

Middle Kingdom Studies 11

# The Treasure of the Egyptian Queen Ahhotep

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



Gianluca Miniaci, Peter Lacovara (eds)



GHP

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(eds)

Middle Kingdom Studies 11

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# Middle Kingdom Studies

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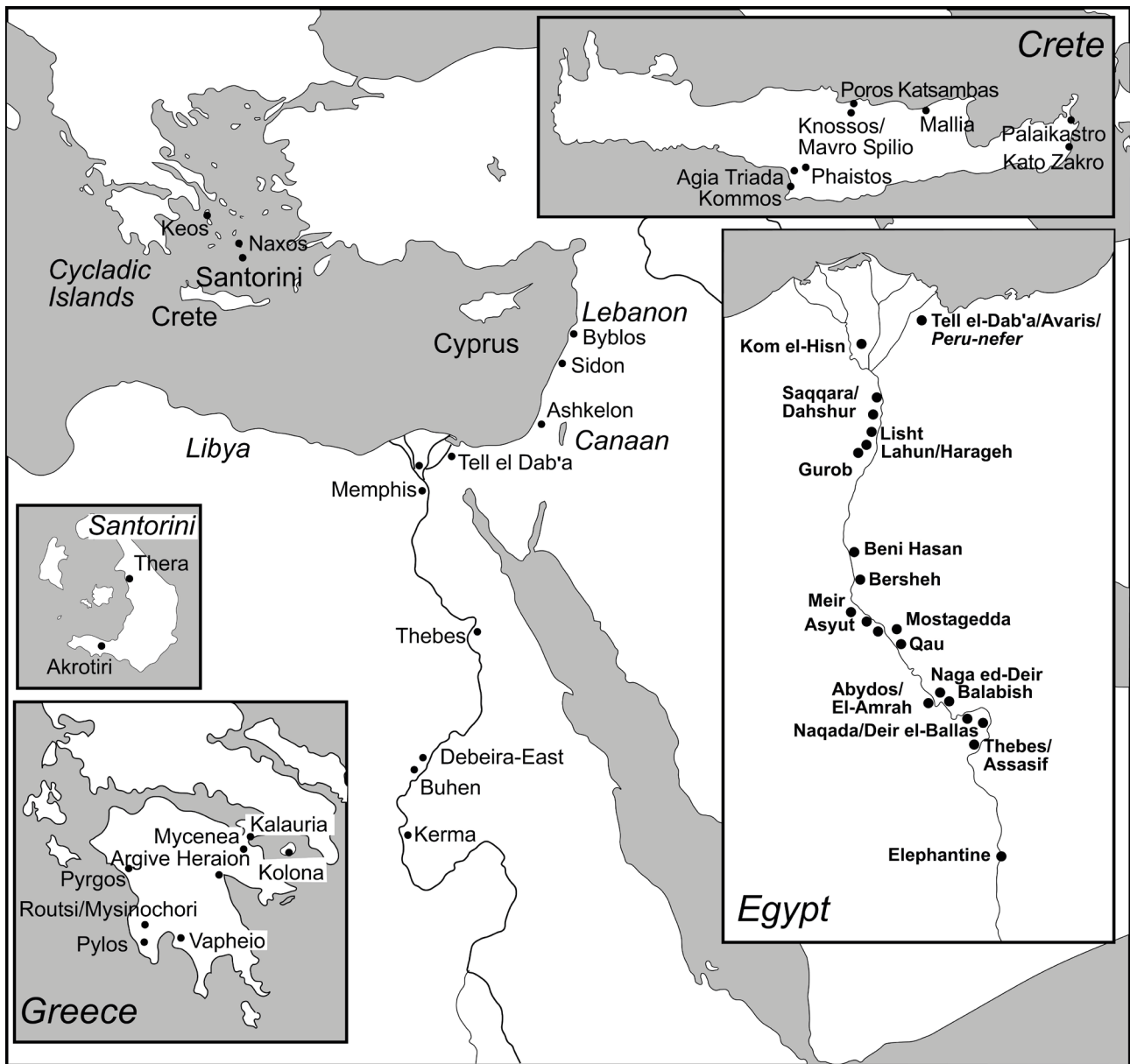
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## List of Abbreviations

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

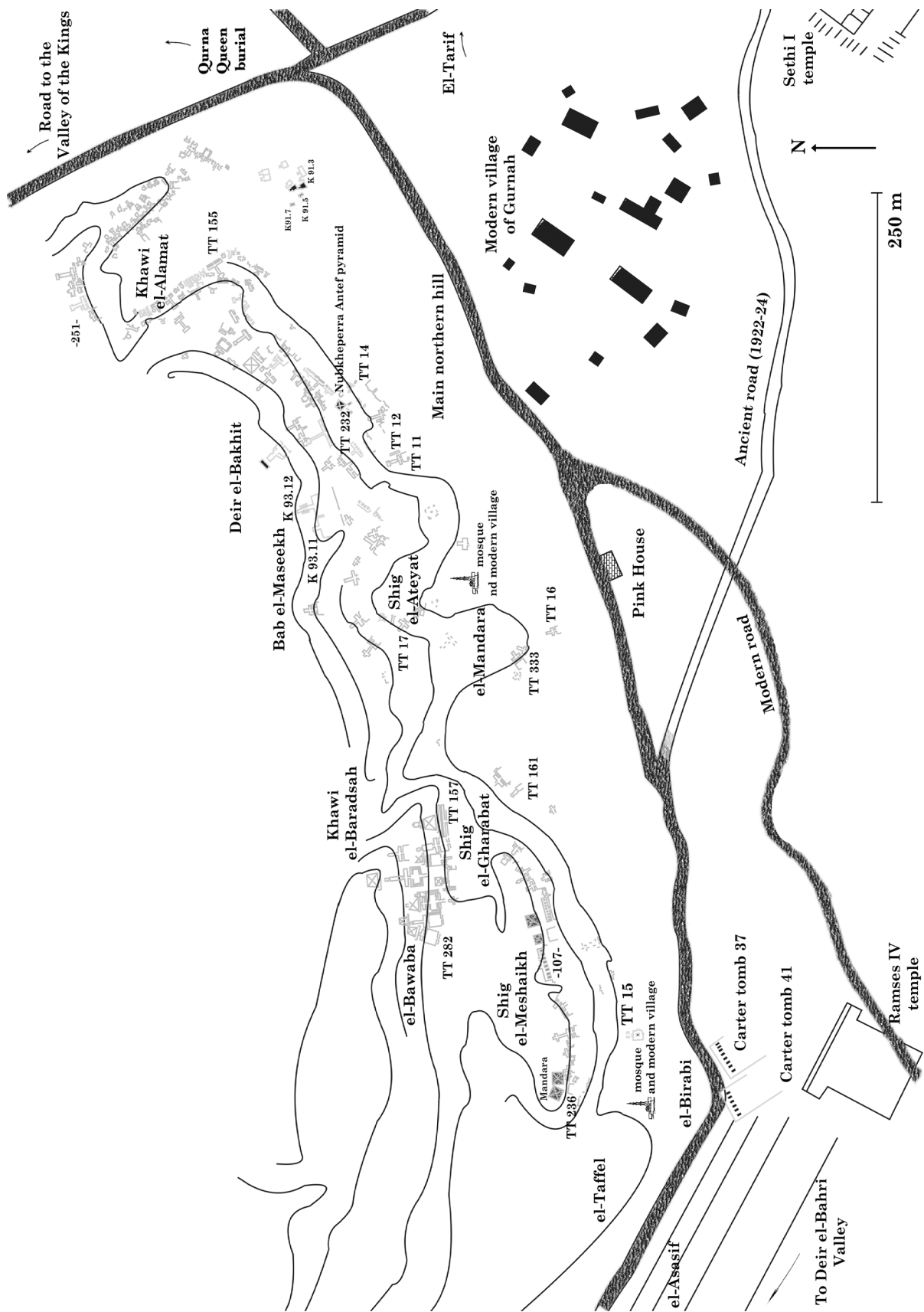
IJNA	International journal of nautical archaeology	PIOL	Publications de l'Institut Orientaliste de Leuven
J. Raman Spectrosc	Journal of Raman Spectroscopy	PM	B. Porter and R. Moss, <i>Topographical Bibliography of Ancient Egyptian Hieroglyphic Texts, Reliefs and Paintings</i> , 7 vols, 1927-1951
JAA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

