

Middle Kingdom Studies 11

The Treasure of the Egyptian Queen Ahhotep

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



Gianluca Miniaci, Peter Lacovara (eds)



GHP

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Middle Kingdom Studies 11

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Middle Kingdom Studies

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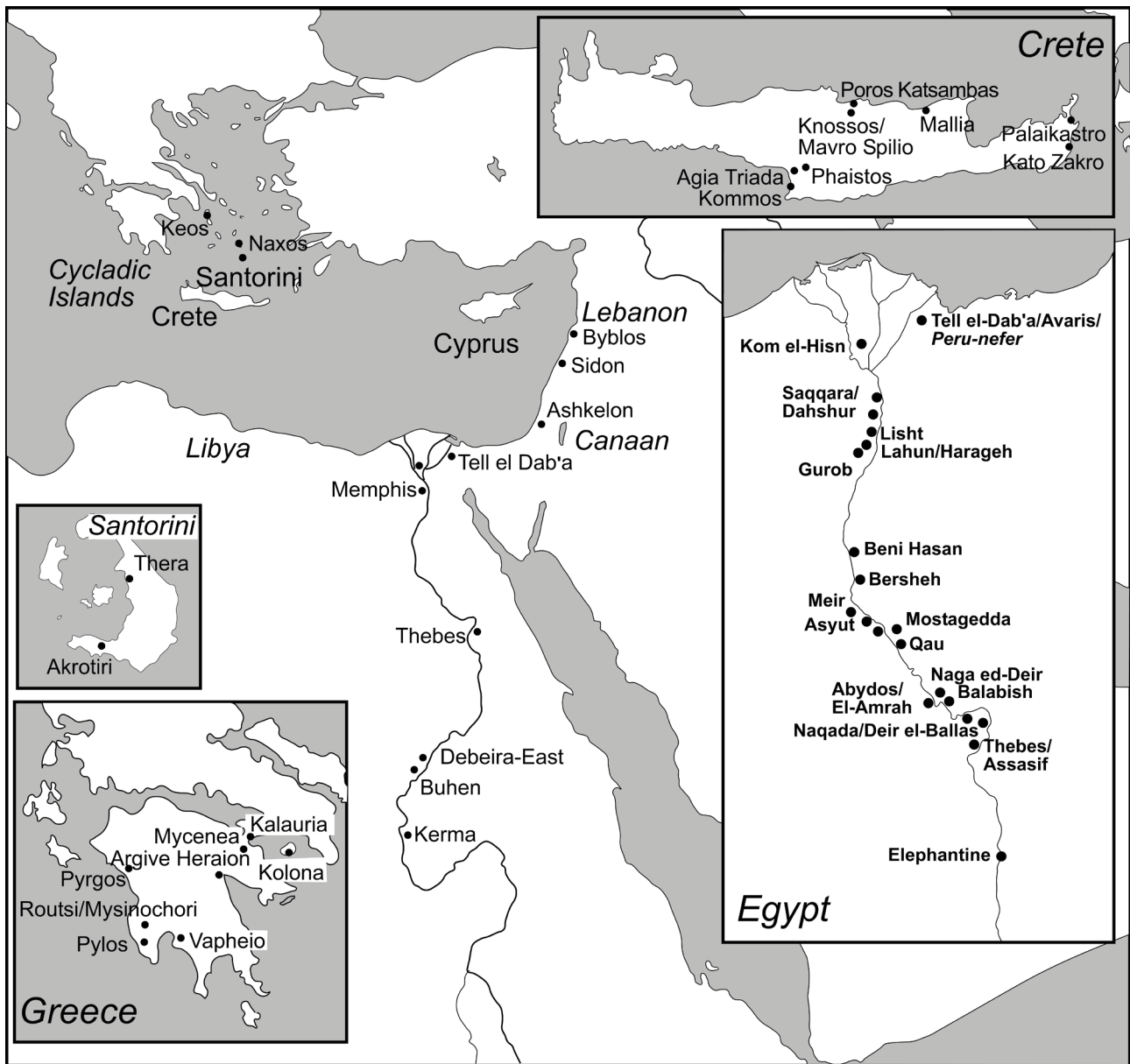
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List of Abbreviations

