

gaude & glōsa v̄e marie uir-
ginis in cōfessione ap̄esentia
liberari tristitia & futura p̄
firmitate p̄. dō.



Oni
te no
deus
salu
tans
nost.

Et

auerte iram tuā a nobis.

Deus in adiutoriū meū



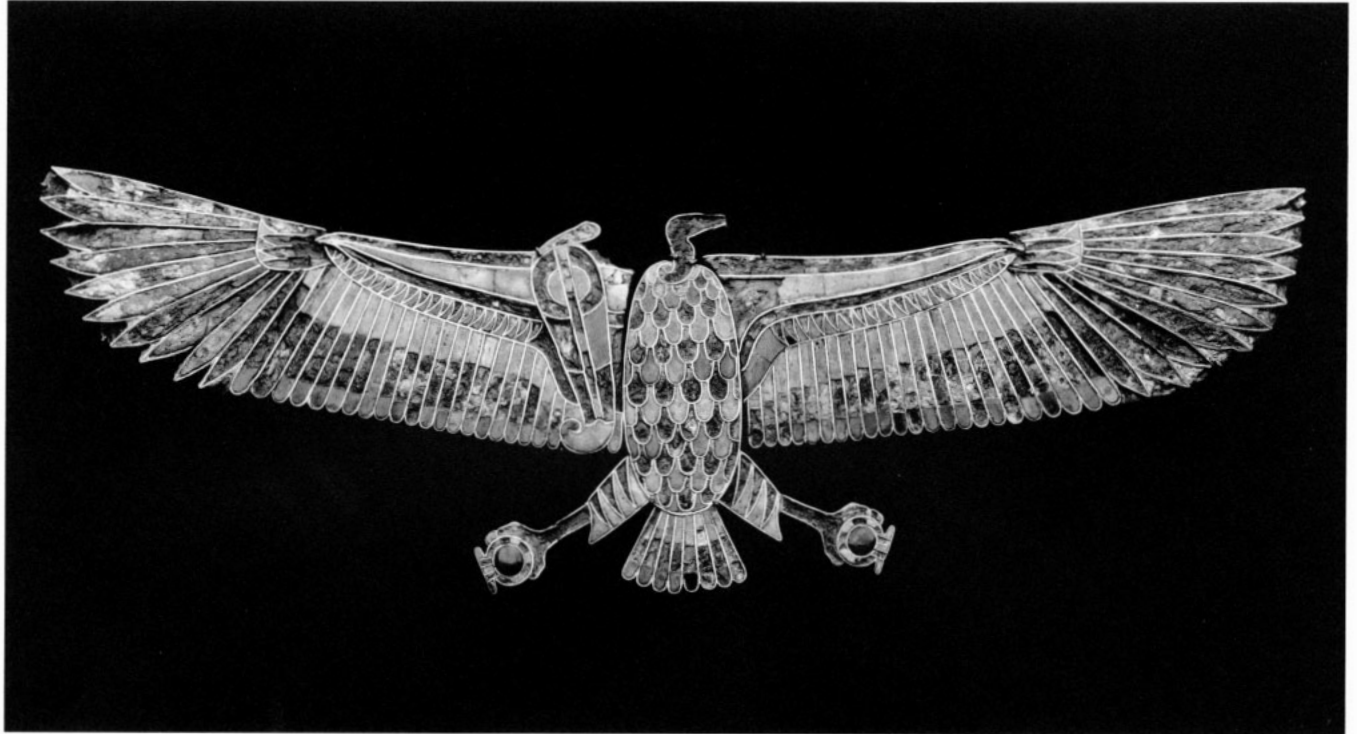


Fig. 1. Pectoral, Egypt, Second Intermediate Period, c. 1784–1570 B.C. Silver, gold, carnelian, and light blue and purple glass, L. 37.5 cm (14¾ in.), H. 11.8 cm (4⅝ in.). Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, Egyptian Special Purchase Fund, 1981.159.

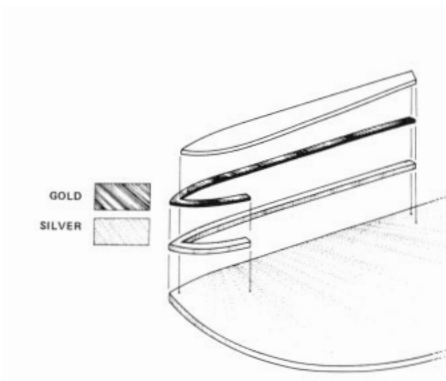


Fig. 2. Construction of the *cloisons* in fig. 1. (Drawing: Andrew Boyce.)

An Ancient Egyptian Royal Pectoral

ON November 26, 1922, when Howard Carter first opened the sealed doorway to the tomb of Tutankhamen, he was greeted by the sight of “gold—everywhere the glint of gold.”¹ Carter’s discovery is the most spectacular in the history of Egyptology, but it is also a sad reminder of what great treasures have been lost. Few other royal tombs still retaining a substantial amount of their original contents have been scientifically excavated and recorded.² The great wealth buried with the pharaohs proved irresistible to plunderers, who often robbed burials as soon as the tomb was sealed.³

By an odd chance some contemporary court accounts have survived which describe the activities of tomb robbers who operated in western Thebes during the late Ramesside period (c. 1110 B.C.).⁴ Of particular interest, the Leopold-Amherst Papyrus⁵ records the testimony of the thieves who plundered the tomb of King Sekhemre Shedtawy Sobekemsaf II and Queen Nubkhas of the Seventeenth Dynasty (c. 1610–1601 B.C.).⁶ The thieves confessed that they had broken into this tomb and had

found the noble mummy of the sacred king . . . [and] numerous golden amulets and ornaments were on his breast and a golden mask was over his face. The noble mummy of the king was entirely bedecked with gold and his coffins were embellished with gold and silver, both inside and out, and inlaid with precious stones. We collected the gold, together with the amulets and jewels that were about him and the metal that was on his coffins. We found the queen in the same state and retrieved all that we found upon her. Then we set fire to their coffins. We took the furnishings that were found with them, comprising objects of gold, silver and bronze, and divided the spoils amongst us.⁷

