

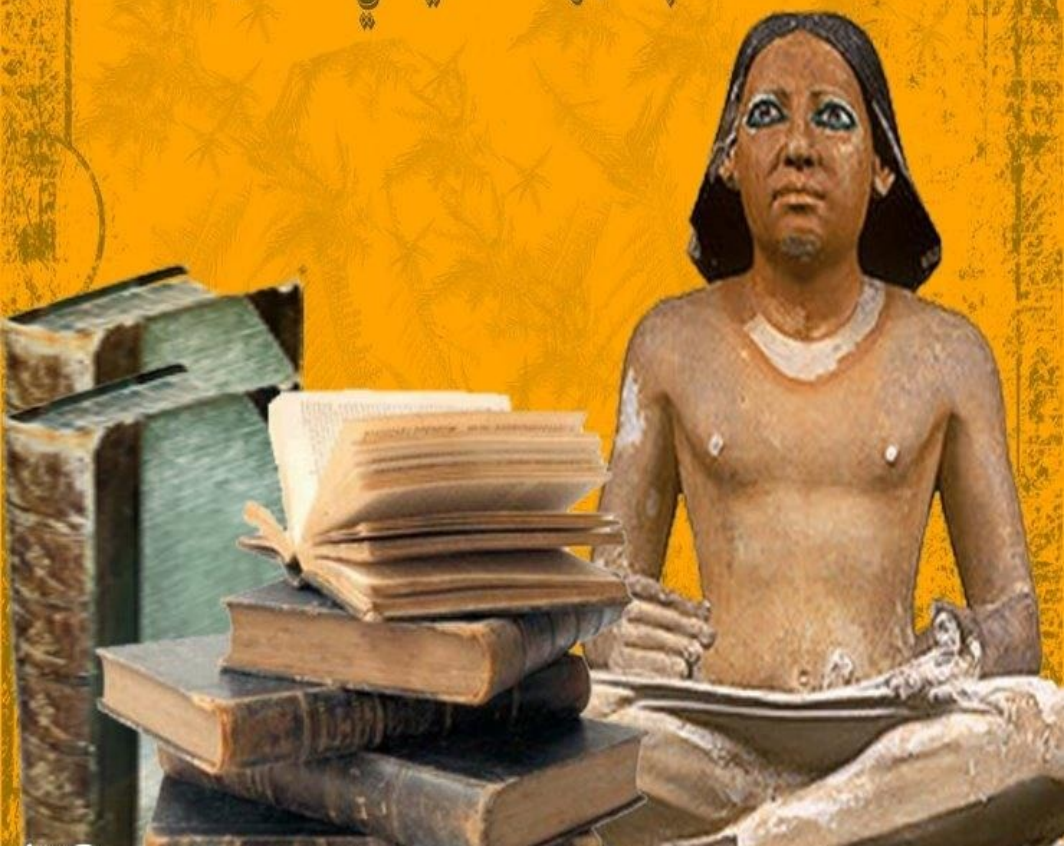
Nicholas Reeves

# The Complete Tutankhamun

The King · The Tomb · The Royal Treasure

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مكتبة المرشد السياحي الضخمة

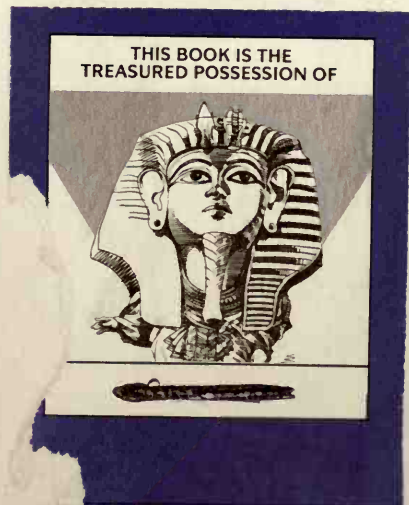






*"A story that opens like Aladdin's Cave and  
ends like a Greek myth of Nemesis cannot fail  
to capture the imagination of all men and  
women. . . ."*

Lady Burghclere





The Complete  
**Tutankhamun**

The King • The Tomb • The Royal Treasure

by  
Nicholas Reeves

Foreword by  
the Seventh Earl of Carnarvon

*519 illustrations, 65 in color*



Thames and Hudson

Half Title One of the four coffins recovered in 1926 from the King's chamber. The front-piece face of the solid-gold, gilded bronze coffin no. 2330 (1926) held the body of Tutankhamun.

#### A note on spellings

Because the hieroglyphs preserve no more than the consonantal skeleton of the Egyptian language, the ancient pronunciation cannot usually be established. For this reason, Egyptian names exhibit a variety of modern spellings, and often based upon the Greek form rather than the Egyptian. 'Tutankhamun' is here employed as the preferred spelling, but other versions of the king's name exist – including Tutankh, Amen, Tutankhamen, Tut'ankh Amun, Tutankhamon, Tutenkhamon, Tutanchamun and Tutenchamun; these variants have been retained where appropriate in book titles and quotations.

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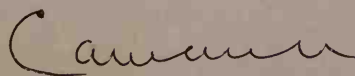
*Foreword by  
the Seventh Earl of Carnarvon*

I met Mr Howard Carter on his last visit to Highclere in April 1933 when I was nine years old. I remember him well with his bow tie, and being fascinated by some of the descriptions he was giving my mother of Egypt and the Valley of the Kings.

When my father died, the interest was rekindled: an inventory had to be taken of the contents of Highclere Castle, and it was during this period that the remains of my grandfather's Egyptian collection were found. I was lucky then to have the advice and help of Dr Nicholas Reeves in identifying and cataloguing this collection, and finally putting it on display. Dr Reeves's knowledge of the period of Tutankhamun is quite remarkable and he and his wife, Claire, have been immensely helpful to me and my family in presenting these wonderful artifacts to the public.

I have since started to collect a few pieces myself and hope that over the years, we shall be able to enhance the collection, which is so popular with the public when they visit the Castle.

Dr Reeves's fascinating book will surely become an important addition to the record of the history of Tutankhamun as well as encouraging more and more people from all over the world to visit the Valley of the Kings.



*(Opposite) Tutankhamun  
receives flowers from his  
wife, Ankhesenamun: the  
ivory-veneered lid of box no.  
540 + 551.*

# Chronology and Family Relationships

The precise dates of the Egyptian dynasties and the pharaohs who ruled during them are still the subject of much scholarly debate. The dates employed here are based on the chronology developed by Prof John Baines and Dr Jaromír Málek and put forward in their *Atlas of Ancient Egypt*. Details of the rulers of the New Kingdom have been given in full; the names of Tutankhamun and those monarchs in his immediate family have been highlighted in italics.

**Late Predynastic** c. 3000 BC

## Early Dynastic Period

1st-3rd dynasties 2920-2575

## Old Kingdom

4th-8th dynasties 2575-2134

## First Intermediate Period

9th-11th dynasties 2134-2040

## Middle Kingdom

11th-14th dynasties 2040-1640

## Second Intermediate Period

15th-17th dynasties 1640-1532

## New Kingdom

18th dynasty	1550-1307
Amunose	1550-1525
Amenophis I	1525-1504
Tuthmosis I	1504-1492
Tuthmosis II	1492-1479
Tuthmosis III	1479-1425
Hatshepsut	1473-1458
Amenophis II	1427-1401
Tuthmosis IV	1401-1391
<i>Amenophis III</i>	1391-1353
<i>Amenophis IV (Akhenaten)</i>	1353-1335
<i>Smenkhkare (Neferiti?)</i>	1335-1333
<i>Tutankhamun</i>	1333-1323
Ay	1323-1319
Horemheb	1319-1307
19th dynasty	1307-1196
Ramesses I	1307-1306
Sethos I	1306-1290
Ramesses II	1290-1224
Merenptah	1224-1214
Sethos II	1214-1204
Amenmesse (usurper during reign of Sethos II)	
Siptah	1204-1198
Twosre	1198-1196
20th dynasty	1196-1070
Sethnakht	1196-1194
Ramesses III	1194-1163
Ramesses IV	1163-1156
Ramesses V	1156-1151
Ramesses VI	1151-1143
Ramesses VII	1143-1136
Ramesses VIII	1136-1131
Ramesses IX	1131-1112
Ramesses X	1112-1100
Ramesses XI	1100-1070

## Third Intermediate Period

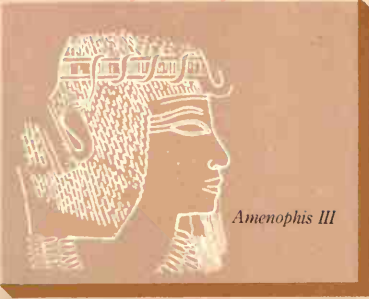
21st-25th dynasties 1070-712

## Late Period

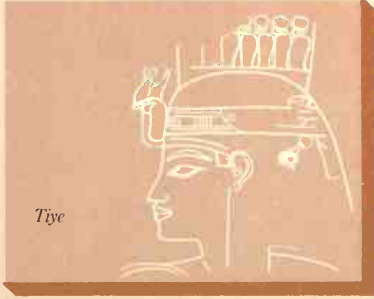
25th dynasty-2nd Persian Period 712-332

## Graeco-Roman Period

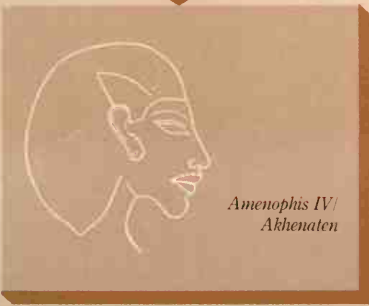
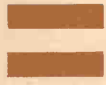
Macedonian dynasty-Roman emperors  
332 BC-AD 395



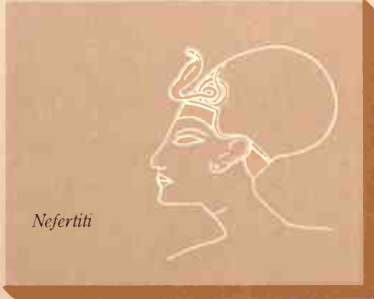
*Amenophis III*



*Tiye*



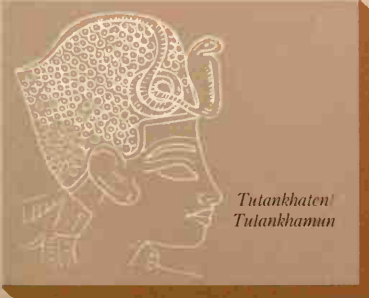
*Amenophis IV/  
Akhenaten*



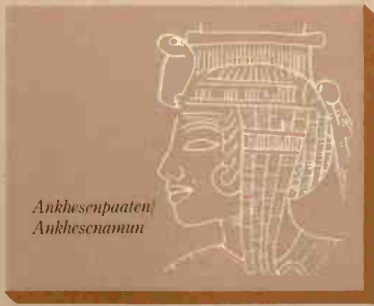
*Nefertiti*



*Kiya*



*Tutankhaten/  
Tutankhamun*

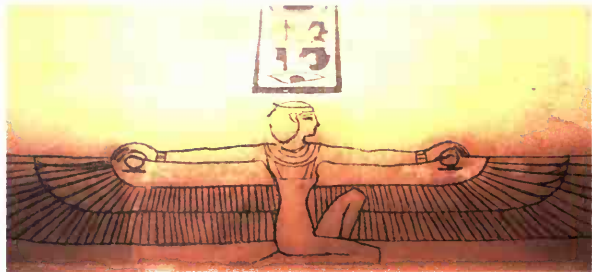


*Ankhesenpaaten/  
Ankhesenamun*



*Tutankhamun's family tree. Tutankhamun was probably the offspring of Akhenaten, the 'heretic' son of Amenophis III and Tiye. His mother is likely to have been Kiya, a lesser wife of Akhenaten. Nefertiti had borne Akhenaten six daughters, one of whom was later to become Tutankhamun's queen.*

# Introduction: Discovering Tutankhamun



*Tutankhamun spreads his wings  
protecting himself and the world  
from a detail of the lid of  
Tutankhamun's sarcophagus  
c. 1330 BC, carved from a  
single block of translucent  
black and white quartz  
and set in dark blue*

“When I started on for Egypt I had anticipated finding something, but I never dreamt that I should find such a tomb as this.”

George Herbert, fifth Earl of Carnarvon

The Earl of Carnarvon and Howard Carter could never have imagined the wonders that lay ahead as, late in the afternoon of 26 November 1922, they made a small peep-hole in the blocked inner doorway of the unimposing tomb recently brought to light in the Valley of the Kings.

Mr Carter, holding a candle before him, put his head in. Lord Carnarvon was to recall shortly after the event: “He did not say anything for two or three minutes, but kept me in rather painful suspense. I thought I had been disappointed again and I said, “Can you see anything?” “Yes, yes,” he replied, “it is wonderful.”

Here before them, crammed in from floor to ceiling, barely lit by the excavators’ flickering light, lay a breathtaking array of funerary furniture and ritual figures, untouched for an eternity and seemingly in perfect condition; and every where the glint of gold. The enormity of the discovery did not take long to sink in; as Carnarvon excitedly scribbled to the Egyptologist Alan Gardiner the day after viewing the tomb for the first time: “There is enough stuff to fill the whole upstairs Egyptian section of the [British] [M]useum. I imagine it is the greatest find ever made.”

And so it was to prove. Tutankhamun, the obscure owner and occupant of this treasure store, became overnight a household name. The discovery put Egyptology on the map, and Pharaoh’s tomb became the yardstick by which all archaeological discoveries would in future be measured. No

on the Egyptian 1922 season... the public imagination... the tomb... the quick... non that in all the... of famed... and both... Carter... Tutankhamun... the... and his... remains... but partly...  
Perhaps the real cause of the... Carter did not live to complete his... the tomb and its contents... he died... and exhausted man in 1939. His three-volume *The Tomb of Tutankhamun*, which appeared between 1923 and 1933, had been intended merely as a taster for the definitive *Report upon the Tomb of Tutankhamun*, which would have been a very much larger work, an appropriate crown to Carter’s extraordinary career. After a decade and a half devoted to the clearance of the tomb and the study of its contents, no one knew Tutankhamun and his treasures better than Carter himself.

Fortunately for posterity, Carter was a careful and meticulous worker, and made notes on every aspect of the discovery. These notes survive, together with Carter’s fine drawings and reconstructions and the extensive series of superb photographs made by Harry Burton of New York’s Metropolitan Museum of Art during the clearance of the tomb. Bequeathed to Carter’s niece, Phyllis Walker, in 1939, this



*Releas Tutankhamun  
recommends the remains  
to the dead in the goddess Nut  
to take with the world into  
the King's decorated Burial  
Chamber*

*Howard Carter, Tutankhamun  
Howard Carter, 1891-1962, a  
British archaeologist and  
Egyptologist, who discovered  
the tomb of Tutankhamun  
in 1922. He was the first  
to identify the tomb's  
owner as the young  
pharaoh, and he was the  
first to publish the  
findings.*

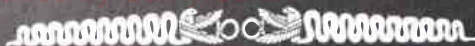






*Egypt (left) and her northern neighbours (above). The Nile in ancient times, as today, was bordered on either side by inhospitable desert. By its annual ebb and flow, the river sustained life and gave a vital rhythm to the existence of the country's inhabitants. The precious, silt-rich strip of 'black land' was reserved for the living; the dead were consigned to the lifeless desert, in cemeteries generally sited on the west bank, where the sun-god Re was seen to 'die' at the end of each day. During the New Kingdom, Egypt's principal necropolis was situated in Western Thebes. Here, following a brief reign and surrounded by his treasures, the young king Tutankhamun was laid to rest in a rock-cut tomb close to his forefathers. The site was a dried-up river bed known to the world as the Valley of the Kings.*





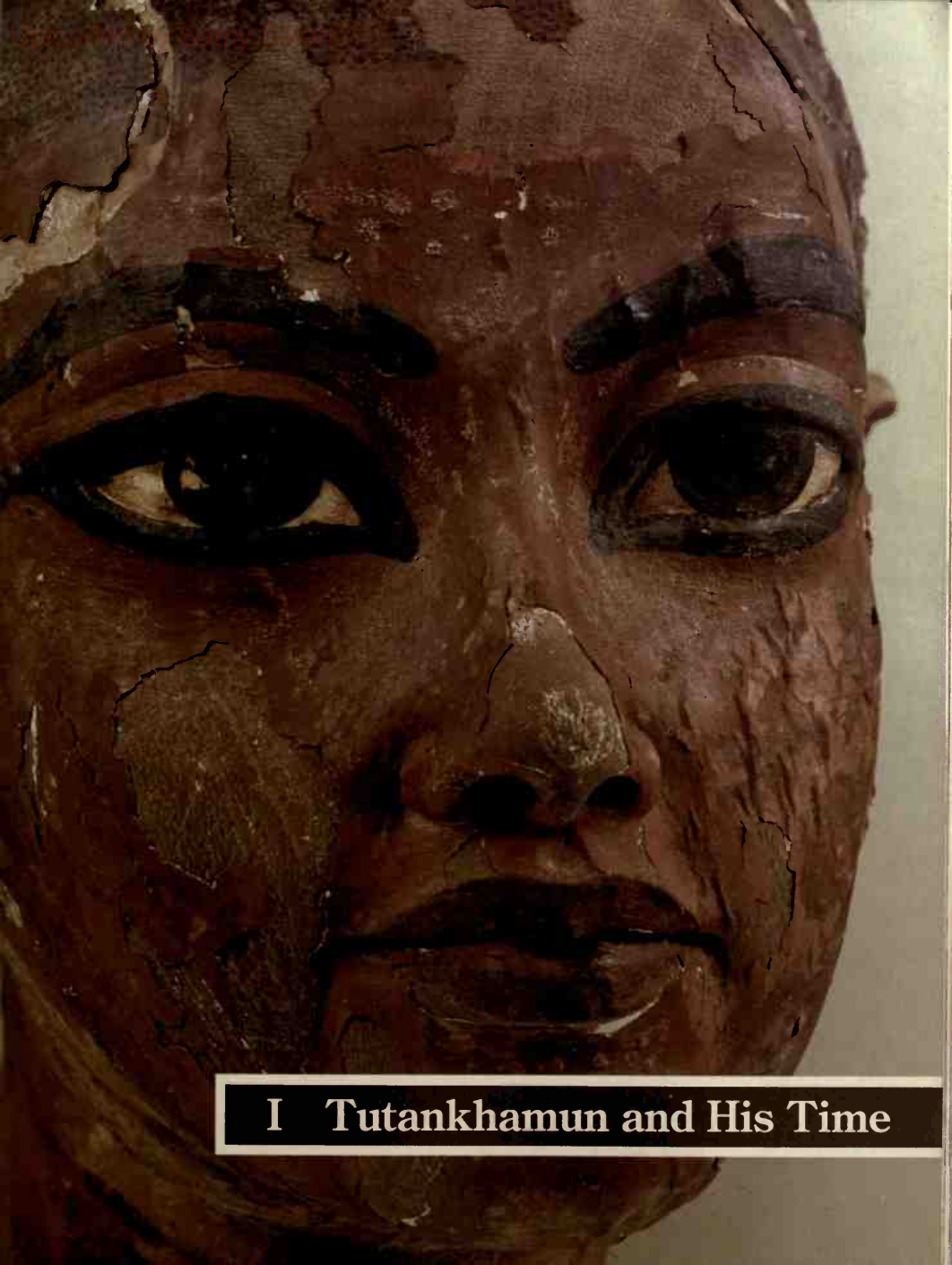
Tutankhamun lived and died against a backdrop of one of the richest and most sophisticated periods of Egyptian history, an age of international power-politics, religious turmoil, and unbounded artistic and literary creativity brought to fruition largely by the will of one man: his father, the heretic Pharaoh Akhenaten.

The king's only known son, Tutankhamun succeeded to the throne as a mere child following the brief intervening reign of the enigmatic Smenkhkare. Tutankhamun's legacy was a country physically and spiritually drained following his father's neglect of the traditional pantheon and imposition of the Aten cult, centred upon the new capital at el-Amarna. With the boy's accession, the Amarna experiment was brought to an end; the religious factions were reconciled and the country returned to relative normality.

But little of this was the young king's doing. Where Akhenaten had been strong, Tutankhamun was weak: behind the gold mask of the all-powerful god-ruler is the face of a vulnerable and manipulated little boy, a mere cipher for the deeds and aspirations of others.

*Portrait of the child-king: detail of a gessoed and painted wooden head (no. 8) from the tomb.*





## I Tutankhamun and His Time

# The 18th Dynasty Before Amarna



*The presentation of Asiatic produce: the viceroy of northern Syria sends gifts to their prince before Pharaoh, in a painted scene from the tomb of Sobekhotep (No. 62) at Thebes.*

◀ So let my brother send me gold in your great quantity. For in my brother's land gold is as plentiful as dust. ▶

King Tushatta of Mitanni to Pharaoh Amenhotep III

From the very beginnings of her recorded history, Egypt was a land apart, isolated from her neighbours by the natural boundaries of Mediterranean in the north, cataract region in the south, and deserts to

east and west. The Nile, her ancient life-giver, fed all the lands around her, with generous provision of fish and fowl, and the annual inundation from the highlands to the delta fertilised it. As a result, who ever controlled Egypt as the Nile valley was the seat of the most advanced civilisation in the world, a civilisation so rich and flourishing that it was called the land of the living. It had no equal in history, a civilization which, in its art, literature, science and industry, which progressed in the highest degree, the benefits of foreign contact and cooperation, was the expansionist policy of the New Kingdom (1550-1070 BC). The first step in this policy would be the expulsion of the Hyksos by the Theban prince Ahmose, founder of the 18th dynasty, the first dynasty of the New Kingdom.

The reign of Pharaoh Thutmose I, Ahmose's successor but one, witnessed a phenomenal extension of Egyptian power northwards to the Euphrates, and was balanced by a progression south beyond the fourth cataract. With consolidation under Thutmose III and Amenophis II, an initial phase of plunder and pillage was followed, in the north, by the establishment of vassal rulers and the imposition of tribute. In the south, Nubia was exploited directly under the viceroy of 'King's son of Kush'. Wealth poured into the coffers of the Egyptian king and of his principal god, Amun-Re, in the form of raw materials and manpower, not only from Egypt's vassals but by diplomatic exchange with the Hittites (in Anatolia), Mitanni (Naharin, in present-day northern Syria), Assyria, Babylon and the rulers of the Greek Isles.



*The Colonnade of Amenhotep III at Karnak Temple, with its massive papyrus columns.*



(Far left) Amenophis III, 'the Magnificent', clutching the kingly heqa-sceptre and wearing the blue crown with uraeus-serpent and streamers and shebyu-collar: a fragment of limestone relief from the Theban tomb of Khaemhat (No. 57).

(Left) Queen Tiye, shown with coarsely braided wig, double uraeus and diadem inscribed at the front with her name: a small head of green steatite found by Flinders Petrie at Serabit el-Khadim in Sinai.

When Amenophis III came to the throne in 1391 BC, Egypt was at the centre of the world stage. As the diplomatic correspondence found at el-Amarna reveals, during the 37 recorded years of his reign the king and his influential queen, Tiye, reaped in full the benefits of an empire stable and at peace. A god incarnate, Pharaoh was sufficiently powerful to short-change his neighbours in the diplomacy of gift-giving, and received their princesses into his harim with no thought of exchange. Great building works were undertaken, including a new palace complex with a vast, man-made lake at Malqata on the west bank of the Nile at Thebes, and temples, shrines and other structures at Luxor, Karnak, Sulb

and elsewhere. The king's mortuary temple, its position today marked by the famed 'Colossi of Memnon', was perhaps the most sumptuous of all:

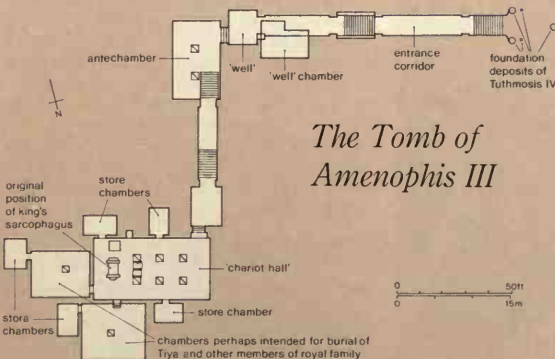
'... a monument of eternity and everlastingness, of fine sandstone worked with gold throughout... [its] pavements... made pure with silver, all its doors with fine gold'.

Egypt in the reign of Amenophis III, 'the Magnificent', was a nation at the height of her power and prestige; she was, at the same time, an Egypt effete, decadent and ripe for change. The change would come with a vengeance with the theological crisis of the succeeding reign.

Amenophis III was buried in a large, rock-cut sepulchre begun by his father, Tuthmosis IV, in the western annexe of the Valley of the Kings. This tomb, No. 22 in the Valley sequence, was first noted by two members of Napoleon's Egyptian expedition in 1799. Its L-shaped ground-plan, characteristic of 18th-dynasty royal tombs, was elaborated by the addition of two extra rooms off the enlarged, easternmost store-chambers of the decorated burial chamber. One of these 'suites' is thought to have been intended for the king's principal wife, Tiye – though, since she outlived her husband, it would seem never actually to have been employed. The great royal wife was probably buried at el-Amarna by her son, Akhenaten, though during the reign of Tutankhamun her mummy was transferred to Thebes for reburial in Tomb 55 in the Valley of the Kings (p. 20). The remains of both king and queen have been identified among a group of royal mummies found in the tomb of Amenophis II (No. 35) in 1898, where they had been hidden at the time the necropolis was dismantled at the end of the New Kingdom.

The burial of Amenophis III was perhaps the most magnificent of any Egyptian king, in a sepulchre

scarcely less splendid than his mortuary temple. The broken fragments yielded by Carnarvon and Carter's clearance of the tomb in 1915 (p. 48) would offer many tantalizing hints of its former glory.



The Tomb of Amenophis III

# Akhenaten and the Amarna Age

Figure 1. Cartonnage of Akhenaten and Merneptah (c.1250 BC), one of the king's sons, wearing the *wesekh* (breast collar) and *was* (scepter). Photo courtesy of The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York.

Figure 2. The *was* scepter and *was* staff of Akhenaten and Nefertiti. Photo courtesy of The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York.

- The good gods who are of Re,  
Whose goodness Atum-tashu-nakht,  
Usual, worldly, means power,  
Who contents him with that which pleases him,  
Who serves him who begot him,  
Who guides the hand of him who enters the tomb,  
Who presides over his house of eternity,  
With millions, hundred thousands of things,  
Who exalts Akhenaten in his name,  
Who causes the hand to belong to his nupter.

Boundary stela St 6 at el-Amarna

With the premature death of the heir-apparent, Tutmosis, the succession passed in 1353 BC to Prince Amenophis, a younger son of Amenophis III and his chief consort, Tiye. The new king, who had perhaps acted as co-regent with his father for a short while before the latter's death, was to waste little time in asserting himself.

Amenophis IV was to reign for 17 years, and to stamp his character upon every aspect of Egyptian life and culture. The main feature of his rule was an exclusive, even fanatical, personal devotion to the Aten. A relatively minor aspect of the sun-god, Re-Horakhty, the Aten had already achieved a certain prominence under Tutmosis IV and Amenophis III. From Year 2 of Amenophis IV, the names of the Aten were written in oval cartouches, like those of the king. In addition, the Aten was shown as a god in its own right: a solar disc (or globe) emitting rays which end in hands presenting 'life' (the hieroglyph *ankh*) to the noses of both the king and his principal queen, Nefertiti.

The disc was to be the symbol of a new order imposed upon his subjects by Pharaoh. Its basic tenet is spelled out in the Great Hymn to the Aten, a version of which is inscribed upon the tomb-walls of the courtier Ay (destined to be Tutankhamun's successor) at el-Amarna: there is but one god, the Aten, the sole creator and gentle benefactor of mankind. In this hymn, a masterpiece of literature perhaps composed by the king himself, the true nature of the Amarna revolution nevertheless stands revealed:

'There is no other who knows you,  
Only your son Neterkheprure waenre [Amenophis IV].

Since access to the god would be through the intermediacy of Pharaoh alone, the Aten and his spokesman became in effect one and the same: Pharaoh worshipped the disc, and the populace

worshipped him. Whether by intention or not, the traditional god-king had become a divine creature.

The early years of the reign were taken up with extensive building works at Karnak, monuments later dismantled by Pharaoh's successors and the thousands of sandstone *talatat*-blocks re-employed as building rubble. By Year 6, Amenophis IV had changed his name (which may be translated 'Amen-is-content') to Akhenaten ('He-who-is-beneficial-to-the-Aten') – coincident, it seems, with the start of work on a new capital: Akhetaten ('Horizon-of-the-Aten'), dedicated to the worship of the disc at el-Amarna in Middle Egypt. This new city, its territory demarcated by a series of 'boundary stela', was in all probability the birthplace of Tutankhamun. Here, maintained by a strong military presence, the Aten reigned supreme.

The Aten's official name exists in two principal forms. The earlier first occurs accompanying the falcon-headed form of the god, and, subsequently, within a pair of cartouches (stressing the ambiguity between god and king), as the earlier name-form of the rayed sun disc. In the Aten's later name form, adopted in about Year 9 of the reign, all mention of Horakhty and Shu has been dropped. This name change probably marked the pinnacle of Akhenaten's hostility towards the old order. It was accompanied by the erasure from all accessible monuments of any reference to Amun and the old polytheistic religion, including the Amen-*element* in his father's and his own original name.

This persecution was to mark the beginning of the end. With the closure of the traditional shrines, the economic stability of the Egyptian state was seriously undermined; while, with the day-to-day running of the country left unsupervised in the hands of lesser men, exploitation of the disorientated populace was rife. This neglect would earn Pharaoh the posthumous sobriquet 'criminal of Akhetaten'.

The *was* scepter of Amenophis IV from one of a series of striking colossal statues (perhaps the work of the sculptor Baki), revealed in the king's temple complex at Karnak.





(Left) This 'sexless' colossus from Karnak was formerly attributed to Pharaoh himself, giving rise to a plethora of doubtful hypotheses concerning his masculinity. It is now recognized as most probably an image of the king's principal wife, Nefertiti.



(Below left) The sculptor Bek and his wife, as depicted on a quartzite stela carved by the man himself.

(Below) Amarna iconoclasm: the base of a black granite statue of the goddess Sakhmet, in which the nomen of Amenophis III has been erased.



**The Art of Amarna**

The Amarna period has given its name to a unique and markedly stylized art, at its best highly sensual, at its worst wholly repellent, in which many of the age-old formalizations were abandoned. Gone are representations of the king-as-hero, to be replaced by grotesque images of the long-faced, pot-bellied reality which was Pharaoh, 'living according to maat' ["right"], in perfect harmony with his loving family and taking fullest pleasure in the beauties of nature. And here again, remarkably, the impetus seems to have come from above: as the royal sculptor Bek records, he was 'one whom his majesty himself instructed'.



**Extract from the Great Hymn to the Aten, inscribed in the tomb of the god's father Ay (No. 23) at el-Amarna:**

How many are your deeds,  
 Though hidden from sight,  
 O Sole God beside whom there is none,  
 You made the earth as you wished, you  
 Calone,  
 All peoples, herds, and flocks,  
 All upon earth that walk on legs,  
 All on high that fly on wings,  
 The lands of Khor [Syria] and Kush  
 [Nubia],  
 The land of Egypt.

The similarity between certain passages in this Hymn to the Aten and Psalm 104 has often been remarked upon. A recent view is that 'The resemblances are . . . likely to be the result of the generic similarity between Egyptian hymns and biblical psalms' rather than a 'specific literary interdependence'.

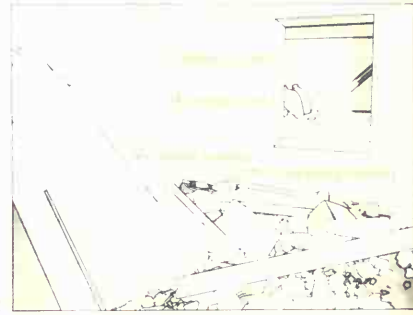
**Psalm 104, 24**

O Lord, how manifold are thy works!  
 In wisdom hast thou made them all.  
 The earth is full of thy creatures.

## Akhenaten's Burial and the Enigma of Tomb 55

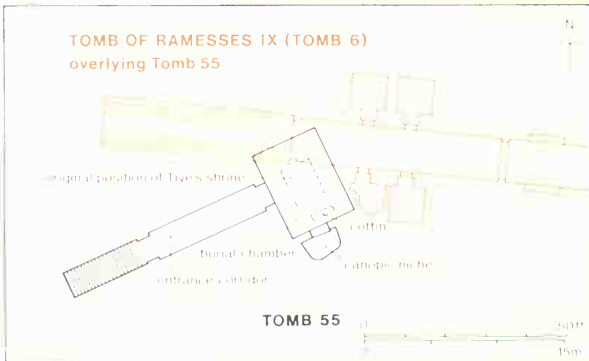
According to some curious whimsy of fate, the late Mr. Davis entertained a most violent and obstinate objection to the suggestion that he had discovered the body of Akhenaten. He had hoped that he had found Queen Tiuti [Tut], and when he was at last forced to abandon this fallacy, he seemed to act almost as though desiring to obscure the identification of the body. He was still in a passionate state of mind in this regard when, a few years later, his brain gave way, and a tragic oblivion descended upon him. ➤

Arthur Weigall



*Akhenaten's tomb was discovered by Howard Carter in 1925. The discovery of a sarcophagus in the tomb is thought to be the remains of Akhenaten's wife, Nefertiti.*

*Howard Carter's discovery of the tomb of Akhenaten in 1925 was the first of a series of discoveries in the Valley of the Kings. The tomb was found in a narrow passage between two hills, and it was thought to be the tomb of Akhenaten.*



In accordance with the vow proclaimed on boundary stelae K and X, Akhenaten prepared a tomb for himself in the cliffs at el-Amarna, abandoning the tomb excavation already begun in the Valley of the Kings (probably No. 25 in the West Valley) together with what had already been produced in the way of funerary furniture.

The Amarna tomb was discovered at the beginning of the century by the Italian excavator Alexandre Barsanti; it was found to contain little more than a few broken *shabty* (funerary figures), remains of the king's sarcophagus, and fragments of the canopic chest intended to hold his embalmed internal organs. Whether Akhenaten was ever buried at el-Amarna has been questioned. Since an *ad hoc* burial chamber had been cut from an antechamber in the unfinished tomb, there can be little doubt that he was, though when the royal burial-ground was evacuated following the abandonment of Akhetaten,

the king's body appears to have been transferred by his son Tutankhamun to the Valley of the Kings.

The remains of this Theban reburial seem to have been brought to light in Tomb 55 during work sponsored by Theodore M. Davis (pp. 37-9) in 1907. Tomb 55 is one of the most controversial discoveries ever made in Egypt. Excavated by the English archaeologist Edward R. Ayrton under trying circumstances and in due course poorly published by Davis himself, no consensus has yet been reached on its precise nature or on the identity of its occupant. A single-chambered corridor tomb, it contained an assortment of objects, including a coffined mummy, a gilded wooden shrine, four canopic jars, and a set of so-called 'magic bricks'. The material falls neatly into two groups. The principal element of the first group was the shrine, originally prepared for Akhenaten's mother and giving the title to Davis's published account of the find, *The Tomb of Queen Tiye*. The second group included the coffined mummy, canopic jars and 'magic bricks', objects which the inscriptions on the bricks would seem to associate with Akhenaten himself.

In all likelihood, the shrine indicates Tiye's original presence within the tomb. Her mummy and most of her funerary equipment, however, were missing, perhaps removed when the tomb was stumbled upon during the course of quarrying the overlying tomb of Ramesses IX (No. 6); the dismantled shrine had been abandoned when the workers discovered that it could not be extracted without first clearing the rubble that filled the corridor. The mummy of Tiye has been recognized by American researchers among those bodies later cached in the tomb of Amenophis II (No. 35), though the identification is not universally accepted.

The Tomb 55 coffin and canopic jars had been prepared originally for Kiya, a secondary wife of

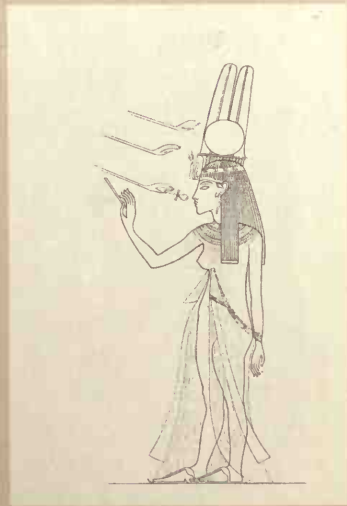
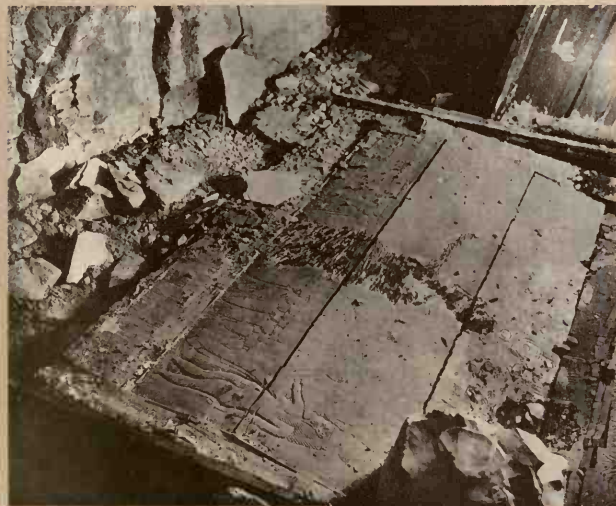


Akhenaten and perhaps Tutankhamun's mother (p. 9). The names of the subsequent owner had been excised from the coffin, presumably at the time the mummy of Queen Tiye was removed from the chamber. Physical and blood-group similarities between the unidentified occupant of the coffin and the mummy of Tutankhamun (p. 117) are remarkable; indeed archaeological considerations suggest that the anonymous body ought to be that of Akhenaten himself, Tutankhamun's father. However, the estimated age at death of the Tomb 55 corpse - reduced since the initial analysis from 25/26+ to 20 years - remains problematic; even by the most conservative reckoning, Akhenaten must have been at least 30 when he died.



(Above) Kiya: a calcite canopic jar lid from Tomb 55, superimposed upon a photograph of the coffin.

(Below) One of the gilded side panels from Queen Tiye's shrine, and a line-drawn detail by Harold Jones.





## Nefertiti and the Succession

◀ The relief of the queen presented here is not a full-length one and the artist has exaggerated her waist.

Thutmoside era

Akhenaten's principal wife was the beautiful Nefertiti, subject of the famous limestone portrait (just in West Berlin) (2,000). Research over the last decade and a half has indicated that the importance of the queen during the Amarna period was probably far greater than previously recognized.

*(Left) Plaster of the queen's face, from the bust of Nefertiti, from the workshop of the sculptor Thutmose at el-Amarna. The delicate balance of the face is achieved by the use of lighter weight plaster. Perhaps because of the queen's unusual role, only one copy may be present.*



*(Right) Limestone stela dedicated by the soldier Pase, formerly believed to show Akhenaten and his co-regent, 'Sm-nkhkarn'. The stela was never completed, and neither individual is named; the three empty cartouches on the right indicate, nonetheless, that the figures are those of Akhenaten and his queen, Nefertiti. The queen's exceptional status is shown by the fact that she wears the kingly double crown of Upper and Lower Egypt.*

At the time of the Thutmoseid era, the queen's face was shown by the artist to be slightly larger than the king's. This was a common practice in Egyptian art, where the queen's face was often depicted as being slightly larger than the king's. This was done to emphasize the queen's importance and her role as the primary wife of the king. The queen's face was also shown with a more delicate and refined appearance, reflecting her status as a woman of high social standing. The queen's face was also shown with a more delicate and refined appearance, reflecting her status as a woman of high social standing.

It is surely no coincidence that the disappearance of Nefertiti and Akhenaten's co-regent should have coincided with the advent of a new co-regent, Ankhesenpaane Nefertiti, formerly identified as an older brother or half brother of Tutankhamun. And, indeed, the indications are that queen and co-regent were one and the same; the co-regent not only bears one of the queen's names, 'beloved of Akhenaten',

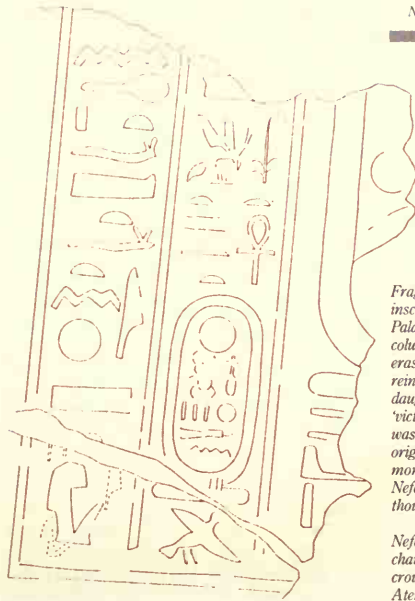


but 'his' nomen occurs on a number of faience ring bezels in the feminine form Ankhē/kheprure.

Akhenaten died in his 17th regnal year, leaving Egypt and her empire in tatters after the years of introspection and neglect. Subsequent developments are difficult to follow. The appearance of a king Ankhkheprure Smenkhkare-djeserkhepru is documented towards the end of Akhenaten's reign, and it is tempting to see this ruler as the ultimate manifestation of the former great royal wife, Nefertiti. She it may well have been who, in a desperate attempt to retain power after Akhenaten's death, wrote to Suppiluliumas I, king of the Hittites, asking for a son to marry and consolidate her position. A copy of the letter was found in the Hittite archives at Hattusas in modern Turkey, and is an indication of the depths to which proud Egypt had sunk:

'My husband died. A son I have not. But to thee, they say, the sons are many. If thou wouldst give me one son of thine, he would become my husband. Never shall I pick out a servant of mine and make him my husband! ... I am afraid!'

Suppiluliumas was astounded, and sceptical: 'such a thing has never happened before in my whole life'. There was an interchange of messengers, and a son, Zannanza, duly despatched, only to be murdered en route to Egypt. Smenkhkare disappears after a brief independent reign, and the spotlight shifts to a child no more than nine years of age: Tutankhaten, better known today by his later name of Tutankhamun.



*Fragmentary limestone inscription from the North Palace at el-Amarna. The column of text on the left was erased in antiquity and reinscribed for the king's daughter Meritaten. The 'victim' of these usurpations was Kiya, as traces of the original text on this and other monuments reveal – not Nefertiti, as was once thought.*

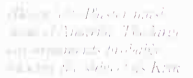
*Nefertiti, wearing her characteristic, flat-topped crown, makes offerings to the Aten on a limestone temple block from el-Ashmunein.*



# Who Was Tutankhamun?



Below: Hieroglyphs recording the death of Amenhotep III, Tutankhamun's grandfather.



Below: The Pharaoh's most famous ornaments, probably made for Akhenaten's Kne.



Opposite: Below: The royal wife. A fragmentary scene from the tomb of Akhenaten at el-Amarna.

THE PHaraoh Tutankhamun was the son of Akhenaten, the heretic king who ruled Egypt from 1371 to 1362 BC.

How old was he?

Despite the richness of his burial, Tutankhamun remains an enigmatic figure. To judge from the mummy of Idu, he died perhaps as young as 19 or 17 years of age, having been born presumably at Akhetaten (modern el-Amarna), during the latter half of the reign of Akhenaten. Although his royal stock has sometimes been questioned, an inscription brought to light at el-Ashmunen across the river from el-Amarna confirms that Tutankhamun (as he is there named) was indeed the son of a king. Official policy during the boy's reign seems to have been to stress his association with Amenophis III. Nevertheless, in the absence of a long coregency between Amenophis III and Akhenaten, the probability must be that Tutankhamun was a son of the latter.

Firm evidence is lacking to establish with certainty the identity of Tutankhamun's mother, though a degree of informed speculation is possible. Nefertiti appears to have borne Akhenaten no sons; but she was not his only wife. Among the king's secondary wives and concubines, one in particular stands out: the lady Kiya, identified by some with the Mitannian princess Tadukhepa, daughter of Tushratta, sent to Egypt to cement treaty relations between the two countries at the start of the reign.

The pharaoh's name was Tutankhamun, which means 'Living in the presence of Amun'. He was the son of Akhenaten and Nefertiti. He was buried in the tomb of Amenhotep III at Thebes.

At the age of 10, he became pharaoh. He was a young man when he died. He was buried in a tomb that was hidden in the desert. His tomb was discovered in 1922 by Howard Carter.

What was the identity and the composition of his mother, Tutankhamun's mother, the Queen, Kiya? It is Tutankhamun's father, Akhenaten, who is the father of Tutankhamun. He was a ruler of Egypt for only a few years, though there are a few doubts about the exact date. The reign of Akhenaten was troubled in the home as well as abroad. At the end of his reign, the kingdom was divided into two parts, Upper and Lower Egypt, and the throne was shared by Akhenaten and Nefertiti.

Hard facts relating to Tutankhamun's period of rule are few. References to at least one Asiatic and perhaps a Nubian military campaign have been discerned in relief fragments from Karnak and Luxor, as well as in the superb sculptured reliefs of Horemheb's Memphite tomb and in the painted scenes of Nubian and Asiatic tribute in the tomb of





## The Names of Tutankhamun

At his accession to the throne an Egyptian king adopted a formal 'titulary', a sequence of five titled names. The combination of names chosen was unique to each ruler.

1 the HORUS\* name: *Ka-nakht tut-mesut*, 'Strong bull, fitting-of-created-forms'



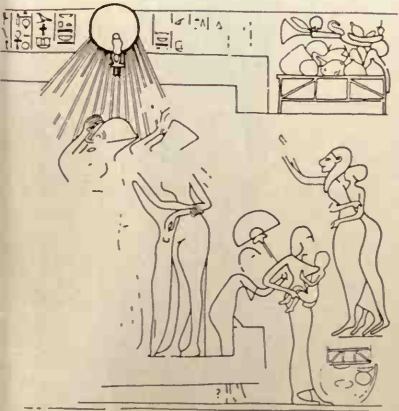
2 the NEBTY\* or 'HE-OF-THE-TWO-LADIES' name: *Nefer-hepu segerch-tawy* *sehetep-netjeru nebu*, 'Dynamic-of-laws, who-calms-the-Two-Lands, who-propitiates-all-the-gods' (variants: (i) *Wer-ah-Amun*, 'Great-of-the-palace-of-Amun'); (ii) ... *neb-er-djer*, '...-lord-of-all')



3 the GOLDEN FALCON name: *Wetjes-khau* *sehetep-netjeru*, 'Who-displays-the-regalia, who-propitiates-the-gods' (variants: (i) *Heqa-maat* *sehetep-netjeru*, 'The-one-who-brings-together-the-cosmic-order, who-propitiates-the-gods'; (ii) *Wetjes-khau-yotef-Re*, 'Who-displays-the-regalia-of-his-father-Re'; (iii) *Wetjes-khau tjes-tawy em* ... 'Who-displays-the-regalia, who-keeps-the-Two-Lands-together ...')



the viceroys Huy at Thebes - though whether Pharaoh himself ever took the field has been doubted. But the principal event of the reign was in the domestic sphere. Early on the administrative capital of Egypt was moved back from el-Amarna to Memphis, with Thebes re-established as the country's religious centre. At the same time, by abandoning the -aten forms of their names in Year 2, the royal couple signalled the formal resurgence of Amun and the traditional pantheon following the years of proscription under Akhenaten. Promulgated by decree at Memphis and recorded in the retrospectively-dated 'Restoration Stela' (extant in two copies, later usurped by Horemheb), this one event marks the reign as pivotal to the subsequent course of Egyptian history.



4 the PRENOMEN, which commonly follows the group *nesu-bity*, 'dual king', traditionally rendered 'King of Upper and Lower Egypt': *Nebkheprure*, 'The-lordly-manifestation-of-Re'



5 the NOMEN, introduced by *sa-ra*, 'Son of Re': *Tutankhamun* *heqa-hnu-shema*, 'Living-image-of-Amun, ruler-of-Upper-Egyptian-Heliopolis' (earlier variant: *Tutankhaten*, 'Living-image-of-the-Aten')



Of these names, those most frequently encountered are the prenomen and the nomen, written within an oval rope border, or cartouche.

\* Those names marked with an asterisk are not attested with the *Tutankhaten* ('Living-image-of-the-Aten') form of nomen.

# The Archaeology of Tutankhamun's Reign

It begins as a surprise to many people to learn that not only did the king's cartouches bear the name of Tutankhamun, but also that the young king's reign was a time of reconstruction following

the death of Akhenaten. The young king's reign was a time of reconstruction following the death of Akhenaten. The young king's reign was a time of reconstruction following the death of Akhenaten. The young king's reign was a time of reconstruction following the death of Akhenaten.

The young king's reign was a time of reconstruction following the death of Akhenaten. The young king's reign was a time of reconstruction following the death of Akhenaten. The young king's reign was a time of reconstruction following the death of Akhenaten.

## El-Amarna

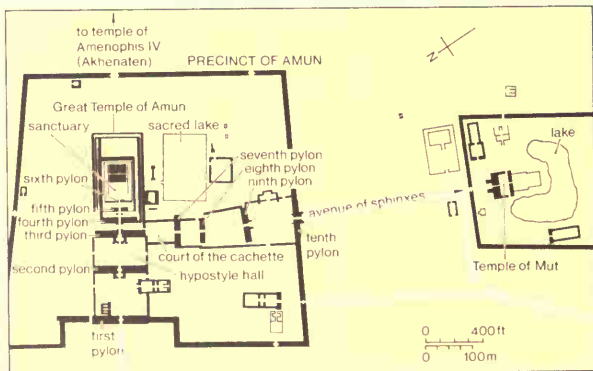
An important block originating from el-Amarna (though recovered from el-Ashmunein on the opposite bank of the river) records the fact that Tutankhamun was the son of a king (p. 24). A fragmentary stela (Berlin 14197) from el-Amarna represents Tutankhamun (as Tutankhaten) offering to Amun and Mut. Many faience finger-rings inscribed with the king's prenomen (less commonly, his nomen) have been found at this site. Whether as Tutankhaten the king had begun to prepare a tomb for himself at el-Amarna is unknown, though one of the abandoned workings in the royal wadi there (perhaps No. 277) might conceivably be attributed to him.

(Right) The moon god Khons, son of Amun and Mut; a black granite statue with the facial features of Tutankhamun, found beneath the pavement of the god's sanctuary in the Great Temple of Amun at Karnak.

(Below) Plan of Karnak, showing the Great Temple of Amun and the precinct of his consort, the goddess Mut.

## Thebes

**Karnak**  
The work of reconstruction referred to in the 'Restoration Stelae' went on apace at the great temple complex of Karnak. A figure of Tutankhamun was added to the decoration of the third pylon. The dismantling of the Akhenaten temples appears to have begun during the young king's reign, as also





the restoration of Atenist damage to the east face of the sixth pylon and elsewhere. Other works attributed to Tutankhamun include the avenue of ram-headed sphinxes between the tenth pylon and the precinct of Amun's consort, the goddess Mut, and the decoration of the exterior enclosure wall of the court of the *cachette* (so-called because of the large collection of hidden statuary which was brought to light there in 1903). Two structures, now dismantled and represented by scattered blocks, were called the 'Mansion-of-Nebkheprure-in-Thebes' and the 'Mansion-of-Nebkheprure-beloved-of-Amun-who-sets-Thebes-in-order'.

Several stelae of Tutankhamun are known from Karnak, including the well-known restoration texts (Cairo CG 34183-4), one of which was perhaps erected in front of the third pylon. Another stela of the king before Amun and Mut stands before the north face of the seventh pylon.

A great deal of sculpture from the reign has been found at Karnak, either of the king himself or of deities represented with his facial features. A colossal seated figure of a king identified as Tutankhamun, and an inscribed statue-base, were excavated from the court of the Mut Temple, as was a once finely inlaid calcite sphinx (Luxor J 49). Three standing statues of the king (Cairo CG 42091-2, Cairo JE 66757) were recovered from the floor of court I in the Great

Temple (the court of the *cachette*). A fourth piece from the *cachette* (Cairo CG 42097) shows Tutankhamun seated between Amun and Mut. A statue in the Louvre depicts the young king protected by the seated Amun (Louvre E 11609); probably from Karnak is an indurated limestone head from a coronation group of the king, with the hand of Amun resting upon his blue crown, in New York (MMA 50.6). A black granite dyad, or pair-stature, representing Tutankhamun standing with Amun (who is shown in ithyphallic form) is in the British Museum (EA 21); it probably also comes from Karnak, as does a second black granite statue in the British Museum (EA 75) representing the king with the attributes of the Nile god Hapy. A fine double statue of indurated limestone, now in Turin (768), from 'Thebes' and again probably Karnak, shows the king with Amun. A colossal figure of Amun with the features of Tutankhamun stands in the courtyard of the god's sanctuary; it has been suggested that its companion figure, representing the female aspect of the god, Amunet, was carved during the reign of Ay. A statue of Amun with the features of the king was recovered from the *cachette* (Cairo JE 38049), while detached heads of Amun are in Cairo (Cairo CG 38002), Copenhagen (Ny Carlsberg Glyptothek ÆIN 35), and elsewhere. A black granite statue of Khons (Cairo CG 38488) comes from the Great Temple.

*Colossal statue of Amun at Karnak, carved in the image of Tutankhamun and originally inscribed with his name. The monument was subsequently usurped by Horemheb.*



### *Temple of Luxor*

The unfinished Processional Colonnade of Amenophis III at Luxor was decorated during the reign of Tutankhamun, with portraits of the king on the door jambs of the north wall. The scenes of the Opet festival on the east and west walls were subsequently usurped by Horemheb.

In 1981, a series of test borings made in the colonnaded court of the Temple of Luxor unexpectedly brought to light a group of 22 statues, the so-called *Luxor nabetta*, buried in about the fourth century bc. Among their number were several fragments of a blue-painted calcite sphinx inscribed upon its shoulder with the cartouche of Tutankhamun.

### *Western Thebes*

Two faience ring bezels and a clay seal impression of Tutankhamun (perhaps also a limestone lintel usurped by Horemheb) were found among the ruins of the palace of Amenophis III at Malkata.

Tutankhamun's mortuary temple was probably erected in the vicinity of Ramesses III's later funerary monument at Medinet Habu. Two colossal quartzite statues from this temple, which was employed to celebrate the cult of the dead king, were found reused in the mortuary temple of Ay and Horemheb, inscribed by Ay (Cairo JE 59869 + 60131; Chicago Orlnst 14088). A high priest of Tutankhamun's funerary cult, Userhat, is attested on a stela fragment in the Metropolitan Museum of Art in New York (MMA 05.12k; a *shabti* figure in the British Museum (EA 38721) carries the inscription of a *nab* priest of the king called Pa'iry.

Tutankhamun's tomb is that now numbered 62 in the Valley of the Kings; other objects bearing the king's name have been recovered from Pit 51 (New York, MMA 09.181.1, 170, 214, 697, 788, 805) and Tomb 58 (Cairo JE 57438). A blue faience cup of Tutankhamun has also been found in the Valley (Cairo JE 38330). (See p. 37.)

A wooden 'astronomical instrument' now in Chicago (Orlnst 12114), with restoration text on behalf of Tutankhamun's 'great grandfather' Tuthmosis IV, probably comes from the latter's destroyed mortuary temple at Thebes.

## *Memphis*

A 'House of Nebkheprure', presumably a temple at Memphis, is mentioned on the monument of a treasury official, May, from the pyramid complex of Sahure at Abusir. A limestone lintel of Tutankhamun in East Berlin, and a second lintel (Cairo JE 88131 part), usurped by Horemheb and found reused within the Pth Temple enclosure in the construction of the tomb of Shoshenq, the god's high priest, perhaps originate from one or more other structures of Tutankhamun at Memphis. An unscribed 'bust' of the king(?) (Cairo JE 55032) was found at Kom el Fakhray.

An inscribed limestone lintel of Tutankhamun (Cairo JE 57195) was discovered built into the mud-brick 'Resthouse of Tutankhamun' situated to the

west of Chephren's valley temple at Giza. Among other objects of the reign from Giza is a broken stela, found in the vicinity of the Sphinx, in which a courtier(?) is shown adoring the royal couple.

The third of the sacred Apis-bull burials brought to light in the Serapeum enclosure at Saqqara by the French Egyptologist Auguste Mariette had been made during the reign of Tutankhamun. Four canopic jars (S 1151-4) and three inscribed glass pendants (456) from the burial are in the Louvre.

### Other sites

A fragmentary box of gilded wood was found by the French Egyptologist Émile Amélineau at Abydos in the 1890s (part, Amiens, Musée de Picardie), while Flinders Petrie, digging at Kom Medinet Ghurab, brought to light several faience rings and a wooden cubit rod of Tutankhamun, now in University College London (Petrie Museum, UC 16050). A calcite jar of the king (UC 16021) also originates from here. A block with the cartouches of Tutankhamun was noted by J. Gardner Wilkinson at Bir Abbad in the Wadi Abbad, en route to the Red Sea.

In Nubia, Tutankhamun built temples at Kawa (ancient Gem(p)aten) and Faras. A fragmentary granite group of the king between Amun and Mut(?) and a steatite head of the king(?), both from the latter site, are in Khartoum Museum (3766 and 5829). Two



(Above) Red-granite lion from Gebel Barkal, inscribed with a dedication text of Tutankhamun.

granite lions in the British Museum (EA 1-2) were found at Gebel Barkal, where they had been carried by the ruler of Meroë, Amanislo. Initiated by Amenophis III, one (EA 2) was inscribed with a dedication text of Tutankhamun and originally set up at Sulb by Ay.

In Palestine, a gold ring inscribed with the king's prenomen (Jerusalem, Arch. Museum 33.1708) was found at Tell el-Ajjul, in the family tomb of an 'Egyptian governor'. Also from Palestine may be noted a faience ring, found at Tell el-Safi/Tell Zakariya.

Among the unprovenanced objects from the reign might be mentioned three fragmentary stelae, one of Year 4 (West Berlin 345/67, with an endowment text) and two of Year 8 (Liverpool, Institute of Archaeology E 90 and E 583 – the latter with a royal decree for Maya). A kneeling bronze figure of Tutankhamun is in Philadelphia (University Museum, E 14295). Other miscellaneous objects of Tutankhamun include an inscribed box-knob (Baltimore, WAG 48.405), fragmentary faience throwsticks (British Museum EA 54822; Petrie Museum, UC 12496), an inscribed copper dish in the British Museum (EA 43040), and a fragmentary faience collar terminal (Eton College, Myers Museum, ECM 1887) with a representation of the king drinking from a lotus chalice.

(Opposite) Part of the processional colonnade of Amenophis III at Luxor Temple; the portrait is that of Tutankhamun, the altered cartouches those of his successor-but-one, Horemheb.



(Left) Amun-Re presents the hieroglyph for 'life' to the nose of his son, Tutankhamun: a wall detail from Temple A at Kawa.

(Right) Tutankhamun drinking from a white lotus chalice: a scene in relief on a fragmentary faience collar terminal.





# All the King's Men

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The hierarchical structure of pharaonic society during the reign of Tutankhamun.

Pharaonic Tutankhamun was a semi-divine being, situated in the top of the hierarchical pyramid of Egyptian society. The interests of his subjects and men, being an essentially agricultural people, whose principal concern was the annual ebb and flow of the life-giving river Nile, the king's contact with his people was in practice limited. Surrounded at court by an inner circle of advisers and friends, the day-to-day running of the realm—the collection of taxes, regulation of agriculture, and administration of justice—was delegated to an army of officials whose tentacles radiated out from Memphis, Egypt's administrative capital, through the length and breadth of the country.

So far as the names of these officials is concerned, Egypt during the reign of Tutankhamun is a jigsaw for which most of the pieces are missing. For the vast majority of Tutankhamun's contemporaries, high-ranking or low, administrators, priests, military men, or peasants, nothing whatsoever is known. Even for the exceptions, archaeology has provided

little more than disembodied names. Because there were no new archaeological monuments, the single known hieroglyphic inscription is regarded as peculiar. The following illustrates it.

## The inner circle

1. The principal member of the king's inner circle was the god's father Ay, perhaps to be regarded as the father of Neferiti and thus step-grandfather to Tutankhamun. By virtue of his position as principal adviser to Tutankhamun, on the latter's accession to and following his ward, a great deal of power was concentrated in Ay's hands. Following the king's untimely death, Ay, presumably by virtue of his skills to the royal line, would rule as Pharaoh in his own right. He was buried after a brief reign in Tomb 23 in the western annexe of the Valley of the Kings. A number of fragments of gold foil discovered by Theodore M. Davis in Tomb 58 in the main Valley (p. 38) had evidently formed part of Ay's burial furniture.