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

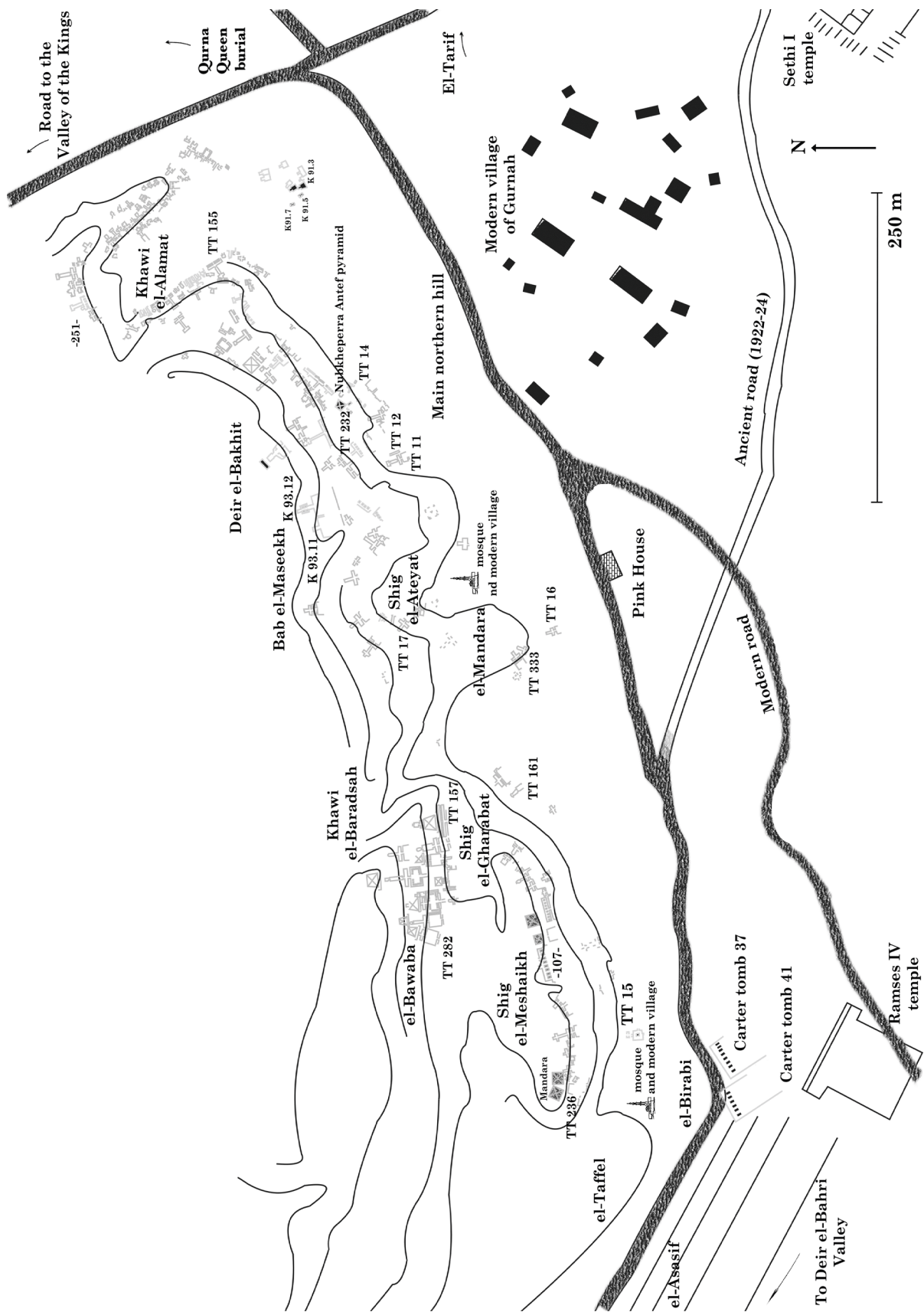
IJNA	International journal of nautical archaeology	PIOL	Publications de l'Institut Orientaliste de Leuven
J. Raman Spectrosc	Journal of Raman Spectroscopy	PM	B. Porter and R. Moss, <i>Topographical Bibliography of Ancient Egyptian Hieroglyphic Texts, Reliefs and Paintings</i> , 7 vols, 1927-1951
JAA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

Maps



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

© drawn by Wolfram Grajetzki



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

A Note to Carter Manuscripts and the Discovery of Ahhotep's Coffin (Cairo CG 28501)

Marilina Betrò

Abstract

Among Howard Carter's "autobiographical sketches" in the Griffith Institute and the Metropolitan Museum of Art at New York, an interesting digression narrates "the first modern discovery connected with the royal mummies", that of the coffin of Queen Ahhotep at Dra Abu el-Naga (Cairo CG 28501). While the discovery is traditionally credited to Auguste Mariette, according to his own descriptions and those of his friends and collaborators, here Carter gave a radically different account of the find, attributing it to an Egyptian fellâh acting alone, the father of his servant Abd el-Arl. The presence of some quite precise details, absent in the much vaguer – and sometimes contradictory – versions of Mariette and his collaborators, makes it remarkable and seriously raises the question of the reliability of Mariette's accounts of the discovery. The paper provides a transcription from Carter's manuscripts and comments on the most significant points.

The Griffith Institute Archive at Oxford houses in its rich collection of manuscripts the so-called "*Autobiographical Sketches*" of Howard Carter, drafts of what was probably intended as a book.¹ They are unpublished, with the exception of passages quoted in later publications by other scholars.² In a charming and engaging style, Carter evokes moments of his life, from the early years to those in Egypt, interspersed with archaeological and historical information. A number of versions of the planned autobiography are in the Griffith Institute, both handwritten and typewritten, at least one further version is in the Metropolitan Museum of Art at New York, and others probably elsewhere.³

¹ CARTER MSS vi.2.1-14; <http://www.griffith.ox.ac.uk/gri/4cartervi+vii.pdf>. On Carter MSS see also BOSCH-PUCHE, FLEMMING, WARSİ, SALMAS, in CONNOR, LABOURY (eds), *Toutankhamon*, 62-7.

² See REEVES, TAYLOR, *Howard Carter*, passim.

³ JAMES, *Howard Carter*, 2 no. 3. A recent project of digitization of the correspondence to and from Carter (1874-1939) is currently in progress at the Metropolitan Museum: <https://www.metmuseum.org/art/libraries-and-research-centers/watson-digital-collections/manuscript-collections/howard-carter-papers>, <ac-

Among the "*autobiographical sketches*" in the Griffith Institute, a chapter entitled "*A History of the Theban Royal Mummies Decadence and Destiny I-IX*" (Carter MSS VI.2.4) deals with the story of ancient grave-robbing in the thirteenth century BC, the subsequent transfer of royal mummies from place to place and their final destination in two caches, until they were re-discovered nearly twenty-nine centuries later. With a few slight variants the story is also included in Carter MSS VI.2.11 (formerly Carter notebook 17), "*Sketch IX*", again devoted to "*Tomb-Robberies and the Fate of the Royal Mummies*", and in a further draft in the Department of Egyptian Art in the Metropolitan Museum. This latter is presently outside the Department to be digitized and

cessed on 5 February 2021>. The original papers partly transcribed here are among them and will be soon available online (personal communication by Diana Craig Patch). An autograph draft of an autobiography by Howard Carter has been sold by Bonhams, in a lot including the remaining papers of Carter owned by his family, during the auction on June 12, 2012 in London, Knightsbridge.