Another important document of the period, Papyrus Abbott, records the accounts of Ramesside officials who, prompted by the discovery of the thefts, checked a number of tombs in the burial ground of western Thebes, including the pyramid of Sobekemsaf II.⁸ They reported that the “burial chamber was found empty of its lord, and likewise the burial chamber of the great royal wife Nubkhas.”⁹

Cyril Aldred, the greatest authority on the subject, has noted: “. . . it is in the nature of a miracle that any ancient Egyptian jewellery should have survived reasonably intact into modern times.”¹⁰ The paucity of examples has made the study of these precious objects extremely difficult, particularly with regard to the date, the function, and even the authenticity of specimens that have not been derived from archaeological excavation.¹¹

Such a piece, dazzling yet enigmatic, was acquired by the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, in 1981 (fig. 1).¹² Composed of silver, gold, carnelian, and colored glass, this ornament is of considerable size for an example

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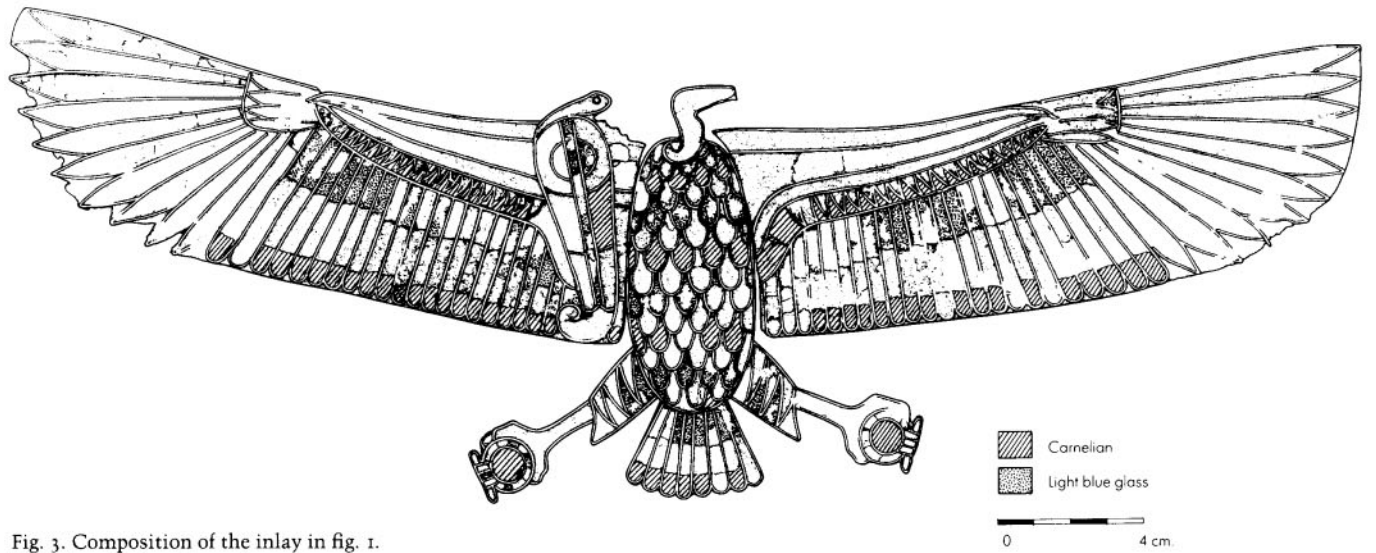


Fig. 3. Composition of the inlay in fig. 1.
(Drawing: Andrew Boyce.)

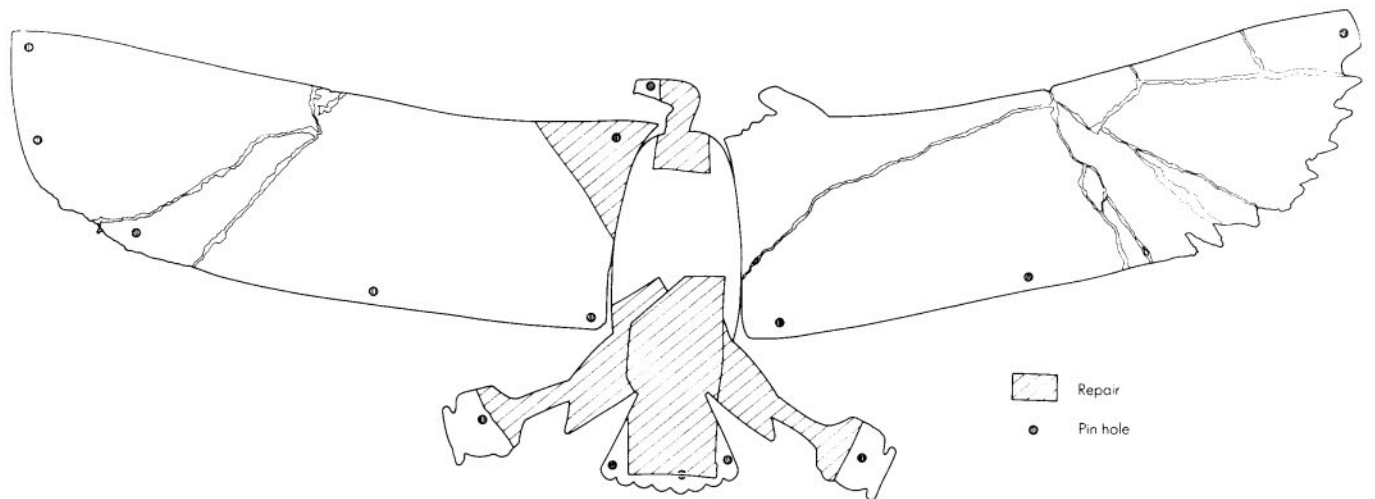


Fig. 4. Reverse of fig. 1.
(Drawing: Andrew Boyce.)

of Egyptian goldwork. It depicts an Egyptian vulture (*Vultur percnopterus*) with its wings outstretched, and grasping in its talons two round *shen* signs (☉), symbols of universal power.¹³ To the left of the body of the bird, an Egyptian cobra (*Naja haje*) rears back, with its hood extended and its tail curling around itself, as if ready to strike.