## Horemheb

The *de facto* influence at court of the god's father Ay was balanced by the *de jure* power of the military officer Horemheb, whose titles included those of commander-in-chief of the army and deputy of the king. By force of arms, Horemheb was able to reassert Egyptian suzerainty abroad and ensure the



continuation of tribute from Egypt's northern and southern neighbours. Horemheb's successes are depicted in his finely decorated private tomb, which was brought to light in the New Kingdom necropolis at Saqqara a few years ago; following his accession, a second tomb was prepared in the Valley of the Kings (No. 57). An uninscribed limestone dyad in the British Museum (EA 36) may well come from his Saqqara tomb chapel. A fine granite statue of Horemheb as a scribe is in the Metropolitan Museum of Art in New York (MMA 23.10.1); a similar, though headless, statue of the man, from Karnak, is in Cairo (CG 42129).

#### *Nakhtmin*

A second military officer of note was Nakhtmin (or Minnakht), evidently a close relative of Ay who is best known today for the five large wooden *shabti* figures he presented to the burial of Tutankhamun (p. 139). On a statue of the man probably carved during the reign of Ay, Nakhtmin is designated 'king's son'. If Ay had intended that Nakhtmin should succeed him, it was an ambition which Horemheb was destined to foil.

#### *Maya*

Among the titles recorded on the wooden *shabti* and bier figure presented by Maya to the burial of

Tutankhamun (p. 137) are those of overseer of works in the Place of Eternity (i.e. the royal cemetery) and overseer of the treasury (meaning in this instance, perhaps, the funerary storerooms). Maya's gifts, like those of Nakhtmin, suggest a close personal attachment to the king. He seems to have taken responsibility not only for the preparation of Tutankhamun's burial but also for its restoration; he was to undertake a similar restoration, with his assistant Djehutymose (p. 97), in the tomb of Tuthmosis IV (No. 43, where he left a graffito) in Year 8 of Horemheb. The finely decorated tomb of Maya was recently discovered close to that of Horemheb at Saqqara; statues of the man and his wife, Meryet, from the tomb chapel, are now in Leiden (AST 1-3).

### Officials and administrators

#### *Usermont and Pentu*

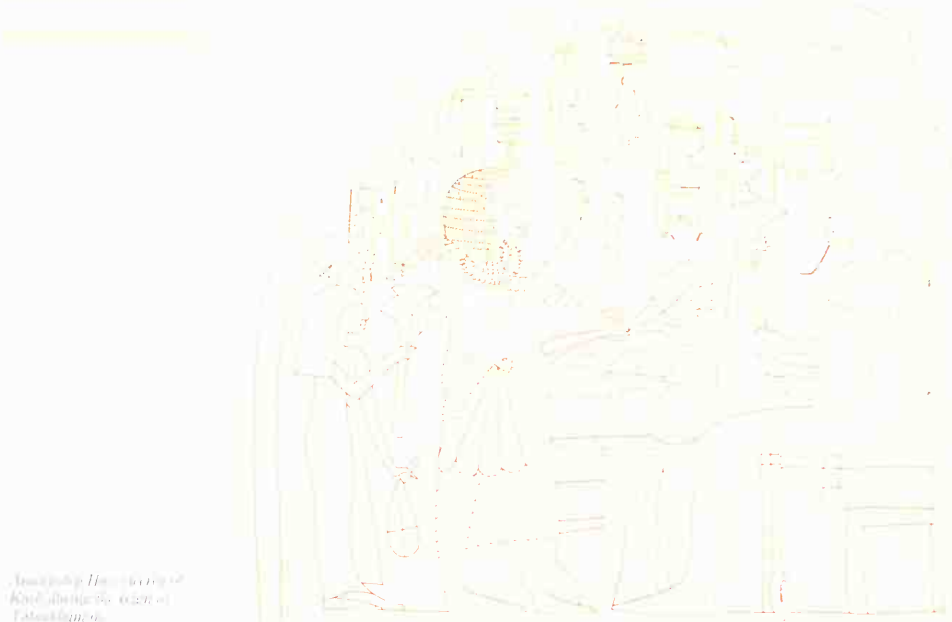
The vizierate, or 'prime-ministership', of Egypt at this period was divided into a northern and a southern office. Usermont, one vizier from the reign of Tutankhamun, is known from two statue fragments (one, from Armant, Cairo Temp. 22/6/37/1) and a stone sarcophagus from the Theban area. A second vizier, Pentu, perhaps the owner of Tomb 5 at el-Amarna, is recorded on a wine-jar docket (no. 490) from Tutankhamun's tomb (p. 203). Usermont and

(Above left) Horemheb, commander-in-chief of the army and deputy of the king.

(Above right) The military officer Nakhtmin.

(Below) The necropolis official Maya.





Amenhotep Huy (left) of Khufu (middle) and Tutankhamun.

Pentu are perhaps the two viziers depicted among the funerary procession which decorates one wall of the Burial Chamber in Tutankhamun's tomb (p. 72).

#### *Huy and the Nubian contingent*

The viceroy of Kush under Tutankhamun, whose job was to oversee Egyptian exploitation of the gold-rich country and ensure the free-flow of tribute, was one Amenhotep-Huy; the man's decorated tomb (No. 40) is at Thebes. Statues of Huy have been found at Elkab and Abusir (East Berlin 19900), with inscriptions at Faras and a graffiti at Biga. Stelae of Huy are in Cairo (JE 37463), with a hymn to the *ka* or 'spirit' of the king) and Berlin (17332). Taemwadisi, the probable wife of Huy and 'chief of the harem of Tutankhamun' – an institution of which, regretta-

ble, we know next to nothing – is attested at Faras (Khartoum 3745 and 4499), Kawa (Khartoum 2690) and also at Thebes (on the tomb of Yuya and Tuya; Cairo CG 51083). Mentioned in the tomb of Huy is one Beqemefer, a local chieftain whose own tomb has come to light at Tushka in lower Nubia.

#### **Other named officials**

Among the less-exalted contemporaries of Tutankhamun is the mayor of Thebes, Seba, who is known from two stelae; one in the Louvre (C 87), the other, a fragment, in the Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge (E 5854). The stela of one Panakht, governor of Kawa during the reign, is in Khartoum (2680). Memphis stelae are attested for the royal scribe Merymery (Cairo CG 34186) and an unnamed treasury official (Petrie Museum, University College London, UC 14470). A servant of Amun named Mahu is known from a stela found at Deir el Medina.

Other probable contemporaries include the scribe Khay, whose statue is in Berlin (2294), the chief steward and fan-bearer Ipy, whose stela is in Leningrad (Hermitage 1072), and two craniotic iars in Leiden (AM, Ic, d), and Ptahemhat Ty, high priest of Ptah (stela, British Museum EA 972, and other monuments). A wooden scribal palette belonging to an unnamed official of the king, from Thebes, is in the Louvre (N 2241).

See further pp. 28–9.

The vizier Amenhotep Huy, at Khufu's funeral (middle) and Tutankhamun.

Prayer to Amun on an ostracum from Thebes

For most of his reign Tutankhamun was the pawn of others; but inevitably, as he grew older, the boy's pliability will have lessened. With his wife's apparent inability to carry children to full-term, the inheritance would pass to Ay, an elderly man with little time left. X-rays of Tutankhamun's skull reveal damage consistent with the king's having received a blow to the head: Ay's gnawing ambition for power may well have driven him to murder.

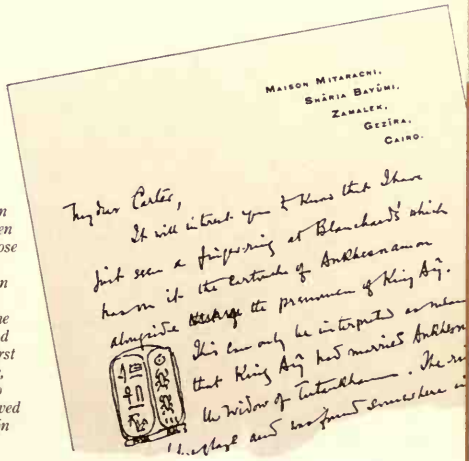
Tutankhamun was interred by King Ay in a hastily adapted private sepulchre (No. 62) in the Valley of the Kings in around 1323 BC – to judge from the flowers and fruits buried with him, during the first half of March. Doubtless this small tomb had been pressed into service only because work on Tutankhamun's intended place of burial, Tomb 23 in the West Valley, had scarcely begun; the excavation would be employed by his successor.

Ay's brief reign of only four years appears to have continued the policies begun under his young predecessor. Ay died in 1319 BC, and the period immediately following may have been marked by a struggle for the throne between Naktmin, the 'king's son' whom some have seen as Ay's appointed successor, and the general Horemheb. It was perhaps during this troubled time that Tutankhamun's tomb was entered by thieves (p. 95).

With the accession of Horemheb, who dated his reign retrospectively from the death of Amenophis III, the reaction to the Amarna pharaohs began in earnest with the continued dismantling of Akhenaten's monuments, the usurpation of those of Tutankhamun, and the general work of reconstruction.

# The End of the 18th Dynasty

*Ay's perhaps tenuous claim to the throne may have been strengthened by forging close links with Tutankhamun's widow, Ankhesenamun. An alliance is suggested by a glass ring-bezel in which the names of the two are found combined. The ring was first spotted by Percy Newberry, who conveyed news of it to Carter in this letter preserved among the Carter papers in Oxford.*



Destruction of the Amarna legacy continued in the 19th dynasty, of which Horemheb may be seen as spiritual founder: within 50 years of Akhenaten's death, the heretic king, Nefertefuten, Smenkhkare, Tutankhamun and Ay had been struck from the records. It was as if they had never existed.



(Far left) Horemheb as Pharaoh: a broken calcite canopic stopper found by Theodore Davis in the king's tomb in the Valley of the Kings.

(Left) King Ay represented as a Nile-god: fragment from a throne base of indurated limestone.



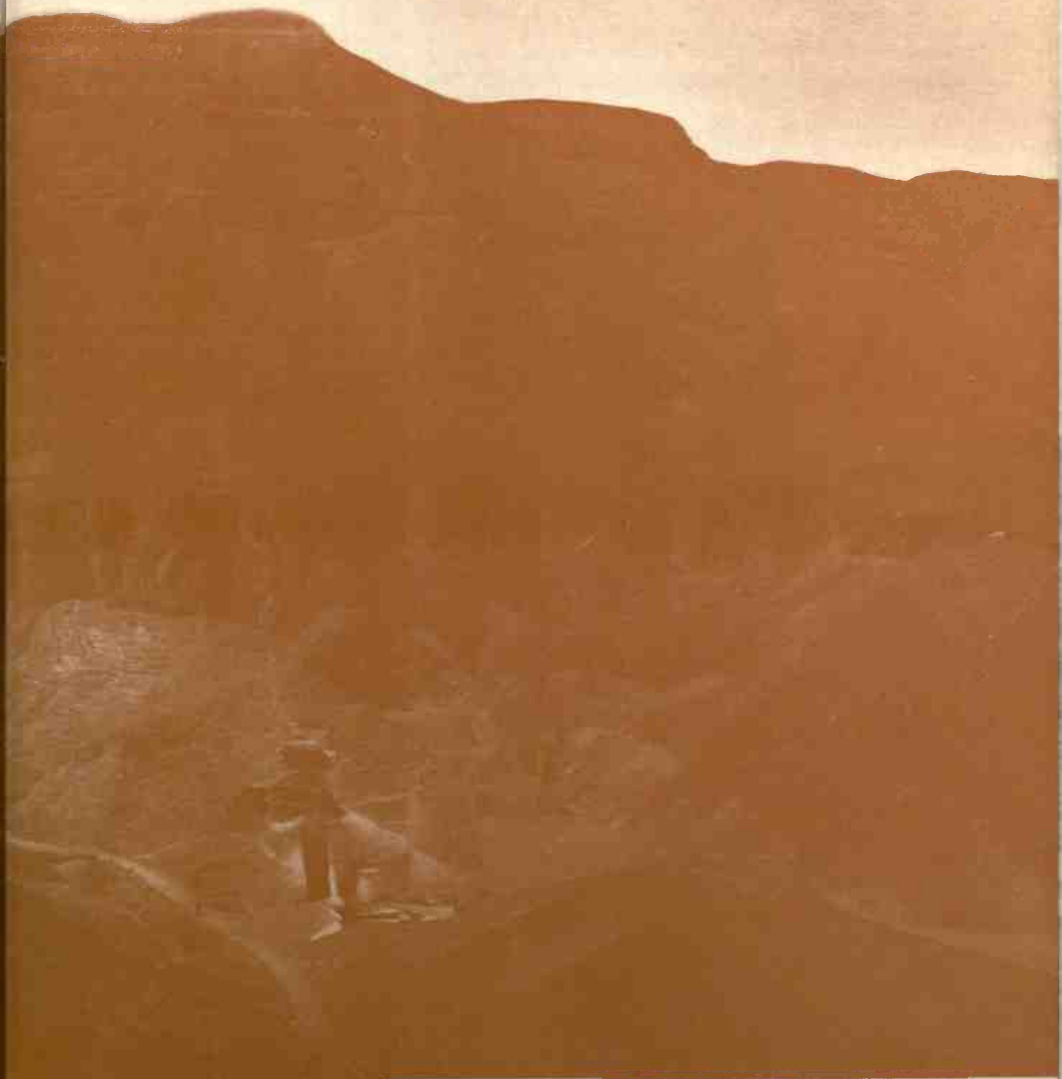
By a curious irony, it was the very oblivion to which Tutankhamun had been consigned that would ensure the survival of his burial. Consistently omitted by his Ramessid successors from the lists of Egypt's former kings, he was soon forgotten. With time, the site of his tomb began to blend in perfectly with its surroundings – to be missed not only by Ramesses VI who quarried a tomb for himself within a few metres of it, but more importantly when the royal tombs were dismantled following the abandonment of the Valley of the Kings by Ramesses XI (1100–1070 BC).

Egyptologists scrutinizing the fragmentary remains of the period were somewhat better informed. A few objects had been found inscribed with Tutankhamun's name, and the likelihood was, they reasoned, that the king had been interred in the royal burial-ground at Thebes. Indications that this might indeed be the case were in due course uncovered by Theodore Davis's team, and in 1909 a small undecorated chamber was brought to light which Davis imagined to be the tomb itself.

Howard Carter, for one, thought differently. He believed that Tutankhamun's burial still awaited discovery, and that it might even be intact. For five years he and Lord Carnarvon systematically cleared the Valley of the Kings down to bedrock in search of this archaeological Holy Grail. Their perseverance was rewarded when, at 10 am on Saturday, 4 November 1922, workmen reported the discovery of a step cut into the rock of the Valley floor beneath the foundations of a group of huts erected during the quarrying of the tomb of Ramesses VI. It was the beginning of a stairway leading down to a walled-up doorway. Tutankhamun had been found.

*The Valley of the Kings and the tomb of Tutankhamun.*





**II Search and Discovery**

# 'The Valley of the Tombs is Now Exhausted'

... Mr. Harter, Director of Boston, ... and ...  
 ... 1914 had not stopped for long ...  
 ... I am ... would have ...  
 ... King Tutankhamun ...  
 ... just then Mr. Davis ...  
 ... adjacent ... and ...

Harry Burton

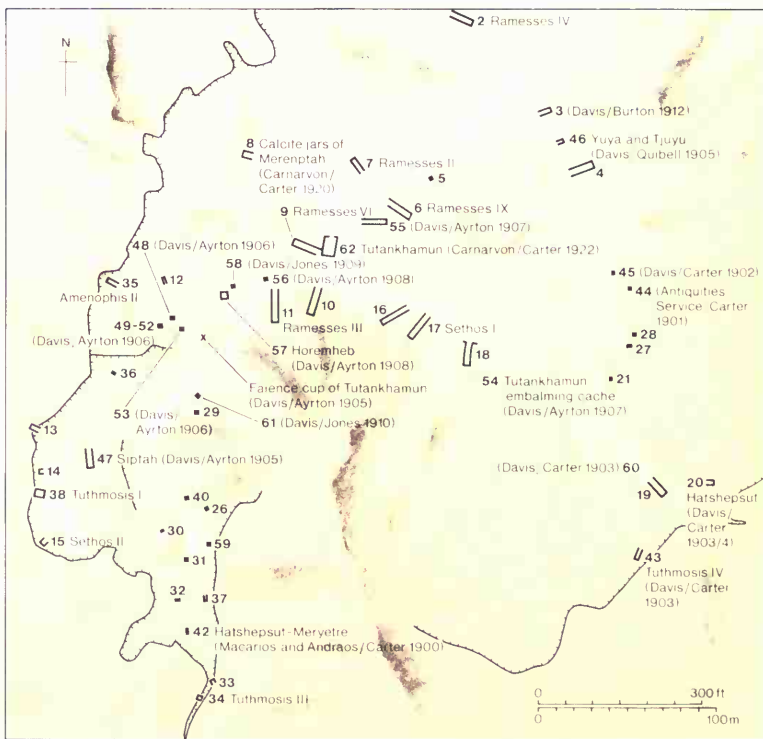
The Valley of the Kings is situated about 5km (3mi) to the west of modern Luxor on the opposite bank of the Nile. It in fact comprises two valleys: an eastern wadi, the Valley of the Kings proper, and a western

... Wadi el-Kh... The ...  
 ... 1914 had not stopped for long ...  
 ... I am ... would have ...  
 ... King Tutankhamun ...  
 ... just then Mr. Davis ...  
 ... adjacent ... and ...

The last ... the ...  
 ... perhaps ...  
 ... Ramesses II ...  
 ... the ...  
 ... were ...  
 ... The ...  
 ... its ...  
 ... jewels ...  
 ... guarded ...  
 ... Had ...  
 ... the ...  
 ... search ...

But the lure of buried treasure was the motivation of almost all who have dug in the Valley of the Kings, from the son of Sheikh Minam in the mid-eighteenth century down to Carnarvon and Carter in this. More often than not the participants in the

The main part of the Valley of the Kings, highlighting the positions of the principal tombs. The numbers 1 to 60 refer to the tombs discovered by the British in the Valley of the Kings, as listed in the text.



chase were blinded to the interest and importance of what burial furniture the ancients had left behind; recording was skimped and the finds lost for good. For all its colourful characters and abundance of incident, the story of excavation in the Valley of the Kings is a sorry one.

**Theodore Davis: Patron and Excavator**

Had Theodore Davis stumbled upon Tutankhamun, the story of the Valley's archaeological destruction might have been sorer still. Davis, a retired American lawyer, began excavating in the Valley in 1902, at first under the supervision of Howard Carter (in his capacity as Inspector-General of Monuments of Upper Egypt), later employing his own archaeologists: Edward R. Ayrton, Harold and Cyril Jones and, finally, Harry Burton. Davis had prodigious good luck, between 1902 and 1914 uncovering no fewer than 30 tombs of varying significance. His interest in careful clearance work was minimal, however, and his employment of photography and the most basic conservation methods almost non-existent; while his splendid series of publications manages to record everything but the facts.

Davis came close to finding Tutankhamun on several occasions – horrifyingly close, if Burton is to be believed. His first brush with the king came in 1905/6, when Ayrton brought to light a small faience cup bearing the king's prenomen, discovered 'under a rock' not far from private tomb No. 48. The second came with the discovery of Pit 54 in 1907, containing embalming and other debris associated with the king's burial. On 10 January 1909 a third

*The first clue to Tutankhamun's presence in the Valley: an inscribed faience cup found by Ayrton during the 1905/6 season. It is identical to others later recovered from the king's tomb, and had perhaps been removed from the burial by robbers under the mistaken impression that it was made of glass – a valuable commodity during the late 18th dynasty.*

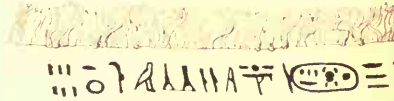


*Theodore M. Davis, striking an appropriately 'archaeological' pose in jodhpurs and puttees. The rakish young man to his left is the archaeologist Edward R. Ayrton; on Davis's right stand Arthur Weigall, Inspector-General of Antiquities for Upper Egypt, and his wife Hortense. From a photograph taken by Benjamin Stone in 1907.*





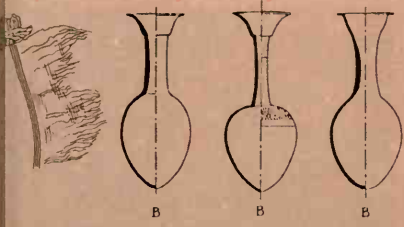
It was still a small, uncoloured chamber (No. 58) containing two (the lower) jars and several trays of amulets and other objects derived from an Egyptian chariot (p. 120). Large—especially large!—Tomb 54 (No. 54) of Ay, the father-in-law and patron, and at once became confused in Davis's mind with the blue-grey cup and the contents of Pit 51. A man with a pencil for tugging up loose ends, Davis concluded that he had found the tomb of Tutankhamun himself, and that being so, he opined, 'I fear that the Valley of the Tombs is now exhausted'.



### Pit 54

Pit 54, 1.9 by 1.25m (6ft by 4ft) and perhaps a metre and half (about 5ft) deep, was opened by Ayrtton on 21 December 1907. In it, he found a collection of large storage jars—perhaps a dozen in all—which Davis ordered to be carried up to his excavation house in the West Valley. Following a disastrous official opening of the jars in the presence of the British Consul-General, Sir Eldon Gorst (who, Herbert Winlock records, merely complimented Davis on his cook and left), the debris the jars contained was consigned to a storeroom. The material included small clay seal impressions bearing the name of Tutankhamun, fragments of linen bearing hieratic docketts dating to Years 6 and 8 of the king, linen bundles of natron (sodium carbonate, a naturally occurring salt used in embalming), a few bones, masses of broken pottery, faded floral collars and a miniature mask of gilded cartonnage (p. 123). Davis's only use for the find was to demonstrate to guests, by tearing the papyrus collars to shreds before their





A selection of the finds from Pit 54: (left to right) a piece of linen bearing an ink inscription of Tutankhamun, 'beloved of Min', dated to Year 6 of his reign; three pottery vessels; a broad collar of flowers and blue faience beads seen on to a papyrus backing, and two linen bags containing natron or chaff.

eyes, how strong the material could be after 3,000 years in the ground.

What Ayrton had brought to light in Pit 54 was in fact of immense interest. Winlock, of New York's Metropolitan Museum of Art, believed that these jars contained the remains of a funerary meal and ritually unclean mummification debris which had had to be buried away from the tomb with which it was associated; to judge from the inscribed linen and the seals employed, the owner of this material was Tutankhamun himself. Winlock was very close to the truth. The assemblage was indeed associated with the burial of Tutankhamun; but its find-spot had nothing to do with ritual impurity. As fragments recovered from Tutankhamun's tomb were to show, the Davis jars had originally been placed in the empty entrance corridor. They were removed to Pit 54 after the first robbery (p. 95), when the decision was taken to fill the entrance corridor with rubble as a deterrent to further theft.



Pit 54 (left), an abandoned 'commencement' for a tomb pressed into service in antiquity for objects originally stored in the corridor of the tomb of Tutankhamun. The photograph (far left) shows the location of the pit in the Valley. (Below) Two mud seal impressions from Pit 54, that on the left inscribed with the king's prenomen, 'beloved of Khnum, manifold of praises'.



# Howard Carter: Early Days

Howard Carter was born in London on 9 May 1894, the youngest of 11 children born to Samuel John Carter, an animal painter and illustrator for the *Illustrated London News*, and his wife Martha Joyce Sands. Much of his youth was spent in Norfolk, at the Carter family home in the quiet village of Swaffham. His formal education was minimal, a fact of which Carter was always painfully aware. "It is said that nature thrusts some of us into the world miserably incomplete" and which may at least partially explain the abrupt and defensive manner which accompanied him throughout his life. But his inherited artistic skills were considerable, and in the summer of 1891 were brought by the future Lady Amherst of nearby Diddington to the notice of the young Percy Newberry, an Egyptologist working at that time for the Egypt Exploration Fund (EEF). Impressed by his talent, Newberry employed Carter to help ink in tracings of tomb scenes at Beni Hasan, and in October that same year the 17-year-old artist visited Egypt to work at Beni Hasan and later at Deir el-Bersha. While in Egypt, he undertook to excavate at el-Amarna on behalf of William Amburst Tyssen-Amherst (later first Baron Amherst of Hackney), under Flinders Petrie. Petrie, unimpressed, dis-

missed the would-be archaeologist in a single paragraph, damning him with faint praise.

Whatever the dour Petrie may have thought, Carter's enthusiasm for archaeology was real and intense, and he agreed with alacrity to return to Egypt the following year as draughtsman with the EEF. It was as a member of the EEF Archaeological Survey team that he first encountered Thebes, spending the better part of the next six years copying the scenes and inscriptions of the magnificent mortuary temple of Hatshepsut, the 18th dynasty woman pharaoh, at Deir el-Khifn.



The potential which Petrie failed to see was left to the French Egyptologist Gaston Maspero to recognize. Maspero had recently been reappointed head of the Egyptian Antiquities Service, the government department he had already served with distinction between 1881 and 1886. One of his first acts, in 1890, was to appoint Carter to the newly established post of Inspector-General of Monuments of Upper Egypt.

Howard Carter's imagination was fed by the sight of a half-covered by the EEF, and he followed in Newberry's footsteps in 1893, working for the Egypt Exploration Fund.

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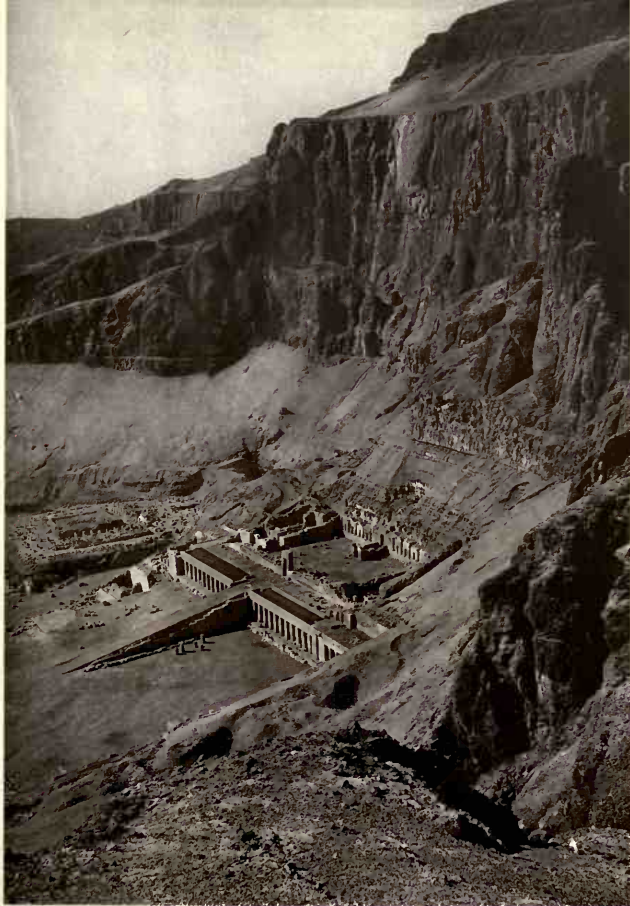
Howard Carter's imagination was fed by the sight of a half-covered by the EEF, and he followed in Newberry's footsteps in 1893, working for the Egypt Exploration Fund.





Carter took up his new position in January, 1900, and from this time on began to take an active and increasing interest in the vast Theban necropolis. His introduction to the Valley of the Kings came almost at once, with the rearrangement and partial removal to the Giza Museum of the royal mummies found in the tomb of Amenophis II (No. 35) in 1898; the tomb was about to be opened to the public. Over the following years, Carter undertook the clearance of several new but plundered tombs, not only for the Antiquities Service, but on behalf of Theodore Davis (p. 37) whose triumphs over the years Carter was in office would include the discovery of two new private sepulchres (Nos. 45 and 60) and one royal – that of Tuthmosis IV (No. 43).

Carter did his job well, and was a valued member of the Antiquities Service, repaid by transfer to the more prestigious post at Saqqara in the north in 1904. His sudden and unnecessary resignation within months came as a shock to everyone.



*The magnificent setting of Hatshepsut's mortuary temple (above), looking down from the path leading over the cliff to the Valley of the Kings.*

*Howard Carter's drawing of the right exterior surface of the chariot body discovered by Davis in the tomb of Tuthmosis IV (No. 43) in 1903. The original is of wood, overlaid with canvas and with gesso carved in fine low relief; until the discovery of the tomb of Tutankhamun in 1922, it was the most substantial portion of an Egyptian royal chariot known.*

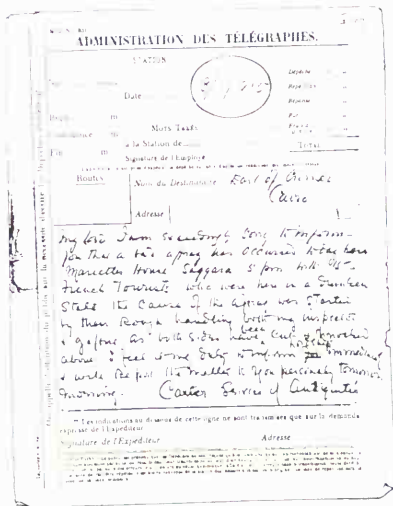


*(Above left) Queen Hatshepsut seated before a table of offerings: a detail from the wall decoration of her mortuary temple at Deir el-Bahri, where Carter was employed as principal copyist by the Egypt Exploration Fund for much of the 1890s.*

# Howard Carter: the Lean Years

‘I have a bad temper, and that amount of temper is all purpose, which unkindly observers sometimes call obstinacy, and which nowadays — it pleases my enemies to term — *my mauve character*. Well, that I can't help!’

Howard Carter



Carter's telegram informing Lord Cromer of the *tracas* in the tomb of the sacred bulls at Saqqara. When Carter refused to apologize for his over zealous ejection from the tomb of an unruly party of French tourists, he was obliged to resign.

Carter as a down and out: a pencil sketch made c. 1909 by Arthur Wigall, Carter's eventual successor as Inspector of Antiquities in Luxor.

Carter's *mauve character* was to dog him through out his life. One particular incident shortly after his move to Saqqara cost him his government career.

The affair was trivial enough, and not a little comic. A group of 11 French tourists visiting Saqqara on 8 January 1905, when informed that they would require a ticket to see the Serapeum, burial place of the sacred Apis bulls, began to abuse both the local inspectors and the *ghazns* (tomb guards). Eventually, all but three members of the party, several of whom were 'very much the worse for liquor', agreed to pay, and both paying and non-paying members of the party forced their way *en masse* past the ticket collector into the darkness of the tomb. Discovering that there were no candles available to them, the tourists promptly rushed out again, and demanded their money back. Carter was sent for. Playing it by the book, he refused to make any refund and, in no uncertain terms, told the French to leave. The ensuing affray left both sides 'cut and knocked about', and it is hardly surprising that the French should have lodged a formal complaint. Carter, hauled before Lord Cromer, then British Consul-General, was asked to explain himself. Much sympathy was expressed for Carter's predicament, but it was considered diplomatic that he should offer an apology. Carter, with righteous indignation, refused: so far as he was concerned, he had only done his duty, and if the demand for an apology were to be pressed, he would resign — and resign he did.

Maspero was very much distressed by the affair, and wrote to several of Carter's friends saying that he did not know what the Antiquities Department





would do without him, and begged us to persuade him to return.' But Carter, being Carter, went his own way.

For some months he eked out a meagre living as a 'gentleman-dealer' and artist, supplementing the few Egyptological commissions which came his way – notably the recording of the objects discovered by Theodore Davis in the tomb of Yuya and Tjuyu (No. 46) – by painting the sights and scenes of



*Limestone relief with the head of King Tutmosis III (far left), from Deir el-Bahri: from the portfolio of colour reproductions of his work, Six Portraits of the Thothmes Family, published privately by Carter (perhaps with Lord Carnarvon's help) sometime before 1910.*

*Gilded wooden casket (left centre) of Amenophis III with blue faience inlay, and detail of the gilded and inlaid outer wooden coffin of Tjuyu (left): two of the watercolours produced by Carter for Theodore Davis's publication The Tomb of Iouiya and Touiyou, which appeared in 1907.*

both ancient and modern Egypt in rather charming watercolours which he sold to visiting tourists. Business was anything but brisk. Had Carter been less of a perfectionist, matters might have been different; but, both at this period and later, he seems to have discarded as many paintings as he produced – and no doubt as many were given away as gifts as were sold. An introduction to the Earl of Carnarvon offered the chance of a new start.

## The Gentleman Dealer

'There is no one more familiar with the Egyptian market or more closely in touch with all its best possibilities... I need only point to our own "Carnarvon Collection", which [Carter] formed for Carnarvon over a long period of years, to illustrate his excellence of judgement and sense of the beautiful.'

Albert M. Lythgoe

Egypt in the first decade of this century was a very different place from the Egypt of today. If not actually encouraged, it was at least tolerated that an archaeologist might, on occasion, indulge in the purchase and resale of antiquities. Carter's activities as a 'gentleman dealer' seem to date from this 'low' period in his career, and to have continued throughout his life, profiting him well. His purchases for Lord Carnarvon (p. 47) and 'intermediary' activities on behalf of the Metropolitan Museum of Art, most notably in the acquisition of the £53,000 'Treasure of Three Princesses', are well known. But Carter also put his eye to good use buying, on 15 per cent commission, for private collectors, including the

Englishman J.J. Acworth (many of whose pieces are now in the British Museum). Carter seems also to have sold through various Cairo dealers, including E. A. Abemayor and the well-patronized Nicolas Tano, whose shop was across from Shepherd's, the favoured haunt of many English tourists.

*A herding and fishing scene: two limestone relief fragments from a 5th dynasty tomb, acquired by Carter for the Detroit Institute of Arts in 1930.*



# Lord Carnarvon

*The famous Queen's College  
Summer House in Hildesheim  
Germany is a building  
designed by a British  
architect.*

◀ We now had the privilege to establish the Royal  
Kipling in the headquarters of our Egyptian in London.  
He described the life of the Royal Kipling as a very  
happy life. It was also well known that the  
life of the Royal Kipling was a very happy life. That was  
the fact and certainly with it (Royal Kipling) the  
late Earl of Carnarvon was willing to socialize his  
money and so many disorganizing things to bring out an  
improved life in the Valley of the Kings. ▶

Andrew Langford



*A wooden sarcophagus, the sole  
find of Lord Carnarvon's  
first season, which the  
excavator proudly presented  
to the Cairo Museum.*

*The Winter Palace Hotel in  
Luxor, Carnarvon's bolt hole  
during the digging seasons at  
Thebes.*

Lord Carnarvon's introduction to Egyptology was a somewhat circuitous one. The infant sport of motoring had been a particular passion, and although he considered himself to be a careful 'automobilist', Carnarvon was never able to resist the temptation to speed which the new mode of transport offered. He was brought before the magistrates on several occasions, one report in *The Autocar* describing how, 'like "a flash"', he had whizzed past pedestrians and cyclists at terrifying speeds of up to 20 miles an hour.

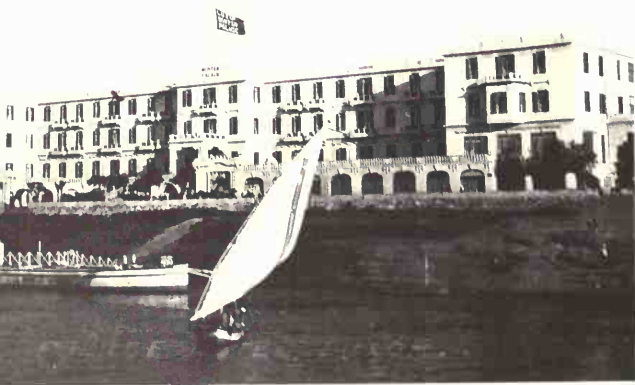
The inevitable accident came in 1901, in Germany. Though saved from death by the quick thinking of his chauffeur, Edward Trotman, the fifth



Earl was left appallingly weak, his spare frame (I only weigh 8st 12lbs and cannot go up) increasingly vulnerable to the cold and damp of the English climate. He began to winter abroad, and in 1903 visited Egypt for the first time.

Though the climate suited him well, Carnarvon soon found life in Cairo rather dull. He took to Egyptology simply as a congenial way of passing the interminable winter days, little realizing the extent to which this new hobby would come to dominate his life. At Lord Cromer's request, he was granted a concession to dig in a much turned-over area of Sheikh Abd el Qurna, an unpromising site (but convenient for the Winter Palace Hotel) which had been assigned to Carnarvon in an attempt to cool his archaeological ardour. Each day Lord Carnarvon sat himself in his large screened cage, protected from the flies and the dust, to watch his men work; sometimes he was joined by his wife, 'dressed for a garden party rather than the desert, with charming patent-leather, high heeled shoes and a good deal of jewellery flashing in the sunlight'. Finds were predictably few; after six weeks of frantic digging Lord Carnarvon had little to show for his efforts except a mummified cat, still contained in its cat-shaped wooden coffin.

But Carnarvon was flushed with pride in his discovery, and found his enthusiasm heightened rather than dampened. He was, nonetheless, well aware of his limitations as an archaeologist, and determined to secure a more promising concession by presenting a less amateur face to the authorities. He again consulted Lord Cromer, who made enquiries of Maspero and suggested he meet Howard Carter.

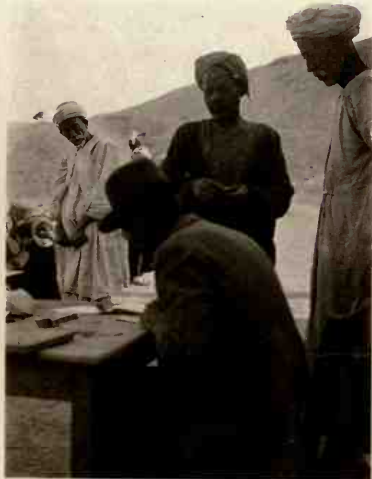




¶ The finds extend from the XIIIth Dynasty to the Ptolemaic period, and are particularly rich for Dynasties XVII and XVIII. They include coffins, furniture, musical instruments, toys, an inlaid board for a game . . . and hieratic and demotic texts of great historical interest. ¶

Francis Llewellyn Griffith

The fiasco of the first season would have put off most would-be excavators. Not so Carnarvon, who determined to press on, extending his Theban



## Excavations 1907-1914

concession and applying for permission to work at Aswan. 'I thought I would have two strings as I am not sure I will get my wife to stay another whole 2 months at Luxor.' And later he wrote, 'If I get what I want I shall bring out a learned man as I have not time to learn up all the requisite data.'

Under the watchful supervision of his 'learned man' - Howard Carter - Lord Carnarvon's second season began. Despite his interest in Aswan, the work was confined to the Theban west bank. The results of this 'small excavation at Gurneh' were immensely successful, Carter turning up not only the decorated tomb of Tetiky, an early 18th-dynasty mayor of Thebes, but a further tomb (No. 9 in the excavators' sequence) containing two wooden tablets. The more important of these was inscribed on the one face with extracts from the precepts of Ptahhotep, a series of instructions for moral guidance, and, on the other, part of a text recording the first steps in the expulsion of the Hyksos by the 17th dynasty King Kamose.

The following years produced equally successful results, Carter bringing to light a whole series of important private tombs dating from the end of the Middle Kingdom to the start of the New, and two

*(Left) Howard Carter and an unidentified woman stand behind Gaston Maspero, the French director of the Antiquities Service, and his wife during a visit to Carnarvon's work at Thebes in 1913. The photographer was Lord Carnarvon himself.*

*Pay-day (below left): Howard Carter settles accounts with his workmen at the end of the month. Another photograph from Lord Carnarvon's personal album.*

*Excavating at Thebes (below): winding queues of workmen carry spoil from the excavations, many with baskets balanced precariously upon their heads.*







(Above) Unlike many archaeologists of the day, Carter was not afraid of dirtying his hands. Here he is seen pulling on his cartilagey gut, exploring a so-far unlighted but round tomb chamber brought to light by his workmen. A photograph by Lord Carnarvon, 1913.



(Above right) Lord Carnarvon and his dog on site during the clearance of Tomb 37 at Thebes. The spoil from the interior of the tomb is being passed back by the line of basket-boys for dumping away from the area of work.

(Below left) A pair of base-silver bracelets, part of the hoard of jewellery found in a pottery jar at Tell el-Balamun. Carter dated the pieces to the 'late Ptolemaic' period – that is, c 100 BC; more recent opinion is that the jewellery dates from Roman times, more than two centuries later.



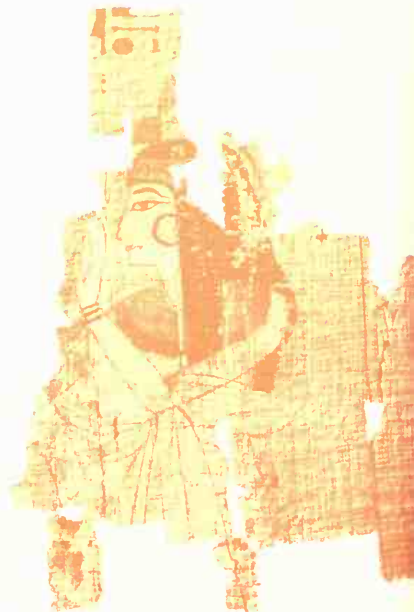
(Far right) Detail from a papyrus of the 12th century BC – a coloured vignette showing the lady's hands raised in adoration of the god Osiris. From Carnarvon and Carter's 1907–8 season at Thebes.

'lost' temples of Queen Hatshepsut and Ramesses IV. In 1912 the report of the first seasons' work was published in appropriately lavish style as *Five Years' Explorations at Thebes, a record of work done 1907–1911*. The volume received wide acclaim; the Carnarvon–Carter team had made its mark.

In 1912, while continuing the digging at Thebes, Carnarvon and Carter decided to try their luck at Sakha (ancient Xoïs) in the Delta. But Fortune, who had smiled so sweetly on their Theban endeavours, seemed less interested in the excavators' northern efforts. The team – envisaged as comprising Lord and Lady Carnarvon, Carter, Percy Newberry, Lord Carnarvon's servant, Lady Carnarvon's maid, Carnarvon's ever-present physician, Dr Johnson, a cook and some 50 workers – had to abandon the place after no more than a fortnight 'on account of the number of cobras and cerastes [horned vipers] that infested the whole area'.

The following year, having been foiled in their attempts to dig at Dahshur, Carnarvon and Carter turned their attention to another Delta site, Tell el-

Balamun. There were no snakes, but, as at Sakha, the yield was uninspiring. Despite a brief revival of interest caused by the discovery of a hoard of Graeco-Roman silver jewellery, work was abandoned after a few trial soundings. Somewhat disheartened, Lord Carnarvon returned home.



## Carnarvon the Collector

'To amass such a collection it was not merely a question of riches, nor even of expert assistance. It was a case of inspiration, of taste, of *flair* which cannot be acquired from any amount of study.'

Jean Capart

In Howard Carter, Lord Carnarvon evidently recognized not only a talented archaeologist but a kindred spirit. Carnarvon was keen to continue digging, but the not-inconsiderable expense of such work had been brought home to him by the experiences of his first, independent season. Carter came up with a business-like suggestion which appealed to Carnarvon's pocket and added a little spice to their venture. According to the fifth Earl's son and successor, 'Carter suggested . . . that some of the expenses of the work might well be defrayed by buying antiques in the bazaar in Cairo or elsewhere to sell them to collectors at a handsome profit. Carter proved very adept at this business and I . . . heard them talk of many good deals brought off in this fashion.'

Both the Metropolitan Museum of Art and the British Museum benefited from this arrangement, though whether the scheme ever realized much profit after Carter's salary had been paid (£400 a year in 1907; £200 a month in 1911) is perhaps doubtful. Much of their 'stock' seems to have passed directly in to Lord Carnarvon's own collection. Carnarvon's taste for Egyptian art was developing rapidly, and by the time of his death in 1923 what had started off as a somewhat random assortment of purchased and excavated pieces ranked as one of the finest private collections of Egyptian art in the world.

The prices paid by the cognoscenti for Egyptian antiquities at this time were high. 'You have heard, of course,' Carnarvon wrote to Wallis Budge of the British Museum in 1912, 'that Morgan had bought the coptic MSS you refused for 80,000£' (a figure which even Carnarvon was forced to admit 'I personally can scarcely credit'). While to Budge again, in March 1913, he wrote, 'I saw a head just like your little red head in the Museum but a trifle bigger in green basalt, price asked 1500. . . . The prices paid by Carter, if more reasonable, were anything but low, as his diaries and surviving letters record. A green stone head of Tuthmosis III, said to come from the tomb of Amenophis I at Thebes (p. 48), cost £151; three carnelian bracelet plaques of Amenophis III and Tiye (p. 48) Carter acquired for £350, with a multiple *kohl*-tube of Hatshepsut thrown in for good measure. It was a rich man's market, and in this market Lord Carnarvon could easily hold his own.

The Carnarvon collection, when it came to be listed by Carter in November 1924, numbered some 1,218 objects or groups of objects. These antiquities, according to the terms of his will of 29 October 1919, Carnarvon left to his wife Almina, advising that 'Should she find it necessary to sell . . . I suggest that the nation - *i.e.* the British Museum - be given the first refusal at £20,000, far below its value . . .' And if the British Museum didn't want them, 'I would suggest that the collection be offered to the

Metropolitan, New York, Mr. Carter to have charge of the negotiations and to fix the price.'

For obvious reasons, Lady Carnarvon was unenthusiastic about offering the collection to the nation at a knock-down price rather than at its true value, which stood then at over £35,000. The difficulty, however, advised by Carter, she determined to meet head on.

The Director of the British Museum was asked whether his institution would like to acquire the collection for the sum specified in Lord Carnarvon's will; if so, payment should be made in full by 4 pm that same day. The Museum could not meet the deadline, and Lady Carnarvon, her conscience cleared, offered the collection to the Metropolitan in New York for \$145,000. They snapped it up.



*Small basalt head (above) of a Tuthmosid pharaoh wearing the nemes-headdress, purchased by Carter in 1912 from the Cairo dealer Blanchard for £151. Carter later claimed to have found a fragment from this same head during the course of his work at the tomb of Amenophis I which, if correct, will have been the original find-spot of the piece.*



*The spectacular centrepiece of the Carnarvon collection (left): a solid gold statuette of Amon-Re, king of the gods, said to have been found north of the Temple of Amun at Karnak in 1916. Although originally assigned by Carter to the middle years of the 18th dynasty, a Third Intermediate Period date now seems more likely.*

# Royal Tombs 1914–1922

«Thebes is full of new tombs, the number  
Amendouf, Amenophis III»

Carnarvon to Wallis-Buzze

From the very beginnings of their association, Lord Carnarvon and Howard Carter had had as their ultimate aim work in the New Kingdom royal necropolis. The concession for the Valley of the Kings, however, was still held by Theodore Davis (whom Carnarvon, like many people, actively disliked; 'I told [Maspero] I should not speak to the man again'). News of Carter's latest discovery offered a way forward.

The discovery was a tomb which the Theban locals had been plundering secretly for some time. Eventually, after much detective work, Carter had tracked it down. It proved to be that of Amenophis I, a joint burial prepared for the king and his mother Ahmose-Nofretet, who shared a funerary temple on the edge of the nearby cultivation. The burial had been dismantled in antiquity, and the mummies of the royal pair had been removed, ultimately finding their way to the Dér el-Bahri cache. But those who had carried out the salvage operation some 3000 years before – and the modern robbers who had stumbled upon the tomb – had left much behind. Carter's clearance brought to light a mass of inscribed vessel fragments, a large heart-scrab of blue frit and a collection of fragments from the Third Intermediate Period burials which had been introduced into the tomb after Amenophis I and his mother had gone. It was Carnarvon's first royal tomb, and it spurred him on to greater things.

Some objects, such as the scarab of Amenophis I, Theodore Davis had unearthed in the Valley concession, covering the area 2650–3000. Carnarvon and Carter. Plunging work at Hassan's III pyramid complex of Amenemhat III, were then done, and by 8 February 1914 Carter had commenced work at the tomb of Amenophis III (No. 622) in the western annexe of the Valley of the Kings. Carnarvon had been influenced in his choice by Carter's acquisition of the Luxor antiquities market in 1912 of three fine bracelet plaques of cartouches which appeared to have once adorned the mummy of the king. If the tomb had produced objects of this quality, it might well contain other pieces of artistic interest.

The excavators' efforts were not to be in vain. Though the tomb of Amenophis III, like that of Amenophis I and Ahmose-Nofretet, had apparently been dismantled by the necropolis administration during the tenth century BC, Carter was able to salvage a great deal from the smashed debris left behind. Four of an original five foundation deposits inscribed for Tutmosis IV (the father of Amenophis III) were found undisturbed at the entrance to the tomb, indicating that work on quarrying the sepulchre had begun during that king's reign. Within the tomb, clearance of the well and well chamber produced a whole range of funerary objects, including fragments of serpentine, calcite, faience and wooden *shabti*s, broken vessels, pieces of a superb pectoral ornament of blue faience, quantities of beads, sequins and amulets, and one corner of a bracelet plaque in blue faience from the same series that had started Carnarvon and Carter on their search.

The European war, however, was making its effects felt even in Egypt. Carnarvon was stranded in England, and Carter's energies were taken up more and more with essential war work as a diplomatic courier. In 1916, he did find the time to clear on Lord Carnarvon's behalf a newly discovered cliff-tomb in the Wadi Sikket, Taqa el-Zede, which



Carter's sketch of three superb bracelet plaques of cartouches purchased for Lord Carnarvon at October 1912 from the Luxor dealer Just I Hussein

A selection of objects from the foundation deposits uncovered by Carter at the entrance to the tomb of Amenophis III, these included miniature tools of wood and copper alloy, model vessels of pottery and limestone, and several blue faience cartouches inscribed with the pronomen of women of Amenophis III's father, Tutmosis IV





*Calcite head with black eye detail, from a large shabti-figure of Amenophis III. The head is inscribed in pencil with the excavator's number, 99, identifying it as a piece recovered from the well-chamber of the king's tomb on 2 March 1915.*

*(Left) Excavating the Valley of the Kings down to bedrock in search of Tutankhamun: a photograph taken by Carter on 24 January 1920. The work of shifting the thousands of tons of limestone chip was facilitated by the use of a hand-propelled Decauville railway, seen here running diagonally from the centre of the photograph.*

had been prepared for Hatshepsut while still Tuthmosis II's queen. But the tomb had never been used, and, apart from the abandoned sarcophagus, there were no finds.

By 1917, Carter was able to start work in the Valley of the Kings proper, and over the following years, with brief interruptions, he proceeded to clear the Valley down to bedrock in the search for a single tomb: that of Tutankhamun. Countless boys and men laboured to move thousands upon thousands of tons of limestone rubble by basket and hand-propelled Decauville railway. But finds were few.

Apart from ostraca (flakes of limestone employed by the ancient quarrying teams to jot down their lists and accounts), the only discovery of note was a group of calcite jars buried at the entrance to the tomb of Merenptah. To judge from the hieratic dockets they bore, these tired and worn-out vessels had been employed to contain oils used in the final preparations for burial of Merenptah's body. Of these 13 jars, six were presented to the excavators. It was a generous share of a miserable tally, but a poor return on Lord Carnarvon's considerable investment.

*(Below left) The cache of calcite jars found at the entrance to the tomb of Merenptah in the Valley of the Kings on 26 February 1920. Lady Carnarvon, in a rare foray into her husband's work, is said to have dug out the jars herself. (Below) One of the six vessels presented to Lord Carnarvon, inscribed with the cartouches of Ramesses II.*



# The Discovery

## AN EGYPTIAN TREASURE.

### WHAT THE WONDERFUL DISCOVERIES IN EGYPT

LORD CARNARVON'S OWN COMPLETE ACCOUNT.

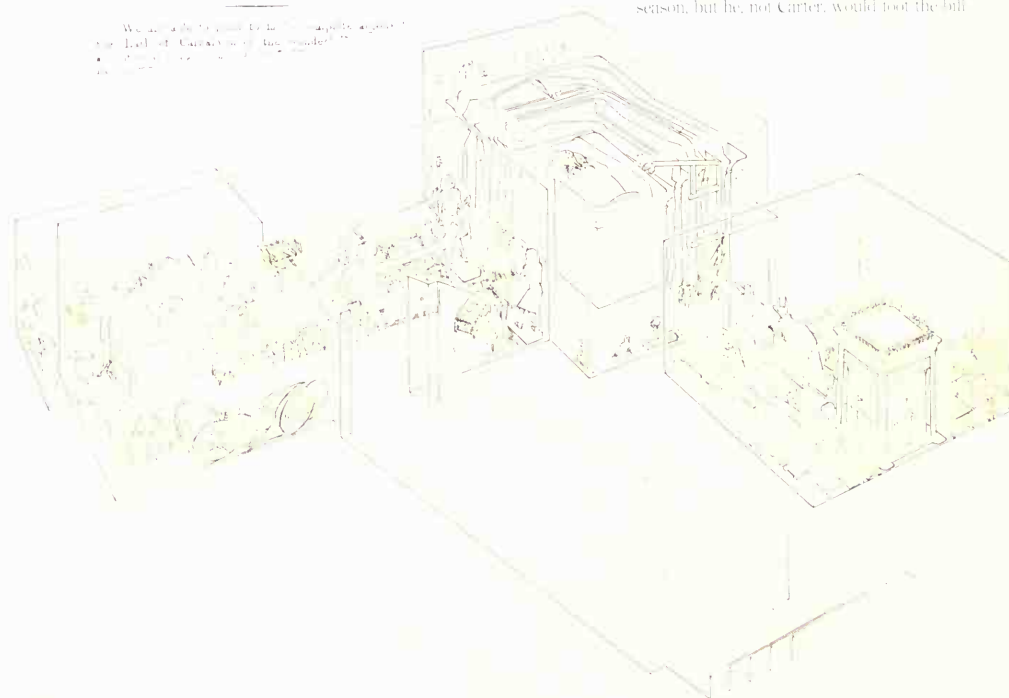
NEW CAVE OF ALADDIN

MATCHLESS WORKS OF ART

We are able to give to the English people the Lord Carnarvon's own complete account of the discovery of the treasure.

The first time I saw the treasure was in 1897... I had been to the Valley of the Kings... I had been to the Valley of the Kings... I had been to the Valley of the Kings...

Carter was summoned to the desert to recover the tomb of Carnarvon's own... Carter would finance from his own pocket the further season, clearing the last... Carter would finance from his own pocket the further season, clearing the last...



### Perseverance is rewarded

The race, then, was still on, though it is difficult to believe that Carter harboured much optimism when, on 1 November 1922, a Wednesday morning, work began. Three days later the outlook had brightened considerably. For, 'some thirteen feet [3.9m] below the entrance to the tomb of Rameses VI, and a similar depth from the present bed level of The Valley', the top of a sunken staircase had come to light. By late afternoon on the following day 12 steps

had been cleared, and the upper part of a plastered blocking stood revealed, stamped over its entire surface with large though blurred oval seals. It was a discovery as puzzling as it was exciting:

'The design was certainly of the Eighteenth Dynasty. Could it be the tomb of a noble buried here by royal consent? Was it a royal cache, a hiding-place to which a mummy and its equipment had been removed for safety? Or was it actually the tomb of the king for whom I had spent so many years in search?'

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*The Discovery*

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*In 1921 the Committee of the Egypt Exploration Society in London reported that 'it seems to be becoming more and more difficult, in fact almost impossible, to excite in the general public that interest in archaeology generally, and in Egyptian archaeology in particular, which we feel our country should take.' When, a few months later, news of Carnarvon and Carter's discovery of the tomb of Tutankhamun in the Valley of the Kings (left and opposite below) hit the headlines (opposite above), all that changed for good.*



Fig. 1. The well opening in the wall of the tower, showing the stone lining and the wooden frame.

... to examine the construction of the well, and to see the quality of the water which it contained. After this all his well-poles, beams, and the like, were pulled the stoniness of the wall of the tower, and the nature of the ground, was still as before.

Two and a half weeks later, on 24 November, Lord Cornarvon and his daughter, Lady Evelyn Herbert, stepped off the wall at Upton, and the following day were home in Surrey.



The stone of the tower had been of a soft kind, and the masonry was of a bad quality. The well opening was of a bad quality, and the stone lining was of a bad quality. The wooden frame was of a bad quality, and the well-poles were of a bad quality.



*Lord Carnarvon and Lady Evelyn Herbert, arriving at Luxor station on 23 November 1922, are met by Howard Carter and the governor of Qena province.*

With the stairwell entirely freed, the full expanse of the plastered doorway could be seen. 'On the lower part the seal impressions were much clearer, and we were able without any difficulty to make out on several of them the name of Tut.ankh.Amen.' The diggers' elation was tempered by the observation that here, at the top left-hand corner of the blocking, were signs of reclosing: the deposit, whatever its true nature, had evidently been tampered with in

antiquity – a reluctant conclusion the debris already encountered on the steps of the tomb only served to reinforce.

Piece by piece, the blocking was removed, and little by little a descending corridor was revealed, filled to the ceiling with packed limestone chip, through which a tunnel had been dug and anciently refilled. By 4 o'clock on the afternoon of 26 November the corridor was empty, and before the



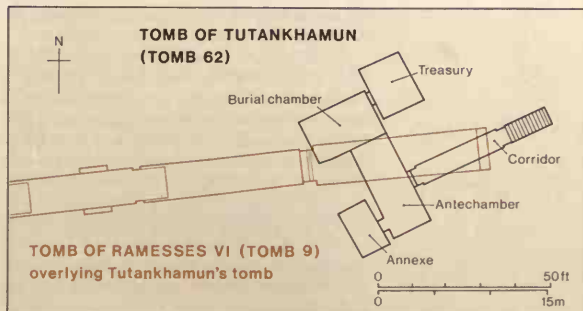
*The plastered door blockings had been stamped all over with a range of large oval seals, including the famous motif of the jackal triumphant over nine bound captives; the detail shown here is from the blocking to the Burial Chamber. A drawing by Carter of the jackal and nine captives device, to the right in the photograph, is shown above.*



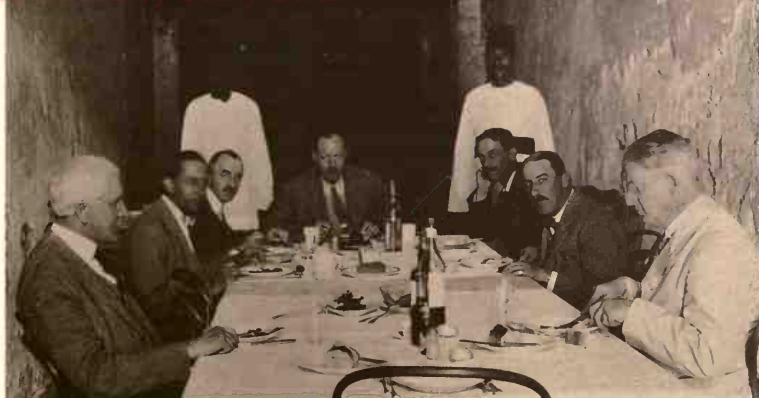




deposit was now clear. Beneath the couch, on the west wall, was the entrance to a second chamber (the Annexe), while an area of stamped plaster between two 'guardian statues' standing against the north wall of the antechamber marked the entrance to a third chamber, the blocking of which showed signs of having been resealed in the middle at the bottom. As is now common knowledge, and as was undoubtedly their prerogative, Carnarvon and Carter entered this third chamber within a short time of the discovery - to judge from a letter written by Carnarvon to Alan Gardiner, on the evening of 28 November; this was the day before the official opening of the tomb, by which time record photographs of the ancient sealed enclosure had been taken. Dismantling the resealed section, Carter wriggled through first, followed by Carnarvon and Lady Evelyn; Callender proved too large for the hole. The chamber was filled with a huge gilded shrine, while beyond lay a fourth chamber, with open doorway through which could be glimpsed ever more beautiful things watched over by a reclining figure of the Anubis dog, divine guardian of the royal cemetery. But it was the shrine which attracted everyone's attention. The nature of the deposit was now clear: 'I have got Tutankhamen (that is certain) and I believe . . . intact.'