I could not see it, but I had its transcription, made by Marsha Hill in 1985, thanks to the kindness of Diana Craig Patch.⁴

In the context of this story, Howard Carter introduced an interesting digression to narrate “*the first modern discovery connected with the royal mummies*”, that of the coffin of Queen Ahhotep at Dra Abu el-Naga (Cairo CG 28501).⁵ Here Carter gave a radically different account of the find, attributing it to an Egyptian *fellâh* acting alone, the father of his servant Abd el-Arl. His testimony is therefore of great interest, not only to clarify important data about the find and its context⁶ but also to shed new light on the construction of an archaeological narrative, which seems to have begun after the mid-nineteenth century, centred around the figure of the European Archaeological Hero.

While Carter MSS VI.2.4 is a typewritten version, with pencil notes and corrections by hand of Carter, Carter MSS VI.2.11 is a final draft, copied in a notebook, from previous rough drafts on paper sheets, handwritten in ink, with pencil corrections and additions by Carter (see Fig. 1a-b). As for the version in the Metropolitan Museum, according to the description Diana Craig Patch wrote to me, it is entirely handwritten by pencil. I will call them here respectively GI MSS VI.2.11, GI MSS VI.2.4 and MMA MS. (Table 1).

Precise dates of their drafting by Carter are missing, although T.G.H. James believed that they probably were composed during his late years.⁷ A useful clue in this respect is given in MMA MS: Carter says here that his servant Abd el-Arl, son of the true protagonist of the story, was at his service since forty years. In the letter of condolence written by Abd el-Arl himself on Carter’s death in 1939, he states that he had served him for 42 years.⁸ This suggests that the British Egyptologist was writing his autobiography around 1937. Based on data internal to the text, such as Carter’s annotations and corrections, it is possible to suggest that the pencil version of MMA MS is the eldest of the three drafts. GI MSS VI.2.4 represents an intermediate step, being

clearly based on the draft now in the MMA MS, with few modifications, while GI MSS VI.2.11 is the latest. It is worth noting to this purpose that, both in MMA MS and in GI MSS VI.2.4, Carter referred to Ahmose as Ahhotep’s husband and Kamose as her son: these wrong genealogical ties are absent in GI MSS VI.2.11, where Ahmose is called her son-in-law and Kamose is more vaguely qualified as a king, without any statement of family relationships.

James, commenting Carter’s inaccuracy with respect to the dates of his own life, remarked that Carter’s autobiographical sketches are “*unfortunately so full of errors and inconsistencies – where precision can be secured from more reliable sources – that they can be taken only as rough guides to his careers*”.⁹ However, this does not seem to be the case for Carter’s account of the find: we have no other sources to be sure of its reliability but the three texts are entirely consistent in content and differences between them are not significant, mostly concerning stylistic features. The whole story, bitterly told to Carter by his servant’s father, could certainly only have been a harmless boast of the old peasant, with no factual basis, dictated by the desire to show off. But the presence of some quite precise details, absent in the much vaguer – and sometimes contradictory – accounts of Mariette and his collaborators, makes it remarkable. These details, clearly stated in all three versions, concern:

- the author of the find

Ahmed Saïd “el-Hagg” is referred to as the sole author of the discovery.

According to Carter’s words, when he met him, he was an old man. Abd el-Arl’s statement at Carter’s death in 1939, quoted above,¹⁰ says that he had served him for 42 years. This places his employment by the archaeologist at around 1897. Behind the expression “*old*” different assessments of the age of the man may lie, none of which, however, rules out the possibility that Ahmed Saïd might actually have found the queen’s coffin around the time when its discovery is generally dated.¹¹

⁴ A passage from this manuscript was transcribed by Edward Castle in LILYQUIST, *Egyptian Stone Vessels*, 55 and no. 177, for the purpose of contextualizing the alabaster jars found with the coffin.

⁵ Carter gives here the erroneous date of 1860. On the history of the find and the identity of the queen, see BETRÒ, “The Identity of Ahhotep and the Textual Sources”, in this volume.

⁶ *Ibidem*. See also MINIACI, “The Discovery of Queen Ahhotep’s Burial at Dra Abu el-Naga (Thebes) in the Nineteenth Century AD: Between Tale and Archaeological Evidence”, in this volume.

⁷ JAMES, *Howard Carter*, 2.

⁸ JAMES, *Howard Carter*, 469; REEVES, TAYLOR, *Howard Carter*, 181.

⁹ JAMES, *Howard Carter*, 2.

¹⁰ See n. 8.

¹¹ If Ahmed Saïd’s story is trustworthy, probably the effective date of the find must be placed earlier than the 5th of February 1859 assigned to it by the accounts of Mariette and Desjardins: a certain amount of time must be left between the discovery of Ahmed Saïd, the spreading of the news by his workers and the confiscation by the governor. About the contradictory information concerning the date see MINIACI, “The Discovery of Queen Ahhotep’s Burial at Dra Abu el-Naga (Thebes) in the Nineteenth Century AD: Between Tale and Archaeological Evidence”, in this volume, p. 31-2.

- its location

The two earlier versions specify the approximate position of the find by using as landmark TT 155, located almost at the end of the wadi Khawi el-Alamat, in the northernmost part of Dra Abu el-Naga:

MMA MS: “*deep below a tomb (of a certain Antef, the ‘Great Herald of the King’, dating from the reign of Tuthmosis III) where there are some hidden brick vaults, (...) hidden in one of the vaults. The coffin (...) was placed in a hole at the side of the vault that seemed to have been gouged out expressly for it, and it was roughly covered up with bricks as if to hide it*”

GI MSS VI 2.4: “*The vault was situated deep below a tomb-chapel of a certain Antef, ‘The Great Herald of Tuthmosis III’; the coffin he said was tucked away in a hole that had been roughly hollowed out of the side of the vault, and then it had been carefully covered up with mud bricks as if to hide it*”

The final draft (GI MSS VI 2.11) omits this detail, only retaining that it was found “*hidden in a brick vault*”. No other report of the finding by Mariette and his collaborators mentions those brick structures. On the contrary, they vary between locating the find in a shaft 5-6 meters deep or in a shallow hole under the surface.¹² Winlock reported in a note that Carter had “*heard a tradition in Kurnah that the site was near Tomb 155*”.¹³ The expression “*deep below*” in Carter’s account must be understood in the sense of “much further downhill”, *i.e.*, in the plain. In fact, the possibility that it refers to an underground depth can be ruled out: the subsequent description of the hole covered with bricks piled up in bulk (“*roughly*”) suggests that the hiding place was just below the surface of the ground.

