

# The Royal Cache Revisited

*The story of how, on July 6th 1881, Emile Brugsch from the Service des Antiquités was brought by Mohammed Abd er Rassul to a tomb hidden in a spur of the cliffs at Deir el Bahari and found it to contain (amongst others) the mummies of many famous Pharaohs of the New Kingdom, has been used to add colour to virtually every travel guide and general text on Ancient Egypt over the last hundred years. Whilst such romantic accounts are more or less vague and inaccurate, as justification the authors can cite the official reports on the discovery, which employ language scarcely less florid, and provide little more in the way of specific detail. This important discovery is in fact one of the most poorly documented in Egyptology.*

## DYLAN BICKERSTAFFE

The appearance on the antiquities market of funerary goods belonging to a Theban priestly-royal house of the 21<sup>st</sup> Dynasty had first alerted the Service to the existence of an important tomb. In the 1870s, Auguste Mariette, the Service Director, had purchased two beautiful papyri for the museum in Bulaq; and his successor, Gaston Maspero, was later able to cite several examples of shabtis, papyri and wooden stele, seen in the hands of European purchasers and clearly from the same tomb. The American collector, Charles Edwin Wilbour, a friend and student of Maspero's, was then able to trace the goods back to the consular agent at Luxor, Mustapha Aga Ayat; and thence to the Abd er Rassul brothers of nearby Qurna.

Interrogation and the offer of bribes on board the Museum steamer in Luxor, and torture in Qena by its Governor, Daoud Pasha, initially revealed nothing. But the continued pressure, coupled with offer of an amnesty and a huge reward, finally led to the eldest brother, Mohammed, revealing the secret of the tomb (TT320) to Daoud Pasha. Since Maspero was in Paris, it was his assistant, Emile Brugsch, who received the order from the Khedive to travel up-river to investigate. Within the tomb were not only the anticipated 21<sup>st</sup> Dynasty family burials, but also a cache of kings, queens and other royalty of the New Kingdom; hence the name it was given, Royal Cache or Cachette.

This much is fairly well understood, but the testimony of the brothers as to how the tomb was first discovered is the stuff of folklore, and the question of how many years it had been exploited prior to surrender to the authorities continues to be disputed. These issues will be examined in due course. More importantly, the question of where within the tomb Brugsch found specific coffins and artefacts is one that has troubled researchers over many years, since this might provide clues as to how the cache developed in antiquity. Unfortunately all the official reports were written by Maspero who worked second-hand from the testimony of Brugsch. The problem was compounded by the fact that

the plans and dimensions of the tomb left by Brugsch and Maspero were imprecise and contradictory. Only when the tomb was reopened by the combined German/Russian mission, under Professor Erhart Graefe and Dr. Galina Belova in 1998, was it possible to answer many questions through plans and diagrams made available from the first proper survey of the internal tomb structure.<sup>1</sup>

### The Tomb Structure

All early accounts of the Royal Cache describe the tomb structure and then the disposition of contents within. It makes sense to examine the reports on the tomb structure first since the recent survey of the interior now allows them to be assessed; and on this topic Maspero's wording in *BIE* and *La Trouvaille de Deir el-Bahari* is absolutely identical:

In the rock face which separates Deir el-Bahari from the next cleft, just behind the hill of Sheikh Abd-el-Gurna, about sixty metres above the level of the cultivated ground, had been dug a shaft eleven and a half metres deep and about two metres wide. At the bottom of the shaft, on the west side was effected the entrance to a passage 1.4 metres wide and 80 cm high. After running for 7.40 metres it turned sharply northwards and continued for another 60 metres, the measurements

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*Cache Valley: Excavators' gazebo at head*

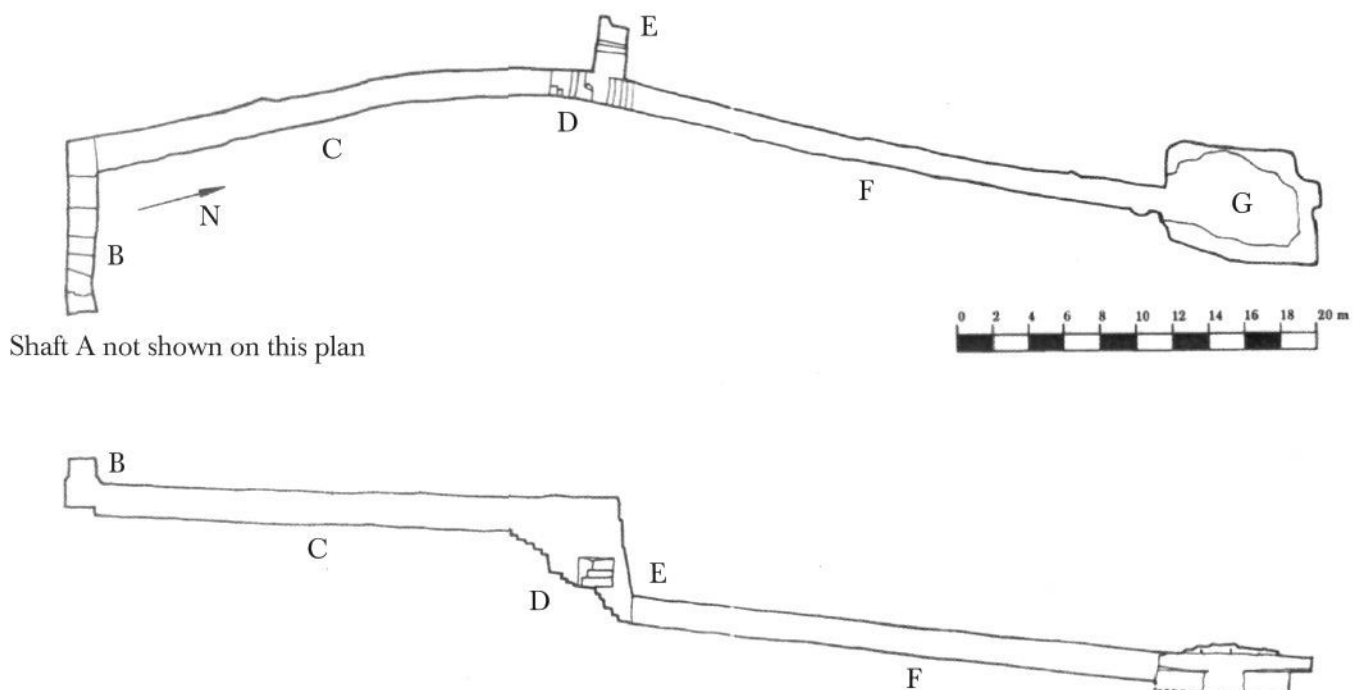
never remaining constant: in places the passage attained 2 metres width, and in others no more than 1.30 metres; near the middle five or six roughly cut steps signified a marked change in level, and on the right hand side an unfinished niche showed that another change in direction of the passage had at one time been considered. Finally it opened out into an irregular, oblong chamber about eight metres long.<sup>12</sup>

pratique' as the 'effected' entrance (we might say, the robbers hole!); and later in his *Les Momies Royales de Deir el-Bahari* of 1889 he more clearly stated that the dimensions given for the entrance were *dans son état actuel*, i.e., 'as found'.

The recent survey allows us to see these figures, which for so long confused researchers, as useful indicators of the entry to the tomb made by the Abd er Rassul brothers. However, as will be seen, Maspero's account contains nu-

The account is broadly accurate in terms of the gross dimensions of the tomb. Thus the entrance passage is about 7.40 metres long, and, after the right turn, the two main corridors plus the intervening stairs do amount to a run of approximately 60 metres; the greatest extent of the end chamber also being about 8 metres.

The recent clearance found the shaft to be 13 metres deep, but Brugsch probably only deepened the access dug by the Abd er Rassul brothers sufficiently to allow the removal of coffins; so, at the time, 11.50 metres was probably a reasonable estimate. Similarly, the apparent error in describing the opening to the entrance passage, at the western base of the shaft, as 1.4 metres wide and 0.80 high, as opposed to the true 1.68 and 1.80 metres respectively, is probably due to Maspero's reiteration of what Brugsch first encountered. In the above quotation I translated his phrase 'on



Shaft A not shown on this plan

*Figure 1. Plan and elevation of TT320, reproduced with the kind permission of Prof. Erhart Graefe.*

merous errors of omission and some straight errors, such as the 'five or six roughly cut steps' (there are actually seventeen) which are supposed to change the level 'near the middle' of the main passage, and the adjacent 'unfinished niche' being said to open from the right, when it should be from the left.

In January 1882 Maspero took the opportunity to visit the tomb in the company of Brugsch and the original discoverers, the Abd er Rassul brothers. Also with the party was the American reporter, Edward Wilson, who took the famous picture of the group round the mouth of the shaft. After describing his descent by means of a rope slung over a palm log, Wilson continues:

At the bottom of the shaft, on the right and left wall of the entrance to the subterranean chamber, were written in black ink some curious inscriptions..... Professor Maspero being desirous of having photographs made of these inscriptions, the little American camera was set for the work, and succeeded in securing them even there in the bowels of the earth.<sup>3</sup>

These inscriptions were of considerable importance since they recorded, on the right door jamb, the burial of Neskhnos in Year 5; and on the left that of her husband, the High Priest Pinudjem (II) in Year 10:<sup>4</sup> both having been members of the 21<sup>st</sup> Dynasty Theban, priestly-royal family whose papyri had passed through the hands of the robbers. The Neskhnos inscription has now vanished and that of Pinudjem was found partly collapsed by the 1998 expedition and removed for conservation. All that survives *in situ* is an aborted attempt at the Pinudjem inscription, abandoned after two lines.

The Neskhnos inscription mentioned 'seals which are on this place' and then began to list each of the priestly officials who had placed their seals there (the end, even then, being broken away). Maspero says that this prompted him to discover 'in the sand and amongst the fragments of stone which littered the bottom of the shaft...about a score of clay seal blocks which bore traces of characters stamped on one face.' The recent clearance discovered more fragments of these seals and was able to show that Maspero was wrong



*Down Shaft A*

to suppose that they had sealed wooden doors: the backs revealing that a rough stone wall had been plastered with Nile mud before being stamped; a ceremony that, to judge by the differing mud plasters, had been performed on at least three separate occasions.

