

## THE TOMB OF NEFER-KHĒWET AND HIS FAMILY

Within the sixty years between 1520 and 1460 B.C. the members of a middle-class Theban family of at least eleven persons died one by one and were buried in a single tomb in western Thebes. These years fall in the first half of the Eighteenth Dynasty and include that extraordinarily interesting period of Egyptian history in which occurred the reigns of Thut-mosē I and II, of Hat-shepsūt, and of Thut-mosē III. Headed by the scribe Nefer-khēwet, who functioned as one of the chief secretaries of Hat-shepsūt while she was as yet no more than crown princess, and by his wife, Ren-nūfer, the family probably played no very prominent role in the events of the glorious, if unsettled, era<sup>1</sup>; but their tomb is the first complete and intact sepulcher of its class and of its particular period yet discovered, and the choice and arrangement of the objects in it give us invaluable information on the type of burial prevalent among the ordinary, well-to-do citizenry of the time.

The tomb consists of a deep vertical pit, rectangular in plan and oriented east-west,<sup>2</sup> with two small chambers *en suite* to the west and a somewhat larger chamber to the east opening off the bottom (fig. 1) and, about halfway down, a fourth chamber to the east. The tomb was sunk in the low-lying desert rock not far from the edge of cultivated ground and close to the foot, or eastern, end of the avenue leading down from the already ancient mortuary temple of King Mentu-hotpe III of the Eleventh Dynasty. The mouth of the pit lay originally in the then uncut rock surface immediately to the north of the cutting for Mentu-hotpe's avenue, in the midst of an extensive and ancient cemetery which dated back to the Middle Kingdom but which

counted among its tombs many of the shadowy Second Intermediate Period and of the Seventeenth and early Eighteenth Dynasties.<sup>3</sup> The chambers were apparently not all cut at the same time but were added little by little as members of the family reached old age or died, the chronological order of the various parts of the tomb being as follows: (1) the pit, (2) the two west chambers, (3) the lower east chamber, and (4) the upper chamber. The doorways of all the chambers which opened directly onto the pit were blocked with walls of mud brick, laid in mud mortar, the blockings of the two eastern chambers showing clearly that they had been taken down and rebuilt several times<sup>4</sup>—presumably each time a burial or group of burials was moved into either chamber. Late in the history of the tomb an inner shaft was sunk into the floor of the upper chamber, in an effort further to enlarge the already overcrowded tomb; and this shaft, probably much to the surprise of its excavators, broke into the north end of the half-empty lower east chamber (see fig. 1). It was through this shaft and from

<sup>1</sup> See above, p. 16; Winlock, BULLETIN, 1914, pp. 16-18, fig. 10. In the winter of 1915-1916 the Expedition cleared a number of tombs of the XII to early XVIII Dynasty, situated in the court of a large XII Dynasty tomb a short distance to the north of the present site (Lansing, BULLETIN, May, 1917, Supp., pp. 7-26). The later of these tombs are contemporary with the earlier burials in the tomb of Nefer-khēwet, the contents of which closely parallel the majority of the objects found in them. While there is this definite overlap in date, the later burials in Nefer-khēwet's tomb are probably subsequent to any of the 1915-1916 tombs and thus carry the succession of intact, early New Kingdom burials found by the Museum's Expedition further into the XVIII Dynasty than heretofore.

<sup>2</sup> Two distinct sizes of brick were found in these blockings; in both cases the bricks of the lower courses measure 36 by 17 by 9 cm., while those in the upper courses are 30.5 by 14 by 9.5 cm.

<sup>3</sup> See below, p. 18 and note 10.

<sup>4</sup> In contrast to the surrounding Middle Kingdom pits, which are oriented north-south.

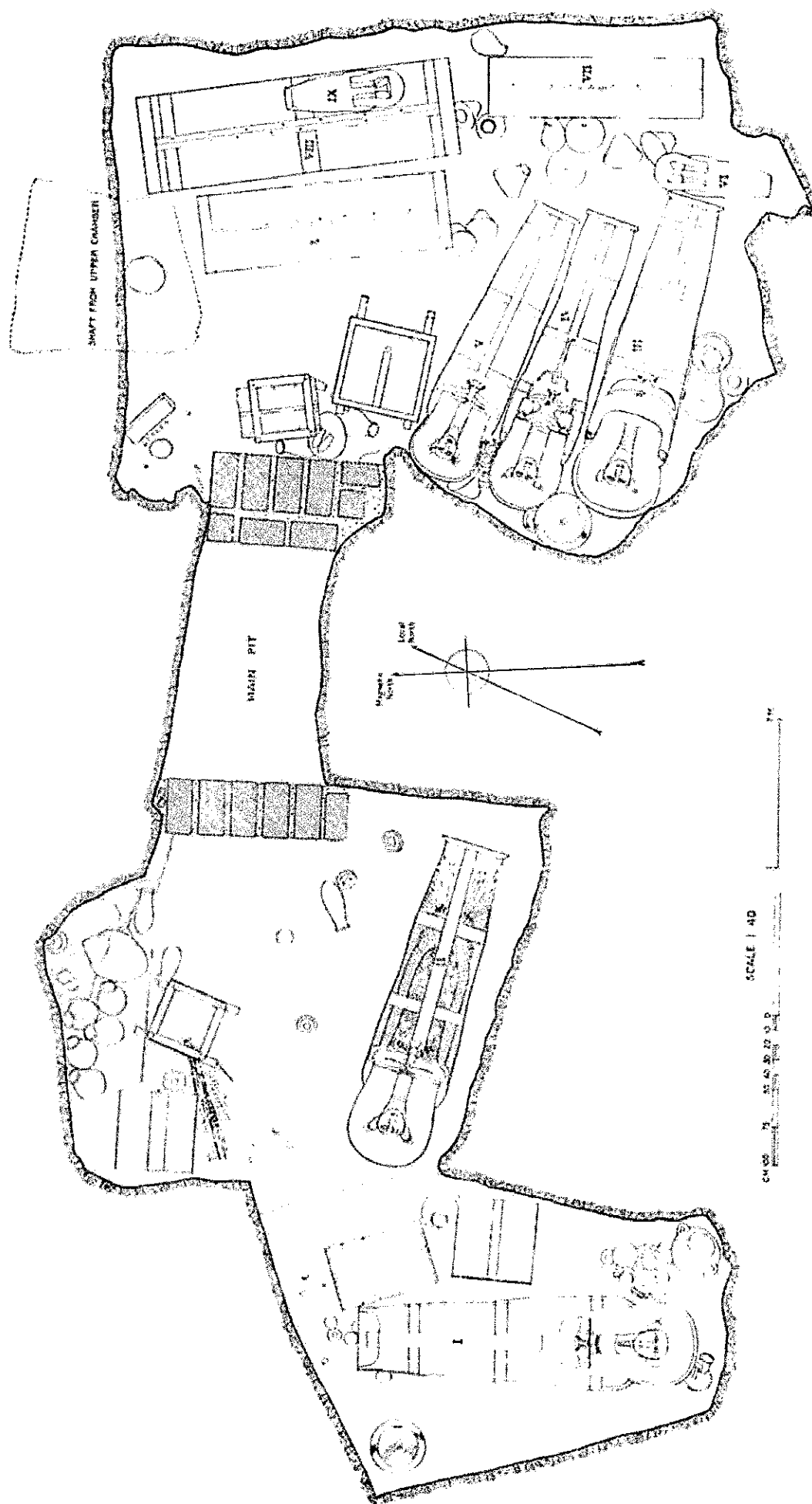


FIG. 1. PLAN OF THE LOWER CHAMBERS IN THE TOMB OF NEFER-RHEVET AND HIS FAMILY. SCALE 1:40

the upper chamber that five "cheap" burials of either poor relations or servants of the family were inserted into the lower chamber, the intrusion taking place an appreciable length of time after the original three burials in the lower chamber had been made and the doorway into the main pit of the tomb had received its final blocking.<sup>5</sup> When all the burials which the tomb could hold were in place and the blockings of the doorways had been rebuilt for the last time, the pit was presumably filled to its top with broken rock, sand, dirt, and other debris. This final act<sup>6</sup> in the sealing up of the tomb probably took place only a short time before Thut-mosē III ran the cut for the avenue of his temple building down from Deir el Bahri and through the rock in which the tomb lay, shearing off most of the upper part of the pit and nearly laying open the upper chamber. Shortly afterwards this king built the south wall of his avenue almost over the new mouth of the decapitated pit. These operations (accomplished not later than Thut-mosē III's forty-fifth regnal year)<sup>7</sup> mark the *terminus ante quem* for the date of the tomb, its *terminus a quo* being established by a scarab of Thut-mosē I found in the coffin of Ren-nūfer and by an alabaster jar belonging to Nefer-khēwet, inscribed with the title and name of Hat-shepsūt as crown princess.