The position in the plain joined to the reference to the brick vaults might point out to the brick chapels associated to the burials of the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Dynasty found by the German Archaeological Institute, as Marianne Eaton-Krauss has already remarked.¹⁴ One of those ruined brick chapels would have been used as a cache for hiding the coffin stolen from its royal tomb on the ridge of Dra Abu el-Naga, according to Carter’s notebook.¹⁵

- contents and description of the coffin¹⁶

It is consistently described as a massive wooden coffin which contained a mummy, four alabaster vases and a bundle of gold and silver objects:

MMA MS: “*a massive wooden coffin containing a mummy, four alabaster canopic jars, a bundle of jewellery and gold and silver ornaments hurriedly placed beside the mummy in the coffin*”

GI MSS VI 2.4: “*a massive wooden coffin containing a mummy, four alabaster canopic vases, and a bundle of gold and silver ornaments*”

GI MSS VI 2.11: “*an immense wooden coffin containing a mummy, four alabaster (calcite) canopic jars, and a bundle of gold and silver ornaments*”

The earliest manuscript adds to the description a remark about the haste with which the objects were apparently placed in the coffin, but it is impossible to say whether this detail, later removed, was due to a greater fidelity to Ahmed Saïd’s account or to Carter’s later reworking of the man’s words, as I am inclined to believe.

While the massive wooden coffin and the alabaster vases are details already present in the first descriptions, more interesting is the constant presence of the “*linen bundle*”. The official accounts of the time mostly give the list of the jewels and precious objects found with the queen, without any information concerning their position within the coffin. Although it is clear from Maunier’s letter and later from Devéria that Mariette was not present at the discovery and was, indeed, in Cairo, the official reports of the time casually omit the detail or even depict him present and in the act of examining the mummy and the contents of the coffin: “*Après avoir enlevé les bandelettes, M. Mariette trouva le corps de la reine Aah-Hotep littéralement couvert et enveloppé d’objets d’or et d’argent du plus grand intérêt*”.¹⁷

In his catalogue of the Museum at Bulaq, Mariette says that the objects had been found partly near the mummy, on the wooden bottom of the case, partly arranged as if at random between the poorly knotted linens. Finally, some jewels were on the body of the queen:

¹² See BETRÒ, “The Identity of Ahhotep and the Textual Sources”, in this volume, n. 94, and MINIACI, “The Discovery of Queen Ahhotep’s Burial at Dra Abu el-Naga (Thebes) in the Nineteenth Century AD”, in this volume.

¹³ WINLOCK, *JEA* 10, 252, n. 2.

¹⁴ EATON-KRAUSS, in BLÖBAUM, KAHL, SCHWEITZER (eds), *Ägypten-Münster*, 82; POLZ, *Der Beginn*, 239-245. Another mud-brick offering chapel has been recently excavated at Dra Abu el-Naga by the Spanish Mission: GALÁN, *JEA* 103/2, 187 ff.

¹⁵ EATON-KRAUSS, in BLÖBAUM, KAHL, SCHWEITZER (eds),

Ägypten-Münster, 81, no. 36. Eaton-Krauss remarks that REEVES, *Great discoveries*, 50 was the first to quote Carter’s sources, believing however that this was the original site of the queen’s burial. The exact reference to Carter’s Notebook 17 was however provided by Aidan DODSON, *Canopic Equipment*, 43, no. 33, who interpreted it as a cache.

¹⁶ See MINIACI, “The original Inventory List of the Queen Ahhotep ‘Treasure’ from Mariette’s Papers (BIF Paris, *Fonds Maspero*, Ms. 4052)”, in this volume.

¹⁷ DESJARDINS, *RGA* 18, 99-100.

“Sous la XI^{me} dynastie [read: XVII^{me}], l’emmaillotage proprement dit est rare; les morts sont plutôt entourés de linges en forme de linceuls que serrés dans des bandelettes; entre ces linges sont placés des objets de toute sorte en rapport avec les usages de la vie privée; d’autres objets de même nature adhérents à la peau, ou bien encore déposés dans les vides du cercueil. Or l’emmaillotement de la reine Aah-hotep s’est fait exactement dans ces conditions. Deux barques d’or et d’argent, des haches de bronze, de gros bracelets de jambes ont été trouvés à côté d’elle, sur le bois du cercueil. Entre les linges mal noués étaient déposés, comme au hasard, des poignards, une hache d’or, une chaîne garnie de trois mouches d’or, un pectoral. Enfin le cadavre lui-même était revêtu d’une autre chaîne d’or ornée d’un scarabée, de bracelets, d’un diadème, etc.”¹⁸

The detail concerning “les linges mal noués” recalls the “linen bundle” of Ahmed Saïd: apparently, Mariette’s description is fairly precise, nonetheless it is known that it could not derive from a first-hand autoptic view. Might Mariette have relied here on the accounts of people in Qurna? Ahmed Saïd “el-Hagg” declared to Carter that he discovered the coffin, after many days searching for “antiquas” in the northern part of Dra Abu el-Naga. He seems to have been helped by some men, defined as “his fellow workers” in MMA MS and GI MSS VI 2.4, “his fellow illicit diggers” in GI MSS VI 2.11. It is clear however that they were not co-authors of the find or “partners”, who would have shared with him the profits of the fabulous discovery: if they had been, they would certainly not have divulged the news, thus leading in practice to the loss of any possible profits and the confiscation of the coffin. According to Carter’s account, these men, moved by envy, spread the news to the four winds.