As Maspero's party advanced through the tomb, Wilson noted scattered objects overlooked or abandoned during Brugsch's hasty clearance, many of which have come to light in the recent excavation:



*Unfinished graffito of Pinudjem II*

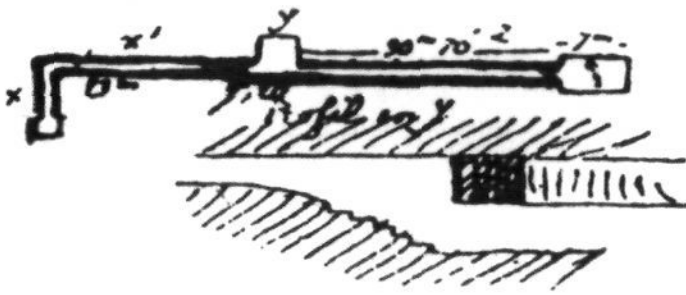


Figure 2a: Maspero - sketch - Berlin Congress, 1881

The rough way was scattered with fragments of mummy-cases, shreds of mummy-cloth, bunches of papyrus plant, lotus flowers, and palm-leaf stalks, while here and there a funeral offering was found.”<sup>5</sup>

It seems doubtful if any measurements of the tomb interior were made at this time since the plan/elevation appearing in Maspero’s 1889 publication, *Momies Royales*, and the plan (and accompanying text) in Brugsch’s *La Tente Funeraire de la Princesse Isimkheb* of 1889 each give the same dimensions for the Upper Corridor (C); the Lower Corridor (F); and the End Chamber (G) as appeared in the thumbnail sketch that Maspero used in his presentation to the Berlin Congress of Orientalists in September 1881. These measurements can therefore only have been gathered by Brugsch at the time of his clearance of the tomb in July 1881. The

sketches, simplifying the slight curve of the corridors into straight lines, and rough corners into sharp right angles. Such simplifications are, perhaps, to be expected, but with regard to specific details one can only reiterate the words of Professor Graefe:

...there is no other way to account for the discrepancies between these original plans – and what proves to be the reality of the tomb as discovered in its recent investigation and re-clearance – than to suppose that [they] drew their sketches from memory.<sup>6</sup>

These sketches then received Brugsch’s original measurements as labels, but applied differently in each case! Thus, 23.80 metres is the correct length for the Upper Corridor: but not to include the width of the Entrance Passage (B) as does Brugsch; or to include the Stairs (D) as far as the Niche (E), as does Maspero. Similar problems arise with the employment of the virtually accurate 30.70 metres for the Lower Corridor (F): the crux of all these difficulties being how the two men recalled the configuration of the stairs and niche (see below).

However, it is with the heights that the real problems occur. Although Maspero’s text continued (as in *La Trouvaille de Deir el-Bahari*) to imply that 0.80 metres was simply the height of the entrance to the tomb forced by the Abd er Rassul brothers, his plan/elevation applies this dimension to the length of the entire Entrance Passage (B)! Brugsch’s

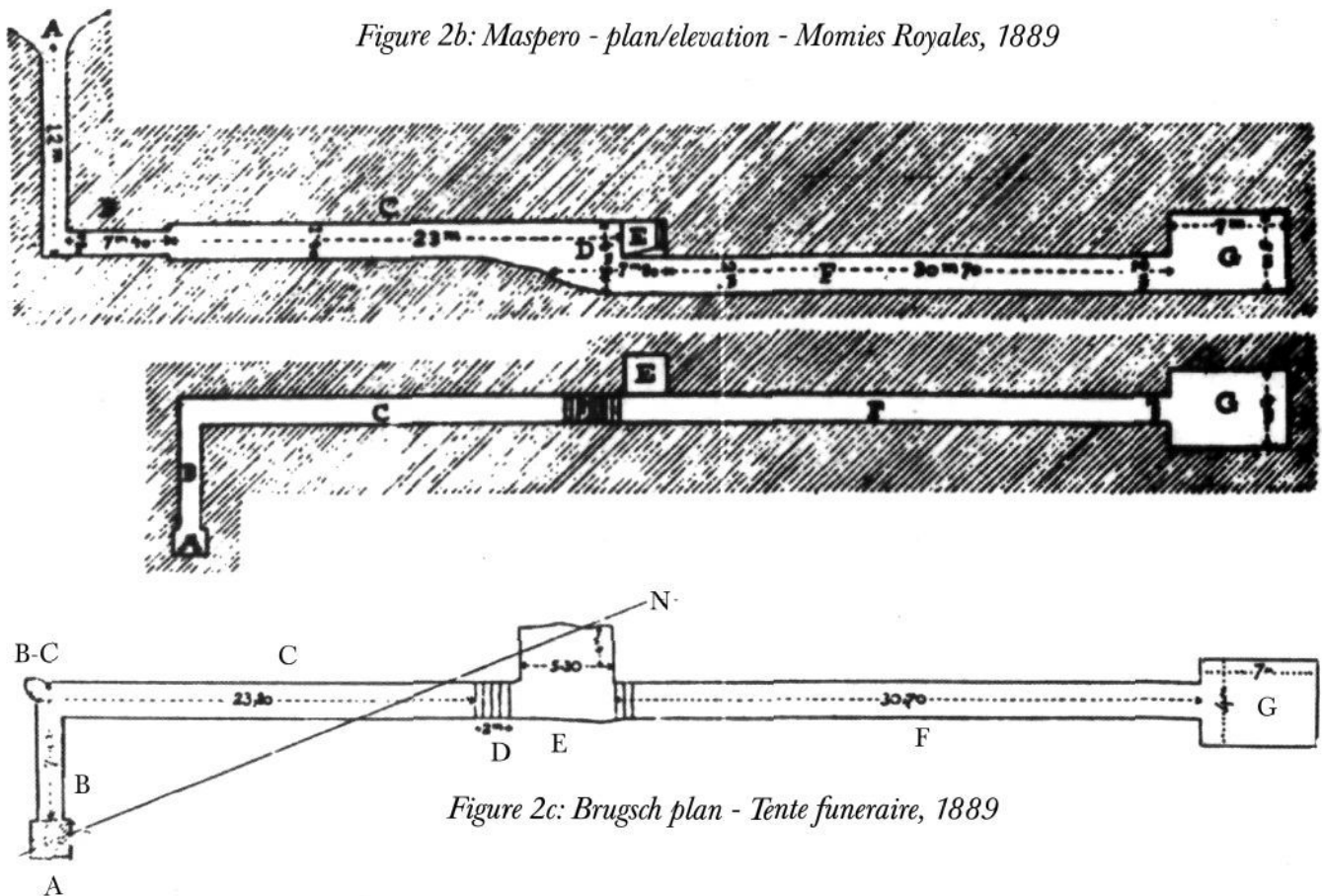


Figure 2b: Maspero - plan/elevation - *Momies Royales*, 1889

Figure 2c: Brugsch plan - *Tente funeraire*, 1889



text does little better in stating that it was 115 cm high (and 140 cm broad).

Curiously, a more accurate figure of 1.80 metres did appear sporadically in editions of the Cairo Museum Guide (in 1883, 1892, 1906 and 1915) but this is only true for Passage B at the tomb entrance itself: because the floor actually descends through a series of broad, shallow, sloping steps, it is actually 3.92 metres high by the far end. Here, at the bottom of this rough stairway, the floor is cut down on the right, dropping some 2-3 feet, to enter the Main Corridor (C). Maspero seems to have (at 1.4 metres) underestimated the height of this corridor which maintains about 1.8 metres along its length. Whilst the ceiling remains intact, the walls have collapsed along their length, but, after clearance, it was possible to show that the width, which Maspero said varied continually between 1.3 and 2 metres, was sometimes as little as 1.10 metres.

The greatest error in the information provided by Brugsch and Maspero occurs as Corridor C meets the descending staircase. The ceiling here is an extension of the ceiling in Corridor C, whilst the stairs are cut down to the level of Corridor F below, which then continues in the same direction. This was probably done in an attempt to find a better seam of rock and, indeed, near the bottom of the staircase, in the left hand wall, a new corridor had been commenced, but then abandoned:

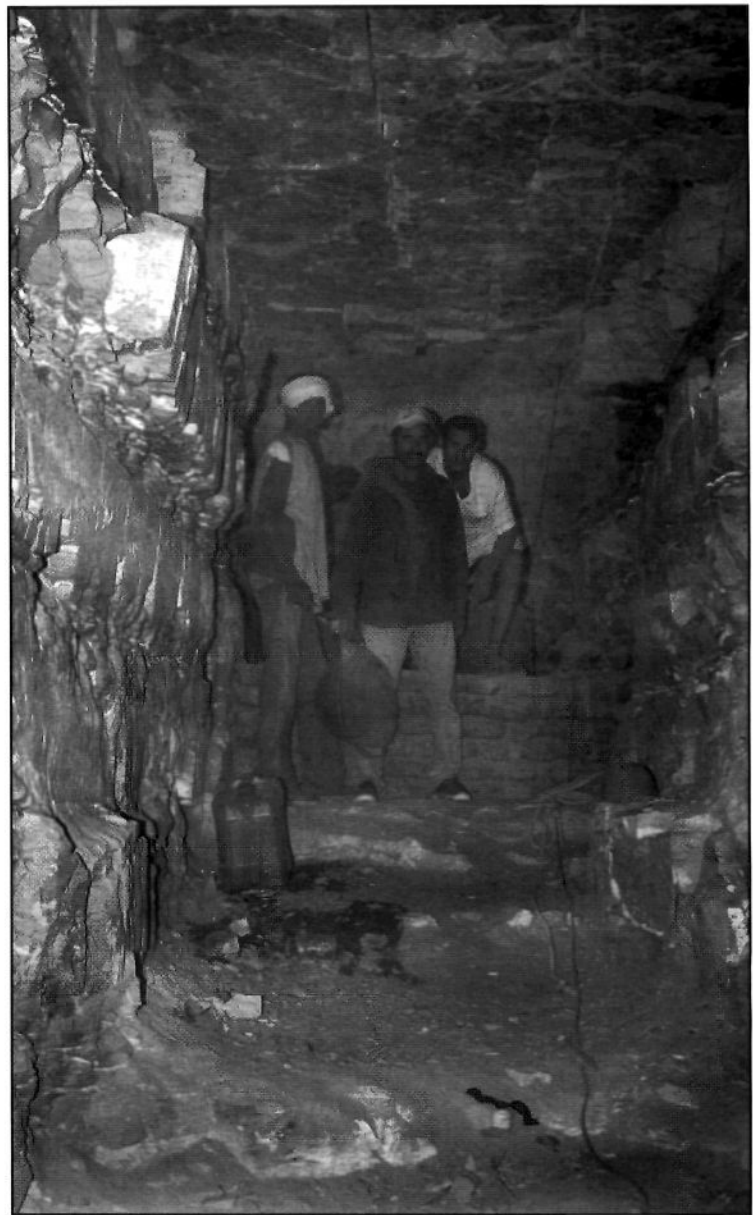
It does not have an even floor, but three planes/ steps of different heights. The uppermost is 70 cm below the ceiling, its length being about 1.5 – 1.6 metres. The total length of the niche at ceiling level is only 3 metres.<sup>7</sup>

This abandoned cutting Maspero termed the 'niche inachevée'. However, this Niche (E) is indicated on his elevation as though cut to sit perched just below ceiling level, high above the bottom of the staircase and the entrance to Corridor F, and requiring a ladder for access.