# Maps



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

© drawn by Wolfram Grajetzki



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

## The original Inventory List of the Queen Ahhotep ‘Treasure’ from Mariette’s Papers (*BIF* Paris, *Fonds Maspero*, Ms. 4052)

Gianluca Miniaci

### Abstract

*The article aims to present two lists (one in French and another in Arabic) containing the first inventory of the Queen Ahhotep assemblage. The lists are dated to February 25<sup>th</sup> 1859 and were presumably drafted at the time of the first opening of the coffin after its discovery (in any case before Mariette came into possession of the treasure). Believed to be lost, these two documents are preserved in the archives of the Bibliothèque de l’Institut de France in Paris in the Fonds Maspero. The content of these lists matches closely with the inventory of the queen’s assemblage drafted in the Inventaire de Boulaq/Journal d’Entrée registers in Cairo Museum, with only minor discrepancies. The existence of these two inventory lists constitutes an essential piece of evidence to confirm that the assemblage of Queen Ahhotep as preserved today in the Cairo Museum may faithfully reproduce the original contents of Ahhotep’s coffin.*

The first detailed list of the objects found inside the coffin of Queen Ahhotep<sup>1</sup> at Dra Abu el-Naga was produced by Ernest Desjardins in 1860.<sup>2</sup> Nonetheless, his account was only partial, as it was intended to be a preliminary report in view of a more detailed publication on behalf of Auguste Mariette, which never took place. Several other scattered notes and information were published in the following years, especially in connection with the opening of Bulaq Museum,<sup>3</sup> but none produced a comprehensive list of those objects.

Mariette, who was indirectly credited with the discovery of the Ahhotep assemblage, did not produce his own account and no complete list of the burial assemblage comes from his papers, although a letter of von Bissing to Maspero might indicate that Mariette had accurately

recorded such a find.<sup>4</sup> The Egyptological literature often refers to a flooding of 1878 affecting Cairo and the house of Mariette at Bulaq, thus being responsible for the loss of a part of Mariette’s papers. All the personal written information concerning Ahhotep’s group taken by Mariette could have been lost during such a flood.<sup>5</sup> Among the Devéria’s manuscripts, there are two pages reporting a more detailed summary of the content of the coffin.<sup>6</sup>

Only in 1900, Friedrich Wilhelm von Bissing offered a full publication of the group of objects of Queen Ahhotep,

<sup>1</sup> For the identity of the queen, see BETRÒ, “The Identity of Ahhotep and the Textual Sources”, in this volume.

<sup>2</sup> DESJARDINS, *RGA* 18, 98-112.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. MARIETTE, *Notice* [1864] and other following editions; see also MASPERO, *Guide Musée de Boulaq* [1883] and other following editions.

<sup>4</sup> MINIACI, “The Discovery of Queen Ahhotep’s Burial at Dra Abu el-Naga (Thebes) in the Nineteenth Century AD: Between Tale and Archaeological Evidence”, in this volume, p. 34.

<sup>5</sup> However, some papers about the excavations of Mariette at Dra Abu el-Naga have been preserved till today, see *BIF* Ms. 4030, f. 392 and following; cf. MINIACI, “The Discovery of Queen Ahhotep’s Burial at Dra Abu el-Naga (Thebes) in the Nineteenth Century AD”, in this volume, p. 28.

<sup>6</sup> See MINIACI, “The Discovery of Queen Ahhotep’s Burial at Dra Abu el-Naga (Thebes) in the Nineteenth Century AD”, in this volume, *Appendix A*, p. 70.



providing description, photographs and drawings for most of the objects.<sup>7</sup> However, this work was produced more than forty years after the discovery of the burial. Von Bissing did not provide any inventory numbers for the listed objects, nor referred to the *Journal d'Entrée* numbers, making difficult to connect all the pieces. In addition, in this publication not all the pieces were illustrated or listed, and some of them were just quoted *en passant* in the text, without providing proper identifications. For instance, in the von Bissing volume are missing a plaquette (JE 4670), the blade of one axe (JE 4678), all the necklace chains (from JE 4688 to JE 4693; some of the pendants may have been regrouped in pl. VIIIa, used for the elements of the large *wesekh* collar), the box with beads (no. 20 of JE 4725), the kohl jar (JE 4726), the wooden box for the four calcite jars (JE 4731) and the wooden headrest (JE 4732).<sup>8</sup> To further complicate matters, von Bissing decided that the objects from Kamose's coffin and some other unprovenanced objects<sup>9</sup> – bearing the cartouches of Kamose and Ahmose – should have been included in that publication, as they could have originally belonged to the burial of Ahhotep.<sup>10</sup>

The most complete inventory list for the funerary assemblage of Ahhotep is indeed offered by the entries of the *Inventaire de Boulaq/Journal d'Entrée* drafted by Mariette himself between 1859 and 1863, unfortunately not reported in any publication.<sup>11</sup>

### The Inventory Lists of 25<sup>th</sup> February 1859 in the *Fonds Maspero*

Two lists inventorying the contents of Ahhotep's coffin are preserved in the archives Maspero kept at the *Bibliothèque de l'Institut de France* in Paris, inside a thin folder Ms. 4052, which grouped a handful documents mainly relating to the excavations of Mariette at western Thebes, and especially in Dra Abu el-Naga. The folder can be connected with another one titled "*Fouilles de Gournah*" (Ms 4062),<sup>12</sup> introduced by a paper explaining the reason why

some documents were in the hands of Maspero: "*Fouilles de Gournah de Mariette. Mariette est mort le 18 janvier 1881. Gaston Maspero a été prié par les enfants Mariette de regarder les papiers laissés par lui / l'annotation à publier en grande partie [...]*".<sup>13</sup> As stated in that paper, these documents originally belonged to Mariette, and entered into the possession of Maspero only at his death.

The two lists report the full contents of the Ahhotep treasure, providing an exceptional amount of information, especially considering the purely administrative purpose for which they had been produced. Nonetheless, contemporarily they raise several questions, especially about their origin, what they represent, and how Mariette came into possession of them.