The next part of the text is no longer concerned with Ahmed Saïd’s words. Carter narrates the events followed to the confiscation of the coffin with its treasure by the governor and the strenuous and eventually successful attempts by Mariette to recover them (completely or partly, as Carter rather believed). Finally, he exposes his interpretation of the facts which brought to hide the coffin and leaving it neglected for centuries: as Petrie, he remarks that ordinary thieves would not have taken the trouble to carry the heavy coffin with its untouched mummy inside, but, while Petrie thought of “pious hands” trying to protect the coffin and its contents, Carter rather suspected that corrupted officials, at the time of recovering the royal mummies in the caches, hid the treasure with an eye to their future benefit.¹⁹

Acknowledgements

My warmest thanks go to Diana Craig Patch, who looked up Howard Carter’s version in the Metropolitan Museum of Art for me, notwithstanding the difficult times, and provided me with the transcript made in 1985 by Marsha Hill. I am also indebted for many useful indications concerning Carter MSS versions in the Griffith Institute Archive at Oxford with Francisco Bosch-Puche, who kindly sent me the scans and the permission to reproduce them. I am most grateful to Peter Lacovara for revising my English.

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¹⁸ MARIETTE, *Notice* 1864, 219-20; BETRÒ, “The Identity of Ahhotep and the Textual Sources” in this volume, p. 144 and n. 91.

¹⁹ *Ibidem*.

They remained unmolested, until the descendants of the Western Thebans were the first to re-discover them. In this case, as in the former, for no other useful purpose than for loot.

For many years the northern end of the Necropolis, known as Dirâ Abu'l-Neggâ, was one of the favourite sites for illicit digging. This was probably on account of its conspicuous brick pyramid-tombs and its mummy-pits easily found and easily worked. It was here, in 1860, where a discovery connected with the removals of the Royal Mummies was first brought to light in modern times. The "find" was made by a man named Ahmed Saïde el-Hagg ("the pilgrim"), a devout, straight-forward fellâh, who apparently only pursued his crops to dig for "Antiquas" when he was out-of-work during the season of inundation. He was still living when I first went to Western Thebes; in fact, his youngest son Abd-el-Az became my servant and has remained with me ever since.

This old fellâh, then hoary with age, declared to me that at the northernmost boundary of the hill-slope of Dirâ Abu'l-Neggâ, he found hidden in a brick vault an immense wooden coffin containing a mummy, four alabaster (calcite) Canopic Jars, and a bundle of gold and silver ornaments.

The magnificence of the coffin and the beauty of the gold and silver objects in the linen bundle, excited the envy of his fellow illicit diggers so much the news of the find soon got abroad. Housely and defiantly they started the sensational news, and gave out unveracious stories of the amount of gold. With a result the Governor of the

Fig. 1a - Page 168 from Carter MSS VI.2.11 © Griffith Institute Archive, Oxford

Province quickly seized everything, and gave notice of the discovery to H. H. the Khedive, Saïd Pasha. The news of the discovery also reached the ears of a certain M. Gabet, then an assistant of the district, and a M. Maurier the French Consul at Luxor. They notified Mariette Pasha, the founder of the Service des Antiquités for the protection of ancient monuments in Egypt. According to M. Maspero, Mariette Pasha, on the receipt of the news, immediately sent an order to the effect that the coffin and its contents were to be preserved intact and forwarded to the Museum, then at Boulaq near Cairo. Apparently no notice was paid to this "Order of Service". The mummy was unwrapped by the harem of the Governor, and it is said that many of the objects that were found within its linen wrappings disappeared in the process. It would have been, I think, in no way astonishing if the whole lot had vanished. However, with the greatest difficulty, Mariette Pasha eventually succeeded in obtaining restitution of the remainder, but before when this was given up the wiles of H. H. the Khedive took toll of some of the more attractive pieces.

The coffin and the mummy proved to be of Queen Agh-hetep, the wife of King Segar-en-Ré of the late Seventeenth Dynasty. She lived to a great age, and was one of the greatest queens in Theban history; acting as she did as an important link, on the spindle side, between two lines of Theban Rulers. Her daughter, the celebrated hereditary princess and heiress Aghmes-nefert-âri, was married to Ahmes I, the founder of the Eighteenth Egyptian Dynasty, and she was the mother of Amenophis I. In those ages woman had an important status of