In ancient Egyptian iconography the vulture is the symbol of Nekhbet, the goddess of Upper Egypt, and the cobra is a representation of the goddess Wadjet, a deity of Lower Egypt. This heraldic composition signified the union of the “two lands”; one of the standard insignias of the pharaoh, it appeared frequently on royal jewelry and other objects.¹⁴

The ornament discussed here has a silver backplate measuring slightly less than one millimeter in thickness. This consists of three separate segments, which represent the wings and body of the bird. Silver *cloisons* (partitions) soldered onto the backplate were masked with gold foil about three millimeters in thickness (fig. 2). This technique is found sporadically in Egyptian goldwork¹⁵ and may simply reflect a desire to economize on material. Alternatively, it has been noted that the symbolism of gold – “the flesh of the gods” – covering silver – “the bones of the gods” – may be represented here.¹⁶ The relative values of gold and silver seem to have fluctuated over time, with silver generally having been considered of higher value before the New Kingdom (c. 1570–1070 B.C.).¹⁷

It is interesting to note, however, the large-scale importation of silver in the later Middle Kingdom (c. 1842–1794 B.C.), which is evidenced by the existence of the Tod treasure,¹⁸ a group of imported precious materials consisting primarily of a number of silver vessels that had been crushed and folded for the purpose of reusing the metal.¹⁹

The inlays mounted in the silver *cloisons* of the present piece consist of carnelian as well as both light blue and purple glass (fig. 3). The carnelian inlays were cut to fit the tips of the tailfeathers, the axillary and secondary feathers, and the centers of the *shen* signs. Carnelian was also alternated with other colored elements in the pattern of scales on the breast of the vulture and the hood of the cobra.

Unfortunately, the glass has deteriorated, partially losing its color. In imitation of turquoise, light blue glass was used in the areas of the tail, the secondary feathers, and the undersides of the wings, as well as to delineate the fore-edge feathers. In addition, glass of the same color appears as part of the pattern in the body of the bird, the leg feathers, and the surrounds of the *shen* signs. Glass that had apparently once been purple was used, in imitation of lapis, to form the head of the vulture, the borders of the undersides of the wings, the fore-edge feathers, the primaries, and the claws. This darker glass was alternated with the light blue in the leg feathers and the breast of the vulture, the hood of the cobra, and the surrounds of the *shen* signs.

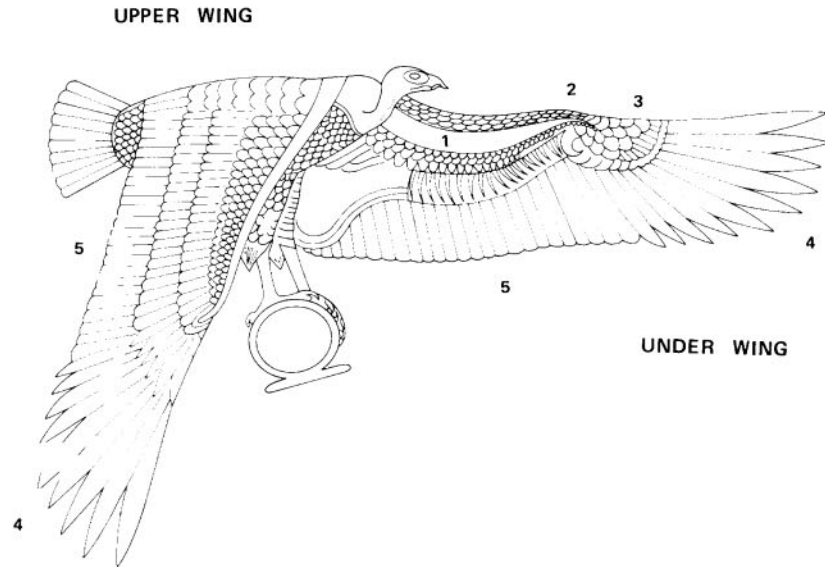
The light blue glass was cut to fit in the *cloisons* and set into the cells with a cement made of gypsum colored with Egyptian blue;²⁰ in the areas of carnelian inlay, yellow or orange pigment was layered over this blue cement. The purple glass inlays were treated in a very different manner. They appear to have been set into the *cloisons* in a semimolten state by a process developed early in the evolution of true enameling.²¹

Although images of vultures and cobras are frequently found on royal jewelry,²² this particular object was not an item for personal adornment. Its backplate is plain (fig. 4), without such chased representation of the design on the obverse as would be found in similar ornaments intended for wear.²³ Its three distinct pieces were not joined together, and it was originally curved laterally, the ends of the wings having been fractured and flattened in modern times, presumably in order to mount it (fig. 4). The original curve indicates that it fit the breast of an anthropoid coffin, and the edges of the backplate are pierced with holes, some of which still have the pins that most likely served to mount the piece on the wooden core of the coffin.²⁴ Commonly found on the chests of anthropoid coffins, such winged motifs are known as pectorals, as are similar items of jewelry actually worn on the breast and suspended from the neck.²⁵

The Boston pectoral appears to have originally been acquired by George Alfred Stone, a civil engineer from Roxbury, Massachusetts, who purchased it at Sheikh Abd el-Qurna in western Thebes in 1858.²⁶ Stone was told by the local dealer that in a "rock-cut tomb were found the mummy of a royal personage . . . wrapped in linen as fine as silk, a papyrus five feet long, a golden spread-eagle and a tablet representing the king in his war chariot" along with a scarab inscribed with the name of Shoshenk III. In addition, in an upper room of the tomb were discovered "four alabaster funerary jars with figure heads of the four genii and covered with hieroglyphics [sic], enclosed in a box of hard yellow wood".²⁷ The set of so-called canopic jars appears to have been purchased by Henry John Douglas-Scott-Montagu (later to become first Baron Montagu of Beaulieu).²⁸ Although he confirms Stone's description of the burial, Lord Montagu mistakenly refers to the pectoral as a "golden scarab with extended wings."