The document *BIF* Ms. 4052, f. 240r is written in French (see Fig. 1), while the document *BIF* Ms. 4052, f. 241r is in Arabic (see Fig. 2); they both occupy a single page each. The two lists are very similar, but they are not simply translations of one another; they seem to have been independently copied/registered in two different languages (Arabic and French) from a common "source" and produced in approximately the same moment (see comments below). They are both dated to the 23 Rajab 1275 of the Hijri calendar,<sup>14</sup> corresponding to February 25<sup>th</sup> 1859. Their level of accuracy and correspondence with the inventory provided by the *Journal d'Entrée*, especially in terms of the count of the number and types of objects, is so high that they can be considered the first complete, official written record of the contents of the Ahhotep assemblage.

### Transcription of the inventory lists

Key for special symbols adopted in the transcription:

~~word~~ = deleted word/s in the original document

#### = deleted word/s in the original document and overwritten by something else difficult to read

^word^ = word/s added in the original document just above another word or group of words

"word" = repeated word/s from one line to another abbreviated with ditto marks, using ' or " symbols, in the original document. In the transcription, for sake of clarity, the abbreviated words have been retyped, avoiding using the abbreviation symbols but enclosing them among two "-signs

<word> = integration of word/s not present in the original document

(?) = word hard to read or decipher because of poor handwriting, faded print; doubts in the translation/transcription

<sup>7</sup> VON BISSING, *Ein thebanischer Grabfund*.

<sup>8</sup> See MINIACI, "Notes on the Journal d'Entrée Entries for Queen Ahhotep's Assemblage", in this volume, Table 5 and p. 104.

<sup>9</sup> VON BISSING, *Ein thebanischer Grabfund*, pls VIII, XII.

<sup>10</sup> VON BISSING, *Ein thebanischer Grabfund*, 24; cf. BOVOT, in HEIN (ed.), *Pharaonen und Fremde*, 263, cat. no. 364.

<sup>11</sup> The *Journal d'Entrée* numbering system has been adopted here for referring to the objects associated with the Ahhotep coffin, because it is the only system that uniformly includes **all** the objects found in association with the queen's burial (for cross-references to *CG*, *TR*, *SR*, other inventory numbers or lost locations, see MINIACI, "Notes on the Journal d'Entrée Entries for Queen Ahhotep's Assemblage", in this volume, Tables 2-4).

<sup>12</sup> *BIF* Ms. 4062, ff. 148-165.

<sup>13</sup> *BIF* Ms. 4062, f. 148. The inventory lists of February 25<sup>th</sup> are in another folder, see Ms. 4052.

<sup>14</sup> For date correspondence, see <https://calendarhijri.com/en>.

**Transcription of the list written in French**  
(BIF Ms. 4052, f. 240r) (see Fig. 1)

Copie d'une liste adressée par le Moudir de Kineh à la Maïeh  
Sanieh en date du 23 Ragab 1275  
N 16 contenant les antiquités trouvées à Gurné.

**Transcription of the list written in Arabic**  
(BIF Ms. 4052, f. 241r) (see Fig. 2)<sup>16</sup>

صورة كشف، بيان الآثار القديمة التي وجدت بحفيرة  
(بمقبرة؟) القرنه بمديرية قنا ، وارد الى (؟) (؟) بتاريخ  
23 رجب سنة 1275 ، 16 (؟)

عدد	أسماء (ء)
1	خنجر من غير حفر بيد ذهب
1	خنجر بحفر ذهب
2	حربه صغيرة ذهب
2	بلطة ذهب بيد خشب
1	مرايه ذهب
1	عربه بأربع عجل ذهب
1	أساور بصورتين ذهب
1	أساور ذهب – جنس اخر
1	اساور ذهب – جنس اخر
3	أساور ذهب جنس اخر
4	اساور كبيرة ذهب
4	أساور صغيرة ذهب
2	أساور جنس اخر ذهب صغير
4	أساور جنس اخر ذهب كبير
2	بلطة جنس اخر ذهب
1	مروحة خشب مصفحة بالذهب
3	تعلقات ذهب في الصدر (بمشبك) ذهب
3	قطع ذهب تشبه الأساور
2	على صورة البلطة
5	حمائل ذهب 1 كبير ، 2 (نوع) اخر ، 2 نوع اخر
1	مركب كامل بطوائق عدد 12 ذهب
1	مركب اخر ذهب بطوائق عدد 10 ، (جراب؟)
3	تصويره صغيرة
2	رأس صورة ذهب
1	مشبك (صاع؟) في صورة خنفساء (ء) ذهب
12	قطعة مشبك ذهب عدد 12 و عنها الوزن 136 درهم
1	خرزه ذهب عنها الوزن 112 درهم
2	خرز مخطوط بذهب من غير ميزان قرطاس عدد 2
1	مخده خشب
1	مكحله خشب، مرمر ، (؟)
1	غطاء (ء) خشب مكسور كان ملفوف عليها ذهب و صار
	وزنه مع الخروم (1 ك)
70	فقط و قدره سبعون بالعدد
	الكشف مختوم بختم
	المدير و اخرين

70

<sup>15</sup> Possible reading of the deleted word in the background, "Tuyau d'Al..." (?).

<sup>16</sup> Transcription, translation and reading notes by Mona Akmal M. Ahmed Nasr, PhD student at the University of Pisa. I would like to thank prof. Daniele Mascitelli, University of Pisa, for providing some additional comments to the transcription and translation.



1 Poignard sans gaine, poignée en or.

4 " en or avec sa gaine.

2 Pointes de piques en or.

2 Flûches en or, manche en bois

1. Abrioir en or.

1 Chariot en or à 4 roues.

1 Une paire de bracelets en or avec une paire de figurines

*Time autre qualite*

2 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1

4 / / / / / grandes

71 1 1 1 1 1 petites

2 1 1 1 1 1 D'une autre qualite

4 1 1 1 1 1 grandes

2 Planches en or d'une autre qualité

1 Un éventail en bois plaqué d'or

3 Pectoraux en or avec une chaîne en or

3 Pièces ayant la forme de bracelet

2 A la Pièces ayant la forme d'une hache

5 Cordons en or

1 Une barque en or avec 19 matelots en or l'équipage complet

1 1 1 1 1 1 10 12

3 *Liquorines*

2. Lentes em 21 (petitas)

4. Une chaîne en or. 1. It.

19. Boresaux 2' 40" 191 2' 40"

1	workdays June drainage of	130	crabmeals
1	Aug. 9 <sup>th</sup>	116	do

1 грам доз      пофее,

1/2 11 de pierre neu  
1 40 l.

