

Valley of the Kings

The decline of a royal necropolis

C. N. Reeves



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For my father
in memory of my mother

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2 krs , 'burial'	229
3 whm krs , 'repetition of burial'	229
4 whm sm3 , 'repetition of interment'	230
5 rdit wsir , 'osirification'	230
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PART 2

THE ROYAL CACHES

'À part quelques documents précieux pour l'histoire de la XXI^e dynastie et quelques prières sur toile qu'on a chance de trouver avec les momies de la XVIII^e dynastie, il n'y a peut-être là matière ni à de longues recherches ni à de grands résultats ...'

- E. Lefébure, 'Le puits de Deir el Bahari',
AMG 4 (1882), 17

10 THE ROYAL CACHES

The 21st dynasty witnessed a dramatic change in the official attitude towards the preservation of the royal dead. Instead of the interminable and for the most part ineffectual effort of guarding numerous individual tombs scattered over a wide area, the decision was taken to transfer the royal mummies and the bodies of other individuals with which these had become associated after death to a handful of easily guarded or little-known tombs. A number of these so-called 'caches' have been touched upon in the preceding chapters of this study: KV 57, the tomb of Horemheb; KV 17, the tomb of Sethos I; and KV 14, the tomb appropriated by Sethnakhte. The most famous of these mass reburials, however, are DB 320 and KV 35 (the tomb of Amenophis II), the former containing the corpses of at least 40 individuals and debris from a further 14 burials, the latter preserving the remains of 16 mummies and material from an additional three or four interments.¹ The evidence of these two deposits is considered here in some detail, as a preliminary to establishing more precisely the history of the mummies following the evacuation of their original tombs.

(DB 320)²

DB 320 (fig. 83), the larger of the two main caches, was discovered by a member of the Abd el-Rassul family in or about 1871,³ and over the next 10 years or so was entered illicitly on some three or more occasions - 'pour quelques heures seulement'⁴ - and plundered of its more portable grave goods: shabtis, papyri and other items.⁵ The appearance of such pieces on the Egyptian antiquities market soon led Maspero to suspect that a discovery of importance had been made on the Theban west bank. When, however, in July 1881, the source of the antiquities was eventually revealed to Émile Brugsch,⁶ it came as a distinct shock to discover a single tomb which had served not only for the bodies of certain 21st-dynasty persons of rank but also for members of the 17th-, 18th-, 19th- and 20th-dynasty royal lines.⁷ See table 3.

Brugsch's clearance of the tomb, carried out with the assistance of Kamal, Moutafian and 200 workmen, lasted a matter of two days.

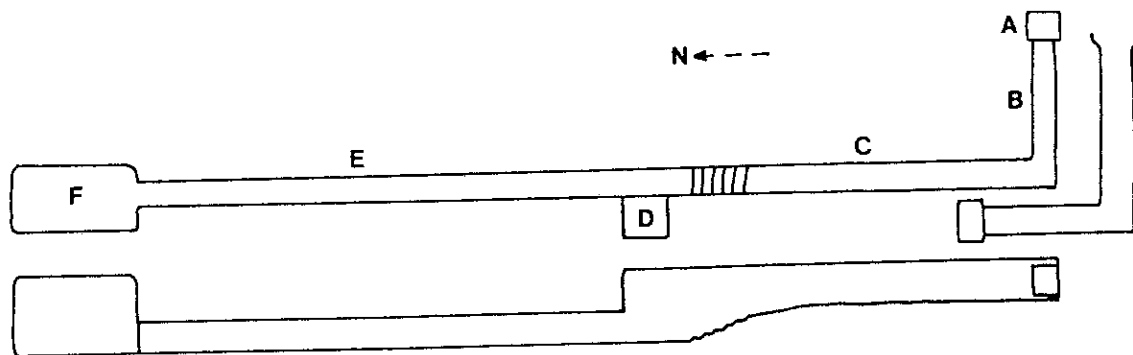


Fig. 83: DB 320

Needless to say, the clearance was far from scientific in its execution, and no full, first-hand account of the discovery was ever published. There is reason to suppose, however, that a report of some kind was prepared for the Antiquities Service, upon which Maspero (who had not seen the cache in situ) was to draw heavily in his discussions of the find:⁸ that Maspero employs the same phraseology in these various published accounts might certainly be taken to suggest that he is quoting verbatim from some such ultimate source.⁹ It follows, therefore, that the main features of the cache at the time of Brugsch's entry in 1881 might be reconstructed from a critical analysis of Maspero's writings on the subject.¹⁰

Unfortunately, we possess few details relating to the blocking of the cache.¹¹ Maspero describes the situation at the bottom of the shaft as follows:

La baie était formé jadis par des battants en bois qui ont disparu: d'après chaque cérémonie on les assurait au moyen de grosses pastilles d'argile sur lesquelles les gardiens de la nécropole apposaient leur cachet d'office.¹²

'Dans la salle et parmi les fragments qui encombraient le fond du puits', Maspero found 'une vingtaine environ de pains de terre sigillaire qui portaient des traces de caractères empreint sur une face'¹³ (fig. 84). These sealings are considered further below, in connection with the burials of Neskhons and Pinudjem II.

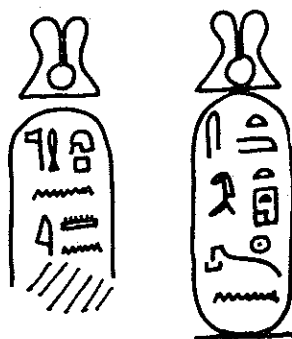


Fig. 84: DB 320, large seal impressions

For the layout of the items within DB 320 there is a good deal of evidence, albeit rather contradictory. The results of a critical analysis of this information are set out on the plan in fig. 85, to which the numbered sections below refer. Further details of the tomb's contents will be found in tables 3, 5 and 7.

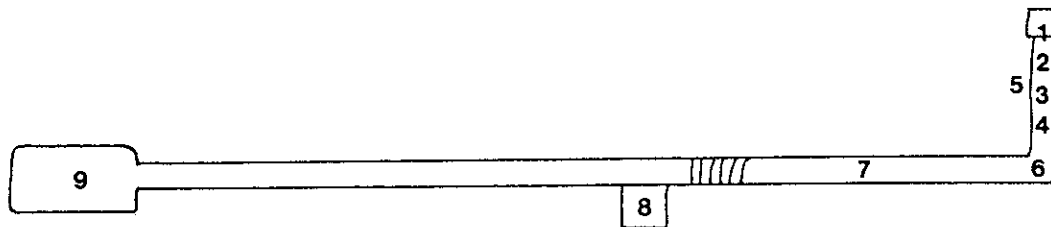


Fig. 85: DB 320, reconstructed layout

- 1 Coffin of Nebseni, containing a mummy.
- 2 'Un cercueil dont la forme rappelait le style de la XVII^e dynastie.'¹⁴ By 1889 Maspero had identified this with the coffin of Seqnenre-Taa II.¹⁵ Since, however, the Guides of 1906, 1908 and 1915¹⁶ return to the 1881 and 1883 accounts,¹⁷ which do not specify the owner of the second coffin and in fact place Seqnenre-Taa in side-chamber D, the 1889 identification is likely to be erroneous. The second coffin can only have been that of Rai, containing the corpse of Inhapi, which to Maspero in 1881 'parait être contemporaine de Saqnounrî Tiouâqen par le style';¹⁸ no other coffin remotely reminiscent of the 17th dynasty was found in the cache.¹⁹
- 3 Inner and outer coffins of Duathathor-Henttawy, with her mummy.
- 4 Coffin of Sethos I, containing his mummy.
- 5 'A côté des cercueils et jonchant le sol':²⁰ shabti boxes, canopic jars, copper-alloy libation vessels. The shabti boxes may have included those of Duathathor-Henttawy; the canopic jars cannot positively be identified. Two sets of libation vessels were found in DB 320, one set belonging to Isiemkheb, the other uninscribed; it is not clear which is alluded to here.
- 6 Leather canopy-shrine of Isiemkheb.
- 7 'A cluster of mummy cases ... in such number as to stagger me.'²¹ No verifiable reconstruction of their precise order seems possible. Presumably this 'cluster' included the coffin fragments of Ramesses I, which, from the evidence of the docket,²² will have been associated with that of Sethos I for some time prior to the introduction into DB 320. Maspero notes that the 'débris des bois' of Ramesses I 'étaient placés à côté du cercueil de Thoutmos Ier',²³ (usurped by Pinudjem I and containing the body of 'Tuthmosis I'), which would suggest that this latter was also situated in the corridor. The confined

- mummies of Amenophis I and Tuthmosis II Maspero similarly locates before the entrance to side-chamber D.²⁴
- 8 'Dans la niche (D), près de l'escalier':²⁵ the coffined mummies of Amosis I, Siamun and Seqnenre-Taa II; the coffin of Ahhotpe I, containing the mummy of Pinudjem I; the coffin of Ahmose-Nofretiri, containing both her own(?) mummy and the cartonnaged mummy of Ramesses III; 'et d'autres', which may have included Tuthmosis III and Ramesses II.²⁶ Maspero describes this chamber as 'filled up to the roof',²⁷ whilst Wilson, paraphrasing Brugsch, describes the coffins as 'standing against the walls or ... lying on the floor'.²⁸
- 9 'Dans la chambre du fond, le pêle-mêle était au comble, mais on reconnaissait à première vue la prédominance du style propre à la XX^e et à la XXI^e dynastie.'²⁹

As we shall consider in more detail below, there is little evidence to suggest that the deposit which Brugsch discovered within DB 320 had been plundered in antiquity. Nevertheless, Maspero's statement that 'le pêle-mêle était au comble' in the end chamber would seem to imply that the tomb had been ransacked at some stage. The finger of suspicion points directly at the Abd el-Rassuls. It might, therefore, be suspected that conclusions drawn from the layout of the cache possess only a limited value, since extensive modern robbing activity within DB 320 could have significantly altered the ancient distribution of the contents.³⁰ Whilst this is quite possible in the case of the smaller items, I doubt that it applies to the larger pieces within the tomb. If one considers the weight of the coffins,³¹ and the space available to manoeuvre them³² - plus the fact that the Abd el-Rassuls are said to have visited the cache on only three occasions, and then merely for a few hours (see above) - it would appear unlikely that any radical alteration could have been effected in the basic sequence. The positions in which Brugsch encountered the coffins in 1881 are, I would suggest, essentially the positions they occupied in antiquity.

It is perhaps worth pointing out that there is no certainty that all the damage apparent in the material from the cache is to be attributed to the Abd el-Rassuls - though they were undoubtedly responsible for some of it.³³ The docketts written upon those mummies which were at some stage restored pre-date their introduction into DB 320 by about 40 years: the latest datable wrappings (on the mummy of Ramesses IX)³⁴ date to Year 7 of Siamun, whilst the introduction of the royal mummies into DB 320 cannot have taken place until at least Year 11 of Shoshenq I (the date of a linen docket on the mummy of Djedptahiufankh³⁵ considered further below), and quite possibly Year 13 of this king (if the linen notation on the mummy of Nestanebtishru also refers to the reign of Shoshenq I).³⁶ Since the transfer from the tomb of Inhapi to DB 320 (see further below) was presumably undertaken to safeguard the royal dead, it is quite possible that the damage apparent in the mummy of Pinudjem I, for example, had occurred before arrival.³⁷

It was Winlock who, in an open letter published in 1931, first proposed to identify DB 320 with the *k3y* of Inhapi mentioned in the coffin docket as the resting place of Amenophis I and destination of Ramesses I, Sethos I and Ramesses II.³⁸ This conclusion was apparently confirmed by a fresh translation of the dockets on the Sethos I group of coffins³⁹ published by Černý in 1948,⁴⁰ which improved the logic of Winlock's argument by demonstrating that the docket relating to the transfer of Ramesses I, Sethos I and Ramesses II from KV 17⁴¹ was only three days earlier than that recording their caching in *t3 hwt nhh* of Amenophis I.⁴² Winlock's interpretation has been seriously challenged on only two occasions: once by Dewachter in 1975,⁴³ who concluded that DB 320 was the tomb of the Pinudjem I family; and more recently by Schmitz,⁴⁴ who, on the basis of parallelism with *t3 hwt nhh* of the later dockets,⁴⁵ has suggested that the tomb is to be identified with *t3 3ht nhh* of Amenophis I referred to in P. Abbott.⁴⁶ The most recent discussion, by Thomas,⁴⁷ refutes both of these views, and comes down firmly in favour of Winlock's conclusion that DB 320 is the *k3y* of Inhapi. It is not proposed to treat in detail here the substance of these earlier discussions; in the cases of Winlock (rather atypically), Černý and Schmitz, no allowances were made for the physical layout of the cache, whilst, as we shall see, the discussions of Dewachter and Thomas, which do consider the archaeological context, would appear to be based upon unsatisfactory source criticism and consequently upon false premises.

The basic layout of the cache was considered earlier in this chapter. Since, from the reconstructed layout, Ramesses I, Sethos I and Ramesses II had clearly been introduced before the body of Inhapi, and since it is perhaps likely that Ramesses II had been introduced before Amenophis I, DB 320 cannot have been the *k3y* of Inhapi. In fact, the discovery of Inhapi's body close to the entrance of DB 320 suggests that it was in her previous place of interment that she held a central position - and this arrangement can be explained most satisfactorily by assuming that the tomb in which the royal mummies had been stored before their removal and final reburial in DB 320 was the tomb of Inhapi. That Pinudjem II was interred in DB 320⁴⁸ on the very day that Ramesses I, Sethos I and Ramesses II were interred in the Inhapi tomb⁴⁹ can be no more than fortuitous; there is, after all, no reason why two separate burials, probably in the same general area (see below), should not have been made by essentially the same officials on the same day.