The principal members of the Tutankhamun team, as photographed by Lord Carnarvon at lunch in the tomb of Rameses XI (No. 4) during the first season. They are (left to right) Breasted, Burton, Lucas, Callender (at the head of the table), Mace, Carter and Gardiner.

**Henry (Harry) Burton (1879–1940)**

The services of Harry Burton, Lincolnshire-born though a resident of Florence, were loaned by the Metropolitan Museum's Egyptian Expedition, which he had joined in 1914. Burton had previously dug for Theodore Davis in the Valley of the Kings, but was attached to the Metropolitan and Carter teams as photographer. The hundreds of glass negatives he took during the course of the Tutankhamun clearance provide an unparalleled body of reference and are among the finest archaeological photographs ever made.

**Arthur R. ('Pecky') Callender (d. 1937?)**

Arthur Callender, by profession an architect and engineer, was a long-standing friend of Carter's. He had retired as manager of the Egyptian branch railways in 1920, and was invited to join the excavating team at the beginning of November, 1922. A careful and dependable worker, well-used to Carter's moods, Callender's skills would be put to good use during the dismantling and removal of the large gilded shrines from Tutankhamun's tomb.

**Percy Edward Newberry (1869–1949)**

Percy Newberry, sometime Professor of Egyptology at the University of Liverpool and Carter's erstwhile mentor, worked closely with the Tutankhamun team for several seasons. Newberry's special interest was the botanical specimens from the tomb, upon a selection of which he would briefly report in the second volume of *The Tomb of Tutankhamun*. Mrs Newberry gave invaluable help in the mending of a number of the textiles from the tomb, including the ill-fated pall (p. 101).

**Alan Henderson Gardiner (1879–1963)**

Gardiner, independently wealthy, was the foremost philologist of his generation, and a useful political ally. A friend to the sponsor rather than to the excavator, Gardiner's co-operation was vital for a successful completion of the enterprise, which Carter was sufficiently professional to appreciate. But beneath a veneer of cordiality there was little love lost between the two. As Carter had written of Gardiner some years earlier: 'the more I see of him the less I like him, and I am . . . sure that as far as any real friendship goes he is not to be trusted . . .'

**James Henry Breasted (1865–1935)**

Breasted was founder and first director of the Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago. His reputation as an historian of ancient Egypt was second to none, and he was invited by Carnarvon 'to do all the historical work involved in the discovery and its eventual publication'; although 'this was a staggering assignment', as events transpired the actual historical yield of the tomb would turn out to be extremely meagre. In the end, most of Breasted's efforts would be expended upon the great number of seal impressions stamped upon the door-blockings of the various chambers of the tomb.

**Walter Hauser (1893–1959)**

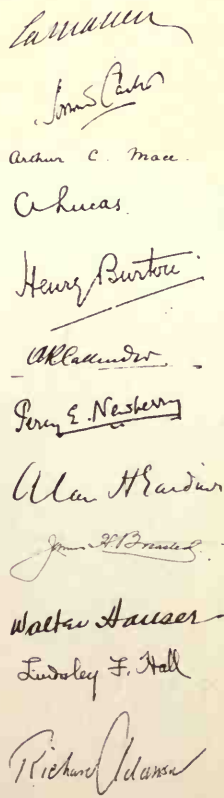
Hauser, an American, had been trained as an architect, and joined the Metropolitan's Egyptian Expedition in 1919 following a brief period of teaching at the Massachusetts Institute of Technology (MIT). Herbert Winlock's right-hand man, Hauser, with Lindsley Foote Hall, would be responsible for producing invaluable scale drawings of the Antechamber *in situ*. Personal difficulties with Carter soon brought the association to an end.

**Lindsley Foote Hall (1883–1969)**

Hall was another product of MIT, where he too had trained as a draftsman. He joined the Metropolitan Museum's Egyptian Expedition in 1913. He would work closely with Hauser in producing accurate scale drawings of Tutankhamun's tomb furniture *in situ* before clearance of the Antechamber began. Like Hauser, Hall found Carter a difficult man to work for, and his association with the project likewise came to an abrupt halt.

**Richard Adamson**

Acting Sergeant Richard Adamson, because of his lowly rank, was mentioned in none of the contemporary accounts of the discovery. He was to serve as a guard to the Carnarvon expedition for seven seasons, from October 1922. Adamson claimed that most nights he would sleep in the Antechamber, playing opera records on a gramophone provided by Carter; as one recent interviewer was told, 'The scratchy strains of music coming from the tomb were enough to scare off any robbers.'



## Clearing the Tomb

◀ Excavation had approaching 100 men, and, under the guidance of Howard Carter, the site was cleared in a matter of days. The discovery of the tomb was a major event in the history of Egyptology. The discovery of the tomb was a major event in the history of Egyptology. The discovery of the tomb was a major event in the history of Egyptology. The discovery of the tomb was a major event in the history of Egyptology.

Howard Carter

Howard Carter's clearance of the tomb of Tutankhamun and his preservation of the treasures to enable them to be removed to Cairo, took almost a decade. Had the tomb been found in any other place, it would have been looted and the surviving contents put on display within a month. The difference underlines the caution with which Carter approached his task, and the immense burden of responsibility he took.

Through all the distractions and difficulties of the excavation (see p. 64), Carter and his team pressed on with the clearance, in a cautious and methodical way, maintaining the fullest records of what they found. A discovery appears at the moment of discovery, but only afterwards does it most fully reveal its importance.



Howard Carter and his team, with the permission of the authorities, as they were brought out. The expedition had been the same, from a room in the tomb of Ramses VI. It is a discovery of the simple and complete, and from the start, and the discovery of a number of objects which would be recognized as the objects of the tomb. The discovery of the tomb was a major event in the history of Egyptology. The discovery of the tomb was a major event in the history of Egyptology.

Howard Carter and his team working in the tomb of Tutankhamun.





(Far left) Carter and two of his Egyptian workmen, with Callender looking on, dismantle the ancient partition wall erected between the Antechamber and the Burial Chamber to allow the removal of the large gilded shrines which surrounded the sarcophagus.

(Left) Carter and Callender clear the final objects from the Antechamber: one of the life-sized 'guardian figures', tied to a large wooden stretcher, is wrapped and padded for manoeuvring up the sloping corridor and transfer to the laboratory in the tomb of Sethos II.

amun, was pressed into service as a darkroom for Harry Burton.

A routine was rapidly established for processing the seemingly endless flow of treasures and conservation challenges issuing forth from the tomb. Each object or group of objects was given a reference number; *in situ* photographs were then taken, with and without reference number cards in position, the camera carefully positioned so that every object showed in at least one of the shots. A brief description, with sketch where appropriate, was

made of each object by Carter or Mace on a numbered record card; the object was located on a ground-plan of the tomb being prepared by Hall and Hauser (for the Antechamber only); and the piece was removed to the laboratory for treatment by Lucas and Mace, with further photography and recording. A final photograph was taken as conserved. All this for many thousands of objects, over several seasons, in sweltering heat (24–29°C (75.2–84.2°F)), with continued harassment from the press (who were soon complaining about the excessive

(Below centre and below) Transporting objects to the laboratory for photographs, recording, cleaning and conservation.





A British Service conserved and packed in specially built crates for transport to Cairo; the antiquities are transferred to the river, along the same road by which they had passed, under such difficult circumstances, 20000 days later.

Right: The clearance of Tutankhamun's tomb seems to have been the first clear archaeological application to have its own resident chemist. Linnæus's experiments on the mold growth on a piece of bread, on being kept moist, are being interpreted as pointing the way to a method of preservation from the mold by a vacuum in a jar. The vacuum is the first of the modern methods for the storage of objects for posterity in Egypt.

Experiments with thin layers of plaster of Paris...  
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amount of time the clearance was taking, from visitors more than 12,000 at the height of the hysteria, between 1 January and 13 March 1926, and from the Egyptian Government itself.

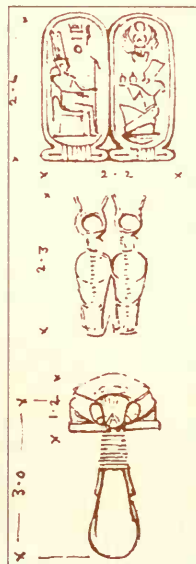
Clearance of the Antechamber began on 27 December 1922, took seven weeks, and used up more than a mile of cotton wadding and 32 bales of calico. At the end of this, as of each future season, the antiquities were crated up with care, using hundreds of feet of timber, and transported to the river en route to Cairo by hand-propelled DeWittville railway. Though a relatively short distance, the journey to the boat took more than 15 hours, without shade, during the height of the summer, with constant leap-frogging of the meagre number of rail lengths provided by the Antiquities Service. Only the gold coffin and mask, and one or two other lots, would not be transported by river: "These were conveyed by train in a special "Service Car" with an armed guard from the Egyptian army in the adjoining carriage, both car and carriage being shunted from the Cairo railway station directly into the yard of the Museum."

### Carter's numbering system

The tomb of Tutankhamun, now designated Valley Tomb 62, was No. 63 in Carter's sequence of discoveries since 1915. Every fragment, object or



Clearing the Tomb



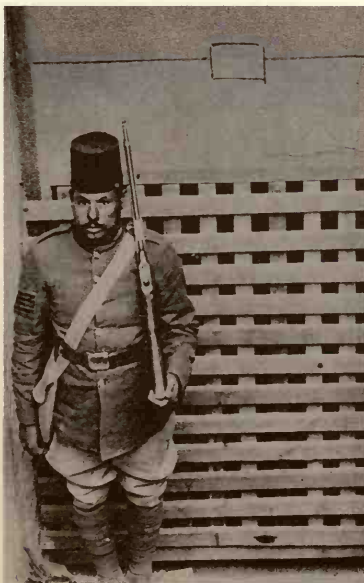
group of objects from 'Tomb 433' was assigned an object number ranging from 1 to 620; subdivisions for objects within a numbered group were noted by the use of single or multiple letters – a, b, c, etc., where appropriate aa, bb, cc, aaa, bbb, ccc, or even 4a, 4b (for aaaa, bbbb), etc. Additional subdivisions were noted by bracketed Arabic numerals. Group no. 620 is anomalous in that it was given 123 numbered subdivisions: 620:1 to 620:123.

The distribution of object numbers throughout the tomb was as follows:

1a-3	entrance staircase
4	first sealed doorway
5a-12t	Corridor
13	second sealed doorway
14-170	Antechamber
28	sealed doorway into the Burial Chamber
172-260	Burial Chamber
261-336	Treasury
171	partially dismantled Annexe blocking
337-620:123	Annexe

'It had been our privilege to find the most important collection of Egyptian antiquities that had ever seen the light, and it was for us to show that we were worthy of the trust.'

Howard Carter



(Above left) Arthur Callender, Carter's long-standing friend, engaged in recording work outside the tomb of Sethos II. In the background, engaged in conversation, can be seen Alfred Lucas and Alexander Scott of the British Museum.

(Above right) Carter's skills as an artist were to prove immensely useful as the clearance got under way, the clarity and accuracy of his 'sketches' providing instant identification for many of the thousands of objects the clearance was to reveal.

(Left) At the end of each season, for security against theft and flood, the tomb entrance was covered over. Beneath the rubble fill, closing off the entrance to the corridor, was a watertight wooden blocking erected over a wooden portcullis (shown here guarded by a local policeman). At the far end of the corridor was a second screening sheet and a padlocked steel gate.



# The Death of Lord Carnarvon

Lord Carnarvon, a British aristocrat, is depicted in a formal portrait. He is wearing a dark suit and a white shirt with a high collar. The background is a plain, light color.

Lord Carnarvon with his family

The unexpected death of Lord Carnarvon will be remembered in the history of the tomb clearance. Overnight Carter was thrust fully into the limelight, adding to his own immensely stressful duties as excavator the full burden of public relations, which

Lord Carnarvon, a British aristocrat, is depicted in a formal portrait. He is wearing a dark suit and a white shirt with a high collar. The background is a plain, light color.

Initially the was an... Lord Carnarvon was... the British aristocrat... the tomb clearance... the unexpected death... the full burden of public relations...

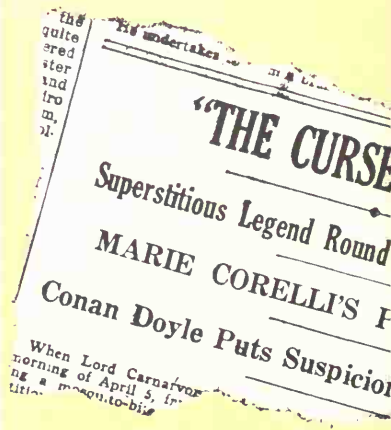


## The Curse

... all sane people should dismiss such inventions with contempt.

Howard Carter

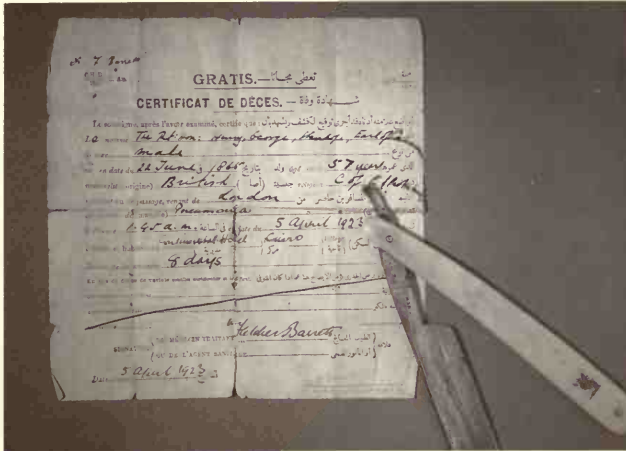
Lord Carnarvon's death focused popular attention on a warning made just two weeks before by the novelist Marie Corelli that 'the most dire punishment follows any rash intruder into a sealed tomb'. The public chose to ignore the fact that Lord Carnarvon's constitution had never been strong, and indeed that his annual pilgrimage to Egypt had been undertaken primarily on health grounds: it preferred to regard his sudden passing as the inevitable consequence of having disturbed Pharaoh's rest.



infection, in the days before penicillin, he fell an easy prey to pneumonia. His wife was summoned from England, arriving by air in a Puss Moth with her husband's physician, Dr Johnson. Before long their son, Lord Porchester, had joined them, just in time to spend a few hours with his delirious father. By the morning of 5 April it was all over: as Carter records in his diary, 'Poor Ld. C. died during the early hours of the morning.'

The show of emotion from family, friends and colleagues was matched by the black frame sported by the Cairo newspapers. For, despite the uproar caused by his exclusivity agreement with *The Times* (p. 64), Carnarvon had been much loved and respected in Egypt.

Arrangements were made for the body of the fifth Earl to be embalmed without delay for transport to England and burial on Beacon Hill overlooking his beloved Highclere. Meanwhile, in Egypt, Howard Carter was left at the helm of what was now Lady Carnarvon's 'ship'. Sadly, he was to prove a poor sailor.



**Death by association**

Rumour was rife. On the day the tomb was opened, Carter's pet canary was swallowed by a cobra – the cobra being the very serpent on Pharaoh's brow which spits fire at his enemies; at the precise moment of Carnarvon's death, it was said, the lights of Cairo inexplicably went out; while at the same time, in England, Carnarvon's three-legged terrier bitch, Susie, howled and dropped dead.

The demise of anyone who had been even remotely connected with Carnarvon, Carter or the discovery was immediately seized upon as further evidence for the efficacy of Tutankhamun's vengeance: Carnarvon's younger brother, Aubrey Herbert, died suddenly in September 1923; an X-ray specialist passed away unexpectedly while en route to Egypt to examine the king's mummy; the American railroad magnate Jay Gould died of pneumonia, the result of a cold contracted during a visit to the tomb; the Egyptian Ali Kemal Fahmy Bey was shot by his wife in the London Savoy some time after viewing the discovery; Arthur Mace, Carter's right-hand man, suffered a breakdown of health and died before the tomb had been fully cleared; the

French Egyptologist Georges Bénédite died as the result of a fall after seeing the tomb. Carter's secretary Richard Bethell died in unusual circumstances at the Bath Club in 1929; Bethell's father, Lord Westbury, who had never seen the tomb but possessed a small collection of Egyptian antiquities, committed suicide a short time later; while an 8-year-old child was accidentally killed by Lord Westbury's hearse. These were just a few of the claimed victims. Such a catalogue of tragedy, public opinion maintained, could hardly be fortuitous.

Statistics drawn up for his own amusement by the American Egyptologist Herbert E. Winlock in 1934 paint a rather different picture. Of the 26 people who had been present at the opening of the tomb, six had died within a decade. Of the 22 who had witnessed the opening of the sarcophagus, only two had died. While of the 10 who had been present at the mummy's unwrapping, none had yet succumbed to 'the curse'. Indeed, Carter himself did not die until 1939, at the age of 64; Harry Burton, the expedition photographer, died in 1940, aged 60. Lord Carnarvon's daughter, Lady Evelyn Herbert (later Lady Evelyn Beauchamp), born in 1901 and one of the first to enter the tomb, lived until 1980. Others involved closely with the discovery included Professor Percy E. Newberry, Carter's friend and mentor, who died in 1949, aged 80; Dr (later Sir) Alan H. Gardiner, who studied the tomb's inscriptions, died in 1963, aged 84; while Dr D.E. Derry, who performed the autopsy on the king's mummy, died at the age of 87 in 1969.

As an imaginary inscription was purported to proclaim, 'Death shall come on swift wings to him that toucheth the tomb of Pharaoh.' It cannot be denied, however, that Death was peculiarly selective in his choice of victims, and surprisingly long in coming for those who were perhaps closest to the work.



Arthur Weigall (above), the former Antiquities Service Inspector, who for a time was employed as a special correspondent for the Daily Mail. Observing Carnarvon's good humour at the opening of the Bural Chamber doorway, Weigall is reputed to have commented: 'If he goes down in that spirit, I give him six weeks to live.' Just over six weeks later, the fifth Earl was dead.

**"OSIRIS"**  
**Carnarvon's Death**  
**THEORY**  
**tut-ankh-Amen**

Arthur Conan Doyle attributed responsibility for Carnarvon's death to 'elementals – not souls, not spirits – created by Tutankhamen's priests to guard the tomb'. Modern explanations of 'the curse' tend to be framed in more 'scientific' terms; infection by long-dormant micro-organisms (histoplasmosis) is a current favourite.

## Politics



Howard Carter, a glamorous visitor, Lord Carnarvon and members of the Egyptian team crouch pose for the camera in front of the tomb of Seti I. But behind the walls a struggle was brewing.

◀ the atmosphere of Luxor is rather nerve wracking at present. The Winter Palace is a scream. No one talks of anything but the tomb, newspaper men swarm, and you don't say a word without looking round everywhere to see if anyone is listening. Some of them are trying to make mischief between Carnarvon and the Department of Antiquities, and all Loxor takes sides one way or the other. Archaeology plus journalism is bad enough, but when you add Politics it becomes a little too much.

Arthur Mace to his wife Winifred

◀ The whole is a disagreeable business and Carter is such an infuriated cat that he thwarted at every turn takes all reason from him.

Winifred Mace to her mother

It should also be said that Carter was not the only one who suspected of some kind of misbehavior in connection with the tomb. In fact, there were several other people who were suspected of some kind of misbehavior. Carter was not the only one who suspected of some kind of misbehavior in connection with the tomb. In fact, there were several other people who were suspected of some kind of misbehavior.

The scene of discovery has been a matter of contention for almost a century. In 1922, Carter and Carnarvon discovered the tomb of Tutankhamun in Egypt. At the time, both Carter and Carnarvon were in a somewhat precarious financial position. Carter had been working for the Egyptian Government, and Carnarvon had been working for the British Government. The discovery of the tomb was a major event in the history of Egyptology. It led to the discovery of many other tombs and artifacts. The discovery of the tomb was a major event in the history of Egyptology. It led to the discovery of many other tombs and artifacts.

### Tension in the tomb

With the official discovery, on 16 February 1922, that the king still lay undisturbed within his tomb, pressure to see the find became worse. There was also the nagging question of a division of the objects: was the tomb to be classified as intact or otherwise? If 'intact', the Egyptian Government would, under the terms of the concession, be entitled to deny the excavators' claims to any share of the objects recovered.

Carter and Carnarvon began to argue between themselves as to the best way of dealing with the difficulties which the discovery was continuing to present; in due course they fell out altogether. Carter, on 23 February 1923, going so far as to demand that Carnarvon never enter his house again. It was an indication of how fraught the situation had become. The cloud of gloom which descended on the Tutankhamun camp following Lord Carnarvon's death, on 5 April 1923, was intensified by the realization of how much more vulnerable without their influential sponsor the expedition now was.

The second season began in October 1923. Carter had spent the summer in England, where he visited Highclere to persuade Lady Carnarvon to renew the concession under her own name. To this she had readily agreed, as she did also to renewing the *Times* contract which had been the cause of so much grief the previous season. This year the fuss was to be even worse, thanks largely to Carter's poor handling of the situation. As a first step in the downward

MONDAY, FEBRUARY 18, 1924.

# LOCKED OUT AT LUXOR.

## LUXOR SURPRISE.

TOMB CLOSED AND ALL WORK STOPPED.

## "DISCOURTESIES."

NOTICE POSTED IN LUXOR HOTELS.

## "THE TOMB ISN'T YOURS."

## LUXOR TOMB.

LADY CARNARVON'S LICENCE CANCELLED.

## MR. CARTER.

HIS STORY OF HOW HE WAS KEPT OUT.

## THE LUXOR TOMB.

ZAGHLEL ANXIOUS TO SETTLE THE DISPUTE.

# TOMB LOCKED AGAINST MR. CARTER.

## LUXOR SURPRISE.

GOVERNMENT GUARD POSTED.

## ULTIMATUM TO MR. CARTER.

GOVERNMENT ORDER TO RESUME WORK IN 2 DAYS.

spiral, with the clear aim of circumventing a call from journalists that all or none be present when an announcement on the find was to be made, Carter decided that Merton, the *Times's* correspondent, would no longer be regarded as a pressman but as a

member of the excavating team. *The Times* would still be first with the news.

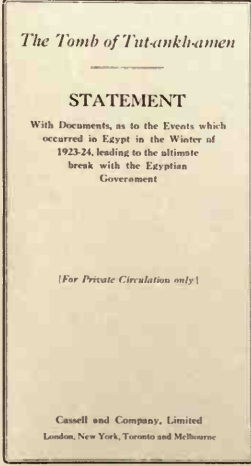
The Egyptian Government – and in particular Pierre Lacau, Maspero's successor as Director-General of the Antiquities Service – had been under increasing pressure to take action over the *Times* embargo, not least by the Nationalists who much resented the lack of Egyptian involvement in the enterprise. Admittance and an immediate briefing of the Egyptian press would have been a sensible first step towards soothing ruffled feelings – but stubbornly Carter refused to budge. He saw it as a matter of principle. A sniping war broke out, and the awkwardness between Lacau and Carter escalated rapidly into unpleasantness. As early as 23 December 1923, the wife of Carter's co-worker, Mace, was articulating the ultimate threat: '... there are so many troubles Mr Carter might even close the work down, then who knows what will happen ...'

Matters came to a head following the official lifting of the sarcophagus lid on 12 February 1924. Carter's intention that wives of the expedition members should visit the tomb on the following day was thwarted by the newly appointed Nationalist Minister of Public Works, Morcos Bey Hanna – no friend to the English since their attempt to have him hanged for his political activities some years before. Carter could see nothing in the Minister's action except a personal insult to himself, to his colleagues and to England; Mace saw it more as petty jealousy, 'spoiling the dream of every Egyptologist'. Carter, 'looking desperately ill and in a fury', carried out his

(Above) Lord Carnarvon's agreement with *The Times* generated much ill-feeling in the rival press, both European and Egyptian. The sniping continued after Carnarvon's death, and would culminate in Carter's lock-out from the tomb.

(Left) The cover of Carter's privately printed pamphlet, containing 'a full statement of the facts which have led us to the present position with the Egyptian government'. This rare volume recounts in minute detail, letter by letter, conversation by conversation, the events leading up to Carter's suspension of work at the tomb in February 1924. One of the appendices, removed by Carter from many copies of the booklet, contained embarrassing transcripts of Herbert Winlock's coded telegrams and letters warning Carter of the discovery in the Romesses XI storeroom. The printing of this ill-judged pamphlet would cost Carter the support of many friends and allies.

*copy down it*





Representative of the treasure of Tutankhamun, the statue of Isis, found in the tomb of Tutankhamun. It is a limestone statuette, seated female figure, with a lotus flower in her hand, and a lotus flower in her other hand. The statuette is a yellow limestone, and is a representation of the goddess Isis.

... then to close the tomb, leaving the scene unaltered, having previously, by its rapid and powerful action, in the lobby of the Winter Palace in Egypt, explaining the reason for his team's success.

Thanks to the approval, restrictions and financial aid of the Egyptian Public Works Department and its numerous workers, all my collaborators, using previous, more advanced work done further upon their scientific investigations of the tomb.

It was archaeology's first strike, and Carter's biggest mistake. For, by abandoning the clearance, Carter had played into Lacombe's hands; he had infringed the terms of his concession, and it was duly cancelled. The Egyptian Government declared that it would itself complete the work, legal action to re-establish his claim to the tomb came to nothing, and Carter left for England and his American lecture tour, tuning with indignation and frustration at having been so completely outmanoeuvred.

### Resolution and recovery

In Carter's absence, matters went from bad to worse with the discovery of a gessoed wooden head of the king packed as if ready to be shipped out of the country. But for the terrorist murder of the British Sirdar, Sir Lee Stack, on 19 November, and a

simultaneous drastic tightening of British control over Egypt, Carter might never have returned. As luck would have it, the departure of the Navigable Government meant that he did – but on the Egyptians' terms. Carter received the new concession, still in Lady Carnarvon's name, on 11 January 1925. *The Times* lost its monopoly of news on the discovery, and the Carnarvon estate, despite vague promises of one or two duplicates when the tomb had been fully cleared, was obliged to abandon any formal claim to the king's treasures. As compensation for expenses incurred in the work, however, the Carnarvon estate in 1930 received the sum of £26,000. It marked the end of their commitment, the final seasons would be financed by the Egyptians and by Carter himself.

There were sighs of relief all round, even from Lacombe, when Carter was at last able to continue with the monumental task of clearing and recording the tomb: 'there is no better person to whom this delicate stuff could have been entrusted', was Winlock's view. In truth, it was a job no one else wanted. Work of clearing the tomb and conserving the objects would continue for more than seven years, and the study of its contents and preparations for publication would hang as a burden around Carter's neck for the rest of his life.

## Lectures

'The question of lectures is going to be a rather serious one. I don't think Carter has ever given one in his life, and he doesn't in the least know how to set about it. ...'

Arthur Mace to his wife Winifred

Poster announcing Carter's lecture at the New Oxford Theatre, London. Press reports could not have been more favourable: 'Little imagination was needed to penetrate the simple and unassuming manner in which Mr. Carter told his story, and to experience the thrills of excitement as he revealed the romance surrounding every stage in the great adventure which was destined to be crowned with such surprising results.'

**NEW OXFORD THEATRE**  
14, OXFORD STREET, W.1.  
NEW OXFORD THEATRE, LONDON

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**DISCOVERY OF THE TOMB  
OF TUT-ANKH-AMEN:  
FROM ANTE-ROOM TO  
BURIAL CHAMBER**

An Illustrated Lecture on his most  
recent work to be delivered by

**HOWARD CARTER, Hon. So.D. (YALE UNIVERSITY)**  
on

**FRIDAY, SEPT. 11, 1925**  
at 3 p.m.

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TICKETS are obtainable from the Box Office, the New Oxford Theatre, Messrs. Kohn, Prosser & Co. Ltd., 149 New Bond Street, W.1. (48 Cheapside, E.C.2), and all Branches and Agencies of the Egypt Exploration Society, 11 Tavistock Square, W.C.1.

The unprecedented public interest aroused by the discovery had to be satisfied, and Carter's first lectures were at the New Oxford Theatre in London on 21 and 25 September 1923. On Saturday, 12 April 1924, Carter embarked upon an extended lecture tour of the United States and Canada. From the end of April until the middle of June, Carter enthralled audience after audience with one of his two prepared texts, the first a general lecture on the tomb, the second describing his most recent work of clearance. It was something of a whistle-stop tour, taking in New York, Philadelphia, New Haven, Baltimore, Washington (where he gave a private talk at the White House to President Calvin Coolidge), Worcester, Boston, Hartford, Pittsburgh, Chicago, Cincinnati, Detroit (with Henry Ford among the audience), Cleveland, Columbus, Buffalo, Toronto, Montreal and Ottawa. Mace need not have worried: Carter turned out to be a convincing and witty speaker. The tour was a sparkling success, crowned by the presentation of an honorary doctorate from Yale University on 18 June.

These triumphs were only the first of many, to be followed by lectures in Madrid in November 1924 and by an English tour. Lecture halls proved too small to receive the numbers applying for tickets; theatres were filled to capacity. Carter had well and truly arrived.

What a curious and unhappy fatality seems to surround the tomb of Tutankhamun...

Edward Robinson

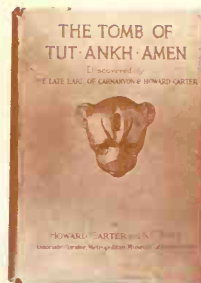
Howard Carter finally completed his work of conservation on the Tutankhamun objects in the spring of 1932, four years after the last chamber had been cleared and almost a decade after the initial discovery. The third and final part of 'the preliminary narrative', *The Tomb of Tutankhamun*, appeared in 1933, and the next years were occupied with the preparation of the definitive, six-volume work on the discovery, which was to be entitled *A Report upon the Tomb of Tutankhamun*. But progress was slow, and reading through his notes one gains the impression that the task to which Carter had given his life at the end proved too much for him.

Carter died in London, at 2 Prince's Gate Court, his Kensington home, on 2 March 1939, having been blessed with fame and fortune, though denied any public honour. By the will he had made in 1931, Carter's papers and personal possessions passed to his niece, Phyllis Walker. His furniture was auctioned at Sotheby's in December 1939, his books two months later, on 22 February. A portion of Carter's small but choice collection of antiquities passed via King Farouk to the Cairo Museum; other pieces were sold, through the London dealers Spink, and objects from it now grace half a dozen collections around the world. 'Castle Carter', the house at Elwat el-Dibun on the Theban west bank, scene of so much excitement during the digging years, passed to the Metropolitan Museum of Art. It was, in so many ways, the end of an era.

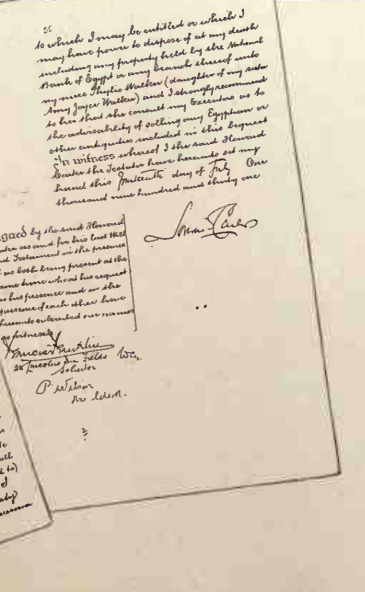
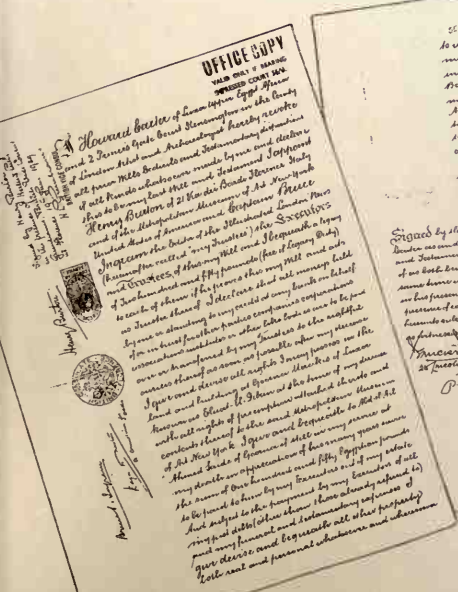
# Howard Carter: the Final Curtain



Carter the gentleman: after an oil painting by his brother, Verney. Carter's sophisticated air owed not a little to the influence of Lord Carnarvon and his circle.



Volume 1 of *The Tomb of Tut-Ankh-Amen*. Much of the text of this splendid, three-part work was ghost-written by Carter's close friend, Percy White.



Carter's last will and testament, dated 19 July 1931, by which the bulk of his estate was left to his niece, Phyllis Walker. Carter's executors were Harry Burton, who advised the niece on the disposal of Carter's antiquities, and Captain Bruce Ingram, editor of the Illustrated London News.



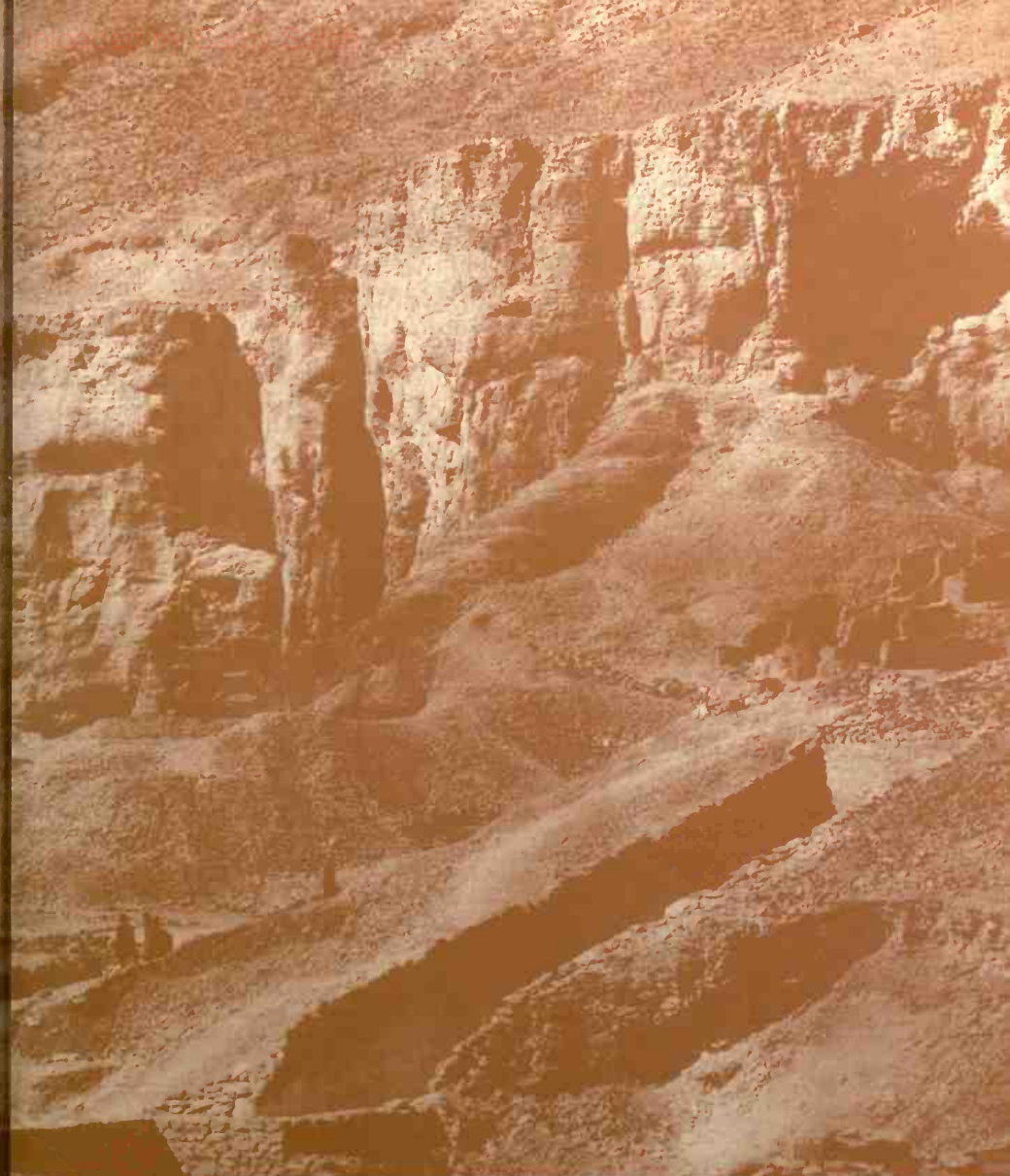
The tomb, when found, proved something of an enigma. The narrow corridor and the minimal area of its ground plan indicated clearly that it had never been intended for the burial of a king. The excavators' first impressions were that they had found merely a cache of objects – albeit wonderful objects – salvaged from the Amarna royal cemetery, a cache perhaps related in some way to the Tomb 55 deposit across the Valley path. But, with the increasing prominence of Tutankhamun's name, and with the entry by Carnarvon and Carter into the Burial Chamber, all doubts were dispelled.

If the small and sparsely decorated tomb itself was a disappointment, its contents were not. The funerary furniture was magnificent, and it was difficult to comprehend either the quantity or the quality. But the tomb had clearly been robbed: How much had gone? When did the thefts take place? What had the robbers been looking for?

Carter's skill as a digger was unmatched, his thoroughness as a recorder unrivalled. Much that might, in less capable hands, have been lost forever was observed, noted, photographed, and preserved for posterity. Tutankhamun's is the richest burial ever to have been found in the Valley of the Kings; thanks to Carter, it is also the best documented. More than half a century after the discovery, it is possible not only to reconstruct the state in which the tomb was found, but also to check Carter's answers to the questions the discovery posed, and to re-examine the evidence upon which his answers were based.

*The tomb of Tutankhamun at the time of the clearance.*

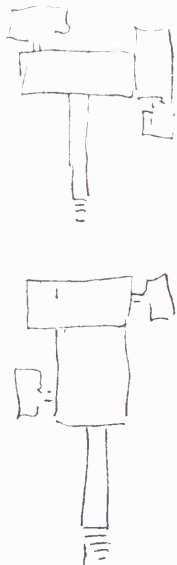




### III The Archaeology of the Tomb



# Architecture



Funankhamun's tomb is cut down into the bedrock of the Valley—a white, amorphous limestone with thin masses and occasional veins of calcite—with a foothill of some 21m (69ft) rising directly above it. The entrance stairway comprises 16 steps, 1.68m (5ft 6¼in) wide, roofed in by the living rock at its westernmost end. The last six steps of the staircase, together with the lintel and jambs, had been cut away in antiquity to enable the larger pieces of funerary furniture (such as the sarcophagus and shrines) to be introduced, the steps and jambs of the entrance doorway being subsequently reconstructed in stone and plaster and the lintel replaced with a heavy, limewashed wooden beam. They would be cut away again when the shrine panels were removed by Carter's team. Within the entrance doorway, still in position at the time of the discovery, was a blocking of dry limestone construction faced with a hard, light grey gypsum plaster and stamped over its entire surface with large oval seals. Beyond was a descending corridor, filled with rubble at the time of the discovery. It measured 8.08 by 1.68m (26ft 6in by 5ft 6¼in) and 2m (6ft 6¾in) high. The corridor terminated in a rock-cut doorway, blocked in a similar manner to the outer doorway, which gave access to the Antechamber through the middle of the eastern wall.

## The Antechamber and Annex

The Antechamber is orientated north-south; 7.85 by 3.55m (25ft 9in by 13ft 3¼in), it measures 2.68m (8ft 9¼in) in height and lies some 7.1m (23ft 3¼in) below the floor of the Valley. The surfaces of the walls here and indeed throughout the tomb, with the exception of the Burial Chamber, are unsmoothed and exhibit a pinky 'glow'. A third doorway in the west wall of the Antechamber, 0.95m (3ft 1¼in) wide and 1.3m (4ft 3¼in) high, and again closed with a masonry blocking, is positioned to take advantage of a natural fissure in the rock. This blocking leads through into a second and smaller chamber, the Annex, 1.35 by 2.6m (4ft 3¼in by 8ft 6¼in) and 2.53m (8ft 4¼in) high, again orientated north-south. The floor level of this chamber drops 0.9m (2ft 11¼in) below that of the Antechamber. Carter records that 'The masons' guide and measuring marks in red are still visible upon the unfinished surfaces of the walls', and here as elsewhere in the tomb 'a few flakes of limestone from their chisels were left lying upon the floors'.

At the northern end of the Antechamber is a partition wall of rough limestone splinters and this has been constructed, bonded with pieces of timber and plastered over. This partition wall was pierced by a doorway with a rough wooden lintel, 1.65m (5ft 3¼in) wide and 1.78m (5ft 10in) high. Like the doorways at either end of the corridor, and like that leading into the Annex, this doorway had been closed off with rough stones and its plastered surface stamped with a series of large oval seals. When this partition wall was removed, it was discovered that the dynasty workmen had had to cut away a large portion of the rock of the north-west corner of the Antechamber, to allow sufficient room for the larger and longer panels of [the] shrines to pass into the burial chamber.' Also noted was a 'put-hole' to take the beam employed in manoeuvring the sarcophagus, cut low in the west wall of the Antechamber.

## The Burial Chamber and Treasury

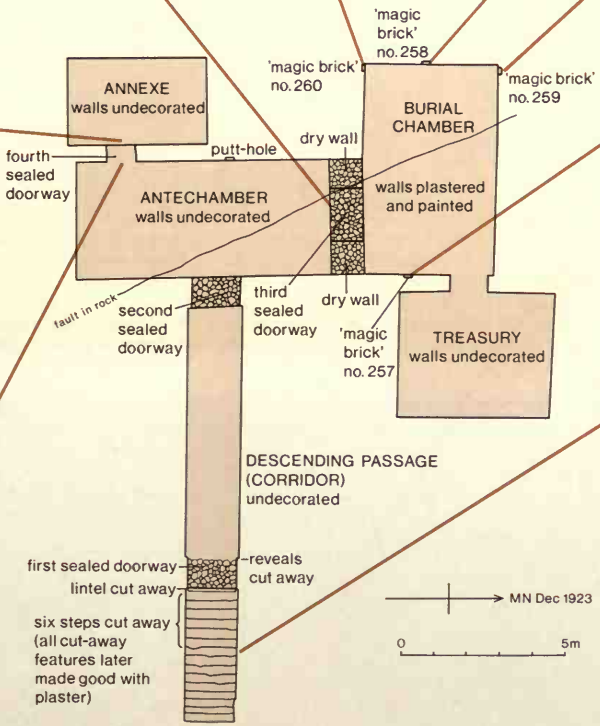
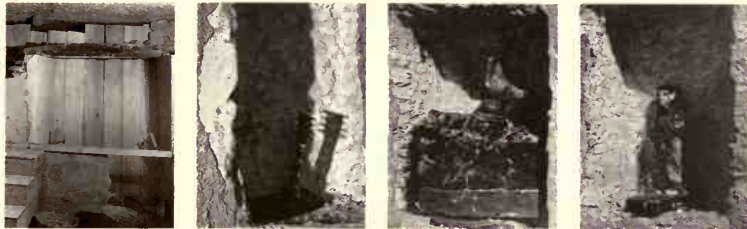
Beyond the partition wall lay the Burial Chamber, 6.37 by 4.02m (20ft 10¼in by 13ft 2¼in), and some 3.63m (11ft 11in) high. The floor was 0.94m (3ft 1in) below that of the Antechamber and 8.05m (26ft 5in) below the Valley surface. Cut into the north, south, east and west walls of the Burial Chamber before it was painted were four niches for the tomb's 'magic bricks' (p. 135), found concealed with rough pieces of limestone plastered in place and painted over. Unlike the Annex and the Antechamber, the Burial Chamber is orientated east-west, its walls (though not the ceiling) plastered with gypsum and decorated with painted scenes (p. 72). The plaster seems not to have been fully dry when the tomb was closed, a fact which accounts at least in part for the humidity damage suffered by a number of objects. Still visible at the northeast end of the Burial Chamber ceiling are 'traces of smoke, as from an oil lamp or torch' employed by the ancient artists.

A low doorway, 1.12m (3ft 8¼in) wide, in the east wall of the Burial chamber gives access to the Treasury. This room, 4.75 by 3.8m (15ft 7in by 12ft 5¼in) and 2.33m (7ft 7¾in) high, is orientated north-south like the Annex and the Antechamber.

On the whole, Carter considered the cutting of the tomb to be good, if showing a certain asymmetry in places where the mason's chisel ('minute particles' of which still adhered to the limestone surface) had taken advantage of the natural fissures in the rock. These same fissures may well have been responsible for the seepage of water into the tomb. 'With the exception of the sunken stairway and the descending passage, throughout the interior of the tomb, the walls, ceilings, and floors have been much discoloured by damp arising from infrequent saturations that took place in the past. And in many places, particularly on the painted surfaces in the burial chamber, the walls are disfigured by a fungoid growth [in part] nourished by that mois-

*Carter's analysis of the Tutankhamun ground plan. By swinging the chambers around 90 degrees, the Antechamber may be seen to correspond to the pillared hall of a more typical 18th dynasty royal tomb, the Burial Chamber to the sunken 'crypt', the Annex and Treasury represent two of the four side rooms which, on the traditional design, lead into the burial chamber (p. 135).*

(Clockwise from bottom left)  
 The Annexe doorway, as seen from the Antechamber; the same, from within the Annexe; the Antechamber/Burial Chamber partition wall, partially dismantled and with the wooden lintel revealed; the southern 'magic brick' (no. 260); the western 'magic brick' (no. 258); the northern 'magic brick' (no. 259); the eastern 'magic brick' (no. 257); the rock-cut entrance stairway.



ture.' One particularly large fault runs from the southeast corner of the Antechamber through to the northwest corner of the Burial Chamber.

The tomb of Tutankhamun was clearly non-royal in form, showing a basic similarity to the tomb of Yuya and Tjuyu (No. 46) and to the enigmatic Tomb 55. But it was a private tomb (it has been suggested that of Ay himself) which had equally clearly been adapted – albeit in a very much restricted form – to the royal type: the Burial Chamber of Tutankhamun corresponds to the sunken sarcophagus 'crypt' of a

more normal royal tomb, though with only one side-room (the Treasury) instead of two; and the Antechamber, swung round, corresponds to the anterior, pillared section of the sarcophagus chamber, here again with one side-chamber (the Annexe) rather than two. Carter identified the tomb's architect as Maya, who presented two wooden figures to the burial (p. 139). This high official lived through several reigns and included among his titles those of Overseer of Works in the Place of Eternity and Overseer of Works in the West.

## Wall Decoration

The painting on the wall of the burial chamber is not dissimilar to that in the West Valley tomb of Ay (No. 25), occupies all four walls, with the scenes orientated towards the west wall. The scenes are marred by the presence of small brown fungus growths, the germs of which were possibly introduced either with the plaster or the sizing of the paint, and were nourished [in part] by the enclosed humidity that exuded from the plaster after the chamber had been sealed up.

The only seven walls decoration of any sort in the Burial Chamber, whose paintings "are decorated in a bold and severely simple" executed in a yellow pigment of gipsy ground with white glaze reflect its ancient ritual name: "the House of Gold".

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### East wall

The decorated upper part of the east wall depicts the mummified king, his name written above in hieroglyphs, lying supine within a tall, garland-bedecked shrine, being dragged by five groups of men (2 in

each group) in a ritual procession to the tomb. The king is shown lying on a bier, his face in profile, with his hands and feet bound. He is wearing a tall, white, conical headdress, and is surrounded by a group of men, some of whom are carrying the bier. The king's name is written above him in hieroglyphs. The scene is set against a background of a yellow pigment of gipsy ground with white glaze.

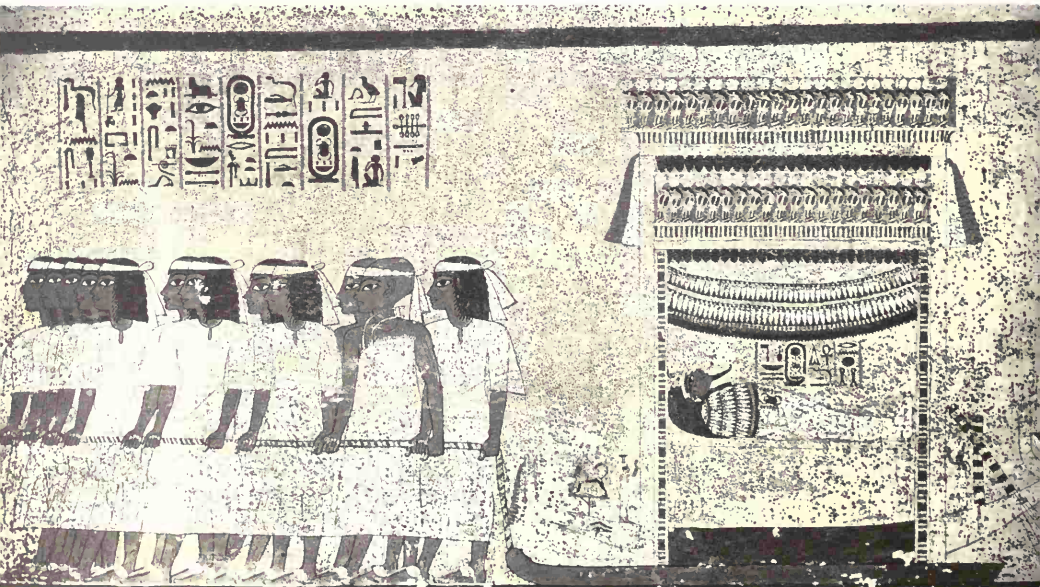
### North wall

The large painting on the north wall of the Burial Chamber, which depicts the king in a ritual procession, is oriented right to left.

The first scene depicts Tutankhamun's son, the aged Ay, wearing the lion's paws and dressed in the leopard skin of a jackal priest, the 'son' performing the necessary ritualisation ritual (the opening of the mouth) for the 'father', the dead boy here appears as Osiris, lord of the underworld. The names of both Tutankhamun and Ay are written above their heads in hieroglyphs.

In the second scene Tutankhamun, whose name again appears above his figure, has reverted to the costume of the living king although he has now entered the realm of the gods where he is greeted by the goddess Nut.

In the ultimate scene on the north wall, Tutankhamun, wearing the *nemes* headcloth and followed closely by his *ka* or spiritual double, is welcomed





with an embrace into the underworld by Osiris, king of the dead, with whom he now becomes one.

#### South wall

The decoration of the south wall parallels that of the north wall. Here the king, wearing the bag-shaped

*khat*-headdress, is welcomed into the realms of the underworld by Hathor, principal goddess of the west. Behind the king stands the embalmer god, the dog-headed Anubis; behind him, again identified by the hieroglyphs before her head, originally stood the goddess Isis. She was shown greeting the king in a

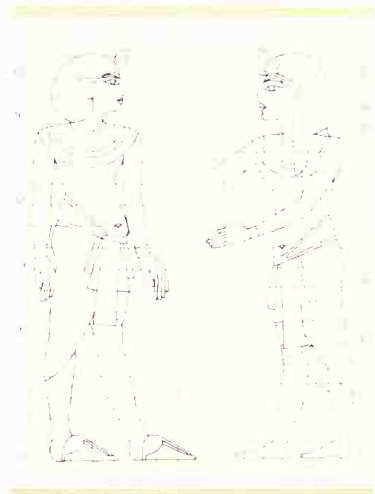


entirety (except for Nut on the north wall) had been lost. The three upper deities of the underworld, the 'gates' were lost when the plastered partition wall was dismantled by Carter's workmen to allow removal of the shrines.

The proportions of the figures on this partition wall, which was evidently decorated last and in some haste after the shrines had been erected within the Burial Chamber, differ from those employed elsewhere in the tomb decoration. Clearly laid out by a different draughtsman, the proportions of the figures are based not upon the Amarna canon of 20 squares but upon the more traditional 18-square compositional grid.

### West wall

The west wall, the focus and culmination of the Burial Chamber's decorative scheme, is taken up by an extract from the Book of *Amduat*, or 'What Is in the Underworld'. The upper register is occupied by the solar barque, preceded by five deities. Below squat 12 baboon-deities of the first of the 12 hours of the night through which the sun and king must travel before achieving rebirth at dawn.



*West wall: The solar barque and five deities of the underworld, preceding the 12 baboon-deities of the underworld.*

*West wall: Depiction of the solar barque and five deities of the underworld preceding the 12 baboon-deities of the Burial Chamber.*

*The west wall being the culmination of the Burial Chamber decoration.*



... in the rubbish covering the entrance of the tomb were traces of broken pottery, wood, linen, and leaves, probably pertaining to the burial, but beyond recovery. ♣

Howard Carter

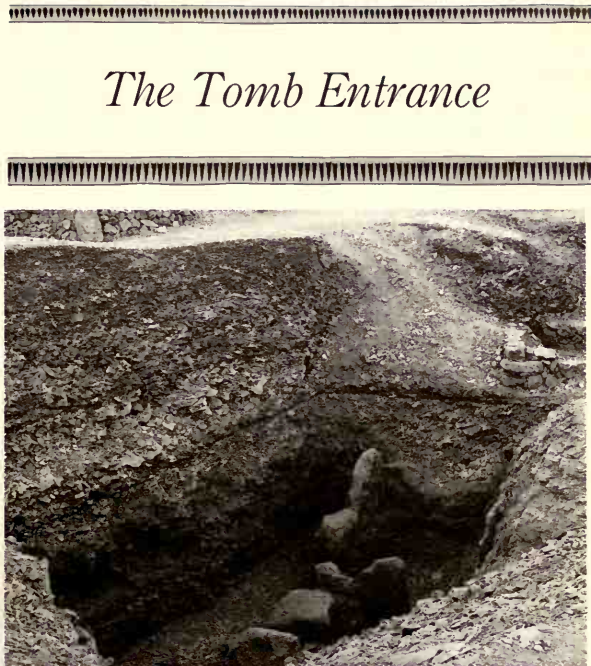
## The Tomb Entrance

The ground immediately above the entrance to the tomb of Tutankhamun had been covered in antiquity by a collection of rough workmen's huts, built 0.9m (2ft 11½in) above bedrock and spreading over the entire area in front of the tomb of Ramesses VI (No. 9); they joined up with others on the opposite side of the path which had been uncovered by Ayrton in January 1907. Some of these huts Carter had already cleared in 1917, like Davis (p. 37) stopping work within a few feet of the tomb. Dismantling these structures five years later, 1-4 November 1922, in preparation for planning, a broken ostracon of Ramessid date was brought to light 'bearing [a] polytheistic sketch in bl[ack] and red of Horus and animals', together with an enclosure in stone which the excavator tentatively identified as an ancient '(?)Mortar trough' associated with work on Tomb 9.

The first step of Tutankhamun's tomb was uncovered on 4 November, immediately beneath the huts which had yielded these finds; a further 11 steps and the upper part of the plastered blocking were dug out the following day. No foundation deposits were found. The tomb entrance was immediately refilled, to be uncovered fully on 23-24 November after the arrival of Lord Carnarvon. Clearance of the lower staircase-fill revealed a number of antiquities (object nos. 1-3), including a green-glazed steatite scarab of Tuthmosis III, several clay seals from linen packages sporting the jackal and nine captives motif, a fragment of ivory, pieces of resin, turquoise-blue and chevron-patterned glass, stone and pottery, wine-jar docket, jar seals, animal bones, wood and rush fragments, and the parts of two boxes. The first (no. 1k), inscribed with the names and titles of the co-regents Akhenaten and Nefernefruaten, and of the great royal wife Meritaten, carried a hieratic docket recording its original linen contents (p. 190); the second box (no. 1 l), the fastening knob of which carried the prenomen of Tutankhamun, was inscribed with a docket recording the silver vessels it had once contained (p. 190). Carter also claims to have turned up 'In the lower strata of rubbish that filled the staircase . . . a fragment with the name of Amen.hetep [Amenophis III], though no further details of this object can now be traced.

Carter was puzzled:

'Why this mixture of names? The balance of evidence so far would seem to indicate a cache rather than a tomb, and at this stage in the proceedings we inclined more and more to the opinion that we were about to find a miscellaneous collection of objects of the Eighteenth Dynasty kings, brought from Tell el Amarna by Tut.ankh.Amen and deposited here for safety.'



(Top) Foundations of the Ramessid workmen's huts constructed above the entrance to Tutankhamun's tomb.

Carter's drawing of a green-glazed scarab (above) of Tuthmosis III (no. 1a), found in the rubble fill of the entrance stairway.

The descent into the tomb (left): the fully cleared stairway leading down to the first, outermost corridor blocking.



## Distribution of finds in Corridor

### First part of passage

- 5a fragments and lids of stone vessels
- 5b red pottery 'foundation deposit' cups
- 5c fragments of plaster jar seals
- 5d fragments of mud (?)boxes
- 5e splinters of gessoed and gilded wood
- 5f splinters of wood
- 5g fragments of faience
- 5h pieces of felspar

### 'Lying upon floor near wall, far [south] side of passage', under fill

- 6 water skins
- 8 head of king rising from a lotus(?)

### 'Lying under the filling . . . upon the floor . . . [north] side and far end'

- 7 calcite vessels

### In fill of passage

- 9 blue-painted *nemset*-vessel (near Antechamber blocking)
- 10 clay seals
- 11 wine-jar docket
- 12a faience pendants, some inlaid
- 12b portions of gold foil work
- 12c inlaid gold plaques from jewellery
- 12d faience rings (whole and broken)
- 12e fragments of faience, including gaming piece
- 12f faience floral pendants
- 12g bronze razors
- 12h fragments of resin (one showing inlay)
- 12i clay seal
- 12j fragments of ivory and ebony inlay
- 12k shells from (?)necklace
- 12l dried fruits
- 12m pieces of worked semi-precious stone
- 12n fragments of metalwork: gilded bronze; *shabti* yoke and basket; bronze arrowhead; gilded bronze staple
- 12o wooden labels
- 12p fragments of (?)felspar
- 12q fragments of glass
- 12r *dom*-palm nuts
- 12s pottery cup (like 5b)
- 12t fragments of stone vessel-lids



The fill of the corridor as it appeared following removal of the outer blocking, the refilled robber's tunnel clearly visible in the top left-hand corner.



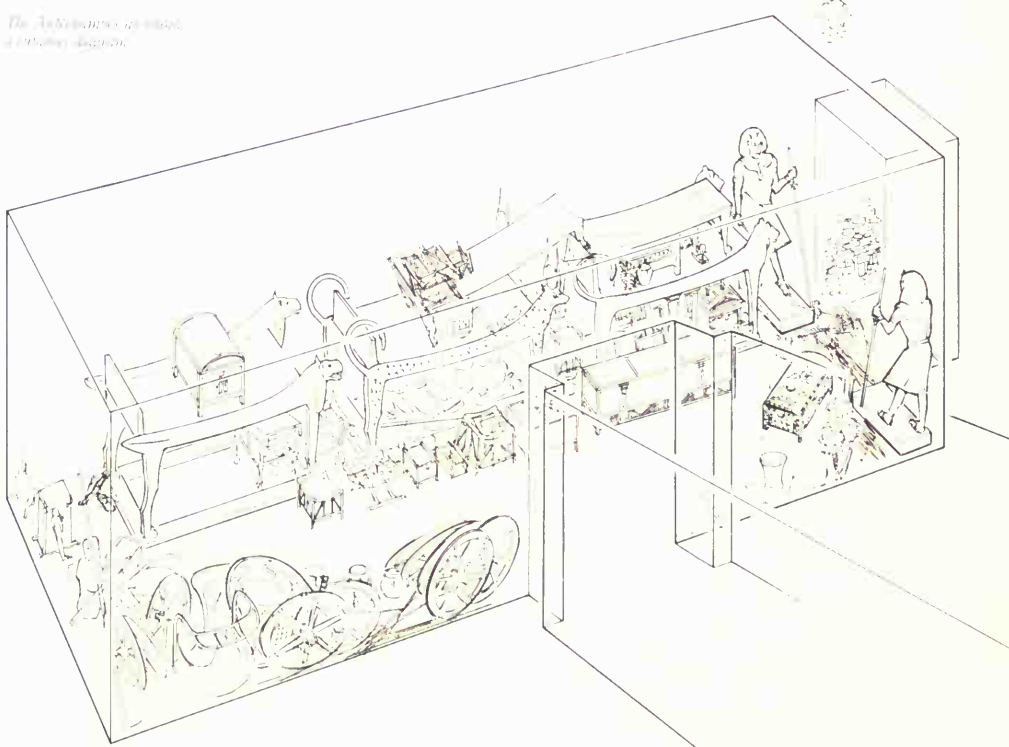
# The Antechamber

The Antechamber is a small, intimate space designed to provide a moment of quiet reflection before entering the main hall. It features a long, low wooden bench with a curved backrest, and a small table with a vase of flowers. The walls are covered in a pattern of small, repeating motifs, and the floor is made of polished stone tiles. The lighting is soft and warm, creating a peaceful atmosphere.

