, as well as a number of earrings (see Pl. VIII). Above them were mounted two ceremonial battle axes (JE 4673<sup>28</sup> and

CG 19546 and SR 1/6568 while JE 4686 is also registered under CG 19541, CG 52071 and SR 1/6569 (a).

<sup>19</sup> The object is also registered under Egyptian Museum numbers CG 19508, CG 52664 and SR 1/6588; VERNIER, *Bijoux et orfèvreries*, pl. XLVIII.

<sup>20</sup> MARIETTE, *Album*, 133, pl. 30 (CG 19549 and CG 52666).

<sup>21</sup> The object is also registered under CG 52666.

<sup>22</sup> According to the Egyptian Museum database, the gold model boat is supposed to go together with carriage JE 4669 = CG 52668. It was, however, put together at the current Egyptian Museum in Cairo, with JE 4681. Whether this was also the case at Bulaq is unclear. See VERNIER, *Bijoux et orfèvreries*, pl. XLIX. The second (silver not gold) model boat (JE 4682 = CG 52667) is mentioned by Mariette, but seems to have not been displayed, see MARIETTE, *Album*, text of pl. 30. The boat is currently on display in Gallery P4 at the Egyptian Museum in Cairo, along with most of the Ahhotep collection. I am grateful to the General Director of the Egyptian Museum, Cairo, Ms. Sabah Abdel Razek, and Head Registrar, Ms. Marwa Abdel Razek, for their assistance and for giving me access to the Egyptian Museum database.

<sup>23</sup> Ramesses VIII according to MARIETTE, *Album*, pl. 30; Ramesses XIII, according to the *Journal d'Entrée*; Ramesses XII, according to the *Catalogue général*, and Ramesses XI according to the Museum's Special Register.

<sup>24</sup> See VERNIER, *Bijoux et orfèvreries*, pl. XXVII.

<sup>25</sup> REEVES, *The Great Discoveries*, 52.

<sup>26</sup> MARIETTE, *Album*, 137, pl. 31.

<sup>27</sup> VERNIER, *Bijoux et orfèvreries*, pl. LI. Also registered at the Egyptian Museum under the numbers CG 19543, CG 52671 and SR 1/6584; registered in Luxor Museum since 2003 under J. 854.

<sup>28</sup> VERNIER, *Bijoux et orfèvreries*, pl. XLII. Also registered at the Egyptian Museum under CG 19500, CG 52645; registered

<sup>6</sup> REID, *Whose Pharaohs?*, 106.

<sup>7</sup> REID, *Whose Pharaohs?*, 106; MARIETTE, *Notice*, 10-11.

<sup>8</sup> I would like to thank Patrizia Piacentini for providing me with this plan.

<sup>9</sup> MARIETTE, *Notice*, 255.

<sup>10</sup> MARIETTE, *Notice*, 255.

<sup>11</sup> MASPERO, *Guide*, XV; REEVES, *The Great Discoveries*, 50-1.

<sup>12</sup> MARIETTE, *Notice*, 258.

<sup>13</sup> MARIETTE, *Album*, 129, pl. 29.

<sup>14</sup> The object is also registered under Egyptian Museum numbers CG 19537, CG 52670 and SR 1/6601; VERNIER, *Bijoux et orfèvreries*, pl. L.

<sup>15</sup> This piece is also registered under Egyptian Museum numbers CG 19506, CG 52660 and SR 1/6587.

<sup>16</sup> VERNIER, *Bijoux et orfèvreries*, pl. LI.

<sup>17</sup> See VERNIER, *Bijoux et orfèvreries*, pl. III. This piece is also registered under the number CG 52004 and SR 1/6571.

<sup>18</sup> See VERNIER, *Bijoux et orfèvreries*, pl. IX. JE 4685 is also registered under Egyptian Museum numbers CG 52070,

JE 4676;<sup>29</sup> see Pl. VII), flanked by two daggers (JE 4665<sup>30</sup> and JE 4666;<sup>31</sup> see Pl. VII). On a base were displayed a bracelet with the cartouche of Ahmose, flanked by two sphinxes (JE 4680),<sup>32</sup> with a gold vulture armlet inlaid with semi-precious stones (JE 4679; see Pl. VII)<sup>33</sup> on its left and another armlet (JE 4684) on its right.<sup>34</sup> One must remember that this was long before the discovery of the tomb of Tutankhamun in 1922, and the treasures of Tanis in 1940, so one can imagine the impact the splendid collection of Ahhotep, with its large, gilded coffin lid, would have had on the visitor.

In 1867 the collection travelled to Paris to be displayed at the Paris Exposition Universelle, in which Egypt was given a 6000 square meter exhibition space. That space “*equaled that of England and surpassed that of America and Russia*”.<sup>35</sup> Mariette was in charge of the archaeological section. He prepared the displays and by 1866 he went to Paris to supervise the work in situ.<sup>36</sup> The Egyptian section consisted of four architectural elements: a temple, a *selemlik* (men’s reception pavilion), a caravansaray, and stables, which together recounted the different periods of Egypt’s history.<sup>37</sup> There was also an Isthmus of Suez pavilion, which promoted the mega Suez Canal project under construction and highlighted Egypt as a modern nation with close ties to France.<sup>38</sup> The exhibition opened on 1<sup>st</sup> April 1867. Ancient Egyptian antiquities were shown inside a temple modeled after Emperor Trajan’s kiosk at Philae.<sup>39</sup> Some of the highlights of the Bulaq collection were put on display within the temple interior, including the diorite statue of Khafre, the wooden statue of Kaaper (also known as “Sheikh el-Balad”) and the collection of Ahhotep. The jewelry of Ahhotep was displayed in a

rectangular vitrine and the exhibition was described by Ducuing in his publication, with the broad collar of the queen (currently CG 52672; see Pl. VIII) receiving the lion’s share.<sup>40</sup> When Empress Eugénie visited the exhibition she was so impressed by the queen’s jewelry pieces that she asked if she could have them. Fortunately, this request was vehemently refused by Mariette.<sup>41</sup> The exhibition ended on 3<sup>rd</sup> November 1867 and the objects were all returned to their home in the Bulaq Museum.

In 1878 the building of the museum in Bulaq was damaged due to flooding and the collections were moved in 1891 to an annex of the palace of Ismail Pasha in Giza. By 1893 it became apparent that a new museum was urgently needed, due to the lack of storage facilities and the unsuitable display conditions, and a new purpose-built museum – the first in the region – was planned, in Tahrir Square, to house the collection. The museum was finally completed in 1902, and the collection was moved to its new home, in which the Ahhotep treasure – with the exception of a few objects that were recently moved to the Luxor Museum – remains today.<sup>42</sup> The museum in Tahrir consists of two display floors: the ground floor, which is organized chronologically, and the first floor, organized thematically, or according to archaeological context. The queen’s treasure was put on display in the first floor. Initially, Ahhotep’s coffin lid was displayed in Gallery K, *Armouire* T,<sup>43</sup> while her jewelry was displayed in a showcase (*Armouire* IV) in the Jewelry Gallery (Gallery L).<sup>44</sup>

In 1996 Dr. Mohamed Saleh, who was the General Director of the Egyptian Museum at the time, held discussions with the management of the American Research Center in Egypt (ARCE) about collaborating in the development of a new exhibition strategy for the royal jewelry from Tanis and other selected sites. It was agreed that the two rooms flanking the Tutankhamun gold and jewelry gallery would be renovated as part of a project, managed by ARCE, aiming to provide an improved visitor experience. William Ward, an exhibition specialist from the United States, came to Egypt under a United States Information Agency grant to design the galleries and the showcases. In order to reduce cost and build capacity, the showcases were designed to be constructed under the supervision of the Supreme Council of Antiquities, in the museum workshops, using local material

in Luxor Museum since 2003 under J. 856.

<sup>29</sup> VERNIER, *Bijoux et orfèvreries*, pl. XLIII. Also registered at the Egyptian Museum under CG 19503, CG 52646 and SR 1/6602.

<sup>30</sup> Also registered under Egyptian Museum numbers CG 19505, CG 52661 and SR 1/6586.

<sup>31</sup> Also registered under Egyptian Museum numbers CG 19502, CG 52658+CG 52659, and SR 1/6589; currently registered at Luxor Museum under J. 853.2. See VERNIER, *Bijoux et orfèvreries*, pl. XLVI.

<sup>32</sup> Also registered under Egyptian Museum numbers CG 19540, CG 52642 and SR 1/6570.

<sup>33</sup> See VERNIER, *Bijoux et orfèvreries*, pl. IX. Also registered under Egyptian Museum numbers CG 19545, CG 52068 and SR 1/6567.

<sup>34</sup> See VERNIER, *Bijoux et orfèvreries*, pl. IX. Also registered under CG 19544, CG 52069, and SR 1/6566.

<sup>35</sup> NOUR, *MDCCC 1800* 6, 41.

<sup>36</sup> NOUR, *MDCCC 1800* 6, 39.

<sup>37</sup> NOUR, *MDCCC 1800* 6, 35; EDMOND, *L’Égypte*, 9.

<sup>38</sup> NOUR, *MDCCC 1800* 6, 35.

<sup>39</sup> NOUR, *MDCCC 1800* 6, 43; DUCUING, in DUCUING (ed.), *L’Exposition Universelle*, 424.

<sup>40</sup> DUCUING, in DUCUING (ed.), *L’Exposition Universelle*, 426.

<sup>41</sup> NOUR, *MDCCC 1800* 6, 45; WALLON, *CRAIBL* 27, 143; DAVID, *Mariette Pacha*, 181-2.

<sup>42</sup> See MINIACI, “Notes on the Journal d’Entrée Entries for Queen Ahhotep’s Assemblage”, in this volume.

<sup>43</sup> MASPERO, *Guide*, 413.

<sup>44</sup> MASPERO, *Guide*, 416. For a plan of the gallery see MASPERO, *Guide*, 472.

such as wood, glass, and fabric, purchased from funding from the Local Cultural Fund of the Royal Netherlands Embassy. Much of the project was funded through a grant from the United States Agency for International Development (USAID) to ARCE, with the Friends of the Fullbright Commission providing assistance in the administration of the project. Museum curators played a vital role in the project, and those who attended the program in museum management organized by ARCE in the United States<sup>45</sup> got the chance to implement what they learned.<sup>46</sup>

The renovation work consisted of the emptying of the two rooms (P2 and P4) (see Fig. 2) and the sealing and blocking of the windows, in order to prevent dust and sunlight from entering and minimize noise and air pollution. The rooms were painted a dark blue color, providing a backdrop that contrasted well with the mostly gold objects that were to be displayed inside. The newly built showcases were lined with dark blue cloth and placed against the walls, with lighting being installed from above to spotlight the objects.<sup>47</sup>

Ahhotep's treasures were displayed in gallery P4, along with objects from different periods between the Early Dynastic and the Greco-Roman era. The artifacts were arranged chronologically and included four bracelets from the tomb of the First Dynasty King, Djer, and other items from his tomb in Abydos; the Third Dynasty King Sekhemkhet's shell-shaped container; the Fourth Dynasty Queen Hetepheres' gold vessels, and the Sixth Dynasty Prince Ptahshepses' belt. The displays also included items of the Middle Kingdom, such as Princess Khnumit's jewelry, Princess Sathathor's belt and fastener, Princess Neferuptah's necklace, Queen Weret's ornaments and Princess Ita's dagger. From the New Kingdom there were Queen Ahhotep's treasures, items from KV 55, and an earring from the Saqqara tomb of Horemheb. Items dating to the reign of Ramesses II included golden vases and two duck-shaped bracelets from Tell Basta, and pieces from the reign of Sety II and Queen Tausret included two silver bracelets. The Graeco-Roman period was mainly represented by the Dush treasure, the most iconic piece being a gold diadem with an image of Serapis.<sup>48</sup> Room P2 consisted mainly of the Tanis treasures, dating to the Twenty-first Dynasty.<sup>49</sup> It is worth noting

that a few important pieces from Ahhotep's treasure were moved to Luxor Museum on 16<sup>th</sup> November 2003, these are: the famous gold chain with three military flies of valour, which were originally registered in the Egyptian Museum under the number JE 4694, now registered in Luxor Museum under number J. 854 (see Pl. VII); the ceremonial axe JE 4673, now registered in Luxor Museum under the number J. 856 and the dagger JE 4666, now registered in Luxor Museum under the number J. 853 (see Pl. VII). These particular objects were selected as part of the *Glory of Thebes* section.<sup>50</sup>

At the beginning of the royal jewelry rooms project in 1996, Ahhotep's gold broad collar, with hawk end-pieces (JE 4725)<sup>51</sup> was moved to the conservation lab where the late Egyptian Museum conservator, Samir Abaza, rearranged its pieces to what it is today (see Pl. VIII). The collar had been put together in a different order at least twice previously, the last time rendering it unwearable, for the neck of the wearer would need to be unrealistically thin for it to fit<sup>52</sup> (see Pl. VI). When this collar was discovered in 1859 the threads connecting the beads had disintegrated, and the beads were found scattered, which is almost always the case with such jewelry. It is, therefore, impossible to find out what this collar originally looked like.<sup>53</sup>

According to the Egyptian Museum database, the collar was the piece from the Ahhotep collection to travel on exhibition the most, at least since 2004. It travelled to Bahrain, France, Austria, Spain and China to participate in two different travelling exhibitions. In October 2004 the collar was sent to France as one of 120 objects from the Egyptian Museum in Cairo, to be displayed at the Institut du Monde Arabe as part of the *The Pharaohs* touring exhibition. The exhibition, organized by Archinos Architecture, was designed "to evoke the natural and cultural environment in which the Ancient Egyptian art evolved, while at the same time allowing full, unperturbed and contemplative appreciation of the exhibited masterpieces".<sup>54</sup> The next stop in the tour was Madrid, where the collar was displayed from December 2005 to May 2006. In April 2007 it travelled to Manama, to

<sup>45</sup> VINCENT, in DANFORTH (ed.), *Preserving Egypt's Cultural Heritage*, 283-6.

<sup>46</sup> EASTON, VINCENT, in DANFORTH (ed.), *Preserving Egypt's Cultural Heritage*, 250.

<sup>47</sup> EASTON, VINCENT, in DANFORTH (ed.), *Preserving Egypt's Cultural Heritage*, 250.

<sup>48</sup> EASTON, VINCENT, in DANFORTH (ed.), *Preserving Egypt's Cultural Heritage*, 250.

<sup>49</sup> EASTON, VINCENT, in DANFORTH (ed.), *Preserving Egypt's Cultural Heritage*, 250.

<sup>50</sup> See MINIACI, "Notes on the Journal d'Entrée Entries for Queen Ahhotep's Assemblage", in this volume.

<sup>51</sup> The hawk end pieces were given the CG numbers 52861 and 52862 (see VERNIER, *Bijoux et orfèvreries*, pl. LXVIII). The entire collar is also registered under the numbers CG 52672-73 + CG 52688 and SR 1/6572.

<sup>52</sup> See image of CG 52672 in VERNIER, *Bijoux et orfèvreries*, pl. LII. This information comes from the Egyptian Museum database.

<sup>53</sup> See CG 52733, 52861-62, VERNIER, *Bijoux et orfèvreries*, pl. LXVIII.

<sup>54</sup> <https://www.archinos.com/the-pharaohs-exhibition-manama-bahrai>, <accessed on 12.01.2022>.



be exhibited at the National Museum of Bahrain.<sup>55</sup> The collar then returned to France to be displayed at the Museum of Fine Arts of Valenciennes, as part of the same exhibition. It was then returned to Cairo in February 2008, where it stayed for a few days, before it travelled to Vienna, to be displayed at the Kunsthistorisches Museum, as part of the *Tutankhamun and the World of the Pharaohs* exhibition, which ran from 9<sup>th</sup> March 2008 to 28<sup>th</sup> September 2008. The exhibition which featured over 140 pieces, some from the tomb of Tutankhamun, was organized by National Geographic, Arts and Exhibitions International and AEG Exhibitions, in cooperation with the Egyptian Supreme Council of Antiquities and the Kunsthistorisches Museum.<sup>56</sup> Although not part of the Tutankhamun collection, the exquisite gold collar was chosen to illustrate the beauty and high craftsmanship of jewelry found in royal burials. According to the Kunsthistorisches Museum website “the exhibition focuses on the splendor of the Egyptian pharaohs, their function in the earthly and divine worlds, and what kingship meant to the Egyptian people. More than 70 treasures from King Tutankhamun’s tomb and more than 70 objects representing other pharaohs and notables are presented along with the latest scientific research about King Tutankhamun”.<sup>57</sup> The collar was then sent to Madrid, before it was returned to Cairo in June 2009. In May 2010 it travelled for the last time (according to the Egyptian Museum database), to Shanghai Museum, as part of the same Tutankhamun exhibition, returning to Egypt in November 2010, where it continues to be on display in gallery P4.

Some pieces from Ahhotep’s collection have become text-book examples of works of art reflecting the cosmopolitan nature of Egypt at the dawn of the New Kingdom.<sup>58</sup> These objects are decorated with foreign motifs, brought to Egypt through contact with foreign cultures. Examples of such pieces are battle axe JE 4673 (now Luxor J. 856; see Pl. VII), the blade of which is decorated with an Aegean-style griffin, and dagger JE 4666 (now Luxor J. 853; see Pl. VII), decorated with a black strip running down both sides of the blade, inlaid with gold wire figures and hieroglyphic text, and believed to be of foreign workmanship due to its similarity to the decoration of daggers from Shaft graves at Mycenae.<sup>59</sup>

<sup>55</sup> <https://www.archinos.com/the-pharaohs-exhibition-manaama-bahrai>, <accessed on 12.01.2022>.

<sup>56</sup> <https://www.khm.at/en/visit/exhibitions/2008/tutankhamun-and-the-world-of-the-pharaohs/>, <accessed on 12.01.2022>.

<sup>57</sup> <https://www.khm.at/en/visit/exhibitions/2008/tutankhamun-and-the-world-of-the-pharaohs/>, <accessed on 12.01.2022>.

<sup>58</sup> MURRAY, “Aegean Consumption of Egyptian Material Culture in the Sixteenth Century BC: Objects, Iconography, and Interpretation”, in this volume.

<sup>59</sup> ARUZ, BENZEL, EVANS (eds), *Beyond Babylon*, 119-21.

This is why these particular objects were selected to take part in an exhibition entitled *Beyond Babylon: Art, Trade, and Diplomacy in the Second Millennium B.C.* The exhibition focused “on the extraordinary art created as a result of a sophisticated network of interaction that developed among kings, diplomats, merchants, and others in the Near East during the second millennium B.C. Approximately 350 objects of the highest artistry from royal palaces, temples, and tombs – as well as from a unique shipwreck – provide the visitor with an overview of artistic exchange and international connections throughout the period”.<sup>60</sup> The exhibition was held at the Metropolitan Museum of Art in New York and ran from 18<sup>th</sup> November 2008 to 15<sup>th</sup> March 2009.<sup>61</sup>

The treasures of Ahhotep are still on display at the Egyptian Museum in gallery P4,<sup>62</sup> but they will soon be moved to P2, where the impressive collection from the royal tombs in Tanis is currently housed. When Tutankhamun’s gold mask and other selected pieces from his treasures displayed in P3 are all moved to the Grand Egyptian Museum, they will be replaced by the Tanis collection, that is being groomed to take the place of Tutankhamun’s treasures as the crown jewel of the Egyptian Museum in Cairo, finally being granted the attention it deserves, never having received the media coverage worthy of an intact complex of royal tombs.<sup>63</sup> The coffin of Ahhotep is also expected to remain in the Tahrir Museum.<sup>64</sup> The lid is currently on display in P47.

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<sup>60</sup> <https://www.metmuseum.org/exhibitions/listings/2008/beyond-babylon>, <accessed on 12.01.2022>.

<sup>61</sup> ARUZ, BENZEL, EVANS (eds), *Beyond Babylon*.

<sup>62</sup> With the exception of the objects that have been moved to the Luxor Museum.

<sup>63</sup> REEVES, *The Great Discoveries*, 189-93.

<sup>64</sup> Personal communication with Sabah Abdelrazek, General Director of the Egyptian Museum, Cairo.



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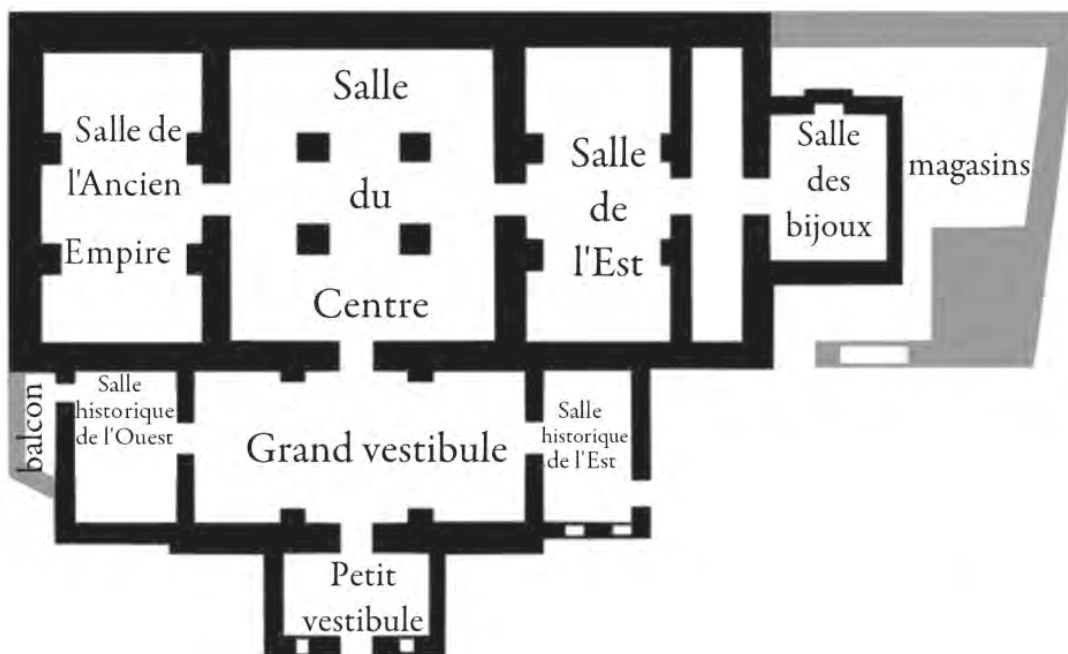


Fig. 1 – Floor plan of the Bulaq Museum

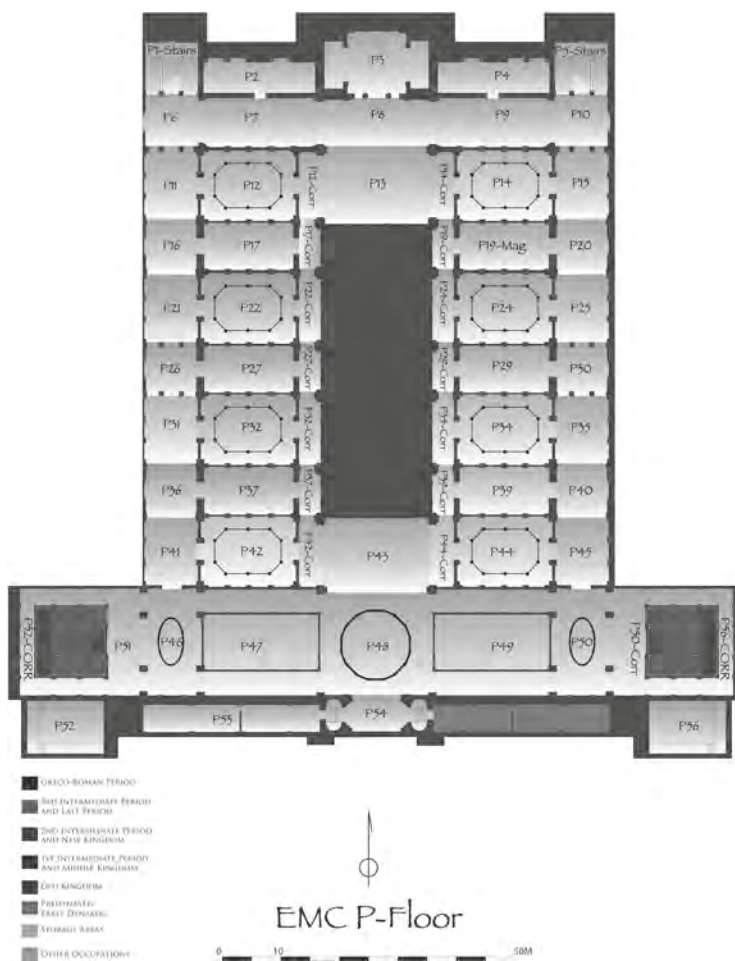


Fig. 2 – Floor plan of the first floor of the Egyptian Museum, Cairo



# **The Identity of Ahhotep**





## The Identity of Ahhotep and the Textual Sources

Marilina Betrò\*

### Abstract

Many obscure points still remain about the identity of the Queen Ahhotep whose mummy was discovered at Dra Abu el-Naga in 1859, in a gilded coffin (Cairo CG 28501) along with many jewels and precious objects. The simplest scenario, that she was the mother of King Ahmose, founder of the Eighteenth Dynasty, collides with many contradictory elements. The article traces the history of the discovery and reviews the theories advanced over time, analyzing the available data and textual sources. It concludes that at least two Queens Ahhotep existed at the end of the Seventeenth Dynasty: the owner of CG 28501, a “Great Royal Wife” who had no sons who became kings, and the mother of the latter king, buried in coffin CG 61006, from the cache of Deir el-Bahri. The paper also discusses the site where the coffin CG 28501 was found and the pertinence of the treasure found within it with the queen. An eyewitness account of the discovery, reported by the archaeologist Howard Carter in some of his unpublished manuscripts, seriously raises the question of the reliability of Mariette’s accounts of the find and provides interesting details. A reassessment of the available information leads to the conclusion that the site where the coffin was found was a cache, where it was hidden to protect it from the violations of the royal burials in the late Twentieth and early Twenty-first dynasties. Whether or not the treasure inside the coffin CG 28501 belonged to Ahhotep is a discriminating factor in defining her position in the dynasty and the identity of her royal spouse. The possibility that the people who hid the coffin had gathered in its case the grave goods from other royal burials must be taken into account. If the treasure was part of her original equipment, the most likely hypothesis is that she was Kamose’s wife. If not, other alternatives are possible and discussed in the paper.

### I – The Discovery of the Coffin of a Queen Ahhotep at Dra Abu el-Naga and the First Studies

On July 4, 1858 the French Egyptologist Auguste Mariette was appointed *ma’mur* of antiquities by the Khedive Saïd Pasha. He immediately began an extensive program of excavations all over Egypt, and, in December 1858, after raising a *corvée* of 102 men, he ordered to start works in the Theban necropolis. A team of about 20 workers was set at the foot of Dra Abu el-Naga hills, almost at the mouth of the wadi leading to the Valley of the Kings, not far from the place where the coffin of Kamose had been found at the end of 1857.<sup>1</sup> As usual

in the first half of the 19<sup>th</sup> century, Mariette did not supervise personally his digs, leaving them in the care of trusted local men (*reis*).

For this reason, we have no report on the discovery of the coffin of Queen Ahhotep (JE 4663; see Pls I, II, IX, X), which

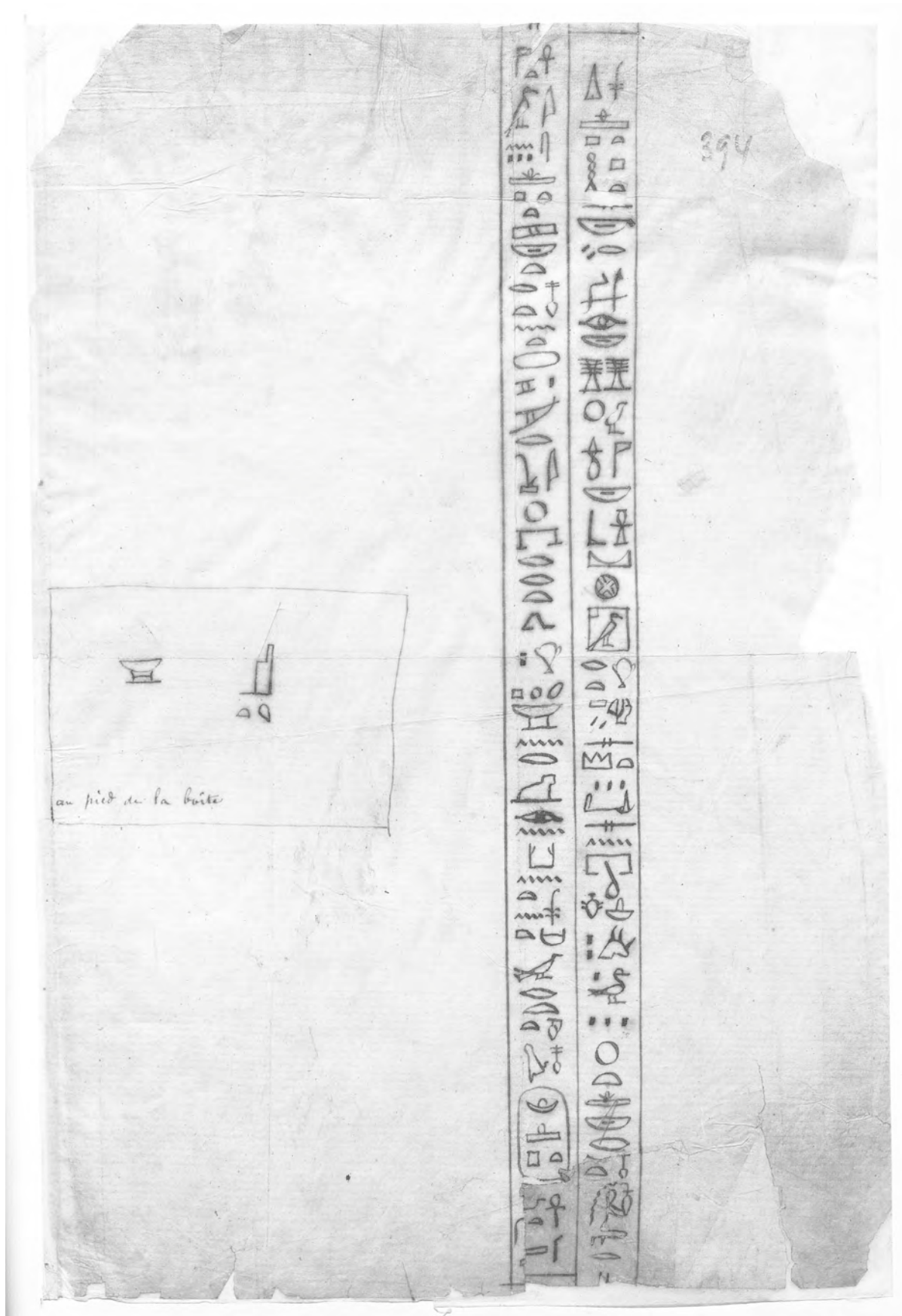
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of Queen Ahhotep’s Burial at Dra Abu el-Naga (Thebes) in the Nineteenth Century AD: Between Tale and Archaeological Evidence”, in this volume. Apparently, Mariette supervised the finding of Kamose’s coffin, as his description of the mummy with its ornaments suggests in a letter quoted by DE ROUGÉ, *CRAIBL* 2, 120. Heinrich Brugsch, who was in Egypt with Auguste Mariette at the time of its discovery, writing to Alexander von Humboldt about it, on December 31, 1857, said: “*In Theben ist ein Sarkophag aus den Zeiten der 12<sup>ten</sup> Dynastie (älter als 2000 Jahre vor unserer Ära) aus der Erde gezogen*”, going on by describing the mummy crumbled into dust and its precious finds. It must be said, however, that both the narrative and the tone are rather impersonal and do not enable one to say that Brugsch (or Mariette) were present. As for de Rouge’s account, it will be seen that, as concerns Ahhotep’s finding, Mariette’s presence is asserted in other accounts, although it is now clear that this was not the case.

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\* It is more usual a dedication from a younger scholar to an older one, but this time I cannot help but dedicate this work to Gianluca Miniaci, who has offered me so many touching words over the years. On a subliminal level, he set in motion this research many years ago, when he returned me a pen-drive I had lent him, formatted and with a new name: “Ahhotep”... Now the circle closes.

<sup>1</sup> WINLOCK, *JEA* 10, 252; MARIETTE, *CRAIBL* 3, 161; VASSALLI, *Monumenti storici*, 128-31; see also MINIACI, “The Discovery



**Fig. 1** – Ahhotep’s coffin inscription copied by Maunier in his letter to Mariette about the discovery of Ahhotep’s coffin, *Fonds Maspero Ms 4030, f. 394r* © courtesy of the *Bibliothèque de l’Institut de France*





away,<sup>12</sup> saving only the objects. This deprives us of any information and description concerning the body, even about its gender and age.

In announcing the important discovery at the meeting held in Cairo on June 3, 1859 in the *Institut d'Égypte*, Mariette tackled the problem of the queen's identity, recognizing on the one hand the stylistic link of her coffin with those of the Kings Intef found at Dra Abu el-Naga (whom he still considered to be of the Eleventh Dynasty) and, on the other hand, the kinship with the Kings Kamose and Ahmose, that the presence of the objects inscribed in their name in her coffin presupposed. Although he wondered about the difficult questions that such data posed, he concluded that Ahhotep was the wife of Kamose and mother of Ahmose.<sup>13</sup> The treasure was exhibited in the Museum at Bulaq,<sup>14</sup> and Mariette described it in his guide to the antiquities in 1864.<sup>15</sup> In the so-called *Salle des Bijoux*, the gilded lid of the coffin (Cairo CG 28501) was displayed at the right of the entrance, while the jewels and precious objects it contained were in a display case in the middle of the room. As indicated by Mariette, the case of the coffin, being cumbersome, simply painted blue and without decoration,<sup>16</sup> was not on display. He also noticed, interestingly, how strange, if his assumption on the identity of the queen was right, was the choice of quoting on the coffin the title of "Great Royal Wife" rather than "Royal Mother", but he commented that this was certainly not the most striking anomaly in that burial.<sup>17</sup>

### I.1 – A second coffin for a queen Ahhotep in the cache of Deir el-Bahri

In 1881, the discovery of the cache at Deir el-Bahri revealed a second coffin inscribed for a queen Ahhotep awarded with a very similar but richer set of titles: *sz.t*

<sup>12</sup> A slightly different version is given by STASSER, *RANT* 15, 137, who says that "La momie fut malheureusement ouverte sans précaution et tomba en poussière peu après la découverte" ("Unfortunately, the mummy was opened carelessly and fell to dust shortly after the discovery"). We have no descriptions of the opening of the coffin in Qena, however, and even Déveria's remarks report only his own conjecture. Stasser quotes "Winlock 1924: 353", a page not existing in Winlock's paper, probably to be amended to "253": here, however, the American scholar simply said, translating the passage by Déveria, "As usual they threw away the bandages and the bones, saving only the objects buried with the mummy". I was not able to find in Winlock's article Stasser's statement.

<sup>13</sup> MARIETTE, *BIE* 1, 36.

<sup>14</sup> See EL-SHAZLY, "The Display History of the Ahhotep Treasure", in this volume.

<sup>15</sup> MARIETTE, *Notice*, 218-27.

<sup>16</sup> "Sans aucune décoration". However, Mariette's statement was not accurate: the case was in fact decorated on the footboard, as will be discussed below.

<sup>17</sup> MARIETTE, *Notice*, 220.

*nswt sn.t nswt hm.t (nswt) wr.t hnm.t nfr hd.t mw.t nswt*, "King's Daughter, King's Sister, Great (Royal) Wife, She who is joined to the White Crown, King's Mother".



Fig. 2 – Coffin of the Queen Ahhotep from the cache TT 320 at Deir el-Bahri, CG 61006, from DARESSY, *Cercueils*, pl. 9

This was a huge wood and cartonnage coffin (CG 61006), which contained no more the original mummy but had been reused to host the body of Pinudjem I (see Fig. 2).

The name and the very similar titles at first made scholars think that a single Queen Ahhotep existed, to whom both coffins belonged. Gaston Maspero proposed a very ingenuous reconstruction: the coffin found at Deir el-Bahri would have been the external one, left in the queen's original tomb by robbers, who had taken the internal coffin with its mummy. The latter had to be recognized in that of Dra Abu el-Naga, hidden by the thieves waiting for the partage to be made at a better time. That division – he continued – however never took place, the thieves being caught, and their secret lost with them until Mariette's men discovered it.<sup>18</sup> But Maspero himself, few lines below, admitted that such a “conjectural scaffolding” could not stand the evidence: “*Le cercueil de 1859 est trop haut et trop large pour entrer dans celui de 1881: ils ont donc appartenu à deux reines différentes*”.<sup>19</sup> At first, he followed Mariette's opinion that the queen found at Dra Abu el-Naga was the wife of Kamose and probably mother of Ahmose and Ahmose-Nefertari,<sup>20</sup> while the second Ahhotep was the wife of Amenhotep I. The idea was shared by Wiedemann in 1884,<sup>21</sup> but few years later Maspero gave a different reconstruction, interpreting the elder Ahhotep – the queen found at Dra Abu el-Naga – as the wife of Seqenenre.<sup>22</sup> This reconstruction was destined to remain the dominant one between the end of the nineteenth century and the beginning of the Twentieth.<sup>23</sup> It was accepted by Gauthier, who reported it in 1912 in his *Livre des Rois*, attributing the different monuments and objects on the basis of their assignment to “Aahhotep I”, considered to be the mother of Ahmose, or to the homonymous presumed wife of Amenhotep I (“Aahhotep II”).<sup>24</sup>

Among the monuments attributed by Gauthier to the queen from Dra Abu el-Naga, a stela found in 1901 by

George Legrain against the southern face of the Eighth pylon in Karnak<sup>25</sup> seemed to provide a perfect example of how often in Egyptology texts and archaeological documents may mirror each other: the monumental stela (Cairo CG 34001), erected by Ahmose and mainly dedicated to his eulogy, included an invitation to raise praises to a queen Ahhotep, whose epithets were an array of heroic qualities better suited to a political or military leader than to a queen. She was there celebrated as “*Mistress of the Land, sovereign of the shores of the Hau-nebu, one whose reputation is high in all foreign countries, who makes plans for the multitude (...), who cares for Egypt*” and the text went on saying: “*She has gathered troops, she has protected her [i.e. Egypt]; she has brought back her fugitives, and held those who wanted to defect*”. These unusual epithets apparently found an extraordinary match in the three golden flies – well known as an emblem of military value<sup>26</sup> and the weapons<sup>27</sup> which had been placed in the coffin from Dra Abu el-Naga with the mummy, thus giving life to the image of the “Warrior Queen”. In that stela Ahhotep bore the titles of “Royal Wife, King's Sister, King's Daughter, august King's Mother”,<sup>28</sup> a sequence which made clear, although not explicitly said, that she could be no other than Ahmose's mother. Text and archaeological data seemed to intertwine admirably and returned the image of a time of furious wars in which a young queen, prematurely widowed and with an heir to the throne still a child, had to assume the role of regent and exercise effective power.

## I.2 – The title “King's Mother” and the following reassessment

The apparent solidity of this picture was soon to reveal some crevices. The title of “King's Mother”, *mw.t nswt*, present on the Deir el-Bahri coffin but not on that from Dra Abu el-Naga, represented a double idiosyncrasy: on the one hand, given its importance, it was difficult to explain its absence on the coffin from Dra Abu el-Naga, which was believed to belong to the mother of Ahmose; on the other hand, it was well known that Thutmose I – the successor of Amenhotep I – was not son of that king, thus making impossible that the alleged wife Ahhotep could bear the title.<sup>29</sup>

The first to draw conclusions from this was to my knowledge Jean Yoyotte, who in 1964 observed how Ahhotep from Dra Abu el-Naga was probably different

<sup>18</sup> MASPERO, *Momies royales*, 545. Cf. also MASPERO, *Guide*, 77-8, where he referred to the Twentieth Dynasty robberies.

<sup>19</sup> “*The 1859 coffin is too high and too wide to fit in the 1881 coffin, so they belonged to two different queens*”, MASPERO, *Momies royales*, 545.

<sup>20</sup> MASPERO, *Guide*, 77-8.

<sup>21</sup> WIEDEMANN, *Ägyptische Geschichte*, 302, 316-17; MASPERO, *CRAIBL* 30, 585; MASPERO, *Histoire*, vol. II, 104.

<sup>22</sup> MASPERO, *Momies royales*, 628.

<sup>23</sup> See also PETRIE, *History*, vol. II, 1.

<sup>24</sup> GAUTHIER, *LdR* II, 163-4; 183; 207-9. Gauthier's attribution was not completely rigorous, e.g. he cited the coffin found in the Deir el-Bahri cache, CG 61006, both under the monuments inscribed in name of Ahmose's mother (p. 182) and those of Ahhotep II, whom he considered to be the wife of Amenhotep I (p. 208). I will use no more in this article the label “I” or “II” for distinguishing the two Queens Ahhotep, since this numeric reference has been used in different ways by other later scholars.

<sup>25</sup> BISTON-MOULIN, <http://sith.huma-num.fr/karnak/575#inscription>, <accessed on 6.7.2020>, for an updated new edition, with photographs, hieroglyphic text and transliteration.

<sup>26</sup> See LACOVARA, “The Flies of Ahhotep”, in this volume.

<sup>27</sup> See MORRIS, “Daggers and Axes for the Queen: Considering Ahhotep's Weapons in their Cultural Context”, in this volume.

<sup>28</sup> *hm.t nswt sn.t ity ˁ.w.s. s3.t nswt mw.t nswt šps.*

<sup>29</sup> VANDERSLEYEN, *SAK* 8, 237-41.

from Ahhotep mother of Ahmose: the coffin from the cache at Deir el-Bahri had to be attributed to the latter.<sup>30</sup> In the following years more and more scholars accepted Yoyotte's idea.<sup>31</sup>

### 1.2.1 – One Ahhotep

Nevertheless, some scholars have believed over the years, and still in very recent times, that there were not two queens but only one.<sup>32</sup> In 1978 Bettina Schmitz<sup>33</sup> argued against two Ahhoteps, seeing the two coffins as both belonging to a single queen. In her opinion the two coffins nested, being respectively the inner coffin (Dra Abu el-Naga) and the outer one (Deir el-Bahri). Apparently, she neglected Maspero's opinion: actually, she used a wrong set of measurements, smaller than the original dimensions.

An approximate calculation of the original Dra Abu el-Naga coffin's depth of about 60 cm was proposed by Marianne Eaton-Krauss in 1990, based on the analogy with the very similar coffin of King Seqenenre, which is complete, and the almost identical dimensions of the two lids.<sup>34</sup> As she stated, these reconstructed measurements make impossible that this coffin could fit inside the Deir el-Bahri coffin and confirmed Maspero's remark: the Dra Abu el-Naga coffin was deeper than the Deir el-Bahri one (60 cm the former, 48 cm the latter) and, even imagining that only the lid had been nested into the outer coffin, only a small part of it could still fit inside the Deir el-Bahri coffin because of the different shapes.<sup>35</sup> However, Eaton-Krauss believed likely that "*both coffins were in fact created for the same woman, but at different moments in her lifetime*".<sup>36</sup> In her reconstruction, the coffin from Dra Abu el-Naga, very similar to that of Seqenenre in style and manufacture, had been commissioned by the king in pair with his own. The title *mw.t nswt* had not been inscribed with the other titles, since the queen had not yet been awarded it at the time the coffin was made. As for the larger coffin, she supposed that Amenhotep I,

to honour his grand-mother at her death, ordered a new coffin made in the same style as his wife's. In her opinion the two coffins were both buried at Dra Abu el-Naga in the tomb of the queen, after a failed attempt to put the smaller and older inside the new one. In the late Twentieth Dynasty the older coffin was re-buried and the empty larger coffin was finally re-used for Pinudjem I. Alternatively, the older coffin was reassigned to another woman of the royal family, but Eaton-Krauss herself commented that this hypothesis was unsatisfactory, since it did not explain why it had not been re-inscribed for the new occupant, unless to suppose that she bore the same name Ahhotep. Eaton-Krauss thus supported the idea that the Ahhotep buried in the coffin found by Mariette's workers was the wife of King Seqenenre and that only one Queen Ahhotep existed.

Despite many convincing remarks, her brilliant reconstruction does not answer to some fundamental questions: why do the titles of "King's Daughter" and "King's Sister" not appear in the inscriptions of CG 28501?<sup>37</sup> And why, as Ann Macy Roth remarked,<sup>38</sup> was the Dra Abu el-Naga coffin not re-inscribed in order to add the title *mw.t nswt* once her son Ahmose became king? Moreover, the manufacture of the coffin very similar to Seqenenre's does not mean they were married, and other kind of family relationship could be supposed.<sup>39</sup> Finally, why, if the two coffins were left next to each other in the same tomb, were they then separated? And why did only one of them, *that one without the mummy of the only alleged Ahhotep*, end its wanderings in the cache of Deir el-Bahri? Coming back to the problem in 2003,<sup>40</sup> Eaton-Krauss tried to answer to this issue through a rather complicated hypothesis: she assumed that thieves who entered the tomb at the end of the New Kingdom, before priests recovered the royal mummies in the cache, left behind the too cumbersome CG 61006. They would have taken instead CG 28501, filling it with the precious gold and silver jewels and grave goods, and then they would have concealed it in a ruined mud-brick chapel on the plain below the tomb. But why would they go to the trouble of dragging the heavy coffin – mummy included! – and not just take jewels and other precious grave goods?<sup>41</sup>

A new study by Taneash Sidpura has re-proposed in 2016 the theory of a single Ahhotep, sharing many of the points highlighted by Marianne Eaton-Krauss, but looking at the issue from a different perspective: the

<sup>30</sup> YOYOTTE, *ASR* 73, 82.

<sup>31</sup> LECLANT, *LÄ* II, 794, 807, n. 25; VANDERSLEYEN, *LÄ* III, 306-8; *CdE* 52, 237; GITTON, *Ahmes Néfertary*, 35, no. 58; ROTH, *Serapis* 4, 31-40; ROBINS, *GM* 30, 71-5; TROY, *GM* 35, 81-91; GITTON, *Divines épouses*, 9-12.

<sup>32</sup> See LACOVARA, "The Treasure of Ahhotep in Archaeological Context", in this volume.

<sup>33</sup> SCHMITZ, *CdE* 53, 207-21.

<sup>34</sup> EATON-KRAUSS, *CdE* 65, 197-200.

<sup>35</sup> EATON-KRAUSS, *CdE* 65, 200. The argument had been pointed out also by TROY, *GM* 50, 92, no. 36 and BLANKENBERG-VAN DELDEN, *GM* 54, 39, no. 1. In 2003, however, EATON-KRAUSS in BLÖBAUM, KAHL, SCHWEITZER (eds), *Ägypten-Münster*, 84, rectified her statement, admitting that the actual measurements were not such as to make it completely impossible to fit the lid or trough of CG 28501 in CG 61006.

<sup>36</sup> EATON-KRAUSS, *CdE* 65, 200.

<sup>37</sup> See also TROY, *GM* 50, 87 and RYHOLT, *Second Intermediate Period*, 276.

<sup>38</sup> MACY ROTH, in TEETER, LARSON (eds), *Gold of praise*, 363-9.

<sup>39</sup> MACY ROTH, in TEETER, LARSON (eds), *Gold of praise*, 363-5.

<sup>40</sup> EATON-KRAUSS, in BLÖBAUM, KAHL, SCHWEITZER (eds), *Ägypten-Münster*, 87.

<sup>41</sup> See below the discussion concerning the archaeological context.



reconstruction of the Ahmoside family tree through the main historical sources, in order “to judge where Ahhotep of the Naga coffin best fits” into the family.<sup>42</sup> His analysis starts with the title “Great Royal Wife” present on both coffins, in order to identify the royal husband. A focal point of Sidpura’s reconstruction are the objects inscribed with the cartouches of Kamose and Ahmose found in the Dra Abu el-Naga coffin, which provide a chronological clue. On the ground of this approximate dating and by knowing that Egyptian kings could only have one “Great Royal Wife” at one time, Sidpura examines the more relevant sources and draws the family tree, starting with Senakhtenre as its founder. The reconstructed kinship ties, joined to an estimate of the age at death of the royal wives, allow him to conclude that “*there is no space in the genealogy for a second Ahhotep*”.<sup>43</sup> It is not actually possible – he states – that she was queen consort of Senakhtenre, nor of Seqenenre or Ahmose, and the only possibility left open, namely that she was the “Great Royal Wife” of Kamose, is in turn eliminated by Sidpura. He argues in fact that Kamose married Ahmose-Nefertari, who would have become Ahmose’s wife only later.<sup>44</sup> He concludes therefore that “*it can only be reasoned that Ahhotep of the Naga coffin was the same as Ahhotep of the Bahari coffin and the title of Great Royal Wife in both cases referred to king Seqenenra-Taο*”.<sup>45</sup>

Although his reconstruction of the family tree is widely shared in some fundamental lines, there are many questionable points of his theory. A large part of it is conjectural and, in particular, there is no evidence of a marriage between Kamose and Ahmose-Nefertari, crucial to his theory. Secondly, Sidpura assigns only one queen consort (“Great Royal Wife”) to each king: Tetisheri to Senakhtenre, Ahhotep mother of Ahmose to Seqenenre, Ahmose-Nefertari to Ahmose. But, as already remarked by Gay Robins, besides having several wives (*hm.t nswt*) who could bear him children, “*a king might have more than one hm.t nsw wrt in a lifetime: it must be admitted indeed the possibility that a hm.t nsw wrt might die soon after gaining the title*” and a new one take her place.<sup>46</sup> Moreover, contemporary documents refer to Tetisheri only as King’s Mother and she receives the title of “Great King’s Wife” only on posthumous documents.<sup>47</sup> The possibility that Senakhtenre had a (first) queen consort, who later died, and that Tetisheri took her place or was only a “Royal Wife” (*hm.t nswt*) beside the first one should be taken into account.

<sup>42</sup> SIDPURA, in GREGORY (ed.), *Proceedings Birmingham*, 21-46.

<sup>43</sup> SIDPURA, in GREGORY (ed.), *Proceedings Birmingham*, 41.

<sup>44</sup> The idea had been suggested in 1897 by MASPERO, *His-toire*, vol. II, 78.

<sup>45</sup> SIDPURA, in GREGORY (ed.), *Proceedings Birmingham*.

<sup>46</sup> ROBINS, *GM* 56, 73.

<sup>47</sup> GITTON, *Divines Épouses*, 13.

One further problem with his reconstruction is that he confines it within the time range from Senakhtenre to Ahmose. Sidpura excludes the period immediately before Senakhtenre and does not discuss the relationship between this latter and the kings who preceded him, on the basis of the objects inscribed with the cartouches of Kamose and Ahmose. In doing so, however, he does not take into account the possibility that the objects were not part of the original burial and might have been added later<sup>48</sup> or that they might express Ahmose’s homage to a venerable ancestor. Ultimately, since we no longer possess the mummy of that Ahhotep, we have no data on her age at death.

Finally, although the coffin CG 28501 resembles very much Seqenenre’s<sup>49</sup> (see Fig. 3), it also has a great similarity with those of Sekhemre Wepmaat Intef (Louvre E. 3019; Pl. XXIII)<sup>50</sup> and Nubkheperre Intef (BM EA 6652).<sup>51</sup> Herbert Winlock<sup>52</sup>, and later C. Blankenberg-van Delden<sup>53</sup> and Claude Vandersleyen,<sup>54</sup> already noticed the many common features: the inside painted with bitumen, the gilding applied only to the lids while the bodies were painted a greenish-blue,<sup>55</sup> the eyes (when still in place) of hard stone framed in metal, gold in the case of Ahhotep (see Pl. X). By applying the same stylistic criterium used for supporting a marriage relationship between Ahhotep and Seqenenre, it would theoretically be possible to state the existence of a marital bond between the queen and one of these kings.

Based solely on a genealogical perspective, Sidpura does not discuss the problem of the separation of the two coffins, which remains one of the strongest objections to Eaton-Krauss’ hypothesis, which he accepted.

Interpretations in favour of just one Ahhotep therefore seem to present more problems than they solve.

<sup>48</sup> He considers this possibility elsewhere in his paper (p. 41), as answer to Ryholt’s objection to the theory of one Ahhotep “*that not a single object naming Seqenenre had been found in the burial*” at Dra Abu el-Naga (RYHOLT, *Second Intermediate Period*, 276; see also MINIACI, “The Discovery of Queen Ahhotep’s Burial at Dra Abu el-Naga (Thebes) in the Nineteenth Century AD: Between Tale and Archaeological Evidence”, in this volume, 86-7, Table 4). However, Sidpura does not bring this hypothesis to logical consequences and does not apply it to all aspects of the issue.

<sup>49</sup> MINIACI, *Rishi Coffins*, 224 cat. rT01C.

<sup>50</sup> MINIACI, *Rishi Coffins*, 269 cat. rT01P.

<sup>51</sup> MINIACI, *Rishi Coffins*, 212-13 cat. rT01BM.

<sup>52</sup> WINLOCK, *JEA* 10, 274-5.

<sup>53</sup> BLANKENBERG-VAN DELDEN, *GM* 54, 35.

<sup>54</sup> VANDERSLEYEN, *L’Égypte*, vol. II, 198.

<sup>55</sup> The coffin of Seqenenre was not coated with this paint, possibly because unfinished, as Winlock supposed: WINLOCK, *JEA* 10, 275, n. 1.





**Fig. 3** – Coffin of the King Seqenenre from the cache TT 320 at Deir el-Bahri, CG 61001, from DARESSY, *Cercueils*, pl. 1

### I.2.2 – Three Ahhoteps

At the opposite end, Gay Robins proposed in 1982 to distinguish three Queens Ahhotep. She agreed that the gilded coffin from Dra Abu el-Naga belonged to an early Ahhotep (she called I) and that the coffin from Deir el-Bahri had to be assigned to Ahhotep mother of Ahmose (II), but she believed that the Queen Ahhotep mentioned on the statue of a prince Ahmose (Louvre E 15682), probably her son, could not be assimilated to either of the two previous queens and therefore a third Ahhotep had to be assumed.<sup>56</sup> The core of Robins' arguments was the difference among the titles of the queen on the Louvre statue and those attributed to Ahhotep by her son Ahmose on the stela Cairo CG 34001: the queen on the statue was *s3.t nswt wr.t hnm.t nfr hd.t*, while this title was lacking in the extended titlature attributed to Ahhotep on the stela, neither it was replaced there by *hm.t nswt wr.t*.

Her remarks were partly accepted by Ann Macy Roth, who used them to support a different thesis: she equated the third Ahhotep of the statue in the Louvre with the homonymous queen of the coffin from Dra Abu el-Naga, Robins' Ahhotep I, thus coming back to two Ahhoteps.<sup>57</sup> She argued that the "simplest interpretation" was to see "Ahhotep I" as the wife of Seqenenre Tao, while the spouse of "Ahhotep II" and father of King Ahmose was rather Kamose, as Robins had also suggested. However, it is rather difficult to admit that the Ahhotep of the Louvre statue was the queen buried at Dra Abu el-Naga: surely the latter, who bore the title of "Great Royal Wife" on her coffin, would not have failed to display it also on her son's statue during her lifetime. Moreover, nowhere on the coffin did she claim to be a "King's Daughter".

Macy Roth, aware of this flaw of her theory, was obliged, to make it work, to assume an error on the part of the scribe, who would have written *s3.t-nswt wr.t*, eldest daughter of the king, instead of *hm.t-nswt wr.t*, "Great Royal Wife". This emendation makes her hypothesis weak.

### I.3 – The sign *i'h*

A third element, crucial to the question of the number of Ahhotep Queens and the identity of the queen from Dra Abu el-Naga, emerged with the study by Claude Vandersleyen in 1971 on the use of the hieroglyphic sign of the lunar crescent.<sup>58</sup> As he pointed out, in that period the paleography of the sign *i'h*, when used as ideogram, shows a significant inversion, being written with upwards horns ☽. This feature disappeared towards the

end of the reign of Ahmose, between his 18<sup>th</sup> and 22<sup>nd</sup> year, thus providing an important chronological indicator.<sup>59</sup> An inscribed block from Karnak, recently published, makes probable that the transition took place in the year 22 and that a period of coexistence between the two writings in the last part of Ahmose's reign must be taken into account.<sup>60</sup>

In the case of the coffin from Dra Abu el-Naga and its contents, the inscription on the lid as well as the short texts on some of the objects found inside it, are constantly written using the crescent with upwards horns. The inscription on the Deir el-Bahri coffin shows instead the sign as usual again *after* the reign of Ahmose, *i.e.* with the horns pointing downwards. This means that the inscriptions on the Dra Abu el-Naga coffin and on the jewels and objects it contained were made *before* the end of Ahmose's reign, while the coffin from the cache was inscribed *after* Ahmose's reign.

## II – Direct Sources relating to the Queen

### II.1 – Textual direct sources

The first evaluation of the sources was made by Lana Troy in 1979.<sup>61</sup> She divided the available documents into those contemporary with the queen, dealing with her as a member of the royal family, and those which look at her as a cult figure. A third group was devoted to documents whose attribution and dating is uncertain.

Her study made it clear that the memory of a queen Ahhotep, transmitted by many Ramesside documents, referred only to Ahhotep mother of Ahmose. The queen of Dra Abu el-Naga does not seem to have been object of cult or special veneration. Such a conclusion allows to limit this study to the only sources which were contemporary to the two queens. These sources can be further restricted to those where the title *mw.t nswt* is absent in the sequence of the queen's titulary and the writing of the *i'h* sign shows the lunar crescent pointing upwards (see Table 2).

To my knowledge, the list of the sources meeting the above criteria – rather meagre – is as follows:

- a. lid of the coffin of a queen Ahhotep from Dra Abu el-Naga, Cairo CG 28501<sup>62</sup>

Only the lid is today in the Egyptian museum in Cairo: von Bissing referred that the case, brought in the museum with the jewels recovered by Mariette but not ex-

<sup>56</sup> ROBINS, *GM* 56, 71-7. On the statue Louvre *cf.* BARBOTIN, *DevL* 55/4, 19-28; VANDERSLEYEN, *Iahmès Sapaïr*, and the recent contribution by GALÁN, *JEA* 103/2, 179-201.

<sup>57</sup> MACY ROTH, in TEETER, LARSON (eds), *Gold of praise*, 371-2.

<sup>58</sup> VANDERSLEYEN, *Les guerres*, 205-28.

<sup>59</sup> VANDERSLEYEN, *CdE* 52, 223-44; *Iahmès Sapaïr*, 29-30. See also POLZ, *Der Beginn*, 14-20.

<sup>60</sup> BISTON-MOULIN, *KARNAK* 15, 46.

<sup>61</sup> TROY, *GM* 35, 81-91.

<sup>62</sup> PM I<sup>2</sup>, II, 600; MINIACI, *Rishi Coffins*, 225, cat. no. rT02C.

hibited at the time, later decayed, according to the museum inventory: “*Er war bei der Auffindung vorhanden, schwarz angestrichen und ist später (laut Museums-Inventar) zerfallen*”.<sup>63</sup>

The lid (212 x 66 x 30 cm) is in cedar wood, with gold leaf on gesso. A vertical column in the middle of the lid is inscribed with the offering formula to Ptah-Sokar-Osiris and Hathor in favour of the ka of the *hm.t nswt wr.t hnm.t nfr ḥd.(t) i‘h-ḥtp ‘nh.ti d.t*, “Great Royal Wife, She who joins the white crown, Ahhotep, who may live forever” (see Fig. 4).

The lid foot end was described by von Bissing as roughly carved with the two kneeling figures of Isis and Nephthys, facing each other in the gesture of lamentation.<sup>64</sup> One of the photographs taken by Devéria of the complete, closed, coffin reproduces the base in its entirety and shows that the two mourners were resting on two *neb*-signs which in turn were supported by the two *sema-tawy* symbols<sup>65</sup> (see Fig. 5). The same drawing is reproduced on the base of Seqenenre’s coffin.<sup>66</sup>

b. statue of Prince Ahmose Louvre E 15682<sup>67</sup>

As argued above,<sup>68</sup> the identity of the Ahhotep mentioned on the statue is only marginally relevant to this article, since she must be identified with Ahhotep mother of King Ahmose (or a third Ahhotep)<sup>69</sup>. The absence of the

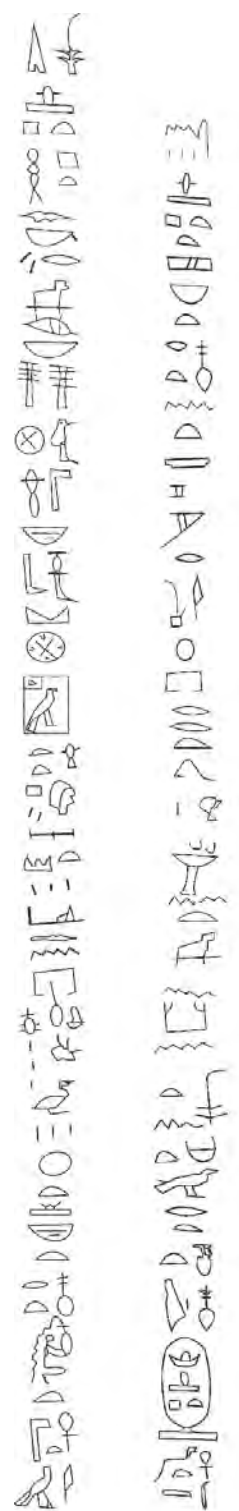


Fig. 4 – Hieroglyphic inscription on the lid of the Queen Ahhotep coffin from Dra Abu el-Naga © fac-simile by Gianluca Miniaci

<sup>63</sup> VON BISSING, *Grabfund*, 21: “*It was present when found, painted black, and later (according to the museum inventory) fell apart*”. See MARIETTE, *Notice 1864*, 218: “*Le cercueil de momie qu’on aperçoit à droite en entrant dans a Salle des Bijoux est celui, qui contenait les deux tiers des objets précieux conservés sous la cage vitrée placée au centre de la salle. La cuve peinte en gros bleu sans aucune décoration n’ayant pas d’intérêt et prenant, d’ailleurs, une place considérable, nous n’avons exposé que le couvercle*”.

<sup>64</sup> VON BISSING, *Grabfund*, 21 and pl. XII 1 and 2. The two goddesses actually present a rather androgynous appearance and even the gesture is not the usual one of the mourners. Their identity is however made certain by the inscriptions copied by Maunier in the above-mentioned letter (see p. 133, n. 3 and 6, and Fig. 1).

<sup>65</sup> Musée d’Orsay, PHO 1986 144 97, MS 163 93. Maunier’s copy of the inscription added the names of the two mourning goddesses on the foot end (“*au pied de la boîte boîte*”); see Fig. 1.

<sup>66</sup> MINIACI, *Rishi Coffins*, fig. 36.

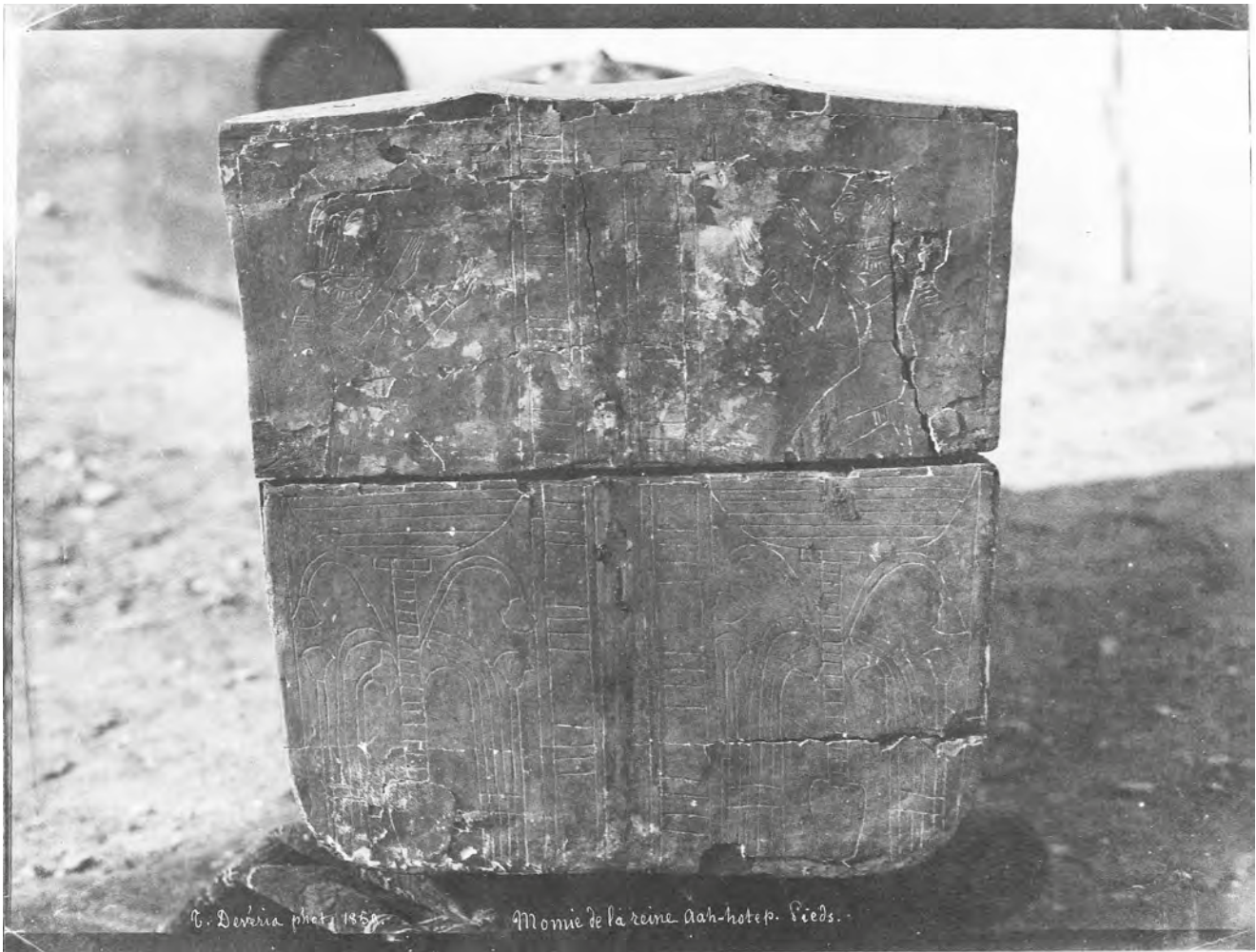
<sup>67</sup> PM I<sup>2</sup>, II, 604; VANDERSLEYEN, *Iahmès Sapair*; BARBOTIN, *RevL* 55/4, 19-28; ASSCHE, *JSSEA* 37, 113-21; GALÁN, *JEA* 103/2, 179-201.

<sup>68</sup> See p. 139.

<sup>69</sup> ROBINS’ thesis, *GM* 56, 71-7, cannot be ruled out: the statue attributes Ahhotep the title “Eldest King’s Daughter” and *hnm.t nfr ḥd.t*. She may have been the eldest daughter of Seqenenre and had a prominent place next to her father at a time when he was perhaps a widower. Her title *hnm.t nfr ḥd.t*

may have been a consequence of this particular situation or indicate that she was the betrothed of her father’s successor. A “King’s Daughter” Ahhotep is known from a statuette in the Louvre, N 446, and scarabs and similar items, inscribed for a *hm.t nswt* Ahhotep, are listed by TROY, *GM* 35, 88.





**Fig. 5** – Foot end of the coffin of the Queen Ahhotep photographed by Deveria; photo PHO 1986 144 97 © Musée d’Orsay, Dist. RMN-Grand Palais / Alexis Brandt

title *mw.t nswt* can be explained by supposing that the future King Ahmose was not yet born (he is also absent in the texts carved on the statue) or was not yet on the throne. Two alternative explanations are thus possible: Seqenenre could have been living, when he dedicated the statue to his prematurely dead eldest son, as a sort of three-dimensional “letter to the dead”, according to the theory by Christophe Barbotin;<sup>70</sup> Seqenenre was already dead.<sup>71</sup> This second interpretation would also provide a dating to the statue under the short reign of Kamose.

Concluding, on the ground of the available data, the statue of Prince Ahmose must be excluded from the sources concerning Queen Ahhotep owner of the coffin CG 28501.

<sup>70</sup> BARBOTIN, *RevL* 55/4, 19-28.

<sup>71</sup> GALÁN, *JEA* 103/2, 198: “The fact that Queen Ahhotep is not mentioned as beneficiary of his intervention in the necropolis seems to imply that she was then still alive (unlike the king) and probably the one responsible for the dedication and setting up of the statue”.

c. scarab BM EA 26981<sup>72</sup>

The attribution of this glassy scarab in the British Museum (0.90 x 2.40 x 1.70 cm) to Ahhotep from Dra Abu el-Naga is uncertain. The drawings published by Newberry and then Hall show a rough carving<sup>73</sup> and, while the reading *hm.(t) nswt I<sup>h</sup>-h<sup>t</sup>p* is clear, the adjective *wr*, usually retained from Hall’s translation, is not sure: the bird, if it is the swallow *wr*, is in an incorrect position, under the sign *h<sup>t</sup>p* instead after *hm.t nswt*, nor is it possible to discern any trace of the *r*. The reading of Newberry, who interpreted the two signs under the offering table as the *p* and *w* of *h<sup>t</sup>pw* seems more plausible. In

<sup>72</sup> HALL, *Catalogue of the Egyptian Scarabs*, vol. I, 46 (432); NEWBERRY, *Scarabs*, pl. XXVI, 4; TROY, *GM* 35, 88.

<sup>73</sup> Hall’s facsimile reversed the direction of the inscription with a rather imprecise result, as the photograph in the same catalogue and the drawing in NEWBERRY, *Scarabs*, pl. XXVI, 4 show.



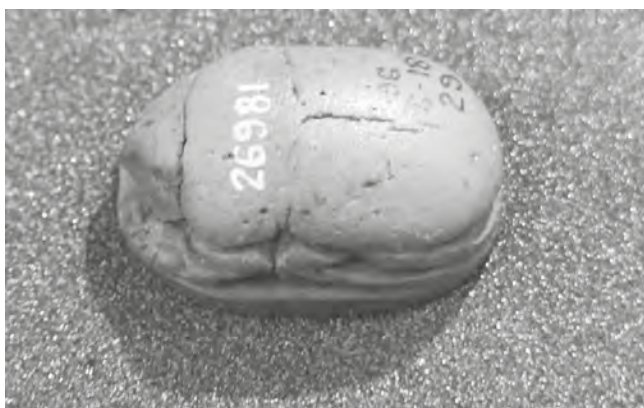


Fig. 6 – Scarab BM EA 26981 © The Trustees of the British Museum; photo by Marie Vandenneusch; drawing by Wolfram Grajetzki

this case, the Ahhotep of the scarab would be a queen (*hm.t nswt*) but not a “Great Royal Wife”. It could have been manufactured in the early years of Ahhotep mother of Ahmose, omitting the title *mw.t nswt* because of the small surface available (or before the king’s birth), or even belong to another Ahhotep (see Fig. 6).

Although not meeting with the paleographic criterium of the upwards crescent, another document must be included in the sources concerning the queen. This is the coffin of Ahmose-Henutempet.<sup>74</sup>

#### d. Coffin or part of the coffin of Ahmose-Henutempet (present location unknown)

Thierry Stasser has recently remarked that this document should be included in the dossier of the first Ahhotep.<sup>75</sup> Its location is now lost. The inscription on the coffin (or a part of it) was copied in the nineteenth century by Anthony C. Harris (Mss Alex. XI, 22), who said that it came from the “outer case of a female mummy belonging

<sup>74</sup> PM I<sup>2</sup>, II, 604; STASSER, *RANT* 15, 137-47.

<sup>75</sup> STASSER, *RANT* 15, 143.

to Mr. Castellar”, an antiquity dealer based in Luxor.<sup>76</sup> The text refers to a *s3.t nswt I<sup>c</sup>h-ms Hnwt-m-p.t m3<sup>c</sup>.t hrw ms n hm.t nswt wr.t I<sup>c</sup>h-htp m3<sup>c</sup>.t hrw*, “King’s Daughter Ahmose Henutempet, justified, born to the Great Royal Wife Ahhotep, justified” (see Fig. 7). The lunar crescent is there written with the downwards crescent, proving that the princess died after the end of the reign of Ahmose, but Stasser’s arguments in identifying the owner of the coffin as a daughter of the Ahhotep from Dra Abu el-Naga are quite reliable.

Princess Ahmose Henutempet was one of the mummies recovered in DB 320, the royal mummies cache at Deir e-Bahri. In that occasion, her body had been re-buried in another coffin and the name of the former owner replaced. The inscribed fragment whose text Harris copied probably belonged to the original coffin, maybe made in pieces and abandoned by the robbers after plundering her burial.

In his paper, Stasser compares Henutempet’s inscription with two other documents mentioning princesses of the Ahmose family whose mother was a queen Ahhotep. All the three texts show the sign *i<sup>c</sup>h* written with the moon crescent downwards, a feature which allows to date them after Ahmose’s reign. The first document is the lower part of a statuette belonged to Ahmes-Nebta (Louvre N 496), “Royal Sister” and daughter of the Queen and “Royal Mother” Ahhotep. The second occurrence is on the lid of a small coffin in the Hermitage Museum at Saint-Petersburg, whose owner was a lady called Anaat or Anta. The inscription mentions the Princess Ahmes-Tumerisi, who also bore the title of “Royal Sister” and was daughter of a Queen and “Royal Mother” Ahhotep. Unlike the two previous princesses, Henutempet’s inscription describes her only as daughter of a “Great Royal



Fig. 7 – Inscription on the coffin of Ahmose-Henutempet, from Harris Mss, from HAMERNIK, *JEA* 96, 236-42

<sup>76</sup> HAMERNIK, *JEA* 96, 240, and fig. 3.

Wife” Ahhotep: she had no brothers as king and her mother had no sons ascended to the throne.<sup>77</sup> Stasser concludes that while Ahmes Nebta and Ahmes Tumerisi were certainly daughters of the Ahhotep mother of King Ahmose and sisters of the king, Henutempet could only be daughter of the Ahhotep owner of the coffin from Dra Abu el-Naga. As he points out, if she had been Ahmose’s sister, she would not have failed to remember her close kinship to the king on her coffin.

## II.2 – Objects found with the queen not inscribed in her name

To the above-mentioned items, must be added the inscribed jewels, weapons and other precious artifacts said to be inside the coffin with the mummy.<sup>78</sup> They deserve a separate mention: none of them actually bears the name Ahhotep. Their link with the queen is given by their very position and the fact that some of them bear inscriptions with the names of Kings Kamose and Ahmose, who have been linked to the queen. In this second case, the argument risks being a circular reasoning.

In all these items the sign *iʿh*, when it occurs, is inscribed according to the graphic variant prior to the end of the reign of Ahmose, *i.e.* with the lunar crescent with points upwards, a writing which perfectly matches that of the name Ahhotep on the coffin. This paleographic feature gives sure evidence of their manufacture before the end of Ahmose’s reign but *does not imply* that coffin and objects within it were designed as a single, consistent ensemble:

– A first factor of doubt is the absence of items bearing the name of the queen: the singularity of a very rich funerary equipment, in which not even a jew-

<sup>77</sup> STASSER, *RANT* 15, 143-4.

<sup>78</sup> A box with four alabaster “canopic” vases was also found with the coffin, but its precise location at the time of the retrieval is not clear. According to the letter of Maunier to Mariette, the box was found near the coffin: “une caisse renfermant quatre vases en albâtre, variés de formes, sans couvercles ni inscriptions, trouvés à côté de la boîte de momie” (MASPERO, *RT* 12, 214). Another source describes the box as placed inside the coffin: see below, p. 144 and n. 93. The description in the *Journal d’Entrée* 4727-30 agrees with their being inside the coffin. These jars were not mentioned in Mariette’s and Vassalli’s accounts. They were not inscribed, without lid and of different shapes and measures: CG 18478, 18479, 18480, 18482. VON BISSING, *Grabfund*, 23, pl. 11; LILYQUIST, *Egyptian Stone Vessels*, 23, cat. 7. Von Bissing believed that they were reused and compared their shape and manufacture to the Old Kingdom oil containers. On the equipment see MINIACI, “The original Inventory List of the Queen Ahhotep ‘Treasure’ from Mariette’s Papers (BIF Paris, *Fonds Maspero*, Ms. 4052)”, in this volume; MINIACI, “Notes on the Journal d’Entrée Entries for Queen Ahhotep’s Assemblage”, in this volume.

el or amulet bears the name of the queen for whom, apparently, it was intended is striking.<sup>79</sup>

– A further element of uncertainty could be the high number of objects placed within the coffin. However, although such a use is rather rare in the history of ancient Egyptian funerary customs, it is not isolated in the Seventeenth Dynasty. Even not taking into account Kamose’s burial, which certainly was a re-burial,<sup>80</sup> at least two similar cases can be mentioned for this period: the burial of the so-called “Qurna Queen”<sup>81</sup> and that of the official Hornakht discovered by Luigi Vassalli at Dra Abu el-Naga in 1862.<sup>82</sup> The sketch made by Vassalli and his description show how there were in the coffin some grave goods (a wooden headrest, a game-board inlaid with ivory, alabaster pots, stone scarabs). Moreover, a set of objects inscribed with names of other persons lay at his side. This assemblage can be considered as heirlooms or gifts, but it is also consistent with a diffuse recycling and circulation of earlier funerary material during the Second Intermediate Period.<sup>83</sup>

### II.2.1 – Did the treasure belong to Ahhotep?

Doubts concerning the relation of the coffin of Ahhotep CG 28501 to all the objects found within it had already been expressed by William Flinders Petrie in 1896<sup>84</sup> and later by George Daressy in 1908.<sup>85</sup> Daressy, who was the first to identify Kamose’s coffin, previously neglected in

<sup>79</sup> Devéria remarked on the fact in his letter on March 22, 1859: MASPERO, in MARIETTE, *Oeuvres diverses*, cii. Both Devéria and Maspero were persuaded that Mariette had not been able to recover all the jewels and something went lost after the passage in the harem: DEVÉRIA, *Mémoires et fragments* 2, 321, note 1; MASPERO, *Guide*, 416. Cf. WINLOCK, *JEA* 10, 254.

<sup>80</sup> His tomb, described as a pyramid, was visited by the commission appointed in the 16th year of reign of Ramesses IX and found intact: p. Abbott Pl. II, 12 (PEET, *The great tomb-robberies*, 38). The coffin was later moved from its tomb, in an undefined moment, and concealed in a hole among debris in the plain at Dra Abu el-Naga north: MINIACI, *Rishi*, 54. On its discovery and equipment see BEN AMAR, *In Monte Artium* 5.

<sup>81</sup> MAITLAND, POTTER, TROALEN, “The Burial of the ‘Qurna Queen’”, in this volume.

<sup>82</sup> VASSALLI, *Monumenti istorici*, 131; TIRADRITTI, in MARÉE (ed.), *The Second Intermediate Period*, 343-54; MINIACI, *Rishi Coffins*, 59. On Vassalli’s papers and drawings in Milan cf. LISE, *Rassegna di studi e di notizie* 13, 359-414; TIRADRITTI, in ANONYMOUS (ed.), *L’Egitologo Luigi Vassalli (1812-1887)*, 45-128, and esp. f. 36r, fig. 14 at p. 116. See also WINLOCK, *JEA* 10, 257-8. See also MINIACI, “The Discovery of Queen Ahhotep’s Burial at Dra Abu el-Naga (Thebes) in the Nineteenth Century AD: Between Tale and Archaeological Evidence”, in this volume, p. 47-9, fig. 11.

<sup>83</sup> MINIACI, *Rishi Coffins*, 58-9.

<sup>84</sup> PETRIE, *History of Egypt*, vol. II, 13.

<sup>85</sup> DARESSY, *ASAE* 9, 63.

the Cairo Museum, supposed that Kamose's and Ahhotep's coffins had been found together in 18579 or 1860 and that the jewels and other objects bearing Kamose's name in the queen's coffin were not found originally with her, but with Kamose himself.<sup>86</sup> Apparently, he ignored de Rougé's account of the discovery of the coffin in 1858 or, rather, he did not connect the description of the coffin of a "King Intef" called "Ahmès", given in the letter quoted by de Rougé in the words by Mariette himself, with that of Kamose.<sup>87</sup> The place where the king's burial had been found was clearly a cache: the report on the inspection made under Ramesses IX, preserved in the papyrus Abbott, describes the monumental king's tomb among those on the ridge of the hill, while the coffin was found in the plain, hidden under rubbish and debris, in a shallow hole, not far from the ground surface.<sup>88</sup>

The theory proposed by Petrie in 1896 is more likely instead: the original site of Ahhotep's burial would have not been located where it had been found at Dra Abu el-Naga, but it had been transported and hidden there by pious hands from a royal tomb in ancient times, when "the disorganization of government could no longer protect the tombs from thieves or foes". According to his hypothesis, "the valuables in the burial of Kames which were outside of his mummy had been hurriedly heaped together into the coffin of Aah-hotep's own burial".<sup>89</sup> Petrie remarked that no object bearing the name of Kamose was found within the bandages of the queen, but "only loose in the open coffin".<sup>90</sup> He probably referred there to the description given by Mariette in the Catalogue of the Bulaq Museum.<sup>91</sup> Winlock, who discussed

<sup>86</sup> "Un doute peut s'élever dans l'esprit : n'aurait-il pas été mis au jour en même temps que le cercueil de la reine Aahbotep, et les Arabes n'auraient-ils pas mis dans la cuve de cette dernière les objets trouvés avec la momie de Kamès : l'éventail, la barque en or, etc.? On sait, en effet, que les circonstances de la découverte d'Aahhotep sont assez mystérieuses et que cette trouvaille a failli être perdue pour la science" ("A doubt may arise in the mind: would it not have been uncovered at the same time as the coffin of Queen Aahbotep, and would the Arabs not have put in her case the objects found with the mummy of Kames: the fan, the golden boat, etc.? We know, in fact, that the circumstances of Aahhotep's discovery are quite mysterious and that this find was almost lost to science").

<sup>87</sup> See DE ROUGÉ, *CRAIBL* 2, 120 and above n. 1. Mariette's description of the finds inside the coffin, echoed by H. Brugsch's letter to von Humboldt, neatly separates the two findings of King Kamose and Queen Ahhotep. See also MINIACI, "The Discovery of Queen Ahhotep's Burial", in this volume, 65, 75-7.

<sup>88</sup> WINLOCK, *JEA* 10, 260.

<sup>89</sup> PETRIE, *History of Egypt*, vol. II, 13.

<sup>90</sup> *Ibidem*.

<sup>91</sup> MARIETTE, *Notice*, 5<sup>th</sup> ed., 256, item 810: "Deux barques d'or et d'argent, des haches de bronze, de gros bracelets de jambe ont été trouvés à côté d'elle, sur le bois du cercueil. Entre

the issue in 1924, was convinced of the reliability of Mariette's, Devéria's, Desjardins' and Vassalli's views and objected to Petrie's remarks that the position among the wrappings or outside them could simply be due to the different size of the objects.<sup>92</sup>

Since the pertinence of the queen's coffin with a part of its outfit is crucial to the problem of her identity, it is worth reviewing the information we have on the find itself.