Although DB 320 cannot be the tomb of Inhapi, there are certain indications (notably Romer's observations on the method of quarrying)⁵⁰ that DB 320 does date from the late 17th/early 18th dynasty.⁵¹ Unfortunately, the tomb is no longer fully accessible, and from this distance and without further information it is impossible to comment objectively upon the suggestion that it had been enlarged during the later New Kingdom.⁵² It would, in any case, be wrong to connect any such alteration with the decision to employ DB 320 as a cache for the royal mummies:⁵³ there is, as we shall see, little doubt that the original 21st-dynasty occupants were already installed in the end chamber, and had been so for several years, by the time the cached mummies were introduced.

Evidence for the 21st-dynasty usurpation of DB 320 exists in the form of three docketts found 'au fond du puits, sur les jambages de la porte, ... tracées à l'encre noir, une à droite, deux à gauche'.⁵⁴ That on the right jamb reads as follows:

Year 5 (of Siamun), 4 šmw 21. Day of burial of the chief of ladies, Neskhons, by the god's father of Amun, overseer of the treasury, Djedkhonsiufankh, son of ...; the prophet of Amon-Re, king of the gods, Ankhefenamun; the elder(?) of the hall, Nespay...; the god's father of Amun, chief of the army, Nespakashuty. The seals which are upon this place: the seal of the overseer of the treasury, Djedkhonsiufankh; the seal of the scribe of the treasury, Nes...⁵⁵

Two features suggest that this was the original burial-place of Neskhons:

- 1 a strip of bandage from the mummy of Ramesses IX indicates that she was still alive in Year 5 of Siamun;⁵⁶
- 2 in spite of evidence to suggest petty plundering on the part of one or other burial party,⁵⁷ the indications are that the mummy of Neskhons was despoiled by the Abd el-Rassuls rather than by ancient tomb robbers.⁵⁸ She had not, presumably, required reburial in antiquity.⁵⁹

The later docket is preserved in two copies.⁶⁰ The first of these consists of two lines only, having been abandoned by the scribe for want of space and the text rewritten in full a little lower down on the left jamb. The full text reads as follows:

Year 10 (of Siamun), 4 prt 20. Day of burial of the Osiris, the high priest of Amon-Re, king of the gods, great chief of the army, the leader Pinudjem, by the god's father of Amun, overseer of the treasury, Djedkhonsiufankh; the god's father of Amun, scribe of the army, chief inspector, Nespakashuty; the prophet of Amun, ...enamun; the god's father of Amun, Wennufer; by the king's scribe of the Place of Truth, Bakenmut; the chief workman Pediamun; the chief workman Amenmose; the god's father of Amun, chief of secrets, Pediamun, son of Ankhefenkhons.⁶¹

As with Neskhons, there can be little doubt that this is the deceased's original place of burial:

- 1 Pinudjem II's last attested year is Year 9, from linen on his mummy;⁶²
- 2 both Pinudjem II's mummy and coffins are intact.

The two types of seal impression found by Maspero (see above) are perhaps to be connected with the burial of Neskhons (the title 'high priest of Amun' on type A reflecting the individual under whose auspices the interment was made, rather than - as with Tutankhamun⁶³ - the owner of the tomb). The text of the type-B

impressions was rendered by Daressy as *stm, t3 hwt stp-n-r*⁶⁴. As we now see, the individual with whom Daressy wished to connect this title is Nespakashuty,⁶⁵ who was present at the burials of both Neskhons and Pinudjem II.

Although no written records exist to throw light upon which of the remaining 21st-dynasty corpses were original to DB 320, this question might at least partially be resolved by examining the condition of the coffins and mummies (tables 5 and 7): since the Ancient-Egyptian officials are perhaps unlikely to have transferred any mummy before its original burial had been disturbed (but see below, conclusions), except under the most exceptional circumstances (e.g. the transfer of Tuthmosis I from KV 20 to KV 38 by Tuthmosis III),⁶⁶ it follows that those individuals represented in DB 320 whose funerary equipment is intact are likely to be original to the tomb. One may conclude, therefore, that Djedptahiufankh and Nestanebtishru were buried in DB 320 as and when they died - which is not altogether surprising, since Nestanebtishru appears to have been a daughter of Pinudjem II and Neskhons, as well as wife to Djedptahiufankh.⁶⁷ Isiemkheb is thought to have been a lesser wife of Pinudjem II.⁶⁸ From the amount of funerary material buried with her within DB 320 - note the dismantled leather canopy-shrine⁶⁹ in the angle of the corridor,⁷⁰ and what may have been her set of copper-alloy vessels next to the intrusive coffins in the first passage - it would seem probable that this was her original place of interment also. The fact that the gilded hands and face of her inner coffin and coffin board had been hacked off in antiquity is of no independent value: such damage is more likely to be evidence of petty pilfering by members of the burial party than evidence of tomb robbery proper,⁷¹ and is in fact attested on the inner coffin and coffin board of Neskhons.

The coffins of Masaharta, Maatkare-Mutemhet and Tayuheret have been abused in a similar manner - that of Tayuheret even having had its outer lid effaced. The relationship of these individuals is not as close, however,⁷² and it is possible that they had not originally been interred within DB 320; though if, as seems likely, they were discovered in the end chamber of the tomb, they must have been introduced before the Inhapi group of coffins.

The remaining members of the 21st-dynasty ruling line are Nodjmet, Pinudjem I and Duathathor-Henttawy; their coffins and corpses had been extensively pillaged in antiquity. These three individuals evidently were closely related,⁷³ and appear to have shared a common place of burial which was subsequently abandoned for DB 320 only after the former tomb - perhaps, as we shall consider, the *ḳ3y* of Inhapi - had been robbed.

As was suggested above, the cached coffins were introduced from a tomb in which the queen Inhapi appears to have occupied a central position, this tomb in all likelihood being the *ḳ3y* of Inhapi. Three other individuals are known, from the evidence of the coffin docket, to have been intended for and doubtless buried in the Inhapi tomb: Ramesses I, Sethos I and Ramesses II.⁷⁴ These same docket inform us that Amenophis I was already interred in the *ḳ3y* with Inhapi when the Sethos I group of mummies was introduced.

If we examine the reconstructed layout of the DB 320 cache, it

will be seen that Inhapi is separated from Sethos I by Duathathor-Henttawy; that Sethos I lay close to Amenophis I; that between Amenophis I and Ramesses II lay Tuthmosis II; and that Ramesses I and Ramesses II were effectively separated by the coffins of Tuthmosis I/Pinudjem I and the side-chamber group of mummies. The side-chamber coffins - Amosis I, Siamun, Seqenenre-Taa II, Ahhotpe I and Ahmose-Nofretiri -, moreover, are linked to those discovered in the corridor by the fact that the coffin of Ahhotpe I was found to contain the mummy of Pinudjem I. Clearly, therefore, both the coffins in the corridor and those in the side-chamber are interrelated. The obvious conclusion to draw is that both sets of mummies were introduced into DB 320 at the same time, and that both, presumably, shared the same immediate origin - the $\mathfrak{k}3y$ of Inhapi.

The location of Inhapi's tomb may here briefly be considered. If the royal mummies were transferred from this tomb to DB 320 en masse, it is perhaps unlikely that the earlier place of interment will have been very far distant from the later. Furthermore, the fact that the tomb of Inhapi is referred to as a $\mathfrak{k}3y$ does yield some information as to the siting of the sepulchre. As its relationship to the adjective $\mathfrak{k}3$, 'high', clearly shows, the basic meaning of $\mathfrak{k}3y$ is 'high place'⁷⁵ - hence the Wb. rendering 'Hügel';⁷⁶ and from the context it may be inferred that we have here a reference to a type of cliff tomb.

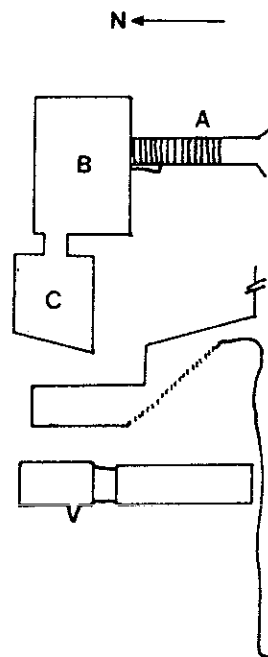


Fig. 86: WN A

Situated a mere 750 metres to the south-west of the DB 320 cache is the cliff tomb par excellence, WN A (Bab el-Muallaq)⁷⁷ (fig. 86). This tomb, excavated in the sheer cliff face some 45 metres⁷⁸ above ground level, is described by Bonomi as follows:

The highest tomb high up in the mountain, large and spacious; called el-Maaleg (= suspended, hanging)⁷⁹ because it is so high up, being hung as it were in the air.⁸⁰

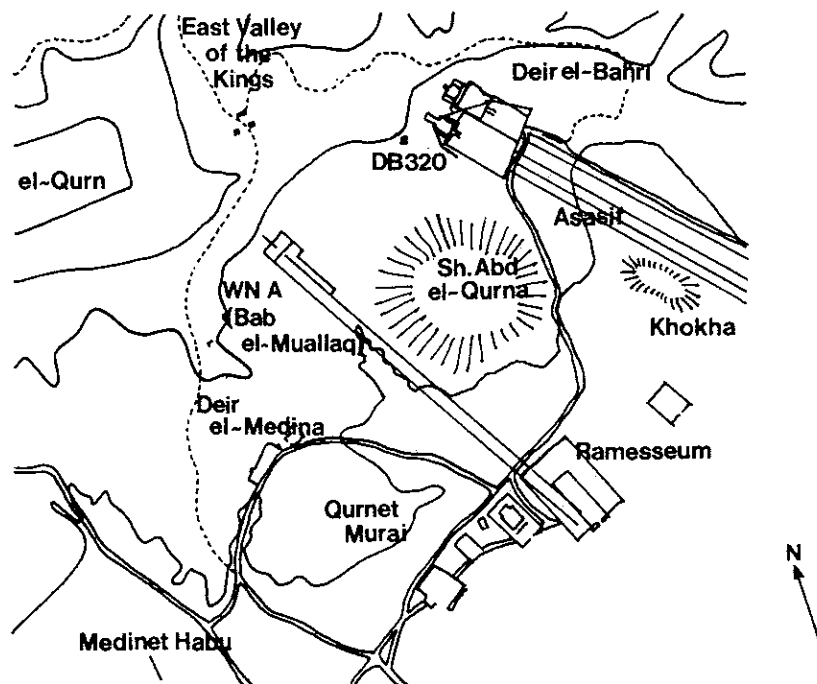


Fig. 87: relative positions of WN A and DB 320

The tomb was superficially explored by Robichon in 1931/2, and was found to have served 'comme cachette à cercueils ou comme catacombe de basse époque'⁸¹ - though the sepulchre itself is without doubt very much older.⁸² Bataille records the following graffito, in Greek and dating to the Roman period, which clearly refers to a later interment made within WN A:

En cet endroit le stolarque Hêraclas, fils de Renbouchis, a été placé dans le tombeau suspendu (en tōi khremastēriōi taphōi) par les fils de Phthomōnthes et ceux qui l'aimaient ... (?)⁸³

Clearly, therefore, WN A was a tomb which had been notable since antiquity for its spectacular position, and the name given to it in classical as well as in more recent times may be seen to reflect this siting. In short, the combined evidence of its early date, its proximity to DB 320 (fig. 87), and the continuity in its name suggests strongly that WN A is none other than the *k̅3y* of Inhapi.

Although the date at which the royal mummies were cached within DB 320 is nowhere explicitly stated, the transfer from the Inhapi *k̅3y* can only have taken place after Djedptahiufankh and Nestanebtishru had been buried. From the evidence of linen notations from his mummy,⁸⁴ it would appear that the former died in or soon after Year 11 of Shoshenq I,⁸⁵ as for Nestanebtishru, she carried a docket dated to an unspecified Year 13,⁸⁶ perhaps also of Shoshenq I but equally possibly of Siamun or Psusennes II.⁸⁷

From the foregoing discussion, one may conclude: that DB 320 was not the *k̅3y* of Inhapi; that, originally excavated in the late 17th/early 18th dynasty, the tomb was (re)employed during the 21st dynasty for the burials of Neskhons and Pinudjem II; that the tomb was employed as a family vault until at least Year 11 of Shoshenq I and the burial of Djedptahiufankh, and possibly until Year 13+ if the Nestanebtishru docket relates to this king; and finally that

the royal mummies, perhaps preceded by the bodies of Masaharta, Maatkare-Mutemhet and Tayuheret, and almost certainly including the mummies of Pinudjem I, Duathathor-Henttawy and Nodjmet, were introduced into DB 320 from the tomb of Inhapi (WN A: Bab el-Muallaq) at some subsequent date.

Amenophis II (KV 35)⁸⁸

KV 35 (fig. 88) was first entered by Loret on 9 March 1898, and found to contain the remains not only of Amenophis II himself but of several other royal persons also.⁸⁹ The tomb had been employed as a cache in antiquity, and as such was analogous to that discovered by Brugsch within DB 320 some 17 years previously.

Unlike DB 320, KV 35 was cleared with care, full attention being paid to the distribution of the many hundreds of objects and fragments found scattered throughout the tomb. Loret's clearance of the two main chambers - the antechamber (F) and the burial chamber (J) - was particularly thorough:

Je me mis à l'oeuvre dans la première salle en la divisant en six sections et en notant sur le plan la place de tous les objets.⁹⁰

La grande salle fut divisée en dix-sept sections (et) chacune des chambres annexes fut l'objet d'un travail analogue ... En un mot, je m'arrangeai de façon à pouvoir publier un jour, non seulement l'inventaire complet de tous les fragments, mais encore un plan indiquant la place de chaque fragment.⁹¹

An inventory of the tomb's contents was published by Daressy in 1902,⁹² which related each piece to a particular square, room, corridor or similar feature marked upon Loret's master plan. This plan, however, was not published, and cannot now be traced.⁹³ Nevertheless, a certain amount of progress in reestablishing the layout can be made: certain designations, such as 'puits' or 'couloir avant la 2e salle' are self-explanatory; whilst the 'pièces', numbered 1-4, are without doubt the four side-rooms off the burial chamber. The 'sections' are evidently the grid squares into which Loret divided the tomb's two principal chambers; and since we know the number of such sections Loret established - six in F and 17 in the burial chamber J - it should, from a close scrutiny of the tomb's plan, be possible to suggest how and where he drew his divisions.

