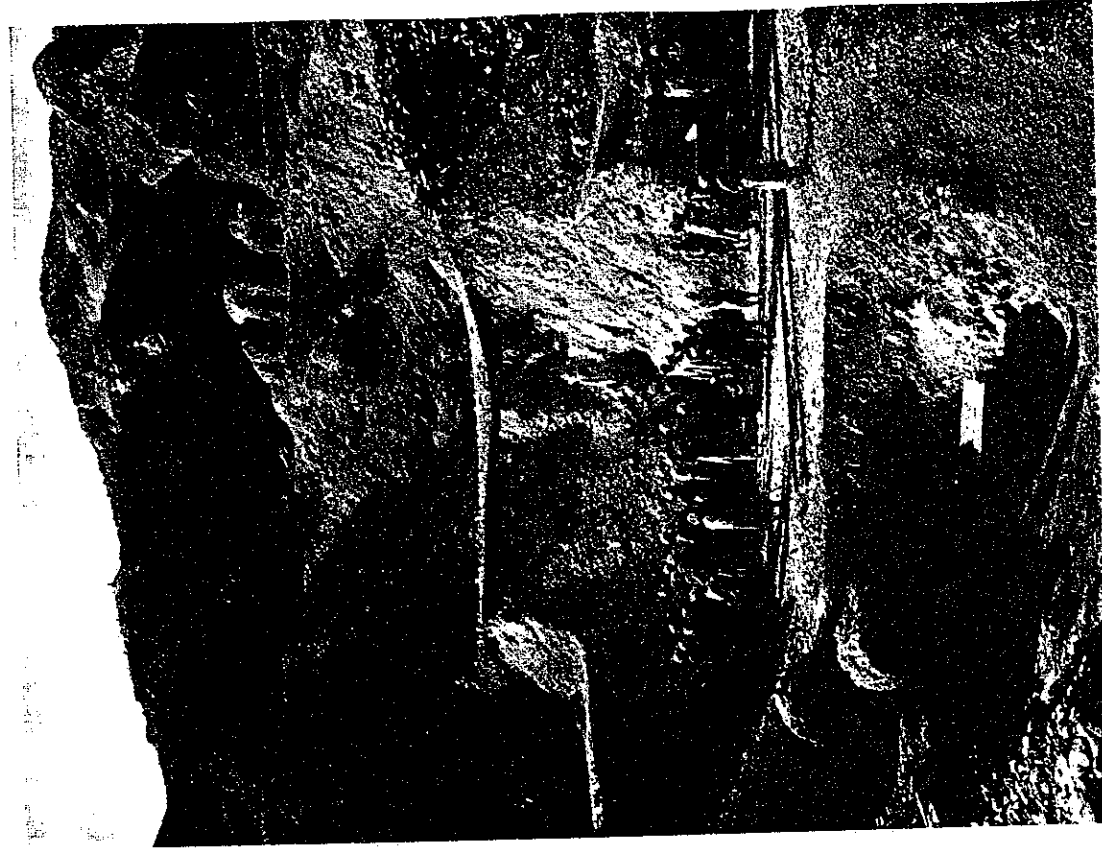


SECTION II OF THE BULLETIN OF THE METROPOLITAN MUSEUM
OF ART, NEW YORK, JANUARY, MCMXXXVII



THE EGYPTIAN EXPEDITION

1935-1936

The accompanying report by Ambrose Lansing and William C. Hayes summarizes the work of the Museum's Egyptian Expedition during its thirtieth season.

Part of the winter was spent continuing the excavations of the preceding season at the lower end of the Ṛasāsif Valley on the site of the Ramesside temple, but by far the more interesting undertaking was in the tomb of Sen-Mūt on the upper slopes of Sheikh ʿAbd el Kurneh Hill.

Sen-Mūt has figured in the Expedition's annual reports off and on for years. He was perhaps the chief favorite of Queen Hat-shepsūt; he was the architect of her temples; he was the guardian of her daughter; and he obviously played a very influential part in those exciting days early in the fifteenth century B.C., when the Queen usurped the power which belonged of right to the youthful King Thut-mose III.

The Expedition had found traces of Sen-Mūt all around the neighborhood of Derr el Bahri, and in the winter of 1926-1927 it had discovered the enormous unfinished subterranean tomb which Sen-Mūt had almost completed for himself under Hat-shepsūt's temple. Another tomb of Sen-Mūt had long been known on the top of Sheikh ʿAbd el Kurneh Hill, obviously started before the subterranean tomb was planned. In 1930-1931 we began clearing this earlier tomb, expecting to go on with that work during the following winter. Changes in plans postponed this undertaking until the past season, when Lansing and Hayes made it the major objective of their program of work.

Their report is one of the most interesting ever made by the Egyptian Expedition. They discovered the graves of a number of the

members of Sen-Mūt's household, including the little tomb of Sen-Mūt's father and mother, seemingly excavated just before work on Sen-Mūt's own tomb was begun. With them were buried extraordinarily well-preserved belongings, among which are some jars bearing the dates when the oil in them was made. Round about were found remnants of the accounts of the laborers who built Sen-Mūt's tomb, some dated and showing when the work was in progress. From these several documents one can determine with fair accuracy just when it was that Hat-shepsūt usurped the throne and changed Egyptian history for the next score of years.

In the autumn of 1935 the political situation in the Mediterranean was so confused that the members of the Expedition had to delay their departure for Egypt, and excavations did not begin until December. Lansing directed the work with the assistance of Hayes; Harry Burton did the photography, and Lindstedt F. Hall the maps and plans. Meantime, N. de Garis Davies continued the preparation of his forthcoming books on the tombs of Rekh-mi-Rer and User, and Mrs. Davies made copies of the pictures of the bark of Amūn in the tomb of I-my-siba (no. 65).

During the present season, that of 1936-1937, Lansing and Hayes will remain in New York, preparing material found in earlier years for exhibition in the Museum, and Hall will prepare plans of previous excavations for publication. There will, therefore, be no actual digging in Egypt during the winter, but Davies and Burton will continue to make copies and photographs of the Theban tombs.

H. E. WINLOCK.

this time Sen-Mût had transferred to Deir el Bahrî, where he was in charge of the building of Hat-shepsût's temple, those parts of his tomb relating to actual burial. But the decoration of the halls of the tomb chapel were carried to completion, only to be defaced by the agents of Thut-mosë III when the latter finally succeeded to his rightful position on the throne and destroyed Hat-shepsût and all her works. The Sheikh Abd el Kurneh tomb presents a sorry picture now. The greater part of the roof of the

a doorway through the north wall of the upper court, and for a doorsill had used the jamb from the tomb of an official of the same period. It bears the name and titles as well as the picture of the Royal Scribe and Prince of Memphis, Men-kheper (fig. 6). The stairway leading down to the underground part of Sheshonk's tomb was cleared, revealing the remains of the inscriptions and relief carved on the facing of the walls (fig. 3.).

But the laborious task of clearing the whole tomb could not be undertaken, for long before this the work on the site had been reduced to a minimum. Another excavation at the opposite end of the concession had claimed first place in our time and in our budget.

SEN-MÛT AGAIN

Sen-Mût has figured largely in reports of the Egyptian Expedition, especially those dealing with its work in the region of the temple of Deir el Bahrî. Sen-Mût as Chief of the Works was the architect of Hat-shepsût's temple. He received many favors from the queen, including the permission (perhaps not officially granted) to excavate for himself a tomb whose burial chamber would lie within the temple precinct. This tomb, unfinished and never occupied, was discovered by our Expedition in 1927.³

In preparing for the publication of Sen-Mût's tomb it was thought advisable to include all the evidence about his life which could be gathered together. The chief source, outside of Deir el Bahrî proper, was an earlier tomb which he had made for himself in the near-by hill called Sheikh Abd el Kurneh, apparently at a time when he first obtained those offices at court and in the priesthood which made him an important person in Thebes. His position gave him easy access to a large supply of labor, and he consequently planned his tomb on a grand scale—a terrace in the side of the hill, a wide transverse hall supported by eight columns cut in the rock, and behind this a long corridor leading to the proposed burial chamber. The last was never excavated because by

³ BULLETTIN, vol. XXIII (1928), Feb., sect. II, pp. 32 ff.

THE MUSEUM'S EXCAVATIONS AT THEBES

During 1935-1936 the Egyptian Expedition continued its work on the West Bank at Thebes, beginning the season by resuming the clearing of the area at the eastern end of its concession in the Deir el Bahrî Valley.

In the debris of the Ramesside temple was found a head (fig. 5) from an Osirid figure of Amen-hotpe I of the XVIII Dynasty which once had stood in the avenue of Mentu-hotpe.² It had been repaired after splitting, as the cramp in the side of the

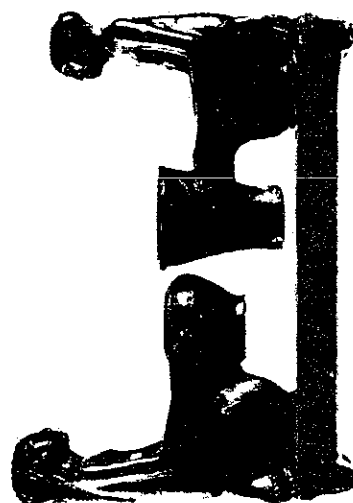


FIG. 1. FIGURES HOLDING TOILET JARS. CAIRO

More of the scant remains of the mortuary temple of Ramesses IV, V, and VI were uncovered, and a further section of the avenue of Thut-mosë III was cleared.¹ Tombs dating from the Middle Kingdom to the Ptolemaic period were found, as in the previous season, but with one exception they had been completely plundered and nothing like the tomb of Nefer-khêwet turned up. Among the more interesting objects recovered was a charming group for the toilet table—a base on which were set two figures, each holding an unguent jar (fig. 1). This, together with a painted stela showing a family, was found in one tomb dating from the XII Dynasty. From a XXVI Dynasty tomb came a perfume bottle of varicolored faience bearing the cartouche of the Theban queen Ankh-nes-Nefer-ib-Rê (fig. 2).

¹ See BULLETTIN, vol. XXX (1935), Nov., sect. II.

² *Ibid.*, p. 12.