### II.2.2 – The find

As told at the beginning, Mariette was not present at the discovery of the coffin. The first direct document we have concerning the retrieval is the letter that Maunier sent him. Surprisingly, Maunier said nothing there about the treasure: maybe, worried about keeping the find safe, he ordered Mariette's team to immediately seal the case to protect it from the greed of malicious, thus having not even the time and opportunity to see the treasure. However, this singular omission feeds the doubts expressed by myself and other scholars about the true circumstances of the discovery.

Although many elements are still obscure, the testimony of a Qurna *fellâh* reported by Howard Carter seriously raises the question of the reliability of Mariette's accounts of the find. Unfortunately, we possess his story only indirectly. It is recorded by Carter in some unpublished notes belonging to his autobiographical sketches.<sup>93</sup> Carter reported an account from Ahmed Saïd el-Hagg, father of his servant Abd el-Arl: the man, an old peasant when Carter met him in the first years of his staying at Thebes, provided him with an accurate description of the find-spot of the queen's coffin. The man, "a devout, straight-forward *fellâh*, who apparently only forsook his crops to dig for 'Antiquas' when he was out-of-work during the season of inundation", had found the coffin, as he said, after many weeks of toil at the extreme northern boundary of the hill-slope of Dra Abu el-Naga, near some hidden brick vaults. Carter's notes for his unpublished autobiography give some slightly different versions of the story. According to the most complete, Ahmed Saïd had found a massive wooden coffin containing a mummy, four alabaster canopic jars and a bundle of gold and silver ornaments, tucked away in a hole hollowed out of

*les linges mal noués étaient déposés, comme au hasard, des poignards, une hache d'or, une chaîne garnie de trois mouches d'or, un pectoral. Enfin le cadavre lui-même était revêtu d'une autre chaîne d'or ornée d'un scarabée, de bracelets, d'un diadème, etc."*

<sup>92</sup> WINLOCK, *JEA* 10, 254.

<sup>93</sup> On this account and its versions in the Griffith Institute Archive at Oxford and in the Metropolitan Museum of Art at New York, see in detail BETRÒ, "A Note to Carter Manuscripts and the Discovery of Ahhotep's Coffin (Cairo CG 28501)", in this volume.



the side of one of those vaults, and then carefully covered up with mud bricks as if to hide it. Carter located the brick vaults “*deep below*” TT 155.<sup>94</sup>

In Ahmed Saïd’s words, he himself had found the coffin. If we believe his account as reported by Carter, it casts a completely different light on the story: the coffin had not been discovered by Mariette’s team but by a fellâh acting alone, an independent illicit digger, with a few men in his employ. The news, that his workers spread out of envy, had reached the inspector Gabet and Maunier – and through them Mariette – as well as the Governor of the Province, who quickly seized everything and gave notice of the discovery to the Khedive, Saïd Pasha. This could explain the many uncertain and sometimes contradictory details in Mariette’s reports and also the strange fact that Maunier in his letter to Mariette said nothing about the silver and gold objects in the coffin.

That a striking assemblage of gold and silver objects had been found in the queen’s coffin at its opening is attested by Carter’s account. Even if the story of the discovery might just have been a boast of the man, many interesting details make it credible that he had seen with his own eyes the “*bundle of gold and silver ornaments*” placed beside the mummy in the coffin. This implies that:

- 1) The precious objects were inside the coffin at the time of his discovery
- 2) They had been put there in a bundle

This last detail suggests that possibly the people who hid the coffin had gathered scattered parts of one or more royal equipment, and had put them into some linen, by making a bundle and placing it into Ahhotep’s coffin in order to transport everything more easily.

The description of the place where the coffin was found seems to point out to a cache: although the brick vaults could also refer to an unrecognized mudbrick superstructure over or near the original burial place of the queen,<sup>95</sup> the hole expressly hollowed out of a side of the

vault and the bricks to hide it seem to be eloquent markers. The coffin probably was at a low depth under the rubble: this recalls the re-burial of Kamose.

If credit is to be given to this account, it seems to support the hypothesis put forward by Petrie. As Petrie remarked, those who buried the coffin with the treasure were not “*any regular tomb thieves, such as plundered the tombs in the Ramesside age. Neither of such parties would encumber themselves with moving a great coffin and a mummy, when all the valuables might be gathered up in a few minutes and put into a bag*”.<sup>96</sup>

Petrie’s idea that the place where Ahhotep had been found was a cache was echoed and accepted by Winlock, who agreed with him.<sup>97</sup> Winlock assumed that, for reasons of territorial competence, “*the guardians of the Valley of the Kings were moving the royal mummies under their care to the tombs of Seti I and Amenophis II, and thence to those of Inhapi and Amenophis I, the guardians of the Dira’ Abu’l-Naga were removing their charges, one by one, to holes in the plain in their own district*”. Modern research has highlighted the involvement of the Theban High Priests of Amun in what was a massive and systematic State operation, with multiple caches and transitions from one to the other.<sup>98</sup> Many of the tombs of this period at Dra Abu el-Naga, targeted by thieves during the reign of Ramesses IX, were emptied from the Twenty-first Dynasty onwards and their royal occupants transferred in collective secret sepulchers (caches). For unknown reasons few mummies were reburied at Dra Abu el-Naga, such as those of Kamose and Ahhotep.<sup>99</sup> Daniel Polz has proposed that these were

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(eds), *Ägypten-Münster*, 81 remarks that Kim Ryholt and Ann Macy Roth presumed that the coffin CG 28501 and its contents represented Ahhotep’s original, undisturbed interment, and that Nicholas Reeves also referred to the find as “*an important and clearly intact burial*”. Aidan Dodson interpreted instead Carter’s information in a radically divergent way, as a cache, and Eaton-Krauss agrees with him: on the ground of Daniel Polz’s excavation at Dra Abu el-Naga (POLZ, in GUKSCH, POLZ (eds), 25-42), she states that it is now known that “*Seventeenth Dynasty royalty were interred in tombs on the ridge at Dra Abu el-Naga, not buried in the plain*” (p. 82). She believes more likely that the “*brick-lined vault*” was a ruined chapel like Daniel Polz has cleared in the area rather than her original burial chamber.

<sup>96</sup> PETRIE, *History of Egypt*, vol. II, 10.

<sup>97</sup> WINLOCK, *JEA* 10, 274 and note 1: “*PETRIE, History, ii, 10, states this to have been the case with Ahhotep and infers that it was probably done with other royalties. He discards the frequently stated idea that thieves carried off her coffin intact, and the heretofore unnoticed fact that at least three other similar cases existed, demonstrates that his explanation must be right*”.

<sup>98</sup> REEVES, *Valley of the Kings*; JANSEN-WINKELN, *ZÄS* 122, 62-78.

<sup>99</sup> TAYLOR, in WILKINSON, REEVES (eds), *The Oxford Hand-*

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<sup>94</sup> Ibidem. WINLOCK, *JEA* 10, 252, n. 2 mentioned that Carter had heard a tradition in Qurna that the site was near TT 155, but he was not aware of the exact source of Carter. It is not clear whether Carter’s expression “*deep below*” should be understood as an indication of the underground depth: both MARIETTE, *BIE* 1, 161 and DESJARDINS, *RGA* 18, 98-9, report that the coffin was placed in a hole about 5-6 metres deep: see MINIACI, “*The Discovery of Queen Ahhotep’s Burial*”, in this volume, p. 50-1, for the opposite descriptions shaft/shallow hole. It seems preferable here that Carter intended to indicate the position further down the valley than Theban Tomb 155 (see below).

<sup>95</sup> On mudbrick ceremonial structures in the Seventeenth Dynasty cf. GALÁN, *JEA* 103/2, 183 and 188 and POLZ, *Der Beginn*, 239-45. EATON-KRAUSS, in BLÖBAUM, KAHL, SCHWEITZER



“modern” reburials, made during the first part of the nineteenth century by grave robbers, who for some reason never recovered their booty.<sup>100</sup> However, the transport and concealing of the coffins of Ahhotep and Kamose, with their mummies and equipment inside, was not a one-man affair. It seems unlikely that no member of the gang, no relatives or friends were able to retrieve the hidden treasures in the many years elapsed between the robbery and their late discovery by Mariette’s team.

### II.2.3 – *Intact coffin or secondary treasure*

To whom the jewels and other precious objects found in Ahhotep’s coffin belonged is still an open question. As already remarked above, not a single piece among them was inscribed in name of the queen,<sup>101</sup> making it difficult to believe that they were gifts from family members to her. If this is the case, the conclusion that they had been placed within the coffin at a later time is compelling. Unfortunately, due to the circumstances of the find, no archaeological report, able to detect the traces of a possible previous opening of the coffin, is available. All that we have are the rather imprecise and indirect accounts of Mariette and his collaborators, and the second-hand description of Carter. Thus, it is impossible to say whether it was found intact in its original coffin or, as Petrie supposed, it was a secondary treasure, *i.e.* in ancient times somebody had gathered inside the case the grave goods from other royal burials. Such an assumption would leave open many possible alternatives, which will be examined below.

If the hypothesis of an intact coffin with its original equipment is instead accepted, the royal names on the objects would suggest, as the most logical scenario, that the queen had been the wife of Kamose, from whom she received the fan and the model of the silver boat, while his husband’s successor, Ahmose, had in turn presented her with the jewelry and other objects (see Pls IV-V, VII, XII-XIII, XV, XVII-XIX). Less probable, but not entirely to be ruled out, is that the sphinx bracelet found in her treasure (CG 52642) was given to her by Senakhtenre: the jewel is in fact inscribed with only the name Ahmose in the cartouche, and it is now known that this was Senakhtenre’s son-of-Re name (*nomen*) and that he was the first king to bear it<sup>102</sup> (see Pls IV, VII, XII; JE 4680). Thus it could refer to him and not to the first king of the Eighteenth Dynasty. She might have been his first “Great Royal Wife”.

book, 362.

<sup>100</sup> POLZ, *Der Beginn*, 169-72, esp. 170.

<sup>101</sup> See above, p. 133.

<sup>102</sup> BISTON-MOULIN, *ENiM* 5, 66.

### III. Some (provisional) Conclusions on the Queen Ahhotep from Dra Abu el-Naga

The existence of (at least) two Queens Ahhotep and the identification of the queen once buried in CG 61006 as the mother of King Ahmose are the cornerstones for securing the identity of the queen buried in CG 28501. The Ahhotep coffin found in the cache at Deir el-Bahri constitutes, together with the coffins of Ahmose-Neferuari and Merytamon, a well individualized set with distinct and unique features, better suitable slightly later, in a more advanced phase of the Ahmoside period.<sup>103</sup>

The diagnostic presence of the hieroglyph *i<sup>c</sup>h* with upwards horns, together with the stylistic features of the coffin CG 28501, frame a chronological time span which fits well the last part of the Seventeenth Dynasty–early Eighteenth Dynasty.

Considering all the data collected so far, a number of fixed points emerge:

a) Ahhotep, owner of CG 28501, was neither the mother nor the daughter of a king, nor did she have any brothers who ascended the throne.<sup>104</sup> She certainly was “Great Royal Wife” and *hnm.t nfr h<sup>d</sup>.t*.

b) The resemblance of Ahhotep’s coffin to that of Se-genenre, widely emphasised by Winlock,<sup>105</sup> is a strong argument in favour of their simultaneous manufacture, taken up by various later studies.<sup>106</sup> Ahhotep also shares with the latter the type of wood (cedar), a valuable material and therefore a significant element, and the length, 212 cm, which is greater than that of the others. The presence of the *sema-tawy* motif on the base of both coffins, as attested by the above-mentioned photograph of Théodule Devéria<sup>107</sup> (see Figs 3, 5), is further evidence of their being manufactured in the same workshop and time. However, as pointed out, many are the similarities also with the coffins of Sekhemre Wepmaat Intef and Nubkheperre Intef. Furthermore, an objective and complete evaluation would need a comparison with Senakhtenre’s coffin, which is missing, never found.

This group of coffins certainly represents a closed set, which reflects the style of an era and a milieu, that of the royalty and the highest level of society at the time,<sup>108</sup>

<sup>103</sup> ROTH in TEETER, LARSON (eds), *Gold of praise*, 366-8.

<sup>104</sup> This excludes the hypothesis that she was daughter of Nubkheperre Intef, as BLANKENBERG-VAN DELDEN proposed, while his assumption that she married Senakhtenre is still valid: *GM* 47, 15-9; *GM* 49, 17-18; *GM* 54, 35-8.

<sup>105</sup> WINLOCK, *JEA* 10, 251, no. 5.

<sup>106</sup> Cf. MINIACI, *Rishi Coffins*, 123-4.

<sup>107</sup> See p. 140, and n. 65.

<sup>108</sup> Kamose’s coffin (as well as that of Sekhemre Heruhermaat Intef: see below) is an exception: it was probably hastily pro-

over a period of time that was probably no longer than thirty years or so. A greater similarity of Ahhotep's coffin to that of Seqenenre, as highlighted by Winlock,<sup>109</sup> might suggest that they had been both commissioned together, possibly by Seqenenre himself during his lifetime. This however does not necessarily imply a marriage between the two but only that the queen probably died during his reign.

c) Whether or not the treasure inside the coffin CG 28501 belonged to Ahhotep is a discriminating factor in defining her position in the dynasty and the identity of her royal spouse: if the treasure was part of her original equipment, the most likely hypothesis is that she was Kamose's wife. If not, other possible alternatives must be taken into account.

Evidence described so far seems to suggest that the treasure did not belong to her but was a secondary assemblage: it is indeed inconceivable that not even a jewel or other object was inscribed in her name in her own burial equipment. In this respect, it is useful to compare the opposite case of Queen Sobekemsaf, "Great Royal Wife" of King Nubkheperre Intef: a pair of gold spacer bars from a bracelet, probably coming from her tomb, were inscribed both with the names of the queen and her husband.<sup>110</sup> The same can be said for a now lost gold pendant, probably from the same tomb, which also bore the names and titles of the queen with Nubkheperre.<sup>111</sup>

The presence of objects inscribed in the name of Ahmose and Kamose is therefore no longer decisive in indicating their family relationship with the queen, except in the broader context of the dynastic line.

An important new element regarding the assortment of objects in the treasure has been brought by Peter Lacovara in this same volume:<sup>112</sup> a set of unbaked marl-clay models was found by the expedition of George Reisner at Deir el-Ballas, in the North Palace founded by Seqenenre, including boats, flies, swords, daggers and

bracelets. This assemblage, parallel to that found in the coffin of the queen, seems to convey a symbolic meaning, commemorating the victory over the Hyksos. The models were found "at the western edge of the casemate core of the palace, placed on the desert surface". As Lacovara remarks, they were probably put there after the palace was abandoned, during the reign of Ahmose.<sup>113</sup> They give a fascinating insight onto the imagery of the period which saw the wars with the Hyksos and the Egyptian final victory, mirrored as well in the precious pieces of the so called Ahhotep treasure. However, this does not provide a more precise date, nor does it shed any light on the original owners of the assemblage: the symbolic value of these objects and their grouping may have been asserted under any of the kings who led the wars against the Hyksos, and the various objects found in Ahhotep's coffin may have been part of one or more equipments, either of those kings or of Ahhotep herself.

d) In the circumscribed time span at the end of the Seventeenth Dynasty, Ahhotep might have been the "Great Royal Wife" of any of the kings who reigned in that period: Sekhemre Wepmaat Intef, Nubkheperre Intef, Sekhemre Heruhermaat Intef, Senakhtenre Ahmose, Seqenenre Tao and Kamose.<sup>114</sup>

Studies so far have always taken into account that only one "Great Royal Wife" could exist at a time, thus leaving as the only "available" candidates Sekhemre Wepmaat<sup>115</sup> and Kamose.<sup>116</sup> Nubkheperre had indeed Sobekemsaf as his "Great Royal Wife",<sup>117</sup> Sekhemre Heruhermaat probably died almost immediately after ascending the throne,<sup>118</sup> Senakhtenre is usually assigned Queen Tetishery, and Seqenenre Queen Ahhotep, mother of Ahmose and owner of the coffin CG 61006 from Deir el-Bahri cache.

It must be admitted however that a king may have had more than one "Great Royal Wife" in his lifetime, if, for instance, the first "Great Wife" died prematurely,

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cured for the king's burial from an undertaker's stock, due to the extraordinary conditions of the war and the unexpected sudden death of the king. The paleography of the inscription, with its mutilated hieroglyphs (POLZ, *Der Beginn*, 25; MINIACI, *RdE* 61, 113-34, esp. p. 130), seems to prove however that it was the original coffin.

<sup>109</sup> Winlock was certainly able to carry out a thorough examination of the two coffins, both in the Cairo Museum, but one wonders whether he was able to examine and compare as closely the others, one in London, the other in Paris.

<sup>110</sup> ANDREWS, *Ancient Egyptian Jewellery*, 65b; RUSSMANN, *Eternal Egypt*, 84; MINIACI *et. al.*, *BMTRB* 7, 53-60; POLZ, *Der Beginn*, 38-42, 342-3, cat. 46a-b.

<sup>111</sup> POLZ, *Der Beginn*, Kat. 47.

<sup>112</sup> LACOVARA, "The Treasure of Ahhotep in Archaeological Context", in this volume.

<sup>113</sup> LACOVARA, "The Treasure of Ahhotep in Archaeological Context", in this volume, p.158.

<sup>114</sup> I follow here the chronological sequence of their reigns outlined by Polz, see POLZ, in MARÉE (ed.), *The Second Intermediate Period*, 343-53 and POLZ, in FORSTNER-MÜLLER, MOELLER (eds), *The Hyksos*, 218.

<sup>115</sup> VANDERSLEYEN, *L'Égypte*, vol. II, 198-9; LEBLANC, *Reines du Nil*, 30.

<sup>116</sup> VANDERSLEYEN, *CdE* 52, 243; ROTH, *Serapis* 4, 35; TROY, *GM* 35, 85.

<sup>117</sup> GRAJETZKI, *Ancient Egyptian Queens*, 44.

<sup>118</sup> No documents of Sekhemre Heruhermaat are known, except for his coffin: this lack of monuments, together with the crudity of the coffin, presumably procured from an undertaker's stock, suggests a very short reign, and rules him out of the potential royal spouses of Ahhotep: WINLOCK, *JEA* 10, 267.

not a rare event, especially because of the high rate of childbirth mortality or, as suggested by Robins, during an epidemic.<sup>119</sup> Moreover, Tetisheri received the title of “Great King’s Wife” only on posthumous documents, thus Senakhtenre may have had a “Great Royal Wife” earlier.<sup>120</sup>

Seqenenre had certainly one “Royal Wife”, Satdjehuty,<sup>121</sup> daughter of Tetisheri, and one “Great Royal Wife”, Ahhotep, owner of CG 61006 and mother of Ahmose. He might have had another earlier “Great Royal Wife” in Ahhotep from Dra Abu el-Naga, but there is an argument arguing against this possibility: Princess Henutempe, daughter of Ahhotep, on her coffin bore the title of “King’s Daughter” but not that of “King’s Sister”. As pointed out above, if she were sister of King Ahmose she would have claimed it on her coffin,<sup>122</sup> as, for instance, Princess Ahmose, daughter of Seqenenre and Satdjehuty, made on her funerary shroud in Turin<sup>123</sup> (see Table 1).

Sekhemre Wepmaat Intef, Senakhtenre Ahmose and Kamose are probably the best candidates. By trying to infer from the above data and outline a plausible hypothesis – which nevertheless remains a hypothesis – Senakhtenre is in my opinion the most likely:<sup>124</sup> the resemblance of Ahhotep’s and Seqenenre’s coffins would be easily explained if Seqenenre had taken care of his father’s coffin (which we do not possess, but we can imagine to be very similar) and that of his first “Great Royal Wife”. And the sphinx bracelet with only the name Ahmose would be an intriguing element to support this hypothesis. Ahmose-Meryetamun is still, in my opinion, an excellent candidate as “Great Royal Wife” of Kamose.<sup>125</sup>

<sup>119</sup> ROBINS, *GM* 56, 73. Cf. above, p. 137.

<sup>120</sup> Cf. p. 137.

<sup>121</sup> On some inscribed fragments of her funerary shroud in Turin (Museo Egizio, Suppl. 5051), the Princess Ahmose refers directly to her father as Seqenenre and her mother as Satdjehuty (RONSECCO, *Due Libri dei Morti*, 30). The princess bears the titles of “Royal Daughter, Royal Sister”, which implies that one of her brothers, son of Seqenenre, is king, while Satdjehuty bears those of “Royal Daughter, Royal Sister, Royal Wife” (GRIMM, SCHOSKE, *Im Zeichen des Mondes*, 21-2, Abb. 20). This series of titles makes probable, but not certain, that Senakhtenre was the father of both Seqenenre and Satdjehuty: WINLOCK, *JEA* 10, 246; VON BECKERATH, *Untersuchungen*, 192-3; VANDERSLEYEN, *LÄ V*, col. 847-8, s.v. Senachtenre. Cf. for this issue, the recent discussion of BISTON-MOULIN, *ENiM* 5, 66.

<sup>122</sup> STASSER, *RANT* 15, 143-4.

<sup>123</sup> See above n. 121.

<sup>124</sup> See also BLANKENBERG-VAN DELDEN, *GM* 47, 15-19; *GM* 49, 17-18; *GM* 54, 35-8.

<sup>125</sup> BETRÒ, *EVO* 30, 55-68, especially p. 67; BETRÒ, in IVANOV, TOLMACHEVA (eds), *Studies in Honour of Galina A. Belova*, 73-84, esp. p. 81-2.

Too many data are however missing to propose a well-founded hypothesis: we do not know the length of the reigns of those kings and their sequence itself is still debated. The absence of Ahhotep’s mummy does not allow us to understand whether she died old and occupied her role for many years or, vice versa, whether her death was premature.

In Ann Macy Roth’s discussion on the Ahhotep coffins, one of the most significant results of her research is having demonstrated the many conceivable alternative relationships and “*the great variety of possibilities allowed by the evidence*”. She chose “the simplest reconstruction” but she herself commented that “*history, like life, does not always happen in the most straightforward way*”.<sup>126</sup>

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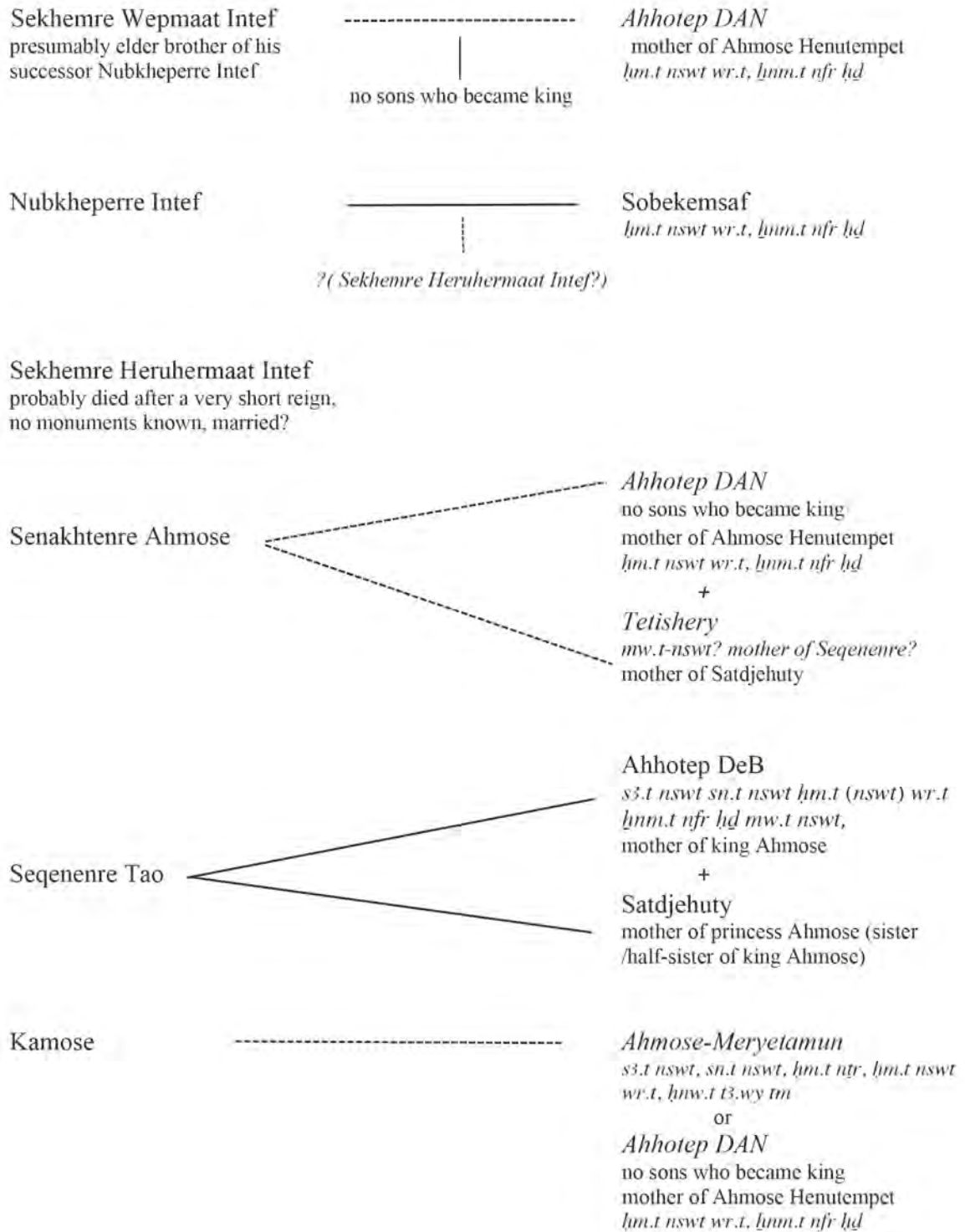
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Legenda: Ahhotep DAN = Ahhotep owner of CG 28501; Ahhotep DeB = owner of CG 61006

*Dashed line and Italics = hypothetical relationship*

**Table 1** – Possible royal couples from Kings Selhemre Wepmaat Intef to Wadjkheperre Kamose

Document	<i>hm.t nswt wr.t</i>	<i>mw.t nswt</i>	<i>hm.t-nswt</i>	<i>hnm.t nfr ḥd</i>	sign <i>iḥ</i> upwards
Coffin Cairo CG 28501	x	—	—	x	x
Coffin Cairo CG 61006	x	x	—	x	--
Stela Cairo CG 34001	--	x	x	--	--
Lintel from Buhen Philadelphia University Museum E 10987	--	x	x	--	x
Statue of Prince Ahmose Louvre E 15682	--	—	—	x	x
Coffin of Anaat, mentioning princess Ahmose-Tumerisi, St. Petersburg	x	x	—	--	--
Statuette fragment of Ahmose- Nebtta Louvre N 496	x	x	—	--	--
Coffin of Ahmose-Henutempet	x	--	—	--	--
Stela of Kares Cairo 34003		x	—	--	--
Theban Tomb 12 ( <i>hry</i> )	--	x	x	—	--
<i>ḥi-sz</i> Overseer of the Granary of the King's Mother Ahhotep ( <i>RecTrav</i> 7, 1886, 179.4)	--	x	—	--	--
Stela of Aamtjw Herald of the King's Mother Ahhotep MMA 19.3.32	--	x	—	--	x
Stela of Iwf Cairo 34009	x	x	—	--	--
Small ebony ointment box in Berlin, now lost (MÜLLER-FELDMANN, <i>ZÄS</i> 84)	--	—	x	—	--
Scarab BM 26981	?	--	?	--	x
Scarab Louvre E 3297	--	x	—	--	x

**Table 2** – Sources mentioning a queen Ahhotep contemporary to her time (updated from TROY, *GM* 35, 1979)

## The Treasure of Ahhotep in Archaeological Context

Peter Lacovara

### Abstract

*The burial of Queen Ahhotep represents one of the most significant finds in Near Eastern Archaeology. Unfortunately, the circumstances of its discovery at Dra Abu el-Naga has left many questions open. Some have postulated that the treasure did not represent a grave group but a disparate collection of material or a robber's cache. A review of the archaeology of the period shows that the treasure was not only in keeping with tradition but reflected Ahhotep's role in the Hyksos expulsion.*

The burial of Ahhotep discovered in Western Thebes in 1859 was one of the most important discoveries in the history of Egyptology.<sup>1</sup> Unfortunately, the gilded coffin (JE 28501) and a trove of magnificent jewels and objects belonging to a queen named Ahhotep (see Pls I-II, IX-X) bearing the titles *hm.t nswt wr.t hnm.t nfr hḏ.t*, “Great Royal Wife, She who is joined to the White Crown”,<sup>2</sup> was not properly supervised with the result that some of the treasure was scattered and the bandages and remains of the mummy lost.<sup>3</sup> The uncertainties this engendered has occasioned much speculation. Some scholars have even suggested that the find was actually an amalgam of disparate objects from a number of burials artificially grouped together.<sup>4</sup>

Since the profusion of objects found in the coffin has prompted some to question the veracity of the attribution of the treasure it is worth looking at contemporary burials to provide an answer. While this might seem unusual in the history of ancient Egyptian funerary customs, it is not an isolated instance in the Seventeenth Dynasty. Besides the objects reported to have been found in Kamose's coffin, which included a dagger, a mirror, a scarab, amulets, and elements from a gold archer's brace similar to the one from Ahhotep's tomb group;<sup>5</sup> there is also the burial of the high official Hornakht discovered by Luigi Vassalli at Dra Abu el-Naga in 1862.<sup>6</sup> Within

<sup>1</sup> REEVES, *Great Discoveries*, 50-2.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. BETRÒ, “The Identity of Ahhotep and the Textual Sources”, in this volume.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. MINIACI, “The Discovery of Queen Ahhotep's Burial at Dra Abu el-Naga (Thebes) in the Nineteenth Century AD: Between Tale and Archaeological Evidence”, in this volume.

<sup>4</sup> HARVEY, *The Cults of King Ahmose*, 54; Dorothea Arnold,

personal communication; PETRIE, *History of Egypt*, vol. II, 13; DARESSY, *ASAE* 9, 63.

<sup>5</sup> MINIACI, *Rishi Coffins*, 54-7.

<sup>6</sup> VASSALLI, *Monument Historici*, 131; TIRADRITTI, in MARÉE (ed.), *The Second Intermediate Period*, 343-54; MINIACI, *Rishi Coffins*, 59. On Vassalli's papers and drawings in Milan cf. LISE, *Rassegna di studi e di notizie* 13, 359-414; TIRADRITTI, in ANONYMOUS (ed.), *L'Egittologo Luigi Vassalli*, 45-128; see also WINLOCK, *JEA* 10, 257-8.



the coffin was a wealth of objects including sandals, a wooden headrest, a game-board, three kohl pots, a set of razors and tweezers, and a comb placed in a basket.<sup>7</sup>

An intact burial of a presumably royal woman of the late Seventeenth Dynasty was discovered in this general area by Petrie and is now housed in the National Museums of Scotland.<sup>8</sup> The woman had been buried in an elaborate, gilded, *rishi*-style coffin along with a wealth of jewelry, including a gold *shebyu* collar, gold earrings and bracelets and girdle; in the coffin itself was also placed a wooden head rest, a kohl pot of obsidian and a basket containing another kohl pot of 'Egyptian alabaster' and kohl stick.<sup>9</sup> Beside the coffin were placed furniture and ceramic vessels, and offerings of grapes, dates, assorted loaves and cakes and at the foot of her coffin was a rectangular box containing the body of a young child.

The recent discovery of a Third Intermediate Period reburial of the coffin of Neb in Dra Abu el-Naga is another example of reinterment of these burials at the close of the New Kingdom.<sup>10</sup> The well-preserved *rishi*-coffin appears to have been removed from its original tomb and re-buried inside the funerary shaft UE 1007, 110 m southwest from the base of the pyramid of King Nubkheperre Intef,<sup>11</sup> probably close to its original burial ground. Associated with the burial were a wooden funerary figurine and a small un-inscribed clay shabti, both datable to the Third Intermediate Period.<sup>12</sup>

This last and latest discovery adds weight to the suggestion that the aforementioned burials including that of Ahhotep were re-burials interred at the beginning of the Third Intermediate Period.<sup>13</sup> The Qurna burial in Edinburgh may also fit into this pattern. Two small, clay shabtis of Third Intermediate Period date accessioned with it<sup>14</sup> have been suggested to have been confused

with others from the excavations;<sup>15</sup> however it is notable that the shabtis associated with the Qurna burial are not exactly similar to the ones they have been suggested to have been confused with<sup>16</sup> and they show a considerable amount of wear as opposed to the others recovered from a different context.

Likewise, the suggestion that these burials were associated with pyramids which have been removed,<sup>17</sup> seems unlikely given that they would be gone entirely without a trace. That these shallow graves in the earth would have been beneath them would not fit the pattern of earlier royal pyramid burials in Dra Abu el-Naga which possessed distinct burial chambers.<sup>18</sup> Certainly the place where the coffin of Kamose had been found,<sup>19</sup> does not comport with the description of his burial in a pyramid, *mr*, as noted in the Abbot Papyrus.<sup>20</sup> That Kamose's reburial preserved his grave goods intact within the coffin then lends credence to the idea that Ahhotep's treasure was also a reburial. These more reverent re-interments may have dated to the beginning of a long process of exhumations that ended with the royal caches of D. B. 320 and the others in the Valley of the Kings<sup>21</sup> where the process became to be seen as much of an income generator as a safeguard for the royal mummies.<sup>22</sup>

Another coffin inscribed for Ahhotep (CG 61006) in the DB 320 cache has also been the center of conjecture. The 1881, the discovery of the cache at Deir el-Bahri revealed a monumental coffin inscribed for a queen named Ahhotep with the titles: *s3.t nswt sn.t nswt hm.t (nswt) wr.t hnm.t nfr hd.t mw.t nswt*, "King's Daughter, King's Sister, Great (Royal) Wife, She who is joined to the White Crown, King's Mother". The coffin did not contain the mummy of Ahhotep, but rather the body of Pinudjem I.<sup>23</sup>

Since the additional title *mw.t nswt* "King's Mother" does not appear on the Dra Abu el-Naga coffin, it would not be the first time that dissimilar inscriptions were found on inner and outer coffins of the same in-

<sup>7</sup> Another reburial of a coffin of this period containing a group of objects was that of Ti-Abu Lady of Elephantine found in the recent excavations of the University of Strasbourg in the Asasif. Objects placed in the coffin included a headrest, a mirror, a wood box with razors, a basket, an "Egyptian alabaster" kohl pot, wood cosmetic spoons, and a faience vessel, and other objects, cf. COLIN, *BSFE* 201, 121-47. Similar assortments of objects placed in coffins of the Seventeenth Dynasty and early Eighteenth Dynasty were discovered in earlier work in the Asasif, CARNARVON, CARTER, *Five Years' Explorations at Thebes*, 74, 80-2, 84-6.

<sup>8</sup> Cf. MAITLAND, POTTER, TROALEN, "The Burial of the 'Qurna Queen'", in this volume.

<sup>9</sup> PETRIE, *Qurna*, 6-10, pls XXII-XXIX.

<sup>10</sup> GALÁN, JIMÉNEZ-HIGUERAS, in MINIACI, GRAJETZKI (eds), *World of Middle Kingdom Egypt*, vol I, 101-19.

<sup>11</sup> POLZ, SEILER, *Die Pyramidenanlage*; POLZ, in MARÉE (ed.), *The Second Intermediate Period*, 343-53.

<sup>12</sup> *Ibidem*, 105-6.

<sup>13</sup> WINLOCK, *JEA* 10, 274 and n. 1.

<sup>14</sup> 1909.527.37 examined by the author.

<sup>15</sup> MAITLAND, POTTER, TROALEN, "The Burial of the 'Qurna Queen'", in this volume.

<sup>16</sup> Compare Manchester Museum 5053.g. I am grateful to Margaret Serpico for tracking down these items.

<sup>17</sup> MAITLAND, POTTER, TROALEN, "The Burial of the 'Qurna Queen'", in this volume.

<sup>18</sup> POLZ, *Der Beginn*, 139-44.

<sup>19</sup> WINLOCK, *JEA* 10, 252; MARIETTE, *CRAIBL* 3, 161; VASSALLI, *Monumenti storici*, 128-31.

<sup>20</sup> His tomb was visited by the commission appointed in the 16th year of reign of Ramesses IX, PEET, *Tomb-Robberies*, 38; WINLOCK, *Rise and Fall*, 106-8.

<sup>21</sup> REEVES, *Valley of the Kings*, 181-244.

<sup>22</sup> ALDRED, in RUFFLE, GABALLA, KITCHEN (eds), *Glimpses of Ancient Egypt*, 96-8.

<sup>23</sup> Cf. DARESSY, *Cercueils*, 8-9. See fig. 2 in BETRÒ, "The Identity of Ahhotep and the Textual Sources", in this volume.

dividual. The presence of additional titles on this coffin has caused many scholars to hypothesize that there was more than one Ahhotep,<sup>24</sup> but no other historical conformation exists for any additional queens with the same name. Likewise the variant orthography of the sign *j<sup>c</sup>h*, written with an inverted crescent on the Dra Abu el-Naga coffin in contrast to the later form of the sign on Deir el Bahri coffin, also cannot be considered firm evidence for a second Ahhotep, as variant orthography is also something not unusual on different items of funerary furniture in a single burial and paleographic changes, as in other aspects of material culture, do not occur at precise intervals. Indeed, two rings of Ahhotep in the Louvre exhibit both variants of the *j<sup>c</sup>h*, sign and most likely come from either the Kamose or Ahhotep burials.<sup>25</sup> It also is possible that the outer coffin could have been made for Ahhotep at a slightly later date and to reflect her more exalted status.<sup>26</sup>

As has already been noted by Bettina Schmitz,<sup>27</sup> the style of this pair of coffins is remarkably similar to that of the nested coffins of Merytamun discovered by Winlock at Deir el-Bahri.<sup>28</sup> While it does appear that the dimensions of the Dra Abu el-Naga coffin would not fit within the Deir el-Bahri coffin,<sup>29</sup> it is however the case in ancient Egypt that inner and outer coffins do not always match.<sup>30</sup> Indeed, the odd opening at the back may have been intended to allow the insertion of the Dra Abu el-Naga coffin into the upper part of the Deir el-Bahri one where it is deepest and the copper bands securing it would have allowed a loose fit, had it been possible. It could also be that if made later,<sup>31</sup> as has been suggested by Marianne Eaton-Krauss, the outer coffin could have had an internal space that was discovered to be too small to be used and so was kept until pressed into service for the burial of Pinudjem I.<sup>32</sup>

<sup>24</sup> Cf. YOYOTTE, *ASR* 73, 82; LECLANT, *L'A* II, col. 794, 807, no. 25; VANDERSLEYEN, *L'A* III, 306-8 and VANDERSLEYEN, *CdE* 52, 237; GITTON, *Ahmes Néfertary*, 35, no. 58; ROTH, *Serapis* 4, 31-40; ROBINS, *GM* 30, 71-5; TROY, *GM* 35, 81-91; GITTON, *Divines épouses*, 9-12. See also discussions in BETRÒ, "The Identity of Ahhotep and the Textual Sources", in this volume.

<sup>25</sup> GUERRA, PAGÈS-CAMAGNA, *JCH* 36, 144.

<sup>26</sup> EATON-KRAUSS, *CdE* 65, 204. I am also grateful to Marianne Eaton-Krauss for her suggestions. In addition, Stephen P. Harvey (personal communication) has suggested that the coffins of Ahmose (CG 61002) and that of Siamun (CG 61059) originally were a nested pair made for Ahmose and so it may be that the concept of an inner and outer coffin was introduced in his reign and the Ahhotep outer coffin commissioned then.

<sup>27</sup> SCHMITZ, *CdE* 53, 207-21.

<sup>28</sup> WINLOCK, *Tomb of Queen Meryet-Amun*.

<sup>29</sup> ROTH in TEETER, LARSON (eds), *Gold of praise*, 366-8.

<sup>30</sup> Cf. The set of coffins of the Charioteer Iotefamun, MMA 26.3.2 a-b.

<sup>31</sup> EATON-KRAUSS, *CdE* 65, 200.

<sup>32</sup> As for example with the anthropoid sarcophagi prepared for

Whether made contemporaneously or one after the other, the inner and outer coffins of Ahhotep seem to have set a pattern not only for Meryetamun, but others as well. Potentially fitting into this pattern could be the outer coffin of Ahmose Nofretari (CG 61003) that possibly could also have had coffin intended to be an inner one that may not have precisely fit.<sup>33</sup> The author has recently suggested that an inner coffin of the same style as the Dra Abu el-Naga Ahhotep coffin and Merytamun inner coffin was the coffin from the Deir el Bahri Cache that contained the mummy of Seti I.<sup>34</sup> The coffin was made of cedar and is 2.15 meters long by 0.73 meters wide and 68 centimeters deep. Like many of the coffins from the cache it had been stripped of its gilding and decoration.<sup>35</sup> It had been coated with a whitewash and inscribed docketts written on the body of the lid identify the owner.<sup>36</sup> Daressy had already noted that the coffin was datable to the early Eighteenth Dynasty,<sup>37</sup> and indeed, a close examination of it reveals that it was, in fact, originally a queen's coffin, not unlike that of Ahhotep from Dra Abu el-Naga.<sup>38</sup> The coffins are remarkably similar in size and shape; and one can see the alterations necessary to repurpose the coffin for the burial of Seti (see Fig. 1): the curls of the Hathorian wig had been roughly carved into hands and the rest of the wig transformed into a simulation of the lappets of a *nemes*. The lower part of the sides of the coffin below the hands was remodeled to suggest arms as in coffins contemporaneous with the period of reinternment,<sup>39</sup> while the top of the wig was cut down to reduce it to the more usual proportions. The rough chisel marks of these alterations are clearly visible under the layer of whitewash. The inlaid eyes, which had been removed and possibly damaged during the stripping of the original coffin or more likely taken as they had gold rims as in Ahhotep's Dra Abu el Naga coffin, were replaced with eyes made for a coffin of the

general Paramessu before he became Ramesses I (JE 72203 and JE 44863), and later adapted for prince Ramesses, the son of Ramesses II; POLZ, *MDAIK* 42, 145-66; BRYSON, *Egyptian Royal Portrait*, 65.

<sup>33</sup> Cf. PARTRIDGE, *Faces of Pharaohs*, 57.

<sup>34</sup> LACOVARA, *Fss Bell*, (CG 61019); DARESSY, *Cercueils*, 30-1.

<sup>35</sup> PARTRIDGE, *Faces of Pharaohs*, 26-7.

<sup>36</sup> Three separate hieratic inscriptions on the coffin lid record the identity of the owner. These inscriptions report that before the move to DB320, it had also been kept in the tomb of Princess Inhapi and the tomb of Amenhotep I, REEVES, *Valley of the Kings*, 234.

<sup>37</sup> DARESSY, *Cercueils*, 30.

<sup>38</sup> JE 28501; cf. MINIACI, *Rishi Coffins*, 225.

<sup>39</sup> Such re-working of earlier private coffins to conform to contemporary styles in funerary art has been detailed in COONEY, *JARCE* 47, 3-44.



**Fig. 1** – The re-working of the Coffin of Seti I, from DARESSY, *Cercueils*, pl. 16

late Eighteenth Dynasty.<sup>40</sup> The brows had been rendered in paint, as they were on the Ahhotep coffin. Around the framing of the face can be seen traces of a rectangular border like the one painted in black around the face on the Ahhotep coffin. The ears on the Ahhotep coffin are separately made and attached, and would probably have been the same on the original incarnation of the Seti coffin. While the measurements of this coffin suggest it could not have easily fit inside that of Ahmose Nofetari, as with the Ahhotep coffins, perhaps it could have been intended to fit with the back flap of the coffin loosely tied. The broken foot on the Seti coffin may be testament to the difficulty of fitting it in the outer coffin. Alternatively, the Seti coffin could have come from a set made for another royal woman.

The coffins of Merytamun nest quite tightly,<sup>41</sup> and therefore the Dra Abu el-Naga Ahhotep coffin could have been intended to fit very snugly inside the Deir el-Bahri outer one, but was mistakenly made too large. Indeed, the odd method of introduction of the inner coffin through the back as seen on the Deir el-Bahri Ahhotep coffin and that of Ahmose Nofretari, was abandoned in the later design of the Merytamun<sup>42</sup> coffins where a more traditional, and more practical, bivalve construction was used to more easily accommodate the introduction of an inner coffin.<sup>43</sup>

One might then reconstruct the Dra Abu el-Naga discovery of Ahhotep not as the original burial, or a thieves' cache as has been suggested, but as an official reinternment done at the same time as the reburial of Kamose.<sup>44</sup> Since Papyrus Abbot records the inspection of the tomb of Kamose and the neighboring tombs of his family<sup>45</sup> in the necropolis of Dra Abu el-Naga, just at the time when the first consolidation of the royal mummies was about to take place,<sup>46</sup> one could see this as the first step in relocating the royal mummies. Given the later veneration shown to Ahhotep, one might see why her coffin and treasures were inviolate when they would have been removed from her original tomb. These reburials would have taken place early, perhaps at the time of the writing of the Abbott papyrus in the reign of Ramesses IX.<sup>47</sup> The rein-

<sup>40</sup> On the shape of the replacement eyes, cf. KOZLOFF, BRYAN, BERMAN, *Egypt's Dazzling Sun*, 301-12. Undoubtedly the original eyes were removed for their solid gold rims as in the Ahhotep coffin, see EATON-KRAUSS, *CdE* 65, 201.

<sup>41</sup> WINLOCK, *BMMA* 24, 3-34; WINLOCK, *The Tomb of Queen Meryet-Amun*, 16-21.

<sup>42</sup> LOGAN, WILLIAMS, *Serapis* 4, 23-9.

<sup>43</sup> WINLOCK, *The Tomb of Queen Meryet-Amun*, 19-20.

<sup>44</sup> EATON-KRAUSS, *CdE* 65, 205.

<sup>45</sup> PEET, *Tomb-Robberies*, 38. For a suggestion as to the possible original location of the tomb of Kamose see: POLZ, in MARÉE (ed.), *The Second Intermediate Period*, 343-53.

<sup>46</sup> REEVES, *Valley of the Kings*, 277.

<sup>47</sup> PEDEN, *Egyptian Historical Inscriptions*, 241-3.



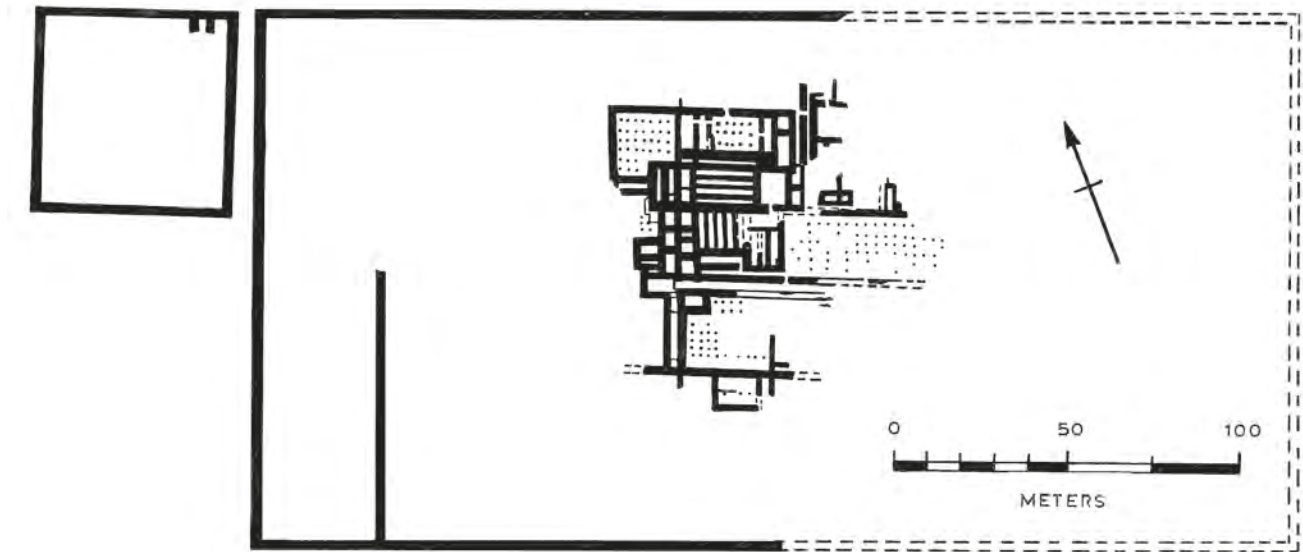


Fig. 2 – The North Palace at Deir el-Ballas © drawing by Lisa Heidorn

ternments of Ahhotep and Kamose may have been then forgotten or overlooked in the later consolidations of the royal mummies, which was then motivated by economic rather than security needs.<sup>48</sup> The outer coffin of Ahhotep, however would have been left behind to later be collected and be stripped and reused for the burial of Pinedjem in the Royal Cache.<sup>49</sup>

What then of the odd assortment of objects that accompanied Ahhotep to her burial in Dra Abu el-Naga? Confirmation that this was a deliberate and symbolic grouping of material comes from an unexpected source. Located on the west bank of the Nile approximately 30 kilometers to the north of Luxor is the site of Deir el-Ballas. It was first excavated by the Hearst Expedition of the University of California under the direction of George A. Reisner in the year 1900-01<sup>50</sup> and subsequently by the author from 1980 to 1986<sup>51</sup> and currently from 2017 forward.<sup>52</sup>

The ancient settlement at Deir el-Ballas centered on a large royal palace situated in the middle of a wide bay

opening up in the limestone cliffs along the west bank of the Nile. Inscribed architectural elements indicate that it was founded by Seqenenre Tao,<sup>53</sup> undoubtedly as a campaign palace for the war against the Hyksos. As in the other royal cities,<sup>54</sup> the central focus of the settlement at Deir el-Ballas was the royal palace. The North Palace and its enclosures cover an area of 45,000+ square meters, the eastern end of the main enclosure never having been traced (see Fig. 2). The plan of the building included a series of columned courts and a long entrance corridor grouped around an elevated central platform. This platform was constructed on casemate foundations: long mud brick chambers filled with rubble and capped by a brick pavement which must have supported the elevated private apartments of the palace, which are now not preserved. In the abandonment debris of the palace, Reisner found sealings of Ahmose, suggesting the relatively short life of the structure, which was no longer needed once the expulsion of the Hyksos was accomplished.

At the western edge of the casemate core of the palace, placed on the desert surface, the original expedition made a remarkable discovery (see Fig. 3), a series of painted, unbaked, marl-clay votive models (see Fig. 4). These models were finely crafted and the pigments used on them included costly orpiment. What is particularly striking is the range of objects represented which include model boats as well as flies, bangle and beaded bracelets,

<sup>48</sup> The earliest of these not beginning until the reign of Smendes: ASTON, in SOUSA, AMENTA, COONEY (eds), *Bab El-Gasus*, 31-68.

<sup>49</sup> PARTRIDGE, *Faces of Pharaohs*, 35.

<sup>50</sup> LACOVARA, in SIMPSON, DAVIS (eds), *Studies in Ancient Egypt*, 120-4.

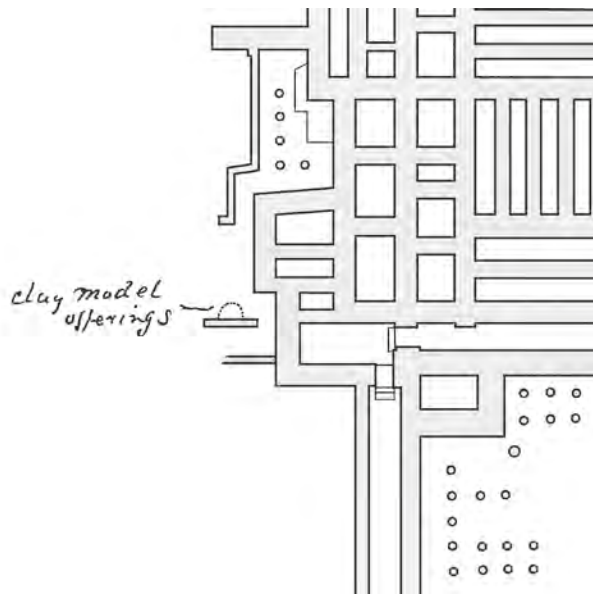
<sup>51</sup> LACOVARA, in BIETAK, PRELL (eds), *Ancient Egyptian and Near Eastern Palaces*.

<sup>52</sup> LACOVARA, in BIETAK, PRELL (eds), *Ancient Egyptian and Near Eastern Palaces*, 282-9.

<sup>53</sup> DARESSY, *RT* 16, 44; PETRIE, *Naqada and Ballas*, 8, pl. 43.

<sup>54</sup> LACOVARA, *New Kingdom Royal City*.





strings of beads, swords, daggers and axes (see Fig. 5a-b). They appear to have been placed at the North Palace after it had been abandoned as a commemoration. Certainly, these delicate models would not have survived in the area if it had been occupied and trafficked. The forms of many of these votives are paralleled by objects found with the Ahhotep coffin from Dra Abu el-Naga and not the range of subjects found as votive gifts normally.<sup>55</sup> This would indicate, as has long been suggested, a significance in commemorating the victory over the Hyksos.<sup>56</sup> Clearly then, the Ahhotep treasure was not some meaningless hoard assembled by modern looters, but a deliberate selection of artifacts intended to convey Ahhotep's role in the liberation of Egypt.

**Fig. 3** – Plan of the North Palace showing the position of the mud votives © drawing by Andrew Boyce

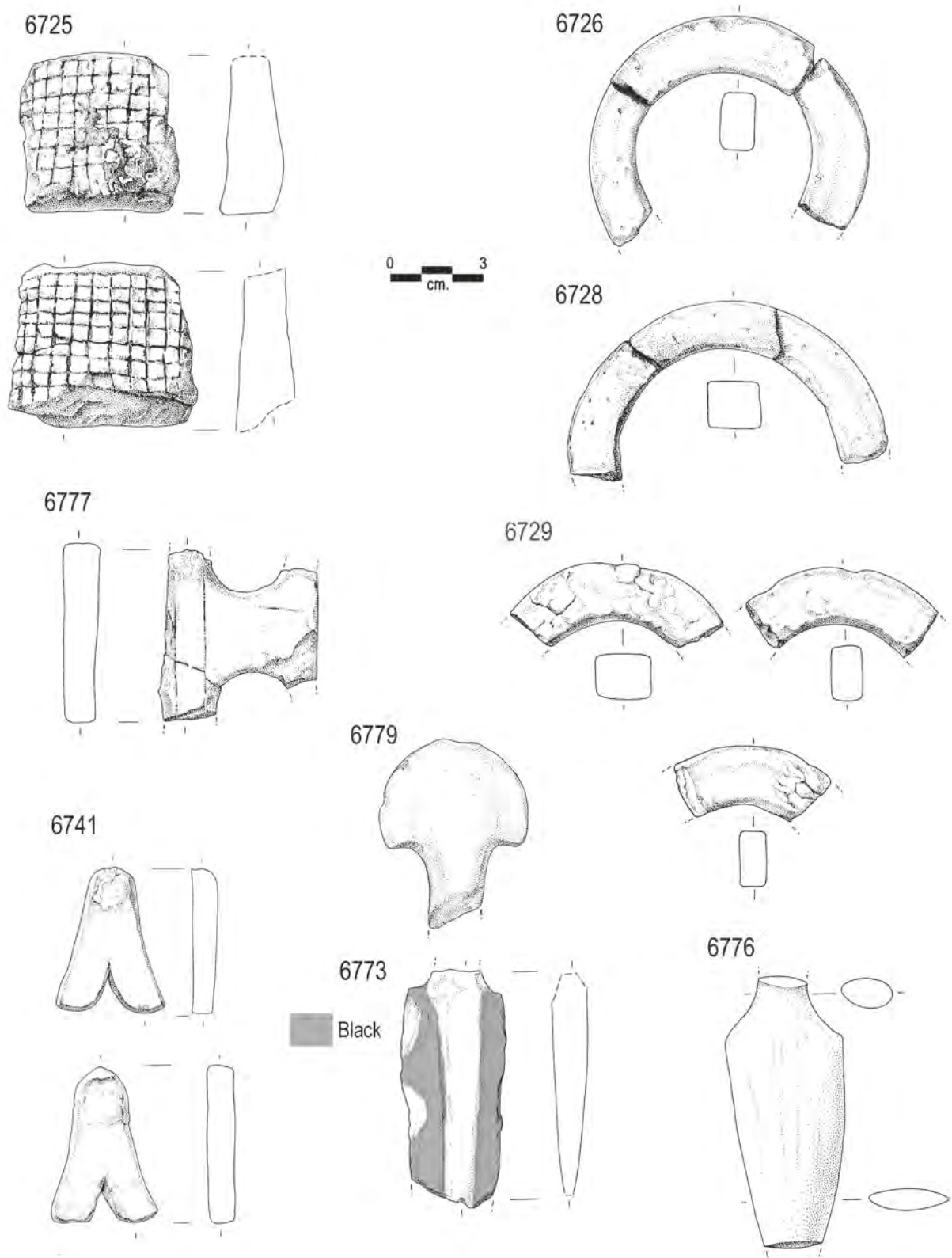
<sup>55</sup> Cf. PINCH, *Votive Offering to Hathor*.

<sup>56</sup> Cf. HAWASS, *Silent Images*, 121.

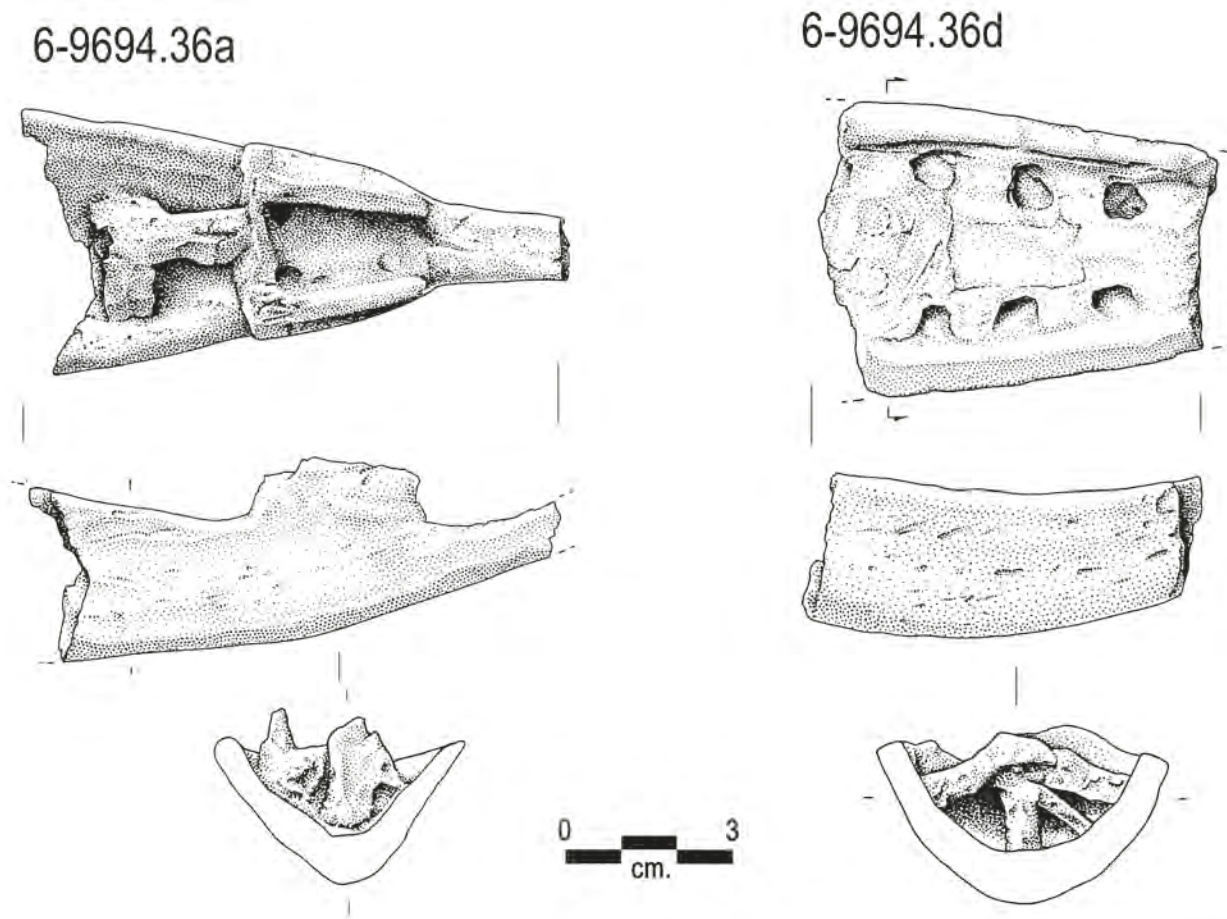


1525 Dér-el-Ballas; North Kom; clay artifacts.

**Fig. 4** – Hearst Expedition photograph of the mud votives © courtesy of the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston



**Fig. 5a** – Drawings of the mud votives that parallel the Ahhotep treasure from the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston. Inv. No. 6725 = Model mud beaded bracelets; Inv. Nos 6728-29 = Model mud bangle bracelets; Inv. No. 6777 = Model mud battle axe; Inv. Nos 6773, 6776, 6779 = Model mud daggers; Inv. No. 6741 = Model mud flies  
© drawing by Andrew Boyce



**Fig. 5b** – Drawings of the mud votives that parallel the Ahhotep treasure © drawing by Andrew Boyce  
Model mud ships Phoebe A. Hearst Museum 6-9694.36a and d

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**Object Studies: Selected Equipment  
from Ahhotep's Treasure**



## Daggers and Axes for the Queen: Considering Ahhotep's Weapons in their Cultural Context

Ellen Morris

### *Abstract*

*Queen Ahhotep took three daggers, four axes, and nine miniature axes with her to the grave. Two of the weapons in this otherworldly arsenal – an axe and a dagger – were stunning and bear testament to a robust artistic interconnection that linked the early Eighteenth Dynasty court to the high culture of the Minoan and Mycenaean world. Because of their beauty, these objects are often written about in isolation. This chapter places these two ceremonial weapons in dialogue with the entire assemblage of the queen's weapons, with other elements of her grave goods, with gender politics, and with the mortuary culture of Egypt and Nubia in the Second Intermediate Period and early Eighteenth Dynasty. When taken together, the weapons provide strong evidence that the queen had been married to Kamose, that her court was well acquainted with Pan-Grave military culture, and that in ancient Egypt (as in so many other contexts) times of war offered women unprecedented opportunities to exercise typically masculine authority as they kept the home fires burning.*

The weapons attributed to the “King’s Wife” (*hmt-nsw*) Ahhotep, who was buried at Dra Abu el-Naga and ruled in the fractious years of the late Seventeenth Dynasty, are as difficult to interpret as they are intriguing. Due to the fact that this queen’s sarcophagus was discovered and opened while the director of excavations, Auguste Mariette, was elsewhere, scholars disagree as to exactly which of the objects enumerated among her grave goods in Friedrich von Bissing’s *Ein thebanischer Grabfunde aus dem Anfang des neuen Reichs* and in Bertha Porter and Rosalind Moss’s topographical bibliography of the Theban necropolis<sup>1</sup> had been recovered from her burial. Indeed, there is even uncertainty as to whether her coffin had been excavated in its original tomb or whether it had been discovered in a secondary context. King Kamose’s unlooted sarcophagus, reportedly recovered a short distance from Queen Ahhotep’s own, had certainly been exhumed from his tomb and subsequently “*hidden, in a mass of rubbish into which it had been dumped, carelessly,*

*upon its right side*”.<sup>2</sup> The peculiarities of these discoveries are summarized by Herbert Winlock in his article “*The Tombs of the Kings of the Seventeenth Dynasty at Thebes*” and discussed elsewhere in this volume.<sup>3</sup> For present purposes, only those weapons that were entered into the *Journal d’Entrée* of the Egyptian Museum in Cairo together with the rest of Queen Ahhotep’s grave goods are considered. Other candidates for inclusion, however, are mentioned in passing.

Even those weapons attributed to the queen with confidence, however, inadvertently cause their own confusions, especially with respect to the knotty problem of whether the Ahhotep buried at Dra Abu el-Naga should be equated with the Ahhotep whose coffin was discovered in secondary use in a cache at Deir el-Bahri – a question considered in far more depth by Marilina

<sup>1</sup> PORTER, MOSS, *Topographical*, 600-2.

<sup>2</sup> WINLOCK, *JEA* 10, 260.

<sup>3</sup> See MINIACI, “The Discovery of Queen Ahhotep’s Burial at Dra Abu el-Naga (Thebes) in the Nineteenth Century AD: Between Tale and Archaeological Evidence”, in this volume.



Betrò elsewhere in this volume.<sup>4</sup> For instance, the similarity of one of Ahhotep's daggers to a dagger found strapped to the upper arm of King Kamose's corpse, the presence of axes that bore this king's name among her grave goods, as well as other similarities in the two assemblages, strongly suggest that Ahhotep and Kamose had ruled together at the end of the Second Intermediate Period. That said, the character of the ceremonial weapons – a dagger and an axe – that King Ahmose gifted to Queen Ahhotep complicate such an easy equation.

On a stela erected at Karnak, Ahmose commanded:

“Give praise to the lady of the land, the mistress of the shores of Hau-nebut, whose reputation is high over every foreign land, who governs the masses, the king's wife, the sister of the sovereign (life, prosperity, and health!), the king's daughter, the noble king's mother, the wise one, who takes care of Egypt. She has gathered together its officials and guarded them; she has rounded up its fugitives and gathered up its deserters; she has pacified Upper Egypt and subdued its rebels: the king's wife, Ahhotep, may she live!”<sup>5</sup>

This Ahhotep's titles, which identify her as the daughter, sister, wife, and mother of kings, match the titles of the Ahhotep whose coffin was discovered reused in Deir el-Bahri. On the other hand, as many have noted, the character of the weapons and of other items bestowed upon the Ahhotep buried at Dra Abu el-Naga appear to be the material equivalents of the rewards for military valor that early Eighteenth Dynasty nobles boasted of receiving from their sovereign. So too, the Aegean-inspired design elements on the queen's most elaborate ceremonial weapons are reminiscent of the title borne by Ahmose's mother: “Mistress of the Shores of Everything-around-the-islands”. In the first millennium BC, the toponym *h3w-nbwt* designated territories in the Greek world. While its definition in the early Eighteenth Dynasty is much debated, the Minoan and Mycenaean artistic influence observable on Ahhotep's weapons,<sup>6</sup> the Egyptian influence on some Aegean artifacts,<sup>7</sup> and the Minoan Kamares fineware discovered in Middle Kingdom contexts<sup>8</sup> suggest that direct or indirect contact between the courts quite likely occurred.

<sup>4</sup> See BETRÒ, “The Identity of Ahhotep and the Textual Sources”, in this volume.

<sup>5</sup> Urk. IV, 21:3-17, trans. WILKINSON, *Rise*, 194-5; See also BETRÒ, “The Identity of Ahhotep and the Textual Sources”, in this volume.

<sup>6</sup> See below and JUDAS, “The Aegeanizing Elements Depicted on the Objects from the Burial of Ahhotep”, in this volume.

<sup>7</sup> See below and MURRAY, “Aegean Consumption of Egyptian Material Culture in the Sixteenth Century BC: Objects, Iconography, and Interpretation”, in this volume.

<sup>8</sup> BARRETT, *JMA* 22/2, 213-14.

In considering whether Ahmose publicly acknowledged only one Ahhotep for her wartime service, it is important to recognize that the Dra Abu el-Naga Ahhotep was not the first woman, nor even the first royal woman, to be interred with weapons. Thus, other explanations for their presence in her coffin are plausible. The Dra Abu el-Naga Ahhotep's weapons were bestowed upon her at a turning point in Egyptian history. At this time late Middle Kingdom traditions, which saw royal women interred with daggers in order to associate them in death with the god Osiris, gave way to new burial customs. In the late Second Intermediate Period, the Nile Valley was politically divided. Ahhotep's Theban kingdom lay between the Hyksos kingdom in the north and the Kerman kingdom, which had assumed control of Lower Nubia. Although these two rivals of the polity forged by the Seventeenth Dynasty kings differed in almost every respect, their mortuary remains indicate that each fostered a particularly pronounced warrior culture. As a result of living betwixt these often-hostile neighbors, Egyptians and the Pan-Grave Nubian military auxiliaries who lived beside them began to include weapons among their grave goods in numbers not attested since the First Intermediate Period, a troubled time during which Egypt had also been rent asunder by civil war.<sup>9</sup> In the Kerman kingdom, due to increased militarism, even women and children occasionally journeyed to the afterlife armed. Thus, when the religious traditions of the Egyptian court and the political climate in which Ahhotep lived are taken into account, further questions are raised regarding the use, symbolism, and proper interpretation of Ahhotep's weapons.

For all these reasons, it is fitting to consider the queen's weapons individually and, also, as a complete assemblage. To this end, the functional and design elements of each weapon are first considered along with the significance of provenienced parallels. In light of space considerations, readers in search of thick descriptions of these weapons and technical treatments are referred to the excellent catalogue of daggers compiled by Susanne Petschel (*Den Dolch betreffend. Typologie der Stichwaffen in Ägypten von der prädynastischen Zeit bis zur 3. Zwischenzeit*) and the catalogues of axes produced by Eva Kühnert-Eggebrecht (*Die Axt als Waffe und Werkzeug im alten Ägypten*) and W.V. Davies (*Catalogue of Egyptian Antiquities in the British Museum VII; Tools and Weapons I. Axes*). Following a consideration of each of Ahhotep's weapons, the assemblage as a whole is assessed in terms of its social, political, historical, and religious context.

<sup>9</sup> See MORRIS, *JEGH* 13, 129-39, for a social history of Egyptian daggers and axes from prehistory through the New Kingdom.



Fig. 1 – Ahhotep’s ceremonial dagger (after VON BISSING, *Grabfunde*, pl. II; illustration after MORENZ, *ZÄS* 126, 133, fig. 1)

## 1. Ceremonial Dagger bearing Ahmose's Cartouches (see Fig. 1)

Egyptian Museum Cairo CG 52658; JE 4666

Materials: gold, silver, electrum, carnelian, lapis lazuli, bronze, wood, and patinated bronze)

Length: 28.5 cm

In Suzanne Petschel's catalogue of daggers, the ceremonial dagger bearing Ahmose's cartouche is quite literally without parallel; her Type IX ("Dolch mit menschenkopfförmigem Knauf") consists solely of this weapon, illustrated together with its accompanying gold-sheathed leather scabbard (CG 52659).<sup>10</sup> Ahmose's most important regnal names are inlaid in gold on the recto and verso: "The good god, lord of the Two Lands: Nebpehtyre, given life eternally like Re" [recto: *nfr ntr nb t3.wj (Nb-phjtj-R<sup>c</sup>)| dj <sup>c</sup>nh mj R<sup>c</sup> dt*] and "Son of Re of his body: Ahmose, given life eternally like Re" [verso: *s3 R<sup>c</sup> n ht.f (J<sup>c</sup>h-msj(w))| dj <sup>c</sup>nh mj R<sup>c</sup> dt*]. While the content of the inscription suggests that the blade could well have been produced in one of Ahmose's temple or palace workshops, slight anomalies in the orthography, the nature of the darkly hued copper alloy that serves as the background for the inscription, and the otherwise unparalleled D-shape holes at the base of the blade have led some scholars to suggest that the dagger was either manufactured abroad or by a foreign artisan.<sup>11</sup>

The technique of inlaying gold into a dark metallic substance (either a patinated bronze or niello)<sup>12</sup> in order to provide extra adornment to a ceremonial weapon is attested already in the early eighteenth century BC on an artistically hybrid scimitar interred with its owner in Tomb II of the royal necropolis at Byblos.<sup>13</sup> Although the scimitar was based on a Mesopotamian prototype, its decoration betrays a strong Egyptian influence. The artisan, for example, had modeled in dark metal and gold wire a uraeus-snake that slithered the length of the blade and bore the owner's name in hieroglyphs. Byblos was at that time Egypt's most valued trading partner, and thus Egyptian material is common in the royal necropolis. Here too, however, the weapon's form and anomalies in the inscription it bore suggest it should be seen as Egyptianizing rather than Egyptian.

Far closer in date and form to Ahhotep's dagger, then, are four artistically striking daggers discovered in the shaft tombs of the sixteenth century royal necropolis at My-

cenae (see Figs 2a-d).<sup>14</sup> Like Ahhotep's dagger, a strip of niello-style metal<sup>15</sup> that ran down the center of the blades had been ornamented with figural designs, this time fashioned of cut inlay rather than sculpted gold wire. The inlays of one dagger depict images of a cat hunting birds in a marsh (see Fig. 2d) that are strongly reminiscent of fishing and fowling scenes in Egyptian tombs.<sup>16</sup> The other three niello-style daggers, however, bear an even closer thematic relationship to Ahhotep's dagger.

The queen's weapon is decorated differently on each of its two sides. Following Ahmose's royal name, the recto is ornamented with a scene depicting a bull and a lion, both in flying gallop, proceeding toward a line of four outsized locusts. Each locust is depicted adjacent to a stalk that was destined, no doubt, to be devoured. Meanwhile, on the verso, the area below Ahmose's name was taken up by fifteen highly stylized lotuses and, at the tip of the blade, a jackal's head.<sup>17</sup> It is thus remarkable that the subject matter of the remaining three niello-style daggers from Mycenae included lotuses and lions. On both sides of a dagger from Grave Circle A, Shaft Grave IV (see Fig. 2c), for instance, three lions are depicted in flying gallop, racing towards the tip of the dagger.<sup>18</sup> Another blade (see Fig. 2b) bears a lion hunt on one side, in which four men attack a fierce lion that had just mauled one of their companions, while two other lions flee toward the safety of the dagger's point. On the reverse of this dagger, a lion takes the role of apex predator, mauling one deer, while four flee toward the tip.<sup>19</sup> Finally, embedded into the dark metal that ran down the middle of both sides of the broken third dagger (see Fig. 2a) were lotuses.<sup>20</sup> While these lotuses are stylized somewhat differently than those that decorated Ahhotep's dagger, the lotuses, leaping lions, and highly unusual niello-style decoration offer clear points of comparison and strongly suggest either direct dialogue between the courts at Egypt and Mycenae or else a shared trading partner, such as Byblos.

Given that Aegean design elements in Ahhotep's burial goods are dealt with at greater length elsewhere in this volume, observations here are confined to a few salient

<sup>10</sup> PETSCHER, *Dolch*, 231-5, 486-7, cat. 222.

<sup>11</sup> JANOSI, *JACF* 5, 104; THOMAS, in VIANELLO (ed.), *Exotica*, 158-9; ARUZ, LACOVARA, in ARUZ, BENZEL, EVANS (eds), *Beyond Babylon*, 121-2; PETSCHER, *Dolch*, 234.

<sup>12</sup> THOMAS, in VIANELLO (ed.), *Exotica*, 148-50.

<sup>13</sup> HAKIMIAN, LAPÉROUSE, in ARUZ, BENZEL, EVANS (eds), *Beyond Babylon*, 58.

<sup>14</sup> PAPADOPOULOS, *Late Bronze*, 53, pl. IV.34; pl. V.36, 37; pl. VII.45.

<sup>15</sup> See THOMAS, in VIANELLO (ed.), *Exotica*, 148. The term niello-style here and elsewhere indicates that tests have not yet determined how the dark metal had been manufactured.

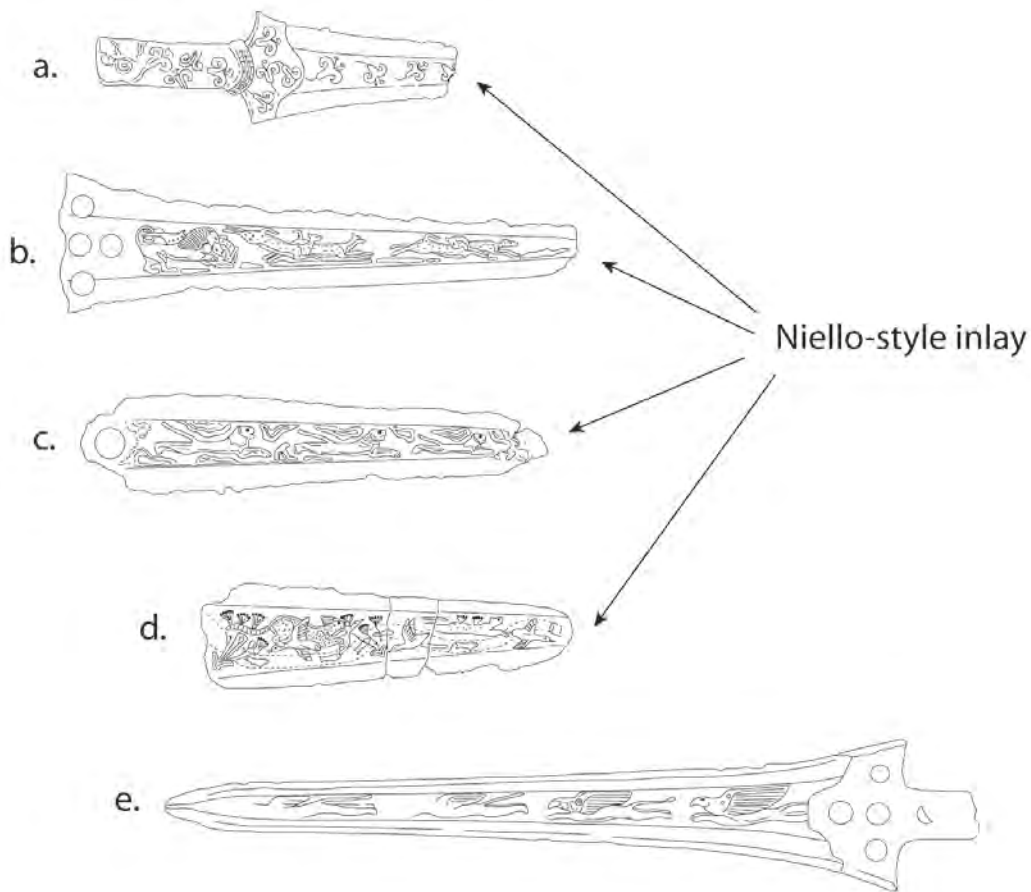
<sup>16</sup> PAPADOPOULOS, *Late Bronze*, pl. V.36.

<sup>17</sup> Perhaps significantly, the jackal's head at the tip of Ahhotep's dagger is reminiscent in style and placement to the jackal's heads that commonly ornamented the narrow tips of birth tusks into the Thirteenth Dynasty.

<sup>18</sup> PAPADOPOULOS, *Late Bronze*, pl. IV.34.

<sup>19</sup> PAPADOPOULOS, *Late Bronze*, pl. V.37.

<sup>20</sup> PAPADOPOULOS, *Late Bronze*, pl. VII.45.



**Fig. 2** – Daggers from the shaft tombs at Mycenae (not to scale). *a., e.* Grave Circle A: Shaft Grave V (after PAPADOPOULOS, *Late Bronze*, 53, pl. VII.45-6); *b.-d.* Grave Circle A: Shaft Grave IV (after PAPADOPOULOS, *Late Bronze*, 53, pl. V.37, IV.34, V.36)

points. First, Kamose’s dramatic narration of his arrival with his army at the commercial harbor of the Hyksos capital at Tell el-Dab‘a strongly implies that the king was somewhat overawed at the sheer number of merchant ships that had assembled there. As he reported in the aftermath of his purported plunder:

“I have not spared a plank of the three hundred ships of new cedar filled with gold, lapis lazuli, silver, turquoise, and copper axes without number, aside from moringa oil, incense, unguents, honey, willow, sesnedjem-wood, sepony-wood, and all precious woods, and all fine products of Retenu. I took them away entirely”<sup>21</sup>

Archaeological investigation at Tell el-Dab‘a and in polities with which it maintained relations point towards a highly developed trade network that fluctuated in time and nature but seems to have been particularly intense in the early Eighteenth Dynasty.<sup>22</sup> The merchants based at Tell el-Dab‘a maintained close contacts with Byblos, as did their Mycenaean and Minoan counterparts. Yet

the frequent arrival of Aegean diplomats at Egypt’s court during the mid-Eighteenth Dynasty – when the practice of decorating Theban tombs first provides a window into such court ceremonies – suggests the contact may also have been direct. Aegean envoys depicted in Theban tombs, after all, often bore daggers among their gifts.<sup>23</sup> If daggers and diplomacy went hand in hand, it is likely that, as Marian Feldman suggests, the blades exchanged at this time helped forge the “international *koiné*” style of artistic motif prevalent throughout the ancient Near East *c.* 1400-1200 BC. This intentionally hybrid artistic style, after all, frequently featured animal attacks and floral designs, such as are amply attested on Ahhotep’s dagger and those found in the shaft tombs of Mycenae.<sup>24</sup>

Indeed, it is worth noting that the tradition of one ruler sending an elaborate dagger as a gift to another is attested also in an inventory of goods sent from the Mitanni King Tushratta to Amenhotep III (EA 22). In and among the numerous precious gifts that almost certainly comprised an installment of his daughter’s dowry was a dag-

<sup>21</sup> SIMPSON (ed.), *Literature*, 349.

<sup>22</sup> FORSTNER-MÜLLER, KOPETZKY, *BAAL Hors-Série* 6, 154.

<sup>23</sup> VERCOUTTER, *Égypte*, 359-60, pl. LXII.462-7; See PETSCHER, *Dolch*, 217-18, fig. 45.