For the antechamber this is comparatively straightforward. Since the room contains two symmetrically positioned pillars, it is fair to assume that they were employed to mark the intersections of the grid. The numbering employed may be established by comparing Loret's brief description of the in-situ positions of the more significant pieces with the designations attached to these same pieces (where they can be recognized) in Daressy's catalogue. Thus, Loret's 'grand serpent roulé sur lui-même',⁹⁴ found near to the entrance doorway, can be identified as CG 24628 from section 1;⁹⁵ 'deux grandes barques', found 'entre le pilier et le mur du droite',⁹⁶ are CG 4944 and 4946 from section 4;⁹⁷ whilst

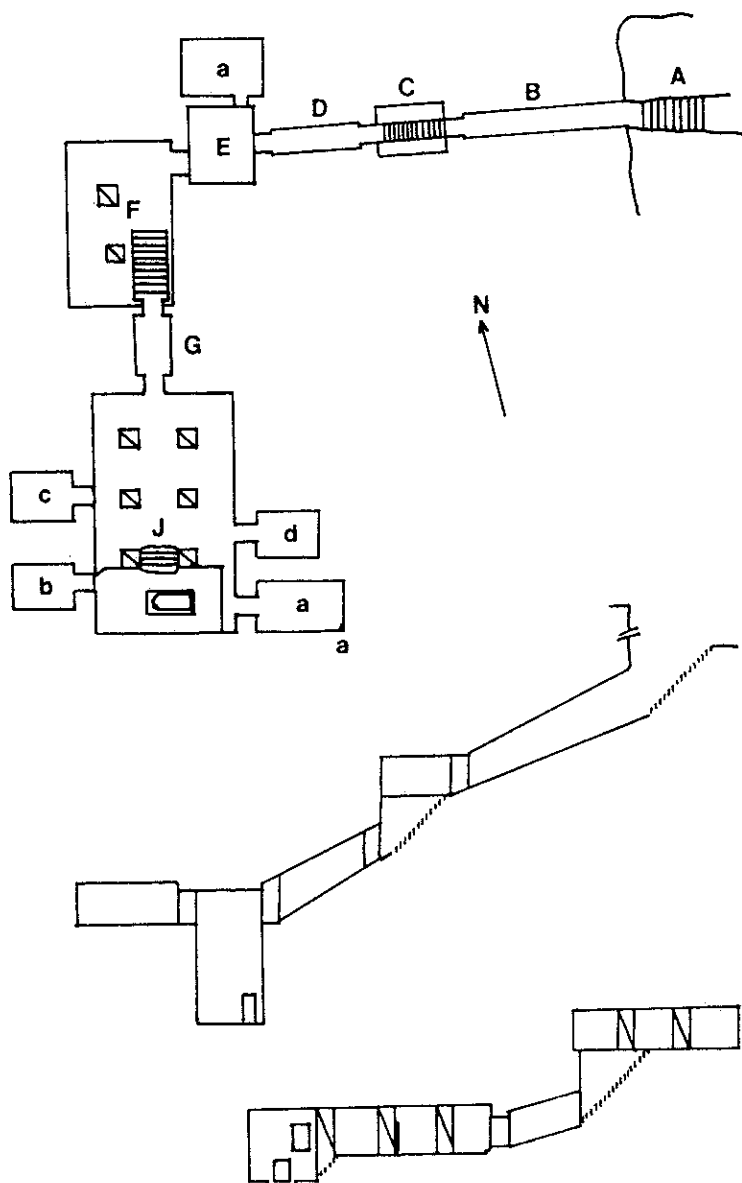


Fig. 88: KV 35

'entre les deux colonnes'⁹⁸ was another barque, CG 4945 from section 5.⁹⁹ From these data it is possible to reconstruct the numbered grid plan in fig. 89.

The system that was employed to divide the burial chamber into 17 sections is less easy to discern. If we assume that each column marks the corner of a grid square, as in F, the upper part of the burial chamber (the chariot hall) may be divided into nine neat sections. It is then possible to see how Loret arrived at his odd total of 17 grid squares: for, if we continue the longitudinal divisions of the chariot hall into the crypt and divide the crypt laterally through the sarcophagus, a logical if rather unequal division into eight further sections can be obtained - the two narrow divisions formed, of course, by the continuation of the chariot-hall surface at the crypt's eastern end.

It is fair to assume that Loret numbered each sector in a fashion analogous to that employed in the antechamber, i.e. working from the entrance in, numbering across the chamber in parallel rows; and the correctness of this assumption can be demonstrated by

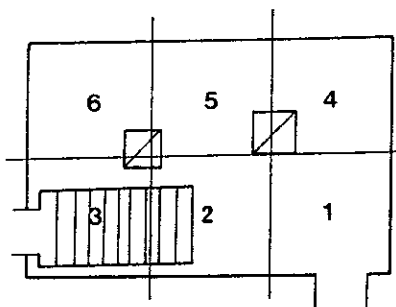


Fig. 89: KV 35, antechamber grid

the section numbers given to 'une grande Sekhet, en bois bitumé'¹⁰⁰ (= CG 24620 from section 3)¹⁰¹ and a shabti inscribed with 'le nom du prince royal Oubkh-snou'¹⁰² (= CG 24272 presumably, from section 3):¹⁰³ 'on a peine à les distinguer' from the entrance to the chamber.¹⁰⁴ It is evident, moreover, that Loret numbered each horizontal row of squares (as one stands in the doorway) from right to left, as in the antechamber: for, 'dans l'angle gauche' of the crypt, 'au fond', Loret notes 'une grande tête de vache, en bois, de grandeur naturelle',¹⁰⁵ which is clearly CG 24630 from section 15.¹⁰⁶

The only real uncertainty in this reconstruction relates to the ledge just outside the second room on the left-hand side of the burial chamber. This, as already suggested, seems to have been divided into two sections. According to the present reconstruction, these were numbered only after the main sequence 1-15 had been established; it may well have been Loret's original intention to include objects found on this ledge with the material from sections 12 and 15. The relative paucity of pieces noted for squares 16 and 17, as compared with the mass of faience and wood attributed to the other squares at this end of the burial chamber, perhaps lends support to the numbering system adopted here: fig. 90.

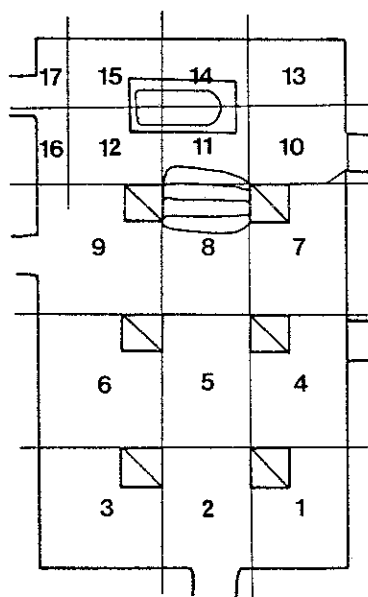


Fig. 90: KV 35, burial-chamber grid

Although we have been able to suggest how Loret's grid was established and employed, in practical terms its value is severely restricted since no distinction between finds from the antechamber and finds from the burial chamber may be detected in Daressy's listing of the tomb's contents.¹⁰⁷ Thus, for the majority of the pieces¹⁰⁸ recorded as having been recovered from sections 1-6, we cannot be certain whether these are grid-squares 1-6 in F or grid-squares 1-6 in J. For pieces attributed to sections 7 and above there is, of course, no ambiguity, since these numbers must relate to the burial chamber itself.

Loret's numbering of the four side-rooms off the burial chamber may be established by reference to the descriptions given in his published report. The first chamber Loret entered was 'celle de gauche, au fond',¹⁰⁹ i.e. Ja. This was filled with the debris of 'une trentaine de grandes jarres, éventrées, ... des bouchons de terre glaise, des paquets d'étoffe, des viandes emillotées'.¹¹⁰ Amongst these are clearly to be recognized CG 24882-3 and 24889, attributed by Daressy to piece 3.¹¹¹ Next, Loret entered 'la première chambre à gauche',¹¹² Jd. Its contents consisted of 'des vases en porcelaine verte, la plupart en forme de vase hous, d'autres imitant le signe de la vie surmonté d'un goulet'.¹¹³ These are the series of vessels and amulets (CG 3860, 24351, etc.)¹¹⁴ originating in piece 2; 'une panthère en bois bitumé'¹¹⁵ is evidently CG 24621, with the same attribution.¹¹⁶

In the first room on the right of the burial chamber (Jc), Loret discovered 'trois cadavres ... côte à côte au fond, dans l'angle de gauche, les pieds tournés vers la porte. La partie droite de la chambre est emplie d'une quantité de petit cercueils momiformes (CG 24283, etc.)¹¹⁷ et de statuette funéraires (CG 24241, etc.)¹¹⁸ le tout en bois bitumé'.¹¹⁹ This, therefore, was Loret's piece 1. Pièce 4, by process of elimination, was 'la seconde chambre à droite',¹²⁰ walled-off and containing nine corpses, variously coffined. Finds here were relatively few, but included fragments of a calcite representation of the 'baptism of pharaoh' (CG 24157)¹²¹ and three wooden funerary figures (CG 24610, 24628-9).¹²²

The contents of each of the burial chamber's four side-rooms had thus been considerably confused since the original, 18th-dynasty stocking of the tomb - though rooms Ja, Jc and Jd appear to have preserved vestiges of their original contents in the form of provisions, objects of faience and shabtis respectively.¹²³ Much of this material had been thrown out of the side-rooms in antiquity, either incidentally in the search for valuables, or deliberately when a reuse of one or other of the rooms was envisaged. The vast majority of the pieces thus thrown out appear subsequently to have found their way into the crypt.

To return to the occupants of the tomb. Amenophis II himself lay in what appears to have been a replacement coffin, 'specially inscribed',¹²⁴ within the original stone sarcophagus, the lid of which lay nearby in fragments.¹²⁵ The body had clearly not been disturbed since antiquity, 'ayant vers la tête un bouquet de fleurs et sur les pieds une couronne de feuillage ...';¹²⁶ the mummy itself 'était ... intacte, portant au cou une guirlande de feuilles et, sur la poitrine, un petit bouquet de mimosa ...'.¹²⁷ The

cached mummies, as we have seen, were for the most part confined to two of the burial chamber's four side-rooms, Jb and Jc: the former containing nine bodies, wrapped and in containers of one sort or another, the latter three anonymous bodies without coffins. A mummy found on the deck of a boat in the antechamber¹²⁸ is probably to be connected with the corpses from Jb (see below), whilst the bones recovered from the well chamber (Ea) are perhaps to be connected with the original phase of the tomb's occupation under Amenophis II.¹²⁹

Loret's two descriptions of side-room Jb are as follows:

J'y distingue ... neuf cercueils étendus sur le sol, six au fond, occupant toute la place, trois en avant, laissant à droite un petit espace libre. Il n'y a place, dans la longueur de la salle, que pour deux cercueils et, dans la largeur, que pour six, de sorte que les momies se touchent des coudes, des pieds, de la tête. Cinq des cercueils ont des couvercles. Quatre en sont dépourvus.¹³⁰

Les cercueils et les momies étaient d'une teinte uniformément grise. Me penchant sur le couvercle le plus proche, j'y soufflai pour y lire un nom. La teinte grise était une couche de poussière qui s'envola et me laissa lire le nom et le prénom de Ramsès IV ... J'enlevai la poussière du second cercueil: un cartouche s'y montra, illisible pour l'instant, peint en noir mat sur fond noir brillant. Partout des cartouches! Ici le prénom de Si-ptah; là, les noms de Sêti II; plus loin, une longue inscription portant les titres complets de Thoutmès IV.¹³¹

Thus, the first coffin which came to view was that of Ramesses IV; and since the only black coffin in the KV 35 cache was that of Ramesses VI,¹³² his must have been the second. None of the other coffins can be placed with any certainty from these vague descriptions alone. However, further on in the published report¹³³ Loret appends a numbered list of the occupants of this chamber, arranged in a non-chronological order and concluding, significantly, with Ramesses VI and Ramesses IV:

- 1 Tuthmosis IV;
- 2 Amenophis III (coffin box of Ramesses III; lid of Sethos II);
- 3 Sethos II;
- 4 'Akhenaten' (= Merenptah)¹³⁴ (coffin box of Sethnakhte);
- 5 Siptah;
- 6 Ramesses V;
- 7 'Sethnakhte' (= unknown woman D)¹³⁵ (lid of Sethnakhte);
- 8 Ramesses VI;
- 9 Ramesses IV.

In short, it would appear that the ordering of this list reflects the positions in which Loret first encountered the mummies in Jb, numbered in horizontal rows from top left to bottom right. Cf. fig. 91.