The pectoral, papyrus, tablet, and scarab were acquired and brought to America by Stone. He later moved to Brooklyn, where he seems to have fallen on hard times. His wife, perhaps superstitious about these strange objects, eventually dispersed the collection, offering the scarab to the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, in 1890.²⁹ Although the scarab purportedly dates to the reign of Shoshenk III (c. 835–783 B.C.), the papyrus was inscribed with texts from the Book of Breathing which date to the Ptolemaic period (c. 332–31 B.C.).³⁰ It appears, then,

Fig. 5. Wing patterns as shown on a flying vulture from the Anubis chapel in the temple of Deir el-Bahri, Egypt: (1) underwing linings; (2) wrist; (3) foreedge feathers; (4) primary feathers; (5) secondary feathers. (Drawing: Yvonne Markowitz.)



that this was not a true group at all, but an odd lot assembled by a clever dealer to extract a higher price, as was often the case.³¹

Given the mysterious provenance of the piece, as with many unexcavated objects, the pectoral has been difficult to date, and has been attributed to various periods ranging from the late Twelfth Dynasty (c. 1991–1786 B.C.)³² to the Ramesside period (c. 1293–1070 B.C.).³³ Whereas similar inlay compositions from later times in Egyptian history are well known,³⁴ the technique of using stone and faience in such inlay work can actually be dated back to the Old Kingdom (c. 2630–2250 B.C.).³⁵ Even a Levantine provenance for the piece has been advanced,³⁶ but this is unlikely, since the inclusion of Egyptian blue and native gold,³⁷ though not absolutely conclusive, does suggest indigenous manufacture. Stylistically, the pectoral is far more sophisticated than Near Eastern adaptations of Egyptian motifs, such as the Egyptianizing ornaments found in the royal tombs at Byblos; those items exhibit a provincial style and crude technique not evident in this piece.³⁸

Cyril Aldred has astutely observed that the pattern of the vulture's wing suggests a date earlier than the New Kingdom for this piece. He has noted that Middle Kingdom representations of a vulture with outstretched wings depict the bird naturalistically (fig. 6).³⁹ The vulture is shown therein as if in flight and viewed from below, with its breast in the center and the elaborate pattern of the underside of its wings, the undulating linings, the wrist, and the foreedge feathers surrounded by the primary and secondary feathers.

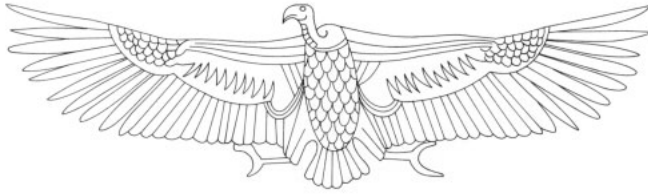


Fig. 6. Vulture, detail from a pectoral of Queen Mereret, Middle Kingdom, Twelfth Dynasty (c. 1991–1784 B.C.). Cairo Museum, C G 52003. (Drawing: Yvonne Markowitz.)

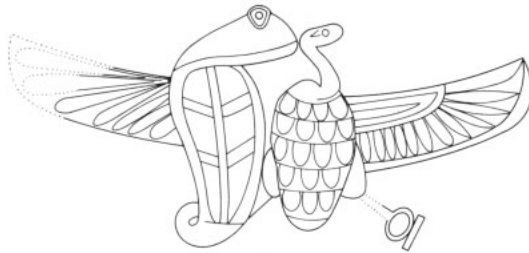


Fig. 7. Vulture and cobra, detail of a pectoral from a *rishi* coffin, Second Intermediate Period, Seventeenth Dynasty (c. 1668–1570 B.C.). Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, MMA 12.181.301. (Drawing: Yvonne Markowitz.)

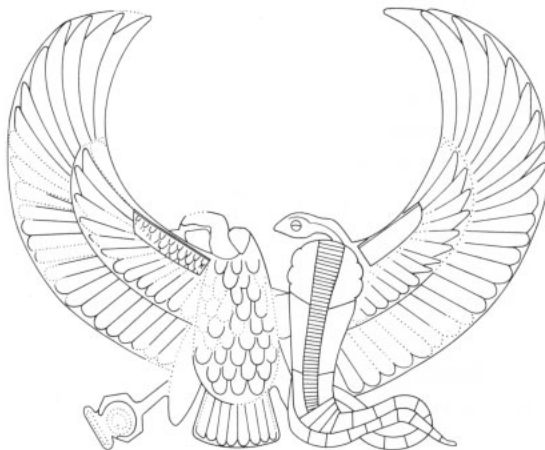


Fig. 8. Vulture and cobra, detail from a Ramesside pectoral, New Kingdom, Nineteenth Dynasty (c. 1293–1185 B.C.). Musée du Louvre, E. 79. (Drawing: Yvonne Markowitz.)

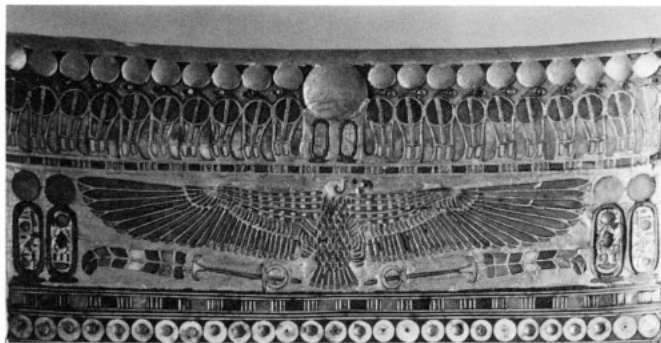


Fig. 9. Vulture, detail from the back of a throne from the tomb of Tutankhamen, New Kingdom, Eighteenth Dynasty, reign of Tutankhamen (c. 1334–1325 B.C.). Cairo Museum, J E 62030.