At first sight Brugsch's plan does appear to accurately represent the niche as located something over half way down the stairs, and his text notes that: '...a few sloping steps, irregularly and unevenly cut, pass in front of a chamber, whose floor is about 1.20 higher than the corridor'<sup>8</sup>

Probably Brugsch was here referring to the fact that the back of the Niche (E) is stepped-up higher than the stairs adjacent. However, his following words illustrate the problems researchers had interpreting these early reports: '...the passage comes back to the previous level by means of some steps and emerges, after 30m 70 into a room 7m long and 4m 30 wide.'<sup>9</sup> [Burial Chamber G]

We now know that Brugsch meant that, after a few more descending steps, the lower corridor (F) resumed a horizontal course. These words could, however, just as easily have been read to suggest that Corridors C and F ran on



*Up Entrance Passage B to Shaft A*

the same level, with stairs dropping down to, and rising up from, a chamber (E) in-between. Further, although Brugsch's plan suggests an irregular rear wall for Niche E, he gives no hint of its stepped floor, describes it as a 'chamber', and gives its width (no more than 1.8 metres) as 5.3 metres!

There is no intimation in Maspero's elevation of the gentle descent made by Corridor F as it proceeds towards Burial Chamber G, but this is unsurprising since it is virtually imperceptible on site. However, it is hard to understand how Maspero was able to depict Burial Chamber (G) as 5 metres high, when it simply continues the height of Corridor F, at 1.80 metres. Indeed, the American photographer, Wilson, who accompanied Brugsch on the 1882 visit, correctly recalled the height of the chamber as 'barely six feet'.

The floor plan dimensions of 7 x 4 metres are shared in the plans of both men, but are nothing more than a vague



*From Corridor C to Entrance Passage B.  
note the steps*

approximation of a roughly rectangular chamber giving no indication of the metre-wide shelf which is cut round both sides and the end, at about a metre from the floor.

What is truly remarkable is that the written reports, first describing the tomb structure, and then detailing tomb contents, were to change in subsequent publications in only the smallest points of detail. Indeed, Maspero's 1882 visit seems only to have clarified matters by correctly adding that the Niche (E) was 3 metres deep: the inaccuracies of his plan/elevation doing much to confound the efforts of future researchers.

No further attempted plans are known though the tomb was again explored by Charles Henry Breasted on his honeymoon visit to Luxor in 1894, and probably again by Emile Baraize around 1901 (to judge from a newspaper bande-rolle found in the Entrance Passage 'B'). Ambrose Lansing cleared most of the shaft in 1919, finding some fragments of an 18<sup>th</sup> Dynasty coffin and incidentally noting that the Entrance Passage 'was nearly blocked with fallen stone'. Finally in 1938 Bernard Bruyere cleared the shaft sufficiently to provide Jaroslav Cerny access to the 21<sup>st</sup> Dynasty hieratic dockets around the doorway of Entrance Passage (B), which he left filled with limestone chips.

This is the background against which anyone attempting to deduce the placement of items within the tomb has had to struggle, so the recent survey has performed a valuable service in providing a clear basis for discussion. There

was, however, just one occasion when the position of coffins and other funerary goods could have been described, and that was when Brugsch cleared the tomb in 1881. The problem is that he rapidly evacuated the tomb, never publishing any proper list or order of tomb contents.

### Indecent Haste?

Although, on July 6<sup>th</sup>, Mohammed was surrendering the tomb his family had plundered for so many years in return for an amnesty (and the hope of a reward), and the Governor of Qena had provided an escort, Brugsch was uncertain of the temper of the notoriously volatile Qurnawis who must have been concerned at the loss of a major source of income to their village. He took the precaution of bringing his rifle to the tomb clearance because he had cause to be afraid, having been vigorously involved in the initial interrogation of the main perpetrator, Ahmed Abd er Rassul.

To Brugsch's mind, the priority was to clear the tomb as rapidly as possible before local resentment turned into outright obstruction or hostility. He was probably aware of the wild rumours of fantastic wealth that were even now sweeping the region. As Maspero later put it:

Already their imaginations were fired: they spoke of cases filled with gold, of diamond and ruby necklaces, of talismans. It was necessary to act quickly, if he didn't want to be exposed to attempted robbery, or perhaps even armed attacks.<sup>10</sup>

Indeed, there seemed to be evidence of just such an attempt:

I have since learnt, from the testimony of a priest of Neggadeh, that the sheikhs of a village near Karnak had opened negotiations with a band of Ababdehs to cross the Nile during the night and attack our workers. The speed with which MM. Brugsch, Mohammed-Bey and Ahmed Effendi Kamal proceeded to remove the mummies foiled this plot.<sup>11</sup>

Though the tomb contents were undoubtedly confused, and inscriptions on coffins may not always have been easy to read, the two hours that occupied Brugsch's initial survey were long enough to take some measurements, and note the locations of finds. Then the whole of the night of the 6<sup>th</sup> was also available to him for further, more detailed study: whilst three hundred local men were recruited for the work of clearance which was then effected in forty-eight hours. Reis Mohammed of the Museum steamboat supervised the removal of items from the tomb from within whilst Brugsch, accompanied by Antiquities Service employees Ahmed Kemal and Tadrus Moutafian:

...received the objects as they came up and sorted them out as best they could on the ground, had them transported to the foot of the hill and arranged side by side, without ever relaxing their vigilance for a instant.<sup>12</sup>

Even at this point, a note of the order in which coffins emerged from the tomb would have proved of value: but no such record is known. It seems incredible that at least one of the Service staff did not make some sort of note. Any semblance of the original order was then lost as the tomb contents were conveyed to the Nile: the largest coffins requiring twelve to sixteen bearers and taking seven to eight hours to make the journey:

At last, on the evening of the 11th, all the mummies and coffins were at Luxor, carefully wrapped in matting and canvas. Three days later the Museum's steamer arrived and no sooner was it loaded than it set sail back to Bulaq with its cargo of kings.<sup>13</sup>

### The Layout of the Coffins within the Cache and the K3y of Inhapy

As already noted, for the location of coffins and other funerary items within the tomb researchers have had to rely on the reports of Maspero, based upon the recollections of Brugsch, which were to vary very little from that appearing in *La Trouvaille...* of November 1881, given below:

The first object that struck the eyes of Mr Emile Brugsch, when he arrived at the bottom of the shaft, was a white and yellow coffin with the name Nebseni. It was in the passage, 0.60 metres from the entrance; a little further along was a coffin whose shape recalled the style of the XVII<sup>th</sup> dynasty, then the Queen Duathathor Henttawy, then Seti I. Beside the coffins and scattered on the ground were boxes of funerary statuettes, canopic jars, bronze libation vases, and, right at the end, in the angle made by the passage as it turned northward, was the funeral tent of Queen Isiemkheb, bent and crumpled like a valueless object, which a priest in a hurry to get out had thrown carelessly into a corner.

The length of the main passage was similarly obstructed and disordered: it was necessary to advance on all fours without knowing where one was putting hands and feet. The coffins and the mummies, rapidly glimpsed by the light of a candle bore historic names. Amenhotep I, Thutmose II, in the niche by the stairs, Ahmose I and his son Siamun, Seqenenre, the Queen Ahhotpe, Ahmose Nefertari and others.

In the end chamber, the confusion was at its height,<sup>14</sup> but it was possible to see at first glance that the style of the XX<sup>th</sup> dynasty predominated.<sup>15</sup>

Two of the deviations from the above account may be disregarded as misguided attempts at 'correction'. Thus the *BIE* report of 1881 erroneously assigns the white and yellow coffin first encountered in the tomb to Nesikhonsu [Neskhons]: whose coffin was actually a rather fine, gilded example of the 21<sup>st</sup> Dynasty. In this same report Maspero provided a possible candidate for the 17<sup>th</sup> Dynasty coffin (second from the tomb entrance) when he said that the coffin of Rai "from the style appeared to be contemporary

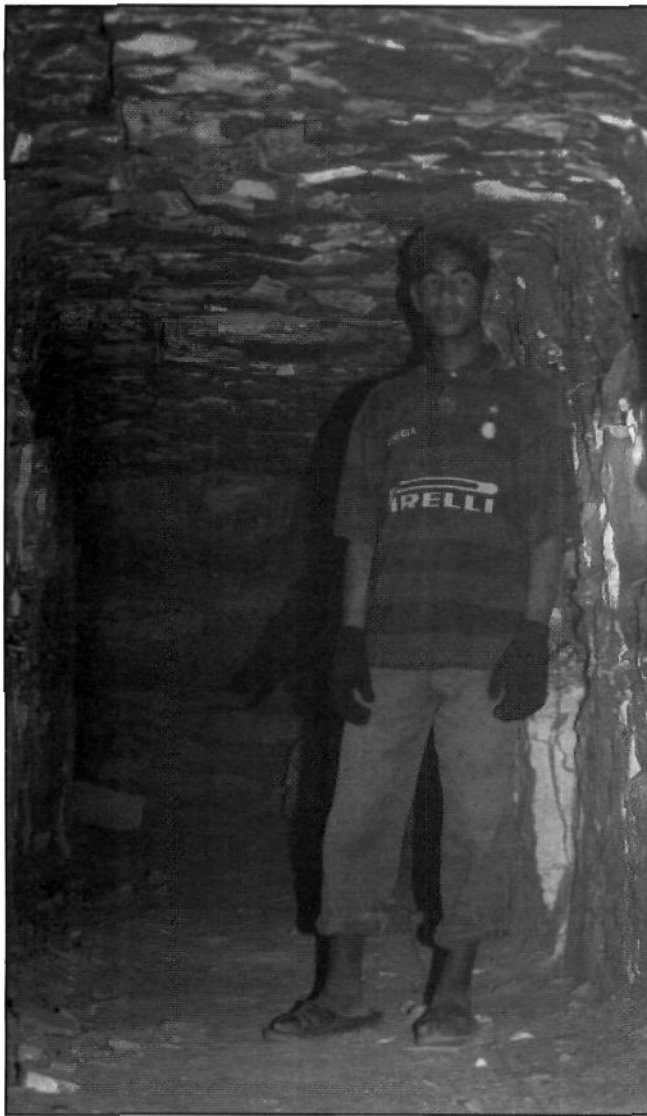


*Along Corridor C from top of Stairs D*

with Seqenenre Ta'o". Later however, in *Mummies Royales*, he altered the wording so that the second coffin *was* that of Seqenenre Ta'o, requiring that his coffin be omitted from those listed further in the tomb. This revised interpretation was endorsed by Georges Daressy when he published the coffins in 1912 and failed to identify any 17<sup>th</sup> Dynasty coffin in the Cache except that of Seqenenre. However, it is now generally accepted that the 17<sup>th</sup> Dynasty coffin that Brugsch saw was indeed Rai's.