Introducing the family, not "in the order of their appearance" but in the order in which they "disappeared," or were buried, we find in the inner of the two western chambers of the tomb the aged<sup>8</sup> scribe Nefer-khēwet, "archivist, chief treasurer, and keeper of documents in the house of the God's Wife, Hat-shepsūt" (fig. 1, burial I).

<sup>5</sup> See below, p. 19, note 13.

<sup>6</sup> It is possible that a superstructure of some sort was built over the mouth of the pit, as in the case of several of the nearly contemporary tombs discovered in 1915-1916. See Lansing, BULLETIN, May, 1917, Supp., p. 20, figs. 6, 7, 14.

<sup>7</sup> An ostrakon of the vizier Rekh-mi-Rē dated to Thut-mosē III's forty-fifth year, records the delivery of stone for the building of the "south wall" of *Djeser-akhet*, i.e., the temple to which the avenue led (Winlock, BULLETIN, Dec., 1923, Part II, pp. 36-38).

<sup>8</sup> The ten skeletons found in this tomb were examined by Dr. Douglas E. Derry of the Egyptian University, Cairo, and the data on their age, sex, etc., given here are taken from his notes.

and in the adjoining outer chamber his equally elderly wife, the housemistress Ren-nūfer (burial II). In the lower east chamber we encounter the second generation of Nefer-khēwet's immediate family: a tall, powerful man, christened Bok-Amūn but almost invariably called Boki for short, probably either a son or son-in-law<sup>9</sup> of the elderly couple (burial III); an old lady, named Ruyu<sup>10</sup> and rejoicing in the title of "house mistress," a daughter and unquestionably the eldest child of Nefer-khēwet and Ren-nūfer (burial IV); and the scribe Amen-em-hēt, a big, middle-aged man, the son of Nefer-khēwet and the inheritor of his profession (burial V). Crowded around the handsome burials of these three latter worthies are five persons, nameless to us, of distinctly poverty-stricken aspect, four of whom are children: an infant girl, twelve to fifteen months old (burial VI); a boy about six years old (burial VII); an adult woman of uncertain age, buried in a borrowed coffin (burial VIII); an infant under six months (burial IX); and a boy nine or ten years old (burial X). Little can be said regarding the occupant, or occupants, of the upper chamber, which was broken into from above and thoroughly plundered in Graeco-Roman times. The quality of the few small and fragmentary objects found in this chamber indicates, however, that it had contained at least one burial of the same class and of approximately the same date as those of Boki, Ruyu, and Amen-em-hēt, undoubtedly that of one of the closer and more prosperous of Nefer-khēwet's descendants.

The probable cause of death of two of the persons buried in this tomb can be surmised from an examination of their skulls, and it is a curious fact—though probably a coincidence—that in both cases the cause seems to have been the same. Nefer-khēwet's skull displays "a mastoid abscess which has opened externally"; while on the skull of the "in-

<sup>9</sup> Husband of Ruyu (?).

<sup>10</sup> Possibly the grandmother of Men-kheper-Rē-sonbe, an important official of the reign of Thut-mosē III. The names of Men-kheper-Rē-sonbe's parents are Nefer-khēwet and Ruyuresti (L. Borchardt, *Statuen und Statuetten von Königen und Privalleuten im Museum von Kairo*, part II, p. 93), a fact which suggests, at the very least, that he was related to the family under discussion.

fant below six months," buried in the lower east chamber (burial IX), "there appears to have been some septic condition which has affected the inner aspect of the parietal and occipital bones, perhaps spreading from the middle ear, the outer aspect of the temporal bone exhibiting signs of some inflammatory process."<sup>11</sup>

The arrangement of burials VI to X (the intrusive "poor relations" in the lower east chamber) is too haphazard and their funerary equipment and accessories too scanty and too shoddy to be of much significance or to merit much attention. The bodies in these burials all lay more or less extended, the majority on their backs, with the heads either to the north or south—the orientation being apparently quite accidental—and with the hands crossed over the lower abdomen. The woman of burial VIII, however, lay sprawled on her stomach, with one arm drawn up under her and one leg flung out to the side and bent at the knee. None of the bodies showed signs of having been mummified or embalmed in any way, and when found were little more than bare skeletons. Their meager wrappings, applied with the utmost disregard for any formula, consisted chiefly of odd bits of linen sheet of varying quality, usually coarse. Numbers VII and X were buried in unpainted rectangular coffins of pine with flat lids and dovetailed corners, the planking of both boxes and lids being thin and carelessly planed, and the carpentry throughout poor. The bodies of the two infants (burials VI and IX) were encased in crude little anthropoid coffins of a type common in cheap burials throughout the Seventeenth and early Eighteenth Dynasties, the box and lid of the coffin in each case being dug out of a single section of log, the exteriors sketchily hacked into shape with an adze.

The large rectangular coffin of burial VIII is somewhat more pretentious, though quite as crude as those of numbers VII and X. It had belonged originally to a scribe named Nefer-khēwet not necessarily the patriarch of the tomb, both the title and the name being common in the Eighteenth Dynasty. When appropriated by the woman

found buried in it, its inscriptions (containing the name of the original owner) had been concealed by a thick coat of Nile mud applied over the whole of the exterior of the box and lid. The thin planking of the coffin, its dovetailed corners, double-pitched lid (with upward projecting end-boards), lack of floor battens, and the arrangement of its inscriptions serve to distinguish it from the type of rectangular coffin so common in the Middle Kingdom. The whitewashed exterior is decorated with crudely painted figures of the goddesses Isis and Nephthys (red and black) on the ends of the box and with bands of hieroglyphic inscription (blue) on both the lid and box. Under the coffin were found the remnants of a stout, palm-fiber rope, by means of which it had been lowered into the chamber; and across its lid, beside the coffin of burial IX, lay a broom made of fine reeds, their thick ends tied together with a loop of linen cord. This broom was probably used to sweep out the chamber after the last interment had been made.<sup>12</sup>

The boy of burial X had a tiny scarab of glazed steatite tied with a bit of string to the third finger of his left hand; and by the knees of the woman of burial VIII lay a rough saucer of brown pottery, still containing mud left over from the "camouflaging" of the exterior of her coffin. With these two not very notable exceptions, no object was found either in the coffin or on the body of any of these five rather pathetic burials.

To make room for the five intruders several objects belonging to the original three occupants of the chamber had been moved out of place<sup>13</sup>; and in three instances the coffins of the newcomers had been

<sup>12</sup> Cf. Winlock, *BULLETIN*, Dec., 1922, Part II, pp. 35, 36, fig. 35.

<sup>13</sup> A stool, a whitewashed wooden chest, and some pottery had been moved, apparently from the east side of the chamber, to a position close against the inner side of the blocking of the chamber's doorway. Some of the pottery vessels were actually leaning against the bricks of the blocking, a fact which indicates clearly that they had been placed there *after* the blocking was built. Two game boxes had also been disturbed by the intruders. One of these was found on the lid of the coffin of burial VIII (to which it clearly does not belong), while the other lay on its side on the floor near the northwest corner of the chamber.

<sup>11</sup> The quotations are from Dr. Derry's report on the skeletons. See above, note 8.

dumped down on top of pottery jars and dishes which we may assume were also the property of their more fortunate predecessors.

In sharp contrast to the burials just described are those of Nefer-khêwet, Ren-nûfer, Boki, Ruyu, and Amen-em-hêt, with their beautifully decorated coffins and canopic chests, their wealth of burial equipment and personal possessions, and their adherence, more or less strict, to the regulations

extended on its back, with the legs together and the hands over the lower abdomen. That the body of Boki, though conforming in other respects to the rules of position exemplified in the accompanying four burials, lay not on its back but on its stomach (fig. 4) was due to a curious mistake made by its embalmers. It is clear that, when about halfway through the application of the wrappings, the persons charged with the bandaging of the mummy suddenly lost



FIG. 2. BURIALS OF AMEN-EM-HÊT, RUYU, AND BOKI

of Eighteenth Dynasty funerary formula and ritual.

The bodies of these five persons, three men and two women, had been subjected to a simple form of mummification. Although the viscera, brains, etc., were not removed from the bodies and packing inserted in their place, as in later periods of Egyptian history, the bodies themselves had been "cured" by a long process involving the use of natron or other salts and subsequently saturated with pitchy preservatives, so that even after some 3,400 years under the most adverse conditions much of the tissue, skin, and hair is still intact.

In four of the five burials the position of the body was the same: straight and fully

track of which was its front and which its back, and, hazarding a guess as to which was which, guessed wrong, completing the wrapping with the unfortunate Boki lying on his face. Doubtless puzzled, but not in the least daunted by the fact that, as the wrapping progressed, the body looked less and less like the usual Eighteenth Dynasty bandaged mummy, these ingenious souls calmly imitated the totally lacking projection upward of the feet and the bulges over what should have been the chin, chest, and arms by the skillful and liberal use of padding—with the result that, though the fully bandaged body was placed in its coffin actually lying on its stomach, from the exterior it appeared to be in the usual and

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proper position, lying on its back (fig. 3).