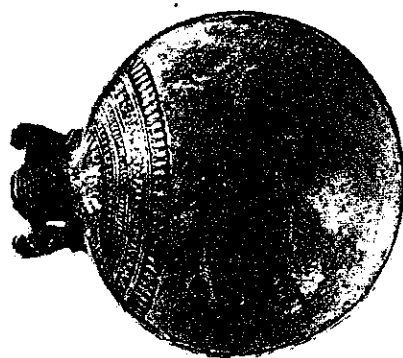


FIG. 2. PERFUME BOTTLE OF ANKH-NES-NEFER-IB-RÊ. CAIRO

columned hall has fallen in and practically the only interesting part of the decoration remaining is a small fragment representing three Cretans bearing tribute.⁴

It was the site of the Sheikh Abd el Kurneh tomb which the Expedition began excavating in the season 1930-1931 in the hope of finding whatever evidence might remain to add to the known story of the life of Sen-Mût.⁵ The clearing away of debris in a gully below the tomb had been carried to a point on its axis, but the limestone chip had not been removed down to bedrock. Many ostraka connected with the original construction of the tomb had been found, as

⁴ BULLETTIN, vol. XXI (1926), March, part II, p. 43.

⁵ BULLETTIN, vol. XXVII (1932), March, sect. II, pp. 20 ff.

also "tally stones" bearing Sen-Mut's name, which had originally been built into the walls forming the enclosure of the tomb and the retaining wall that supported the terrace of debris extending the forecourt. Two



FIG. 5. HEAD FROM AN OSIRID STATUE OF AMEN-HOTPE I. CAIRO

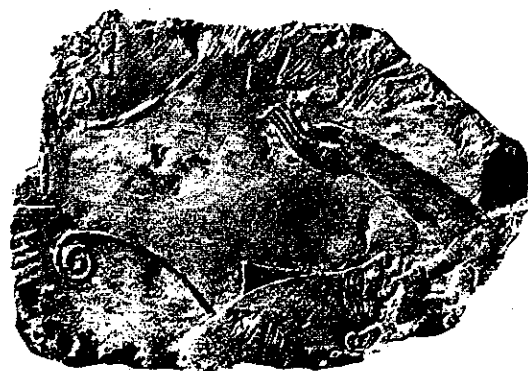


FIG. 4. HAT-SHEWSUT CROWNED BY THE GOD ATUM. NEW YORK



FIG. 6. DETAIL OF DOOR JAMB FROM THE TOMB OF THE PRINCE OF MEMPHIS, MEN-KHEPER. NEW YORK

FIG. 3. THE CHIEF STEWARD SHESHONK. FROM THE ENTRANCE STAIRWAY TO HIS TOMB

burials were discovered among some boulders at the bottom of the gully (k in fig. 8).⁶ In December of 1935 the work was resumed where it had been left off in 1931.

The small objects which turned up in the debris were of the same character as those found earlier. A flake of limestone, for ex-

⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 22.

⁷ BULLETIN, vol. xxiii (1928), Feb., sect. II, fig. 35, and vol. xxvii (1932), p. 131, figs. 2, 3.

It endangered the workmen as well as the burial and, most of all, a delicate lute which lay beside the coffin together with two staves and a headrest (fig. 11). It is remarkable that this lute should have withstood the enormous weight of stone under which it lay for more than three thousand years; but there it was, and it had suffered only to the extent that the leather head had split at two points owing to shrinkage and that the three strings

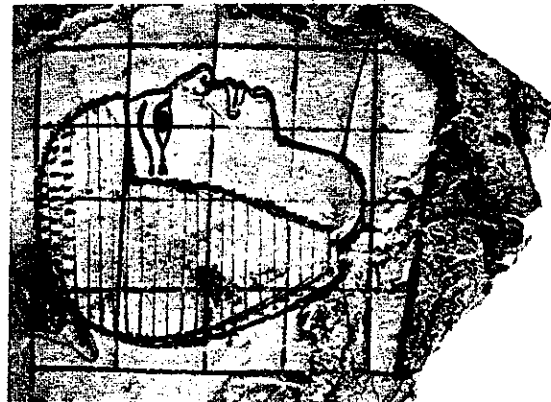


FIG. 7. ARTIST'S COPY: PROBABLY THE PORTRAIT OF SEN-MÛT. NEW YORK

had disappeared except at the upper ends. The beautifully polished wooden sound box and stem were quite intact, as also the plectrum, attached by a long string which prevented its loss, and the knots of linen which formed the ends of the gut strings and by means of which their tension was regulated (fig. 10). The lute is unique in the sense that none of this particular type has been found before, but it is well known from tomb paintings (see fig. 9),⁸ where it is one of the favorite instruments for providing music at banquets.

The coffin was that of a poor man, but it

was inscribed with his name and a title which explains the lute. He was the "Singer Har-mose." We cannot be quite certain of his connection with Sen-Mût, but whether a poor relation or an actual servant of the great man, he died during the time that the big tomb was being cut out of the rock and he was given burial at the bottom of the pile of limestone chips which was gradually filling up the gully. A household box near the foot of Har-mose's coffin had been converted, by setting boards crosswise, into a Canopic chest. Within the coffin were found only a cheap pot of unguent and, among the wrappings of the mummy, a linen shirt.

Two more coffins were found near that of Har-mose. One of these (fig. 8 D), buried under exactly the same conditions, was not inscribed, nor were there any objects in the coffin which served to identify the man buried there. The other (fig. 8 E) had been better guarded against the weight of the rock cuttings which were to fall over it. For this lady—she too remains anonymous—had been built a very crude chamber (fig. 13) out of the rough chunks of limestone coming from the cutting of Sen-Mût's tomb. The chamber was but little wider than the coffin itself, but there was room enough for some pottery and a delightful toilet basket decorated in color. In the last was a plain wooden jewel box with two compartments fitted with sliding lids (fig. 12). But the box contained nothing in the way of jewelry—only a faience model of a pomegranate, some nuts, edible roots of the *Cyperus esculentus*, and a piece of rock salt. In the basket too were locks and braids of hair, perhaps the contents just as she had them in her bedroom, or possibly to make sure that her wig would be kept full in the afterworld.

By this time clearing had been extended on this level as far as the rocky slopes on both sides of the valley, but the bed itself remained as it had been left in 1931. Removal of the chip and large boulders packed on the floor of the gully soon brought to light an enormous coffin, very close to the two burials which had been found then (fig. 8 J and on the cover). It was no less than seven and a half feet long and was made, as mortises and dowel holes showed, out of old wood. We assumed that it was an outer

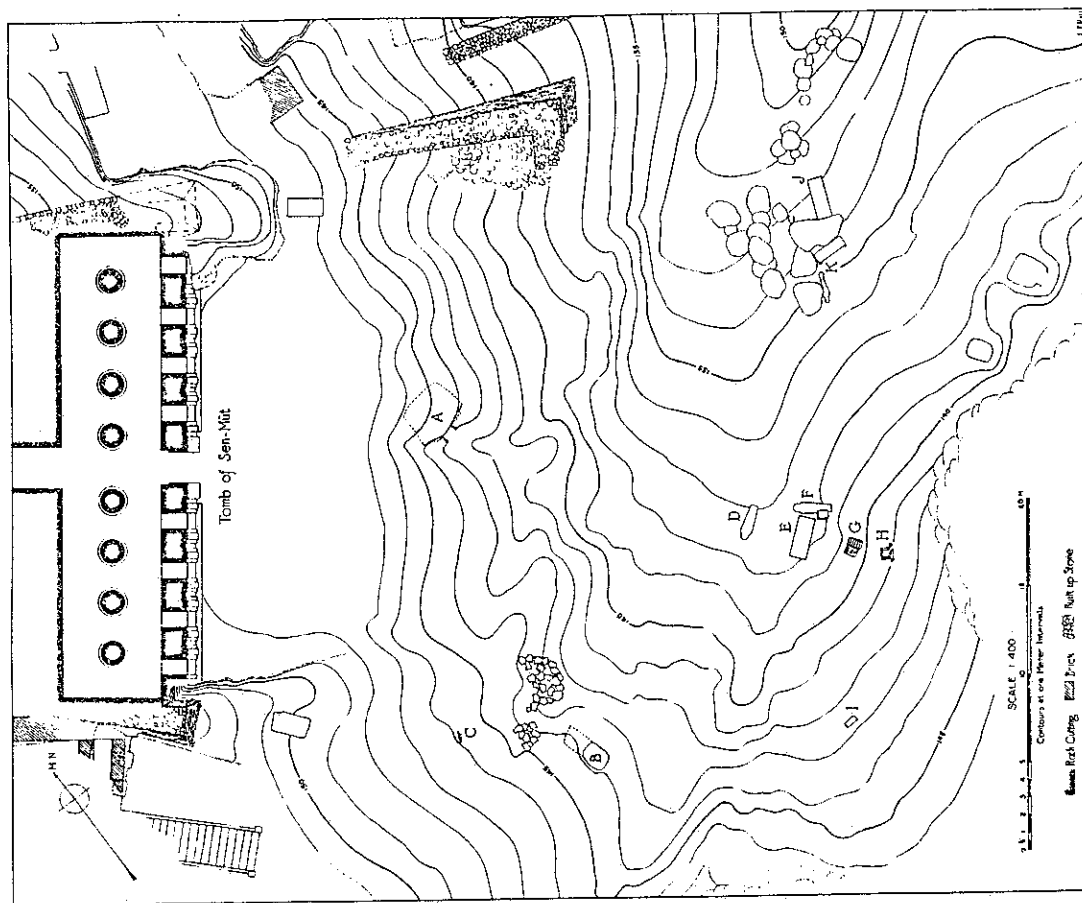


FIG. 8. MAP OF THE AREA IN FRONT OF THE TOMB OF SEN-MÛT

⁸ From tomb 100, to be published in the forthcoming work *The Tomb of Rekh-mi-Rê at Thebes* by N. deG. Davies.

coffin used merely as a protection for a finer coffin inside, but when the lid was removed we had a surprise. It was the burial of a horse. Now the horse was, in the time of Sen-Mût, a recent importation from Asia into Egypt, and it is natural that anyone who owned a horse would have prized an animal so spirited as compared with the

sary, either in rock or in soil. The coffins were merely laid horizontally and the limestone fragments gave them the desired protective covering.

The horse (fig. 17) had been wrapped up in linen just as though it were a human being, but no signs of mummification were noted. On its back among the wrappings

ing from these burials of dependents and animals. Clearing away the chip on the side of the gully opposite the tomb (fig. 8G), our

workmen came upon two sack-shaped baskets (fig. 18), one made of grass and the other of papyrus. They contained staves and other pieces of wood packed tightly together, which, when reassembled, proved to be vats or tubs (fig. 19). The sides of one of

Dynasty onward, but hitherto no skeleton of so early a date has been discovered.