In 1979 Elizabeth Thomas published a paper<sup>16</sup> that accepted that Brugsch had seen coffins lining Entrance Passage (B), but again questioned his judgement as to the second coffin and suggested that it was, in fact, one of Queen Henttawy's pair, meaning that her cases occupied both second and third positions from the tomb entrance. Thomas thought that Corridor (C) contained only a few coffins of unidentified persons, and possibly also Djedptahiufankh and Nestanebtishru of the 22<sup>nd</sup> Dynasty: the disorder seen by Brugsch being thus in Niche (E), which his dimensions permitted to contain all the New Kingdom mummies in the tomb (a total of 22, including Nodjmet). To the Lower Corridor (F) she provisionally assigned a few coffins, and in End Chamber (G) placed the bulk of the 21<sup>st</sup> Dynasty burials, and Ramesses IX.





*Corridor F towards Stairs D*

In support of this arrangement, Thomas drew on two docket, written *in the fourth month of the Peret season, Year 10 of King Siamun* in near identical form on each of the coffins of Ramesses I, Seti I, and Ramesses II (henceforth 'the Ramesside group'). The first of these dockets was written on Day 17 and recorded the removal of the Ramesside group from the tomb of Seti I (KV17), where they had been stored:

in order to take them into this *k3y* of Inhapy which is in the Great Place where King Amenhotep rests.

Inhapy was a queen of the late 17<sup>th</sup> /early 18<sup>th</sup> Dynasty whose mummy was found in TT320. The word *k3y* conveys some sense of height and is 'determined' by the hieroglyphic sign for a stone slab; and so the *k3y* of Inhapy has been interpreted variously as her 'high place'; 'high crag'; 'cliff tomb'; or simply 'tomb'. The term 'Great Place' is generally applied to the royal necropolis, but might be used to indicate a part of it, or even conceivably, a single tomb.

Early translators such as Breasted, thought that Inhapy's tomb was in the part of the necropolis containing the tomb

of Amenhotep I. Herbert Winlock refined this interpretation to accept tomb AN B, discovered by Howard Carter, as that of Amenhotep I, and its location on Dra Abu'l-Naga as the Great Place: Inhapy's tomb thus being hidden somewhere nearby. This idea was, of course, supported by the fact that Dra Abu'l-Naga was a well known 17<sup>th</sup> Dynasty royal cemetery. However, in 1931, Winlock<sup>17</sup> was persuaded by Eric Peet that the dockets actually meant that the Ramesside group were being brought into Inhapy's tomb which was itself the Great Place, in which King Amenhotep rested. Since the mummies of all five of these royal persons were found in the royal cache, it was but a short step to see TT320 as the tomb of Inhapy.

The second docket on the Ramesside group of coffins was dated just three days later, on Day 20, and recorded the movement of the Ramesside group: 'to rest in the Mansion of Eternity in which Amenhotep is.'

The term Mansion of Eternity certainly means a tomb, and if the *k3y* of Inhapy entered by the Ramesside group on Day 17 was Inhapy's tomb, then the 'Mansion' would appear to have been a different one. The implication that the tomb entered on Day 20 was TT320 is perhaps strengthened by the fact that the left door jamb there records the burial of Pinudjem II, on the same Day 20 (4<sup>th</sup> Peret, Year 10), by largely the same officials as were involved in moving the Ramesside group. Researchers who wished to identify TT320 as the *k3y* of Inhapy have tended to ignore the second, Day 20, move of the Ramesside group: suggesting rather that because Amenhotep was joined on both occasions, both Day 17 and Day 20 dockets refer to one event.

Thomas felt that 18<sup>th</sup> Dynasty chisel marks seen by John Romer at the head of the shaft supported the identification of TT320 with Inhapy's tomb, but thought that the location, specified on the dockets, was actually Niche (E): shown in Maspero's diagram as a 'High Place' relative to the family vault of Pinudjem II in End Chamber (G). The fact that it is now evident that Niche (E) is located towards the bottom of the Staircase (D), and could have held perhaps two coffins at best, rather disposes of Thomas' high placed 'Hall' of New Kingdom mummies.

In 1990, Nicholas Reeves made a systematic attempt to analyse all the available records and deduce a realistic reconstruction of the tomb contents found by Brugsch<sup>18</sup>. He envisaged Entrance Passage (B) with four coffins: that of Nebseni: found later to contain Unknown Man 'C'; one of 17<sup>th</sup> Dynasty style, identified with that of Rai: later found to contain Queen Ahmose Inhapy; followed by the coffins of Duathathor Henttawy and Seti I with their original occupants. Beside these were placed shabti boxes, canopic jars and libation vessels. Reeves speculated that the coffins nearby in Upper Corridor (C) were likely to have included the fragments belonging to Ramesses I, since the dockets on his and Seti I's coffin showed they had travelled together. Maspero described these fragments as follows:

Remains of a coffin with a yellow background, of which the lid only is intact... The box is broken. We have several fragments... These pieces of wood were placed at



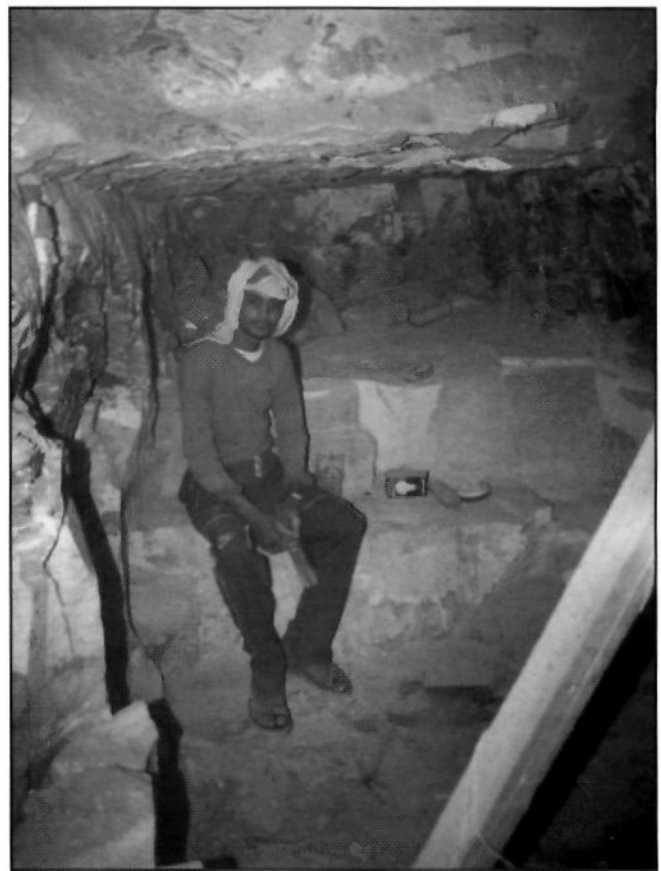
the side of the coffin of Thutmose I in the neighbourhood of a naked cadaver.<sup>19</sup>

This outer coffin of Thutmose I had, in fact, been usurped in antiquity by Pinudjem I to contain his own, inner coffin. It contained an anonymous male mummy whose likeness to Thutmose II and III led Maspero later to propose as the missing Thutmose I. The naked cadaver he suggested was Ramesses I. Reeves also notes Brugsch's placement of Amenhotep I and Thutmose II in this same corridor (C).

Niche (E) was said to have held the coffins (with mummies) of Ahmose I, Siamun and Seqenenre Ta'o; Ahhotpe, containing both her mummy and the inner coffin and mummy of Ramesses III; and others (which Reeves thought might include Thutmose III and Ramesses II since they were mentioned without specific location later in the 1881 reports). The End Chamber [G] was seen to contain the 21<sup>st</sup> Dynasty burials.

Reeves made some valuable observations including the fact that, although they undoubtedly ransacked the contents, the Abd er Rassul brothers were unlikely to have been able (or to have wished) to move heavy coffins about in the confines of the tomb, although smaller items might have been misplaced. Therefore, what Brugsch saw probably reflected the final placement in antiquity. From this order of contents Reeves deduced that Ramesses I, Seti I and Ramesses II must have all been placed in the tomb before Inhapy, who was in the coffin of Rai, only second from the entrance. Since Inhapy had also retained none of her funerary goods it seemed particularly unlikely that TT320 was her own tomb. Further, it seemed probable that Ramesses II had been found further inside the tomb than Amenhotep I, meaning that the dockets on the Rameside trio did not record their transfer to join him here in TT320 but previously in another tomb. Reeves thought that the Day 17 and Day 20 dockets referred to just one transfer: to Inhapy's tomb on the same Day 20 that Pinudjem II entered TT320. His candidate for the 'High Place' of Inhapy was the inaccessible Bab el Maaleg, cut high in the cliffs south of Deir el Bahari; from whence the royal mummies were to emerge to fill the upper spaces in TT320 only much later, sometime after the Year 11 of Shoshenq I recorded on the bandages of Djedptahiufankh.