Less attention seems to have been paid to the orientation of the bodies (and of the anthropoid coffins containing them) than to their positions. The usual, though not universal, practice in the Middle Kingdom and early New Kingdom was to place the body so that it extended north to south, with its

pings closest to the body were drenched with liquid pitch and oil.

Each body was encased in a single anthropoid coffin, both the box and the lid of the coffin being fully modeled so that the whole resembles a mummiform human figure. Of fine coniferous wood imported into Egypt from the distant Lebanon, the coffins, with



FIG. 3. BURIAL OF BOKI BEFORE CLEARING



FIG. 4 BURIAL OF BOKI AFTER CLEARING

head to the north; but in this tomb Nefer-khēwet lay with his head to the south, and Ren-nūfer, Boki, Ruyu, and Amen-em-hēt with theirs to the west (see fig. 1).

The wrappings of the five bodies were composed of large sheets and wide bandages of linen, varying in weave from fairly fine to very fine, the more delicate fabrics being concentrated on the exteriors of the mummies, where their quality would show to greater effect (fig. 3). The bandages were not woven for the purpose but were torn from sheets, their edges being left ragged and unhemmed. The several layers of wrap-

their faultless and intricate joinery, achieved entirely without the use of metal nails, are excellent examples of the skill and precision attained by the ancient Egyptian carpenter during the prosperous periods of his country's history. The decoration of the earlier coffins of the group marks them as belonging to the period of transition between the *rīshī*, or "feathered," coffins of the Seventeenth and very early Eighteenth Dynasties and the glossy black type with inscribed bands which is characteristic of the middle and late Eighteenth Dynasty. On the lid of Ren-nūfer's coffin we see the bands of the new

style of decoration actually combined with the painted vulture wings of the old *rishī* tradition. The ground color of this coffin is blue—a great rarity. The approximately contemporary coffin of Nefer-khēwet has already discarded the feather decoration but has the white ground color in general use in the earlier part of the dynasty. The black coffins of Boki and Ruyu are of the fully developed Eighteenth Dynasty type, as is also that of Amen-em-hēt though it returns to white for its ground color. Noteworthy is the fact that as the series progresses the size of the coffins decreases slightly but steadily, Nefer-khēwet's measuring 227 cm. in length, while that of Amen-em-hēt is a bare 205 cm. long. The inscribed bands are clearly reproductions of the binding tapes of the bandaged mummies within the coffins. Of these, the long vertical band down the center of the lid carries in each case the principal inscription, either a statement of favors extended to the deceased occupant of the coffin by the god Osiris or (on the coffin of Ruyu) a prayer addressed by the dead person to the sky-goddess Nūt. The transverse bands, branching on either side from the central inscription, bear dedications of the deceased to the god Anubis and to the four genii of the dead. Descending from the lid, they divide the sides of the coffin into a series of rectangular panels, in which on the coffins of Nefer-khēwet (fig. 5), Ren-nūfer, Ruyu, and Amen-em-hēt appear figures of the deities named in the bands, accompanied in each instance by a speech of assurance recited by the deity to the deceased. The goddess Isis appears on the flat foot-ends of the coffins, her arms extended in protective gesture. Other details of the form and decoration of the monuments—the long striped headdress, the Nekhbet vulture and (on the coffin of Ruyu) the figure of the goddess Nūt on the breast, the broad collar at the throat of the figure, etc.—appear in figure 1. The decoration of the coffins of Nefer-khēwet and Ruyu—the superior examples of the group—is carved as well as painted; and on the coffins of Nefer-khēwet, Ren-nūfer, and Ruyu the face, the alternate stripes on the headdress, the Nekhbet vulture, etc., are overlaid with gold leaf. The eyes of these three coffins are

inlaid, the sockets being either of fine wood or, in the case of Ruyu's coffin, of bronze, the corneas of alabaster, and the irises of polished obsidian. On every coffin except Nefer-khēwet's, the pinkish yellow or gilded face is beardless, irrespective of the owner's sex. By a curious error the coffin of Ruyu was at one time equipped with a beard<sup>14</sup>; but this was, quite properly, removed at the last moment by one of her undertakers and hidden between the outer and inner lids of her canopic box.

The coffins of Boki and Ruyu were covered with palls of fine linen, that of Boki (the better preserved) consisting of a sheet, 300 by 136 cm., fringed at one end (fig. 2).

In addition to their coffins, Nefer-khēwet, Ren-nūfer, and Ruyu were provided with canopic chests: cubical boxes, each with its set of four jars intended to contain the four principal organs of the deceased owner (see fig. 5). Actually, the jars were in every instance quite empty and their interiors clean, the viscera in no case having been removed from the body. In spite of the fact that they were never used—and perhaps never really intended to be used<sup>15</sup>—both chests and jars display the utmost care and precision in their manufacture, decoration, inscriptions, and orientation.

While differing considerably in detail, the three chests all measure exactly one cubit (52.5 cm.) on a side. Their interiors are divided into four square compartments by a pair of partitions which cross one another at right angles and are united at the crossing by an overlapping joint. All three boxes are placed so that their sides face the four cardinal points of the compass, the fronts being towards the east.

That of Ruyu, with its cavetto and torus cornice, its sloping naos roof, its sledge runners, and its carved and brilliantly painted decoration, is the most elaborate of the three (fig. 6). On each of the four sides of this chest is depicted one of a quartet of

<sup>14</sup> The error is curious because the coffin was evidently made expressly for Ruyu, a woman, and not selected from a stock of ready-made coffins.

<sup>15</sup> Probably they are to be regarded purely as the symbols of a traditional funerary ritual, the actual performance of which had been generally, if temporarily, discontinued.



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tutulary goddesses: Isis (east), Nephthys (west), Nēit (south), and Serket (north). Each goddess kneels on a *nb*-sign, with her name written before her face. Around the edge of the field runs a recitation (one of the several common canopic formulae) spoken by her, in which is mentioned the name of the genius of the dead who shares with her the duty of protecting the particular organ of the deceased to which the side of the box

two is a flat inner lid which rests on the partitions inside the box, immediately over the stoppers of the jars, at a distance of 40 cm. below the underside of the outer lid. In this empty space and resting on the inner lid were stowed not only the superfluous beard from Ruyu's coffin but also two of four decorated faience bowls belonging to her. It is probable that the chest itself stood originally close beside the coffin of Ruyu



FIG. 5. BURIAL OF NEFER-KHĒWET

and its corresponding jar are dedicated. Thus Mesti is paired with Isis on the east, Hēpy with Nephthys on the west; Duamaut-ef with Nēit and Kebeh-snēuf with Serket on the south and north respectively. Down the center of the lid of the chest runs a short offering formula naming Anubis as Ruyu's chief benefactor. The figures are carved in *relief en creux*, the inscriptions incised. The exterior of the box and lid is painted a pitchy black, and, since a bright orange yellow predominates in its decoration, the chest matches in its color scheme as well as in its quality and style the coffin which it was made to accompany. A feature of this chest not found in either of the other

but was moved to the position in which it was found at the time of the burial of Amen-em-hēt, in order to make room for his coffin beside those of his two predecessors.

Ruyu's canopic jars are of fine buff pottery with stoppers modeled in the form of a human head wearing a short, striped head-dress. On the sides of the jars are engraved the same canopic recitations found on the four exterior walls of the chest. The eyes on the faces of the stoppers are outlined in brownish black, while the alternate stripes on their headdresses and the inscriptions on the sides of the jars are painted blue.

The canopic chests of Nefer-khēwet and Ren-nūfer are unpainted and are much



simpler in form than that of Ruyu, being, in fact, no more than plain cubical boxes with flat lids and two simple floor battens.

The carved decoration of Nefer-khēwet's chest (placed close by the east side of his

tain dedications of Nefer-khēwet to the four goddesses and the four genii of the dead. The single column of text on the lid is an offering formula similar to those on the tops of the sides.