<sup>24</sup> FELDMAN, *Diplomacy*, 142.



ger, “the blade of which is of i[r]on; its guard, of gold, with designs; its haft of ebony with calf figurines; overlaid with gold; its [pomm]el is of ...-stone; its [...]..., overlaid with gold, with designs. 6 shekels of go[ld] have been used on it”.<sup>25</sup> Two other iron-bladed daggers – ornamented with gold, inlays of precious stones, and bearing unspecified design elements – also appear on the list.<sup>26</sup> As has often been noted, the descriptions of these weapons are reminiscent of the two daggers discovered among Tutankhamun’s grave goods. The iron blade of one (see Fig. 4c) and the motifs featuring lions, bulls, and stylized lotuses on the sheath of the other (see Fig. 4b) led Feldman to deem them quintessential exemplars of the mature international style.<sup>27</sup>

The Amarna letters provide evidence that kings on occasion commissioned specific types of artistically elaborated gifts from one another.<sup>28</sup> It is thus conceivable that foreign artisans copied Ahmose’s royal names from a prototype and filled his request for a golden dagger adorned with lions and bulls but surmounted with the visage of a queen. Such a scenario could account for why the lion – its mouth wide open – appears to be in pursuit of the bull. Such an arrangement is virtually unknown in Egyptian art, where both the lion and the bull often serve as avatars for the living king. It was, however, a relatively common motif in Aegean art. One might note, for example, the openwork gold design element that depicted three lions attacking a bull, found along with the niello-style daggers in Mycenae, Grave Circle A, Shaft Grave IV.<sup>29</sup>

Christine Desroches-Noblecourt and Ludwig Morenz, each of whom viewed the blade as the product of an Egyptian workshop, have suggested two quite different interpretations, each founded on the premise that the blade would have referenced Ahmose’s expulsion of the Hyksos. Desroches-Noblecourt argued that the bull being chased by the lion should be viewed as Sethian in nature. The god Seth, after all, in his form of Ba’al, was the favored god of the Hyksos. The bull would thus be trapped between the lion-king and the four locusts – each of whom symbolized one of the four divisions of the army amassed by the king in order to devastate the territory of his rivals.<sup>30</sup> Given Desroches-Noblecourt’s interpretation of the Egyptian army as locusts, it is nota-

ble that among the surviving relief fragments from Ahmose’s pyramid temple at Abydos is a scene that seems to depict an Egyptian soldier harvesting the crops surrounding the Hyksos capital at Tell el-Dab’a – a tactic employed by Egyptians during siege warfare to economically devastate their opponents.<sup>31</sup> The juxtaposition of locusts on seals with a lion and also with a royal winged griffin (see Fig. 7a) suggest that the insects could indeed symbolize the Egyptian army, whose might supplemented the king’s own.<sup>32</sup>

For his part, Ludwig Morenz suggested that the bull did not serve as prey to the lion but rather acted in partnership with it. Both animals, he noted, seemed to issue forth from the royal name and, by extension, the royal grip. Thus, the lion and the bull served as incarnations of the king that together faced the great multitude of his rapacious but cowardly enemies, symbolized by the locusts. Further, he argues that an Egyptian artist would have been well aware of a visual pun and potential folk etymology that connected *znḥm* (locust) with *z3-nḥm* (Söhne des Raubens), a designation appropriate to an enemy blamed for plundering many of Egypt’s monuments.<sup>33</sup> It was not uncommon in Nineteenth Dynasty royal inscriptions – and, indeed, in the Near East generally – to compare enemy armies to locusts, and Jaromir Malek even suggests that the dehumanizing equation may have played out in visual culture as well. By depicting prisoners of war prone with their elbows tied in an upraised position, Malek argues that Egyptian artists intentionally invoked the powerful back legs of the locust. Malek’s interpretation differed from Morenz’s, however, in that he viewed the aggressive lion as symbolizing Ahmose’s domination over the forces of nature (encapsulated in the bull) as well as over the multitudes of Egypt’s enemies.<sup>34</sup>

The figural scene depicted on the blade of Ahhotep’s dagger was perhaps intentionally polyvalent, conveying the notion of violence on many different levels. It is frustrating, then, that the proper interpretation of the design elements on the dagger’s hilt is equally ambiguous. At the base of the handle the head of a cow or bull is modeled in gold leaf, such that its horns encircled Ahmose’s name in a manner that all interpreters have discussed as both intentional and protective. With enigmatic cir-

<sup>25</sup> MORAN, *Amarna Letters*, 51.

<sup>26</sup> MORAN, *Amarna Letters*, 53-4.

<sup>27</sup> FELDMAN, *Diplomacy*, 16, 31.

<sup>28</sup> See the elaborate instructions given by the king of Babylon to Akhenaten in EA 10 (MORAN, *Amarna Letters*, 19).

<sup>29</sup> KONSTANDINIDI-SIVRIDIS, in ARUZ, BENZEL, EVANS (eds), *Beyond Babylon*, 276-7, cat. 172.

<sup>30</sup> DESROCHES NOBLECOURT, in JUNGE (ed.), *Studien zu Sprache*, 884, 890-1.

<sup>31</sup> HARVEY, *Cults of King Ahmose*, 339-41, 535, fig. 82; HASEL, *Domination*, 75-84.

<sup>32</sup> MORENZ, *ZÄS* 126, 136, figs 3 and 4.

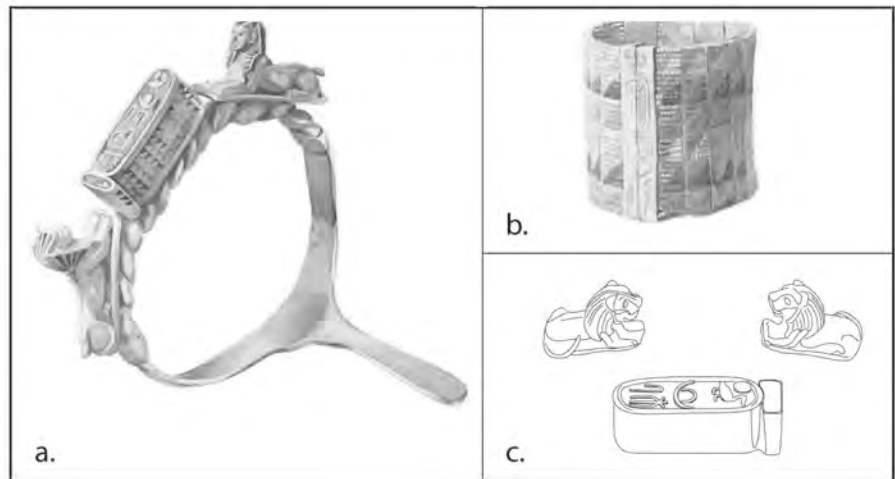
<sup>33</sup> MORENZ, *ZÄS* 126, 134-5, 138-9. DESROCHES NOBLECOURT in JUNGE (ed.), *Studien zu Sprache*, 891, on the other hand, connects the word for locust with *snḥm*, meaning “to stop”, or “to prevent”.

<sup>34</sup> MALEK, in GORING, REEVES, RUFFLE (eds), *Chief of Seers*, 211, fig. 2.

cular markings or adornments depicted as protuberances along its brow and between its inlaid eyes, the bovid entity looks as if it should be recognizable but is not. While its unique markings might possibly identify it as the Apis bull, it is more often equated with Montu.<sup>35</sup> In addition to Montu's well-known epithets "lord of Thebes"<sup>36</sup> and "strong-armed bull"<sup>37</sup>, the god is mentioned by name on Ahhotep's gold-plaited battle axe, the other ceremonial showpiece weapon discovered in the queen's sarcophagus (see Fig. 6). As will be discussed below, the design situated at the base of one of the axe's cutting edges showcases an Aegean-style griffin that is labeled "beloved of Montu" (*mry Mntw*). As a Theban deity strongly associated with war, Montu would certainly have been a fitting protector of the king. Falcon-headed in some depictions and bull-headed in others, it is not improbable that the god assumed both forms on Ahhotep's weapons.

The other main candidate for the protective bovid is the heavenly cow – the goddess who had watched over the king in one guise or another since the reign of Narmer.<sup>38</sup> While the unfamiliar markings remain an issue, an identification with the goddess Hathor is rendered attractive given the fact that the dagger had been interred with a queen and that its pommel consisted of a representation of four female faces. Scholars have frequently identified the pommel as Hathor Quadrifons – despite the fact that the faces do not bear a resemblance to the famous Hathor-mask and nor do they sport her signature hairstyle.<sup>39</sup> On the other hand, if the dagger's pommel and hilt were framed by depictions of the goddess Hathor, the weapon could be interpreted cosmologically. In that case, the king's cartouches would link a heavenly hilt to a terrestrial blade.<sup>40</sup>

If Ahmose had commissioned the dagger in Ahhotep's honor, the other obvious referent for the face would be the queen herself. If so, the lack of a uraeus might not be an issue, since the queen was not currently ruling. Certainly, it is notable that the split-square triangular



**Fig. 3** – *a.* Ahhotep's archer's bracer (CG 52642; after VON BISSING, *Grabfunde*, pl. V.1a) and *b.* matching bracelet (CG 52070; after VON BISSING, *Grabfunde*, pl. V.2); *c.* drawing of Kamose's armllet (Louvre E 7168 redrawn from a photograph, <https://egyptophile.blogspot.com/2019/05/au-louvre-des-elements-dun-bracelet-du.html>, <accessed May 5, 2020>)

inlays on the pommel consisted of electrum triangles sharing squares with triangles fashioned of carnelian or lapis lazuli. This distinctive design, seemingly purely ornamental in nature, may have possessed an intimate link to the queen, given that it appears also on her ceremonial archer's bracer (see Fig. 3a) and on a pair of her beaded bracelets (see Fig. 3b).<sup>41</sup> Thus, the queen, when wearing the bracelets, archer's bracer, and dagger would have been perfectly accessorized! If nothing else, the fact that all three items bore similar design elements in addition to Ahmose's cartouche suggests that this dagger may, after all, have been fashioned in Egypt. Such a point of origin, however, would not preclude its having been created in partial imitation of an Aegean greeting gift, by an Aegean or Byblite artist sent to the king by special request, or in a deliberately "international" style.

## 2. Dagger with a Golden Handle (see Fig. 4a)

Egyptian Museum Cairo CG 52661; JE 4665

Materials: gold and non-ferrous metal

Length: 31 cm

Although Ahhotep's dagger with the plain golden handle is beautiful, it has received far less attention than its more elaborate counterpart. Consequently, it has not

<sup>35</sup> DESROCHES NOBLECOURT, in JUNGE (ed.), *Studien zu Sprache*, 886.

<sup>36</sup> See the Story of Sinuhe, SIMPSON, *Literature*, 62, 64.

<sup>37</sup> See the Stele of Piye, SIMPSON, *Literature*, 384.

<sup>38</sup> MORENZ, *ZÄS* 126, 134.

<sup>39</sup> PETSCHER, *Dolch*, 231.

<sup>40</sup> MORENZ, *ZÄS* 126, 139.

<sup>41</sup> BISSING, *Grabfund*, pl. V.1a, 2. For the armllet assemblage, see MINIACI, "The Discovery of Queen Ahhotep's Burial at Dra Abu el-Naga (Thebes) in the Nineteenth Century AD: Between Tale and Archaeological Evidence", in this volume. See also MINIACI, "Notes on the Journal d'Entrée Entries for Queen Ahhotep's Assemblage", in this volume.



**Fig. 4** – *a.* Ahhotep’s dagger with a golden handle (after VON BISSING, *Grabfunde*, pl. III.3); *b.* Tutankhamun’s golden-bladed dagger and sheath (redrawn from a photograph in PETSCHEL, *Dolch*, 483, cat. 218); *c.* Tutankhamun’s iron-bladed dagger and sheath (redrawn from a photograph in PETSCHEL, *Dolch*, 483, cat. 219)

been intensively examined, and little has been written about it save for its entry in Petschel’s catalogue. There it occupies its own subcategory of the heterogeneous type VII, namely type VII-4.c.c (“*Dolch mit metallener Stangengriff*”). Even Petschel, however, was unable to ascertain certain basic facts about the dagger, such as whether the handle would have been hollow or solid cast, whether it was constituted of solid gold or was only gold plated, and whether the blade and handle would have been cast as one or only joined subsequently.<sup>42</sup> So too, the metal of the dagger blade remains unknown, though it is presumed to be bronze. Save for a banded wavelike decoration at the very top of the blade and a raised rib that ran down its center, it is unadorned. Despite this, of the three daggers included in Ahhotep’s tomb, it had the lone distinction of being both attractive and practical.

Interestingly, the only provenienced daggers of roughly similar date that exhibit the relatively flat pommel and the rod grip are Tutankhamun’s daggers, discussed above. Here again, of course, there is a problem of origin in that the iron blade of one of these weapons (see Fig. 4c)

<sup>42</sup> PETSCHEL, *Dolch*, 208-9, 478-9, cat. 214.

and the international style of both might suggest that they had been manufactured elsewhere. On the other hand, the falcon motif on the pommel of Tutankhamun’s gold-bladed dagger (see Fig. 4b) and the king’s name on its pommel and sheath perhaps point towards an origin in an Egyptian workshop.<sup>43</sup> The general scarcity of preserved hilts on Aegean and Levantine daggers make ascertaining parallels difficult. An examination of the major catalogues from both regions yields only one somewhat convincing parallel. The dagger in question came from a Late Bronze IIA tomb – thus roughly contemporary with Tutankhamun – at the site of Gedor in the Judean Hills and was classed as Egyptian in style.<sup>44</sup>

### 3. Ahhotep’s small Ceremonial Dagger (see Fig. 5b)

Egyptian Museum Cairo CG 52660; JE 4667-8

Materials: Gold, silver, wood, bronze  
Length: 22 cm

Ahhotep’s third dagger appears to have been the “hers” dagger in a matched set (see Figs 5a-b). Kamose, Ahmose’s predecessor, who was either Ahhotep’s husband or her oldest son, went to the grave with its counterpart strapped to his upper arm. Kamose’s tomb had been inspected and declared inviolate in the reign of Ramesses IX. Yet when Auguste Mariette and Heinrich Brugsch recovered this king’s mummy, it had been disinterred from both its tomb and its original coffin and stashed in rubble either by robbers or, ostensibly for its own protection, by high priests of Amun in the Twenty-First Dynasty. If the latter, the ruse worked, for the goods that had been placed in the substitute sarcophagus stayed safe, including the dagger.<sup>45</sup>

<sup>43</sup> PETSCHEL, *Dolch*, 212-14, 482-3, cat. 218-19; ARUZ, in ARUZ, BENZEL, EVANS, *Beyond Babylon*, 392.

<sup>44</sup> SHALEV, *Swords*, 69, pl. XXIII.190. PAPADOPOULOS, *Late Bronze*, yielded no parallels.

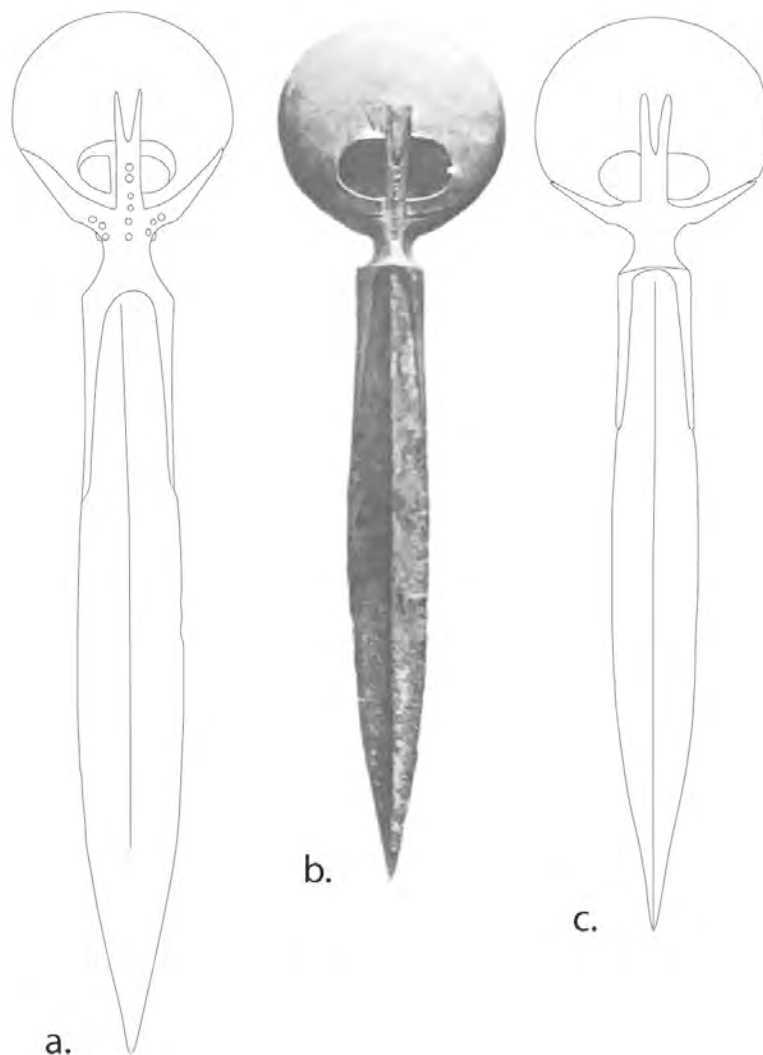
<sup>45</sup> BEN AMAR, *In Monte Artium* 5, 61. A similar dagger, now unfortunately lost, was discovered tied to the upper arm of a man named Hornakht, who evidently served Seqenenre Tao I or II (WINLOCK, *JEA* 10, 257-8). Considering evidence that King Seneb-kay of Abydos, their near contemporary, seems to have ridden horses since his youth and to have been attacked



Kamose's dagger (see Fig. 5a) was 31.9 cm long and was classified by Petschel as type III-5.c.a ("Dolche mit Griffen mit kleinen Gruben oder Durchbrüchen und langen Hefthörnern").<sup>46</sup> Its pommel had been fashioned of wood, sheathed in gold, and secured in its silver handle with jutting silver prongs and golden pins. Somewhat unusually, its gilded bronze blade widened towards its midpoint before tapering once again. Deemed fit for a king in the mid second millennium BC, this visually stunning dagger was destined, once again, to be bestowed upon royalty. Shortly after its discovery in the nineteenth century, Egypt's governor sent it as a gift to Prince Napoléon of France.<sup>47</sup>

Kamose's dagger appeared a singular treasure until the discovery – quite nearby and only two years later – of its slightly miniaturized counterpart in Ahhotep's coffin. At only 22 cm long, Ahhotep's dagger was shorter than Kamose's, but it too featured a gilded bronze blade and facsimiles of miniature golden nail heads. Moreover, the decorative scheme of the two daggers was complimentary. While Kamose's pommel was sheathed in gold and held in place by silver tines, the artisans had reversed the distribution of the precious metals in Ahhotep's dagger. Clearly crafted in tandem, the two ornate weapons would have impressed onlookers. Neither, however, was sturdy enough to have been utilized in battle.<sup>48</sup>

Interestingly, the daggers that belonged to Kamose and Ahhotep were not the only items of their mortuary assemblages that bore strong stylistic similarities. Each monarch had gone to the grave with a distinctive golden-hued mirror that possessed nearly identical measurements to that of the other<sup>49</sup> as well as with an armlet that bore Ahmose's cartouche in a raised boxy projection



**Fig. 5** – a. Kamose's golden-pommelled dagger (redrawn from a photo in PETSCHER, *Dolch*, 411, cat. 88); b. Ahhotep's silver-pommelled dagger (after VON BISSING, *Grabfunde*, pl. III.5); c. ivory-pommelled dagger discovered at in the North Palace at Deir el Ballas (redrawn from a photo in PETSCHER, *Dolch*, 413, cat. 91)

while riding in the battle that ended his life, it is interesting that equestrian warriors of the Sahel wore their daggers in a similar manner (see LAGAMMA, *Sahel*, cat. 6, 32, 80, 101, 130, 135; WEGNER, CAHAIL, *Seneg-kay*, 124-35).

<sup>46</sup> PETSCHER, *Dolch*, 132, 410-11, cat. 88.

<sup>47</sup> PETSCHER, *Dolch*, 410-11, cat. 88; BEN AMAR, *In Monte Artium* 5 (2012), 50, 61-3.

<sup>48</sup> WINLOCK, *JEA* 10, 261; BEN AMAR, *In Monte Artium* 5, 64-6.

<sup>49</sup> WINLOCK, *JEA* 10, 262; BEN AMAR, *In Monte Artium* 5, 61, 63.

between two crouching protective or heraldic entities. Although the body of Kamose's armlet did not survive, the golden lions that had once flanked its cartouche did (see Fig. 3c). Ahhotep's armlet, briefly described above, on the other hand, survived intact and had been fashioned in imitation of an archer's bracer (see Fig. 3a). Its cartouche box was more elaborate than Kamose's in that it bore the split triangular decoration characteristic of some of Ahhotep's other grave goods, including her golden dagger. In this respect it is notable that the gold wire lettering, inlaid into a dark material in this cartouche, presented a similar niello-style effect to the king's cartouches on the queen's golden dagger. Ahhotep's armlet also differed from Kamose's in that it included the



addition of the epithet “living endlessly and eternally like Re” (*ꜥnh dt nhh*) to Ahmose’s Son of Re name and featured sphinxes wearing nemes-crowns flanking the royal cartouche, rather than lions.<sup>50</sup>

The orthography of Ahmose’s name on these grave goods indicated that both burials had occurred prior to that king’s 22<sup>nd</sup> year.<sup>51</sup> While this is not surprising with respect to Kamose, it is important for the controversy as to whether Ahhotep could possibly be considered Ahmose’s mother. The Ahhotep who bore the title “King’s Mother”, after all, is attested on monuments dating to the reign of Thutmose I.<sup>52</sup> Thus, while it is possible that her grave goods could have been prepared already in the reign of her husband and within the first two decades of her son’s rule, her later attestations on royal and private monuments render it perhaps unlikely that no subsequent gifts would have been bestowed upon her.

While Kamose’s dagger undoubtedly constituted the closest parallel to Ahhotep’s, the findspots of the six other provenienced examples of its subtype are extremely interesting. One was discovered in the burial chamber of the pyramid of Senwoseret III together with a heterogeneous assortment of other goods. Opinions differ, however, as to whether the dagger had originally belonged to the deceased king’s grave goods or whether, instead, it had been discarded by thieves who had penetrated the tomb in the Second Intermediate Period. While the latter possibility fits with the theory, held by the pyramid’s current excavators at the Metropolitan Museum of Art, that Senwoseret III had never been buried in his pyramid at Dahshur, the pottery vessels discovered in the tomb alongside the dagger might possibly point to a thorough plundering.<sup>53</sup> Certainly it is notable that Petschel, well aware of the debate, is comfortable assigning the slightly anomalous and admittedly plain dagger to Senwoseret III.<sup>54</sup> Indeed, the fact that this subtype was encountered in the royal burials of Kamose and Ahhotep, as well as in the North Palace at Deir el-Ballas<sup>55</sup> – perhaps lends weight to the idea that it might once have belonged to a king.

Fittingly, the Deir el-Ballas dagger (see Fig. 5c) provides an even closer parallel to Ahhotep’s weapon. Deir el-Ballas had been established in the late Seventeenth Dynasty as a mustering point for the Theban army. There-

fore, both Kamose and Ahhotep would, no doubt, have spent a great deal of time in its North Palace! Indeed, the dagger’s proportions (23.2 cm) and style suggest that it might even have been worn by the queen (or certainly a queen) in life. Perhaps not coincidentally, the only other Egyptian location at which this subtype of dagger has been discovered in situ is Abydos – the most important city situated within the Theban kingdom’s oft-contested northern border zone.<sup>56</sup>

Given the plentiful quantity of Pan-Grave pottery discovered at Deir el-Ballas, as well as the presence of some Nubian names attested on administrative ostraca at the site,<sup>57</sup> it is perhaps not surprising that the last three daggers classed in the same subgroup as those of Ahhotep and Kamose, came from Lower Nubian contexts. The community that utilized the C-Group cemetery 65 at the site of Debeira-East, where one of these daggers had been found in a secondary context,<sup>58</sup> had perhaps allied themselves with the Egyptians following Kamose’s conquest of Buhen. Certainly, the leaders of this polity were on the vanguard of adopting a predominantly Egyptian material culture in the early New Kingdom.<sup>59</sup> The early Eighteenth Dynasty daggers found in chambered graves in both Aniba (Cemetery S, tomb 53) and Semna (cemetery S, tomb 552), on the other hand, may have been occupied by Egyptians, Egypto-Nubians, or Egyptianized Nubians – although it is at present impossible to determine whether such individuals would have been long-term residents or new settlers. Both tombs included mostly Egyptian-style goods in their assemblage.

Interestingly, among the jewelry fashioned out of precious metals and semiprecious stones in the Semna tomb, excavators discovered three faience flies.<sup>60</sup> With three bodies interred in this particular grave, there is no guarantee that the owner of the dagger also owned the flies, but the co-occurrence of daggers and fly-amulets in grave goods of the late Second Intermediate Period and early Eighteenth Dynasty is unlikely to be coincidental. Queen Ahhotep, of course, had been interred with large golden fly amulets strung on a necklace (CG 52671) and three Kerman-style smaller electrum flies as well (CG 52692), as is discussed by Peter Lacovara elsewhere in

<sup>50</sup> WINLOCK, *JEA* 10, 261-2, pl. XVII.

<sup>51</sup> DAVIES, *JEA* 60, 117.

<sup>52</sup> For summaries of the controversy, see BETRÒ, “The Identity of Ahhotep and the Textual Sources”, in this volume as well as ROTH, in TEETER, LARSON (eds), *Gold of Praise*, 361-76.

<sup>53</sup> MORGAN, *Fouilles*, 97; PETSCHER, *Dolch*, 406-7, no. 82.

<sup>54</sup> PETSCHER, *Dolch*, 135-6, 406-7, cat. 82.

<sup>55</sup> Berkeley, Hearst Museum 6-17311; PETSCHER, *Dolch*, 412-13, cat. 91.

<sup>56</sup> Philadelphia, UM E 9258; PETSCHER, *Dolch*, 408-9, cat. 83. See also GARSTANG, *Arabah* 11-12, pls XIV, XVI. For the importance of Abydos at this time, see RYHOLT, *Political Situation*, 171. Two unprovenienced daggers – MMA 11.150.16 and BM EA 66061 – were said to have come from Thebes.

<sup>57</sup> LACOVARA, *New Kingdom*, 15 and LACOVARA, personal communication.

<sup>58</sup> Uppsala, The Victoria Museum 65/0:7; PETSCHER, *Dolch*, 408-9, cat. 84; SÄVE-SÖDERBERGH, *Kush* 10, 89, pl. XXI.b.

<sup>59</sup> SÄVE-SÖDERBERGH, TROY, *New Kingdom*, 205-6.

<sup>60</sup> DUNHAM, JANSSEN, *Second Cataract*, 91-4.

this volume.<sup>61</sup> Although the practice of awarding daggers and flies to worthy warriors would appear from texts to have occurred in a homogeneously Egyptian context, all other known instances in which daggers and flies were discovered in the same burial assemblage came from Lower Nubia (Buhen Tomb J33)<sup>62</sup> or Kerma (Tumulus K X, 1061, body E and K IV B, 401, body A, in which two gold-headed electrum fly-amulets accompanied a dagger with gold rivets).<sup>63</sup> Significantly, this distribution conforms to a pattern: by and large, the more martial aspects of Queen Ahhotep's burial assemblage find their closest parallels in the practices of those of Nubian heritage.

#### 4. Ahhotep's Ceremonial Axe (see Fig. 6)

Egyptian Museum Cairo CG 52645; JE 4673, on display in the Luxor Museum

Materials: Cedar wood, gold, electrum, copper alloy, lapis lazuli, carnelian, and turquoise

Height: 47.5 cm.; Blade length: 13.5 cm



Fig. 6 – Ceremonial axe (after VON BISSING, *Grabfunde*, pl. I)

Ahhotep's ceremonial axe is the companion showpiece to her elaborately decorated golden dagger. Expertly fashioned, the two weapons bore Ahmose's cartouches, elaborate niello-style decoration, and design elements that are paralleled in Aegean art. This axe – like the others discovered in Ahhotep's tomb and discussed below – is representative of a new style of battle axe that is notable for its incurved waist and splayed blade. Dubbed type G-VII by Eva Kühnert-Eggebrecht, the type is first attested in the Second Intermediate Period and lasted only

until the reign of Hatshepsut.<sup>64</sup> This new type of axe constituted an abrupt departure from the curved axe-blades that bore apertures for lashing, which were characteristic of both earlier Egyptian weapons and the Levantine “duckbill” axes. They also differed from the socketed axes favored by the inhabitants of Tell el-Dab'a.<sup>65</sup> Unlike either of these styles of weapons, the base of a G-VII blade was lugged such that it could be inserted into a wooden haft and lashed in place with strips of leather (see Fig. 8c).<sup>66</sup> Such strips were expertly imitated in gold on Ahhotep's ceremonial axe. Practical versions of this type of weapon, as will be discussed below, bear a strong association with the distinctive mortuary assemblages typical of the Pan-Grave peoples, some of whom the Egyptians appear to have utilized as military auxiliaries in the Seventeenth Dynasty.<sup>67</sup>

Although weapons manufacturers for the Theban army had likely developed the splayed blade in order to penetrate a new type of body armor, its form would also have been conducive to severing heads. It is thus relevant that the cutting edge of one side of the axe bore the otherwise unattested image of a bearded sphinx,

wearing a royal crown, proffering a human head toward the embodied, flesh-and-blood individual who would have wielded the axe! The sphinx occupied the bottom of three registers. Just above it, the protective goddesses of Upper and Lower Egypt (Nekhbet and Wadjet) each wear a geographically appropriate crown and perch upon the heraldic plant of their region. Taken together their presence referenced the king's Two Ladies name and made it clear that the god Heh (embodying the concept of “millions” and gracing the axe's top register) offered the year signs he held in his hands to a king. Just *which* king was rendered unambiguous by the inlay of Ahmose's praenomen and nomen on the top register of the reverse

side of the blade and by the emblazoning of his complete titulary along the axe's gold-plated cedarwood haft.<sup>68</sup>

The lower two registers of the reverse side of the axe were fashioned utilizing the niello-style of decoration

<sup>61</sup> LACOVARA, “The Flies of Ahhotep”, in this volume.

<sup>62</sup> RANDALL-MCIVER, WOOLLEY, *Buhen*, 135-6, 174-5.

<sup>63</sup> REISNER, *Kerma*, vols I-III, 349, 196.

<sup>64</sup> KÜHNERT-EGGEBRECHT, *Axt*, 38-9.

<sup>65</sup> PHILIP, *Metalwork and Metalworking*, 32-41.

<sup>66</sup> DAVIES, *Catalogue*, 23-4.

<sup>67</sup> For examples of this type of axe that still preserve leather lashing, see Mostagedda 3135, which bore the cartouche of the Second Intermediate Period King Nebmaatre (BRUNTON, *Mostagedda*, pl. LXXIV.9; DAVIES, *Catalogue*, 43, pl. XVIII.102). Likewise, Balabish Tomb B 226 (WAINWRIGHT, *Balabish*, 12, pl. VI.1).

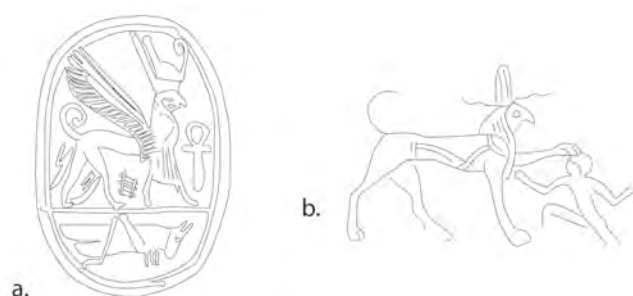
<sup>68</sup> BISSING, *Grabfund*, 2, pl. I.

seen in Ahhotep's ceremonial dagger. In the middle register, the king appears in his war crown and royal kilt in the act of grasping an enemy by the hair and, it seems, simultaneously stabbing him with a dagger. Interestingly, the ethnicity and social status of the king's victim is left ambiguous. Certainly, the figure's short hair and clean-shaven face argue against the common suggestion that he should be interpreted as a Hyksos warrior.<sup>69</sup> His appearance would better suit either an Egyptian fighting on behalf of the Hyksos or a Nubian.

The Aegean-style winged griffin, which appears below the king and his enemy at the cutting edge of the axe blade, is undoubtedly the iconographic feature that has elicited the most commentary.<sup>70</sup> Inlaid into the niello-style dark metal, the griffin appears under the epithet: "beloved of Montu" (*mry Mnt*). Thus, as with Ahhotep's ceremonial dagger, Egyptian craftsmen were evidently experimenting with designs and techniques imported from the Aegean world, unless, of course, one or both of the weapons were themselves Aegean imports, as is occasionally suggested.<sup>71</sup>

The invocation of Montu makes sense in that the god was both a patron deity of Thebes and closely associated with combat. In the well-known tale of the adventures of Sinuhe, for example, the narrator recalls his victory over a Syro-Palestinian rival, stating, "I felled him with his (own) axe. I yelled my war cry over his back. Every Asiatic yelped. I gave praise to Montu, while his adherents mourned for him".<sup>72</sup> The interpretive question remains, however, as to whether the griffin represented the king and/or the owner of the axe (who Montu loved), a mythical familiar (who Montu loved), or Montu (who loved the king and/or the owner of the axe). On temple walls Montu almost invariably took the form of a falcon-headed entity, which might suggest that the griffin would constitute a fitting avatar or daemonic companion.<sup>73</sup> On the other hand, a bladed weapon bearing Kamose's cartouche, once thought to have belonged to Ahhotep's burial assemblage, seems to depict the king in the form of a falcon-headed sphinx mauling a short-haired, clean-shaven victim, not unlike the victim depicted on Ahhotep's axe (see Fig. 7b).<sup>74</sup>

The positioning of the griffin's wings, its characteristic spiral markings, and the five feathers that stood upright upon its head clearly marked it as foreign to the



**Fig. 7** – Royal griffins: *a.* winged griffin and locust on a scarab found at Megiddo (after KEIMER, *ASAE* 32, 143, fig. 53); *b.* griffin on Kamose's bladed weapon, Ashmolean 1927.4622, after MALEK, in GORING, REEVES, RUFFLE (eds), *Chief of Seers*, 218, fig. 7)

Egyptian tradition – being instead a product of the Aegean imaginary. Similar griffins had adorned carved seals and other minor arts since the Middle Minoan II period (c. 1800-1700 BC). By the fifteenth century BC, however, the mythical beasts had entered the international style and been co-opted by elites who utilized them for heraldic and protective purposes on prestige goods and in palaces, such as those at Knossos, Pylos, and, perhaps, Tell el-Dab'a.<sup>75</sup> For present purposes, however, it is most significant that Aegean-style griffins adorned a variety of artifacts discovered in the shaft tombs at Mycenae, including a dagger (see Fig. 2e).<sup>76</sup> Moreover, in the later levels of the cult center associated with the shaft tombs, griffins appear in close connection with both women and weapons. In one wall-painting, for instance, a griffin is held by a woman wearing a Mycenaean boar's tooth helmet (see Pl. XLIa), while in another painting a probable griffin leaps in front of a female figure who is holding sheaves of grain. On the platform directly adjacent to this scene, two female figures face one another with an oversized sword between them. Taking these associations into account, it seems clear that at Mycenae, at least, the griffin served as the emblem of a female warrior goddess.<sup>77</sup>

<sup>69</sup> Cf. SINGER, *CCE* 12, 77, n. 11.

<sup>70</sup> See JUDAS, "The Aegeanizing Elements Depicted on the Objects from the Tomb of Ahhotep", in this volume.

<sup>71</sup> MORGAN, *Miniature*, 187, n. 112; CLINE, *ABSA* 93, 213.

<sup>72</sup> SIMPSON (ed.), *Literature*, 60.

<sup>73</sup> For the equation of griffins with pharaohs, see MORGAN, *Ä&L* 20, 304; JANOSI, *JACF* 5, 103, 105, n. 28; MORGAN, *Miniature*, 53.

<sup>74</sup> See BISSING, *Grabfund*, pl. XII.10; WINLOCK, *JEA* 10, 263; MALEK, in GORING, REEVES, RUFFLE (eds), *Chief of Seers*, 218, fig. 7.

<sup>75</sup> MORGAN, *Ä&L* 20, 304, 307.

<sup>76</sup> ARUZ, LACOVARA, in ARUZ, BENZEL, EVANS, *Beyond Babylon*, 120; MORGAN, *Miniature*, 51-2.

<sup>77</sup> As Lyvia Morgan remarks, the association of women and the accoutrements of war, although attested elsewhere in the Aegean, is nowhere more prevalent than in the sacred center at Myceane. MORGAN, *BSAS* 13, 168, 170-1.



Although these images postdate the shaft tombs, religious beliefs prevalent already during the mid-seventeenth century BC likely also equated griffins with goddesses. Certainly, in the wall painting at the Xesté 3 house-shrine in Akrotiri (see Pl. XLIIb), the griffin appears seated at the side of a larger than life-size female, typically interpreted as a deity. Both griffin and goddess, interestingly, face a vervet monkey, native to Nubia, which could only have arrived (and, indeed, have been painted in “Egyptian” blue) via trade with Egypt.<sup>78</sup> Ahmose likely was well aware of the close connection between griffins, women, and weapons in Aegean art when he bestowed the ceremonial axe upon Ahhotep or interred it in her grave. The Ahhotep who gave birth to him, after all, bore the title “Mistress of the Shores of the *ḥ3w-nbw*” – a geographically vague toponym, strongly associated with Greece in later inscriptions.<sup>79</sup> Thus, even if the two Queen Ahhoteps were not one and the same but only intimately acquainted with one another, cultural literacy at court would likely have ensured that the griffin on the axe bore a strong association with female power.

### 5. Axe embellished with Silver with a Handle ornamented with Gold (see Fig. 8a)

Egyptian Museum Cairo CG 52646;  
JE 4676

Materials: gold, silver, copper and cedar-wood

Height: 41 cm; Blade length: 11.7 cm

This ornamental axe – like the second of Ahhotep’s daggers discussed above – has been overshadowed by its far fancier counterpart and is thus little discussed. Despite this, the weapon is impressive. Its blade is a highly stylized version of Kühnert-Eggebrecht’s type G-VII, with a relatively narrow waist that would have rendered it more stylish than effectual. The same impression is gained from its material and ornament. For example, artisans fashioned the blade out of copper, rather than casting it in bronze and overlaid it with a thin silver plate. Likewise, even if the material of the blade is discounted, it was attached to its handle by no other means than a nail and a wire. The gold-plated cap that ornamented the

butt end of the haft, on the other hand, had been attached far more securely – by eighteen golden nails!<sup>80</sup>

### 6. Axe bearing Kamose’s Cartouches with undecorated Handle (see Fig. 8b)

Egyptian Museum Cairo CG 52647; JE 4675

Materials: bronze and horn

Height: 40 cm; Blade length: 12 cm

This axe and the one just discussed are nearly identical in terms of the length of the blade and of the weapon as a whole. There were, however, important differences. The handle, for instance, had been fashioned of horn rather than gold, and there were signs of burning in the area at which the blade would have been inserted. Although the blade was neither silver-plated nor as slender at its waist as the blade just discussed, it was not without pretensions of its own. Pewter, for instance, had been added to the bronze, which lent the blade an ap-

<sup>80</sup> VERNIER, *Bijoux et orfèvreries*, vol. I, 207. BISSING, *Grabfund*, 5, pl. III.1.



**Fig. 8** – Ahhotep’s axes: *a.* Axe embellished with silver with a handle ornamented with gold (after VON BISSING, *Grabfunde*, pl. III.1); *b.* axe bearing Kamose’s cartouches on the blade with a handle fashioned of horn (after VON BISSING, *Grabfunde*, pl. III.4); *c.* axe blade bearing Kamose’s cartouche (after VON BISSING, *Grabfunde*, pl. III.2)

<sup>78</sup> PREZIOSI, HITCHCOCK, *Aegean Art*, 128.

<sup>79</sup> See JANOSI, *JACF* 5, 100, 105, n.5.



pearance not unlike silver. Moreover, the blade had been inscribed on one side with the nomen and praenomen of King Kamose: “*The good god, Wadj-kheper-re, Son of Re Kamose, given life eternally*” (*ntr nfr, wꜥdj-ḫpr rꜥ sꜥ rꜥ K3-ms di ꜥnh ntr dt*).<sup>81</sup>

## 7. Bronze Axe Blade with Kamose’s Cartouches (see Fig. 8c)

Egyptian Museum Cairo CG 52648; JE 4677

Materials: bronze

Blade length: 12 cm

Ahhotep’s final axe, included among the grave goods in her coffin without a handle, seems to have been nearly identical in dimensions and inscription to the axeblade just described. The only differences lay in the arrangement of the last three signs of Kamose’s Son of Re name and in the presence of a finely engraved line that edged the perimeter of the blade on both sides.<sup>82</sup> The fact that the blade had not been embedded in a handle, however, is illuminating in that the lugs that would have allowed the blade to be securely attached to the handle are fully visible. It is also of interest in that it shares a strong formal similarity with other axes, one bearing Kamose’s name (British Museum EA 36772) and another Ahmose’s (Ashmolean Museum 1927.4623). Although some scholars believed that these axes once belonged to Ahhotep’s funerary equipment and thus should be considered “strays”, it is more likely that they stemmed from burials of her close contemporaries.<sup>83</sup>

The Theban kings almost certainly issued such axes from their armories. At the campaign city of Deir el-Ballas, archaeologists recovered unadorned G-VII-style axe blades from multiple sites, including a grave (Cemetery 1-200, tomb 290) and also the North Palace. Moreover, painted fragments of plaster from the processional entranceway to that palace included a pair of G-VII-style axes and the head of man, perhaps a soldier or member of the palace guard (see Fig. 9b).<sup>84</sup> Axe blades bearing royal cartouches may well have been distributed by the king as military rewards (a possibility discussed below) or as badges of authority. Certainly, it is notable that in Ahhotep’s golden boat model the figure seated prominently in the middle of the boat bore an axe in his left hand.<sup>85</sup>

Individual soldiers, mindful of status or decorum, elected to be depicted in a similar manner. In grave 3252

at Mostagedda, for instance, the deceased had been buried together with a Pan-Grave-style decorated ox-skull that bore a representation of a man named Qeskanet, who most likely had served as a soldier in the Theban army. Qeskanet is shown equipped for battle, grasping an axe in his left hand and a long, curved club or throwstick in his right (see Fig. 9a).<sup>86</sup> The decision to include the axe among Qeskanet’s identifying markers suggests that he himself viewed the weapon as integral to his identity.

Prior to Ahmose’s victory over the Hyksos, Mostagedda served as the Theban kingdom’s northernmost garrison town. As such, the site’s unusual preponderance of burials belonging to soldiers of the Pan-Grave culture and their families is perhaps not surprising. Such garrison-settlements of foreign settler-soldiers would have served as a first line of defense against an incoming invasion. Indeed, it is remarkable that the closest practical parallels to Ahhotep’s axe are found in Egypt with only two exceptions<sup>87</sup> in association with Pan-Grave burials – namely, at the sites of Mostagedda (3121, 3123, 3128, 3132, 3135, 3138, 3161, 3170, 10118), Balabish (tombs B 201, B 226, and B 30), Hu (Q 30, YS 164, 165, 174, 179, 224, 237, 351, 412, 505), Qau (5462, 7163, 7494, and 7498), and Rifeh.

Guy Brunton suggested that this type of lugged axe blade was so frequently found in graves of those of Nubian heritage because Nubians played an important role in the Egyptian military.<sup>88</sup> This suggestion is bolstered both by Kamose’s reference to surging north with his Medjay-warriors, as well as by the Nubian names found on ostraca at Deir el-Ballas.<sup>89</sup> Because parallels for the axes were discovered in C-Group as well as Kerman contexts, however, Kühnert-Eggebrecht posited that it was Nubian warriors that had developed this style of axe and that – like foreign auxiliaries in other ancient contexts – the Pan-Grave warriors would thus have been

<sup>86</sup> BRUNTON, *Mostagedda*, 120-1, pl. LXXVI.65. A seemingly similar implement is depicted in the hands of the axe-holding figure on Ahhotep’s golden boat, as well as an aggressor in the First Intermediate tomb of Iti-ibi at Asyut (BESTOCK, *Violence*, 233, fig. 8.5).

<sup>87</sup> The two exceptions are Deir el-Ballas (discussed above) and Kahun. At Kahun Petrie excavated three analogous axes in household caches, where they were found together with tools (PETRIE, *Kahun*, 26, pl. XVII.6, 9; PETRIE, *Illahun*, 12, pl. VII.19. See DAVIES, *Catalogue*, 48). The dual utility of axes as weapons and tools obviously renders contextual analysis crucial.

<sup>88</sup> BRUNTON, *Mostagedda*, 128.

<sup>89</sup> LACOVARA, *New Kingdom*, 15; SIMPSON, *Literature*, 346. LISZKA, *JAEG* 7.2 is, of course, correct that not all Medjay belonged to the Pan-Grave culture. A preponderance of evidence, however, suggests that Pan-Grave individuals would have been easily encompassed in the broad category of Medjay.

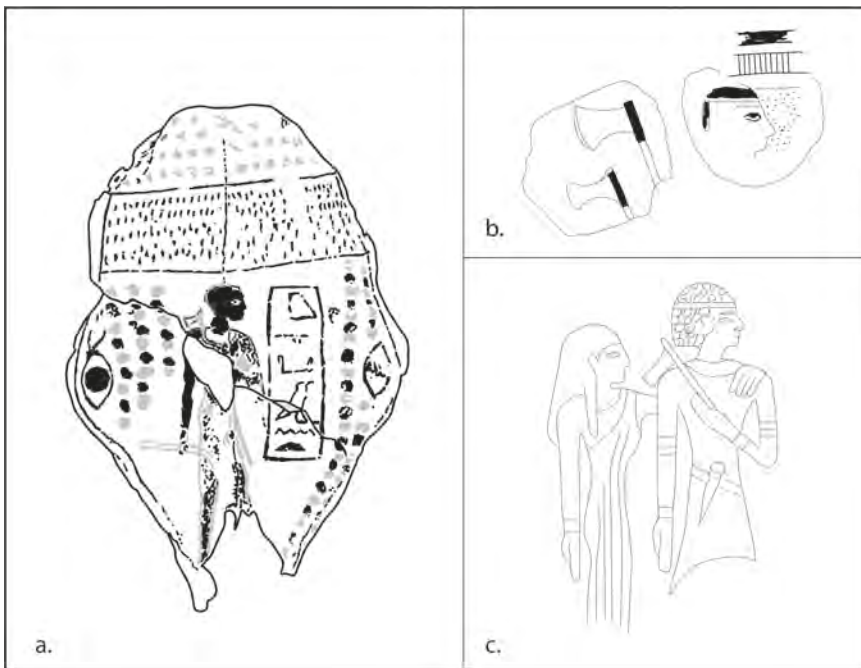
<sup>81</sup> VERNIER, *CG I*: 208; BISSING, *Grabfund*, 5, pl. III.4.

<sup>82</sup> VERNIER, *CG I*: 208; BISSING, *Grabfund*, 5, pl. III.2.

<sup>83</sup> DAVIES, *JEA* 60, 114-15, 117-18.

<sup>84</sup> SMITH, *Art*, 160, fig. 278.

<sup>85</sup> BISSING, *Grabfund*, pl. IX.2c-d.



**Fig. 9** – Type G axes in Second Intermediate Period contexts:  
*a.* the Pan-Grave soldier Qeskanet (after BRUNTON, *Mostagedda*, 120-1, pl. LXXVI.65, drawn by Severin Fowles);  
*b.* Painted plaster fragments from the North Palace at Deir el-Ballas (after SMITH, *Art*, 160, fig. 278);  
*c.* Bak, a soldier in Kamose’s army from Louvre stele E 6141 (after PETSCHEL, *Dolch*, 189, fig. 39)

buried together with the weapons with which they had been accustomed to fight.<sup>90</sup>

The parallels between Ahhotep’s type III daggers and type G axe-blades and their more utilitarian counterparts interred in the graves of individuals of Nubian heritage during the Second Intermediate Period are addressed below in the final discussion. The latter provide two important points of comparison with Ahhotep’s assemblage. Both types of weapons on occasion bore royal cartouches. Moreover, both were occasionally taken to the grave by women.

### Final Discussion

While each of Ahhotep’s weapons merits careful consideration, it is important to return to the question of how they should be viewed as an assemblage, especially considering the queen’s sex, rank, and the tumultuous period in which she ruled. This final discussion, then, focusses on three main questions. Should Ahhotep’s weapons be considered in the same light as those that belonged to royal women of the Thirteenth Dynasty? Did Ahhotep receive weapons in part because women as well as men occasionally bore arms in times of war? And, lastly, did these weapons serve as rewards for Ahhotep’s extraordinary service to her nation?

#### Did Ahhotep’s weapons connect her to royal women of a bygone era?

Ahhotep was not the first royal woman to go to her grave armed. A handful of preserved burials suggest that royal and high-status women of the Thirteenth Dynasty on

occasion included functional daggers among their grave goods. The rationale for being buried with daggers in the Twelfth and Thirteenth Dynasties, for both men and women, seems to have been to enhance their identification in death with the god Osiris. In the Pyramid Texts (Spells 742-756) and in the “hour vigil” the deceased was envisioned as Osiris, reborn through ritual and then presented with the various forms of royal insignia and equipment with which he or she had been entombed. These included staves, a mace, a flail, items of royal dress, a swallow amulet, and a dagger. Such items are depicted on the sides of wooden coffins and included in the court-type burials that came into vogue in the Late Middle Kingdom.<sup>91</sup> As if to stress that the dagger would only become effective in the realm of the afterlife, when it would be transformed along with its owner, however, virtually all of the daggers included in the burials of men were wooden.

Private ownership of functional daggers may well have been frowned upon. Susanne Petschel’s catalogue, which aims to be a comprehensive collection of all known pharaonic daggers, includes as its first entry a silver dagger with an ivory hilt excavated from a grave in El Amrah that dates from the late Nagada II period. At that time Egypt was not yet unified, and the period saw armed conflict between rival polities. Hilts of two similar daggers were recovered from contemporary graves at Abydos’s prestigious Cemetery U. From the time that the Upper Egyptian state formed, however, until the advent – nearly a millennium later – of the wooden daggers of very similar form in the Middle Kingdom, Petschel’s

<sup>90</sup> KÜHNERT-EGGEBRECHT, *Axt*, 34-5.

<sup>91</sup> GRAJETZKI, *Tomb Treasures*, 150-2; see also MINIACI, QUIRKE, *BIFAO* 109, 357-61.

catalogue lists not a single dagger!<sup>92</sup> Even if the daggers excavated by Guy Brunton at Gurob (grave 395) and at Qau (graves 301, 308, 974, 2041, 4975) and others from Kom el-Hisn should be assigned to the First Intermediate Period,<sup>93</sup> their inclusion would only seem to prove the rule, namely that private ownership of weapons during times when the state was stable appears to have been discouraged or perhaps even outlawed. Judging from pictorial evidence, daggers were indeed utilized; yet invariably they were depicted on the persons of pharaohs, soldiers, or else foreigners – who were, one assumes, destined to be divested of them.<sup>94</sup>

The small wooden models of daggers, which were included in elite Middle Kingdom burials at Meir, Bersheh, Harageh, Lisht, Saqqara, and Thebes<sup>95</sup> were blunted weapons that imitated the burial equipment of kings but could never have been wielded in any aggressive act. Perhaps because royal and elite women were viewed as less threatening, however, they seem to have been granted an exception. Princess Ita, buried at Dahshur in the Thirteenth Dynasty, for example, was interred together with a stunning dagger fashioned of bronze with a hilt that incorporated lapis lazuli, gold, carnelian, and perhaps silver and amazonite as well.<sup>96</sup> So, too, Senebtisi of Lisht, whose relatively unlooted grave is perhaps the most quintessential example of a court-style burial, took a bronze dagger, the handle and sheath of which had been covered in gold leaf, to the grave.<sup>97</sup> Interestingly, while this noblewoman does not appear to have married a king, she may well have been the grandmother of three!<sup>98</sup> Finally, Princess Nubhotepi-the-Child also carried a functional dagger to the afterlife, in contrast to her father, the ephemeral King Hor, who, strangely, had himself been equipped with only a small model dagger made of wood.<sup>99</sup>

It is fascinating that, although we know more about the burial goods of royal females of the Twelfth Dynasty than we do about most of their earlier or later contemporaries, there is no hint that these royal women had

been provisioned with daggers – real or model. Judging from their burial goods, in fact, their role in the afterlife seems to have been less to *become* an Osiris than it was to serve as an embodiment of Hathor and dance for the enjoyment and revivification of their father or husband in his incarnation of Re.<sup>100</sup> It would seem, then, that women's roles shifted in the course of the Thirteenth Dynasty to allow them greater agency – perhaps in life as well as death.

High status and royal women of the Thirteenth and Seventeenth Dynasties occupied opposite ends of the long Second Intermediate Period (c. 1759-1539 BC). Thus, in both courts, native Egyptian rulers shared power with people of mixed Egyptian and Levantine culture in the Eastern Delta. And war – or at least the threat of war – would have been ever present. Moreover, in the Thirteenth Dynasty, a time when a wide variety of unrelated kings cycled in and out of office, it may have been that women often bore more royal blood than their husbands and thus became especially important transmitters of legitimacy. So, too, in both dynasties, royal women likely took on a larger role in leadership, acting as regents while kings were off on campaign or else too young to wield effective political power. It is not a stretch to imagine, then, that the very real daggers found with their corpses had served as visual tokens of their authority in life as well as death.

Although court-style burials did not persist past the Second Intermediate Period, elements of this tradition can still be identified in the grave goods of Tutankhamun and Sheshonq II, as well as in the Osirian depictions of Merneptah and Sheshonq III.<sup>101</sup> Thus, it is possible that Ahhotep went to the grave with daggers and axes (similarly shown together on the coffin friezes of the Middle Kingdom) in an attempt to enable her to arise from the dead as Osiris, much as her female counterparts had been interred with daggers a century before – in similarly unsettled times during which they wielded unusual political authority. The lack of other standard accoutrements of the Osirian assemblage among Ahhotep's grave goods, however, argues against the primacy of this interpretation.<sup>102</sup>

<sup>92</sup> PETSCHER, *Dolch*, 264-5, 350-3.

<sup>93</sup> BRUNTON, ENGELBACH, *Gurob*, 1927, pl. VII.15; BRUNTON, *Qau and Badari*, vol. I, 38, 41, 59, pl. XXXVIII.1-5. For Kom el-Hisn, see DAVIES, *Catalogue*, 37, nos 4, 20.

<sup>94</sup> See MORRIS, *JEGH* 13, 129-39; PETSCHER, *Dolch*, 67-85, 100-2, 105, 164-5.

<sup>95</sup> Model daggers without exact provenience have also been recorded from Naga ed-Deir and Kahun. PETSCHER, *Dolch*, cat. 8-9, 11-12, 14-16, 119-22, 125-7, 231-3.

<sup>96</sup> PETSCHER, *Dolch*, 358-9, cat. 13.

<sup>97</sup> MACE, WINLOCK, *Senebtisi*, 105, pl. XXXII.C; PETSCHER, *Dolch*, 492-3, cat. 234.

<sup>98</sup> PETSCHER, *Dolch*, 492-3, cat. 234; RYHOLT, *Political Situation*, 83-4.

<sup>99</sup> PETSCHER, *Dolch*, 492-3, cat. 232; 500-1, cat. 246.

<sup>100</sup> MORRIS, *JARCE* 47, 74, 93.

<sup>101</sup> GRAJETZKI, *Tomb Treasures*, 151-2, 158.

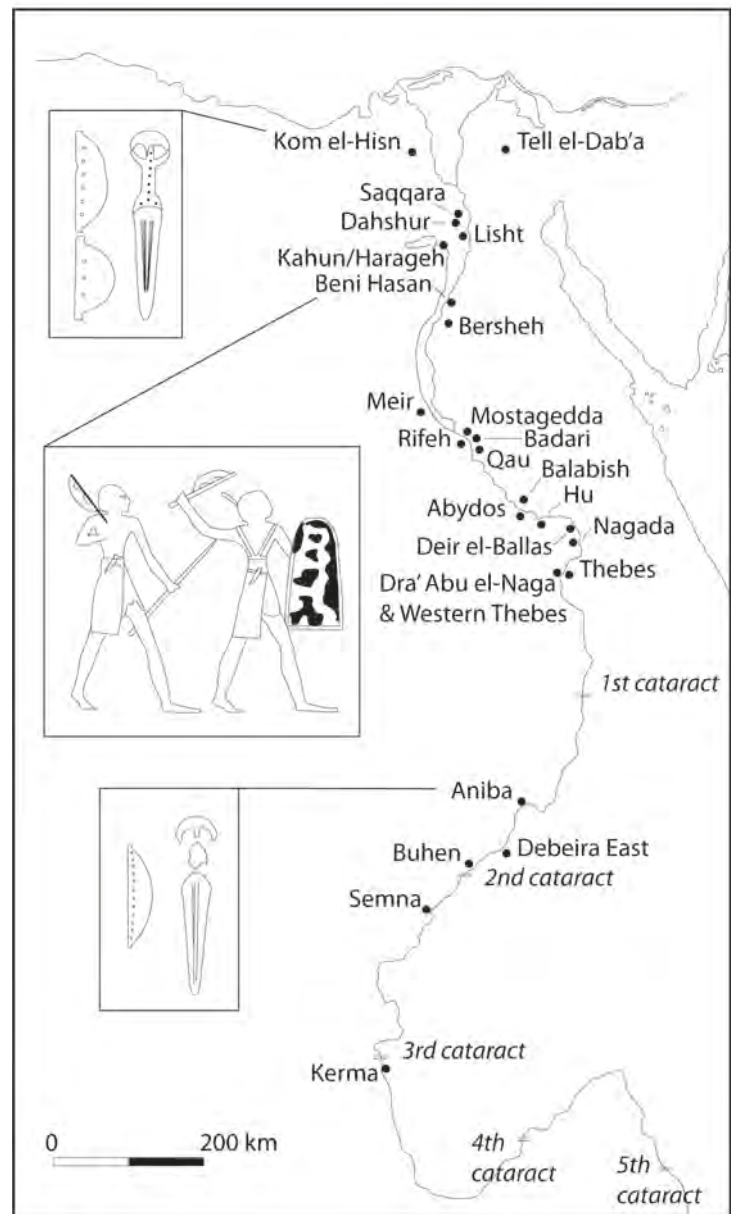
<sup>102</sup> GRAJETZKI, *Tomb Treasures*, 166. For the shift away from the northern tradition centered on Osirification in Thebes during the Second Intermediate Period, see MINIACI, in TAYLOR, VANDENBEUSCH (eds), *Craft Productions and Functionality*, 247, 268.



**Was Ahhotep buried with weapons because in the Second Intermediate Period a greater segment of society – including women – bore arms than had been the case in the Middle Kingdom?**

Studies of long-term trends in ancient Egyptian mortuary assemblages demonstrate that people buried under the rule of a stable state seem to have expected to rest in peace. Over the millennium and a half that separated the first unification of the state from its reunification under Ahmose, the percentage of individuals who went to the grave armed not just with daggers but so too with weapons of other varieties and also with model weapons – akin to the three miniature gold axes and six miniature silver axes (CG 52649-57) included in Ahhotep's coffin<sup>103</sup> – soars as the power of the central state plummets.<sup>104</sup> While weapons are fairly common in First Intermediate Period graves, their prevalence is radically curtailed in the early Twelfth Dynasty. This is despite the fact that the Story of Sinuhe tells us that during his unexpected sojourn in Canaan, the expatriate courtier utilized daggers and axes for self-defense and in combat.<sup>105</sup> So, too, paintings of the reunification of Egypt from roughly the same period at Beni Hasan depict soldiers who carried daggers and axes into battle<sup>106</sup> (see Fig. 10, inset). A depiction of a soldier named Bak, on a stele that dates to the reign of Kamose (see Fig. 9c) suggests that this military kit remained stable well into Ahhotep's lifetime.<sup>107</sup>

If the government issued axes and daggers to its soldiers in the Old and Middle Kingdoms, their pervasive absence from graves and domestic contexts suggests that recipients returned these weapons to arsenals upon reentering civilian life. In the New Kingdom, certainly, both textual and pictorial evidence indicate that this was standard practice.<sup>108</sup> Aggressive primal urges, like electrical currents, need to be channeled safely if a state is to endure. Thus, once firmly established, authoritarian regimes typically at-



**Fig. 10** – Middle Kingdom dagger and axe burials from grave 78 at Kom el-Hisn (after HAMADA, FARID, *ASAE* 48, pl. VII) and grave N 487 at Aniba (after STEINDORFF, *Aniba* I, 157, pl. 70.1, 70.5). Drawing of soldiers bearing daggers and axes from the tomb of Amenemhat at Beni Hasan (after NEWBERRY, *Beni Hasan*, pl. XVI)

<sup>103</sup> BISSING, *Grabfund*, 23, pl. XI.

<sup>104</sup> BRUNTON, *Mostagedda*, 109; KÜHNERT-EGGEBRECHT, *Axt*, 97-111; PETSCHER, *Dolch*, 264-6; GRAJETZKI, *Burial Customs*, 37, 61; see MINIACI, in TAYLOR, VANDENBEUSCH (eds), *Craft Productions and Functionality*, 263; MORRIS, *JEGH* 13.

<sup>105</sup> SIMPSON, *Literature*, 59-60.

<sup>106</sup> NEWBERRY, *Beni Hasan* I, pl. XVI.

<sup>107</sup> Louvre E 6141, see PETSCHER, *Dolch*, 189, fig. 39.

<sup>108</sup> FOCKE, in O'BRIEN, BOATRIGHT (eds), *Warfare and Society*, 14-15.



tempt to regulate male aggression, arming young men – possessed of high levels of testosterone and relatively low levels of impulse control – and sending them outward to expend their energies on conquest. Internally, however, it was in the state's interest to promote the type of values espoused in Egyptian wisdom literature, namely, restraint, humility, and deference. In times of shrunken states and civil war, however, the same unruly energies normally pushed to the edges of empire become critical to a state's survival. Male violence, then, is not only deregulated; it is valorized, and the masculine ideal swings back from courtier to warrior.<sup>109</sup>

As discussed above with respect to axes, some weapons were undoubtedly taken to the grave as identity markers. For example, at Kom el-Hisn (Graves 41<sup>110</sup> and 78<sup>111</sup>) and Aniba (N 487<sup>112</sup>), the axes and daggers buried with individuals appear so similar to those depicted in the battle scenes at Beni Hasan that it is likely they belonged to garrison soldiers, who had died where they had been stationed (see Fig. 10). By contrast, the virtually ubiquitous presence of weapons (and especially daggers) in male burials at Kerma and Tell el-Dab'a during the long Second Intermediate Period, speaks to a societal-wide consensus that arms made the man. Not coincidentally, these two polities were both actively involved in projects to challenge the sovereignty of Thirteenth and later Seventeenth Dynasty rulers.

The Upper Egyptian polity presided over by Thebes in Ahhotep's day was markedly less militarized than its northern and southern rivals. While many more men included weapons among their grave goods than had been the case in the Middle Kingdom, the practice was in no way normative. As noted above, outside the military staging post of Deir el-Ballas, the closest parallels for Ahhotep's axes come from Pan-Grave contexts. It is perhaps little surprise, then, that archaeologically attested pairings of Petschel's type III daggers with Kühnert-Eggebrecht's type G axes are attested solely from a Pan-Grave cemetery (YS in Hu, graves Y165 and Y237).<sup>113</sup> With reference to Ahhotep's own assemblage, it is particularly notable

that the only women who were interred with either an axe or a dagger – other than the royal women and court ladies discussed in the preceding section – were themselves Pan-Grave (Mostagedda 3128 and 3156<sup>114</sup>; Qau 5462<sup>115</sup>).

Whether the women bore the weapons for reasons of self-defense (useful in life and so presumably also in death) is unclear. In Nubian cultures it may have been more common for women to participate in armed conflict. Certainly, it is notable that in addition to the hundreds of daggers that were discovered together with male bodies in the tumuli at Kerma, at least six had been recovered from female bodies.<sup>116</sup> Keeping the significance of Ahhotep's weapons in mind, it is also worth noting that the Pan-Grave woman buried together with an axe in Mostagedda 3128 was at once both older and wealthy. Thus, one might plausibly conclude that among the Pan-Grave the wisdom and prowess of women (and/or the sacrifices they made in sending husbands and sons to war) might have been singled out for special praise. If so, Ahmose may perhaps have been influenced by the practices of his Nubian auxiliaries when he interred Ahhotep with weapons that apparently acknowledged the contribution she had made to the defense of her country.

#### **Were Ahhotep's weapons, as commonly assumed, military rewards?**

The first recorded instance of an Egyptian monarch bestowing a weapon upon an individual as a reward for feats of valor is recorded on a stele that a general named Khuosobek erected at Abydos. After a successful battle in the hills of Canaan, the general claimed that Senwoseret III “gave to me a staff of electrum; I was (also) given a bow, together with a dagger worked in electrum together with his (other?) weapons”.<sup>117</sup> In order to motivate their supporters and troops, late Second Intermediate Period and early Eighteenth Dynasty kings continued the practice of acknowledging meritorious military accomplishments by presenting worthies at ceremonial events with weapons – especially axes and daggers – as well as golden flies and other adornments.<sup>118</sup> Ahmose Pen-Nekhbet, for instance, claimed to have received from Amenhotep I the following items fashioned of gold: a dagger, an armlet, two bracelets, two necklaces, and a fan. Thutmose I

<sup>109</sup> ELIAS, *Civilizing Process*, 41-2, 64-70, 193-4, 392-8; MORRIS, *JEGH* 13.

<sup>110</sup> HAMADA, FARID, *ASAE* 46, 202-3, pl. LVI. Although they do not elaborate, the authors state that battle-axes and knives were common in male burials, and DAVIES, *Catalogue*, 37, n. 20 has identified five additional dagger and axe pairs at the site. HAMADA, FARID, *ASAE* 46, 198. PETSCHER, *Dolch*, 538-9, cat. 322.

<sup>111</sup> HAMADA, FARID, *ASAE* 48, 304, pl. VII; PETSCHER, *Dolch*, 522-3, cat. 290.

<sup>112</sup> STEINDORFF, *Aniba* I, 157, pl. 70.1; PETSCHER, *Dolch*, 426-427, cat. 110.

<sup>113</sup> PETRIE, *Diospolis Parva*, 52, pls XXXVII, XXXII.15, 18-17, 22; PETSCHER, *Dolch*, 362-3, cat. 17; 514-15, cat. 272.

<sup>114</sup> BRUNTON, *Mostagedda*, 116, 118, 127, pl. 70-1.

<sup>115</sup> BRUNTON, *Qau and Badari*, vol. III, pl. VI. In the First Intermediate Period at Qau (grave 301), it appears that a dagger and an axe had been buried with a woman named Hesu (BRUNTON, *Qau and Badari*, vol. I, 38, pl. 38).

<sup>116</sup> JUDD, IRISH, *Antiquity* 83, 719; HAFSAAS-TSAKOS, *Antiquity*, 87-8.

<sup>117</sup> FOCKE, in O'BRIEN, BOATRIGHT (eds), *Warfare and Society*, 12.

<sup>118</sup> SINGER, *CCE* 12, 83-4; FOCKE, in O'BRIEN, BOATRIGHT (eds), *Warfare and Society*, 11-15.

subsequently awarded the same man two golden axes, six flies, two bracelets, four necklaces, one armband, and three lions; while Thutmose II gifted him a silver axe, three bracelets, six necklaces, and three armlets.<sup>119</sup> All of these rewards – even a gold lion (CG 52703) – find parallels among Ahhotep’s grave goods. Taking these similarities into account, it is little surprise, then, that ever since the queen’s sarcophagus was opened, her ceremonial weapons, golden fly necklace (CG 52671), and smaller electrum flies (CG 52692) have been frequently interpreted as the material accompaniment to the fulsome words of praise with which Ahmose honored his mother for ably managing military affairs while she ruled as his regent.

Interestingly, while textual evidence might lead one to expect that such rewards were reserved for Egyptian soldiers, weapons embellished with gold, silver, and/or royal cartouches are far more frequently found in the graves of auxiliary soldiers of foreign origin. While Claudia Näser has cautioned against the notion that metal axes and daggers should be referred to as “typical” Pan-Grave mortuary equipment and as indicators for mercenary activity,<sup>120</sup> such weapons – and certainly their embellished counterparts – have been excavated far more often in Pan-Grave, Egyptianized Pan-Grave, and riparian Nubian graves than in those belonging to individuals who appear to have been ethnically Egyptian. Excavated parallels to Ahhotep’s weapons (*i.e.*, Petschel’s Type III and VII daggers and Kühnert-Eggebrecht’s Type G axe blades) that may plausibly be construed as military rewards have been discovered in the following excavated contexts:

### LOWER EGYPT

*Saqqara, burial in the mortuary chapel of the Sixth Dynasty Queen Apuit (Dynasty 15)*

Dagger (Cairo CG 52768; JE 32735); Petschel Cat. 183, Type VII<sup>121</sup>

The electrum handle of this dagger was ornamented with the cartouche of the Hyksos King Apepi (*ntr nfr nb t3.wj (Nb-ḥpš-Rꜥ) | š3 Rꜥ (Jpp) | dj ꜥnh*) on one side and an inscription naming Nehmen, “Follower of his Lord” (*šms.w n nb=f*), on the other. The owner of the tomb, however, bore the Semitic name Abd. He had also been interred together with a throw stick.

<sup>119</sup> FOCKE, in O’BRIEN, BOATRIGHT (eds), *Warfare and Society*, 12.

<sup>120</sup> NÄSER, in BARNARD, DUISTERMAAT (eds), *History of the Peoples*, 87.

<sup>121</sup> PETSCHER, *Dolch*, 460-1.

### UPPER EGYPT

*Hu, Cemetery YS, grave 237 (Dynasty 16-17, Pan-Grave culture)*

Dagger (Cairo, JE 83702); Petschel Cat. 17, Type III + Axe (Oxford Ashmolean E 1778)<sup>122</sup>

The dagger had a crescent handle of ivory and nail holes covered with silver rosettes. It bore the cartouche of Nebiriau (*nfr ntr (šw3d.n-Rꜥ) | dj ꜥnh*).

*Mostagedda, P 3227 (Dy. 16-17, Pan-Grave culture)*

Dagger; Petschel Cat. 66, Type III<sup>123</sup>

Gold-headed nails and silver washers were found, probably from the handle of a dagger.

*Mostagedda, P 3229 (late Second Intermediate Period, Pan-Grave culture)*

Dagger: Petschel Cat. 58, Type III<sup>124</sup>

This dagger had silver rivets.

*Mostagedda, P 3130 (late Second Intermediate Period, Pan-Grave culture)*

Gold-headed nails were recovered from a dagger handle (presumably Type III) in this completely plundered tomb.<sup>125</sup>

*Mostagedda P 3135 (late Second Intermediate Period, Pan-Grave culture)*

This well-preserved axe, still hafted and bound with thongs to its handle, bore the cartouche of “the good god, Nebmaat, given life” (*ntr nfr (Nb-mꜥ3t-Rꜥ) | dj ꜥnh*). Its owner had also been equipped with a leather archer’s bracer decorated with a figure of the god Bes and a lotus.<sup>126</sup> Other individuals buried with an axe and bracer include Ahhotep herself as well as the Pan-Grave burials in Balabish graves B201 and B226.<sup>127</sup>

<sup>122</sup> PETRIE, *Diospolis Parva*, 52, pl. XXXII.17, 22; PETSCHER, *Dolch*, 362-3, cat. 17.

<sup>123</sup> PETSCHER, *Dolch*, 394-5; BRUNTON, *Mostagedda*, 116, 128.

<sup>124</sup> PETSCHER, *Dolch*, 390-1; BRUNTON, *Mostagedda*, 119, 128, pl. LXXIV.6.

<sup>125</sup> BRUNTON, *Mostagedda*, 128, pl. LV.41.

<sup>126</sup> BRUNTON, *Mostagedda*, 117, 131, pl. 74, 9; DAVIES, *Catalogue*, 43, pl. XVIII.102.

<sup>127</sup> WAINWRIGHT, *Balabish*, 10, 12, 30, pls III.2, VI.1.

**NUBIA**

*Aniba, Cemetery N, Grave 546 (Dynasty 12-13, C-group tumulus)*

This dagger was fashioned with gold nails and a silver cuff; Petschel Cat. 116, Type III.<sup>128</sup>

*Debeira East, Cemetery 65, grave 80 (late Second Intermediate Period, Pan-Grave culture)*

This dagger had gilded rivets (Victoria Museum, Uppsala, SJE 65/80B:6); Petschel Cat. 26, Type III<sup>129</sup>

Weapons that would be considered alongside those listed above – had they been documented in their original findspots – include a dagger with silver studs that Petrie discovered in a Pan-Grave cemetery at Rifeh,<sup>130</sup> a dagger bearing King Bebiankh's cartouche from Nagada,<sup>131</sup> a dagger purchased at Abydos, whose pommel was surmounted with Ahmose's cartouche,<sup>132</sup> and a dagger engraved with the cartouche of Apepi.<sup>133</sup> The axes that bore the cartouches of Kamose and Ahmose (Ash. Mus. 1927.4623 and EA 36772), originally thought to have come from Ahhotep's tomb, have been mentioned above, but note should also be taken of unprovenanced axes that bore cartouches of the Thirteenth Dynasty Kings Djedankhre and Sekhemreswadjtawy. The latter, interestingly, bore a fragment of an inscription reading, "Given [as a favor from the king to...]"<sup>134</sup>

So, what was Ahhotep doing with weapons that in the Second Intermediate Period would have borne a strong association with elite Egyptians and auxiliary soldiers of Nubian heritage? Despite the well-known ostrakon recovered from the tomb of Ramesses VI that showcases a New Kingdom queen engaged in shooting arrows from her chariot at an adversary (CG 25125), Ahhotep likely never participated in battle. Times of war, during which men temporarily vacate civilian positions of power, however, typically open up unusual opportunities for women. Ahmose's mother, of course, is famous for having maintained her son's right to rule when he was far too young to grasp the reins of power. While

<sup>128</sup> PETSCHER, *Dolch*, 430-1.

<sup>129</sup> PETSCHER, *Dolch*, 368-9; SÄVE-SÖDERBERGH, *Middle Nubian*, 128, 176, 179.

<sup>130</sup> PETRIE, *Gizeh*, 14, pl. XII.

<sup>131</sup> PETSCHER, *Dolch*, 362-3, cat. 18, Type III. British Museum EA 66062.

<sup>132</sup> PETSCHER, *Dolch*, 478-9, cat. 215, Type VII.

<sup>133</sup> PETSCHER, *Dolch*, 462-3, cat. 186; Type VII. Daggers that postdate, or might postdate, Ahhotep's reign are not excluded from consideration.

<sup>134</sup> DAVIES, *Catalogue*, 43, 48-9, pls XVIII.101, XXXI.101; 54, pls XXX.170, XXXI.170, pl. 30.

she may have been identical with the Dra Abu el-Naga Ahhotep, who took her weapons to the grave, the similarity of the latter's mortuary assemblage to King Kamose's, the comparatively abbreviated composition of her titles, and the exclusive use of the early form of Ahmose's name suggest it is more likely that the Ahhotep with which we are concerned was her predecessor in power – the widow of King Kamose.

If so, it is probable that she administered the country from Deir el Ballas and Thebes while her husband travelled with his armies to Tell el-Dab'a and Nubia. During this period, she and her court would have become well acquainted with the culture of the Pan-Grave-Nubians that made up such a sizable component of her army. After Kamose's death, being as yet childless, she may have continued to safeguard the throne, this time for the child borne to her identically named and much longer-lived family member (for Ahhotep, like Ahmose, may have been a dynastic name that bore repeating among late Seventeenth Dynasty royalty). The complexities of how exactly this Ahhotep would have been related to Ahmose and his mother are beyond the scope of this volume. Yet, the ceremonial weapons Ahmose bestowed upon her suggest that the king honored her as a freedom fighter much as he would later honor his mother.

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## Queen Ahhotep's Lion Heads and the Inclusion of Gaming Pieces in the Funerary Costumes of Second Intermediate Period-early Eighteenth Dynasty

Miriam Colella

### Abstract

*The purpose of this paper is to clarify the function of a gold and a bronze lion head in Queen Ahhotep's burial assemblage. The hypothesis that these artifacts are gaming pieces, as expressed by von Bissing at the beginning of the twentieth century, can be corroborated by comparison with other similar gaming pieces. However, this type of artefact started to appear as part of the burial equipment mainly in the New Kingdom. Nonetheless, the inclusion of gaming materials in the burial equipment at Thebes can be dated already in the Second Intermediate Period. In this phase, a series of changes in Egyptian funerary customs may indicate that the perception of the death underwent some deep changes. The presence of the two lion heads – interpreted as gaming pieces – in Queen Ahhotep's equipment, could be an indication that the journey to the afterlife is transforming into a transition from one world to another, where the deceased's soul can dwell for eternity.*

### The two Lion Heads from Queen Ahhotep's Burial Equipment

For a long time, the two lion heads of Queen Ahhotep's burial equipment were associated in various catalogues of the Cairo Museum edited by Mariette and Maspero with the hieroglyphic sign “*peḥ*”. Therefore, they were connected to the figure of the King Ahmose, since the hieroglyph in shape of lion's head appears in his praenomen, “*Ra-neb-peḥty*”.<sup>1</sup> This erroneous inter-

pretation might be due to a previous description by Desjardins, who wrote in the *Revue générale de l'architecture* in 1860, that in the treasure of the queen there were a gold ball, a basket, and the two lion heads used for a “three-dimensional” reconstruction of Ahmose's praenomen: “(...) *un hiéroglyphe solide: c'est le troisième signe du cartouche-prénom d'Ahmès, composé du disque, de la corbeille et de la tête de lion. M. Mariette a trouvé aussi le disque figuré, par un petit ballon d'or; quant à la corbeille, qui était probablement en étoffe tressée, elle a disparu*”.<sup>2</sup>

However, there is no trace of the basket and golden disk, although in theory they could be among the few lost objects.<sup>3</sup> Given the absence of supporting elements

<sup>1</sup> “*La tête du lion est l'hiéroglyphe du mot peḥ, qui signifie vaillance (...) qu'ils font partie du cartouche-prénom d'Amosis (Ra-neb-peḥty)*”, see MARIETTE, *Notice* (1864), 223; MARIETTE, *Notice* (1868), 264-5; MARIETTE, *Notice* (1869), 263-4; MARIETTE, *Notice* (1872), 268-9; MARIETTE, *Notice* (1874), 262; MARIETTE, *Notice* (1876), 262; *Notice* (1892), 216; *Notice* (1895), 224; MASPERO, *Guide* (1902), 425; MASPERO, *Guide* (1903), 517; MASPERO, *Guide* (1906), 383; MASPERO, *Guide* (1915), 432. “*La tête du lion à la valeur peḥ, et signifie la vaillance. Elle entre comme élément syllabique dans le prénom Nibpehtiri d'Ahmose I<sup>er</sup>*”, see MASPERO, *Guide* (1883), 79.

<sup>2</sup> DESJARDINS, *RGA* 18, 110.

<sup>3</sup> For a list of the objects associated with the burial of Ahhotep see MINIACI “The original Inventory List of the Queen Ahhotep ‘Treasure’ from Mariette's Papers (BIF Paris, *Fonds Maspero*, Ms. 4052)”, in this volume, Table 2; MINIACI, “Notes on the Journal d'Entrée Entries for Queen Ahhotep's Assemblage”, in this volume, JE 4725.20.

for the insertion of chains or rings, the two lion heads can hardly be interpreted as jewels or amulets.<sup>4</sup>

From the clearest available photographs, it seems that the first specimen of Queen Ahhotep's lion head, preserved in the Cairo Museum,<sup>5</sup> is made from a gold band modeled on a wood or clay stand and then worked with a chisel for the details. The feline has wide eyes, the mouth is closed, the mane around the snout consists of thin engraved lines, while some holes fill the space between the nose and the jaws, finally the lower portion of the object is closed by a second metal plate<sup>6</sup> (see Fig. 1.a1). The second specimen, of bronze, less detailed than the first and so at the Cairo Museum<sup>7</sup> (see Fig. 1.a2), was probably produced from a mold.<sup>8</sup> Regarding the material of the two heads there are inconsistencies between the publications and the various catalogues of the Museum. In catalogues from 1864 to 1915 it is written that both specimens are in bronze, but one of them has a gold coating: "L'une est en bronze, l'autre en bronze revêtu d'or";<sup>9</sup> the catalogue of 1883 identified one of the heads just as gold: "(...) un exemplaire en or sur la momie de la reine Ahhotepou".<sup>10</sup> The same information is present in the catalogue of the Cairo Museum of 1927, where in reference to the lion head CG 52703, it is specified to be in gold only: "Une tête du lion en or, exécutée en rétreinte à l'aide d'une plaque d'or martelée et ciselée (...)". The lion head CG 52704 is reported to be in bronze: "Une tête de lion en bronze fondu".<sup>11</sup> Also, in the publication of von Bissing, *Ein thebanischer Grabfund*, it is

indicated that there are a gold lion head and another in bronze: "Der eine der Spielsteine ist aus dünnem Goldblech über einem Holz-oder Thonkern getrieben. (...). Der andere, stark an der Oberfläche zerfressene Stein ist aus massiver Bronze wohl gegossen".<sup>12</sup>

### Comparisons with similar Gaming Pieces

In this latest document von Bissing raised, for the first time, the possibility that the two lion heads were gaming pieces. In support of this statement, some relevant parallels of other gaming pieces in form of feline head can be offered here: the leopard's head<sup>13</sup> preserved in the Metropolitan Museum of New York; a similar piece at the Antikenmuseum Basel und Sammlung Ludwig of Basel; a few artefacts<sup>14</sup> from the British Museum of London; and, finally, a piece in the Cleveland Museum of Art of Cleveland.<sup>15</sup>

The lion head MMA 26.7.1452,<sup>16</sup> of unknown origin,<sup>17</sup> is made in red jasper with chiseled details and two cartouches: one, containing the praenomen of Hatshepsut, "Maat-ka-Ra", at the top of the head and the other, behind the neck, with the title "Hatshepsut which is

<sup>4</sup> Moreover, it is possible to exclude the hypothesis that the two lion heads are jewels thanks to note of Maspero in the *Guide* of 1883, indicating another lion's head (cat. no. 2965) as a red jasper gaming piece, then compared with Ahhotep's specimens, see MASPERO, *Guide* (1883), 123. The only notice about the gaming piece cited by Maspero is given by Lilyquist who notes a lion-headed gaming piece in the Cairo Museum with inventory number TR 26.7.14.52, see ROEHRIG, in ROEHRIG (eds), *Hatshepsut*, 188, n. 2.

<sup>5</sup> CG 52703 (JE 4713), see VERNIER, *Bijoux et orfèvreries*, 235.

<sup>6</sup> VON BISSING, *Ein thebanischer Grabfund*, 23, pl. 11; see also Pls V, VIII, XVI.

<sup>7</sup> Cat. no. 52704 (JE 4714) in the Cairo Museum, see VERNIER, *Bijoux et orfèvreries*, 236.

<sup>8</sup> VERNIER, *Bijoux et orfèvreries*, 235. The author does not exclude the possibility that the first object may have been the mold for the second head given the slightly larger size of the latter.

<sup>9</sup> MARIETTE, *Notice* (1864), 223; MARIETTE, *Notice* (1868), 264; MARIETTE, *Notice* (1869), 263; MARIETTE, *Notice* (1872), 268; MARIETTE, *Notice* (1874), 262; MARIETTE, *Notice* (1876), 262; *Notice* (1892), 216; *Notice* (1895), 224, MASPERO, *Guide* (1902), 425, MASPERO, *Guide* (1903), 517, MASPERO, *Guide* (1906), 383; MASPERO, *Guide* (1915), 432.

<sup>10</sup> MASPERO, *Guide* (1883), 79.