In 1995, David Rohl advanced a revised interpretation of Egyptian chronology that considered the layout of coffins within the Royal Cache as one of the strands of evidence.<sup>20</sup> The plan of the tomb utilised was essentially that of Brugsch, and the layout of contents that of Thomas. Rohl recognised that the dockets on the coffins of the Ramesside group on Day 17 and Day 20 recorded movements to two separate locations. In each case these mummies (and presumably the other New Kingdom royalty) travelled to join Amenhotep I: in the High Place of Inhapy on Day 17; and in the Royal cache on the same Day 20 that Pinudjem II was buried there: the tomb then being sealed. The chronological conundrum was that the mummy of Djedptahiufankh (and probably also that of Nestanebtishru) carried dockets which showed it could not have been buried until

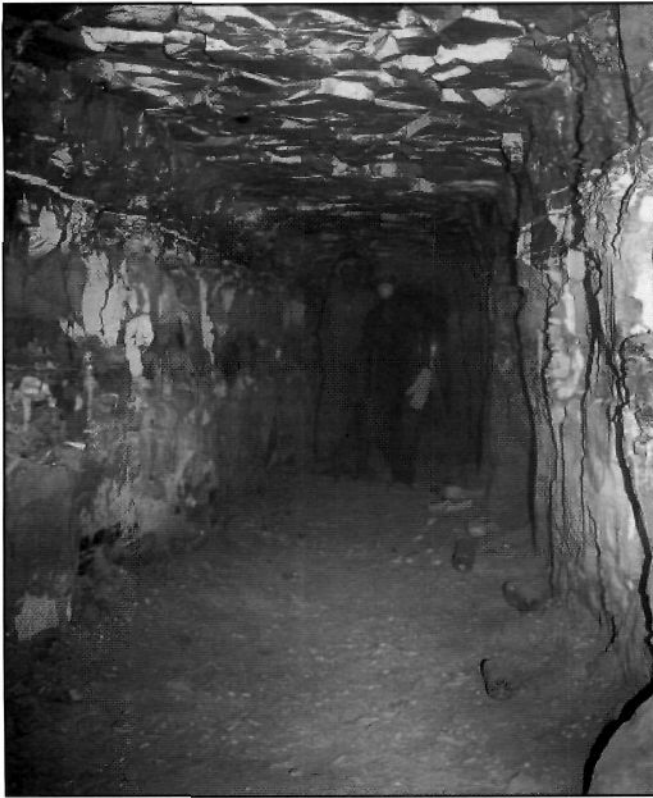


*Into Niche E*

long after the tomb was closed following the burial of Pinudjem II and the royal mummies: and there did not appear to have been enough room in Entrance Passage (B) to allow this coffin to be brought past the four mentioned as lining it by Brugsch. Of course, we now know that the entrance passage was high enough to permit the entry of fresh burials, but that in Upper Corridor (C) this would have been extremely difficult.

Rohl's candidate for the *k3y* of Inhapy was KV39, a double tomb which he proposed was cut first for queen Inhapy and then extended by Amenhotep I for his own burial. The location accords with the description by an inspection team in Papyrus Abbott for the tomb of Amenhotep I; and appropriately for a king who was later to be revered as patron of the necropolis, is cut into the pyramidal peak of Meretseger, overlooking, establishing and sanctifying the Valley of the Kings.

In 1997 I produced a short pamphlet<sup>21</sup> concerning one of the mummies from the Royal Cache and, as part of this, attempted to deduce what I could of the arrangements of tomb contents in antiquity. Even though the claim of the Abd er Rassul brothers, that they visited the tomb just three or four times for a few hours only, seemed highly dubious, I still did not consider it likely that they exerted themselves unnecessarily in dragging coffins about within the tomb. In which case, the disposition observed by Brugsch, though much rummaged-through and ransacked, should essentially have been the final one of antiquity. As mentioned previously, Brugsch published no first-hand report on the layout



*Looking up Corridor F from End Chamber G*

of the cache contents. However, on his return to the tomb with Maspero in January 1882 he took the opportunity to talk directly to the American journalist, Edward Wilson, who naturally wanted to hear the first-hand account of the discoverer himself. This was the one occasion that Brugsch's story appeared in print<sup>22</sup> without Maspero acting as intermediary. More significantly, the story was given to Wilson as his memory was refreshed during the exploration of the tomb interior:

Herr Brugsch told me the whole story of this historical 'find'. It was a unique interview. It made such an impression upon my mind that I can repeat the story here from memory, though I do not, of course, claim that the report is verbatim.<sup>23</sup>

Brugsch is quoted as saying:

The well cleared out, I descended and began the exploration of the underground passage. Soon we came upon cases of porcelain, funeral offerings, metal and alabaster vessels, draperies and trinkets, until, reaching the turn in the passage, a cluster of mummy cases came into view in such number as to stagger me. Collecting my senses, I made the best examination of them I could by the light of my torch, and at once saw that they contained the mummies of royal personages of both sexes;...<sup>24</sup>

This seems to show clearly enough that the Entrance Passage (B) contained only small funerary items and that the

four coffins described by Maspero must have lined the main corridor, starting some 60cm from the corner; and so were part of '...the cluster of mummy cases...in such number as to stagger me.' Indeed, simple arithmetic shows us that the entrance passage, at 7.4 metres long, cannot have contained the four coffins described by Maspero placed end to end, since (with the initial 60cm gap), they would have extended 9.26 metres!

Immediately after news of the reopening of TT320 was made public, I contacted Professor Graefe with the above points, and he was kind enough to respond with specific details from the 1998 survey: 'The entrance corridor which opens at the bottom of the shaft is a descending ramp with very rough, rock-hewn steps. I doubt very much that this was suitable for depositing coffins.'<sup>25</sup>

In the same letter, he described the small, cramped nature of Niche (E), cut low near the bottom of the stairs (see quote above); concluding: 'This means that it is impossible that as many as 5+ coffins, as Maspero was told, could have been deposited there.'

When I came to rewrite the passages concerning the Cache contents as part of a longer work, I found that a description of the tomb contents by Amelia Edwards, based on unpublished letters, manuscripts and proofs supplied by Maspero himself, appeared to show the same sequence: of small objects in the entrance passage, Isiemkheb's funerary canopy at the corner, and then coffins in the main corridor:

Pieces of broken mummy cases and fragments of linen bandages strewn the floor. Against the walls were piled boxes filled with porcelain statuettes, libation jars of bronze and terracotta, and canopic vases of precious Lycopolitan alabaster. In the corner to the left, where the long passage branched northward, flung carelessly down in a tumbled heap, perhaps by the hand of the last officiating priest, lay the funeral canopy of Queen Isiemkheb.

Then came several huge sarcophagi of painted wood, and farther on still, some standing upright, some laid at length, a crowd of mummy cases fashioned in human form, with folded hands and solemn faces and ever-wakeful eyes, each emblazoned with the name and titles of its occupant.

Here lay Queen Hathor Honttau, wife of Pinotem I; yonder stood Seti I; then came Amenhotep I and Thuthmes II; and farther still, Ahmes I, and Sekenenre, and Thuthmes III, and Queen Ahmes Nofretari, and Rameses, surnamed the Great.<sup>26</sup>

This somewhat romantic account implies that, noting only small finds in Entrance Passage (B), Brugsch turned into Upper Corridor (C), saw 'a cluster of mummy cases in such numbers as to stagger me', recorded the names of the first four, and then collected only occasional famous New Kingdom names as the disruption and disorder forced him to advance on all fours. Here, perhaps, we see some sort of explanation for the lack of any thorough order of contents

being produced by Brugsch at the time of discovery: the Abd er Rassuls had pulled over coffins which were, in places, stacked two deep, taken lids off and disturbed mummies, and there was simply no way of examining them without first clearing the tomb.

None of the accounts add anything concerning the contents of Lower Corridor (F) beyond the steps, but it is probable that some New Kingdom coffins lay here since Niche (E) cannot have housed more than one or two. A certain amount of debris might well have been encountered since the end chamber was obviously the source of much of the material seen on the market.

Wilson records Brugsch's discovery of the End Chamber (G), with the richer, gilded coffins of the 21<sup>st</sup> Dynasty, as follows:



*Looking out of End Chamber G to Corridor F.  
Note the shelf on the left*

Plunging on ahead of my guide, I came to the chamber where we are now seated, and there standing against the walls or here lying on the floor, I found even a greater number of mummy-cases of stupendous size and weight.

Their gold coverings and their polished surfaces so plainly reflected my own excited visage that it seemed as though I was looking into the faces of my own ancestors.<sup>27</sup>

Amelia Edwards similarly described the impact of the 21<sup>st</sup> Dynasty burials:

A few yards farther still, and they stood on the threshold of a sepulchral chamber literally piled to the roof with sarcophagi of enormous size. Brilliant with gilding and colour, and as highly varnished as if but yesterday turned out from the workshops of the Memnonium, the decorations of these coffins showed them to belong to the period of the Pinotems and Piankhis.<sup>28</sup>

A modern excavation would now have carefully cleared the tomb, recording everything and taking numerous photographs as they progressed. Brugsch, however, was in a difficult position. He must have viewed the carnage that surrounded him with despair but, at the same time, have known only too well that he was in possession of a find of the greatest interest and importance. What was happening in the world outside? He dare not leave the tomb unattended for an instant: if he did it would surely be thoroughly pillaged for one last time. The only option was to evacuate the tomb in one concerted action.

## The Rock Cut Tomb

Fortunately I was able to visit the tomb when excavations resumed in March 2003, and was privileged to be shown round the interior by Professor Graefe himself. He pointed out that the shaft was now as much as 50% wider than in antiquity, owing to the friable rock collapsing and being dislodged during the various expeditions into the tomb from the discovery by the Abd er Rassul brothers onwards. Thus

the characteristic 18<sup>th</sup> Dynasty chisel-marks seen by John Romer at the top of the shaft must surely have been deceptive natural features, and cannot be used to support the idea that the tomb is that of Queen Inhapy. Indeed, as Professor Graefe showed me, virtually none of the original wall surfaces survive in the upper tomb; and at that time, the corridors were negotiated by a rough path cleared through slabs of shattered rock, collapsed from the walls. The surface beneath this was not the floor proper, but deposits left by a destructive flood.<sup>29</sup> The walls of the Lower Corridor (F) were in better condition though the ceiling in the End Chamber (G) had collapsed in a mass of huge boulders: a contrast to the rest of the tomb where the ceilings are surprisingly intact. The flood may have preceded Breasted's visit in 1894 since he noted fallen rock in the entrance passage, and many huge blocks collapsed from the ceiling in the end chamber. However, it is not impossible that the flood came later since Brugsch was drawn to comment on the poor quality rock and rough workmanship seen by him in 1881:

The shaft is cut into a very decomposed limestone which crumbles to the touch. The work appears to have been done in great haste by hands unused to this task...The latter [end chamber] is as crudely cut as all the rest, and the ceiling is in such a state of decomposition, that at the slightest contact great lumps of limestone come away.<sup>30</sup>

Therefore, there is nothing to suggest that the tomb predates the 21<sup>st</sup> Dynasty priestly family whose names were placed upon it.

## Recreating the Cache

Subsequently, in October 2004, following the work of that season, we had ample opportunity to discuss the evidence inside the Royal Cache during filming with National Geographic Television. At that time, clearance of the tomb had advanced not far short of End Chamber (G) and finds made





*Looking from Corridor F into Chamber G*

by Professor Graefe allowed a tentative reconstruction of the tomb contents to be made.