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Harriet Carter

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‘The impression is overwhelming. It is a sight I have never dreamed of seeing; the ante-chamber of a Pharaoh’s tomb still filled with magnificent equipment ... still standing as it was placed there when the tomb was last closed in antiquity.’

James Henry Breasted

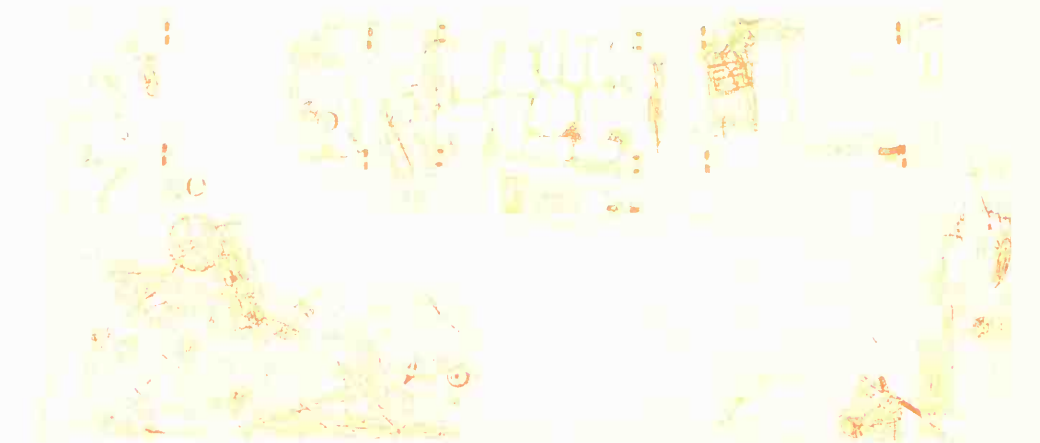
The Antechamber presented a picture of organized chaos, its contents having been disturbed at least twice following the original closure of the tomb and only roughly put back in order before the final resealing. It contained 157 numbered groups of 600 to 700 objects (nos. 14 -171) of a type which, in a normal New Kingdom royal burial, would have been

placed in the pillared section of the burial chamber and in the anteroom preceding it. For the Czech Egyptologist Jaroslav Černý, this, the Antechamber, was the ‘Hall of Waiting’ mentioned in documents of the Ramessid period.

Between the objects a path had been cleared, perhaps in part by Carnarvon and Carter during their preliminary investigation of the tomb (p. 54). As an early photograph by Carter shows, the large Painted Box (no. 21) had certainly been moved between the time of the discovery and the start of photographing the Antechamber by Harry Burton on 18 December.

The clearance began in counter-clockwise fashion, starting with the funerary bouquets in the

*Two of Tutankhamun’s three ritual couches, and the tangle of chariot parts which dominated the southern end of the Antechamber.*



northeast corner (nos. 18 and 19a) and leaving the tangle of the chariots (nos. 120 *et seq*) to the end. The first object to be removed, on 27 December 1922, was the Painted Box (no. 21). 'Clearing the objects from the Antechamber was like playing a gigantic game of spillikins', Carter and Mace record. 'So crowded were they that it was a matter of extreme difficulty to move one without running serious risk of damaging others, and in some cases they were so inextricably

tangled that an elaborate system of props and supports had to be devised to hold one object or group of objects in place while another was being removed. At such times life was a nightmare! This nightmare finally came to an end on 16 February 1923: the Antechamber stood empty save for the pair of guardian statues (nos. 22 and 29), which would be removed at the start of the following season's work on the tomb.



*(Opposite above) 'Wonderful things': the west wall of the Antechamber as first seen.*

*(Opposite below) Hall and Hauser's finished plan showing the Antechamber contents in situ. The path cleared to the Annexe doorway (probably at the time of Carnarvon and Carter's first entry) is clearly visible.*

*(Left) The northeast corner of the Antechamber, with Carnarvon and Carter's access-hole to the Burial Chamber concealed behind a basket-lid and handful of reeds; the Painted Box (no. 21) has been repositioned with its fastening knobs facing south rather than north as found.*

# The Burial Chamber

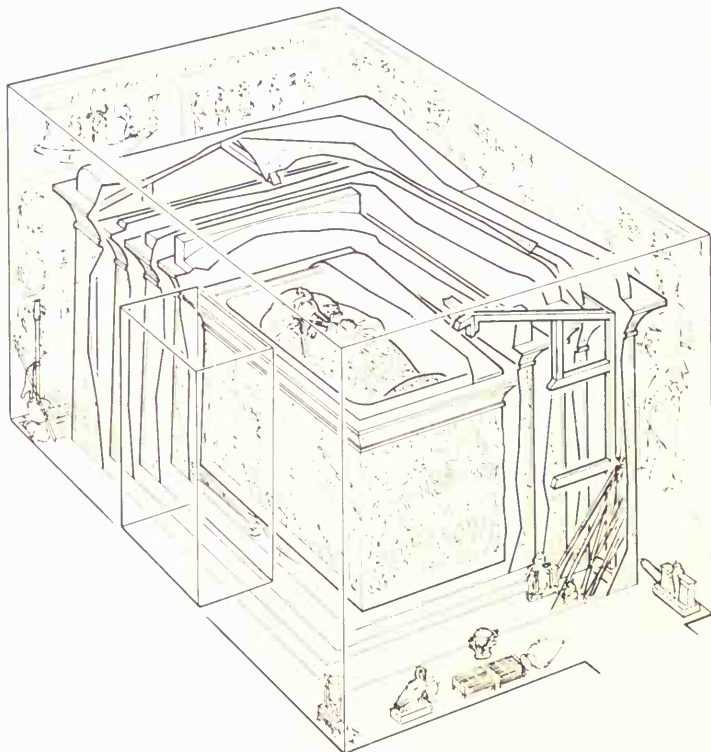
The wall is covered with hieroglyphs and a cartouche containing the name of the deceased. The wall is decorated with a frieze of lotus flowers and a frieze of lotus flowers.

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The burial chamber is decorated with hieroglyphs and a cartouche containing the name of the deceased. The wall is decorated with a frieze of lotus flowers and a frieze of lotus flowers.



## Uploaded by Samy Salah

The first objects Carter removed were elements from two broad collars (no. 172) which had been dropped on the threshold by the tomb robbers. The work of clearance proceeded in an anti-clockwise fashion. Around the room, between the panels of the outermost shrine (no. 207) and the decorated walls were various objects: against the east wall stood a calcite lamp (no. 173), a resin-varnished wooden goose (no. 176), two reed and papyrus boxes (no. 178), a second calcite lamp (no. 174), and a wine jar (no. 180). Against the north wall was the ritual object no. 181 and eleven magical oars (nos. 182–92); in the northeast corner, the double shrine (no. 193) and an Anubis fetish (no. 194) in the form of an inflated animal skin 'full of solutions for preserving or washing the body' suspended on a pole. Against the west wall lay a second wine jar (no. 195); while in the southwest corner stood a second Anubis fetish (no. 202), as well as gilded wooden symbols which took the form of the hieroglyph *res*, 'to awake' (nos. 196, 199–201), and the clay supports on which they were intended to stand (no. 198a). A large funerary bouquet consisting of persea and olive (no. 205) also stood poignantly in the southwest corner of the Burial Chamber.

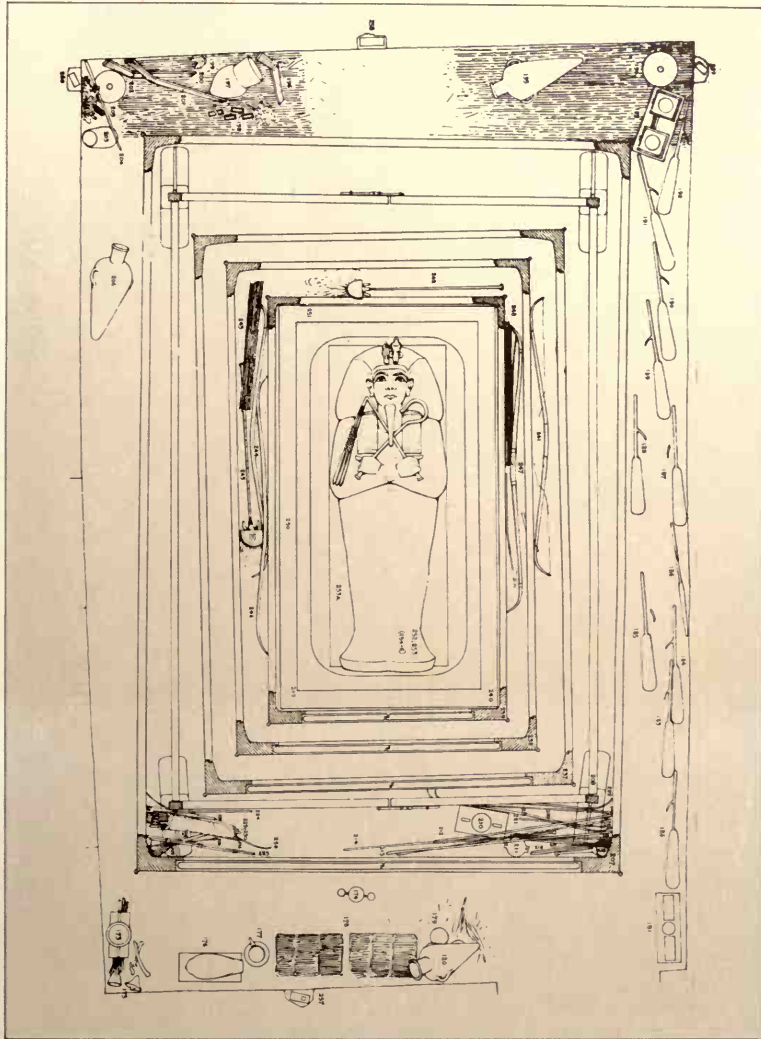


*The opening: Carter takes a rest while Carnarvon peers over the partially dismantled Burial Chamber blocking.*

*(Below) The entrance to the Burial Chamber, with three-quarters of the sealed and plastered blocking removed to reveal the brilliant blue and gold of the outermost shrine.*







north- and southeast corners, stood a bundle of sticks, staves, bows and other objects (nos. 212–19, 221–36) (p. 174). The spaces between the second and third (no. 238) shrines was bare but for a single self bow (no. 241). Between the third and fourth (no. 239) were several items, most notably four bows and two groups of arrows (p. 174), and two fans (nos. 242–8) (p. 179). Within the fourth shrine lay a large *djed*-pillar of painted wood (no. 250), a bundle of reeds

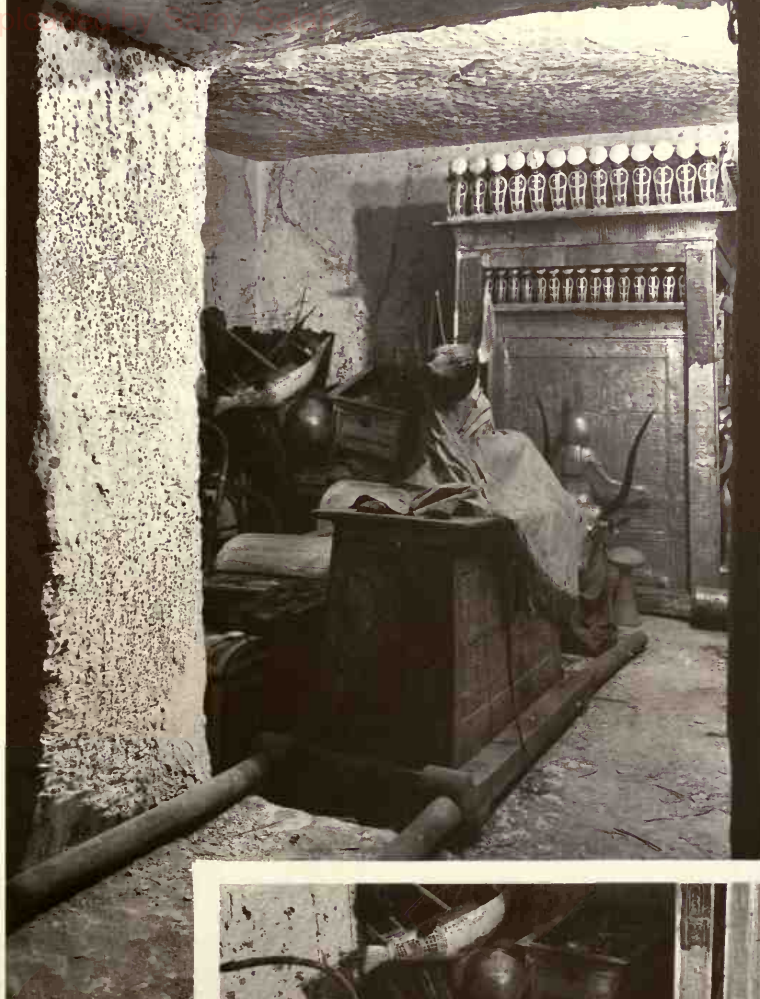
(no. 249), and the quartzite sarcophagus (no. 240).

Four concealed niches cut into the decorated walls of the Burial Chamber (p. 71) contained the 'magic bricks' (nos. 257–60) (p. 135).

Dismantling the shrines and opening the sarcophagus and coffins – comprising the bulk of the 88 object-groups the Burial Chamber contained (well over 300 individual pieces) – would take almost eight months, from November to May 1925.







The entrance to the Treasury was dominated by a majestic image of Anubis, lord of the west, mounted upon a shrine equipped with carrying poles (no. 261).

(Below) To Anubis's right lay a row of jewel caskets (nos. 267-271), their sealed lids broken open and their contents rifled in antiquity; in front of the canopic shrine, carefully wrapped in linen, stood a gilded head of the Hathor cow (no. 264).





◄ Peering beneath the southernmost of the three great couches, we noticed a small irregular hole in the wall. Here was yet another sealed doorway, and a plunderers' hole, which, unlike the others, had never been repaired. Cautiously we crept under the couch, inserted our portable light, and there before us lay another chamber, rather smaller than the first, but even more crowded with objects.

◄ The state of this inner room (afterwards called the Annexe) simply defies description. In the Antechamber there had been some sort of an attempt to tidy up after the plunderers' visit, but here everything was in confusion, just as they had left it. ◀

Howard Carter

The Annexe was for Carter equivalent to one of the two side-rooms off the 'crypt' in a full-sized royal tomb of the 18th dynasty; for Černý it was the 'House-of-repelling-the-bowmen' specified in the docket of box 1k (p. 190). It was the last chamber to be cleared, work beginning at the end of November, 1927, and ending in the spring of 1928. Though the smallest of the chambers, its clearance would yield some 283 groups of objects – half the numbered groups from the entire tomb and well over 2,000 individual pieces. The material recovered was very varied, thanks largely to the activities of the restoration party, who appear to have compounded the inconsistency of the original stocking and the robbers' destruction by throwing into the room anything for which a satisfactory home could not be found in the Antechamber.

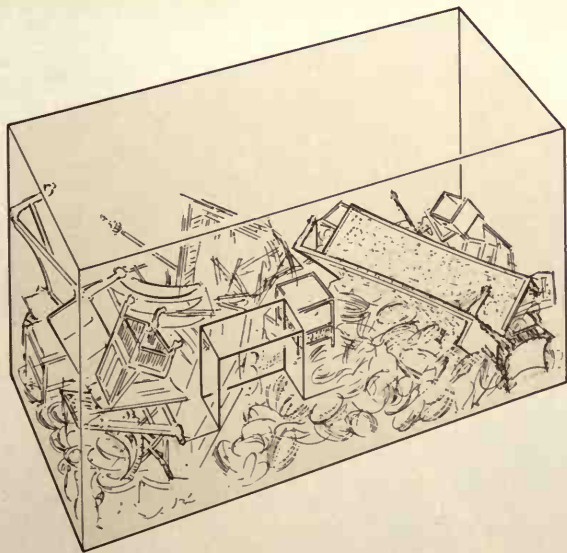
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## The Annexe

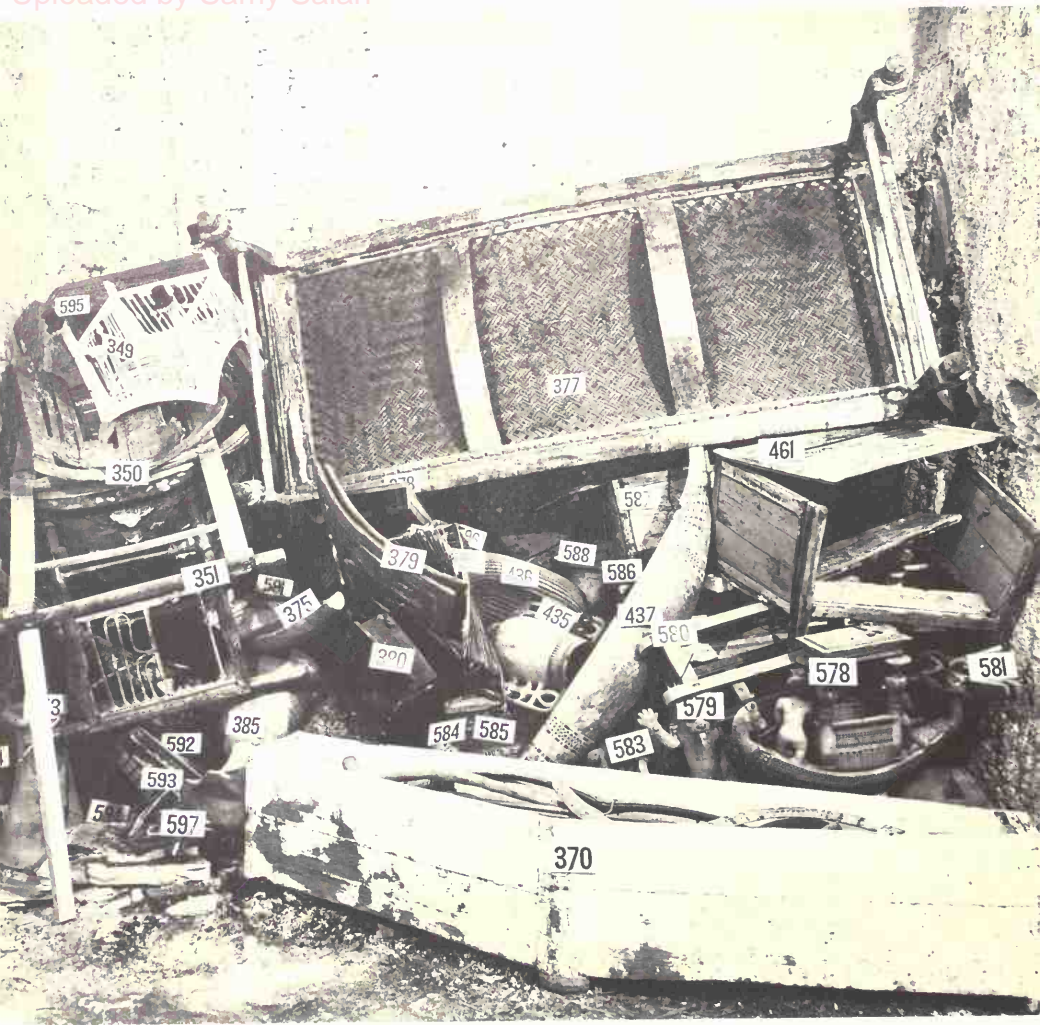
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Clearance of the Annexe was to be difficult indeed. Because of the clutter, 1.8m (5ft 10½in) high in places, the excavators had to be suspended on ropes above the chamber floor (which lay more than a metre below that of the Antechamber) until sufficient space had been cleared for them to stand. Work proceeded slowly and carefully, south to north, again employing props and supports to prevent the mountain of furniture collapsing into a broken heap on the stone floor. To Carter's surprise, the original layout of the chamber could in due course be salvaged. The distribution of the objects had been rather more ordered than that which Carter first encountered, but the range of material had been just as disparate:

... firstly, nearly forty pottery wine-jars were placed on the floor at the northern end of this Annexe; next to these were added at least thirty-five heavy alabaster vessels containing oils and unguents; stacked beside them, some even on top, were one hundred and sixteen baskets of fruits; the remaining space was then used for other furniture – boxes, stools, chairs and bedsteads, etc. – that were piled on top of them.'



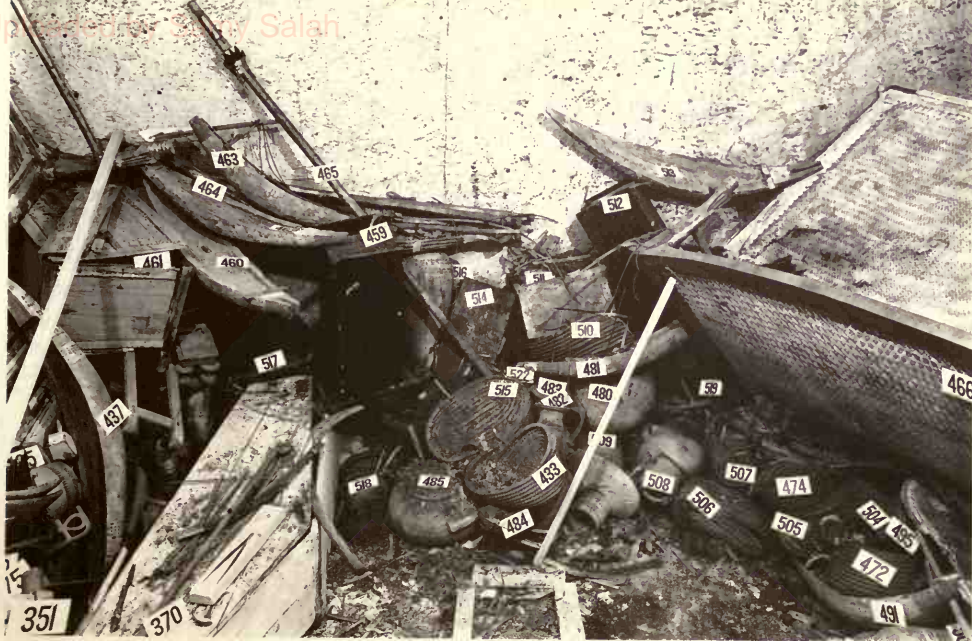
*A cutaway diagram of the Annexe as found.*



The Annexe had been intended, then, as a storage chamber for the oils, unguents, foods and wines buried with Tutankhamun, though the reduced amount of space available and the disorganized manner in which the tomb seems to have been stocked had resulted in some overflow (notably the king's boxed meats) into the Antechamber. In its turn, the Annexe had served as a convenient storage area for items such as the beds, chairs, *shabti* figures and other items which might, with space, have been

more appropriately placed in the Antechamber or the Treasury.

The chamber appears to have been the last one sealed by the necropolis officials before the final stocking of the Antechamber and the erection of the blocking at the end of the corridor: a number of fragments of gypsum plaster (no. 106d), one of which 'showed [a] cast of the flattened dish which had contained it', are probably to be associated with this ancient closure.



Photographs taken by Harry Burton during clearance of the Annexe. (Opposite) The south end, its hopeless tangle of funerary equipment surmounted by the wooden day-bed no. 377. (Above) The west wall, showing one of Carter's wooden props in place supporting the bed no. 466. (Left) The northeast corner, with the stool no. 467 precariously balanced beside bed nos. 466 and 497.

## The Seal Impressions

### The door sealings

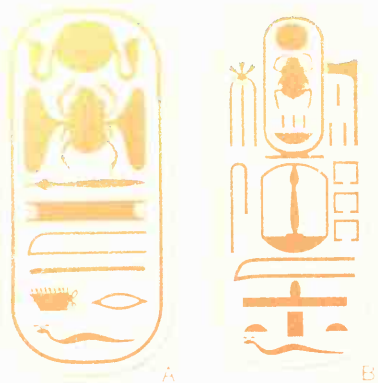
Eight distinct types of large seal impressions, presumably produced from matrices cut in wood, or perhaps stone, were employed by members of the burial and restoration parties to stamp the plastered outer surfaces of the blockings erected at either end of the corridor and at the entrances into the Burial Chamber and the Annexe. To these eight blurred types Carter assigned the reference letters A-H. Types A-G date from the original closure of the tomb, type H to the reclosures following the robberies; for details of the distribution and Carter's count of the seals, refer to the table. The average size of the large sealings was 14.5cm by 6.6cm (5½ by 2-in).

Image Hints: 13-15000

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The grouping of these seals was as haphazard as the perfunctory manner in which they were done. Each seal, or each official with his seal, dabbed a number of impressions about the wet surface of the plaster, the blank spaces being filled up with impressions of the last employed.

The distribution of the various types would indicate that not all seal-holders were present at or involved in the various stages in the closing of the tomb.



*Right: Type H Sealings and James Henry Breasted were also applying outside the walls of the tomb. Gardner and Breasted, by the way, had given the sealings and indicated that the common design of the sealings, possibly "Sphinxes" which Gardner was able to make off reproduction of the sealings, and sealings of the tomb.*



Seal type	Corridor (no. 1)	Antechamber (no. 13)	Burial Chamber (no. 28)	Annexe (no. 171)
A	13	x	35	
B	17	x	7	
C	8	x	12	8
D	9	x		6
E	10	x	63	5
F			21	
G			4	14
H	7,28	x	x	x??

Key: 28 = 28 occurrences of the type, etc.  
x = number of occurrences uncertain



C



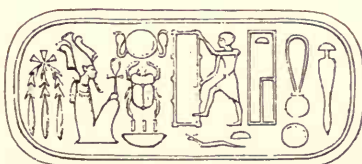
E



G



F



- The large door-seal impressions (drawings after Carter):
- A '[Neb]kheprue, great of love in the entire land'
  - B 'Nebkheprue, who creates [images of] the gods, who makes festive the temples with his offerings'
  - C 'Nebkheprue, King of Upper and Lower Egypt, who spends his life creating [images of] the gods, that they may give to him (?) the breath of life, incense, libations and offerings every day'
  - D 'Nebkheprue, who creates [the image of] Osiris and builds his temple as it was on the first occasion'
  - E 'Nebkheprue'
  - F 'Nebkheprue, beloved of Imenetel, Osiris and Anubis'
  - G 'Anubis their [i.e. the four subject people's] overlord'
- The seal at lower right is Carter's drawing of type D.



### The object sealings

In addition to the large door-seals, several smaller types of seal impression were found attached (sometimes with a counter seal as corroboration) to lengths of cord or linen employed to close boxes and other objects within the tomb. Carter noted 11 types, to which he attached the reference letters I-S, a number of these displaying in their design certain correlations with the larger door sealings. These smaller sealings had been produced by pushing a signet into a pat of mud to produce a clear, relief impression. Signets of this sort appear to have been presented by the king to officials acting in his name, and in their details to have been unique to that individual. One of the seal impressions, type N, occurs also in Tomb 55; whoever the owner of the ring may have been, he not only took part in the stocking of Tutankhamun's tomb, but played a crucial role also in the Amarna reburial (p. 20).

There is little doubt that the majority, and probably all, of the smaller sealings are contemporary with the original tomb closing. It has been suggested that one of the smaller sealings from the tomb – type R – contains a version of the prenomen Neferkheprue (i.e. Akhenaten); but the break might just as easily conceal a reading of the prenomen of Tutankhamun. Two other seal-types – Q and S – have been considered later in date than the inter-

(Left) A photograph of the blocked and plastered entrance to the Burial Chamber, stamped over its entire surface with impressions of seal types A, B, C(?), E, F, and G. The resealed robbers' hole at the bottom of the doorway, breached by Carnarvon and Carter and concealed behind basketvoork lid no. 26, carried impressions of seal type H.

(Below) The viceroy of Kush receives his seal of office: a detail from the Theban tomb of Amenhotep-Huy (No. 40).







Now that the whole door was exposed to light it was possible to discern a fact that had hitherto escaped notice – that there had been two successive openings and re-closings of a part of its surface. . . . The tomb then was not absolutely intact as we had hoped. Plunderers had entered it, and entered it more than once. . . .

Howard Carter

The replastered and sealed hole in the outer doorway had forewarned Carnarvon and Carter that, whatever the nature of this underground chamber, its contents would not be intact. The disorganized state of the deposit, the damage sustained by several objects and the discernible lack of solid metalwork, bedding, glass, oils and unguents were marks of the ancient Egyptian tomb robber. The Annexe was the worst affected: 'One [robber] – there would probably not have been room for more than one – had crept into the chamber, and had then hastily but systematically ransacked its entire contents, emptying boxes, throwing things aside, piling them one upon another, and occasionally passing objects through the hole to his companions for closer examination in the outer chamber. He had done his work just about as thoroughly as an earthquake.'

The excavators' first inclination was to date the disturbance to the late 20th dynasty, when the Theban west bank was being plagued by a serious spate of tomb robbery. It was a conclusion they soon had to revise. Breasted 'reminded Carter that the tomb of Thutmose [Tuthmosis] IV . . . had after a robbery been restored by Tutankhamon's almost immediate successor, King Harmhab [Horemheb]. . . . If another royal burial had suffered robbery soon after Tutankhamon's death, might not the same robbers . . . also have entered *his* tomb? The argument for a near contemporary plundering of the tomb was compelling, and one for which the evidence offers considerable support.

### The first robbery

There can be little doubt that the entrance corridor was empty at the time the first illicit entry was made. The earlier breach in the entrance blocking was positioned too low to have allowed a passage to have been successfully burrowed through the mass of loose chippings in the corridor beyond. Moreover, the original plastered surface of the inner doorway, unlike the replastered hole, was unmarked by the pressure of the chipping fill, suggesting that the main plaster coating had been long dry when the rubble was introduced. Carter recovered from beneath the fill a number of fragments of objects which appear to have been stored in the corridor at the time of the first break-in. This material had evidently included the king's embalming refuse and remains of the so-called 'funerary meal' discovered by Davis in 1907, packed in a series of large ceramic storage jars in Pit 54 where they had been reburied

## The Robberies

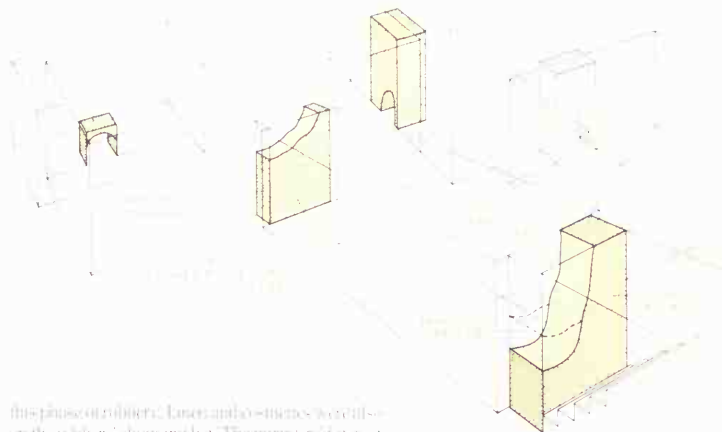
at the time of the first reclosure of Tutankhamun's tomb (p. 38).

A number of objects was recovered from within and beneath the corridor fill, including stone jar lids, splinters of gilded wood, fragments of gold, a bronze arrowhead, razors and a gilded bronze staple (p. 189). These pieces, it seems, had been dropped at the tomb entrance by the first band of robbers, and were later gathered up with the rubble employed to fill the corridor. Where it can be identified, this material appears to have come exclusively from the Antechamber: the gold elements originated from the 'corslet' found in box 54 (p. 190); the bronze staple had been wrenched off the semicircular box no. 79 + 574, while the arrowhead is conceivably one of those broken from the arrows in the Antechamber. Although Carter had concluded that the first band of robbers had had access to the entire tomb, the second to the Antechamber and Annexe only, the evidence would seem to indicate the opposite sequence.

Carter's view that the first group of thieves were interested primarily in metal would seem to be borne out by the materials which may be associated with

*The king's white-painted box (no. 370) as found on the floor at the southern end of the Annexe, still showing what Carter identified as the dirty footprints of one of the tomb-robbers.*





It is possible that the doorway was not a doorway at all, but a small opening in the wall, perhaps a window or a ventilation shaft. The doorway was not a doorway at all, but a small opening in the wall, perhaps a window or a ventilation shaft.

this phase of robbery, linen and loaves were not on the robbers' shopping list. The quantities listed in the latter commodity clearly indicates that the entry could not have occurred many hours after the king's burial. Egyptian customs were not used and in the hot Egyptian climate their life span will have been limited.

### The second robbery

The available evidence would suggest that the second period of theft was more extensive than the

first (if equally brief). It will have presented the robbers with a challenge: how to enter. Carter estimated that a chain of men passing back baskets of rubble would have taken some 7-8 hours to dig a tunnel through the newly installed chip (all in the corridor). Once in, the robbers appear to have had access to all parts of the tomb, though their search within the Treasury appears to have been restricted to removing the lids of the king's jewel caskets and unsealing one of the black varnished shrines containing gilded funerary figures (which proved to be of little interest). Carter was able to estimate, from my enquiry





dockets scribbled at the time of the funeral, that some 60 per cent of the jewellery originally contained in the Treasury caskets had been stolen, together with a whole series of precious-metal vessels.

A knotted scarf of linen containing 'a handful of solid gold rings' had been tossed casually into one of the boxes in the Antechamber. 'We are almost forced to the conclusion that the thieves were either trapped within the tomb, or overtaken in their flight – traced, in any case, with some of the plunder still upon them.' If so, the second group of robbers had stolen from the burial on more than the one occasion, since so very much of the jewellery from the Treasury was gone. The fate of the captured robbers will probably have been that of their later Ramessid counterparts: the bastinado, followed by impalement on a sharpened stake.

The officials responsible for resealing the tomb – perhaps led by Maya, who undertook restoration of the Tutankhamun IV burial (Tomb 43) in Year 8 of Horemheb, and whose assistant, Djehutmose, scribbled his name on a calcite jar stand found by

Carter in the Annex – 'seem to have been in almost as great a hurry as the thieves, and their work of reparation was sadly scamped'. Perhaps they were fearful of drawing attention to the tomb. The restoration party succeeded in restoring a superficial order to the burial, though none of the boxes or shrines broken open by the thieves was resealed. The breaches in the Burial Chamber and Antechamber blockings were reclosed, plastered over and stamped with the necropolis seal – the jackal over nine bound captives. The hole dug through the Corridor fill was packed anew, and the dismantled portion of the Corridor blocking made good and resealed. The seal employed was again that of the necropolis administration. It was the same seal as that which had been employed following the first break-in, an indication that the two separate instances of theft were not far apart in time. There seems little doubt, therefore, that Tutankhamun's burial had been robbed, on both occasions, by the subjects of one of his immediate successors – members, perhaps, of the very party which had buried him.

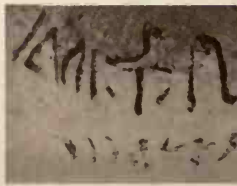
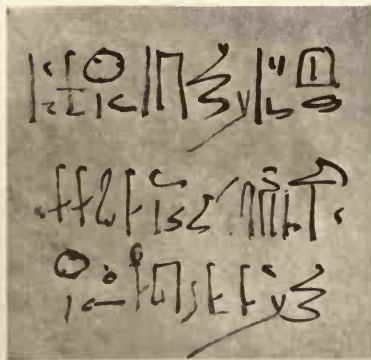
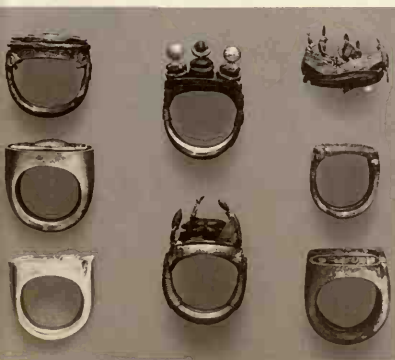


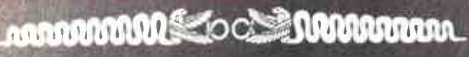
(Above left) Calcite vessel (no. 435), as seen from above, with marks of the robber's fingers still visible in the decayed cosmetic.

(Above top) The king's jewel-caskets lined up within the entrance to the Treasury. The seals had been broken in antiquity, the contents ransacked. The restoration party repacked what was left, replacing the lids to achieve a semblance of order.

(Above) The ultimate fate of tomb-robbers and enemies of the state: impalement on a stake, as represented in this hieroglyph.

(Below left) Hieratic graffiti in the tomb of Tutankhamun IV (No. 43), dating from the restoration carried out under Horemheb and recording the name of the necropolis scribe Djehutmose. This same man had scribbled his name on a jar stand (no. 620: 116/122) in the tomb of Tutankhamun (below right).





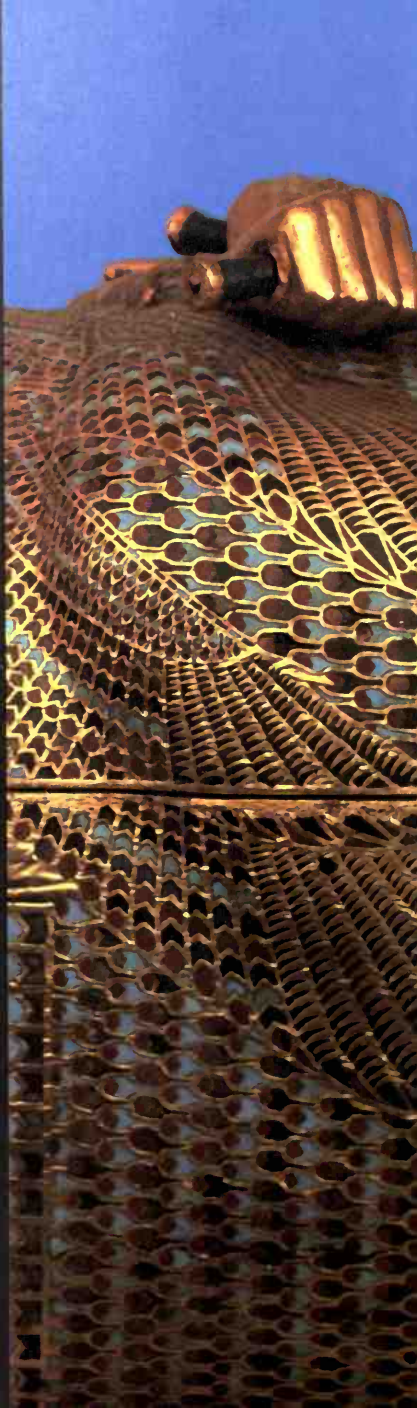
The realization that the tomb had been robbed in antiquity was tempered by the discovery that the robbers had not penetrated beyond the outermost gilded shrine: Tutankhamun still reposed within his sarcophagus and coffins, just as the priestly burial party had left him thirty centuries before.

Egyptologists had a shrewd idea of what to expect: a papyrus in Turin preserved a plan of the burial of Ramesses IV in position, his stone sarcophagus surrounded by five shrines and a linen pall; while a document (Papyrus Amherst) dating from the 20th dynasty provided a graphic description of a king's mummy lavishly adorned with jewels and accompanied by his weapons (p. 111).

In an interview with *The Times* on 18 December 1922, Lord Carnarvon gave free rein to the ultimate archaeological fantasy. 'I shall expect [the sarcophagus] to be of alabaster . . . I expect it will be filled with flowers and will contain the royal regalia. In the sarcophagus I shall first expect to find the ordinary wooden coffin. Inside there will probably be a second coffin of thin wood, lined with finely chased silver. Inside this, again, there will be a coffin of thin wood, richly gilt. Then we shall find the mummy. It will be, I conjecture, encased in sheet gold about the thickness of the tin used for making tobacco-boxes. The mummy will have gold bracelets at the wrists, gold rings at the ankles, a gold collar and breastplate, and a gold plate on the side where the abdomen was opened. His fingernails and toenails will be inlaid with gold. Enclosed with him in the coffins will probably be other precious royal objects. I shall also expect to find the richly ornamented vessels in which the heart and other internal organs are preserved, and it will, no doubt, have a finely worked portrait of the king on the lid.'

No one could have guessed how much reality, for once, would exceed even the wildest speculation.

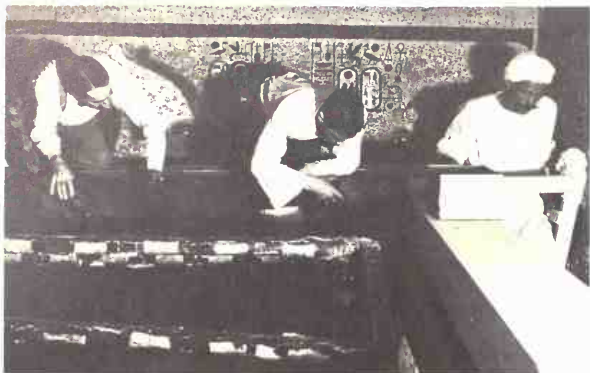
*Tutankhamun's gilded and richly inlaid second coffin (no. 254).*





## IV Pharaoh's Burial

# The Shrines and Sarcophagus

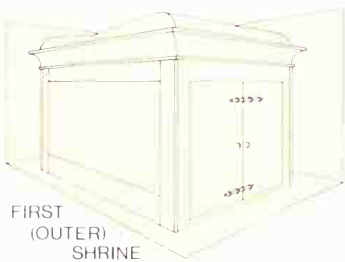


*Above: Carter and Mac-  
Gee, on the left, and  
Carter, on the right, with the bronze  
door in place (no. 200) which has  
been in place a year and a half in  
1923, and Carter on the right  
and MacGee on the left.*

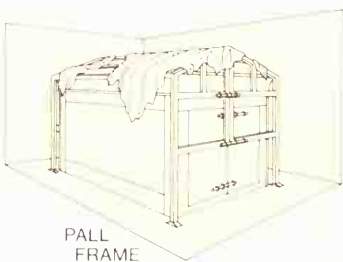
*Right: The Dying Cow and  
its infant calves, an image  
modelled in stucco red on the  
inside back panel of the first  
(outermost) shrine (no. 207)*

intended to be the doorway of the Hall of  
Chambers entrance. Carter and his colleagues were  
convinced by what appeared to be a wall of metal  
work that will irritate MacGee's eye. This wall  
proved to be the entrance of a set of three  
shrines of carved, joined wood. The large  
sections were securely held together by fetters of  
iron, copper, iron, wood, and bronze. Each shrine,  
copper bound at its lower edge, was fitted at its  
eastern end with double folding doors. The doors  
were held shut by about 1000 sliding wooden  
massive, silver coated copper staples; two further  
staples on each door had been intended to receive a  
cord binding and seal. On the outermost shrine,  
neither cord nor sealing was in evidence, though on  
the second and third shrines, these corded seals were  
present and intact (see types I and J). In the doors of the  
fourth (innermost) shrine had never been sealed.

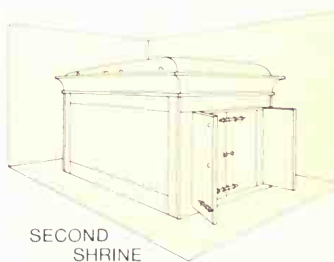
Now terrifyingly fragile, their gilded gesso sur-  
faces having in places parted owing to shrinkage of  
the base wood, the shrines so closely filled the  
confines of the hot and stuffy chamber that the  
disassembly into their 51 sections (weighing  
between a hundredweight and half a ton) and  
removal from the tomb proved no easy task. As  
Carter records, 'We bumped our heads, nipped our  
fingers, we had to squeeze in and out like weasels,  
and work in all kinds of embarrassing positions.'  
But by the end of the second season, after 'eighty  
four days of real manual labour, employing only the  
most primitive of lifting gear, the work of disman-



FIRST  
(OUTER)  
SHRINE



PALL  
FRAME



SECOND  
SHRINE

ling had been completed: the wall panels lay propped against the walls of the Burial Chamber, their roof sections in the Antechamber. Conservation began in 1928, using up over half a ton of paraffin wax; two seasons later the shrines were strong enough to be transported to the Cairo Museum where they could be properly examined.

### The outermost shrine (no. 207)

The outermost of the four shrines measures 5.08 by 3.28m (16ft 8in by 10ft 9½in) and 2.75m (9ft) high. Constructed from heavy panels of 32mm (1¼in) thick cedar, the surfaces both inside and out are gessoed, gilded and inlaid. In shape, this outermost shrine, with its battered walls and double-sloping roof, bears a close resemblance to the *sed*-festival pavilion in which the king achieved rejuvenation and rebirth. In Carter's view, the shape had been chosen as much for aesthetics as ritual requirement: 'owing to the great depth of the shrine, a single sloping roof would have necessitated its elevated curved front to have been in height far out of proportion with the rest of the structure.'

The sides and rear panel of the shrine are decorated with double *tyet*-knot amulets of Isis and *djed*- ('stability') hieroglyphs of Osiris, set, to dazzling effect, against a brilliant blue faience background. A pair of protective *wedjat*-eyes decorate what was intended to be the shrine's north side, but as erected these eyes actually faced south. The two doors each carry a rectangular panel with a representation in sunk relief: that on the left a headless and pawless leonine creature; that on the shrine's right door panel a seated divinity with twin-feather headdress, grasping an *ankh* or 'life' sign. In contrast with the exterior, the inside surfaces of the shrine are heavily inscribed, with extracts from Book of the Dead spells 1, 134 and 141-2, and from the Book of the Divine Cow (the legend of the Destruction of Mankind). The inside of the roof (the middle section of which was put on the wrong way around) is decorated with winged solar discs and 13 vultures.



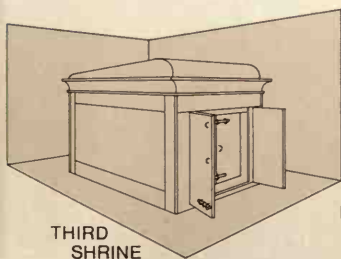
### The linen pall (no. 209)

Between the first and second outermost shrines had been erected a poorly constructed nine-piece gabled framework (no. 208) of gessoed, varnished and gilded wood - 4.32 by 2.93m (14ft 2in by 9ft 7½in) and 2.78m (9ft 1½in) high. Over this had been crookedly spread a coarsely woven, dark brown linen pall (no. 209), 5.5 by 4.4m (18ft ½in by 14ft 5½in), made up of several widths of material sewn together, decorated with large - 4.7cm (1½in) in diameter - marguerites of gilded bronze which had been sewn on to the fabric at intervals of 19.5 and 22cm (7½ and 8½in). To the American Egyptologist J.H. Breasted, this pall was 'like a night sky spangled with stars.' Although the excavators expended a great deal of time and ingenuity on the preservation of this extremely fragile item, which had torn apart from the weight of its bronze sequins, it suffered irremediable damage through having been left out in the open during the period Carter and his team were locked out of the tomb and laboratory (p. 66):

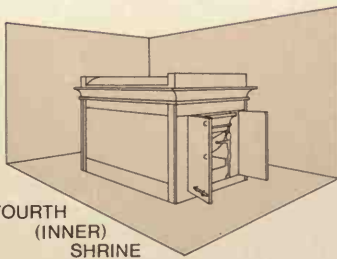
'Mr. Carter's agitation on discovering the condition of the precious object was intense, but he contented himself with the remark, "Well, anyway, it's your pall, not mine, and it's the only one in the world."'

*Professor Newberry and his wife unroll the fragile linen pall (no. 209) after its removal from the tomb, preparatory to conservation.*

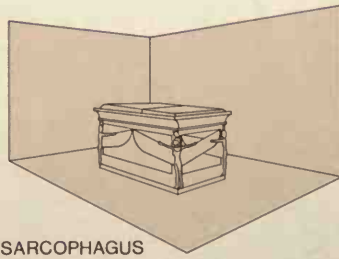
*(Below) The complex of closely nested shrines filling the Burial Chamber; (left to right) the outermost shrine (no. 207); the framework and pall (nos. 208-209); the second, third and fourth shrines (nos. 237-239); and the quartzite sarcophagus (no. 240).*



THIRD SHRINE



FOURTH (INNER) SHRINE



SARCOPHAGUS





The relief shows the goddess Isis on the left and the goddess Nephthys on the right, both wearing the traditional Egyptian headdress of the Hathor goddess. They are shown holding a large, winged protective canopy (shrine) over a central area. The background is filled with hieroglyphs and smaller figures.



### The second outermost shrine (no. 237)

The second shrine differed from the first in both size (3.74 by 2.35m (12ft 3½in by 7ft 8½in) high) and appearance. Unlike that of the outermost shrine, the second shrine had a sloping roof which reached its maximum height above the entrance doors. The shrine imitates, in its basic form, the shape of the *Per-wer*, the ancient shrine of Upper Egypt.

Constructed from 16 heavy wooden sections, most surfaces, both inside and outside, had been gessoed and covered with a layer of gold leaf; the roof was covered with thick black resin divided into squares by gilded bands of incised decoration. The exterior surface of each door carries a superbly modelled representation of the king before Osiris (left) and Re-Horakhty (right), executed in sunk relief. At the rear of the shrine stand Isis and Nephthys, who as the sisters of Osiris would have been the principal mourners at the god-king's funeral. The remainder of the outer surface is decorated with texts and vignettes from various funerary compositions, including Book of the Dead spells 1, 17, 26, 27 and 29, and a unique cryptographic funerary book which has as its theme the triumph of light.





roof is barrel-vaulted, decorated in bas relief with kneeling figures of Isis, Nephthys, Selkis and Neith, alternating with *wedjat*-eyes, recumbent Anubis dogs and vultures, each on a pylon. The right and left side panels carry respectively a procession of Imsety, Anubis, Duamutef and Geb, and of Hapy, Anubis, Qebhsenuf and Horus between figures of Thoth supporting the sky; the end panel and outside door panels carry protective images of the winged Isis and her sister Nephthys.

The ceiling of the innermost shrine is decorated with a magnificent representation of the goddess Nut, again with outspread wings, flanked by the falcon-headed Horus. Isis and Nephthys again guard the doors, while the interior wall panels carry the text of spell 17 from the Book of the Dead.

### The sarcophagus

'The decisive moment was at hand! An indescribable moment for the archaeologist! What was beneath and what did that fourth shrine contain? With intense excitement I drew back the bolts of the last and unsealed doors; they slowly swung open, and there, filling the entire area within, effectually barring any further progress, stood an immense yellow quartzite sarcophagus, intact, with the lid still firmly fixed in its place, just as the pious hands had left it.'

Howard Carter

'When Carter and I opened the doors of the third and fourth shrines and beheld the massive stone sarcophagus within, I felt for the first time the majesty of the dead Pharaoh's actual presence'

James Henry Breasted

Some 2.74 by 1.47m (9ft by 4ft 9½in) and 1.47m (4ft 9½in) high, the king's golden-yellow sarcophagus (no. 240), carved from a single block of the hardest quartzite, was supported at each corner upon a block of calcite. The sloping lid, with its winged sun disc at the head end and three vertical columns of incised hieroglyphs, was of red granite, painted to match the yellow of the sarcophagus box. Carter suggested that it was perhaps a replacement for the intended lid, which had not been ready in time for the funeral. The lid had been cracked across the centre, owing perhaps to some accident at the time of its hurried installation. This crack had been filled with gypsum, which was itself touched up to blend in with the new colour of the lid.

The decoration of the sarcophagus is dominated by the four tutelary deities Isis, Nephthys, Selkis and Neith, carved in high relief to the traditional proportions of the pre-Amarna, 18-square grid and delicately picked out in colours. They stand at each of the corners of the monument, their winged arms outstretched to envelop the box in a protective

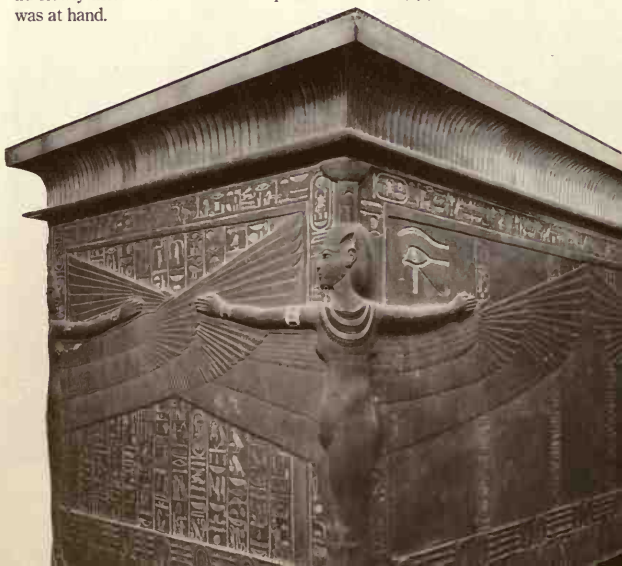


*The mis-matched granite lid of the rectangular quartzite sarcophagus (no. 240) as first revealed, with the crack running across the middle.*

embrace. A cavetto cornice at the top edge of the box is balanced at the bottom by a dado of double *tyet*- and *djed*-amulets. Each long side of the sarcophagus is decorated with one horizontal and six vertical columns of deeply incised hieroglyphs, and, at its westernmost end, an incised *wedjat*-eye. The east and west ends of the box are similarly inscribed with a single horizontal band of text and a further 14 verticals.

As Carter records, 'the crack greatly complicated our final effort, the raising of [the sarcophagus] lid.' But, by passing angle irons beneath the long edges of the lid, permitting 'it to be raised by differential pulleys as one piece', the difficulty was resolved. On 12 February 1924 the tackle was brought into play: the ropes tightened and the ton and a quarter granite lid slowly lifted into the air. The supreme moment was at hand.

*The west or head end of the beautifully modelled sarcophagus (no. 240), towards which the faces of the four tutelary goddesses - here Isis (right) and Nephthys (left) - are turned.*





### The second coffin (no. 254)

The original design of the outermost coffin's lid had included four silver handles – two to each side – to enable it to be safely lowered in position. Now, on 13 October 1925, three millennia later, these same handles would be employed to raise it. According to Carter, 'it was a moment as anxious as exciting.' But the lid was lifted without great difficulty, and the anticipated second anthropoid coffin revealed.

Here again the surface was concealed beneath a decayed shroud of linen (no. 254b), itself obscured by floral garlands (no. 254a) not dissimilar to those found by Davis in Pit 54 (p. 38). Around the protective deities on Pharaoh's brow, over the shroud, was a small wreath of olive leaves, blue lotus petals and cornflowers (no. 254a (1)).

Before the linen covering was drawn back, Carter and his team decided to remove both the delicate lower half and contents of the outermost coffin from the sarcophagus. The delicacy of the gessoed and inlaid surface necessitated that this be achieved with as little handling as possible – by inserting steel pins through the inscribed tenons of the outermost coffin and employing pulleys. It was, as Carter records, a task 'of no little difficulty'. But it was carried through without incident, and the coffin was deposited upon trestles resting upon the rim of the sarcophagus box.

The second coffin was in due course revealed as even more magnificent than the first, 2.04m (6ft 8½in) long. Constructed from a still unidentified wood, the surface was again found to be overlaid with gold foil. The use of inlays, however (which had suffered from the presence of damp and showed a disconcerting tendency to fall out), was far more extensive than on the outermost coffin. Details, such as the stripes of the *nemes*-headcloth, eyebrows, cosmetic lines and beard were inlaid with lapis-blue glass (the inlays of the headcloth somewhat decayed). The uraeus on the forehead was of gilded wood, with a head of blue faience and inlays of red, blue and turquoise glass; the head of the vulture, Nekhbet, was also of gilded wood and, like the image of the outermost coffin, with a beak of dark black wood (probably ebony) and eyes of obsidian. The symbols of divine kingship, the crook and the flail (held in the left and right hands respectively), were inlaid with lapis-blue and turquoise glass and blue faience. A broad 'falcons collar' picked out with inset pieces of brilliant red, blue and turquoise glass showed at the king's throat, with two similarly inlaid bracelets modelled at the wrists.

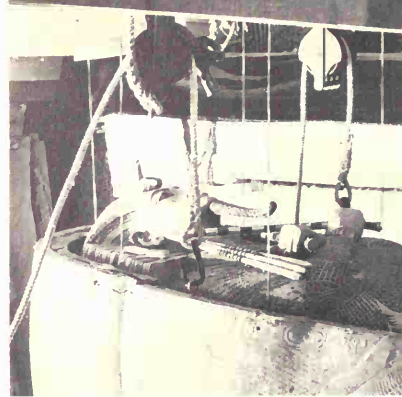
The entire surface of the body was decorated in *rishi*-pattern, though here, unlike the outermost coffin, the feathers were each inlaid with jasper-red, lapis-blue and turquoise glass. The places of Isis and Nephthys were taken by the winged vulture goddess Nekhbet and the winged uraeus, Wadjet; here again the figures were inlaid with pieces of red, blue and turquoise glass.

### The third coffin (no. 255)

Unlike the outermost coffin, the lid of the second coffin had not been furnished with handles, and its removal was further hampered by the fact that the 10 gold-headed silver nails holding it in place could not be fully withdrawn while it lay in the close-fitting outer shell. Carter faced the task with the sang-froid he reserved for his Egyptian endeavours. The pins of the second coffin were withdrawn sufficiently for 'stout copper wire' to be attached; 'Strong metal eyelets' were then screwed into the edge of the outer coffin and the two separated by lowering the outer shell into the sarcophagus while the inner hung suspended. The removal of the fragile second coffin's lid was accomplished in a similar fashion: eyelets were screwed into the edge

*The breathtaking mask of Tutankhamun's innermost coffin (no. 255), the most magnificent ever brought to light, beaten from sheet gold and embellished with chasing and inlay.*





of the lid at four points, the silver pins securing the 10 inscribed silver tenons removed, and the coffin lid, after some initial flexing, was lifted effortlessly into the air.

Removal of the lid revealed a third anthropoid coffin, a covering of fine linen in place above the *nemes*-headdress, the body tightly tucked in from neck to feet with a shroud of red linen, folded three times (no. 253b). The face had been left exposed, the breast decorated with an extremely fragile broad collar of blue glass beads and various leaves, flowers, berries and fruits (including *Punica granata*

and *Sponticragator* lid. Some gold sewn into supports had come into view.

The *Heh* or *was* head lid, supported by two vertical bars, followed the *Heh* and *was* and the *was* and *was*. The *was* and *was* was made of silver and *Heh* and *was* of gold weight, which with the *Heh* and *was* was now done. It explained how why the *was* had not been shown. After the first coffin, and the lid with the second coffin had been removed, its weight was so great that the eight strong men could lift it.

The initial appearance of the metalwork was very far from gleaming, however. Removal of the linen shroud and papyrus collar revealed that the coffin had been covered with a thick black pitch-like layer





which extended from the hands down to the ankles'. Carter estimated that two bucketfuls of this anointing liquid had been poured over the coffin, filling in the whole of the space between it and the base of the second coffin, setting solid and causing them to stick firmly together. The removal of this resinous layer proved extremely difficult:

'This pitch like material hardened by age had to be removed by means of hammering, solvents and heat, while the shells of the coffins were loosened from one another and extricated by means of great heat, the interior being temporarily protected during the process by zinc plates – the temperature employed though necessarily below the melting point of zinc was several hundred degrees Fahrenheit. After the inner coffin was extricated it had to be again treated with heat and solvents before the material could be completely removed.'

The coffin measures some 1.88m (6ft 2in) in length. The metal, beaten from heavy gold sheet, varies

(Above, left to right) Steps in the salvage of a priceless treasure: Carter delicately brushes away the decayed remains of the linen shroud which covered the face of the second coffin (no. 254); the second coffin is removed from the outermost coffin shell (no. 253) by means of an elaborate pulley system; Carter patiently chips away at the hardened black unguents poured liberally over the innermost, gold coffin (no. 255).



(Right, top to bottom) Tutankhamun's coffins, varying slightly in size, were accommodated one within another around the gold-masked mummy.

(Left) The physiognomy of the second coffin (no. 254), shown centre, differs markedly from that of the first (no. 253), shown far left, and the third (no. 255), shown left, and there is every reason to believe, as with other objects from the burial furniture, that Tutankhamun was not its intended owner.





from 425 to 375 in this case. When the coffin was eventually weighed in 1929 it tipped the scales at 110 kg (240 lb) total, its scrap value alone would today be in the region of £1 million, or \$1,700,000.