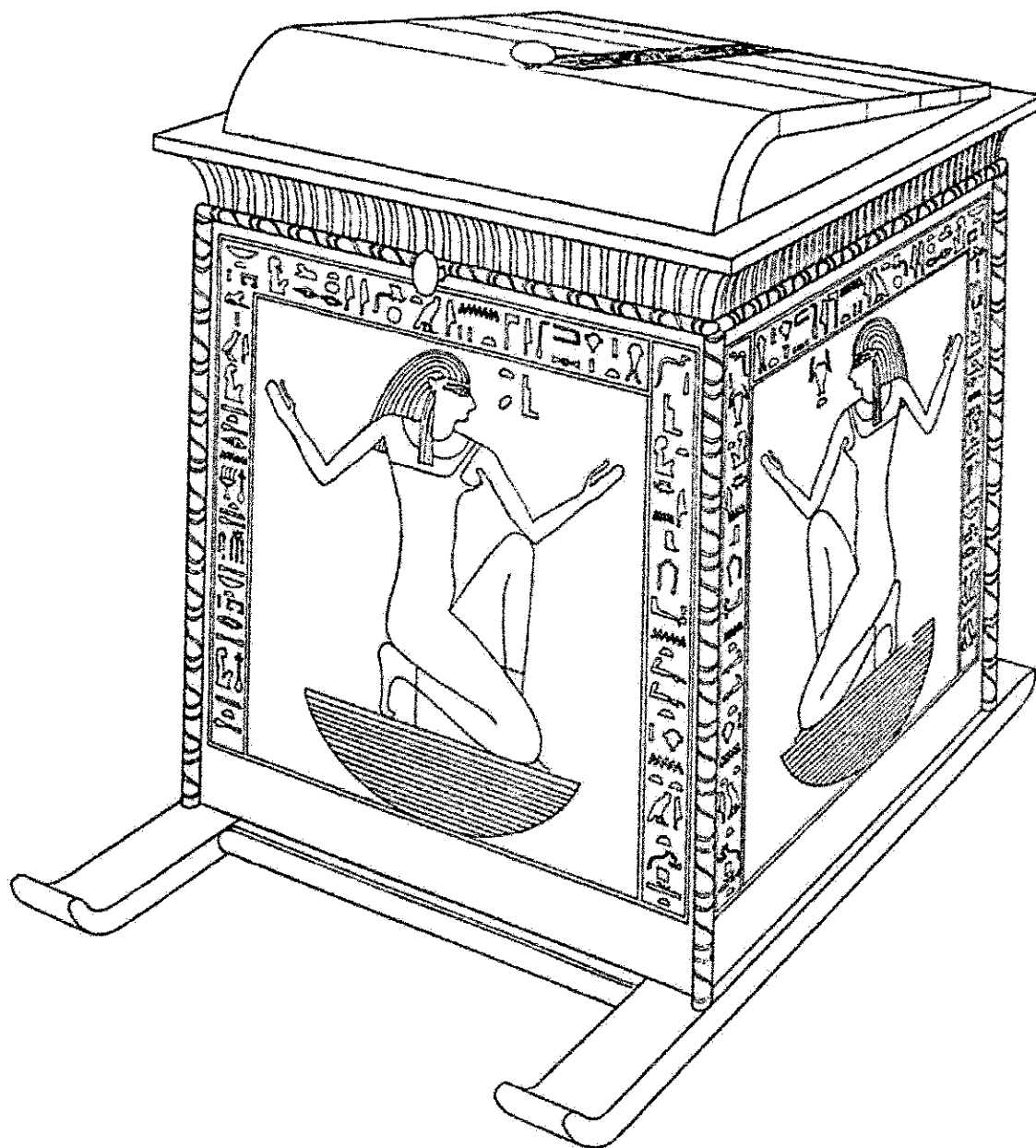


FIG. 6. CANOPIC BOX OF RUYU (RESTORED). SCALE 1:20

coffin, see fig. 5) is the same on each of the four sides of the box: an Anubis animal couchant upon a shrine, the field being bordered at the top and sides by engraved hieroglyphic inscriptions. Of these, the horizontal line across the top is in every case an offering formula invoking the god Anubis, while the vertical columns on the sides con-

Only the north and south sides of Ren-nūfer's canopic chest are decorated, if indeed we may use the word decoration to refer to the two columns of cursive hieroglyphic inscription written in black on each of these sides. Painted on with obvious haste by a scribe whose knowledge of even the simpler hieroglyphic signs leaves much to be

desired,<sup>16</sup> these columns contain the usual dedications of the deceased to the four geni of the dead. A similar column on the lid carries the familiar offering formula.

The canopic jars of Nefer-khēwet and

in their number Nēit, Tefēnet, and Nūt.<sup>17</sup> Nefer-khēwet's jars (fig. 7) are unusual in that, in place of the customary inscription, each bears on its side a large panel contain- ing the name of the particular genius of the

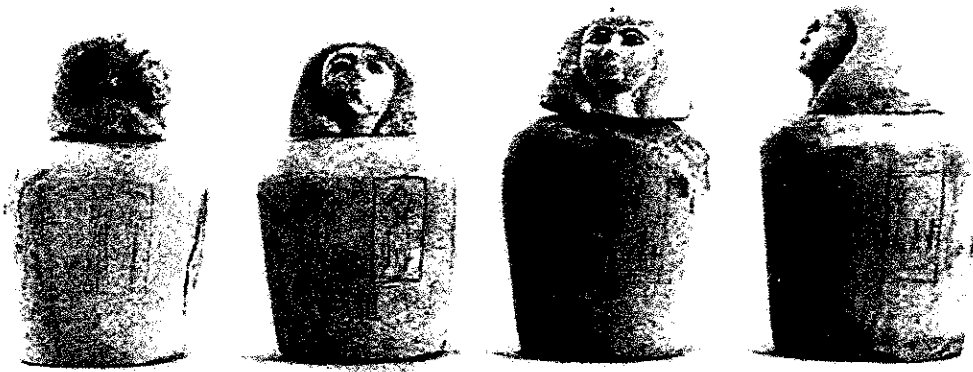


FIG. 7. CANOPIC JARS OF NEFER-KHĒWET. SCALE 1:8

Ren-nūfer are of limestone (see figs. 5, 21), all the stoppers being carved to represent a human head, beardless and wearing a short plain wig. On the sides of the jars of Ren-nūfer's set are inscribed the usual canopic formulae, spoken by four goddesses, who are

dead to whom the jar is dedicated and a standing figure of the genius executed in *re- lief en creux*. Unlike the stoppers, the heads of the figures on the sides of the jars vary with each genius represented, Mesti alone being human-headed, while Hefy wears the

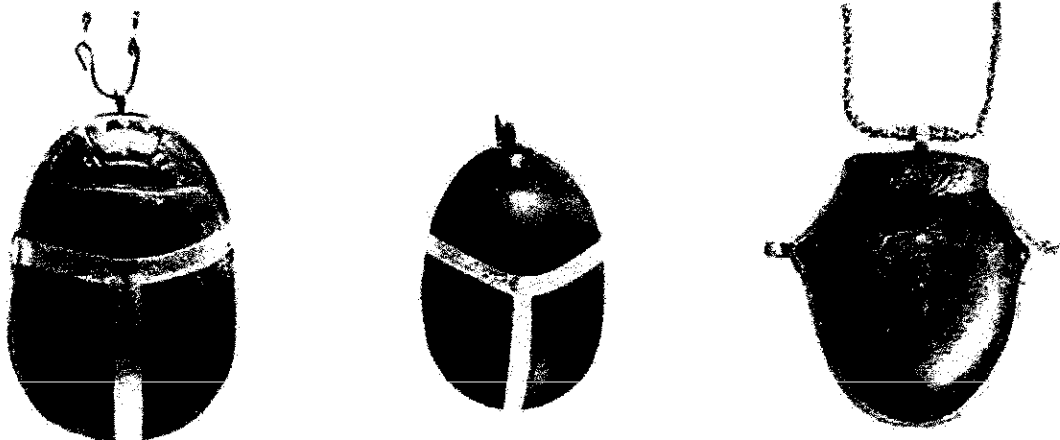




FIG. 8. HEART SCARABS OF NEFER-KHĒWET AND BOKI, HEART PENDANT OF RUYU. SCALE ABOUT 1:2

not, however, the same four occurring on the canopic box and jars of Ruyu but include

<sup>16</sup> Everywhere in these inscriptions, for example, the word *imakhyet*, "honored," is written with the sign  instead of with the correct form . This error also occurs in the inscriptions on Ren-nūfer's coffin, which appears to have been decorated by the same untutored hand.

head of a cynocephalous ape. Dua-maut-ef a dog's head, and Kebeh-snēuf the head of a falcon. In both sets the jars and their stoppers are curiously uneven in their shapes and sizes, no two in either set being exactly alike. It is not unlikely that such "consis-

<sup>17</sup> The name of the goddess in the inscription on the fourth jar is obliterated.


tent irregularity" was intentional on the part of the makers of the jars—possibly for reasons connected with ritual.

Before it was placed in the chest to which it belonged, each of the twelve jars discovered in this tomb was wrapped in several layers of fine linen sheeting; and, after all four in each set were in position, a thick bale of linen was laid on their tops. Over the whole contents of the chest there was then poured a quantity of liquid pitch, which soaked through the cloth and ran in dark trickles over the stoppers of the jars and down their sides.

The coffins and canopic boxes just discussed constitute, of course, objects of a strictly funerary nature, not associated with the everyday, earthly existence of their owners. To the same category belong two other classes of object, found on the mummies of Nefer-khēwet, Boki, and Ruyu: the funerary papyrus and the heart scarab, or pendant—both potent aids to the Egyptian in his first and only journey along the tricky and dangerous paths of his underworld.