The Entrance Passage (B) was not long enough to contain the four coffins described by Brugsch, and although it was high enough to permit new coffins to pass any that were there, such manoeuvres were probably never necessary because the stepped nature of the floor, supported by the accounts of Wilson and Edwards, strongly suggests that when Brugsch entered the tomb only goods such as shabti boxes, vessels and canopic jars had occupied this space. Such items, of 21<sup>st</sup> Dynasty date, had almost certainly been brought there from the End Chamber to allow the Abd er Rassul brothers ready access to easily saleable items. The niche, which survives in part at the bottom of the entrance passage, they had similarly stuffed with the funerary canopy of Isiemkheb.

The coffins started some 0.60 metres from the entrance of Corridor (C) owing to the slight step down from the entrance passage. Here we can place the coffins of Nebseni; Rai; Henttawy; Seti I; Amenhotep I and Thutmose II, as mentioned by Brugsch, with room available for five more New Kingdom coffins before the stairs. There would be just enough room (as implied by Brugsch) to place the coffins of Ahmose I and his son, Siamun, across the opening and first step in Niche (E); which would place Seqenenre; Ahhtope and Ahmose Nefertari (and probably Ramesses III separately) lining Lower Corridor (F). Near the middle of this

corridor the recent clearance discovered a piece from the foot end of the inner coffin of Pinudjem I, which had originally been contained in an outer coffin usurped from Thutmose I. Adjacent to this, according to Maspero, was the fragmentary coffin of Ramesses I, leaving room for approximately another seven coffins lining Lower Corridor (F).

The End Chamber (G) could amply accommodate Pinudjem II, Neskmons, Isiemkheb, Maatkare, Masaharta and Tayuheret, with their funerary goods placed on the shelf around the edge of the chamber; and theoretically there would have been room for as many as nine more coffins. It is possible that Ramesses IX was also placed here since he was found in one of the coffins of Neskmons. In front of Niche (E), the recent clearance discovered fragments of an 18<sup>th</sup> Dynasty coffin that join a piece discovered by Lansing at the bottom of the shaft. The damage this coffin sustained in negotiating the stairs and then the shaft show, incidentally, that it had been removed from deeper in the tomb. This might have been the coffin trough given to Ramesses IX in antiquity. Alternately, this and other coffin fragments discovered, including part of the base belonging to the Scribe Mahu, might belong to the five coffins of 'unknowns' that Maspero mentions as forming part of the Cache.<sup>31</sup>

Interestingly, if Djedptahiufankh and Nestanebtishru had been placed in the End Chamber (G) and the New Kingdom collection added afterwards, there would have

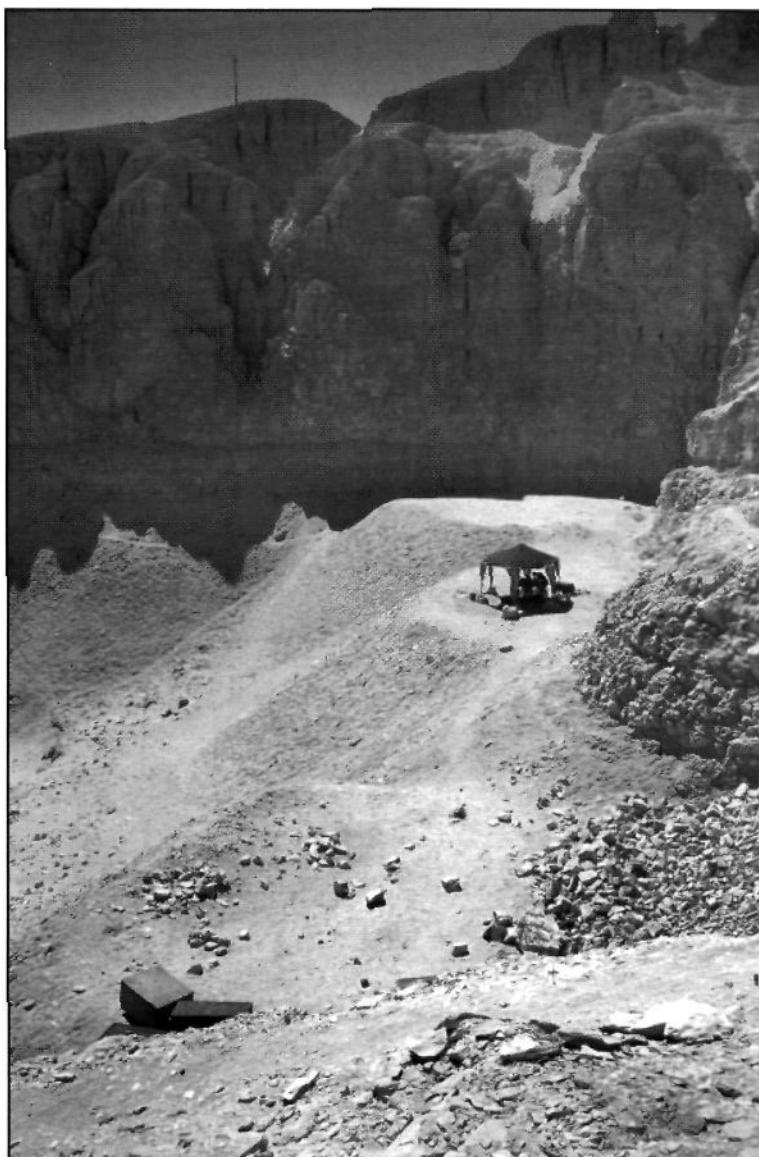
been exactly enough coffins to fill up the End Chamber, and then line Corridors F and C, with two in Niche E (as described above). Once this had been achieved, it is unlikely that any fresh additions to the tomb can have proceeded far down the narrow and twisting length of Upper Corridor (C). Alternatively, if the End Chamber had been less tightly packed, it is quite possible that Djedptahiufankh and Nestanebtishru could have arrived in the tomb to find Corridor C filled, and so been abandoned by the burial party a short way down. In which case, after opening and rummaging by the Abd er Rassuls these double coffins could easily have created the confusion reported by Brugsch.

That the New Kingdom collection was introduced all in one go is perhaps suggested by the fact that groups known to have previously travelled together were found split up. For instance, Nodjmet seems to belong to a group comprising Henttawy, who was found near the entrance, and Pinudjem I who was in the lower corridor. Similarly, Ramesses II's location is unknown but Seti I appears near the entrance next to Henttawy, whilst Ramesses I was also much further in the tomb (next to the coffins of Pinudjem I). Thus it would seem that groups of related coffins had been taken and stored in some other location, from whence they were removed in no particular order, and entered TT320 mixed-up.

Evidence of the rummaging by the Abd er Rassul brothers is everywhere in the form of torn mummy cloth. Some of the mix-ups between coffins and mummies may have occurred when Brugsch's party returned mummies to coffins following such rummaging and later as they attempted to hoist items out of the shaft. Perhaps this would account for Ramesses III being placed with Ahmose Nefertari in her great, outer coffin; and Pinudjem I ending up in the coffin of Ahhtope whilst his own coffins were occupied by the unknown man Maspero later identified as Thutmose I. It is possible that this mummy came from Baqt's coffin which now holds the unknown woman who is perhaps Ahhtope. Some mix-ups, such as Ahmose Inhapy being in Rai's coffin, and Rai in that of Paheripedjet might either be ancient or have occurred at the Bulaq Museum.<sup>32</sup> Most of the stripping of coffins appears to be ancient, though the presence of fragments of gold foil near the box of Pinudjem I may suggest that some of it is modern. To judge by the fragments of coffins found by the clearance, most damage to coffins occurred as they were manhandled out of Corridor C into B; and then as they were hauled up the shaft.

## The Discovery of the Tomb

How did the Abd er Rassul brothers discover the tomb now known as TT320? There has perhaps been a far too



*From the tomb across the valley head, showing platform*

ready acceptance amongst modern Western writers of the accounts given by the Abd er Rassul brothers. The very fact that there are several versions of the discovery should serve as a reminder that in rural Egypt the storyteller sought to entertain his audience with the tale he thought they would find most pleasing. We may also detect certain 'stock in trade' elements, such as Ahmed's 'innocent' search for a lost goat, whose bleating drew him to the tomb shaft, whence it had fallen. This sounds uncannily like the later discoveries of the Dead Sea scrolls and the Nag Hammadi Codices, and probably all three reflect the routine alibi employed within traditional societies to disguise an active search for plunder.

Professor Percy Newberry knew Ahmed personally and may thus be supposed to have heard one of the more credible versions of the story. According to this, Mohammed and Ahmed, together with a stranger, were digging in the Theban hills when they came across the tomb shaft. Ahmed volunteered to explore and was lowered down on a rope.

At the bottom he found the sealed entrance to a tomb, and breaking through, entered the passage and came eventually to a burial chamber full of mummies. Wishing to keep the find secret from the stranger, Ahmed pretended to have met an *afrit*, or evil spirit, in the tomb and called urgently to be hoisted back to the surface. Lest any of the inhabitants of Qurna should be tempted to check-out the tomb for themselves, Ahmed returned that night and placed a dead donkey in the shaft. Since *afrits* are recognisable by their evil smell, the decomposing creature would suggest that the tomb was inhabited by 'a particularly noxious specimen.' Ahmed claimed then to have returned sometime later to remove the donkey and make a more thorough investigation of the tomb contents.

The story, whilst embellished with rural ruses, does admit that the brothers were actively searching for tombs. In fact the brothers probably spied the location of TT320 on their way to work as guides and 'anteekah' salesmen in the Valley of the Kings. A short cut from their home in Qurna led over the back of the hill and then up a spur along a precipitous path to the top of the great range of cliffs that sweep round from Deir el Bahari. From this path,<sup>33</sup> across a narrow valley, they would have seen in the opposite spur, a steep rock chimney and recognised that at its base might lie the shaft of a hidden tomb.

It is, however, inconceivable that they can have found the tomb shaft empty. The priests in antiquity may have refilled the shaft, at least partially after each addition to the cache tomb; but even if they did not, it would have filled with loose rubble and sand over the course of 3500 years. A series of scree filled gullies run down to the chimney above the shaft and wind alone would cause it to fill steadily. Desert storms would bring huge volumes of debris funnelling down from the mountain above. Indeed, when I inspected the site in 1998, just prior to the recent clearance, the depth of fill had risen to virtually halfway up its forty foot shaft: and this since the last previous clearance for Cerny in 1938! The brothers must thus have found the shaft full, and a quite considerable amount of labour would have been involved in excavating down to the tomb entrance. Indeed, in another version of the story, told to Alan Gardiner in 1908, Ahmed claimed that they had to dig for years to clear the shaft.