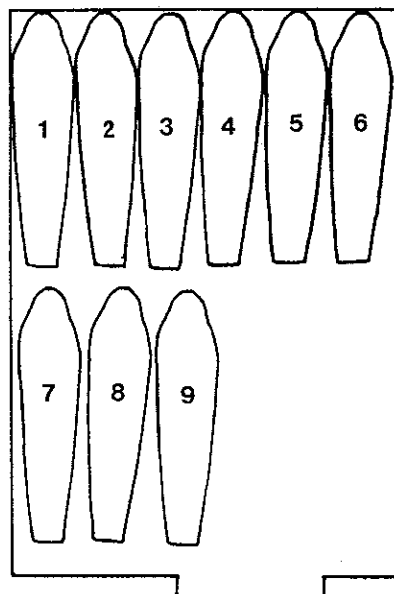


Fig. 91: KV 35, Jb cache

As found, the doorway into Jb had been closed off by means of a wall of limestone blocks, which had been breached at the top right-hand corner.¹³⁶ Several of the blocks carry odd groups of hieratic signs¹³⁷ which had evidently been written when the blocks were arranged differently.¹³⁸ When reassembled into something approaching their original order, they appear to constitute a record of inspection in an indeterminate Year 13:

Year 13 ... This day ... inspection ...¹³⁹

The occupants of side-room Jc¹⁴⁰ differed from the Jb group of corpses in that they lacked coffins and had not been rewrapped.¹⁴¹ For only one of the three bodies has a plausible identification been proposed: that of the 'Elder Woman',¹⁴² whom recent scientific study has suggested is Tiye, wife of Amenophis III.¹⁴³ Her companions in room Jc, a young boy¹⁴⁴ and a youthful woman,¹⁴⁵ remain unidentified. A toe belonging to the former was discovered in Jd;¹⁴⁶ this, combined with the fact that the left-hand side of this latter room had been cleared in antiquity,¹⁴⁷ suggests that the boy had at one stage been stored within.

The available archaeological evidence is not easily interpreted. The situation has been confused, moreover, by two assumptions: that the Year 13 inspection graffiti referred to the contents of room Jb,¹⁴⁸ and thus had originally been inscribed when the blocks were employed to seal off this side-room; and that this closure had subsequently been completely dismantled and the component blocks reerected in a different order. However, the introduction into or extraction from the cache of one or more mummies would demonstrably not have required more than the removal of more than the top few courses.¹⁴⁹ An alternative hypothesis would be to see the extant blocking of Jb as the remains of an original build unconnected with the Year 13 graffiti and in fact post-dating it by several years. Since the blocks in question had earlier been employed to close-off the entrance to the burial chamber itself,¹⁵⁰ it may be suggested that the text had been written when the blocks were so associated.

The inspection docket will, therefore, be a record of official activity within the tomb of Amenophis II before the Jb cache had been established.

The occupants of this room appear to have entered the tomb together, with a minimum of associated funerary furniture.¹⁵¹ The shrouds of Tuthmosis IV,¹⁵² Merenptah,¹⁵³ Sethos II,¹⁵⁴ Siptah,¹⁵⁵ Ramesses IV¹⁵⁶ and Ramesses V¹⁵⁷ - even that of Amenophis II himself¹⁵⁸ - each carry simple identifying dockets, whilst the coffins of Sethos II,¹⁵⁹ Siptah¹⁶⁰ and Ramesses IV¹⁶¹ are of such similar design and workmanship that they can only have been supplied from the same workshop.¹⁶² There is a further indication of association. If, as I believe to be the case, the Year 13 inspection graffito is unconnected with the caching of the royal mummies, then we must presumably seek elsewhere an explanation for the potsherd containing black pigment and inscribed with the prenomen and nomen of Siptah.¹⁶³ It is tempting to connect this ad-hoc palette with the hieratic docket written in black upon the coffin lid of Sethos II:¹⁶⁴ this lid, together with a coffin box originally prepared for Ramesses III,¹⁶⁵ had been employed to hold the mummy of Amenophis III, itself docketed with a restoration text dated to Year 12/13 of Smendes I¹⁶⁶ (at which date the king's mummy was presumably still in its original tomb).¹⁶⁷ The coffin-lid docket is in a different hand, and is evidently later since it refers to the new owner as 'Nebmaatre-Amenophis l.p.h.' - in an attempt, presumably, to avoid confusion with Nebmaatre-merenamun Ramesses VI, with whom Amenophis III was now cached. Since the palette probably entered KV 35 with the mummy of Siptah himself, the latter's presence within the tomb at this time might also be postulated - and thus that of the other royal dead whose association with this king has been noted above. In short, the cumulative evidence seems strongly to suggest that the occupants of the Jb cache had been gathered up from various tombs and earlier caches and walled into their chamber on a single occasion. The date of this transfer cannot be established with any precision, but presumably it will not have pre-dated the apparent *whm krs* of Amenophis III within WV 22 in Year 12/13 of Smendes I.

The difference in condition between the Jc group of corpses and those found in Jb is striking, and would suggest, perhaps, that the former had been introduced into the tomb after the restoration of Amenophis II and the introduction of the coffined mummies in Jb - perhaps by the same officials, since their wrappings had been adzed off in an analogous fashion to those of the Jb corpses.¹⁶⁸ The fact that a toe belonging to the naked prince was recovered from room Jd across the burial chamber¹⁶⁹ seems to indicate that the partial clearance of this room had at some stage been carried out for the accommodation of him and his two companions. Their placement in room Jc will presumably have followed an unsettled period during which their remains were subjected to some violence - hence the detached toe - and, indeed, subsequent illicit activity can be detected elsewhere in the tomb. The renewed coffin of Amenophis II, for example, had been broken through at the foot-end of the lid;¹⁷⁰ whilst the blocking of the side-room Jb cache had been partially dismantled¹⁷¹ and the two bodies closest to the entrance roughly searched for objects of value.¹⁷² It is possible

that the mummy of Sethnakhte was also removed from Jb at this time. His original presence in KV 35 is suggested by the fact that his cartonnage coffin box had been employed to contain the mummy of Merenptah, whilst the lid held the body of the unknown woman D. Sethnakhte himself had perhaps been dragged out from room Jb - hence the fragments of his (inner) cartonnage in the debris of the tomb¹⁷³ - and stripped in the search for loot. The body itself is probably to be recognized as that found by Loret upon the deck of a model boat in the antechamber, F.¹⁷⁴

This plundering evidently did not go undetected, since there are clear indications that the tomb was subsequently reorganized. The three naked mummies, perhaps thrown out from their original storage place Jd, were collected together within Jc; the disturbed occupants of room Jb were rearranged into some semblance of order; and Amenophis II was garlanded anew with wreaths and flowers.

To sum up, the following sequence may be suggested for the discernible post-interment activity within the tomb of Amenophis II: robbery of the tomb at an undetermined date, resulting in a period of inspection/restoration perhaps in Year 8 of Ramesses VI(??) (n. 139 above), and certainly in Year 13 of a king whose name is not preserved; the establishment of the cache in room Jb, at the time the burial of Amenophis II himself was refurbished; the introduction of the three unwrapped and uncoffined mummies, which were perhaps placed within Jd; a further period of illicit activity, during which the mummy of Amenophis II and the cached occupants of Jb and Jd were disturbed; followed by a final period of inspection, when the tomb was set in order and finally reclosed.

Table 3: DB 320, conspectus of main finds

Abbreviations employed:

AE Murray, AE (1934)
 ASAE Daressy, ASAE 9 (1908)
 CCR Daressy, Cercueils
 MR Maspero, Momies royales
 RM Smith, Royal Mummies

No.	Name	Coffin(s)	Body	Other items	References	Remarks
1	Ahotpe I	x			MR 544 f., 570, 581 CCR 8 f.	Coffin contained mummy of Pinudjem I (34)
2	Ahmose- Hentempet	x	x		CCR 24 ff. RM 20 f.	
3	Ahmose- Henttimehu	x	x		CCR 17 RM 19	Cf. MR 543 f. & (20) below
4	Ahmose- Inhapi		x		MR 530 ff. RM 8 ff.	Mummy contained in coffin of Rai (36)
5	Ahmose- Meryetamun		x		MR 539 f. RM 6 ff.	Mummy contained in coffin of Seniu (41)
6	Ahmose- Nofretiri	x	x?	4 calcite canopic jars	MR 535 f. CCR 3 f. RM 13 f.	Coffin also contained mummy of Ramesses III (39)
7	Ahmose- Sipair	x	x		CCR 9 f. RM 22 f.	Cf. (19)
8	Ahmose- Sitkamose		x		MR 540 ff. RM 21 f.	Mummy contained in coffin of Pediamun (33)
9	Amenophis I	x	x		MR 536 f. CCR 7 f. RM 18	
10	Amosis I	x	x		MR 533 ff. CCR 3 RM 15 ff.	
11	(anon.)	x	x		RM 548 ff. CCR 39 RM 114 ff.	Unknown man E
12	(anon.)		x		MR 552, 582 (6) RM 14 f.	Unknown woman B (= Maspero's Ramesses I); Tetisheri? Originally within (37)?
13	(anon.?)		x		MR 574 ff. RM 31 f.	Unknown man C found in coffin of Nebsemi (28); Nebsemi?
14	(anon.)	x	x		MR 582 (2)	Female coffin
15	(anon.)	x	x		MR 582 (3)	Male coffin without lid
16	(anon.)	x	x		MR 582 (3)	Male coffin without lid
17	(anon.)	x	x		MR 582 (3)	Male coffin without lid
18	(anon.)	x	x		MR 582 (4)	Box coffin

Table 3/2

No.	Name	Coffin(s)	Body	Other items	References	Remarks
19	(anon.)	x			MR 582 (5)	Child's coffin; A.-Sipair (7)?
20	Bakt	x	x?		CCR 20 RM 56 f.	MR 554 attributes coffin and corpse to a fictitious 'Meshenuttimehu' in error; cf. CCR 17, n. 1 & (3) above
21	Djedptah- iufankh	X	X	3 shabti boxes, Osiris figure, papyrus	MR 572 ff., 590, 592 CCR 200 ff. RM 112 ff.	
22	Duathathor- Henttawy	x	x	2 shabti boxes, Osiris figure, papyrus, canopic jars	MR 576 f., 590, 592 CCR 63 ff. RM 101 ff.	Inner & outer coffins (outer lid missing)
23	Hatshepsut			Wooden box containing a liver or spleen	MR 584 (6)	
24	Isiemkheb	x	x	Leather shrine, stand with four copper vessels, provisions, broken shabti boxes, Osiris figure, papyrus, canopic jars	MR 577, 584 ff. CCR 134 ff. RM 106 f.	
25	Maatkare- Mutemhet	x	x	2 shabti boxes, Osiris figure, papyrus, pet baboon	MR 577, 590 ff. CCR 82 ff. RM 98 ff.	
26	Masaharta	x	x	Remains of leather shrine?	MR 571, 589 CCR 66 ff. RM 106	
27	Merymose			Calcite canopic jar with wooden lid	MR 583 (5)	
28	Nebseni	x			MR 574 ff. CCR 20 ff.	Coffin contained body of unknown man C (13) (Nebseni?)
29	Neskhons	x	x	Canopic jars, copper vessels, basket of glass/faience vessels, shabti box, Osiris figure, papyrus, decree	MR 566 ff., 578 f., 590 ff. CCR 110 ff. RM 107 ff.	One of the coffins of Neskhons contained the mummy of Ramesses IX (40) when found
30	Nestanebt- ishru	x	x	Copper vessels, broken shabti boxes, Osiris figure, papyrus, canopic jars	MR 579 ff. CCR 196 ff. RM 109 ff.	
31	Nodjmet	x	x	Wooden canopic box, Osiris figure, papyri	MR 569 f., 592 f. CCR 40 ff. RM 94 ff.	

Table 3/3

No.	Name	Coffin(s)	Body	Other items	References	Remarks
32	Paheri- pedjet	x			MR 582 CCR 34 ff. cf. RM 11	Coffin contained mummy of Rai (36)
33	Pediamun	x			MR 540 CCR 12 ff.	Coffin contained mummy of Ahmose- Sitkamose (8)
34	Pinudjem I	x	x	2 shabti boxes	MR 544 ff., 570, 581 CCR 50 ff.	Inner & outer coffins originally prepared for Tuthmosis I; when found contained mummy (50). Mummy of Pinudjem I found in coffin of Ahhotpe I (1)
35	Pinudjem II	x	x	2(?) shabti boxes, Osiris figure, papyrus; canopic jars?	MR 571 f., 592 ff. CCR 95 ff. RM 107	
36	Rai	x	x		MR 530 CCR 4 ff. RM 11 ff.	Coffin contained mummy of Inhapi (4). Mummy of Rai found in coffin of Paheripedjet (32)
37	Rameses I	x			MR 551 f. CCR 26 ff. cf. RM 14	The mummy found near (originally within?) the fragmentary coffin was that of unknown woman B (12) (Tetisher?)
38	Rameses II	x	x		MR 556 ff. CCR 32 ff. RM 59 ff.	
39	Rameses III	x	x		MR 535 f., 563 ff. CCR 34 RM 84 ff.	Cartonnaged mummy found in coffin of Ahmose- Nofretiri (6)
40	Rameses IX		x	Ivory veneered casket	MR 566 ff., 584 (7)	Mummy found in one of the coffins belonging to Neskhons (29)
41	Seniu	x			MR 539 CCR 11 f.	Coffin contained mummy of Ahmose- Meryetamun (5)
42	Seqnenre- Taa II	x	x		MR 526 ff. CCR 1 f. RM 1 ff.	
43	Sethos I	x	x		MR 553 ff. CCR 30 f. RM 57 ff.	
44	Siamun	x	x		MR 538 CCR 10 RM 18	
45	Siese			Canopic jar	MR 583	