Later a very much smaller box of the same rough construction was found further up the gully (fig. 8 I). It was of the type used to store household possessions and very often employed by poor people to bury children who died in infancy. A child burial was what we supposed it to be when we lifted

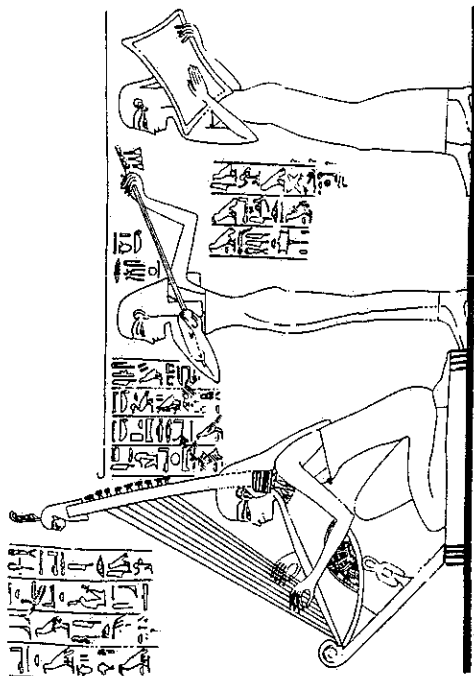


FIG. 9. MUSICIANS FROM A BANQUET SCENE



FIG. 10. THE LUTE OF THE SINGER HAR-MOSÉ. CAIRO

lowly donkey, which up to that time had been the only animal of the sort in Egypt. At any rate it is not much of an assumption to consider this a pet horse, nor much more hazardous to assume that it was Sen-Mût's favorite mount.⁹ There is no question that it was buried here at the time Sen-Mût's tomb was being cut and that, as in the case of the human burials, advantage was taken of the dump of chips which was filling the valley. No excavation for a grave was neces-

⁹ If indeed the ancient Egyptians, other than grooms, rode horses, for which there is no proof from the monuments.

the lid, and we tucked it away in the storeroom, for the workroom was by that time full of other material. It was not examined until the very end of the season, and then we found, to our surprise, that it was the burial of a cynocephalus ape (fig. 16) such as were kept as pets by the ancient Egyptians and were sacred to the god Thôt. The animal had been carefully wrapped and buried just as though it were a child, and in the coffin had been placed a saucer of raisins. Its owner, whether Sen-Mût or another, had evidently been very fond of his pet monkey. Other deposits found in this area below the tomb of Sen-Mût were of a class differ-

them consisted of two hollowed-out pieces of sycamore wood with a circular piece set into the bottom and two other pieces forming a narrow oval opening in the top. The other may be considered the first example known to us of the cooper's art, for it consists of seven staves, the bottom and top being just like those of the first vat. The staves, however, are not held together by hoops of wood or metal but are kept in position by means of tenons. What the purpose of these vats was is uncertain, for nothing of the original contents was found with them.

Near by lav, overturned, a rough lime-



FIG. 11. THE SINGER HAR-MOSÉ BURIED WITH HIS LUTE BESIDE HIM

stone offering table and, beside it, two long bows broken into several fragments and no less than seventeen arrows (fig. 20). These are of an uncommon type, for, instead of being tipped with a single chip of quartz or flint to provide a cutting edge, they have two additional chips cemented to the wooden point a little lower down (fig. 21). The ad-

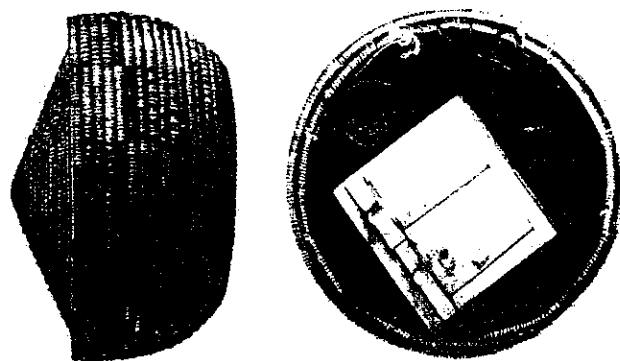


FIG. 12. TOILET BASKET AND ITS CONTENTS
NEW YORK

ditional flints would still provide a cutting point if the forward tip broke on striking the mark, or they may have been intended to cause a deadlier wound in warfare.

Another deposit of arms, but in this case for hunting rather than for war, was found nearer the tomb of Sen-Mût (fig. 8 c). No bow had been included, but there were three arrows, whose points, instead of being cutting flakes of flint, are blunt. The wooden tip is widened to a flat circular end, evidently intended to stun small game, which might then be taken alive or, at least, not be

mangled (see fig. 22). Of two javelins, one has a blunt point also, this time of bronze, and the other a sharp metal point of the traditional form (see fig. 22). The two javelins are an example of inventions which are never widely adopted because they do not prove useful. The shafts of the javelins are in two sections, the part nearest the point being of reed, just as are the typical shafts of arrows. They resemble arrows still further in that their after ends are feathered, but in place of the nock there is a socket into which the wooden butt of the javelin fits. This joint is quite evidently intended to be loose, for the part of the butt which fits into the socket is tapered. The other end of the butt is provided with a solid knob—in the case of our two javelins, of ivory and ebony. The only possible explanation of this curious construction is that the javelin was grasped at the joint between reed shaft and wooden butt. At the end of the cast the hand would be opened only slightly, so that the butt would be retained when the knob hit the hand. The shaft, released by the jerk, would proceed as an arrow. One can easily see that this form of weapon offers no advantage over the simple arrow propelled by a bow, and it is not surprising that these javelins never attained general use.

Two of the common throw sticks or boomerangs were found with this group of arms and also a curved wooden club, which was presumably used to stun further or to dispatch the game brought down by arrow, javelin, or throw stick.

Our season had started late, but we had begun to find things in the very first days of our excavation instead of having to wait for something worth while until nearly the end of the digging period, as usually seems to happen. Actual excavation had not begun until December 11, and in spite of three holidays—the Moslem Bairâm festival, fortunately for us, coincided with Christmas—we had found more than enough to keep us all very busy indeed. But even better luck was to come.

THE TOMB OF RAC-MOSË AND HAT-NÜFER

January 11 proved to be a memorable day. In the early morning word came down

from the dig that the section of the gang clearing the upper slope of the hill had uncovered another deposit of objects close against the rock face, a short distance below the forecourt of the tomb of Sen-Mût and approximately on the main east-west axis of the tomb (figs. 8 A and 24). The deposit consisted of a rectangular tambourine, into which had been thrust, through a gaping

hole in the rawhide cover, the parts of an elaborately carved chair of boxwood and a darker wood, and the upper part of a cedar headrest of good quality. The tambourine with incurved sides and ends, completely covered by a single large piece of tightly stretched rawhide, is the only example hitherto found of its type, which is, however, like the lute, well known from New Kingdom paintings (see fig. 9).¹⁰ The chair, shown reconstructed in figure 23, has a well-

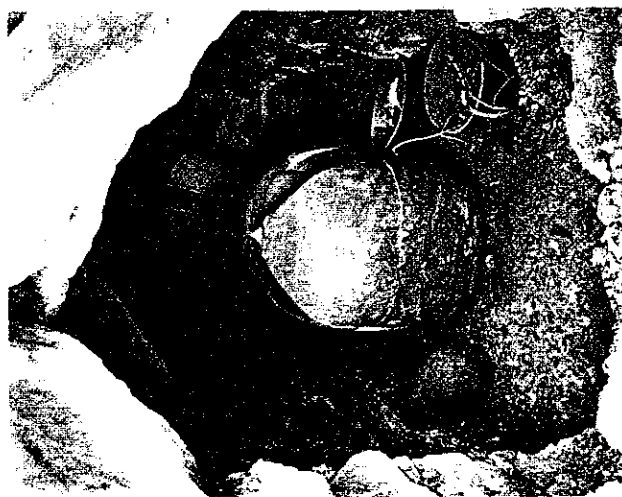


FIG. 13. VIEW INTO THE ROUGH CHAMBER OF A NAMELESS LADY

noting and photographing it and on the delicate task of extricating the chair fragments from the tambourine. Not until the position of the base of the headrest was noted was a more important aspect of our discovery revealed. This part of the headrest was wedged between two chunks of limestone at the base of what at first had appeared to be no more than a slight projection in the neighboring rock face but on closer inspection proved to be a separate slab of stone. This was held in place and plastered over with coarse white mortar, unquestionably the blocking of the doorway of an intact tomb.

¹⁰ See note 8, above; and also N. deG. Davies, *The Tomb of Taw-Oufat*, pl. xviii, and *BULLETIN*, vol. xxiii (1928), Feb., sect. ii, p. 63, fig. 5.

The tomb had been made and sealed up just before the commencement of the work on the great tomb above (see below, p. 37), and shortly afterwards the sealed doorway had been buried deep beneath the fill of the artificial terrace thrown out in front of Sen-

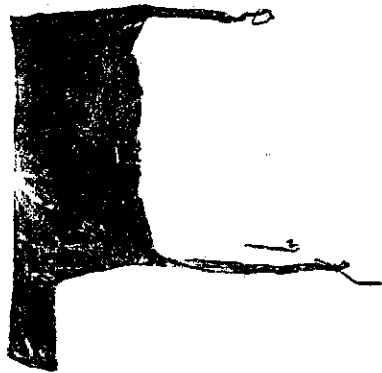


FIG. 14. SADDLE OF THE HORSE SHOWN IN FIGURE 17. CAIRO



FIG. 16. MUMMIFIED CYNOCEPHALUS APE. CAIRO

and so completely filling the little room that practically no free space remained.

Disregarding for the moment a pair of uninscribed, rectangular coffins, clearly visible on the west side of the chamber, our attention centered on a great black anthropoid coffin which lay just to the right of the line of the doorway and extended northward, back into the gloom beyond (it in fig. 27), and beside it, against the chamber's east wall, another coffin, also anthropoid but much smaller and painted white. Both coffins were covered by a series of linen palls

concealing the bands of hieroglyphic inscription with which we knew them to be decorated; but by raising one corner of the pall over the foot end of the black coffin, which lay within arm's reach of the doorway, we were able to read the bottom of the last column of inscription on the near side of the

her son's face. The names written over the



FIG. 17. THE HORSE FOUND BELOW THE TOMB OF SEN-MÛT WRAPPED AND UNWRAPPED. CAIRO

heads of the parents in this panel (and appearing elsewhere on monuments of Sen-Mût¹²) are the same as those which we had just read on the coffins in the newly discovered problem of the ownership of the tomb was solved.

At this point we remembered a small rectangular panel of relief which occupies the center of the stela in Sen-Mût's Deir el Bahri tomb discovered by the Museum's Expedition in the winter of 1926-1927. The panel depicts a family group (fig. 25).

¹² In twelve other places in his Deir el Bahri tomb (*ibid.*, figs. 40, 41), in the wall decoration and carved panels in his tomb on the Sheikh el Kurneh (Sethe, *Urkunden*, iv, p. 402), on a stela from this tomb in the Berlin Museum (Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, vol. iii, pl. 25 bis, a), and on his well-known statue from Karnak, now in the Cairo Museum (Sethe, *op. cit.*, p. 414).

covered hillside tomb, Rat-mose and Hat-nufer.