How did the brothers know that this was potentially a tomb? Ahmed's initial discovery would have been of little more than a square depression at the foot of the chimney. However, the brothers, like Belzoni before them, had probably learned to examine the paths taken by floodwaters when searching for tombs and the surface at the top of the TT320 shaft probably revealed that water was draining away somewhere below.

As to when the tomb was discovered, we know that objects from the tomb were exciting interest from at least as early as 1874 when Amelia Edwards and Marianne Brockelhurst purchased items belonging to 21<sup>st</sup> Dynasty members of the Cache. The generally accepted period from discovery by Abd er Rassul to clearance by Brugsch is ten years. However, in September 1881, Amelia wrote:

So, for the last seven years certainly, and possibly (as may hereafter be shown by another proof, which I am not now at liberty to bring forward) *for the last twenty-two years*, the hiding place at Deir-el-Baharee has been known and plundered by the Arabs.<sup>34</sup>

I failed to interest fellow researchers in this interesting assertion until it proved of value in the campaign to 'prove' that a mummy, purchased in 1861 for the Niagara Falls Museum, was the missing Ramesses I, and consequently had been looted from the Cache.<sup>35</sup> Twenty-two years would yield a discovery in 1859, consistent with the one suspicion of a find coming from the tomb before the 1870s, the presentation of part of the papyrus of Nodjmet to the Prince of Wales. His tour of Egypt in 1869 is extensively documented, but he did also visit Luxor on a tour of the Holy Land in 1862 and so could theoretically have received the papyrus on either of these two occasions. The history of this papyrus prior to its presentation to the British Museum is obscure, but valuable papyri such as this, rather than a bulky and commonplace mummy, are the sort of item one would expect to be the first plunder to be sold-off from the tomb. If this early date of discovery is correct, it is curious that nothing else seems to have appeared on the market at that time.

## Recent Developments

The search for clues to the Cache is not confined to the tomb alone. Towards the end of October 2004 I received an e-mail from Professor Graefe regarding details of a letter sent by Brugsch to Maspero just after his return to Bulaq following the clearance.<sup>36</sup> I do not have access to the full transcript, but the following passage will suffice to illustrate its significance:

The depth of the shaft is 11.50 metres by 2 metres diameter. Having made my descent to the bottom of the shaft, I perceived an opening heading to the west; it was 1.40 metres wide by 0.80 metres high. The candles very vaguely lit the corridor to which the entrance led.

In front of me at 0.60 metres from the entrance I perceived a coffin painted white and yellow; it was that of a certain Nebsenui, after that another of the form of the 17<sup>th</sup> dynasty. The third was that of the queen Hathor-houtai. The fourth carried the name of Seti I.

At the side of the coffins lay a pile of different objects on the ground. Boxes with funerary statuettes, canopic jars, bronze libation vases etc. I had reached the end of a passage 7.40 metres long.

At this point I saw that the corridor continued, and turned through a right-angle to the north, always full of coffins and other monuments, so that I was forced to advance on the flat of my stomach, unable mostly to place my feet. I encountered the coffins of Amenophis I, Amosis, his son Siamon, Thoutmes II, Raskenen, Ramses II, Aah hotep, Aahmes nofertari, Pinotem, etc. The corridor continued for a little over 60 metres and



ended in a very spacious place, which showed attempts to make a chamber.<sup>37</sup>

Here then was a shock. Our deductions concerning the entrance passage and order of coffins contradicted in the first detailed report issued by Brugsch! However, doubts remain. Brugsch says quite clearly that the first four coffins *were* in the entrance passage, and these must have lined the wall since he says that funerary objects were to one side; but the only way to fit them in would have been to stack two of the coffins one-above-the-other, or to stand one or more of them on end. Neither arrangement is hinted at by Brugsch, and the uneven, descending, stepped floor of the entrance passage is perhaps even less suited to upright coffins than it is to those laid flat. Further, it is doubtful if Nebseni's coffin (at 1.97m) could have stood upright just 0.60 metres from the 1.80 metres high entrance; Rai's (at 2.39m) would have needed to have been somewhat further down; and the other two coffins are unlikely to have stood upright since Henttawy's was missing the outer lid, and Seti I's was broken at the foot end.

Brugsch's letter seems to suggest that the entire length of both Corridors C and F was congested with coffins and other items, and gives no clear indication of where any of those listed in this section lay. The order of coffins is similar to that later published by Maspero, but it seems that he must have persuaded Brugsch to recall some more specific idea of their locations before publishing the reports in *La Trouaille de Deir el-Bahari* etc. In his letter, Brugsch splits up Amenhotep I and Thutmose II (who otherwise seem to be a pair), on either side of Ahmose and Siamun who were later placed at or near Niche (E). The pattern is otherwise similar, except for the inclusion of Ramesses II who is perhaps implied to have been in Corridor F.

Brugsch's letter adds some fascinating details concerning the clearance of the tomb:

...the Arabs were forced to descend nude; in this manner I prevented them from stealing small objects which they found during the work. I placed a tree across the shaft, to which was attached a pulley and a strong rope. Gradually the coffins ascended...<sup>38</sup>

However, his vagueness with regard to specific details remains a cause for concern. How well did he recall the layout in the cache?

Professor Graefe<sup>39</sup> also drew my attention to recent work by the Polish-Egyptian Cliff Mission that has discovered graffiti with the cartouche of the 17<sup>th</sup> Dynasty king, Nubkheperre Intef, on a rock face about 6.5 metres above the level of the bay in which the mouth of TT320 sits. The author of the paper, Slawomir Rzepka,<sup>40</sup> seeks to use this to strengthen the case for TT320 being the *k3y* of Inhapy. He makes a good case for Ahmose Inhapy being a daughter of Nubkheperre Intef who provided the link with the later 17<sup>th</sup> Dynasty kings through marriage to Senakhtenre, Seqenenre, Kamose or even Ahmose I. However, the proposed link is tenuous and does not really justify the identi-

fication of TT320 as Inhapy's tomb. Rzepka's assertion that the ground level in the 17<sup>th</sup> Dynasty was close to the Nubkheperre graffiti, and then cut down 6.5 metres to the current level during the 21<sup>st</sup> Dynasty, also seems highly unlikely. Had that been so, access to the tomb in the 17<sup>th</sup> Dynasty would have been extremely difficult and the shaft would have been very deep indeed. The theory is to be doubted, but the presence of the graffiti is interesting.

The idea that TT320 was Inhapy's tomb continues to attract scholars and in 2000, Carl Jansen-Winkel published a paper<sup>41</sup> which sought to show how this might be true whilst accounting for the discovery of Inhapy's mummy near the tomb entrance. In order to do this he suggested that Amenhotep I and Neskheperre had been added to Inhapy's intact burial (in the End Chamber?); Ramesses I, Seti I and Ramesses II being then added to the tomb (the *k3y* of Inhapy) on Day 17; and the New Kingdom mummies removed to Amenhotep's tomb on Day 20, prior to Pinudjem II's burial in TT320 that same day.

This is a somewhat laborious explanation and, as Professor Graefe commented, the lack of original funerary equipment of Inhapy in the tomb suggests that it cannot be hers, and it seems incredible that the royal mummies should have been inserted for just three days, and then removed, only to be returned later in the 22<sup>nd</sup> Dynasty. He proposed alternatively<sup>42</sup> that the docket on the coffins of the Ramesside group should be read: '...to the hill of Inhapy which is a holy place and in which Amenhotep rests'.

The hill in question he identifies with Dra Abu'l-Naga; and thus we return full circle to the first explanation of Winlock, and the tomb of Amenhotep identified as AN B on the top of that hill. I like the idea that the *k3y* of Inhapy is a temporary holding place within the sacred necropolis close to the tomb of Amenhotep, into which the royal mummies were to be inserted three days later. However, I find KV39 a more convincing location than AN B for the tomb of Amenhotep I,<sup>43</sup> and thus would seek to place the high rock of Inhapy at the tomb-workers' way station in the pass leading to the Valley of the Kings.<sup>44</sup>

Thus my explanation would be:

*Day 17 (4<sup>th</sup> Peret, Year 10 King Siamun).* The Ramesside Group of mummies are taken from Seti I's tomb (KV17) out of the Valley of the Kings, to the Worker's Way Station on the path to Deir el Medina. This is the High Place of Inhapy in the Great Place (royal cemetery) where King Amenhotep rests. At this time Amenhotep (I) still rests within tomb KV39, located just 120 cubits down from the guard post next to the Way Station (as in the Papyrus Abbott inspection report). This guard post now serves to protect the Ramesside Group, and other royal mummies.

*Day 20.* The royal mummies are now placed in KV39: 'to rest in the Mansion of Eternity in which Amenhotep is.' The same officials responsible for this are then joined by others in the same day to place the High Priest of Amun, Pinudjem II in TT320, as recorded on the left door-jamb there.

*After Year 11 King Shoshenq.* The mummies of Djedptahiufankh and Nestanebtishru are placed in TT320. The royal mummies may enter with them, have preceded them, or join them later.

The royal mummies would thus have entered KV39 on the same day that Pinudjem II was buried in TT320, and only joined him in the Cache tomb much later; perhaps in the reign of Shoshenq I.

## Future Research

This article has discussed the pros and cons of theories advanced to date because recent research has opened up the debate and we cannot pretend to have definitive answers. There is much more to come and much more to be done.

When I visited the tomb in March 2005, the final clearance of the end chamber was well under way and many fragments of shabti boxes etc. were being found. There is also a very large amount of pottery to be analysed.

Much of Brugsch's letter to Maspero remains unpublished and there is certainly much more to be gleaned from his letters and papers in the Louvre. Perhaps someone will be able to spend the time there, obtain photographs for further detailed study, and discover further clues as to what Brugsch first saw in TT320. There is still, of course, the 'holy grail': an order of contents, or order of evacuation, to be sought.

There is much to be learned from a thorough analysis of finds from the Cache in museum collections around the world. Apart from building a fuller picture of the complete funerary assemblages of the 21<sup>st</sup> Dynasty tomb members, we might discover items of New Kingdom date deriving from the tomb (e.g. substitute canopic jars with which many of these mummies may have been equipped). More might be learned about when certain items appeared on the market and thus suggest a more accurate date for the original discovery and exploitation of the tomb by the Abd er Rassul brothers. It is also to be hoped that the Egyptian Mummy Project may re-discover and investigate the 'unknowns' that Maspero briefly mentioned from the Cache, in the storage rooms of the Cairo Museum.