<sup>11</sup> VERNIER, *Bijoux et orfèvreries*, 235-6.

<sup>12</sup> VON BISSING, *Ein thebanischer Grabfund*, 23; see also Pls V, VIII, XVI.

<sup>13</sup> In the description provided in the MMA's online catalogue the feline was recognized as a leopard. However, it is more appropriate to interpret it as a lion as suggested by E. Towry-White, see TOWRY-WHITE, *PSBA* 24, 261, pl. I, 10. In fact, the thick mane, the rounded ears and the amygdaloid shape of the eyes are typical elements that mark the image of the lion in the Egyptian art, see OSBORN, OSBORNOVA, *The Mammals*, 113-19.

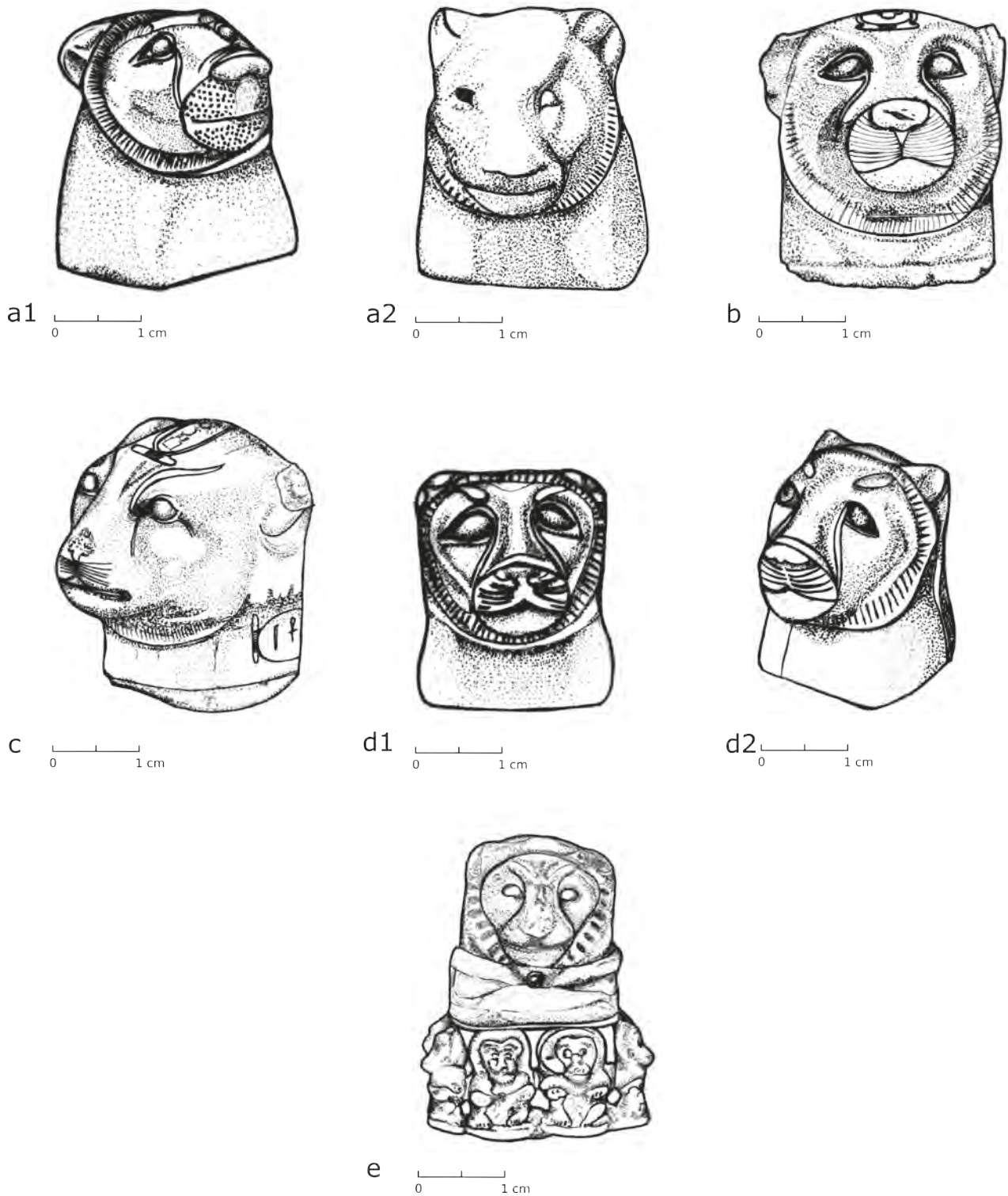
<sup>14</sup> Originally the wooden examples were twenty, see FALKENER, *Games*, 28-31.

<sup>15</sup> A further parallel is preserved at the Petrie Museum (UC 8731): it is in white faience (originally blue) roughly worked in shape of a lion's head, under the base there are eight incised *radii* and a projection at the front, see PETRIE, *Objects*, 54, pl. LXVIII, 167. This specimen, like the gaming piece of the Cleveland Museum, might have been transformed into an amulet due to the presence of a perforation through the head.

<sup>16</sup> MMA 26.7.1452, see HAYES, *Sceptre*, vol. II, 105; ROEHRIG, in ROEHRIG (eds), *Hatshepsut*, 188.

<sup>17</sup> In the Metropolitan Museum of Art's online catalogue, the gaming piece is described as a purchase by the Metropolitan Museum of Art in 1926 from Lord Carnarvon. Probably he obtained the piece in 1911 from Sotheby's auction when the collection property of the late F. G. Hilton-Price was sold in July 1911, see BURRA, *Catalogue*, 1911. The MMA object entry seems to indicate the presence of this (?) object in the 1897 catalogue of the Hilton Price collection, in which case it would have been outside Egypt at least a dozen years before the start of the Carnarvon excavations (see MINIACI, *Rishi Coffins*, 84 ff.).





**Fig. 1 – a1.** Gaming piece in the shape of a lion's head (gold) in the assemblage of Queen Ahhotep, CG 52703 (JE 4713) in the Cairo Museum (H. 3.2 cm, W. max. 2,7 cm, 42 gr.); **a2.** Gaming piece in the shape of a lion's head (bronze) in the assemblage of Queen Ahhotep, CG 52704 (JE 4714) in the Cairo Museum (H. 3.2 cm, W. max. 2,7 cm, 105 gr.); **b.** Gaming piece in the shape of a feline's head (red jasper), MMA 26.7.1452. in the Metropolitan Museum of Art (H. 3.2 cm, W. max. 3.5 cm); **c.** Gaming piece in shape of feline's head (red jasper) in the Antikenmuseum Basel und Sammlung Ludwig in Basel (H. 3.3 cm., W. max 3 cm); **d1.** Gaming pieces in the shape of a lion's head (wood), BM EA 21582 in the British Museum of London (H. 2.9 cm, W. max 2.7 cm); **d2.** Gaming piece in shape of lion's head (ivory), BM EA 21580 in the British Museum of London (H. 3.1 cm, W. max. 2.80 cm, 28 gr.); **e.** Amulet in shape of lion's head (amethyst and gold), cat. no. 1987.1. in the Cleveland Museum of Art (H. 3.5 cm, W. max. 2.9 cm) © drawing by Miriam Colella



joined to Amon<sup>18</sup> (see Fig. 1.b). From the presence of these cartouches this gaming piece could be dated to the reign of Hatshepsut (1479-1458 BC).

The artifact of Basel,<sup>19</sup> interpreted as a cheetah for the thin mane, lacrimal marks below the eyes and elongated eyebrows<sup>20</sup> (see Fig. 1.c), is attributed to the reign of Hatshepsut:<sup>21</sup> as the Metropolitan Museum of Art specimen, this gaming piece is in red jasper, it shows two chiseled cartouches with the praenomen of Hatshepsut and the provenance is unknown.<sup>22</sup>

The British Museum owns an ivory example of lion headed playing piece<sup>23</sup> (see Fig. 1.d2), and further eighteen wooden specimens of similar shape<sup>24</sup> (see Fig. 1.d1), donated by a British cotton magnate Jesse Haworth in 1887.<sup>25</sup> It is possible that they were part of an original set of twenty-six gaming pieces<sup>26</sup> found in Thebes in the area of the royal tombs.<sup>27</sup> The gaming pieces, char-

acterized by wide eyes, a closed mouth, a carved mane and moustache details,<sup>28</sup> were associated with a gaming board unfortunately found in a bad state of conservation.

Finally, the latest example of comparison is an unusual pendant in the Cleveland Museum of Art,<sup>29</sup> composed by a gold base in form of eight baboons, and an amethyst lion's head hooked with a gold sheet to the inferior part (see Fig. 1.e). The lion head, with chiseled details, is undoubtedly a playing piece, dating to the New Kingdom and recycled into an elaborate jewel during the Twenty-fifth Dynasty.<sup>30</sup>

### Gaming Materials from Theban Tombs of the Second Intermediate Period-early New Kingdom

Further parallels for the scope of the two lion heads of Ahhotep can be drawn from the burial equipment of the Theban tombs dated to the Second Intermediate Period-early New Kingdom, approximately contemporary with Queen Ahhotep's burial.

For example, the burial of Hornakht, situated in the north area of the cemetery of Dra Abu el-Naga, was equipped with an ebony and ivory game-box and seven gaming pieces made in different materials.<sup>31</sup> A gaming box, twelve ivory playing pieces, six with a conic pointed head and six spool shaped, as well as six ivory casting sticks and a pair of knucklebones were found in the Room E of the Pit 3 (one of the burials found inside it belonged to the general Nakht).<sup>32</sup> Along

draughtmen), and a piece of a wooden cartouche, were all found hidden away in one of the side chambers of the tomb of Ramses IX; unfortunately it is impossible to corroborate this information, see further PETRIE, *A History*, 92-4.

<sup>28</sup> TOWRY-WHITE, *PSBA* 24, 261, pl. II, 16.

<sup>29</sup> Cat. no. 1987.1. in the Cleveland Museum of Art, see TURNER, *BCM* 75, cat. no. 6; BERMAN, BOHAC, *Catalogue*, 444; LACOVARA, MARKOWITZ, D'AURIA, *Nubian*, 148-9, figs 125a-b.

<sup>30</sup> Most likely the gaming piece had been adapted in the Napatan period to serve as a pendant amulet; this procedure was common in antiquity as a means of recycling precious stones, see MARKOWITZ, LACOVARA, *ClevStHistArt* 1, 7. Hybrid products are a significant result of a process of "entanglement" between elements of different cultures, see MINIACI, *EVO* 42, 26.

<sup>31</sup> Cat. no. 68005 (JE 21493) in the Cairo Museum, see VASSALLI, *Monumenti*, 131; MARIETTE, MASPERO, *Monuments*, 16-17, pl. 51 j.1-3; MASPERO, *Guide* (1883), 114-5 no. 3182; MASPERO, *Guide* (1915), 532 no. 5388; PORTER, MOSS, *Topographical*, vol. I.2, 605; TIRADRITTI, *L'Egitologo*, 17; TIRADRITTI, *Luigi Vassalli*, 337-8.

<sup>32</sup> MMA 16.10.475, see LYTHGOE, LANSING, DE GARIS DAVIES, *BMMA* 12, 24-6; HAYES, *The Scepter*, vol. II, 25-6, fig. 10; SMITH, *MDAIK* 48, 204; DREYFUS, in ROEHRIG (ed.), *Hatshepsut*, 255-6, fig. 82, no. 189. Another three knucklebones were, perhaps, associated with Nakht's game, see HAYES, *The Scep-*

<sup>18</sup> ROEHRIG, in ROEHRIG (eds), *Hatshepsut*, 188.

<sup>19</sup> No. 39 in WIESE, WINTERHALTER, *Ägyptische Kunst*, 36; no. 53 in WIESE, *Antikenmuseum Basel*, 91.

<sup>20</sup> OSBORN, OSBORNOVA, *The Mammals*, 121-3.

<sup>21</sup> The second cartouche also contains the inscription "that lives forever" referring always to Queen Hatshepsut, see WIESE, *Antikenmuseum Basel*, 91.

<sup>22</sup> WIESE, WINTERHALTER, *Ägyptische Kunst*, 36.

<sup>23</sup> BM EA 21580, see FALKENER, *Games*, 31. This artefact, together with other items (BM EA 21582-83, EA 21589, EA 21592), was exhibited during an exposition entitled "Art du jeu, jeu dans l'art: De Babylone à l'Occident medieval" (28 novembre 2012-04 mars 2013) at Musée de Cluny, although indicated as belonging to Musée du Louvre, Département des Antiquités Égyptiennes, see BARDIÈS-FRONTY, DUNN-VATURI, *Art du jeu*, 32, cat. no. 15.

<sup>24</sup> BM EA 21581-99 (2.7-3.5 cm, W. 2.4-3.4 cm, 10-8 gr.), see FALKENER, *Games*, 28-9, 31; BUDGE, *The Mummy*, 475. Only for BM EA 21582-83, EA 21589, EA 21592 see also MUSÉE D'ARCHÉOLOGIE MÉDITERRANÉENNE, *Jouer dans l'antiquité*, 198.

<sup>25</sup> Jesse Haworth bought these objects through Greville Chester, an Oxford alumnus and ordained clergyman, and then he donated them to the British Museum. Two additional wooden pieces, coming from the Hilton Price collection, should be in the British Museum too, see HILTON-PRICE, *Catalogue*, 354, nos 2958-59.

<sup>26</sup> EDWARDS, *RT* 10, 129; see BM EA 21580-99 lion heads = twenty; BM EA 21600-605 = six assorted other shapes. As documented from a letter 55 of G. Maspero to A. Edwards, dated 17 June 1887, Paris, at that time the British Museum acquired some gaming pieces in ivory and wood considered "genuine"; Maspero, therefore, warned Edwards to be careful since some lion heads, sold the year before, had been considered false. He, in fact, bought two specimens to place them in his own collection of forged antiquities, see WARREN, *JEA* 33, 83.

<sup>27</sup> Chester was informed by the Luxor vendor that a group of objects, comprising a throne, a draughtboard, many draughtmen (two reel-shaped piece, one astragal, and two upright

the causeway to the mortuary temple of Thutmosis III, in the tomb 279, belonging to the scribe Neferkhevet and his family (Asasif),<sup>33</sup> three game-boxes,<sup>34</sup> together with ten blue faience draughtsmen, five conical with a rounded top and five in the shape of a reel,<sup>35</sup> were found.

All the above examples are composed by a “double board-game”: a) the upper face is composed of twelve squares arranged on five rows of four ivory plates each and a strip of further eight squares that starts from the middle row, destined for the game called in antiquity *tjau* (“robbers?”);<sup>36</sup> the lower face is composed by thirty rectangles on three rows of ten,<sup>37</sup> destined for a companion game called *senet* or “the game of thirty squares”.<sup>38</sup>

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*ter*; vol. II, 66. Pit 3 belonged to the *saff*-tomb complex called C62 at Asasif. In the tomb 43, from the same complex, there was a blue faience gaming piece in a small box, see <https://oi.uchicago.edu/research/individual-scholarship/individual-scholarship-christine-lilyquist>, <accessed 20.06.2020>.

<sup>33</sup> In addition to the specimens from the tombs of Nakht and Neferkhevet, a gaming-box from Asasif belonging to the Seventeenth Dynasty is mentioned in two catalogues of the Cairo Museum, but no information is provided about its exact point of discovery, see MASPERO, *Guide* (1883), 299-300, no. 4673; MASPERO, *Guide* (1915), 531, no. 5380.

<sup>34</sup> One of these, belonging to Rannofer, bride of Neferkhevet, is preserved in the Cairo Museum cat. no. JE 65372, see PORTER, MOSS, *Topographical*, vol. I.2, 621. No dice or knucklebones were placed directly with this set, but it is possible that a set of six wooden rods, found in Neferkhevet's basket, were to be used in conjunction with the game, see HAYES, *BMMA* 30, 33-4, fig.18. The other two game-boxes belonging to Ruyu and Amenemhat, respectively the daughter and the son of Neferkhevet, instead, had been completely destroyed by damp rot and termites, see HAYES, *The Scepter*, vol. II, 199.

<sup>35</sup> Cat. nos 35.3.11-20, in the Metropolitan Museum of Art, see HAYES, *The Scepter*, vol. II, 199. These gaming-pieces were associated with the two games of Ruyu and Amenemhat, see HAYES, *BMMA* 30, 34 and note 32.

<sup>36</sup> The first example of this game, also known as “twenty squares-game”, was found in a funerary context, the Royal Cemetery of Ur, in southern Mesopotamia, and dates to mid-third millennium BC, see DE VOOGT, DUNN-VATURI, EERKENS, *JAS* 40, 1718. It was introduced and diffused in Egypt from Asia between the Seventeenth and Twentieth Dynasty (c. 1650-1070 BC).

<sup>37</sup> In the Hornakht example the second game-board is composed of thirty-six rectangles arranged in three rows of twelve, see MARIETTE, MASPERO, *Monuments*, 17, pl. 51 j.2.

<sup>38</sup> The name “*senet*” derives from the ancient Egyptian “*sn.t*”, that means “*passage*”; it refers to the characteristic movement of the draughtsmen, which were able to move across the boxes of the board, see PICCIONE, *Archaeology* 33, no. 4, 55-8; CRIST, DUNN-VATURI, DE VOOGT, *Ancient*, 41.

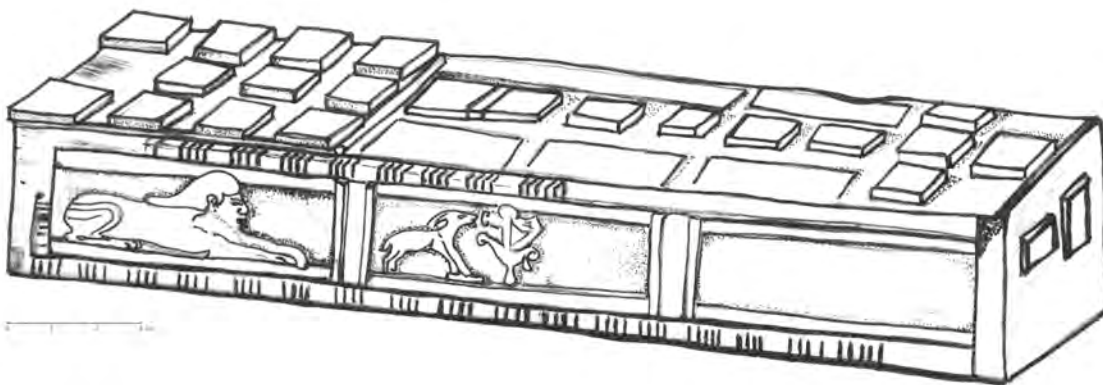
The symbolism of the decoration<sup>39</sup> that characterizes the two games belonging to Hornakht and Nakht<sup>40</sup> is connected with the funerary sphere. The former shows, along one side of the board, a recumbent sphinx in the left panel and, in the central one, an ibex (or goat) grazing on a plant of lotus (see Fig. 2);<sup>41</sup> the latter displays, instead, an hunting scene with two ibexes/goats, two hounds and a lion chiselled on two ivory rectangles (see Fig. 3).

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<sup>39</sup> Other examples of game-boxes dated to Eighteenth Dynasty do not have any decoration: Ägyptisches Museum und Papyrussammlung of Berlin, cat. no. ÄM 10756, see PIEPER, *Das Brettspiel*, 4, fig. 5a-b; Stuyvesant Institute, cat. no. 573, see ABBOTT, *Cat. Egyptian Antiquities*, 41, no. 573; PAUTHIER, D'AVESNES, *RAr* 2, no. 2, 740-1; D'AVESNES, *Monuments*, 9, pl. XLIX 4. Some examples may bear inscriptions: Cairo Museum, CG. 68002, with a wish of happiness and pleasure for Ibay, see MARIETTE, MASPERO, *Monuments*, 17, pl. 52 [a]; MASPERO, *Guide* (1883), 115, no. 3183; MASPERO, *Guide* (1915), 531, no. 5381; PM. I<sup>2</sup>, 614; for the text, see DE ROUGÉ, *Inscriptions*, pl. 55 [middle lower]; JE 33822 with an inscription referred to Maiherpri, see DARESSY, *Fouilles*, 31, no. 24069; REEVES, WILKINSON, *The Complete Valley*, 179-81; JE 62058-61, with inscriptions referred to Tutankhamun and only one painted with a floral decoration, see CARTER, MACE, *The Tomb*, vol. III, 130-3, pl. 42, 1-3; Louvre Museum E 913 and E 2710 inscribed with the names of owners, see VANDIER, *Guide*, 63 and BOREUX, *Catalogue-Guide*, 585; for the text of the latter see PIERRET, *Recueil*, 81-2 [top]. MMA 01.4.1a and 12.182.72a-b with a funerary offering text, see RANDALL-MACIVER, MACE, GRIFFITH, *El Amrah*, 72, 77, 91, 97, pls 49, 51; HAYES, *The Scepter*; vol. II, 198, 200, fig. 114; Turin Museum S 8451/1 inscribed with funerary formulas, see FERRARIS, *La tomba di Kha*, 141-4; Rijksmuseum van Oudheden in Leiden AH 34a displaying a hieroglyphic dedication to Amon, see CRIST, *JEA* 105/1, 111; for the text see LEEMANS, *Description raisonné*, 109, no. 273.)

<sup>40</sup> The only surviving example of game-box from the Neferkhevet family burial has an ornamentation pertaining exclusively to the game, see NEEDLER, *JEA* 39, 72-3, fig. 2, no. 5; HAYES, *BMMA* 30, 33 and n. 48 for the items ÄM 10756 (Ägyptisches Museum); E 913 and E 2710 (Louvre Museum); MMA 01.4.1a and 12.182.72a-b (Metropolitan Museum), JE 62058 (Cairo Museum). Three other examples with visible decoration are preserved in the Fitzwilliam Museum (unpublished); in the British Museum, BM EA 21576, see NEEDLER, *JEA* 39, 72, 74, nos 13-4 (this is part of the same Jesse Haworth gift of items acquired with the ivory lion head and multiple wood lion heads discussed above); in the Rosicrucian Egyptian Museum RC 126, see CRIST, *JEA* 105/1, 107-13.

<sup>41</sup> Originally, on the right side of the lotus, a second ibex/goat was present, as well as a second recumbent sphinx in the third ivory panel, see MARIETTE, MASPERO, *Monuments*, pl. 51 j.3; TIRADRITTI, *L'Egitologo*, 17.



**Fig. 2** – Game-box in the Hornakht’s tomb in Dra Abu el-Naga, CG 68005 (JE 21493) (H. 5 cm, L. 27.5 W. 8.5 cm)  
© drawing by Miriam Colella



**Fig. 3** – Game-board from the Asasif necropolis, Pit 3, Room E (burial of Nakht), MMA 16.10.475a (H. 5 cm; L. 25 cm; W. 6.7 cm) © Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York

Every subject, indeed, encapsulates a funerary meaning: the sphinx assumes an apotropaic value,<sup>42</sup> the ibex is a symbol of renewal<sup>43</sup> and fertility<sup>44</sup> when it is associated with the image of the lotus/palmette or the tree-life,<sup>45</sup> finally, the lion is a metaphor of the victory over the enemy, *i.e.*, death, especially if it inserted in a hunting-scene between wild animals.<sup>46</sup>

<sup>42</sup> ARUZ, in ARUZ, BENZEL, EVANS (eds), *Beyond*, 136.

<sup>43</sup> The symbolic significance is, maybe, connected to the ability of the animal to survive in inhospitable habitat, such as the desert, or, perhaps, with the regeneration of the animal’s horns, which, in appearance, resembles the hieroglyph sign for “year”, see DREYFUS, in ROEHRIG (eds), *Hatshepsut*, 244-5.

<sup>44</sup> *Ibidem*, 248; ARNOLD, *BMAA* 54, 4, 13.

<sup>45</sup> The conventionalised lotus group with the four sepals and inner petals, developed into a sort of “tree pattern”, and the lower two sepals with a pendant showing a triply branching line like a small lotus flower appears before the Eighteenth Dynasty, but it is particularly diffused during the New Kingdom, see PETRIE, *Egyptian decorative*, 74, fig. 147.

<sup>46</sup> The symbology of the lion attacking prey was in use through-

This theme seems particularly recurrent in Egypt on funerary items during the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Dynasties: *a*) a dagger’s handle embellished with the image of a lion chasing a horned animal<sup>47</sup> from the burial of Nehemen, dated to Second Intermediate Period; *b*) a dog collar, from the KV 36 of Maiherpri in the Valley of the Kings, dated to the reign of Thutmosis IV, showing a savage hunting-scene with lions and leopards attacking gazelles and ibexes (see Fig. 4.a1-2);<sup>48</sup> *c*) a gold sheath, found in the tomb of King Tutankha-

out the Eastern Mediterranean for over a period of thousand years and more. The similarity in the style and composition shows that a visual *koiné* was operative, and that there was a vocabulary of images and symbols common between royal kingdoms around the Eastern Mediterranean, see MORGAN, *Ä&L* 14, 294; MARINATOS, *Ä&L* 20, 350.

<sup>47</sup> CG 52768 (JE 32735), see O’CONNOR in ARUZ, BENZEL, EVANS (eds), *Beyond*, 116-17.

<sup>48</sup> CG 24075 (JE 33777), see DARESSY, *Fouilles*, 33-4, no. 24075, pl. 11; MASPERO, *Guide* (1915), 395, no. 3809.



mun (KV 62), chiselled with an animal-combat scene;<sup>49</sup> and, *d*) Queen Ahhotep's dagger blade decorated with a flying-gallop lion in the act of running after a bull (see Fig. 4.b)<sup>50</sup> following a minoan style.<sup>51</sup>

### Games in Textual and Iconographic Sources

Although the exact rules of both types of game are still unknown, a reconstruction of their general principles has been possible thanks to occasional references in Egyptian texts and scenes, as well as archeological evidences. It seems that these games were for two players, who had a set of five gaming pieces each,<sup>52</sup> and of four rods or two knucklebones to use as dice to determinate the position of the gaming pieces on the board.<sup>53</sup>

A religious significance, linked to *senet*, is elucidated in the opening formula of the title of Chapter 17 in the Book of the Dead, where it is specified that one of the purposes of the game is to enable the spirit-*ba* of the player to move freely between the lands of the living and the dead.<sup>54</sup> In addition, vignettes illustrating the principal themes of some sections of Chapter 17 begin to appear during the New Kingdom. The deceased is represented seated under a pavilion, before a game board, and playing the *senet*, as it shown in the opening scene of Nakht's papyrus, dated to the late Eighteenth Dynasty<sup>55</sup> (see Fig. 5). This vignette intends to mark the beginning of the deceased's journey through the Netherworld, which is revealed in the subsequent scenes and in the text of Chap-

ter 17, step by step. The game, probably metaphorically to be conducted between the person and their destiny, is to be considered the first stage of the funerary ritual, since, on the basis of the result, positive or negative of the match, the eternal conditions of happiness or forgetfulness for the soul could be established.<sup>56</sup>

The introductory formula of Chapter 17 is also displayed on some wall paintings in the Theban tombs of the Nineteenth Dynasty,<sup>57</sup> associated with a representation of the burial's owners in the act of playing in front of a game-board, but without a visible opponent in front of them. The players are occasionally followed by the image of the soul-*ba*, ready to take flight to the Netherworld.<sup>58</sup>

The first example of this funerary motif is dated to the reign of Thutmosis III, documented in TT 82 in the necropolis of Sheikh Abd el-Qurna (Amenemhat, "Scribe, Counter of the Grain of Amon, Steward of the Vizier of Thutmosis III"), where the deceased challenges another man in a game of *senet*.<sup>59</sup>

### Conclusion

The presence of gaming-boxes, -boards and -pieces in burials of the Second Intermediate Period-early Eight-

<sup>49</sup> JE 61584, see CARTER, MACE, *The Tomb*, vol. II, 132-3, 269, pl. 87 A.

<sup>50</sup> CG 52658 (JE 4666), see VON BISSING, *Ein thebanischer Grabfund*, 3, pl. 2; MORRIS, "Daggers and Axes for the Queen: Considering Ahhotep's Weapons in their Cultural Context", in this volume.

<sup>51</sup> ARUZ, in ARUZ, BENZEL, EVANS (eds), *Beyond*, 391; JUDAS, "The Aegeanizing Elements Depicted on the Objects from the Burial of Ahhotep", in this volume. Similar animals are presented in the pendants forming a recomposed *wesekh* collar (JE 4725), CG 52672, CG 52733 (JE 4725), see VON BISSING, *Ein thebanischer Grabfund*, 13-18, pls 8-9; see also Pls VI, VIII.

<sup>52</sup> During the Old and the Middle Kingdoms each set consisted, instead, of seven pieces, see PICCIONE, *The Egyptian*, 54.

<sup>53</sup> ALLEN in HORNUNG, BRYAN (eds), *The quest*, 156, no.70.

<sup>54</sup> "Formulae for elevation and transfiguration/ for going out and descending in the god's land/ being transfigured in the beautiful west, for going out by day/ taking any form he desires to take/ playing the board-game *senet*, sitting in the pavilion/ going out as a living *ba*-soul, by/ the writer Nebseny, revered/ after he moors/ This is effective for the one who does it on earth". Version in the Papyrus of Nebseny, copyist in the Ptah temple at Memphis, late Eighteenth Dynasty, about 1375 BC, BM EA 9900, see QUIRKE, *Going out*, 55.

<sup>55</sup> BM EA 10471, 2, see TARASENKO, in TARASENKO (ed.), *Pre-Is-lamic*, 243-4.

<sup>56</sup> D'AURIA, LACOVARA, ROEHRIG, *Mummies & Magic*, 142.

<sup>57</sup> In the necropolis of Deir el-Medina: TT 1 of Sennedjem, "Servant in the Place of Truth"; TT 6 of Neferhotep and the son Nebnefer, "Foremen in the Place of Truth"; TT 359 of Inherkha. They all show a representation of the burial's owner and his wife playing the *senet* and the introductory formula of Chapter 17 of the Book of the Death, see PM I<sup>2</sup>, I, 3 (5), 15 (10), 422 (6-7). In Deir el-Medina: TT 10 of Penbuy and Kasa, "Servants in the Place of Truth", TT 265 of Amene-mopet, and in the TT 219 Nebenmet, "Sevant in the Place of Truth on the west of Thebes", there is a representation of the couple, sitting under a pavilion in the act of moving a gaming piece on the gameboard. In the necropolis of Khokha the same image is present in TT 178 of Neferrenpet, called Kenro, "Scribe of the Treasury in the Estate of Amon-Ra" and in TT 296 of Neferseker, "Scribe of the Divine Offerings of all the Gods, Officer of the Treasury in the Southern City"; and, finally, in the necropolis of Sheikh Abd el-Qurna in TT 263 of Piay, "Scribe of the Granary in the Temple of Amon, Scribe of Accounts in the Ramesseum", and in TT 30 of Khensmesi, "Scribe of the Treasury of the Estate of Amon", see PM I<sup>2</sup>, I, 21 (5), 346 (4), 321 (8), 284 (2), 378 (2), 345 (3), 47 (5).

<sup>58</sup> In the necropolis of Deir el Medina the image of *ba* is in TT 265, TT 219 and TT 359, see PM I<sup>2</sup>, I, 346 (4), 321 (8), 422 (6-7).

<sup>59</sup> DE GARIS DAVIES, GARDINER, *The tomb of Amenemhet (No. 82)*, 69-73; PM I<sup>2</sup>, I, 165 (14-15). A scene with two opponen-tes is proposed also in TT 158 of Tjanefer, "Third Prophet of Amon", in the necropolis of Dra Abu el Naga, dated to the reign of Ramses III, see PM I<sup>2</sup>, I, 269 (3).





**Fig. 4.** – *a1-2*: Detail of the hunting-scene with lions and leopards attacking gazelles and ibexes on a dog collar in the KV36 of Maiherpri in the Valley of the Kings, cat. no. CG 52768 (JE 32735) in the Cairo Museum (H. 6 cm, D. max. 14,5 cm, D. min. 10,5 cm); *b*: Flying-gallop lion in the act of chasing a bull on Queen Ahhotep’s dagger blade, cat. no. 52658 (JE 4666) in the Cairo Museum (L. 28.5 cm, W. 3.4 cm). Not scale. © drawing by Miriam Colella

eenth Dynasty could be read as a transposition of the “formulas” written in the introductory part of Chapter 17 in the Book of the Dead, reproduced on tangible objects,<sup>60</sup> that is gaming materials. Their presence – both as complete set and parts of it – in the funerary equipment as well as on the scenes of the tomb walls, can be interpreted as a new (?) medium to reach the netherworld, following the rules given in the funerary text: the gaming-board as metaphor of the physical bridge from the living to the dead.

The perception of gaming materials in the burial contexts is different to their early meaning connected to a

“recreative use” of the games.<sup>61</sup> Indeed in some burials of the Old Kingdom<sup>62</sup> games were present in the offering lists as symbol of the social status of the deceased,<sup>63</sup> and game competitions were represented on wall paintings as recreational activity during the funeral celebrations dedicated to the goddess Hathor together with sporting events and music contests.<sup>64</sup>

Only with the Middle Kingdom did the motif of gaming start to imply a different nuance for the value of games in the funerary sphere: Coffin Text Spell 405 re-

<sup>60</sup> At Thebes, the use to deposited “stick shabtis” in cult areas of some tombs of Second Intermediate Period would have coated a similar function, specified in Coffin Text 472: they would have reproduced the destiny of owner/deceased and the presence of formulas on some exemplars could have indicated the acting of these texts during the funerary rituals, see MINIACI, *JEA* 100, 262-3.

<sup>61</sup> PICCIONE, *The Egyptian*, 58.

<sup>62</sup> For instance, the representations in the tombs of Hesy-Re at Saqqara (Third Dynasty), Rahotep at Medum (Fourth Dynasty), Kheni and Kahep at el-Hawawish (Sixth Dynasty), see WOOD, *ARCE* 15, pl. 2b; PICCIONE, *The Historical*, 39-43.

<sup>63</sup> GRAJETZKI, *Tomb Treasures*, 159.

<sup>64</sup> Some examples are the representations in the tombs of Nikauhor and Neferiretenef both at Saqqara (Fifth Dynasty), see CRIST, DUNN-VATURI, DE VOOGT, *Ancient*, 44-49.



**Fig. 5** – Nakht sitting in a booth and playing the *senet*-game, BM EA 10471, 2 in the British Museum  
© drawing by Miriam Colella

lates to a gaming ritual for the deceased playing with a living on the Earth.<sup>65</sup> In this text, in particular the *senet* game, begins to be associated with the deceased's ability to travel between the physical and spiritual worlds as an invisible spirit, the "ba"; this notion, as above-mentioned, is at the base of the introductory formula of the Chapter 17 of the Book of the Dead.

The presence of the two gaming pieces in shape of lion's head in Ahhotep's mortuary equipment, therefore, could be explained as a tool for the passage in the afterlife. It possible, moreover, to suppose that one piece was intended for the queen and the other for an otherworldly entity: Ahhotep was playing, and winning, the last match with her own eternal destiny.

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<sup>65</sup> "Let him sing, let him dance, and let him receive ornaments. Let him play senet with those who are on earth. It is his voice which is heard, [although] he is not seen. Let him go to his house, that he might visit his children forever and even", see PICCIONE, *The Historical*, 84.

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## The Flies of Ahhotep

Peter Lacovara

### Abstract

*Perhaps the most remarkable item in the Ahhotep treasure is a necklace composed of three large gold flies strung on a heavy gold chain. Their design and symbolism have caused much comment over the years. They can be related to a pair of much smaller gold and silver flies also from the treasure and paralleled exactly by examples found in the Nubian kingdom of Kerma. The large flies as well can be compared to similar examples from Kerma. The oft debated use of flies as a military decoration is strengthened by their use in Nubian culture and that association with Thebes in the Second Intermediate Period and Ahhotep, in particular. Such symbolism need not be seen as conflicting with earlier and later meanings ascribed to flies used in jewelry and amulets.*

Among the most familiar and impressive pieces of jewelry from the Ahhotep treasure is a necklace composed of three large gold flies strung on a heavy gold chain (see Pls V, VII: JE 4694),<sup>1</sup> but perhaps even more telling are a pair of much smaller gold and silver flies also found in the treasure.<sup>2</sup> The gold chain of the necklace itself is of loop in loop construction, 59 cm long and closed with a hook and eye fastener.<sup>3</sup> The flies themselves are made of flat base plate cut from sheet gold to which is soldered a three dimensional triangular body that had been hammered into shape in a mold.<sup>4</sup> Into the raised body of the fly, longitudinal cuts were made in ajouré technique.<sup>5</sup> This may have been so that, as Cyril Aldred artfully describes, “As the wearer moves the flash of light

over this lattice of metal gives something of the iridescence of the natural insect”.<sup>6</sup> The flies are each 9 cm. long with bulging eyes and having a ring soldered on between them in order to string them on the chain, the whole ornament weighing a total of 249 grams.

The bold, “Brâncușiesque” style of the flies has attracted much attention over the years even from the likes of Gamal Abdel Nasser and Nikita Khrushchev.<sup>7</sup> This is in particular due to their assumed role as military decorations awarded to the queen for her efforts in the expulsion of the Hyksos.<sup>8</sup> That these flies were associated with military action had support from the biography of the soldier Ah-mose-pen-Nekheb, who fought under the early rulers of the Eighteenth Dynasty and boasted that he got six flies from Thutmose I, and from the tomb of Amene-mheb Mehu who lists flies among the awards given him.<sup>9</sup>

<sup>1</sup> JE 4694. SALEH, SOUROUZIAN, *The Egyptian Museum*, no. 120 (JE 4694).

<sup>2</sup> JE 4725.3. VON BISSING, *Ein thebanischer Grabfund*, 10, pl. VI 3a-3b.

<sup>3</sup> ALDRED, *Jewels*, 201, n. 53.

<sup>4</sup> ALDRED, *Jewels*, 201, n. 53.

<sup>5</sup> WILKINSON, *Ancient Egyptian Jewellery*, 98.

<sup>6</sup> ALDRED, *Jewels*, 201, n. 53.

<sup>7</sup> BISHOP, in VOLAIT, PERRIN (eds), *Dialogues artistiques avec les passés de l'Égypte*.

<sup>8</sup> SINGER, *CCdE* 12.

<sup>9</sup> BINDER, *The Gold of Honour*, 32-3.

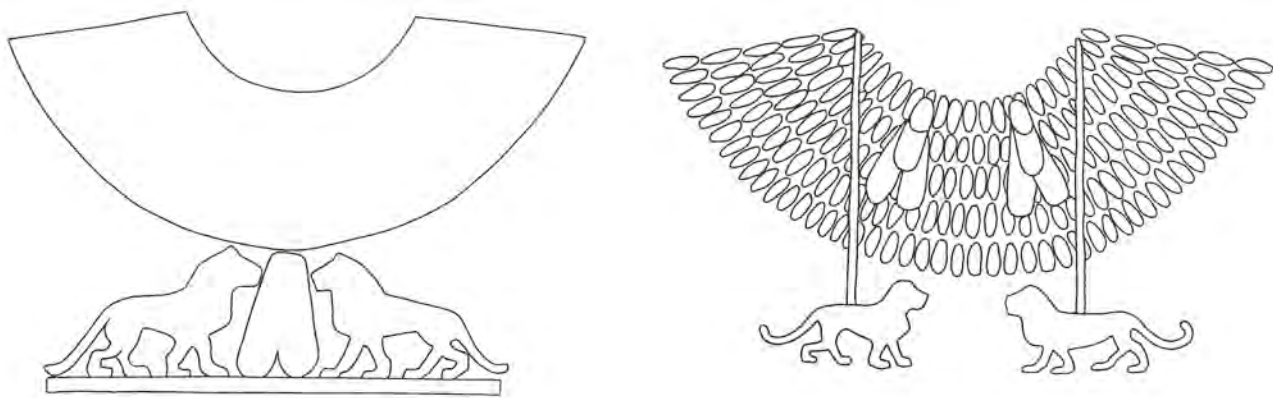


Fig. 1 – Details of fly necklaces from the tombs of Suemnut (TT 92) and Djedi (TT 200) © drawing by Andrew Boyce after BINDER, *The Gold of Honour*, fig. 4.14

Recently, Taneash Sidpura has disputed the traditional interpretation of Ahhotep's flies as an award of valor.<sup>10</sup> He suggested that gold flies can be seen as tokens of the favor of the pharaoh along with other items of gold awarded by the king.<sup>11</sup> He notes that many of these items including flies are also found in the burials of women and children, who would be unlikely to have medals for valor in battle. In addition, he observed that fly amulets and ornaments of a variety of materials appear as early as the Predynastic period and run throughout Egyptian history as has been detailed by Carol Andrews. She notes that the creature can be seen to have a number of aspects that would inspire apotropaic functions for such charms, including fecundity, resurrection,<sup>12</sup> or merely to avoid their annoying presence.<sup>13</sup> In the Near East they were seen as vectors of disease, but also as agents of warfare.<sup>14</sup>

There are a few images of Egyptian men wearing flies (see Fig. 1), Suemnut, "Cup Bearer to the King" under Amenhotep II (TT 92) and Djedi (TT 200) "Governor of the Deserts to the West of Thebes, Head of the Troops of Pharaoh" under Thutmose III and Amenhotep II, as well as a statue of an unknown man from Edfu.<sup>15</sup>

In contrast to Egyptians, there are numerous images of Nubians wearing flies, both as visitors to the Egyptian court or as captives (see Fig. 2). In addition, there are a number of large flies that have been found with the burials of males of the Kerma culture, both at Ker-

ma itself<sup>16</sup> and at Buhen<sup>17</sup> (Pl. XXII). In addition to sizeable, abstracted images flies that were crafted in ivory and gold, these graves also often contained weapons.<sup>18</sup> Suggesting that in Nubia, at least, they did indeed function as some sort of military insignia.

One particular fly from Kerma made of sheet copper represents the closest parallel to the Ahhotep flies we have. It is from K 309, a plundered subsidiary burial in K III, the last of the great tumuli in the cemetery.<sup>19</sup> It was found in the floor debris of the chamber, the body of the tomb owner on the bed had been disarticulated and strewn throughout the grave which contained, among other things, three daggers. The fly, now in the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, was associated with beads of blue glazed quartz and may have been strung with them. It is made of sheet bronze with a narrow cut running about  $\frac{3}{4}$  of the way to the top and 15 cm long by 9.7 cm wide with a tang at the top folded over to form a suspension loop (see Fig. 4).<sup>20</sup> The very abstracted form follows the outline of the Ahhotep flies and one might imagine there could have been similar ones in gold that did not survive the extensive plundering that took place at Kerma after the Egyptian conquest. Certainly the existence of a smaller pair of fly amulets in silver and gold<sup>21</sup> (see Fig. 3)

<sup>10</sup> PATTERSON, "Flies".

<sup>11</sup> SIDPURA, "Golden Flies".

<sup>12</sup> ANDREWS, in DAVIES, (ed.), *Studies in Egyptian antiquities*, 81; SCHULZ, in FLOSSMANN-SCHÜTZE *et. al.* (eds), *Kleine Götter*.

<sup>13</sup> ANDREWS, *Amulets*, 62-3.

<sup>14</sup> NEUFELED, *Orientalia* 49/1.

<sup>15</sup> BINDER, *The Gold of Honour*, 49-50.

<sup>16</sup> REISNER, *Kerma*, vols IV-V, 131-2.

<sup>17</sup> WOOLLEY, MACIVER, *Buhen*, 51. Now in the University of Pennsylvania Museum E 10347A & B.

<sup>18</sup> REISNER, *Kerma*, vols IV-V, 131-2.

<sup>19</sup> REISNER, *Kerma*, vols I-III, 135-50. On the redating of the monument, see LACOVARA, *BzS* 2.

<sup>20</sup> MFA 20.1806. I am very grateful to Lawrence Berman, Norma Jean Calderwood Senior Curator of Ancient Egyptian, Nubian, and Near Eastern Art at Museum of Fine Arts, Boston for kindly providing this information.

<sup>21</sup> JE 4725.3. VON BISSING, *Ein thebanischer Grabfund*, 10, pl. VI, 3a-b.



**Fig. 2** – Nubian bound prisoner wearing a fly pendant from Temple of Amenhotep III at Soleb © photograph by Peter Lacovara

from the Ahhotep treasure with exact parallels to ones from Kerma (Pl. XXII)<sup>22</sup> confirm a direct association with the Nubian Kingdom.

While it has been argued that the flies of Ahhotep did not necessarily commemorate her role in the wars against the Hyksos, the association of similar flies with Nubian warriors and some Egyptian military officials as well as the model flies in the votive deposit at Deir el-Ballas<sup>23</sup> all suggest that such a meaning could have been adopted from the Nubians by the ruling elite of the early New Kingdom. In all probability the smaller, later fly jewelry elements could have had other meanings even in royal contexts.<sup>24</sup> The ancient Egyptians were well-used to investing things with multiple layers of meaning and flies could have also had such multifaceted symbolism.

<sup>22</sup> REISNER, *Kerma*, vols I-III, 149, pl. 44, no. 18.

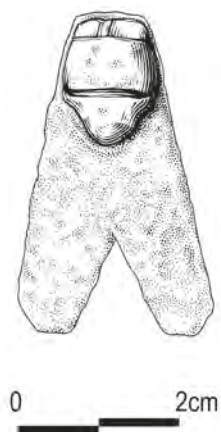
<sup>23</sup> See LACOVARA, “The Treasure of Ahhotep in Archaeological Context”, in this volume.

<sup>24</sup> LILYQUIST, *The tomb of the Three Wives*, 299.

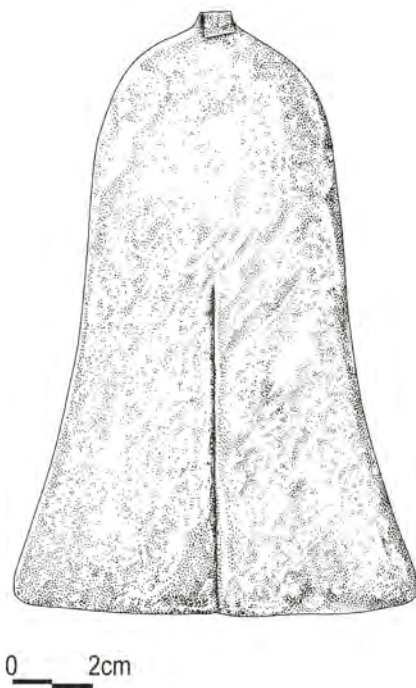
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**Fig. 3** – Small gold and silver flies from Kerma © drawing by Andrew Boyce after REISNER, *Excavations at Kerma*, vols IV-V, 149, pl. 44, no. 18



**Fig. 4** – Large Bronze fly from Kerma Tomb K 309 (MFA 20.1806) © drawing by Andrew Boyce

**The closest Archaeological Parallel:  
The Burial of the ‘Qurna Queen’**



## The Burial of the ‘Qurna Queen’

Margaret Maitland, Daniel M. Potter, Lore Troalen

### Abstract

*This is the first comprehensive reassessment of an important intact Seventeenth Dynasty Theban burial group excavated by Flinders Petrie in 1908. The burial of a woman and child included a gilded rishi coffin, gold jewellery, imported Kerma beakers, rare examples of well-preserved net bags, furniture, and other items. Accounts of the burial’s excavation and display history at National Museums Scotland are provided, while previous studies are summarized alongside new research. Scientific analyses have included radiocarbon dating, Raman spectroscopy of pigments, wood analysis, FTIR analysis of residues, chemical analyses of embalming agents, skeletal analysis, strontium isotope analysis, as well as analyses of the gold jewellery using optical microscopy, X-radiography, scanning electron microscopy, X-ray fluorescence, and ion beam analysis. The assemblage offers insights into the Second Intermediate Period, evidencing Theban access to skilled craftspeople, resources, and trade connections, as well as reuse and recycling. Past interpretations of the burial are reassessed, in particular attempts to define the woman’s ethnic identity. The presence of Kerma pottery has been used to identify the woman as Nubian, revealing a reluctance to consider the desirability of Nubian material in Egypt. Other items may indicate a more complex entanglement of Kerma-Egyptian culture. As objects from the Ahhotep burial also exhibit Kerma influence, re-examination of these objects may suggest greater shared cultural heritage across the Nile Valley.*

### Introduction

During 1908 excavations in the Theban hills surrounding the road to the Valley of the Kings, W. M. Flinders Petrie and the Egyptian excavation team working with him discovered the intact burial group of a woman and child, likely of royal status, and probably dating to the Seventeenth Dynasty.<sup>1</sup> The burial included a gilded *rishi* coffin, an array of gold jewellery, imported Kerma beakers, rare examples of well-preserved net bags, furniture, and various other items. The importance of the burial group of the “Qurna Queen”, as she subsequently became known, was not lost on Petrie, who wrote that it was “*the richest and most detailed undisturbed burial*

*that has been completely recorded and published*”.<sup>2</sup> He recognised that the burial’s significance lay in its nature as an intact assemblage, as “*there was no very valuable article in it, but the whole was an unusual and valuable group*”.<sup>3</sup> The *rishi* coffin and gold jewellery of the “Qurna Queen” naturally draw comparisons with those of her near contemporary Queen Ahhotep I.

Since its discovery over a hundred years ago, the burial group has been studied by various scholars and specialists who have each brought their own expertise and perspectives to interpreting the burial equipment and what these objects tell us about the “Qurna Queen” and the world in which she lived. Despite the damage to the woman’s name and titles on the coffin, scholarly consensus is that she was likely a member of the Theban royal family. The burial has featured in numerous discussions as key evidence for understanding the Second

<sup>1</sup> PM II/2, 606; PETRIE, *Qurneh*, 6-10, pls 22-9. National Museums Scotland publications include ROYAL SCOTTISH MUSEUM, *Guide* (1913); ROYAL SCOTTISH MUSEUM, *Guide* (1920), 7, 23, pl. 3; MANLEY, DODSON, *Life Everlasting*, 21-7; SHERIDAN, *Heaven and Hell*, 56, 60, 62; SOUDEN, MAZDA, HOLDEN (eds), *Scotland*, 204-5. Further publications are referenced throughout this paper.

<sup>2</sup> PETRIE, *Qurneh*, 10.

<sup>3</sup> Letter from Petrie to an unnamed correspondent 18/01/1909 now at UCL, quoted by MANLEY, in EXELL (ed.), *African Context*, 93.



Intermediate Period and its transition to the Eighteenth Dynasty. It offers a wealth of information about Theban royal family's relationship with their neighbours, especially Kerma, in terms of trade, access to resources, and cultural influences, as well as developments in material culture and funerary practices.<sup>4</sup> The discovery of another possible royal dynasty and political centre based at Abydos has further demonstrated the level of division within Egypt at the time.<sup>5</sup> "Taken as a whole, this exceptional group of objects belies the conventional wisdom about Thebes in the Second Intermediate Period", demonstrating that Thebes was not so completely isolated or at conflict with its neighbours, nor was it cut off from the resources and skills needed to make or acquire luxury goods.<sup>6</sup> The diverse array of objects found in the secure context of the burial have also provided useful criteria for dating and interpreting comparable objects. The woman's ethnic identity has been a particular focus of discussion, centred around whether she was Egyptian or Nubian in origin. For example, Ryholt describes the presence of Kerma ware in the burial as "a tantalizing testimony to the relations with Nubia", possibly evidence of a diplomatic marriage, a suggestion followed by others.<sup>7</sup> This paper considers past interpretations, new evidence, and suggests shifting focus away from rigid ethnic identifications. Alongside new and previously unpublished research, this paper provides an overview of the work that has been conducted since the burial's excavation and offers the first synthesis of these studies.

## The Excavation of the Burial

### Petrie in "Qurna"

Flinders Petrie arrived in Egypt at the end of November 1908 to begin excavations on the west bank of Luxor in an area he called "Qurneh" (hereafter "Qurna"), after the nearby village surrounding the Mortuary Temple of King Seti I.<sup>8</sup> The work in "Qurna" was carried

out between 9 December 1908 and 8 February 1909, when the Egyptian excavators were then sent to work in the Memphite region.<sup>9</sup> Petrie's season began poorly; they found little to begin with and Petrie injured his leg, confining him to his bed over Christmas. The excavation team worked their way along the road which leads to the Valley of the Kings; the area remains largely unexcavated today. Petrie did not attempt a full clearance of the area, but rather focused on some of the smaller valleys in the hope that remote tombs might be uncovered. On 30 December 1908, Petrie's pocket diary records that he was "clearing (an) untouched XVII burial in valley".<sup>10</sup> On the north side of the valley where the wadi "breaks out of the hills",<sup>11</sup> they removed several large boulders from under a rocky projection, revealing the undisturbed burial in a shallow trench. It was cleared in "around five hours" (see Fig. 1), then select objects were photographed the next day. The precise location of the burial is not known, as it was only identified as site "B" in Petrie's expansive but vague topographic map.<sup>12</sup>

### The layout of the burial

The *rishi* coffin (A.1909.527.1 + A) was oriented with the head to the west, and a child's box coffin (A.1909.527.10 + A) was placed on top of the lower part of it, in the same orientation (see Fig. 2). This arrangement undoubtedly caused the abrasion and loss of the central inscription on the *rishi* coffin. Along the north side of the coffin was a wooden carrying pole with ceramic vessels suspended from it by means of net bags, including six Kerma beakers.<sup>13</sup> The other vessels were made of Nile clay in the form of either squat pots with white or red slip, or red-slipped jars with ovoid bodies and conical necks, some

<sup>4</sup> E.g. RYHOLT, *Political Situation*, 180-1; BOURRIAU, in DAVIES (ed.), *Egypt and Africa*, 132; BOURRIAU, in SHAW (ed.), *Oxford History*, 192-3, 209-10; SMITH, *MDAIK* 48, 231, fig. 9 and passim 193-223.

<sup>5</sup> WEGNER, *NEA* 78/2; WEGNER, CAHAIL, *JARCE* 51.

<sup>6</sup> ROEHRIG, *Hatshepsut*, 16.

<sup>7</sup> RYHOLT, *Political Situation*, 180-1; e.g. LACOVARA, MARKOWITZ, *Nubian Gold*, 95.

<sup>8</sup> Sometimes rendered as Gurneh, Gurnah, Gournah, Kurnah, Kurneh, Kurna and other variations. Mariette also used this broad designation for finds made in Dra Abu el-Naga, see: MINIACI, "The Discovery of Queen Ahhotep's Burial at Dra Abu el-Naga (Thebes) in the Nineteenth Century AD: Between Tale and Archaeological Evidence", in this volume; this area to the north of the road to the Valley of the Kings is now known as el-Khor, see: MINIACI, in BETRÒ, DEL VESCO,

MINIACI (eds), *Seven Seasons*, 45-6.

<sup>9</sup> PETRIE, *Qurneh*, 1.

<sup>10</sup> Petrie's Pocket Diary 1908-1909, 118, in the archives of the Petrie Museum.

<sup>11</sup> WINLOCK, *JEA* 10, 218.

<sup>12</sup> PETRIE, *Qurneh*, 6, pl. 4, site "B" sits just above the 0 of the scales. cf. MINIACI, *Rishi Coffins*, Table 07.

<sup>13</sup> The pole is A.1909.527.21 and the vessels in order from east to west (coffin foot to head): A.1909.527.41; A.1909.527.41 C; A.1909.527.41 A; A.1909.527.41 B; A.1909.527.8; A.1909.527.8 A (all six Kerma beakers listed as Petrie no. 24); A.1909.527.21 A (Petrie no. 23); A.1909.527.21 G (Petrie no. 22); A.1909.527.21 B or C (Petrie no. 20); A.1909.527.21 J (Petrie no. 19?); A.1909.527.21 D (Petrie no. 18?); A.1909.527.21 B or C (Petrie no. 16); A.1909.527.21 K (Petrie no. 15?); A.1909.527.21 E + F (Petrie no. 14); A.1909.527.21 I (Petrie no. 12?); A.1909.527.21 H (Petrie no. 11). Some uncertainty remains around the squat pot identifications, especially since some of the drawings are not precisely to scale. This list does not include other vessels that were found underneath/around the carrying pole.



Fig. 1 – Photograph of the burial of the “Qurna Queen” in situ, from PETRIE, *Qurneh*, pl. 23

of which were burnished. Along the length of the pole, starting from the foot of the coffin, were three net bags, each holding two stacked Kerma beakers, followed by two jars in net bags, then a gap reflecting the shoulders of the carrier, followed by two squat pots and two jars, all in net bags. Four squat pots in net bags were gathered near the end of the carrying pole, the last of which appears to have fallen off the end of the pole. A red ceramic bowl and a small rough dish/bowl were also recorded underneath.<sup>14</sup> From the haphazard disposition of the vessels, which overlay other objects and part of the coffin, it is evident they were placed in the burial last.

The net bags were of great interest to Petrie, who implied in his report that the careful cleaning and conservation of these was the reason that the clearance of the burial took longer than usual. Despite this, Petrie’s account contains several errors and omissions. For example, vessel no. 16 is not shown in his plan; it is also possible that vessels no. 16 and 20 were confused, as the photograph labelled no. 20 shows it with linen wrapped around the mouth, while the drawings of the vessels show no. 16 with a linen-wrapped mouth, not no. 20.<sup>15</sup> One of the jars was not illustrated or located on the plan at all (possibly A.1909.527.39). Vessel no. 23 was the only one illustrated with its net bag, while the others were not illustrated in the report.

<sup>14</sup> Red bowl, A.1909.527.24, Petrie no. 17; rough dish/bowl, A.1909.527.42 A, Petrie no. 13.

<sup>15</sup> A.1909.527.21 C is definitely the same vessel in the photograph on plate 27 labelled no. 20, A.1909.527.21 B is likely no. 16, but there may have been confusion between the two: PETRIE, *Qurneh*, pls 22, 27.

Another group of ceramics was placed on the opposite side of the burial, under the rock overhang. This small group consisted of a jar and two squat pots which were covered with linen and tied together.<sup>16</sup> The largest vessel in the burial was a globular marl jar covered in white slip, which was placed near the right shoulder of the coffin.<sup>17</sup> An additional tall jar was placed at the foot of the small coffin, with a “*drab pot under it*”. This “*drab pot*” is not illustrated or mentioned in Petrie’s account, but is recorded in his notebook and may be identified as a small bowl.<sup>18</sup>

Underneath the carrying pole was a bovine-legged stool (A.1909.527.22) with a remarkably well-preserved strung seat and its legs broken off so that it could fit between the body of the coffin and the wall of the trench. Between the seat of this stool and the coffin was a black-rimmed carinated bowl on its side containing food offerings of bread, doum palm fruit, dates, grapes, and possibly peaches.<sup>19</sup> Two smaller stool frames were placed at the foot of the coffin.<sup>20</sup> The larger of these two was twisted, possibly so as to fit into the burial. Beside these was a wooden box placed upside-down in the burial, resting on

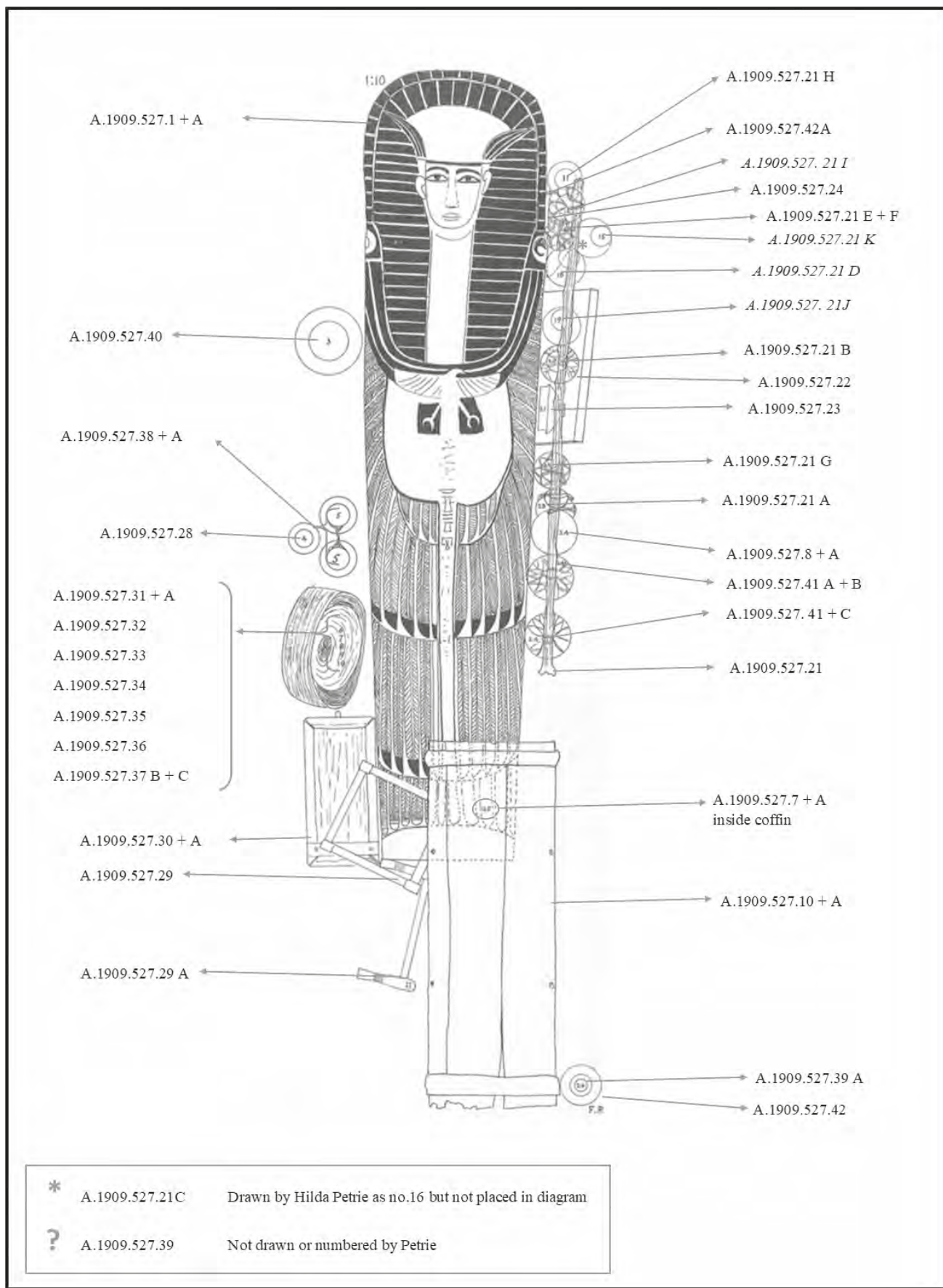
<sup>16</sup> A.1909.527.28, Petrie no. 4 and A.1909.527.38 + A, Petrie no. 5.

<sup>17</sup> A.1909.527.40, Petrie no. 3: PETRIE, *Qurneh*, pls 22, 23.

<sup>18</sup> Tall jar, A.1909.527.39 A, Petrie no. 26; bowl described as “*drab pot*”, A.1909.527.42.

<sup>19</sup> Bowl, A.1909.527.23, Petrie no. 21; bread, A.1909.527.26, A.1909.527.26 A, A.1909.527.26 B, A.1909.527.26 C; doum palm fruit A.1909.527.27, A.1909.527.27 A, A.1909.527.27 B, A.1909.527.27 C; other assorted fruit, A.1909.527.25

<sup>20</sup> A.1909.527.29 + A.



**Fig. 2** – Plan of the burial group after PETRIE, *Qurneh*, pl. 22 showing National Museums Scotland accession numbers. Those in italics are probable identifications. Daniel M Potter © National Museums Scotland



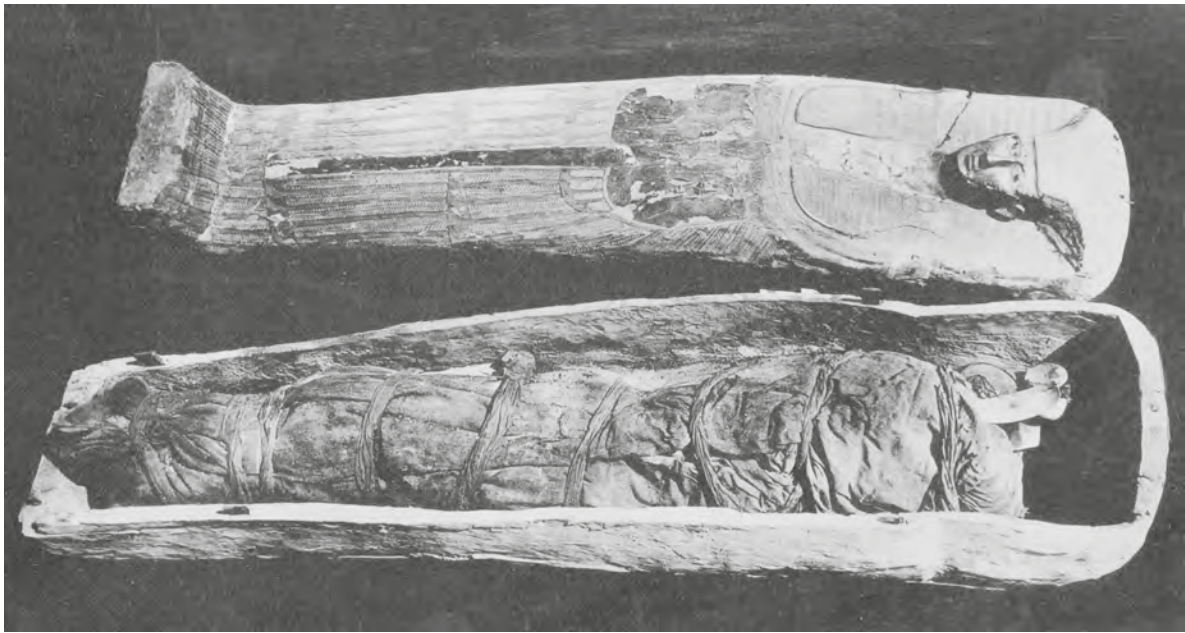


Fig. 3 – Photograph of the open coffin of the “Qurna Queen”, from PETRIE, *Qurneh*, pl. 23

its sliding lid.<sup>21</sup> To the west of the box was a large basket of coiled palm leaf. The basket had been squashed into the burial with its lid on upside-down. Inside this basket were a copper alloy cutting tool, a ball of thread, two flints, a triangular whetstone, an anhydrite bowl, and a bovine horn container.<sup>22</sup>

Several objects were placed within the *rishi* coffin itself (see Fig. 3). Above the head of the woman was a headrest inlaid with ebony and ivory and a calcite cosmetic jar.<sup>23</sup> Beneath the head were two faience bead bags, one with a tassel and one without, as well as a faience bead fly whisk.<sup>24</sup> Petrie also records the presence of a seventh Kerma beaker, found “beneath the neck”, although only six Kerma beakers were sent to Edinburgh.<sup>25</sup> Alongside the right shoulder was a second, smaller basket of coiled grass decoratively woven with diagonal black stripes, its conical lid tied on, inside of which was a calcite kohl pot with a wooden applicator stuck

through the knot of the linen seal. Finally, by the feet, was a small obsidian kohl pot with linen still attached round its neck.<sup>26</sup>

Following the clearance of the burial equipment, Petrie turned his attention to the remains of the adult and child (see Fig. 3). He conducted both unwrappings assisted by members of his excavation team, who measured and recorded the fifteen pieces of linen used for the adult and two pieces for the child.<sup>27</sup> A bag of bran was found within the two outer shrouds covering the adult, while the body itself was described by Petrie as “swathed round spirally with nine turns of cloth from end to end” and covered with loose blue beads.<sup>28</sup> Both were wearing sets of jewellery, the adult’s in gold and electrum, the child’s in gold, faience, and ivory (discussed below). The mummification process had been unsuccessful, and the remains were skeletal. Petrie examined and described these, determining that the adult was a woman “in the prime of life” and the child was not a new-born.

<sup>21</sup> A.1909.527.30 + A: PETRIE, *Qurneh*, 7, pl. 22; GALE *et al.*, in NICHOLSON, SHAW (eds), *Materials and Technology*, 366, fig.15.45.

<sup>22</sup> PETRIE, *Qurneh*, 7, pls 22, 26. Basket, A.1909.52.31 + A; knife, A.1909.527.34; ball of thread, A.1909.527.36; flints, A.1909.527.37 B; A.1909.527.37 C; whetstone, A.1909.527.35; bowl, A.1909.527.33; oil horn, A.1909.527.32.

<sup>23</sup> Headrest, A.1909.527.3; calcite jar, A.1909.527.2 + A, Petrie no. 1: PETRIE, *Qurneh*, pls 22-3, 25.

<sup>24</sup> Faience bags, A.1909.527.4; A.1909.527.4 A; faience fly whisk, A.1909.527.9. Another beaded fly whisk excavated at Deir el-Bahri is very different in style, taking the form of strings of alternating blue and black conical beads: NAVILLE, HALL, *XIth Dynasty Temple*, vol. III, 25, pl. 25.1.

<sup>25</sup> PETRIE, *Qurneh*, 8.

<sup>26</sup> Small basket, A.1909.527.5 + A: PETRIE, *Qurneh*, pl. 26; calcite pot, A.1909.527.6 + A, Petrie no. 2: PETRIE, *Qurneh*, pls 22, 27.1; obsidian pot, A.1909.527.7 + A, Petrie no. 25: PETRIE, *Qurneh*, 8, pl. 25.

<sup>27</sup> A.1909.527.14 + A-N: PETRIE, *Qurneh*, 8-9. In addition to these fifteen pieces, some of the material used to pack the abdomen of the woman also survives (A.1909.527.14 O). The child’s wrappings are A.1909.527.44 + A.

<sup>28</sup> PETRIE, *Qurneh*, 7-8. A package of brown powder (A.1909.527.14 Q) may be identifiable as this bran, though it may just be debris from within the coffin.



Petrie described the burial as “*only in the open ground*”.<sup>29</sup> However, it is possible that it was originally protected by a superstructure that had been lost. Historic accounts from the 1800s describe the presence of small, steep pyramids and chapels, many in increasingly ruined condition. Several small brick pyramids had even been actively destroyed in 1822–3.<sup>30</sup> There were numerous other burials in nearby Dra Abu el-Naga contemporary with that of the “Qurna Queen” which were described as “*hidden under loose heaps of stones and sand*”<sup>31</sup> or “*simply buried in the rubbish*”.<sup>32</sup> This non-normative style, in which individuals were placed in shallow trenches without recognisable superstructures, can also be seen in the burials of Kamose and possibly Ahhotep.<sup>33</sup> Kamose’s non-normative burial—a shallow trench in rubble—appears to be the result of a re-burial,<sup>34</sup> as the inspections recorded in P. Abbott (P. BM EA 10221) of the royal “*pyramid-tombs*” (*mr*) conducted in year 16 of Ramesses IX state that Kamose’s tomb was intact upon inspection.<sup>35</sup> The destruction of Kamose’s pyramid-tomb and/or his re-burial must have occurred after this date.

During the same inspections, it was noted that the pyramid of King Wahankh Intef had been destroyed,<sup>36</sup> so this may also have been the fate of a possible Qurna burial superstructure. Whether the burial as found was the original or a re-burial is somewhat uncertain as Petrie provided no plan of the Qurna burial in relation to the valley floor or rock face, and made no mention of building materials such as mudbrick, nor is there any visible in his photographs of the burial, which he described as being in “*open ground*”.<sup>37</sup> While a re-burial, similar to that of Kamose or possibly Ahhotep,<sup>38</sup> would

account for some of the slightly haphazard deposition features of the Qurna burial, the contents of the Qurna burial are dissimilar to those of Kamose and Ahhotep, in particular the large quantity of ceramics, foodstuffs, and furniture. It could be the presence of these objects which meant that Petrie did not describe the Qurna burial as a re-burial, an interpretation he had put forward when discussing the burials of Kamose and Ahhotep in 1896.<sup>39</sup> In light of the recent rediscovery of the pyramid complex of Nubkheperre Intef (K01.8) by the Deutsches Archäologisches Institut, and when compared with other contemporaneous burials in the area, it is not impossible that the burial of the “Qurna Queen” may have originally included a superstructure of some variety, likely made of mudbrick, however, the proximity of the burial to the rock face makes this seem less likely. A re-location of the find-spot of the Qurna burial would help clarify these issues.

### The Acquisition and Display of the Burial Group

In 1906, the Royal Scottish Museum announced that it would pursue “*an entirely new departure in the development of the collections in the Royal Scottish Museum*”, as the institution began to take a more active role in its support of the Egypt Exploration Fund.<sup>40</sup> The Museum sent one of its assistant curators, Edwin “Ted” Ward, to join Petrie’s excavations in the winter seasons of 1906–7 and 1907–8.<sup>41</sup> This created a relationship with Petrie that may have been influential when the Qurna burial group came to be offered to UK museums in summer 1909.

Following the completion of the 1908–9 excavation season, Gaston Maspero, Director General of the Egyptian Antiquities Service, attended the division of finds in person, dictating that if the objects were to leave Egypt, they could only do so as a complete group that would remain together.<sup>42</sup> Petrie initially offered the burial group to the South Kensington Museum (V&A) in recognition of the London subscribers to the British School of Archaeology in Egypt,<sup>43</sup> “*on condition that it was exhibited together in one case*”. A member of the South Kensington

<sup>29</sup> PETRIE, *Qurneh*, 10.

<sup>30</sup> PASSALACQUA, *Catalogue raisonné*, 191.

<sup>31</sup> BRUGSCH, *Egypt under the Pharaohs*, 51.

<sup>32</sup> WINLOCK, *JEA* 10, 237.

<sup>33</sup> The circumstances of Ahhotep’s burial were not recorded during excavation and became subject to second-hand stories or changeable narratives on Mariette’s part. For discussion on Ahhotep’s burial and its possible structures, see: MINIACI, “The Discovery of Queen Ahhotep’s Burial at Dra Abu el-Naga (Thebes) in the Nineteenth Century AD: Between Tale and Archaeological Evidence”, in this volume, p. 50–1.

<sup>34</sup> WINLOCK, *JEA* 10, 259, 262. Winlock suggests a reburial due to his own experience of excavating an unscribed mudbrick pyramid chapel, and Howard Carter’s find of Carnarvon Tablet I (Cairo JE 41790) in Dra Abu el-Naga. See CARNARVON, CARTER, *Five Years’ Exploration*; GARDINER, *JEA* 3, 95–110.

<sup>35</sup> PEET, *Great Tomb Robberies*, vol. I, 38 and vol. II, pl. 2.

<sup>36</sup> PEET, *Great Tomb Robberies*, vol. I, 38 and vol. II, pl. 1. The verb used is *dr* meaning remove, evict, or destroy; see *Wb* 5, 474.13.

<sup>37</sup> PETRIE, *Qurneh*, 10.

<sup>38</sup> Cf. MINIACI, “The Discovery of Queen Ahhotep’s Burial at Dra Abu el-Naga (Thebes) in the Nineteenth Century AD:

Between Tale and Archaeological Evidence”, in this volume. Petrie’s detailed description of the opening the Qurna coffin discounts the possibility of a modern gathering of objects as implied by Carter’s account of the Ahhotep discovery, cf. BETRÒ, “The Identity of Ahhotep and the Textual Sources”, in this volume.

<sup>39</sup> PETRIE, *History of Egypt*, vol. II, 10–13, BETRÒ, “The Identity of Ahhotep and the Textual Sources”, in this volume.

<sup>40</sup> “The Royal Scottish Museum: Interesting Additions to the Egyptian Collection”, *The Scotsman*, 9 October 1906, 3.

<sup>41</sup> EREMIN *et al.*, *KMT* 11/3, 32–4.

<sup>42</sup> DROWER, *Flinders Petrie*, 311.

<sup>43</sup> PETRIE, *Seventy Years*, 228.

ton staff who visited that year's excavation exhibition at University College London judged the "series of antiquities" as unsuitable for South Kensington, its interest being "primarily historical and Egyptological" and suggested the British Museum instead.<sup>44</sup> However, the British Museum also declined, as they still preferred to display objects typologically, which would have required breaking up the group. So, Petrie turned to the Royal Scottish Museum as a potential home. The Museum applied for a grant of £100 to support the acquisition and in July, one of their employees, David J. Vallance, visited the exhibition<sup>45</sup> and is probably the "museum man" whose amazement Petrie describes, not having realised that the group was "such a fine thing".<sup>46</sup> By early August an agreement had been struck and Petrie wrote to the director, James J. Dobbie, expressing his pleasure that the Museum "*pledged to keep the whole tomb group together*" as per his wishes. He further noted that the group "*must go where there are night watchmen, as the gold is worth £30 intrinsically*".<sup>47</sup> On 17 September 1909, the group was registered in Edinburgh.<sup>48</sup>

There are several inconsistencies between Petrie's recording of the burial and what was sent to the Royal Scottish Museum. A small electrum button found within the woman's linen wrappings was measured and photographed by Petrie, but despite being given an accession number (A.1909.527.20), the button has never had a location record since the Museum's collection database was established.<sup>49</sup> Petrie also described a "*thin red and black pottery pan lying on its side*" within the *rishi* coffin, beneath the woman's neck, and his plate reference shows several Kerma beakers.<sup>50</sup> From Petrie's account, there ought to be seven Kerma beakers, including the six from the carrying nets, however, only six are extant.

<sup>44</sup> Letters from Cecil Smith to Flinders Petrie, 4 and 9 August 1909, V&A Archives, copies held in UCL Petrie Museum of Egyptian Archaeology; V&A Museum, Minute Paper AM 3656/09 dated 28/07/1909; see discussion in STEVENSON, *Scattered Finds*, 45-6. The exhibition of material from Memphis and Qurna was held 5-31 July 1909, see BRITISH SCHOOL OF ARCHAEOLOGY IN EGYPT, *Catalogue*, 1909.

<sup>45</sup> Royal Scottish Museum Minute Book records that Vallance applied for leave to visit London from "*July 6<sup>th</sup> to 9<sup>th</sup> or 13<sup>th</sup>, to meet Prof. Garstang and see about Egyptn. Sculptures, Prof. Petrie's exhibn [sic], and Egypt Exploration Fund*", approved on 30 June 1909.

<sup>46</sup> PETRIE, *Seventy Years*, 228-9.

<sup>47</sup> National Museums Scotland, World Cultures Archives, Letter from W.M. Flinders Petrie to James J. Dobbie, dated 05/08/1909.

<sup>48</sup> Royal Scottish Museum, *Register of Specimens* 11 (1903-13), 81.

<sup>49</sup> PETRIE, *Qurneh*, 9, pl. 29.

<sup>50</sup> PETRIE, *Qurneh*, 8, pl. 28.

Either Petrie was mistaken about the number, or one was not sent to Edinburgh.

The bread in National Museums Scotland does not entirely correlate with the loaves in Petrie's photograph, which includes two small balls of bread not identified in the Museum's collections.<sup>51</sup> They might not have been sent or may not have survived. Further confusion may have arisen over time because accession numbers were assigned to groups of objects by type rather than individually.

Two small unfired mud moulded shabtis (A.1909.527.37+A) were included by error with the objects Petrie sent to Edinburgh, as they are not attested in any part of his report and would surely have merited mention. Their style does not accord with the dating of the burial group. It is probable that they originate from a Twenty-Fifth Dynasty burial excavated during the same season, which included two shabti boxes containing a total of 403 figures in "rough brown pottery".<sup>52</sup>

Following its acquisition, the group was put on display in the Royal Scottish Museum in a single case, arranged as close "*as possible in the relative positions in which they were discovered*".<sup>53</sup> In 1972, under the direction of Cyril Aldred, a new ancient Egyptian gallery displayed the objects separately as elements of typological displays of coffins, furniture, jewellery, etc as exemplars of "ancient Egyptian" culture. At the turn of the millennium, the redevelopment of the National Museum of Scotland's galleries necessitated a re-location of Aldred's displays which afforded the opportunity to re-assemble the burial group in a display that aimed to follow the layout in which the objects had been found. The base of the display case was lined with sand as a practical solution to hide the acrylic stands used to support the round based-vessels.<sup>54</sup> The *Ancient Egypt Rediscovered* gallery, which opened in early 2019, displays the majority of objects from the burial in a single case, accompanied by digital interpretation, including archival photographs and plans. New storage was devised with conservators to allow the skeletal remains of the woman and child to be safely restored to their coffins.

<sup>51</sup> PETRIE, *Qurneh*, pl. 25.

<sup>52</sup> PETRIE, *Qurneh*, 15. A visual match can be made with PETRIE, *Qurneh*, pl. 53. Cf. Manchester Museum 5053.g which is a group record for around 360 shabtis; some are glazed faience, while others appear to be unfired mud. These seem to match A.1909.527.37 + A visually and are roughly the same size (Manchester: 69 mm L; A.1909.527.37: 60 mm L; A.1909.527.37 A: 71 mm L). LACOVARA, "The Treasure of Ahhotep in Archaeological Context", in this volume.

<sup>53</sup> ROYAL SCOTTISH MUSEUM, *Guide* (1920), 7, 23, pl. 3.

<sup>54</sup> Pers. comm. Lesley-Ann Liddiard.

## The Coffins

### The *rishi* coffin

The gilded *rishi* coffin (A.1909.527.1 + A)<sup>55</sup> excavated in the Qurna burial measures 2.09 m in length, which Manley notes compares favourably with kings' coffins of this period, around half a metre longer than necessary for a woman of her height (Plate XXIV).<sup>56</sup> It is fashioned from two tree trunks, tamarisk for the lid and sycamore fig for the trough.<sup>57</sup> The construction of coffins from sycamore logs is attested in other Seventeenth Dynasty burials at Dra Abu el-Naga, but generally each coffin is crafted from a single trunk.<sup>58</sup> Thus the conspicuous use of resources may reflect the status of the "Qurna Queen". The use of locally available timber has been cited to suggest that imported timber was not available at this time,<sup>59</sup> however, it more likely shows a specific lack of imported cedar of Lebanon, which is used sparingly in the Qurna burial equipment and contemporaneous burials.