Chavel en bois

1. tubercule de M. Cohol en marbre  
2. Ben bois

1

74



241

صورة لشئ به ياب الدار القديم الف وحده بحفيرة القبر يدبره فها وارد الى المصنف بناتى رجب  
سنة ١٢٧٥ هـ

عدد	الوصف
١	قبر من غير حفر بيد ذهب
١	بحفر ذهب
٢	حفره ذهب
٢	بلطه ذهب بيد حفر
١	مرايا ذهب
١	عمر يا ربع عمل ذهب
١	اساور ذهب
١	اساور ذهب
١	جنى افر
١	-----
٢	-----
٤	اساور كبيره ذهب
٤	حفره ذهب
٢	جنى افر ذهب حفر
٤	-----
٢	بلطه جنى افر ذهب
١	مروحة خبصه من الذهب
٣	تعلقات ذهب في اللوح بلسنك ذهب
٣	قطع ذهب تشتم الاساور
٢	على صورة النظم
٥	حائل ذهب
١	مركب كامل نظم عدد ١٢ ذهب
١	مركب افر ذهب ١٠٠٠ جراب
٣	قصوره حفره
٢	راسي قصوره ذهب
١	كسك صاخر في صورة خنفا ذهب
١٣	قطع كسك ذهب عدد غلا الوزن ١٢
١	فرز ذهب غلا الوزن ١٣٦
٣	فرز ققوطا بذهب من غير ميزان قوطاسي عدد ١١٢
١	مخذه خب
١	مكلم خب مروحة
١	عطا خب بكونه كامله ملفوف على ذهب وصار وزنه مع الخردم الزهر
٧٠	خطه وقدره سبعون بالعدد

الكفا ختم ختم الديروا فرس

Fig. 2 – Inventory list of Ahhotep's burial equipment written in Arabic; Fonds Maspero, Ms 4052, f. 241r  
© courtesy of the Bibliothèque de l'Institut de France

**English translation of the list written in Arabic  
(BIF Ms. 4052, f. 241r) (see Fig. 2)**

The language is a mixture of Egyptian Arabic dialect and formal Arabic. A literal translation is provided in order to adhere more closely to the original text. When the meaning of a word was not fully understandable, a question mark between round brackets has been placed after the suggested translation “(?)”.

“Copy of a list in which there is description of ancient objects found in the tomb of el-Qurna, in the directorate of Qena, returned to Ma‘iyyeh, on the date of the 23<sup>rd</sup> of Ragab, year 1275 (Hijry), 16

Numbers	Name (s)
1	Dagger without a sheath, with a golden handle
1	Dagger with a golden sheath
2	Small bayonet, gold
2	Golden axe with wooden handle
1	Golden mirror
1	Cart with four small wheels, gold
1	Bracelets with two figures, gold
1	Golden bracelets, other type
1	"Golden bracelets, other type"
3	"Golden bracelets, other type"
4	Large bracelets, gold
4	Small "bracelets", gold
2	"Bracelets", other type, gold, small
4	"Bracelets, other type, gold", large
2	Axe, other type, gold
1	Wooden fan, <sup>17</sup> whose foil is in gold
3	Pendants, <sup>18</sup> of gold in the chest with golden cords (?) <sup>19</sup>
3	Golden pieces that imitate bracelets
2	<Objects> with the same shape of the axe <sup>20</sup>
5	Golden cords (?), <sup>21</sup> 1 large, 2 of one type, 2 of another
1	A complete boat, with crew (?) <sup>22</sup> that counts 12, gold

<sup>17</sup> The word is *mirwaha*.

<sup>18</sup> The word used is *t'alīqāt*, used of any type of object that can be worn as suspensions.

<sup>19</sup> This word, also repeated below can be derived from the root *KSNDH*, *KŚNDH*, or *KSTDH*, probably indicating a chain or a cord.

<sup>20</sup> Probably this sentence should be integrated at its beginning with the word “objects”, which is omitted in the text.

<sup>21</sup> See above, n. 18.

<sup>22</sup> The meaning word *tāqim* is unclear, it could be used to indicate the crew.

1	Another boat, gold, with the crew (?) that counts 10, <i>jarāb</i> (?) <sup>23</sup>
3	Small figures
2	Head of a small figure, gold
1	Cords (?) in the form of a scarab, gold
12	Cords, gold, that counts 12 and they weight 136 dirham
1	Golden bead, weight 112 dirham
2	Beads striped in gold, without weighting, counts 2
1	Wooden pillow
1	Wooden kohl tube, marble (?)
1	A broken wooden lid, wrapped with gold, and its weight with the scrap becomes (?) beads (?) <sup>24</sup>
70	Its count is seventy in numbers

The discovery is sealed with the seal of the director and others”

### Comments on the two Lists

The remarks at the opening of both preserved documents, “*copy of a list*”, indicate the fact that these two lists were copied from an original list. The original source from which these two lists were drawn is unknown but it was probably drafted on February 25<sup>th</sup> 1859 (23<sup>rd</sup> of Ragab 1275), assuming that the two copies were intended to be a sort of “carbon copy”, and therefore they reported the same date on the original document. There is little doubt that both documents were copied from the same source, since they report the same date, header, and protocol number (no. 16). Also, the objects are described

<sup>23</sup> The word used is *jarāb*, which is obscure in this context but it might indicate a different type/quality of the second boat.

<sup>24</sup> This sentence is difficult to read. The last word seems to have been deleted (?); it could read as “beads”, probably referring to some beads that could have been originally contained in a rotten (?) wooden box found inside the coffin (cf. JE 4725.20: “*Une boîte contenant un très grand nombre de petits et grosses perles d’or et de pierres dures*”). However, in this case the whole sentence has been left suspended or unfinished. On the other side, one should expect a measure unit at the end of the sentence, indicating the total weight of the lid with its remains, as announced in the previous wording. Following a suggestion provided by Mona Nasr, the last word could be mistakenly duplicate the previous one (“الخروم”); then it could have been roughly corrected (and not deleted) with the Arabic letter “ك”, used as an abbreviation of the word “كيلو”, kilo or kilogram (already in use in the nineteenth century Egypt?); the aleph could have been left uncorrected and used to indicate the number “1”, reading “*A broken wooden lid, wrapped with gold, and its weight with the scrap becomes 1 kg*”.



in the same manner (often extremely synthetic), same order, and same quantity.

At first sight, the two lists may appear as one being the translation of the other. Nonetheless, there are some minor divergences that do not simply fit with an inattentive or hasty copy (see Table 1): the Arabic list indicates the size ("small") of one pair of bracelets (Seq. 13), which is missing in the French description; the Arabic list specifies the type of chains in the Seq. 20 ("1 large, 2 of one type and 2 of another one"), missing in the French list; only in the Arabic list the second miniature boat has been qualified ("jarāb?") (Seq. 22); the Arabic list notes down that one of the chains was provided with a scarab, a detail not included in the French document (Seq. 25); the two lists present a divergence in the weight measurement of the golden grain (Seq. 27 – 116 dirham in the French and 112 in the Arabic); the toilet jar is indicated in both lists as a kohl tube (Seq. 30), but made of marble according to the French list and wood according to the Arabic document (which nonetheless, also indicates also the word marble soon afterwards); the Arabic list includes some additional remarks about the weight (?) and condition ("scrap") of a wooden lid missing in the French list (Seq. 31); the final comment appended to the Arabic list ("The discovery is sealed with the seal of the director and others") is not reported in the French one.

In conclusion, the two lists seem to have been written down from the same source (most probably written, given the accurate overlap in many respects, although an oral source, *i.e.* someone reading or dictating, cannot be completely excluded), but by two different persons who were independently adding or altering the original source.

As indicated by the date of the 25<sup>th</sup> February 1859, the list of objects was drafted before Mariette came into possession of the group of objects (which happened on the 22<sup>nd</sup> of March of the same year).<sup>25</sup> Therefore, these lists could have been copied either right at the time of the opening of the coffin or – at the latest – just before the packing and shipping of the boxes containing Ahhotep's objects to Cairo.