The father, Rat-mose, bears no title on his coffin and only rarely on the previously known monuments the no longer functioning courtesy title *s3b*, "dignitary." He was therefore a commoner, probably a peasant, for at this time anyone engaged in the learned professions or associated with the state or religious administration could always summon up a title of some sort with which to grace his name on formal monuments.



FIG. 18. TWO VATS PACKED IN BASKETS

ments. Hat-nufer, Sen-Mut's mother, likewise appears to have been without special rank. Her name is frequently preceded by the title "house-mistress," but this implies only that she was the senior woman in an independent household. Whatever notice these persons received was due, we may be sure, to the distinguished position of their son—a self-made man in every sense of the expression.¹²

Four days were devoted to the preparations for safeguarding the tomb and its contents and for its subsequent clearing. The Director General of the Antiquities Service was duly notified of the discovery; relays of extra guards were arranged; a stout wooden

¹² See BULLETIN, vol. xxiii (1928), Feb., sect. II, p. 50.

27) just to the left of the doorway.¹⁴ This was followed by a pair of sandals of red and yellow leather, also damaged by mice, found tucked in between the lid of basket c and the south end of coffin iv, and then by the basket itself. Next came the Canopic box (p), the linen chests e and f, the alabaster and pottery jars, the chest j, and the baskets packed on and around the two rectangular coffins (fig. 28). It was necessary to remove these two coffins before those of the owners of the tomb could be squeezed out through the narrow doorway (fig. 29). Of the latter, Hat-nufer's coffin, of course, preceded that of her husband, the last object cleared.

This is naturally the exact reverse of the order in which the items were originally inserted into the chamber. Rat-mose's coffin was the first to have been set in place. It was followed in turn by the coffin of Hat-nufer, then by coffin iii, and finally coffin iv. The boxes, baskets, and some of the jars, which, as we shall see, were probably the property of Hat-nufer, must have been placed where they were found after the introduction of coffins iii and iv. It is therefore evident that the burials in these coffins were not later "intrusions" and that all the occupants of the tomb were buried on one and the same occasion.¹⁵

The tomb entirely cleared, we set ourselves to the long and interesting task of opening the coffins, boxes, and baskets, noting their material, construction, etc., and thoroughly investigating their contents—a series of oper-

¹⁴ The mice had probably penetrated the blocking of the doorway before it had been covered by the fill of the terrace, devoured large sections of the exposed leather objects in the chamber, and made good their escape. No skeletons of the little animals were found in the tomb, but ample evidence of their fairly prolonged stay was present. They were the only destructive force to which the contents of the chamber had been exposed, and the damage which they wrought was slight.

¹⁵ It seems certain that the burial chamber was planned to contain only the coffins of Rat-mose and Hat-nufer and the funerary material which was to accompany them, possibly including the chair and tambourine. The occupants of coffins iii and iv had presumably died at about the same time as the parents of Sen-Mut and were also buried in the chamber, a procedure which resulted in the confused and crowded condition that we found.

ations carried out in the workroom, under the watchful and infallible eye of Burton's camera.

Rat-mose's coffin was the first opened—

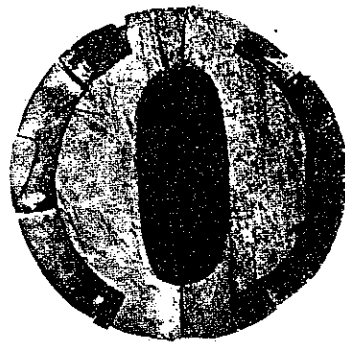
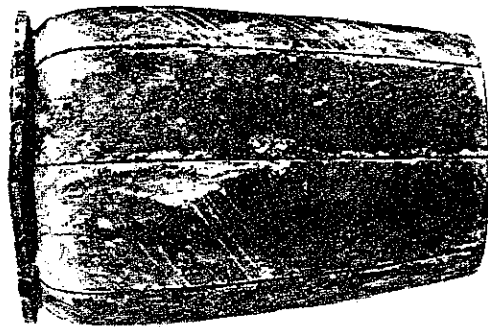


FIG. 19. WOODEN VAT, CAIRO

not without misgivings as to its contents. For the coffin itself is of mediocre quality, enriched only by the thin gold foil with which the face, throat, and ears are covered. Four wooden pegs fastened the lid in place, but they were provided with rounded heads

and were easily withdrawn, allowing the lid to be removed without difficulty. Our pessimism was more than justified, for, with the exception of Rat-mose's disjointed skeleton, packed in a mass of mud and gravel and wrapped in layers of linen sheets (including an old shirt¹⁶) and bandages, the coffin contained not a single object, funerary or otherwise. Two of the bandages were marked in ink with the cartouche of the Princess Nef-



FIG. 20. OFFERING TABLE AND BROKEN BOWS AND ARROWS

ru-Rê's daughter of Hat-shepsut and Thutmose II, a fact which indicates that, as in most of the other burials in the tomb, some of Rat-mose's linen was drawn from the royal store. An examination of the skeleton showed that Rat-mose, short and lightly built, was an elderly man. His head, crowned by long, wavy hair, still dark brown in color at the time of death, is of intellectual type, with high, vertical forehead and great breadth across the back of the skull.

The poverty of the burial of Sen-Mut's father, whom we should have expected to surpass all the other occupants of the cham-

¹⁶ Similar to that found in the surface burial of the Singer Hat-mose. See above, p. 8.

ber in the quality and the extent of his funerary equipment and personal possessions, is perhaps the most striking feature of the contents of the tomb. Clearly, the style with which an ancient Egyptian was buried depended on his own state of prosperity at the time of his death rather than upon the filial piety of his children, which, however

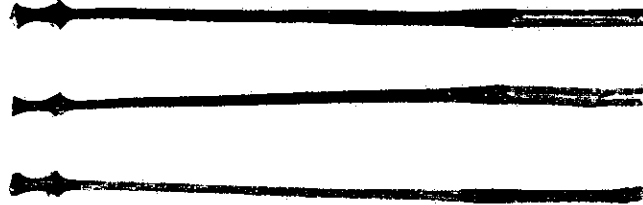


FIG. 21. ARROWS TIPPED WITH THREE FLAKES OF QUARTZ. NEW YORK

elaborately protested it may have been, did not, in this case at least, include the outlay of benefits of a material nature. Rat-mose was evidently not only an insignificant man but also an exceptionally poor man.

Hat-nufer's burial was another story. Sen-Mut's mother was clearly a lady of means and the fact that she was able to maintain her right of possession independent of her husband is an interesting commentary on the position and privileges of women in ancient Egypt.¹⁷

¹⁷ On this subject see Mever, *Geschichte des Altertums*, vol. 1, sect. 2, § 167.

Her large and well-built coffin (fig. 30), stuck in places to the pitch on the interior surfaces of the coffin, evidently still fresh and sticky when the contents were inserted.

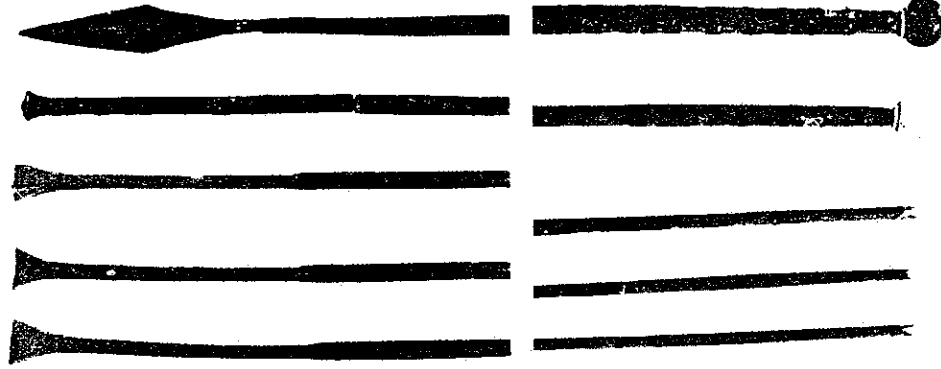


FIG. 22. POINTS AND BUTTS OF ARROWS AND JAVELINS. NEW YORK

Two of the finest shawls bore elaborate linen marks in cursive hieroglyphic, written in black ink and giving the title and prenomen of Hat-shepsut as king of Egypt: "The Good Goddess, Maet-ka-Rê, beloved of Amun, may she live!"

"pitched within and without," is elaborately modeled to represent a mummiform human figure with the arms crossed over the breast and each hand holding a papyrus flower. The eyes are inlaid in ebony, alabaster, and obsidian, and the face and throat are covered with gold foil, which is also used to overlav the inscribed bands, the broad collar, etc. Among the elements of the decoration added in paint are polychrome figures of the goddesses Nephthys and Isis on the ends of the coffin. Although lacking in fineness of detail, the coffin is a handsome monument, and its black and gold color scheme is most effective.

The removal of its lid required considerable ingenuity, for an intricate locking device, which left no clue as to its nature or mechanics on the exterior of the coffin, held the cover and the coffin firmly clamped together. Four stout tenons shaped like inverted wedges, descending from the underside of the rim of the lid, could be removed from specially shaped mortises in the rim of the coffin only by first sliding the whole lid horizontally in the direction of the head end. To prevent this there was a wooden tumbler in the head end of the lid which, when the cover was originally lowered onto the coffin and subsequently slid into place, swung of its own weight down into a transverse mortise in the rim of the box and effectively checked any longitudinal movement of the lid.¹⁸ A good, heavy ax, much favored by our ancient predecessors in the art of opening coffins, would have solved our problem very simply. Actually, after a series of gentle soundings had revealed the secret of the system, a thin blade was used to push the troublesome tumbler at the head end up into its slot, and the lid was removed without the slightest damage either to itself or to the coffin.

Covering and surrounding the body in the coffin were eighteen shawls and sheets of linen, some spread out over the top, some rolled, twisted, or folded into wads and packed tightly around the sides of the copiously wrapped mummy. Most of these were

¹⁸ For a similar locking device in the XII Dynasty see A. C. Mace and H. L. Winlock, *The Tomb of Senchis*, pp. 40 f.

When the outer coverings had been removed the mummy, fully wrapped, the head and shoulders incased in a gift mask, was revealed, not sharply but through a filmy shroud of fine linen inscribed with funerary texts in black and red ink (fig. 32). Like those of the outer sheets, the edges of the shroud were stuck fast to the pitch on the walls of the coffin, which had to be softened before the inscribed cloth could be freed. This was accomplished with the aid of a chemical bearing the impressive name of orthodichlorobenzene and the shroud was salvaged in one piece, complete except for a few small portions which had become moldy and fallen to powder. It is inscribed with fifty-one vertical columns of cursive hieroglyphic, comprising two of the most ancient and most important spells, or "chapters," from the Book of the Dead: Chapters 72 and 17 (fig. 33). Both spells are recited here by "the honored one, Hat-nüfer, the deceased," who, we now learned, was called "Tju-tju" for short—a nickname by which she was probably known among her friends.