The image of Tutankhamun on this innermost coffin is today oddly ethereal, owing to the decomposition of the calcite whites of the eyes. The pupils are obsidian, the eyebrows and cosmetic lines lapis-lazuli coloured glass. Tutankhamun's beard, fashioned separately and attached to the chin, is inlaid with lapis-coloured glass. As with the second coffin, the headdress is the *nemes*, though here the pleating is indicated in relief rather than by inlays of coloured glass. When found, patches of gold foil concealed the fact that the ears, cast separately, were pierced – a reminder that the wearing of ear-rings by males was at this period an affectation discarded at puberty. At the neck of the coffin had been placed two heavy

necklaces – of blue beads in-laid with red and yellow gold, and dark blue faience, threaded on white-backed blue-green translucent linen tape. Each string had long-flower terminals inlaid with carnelian, lapis and turquoise glass. Below these necklaces was the inlaid collar of the coffin itself, again fashioned separately from the lid, inlaid with 11 rows of lapis, quartz, carnelian, talspar and turquoise-glass imitating tubular beadwork, with an outer edge of inlaid drops.

As on the first and second coffins, the king's arms are shown crossed upon the chest, with sheet bracelets inlaid in a similar fashion to the collar with lapis, carnelian and turquoise-coloured glass. The crook and the flail are held in the left and right hands, overlaid with sheet gold, dark blue faience, polychrome glass and carnelian. Most of the decoration of the flail's shaft had decayed through the application of the thick black resin with which the coffin had been so liberally anointed.

Below the hands the goddesses Nekhbet and Wadjet, fashioned from gold sheet and inlaid with red-backed quartz and lapis- and turquoise-coloured glass, spread their wings protectively around the upper part of the royal body. Both the lid and base of this coffin are further decorated with richly chased figures of the winged goddesses Isis and Nephthys on a *nishi* background, protecting the lower right and left sides respectively. Two vertical columns of text are chased down the front of the coffin lid from the navel to the feet, with the usual figure of Isis kneeling upon the hieroglyph for 'gold' (*mb*) chased upon the soles of the feet.

The lid of the innermost coffin, like the outer coffin, was fitted with handles, and was attached to its base by means of eight gold tongues, four on each side, which dropped into sockets in the shell and were retained by gold pins. Since the available space between the two coffins was so narrow, these pins had to be removed piecemeal; then, at long last, 'The lid was raised by its golden handles and the mummy of the king disclosed.'

(11) The faces of the two royal goddesses, Nekhbet and Wadjet, are on the 'navel' of Tutankhamun's innermost coffin (see also 25a)

(12) A relief: One of the two winged goddesses protecting the lid and base of the second coffin



¶ We opened their sarcophagi and their coffins in which they were, and found the noble mummy of this king equipped with a falchion; a large number of amulets and jewels of gold were upon his neck, and his head-piece of gold was upon him. . . . ¶

Extract from the confession of an ancient tomb robber

¶ Before us, occupying the whole of the interior of the golden coffin, was an impressive, neat and carefully made mummy, over which had been poured anointing unguents as in the case of the outside of its coffin – again in great quantity – consolidated and blackened by age. In contradistinction to the general dark and sombre effect, due to these unguents, was a brilliant, one might say magnificent, burnished gold mask or similitude of the king, covering his head and shoulders, which, like the feet, had been intentionally avoided when using the unguents. ¶

Howard Carter

Superbly modelled, the king's portrait mask (no. 256a) stands without parallel as a masterpiece of the Egyptian metalworker's craft. Beaten from two separate sheets of gold, remarkably consistent in thickness and joined by hammering, the mask was subsequently embellished by chasing, burnishing, and by the addition of inlay work. It measures some 54cm (1ft 9¼in) in height and weighs 10.23kg (22½lb).

The mask represents the young king as Osiris, wearing the *nemes*-headcloth with bound queue, or pigtail, falling down at the back, inlaid with opaque blue glass in imitation of lapis lazuli. On the brow sit the vulture and cobra, Nekhbet and Wadjet, the latter poised to spit fire at Pharaoh's enemies. Each of these fittings has been fashioned from solid gold, inlaid with blue faience, glass, carnelian and lapis lazuli, with eyes of translucent quartz backed with a touch of red pigment (the eyes of the vulture are missing). The eyes of the king are made from quartz and obsidian, and convey a distinctly life-like impression; as so often in Egyptian art, they mistakenly show red discoloration (caruncles) on



## The Gold Mask and Trappings of the Mummy

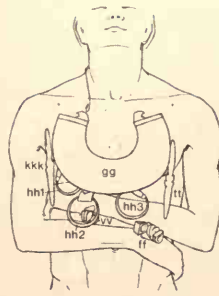
the outer as well as the inner angles. As on the coffins, the lapis-lazuli outline of the eyes reproduces the distinctive *kohl* eye make-up, originally applied to protect against the sun's glare but increasingly employed for its beautifying effect. Additional personal embellishment is alluded to in the pierced ears, which were covered with discs of gold foil when found.

(Below) Profile of the awesome mask of inlaid sheet gold (no. 256a).

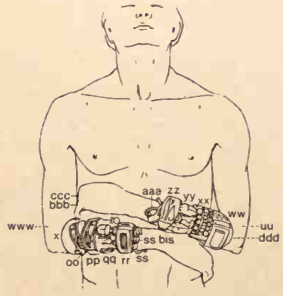
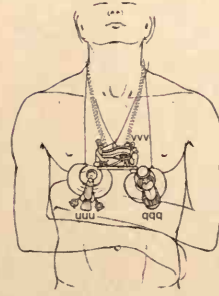
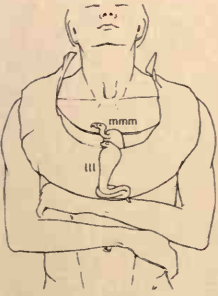
(Below left) The sheet-gold hands (no. 256b(1)) which were sewn on to the mummy bandages; between them is black-resin scarab no. 256b.



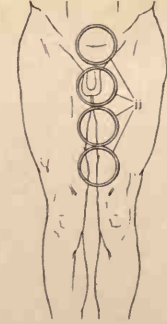
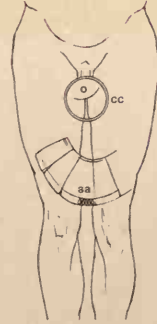
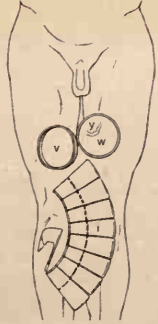
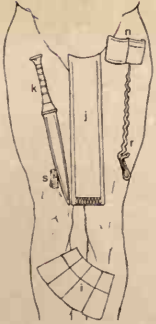




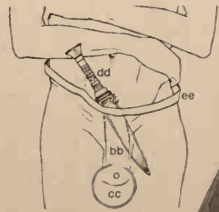
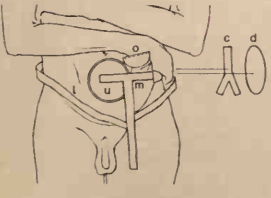
(Left) Carter's unpublished series of drawings (with new lettering added) recording the jewels and amulets that had been bandaged in with the royal mummy. (Far left) The crook-winged Nekhbet-vulture pectoral no. 256ppp. At least one authority has suggested this may be one of the earliest examples of enamelling.



The bead-work cap (no. 256 4t) found in position on the king's head. The cartouches contain a variant form of the early Alen name.



Tutankhamun's blackened left hand, detached for photography, with sheet-gold finger-stalls (no. 256 I) and heavy signet rings (nos. 256 bbb and 256 cc) in position.





*(Above) Part of the inscribed gold framework or 'mummy bands' (no. 256b(3)) enclosing the royal corpse, inlaid with coloured glass and semi-precious stones.*

*(Above, right) A radiograph showing the remarkable consistency in the thickness of the metal. The only inconsistency which may be detected is on the left cheek. The superstitious have not been slow to point out that a lesion was detected by Derry at this very point on the surface of the king's mummy and that Carnarvon's untimely death had been caused by a cut to the cheek.*

*(Opposite) A detail of the gold mask.*



The broad collar, with its falcon-headed terminals, is inlaid with lapis lazuli, quartz, green felspar, obsidian and coloured glass. Over it was hung a separate necklace of three strands with lotus flower and uraeus terminals; the top and bottom strands of this collar were composed of large disc beads of yellow and red gold and dark blue faience, while the beads of the centre strand were of yellow gold alone. A divine beard, again of gold, is attached beneath the chin, its plaits indicated by inlays of faience which have decayed to a grey-blue colour.

The back of the mask is chased with a series of texts containing a version of spell 151b of the Book of the Dead. The text identifies the component parts of the mask with a succession of deities (Anubis, Horus, Ptah-Seker, and others) who were each to play a crucial role in the protection of the king against the manifold dangers of the underworld.

### Other ornaments

The mask, perhaps the best-known image from the tomb, is in fact but one element in the outer ornamentation of the royal mummy. A scarab of black resin, its base inscribed with Book of the Dead spell 29b, hung suspended from the neck on a

decorative gold band made up from odd trappings originally prepared for Ankhkheprure (no. 256b). Beneath, a pair of burnished gold hands (no. 256b(1)), sewn directly onto the mummy wrappings, clasped the decayed crook and flail. Below them, barely visible through the unguents, was a large gold *ba*-bird (no. 256b(2)) surmounting a flexible framework of one vertical and four horizontal inlaid gold bands (nos. 256b(3)–(4)). These had again been prepared for Ankhkheprure, and were only subsequently taken over for use by Tutankhamun by cutting out some of the original names. Each element numbered on the back, the trappings had been made to fit their original owner; Tutankhamun was evidently a rather different shape, and the framework had had to be adapted by cutting out and piecing together.

As the wrappings of the mummy were gradually removed, a further 150 magnificent items of jewellery, superb amulets and other objects were brought to light (nos. 256c–4v). Fashioned and positioned according to the dictates of the Book of the Dead, they would ensure the king's transformation from death to true immortality – if in a rather different way from that originally envisaged.



## The Royal Mummy

The original British mummy was not a decorative and ephemeral piece, common to the vast majority of mummies being interred, but a more than 3000-year-old, superbly preserved body. Here, the mummy's face has been re-created. The mummy is shown as seen by the mages of the post, but rendered the excessive weight of the mummy, it measured the amount of so many mummies.

*As the mummy was being unwrapped, the king's face was the first to appear in the groupings of the royal mummies, and was carried by Lucius Carter, Howard Carter, and Sir By Hand and other interested parties.*

Howard Carter

Fitting closely into his anthropoid case, some 1.8m (6ft) in height, the head protected by its magnificent portrait mask (no. 2500 (p. 111)) and the curves of the body skillfully reproduced by means of

... The mummy's face appeared with a pale, yellowish-brown, healthy-looking complexion. A wooden plaque indicated that the mummy was of the same sex as the other shroud, held in place by a wooden peg. Carter's face and one long, thin, black, curved, pointed over the corpse shroud, before the mummy's head had been brought forward into the surroundings. Owing to the true appearance of these same resins (which were still used in the mummy's face and mask) were found to have been used in the interior of the coffin, with the result that the excavators had little choice but to examine the mummy where it lay.

### The unwrapping of the king

The autopsy began on 11 November 1923 in the outer corridor of the tomb of Sethos II (No. 15), undertaken by Douglas E. Derry, Professor of Anatomy at the Egyptian University in Cairo, and Dr Saleh Bey Hamdi of Alexandria, in the presence of Carter, Alfred Lucas, Harry Burton, and various Egyptian and European officials and dignitaries. The brittle surface of the shroud was first coated with a layer of paraffin wax. Derry then made a longitudinal incision down the middle, allowing the decayed wrappings to be turned outwards and gradually removed in large pieces. Slowly, patiently, the unwrapping proceeded, though with an ever-increasing sense of foreboding.

The blackened, carbonized appearance of the outer shroud had been a sad augury of things to come. Carter's hope that they might find the wrappings in better condition after several thicknesses had been removed proved vain. Except for one or two areas where the linen was somewhat better preserved, the inner wrappings had been reduced to the consistency of soot – according to Lucas, the chemist, the result of 'some kind of slow spontaneous combustion in which, almost certainly, fungoid growth plays a part'. As a result, no reliable record could be made of the system of binding the corpse. It was evident that all the fingers and toes had been individually wrapped, as indeed had all the limbs; the front of the body had been packed with sheets of linen which reached down as far as the knees and were held in place by transverse bandages, while more elaborate methods of binding were observed in the perineum (between the anus and scrotum) and over the thorax. All in all, the technique appeared to conform to 'the mode of binding ... usually practised upon mummies of the New Empire'.

### The body

The first parts of the mummy to be completely divested of their wrappings were the shrunken and attenuated lower legs. By 15 November the team had progressed as far as the neck. The king's sexual





organs had been revealed, the penis bound in the erect position and the scrotum flattened against the perineum; no pubic hair was visible, and it could not be established whether or not the king had been circumcised. A ragged embalming wound 8.6cm (3 $\frac{3}{8}$ in) or more in length was visible, uniquely positioned 'parallel to a line drawn from the umbilicus to the anterior superior iliac spine [i.e. navel to hip bone] and an inch above it'; no embalming plate was in evidence. The arms were flexed at the elbow, the forearms arranged in parallel one to the other, the left above the right.

By 16 November the body had been dismantled to allow its removal from the coffin for closer examination. Now, at last, the excavators were able to turn their attention to the problem of the head – stuck 'so firmly' into the mask, in Carter's view, 'that it would require a hammer and chisel to free it'. Fortunately, such extreme measures were not to prove necessary: 'Eventually we used hot knives for the purpose with success', and the king's 'beautiful and well formed features' were finally revealed.

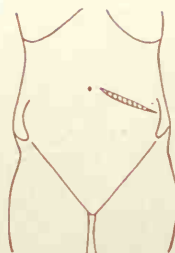
While the poorly preserved skin of the body was greyish-white in colour, the face proved to be somewhat darker, though equally brittle and with a cracked surface further disfigured by spots of natron (hydrated sodium carbonate residue from the embalming process). The head was cleanly shaven, the skin of the scalp covered with what appeared to be a whitish fatty acid, and the ears pierced with holes some 0.75cm ( $\frac{3}{16}$ in) in diameter. A rounded lesion of uncertain origin but perhaps associated with the embalming process was noted on the left cheek in front of the ear lobe. The nose had been flattened by the pressure of the bandages employed to wrap the head, while the nostrils themselves, like the eyes, had been plugged with resin-soaked fabric; resin had similarly been applied to seal the lips. The skull itself was empty, save for a small amount of resinous material introduced through the nose by breaking down the ethmoid bone.

### The findings – and the second autopsy

From his examination, Derry was able to suggest that Tutankhamun had been a slightly built youth, 2.54cm (1in) or more taller in life than the 1.63m (5ft 4 $\frac{1}{2}$ in) yielded by direct measurement of his remains. This estimate, which was essentially confirmed by a re-examination of the body undertaken in 1968 (see below), is precisely the height of the two 'guardian figures' (p.128) positioned at the entrance to the Burial Chamber. The extent of union of the epiphyses (growth plates at the ends of the long bones that seal at full growth) suggested to Derry that Tutankhamun had died aged between 17 and 19, and in all probability at 18. A series of X-rays made in 1968 by a team led by Professor R.G. Harrison of the University of Liverpool was able to confirm Derry's dating ('within the early part of the age-range 18–22 years') – an estimate which F. Filce Leek, a member of the Harrison team, later sought to reduce to 16 or 17 years on the basis of the state of eruption of the third molars (the wisdom teeth). Doubtless the last word on the subject has yet to be said.

Another feature noted by Derry and again confirmed by the Harrison team's radiographic examination is the similarity between the shape of Tutankhamun's skull and that of the body from Tomb 55 in the Valley of the Kings (p. 20). Other anatomical similarities have been noted between these two bodies, including a common blood-group

*(Left) The body of Tutankhamun (no. 256), dismantled during the unwrapping process but reassembled on a sand-tray for this final photograph. Carnarvon's original intention had been to X-ray the mummy before unbandaging began, but the radiographer died en route to Egypt – doubtless another victim of 'Pharaoh's curse'.*



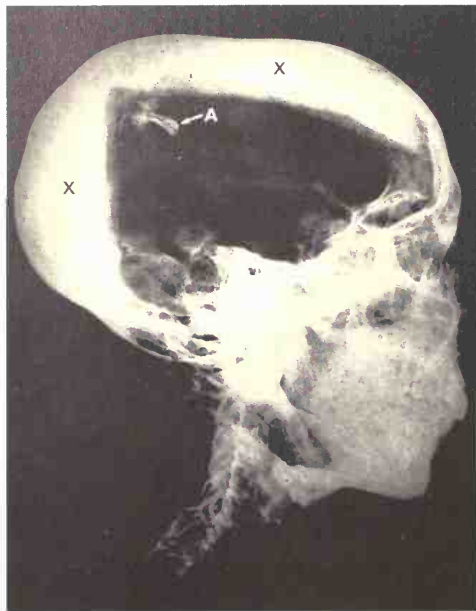
*Diagram showing the peculiar positioning of Tutankhamun's embalming wound, running from the navel to the hip-bone on the left-hand side of the body.*





*(Above) Photograph of the royal skull (left) taken in 1925 (26), and in a radiograph (right) made in 1968. The areas marked 'X' represent resin introduced during the embalming process; 'A' is a small fragment of bone.*

*(Opposite left) The king's canopic shrine (no. 266). (Opposite above) Detail of the inland torax brace. (Opposite below) The gilded wooden ngon of Isis, with an ornament mark in black.*



At, with the serum antigen MN. The conclusion that the two were closely related seems inescapable.

Two distinct levels of radiopaque resins visible in the 1968 X-rays of Tutankhamun's skull indicate that the embalmers treated the head on two separate occasions: once with the top of the skull downwards, and again with the back of the skull in the downward position. The X-rays further confirmed that the sternum and much of the rib cage had been removed by the embalmers, presumably at the time the internal organs were extracted for separate embalming and subsequently replaced with bundles of cloth.

Derry's inability to offer a suggestion as to the possible cause of the young king's death was a great

disappointment to Carter, though hardly surprising in view of the poor state of preservation of the corpse. X-rays of the vertebrae made in 1968 revealed that the epiphyseal plates were intact, and that Tutankhamun had not died as a result of consumption (tuberculosis), as some had previously speculated. Another feature revealed by Harrison's examination was the presence of a small fragment of bone within the skull, initially misidentified as a piece displaced from the nasal cavity. Sadly Harrison did not live to publish fully his thoughts on this feature, and it is not clear whether he believed the damage to have been sustained before or after death, accidentally or intentionally. That the king was murdered, however, seems increasingly likely.

## Herodotus on mummies and mummification

The peculiar Egyptian practice of mummification was described by Herodotus, writing in the fifth century BC, in Book Two of his *Histories*. He noted that there were three qualities available: good, bad, and indifferent. Tutankhamun's mummy, although embalmed several centuries before the time of which the Greek historian was writing, had evidently been treated according to a version of the most elaborate:

... as much as possible of the brain is extracted through the nostrils with an iron hook, and what the hook cannot reach is rinsed out with drugs; next the flank is laid open with a flint knife and the whole contents of the abdomen removed; the cavity is then

thoroughly cleansed and washed out, first with palm wine and again with an infusion of pounded spices. After that it is filled with pure bruised myrrh, cassia, and every other aromatic substance with the exception of frankincense, and sewn up again, after which the body is placed in natron, covered entirely over, for seventy days—never longer. When this period, which must not be exceeded, is over, the body is washed and then wrapped from head to foot in linen cut into strips and smeared on the underside with gum, which is commonly used by the Egyptians instead of glue. In this condition the body is given back to the family, who have a wooden case made, shaped like the human figure, into which it is put. . . .

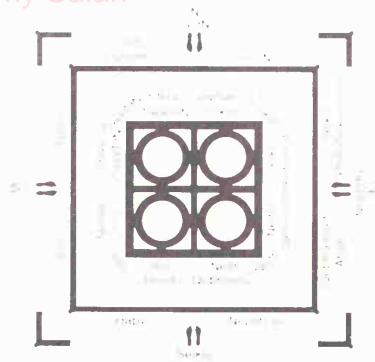
One thing in particular . . . simply knocked us all of a heap . . . I think it is the most beautiful thing I've ever seen anywhere . . . Round [the canopic shrine] were four statues of goddesses, most un-Egyptian in attitude, and beautifully modelled. One simply couldn't take in what one saw; it was so wonderful we all came out dazed.)

Arthur Mace to his wife Winifred

Dominating the middle of the Treasury's east wall, west-facing, its summit barely clearing the ceiling of the chamber, was a large gilded shrine mounted on a sled (no. 266), which held the embalmed internal organs of the young king – it is, as Carter observed, 'a monument not easily forgotten'. The outer canopy of this shrine (no. 266a), 1.98m (6ft 6in) high, some 1.53m (5ft) long and 1.22m (4ft) wide, consisted of four square corner posts supporting a cavetto cornice surmounted by a continuous frieze of uraei inlaid with coloured glass and faience. Between the posts, on each of the shrine's four sides, stood an elegant guardian goddess of gilded wood – Isis, Nephthys, Neith and Selkis, each identified by the hieroglyph upon her head and all modelled on the Amarna 20-square grid. Each figure stands feet inwards, arms outstretched in a gesture of protection, with the head gently inclined to either right or left – breaking the rule of frontality which is basic to Egyptian art. Within this outer framework was a

## The Canopic Shrine





second layer, the shrine proper, each of its gilded walls decorated in sunk relief with one of the four guardian goddesses facing one of the four canopic jars, and its own cavetto cornice decorated with a second cobra frieze.

### The canopic chest

Work on dismantling the shrine could not be undertaken until clearance of the Treasury had been completed in 1926-7. When the gilded outer casing had been removed, the canopic chest itself (no. 2666) stood revealed, draped with a dark linen sheet 1.5 by 1.5m (4ft 11in by 11ft 9in) folded over three times.

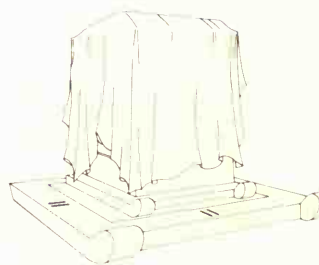
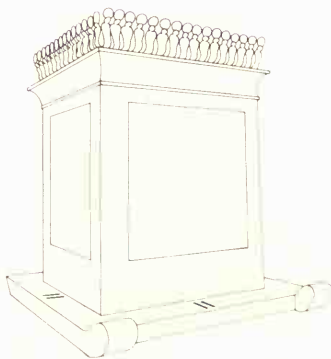
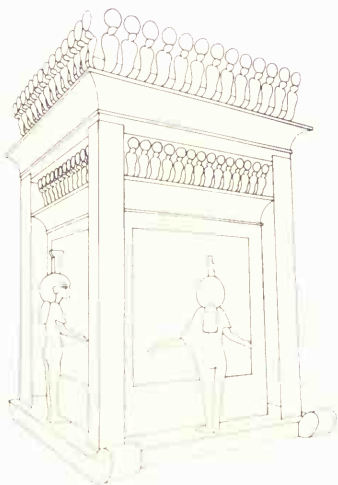
All four canopic jars of wood, lid and base joined by a pine between, the gilded linings now exposed (nos. 2666-2670) were found. With the sheet removed, it was seen that the chest had been carved from a single block of wood, carved and semi-modelled in the same piece, with a contrasting dark blue lacquer that with a gilded wood gilded jars and a semi-circled lid stood upon several wooden feet. The outer casing took the usual manner and ratio of the northern and southern styles, with four large, simple, cylindrical feet covered in gilded bronze, intended to be set in a bed of sand. The slinging lid, which separated from the base below the canopic figures, was decorated at its front with the winged solar disc of Horus of Behdet. It was attached to the chest by means of cords passing through four pairs of gold stoppers, two pairs to either side, sealed with the ubiquitous black and red captives motif. The chest, set in a bed of sand, and with inward sloping sides, was decorated at its four corners with images of Isis (southeast corner), Nephthys (northwest), Selkis (northeast) and Neith (southeast), sculpted in high relief to the traditional proportions, while the front was dominated by a second winged disc surmounting six vertical columns of text spoken by the goddesses positioned to either side, further invocations are present on either side and the rear of the chest.

With the lid of the canopic chest removed, four human-headed stoppers were exposed (nos. 2666-67), arranged in pairs, those on the east facing west and the lids on the west facing east. Exquisitely modelled in calcite, each lid represents the king wearing the *nemes* headcloth with separately modelled vulture head and uraeus. All four are hollowed out underneath and carry a symbol painted in black on the shoulder to identify the compartment for which they were intended. The facial features are carefully picked out with black, with dabs of red for the lips.

These detachable lids concealed four cylindrical hollows, the king's canopic 'jars', drilled into the

The 'Treasury' area  
Excavated in 1926-7, the  
canopic chest (no. 2666)  
was found.

The chest is made of wood  
and is decorated with  
gilded walls. It is  
decorated with a  
second cobra frieze.  
The chest is made of  
wood and is decorated  
with a second cobra  
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second cobra frieze.

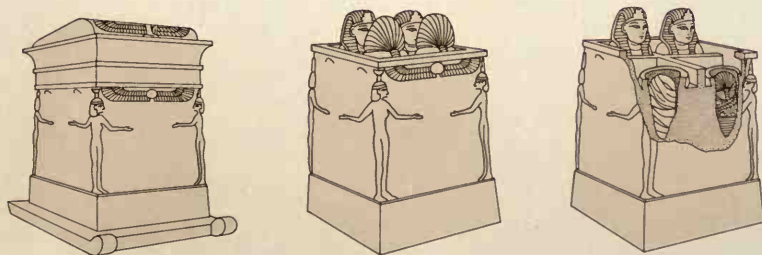




matrix of the chest proper. Each hollow contained a single linen-wrapped and resin-smearing coffinette of beaten gold (no. 266g), all four closely similar in design to the second coffin (see p. 107), inlaid in *rishi*- or feathered-pattern with coloured glass and carnelian; these coffinettes contained the embalmed and carefully wrapped viscera of the dead king. On each of these coffins, which are 39cm (1ft 3 $\frac{3}{4}$ in) high, is inlaid the name of the appropriate protecting genius with whom the king's internal organs were identified – Imsety the liver, Hapy the lungs, Duamutef the

stomach, and Qebhsenuef the intestines – the four 'sons of Horus'. Over them, perhaps before their introduction into the tomb since the canopic lids were displaced slightly, had been poured the black resin already encountered on the king's coffins and mummy. According to Carter, 'There was . . . sufficient evidence to show that the anointing commenced with the south-east coffin, thence to the south-west coffin, the north-west coffin and ending by the north-east coffin, when a very little of the unguent was left.'

*(Above) Exterior and interior views of one of the four elaborately decorated gold coffinettes which contained Tutankhamun's embalmed viscera. This coffinette (no. 266g), holding the King's wrapped intestines, was under the protection of Qebhsenuef.*





(Above) The elegant canopic chest of Tutankhamun, c. 1330 BC, with details picked out in dark blue and a gilded finish, mounted on a sledge of wooden sledges. The sealed vessels which originally held the king's organs may be viewed inside.

(Right) Removal of the chest lid revealed four finely modelled canopic heads (nos 2061-4), their facial and other features picked out in black, lying one on another in pairs.



The same is true of the other canopic chest of the late golden age, which is the canopic chest of the 25th dynasty of the late pharaohs. Nevertheless, some of the details, such as the smaller canopic jars, have been made in the placement of the chest, and the chest is a simple, elegant design. A large, ornate, gilded chest, which is the finest of the golden age, has been discovered in the Treasury Room.

### Intended for another?

As with other objects from the same burial furniture, there are indications that certain elements of the canopic assemblage had not originally been prepared for Tutankhamun, but were surplus vessels left over from the unused funerary equipment of a predecessor. In the case of the canopic chest, the grounds for doubting the attribution are stylistic: quite simply, the portraits do not resemble those of the boy king, though such a resemblance has been claimed. In the case of the canopic chest, the lid to at least one of which Carter believed differed in workmanship and offered a poor fit to the box, the evidence is more substantial: the inscriptions carved on the interior gold linings have had the owner's cartouches altered from those of Ankhnesneferibre, presumably Neferneferuaten, the enigmatic coregent of Akhenaten (p. 18), of whom the coffinite masks perhaps offer a likeness.

... had one of those babes lived there might never have been a Rameses. »

Howard Carter

Among the shrines and chests piled up in the Treasury was an undecorated wooden box (no. 317), some 61cm (just over 2ft) long, the lid of which, originally tied in position and sealed with the jackal and nine captives motif (type I: p. 94), had been removed in antiquity. Within were two miniature anthropoid coffins, 49.5cm (19½in) and 57.7cm (22⅞in) long, placed side by side, head to foot.

The toes of the larger coffin (no. 317b) had been roughly hacked away in order to allow the lid of the box to close. The outer surfaces of the coffins had been painted with the usual black resin, relieved by gilded bands of inscription referring to each occupant simply as 'the Osiris', with no name specified. The lids were attached to the coffin bases in the usual way, by means of eight flat wooden tenons. Bands of linen had been tied around the coffins beneath the chin and around the waist and ankles, and applied to each of the bands was a clay seal, again impressed with the jackal and nine captives motif (type I).

When these linen bands had been detached and the lids pulled away, the coffins were each found to contain a second coffin (nos. 317a(1), 317b(1)), differing from the first in having the entire surface covered with gold foil. Within these second coffins were two tiny mummified foetuses.

The first mummy (no. 317a(2)) measured less than 30cm (1ft) in height. It was preserved in almost perfect condition, with large sheet swathings held in place with five transverse and two triple longitudinal bands down the front, back and sides. Upon the head had been placed a well-modelled mask of gilded cartonnage, with the facial details picked out with dabs of black paint. Though the mask was quite small, similar in size to the masks sometimes employed for packets of canopic contents, it was nevertheless far too large for the foetus.

The second mummy (no. 317b(2)), in outward appearance less well preserved than the first, was somewhat larger (39.5cm (1ft 3½in) overall) though wrapped in a similar fashion with a triple longitudinal band over the front, back and sides and four transverse bandages. It wore no mask, although one had evidently been prepared for it: when the embalmers found that it was too small to fit over the head of the wrapped bundle, this mask had been consigned to the embalming debris stored in the entrance corridor, later reburied in Pit 54 where it was brought to light by Davis in 1907 (see p. 38).

### The autopsies

The examination of the mummies was entrusted to Douglas Derry in 1932. The bandages of the first mummy had been removed by Carter, and Derry

## Pharaoh's Children

was able to record little more than a badly ordered mass of linen some 1.5cm (½in) in thickness, with pads placed over the chest, legs and feet to give the bundle its form. Beneath he found the body of a prematurely born child with grey, brittle skin through which the arrangement of the bones could clearly be discerned. Neither eyebrows nor eyelashes were in evidence, and the eyelids were nearly closed. There was no abdominal incision, and it was not apparent how the body had been preserved. The limbs were fully extended, with the hands arranged flat to the thighs. According to Derry, the foetus (which preserved a portion of its umbilical cord, still in a low position) was probably female. It measured a mere 25.75cm (about 10in) from head to toe, and in the anatomist's view could have been of no more than five months' gestation.

*The gilded cartonnage mask discovered by Theodore Davis in Pit 54, originally intended for the elder foetus (no. 317b(2)).*



The second mummy (Derr) showed all the signs of the same embalming process as the first, but the region of the right eye sockets was not covered by waxed thread. Hence, it is the only mummy covered by waxed thread. The thin, grey, waxy layer of transverse and cross-wise, occasional sutures, in pale-yellow wax, was present on the upper and lower eyelids. The bodies, consisting of the mummy, were laid out with further goods mainly in place by transverse bandaging. The remains of several large, transversely wound and slightly charred covering sheets revealed a final layer of delicate linen. Beneath this covering the body of a child, 36.1cm (about 14 1/2 in) in length and again probably female, the age of which Derry put at only seven months' gestation.

Rather less well preserved than the first, this child's limbs were fully extended though with the hands placed beside rather than upon the thighs. The skin was again a uniform grey colour, with remains of downy hair upon the scalp. Eyebrows and eyelashes were visible, the eyes open and still containing the shrunken eyeballs. Unlike the first mummy, the method of embalming was easily determined. The skull had been packed with salt-soaked linen inserted through the nose, and Derry noted a tiny embalmer's incision, little more than 1.8cm (7/16 in) in length, immediately above and

below it. The smallest mummy (a foetus) was 11.5cm (4 1/2 in) in length, buried with several hundred other mummies. The identification of the latter group was made by the presence of a small, 1.5cm (5/8 in) long, cylindrical object, possibly a wooden coffin, in the mummy. The child had probably died at or shortly after birth, the mummy being 100 days in situ. It may have been cut off from the bloodstream still had not come up to it would have probably also survived for some length of time after birth.

When the second foetus was examined three months later it was laid by the late Professor R.G. Harrison of the University of Liverpool, radiography revealed evidence to suggest that the child had a condition known as Sprengel's deformity, with abnormally high right scapula, spine, hands and scapulae. The age suggested by this X-ray examination was eight or nine months' gestation.

Whose were these children? Although more involved, 'realistic' hypotheses have been proposed, the most likely answer is, Tutankhamun's own, and presumably by Ankhnesenamun since he is not known to have had any other wife. Several 18th dynasty parallels may be cited of royal children, predeceasing their father, being buried in the king's tomb: Webensenu, a son of Amenophis II, buried in Valley Tomb 35; and Tentamun, Amenemhat and another, unidentified offspring in the tomb of Tutmosis IV (No. 43).

Fig. 317. The painted wooden box (no. 317) containing the two mummies. The anatomically high left scapula and accentuated curvature of the left clavicle may be clearly seen.

Below right: The painted wooden box (no. 317) containing the two mummies, as found stacked in the northeast corner of the Treasury.









Despite the richness of previous finds and the evidence of the tomb-robbery papyri, the opulence and sheer quantity of the funerary furniture buried with Tutankhamun were difficult for the excavators and the world at large to take in. The broken scraps recovered from the robbed and dismantled burials of other 18th dynasty royals were a poor preparation for the riches Tutankhamun had in store.

Tutankhamun, in life the embodiment of Horus, was in death identified with Osiris, lord of the hereafter, the various aspects of whose presence pervade the tomb. He was, at the same time, 'son of Re', the sun-god, with whom he travelled in his barque through the sky from dawn until dusk, continuing his circuit through the 12 hours of the night – the underworld – to be reborn again each morning. The dangers of this journey were manifold; and here, in his tomb, smothered in gold leaf and inlay-work of semi-precious stones and coloured glass, were the ritual figures and amulets upon which Pharaoh could depend for his future well-being.

But the king was also a man, whose needs after death would mirror those of his lifetime. And so we find the tomb stocked with ample supplies of clothing and shoes, regalia and jewellery, perfumes and cosmetics; a treasured lock of hair from the head of his grandmother, Queen Tiye; the beds, headrests, chests, chairs and stools upon which Pharaoh could take his ease; writing equipment and game-boards; chariots, weaponry and hunting paraphernalia, and sticks, staves and fans; lamps and vessels of pottery, stone and metal; jars and baskets containing wines and provisions.

The tomb, in short, was a microcosm of the hopes, beliefs and aspirations of an Egyptian king more than 3,000 years ago. By the discovery of his burial, Carnarvon and Carter had caused the name of Tutankhamun to live once again; here, among his treasures, was material to flesh out the boy's skeleton, to breathe air into his shrivelled lungs, and establish personality, taste and affections.

*The lion-goddess from the first of the gilded ritual couches (no. 35).*



by Samy Salan



**V Treasures of the Tomb**

## The Guardian Statues

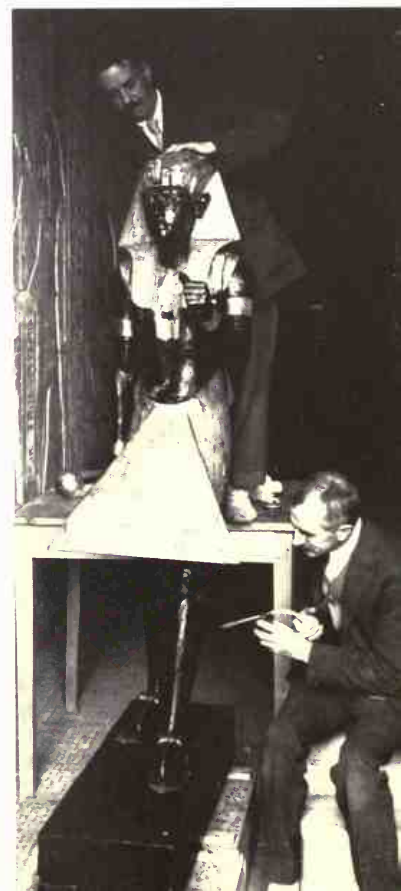
◀ Strange and imposing figures these, carved in dark  
granite, surrounded and half-enclosed by other  
portals.

Hobart Carter

When he shone his torch through into the Antechamber, among the first things which caught Carter's eye, their gilded details reflecting in the light, were two large, blackened portrait statues of the king, their ancient linen shawls still hanging in tatters from their shoulders. Standing opposite one

(Left) The life-sized guardian statue (no. 20) positioned to the west of the Burial Chamber blocking.

(Right) Arthur Mace and Alfred Lucas at work concerning the second guardian figure (no. 22).



another, the statues were placed in front of the doorway, which, through looking a step to the left-hand side, opened to the main 'Black Pyramid' passage, guarded the entrance to the Burial Chamber. Slightly off to the right, the pedestal, 1.9m (6 ft) high, carried the statue (no. 20) then, penetrating glass on the way, who threatened to enter.

Carved from wood, painted, and finished in a gesso, made up with plaster, the 'flesh' parts of the statues had been painted directly on to the wood with a shiny black resin, the headcloths, broad collars, kilt and other details overlaid with gold on a base of linen and gesso. The forepart of gilded bronze uraeus had been attached to each statue's brow, and the eyes (showing double cartouches) inlaid with indurated limestone and obsidian set in frames of gilded bronze. Although closely similar, the figures are not a matching pair: the most notable difference is the headgear, the statue on the west of the doorway wearing the *khaf* (no. 20), that on the east the *nemes* (no. 22).

The front of the triangular kilt of each figure is inscribed with the names and titles of Tutankhamun; the figure wearing the *nemes* headdress carries the additional information that it represents the royal *ka*, or spiritual double of the king.

Fragments of other life-sized figures have been recovered from several royal tombs of the New Kingdom. Three of the best preserved are in the British Museum (EA 854, 882, 883), and in one of these (EA 882) the kilt has been hollowed out from beneath to a depth of 20cm (7½in), probably to receive a papyrus roll. Both of Tutankhamun's guardian statues show evidence of a similar feature, with the hollow stopped up by means of an irregular piece of stone plastered in position, and gilded over – precisely the way in which the 'magic bricks' of the Burial Chamber were sealed in place (p. 85). These statues represent less the guardians of the Burial Chamber, perhaps, than the guardians of Tutankhamun's final secret: the hiding place of his missing religious texts (p. 167).



*The final secret: it is probable that each of the life-sized figures from Tutankhamun's tomb had been hollowed out to contain a papyrus roll. The apertures appear to have been closed-off by means of a limestone flake plastered in position and gilded over, producing the uneven surface visible in this photograph.*



*Detail of the second guardian figure (no. 22). The flesh parts are painted directly onto the wood with a thick, black resin, the nemes-headdress, broad collar and pectoral, armbands and kilt richly gilded on a base of gesso. The uraeus is of gilded bronze, as are the eyebrows and the frames of the limestone- and obsidian-inlaid eyes.*



sprouting barley grains, or garlands made up from olive, willow and pomegranate leaves and blue cornflowers sewn on to a strip of papyrus pith. The eyes of all but Qebhsenuef and the Duamutef from shrine no. 304, 55 and 58cm (1ft 9¼in and 1ft 10¼in) high respectively, which are simply painted in black, are framed in bronze and inlaid with glass or semi-precious stone. The fittings, including the objects they carry and their sandals, are of gilded copper-alloy. The bases of the majority are inscribed in yellow with the king's prenomen, Nebkheprure, 'beloved of' the appropriate deity.

The same carelessness evident elsewhere in the tomb may be discerned among the figures. The base of the Sakhmet statuette (no. 300a), 55.2cm (1ft 9¼in) high, for example, has been roughly sawn off to allow it to fit into its shrine. Moreover, the collection – which may be incomplete (a striding figure of the king appears to be lacking) – is something of an *ad hoc* assemblage. One figure (no. 289b), 85.6cm (2ft 9¼in) high, which shows Pharaoh standing upon the back of a leopard, differs in a number of important respects from its 'pair' (no. 289a) of similar height: Amarna influence notwithstanding, the figure's prominent breasts and low hips would seem to indicate that it had originally been made for a woman. According to Carter, all the figures were wrapped in linen shawls carrying docketts dating from as early as Year 3 of Akhenaten; the texts of only three of these docketts are recorded (nos. 281a, 291a, 300a). If the linen marks date the figures, these had evidently been prepared for Akhenaten's projected Theban tomb (perhaps No. 25 in the West Valley), abandoned at the time of his break with the

## Ritual figures – *Conspectus*

Type of figure	Number found	Where found	Seal type on shrine	Object number
<i>King</i>				
— striding	3	Treasury	K	275b, 275d, 296b
— harpooning	2	Treasury	K	275c, 275e
— on leopard	2	Treasury	K	289a, 289b
<i>Deities</i>				
— Atum	1	Treasury	L	290a
— Duamutef	2	Treasury	L	302a, 304b
			Q	299a
— Geb	1	Treasury	L	283c
— Gemehsu falcon	1	Treasury	N	176
— goose	1	Burial Chamber	—	301a
— Hapy	1	Treasury	L	293a
— Haroeris	1	Treasury	L	298a
— Horus of Letopolis	1	Treasury	L	275a, 289c
— Ihy	2	Treasury	K	280a
			K	295a
— Imsety	1	Treasury	L	297a
— Isis	1	Treasury	L	281a
— Kheperiu	1	Treasury	L	296a
— Mamu	1	Treasury	L	305a
— Menkeret	1	Treasury	L	283a
— Nephthys	1	Treasury	L	291a
— Netjerankh serpent	1	Treasury	N	304a
— Ptah	1	Treasury	L	300a
— Qebhsenuef	1	Treasury	Q	294a
— Sakhmet	1	Treasury	L	37a, 38b
— Serdet	1	Treasury	L	282a
— serpent standard	2	Antechamber	L <sup>2</sup>	283b
			L	303a
— Shu	1	Treasury	L	292a
— Sopdu	1	Treasury	N	
— Tata	1	Treasury	L	
— Tatenen	1	Treasury	L	



(Left) Pharaoh standing upon a leopard (no. 289b), one of two such figures found, each designed to a different scheme of proportions.

(Centre) Menkeret carrying the mummified king (no. 296a).

(Below) The serpent Netjerankh (no. 283a).





grace, in fact, the divine and the human have been brought in familiar touch with one another.'

Of the figures of the gods, Carter wrote:

'These comparatively inartistic figures of strange gods are valuable to us as a record of myths and beliefs, ritual and custom, associated with the dead. That they were supposed to be potent for good or evil, or have some form of magic inherent in them, is evident, although their exact meaning in this burial is not clear to us.'



## The Anubis Shrine

The main focus of attention in the Treasury was a large sled-based pylon of gilded wood with long (273.5cm (8ft 11½in)) carrying poles, upon the top of which lay a life-sized image of the black Anubis dog, guardian of the Burial Chamber and of the king's canopic equipment (no. 261). Around the dog's shoulders when found was wrapped a delicate linen shawl, 'while fastened around his neck was a long leash-like linen scarf . . . adorned with a double fillet of blue lotus and cornflowers woven upon strips of pith, twisted into a bow at the back of the neck' (nos. 261b–d). Over the whole thing had been wrapped a linen shirt (no. 261a) inscribed in ink with a docket dated to Akhenaten's seventh regnal year.

Carved from wood and with a covering of black resin, picked out around the ears and the collar in gold leaf, the Anubis dog has inlaid eyes of calcite and obsidian set into gold surrounds, and nails of solid silver. The cavetto-corniced shrine upon which the 95 by 37cm (3ft 2¼in by 1ft 2½in) and 54.3cm (1ft 9½in) high dog lies is made of gessoed and gilded wood, its long sides decorated with two rows of double *djed*- and *tyet*-symbols, a palace-façade dado and one horizontal and two vertical bands of text. Its inner compartments, four small and one large, contained a curious array of materials which, in Carter's view, 'seem to signify the perpetuation of, or belong to, the ritual of mummification'. These

*(Left) Ptah, god of Memphis, divine patron of artists and craftsmen: a figure (no. 291a) of gilded wood with blue faience cap and gilded bronze scepter.*

*(Below) Large carrying-shrine of gilded wood (no. 261), surmounted by the elegant Anubis dog, guardian of the Treasury and the king's canopic equipment.*







## Magical Objects

«... a system of defense against human imaginations.»

Howard Carter

The tomb of Tutankhamun included a whole range of what may, for the sake of convenience, be classified as 'magical objects'. Their form is frequently as obscure as their significance. A selection is listed here.



(Far left) From the Burial Chamber: a black-veneer ritual object (no. 181) in the form of a varnished hes-vase between two pylons.

(Centre left) The two 'Anubis fetishes' (nos. 194 and 202), from the northwest and southwest corners of the Burial Chamber.

(Left) Narrow wooden shrine (no. 487), found empty in the Treasury. Carter believed that it had originally contained a metal cubit-rod, carried off by the tomb robbers.

(Below left) Wooden frame in the shape of Osiris (no. 288a), from the Treasury. Filled with silt from the Nile, such 'Osiris beds' were planted with corn seed which would germinate in the tomb to symbolize the resurrection of both god and deceased.

Object number	Description	Findspot	Dimensions (centimetres)
181	varnished wooden hes-vase between twin pylons	Burial Chamber	ht. 44.5
182-92	wooden oars	Burial Chamber	l. 76-83
193	pesesh-kaf emblem between twin varnished shrines containing resin and natron	Burial Chamber	ht. 36
194	Anubis fetish	Burial Chamber	ht. 167
196	model res-hieroglyph	Burial Chamber	l. 111
198a	clay troughs for nos. 196, 199-201	Burial Chamber	l. 7.5
199-201	model res-hieroglyphs	Burial Chamber	l. 111
202	Anubis fetish	Burial Chamber	ht. 167
212	palm rib	Burial Chamber	l. 155.5
215	palm rib	Burial Chamber	l. 159.5
250	djed pillar	Burial Chamber	ht. 56
257	'magic brick' with Osiris figure	Burial Chamber (east wall)	ht. 20.5
258	'magic brick' with Anubis figure	Burial Chamber (west wall)	ht. 14.5
259	'magic brick' with shabti-like figure	Burial Chamber (north wall)	ht. 15.1
260	'magic brick' with djed-pillar	Burial Chamber (south wall)	ht. 10.6
261e (2-3)	faience forelegs	Treasury	l. 12
261f (1)	wooden shabti-like figure	Treasury	ht. 10.5
261f (2-3)	faience forelegs	Treasury	l. 12
261f (4)+261f (7)	faience Horus figure	Treasury	ht. 12.1
261f (5)	wooden shabti-like figure	Treasury	ht. 11
261f (6)	faience papyrus sceptre	Treasury	l. 8.5
261g (2)	faience Thoth figure	Treasury	ht. 8
263	'magic brick' with reed torch	Treasury	ht. 13.2
288a	Osiris bed	Treasury	l. 190
367q-r	33 faience forelegs	Treasury	l. 12.3
487	attenuated wooden shrine	Annexe	ht. 65

## The Shabtis



Such figures were assigned figures of wood (larch has been found), first appearing singly in the middle of the Middle Kingdom as substitutes for the deceased. By the 18th dynasty, the shabti had become the dead man's deputy, charged with working on his behalf in the next world on any agricultural tasks that needed to be carried out as part of the normal cycle. This new role was reflected in the multiplicity with which, from the mid-18th dynasty on, such figures are commonly represented or provided – in pairs, in fives, and one or more baskets. The extract from spell 60 of the Book of the Dead, which often appears painted or incised on the figure in a more or less abbreviated form, reflects the shabti's new function:

“O shabti, I have called to my life, the owner of life summoned or if I be denied to do any work which has to be done in the realm of the dead, you shall fulfil your service on every occasion of making tilled the fields, of flooding the banks, or of conveying shabtu from east to west. ‘Here am I’, you shall say.”

The typical private burial of Tutankhamun's day was provided with one or perhaps two shabti figures. With the boy-king were buried a staggering 413 – a total which has been broken down as 365 workmen (one for each day of the year); 36 overseers (one for each 10-day week); and a supplementary series of 12 monthly overseers. Of the total number of figures found, only 29 were inscribed with a more or less full version of the shabti formula; the remaining 384 carried little more than the king's name and title.

Only one shabti came from the Antechamber, compared with 176 found in the Treasury and a further 236 specimens in the Annex (of which the



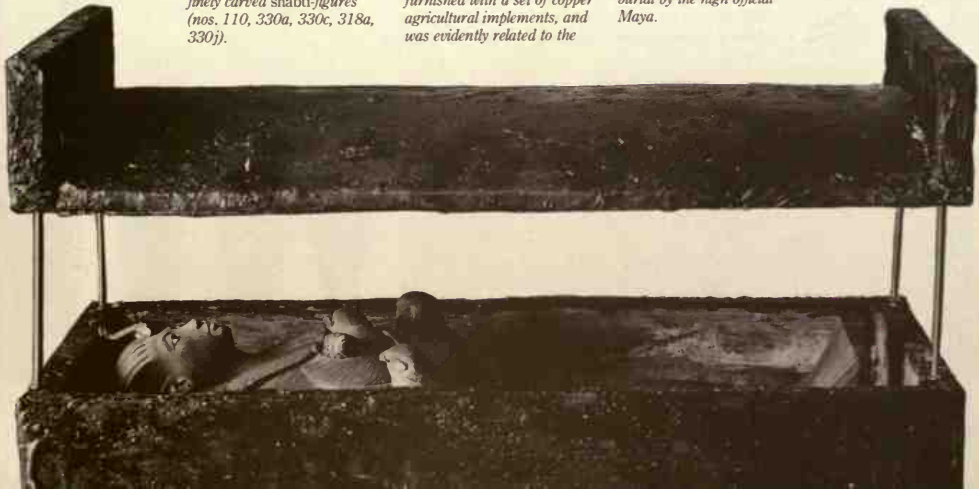


*(Opposite and above, left to right) 'In the finer specimens, by their own symbolism is expressed the perfect serenity of death'. Details of large and finely carved shabti-figures (nos. 110, 330a, 330c, 318a, 330j).*



*(Below) Tutankhamun recumbent upon a lion-bier (no. 331a), in its black-varnished wooden box-coffin. The figure had been furnished with a set of copper agricultural implements, and was evidently related to the*

*king's shabtis. Each of the two long sides of the image carries an incised band of text recording that it had been presented to the king's burial by the high official Maya.*





# Tutankhamun's Shabtis – Headdress and Hand Types

Head-dress type	Hands holding: crook & flail	two flails	djed, flail & bandage	ankh & flail	two ankhs	flail & bandage	hoes & baskets	empty
Quantity found	Ant. 1 Tr. 39 Ann. 32	Tr. 1 Ann. 1	Ann. 1	Tr. 6 Ann. 4	Tr. 23 Ann. 21	Tr. 9 Ann. 36	Tr. 33 Ann. 46	Tr. 66 Ann. 95
nemes	w(c), q, l, w(gg)	c	—	—	—	—	—	l(i), q
blue crown	w(c)	—	—	—	—	—	—	l(y)
white crown	w(gg)	—	—	—	—	—	—	l(y)
red crown	w(gg)	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
double crown	w(gg)	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
khat	w(c)	—	—	c	c	c, w(gg), f(v), f(b), f(t), w(pg)	—	q, c
Nubian wig	w(c), w(gg)	w(pg)	w(pg)	c	c	w(gg), f(v), c, w(pg)	—	w(gg)
tripartite wig	q, g, l	—	—	—	w(p), w(gg), f(t), f(b), w(lpg)	—	w(p), w(lpg), w(gg)	w(p), f(b), f(v), f(t), f(w), l(y), l(i), w(gg), g(bk)

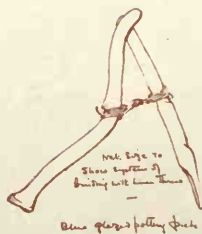
Key:  
 w = wood (c, carved; gg, gessoed and gilded; lpg, linen and painted gesso; p, painted; pg, painted and gilded;  
 f = faience (b, blue; t, turquoise; v, violet; w, white) l = limestone (i, indurated; y, yellow)  
 c = calcite q = quartzite g = granite (bk, black)

(Below) Drawing by Carter of one of the faience model implements (group no. 459h) included in the tomb for the use of Tutankhamun's shabti-figures.

25cm (9½in) wide, 21.5cm (8½in) deep, and 61.5cm (2ft ½in) high). One (no. 330, from the Treasury) was a lime-washed rectangular box, 70.5 by 50cm (2ft 3½in by 1ft 7½in) and 46cm (1ft 6¼in) high. Their lids had originally been tied down by means of a cord wrapped around the knobs protruding at top and side, and sealed with the simple jackal and nine captives motif (seal type L).

The most interesting of the king's *shabti* figures are six of the larger specimens, finely carved in wood, which, according to the short hieroglyphic inscriptions incised beneath the feet, had been presented to the king's burial by the high officials Nakhtmin (five – nos. 318a, 318c, 330i–k) and Maya (one – no. 318b) (p. 31).

Associated with the *shabtis* were 1,866 miniature agricultural implements – hoes, picks, yokes and baskets – made of copper, faience and wood. Of these model *shabti* tools, 793 were found in the Treasury; the greater proportion, 1,073, in the Annex.



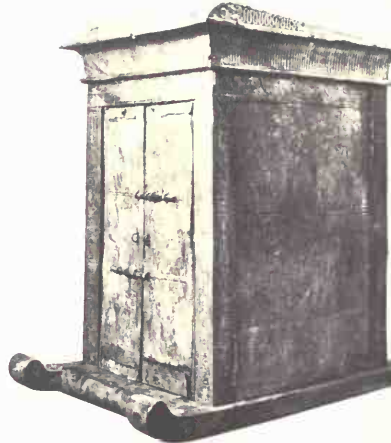
## The Little Golden Shrine

By Samy Salah

How the little golden shrine was discovered and its significance in the history of Egyptology.

The little golden shrine, one of the most elegant objects from the tomb, appears in Burton's photographs of the Antechamber (which, it had perhaps been moved, to allow access to the Annex, during Cartwright and Carter's initial survey of the tomb in November 1922 (p. 55). Measuring some 50.5cm (1ft 7.5in) high, 26.5cm (10.5in) wide and 32cm (1ft 1in) deep, its sloping roof identifies it as the *Hwtet*, the ancient shrine of the goddess Nekhbet of Elkab. Mounted on a silver-encased sledge, the

silver-bolted, double-doored shrine is constructed of wood overlaid with thin gold leaf and, on the inside, left door panel having been removed since the time of the discovery, on a linen-covered plaster base.



The silver-bolted, double-doored shrine is constructed of wood overlaid with thin gold leaf and, on the inside, left door panel having been removed since the time of the discovery, on a linen-covered plaster base.



Below: The bronze statue (1925) of the goddess Nekhbet, the protector of the shrine, showing the statue plinth on lotus and papyrus basket.



## Uploaded by Samy Salah

Within the shrine was an ebony pedestal, 24.8cm (9 $\frac{7}{16}$ in) high, with gilded, round-topped back-pillar, lightly incised with the royal titulary – on its outward-facing surface, the king's nomen; on its back surface, his prenomen. Two small, depressed sandal-prints on the top surface of the base indicate the original position of the statuette which must once have stood upon it; this, as Carter suggests, had probably been carried off by the robbers. All that was left within were fragments of a corslet, the major portion of which was recovered from box no. 54 (p. 193), and a large (14cm (5 $\frac{1}{2}$ in) high), gilded wooden pendant strung with beads of carnelian, felspar, glass and gold and carefully wrapped in linen. In this amulet, the serpent-goddess Weret-heqau, given great prominence in the shrine's framing texts, is shown suckling the king who stands before her.

The shrine is decorated on its roof with two columns of seven Nekhbet vultures. The inner and outer surfaces of its doors and the outer surfaces of its sides and back carry a series of 18 embossed and chased scenes of touching intimacy representing Ankhesenamun as the perfect wife and queen –



*A detail of the shrine's culture-decorated roof.*

scenes in which some have recognized a sexual metaphor, or even an allusion to the coronation. Given the maternal role of Weret-heqau, 'Great-of-Magic', an epithet associated with several goddesses with whom the queen could on occasion be identified, the scenes more probably emphasize the vital role played by Ankhesenamun in the continued existence and sustenance of her husband in the hereafter.

*Tutankhamun, hunting birds with a bow, is kept supplied with arrows by his queen, Ankhesenamun; a detail from the right-hand side of the Little Golden Shrine.*







## Uploaded by Samy Salah

all come from the Annexe and have been identified as ordinary fishing, cargo or transport boats; four further specimens, two with a single chequered cabin (nos. 334, 597) and two with cabin and forward kiosk (nos. 437 + 598, 513 + 572), may be seen as an elaborated form of the same type. The class of boats with double steering paddles is represented by seven barges without mast (nos. 273, 284, 287, 306, 309-10, 314) and one craft with mast and sail (no. 352); all have a central roofed cabin and a kiosk at either end, with protruding prow and stern posts.





*Fig. 1. Model of a papyrus boat, from the tomb of Amenemhat III, 19th Dynasty, 1880s. (Museum of Egyptian Antiquities, Cairo)*

*Fig. 2. Briefly painted papyrus boat, from the tomb of Amenemhat III, 19th Dynasty, 1880s. (Museum of Egyptian Antiquities, Cairo)*

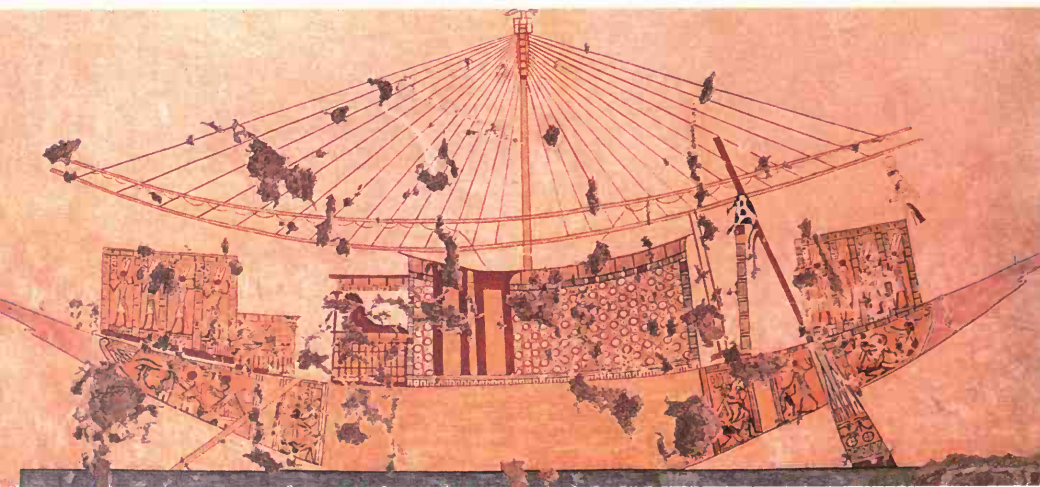
*Fig. 3. The model boat of Amenemhat III, from the tomb of Amenemhat III, 19th Dynasty, 1880s. (Museum of Egyptian Antiquities, Cairo)*

The tomb's three large sailing boats (nos. 276, 321 and 336) were found in the Treasury, and are characterized by their flattened, papyriform stems. Each has a stepped central cabin and mast, and two steering oars. The linen sails (madder dyed) and rigging of nos. 276 and 336 are preserved intact, and closely resemble the rigging of the Punt ships of Hatshepsut reproduced on the walls of the queen's mortuary temple at Deir el-Bahri.

The basic construction of each of these models is the same: the hull adzed from a single block of wood

or from a number of joined pieces of wood – in at least one instance, probably of acacia, which was then elaborated by the addition of fittings such as masts, gosses, painted (often carelessly), and sometimes gilded. The smooth finish of the models reproduces well the surface of the carved-bull hull (i.e. with the planks of the hull laid edge to edge, rather than overlapping).

For details concerning the boat-shaped calcite 'centre-piece', see p. 199. For the 'ritualistic oars', see pp. 83, 85, 135.