Théodule Devéria, who was with Mariette at the time of the requisition of the queen's burial assemblage, reported that Mariette had entered into the possession of two inventory lists: one drafted by one of his Egyptian employees [sic] and another addressed by the governor of Qena to the viceroy Saïd Pasha, in order to notify him of the contents of the shipped boxes, following the customs of that time. The two lists found in the archives of the *BIF* can be very plausibly considered those mentioned by Devéria in his account – believed to be lost – , given a number of co-incident elements:

<sup>25</sup> See MINIACI, "The Discovery of Queen Ahhotep's Burial at Dra Abu el-Naga (Thebes) in the Nineteenth Century AD: Between Tale and Archaeological Evidence", in this volume, p. 28.

*"M. Mariette en reçut l'inventaire d'un de ses employés arabes. Le gouverneur en avait de son côté expédié la liste au vice-roi, en le prévenant de l'envoi direct de ces objets à la Cour khédiviale [...]. Les deux listes comparées étaient assez bien d'accord, mais elles nous paraurent singulièrement exagérées, quant au nombre des choses décrites et quant à leur poids d'or"* – Devéria<sup>26</sup>

According to Devéria the two lists seem to have been independently drafted: one directly from the governor of Qena, Fadil Pasha, who used to draft lists of the contents of the boxes he was shipping to Cairo (in Arabic?);<sup>27</sup> the other list could have been independently drafted by one of Mariette's men (in French?). From the account of Devéria, only on the boat would Mariette have come into possession of another list to compare to the other one (already?) in his possession.<sup>28</sup> Probably since then, the two lists remained among Mariette's documents and have been preserved until today in the archive Maspero of the *BIF*. However, the two lists mentioned by Devéria might not be the only copies of the original Ahhotep's assemblage list circulating at this time.

As already noted down by Devéria in his account on the boat of the 22<sup>nd</sup> March, the content of the two lists was sufficiently in concordance although he doubted about the actual quantity of the objects listed and the weight of gold ("they seemed to us remarkably exaggerated both in number of things described and in their weights of gold"): <sup>29</sup> supposedly the boxes containing the Ahhotep treasure were not opened on the boat.

<sup>26</sup> The emphasis is mine. The first part of the account reads: "*Mariette écrivit alors de l'envoyer tout de suite à Boulaq par un vapeur special [the sealed coffin of Ahhotep, as informed by Maunier]; malheureusement, avant réception de cette lettre, le gouverneur de la province avait fait ouvrir le cercueil, par curiosité ou par zèle malentendu, on ne sait trop. Quoi qu'il en soit, je ne voudrais pas me trouver à la place de ce fonctionnaire la première fois que Mariette le rencontrera [...]*", MASPERO, in MARIETTE (ed.), *Oeuvres diverses*, cii-ciii.

<sup>27</sup> See MINIACI, "The Discovery of Queen Ahhotep's Burial at Dra Abu el-Naga (Thebes) in the Nineteenth Century AD: Between Tale and Archaeological Evidence", in this volume (Q.10-11).

<sup>28</sup> The number of combination of possibilities about the mode in which these two lists ended up in the hands of Mariette are countless: for instance, one of the lists could have been accompanying the assemblage during the boat transport to Cairo (if not both); Mariette could have taken a copy of the list directly from the Maieh in Cairo, copying from the original letter sent by Fadil Pasha to the viceroy; Mariette's "Arabic employee" could have copied the list from the local administrative sources in Upper Egypt and sent to Mariette in Cairo or given to the custody of the men on the boat, etc.

<sup>29</sup> Translated by WINLOCK, *JEA* 10, 253. From MASPERO, in MARIETTE (ed.), *Oeuvres diverses*, cii ff. DAVID, *Mariette Pacha*, 114.



**Table 1 – List of correspondence between the two lists of February 25<sup>th</sup> and the JE numbers**

Sequence Order in Feb 25 Lists	Quantity (French List)	Object Description (French List)	Quantity (Arabic List)	Object Description (Arabic List)	Correspondance with JE inv. no.	Object Type
Seq. 1	1	<i>Poignard sans gaine, poignée en or</i>	1	<i>Dagger without a sheath, with a golden handle</i>	JE 4665	Dagger with straight grip
Seq. 2	1	<i>"Poignard" en or avec sa gaine</i>	1	<i>Dagger with a gold-en sheath</i>	JE 4666	Dagger with human heads shaped grip
Seq. 3	2	<i>Pointes de piques en or</i>	2	<i>Small bayonet, gold</i>	JE 4667 JE 4668	Dagger (only blade) – Dagger with discoid butt
Seq. 4	2	<i>Haches en or, manche en bois</i>	2	<i>Golden axe with wooden handle</i>	JE 4673 JE 4674	Axe with Ahmose name/prenom – Axe in bronze
Seq. 5	1	<i>Miroir en or</i>	1	<i>Golden mirror</i>	JE 4664	Mirror
Seq. 6	1	<i>Charriot en or à 4 roues</i>	1	<i>Cart with four small wheels, gold</i>	JE 4669	Waggon miniature
Seq. 7	1	<i>Une paire de bracelets en or avec une paire de figurines</i>	1	<i>Bracelets with two figures, gold</i>	JE 4680	Armlet with Ahmose cartouche
Seq. 8	1	<i>"Une paire de bracelets en or" d'une autre qualité</i>	1	<i>Golden bracelets, other type</i>	JE 4679 (?)	Armlet with vulture (?)
Seq. 9	1	<i>"Une paire de bracelets en or d'une autre qualité"</i>	1	<i>"Golden bracelets, other type"</i>	4684 (?)	Bracelet with Ahmose name/prenom (?)
Seq. 10	3	<i>"Une paire de bracelets en or d'une autre qualité"</i>	3	<i>"Golden bracelets, other type"</i>	JE 4685 JE 4686 JE 4687 (?)	Bracelet with Ahmose prenom (•) – Bracelet with Ahmose name (•) – Bracelet with Ahmose prenom (?)
Seq. 11	4	<i>"Une paire de bracelets en or" grandes</i>	4	<i>Large bracelets, gold</i>	JE 4697-4700 (?)	Bracelet (*) x 4 (?)
Seq. 12	4	<i>"Une paire de bracelets en or" petites</i>	4	<i>Small "bracelets", gold</i>	JE 4701-4704 (?)	Bracelet (#) x 4 (?)
Seq. 13	2	<i>"Une paire de bracelets en or" d'une autre qualité</i>	2	<i>"Bracelets", other type, gold, small</i>	JE 4711-4712 (?)	Bracelet (^) x 2 (?)
Seq. 14	4	<i>"Une paire de bracelets en or" grandes</i>	4	<i>"Bracelets, other type, gold", large</i>	JE 4707-4710 (?)	Bracelet (°) x 4 (?)
Seq. 15	2	<i>Haches en or d'une autre qualité</i>	2	<i>Axe, other type, gold</i>	JE 4675 JE 4676	Axe in silver – Axe in bronze (golden foil handle)
Seq. 16	1	<i>Un éventail en bois plaqué d'or</i>	1	<i>Wooden fan, whose foil is in gold</i>	JE 4672	Fan
Seq. 17	3	<i>Pectoraux en or avec une chaîne en or</i>	3	<i>Pendants, of gold in the chest with golden cords (?)</i>	JE 4670 (?) JE 4683 JE 4694 (?)	Plaquette (?) – Necklace ending with flies (?) – Pectoral with Ahmose name/prenom
Seq. 18	3	<i>Pièces ayant la forme de brasselet [sic]</i>	3	<i>Golden pieces that imitate bracelets</i>	JE 4705 JE 4706 JE 4724 (?)	Bracelet – Bracelet – Ring (?)
Seq. 19	2	<i>Ata Pièces ayant la forme d'une hache</i>	2	<i>&lt;Objects&gt; with the same shape of the axe</i>	JE 4677 JE 4678	Axe (only blade) – Axe (only blade)