The largest study of *rishi* coffins by Miniaci places the coffin of the "Qurna Queen" in Type C, with up to seven other coffins dating to the late Seventeenth Dynasty.<sup>60</sup> He classifies this group as "Prototypical Coffins", an evolutionary phase before the standardisation of features in his Type D "Classic Coffins".<sup>61</sup> The pre-standard phase is typified by a standard shape with decoration that is mostly standardised but shows some anomalies. The most notable example of Miniaci's Type C is the coffin of King Nubkheperre Intef.<sup>62</sup>

The exterior of the Qurna trough is painted uniformly in a blue that has darkened to a blue/black. The lip of the trough is painted red, serving as a protective seal for the coffin.<sup>63</sup> The interior is undecorated, as is common for *rishi* coffins. The lid was painted and gilded on top of a thin layer of plaster. These layers can be seen delaminating in

photographs published by Petrie, who confirmed this in a letter, stating "*the coffin wants treating with paraffin in benzole [sic], and the gold leaf smoothing out*".<sup>64</sup> Later conservation treatment in the mid-twentieth century restored large areas of loss, painting in details and re-gilding extensively. Despite the coffin being highly restored, analysis was carried out by Raman spectroscopy to identify original pigments used in the decoration: Egyptian blue, carbon black, red haematite, orpiment (a more expensive yellow pigment than the typical yellow ochre), and calcite white.<sup>65</sup> Lazurite was also observed, but it seems unlikely to be original, as it is not reported as a pigment used in ancient Egypt.<sup>66</sup> Some of the earlier restoration was reversed in 2018 following examination and imaging under UV-induced luminescence (UUVL), infrared reflectance (IRR), and infrared false colour (IRFC).<sup>67</sup>

The face of the coffin is framed by a *nemes*-headdress in blocks of blue outlined in black with no internal detail.<sup>68</sup> The central area of the headdress is gilded, with a scale-like pattern imitating small, dense feathers in moulded plaster, extending from the forehead but not covering the whole of the head. The arrangement of the *nemes* shows none of the Hathoric qualities common to late Seventeenth Dynasty Type D/E coffins.<sup>69</sup> The only painted facial features are very simple: the eyebrows in blue with a black outline and the eyes, which are white outlined in black, with a black pupil/iris, but no red sclera. A *wesekh*-collar curves underneath the lappets of the *nemes* and is depicted as three solid bands of blue outlined in black with two falcon-terminals depicted in blue, black, white, and red.<sup>70</sup> A gilded vulture pectoral overlaps part of the second and third bands of the *wesekh*-collar, its body and wings modelled in plaster.<sup>71</sup> Four registers of blue feathers on a yellow background cover the body of the coffin, with their outlines, detail, and tips in black.<sup>72</sup> The usual first register of tighter feathers is omitted, and this space is instead taken by a block of gilding, a feature common

<sup>55</sup> MANLEY, DODSON, *Life Everlasting*, 23-6; MINIACI, *Rishi Coffins*, 65-6, 141, 249 as rT01ED.

<sup>56</sup> MANLEY, in EXELL (ed.), *African Context*, 93.

<sup>57</sup> Wood analysis provided by Caroline Cartwright, British Museum: EREMIN *et al.*, *KMT* 11/3, 37, 40. The lid and trough are held together by five unevenly spaced biscuit joints, which no longer survive, shown in PETRIE, *Qurneh*, pl. 23. MINIACI, *Rishi Coffins*, 26 notes that the most common means of coffin-lid attachment is "6 tenons fitted into sockets".

<sup>58</sup> GALÁN, JIMENEZ-HIQUERAS, in MINIACI, GRAJETZKI (eds), *Middle Kingdom Egypt*, 108-9, 113, 115.

<sup>59</sup> DAVIES, in DAVIES, SCHOFIELD (eds) *Aegean and the Levant*, 148-9.

<sup>60</sup> MINIACI, *Rishi Coffins*, 148, table 08.

<sup>61</sup> MINIACI, *Rishi Coffins*, 140-1. Type D coffins account for 38% of the *rishi* coffins in his study.

<sup>62</sup> BM EA 6652: MINIACI, *Rishi Coffins*, rT01BM.

<sup>63</sup> For other examples of red-painted coffin joins, some with apotropaic inscriptions dating to the Middle Kingdom, see JIMÉNEZ *et al.*, *BAEDE* 26, 72-4.

<sup>64</sup> PETRIE, *Qurneh*, pl. 23; National Museums Scotland, World Cultures Archives: Letter from W.M. Flinders Petrie to James J. Dobbie, dated 05/08/1909.

<sup>65</sup> EDWARDS, VILLAR, EREMIN, *J. Raman Spectrosc* 35/8-9, 792-3; EREMIN *et al.*, *KMT* 11/3, 37.

<sup>66</sup> LEE, QUIRKE, in NICHOLSON, SHAW (eds), *Materials and Technology*, 111.

<sup>67</sup> STABLE *et al.* 2021; see also <https://blog.nms.ac.uk/2018/12/30/coffin-of-the-qurna-queen/>, <accessed on 12.01.2022>.

<sup>68</sup> MINIACI, *Rishi Coffins*, 27.

<sup>69</sup> MINIACI, *Rishi Coffins*, 141.

<sup>70</sup> One terminal is largely restored.

<sup>71</sup> Pectorals on *rishi* coffins normally include both a vulture and a cobra, but Miniaci notes 28 other examples which do not conform to the standard: MINIACI, *Rishi Coffins*, 32, n. 211.

<sup>72</sup> These registers represent the second and third feather layers discussed by MINIACI, *JARCE* 46, 49-61, fig. 2.



to Type C coffins.<sup>73</sup> The front of the foot end is comparable to other coffins: a simple block of red outlined in yellow.<sup>74</sup> The base of the foot bears a scene of two kneeling female figures likely representing Isis and Nephthys (Pl. XXV). The scene is not accompanied by any inscription or labels. Much of the lower part does not survive and it is not clear if the goddesses were originally depicted kneeling upon *neb* signs, as in other examples.<sup>75</sup> Both figures are outlined simply in black and are sparsely detailed, shown wearing blue necklaces and white sheath-dresses. This scene is paralleled on numerous other *rishi* coffins, though the “Qurna Queen” coffin differs in the pose of the two figures. They face each other with arms raised in the air in a gesture similar to the hieroglyphs GSL A28 “man with both arms raised” or C11 “god with arms supporting the sky”; other coffins show the goddesses holding a *shen*-ring or adopting poses correlating to GSL A3 “man sitting on heel” or A4 “man with arms raised”.<sup>76</sup>

A central column extends from the vulture pectoral to the end of the third register of feathers, containing a low relief hieroglyphic inscription in modelled, gilded plaster (Pl. XXVI). The inscription consists of the beginning of the offering formula, but the section which ought to contain the owner’s name and titles is irreparably damaged. Approximately a third of the column’s full height is lost due to the abrasion from the burial debris and child’s coffin.<sup>77</sup> This length of space for titles is considerable and what remains is tantalising; a single sign from this area has been interpreted by Manley and Dodson as *nfr* or *hnm*. Both readings would allow for *hnm nfr hdt*, “United with the White Crown”, a title used for royal women of the Middle to early New Kingdoms, most notably in the context of this volume, in the inscription on the coffin of Ahhotep (JE 4663).<sup>78</sup> Unfortunately the area was covered over by restoration work in the mid-twentieth century; in 2004, it was examined using a digiscope and 3D imaging techniques, but no further traces were found. The preserved text reads as follows:

*htp-di-nsw 3sir nb ddw (di=f) prt-hrw t hnt 3pd(w) k3(w)  
n k3 n [... hnm/nfr? ...]*

An offering which the King gives to Osiris, Lord of Djedu (so that he may give) a voice-offering of bread, beer, fowl and ox for the *ka* of [... *hnm/nfr?* ...]

<sup>73</sup> MINIACI, *Rishi Coffins*, 142.

<sup>74</sup> MINIACI, *Rishi Coffins*, 38.

<sup>75</sup> MINIACI, *Rishi Coffins*, 38, n. 250.

<sup>76</sup> Cf. Pl. III, JE 4663.

<sup>77</sup> The column measures 108.5 cm long and the text is lost from the 72 cm mark.

<sup>78</sup> GRAJETZKI, *Queens*, 104 renders this title as the “Associate of the White Crown Bearer”; BETRÒ, “The Identity of Ahhotep and the Textual Sources”, in this volume.

### The identity of the “Qurna Queen”

The absence of a preserved name has led to speculation over the identity of the “Qurna Queen”. It is possible that no other trace of her survives, but from a survey of known queens of the Seventeenth Dynasty and their burials, Manley has suggested that Haankhes<sup>79</sup> or Nubemhat<sup>80</sup> are the most likely candidates. He has also put forward the secondary suggestions of an unnamed wife of either Rahotep or Sehotepkare Intef.<sup>81</sup> Haankhes and Nubemhat are connected through their children, the “King’s Son” Ameni and the “King’s Daughter” Sobekemhab, who according to a stela from Dendera, were married.<sup>82</sup> Miniaci’s dating of the *rishi* coffin<sup>83</sup> accords with these individuals, making them feasible candidates for the identity of the “Qurna Queen”.

Sobekemsaf, the wife of Nubkheperre Intef, may also be put forward as a possibility. Sobekemsaf was discounted by Manley due to claims that she was buried in Edfu based on two stelae from the site.<sup>84</sup> The first of these was recorded by Englebach after it was uncovered during unregulated digging.<sup>85</sup> The surviving section of the stela shows “his daughter, the Royal Wife (*hmt-nswt*) Sobekemsaf”, alongside two of her siblings who are labelled “his daughter, *irytp’t*, Neferen” and “his son [?]” indicating that the stela must have commemorated their father. The second stela, which was discovered during *sebak* digging,<sup>86</sup> dates to the Eighteenth Dynasty (Thutmose I).<sup>87</sup> Sobekemsaf is shown seated alongside the mother of King Ahmose I, Queen Ahhotep I, labelled as “the Royal Wife (*hmt-nswt*), King’s Sister (*snt-nswt*) Sobekemsaf”.<sup>88</sup> In the inscription, the

<sup>79</sup> A royal woman with unknown husband, known to be mother of the “King’s Son”, GRAJETZKI, *Queens*, 44; RYHOLT, *Political Situation*, 272.

<sup>80</sup> Wife of Sekhemre Wadjkhau Sobekemsaf I, GRAJETZKI, *Queens*, 43 or Sobekemsaf II by the chronology of RYHOLT, *Political Situation*, 171.

<sup>81</sup> Attributed to the Thirteenth Dynasty by RYHOLT, *Political Situation*, 342 as Intef V. Though the late Thirteenth and early Seventeenth Dynasties overlap significantly, Ryholt’s discussions and *rishi* dating criteria put forward by MINIACI, *Rishi Coffins*, 148 means that Sehotepkare Intef can be discounted as the husband of the “Qurna Queen”.

<sup>82</sup> RYHOLT, *Political Situation*, 272. Stela UC14326 purchased at Koptos by Petrie; another section of this stela is now Pushkin Museum of Fine Arts, Moscow, I.1.b.32 (4156).

<sup>83</sup> MINIACI, *Rishi Coffins*, 140-2.

<sup>84</sup> WINLOCK, *JEA* 10, 233; GRAJETZKI, *Egyptian Queens*, 44; NEWBERRY, *PSBA* 24, 286 and elsewhere.

<sup>85</sup> Cairo TR 16.2.22.23, ENGLEBACH, *ASAE* 22, 113-14.

<sup>86</sup> BOURIANT, *RT* 9, 92-3.

<sup>87</sup> CG 34009, LACAU, *Stèles du Nouvel Empire*, 16-17, pl. 6, *Urk* IV, 29-31.

<sup>88</sup> For the potential relationship between these queens, RYHOLT, *Political Situation*, 269.



dedicator of the stela, a priest called Iuf, states “*I reunited this tomb of the King’s Daughter Sobekemsaf when I had found that it was on the road to ruin*”. This phrase has been used to assert that Queen Sobekemsaf was buried in Edfu. Polz has suggested that these stelae indicate “*that there must have existed burial (or burials) of the royal family in the cemetery of Edfu during the reign of Nub-Kheper-Ra*”.<sup>89</sup> Though the phrase *pn isy* in the inscription of second stela implicates a deictic confirmation that the tomb restored by Iuf was in Edfu, it is not certain that the tomb belonged to Queen Sobekemsaf. Ryholt has noted that the titulary of the Edfu Sobekemsaf used in reference to the tomb only describes her as a “King’s Daughter”.<sup>90</sup> It seems probable that Iuf, as the restorer of such a tomb would include the most important title possible, implying that the tomb may have belonged to another royal woman of that name.

Materially, the coffin of the “Qurna Queen” belongs to the same Miniaci group as the coffin of Nubkheperre Intef, and his burial also included Kerman ceramics, comparable to the Qurna burial equipment.<sup>91</sup> Furthermore, if the coffin’s central inscription reads *hnmt nfr hdt*, “United with the White Crown”, Queen Sobekemsaf is recorded with this title on two gold bracelet spacers.<sup>92</sup> Thus it seems remiss to discount Sobekemsaf as a potential identity for the “Qurna Queen”, alongside Haankhes or Nubemhat. Although no proposal for her identity has thus far has proved conclusive, the individuals discussed above are contemporaneous, with Ryholt’s chronology placing them all within a maximum period of thirty years.<sup>93</sup>

### The child’s coffin

The child’s coffin (A.1909.527.10 + A) is rectangular with two battens on either end of the lid, imitating the

shape of a shrine (see Fig. 4).<sup>94</sup> The exterior is painted with a thin layer of white gypsum plaster. The interior is undecorated. There is no indication of any inscription or decoration. Unlike the *rishi* coffin, it is made with planks of wood, mainly sycamore fig and cedar of Lebanon, joined using varied techniques. Analysis indicates that tamarisk, sycamore fig, East African ebony and cedar of Lebanon were used for the dowels and battens.<sup>95</sup>

The construction of the coffin is varied; one side and one end of the trough are made of full height single planks, the other long side is made of three pieces of wood, cut flush and joined using dowel or biscuit joints, and the other end is made of two irregular planks joined together. The base and lid are composed of joined irregular planks. The short ends of the coffin are joined to the long sides using box joints,<sup>96</sup> which vary in style; one end using 2/1 (pin/tail) and the other 3/2 (pin/tail) joints. Two battens attached at each end across the width of the base function as feet. Manley and Dodson suggest the use of imported and valuable timbers indicates recycling.<sup>97</sup> It seems feasible that the use of dowels and planks in imported wood added value to an otherwise plain coffin. Manley and Dodson compare the inclusion of this rectangular coffin in a *rishi* coffin burial to burials highlighted by Miniaci and Quirke, though it should be noted that those did not include any children.<sup>98</sup>

### The human remains

When Petrie unwrapped the remains of the woman (A.1909.527.1 B), he found her limbs and fingers were wrapped individually, with padding around her limbs and within her abdomen (A.1909.527.14 + A-O). Her arms had been placed by her sides with her hands resting upon her thighs. The system of wrapping then alternated between folded-up cloths and diagonal swathings. Petrie suggested a reconstructed order of the wrapping, commenting that it was not “neat”, nor did it utilise any stitching.<sup>99</sup> The mummification procedure had not been successful as the remains of the “Qurna Queen” were skeletal with very little tissue preservation. The remains of the child (A.1909.527.10 B) were wrapped in “about a dozen turns of cloth” (A.1909.527.44 + A) and the limbs had also been wrapped separately, though Petrie did not note the use of any padding.<sup>100</sup>

<sup>89</sup> POLZ, in FORSTNER-MÜLLER, MOELLER (eds), *The Hyksos Ruler Khayan*, 229.

<sup>90</sup> RYHOLT, *Political Situation*, 268-9, particularly 269 n. 974.

<sup>91</sup> MINIACI, *Rishi Coffins*, 148, Table 08; SEILER, *Tradition & Wandel*, 84-5.

<sup>92</sup> Pair of bracelet spacers BM EA 57699, BM EA 57700, MINIACI *et al.*, *BMTRB* 7, 55. GRAJETZKI, *Egyptian Queens*, 44 states directly that they came from a tomb in Edfu, though this is unconfirmed. This provenance may arise from NEWBERRY, *PSBA* 24, 285 where Newberry states that he was shown a gold pendant with a near identical inscription to BM EA 57699 and BM EA 57700 by a dealer in Edfu, and later by the Luxor-based dealer and German consular agent Mohareb Todros (c.1847-1937). However, it is important to note that Newberry’s description makes no mention of the cat decoration, suggesting that he may have seen a different object.

<sup>93</sup> RYHOLT, *Political Situation*, 410.

<sup>94</sup> MANLEY, DODSON, *Life Everlasting*, 26-7.

<sup>95</sup> EREMIN *et al.*, *KMT* 11/3, 37; MANLEY, DODSON, *Life Everlasting*, 27.

<sup>96</sup> Identified as box joints rather than dovetail, due to the lack of tapering of the tails, GALE *et al.*, in NICHOLSON, SHAW (eds), *Materials and Technology*, 363; KILLEN, *Egyptian Woodworking*, 15.

<sup>97</sup> MANLEY, DODSON, *Life Everlasting*, 27.

<sup>98</sup> MANLEY, DODSON, *ibid.*, 27; MINIACI, QUIRKE, *EVO* 31, 18-22.

<sup>99</sup> PETRIE, *Qurneh*, 8-9.

<sup>100</sup> PETRIE, *Qurneh*, 10.



**Fig. 4** – The child’s rectangular coffin (A.1909.527.10 + A). L: 970 mm, W: 360 mm, H: 373 mm  
© National Museums Scotland

Petrie described the skeletal remains of the “Qurna Queen” as being “*in excellent condition, that of a woman in the prime of her life*”.<sup>101</sup> He recorded twenty-two measurements of her skeletal remains, fifteen of which concerned the cranium and mandible, clearly reflecting his interest in race “science”. References to this passage by Manley claim that Petrie viewed the “Qurna Queen” as Nubian or “not typically Egyptian”, however, Petrie did not make any direct remarks about the woman’s ethnicity.<sup>102</sup> Petrie’s conclusions about her cranial appearance are framed in reference to the average woman of the Eleventh Dynasty, stating that she possessed “*a high type of face*”, excepting her teeth which he saw as being projected. Petrie did not publish any measurements of the child’s remains.

<sup>101</sup> PETRIE, *Qurneh*, 10.

<sup>102</sup> MANLEY, DODSON, *Life Everlasting*, 23; MANLEY, in EXELL (ed.), *African Context*, 93; EREMIN *et al.*, *KMT* 11/3, 37; MANLEY *et al.*, *Journal of Audiovisual Media in Medicine* 25/4, 156.

The skeletal remains were studied by various scientific and medical experts as part of the National Museums Scotland Mummy Project (1996-2012).<sup>103</sup> There is no evidence of cause of death for either individual. Examination of the woman’s bones suggested that she was left-handed and was not involved in heavy physical labour. There are no signs of degeneration, damage, or deformation in any of her bones, except the left ulna, which shows some new bone formation. This usually indicates previous inflammation, caused by an abscess or ulcer, and must have occurred a few months before death. For both individuals, the nasal bones are intact with some brain material remaining in the skulls. Analysis of the materials used in the mummification process

<sup>103</sup> Established by Elizabeth Goring and Jim Tate of National Museums Scotland as a collaborative initiative with Andrew Wright, Western General Hospital, Edinburgh, Ian Macleod, Edinburgh Dental Hospital, and led by Katherine Eremin, former scientist at NMS. EREMIN *et al.*, *KMT* 11/3, 35-7.

indicates the composition was mainly plant oils or animal fats, along with a small amount of coniferous resin and possibly balsamic resin (1% for the adult, 17% for the child, within a similar range to other remains from the Middle and New Kingdoms analysed in the study).<sup>104</sup>

The skeletal material was examined in 1997 by Humphrey and Molleson (Natural History Museum) and in 2002 by Zakrzewski (University of Southampton). Both studies suggested that child's age was 2-3 years at death based on dental development and that the woman was aged 18-25 years, probably towards the younger age.<sup>105</sup> Both identified traces of cribra orbitalia in the child, suggesting possible mild anemia. In assessing population affinity, the adult woman was determined to have the greatest affinity with the Twenty-Sixth to Thirtieth Dynasty groups from Giza.<sup>106</sup> She was described as having a complex mosaic of morphological traits but was deemed to "*not fall into the typical Nubian pattern*". Her stature is estimated to have been approximately 156 cm tall, within the typical range of Egyptian female statures, and most like those of the Middle Kingdom. Her teeth show very little dental wear but do have some caries. Two faience beads were found lodged in her teeth along with others found in the coffin, which suggests that she had a beaded item placed over her.<sup>107</sup> Attempts to scientifically confirm the relationship between the adult woman and the child were inconclusive.<sup>108</sup> However, their shared grave suggests that they were considered kin, regardless of biological considerations. Scientific examination was unable to determine the child's sex, but the presence of earrings and a girdle indicates that the child was considered female.

As part of the NMS Mummy Project, facial reconstructions were made for the woman and child by facial anthropologist Wilkinson based on casts of the skulls.<sup>109</sup> In addition to these, three drawings based on the woman's reconstruction were produced by a graphic artist. These drawings differ only in skin colour, showing a woman with reddish-brown "Egyptian" skin colour, black "Nubian" skin colour, and white/pale (supposedly "yellow") skin colour associated with "Libya and

the Near East"; the inclusion of the latter is inexplicable given the lack of evidence for any connection to Libya or western Asia. This problematic choice echoes the frequent use of light skin colour on ancient Egyptian facial reconstructions rooted in historic racism and the appropriation of ancient Egypt by Europeans and Americans.<sup>110</sup>

Strontium isotope analysis of an adult tooth was carried out by Evans (Natural Environment Research Council) and was found to fall within the range of limestone composition in the Luxor area. The results indicate that the individual cannot be excluded from originating in the Luxor area at the time of formation of the tooth, but since limestones are relatively homogeneous with respect to strontium isotope composition, it is also possible that she originated somewhere else along the Nile with a similar limestone composition.<sup>111</sup> As such, the results are not diagnostic. The results of carbon and nitrogen stable isotope analyses of the adult woman's skeleton ( $\delta^{13}\text{C} = -18.4$ ,  $\delta^{15}\text{N} = 13.6$ ) compared with published data suggests that she consumed a mixed diet, including the consumption of some  $\text{C}_4$  plants common to a Nubian diet (e.g. sorghum, millet), along with the  $\text{C}_3$  plants dominant in the Egyptian diet (e.g. wheat, barley).<sup>112</sup> This may indicate that she was raised in Nubia and then moved to Egypt, but it may also suggest a possible Kerman influence on the diet and lifestyle of the Egyptian elite.

## The Jewellery

Petrie described the jewellery from the "Qurna Queen" burial as "*the largest group of goldwork that had left Egypt*" (Pl. XXVII).<sup>113</sup> The adult wore a gold necklace, two penannular gold earrings, four gold bangles, an electrum girdle, an electrum button, and a glazed steatite scarab. The child wore a gold/electrum necklace, two gold earrings, three ivory bangles, a faience bead girdle, and faience bead anklets. The jewellery was subjected to some early analysis as part of a National Museums Scotland research project on the burial led by Eremin, followed by in-depth investigation undertaken by Troalen, Guerra and Tate as part of the project "*Analytical study of Bronze Age Egyptian gold jewellery (PICS 5995 CNRS)*".<sup>114</sup> Several techniques were used to understand the composition of the objects and the

<sup>104</sup> Chemical analysis conducted using gas chromatography with mass spectrometry (GC-MS) and thermal desorption (TD)- or pyrolysis (Py)-GC-MS: BUCKLEY, EVERSLED, *Nature* 413, 837.

<sup>105</sup> Based on factors such as limited dental wear, ectocranial suture closure (open), fusion of iliac crest (partially fused on L side), pubic symphysis morphology (rippled).

<sup>106</sup> ZAKRZEWSKI, "Report on the Qurneh Mummy Skeletal Material"; BERRY, BERRY, UCKO, *Man* 2/4.

<sup>107</sup> EREMIN *et al.*, *KMT* 11/3, 35.

<sup>108</sup> HUMPHREY, MOLLESON, "Qurneh Mummies Report", e.g. skull suture pattern comparison.

<sup>109</sup> MANLEY *et al.*, *Journal of Audiovisual Media in Medicine* 25/4.

<sup>110</sup> RIGGS, *Unwrapping*, 210-22, 224.

<sup>111</sup> Jane Evans pers. comm.

<sup>112</sup> SHORTLAND, EREMIN, GORING, "The Qurna Burial (including isotopic results)"; MANLEY, in EXELL (ed.), *African Context*, 93.

<sup>113</sup> PETRIE, *Seventy Years*, 212. Also see discussion of the jewellery in ALDRED, *Jewels*, 197-8, pl. 48, see also 18, 70, 142, 157.

<sup>114</sup> EREMIN *et al.*, *KMT* 11/3; TATE *et al.*, *ArcheoSciences* 33; TROALEN *et al.*, *ArcheoSciences* 33; TROALEN, TATE, GUERRA, *JAS* 50; TROALEN, TATE, GUERRA, in GUERRA *et al.* (eds), *Ancient Egyptian Gold*.



techniques used in their fabrication, including optical microscopy, X-radiography, scanning electron microscopy, X-ray fluorescence, and ion beam analysis (particle-induced x-ray emission analysis and particle-induced gamma-ray emission analysis). The results of these analyses have informed our understanding of the production and use of the jewellery and form the bulk of the discussion below. All of the jewellery was made with sheets or strips of gold, which were then hammered, embossed, stamped-died or rolled, and sometimes chased. Joins were made almost exclusively using hard soldering with the addition of copper in order to lower the melting point. Analysis revealed the coexistence of varying levels of wear, as well as the use of different alloys. All the objects presented platinum group elements (PGE) inclusions, which suggests that the gold was sourced from alluvial deposits. The inclusions were found to be variable in composition, but all based on rutheniridosmine alloys, which is typical of Egyptian gold jewellery.<sup>115</sup>

The adult's necklace (A.1909.527.19) is formed of 1699 individual gold ring-beads strung in four strands and secured with a clasp ingeniously designed to blend in completely with the ring-beads. It is made of a high-purity gold alloy containing, on average, 86 wt% Au, 12 wt% Ag and 2 wt% Cu. The necklace has been compared to later examples of *shebiu*, the so-called "gold of honour", collars that were given to officials as a prestigious reward from the king. However, the Qurna necklace differs in style on several points, such as bead shape and fastening, and arguably cannot be identified as such. Other similar style ring-bead chokers have been found in burials ranging from the Eleventh to Eighteenth Dynasties.<sup>116</sup> Each ring-bead is made of "D"-shaped segment wire formed into a circle with the ends hard soldered together in a practically invisible join of remarkable skill; analysis demonstrated that this was done using a gold-silver-copper alloy close to the composition of the rings but containing significant levels of copper (8 wt%) to lower its melting point.<sup>117</sup> The ring-beads are extremely uniform with polished outer surfaces and rougher inner surfaces. The two sides of the clasp used to secure the necklace each consist of four tubes of eight rings soldered together; each side has four cups to hold the knotted ends of the strings and four wire loops, which interweave when juxtaposed, and are secured with a locking pin.<sup>118</sup> The four gold bangles (A.1909.527.16 + A-C) were worn

two on each arm, just below the elbow. They are very similar in composition to the necklace, but with almost no copper. Each is made from a D-section bar bent into a ring and soldered. The adult necklace and earrings must have been almost entirely new or very little used when they went into the burial, while the bangles show wear marks indicating they were probably worn in life.

The adult's gold earrings (A.1909.527.18 + A) are a relatively early example of penannular earrings, which only became common during the New Kingdom, introduced most probably from Nubia, or else perhaps western Asia.<sup>119</sup> They consist of four penannular hoops soldered together; the joins are thick but perfectly controlled, with only minor compositional differences with a slight increase of copper. The earrings are made of a high-purity gold alloy with a composition of 95.4 wt% Au, 4.3 wt% Ag and 0.3 wt% Cu. Such composition is unusual for Egyptian jewellery, but it is unlikely that this high purity gold was obtained through refining, as there is no evidence for the use of the cementation method being practised in the Mediterranean before the 1st millennium BC.<sup>120</sup> The use of a high-purity gold from alluvial deposits was confirmed for these items through the presence of PGE inclusions.

The electrum girdle (A.1909.527.17) was found worn around the waist, but outside the innermost cloth of the woman's wrappings. It consists of 26 semi-circular so-called "wallet-beads" spaced by two threads of 6 barrel-beads. They are probably the earliest surviving examples of wallet beads; on its own, the girdle would probably be dated to mid-Eighteenth Dynasty.<sup>121</sup> The burial of Queen Ahhotep I included seventeen gold wallet beads, and they are also found in the burial of the three foreign wives of Thutmose III.<sup>122</sup> Petrie claimed that the Qurna girdle was copied from "a Nubian type made of seeds and leather", but offered no further evidence to support this.<sup>123</sup>

In ancient Egypt, girdles were worn exclusively by women, and as such, were likely associated with sexuality and fertility. Depictions of girdles on young women suggest that they may have been worn at the start of puberty, potentially to signal a woman's attainment of fertility and serve as protection of this. Many Middle Kingdom girdles feature cowrie shells or beads in the form of cowrie shells, which have been understood

<sup>115</sup> HARRIS, CABRI, *Canadian Mineralogist* 29; OGDEN, *JEA* 62; MEEKS, TITE, *JAS* 7.

<sup>116</sup> BINDER, *The Gold of Honour*, 38-9, fig. 4.4; ROEHRIG, *Hatshepsut*, 19.

<sup>117</sup> TATE *et al.*, *ArcheoSciences* 33; TROALEN *et al.*, *ArcheoSciences* 33; TROALEN, TATE, GUERRA, *JAS* 50.

<sup>118</sup> ROEHRIG, *Hatshepsut*, 19-20.

<sup>119</sup> SÄVE-SÖDERBERGH, TROY, *New Kingdom Pharaonic Sites*, 137-8; LACOVARA, MARKOWITZ, *Nubian Gold*, 67-8; ROEHRIG, *Hatshepsut*, 201; PHILIP, *Metalwork and Metalworking*, 164.

<sup>120</sup> OGDEN, in NICHOLSON, SHAW (eds), *Materials and Technology*, 163; RAMAGE, CRADDOCK, *King Croesus's Gold*.

<sup>121</sup> ROEHRIG, *Hatshepsut*, 16, compare no. 119.

<sup>122</sup> LILYQUIST, *Foreign Wives*, 174-5, cat. nos 135-6, fig. 167.

<sup>123</sup> PETRIE, *Man* 9, 129.



as fertility amulets due to their suggestive shape. Wallet beads have been interpreted as a direct development from cowrie-shaped beads. Perhaps the shift might relate to the lack of access to the Red Sea, the source of the shells, during the Second Intermediate Period.

Although girdles have been found in relation to a range of socio-economic backgrounds, they are rarely depicted in the iconography of high-status women; nevertheless, the use-wear on the Qurna girdle clearly demonstrates that it was worn in life rather than being made for burial. This includes deformation of the edges of the beads and the holes, as well as barrel-beads trapped within the wallet-beads. It has been argued that the girdle was likely an heirloom due to the extensive use-wear,<sup>124</sup> although it seems likely that girdles would exhibit higher levels of wear in general, being subject to a greater level of stress and abrasion from movement of the hips. However, the theory is also supported by Petrie's observation that a section of the girdle had been gathered by a tie of thread to shorten it to fit the body, suggesting that it could have been modified for a new owner.<sup>125</sup>

The high level of abrasion on girdles may have influenced the choice of electrum as more hard-wearing rather than the higher purity gold used for the other items, though it is also possible that a whiter coloured alloy was desired. Many Middle Kingdom girdles are made of silver rich electrum (e.g. BM EA 3077; MMA 13.180.11). The Qurna girdle has a silver content of 52 wt% or greater and a gold content inferior to 45 wt%. The wallet-beads are very homogenous and analysis suggests a single batch alloy, while the small barrel-beads exhibit similar silver content, but over a much broader range of composition, probably derived from different batches. Stereomicroscopic observation of the wallet-beads from the girdle showed that their decoration exhibits at least two different types of chisel-marks, which might be related to the work of two different goldsmiths.<sup>126</sup>

The alloys employed in the production of the Queen Ahhotep I and King Ahmose I jewellery, now in the Louvre, are comparable to the Qurna jewellery in that both groups include a range of alloys in a spectrum of colours, both yellow gold-rich alloys and whitish electrum, some in new condition and others exhibiting intense use-wear, the latter generally being in electrum.<sup>127</sup> Electrum is typically observed in Middle Kingdom jewellery<sup>128</sup> and its presence in these late Seventeen and ear-

ly Eighteenth Dynasty groups suggests some continuity with earlier practices, preferences, mineralogical sources, and/or recycling. There are very few items of gold/electrum jewellery attributed to the Second Intermediate Period; analysis of these have observed compositions typical for naturally occurring, unrefined alluvial gold (around 17 wt% silver),<sup>129</sup> but the presence of high-purity gold observed in the Qurna burial and for some items associated with Queen Ahhotep I suggests access to specific high-quality gold sources, despite this period being associated with reduced availability of luxury resources.

The woman also wore a scarab of green-glazed steatite incised on the base with a *nefer*-hieroglyph within a scroll-pattern border (A.1909.527.15). Similar scroll-pattern scarabs have been found in Theban tombs of the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Dynasties, almost always found fastened with string to the third finger of the left hand, as was the case with the scarab worn by the "Qurna Queen".<sup>130</sup>

While both older and newer items of jewellery were deposited together in the woman's burial, the child's jewellery set was made specifically for the burial from reused and recycled elements. All of the child's items show significant marks of wear. The necklace (A.1909.527.11) consists of 215 small gold and electrum ring-beads with open joins, which are very heterogeneous and were clearly reused from various sources with different levels of use-wear. The silver content of the ring-beads varies between 16.6 wt% and 32.1 wt%, while their copper content varies between 0.6 and 2.6 wt%.

The earrings found on the child (A.1909.527.43 + A) are asymmetrically composed of three-and-a-half stacked gold rings with the half-ring bent outwards (Pl. XXVIII). They were considered to likely be re-purposed necklace clasps, serving as stand-ins for earrings for the burial.<sup>131</sup> They are rather heterogeneous with silver content varying from 13.5 wt% to 15.3 wt% and copper content from 1.7 wt% to 3.8 wt%, probably partly due to their low-quality soldering, rendering the analysis of the base alloy difficult. Similar to the adult's, the child's earrings have been soldered, however in this case the joins indicate a lack of precise temperature control giving rise to relatively large, melted regions. For the other items of jewellery, various materials were used as alternatives for precious metals; the child had three ivory bangles (A.1909.527.12 + A-B), two on the left humerus and one on the right, a faience bead girdle (A.1909.527.13), and two faience bead anklets (A.1909.527.13 A-B).

<sup>124</sup> TROALEN, TATE, GUERRA, *JAS* 50, 220, 225.

<sup>125</sup> PETRIE, *Qurneh*, 9.

<sup>126</sup> TROALEN, TATE, GUERRA, *JAS* 50, 226.

<sup>127</sup> GUERRA, PAGÈS-CAMAGNA, *JCH* 36, 146.

<sup>128</sup> GALE, STOS-GALE, *JEA* 67; TROALEN *et al.*, *Historical Me-*

*tallurgy*, 49/2.

<sup>129</sup> MINIACI *et al.*, *BMTRB* 7; GUERRA, PAGÈS-CAMAGNA, *JCH* 36.

<sup>130</sup> LYTHGOE, LANSING, DE GARIS DAVIES, *BMMA* 12/5, 20; SMITH, *MDAIK* 48, 204.

<sup>131</sup> TROALEN, TATE, GUERRA, *JAS* 50, 220.



**Fig. 5** – Detail of the ivory disk used as to plug the bovine horn container, decorated with a rosette design (A.1909.527.32) © National Museums Scotland

Despite the variation in term of goldsmithing techniques, the similarity between the choice of items in the two sets of jewellery, including a girdle that would typically have been worn when older, as well as the presence of recycled material, suggests that the child's set was intentionally assembled for the joint burial and was intended to link the identities and status of the woman and child.

### A Basket and its Contents

One of the baskets contained a horn container, a copper alloy cutting tool, a triangular whetstone, two flints, a ball of thread, and an anhydrite bowl decorated with baboons. The knife was interpreted by Petrie as a linen cutting tool, leading to the group being interpreted as a linen working kit.<sup>132</sup> The knife resembles New Kingdom examples of cutting-out knives, though with a less pronounced notch before the blade.<sup>133</sup> The triangular whetstone has logically been associated with the cutting tool. The flints appear not to have been used or retouched, though they have not been studied in detail. The presence of the ball of thread prompted the interpretation of this group as a sewing kit, though there is a distinct lack of needles. It is difficult to view the contents of the basket as a coherent group, as this interpretation does not account for the horn container or anhydrite bowl.

### The horn container

The Qurna horn container is made from a hollowed-out bovine horn with elaborate fittings of hippopotamus ivo-

ry (A.1909.527.32: see Fig. 5; Pl. XXIX). The majority of horn containers have been found in Seventeenth and Eighteenth Dynasty tombs, but a few examples date to the Predynastic, Fifth Dynasty, Middle Kingdom, and possibly Roman period, suggesting this object type had a long history (Table 1). Most are quite simple; typically, the tip was carved into a spout or fitted with a wooden spoon and the large opening was sealed with a wooden plug. The tip of the Qurna horn is fitted with an ivory carving of a bird's head topped with a spoon and a small hole to allow the contents to flow into the spoon. Several deep scratches around this hole suggest it had been plugged. The bird's head is set into a deeply carved socket and its beak appears to be made of a small piece of horn. The bird's neck had cracked in ancient times and had been bound with a strip of red leather (no longer surviving),<sup>134</sup> suggesting that the object was heavily used in life.

A circular ivory disk mounted on a block of wood was used to plug the large opening at the base of the horn. It is decorated with an incised and inlaid rosette pattern; the inlays are wood, possibly ebony (three of the eight inlays were restored since its entry into the Museum). Impressions of textile are visible on the sides of the plug and resinous material was detected on the edge. Two small pegs on the plug fit into holes at the end of the horn, sealing the vessel. There are traces of coloured oil or wax residues within the horn, but these have not yet been identified; samples from around the rosette inlays were identified as a wax source, but these likely relate to the decoration/restoration of the object rather than its contents.<sup>135</sup>

The rosette decoration is particularly elaborate; rather than simple petals, the pattern is composed of eight thicker inlays of alternating forms—four petals and four shapes reminiscent of papyrus columns, interspersed with thin incised lines that fork into two inward-facing curls (see Fig. 5). These curls may be suggestive of the curved horns of the goddesses Hathor or Bat, as papyrus was connected with these goddesses through their association with marshes and fertility.

There are at least nineteen surviving examples of horn containers and carved spoons from such horns dating to the Seventeenth and Eighteenth or Nineteenth Dynasties, mostly from excavated contexts at Thebes, with a few from Saqqara and Abydos (Table 1). At least six of the horns still have traces of their contents, all apparently some form of oil. The hole and spoon would have made

<sup>132</sup> PETRIE, *Qurneh*, 7.

<sup>133</sup> PETRIE, *Tools and Weapons*, pls 62-3.

<sup>134</sup> PETRIE, *Qurneh*, 7, pl. 25.

<sup>135</sup> Analysis by Fourier transform infrared microspectroscopy; additional analysis of the contents by a technique such as gas-chromatography-mass spectrometry is required. See the technical study of the horn in ROEHRIG, *Hatshepsut*, 18.

for easy and controlled pouring. The horn found in Deir el-Medina Tomb 1382 has a small metal ring attached to the internal curve of the horn, used to attach a strip of cloth that was also tied around the tip. This must have been used for suspension and/or pouring since the cloth is too short to hang around a neck or shoulder.<sup>136</sup> The cords found tied around other horns likely served a similar function; this may also be the reason for the strip of leather originally tied around the tip of the Qurna horn.

A horn container, found in a basket of carpenter's tools according to Gardner Wilkinson, has led Killen to suggest that it held oil for lubricating a whetstone.<sup>137</sup> Since the Qurna horn container was found with a knife and whetstone, it is conceivable that it could have had the same function; however, the elaborate decoration in ebony and ivory, and that of other examples, seems to suggest a greater significance and symbolism. Water is the most common lubricant for sharpening stones, so it seems less likely that such decorative vessels were made purely to hold lubricating oil. As the oily substance in one of the Deir el-Medina horns appeared to be green in colour, Bénédite and Bruyère proposed that the substance was used as eye makeup, but other evidence does not seem to support this theory.<sup>138</sup> Because of the variety of circumstances in which the horns have been found, Roehrig suggests they "were used for a variety of purposes, depending on the whim or profession of the owner",<sup>139</sup> but this seems unlikely for such a distinctive form of vessel. At most, they may have held a form of oil that had multiple uses.

There are very few representations of horn containers that can inform our understanding of their function. Egyptian horn containers have been identified with vessels from western Asia depicted in mid-Eighteenth Dynasty Theban tombs, however, these vessels are made of ivory tusk rather horn and date roughly a century later, so they seem unconnected.<sup>140</sup> Several ceramic figure vases represent horn containers held by kneeling women, several of which are also shown carrying a child, similar to others in the form of nursing women.<sup>141</sup> These depictions suggest an association of the horn and its oil

contents with the care of pregnant women, mothers, and children. The use of cow horns for the vessels might also relate to the fertility goddess Hathor. The discovery of horn containers in the burials of men and children does not preclude their association with fertility as other similarly associated items, such as ivory wands or paddle dolls, have been found buried with both sexes, possibly to evoke rebirth.<sup>142</sup>

### The anhydrite bowl decorated with baboons

The anhydrite bowl decorated with four figures of baboons has been the subject of much scholarly discussion (A.1909.527.33; Pl. XXX).<sup>143</sup> It is a convex to straight-sided bowl, relatively low and shallow, with an incurved rounded rim. The four baboons are shown facing right and squatting with their arms raised, clinging to the sides and underside of the bowl, where their intertwined tails form the supporting ring-base.

Anhydrite is anhydrous calcium sulphate, CaSO<sub>4</sub>, a mineral with similar composition to gypsum alabaster. It is usually white in colour but is also found in grey or blue.<sup>144</sup> Petrie refers to this stone as "blue marble"; it was only later correctly identified through analysis.<sup>145</sup> Egyptians exploited a distinctive blue anhydrite during the Middle Kingdom and Second Intermediate Period for small cosmetic vessels, including finely modelled zoomorphic forms, several categories of which were produced almost exclusively in anhydrite. The ancient source of this blue anhydrite has not yet been discovered, but it may have been local and worked until the source was exhausted.

At least 34 examples of zoomorphic or animal-decorated blue anhydrite vessels have been published, but few from archaeological contexts; flasks in the form of plucked ducks are the most common zoomorphic type.<sup>146</sup> Late Old Kingdom calcite vessels in the form of female monkeys holding their babies, inscribed for King Pepi I and two of his sons/successors, may be possible precursors to the later anhydrite vessels featuring baboons.<sup>147</sup> Although these animals have been generally referred to as monkeys, Roehrig points out that their long snouts are more suggestive of baboons. This is supported by the overall facial shape on the more highly modelled examples,<sup>148</sup>

<sup>136</sup> BRUYÈRE, *Deir el-Medinéh*, vol. II, 85.

<sup>137</sup> BM EA 6037: KILLEN, *Furniture*, vol. I, 17.

<sup>138</sup> BÉNÉDITE, *Revue d'ethnographie et des traditions populaires* 1; BRUYÈRE, *Deir el-Medinéh*, vol. II, 85.

<sup>139</sup> ROHRIG, *Hatshepsut*, 18.

<sup>140</sup> Depictions in Theban Tombs 42, 84, 86, 90 and 100. AMIRAN, *JNES* 21; ROHRIG, *Hatshepsut*, 18 and n. 13-15.

<sup>141</sup> E.g. BM EA 54694, excavated in Abydos Tomb 949: GARSTANG, *AAA* 2, 129, pl. 16; ROBINS, *Reflections of Women*, 76, no. 40; ROHRIG, *Hatshepsut*, 164; Brooklyn 49.53, unprovenanced: CAPEL, MARKOE, *Mistress of the House*, 61-2, 194, no. 10a; see also CAPEL, MARKOE, *Mistress of the House*, 61-2, 194, no. 10b; BUDIN, *Woman and Child*, 142-6.

<sup>142</sup> E.g. CAPEL, MARKOE, *Mistress of the House*, 64-6.

<sup>143</sup> Esp. ROHRIG, *Hatshepsut*, 20-1, no. 4; FAY, *MMJ* 33, 31-3, fig. 25; TERRACE, *JARCE* 5, 59, pl. 18, figs 11-12.

<sup>144</sup> ASTON, HARRELL, SHAW, in NICHOLSON, SHAW (eds), *Materials and Technology*, 23-4.

<sup>145</sup> LUCAS, *Materials and Industries*, 365.

<sup>146</sup> TERRACE, *JARCE* 5; FAY, *MMJ* 33, in particular see cat. nos 1-15, figs 8, 31-45 for plucked duck flasks.

<sup>147</sup> FAY, *MMJ* 33, 23, fig. 5, n. 3.

<sup>148</sup> ROHRIG, *Hatshepsut*, 21, n. 9; compare the facial differences between Pepi I monkey vessel and baboon vessels in



and in particular the mane or tufts of fur on either side of the face depicted on MMA 1910.10.176.54 and on the Qurna bowl. Depictions where the facial tufts are less pronounced may represent female baboons who lack a mane.

The most precise dating evidence for these vessels is a vase inscribed for Sobekhotep IV excavated at Dendera that is stylistically similar to the plucked duck vases (Cairo JE 39567).<sup>149</sup> Only one of the duck flasks comes from an archaeological context, from a disturbed tomb at Abydos containing pottery consistent with the Seventeenth Dynasty.<sup>150</sup> There are three other examples of anhydrite bowls with baboons carved in relief,<sup>151</sup> but only one of them comes from an archaeological context, excavated by Garstang at Abydos.<sup>152</sup> He dated the burial to the Twelfth or Thirteenth Dynasty from the calcite vessels and a serpentine palette, as well as its location in the primarily Middle Kingdom eastern cemetery. Terrace notes that the relief on the Abydos vessel and the Qurna bowl are so alike “*that the two might be from the same workshop, if not the same hand*”; the MMA 30.8.139 bowl is also remarkably similar.

Fay argues for a Seventeenth Dynasty date for zoomorphic anhydrite vessels and Roehrig for a Thirteenth Dynasty date, but neither argument is conclusive.<sup>153</sup> Roehrig bases her argument on the Sobekhotep IV vessel and the preponderance of anhydrite vessels dated to the Twelfth and Thirteenth Dynasties. However, contrary to this, Aston notes that anhydrite kohl pots also date to the Second Intermediate Period.<sup>154</sup> Fay suggests that the argument for the Thirteenth Dynasty stems from assumptions about a decline in craft production during the Second Intermediate Period, while other evidence suggests that there were still high-quality, sophisticat-

ed crafts being produced. It is entirely possible that the Qurna baboon bowl might be an heirloom as Roehrig suggests, but ultimately the dating evidence is limited.

### The Stone Cosmetic Vessels

Of the three cosmetic jars found in the burial, one is a round-bottomed globular lidded-jar of calcite, a form dated by Aston to the Middle Kingdom (A.1909.527.2 + A; Pl. XXXI).<sup>155</sup> The contents appear to be a yellowish-brown waxy, oily, or fatty substance, which was identified by Fourier transform infrared (FTIR) microscopic analysis as a lipid. The closest spectral match was stearic acid, which is found in various animal and plant fats.<sup>156</sup>

The two kohl pots have feet and wide, thin rims, in a form dated by Aston to the early Eighteenth Dynasty.<sup>157</sup> Analysis identified the contents of the calcite kohl pot, which still has linen attached to the neck and lid (A.1909.527.6 + A), as galena.<sup>158</sup>

The obsidian kohl pot (A.1909.527.7 + A) appears to be unused, as analysis could not identify any trace compounds, only fine sand; perhaps this indicates that it was considered too precious to use, or that it was made for the burial, although this does not explain the traces of linen seal that remain around the neck.<sup>159</sup> The vessel itself deserves future analysis to identify the source of the obsidian, which is possible to provenance by its chemical composition. Only a small number of obsidian cosmetic vessels survive from the Middle Kingdom, Second Intermediate Period, and New Kingdom.<sup>160</sup> So far, analyses of ancient Egyptian obsidian objects have primarily focused on Predynastic and Early Dynastic objects, identifying the probable source as Ethiopia, while three New Kingdom objects were found to match the composition of a sample from Eritrea.<sup>161</sup> Sources in the Mediterranean and Near East are known but have not yet been linked to ancient Egypt.

### The Pottery and Net Bags

The pottery belongs to well-known types made and distributed in Upper and Middle Egypt during the Second

FAY, *MMJ* 33, figs 5, 12-13. On baboon symbolism, see e.g. KESSLER, in REDFORD (ed.), *Encyclopedia*, vol. II.

<sup>149</sup> FAY, *MMJ* 33, 27, fig. 17a.

<sup>150</sup> From Abydos tomb X 52 (previously Chicago Art Institute, location now unknown): BOURRIAU, *Pharaohs and Mortals*, 141; PEET, *Abydos*, vol. II, 61, pl. 13.14; TERRACE, *JARCE* 5, 61.

<sup>151</sup> MMA 30.8.139: FAY, *MMJ* 33, fig. 11; TERRACE, *JARCE* 5, pl. 16, fig. 7; MMA 10.130.1269: TERRACE, *JARCE* 5, pl. 16, fig. 8. There is also a jar with a fully-sculpted baboon on the side, said to be from Lisht, but with no firm provenance: MMA 91.71.241: FAY, *MMJ* 33, fig. 12; TERRACE, *JARCE* 5, pl. 14, figs 1-2; and a jar with modelled baboon and ducks, reportedly from Thebes: Cairo CG 18506: VON BISSING, *Steingefässe*, 102, pl. 8; FAY, *MMJ* 33, 31, fig. 24.

<sup>152</sup> JE 46403 from Abydos burial E237: GARSTANG, *El Arâbah*, 7-8, pl. 9 (see 2 for discussion of cemetery and pl. 2 for plan); TERRACE, *JARCE* 5, pl. 16, figs 8-9; no. 149, 143, fig. 15; ASTON, *Stone Vessels*, no. 149, 143, fig. 15.

<sup>153</sup> ROEHRIG, *Hatshepsut*, 21; FAY, *MMJ* 33, 29, 33.

<sup>154</sup> ASTON, *Stone Vessels*, 52.

<sup>155</sup> ASTON, *Stone Vessels*, 141, no. 142. Some fine linen remains attached to the neck and the lid.

<sup>156</sup> QUYÉ, *NMS Analytical Report* 02/26. It was determined not to be a carbohydrate (e.g. gum), resin, or protein.

<sup>157</sup> ASTON, *Stone Vessels*, 148, no. 164.

<sup>158</sup> EREMIN *et al.*, *KMT* 11/3, 40.

<sup>159</sup> SHORTLAND, EREMIN, GORING, “The Qurna Burial (including isotopic results)”.

<sup>160</sup> ASTON, *Stone Vessels*, 25, 140.

<sup>161</sup> ASTON, HARRELL, SHAW, in NICHOLSON, SHAW (eds), *Materials and Technology*, 46-7; BAVAY *et al.*, *MDAIK* 56; GIMÉNEZ, SÁNCHEZ, SOLANO, *JEA* 101, 349-59; TYKOT, *RdE* 47.



Intermediate Period to early Eighteenth Dynasty, as well as a group of finely made Kerma beakers, which would have been imported from the Kingdom of Kerma in Sudan. According to Bourriau, most of the Egyptian vessels are made of a medium-textured Nile alluvium (Nile B2 in the Vienna System). They were wheel-made, but some of the bases show tool marks from the removal of the excess clay, indicating that they were not returned to the wheel for finishing, a process that became more common from the Eighteenth Dynasty onwards.<sup>162</sup> Tall jars such as A.1909.527.21 K were typically used to carry water, while squat pots such as A.1909.527.21 B-C probably held scented oil or fat.<sup>163</sup>

Bourriau initially dated the ceramics to the late Seventeenth Dynasty, in particular two of the squat pots, which she identifies as fitting her figure 4 group 2 (*i.e.* the middle of her chronological progression from the Second Intermediate Period to the reigns of Hatshepsut/Thutmose III).<sup>164</sup> Bourriau later argued that since the pottery does not exactly match the assemblage from the Seventeenth Dynasty cemetery at Dra Abu el-Naga, it may date to the reign of Ahmose I, although this seems less likely alongside other evidence presented here.<sup>165</sup>

The black-rimmed carinated bowl (A.1909.527.23; Pl. XXXII)<sup>166</sup> is particularly distinctive and significant for dating, however, there has been some disagreement about the dating of black-rimmed Egyptian pottery. Aston dates the earliest examples to Amenhotep I and carinated bowls of the type found at Qurna specifically to late Thutmose III-Amenhotep II/Thutmose IV.<sup>167</sup> However, the examples Aston discusses are all from Lower Egyptian sites and it seems likely that the style developed in Upper Egypt in the late Seventeenth Dynasty and reached Lower Egypt slightly later.<sup>168</sup>

### The Kerma beakers

Three sets of tulip-shaped Kerma beakers were found stacked in twos in three net bags slung from the eastern

end of the carrying pole (Pl. XXXIII).<sup>169</sup> Beakers are typically stacked in Kerma funerary culture.<sup>170</sup> The beakers belong to the “Classic” Kerma phase and may have been used as drinking vessels. They are so finely made and highly burnished that they must have been made in Kerma itself and imported.

Nubian pottery is found in both burial and settlement contexts throughout Egypt from the Second Intermediate Period.<sup>171</sup> Kerma beakers are well represented in burials, often as the sole examples of Nubian ceramics alongside Egyptian pottery. It is very difficult to determine whether such tomb-owners were Egyptian or Nubian. Some burials at Hierakonpolis and Abydos,<sup>172</sup> are more distinctly recognisable as Nubian, while cooking pots and other vessels in settlement contexts at Avaris/Tell el-Dab‘a, Ballas, and Edfu<sup>173</sup> indicate the presence of Nubians living in Egypt.

Unlike Pan Grave Nubian cemeteries in Egypt, instances of graves containing Kerma ware occur singly or in groups of two or three; Bourriau lists fifteen such grave groups.<sup>174</sup> According to Reisner’s chronological arrangement of Kerma beakers, the Qurna burial should be the earliest Egyptian burial group containing Kerma ware. However, Bourriau and Lacovara have proposed that Reisner’s sequence be reversed, a possibility considered by Reisner himself, which would make the Qurna burial the latest instance of Kerma ware.<sup>175</sup>

Of the grave groups containing Kerma ware, a few are Nubian in style with the burial in a semi-contracted position, but the Egyptian-style burials are assumed to be Egyptianised Nubians. There is no clear evidence as to why these burials should be definitively identified as Nubian, when the material culture is otherwise entirely

<sup>162</sup> VELDMEIJER, BOURRIAU, *JEA* 95, 210-11.

<sup>163</sup> BOURRIAU, in ARNOLD (ed.), *Studien*, 30; VELDMEIJER, BOURRIAU, *JEA* 95, 212.

<sup>164</sup> BOURRIAU, in ARNOLD (ed.), *Studien*, 35, fig. 1.1-2.

<sup>165</sup> VELDMEIJER, BOURRIAU, *JEA* 95, 212; SEILER, *Tradition & Wandel*.

<sup>166</sup> Petrie no. 21: PETRIE, *Qurneh*, 7, pls 22, 27.

<sup>167</sup> A bowl from Ezbet Helmi, stratum c (8909k): ASTON, in BIETAK, CZERNY (eds), *Synchronisation*, fig. 12c, dating of Egyptian black-rimmed pottery discussed 218-20. Compare also a footed, carinated bowl with a black rim from Qantir, published as early Eighteenth Dynasty in ASTON, *GM* 113, 25, fig. 2.2; and as Second Intermediate Period type 37 in WODZINSKA, *Manual of Egyptian Pottery*, vol. III, 41.

<sup>168</sup> DE SOUZA, in DAVID (ed.), *Céramiques*, 79; SEILER, *Tradition & Wandel*, 145, fig. 63.6, pl. 8.7.

<sup>169</sup> PETRIE, *Qurneh*, 6, pls 22-4, 28; GRATIEN, *Les cultures Kerma*, 117, fig. 33; ROEHRIG, *Hatshepsut*, 21-2. Beakers A.1909.527.41 B-C still have remains of netting adhering to their outer surfaces. A.1909.527.8 has traces of linen around the mouth, possibly to seal the vessel.

<sup>170</sup> RYHOLT, *Political Situation*, 180.

<sup>171</sup> For lists of Nubian pottery found in the Nile Valley dating to the Second Intermediate Period and early New Kingdom, see BOURRIAU, in ARNOLD (ed.), *Studien*, 27-34; GRATIEN, in KROEPER, CHLODNICKI, KOBUSIEWICZ (eds), *Northeastern Africa*, 125-7.

<sup>172</sup> FRIEDMAN, *S&N* 5; GRATIEN, in KROEPER, CHLODNICKI, KOBUSIEWICZ (eds), *Northeastern Africa*, 126.

<sup>173</sup> FUSCALDO, *Ä&L* 12; FUSCALDO, *Ä&L* 14; GRATIEN, in KROEPER, CHLODNICKI, KOBUSIEWICZ (eds), *Northeastern Africa*, 124-5.

<sup>174</sup> For a list of Kerma ware grave groups, see BOURRIAU, in ARNOLD (ed.), *Studien*, 31.

<sup>175</sup> For Reisner’s Beaker sequence, see Type Bkt. I-13, 14 found in K333, 306, 331, 337, 343: REISNER, *Kerma*, vols IV-V, 332-4, fig. 226, 2.3. For proposals to reverse the sequence, see BOURRIAU, in ARNOLD (ed.), *Studien*, 34-6; LACOVARA, *BSF* 2, 56-7.

Egyptian. Other examples of non-Egyptian ceramics such as Cypriot, Tell el-Yahudiya, Levantine, and Kamares wares have generally been interpreted as luxury imports, rather than being construed as the burials of foreigners integrated into Egyptian culture.<sup>176</sup> This refusal to consider this possibility has effectively defined Nubian objects as ethnic markers and reveals a reluctance to recognize the desirability of Nubian material culture that is likely rooted in historic colonial attitudes.<sup>177</sup>

As Bourriau notes, the Egyptian objects present in Nubia, as well as the Nubian material culture in Egypt, attest to considerable Nile traffic during the Second Intermediate Period. As such, Roehrig argues that it is possible that the woman in the Qurna burial was from an Upper Egyptian family with “*a taste for Nubian crafts*”.<sup>178</sup> It seems just as likely graves bearing Nubian objects might represent not Egyptianised Nubians as previously assumed, but rather Nubianised Egyptians. This possibility is discussed by de Souza in relation to Egyptian vessels with black-painted rims evoking Nubian pottery. Such vessels are not found in Nubian burials, so it seems more likely that they were made by/for Egyptians in imitation of desirable Nubian pottery.<sup>179</sup>

Considering the undeniable aesthetic appeal and quality of Kerma beakers, it seems entirely likely that they fostered desirability amongst Egyptian audiences as luxury imports. As Roehrig states, “*the form, delicacy, and surface treatment of Classic Kerma beakers place them among the finest ceramic art forms ever created*”.<sup>180</sup> Walsh notes that the Egyptian use of Nubian vessels is specific to certain forms related to food and drink. He argues for an Egyptian interest in Kerman commensality practices, noting the haptic appeal of beakers and their possible use for ritual drinking.<sup>181</sup> Smith has similarly noted that the use of Nubian pottery in the Egyptian fortress and settlement at Askut differed according to social status, with drinking forms being found in elite contexts and cooking forms in non-elite contexts.<sup>182</sup>

Although the ethnicity of the “Qurna Queen” cannot be established with certainty, it seems evident that imported Kerma ware was valued by royalty. Another possible royal tomb associated with the pyramid of Nubkheperre Intef at Dra Abu el-Naga (K01.8) also con-

tained two Nubian vessels<sup>183</sup> and they are found in palatial contexts at Avaris/Tell el-Dab‘a.<sup>184</sup> That six beakers were present in the Qurna burial, a significant quantity compared to other documented examples, further suggests that they were valued as a status symbol.

### The Carrier Net Bags

A total of fifteen vessels were held in ten net bags suspended from a wooden carrying pole placed in the burial. The survival of this cordage to such a high level of preservation is remarkable and rare. Petrie’s drawing and photographs are significant for understanding the original arrangement of the pots in their carrier nets, as well as the netting itself, as their condition has deteriorated over time and several no longer survive or have only traces remaining. Petrie noted their fragility at the time of excavation, writing “*all of the nettings were in a very tender state, and only the string bag would bear handling*”.<sup>185</sup>

Their already fragile nature was no doubt exacerbated by Petrie’s attempt to stabilize them by applying collodion (a solution of dinitrocellulose in alcohol and ether), which degraded over time. Some of the netting was mounted as samples in “8 glass shades” and transported to Edinburgh personally by Petrie.<sup>186</sup> Some of these possibly appear in a photograph of the Qurna display in the Museum from 1920.<sup>187</sup> Some were subsequently stored with or reattached to vessels, but others are currently unlocated. As the fibres deteriorated, some questionable choices were made in an attempt to maintain the appearance of the vessels in their netting. For example, jar A.1909.527.21 E had netting from jar A.1909.527.21 C applied to it; this has now been removed and stored separately as A.1909.527.21 L. The tamarisk branch that served as the carrying pole (A.1909.527.21) had a metal rod inserted through its centre to stabilize it, but this may have further contributed to its fragile state.

The netting was studied by Veldmeijer and Bourriau.<sup>188</sup> They tentatively identified the string as flax (linen) and noted that the netting is made with considerable skill exclusively with half knots, the easiest technique for making decorative patterns. They propose that essentially five styles of netting are represented in the Qurna burial; for ease of reference, we have suggested names for these.

<sup>176</sup> E.g. OPPENHEIM *et al.*, *Egypt Transformed*, 178-9.

<sup>177</sup> E.g. MINOR, in HONEGGER (ed.), *Nubian Archaeology*.

<sup>178</sup> ROEHRIG, *Hatshepsut*, 21-2.

<sup>179</sup> DE SOUZA, in DAVID (ed.), *Céramiques*, esp. 79-80, 84; a possible exception is an Egyptian bowl painted black and red probably in imitation of black-topped red polished vessels excavated in the Nubian cemetery at Hierakonpolis: FRIEDMAN, *S&N* 5, 31, pl. 2; GIULIANI, *S&N* 5, 44.

<sup>180</sup> ROEHRIG, *Hatshepsut*, 22.

<sup>181</sup> WALSH, *JAEI* 20.

<sup>182</sup> SMITH, *Wretched Kush*, 117; WALSH, *JAEI* 20, 41.

<sup>183</sup> SEILER, *Tradition & Wandel*, 84-5.

<sup>184</sup> WALSH, *JAEI* 20, 34-5.

<sup>185</sup> PETRIE, *Qurneh*, 6.

<sup>186</sup> National Museums Scotland, World Cultures Archives: Letter from W.M. Flinders Petrie to James J. Dobbie, dated 05/08/1909.

<sup>187</sup> ROYAL SCOTTISH MUSEUM, *Guide* (1920), pl. 3.

<sup>188</sup> VELDMEIJER, BOURRIAU, *JEA* 95, 209-22; see also PETRIE, *Man* 9, 129, pls I-J; VELDMEIJER, in WENDRICH (ed.), *Encyclopedia*, 5, fig. 7.

### Diamond-pattern netting

The jar A.1909.527.21 D has remains of netting around its base made of one z-spun string (not plied), which is knotted in a diamond pattern by means of half knots (Pl. XXXIV). There are traces of linen around the mouth where it was originally sealed.<sup>189</sup>

### Close-knotted diamond-pattern netting

Uniquely, the netting on jar A.1909.527.21 K is made of sS<sub>4</sub> string with a relatively large diameter tied in half knots at regular intervals; the mesh has an average side length of 6.3 mm (Pl. XXXIV). The bottom tassels are composed of seven threads, around which an eighth thread was wound, probably in a similar way to A.1909.527.39, although in this case two of the tassels were knotted with a reef knot.<sup>190</sup> This style of netting may imitate faience beadwork, similar to the two bead net bags found in the burial (A.1909.527.4 + A; Pl. XXXVI).

### Diamond-pattern netting in groups of four

Veldmeijer and Bourriau studied a fragment of detached netting stored inside red-burnished jar A.1909.527.39, however it may not have been originally associated with this vessel, as it most closely resembles the netting photographed by Petrie with one of the Kerma beakers.<sup>191</sup> The netting is made with very fine sZ<sub>2</sub> string with some areas made with sZ<sub>3</sub> string knotted in a diamond pattern by means of half knots arranged in groups of four. The netting is almost entirely closed at the bottom and has some remains of tassels, probably originally four. Two loops probably served as handles.

### Diamond-pattern netting in groups of twenty-five

The netting of fine z-spun string on A.1909.527.21 G (Pl. XXXIV) is comparable to the diamond-pattern in groups of four discussed above, but it is more complex with a greater number of knots. It has groups of half knots at regular intervals resulting in periodic diamond-shaped meshes, with a side length of 43 mm in the first row and 34 mm in subsequent rows. Two sets of five strings each cross to form these diamond-meshes. Two simple braids at the top serve as handles, made with three strands, each consisting of twenty strings, in an “over one, under one” pattern. The cordage is now glued to the vessel to secure it.<sup>192</sup>

<sup>189</sup> VELDMEIJER, BOURRIAU, *JEA* 95, 213, fig. 4a-b, pl. 4; not identified in Petrie’s plates, possibly Petrie no. 18.

<sup>190</sup> VELDMEIJER, BOURRIAU, *JEA* 95, 215-17, figs 7a-b, 8, pl. 5; not identified in Petrie’s plates, possibly Petrie no. 15, although there is also an additional jar not included in Petrie’s diagram.

<sup>191</sup> VELDMEIJER, BOURRIAU, *JEA* 95, 213-14, fig. 5a-b, pl. 4 (see also fig. 3); PETRIE, *Qurneh*, pl. 28.24.

<sup>192</sup> Petrie no. 22: PETRIE, *Qurneh*, pls 22, 23, 27; VELDMEIJER,

The netting around squat pot A.1909.527.21 B is made with half knots arranged decoratively in diamond-shaped groups of 25 knots (Pl. XXXV), comparable to A.1909.527.21 G.<sup>193</sup> Several other squat pots from the burial with comparable netting are not discussed by Veldmeijer and Bourriau. A.1909.527.21 H (Petrie no. 11) and A.1909.527.21 I (possibly Petrie no. 12) appear to have traces of the same style netting remaining, as does A.1909.527.21 C, which originally ended in a tassel at the bottom. Additionally, the mouth of the vessel has the remains of a piece of linen secured by several strings tied around the neck in a knot.<sup>194</sup> The longer-necked squat pot A.1909.527.21 E also has similar netting that appears to have ended in a tassel, as well as a ceramic lid with remains of a linen seal.<sup>195</sup>

### Herringbone-pattern netting

The most complete netting remains intact around jar A.1909.527.21 A (Pl. XXXIV).<sup>196</sup> Evidence of wear on the surface of the netting suggests that it was used frequently in antiquity. The string is z-spun of a relatively large diameter. The knots are most likely to be half knots, executed in alternating diagonal rows to create a herringbone pattern ending in squares at the base and long tassels.<sup>197</sup> The handles are plaited or braided.

### Comparative examples of net carriers

Few examples of net bags survive from ancient Egypt (most netting in museum collections is fishing nets). Net slings for much larger pots have been found in Egyptian tombs, such as an amphora sling from Amarna,<sup>198</sup> several large jars in simple rope carrying-nets from a Twelfth Dynasty tomb at Beni Hassan,<sup>199</sup> and an estimated 1.5 m long sling net from the Eighteenth Dynasty tomb of Hatnefer, mother of Senenmut.<sup>200</sup> Despite being much larger than the Qurna examples, the Hatnefer netting is knotted in half knots arranged in a diamond-pattern, the same style as that of a number of vessels from the burial, of which A.1909.527.21 G is the best-preserved example; it also has similar plaited handles. In contrast, it has a large bottom ring on which

BOURRIAU, *JEA* 95, 214, figs 1-2, 6a-b, pl. 4.

<sup>193</sup> Petrie no. 16/20: VELDMEIJER, BOURRIAU, *JEA* 95, 217, fig. 9, pl. 5; PETRIE, *Qurneh*, pl. 27.

<sup>194</sup> Petrie no. 16/20: PETRIE, *Qurneh*, pls 22, 27.

<sup>195</sup> Petrie no. 14: PETRIE, *Qurneh*, pls 22, 27.

<sup>196</sup> Petrie no. 23: PETRIE, *Qurneh*, pls 22-4, 28; VELDMEIJER, BOURRIAU, *JEA* 95, 217-18, figs 2, 10, pl. 5.

<sup>197</sup> Cf. Reisner’s Type VI: REISNER, *Kerma*, vols IV-V, 302-3.

<sup>198</sup> WENDRICH, *World According to Basketry*, 204-5.

<sup>199</sup> GARSTANG, *Burial Customs*, 107, figs 97, 228 (Beni Hassan tomb 67).

<sup>200</sup> JE 66242: LANSING, HAYES, *BMMA* 32/1, 28, 33, fig. 39; ROEHRIG, *BMMA* 60/1, 37, fig. 49.



to rest a large heavy amphora, of which three were found containing oil in the tomb of Hatnefer.

There are a number of Middle Kingdom tomb representations of pots being carried in net bags slung from poles at Thebes and Beni Hassan.<sup>201</sup> These depictions show two vessels being carried at a time, one at each end of the pole. They occur mostly in scenes of offering bearers, while TT 60 of Senet shows them being carried by attendants of a hunting party, possibly holding refreshments. Few associated captions survive, and none indicate the contents of the vessels. These painted representations are not particularly detailed, but they show the netting strung in a diamond-pattern.

The largest number of surviving net bags come from Kerma, including examples similar to those from the "Qurna Queen" burial, especially the inclusion of tassels. Reisner published numerous examples, some still *in situ* around vessels, identifying seven types of netting, including a beaded net.<sup>202</sup> Unfortunately, the types of knots are not identified, and no measurements are given. The Kerma netting is even more elaborate than the Qurna material, and only two of the Qurna styles are identifiable amongst Reisner's types: type I "simple lozenge-mesh" is similar to the diamond-pattern found on A.1909.527.21 D, although Reisner describes Nubian examples as typically dyed red, and type VI "zigzag pattern mesh" is the same as the herringbone-pattern found on A.1909.527.21 A. There is also a similarity between some of the Qurna and Kerma netting in terms of how the size of the mesh reduces as the netting tapers towards the handles and tassels.<sup>203</sup>

Since the Kerma netting provides the closest parallels for the Qurna nets, Veldmeijer and Bourriau have suggested that they might have been imported from Kerma; the similarity between certain types does support the possibility of imports or stylistic influence. However, this ignores the fact that netting with grouped half knots, like A.1909.527.21 G, is not attested from Kerma, but is known from the tomb of Hatnefer. Furthermore, iconographic evidence suggests that net bags were more common in ancient Egypt than their survival in the archaeological record would indicate. Ultimately, the very limited survival of netting makes the origin of the Qurna net bags difficult to determine with any certainty as this practice is evidenced across the Nile Valley.

<sup>201</sup> DAVIES, *Antefoker*, pls 6-7; NEWBERRY, *Beni Hasan*, vol. I, pls 12, 13, 17, 19; NEWBERRY, *Beni Hasan*, vol. II, pls 14, 17. Carrying poles were also used to transport baskets, bundles of fish or waterfowl, and live animal cages.

<sup>202</sup> REISNER, *Kerma*, vols IV-V, 301-3, pls 64-5, 67; VELDMEIJER, BOURRIAU, *JEA* 95, 219-22.

<sup>203</sup> REISNER, *Kerma*, vols IV-V, 302, pls 64.1, 65.1 (no. 5), 67.1 (no. 2).

## The Food

The burial included several small loaves of bread (A.1909.527.26 + A-E), one of which may have been cut with a knife in antiquity. Examination of the bread during the NMS Mummy Project indicated that it was made with emmer wheat, although some barley was noted in one loaf. Leavened bread and probably also unleavened bread are represented, and some have the bran present, while in others it had been removed.<sup>204</sup> A fragment of one of the loaves was provided for study to Frank Filce Leek,<sup>205</sup> and microradiographs indicated the presence of a significant amount of inorganic particles, presumably from the grinding of the flour.<sup>206</sup> Of the four doum palm fruits (A.1909.527.27 + A-C) found in the burial, one has teeth marks, probably from mice (A.1909.527.27 A). Analysis of the other fruit (A.1909.527.25; Pl. XXXII), conducted by Edgar Evans of the Royal Botanic Garden Edinburgh, identified not only dates and grapes, but also possibly peach stones.<sup>207</sup>

## The Furniture

### The stools

The burial contained several pieces of wooden furniture: a headrest, a bovine-legged stool with a remarkably well-preserved woven seat, and two small low stool-frames. The largest stool has elegantly carved bovine legs, which were originally broken off for placement in the burial and since restored (A.1909.527.22; Pl. XXXVIII).<sup>208</sup> The use of bovine furniture legs began in the Early Dynastic Period<sup>209</sup> and continued through the Old Kingdom. These early examples are all low in height, especially compared to the Qurna stool. The gradual introduction of leonine legs began in the Third and Fourth Dynasties; Fischer suggests that animal-legged furniture may initially have been a royal privilege because of royal symbolism associated with lions and bulls.<sup>210</sup> During the Middle Kingdom, leonine forms overtook bovine legs and virtually replaced them by the New Kingdom. Thus, the Qurna stool may hark back to an older design, or indicate further influence from Kerma, where bovine furniture legs continued to be used extensively through the Middle Kingdom on funerary beds.<sup>211</sup> Another rare

<sup>204</sup> Analysis provided by Delwyn Samuel, UCL: EREMIN *et al.*, *KMT* 11/3, 40.

<sup>205</sup> DIXON, *JEA* 72, 175-78.

<sup>206</sup> LEEK, *JEA* 58, 129-30.

<sup>207</sup> PETRIE, *Qurneh*, 7, pl. 25; NMS World Cultures archives, Letter from Edgar Evans to Cyril Aldred.

<sup>208</sup> PETRIE, *Qurneh*, 7, pl. 26.

<sup>209</sup> E.g. FISCHER, *Varia*, 145; KILLEN, *Furniture*, vol. I, 5-6.

<sup>210</sup> FISCHER, *Varia*, 146.

<sup>211</sup> REISNER, *Kerma*, vols IV-V, pl. 51.1-2.



later example of bovine furniture legs occurs on a wooden bedframe embellished with gold and silver, probably from the tomb of Ramesses IX (BM EA 21574); the possibility that it might be an import or copy of Kerma beds has been considered.<sup>212</sup>

Almost all examples of bovine furniture legs, from the earliest Egyptian examples to those excavated at Kerma, depict the hooves resting on a ribbed pedestal, but the Qurna stool legs do not have this feature and are more naturalistic in appearance. Compared to other examples in which the sinews and tendons are heavily emphasized, the legs are more subtly carved. All four legs on the Qurna stool evoke the foreleg of a bull or cow, unlike many other examples, especially on beds, where the front legs are represented as straight forelegs and the rear legs as hind legs with the knee joint indicated.<sup>213</sup>

The frame of the seat is made from four pieces of wood held together and attached to the legs by L-brackets with dowels, probably reinforced by mortise and tenon joints, although these are not visible.<sup>214</sup> The frame was then bound together by woven linen string. Each side has eighteen holes and eighteen threads go through each hole, with “*three bands of three threads each running off to the two diagonals. Each band of three threads passes under three other bands, and then over three, to form the pattern*”.<sup>215</sup>

The two smaller, lower stool frames (A.1909.527.29 + A) are a new form that emerged during the Middle Kingdom. Their simple design and construction proved popular and influenced later Eighteenth Dynasty designs.<sup>216</sup> The stools are composed of four rails that form the seat, which are joined to the four legs with dowels, which are visible. The legs taper in the middle to a square-sectioned waist, where they are decorated with several incised bands, and then flare again sharply at the foot. The top of each leg is rounded; on the larger stool (A.1909.527.29 A; Pl. XXXVIX), there is also a dip in the middle. Below this is a square mortise cut through the leg, through which the tenon that serves to attach each rail is visible. This design means that two of the rails sit on a higher plane than the other two rails; it was only later, during the New Kingdom, that barefaced tenons were introduced, making it possible for rails to sit on the same

plane.<sup>217</sup> Both of these designs are also attested at the site of Kerma.<sup>218</sup>

The side rails are rectangular in section, but slightly rounded to prevent wear on the rushes that would have been wrapped around the side rails and then woven to form the seat. On the larger stool, numerous grooves on the rails indicate where the rush would have previously been wrapped, indicating that it was extensively used in life before being placed in the burial. At the time of excavation, there were still two turns of rush twist webbing on one of the rails, which have not survived. The smaller stool still had small scraps of linen stuck to one side, which may indicate that the seat was made of linen.<sup>219</sup> Both stool frames are made of expensive cedar-wood imported from Lebanon.

### The headrest

The headrest is a particularly elegant example made of local acacia wood with delicate inlaid decoration in ebony and ivory (A.1909.527.3; Pl. XXXVII).<sup>220</sup> The pillar is octagonally-faceted and is slim compared to other examples. The style may have been relatively new and fashionable at the time; some examples of headrests with octagonal pillars may date to the Middle Kingdom, but the type only became common during the New Kingdom, including several found in the tomb of Tutankhamun.<sup>221</sup> The new style may have taken inspiration from architectural developments. In the Old Kingdom, a fluted design was typical, comparable to the ribbed and fluted columns found at the Djoser Step Pyramid complex, while octagonal columns were first introduced during the Middle Kingdom.<sup>222</sup>

The Qurna headrest is made of three parts fastened together with rectangular tenons, the topmost of which is visible in the centre of the curved head support. Similar examples are typically made in three parts, although there are some made in two.<sup>223</sup> The base is oblong in shape with rounded ends. The upper half of the pillar is decorated with a geometric pattern of alternating inlaid triangles of ebony and ivory, designed so that each triangular inlay forms one half of a square. There are three rows of these squares, above which is a thin band

<sup>212</sup> ROHRIG, *Hatshepsut*, no. 191, 257-58; KILLEN, *Furniture*, vol. I, 8, pl. 1.

<sup>213</sup> E.g. QUIBELL, *Tomb of Hesy*, pl. 20; STEINDORFF, *Grab des Ti*, pl. 133; REISNER, *Kerma*, vols IV-V, 215, fig. 191.

<sup>214</sup> Compare discussion of bovine-legged bed construction in REISNER, *Kerma*, vols IV-V, 208-23.

<sup>215</sup> PETRIE, *Qurneh*, 7; a somewhat similar pattern of linen webbing is discussed for an early Eighteenth Dynasty chair (MMA 68.58) in FISCHER, *Varia*, 141-2, fig. 3.

<sup>216</sup> KILLEN, *Furniture*, vol. I, 18-19, compare no. 6, pls 51-3.

<sup>217</sup> GALE *et al.*, in NICHOLSON, SHAW (eds), *Materials and Technology*, 361-2.

<sup>218</sup> REISNER, *Kerma*, vols IV-V, 227-8, fig. 218.

<sup>219</sup> PETRIE, *Qurneh*, 7.

<sup>220</sup> EREMIN *et al.*, *KMT* 11/3, 39; ROHRIG, *Hatshepsut*, 22.

<sup>221</sup> E.g. Brooklyn 14.650 (<https://www.brooklynmuseum.org/opencollection/objects/3116>, <accessed on 12.01.2022>); the Tutankhamun octagonal headrests are Cairo JE 62020, 62022, 62025; BROCHAT, REHREN, *JGS*, 59.

<sup>222</sup> LEHNER, *Complete Pyramids*, 84-5; OPPENHEIM *et al.*, *Ancient Egypt Transformed*, 12-13.

<sup>223</sup> KILLEN, *Furniture*, vol. III, 32, pl. 1.

of ebony. The ivory is either local hippopotamus tusk or elephant ivory imported from further south, like the East African ebony.

Triangular ivory inlays occur in Egypt at least as early as the Early Dynastic Period,<sup>224</sup> but do not seem to have been particularly common afterwards. There is one Eighteenth Dynasty Theban example, a fragmentary chair made of a dark red wood, excavated just below the tomb of Senenmut, in which the L-braces supporting the back are inlaid with squares of ebony flanked by ivory triangles.<sup>225</sup> At Kerma, triangular inlays seem to have been a relatively common form of decoration. During excavations there, triangular inlays of ivory, bone, and shell were found as decoration on several bed footboards, a box, and several horn-protectors, all made of wood.<sup>226</sup> As such, these examples might potentially indicate an older shared tradition of triangular motifs and inlays in the Nile Valley, but also suggests possible contemporary Kerman influence.

Furthermore, similarities may be drawn with the decoration on the pommel of one of the ceremonial daggers from the burial of Queen Ahhotep, which also exhibits Aegean influence, and features a motif of alternating black and gold triangles nearly identical to the Qurna headrest (JE 4666).<sup>227</sup> The dagger is still considered to be of Egyptian manufacture, so Nubian influences may have been incorporated along with the Aegean. This same repeating triangular motif arranged in light-dark split-square pattern also appears on Ahhotep's ceremonial archer's bracer (JE 4680) and her pair of beaded bracelets (JE 4686-7), while other items in the burial exhibit additional forms of Kerman influence, such as the gold flies and weapons.<sup>228</sup> As such, these objects further indicate that Kerma exerted aesthetic influence on Egyptian high elite culture.

The base of the Qurna headrest is particularly long when compared to other Egyptian examples,<sup>229</sup> perhaps to provide stability to this headrest's otherwise relatively slight form and narrow footprint. Notably, however,

Kerma headrests are distinguished from similar Egyptian versions by their extraordinarily long bases, which average about 35 cm compared to the Egyptian average of 25 cm, according to Reisner.<sup>230</sup> He argues that the difference in length might stem from Kerma examples being used on beds (or funerary beds), while Egyptian ones made for burials were intended for coffins, although this argument is not entirely convincing since there are examples of Egyptian headrests buried outside coffins and used during life. The Qurna headrest base is 30.5 cm long, so longer than the Egyptian average, but not as long as most Kerma examples. Taken together with the inlay-decoration, this suggests Kerman influence, but not necessarily Kerman manufacture.

### The wooden box

The wooden box with a sliding lid is simple in design and lacks decoration; it is joined with mitre and half dovetail joints (A.1909.527.30 + A; Pl. XL). The box contained a lump of fatty substance wrapped in a significant quantity of linen, which had partially soaked into the cloth and congealed towards the base, with the linen showing signs of insect pest activity (A.1909.527.30 B). Petrie described the linen wrapping as "*some clothing pressed in over it*".<sup>231</sup> The fat might be an unguent or ointment, but an edible fat also remains a possibility until residue analysis can be conducted. The front end of the lid has a strip of wood attached on top and a knob, with an additional knob at the front of the box, around which string could be wound to secure the lid.<sup>232</sup> A number of dowels secure the sides along the base, as well as the back of the box on all four sides. There are dovetail grooves along the tops of the side panels and the back panel is lower in height to allow for movement of the lid. In the bottom corner of the lid, there is a hole from a natural knot in the wood, which may have been plastered over originally. The base of the box sits on two battens at either end serving as feet.

### Conclusion

Since the discovery of the burial of the "Qurna Queen", further study of the assemblage in relation to other finds has deepened our understanding of the complex cultural context in which they existed, the processes by which they were made and used, and their dating. Some of these

<sup>224</sup> E.g. PETRIE, *Royal Tombs*, vol. II, pls 37-8, 40-3 (e.g. BM EA 32661; Liverpool 24.9.00.58B).

<sup>225</sup> MMA 36.3.236 a-g; HAYES, *Scepter*, 202.

<sup>226</sup> REISNER, *Kerma*, vols IV-V, 253-4, 265, 269, 271, pl. 55.2 (e.g. MFA Boston 13.5702; 20.1541).