Nefer-khēwet, Boki, and Ruyu each possessed a Book of the Dead, a roll (23 by 3.5 cm.) of fine-grained papyrus inscribed on its inner side with a selection of spells to be recited by the deceased, considered essential to his (or her) well-being in the hereafter. The spells, or charms, are written in an excellent hieratic hand of the early Eighteenth Dynasty, the text of the spells being inscribed in black ink, the titles in red. The rolls containing these spells were placed outside the wrappings of the body but in close juxtaposition with it, Ruyu's lying on her breast, Nefer-khēwet's and Boki's by their left shoulders. In addition to his Book of the Dead two other papyri were found in the coffin of Boki (fig. 3). The larger (80 by 25 cm.) was not rolled or folded but was spread out flat over the breast of the bandaged mummy. Inscribed with twenty lines of cursive hieroglyphic text, it is probably a Book of Emy Dēt—a guidebook for him who would accompany the sun-god during the twelve hours of the night in his journey through the underworld. The smaller papyrus (24 by 22 cm.), folded twice lengthwise, lay over the thighs of the mummy. It is, unfortunately, quite illegible, and its contents

will have to remain a matter of conjecture.<sup>18</sup>

Boki's heart scarab (fig. 8, center) of fine-grained, dark green schist lay on the breast<sup>19</sup> of his mummy, outside the wrappings but under the edge of the larger papyrus (fig. 3). Beautifully carved and with a surface finish like satin, the scarab is mounted in gold and equipped with a gold suspension wire, which passes through a ring soldered to the top of the mounting and extended, when in position, to a point above the throat of the wearer. Far larger than the ordinary type used in rings and the like, this scarab measures 4.4 by 3 by 1.8 cm. On its flat underside is inscribed in microscopic characters the so-called Chapter of the Heart Scarab from the Book of the Dead—"a spell for preventing the heart of a man from being driven from him in the underworld."<sup>20</sup> Similar, though of serpentine and still larger (6.5 by 4.6 by 2.2 cm.), is the heart scarab of Nefer-khēwet (fig. 8, left). In place of a plain suspension wire this scarab is provided with a thin, flexible chain made up of minute, interlocking links of fine gold wire, each link soldered separately with a skill which is well-nigh incredible. Even more intricate is the suspension chain of Ruyu's heart pendant (fig. 8, right), for here the joints in the chain are composed of double links, interlocked at right angles to one another. The pendant itself is in the form of the hieroglyph , the ancient Egyptian's conventional representation of the heart. The auricles of the organ are suggested by gold loops soldered to the sides of the heavy gold band which passes around the edges of the pendant and serves as its mounting. As is the case with the scarabs of Boki and Nefer-khēwet the underside of the pendant

<sup>18</sup> Prolonged exposure to dampness had blackened the surfaces of all the papyri from this tomb, obliterated the bulk of the signs inscribed on them, and reduced their consistency to that of fine ash. In addition, several had been badly damaged by termites. The Books of the Dead of Nefer-khēwet and Ruyu had been practically pulverized by heavy falls of rock and their condition was hopeless. After having been impregnated with a thin solution of celluloid, Boki's papyri were successfully removed, and it is hoped that with the aid of x-ray or infra-red photography large portions of their contents can be recovered.

<sup>19</sup> That is, over the position of the heart.

<sup>20</sup> Chapter XXX B.

is inscribed with the Chapter of the Heart Scarab; and on the convex upper surface is roughly scratched what is obviously meant to be the name "Ruyu" (actually written "Yuru"). It is worth noting that the suspension chain of Ruyu's pendant actually passed around the neck of the mummy and did not merely lie over the throat as did the wire of Boki's scarab and the chain of Nefer-khēwet's. When found, the pendant proper rested directly on the sternum of the skeleton exactly over the position of the heart.

owned razors and that the majority of individuals of one period should have favored the same design of razor. This point should be taken into consideration whenever one is confronted by the vexing and oft-recurring problem of what objects found in an ancient tomb are to be classed as funerary and what as articles of daily use.

The majority of the objects were found inside the coffins, grouped around the heads and feet or lying along the sides of the bandaged mummies (see fig. 3). With the

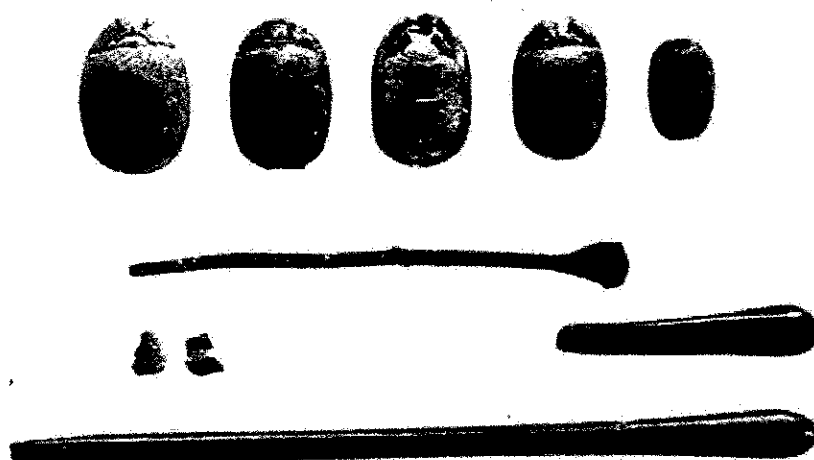


FIG. 9. SCARABS, UNGUENT SPOON, AND KOHL STICKS FROM RUYU'S JEWEL BOX. SCALE 2:3

having dropped vertically through the rotted bandages and the breast skin of the body.

All the other objects found in conjunction with the burials of these five people were clearly their ordinary personal possessions, owned and used by them during their lifetimes. Many of the pieces show, indeed, evidences of long wear; and, if they appear to run in set groups—the same types recurring in almost all the burials—it is simply because the same common objects of daily use and adornment were actually to be found, in antiquity as now, among the possessions of nearly all the average citizens of any one period. Almost every man of today possesses either a straight or a safety razor, which differs from that owned by his neighbor only in the most insignificant details; and it is hardly surprising that the ancient Egyptians, who apparently shaved almost as frequently as we do, should nearly all have

exception of the signet rings, shortly to be described, no articles had been placed under the wrappings on the bodies themselves. Most of Nefer-khēwet's belongings had been packed into a circular basket, or hamper, stowed in the northwest corner of his chamber (fig. 15); and a similar basket, placed by the head-end of her coffin (see fig. 1), contained such possessions of Ruyu as could not be crowded into the coffin. The baskets are of *halfa* grass, sewn with strips of palm leaf, the technique of their manufacture being the same as that used in modern raffia baskets. Both are equipped with circular lids. Smaller baskets of the same type, oval or round in shape, were used in nearly all the burials to contain the smaller and more delicate of the belongings of the deceased.

Aside from the funerary heart pendants and their chains, items which may be classed as jewelry are scarce in this tomb and con-

sist principally of scarabs, either alone, strung in necklaces, or mounted in rings.

Silver signet rings, supporting glazed steatite scarabs set in swivel mountings of gold and silver, were found on the bodies of



FIG. 10. BRONZE RAZOR, KNIVES, HAIR CURLER, AND QUARTZITE WHETSTONE OF AMEN-EM-HËT. SCALE 1:4



FIG. 11. REN-NÛFER'S GOLD FINGER RING. SCALE 1:1

Nefer-khêwet, Ren-nûfer, Ruyu, and Amen-em-hêt. In every case the rings, one to three in number, had been placed on the third finger of their owner's left hand, considered the ring finger in antiquity even more commonly than today.

Five unmounted scarabs (fig. 9) were discovered in a jewel box belonging to Ruyu, among them an example bearing the name of "the Familiar of the King, Mentu-wosre." Ren-nûfer's jewel box contained seven scarabs, one with the titulary and name of King Thut-mosë I; while five others were found, tied up in a scrap of linen sheet, in one of the faience bowls in her coffin. With the two exceptions noted, none of the scarabs bear names, the designs on their undersides consisting purely of decorative patterns of interlaced bands and spirals, of mottoes and good wishes, of hieroglyphic signs used heraldically, or of the figures of gods and of real or mythical animals. Although names were absent also from the scarabs mounted in the signet rings, it is probable that their designs were reserved to the use of the respective owners and served to identify any object or document so signed, i.e., sealed. While the majority of the scarabs found in the tomb are of the usual early Eighteenth Dynasty type, a few definitely hark back to Middle Kingdom tradition both in their shapes and in the selection and arrangement of the legends or decorative devices on their undersides.

All the true scarabs are of glazed steatite, but in a little basket by the head of the mummy of Amen-em-hêt were found 397 scarab-shaped beads of blue faience, thirteen of which are inscribed with crude hieroglyphic signs. In this same basket there were also a few disk and barrel beads of blue faience, interesting principally because numerous examples of exactly the same types were found, together with thirty-eight scarab beads, in the plundered upper chamber of the tomb.