Table 1 – Synoptic view of the three manuscripts

MMA MS ¹	Carter MSS VI.2.4 ²	Carter MSS VI.2.11
For many years Drah Abu'l Neggâ, the northern and most ancient end of the Theban Necropolis, was a favourite site for diggers on account of its tomb-pits being easily found and worked, and it was there the first modern discovery connected with the royal mummies was found accidentally in 1860.³ In spite of the administration of Mariette Pasha, the founder of the "Service des Antiquités" for the protection of the monuments, his efforts could not restrain the pillage of tombs which was carried on surreptitiously. He even enrolled large numbers of the more energetic populace to dig for the Museum. The last discovery was made by a devout fellâh, by name Ahmed Saïda El-Hâgg ("the pilgrim"); the father of my servant Abd El Ârl, who has been in my service for nearly 40 years. Abd El Ârl first came to me as a donkey-boy and sâis (groom for horse) but he eventually worked up to be vallet and now is my factotum. Ahmed Saïda El-Hâgg - a burley straight-forward hoary old man, who apparently only forsook his crops to dig for 'antiquas' when out-of-work during the season of inundation - declared to me that at last after many days of toil at the extreme northern boundary of the hill-slope, deep below a tomb (of a certain Antef, the "Great Herald of the King", dating from the reign of Tutmosis III) where there are some hidden brick vaults, he⁴ found hidden in one of the vaults a massive wooden coffin containing a mummy, four alabaster canopic jars, a bundle of jewellery and gold and silver ornaments hurriedly placed beside the mummy in the coffin. The coffin he	(...) /95/ In spite of the administration of Mariette Pasha, the founder of the "Service des Antiquités" for the protection of the ancient Egyptian Monuments, his efforts could not restrain the pillage of antiquities which was being carried on surreptitiously. He even enrolled large numbers of the more energetic populace to dig for the Boulac Museum at /96/ Cairo, but the results were equally disastrous. /95/ For many years the district of Drah Abu'l Neggâ, the northern and most ancient end part of the Necropolis; was a the favourite site for illicit diggers on account of its conspicuous pyramid-tombs and its mummy-pits being easily found and easily worked. It was there here the first modern discovery connected with the royal mummies was made by chance in 1860. /96/ A This discovery of outstanding importance was made by a fellâh, by name was made by Ahmed Saïda El-Hâgg ("the pilgrim"), actually the father of my servant who has been in my service for nearly forty years. Ahmed Saïda El-Hâgg, a devout burly straight-forward hoary old peasant, who apparently only forsook his crops to dig for 'antiquas' when he was out-of-work during the season of inundation, declared to me that after many weeks of toil at the extreme northern boundary of the hill-slope of Drah Abu'l Neggâ, he found hidden in a brick vault a massive wooden coffin containing a mummy, four alabaster canopic vases, and a bundle of gold and silver ornaments. The vault was situated deep below a tomb-chapel of a certain Antef, "The Great Herald of Tutmosis III"; the coffin he said was tucked away in a hole that had been roughly hollowed out of the side of the vault, and then it had been carefully covered up with mud bricks as if to hide it.	(...) /168/ For many years the northern end of the necropolis, known as Drah Abu'l Neggâ, was one of the favourite sites for illicit digging. This was probably on account of its conspicuous brick pyramid-tombs and its mummy-pits easily found and easily worked. It was here, in 1860, where a discovery connected with the removals of the Royal Mummies was first brought to light in modern times. The "find" was made by a man named Ahmed Saïda El-Hâgg ("the pilgrim"), a devout, straight-forward fellâh, who apparently only forsook his crops to dig for "Antiquas" when he was out-of-work during the season of inundation. He was still living when I first went to Western Thebes; in fact, his youngest son Abd-El-Arl became my servant and has remained with me ever since. This old fellâh, then hoary with age, declared to me that at the northernmost boundary of the hill-slope of Drah Abu'l Neggâ, he found hidden in a brick vault an immense wooden coffin containing a mummy, four alabaster (calcite) canopic jars, and a bundle of gold and silver ornaments.