### The granary

One of the model sailing boats (no. 276) from the south end of the Treasury was supported upon a rectangular structure of white-painted wood (no. 277). This object was, in fact, the model of a granary, 74 by 65cm (2ft 5½in by 2ft 1½in), and 21.5cm (8½in) high.

'showing a doorway to an enclosure with entrance yard and sixteen separate compartments for cereals, which were found filled to the brim with grain and seeds. Large "Shonias" of this kind, built of sun-dried mud bricks, are the mode for storing cereals in Egypt to-day. Their external architectural details are precisely the same as this very model of thirty-three centuries ago.'

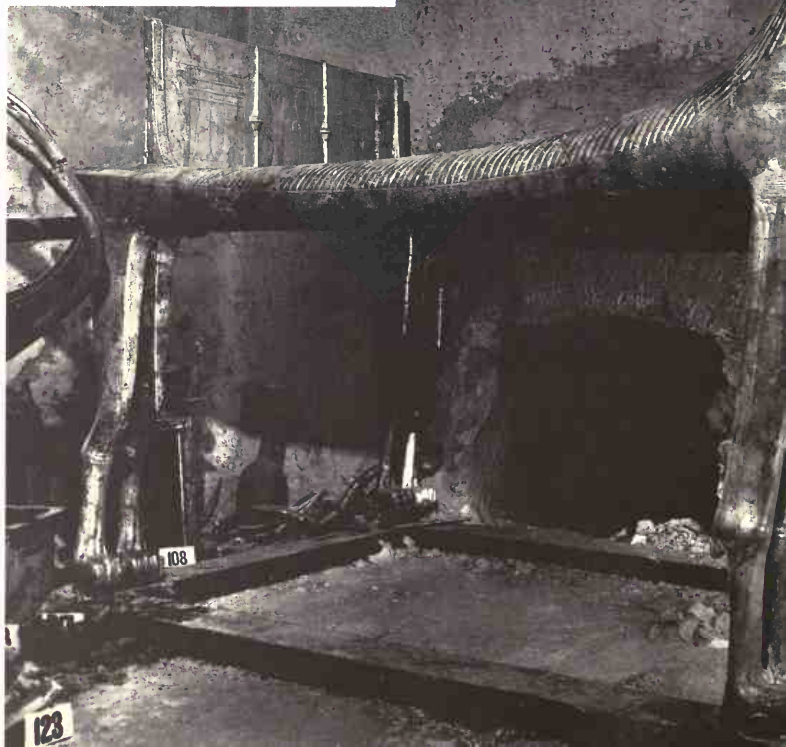
Models of this sort had been buried in Egyptian tombs since the First Intermediate Period and were intended to provide the deceased with an inexhaustible supply of sustenance for their new life in the hereafter.



## The Ritual Couches



(Above) The head of Ammut, 'the devourer', of gilded wood with ivory teeth and a red-stained ivory tongue: a detail of the third ritual couch (no. 137). Ammut was a composite goddess of a sort popular with the Egyptians: part hippopotamus, part crocodile and part lioness.



(Right) The Ammut couch (no. 137), partially cleared, in position in the Antechamber. The braided entrance to the Annex may be seen between the creature's legs.

“The impressive ritual structure under the tomb [no. 137] now stands patiently under the remorseless gaze of the sun and scorching breeze... Shortly before noon, [Mr. Carter] reported from the tomb that his assistants bearing a statue (the elongated cow bulls) on the backs of a white island.

“What is it? calf, donkey, goat, deer or rookery, horse?” speculated the crowd.

“It is an Egyptian cow, 3,200 years old,” explained Mr. Carter, with a smile. “It has guarded King Tutankhamen throughout his 37 centuries’ sleep.”

*Yorkshire Post*

Despite the interest which the three ritual couches aroused, they were not in fact a new class of object: splintered fragments had been brought to light by Giovanni Belzoni and Theodore Davis in a number of wrecked tombs in the Valley (eg. British Museum EA 61607), while painted representations of similar couches were depicted on the walls of the tomb of Sethos II (No. 15), which the Tutankhamun team were employing as a laboratory. What singled out

these couches for comment was their magnificent state of preservation and the gleam of their gold.

The couches had been positioned in the Ante-chamber, arranged nose to tail, facing north, along the west wall. All are constructed in the same way, in four parts – the couch proper, with footboard at the tail end and two supporting animal side-sections slotting into a stout rectangular base-frame with imitation mesh mattress – of gessoed and gilded red hardwood, held together with hooks and staples and angle pieces of copper alloy.

The first couch (no. 35), with lion-headed side-pieces and high, curling tails enclosing a footboard ornamented with *djed*-pillars and *tyet*-knots, measures 1.8m by 0.91m (5ft 10½in by 2ft 11½in) and 1.56m (5ft 1½in) high. The animal's features are highlighted to good effect with elaborate inlay work: nose, eye frames and 'tear drops' of blue glass, and eyes of crystal, painted on the back for the detail to show through. There are two construction marks in black on the right-hand animal, at the neck, and



remains of a third on the neck of the left; the couches had clearly been brought into the tomb in sections to be assembled, as they were disassembled, on site. The rail connecting the two creatures is inscribed with an extended cartouche containing the king's prenomen preceded by the epithet 'the Osiris' (indicating that this couch had been prepared for the tomb), and a reference to the goddess Mehetweret, 'the great flood'. As others have pointed out, this inscription is better suited to the cow-goddess of the second couch than to the lioness supports present here – while the text of the goddess Isismehet of the cow couch is more appropriate to this. There was clearly some confusion at the time the component parts of the two couches were inscribed.

*(Above) The cow-goddess of the second gilded couch (no. 73), which is evidently to be recognized as an image of Mehetweret, 'the great flood'. The blotches of the cow-hide are represented by trefoils of opaque blue glass.*



**Removal from the tomb**

As Carter records, the dismantling of these couches was no easy task:

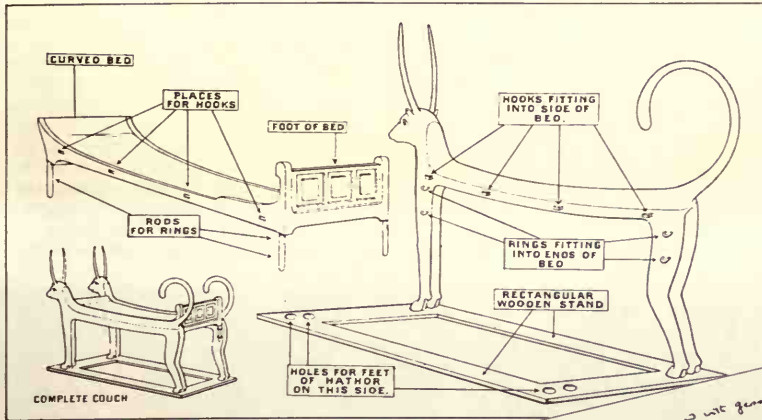
'... after three thousand years the bronze hooks had naturally set tight in the staples, and would not budge. We got them apart eventually, and with scarcely any damage, but it took no fewer than five of us to do it. Two supported the central part of the couch, two were responsible for the well-being of the animals, while a fifth, working from underneath, eased up the hooks, one after the other, with a lever.'

Nor was their removal any less stressful. The fragile sections were manoeuvred, with difficulty, up the corridor and into the daylight, where the excavators, sweating with the physical exertion and awesome responsibility of their task, were greeted with 'acclamations and a perfect tornado of camera clicks'.

For the three headrests of gilded wood (nos. 21c, 547-8) perhaps to be associated with these couches, see p. 183.

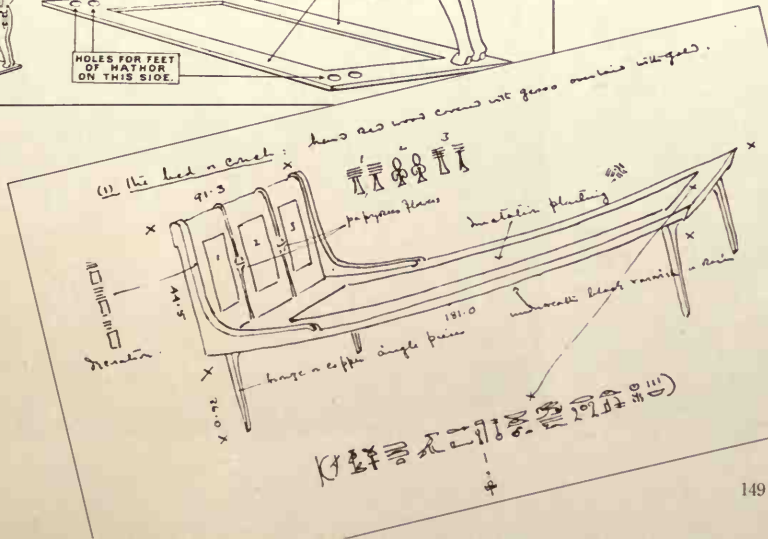


(Above) Callender and Carter supervise the removal from the tomb of the lioness side-section of the first ritual couch (no. 35).



(Left) Reconstructions in the popular press (this one, showing the assembly of the second of the ritual couches, no. 73, first appeared in *The Sphere*), although based upon the most fleeting glimpses of the dismantled sections as they were removed from the tomb, were often remarkably accurate.

(Right) One of Carter's object cards, detailing the dimensions, decoration and inscription of the Ammut couch (no. 137).





# Jewellery, Amulets and Regalia

In many ways these New Empire specimens do not exhibit the same perfection of finish as we find in the workmanship of their Middle Kingdom predecessors. There is, however, by the Theban jewellers, excellent skill in execution, a marked decorative sense, and much inventiveness in symbolical devices.

Howard Carter

## Jewellery and amulets

Tutankhamun had been buried with many more jewels and amulets than those Carter found upon the king's mummy (p. 112), but, to judge from the ancient docketts detailing the contents of the jewellery boxes (p. 190), a good proportion of the more precious pieces had been carried off by the tomb robbers (p. 95); indeed, Carter estimated that perhaps as much as 60 per cent of the best 'loose' jewellery was missing. What was left – well over 200 items, including 20 pectoral ornaments of precious metal and five counterpoises – represented a substantial addition, nonetheless, to the range of pieces then known, both in terms of quantity and quality.

Major and minor items of jewellery were recovered from: the tomb entrance (obj. no. 1a); the corridor (including nos. 12a, c, d, f and k); the Antechamber (boxes, baskets, shrines and vessels 21, 25, 40, 43, 44, 46, 50, 54, 56, 63, 79, 92, 97, 101, 108, and individual obj. nos. 53a, b, 138, 147b, 153a); and



the Annexe (including box nos. 547, 585, 587, and individual obj. nos. 525, 619, 620/38–49, 620/60a–w, 620/94). The remains of one or more collars with falcon terminals, the left of gold, the right of electrum (no. 172), were found on the very threshold of the Burial Chamber, 'hanging on the jagged edges of the stones' behind the resealed robbers' hole. The largest number of pieces, however, came from the Treasury, where many of the king's valuables seem originally to have been deposited; they were found in the Anubis shrine (no. 261) and in two caskets (nos. 267 and 269) on the north side of the room; various



(Above) Drawings by Carter of a selection of faience rings recovered from the floor of the Annexe (no. 620/66 (part)).

(Right top) Solid gold pendant of a squatting king (no. 329c) – usually identified as Amenophis III, but more probably an image of Tutankhamun himself. A string of glass beads is tied around his neck, and the whole is suspended on a loop in loop chain of heavy gold.

(Right) Flexible scarab bracelet (no. 2569q) from the left arm of the king's mummy. The various elements of the design spell out the king's prenomen, Nubkheperre.





other items of jewellery were found in boxes 270, 271, and within the miniature coffin no. 320b.

Tutankhamun's jewels ranged in type from bead jewellery of the most elaborate sort, fashioned from precious metal and inlaid with semi-precious stones, to the plainest of stone hoop jewellery. The various classes represented included a large assortment of pectoral ornaments, pendants, collars, necklaces, ear-rings (discarded by the king at puberty), finger-rings, bracelets and armlets, and scarabs. The metals employed in fashioning these pieces included gold (employed pure, or deliberately alloyed to vary



(Left, centre, above and below) Earrings and ear studs (top, no. 269a(5), flanked by no. 269a(3); bottom, no. 269a(2) flanked by no. 269a(6)) from Tutankhamun's youth. Made of inlaid and granulated gold alloy, they were found in a small jewel box (no. 269a) in the Treasury. The design of no. 269a(3) incorporates a version of the king's prenomen.

(Left) Two lavish pectoral ornaments of gold from a jewel box (no. 267) in the Treasury, the outer face of each inlaid with coloured glass and semi-precious stones, the reverse with chased decoration. In the top specimen (no. 267a) the motif of the scarab pushing solar disc has been elaborated to form the king's prenomen, Nebkheprue. The bottom pendant (no. 267m(1)) takes the form of a falcon with outspread wings, clutching in its talons the shen- ('eternity') and ankh- ('life') hieroglyphs.

## Re-used pieces

As with many classes of the king's funerary equipment, much of the jewellery buried with Tutankhamun seems to have been produced under his predecessors.

Some objects, such as the faience bangles of Akhenaten and Neferneferuaten recovered from the



floor of the Annexe (nos. 620:40-42), still carry the names of these kings; with a number of the precious jewels, the cartouches have been altered. In the pectoral ornament on the right, above (no. 261j), the hieroglyphs of Tutankhamun's prenomen, with the epithet 'image of Re', have been clumsily set into the oval of a cartouche originally intended to accommodate a much longer name; their orientation is reversed, though, as a pectoral of Ramesses II from the Serapeum at Saqqara suggests, this was perhaps intentional.

Incorrectly orientated hieroglyphs may be noted on a second pectoral from the same box (no. 261p(3)) (left), though the presence of the epithet 'the good ruler' could indicate that this was a piece originally prepared for Akhenaten, as another jewel, no. 261p(1), certainly was.

With the third pectoral (right, below) (no. 261i), the difference in technique between the inlaid names of the two goddesses, Isis and Nephthys, and the chased signs of the king's prenomen and nomen, suggest that this too is likely to be an appropriated piece.



Fig. 1. The gold collar of the pharaoh Tutankhamun, showing the central cartouches and the lotus petals.



Fig. 2. A gold collar of the pharaoh Tutankhamun, made of gold and silver, with a central cartouche.

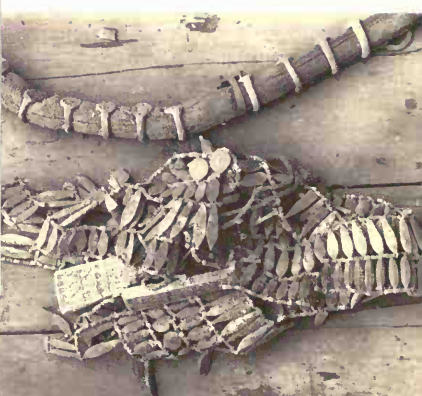
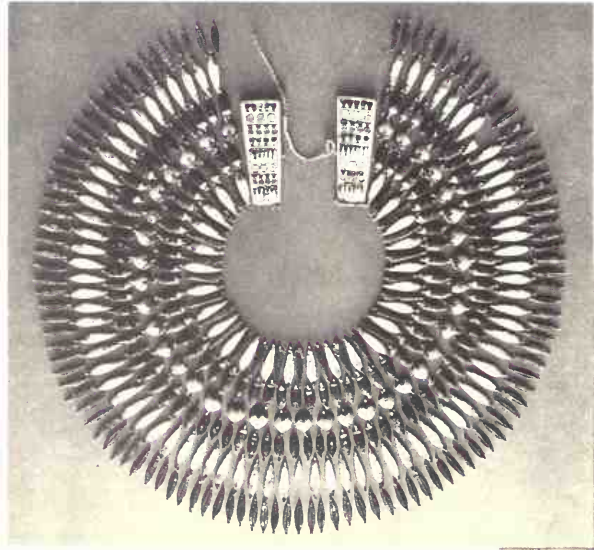
Fig. 3. A gold collar of the pharaoh Tutankhamun, made of gold and silver, with a central cartouche.

Fig. 4. A gold collar of the pharaoh Tutankhamun, made of gold and silver, with a central cartouche.



The colour, electrum, silver, bronze, and iron. Stones chosen for the richness of their colours, included amethyst, calcite, carnelian, green felspar, lapis lazuli, quartz, serpentine, steatite and turquoise. Resin and shells were also used, as well as the artificial materials 'Egyptian blue' (calcium-copper silicate). The various floral garlands from the coffins (p. 100) and the tomb's gilded figures (pp. 130-31) in the Annex, might also be mentioned, as well as the broad collars recovered by Theodore Davis from Pit 54 which had originally been stored in the corridor of the Tutankhamun burial (p. 38). Decorative techniques ranged from basic threading for beads to the use of repoussé, chasing, granulation and inlaying for the gold, and the extensive use of inlays. This latter technique is commonly termed 'cloisonné work', despite the fact that the inlays seem normally to have been introduced in a solid form and not fused within the cell.

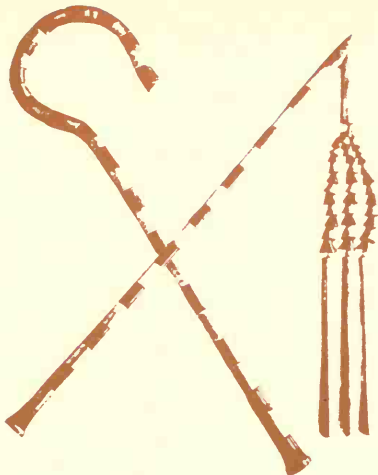
As Carter remarked, the design of many of the jewels is remarkably vibrant and fresh, individual pieces showing much subtlety in their composition. The iconography would seem to indicate that many of the king's more elaborate jewels had been prepared solely for funerary use. However, evidence of wear noted on some pieces (such as the pectoral no. 256ppp, recovered from the mummy), taken in conjunction with the box dockets (p. 190), would indicate that other pieces of jewellery had actually been worn in life.





(Left) Four gold and gold-mounted jewellery elements from the Annex: a heart amulet (no. 620:67); a 'tooth' amulet (no. 620:68); and two papyrus-sceptre amulets (nos. 620:72, 620:73).

(Right) The crook and flail (nos. 269h and 269e), concrete expressions of the divine kingship. The butt-cap of the crook is chased with the king's two cartouches, the nomen in its later, -amun form



## Regalia

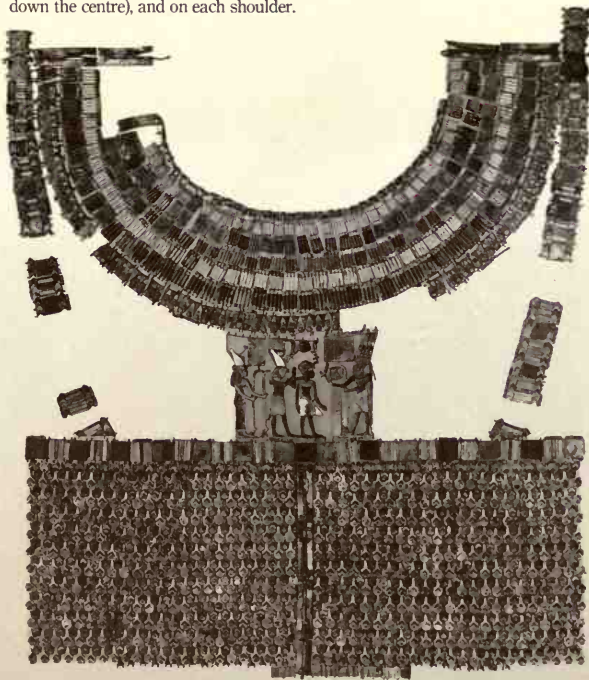
The most awe-inspiring of the jewels buried with Tutankhamun were the several and varied symbols of his mortal kingship. Of these, the most familiar are the Osirian crook (*heqa*) and flail (*nekhakhu*). Three examples of the crook were recovered – (nos. 44u (33.5cm (13¼in) long), from the Antechamber, and 269d (43cm (16½in) long), and 269h (43.5cm (17¼in) long) from the Treasury. Two flails, nos. 269e (43.5cm (17¼in) long) and 269f (33.5cm (13¼in) long), both came from the Treasury. They are the only kingly examples of such regalia to have come down to us. The odd crook is uninscribed, the two smaller and larger sets of regalia from the Treasury inscribed upon their butt-caps for Tutankhaten and Tutankhamun respectively. The construction of each is similar: cylindrical sections of dark blue glass, obsidian and gold mounted upon a copper-alloy rod; the long, pendant beads of the flail are of gilded wood.

Another sceptre (no. 577), perhaps an *aba* (54cm (22¼in) long) was found in the Annex. Fashioned from wood and overlaid with sheet gold, one face of this object is decorated in repoussé with five registers of offerings; the opposite side carries a vertical inscription in blue faience and gold: 'The good god, the beloved, one glittering of face like the Aten when he shines, son of Amun, Nebkheprure, living forever' – which, as Carter notes, 'is of interest, as it suggests a compromise between the Aten and Amen creeds'.

An object which should also be classed with the royal regalia is the king's elaborate 'corslet', the greater part of which was recovered from box no. 54 in the Antechamber, with other fragments scattered among the corridor fill (nos. 12a, 12c), the Antechamber floor, the little golden shrine (no. 108) and the boxes 101 and 115. The costume (40cm (15¼in) high; 85cm (33¼in) wide overall) consists of a broad collar with pendant pectoral ornament (showing Tutankhamun before Amon-Re, Atum and his consort Iusaas behind) and counterpoise-clasp, and the corslet proper with its *rishi*-ornamentation and shoulder suspension straps. Fashioned from gold and richly inlaid with coloured glass and semiprecious stones, the corslet is incomplete, several

pieces having evidently been carried off at the time of the robberies. As now reconstructed, it differs slightly from the arrangement first suggested by Carter, Mace and Lucas, having its slide fasteners positioned on either side of the body (rather than down the centre), and on each shoulder.

(Below) The flexible gold corslet, much of which was recovered from box no. 54 in the Antechamber, as first reconstructed by Carter and Mace.



...with several jubilee headdresses of regular mourning, the ritual mitre and the lighter diadem of gold and copper-work, with its pendant lotus and papyrus, which is of a type differing from that described and sculpture. Even more striking perhaps, was evidence of a decayed headdress of 'a fine stamfahl-like linen', of which, sadly, no more than the tughit could be recovered. In Carter's view, this was a unique example of the *khaf* or 'hair-shopped wig cover', with its gold temple band (250g). The linen had been sewn the flexible unguent-sepser of solid gold, with, to the back, a delicately chased beetle-gold vulture, its outspread wings offering protection to the royal head.

Although these symbols of Pharaonic power evoked a considerable sense of awe among the



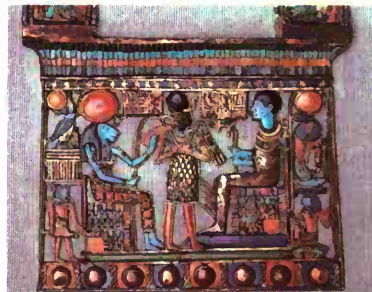
surrounding realm, the absence of further items of regalia, particularly headdress, was keenly felt. Had a part of the crown jewels been taken by the robbers? Or had the principal emblems of Tutankhamun's earthly rule perhaps been retained by his successor to establish the legitimacy required to exercise his sway?

## Cryptography

It was not uncommon, for ritual and other reasons, for the Egyptians to assign to particular hieroglyphs new and obscure values. The practice is particularly well illustrated in the tomb of Tutankhamun on the second shrine and on the king's jewels where various obscure or elaborated writings, especially of the king's prenomen, Nebkheprure (Lordly-mani-festation-of-Re<sup>c</sup>), are in evidence. Substitutions include the festival sign *hcb* for *nch*, 'lord', and the lunar disc and crescent for the solar disc *rc*; while the beetle-sign *kheper* plus three plural strokes (*khepru*, 'manifestation') is on occasion replaced by a squatting figure or 'manifestation' of the king. (See also p. 158.)

On the topmost element of one pectoral from the tomb of Tutankhamun (no. 267d) (below), and on a number of sealings of Amenophis III from Tomb 55 and elsewhere, the *nch* hieroglyph is replaced by a

figure of the ibis-headed god Thoth – perhaps because of the basic similarity in shape between the *nch*-basket and the god's lunar crescent; the supporting figures on the Tutankhamun pectoral – a falcon-headed deity and a standing figure of the king – are evidently to be construed as cryptographic writings of *rc* and *khepru* respectively.



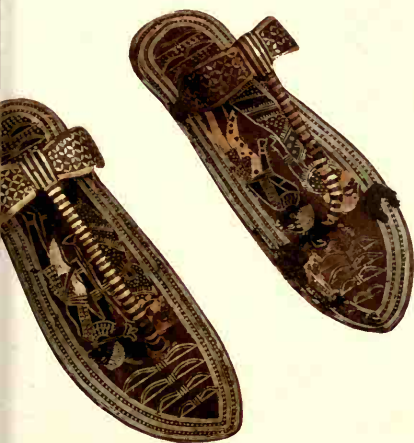
## Colour

Colour was always used with care in Egyptian composition, and it is generally significant. Our understanding of ancient usage, however, is complicated by the fact that the Egyptians appear not to have classified colours in the same way as we do today.

Light blue, for example, seems to have been associated with green or white rather than seen as a shade of dark blue, which the Egyptians evidently related to black. This difference in perception may explain the use of light blue for the flesh of the normally green-skinned god Ptah in this pectoral ornament (above) from the Treasury (no. 267c) – and similarly the use of black for both the blue crown of the king and the god's close-fitting cap. For the black face of the king, see the double-cartouche unguent box, p. 158.



## Clothing and Textiles



‘ We have some fearful problems at the tomb. Just now we are working on a box which contains garments and shoes all covered with beadwork. The cloth is so rotten you can hardly touch it, and the beads drop off the shoes if you look at them ’

Arthur Mace to his wife Winifred

*(Left) Pair of marquetry-veneered sandals (no. 397). The upper surface of each sole is decorated with two bound captives – a Nubian and an Asiatic – and nine bows, symbolizing the traditional enemies of the Egyptian state. They would be crushed underfoot with every step Tutankhamun took.*

‘ The most novel, perhaps, among all the antiquities seen to-day was a wooden dummy upon which it is believed Tutankhamen tried his tunics and other vestments, after the fashion of a modern dressmaker. Mr. Henry Burton, of the New York Metropolitan Museum of Art, who is an enthusiastic member of Mr. Carter’s staff, advanced the opinion that Tutankhamen was a man of fashion, scrupulously exact in the fit and hang of his garments. . . . ’

*Manchester Guardian*

Whether the delightful image of a dapper Tutankhamun conjured up by Harry Burton had any basis in fact is now difficult to assess. Clearly, much linen was in evidence in the tomb, despite the depredations of robbers (p. 95); but full details of the collection seem now to have gone for good. Unlike most classes of the tomb’s funerary equipment, the textiles were but poorly documented at the time of the clearance; many bundles Carter and his team seem never to have unwrapped at all, either because of their unpromising appearance or their poor state of preservation due to humidity and mould. While ‘Cloth in some cases is so strong that it might have come fresh from the loom, . . . in others it has been reduced by damp almost to the consistency of soot.’ And the inexorable process of deterioration has continued.

*(Below left and right) The gessoed and painted wooden ‘mannequin’ (no. 116), a portrait figure in Carter’s opinion ‘probably used either for the king’s jewellery or robes’.*



**Garments**

shirts, and bed-linen appear to have been stored in the three trunks. Tutankhamun's attire, however, required, and the range of his wardrobe is rich: His clothing was linen throughout, much of it of the finest quality, consisting of tunics, shirts, and jackets, triangular bandoliers, scarves, caps, head-dresses, and gloves, several items of which (especially those recovered from the Painted Boxes no. 22 (p. 16)) had clearly been worn by the king as a small child. The most striking feature of the costume is the form and variety of its decoration. This ranged from simple fringing to the king's plain linen shirts to overgarments boasting a veritable carpeting of gold spangles and sequins or exquisite beadwork, other items of clothing displayed magnificently embroidered borders and panels, originally presenting a brilliant contrast of colours – blue, green, red, yellow, white, and black – though now for the most part darkened to a black-brown. Each of these garments had originally been folded with care and rolled up for storage. Unfortunately, the same attention to detail had not been given by those who tidied up the tomb following the chaotic period of the thefts; interested in achieving only the most superficial order, the officials simply stuffed the dishevelled textiles into whichever box came to hand. This slovenliness was to have dire consequences when, three millennia later, Carter came to unpack them.

Carter's notes record the presence of linens in varying quantities throughout the tomb, though the bulk of the material appears to have been stored in

the *Amsethemut* (with eight boxes nos. 21, 22, 23, 16, 30, 31, 29, 104; see also the book nos. 2, p. 100). Other scraps and fragments were recovered from the wrappings of the mummy (pl. 16), and from the Treasury and Ankhese-Mery of the Treasures from the Treasury consisted of shawls and other garments – one decorated (p. 86), employed to wrap the mummy (precisely as the original burial party had left them).

As well as everyday clothing, the tomb contained a number of garments of a more specialised nature, including several leopard-skin *stola*, priest outfits (including nos. 11q, 40f, etc.) and a leather tunic (no. 587a) (p. 176).

**Gloves**

*I made a strange find among the king's robes today – a child's glove of cloth, belonging to a child I should say, three or four years old. I imagine it must have been one of his own.*

Arthur Mace to his wife, Winton

At the time of their discovery, Tutankhamun's gloves aroused an enormous amount of interest among glove-makers – and for good reason, since they are said to exhibit a type of stitch not introduced into the modern industry until the eighteenth century. In all, some 27 gloves were found in the tomb: 23 from the Antechamber of which 13 were recovered from boxes; and a further



(Above) Small objects of gold, silver, and faience, including a small gold ring, a small silver ring, a small gold ring, and a small silver ring.



(Above) Tutankhamun's sash and hat, found in box no. 70 in the Antechamber, included what Carter described as a sling bandage, several other bandages of various sizes, and the finger stall (no. 79q) shown here.



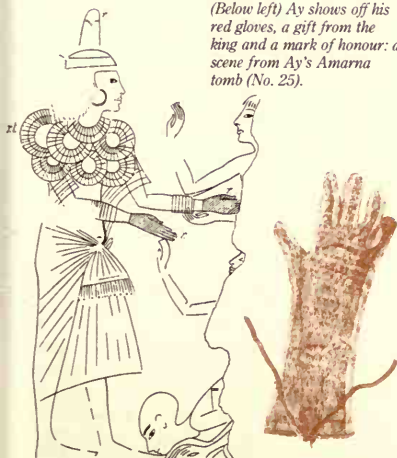
(Left) The celebrated 'dalmatic' (no. 567c) – a superbly embroidered tunic made from a single length of linen folded in two, seen down the shreds; supplemented with tapering sleeves of a finer material and embellished with woven and embroidered decorative bands. The character of much of the decoration is decidedly Syrian; the detailed drawing (see left) of the applied, milk-shaped neck opening gives an impression of the quality of the work. When worn, perhaps with a waist sash, the garment would have reached to just below the knee.



(Right) The king's and queen's triangular linen bandolier (no. 50b) from the Antechamber.

two pairs from separate boxes in the Annexe. One of the finest pairs, 38.4cm (just over 15in) long, recovered 'neatly folded' from box no. 367 in the Annexe, is tapestry-woven on both sides with a *rishi*-pattern, and has tape for securing at the wrists; entirely modern in design, like all those found, Carter believed that the gloves 'were possibly intended to go with' the 'dalmatic robe' no. 367j.

(Below left) Ay shows off his red gloves, a gift from the king and a mark of honour: a scene from Ay's Amarna tomb (No. 25).



## Sandals

'When these sandals have been restored, they will be among the most wonderful articles in all the mass of extraordinary works of art, and I fully expect that in a few years' time we shall see our smartest ladies wearing footgear more or less resembling and absolutely inspired by these wonderful things.'

*The Times*

Carter recorded 93 items or fragments of footwear: 17 from the Antechamber, of which 10 were found scattered between boxes 21 and 54; a pair of sheet-gold sandals on the mummy itself (no. 256 ll), 29.5cm (11½in) long; a pair of 'sandal-like' slippers of leather from a box in the Treasury (no. 270), 28cm (11in) long; and a range of sandals (including 32 pairs, 'of basketwork' – nos. 620:119 – 21.5 – 31cm (c. 9–12in) long) scattered throughout the debris of the Annexe. The types varied from undecorated specimens of rush and papyrus to elaborate examples of wood with marquetry veneer (no. 397). Several elegant sandals of leather (on one occasion calf-skin), partially melted, like all the leather from the tomb, were sumptuously patterned with bead-work or gold (in particular, no. 85a, 20.5cm (c. 8in) long). One large papyrus sandal from the Annexe floor (group 620:119) Carter describes as having 'a design in linen and needle-work upon the sole representing African and Asiatic prisoners above the tie of Upper and Lower Egypt'. Each time the king took a step, he crushed them underfoot.

## Clothing and Textiles



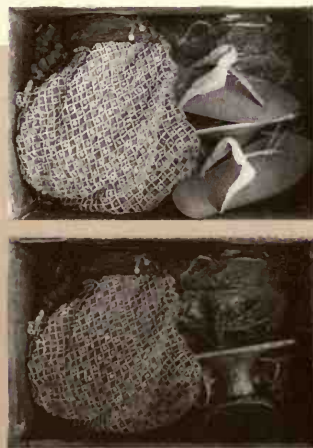
(Above) An elaborate sandal (no. 85) of multi coloured beadwork, from the floor of the Antechamber.

(Left) One of the tapestry-woven gloves from box no. 367.

## Contents of the Painted Box (no. 21) as found

a-b rush and papyrus sandals  
c gilt headrest  
d ceremonial robe  
e cloth  
f-g decorated sandals  
h-i leather sandals  
j beadwork sandal  
k-l decorated shoes  
m remains of tapestry woven garment  
n wooden label  
o collar band from shirt  
p-r garments decorated with gold and faience sequins  
s cap or bag of beadwork  
t leopard-skin cloak  
u collar of faience beads and pendants  
v parts of garment of tapestry-woven cloth  
w cap or bag of beadwork  
x pieces of tapestry-woven garment  
y two-string collar  
z child's glove of fine linen

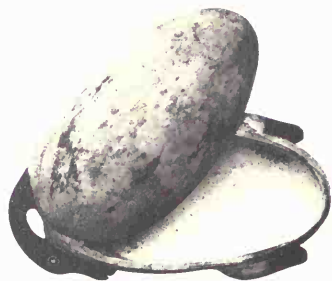
aa collar of shirt  
bb pieces of similar garment  
cc tapestry-woven garment  
dd necklace of resin beads  
ee pieces of two or more tasselled belts  
ff two ends of tasselled belt  
gg tapestry-woven belt or scarf  
hh several small bundles of cloth  
ii large linen tassel  
jj gold sequins  
kk belt(?)  
ll tasselled belt of plain cloth  
mm shawl(?)  
nn loin-cloth  
oo pp rolls of fine linen  
qq 10 rolls of bandage of fine linen  
rr-uu pads of linen  
vv gauntlet  
ww-xx boards of wood covered with gesso and painted blue  
yy gold pendant



The unpacking of box no. 21. The sandals in the first shot were in perfect condition; the beaded robe next to them, visible in both photographs, crumbled at a touch.



## Cosmetic Objects



An open cosmetic box with swivel lid (above left), carved in the form of a trussed duck (no. 151), and a double kohl tube (above right) of wood, glass and ivory (no. 161).



Like all good Egyptians, Tutankhamun was careful to take to the grave with him the implements and preparations necessary for maintaining his appearance. While some of these had evidently been used in life, others were clearly prepared solely with the hereafter in mind.

### Boxes, spoons and containers

A small ivory cosmetic box in the shape of a trussed duck, followed out to contain salve of a similar substance and fitted with a swivel lid, 8.5cm (0.9in) long overall, was found in box no. 54 in the Antechamber of the tomb. The head, neck and lower part of the bird's legs are stained black. Two identical boxes were in Carter's possession at the time of his death. Other cosmetic objects formerly in the Carter collection included a magnificent grass-hopper box of stained ivory, its lid in the form of a pair of movable wings, and a delicately carved ornament spoon of stained ivory, with swivel-lidded pomegranate bowl.

Ancient Egyptian *kohl*, or eye paint, was usually composed of either malachite (hydrated copper carbonate) or galena (lead sulphide), ground into powder and applied in the form of a paste by mixing it with water or, perhaps, with gum. Tutankhamun had been buried with several lumps of both materials (e.g. the galena pieces no. 456b), from the Annex, originally tied up in a linen bag, presumably with this use in mind. The four 'paint slabs' from box no. 32 might have been intended for grinding the mineral.

Remarkably few *kohl* containers were recovered, and all of these from the Antechamber: a pot of dark serpentine, 3.2cm (c. 1¼in) high, was found in box no. 32, a container which held a number of small stone cosmetic vessels and related objects; a tiny tube (1.6cm (1½in) long) and *kohl* sticks bound together with strips of cloth came from the gilded and inlaid casket no. 41; and a double *kohl* tube of wood, glass and ivory, 12cm (4¾in) long, was found among group no. 16. Two gold *kohl* sticks are mentioned in the hieratic docket of box no. 575.

A particularly important ointment container, though of ritualistic rather than everyday use, was the gold box no. 240 bis, 16cm (c. 6¼in) high, of a type frequently seen being offered by Akhenaten to the solar disc. Although Carter places this object within the sarcophagus, there is little doubt that it had originally been discovered within the doors of the outermost shrine; its original number was probably 220. This box, which takes the form of a double cartouche with high-plumed lid, still held the remains of its original unguent, decomposed to a 'bad smelling' brown colour. Both faces of the box are inlaid with a cryptographic writing of Tutankhamun's prenomen, Nebkheprure. The *khpru* element, normally written with the scarab beetle *khper* and three plural strokes, has here been replaced with a squatting figure of the king in two variations. The colour progression in the face inlays – orange-red-black-orange – has been interpreted as reflecting the different stages of *khpru* in the king's transformation from royal child, through to adult king, dead king and ultimate rebirth.

For the series of stone vessels containing the king's oils and unguents, see p. 198.



(Right) Ointment container (no. 240 bis) of gold, inlaid with coloured glass and semi-precious stones. Each face is decorated with a pair of opposed cartouches containing a rebus of the prenomen, Nebkheprure, each cartouche depicting slightly to reflect the stages in the king's transformation from royal child to ultimate rebirth.

### Mirrors and mirror-cases

Although clearance of the Treasury produced two elaborate mirror-cases of gilded wood (nos. 269b and 271c-d, each 27cm (10 $\frac{3}{4}$ in) high), the mirrors themselves were not present; the inscribed ivory handle from that of no. 271c-d was found in box no. 54 in the Antechamber, its mirror disc wrenched off by the robbers for the sake of its metal – probably silver or gold.

The mirror-cases were each made in two halves. The first of the cases (no. 269b) takes the form of the hieroglyph for 'life' (*ankh*), an appropriate funerary play on the Egyptian word for mirror which was also *ankh*. The central part of its lid is decorated with the king's prenomen picked out in coloured glass and semi-precious stones, while bands of hieroglyphs in raised relief on the gilded surface of the case reproduce the standard titulary. The interior of the case is lined with silver. The second mirror-case is fashioned after the god Heh, who is shown kneeling, a cartouche before and behind his head, with palm branches held in either hand surmounting frog- and *shen*-hieroglyphs. The exaggerated disc upon his head is decorated in gilded relief, again with versions of the king's prenomen. The entire composition may be understood as conveying the simple wish that Tutankhamun's years of renewed life might be without number. This case is lined with foil of brilliant beaten gold.

### Shaving equipment

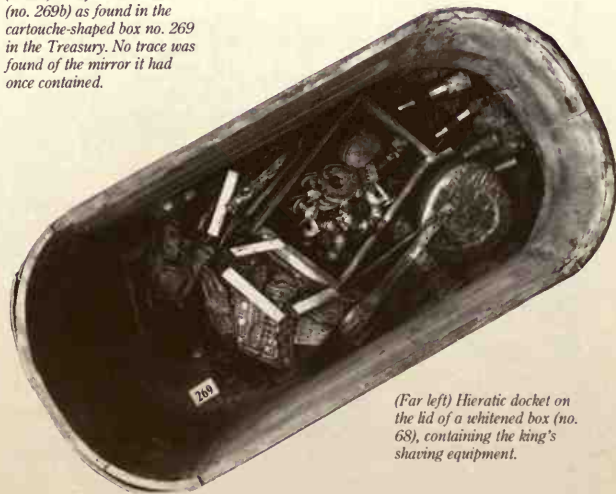
Razors in Egypt were employed not only to shave the face but other parts of the body also, including the head. A hieratic docket scribbled in ink on the white-painted box no. 68 from Tutankhamun's tomb records that it had originally contained 'The equipment of His Majesty life! prosperity! health! when he was a child. Contents: copper handled-razors, knife-razors, and ewers; linen.' – i.e. the royal shaving tackle. When found, the box contained nothing more than two cloth 'pads', a bundle of cloth and a clay sealing; it had evidently been emptied by thieves, who carried off for their metal content all but one knife-razor which Carter recovered from the Annexe floor (no. 620:53, 18cm (c. 7in) long). A further group of razors (no. 12g), which may or may not be associated with the equipment of this particular box, was found in the fill of the tomb's entrance corridor.



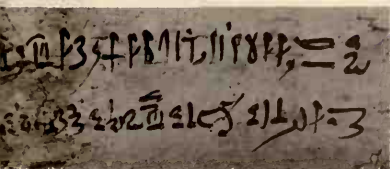
(Left) The lid of the second mirror case (no. 271c-d). The interior of the case is hollowed out to receive the mirror today represented by the handle no. 54ddd (3) (below), incised in black with Tutankhamun's Horus name. The mirror disc, perhaps of gold or silver, had been carried off by robbers in antiquity.



(Below) The first mirror case (no. 269b) as found in the cartouche-shaped box no. 269 in the Treasury. No trace was found of the mirror it had once contained.



(Far left) Hieratic docket on the lid of a whitened box (no. 68), containing the king's shaving equipment.



## Games and Game-Boxes



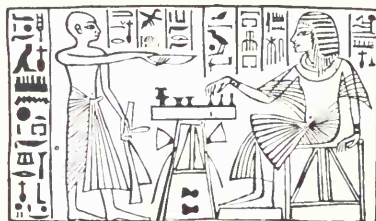
The ancient Egyptians were exceedingly fond of board games, and sets of the 30-square *senet* and 20-square *hau* are not infrequently found among the grave goods of the more prosperous dead.

Tutankhamun's tomb contained four complete game boards (nos. 343, 383, 580, 395, 585, 595), with portions of one and perhaps two others. The original presence of six boards is supported by the fact that six sets of knucklebones were recovered. In addition, some 50 playing pieces (called *hau*, or "knives") of "pawn" and "reef" forms were found in the tomb, together with two sets of four casting-sticks.

Of the game boards, only one odd drawer (no. 460) and a fragment of ivory veneer (no. 494) were recovered from the Antechamber; all the complete boards came from the Annex. The Annex, similarly, produced the larger number of playing pieces: strays were found in the entrance passage-way and Antechamber. The casting sticks were found in the Annex, as were at least seven of the knucklebones; two (and perhaps three) other knucklebones were found in the Antechamber. The Annex, in short, appears to have been the original home of Tutankhamun's gaming equipment, from which it had been partially displaced and partially plundered, to judge from the homeless drawer at the time of one of other of the robberies.

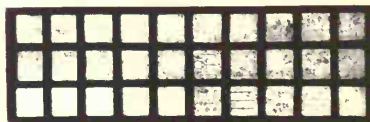
### The Game of Senet

The *senet* board developed over the years from an ordinary item of funerary equipment, included in the tomb as an amusement for the dead, to a curious allegory of the final judgment. In the game played by the nobleman Amenemose (right), the adversary was Fate, and the stake immortality.



In the 30-square game of *senet*, each player had an equal number of playing pieces, distinguished from those of the opposition by the form, which was generally "pawn"-like or "reef"-shaped. Movement of the pieces, lined up along the two longer edges of the board, was dictated by the throw of the knucklebones or of the casting-sticks (the "score" of the latter dependent upon the fall of the black and white surfaces). Movement has been characterized as

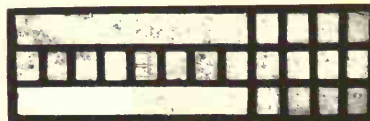
"a pathway of 30 steps, shaped like a backward S, along which the pieces wound their way single file toward the five final squares of the board, which were usually marked in some way." The aim was to remove all of one's pieces from the board before those of the opposing player. The marked squares were clearly advantageous to the player (those marked with the hieroglyph *netjer*, or hazardous (such as those marked with the water hieroglyph). According to Carter, "The contest was obviously an early form of, and allied to, the modern game called "*El-Tab-el-Scaga*", played almost universally in the Near East. . . ."



### The Game of 20 Squares

This game, often (but erroneously) called *hau*, was perhaps of Western Asiatic origin. It possessed none of the religious overtones of *senet*. Many of the details are uncertain, but each player was evidently allotted five pieces, perhaps entered individually onto the board. Moves were made by throwing knucklebones or casting sticks. The object of the game seems to have been for a player to remove all his pieces from the board along the central row of

squares, avoiding his opponent's pieces and any "unlucky" squares which might lie in his path.

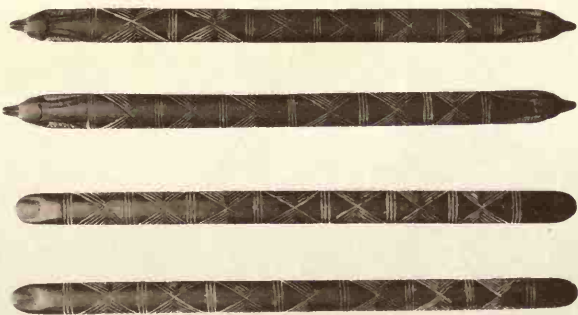




**The ebony game-box and stand (no. 345 + 383 + 580)**

The ebony game-box (44.4cm (17½in) long), found dismantled into its three component parts (board, drawer and stand) at the south end of the Annexe, is one of the most elegant objects from the tomb. Now somewhat warped, so that the bolted drawer will not fit the box, which now no longer sits squarely on the partially gilded and ivory-clawed feline legs of its sledge, its fine appearance belies its actual construction. The surface is merely a veneer, applied to a core of poor quality wood, and though conventionally identified as 'ebony' may well be some other wood to which a dark stain has been applied. Both the upper and lower surfaces of the box are veneered with ivory, to which raised strips have been glued to divide each surface for either the 30-square (*senet*) or 20-square games (see opposite), with five and three of the squares incised with one or more hieroglyphic symbols. The sides of the box, as well as the ends, are inscribed with large, yellow-filled hieroglyphs which expound the royal titulary and leave no doubt as to the game's ownership.

When found, the drawer was empty, Carter in print taking the view that the original playing-pieces 'were probably of gold and silver and consequently stolen in ancient times'. This is arguable. Eight faience playing pieces of a suitable size for this game were recovered from elsewhere in the tomb, and it is possible that they, together with a pair of knuckle-



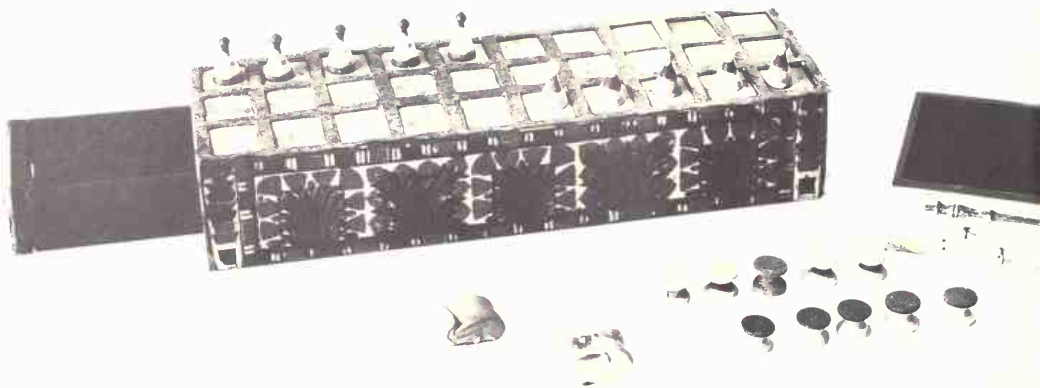
bones and set of ivory and ebony casting-sticks, formed part of the set as buried.

**The two ivory boxes (nos. 393, 585r)**

Although one of the ivory game-boxes was found broken on the floor of the Annexe, close to the doorway, Carter believed that it had originally been stored with its 'pair' in the box 585. Both game-boxes, each some 13.5cm (5¼in) in length and extensively inscribed with extracts from the royal protocol inlaid with blue pigment, are carved from a single block of ivory, with the squares for the 20- and 30-square games cut directly into the upper and

(Top) The elegant ebony game-box and stand (no. 345 + 383 + 580). The top and bottom surfaces of the board itself (seen on the opposite page in position in the Annexe) were each laid out for one of the principal games (left).

(Above) The two pairs of ivory and ebony casting-sticks associated with the ebony game-box no. 345 + 383 + 580.

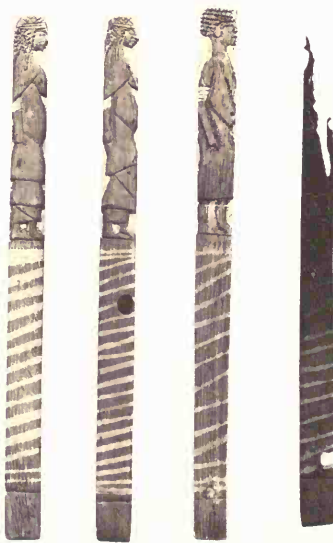


*Also found in the same location as the first box, are the 'Ankh' and 'Was' symbols, which are carved in red band of ivory and are found in the same place as the first box. The 'Ankh' symbol is the symbol of life, and the 'Was' symbol is the symbol of power.*

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lower surfaces. There are no specially marked squares. A small bolted drawer, also carved from a single piece of ivory, is fitted at one end of each box. The opposite end of one of the boxes (no. 585r) carries an incised representation of Tutankhamun, seated on a block throne, wearing the blue crown and clutching the *heqat*-sceptre, receiving a lotus from Queen Ankhesenamun, who stands before him; their names (the prenomen) are inscribed above in cartouches.

Carter associated nine ivory playing-pieces and a single knucklebone with the first box, and the full set of 10 ivory playing-pieces and two knucklebones with the second.



### The wood and ivory game-box (no. 593)

This charming game-box, 27.5 cm (10 7/8 in) in length, had suffered much from rough usage on the part of the thieves' but, with the exception of the drawers which have now warped and do not fit, the box has now been reassembled. It was found in the south-west corner of the Annex, in the same pile as the sled-mounted box, with one of its two bolted drawers some distance away. Veneered with carved and black- and red-stained or bent-treated ivory, the decoration on each side consists of five alternating lotus and poppy motifs with a decorative border. The effect is closely similar to that of the large ivory-veneered casket no. 540-551 described on p. 192. The core of the game-box, as with the first box described, is of poor quality local wood. The upper surface is divided by means of gilded 'stucco' ribs into 30 squares, with the lower surface similarly divided for the 20-square game. Five squares of this last surface still retain traces of hieroglyphic markings; they would originally have been highlighted with gold foil.

Carter associated 20 black- and red-banded ivory playing-pieces with this box, as well as a pair of ivory knucklebones. He also proposed that the two pairs of ivory casting-sticks (taking the form of Asiatic and Nubian captives (no. 620110) probably belong to this game, although they are too large to fit into either one of the box's drawers.

The odd drawer (no. 460) found in the Ante-chamber of the tomb evidently came from a game-box similar in size to this ivory-veneered specimen, and conceivably its pair. One of the two sets of playing-pieces which Carter associated with the wood and ivory board might well have been intended for this missing object.

The 'musical instruments' recovered by Carter from the tomb are few in number and conservative in type: a pair of ivory clappers; two trumpets; and a pair of sistra. Eighteenth-dynasty Egypt had far more to offer than this, and it may be suspected that the presence in the tomb of these objects owes more to their ritual function than to any desire that Tutankhamun should have pleasurable musical accompaniment in the next life.

### The ivory clappers (no. 620:13)

Found on the floor of the Annexe, these arm-shaped clappers measure some 15.7cm (6¼in) in length. Holes at the proximal end of each clapper were intended for the insertion of a cord linking the two together in the manner of castanets – though, as tomb scenes apparently show, the noise would have been produced by shaking rather than by controlled percussion. Each arm is rather crudely incised on its polished outer surface with an elongated cartouche associating Queen Tiye with her granddaughter, Meritaten: 'The great royal wife Tiye, may she live; the king's daughter Meritaten'. Precisely why granddaughter and grandmother should have been linked in this way is uncertain. The clappers' presence in the tomb of Tutankhamun is similarly obscure.

*(Right) Pair of ivory clappers inscribed for Tiye and Meritaten, pierced at one end and with hands carved at the other.*

*(Below) Similar clappers in use: a scene from the 12th-dynasty tomb of hwyetefiger at Thebes (No. 60).*



## Musical Instruments





receiving the *ankh* ('life') from Amon-Re, behind whom stands the falcon-headed Re-Horakhty.

The physical differences between the trumpets indicate that, though two in number, they are not a pair. As became apparent on the two occasions they were played in modern times – the silver trumpet during the BBC broadcast of 1939 (by Bandsman Tappern, with a modern mouthpiece inserted), when it shattered; the copper (or bronze) trumpet in 1939 and 1941 (on the last occasion without a modern mouthpiece) – both instruments are tuned differently. The noise they produced was characterized by the musicologist Hans Hickman as 'raucous and powerful', recalling 'rather the timbre of a medieval trombone or primitive horn than that of a trumpet or cornet'. In the case of both trumpets, the higher range was achieved with such difficulty that it is unlikely ever to have been used, while the lower range is decidedly poor both in quality and strength. One may conclude, with the musicologist Jeremy Montagu, that the middle range achieved during the experiments was that for which the trumpets had been designed – and from this that 'the Egyptian military trumpet signal code was a rhythmic one on a single pitch'.



### The sistra (nos. 75–6)

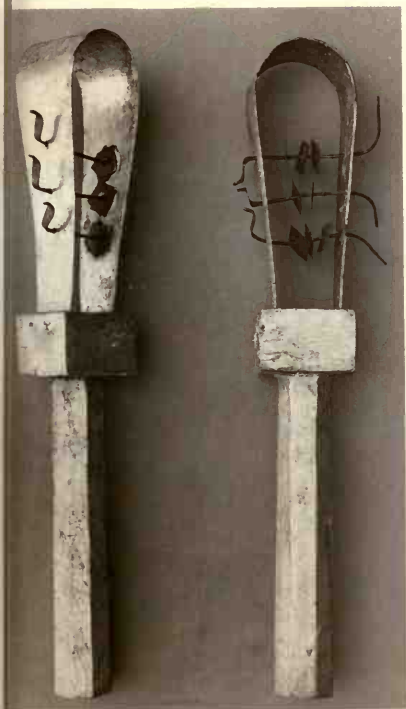
The two arched sistra, or ritualistic rattles, though differing slightly in size (51.5 and 52cm (20½ and 20½in) high), clearly represent a pair. Each has a wooden grip of faceted section, surmounted by a cube-like 'capital' into which slots the shaker-loop with its three serpentine rods and three sets of three square jangles. The heaviness of this unique design is relieved, though only marginally, by the gold leaf applied to the gessoed wooden grip.

That the two sistra were functional instruments and not merely funerary models is indicated by wear on the inside of the arch. The sistrum is predominantly a female instrument, with little relevance to the burial of a king. It is possible, therefore, that the sistra from the tomb of Tutankhamun were not part of the funeral equipment proper, but instruments employed during the burial ritual and abandoned on the Hathor couch at the time the tomb was closed.

*(Above) Bandsman Tappern playing the silver trumpet moments before it shattered during the BBC broadcast of 1939.*

*(Left) The gilded sistra of wood and copper alloy (nos. 75–6). These had perhaps been used in the ritual associated with the closing of the tomb in 1323 BC.*

*(Below) A scene from the small gilded shrine (no. 108), showing Ankhnesenamun presenting her husband with a broad collar, to the accompaniment of a shaking sistrum.*









and Sakhmet. The box carries an impression of seal-type N (p. 94); '... one hoped, upon opening it, to find some writing, perhaps a specimen of the boy's calligraphy; but it was void ... of any form of document'.

### Inscriptions

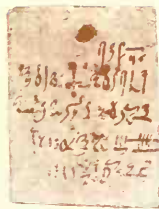
The tomb, in fact, was void of any significant document written on papyrus. In the early days of the discovery, hopes had been high that 'among the documents which are expected to be found in Tutankhamun's tomb will be some that will afford an explanation of his reconversion to Amen worship, determine the length of his reign at Thebes, and reveal the real reason for the inveterate hatred which his successor, Horemheb, displayed towards him ...'. Great excitement was caused by the sighting, in the Antechamber, of a 'box of papyri', in which the fevered imaginations of the Egyptologists at once saw significant historical documents and unknown literary works; the excitement turned to dismay when the box was opened, and it was discovered that the 'papyri' were nothing more than 'discoloured rolls of linen', described by the *Daily Mail* (with some relish) as 'simply folded table napkins'. But hope continued to be expressed that,

with the unwrapping of the royal mummy, 'at least an example of the "Book of the Dead" will be discovered'. The closest that the excavators came were traces on the mummy of a small and very fragmentary 'ritual ... written in white linear hieroglyphs' (perhaps no. 256ii). Although this was 'too decayed and disintegrated to allow of practical conservation, ... here and there names of gods, such as Osiris and Isis, were with difficulty decipherable.' It proved the final disappointment: Tutankhamun's papyri were written off as a dream, and Egyptologists abandoned the chase. Had no papyri been buried with the king? Or had Carter and his team simply misdirected their search (see p. 129)?

Despite the disappointing lack of papyri, a great number of inscriptions were recovered from the tomb – indeed, most of those objects offering a sufficiently large surface carry a text of some sort. These range from extracts from the funerary books, notably on the shrines (p. 100), to longer or shorter versions of the titulary (p. 24) and more spontaneous texts scribbled in hieratic on the young king's boxes, box-labels, wine jars, boxed provisions and storage vessels. But about Tutankhamun himself, they tell us disappointingly little.

*(Left)* Brightly painted scene of Tutankhamun before Ptah, the goddess Sakhmet behind; detail from a simple papyrus box (no. 271a) associated with the king's writing equipment.

*(Below left)* Two wooden labels (nos. 620/96, 620/109), with hieratic inscriptions recording the contents of the boxes to which they were once attached: 'gold rings' and 'clothes'.



*(Bottom left)* The 'papyri' of box no. 43, which, on unpacking, turned out to be nothing more than tightly folded items of royal underlinen.

*(Below right)* The lid of box no. 54 ddd, with black ink docket mentioning the gold rings it once held.



## 'Heirlooms'

It is the habit of all Egyptologists to regard the royal mummies which have been discovered as heirlooms. It is probable that the term in its strictest sense be so designated, the most important being the body of Queen Tyo's heir equipped with the pendant figure of a squatting woman, probably Turankhamon himself, seated on a bed of four coffins in 1320 on the Theban. The royal galleys of his half sisters, Meket and Mernefer, may also be regarded as heirlooms. Most of the rest, at least so far as the inscribed material is concerned, would be better characterized as odds and ends drawn together as required from various royal stores, though if so a deliberate sifting of the

various parcels, ritualistic, personal, or official, is a fact of which one must be aware. There is a very small lot of items carried upon a human, semi-human, or

Harshat carrier

A good number of objects from the tomb bear the traces of earlier kings or members of the royal family, objects which carry rather loosely the name of heirlooms. It is probable that the term in its strictest sense be so designated, the most important being the body of Queen Tyo's heir equipped with the pendant figure of a squatting woman, probably Turankhamon himself, seated on a bed of four coffins in 1320 on the Theban. The royal galleys of his half sisters, Meket and Mernefer, may also be regarded as heirlooms. Most of the rest, at least so far as the inscribed material is concerned, would be better characterized as odds and ends drawn together as required from various royal stores, though if so a deliberate sifting of the



material might be detected. The almost total absence of certain names (Nefertiti and Kiya – if the latter was indeed the mother of Tutankhamun) is especially striking.