Finally, as I was waiting to go down into the Cache for the last time, in March 2005, I gazed across the head of the Cache valley to the little pavilion shading the team working on finds and thought how conveniently flat the platform is that it sits upon. Of course, it is artificial! Rock chimneys at the head of the valley such as the one housing the Cache tomb would have formed cones of talus spreading to the valley floor. But these have been cut off all on one level, joined up, and extended a short distance down the valley. Is this work to be connected to the Nubkheperre Intef graffiti in the rocks above the Cache tomb? Perhaps, but a better parallel is to be found in the bay to the north where Nebhepetre Mentuhotep laid the terraces of his great temple-tomb; or in the bay to the south where Sankhkare Mentuhotep levelled his own great foundation. Was the Cache valley platform the work of the final Mentuhotep, the obscure Nebtawyre, and abandoned after his short

reign? Perhaps the Middle Kingdom tombs, cut opposite, into the back of Sheikh Abd el Qurna hill might provide clues.

Now the hoist has been removed and the generator switched off for the last time. The valley will once more become a quiet and lonely place. But it is strange to think that it was once the scene of massive engineering works.

## Notes

1. Information on the recent tomb clearance is, except where otherwise stated, derived from Erhart Graefe, 'Final Reclearance of the Royal Mummies Cache, DB320' in *KMT: A Modern Journal of Ancient Egypt*, Vol 15.3 (2004), pp. 48-57 & 62-63.
2. G. Maspero, *La Trouaille de Deir el-Bahari* (Cairo, 1881), p. 7.
3. E. L. Wilson, 'Finding Pharaoh' in *The Century Magazine* Vol. XXXIV:1 (1887), p. 6.
4. The years are those of the 21st Dynasty monarch, Siamun, who ruled from the Delta.
5. E. L. Wilson, *op. cit.* [3], p. 6.
6. E. Graefe, *op. cit.* [1], p. 50.
7. Erhart Graefe, personal communication, 7th April 1998.
8. E. Brugsch, *La tente funéraire de la Princesse Isimkheb provenant de la trouaille de Deir el-Bahari* (Cairo, 1889), p. 4.
9. *Idem.*
10. G. Maspero, *Les Momies Royales de Deir el-Bahari* (Cairo, 1889), p. 519.
11. *Ibid.*, note 1. The Ababdehs were a tribe of the eastern Egyptian desert.
12. G. Maspero, *op. cit.* [2], p. 8.
13. *Idem.*
14. A more literal translation would say that 'the jumble was heaped up'.
15. G. Maspero, *op. cit.* [2], pp. 7-8. To aid clarity, the names of kings and queens have been changed from the form used by Maspero to those in current usage. Maspero initially referred to the Theban 21st Dynasty as 20th Dynasty, later (in *Momies Royales*) modifying his wording to 20th and 21st.
16. E. Thomas, 'The K3y of Queen Inhapy' in *Journal of the American Research Center in Egypt* XVI (1979). Thomas was amongst those who assumed that the Day 17 and Day 20 dockets on the coffins of the Ramesside group recorded the same operation.
17. H. E. Winlock, 'The Tomb of Queen Inhapy' in *Journal of Egyptian Archaeology* 17 (1931), pp. 107-110. He further felt that the location of TT320, at the foot of the Deir el Bahari cliffs, supported the idea of k3y as a high rock.
18. C. N. Reeves, *Valley of the Kings: Decline of a Royal Necropolis* (London & New York, 1990).
19. G. Maspero, *op. cit.* [10], p. 551 says of this body: 'It was a very well-built man with short hair and robust limb. His entire skin black, but otherwise well preserved...I am tempted to believe that accident alone has not led to this mummy being next to the fragments bearing the name of Ramesses I, but that it is Ramesses I himself.' A fragment of Ramesses I's coffin, bearing the date, was found by the recent excavation of the shaft.
20. D. M. Rohl, *A Test of Time: The Bible - From Myth to History* (London 1995), pp. 63-80.
21. D. Bickerstaffe, *The Strange Death of Unknown Man E* (private publication, 1997); followed in 1998 by *Refugees for Eternity: The Royal Mummies of Thebes* (currently under revision).
22. E. L. Wilson, *op. cit.* [3], where Brugsch's recollections formed the centre-piece of the article.
23. E. L. Wilson, *op. cit.* [3], p. 6.
24. *Ibid.*, pp. 6-7.
25. Erhart Graefe, personal communication, 7th April 1998.
26. A. B. Edwards, 'Lying in State in Cairo' in *Harper's New Monthly Magazine* 65/386 (1882), p. 187.
27. E. L. Wilson, *op. cit.* [3], p. 7.
28. A. B. Edwards, *op. cit.* [26], pp. 187-8.
29. The finds have all been made on the floor surface below the flood deposits.
30. E. Brugsch, *op. cit.* [8], p. 2.
31. For these mummies and coffins see G. Maspero, *op. cit.* [10], p. 582.
32. As suggested by E. Graefe, *op. cit.* [1], p. 56.
33. The track is popularly known as the Agatha Christie Path since it is the scene of several murders in her book *Death Comes as the End*, based on the Middle Kingdom papyri of Heqanakhte.
34. A. B. Edwards, 'Arabs, Travellers, and 'Anteekahs' in *The Academy* 487

- (1881), pp. 186-7. The italics are hers!
35. I discuss the evidence for the supposed Ramesses I mummy at much greater length in an article 'The Royal Mummy returns. But is he Ramesses I?' in *Ancient Egypt Magazine* 6.2 (Oct/Nov 2005).
36. Erhart Graefe, personal communication, 29th October 2004.
37. Idf, ms 4008, folios 8-11. The translation is my own. I have retained original spellings of names. Much of this letter appears in E. David, *Gaston Maspero 1846-1916 Le gentleman égyptologue* (Paris, 1999), pp. 94-96. Interestingly, this account rather confirms my conclusion that 1.4 x 0.8m was the size of the forced entrance of the Abd er Rassuls (see above).
38. E. David, *op. cit.* [37], pp. 95-96.
39. Erhart Graefe, personal communication, 20th December 2004.
40. S. Rezeka, 'Graffiti of Nubkheperre Intef in Deir el-Bahari' in *Mitteilungen des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts Abteilung Kairo* 60 (2004), pp. 149-158.
41. C. Jansen-Winkel, 'Zur Geschichte der 'Cachette' von Deir el-Bahari' in *Egyptologische Uitgaven* 14 (Leiden 2000), pp. 163-170.
42. E. Graefe, 'Der Hügel (qAy) der Inhapi, der der Heilige Ort ist, in dem Amenhotep ruht' in *Mitteilungen des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts Abteilung Kairo* 61 (2005).
43. David Rohl makes a convincing case for KV39 being the tomb of Amenhotep I; in lectures adding much besides the interpretation of the inspection report in Papyrus Abbott (for which see D. M. Rohl, *op. cit.* [20], p. 77). I believe that KV39 became a double tomb when either Thutmose I or II were added to Amenhotep I's burial place.
44. The way station was a suitable temporary storage place, and already possessed a guard post.

## ISIS PUBLICATIONS

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### 1995, JACF 7

- T. A. H. WILKINSON, 'A New Comparative Chronology for the Predynastic-Early Dynastic Transition'
- S. J. ROBINSON, 'Jericho, Tell el-Daba and the End of the Middle Bronze Age'
- R. M. PORTER, 'Dating the Beth Shean Temple Sequence'
- J. D. WEIR, 'The Pattern of Venus Tablet Solutions'
- W. HELCK, 'Discussing the Chronology of the New Kingdom'
- S. J. ROBINSON, 'Rehoboam Year 5 = Ramesses Year 8: Is it a Good Fit?'

### 1996, Occasional Publication 3

- 'A Test of Time: The London Debate' (Lecture Meeting 27.01.96)

### 1999, JACF 8

- D. M. ROHL, 'Biblical Archaeology: Time to Think Again'
- M. STEINER, 'Problems of Synthesis'
- P. G. VAN DER VEEN, 'The Kingdom of Labayu'
- C. JANSEN-WINKELN, 'Dating the Beginning of the 22nd Dynasty'
- P. G. VAN DER VEEN, 'The Name Shishak'
- R. M. PORTER, 'The Generation Game'
- R. M. PORTER, 'An Important Elamite Inscription'
- M. HEIDE & P. G. VAN DER VEEN, 'A Test of Time and Comparative Semiticism' (debate)
- D. M. ROHL, 'Kenneth Kitchen's Atom Bomb'
- D. M. ROHL, 'Absence of Evidence is not Evidence of Absence'
- R. M. ROHL, 'The Monster in Phillippe Brissaud's Nightmares'
- J. J. BIMSON, 'Iron Age Palestine: A Need for Chronological Revision'
- R. M. PORTER, 'The Iron Age and the New Chronology'
- B. NEWGROSH, 'The Chronology of Ancient Assyria Reassessed'

### 2000, The Followers of Horus: Eastern Desert Survey Report

### 2002, JACF 9

- C. READER, 'Giza Before the Fourth Dynasty'
- P. G. VAN DER VEEN, 'Nimrod - The Mighty Hunter'
- L. WATRIN, 'The Ma'adian Timeframe: A Relational Interpretation of Lower Egyptian Proto-history'
- R. M. PORTER, 'A Further Reply to Brissaud'
- G. HAGENS, 'The Chronology of Tenth Century Assyria and Babylonia'
- M. LAUDIEN, 'Sodom and the Dead Sea'
- B. NEWGROSH, 'Ashur-uballit, King of Assyria: A Question of Identity'

### 2005, JACF 10

- P. G. VAN DER VEEN, 'The name Shishak, an Update'
- D. BICKERSTAFFE, 'The Royal Cache Revisited'
- J.-F. BRUNET, 'The XXII<sup>nd</sup> & XXV<sup>th</sup> Dynasties Apis Burials Conundrum'
- G. HAGENS, 'Chronological Revision and the Mainstream. Closing the Gap'
- R. M. PORTER, 'Thera and the end of the Middle Bronze Age'
- R. M. PORTER, 'Orthodox Egyptologists shorten Egyptian History by over a Century'
- P. G. VAN DER VEEN, 'A Revised Chronology and Iron Age Archaeology, an Update'
- R. M. PORTER, 'The Finkelstein Debate on Iron Age Israel'
- J. J. BIMSON, 'Does Tablet KTU 1.78 provide "independent scientific confirmation of the New Chronology"?'
- R. M. PORTER, 'Carbon Dating. The situation in 2005'
- B. NEWGROSH, 'A Premature Obituary. Astronomical Dating and the Orthodox Chronology'
- J. J. BIMSON, 'IIB or not IIB? A Critique of David Rohl's Setting for the Exodus and Conquest'
- B. NEWGROSH, 'The Hittites in the New Chronology: Part One'