The funerary mask (fig. 32) is a hollow, cartonnage shell, composed of eleven layers of coarse linen cloth, coated inside and out with fine white stucco. The eyes are inlaid and the whole of the exterior is covered with gold foil. Unfortunately the linen body of the fabric was everywhere badly rotted, the whole mask slightly shrunken, and the foil very loose. In addition, the sides and bottom of the mask were stuck fast, not only to the unguent-drenched mummy wrappings, but also to the heavy coating of pitch on the floor and walls of the coffin. It was removed, only with the greatest difficulty, in two sections and has had to be extensively reinforced and restored.

On the breast of the mummy, outside all the wrappings proper, lay a bundle, tied with a linen tape and consisting of two rolls of papyrus and a roll of leather. Owing to the extreme dryness of the climate of Upper Egypt it seemed wise not to attempt to unroll the papyrus on the spot; but the larger roll is identified by a hieratic title on its exterior as a Book of the Dead, and the smaller was tentatively conjectured to be a Book of Emy Dēt ("He-Who-is-in-the-Underworld"). When found both were complete

and in good condition, as was also the leather roll. The latter was subsequently opened for inspection by the officials of the Cairo Museum, and its nature and contents are therefore known to us. The text is Chapter 100 of the Book of the Dead. It is accompanied as usual by a vignette depicting the deceased, in this case Hat-nüfer, in the bark of the sun-god together with a group of four divinities who are described in the text as the "followers of Rē."

Lying over the throat and upper breast of the mummy, outside the wrappings but hidden under the front of the mask, was a heart scarab of hard green stone, set in a heavy gold mounting (fig. 34) and equipped with a suspension cord composed of innumerable, interlacing links of fine gold wire—a marvel of the Egyptian jeweler's art. Near this, over the right shoulder of the mummy lay a small silver "pocket" mirror with carved wooden handle, less than twelve centimeters long over all.

The well-preserved mummy of Hat-nüfer was almost lost in a colossal bale of carefully applied linen wrappings. Four full days were taken up in recording and removing, one by one, the fourteen sheets, eighty bandages, twelve pads, and four sets of trussing tapes which composed these wrappings. The body itself was clad in a loincloth composed of two linen shirts, similar to those found on the burials already mentioned (see above, pp. 8, 18), their tops tied around the waist, the tails brought up between the legs and tucked into the waist loop. The head of the mummy was adorned by two long, heavy rolls, or "switches," of false hair, each made up of an enormous number of fine, tapering brands of black, human hair, their upper ends braided into Hat-nüfer's own sparse, gray locks on either side of the crown of the head. The mass of the rolls falling down over the ears and ending in flat, spiraled disks on the upper breast (fig. 31).

Hat-nüfer's left hand and wrist glittered with signet rings and scarabs (fig. 35). The rings, three in number, were worn on the second, third, and fourth fingers. Their bezels—two scaraboids and a button seal—are of blue-glazed statite, the rings themselves and the swivel mountings being of gold and silver. One of the scaraboids has

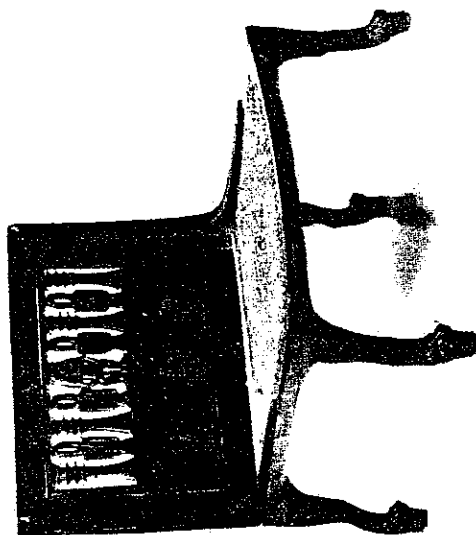


FIG. 23. CHAIR OF HAT-NÜFER, NEW YORK

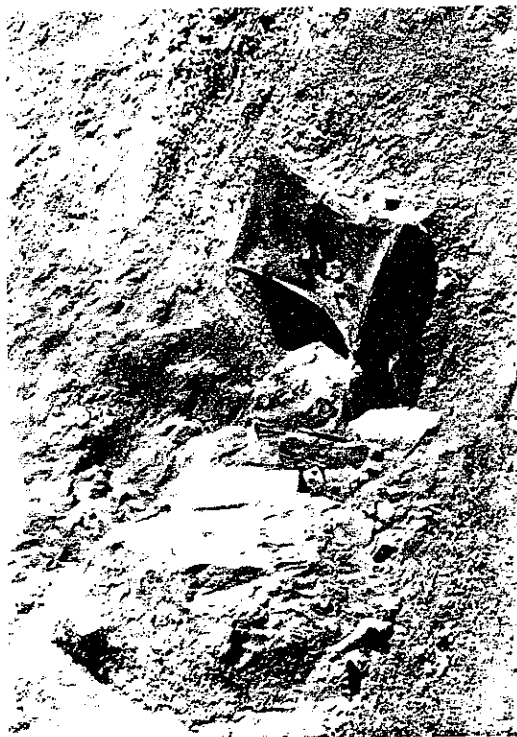


FIG. 24. TAMBOURINE AND CHAIR FRAGMENTS LYING AT THE BLOCKED ENTRANCE TO THE TOMB OF RAC-NOSE AND HAT-NÜFER

the figure of a scorpion engraved on its underside. The designs on the other two bezels are purely decorative patterns. A fine blue scarab, tied by a loop of string to the thumb of the same hand, bears the personal name of Hat-shepsut accompanied by the title "God's Wife," a title which she bore as crown princess or as queen of Thut-mose II. Another scarab, with dark blue glaze and displaying on its underside a complicated linear design, had been tied to the wrist with a length of linen cord.



FIG. 25. SEN-MUT AND HIS PARENTS. FROM THE STELA IN HIS DEIR EL BAHRI TOMB

Hat-nüfer was an old woman at the time of her death. Short and, though delicately boned, distinctly fat, she was pathetically unlike the slender and graceful young woman depicted in the tomb of her son (fig. 25).

It is safe to assume that, with the obvious exception of the two rectangular coffins, all the remaining objects from the tomb, including the Canopic chest (D), were the property of Hat-nüfer.¹⁹ None bears the name of its owner, but a number of pertinent considerations make the foregoing assumption reasonably certain of accuracy.

¹⁹ This would also be true of the headrest, chair, and tambourine found outside the doorway of the tomb. The last is an instrument which, in so far as we can judge from the monuments, was always played by a woman. See fig. 9 and the references given in note 10.

That the objects formed one group and belonged to one person is indicated by the fact that there are no real duplicates among them. True, there are seven baskets, three boxes, three alabaster jars, seven pottery jars, and six pottery dishes, but these had no individual use except as containers, and one person could have possessed fifty of each, if the commodities supplied to him (or her) required as many containers. The whole group of objects, on the other hand, includes only one Canopic chest, one razor, one pair

were checked by a locking device similar to that already encountered on Hat-nüfer's coffin. In the chest the binding elements were not tenons but tongues projecting laterally from the ends of the transverse cleats on the underside of the lid, which fitted into L-shaped mortises on the inner surfaces of the sides of the box (fig. 36). As with the coffin, there are vertical guiding tenons in



FIG. 26. THE TOMB OF RA-MOSE AND HAT-NÜFER WHEN FIRST OPENED

the sides of the lid and, of course, the essential tumbler near its front edge, which in this case had dropped down behind the front edge of the box when the lid was slid shut. The removal of what proved to be the outer lid of the chest revealed an inner lid, set five centimeters below the rim of the box and composed of two wooden valves, hinged vertically by means of cylindrical lugs projecting from their outer edges into holes in the inner surfaces of the box walls. These two "doors" rested on the two crossed partitions which divide the interior of the chest into four compartments, and were locked

the interior of the chest at last revealed.

Its contents constituted a distinct anticlimax. The four Canopic jars and their stoppers are of pottery. The jars are unscribed, and both they and the stoppers vary considerably in size and proportions. Three of the stoppers are in the form of human heads, as was usual at this time, but the head of the fourth stopper is that of a canine animal (the *Genius Dna-maut-ef*), with long snout and upstanding ears. As if to give it further prominence, this stopper is whitewashed. The jars, packed in sawdust, natron, and linen wadding, occupied the four com-

partments in the interior of the chest. One of the wads, when unfolded, proved to be a shirt, similar to those found on the bodies of Rač-mosë and Hat-nüfer, of fine linen, very pale in color, but with vertical stripes of dark brown running through it. Each jar contained one of the human organs.

The three linen chests were opened next.

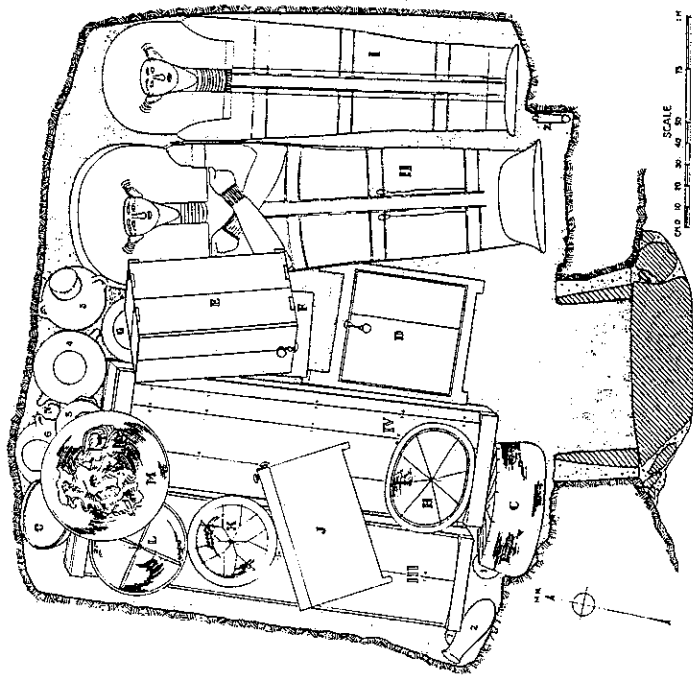


FIG. 27. PLAN OF THE TOMB OF RAČ-MOSË AND HAT-NÜFER

Of these, two (E and F, see fig. 27) are plain, rectangular boxes with flat lids, made of heavy and somewhat rougher boards. The third (J) is not only more elaborate in form but is of better material (pine) and is more carefully constructed and finished. It has a gable lid and stands on four short legs (fig. 27). All three chests are whitewashed inside and out. Each chest was equipped with two stout knobs, one on the end of the lid, one on the corresponding end of the box; and by means of these the lid had been lashed in place with cord, the knotting of the cord between the knobs being secured

by a stamped mud sealing. Chests E and J were fairly clean and fresh, but chest F had evidently been in use for a long time before its introduction into the tomb. A hieratic inventory written on the underside of its lid shows, indeed, that it had at one time contained a quantity of metal tools, vessels, and other objects. Under this list were the