said was placed in a hole at the side of the vault that /2/ seemed to have been gouged out expressly for it, and it was roughly covered up with bricks as if to hide it. The magnificence of the coffin, and the beauty of the gold and silver boats and valuable gold and bronze weapons in the bundle, excited the envy of his fellow workers to such an extent that the news of the discovery soon got abroad. With the result that within a short time the Mudîr (Governor) of Kena seized them, and gave notice of the "find" to H.H. The Khedive, Saïde Pasha. News of the discovery also reached the ears of a certain M. Gabet, then Inspector of Excavations, and M. Maunier the French Consul at Luxor, who notified Mariette Pasha in Cairo.	The magnificence of the coffin and the beauty of the gold and silver objects in the linen bundle, excited the envy of his fellow workers to such an extent that the news of the discovery soon got abroad. With the result that within a very short time the Governor of the Province seized them, and gave notice of the "find" to H.H. the Khedive, Saïde Pasha. News of the discovery also reached the ears of a certain M. Gabet, then inspector of excavations, and a M. Maunier the French Consul at Luxor, who notified Mariette Pasha in Cairo. According to M. Maspero, Mariette Pasha, /97/ on receipt of the news, immediately sent an order to the effect that the coffin and its contents were to be preserved intact and forwarded to the Museum then at Boulac. But apparently no attention was paid to this "Order of Service". The mummy was unwrapped by the harem of the Governor, and it is said that many of the objects that were found within its wrappings disappeared in the process. It would, I think, have been in no wise astonishing if the whole lot had vanished. However, with the greatest difficulty, Mariette Pasha eventually succeeded in obtaining restitution of the remainder, but before even this was given up, the wives of H.H. the Khedive took toll of some of the objects. The coffin and the mummy proved to be of Queen Aah-hotep, the wife of a king Sequen-en-Re-To-aa-qen of the late Seventeenth Dynasty. She lived to a great age, and was one of the greatest queens in Theban history;	The magnificence of the coffin and the beauty of the gold and silver objects in the linen bundle, excited the envy of his fellow illicit diggers so much the news of this find soon got abroad. Hoarsely and defiantly they shouted the sensational news, and gave one un-veracious stories of the amount of gold. With a result: the Governor of the /169/ Province quickly seized everything, and gave notice of the discovery to H.H. the Khedive, Saïde Pasha. The news of the discovery also reached the ears of a certain M. Gabet, then an inspector of the district, and a M. Maunier the French Consul at Luxor. They notified Mariette Pasha, the founder of the Service des Antiquités for the protection of Ancient Monuments in Egypt. According to M. Maspero, Mariette Pasha, on the receipts of the news, immediately sent an order to the effect that the coffin and its contents were to be preserved intact and forwarded to the Museum, then at Boulac near Cairo. Apparently no notice was paid to this "Order of Service". The mummy was unwrapped by the harem of the Governor, and it is said that many of the objects that were found within its linen wrappings disappeared in this process. It would have been, I think, in no way astonishing if the whole lot had vanished. However, with the greatest difficulty, Mariette Pasha eventually succeeded in obtaining restitution of the remainder, but before even this was given up the wives of H.H. the Khedive took toll of some of the more attractive pieces. The coffin and the mummy proved to be of Queen Aah-hotep, the wife of king Sequen-en-Re of the late Seventeenth Dynasty. She lived to a great age, and was one of the greatest queens in Theban history; acting as she did as
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an important link on the spindle side between two lines of Theban rulers. Through her daughter, the celebrated /3/ hereditary princess and heiress Aahmes-Nefertari, who married to Neb-pehiti-Re Aahmes I - the founder of the Eighteenth Egyptian Dynasty - [and] was the mother of Amenophis I.⁵ In those ages women had a definite status of which no memory exists, hence the jewels heaped upon her. It is a misfortune that we have no trustworthy account of what treasures were found upon the mummy of that Queen, but by the jewellery recovered and from various reports the following were presumably among those actually on her body: a beautiful scarab suspended on a flexible gold chain with hook fastenings in the shape of duck heads, an inlaid pectoral ornament also made of gold; another neck-chain with large gold flies hanging from it; anklets, armlets and bracelets; all bearing the name of Aahmes I, as well as amulets, a mirror and the handle of a fan.⁶ In the linen bundle placed beside the mummy were two gold and silver miniature boats upon wheels, with oarsmen, helmsman and pilots; a dagger and spear head; axes and flail of bronze which all bore the name of her son king Kames; ad a magnificent battle axe and dagger of gold and bronze bearing the name of her husband [sic] the Pharaoh Neb-pehiti-Re Aahmes I. This unique treasure is now housed in the Cairo Museum without the slightest attempt to mount them in their proper order. But some of the objects belonging to Kames and recorded above found their [way] to England and are now in the collection of Sir Arthur Evans.	acting as she did as an important link, on the spindle side, between two lines of Theban rulers. Her daughter, the celebrated hereditary princess and heiress Aahmes-Nefertari, was married to Neb-pehiti-Re Aahmes I, the founder of the Eighteenth Egyptian Dynasty, and was the mother of Amenophis I. In those ages woman had an important status of which no memory exists, hence the jewels heaped upon her. It is a misfortune that we have no trustworthy account of what treasures were found upon the mummy of that queen, but by from the jewels recovered, and from various reports the following were presumably among those found upon within her body wrappings: /98/ a beautiful scarab suspended on a long flexible gold chain with hook fastenings in the shape of ducks, an inlaid pectoral ornament also of gold; another neck-chain with large gold flies hanging from it; anklets, armlets, and bracelets and anklets; all bearing the name of Aahmes I. There were also a number of amulets, a mirror and the handle of a fan. In the linen bundle beside the mummy in the coffin, there were two gold and silver miniature boats upon wheels, with oarsmen, helmsmen and pilots; a dagger and a spear head, axes and a flail, which all bore the name of her son king Kames; and with there was a magnificent battle-axe and dagger of wood, gold and bronze bearing the name and titles of her husband the Pharaoh Neb-pehiti-Re Aahmes I. Most of this unique treasure is now in the Cairo Museum, still without any attempt of putting them in their proper order. Many years later, some of the objects belonging to Kames (recorded above) found their [way] to England and are now in the collection of Sir Arthur Evans.⁹	an important link, on the spindle side, between two lines of Theban rulers. Her daughter, the celebrated hereditary princess and heiress Aahmes-Nefertari, was married to Aahmes I, the founder of the Eighteenth Egyptian Dynasty, and she was the mother of Amenophis I. In those ages woman had an important status of /170/ which no memory exists. We have no trustworthy account of what treasures were found upon the mummy of that queen, but from the objects recovered, the following were presumably among those found within her wrappings: a beautifully wrought scarab suspended on a long flexible gold chain, with hook fastenings in the shape of ducks; a finely inlaid pectoral ornament of gold; a neck-chain with large pendant gold flies; armlets, bracelets and anklets, all bearing the name of Aahmes I. There were also a number of gold amulets, a mirror and a fan handle. In the linen bundle that was placed in the coffin, there were two gold and silver miniature boats upon wheels, with oarsmen, helmsmen and pilots; a dagger, a spear head, axes and a flail, which all bore the name of her son king Kames; with there was a magnificent battle axe and dagger of bronze fine inlaid with gold. They bore the names and titles of her husband son-in-law Aahmes I.⁸
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Those objects evidently come from more than one burial, and the 14/ sepulchres of these kings cannot be far away, for we have circumstantial evidence in the Abbott Papyrus of their pyramid-tombs being in the district of Draḥ Abu'l Negga. Various hypotheses have been hazarded with regard to this discovery; yet no convincing reason has been revealed for this coffin full of valuable material being deposited alone in such a poor and inappropriate place. Hidden evidently, or at least probably, not due merely to chance. We may find among those conjectures some interesting deductions and suggestions, but to my mind the discovery is but evidence of some corrupt official, or officials, employed during those removals of the royal mummies that have been already mentioned above.	There can be little doubt that this treasure these objects came from more than one burial. The sepulchres of the kings whose names we find upon this treasure cannot have been very far away. In fact, we have first-hand evidence in the Papyrus Abbott that their pyramid-tombs are all in the district of Dirāḥ Abu'l Negga. Various hypotheses have been hazarded with regard to this discovery; yet no convincing reason has been revealed for this coffin, full of such valuable material, being deposited alone in such a poor and inappropriate hiding place. Hidden, evidently, or at least probably; not by mere chance. We may find among those many ready conjectures and conclusions some interesting deductions and suggestions; but to my mind the discovery is but further evidence of corruption among the officials employed during the removals of the royal mummies that I have recorded above.	There can be little doubt that these objects came from more than one burial. The tombs of the kings whose names we find upon these objects cannot have been very far away from the spot they were found. We have first-hand evidence in the Papyrus Abbott that their pyramid-tombs are all in the district of Dirāḥ Abu'l Negga. Various hypotheses have been hazarded with regard to this "find"; yet no convincing reason has been revealed for this coffin, full of valuable material, being deposited alone in such a poor hiding place. We may find among the many conjectures and conclusions some interesting suggestions and deductions; but to my mind the discovery is but further /171/ proof of the corrupt officials employed in the removal of the Royal Mummies recorded in the above paragraphs. The simplest and kindest thing to say would be: hidden and forgotten. For it is clear that the discovery does not lack answers to this argument. The officials might have overlooked this temporary hiding place when removing the Royal Mummies to the larger and safer caches. I take, however, the opposite view. For an outstanding fact remains: in the two great caches subsequently found - one at Deir el-Bāḥari, the other in the tomb of Amenophis II, - not a single object of real intrinsic value was discovered upon those royal remains. Here, instead, we find a coffin full of valuable treasure, tucked away in a place where it certainly does not belong. If this hoard had been amassed and put away by ordinary thieves, would they have gone to the trouble of transporting their loot in an immensely heavy wooden coffin, with an untouched mummy inside it, when all the valuables could have been easily put in a comparatively small bundle? On the other hand, does it not seem more likely, that during the various transportations of those royal
My reasons for believing this to be the case are: there is the notable fact that in the two caches - one at Deir el-Bāḥari, the other in the tomb of Amenophis II - not a single object of any intrinsic value was found with those hidden remains of royal mummies. While here we find a coffin full of valuable jewellery tucked away where it does not belong. If this hoard had been amassed and put away by ordinary thieves, would they have gone to the trouble of transporting their loot in an immense and heavy wooden coffin, with a mummy inside? - when the valuable objects could have been put in a small bundle or bag. On the other hand, does it not seem more likely that during the various transportations of those royal	My reasons for believing this to be the case are - There is the notable fact that in the two great caches of royal mummies subsequently found - one at Deir el-Bāḥari, the other in the tomb of Amenophis II - not a single object of real intrinsic value was discovered with upon those royal remains. Here, isolated, we find a coffin full of valuable treasure, etc., tucked away in a place where it certainly does not belong. If this hoard had been amassed and put away by ordinary thieves, would they have gone to the trouble of transporting their loot in an immensely heavy wooden coffin, with an untouched mummy inside it, when all the valuables the mummy and coffin contained could have easily been put in a comparatively small bundle or bag? On the other hand, does it not seem more likely, that during the various transportations of those royal	On the other hand, does it not seem more likely, that during the various transportations of those royal