Table 3/4

No.	Name	Coffin(s)	Body	Other items	References	Remarks
46	Sitamun	x	x		MR 538 CCR 10 RM 19	
47	Sutymose	x		Box	MR 584 (8-9)	Coffin is miniature and contains an embalmed liver; a second coffin is in the British Museum, EA 25568
48	Tayheret	x	x	Broken shabti boxes	MR 578, 590 CCR 171 ff. RM 105	
49	Tetisheri			Mummy bandages	AE 69 ASAE 137	Cf. (12)
50	'Tuthmosis I'		x		MR 581 f. RM 25 ff.	Mummy contained in coffins of Pinudjem I (34), which had originally been prepared for Tuthmosis I
51	Tuthmosis II	x	x		MR 545 ff. CCR 18 RM 28 ff.	
52	Tuthmosis III	x	x		MR 547 f. CCR 19 f. RM 32 ff.	
53	Wepmose			Calcite canopic jar	MR 583 (2)	
54	Wepwawet-mose			Canopic jar	MR 583 (3)	

Table 4: KV 35, conspectus of main finds

Abbreviations employed:

BIÉ Loret, BIÉ (3 ser.) 9 (1898)
 CCR Daressy, Cercueils
 FVR Daressy, Fouilles
 RM Smith, Royal Mummies

No.	Name	Coffin(s)	Body	Other items	References	Remarks
1	Amenophis II	x	x	Cf. FVR '63 ff.	BIÉ 102, 108 RM 36 ff.	Coffin not in CCR
2	Amenophis III	x	x	Cf. text	BIÉ 111 (2) CCR 217 f., cf. 221 f. RM 46 ff.	Body contained in coffin box of Ramesses III (11) covered with lid originally prepared for Sethos II (15) which had been docketed for Amenophis III
3	(anon.)		x		BIÉ 103 f. RM 39 f.	'Webekhensu'/ 'Webensenu'
4	(anon.)		x		BIÉ 104 RM 40 ff.	The 'Younger Woman'
5	(anon.)		x		BIÉ 111 f. RM 81 ff.	Unknown woman D; formerly identified as Sethnakhte, in whose coffin lid (16) she was found
6	(anon.)		x		BIÉ 100 f.	The body on the boat (Sethnakhte?)
7	(anon.)		x		BIÉ 112	Skull only (Hatshepsut-Meryetre? Webensenu?)
8	(anon.)		x		BIÉ 112	Skull only (Hatshepsut-Meryetre? Webensenu?)
9	Hatshepsut-Meryetre			Cane	FVR no. CG 24112	Owner of (7)? (8)?
10	Merenptah		x		BIÉ 111 (4) RM 65 ff.	Mummy contained in coffin box of Sethnakhte (16)
11	Ramesses III	x			BIÉ 111 (2) CCR 221 f.	Coffin box only; contained mummy of Amenophis III (2), covered with lid of Sethos II (15) docketed for Amenophis III
12	Ramesses IV	x	x		BIÉ 112 (9) CCR 222 ff. RM 87 ff.	
13	Ramesses V	x	x		BIÉ 111 (6) CCR 224 RM RM 90 ff.	Mummy on the base of a coffin with no lid
14	Ramesses VI	x	x		BIÉ 112 (8) CCR 224 ff. RM 92 ff.	

Table 4/2

No.	Name	Coffin(s)	Body	Other items	References	Remarks
15	Sethos II	x	x		BIÉ 111 (2-3) CCR 217 f. RM 73 ff.	Coffin box & lid covering (2) not originally associated
16	Sethnakhte	x			BIÉ 111 (4) CCR 219 ff., 226(?)	Coffin box contained mummy of Merenptah (10). The lid, turned upside down, held the anonymous woman D (5). Cf. (6) above
17	Siptah	x	x	'Palette'	BIÉ 111 (5) CCR 218 f. RM 70 ff. FVR no. CG 24880	
18	Tiye		x		BIÉ 103 RM 38 f.	The 'Elder Woman'
19	Tuthmosis IV	x	x		BIÉ 111 (1) CCR 217 RM 42 ff.	
20	Webensenu			Shabtis, canopic jar	FVR nos CG 24269-73, 5031	Owner of (7)? (8)?

Table 5: DB 320, the mummies

Abbreviations employed:

ASAE	Derry, ASAE 34 (1934)
MR	Maspero, Momies royales
RM	Smith, Royal Mummies
XRA	Harris & Wente, Atlas
XRP	Harris & Weeks, X-Raying

No.	Name	CG no.	Description	References
1	Ahmose-Hentempet	61062	Superficially intact, but hole in bandages over breast. Beneath the shroud, perhaps rewrapped with original bandages. Both forearms broken off, with only fragments of right still remaining; detached left forearm replaced transversely across body, below wig	RM 20 f., pl. 15
2	Ahmose-Hentimēhu	61061	Superficially intact, with type A docket on breast. Original bandages apparently (a portion inscribed with extracts from the Book of the Dead), but those beneath chopped away. Body intact	MR 543 f. RM 19
3	Ahmose-Inhapi	61053	Superficially intact, garlanded with flowers. Type A docket on breast. Wrappings powdery and dry to touch like those of (33). Body intact	MR 530 f. RM 8 ff.
4	Ahmose-Meryetamun	61052	Superficially intact, type A docket on breast. Beneath, fragment of linen inscribed pr mwt, 'temple of Mut', and inner shroud with extracts from the Book of the Dead inscribed for a h3ty-c named Mentuhotpe. Body wall broken in, right arm pulled off and left forearm separated. X-rays reveal beads in pelvic area	MR 539 f. RM 6 ff. XRP 130 XRA 3C11-3D6
5	Ahmose-Nofretiri(?)	61055	Perhaps superficially intact, if 'd'assez mauvaise apparence'. Left hand broken off and lost; right hand and part of forearm broken off and lost. Impression of leaf-shaped embalming plate	MR 535 f. RM 13 f. XRP 127 f. XRA 3B5-12
6	Ahmose-Sipair	61064	Superficially intact. Several inner bandages inscribed with ink notations (Book of the Dead?), unpublished. Body rewrapped on a stick, several bones missing	RM 22 ff., pl. 19, 2
7	Ahmose-Sitkamose	61063	Superficially intact, garlanded with flowers. Type A docket on breast, type B text on next innermost layer. Beneath, rewrapped with original wrappings. Major part of anterior wall of body chopped through. Left arm arm broken off at shoulder, and occipital region of skull smashed. Impressions of original jewellery in resin on body	MR 540 ff. RM 21 f. XRA 3C2-9
8	Amenophis I	61058	Superficially intact. Garlanded with flowers. Cartonnage casque. Orange shroud. Not unwrapped. X-rays reveal that body is intact, with bead girdle and small amulet on right arm	MR 536 f., pl. 4, b RM 18, pl. 13 ASAE 47 f. XRP 32 f., 129 f. XRA 1A13-1B8
9	Amosis I	61057	Superficially intact, garlanded with flowers. Type A docket on breast, type B text three layers beneath. With innermost wrappings, fragment of linen with name of Amenophis I. Head broken off trunk and nose smashed. Cranial cavity stuffed with linen (1st dynasty?). X-rays reveal beads sprinkled around knees	MR 533 ff., pl. 4, b RM 15 ff. XRP 125 ff. XRA 1A4-11
10	(anon.)	61098	Unknown man E. Apparently intact, covered with a sheepskin and accompanied by two sticks	MR 548 ff. RM 114 ff.

Table 5/2

No.	Name	CG no.	Description	References
11	(anon.)	61056	Unknown woman B (Tetisheri?). Bandages for the most part removed, and mummy wrapped in matting. Head broken off trunk, right hand missing	MR 582 (6) RM 14 f. XRP 120 f. XRA 4A2-8
12	(anon.?)	61067	Unknown man C (probably Nebseni). Bandages disturbed. Body apparently intact	MR 574 ff. RM 31 f.
13	(anon.)	-	Table 3, no. 14. Perhaps superficially intact. Apparently not examined	MR 582 (2)
14	(anon.)	-	Table 3, no. 15. Perhaps superficially intact. Apparently not examined	MR 582 (3)
15	(anon.)	-	Table 3, no. 16. Perhaps superficially intact. Apparently not examined	MR 582 (3)
16	(anon.)	-	Table 3, no. 17. Perhaps superficially intact. Apparently not examined	MR 582 (3)
17	(anon.)	-	Table 3, no. 18. Perhaps superficially intact. Apparently not examined	MR 582 (4)
18	Bakt(?)	61076	Garlanded with flowers, but wrappings chopped through revealing a yellow varnished coffin fragment, mirror handle, etc., and the bones of a young woman	MR 544 RM 56 f.
19	Djedptah- iufankh	61097	Intact. Series of amulets and other items of jewellery. Copper-alloy embalming plate	MR 572 ff. RM 112 ff. XRA 4D11-4E6
20	Duathathor- Henttawy	61090	Disturbed, with hole dug through bandages in front of thorax and abdomen. Osiris shroud. Several amulets, etc., in wrappings (cf. x-rays). Body apparently intact	MR 576 f. RM 101 ff. XRP 172 f. XRA 3F3-11
21	Isiemkheb	61093	Intact. Not unwrapped. Osiris shroud. X-rays reveal various items in wrappings. Body intact	MR 577, pl. 6, c RM 106 f., pl. 80 XRP 173 XRA 3F13-3G8
22	Maatkare- Mutemhet	61088	Disturbed, wrappings of right arm slit in search for jewellery. Leather thong around head originally for amulet (missing). Three gold and silver rings on each thumb. X-rays reveal embalming plate (contra Smith). Left forearm broken	MR 577, pl. 19, b RM 98 ff. XRP 173 ff. XRA 3E5-3F1
23	Masaharta	61092	Disturbed in modern times and papyrus stolen. Impressions of 'braces' and pectoral ornament in skin on chest. One gold finger stall still in position on middle finger of right hand. Body apparently intact	MR 571 RM 106
24	Neskhons	61095	Disturbed in modern times and heart scarab stolen. Osiris shroud. No objects of value noted. Body intact	MR 578 f. RM 107 ff.
25	Nestanebt- ishru	61096	Intact. No objects of value noted, but distinct impression of embalming plate. Body intact	MR 579 ff. RM 109 ff.
26	Nodjmet	61087	Disturbed in modern times and papyrus stolen. Osiris shroud. Beneath, evidence of more ancient damage: gashes on both cheeks, bridge of nose, forehead and front of chest. Left humerus broken close to shoulder and both wrists broken; legs badly injured. Impressions of jewellery on right arm, some minor pieces still remaining elsewhere on body. X-rays reveal heart scarab and four sons of Horus	MR 569 f. RM 94 ff. XRP 171 XRA 3D3-3E3

Table 5/3

No.	Name	CG no.	Description	References
27	Pinudjem I	-	Disturbed. Osiris shroud. Body perhaps intact	MR 570
28	Pinudjem II	61094	Intact. Osiris shroud. The wrapping 'dispose exactement comme celui de Ramses III' except that one of the layers of linen was there replaced by a halfa-grass mat. Series of amulets and other items of jewellery. Body intact	MR 571 f. RM 107
29	Rai	61054	Presumably disturbed, surrounded in the coffin by a large quantity of linen. Impression of fusiform embalming plate, and barrel-shaped carnelian bead on right wrist. Body intact	RM 11 ff.
30	Ramesses II	61078	Superficially intact. Type B text beneath outer wrappings. Nut shroud. Body intact, except for genitals which are missing	MR 556 ff. RM 59 ff. XRP 155 XRA 2B3-11
31	Ramesses III	61083	Superficially intact. Orange outer shroud, with 'figures mystiques' on retaining band around head. Beneath shroud, type B text and drawing of the winged ram of Amun. Several layers beneath this, various linen notations, etc., a number of which make mention of <i>imn-r^c-hnm-nhh hry-ib t3 hwt</i> , 'Amon-Re-United-with-Eternity who is in the midst of the temple' (i.e. Medinet Habu), and two pectorals. Body intact. X-rays reveal three sons of Horus in left side of thoracic cage	MR 563 ff., pl. 17, a-b RM 84 ff. XRP 164 XRA 2E7-2F2
32	Ramesses IX	-	Superficially intact, garlanded with flowers. Beneath, type B text on breast. Not fully unwrapped. Head apparently detached from body, which is perhaps partly disarticulated	MR 566 ff. XRA 3A7-3B3
33	Seqenenre-Taa II	61051	Superficially intact. Beneath shroud, remains of original bandages. No objects noted. Body disarticulated owing to poor mummification	MR 526 ff. RM 1 ff. XRP 122 ff. XRA 1A2
34	Sethos I	61077	Superficially intact. Yellowish shroud; beneath, original bandages put in order. Type B text and type A docket. Head detached from body, anterior wall of abdomen broken in. X-rays reveal large <i>wd3t</i> -eye on left arm and other minor items	MR 553 ff. RM 57 ff. XRP 43, 152 f. XRA 2A5-2B1
35	Siamun	61059	Superficially intact, type A docket on breast. Several layers beneath, type B text. Body disarticulated: bones thrown pell-mell into an oblong bundle	MR 538 RM 18
36	Sitamun	61060	Superficially intact, type A docket on breast. 'Body' consisted of a bundle of reeds surmounted by a skull	MR 538 RM 19
37	Tayheret	61091	Disturbed. Osiris shroud. No objects within wrappings other than a plain, fusiform embalming plate. Body intact	MR 578 RM 105
38	'Tuthmosis I'	61065	Disturbed, wrappings in tatters. Body intact	MR 581 f. RM 25 ff. XRP 131 ff. XRA 1B10-1C5

Table 5/4

No.	Name	CG no.	Description	References
39	Tuthmosis II	61066	Superficially intact, garlanded with flowers. Beneath outer shroud, remains of original wrappings. Left arm broken off at shoulder joint and forearm separated at elbow. Right arm chopped off just above elbow. Whole of anterior abdominal wall broken away; ribs smashed. Right leg severed from body	MR 545 ff. RM 28 ff. XRA 1C7-1D3
40	Tuthmosis III	61068	Superficially intact, apart from hole dug in chest. Body restored around four oars. Head broken from body and all four limbs detached. Feet broken off and each arm broken at elbow. Right arm and forearm tied to a piece of wood by a mass of fine linen. Remains of jewellery on shoulders beneath innermost bandages. X-rays reveal bracelet on right arm	MR 547 f., pl. 6, a RM 32 ff. XRP 38, 136 ff. XRA 1D5-1E2