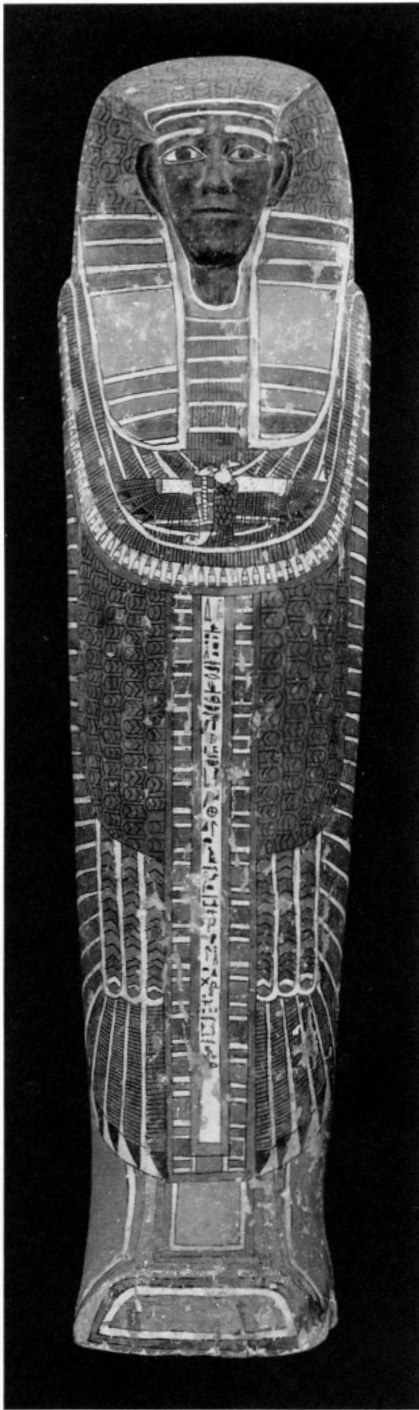


Fig. 10. *Rishi* coffin, Second Intermediate Period, Seventeenth Dynasty (c. 1668–1570 B.C.). Wood with polychrome over gesso, H. 158 cm (62¼ in.), W. 36.0 cm (14¼ in.). Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, Morris and Louise Rosenthal Fund, Horace L. and Florence B. Mayer Fund, Marilyn M. Simpson Fund, William Stevenson Smith Fund, Egyptian Special Purchase Fund, Frank B. Bemis Fund, 1987.490 a–b.

The hood of the cobra is not decorated with the symbol of the goddess Neith (⚡), a hieroglyph representing two bows tied in a bundle.⁴⁰ This glyph was commonly, although not always, used as a decorative element on the hood of the uraeus in works of the New Kingdom (c. 1570–1070 B.C.),⁴¹ but was often absent from those of the late Middle Kingdom and the Second Intermediate Period (c. 1784–1570 B.C.; see figs. 7, 10). The concentric circles of the upper hood, rather than the frilled full-circle border commonly found thereupon in the New Kingdom and later, also point to an earlier date.⁴² The curlicued tail of the uraeus is another stylistic feature of the Second Intermediate Period, as opposed to later times (see figs 8, 11).

During the New Kingdom, the vulture was generally rendered in a more highly stylized manner, with the simpler pattern of the upper wing presented in combination with the underside of the bird (fig. 5).⁴³ However, more naturalistic depictions of the vulture did occur sporadically in the New Kingdom,⁴⁴ especially in the Amarna period (c. 1350–1334 B.C.; fig. 9).

It has also been observed that in the New Kingdom the head of the cobra became larger in proportion to its body.⁴⁵ A similar enlargement can also be seen in the representations of vultures of that period, wherein the head of the bird is again shown in a scale disproportionate to the body and deviating from the canon of earlier periods, even in less stylized versions (figs. 8, 9).

The point of this iconographic transition is clearly demonstrated in the so-called *rishi* coffins of the Second Intermediate Period (c. 1784–1570 B.C.).⁴⁶ The Arabic term *rishi* (feathered) describes mummiform coffins on which an overall pattern of scales or feathers decorates the body (fig. 10). Many of the designs on the coffins of this turbulent era were royal motifs appropriated by private individuals, as was also the case in the First Intermediate Period (c. 2250–2061 B.C.).⁴⁷ Thus, the symbol of the vulture and cobra frequently was found on both royal and private mummiform coffins in the Second Intermediate Period. During this era of transition, which marks a shift from the naturalistic rendering of these animals in the Middle Kingdom to the more stylized version of the New Kingdom, there was clearly a good deal of fluctuation in both the proportion of the heads relative to the bodies and the type of feather pattern on the wings. Some coffins have truly outlandish pectorals with absurdly large heads and erratic feather patterns (fig. 7).

In the case of one coffin, now in the Rijksmuseum van Oudheden in Leiden, the pattern of the feathers was completely replaced by an abstract series of circles, and the cobra and the body of the vulture were omitted entirely (fig. 11).⁴⁸ The royal coffins of the Second Intermediate Period are similar in style, and show the same awkwardness of design, although they indicate that even as early as the latter part of

this era the stylized, New Kingdom version of the motif had been adopted (fig. 12).⁴⁹

With the advent of the New Kingdom, *rishi* coffins became the exclusive property of royalty, as they probably had been originally. Consequently, these royal coffins became more elaborate in design, with the hands and arms modeled in relief and the vulture-and-cobra pectoral replaced by a shrine-shaped (trapezoidal) one.⁵⁰ Later, as on the coffins of Tutankhamen, vultures and winged cobras were depicted separately.⁵¹ In addition, the royal coffins of the Twenty-first Dynasty (c. 1070–946 B.C.) from Tanis⁵² and from the Twenty-fifth Dynasty (c. 757–656 B.C.)⁵³ were decorated with a number of elaborate, winged deities rather than with the combination of cobra and vulture, further evidence against a later date for the Boston pectoral.

Unfortunately, no kingly burials have survived intact from the Middle Kingdom,⁵⁴ but the coffins of court ladies excavated at Dahshūr,⁵⁵ Lisht,⁵⁶ Lahun,⁵⁷ and Saqqara⁵⁸ suggest that those burials must have been quite splendid. The Leopold-Amherst Papyrus describes the coffin of a Middle Kingdom monarch as being “inlaid with all kinds of precious stones.”⁵⁹

With regard to the glass inlays, their extensive use in the pectoral does not at first suggest a date in the Middle Kingdom or early in the Second Intermediate Period. However, much of the evidence for the early use of glass in Egypt appears to have been overlooked,⁶⁰ and the jewelry of the Middle Kingdom, from the middle of the Twelfth Dynasty onward, shows an increasing reliance on faience and other substitute materials, including glass for precious stones.⁶¹

The heraldic motif of the vulture and cobra clearly had great significance, and it is interesting that on the coffin of Sekhenre Tao II (c. 1591–1576 B.C.), now in the Cairo Museum, the gold leaf was scraped off the entire body of the coffin, with the exception of the vulture and cobra on the breast and a band of inscription down the center (fig. 13).⁶² This was undoubtedly done with some vestiges of reverence by the priests of the Twenty-first dynasty, who reburied the king in the famous royal cache at Deir el-Bahri.