mummies, some corrupt person in charge of the operations, knowing the value this coffin contained, arranged to have it secreted, with an eye to his future benefit? The enigma may never be solved, but this hypothesis might well be true. In the absence of a better explanation, may we not provisionally connect this isolated "find" with the dishonesty we have proof that existed, - among a number of records which lead us to /5/ understand why the mummies were moved to safer places, and how tragic has been their situation. Or, would it be more just to say: hidden temporarily and forgotten! I suspect more remains from royal tombs may be thus hidden, and that we have yet much to discover. Illicit digging during that latter half of last century was not encouraged. I shall always remember the sad expression on Ahmed Saïda El-Hâgg's face when he told me "he derived not a 'fodda'¹¹ of recompense for his 'find'". He was, however, wont to swagger of his connection with it, if that be any compensation for his trouble. A Nabboot¹² was the remedy in his hands for his fellow workers who gave him away, and "Allah the Supreme Court of Appeal".	remains, someone in charge of the operations, knowing well the contents of that coffin arranged to have it secreted with an eye to his future benefit? Or, would it be fairer to say: "hidden temporarily and forgotten"? The enigma may never be solved, but the hypothesis might well be true. Now that we know how tragic was the situation of those mummies, I suspect that other remains from royal tombs may have been thus hidden, and that we have yet more and many strange events to discover. /100/ Illicit digging during that latter half of last century was not encouraged. ...¹⁰ I shall always remember the sad and forlorn expression upon Ahmed Saïda El-Hagg's face when he told me that he derived not a <u>fodda</u> as recompense for his find. However, he was wont to swagger about his connection with it, if that be any compensation for his trouble. A heavy <u>nebboot</u> (wooden staff) was the remedy at his hands for his fellow workers diggers who gave him away, and Allah the Supreme Court of Appeal.	remains, officials in charge of the operations, knowing well the contents of this coffin, arranged to have it secreted with an eye to their future benefit? The enigma may never be solved, but the hypothesis might well be true. And now that we know how tragic was the situation of those mummies, I suspect that other remains from royal tombs have been hidden thus, and that we have yet many strange events to discover. I shall always remember the sad and forlorn expression upon Ahmed Saïda El-Hagg's face when he told me that he derived not a <u>fodda</u> (40th part /172/ of a piastre) as recompense for his find. Apparently a heavy <u>nebboot</u> ("wooden staff") was the remedy at his hands for his fellow diggers who gave him away, and Allah the Supreme Court of Appeal.
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Textual Notes

- ¹ My text is based on Marsha Hill's transcription. As she had noted on her transcript, she left Carter's misspellings and "*only included alternate versions of a word or phrase (i.e. ones he had marked out) if they seemed to give different information than was in the text as he let it stand*". For my part, I intervened in the text where the other Oxford versions allowed some doubts to be resolved.
- ² Three handwritten sheets, in ink, containing a further version of the story, are inserted among page 96 and 97 of the manuscript. They are slightly different but without significant variants.
- ³ Carter's dating of the discovery, here as in the other manuscripts, is wrong: for it see BETRÒ, "The identity of Ahhotep and the textual sources", in this volume.
- ⁴ Here Edward Castle erroneously integrated "[Abd el-Arl]", name of the son of the man.
- ⁵ As commented by Marsha Hill in her transcription, the "*grammar of this sentence is confused as various possibilities for connecting it to foregoing sentence seem to have been under consideration*".
- ⁶ Here Marsha Hill adds as her comment: "*part of an alternate version not lined out reads: two lion heads of bronze and gold belonging to some ornament, amulets, mirror and fan handle, all bearing the name of Aahmes I*".
- ⁷ I am not sure about this reading: the word, together with "finely", is a handwritten pencil adding by Carter over the line.
- ⁸ Carter inserted here the following note, written on the opposite page: "*This unique treasure is now in the Cairo Museum; still without any attempt of putting them in their proper order. Many years after the discovery some of the objects belonging to Kâmes found their way to England*".
- ⁹ Carter's annotation here makes clear that he meant to move the sentence in a note, as he did in the final draft.
- ¹⁰ Carter intended to replace the cancelled sentence with another he wrote over the line, whose content I could not decipher: "*But he ...this discovery*" (?).
- ¹¹ Carter himself added here a footnote explaining the word: "*The 40th part of a piastre*".
- ¹² Wooden staff, as explained by Carter in the other versions.