Table 6: KV 35, the mummies

Abbreviations employed:

BIÉ Loret, BIÉ (3 sér.) 9 (1898)
 RM Smith, Royal Mummies
 XRA Harris & Wente, Atlas
 XRP Harris & Weeks, X-Raying

No.	Name	CG no.	Description	References
1	Amenophis II	61069	Superficially intact, garlanded with flowers. Type A docket on breast. Beneath shroud, gashes in wrappings (especially on legs). Impressions of jewellery in resin, in particular of pectoral ornament in resin covering fifth dorsal spine. Body intact	BIÉ 108 RM 36 ff. XRP 138 f. XRA 1E3-1F1
2	Amenophis III	61074	Superficially intact, fragments of garlands lying upon the mummy. Type B text on shroud. Several layers beneath, a sheet with red lines and hieroglyphs in black (Book of the Dead?); an inner bandage wound spirally around head and neck with a hieratic inscription in black ink (unpublished). Head broken off; front wall of body missing; back broken across loins. Right leg broken off trunk, and thigh separated from rest of leg. Left foot damaged. Bandaged in with mummy: leg bone of a fowl; another bird's limb bone; a human big toe; and a left ulna and radius. Skin packed with a resinous material	BIÉ 111 (2) RM 46 ff., pl. 32 XRA 1F11-1G9
3	(anon.)	61071	Table 4, no. 3. Unwrapped. Large gash in left side of neck and thorax. Large oval hole in right side of frontal bone	BIÉ 103 f. RM 39 f.
4	(anon.)	61072	Table 4, no. 4. Unwrapped. Exterior wall of chest smashed; left side of mouth broken away; right arm torn off just below shoulder	BIÉ 104 RM 40 ff.
5	(anon.)	61082	Unknown woman D. Disturbed. Bandages applied very carelessly. Hole in abdominal wall in epigastrium. Body otherwise intact	BIÉ 111 f. (7) RM 81 ff., pl. 67 XRA 4D2-9
6	(anon.)	-	Table 4, no. 6 (the body on the boat). Unwrapped. Hole in sternum; skull pierced. Body otherwise intact	BIÉ 100 f.
7	(anon.)	-	Table 4, no. 7. Skull only. Hatshepsut-Meryetre? Webensenu?	BIÉ 112
8	(anon.)	-	Table 4, no. 8. Skull only. Hatshepsut-Meryetre? Webensenu?	BIÉ 112
9	Merenptah	61079	Superficially intact, type A docket on breast. Beneath shroud, remains of original wrappings carelessly put in order. Impression of embalming plate. Penis end broken off and missing. Adze cuts all over body; right arm broken and anterior abdominal wall chopped away. Two toes missing (cf. (2) above?). Hole in head	BIÉ 111 (4) RM 65 ff., pl. 45 XRP 157 XRA 2B12-2C8
10	Ramesses IV	61084	Superficially intact, type A docket on breast. Beneath shroud, mass of rags thrown around body. Foot broken off and finger nails displaced and lost. Hole in head	BIÉ 112 (9) RM 87 ff. XRP 165 f. XRA 2F3-12
11	Ramesses V	61085	Superficially intact, type A docket on breast. Beneath, a mass of torn bandages, a second sheet and more rags. Tips of fingers of left hand sliced off. Hole in head	BIÉ 111 (6) RM 90 ff. XRP 166 f. XRA 2G1-10

Table 6/2

No.	Name	CG no.	Description	References
12	Ramesses VI	61086	Disturbed, linen shroud pulled away from upper part. Below, mass of rags. Body rewrapped on board. Right forearm chopped off at elbow and wrist, with adze cuts on right thigh (still in original wrappings). Hip bone and pelvis found at neck; elbow and humerus on right thigh, etc. Bandaged in with mummy: broken pieces of the head; the right hand of a woman; the distorted and mutilated right hand and forearm of a man (cf. (13) below)	BIE 112 (8) RM 92 ff., pl. 58 XRP 167 f. XRA 3A1-6
13	Sethos II	61081	Superficially intact, type A docket on breast. Beneath shroud, original wrappings and several garments, one with the cartouche of Merenptah, and hieratic inscriptions in ink (unpublished). Sphinx amulets, blue faience <u>wd3t</u> -eyes and scarab around knee in resin. Head broken off body, and neck broken. Both arms separated from torso; right forearm and hand missing (cf. (12) above), as well as several fingers from left hand. Part of anterior wall of body broken away. Adze marks on skin	BIE 111 (3) RM 73 ff., pl. 64 XRP 158 f. XRA 2D9-2E5
14	Siptah	61080	Superficially intact, type A docket on breast. Beneath shroud, body rewrapped with original bandages. Inscribed piece of linen (Book of the Dead?). Right forearm broken and fixed by means of splints. Right cheek and front teeth smashed and lost. Ears broken off. Right arm broken at shoulder and right hand broken from forearm. Body wall broken through	BIE 111 (5) RM 70 ff., pl. 60 XRP 159 f. XRA 2C9-2D8
15	Tiye	61070	Unwrapped. Whole of front of abdomen and part of thorax broken away	BIE 103 RM 38 f. XRP 135 f. XRA 4C5-4D1
16	Tuthmosis IV	61073	Superficially intact, type A docket on breast. Stretched out on white-painted plank. Beneath shroud, body rewrapped with original bandages. Feet disarticulated, otherwise body intact	BIE 111 (1) RM 42 ff. XRP 139 f. XRA 1F2-10

Table 7: DB 320, the coffins

Abbreviations employed:

CCR Daressy, Cercueils
 JARCE Niwiński, JARCE 16 (1979)
 MR Maspero, Momies royales

No.	Name	CG no.	Description	References
1	Ahhotpe I	61006	Original outermost coffin. Gold foil(?) covering removed and wood painted yellow	CCR 8 f.
2	Ahmose-Hentempet	61017	Replacement 18th dynasty coffin. Painted black. Name of original owner erased and that of Ahmose-Hentempet substituted	CCR 24 ff.
3	Ahmose-Henttimehu	61012	Original coffin, once gilded. Surface now adzed over and eye inlays removed	CCR 17
4	Ahmose-Nofretiri	61003	Original outermost coffin. Gold foil(?) covering removed and wood painted yellow	CCR 3 f.
5	Ahmose-Sipair	61007	Replacement(?) child's coffin, 18th dynasty type. All gilded surfaces adzed over and eye inlays removed. Type A docket on breast	CCR 9 f.
6	Amenophis I	61005	Replacement coffin. Originally prepared for the wCb-priest Djehutymose, and redecorated and reinscribed for Amenophis I. Type B texts on lid	CCR 7 f.
7	Amosis I	61002	Original innermost coffin. Gold foil(?) covering removed and wood painted yellow	CCR 3
8	(anon.)	61023	Table 3, no. 11. Replacement(?) coffin, the entire surface painted white. Uninscribed	CCR 39
9	(anon.)	-	Table 3, no. 14. Female coffin. No details	MR 582 (2)
10	(anon.)	-	Table 3, no. 15. Male coffin without lid. No details	MR 582 (3)
11	(anon.)	-	Table 3, no. 16. Male coffin without lid. No details	MR 582 (3)
12	(anon.)	-	Table 3, no. 17. Male coffin without lid. No details	MR 582 (3)
13	(anon.)	-	Table 3, no. 18. Box coffin. No details	MR 582 (4)
14	(anon.)	-	Table 3, no. 19. Child's coffin (Ahmose-Sipair (15)?)	MR 582 (5)
15	Bakt	61015	Replacement coffin, 18th dynasty type. Surface adzed over(?) and eye inlays removed. Inscriptions in black ink	CCR 20
16	Djedptah-iufankh	61034	(a) Original outer coffin, usurped from Nesshuenopet. Gilded left hand missing (b) Original inner coffin, usurped as (a). Intact (c) Original coffin board, usurped from (?). Intact	CCR 200 ff.
17	Duathathor-Henttawy	61026	(a) Original outer coffin, lid missing. All gilded portions, with the exception of sacred images, adzed over (b) Original inner coffin. All gilded portions, with the exception of sacred images and main inscriptions, adzed over as (a)	CCR 63 ff.

Table 7/2

No.	Name	CG no.	Description	References
18	Isiemkheb	61031	(a) Original outer coffin. Intact (b) Original inner coffin. Gilded hands and face missing (c) Original coffin board. Gilded hands and face missing	CCR 134 ff.
19	Maatkare-Mutemhet	61028	(a) Original outer coffin. Gilded left hand missing (b) Original inner coffin. Gilded hands and face missing (c) Original coffin board. Gilded hands and face missing	CCR 82 ff.
20	Masaharta	61027	(a) Original outer coffin. Gilded right hand missing (b) Original inner coffin. Gilded hands and face missing (c) Original coffin board. Gilded hands and face missing	CCR 66 ff.
21	Nebseni	61016	Original 18th dynasty coffin, gilded portions adzed over	CCR 20 ff.
22	Neskhons	61030	(a) Original outer coffin, usurped from a certain Isiemkheb. Intact (b) Original inner coffin, usurped as (a). Gilded hands and face missing (c) Original coffin board, usurped as (a). Gilded hands and face missing	CCR 110 ff.
23	Nestanebt-ishru	61033	(a) Original outer coffin. Intact (b) Original inner coffin. Intact (c) Original coffin board. Intact	CCR 196 ff.
24	Nodjmet	61024	(a) Original outer coffin (originally made for a man). Gilded surfaces adzed over in their entirety, eye inlays removed (b) Original inner coffin (appropriated as (a)). Major portions of gilded surface adzed over as (a); hands missing; eye inlays removed. Sacred images and main inscriptions preserved intact	CCR 40 ff. JARCE 62, n. 19
25	Paheri-pedjet	61022	Original 19th/20th dynasty coffin, employed for Ahmose-Inhapi. Intact	CCR 34 f.
26	Pediamun	61011	Original 21st dynasty coffin, employed for Ahmose-Sitkamose. Essentially intact	CCR 12 ff.
27	Pinudjem I	61025	(a) 18th dynasty outer coffin, originally prepared for Tuthmosis I by Tuthmosis III, later appropriated and adapted by Pinudjem I. Major portions of 21st dynasty gilded surface adzed over. Sacred images and inscriptions preserved (b) 18th dynasty second-innermost coffin, originally prepared for Tuthmosis I by Tuthmosis III, later appropriated and adapted as (a). Major portions of 21st dynasty gilded surfaces adzed over as (a). Sacred images preserved	CCR 50 ff.

Table 7/3

No.	Name	CG no.	Description	References
28	Pinudjem II	61029	(a) Original outer coffin. Intact (b) Original inner coffin. Intact (c) Original coffin board. Intact	CCR 95 ff.
29	Rai	61004	Original outer coffin. Gilded surfaces adzed over and eye inlays removed. Isis and Nephthys at foot apparently preserved	CCR 4 ff.
30	Ramesses I	61018	Replacement coffin, 21st dynasty type. Major portion of box missing. Type A docket on lid; type B text on head of box	CCR 26 ff.
31	Ramesses II	61020	Original (or earlier?) second-innermost(?) coffin. Original surface entirely removed, missing metal elements replaced in wood and the whole generally refurbished. Type B texts on lid	CCR 32 ff.
32	Ramesses III	61021	Replacement cartonnage. Traces of original gilding	CCR 34
33	Seniu	61010	Original 18th dynasty coffin, employed for Ahmose-Meryetamun. Essentially intact	CCR 11 f.
34	Seqenenre-Taa II	61001	Original coffin. Major portions of gilded surface, uraeus and eye inlays removed. Sacred symbols and main inscriptions preserved and restored	CCR 1 f.
35	Sethos I	61019	Original outer(?) / second-innermost(?) coffin. Original surface entirely removed, face remodelled and coffin painted white overall with details in black. Type B texts on lid	CCR 30 f.
36	Siamun	61008	Original inner(?) coffin, the gold foil(?) surface removed and the wood painted yellow	CCR 10
37	Sitamun	61009	18th dynasty coffin, painted white, uninscribed. Type A docket on lid	CCR 10
38	Sutymose	-	(a) Miniature coffin, late 20th/early 21st dynasty, containing bandages and an embalmed liver (b) Similar, containing bandages and embalmed lungs	MR 584 (8), pl. 22, a British Museum EA 25568
39	Tayuhret	61032	(a) Original outer coffin, usurped from a songstress of Amun, Hatet. Gilded hands and face missing (b) Original inner coffin, usurped as (a). Gilded hands and face missing (c) Original coffin board, gilded hands, face, etc., missing; some damage	CCR 171 ff.
40	Tuthmosis II	61013	Replacement coffin, original owner unknown, redecorated and reinscribed for Tuthmosis II	CCR 18
41	Tuthmosis III	61014	Original second-innermost(?) coffin. All surfaces adzed over and eye inlays removed. Interior inscriptions preserved	CCR 19 f.