Sequence Order in Feb 25 Lists	Quantity (French List)	Object Description (French List)	Quantity (Arabic List)	Object Description (Arabic List)	Correspondance with JE inv. no.	Object Type
Seq. 20	5	<i>Cordons en or</i>	5	Golden cords (?), 1 large, 2 of one type, 2 of another	JE 4688-4689-4690-4691-4692-4693 (?)	Necklace ending with hemispherical beads – Necklace ending with hemispherical beads – Necklace – Necklace – Necklace ending with papyrus buttons, in 5 pieces – Necklace ending with papyrus buttons, in 3 pieces (?)
Seq. 21	1	<i>Une barque en or avec 12 matelots en or (équipage complète)</i>	1	<i>A complete boat, with crew (?) that counts 12, gold</i>	JE 4681	Boat miniature in gold
Seq. 22	1	<i>"Une barque en or avec" 10 "matelots en or"</i>	1	<i>Another boat, gold, with the crew (?) that counts 10, jarāb (?)</i>	JE 4682	Boat miniature in silver
Seq. 23	3	<i>Figurines</i>	3	<i>Small figures</i>	JE 4681 (?), part of	Part of boat miniature in gold (?)
Seq. 24	2	<i>Têtes en or (petites)</i>	2	<i>Head of a small figure, gold</i>	JE 4713 JE 4714	Lion head pawn in gold – Lion head pawn in copper
Seq. 25	1	<i>Chaîne en or en bon état</i>	1	<i>Cords (?) in the form of a scarab, gold</i>	JE 4695	Necklace with scarab
Seq. 26	12	<i>Morceaux d'une chaîne en or – 136 drahhmes</i>	12	<i>Cords, gold, that counts 12 and they weight – 136 dirham</i>	JE 4725	Wesekh collar
Seq. 27	1	<i>Grain d'or – 116 drahhmes</i>	1	<i>Golden bead, weight – 112 dirham</i>	JE 4696 (?)	Bracelet in solid gold (?)
Seq. 28	2	<i>"Grain" de pierre raillée ^rayée^ en or</i>	2	<i>Beads striped in gold, without weighing, counts 2</i>	JE 4725 (?)	Wesekh collar (?)
Seq. 29	1	<i>Chevet en bois</i>	1	<i>Wooden pillow</i>	JE 4732	Headrest
Seq. 30	1	<i>Tube #### de kohol en marbre</i>	1	<i>Wooden kohl tube, marble (?)</i>	JE 4726	Kohl jar
Seq. 31	1	<i>Couvercle ^en bois^ cassé revêtu de plaques d'or</i>	1	<i>A broken wooden lid, wrapped with gold, and its weight with the scrap becomes (?) beads (?)</i>	JE 4725.20 (?)	Wooden box (?)
					JE 4663	Coffin
					JE 4671	Stick
					JE 4715-4717	Axe miniature in gold (§)
					JE 4718-4723	Axe miniature in silver (¶)
					JE 4724	Ring
					JE 4727-4730	Toilet jar
					JE 4731	Wooden box

**Table 1** – List of correspondence between the objects in the two lists of February 25<sup>th</sup> and those recorded in the JE. In the first column a numerical sequence ( e.g. “Seq. x”) has been assigned to the entries in the two lists in order to facilitate the reference in the text. At the end of the table all those objects present in the JE but absent from or not identified in the two lists are given

Although it is not always easy to find out the concordance between some of the objects these two lists, summarily described (especially bracelets, chains, and necklaces), and those recorded in the *Journal d'Entrée*, for most of the objects there is a surprising correspondence<sup>30</sup> (see Table 1). The two lists both agree in listing 70 objects which is – purely by chance – exactly the same number of objects recorded in the *Journal d'Entrée* (wrongly noted at the beginning of the list as being 68).<sup>31</sup>

In the following, the most complicated identifications are discussed, while the others are simply listed in the Table 1. In the Seq. 8-14, the bracelets have been not described to a fuller extent, rather occasionally described as small (Seq. 12-13) or large (Seq. 11, 14). Nonetheless, the number of the bracelets corresponds to the total number of bracelets registered in the *JE* (20 = JE 4679-80, 4684-87, 4697-4704, 4707-10, 4711-12).<sup>32</sup> In addition, the grouping of different type of bracelets in the two lists corresponds to the different shapes/types of the objects listed in the *JE* (1+1+1+2+3+4+4+4). Therefore, the bracelets from the *JE* have been tentatively associated with the entries of the two lists according to their grouping by type and the occasional mention of size (large/small) or the presence of figures.

Among the three pectorals mentioned in the two lists (Seq. 17), together with a golden chain, only JE 4683 can be truly identified since it is a pectoral, while two other elements can be more doubtfully considered to be intended as pectorals by the nineteenth century writers (JE 4670 and JE 4694). The artefact JE 4670 is a plaquette showing four figures. The item JE 4694 corresponds to the necklace with flies, which could be more possibly considered to be listed among the pectorals, especially because in the two *BIF* lists the pectorals are said to be provided with a chain, like for JE 4694.

The three pieces described as having the shape of bracelets (Seq. 18) can be assigned to JE 4705-06 in all probability; the third element can be identified as JE 4696, which has the same description of JE 4705 as the only other circular element. However, some doubts remain about this association, given the lack of further descriptions.

The chains/necklaces mentioned in the two *BIF* lists (Seq. 20) are five versus six listed in the *JE* (JE 4688-93). Nonetheless, the ratio for separation of the chains/necklaces also in *JE* is not clear, and JE 4691 mentions three fragments with the endings lost and JE 4690 mentions only two endings: therefore, JE 4690 and JE 4691 could have counted in *BIF* lists as a single chain. However, also in this case, with a minor adjustment, the correspondence seems to be enough in agreement.

The chain in gold (Seq. 25), which is vaguely described in the French list, can be identified with certainty with JE 4695, a necklace with a scarab pendant, because the Arabic list provides the information that a scarab was attached to it.

The *wesekh* collar JE 4725, together with all the mass of golden pendants and beads grouped under its inventory number,<sup>33</sup> can be identified with the 12 pieces of a golden necklace (Seq. 26). The extraordinary number of items of JE 4725 points to the need of specifying the weights in the two lists (the weight provided in the two lists is 116 dirham (= 3.48 kg) which could vaguely find a correspondence with the 2 kg indicated in Cairo Museum DB for the entry CG 52672, which corresponds to only some of the elements for JE 4725.<sup>34</sup> Nonetheless, there is also the possibility, as indicated in the letter of Devéria, that the lists overestimated some weights.

The identification of the kohl jar (Seq. 30) with JE 4726 is rather secure, although its original material – probably in calcite (= Egyptian alabaster) – is probably wrongly interpreted as marble in the two lists due to a lack of knowledge of the materials. The presence of wood indicated in the Arabic list could have referred to a stick made of wood or a wooden lid (?), although there are no traces of any of these elements in the *JE*.