<sup>227</sup> ARUZ *et al.*, *Beyond Babylon*, 119-22, no. 68.

<sup>228</sup> Pl. V; MORRIS, "Daggers and Axes for the Queen: Considering Ahhotep's Weapons in their Cultural Context", in this volume, figs 3a, 3b; LACOVARA, "The Flies of Ahhotep", in this volume.

<sup>229</sup> A very similar headrest with a long base and octagonally-faceted column is Cairo Museum no. 13201, from Sheikh Abd el-Qurna, possibly dating to the Eighteenth Dynasty; Reisner assigns these both to his Type II-4: REISNER, *Kerma*, vols IV-V, 232, fig. 221, nos 19-20.

<sup>230</sup> REISNER, *Kerma*, vols IV-V, 236-7, see also 232-3, pl. 221.19 for the Qurna headrest.

<sup>231</sup> PETRIE, *Qurneh*, 7. NB the contents of this box are incorrectly identified in MINIACI, *Rishi Coffins*, 66 as linen from the unwrapping of the woman's remains.

<sup>232</sup> GALE *et al.*, in NICHOLSON, SHAW (eds), *Materials and Technology*, 366, fig. 15.45.

items are extremely rare, such as the net bags, and provide insights into areas of material culture that seldom survive. Although much has been learned, there is still scope for further analysis, such as study of the linen and baskets, further residue, wood, and ivory analysis, radiography/scanning of the wooden furniture's construction, and provenancing of the obsidian.

Although the burial's dating has been debated based on various typological comparisons of the objects within it, including several arguments for the early Eighteenth Dynasty, most consensus has fallen around the Seventeenth Dynasty. This has been further reinforced by radiocarbon dating conducted by the Oxford Radiocarbon Unit, which dated a grape from the burial to 1880-1600 BC and a rib from the woman to 1750-1520 BC to give a combined date of 1750-1600 BC at 95.4% probability, consistent with a late Thirteenth-early Seventeenth Dynasty date rather than an early Eighteenth Dynasty date.<sup>233</sup>

At a time of political division and apparent economic weakness, the Qurna burial demonstrates wealth, sophistication, and ingenuity; the reuse of materials suggests an attempt to economise, while there is also evidence of skilled craft production and trade. For example, although there was a lack of access to large-scale cedar-wood planks for coffins, the burial still included cedar-wood stools and coniferous resins imported from Lebanon.<sup>234</sup> Analysis of the jewellery sets show that the Theban royal family had access to sources of extremely high-purity gold and skilled jewellers, while also employing methods of reuse and recycling.

The repeated attempts to define the ethnic identity of the "Qurna Queen" as either Egyptian or Nubian arguably say more about scholarly preconceptions and preoccupations than they do about the woman herself and the cultural milieu which she inhabited. It is striking that the idea of a possible diplomatic marriage has been largely accepted, positioning Kerma in a subservient role to Egypt, over the consideration of possible Kerma cultural influence and Egyptian desire for Kerma products. The Kerma beakers are obvious indicators of a Nubian cultural connection, but they were found in an otherwise largely Egyptian-style burial. The headrest's octagonal pillar design is common in Egypt, but its elongated form and triangular inlays are suggestive of Kerma influence, while the net bags, bovine-legged chair, and small stools have parallels in both Egypt and Kerma, serving as further evidence of the material entanglement of the two regions. Carbon and nitrogen stable isotope analyses indicate that the "Qurna Queen" ate a mixed

Nubian-Egyptian diet, which may indicate that her early life was based in Nubia, or potentially suggest Kerma influence on the diet and lifestyle of the elite in Egypt. This is not to say that we are arguing that the "Qurna Queen" was Egyptian rather than Nubian, especially as rigid ethnic identifications are probably not necessary or useful; instead, we are advocating for the consideration of cultural entanglement in our understanding of the burial group.<sup>235</sup>

During the Second Intermediate Period, the Kingdom of Kerma was at the height of its powers, so its influence in Egypt would be entirely understandable. Past interpretations of the Qurna burial may instead have been shaped by assumptions about the primacy of Egyptian culture and Egyptological bias against the positioning of Kerma as a cultural leader during this period. Regardless of where the "Qurna Queen" was born, her burial demonstrates the desirability of Nubian cultural material and the extent of interconnections between Egypt and Kerma.

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<sup>233</sup> SHORTLAND, EREMIN, GORING, "The Qurna Burial (including isotopic results)".

<sup>234</sup> EREMIN *et al.*, *KMT* 11/3, 40.

<sup>235</sup> E.g. VAN PELT, *CAJ* 23/3.



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Accession Number	Description	Archaeological context	Contents	Find spot	Acquisition source	Publications
NMS A.1909.527.32	Horn with ivory bird-headed spoon and elaborately carved ivory stopper with rosette decoration	Woman's burial, found in basket with copper alloy cutting tool, whetstone, flints, ball of thread, and anhydrite bowl, 17th Dynasty	Coloured oil/wax	Thebes, Dra Abu el-Naga	British School of Archaeology in Egypt	PETRIE, <i>Qurneh</i> , 7, pl. 25; ROEHRIG, <i>Hatshepsut</i> , 17-8.
Cairo JE 45701	Horn with spoon carved from the horn and a wooden stopper	Woman's burial, found in coffin with a harp, two throwsticks, and cosmetic equipment, late 13th-early 18th Dynasty		Thebes, Lower Asasif Burial R2 E3	Metropolitan Museum	LYTHGOE, LANSING, DE GARIS DAVIES, <i>BMMA</i> 12/5, 20, fig. 11
Unknown/not preserved	Horn (decayed)	Man's burial (Baki), found in coffin, late 17th-early 18th Dynasty		Thebes, Lower Asasif MMA Tomb 729	Metropolitan Museum	HAYES, <i>BMMA</i> 30/11, 29-30; ROEHRIG, <i>Hatshepsut</i> , 18
Unknown/not preserved	Horn (decayed)	Man's burial (Baki), found in coffin, late 17th-early 18th Dynasty		Thebes, Lower Asasif MMA Tomb 729	Metropolitan Museum	HAYES, <i>BMMA</i> 30/11, 29-30; ROEHRIG, <i>Hatshepsut</i> , 18
Unknown/not preserved	Horn (decayed)	Found in found in basket, possibly associated with man's burial (Neferkhawat), late 17th-early 18th Dynasty		Thebes, Lower Asasif MMA Tomb 729	Metropolitan Museum	HAYES, <i>BMMA</i> 30/11, 29-30; ROEHRIG, <i>Hatshepsut</i> , 18
Cairo JE 47783	Horn (decayed) with ivory human-headed spoon	Child's burial, found in coffin along with dried grapes?, faience beads, two sticks, and two model throwsticks		Saqqara	Service des antiquités	FIRTH, GUNN, <i>Teti Pyramid</i> , 68, pl. 45F
Unknown/not preserved	Horn (decayed)	Woman's burial (Maja), found in basket, 18th Dynasty	Oil	Thebes, Deir el-Medina Tomb 1370	Institut français d'archéologie orientale	BRUYÈRE, <i>Deir el-Medinéh</i> , vol. II, 84-6, 152
Cairo JE 63753/Cairo SR 5038	Horn with wooden spoon featuring a right hand-motif, with a small metal ring and ribbon of cloth for suspension	Woman's burial, found in coffin to the right of head, probably early 18th Dynasty	Green oil/fat	Thebes, Deir el-Medina Tomb 1382	Institut français d'archéologie orientale	BRUYÈRE, <i>Deir el-Medinéh</i> , vol. II, 84-6, 143, figs. 42, 103
Louvre E 14469	Horn (fragmentary) with simple wooden spoon, no stopper surviving	Man's burial, found on a chair with seven sealed ceramic vessels containing wax, honey, and fat, late 17-early 18th Dynasty	Oil	Thebes, Deir el-Medina Tomb 1389	Institut français d'archéologie orientale	BRUYÈRE, <i>Deir el-Medinéh</i> , vol. II, 84-6, 198-9, figs. 40, 113-5
Cairo JE 54893	Ivory/bone human-headed spoon	Found on path to Deir el-Medina		Thebes, near Deir el-Medina	Institut français d'archéologie orientale	BRUYÈRE, <i>Deir el-Medinéh</i> , vol. II, 84-6
Liverpool 1977.109.20	Ivory human-headed spoon	Burial, unknown, probably 18th Dynasty		Abydos Grave 509	University of Liverpool	FREED, <i>Golden Age</i> , 293, no. 403
Cairo CG 45201	Horn with ivory cow-headed spoon	Serapeum, Saqqara reportedly	Oil	Serapeum, Saqqara reportedly	Service des antiquités	BÉNÉDITE, <i>Revue d'ethnographie</i> , pl. 1.2; BRUYÈRE, <i>Deir el-Medinéh</i> , vol. II, 86; HASSANEIN, ISKANDER, in HAWASS with PINCH BROCK (eds.), <i>Egyptology</i> , 224
Petrie UC30087	Horn with spoon carved from the horn and wooden stopper	Unknown		Unknown	Unknown	PETRIE, <i>Objects</i> , 37, pl. 33.17
Louvre E 1485	Horn with simple spoon	Unknown		Unknown	Unknown	BÉNÉDITE, <i>Revue d'ethnographie</i> 1, 82, pl. 1.1
Louvre AF 6611	Horn with simple spoon	Unknown		Unknown	Unknown	BRUNNER-TRAUT, <i>WdO</i> 6, pl. 7c
BM EA6037	Horn with wooden spoon and stopper, with palm fibre cord tied around base of spoon, probably for suspension	Man's burial, reportedly from a basket of carpenter's tools	Oil	Thebes	John Gardner Wilkinson	WILKINSON, <i>Manners and Customs</i> , vol. I, 401; QUIRKE, SPENCER, <i>BM Book</i> , fig. 143; KILLEN, <i>Furniture</i> , vol. I, 17, no. 19, pl. 15
BM EA6038	Horn with spoon carved from the horn, stopper missing, traces of small lug-handle	Unknown		Unknown	Henry Salt	Unpublished
BM EA30493	Horn with wooden stopper	Unknown		Saqqara reportedly	Sir Charles Nicholson	Unpublished
Ashmolean AN1890.823	Faience horn-shaped vessel with simple spoon and stopper with rosette decoration	Burial, found in basket on coffin with cosmetic containers, 18th Dynasty (Tutmosis III)		Lahun, Tomb of Maket	W M Flinders Petrie	PETRIE, <i>Illahun</i> , 22, pl. 26.50
Unknown	Pottery horn-shaped vessel with a tip shaped like a bovine head with holes for suspension	Burial, held in deceased's hands near face, found with a tiny ivory spoon, Predynastic		Gerza Grave 20	British School of Archaeology in Egypt	PETRIE <i>et al.</i> , <i>Gerzeh</i> , 23, pl. 7.13
Petrie UC31238	Horn (decayed)	Unknown, Fifth Dynasty?	Reportedly perfume	Deshasheh	Egypt Exploration Fund	Unpublished
Berlin AM 13765	Horn with worked tip and stopper	Man's burial, Middle Kingdom		Gebelein, burial of Henui	Idris Awad, Theban dealer	STEINDORFF, <i>Grabfunde</i> , vol. II, 28-9
Petrie UC71438 + UC71550	Horn (fairly decayed) with circular hole drilled through upper inner area, worked tip, and fat/congealed oil with twisted cloth protruding	Unknown, Roman?	Black oil/fat	Unknown	Unknown	Unpublished

Table 1 – A list of horn and horn-shaped containers from Egypt known to the authors





**International Relations at the Turn  
of the Middle Bronze Age  
(1600–1500 BC)**



## The Aegean and Egypt during the Fifteenth (Hyksos) Dynasty (c. 1650-1550 BC) and Beyond

Sara E. Cole

### Abstract

*During Egypt's Fifteenth (or Hyksos) Dynasty (c. 1650-1550 BC), a series of rulers of Levantine origin controlled the eastern Nile Delta. Toward the end of this period, beginning around 1580 BC, a rival Egyptian dynasty – the Seventeenth Dynasty – ruled from Thebes. During this Second Intermediate Period, when Egypt was no longer unified and experienced fragmented rule, the nature of Egyptian relations with the Aegean was altered, and potentially interrupted. Whereas the Middle Kingdom had seen the importation of Minoan pottery and other goods, and the Eighteenth Dynasty pharaohs would later intensify contacts with Crete and Mycenae, the Hyksos period has yielded very little material to substantiate a Hyksos interest in Aegean imports, which may in turn reflect a disruption in Egypto-Aegean relations at that time. During the end of the Seventeenth Dynasty and the early Eighteenth Dynasty Aegean objects and images begin appearing again in Egypt. The Aegean motifs present on objects from the burial of Queen Ahhotep of Seventeenth Dynasty Thebes display a renewed interest in the Aegean upon Egyptian reunification.*

### Introduction

This essay summarizes the current state of our knowledge of the relationship between Egypt and the Aegean in the Second Intermediate Period under the Fifteenth Dynasty Hyksos rulers (c. 1650-1550 BC),<sup>1</sup> and specifically the importation of Aegean goods and practices into Egypt at this time.<sup>2</sup> Examining broader patterns of

Egyptian exchange with the Aegean provides a framework for understanding the presence and significance of Aegean motifs in Queen Ahhotep's burial assemblage at Thebes during the critical historical moment at the end of this period, as Egypt transitioned from fragmented rule – the Fifteenth Dynasty Hyksos ruling in the Delta, and the Seventeenth Dynasty Egyptians ruling in Thebes – to the unified New Kingdom under the Eighteenth Dynasty.<sup>3</sup> Numerous questions and unresolved points of scholarly disagreement remain for Egypto-Aegean relations under the Hyksos, largely due to uncertain or

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<sup>1</sup> This essay follows the Egyptian chronology established in SHAW (ed.), *Oxford History*, 480-1, who identifies the Thirteenth Dynasty as the final dynasty of the Middle Kingdom; the Fourteenth Dynasty as a series of rulers probably contemporary with the Thirteenth or Fifteenth Dynasty in the north; and the Sixteenth Dynasty as Theban rulers contemporary with the Fifteenth Dynasty. It should be noted that others (e.g. RYHOLT, *The Political Situation*) treat the Thirteenth Dynasty as part of the Second Intermediate Period; this problem is amplified by the fact that this dynasty appears to end at different times in different regions.

<sup>2</sup> On the presence and significance of Egyptian imports in Aegean contexts, see MURRAY, "Aegean Consumption of Egyptian Material Culture in the Sixteenth Century BC", in this volume.

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<sup>3</sup> On the Aegeanizing elements in Ahhotep's funerary assemblage, see JUDAS, "The Aegeanizing Elements Depicted on the Objects from the Burial of Ahhotep", in this volume. Due to this essay's focus on Aegean imports leading up to the time of Ahhotep, I largely place my focus on the Fifteenth and Seventeenth Dynasties and their respective capitals at Tell el-Dab'a/Avaris and Thebes. A full analysis of the chronology and regionalization in Egypt during the Second Intermediate Period is beyond the scope of the present discussion, but this topic has been explored elsewhere; see e.g. the essays in MARÉE (ed.), *The Second Intermediate Period*.



debated chronological contexts for significant finds. Indeed, many of the artifacts discussed below – not only from Egypt but also from the Aegean and the Levant – come from archaeological contexts that present chronological challenges; attempting to synch finds from these different regions is enormously complex.<sup>4</sup>

The purpose of this survey therefore is not to posit firm answers but rather to overview the extant archaeological evidence, clarify outstanding questions, and suggest possible interpretations. This essay focuses primarily on the question of Aegean-made imports in Egypt during Hyksos rule, and whether the Hyksos sought out and valued such objects in the same ways that their Middle Kingdom predecessors and New Kingdom successors did. Attempting to detect the presence of actual Aegean people in Egypt, on the other hand, is a methodologically challenging pursuit. Aegean objects or practices do not necessarily signal the presence of Aegean persons, and even direct representations of Aegeans in Egyptian art (as seen, for instance, in Eighteenth Dynasty Theban tombs) have been interpreted in varied ways. The question of whether and when Aegean court artists may have visited Egypt hinges on one's dating of the "Minoan" wall paintings from Tell el-Dab'a, a hotly debated issue that has major implications for possible Hyksos-Aegean royal exchange. For these reasons, I focus here more directly on Hyksos trade relations and the networks in which they were engaged, specifically their apparent disinterest in Aegean imports in favor of the Levant, Nubia, and Cyprus. The evident lack of value the Hyksos rulers placed on Aegean objects, and by extension the lack of ideological value placed on the idea of the Aegean, can be contrasted with the trends that emerge in the early Eighteenth Dynasty.

Though an argument *ex silencio* runs the risk of being disproven by future discoveries, based on the available evidence it does appear as though there was an interruption in the importation of Aegean-made goods to Egypt during the Hyksos dynasty, as the Hyksos narrowed their northern focus on the Levant (and, to a limited extent, Cyprus) and acquired Levantine-made, sometimes Aegean-influenced material instead. Not only in the Hyksos capital at Tell el-Dab'a but also throughout Egypt communities had access to Levantine, Nubian, and Cypriot objects in addition to the material that was being locally produced on a regional level, but the archaeological record shows a drop-off in Aegean imports. Given the political situation in Egypt at the end of the Second Intermediate Period, Ahhotep's funerary goods demonstrate not only that she and her family were cosmopol-

tan consumers of international influences, but also that they strategically used Aegean iconography to emphasize their expanded engagement with the eastern Mediterranean – foreshadowing Eighteenth Dynasty trends – and their intention of quashing Levantine power.

### **Egypt and the Aegean in the Middle and New Kingdoms**

Trade links between Egypt and Minoan Crete can be traced back to the beginning of the second millennium BC, when Egyptian stone vessels appear on Crete.<sup>5</sup> By around 1450 BC the Mycenaeans had taken over Crete and Egypt's trade relations expanded to include the palatial centers on the Greek mainland, alongside continuing exchange with Crete, all of which finally came to an end with the Late Bronze Age collapse of c. 1200 BC.<sup>6</sup> In the Middle Kingdom, Egyptians imported Minoan pottery, primarily the fine, wheel-made variety known as Kamares ware, and crafted their own local imitations.<sup>7</sup> Some of these vessels were valued by their Egyptian owners as status symbols and they were deposited in tombs. For example, a Twelfth Dynasty shaft tomb at Abydos contained an assemblage of Egyptian objects with one standout: a Kamares ware bridge-spouted jar.<sup>8</sup> Egyptian goods, including stone vessels, statuettes, seals, and scarabs also made their way to Crete in the Middle Kingdom.<sup>9</sup> It is unclear whether Minoan imports were sent to Egypt directly during this time, or whether they traveled via Near Eastern traders in Syria and Cyprus,<sup>10</sup> but in either case there was clearly a market in Egypt for Minoan-made goods. The presence of a Middle Bronze international style for certain luxury wares, combining Egyptian, Aegean, and Near Eastern traditions, is evident in gold and silver jewelry and vessels found through-

<sup>5</sup> See, e.g., WATROUS, in CLINE, HARRIS-CLINE (eds), *The Aegean and the Orient*, 19-28. Predynastic and Old Kingdom stone vessels and their imitations have been found on Crete: WARREN, *Minoan Stone Vases*, 71-6, 105-12.

<sup>6</sup> For overviews of Egypt's relationship with the Aegean in the Bronze Age, see WARREN, in DAVIES, SCHOFIELD (eds), *Egypt*, 1-18; WARREN, in KARETSOU (ed.), *Kriti-Aigyptos*, vol. I, 24-8; KELDER, COLE, CLINE, in SPIER, POTTS, COLE (eds), *Beyond the Nile*, 9-17.

<sup>7</sup> On Kamares Ware, see WALBERG, *Kamares*. On imitation Kamares Ware in Egypt see WALBERG, in CHRISTIANSEN, MELANDER (eds), *Proceedings*, 643-9.

<sup>8</sup> KEMP, MERRILLEES, *Minoan Pottery*, 105-75, esp. 118-9 (416.A.07.4), pl. 13, fig. 38; D. PANAGIOTOPOULOS, in BECK, BOL, BÜCKLING (eds), *Ägypten, Griechenland, Rom*, 453, cat. no. 4; S.E. COLE, in SPIER, POTTS, COLE (eds), *Beyond the Nile*, 50-2, cat. nos 24-37.

<sup>9</sup> For Egyptian finds on Crete, see BEVAN, *Stone Vessels*; COLBURN, *AJA* 112, 203-24; PHILLIPS, *Aegyptiaca*.

<sup>10</sup> BARRETT, *JMA* 22/2, 220 (with further references).

<sup>4</sup> See MOURAD, "Chronology of the Eastern Mediterranean Area", in this volume; this favors a low chronology, with which I am generally inclined to agree.

out the Mediterranean, including two pendants with confronted animals from Egypt (one of which was found in a Thirteenth Dynasty context at Tell el-Dab‘a),<sup>11</sup> the silver vessels and jewelry that were found along with an array of other luxury objects in a foundation deposit at the temple of Tod,<sup>12</sup> and a gold treasure hoard said to have been found on the Greek island of Aegina.<sup>13</sup>

The apex of Egypto-Aegean relations would be reached later in the Eighteenth Dynasty, exemplified by the Minoan-style frescoes found at a Thutmosid palace at Tell el-Dab‘a (if it is indeed Thutmosid and not Hyksos, on which see below), which are believed possibly to have been created by Aegean artists in Egypt. Other inscriptional and pictorial evidence attests to the strong diplomatic connections between the Egyptian court and Aegean palatial centers. An alabaster amphora inscribed with the cartouche of Thutmose III was deposited in a burial at Katsambas, Crete.<sup>14</sup> A papyrus from the reign of Thutmose III records the arrival of “Keftiu ships” at a royal dockyard,<sup>15</sup> and other Eighteenth Dynasty inscriptions refer to people from “Keftiu”. Keftiu is generally believed to be the island of Crete, though other identifications have been proposed. Many scholars employ the term Keftiu to refer not only to a physical location, but also to the Minoans as a people or culture, though this is not how Keftiu is used in the Egyptian language, where the word appears with the foreign land determinative and therefore describes a geographical location.<sup>16</sup>

Depictions of Aegeans from the islands in the *w3d wr* (“Great Green”, probably the Mediterranean or Aegean Sea) and the inhabitants of Keftiu bringing luxury

goods as gifts (labeled in the inscriptions as *inw*, or “official gifts”) appear among international embassies of tribute bearers in the tombs of high officials at Thebes during the reigns of Hatshepsut, Thutmose III, and Amenhotep II.<sup>17</sup> It is hard to say to what extent these scenes reflect a historical reality of specific events that involved visits to Egypt, the specific appearance of the visitors, and the specific items they brought with them, or whether they are “types” representing the various peoples over whom the Egyptians imagined themselves exercising dominion (and these two interpretations need not be mutually exclusive).<sup>18</sup> The Amarna Letters from the reigns of Amenhotep III and Akhenaten document that such gift-giving visits did occur and were carried out by representatives of the courts of Egypt and the Near East (though Crete and Mycenae do not appear in the letters); it is possible that similar events took place in the earlier Eighteenth Dynasty. In either case, these depictions of Aegeans and their tribute show that Aegean objects were part of the international system of luxury exchange at that time, and they also demonstrate an Egyptian familiarity with the clothing and hairstyles of Aegean people, even if they sometimes become conflated with Levantine groups in the same scenes.<sup>19</sup> A wall painting fragment from Tell el-Dab‘a depicts a conical rhyton with handle, like those carried by gift-bearers in the Theban tombs.<sup>20</sup> And workshops at Tell el-Dab‘a incorporated imports into their wares, producing arrows with Aegean arrow tips.<sup>21</sup> New Kingdom Egyptians certainly had an interest in Minoan goods, as we find imported Minoan pottery in Eighteenth Dynasty contexts. Presumably, prestige objects in metal, like the ones shown among the *inw*, were

<sup>11</sup> WALBERG, *Ä&L* 2; BIETAK, *Avaris*, 29, pl. 1b; J. ARUZ, K. BENZEL, in ARUZ, BENZEL, EVANS (eds), *Beyond Babylon*, 113-14, cat. no. 62; L. FITTON, in ARUZ, BENZEL, EVANS (eds), *Beyond Babylon*, 114-15, cat. no. 63; S.E. COLE, in SPIER, POTTS, COLE (eds), *Beyond the Nile*, 50, cat. no. 23.

<sup>12</sup> G. PIERRAT-BONNEFOIS, in ARUZ, BENZEL, EVANS (eds), *Beyond Babylon*, 65-7, cat. no. 35, a, b; HÖFLMAYER, *Die Synchronisierung*, 81-9, figs 23-7; MOURAD, *Rise of the Hyksos*, 114-15; G. PIERRAT-BONNEFOIS, in SPIER, POTTS, COLE (eds), *Beyond the Nile*, 45-7, cat. nos 12-8 (with further references). The dating of the Tod deposit is not certain, and some have argued for a New Kingdom date; see e.g. MARAN, *PZ* 62, 221-7; LAFFINEUR, *Aegaeum* 2, 17-29. Most scholars continue to date the treasure to the Middle Kingdom and some have disputed Maran’s and Laffineur’s conclusions; see e.g. MATTHÄUS, *BICS* 40, 185 n. 42.

<sup>13</sup> L. FITTON, in ARUZ, BENZEL, EVANS (eds), *Beyond Babylon*, 104-7, cat. nos 58-61; J.M. KELDER, in SPIER, POTTS, COLE (eds), *Beyond the Nile*, 48-9, cat. nos 19-22 (with further references).

<sup>14</sup> E.A. TZIRAKI, in SPIER, POTTS, COLE (eds), *Beyond the Nile*, 42, cat. no. 9.

<sup>15</sup> GLANVILLE, *ZÄS* 66, 105-21; Trismegistos no. 381224.

<sup>16</sup> The present author is guilty of this as well; see S.E. COLE, in SPIER, POTTS, COLE (eds), *Beyond the Nile*, 54-5, cat. nos 42-3. For more on this term, see the references below in note 19.

<sup>17</sup> VERCOUTTER, *L’Égypte*, 185-95; SCHACHERMEYER, *JÖAI* 45, 44-68; WACHSMANN, *Aegeans in the Theban Tombs*; MATTHÄUS, *BICS* 40, 177-94; REHAK, *AJA* 100, 35-51; REHAK, in CLINE, HARRIS-CLINE (eds), *The Aegean and the Orient*, 39-51; PANAGIOTOPOULOS, *OJA* 20, 263-83; PANAGIOTOPOULOS, in CLINE, O’CONNOR (eds), *Thutmose III*, 370-412; HÖFLMAYER, *Die Synchronisierung*, 136-43. DUHOUX, in FARIED ADROM, SCHLÜTER (eds), 19-34; and *Des Minoens*, has argued that *w3d wr* (“Great Green”) refers to the Nile Delta and Red Sea and that Minoans were living there; this hypothesis is not generally accepted.

<sup>18</sup> On the symbolic meaning of the scenes, and the significance they had for the individual tomb owners, see ANTHONY, *Foreigners in Ancient Egypt*.

<sup>19</sup> On the meaning of the term Keftiu, its relationship with Syria in the Egyptian “cultural topography”, and how we can understand references to “Keftiu and the islands in the middle of *w3d wr*” in the Theban tomb paintings, see MATIĆ, in DANIELSSON, FAHLANDER, SJÖSTRAND (eds), *Encountering Imagery*, 235-53; MATIĆ, *Ä&L* 24, 277-94.

<sup>20</sup> WARREN, in DAVIES, SCHOFIELD (eds), *Egypt, the Aegean and the Levant*, 4.

<sup>21</sup> BIETAK, in OREN (ed.), *The Hyksos*, 117; BIETAK, in ARUZ, BENZEL, EVANS (eds), *Beyond Babylon*, 112; BIETAK, VON RÜDEN, in SPIER, POTTS, COLE (eds), *Beyond the Nile*, 21.

brought to Egypt as well but do not survive.

Also in the New Kingdom, Egypt's foreign network expanded to include the palatial centers of Mycenaean Greece. A colossal statue base of Amenhotep III found at Kom el-Hetan bears a list of foreign toponyms from the Near East, Mesopotamia, and the Aegean. Among the place names included are locations like Knossos and Mycenae, where royal objects inscribed for Amenhotep III, his wife Queen Tiye, and his father Amenhotep II have been found,<sup>22</sup> leading to the suggestion that this list is an itinerary for an international diplomatic voyage.<sup>23</sup> The London Medical Papyrus, a New Kingdom (probably Eighteenth Dynasty) text, includes spells in the "the Keftiu language", showing that Egyptians had some knowledge of Minoan language and medico-magical beliefs.<sup>24</sup> Aegean fashions in the wall painting of royal residences continue to be detectable in the palace of Amenhotep III at Malkata,<sup>25</sup> where the side panel of a bench was decorated with an image of a calf leaping in a flying gallop pose through a papyrus marsh,<sup>26</sup> and a ceiling was covered in a running spiral, rosette, and bucrania design.<sup>27</sup> Decorative motifs that bear similarities to Minoan depictions of textiles were used on the painted ceilings of Egyptian tombs.<sup>28</sup> A couple of examples of such Aegean-influenced motifs on tomb ceilings survive from the Twelfth Dynasty, with a resurgence in the practice in the New Kingdom (there are no examples from the Second Intermediate Period). It is certainly possible that a textile trade existed between Egypt and Crete that does not survive in the archaeological record; textiles and other perishable items could have accompanied traded pottery and metal vessels.

In the later Eighteenth Dynasty, Mycenaean soldiers wearing boars' tusk helmets fighting alongside Egyptians appear in a pictorial papyrus from Amarna, raising the possibility that Mycenaean mercenaries served in the phar-

aoah's army.<sup>29</sup> A large quantity of Mycenaean pottery was also found at Amarna. The last indication of Bronze Age Aegean objects in Egypt comes from the tomb of Rameses III (d. 1153 BC) in the Valley of the Kings, where Mycenaean stirrup jars appear in a wall painting.<sup>30</sup>

Egypt therefore had access to Minoan wares (whether through direct or indirect trade) in the Middle Kingdom, and strengthened direct relations with the Minoans, and later the Mycenaeans, in the New Kingdom. These interactions began with the physical exchange of goods but over time they expanded to also include the movement of people and the ideas, beliefs, and practices these individuals carried with them. But what was the state of Egypt's relationship with the Aegean between the Middle Kingdom and the Eighteenth Dynasty? Did the Hyksos engage either directly or indirectly with Minoan Crete or the Cyclades? And what of the Theban rulers in the south? How did ceremonial weapons with Aegean motifs come to be incorporated into Ahhotep's burial assemblage in Thebes and what significance did they carry?

### The Hyksos Dynasty and International Relations

Ahhotep lived during a period of warfare and transition. After the Egyptian Middle Kingdom came to an end with the close of the Thirteenth Dynasty around 1650 BC,<sup>31</sup> a group of Levantine rulers who used the title Hyksos (*ḥkꜣ ḥꜣs.wt*, "Ruler of Foreign Lands"<sup>32</sup>) took over the Egyptian Delta. There has been debate about whether the Hyksos kings were seventeenth century BC invaders or whether, as seems more likely, they arose from the Levantine populations already present in the Delta since the Middle Kingdom, as well as from where precisely in the Levant they originated.<sup>33</sup> Anna-Latifa Mourad supports

<sup>22</sup> See e.g. PHILLIPS, in BIETAK, CZERNY (eds), *Synchronisation*, 479-93; E. KONSTANTINIDI-SYVRIDI, in SPIER, POTTS, COLE (eds), *Beyond the Nile*, 63-4, cat. no. 49; E.H. CLINE, in SPIER, POTTS, COLE (eds), *Beyond the Nile*, 64, cat. no. 50; E. TOURNA, in SPIER, POTTS, COLE (eds), *Beyond the Nile*, 64-5, cat. no. 51. Cf. LILYQUIST, *JAOS* 199/2, 303-8, who suggests that a series of faience plaques inscribed for Amenhotep III, found at Mycenae, may not be of Egyptian manufacture.

<sup>23</sup> See most recently CLINE, STANNISH, *JAEG* 3/2, 6-16.

<sup>24</sup> S.E. COLE, in SPIER, POTTS, COLE (eds), *Beyond the Nile*, 58-9, cat. no. 45 (with further references).

<sup>25</sup> For an overview of Aegean influences in the Malkata palace paintings, see VIVAS SAINZ, *Anales de Historia del Arte* 23, 125-38.

<sup>26</sup> KEMP, in KARETSOU (ed.), *Kriti-Aigyptos*, 45-6.

<sup>27</sup> KELDER, COLE, CLINE in SPIER, POTTS, COLE (eds), *Beyond the Nile*, 14, fig. 4.

<sup>28</sup> KANTOR, *The Aegean and the Orient*, 58-9; SHAW, *AJA* 74/1, 25-30; BARBER, *Prehistoric Textiles*, 311-57; BARBER, in CLINE, HARRIS-CLINE (eds), *The Aegean and the Orient*, 13-19.

<sup>29</sup> PARKINSON, SCHOFIELD, *BSA* 89, 157-70; PARKINSON, SCHOFIELD, in DAVIES, SCHOFIELD (eds), *Egypt, the Aegean and the Levant*, 125-6. Two figures depicted on a *talatat* block from Amarna were identified by HAIDER (*Ä&L* 6, 146) as Aegeans (followed by KELDER, *JEOL* 42, 128), but this identification seems highly unlikely, as recently discussed by MATIĆ, *JAEG* 21, 1-10.

<sup>30</sup> VERCOUTTER, *L'Égypte*, 309-10, 354, pl. 36, nos 239-40, pl. 59, nos 438-41.

<sup>31</sup> One of the many questions surrounding the Second Intermediate Period is whether it begins before or after the Thirteenth Dynasty. See, e.g. VON BECKERATH, *Untersuchungen*, 223; RYHOLT, *The Political Situation*, 186. As noted above in note 1, I follow the chronology established in SHAW (ed.), *Oxford History*, 480-1, and consider the Thirteenth Dynasty to be the final dynasty of the Middle Kingdom.

<sup>32</sup> On the title, see CANDELORA, *JARCE* 53, 203-21.

<sup>33</sup> Some scholars believe that trade routes indicate a southern Canaanite place of origin for the Hyksos; see e.g., WEINSTEIN, *BASOR* 241, 10; MCGOVERN, *Foreign Relations*; BEN-TOR, in BIETAK, CZERNY (eds), *Scarabs*, 29; BEN-TOR, *Scarabs*, 189-92; BEN-TOR, *Pharaoh in Canaan*, 46-7. But see BIETAK, in MARÉE



what she calls a “*gradual infiltration and peaceful takeover*” model, enabled by the Middle Kingdom’s close relations with the Northern Levant coupled with the opportunity created by the Egyptian loss of control over the Delta in the Thirteenth Dynasty.<sup>34</sup> Within the Delta, the Hyksos had their capital at Tell el-Dab’a (ancient Avaris), where there is evidence for Levantine immigration from the Twelfth Dynasty onwards.<sup>35</sup> They developed this settlement into a major city and trade port, which was made possible by its conveniently located harbor on the Pelusiatic branch of the Nile. The Hyksos maintained control of the Eastern Delta – and possibly, for a time around 1600 BC, the Nile Valley, though this is not certain<sup>36</sup> – for about a century. Meanwhile, from about 1580-1550 BC, the rival Egyptian Seventeenth Dynasty ruled from Thebes. Ahhotep, probably the wife of King Seqenenre Tao, lived in the Theban milieu of the late Seventeenth Dynasty, which ended with her sons Kamose (the last king of the Seventeenth Dynasty) and Ahmose (the first king of the Eighteenth Dynasty) defeating the Hyksos and reunifying Egypt. During this Second Intermediate Period, Egypt was thus politically fractured and centralized rule was interrupted, which inevitably impacted international trade relations.

As the Hyksos were of Levantine origin, it comes as no surprise that their strongest ties were with that region.<sup>37</sup> The Egyptians had traded with the Levant, and with Byblos in particular,<sup>38</sup> since the Old Kingdom, and there is ample evidence for both Levantine people and Levantine(-influenced) goods – particularly from the

Northern Levant – in Egypt in the Twelfth and Thirteenth Dynasties.<sup>39</sup> Under the Hyksos, Northern Levantine connections continued and Southern Levantine contacts developed.<sup>40</sup> In addition to Hyksos-period imports, Middle Kingdom objects have been found in the Levant.<sup>41</sup> Because the chronology of the Middle Bronze Age in the Levant, much like that of the Bronze Age Aegean, is subject to ongoing discussion and revision, it is often difficult to say whether objects were found in contexts contemporary with the period of their manufacture or whether they may have been looted and sent to the Levant in later periods. For instance, a group of Twelfth Dynasty Egyptian imports were found in tombs at Byblos, including ones inscribed for Amenemhat III and IV. These objects could have been looted from Egyptian burial contexts and sent to Byblos shortly after the end of the Middle Kingdom, meaning that the tombs are not necessarily contemporary with the Twelfth Dynasty and could reflect later trade.<sup>42</sup> The tombs also include Egyptian-influenced objects made locally. The production of Egyptian-influenced goods, including scarabs, stone and faience vessels, and pottery increased in the Levant from the late Middle Kingdom to the early Fifteenth Dynasty. In addition to the Levant, the Hyksos appear to have been in communication with southern Mesopotamia – a fragment of an Old Babylonian letter was discovered in a fill that had been cut into a building associated with a Hyksos palace at Tell el-Dab’a.<sup>43</sup>

At the same time, imports of Aegean products into Egypt in general appear to have ceased. It seems that during the Fifteenth Dynasty, any Aegean influence arrived largely through the intermediary of the Levant rather than through a direct or indirect trade relationship. This dynamic can be seen in the Aegean-influenced aspects of material culture found in Egypt during this period, while there is no indication of the presence of Aegean people or of objects that are undoubtedly of Aegean manufacture. The Aegean absence can be contrasted with the evidence for Levantine people at

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(ed.), *The Second Intermediate Period*, 139-81, who believes the Middle Kingdom and Second Intermediate Period populations at Tell el-Dab’a came largely from the region of Byblos. See MOURAD, *Rise of the Hyksos*, 9-11, 215-17 for a summary of the scholarship and evidence; the author argues that a Southern Levantine origin for the Hyksos is not supported by the evidence, but that the Fifteenth Dynasty’s close connections to the Northern Levant do not necessarily confirm a Northern Levantine origin either.

<sup>34</sup> MOURAD, *Rise of the Hyksos*, 215-17.

<sup>35</sup> For overviews of Tell el-Dab’a, see BIETAK, in OREN (ed.), *The Hyksos*, 87-139; BIETAK, in ARUZ, BENZEL, EVANS (eds), *Beyond Babylon*, 110-12; BIETAK, VON RÜDEN, in SPIER, POTTS, COLE (eds), *Beyond the Nile*, 18-23. On the Levantine presence at Tell el-Dab’a in the Middle Kingdom and early Fifteenth Dynasty, see MOURAD, *Rise of the Hyksos*, 22-48. On the Egyptian population in Hyksos-period Avaris/Tell el-Dab’a, see BIETAK, *Ä&L* 26, 263-74.

<sup>36</sup> The evidence for this is summarized in RICHARDS, *The Anra Scarab*, 25-6.

<sup>37</sup> For overviews, see O’CONNOR, in ARUZ, BENZEL, EVANS (eds), *Beyond Babylon*, 108-10; BIETAK, *BiOr* 75, 227-47.

<sup>38</sup> BIETAK, in MARÉE (ed.), *The Second Intermediate Period*, 142; SCHNEIDER, in ARUZ, BENZEL, EVANS (eds), *Beyond Babylon*, 61-2.

<sup>39</sup> On the evidence for Levantine people and Levantine(-influenced) objects in Egypt and the Eastern Desert from the Middle Kingdom to the early Second Intermediate Period, see MOURAD, *Rise of the Hyksos*, 19-146; on Tell el-Dab’a in particular, p. 22-48.

<sup>40</sup> MCGOVERN, *Foreign Relations*; BEN-TOR, in MARÉE (ed.), *The Second Intermediate Period*, 92; BEN-TOR, *Pharaoh in Canaan*, 41.

<sup>41</sup> See MOURAD, *Rise of the Hyksos*, 147-85.

<sup>42</sup> MOURAD, *Rise of the Hyksos*, 167-9; KOPETZKY, *Ä&L* 28, 309-58.

<sup>43</sup> BIETAK, FORSTNER-MÜLLER, *Ä&L* 19, 108, figs 21-2; BIETAK *et al.* (eds), *Ä&L* 22-23, 24-6, fig. 7; MOURAD, *Rise of the Hyksos*, 38, fig. 4.12.



Tell el-Dab‘a and Levantine trade with the city,<sup>44</sup> expressed in their distinctive material culture (including weaponry, pottery, scarabs, cylinder seals, and seal impressions), temple forms, and burial practices,<sup>45</sup> as well as in textual references to foreigners and the use of non-Egyptian names.<sup>46</sup> Local workshops also produced Levantine-influenced objects, including scarabs and pottery, under the Hyksos.<sup>47</sup>

Material found in Egypt during the Second Intermediate Period sometimes reflects Aegean influences or is Aegean in style, but was probably made in the Levant, where local artists used their familiarity with Aegean imports to fashion imitations or incorporate Aegean stylistic elements into their own wares, which ranged from pottery to weapons to luxury goods. For example, a bronze dagger inscribed with the name of the Hyksos King Apophis, included in a burial assemblage at Saqqara, is a type that appears in Egypt, the Aegean, and the Levant. The handle and blade were cast as a single piece, with the hilt covered in sheet gold, and the design on the handle includes a lion hunt scene. It is unclear where this style of dagger originated and, though it has been suggested that this is a copy of an Aegean weapon, more recently scholars have argued that it was made in the Levant or in the Delta in imitation of a Levantine type.<sup>48</sup>

One archaeologically ubiquitous body of material through which we can attempt to trace trade is pottery. Unlike objects from the Egyptian royal court found at Aegean sites, or the Minoan luxury vessels depicted in Eighteenth Dynasty tombs, pottery was used by a much wider swath of the population, beyond the restricted elite sphere of diplomatic gift exchange. Pottery may have often accompanied more high-status goods as a secondary material. Its presence or absence can speak to the access that members of Egyptian communities had to imported

goods, which, by extension, potentially indicates the volume of trade in other, now lost materials as well. Caitlín E. Barrett compiled all known, published examples of Minoan and “Minoanizing” pottery found in Egypt in order to examine broader trends in its importation, use, and local imitation.<sup>49</sup> A few significant patterns emerge from this study. Middle Minoan wares – especially Kamares ware – were imported during the Middle Kingdom,<sup>50</sup> while Late Minoan wares were imported primarily in the early Eighteenth Dynasty. The general pattern throughout Egypt is that Middle Minoan pottery was imported in the Middle Kingdom and appears in contexts up to the beginning of the Second Intermediate Period, but then its presence ceases. It is challenging to securely place any Aegean vessels in a Hyksos-period context. A significant number of Middle Minoan pots (including Kamares ware), as well as local imitations, were deposited in burials at the sites of el-Lisht, el-Harageh, and el-Lahun/Kahun, probably dating from the Twelfth and Thirteenth Dynasties.<sup>51</sup> At Tell el-Dab‘a, Middle Minoan pottery is attested during the Middle Kingdom, including fragments belonging to one or more oval mouth amphora(e) in a Twelfth Dynasty settlement context beneath the remains of a temple,<sup>52</sup> and painted Kamares ware sherds found in “palace” gardens dating to the Thirteenth Dynasty.<sup>53</sup> Interestingly, the Minoan pottery found in the area of Ezbet Rushdi, about one kilometer north of Tell el-Dab‘a, was not of the fine Kamares ware type, but were transport vessels for liquid contents, perhaps olive oil.<sup>54</sup> This is followed by a notable gap, not only at these sites but throughout Egypt, during the Second Intermediate Period, and the interruption of Minoan pottery imports suggests a shift in the relationship between Egypt and Crete.

Minoan-influenced pottery, on the other hand, does sometimes appear in Second Intermediate Period contexts. There is at least one example of a locally made, Minoan-influenced vessel found in what may be a Hyk-

<sup>44</sup> See, for example, the essays in BIETAK, PRELL (eds), *The Enigma of the Hyksos*, vol. I. On the acculturation of Levantine people living at Tell el-Dab‘a, see BUMANN, *The Hyksos Enigma*, vol. II.

<sup>45</sup> VAN DEN BRINK, *Tombs*; BIETAK, *Ein Friedhofsbezirk*; PHILIP, in DAVIES, SCHOFIELD (eds), *Egypt, the Aegean and the Levant*, 66-83; BIETAK, *Avaris*; BIETAK, *Ä&L* 13, 13-20; FORSTNER-MÜLLER, *Ä&L* 11, 197-222; FORSTNER-MÜLLER, in BIETAK (ed.), *The Middle Bronze Age*, 163-84; FORSTNER-MÜLLER, *AF* 30, 140-70; BIETAK, in GITIN, WRIGHT, DESSEL (eds), *Confronting the Past*, 285-93; FORSTNER-MÜLLER, in MARÉE (ed.), *The Second Intermediate Period*, 127-38.

<sup>46</sup> SCHNEIDER, *Ausländer*.

<sup>47</sup> On Fifteenth Dynasty scarab production, see, e.g., MLINAR, in BIETAK, CZERNY (eds), *Scarabs*, 107-40; BEN-TOR, *Scarabs*. On pottery, see, e.g., KOPETZKY, *Die Chronologie der Siedlungskeramik*; MOURAD, *Rise of the Hyksos*, 22-43 (with further references).

<sup>48</sup> D. ARNOLD, in ARUZ, BENZEL, EVANS (eds), *Beyond Babylon*, 116-17, cat. no. 65 (with further references).

<sup>49</sup> BARRETT, *JMA* 22/2, 211-34. See especially the two charts summarizing pottery finds: Table 2 on p. 214 and Table 3 on p. 217.

<sup>50</sup> Kamares ware was also being imported in the Levant, particularly Byblos, at this time: see e.g. KOEHL, in ARUZ, BENZEL, EVANS (eds), *Beyond Babylon*, 59; L. BADRE in ARUZ, BENZEL, EVANS (eds), *Beyond Babylon*, 60, cat. no. 32.

<sup>51</sup> KEMP, MERRILLEES, *Minoan Pottery*, 1-102; FITTON, HUGHES, QUIRKE, in QUIRKE (ed.), *Lahun Studies*, 112-40.

<sup>52</sup> HÖFLMAYER, *Die Synchronisierung*, 60-3, fig. 11.

<sup>53</sup> WALBERG, *Ä&L* 3, 157-9; MACGILLIVRAY, *Ä&L* 5, 81-4; BIETAK, *Avaris*, 29, pl. 1a; WALBERG, *Ä&L* 8, 107-8; BARRETT, *JMA* 22/2, 214, Table 2 row 9 (with further references), 215, fig. 2-3; HÖFLMAYER, *Die Synchronisierung*, 62-3, fig. 12.

<sup>54</sup> The Middle Minoan pottery finds from Ezbet Rushdi are discussed in CZERNY, *Die Siedlung und der Tempelbezirk*, vol. I: 360-6, Table 86, and vol. II: 129-31, figs T122-T124. See ASTON, in JIMÉNES-SERRANO, VON PILGRIM (eds), *From the Delta to the Cataract*, 7-8 for a summary and further references.

sos-period context at Tell el-Dab'a, but it is likely a couple of generations removed from the original form it copies. The vessel is represented by a rim fragment that was found in a pit complex associated with a palace of Hyksos date;<sup>55</sup> it should be noted, however, that the complex (L81) "is not a closed, good context, but the pits are cut from layers lost to agricultural activity that made the pits difficult to identify",<sup>56</sup> so the precise dating is open for debate and could be later than the Fifteenth Dynasty.<sup>57</sup> The wavy shape of the rim is similar to two vessels found in a Twelfth Dynasty tomb at el-Harageh that were identified as imitations derived from original Minoan forms.<sup>58</sup> David A. Aston argues that the Tell el-Dab'a vessel is an imitation of an imitation of a Minoan pot, and it is possible "that it was originally made in the Lahun-Harageh region, where it had developed out of the earlier first and second generation copies", but could also have been made in Tell el-Dab'a.<sup>59</sup> During the Twelfth and Thirteenth Dynasties, Tell el-Dab'a would have been an important trade port for the capital at Itjtawy, and Minoan pottery likely passed through and was distributed to other areas, like the Lahun-Harageh region. Some examples remained in Tell el-Dab'a and could continue to be copied by subsequent generations.<sup>60</sup> What this means is that the presence of a Minoan-influenced vessel in a (possibly) Hyksos context at Tell el-Dab'a is far from a confirmation of Hyksos trade with the Aegean. Rather, local artists were replicating vessel forms that began as copies of imports in the Middle Kingdom and had undergone local adaptations.

Another Minoan-influenced vessel is a unique jug found in a tomb at el-Lisht in Egypt, dated to the Thirteenth Dynasty or Second Intermediate Period, which is decorated with a pattern of Minoan-style leaping dolphins. The vessel form, however, is Syro-Palestinian, the clay came from southern Canaan, and the birds that also decorate the vase are a type that appear on Tell el-Yahudiya ware. This jug is a Levantine object that incorporates a Minoan motif, made for export to Egypt.<sup>61</sup> Like

the dagger of Apophis, it represents a mixed international style with no single cultural identification. A similar vessel with the same Syro-Palestinian shape, but made of alabaster, was found in a tomb at Knossos.<sup>62</sup> Other parallels come from Megiddo and Jericho,<sup>63</sup> and a later Middle Bronze Age vase with a painted frieze of leaping dolphins above a Minoan-style wave pattern was included in a burial at Sidon.<sup>64</sup> These vessels were likely made in the Levant where, during Egypt's Second Intermediate Period, Levantine workshops were producing material with Aegean- and Egyptian-influenced elements that could be used locally or exported to various markets.

Actual Minoan pottery notably is absent from the Hyksos-period finds at Tell el-Dab'a. In a 1996 publication of the site, Manfred Bietak mentions that in the excavation of the early Eighteenth Dynasty areas H/II and H/III his team uncovered "the first finds of imported pottery of MMIII and LMIA date within the citadel, unfortunately from secondary contexts so far".<sup>65</sup> This is the extent of the information provided and so it is quite difficult to draw any conclusions,<sup>66</sup> though if the pottery truly is Middle Minoan III it could potentially have entered the city during Hyksos rule. The only detail Bietak includes is a brief description of a fragmentary amphoriskos painted with a leopard in flying gallop chasing an ungulate, similar to motifs found on Cycladic pottery.<sup>67</sup> Sturt Manning suggests that, despite bearing a Cycladic image, "the vessel itself looks Levantine-Egyptian",<sup>68</sup> so we may have here another example of an Aegean motif incorporated into a Levantine-made vessel. It is possible that other fragments from this group were initially misidentified as Minoan. Further information on this group of finds will be significant in determining possible Hyksos-Aegean contact.

A small number of imitation Late Minoan IA/IB conical rhyta found in Egypt could belong to the late Second Intermediate Period but are just as likely to date to the

<sup>55</sup> ASTON, in JIMÉNES-SERRANO, VON PILGRIM (eds), *From the Delta to the Cataract*, 1-11.

<sup>56</sup> FORSTNER-MÜLLER, ROSE, in FORSTNER-MÜLLER, ROSE (eds), *Nubian Pottery*, 183.

<sup>57</sup> See KOPETZKY, *Die Chronologie der Siedlungskeramik*, 125, n. 742.

<sup>58</sup> KEMP, MERRILLEES, *Minoan Pottery*, 38, fig. 17; HÖFLMAYER, *Die Synchronisierung*, 76-7, fig. 20. See also ASTON, in JIMÉNES-SERRANO, VON PILGRIM (eds), *From the Delta to the Cataract*, 6, fig. 1.2.

<sup>59</sup> ASTON, in JIMÉNES-SERRANO, VON PILGRIM (eds), *From the Delta to the Cataract*, 7.

<sup>60</sup> ASTON, in JIMÉNES-SERRANO, VON PILGRIM (eds), *From the Delta to the Cataract*, 8.

<sup>61</sup> KEMP, MERRILLEES, *Minoan Pottery*, 220-5 and pls 29-30; WAR-

REN, HANKEY, *Aegean Bronze Age Chronology*, 135-6, pl. 13; MCGOVERN *et al.*, *BASOR* 296, 31-43; LAFFINEUR, in CLINE, HARRIS-CLINE (eds), *The Aegean and the Orient*, 56; S.A. ALLEN, in ARUZ, BENZEL, EVANS (eds), *Beyond Babylon*, 62-3, cat. no. 33; HÖFLMAYER, *Die Synchronisierung*, 157-9, fig. 64.

<sup>62</sup> WARREN, *Minoan Stone Vases*, 113.

<sup>63</sup> KANTOR, in EHRICH (ed.), *Relative Chronologies*, fig. 4.

<sup>64</sup> S.A. ALLEN, in ARUZ, BENZEL, EVANS (eds), *Beyond Babylon*, 63, cat. no. 33, fig. 22.

<sup>65</sup> BIETAK, *Avaris*, 70.

<sup>66</sup> If any subsequent, more detailed analysis of this "Aegean" pottery has been published, I am unaware of it.

<sup>67</sup> BIETAK, *Avaris*, 70-2. Illustrated in HEIN (ed.), *Pharaonen und Fremde*, 261, no. 358. Bietak suggests the motif is best paralleled by Middle Cycladic wares, but MANNING (*A Test of Time*, 114-5) suggests a Late Cycladic I connection.

<sup>68</sup> MANNING, *A Test of Time*, 114.

early Eighteenth Dynasty.<sup>69</sup> It has been suggested that a faience imitation rhyton from a burial at Saqqara belonged to a Nubian in Ahmose's army.<sup>70</sup> The same burial included a Cypriot Base Ring I Ware jug, a vessel type that does not appear in Egypt before the early Eighteenth Dynasty, further indicating that this burial took place after Hyksos rule had ended.<sup>71</sup> Two other imitation conical rhyta, one from a tomb at Kuban,<sup>72</sup> and one from a tomb at Sedment,<sup>73</sup> are also from this transitional period. In the Eighteenth Dynasty, local imitations of Late Minoan IA rhyta were thrown away in a Thutmosid waste deposit at Tell el-Dab'a.<sup>74</sup> If the identification of these contexts are correct, this would argue in favor of a correlation between Late Minoan IA and the early Eighteenth Dynasty, thus supporting a low Aegean Bronze Age chronology (the chronology is a complex matter, on which see more below).<sup>75</sup> The discovery of strainers alongside imitation Minoan rhyta at Tell el-Dab'a may mean that the population was using the vessels in ritual banqueting in the same way that they functioned in the Aegean, to strain mixed beverages.<sup>76</sup> It was not just the vessel forms, then, but also their ritual use that was being adopted in New Kingdom Egypt.

By contrast with the lack of Aegean pottery and objects, Fifteenth Dynasty Tell el-Dab'a has yielded quantities of imported Levantine goods and locally-made Levantine-influenced objects, attesting to the active communication between the Levant and the eastern Delta.<sup>77</sup> Cypriot pottery was also imported into Tell el-Dab'a during the Fifteenth Dynasty, in small quantities, and some was traded all the way to Nubia, likely via the Hyksos.<sup>78</sup> Trade patterns within Egypt were altered during this period as well. The circulation of pottery with-

in Egypt during the late Middle Kingdom and Second Intermediate Period shows wares moving between the Delta and Middle Egypt, but the ceramic assemblages of the Delta and Upper Egypt show minimal exchange between these two regions.<sup>79</sup> Upper Egyptian pottery that was present in the Delta in the Thirteenth Dynasty (though in limited quantity) disappears under the Hyksos and does not reappear again until the beginning of the Eighteenth Dynasty.<sup>80</sup> Objects from the north did make their way to the Red Sea coast in the Fifteenth Dynasty, where fragments of Tell el-Yahudiya ware and a Levantine-influenced scarab have been found at Gebel el-Zeit.<sup>81</sup>

Despite the minimal contact between the Hyksos and Upper Egypt or the region of Thebes, there is evidence of Hyksos (and perhaps Levantine) contact with Nubian cultures. Levantine(-influenced) objects have been found in early Second Intermediate Period contexts in Upper Egypt and Nubia, including scarabs at Elephantine, and scarabs and pottery at Mirgissa, Semna, and several sites south of the First Cataract all the way down to Kerma.<sup>82</sup> Mourad detects a possible increase and shift in the nature of relations between Nubia and the Levant from the Middle Kingdom to the Second Intermediate Period, noting for Mirgissa in particular that the small quantities of Levantine(-influenced) pottery and scarabs found at the site may have been obtained through indirect rather than direct trade, and that they must have had a certain level of attributed value to be included in burial contexts: "*Hence, it is possible to ascertain a minor development in the nature of contact with northerners, from the ritualistic topos representation of Levantine entities in the execration texts [of the Middle Kingdom Egyptians at the site] to their mimetic attestations in sealings and the import of products and, perhaps, people of Levantine origin into Mirgissa*".<sup>83</sup> It is certainly possible that this indirect trade took place through Hyksos intermediaries, with whom the Nubians could now engage in the absence of Egyptian control, and it appears to have gone in both directions. Furthermore, the second Karnak stela of Kamose records an incident in which Kamose's men intercepted a letter being sent by the Hyksos King Apo-phis to the ruler of Kerma, in which Apophis encouraged the Nubians to join him in opposition to Kamose's army.<sup>84</sup> The relationship between

<sup>69</sup> See HÖFLMAYER, *Die Synchronisierung*, 147-9, fig. 59.

<sup>70</sup> BOURRIAU, in ARNOLD (ed.), *Studien*, 25-48; BOURRIAU, in DAVIES (ed.), *Egypt and Africa*, 139, no. 11 (who suggests that the vessel was made in Kerma); KOEHL, *Aegean Bronze Age Rhyta*, 238, cat. no. E1, 343. The full tomb group is published by BOURRIAU, in DAVIES (ed.), *Egypt and Africa*, 136-40.

<sup>71</sup> BOURRIAU, in DAVIES (ed.), *Egypt and Africa*, 139, no. 10; BIETAK, *Avaris*, 70; KOEHL, *Aegean Bronze Age Rhyta*, 343.

<sup>72</sup> KOEHL, *Aegean Bronze Age Rhyta*, 238, cat. no. E2.

<sup>73</sup> KOEHL, *Aegean Bronze Age Rhyta*, 238, cat. no. E3.

<sup>74</sup> I. HEIN, in HEIN (ed.), *Pharaonen und Fremde*, 245, cat. no. 314; BIETAK, in OREN (ed.), *The Hyksos*, 117; BARRETT, *JMA* 22/2, 217, Table 3 row 8 (with further references).

<sup>75</sup> KOEHL, *Aegean Bronze Age Rhyta*, 343.

<sup>76</sup> KOEHL, *Aegean Bronze Age Rhyta*, 238, cat. no. E6, 343.

<sup>77</sup> BIETAK, *Avaris*, 55-63; MCGOVERN, *Foreign Relations; Mourad, Rise of the Hyksos*, 22-43.

<sup>78</sup> KARAGEORGHIS, *Ä&L* 5, 73-4; BIETAK, *Avaris*, 63; MAGUIRE, *The Cypriot Pottery*. See also MAGUIRE, in DAVIES, SCHOFIELD (eds), *Egypt, the Aegean and the Levant*, 54-65, on the role of Tell el-Dab'a in a network of pottery exchange among Egypt, the Levant, and Cyprus.

<sup>79</sup> MCGOVERN, *Foreign Relations*, 78-9. On the regional variations in Egyptian pottery during the Second Intermediate Period, see BOURRIAU, in MARÉE (ed.), *Second Intermediate Period*, 11-37.

<sup>80</sup> BIETAK, FORSTNER-MÜLLER, MLINAR, in FISCHER (ed.), *Contributions*, 175-6.

<sup>81</sup> MOURAD, *Rise of the Hyksos*, 142.

<sup>82</sup> MOURAD, *Ä&L* 27, 381-402.

<sup>83</sup> MOURAD, *Ä&L* 27, 389.

<sup>84</sup> HABACHI, *The Second Stela of Kamose*.



the Hyksos and Kerma thus extended beyond trade and included some form of diplomatic alliance.

Nubian pottery of indeterminate cultural origin (not clearly Kerma, Pan-Grave, or C-Group) was found in a Hyksos administrative district and in the remains of a Hyksos palace at Tell el-Dab‘a.<sup>85</sup> The pottery forms were open and suitable for food preparation, dining, and drinking, but there were no closed forms that could have been used to transport contents; it has thus been suggested that Nubians served in the Hyksos army and were present at the site.<sup>86</sup> Domestic Kerma pottery also appears at Tell el-Dab‘a in the early Eighteenth Dynasty; Bietak posits that the pottery may have belonged to Nubians serving in Ahmose’s army.<sup>87</sup> Nubian tableware and cooking pottery comes from other sites in Egypt in the early Eighteenth Dynasty as well, namely Edfu, Ballas, Gurob, Memphis, and Saqqara.<sup>88</sup> We must be cautious about equating pots with people, but the presence of pottery that was functional rather than of a type used to transport valued contents presents the possibility that Nubian groups were active in Egypt, perhaps fighting on both sides of the Theban-Hyksos conflict, and brought objects with them that were meant for daily use rather than commerce. A Nubian presence is also shown by burials like the above-mentioned grave at Saqqara, which is believed to belong to a Nubian and contained Nubian pottery, an imitation Minoan rhyton, and a fragment of a Cypriot vessel.

The period of Hyksos rule in the Delta overall saw limited commercial ties between north and south within Egypt but the south still managed to access objects from the north. Noteworthy northern finds in Upper Egypt include Tell el-Yahudiya vessels in Second Intermediate Period tombs at Abydos, including in a Seventeenth Dynasty tomb,<sup>89</sup> Fourteenth Dynasty scarabs in the necropolis at Abydos,<sup>90</sup> royal-name seal impressions for the Hyksos King Khyan from the administrative complex at Edfu and a probably Fifteenth Dynasty Tell el-Yahudiya vessel at Edfu,<sup>91</sup> and finds of Levantine(-influenced) objects in Pan-Grave tombs at Mostagedda that are likely contemporary with the Fifteenth Dynasty.<sup>92</sup>

<sup>85</sup> On the Nubian pottery found at Second Intermediate Period and New Kingdom Tell el-Dab‘a, see FORSTNER-MÜLLER, ROSE, in FORSTNER-MÜLLER, ROSE (eds), *Nubian Pottery*, 181-212.

<sup>86</sup> BIETAK, in ARUZ, BENZEL, EVANS (eds), *Beyond Babylon*, 110; BIETAK *et al.* (eds), *Ä&L* 22-23, 24; ASTON, BIETAK, in SPENCER, STEVENS, BINDER (eds), *Nubia in the New Kingdom*, 497-501.

<sup>87</sup> BIETAK, in OREN (ed.), *The Hyksos*, 115-6.

<sup>88</sup> BOURRIAU, in DAVIES (ed.), *Egypt and Africa*, 131, 135-40. See also ASTON, BIETAK, in SPENCER, STEVENS, BINDER (eds), *Nubia in the New Kingdom*, 506.

<sup>89</sup> MOURAD, *Rise of the Hyksos*, 101.

<sup>90</sup> MOURAD, *Rise of the Hyksos*, 101-2.

<sup>91</sup> MOURAD, *Rise of the Hyksos*, 107.

<sup>92</sup> MOURAD, *Rise of the Hyksos*, 111-12.

While the Hyksos were ruling from Tell el-Dab‘a and managing trade networks with the Levant, Cyprus, and Nubia, the Seventeenth Dynasty in Thebes was by no means isolated or impoverished. They turned to the south to intensify their relationship with Nubia, recognizing Nubians as potential allies but also as a political threat.<sup>93</sup> A royal Theban burial of a Seventeenth Dynasty woman (the so-called “Qurna Queen”) and child included a *rishi*-style coffin for the woman and a rich assemblage of luxury wares, jewelry, and Kerma pottery.<sup>94</sup> A group of late Seventeenth Dynasty Theban tombs included material of Levantine and Cypriot type, and some of the earlier tombs contained objects related to the Kerma culture.<sup>95</sup> Material was making its way south from Thebes as well (maybe the result of Nubian incursions rather than trade): an inscribed Seventeenth Dynasty alabastron was found near the Royal Tomb at Kerma.<sup>96</sup> Regional pottery styles developed in the Theban area during the Second Intermediate Period that evolved into the pottery forms used throughout Egypt in the New Kingdom; Thebes was in many ways a thriving region with a great deal of social cohesion.<sup>97</sup>

It was toward the end of the Seventeenth Dynasty that contacts with the north beyond Egypt reemerged in Thebes. A Theban court tomb complex – in use from the late Eleventh to Thirteenth Dynasties, then later reused before being buried for the construction of Hatshepsut’s valley temple – contained burials of the *rishi* type dating to the Seventeenth and early Eighteenth Dynasties.<sup>98</sup> The complex provides a window into the increasing contact with the north and access to luxury goods in Thebes in the transition to the New Kingdom. Luxury goods only begin appearing in the burials in the early Eighteenth Dynasty, including ivories, a Cypriot Base Ring I ware juglet, weapons, musical instruments, and vessels.<sup>99</sup> Also of note is a plaster wall painting fragment from a tomb chapel in the complex that shows an

<sup>93</sup> For an overview of pottery trade between Upper Egypt and Nubia during the Second Intermediate Period, see BOURRIAU, in DAVIES (ed.), *Egypt and Africa*, 130-40.

<sup>94</sup> BOURRIAU, in DAVIES (ed.), *Egypt and Africa*, 132; ROEHRIG, in ROEHRIG *et al.* (eds), *Hatshepsut*, 15-22, cat. nos 2-6; BOURRIAU, in MARÉE, *The Second Intermediate Period*, 32-5, fig. 16; MANLEY, DODSON, *Life Everlasting*, 23-7, nos 3-4; MAITLAND, POTTER, TROALEN, “The Burial of the ‘Qurna Queen’”, in this volume.

<sup>95</sup> LILYQUIST, in ROEHRIG *et al.* (eds), *Hatshepsut*, 63.

<sup>96</sup> HINTZE, HINTZE, *Civilisations*, 11, fig. 44; WARREN, in CZERNY *et al.* (eds), *Timelines*, 308.

<sup>97</sup> SEILER, *Tradition und Wandel*; SEILER, in MARÉE (ed.), *The Second Intermediate Period*, 39-53.

<sup>98</sup> LILYQUIST, in BIETAK, PRELL (eds), *The Enigma of the Hyksos*, 199-207; MINIACI, *Rishi Coffins*, 84-9.

<sup>99</sup> LILYQUIST, in BIETAK, PRELL (eds), *The Enigma of the Hyksos*, 202-3.



arm carrying a handled vessel decorated with an Aegean-style running spiral motif in a horizontal band.<sup>100</sup> This early Eighteenth Dynasty representation of a possible Aegean vessel signals the growing interest in re-engaging with the north beyond the Levant, an interest that is also visible in Ahhotep's burial assemblage.

The early New Kingdom was a time of increasing contact with Cyprus and the Aegean to the north, the reconquest of Kerma to the south, and invasions of the Levant to the northeast. Minoan pottery began reappearing in Egypt, and local imitations became more frequent. From the reign of Thutmose II onward, a change occurred and Aegean pottery imports became primarily Helladic wares, as the centers of power in the Aegean shifted to mainland Greece after the Mycenaean takeover of Crete.<sup>101</sup> It is of course plausible that Minoan pottery was imported to Egypt during the Second Intermediate Period, continued to be used for some time thereafter, and was deposited in later contexts in the early New Kingdom, but considering the daily use of such material and its friability one would expect at least some of these vessels to have been discarded in Second Intermediate Period contexts if they were in use at that time. Robert Merrillees has noted that most of the Aegean pottery found abroad appears to have been discarded within a short time of its manufacture.<sup>102</sup> The pattern of pottery deposition therefore follows historical and political developments throughout the Mediterranean, and the absence of Minoan pottery at Second Intermediate Period sites in Egypt is significant.

The importation of Cypriot pottery also increased in the transition from the Second Intermediate Period to the New Kingdom. Cyprus began sending not only manufactured wares, but also raw materials like timber, copper, and lead to Egypt, according to Eighteenth Dynasty inscriptions and the Amarna Letters. In return, Egyptian kings sent prestige items inscribed with their names. A fragmentary vase found on Cyprus bears cartouches that may belong to Ahmose.<sup>103</sup> But like a vessel lid inscribed for Khyan from Knossos (see below), we cannot know whether the vessel was sent to Cyprus during the reign of the king for whom it was inscribed, or whether it arrived later. The surge in trade with Cyprus parallels the increased interactions with Crete and mainland Greece in the Eighteenth Dynasty, all of which “*may strengthen the hypothesis that after the expulsion of the Hyksos from*

*Avaris a new era started of liberal policies and connections with the outside world*”.<sup>104</sup> The early kings of the Eighteenth Dynasty were taking advantage of the trade routes that had been previously monopolized (the Levant and Cyprus), or limited (the Aegean), by the Hyksos and quickly began building strong international relations.

While pottery and smaller finds speak to the volume of trade and the availability of foreign goods to those outside of the elite classes, a body of material that has been employed to hypothesize about the movement of court artists throughout the Bronze Age Mediterranean is palatial wall paintings. This brings us to the “Minoan” wall paintings and stucco reliefs discovered at Tell el-Dab‘a in excavations of the early 1990s under the direction of Manfred Bietak. These paintings have prompted an incredible volume of scholarly discourse and dispute and much ink has been spilled trying to determine when and by whom the frescoes were made. No other single discovery has had such dramatic implications for our understanding of Egypt's relationship with the Aegean in the Bronze Age. I will present a brief summary rather than repeat details that have been widely published elsewhere. The paintings and reliefs, which were created on lime plaster using a combination of true *fresco* and *al secco* techniques, were discovered in thousands of fragments, having been thrown in waste deposits in excavation areas H/I, H/II, H/III, and H/IV near the monumental structures they once decorated, Palaces F and G, in a western part of Tell el-Dab‘a today known as Ezbet Helmi.<sup>105</sup> The fragments represent scenes that included landscapes, hunts (including human hunters and dogs, feline predators, and prey), griffins, male and female figures, bull-leaping, half-rosette motifs, ivy patterns, and painted imitations of ashlar masonry.<sup>106</sup> Though the fragments show stylistic similarities with the wall paintings found at Akrotiri on Thera (e.g. the griffins), they also share close affinities with wall paintings from Knossos. In particular, the presence

<sup>104</sup> KARAGEORGHIS, *Ä&L* 5, 75.

<sup>105</sup> For a plan of the site, see BIETAK, VON RÜDEN, in SPIER, POTTS, COLE (eds), *Beyond the Nile*, 21, fig. 9.

<sup>106</sup> On the frescoes and the motifs depicted, see BIETAK, *Ä&L* 4, 44-58; BIETAK, MARINATOS, *Ä&L* 5, 49-62; MORGAN, in DAVIES, SCHOFIELD (eds), *Egypt, the Aegean and the Levant*, 29-53; MARINATOS, *Ä&L* 8, 83-99; ASLANIDOU, *Ä&L* 12, 13-27; MORGAN, *Ä&L* 14, 285-98; ASLANIDOU, in LAFFINEUR, GRECO (eds), *Emporia*, 463-72; MARINATOS, MORGAN, in MORGAN (ed.), *Aegean Wall Painting*, 119-22; MORGAN, in CZERNY *et al.* (eds), *Timelines*, 249-58; BIETAK *et al.*, *Taureador Scenes*; MARINATOS, *Ä&L* 20, 325-55; MORGAN, *Ä&L* 20, 263-301; MORGAN, *Ä&L* 20, 303-23; BIETAK *et al.* (eds), *Ä&L* 22-23, 131-47; BECKER, in STUCKY, KAELIN, MATHYS (eds), *Proceedings*, 23-35; JUNGFLISCH, in STUCKY, KAELIN, MATHYS (eds), *Proceedings*, 37-50.

<sup>100</sup> LILYQUIST, in BIETAK, PRELL (eds), *The Enigma of the Hyksos*, 203, 207, fig. 12.

<sup>101</sup> For a summary of Mycenaean pottery and its imitations in Egypt, see B.A. JUDAS, in SPIER, POTTS, COLE (eds), *Beyond the Nile*, 65-7, cat. nos 52-6.

<sup>102</sup> MERRILLEES, *Ä&L* 13, 138-9.

<sup>103</sup> CLERC, in KARAGEORGHIS (ed.), *Tombs at Palaepaphos*, 95-103; KARAGEORGHIS, *Ä&L* 5, 75.

of a bull-leaping scene draws a direct tie to the palace at Knossos,<sup>107</sup> as does the presence of painted stucco relief at both sites.<sup>108</sup> It remains an outstanding question whether these frescoes were executed by Minoan artists brought to the Egyptian court, by Egyptians trained in Aegean fresco technique, or by a mixture of local and visiting artists.<sup>109</sup> In any case, the artists certainly had knowledge of the standard techniques and materials used by Aegean painters,<sup>110</sup> in addition to a familiarity with Aegean iconography and style, though these paintings are not direct copies of those found in the Aegean. That a series of Aegean-influenced frescoes was desired by the Egyptian court presents intriguing possibilities. Bietak has put forward the idea that the frescoes were made by Minoan artists to celebrate a diplomatic marriage between a Minoan princess and the Egyptian king,<sup>111</sup> but this cannot be substantiated without further evidence. It seems equally possible that the rulers of Egypt wanted to demonstrate themselves as belonging to an international network of high-level exchange, having the ability to commission court artists from abroad.

In his first announcement of the discovery, Bietak identified the context in which the fragments were found as dating to the Hyksos dynasty.<sup>112</sup> Bietak's announcement gave a concrete endorsement of the idea of a direct Hyksos-Aegean connection, which up until then had only been flimsily supported by physical evidence,<sup>113</sup> and caused quite a stir as a result.<sup>114</sup> But the excitement was premature, as a chain of revisions has cast the notion of Minoans at the Hyksos court back into doubt. Subsequent excavation seasons led Bietak to identify two different layers containing frescoes, one of the late Hyksos period, and one of the early Eighteenth Dynasty.<sup>115</sup> Shortly thereafter, he began dating all of the fragments to the beginning of the Eighteenth Dynasty, no longer interpreting any of the material as Hyksos.<sup>116</sup> He later narrowed the dating further to the reigns of Hatshepsut,

Thutmose III, and Amenhotep II, placing the frescoes firmly in the first half of the Eighteenth Dynasty.<sup>117</sup> It is worth noting that the only fresco found still in situ belonged to an Eighteenth Dynasty context (area H/III). Some scholars continued to argue, however, for a late Hyksos date for at least some of the paintings after Bietak's revisions.<sup>118</sup> And recent radiocarbon dating of the archaeological levels at Tell el-Dab'a indicates that "On average, radiocarbon dates are about 120 years older than absolute dates proposed by the excavator",<sup>119</sup> and calls into question the archaeological grounds for the dating of the site.<sup>120</sup>

Needless to say, the frequent revisions (and related publications) by the excavators, as well as discrepancies between archaeological and radiocarbon dates, have caused a great deal of disagreement. On balance, it seems as though the announcement of Minoan frescoes at a Hyksos palace was premature and made before the site had been thoroughly excavated and the finds fully analyzed. Most scholars have now accepted a Thutmosid date for the Tell el-Dab'a frescoes, which is consistent with the evidence outlined above for strong diplomatic connections between the Egyptian court and Aegean palatial centers in the Eighteenth Dynasty, and the depictions of actual Aegean visitors in the Theban tombs.<sup>121</sup> It was also during the Thutmosid period that the Mycenaean took over Crete – there may be a connection between the change of guard at the palace at Knossos and

<sup>107</sup> SHAW, *Ä&L* 5, 91-120; BIETAK *et al.*, *Taureador Scenes*.

<sup>108</sup> VON RÜDEN, in CAPPEL, GÜNKEL-MASCHEK, PANAGIOTOPOULOS (eds), *Minoan Archaeology*, 361; VON RÜDEN, SKOWRONEK, in BECKER, JUNGLEISCH, VON RÜDEN (eds), *Tracing Technoscapes*, 213-32.

<sup>109</sup> For a summary, see SHAW, *AJA* 113/3, 473-4. See also SHAW, *Ä&L* 5, 94.

<sup>110</sup> BRYLSBAERT, *Ä&L* 12, 95-107; BRYLSBAERT, in BIETAK *et al.*, *Taureador Scenes*, 151-62.

<sup>111</sup> E.g. BIETAK, *EA* 2, 28; BIETAK, MARINATOS, *Ä&L* 5, 61; BIETAK, *Avaris*, 80; BIETAK, *BSA* 95, 203-5; BIETAK *et al.*, *Taureador Scenes*, 86.

<sup>112</sup> BIETAK, *EA* 2, 26-8; SHAW, *Ä&L* 5, 91-120.

<sup>113</sup> E.g. BETANCOURT, in OREN (ed.), *The Hyksos*, 429-32.

<sup>114</sup> Summarized in CLINE, *BSA* 93, 199-219.

<sup>115</sup> BIETAK, *Ä&L* 4, 44-52; BIETAK, MARINATOS, *Ä&L* 5, 49-62.

<sup>116</sup> BIETAK, *BSFE* 135, 5-29; BIETAK, in OREN (ed.), *The Hyksos*, 117-24; BIETAK, *BSA* 95, 185-205.

<sup>117</sup> See, e.g., BIETAK, in ROEHRIG *et al.* (eds), *Hatshepsut*, 75-81; BIETAK *et al.*, *Taureador Scenes*; BIETAK *et al.* (eds), *Ä&L* 22-23, 131-47; J. BECKER, J. JUNGLEISCH, C. VON RÜDEN, in SPIER, POTTS, COLE (eds), *Beyond the Nile*, 56-8, cat. no. 44; BIETAK, VON RÜDEN, in SPIER, POTTS, COLE (eds), 18-23.

<sup>118</sup> E.g. NIEMEIER, NIEMEIER, in CLINE, HARRIS-CLINE (eds), *The Aegean and the Orient*, 85-8.

<sup>119</sup> HÖFLMAYER *et al.*, *BASOR* 375, 66.

<sup>120</sup> MANNING *et al.*, *Antiquity* 88, 1164-79; HÖFLMAYER, in MYNÁROVÁ, ONDERKA, PAVÚK (eds), *There and Back Again*, 265-95; HÖFLMAYER *et al.*, *BASOR* 375, 64-74. The dating of the archaeological levels at Tell el-Dab'a has also had a significant impact on the dating of Middle and Late Bronze Age Levantine sites; see, for instance, the summary in HÖFLMAYER, *JAERI* 21, 20-30, in which the author argues that we should not assume that the transition from the Middle to the Late Bronze Age is synchronous with the end of the Second Intermediate Period and the beginning of the New Kingdom, nor should we assume that the widespread destruction seen in the Levant during the Middle Bronze/Late Bronze transition was caused by early Eighteenth Dynasty Egyptian invasions. Based on the available radiocarbon data from several sites, he places the end of the Middle Bronze Age around or before 1600 BC, meaning that it would have occurred during the Hyksos dynasty.

<sup>121</sup> E.g. SHAW, *AJA* 113/3, 474-6; VON RÜDEN, in CAPPEL, GÜNKEL, PANAGIOTOPOULOS (eds), *Minoan Archaeology*, 355-66.

the appearance of people from Keftiu in Theban tomb paintings. In one of the tombs, that of Rekhmire (reign of Thutmose III/Amenhotep II), the men who were originally portrayed wearing codpieces with backflaps, worn by the Minoans, later had their garments painted over with kilts, which could have been worn by either Minoans or Mycenaeans, perhaps reflecting the political reality that it was now a mix of Minoans and Mycenaeans with whom the Egyptians were communicating on Crete.<sup>122</sup>

The chronological interpretation of the Tell el-Dab'a frescoes is also affected by whether one favors a high or low chronology for the comparanda from the Cycladic island of Thera, which is dependent upon how one dates the eruption of the Thera volcano,<sup>123</sup> and how one dates the Knossian comparanda, which depends upon the dating of the contexts in which frescoes were discovered.<sup>124</sup> A detailed discussion of the relative chronology of the Bronze Age Aegean is beyond the scope of this essay, but a few key points are outlined here.<sup>125</sup> The Thera frescoes that appear to have served as at least partial inspiration for the Tell el-Dab'a paintings date to Late Minoan IA,<sup>126</sup> and the volcanic eruption occurred near the end of this period. The frescoes from Knossos that bear the closest similarities date to Late Minoan IA and Late Minoan IB (Neopalatial), but the Knossian material is much more challenging to place securely within the relative chronology than the preserved frescoes of Thera. Some scholars argue that the date for the Thera eruption is as high as 1650 BC or another date in that

vicinity.<sup>127</sup> Peter Warren, on the other hand, has identified an Egyptian alabaster amphoriskos from Akrotiri as Eighteenth Dynasty, and suggests that Late Minoan IA ended around 1520/1510 BC and that the volcano erupted around 1530 BC.<sup>128</sup> c. 1650 BC and c. 1500 BC are approximately the highest and lowest possible eruption dates, which provides quite a range during which significant changes were taking place in Egypt. Radiocarbon and dendrochronological analysis tend to favor a higher chronology, but material found in archaeological contexts often suggests a lower chronology; the two spheres of evidence do not always align, and this problem extends to Tell el-Dab'a as well.

A higher Bronze Age chronology places the Thera eruption, and thus the Aegean fresco comparanda, contemporary with the Hyksos, while a lower chronology creates contemporaneity with the early Eighteenth Dynasty. The Thera eruption destroyed Akrotiri and no later phases of wall painting come from the site, while the palace at Knossos underwent later rebuilding and renovation. The palace at Knossos met its end with the destruction at the close of the Final Palatial Period in Late Minoan IIIA, perhaps around 1350 BC. Many fresco fragments were found in the Final Palatial destruction layers, meaning that they may be as late as the fourteenth century BC.<sup>129</sup> The frescoes that were still intact on the wall at the time of final destruction could have been over 100 years old.<sup>130</sup> Bull leaper imagery appears over a long period of time at Knossos, and the famous Taureador fresco panels, found in fragments in the Court of the Stone Spout,<sup>131</sup> to which Bietak has compared the bull leaper fresco from Tell el-Dab'a,<sup>132</sup> may date as late as Late Minoan IIIA (the dates proposed range from Late Minoan IA to Late Minoan IIIA),<sup>133</sup> which would make them later than any of the suggested dates for the Tell el-Dab'a paintings. Maria Shaw wonders if the Tell el-Dab'a paintings could have been prompted

<sup>122</sup> SCHACHERMEYER, *JÖAI* 45, 44-68; REHAK, *AJA* 100, 35-51; REHAK, in CLINE, HARRIS-CLINE (eds), *The Aegean and the Orient*, 39-51; PANAGIOTOPOULOS, in CLINE, O'CONNOR (eds), *Thutmose III*, 393-4.