Table 8: KV 35, the coffins

Abbreviations employed:

BIÉ Loret, BIÉ (3 sér.) 9 (1898)
 CCR Daressy, Cercueils
 FVR Daressy, Fouilles

No.	Name	CG no.	Description	References
1	Amenophis II	-	Replacement cartonnage coffin, inscribed for Amenophis II	BIÉ 108
2	Amenophis III	61036	Replacement lid of Sethos II, any original decoration covered in yellow paint. Inscribed in same style as (4) and (9). Reemployed for Amenophis III by inscribing type A docket on breast	CCR 217 f.
3	Ramesses III	61040	Original(?) coffin box of Ramesses III (reemployed to contain mummy of Amenophis III). All gilded surfaces adzed over. Too small to receive the cartonnage of Ramesses III from DB 320	CCR 221
4	Ramesses IV	61041	Replacement coffin, usurped from the wcb priest Ahaaa. Original decoration covered with a layer of plaster. Reinscribed (in same style as (2) and (9)) in black ink for Ramesses IV	CCR 222 ff.
5	Ramesses V	61042	Mummy of Ramesses V found upon the base of a white-painted rectangular wooden coffin	CCR 224
6	Ramesses VI	61043	Replacement coffin, 18th dynasty type, usurped from the high priest of Menkheperre, Re. Name of original owner erased and replaced in ink with prenomen of Ramesses VI. Face missing	CCR 225 ff.
7	Sethos II	61036-7	Replacement coffin box, uninscribed, the original decoration covered with a layer of plaster. Not originally associated with the lid in (2) above	CCR 218
8	Sethnakhte	61039	Original cartonnage coffin, gilded surfaces adzed over	FVR no. CG 24737 CCR 219 ff.
9	Siptah	61038	Replacement coffin, perhaps originally belonging to a woman. Original inscriptions adzed over and reinscribed (in same style as (2) and (4)) in black ink for Siptah	CCR 218 f.
10	Tuthmosis IV	61035	Replacement coffin, the remains of any original decoration covered with a layer of plaster. Reinscribed for Tuthmosis IV with a column of neat hieroglyphs down the front	CCR 217

Chapter 10 Notes

- 1 Other such deposits from this period are the burial of the prince Amenemhet (P-M I²/ii, 667; cf. above, chapter 2); that of another prince, Kamen(?) (Bruyère, BIFAO 25 (1925), 147 ff.); and perhaps the (?re)burials of Ahhotpe II and Kamose (P-M I²/ii, 600 ff.; cf. Carter, MSS, Notebook 17, 168 ff.). Cf. further the Amun-priests' cache at 'Bab el-Gusus' (P-M I²/ii, 630 ff., with many errors). The cache of the priests of Montu (P-M I²/ii, 643 ff.) probably represents an accumulation of burials over many years.
- 2 P-M I²/ii, 658 ff.; Thomas, Necropoleis, 177 & chapters 12-13 (passim).
- 3 Cf. Dewachter, BSFÉ 74 (1975), 19 ff.; Thomas, JARCE 16 (1979), 85 ff. (where a relatively full bibliography - which may be augmented by reference to Černý, MSS, Notebook 59A, and the pertinent volumes of the OB - will be found).
- 4 Maspero, Momies royales, 511, n. 1; cf. Dewachter, BSFÉ 74 (1975), 30.
- 5 Maspero, Momies royales, 512.
- 6 P-M I²/ii, 658 ff. (with numerous errors). For the main items, cf. Maspero, Momies royales, 512 f.; Budge, P. Greenfield, introduction; Dewachter, BSFÉ 74 (1975), 28 ff.
- 7 For the events leading up to the discovery, cf. Maspero, Momies royales, 511 ff.; Charmes, L'Égypte, 157 ff.; also the Maspero correspondence, no. 14 (154).
- 8 That Brugsch kept Maspero informed as to events is clear from the extract of a letter published by the latter in Momies royales, 516, n. 2.
- 9 Cf., for example, Maspero, BIÉ (2 sér.) 2 (1881), 134 f.; id., Momies royales, 518 f.; id., Guide (1915), 365 f.
- 10 Notably: Maspero, Trans 5th ICO, part 2 (I), section 3, 12 ff.; id., BIÉ (2 sér.) 2 (1881), 129 ff.; id., Guide Boulaq, 314 ff.; id., Momies royales, passim; id., Guide (1906), 392 ff.; id., Guide (1908), 452 ff.; id., Guide (1915), 362 ff. Locations not otherwise credited refer to these sources. Cf. also Service des Antiquités, Principaux monuments, 288 ff. The article published by Wilson, Century Magazine (May 1887), 3 ff., recounts details of a visit to the tomb with Brugsch after the clearance; that published by Amelia Edwards in Harper's Magazine 65/386, 185 ff., was apparently based upon materials furnished by Maspero.
- 11 Cf. Maspero, Struggle, 771.
- 12 Id., Momies royales, 518.
- 13 Ibid., 521.
- 14 Id., BIÉ (2 sér.) 2 (1881), 134.
- 15 Id., Momies royales, 518; followed by Dewachter, BSFÉ 74 (1975), 26 f. Table 7, no. 34.
- 16 Maspero, Guide (1906), 395; Guide (1908), 455; Guide (1915), 365.
- 17 Id., BIÉ (2 sér.) 2 (1881), 134; id., Guide Boulaq, 318.
- 18 Id., BIÉ (2 sér.) 2 (1881), 138 (2). Table 7, no. 29.
- 19 Thomas, JARCE 16 (1979), 87, suggests that the second object in the corridor may have been 'one or both boxes of Henttawy' (for

- which cf. Maspero, *Momies royales*, 590, pl. 21, c), on the grounds that the only coffin dated by Daressy to the 17th dynasty is that of Seqenenre-Taa - which she agrees was situated in the side-chamber of the tomb. Daressy's opinion as to date is irrelevant, however; it is Brugsch's view, related by Maspero, which is here significant.
- 20 Maspero, *BIÉ* (2 sér.) 2 (1881), 134.
 - 21 Brugsch, quoted in Wilson, *Century Magazine* (May 1887), 6.
 - 22 Maspero, *Momies royales*, 551 f.
 - 23 *Ibid.*, 552.
 - 24 *Ibid.*, 518; *id.*, *Guide* (1915), 365. Thomas's argument (JARCE 16 (1979), 91, n. 14), that Maspero's wording ought to place Amenophis I and Tuthmosis II within the side-chamber is unconvincing. There seems no good reason to question the translation offered by Quibell & Quibell in Maspero, *Guide* (1906), 395, and *Guide* (1908), 455, etc.
 - 25 Maspero, *Momies royales*, 518; *id.*, *Guide* (1915), 365.
 - 26 Cf. Edwards, *Harper's Magazine* 65/386, 187. For her source, see *ibid.*, 185, n. *.
 - 27 Maspero, *Struggle*, 771.
 - 28 Wilson, *Century Magazine* (May 1887), 7.
 - 29 Maspero, *Momies royales*, 518. Cf. further Thomas, JARCE 16 (1979), 88 & fig. 2.
 - 30 Dewachter's opinion, *BSFÉ* 74 (1975), 20, which is, perhaps, over-sceptical.
 - 31 Cf. Maspero, *Momies royales*, 519: 'La plupart des cercueils soulevés à grand peine par douze ou seize hommes, exigèrent sept ou huit heures de transport entre la montagne et la berge'.
 - 32 Cf. Dewachter's comments on the size of the first corridor, *BSFÉ* 74 (1975), 26 f.
 - 33 Cf., perhaps, the holes burrowed through the bandages of a number of the mummies (e.g. that of Tuthmosis III: Maspero, *Momies royales*, pl. 6, a) in search of saleable heart scarabs.
 - 34 Cf. below, table 10, no. 37.
 - 35 *Ibid.*, no. 48.
 - 36 *Ibid.*, no. 49. Cf. Kitchen, *TIP*, 64.
 - 37 Cf. Maspero, *Momies royales*, 570. It is perhaps worth stating that the claims of individuals such as Revillout, *RÉ* 2 (1881), 344 ff., and Villiers Stuart, *Funeral Tent*, 1, to the effect that the Luxor antiquities market at the time of the discovery was virtually swimming in items of New-Kingdom date from the cache, are grossly exaggerated. It appears, in fact, that relatively few items of this date found their way on to the market (amongst these the shroud fragments of Tuthmosis III: P-M I²/ii, 660 f.; but clearly not the Great Harris Papyrus, pace Borchardt, *ZAS* 73 (1937), 97 ff.) - presumably because the cached mummies had been thoroughly robbed before they were reburied within DB 320. The Abd el-Rassuls will soon have come to the same conclusion, and abandoned the roughly confined bodies for the richer pickings of the 21st-dynasty burials.
 - 38 Winlock, *JEA* 17 (1931), 107 ff.
 - 39 Below, table 10, nos 40-44.
 - 40 Černý, *JEA* 32 (1948), 24 ff.

- 41 Cf. table 10, nos 40-42.
- 42 Ibid., nos 43-44.
- 43 Dewachter, BSFE 74 (1975), 21 ff.
- 44 Schmitz, Amenophis I, 205 ff.
- 45 I.e. table 10, nos 43-44.
- 46 P. Abbott, 2, 2: Peet, Tomb-Robberies, pl. 1.
- 47 Thomas, JARCE 16 (1979), 85 ff. Cf. since Niwiński, JEA 70 (1984), 73 ff.
- 48 Table 10, no. 45.
- 49 Year 10 (of Siamun), 4 prt 20: cf. Černý, JEA 32 (1948), 27 ff. Table 10, nos 43-44.
- 50 Romer, in Thomas, JARCE 16 (1979), 85; id., Valley, 141 (but see now Niwiński, JEA 70 (1984), 77). The late 17th/early 18th-dynasty coffin fragments recovered by Lansing from 'the debris near the bottom of the pit' (BMMA Egn Expedn 1918-20, 12) may or may not be 'from the original occupation of the tomb' (ibid.). For further details of this and other material, cf. Jones & Burton, Tombs, entry for 12 February 1920.
- 51 Both Engelbach, Archaeology, 100, and Daressy before him, Principal Monuments, 20, attribute DB 320 to the 11th dynasty, perhaps influenced by its proximity to the mortuary temple of Nebhepetre Mentuhotpe; this dating is repeated by Spencer, Death, 101. Maspero, Momies royales, 517, prefers to date the tomb 'vers la fin de la XX^e dynastie'.
- 52 Cf. Lansing, BMMA Egn Expedn 1918-20, 12; Thomas, Necropoleis, 177; id., JARCE 16 (1979), 85 ff. Cf. more recently Niwiński, JEA 70 (1984), 73 ff.
- 53 As implied by Lansing, BMMA Egn Expedn 1918-20, 12; cf. now Niwiński, loc. cit.
- 54 Maspero, Momies royales, 520 f.
- 55 Cf. Černý, JEA 32 (1948), 26, and below, table 10, no. 36.
- 56 Table 10, no. 35.
- 57 Hacking-off the gilded face and hands of both the inner coffin and coffin board, often leaving the outer coffin intact to allay suspicion, is indicative of the sort of petty plundering carried out by the burial parties at this period: cf. Winlock, BMMA Egn Expedn 1924-5, 18 ff., and esp. 26 f.; 1928-9, 24. The mummy of Nestanebtishru, intact when found, had been robbed during the wrapping of her corpse, to judge from the impression of an embalming plate noted by Elliot Smith, Royal Mummies, 110.
- 58 The woman's heart scarab is now in the British Museum, EA 25584.
- 59 I am unable to offer any convincing explanation as to why one (unspecified) coffin of Neskhons (which coffin is nowhere stated) apparently contained the body of Ramesses IX when found (Maspero, Momies royales, 567 f.). Dewachter, BSFE 74 (1975), 27, suggests that this was a mix-up which must have taken place in the cache; but since Neskhons evidently provided much of the linen for Ramesses IX's rewrapping (cf. table 10, no. 35), it may well be that she gave one of her own coffins also.
- 60 Maspero, Momies royales, 522 f.
- 61 Cf. Černý, JEA 32 (1948), 26 f., and below, table 10, no. 45.

- 62 Table 10, no. 39.
- 63 Above, chapter 3. Cf. the seal noted in chapter 1, n. 86, and Rhind, Thebes, 83 ff.
- 64 Daressy, *ASAE* 21 (1921), 137.
- 65 Daressy failed to recognize that *t3 st mry dhwty* was the name of a locality (cf. Černý, *LRL*, 81, no. 20; *id.*, *JEA* 32 (1948), 28 & n. 5; Yoyotte, *RdE* 7 (1950), 63 ff.), and did not, therefore, connect the *imy-r mš^c* (which he in any case read *imy-r htm*) of this place with Nespakashuty.
- 66 Cf. Romer, *JEA* 60 (1974), 119 ff. Cf. above, chapter 1.
- 67 Niwiński, *JARCE* 16 (1979), 49 ff. & tables IIA-IIB; cf. also Kitchen, *TIP*, 475 & table 9.
- 68 Niwiński, *JARCE* 16 (1979), 49 ff. Niwiński differentiates between the owner of coffin CG 61030 (later usurped by Neskhons) and the owner of CG 61031: the former is most probably the Isiemkheb B (Kitchen's C), wife of Menkheperre A, whilst Isiemkheb C (Kitchen's D), the owner of CG 61031, wife of Pinudjem II, is the individual of this name represented in DB 320. The heart scarab of an Isiemkheb illustrated in Zoëga, *De origine*, pl. 7, will have belonged to Isiemkheb B (pace Daressy, *ASAE* 20 (1920), 17 f.): the mummy of Isiemkheb C was intact when found and had evidently not been plundered, despite Maspero's statement to the contrary (*Momies royales*, 577, followed by Dewachter, *BSFÉ* 74 (1975), 32, n. 31). For the intact state of Isiemkheb's mummy, cf. Smith, *Royal Mummies*, 106 f. & pl. 80; Harris & Weeks, *X-Raying*, 50 f. Although relatively few items of jewellery were disclosed by the recent radiographic study of the mummy (Harris & Wente, *Atlas*, 187, fig. 5.12), its wrappings are probably original. Cf. table 5, no. 21.
- 69 On which cf. Dewachter, *BSFÉ* 74 (1975), 20 f.
- 70 Maspero, *Momies royales*, 518.
- 71 Cf. n. 57 above.
- 72 Niwiński, *JARCE* 16 (1979), 49 ff.
- 73 Niwiński, *loc. cit.*, would make Pinudjem I, Duathathor-Henttawy and Nodjmet children of Piankh and Hrere. David Aston, however, who is completing a Birmingham University doctoral dissertation on tomb groups of the Third Intermediate Period, makes the plausible suggestion that Nodjmet, rather than having been a sister of Pinudjem I, was in fact a sister of Ramesses XI and consequently Pinudjem I's aunt by Ramesses XI's marriage to Tentamun.
- 74 Cf. below, table 10, nos 40-42.
- 75 Cf. Gardiner, *Grammar*, 596.
- 76 *Wb.* V, 6, 6.
- 77 Thomas, *Necropoleis*, 179 f.; Romer, *MDAIK* 31 (1975), 319; *id.*, *MDAIK* 32 (1976), 191 ff. For its position, cf. Carter, *JEA* 4 (1917), pl. 19, no. 251; also the photographs published in Bataille, *BIFAO* 38 (1939), pl. 16; Romer, *Valley*, 242 (top left).
- 78 Cf. Romer, *MDAIK* 31 (1975), 319, n. 30; cf. *id.*, *Valley*, 243. The height of 19 metres given by Bruyère (n. 81 below) and repeated by Bataille (n. 83 below) is probably in error - unless the measurement has not been made from the base of the