Among the objects which can be doubtfully interpreted to be in *BIF* lists are 3 small figurines (Seq. 23), which are not present in the *JE* but correspond to the three golden figures in the boat (which stand out from the rest of the rowers), since they have also been mentioned in the *JE* with particular regard and specifically numbered from 1 to 3 (JE 4681).<sup>35</sup> The two incrust-

<sup>30</sup> Some identifications are rather doubtful, marked in the “correspondence with *JE* inv. no.” field with a question mark “(?)”.

<sup>31</sup> See MINIACI, “Notes on the Journal d'Entrée Entries for Queen Ahhotep's Assemblage”, in this volume. See also MINIACI, “The Discovery of Queen Ahhotep's Burial at Dra Abu el-Naga (Thebes) in the Nineteenth Century AD: Between Tale and Archaeological Evidence”, in this volume, Table 3.

<sup>32</sup> The French wording is inaccurate, since bracelets have been always quoted as being “a pair”, while this would have doubled the total number. The Arabic transcription seems to be more accurate, since it does not mention any “pair” but simply numbers.

<sup>33</sup> See MINIACI, “Notes on the Journal d'Entrée Entries for Queen Ahhotep's Assemblage”, in this volume.

<sup>34</sup> See MINIACI, “Notes on the Journal d'Entrée Entries for Queen Ahhotep's Assemblage”, in this volume, Table 2, for the correspondence of JE 4725 and other CG numbers.

<sup>35</sup> It is worth mentioning that in the collection of the Louvre there are two small figurines made of gold representing Seth (inv. nos E 7659 and E 7715) and one of them (E 7715) is inscribed with the name Ahhotep. They entered the collection from private sellers respectively in 1883 from Allemant and in 1884 from Pennelli. See GUERRA, PAGÈS-CAMAGNA, *JCH* 36, 144-7, 149; DESTI, *Des dieux, des tombeaux, un savant*, 227, fig. 227, 112a.

ed beads with gold (Seq. 28) can actually be identified with the hawk terminal(s?) for the *wesekh* collar, listed as part of JE 4725 (see under JE 4725.1).

A broken wooden lid covered by golden foil is mentioned in both lists (Seq. 31); furthermore the Arabic list indicates that together with the lid there were also some scraps, probably as parts of the lower part of a wooden container. The object mentioned in Seq. 31 could actually correspond to JE 4725.20, which reports a small box (no indication of material) containing a large number of beads, probably part of the large *wesekh* collar (JE 4725): “*Une boîte contenant un très grand nombre de petits et grosses perles d’or et de pierres dures*”.

Only one object mentioned in the two lists is really missing from the final inventory that arrived in Cairo: a golden bead (Seq. 27) whose weight has been reported in the two lists (112 dirham = 2.8 kg). Nonetheless, this massive golden bead is oddly mentioned in the report of Desjardins in 1860 (“*M. Mariette a trouvé aussi le disque figuré, par un petit ballon d’or*”) in order to sustain the idea that the two lion pawns were intended as a three-dimensional rendering of the praenomen of Ahmose, Neb-pehty-re, with the golden ball-bead acting for the sign “*r*”.<sup>36</sup>

In reverse, among the objects which entered Cairo as part of the Ahhotep burial equipment as documented by the *Journal d’Entrée*, four categories were unexpectedly not recorded in these two lists: the coffin (JE 4663), the staff (JE 4671), the ring (JE 4724) and the nine axe miniatures (JE 4715-23). The absence of the coffin is almost expected since the lists aimed at inventorying its contents and they were not intended to be an “archaeological report” of the find. The absence of the axe miniatures and ring does not raise particular concerns since, given their size, they could have gone easily unseen, probably included in some of the pendants of the golden *wesekh* collar (JE 4725). Only the stick, which measures 48 cm in height, is inexplicably missing from the very accurate *BIF* lists.

Missing from the two inventory lists are also the wooden box (JE 4731) and the four calcite jars (JE 4727-4730), although they have been associated with Ahhotep burial assemblage since the beginning and recorded in the *IB/JE*.<sup>37</sup> One of the possible reasons for their absence from the *BIF* lists is given by the fact that these

lists were recording only the objects contained inside the coffin. This would reinforce the idea that the original source for these two inventory lists had been produced at the moment of the opening of the coffin, making it into a very formal and official procedure.

In conclusion, the content of these two lists overlaps extremely well with the inventory of the queen’s assemblage drafted in the *Inventaire de Boulaq/Journal d’Entrée* registers, with only minor discrepancies. Therefore, these two documents seem to faithfully reproduce what was originally found in the Ahhotep coffin, being the closest record to its **official** opening and packaging of the objects for shipment to Cairo.<sup>38</sup>

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<sup>36</sup> DESJARDINS, *RGA* 18, 110. Cf. COLELLA, “Queen Ahhotep’s Lion Heads and the Inclusion of Gaming Pieces in the Funerary Costumes of Second Intermediate Period-early Eighteenth Dynasty”, in this volume.

<sup>37</sup> See comments in MINIACI, “The Discovery of Queen Ahhotep’s Burial at Dra Abu el-Naga (Thebes) in the Nineteenth Century AD: Between Tale and Archaeological Evidence”, in this volume, p. 61.

<sup>38</sup> Already Winlock noticed that “*there is no suggestion that any of the jewellery was lost, or that any of it was introduced from other sources*”, WINLOCK, *JEA* 10, 254.