The coffins and jewelry of the later Seventeenth Dynasty (c. 1670–1570 B.C.) vary considerably in quality. For example, the Intef diadem, an inlaid silver fillet found in the coffin of Nubkheperre Intef (c. 1668–1663 B.C.), is fairly crude,⁶³ and some of the material found in the burial of Queen Ahhotep, wife of Sekhenre Tao II, is also of a lesser quality, though other objects from the same tomb are quite fine.⁶⁴ The latter group, together with a few other ornaments of the same period which came from the area of Egypt controlled by the Hyksos,⁶⁵ reveals that fairly adept workmanship still existed during the internal breakdown that characterized the Second Intermediate Period.

It is most likely, then, that the Boston pectoral derived from the



Fig. 11. Note the abstracted pectoral ornament from a *rishi* coffin, Second Intermediate Period, Seventeenth Dynasty (c. 1668–1570 B.C.). Rijksmuseum van Oudheden, Leiden, AAM 25. (Photograph: Courtesy Rijksmuseum van Oudheden.)

Fig. 12. Pectoral, detail from the coffin of Sekhemre Wepmaat Intef, Second Intermediate Period, Seventeenth Dynasty (c. 1668–1570 B.C.). Musée du Louvre, E 3019. (Drawing: Andrew Boyce.)



Fig. 13. Coffin of Sekheneure Tao II, Second Intermediate Period, Seventeenth Dynasty (c. 1668–1570 B.C.). Cairo Museum, JE 3893.

coffin of a king of this tumultuous period. This mummiform case would have been similar to that of Sobekemsaf II, which was described in the Leopold-Amherst Papyrus. It appears that Sobekemsaf's coffin was much more splendid than the comparatively modest ones of Sekheneure Tao II (fig. 13)⁶⁶ and Ahhotep⁶⁷ in Cairo, Nubkheperre Intef in the British Museum,⁶⁸ and Sekhemre Wepmaat Intef in the Louvre.⁶⁹

Although the description of the elaborateness of Sobekemsaf's burial equipment may have been exaggerated,⁷⁰ such elegance could explain why it was so attractive to tomb robbers, who generally plundered the richest tombs, leaving poorer ones untouched.⁷¹ Thus, the Boston pectoral may have come from a far more splendid type of coffin than that illustrated by the surviving mummy cases of the Seventeenth Dynasty. It is even possible that it came from the coffin of an earlier monarch of the Second Intermediate Period;⁷² such a ruler could have been buried at Saqqara, in the Nile Delta, or more likely, given the purported provenance, at Thebes. It has been suggested that there, in the area around the necropolis at Dra Abu en-Naga, may lie the tombs of kings of the late Thirteenth Dynasty.⁷³

In any case, the pectoral could have survived robbery, reburial, or reuse, as did a number of other royal objects and burials from the Second Intermediate Period and the early New Kingdom,⁷⁴ only to be rediscovered in the first half of the nineteenth century. At that time a number of the early tombs from Dra Abu en-Naga were found during illicit excavations, and their contents dispersed on the antiquities market.⁷⁵ Only by carefully retracing their steps is it possible to begin to shed some light on this shadowy age of ancient Egyptian history.

NOTES

I would like to both thank and dedicate this article to Cyril Aldred, the master of the study of Egyptian jewelry. It was he who first proposed the means of dating the pectoral, and he has been more than generous with his suggestions and his brilliant insights. I am especially grateful to C. Nicholas Reeves of the British Museum; Richard Keresey of Sotheby Inc.; Christine Lilyquist and Marsha Hill of the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York; and Maureen Melton of the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, for their invaluable help in tracing the provenance of the piece. I would also like to thank Nora Scott, Pamela England, Mohamed Saleh, May Trad, Galal Sharawy, Alix Wilkinson, Maarten J. Raven, Yvonne Markowitz, Catharine Roehrig, Ellen Woolf, W. Raymond Johnson, and Lorelei Corcoran for their suggestions and assistance, and, in particular, Richard Newman for providing technical information and the companion essay. For their encouragement and permission to publish the piece I am grateful to Dr. William Kelly Simpson, Consultative Curator, and Dr. Rita Freed, Curator of the Department of Egyptian and Ancient Near Eastern Art, Museum of Fine Arts, Boston. Finally, I am indebted to Andrew Boyce for the drawings of the pectoral and the detail of the Louvre coffin, to Yvonne Markowitz for the other fine illustrations in the article, and to Julia McCarthy and Joyce Haynes for help in preparing the manuscript.

1. Howard Carter and Arthur C. Mace, *The Tomb of Tut-ankh-amun*, vol. 1 (London, 1923), p. 96.
2. Pierre Montet, *Les constructions et le tombeau de Psouseennès* (Paris, 1951).
3. For a thorough discussion of tomb robbery in ancient Egypt, see A. Jeffrey Spencer, *Death in Ancient Egypt* (New York, 1986), pp. 74–111.
4. During this period, and for a generation afterward, the situation proved so bad that eventually the bodies of most of the pharaohs buried in the Valley of the Kings were removed from their tombs and placed in a cache, wherein they were discovered at the end of the nineteenth century. For a detailed account of the activities of the robbers, see Cyril Aldred, "More Light on the Rameside Tomb Robberies" in John Ruffle, Gaballa A. Gaballa, and Kenneth A. Kitchen, eds., *Glimpses of Ancient Egypt: Studies in Honour of H. W. Fairman* (Warminster, England, 1979), pp. 92–99; John Romer, *Ancient*

Lives: Daily Life in Egypt of the Pharaohs (New York, 1984), pp. 145–55.