Many of these 'surplus' funerary objects – far more, one suspects, than can now be recognized – had originally been prepared for the burials of Amenophis IV–Akhenaten (at Thebes) and of Ankhkheprure Nefernefruaten. The majority of these pieces were fully reinscribed for their new owner, though in a few cases the original name can still be discerned beneath the palimpsest. Contrary to popular belief, there is nothing from the tomb inscribed with the nomen of Ankhkheprure Smenkhkare-djeserkhepru.



(Left) When unwrapped, the linen bundle (no. 320c) was found to contain (above) a solid gold image of a squatting king with bead collar and tasseled suspension cord.



## 'Heirlooms'

Object number	Description	Name	Dimensions (centimetres)
1a	scarab	Tuthmosis III	l. 1.4
1k	box	Akhenaten, Nefernefruaten, Meritaten	l. 58
12n+79+574	box	Nefernefruaten, Meritaten; reinscribed	l. 26.5
44p	model adze	Amenophis III, Tiye	l. 9
46gg	sequins	'Ankhkheprure', Meritaten (?)	d. 1.7
48h	bow	'Ankhkheprure'; reinscribed	l. 134
54hh	box lid	Nefernefruaten	l. 10
101s	linen shawl	'Ankhkheprure'	l. c. 200
256a	scarab chain	'Ankhkheprure'; reused	—
256b	mummy bands	'Ankhkheprure'; reused	—
261a	linen covering of Anubis pectoral	Akhenaten	—
261p(1)	pectoral	Akhenaten; reinscribed	w. 14.3
262	palette	Meritaten; Nefertiti	l. 21.9
266g	canopic coffinettes	Nefernefruaten; reinscribed	l. 39
281a	linen shawl on Mamu figure	Akhenaten	—
320d	miniature coffin with hair	Tiye	l. 13.2
333	whip stock	Tuthmosis (king's son)	l. 51
404	calcite vessel	Tuthmosis III	ht. 35
405	calcite vessel	Amenophis III(?), ?	ht. 30
410	calcite vessel	Tuthmosis III	ht. 41.5
448	calcite vessel	Amenophis III(?), ?	ht. c. 30
483	calcite vessel	Amenophis III	ht. 35.5
585u	glass mandragora fruit	Tuthmosis III	—
588	calcite vessel	Amenophis III, Tiye	ht. 41
596	fan	Akhenaten	l. 104
620:13	clappers	Meritaten; Tiye	l. 15.7
620:40	faience bangle	Akhenaten	d. 7
620:41	faience bangle	Nefernefruaten	d. 7
620:42	faience bangle	Nefernefruaten	d. 7

### Note

Two further ivory palettes from the tomb (not numbered in Carter's sequence) may be noted: one inscribed with the prenomen of Amenophis III, 'beloved of Re'; and another inscribed for Meketaten, noting her filiation to Nefertiti.



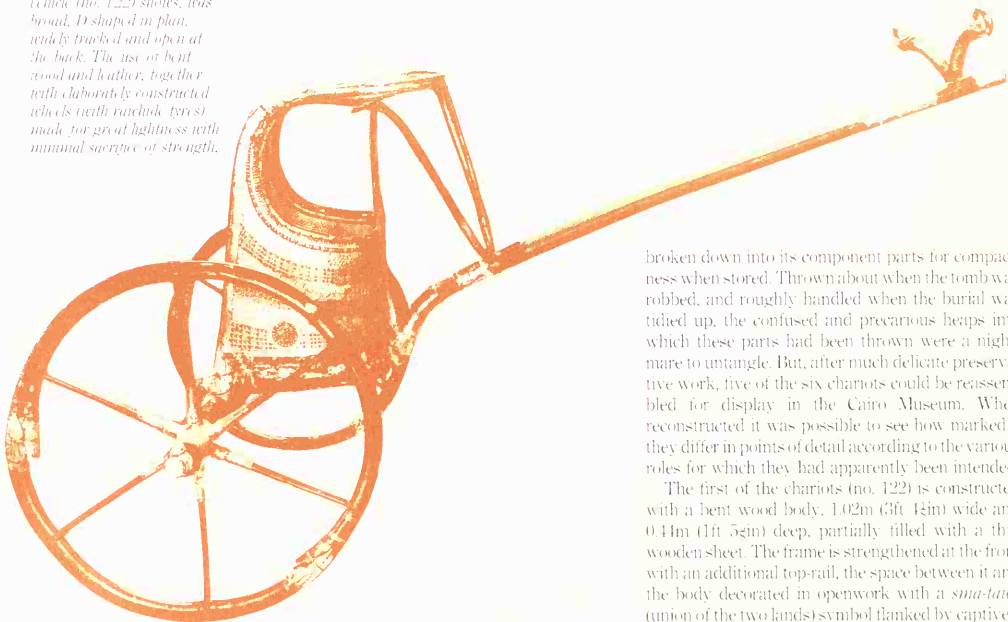
(Left) The miniature third coffin (no. 320b) held a tiny, coffin-shaped box (no. 320d), inscribed with the name of Queen Tiye, wrapped in linen and smeared with unguents. Within this coffin was a plaited lock of hair (no. 320e) – the precious remembrance, perhaps, of a much-loved grandmother.

# Chariots and Chariot Equipment



*Detail of the silver band of the body of the first chariot (no. 122), with its rich decoration of gilded glass and chrysele and rubi inlays of carnelian and coloured glass. The medallion contains a wedyat (i.e. with pendant uraeus, surmounting a wedy-basket) — conceivably a regalia of the royal pronomen.*

*The Egyptian chariot, as Tutankhamun's first 'stab' (which no. 122) shows, was broad, D shaped in plan, widely trucked and open at the back. The use of bent wood and katha, together with elaborately constructed wheels (with ratchet tyres) made for great lightness with minimal sacrifice of strength.*



It is clear that Egypt fit the Hittites in the sixteenth century B.C. the chariot was throughout the New Kingdom closely associated with the king, who is constantly shown dominating the field of battle, the reins around his waist, firing his bow. Chariots begin to appear in Egyptian wall reliefs and paintings from the early 18th dynasty, and are mentioned as diplomatic gifts in the correspondence from el-Amarna. Until the discovery of Tutankhamun's tomb only two complete vehicles were known — one now in Florence, and another from the tomb of Yuya and Tjuyu (No. 46) — together with a miscellaneous array of chariot fittings and fragments from other tombs in the Valley of the Kings and elsewhere. The burial of Tutankhamun yielded six complete but dismantled chariots of unparalleled richness and sophistication, four found at the southeast end of the Ante-chamber and two along the north wall of the Treasury. Each had had its axle sawn through to enable it to be brought along the narrow corridor into the tomb, and each had been

broken down into its component parts for compactness when stored. Thrown about when the tomb was robbed, and roughly handled when the burial was tied up, the confused and precarious heaps into which these parts had been thrown were a nightmare to untangle. But, after much delicate preservative work, five of the six chariots could be reassembled for display in the Cairo Museum. When reconstructed it was possible to see how markedly they differ in points of detail according to the various roles for which they had apparently been intended.

The first of the chariots (no. 122) is constructed with a bent wood body, 1.02m (3ft 4in) wide and 0.44m (1ft 5in) deep, partially filled with a thin wooden sheet. The frame is strengthened at the front with an additional top-rail, the space between it and the body decorated in openwork with a *sma-taui* (union of the two lands) symbol flanked by captives.



The main outer and inner surfaces of the body are gessoed and overlaid with gold which is further embellished with bands of brightly coloured glass and stone inlay. The central inner and outer panels are decorated in raised relief with a winged solar falcon (identified in the inscriptions as Horus-of-Behdet), which hovers above the king's prenomen, nomen and the name of Ankhesenamun. On the lower part of these 'heraldic' panels, two *rekhyt*-birds (representing the people of Egypt) adore a *djed*-pillar (the Osiris Tutankhamun) flanked by *ankh*-signs, while, below, foreign captives are shown entangled in a *sma-tawy* motif. An inlaid *wedjat*-eye roundel is present on either side of the outer body.

The axle, 2.3m (7ft 6½in) long, the greater portion of which was still attached to the body when found, was decorated with inlaid gold bands; the wheels, removed from the axle when the chariot was placed in the tomb, are of the later, composite, six-spoked variety, like all the Tutankhamun specimens. The pole of the first chariot, heat-bent from a single length of straight-grained wood and embellished with gold, attaches to the main body in a socket beneath the rear floor bar, is held in position by lashing around the frontal floor bar, and is further supported by two strengthening rods connecting to the top rail. It connects with the two-horse yoke, of artificially bent hardwood overlaid with gold and with calcite terminals, at its distal end, where it was pegged and lashed into position.

The basic construction of the second chariot (no. 120), 2.89m (9ft 5½in) overall, is similar to that of the

first. Here again, the entire surface is covered with gold and highlighted with coloured inlays. The running-spiral decoration of the outer body is interrupted by a vertical panel decorated with plant motifs, at the top of which is a 'heraldic' panel containing the cartouched prenomens and nomen of the king flanked on either side by his Horus name in a *serekh*. The entire inner surface of the chariot body is covered with relief decoration, consisting of a central *sma-tawy* emblem and bound captives, dominated at either edge by a standing royal sphinx.

These, the two finest vehicles recovered from the tomb, Carter identified as the king's 'state chariots'.

(Above left) Arthur Mace and Alfred Lucas outside the laboratory in the tomb of Sethos II, stabilizing the surface of the second 'state chariot' body (no. 120).

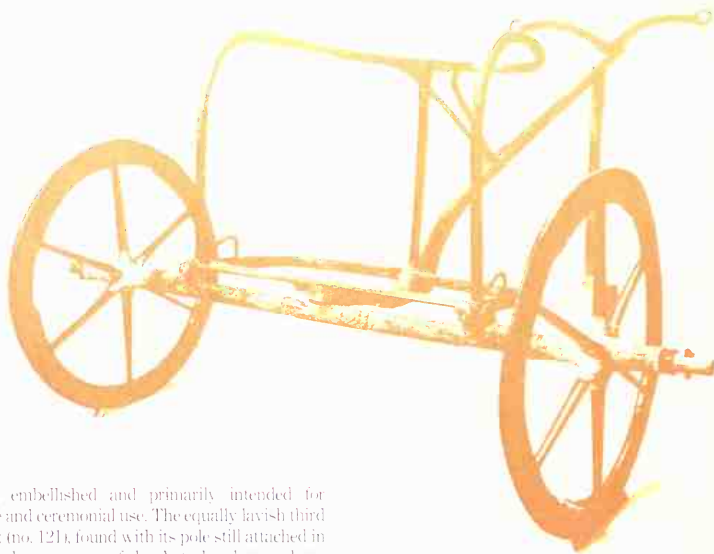
(Above) Gilded Bes-mask with richly inlaid headdress: from the rear siding-frame of the second chariot (no. 120).



(Left) Bound Nubian and Asiatic captives modelled in relief on the gilded interior of the second 'state chariot' (no. 120). (Below) Detail of the relief.



*(Right) The reconstructed fourth chariot (no. 101) in the middle row of the first row of the 18th column of the Treasury with its wooden supports.*



*(Below right) Carter's sketch and comments on the leather body covering of the fifth and sixth chariots (nos. 332, 333) from the Treasury.*

*(Below) Drawing of the fragmentary chariot wheel recovered during Carter's excavations of the tomb of Amenophis III in 1913. The complex construction of such wheels, using imported elm, is strong and depends to split for the nave and native ramoush for the cylindrical web-things, may be clearly seen.*

highly embellished and primarily intended for parade and ceremonial use. The equally lavish third chariot (no. 121), found with its pole still attached in the southeast corner of the Ante-chamber, perhaps falls into the same category, though the fenestrated side panels of this vehicle, which were evidently of leather, have now decayed. The original effect would have been similar to that of the first and second chariots – though as preserved the appearance is one of dragon-fly lightness not dissimilar to that of the fourth chariot (no. 161), an undecorated vehicle with hard-wearing wooden tyres characterized by Carter as a curriole, 'of... more open... lighter construction probably for hunting or exercising purposes'.

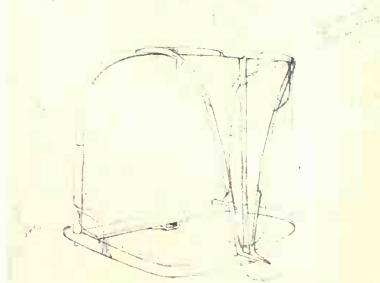
The tangle of parts making up Tutankhamun's fifth (no. 332) and sixth (no. 333) chariots was found in the Treasury. Only no. 333 has been reconstructed. Both were light in construction and again regarded by Carter as hunting vehicles. The first was essentially undecorated though with remains of leather panels to the body sides. The original presence of similar side panels was noted in the case of the rather more elaborate sixth chariot, here, according to Carter, 'highly coloured and decorated'.

### Related equipment

With both groups of chariots was found a mass of related material. Twelve yoke saddles of gilded wood were present – one pair to each chariot. Artificially bent into an inverted U-shape, these saddles were mounted by a reel-shaped knob of calcite by which the saddle was lashed to the yoke proper. A hole in the lower end of each terminal of the yoke saddle was intended to accommodate the harness straps. The leather of the harness had everywhere (due to the intermittent humidity) decayed beyond salvage into a black, glutinous

mass, but many of the gold foil appliques which had once decorated the bridle and bridle bosses, as well as several blinkers and bridle bosses. Ten 'cheek rowsels' (nos. 152a, b, 162, c, d, e, f) – wooden rods just over 0.6m (6' 2ft) long, with a central, copper-spiked disc – also formed part of the chariot

*Note for chariot 332 & 333  
The wheel!*



*Sketch of body & show approximately as shown in the leather covering that was taken off the fragmentary nos. 332 & 333. From the few fragments of remains of this leather covering there has been largely determined that the wheel goes to back destination before the front. The leather frame and supports has its centre line 1/2 from the back fork.*



(Above) A pair of gilded wooden blinkers (no. 122a) with glass inlaid wedjat eyes, from the bridle of the first 'state chariot' (no. 122).

(Left) Tutankhamun at hunt in his chariot: a detail of the king's ostrich-feather fan (no. 242). The charioteer stood on a leather-thonged floor covered with a rug of animal skin or tufted linen – an elastic footing made even more efficient by a flexible yoke-pole and by the placement of the axle at the rear of the body.

harness, originally attached to the reins to distract a quarrelsome male team. Four objects identified by the excavators as fly-whisks (nos. 148a-c, 168), 0.35-0.43m (1ft 1 1/4in-1ft 4 1/4in) long, perhaps originally hung from the horses' sides. It may be noted that no bits were found; their metal content had evidently proved too great a temptation to the tomb's ancient plunderers.

Three whip-stocks (nos. 50ss, 122u, 135cc) were found among the chariot debris in the Antechamber. The first of these, 0.503m (1ft 7 7/8in) long, of ivory mounted with gold, electrum and silver, is inscribed with the titulary of the king, 'who appears upon his team of horses as when Re ascends . . .' A fourth whip-stock, 0.51m (1ft 8 1/2in) long of wood, gessoed and gilded, with a bronze tip and marbled glass knob,

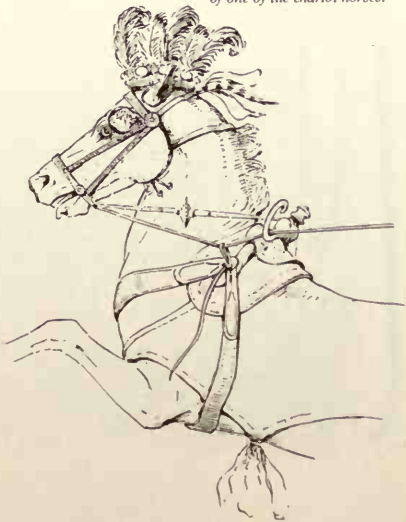
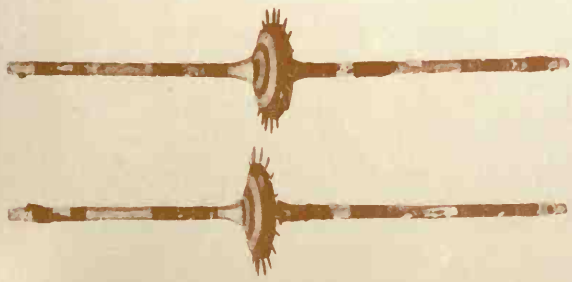
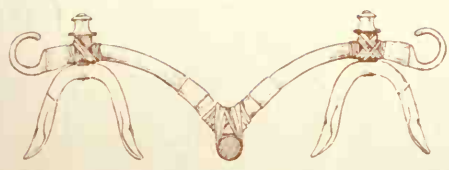
formed part of group no. 333 from the Treasury. It is inscribed for 'The king's son, the troop commander, Tuthmosis, who repeats life'. The identity of this prince is uncertain; he may perhaps as easily be a son of Tuthmosis IV and younger brother of Amenophis III as the elder brother of Akhenaten. A further, fragmentary whip-stock said to come from the tomb, of painted ivory, takes the form of a galloping horse (not numbered in Carter's sequence).

One fragment of linen housing or trapper was recovered (group no. 332/333), its only possible royal parallel being a fragmentary example recovered by Carter from the tomb of Tuthmosis IV (Cairo CG 46526). A crescent-shaped piece of coarse, folded linen (group no. 333) has been identified as part of a neck strap.

(Below left) Carter's reconstruction drawing showing the arrangement of the yoke and yoke saddles.

(Bottom left) A pair of 'check rowsels' (nos. 152a-b) from the Antechamber. The lower specimen may be that seen in situ shots resting upon the seat of one of the folding stools (no. 83).

(Below right) A fanciful reconstruction drawing by Carter showing the harness of one of the chariot-horses.





# Weaponry

Tutankhamun was buried both with items of older style armour – a leather cuirass and eight shields – and with a good range of offensive weapons, including daggers, swords, bows, arrows, throw sticks, boomerangs and clubs; no battle-axes were found. The majority of these pieces were non-military in origin and, to judge from their small size, a number may well have been used by the king during his lifetime.



## Archery equipment

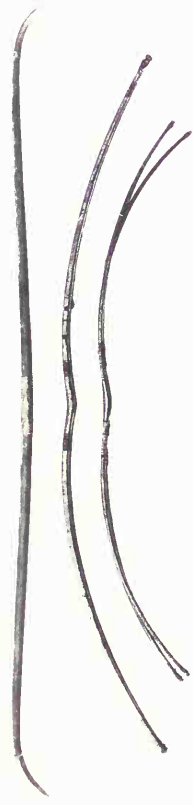
The bows and arrows excite supreme interest. In design they are not unlike the conventional bow and arrow of modern times, but they display a remarkable ingenuity and thoroughness in construction. It was apparent that they had been placed in the tomb with Tutankhamun to assist his ancient Majesty in combating any enemies who might attempt to retard his progress from this world to the next.

Daily Telegraph

The largest group of weapons is the archery tackle, which was found scattered throughout the tomb. Clearance of the entrance corridor produced a single bronze arrowhead (group no. 12m, one of those broken by the robbers from arrows in the Ante-chamber, which itself produced 13 composite bows, 3 self bows, 2 quivers (both of linen, one reinforced with leather) and 112 arrows of arrowheads. In the Burial Chamber were a further 10 self bows and 20 arrows, while the Treasury yielded an elaborate inscribed wooden bow case (no. 335) 1.53m (c. 5ft

## Tutankhamun's Bows

Object number	Descriptions	Length (metres)	Object number	Descriptions	Length (metres)
48f	double composite angular bow	1.2	228	self bow	1.94
48g (1-2)	two composite angular bows	1.315 and 1.26	234	self bow	1.20
48h	composite angular 'Bow of Honour'	1.34	241	self bow	1.65
48i (1)	double composite angular bow	1.395	244	self bow	1.91
48i (2)	composite angular bow	1.20	246	self bow	1.77
48j (1-2)	two composite angular bows	1.105 and 1.13	247	self bow	1.98
48k (1-2)	two composite angular bows	1.12 and 1.125	335a	three composite bows (?)	?
48l	self bow	1.72	370ff n	four composite angular bows	1.215 + 1.12 + 1.02 + 1.11
70	unfinished self bowstave	1.78	370j	composite bow	c. 1.11
77a	self bow	1.59	370kk	short composite angular bow	0.72
77b	composite angular bow	1.25	370ll	miniature composite angular bow	0.34
135z	composite angular bow	1.135	396k m	three short composite angular bows	1.02, 0.98, 0.885
153	composite angular bow	1.085	396n o	two short composite bows	0.69, 0.74
222	self bow	1.21	396p s	four short composite angular bows	0.635, 1.03, 0.905, 0.925
225a b	two self bows	1.65 and 1.70	396t	short self bow	0.67
226	self bow	1.25			





long, covered with linen and leather, with marquetry, bark, faience and gold-leaf decoration, containing three composite bows. The Annexe, where so much of the king's weaponry had been stored, produced a white-painted bow box (no. 370), 1.67m (5ft 5½in) long, 16 composite bows and fragmentary bowstrings, a self bow, 295 arrows and 4 bracers(?) to protect the inner arm from the released bowstring. Seven of the composite bows from the Annexe had been stored in the bow box, together with some 254 arrows, and it is likely that the rest of the archery material found in this chamber had shared the same origin.

The powerful 'composite' or 'compound' bow – a laminated weapon consisting of a wooden core backed and/or faced with sinew or horn and wrapped in bark – was, like the chariot and the *khepesh*-sword, an Asiatic import of the Second Intermediate Period and in frequent use during the New Kingdom. Before Carter's discovery of the tomb, only 10 weapons of this type were known. Tutankhamun's impressive collection of at least 29, and perhaps 32, composite bows is thus the largest extant. The king's bows range in length from a child-sized 0.34 to 1.4m (1ft 1½in to 4ft 7in), and show considerable variation in their individual structure. Scientific examination has shown the wood employed to be ash (*Fraxinus* sp.), in one instance, manna ash (*F. ornus*); the bark, although it has not been positively identified, may be birch or cherry.

Like other composite bows, the Tutankhamun specimens are elaborately decorated and frequently inscribed. The best of them is the gold-sheathed and gold-granulated 'Bow of Honour' (no. 48h) – described by Carter as a 'work of almost inconceivable fineness', which was found with a number of other bows and staves laid on the bed no. 47 in the Antechamber. In the inscriptions of this bow, the name has been rather clumsily altered from 'Ankh-kheprure'. As the Amarna correspondence reveals,

at least one bow of this type was among tribute sent by the Mitannian king Tushratta to the court of Amenophis III.

The longest of the 14 ordinary or 'self' bows from the tomb (one of which had been left unfinished) exceeded the length of the English long-bow – 1.9m (over 6ft). The shortest measured 0.67m (2ft 2½in) long. The material of these bows has never been scientifically examined.

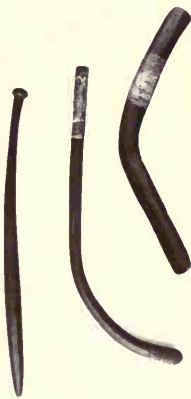
Of the arrows from the tomb, all but 21 (which were constructed entirely of wood) had reed shafts (where examined, *Phragmites communis*, var. *isiacus*), made fletched (feathered) and with wooden nocks. The tips are of various specialized shapes, made from wood, ivory, bone, bronze, stone or glass. The wood employed in the construction of the arrows, which vary in length between 0.145 and 0.95m (5½ and 37½in), has not been analyzed.

### Slings, throwsticks, boomerangs and clubs

Among the miscellaneous weapons of sport and combat found by Carter in a large wooden box (no. 585) in the Annexe were two fragmentary slings of finely plaited linen-cord, each fitted with a pouch for the missile (a rounded pebble, several examples of which were recovered from the floor debris) and a loop at one end for attachment to the little finger. The type is one which has continued in use down to the present century – one correspondent was to draw Carter's attention to the similarity between the

(Above) Two clubs and a boomerang from the large white bow box (no. 370).

(Below) One of the two wooden 'snake batons' (nos. 620:11–12) found on the Annexe floor. A fouling scene (bottom), from the Theban tomb of Nebamun (No. 146), shows a similar weapon.

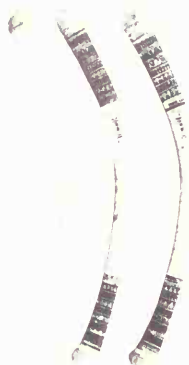


Two decorated wooden arrows (nos. 228, 230) were recovered from the tombs of Amenhotep III.

As revealed by Carter the broadest part of one of these ceremonial bows (nos. 369, 370) was made of wood, the upper part being gessoed and gilded (no. 370) and the lower part of wood. The bows were decorated with black, red, yellow and blue. The bows were recovered from the tomb of Amenhotep III (nos. 369, 370) and among the Amarna finds (nos. 369, 370). The bows were decorated with gesso and gold. The bows were recovered from the tomb of Amenhotep III (nos. 369, 370) and among the Amarna finds (nos. 369, 370). The bows were decorated with gesso and gold. The bows were recovered from the tomb of Amenhotep III (nos. 369, 370) and among the Amarna finds (nos. 369, 370).

Of the Amarna projectiles, the greater number has been thrown into a large white painted jar (no. 370), though others were recovered from boxes 58, 60, and 607, and from the debris on the chamber floor. They included two snake-lion's' heads (nos. 371, 372) a type well known from fowling scenes. One of the finest of Tutankhamun's boomerangs is a non-functional specimen of ivory, gold capped at one end and inscribed for 'The good god, lord of the Two Lands, Nebkheperu, beloved of Ptah, son of Horemkheperu, who will live forever' (no. 6200). Two similar examples (nos. 6201, 6202) were found with it on the Amarna floor. The majority of the projectiles were far more workmanlike objects of hardwood covered with strips of birch bark or painted in polychrome. Lengths varied from 26.5 to over 61 cm (10 to over 25 in), weights from 30 to 260 g (1 1/4 to 9 oz).

The same box (no. 370) which furnished the bulk of the king's bows, boomerangs and throwsticks also contained a number of primitive hardwood



Two decorated wooden arrows (nos. 228, 230) recovered from the tomb of Amenhotep III (nos. 228, 230).

Decorated wooden arrow (no. 228) recovered from the tomb of Amenhotep III (no. 228).

Decorated wooden arrow (no. 230) recovered from the tomb of Amenhotep III (no. 230).



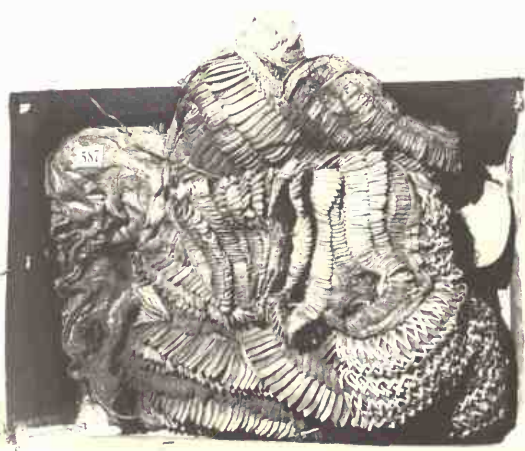
decorated wooden arrows (nos. 228, 230) were recovered from the tomb of Amenhotep III (nos. 228, 230). The bows were decorated with gesso and gold. The bows were recovered from the tomb of Amenhotep III (nos. 369, 370) and among the Amarna finds (nos. 369, 370). The bows were decorated with gesso and gold. The bows were recovered from the tomb of Amenhotep III (nos. 369, 370) and among the Amarna finds (nos. 369, 370).

Two decorated wooden arrows (nos. 228, 230), gessoed and gilded, had been placed between the outermost and second shrines in the Burial Chamber. They measure 81.8 and 82 cm (32 1/2 and 32 3/4 in) long respectively.

### Armour

The only item of true body armour recovered from the tomb was a close-fitting leather cuirass, found in a crumpled up state in box 58, in the Amarna. It is described by Carter as 'made up of scales of thick tanned leather worked on to a linen basis, or lining, in the form of a... bodice without sleeves.' See also the corset from box no. 34 (p. 133).

Clearance of the Amarna produced, in addition, eight shields, of which four of the larger ranging in height between 83.5 and 89 cm (32 1/2 and 35 in) though more delicate types, of gilded openwork, were regarded by Carter as being 'of ceremonial purpose' only. The designs of these ceremonial shields represent the king seated upon his throne (nos. 350, 488b), as a sphinx trampling his enemies (no. 379a), or in human form slaying a lion with a curved *hopesh* sword (no. 379b). The four smaller (about 74 cm (29 in) high) and more functional shields from





the Annexe (nos. 488a, 492, 545, 566) are of solid construction, covered with either antelope or cheetah skin. Each of them is decorated with a central panel of gilded gesso containing the prenomen and nomen of the king.

### Swords and daggers

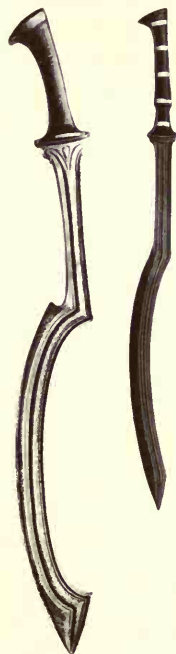
Two characteristic New-Kingdom *khepesh*-swords, a type of Asiatic origin, were found in the Annexe. The first of these (no. 582a) made of bronze and measuring some 59.7cm (23½in) in length, was with a mass of sticks and staves in the southwest corner of the room. It is a heavy-backed, full-sized weapon, its curious, sickle-shaped blade cast as one with the handle and the grip inlaid with panels of ebony or some other, dark-stained wood. Carter believed it to be 'more fitted for a "crushing" than for a "cutting" blow, its convex edge being only partially developed.' The second *khepesh* (no. 620:52), recovered from the debris on the Annexe floor, was in contrast a very much smaller weapon, 40.6cm (16in) overall, again cast in one piece from bronze and with dark-wood grips but lighter in weight and with a finely edged cutting blade. As Carter suggests, it was probably made for Tutankhamun as a child.

Two small (8.5 and 9cm (3⅓ and 3½in) long) gold amulets of *khepesh* form were also found in the debris of the Annexe floor (nos. 620:60-61).

The finest weapons buried with Tutankhamun were the two daggers found wrapped in with the royal mummy (p. 177). The first of these (no. 256dd),

31.9cm (12½in) long, was found 'tucked . . . obliquely' under one of the narrow, chased sheet 'girdles' that surrounded the waist, 'the haft to the right of the abdomen, the point of the sheath over the upper part of the left thigh'. The dagger sheath is of sheet gold, its outer surface delicately inlaid with a *rishi* pattern and fitted with a fennec- or desert-fox-head chape, the inner surface decorated in repoussé with an energetic chase-scene and incised with the king's name: 'The good god, lord of valour, Nebkheprure'. With its hardened gold blade, the ricasso elegantly chased with a palmette design, its elaborate grip richly granulated and inlaid with glass and semi-precious stones, the weapon is a masterpiece of the jeweller's art.

The second dagger (no. 256k) 34.2cm (13½in) long is even more startling, bearing a close resemblance to the weapons sent by the Mitannian king Tushratta to Amenophis III. Buried in the mummy wrappings along the right thigh, this dagger too was contained in a sheet-gold scabbard, decorated on its outer surface with a chased *rishi* pattern and again terminating in the head of a fennec, the back with a vertical palmette design contained within a rope border. Unlike that of the first dagger, it is uninscribed. The weapon proper is fitted with a grip closely similar to that of the first dagger, except that it is fitted with a pommel of sparkling rock crystal. But only when the dagger was drawn from the sheath was its true significance appreciated: 'the astonishing and unique feature of this beautiful weapon is that the blade is of iron, still bright and resembling steel!' This metal, of Hittite origin and of the greatest rarity and value, was destined to change the world.



(Above left) A second ceremonial shield (no. 379a), again of gilded openwork, showing the king as a sphinx trampling his enemies.

(Above) The two bronze *khepesh*-swords from the Annexe, that on the left (no. 582a) a full-sized weapon, that on the right (no. 620:52) evidently prepared for Tutankhamun as a child.

Two daggers from the royal mummy, with blades of gold (no. 256dd) and iron (no. 256k): after watercolours by Winifred M. Brunton.

# Sticks, Staves and Fans



▲ This 10-cm (4-in) wooden statue of a young boy, known as the 'Young Tut' statue, was found in the tomb of Tutankhamun. It is thought to have featured in the coronation of the young king. The statue is made of wood and is decorated with gold and silver. It is thought to have featured in the coronation of the young king. The statue is made of wood and is decorated with gold and silver. It is thought to have featured in the coronation of the young king.

Wallace Miller Collection

## Sticks and staves

The number of sticks and staves buried with Tutankhamun – some 130 complete and fragmentary examples, from the Antechamber, the Burial Chamber and the Annex – led Carter to speculate that 'The young Tutankhamun must have been an amateur collector of walking sticks and staves'. Many of the forms were clearly ritual objects, however, showed signs of use.

The king's sticks and staves were of several different types: long staves with knobbed and forked tops and ferruled ends, crooked sticks, and curved sticks for killing snakes. Some beautifully mounted with gold and silver, others decorated with a marquetry of barks, or with the polished wood left plain'. One group from the Antechamber included



four specimens ranging in length from 91.0 to 116.0 cm (36.2 to 45.7 in) with crooks carved and painted to represent African and Asiatic captives (nos. 483, 484), while with another group propped up inside the doors of the outermost shrine were two staves, one of gold (131.7 cm (51.4 in)) and one of silver (130.5 cm (51.4 in)), surmounted by exquisite miniature effigies of the young king (nos. 235a, b). One stick stood out from the rest by its stark simplicity (no. 229, 181.7 cm (71.1 in)) long. 'We wondered why such an ordinary and plain reed should have been so richly mounted, but the legend written upon it gave the touching solution: "A reed which His Majesty cut with his own hand".'

▲ Above: Image of the child king on golden staff no. 229. With a matching silver staff, it is thought to have featured in the coronation.

▲ Below: Fighting sticks (bottom to top, nos. 182b, 1c), each fitted originally with a gold-mounted leather knuckle guard. (Right) Fighting sticks in use from the tomb of Amenemhat (No. 19) at Thebes.



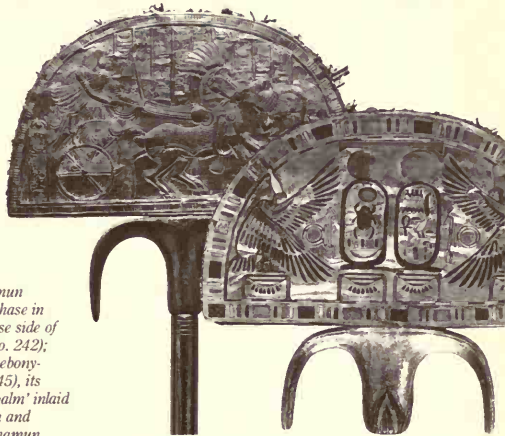
▲ Below: Detail from a Theban tomb painting of a king holding a stick like the gold and marquetry embellished one to the right (no. 227a). (Far right) The gold-mounted reed (no. 229).



(Left) The enemies of Pharaoh: bound Asiatic and Nubian captives decorating the curved end of one of Tutankhamun's more elaborate sticks (no. 50au).



(Right) Head of a gold-foil covered fan (no. 596a), inscribed with the cartouches of Akhenaten and the later name-form of the Aten.



'Such charming relics seem to elude time; many civilizations have risen and died away since that fan was deposited in this treasury. Such a rare, but in many ways familiar, object provides a link between us and that tremendous past. It helps us to visualize that the young king must have been very like ourselves.'

Howard Carter

(Right) Tutankhamun returns from the chase in triumph: the reverse side of the Golden Fan (no. 242); and (far right) an ebony-stocked fan (no. 245), its gold-foil covered 'palm' inlaid with the prenomen and nomen of Tutankhamun.

Fans

In a land as hot and frequently airless as Egypt the fan was a necessary piece of equipment, intended to provide shade as well as a cooling breeze. Tutankhamun had been buried with eight – a single hand-held example and seven fans mounted on longer or shorter stocks for operation by a courtier. All are of the half-round, multi-feathered variety, and were distributed between the Burial Chamber (nos. 242 and 245), the Treasury (no. 272a), and the Annexe (nos. 389, 415, 596a, 599 and 600).

materials from stained and gilded ivory, to wood with ornamented bark covering, and gold foil. Each had been fitted with 48 feathers. Where traces were preserved, it could be seen that the feathering had been stripped from the quills for part of the lower length, presenting a spoked effect. All except no. 596a, which carries the later form of the Aten cartouches and the prenomen and nomen of Akhenaten, were inscribed for Tutankhamun himself.

(Below left) The king's small, rotating hand-fan as found in the bottom of box no. 272, its feathers preserved intact.

(Below right) Two of the fans from the Annexe (nos. 415, 600). The latter, when found, had the quills of its ostrich feathers still in place.

The most remarkable of Tutankhamun's fans was a small (18cm (c. 7in) long) but exquisite rotating hand-fan of ivory found in a white-painted wooden box (no. 272) in the Treasury. Its feathers, predominantly white with a shorter row of brown at the base, were preserved intact.



The first of the long fans was no. 242 (the 'Golden Fan'), deposited in the space between the third and fourth shrines, on the western side. Just over a metre in length (1.015m (c. 3ft 4in)), both the handle and the semi-circular 'palm' into which the feathers were originally inserted are covered with thick gold foil. Both sides of the palm are embossed and chased, the one with a scene of Tutankhamun hunting, the other with his triumphant return. The vertical inscription chased down the length of the handle records that the feathers of the fan (42 in all, before the depredations of insects, alternating white and brown) were obtained by the king 'while out hunting in the desert east of Heliopolis'.

The second stocked fan, no. 245 (the 'Ebony Fan'), was lying on the south side of the innermost shrine. Its palm is similarly covered with thick gold sheet, decorated in inlay work of coloured glass and calcite with the king's twin cartouches, while the ebony stock is decorated at intervals with inlaid bands.

The five fans from the Annexe varied in length between 60.96 and 121.9cm (24 and 48in) and their





original position', its painted, linen-weave mattress pierced by the cow-goddess's horns. It was uninscribed. Bed no. 377, from the Annexe, had been similarly roughly treated, being found 'on its side upon a heap of divers objects [at the] S. end of [the] chamber'. Its ebony frame is gessoed and covered with gold leaf, the inner surface of the footboard decorated with figures of the hippopotamus-headed Thoeris and of Bes and its outer face with papyrus and lotus motifs. The most notable feature of this roughly constructed piece, which Carter believed to be 'for sepulchral purpose', is the elaborate stringing of its mattress.

Two beds were recovered from the heap of debris at the north end of the Annexe. The first of these and at the same time the most spectacular of Tutankhamun's beds (no. 466) had its carved ebony frame entirely covered in thick gold foil. Somewhat shorter, at 1.75m (5ft 8½in), than the king's ebony bedstead, scratches on the gold suggested to Carter that this piece of furniture had seen use and was not primarily a funerary piece. The footboard is again

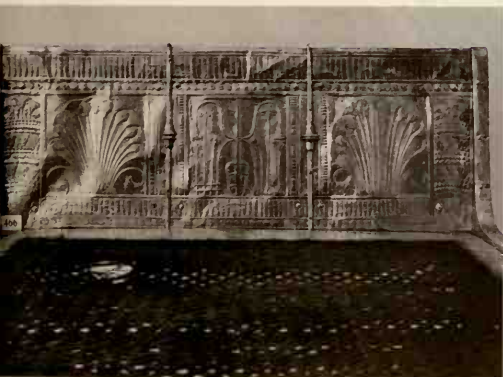
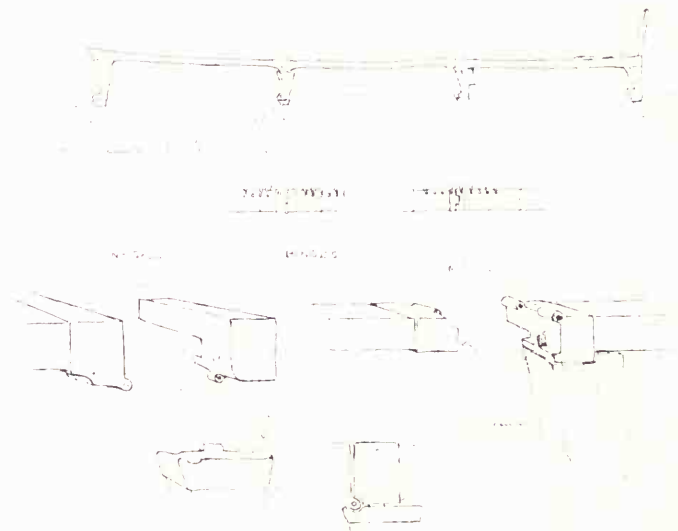






Figure 10. Travelling bed (no. 586) from the tomb of Ptahhotep, Giza, 2600-2500 BC. The bed is made of light wood and is decorated with papyrus clumps and plant designs. The central panel carries a large *sma-haty* motif. The second bed from this heap (no. 497) was a great deal more modest of simple wood construction, with its plain, panelled footboard broken away in antiquity and found leaning against the north wall.



divided into three bordered panels, decorated with papyrus clumps and plant designs, the central panel carrying a large *sma-haty* motif. The second bed from this heap (no. 497) was a great deal more modest of simple wood construction, with its plain, panelled footboard broken away in antiquity and found leaning against the north wall.

The south end of the Annexe yielded the only intact, full-sized example of a travelling bed (no. 586) to have survived from ancient Egypt. Made of a light wood and measuring 1.79m (5ft 10½in) overall, its length is interrupted at two points by heavy, copper hinged joints. The resultant lack of rigidity is compensated for by the provision of four extra legs, again of feline type, which are hinged to fold inwards when the bed is closed up in Z-form. At a mere 0.30m (c. 1ft) high this bed sits rather lower

than the other beds from the tomb, but is generally similar in form. The footboard is panelled, like that of no. 497, and, like bed no. 80, it was originally painted over its entire surface (including its closely woven string mattress) in white, presumably linewash.

### Headrests

Closely associated with the ritual couches (p. 146) and beds was a series of headrests which, suitably padded with linen, provided support during sleep. Eight were found in various parts of the tomb.

The characteristic New Kingdom headrest is of wasted form, produced in two or three parts, and 18cm (or so c. 7in) in height. Six examples of this type were recorded, the first (no. 21c), of gessoed and gilded wood, otherwise without decoration or

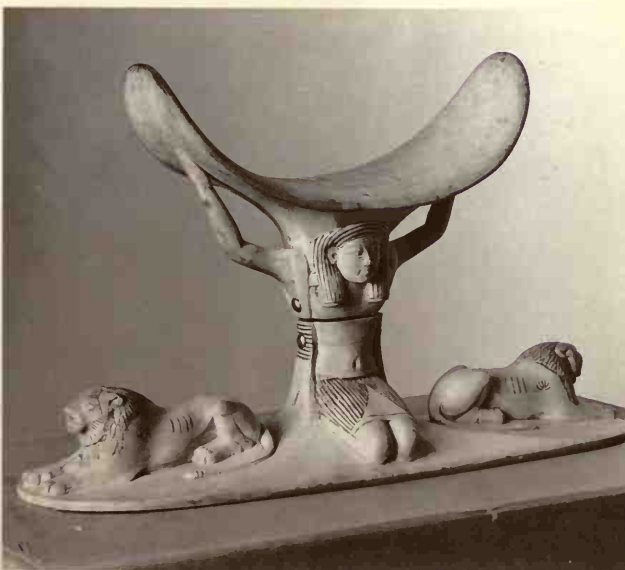
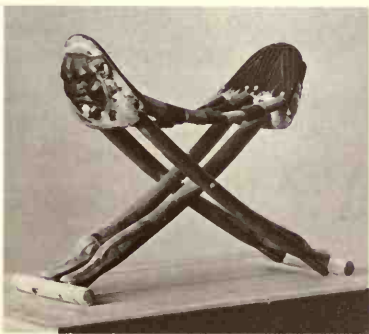
inscription, was recovered from the elaborate Painted Box positioned in front of the Burial Chamber blocking; two similarly decorated headrests were found in the Annexe, in box nos. 547 and 548. The three had perhaps been intended for the ritual couches (p. 146). A rather better example (no. 101o), of hard reddish-brown wood which Carter tentatively identified as cedar, was found in a black-and-white box with vaulted lid on top of the hippopotamus couch in the Antechamber. Blue-painted figures of Bes decorate either side of the base, with a column of text, again in blue, on the front and back containing the prenomens and nomen of Tutankhamun.

The majority of the tomb's headrests, like the beds themselves, came from the Annexe. The 'excavation' of a delightful 'table-shaped cabinet' (no. 403) found lying on top of the jumble in the middle of the chamber produced four headrests – though Carter was of the opinion that 'These were put there after the robbery and have, no doubt, nothing to do with the box itself.' The quality of all four headrests is superb. The first (no. 403a), made of turquoise-blue glass, now somewhat discoloured from the damp of the tomb, is of the usual waisted form, fashioned in two halves and joined at the centre of the column with a square wooden dowel. The join is covered by a narrow strip of gold foil, evidently attached to a central wooden 'washer', chased with alternating *ankh* ('life') and *was* ('dominion') hieroglyphs. Both sides of the column carry a vertical inscription, one incorporating the prenomens, the other the nomen. One corner of the base shows evidence of an ancient mend.

The second headrest (no. 403b) from this box is of deep blue faience, made in two pieces joined at the middle, the joint concealed with a delicately inlaid gold band. Both front and rear facets of the column carry an elaborate cartouche in turquoise-blue glaze, one side containing the prenomens, 'Nebkheprure', the other the nomen, 'Tutankhamun, ruler-of-Upper-Egyptian-Heliopolis'.

The two remaining headrests from this box (nos. 403c and 403d), both of ivory, are each unique in design. In the first, which is made in two pieces, the central column is carved in the form of the kneeling air-god, Shu, supporting the curved top surface of the headrest (= the heavens) on his shoulders; the base is decorated with the two couchant lions of the eastern and western horizons, carved in the round to either side. The back of the pillar carries a vertical column of incised hieroglyphs (with blue-black fill) containing the king's prenomens. No. 403d takes the form of a miniature folding stool, with a flexible 'rest' of threaded ivory beads, variously stained, like the headrest itself, in red, green and black. The outer surfaces of the pillow terminals are carved with Bes masks, while the gold-hinged, duck-headed legs (one of which is incised with Tutankhamun's prenomens) are steadied by horizontal, yellow-stained ivory feet.

Headrests inscribed with the names of Tutankhamun, from Annexe box no. 403. (Top) Headrest of turquoise-blue glass (no. 403a), of traditional, single-pillared form. (Centre) The folding headrest of tinted ivory (no. 403d), with beaded 'cushion', Bes masks and duck-headed legs. (Bottom) The ivory Shu headrest (no. 403c), with curved pillow and base decorated with the lions of the eastern and western horizons.



# Chairs and Thrones



44 cm. The magnificent  
inlaid backrest of the  
throne of Queen Isis  
from the tomb of  
her husband, Amenhotep  
III, is shown  
separately in this  
drawing. It is the  
only piece of wood  
from the tomb to be  
preserved in the site.

The throne of Amenhotep III, with the lower  
sections now a little damaged, is a  
splendid example of the art of  
the ancient Egyptian. It is made of  
wood, and is inlaid with gold, silver,  
and other precious stones. The  
throne is a masterpiece of  
craftsmanship, and is a fine  
example of the art of the  
ancient Egyptian.

The most important of Amenhotep III's  
chairs is the one of his wife, Queen Isis.  
It is a masterpiece of the art of the  
ancient Egyptian. It is made of  
wood, and is inlaid with gold, silver,  
and other precious stones. The  
throne is a masterpiece of  
craftsmanship, and is a fine  
example of the art of the  
ancient Egyptian. The throne of  
Queen Isis is a masterpiece of  
craftsmanship, and is a fine  
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Queen Isis is a masterpiece of  
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example of the art of the  
ancient Egyptian. The throne of  
Queen Isis is a masterpiece of  
craftsmanship, and is a fine  
example of the art of the  
ancient Egyptian.

The focus of this chair is the sloping back, with its  
inlaid scene of the relaxed Amarna style of the  
queen anointing her young husband with perfume  
within a floral pavilion open to the rays of the Aten,  
which is here referred to in its later name form  
Certain details of this panel have been altered since it  
was first made – most noticeably the head-orna-  
ments worn by the royal couple which in their final  
form cut through the life-giving rays of the disc. The  
queen's wig appears also to have been reduced in  
size, leaving the pleated ribbons of the fillet hanging  
unattached. The rebus inscriptions to the left and  
right of the couple refer to them with the amun  
forms of their names; these names too appear to have  
been altered. These alterations are perhaps to be  
construed as part of a retouching not fully  
completed) to which the chair had been subjected  
before it was introduced into the tomb, and to which  
two hieratic notations on the rear right leg perhaps  
relate.

The throne's footrest (no. 90), 63.5cm (25in) long,  
had been placed sideways upon the inlaid chequer-  
board seat. Constructed of heavy wood, gessoed,  
gilded and inlaid with blue faience and yellow  
stone(?), the top surface carries a design consisting  
of three Nubians and three Asians, the chiefs of  
all foreign lands [who] are under his [the king's]  
feet.

An unnumbered chair (no. 39), again from the  
Antechamber, is of similar design to the Golden





Throne. Made from African ebony with ivory inlay, its side panels overlaid with gold leaf, it had been prepared for Tutankhamun as a child, to judge from its small size (0.71m (2ft 4in) high). The mortise and tenon joints with which the chair was assembled are secured with bronze pins capped in gold. Unlike the flat seat of the more elaborate throne, that of the child's chair is made with a double curve, while the stretchers are more simplified.



(Far left) The Golden Throne (no. 91) after conservation by Lucas and Mace; the positions of the missing sma-tawy grilles beneath the seat may be clearly seen.

(Left) The Golden Throne (no. 91) as found beneath the Anmutt couch (no. 137) in the Antechamber. The back of the throne had been bound in antiquity with a length of black linen.

(Below left) Chair no. 87, its finely carved wooden surface picked out to dazzling effect with gold foil. The gold-covered sma-tawy grilles beneath the seat were wrenched away and carried off in antiquity by tomb-robbers.

(Below right) Detail of a rush-work hassock (no. 354) from the Annex, lined with linen and elaborately decorated with the figure of a bound captive in coloured beadwork.

One of the most elegant of the chairs buried with Tutankhamun was again found in the Antechamber (no. 87, 0.96m (3ft 1½in) high, with its associated footrest, no. 88, 0.51m (2ft 8¼in) long). The piece is constructed from an unidentified fine-grained wood, with tenon and mortise joints strengthened by gold-capped copper-alloy rivets. The deep-red colour of the base material is emphasized by a contrasting gold-foil overlay on the winged sun-disc, the wooden

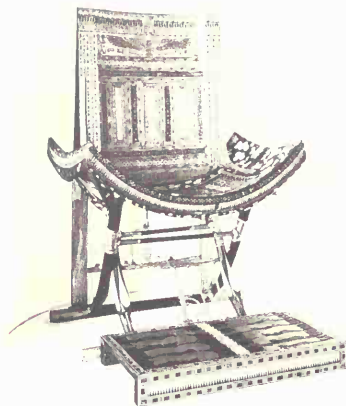




(Above, left) The so-called 'Ech-siastou' Throne (no. 377), from the Antechamber, assembled with both the 'Tutankhamun' forms of the king's name. (Above, right) The top surface of the associated footrest no. 378.

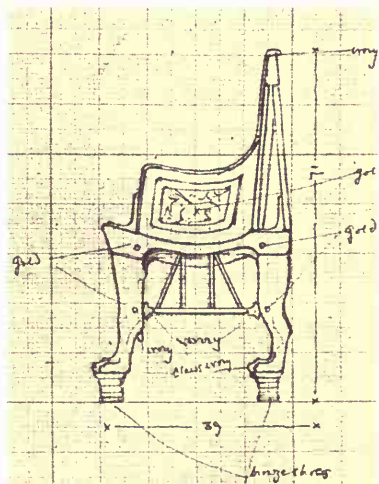
(Below, left) Small egyptian chair no. 399, made for Tutankhamun as a child (below, center) Sketch of chair no. 399, from Carter's unpublished notes.

(Below, right) Chair no. 82, bound with papyrus strips, and with back and seat in sheets of the same material - a sketch made by Carter.



back-bracers, and before they were carried off by thieves) the openwork *simitet* motifs between the animal legs. The seat of the chair is again doubly-curved, while the back carries an openwork representation of Heb, god of eternity, grasping notched palm ribs, an *ankh* sign over one arm, kneeling upon the hieroglyph for gold - a complex interaction of symbols intended to convey the hope of long and prosperous life. The main inscription, cut in relief, comprises the names and titles of the king, here as 'Tutankhamun'.

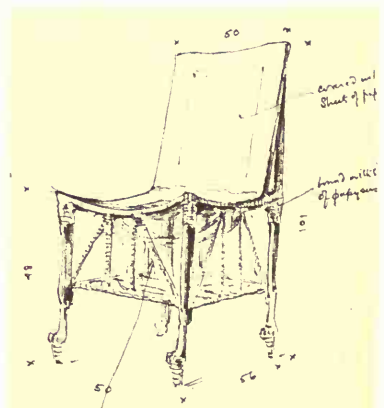
Carter also recovered from the Antechamber, in a state of virtual collapse, a second chair of similar design (no. 82) though with an arrangement of vertical and diagonal bracings between the legs. The ebony framework of this chair, which stood 1.0m (3ft 3in) high, was held together merely by strips of papyrus, while sheets of papyrus had been employed to form the seat and back.



... ..

The second piece, a small, three-piece footrest (no. 378), 0.38m (1ft 11in) long, similarly veneered and inlaid. Its top surface is divided into two, each stacked horizontally with alternating black and Asiate bound captives - the 'Nine Bows', or traditional enemies of the Egyptian state.

Associated with this throne was a simple, three-piece footrest (no. 378), 0.38m (1ft 11in) long, similarly veneered and inlaid. Its top surface is divided into two, each stacked horizontally with alternating black and Asiate bound captives - the 'Nine Bows', or traditional enemies of the Egyptian state.



The ebony wood framework held together solely by papyrus strips.

What may be a seventh chair (no. 33), albeit a very small one, low-backed and a mere 0.242m (c. 9½in) high, comes from the Antechamber; it was found balanced on top of the carrying chest no. 32 beneath the first of the ritual couches. The excavation records describe it, rather doubtfully, as a 'wooden stand' with 'slots cut out at each side, at top of back and front of seat', perhaps 'for side bars'. The information we have (which is very little) might indicate that the object was a low feeding chair used by Tutankhamun as an infant.

In addition to the footrests associated with the chairs and thrones enumerated above, eight further examples had been buried with Tutankhamun, both decorated (no. 30) and plain (nos. 67, 92, 414, 442b, 442e, 592, 613). Of those from the Annexe, Carter comments, 'Their dimensions seem appropriate only for a child'. With these footrests may be grouped a series of hassocks (nos. 34, 354, 361, 431b), evidently 'intended for the royal knee', of rush-work, lined with linen, and covered with elaborate polychrome beadwork. . . . Dimensions for only two of these are recorded: nos. 34 and 354, with diameters of 26 and 29cm (10½ and 11½in).

In all, 12 stools, of six distinct types, were found (nos. 66, 78, 81, 83-4, 139-40, 142b + 149, 412, 467, 511, 595). The first, represented by nos. 66, 81 and 84, ranging in height from 0.305 to 0.38m (c. 12 to 15in), is of simple, straight-legged form with double-curved seat and vertical and diagonal bracings; the second, somewhat similar, but with animal legs and *sma-tawy* grilles (nos. 78 and 467, at 0.345 (1ft 1½in) and 0.45m (1ft 5¾in) high respectively); the third, with 'turned' legs and horizontal stretchers (no. 142b + 149, 0.415m (1ft 4¾in) high); the fourth, of folding type (nos. 83, 139-40), again under half a metre (c. 19½in) in height; and the fifth, of which only one example was recorded (no. 412), of tripod form, 0.29m (9½in) high, with animal legs and semi-circular seat. The type of no. 595, constructed from papyrus and palm-stalks and very badly preserved, is not clear.

Object no. 511, from the Annexe – rectangular in form, with bronze staples, a goose-feather filled cushion and leather carrying straps – Carter identified as a 'travelling stool'. This stool, 0.342m (1ft 1½in) long, and 0.205m (8in) high, was constructed from inferior wood improved by gilding and blue faience inlays; three of its four sides are decorated with a *sma-tawy* motif flanked by two bound captives on either side. The stool appears to be associated with the collapsible wooden canopy, no. 123, 'carried in the king's train wherever he went, and set up at a moment's notice to shield him from the sun'. The principal sections of this framework were found at the south end of the Antechamber with other elements recovered from the Annexe. Several parts of the canopy were missing, including the base. Its fabric covering, together with its metal fittings, had perhaps been carried off by the robbers.

(Right) The reconstructed framework of the king's collapsible wooden canopy (no. 123). The original base was not found.



(Left, top to bottom) The royal 'feeding chair' (?) (no. 33); one of the tomb's three duck-headed folding stools (no. 140), lacking its seat; a white-painted, feline-legged stool (no. 467) with gilded *sma-tawy* grilles and double-curved seat designed to hold a cushion in position; and a white-painted tripod stool (no. 415), with feline legs, single *sma-tawy* grille and openwork seat in the form of two lions bound head to tail.

## Boxes and Chests



It is called the 'big' chest (no. 125) by the British Museum (BM 100.10.1184) and the 'small' chest (no. 126) by the Metropolitan Museum of Art (100.10.1185). The 'big' chest is made of dark wood and has a lid with a central panel decorated with a carved face and hieroglyphs. The 'small' chest is made of lighter wood and has a lid with a central panel decorated with a carved face and hieroglyphs. Both chests are made of wood and have a lid with a central panel decorated with a carved face and hieroglyphs. The 'big' chest is made of dark wood and has a lid with a central panel decorated with a carved face and hieroglyphs. The 'small' chest is made of lighter wood and has a lid with a central panel decorated with a carved face and hieroglyphs.

The boxes range in size from the smallest and most delicate (for cosmetics or amulets) to large and massive carrying chests of red and yellow-pole handles (no. 12) and other examples of long slender legs (nos. 56, 100, 188 and 198). Rectangular forms predominate, with sloping, gabled or flat lids. Four boxes are diamond-shaped, and one, of veneered, barrel construction, is semi-circular in shape. Several boxes (eg. no. 56) have secondary internal lids. The interiors of a great many of the boxes (eg. no. 315) are lined with wooden divisions, as if to receive specific objects or vessels. Materials and quality vary, from the beautifully finished cedar casket no. 40 found in the Antechamber to the irregularly made, yellow-painted wood of its container box no. 111 + 115 and the papyrus-pith construction of box no. 271a, with its linen-lined interior. On the whole, however, even with the most attractive of the boxes, the quality of the basic construction appeared to be poor, though the bad jointing we see today may be due at least in part to shrinkage.

The majority of Tutankhamun's boxes had been closed by means of cord wrapped around the knobs



on the movable lid and end, to which a seal (p. 93) was then attached. Some containers, like no. 12n + 79 + 574, were fitted with gilded-copper side staples; such boxes 'were evidently intended to be used for travelling purposes, strapped either on the back of a beast of burden, or over the shoulders of a slave'. Copper hinges occur, for example on box no. 267 and on the 'toy chest' no. 585, both of which are fitted with an automatic catch: 'the fastening of the knob upon the lid is so notched on the inside that when the lid was closed and the knob turned, it locked the lid to the box'. In Carter's opinion, 'This

(Opposite, above) Box-fronted travelling box (no. 12n + 79 + 574), perhaps in earlier days intended as a container for papyrus rolls.

(Opposite, below left) Calcite box (no. 40) of Tutankhamun and Ankhesenamun, with incised, colour-filled decoration and obsidian fastening knobs. When found, the box contained a mass of decayed hair and two hair balls wrapped in linen – remains of the royal marriage contract?

(Opposite, below right) Small panelled box (no. 56) on legs, with 'ebony' and ivory veneer and ivory fastening knobs. The interior is divided into six compartments, and fitted with a secondary hinged lid.



(Above) The portable chest (no. 32) in position in the Antechamber beneath the lioness couch (no. 35).

(Left) This type of large, portable chest (no. 32), with retractable handles, is well-known from tomb scenes going back to the Old Kingdom. Tutankhamun's, however, is the only example known to have survived.