The common, small ring bead of blue faience is copiously represented by a string of no less than 5,270, which lay by the head of Boki's mummy and which measures when extended 6.2 m. in length.<sup>21</sup>

In the midst of the miscellany of objects in Nefer-khêwet's hamper (fig. 15) was found a set of four faience bracelets and anklets—

<sup>21</sup> It is possible that the string, or strings, of these beads had been twisted together to form a bracelet of the type found in other XVIII Dynasty tombs. See M. G. Daressy, *Fouilles de la vallée des rois*, no. 24062 bis-ter, pp. 26, 27, pl. VIII.

four perfectly plain rings of blue-glazed faience, square in section and 10 cm. in diameter.

The list of jewelry from the tomb is completed by a small gold finger ring belonging to Ren-nūfer (fig. 11), a loop of thin gold wire supporting a hollow gold bezel in the form of a lion's head—reminiscent of nothing so much as the cheap little tin rings which are found as favors or souvenirs in the popcorn box or cracker of today.

Ruyu's jewel case is a small and quite

combs, carved wooden hairpins, minute unguent spoons of bronze (fig. 9) and ivory, and the polished ebony sticks used in applying to the eyes a dark, powdered cosmetic, still popular in Egypt and known in Arabic as *kohl* (fig. 9). The cosmetic itself, composed in antiquity of powdered galena, was kept in small alabaster and serpentine jars of special shape, of which Ruyu possessed two and Ren-nūfer one (fig. 13, lower left). That the use of *kohl* was not confined to women is demonstrated by the fact that

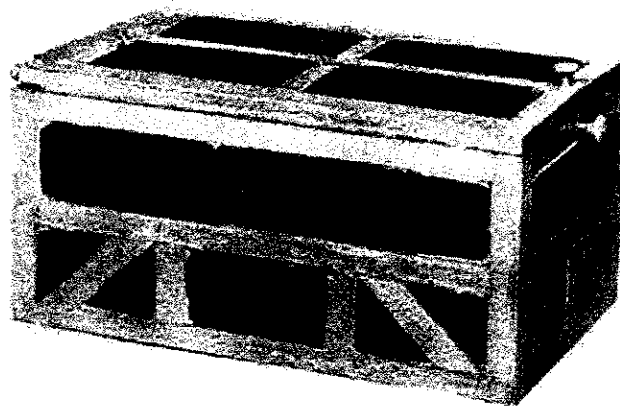


FIG. 12. REN-NŪFER'S JEWEL BOX (RESTORED). SCALE 2:7

plain rectangular box (11.5 by 8.5 by 5.2 cm.), made, with meticulous care, of a dark, fine-grained wood and fitted with a sliding lid; while that of Ren-nūfer, slightly larger and with a hinged<sup>22</sup> cover, is inlaid with rectangular and triangular plaques of turquoise blue faience. These are arranged in formal geometric patterns and cover most of the exterior surfaces of the lid, sides, and ends of the box (fig. 12). In addition to the faience inlays, three distinct varieties of wood were used in the construction of this box, its lid being of tamarisk, the box proper of cypress, and the applied strips which frame the inlays of boxwood.<sup>23</sup>

In the jewel boxes and in the small baskets belonging to Ren-nūfer and Ruyu were found the usual items of feminine equipment: bronze mirrors, fine-toothed wooden

<sup>22</sup> By means of wooden pegs, or pivots, not with true hinges of metal.

<sup>23</sup> The woods used in the construction of this box were kindly identified by Professor Samuel J. Record of the School of Forestry, Yale University.

Amen-em-hēt also owned an alabaster *kohl* jar, complete with its lid and stick and that even the great, hulking Boki had, in addition to his various lethal weapons and other items of manly equipment, a delicately carved, "four-barreled" *kohl* container of ebony, inlaid with ivory and fitted with a swivel lid.

Other implements used and owned by both men and women in this family include the bronze razor with its curved wooden handle, the bronze hair curler, and a bronze knife designed apparently for paring and manicuring the finger- and toenails (fig. 10). Accompanying the razors and knives in the sets belonging to Boki and Amen-em-hēt are quartzite whetstones.

Among the toilet accessories may also be classed a container composed of an oxhorn, its wide end closed with a decorated wooden plug, its point pierced with a hole and equipped with a small spout. It is similar in appearance to the powderhorn of our more recent ancestors, but probably its contents

were of a much less dangerous variety, an unguent of some sort or possibly a powder for use in the manufacture of cosmetics.<sup>24</sup> The ownership of such containers was, in this tomb, confined to the men, Nefer-khēwet possessing one and Boki two examples.

Vases and bowls of stone, faience, bronze, and polished or decorated pottery were found in abundance in all the burials, their contents including vegetable fats, oily or resinous gums, oily or pitchy liquids, and aromatic berries or nut kernels—i.e., unguents and perfumes in various forms. Of

large and highly polished vase of alabaster, found among the belongings of Nefer-khēwet (fig. 15), bearing on its side the title and name of the Crown Princess Hat-shepsūt. A gift to a faithful minor official by the great lady whom he served, the vase may have been at one time part of the household equipment of the princess herself. Similar in shape, but smaller and uninscribed, is a vase of pale greenish blue faience, also one of the possessions of Nefer-khēwet.

A pair of heavy *hes*-vases in dark blue faience (fig. 16, center), found one on either side of the legs of the mummy of Amen-em-



FIG. 13. REN-NÜFER'S ALABASTER JARS AND BOWL. SCALE 2:11

the stone vases and bowls (exclusive of the *kohl* jars mentioned above) fifteen are of ornately grained, translucent alabaster (calcite) (fig. 13) and three are of polished serpentine (fig. 16, left). The majority of the jars are fitted with flat lids, and where these are lacking the mouth of the jar is covered with a piece of linen cloth lashed in place with string, the knot plastered over with a stamped mud sealing. The upper half of an alabaster vase belonging to Boki had been broken off and lost, apparently during the lifetime of its owner, but the lower half was found in his coffin, filled with a resinous gum and with a piece of coarse linen sheet glued over its broken top. Of major interest is a

<sup>24</sup> See N. de G. Davies, *Paintings from the Tomb of Rekh-mi-Rēt at Thebes*, pl. X. For similar and better-preserved horns found with burials of the XVII and early XVIII Dynasties, see W. M. Flinders Petrie, *Qurneh*, p. 7, pl. XXV; Lansing, *BULLETIN*, May, 1917, Supp., p. 20, fig. 11.

hēt, are perhaps to be regarded as items of funerary paraphernalia rather than as part of the everyday belongings of their owner. The *hes*-type, popular during the earliest periods of Egyptian history, was in the Eighteenth Dynasty little more than a symbol employed in traditional rituals; and, in spite of the fact that both had contained a dark, oily liquid, the duplication and careful, symmetrical placing of these vases strengthen the impression that their purpose in this burial was more amuletic than utilitarian.

Seven decorated bowls of turquoise blue faience (fig. 14) are divided between the burials of Ren-nūfer and Ruyu, three having been found with the former, four with the latter. The decoration, which is more detailed on the interiors of the bowls, consists of open and closed lotus flowers, birds, and fish, executed in heavy black outline, con-



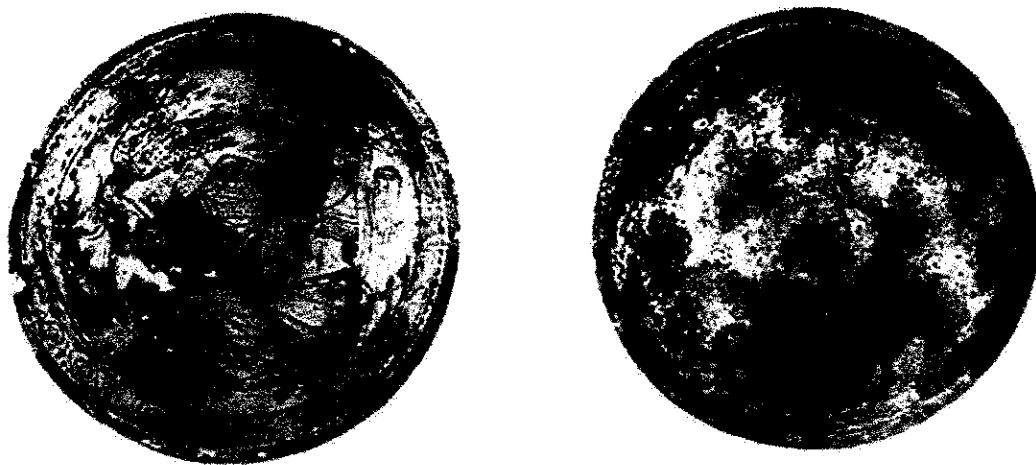


FIG. 14. TWO OF RUYU'S DECORATED FAIENCE BOWLS. SCALE 2:11



FIG. 15. OBJECTS IN POSITION IN NEFER-KHĒWET'S BASKET. THE LID AND SIDES OF THE BASKET HAVE BEEN REMOVED



FIG. 16. SERPENTINE, FAIENCE, AND BRONZE JAR: AMEN-EM-HĒT. SCALE 1:5

ventionally represented, and symmetrically grouped in the circular field. The blue background, suggesting water, is well suited to the aquatic character of the decoration, which in turn is appropriate to vessels intended to contain liquids. It is not unlikely that flowers similar to those depicted in the bowls were once arranged in them. One bowl has seven small holes in its rim, probably to receive the stems of real or artificial flowers (fig. 14). The exteriors of the bowls are decorated with simple lotus-petal patterns.