<sup>123</sup> On the date of the Thera eruption, see for example MANNING, *A Test of Time*; and the essays in WARBURTON (ed.), *Time's Up!*

<sup>124</sup> For an overview of Aegean Bronze Age painting, see CHAPIN, in POLLITT (ed.), *The Cambridge History of Painting*, 1-65. On the challenges of dating the fresco fragments found at the palace of Knossos, see IMMERWAHR, *Aegean Painting*, 84-5; HOOD, in MORGAN (ed.), *Aegean Wall Painting*, 45-81. On the high versus low chronologies established for the Bronze Age Aegean, see, e.g., CHAPIN, in POLLITT (ed.), *The Cambridge History of Painting*, 5, fig. 1.3.

<sup>125</sup> See MOURAD, "Chronology of the Eastern Mediterranean Area", in this volume, which favor a low chronology. The relationship between Egyptian and Minoan chronology of the Neopalatial period, including both the archaeological and radiocarbon evidence, is discussed in HÖFLMAYER, *Die Synchronisierung*. For a summary of the implications of the Tell el-Dab'a frescoes on Aegean relative chronology, see CLINE, *BSA* 93, 199-219.

<sup>126</sup> In addition to parallels from Akrotiri, there are similarities between friezes from Kea on Ayia Irini and Tell el-Dab'a; see MORGAN, in BECKER, JUNGLEISCH, VON RÜDEN (eds), *Tracing Technoscapes*, 235-51.

<sup>127</sup> E.g. MANNING, *A Test of Time*; MANNING, SEWELL, HERSCHER, *BSA* 97, 154-9.

<sup>128</sup> WARREN, in CZERNY *et al.* (eds), *Timelines*, 310, no. 3, 317-19.

<sup>129</sup> For a reassessment of find contexts based on Arthur Evans' excavation records, see HAYSOM, in BECKER, JUNGLEISCH, VON RÜDEN (eds), *Tracing Technoscapes*, 253-78.

<sup>130</sup> On the renovations, see HAYSOM, in BECKER, JUNGLEISCH, VON RÜDEN (eds), *Tracing Technoscapes*, 268 and n. 74. In order for the paintings to be Neopalatial, one would have to believe that they stood on the walls for 200-300 years and were undisturbed by the renovations: HAYSOM, in BECKER, JUNGLEISCH, VON RÜDEN (eds), *Tracing Technoscapes*, 255.

<sup>131</sup> IMMERWAHR, *Aegean Painting*, 90-2. For a reconstruction, see SHAW, *Ä&L* 5, 94, pl. 3.

<sup>132</sup> BIETAK *et al.*, *Taureador Scenes*.

<sup>133</sup> SHAW, *Ä&L* 5, 103; HOOD, in MORGAN (ed.), *Aegean Wall Painting*, 79-80, no. 33; ARUZ, in ARUZ, BENZEL, EVANS (eds), *Beyond Babylon*, 132, fig. 42.



by the shift to Mycenaean dominance on Crete,<sup>134</sup> which would conveniently line up with the repainting of the clothing worn by the men from Keftiu in the tomb of Rekhmire and with the appearance of bull leaping as a wall painting theme at Mycenae.<sup>135</sup> Furthermore, John Younger has pointed out that the particular technique of bull leaping depicted at Tell el-Dab'a corresponds to later Aegean examples.<sup>136</sup> The chronological debate is far from settled, and neither the volcanic eruption on Thera, nor the painted stucco and frescoes from Knossos can offer unambiguous chronological markers with which to align the wall paintings at Tell el-Dab'a, which themselves were found in fragments in secondary contexts of disputed date.

It is also the case that once a particular motif or style has entered an iconographic repertoire and begun to circulate, it can continue to be repeated in different iterations, even after it has gone out of use in the place of its origin. The appearance of griffins at Tell el-Dab'a with close affinities to the Late Minoan IA griffins at Akrotiri need not lead to the immediate conclusion that they must be contemporary, and the Knossos Taureador frescoes show that images of bull leaping were still being created on Crete after the Tell el-Dab'a frescoes were made. As Eric Cline has cautioned, "*It is probably futile, and possibly even dangerous, to depend too firmly upon, build too loftily atop, or delve too deeply into, any hypotheses regarding contacts between either the Hyksos and the Minoans or the early 18<sup>th</sup> Dynasty Egyptians and the Minoans which are constructed solely or primarily upon the basis of these wall paintings*".<sup>137</sup> Additionally, according to the excavators, the "Minoan" frescoes only represent about ten percent of the overall wall decoration in this palatial complex at Tell el-Dab'a, the other ninety percent being lost.<sup>138</sup> It is difficult – maybe impossible – to ascertain their significance without an understanding of the broader program to which they belonged.

The same caution should be extended to several sites in the Levant that have yielded wall painting fragments showing Aegean influences. During the seventeenth to fifteenth centuries BC, frescoes were created for palaces at Syro-Levantine sites, including Alalakh and Qatna in Syria and Tel Kabri in Israel, that display motifs with parallels in the frescoes of Akrotiri on Thera and

Minoan paintings from Crete.<sup>139</sup> Scholars have used the presence of Aegean techniques and motifs, which are in most cases very fragmentarily preserved, to argue that artists from the Aegean may have been sent to work at palaces in the Levant as part of a system of exchange.<sup>140</sup> If this were true, the painters at Tell el-Dab'a may have belonged to this same network of traveling court artists creating Aegean frescoes throughout the Near East (interestingly, the use of stucco relief is unique to Tell el-Dab'a and provides a clear parallel with Knossos). In recent years, however, this hypothesis has been questioned, as scholars are noting that at least in some cases the Aegean element in the Levantine frescoes may have been exaggerated as a result of having been studied through an Aegeo-centric lens that wished to see unidirectional cultural transmission from West to East.<sup>141</sup> Several Levantine frescoes also show Egyptian motifs, and rather than being the work of Aegean artists it is possible that they represent a Middle Bronze international style, similar to the above-mentioned silver and gold objects found at Tod and Aegina.<sup>142</sup> Local artists could have acquired knowledge of Aegean fresco techniques and stylistic schemes and incorporated them into their own work.<sup>143</sup> Another hypothesis, combining the idea of traveling artists and local craftsmen, suggests that teams of workmen that included an Aegean artist (or artists) sent from abroad and members of local workshops may have decorated these palaces together.<sup>144</sup>

There need not be a one-size-fits-all explanation and there might have been a variety of ways in which Aegean traditions were transmitted to these varied locations at different times. Seeking a single solution runs the risk of oversimplifying complex processes of cultural exchange

<sup>139</sup> For overviews see NIEMEIER, NIEMEIER, in CLINE, HARRIS-CLINE (eds), *The Aegean and the Orient*, 70-98; NIEMEIER, NIEMEIER, in SHERRATT (ed.), *The Wall Paintings of Thera*, 763-803; ARUZ, in ARUZ, BENZEL, EVANS (eds), *Beyond Babylon*, 123; FELDMAN, in BIGGS, MYERS, ROTH (eds), *Proceedings*, 281-6; CLINE, YASUR-LANDAU, GOSHEN, *AJA* 115, 245-61.

<sup>140</sup> E.g. NIEMEIER, in LAFFINEUR, BASCH (eds), *Thalassa*, 198-9; NIEMEIER, NIEMEIER, in CLINE, HARRIS-CLINE (eds), *The Aegean and the Orient*, 95-6; NIEMEIER, NIEMEIER, in SHERRATT (ed.), *The Wall Paintings of Thera*, 763-803; NIEMEIER, NIEMEIER, in KEMPINSKI (ed.), *Tel Kabri*, 254-98.

<sup>141</sup> VON RÜDEN, in BROWN, FEDLMAN (eds), *Critical Approaches*, 56-78; VON RÜDEN, in CAPPEL, GÜNKEL-MASCHEK, PANAGIOTOPOULOS (eds), *Minoan Archaeology*, 355-8.

<sup>142</sup> SHERRATT, *JMA* 7.2, 237-40.

<sup>143</sup> VON RÜDEN, *Die Wandmalereien von Qatna*; PFÄLZNER, VON RÜDEN, in BONATZ, CZICHON, KREPPNER (eds), *Fundstellen*, 106.

<sup>144</sup> P. PFÄLZNER, C. VON RÜDEN, in ARUZ, BENZEL, EVANS (eds), *Beyond Babylon*, 126-7, cat. no. 69a, b; PFÄLZNER, in BONATZ, CZICHON, KREPPNER (eds), *Fundstellen*, 95-118.

<sup>134</sup> SHAW, *AJA* 113/3, 474-5.

<sup>135</sup> For the bull leaping fresco from the Ramp House deposit on the citadel at Mycenae, dating to Late Helladic IIIA, see CHAPIN, in POLLITT (ed.), *The Cambridge History of Painting*, 42-3, fig. 1.25.

<sup>136</sup> YOUNGER, *AJA* 113/3, 479-80.

<sup>137</sup> CLINE, *BSA* 93, 199-219.

<sup>138</sup> BIETAK, in ROEHRIG *et al.* (eds), *Hatshepsut*, 77.



and transmission of technical knowledge.<sup>145</sup> And, like Tell el-Dab‘a, some of these Near Eastern palaces present chronological difficulties; the paintings from Qatna, for example, may be as late as the fourteenth century BC, which would place them significantly later than the Aegean paintings with which they are most similar even by the standards of the low chronology. The Tell el-Dab‘a frescoes and the artists responsible for them are therefore not necessarily immediately related to those found in the Levant beyond their common interest in utilizing similar techniques and motifs that appear to have been widely known of and valued among royal courts throughout the eastern Mediterranean for a long period of time.

### The Hyksos in the Aegean?

Whether concrete evidence exists for the direct movement of Hyksos material to the Aegean – particularly in the form of high-status gifts or courtly exchange, which we might expect to see if, for instance, the paintings at Tell el-Dab‘a belonged to a Hyksos palace – during the Fifteenth Dynasty is questionable. A few possible Hyksos objects have been found in the Aegean, but in general they come from contexts that post-date the Hyksos period and reflect the continued circulation of these objects over time. In the New Kingdom, portable Hyksos items may have lost any specific reference to that dynasty for Aegean consumers who instead valued them as Egyptian antiques, and New Kingdom Egyptians may have readily sent such items abroad. A travertine lid bearing the name of the Hyksos King Khyan was found at the palace at Knossos, but the precise dating of the layer in which it was discovered is uncertain.<sup>146</sup> It came from a burn layer (interpreted by Arthur Evans as such because of the heavy presence of charcoal) in an area whose associated finds ranged from the Neolithic to Late Minoan.<sup>147</sup> Mycenaean walls were built over this stratum. Evans dated the layer to Middle Minoan IIIA, but the possible Late Minoan IIIA dating of some of this material suggests that the object could have made its way to Crete long after Khyan’s reign in c. 1600 BC, perhaps as a prestige antique.<sup>148</sup> A similar pattern is seen with other Egyptian imports, including a small stone statuette

of a man named User, which was probably made for his burial or as a temple dedication in Memphis sometime in the Middle Kingdom, but must have been taken at a later date and sent to Crete, where it was discovered at the palace at Knossos in a chronologically unclear context.<sup>149</sup> Felix Höflmeyer has argued that there is no reason to doubt Evan’s dating of the Khyan lid context to Middle Minoan III, which would mean that the object made its way to Crete during or in close proximity to Khyan’s reign,<sup>150</sup> but Jacke Phillips has stated that the lid “almost certainly must have been imported onto Crete long after Khyan’s reign, and probably not before the New Kingdom”.<sup>151</sup> Phillips also notes that the material of the lid, travertine, would have been affected by fire yet the object showed no signs of such damage, which may call into question the description of its find context.<sup>152</sup> The incomplete publication of all associated finds and the challenge of interpreting the excavation records preclude any firm conclusions being drawn from this object.

Also found at Knossos is a steatite scarab of a type known as the *anra* scarabs,<sup>153</sup> named for the sound their inscriptions produce. Scarabs bearing the *anra* formula are part of a corpus traditionally called “Hyksos scarabs”,<sup>154</sup> a broad term that encompasses scarabs made in both Egypt and the Levant combining Egyptian and Levantine iconography.<sup>155</sup> The great majority of *anra* scarabs are found in Palestine. These scarabs continued to be circulated into the Eighteenth Dynasty and there is archaeological evidence at Tell el-Dab‘a for Second Intermediate Period scarabs being used for sealings into the reign of Thutmose III.<sup>156</sup> The *anra* scarab from Knossos

<sup>145</sup> VON RÜDEN, *Die Wandmalereien von Qatna*; VON RÜDEN, in CAPPEL, GÜNKEL-MASCHEK, PANAGIOTOPOULOS (eds), *Minoan Archaeology*, 355-66; BECKER, JUNGFLAISCH, VON RÜDEN, *Tracing Technoscapes*.

<sup>146</sup> CLINE, *Sailing the Wine-Dark Sea*, 210, cat. no. 680; PHILLIPS, *Aegyptiaca*, vol. 2, 98, cat. no. 163; D. SFAKIANAKIS, in SPIER, POTTS, COLE (eds), *Beyond the Nile*, 41-2, cat. no. 8.

<sup>147</sup> On the context, see PHILLIPS, *Aegyptiaca*, vol. 2, 97-8.

<sup>148</sup> Cf. MELLINK, *A&L* 5, 85-9, who argues that the vessel was sent directly by Khyan to the ruler of Knossos as part of a strategy of building international relations with powerful centers.

<sup>149</sup> PHILLIPS, *Aegyptiaca*, vol. 2, 92-4, cat. no. 158; HÖFLMAYER, *Die Synchronisierung*, 122-3, fig. 46; K. ATHANASAKI, in SPIER, POTTS, COLE (eds), *Beyond the Nile*, 43-4, cat. no. 10.

<sup>150</sup> HÖFLMAYER, *Die Synchronisierung*, 172-5, fig. 73.

<sup>151</sup> PHILLIPS, *Aegyptiaca*, 98.

<sup>152</sup> PHILLIPS, *Aegyptiaca*, 98 n. 542.

<sup>153</sup> WARREN, *AR* 27, 89 and fig. 47; CLINE, *Sailing the Wine-Dark Sea*, 147, cat. no. 126; PHILLIPS, *Aegyptiaca*, vol. 2, 120-1, no. 215. On the *anra* scarabs, see also RICHARDS, *The Anra Scarab*; BEN-TOR, in BIETAK, CZERNY (eds), *Scarabs*, 31-2, 35, and 37 fig. 9.

<sup>154</sup> But see RICHARDS, *The Anra Scarab*, 163, who argues that these should be called instead “SIP” scarabs.

<sup>155</sup> The *anra* scarab type originated in Canaan according to BEN-TOR, in BIETAK, CZERNY (eds), *Scarabs*, 31. During the Fifteenth Dynasty, scarabs displaying a combination of Egyptian and Canaanite iconography were produced in southern Canaan and many were imported into Egypt; see, e.g., BEN-TOR, in MARÉE (ed.), *The Second Intermediate Period*, 91-108; BEN-TOR *et al.*, *Pharaoh in Canaan*, 41-9, cat. nos 13-5. Syro-Palestinian cylinder seals also incorporated Egyptian iconography: TEISSIER, *Egyptian Iconography*.

<sup>156</sup> BIETAK, in BIETAK, CZERNY (eds), *Scarabs*, 43-55; BEN-TOR, in MARÉE (ed.), *The Second Intermediate Period*, 95.

was found on the preserved top of a wall in a Late Minoan room, meaning that, like the Khyan lid, it may have been sent to Crete as an heirloom a long time after it was made. As Kim Ryholt notes regarding Second Intermediate Period scarabs found in Egypt, “*Royal name seals are often found in contexts of much later date than the individuals they name, and it is therefore dangerous to assume a priori that scarabs are necessarily contemporary with the contexts in which they are found*”.<sup>157</sup> The same is likely true for scarabs and seals found outside of Egypt.

Possible Hyksos scarabs, which could also have been made in the Levant or copied in Egypt in the New Kingdom, were among the cargo of the Ulu Burun shipwreck from the fourteenth century BC.<sup>158</sup> The twelfth-century BC Cape Gelidonya shipwreck included a frit plaque of ambiguous origin with a meaningless hieroglyphic inscription that may be from Egypt or Syro-Palestine and could have been made in either the Hyksos-era or in the New Kingdom in imitation of Hyksos designs.<sup>159</sup> The site of Malia on Crete yielded a small Egyptian sphinx figurine, which was originally identified as an ivory dating to the Second Intermediate Period or Eighteenth Dynasty,<sup>160</sup> but is in fact made of stone with a yellow coating, and recent scholarship argues for a Late Minoan IB date, probably making it contemporary with the Eighteenth Dynasty.<sup>161</sup> Similarly, a lapis lazuli scarab bearing an image of Hathor from Grave Circle B at Mycenae was earlier argued to be of Hyksos manufacture,<sup>162</sup> but it has no clear parallels and it also been put forward that it might be a local imitation rather than an import.<sup>163</sup> Geoffrey Martin has argued that the scarab is an Egyptian object but pre-dates the Hyksos period and was kept as an heirloom before being deposited in the burial.<sup>164</sup> The scarab itself is now unfortunately lost, though an impression was made, and the dating of its findspot is problematic.<sup>165</sup> It was discovered in association with Grave Rho, to which it presumably originally belonged, but the context was disturbed.<sup>166</sup> A possible Hyksos scarab (but one that could conceivably be Levantine or New Kingdom)

was found in Tholos Tomb I at Pylos,<sup>167</sup> and the recently discovered Tholos Tomb IV included a gold pendant inscribed with the head of Hathor. The tholoi probably date to about 1500 BC. None of these individual finds provides an undeniably Hyksos-era object in a contemporary Aegean context.

We should consider the possibility that the Hyksos sent items to the Levant (or, in the case of the scarabs, the objects might have been made in the Levant) and from there they arrived at Aegean locations, sometimes at much later dates, or that Hyksos objects were sent to the Aegean during the New Kingdom. Hyksos royal-name scarabs made in Egypt reached southern Canaan during the Hyksos period (whereas the scarabs we find in the Aegean are in later contexts and none bear the names of Hyksos rulers),<sup>168</sup> and an obsidian vessel inscribed with Khyan’s name was found at the Hittite capital of Boğazköy-Hattusha.<sup>169</sup> Royally inscribed Hyksos objects were clearly being sent east, perhaps as diplomatic gifts. Through Levantine trade centers, similar objects could have entered wider networks of circulation, eventually reaching places like Knossos, Mycenae, and Pylos. The single item found in the Aegean inscribed with a royal Hyksos name, the lid of Khyan, could have traveled this path.

## Conclusion

The Hyksos were part of a larger eastern Mediterranean network sharing an elite cultural *koiné* that included Levantine, Cypriot, and Aegean elements, but currently there is inadequate evidence to state with any certainty that the Hyksos themselves were in direct contact with the Aegean or chose to import Aegean goods. The Levant had long-established trade relationships with the Aegean and through those connections Aegean-influenced objects made their way into Egypt under the Hyksos, but Aegean-made material evidently did not, in contrast with the preceding Middle Kingdom. Aegean-made objects appear up until the Thirteenth Dynasty, and reappear in the Eighteenth Dynasty, but no examples survive from secure Fifteenth Dynasty (Hyksos) contexts. Similarly, there is little reason to think that the Seventeenth Dynasty ruling in Thebes enjoyed a connection to the Aegean at this time, though they did appear to have access to objects from the Levant, Cyprus, and Nubia.

<sup>157</sup> RYHOLT, in MARÉE (ed.), *The Second Intermediate Period*, 124.

<sup>158</sup> CLINE, *Sailing the Wine-Dark Sea*, 144, cat. no. 105, 148, cat. nos 135 and 140, 149, cat. no. 148.

<sup>159</sup> CLINE, *Sailing the Wine-Dark Sea*, 143, cat. no. 99 (with further references).

<sup>160</sup> CLINE, *Sailing the Wine-Dark Sea*, 133, cat. no. 8.

<sup>161</sup> MICHAELIDIS, *PZ* 70, 90-5; POURSAT, in KRZYSKOWSKA (ed.), *Cretan Offerings*, 265.

<sup>162</sup> BOUFIDES, *AAA* 3, 273-4. See also LAMBROU-PHILLIPSON, *Hellenorientalia*, 342-3, cat. no. 436, pl. 53.

<sup>163</sup> CLINE, *Sailing the Wine-Dark Sea*, 150, cat. no. 152; CLINE, in DAVIES, SCHOFIELD (eds), *Egypt, the Aegean and the Levant*, 99, no. 19.

<sup>164</sup> MARTIN, in CZERNY *et al.* (eds), *Timelines*, 191-6.

<sup>165</sup> HÖFLMAYER, *Die Synchronisierung*, 186-7, fig. 80.

<sup>166</sup> MARTIN, in CZERNY *et al.* (eds), *Timelines*, 191-2.

<sup>167</sup> LAMBROU-PHILLIPSON, *Hellenorientalia*, 366, cat. no. 512, pl. 54; CLINE, *Sailing the Wine-Dark Sea*, 146, cat. no. 122.

<sup>168</sup> BEN-TOR, in MARÉE (ed.), *The Second Intermediate Period*, 91-108; BEN-TOR *et al.*, *Pharaoh in Canaan*, 42-3, and 48, cat. no. 12.

<sup>169</sup> MELLINK, *A&L* 5, 85-9.

The treasure from the burial of Ahhotep can be seen within the context of this eastern Mediterranean Bronze Age system with its Aegean aspects and can be considered part of a larger corpus of metalwork (including weapons) that appears in Egypt during the Hyksos period and early Eighteenth Dynasty and that includes types known from the Aegean world that are manufactured locally or in the Levant, such as the dagger of Apophis. The same might also be said of a silver ship model found in the queen's burial that may represent a Minoan ship type.<sup>170</sup> But the treasure also has significance beyond simply showing elite status and foreign relations – the imagery on the weapons in Ahhotep's burial carries a political message as well. Take for example the ceremonial axe of King Ahmose: the axe head bears Ahmose's name and shows the king smiting an enemy, quite likely a Hyksos ruler. Beneath this composition is an Aegean-style griffin – representing the king – of a type that appears in the early Late Bronze Age. What does the juxtaposition of these two elements mean? Given the historical context, placing an Aegean griffin directly adjacent to an image of Ahmose smiting his Hyksos enemy sends a powerful message about Egyptian domination of the eastern Mediterranean, a domination that was being re-claimed from the Hyksos, even if it was largely ideological rather than literal. A similar theme is implied in another weapon of the early Eighteenth Dynasty, which probably belonged to an elite burial in Thebes. A bronze dagger inscribed for Kamose bears the king's cartouche on a black bronze ring at the base of the handle.<sup>171</sup> The cartouche is framed by a band of fleur-de-lis and zigzags that recall Minoan motifs, using Minoan-influenced decoration to center the king's name. An inscription runs down the center of the blade, before which appears an image of the king as a griffin, wearing the Atef crown and raising one paw to quash an enemy. This griffin appears very similar to depictions of the Twelfth Dynasty King Senwosret III as a griffin vanquishing his enemies on a pectoral,<sup>172</sup> but the image on the blade of Kamose could bear multivalent meaning and simultaneously reference appearances of the griffin in Egyptian and Aegean art, especially when considered

alongside the use of Minoan motifs on the handle.<sup>173</sup>

The use of Aegean elements in Ahhotep's burial symbolized her family's destruction of Hyksos power and proclaimed Theban supremacy throughout not only Egypt but also the eastern Mediterranean more broadly. At Karnak, Ahmose set up a stela in which Ahhotep is praised for her role in reuniting Egypt and is called "Mistress of the Shores of the *h3w-nbwt* (i.e. the Aegean islands)", a title expressing Egypt's desire to expand its influence into the Aegean at the start of the New Kingdom. From the late sixteenth century BC onward, Egypt's relationship with Minoan Crete only grew stronger until the island came under the domain of the Mycenaeans, with whom the Egyptians continued to be in contact both on Crete and the Greek mainland. Trade with Cyprus also increased. Meanwhile, the Levant was targeted for invasion by Eighteenth Dynasty pharaohs and incorporated into the Egyptian empire and the Nubian Kerma kingdom was brought under Egyptian control as well. Threats to the northeast and south were quashed, and advantage was taken of the opportunity to re-engage with the Aegean littoral. This approach to foreign relations from the time of Ahmose onward is foreshadowed by the ceremonial axe-head. The use of this iconography was not purely to show cosmopolitanism or wealth, but also to proclaim Egyptian political and military might and international supremacy following reunification.

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- <sup>170</sup> See WACHSMANN, *JAEI* 2:3, 31-41; WACHSMANN, "Ahhotep's Metal Ship Models", in this volume. I do not find the conclusion that the model was looted in an attack on Avaris to be a convincing one. There is not adequate evidence for the presence of Minoans, Minoan ships, and/or Minoan-inspired objects at Tell el-Dab'a in the Fifteenth Dynasty, nor anything that concretely links the ship model (or the gold model of an Egyptian ship type that was found with it) to that location.
- <sup>171</sup> WHITEHOUSE, *Ancient Egypt and Nubia*, 71-2, cat. no. 37.
- <sup>172</sup> MORGAN, *The Miniature Wall Paintings of Thera*, 53 and no. 109, pl. 62.
- <sup>173</sup> AS MORGAN, *Ä&L* 20, 304, notes, "The 18<sup>th</sup> dynasty history of the griffin is interwoven with that of the Aegean".



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## **Aegean Consumption of Egyptian Material Culture in the Sixteenth Century BC: Objects, Iconography, and Interpretation**

Sarah C. Murray

### *Abstract*

*The purpose of this paper is to review the nature of exchange and contact between Egypt and the Aegean in the Sixteenth century BC from an Aegean perspective. It presents an analysis of the deposition of Egyptian artifacts in Aegean contexts and the influence of Egyptian style on art produced in the Aegean. It then considers the likely mechanisms underpinning the interaction of objects and ideas evident in the material culture. Taking the evidence altogether makes it seem most plausible that the use of Egyptian and Egyptianizing objects in the Aegean was related to relatively circumscribed engagement with elite tastes and movements of people, rather than the result of thoroughgoing cultural, economic or commercial transactions.*

### **Introduction**

Much of this volume concerns the local context for the mortuary consumption of objects in the tomb of the Egyptian Queen Ahhotep, dated to approximately 1550-1525 BC, including the likely local value and meaning of the Aegeanizing elements of the Ahhotep burial treasure. The purpose of this chapter is to contextualize the consumption from the opposite point of view, summarizing evidence for the likely nature of Aegean-Egyptian relations in the sixteenth century BC based on evidence from the Aegean. I begin by briefly summarizing the state of knowledge on Egyptian objects and motifs in the Aegean. Evidence for interaction between Egypt and the Aegean during this period can be divided into two categories. On the one hand are imported objects themselves, and on the other are motifs and decorative styles. I review both categories in turn. I then consider some general interpretative issues that attend assessing the nature of intercultural interactions based on material evidence. Bearing these complications in mind, I pres-

ent some tentative conclusions that may be drawn from this evidence and that might be brought to bear on our understanding of Queen Ahhotep's burial.

### **Egyptian Objects in the Sixteenth Century Aegean**

What does the material in the Aegean seem to suggest about the nature of Egyptian-Aegean relationships in Ahhotep's era? In this section, I briefly consider Egyptian imports in the Aegean from the period roughly coinciding with Ahhotep's tomb. Many of these imported objects are difficult to date precisely due to a variety of factors surrounding the excavation of their depositional contexts, but here I focus on Egyptian imports in the Aegean that seem quite likely to date roughly to the Late Helladic (LH)/Late Minoan (LM) I-II periods, which correspond to the late seventeenth and sixteenth centuries BC.<sup>1</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> For discussion of the relevant chronology see MANNING *et al.*, *Science* 28, 565-9.



The number of imported Egyptian objects in the Aegean is relatively modest for these periods, about 80 objects from a period lasting over a century. To put this quantity in context, it is useful to compare it to known imports in the Aegean from the latter half of the Late Bronze Age. The most intensive contacts between the two regions are evident during the reigns of Thutmose III, Amenhotep III, and Ramses II in the fifteenth to thirteenth centuries BC. During the LH/LM III period, for example, over 150 Egyptian imports are known in the Aegean, while Aegean pottery in Egypt simultaneously suggests a relatively robust exchange of objects going back and forth between the two regions.<sup>2</sup>

At the same time, during the LM I/II period, apparently Egyptian imports are much more common in the Aegean than imports from other regions, which means that any contacts the Aegean had with the wider Eastern Mediterranean at the time may have been focused on Egypt in particular. The prominence of Egyptian imports in the import corpus of the sixteenth century Aegean has suggested to some that direct, commercial trade between the two regions began roughly simultaneous with the emergence of Neopalatial institutions on Crete around this time.<sup>3</sup> In any case, it is clear that this period marked a watershed moment in the history of Aegypto-Cretan relations in some sense, but the nature of those connections remains murky because the evidence is not an optimal proxy through which to understand cultural relationships.<sup>4</sup>

Imported Egyptian material in the Aegean from this period is concentrated on the island of Crete, and especially at the site of Knossos. Out of all the LM I Egyptian imports on Crete, 74% come from excavations at Knossos. Such finds were uncovered from a relatively wide range of locations within the site of Knossos. A group of twelve imported stone vessels was found together in the excavations underneath the current stratigraphic museum,<sup>5</sup> and another cache of faience vessels came from a house to the north of the royal road.<sup>6</sup> Egyptian objects were also found in scattered domestic and ritual contexts within the settlement and the palace.<sup>7</sup> A group of sixteen

Egyptian imports was found in a single tomb at Isopata, a burial ground associated with Knossos (see Fig. 1).<sup>8</sup>

Other sites on Crete have not produced substantial corpora of imported objects. The only sites beyond Knossos with more than a single Egyptian import are Kato Zakro in far eastern Crete, the nearby palace of Palaikastro, the coastal Mesara site of Kommos, and the site of Pyrgos on the southeastern coast. Five stone vessels were found in the palace at Kato Zakro, the majority (three) from a single deposit in the so-called treasury of the shrine.<sup>9</sup> At Palaikastro two stone vessels come from the settlement, one from Block O and another from a hoard in Block X.<sup>10</sup> Two ceramic sherds of Egyptian types have been identified among imports at the settlement and harbor of Kommos.<sup>11</sup> Excavations at the settlement of Pyrgos uncovered an aniconic porphyry amulet and a porphyry bowl fragment.<sup>12</sup> Singleton imports come from six other sites, three of which are quite close to Knossos. A diorite bowl was deposited among other artifacts inside of a rectangular children's tomb at Archanes, a site just to the north of Knossos. An Egyptian white marble bowl was excavated in a votive context at Knossos' port of Poros Katsambas.<sup>13</sup> Finally, a tomb at Mavro Spilio contained one faience lotus-bowl.<sup>14</sup> Elsewhere, one stone vase, a flat-bottomed alabastron, comes from the palatial settlement at Agia Triada, and nearby Phaistos also produced a porphyry bowl, although its original context is not known.<sup>15</sup> A baggy alabastron from Egypt that had been modified to resemble a ewer was excavated in House Za at Mallia.<sup>16</sup> In general, it is fair to say that the corpus of imports on Crete during this period is dominated by stone vessels and is concentrated in the north central part of the island.

Egyptian imports on the mainland are fewer in number and distinct in having been recovered exclusively from mortuary contexts. However, they resemble the corpus of imports on Crete in that they are concentrated at a few palatial sites. Four stone and faience vessels were found in tombs at Mycenae, two in shaft graves of Mycenaean Grave Circle A and two in chamber tombs

<sup>2</sup> See review of evidence in CLINE, *Sailing the Wine-Dark Sea*.

<sup>3</sup> CLINE, *Sailing the Wine-Dark Sea*, 32. See below, for discussion of the many reasons to be skeptical of placing the onset of explicitly commercial relationships at this early date.

<sup>4</sup> On prepalatial contacts between Crete and the Eastern Mediterranean see COLBURN, *AJA* 112/2.

<sup>5</sup> WARREN, *Deltion* 33; WARREN, *Ariadne* 5, 3-5.

<sup>6</sup> CADOGAN, *Temple University Aegean Symposium* 1, 18; cf. PHILLIPS, *The Impact and Implication*, 558.

<sup>7</sup> House of children's bones: WARREN *Minoan Stone Vases*, 89, fig. 47; Pillar crypt: WARREN, *Minoan Stone Vases*, 111, no. G1, P601. Artifacts in houses around the royal road, CADOGAN, *Temple University Aegean Symposium* 1, 18; WARREN, *Ariadne*

5, 1-3; PHILLIPS, *Impact and Implications*, 558.

<sup>8</sup> EVANS, *The Prehistoric Tombs*, 141-9; PENDLEBURY, *Aegyptiaca*, 23-5; WARREN, *Minoan Stone Vases*, 112, P609-P612.

<sup>9</sup> PLATON, *Praktika* 1963/118, 181, pl. 150b, 1964, 352, fig. 9; PHILLIPS *Impact and Implications*, 465-8.

<sup>10</sup> WARREN, *Minoan Stone Vases*, 75, 110; PHILLIPS *Impact and Implications*, 703.

<sup>11</sup> WATROUS, *Kommos III*, 162-3.

<sup>12</sup> CADOGAN, in HÄGG, MARINATOS (eds), *Sanctuaries and Cults*, 169-70.

<sup>13</sup> WARREN, *Minoan Stone Vases*, 75, 110.

<sup>14</sup> FORSDYKE, *BSA* 28, 257-8.

<sup>15</sup> WARREN, *Minoan Stone Vases*, 111-12.

<sup>16</sup> WARREN, *Minoan Stone Vases*, 43, 103.

around the citadel.<sup>17</sup> At the nearby site of the later Argive Heraion, a royal tholos tomb probably to be associated with the palace of Mycenae produced fragments of one faience and one stone Egyptian vessel.<sup>18</sup> An additional three stone vessels along with an imported silver spoon come from a tholos tomb at Vapheio in Lakonia.<sup>19</sup> Finally, Two Egyptian imports – a faience scarab and a fragment of a faience pyxis – were excavated in a tholos tomb at Pylos.<sup>20</sup>

Region	Sites	Objects	Contexts
Crete	9 (Knossos, dominant, 74% of material)	71 (51 stone/faience vessels, others amulets, beads, etc.)	Settlement and Mortuary (a single Isopata tomb dominates the mortuary category)
Mainland	5 (Heraion, Kalauria, Mycenae, Pylos, Vapheio)	12 (10 stone/faience vessels, scarab, spoon)	Mortuary

**Table 1** – Basic figures and distribution of LM/LH I Egyptian imports in the Aegean

Regionally, then, it's clear that Cretan contexts have produced the large majority of known imported Egyptian objects that have turned up in the Aegean from the period of interest here. Only a handful of Egyptian imports are known from the mainland. The difference in the quantity of imports between the two regions is so dramatic that most scholars have assumed that Egyptian objects from mainland tombs reached the mainland through Cretan intermediaries. This scenario seems highly likely, given the related and generally accepted hypothesis that Cretan artists were responsible for creating most of the technically excellent prestige artifacts found in Mycenaean sites during this period, many of which are not clearly differentiated from Egyptian imports in terms of their consumption at mainland sites.<sup>21</sup> Thus, it seems quite likely to reconstruct a scenario in which there was essentially no direct contact between the Greek mainland

and Egypt during the seventeenth and sixteenth centuries BC. It is germane, then, to focus on the likely nature of cultural and material cultural connections between LM I/II Crete and Egypt in particular.

In this vein, it is interesting to observe that imported Egyptian objects on Crete are quite limited in terms of their type. The majority are stone vessels of some sort, especially baggy alabaster (see Fig. 1), although a few faience vessels are also known. Thus, while the majority of all imports in the Aegean from this period come from Egypt, it is not clear from the import record that connections between Egypt and Crete were very intense. Rather, looking at the imported objects in isolation, it appears that the role of Egyptian culture in Cretan material culture is a tightly circumscribed one, limited to the consumption of a particular material object – the stone vessel – which has most often been recovered from ritual contexts at elite sites.

What should we make of the prominence of stone vessels in the corpus of Egyptian imports on Crete? This question can only be answered in light of some further contextual information about Egyptian stone vessels, and the apparent meaning and contextual use of stone vessels on the island of Crete.

### Egyptian Stone Vessels in Sixteenth Century Crete

Stone vessels were characteristic of material cultural assemblages (see Fig. 2) from both Crete and Egypt starting in the Early Bronze Age. In Egypt, such vessels had been manufactured since the Predynastic period. They were used in a variety of contexts: everyday, ritual, and mortuary, and were usually associated with elites. The Egyptian desert contains a wide variety of types of stone suitable for vessel manufacture, and many evidently were exploited in this way, although imported stones were increasingly used over time as trade and exchange networks expanded.<sup>22</sup> The most popular material used to make Egyptian stone vessels in Egypt was calcite, a common carbonite mineral that is an appealing white color in appearance and relatively easy to work.

Stone vessels likewise had a long history of use in the Aegean, first appearing – especially in mortuary contexts – during the Early Bronze Age. Thus, the imported Egyptian stone vessels that began to arrive in the Aegean around the turn of the sixteenth century were not a novelty in the Aegean from the point of view of the basic typological category. Nonetheless, the appearance of stone vessels imported from Egypt is a new feature of archaeological deposits datable to the MM III-LM I transition.

Such vessels are especially concentrated in the LM I period, although it is not entirely clear that these objects

<sup>17</sup> BOSANQUET, *JHS* 24, 325-6; KARO, *Die Schachtgräber*, 71; WARREN, *PPS* 33, 39-41, 44; SAKELLARAKIS, *SMEA* 17, 177.

<sup>18</sup> WACE *et al.* (eds), *BSA* 25, 336.

<sup>19</sup> TSOUNTAS, *ArchEph* 1889, 146, 153; WARREN, *Minoan Stone Vases*, 114; KILIAN-DIRLMEIER, *JRGZM* 34/1, 198.

<sup>20</sup> BROWN, *Provisional Catalogue*, 70.

<sup>21</sup> E.g. BETTS, in BETANCOURT (ed.), *Temple*; VELSINK, *BABesch* 78.

<sup>22</sup> SPARKS, in MATTHEWS, ROEMER (eds), *Ancient Perspectives*, 39.

were actually created during this time. Many vessels appear to have been manufactured considerably earlier, during the Old Kingdom.<sup>23</sup> How did these older vessels end up in LM I deposits? One hypothesis is that such objects might have been looted from Old Kingdom tombs in Egypt and then traded abroad.<sup>24</sup> This is an intriguing suggestion that should have implications for our interpretation of both the supply of and demand for these objects. Presumably, people in Egypt would not begin a practice of looting Old Kingdom tombs in order to acquire stone vessels if there were not a sense that the demand for such objects abroad was considerable. It is compelling to consider the possibility that local developments on Crete, for example, the increasing social utility of leveraging exotic material culture or dear accoutrements for elite self-aggrandizement as Neopalatial institutions developed, compelled new looting activity in Egypt. The presence of a Cretan taste or demand for stone vessels of Egyptian type in the sixteenth century is supported by the existence of locally manufactured imitations.<sup>25</sup>

The most common shape in the Cretan assemblage of imported Egyptian stone vessels is the baggy alabastron, which accounts for over forty percent of the imported vessels on Crete overall.<sup>26</sup> As Bevan has noted, this shape is certainly popular in other regions, but its prominence in the Cretan assemblage is nonetheless exceptional in its Mediterranean context.<sup>27</sup> It is likely, then, that “*Cretan elites were arguably being selective of those elements of Egyptian culture that they considered relevant to their own purposes*”.<sup>28</sup> But a convincing explanation of the Cretan predilection for alabastra has never been convincingly offered.

It is important to consider not only the formal characteristics of the vessels, but their likely function as containers. The main function of the alabastron in Egypt was as a container for oil or other unguents.<sup>29</sup> In general, most Egyptian stone vessels were intended to serve as storage for ointments, as is known from inscriptions, preserved contents, and/or representations in figural art.<sup>30</sup> The proliferation of alabastra therefore might indicate a Cretan preference for a specific type of oil that was associated with this shape in particular rather than for the shape of the vessel itself.

In considering this possibility, it is also revealing to consider the material of the vessels. Most imported Aegean vessels were made of a type of calcite which does not occur on Crete, but which was also used for the local manufacture of Cretan vessels.<sup>31</sup> Moreover, Egyptian imported vases were often modified or repurposed in order to create shapes that fit more typologically into a Cretan paradigm, especially around the palace of Knossos.<sup>32</sup> This modification process consisted of taking Egyptian shapes like alabastra and cutting, perforating, or appending objects to them in order to generate shapes that looked Cretan, like rhyta or bridge-spouted jars<sup>33</sup> (see Fig. 3). The existence of such locally manufactured and modified vessels suggests that the raw material of the vessels might have been both imported and valued as much as or more than the shape of the finished vessels. It is therefore possible to relatively confidently dismiss the notion that the Cretan appetite for stone vessels reflects a desire for a particular kind of bulk commodity transported in travertine alabastra, and to reconstruct a complex set of Aegean desires related to material and appearance.

The consumption of Egyptian stone vessels was an elite phenomenon. Their find contexts are nearly exclusively limited to areas around the Cretan palaces and other palatial-affiliated settlements.<sup>34</sup> This is consistent with the contemporary trend around the Mediterranean. Stone vessels throughout the Mediterranean during this period seem to be consistently associated with high status – even unworked stones used to make such vessels feature in offering scenes and tribute lists, as do vessels empty of any contents.<sup>35</sup> Certainly, the elite contexts and the occasional ritual associations of the vessels in the Aegean suggest that the vessels had a particular set of

<sup>23</sup> WARREN, *Ariadne* 5. See, e.g., BEVAN, in MATTHEWS, ROEMER (eds), *Ancient Perspectives*, 62: “Significant debate has occurred over the degree to which these vessels represent recent arrivals to Crete in the later Bronze Age or had been locally curated, principally at Knossos, since an original exchange in later Prepalatial times. In favor of these being later arrivals, we can trace the appearance of PD-OK antiques at a large number of MB-LB Aegean, Egyptian, Levantine, and Nubian sites, suggesting a phenomenon of eastern Mediterranean-wide proportions”.

<sup>24</sup> POMERANCE, *Chronache di Archeologia* 12; POMERANCE, in ASTRÖM, PALMER, POMERANCE (eds), *Studies in Aegean Chronology*; PHILLIPS in OREL (ed.), *Death and Taxes*, 175-6; BEVAN, in MATTHEWS, ROEMER (eds), *Ancient Perspectives*, 68-9.

<sup>25</sup> BEVAN, in MATTHEWS, ROEMER (eds), *Ancient Perspectives*, 62.

<sup>26</sup> The imported alabastra are from Agia Triada (1), Knossos palatial settlement (13), Knossos-Isopata (5), Kato Zakro (3), Mallia (1), and Palaiokastro (1) on Crete, and at the Argive Heraion (1) and Vapheio (2) on the mainland.

<sup>27</sup> BEVAN, in MATTHEWS, ROEMER (eds), *Ancient Perspectives*, 66.

<sup>28</sup> BEVAN, in MATTHEWS, ROEMER (eds), *Ancient Perspectives*, 62.

<sup>29</sup> LILYQUIST, *Egyptian Stone Vessels*, 2.

<sup>30</sup> LILYQUIST, *Egyptian Stone Vessels*, 2.

<sup>31</sup> BEVAN, in MATTHEWS, ROEMER (eds), *Ancient Perspectives*, 67-8.

On the source of the calcite material see ASTON *et al.*, in NICHOLSON, SHAW, *Ancient Egyptian Materials*.

<sup>32</sup> WARREN, in LAFFINEUR, BETANCOURT (eds), *Techne*, 209-23.

<sup>33</sup> BEVAN, in MATTHEWS, ROEMER (eds), *Ancient Perspectives*, 125.

<sup>34</sup> See discussion of find contexts above.

<sup>35</sup> SPARKS, in MATTHEWS, ROEMER (eds), *Ancient Perspectives*, 44.



meanings within elite Cretan culture. These meanings probably related to explicitly and exclusively elite rituals and perhaps included ideas about the allure of an exotic, notionally Egyptian mystique.

However, complicating a straightforward understanding of the implications of these vessels for any direct engagement between Crete and Egypt is Lilyquist's suggestion that many of the so-called Egyptian vessels from Crete were actually made in the Levant.<sup>36</sup> Bouillon has added to the chorus of voices suggesting that stone vases usually identified as Egyptian have a complex and hybrid origin story that cannot be disentangled from cosmopolitan developments in material culture occurring at the transition from the Middle to Late Bronze Ages in the Mediterranean.<sup>37</sup> In general, it seems that Cretan communities in the sixteenth century connected the imported stone vases with association of something elite and culturally distinctive with a perhaps vague and inaccurate conception of an exotic place, whether or not that exotic notion had much to do with an accurate conception of Egypt in and of itself. Based on these imports, then it is not possible to reconstruct much of a robust set of *direct* links between Egypt and Crete during the sixteenth century.

It seems plausible to suggest that the consumption of these vessels and/or their contents had something to do with local value attached to a notional sense of exoticness, rather than a rigorous understanding of the Egyptian origin of the vessels or material. Perhaps it was the case that the imported alabastra represented a simple stereotype of what an Egyptian fancy unguent container was supposed to look like to a Cretan audience. It is often the case that contact among cultures manifests in curious ways that do not reflect clear understandings or thorough connections between different parties, and the sparse, limited nature of the Egyptian import corpus on Crete may suggest that this was also true of the two regions in the sixteenth century.

### **Egyptian and Cretan Art at the Transition from the Middle to Late Bronze Age**

In reconstructing the role of Egyptian culture on Crete in broader perspective, it is important to consider the apparent stylistic influence of Egypt on Cretan art, which is far more thoroughgoing than a straightforward reading of the import record, in this case primarily consisting of a relatively small number of imported stone vessels, might suggest.

<sup>36</sup> LILYQUIST, in HACHMANN (ed.), *Kamid el-Loz 16*; LILYQUIST, in LAFFINEUR, BETANCOURT (eds), *Techne*; see also BEVAN, in MATTHEWS, ROEMER (eds), *Ancient Perspectives*, 193-7.

<sup>37</sup> BOUILLON, *JAEI* 21, 5.

Aegean material culture of the Middle and Late Bronze Ages contains a range of imitative styles reliant on inspiration from Egyptian material culture, and Aegean imagery of this period is far more closely related to Egyptian than to the visual style of other eastern Mediterranean cultural units in, e.g., Mesopotamia or the Levant.<sup>38</sup> Nilotic motifs, which usually involve animal hunts in exotic landscapes populated with plants native to Egypt are present in some Aegean art of this period. Well-known examples include the cat or leopard hunt on a dagger from the Mycenaean shaft graves, the monkey fresco in the House of the Frescoes at Knossos, and the riverine landscape frieze in the West House at Akrotiri.<sup>39</sup> The appearance of the goddess Thoeris in the guise of the Minoan genie, blue monkeys, and a whole retinue of additional fantastic beasts like griffins and sphinxes emergent in Cretan art of the second palatial period indicate a relatively open armed embrace of Egyptian imagery in the Aegean alongside these straightforwardly Nilotic images.<sup>40</sup>

Egyptian influence is also evident in ivory work of the period. Following a general lack of ivory in the material record of the preceding eras, ivory becomes increasingly abundant in the MM III-LM I periods. Ivory workshops were almost certainly situated within and probably overseen by palatial institutions, as suggested by the presence of a stored cache of elephant tusks at the palace of Kato Zakro, the apparent ivory workshops along the royal road at Knossos, and the concentration of finished ivory objects at sites like Mallia and Palaikastro.<sup>41</sup> Ivories generally feature Egyptianizing motifs, for example the sphinx motif on a furniture ornament from house Zb at Mallia.<sup>42</sup> Ivory cosmetic containers and other objects related to cosmetics, like combs and mirror handles, are prominent in the ivory assemblages of LM I Crete, and this could be related back to the association of imported stone vessels with functions associated with modification or enhancement of a person's sensorial presentation to the world—scents provided by unguents or perfumed oils in the case of the stone vessels and visual modification through the application of makeup or combing of hair in the case of the ivories.<sup>43</sup>

<sup>38</sup> WARREN, in DAVIES, SCHOFIELD (eds), *Egypt, the Aegean, and the Levant*; cf. discussion in MARKOVITZ, LACOVARA, in LESLEY FITTON (ed.), *The Aigina Treasure*.

<sup>39</sup> LAFFINEUR, in CLINE, HARRIS-CLINE (eds), *The Aegean and the Orient*, 64.

<sup>40</sup> SHERRATT, *JMA* 7/2, 238. On Thoeris, see WEINGARTEN, *Transformation of Egyptian Tawaret*. On blue monkeys see PAREJA *et al.* (eds), *Primates* 61, 159-68.

<sup>41</sup> YOUNGER, in CLINE, HARRIS-CLINE (eds), *The Aegean and the Orient*, 235-6.

<sup>42</sup> YOUNGER, in CLINE, HARRIS-CLINE (eds), *The Aegean and the Orient*, 236.

<sup>43</sup> YOUNGER, in CLINE, HARRIS-CLINE (eds), *The Aegean and the Orient*, 237.



The influence of Egyptian art on Aegean material culture is echoed in Egypt by the presence of significant Aegeanizing motifs in a number of Egyptian contexts. This evidence is treated in another contribution to the current volume.<sup>44</sup> In this context, it is sufficient to reiterate that Minoan iconography like bull jumping frescoes, animals in flying gallops, and certain aniconic decorative motifs at a number of sites in Egypt that probably date approximately to the MMIII-LM IA period should attest to the fact that iconographical interaction between the two regions was significant in the sixteenth century.<sup>45</sup> Indeed, prominent among this evidence is the material at the center of this volume – the finds in the royal tomb of Queen Ahhotep.<sup>46</sup>

### Exchange and Cultural Interaction in Late Bronze Age Greece: Disciplinary Paradigms

What, then are we to make of the Aegean evidence for cultural interaction with Egypt? On the one hand, there is little in the way of compelling evidence for a robust importation of Egyptian goods into the Aegean. On the other hand, Egyptian artistic motifs seem to be traveling relatively liberally among the cultures of the Aegean at this time. In interpreting this evidence, one thing that is quite clear is that we must keep this conversation distinct from the typical paradigms within which exchange and trade have been studied in the Late Bronze Age overall.

The study of economic and cultural exchange in the Bronze Age Aegean often focuses on what would usually be categorized as economic exchange or trade among major states. Much of this interpretation draws from the relatively ample evidence for intercultural exchanges between Aegeans and peoples of the Eastern Mediterranean from the end of the Late Bronze Age. Such evidence includes the Amarna letters and documents from Ugarit demonstrating a robust international economy incorporating both independent merchants and political institutions, massive quantities of Mycenaean pottery in the Levant, and a few high-profile and spectacular shipwrecks dated to the fourteenth to twelfth centuries BC.<sup>47</sup>

However, there is much less evidence for the nature of intercultural exchange between the Aegean and Eastern Mediterranean states such as Egypt from earlier

phases of the Bronze Age, including the era of interest to this volume, the sixteenth century BC. Aegean pottery found in Egypt dated to this period constitutes a very different body of evidence than later Mycenaean assemblages in the region. For the most part, Aegean ceramics in sixteenth century Egypt represent a scattered assemblage of idiosyncratic examples rather than homogenous and typologically limited masses of evidence, as we have for the later centuries of the Late Bronze Age.<sup>48</sup> Moreover, there is little evidence from the Greek mainland, the Cyclades, or Crete that developed economies capable of generating exports of raw materials or finished goods at scale for market exchange existed at this time. No shipwrecks dating to this period have been discovered in the Mediterranean to date.

In the age of Horden and Purcell, we have become accustomed to thinking of the Mediterranean sea as a great binding force that encouraged connectivity between the many shores of the great inner sea throughout its human past.<sup>49</sup> But it is important to remember that travel at a distance in the Bronze Age would have been immensely challenging, dangerous, and time-consuming. Textual sources from the ancient Near East suggest that visitors to royal courts could often be detained or delayed for many years when sent on official business, and storms likely made sure that occasional dispatches simply never reached their destinations.<sup>50</sup> Thus, there is no compelling need to assume that thoroughgoing connections like those perhaps present in the fourteenth century BC were the norm rather than the exception, and little reason to believe that any kind of intensive commercial connections existed between Crete and Egypt in the sixteenth century.

### Interpreting Aegean Consumption of Egyptian Culture during the Sixteenth Century

It is therefore sensible to set aside the notion that *economic* exchange provides the best institutional lens through which to make sense of the story of Egypto-Aegean interaction in the sixteenth century. What kind of exchange, then, should we envision for this period?

<sup>44</sup> COLE, “The Aegean and Egypt during the Fifteenth (Hyksos) Dynasty (c. 1650-1550 BC) and Beyond”, in this volume.

<sup>45</sup> See lengthy discussion of this material in CLINE, *BSA* 93.

<sup>46</sup> LAFFINEUR, in CLINE, HARRIS-CLINE (eds), *The Aegean and the Orient*, 61; CLINE, *BSA* 93, 213.

<sup>47</sup> See review of scholarship in MURRAY, *Collapse of the Mycenaean*, 9-16.

<sup>48</sup> On Aegean pottery in Egypt see HANKEY, LEONARD, in CLINE, HARRIS-CLINE (eds), *The Aegean and the Orient*; CLINE, *BSA* 93, 213; LAFFINEUR, in CLINE, HARRIS-CLINE (eds), *The Aegean and the Orient*, 55; BARRETT, *JMA* 22/2, 211-34.

<sup>49</sup> HORDEN, PURCELL, *The Corrupting Sea*. On connectivity in the eastern Mediterranean Bronze Age see, e.g., papers in NIESIŃOŁOWSKI-SPANÒ, WĘCOWSKI (eds), *Change, Continuity, and Connectivity*.

<sup>50</sup> KNAPP, in CLINE, HARRIS-CLINE (eds), *The Aegean and the Orient*, 193.

Despite the relatively sparse nature of the evidence, a number of elaborate theories have been put forward to explain the apparent influences and imports that seem to have flowed between Egyptian and Aegean peoples. Marinatos suggested that there may have been a military impetus, with Minoan ships ferrying Mycenaean forces to Egypt in order to fight for Thebes against the Hyksos.<sup>51</sup> According to this scenario, the Hyksos refugees then went to the Aegean, thus explaining the presence of Egyptian objects there. This reconstruction seems a bit far-fetched, although it is always difficult to identify objects in the archaeological record that would have circulated as booty or possessions of martial forces.<sup>52</sup> Far more likely seems to be the frequently stated theory that Minoan and Egyptian artists may have traveled between the two regions, or that there were generally mobile artists in the Mediterranean during this period, resulting in the development of a relatively homogenous, if regionally tailored, international style that grew from interaction and cultural exchange among artists in particular rather than between societies overall.<sup>53</sup> If we seek to explain Egyptianizing elements in Aegean art as the result of a cosmopolitan, mobile artisanal class, we should then accept the possibility that direct relationships between the two cultures were likely quite diffuse, with artists simply generating a relatively generic elite, international style regardless of the particular tastes or demands of the individual cultural context. Thus, we may wish to reconstruct a situation in which Egyptian iconographic elements and objects were entangled in ideologies rather than economies, with politico-economic elites pursuing a shared taste for the generically exotic, rather than an Aegean predilection for the specifically Egyptian.<sup>54</sup>

However, it is possible that artists were not the only individuals to regularly permeate cultural boundaries. Another type of cultural exchange that has been reconstructed for this period is dynastic intermarriage among Cretans and Egyptians.<sup>55</sup> If such marriages were taking

place, they might have served as the mechanism for the transfer of artists, as groups of attached specialists may have accompanied the nuptial party from one palace to another. This possibility might provide an attractive lens through which to view some Egyptian and Egyptianizing objects in Crete, such as the stone unguent vessels and ivory cosmetic containers. If, as Bietak has suggested, a Minoan princess (or prince) in Avaris wished to be surrounded by Aegean-style wall paintings, perhaps an Egyptian prince or princess in the Aegean would have brought along tools and materials for beautification and personal enhancement that he or she was accustomed to utilizing in the natal household.<sup>56</sup> The objects are small and personal, and one could imagine them being exactly the sort of intimate, comforting personal possession that could be easily brought along on a long sea journey. Alternatively, the vessels might have been considered an appropriate greeting or wedding gift to be presented to the royal court prior to or during the marriage proceedings.<sup>57</sup> In general, the suggestion that inter-dynastic marriage was responsible for generating some of the apparent material relationships between sixteenth century Cretans and Egyptians has been accepted by many scholars, although in an absolute sense it is perhaps as difficult to substantiate convincingly as Marinatos' militaristic reconstruction.

## Conclusions

Overall it may not be unreasonable to suggest that much of the interaction between Crete and the Egyptians in the early Late Bronze Age revolved around the movement of goods and objects with direct relation to a rather restricted group of elite individuals. It is interesting to reflect on this fact in light of an oft-stated opinion about Queen Ahhotep – that she may have been a Minoan princess sent across the sea to marry an Egyptian prince. On the other hand, since it seems clear that stone vessels of the sort that we find in the Aegean from the sixteenth century were also made at Byblos and imitated on Crete, it may be more likely that these vessels were part of international elite consumption strategies in general rather than related to specific Egypto-Aegean relationships. To summarize, given the particularities of the extant Egyptian style objects from LM I/II Crete, it seems plausible to reconstruct either a scenario in which an important component of Egypto-Aegean

<sup>51</sup> MARINATOS, *Crete and Mycenae*, 81-2; cf. BERNAL, *Black Athena*, 398. On the notion of a Minoan thalassocracy and its relation to Egypt see SAKELLARAKIS, SAKELLARAKIS, in HÄGG, MARINATOS (eds), *The Minoan Thalassocracy*, 1984.

<sup>52</sup> SPARKS, in MATTHEWS, ROEMER (eds), *Ancient Perspectives*, 41. Occasionally inscriptions provide strong evidence for this kind of exchange, however (POTTS, *Oriens Antiquus* 25; POTTS, *Iraq* 51).

<sup>53</sup> LAFFINEUR, in CLINE, HARRIS-CLINE (eds), *The Aegean and the Orient*, 67; SHERRATT, *JMA* 7/2, 238; SHAW, MELLINK, *Ä&L* 5; CLINE, *BSA* 93, 209.

<sup>54</sup> KNAPP, in CLINE, HARRIS-CLINE (eds), *The Aegean and the Orient*, 203.

<sup>55</sup> On exchange of wives as a mechanism in the LBA generally see ZACCAGNINI, *JNES* 42/4; MOOREY, in SHORTLAND (ed.), *The Social Context*.

<sup>56</sup> E.g., BIETAK, *EA* 2, 28; BIETAK, *Avaris*, 26. Alternatively, the stone vessels might have been transferred in a form of elite diplomacy, as suggested by SPARKS, in MATTHEWS, ROEMER (eds), *Ancient Perspectives*, 41, although this explanation does not have much power for clarifying why exactly a certain form or type of stone vessel was so popular in Crete in particular.

<sup>57</sup> SPARKS, in MATTHEWS, ROEMER (eds), *Ancient Perspectives*, 39.

relations involved the movement of elite individuals, perhaps through intermarriage between Aegean and Egyptian families, or one in which Egypto-Aegean relations were largely absent, except through the persona of the mobile artisan who traveled freely among Mediterranean cultures creating hybrid works of art for elites. In either case, one can confidently state that a general material evocation of the Egyptian probably offered a powerful ideological tool for the performance of elite status in Bronze Age Crete.

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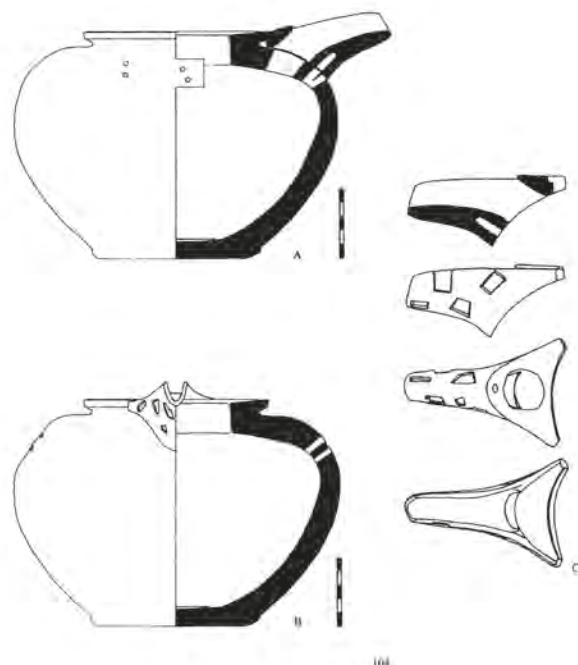




**Fig. 1** – A group of imported Egyptian stone vessels excavated from the ‘royal tomb’ of Isopata near Knossos by Arthur Evans in 1904 (EVANS, *Prehistoric*, pl. XCIX, fig.125)



**Fig. 2** – An example of a calcite vase from New Kingdom Egypt BM EA 4555 © courtesy of the Trustees of the British Museum



**Fig. 3** – Drawing of a modified Egyptian stone vase from the site of Kato Zakro in eastern Crete (PHILLIPS, *Aegyptiaca*, vol. 2, 312, no. 104)

## The Aegeanizing Elements Depicted on the Objects from the Burial of Ahhotep

Beth Ann Judas

### *Abstract*

*This paper will explore the Bronze Age Aegean artistic influences on the golden bead broad collar and two weapons provided as grave goods for the burial of Queen Ahhotep. The most famous pieces that demonstrate Aegean artistic influence are the axe of Ahmose and the inlaid dagger of Ahmose, which date from the very end of the Seventeenth Dynasty and the very early Eighteenth Dynasty. These items seem to bridge the dates of the Bronze Age Aegean goods that have been excavated at Middle Kingdom and the New Kingdom Egyptian sites and are key examples for the study of interconnections between Egypt and her Aegean neighbors.*

### **Introduction**

Mariette's excavation of the Dra Abu el Naga tomb of Queen Ahhotep yielded important finds related to the study of the late Second Intermediate Period and to late Seventeenth-early Eighteenth Dynasty interconnections between Egypt and the Bronze Age Aegean.<sup>1</sup> Ahhotep's son, Ahmose, gave her objects, which have his names and titulary on them, either to furnish her tomb or during her life; both actions indicate the high esteem and honor in which he held his mother.

Out of the several small objects buried with the queen, there are three items in her tomb with recognizable Aegean-style iconography incorporated into their decoration: a gold beaded broad collar (and associated loose beads) in the Cairo Museum, a dagger in the Luxor Museum, and an axe, also in the Cairo Museum.<sup>2</sup> These ob-

jects have some of the earliest indications of a shared hybridity of iconography between Egypt and the Bronze Age Aegean. The different artistic styles and vocabularies of the Egyptian and Aegean iconographic elements are deliberately used together to reinforce the idea of rulership, authority, and power. These objects are also some of the earliest pharaonic/royal examples in Egypt of combining two sets of different cultural iconography to create "bilingual" cultural iconographical motifs that could speak to a diverse court audience, both Egyptian and foreign, when worn during courtly functions.

### **The Beaded Broad Collar**

Ahhotep's broad collar (or *usekh/weskh*) (CG 52672), at first glance, appears very traditional. Two inlaid falcon headed terminals, facing outwards, cap each end, and the gold beads initially appear as easily recognizable, common Egyptian motifs. A new reconstruction, currently on display in the Cairo Museum, allows the falcon heads to fully function as fasteners of the strands of beads, and

<sup>1</sup> GOEDICKE, *Studies*; VAN DEN BOORN, *Duties of the Vizier*, 340-7.

<sup>2</sup> The metal ships, which were included in Ahhotep's grave goods, will be discussed separately by Dr. Wachsmann, and as such, they are not included in this discussion.

permits the strands to lie more smoothly. There is also a set of beads that have not been incorporated into the final collar reconstruction. However, an older reconstruction had rows of gold beads (CG 52733) ending beyond the terminals,<sup>3</sup> suggesting that there was an attempt to deal with the extra beads by having the long strands.

The collar is not the typical heavy faience, metal, and stone bead collar, instead it is entirely made of gold beads, and there is no color in the collar, except for the falcon heads, which have green and blue inlays. It is very reminiscent to an earlier collar belonging to Pharaoh Seqenenre (Seventeenth Dynasty), which has four rows of gold beads of lotus-seed vessels and closed lotus buds, one row of designs with inlaid semi-precious stones, and end pieces comprised of inlaid open lotus blossoms.<sup>4</sup>

The beads on Ahhotep's collar are a mix of very traditional Egyptian motifs: papyrus flowers, winged *uraei*, cats (presumably Bastet or another feline deity), protective birds with their wings outstretched, and long leaf-shaped pendants. There are fillers in the shapes of Xs and solid circles, which may represent stylized rosettes. Not all of the beads are static motifs, there is a strand of possible antelopes (or an ungulate of some sort) running in a flying gallop, and a strand of lions chasing more antelopes – both sets of animals are also posed in a flying gallop. Finally, there is a set of single spirals, which when placed next to each other, suggest a continuous band of running spirals.

The set of extra beads repeat the above motifs, but they also include those with slightly different designs: a falcon, presumably representing Horus, a vulture, presumably Mut, a tear-drop shape, a shell shape, and a crescent moon shape. There are not enough to create a separate full broad collar. It is unclear if the sets of extra beads were originally incorporated into the full broad collar, or if and how they were used in a separate piece of jewelry.

The spirals were reconstructed here as a series of connected spirals in Ahhotep's collar. This particular style is not seen in Middle Kingdom Egypt, yet it is a common motif within the Late Bronze Age international *koiné* iconographic motifs and is regularly found in the Bronze Age Aegean from the Middle Bronze Age and onward. As it became more popular in Egypt during the New Kingdom, the inclusion of the running spiral motif is expanded beyond small objects to items such as tomb ceiling paintings, motifs on the Keftiu kilts, and finally later pieces that are influenced by a Late Bronze

Age international *koiné*, such as a chair belonging to Tutankhamun, or a chariot of Yuya and Tuya.

The schematic motif of the repeated lion hunt is one that is also seen on the dagger of Ahmose (see below). Evans originally suggested an Aegean origin of the lion chasing a bull in a flying gallop, which is an iconic Aegean theme.<sup>5</sup> Kantor supported his argument, and she suggested that the dagger of Ahmose is one of the earliest introductions of such a scene and pose into Egyptian artistic cannon.<sup>6</sup>

The combination of the use of the spirals and the running gallop creates an international dynamic to the collar, perhaps signifying both wealth and a global sophistication to any courtly viewer who would see the queen wearing it. Ahhotep's broad collar should also be considered an early occurrence of such an image. These objects may mark the birth of what Marian Feldman calls the "international artistic *koiné*"<sup>7</sup> in southern Egypt.

## Dagger

Ahmose also honored his mother with a ceremonial dagger (JE 4666/CG 52658), which was inscribed with his names and titles. The gold blade of the dagger has a rounded tip, and the hilt is inlaid with a pattern of gold, carnelian, and lapis lazuli triangles. It is a ceremonial dagger, rather than a practical weapon, due to its gold blade and rounded tip.

The pommel is composed of four human faces, which are unidentified. Jaromir Malek states that they are "four axially facing female heads",<sup>8</sup> and in a footnote, suggests that the heads represent Hathor and are linked to the bovine heads on the cross-guard (see below), which would then represent Hathor in her divine cow form.<sup>9</sup> He also goes one step farther, and equates the four faces with the representations of Hathor in architectural elements in the manner of Derchain's *Hathor Quadrifrons*<sup>10</sup> and her associated architectural representations, such as those at Hatshepsut's Deir el Bahri temple. However, when one looks closely at the heads, they do not look female. Given that the faces are miniature, one would expect to see easily identifiable attributes that would suggest a female divinity, such as the long tripartite wig that one would expect for women and with representations

<sup>3</sup> VILIMKOVÁ, DARBOIS, ABDUL-RAHMAN, *Egyptian Jewellery*, pl. 24; ALDRED, *Jewels of the Pharaohs*, pl. 46.

<sup>4</sup> Seqenenre broad collar is found in the Egyptian Museum, upper floor, room 4 (EL-SHAHAWY, ATIYA, *The Egyptian Museum*, 463-5).

<sup>5</sup> EVANS, *Palace of Minos*, vol. I, 715; EDGERTON, *JAOS* 56, 188; KANTOR, *The Aegean and the Orient*, 63-4; WARREN, in DAVIES, SCHOFIELD (eds) *Egypt, the Aegean, and the Levant*, 5.

<sup>6</sup> KANTOR, *The Aegean and the Orient*, 63-5.

<sup>7</sup> FELDMAN, *Diplomacy by Design*, 10.

<sup>8</sup> MALEK, in GORING, REEVES, RUFFLE (eds), *Chief of Seers*, 208.

<sup>9</sup> MALEK, in GORING, REEVES, RUFFLE (eds), *Chief of Seer*, 213, n. 16.

<sup>10</sup> MALEK, in GORING, REEVES, RUFFLE (eds), *Chief of Seers*, 213, fn 16; DERCHAIN, *Hathor Quadrifrons*.

of Hathor, or even the cow ears that are often included with representations of Hathor. Instead, these individuals have short-bobbed hair, which resembles those of soldiers, such as those represented in the tomb model found in the Middle Kingdom tomb of Mesehti in Assiut (JE 309886/CG 258) that dates to Eleventh Dynasty. There is also a possibility that the heads could represent defeated enemies, which would also be in keeping with the motifs found on the blade of the dagger (see below). Whether viewed as defeated enemies or soldiers, the intent of the heads on the pommel would be to strike fear in individuals' hearts and to reinforce the idea that Ahmose was the rightful ruler of a united Egypt through the militaristic might and repulsion of the Hyksos, as well as through his lineage. Representations of warrior or enemy heads, rather than female heads, are more in keeping with the militaristic decorative theme of the blade.

The cross-guard has a head of a bull on either side of the blade;<sup>11</sup> the horns of the animal frame the blade. It has been suggested that that it is not a bull, but a cow, perhaps representing Hathor,<sup>12</sup> which would be a suitable attribution, if the dagger was specifically commissioned by or for Queen Ahhotep and was attempting to link her with Hathor. However, given the fact that three "golden flies of valor" were buried with Ahhotep, and combined with the mention of her role in the fight against the Hyksos on the Karnak Stela,<sup>13</sup> is more likely that the representation is of a bull, which is associated with the power of pharaoh and the Egyptian throne. In addition, as noted above, the heads on the pommel are more likely to be male, and, combined with the bull at the cross-guard, thematically tie into the scenes inlaid in the blade in a way that perhaps Hathor imagery would not.

On both sides of the dagger, the center of the blade has a *niello* inlay. This black sulphide, which is worked when warm and malleable, is assumed to be the basis for an inlay decoration, in this case gold wire, to be set into while it was warm.

### The obverse of the blade

Inset into the rib of the dagger are the name and titles of Ahmose:

*s3 R<sup>c</sup> n ht.f (I<sup>c</sup>h ms(w)) di(w) ʿnh mi R<sup>c</sup> dt*

Son of Re of his body, Ahmose, given life like Re eternally

The decoration is an abbreviated hunting scene, as well as four locusts (or perhaps grasshoppers), each separated by a single plant. Finally, there is a small floral motif at the base.

<sup>11</sup> Malek suggests that it represents the Apis bull or Montu, MALEK, in GORING, REEVES, RUFFLE (eds), *Chief of Seers*, 213, n. 16.

<sup>12</sup> MALEK, in GORING, REEVES, RUFFLE (eds), *Chief of Seers*, 213.

<sup>13</sup> *Urk.* IV.21, 10-16.

The hunting scene is comprised of a large, maned predator cat (presumably a male lion) chasing a calf. The hunting cat has little spots on its coat and small dash marks indicate the mane on his neck and the fur on its belly. The calf has splotches on its hide to identify it as some sort of cattle. The hunting scene in Egypt is not unusual and is generally interpreted to not only represent an actual hunt but also the dominion of *ma'at* over *isfet*, or the pharaoh dominating/subduing his enemies. However, the iconography of this hunting scene is different from the standard Egyptian representations of animals. Two animals are caught in a snap-shot at a single moment of time. Their feet are off the ground, and they are depicted in a flying gallop. The ground-line is dictated by the base of the band, and above them are rocky outcrops hanging down into the frame.

The use of the hanging rocky outcrops is a common landscape image used in Aegean art especially in hunt scenes.<sup>14</sup> It is used in Bronze Age wall painting scenes, portable objects, pottery, seal rings and also on daggers. In Aegean paintings, the rocky outcrops are often multi-colored, which is interpreted as being representative of the colorful banded rocky outcrops that are found on Thera and elsewhere in the Aegean Islands.<sup>15</sup> These striations are seen in the miniature frescos from Thera from the West House, especially on the South Wall of Room 5. The use of the outcrop motif creates a sense that the action is set in a moment of actual time and place. The hunt is outdoors in the "real" world and it is immediately before the lion will pounce. The prey still has the possibilities of escape because the outcome is not yet set in stone.

There are several examples of contemporaneous inlaid daggers from the Aegean. The Lion Hunt dagger from Shaft Grave IV in Grave Circle A at Mycenae<sup>16</sup> has the depiction of a male lion hunting fleeing antelopes on a rocky, uneven groundline. There are additional Late Bronze Age Aegean daggers with hunting scenes and floral motifs, such as the lion dagger from Shaft Grave IV in Grave Circle A at Mycenae and those from Routsis in Messenia.<sup>17</sup> While the inlaid designs use metal cut

<sup>14</sup> MORGAN, *The Miniature Wall Paintings of Thera*, 32-4.

<sup>15</sup> MORGAN, *The Miniature Wall Paintings of Thera*, 32; DOUMAS, *The Wall-Paintings of Thera*. See Miniature Fresco, West House, Room 5, South Wall, flotilla, pl. 53, Building Delta complex, Lily fresco (Late Cycladic I), pls 66-8.

<sup>16</sup> Athens, National Archaeological Museum 394 (Late Helladic I, c. 1600-1500 BC). The reverse side of this dagger has a scene of male hunters, armed with spears and shields, hunting male lions.

<sup>17</sup> Bronze dagger with inlaid gold and silver nautilus (Late Helladic IIA, c. 1500 BC, from a tholos tomb in Routsis, Messenia 8339); bronze dagger with inlaid gold male lions in a flying gallop with rocky outcrops with the same repeated on the obverse (Late Helladic I, Shaft Grave IV, Grave Circle A



outs set into the *niello*, rather than golden wire outlines, the concept is the same. In Ahhotep's grave goods we are seeing this motif at one of its earliest realizations in Egyptian art in both the dagger and the pendants of the golden broad collar.

The lion hunt scene is often associated with royalty or rulers across the Mediterranean. The lion is a figure of strength and power. In Egypt, pharaoh can be associated with the lion. The representation of a hunt with the lion as victor or pharaoh hunting wild animals has a dual purpose. Not only does it represent an activity that could happen in real life, but symbolically, pharaoh, or in this case pharaoh as a lion, represents *ma'at* defeating, or containing, *isfet*.

Christian Desroches Noblecourt suggested that the lion hunt motif on the dagger is a symbolic representation of the defeat and expulsion of the Hyksos.<sup>18</sup> The bull calf symbolizes the Hyksos (as the bull is a symbol of the god Seth), and the lion represents Pharaoh. If the bull calf is meant to be understood as the Hyksos, then why was the scene commissioned in the Aegeanizing style, which echoes the Bronze Age Aegean daggers' artistic style, rather than using the traditional Egyptian style? The inclusion of the formal representation of locusts/grasshoppers suggests that the craftsman creating the decorative motifs understood and could wield an accomplished hand in creating scenes in the traditional Egyptian manner. As the Hyksos rulers were part of Egyptian culture and leadership, one would expect Ahmose to use traditional Egyptian iconography to represent the defeat of the northern Egyptian rulers, as they themselves use, unless he deliberately chose to use non-Egyptian iconography to suggest that the Hyksos were illegitimate foreign rulers, or to couch the defeat of the Hyksos in visual terms that non-Egyptian viewers could understand.

The scene does not have to be one or the other. The use of the motif could visually demonstrate both the idea of the conquered foreign rulers, as well as the sovereignty of *ma'at* over *isfet* - a type of visual iconographic multi-tasking. This combination of different artistic traditions would suggest a more cosmopolitan worldview. As this was a ceremonial dagger made of gold with a rounded point, it would make sense that it would be worn during courtly activities, perhaps even with foreign diplomats in attendance. After all, the Egyptians have a long history of creating ceremonial items for deliberate display in order to communicate specific ideas. If we have one of the earliest uses of a combination of cultural motifs, a

pre-international *koiné* perhaps, then Ahmose was deftly using a combination of visual language to demonstrate his role as pharaoh and defender of *ma'at*, as well as Egypt's place in the larger Mediterranean world.

The style of the hunt is drastically different from the locusts; the hunter and prey are full of movement and life, while the locusts are static. The locusts fit perfectly into this band due to their narrow, horizontal body shape. They are an insect that arrives in seemingly endless droves, and have the potential for overwhelming destruction of crops and vegetation,<sup>19</sup> which is why they are also used to denote a destructive force, such as an enemy army. Malek takes the identification of locust one step further.<sup>20</sup> He equates them with the traditional representations of prone and bound prisoners, with their arms tied behind their backs. On the dagger, there is no image of Pharaoh, either figurative or symbolic, accompanying the locusts, so perhaps the demonstration of his power over destructive forces as well as the suggestion that pharaoh's armies are able to overcome enemies' armies with a similar type of destructive devastation as locusts is represented by pharaoh wearing and carrying the dagger.

The idea of bound prisoners, most especially those who are lying on their stomachs, mimic the poses of the locusts on the dagger, which would again reinforce the idea of pharaoh as protector of Egypt. Thus, the locusts in combination with the lion hunt provides two different ways of signaling the might of pharaoh, the ability to subdue multitudes of enemies, and the role of pharaoh in the control of chaos. With this ceremonial dagger, the message as a rightful protector of Egypt is reinforced. The combination of the hunt scene, the locusts, and the male heads on the pommel create a visual statement of Ahmose's role as pharaoh, victorious commander of an army, and a new political player in the Eastern Mediterranean.

### The reverse of the blade

The decoration on the reverse side of the dagger is much simpler but no less elegant. Again we have the name and title of pharaoh.

*ntr nfr nb t3wy (Nb-ph̄ty R̄) di(w) ḥnh R̄c dt*

The good/perfect god, lord of the two lands, Nebpehtyre,  
given life forever like Re eternally

Below the text is a series of fifteen triple-leaved palmettes, which is a repeating floral design similar to the one that appears on the dagger sheath of Tutankhamun. At the base, there is a small animal face, perhaps a fox or maybe a jackal.

in Mycenae 395); bronze dagger with inlaid gold leopards in a landscape ((Late Helladic IIA, from a tholos tomb in Routsis, Messenia 8340) (all in Athens, National Archaeological Museum).

<sup>18</sup> MALEK, in GORING, REEVES, RUFFLE (eds), *Chief of Seers*, 208.

<sup>19</sup> MALEK, in GORING, REEVES, RUFFLE (eds), *Chief of Seers*, 210.

<sup>20</sup> MALEK, in GORING, REEVES, RUFFLE (eds), *Chief of Seers*, 210.

While the locusts are an unusual decorative motif, the hunting scene catches the eye. There is a juxtaposition between the highly stylized and formal representations of the palmettes, the locusts, and the more organic and energetic representation of the hunting scene. The schematic and more formal representations of the locusts and their accompanying plants may be more typical of what the one might expect when viewing an Egyptian object, and more expected by a viewer who is more familiar with traditional Egyptian iconography than the more organic and less formal representation of the hunting scene.

### Axe of Ahmose

The ceremonial axe of Ahmose (JE 4673), which was also found in the tomb of his mother, Queen Ahhotep, is made of copper, gold, electrum, and wood.<sup>21</sup> Because the axe was found with Ahhotep's grave goods, it is not known exactly when Ahmose commissioned the ceremonial weapon. Betsy Bryan has suggested that the paleography of Ahmose's name changed at the time of the reunification in his reign, around his regnal year 17 or 18.<sup>22</sup> The family of Ahmose seems to have had a particular relationship with the god of the moon, *Iḥ* (Iah), whose name is written with the sign of a crescent moon with the ends pointed upwards. Bryan suggested that, "perhaps, at the very time that he effected the unification, Ahmose began to have his name written with the lunar crescent of Iah pointing its ends downwards".<sup>23</sup> The representation of Ahmose's name on the obverse side of the axe has the lunar crescent pointed upwards. If Bryan's assumption is correct, this orientation suggests that Ahmose commissioned or received the axe prior to the reunification of Egypt – provided, of course, that the craftsman correctly rendered Ahmose's name on the axe.

The axe is comprised of inlaid gold designs. Both sides of the weapon are decorated with iconography that represents, once again, the strength and protection of pharaoh. Each side of the axe is split into three registers, but only one side contains the inscription with Ahmose's name.

#### Side 1:

1. The top register contains Heh, the god of eternity/infinite time, and he holds a palm branch in either hand.
2. The middle register has the two ladies of Egypt, Wadjet (cobra goddess of Lower Egypt) and Nekhbet (vulture goddess of Upper Egypt) as well as the plants (sedge and lotus) of Upper and Lower Egypt.

<sup>21</sup> BONGIOANNI, CROCE, *The Illustrated Guide*, 369.

<sup>22</sup> BRYAN, in SHAW (ed.), *Oxford History*, 220.

<sup>23</sup> BRYAN, in SHAW (ed.), *Oxford History*, 220; FAULKNER, *A Concise Dictionary*, 11; *Urk. IV*, 813: 5, 13, 16, 583: 15.

3. The bottom register has a couchant sphinx wearing a possible nemes headdress and beard. He holds a head of an enemy in one of his paws.

All of these together signify that Ahmose is the legitimate ruler of a unified Egypt and that his claim is approved by the gods. If this axe was created prior to his defeat of the Hyksos, then Ahmose is communicating his claim to the throne of both Upper and Lower Egypt, and his intention of taking it by all means necessary, as well as his interpretation that the gods are supportive of his claim to the throne of unified Egypt.

#### Side 2:

The second side continues the theme of royal authority in its three registers.

1. The top register has the nomen, praenomen, and titles of Ahmose: "Son of Re, Ahmose, favorite (?) of the god, Nebpehtyre".

2. In the second register, Ahmose wears a blue battle helmet crown with a uraeus and is in a typical striding and smiting pose while holding an enemy of Egypt by the hair. The generic looking enemy wears a kilt and has short hair. It is difficult to tell if the individual's hair is straight or curly.

3. The lower register has a couchant griffin. The glyphs next to the beast state "beloved of Montu". It is very obviously different from an Egyptian style griffin, as it is represented in a manner much closer to the way the Aegeans depict their griffins with the vulture beak rather than the falcon beak, a crest of feathers attached to the head of the griffin, and hanging spirals. All of these features identify the Aegean-ness of the griffin.

For comparison, consider the pectoral of Senwosert III from the tomb of Mereret of the Twelfth Dynasty at Dahshur (Cairo Museum JE 30875 (CG 52002)) that depicts two Egyptian griffins, each trampling Egyptian captives. In this case, the Egyptian griffins (falcon-headed, lion-bodied, winged creatures wearing *atef* crowns) represent pharaoh defeating the enemies of Egypt. The Aegean griffin should be understood as associated with Ahmose just as the Egyptian griffin is associated with pharaoh. However, on Ahmose's axe the Aegean griffin seems to represent only the strength of the pharaoh, and not also the defeat of his enemies, although that may be implied by the representation of the griffin itself. Pharaoh will always defeat the enemies of Egypt. The griffin on Ahmose's axe also represents the support of the divine, thus legitimizing his claim to the unified throne of Egypt.