FIG. 28. BASKETS SET ON THE TWO RECTANGULAR COFFINS



FIG. 29. THE COFFINS OF HAT-NÜFER AND RAČ-MOSË COVERED BY THEIR PALLS

partially erased remains of an earlier but similar one, at the beginning of which are preserved the name and title of Sen-Mut's brother, the "wēth-priest of Amūn, Min-hotpe."²⁰

The chests contained, between them, seventy-six long, fringed sheets, or "bolts," of linen cloth, each sheet folded to form a neat rectangular bundle. The cloth differs in spin and weave, so that the sheets vary in texture from a very coarse material like

²⁰ Represented standing before Sen-Mut in a painted scene from the latter's Sheikh r'Abd el Kurneh tomb (not yet published).

burlap to a remarkably fine, filmy, weblike cambrie and in color from dark brown to almost pure white. Each sheet is woven in one piece, in lengths ranging from 4.5 to

an individual named Baki. There is not much doubt that the sheets clean and neatly pressed—represent not embalmers' equipment but Hat-nüfer's supply of household linen. Their amazing state of preservation allowed them to be unfolded, measured, and refolded at will.

Four of the five baskets, or hampers (c, d, e, f), and the basketry tray (a) are made of halfa grass (see fig. 28) by the common sewn-coil technique, and are decorated with

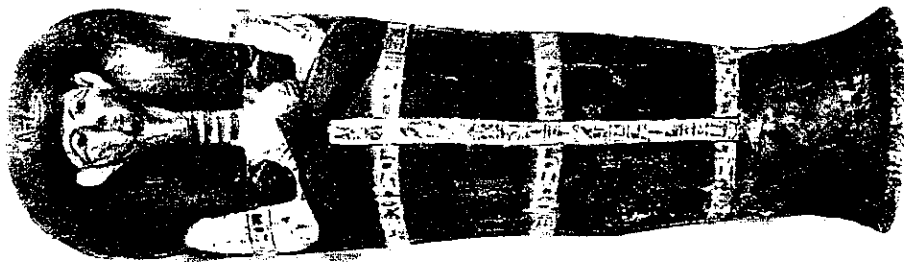


FIG. 30. THE COFFIN OF HAT-NÜFER. CAIRO 16.5 meters. In addition to weavers' marks, worked in the fabric, twenty-nine of the sheets bear identification marks in black ink. Nearly all the latter are marks of the government and temple-linen stores, whence we may assume, Hat-nüfer drew or purchased the cloth. The only private name which occurs among these marks is that of



FIG. 31. THE HEAD OF HAT-NÜFER'S MUMMY

geometric designs in black and red. Their bottoms, inner rims, and other parts which were required to stand special wear or strain are whipped with palm-leaf strip. Basket n, the only undecorated example, is entirely of palm leaf. All are outstanding examples of a craft which has survived in northern and central Africa from the most ancient times to the present day with little change in technique or decoration.

By untwisting a single knot at the center of the lid of each basket we were able to release the series of cord loops by means of which the basket had been securely sealed for thirty-four centuries. The contents of the baskets varied a good deal in type and interest. Basket c (fig. 38) was packed with loaves of bread, dates and raisins disposed

in three small pottery dishes, and lumps of black matter, also containing raisins, which look as wedding cake might if kept for three thousand years. The bread is of two kinds,

of dirty, oil-soaked bandages, probably used in the process of embalming Hat-nüfer's mummy. The entire contents of basket k (see fig. 28) consisted of five linen sheets,



FIG. 32. THE MUMMY OF HAT-NÜFER BEFORE AND AFTER THE REMOVAL OF THE INSCRIBED SHROUD

one light brown with a hard, glossy crust like that of modern Vienna rolls, the other dark, grayish brown, with a rough surface. Of the four types of loaf the most interesting is a long, flat form of fancy shape, possibly intended to suggest a human figure.

Basket n, the most carefully sealed of the lot, contained nothing but a jumbled mass

clean, pressed, folded into bundles, and altogether similar to those from the boxes. When the removal of the lid of basket l (fig. 40) revealed another such sheet, we began to become a trifle discouraged with the baskets and their contents. But below this sheet, which turned out to be the biggest found in the tomb—more than fifty feet in length—

lay a group of objects of considerably greater interest. Foremost among them was a set of three small vessels of beaten silver (fig. 43), consisting of a hemispherical bowl with a low stand soldered to its underside and a pair of little pitchers—one, as usual, slightly larger than the other—with handles of silver wire. The lower end of the handle, where it is attached to the side of the pitcher, is, in each case, in the form of a lily, or sedge, plant, one of the emblems of Upper Egypt. With the silver vessels was a bronze razor (fig. 45), equipped with a nicely carved boxwood handle and carefully wrapped in narrow



FIG. 33. THE INSCRIBED SHROUD OF HAT-NÜFER, CAIRO

linen bandages. In the silver bowl lay a necklace of faience lenticular beads, and near by, two little unguent jars of pottery, their mouths covered with pieces of linen cloth.

Lying bunched together in the basketry tray (vi, see fig. 28) were a net sling of linen cord and a tufted linen square, perhaps a chair pad, or possibly a donkey saddle. The pot sling is an unusually good example of its type and is of all the more value because of its perfect state of preservation. The net was undoubtedly used to transport the larger pottery vessels into the tomb, and in figure 39 it is illustrated in position around one of the three amphorae.

The lid of basket o had been removed in antiquity, apparently after the basket had been brought into the tomb, and very carelessly replaced; and of the original contents of the basket only a few objects were found,

lying in loose disarray at the bottom: a lidless alabaster jar, a small serpentine kohl jar, also minus its lid, an ebony kohl stick, and a small, colored, grass basket. The lid of this basket had also been pulled off and the basket was empty except for one blue faience lenticular bead—apparently one of the many beads which we may assume the basket once contained.

A brief survey of the objects from Hat-nüfer's coffin and from her boxes and baskets immediately disclosed the fact that the group, while impressive, was not complete. There were still missing from it several of

the more important items which we had come to associate as a matter of course with the burials of well-to-do ladies of the early and middle XVIII Dynasty. These include full-sized mirrors, a large kohl jar, a toilet box or dish, and the very common decorated faience bowls for flowers. It was not until later that we found the missing objects cached in the foot end of one of the cheap rectangular coffins, to the miserable occupants of which they clearly did not belong. Perhaps their presence there was due to some exigency which cropped up at the time the tomb was being sealed, or even to an attempt at pilfering by one of the undertakers, which threatened to be discovered before he could remove his loot from the tomb. In regard to the latter supposition it should be recalled that basket o, from which the objects could have come, had been roughly pulled open and was found more

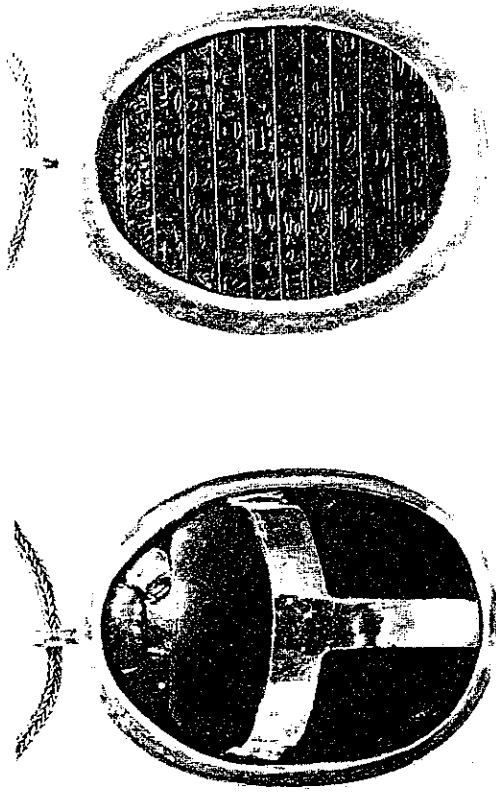


FIG. 34. HEART SCARAB OF HAT-NÜFER, NEW YORK

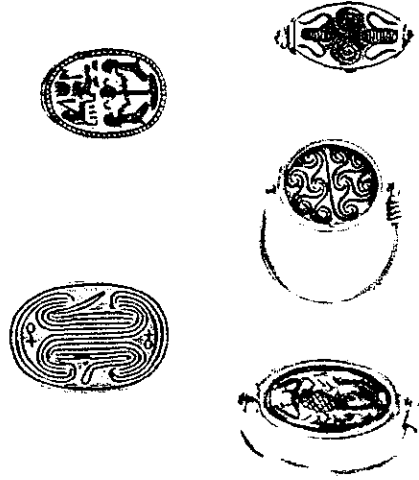


FIG. 35. SCARABS FROM HAT-NÜFER'S LEFT HAND, NEW YORK AND CAIRO

than two-thirds empty. However that may be, the group of articles from the foot end of the rectangular coffin is of a quality consistent with the rest of Hat-nisfer's possessions and includes just the items which we had noted as lacking from these. There are two mirrors, both of bronze, the larger with a wooden handle in the form of a papyrus stalk and umbel, the smaller entirely of

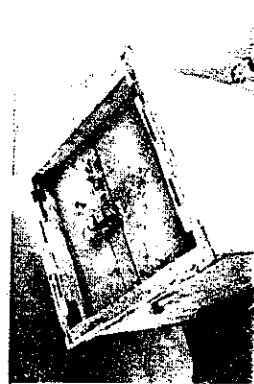


FIG. 36. THE CANOPIC CHEST, NEW YORK

metal, with a similar handle, in this case ornamented on each side with a relief head of the goddess Hat-hor (fig. 41); a circular wooden toilet dish with a swivel lid, decorated with an incised design of concentric and contiguous circles (fig. 46); a pair of wooden castanets carved in the form of elongated human hands; a large alabaster kohl jar and lid, the lip of the jar broken away and missing; a bowl of deep blue faience, decorated with a lotus-flower design in black outline (see fig. 42); two blue faience saucers with black decoration (see fig. 42); one with the title and prenomen of Thut-mose II; and seven scaraboid heads of glossy blue faience, two of them also inscribed

with the prenomen of Thut-mose II.