By the head of Amen-em-hēt's mummy lay a slender vase of bronze (fig. 16, right), beaten to shape from a single thin sheet of the metal and reproducing in its form a type

in coarse gray ware, owned by Nefer-khēwet and Ren-nūfer, were sealed with high conical stoppers of Nile mud (figs. 5, 21). The word *ērep*, "wine," roughly scrawled on the shoulder of one of them leaves little doubt as to the nature of the contents, while the annotation "powerful" on the shoulder of the other dispels any misgiving as to the quality of the contents.

The presence of weapons (fig. 17) in the burials of Nefer-khēwet and Boki reminds us how little time had elapsed since the people of Thebes were waging their desperate battle for existence against the invading hordes of the Hyksos and how enthusiastically the martial spirit had been kept alive

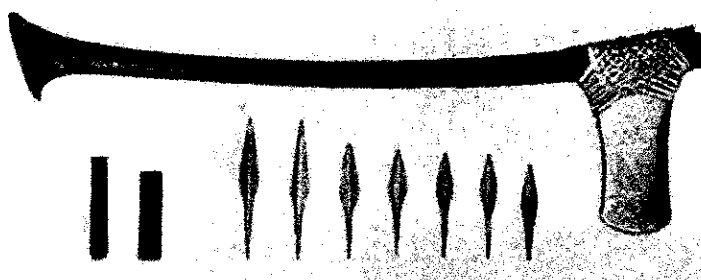


FIG. 17. WEAPONS OF BOKI AND NEFER-KHĒWET  
(AX RESTORED). SCALE 1:7

of pottery jar and ring stand common in the Second Intermediate Period. Two small bronze pitchers, the property of Nefer-khēwet, were probably used in the mixing of wine.

Of the fine pottery jars a set of four belonging to Boki are covered with a highly burnished, bright red slip; while examples in smooth buff or pink ware, adorned with black line decoration, were found in two of the four other burials. The lid of one of Ruyu's decorated pottery jars is of alabaster and the form of the jar itself is the same as that of an alabaster vase from her burial. Common household vessels of coarser pottery are, as usual, present in this tomb in great quantity, there being ninety-three examples in the three lower chambers alone (figs. 3, 5, 21). The types, all of which were common in the early Eighteenth Dynasty, include large ovoid red water jars, slender drop-shaped jars, situlae, deep "flowerpot" bowls, shallow bowls, dishes, saucers, and ring stands. A pair of enormous amphorae

under Thut-mosē I and his immediate successors. Nefer-khēwet's armory consisted of a bow, a sheaf of nine reed arrows with long bronze points, three wooden singlesticks with cylindrical bronze ferrules, and two quarterstaves of heavy dark wood; while Boki gloried in the possession of a battle-ax, with bronze head and carefully worked haft of Sūdānese ebony, and a long, curved throw stick, or boomerang. That some of these weapons were used in hunting rather than in warfare is doubtless true, but not in the case of the staves, the singlesticks, and the ax.

It is likely that an inlaid game box, found lying by the south side of Ren-nūfer's canopic chest and under the sheaf of weapons belonging to Nefer-khēwet, was jointly owned by these two persons. A long and narrow rectangular cedar box, fitted with a drawer in one of its ends and completely inlaid with square and rectangular plaques of blue faience (fig. 18), it carries on its two largest surfaces (its top and bottom) the squared

layouts for the two most popular of the ancient Egyptian draughts games. On the top of the box is the board for the so-called ladder game, or game of twenty squares, known by the ancient Egyptians as *ḥsw*, "robbers": three rows of four squares each,

elaborate ornamentation in black (fig. 18). Each of the squares referred to has, in fact, a complete scene drawn upon it in black glaze, these scenes replacing the simple hieroglyphic signs or groups of signs inscribed on the corresponding squares of less

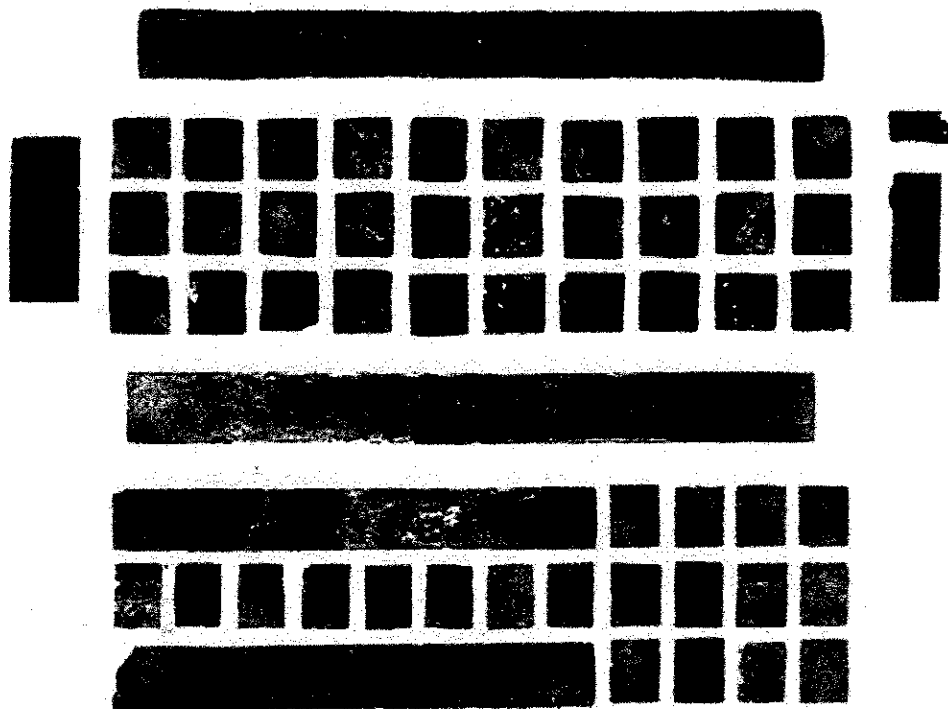


FIG. 18. FAIENCE INLAYS FROM A GAME BOX BELONGING TO NEFER-KHĒWET AND REN-NŪFER. SCALE 2:9

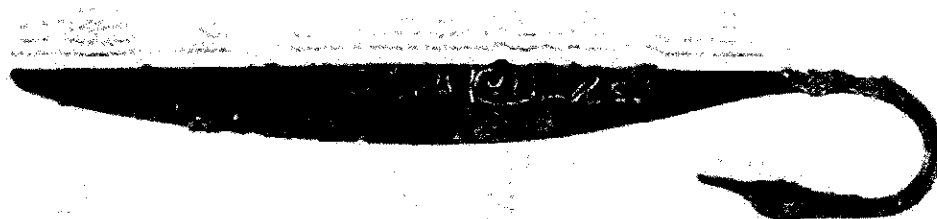


FIG. 19. NEFER-KHĒWET'S BRONZE KNIFE, WITH GOLD INSCRIPTION AND ORNAMENT. SCALE 2:3

with the central row prolonged eight more squares and with the fourth, eighth, and twelfth squares of the central row marked with decorative patterns in black to indicate that they are respectively disadvantageous, advantageous, and the home square. On the underside of the box is the even more common game of *senet*: three rows of ten squares each, with the first five squares (from the right) in the near row and the fifth square in the central row marked by

pretentious *senet* boards. For example, in place of the simple group  $\begin{smallmatrix} \dagger & \dagger & \dagger \\ \circ & \circ & \circ \end{smallmatrix}$ , "good," appearing on the fourth square of the near row on the average board,<sup>25</sup> there is on the present game the figure of a man standing before an altar and holding the triple  $\begin{smallmatrix} \dagger & \dagger & \dagger \\ \circ & \circ & \circ \end{smallmatrix}$  sign on his outstretched arm; while the simple  $\begin{smallmatrix} \text{---} & \text{---} & \text{---} \\ \text{---} & \text{---} & \text{---} \end{smallmatrix}$ , "water," on the next square

<sup>25</sup> See W. M. Flinders Petrie, *Objects of Daily Use*, pp. 51 ff., pls. XLVII, XLVIII.

back has been expanded into a scene showing a boat floating on a body of water and containing a helmsman and a man spearing fish, the sky above the heads of the men being filled with flying waterfowl. All the playing squares in both games are of inlaid faience, the sides and ends of the box also being decorated with inlaid faience panels. That on the end of the drawer is fitted with two bronze staples holding an ebony bolt. The end of this bolt slides into a third staple driven into the edge of the box proper and thus locks the drawer shut. The drawer was

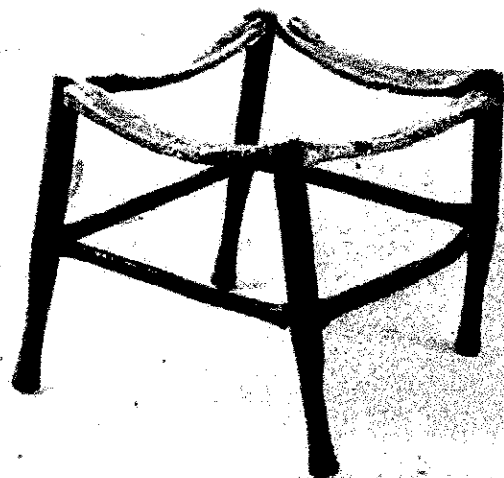


FIG. 20. WOODEN STOOL FROM LOWER EAST CHAMBER. SCALE 1:13

intended to hold the carved ebony playing pieces.<sup>26</sup> The flat wooden strips glued to the surfaces of the box around and between the faience inlays are of boxwood. The dimensions of the game are 37.4 by 11.75 by 7 cm.