The Aegean-style griffin on the axe is much less stylized than the Egyptian-style griffin on the pendent. Its wings are outstretched, and its feathers are delineated more realistically than the Senwosret III griffins'

wings. The little spirals on the neck and edging along the wings echo the Minoan version of the beast.<sup>24</sup> All of these attributes are more reminiscent of the Aegean griffin rather than the Egyptian version. And the Aegean-style griffin is also portrayed in a less formal manner than the Senwosret III griffins, which, although striding forward towards the center of the pendant, have a static quality in the pose.

The axe's Aegean-style griffin has inspired much discussion, especially by Vronwy Hankey, who believed it signaled the defeat of the Keftiu by the hands of Ahmose.<sup>25</sup> The Aegean griffin on the blade combined with the epithet "beloved of Montu" suggested to Hankey that "*in this context the victor 'Beloved of Montu', the god of war, parades the symbol of the conquered, as in a Roman triumph*".<sup>26</sup> This is a puzzling leap, especially as Ahmose had his hands full with the Hyksos, and a potential naval battle in the Aegean might have been somewhat ambitious at that moment in time, nor is there any textual evidence supporting Hankey's suggestion. In addition, one cannot help but think that Ahmose, son of Ebana, would have been sure to mention a naval battle with the Aegean if it had happened. There is absolutely no evidence to support Hankey's hypothesis.

The epithet, "beloved of Montu", placed next to the griffin, not only indicates Ahmose's desire to associate himself with Montu, an Upper Egyptian god, with a cult linked to Thebes, and a deity associated with war in the Middle Kingdom, in order to be successful in battle. The reference may also link Ahmose with historically important Upper Egyptian pharaohs, such as Montuhotep Nebhepetre II, who also re-united a split Egypt and whose name incorporates that of the god. Additionally, griffins in Egypt had a solar association and were predators who were linked to royal iconography to reflect the strength and power of the king. And there is also the possibility that the griffin symbolizes Montu-Horus, a syncretized version of Montu and Horus. This connection brings together the role of kingship, the individual pharaoh, Ahmose, and the strength and predatory nature of the griffin together to demonstrate the power of the kingship, and the ability to conquer, protect, and rule. The reverse side indicates that his rule will be forever, while the obverse, with the griffin demonstrates that

not only is he the rightful king, but that his reign is also blessed by Montu ("beloved of Montu").<sup>27</sup>

In Egypt, the distinctive Aegean-style griffin is only seen in three settings: the Ahmose axe, the early Eighteenth Dynasty frescoes from Tell el-Dab'a, and with the Keftiu represented in the wall-paintings in the early Eighteenth Dynasty Theban tombs. The wall-paintings in the tombs of the nobles, which depict the Keftiu and their goods, have representations of an Aegean rhyta, including a griffin-headed example. This suggests the Aegean griffin was recognized by the Egyptians as specifically "Aegean", and there was no need to replace it or incorporate it into their repertoire. Thus, its inclusion on the axe was deliberate, and purposeful; if the craftsmen had made a mistake then Ahmose would have rejected the commission. The Aegean-style griffin maybe have been used to as a way to express an Egyptian concept to an audience who were not Egyptian, but would more readily recognize the non-Egyptian style griffin, whose royal and sacred associations were broader than the Egyptian versions. It is also possible that the Aegean-style griffin potentially communicated the Egyptian entry into the wider Mediterranean political scene by the Ahmoside dynasty. Finally, the Aegean-style griffin, which is associated with both male and female divine and rulership activities, could be a nod to the fact that Ahhotep herself was an important person in the diplomatic world and in the governance of Egypt.

The Aegeanizing elements on the grave goods, at this point in the early Late Bronze Age, are distinct and separate motifs, and easily identified. The Aegeanizing griffin on the axe is immediately recognizable as not Egyptian, and, aside from the name of Montu, is isolated from the surrounding Egyptian iconography by its placement within its own zone. Its foreignness is obvious. In contrast, the beaded necklace, perhaps due to its design with its use of separate strings of beads, easily integrated the geometric, floral, and animal shaped beads. The collar, as opposed to the axe, was a better vehicle to combine Egyptian and Aegeanizing elements. The placement of the Egyptian and Aegeanizing motifs on the dagger are carefully set next to one another, which serves to highlight the differences between the rather formal, static representations of the insects, and the more organic/informal movement filled representations of the lion hunt are enough to indicate distinct styles. The use of two very different sets of natural images demonstrates the experimentation of combining iconographies of two separate cultures.

<sup>24</sup> For some examples of Aegean griffins, please see: Griffin standing behind the "Mistress of Animals", Fresco, Xeste 3, Room 3A, North Wall, in DOUMAS, *The Wall-Paintings of Thera*, 130-1, pl. 128; Gold biconvex seal with a representation of a seated griffin 1400-1300 BC (Athens, National Archaeological Museum) pl. 74 J in SAKELLARAKIS, DOUMAS *et al.*, *Greek Art*.

<sup>25</sup> HANKEY, *Minerva* 4/3.

<sup>26</sup> HANKEY, *Minerva* 4/3, 14.

<sup>27</sup> If we take the griffin as a solar animal with connections to divinity, royalty, solar aspects, and liminality, then perhaps we could identify it as Montu-Horus, as Montu had some solar affinities.



All three of these objects and their iconography demonstrate:

1. Egyptian craftsmen were being exposed to new ideas, new designs, new motifs, which decorated imported goods (ceramics, fabrics, other small objects) from the Late Middle Bronze Age through the Early Late Bronze Age, and possibly influenced by foreign craftsmen, and they are experimenting.

2. There was a conscious decision to merge two separate, and, at this time disparate, iconographic systems and motifs through experimentation.

3. The two disparate systems are deliberately used together to create a new set of royal iconography that can “speak” to both Egyptians and non-Egyptians.

4. The new iconography is now associated with the royal family (Ahmose and Ahhotep), and more importantly with the office of pharaoh.

The royals understood the broad reach of portable, high value decorated objects that circulated through out the Mediterranean basin and motifs and iconography that decorated those goods. They took advantage of those objects and used them to communicate their own political desires or needs and created something to allow them to cement their political positions- combined with the willingness of the craftsmen to experiment: a new visual language.

## Conclusion

Scholars currently agree that the weapons and the collar were created in Egypt. There is some question as to whether the ceremonial objects with Ahmose’s names and titles were used by him in courtly functions and then placed into Ahhotep’s tomb, or were, instead, commissioned by Ahmose specifically for his mother’s use during her life and then placed into her tomb for continuing use in the afterlife. The combination of Egyptian and Aegean iconography on both the dagger and axe suggests that the craftsmen were stretching their own boundaries by combining traditional Egyptian motifs with foreign ones, and, while we will never know, it would not be surprising if this was at the insistence of Ahmose. The use of Egyptian and Aegean motifs for the beads of the collar were also deliberate choices. This proactive combination of different cultural motifs provides us some insight on his mindset while he was involved in the reunification of Egypt. He and his family are no mere provincial Theban upstarts. Although his family’s power base was in southern Egypt, he clearly had an expansive view of his world, and knew the realities of Eastern Mediterranean politics and diplomacy. These motifs (the griffins, the spirals, the use of the running gallop) will all become part of the larger international artistic *koiné* during the Late Bronze Age in the Eastern Mediterranean.

And the fact that these are ceremonial objects also suggests that they would have been potentially displayed or worn during courtly functions where visiting foreign dignitaries were present. Thus, the use of two different types of iconography may have been an attempt to convey the same information to a wide array of individuals — almost a bilingual depiction as it were — a non-verbal statement of Ahmose’s and Ahhotep’s positions in the soon-to-be new world order in the Eastern Mediterranean with Egypt’s reunification and involvement in the Eastern Mediterranean power struggles.

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## Ahhotep's Metal Ship Models

Shelley Wachsmann

### Abstract

Two metal ship models, one made of gold and the other of silver were found in the tomb of Ahhotep (I) together with a compatible four-wheel conveyance. The models remain unusual chronologically as well as in terms of their materials. The gold model represents a typical wood-planked Nilotic watercraft. The silver model appears to replicate a ten-oared Minoan/Cycladic vessel, best compared to the rowed ship in the ship-procession scene portrayed on the Miniature Frieze from the West House in Akrotiri on Thera. Additional support for this hypothesis comes from evidence for a long tradition of metal ship models in the Aegean. The silver model may be a copy of an actual ship or of a model of that type of watercraft. The models, as well as the accompanying carriage, are best explained in the context of Ahhotep's tomb as booty captured during the attacks and conquest of Avaris (Tell el Dab'a) by her sons, Kamose and Ahmose. If correct, this interpretation indicates a Minoan presence at Tell el Dab'a during Hyksos rule. The silver crew that row the gold model, but which are not original to it, presume a third, now lost, larger silver ship model.

### Introduction

The tomb of Ahhotep (I) revealed two unusual metal ship models, one made of gold (JE 4681), the other of silver (JE 4682) (see Figs 1-2; Pls IV: JE 4681, V: JE 4682, XIII).<sup>1</sup> The tomb also contained a companion wood-and-bronze model carriage (JE 4669) with pairs of metal staples on either side for securing a ship model to it (see Fig. 3; Pls III: JE 4669, XIII): both ship models also have compatible metal loops specifically for this purpose. It is not clear if the carriage was meant to serve both of the models or whether the carriage of one of the models went missing prior to internment or after the discovery of the tomb. Unfortunately, the circumstances surrounding the 1859 discovery of Ahhotep's tomb, which occurred while Mariette was absent from the site prevent resolving the particular details of these artifacts' status *in situ*.<sup>2</sup>

Friedrich Wilhelm von Bissing published the boat models and the wagon separately.<sup>3</sup> In the accompanying text he discusses which of the two models had been intended for display with the wagon. According to him, Mariette had linked the silver model to the wagon. Von Bissing himself thought that the wagon fit the gold model better. Maspero and Vernier note that the silver model had been first combined with the wagon, but due to its poor preservation, it had been replaced by the gold model<sup>4</sup> (see Fig. 4).

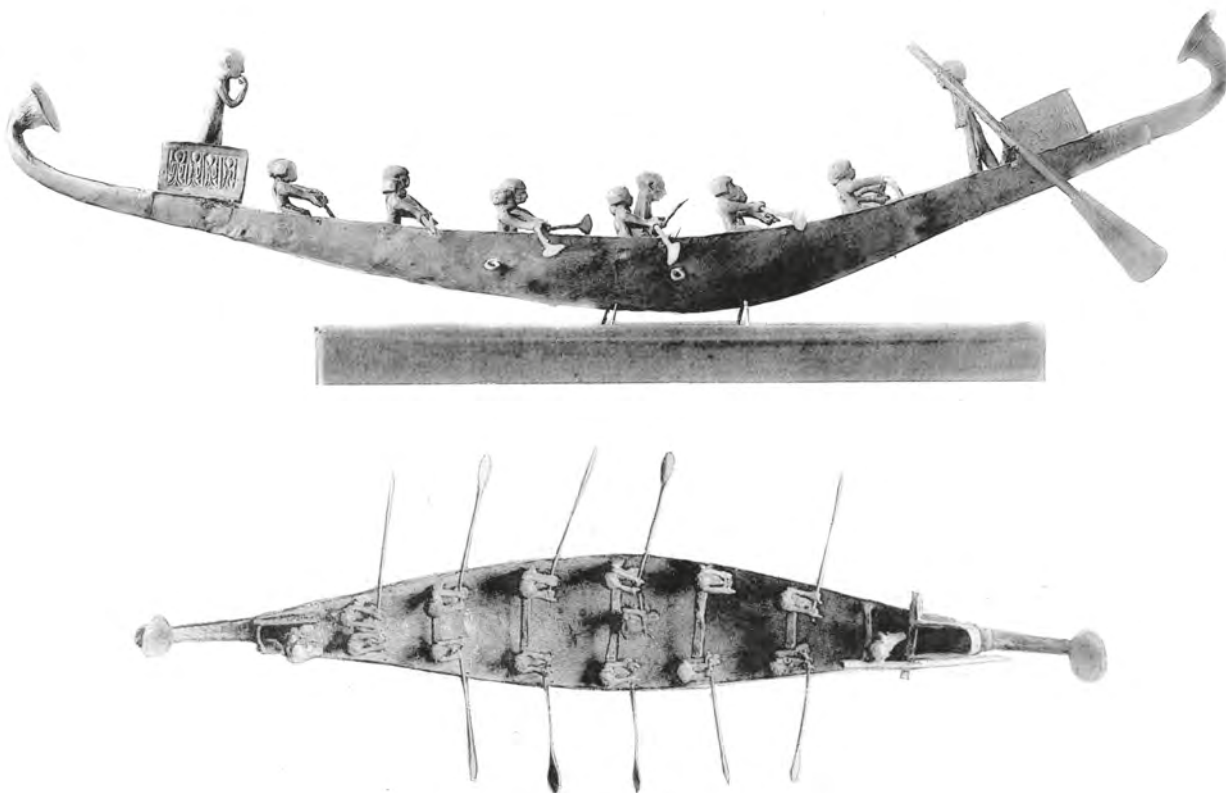
Ahhotep's ship models are remarkable for three reasons. First, ancient Egypt did not have a tradition of metal ship models. Indeed, in this Ahhotep's models are unique in the Egyptian pharaonic record. The only other Egyptian representations of ships made of metal – which do not even qualify as models – are neckpieces from the reign of a Necho (Twenty-Sixth Dynasty) in the form of

<sup>1</sup> WACHSMANN, *JAIE* 2; WACHSMANN, *Gurob*, 86-97. On Ahhotep, see VANDERSLEYEN, *Les guerres*, 129-30, 175-96; ROTH, *Serapis* 4.

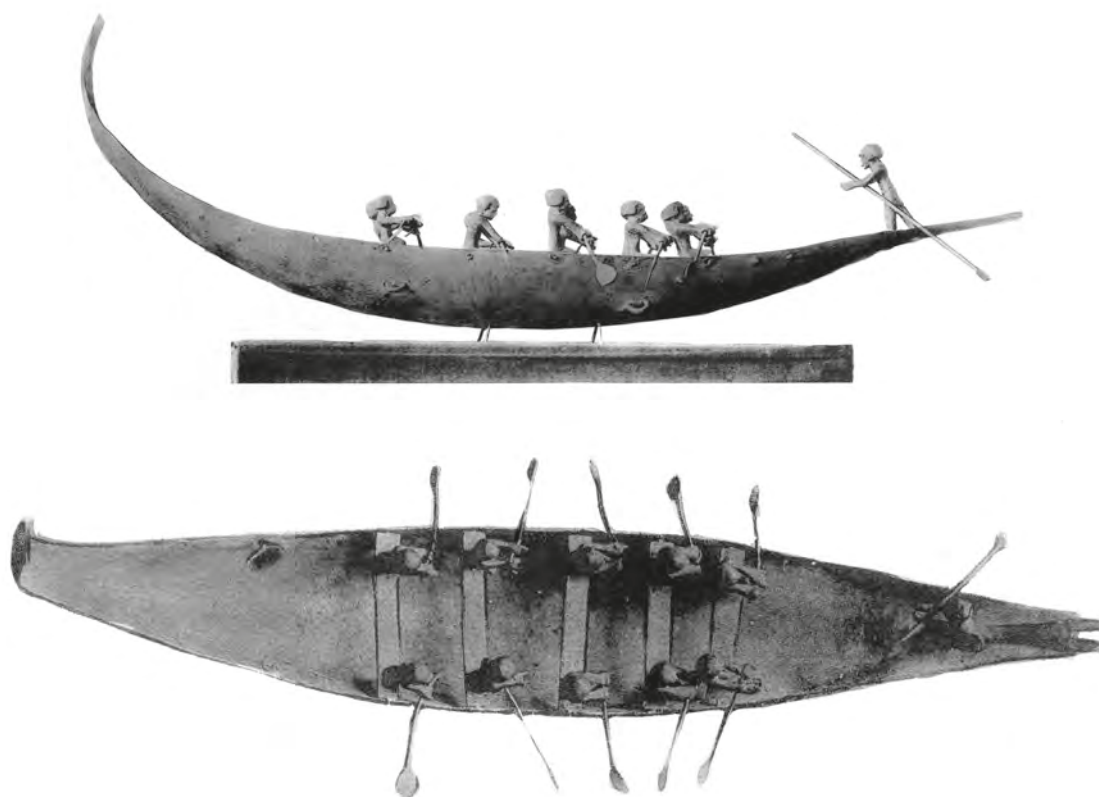
<sup>2</sup> WINLOCK *JEA* 10, 252-3.

<sup>3</sup> VON BISSING, *Ein thebanischer Grabfund*, 19-21.

<sup>4</sup> MASPERO, *Egyptian Archaeology*, 321, fig. 297; VERNIER, *Bijoux*, vol. I, 219 (no. 52668); VERNIER, *Bijoux*, vol. II, pl. XLIX.



**Fig. 1a-b** – Ahhotep's gold ship model (NTS), *a.-b.* from VON BISSING, *Ein thebanischer Grabfund*, Taf. X



**Fig. 2a-b** – Ahhotep's silver ship model (NTS); *a.-b.* from VON BISSING, *Ein thebanischer Grabfund*, Taf. XC  
© courtesy of Egypt Memory



**Fig. 2c** – Ahhotep's silver ship model (NTS); from VON BISSING, *Ein thebanischer Grabfunde*, Taf. X. C  
© courtesy of Egypt Memory

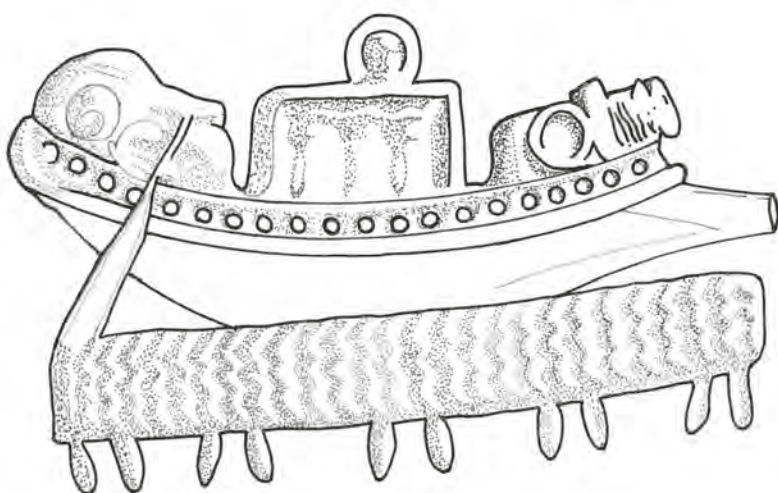


**Fig. 3** – The wagon from Ahhotep's tomb, from VON BISSING, *Ein thebanischer Grabfund*, Taf. X



**Fig. 4** – Vernier's reconstruction of Ahhotep's gold ship mounted on the carriage, from VERNIER, *Bijoux*, vol. II, pl. XLIX





Megan Hagseth 2019

**Fig. 5** – Decoration in the shape of a galley, now in the Louvre, reportedly dated to a Necho (Twenty-Sixth Dynasty), after LANDSTRÖM, *Ships*, 141, fig. 411 © drawing: M. Hagseth

Egyptianizing Phoenician galleys<sup>5</sup> (see Fig. 5). Second, Ahhotep's ship models are the only ones known from the entire Second Intermediate Period.<sup>6</sup> Third, both of Ahhotep's models were designed for display with a wheeled carriage. The clearly foreign-inspired Gurob ship-cart model is the only other Bronze Age Egyptian parallel for a ship model on wheels.<sup>7</sup> There is ample evidence for the overland transport of ships on wheeled carriages, starting in the Seventeenth Dynasty, but this manner of conveyance was rarely represented in Egyptian models of watercraft.<sup>8</sup>

<sup>5</sup> LANDSTRÖM, *Ships*, 141, fig. 411; BASCH, *Le musée*, 335, figs 719-20; SPATHARI, *Sailing*, 26, 27, fig. 18.

<sup>6</sup> REISNER, *Models*, IV; LANDSTRÖM, *Ships*, 98, figs 311-2; JONES, *Egyptian Bookshelf*, 30. Ship models were often interred in tombs with the deceased. In *Models of Ships and Boats* (1913), G. A. Reisner defined the various type of watercraft depicted by these models. The earliest ones, mainly consisting of terracottas, date to the Predynastic period. Wooden ship models become common in the Sixth Dynasty and continue to appear till the Twelfth Dynasty, when they appear most extensively. Perhaps the best-known collection of ship models found in a nonroyal tomb is the little flotilla from the Twelfth-Dynasty tomb of Meket-Re (WINLOCK, *Models*). Another Twelfth-Dynasty tomb, that of Djehutynakht at Deir el-Bersha, contained 58 wooden boat models (FREED, BERMAN, DOXEY, *Secrets*, 166-77). During the New Kingdom, ship models fell out of style, with the notable exception of some royal tombs and two non-royal ship models. On Egyptian ship models, see REISNER, *Models*; LANDSTRÖM, *Ships*; VINSON, *Egyptian Boats*; JONES, *Model Boats*; JONES, *Egyptian Bookshelf*, 26-33; TOOLEY, *Egyptian Models*, 51-6; MERRIMAN, *Egyptian Watercraft*; WACHSMANN, *Gurob*; STEPHENS, *Categorisation*.

<sup>7</sup> WACHSMANN, *Gurob*.

<sup>8</sup> WACHSMANN, *Gurob*, 85-120; VAN WALSEM *Coffin*, 226-31; CREASMAN, DOYLE, *JAEl* 2.

### The Gold Model

The gold model depicts a wooden-planked Egyptian papyriform ship with recurving stem and stern ending in papyrus umbrel finials.<sup>9</sup> Merriman notes that this is the earliest example of this form of curving papyrus umbels on a model.<sup>10</sup> The hull, made of beaten gold, weighs 375 gm, and is 43.3 cm long, with a maximum breadth of 6.5 cm. The model has two 5-mm diameter gold loops, on either side of the hull for attachment of the model to the carriage. Castles nestle in the bow and stern. Isis knots decorate the forecastle panels, with a gold bar connecting the two sides. Cartouches of Kamose and striding lions adorn the aftercastle.

This model has a single quarter rudder of a type common on royal Eighteenth Dynasty ship models, positioned on the port side, resting on a throughbeam.<sup>11</sup> Landström notes that the model may originally have carried two quar-

<sup>9</sup> LANDSTRÖM, *Ships*, 98, fig. 311, 110, figs 340-1, 118, figs 363-4. I base the following descriptions of the gold and silver models and the wagon primarily on the commentaries by VON BISSING, *Ein thebanischer Grabfund*, 19; VERNIER, *Bijoux*, vol. I, 216-18 (nos 52666-67); LANDSTRÖM, *Ships*, 98, figs 311-12; MERRIMAN, *Egyptian Watercraft*, 225, nos 219-20.

<sup>10</sup> MERRIMAN, *Egyptian Watercraft*, 225, no. 220.

<sup>11</sup> For Middle Kingdom-New Kingdom quarter and axial rudder arrangements, see LANDSTRÖM, *Ships*, 78, figs 234, 236, 79, fig. 238, 82-3, fig. 246, 82, fig. 249, 83, figs 250-2, 86, fig. 260, 89, fig. 271, 90, fig. 275, 92, figs 283, 287-8, 93, fig. 293, 99, figs 313, 316, 101, figs 319, 321, 102, figs 322, 324, 106, figs 327-30, 107, figs 331-4, 114, fig. 352, 115, figs 354, 356, 116, figs 357-8, 117, figs 361-2, 118, figs 364-5, 119, figs 368-9, 121, fig. 371, 122-3, fig. 372, 125, fig. 375, 128, figs 381-2, 130, fig. 383, 134, figs 389-91, 393, 135, figs 394, 396, 136, fig. 399, 138, figs 404-5; JONES, *Model Boats*, pls V, XVI-XXIII, XXV, XXVIII-XXXV.

ter rudders.<sup>12</sup> The rudder consists of a stock in the form of a tube 11.8 cm long, which flattens towards the bottom where the blade widens to a width to 1.5 cm at its foot.

The model has two 0.02 cm holes drilled into the bottom of the hull, presumably for the purpose of attaching it to the carriage. Twelve additional piercings are found at the rower stations just below the gunwale. These are clearly meant for attaching the oars in some manner, but they lack their attachments. There are piercings in the sides of the hulls at the positions of the oarsmen.

The model now bears 15 figures – only three of them of gold – constructed of pieces welded together and completed by chiseling:

- A gold figure of a youth – either sucking on his thumb or pointing at his mouth with his right hand – stands facing aft inside the forecastle. He presumably represents the child Horus.

- A seated loose figure faces the stern amidships just aft of the fourth rowers thwart. He holds a baton in his right hand and an axe in his left hand and sits on a gold tube welded to the hull, which in turn is supported by a 1.2 cm-long cylinder of silver.

- The helmsman faces forward standing inside the hull.

Curiously, the gold model's 12 rowers, depicted in mid-stroke, as well as their oars, are made of silver<sup>13</sup> (see Fig. 6). They share six thwarts, two oarsman to a thwart. A seventh thwart, immediately in front of the helmsman goes unmanned. The figures are cast, as are their oars, which are inserted through holes in the oarsmen's hands. The oarsmen sit on small silver "pillows", apparently intended to raise them so that their oars clear the gunwales. The pillows, together with the anomalous silver from which they are constructed, indicate that these rowers are not original to the gold model. They presumably derive from a, now lost, second silver ship model. The first port-side rower and fifth starboard-side rower have lost their oars. Each of the oarsmen is attached to his thwart by means of tenons, which penetrate the thwart. These are soldered together, but a few of the figures are now loose.

### The Silver Model

Scholars have identified the silver model also as of papyriform in shape.<sup>14</sup> Maspero suggests that it represents



Fig. 6 – Detail of a silver rower from Ahhotep's gold ship model, from VON BISSING, *Ein thebanischer Grabfunde*, Taf. IX: 2A

a type of vessel used by the deceased to voyage to Abydos.<sup>15</sup>

Hammered sheets of silver form a hull that is 38.5 cm long with a maximum breadth of 6.7 cm, narrowing at its extremities to 1.5 cm. The model weighs 372 gm.<sup>16</sup> One of the model's extremities ends in an elegant rising arc that recurves, with the rounded shape of the hull continuing up the high post. The opposing extremity ends horizontally with a forked crutch attached to it. The vessel has 11 crew members: a standing figure reconstructed as a helmsman and ten figures who share five narrow rectangular thwarts while facing the low end of the vessel. The thwarts are made of beaten silver, attached with silver wires that transfix the hull but lie flush against its outer sides. The rings for attachment to the wagon consist of twisted wires that penetrate the hull and are folded against its interior face. The rings are 8 mm in diameter but are irregular. Three pairs of holes at the high end, and two at the horizontal extremity, pierce the hull indicating the placement of now-missing parts of the model (see Fig. 2b-c). These holes might have served to attach additional rowers' thwarts, but the irregular spacing of the three pairs of piercings at the model's high extremity argues that this cannot be the case. One possibility is that the holes served to attach now-missing fore and aft decks to the model. Vernier notes a rod crossing the hull between the standing figure and the nearest two oarsmen.

<sup>12</sup> LANDSTRÖM, *Ships*, 98.

<sup>13</sup> Previously I erroneously attributed this figure to the silver ship model (WACHSMANN, *Gurob*, 91, 92, fig. 3.6; WACHSMANN, *JAIÉ* 2, 34, fig. 6).

<sup>14</sup> Compare LANDSTRÖM, *Ships*, 98; JONES, *Egyptian Bookshelf*, 32.

<sup>15</sup> MASPERO, *Guide*, 428, no. 4030.

<sup>16</sup> Due to local unavailability, silver was a particularly valuable metal in ancient Egypt. While at Ugarit the exchange rate of silver to gold varied around 3-4:1, in Egypt it varied between 5:3 (fifteenth-century BC) to 2:1 (twelfth-century BC) (HELTZER, *Iraq* 39, 206).

This rod appears on a recent photograph of the model but is missing on von Bissing's top view of the model (compare, Fig. 2b-c). Presumably this was a loose piece found with the model.

The silver model has another curious detail: its helmsman holds a steering oar rather than the tiller of a quarter, or axial, rudder.<sup>17</sup> One is immediately struck by the inadequacy of the steering oar: it seems frail and disproportionately small for the craft it supposedly controls. Von Bissing notes that the helmsman's steering oar has received modern attention, its two surviving parts have been fused together by a Cairo goldsmith and the museum gave it a sulfur-induced patination.<sup>18</sup>

Predynastic and Old Kingdom vessels employ steering oars, which by definition lack tillers, but these devices cease on representations of Egyptian vessels towards the end of the Fifth Dynasty, when tillers make their appearance and stanchions are portrayed supporting the looms of quarter rudders.<sup>19</sup> Following this, steering oars appear only occasionally on cultic vessels and reed rafts.<sup>20</sup>

The positioning of the helmsman's arms is atypical when compared with the various manners in which helmsmen hold steering oars or quarter rudders in Egyptian iconography.<sup>21</sup> These considerations suggest that the figure now reconstructed as a helmsman originally may have served a different role. The "steering oar" may be a co-opted cosmetic spatula added to the silver model after the tomb's discovery.<sup>22</sup>

Which extremity of the silver model represents the bow and which the stern? Von Bissing placed the "helmsman" at the horizontal end. If this is correct, then the vessel is represented as being rowed and the high end represents the bow. Alternately, Landström omits this figure in his line drawing of the model and considers the horizontal extremity to be the bow;<sup>23</sup> in doing so, he assumes that the crew are paddling rather than rowing.

So, is the crew of the silver ship model rowing or paddling? The manner in which the figures are seated is one way to determine the model's directionality. Rowers

normally face the stern while paddlers face the bow.<sup>24</sup> G.A. Reisner notes that during the Middle Kingdom boat models portray rowers seated and paddlers kneeling.<sup>25</sup> Following this rule, the seated crew of the model is rowing, as in the case of the gold model, thus defining the model's high end as the bow.

Early Egyptologists, however, had the unfortunate habit of arbitrarily reorganizing ancient ship model parts, rearranging crews, gear and rigging, as for example what W.M.F. Petrie did with the Gurob ship-cart model.<sup>26</sup> Ahhotep's silver model may have suffered a similar fate. Von Bissing notes that the crew appears to have been remounted in modern times, so the actual direction in which the rowers originally faced may be forever lost.<sup>27</sup>

The forked device attached to the silver model's horizontal extremity shares similarities with the deep stern groove used to seat axial rudders on some New Kingdom Nilotic craft.<sup>28</sup> A less-likely identity is that the device represents a "bowstick" or a "bowsprit" that appears at the bows of Middle Kingdom ship models.<sup>29</sup> The function of these items remains unclear. One possibility is that they served as a fairlead for bower-anchor hawsers.<sup>30</sup> These devices have a relatively small groove, however, unlike the pronounced fork on the silver model. All considered the simplest (Occam's Razor), and thus the preferred, explanation is that the silver model is propelled by rowers and that the high end represents the vessel's bow.<sup>31</sup>

Even though Ahhotep's silver model appears to be the creation of Egyptian artisan(s), no known Egyptian ship could have served as its source. Thus, we must inquire concerning the type of foreign ship that served as a source for this model. Two concerns must be considered. First, we must compare the silver model to contemporaneous watercraft within the international cultural milieu of the Egyptians, and second, ask which of these cultures has a demonstratable tradition of metal ship models.

<sup>17</sup> See above, n. 11.

<sup>18</sup> VON BISSING, *Ein thebanischer Grabfund*, 19.

<sup>19</sup> EDGERTON, *AJSL* 43, 257, 258, figs 2-3.

<sup>20</sup> LANDSTRÖM, *Ships*, 95, fig. 297, 119, fig. 368.

<sup>21</sup> DOYLE, *Iconography*, 90, fig. 6-12, 97, fig. 6-19, 105, fig. 6-31, 108, fig. 6-37, 112, fig. 6-43.

<sup>22</sup> Compare BIER, TERRY (eds), *Testament of Time*, 51, no. 28. Note, however, a bronze kohl stick from Assasif, which is contemporary in date to Ahhotep but is dissimilar to the item held by the standing figure in the silver model. The item was deaccessioned from the Metropolitan Museum (MMA 16.10.447) and is now in the Museum of Natural History. The kohl stick is 9.7 cm long and has "a small round 'applicator' rather than the elongated oval 'paddle'" (Christine Lilyquist, pers. comm.).

<sup>23</sup> LANDSTRÖM, *Ships*, 98, fig. 312.

<sup>24</sup> WACHSMANN, in GARDINER, MORRISON (eds), *The Age*, 10.

<sup>25</sup> REISNER, *Models*, XVI.

<sup>26</sup> REISNER, *Models*, XVI, 6 n. 4; DOYLE, *Iconography*, 137-9; WACHSMANN, *Gurob*, 4, fig. 1.4, 5, figs 1.5-6; WACHSMANN, *Arts* 8, 23.

<sup>27</sup> VON BISSING, *Ein thebanischer Grabfund*, 19.

<sup>28</sup> LANDSTRÖM, *Ships*, 99, figs 313, 316, 101, fig. 321, 115, figs 354, 356; JONES, *Model Boats*, pls XXX-XXXI; DOYLE, *Iconography*, 128-132.

<sup>29</sup> REISNER, *Models*, (no. 4798) 3, fig. 14 and pl. I, (no. 4835) 27 and pl. 30; LANDSTRÖM, *Ships*, 76, 77, fig. 226, 82, figs 247-8, 83, fig. 251.

<sup>30</sup> WACHSMANN, *Seagoing Ships*, 257-8, 259, fig. 12.5.

<sup>31</sup> On the importance of strictly adhering to the concept of Occam's Razor when reaching conclusions regarding watercraft depicted in ancient art, see WACHSMANN, *Arts* 8, 11-12, 57.



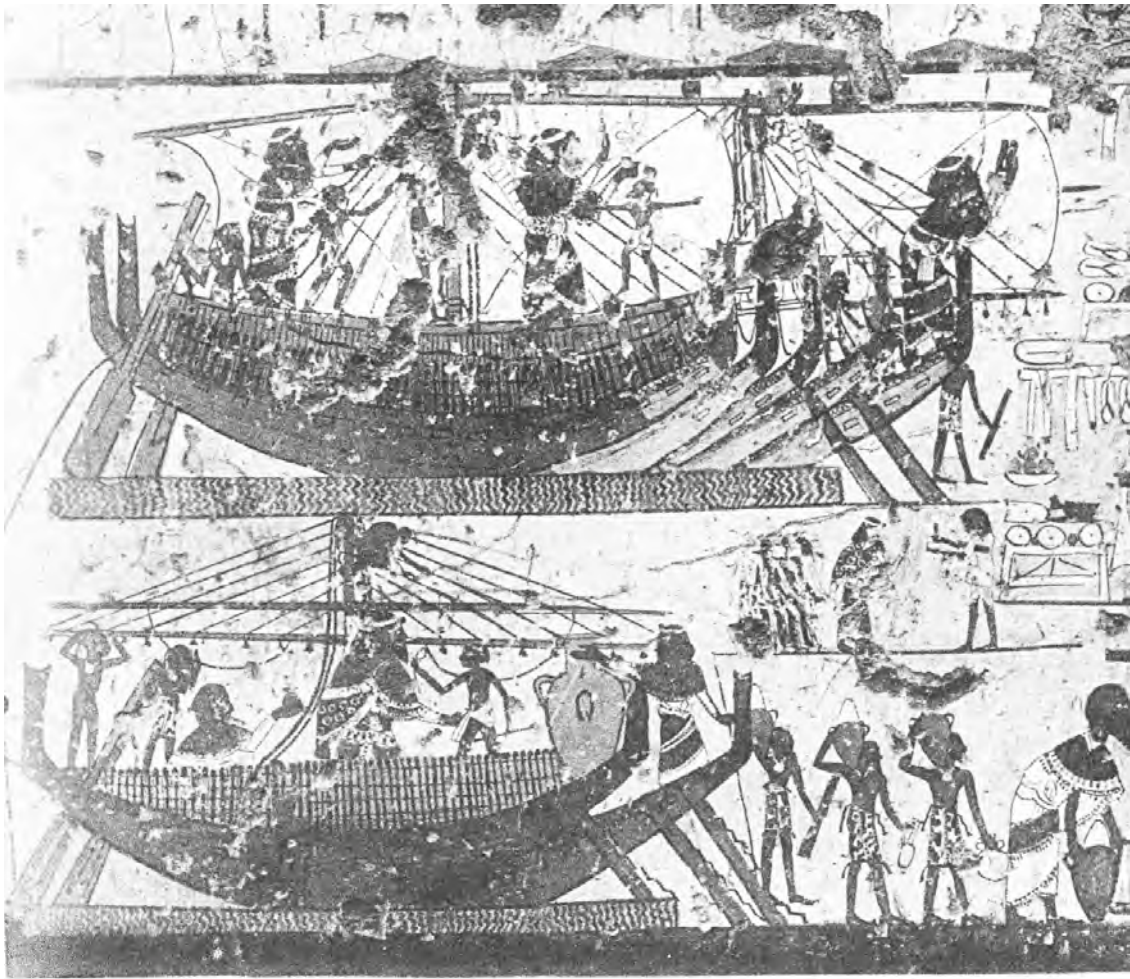


Fig. 7 – Syro-Canaanite ships in the tomb of Kenamun (TT 162; Amenhotpe III), from DARESSY, *RAr* 27, pl. XIV

*Syro-Canaanite ships* – The most detailed representations of Syro-Canaanite merchant ships appear in a wall painting from the tomb of Kenamun (TT 162, Amenhotep III)<sup>32</sup> (see Fig. 7). The scene depicts a flotilla of seagoing merchantmen with identical vertical stems and

<sup>32</sup> DARESSY, *RAr* 27, pls XIV-XV; SAVE-SÖDERBERGH, *Navy*, 56, fig. 10, 57, fig. 11; DAVIES, FAULKNER, *JEA* 33, pl. VIII; CASSON, *Ships and Seamanship*, 35-6, fig. 57; BASCH, *Le musée*, 63, figs 110-12, 64, figs 113-4; WACHSMANN, *Seagoing Ships*, 42, fig. 3.2, 43, figs 3.3-4, 44, figs 3.5-6, 45. Here I use the term “Syro-Canaanite” to denote the cultural entities that inhabited the shores of the eastern Mediterranean, from the Bay of Iskenderun in the north to the shores of Sinai in the south during the Middle and Late Bronze Ages (c. 2000-1200 BC). Syro-Canaanite remains preferable to the term “Canaanite” as at Ugarit, located in modern-day northern Syria, Canaanites were regarded as foreigners and to “Phoenician”, for although this culture descended from the Canaanites, it evolved its own material culture, which differed from its Bronze Age antecedents (RAINEY, *IEJ* 13; RAINEY, *BASOR* 304; MAZAR, *Archaeology*, 355-7; MAZAR, in BEN-TOR (ed.), *Archaeology of Ancient Israel*, 296-7). On the borders of Canaan proper, see RAINEY, *BASOR* 304; RAINEY, NOTLEY, *Sacred Bridge*, 34-6.

sterns arriving at an Egyptian port. Other portrayals of Syro-Canaanite vessels, albeit less detailed, display the same high stem of the Kenamun ships, but have rounded sterns rising at various angles.<sup>33</sup>

Are the extremities of Kenamun’s vessels represented in profile, as are the ships’ hulls, or in frontal view, as are the masts and sails?<sup>34</sup> The concavity at the external edge of the stems suggests that they may be represented in frontal view. If correct, then the stems of Kenamun’s ships bear comparison to the silver model’s vertical, recurving post. Despite the apparent detail of the Kenamun wall painting, its creators did not understand the ships’ rigging, suggesting that they may have been working from pattern books and were at least once removed from the images of the Syro-Canaanite ships in the tableau.<sup>35</sup>

<sup>33</sup> WACHSMANN, *Seagoing Ships*, 42, fig. 3.1, 46, figs 3.7-8, 47, figs 3.9-10, 50, fig. 3.14.

<sup>34</sup> Strictly speaking, the rigging is depicted in a full-rear view as the lifts, which would have been on the aft side of the sail, are visible.

<sup>35</sup> WACHSMANN, *Seagoing Ships*, 42, 44-5; WACHSMANN, *Arts*





**Fig. 8** – Bronze ship model. Byblos. Date: Egyptian Middle Kingdom, from DUNAND, *Fouilles (Atlas)*, pl. LXIX, no. 10089

Bronze models from the *Champ des offrandes* at Byblos indicate that the Syro-Canaanite coast had a tradition of metal ship models.<sup>36</sup> Curiously, the best preserved of these Byblian bronze ship models represents an Egyptian Middle Kingdom Nilotic vessel or, more likely, it copies a wooden model of such a ship<sup>37</sup> (see Fig. 8).

*Cypriot Ships* – Three terracotta models from Kazaphani *Ayios Andrionikos* and Maroni *Zarukas* represent deep-hulled cargo ships<sup>38</sup> (see Fig. 9a). Despite this, they bear several elements of interest in regard to Ahhotep's silver model. The surviving stems on two of the models bear similarities to the high end of Ahhotep's silver model in that they have somewhat similar flattened profiles. This shape may be due to their terracotta material. Additionally, the ship models' sterns culminate in vertical bifurcations. This is best seen on the surviving stern of the model from Maroni *Zarukas*, Site A, Tomb 7 which, vertical orientation aside, resembles the silver model's forked crutch (see Fig. 9b). I am unaware of any metal ship models from Cyprus within the period of concern.<sup>39</sup>

8, 4, 5, fig. 4, 6, fig. 5, 21-2.

<sup>36</sup> DUNAND, *Fouilles (Text)*, 337-8, nos 10089-92.

<sup>37</sup> DUNAND, *Fouilles (Atlas)*, pl. LXIX, no. 10089. On questioning the original source of watercraft representations, see REICH, *Liber Annus* 41; WACHSMANN, *Seagoing Ships*, 52-4; WACHSMANN, *Arts* 8, 13-23.

<sup>38</sup> WACHSMANN, *Seagoing Ships*, 63-4, 65, figs 4.5-6, 66, figs 4.7-9, and there additional bibliography.

<sup>39</sup> On ship models from Cyprus, see WESTERBERG, *Cypriote Ships*; MONLOUP, *Salamin*, 145-60; BASCH, *Le musée*, 70-4, 148-51, 249-62; WACHSMANN, *Seagoing Ships*, 61-7. Of later date, Paleopaphos and Salamin on Cyprus have revealed Geometric-period firedogs in the form of contemporaneous galleys (KARAGEORGHIS, *Bulletin de correspondance hellénique* 87, 277, figs 17-18, 278, fig. 19, 292-4; KARAGEORGHIS, *Bulletin de correspondance hellénique* 91: 343, fig. 148, 344;

*Minoan/Cycladic ships* – Ahhotep's silver model closely resembles the rowed ship that accompanies the flotilla in the Miniature Frieze from the West House at Akrotiri on Thera<sup>40</sup> (see Fig. 10). Both vessels have five rows of seated rowers and a helmsman working a steering oar rather than a quarter rudder. The same ship type, distinguished by its form and the five files of oarsmen, appears on a gold ring from Crete (see Fig. 11).<sup>41</sup> A triangular device located at the latter ship's bow probably represents a splashguard that can be seen more clearly on more detailed representations of Minoan/Cycladic ships<sup>42</sup> (see Fig. 12a). On the whole, the ships depicted in the Miniature Frieze carry what appear to be steering oars that are insufficient to control them.<sup>43</sup> These steering oars, however, are almost an exact copy of the silver ship model's steering oar.

Metal ship models existed in the Aegean. The earliest evidence for this long tradition may be found in the three lead models of Early Cycladic longships, now in the Ashmolean Museum, from the Cycladic island of Naxos.<sup>44</sup> Closer in time to Ahhotep's silver ship model,

BASCH, *Le musée*, 188, 189, figs 396-7, 258, 260, fig. 562). Similar firedogs have been found at Argos (COURBIN, *Bulletin de correspondance hellénique* 81, 369, fig. 54, 370, 371, figs 55-7, 372-3, 374, figs 58-62, 375, 376, figs 63-5, 377-85; GÖTTLICHER, *Materialien*, 64, Taf. 25 [nos 338-339]; WACHSMANN, *Seagoing Ships*, 186, 188, fig. 8.50: A) and in Karageorghis' view, the firedogs found in Cyprus came from Greece (KARAGEORGHIS, *Bulletin de correspondance hellénique* 87, 292).

<sup>40</sup> DOUMAS, *Wall-Paintings*, 71-2, fig. 36; SPATHARI, *Sailing*, 44, fig. 44.

<sup>41</sup> EVANS, *Palace*, vol. IV: II, 953, fig. 923; ALEXIOU, *Minoan Civilization*, 114, fig. 56.

<sup>42</sup> WACHSMANN, *Seagoing Ships*, 93, fig. 6.17, 94.

<sup>43</sup> CASSON, *JNA* 4, 7; DOUMAS, *Wall-Paintings*, 63, fig. 29 (partial), 71-4, fig. 36, 75-7, fig. 37, 80, fig. 39, 81, fig. 40; WACHSMANN, *Seagoing Ships*, 93, fig. 6.14, 94, fig. 6.19, 99, fig. 6.27.

<sup>44</sup> RENFREW, *AJA* 71, 5, 18, pls 1: 12, 3: 12-4; BASCH, *Le musée*,



**Fig. 9a-b** – *a*. Terra-cotta ship model from Tomb 2B at Kazaphani Ayios Andronikos. Plain White Handmade Ware: Late Cypriot I-II; *b*. Terra-cotta ship model A-50 from Site A, Tomb 7 at Maroni Zarukas. Late Cypriot I-II (NTS); *a*) from WESTERBERG, *Cypriote Ships*, fig. 5; *b*) from MERRILLEES, *The Cypriote Bronze Age pottery*, pl. 37:2

a fragment of a Late Minoan IB/Late Helladic II bronze ship model from Keos bears a bow strikingly similar to that of the silver model<sup>45</sup> (see Fig. 13).

From an Aegean standpoint, the bifurcation at the low end of the silver model compares well to the curving forked stern on *c.* 1700 BC the Kolona ships from Aegina<sup>46</sup> (see Fig. 14). Ships depicted on tiny Minoan seals often appear to have stern bifurcations<sup>47</sup> (see Fig. 12b): these probably depict the sternpost and the horizontal projection that appears most clearly on the ships taking part in the procession on the Miniature Frieze<sup>48</sup> (see Fig. 12a).

Thus, Ahhotep's silver model appears to copy a relatively small and narrow ten-oared Minoan prototype vessel or, alternately, a model of such a vessel. Although the Minoans that appear in the tombs of Eighteenth Dynas-

78, 79, figs 153-6; WACHSMANN, *Seagoing Ships*, 69, 70, fig. 5.1.

<sup>45</sup> CASKEY, *Hesperia* 33, 327, pl. 56: C; LONG, *Sarcophagus*, 48, pl. 24, fig. 69; GÖTLICHER, *Materialien*, (no. 335) 64, Taf. 25; JOHNSTON, *Models*, 26-7 (BA17); WACHSMANN, *Seagoing Ships*, 102, figs 6.34-5, 104.

<sup>46</sup> BASCH, *Mariner's Mirror*, 72, BASCH, *Le musée*, 421, fig. 5, 422, fig. 7; WACHSMANN, *Seagoing Ships*, 77, 80, 82, fig. 5.24: A.

<sup>47</sup> CASSON, *Ships and Seamanship*, 41-2, 445-6; BASCH, *Le musée*, 98, figs B1-2, 99, figs B3-4, 6-7, 102, figs D1-2, 4, 6, 103, figs D7-9, 106, fig. G3; WACHSMANN, *Seagoing Ships*, 100, fig. 6.29: A-C, G-K.

<sup>48</sup> WACHSMANN, *Seagoing Ships*, 92, fig. 6.13, 93, fig. 6.14, 106, and there additional bibliography.

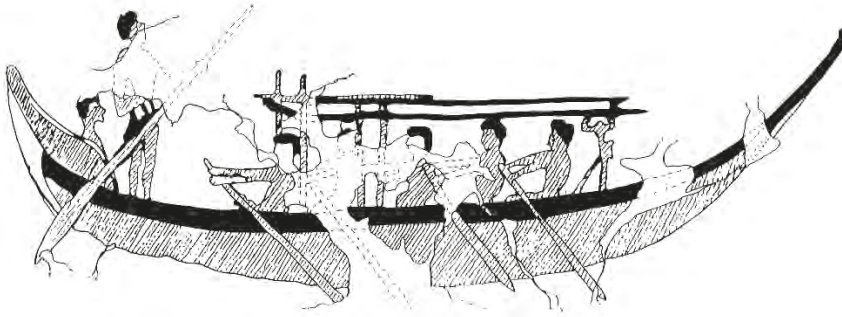
ty nobles at Thebes bear no ship models, such high-status items clearly existed as demonstrated by the bronze ship-model fragment from Keos, discussed above, and another model carried by a mourner on the Hagia Triada sarcophagus (see Fig. 15). Theoretically, Minoans could have brought similar metal models to Egypt or such models could have been constructed by Egyptian artisans for Minoans visiting, or residing in, Egypt. Another type of model, in the shape of a bull, is brought by two other mourners on the Hagia Triada sarcophagus. Similar model bulls are brought by Minoans in the Theban tombs of Useramun (TT 131) and Menheperesonb (TT 86), both tombs dating to the reign of Thutmose III.<sup>49</sup> A ship model copying a Minoan watercraft would hardly be out of place in an assemblage like that found in Ahhotep's tomb. The queen's dagger, as well as Ahmose's axe, have clear Minoan influences. Warren discusses these artistic relationships.<sup>50</sup>

Although technically of New Kingdom date, two further pieces must be mentioned here because of their close Hyksos connection. These are the axe of Ahmose, conqueror of Avaris and the Hyksos, and the dagger of his mother Ahhotep, both found in her tomb. The griffin on the axe blade has wings decorated with the "notched plume" motif. The Minoan origin of this proposed by Evans and with details noted by Morgan is now well confirmed by the notched plumed wings of the almost contemporary griffin guarding the seated goddess who presides over the crocus gatherers in the painting in Ashlar Building 3 at Akrotiri, Thera. The Aegean origin of a lion chasing a bull in a flying gallop position in a rocky setting on Ahhotep's dagger remains clear, again as proposed by Evans. The axe shows a powerful symbol of Minoan religion adopted and adapted as a symbol of political power in Egypt (even though the griffin as such was earlier established in Syria and Egypt). The lion motif of the dagger, locally engraved, expresses the Aegean mode of symbolizing power and speed. Processes of iconographical transfer of ideology expressed in symbols are continuing between the two areas.

Assuming for the moment that the silver model does represent a Minoan watercraft, how might it have found its way into the tomb of a Seventeenth Dynasty royal consort? The simplest solution is that the ship models and wagon represent loot from the attack on, and conquest of, Avaris by Ahhotep's sons. Ahho-

<sup>49</sup> WACHSMANN, *Aegeans*, 60-1, pls XXVII: B, XXIX: 3, XXXVI: A: 5, LV: 6, LVI: 5. On the objects brought by Minoans as depicted in the Theban tombs, see VERCOUTTER, *Essai*, 121-7, 134-5, 153-6; VERCOUTTER, *L'Égypte*, 305-66, pls XXV-LXVII; WACHSMANN, *Aegeans*, LIV-LVIII; LABOURY, *Aegaeum* 6.

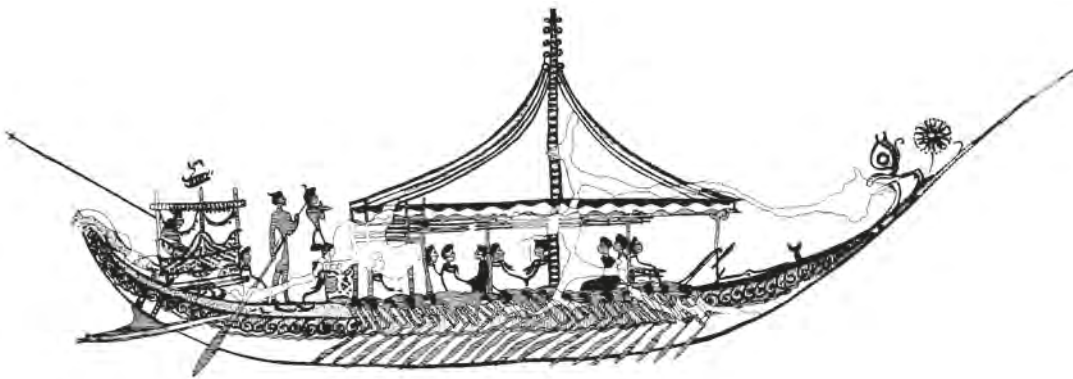
<sup>50</sup> WARREN, in DAVIES, SCHOFIELD (eds), *Egypt*, 5. See also MORRIS, "Daggers and Axes for the Queen", in this volume.



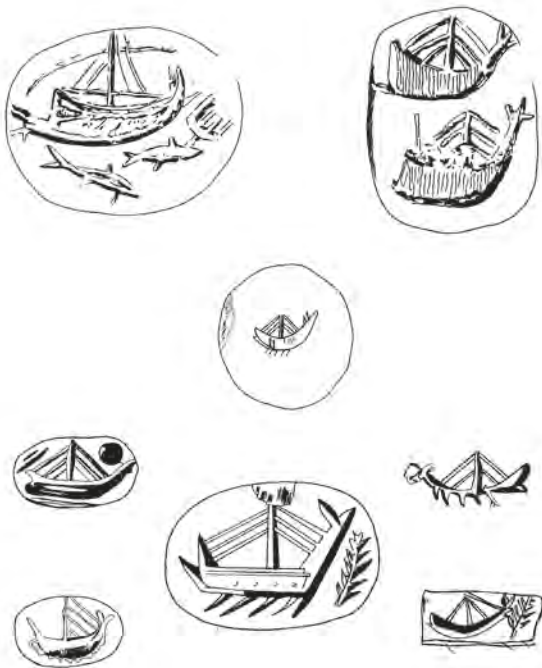
**Fig. 10** – The rowed ship in the Miniature Frieze, West House, Akrotiri, Thera, from WACHSMANN, *Seagoing Ships*, 93, fig. 6.16



**Fig. 11** – Cretan gold ring depicting a ship similar to the rowed vessel in the Miniature Frieze in the West House, after EVANS, *Palace*, vol. IV: II, 953, fig. 923

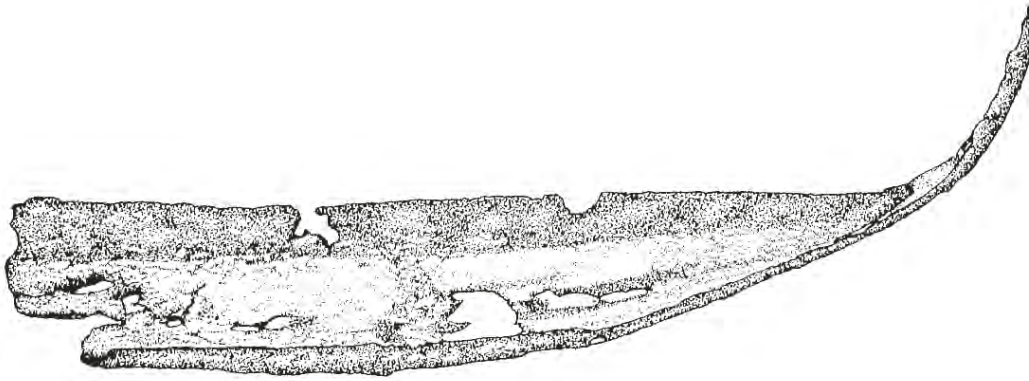


**Fig. 12a** – The best preserved ship in the Miniature Frieze in the West House, Akrotiri, Thera (NTS), after WACHSMANN, *Seagoing Ships*, 92, fig. 6.13



**Fig. 12b** – (Ships on Minoan seals with bifurcations at their lower extremities (sterns) (NTS), after WACHSMANN, *Seagoing Ships*, 100, fig. 6.29





**Fig. 13** – Fragmentary bronze Minoan ship model from Keos. Late Minoan IB/Late Helladic II, from WACHSMANN, *Seagoing Ships*, 102, fig. 6.33



**Fig. 14** – Reconstruction of crescentic ship on a pithos from Kolona, Aegina, c. 1700 BC. Note the bifurcated stern at right (NTS), after BASCH, *Le musée*: 427, fig. 10

tep, after all, was the mother of both Kamose and Ahmose, the founders of the Eighteenth Dynasty. Kamose attacked Avaris (Tell el-Dab'a) and although ultimately unsuccessful at conquering the Hyksos capital, he succeeded in taking the adjacent harbor and claims to have captured an abundance of booty there, while Ahmose conquered Avaris and chased the Hyksos out of Egypt and into Canaan.<sup>51</sup> Kamose's Second Stele supplies a dramatic description of the sumptuous spoils that he captured from the harbor of Avaris:<sup>52</sup>

“I have cut down your trees, I have forced your women into ships' holds, I have seized [your (?)], horses; I haven't left a plank to the hundreds of ships of fresh cedar which were filled with gold, lapis, silver, turquoise, bronze axes without number, over and above the moringa oil, incense, fat, honey, willow, boxwood, sticks and all their fine woods – all the fine products of Retenu – I have confiscated all of it!”

The appearance of Kamose's cartouches on the aftercastle of Ahhotep's gold ship model suggests that both

<sup>51</sup> BREASTED, *Ancient Records*, vol. II, § 1-12; VANDERSLEYEN, *Les guerres*, 30-40; REDFORD, *Egypt*, 115, 120-2, 125-9; REDFORD, in OREN (ed.), *Hyksos*, 13-6, docs. 68-70; RAINEY, NOTLEY, *Sacred Bridge*, 63-4.

<sup>52</sup> HABACHI, *Stela*, 36-7 ll. 12-5. Translation from REDFORD, in OREN (ed.), *Hyksos*, 14, no. 69 ll. 12-5.

models came specifically from his taking of plunder from the harbor of Avaris. Indeed, these models may be exemplars of the gold and silver booty described by Kamose in his Second Stele.

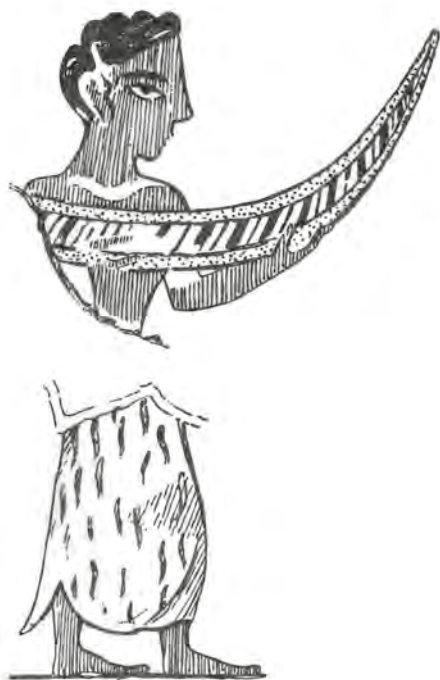
The hypothesis that Ahhotep's ship models are plunder from Avaris assumes a Minoan presence there during Hyksos rule. Excavations at Tell el-Dab'a revealed fragments of Minoan frescoes, including bull jumpers, indicating a Minoan presence there.<sup>53</sup> The site's excavator, Bietak, first dated these fresco fragments to the Hyksos period, but since then has revised his chronology and now dates the frescoes to the early Eighteenth Dynasty.<sup>54</sup> Some scholars have disputed Bietak's revised dating and he has responded forcefully.<sup>55</sup> Unfortunately, the present discussion does not contribute to that debate: Bietak's dating of the Minoan fresco materials to the Eighteenth Dynasty does not preclude an as yet undiscovered earlier Minoan presence at Tell el-Dab'a. Certainly, it would not be surprising to find Minoans in

<sup>53</sup> BIETAK, in DAVIES, SCHOFIELD (eds), *Egypt*; BIETAK, *Avaris*, 73-81, pls III-VIII, pl. 33; BIETAK, MARINATOS, PALYVOU, in SHERRATT (ed.), *Proceedings*; BIETAK et al., *Taureador Scenes*; MORGAN, in DAVIES, SCHOFIELD (eds), *Egypt*.

<sup>54</sup> BIETAK, *EA*, 26-8; BIETAK, *Avaris*, 68; COLE, “The Aegean and Egypt during the Fifteenth (Hyksos) Dynasty (c. 1650-1550 BC) and Beyond”, in this volume.

<sup>55</sup> CLINE, *ABSA* 93; NIEMEIER, NIEMEIER, in SHERRATT (ed.), *Proceedings*, 764-5; BIETAK, *ABSA* 95.





**Fig. 15** – A mourner carries a votive ship model on the Hagia Triada Sarcophagus. Crete, c. 1400 BC, from WACHSMANN, *Seagoing Ships*: 102 figure 6.32 after EVANS, *Palace*, vol. I, 439, fig. 316

Egypt under Hyksos rule. The Minoans make appearances in other eastern Mediterranean countries at this time or earlier, depending on which chronology one follows:<sup>56</sup> certainly, the alabaster jar lid with the name of the Fifteenth-Dynasty Khyan found at Knossos in a Middle Minoan IIIA level suggests a royal connection between Hyksos Egypt and Minoan Crete.<sup>57</sup>

## Conclusions

The gold model dates to the reign of Kamose, based on the appearance of his cartouches on the aftercastle. If the hypothesis that both of the ship models and the carriage represent booty taken from Avaris is correct, then the simplest explanation is that these items were taken by Kamose when he captured the harbor of Avaris as described in his Second Stele.

The prototype vessel of Ahhotep's silver model would have been a relatively small craft, which would be better suited to coastal waters than to crossing the Mediterranean Sea. Its size, as well as that of the rowed ship in

the Miniature Frieze at Thera can be estimated based on the distance of about 1 meter required between each two rowers (the *interescalmium*) to allow them to work their oars. Assuming a relatively realistic scale of the crews to their boats, these vessels probably would have been in the range of 12-14 meters long.<sup>58</sup>

The twin considerations that the rowers of Ahhotep's gold ship model are made of silver, and that their height had to be raised by the addition of "pillows" to allow their oars to rise to gunwale level indicate that these figures cannot be original to the gold model. They must have come from another, now missing, silver model, one that was larger than Ahhotep's existent silver model, given that it has only ten oarsmen to the gold model's 12 rowers. The phenomenon of missing parts displayed by these ship models further supports the hypothesis that they were taken as booty and not purpose-built for burial with Ahhotep.

If Ahhotep's silver model copies a Minoan ship rather than a model of a Minoan ship, then Minoans may have been constructing their own vessels in Egypt. Egyptian texts mention Keftiu ships in Syro-Canaanite ports and as well as being built and/or repaired at the royal shipyard of *Prw-nfr*, apparently located adjacent to Tell el-Dab'a: thus, one may be tempted to identify any Minoan ships constructed in Egypt as the Keftiu ships referred to in these texts.<sup>59</sup> The contexts of these references to Keftiu ships demonstrate, however, that the term probably refers to a type of Syro-Canaanite ship intended for the long-distance trade with the Aegean.<sup>60</sup>

The carriage found with Ahhotep's models remains puzzling. There is no other context in which we find Minoan ships appearing on wheeled carts. Ahhotep's wagon may represent a Hyksos influence, as its four-spoked wheels are like those of contemporaneous chariots, which were introduced to Egypt by the Hyksos.<sup>61</sup> Following

<sup>56</sup> NIEMEIER, in LAFFINEUR, BASCH (eds), *Thalassa*; NIEMEIER, NIEMEIER in SHERRATT (ed.), *Proceedings*, 765-7.

<sup>57</sup> EVANS, *Palace*, vol. I: 18, 26, 297, 319, 380, 418, 419, fig. 304: b, 420-2, 553; vol. II: I: 220, 303, 357 n. 1, 360; vol. III: 9; vol. IV: I: 130; REDFORD, *Egypt*, 120, n. 120; WARREN, in DAVIES, SCHOFIELD (eds), *Egypt*, 3.

<sup>58</sup> The *interescalmium* in the classical world was the distance measured between tholepins, believed to be about 1 m (Vitr. *De arch* 1.2.4; MORRISON, COATES, RANKOV, *Athenian Trireme*, 133, 245-6).

<sup>59</sup> GLANVILLE, *ZÄS* 68, 22, no. 56; BIETAK, *EA* 26, 17. Bietak identifies *Prw-nfr* with the harbor of Avaris/Tell el-Dab'a (BIETAK, *EA* 26).

<sup>60</sup> Concerning Keftiu ships, see SÄVE-SÖDERBERGH, *Navy*, 43-50; VERCOUTTER, *Essai*, 165-6; VERCOUTTER, *L'Égypte*, 53-5; HELTZER, *Minos* 23; WACHSMANN, *Seagoing Ships*, 51-2. E.J.W. Barber offers a unique interpretation of Keftiu ships in which she identifies them as vessels "that use colorful fabrics on a frame cabin to shield passengers from the elements during the voyage", thus connecting the name to the Aegean patterned cloth covering used on some Nile ships (BARBER, in CLINE, HARRIS-CLINE (eds), *Aegean*, 15).

<sup>61</sup> YADIN, *Art of Warfare*, 186-9, 191-4, 200, 202. On the introduction by the Hyksos of the horse and chariot to Egypt, together with the composite bow, see WINLOCK, *Rise*, 153-7,

the fifteenth-century BC, both Egyptian and Canaanite chariots became more massive and then, after a short experiment with eight-spoked wheels under Thutmose IV, chariots used six-spoked wheels.<sup>62</sup>

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<sup>62</sup> YADIN, *Art of Warfare*, 86-90, 190, 192-3, 200, 206, 210, 211-17, 220-1.

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# **Colour Plates**



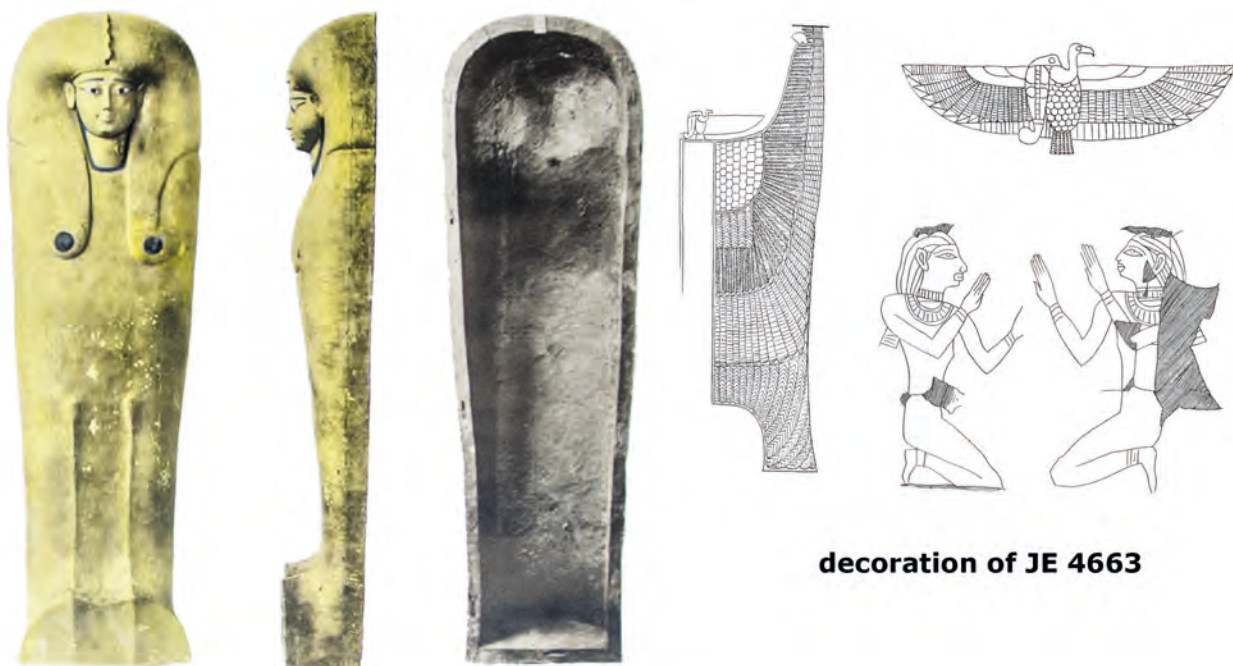


**Pl. I** – Coffin of the Queen Ahhotep in standing position with a few objects of its assemblage; photo by Devéria; PHO 1986 144 94/MS 163 90 © Musée d’Orsay, Dist. RMN-Grand Palais / Alexis Brandt



**Pl. II** – Coffin of the Queen Ahhotep laying on its base; photo by Devéria; PHO 1986 144 93/MS 163 89 © Musée d’Orsay, Dist. RMN-Grand Palais / Alexis Brandt





decoration of JE 4663

JE 4663



JE 4664



JE 4665



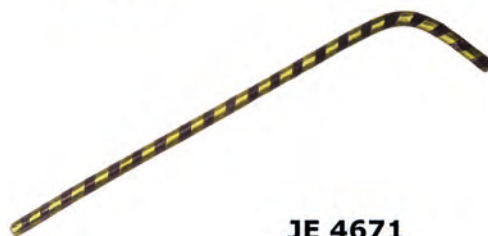
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Pl. IV – Equipment from the coffin of the Queen Ahhotep, from VON BISSING, *Ein thebanischer Grabfund* (drawings by Howard Carter) © assembled by Gianluca Miniaci





JE 4682



JE 4683



JE 4684



JE 4685

JE 4687



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JE 4696



JE 4697-4700



JE 4701-04



JE 4705



JE 4707-10



JE 4711-12



JE 4713



JE 4714

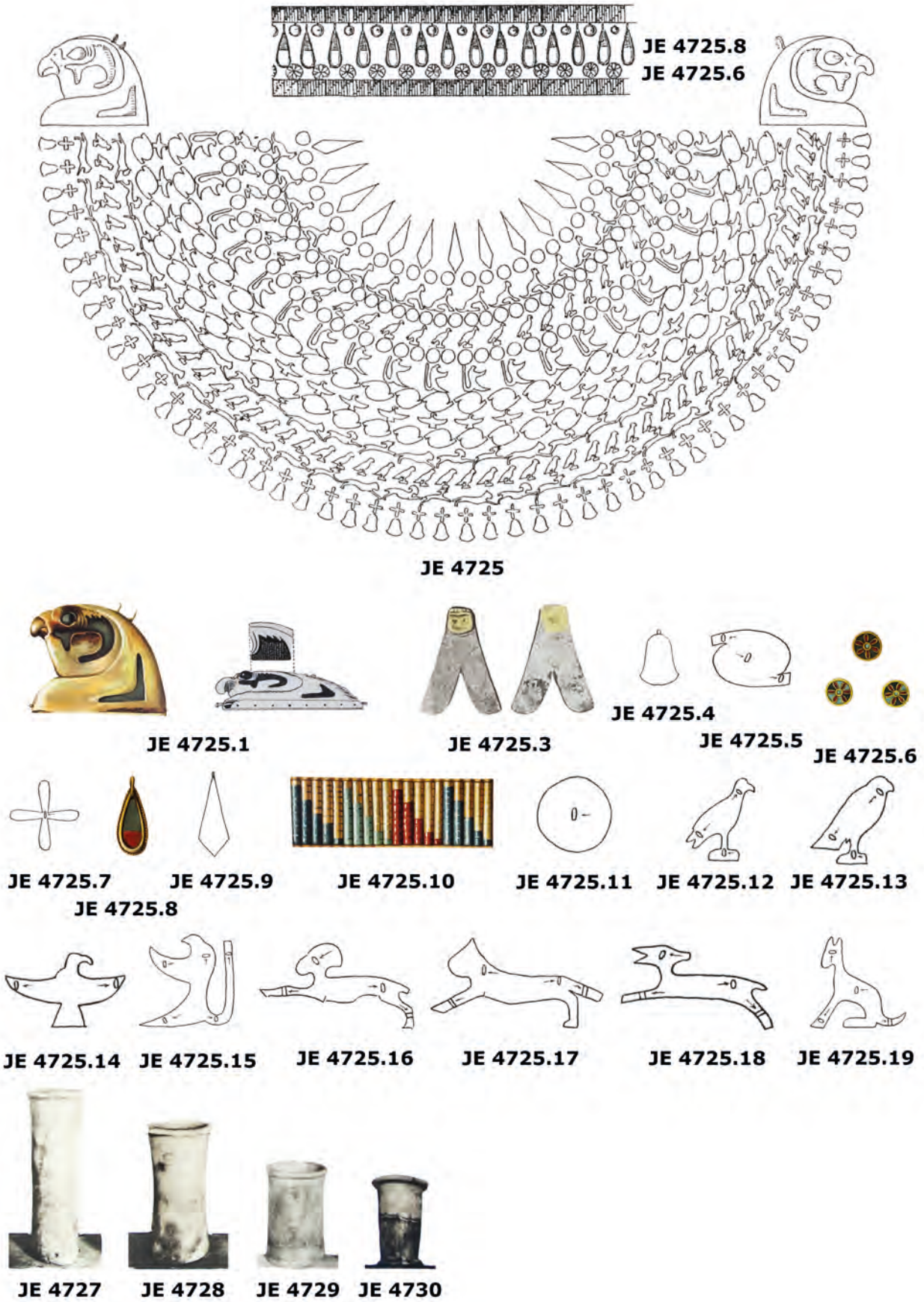


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JE 4718-23

Pl. V – Equipment from the coffin of the Queen Ahhotep, from VON BISSING, *Ein thebanischer Grabfund* (drawings by Howard Carter) © assembled by Gianluca Miniaci



Pl. VI – Equipment from the coffin of the Queen Ahhotep, from von BISSING, *Ein thebanischer Grabfund* (drawings by Howard Carter) © assembled by Gianluca Miniaci





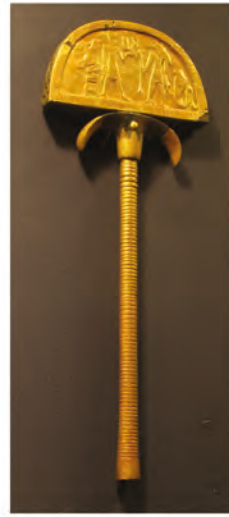
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JE 4668



JE 4672



JE 4673



JE 4675



JE 4676



JE 4679



JE 4680



JE 4683



JE 4684



JE 4685



JE 4686



JE 4687



JE 4694

Pl. VII – Overall view of the equipment from the coffin of the Queen Ahhotep © courtesy of the Egyptian Museum, Cairo



JE 4695



JE 4696



JE 4697-4700



JE 4707-4710



JE 47011-4712



JE 4713



JE 4714



JE 4715-4723



JE 4724



JE 4725



JE 4725





Pl. IX – Lid of Queen Ahhotep coffin © photo by Gianluca Miniaci



Pl. X – Detail of the lid of the Queen Ahhotep coffin © photo courtesy of Kenneth Garrett



Pl. XI – Sword JE 4666 © courtesy of the Egyptian Museum, Cairo





Pl. XII – Bracelet JE 4680 © photo courtesy of Alamy



Pl. XIII – Boat miniature JE 4681 + Waggon JE 4669 © photo by Jürgen Liepe





Pl. XIV – Fly pendants JE 4725.3 © photo courtesy of Alamy



Pl. XV – Bracelet JE 4684 © courtesy of the Egyptian Museum, Cairo



Pl. XVI – Lion's heads JE 4713-14 © photo courtesy of Alamy



Pl. XVII – Detail of axe JE 4673 © photo by Jürgen Liepe

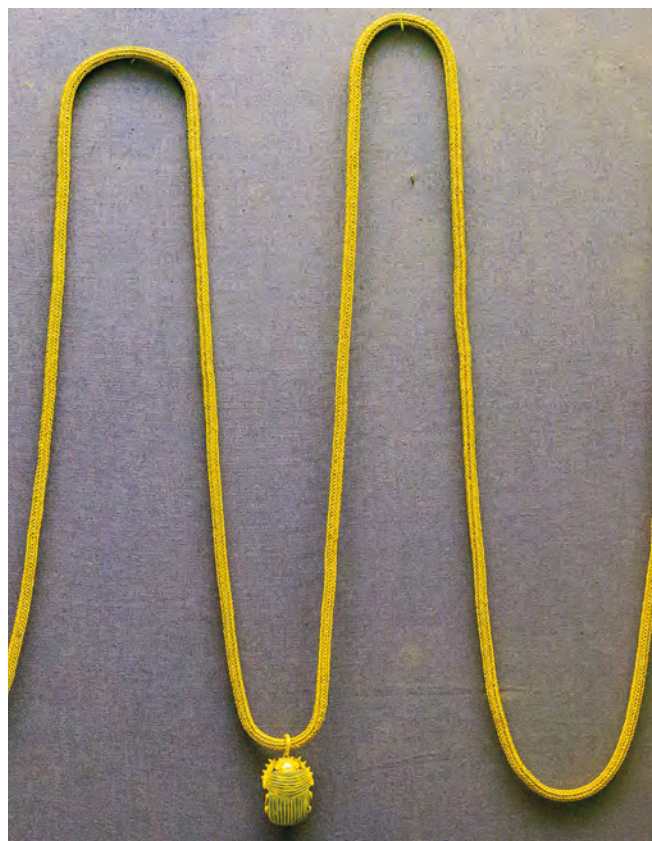


Pl. XVIII – Axe JE 4673 © photo by Jürgen Liepe





Pl. XIX – Fan JE 4672 © photo courtesy of Alamy



Pl. XX – Scarab JE 4695 © photo courtesy of Alamy



Pl. XXI – Nubians bringing tribute from the tomb of Sobekhotep in the British Museum (EA 922). The central figure wears a fly pendant. Photo by Wolfram Grajetzki © The Trustees of the British Museum



Pl. XXII – Gold and ivory fly from Buhen (UPM E10347A) © photo courtesy of the University of Pennsylvania Museum





**Plate XXIII** – The gilded *rishi* coffin of Wepmaat Intef (Louvre E 3019) © 2011 Musée du Louvre / Georges Poncet



**Plate XXIV** – The painted and gilded *rishi* coffin of the "Qurna Queen" (A.1909.527.1 + A). L: 2060 mm, W: 500 mm, D: 535 mm © National Museums Scotland



**Plate XXV** – Base of the foot of the “Qurna Queen” *rishi* coffin featuring depictions of two women with raised arms, probably the goddesses Isis and Nephthys (A.1909.527.1 + A)  
© National Museums Scotland



**Plate XXVI** – Detail of the coffin lid of the “Qurna Queen”, showing the vulture pectoral and the beginning of the central inscription column with moulded hieroglyphic offering formula (A.1909.527.1 A) © National Museums Scotland



**Plate XXVII** – The jewellery of the “Qurna Queen”. Bracelets A.1909.527.16, D: 57 mm max, A.1909.527.16 A, B, C, each D: 59 mm max. Necklace A.1909.527.19, L: 138 mm. Earrings A.1909.527.18 + A, each D: 23.5 mm. Girdle A.1909.527.17, L: 369 mm, circumference 780 mm © National Museums Scotland





**Plate XXVIII** – The “earrings” from the child’s burial, possibly made from recycled gold necklace clasps (A.1909.527.43 + A). Diameter: 7 mm  
© National Museums Scotland



**Plate XXIX** – Bovine horn container with bird-headed spoon and rosette stopper in ivory and ebony (A.1909.527.32). L: 245 mm, H: 74 mm  
© National Museums Scotland



**Plate XXX** – The base of the anhydrite bowl decorated with four figures of baboons (A.1909.527.33). H: 41 mm, Diameter: 130 mm max  
© National Museums Scotland



**Plate XXXI** (above) – Calcite round-bottomed globular cosmetic jar, with remnants of the textile lid and fatty contents (A.1909.527.2 + A). H: 109 mm incl. lid, Diam: 109 mm max  
© National Museums Scotland



**Plate XXXII** (left) – Black-rimmed carinated bowl (A.1909.527.23) with dried grapes, dates, and possibly peaches (A.1909.527.25). H: 64 mm, Diameter: 118 mm  
© National Museums Scotland



**Plate XXXIII** – Kerma-ware beakers. Back L to R: A.1909.527.41 A, H: 100 mm, Diameter: 122 mm; A.1909.527.41 C, H: 100 mm, Diameter: 125 mm; A.1909.527.41, H: 100 mm, Diameter: 124 mm; Middle L to R: A.1909.527.41 B, H: 102 mm, Diameter: 120 mm; A.1909.527.8; H: 104 mm, Diameter: 122 mm; Front: A.1909.527.8 A, H: 95 mm, Diameter: 123 mm  
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**Plate XXXIV** – Jars in net bags of various styles. L to R: A.1909.527.21 K, H: 185 mm, Diameter: 90 mm max; A.1909.527.21 A, H: 93 mm, Diameter: 113 mm max; A.1909.527.21 G, H: 116 mm, H including bag: 202 mm, Diameter: 116 mm max; A.1909.527.21 D, H: 152 mm, Diameter: 87 mm max  
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**Plate XXXV** – Squat pots with remains of net bags. L to R, top row: A.1909.527.21 B, H: 95 mm, Diameter: 92 mm max; A.1909.527.21 J, H: 83 mm, Diameter: 100 mm max; A.1909.527.21 H, H: 93 mm, Diameter: 113 mm max; Middle row: A.1909.527.21 C, H: 89 mm, Diameter: 90 mm max; A.1909.527.38 A, H: 104 mm, Diameter: 94 mm max; A.1909.527.38, H: 88 mm, Diameter: 86 mm max; Bottom row: A.1909.527.21 I, H: 81 mm, Diameter: 93 mm max; A.1909.527.21 E + F, H: 92 mm, Diameter: 92 mm max, Lid diameter: 48 mm  
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**Plate XXXVI** – (left) Faience bead net bag with handles and tassel (A.1909.527.4 A).  
L: 222 mm, W: 42 mm © National Museums Scotland

**Plate XXXVII** – (right) Acacia headrest with octagonal pillar inlaid with ebony and ivory (A.1909.527.3). H: 144 mm, L: 310 mm, W: 66 mm © National Museums Scotland



**Plate XXXVIII** – Bovine-legged stool with woven seat (A.1909.527.22). L: 444 mm, W: 444 mm, H: 264 mm  
© National Museums Scotland



**Plate XXXIX**– Low cedar-wood stool frame (A.1909.527.29 A). L: 326 mm, W: 304 mm, H: 147 mm  
© National Museums Scotland



**Plate XL** – Wooden box with sliding lid (A.1909.572.30 + A). L: 410 mm, W: 191 mm, D: 189 mm  
© National Museums Scotland



**Plate XLI** – Aegean goddesses and griffins: *a.* Fresco fragments from Mycenae (after REHAK, *AA* 4, 540, fig. 4);  
*b.* Reconstruction of Xesté 3 fresco, Akrotiri, after Olga Anastasiadou, c. 1625