The two large alabaster jars (G and N, fig. 44) from the floor of the chamber by the north end of coffin IV are well-known XVIII Dynasty types. Both are distinguished by their fine surface polish and the beauty of the ornately grained, translucent alabaster of which they are made. Their tops were covered by pieces of linen cloth, lashed about their necks with cord; the fronts secured by stamped mud seals. Jar G is uninscribed, but engraved on the side of jar N is a short column of hieroglyphic inscription giving the personal name of Hat-shepsut (for whom the jar may have been originally made), accompanied by her early titles as Queen of Egypt. The latter jar has not been opened, but jar G was nearly filled with a thick resinous gum, which, amazing as it may seem, was still soft at the time the jar was opened by us.

The three great pottery amphorae (3, 4, 6, see figs. 28 and 39), found stacked along the north wall of the chamber, are of interest mainly for the oval stamp impressions on their heavy mud sealings and the ink labels which they bear on their sides. Nine of the stamp impressions bear the name and title of Hat-shepsut as queen, but on four others are her title and prenomen as king. The labels give the names of the various wood oils contained in the jars. The label on amphora 4 is preceded by the date "Regnal Year 7" (of Thut-mose III). The squat, long-necked pottery jar no. 5, equipped with two inverted-U handles, also bears the year date 7, accompanied by designations of the month and day and followed by a description of the contents of the jar. These dated ink inscriptions form an excellent index of date for the tomb, which, as we shall see, was sealed late in the seventh year of the reign of Thut-mose III (1194 B.C.).

We are fortunate in this tomb in having not only the names of the oils contained in the jars but also copious specimens of the oils themselves, which can be analyzed chemically and so give us more exact meanings of the names than have hitherto been known.

Other pottery vessels, found on the floor of the chamber by the south end of coffin III, include a long, drop-shaped jar, de-

rated with a red slip and bands of black (2), and two small pottery dishes in soft brown ware (1 and 7).

These completed the possessions of Hat-nisfer and there remained to be recorded only the two rectangular coffins (I and IV) and the burials contained in them.

The coffins are altogether similar to one another. Plain rectangular boxes of rough, unpainted pine boards, they are 1.88 and 1.81 meters in length. The lids are of the vaulted type with upward projecting end-boards. The corners of the coffins are dovetailed and the planking is fastened together with pegged tenons. Assembly marks in red ink appear on the interiors of the boxes at the edges of their sides and ends.

The burials in these coffins are as poor as the coffins themselves. The bodies, treated in the same manner as that of Ra'-mose, but with even less care, consisted of thoroughly disarticulated skeletons, packed in masses of sandy mud and wrapped in several layers of linen sheets and bandages. Coffin III contained four such burials: two young women and two small children, the latter wrapped together with one of the women to form what appeared from the exterior to be a single mummy. In coffin IV were the bandaged skeletons of a third woman and an infant child.

Little of interest was found on these people. The hair of the women was in each case dressed in long, heavy braids. Bracelets of beads of various forms and materials (faience, stone, glass, and silver) and scarabs were found on the wrists and hands of most of the bodies. The scarabs were worn as rings, in some cases set in rough mountings of sheet gold or silver clumsily soldered together, always with the metal rings lacking and replaced by loops of string. Some of the scarabs are of good quality—notably one with the name and title of Hat-shepsut as queen, and one of her mother, the "King's Great Wife, Yeh-mose," queen of Thut-mose I. In general, however, the jewelry is an odd lot of inferior or second-hand beads and scarabs, the former including few of any one type (except for hundreds of small ring beads); most of the latter badly cut and of cheap materials. One of the children was wearing as a necklace pendant a faience

lotus-flower ornament evidently pulled off the rim of a faience bowl.

The names of these three women and three children appear nowhere on their coffins or other possessions and will probably always remain unknown to us. The royal names on the scarabs found with them and the whole nature of their burials show them to have

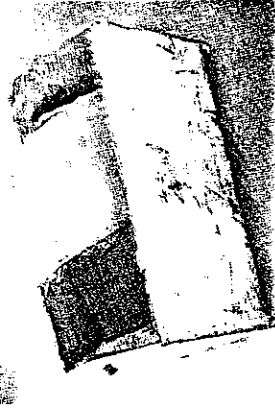


FIG. 37. CHEST J PACKED WITH LINEN SHEETS, NEW YORK

been exactly contemporary and probably closely associated with Sen-Mut's family; and the evidence indicates that they were buried on the same occasion as his parents—that eight persons of the same family or group should have died so nearly at the same time that they could be buried together on one occasion is certainly extraordinary, but seems, nevertheless, to be what actually happened. The phenomenal quality of this is somewhat lessened by the facts that Ra'-mose and Hat-nisfer appear to have been of about the same advanced age and might well have died at about the same time and

that all the occupants of the rectangular coffins, as their youth shows, came to premature ends. Moreover, the blocking of the tomb showed no sign of having ever been taken down and rebuilt; and the whole period during which all the subsidiary tombs and burials below the tomb of Sen-Mut were completed and covered up cannot have comprised more than a very few months.

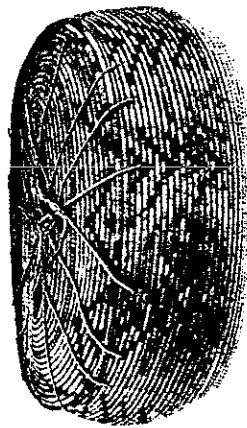


FIG. 38. BASKET C CONTAINING BREAD AND FRUITS, NEW YORK

Among the royal names on objects from this tomb that of Hat-shepsut naturally predominates. As queen of Egypt, that is, as wife of Thut-mose II or as dowager queen in the early years following his death, her name occurs, in all, twelve times. More interesting, from the historical point of view, are the six occasions on which she is named already as king of Egypt, with the kingly titles and the kingly pronomen Ma'et-ka-Rer. Two of the sheets from Raet-mose's wrappings were once the property of the daughter of Hat-shepsut and Thut-mose II, the Princess Nefru-Rer, who died while scarcely more than a child some time before

Thut-mose III's sixteenth regnal year.²¹ Three of Hat-nufer's possessions bear the name of Thut-mose II himself, dead seven years before the tomb was sealed, but the king under whom Sen-Mut's parents had passed most of their latter years. One scarab from the tomb, clearly an heirloom, preserves the name and title of Hat-shepsut's mother, Queen Aq-mose, wife of Thut-

The tomb is of much the same type and class as that of Nefer-khewet and his family—discovered last season at the opposite end of our concession—with which it is also almost exactly contemporary in date. Those

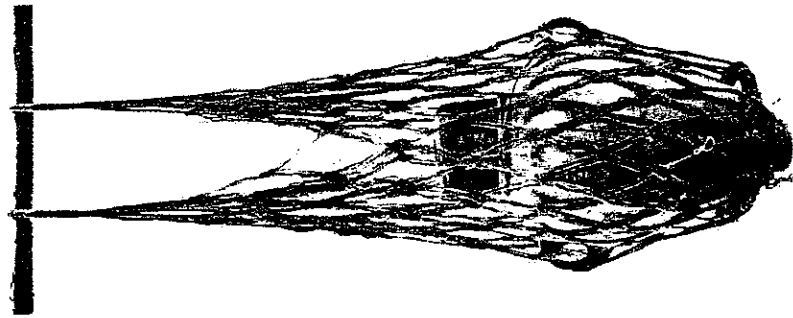


FIG. 39. SLING FOR CARRYING A LARGE JAR, CAIRO

who read the report on the latter²² cannot fail to recognize the constant duplication in the types of objects and funerary customs appearing in the two tombs. Among these duplicates there are three which perhaps indicate more than the similarity that naturally existed between Egyptian tombs of the same class and date. Both Hat-nufer and Nefer-khewet possessed alabaster jars in-

²¹ BULLETTIN, vol. xxx (1933), Nov., sect. II, pp. 17-36.

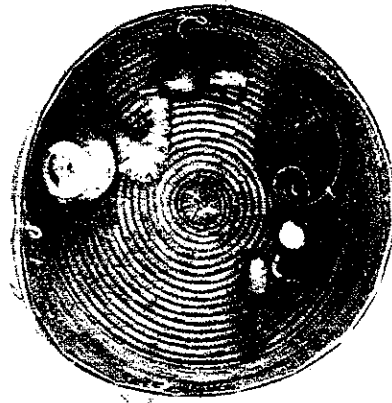


FIG. 40. BASKET L AND ITS CONTENTS NEW YORK AND CAIRO

dersides. The none too common nickname Boki occurs in both tombs, in that of Raet-mose and Hat-nufer as a linen mark on one of Hat-nufer's sheets, in that of Nefer-khewet as the name of one of the persons buried in the tomb, probably Nefer-khewet's son or son-in-law. No one of these coincidences is particularly significant in itself, but the three together permit us at least to guess that the association between the occupants of the tombs was closer than that of

mere contemporaries.²³ Although to suggest that the two groups of persons were actually related to one another is to go beyond our evidence, there can be little question that Sen-Mut's parents and Nefer-khewet and his wife belonged to the same generation, enjoyed the same royal patronage, and probably knew one another well.

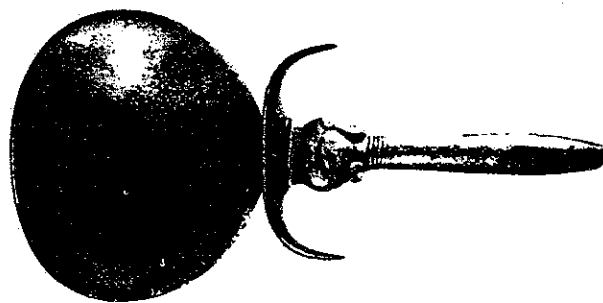


FIG. 41. SMALL BRONZE MIRROR
NEW YORK

There are, on the other hand, two very important points of difference between our principal tomb of this season and the one discovered last year. Whereas Nefer-khewet and his family, before the discovery of their tomb, were historically complete nonentities, Ra'-mošē and Hat-nūfer, as the par-

²³ It is a strange, though hardly significant, coincidence that the coffins of both Hat-nūfer and Kuyu, Nefer-khewet's daughter, although made expressly for women, were originally equipped with beards, the incongruity of which in both cases was not noticed until the coffins were in place in their respective tombs, when the beards were pulled off the coffins and concealed in out-of-the-way places in the chambers.