5. Jean Capart, Alan Henderson Gardiner, and Baudouin van de Walle, "New Light on the Rameside Tomb Robberies," *Journal of Egyptian Archaeology*, vol. 22 (1936), pp. 169–193.
6. Jürgen von Bekerath, *Untersuchungen zur politischen Geschichte der Zweiten Zwischenzeit in Ägypten* (Glückstadt, West Germany, 1964), pp. 173–175.
7. Capart, et. al., 1936, p. 171.
8. Thomas Eric Peet, *The Great Tomb Robberies of the Twentieth Egyptian Dynasty* (Oxford, 1930).
9. *Ibid.*, p. 38.
10. Cyril Aldred, *Jewels of the Pharaohs* (New York, 1971), p. 8.
11. Cf. Christine Lilyquist, "The Gold Bowl Naming General Djehuty: A Study of Objects and Early Egyptology," *Journal of the Metropolitan Museum of Art*, vol. 23 (1988), pp. 5–68.
12. Acc. no. 1981.159; see Peter Lacovara in Arne Eggebrecht, ed., *Ägyptens Aufstieg zur Weltmacht* (Mainz, West Germany, 1987), p. 101.
13. Alan Henderson Gardiner, *Egyptian Grammar*, 3d ed. (Oxford, 1957), p. 522.
14. Cf. Kamal el-Mallakh and Arnold C. Brackman, *The Gold of Tutankhamen* (New York, 1978), pls. 7, 12, 86, 94, 96, 107.
15. Alix Wilkinson, *Ancient Egyptian Jewellery* (London, 1971), pp. 159–160.
16. Alix Wilkinson, personal communication.
17. John Richard Harris, *Lexicographical Studies in Ancient Egyptian Minerals* (Berlin, 1961), p. 41–42.
18. Fernand Bisson de la Roque, Georges Contenau, and F. Chapouthier, *Le Trésor de Tôd* (Cairo, 1953).
19. Barry J. Kemp and Robert S. Merrillees, *Minoan Pottery in Second Millennium Egypt* (Mainz, 1980), p. 290–296.
20. On Egyptian blue see Michael S. Tite, "Characterization of Early Vitreous Materials," *Archaeometry*, vol. 29, no. 1 (Feb. 1987), pp. 21–34; on the use of gypsum cement see Wilkinson 1971, p. 84.
21. Emily Teeter, "Enameling in Ancient Egypt?" *American Journal of Archaeology*, vol. 85 (1981), p. 319.
22. Cf. Aldred 1971, pls. 30, 41, 42, 54, 72, 76, 92, 96, 102, 103, 108, 111, 121, 123, 134, 145.

23. *Ibid.*, pls. 25 and 26, 37 and 73, 38 and 74, 42 and 76, 80 and 81.

24. The five remaining holes in the proper left wing plate vary in size from 1.0 to 2.2 millimeters in diameter; the three in the proper right wing plate are all roughly 2 millimeters in diameter. There are two holes in the tail section, with one pin still in place, and the body has pins under both *shen* signs. The pins vary in length from 1 to 3 millimeters. Parts of the backplate and most of the pins must have been lost when the pectoral was pried off the coffin.

25. Cf. Erika Feucht, *Pektorale nichtköniglicher Personen* (Wiesbaden, West Germany, 1971).
26. Nora Scott, Christine Lilyquist, Marsha Hill, and Maureen Melton, personal communications.
27. Quoted in a letter dated June 30, 1890, from J. A. Paine to General L. P. Di Cesnola, Director of the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York; this document is now preserved in the archives of the Department of Egyptian Art of that museum.
28. The discovery and Lord Montagu's purchase of the jars were also recorded in a letter dated December 10, 1889, from J. A. Paine to Francis Llewellyn Griffith; this document is now in the Griffith Institute of the Ashmolean Museum, Oxford; C. Nicholas Reeves, personal communication.
29. Metropolitan Museum of Art, O. C. 924. It should be noted that the authenticity of this scarab is questionable, and that it probably belongs to a series of early forged scarabs inscribed with the name of Shoshenk. Cf. John D. Cooney, *Catalogue of Egyptian Antiquities in the British Museum IV: Glass* (Oxford, 1976), pp. 165; C. Nicholas Reeves and Catharine Roehrig, personal communications.
30. The papyrus was published by Gustavus Seyffarth as "A Remarkable Papyrus-scroll Written in the Hieratic Character," *Transactions of the Academy of Science of St. Louis*, vol. 1 (1856–1860); and later by Edward Brown, *The Book of Breathings: The Lafayette College Papyrus* (Easton, Pennsylvania, 1934). On the Book of Breathings see James P. Allen, "Funerary Texts and Their Meaning," in Sue D'Auria, Peter Lacovara, and Catharine Roehrig, eds., *Mummies and Magic: The Funerary Arts of Ancient Egypt* (Boston, 1988), p. 43.
31. Cf. T. G. Wakeling, *Forged Egyptian Antiquities* (London, 1912), pp. 119–125.
32. Richard Keresey and Sotheby Parke Bernet and Co., *Ancient Art, December 11, 1980* (New York, 1980), lot 249.