**Table 2 – List of correspondence between the *JE* and the two lists of February 25<sup>th</sup>**

<i>JE</i> inv. no.	Object Type	Sequence Order Feb 25 Inventory Lists	Object Description (Arabic/French Lists)
<b>JE 4663</b>	Coffin		<b>MISSING</b>
<b>JE 4664</b>	Mirror	Seq. 5	<i>Golden mirror/Miroir en or</i>
<b>JE 4665</b>	Dagger with straight grip	Seq. 1	<i>Dagger without a sheath, with a golden handle/Poignard sans gaine, poignée en or</i>
<b>JE 4666</b>	Dagger with human heads shaped grip	Seq. 2	<i>Dagger with a golden sheath/"Poignard" en or avec sa gaine</i>
<b>JE 4667</b>	Dagger (only blade)	Seq. 3	<i>Small bayonet, gold/Pointes de piques en or</i>
<b>JE 4668</b>	Dagger with discoid butt	Seq. 3	<i>Small bayonet, gold/Pointes de piques en or</i>
<b>JE 4669</b>	Waggon miniature	Seq. 6	<i>Cart with four small wheels, gold/Charriot en or à 4 roues</i>
<b>JE 4670</b>	Plaquette	Seq. 17 (?)	<i>Pendants, of gold in the chest with golden cords (?) /Pecto-raux en or avec une chaîne en or</i>
<b>JE 4671</b>	Stick		<b>MISSING</b>
<b>JE 4672</b>	Fan	Seq. 16	<i>Wooden fan, whose foil is in gold/Un éventail en bois plaqué d'or</i>
<b>JE 4673</b>	Axe with Ahmose name/prenom	Seq. 4	<i>Golden axe with wooden handle/Haches en or, manche en bois</i>
<b>JE 4674</b>	Axe in bronze	Seq. 4	<i>Golden axe with wooden handle/Haches en or, manche en bois</i>
<b>JE 4675</b>	Axe in silver	Seq. 15	<i>Axe, other type, gold/Haches en or d'une autre qualité</i>
<b>JE 4676</b>	Axe in bronze (golden foil handle)	Seq. 15	<i>Axe, other type, gold/Haches en or d'une autre qualité</i>
<b>JE 4677</b>	Axe (only blade)	Seq. 19	<i>&lt;Objects&gt; with the same shape of the axe/A-ḥa Pièces ayant la forme d'une hache</i>
<b>JE 4678</b>	Axe (only blade)	Seq. 19	<i>&lt;Objects&gt; with the same shape of the axe/A-ḥa Pièces ayant la forme d'une hache</i>
<b>JE 4679</b>	Armlet with vulture	Seq. 8 (?)	<i>Golden bracelets, other type/"Une paire de bracelets en or" d'une autre qualité</i>
<b>JE 4680</b>	Armlet with Ahmose cartouche	Seq. 7	<i>Bracelets with two figures, gold/Une paire de bracelets en or avec une paire de figurines</i>
<b>JE 4681</b>	Boat miniature in gold	Seq. 21	<i>A complete boat, with crew (?) that counts 12, gold/Une barque en or avec 12 matelots en or (équipage complète)</i>
		Seq. 23 (?)	<i>Small figures/Figurines</i>
<b>JE 4682</b>	Boat miniature in silver	Seq. 22	<i>Another boat, gold, with the crew (?) that counts 10, jarāb (?) /"Une barque en or avec" 10 "matelots en or"</i>
<b>JE 4683</b>	Pectoral with Ahmose name/prenom	Seq. 17	<i>Pendants, of gold in the chest with golden cords (?) /Pecto-raux en or avec une chaîne en or</i>
<b>JE 4684</b>	Bracelet with Ahmose name/prenom	Seq. 9 (?)	<i>"Golden bracelets, other type"/"Une paire de bracelets en or d'une autre qualité"</i>
<b>JE 4685</b>	Bracelet with Ahmose prenom (•)	Seq. 10	<i>"Golden bracelets, other type"/"Une paire de bracelets en or d'une autre qualité"</i>
<b>JE 4686</b>	Bracelet with Ahmose name (•)	Seq. 10	<i>"Golden bracelets, other type"/"Une paire de bracelets en or d'une autre qualité"</i>
<b>JE 4687</b>	Bracelet with Ahmose prenom	Seq. 10 (?)	<i>"Golden bracelets, other type"/"Une paire de bracelets en or d'une autre qualité"</i>
<b>JE 4688</b>	Necklace ending with hemispherical beads	Seq. 20	<i>Golden cords (?), 1 large, 2 of one type, 2 of another/Cor-dons en or</i>
<b>JE 4689</b>	Necklace ending with hemispherical beads	Seq. 20	<i>Golden cords (?), 1 large, 2 of one type, 2 of another/Cor-dons en or</i>



<i>JE</i> inv. no.	Object Type	Sequence Order Feb 25 Inventory Lists	Object Description (Arabic/French Lists)
<b>JE 4690</b>	Necklace	Seq. 20	<i>Golden cords (?), 1 large, 2 of one type, 2 of another/Cordons en or</i>
<b>JE 4691</b>	Necklace	Seq. 20	<i>Golden cords (?), 1 large, 2 of one type, 2 of another/Cordons en or</i>
<b>JE 4692</b>	Necklace ending with papyrus buttons, in 5 pieces	Seq. 20	<i>Golden cords (?), 1 large, 2 of one type, 2 of another/Cordons en or</i>
<b>JE 4693</b>	Necklace ending with papyrus buttons, in 3 pieces	Seq. 20 (?)	<i>Golden cords (?), 1 large, 2 of one type, 2 of another/Cordons en or</i>
<b>JE 4694</b>	Necklace ending with flies	Seq. 17 (?)	<i>Pendants, of gold in the chest with golden cords (?)/Pectoraux en or avec une chaîne en or</i>
<b>JE 4695</b>	Necklace with scarab	Seq. 25	<i>Cords (?) in the form of a scarab, gold/Chaîne en or en bon état</i>
<b>JE 4696</b>	Bracelet in solid gold	Seq. 27 (?)	<i>Golden bead, weight – 112 dirham/Grain d'or – 116 drahmes</i>
<b>JE 4697-4700</b>	Bracelet (*)	Seq. 11 (?)	<i>Large bracelets, gold/"Une paire de bracelets en or" grandes</i>
<b>JE 4701-4704</b>	Bracelet (#)	Seq. 12 (?)	<i>Small "bracelets", gold/"Une paire de bracelets en or" petites</i>
<b>JE 4705</b>	Bracelet	Seq. 18	<i>Golden pieces that imitate bracelets/Pièces ayant la forme de brasselet [sic]</i>
<b>JE 4706</b>	Bracelet	Seq. 18	<i>Golden pieces that imitate bracelets/Pièces ayant la forme de brasselet [sic]</i>
<b>JE 4707-4710</b>	Bracelet (°)	Seq. 14 (?)	<i>"Bracelets, other type, gold", large/"Une paire de bracelets en or" grandes</i>
<b>JE 4711-4712</b>	Bracelet (^)	Seq. 13 (?)	<i>"Bracelets", other type, gold, small/"Une paire de bracelets en or" d'une autre qualité</i>
<b>JE 4713</b>	Lion head pawn in gold	Seq. 24	<i>Head of a small figure, gold/Têtes en or (petites)</i>
<b>JE 4714</b>	Lion head pawn in copper	Seq. 24	<i>Head of a small figure, gold/Têtes en or (petites)</i>
<b>JE 4715-4717</b>	Axe miniature in gold (§)		<b>MISSING</b>
<b>JE 4718-4723</b>	Axe miniature in silver (¶)		<b>MISSING</b>
<b>JE 4724</b>	Ring	Seq. 18 (?)	<i>Golden pieces that imitate bracelets/Pièces ayant la forme de brasselet [sic]</i>
<b>JE 4725</b>	<i>Wesekh</i> collar	Seq. 26	<i>Cords, gold, that counts 12 and they weight – 136 dirham/Morceaux d'une chaîne en or – 136 drahmes</i>
		Seq. 28 (?)	<i>Beads striped in gold, without weighing, counts 2/"Grain" de pierre rayée ^rayée en or</i>
<b>JE 4725.20</b>	<i>Wesekh</i> collar –Box containing beads	Seq. 31 (?)	<i>A broken wooden lid, wrapped with gold, and its weight with the scrap becomes (?) beads (?)/Couvercle ^en bois^ cassé revêtu de plaques d'or</i>
<b>JE 4726</b>	Kohl jar	Seq. 30	<i>Wooden kohl tube, marble (?)/Tube #### de cohol en marbre</i>
<b>JE 4727</b>	Toilet jar		<b>MISSING</b>
<b>JE 4728</b>	Toilet jar		<b>MISSING</b>
<b>JE 4729</b>	Toilet jar		<b>MISSING</b>
<b>JE 4730</b>	Toilet jar		<b>MISSING</b>
<b>JE 4731</b>	Wooden box		<b>MISSING</b>
<b>JE 4732</b>	Headrest	Seq. 29	<i>Wooden pillow/Chevet en bois</i>

**Table 2** = List of correspondence between the objects recorded in the *JE* and those listed in the two manuscripts of February 25<sup>th</sup> (Arabic and French lists)



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