- cliff.
- 79 Cf. Wehr, Dictionary, 635.
- 80 Bonomi, quoted in Newberry, ASAE 7 (1906), 79.
- 81 Cf. Bruyère, Deir el Médineh (1931-2), 94.
- 82 Cf. the references in n. 77 above.
- 83 Bataille, BIFAO 38 (1939), 162 ff.; id., Memnonia, 187 f.
- 84 Below, table 10, nos 46-48.
- 85 Cf. Kitchen, TIP, 289.
- 86 Table 10, no. 49.
- 87 Cf. n. 36 above.
- 88 P-M I²/ii, 554 ff.; Thomas, Necropoleis, 77 f. & chapters 12-13 (passim).
- 89 For the date, cf. Daressy, Fouilles, 63. First-hand accounts of the discovery are to be found by Loret, BIÉ (3 sér.) 9 (1898), 98 ff., and Schweinfurth, Sphinx 2 (1898), esp. 149 ff. Cf. further Brodrick, Egypt, 58 ff. Both Carter and Jones later carried out work in the vicinity of the tomb: cf. appendix A, site 18; appendix B, site 22. Rumours that KV 35 had been known to the Qurnawis for several years before Loret's entry in 1898 (cf. Petrie, History II, 342; Budge, Nile & Tigris II, 392, n. 1; Hayes, Sarcophagi, 25) appear to be unfounded. To my knowledge, Carter nowhere mentions the possibility. Furthermore, I have been unable to trace any material acquired before 1898 which can with certainty be ascribed to the tomb: the calcite vase from the Hood collection (P-M I²/ii, 556) is of quite doubtful provenance, whilst the kneeling statue of Amenophis II in Turin (ibid.; Turin 1375, ex-Drovetti collection) is almost certainly not from KV 35. The duplicate 'magical brick' (Berlin 20113: P-M I²/ii, 556; cf. Thomas, JARCE 3 (1964), 74 & n. 24) is also of uncertain origin. To be sure, Griffith reports in EEFAR 1897-8, 17, that the Egyptian locals had for several years prior to the opening 'offered to reveal the secret of new royal tombs to wealthy tourists' - yet such claims need not imply that the Qurnawis in fact possessed such knowledge. Doubtless stories of this sort underlie the tale, fuelled - in the case of Petrie, at least - by personal enmity towards Loret; for the archaeological evidence, as we shall see, argues strongly against the possibility of modern interference in the tomb.
- 90 Loret, BIÉ (3 sér.) 9 (1898), 105.
- 91 Ibid., 105 f.
- 92 Daressy, Fouilles, 63 ff. Cf. BIÉ (3 sér.) 9 (1898), 317 ff. and passim for the Journal d'Entrée numbering. Note that the CG numbers employed by Reisner, Ships & Boats, frequently differ from those employed by Daressy.
- 93 From a passing mention in Maspero, Sites, 115, it might be inferred that the relevant notes remained in Cairo; it has not been possible to establish for certain whether or not they still survive. The only unpublished records known to me of Loret's work in the Valley of the Kings are several photographic plates preserved in the Victor Loret Institute in Lyon (kindly brought to my notice by J.-C. Goyon). The copy of the Loret BIÉ article (n. 89 above) preserved in the Wilbour Library, Brooklyn, does contain certain annotations in Loret's

own hand; however, it is impossible to believe that the grids there superimposed in pencil upon the plans of KV 34 and KV 35 are his own work or indeed have any connection with the lost distribution grids. See further n. 107 below.

- 94 Loret, BIÉ (3 sér.) 9 (1898), 100.
 95 Daressy, Fouilles, 162.
 96 Loret, BIÉ (3 sér.) 9 (1898), 100.
 97 Daressy, Fouilles, 239 ff., 242 f.; Reisner, Ships & Boats, 96 ff., 98 f.
 98 Loret, BIÉ (3 sér.) 9 (1898), 100.
 99 Daressy, Fouilles, 241 f.
 100 Loret, BIÉ (3 sér.) 9 (1898), 101.
 101 Daressy, Fouilles, 160.
 102 Loret, BIÉ (3 sér.) 9 (1898), 101. The name is actually **wbn-snw**: cf. LdR II, 289 f.
 103 Daressy, Fouilles, 104.
 104 Loret, BIÉ (3 sér.) 9 (1898), 101.
 105 Ibid., 102.
 106 Daressy, Fouilles, 163.
 107 Two copies of a key to the symbols apparently employed by Loret to distinguish objects from different squares in the burial chamber are pasted into volume 6 of the Journal d'Entrée in Cairo, pp. 493-4. (The division there of the burial chamber into 18 sections is evidently in error, since the key records no symbol for objects from section 18.) This key may, at some future date, allow further headway to be made in differentiating material found in the antechamber from that found in the burial chamber. See further n. 108 below.
 108 This is not so for the boats and fragments of boats. Despite one or two evident errors in the numbering, Reisner's Ships & Boats does distinguish between sections in the antechamber ('Room 1') and those in the burial chamber ('Grande salle' or similar). The pieces in this catalogue may thus be located with some certainty.
 109 Loret, BIÉ (3 sér.) 9 (1898), 102.
 110 Ibid.
 111 Daressy, Fouilles, 216 f.; cf. *ibid.*, 277 f., CG 11494; 278, CG 11496 (= Quibell, Archaic Objects, pl. 18).
 112 Loret, BIÉ (3 sér.) 9 (1898), 103.
 113 Ibid.
 114 Daressy, Fouilles, 119, 218 & *passim*.
 115 Loret, BIÉ (3 sér.) 9 (1898), 103.
 116 Daressy, Fouilles, 160 f.
 117 Ibid., 106 & *passim*.
 118 Ibid., 96 f.
 119 Loret, BIÉ (3 sér.) 9 (1898), 103.
 120 Ibid., 104.
 121 Daressy, Fouilles, 79; cf. Gardiner, JEA 37 (1951), 111.
 122 Daressy, Fouilles, 158, 162 f.
 123 Cf. on this Carter, MSS, I.A.272 ff.
 124 Hayes, Sarcophagi, 25, and cf. further Loret, BIÉ (3 sér.) 9 (1898), 102. Carter, MSS, I.A.29(3), describes it as follows: 'The coffin which enclosed the king does not appear to be original. It is very light and made of glued linen and stucco

- resembling papier-mâché'. Cf. table 8, no. 1.
- 125 Hayes, Sarcophagi, 25.
- 126 Loret, BIÉ (3 sér.) 9 (1898), 102.
- 127 Ibid., 108. Cf. table 6, no. 1.
- 128 Loret, BIÉ (3 sér.) 9 (1898), 100 f., pl. 9; cf. table 6, no. 6. This mummy was 'smashed to pieces' in 1901, and the boat upon which it lay was stolen (Carter, ASAE 3 (1902), 116; Rapports 1899-1910, 32 f.). The boat was later recovered, and is now in Cairo (Carter, MSS, Notebook 17, 189). The story related by Budge, Nile & Tigris II, 365 f., is wholly unreliable.
- 129 Loret describes the finds from the well as follows: 'deux crânes et trois couvercles de canopes, en grès recouvert de bitume'. Daressy identifies the material of the lids as 'terre cuite' (Fouilles, CG 5033), and notes in addition 'des fragments de vases'. Since the lids 'portent une tête de femme(?)' rather than the heads of three of the four genii, there can be little doubt that the canopic set is of 18th-dynasty origin; one or both skulls may thus be contemporary with the original burial. One possible candidate is Hatshepsut-Meryetre, wife of Tuthmosis III and mother of Amenophis II, who appears not to have occupied the tomb (KV 42; above, chapter 1) prepared for her by her husband, whom she evidently outlived (cf. Bucher, Textes I, pl. 24 (right)). Her presence within KV 35 is suggested by a cane inscribed for the 'god's wife, great king's wife and lady of the two lands, Hatshepsut-Meryetre, true of voice before Osiris ...' (Daressy, Fouilles, CG 24112, from section 8); cf. Carter, MSS, I.A.270. The other skull may well be that of Webensenu (above, n. 102), whose burial within KV 35 is attested by CG 24269-73 and CG 5031. Cf. table 6, nos 7-8.
- 130 Cf. Loret, BIÉ (3 sér.) 9 (1898), 105.
- 131 Ibid., 108 f. Cf. tables 6 & 8.
- 132 Daressy, Cercueils, CG 61043. Table 8, no. 6.
- 133 Loret, BIÉ (3 sér.) 9 (1898), 111 f.
- 134 Cf. esp. Groff, RdT 23 (1901), 32 ff., with the earlier references there cited.
- 135 Smith, Royal Mummies, CG 61082. Cf. table 6, no. 5.
- 136 Cf. Loret, BIÉ (3 sér.) 9 (1898), pl. 15.
- 137 Cf. *ibid.*, 109. These 'court groupés' have since been published by van Siclen, JEA 60 (1974), 129 ff.
- 138 Van Siclen, *op. cit.*, 130 f.
- 139 Reading the beginning of the group on van Siclen's block no. 9 as a variant of the word *sipty*, of which the first three characters are quite clear; cf. table 10, no. 21. For what may well be an earlier record of official activity within KV 35 (under Ramesses VI), cf. Černý & Sadek, Graffiti, no. 1860 (= Bierbrier, JEA 58 (1972), 195 ff.; Bell, Serapis 6 (1980) (Fs. Nims), 7 ff.). Cf. table 10, no. 2. This text is usually connected with the closing of the tomb of the previously reigning king, but an association with KV 35 (above the entrance to which the graffito has been written) seems equally possible.
- 140 For the layout, cf. Loret, BIÉ (3 sér.) 9 (1898), pl. 11.

- 141 Ibid., 103 f. Cf. table 6, nos 3, 4 & 15.
- 142 Smith, Royal Mummies, CG 61070.
- 143 Cf. Harris, Wente et al., Science 200 (1978), 1149 ff.
- 144 Smith, Royal Mummies, CG 61071.
- 145 Ibid., CG 61072; not 'un homme', as Loret, BIÉ (3 sér.) 9 (1898), 104, states.
- 146 Loret, op. cit., 106.
- 147 Ibid., 103.
- 148 E.g. Wente, JNES 31 (1972), 139.
- 149 Loret was able to remove all of the chamber's occupants by dismantling no more than the five uppermost courses: cf. BIÉ (3 sér.) 9 (1898), 109.
- 150 Cf. van Siclen, JEA 60 (1974), 133. This blocking may well have replaced an original wooden door damaged during an earlier period of theft; cf. above, s.v. KV 43, WV 22.
- 151 Despite the fact that, from a comparison with the range of wooden funerary figures found in the tomb of Tutankhamun (KV 62), there appear to be traces of more than one 'set' within KV 35, there are no indications that any material of this sort entered the tomb of Amenophis II with the cached mummies.
- 152 Cf. table 9, no. 18.
- 153 Ibid., no. 9.
- 154 Ibid., no. 14.
- 155 Ibid., no. 16.
- 156 Ibid., no. 12.
- 157 Ibid., no. 13.
- 158 Ibid., no. 6.
- 159 Table 8, no. 7.
- 160 Ibid., no. 9.
- 161 Ibid., no. 4.
- 162 Moreover, the technique of rewrapping to be seen in the mummies of Merenptah, Siptah, Sethos II and Ramesses IV-VI, and indeed of Amenophis III also - a shroud held in place by a series of transverse bands, containing a mass of roughly bundled rags and the corpse itself - is remarkably consistent. Cf. table 6.
- 163 Daressy, Fouilles, CG 24880.
- 164 Cf. id., Cercueils, pl. 61; table 8, no. 2; table 9, no. 7.
- 165 Cf. table 8, no. 3. Its presence within KV 35 is considered further below, chapter 12.
- 166 Table 10, no. 18.
- 167 See below, chapter 11.
- 168 Note that mummy CG 61071 from room Jc had a hole in the head analogous to the holes found in the skulls of Merenptah, Sethos II, the 'body on the boat' and Ramesses IV-VI, suggesting that the body had been stripped of its bandages in a similar fashion to (and thus conceivably by the same individuals as) the Jb corpses. For the skull damage and Elliot Smith's opinion as to its possible cause - the plundering of the mummies by individuals 'who made a practice of chopping the bandages of the head for the purpose of rapid stripping' - cf. Royal Mummies, 89, and cf. table 6 below.
- 169 See above, n. 146.
- 170 Cf. Loret, BIÉ (3 sér.) 9 (1898), 108.

171 Ibid., pl. 15.

172 Cf. Smith, Royal Mummies, s.v. CG 61082 & 61086, and table 6 below, nos 5 & 12.

173 Daressy, Fouilles, CG 24737.

174 Cf. above, n. 128.