33. *The Museum Year 1980–1981: Annual Report of the Museum of Fine Arts*, Boston (Boston, 1981), p. 20.
34. Cf. John D. Cooney, "Three Minor Masterpieces of Egyptian Art," *Bulletin of the Cleveland Museum of Art*, vol. 62, no. 1 (Jan. 1975), pp. 11–14.
35. Cf. Aldred 1971, pp. 113–114, 147.
36. "Two 'Great Rarities' Go To Auction," *New York Times* (Dec. 7, 1980), sec. 2, p. 30.
37. On Egyptian and Near Eastern gold see William J. Young, "The Fabulous Gold of the Pactolus Valley," *Bulletin of the Museum of Fine Arts*, Boston, vol. 70, no. 359 (1972), pp. 5–13.
38. Pierre Montet, *Byblos et L'Égypte: Quatre Campagnes de Fouilles à Gebeil 1921–1924*, vol. 1 (Paris, 1928), pp. 161–204.
39. Cyril Aldred, personal communication.
40. Gardiner 1957, p. 503, R 24 in sign list.
41. Aldred 1971, pl. 123, in contrast to pls. 54, 72, 92, 145.
42. Hans Gerhard Evers, *Staat aus dem Stein*, vol. 2 (Munich, 1929), pp. 23–24.
43. Cf. Herbert E. Winlock, *The Treasure of Three Egyptian Princesses* (New York, 1948), pl. 25, no. 1.
44. Cf. Maryanne Eaton-Krauss and Erhart Graefe, *The Small Golden Shrine from the Tomb of Tutankhamen* (Oxford, 1985), pl. 12.
45. Sally Johnson, personal communication.
46. Peter Lacovara, "Rishi coffin," in D'Auria, et al., 1988, p. 131.
47. *Ibid.*
48. Hans D. Schneider and Maarten J. Raven, *De Egyptische Oudheid* (Leiden, 1981), pp. 76–77.
49. Herbert E. Winlock, "The Tombs of the Kings of the Seventeenth Dynasty at Thebes," *Journal of Egyptian Archaeology*, vol. 10 (1924), pp. 217–277, especially pls. 14, 16; Georges Daressy, *Cercueils des Cachettes Royales: Catalogue Général des Antiquités Égyptiennes du Musée du Caire* (Cairo, 1909), pl. 2.
50. Daressy 1909, pls. 4, 28, 29, 32; many of the coffins from the royal cache appear to have been private ones that were reused or royal ones that were juggled to house bodies other than those for which they had been intended. This has made the study of the evolution of the royal coffin during the New Kingdom quite difficult; however, inscriptional evidence does indicate that the coffins of Thutmose I (Cairo Museum, C G 61025), which were later usurped by Penedjem, had been intended for that king, though they may actually date to his reburial during the reign of Thutmose III; C. Nicholas Reeves, personal communication. The other surviving coffin dating to the pre-Amarna New Kingdom undoubtedly made originally for a king's burial is that of Ahmose (Cairo Museum, C G 61002), which has a shrine-shaped pectoral on its breast.
51. Cf. Christiane Desroches-Noblecourt, *Tutankhamen* (Paris, 1963), pls. 55, 56.
52. Montet 1951, pls. 17, 101, 106.
53. Inlays from the coffins of Taharka (reigned c. 688–663 B.C.) and his Napatan successors at Nuri include pectoral ornaments of various goddesses and other deities with outstretched wings. See Dows Dunham, *Royal Cemeteries of Kush II: Nuri* (Boston, 1955), p. 11, no. 16–12–94, etc.; p. 42, no. 17–1–105, etc.; p. 57, no. 17–1–643, etc.; p. 79, nos. 16–4–53–63, 18–3–206, etc.; p. 154, no. 16–12–311, etc.; p. 162, no. 16–11–3, etc.; p. 168, no. 17–1–980, etc.; p. 194, no. 17–1–12, etc.; p. 212, no. 17–3–435; Timothy Kendall, personal communication.
54. There exists only the partially intact burial of King Hor; see Jacques De Morgan, *Fouilles à Dahchour, Mars-Juni 1894*, vol. 1 (Vienna, 1895), pp. 91–106; Aidan Dodson, "The Tombs of the Kings of the Thirteenth Dynasty in the Memphite Necropolis," *Zeitschrift für Ägyptische Sprache*, vol. 114 (1987), pp. 36–44, especially p. 42.
55. Morgan 1895, pp. 112–118; Jacques De Morgan, *Fouilles à Dahchour en 1894–5*, vol. 2 (Vienna, 1903), pp. 40–76.
56. Arthur C. Mace and Herbert E. Winlock, *The Tomb of Senebtisi at Lisht* (New York, 1916), pp. 36–56.
57. Guy Brunton, *Lahun I: The Treasure* (London, 1920), p. 18.
58. Nagib Farag and Zaky Iskander, *The Discovery of Neferuptah* (Cairo, 1971), pp. 58–63.
59. Capart, et al., 1936, p. 179.
60. Cf. Wilkinson 1971, p. 66, 68, 77, 85, 101, 136; Cooney 1976, p. xv; Janine Bourriau, *Pharaohs and Mortals: Egyptian Art in the Middle Kingdom* (Cambridge, England, 1988), p. 146; Jack Ogden, *Jewellery of the Ancient World* (New York, 1982), pp. 129–132; William M. F. Petrie and Guy Brunton, *Sedment I* (London, 1924), p. 6; "The Egyptian Expedition 1920–1921," *Bulletin of the Metropolitan Museum of Art*, Part 2 (New York, Nov. 1921), pp. 52–53.
61. Wilkinson 1971, pp. 83–90.
62. Daressy 1909, pl. 2.
63. Maarten J. Raven, "The Antef Diadem Reconsidered," *Oudheidkundige Mededelingen uit het Rijksmuseum van Oudheden te Leiden*, vol. 68 (1988).
64. Friedrich W. von Bissing, *Ein thebanischer Grabfund aus dem Anfang des neuen Reichs* (Berlin, 1900).
65. Aldred 1971, pl. 59.
66. Daressy 1909, pl. 2.
67. Von Bissing 1900, pls. 9–12.
68. Winlock 1924, pl. 14b.
69. *Ibid.*, pl. 14a.
70. *Ibid.*, p. 239.
71. It seems clear that tomb robbers often knew the exact circumstances of burials and how worthwhile they were to plunder; cf. D'Auria, et al., 1988, p. 109; Spencer 1986, p. 79.
72. Aidan Dodson, "The Tombs of the Kings and Queens of the Early Eighteenth Dynasty at Thebes," *Zeitschrift für Ägyptische Sprache und Altertumskunde*, vol. 115 (1988), pp. 110–123, especially p. 117.
73. Certainly the burials of this period were quite lavish, judging from the remains found in the tombs of King Hor and Nubhetep-tikhered; see Morgan 1895, pp. 87–119.
74. In addition to Sekhnenre Tao, Kamose, and Ahmose having been reburied in the royal cache (cf. C. Nicholas Reeves, *Valley of the Kings: The Decline of a Royal Necropolis* [London, 1990], p. 123), the burial of Queen Sobekemsaf at Edfu appears to have also been restored (Winlock 1924, p. 233), as was the tomb of Queen Meryetamun (cf. Reeves 1990, pp. 18–19; Mohamed Saleh and Hourig Sourouzian, *Official Catalogue: The Egyptian Museum, Cairo* [Cairo, 1987], no. 127). It has also been suggested that the burial of Nubkheperre Intef was restored (Raven 1988, p. 84; I. E. S. Edwards, "Sebekemsaf's Heart-Scarab" in *Melanges Gamal Eddin Mokhtar*, vol. 1 [Cairo, 1985], pp. 239–245).
75. Winlock 1924, pp. 217–218.