Both games appear to have been played on the same principle as modern parcheesi, the moves of the pieces being determined by rolling dice or knucklebones or by casting short wands or rods of wood. No dice or knucklebones were found in this tomb; and it is suggested that a set of six wooden rods found in Nefer-khēwet's basket were to be used in conjunction with the game box. The rods are from 20 to 25 cm. in length and are

<sup>26</sup> Only one remained and it was found at some distance from the game under the nocks of the arrows. The rest had been completely devoured by termites; no traces were discernible anywhere in the neighborhood of the box.

flat on one side and convex on the other, their ends being either pointed or carved to represent finger tips.<sup>27</sup>

Two similar but less elaborate game boxes, entirely of wood, were found in the lower east chamber and probably belonged to Ruyū and Amen-em-hēt respectively. With these were sets of conical and spool-shaped playing pieces in blue faience.

Included among the possessions of Amen-em-hēt are two small bronze knives of the type used by ancient Egyptian scribes for trimming reed brushes, cutting sheets of papyrus, etc. One of these, Amen-em-hēt's own, suggests in its form the foreleg of an ox (called in Egyptian *khopesh*, the name also being applied to this particular shape of knife); the tip of the handle is modeled to represent the hock and hoof of the animal (fig. 10, left). The other knife, as is shown by an inscription on its blade, was once the property of Nefer-khēwet and was presumably bequeathed by him to his son and follower in his profession. The delicate, curved handle of this knife is in the form of the head and neck of a duck, the details of the bird's head and throat, as well as the inscription on the blade of the knife, being of inlaid gold (fig. 19).

Other objects associated with the scribe's profession and confined to the burials of Nefer-khēwet and Amen-em-hēt are sections of thick reed containing carbon used in the manufacture of ink.

The only articles of furniture found in the tomb are two whitewashed clothes chests of wood with double-pitched covers and two square stools with legs and stretchers of hardwood and seat frames of pine (fig. 20). The lower parts of the legs of the stools are waisted and decorated with series of incised rings. Their seats, now missing, were probably of rushwork or of string mesh. One of the chests belonged to Nefer-khēwet, being found near the foot-end of his coffin (fig. 5, foreground); and one of the stools discovered in Ren-nūfer's chamber appears to have been the joint property of her and her husband. The other chest and stool stood, one

<sup>27</sup> Similar rods of wood and ivory in the Museum's collection (acc. nos. 16.10.410-413) were found by the Expedition in 1915-1916 in tombs near by. Others (acc. nos. 19.2.19-27) were purchased from a dealer in Luxor.

## THE EGYPTIAN EXPEDITION 1934-1935

on top of the other, just inside the blocking of the doorway of the east chamber.

Fragments of objects from the burial (or burials) in the upper chamber of the tomb include those of a multitude of pottery jars, bowls, and dishes, a blue faience saucer, an inscribed faience bowl dedicated to the goddess Hat-Hor, an alabaster oil jar, a diorite bowl, a beautifully carved magical wand in glazed steatite, an ivory knob from a box, a

on the necropolis workmen who excavated the chamber and the undertakers who set in place its contents. After completing the cutting of the two west rooms, one of the masons climbed out of the tomb, forgetting to take with him his wooden mallet; it was found, where he had left it, resting on a large piece of rock in the northeast corner of Ren-nūfer's chamber.

In the reign of Ramesses IV a shallow



FIG. 21. THE TWO WEST CHAMBERS OF THE TOMB AS FOUND

wooden *shawabti* figure, a wooden harp, and the faience beads mentioned above (p. 28). Some of the objects had been disturbed and broken during the cutting of the inner shaft into the lower east chamber, and parts of these were found in the fill of this shaft. The stem of the harp lay actually in the lower chamber, in the debris at the base of the shaft.

Two small points having to do with the original preparation of the tomb are interesting enough to deserve notice. In the north wall of Nefer-khēwet's chamber is a small and roughly cut lamp niche (fig. 21), its top and sides blackened by the smoke from the open oil lamp which once shed its feeble rays

cutting in the surface of the bedrock, made to receive the foundations of the north side of the mortuary temple of that king, sliced off the top of the main pit of the tomb for the second time and thinned the roof of the upper chamber to a dangerous extent. The layer of rock covering this chamber, reduced in thickness in the Eighteenth and again in the Twentieth Dynasty, finally broke through in the Graeco-Roman period, and the chamber was gutted from end to end. The collapse of the ceiling of the chamber was apparently coincidental with the building of a brick limekiln almost immediately over it, the emptied chamber subsequently filling with ash from the kiln. The plunderers, entering

the room through the hole in its ceiling,<sup>28</sup> left the blocking of its doorway intact and did not penetrate either the main pit of the tomb or the inner shaft leading from the upper down into the lower east chamber. Thus, the three lower chambers of the tomb had never been entered by man between the time of their final sealing up in the mid-Eighteenth Dynasty and January 28 of last winter; and, but for the ravages of time and an inclement nature, their contents would have been found exactly as they had been left in the reign of King Thut-mose III.

The position of the tomb in the low-lying terrain bordering cultivated ground proved, however, to be, to a large extent, its undoing. With the ever-increasing rise of the bed of the Nile and the penetration of the seepage water from it higher and higher into the subsurface strata of the desert limestone, the lower chambers during the successive millenniums of their existence became increasingly damp, if, indeed, on the occasions of unusually high inundations, they were not actually flooded. There is scarcely an object from these chambers which has not suffered from damp rot, even the metal implements and the stone vases showing its effects, while such materials as wood, papyrus, and linen are, of course, riddled with decay. The growth of salt and lime effluvia, brought about by dampness, undermined the condition of the stone articles and damaged their surfaces. As if this were not enough, the tomb, apparently at an early date, was invaded by hordes of the insatiable and almost omnivorous termite. Anyone who has witnessed what these insects can accomplish in a few months, even in places where every precaution is being taken against them, can well imagine the havoc wrought by them when left to their own devices for thirty-four centuries. Coffins, canopic boxes, and clothes chests, already badly rotted, collapsed altogether. Of a stool and the wood of the three game boxes

only ant casts remained; and several small wooden objects, which we know existed at one time, had disappeared completely. Finally, the bedrock of the ceilings and walls of the chambers, cracked and loosened by repeated drenchings and dryings and split by the outcropping of dormant salt deposits, began to fall upon the objects below; crushing many which had escaped the effects of the general dampness and the inroads of the termites, and burying others deep beneath great chunks and splinters of broken limestone (fig. 21).

In spite of the damage suffered, almost every article found in the tomb can be restored, at least on paper, to its original condition; and it is as if they were still in this condition that the tomb, the arrangement of the objects in it, and the objects themselves have been described in the foregoing report. How different from the description given was the actual state of the tomb, as first seen by members of our Expedition, can be realized from figures 2, 5, and 21.

Out of the shambles which was once a fine tomb we can, however, draw what is after all the most important result of our work: a clear insight into the daily life, character, and tastes of the members of this Theban family, who died one by one between the years 1520 and 1460 B.C. In them we behold a group of solid, prosperous citizens, united even in death by ties of family; conservative in their adherence to ancient religious and funerary tradition; vigorous enough to enjoy the use of weapons, yet foppish enough to be fussy about their personal adornment, the curl of their hair, the condition of their fingernails, and the enhancement of their skin and eyes; interested in and amused by games; busy in their various callings, whether royal official, scribe, soldier, or housewife; represented in the learned profession of reading and writing; and, above all, taking pride in the possession of fine—though never magnificent—items of personal and household property.

WILLIAM C. HAYES.

<sup>28</sup> It was by the same route that the members of our Expedition first entered the tomb.