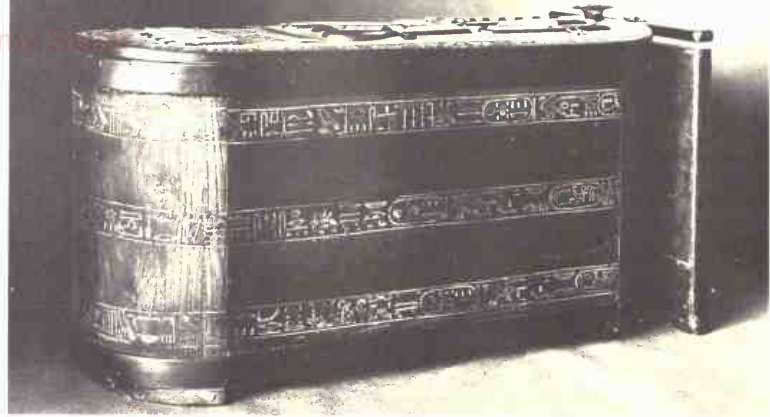
(Left) The 'Painted Box' (no. 21), decorated over its entire outer surface with highly detailed scenes executed in tempera on a gesso base. The scene on the box side depicts Tutankhamun in battle against the Syrians; that visible on the lid shows the king hunting in the desert.





(Above left) The lid of box no. 369, with hieroglyphs of the ankh and other work symbolizing out the king's women (Tutankhamun, ruler of Egypt) Egyptian Helipolis

(Above right) The cartouch-shaped box no. 2699 from the Treasury, found to contain jewelry, linen, and a gold mirror case



contrivance . . . is the earliest automatic fastening hitherto known).

As with other classes of object from the tomb, a number of pieces had originally been prepared during previous reigns. With box 1k, which carries the names of Akhenaten, Nefertiti and Meritaten, there had been no attempt to alter the earlier names, though on box 12n + 79 - 571 the cartouches

of Nefertiti and Meritaten had been erased and written over with those of the goddess and his consort. The inlaid wooden lid of a small box found in the Antechamber (5) also carries the name of Nefertiti, the fifth daughter of Akhenaten, and Nefertiti; the box itself was not recovered.

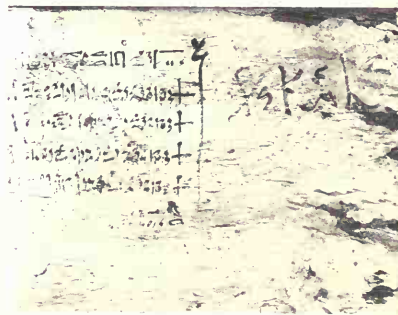
The two finest boxes from the tomb are the Painted Box no. 21 from the Antechamber (ides

## The Box Dockets

The majority of these docketts appear to have been written at the time the tomb was stocked; a very few, such as that inscribed upon box no. 575, may date from after the first robbery.

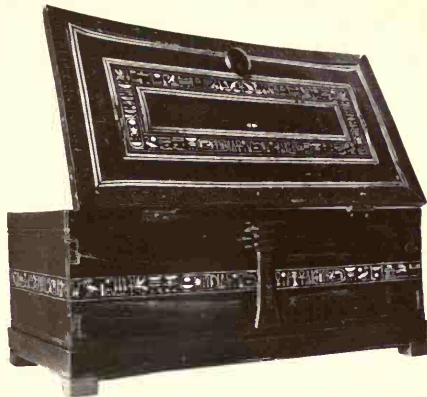
### Object number Translation

1k	The box of <i>kedet</i> wood. Contents pertaining to the House-of-repelling the bowmen; byssus prepared as <i>nich</i> -material, different shawls of very good quality, 2; byssus prepared as <i>nich</i> material, kerchiefs, 10; byssus prepared as <i>nich</i> material, long <i>soj</i> lincloths, 20; byssus prepared as <i>nich</i> material, long shirts, 7(?). Total of various choice linen. [3][4?]	
11	Contents: 1 silver <i>khenen</i> -vase; 3 silver jugs for milk	
12n + 79 + 574	The <i>khethet</i> -objects of the king Nebkhepreure 'life! prosperity! health!' which belonged to the funeral	283 Gods (p. 130)
54	Contents: 17 blue faience <i>nemset</i> ewers	330 (p. 139)
54ddd	Gold seal rings belonging to the funeral	386 + 388
68	The equipment of His Majesty life! prosperity! health! when he was a child. Contents, copper handled razors, knife razors, and ewers; linen	537 - 537 493 + 494
101	Contents: 17 <i>duw</i> lengths, for making up into 34 <i>dau</i> lincloths	547 + 615 575 + 594
267	Gold jewellery(?) for the funeral made [originally] for the bed chamber of Nebkhepreure	
268	Gold <i>h</i> vase and <i>nemset</i> vase which belonged to the funeral	
272	The paraphernalia of the bed chamber	
		Contents: <i>shawabtis</i> [ <i>shabtis</i> ] [made] of gold foil and cedar cypress wood
		Contents: kerchiefs and . . . shirt of thuffy(?) byssus
		The equipment of His Majesty life! prosperity! health! when he was a child. Contents: frankincense [and] gum
		Contents: fetish [and] <i>shabtis</i>
		The equipment of Pharaoh life! prosperity! health! when he was a child. Gold: 1 <i>tekhbeset</i> basket, 1 <i>q</i> <i>h</i> jar for carrying water(?), 1 <i>q</i> <i>h</i> jar for pure water(?), 2 sticks(?) for applying [black] eye-pain, 3 grasshoppers of gold, 2 <i>hensu</i> vases [and] a basket of broken copper bits(?)



(Below) Box lid (no. 5416) from the Antechamber, inlaid with the name and image of Nefertiti, fifth daughter of Akhenaten. The box itself was not found





cribed by Breasted as 'the work of a master artist of all time, compared with whom the greatest artists among the Greeks and of the Italian Renaissance and of the Louis XIV period are mere hacks'), and the ivory veneered box no. 540 + 551 from the Annexe. Breasted's rapturous comment on the Painted Box was characteristic of all who saw it. It is, indeed, one of the finest examples of miniature painting to have

survived from ancient Egypt, considered by Carter to be 'one of the greatest artistic treasures' found. With its vaulted lid in position, it stands some 44.5cm (17½in) high; its length is 61cm (24in), its width 43cm (16¾in). The tempera decoration covers each side (the king in battle against the Syrians, and against the Nubians), both ends (opposed images of the king as sphinx), and the lid (the king hunting

*(Above) The royal 'toy chest' (no. 585), of solid construction, which when found contained a mix of objects: jewellery, a game-board, a pair of slings, and the king's fire-making equipment.*

*(Above left) The interior of box no. 585, showing the complicated arrangement of partitions and box-shaped drawers with sliding lids.*



*(Above) Scene of box-making from the tomb of Rekhmire (No. 100) at Thebes.*

*(Left) Hieratic docket from the white painted wooden box (no. 1k) found in pieces at the tomb entrance.*



*Many of Tutankhamun's boxes were carefully veneered, using a variety of different woods or ivory. The decoration of the box shown here (no. 268), with its elaborate herringbone marquetry, had involved the gluing and attachment of more than 45,000 individual pieces.*



*(Left) Gilded wooden coffin, no. 551, with the famous 'Ankhnesenamun and her husband' on the lid. The sides were decorated with the alternating 99 women and women of the king, the end of the box is decorated with opposed images of the kneeling Hathor holding notched palm branches - a silent wish for eternal life.*

desert game and lions). It had been employed originally to contain a range of children's clothing, some of which it still held when the tomb was first opened (p. 157). It took Mace and Lucas three weeks to empty.

The sloping lid, no. 540 and the short-legged box from which it comes, no. 551, are constructed from a soft reddish-brown wood, overlaid with slabs of ivory carved in low relief and delicately stained, further embellished with inlays of faience, glass, calcite, ebony and ivory. On the front panel of the box we see 'the king seated upon a cushioned chair (decorated with garlands), shooting wild-fowl and fish with bow and arrow', while beside him squats the queen. The sides and back panels of the box are decorated with 'scampering animals' - bulls, bull-calves, and ibexes - which, in some instances, are being attacked by a lion, a cheetah, a leopard, and hounds'. But, as Carter notes, the 'chief glory' of this

*(Right) The famous 'Ankhnesenamun and her husband' on the lid of the coffin, no. 551. The scene is a rare example of a domestic scene in an Egyptian tomb.*



casket is the ivory panel upon the lid, 'carved in delicate low relief like a Greek coin'. Here, within a flower-bedecked pavilion, we see the slender Ankhnesenamun presenting bouquets of flowers to her husband, who leans forward slightly upon his staff; below the couple, a boy and girl are shown kneeling, collecting mandrake fruits. Like the Painted Box, this casket too, though found empty, will perhaps originally have been employed to contain wearing apparel.

*(Right) An early attempt at a tomb must once have been a gold, open-topped lid (no. 261), found by the Amarna, the missing box was probably one of the many 'house' pieces carried off by thieves in antiquity.*



*(Left) Right: Box no. 551, the short-legged box, the missing box was probably one of the many 'house' pieces carried off by thieves in antiquity.*



## Boxes and Chests

Object number	Material	Inscription	Details	Size (metres)
1k	wood, painted	Akhenaten, Nefernefruten, Meritaten	vaulted lid; hieratic docket	l. 0.58
1l	wood, painted, veneered	Tutankhamun	flat lid; hieratic docket	—
12n(part) + 79 + 574	wood, veneered	Tutankhamun, Ankhesenamun; (orig. Nefernefruten, Meritaten)	flat lid, round front; hieratic docket	w. 0.37
14a	wood, veneered		orig. flat lid? now missing	l. 0.11
14b	wood	Tutankhamun	cartouche-shaped	l. 0.122
21	wood, painted	Tutankhamun	vaulted lid; the Painted Box	l. 0.61
32	wood, veneered	Tutankhamun, Ankhesenamun	gabled lid	l. 0.83
40	calcite, painted	Tutankhamun, Ankhesenamun	vaulted lid	l. 0.33
42	reed, papyrus		flat lid	l. 0.305
43 + 522?			sloping lid; hieratic label	l. 0.33
44	wood, gilded and inlaid	Tutankhamun	sloping lid	l. 0.488
50	wood, painted	Tutankhamun	narrow, flat lid, legs	l. 1.36
54	wood, painted	Tutankhamun	flat lid; hieratic docket	l. 0.555
54hh	wood, inlaid	Nefernefrute	lid only	l. 0.10
54ddd	ivory	Tutankhamun	flat lid; hieratic docket	l. 0.156
56	wood, veneered		flat lid, legs	ht. 0.451
68	wood, painted		flat lid; razor box; hieratic docket	l. 0.30
101	wood, painted, veneered	Tutankhamun, Ankhesenamun	vaulted lid; hieratic docket	l. 0.90
111 + 115	wood, painted		vaulted lid; outer case of no. 40	l. 0.522
141	reed, papyrus		flat lid	l. 0.385
178	reed, papyrus		flat lid	l. 0.50
178a	reed, papyrus		flat lid	l. 0.50
179	ivory		fragment	—
267	wood, veneered		vaulted lid; hieratic docket	l. 0.454
267c	gold, open work		lid only	l. 0.064
268	wood, veneered	Tutankhamun	flat lid; hieratic docket	l. 0.262
269	wood, veneered	Tutankhamun	cartouche-shaped	l. 0.635
269a + 270b	wood		? lid; hieratic docket	—
270	wood		vaulted lid	l. 0.514
271	wood, veneered	Tutankhamun, Ankhesenamun	flat lid	l. 0.487
271a	papyrus, painted	Tutankhamun	flat lid	l. 0.235
272	wood		vaulted lid; hieratic docket	l. 0.664
279	wood, painted		gabled lid	l. 0.68
315	wood, painted		gabled lid	l. 0.603
316	wood, painted		gabled lid	l. 0.605
317	wood, painted		gabled lid	l. 0.61
367	wood			l. 0.585
367k	wood	Tutankhamun	cartouche-shaped	l. 0.112
370	wood, painted		bow-shaped	l. 1.62
376 + 548	wood, painted		flat lid	l. 0.67
386 + 388 + 537	wood	Tutankhamun	flat lid, legs; hieratic docket	ht. 0.68
403	wood	Tutankhamun	flat lid, legs	ht. 0.70
453	wood			l. 0.125
493 + 494	wood		sloping lid; hieratic docket	l. 0.283
522	wood		lid only	l. 0.274
540 + 551	wood, veneered	Tutankhamun, Ankhesenamun	sloping lid	l. 0.72
546 + 550	wood, veneered		flat lid	l. 0.65
547 + 615	wood		flat lid; hieratic docket	w. 0.40
575 + 594	wood, veneered		sloping lid; hieratic docket	l. 0.293
585	wood	Tutankhamun	flat lid	l. 0.652
587	wood			l. 0.53
618	reed, papyrus		flat lid	—
620:95	wood	Tutankhamun	cartouche-shaped	l. 0.12
620:121	wood(?), painted		lid only	l. 0.247

*Inscribed strip from the lid of the dismantled box (no. 1k) found at the tomb entrance. The strip carries the cartouched names of Akhenaten and his co-regent Nefernefruten, and that of the great royal wife Meritaten.*



# Tools and Lamps

## Tools and implements

The ancient Egyptian's tool kit consisted of both ritual and practical objects, falling into four broad categories: knives, millies and chisels, hammers, agricultural-type implements, and linear measures.

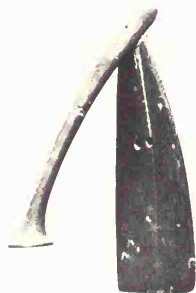
With the first group may be classed four small bones from the floor of the Annexe (no. 62054), an ebony mallet(?), originally covered with gold(?) from box no. 36 in the Antechamber, a limestone model pounder(?), 8.5cm (3.3in) long, from the Annexe floor debris (no. 62057), and the electrum-bound wooden handle from a chisel or similar implement (no. 62056). The blades of 16 further chisel-like implements had been fashioned not from the usual copper or bronze but from iron. All but one of them were found within box no. 316 in the Treasury; they are associated by some scholars with the opening of the 'mouth' ceremony depicted on the north wall of the Burial Chamber. The iron, of which no more than 1g was employed for all 16 blades, is probably of meteoric origin; when found, the metal was 'coated with oxide'.

Two finely polished flint knives (nos. 62062 and 62063), 11.5 and 10.5cm (4½ and 4¼in) long, were recovered from the debris of the Annexe floor, while box no. 32 in the Antechamber contained seven model knives of limestone, ranging in length from 10.9 to 16.8cm (4¼ to 6½in); two model 'cutting knives' of painted wood, axe-shaped, were found in box no. 51 in the same chamber, and on the Annexe floor (no. 62059). To judge from representations in the private



work of the inner Rekhmire (No. 100) is that they may well include a leather worker's implements. A round-ended knife of sheet bronze, described by Carter as a spatula, was also recovered from the Annexe floor (no. 62054).

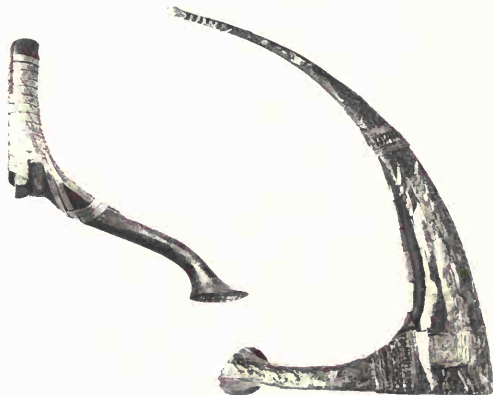
The *shabti* figures were well equipped with model agricultural implements (p. 138). In addition to these may be noted a wooden model hoe of 'foundation deposit' type (no. 941), an adze handle of white-painted wood (no. 1006), its blade evidently carried off by the robbers, and a second adze (no. 1086), larger in size and still retaining its bronze-socketed blade. The bronze handle of a fine ritual adze (no. 402), 18.5cm (7¼in) long, was found in the Annexe, inlaid in gold with the king's prenomen and prenomen and still retaining its gold binding; its gold(?) blade was missing. Also from the Annexe come two 'ritualistic' sickles (nos. 561 and 62064), both of wood. The more elaborate (no. 561), decorated with gold and electrum foil and inlays of calcite and glass, is inscribed with the king's prenomen and nomen and the epithet 'beloved of Hh' (personification of food). A model 'thrusting' hand mill for grinding corn, of sandstone and wood construction,



*Long wooden model hoe (no. 941) from the Antechamber*

*Ritual ritual adze handle (no. 402) in bronze, with gold binding; the precious metal blade was evidently carried off at the time of the thefts*

*Two ritual ceremonial sickles (nos. 561 and 62064) of gold, wood, electrum, and inlaid with calcite and glass*





lotus chalice flanked by elaborately fretted 'handles'. The decoration of each handle contains a combination of symbols – the god Heh grasping a notched palm rib and *ankh* sign, the prenomen or nomen above – intended to convey the gift to Tutankhamun of millions of years. Both cup and handles are cemented onto a heavy, strutted pedestal carved from a single block of calcite. When employed as a lamp, the cup was part-filled with oil – perhaps sesame oil – traces of which still remained, and provided with a floating wick. When lit from within a scene becomes visible, painted upon the outer surface of a thin calcite liner cemented inside the cup. One side displays a scene of Queen Ankhnesenamun presenting the seated king with the symbols of hundreds of thousands of years; the other side carries the king's prenomen and nomen between horizontal bands of petal ornament.

*(Left) Model 'thrusting' hand mill (no. 279a) for grinding corn, with muller and saddle-stone of yellow quartzite. The saddle-stone is set into a gessoed wooden 'seat' fitted with a trough to catch the meal.*

was found in the 'rough wooden box' no. 279 in the Treasury. For the wooden model granary (no. 277), see p. 145.

Six cubit measuring rods (1 cubit=51cm), of 'dark red wood', come from box no. 50 in the Antechamber; but whether Carter was correct in believing the tall, shrine-shaped box no. 487 found in the Annexe to have 'once held a heavy metal standard cubit-measure' stolen by the robbers is debatable.

### Lamps and torches

'It is I who hinder the sand from choking the secret chamber, and who repel that one who would repel him with the desert-flame. I have set aflame the desert(?), I have caused the path to be mistaken. I am for the protection of the Osiris [the deceased]

Spell from the torch no. 263

Clearance of the Burial Chamber produced two calcite lamps (nos. 173, 174). The first, 51.4cm (20½in) high, is really an elaborate stone vase, made in more than one piece and taking the form of a thin-walled

The second lamp is of triple form, 27cm (10½in) high, again of calcite though this time worked from a single block of stone. Like the first, it is of the floating-wick variety, its three oil reservoirs fashioned in the form of a large blue lotus flower flanked on either side by a white lotus, with a circular base from which the three stem. Each cup preserved traces of the original oil. The sepals of each cup are delicately incised, but there is no painted ornamentation like that of the larger lamp.

*(Below left) Bowl of the first calcite lamp (no. 173), lit from the inside to show the scene (otherwise invisible) painted within the thickness of the translucent walls.*

A smoke-blackened pottery dish (no. 86) some 19.3cm (7½in) in diameter was found beneath the ritual cow-couch. A lamp of a rather more practical sort, it had perhaps been employed by the tomb robbers or by one or other restoration party.

*(Below) The second calcite lamp (no. 174), of triple-lotus form, carved from a single block of stone. When found, the three reservoirs still retained traces of the original oil.*





*(Above, left and right) One of two ritual torch and lamp supports (no. 41) taking the form of hand-d ankh signs set into bases of black varnished wood. The torch shown here is of twisted linen.*



Four ritualistic pieces found on the lion-couch in the Ante-chamber were, as Carter observed, 'absolutely new in type'. Each one is about 23cm (9in) tall and takes the form of an *ankh* sign of bronze fitted with infolding arms, set into a black-varnished base. Two of the bases are fitted with tubular torch-holders of gilded bronze, one of which still retains its twisted linen torch. The remaining two bases appear to have been intended for use with a floating wick, though their bowls were now gone. 'Probably these were of gold and were stolen by the tomb-thieves', Carter believed that, before the thefts, these 'candlesticks' had been stored in box no. 316 in the Treasury; not only are they of an appropriate size for this box, but 'their wooden pedestals, coated with black resin, coincide with blotches of similar black material found on the bottom of the interior of the box'.

A third reed torch (no. 263), 83cm (34in) long, impregnated with pine resin and decorated with a gold-foil band, was found at the entrance to the Treasury. It had originally been slotted into a mud-brick base, incised with a spell for the protection of the dead king (see quotation p. 195).

Among the tools recovered from the tomb was an elaborate fire-drill which would have provided the flame to light torches and lamps of this sort. It was discovered in the king's 'toy chest' (no. 585) in the Annex. Carter's description of its employment is as follows: 'The rotation was effected by means of a bow alternately thrust forwards and backwards, the thong of which having been first wound round the stock of the drill in which the fire-stick was fixed. In order to steady the drill the upper end was held in a socket (drill-head). . . . The round holes in which the fire-stick was rotated were made near the edges of the fire-stock, so that a vertical slot was created. . . which allowed the spark created to have free access to the tinder'. The drill stock measured 19.7cm (7.8in) in length.

It may be noted that the tomb also yielded a range of raw materials, including a small piece of lead, tin oxide, chalk, galena and malachite (see p. 158), red and yellow ochre, orpiment (arsenic trisulphide) and various other pigments (p. 166). Resin (in lumps, 'tears' and rods) and artificially shaped pieces of frankincense were also found.



*(Below, left and right) The Egyptians knew nothing of the flint striker, and the only method they employed for creating fire, from the beginning to the close of Pharaonic civilization, was by means of a fire-stick working on the same principle as the bow drill. Tutankhamun's (no. 5800) was evidently a far more efficient specimen than most, well designed and with the drill holes lined with resin to promote friction.*





## Metal and Stone Vessels



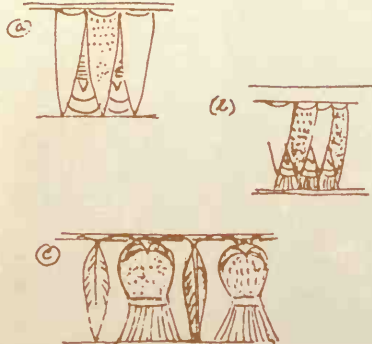
(Left above) A pair of miniature vessels (nos. 394, 620:37), one of gold, the other of silver, perhaps part of the original contents of box no. 575 from the Annexe.

(Left and below) The finest of Tutankhamun's metal vessels: a pomegranate-shaped vase (no. 469), 13.4cm (5 1/8 in) tall, with serrated rim and bands of delicately chased floral decoration (as shown in Carter's sketches below). According to Carter, the metal contains a considerable proportion of gold 'and might be considered as either silver or electrum'. It had originally been fitted with a rush-work stopper, which was found inside together with the broken section of the rim; the remains of the 'dark brown material' the vessel contained could not be identified. The novelty value of the pomegranate, which was brought back to Egypt from Asia following the campaigns of Tuthmosis III, perhaps explains its popularity as a vessel form during the later years of the 18th dynasty.

### Metal vessels

Only three metal vessels were found in the tomb, and all in the Annexe: no. 469, a silver pomegranate vase, beneath the oval basket no. 452; and nos. 394 and 620:37, a pair of small bag-shaped vessels, 3cm (1 1/8 in) or so in height, one of gold and one of silver, both rather battered. Carter believed that the latter were 'Possibly for writing or painting purposes'. They are perhaps two of the vessels mentioned in the docket to box no. 575 (p. 190).

The three vessels recovered by Carter clearly represent only a few of those originally buried with the king, if the box dockets (p. 190) are to be relied upon. The fate of the 'missing' pieces is fairly clear: they had been carried off for scrap at the time of the thefts.

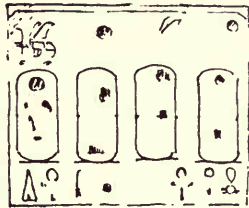






## Inscribed Stone Vessels (all calcite)

*Evidence of co-regency? A drawing by Carter of the partially erased text panel of jar no. 405, where two sets of cartouches had originally been juxtaposed. Carter evidently believed the traces to conceal the names of Amenophis III and Akhenaten.*



'With rare exception', the closed stone vessels had their stoppers and lids removed and been ransacked by the tomb robbers. From the size and number of the vessels, the capacity of which ranged from 2.75 to 14 litres, Carter was able to estimate that 'at least 350 litres of oils, fats, and other unctuous materials' had originally been stored in the Annex. A number of these jars still contained the remains of their original, fatty contents, Carter noting that the two 'craters' nos. 420 and 435, 25.8 and 47.6cm (10½ and 18½in) high respectively, still showed 'Finger marks of thieves on [the] interior walls'. When the tomb was later tidied up, the empty vessels had been employed as containers for the smaller objects which had been scattered around by the robbers.

Object number	Name	Comments	Height (centimetres)
7		oil jar; hieratic docket	—
7a		oil jar; hieratic docket	—
7b		oil jar; hieratic docket	—
14	Tutankhamun	Wishing Cup	18
20		oil jar; hieratic docket	19
32b		oil jar; hieratic docket	c. 10
55		oil jar; hieratic docket	19.7
57	Tutankhamun	fret vase	52.9
60	Tutankhamun	fret vase	50.2
61	Tutankhamun	fret vase	61
127		oviform jar; semi-hieratic	35
173	Tutankhamun	fret lamp	51.4
210	Tutankhamun, Ankhesenamun	fret vase	70.2
211	Tutankhamun	cosmetic jar	26.8
360	Tutankhamun	cosmetic jar	68.3
385	Tutankhamun	amphora	66
404	Tuthmosis III	oviform jar	35
405	Amenophis III(?)	globular jar; two pairs of cartouches, erased	30
410	Tuthmosis III	amphora	41.5
420	Tutankhamun	jar	25.8
448	Amenophis III(?), ?	globular jar; two pairs of cartouches, erased	30.0
483	Amenophis III	handled jug; nomen erased and altered to prenomen	35.5
520	Tutankhamun, Ankhesenamun	jar	58.5
579	Tutankhamun, Ankhesenamun	lion vessel	60
584	Tutankhamun	ibex vessel	38.5
588	Amenophis III, Tiye	handled jug; nomen, erased and altered to prenomen	41
620:116/122	Djehutmose (scribe)	jar stand; hieratic docket	16



*Oil jar (no. 584) modelled in the form of a bleating ibex.*



It is a view that Carter, who had a great interest in ancient glass, seems to have shared:

'A plain wooden box of oblong shape, which stood on the north side of the Canopic canopy, had its contents completely cleared by the tomb-plunderers. Its gable-shaped lid had been replaced the wrong way on, and only the packing material in its eight rectangular compartments was left. This material comprised pieces of papyrus reeds, shredded papyrus-pith and, at the bottom of each division, a small bundle of linen matting of long pile. There was not a trace of evidence as to what the original contents were, save that the careful arrangement of the packing suggested that the objects were of fragile nature – possibly glass.'

As Carter remarks on the object card for this box (no. 315): 'DAMN!!!'

The only glass vessels found in the tomb of Tutankhamun were three small specimens, one a small cup of translucent white (5.2cm (2in) high), the other two – a second cup and a small flask, each 5cm (1 7/8in) high – of an indigo-blue colour. They came from the portable chest (no. 32) in the Antechamber. It is perhaps only by chance that these and a handful of other accessible glass objects – including large headrests (p. 182), a blue amulet of a squatting Amarna king (no. 54ff, 5.8cm (2 1/4in) tall, the pair to no. 54ee, of calcite), and a model scribe's palette (p. 166) – should have survived at all.



(Far right) The tantalizing interior of box no. 315, with its carefully padded – but empty – compartments.

(Right) Found loose in the portable chest (no. 32): Tutankhamun's three remaining glass vessels: 32f, 32k, 32j.



(Below left) Two globular faience jars (nos. 31, 31a) in position in the Antechamber.

(Below right) Drop-shaped jars (nos. 54w, 54cc) of blue-green and yellow faience.



# Wine Jars and Other Pottery



Fig. 1. A wine jar from the tomb of Amenemhat I, 19th Dynasty, 1280-1295 B.C.

Fig. 2. A wine jar from the tomb of Amenemhat I, 19th Dynasty, 1280-1295 B.C.

Fig. 3. A wine jar from the tomb of Amenemhat I, 19th Dynasty, 1280-1295 B.C.

Fig. 4. A wine jar from the tomb of Amenemhat I, 19th Dynasty, 1280-1295 B.C.

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Fig. 9. A wine jar from the tomb of Amenemhat I, 19th Dynasty, 1280-1295 B.C.

Fig. 10. A wine jar from the tomb of Amenemhat I, 19th Dynasty, 1280-1295 B.C.

Fig. 11. A wine jar from the tomb of Amenemhat I, 19th Dynasty, 1280-1295 B.C.

Fig. 12. A wine jar from the tomb of Amenemhat I, 19th Dynasty, 1280-1295 B.C.

Fig. 13. A wine jar from the tomb of Amenemhat I, 19th Dynasty, 1280-1295 B.C.

Fig. 14. A wine jar from the tomb of Amenemhat I, 19th Dynasty, 1280-1295 B.C.

Fig. 15. A wine jar from the tomb of Amenemhat I, 19th Dynasty, 1280-1295 B.C.

Fig. 16. A wine jar from the tomb of Amenemhat I, 19th Dynasty, 1280-1295 B.C.

Fig. 17. A wine jar from the tomb of Amenemhat I, 19th Dynasty, 1280-1295 B.C.

Fig. 18. A wine jar from the tomb of Amenemhat I, 19th Dynasty, 1280-1295 B.C.

Fig. 19. A wine jar from the tomb of Amenemhat I, 19th Dynasty, 1280-1295 B.C.

Fig. 20. A wine jar from the tomb of Amenemhat I, 19th Dynasty, 1280-1295 B.C.

Fig. 21. A wine jar from the tomb of Amenemhat I, 19th Dynasty, 1280-1295 B.C.

Fig. 22. A wine jar from the tomb of Amenemhat I, 19th Dynasty, 1280-1295 B.C.

Fig. 23. A wine jar from the tomb of Amenemhat I, 19th Dynasty, 1280-1295 B.C.

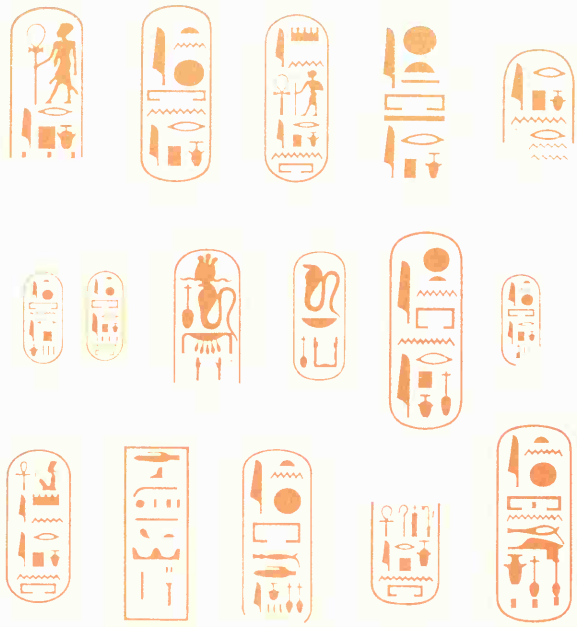
Fig. 24. A wine jar from the tomb of Amenemhat I, 19th Dynasty, 1280-1295 B.C.

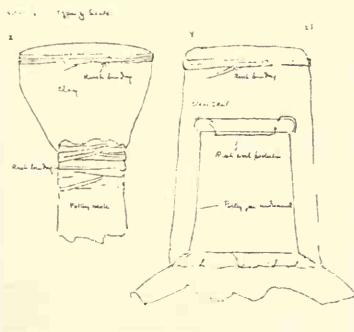


Fig. 25. A wine jar from the tomb of Amenemhat I, 19th Dynasty, 1280-1295 B.C.

These jars are the best preserved and most numerous. They are of two main types, two-handled, measuring up to 80 cm (31 in.) tall, of which more than 24 specimens were recovered (nos. 362, 392, 411, etc.) and single-handled, slightly smaller (at 50 cm (19 in.) or more in height), of which Carter records at least five examples. Although it has been claimed that the latter class of amphora with long neck and single-strap handles is of Syrian origin, it is now thought likely that these marl ware vessels, as indeed all of the pottery buried with Tutankhamun, were of local Egyptian manufacture.

Twenty-six of the wine vessels carry ink-written hieratic dockets which usually specify the date of the vintage, beverage type, vineyard, and the name of the vintner (see table). From these dockets Carter deduced that 68 per cent of the king's wines came from the 'domain of the Aten', a mere 5 per cent from the Anun temples, and some 27 per cent from his own vineyards. Among other information indirectly furnished by the dockets is the length of the king's reign: no wine produced later than Year 9 of Tutankhamun can with certainty be identified among the burial furnishings.





## Tutankhamun's Wine List

Object number	Year	Type	Vineyard	Chief vintner	Seal
413	4	sweet wine	House of Aten life! prosperity! health! of the Western River	Aperreshep	FF?
486	4	wine	(ditto)	Nen	DD
362	4	pomegranate wine(?) of very good quality	(ditto)	Nen	—
568	4	wine	House of Tutankhamun life! prosperity! health! in the Western River	Kha	LL
392	4	pomegranate wine(?) of very good quality	House of Aten of the Western River	Khay	NN?
434	5	wine	(ditto)	Any	JJ?
523	5	wine	(ditto)	Pawah	—
411	5	sweet wine	House of Aten from Tjaru	Penamun	—
549	5	wine	House of Aten of the Western River	Nania	—
509	5	sweet wine	(ditto)	Nakht	—
489	5	wine	(ditto)	Nakhtsobk	BB
571	5	sweet wine	House of Aten from Qaret	Ramose	JJ
206	5	pomegranate wine(?) of very good quality	House of Aten of the Western River	Rer	—
180	5	wine	House of Tutankhamun-ruler-of-Upper-Egyptian-Heliopolis in the Western River	Kha	—; handle: House of the Ruler
560	5	wine	House of Tutankhamun life! prosperity! health! in the Western River	Kha	CC; handle: House of the Ruler . . .
508	5	wine	House of Tutankhamun-ruler-of-Upper-Egyptian-Heliopolis life! prosperity! health! in the Western river	Kha	CC
570	5	wine	House of Tutankhamun-ruler-of-Upper-Egyptian-Heliopolis in the Western River	Kha	—; handle: House of the Ruler
—	9	wine	House of Aten on the Western River	Pay?/Khay?	—
516	9	wine	House of Tutankhamun-ruler-of-Upper-Egyptian-Heliopolis life! prosperity! health! in the Western River	May	—
539	9	wine	House of Aten on the Western River	Nebnefer	—
11	9	wine	House of Aten in the Western River	Nakhtsobk	—
195	9	wine	House of Aten of the Western River	Sennefer	—; handle: House of Aten
541	9	wine	House of Tutankhamun-ruler-of-Upper-Egyptian Heliopolis life! prosperity! health!	Sennefer	AA?; handle: House of the Ruler
500	10	wine of good quality	from laty	—	MM
563	31	wine	House . . . of the Western River[?]	. . .	—
490	—	—	[?Gift of] the vizier Pentu	—	—



## Foodstuffs



◄ The finding of canned beef 3,350 years old in Tutankhamen's tomb is admitted by cold storage experts to be a record. Mr. Raymond, hon. secretary of the British Cold Storage Association, says the record, so far as cold storage is concerned in this country, stands at eighteen years. ►

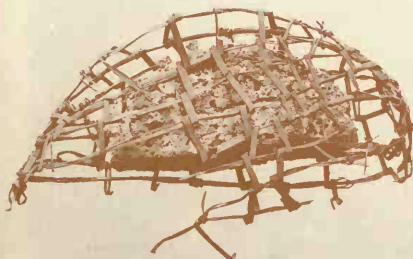
*Daily Mail*

Although there was, of course, no 'canned' beef buried in the tomb, Tutankhamun had been sent to the grave accompanied by a range of foods in order that his *ka* might not go hungry in the next world. Most of this sustenance had originally been stored in separate baskets (p. 204) and pottery vessels (p. 202) in the Annexe; but, thanks to the activities of the tomb robbers, Carter and his team found remains of

Tutankhamun's funerary provisions scattered throughout the tomb. Other foodstuffs had been recovered from Pit 54 (p. 39) in 1907.

(Left) Bulbs of garlic (no. 32x) recovered from the king's portable chest (no. 32).

A basic staple of the Egyptian diet was and still is bread, eaten alone or with onions (or garlic, of which box no. 32 yielded a small bunch – *Allium sativum*), and beer. It is not surprising, therefore, that the king should have been provided with a range of different types of bread and quantities of raw grain contained in baskets (for example, nos. 401, 439, 473, 531), a model grinder (no. 279a) (p. 195) and a model granary (no. 277) (p. 145). The baskets and granary included among their contents barley (*Hordeum vulgare*) and emmer wheat (*Triticum dicoccum*), with some, presumably accidental, admixture of leguminous and other plant seed. Actual examples of bread or cakes were recovered from the Antechamber (no. 99, 119e?) and Annexe (nos. 620:112, 620:117) floors, where they had been thrown by the tomb robbers. Those from the Annexe were the best preserved: Carter describes them as semi-circular in shape, varying in size from 9.5 to 13cm (3¾ to 5¼in) in length, and enclosed 'in a mesh of rush-work'; a dozen or more were found. The bread's original taste can only be guessed at: according to Lucas, it 'is very cellular and has the appearance of petrified sponge'. The composition of one trefoil-shaped loaf or cake (no. 620:117) is described as 'a mixture of meal and fruits'. Other specimens of bread were recovered from at least one of the Annexe baskets (p. 204); Carter believed that they were intended for beermaking, and it has been further suggested that the two wood and copper strainers from the Treasury (no. 274) were perhaps associated with this process.



Three small loaves of bread (group no. 620:112), the specimen on the right encased in a rush-work mesh.



Most of the supplies in the tomb, including the preserved bones, were recovered from a series of 127 boxes, all recovered on the ground, all of which contained some or their sides, and containing some or their contents (see table). The particular contents of the boxes on the east side of several boxes, but the contents of processions was such that only rarely do the contents match the written description. Further meat provisions originally buried in the tomb were recovered from Pit 34. They included the shoulder blade of a cow and the ribs of a sheep or goat. The bulk of the protein from Pit 34, however, is made up of the wings and breasts of tame ducks (four small teal, *Anas cygnus*; two shovellers, *Spatula alpestris*; one gadwall, *Chantalasmus streperus*; with two unidentified) and four geese to breed – *Branta bernicla*, a white-fronted *Anser albifrons*, and two large-breed geese – *Anser tabilis*).

The legumes and pulses from the tomb included chick peas (*Cicer arietinum*), lentils *Lens culinaris* *Lens esculenta* with an incidental scattering of

peas *Pisum sativum*. Of these provisions, many were found intact, with many of the model animals, and elsewhere. A small portion, vessel from the Annex (no. 914) contained 2.7 mgs. (no. 304) and 1.6 mg. (no. 305) of *Chlorella* (*Chlorella* sp.), while a white jar (no. 309), again from the Annex, contained dried lead ("Dried Lead in interior").

Among the pieces of Chlorella, as burned with the dung, the bulk of them again contained in baskets stored in the Annex, were mulberry berries (*Morus nigra*) (four baskets), coniole (*Coniole* sp.) (two baskets), tamarind, sesame (*Sesamum indicum*) and black cumquat (*Negundo indica*). Also noted was a branch of *Pinus spicata* (in box no. 357). The *Clusia glaberrima* sp? from the pottery (no. 61) is almost certainly misidentified.

For sweetening, Tutankhamun had taken with him two jars of honey (nos. 611 & 612) which were stored in the Annex. A good selection of fruits was also found, including stoned dates (*Phoenix dactylifera*) contained in a large pottery dish (no. 154) from the Antechamber and six small round baskets (nos. 348, 356, etc.) in the Annex. Examples of the ubiquitous *dom*-palm fruit were recovered from 12 of the larger Annex baskets (nos. 346, 363, 366, etc.), as well as from a large basket (no. 97) in the Antechamber; other, stray examples were found in the corridor debris (no. 129), and in the Antechamber in box no. 115 and in the reed tray no. 119. Dried

Fig. 1. A wooden box containing preserved bones, with a label '62' on the side. The bones are arranged in a regular pattern, and the box is lined with a material that appears to be a type of cloth or paper. The box is made of dark wood and has a simple, rectangular design.

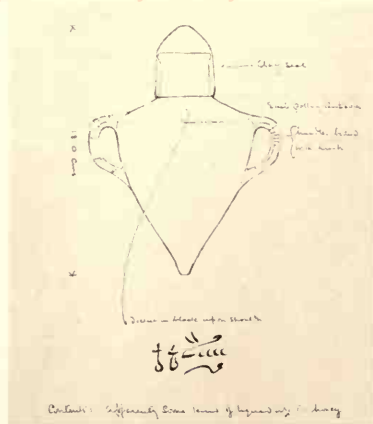


## Boxes of Prepared Food

Group number	Docket	Contents
h.d.q.s	head	scapula (shoulder blade) of an ox
h.px.qq	heart	humerus of an ox
u.a.a	haek	radius of an ox
a.d.d	spine	lumbar vertebrae of an ox
e.l.n	tibia	femur
tkk.o.o.r	(part of a leg)	tibia
f.n.f.f.h	rib	ribs of an ox
e.e.j	breast(?)	sternum
i.o	spleen	tongue of an ox
m	goose	goose

and 20 unmarked boxes

... out of ten items only three, or at most four, show an agreement between the outside marking and the contents – an amazing example of carelessness. It is ... not less astonishing to see the consistency in carelessness: boxes marked in the same way contain the same wrong part of an animal. It is clear that the boxes had been marked in advance and that some were expected to contain parts of the body which were not included at all; such boxes therefore were systematically used for other joints.



grapes (*Vitis vinifera*) were found in the Annexe baskets 471 and 518b, as well as in the 'bottle-shaped baskets' nos. 364 and 451. Jujubes (*Zizyphus spina christi*) were particularly well represented in the tomb, mostly in the Annexe where 36 medium-sized baskets were filled with them. Seeds of safflower (*Carthamus tinctorius*), often used as a red or yellow dye, were also found, here perhaps for making oil. The range of basket-stored commodities included persea fruit (*Mimusops laurifolia*, formerly *M. schimperii*) (three baskets), grewia fruit (*Grewia tenax*) (four baskets), cocculus fruit (*Cocculus* sp.), sycamore figs (*Ficus sycomorus*), and watermelon seeds (*Citrullus lanatus*) (11 baskets) for planting or chewing. Other 'nibbles' included almonds (*Prunus dulcis* = *P. amygdalus*).

Although Tutankhamun was supplied with the raw materials for its manufacture in the afterlife, no actual beer seems to have been buried with him. The boy may well have preferred fruit juice, perhaps grape, the sugary remnants of which Lucas identified in one of the tomb's calcite jars.

For Tutankhamun's wines, see pp. 202-03.

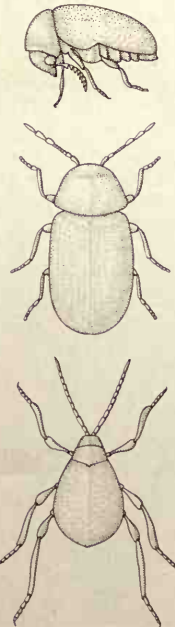
### Insect life

It is hardly surprising that the quantity of food and edible matter buried with the young king should have attracted a range of insect life. Several calcite jars (nos. 16, 58, 60, 61) and the painted wooden box no. 111 + 115 contained the remains of several small, farinaceous beetles: the so-called cigarette or tobacco beetle (*Lasioderma serricornes*), the bread beetle (*Stegobium paniceum*, formerly *Sitodrepa panicea*), and *Gibbium psylloides* of the Spider Beetle group. Such domestic pests are commonly found in stored food, and have been known to feed off stored animal matter - hence their presence in the king's perfume jars.

Lucas notes the remains of small spiders and their webs, while 'various wooden objects', including the sticks found within the first shrine, 'contain holes manifestly made by insects . . . in the tomb'. No further information is available; for spiders, at least, this is regrettable, since they are otherwise peculiarly absent from the Egyptian record.

(Above left) Small pottery amphora (no. 614j) found in the Annexe. The hieratic inscription on the side of the vessel reads: 'Honey of good quality'.

(Above right) Oval basket (no. 97) filled with fruits of the dom-palm.



Tutankhamun's companions in death: *Lasioderma serricornes*, the so-called cigarette or tobacco beetle; and the bread and spider beetles *Stegobium paniceum* and *Gibbium psylloides*.

# Epilogue: Tutankhamun Life, Death and Rebirth

▲ *THE GOLD MASK* (top) and *THE SARCOPHAGUS* (bottom) of Tutankhamun. The mask is now in the Egyptian Museum, Cairo, and the sarcophagus is in the British Museum, London. (Top: © The Trustees of the Egyptian Museum, Cairo; Bottom: © The Trustees of the British Museum, London)

▲ Description of the Antechamber, the Burial Chamber and the Treasury

Like all Egyptians of wealth, Tutankhamun took with him to the grave everything that ritual or personal preference dictated he would require for a happy and contented existence in the next life and, by a miracle, most of the objects buried in the tomb over those March days in 1323 BC remained for Lord Carnarvon and Howard Carter to disinter more than 3,000 years later.

Because of its relatively intact state, the tomb of Tutankhamun spans the millennia with peculiar ease: it excites all of the senses in a way in which no other archaeological find before or since has done. We see the king's youthful image standing before us in the portrait figures which once guarded the Burial Chamber entrance; we know the raucous blast of his trumpets, which have sounded again on more than one occasion; the privileged few are able to grasp the same reed stick which Tutankhamun cut with his own hand while walking one day down by the river; the resins and unguents lavished upon the king in death continue, even now, to give off their heavy, aromatic scent; while the taste of the foods, wines and juices of which the boy was fond are as familiar in Egypt today as they ever were.

Pharaoh's god-like mask begins to slip, to reveal a creature as frail and human as ourselves; a boy like any other, packed off to the next world as if to boarding school, accompanied by ample supplies of clean linen, hampers of his favourite foods, his prized possessions, and a lock of his beloved grandmother's hair. Yet in this, his final manifestation, Tutankhamun was no longer the malleable child; he had grown into a wilful adolescent, his father's son, eager to assert himself. And he was probably murdered for it.

The burial of Pharaoh was fast and careless, within a hastily adapted private sepulchre, the corpse equipped with a rag-bag mix of whatever new, old and adaptable funerary equipment was readily to hand. The funerary cortège, followed by the highest officials of the land and by crowds of ululating women, wound its way up the Valley. The ritual 'opening of the mouth' was performed by Ay, Tutankhamun's heir and successor, and the cofined

body, wrapped in shrouds of the finest white linen, was lowered into a wooden coffin. The coffin, which was located into a niche of the outer corridor, was placed in the outer corridor, with its head to the west and its feet to the east. The coffin was placed in the outer corridor, with its head to the west and its feet to the east. The coffin was placed in the outer corridor, with its head to the west and its feet to the east.

The wall-blessings, along which had been laid out the final burial preparations, continued for several days. The task of erecting the shrines began, an operation again carried through in a hasty and careless manner; the panels, wrongly orientated and ritually useless, roughly banged into place with mallets, damaging the decorated surfaces. With the shrines in position, a partition wall was erected between the Antechamber and the Burial Chamber, and the south wall of the latter painted to complement the walls already decorated. A rectangular doorway within this partition allowed access to the workmen and to those priests involved in the final stocking of the Treasury and arranging the sticks, bows, oars and other objects found scattered in and around the shrines. In due course, this wall was closed with a dry-stone blocking, plastered on its outer surface and sealed by the officials present. The Annex and Antechamber were stocked in a ramshackle way with more of the royal funerary equipment, and their doorways closed; the entrance corridor was filled with the embalming refuse and more food provisions; the outer corridor-blocking erected, and the tomb entrance buried from sight.

Tutankhamun had gone – but he was not yet forgotten. Within a short time of the burial, perhaps during the uncertain period following the four recorded years of Ay's reign, the tomb was entered by robbers. The robbers, familiar with the tomb and perhaps drawn from among the very men who had first filled it, ransacked the burial for metals, linen, glass and precious oils – anything inconspicuous or recyclable. The robbery was detected by the necropolis guards before the intruders had been able to break through into the Burial Chamber, and the entrance corridor was filled with rubble as a deterrent to further theft. But robbers returned a short time later, burrowing through the corridor fill, this time penetrating as far as the outermost gilded shrine surrounding the sarcophagus. They were again detected, and this time caught. The gruesome fate that awaited them ensured that the tomb would not be robbed again. Within a matter of years, it had been completely forgotten.

Tutankhamun still lies within his outermost coffin in the tomb he has occupied for more than 3,300 years – a span of time which has seen the rise and fall of Athens and Rome, the birth and crucifixion of Christ, the coming of Islam, the Renaissance and the Industrial Revolution. After so many centuries, Pharaoh's sad presence still pervades the sepulchre and the objects from it; and the fascination of this presence, as much as the lure of

gold, continues to draw to him and his treasures millions of visitors every year. These visitors, by speaking Tutankhamun's name, cause him to live, as he so fervently wished, every minute of every day, around the vastness of a modern world he could never have imagined.

Tutankhamun was a king unwanted by his subjects, ignored by his successors and forgotten for more than 30 centuries; thanks to the discovery of his tomb by Lord Carnarvon and Howard Carter, he has been reborn as Egypt's most famous son, to achieve true immortality at last.



*Tutankhamun emerging from the shades: detail of a gilded wooden shabti figure (no. 330e) from the Treasury.*

**1323 BC**

*January-March*  
 Tutankhamun dies  
 Empty private sepulchre enlarged and adapted for the king's use  
 North, east and west walls of the Burial Chamber decorated  
 Sarcophagus introduced  
 Canopic equipment and other items installed in Treasury  
 Coffins and royal mummy installed in sarcophagus  
 Shrines erected around sarcophagus  
 Antechamber-Burial Chamber partition wall erected  
 South wall of Burial Chamber decorated  
 Final stocking of Treasury and Burial Chamber  
 Burial Chamber blocked off  
 Annexe and Antechamber stocked with funerary goods  
 Annexe blocked off  
 Final stocking of Antechamber  
 Antechamber doorway blocked off  
 Entrance corridor stocked with burial goods  
 Corridor blocked off  
 Entrance stairway buried

**c. 1319 BC**

First robbery, with access to Antechamber and Annexe  
 Burial put back in order by necropolis officials  
 Closure of robbers' breach in Antechamber blocking  
 Material stored in corridor removed for reburial in Pit 54  
 Corridor filled with rubble  
 Closure of robbers' breach in outer doorway  
 Burial of entrance  
 Second robbery, perhaps over several days, with access to all chambers  
 Robbers apprehended  
 Burial put back in order by necropolis officials  
 Closure of robbers' breach in Burial Chamber blocking  
 Closure of robbers' breach in Antechamber blocking  
 Refilling of robbers' tunnel through corridor fill  
 Closure of robbers' breach in outer doorway  
 Burial of entrance

**c. 1151-43 BC**

Huts for workmen engaged on quarrying tomb of Ramesses VI erected immediately over entrance to Tutankhamun's tomb

**c. 1000 BC**

Tomb of Tutankhamun missed when work began on dismantling royal necropolis

**1922**

*1 November*  
 Start of season  
*1 November*  
 Discovery of first step  
*3 November*  
 Outer blocking revealed  
*25 November*  
 Corridor fill revealed  
*26 November*  
 Access to Antechamber and view of Annexe  
*28 November*  
 Access to Burial Chamber and Treasury  
*29 November*  
 Official opening of Antechamber and Annexe  
*30 November*  
 First press reports  
*27 December*  
 First object removed from Antechamber: Painted Box no. 21

**1923**

*9 January*  
 Carnarvon signs contract with the *Times*  
*16 February*  
 Opening of Burial Chamber  
*5 April*  
 Death of Lord Carnarvon (buried 28 April)  
*11 May*  
 First objects leave for Cairo Museum (arrive 22 May)

**1924**

*12 February*  
 Lifting of sarcophagus lid  
*13 February*  
 Strike  
*15 February*  
 Lock-out  
*12 April*  
 Carter leaves England for U.S. lecture tour (until 2 July)

**1925**

*13 January*  
 New concession to continue work  
*13 October*  
 Lid of outer coffin removed  
*23 October*  
 Lid of second coffin removed  
*28 October*  
 Lid of inner coffin removed and royal mummy revealed  
*11 November*  
 Start of autopsy on mummy

**1926**

*21 October*  
 Start of work in Treasury

**1927**  
 30 October  
 Start of work in Annexe (completed 15 December)

**1930**  
 10 November  
 Final objects removed from tomb: shrine elements

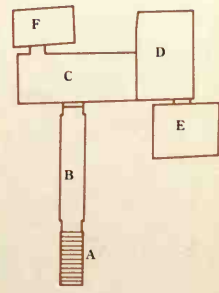
**1932**  
 Spring  
 Final objects conserved for shipment to Cairo

**1939**  
 2 March  
 Death of Howard Carter

Object class	A	B	C	D	E	F
archery equipment		•	•	•	•	•
baskets			•			•
beds			•			•
bier				•		
boat models					•	•
boomerangs and throwsticks			•			•
botanical specimens		•		•	•	•
boxes and chests	•		•		•	•
canopic equipment					•	
chairs and stools			•			•
chariot equipment			•		•	•
clothing			•	•	•	•
coffins (king)				•		
coffins (other)					•	
cosmetic objects		•	•		•	•
cuirass						•
divine figures			•	•	•	
fans				•	•	•
foodstuffs			•			•
gaming equipment		•	•			•
gold mask				•		
granary model					•	
hassocks			•			•
jewellery, beads, amulets	•	•	•	•	•	•
labels		•	•			•
lamps and torches			•	•	•	
mummies				•	•	
musical instruments			•			•
pall and framework				•		
portable pavilion			•			•
regalia			•	•	•	
ritual couches			•			
ritual objects			•	•	•	•
royal figures		•	•	•	•	
sarcophagus			•	•	•	
sealings	•	•	•	•	•	•
shabtis and related objects		•	•		•	•
shields			•			•
shrines			•	•	•	•
sticks and staves			•	•	•	•
swords and daggers			•	•	•	•
tools			•	•	•	•
vessels	•	•	•	•	•	•
wine jars	•	•	•	•	•	•
writing equipment			•		•	•

*The Objects:  
 Where  
 They Were  
 Found*

- A = entrance staircase
- B = corridor
- C = Antechamber
- D = Burial Chamber
- E = Treasury
- F = Annexe



# *Exhibitions and Displays*

1961-1962

**United States of America**

Washington  
*November-December 1961*

1962-1963

**United States of America**

Philadelphia  
*January-February 1962*

New Haven  
*February-March-April 1962*

Houston  
*April-May 1962*

Omaha  
*May-June-July 1962*

Chicago  
*July-August 1962*

Seattle  
*August-September-October 1962*

San Francisco  
*October-November-December 1962*

Cleveland  
*December 1962-January 1963*

1963-1964

**United States of America**

Boston  
*February-April 1963*

Saint Louis  
*April-May 1963*

Baltimore  
*June-July 1963*

Dayton  
*from July 1963*

Detroit  
*August-September 1963*

Toledo  
*September-October 1963*

Richmond  
*December 1963-January 1964*

New York  
*from January 1964*

1964-1965

**Canada**

Montreal  
Toronto  
*November-December 1964*

Winnipeg  
*December 1964-January 1965*

Vancouver  
*January-February 1965*

Quebec  
*March-April 1965*

1965-1966

**Japan**

Osaka  
*August-October 1965*

Kyoto  
*October-November 1965*

Fukuoka  
*December 1965-January 1966*

1967

**France**

Paris  
*February-August 1967*

1972

**England**

London  
*March-December 1972*

1973-1974

**USSR**

Moscow  
*December 1973-May 1974*

Leningrad  
*July-November 1974*

1975

**USSR**

Kiev  
*January-March 1975*

1976-1977

**United States of America**

Washington DC  
*from September 1976*

1977-1978

**United States of America**

Chicago  
*to July 1977*  
New Orleans  
*September 1977-January 1978*

1978-1979

**United States of America**

Los Angeles  
*February-May 1978*

Seattle  
*July-November 1978*

New York  
*December 1978-April 1979*

San Francisco  
*May-October 1979*

**1979–1980**

**Canada**

Toronto

*November 1979–January 1980*

**1980–1981**

**West Germany**

West Berlin

*February–May 1980*

Cologne

*June–October 1980*

Munich

*November 1980–February 1981*

Hanover

*February–April 1981*

Hamburg

*May–July 1981*

*Note: dates given in some cases include storage, travelling and mounting times.*

## Museums and Collections

### Egypt

The great travelling exhibitions of Tutankhamun's funerary treasures have now ceased because of concerns for the welfare of the objects, which, inevitably, were beginning to suffer from constant packing, travelling, unpacking and handling. Fortunately, visiting Egypt itself has never been easier or cheaper; and there is much to be said for seeing the young king in the context of his native land. The following is a brief check-list of Tutankhamun-related material in Egyptian collections; for the larger monuments, see pp. 26–9.

### Cairo

The greater part of the king's funerary equipment is on display on the upper floor of the Egyptian Museum, Cairo, some of it as first set out by Carter himself; a few of the Cairo pieces are in storage. The second and third (innermost) coffins and the gold mask are shown with the jewellery in room 4; the shrines, canopic assemblage and animal couches in galleries 8, 9 and 10. The remainder of the material is displayed in the run of galleries 15, 20, 25, 30, 35, 40, and 45, at the end of which Tutankhamun's two guardian figures stand sentinel.

Much of the botanical material recovered from the tomb is now in the Agricultural Museum, Dokki;

while one of the foetuses is in the Department of Anatomy of the University of Cairo.

### Luxor

The gilded cow head from the tomb, two pairs of sandals, 63 gilded bronze pall-rosettes, six arrows and two boat models are on display in the Luxor Museum of Ancient Egyptian Art.

Other objects from Tutankhamun's tomb, including many of the black-varnished shrines and baskets, lie in storage in a tomb on the Theban west bank. These pieces are not accessible to the general public.

The tomb of Tutankhamun is No. 62 in the Valley of the Kings. The remains of the young king lie in a box within the outermost gilded coffin, which still sits within the quartzite sarcophagus in the painted Burial Chamber. The lid of the sarcophagus has been replaced with a panel of plate glass, so that the coffin within can be seen by the tomb's many visitors.

The plaster from the tomb's sealed doorways lay for many years in the tomb of Ramesses XI, Carter's original storeroom; it has now been transferred back to the tomb of Tutankhamun itself. Other, minor objects from Carter's clearance of the Tutankhamun entrance corridor are among materials brought to light between 1977 and 1979 by John Romer during his clearance of the Ramesses XI tomb, where they are now stored.

### Outside Egypt

Those unable to visit Egypt need not despair. Objects dating from the period in which Tutankhamun lived and reigned may be seen in any of the larger European and American museums, including the British Museum in London, the Louvre in Paris, and the collections of Brussels, Munich, West Berlin, Leiden, Turin, Chicago and Philadelphia (cf. pp. 26–9).

The best objects discovered by Theodore Davis in Pit 54 in the Valley of the Kings are in the Metropolitan Museum of Art in New York; other pieces from the Pit 54 assemblage were de-accessioned in the 1950s, and are now in the American Museum of Natural History in New York, and elsewhere. A representative selection of botanical specimens from the tomb of Tutankhamun was presented in 1933 to the Royal Botanic Gardens, Kew, on long-term loan. A group of textile fragments is in the Victoria and Albert Museum.

The magnificent collection of Egyptian art assembled by Lord Carnarvon and Howard Carter is now one of the treasures of New York's Metropolitan Museum of Art; further antiquities and personal memorabilia from the fifth Earl's pre-Tutankhamun days are on display at Highclere Castle in Hampshire, the Carnarvon family home. Other Carter-related objects are to be found in Brooklyn, Detroit, St Louis, Kansas City and elsewhere.





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## II Archival and miscellaneous sources

The bulk of Howard Carter's papers relating to the discovery and clearance of the tomb are in the Griffith Institute, Oxford, together with a set of Harry Burton's photographic negatives; a further set of negatives is in the Metropolitan Museum of Art in New York.

The voice of Carter himself may be heard on the BBC double LP *BBC 1922-1972. Fifty Years of the BBC*, issued in 1972, together with a brief snatch of the Tutankhamun trumpets broadcast. The original recordings may be consulted in the BBC Sound Archives in London. Contemporary newsreel footage of the clearance is held by the National Film Institute in London, and by Visnews, London. The film footage taken by Harry Burton is in the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York.



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