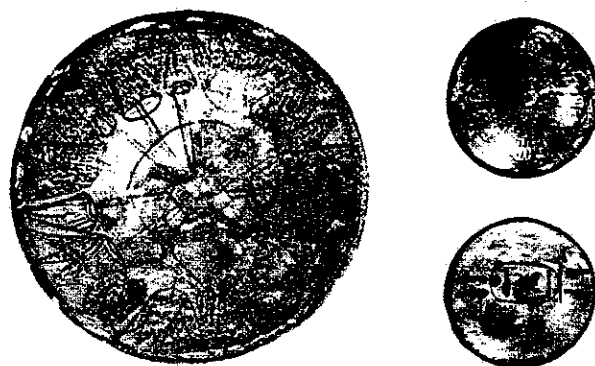


FIG. 42. THREE BLUE FAIENCE DISHES
NEW YORK

the tomb of Ra'-mošē and Hat-nūfer is the almost perfect state of preservation of the vast majority of the objects found in it.

The tomb of Ra'-mošē and Hat-nūfer was, of course, a much better find than we had expected to make in the hill of Sheikh Abd el Kurneh, which has been dug over by tomb robber and archaeologist for so many generations. Only the deep pile of chips coming from the cutting of Sen-Mut's tomb had protected his parents' burial chamber. It had covered even more deeply a much smaller tomb which we came upon in our clearing of the valley bed (fig. 8 b).

This was a very narrow and shallow pit

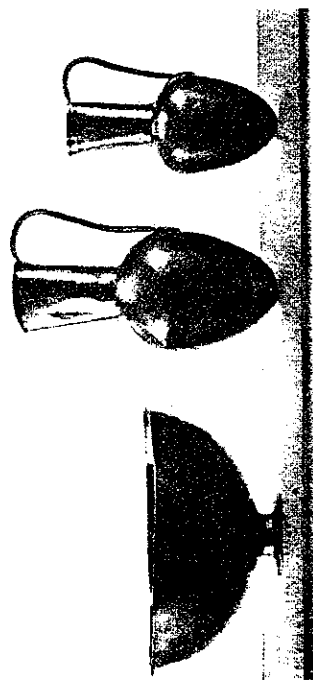


FIG. 43. SILVER WINE SERVICE. CAIRO



FIG. 44. ALABASTER UNGUENT JARS. NEW YORK AND CAIRO

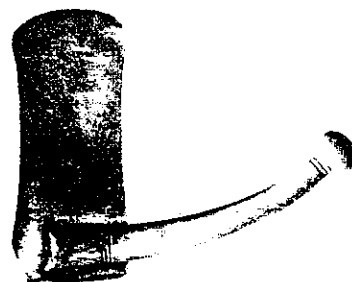


FIG. 45. RAZOR OF HAT-NÜFER
NEW YORK

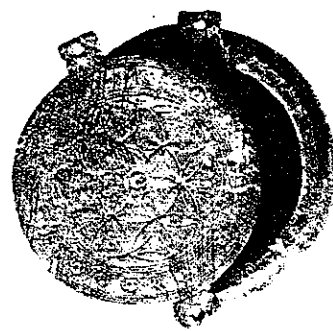


FIG. 46. WOODEN TOILET DISH
NEW YORK

from which opened a roughly cut chamber just long enough to hold the small coffin of a child (fig. 48). On either side of the coffin had been spread leafy branches of the sycamore fig tree, on which had been laid offerings of bread, dates and raisins, and donuts, as well as pottery, some of it decorated, and a censer. Lying beside the coffin was a

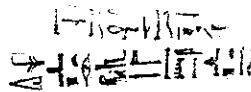
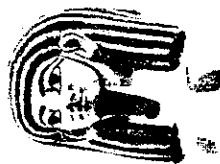


FIG. 47. SHAWABTI FIGURE OF AMEN-HOTPE, CAIRO

beautifully painted limestone shawabti figure (fig. 47) which, although in the form of an adult, gave us the name of the owner of the tomb. The shawabti was made "for Amen-hotpe by his brother Senu who causes his name to live." On the lid of the coffin lay a string of fenticular, blue faience beads and a tiny staff with the traditional forked end. We hoped, of course, to find from further inscriptional evidence within the coffin that this might be another relation of Sen-Mut but were disappointed.³⁴ The coffin con-

³⁴ There is, to be sure, the slight possibility that Senu is a nickname for Sen-Mut and that

tained only a fine pair of red leather sandals (fig. 49) and two blue faience bangles. About the boy's neck was a string with a single gold bead, and on his left hand a small cartonnage scarab mounted in gold.

The excavation of a disturbed cemetery site always produces a heterogeneous lot of objects. These may come from the making of the tombs or from their violation. We have mentioned the fine ostrakon bearing what is probably the portrait of Sen-Mut. Many others of the same character which had been used as models for the decoration of the tomb were discarded by the scribes and painters who had worked there. Another class consisted of accounts of workmen employed and rock cutting completed on such and such a date, or even sketch plans of parts of the tomb. Other ostraka were the result of the activity of these same wielders of the brush in their idle hours. Among these were some amusing crude drawings of animals, but more interesting were the flakes of limestone upon which the scribes had practiced their craft. Hymns and other religious texts were, of course, second nature to these perpetrators of the sacred tradition, but they loved secular literature, too, and bits of popular stories were found by us among the debris. These include a copy of the beginning of the well-known Tale of Sinuhe and examples of the famous Admonitions of Amen-em-het I. The latter have been written by a very untutored hand, and one contains a correction in red ink by the master scribe, who had apparently cut short his lunch hour in order to give instruction to a pupil—perhaps an ambitious basket boy on that XVIII Dynasty excavation job.

From disturbed tombs came fragments of furniture, and other funerary material. Two wooden statuettes (fig. 50) had evidently been among the equipment of other members of Sen-Mut's family. One of these bears simply the name Amen-hotpe, who is known as one of his relatives (fig. 51). A pair of tiny white leather sandals, unused and still tied together as though they had just left the sandal maker's shop, may have belonged to a child of the architect Sen-Mut.

One of the most important results of the Amen-hotpe was, therefore, a much younger brother of his.

work of the past season was the discovery of a tomb which permits us to determine with a very fair degree of certainty and accuracy the date of an event of the utmost interest to the history of Egypt and of the titulary and attributes of king.



FIG. 48. THE TOMB CHAMBER OF THE CHILD AMEN-HOTPE

and importance in the history of the mid-XVIII Dynasty. Hat-shepsut's assumption of the throne of Egypt and of the titulary and attributes of king.



FIG. 49. RED LEATHER SANDAL OF AMEN-HOTPE, CAIRO

Since the evidence for the date of this tomb is indicated by its position in relation to the latter. The tombs of members of the family of the owner of a great courtyard tomb like that of Sen-Mut were almost invariably excavated, as pits, in the floor of

the courtyard itself. The tomb of Ra-mose and Hat-nufer, however, lies not in the courtyard of Sen-Mut's tomb but in the natural hill slope in front of it. The only logical explanation of this unusual state of affairs is that at the time Ra-mose and Hat-nufer died and were buried the courtyard of Sen-Mut's tomb had not yet been cut—in short, that the work of excavating the great tomb had not yet been begun. A dated ostrakon from the tomb of Sen-Mut²⁸ tells us definitely that work was begun on

the purpose of the label to indicate, the oil was absolutely fresh when it was brought into the tomb. It is only reasonable to assume that the similar oils contained in the accompanying amphorae were made and "put up" at approximately the same time as that in the jar (February 5), for the manufacture of one class of oil must have been a seasonal occupation, covering a short period of time following the harvest of the ingredients used²⁹ and the need for complete freshness was apparently a prime feature of this

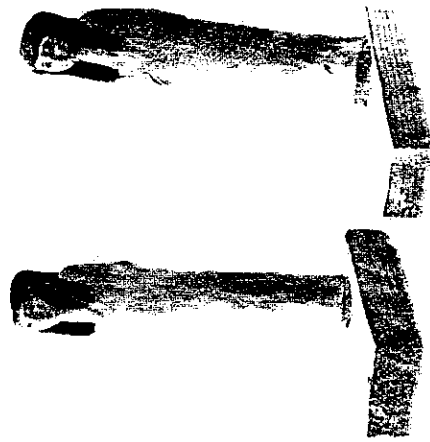


FIG. 50. TWO WOODEN STATUETTES, NEW YORK

the tomb in "Year 7, Month 4 of Provat, Day 2," March 31, 1404 B.C., just fifty-four days after the dating of the inscribed jar found in the tomb of Ra-mose and Hat-nufer referred to above. It is therefore clear that the tomb of Sen-Mut's parents was sealed at some time within these fifty-four days, in other words, between February 5 and March 31, 1404 B.C.

Inversely, it follows that the oil contained in the dated jar was made and put in the jar, and the jar sealed and labeled at the very most fifty-four days before the tomb was closed—in short, that, as it was

²⁸ Found, long before our work was started, by Norman deGaris Davies while clearing the tomb in behalf of Sir Robert Mond and recently presented by him to the Metropolitan Museum.

others bear Hat-shepsut's personal name and her title as royal consort, showing that late in the seventh year she was still no more than dowager queen.³⁰ On the sealing of the third amphora (and in two linen marks from the mummy of Hat-nufer), however, she appears with the kingly title and kingly pre-nomen Maet-ka-Re'. It is therefore evident that the change in her status took place within the brief period between the



FIG. 51. ONE OF SEN-MUT'S RELATIVES FROM THE STATUE NICHE OF HIS TOMB, NEW YORK

sealing of the first two amphorae and the sealing of the third. Expressed in terms of Egyptian calendrical dates, this can only mean (as has been demonstrated above) that the move was made at some time falling, approximately, between the middle of the first month of Provat and the middle of the second month of that season in the seventh regnal year of Thut-mose III, or, according to our calendar, between January 15 and February 15, 1404 B.C. The Expedition

²⁹ A conclusion borne out by the appearance of her name and titles as queen on the baked bricks and cones prepared for the façade of the tomb of Sen-Mut (Leopold, *Denkmäler*, vol. III, pl. 25 fig. 1; Sethe, *Lebanon*, IV, pp. 102-103), which we now know was not begun until the end of the year.

the last three and a half months of his (seventh) regnal year; the tomb of Ra-mose and Hat-nufer was sealed a few weeks later; and the excavation of Sen-Mut's tomb began just thirty-two days before the end of the year and continued through the eighth and probably into the ninth year of the reign.

AMBROSE LANSING,
WILLIAM C. HAYES.

³⁰ H. F. Winlock, *Bulletin*, vol. XXIII (1928) I, col. sect. II, p. 52. Mr. Winlock has also contributed in no small degree to our present interpretation of the evidence discovered last winter.

³¹ The date of his coronation. Gauthier, *Leses rois*, vol. II, p. 253; Breasted, *A History of Egypt*, p. 268.